

Ibero-Romance and the syntax of the utterance

Alice Victoria Corr

Magdalene College

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics

University of Cambridge

December 2016

Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the Degree Committee of the Modern & Medieval Languages faculty.

Alice Corr, December 2016

Abstract

This dissertation examines the syntax of so-called ‘illocutionary complementisers’ —that is, the repurposing of the finite complementiser *que* ‘that’ to introduce matrix clauses, with a range of utterance-related functions— across Ibero-Romance. Offering original comparative data from a range of predominantly European varieties standard and non-standard, we argue that the distinct interpretation and behaviour of each of the three types of illocutionary complementiser examined necessitates a revision and expansion of the clausal left-edge to incorporate utterance-oriented information within a dedicated domain *above the CP*.

Chapter 2 argues that Ibero-Romance vocatives and discourse particles exhibit syntactic behaviour which cannot be accounted for within a clausal architecture whose topmost layer is the CP. Instead, these utterance-oriented items’ behaviour and sentential distribution is indicative of an internally-articulated dedicated utterance field, which we call the Utterance Phrase (UP), above the CP, divisible into a higher, externally-oriented layer and a lower, internally-oriented layer (itself decomposable into dedicated projections for ADDRESSEE and SPEAKER). The remainder of the dissertation describes and analyses three types of illocutionary complementiser attested in Ibero-Romance, and shows that each item differs from the others not only in interpretation, but also in terms of their formal and distributional properties, and availability across Ibero-Romance dialects. Only one of these complementisers (quotative QUE, Chapter 4) patterns like a C-head; the other two (exclamative and conjunctive QUE, in Chapters 3 and 5 respectively) show distinct behaviour which we argue is evidence that they lexicalise separate U-heads within an expanded and revised cartographic left-periphery. The bundling of features on functional heads at the UP/CP boundary —the locus of the split Rizzian ForceP, or Speas & Tenny’s (2003) SentienceP— is unique to European Portuguese, contrasting with *feature-scattering* (following Giorgi & Pianesi 1997) across projections in other Peninsular Ibero-Romance varieties. This variation in feature distribution is argued to be responsible for microparametric differences in the availability and behaviour of illocutionary complementisers across Ibero-Romance. The compositionality of sentence-typing; fine-grained differences in the specification of complementisers; and gradient judgments on the constructions in which the illocutionary complementisers participate are also accounted for in these terms.

The dissertation proposes that, despite the progressive obsolescence of such items in standard, contemporary European Portuguese, the ubiquity of matrix illocutionary complementisers in European/Peninsular Ibero-Romance is a defining characteristic of this branch of the Romance languages. On the view that their loss in European Portuguese is counterbalanced by verb-based mechanisms for sentence- and illocutionary-typing, Chapter 6 concludes by exploring the possibility that the prevalence of illocutionary complementisers, and other utterance-oriented elements, correlates inversely with verb height.

Acknowledgements

Thanks must go first and foremost, and not just because it's the done thing, to the man who has been foremost on my mind (and in my inbox) for the past three years: my supervisor, the indefatigable Adam Ledgeway. I can't convey my respect and gratitude in a pithy one-liner, but there is no one I'd rather have had to guide, enthuse and amuse me throughout my doctoral journey. I had no idea a PhD could or would be this enjoyable: thank you.

I must also thank the other linguists who have supported me along the way: Michelle Sheehan, who has been a mentor, an Ibero-Romance companion, and a great source of admiration since our first supervision five years ago; Theresa Biberauer, my formal and informal advisor, who introduced me to generative linguistics seven years ago, and whose conviction that utterance syntax is the way forward has provided succour in this thesis' darkest hours; and Ann Jackson and Andrew Brown, who sparked and nurtured a love of Spanish, language and intellectual pursuit.

An empirically-motivated thesis such as this is only as good as its data, so I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to all the native speakers who laid the cornerstone on which the pages ahead are built, in particular: Sergio Fernández Martínez, Ana Pessoa Pinharanda, Ana Regina Calindro, Afra Pujol i Campeny, Carme Calduch, Carolina Feijão, María Carme Parafita Couto, Xosé María Fernández, Ismael Carmona García and many, many more who contributed their time and their tongues, in Cambridge and afar. So too must I thank all the linguists who have helped me work out what to do with those data, and who in one way or another have shaped the project behind and beyond the thesis itself (in chronological order): Nicolau Dols, Francisco Dubert, Ian Roberts, Anna Kocher, Alexandru Nicolae, Adina Dragomirescu, Ionuț Geanta, Nicola Munaro, Martin Maiden, Anna Pineda Cirera, Jamie Williams, and Jamie Douglas, not to mention the insight from all the audiences at the various conferences I've attended over the past three years. Thanks are also due to Magdalene, for supporting me and my project, and for welcoming me into their fellowship during the past year.

A life also exists, or so they say, outside the PhD. I must thank all the Cambridge linguists who helped me bridge the gap between the two, swaddling me in friendship, and stimulating my thoughts with their cerebral (and not so cerebral) conversation: Alison 'lobster lobster' Biggs, Jenneke van der Wal and Sam Wolfe; the 'Italian Mafia' and other friends of the grad centre: Gigi Andriani, Valentina Colasanti, Kim Groothuis, Norma 'Milady' Schifano, Giusy Silvestri, M.Olimpia 'the biggest whale' Squillaci; Draško Kašćelan, Cillian Ó Fathaigh, Oliver Mayeux, Eleonora Serra and Abhi Sharma; Polly Dickson, Rosie Finlinson and Nick Mayhew. My eternal gratitude goes to Jamie, Gigiule, Molimpele, Jens, Calum, Carrie and Muzzy for their help with last-minute proof-reading and edits.

The penultimate thanks go to my summertime saviours, Carrie and Scrappy, for taking me into your home in these final months; to my family, for championing me and putting up with me since 1988; and to my best pal, for being, well, exactly that, and then some.

And my final thanks go to Netflix, for being a loyal companion and perfect antidote to the day job; and to Spidery Junket, who would have been proudest of all.

Abbreviations

This dissertation uses the following non-Leipzig glosses:

CONJ	Conjunctive QUE
DM	Discourse particle
EXCL	Exclamative QUE
EXPL	Expletive
IMPF	Past imperfective
INT	Interrogative complementiser
PART	Partitive clitic
PRT	(Vocative-modifying) particle
QUOT	Quotative QUE
RECOMP	Recomplementation QUE
SUBJ	Subjunctive
TAG	Tag particle
that	the finite declarative complementiser, orthographically ‘that’

†	Internet-retrieved data (Twitter, Google, Facebook, Instagram and other publicly-available social media, online forums and websites)
Δ	Data elicited from, or otherwise provided by, native-speaker informants
Abr.	Abruzesse (dialect group of Abruzzo, upper southeastern Italy)
Alg.	Algherese (Catalan dialect of city of Alghero, northwestern Sardinia)
Arag.	Aragonese (Pyrenean Ibero-Romance language spoken in Aragon, northeastern Spain)
Aran.	Aranese (Pyrenean Gascon dialect of Occitan spoken in the Val d’Aran, northwest Catalonia, Spain)

Arg.Sp.	Argentinian Spanish
Ast.	Asturian (dialect group of northwestern Spain)
B.Pg.	Brazilian Portuguese
Bar.Cat.	Barcelona Catalan
Bol.Sp.	Bolivian Spanish
Cabr.	Cabreirés (dialect of Astur-Leonese spoken in La Cabrera, southwest Léon, Spain)
Cat.	Catalan
Chil.Sp.	Chilean Spanish
Col.Sp.	Colombian Spanish
Cub.Sp.	Cuban Spanish
E.Pg.	European Portuguese
E.Sp.	European/Peninsular Spanish
Eon.	Eonavian/Galician-Asturian (dialect group transitional between Galician and Asturian, spoken at the Galician-Asturian border in northwestern Spain)
Ext.	Extremaduran/ <i>estremeñu</i> (dialect group of Extremadura, central western Spain)
Gal.	Galician
J.Sp.	Judeo-Spanish/Ladino
LASp.	Latin-American Spanish
Leon.	Leonese (dialect group of northwestern Spain)
Mad.Sp.	Madrid Spanish
Mex.Sp.	Mexican Spanish
Min.Cat.	Minorcan Catalan
Mir.	Mirandese (dialect of Astur-Leonese spoken in northeastern Portugal)
O.Neap.	Old Neapolitan

O.Pg.	Old Portuguese
Pal.Cat.	Pallarese Catalan
Pen.Cat.	Peninsular Catalan
Per.Sp.	Peruvian Spanish
Rib.Cat.	Ribagorçan Catalan
Rom.	Romanian
Val.	Valencian
Valv.	<i>Valverdeiru</i> , dialect of <i>Fala</i> (subgroup of Portuguese-Galician) spoken in Valverdi du Fresnu, Extremadura, Spain
W.Fl.	West Flemish

Table of Contents

Declaration	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Abbreviations	vi
Contents	ix
Chapter 1 Ibero-Romance and the syntax of the utterance	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Ibero-Romance, multiple complementisers and the left-periphery	4
1.3 Modelling illocutionary force	9
1.4 Root transformations and ‘performative’ syntax	12
1.4.1 Mapping speech-act information above the CP	17
1.4.2 An alternative approach	20
1.5 Summary, methodology and overview of the dissertation	23
1.5.1 Summary	23
1.5.2 Methodological clarifications	24
1.5.3 Overview of the dissertation	25
Chapter 2 Utterance-oriented elements in Ibero-Romance	28
2.1 Introduction	28
2.2 Vocatives	29
2.2.1 Formal marking of vocatives in Ibero-Romance	31
2.2.2 Sentential distribution	33
2.2.3 Cartographic distribution	36
2.2.4 Implications for the utterance domain	38
2.3 Discourse particles	41
2.3.1 Verb-based discourse particles in Ibero-Romance	42
2.3.1.1 Morphological invariability	43
2.3.1.2 Negation	44
2.3.1.3 Clitics	45
2.3.1.4 Phonological attrition	47
2.3.1.5 Embedding	53
2.3.1.6 Sentential distribution	56
2.3.1.7 Interim summary	59
2.3.2 Verb-based discourse particles in Ibero-Romance: counterexamples	60
2.3.3 Non-verb-based discourse particles in Ibero-Romance	65
2.3.4 Implications for the utterance domain	67

2.4	Interjections	68
2.5	The Utterance Phrase	72
2.5.1	A bipartite structure (for now)	78
2.6	Concluding remarks	82
Chapter 3 Exclamative QUE		84
3.1	Introduction	84
3.2	Sentence-typing of exclamative QUE constructions	87
3.2.1	Clause-type compatibility of exclamative QUE	87
3.2.2	Utterance type of exclamative QUE	92
3.2.3	Summary	98
3.3	Exclamative properties of exclamative QUE constructions	99
3.3.1	Expressive properties of exclamative QUE constructions	100
3.3.1.1	Independence	100
3.3.1.2	Non-displaceability	104
3.3.1.3	Perspective dependence	105
3.3.1.4	Descriptive ineffability	105
3.3.1.5	Immediacy	107
3.3.1.6	Repeatability	108
3.3.1.7	Summary	109
3.3.2	Semantico-syntactic properties of exclamative QUE constructions	110
3.3.2.1	Question/answer pairs	110
3.3.2.2	Degree interpretation	112
3.3.2.3	Factivity	115
3.3.2.4	Summary	118
3.3.3	Interim conclusions	118
3.4	Speech-act level	120
3.4.1	Embedding	120
3.4.2	Negation	121
3.4.3	Disjunction	123
3.4.4	Conjunction	124
3.4.5	Summary	129
3.5	Left-peripheral distribution	129
3.5.1	Distribution in the UP	130
3.5.2	Distribution in the CP	131
3.5.3	Exclamative QUE at the UP/CP border	135
3.6	Conclusion	142
Chapter 4 Quotative QUE		145
4.1	Introduction	145

4.2 Characterising quotative QUE	147
4.2.1 Lack of selecting predicate	148
4.2.2 Information source and traceability	150
4.2.3 Samesaying	155
4.2.4 Sincerity conditions and evidentiality	158
4.2.5 Clause typing	161
4.2.6 Recap	164
4.3 Speech-act level	166
4.3.1 Conjunction	166
4.3.2 Disjunction	167
4.3.3 Negation	168
4.3.4 Embedding	170
4.3.4.1 Parallels in the left-periphery of interrogatives	173
4.3.5 Summary	181
4.4 Left-peripheral distribution	181
4.4.1 Distribution in the UP	182
4.4.2 Distribution in the CP	183
4.5 Revising the UP/CP border in light of quotative QUE	184
4.6 Concluding remarks	195
 Chapter 5 Conjunctive QUE	199
5.1 Introduction	199
5.2 Causality, clause-linking and clause-typing	202
5.2.1 Clause-typing	202
5.2.2 Clause-linking	204
5.2.3 Causality	206
5.2.4 Discourse mediation	207
5.2.5 Summary	209
5.3 Syntactic properties of conjunctive QUE	209
5.3.1 Syntactic strategies for clause combining	210
5.3.2 Structural diagnostics	212
5.3.2.1 Question formation/interrogative scope	212
5.3.2.2 Sentential position	214
5.3.2.3 Phonological independence	216
5.3.2.4 C-command: co-ordination vs. subordination	218
5.3.2.5 Co-ordination of phrases	221
5.3.2.6 Modification by <i>only/even</i>	223
5.3.2.7 VP-deletion	223
5.3.3 Semantic content of conjunctive QUE	224

5.4 Speech-act properties	227
5.4.1 Negation	228
5.4.2 Conjunction	228
5.4.3 Disjunction	230
5.4.4 Embedding	231
5.4.5 Recap	232
5.5 Left-peripheral distribution	232
5.5.1 Conjunctive QUE distribution in the CP	233
5.5.2 Conjunctive QUE distribution in the UP	235
5.6 Conclusions	240
Chapter 6 Conclusions	242
6.1 Illocutionary QUE	242
6.2 The Utterance Phrase	242
6.3 Illocutionary QUE and the clausal left-edge	244
6.4 Prosody and the utterance	245
6.5 Utterance syntax and Ibero-Romance	246
6.6 In short	250
References	251

Chapter 1

Ibero-Romance and the syntax of the utterance

1.1 Introduction

The point of departure of this thesis is the observation that the complementiser (Rosenbaum 1967; Bresnan 1970; Panagiotidis 2010) in Ibero-Romance does not always function as a complementiser, i.e. as a subordinator that heads a complement clause. This canonical function of a complementiser is illustrated in (1), where the obligatory presence versus absence of the finite Romance complementiser *que* ‘that’ (<Lat. QUID) marks the distinction between an embedded (1a) and matrix (1b) indicative declarative clause:

- (1) a. *Dixiéruntus * (que) yiera meyor cumezar cun algu senciello*
tell.PST.3PL=us that be.IMPF.3SG better begin.INF with something simple
‘They told us that it was better to begin with something simple’ (Cabr.†)¹
- b. *(*Que) yiera meyor cumezar cun algu senciello*
that be.IMPF.3SG better begin.INF with something simple
‘(*That) it was better to begin with something simple’

The morphological marking on the complementiser identifies the sentence’s clause type (e.g. Romance *si/se* for an interrogative clause) and finiteness (e.g. Romance *de/di* indicates a non-finite clause). In Romance, zero morphological marking in the complementiser position (as in 1b) provides an overt signal that the clause is a matrix declarative (cf. Roberts 2004).²

It is unexpected, then, that one of the more conspicuous, yet seldom remarked, properties characterising the Ibero-Romance language family,³ particularly varieties located in the Iberian Peninsula, is the ample use of what appears to be the Romance finite complementiser *que* ‘that’, to introduce non-embedded matrix clauses, where such constructions are associated with a range of illocutionary functions:

¹ Examples taken from the internet appear without a full citation. Instead, internet-retrieved data are indicated by the symbol †. Data elicited from/provided by native-speaker informants are indicated by △.

² Gascony Occitan (Rohlfs 1935; Campos 1992; Pusch 2000,2002; Morin 2006) is a notable exception.

³ See Kabatek&Pusch (2011) for the defining typological features of the branches of the Romance family within Europe. Although other Romance varieties exhibit non-selected uses of the finite complementiser, particularly in Italo- and Daco-Romance (cf. Hill 2010,2012; Garzonio&Sorrisi 2013; Colasanti&Silvestri 2016), these are not observed with the frequency or prevalence as is attested in Ibero-Romance.

1.1 Introduction

- (2) A: *Toma, garda isto.*
 ‘Here, take this.’
- B: *Que eu non quero!*
 EXCL I not want.1SG
 ‘(But) I don’t want it!’ (Gal.[†])
- (3) A: *Tio, estava dubtant i això.*
 ‘Mate, I wasn’t sure n’ stuff.’
- B: *Eh?*
 ‘Eh?’
- A: *Que no ho tenia molt clar tampoc.*
 QUOT not it=have.IMPF.1SG very clear either
 ‘[I said] I wasn’t very sure either’ (Cat.; COR)
- (4) *i Veña Eulogio desperta, que ia me ha dáu*
 DM Eulogio wake.up.IMP CONJ already me=AUX.3SG give.PST.PTCP
tempu a fichel café i churros pa desaiunal!
 time to make.INF coffee and churros for breakfast.INF
 ‘C’mom, Eulogio, wake up, I’ve already had time to make coffee and churros for breakfast!’ (Valv.[†])

In (2-4), Ibero-Romance *que* surfaces in an utterance-initial position without a selecting predicate that would permit the complementiser to undertake its canonical task of subordinating the clause it introduces. Instead, the item *que* produces an exclamation in (2); a quotation in (3); and contextualises (the preceding) utterance information for the benefit of the addressee, implementing a conversational move, in (4). That is, the complementiser undertakes a variety of discourse-oriented functions to which we give the descriptive designations ‘exclamative’, ‘quotative’ and ‘conjunctive’ *que* respectively (henceforth collectively referred to as illocutionary QUE, to distinguish these uses from the well-established role of *que* as a complement subordinator). This thesis investigates the morphosyntactic, interpretative and distributional properties of each of these three types of illocutionary QUE in turn with a view to establishing both the microparametric patterns which hold across the Ibero-Romance family and, theoretically, what it means for clausal syntax

1.1 Introduction

when complementisers move beyond their role as markers of subordination into signifiers of exclusively illocutionary information.

On a generative account, complementisers have, since Chomsky (1986), been accommodated within a dedicated Complementiser Phrase (CP) to the left of the sentential ‘core’, a syntactic domain involved in the formation of interrogatives and positive imperatives, entailing V-to-C movement, amongst other transformations. In addition to these core grammatical operations, work by Benincà in the eighties established the CP as the locus of discourse-oriented features and elements, such as Topic and Focus, involved in the packaging of information structure (Vallduví 1992; Lambrecht 1994), leading to the proposal of the internal structure of the C-space, or ‘left-periphery’ (Benincà 1988,2001; Rizzi 1997,2004; Benincà&Poletto 2004; Benincà&Munaro 2010; Munaro 2010b; Ledgeway 2012 for various refinements and expansions of the architecture of the domain). Within this articulated structure, the finite declarative complementiser *que* is most commonly understood to lexicalise the head of the highest projection of the ‘split-CP’ (Rizzi 1997), viz. Force^o.

Non-embedded instances of illocutionary QUE such as those illustrated in (2-4), whilst discourse-oriented, are not, however, easily classified under the umbrella of information structure, within which propositional arguments are arranged according to notions of givenness or newness within the discourse context. Rather, the constructions in (2-4) — whose uses of QUE are characteristic of informal, oral registers— are predominantly attested in spontaneous, interactive speech, charting the conversational dynamics between interlocutors, and operative in the very *hic-et-nunc* of the utterance situation itself. Linguistic elements involved in the encoding of such ‘conversational pragmatics’ have famously been consigned to a non-syntactic status within the generative enterprise (Chomsky 1957 et seq.), yet Ibero-Romance illocutionary QUE provides evidence of a seemingly purely grammatical device —a semantically-bleached subordinating complementiser (viz. *que* ‘that’)— whose core function has been lost and its morpholexical material repurposed to represent a range of utterance-oriented meaning.

The theoretical focus of this dissertation, then, is on the possibility of the formal representation of *utterance* information, wherein our guiding research question is that put by Richard A. Rhodes, cited in the work of Martina Wiltschko and her research group:⁴ ‘What if we make the prototype sentence one in which the bulk of the information is about the relationship between the interlocutors?’. We explore this question in terms of what a radical

⁴ The syntax of speech acts, University of British Columbia: <http://syntaxofspeechacts.linguistics.ubc.ca>.

1.2 Ibero-Romance, multiple complementisers and the left-periphery

rethinking of sentential architecture —i.e. one which incorporates utterance information— would mean for the clausal left-edge and its chief lexical exponent, viz. the complementiser. Building on recent work which has begun to map out the syntactic encoding of utterance participants and context at the height of the sentential architecture (Speas&Tenny 2003; Sigurðsson 2004,2010,2014; Giorgi 2010; Haegeman 2014; Wiltschko 2015,2016,forth.a,forth.b), this thesis argues in favour of the representation of ‘utterance’ syntax within a dedicated domain *above the CP*, using the different types of illocutionary QUE to tease out the differences between the C-space and the putative utterance domain. Our aims are fourfold:

- i) To introduce, compare and contrast novel and comparative empirical data of ‘illocutionary’ QUE phenomena across Ibero-Romance;
- ii) To show that (at least) three formally distinct types of ‘illocutionary’ QUE can be discerned, each with different syntactic and interpretational properties, corresponding to separate functional projections within a revised left-periphery;
- iii) To re-consider the structure of the clausal left-edge, providing empirical data from Ibero-Romance to support the postulation of an articulated ‘utterance’ layer above the CP;
- iv) To make a comparative contribution to (Ibero-)Romance dialectology by establishing the patterns of microvariation in terms of the attestation and behaviour of illocutionary QUE across this Romance branch.

To do this, we will examine the three instances of illocutionary QUE illustrated above, viz. quotative, exclamative and conjunctive QUE, to determine their formal properties and distribution across Ibero-Romance dialects. In representing the structural architecture of the clause, we adopt a ‘cartographic’ approach (Cinque 1999,2002; Rizzi 2004a,2004b; Belletti 2004), which, in its strongest formulation, assumes an idealised one-to-one mapping between interpretation and syntactic representation, wherein each semantico-pragmatic unit of meaning is encoded via a dedicated, non-recursive functional projection.

1.2 Ibero-Romance, multiple complementisers and the left-periphery

The Ibero-Romance complementiser *que* is well-known for its multifunctionality: it is a syncretic element which marks a clause out for finiteness, mood and illocutionary force,

1.2 Ibero-Romance, multiple complementisers and the left-periphery

introducing adverbial, relative and complement clauses; it introduces polar interrogatives in Eastern Ibero-Romance; and in some varieties is homophonous with the wh-pronoun *qué* ‘what’ (cf. Manzini&Savoia 2003 for arguments that the Romance complementiser *che/que/ke* is ultimately nominal in nature). As the head of an embedded clause, Ibero-Romance *que* introduces both indicative (5) and subjunctive (6) finite clauses, but not non-finite clauses, with the exception of *de dicto* asserted complements (7) in Catalan and Spanish (and other varieties patterning similarly; cf. ch4), which reproduce previous discourse (cf. Rivero 1994; González i Planas 2014), including non-finite complements (8):⁵

- (5) *Creye que ye bolando*
think.3SG that be.3SG fly.PTCP
'He thinks that he is flying' (Arag.[†])
- (6) *Esperemos que Mar y la so empresa tengan muchos éxitos.*
hope.1PL that Mar and the her company have.SUBJ.3PL many successes
'We hope that Mar and her company will be very successful' (Ast.[†])
- (7) *Li vaig preguntar que a on es pescaven més lluços*
him=AUX.1SG ask.INF that to where REFL=fish.IMPF.3PL more hake
'I asked him where you could catch more hake (Cat.[†])
- (8) *Dijo que a no molestarle.*
say.PST.3SG that to not annoy.INF=him
'I said don't annoy him' (Sp.; Rivero 1994:551)

The decomposition of the CP from a single projection to an articulated domain with dedicated projections for specific functions has direct consequences for the concept of the complementiser as an atomic —and syncretic— element. Namely, the possibility of multiple C-heads entails that there is no such thing as a single category of ‘complementiser’ (i.e. a C-head), as properties that were previously grouped together now occupy different positions in the split-CP, whose internal structure is illustrated in (9):

⁵ Deontic modal constructions such as Sp. *hay/tener que* + INF are a further exception.

(9) *Rizzi's (1997) Split-CP*

[Force [Topic* [Focus* [Topic [Fin [IP ...]]]]]]

For example, on a split-CP approach, mood/finiteness is encoded in the lowest C-head, whereas sentential force (cf. §1.3) is encoded in the highest projection. Evidence for a plurality of positions comes from multiple complementisers across Romance, where distinct morphological forms and/or distributional patterns corroborate the hypothesis that different functions are mapped onto different syntactic positions: Ibero-Romance exhibits recomplementation (Higgins 1988; Fontana 1993; Uriagereka 1995; Barbosa 2000; Paoli 2007; Ribeiro&Torres Morais 2012; González i Planas 2014; Villa-García 2012a,2012b,2015), where the complementiser appears either side of a topicalised constituent (10-11); dual complementiser systems of various types are attested in Romanian (12), Southern Italian (13) dialects (Rohlf 1969,1983; Ledgeway 2005,2006,2009; D'Alessandro&Ledgeway 2010) and even (Old) Galician-Portuguese (14) (Corr 2016a,2016c); and East Ibero-Romance has an ‘interrogative’ complementiser which introduces polar questions (15-16):⁶

- (10) *No, que os burros que no se pelan*
 no th t the donkeys RECOMP not REFL=shear.3PL
 No, [they say that] donkeys don't get shorn' (Arag.[†])
- (11) *N o sei se o Jo o se vai chegar a horas*
 not know.1SG if the Jo o if go.3SG arrive.INF on time
 ‘I don’t know if Jo o will arrive on time’ (E.Pg.; Mascarenhas 2015:7)
- (12) *M  intreab  c  ce-am de g nd s  fac?*
 me=ask.3SG th t what=have.1SG of thought to do.SUBJ.1SG
 ‘She asked me what I intend to do’ (Rom.; Hill 2010:8)
- (13) *Penza ca illu non   solo al mundo et che in poco*
 think.3SG th t he not be.3SG alone at.the world and that in little
tempo de p  essere libero
 time of little be.INF free

⁶ More comprehensive pan-Romance references and data are found in the recent overviews of Crushina&Ledgeway (2016); Ledgeway (2016).

‘He thinks that he is not alone in the world and that soon he can be free of it’

(O.Neap.; Ledgeway 2005:268)

- (14) *sabede ca, se eu posso saber que vós esta besta mais*
 know.2PL that if I can.1SG know.INF that you this beast more
seguides, que a peleja com vosco é
 follow.2PL that the fight with you be.3SG
 ‘you know that, if I find out you’re still going after that beast, that the fight is yours’ (O.Pg.; CdePg.)
- (15) *Que vols sucre o sacarina?*
 INT want.2SG sugar or sweetener
 ‘Do you want sugar or sweetener?’ (Bal.Cat.; Prieto&Rigau 2007:43)
- (16) *Se a on deu ser, aquell home?*
 INT to where might be.INF that man
 ‘Where might that man be?’ (Rib./Pal.Cat.; Rigau&Süils 2010:154)

The microvariation illustrated in (10-16) refutes the notion of a ‘one-size-fits-all’ complementiser, showing that complementiser selection in Romance is conditioned by both distributional (where the complementiser obtains vis-à-vis other left-peripheral constituents) and semantico-pragmatic (modal specification of the complement; discourse conditions) factors.⁷ Thus, recomplementation ‘sandwiches’ a topic constituent between a higher clause-typing complementiser and a lower topic-delimiting complementiser; dual complementiser systems mark out mood distinctions and/or activation of the left-periphery; and ‘interrogative’ complementisers lexically single out polar interrogatives and/or modify the illocutionary force of the sentence (cf. Hernanz&Rigau 2006; Prieto&Rigau 2007). To this end, various authors (Rizzi 1997; Ledgeway 2005,2012; Demonte&Fernández Soriano 2007,2009; Cruschina 2012; Villa-García 2012a,2012b,2015; Garrett 2013; Gupton 2014) have proposed that, in addition to clause-typing finite declarative complements in Force° (17), the (Ibero-)Romance morphosyntactic item *que* lexicalises Fin° when it introduces a jussive subjunctive (18); a Topic head in recomplementation structures (19); and Int° in Eastern Ibero-Romance polar interrogatives (20):

⁷ A separate phenomenon, not attested in Ibero-Romance, is that of complementiser agreement (Bayer 1984; Haegeman 1992; Zwart 1993), discussion of which we will not enter into in this dissertation. See also the *qui/que* alternation in French (Rizzi 2000; Taraldsen 2002).

1.2 Ibero-Romance, multiple complementisers and the left-periphery

- (17) *Sabiam* [Force' [Force **que** [TP *la situación* èra *marrida*]]]
know.1SG that the situation be.IMPF.3sg bad
‘We knew that the situation was bad’ (Aran.[†])
- (18) *Espero* [Fin' [Fin **que** [TP *lo pasaras* genial anoche]]]
hope.1SG that it=pass.SUBJ.PST.2SG great last.night
‘I hope you had a great time last night’ (E.Sp., Cáceres[†])
- (19) *que* [Topic' *os burros* [Topic **que** [TP *no se pelan*]]]
that the donkeys RECOMP not REFL=shear.3PL
‘[...] that donkeys don’t get shorn’ (Arag.[†])
- (20) [Int' [Int **Que** [TP *l’heu llogada?*]]]
INT it=AUX.2SG rent.PST.PTCP
‘Did you rent it?’ (Min.Cat.; Prieto&Rigau 2007:37)

Further refinement of the internal articulation of the left-periphery has led to the association of clause-typing with specific functional projections (cf. Munaro 2010b; Ledgeway 2012; Cruschina&Ledgeway 2016), as illustrated in (21):

- (21) *The cartographic clausal left-edge* (slightly adapted from Ledgeway 2012:179)
- [DeclP **que** [FrameP1 HTop [FrameP2 Adv_{sc-set.} [ConcP whether-clause [HypP *si/se-clause* [ExclP
que [ThemeP1 ATOP [ThemeP2 CILD [IntP **que** [CFocP1 Obj/Adv [CFocP1 Adv_{circum./quant.} [IFocP1
IFoc [IFocP2 IndefQ [Fin *de/a/V2* [IP ...]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

In the above cartography of the clausal left-edge, Rizzi’s (1997) Force Phrase has been atomised into a proliferation of dedicated projections for various clausal configurations. Within this architecture, the declarative complementiser is analysed as lexicalising the highest possible position within sentential syntax (i.e. Decl°). However, whilst there is a strong empirical case for decomposing the CP and viewing complementisers as the lexicalisation of distinct decomposed C-heads, this thesis will demonstrate that only one of the three types of Ibero-Romance illocutionary QUE illustrated in (2-4) is compatible with a CP analysis. The other two instances of illocutionary QUE will be shown to occupy positions *above* the CP-layer, necessitating further reconsideration of how to capture the formal status of the item *que* at the left-periphery.

1.3 Modelling illocutionary force

Implicit in the foregoing discussion is the distinction between the concepts of clause type and illocutionary force. Whereas *clause type* refers to the formal or grammatical (viz. morphosyntactic) structure of a sentence, *illocutionary force* (Austin 1962; Searle 1969, 1975) is a pragmatic category, conveying the sentence's 'communicative function' (Puglielli&Frascarelli 2011:ch.6), though the two are often assumed to be aligned (Sadock&Zwicky 1985).⁸ Yet while clause type is frequently taken to co-determine illocutionary force (e.g. a declarative clause has assertive force; an imperative has directive force), the distinction between clause type and illocutionary force is a necessary one (Gazdar 1981), not least due to mismatches such as the following:

(22) *¿Por qué no te callas?*

why not you=shut.up.2SG

'Why don't you shut up?' (E.Sp.; Juan Carlos I to Hugo Chávez, 10 November 2007)

The above sentence features an interrogative clause type (determined by the wh-interrogative *por qué* 'why'), yet, despite looking like a question, it does not have any genuine information-seeking force, i.e. Juan Carlos is not actually enquiring why Chávez is not being quiet, and nor does he expect an answer. Instead, the wh-interrogative clause in (22) has the illocutionary force of a command. In such cases, the sentence's morphosyntax determines its clause type whereas its illocutionary force is inferred via the pragmatic context. However, the recognition that pragmatic categories *can* have syntactic reflexes indicates that illocutionary force should also be a candidate for formal encoding in the clausal architecture. On the abovementioned view that illocutionary force can be decoupled from clause type, following cartographic assumptions (cf. §1.1) one would predict the two distinct grammatical concepts to be encoded in distinct functional projections, rather than conflating the two in a single layer as happens in the Rizzian CP. In fact, the Rizzian Force Phrase is chiefly responsible for clause-typing rather than encoding illocutionary force per se, a fallout, presumably, of the generative tradition which eliminates pragmatic categories from the narrow syntax (cf. Rizzi 1997:283 on his use of the terminology 'specification of Force', following Chomsky 1995).

⁸ The illocutionary force conventionally associated with a sentence's form has been referred to in the literature as sentential force (Chierchia&McConnell-Ginet 1990), or sentence mood (Reis 1999).

1.3 Modelling illocutionary force

Pursuing the hypothesis that illocutionary force can indeed be syntactically encoded presents a number of challenges. Such a move necessitates practical decisions on *where* illocutionary force should be encoded within the clausal spine; *how much* should be encoded, in terms of illocutionary information and clause size; and, at a more basic level, *what* should qualify as ‘syntacticisable’ illocutionary force in the first place. At the conceptual level, reconceiving illocutionary force as a syntactic category demands a revision of the definition of clause type as the ‘formal structure’ of a sentence, since illocutionary force now fits that description too. A corresponding reconsideration is required of the division between clause type as a syntactic category and illocutionary force as a non-syntactic one, i.e. the modular division that motivated the two concepts’ decoupling in the first place. Regarding the *how* of the syntactic encoding of illocutionary force, recent theoretical responses have been to decouple clause type from illocutionary force and encode these in distinct left-peripheral functional projections (cf. Coniglio&Zegrean 2010,2012, who decompose the Force Phrase into a higher illocutionary projection and a lower clause-typing projection) or syntactic configurations (cf. Speas&Tenny 2003, who propose an illocutionary predicative structure at the height of the sentential spine). On a cartographic approach to functional structure, our contention is that the aforementioned decomposition of the Force Phrase into a hierarchy of functional projections corresponding to distinct clause types (cf. the example in (21) above) invites similar treatment for the encoding of illocutionary force.

Just as the detailed work on clause-typing undertaken in syntactic approaches has revealed the complexity of this aspect of sentential morphosyntax, work in the field of pragmatics has illuminated a parallel complexity in the composition of illocutionary force. Traditional approaches (e.g. Searle 1969; Bach&Harnish 1979) framed illocutionary force in terms of a speaker’s communicative goals or intentions, such that an assertion could be paraphrased along the lines of ‘speaker believes the sentence’s proposition *p* and wants/intends for the addressee to believe *p*’. More recent approaches (e.g. Beyssade&Marandin 2006a,2006b; Farkas&Bruce 2009) propose a dynamic model of illocutionary force, wherein propositions are offered as *proposals* for changing the common ground and speech acts are conversational moves (cf. Ginzburg 2012,2016; Krifka 2014; §1.4 below). Thus an assertion is equivalent to the speaker putting a proposition ‘on the table’ for consideration by the addressee, the communicative goal of which is not achieved until the addressee gives an indication that they accept that proposition as true (cf. Clark&Schaefer 1989’s two-part model in terms of a ‘presentation’ and subsequent ‘acceptance’ phase). However, as Krifka (2014) —who models illocutionary force as ‘taking responsibility’ for a

1.3 Modelling illocutionary force

proposition (cf. also Woods 2016)—points out, an assertion can still be successful whether or not the addressee accepts its proposition as true:

- (23) Believe it or not, I never cheated on you. (Krifka 2014:65)

Beyssade&Marandin's (2006a,2006b) dynamic model of illocutionary force based on utterance participants and the set of shared commitments they bring to—and update through the course of—a conversation maintains the intuition that illocutionary force can be construed in terms of multi-part interaction between utterance participants but demonstrates that this complexity can be retained and modelled within a single conversational move.

On their account, the illocutionary force of an utterance is a conversational move composed of an attempted update to the set of shared commitments by the speaker, and a simultaneous request by the speaker that the addressee also commits, or otherwise ratifies or responds to, the speaker's attempted update. Where the values of the double update (i.e. the speaker's commitment plus the ‘call on addressee’, in Beyssade&Marandin's terms) are aligned, the result is a ‘simple’ speech act: for example, the act of asserting involves the speaker i) making a conversational move which commits them to the utterance's propositional content; and, simultaneously, ii) calling on the addressee to commit themselves to that proposition. ‘Complex’ speech acts are derived, conversely, when the two update components do not align. An assertion with a question tag would constitute one such utterance: the speaker commits to a proposition, placing the update in the set of shared commitments, and calls on the addressee via—in this case—the overt form of a question tag, to take up the speaker's utterance as a question (where the bias presented to the addressee is towards confirming the proposition placed in the common ground by the speaker). The advantage of Beyssade&Marandin's proposal, from our perspective, is that it can account for the complexity of illocutionary force within a single conversational move, thereby matching the single-sentence limit of syntactic analysis. More generally, however, the decomposition of illocutionary force into a complex category, as in the pragmatic models outlined above, allows for a much wider, and more nuanced, formal encoding of conversational dynamics. We take the position that it is necessary to translate this utterance complexity into the clausal functional structure.

1.4 Root transformations, speech acts and ‘performative’ syntax

The defining characteristic of the illocutionary QUE phenomena discussed in this dissertation is that they are matrix —i.e. non-embedded— clauses, contradicting the expected distribution of the item *que*, whose canonical function is to introduce finite embedded clauses. The distinction between main and embedded clauses is commonly conceived in terms of an admittedly somewhat fuzzy notion of what it means for a clause to possess ‘independent illocutionary force’, a property identified by the possibility of main clause phenomena, a category of operations introduced in the literature by Emonds (1970, 1976), Hooper&Thompson (1973), and recently discussed in Aelbrecht, Haegeman&Nye (2012).

Such operations include information structure-related movement such as topicalisation, focalisation, and various kinds of XP-preposing and inversion, referred to as root transformations as they ‘create new positions at the root of the sentence’ (Aelbrecht et al. 2012:1). Thus clauses which permit main clause phenomena have been traditionally conceived as having extra structure at their left-edge (cf. Haegeman 2006, who attributes the possibility of main clause phenomena to the presence of ForceP). Originally, these operations, and thus this extra structure, were understood to occur only in root (i.e. non-embedded) declarative clauses, reflecting the formal distinction between clauses which could be ‘asserted’ (a similarly fuzzy notion), and those which could not; Hooper&Thompson (1973) demonstrated that main clause phenomena are also attested in a restricted subset of embedded clauses, the presence of which also correlated with ‘assertion’ (Aelbrecht et al. 2012). However, various authors have offered proposals which break down this grouping into different types of root(-like) phenomena (Emonds 1976; Green 1976; Heycock 2006; Bianchi&Frascarelli 2010; Aelbrecht et al. 2012; Haegeman&Miyagawa 2016 amongst others): one approach (e.g. Miyagawa 2012) is to draw a distinction between strictly root-occurring syntax (that which maps the utterance, its participants and their interaction) and those transformations which are licit in a restricted category of embedded contexts (i.e. information structure). An alternative approach (e.g. De Cat 2012) is to differentiate between those phenomena which are internal to and licensed within the syntactic domain (which would include the syntax-pragmatics interface) and those which sit outside it, whose availability is determined by a syntax-external interpretative module.

Thus the focus of this dissertation —viz. the encoding of ‘utterance’ or ‘speech-act’ information— falls under the category of ‘rigidly-root’ phenomena (cf. Haegeman&Miyagawa 2016 for a recent overview). The non-embeddability, hence ‘root’ distribution, of utterance syntax is frequently attributed to the performativity of the

1.4 Root transformations, speech acts and ‘performative’ syntax

illocutionary information involved. Unlike illocutionary force, which puts conversational updates on the table (cf. §1.3), the speech act (Austin 1962; Searle 1975),⁹ or utterance, itself changes the world.¹⁰ This is evidenced most explicitly in performative predicates, as in (24), where the sentence does not merely describe a state of affairs but creates a new set of circumstances:

- (24) *Eu batizo este barco com o nome de Rainha Elizabeth*
‘I baptise this ship the Queen Elizabeth’ (Pg. †)

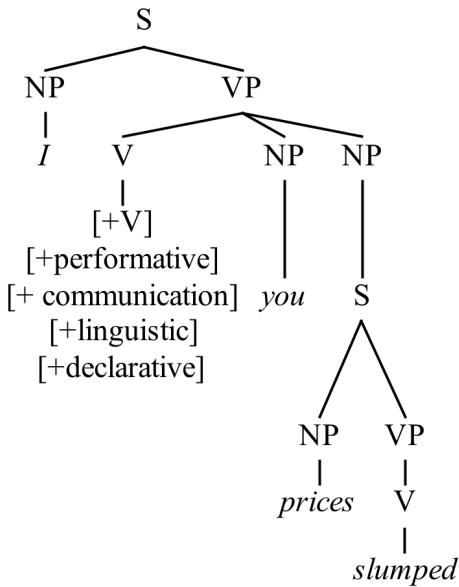
In (24), the speaker, by the act of uttering the sentence, updates the world from a state in which the ship is unnamed to one in which there is a ship, the one which the speaker has baptised, which is now called the Queen Elizabeth. Austin’s theory pursues the hypothesis that there is a performance behind every sentence, such that even sentences with no explicit world-changing predicate (e.g. ‘promise’, ‘christen’, ‘congratulate’, ‘conclude’, ‘pronounce man and wife’) in fact involve an underlying performance.

The above intuition was formulated in syntactic terms by Ross (1970), using data from antecedentless reflexive pronouns and deleted arguments. According to Ross’ so-called ‘performative’ hypothesis, every illocutionary act involves a performative verb in a biclausal structure, such that a sentence like ‘Prices slumped’ would be embedded in an implicit performative argument structure, as in:

⁹ Austin’s work focuses on *conventionalised* interpretations of speech acts; Searle’s on a speaker’s mental state/*intentions* in performing speech acts.

¹⁰ Speech acts have been variously defined as constituting performative utterances (Austin 1962); communicative actions (Frege 1879; Stenius 1967); moves in a language game (Wittgenstein 1958); ‘paraphrased performatives’ (Lewis 1970); and index changing devices (Szabolcsi 1982; Krifka 2014). See also Austin (1962) on ‘illocutionary’, ‘locutionary’ and ‘perlocutionary’ acts.

- (25) *Performative hypothesis* (Ross 1970:224)



This performative argument structure is always present, whether the performative verb is explicit (26) or implicit (27), in which case it would be deleted by a ‘performative deletion’ operation (examples modified from Ross 1970:222):

- (26) I promise you I won’t squeal.
(27) ~~I promise you~~ I won’t squeal.

Though Ross’ (1970) hypothesis was rejected at the time (cf. Hill 2014; Woods 2016; Wiltschko forth.a, for discussion and references), the spirit of his hypothesis is revived in Speas&Tenny (2003), who take up Ross’ proposal for a ‘pragmatic analysis’ in which the referents of the interlocutors are coded in a hierarchical arrangement outside of but accessible to the syntactic computation.

Speas&Tenny (2003) argue that certain illocutionary information —namely, speaker, hearer, and utterance context— is syntactically represented in a (trivalent) pragmatic predicative structure mirroring that of the vP, whose head encodes illocutionary force. Labelled a Speech Act Phrase (SAP) after Cinque’s (1999) terminology,¹¹ the projection may

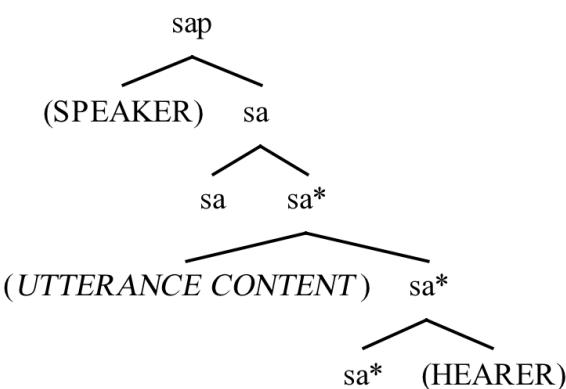
¹¹ Cinque (1999)’s four highest functional heads are:

(i) [MoodSpeech Act [MoodEvaluative [MoodEvidential [ModEpistemic ...

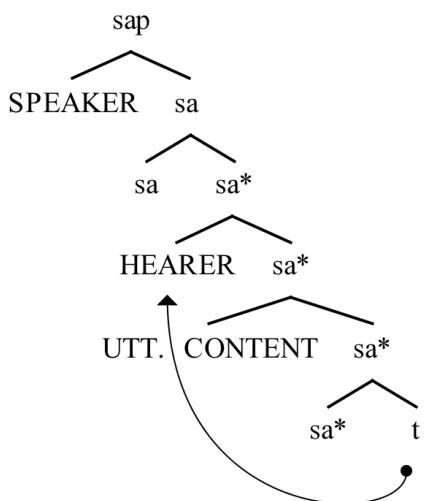
1.4 Root transformations, speech acts and ‘performatives’ syntax

or may not be activated, depending on whether a performative or non-performative reading is required (bearing in mind that, on the surface, both structures will look identical). The various arguments (P[ragmatic]-roles, in their terms) are organised in different configurations which determine the clause type of an utterance. Thus for a declarative sentence, the SAP would be arranged as in (28) whereas in an interrogative it would be configured as (29), with the hearer P-role moving from complement (in the declarative clause) to specifier (in the interrogative clause) position, mirroring the promotion of the indirect object in a dative shift operation (cf. Larson 1988):

- (28) SAP configuration for declaratives (Speas&Tenny 2003:320)



- (29) SAP configuration for interrogatives (Speas&Tenny 2003:321)

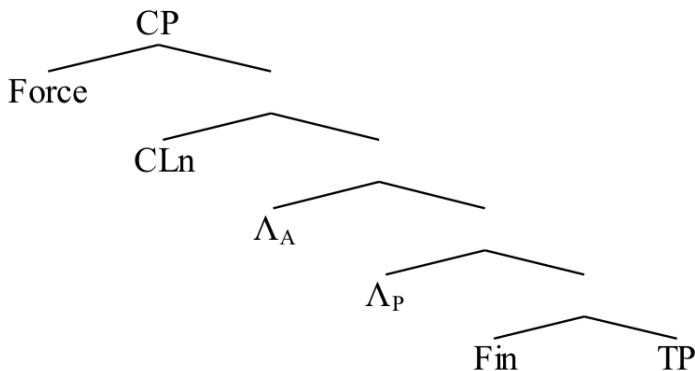


Speas&Tenny (2003:331-4) incorporate the above projections into their clausal architecture such that their SAP is projected above Cinque’s Speech Act Mood head, scoping over a Sentience Phrase encompassing his Evaluative and Evidential projections, which in turn has scope over the rest of the sentence.

Speas&Tenny’s (2003) Speech Act head thus projects a maximal structure, involving specifier, complement and external argument, whose arguments are defined by their asymmetric C-command relations in the structural configuration, analogous to the merging of a verb in the derivation and the structure it projects encoding thematic arguments (AGENT, EXPERIENCER, THEME) in a verbal predicative shell. In their account, though, speaker and hearer P-roles dominate and enter an agreement relation with the corresponding thematic-role positions lower down in the clause. On this view, *pace* Ross (1970), performative utterances are monoclausal.

In Speas&Tenny’s (2003) hypothesis, the SAP is substituted for the higher end of the C-domain, rather than being projected above it. An alternative configuration for the CP along similar lines is put forward in Sigurðsson (2010,2014). His account proposes that the deictic features of speech time,¹² speech location, speaker and hearer (plus a more general ‘context-linking’ feature, akin to a Topic position) are encoded in the CP as ‘inherent features of the syntactic speech event’ (Sigurðsson 2010:162) as follows:

- (30) *Internal structure of the CP* (Sigurðsson 2010:162)



Of particular relevance to the present discussion is the encoding of the speech participants as logophoric agent (Λ_A) and logophoric patient (Λ_P). As Sigurðsson (2004) points out, the roles of speaker and hearer do not necessarily map directly on to logophoric agent and patient, as illustrated in the following example:

- (31) John_i said to me_j: ‘I_i love you_j’ (ibid:225)
 ‘I’/1SG = John = LOGOPHORIC AGENT (the ‘loving one’)
 ‘you’/2SG = the speaker = LOGOPHORIC PATIENT (the ‘loved one’)

¹² For detailed arguments regarding the speaker’s temporal (and spatial) co-ordinates in the highest position of the left-periphery, cf. Giorgi (2010).

1.4.1 Mapping speech-act information above the CP

In (31), the speaker ('me' in the matrix clause; 'you' in the quotative complement) is the logophoric patient in the quotation, and the hearer has no (overt) representation at all in either part of the sentence. While the notion of logophoricity does not necessarily entail a dedicated SAP or the encoding of speech-act information more generally, Sigurðsson's work demonstrates a three-way division in how person information is encoded: a logophoric feature, encoding the interlocutor; a phi-feature, encoding grammatical person; and a theta-role feature, encoding the semantic role of the argument. According to Sigurðsson (2004), these features correspond to the CP, IP and VP domains respectively, and are combined via identity-matching (i.e. feature matching through an agreement relation)¹³ in a non-trivial way to produce a sentence's argument. However, given that, in current theory, I inherits its features from C (Chomsky 2008), the assignation of these features must be readjusted. According to Hill (2014:36), to 'maintain the three-leveled distinction in Sigurðsson (2004) within the current Minimalist framework, we need an extra-layer of structure at the left-periphery, so that the L-feature is associated with a functional head higher than C^o, the latter containing the phi-features': this extra layer of structure would thus correspond to a putative domain above CP, dedicated to the encoding of speech-act information.

1.4.1 Mapping speech-act information above the CP

The possibility that the C-space might not be the highest domain of syntax was left open in the original postulation of the split-CP by Rizzi, who conceived of 'the complementiser system as the interface between a propositional content [...] and the superordinate structure (a higher clause, or possibly, *the articulation of discourse*, if we consider a root clause)' (Rizzi 1997:283, my emphasis). Multiple authors (Munaro&Poletto 2004; del Gobbo&Poletto 2008; Zanuttini 2008; Hill 2007,2012,2014; Haegeman&Hill 2013; Haegeman 2014; Lam 2014; Munaro 2016; Woods 2016) have proposed that the mapping of speech-act information extends above Force, the highest head in the C-domain. Much of this work discusses only a single functional layer for this content, which is at odds with the findings from the pragmatic literature (cf. §1.3) that highlight the complexity of illocutionary information. Our point of departure within a cartographic approach is thus Haegeman and Hill's work on discourse particles in West Flemish and Romanian respectively, as it provides empirical justification of the predicative structure of the SAP as predicted by Speas&Tenny (2003). Both Haegeman

¹³ On the association between phi-agreement and the encoding of discourse information, see Miyagawa 2010,2012; Jiménez-Fernández 2011; Jiménez-Fernández&Miyagawa 2014).

1.4.1 Mapping speech-act information above the CP

and Hill observe distributional restrictions on co-occurring discourse particles in these languages, concluding that such particles are ordered in a hierarchical relationship and must be merged in different functional heads, as in the following Romanian examples:

- (32) *Vai Dane hai că nu te cred.*
 vai Dan.VOC hai th̄t not you=believe.1SG

‘Ah, Dan, c’mon, I don’t believe you.’ (Rom.; Haegeman&Hill 2013:380)

- (33) **Dane vai hai că nu te cred.*
 Dan.VOC vai hai th̄t not you=believe.1SG

They note that only the particle *hai* can licence the finite complementiser *că* in ForceP and that only *hai* enters into an agreement relationship with the vocative *Dane* (for the empirical evidence of these restrictions, cf. Haegeman&Hill 2013:380-1). The distributionally-constrained behaviour of these utterance-oriented items suggests that there are two types of discourse particle with different properties. Only one of these (*hai*) can select a CP complement, indicating that it precedes ForceP/CP in the clausal spine. Moreover, since the other particle (*vai*) also appears high in the sentential structure (above both vocatives and CP-selecting *hai*) but cannot select a CP complement, the authors conclude that there must be a second functional position in the space above CP.

Further evidence of the layer of structure above CP comes from West Flemish particles, which can co-occur with and, crucially, precede the first constituent in V2 clauses:

- (34) *Né dienen medalie een me a.*
 né that medal have.1PL we already
 ‘There we are, the medal is ours.’ (W.Fl.; ibid:383)

Moreover, despite the particle *né* being able to surface both clause-initially and clause-finally, it cannot surface clause-initially in a CP complement clause:

- (35) **Je zei [né dat da roare was].*
 he say.PST.3SG né th̄t that strange be.IMPF.3SG
 ‘He said [(*look) th̄t that was strange]’ (W.Fl.; ibid:383)

1.4.1 Mapping speech-act information above the CP

However, *né* can obtain clause-finally, in which case it is interpreted as relating to the main-clause and not the embedded clause speaker:

- (36) *Je zei [dat da roare was] né*
 he say.PST.3SG that that strange be.IMPF.3SG né
 ‘He said [that that was strange], look’ (W.Fl.; ibid:383)

Thus such particles qualify as ‘rigidly-root’ phenomena, but must obtain higher than Force in the matrix clause. Here also the discourse particles are subject to non-trivial ordering restrictions, with a limit of two discourse particles per utterance:

- (37) *Né, men artikel is gedoan wè (*zé).*
 né my article be.3SG finish.PST.PTCP wè (*zé)
 ‘Here, my article is done, y’know’ (ibid:384)
- (38) *Men artikel is gedoan wè (*zé) (né).*
 my article be.3SG finish.PST.PTCP wè (*zé) né
 ‘My article is finished, y’know, (yeah)’

Based on their interpretative and distributional properties (cf. Haegeman&Hill 2013; Haegeman 2014; Haegeman&Miyagawa 2016 for the empirical data), the authors propose that two layers are encoded within the speech-act domain. The higher of the two layers encodes the performative/dynamic aspect of the illocutionary act and is involved in initiating the speaker-addressee relationship and establishing the discourse set-up. The lower projection encodes speaker attitude (cf. also Paul 2014 for the Attitude projection she identifies for Chinese) and other modal/evaluative values (as already associated with the SAP by Speas&Tenny 2003), consolidating the discourse relationship between speaker and addressee. The cartography of these layers can be schematised as follows (cf. Haegeman 2014):

- (39) $\lceil_{SA1} \lceil_{SA2} \lceil_{Force} \dots$

The above framework lays the foundation for the analysis pursued in this dissertation.

Cartographic approaches have also explored the possibility of a lower functional position encoding illocutionary force between T and vP (cf. Duffield 2007,2013; Coniglio 2009; Cardinaletti 2011,2015; Cognola 2013; Struckmeier 2014; Woods 2016), a hypothesis

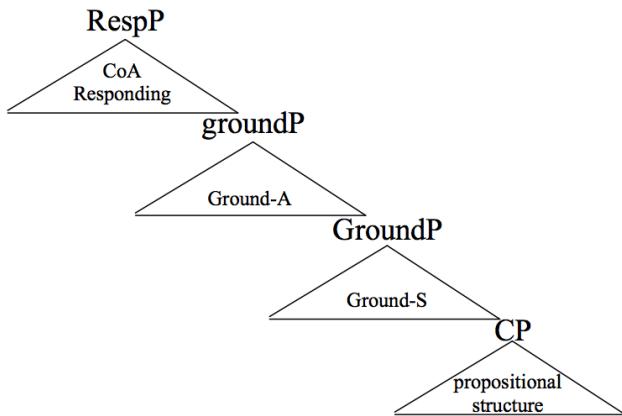
1.4.2 An alternative approach

which we do not elaborate on here but which we nonetheless consider to be a fruitful avenue for explaining utterance-medial and utterance-final illocutionary phenomena (e.g. discourse particles; cf. ch2).

1.4.2 An alternative approach

The universal spine approach to clausal structure (Wiltschko 2014)¹⁴ provides an alternative framework from which to approach the syntactic encoding of speech-act information. Parallel to the SAP described above, the universal spine framework also accounts for the syntactic behaviour of certain illocutionary information by postulating a dedicated functional layer responsible for ‘relat[ing] the host utterance to the discourse situation’ (Wiltschko&Heim 2014:48), which maps the complexity of speech acts (cf. §1.3) into articulated functional structure. Within this ‘conversational’ domain are two subdomains: a lower *grounding* layer (cf. Clark&Brennan 1991; Thoma 2014), divisible into projections for both the speaker and the addressee and their attitude toward the sentence’s proposition; and a higher *response* layer, which maps the interactive component between participants, encoding Beyssade&Marandin’s (2006a,2006b) ‘call on addressee’ illocutionary update as a functional position:

(40) *The ‘conversational’ layer of the universal spine* (Wiltschko&Heim 2016:335)



¹⁴ This framework, presented as an alternative to cartography, holds that UG provides an empty, fixed structural hierarchy with only core abstract functions, the substantive content of whose functional positions is not given but is instead set on a language-specific basis. For example, IP/TP corresponds to a clause-medial category (‘INFL’) which anchors a reported eventuality to the utterance: in English (and the Romance languages), this syntactic layer is substantiated by Tense (whence TP), but in Halkomelem the substantive content of the position is instead Location, and, in Blackfoot, it is Person (cf. Ritter&Wiltschko 2009,2014).

1.4.2 An alternative approach

One assumption of this approach is that Call on Addressee can be encoded via intonation, thus formalising prosody within the functional structure (cf. Wiltschko 2016a for evidence that her *coincidence* feature can be valued by sound).¹⁵ Combining intonational contouring with morphosyntax in this way allows for a multiplicity of illocutionary meaning to be derived, as illustrated by the various permutations of the sentence ‘you have a new dog’ derived through the use of Canadian *eh* and rising intonation:

Table 1.1: Canadian ‘eh’ and the function of rising intonation (Wiltschko&Heim 2014:28)

Speech act	What S wants A to do	What S is saying	Utterance
Assertion of <i>p</i>	Believe <i>p</i>	i) <i>p</i>	You have a new dog.
Question	Respond	i) <i>p</i>	You have a new dog?
Request for confirmation	Respond	i) <i>p</i> ii) (I believe) you believe <i>p</i>	You have a new dog, <i>eh?</i>
Assertion of <i>p</i> and <i>p'</i>	Believe <i>p'</i>	i) <i>p</i> ii) (I believe) you believe <i>p</i>	You have a new dog, <i>eh.</i>

In the above, only one utterance-oriented morpheme (viz. the discourse particle *eh*) and a single intonational unit (a rising contour) combine to produce a number of different utterances from the simple sentence ‘you have a new dog’. In other words, the universal spine approach offers a minimal mechanism with vast combinatorial power through which to formally capture the complexity of dynamic illocutionary force.

This dissertation nonetheless adopts a cartographic approach on the view that the framework has already undergone robust testing both empirically and theoretically, and thus currently provides the more principled option by which to approach what is a largely syntactically-uncharted domain. However, we will retain and refer back to the insights of the universal spine approach throughout our discussion. In particular, the role of intonation as a formal mechanism will be crucial in exposing non-trivial distinctions between the finite complementiser and different types of illocutionary QUE discussed in this dissertation, and the utterance-oriented elements analysed in Chapter 2. The proposal that prosody plays a role in encoding utterance syntax is motivated by the numerous observations and accounts of the

¹⁵ Feature valuation in the universal spine framework occurs via *coincidence* between two structural arguments: in the anchoring domain, the coincidence of the utterance argument and the event argument will derive a present tense in English (anchored by Tense, cf. fn14); a proximate location in Halkomelem (anchored by Location); and a local person in Blackfoot (anchored by Person). Non-coincidence will derive a past, distal and non-local person reading respectively for each language.

1.4.2 An alternative approach

interaction between syntax and phonology, a formal interface which is well known (see Wiltschko&Heim 2016 for references), not least for matching clause type to illocutionary force. For example, the Portuguese sentence *o João já chegou* remains (on the surface) invariant in terms of its form, whilst its illocutionary force is changed by manipulating its pronunciation: to type the sentence as an assertion, one needs an intonational contour comprising of an initial rise, a sharp final fall through the last stressed syllable, and a plateau in between; for a polar question, a fall-rise melody is required (Frota 2002); and an extra-low fall for an exclamative reading (Cruz-Ferreira 1998).

More recently, intonational contours have been explicitly linked to syntactic representation in generative work: Cardinaletti&Starke (1999:44) identify the head of Laka's (1990) Sigma Phrase as the 'locus of prosody-related features'; Frascarelli&Hinterhölzl (2007:95) establish a 'systematic correlation between discourse and intonational properties of topic constituents'; Truckenbrodt (2012:2043), Hinterhölzl&Munaro (2015:53-56) and Wiltschko&Heim (2016:330) assume the existence of an intonational morpheme (an assumption based on Gussenhoven 1984; Pierrehumbert&Hirschberg 1990; Bartels 1999); and Giorgi (2014,2015) proposes that prosodic signals constitute syntactic formatives in the left-periphery. On Giorgi's approach, there is an additional layer at the left-periphery above the C-space which is projected by non-lexical prosody-oriented ('K') heads, such that 'items in the left-periphery are associated to a strong intonational pattern and belong to a *discourse* level, being licensed only under appropriate discourse conditions' (Giorgi 2015:238). As such, she advocates the existence of a *prosody-oriented syntax* which mediates between syntax and prosody and is responsible for the 'setting of the context' (Giorgi 2014:10). The strong thesis pursued in her work is construed 'in the minimalist spirit', taking the view that 'the utterance must also be *exhaustively* represented' (Giorgi 2014:1). A similar stance is taken in Frascarelli&Jiménez-Fernández (2016:15), who argue that 'phonological information is encoded in the lexicon in the form of syntactic features [...] and is made visible to the PF interface'. On such approaches, the discourse-encoding functions of prosody and syntax are not merely coincidental but represent a combined mechanism to codify a specific type of interpretative content via distinct linguistic modules (other accounts in the same vein include Zubizarreta 1998; Face&D'Imperio 2005; Bocci 2013; Colasanti&Silvestri 2016)).

An attempt to map the intonational values of illocutionary QUE and, more generally, to explore the role of prosody in mapping utterance syntax goes beyond the remit (and skill set) of the present investigation. Thus, whilst we will make reference to the importance of the interface between prosody and syntax, we will only pay lip service to the notion that prosody

1.5 Summary, methodology and overview of the dissertation

is crucial to Ibero-Romance utterance syntax, leaving the necessary rigorous investigation of this area of research to future accounts.

1.5 Summary, methodology and overview of the dissertation

1.5.1 Summary

The cartographic left-periphery itself is the theoretical result of the decomposition of the Complementiser Phrase (Chomsky 1986) into a hierarchy of discourse-oriented projections (Rizzi 1997), accompanied by a concomitant decomposition of the notion of the complementiser itself. The attestation in Ibero-Romance of multiple complementisers has supported these theoretical advances, and further refinements over the years of the Rizzian ‘split’ CP have been justified by increasingly fine-grained investigation into the clausal left-edge cross-linguistically, one avenue of which has culminated in the proposal of an additional layer of functional structure, dedicated not to information packaging (as is the case in the CP) but to anchoring the sentence to the utterance and interlocutor interaction. Advances in the fields of semantics and pragmatics have established the complexity of illocutionary force, which, in its current conceptualisation, is viewed as encoding via updates to the shared set of commitments (Beyssade&Marandin 2006a,2006b) or world-changing devices (Krifka 2014) the dynamic process of negotiation between speaker and addressee over the course of conversation. The latest generative approaches to utterance syntax have incorporated these revisions into a so-called ‘neo-performative’ hypothesis (Wiltschko et al. 2015) based on the earlier seminal proposals of Ross (1970) and Speas&Tenny (2003).

Building on such work, this dissertation takes as its subject the encoding of utterance-oriented meaning in the clausal structure of Ibero-Romance. Existing cross-linguistic approaches to this theoretical idea have predominantly focused on empirical evidence from discourse particles (Haegeman&Hill 2013; Haegeman 2014; Wiltschko et al. 2015; Jlassi 2016), vocatives (Hill 2007,2013,2014; Akkuş 2016); imperatives (Zanuttini 2008; Alcázar&Saltarelli 2014) and allocutive agreement (Miyagawa 2012) in justifying the postulation of extra syntactic structure. By contrast, the present investigation explores the formal, distributional and interpretative properties of the (Ibero-)Romance complementiser *que* when it appears without a selecting matrix predicate and, rather than its canonical subordinating function, carries a range of illocutionary values. We explore three such constructions and their dialectal variation across Ibero-Romance where ‘illocutionary’ QUE, encoding the interpretative contributions we designate ‘exclamative’, ‘quotative’, and

1.5.2 Methodological clarifications

‘conjunctive’ QUE, introduces a finite indicative clause,¹⁶ and, in doing so, we argue lexicalises three distinct functional projections at the very height of the cartographic left-periphery.

1.5.2 Methodological clarifications

On our understanding, the Ibero-Romance languages are those varieties which descend from the Latin as originally spoken in the Iberian Peninsula. For our purposes, the cut-off between Ibero-Romance and Gallo-Romance follows national boundaries: thus Aranese is considered an Ibero-Romance variety whereas Gascon is Gallo-Romance. Whilst arbitrary —Aranese is typically classed as a subdialect of Pyrenean Gascon, itself a subdialect of Occitan according to some— we hold that, since its linguistic classification is not clear-cut, it is better to recognise Aranese as an Iberian language that exists on an interstitial point of a dialect continuum between two major branches of the Romance family, than exclude it on a similarly arbitrary notion that it should be classified as Gallo-Romance (a branch whose European geography extends as far as Belgium, Switzerland and Italy). Nonetheless, transfer from Catalan and Spanish into Aranese lexis, phonology and morphosyntax (cf. Furness 2002) gives the variety a more ‘Iberian’ flavour than its Gallic sister dialects, providing empirical justification for our classification of Aranese as an Ibero-Romance variety. Our concept of Ibero-Romance, however, does not respect national boundaries in the case of the *Romània nova*.

In order to represent the Ibero-Romance family in as wide yet as coherent and manageable a perspective as possible, this thesis focuses on present-day varieties spoken in and around the Peninsula, viz. European Portuguese, Galician, Spanish, Catalan and a number of non-standard varieties, though non-Peninsular varieties are not excluded from the discussion. Informally, it is observed that the use of illocutionary QUE is characteristic of Peninsular Ibero-Romance more than it is of Latin-American varieties and Lusophone Africa, which helps to justify their sidelining in this dissertation. Nor do we take into account language contact, despite bilingualism and diglossia being the norm in much of the Peninsula, especially in the case of speakers of non-standard varieties, whose linguistic systems

¹⁶ Quotative QUE will also be shown to introduce subjunctive and non-finite clauses. This minor exception aside, the characterisation of the illocutionary complementiser constructions under investigation here as finite, indicative clauses holds.

1.5.3 Overview of the dissertation

frequently show L2 effects particularly in the younger generations. These omissions from the present work nonetheless provide clear avenues of investigation for future research.

The data used in this dissertation comes from a variety of sources. The majority of our examples are either attested data that we have sourced ourselves, or elicited data from native-speaker consultants, collected either in person or via online surveys. The attested data have been taken predominantly from publically-available online material, in particular social media, which, given the informal, oral register of illocutionary QUE constructions, we found to be an especially fruitful source insofar as the language employed by users of social media is the written form that most closely approximates how native speakers express themselves in unguarded, spoken social exchanges. The internet also permitted contact with numerous speakers of non-standard languages who otherwise would have been difficult to locate and access. Our other, most commonly consulted sources for attested data were corpora, traditional media (including television), literature and reference grammars. The results from the attested data collection stage were then examined and tested by close consultation with native speakers. Given the difficulties of remote data collection, the more fine-grained analyses and comparative observations are based on languages for which we could more confidently verify our findings, which were inevitably the standard Ibero-Romance languages (i.e. Spanish, Catalan, Galician and European Portuguese).

1.5.3 Overview of the dissertation

Having set out our theoretical preliminaries in the present chapter, Chapter 2 will provide independent evidence for the encoding of utterance information in the syntax of Ibero-Romance by providing an overview of the grammatical characteristics of vocatives, discourse particles and interjections in these languages. We will then examine each of the three types of illocutionary QUE in turn, identifying the distinguishing traits of each type —exclamative, quotative, and conjunctive QUE— in the first half of chapters 3, 4 and 5 respectively, before discussing their ‘speech-act’ properties and left-peripheral distribution in the second half of each chapter, enabling a comparative evaluation of the superficially identical complementisers. The patterns of microvariation attested across Ibero-Romance will be discussed throughout. Chapter 6 concludes.

Specifically, **Chapter 2** argues that the syntactic properties of Ibero-Romance vocative and discourse particles provide evidence of a dedicated, internally-articulated ‘performative’ utterance domain above the CP. We label this space the Utterance Phrase

1.5.3 Overview of the dissertation

(UP), assuming a basic bipartite division between a higher, externally-oriented layer (SAHighP) and lower, internally-oriented layer (SALowP), itself divisible into dedicated projections for addressee and speaker. Discourse particles are analysed as speech-act modifiers that lexicalise U-heads, and, together with vocatives in SpecSALowP, are identified as the primary diagnostic tools for establishing the relative distribution of illocutionary QUE in the expanded left-periphery.

Chapter 3 analyses exclamative QUE as an expressive (Kaplan 1999), non-embeddable complementiser that lexicalises the head of the lower U-layer, viz. SALow°. Though attested across Ibero-Romance, dialectal and idiolectal variation determines the interaction between exclamative QUE and clause type: European Portuguese, in which exclamative QUE is becoming obsolete, only licenses exclamative QUE with declaratives; other varieties, however, additionally license —following an implicational hierarchy— rhetorical polar interrogatives, wh-exclamatives and rhetorical wh-interrogatives with the illocutionary complementiser. Given these structural properties, exclamative QUE emerges as a distinct syntactic item from the homophonous finite subordinating complementiser *que* ‘that’. These intra-familial discrepancies are accounted for in terms of microvariation in the structural composition of the left-periphery across Ibero-Romance, following Giorgi&Pianesi’s (1997) feature-scattering hypothesis. European Portuguese is understood to bundle [+EVALUATIVE, +DECLARATIVE] features on a syncretic head at the UP/CP border, which exclamative QUE lexicalises before merging in SALow°, where it values its [+PERFORMATIVITY] interpretation. Exclamative QUE in other Ibero-Romance varieties merges directly in Evaluative° before raising to SALow°.

The above structural analysis also accounts for the limited availability of quotative QUE across Ibero-Romance in **Chapter 4**. Quotative QUE, which introduces a presentative clause type, in the sense of Déchaine et al. (2015), patterns like a C-head yet does not require selection by a higher embedding predicate to be felicitously licensed. This illocutionary complementiser allows a speaker to introduce a proposition into the origo ground without committing to the truth of its proposition, marking a shift in epistemic authority (Bruils 2014,2015). As such, it is characterised as a specialised evidential complementiser that lexicalises the head of a dedicated Evidential projection (Cinque 1999; Speas&Tenny 2003) between EvaluativeP and DeclP. Quotative QUE is attested in Spanish, Catalan and Galician, but is ungrammatical in Portuguese varieties, a result —we argue— of the bundling of features at the UP/CP border in European Portuguese, in contrast to a one-to-one feature-to-projection ratio elsewhere in Ibero-Romance, enabling only these varieties to project the

1.5.3 Overview of the dissertation

dedicated evidential projection. The microvariation in the clustering versus spreading of features at the UP/CP border is taken to reflect the size of ForceP in each variety, which can be decomposed or conflated depending on the specifications of the complementiser and/or the variety in question. The comparative picture of Ibero-Romance illocutionary complementisers beyond those under investigation in this thesis is also discussed.

Chapter 5 revises the traditional analysis of conjunctive QUE as a speech-act causal, arguing that this interpretation is inferentially derived, and that, instead, the function of conjunctive QUE—a non-embeddable U-head—is to make explicit a discourse connection, as perceived by the speaker, between the clause introduced by conjunctive QUE and a linguistic or non-linguistic antecedent, for the benefit of the addressee. Conjunctive QUE is syntactically independent from the clause with which it is associated, lexicalising the head of the highest projection of the revised left-periphery, *viz.* SAhigh°. Attested robustly across Ibero-Romance, conjunctive QUE can additionally, in the case of Catalan and Spanish, be used without a preceding clause, in which instance the complementiser serves to explicate a non-linguistic situation to the addressee. It is argued that the medieval causal connective *ca* (<Lat. QU(I)A) is in fact also a conjunctive QUE complementiser, a hypothesis corroborated by the existence of an embedding evidential complementiser *ca* in Old Portuguese (discussed in Chapter 4), and through comparison with conjunctive QUE’s counterparts elsewhere in Romance, whose morphology invariably coincides with the *realis*/indicative complementiser of the variety in question.

Chapter 6 reviews the key findings of the dissertation and their implications for the encoding of utterance syntax and the comparative view of Ibero-Romance.

Chapter 2

Utterance-oriented elements in Ibero-Romance

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines novel empirical evidence of the syntactic constraints conditioning Ibero-Romance utterance-oriented elements. The chapter's purpose is twofold: to provide the empirical motivation for a syntax of speech acts in the languages under investigation, and to develop the necessary diagnostics for determining illocutionary QUE's sentential distribution and its role in mediating between the CP and the proposed dedicated utterance domain. The focus of the chapter is on 'extra-clausal' constituents: items which appear to be outside the domain of the sentence (for which, read CP) in terms of their pragmatic interpretation, peripheral distribution and prosody, and which, crucially, are 'not easily accountable in terms of clause-internal rules of sentence grammar' (Wiltschko&Heim 2014:3). These utterance-oriented constituents, whose interpretation on traditional accounts is understood to be contextually derived rather than syntactically computed, are crucial to the initiation, termination and, especially, maintenance of conversation between speech participants (cf. Haegeman&Hill 2013 on 'conversational pragmatics'). The successful deployment of utterance-oriented elements is, like other areas of grammar, part of a native speaker's high-level yet unconscious competence in their language, as evidenced by the possibility of using utterance-oriented items infelicitously.

In this chapter, we describe and analyse vocatives (§2.2), discourse particles (§2.3), and, briefly, interjections (§2.4), before presenting the functional structure for utterance syntax that we will adopt in this dissertation, viz. the Utterance Phrase, or UP (§2.5). We propose that vocatives constitute strong evidence in favour of the encoding of interlocutors in the utterance domain. Most commonly attested, at least in (Ibero-)Romance, are addressee-oriented vocatives, but evidence of Italo-Romance and Daco-Romance speaker-oriented vocatives motivates us to characterise vocatives as nominal phrases¹ which index SPEECH PARTICIPANTS with a linearisation constraint following the order ADDRESSEE > SPEAKER.

¹ We intentionally avoid discussion in this thesis of the nominal structure of vocatives, in particular whether these should be classified as NPs or DPs. On the internal structure of vocative phrases in (Ibero-)Romance, cf. Longobardi (1994), Moro (2003), Hill (2007,2013,2014), Espinal (2013).

2.2 Vocatives

Discourse particles, on the other hand, are, following Hill (2014:113), understood as providing the ‘missing lexical evidence’ for the postulation of speech-act heads.² These particles have a range of values and can co-occur in the same utterance, characteristics which, following the cartographic ideal of a one-to-one mapping between interpretation and syntactic representation, are taken as evidence of an articulated syntactic structure. For terminological disambiguation, interjections —a notoriously heterogeneous part of speech— are discussed and taken to constitute autonomous units with codified yet context-dependent meaning, which lack an edge-feature. Finally, we compare the sentential distribution of vocatives and discourse particles with the aim of creating a set of distributional diagnostic tools for the analysis of illocutionary QUE in subsequent chapters, and provide the structural skeleton for an articulated utterance space in the form of the Utterance Phrase (UP), a dedicated domain above the CP which incorporates elements from Haegeman (2014) and Wiltschko et al. (2015), as well as our own contributions based on our findings from Ibero-Romance. Our discussion centres on utterance-initial constituents, taking into account how these contrast with utterance-final constituents where appropriate, and making only brief mention of utterance-medial items, since the focus of the present chapter is to motivate the existence of an articulated syntactic utterance domain for the investigation of illocutionary QUE, rather than elaborate a proposal for the speech-act structure itself.

2.2 Vocatives

The grammatical status of vocatives —nominal phrases (cf. fn1) encoding interlocutors, most commonly the addressee— is illustrated most unambiguously by the historical (1-2) and synchronic (3) use of the vocative case in Romance and its Latin ancestor:

- (1) *Estne hoc ut dico, Libane?*
 be.3SG=Q this.NOM as say.1SG Libanus.VOC
 ‘Isn’t that so, Libanus?’ (Latin; Plautus *Asinaria* 54)
- (2) *Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine*
 rest.ACC eternal.ACC give.IMP them.DAT Lord.VOC

² See Zwicky (1985), Roussou (2015) for the view that the term ‘particle’ does not exist as a morphosyntactic category. Our identification of discourse particles as the heads of speech-act projections —i.e. attributing the descriptor ‘discourse particle’ to a specific formal category— is primarily intended for expository purposes.

2.2 Vocatives

‘Grant them eternal rest, Lord’ (Latin; *Missa pro defunctis*)

- (3) *Vai domnule Aron sunteți cam irascibil...*
 DM mister.VOC Aron be.2PL somewhat irascible
 ‘My, Mr Aron, you’re a bit irascible...’ (Rom.[†])
- (4) *Îl cunosc pe domnul Timofti*
 him=know.1SG DOM mister.DEF Timofti
 ‘I know Mr Timofti’ (Rom.[†])

Morphological case in Latin, of which a reduced system still exists in present-day Daco-Romance, differentiated between grammatical roles, indicating vocative case via inflectional suffixes³ (as in 1) and/or via particles (2).

Most characteristically used to attract or maintain the attention of an addressee, vocatives constitute a crucial piece of cross-linguistic empirical evidence for the formal encoding of utterance-oriented information, as argued in Moro (2003), Hill (2007,2013,2014), Espinal (2013), Stavrou (2013), amongst others. Identifiable via a number of morphosyntactic mechanisms cross-linguistically (cf. Daniel&Spencer 2009; Hill 2014 for an overview and references) and in Ibero-Romance (Bañón 1993; Cabré&Vanrell 2008,2011; Moreira 2008,2013; Carvalho 2013; Espinal 2013), vocatives are offset from the sentence in terms of i) the sentence’s argument structure (i.e. vocatives are not sentential arguments), and ii) their phonological integration into the sentence (cf. Hill 2014), as illustrated in (5) by the prosodic break (also referred to as ‘comma intonation’) between utterance-initial vocatives and their host sentence:⁴

- (5) *Xuanín, () daime el llivrú já!*
 Xuan.DIM give.IMP=me the book already
 ‘Xuanín, give me the book now!’ (Ast.)

³ Either an inflection identical to that which marked the nominative case —the majority situation—, or, on certain second declension adjectives and nouns, a distinct vocative inflection (e.g. *seruus* ‘slave.NOM’ vs. *serue* ‘slave.VOC’).

⁴ Comma intonation is indicated by (()) and prosodic integration by (/), following Antomo (2012:5).

2.2 Vocatives

In the prosodic literature, vocatives are identified as exhibiting a specific pitch contour known as *vocative chant* (Liberman 1979; cf. also Ladd 1978, Hayes&Lahiri 1991). The shape of the vocative contour is subject to cross-linguistic variation (cf. Prieto&Roseano 2010 for Spanish varieties; Frota&Prieto 2015 for (Ibero-)Romance), sociopragmatic factors (cf. Borràs-Comes, Sichel-Bazin&Prieto 2015), and sentential distribution (Abalada, Cabarrão&Cardoso 2011).

2.2.1 Formal marking of vocatives in Ibero-Romance

The most common formal strategy for the marking of vocative nouns (and adjectives) in Ibero-Romance is obligatory zero realisation of the article (6,8), which contrasts with the presence of the article in thematic nouns and in argument positions, as illustrated here by the definite subjects in (7,9):⁵

- (6) *(*A) Leonor, vem pa' cá!*
 the Leonor come.IMP towards here
 ‘Leonor, come here!’ (E.Pg.^Δ)
- (7) **(A) Leonor vem pa' cá.*
 the Leonor come.3SG towards here
 ‘Leonor comes here.’ (E.Pg.^Δ)
- (8) *Oye (*el) gilipollas, dónde te metes?*
 DM the dickhead where you= put.2SG
 ‘Hey, dickhead, where have you got to?’ (E.Sp.; Teruel, Aragon[†])
- (9) **(El) gilipollas no se está saltando las normas.*
 the dickhead not REFL=AUX.3SG jump.PTCP the rules
 ‘The dickhead isn’t ignoring the rules’ (E.Sp.; Zaragoza, Aragon[†])

⁵ Whereas Ibero-Romance varieties such as European Portuguese, Catalan and, to a lesser extent, Galician (cf. Sousa Fernández 1994) exhibit determiners with proper nouns (as illustrated in (7)), the same contrast in article realisation (cf. (8-9)) is observable in other varieties (e.g. Spanish, Astur-Leonese, Aragonese) via epithets (or common nouns).

2.2 Vocatives

This strategy, impossible in Latin due to the lack of articles in the language, is found across Romance varieties today, with some notable exceptions, particularly in Gallo-Romance (e.g. French *Venez ici, les filles!* ‘Come here, the girls!'; cf. Ashdowne 2004,2016; Cabredo-Hofherr 2009).

However, Ibero-Romance shares with both Latin and its modern descendants the possibility of marking vocative phrases via (optional) dedicated vocative particles modifying the noun:

- (10) *O* *hilh mèn, coma volgues*
 PRT son my as want.2SG
 ‘My son, as you wish’ (Aran.; Süils 2010:83)
- (11) *O,* *Mosiú Djako, vinites?*
 PRT Mosiú Djako come.2SG
 ‘Mosiú Djako, are you coming?’ (J.Sp.[†])
- (12) *Ah* *tiu Antonho, el adonde bai?*
 PRT uncle Antonho EXPL where go.3SG
 ‘Uncle Antonho, where are you going?’ (Sendinês; Ferreira 2001)
- (13) *Dás-me isso, por favor? Anda lá, ó querida!*
 give.IMP=me that please DM there PRT darling
 ‘Can you give me that, please? C’mɒn, darling!’ (Pg.; Carvalho 2013:53)

As demonstrated in (10-13), the marking of vocatives via particles is characteristic of non-standard Ibero-Romance languages and/or registers. Nonetheless, the mechanism is frequently employed in both Brazilian and European Portuguese varieties (cf. Marques 1993; Alkmim 2001; Ramos 2012; Carvalho 2013; Moreira&Alkmim 2013).

Less commonly, Ibero-Romance vocatives are differentiated from the verb's arguments by truncation of all phonetic material following the stressed nucleus (14-15), particularly in Eastern Ibero-Romance (Fouché 1924; Kuen 1932; Bosch i Rodoreda 2002; Cabré i Vanrell 2008,2011); or, least frequently, by vowel-lowering (16-17):⁶

- (14) *Juse* [dʒuze] vs. *Jose(p)*

⁶ Compare Aromanian dialects in Maiden (2016:103).

2.2 Vocatives

- (15) *Juse, tu me tens de fer un plaier*
 Jose.VOC tu me=have.2SG of do.IMP a favour
 ‘Jose, you have to do me a favour’ (Alg.; Bosch i Rodoreda 2002:148)
- (16) *Heu, Mário, cogi la pelotina!*
 hey Máriu catch.IMP the ball
 ‘Hey, Máriu, catch the ball!’ (Ext.; Carmona García 2011:86)
- (17) *(El) Máriu cogi la pelotina.*
 the Máriu catch.3SG the ball
 ‘Máriu catches the ball’ (Ext.)

Pace traditional accounts, the above examples show that vocatives, via dedicated formal marking and/or opposition with thematic nouns, are regulated by systematic, grammatical constraints in Ibero-Romance. In so doing, articles, whose absence constitutes the formal means by which vocatives are identified in the majority situation, are repurposed from what is normally regarded as their ‘core’ function (viz. identifying [\pm DEFINITENESS]) and are used instead to mark utterance relations (cf. Zafiu 2001; Hill 2013,2014 for similar observations on the re-harnessing of the definite enclitic article in Romanian for vocative marking; also Cabredo-Hofherr 2009 on the use of the French definite article in vocatives to denote familiarity distinctions).

2.2.2 Sentential distribution

As a generalisation,⁷ vocatives surface in three sentential positions: in both a pre-sentential position (§2.5 further refines this placement) (18) and a post-sentential one (19); and utterance-medially in matrix clauses (20), where their exact placement depends on the lexical array and distribution of constituents in a given sentence:

- (18) *Olhe, ó senhora Ascensão, diga-me o que eram*
 DM PRT lady Ascensão tell.SUBJ.3SG=me that which be.IMPF.3PL
 ‘Anyway, madame Ascensão, tell me what they were’ (E.Pg.; CORDIAL-SIN)

⁷ In what follows, we review the key properties that characterise vocatives across Ibero-Romance, overlooking potential microparametric differences which are not at issue in the present discussion.

2.2 Vocatives

- (19) *¡Pero no beyes que soi muerto, copón?*
 but not see.2SG that be.1SG dead idiot
 ‘Can’t you see that I’m dead, idiot?’ (Arag.[†])
- (20) *¿Sabes, mamá, que Miguel dice que es mi novio?*
 know.2SG mum that Miguel say.2SG that be.3SG my boyfriend
 ‘Did you know, mum, that Miguel says he’s my boyfriend?’ (Sp.[†])

In complex sentences, the grammaticality of an utterance-medial placement is restricted to matrix clauses (20,21), contrasting with the impossibility of inserting a vocative in an embedded clause (Moro 2003), as in (22), despite the possibility of a utterance-final placement:

- (21) *Não se esqueça, João, que prometeu chegar cedo.*
 not REFL=forget.SUBJ.3SG João that promise.PST.3SG arrive.INF early
 ‘Don’t forget, João, that you promised to arrive early’ (B.Pg.; Moreira 2013:29)
- (22) *Não se esqueça que, (*João), prometeu chegar cedo, (João).*
 not REFL=forget.SUBJ.3SG that João promise.PST.3SG arrive.INF early João

The distributional restrictions placed on vocatives indicate that vocatives *are* constrained by clausal syntax. Moreover, the ban on their insertion within the embedded CP (22) coupled with the felicity of the final vocative signals that there must be a larger structure at play which facilitates the syntactically-sensitive utterance-final placement. It is unclear how their ‘rigidly-root’ (cf. Miyagawa 2012; Haegeman&Miyagawa 2016) behaviour can be explained by a clausal structure whose highest domain is the CP.

A systematic correspondence is attested cross-linguistically between a vocative’s interpretation and its sentential position (Moreira 2008,2013; Carvalho 2013; Hill 2014), an observation which holds for Ibero-Romance. Utterance-initial vocatives (23) attract the addressee’s attention and/or identify the addressee (Levinson 1983; Portner 2004; Zwicky 2004), whereas utterance-medial (24) and utterance-final (25) vocatives serve to mediate the discourse ‘bond’ established between interlocutors (Zwicky 1974; Portner 2004; Stavrou 2013; Hill 2014):

- (23) *¡Zalampernu, obedez a tou padre!*
 ragamuffin obey.IMP DOM your father

2.2 Vocatives

‘You scamp, do what your father tells you!’ (Palluezu[†])

- (24) *jNo te chunguéis de mí, mi güen amigu, en*
not you=make.fun.SUBJ.2SG of me my good friend in
esti momentu tan tristi de mi vida!
this moment so sad of my life
‘Don’t make fun of me, my dear friend, in this very sad moment of my life!’
(Ext.[†])
- (25) *Sí sí, só arribat. Gràcies, Fabio.*
yes yes be.1SG arrive.PST.PTCP thank.you Fabio
‘Yes yes, I’ve arrived. Thanks, Fabio’ (Alg.; AIEC)

This distinction is reinforced by the difference in prosodic contouring between the sentential positions of vocatives cross-linguistically (Abalada, Cabarrão&Cardoso 2011). Utterance-initial vocatives are intonationally separate from the rest of the host sentence, and may stand alone in their own phonological phrase (26a), whereas utterance-final vocatives (26b) are more integrated into the intonational contour of the sentence, ‘where the pause may be minimal to non-existent’ (Stavrou 2013:303):

- (26) a. *Á burro, () you querie tomar un cunseilho cuntigo*
PRT donkey I want.IMPF.1SG take.INF an advice with.you
‘Donkey, I wanted to get some advice off you’ (Sendinês[†])
- b. *Vè-i e non t'entreengues peth camin, (/) Capucheta*
go.IMP=there and not you=distract.SUBJ.2SG by.the path Capucheta
‘Go and don’t get distracted on the way, Capucheta’ (Aran.[†])

Utterance-medial vocatives (27) are understood to share the prosodic break characteristic of parenthetical distribution (Stavrou 2013; Hill 2014):

- (27) *Sapes, () cucheta, () que en cada oszense i hai un dansante?*
know.2SG dear that in each Huescan there=AUX.3SG a dancer
‘You know, m’dear, that in every Huescan there’s a dancer?’ (Arag.[†])

2.2.3 Cartographic distribution

Recent accounts place the vocative phrase (VocP) at the height of the left-periphery: Moro (2003) proposes a dedicated clausal vocative projection c-commanding Force within a split CP on the basis of Italian data, whereas Espinal (2013) places the nominal VocP in SpecForceP for Catalan, as schematised below in (28) and (29) respectively:

- (28) *Moro (2003)*
[*VocP...* *VocP [CP...]*]
- (29) *Espinal (2013)*
[*ForceP VocP [TopicP...]*]

However, an account of utterance-oriented elements must be able to reconcile the ban on vocatives in embedded clauses with their ability to surface utterance-finally, i.e. to the right of an embedded clause in a biclausal utterance (cf. §2.2). It is unclear how analyses which place the vocative phrase in the highest specifier position of the left-periphery could derive the utterance-final position of vocatives. On a movement analysis (i.e. the VocP is base-generated in the left-periphery and the CP moves above the VocP to derive the linear order) there are — leaving aside the possibility of multiple specifiers, a hypothesis which we disregard on the present cartographic approach— no remaining functional projections to which the CP could raise. Alternatively, should we propose that the vocative is merged lower in the clausal structure in such instances, i.e. beneath the embedded CP, we would end up with an *ad hoc* account involving rightwards-branching and where an utterance-oriented element is merged outside its dedicated domain (i.e. the discourse-oriented left-periphery).

Adopting and modifying Speas&Tenny's (2003) proposal for their SAP, more recent accounts (e.g. Hill 2007,2014; Moreira 2013) avoid this problem by assuming vocatives merge in the specifier position of a speech-act projection associated with the addressee, whose position in the sentential hierarchy is lower than an analogous projection associated with the speaker:

- (30) *Hill (2007)*
[*SAP RoleP_{speaker} (hai)* [*SAP RoleP_{hearer} hai [ForceP]*]]

On our view, this analysis has two advantages over the previous accounts: it frees up a specifier position to the left of the vocative's merge position, allowing the CP to raise to a

2.2 Vocatives

higher position than the vocative (and thus deriving the latter's sentence-final position). Moreover, by separating the utterance domain from the C-domain and assuming vocatives merge in the former, the analysis provides syntactic motivation for why vocatives can surface clause-medially in matrix but not embedded clauses: namely, that the UP is part of the matrix verb's extended projection, and locality restrictions prevent movement outside this local domain. Matrix CPs, as the complements to SA heads (cf. e.g. Miyagawa 2012; Frascarelli&Jiménez-Fernández 2016; Wiltschko forth.a), are directly c-commanded by the UP, and as such form part of the local domain. Embedded CPs, on the other hand, are inaccessible to the UP as they fall outside its local domain —i.e. they are not its closest c-commandable category— due to the intervening matrix CP (which *is* the closest c-commandable category of the UP) creating a barrier for movement.

A more complex speech-act structure is proposed in Hill (2014), an account in which the vocative merges in a lower speech-act projection but can be attracted to the specifier position of a higher speech-act projection to check, in Hill's terms, a [+ATTENTION] feature. This analysis has a further advantage from a cartographic perspective: it allows us to account for the interpretation-position correspondence of vocatives (§2.3) by assuming that the XP may either stay *in situ* for one interpretation (viz. a default ‘bonding’ reading) – the mechanism via which utterance-medial and –final VocPs are derived –,⁸ or move to check a specific feature, deriving the alternative interpretation (i.e. attention-gaining). The theoretical proposal of two positions is supported empirically by (Brazilian) Portuguese data, a language in which, exceptionally for Ibero-Romance, two vocative XPs with identical surface forms can be pronounced:

- (31) *Elisa, bebe este café, Elisa.*
Elisa drink.IMP this coffee Elisa
'Elisa, drink this coffee, Elisa' (B.Pg.; Moreira 2013:17)

In (31), the first vocative would, on Hill's (2014) analysis, be analysed as a moved constituent, occupying the specifier position of a higher speech-act projection, and the lower one would be pronounced as an *in situ*, non-deleted copy. For this account to be maintained,

⁸ With accompanying CP raising, which, in the case of utterance-medial vocatives, involves some sort of stranding movement whereby CP constituents linearly to the right of the VocP would remain *in situ* and CP constituents linearly preceding the VocP move to a specifier position in the utterance domain.

2.2 Vocatives

however, the CP *bebe este café* ‘drink this coffee’ would also have to be analysed in a derived position, necessitating the postulation of an additional utterance projection into whose specifier the CP would move:

- (32) [SpecSA1 *Elisa*, [SA1 [SpecSA2 *bebe este café* [SA2 [SpecSA3 *Elisa* [SA3 [CP ~~bebe este café~~]]]]]]

An alternative to the above account is to analyse the two vocatives not as copies but as distinct XPs directly generated in dedicated positions according to the relevant interpretation.⁹ Note however that, unless we postulate that the second vocative is *not* merged in the utterance domain at all, it will still be necessary to posit an additional functional projection to accommodate the moved CP. The alternative to a left-peripheral analysis is to assume that the VocP merges in a lower illocutionary syntactic space at the TP/vP border mirroring the higher one in its encoding utterance-oriented information.¹⁰

2.2.4 Implications for the utterance domain

The above data and discussion provide empirical and theoretical support for the syntactic encoding of addressee-oriented nominals. A left-peripheral merge position is supported by vocatives’ non-thematic status (i.e. they are not arguments of the sentential core, and therefore would not be expected to merge there); linear ordering (i.e. despite not belonging to the sentential core, vocatives nonetheless obey syntactic distributional constraints); and their discourse-oriented interpretation. The proposal that vocatives merge in a dedicated utterance domain above the CP is supported by the XPs’ sentential distribution and the systematic variation in their interpretation according to a corresponding structural position. Since theoretical accounts typically take vocatives as evidence of ‘the encoding of the addressee [...] by means of a syntactic device’ (Haegeman&Miyagawa 2016:5), the syntactic feature associated with this extra-clausal constituent is that of the ADDRESSEE, a discourse-oriented

⁹ We suspect that this is unlikely, since if vocatives operate analogously to thematic arguments (i.e. vocatives constitute ‘speech-act’ arguments), then we would expect these to originate in an argumental position in the SAP and move to derived positions where required by the syntax. We also observe, without further comment, a possible parallel between this so-called ‘double vocative’ construction in Brazilian Portuguese and the Neapolitan double-subject construction discussed in Ledgeway (2010).

¹⁰ Recall that in ch1 we left exploration of the possibility of a lower utterance layer to future investigation.

2.2 Vocatives

feature involved in the licensing of allocutive agreement (Miyagawa 2012) and imperative subjects (Zanuttini 2008).

However, whilst indexing the addressee appears to be the role most commonly associated with vocatives cross-linguistically —and indeed the only role associated with Ibero-Romance vocatives—, the existence of non-thematic nominal constituents encoding the speaker suggests that vocatives are not uniquely addressee-oriented. Speaker-oriented vocatives, also known as ‘inverse’ or ‘reverse’ vocatives (Boeder 1989; Abbate 2010; Croitor&Hill 2013; Akkuş 2016), are not, to the best of my knowledge, found in Ibero-Romance, but they are amply attested elsewhere in Romance, as illustrated below for Daco-(33) and Italo-Romance (34):

- | | |
|------|---|
| (33) | <i>Dane {mama/tată} vino-ncoace!</i> |
| | Dan.VOC mum.VOC/dad.VOC come.IMP=here |
| | ‘Dan, [lit. ‘mum’, ‘dad’], come here!’ (parent to child, Rom.; Croitor&Hill 2013:824) |
| (34) | <i>Dormi Nicola meu a nonna</i> |
| | sleep Nicola my the granny |
| | ‘Sleep, my Nicola, [lit. ‘granny’]’ (grandmother to grandson, Calabrian; Abbate 2010:152) |

These vocatives are deployed by the speaker to ‘address’ themselves as well as, or instead of, the addressee, a use which realises a ‘bonding’ function between interlocutors. Speaker-oriented vocatives do not uniquely index the speaker: lexically, they encode the speaker’s role *relative to the addressee*, typically in terms of kinship. Moreover, they can exhibit first- (35) and second-person (36) agreement on possessive adjectives (cf. Akkuş 2016 for third-person possessive agreement in Turkish and Sason Arabic ‘inverse’ vocatives):

- | | |
|------|---|
| (35) | <i>Dommi, nonnicedda mia!</i> |
| | sleep.IMP granny my |
| | ‘Sleep, [lit. my little granny]’ (grandmother to grandchild, Messina, Italy; Abbate 2010:152) |
| (36) | <i>Va sūsiti ch’è tardu, a mamma tua</i> |
| | DM get.up.IMP=you for=be.3SG late PRT mother your |

2.2 Vocatives

‘C’mon get up, it’s late, [lit. ‘your mother’]’ (mother to child, Trapani, Sicily; Abbate 2010:152)

Plural agreement in speaker-oriented vocatives is, however, banned:

- (37) *Quatra, susativə a mamma *vostra!*
guys get.up.IMP to mother your.PL
‘Guys, get up, [lit. ‘your mother’]’ (mother to children; N. Calabrese^A)

Since agreement in (35-37) is restricted to singular referents, we assume, following Akkuş (2016), that the possessive adjectives in fact agree with the discourse participants, i.e. addressee in (35) and speaker in (36), themselves. On the view that agreement is syntactic, this evidence suggests that SPEAKER and ADDRESSEE are formally encoded as (utterance-oriented) features in the nominal and clausal domains, i.e. both speaker and addressee are encoded in the internal syntax of vocatives and their external licensing in the clausal spine (cf. Sigurðsson 2004,2010,2014; Bianchi 2006; Miyagawa 2012; Zu 2013,2015).

Further, linear ordering restrictions on vocatives are attested, whereby the addressee-oriented vocative obligatorily precedes the speaker-oriented vocative (Iovino&Rossi forth.:222 draws the same conclusion):

- (38) a. *Dai va forza [VocP_{Addr} *Olimpia*] dormi, [VocP_{Spkr} a nonna]*
DM DM DM Olimpia sleep.IMP PRT grandma
‘C’mɒn Olimpia, go to sleep [lit. your granny]’ (grandmother to granddaughter, Italian^A)
- b. **Forza dai va [VocP_{Spkr} a nonna], dormi [VocP_{Addr} *Olimpia*]*
DM DM DM PRT grandma sleep.IMP Olimpia

In addition to corroborating the above proposal in favour of the syntactic encoding of interlocutors, the ban on speaker-oriented vocatives surfacing to the left of addressee-oriented vocatives indicates that the hierarchy of interlocutors in the utterance domain is, *pace* Speas&Tenny (2003), Zu (2013,2015), Hill (2014), i.a., of the order ADDRESSEE > SPEAKER, a hypothesis also proposed in Lam (2014), Thoma (2014), Wiltschko (forth.a).

In summary, the empirical data from Ibero-Romance and closely-related families elsewhere in the Romance branch corroborate the existence of *grammaticalised* forms of

2.3 Discourse particles

address, which we propose correspond to [+SPEAKER, +ADDRESSEE] features that are encoded in the clausal structure in the hierarchical order ADDRESSEE > SPEAKER. Given their morphosyntactic and distributional properties, these interlocutor features —and the XPs associated with them (i.e. vocatives)— are taken to constitute evidence of an utterance-oriented syntax, which, in the clausal domain, is located in a dedicated domain to the left of the CP. The co-occurrence of multiple vocative XPs in this field, moreover, indicates that the speech-act domain has internal structure.

2.3 Discourse particles

While the group of items known as particles constitutes neither a uniform nor clearly-defined category cross-linguistically (cf. Biberauer, Haegeman&van Kemenade 2014; Biberauer forthc. for discussion), they are classed as part of the sentential syntax, wherein they occupy fixed positions along the clausal spine (though see Roussou 2015 for evidence of nominal particles). In recent years, discourse-oriented particles have sparked considerable theoretical interest due to their role in modifying and updating the dynamic process of conversation (see, amongst many others, Munaro&Poletto 2003,2004,2009; Penello&Chinellato 2008a,2008b; Del Gobbo&Poletto 2008; Coniglio&Zegrean 2010,2012; Poletto&Zanuttini 2010; Bayer&Obenauer 2011; Cardinaletti 2011,2015; Haegeman 2014; Bayer, Hinterhölzl&Trotzke 2015; Del Gobbo, Munaro&Poletto 2015; Wiltschko 2016a,2016b). Non-propositional and contextually-derived, the functions associated with discourse particles (abbreviated in our glosses as DM, discourse markers, to avoid confusion with other types of particles or determiner phrases) are those of attracting and maintaining the addressee's attention, encoding speaker attitude and/or intention, and emphasising or steering thematic progression (cf. Fagard 2010:247). Their contextually-derived interpretation places discourse particles in the *hic-et-nunc* of their utterer's spatiotemporal co-ordinates, a property which prevents their displacement (i.e. their meaning can only be derived at the moment in which they are uttered) and is associated with their property as performatives, that is, their communicative contribution is fulfilled by the very act of their realisation. Here, a syntactic element with such properties is understood to belong to the class of utterance-oriented constituents.

Following Hill (2014), Haegeman (2014), we analyse discourse particles as functional heads lexicalising positions within the utterance domain (though see Cardinaletti 2011,2015 for an account of particles as weak XPs). The aim of the present section is to determine the

2.3 Discourse particles

class of discourse particles found in Ibero-Romance and what, from a formal perspective, these look like, in order to i) gain insight into the interpretative values of the items lexicalising functional heads within the articulated speech-act structure, and ii) to acquire diagnostics for examining the structural position of illocutionary QUE across Ibero-Romance. In this section, we describe the syntactic characteristics of discourse particles in Ibero-Romance by focusing on verb-based particles with the appearance, but without the formal properties, of imperatives.

2.3.1 Verb-based discourse particles in Ibero-Romance

Most studies of Ibero-Romance verb-based particles have been undertaken from a descriptive or functional perspective (Martín Zorraquino 1992; Pons Bordería 1998a,1998b; Martín Zorraquino&Portolés Lázaro 1999; Rost-Snichelotto 2002,2009,2013; Domínguez&Álvarez 2005; Ocampo 2009; Tanghe 2009; Fagard 2010; Daniels 2014). Here, we propose a *formal* characterisation of these elements which places Ibero-Romance discourse particles in the dedicated speech-act structure. Table 2.1 summarises a representative sample of Ibero-Romance verb-based particles and their communicative function:

Table 2.1: Ibero-Romance verb-based discourse particles and their meaning contribution

	Attention-gaining	Surprise	Injunctive
CATALAN	<i>Mira/miri</i>	<i>Vaja</i>	<i>vinga/venga; anem</i>
GALICIAN	<i>Mira/mire; oes/oiches</i>	<i>Vaia/vaites; dalle</i>	<i>veña; anda</i>
PORTUGUESE	<i>olha/olhe; vê/veja; ouve/ouçam lá</i>	<i>olha só; vê só</i>	<i>vamos lá; anda (lá); bora (lá)</i>
SPANISH	<i>mira/mire; oye/oiga</i>	<i>anda; vaya; dale</i>	<i>anda; vamos; venga</i>
ENGLISH	‘look/listen here’, ‘hey!’	‘wow’!, ‘no way!’	‘let’s go’, ‘c’mモン’

Discourse particles, such as those in Table 2.1, commonly derive from verbs of perception (*mirar/olhar* ‘look/watch.INF’, *ver* ‘see.INF’, *oír/ouvir* ‘listen.INF’), motion (*anar/ir* ‘go.INF’, *andar* ‘walk.INF’, *venir/vir* ‘come.INF’) and other frequently-used verbs (e.g. Sp. *dale* ‘gosh’ < *dar* ‘give.INF’).¹¹ However, they are semantically bleached vis-à-vis their imperative counterparts, retaining only a general trace of the original lexical meaning. For example, the Spanish discourse particle *oye/oiga* derives from the apparently homophonous lexical 2/3SG

¹¹ Alguerese also features a discourse particle (and interjection) *dai* derived from the same lexical root (i.e. ‘give’); however, the discourse marker has been borrowed directly from the neighbouring Italian *dai* (itself deriving from It. *dai* ‘give.2SG’) rather than being a language-internal development.

2.3 Discourse particles

imperative *oye/oiga* meaning ‘listen!’. Despite retaining the imperative’s injunctive value, the particle is most naturally translated by English ‘hey!’ (or perhaps ‘look/listen here!’), where the semantics of the particle makes no petition of the addressee to literally lend the speaker their ear; instead, the only remnant of the original lexical meaning is the (non-literal) request to pay attention, which is now encoded via the act of uttering *oye/oiga* which *ipso facto* commands the addressee’s attention (constituting an ‘expressive’ in Kaplan’s (1999) terms; cf. ch3).

Beyond their semantic attrition¹² and despite the superficial appearance of imperatives, verb-based particles show a number of deficiencies in their properties with respect to fully-fledged lexical verbs, namely, a reduced verbal paradigm (§2.3.1.1); inability to support negation (§2.3.1.2) and clitics (§2.3.1.3); phonological impoverishment (§2.3.1.4); and resistance to embedding (§2.3.1.5). This rigidification and bleaching of semantic, morphosyntactic and phonological properties is the hallmark of grammaticalisation (cf. Roberts&Roussou 2003 for a formal account of this process, under which we also categorise the process of pragmaticisation). The deficient structural status of discourse particles is corroborated by these items' sentence distribution and interaction with clause-typing (§2.3.1.6).

2.3.1.1 Morphological invariability

In addition to their semantic bleaching, discourse particles display a vastly reduced verbal paradigm (39a-b) compared with their lexical imperative counterparts (40a-b):

- (39) a. *{Veña/*ven/*vide/*vinde/*veñan}, ide rematando cos petiscos*
come.DM/.IMP/.2PL/.2PL/.SUBJ.3PL go.2PL finish.PTCP with.the tapas
‘C’mon, get finishing up those tapas!’ (Gal.†)

b. *Cállate ya, {anda/*ande/*andad/*andar/*anden}, majo*
shut.up.IMP=you already go.IMP/.SUBJ.3SG/.2PL/.INF/.SUBJ.3PL mate
‘Shut up already, c’mon mate’ (E.Sp.†)

(40) a. *Veña/ven/vide/vinde/veñan aquí!*
come.SUBJ.3SG/.IMP/.2PL/.2PL/.SUBJ.3PL here

¹² We refer the reader to the wealth of literature on discourse particles' function for further discussion of their interpretative import.

2.3 Discourse particles

- ‘Come here!’ (Gal.^Δ)
- b. *jAnda/ande/andad/andar/anden!*
walk.IMP.2SG/.SUBJ.3S/.IMP.2PL/.INF/.SUBJ.3PL
- ‘Get moving!’ (E.Sp.^Δ)

The invariant verbal form which features in discourse markers is most often identical in appearance to the second-person singular imperative in either the formal 3SG inflection (e.g. Gal. *veña* ‘come.PRES.SUBJ.3SG’) or the bare root form, which doubles as the informal 2SG ‘true’ imperative (e.g. Sp. *anda* ‘walk.IMP.2SG’). The observed reduction in verbal paradigm reflects a commonly held view that particles are characterised by a lack of inflection (cf. Biberauer et al. 2014:2), a property which is taken to be indicative of their deficient structural status. The crystallisation of the discourse particles’ morphology vis-à-vis the productive paradigms of superficially-identical lexical imperatives is highlighted by the use of archaic or otherwise obsolete forms where the lexical verb now has a distinct morphology. Compare the following Catalan discourse particles with the (imperative) verbs from which they originate, rendered in the current third-person subjunctive singular form: *vaja* ‘gosh!’ (< *vaja* ‘go.PRES.SUBJ.3SG’ < *anar* ‘go.INF’) vs. *vagi* ‘go.PRES.SUBJ.3SG/IMP.3SG’, *vés* ‘go.IMP.2SG’; *vinga* ‘c’mon!’ (< *vinga* ‘come.PRES.SUBJ.3SG’ < *venir* ‘come.INF’) vs. *vingui* ‘come.PRES.SUBJ.3SG/IMP.3SG’, *vine* ‘come.IMP.2SG’; *visca* ‘[long] live!’ (< *visca* ‘live.PRES.SUBJ.3SG’ < *viure* ‘live.INF’) vs. *visqui* ‘live.PRES.SUBJ.3SG/IMP.3SG’, *viu* ‘live.IMP.2SG’ (Wheeler, Yates&Dols 1999:305).

Nonetheless, there are some discourse particles in Ibero-Romance, notably those deriving from *mirar/olhar* ‘watch.INF’ and *oír/ouvir* ‘listen.INF’, which are not morphologically invariable. These particles can retain two, three or even multiple ‘inflections’, forms which mirror those of their lexical counterparts. We discuss these potentially problematic data in §2.3.2.

2.3.1.2 Negation

Further evidence of their deficient structure is the observation that Ibero-Romance discourse particles do not support negation, as is the case generally for Ibero-Romance 2SG ‘true’ imperatives (cf. *mira* ‘look.IMP’ vs. **no mira* ‘not look.IMP’). However, the lexical imperative form can be replaced by a suppletive present subjunctive form which *does* support negation (41), allowing the formation of negative commands (cf. Rivero 1994; Rivero&Terzi 1995):

2.3 Discourse particles

- (41) {*Vine/no vinguis*} *amb mi*
 come.IMP/not come.SUBJ.2SG with me
 ‘Come/don’t come with me’ (Cat.^Δ)

Ibero-Romance discourse particles do not permit this alternation between the bare form and a negated suppletive form:

- (42) {*Vinga/*no vinguis*}, *posem-ho en pràctica.*
 DM not come.SUBJ.2SG put.1PL=it in practice
 ‘C’mon [*don’t come], let’s put it into practice’ (Cat.[†])

The observed contrast between the lexical verb and its discourse-oriented particle equivalent supports the hypothesis that the two superficially-identical forms are in fact different structural items.

2.3.1.3 Clitics

A similar contrast between the lexical verb and its discourse particle counterpart is seen in the inability of Ibero-Romance discourse particles to support clitics (43):

- (43) *Mira/*mirame, mama, cola de Llaíñes no echas tiempu*
 DM/ look.IMP=me mum with.the of *Llaíñes* not spend.SUBJ.2SG time
 ‘{Look/*look at me}, mum, don’t waste your time with her from Llaíñes’ (Ast., Sobrescobiu-Llaíñes; ASLA)

Whilst lexical imperatives cannot support negation, they can host clitics (44), corroborating the emerging finding that Ibero-Romance discourse particles are more structurally deficient than their lexical imperative doppelgänger:

- (44) *¡Mírala aquí!*
 look.IMP=it here
 ‘Look at it!’(Ast., Sobrescobiu-Llaíñes; ASLA)

An apparent counterexample to this generalisation is the attestation of cliticised imperative forms in Ibero-Romance set phrases, particularly in Mexican Spanish, which have a discourse-oriented function:

2.3 Discourse particles

- (45) a. *Fíjate, vuestra comida proviene de la tierra*
 ‘Look, your food comes from the ground’ (E.Sp.[†])
- b. *Escolti'm, no sigui pesat*
 ‘Listen, don't be difficult’ (Pen.Cat.[†])
- c. *Ándale, ponte para la foto con Elmo*
 ‘C'mon, get in the photo with Elmo’ (Mex.Sp.[†])
- d. *Vaites, pasou algo raro!*
 ‘Gosh, something strange happened!’ (Gal.[†])

However, as lexicalised set phrases, these seem to be another case of ‘fossilised’ forms appearing in discourse markers (cf. similar observations for Italo-Romance in Maiden 2007). The fixed form *ándale* (45c) has lost the literal meaning of the corresponding lexical verb *andar* ‘go.INF’, and the apparent clitic *-le*, synchronically available as a third-person singular indirect object weak pronoun, is observed in a number of utterance-oriented elements in Spanish (e.g. *dale* ‘gosh!’ < *dar* ‘give.INF’; cf. also Gal. *dalle*), including many non-verbal forms in Mexican Spanish (*órale*, *hijole*, *ahórale*, *újele*, *éjale*). Notably, the unit *-le* is homophonous with the third-person inflection *-le*, observable in the verbs and —crucially—the related discourse expressions *vale* and *sale*.

Fíjate and *escolti'm* are closer in meaning to the related lexical verbs *fijarse* ‘pay.INF attention’ and *escuchar* ‘listen.INF’ respectively. However, their discourse-oriented nature is thrown into relief when the set expressions appear clause-finally:

- (46) a. *Pos es que ya me anda dando igual fíjate*
 well be.3SG that already me=go.3SG give.PTCP same DM
 ‘Well I just don't really give a darn any longer, okay/eh/you see/get that/if you can believe it’ (Mex.Sp.[†])
- b. *El vaixell pot canviar de coberta, pero el timoner es sempre el mateix, escolti'm*
 the boat can.3SG change.inf of cover but the helmsman
 be.3SG always the same DM
 ‘The boat can change its cover, but the helmsman is always the same, believe me’ (Bar.Cat.[†])

As illustrated by the glosses, *fíjate* and *escolti'm* are best translated in the above contexts by discourse-modifying expressions in English, whereas the literal meanings of the lexical forms

2.3 Discourse particles

from which they originate, i.e. ‘pay attention!’ and ‘listen to me!’, are less appropriate. Moreover, these forms do not agree in person or number with the sentence’s subject:

- (47) a. *Miri, escolti'm, nosaltres reconeixem que amb les majories que hi ha a Madrid és impossible modificar la Constitució*
 DM DM we recognise.1PL that with the majorities
 that there=AUX.3SG at madrid be.3SG impossible modify.INF the
Constitució
 Constitution
 ‘Look, listen, we recognise that with the majorities they hold in Madrid it’s impossible to modify the Constitution’ (Cat.[†])
- b. *Fíjate usted me cae muy bien*
 DM you.3SG me=fall.3SG very well
 ‘Look, you seem really nice’ (Sp.[†])

Their ability to co-occur with forms showing distinct person and number desinences (e.g. (47b)’s 2SG *fíjate* vs. 3SG *usted cae*) is indicative of a structurally-reduced status. Without making any claims as to what specifically is at stake syntactically, we assume such forms are (becoming) part of Ibero-Romance’s utterance-oriented grammatical repertoire, comparable to English univerbated expressions deriving from complex verbal clusters such as the imperative plus particle ‘come on’ > ‘c’mɒn’ (which lexicalises a speech-act head, on our analysis). As such, we do not consider these set expressions to present a problem for the robust generalisation that Ibero-Romance verb-based discourse particles are deficient in their inability to host clitics.

2.3.1.4 Phonological impoverishment

Another characteristic of a deficient structural status is phonological weakness: whereas lexical verbs can be focalised, used in isolation or modified, functional heads cannot. Observe the marking of focal stress (capitalised in the examples below) in the following Portuguese sentence, even where no visible movement occurs:

- (48) a. *A MARIA beijou o Pedro*
 b. *A Maria beijou O PEDRO*
 c. *A Maria BEIJOU o Pedro*

2.3 Discourse particles

‘Maria kissed Pedro’ (Ambar 1999:26)

That lexical verbs can appear in isolation (49a) or support modifiers (49b) is likewise uncontroversial:

- (49) a. *Imos!*
‘Let’s go!’ (Gal.^Δ)
b. *Todas as mañans imos mais lonxe*
‘Every morning we go further’ (Gal.[†])

Ibero-Romance verb-based discourse particles, on the other hand, whilst *prima facie* homophonous with their lexical counterparts (49a-b), display a number of restrictions in terms of the above properties.

In all instances, when these superficially-identical forms are used with the interpretation (cf. §2.3) and in the structural position (cf. §2.3.1.6) characteristic of discourse particles, these items cannot productively modified, as witnessed by the contrast between the lexical use of *anda* ‘walk.3SG’ (50a) and the homophonous speaker-oriented discourse particle (50b):

- (50) a. *Mikel anda más rápido que Iñaki.*
‘Mikel is going faster than Iñaki’ (Sp[†])
b. *¡Anda (*más rápido), vaya finde!*
‘Gosh (Intended: ‘more quickly’), what a weekend!’ (Sp.^Δ)

Note that some set expressions still retain modifying elements from a limited pool of options (typically, the adverb *ya* ‘already’ or the syntactic subject associated with the original verb, e.g. 2SG *tú, vos*), but the verb-based forms do not support other modifiers, indicating the grammaticalisation of these originally complex structures into invariant discourse items.

Further evidence of discourse particles’ deficient phonological status is the manifest reduction in the morphophonological substance of such forms as *cucha* < *escucha* ‘listen!’, *óia/ó* < *olha* ‘look!’ and *mia* < *mira* ‘look!’, as illustrated in the following examples (see Beinhauer 1928:61-63, Cuenca&Marín 2000:230 on the Spanish forms *miste* < *mire usted*, *mistela* < *mirela usted*, *oy, yé* < *oye*; de Oliveira e Silva&de Macedo 1992 on BP *ó* < *olha*; Rost&Górski 2011):

2.3 Discourse particles

- (51) a. *Cucha, Laurina, agora s'án desmandau las cosas*
 ‘Look, Laurina, things have got out of hand now’ (Ext.[†])
- b. *Até o gato é mais bonito que eu oia*
 ‘Even the cat is more attractive than I am, get that’ (Pg.[†])
- c. *Ó/olha, você viu João por aqui, hoje?*
 ‘Hey, have you seen João around here today?’ (Pg.; Travaglia 2003:101)
- d. *Va, mía, una semana más*
 ‘Pfft, well, one week to go’ (Sp.[†])
- e. *Mi’, Pasquà’, dissabte mos tenim de reunir*
 ‘Look, Pasqual, we have to meet up on Saturday’ (Alg.)

With the exception of Sp./Ext. ‘*cucha* ‘listen’, these forms cannot be used in place of the lexical verb (cf. *mirame/*miame a los ojos* ‘look.IMP=me in the eyes’), corroborating the opposition between the two items.

Moreover, manipulating the intonational contour of discourse particles renders non-trivial differences in their interpretation, which in turn correspond to distinct structural constituents. Witness the difference between the sentence in (52a), where a prosodic break separates *mira* from the following constituent, and the sentence in (52b), in which *mira* is fully integrated into the utterance’s contour without pause:

- (52) a. *Mira, bás a tener que ir a lhebar mie mai a casa*
 DM go.2SG to have.INF to go.INF to take.INF my mother to home
 ‘Look, you’re going to have to take my mother home’ (Mir.; Merlan 2010:222)
- b. *Mira que soz pesaus com o vota.*
 DM that be.2SG annoying with the vote
 ‘Gosh aren’t you annoying with the vote’ (Arag.[†])

Thus we observe in (52a) that, despite their phonological weakness, Ibero-Romance discourse particles can be followed by a prosodic break —i.e. showing a degree of phonological, and therefore structural, independence— in certain circumstances (note that the particle in these contexts still remains within the overall intonational contour of the utterance). Crucially, however, the prosodic difference between the two sentences corresponds to two distinct interpretations: when the discourse particle is followed by a prosodic break, as in (52a), it has a *performative* reading, whereas the version without an intonational break, as in (52b),

2.3 Discourse particles

produces a necessarily *evaluative* reading, as indicated by the English translations in the respective glosses.¹³

We follow Munaro's (2016) account of corresponding behaviour in Italo-Romance¹⁴ in assuming that the difference in intonation and meaning between (52a) and (52b) goes back to a syntactic difference; namely, that the evaluative discourse particle is merged above Force (itself lexicalised by the finite complementizer *que* 'that') in a dedicated evaluative phrase (cf. Cinque 1999; Speas&Tenny 2003; Hinterhölzl&Munaro 2015) but lower than the performative discourse particle, which occupies the head of a speech-act phrase, as follows:

- (53) [Eval' [Eval *Mira*] [Force' [Force *que*] [TP *soz pesaus con o vota*]]]

- (54) [SA' [SA *Mira*] [Eval' [Force [TP *bás a tener que ir a lhebar mie mai acasa*]]]]

That the evaluative discourse particle merges lower than the speech-act phrase is verified by the possibility of lexicalising the speech-act head with another utterance-oriented element, as in (55-60):

- (55) *Joder, mira que sodes insaciábeis...*

Fuck DM that be.2PL insatiable

'Fucking hell, aren't you insatiable' (Gal. †)

- (56) [SA' [SA *Joder*] [Eval' [Eval *Mira*] [Force' [Force *que*] [Fin *sodes insaciábeis*]]]]

Moreover, the evaluative constructions feature an obligatory complementiser (57) and disallow interpolation between the discourse particle and complementiser (58), whereas the performative constructions are not conditioned by either constraint (59):

- (57) *Miá *(qu)'eres ferrete*

DM that=be.2SG persistent

'Gosh you're persistent' (Arag., Fuenferrada, Teruel; Negredo 2001-2:8)

- (58) *Miá (*mamá) qu'eres ferrete*

DM mum that=be.2SG persistent

¹³ Further, the evaluative construction appears to only be available in response to a previous utterance within in the discourse context, whereas no such condition is operative on the performative use of the discourse particle (see Cruschina&Remberger 2016, Munaro 2016 for similar conclusions on independent Romance data).

¹⁴ These uses are termed 'interjections' in Munaro (2016), but fall under the category of discourse particles on our definitions. We discuss Ibero-Romance interjections in §2.4.

2.3 Discourse particles

- (59) *Mira, idiota, (que) yo también estoy enamorada*
 DM idiot that I also be.2SG in.love
 ‘Look, idiot, I too am in love’ (Sp.[†])

The key role of prosody in differentiating between the evaluative and speech-act constructions is indicative of the wider importance of the interaction between phonology and syntax in the encoding of illocutionary force, via so-called prosody-oriented syntax (cf. §1.4.2 and references therein). In this thesis, unless otherwise stated, our discussion of discourse particles will refer to the higher, ‘speech-act’ particles, not the evaluative constructions, the latter of which pattern with Cruschina (2015), Cruschina&Remberger’s (2016) class of Romance C[omplementizer]-constructions.

Further evidence of the non-trivial role of prosody in distinguishing between syntactic elements is the observation that, despite our claims for the head status of discourse particles, these can, at first blush, be used in isolation as follows:

- (60) a. *Veña!*
 DM
 ‘Right/okay/c’mon’ (Gal.)
- b. *jOye!*
 DM
 ‘Hey!’ (Sp.)
- c. *jAnda!*
 DM
 ‘No way!’ (Sp.)

However, not all Ibero-Romance discourse particles can appear alone without a phonological host. One such example is *mira* ‘look/listen here’, one of the more frequently attested particles across Ibero-Romance according to our investigation, as well as the corresponding Portuguese form *olha*, with the same meaning. These can only have the meaning of the full lexical imperative (i.e. literally ‘look’) when pronounced in isolation. The division between those particles which can appear alone (e.g. (60a-c)) versus those which cannot correlates with a second divide between particles which are morphologically invariant and those which still retain the vestiges of a morphological paradigm (cf. §2.4 on these apparent inflecting counterexamples). The logical conclusion would be to propose that the forms which are less

2.3 Discourse particles

deficient in status are at an earlier stage of grammaticalisation (or pragmaticalisation; cf. §2.3.1) respective to the original imperative form from which they derive: i.e. deficiency would correlate inversely with phonological independence and complexity of the morphological paradigm. However, the empirical distribution of these properties in Ibero-Romance discourse particles conflicts with the expected pattern, since the stronger (i.e. more autonomous) forms phonologically are the weaker (i.e. paradigmatically-reduced) forms morphologically, and vice versa.

The intuition that the discourse particles differ in their degree of grammaticalisation can nonetheless be retained on the view that higher left-peripheral projections are associated with an increased degree of phonological and structural autonomy. In addition to the above-observed prosodic and hierarchical distinction between the lower-merging, prosodically-integrated evaluative discourse particles and higher-merging, less-integrated performative ones, note, for example, that focal items, though they can be stressed, are prosodically-integrated moved constituents, whereas (higher) topics are commonly understood to be base-generated (cf. Bianchi&Frascarelli 2010), and can be followed by a (minimal) prosodic break. In other words, in the Topic-Focus domain, a higher merge position correlates with prosodic independence. Applied to discourse particles, the inability of *mira* to occur in isolation would be a consequence of closer integration into the sentential structure, which correspondingly permits the particle to interact with phi-features (cf. §2.3.2). Weaker integration in the sentential structure —i.e. a higher merge position— would equate to both weaker prosodic integration and interaction with the ‘core’ sentential syntax.¹⁵ A welcome consequence of such a hypothesis is that the observed properties of discourse particles can be captured by the expected formal path of grammaticalisation. Namely, the highest-merging discourse particles would be predicted to be those which are both morphologically invariant (cf. §2.3.1.1;§2.3.2) and those which can exhibit phonological autonomy.¹⁶ Indeed, phonological autonomy and

¹⁵ A parallel can be drawn with theoretical analyses in the nominal domain, where, for instance, clitics require a phonological host but weak and strong pronouns do not. Cardinaletti&Starke (1999) propose that clitics do not project a sigma phrase (cf. §1.4), meaning that they lack prosodic features encoded in this layer, and as a consequence require a phonological host. Note, however, that our proposal differs insofar as Cardinaletti&Starke (1999) capture the differences in pronominal elements in terms of the amount of structure they project, whereas we suggest that the differences between discourse particles are a consequence of the height of their merge position.

¹⁶ If it is the case that higher utterance-oriented items have more prosodic autonomy, then this might lend support to proposals for a lower speech-act layer above the vP. For example, the empirical observation that

2.3 Discourse particles

morphological invariability is taken in §2.4 to be an indicator that a discourse item is, in fact, an interjection. As such, single-constituent utterances involving what we have identified as discourse particles, such as those in (60a-c), would instead be analysed as interjections.

The apparent contradiction between prosodic strength and morphological weakness can thus be explained in terms of functional structure, in particular, Roberts&Roussou's (2003) hypothesis that grammaticalisation is always 'leftwards and upwards' in syntactic structure. Finally, the informal observation that Spanish appears to have a greater number of discourse particles which can be pronounced in isolation fits with the characterisation advocated in this thesis that Spanish is the Ibero-Romance variety which makes the greatest use of, and correspondingly has a more advanced, utterance-oriented syntax.

2.3.1.5 Embedding

Discourse particles are resistant to embedding in Ibero-Romance, whether in clausal complements (61), relative clauses (62) or temporal expressions (63):

- (61) *Disseram que **porra** eu e o Natty dançamos super bem
say.PST.3PL that DM I and the Natty dance.1PL really well
- (62) *La chica que **anda** (que) la has enseñado mal
the girl that DM that her=AUX.2SG teach.PST.PTCP badly
- (63) *Naquela ocasión, **veña!**
on.that occasion DM

The impossibility of embedding discourse particles as in the above examples, whether these are 'performative' speech-act or evaluative particles, is attributed to their 'intrinsically deictic nature' (Munaro 2010a:78), which determines that 'they can only be uttered in the presence of the mental state they give vent to' (ibid.). That is, discourse particles are sensitive to the speaker's spatiotemporal co-ordinates, which, following Giorgi (2010), Sigurðsson (2010,2014), we therefore assume are encoded as features in the left-periphery.

sentence-final utterance-oriented constituents have a tighter phonological integration than their initial counterparts could be explained by postulating that the initial and final constituents are merged in the higher and lower speech-act layers respectively. At the least, if it is shown that prosody does interact as closely with left-peripheral utterance syntax as authors like Giorgi (2014,2015) have suggested, then intonation should prove to be an invaluable diagnostic in determining what goes where in the clausal structure.

2.3 Discourse particles

However, it is not the case that discourse particles cannot be embedded *tout court*, as the following examples taken from the internet illustrate:

- (64) a. *li vaig dir que, vaja, em pensava que els de Monistrol s'haurien portat més malament*
 him=go.1SG say.INF th̄t DM REFL=think.IMPF.1SG th̄t the from Monistrol REFL=have.COND.PERF.3PL behave.PST.PTCP more badly
 ‘I said to him that gosh, I thought that the people from Monistrol would have behaved more poorly’ (Cat.; MEV:34)
- b. *Yo le dije, que mira, entiendo su postura pero que bueno, como amiga debería [...] intentar saber el*
 I to.her=say.PST.1SG th̄t DM understand.1SG her position but th̄t well as friend ought.COND.3SG try.INF know.INF the *porque la otra no me quiere hablar*
 why the other not me=want.3SG talk.INF
 ‘I said to her that look, I understand her position but that well, as a friend she ought to try to find out why the other girl doesn’t want to talk to me’ (Sp.[†])
- c. *eu disse que: Olha eu não estou interessada e por favor*
 I say.PST.1SG th̄t DM I not be.1SG interested and please *não me ligue mais*
 not me=call.SUBJ.3SG more
 ‘And I said [that]: “Look, I’m not interested, please don’t call here anymore”’ (B.Pg.[†])
- d. *le dije que oye, que muchas gracias, pero que no me siguiera comiendo la oreja*
 him=tell.PST.1SG th̄t DM th̄t many thanks but th̄t not me=keep.IMPF.SUBJ.3SG eat.PTCP the ear
 ‘I told him that look, that thank you very much, but that could he stop going on at me’ (Sp.[†])

Note that the above examples all correspond to various types of quotation and are all in the first-person. The first two (64a-b) appear to be some form of free indirect discourse (cf. Banfield 1982; Giorgi 2010), but given their first-person subjects, they take on an interpretation more similar to that of direct quotation; that these are not fully productive cases

2.3 Discourse particles

of embedding is evident from the observation that changing the person (e.g. from a first to a third-person subject) renders such sentences less natural or degraded. The Catalan and Spanish examples in the above sentences do not seem to be possible in Portuguese. Instead, the felicitous Portuguese sentence in (64c) is a direct quotation, a type of embedding which has proven particularly thorny for generative theory (cf. Partee 1973; Sudo 2013). The final example in (64d) is a case of quotative recompilation (cf. González i Planas 2014), a construction whose properties will be further examined in Chapter 4. For now, we observe that, although we consider this construction to involve a case of productive embedding, the embedded discourse particle itself (viz. *oye*, ‘hey’) does not have any performative reading. Instead, the particle loses the expressivity (cf. Kaplan 1999) of its original force and assumes a descriptive reading, having been effectively ‘disembodied’ from the deictic co-ordinates of its original context (though cf. Woods 2016 for a different view, on which such sentences *do* have access to the original context via a perspectival monster operator). The particle’s embedding in the quotative complement thus renders it referentially opaque (Quine 1953), an effect which is reflected syntactically by the various island constraints associated with Ibero-Romance recompilation (cf. González i Planas 2014; Villa García 2015). This referential and syntactic opacity is also observed in the quoted utterance *muchas gracias* ‘thank you’, which is similarly deprived in its quotative rendering of the performative force of the original act.

Our position is thus that, quotative constructions aside, the embedding of discourse particles is not productive in Ibero-Romance. Ibero-Romance discourse particles are used extensively in root contexts, whereas the contexts in which their embedding can occur are either exceptional syntactically, as in the case of direct quotation, or incur a change in the status of the discourse particle (e.g. a loss of performative value, as in Ibero-Romance quotative recompilation). Where Ibero-Romance discourse particles *are* embeddable, they fall under the category of main clause phenomena, but, crucially, in such contexts they do not exhibit the same interpretative properties as they would do as ‘rigidly-root’ phenomena. That the above examples of embedded Ibero-Romance discourse particles all occur in the complements of bridge verbs, and would be extremely degraded in non-bridge complements (e.g. Sp. **sabe que*, *oye*, *entiendo su postura* ‘he understands that, look, I get his position’), supports this conclusion.

2.3 Discourse particles

2.3.1.6 Sentential distribution

Ibero-Romance discourse particles parallel vocatives in terms of their sentential distribution (cf. §2.2.2), occupying utterance-initial (65), -medial (66) and -final (67) positions:

- (65) *Oia, depois é eu que penso em putaria né...*
 DM then be.3SG I that think.1SG in dirty.things TAG
 ‘Hey, and then you say it’s me that thinks dirty, eh?’ (B.Pg.; Caxias do Sul[†])
- (66) *¿Por qué, oiga, de todo lo que puede tener, elige tener miedo?*
 why DM of all the which can.3SG have choose.3SG
 have.INF fear
 ‘Why —look— out of everything one can have, do you chose to have fear?’
 (Mex.Sp.[†])
- (67) *Destapem i netegem, vinga!*
 expose.SUBJ.1PL and clean.SUBJ.1PL DM
 ‘Let’s expose [them] and clean up, c’mon!’ (Bar.Cat.[†])

Similarly, discourse particles, like vocatives (§2.2.2), are banned from appearing in embedded contexts (68), even though their appearance in matrix-medial and utterance-final positions (69) is felicitous:

- (68) **Não se esqueça que, olha, prometeu chegar cedo.*
 not REFL=forget.SUBJ.3SG that DM promise.PST.3SG arrive.INF early
- (69) *Não se esqueça (olha) que prometeu chegar cedo, (olha).*
 not REFL=forget.SUBJ.3SG DM that promise.PST.3SG arrive.INF early DM
 ‘Don’t forget, (okay), that you promised to arrive early, (okay)’ (adapted from Moreira 2013:29)

As such, Ibero-Romance discourse particles are understood to be conditioned by matrix scope, and qualify as ‘rigidly-root’ phenomena.

Further, there is a correspondence between a discourse particle’s structural position and its interpretation, as predicted in Haegeman&Hill (2013):

2.3 Discourse particles

- (70) *jqué bien lo haces esto, oye!*
 what well it=do.2SG this DM
 ‘You’re doing it so well, I mean it!’ (Mad.Sp.; CORLEC)
- (71) *Oye, ¿pasasteis miedo en algún momento o no?*
 DM pass.PST.2PL fear in any moment or not
 ‘Hey, were you afraid at any point or not?’ (Mad.Sp.; CORLEC)

In (70), where *oye* occupies an utterance-final position, the discourse particle conveys the conversational nuance that the speaker wants to highlight that i) it is true —on the speaker’s view— that the addressee is doing ‘it’ well); and that ii) the addressee should believe the speaker. In other words, the discourse particle is responsible for *grounding* the utterance (cf. Bavelas et al. 2012; Wiltschko&Heim 2014,2016), primarily conveying the speaker’s attitude towards the utterance yet simultaneously and explicitly calling on the addressee to believe their statement. The value of *oye* in utterance-final position in (70) therefore differs from its function in utterance-initial position (71). In the latter, the discourse particle is used to attract the attention of the addressee, whether to initiate discourse or to draw the conversation in a new direction of the speaker’s choosing. By the use of *oye* in (71), the speaker makes no petition for the addressee to believe or agree with the utterance that follows; the speaker simply wants the addressee to engage with the question they pose. As such, the discourse particle *oye* in utterance-initial position fulfils the communicative function of the *call on addressee* (cf. Beyssade&Marandin 2006a,2006b; Wiltschko&Heim 2014).

These complementary roles are what Haegeman (2014) terms discourse *activational* and *bonding* functions. These, on her analysis, are syntactically encoded via distinct functional projections within the speech-act layer which immediately dominates the CP (cf. Wiltschko’s 2015 ‘dialogical’ neo-performative hypothesis for a similar implementation under her universal spine approach). Following Haegeman’s proposal for a bipartite speech-act structure, we place utterance-initial ‘performative’ discourse markers in the higher, activational projection (which we label S[peech]A[ct]P1), and utterance-final ‘grounding’ discourse particles in the lower, bonding layer (here, labelled SAP2) as follows:¹⁷

- (72) [SA1’ [SAP1 DM_{ACTIVATIONAL}] [SA2’ [SAP2 DM_{BONDING} [CP]]]]

¹⁷ See also §2.5.1.

2.3 Discourse particles

Pace Haegeman (2014), however, we hold that both speech-act projections are ‘performative’, not just the higher layer (cf. §2.5). As with utterance-final vocatives, we assume that the utterance-final position for discourse particles is derived via movement of the CP constituent to a higher specifier position in the SAP, as illustrated for the use of *oye* in (73a-b) as follows:

- (73) a. [SA_{1'} *qué bien lo haces esto* [SA₁] [SA_{2'} [SA₂ *oye*_{BONDING} [CP ~~qué bien lo haces esto~~]]]]]
 b. [SA_{1'} [SA₁ *Oye*_{ACTIVATIONAL}]] [SA_{2'} [SA₂ *¿pasasteis miedo en algún momento o no?*]]]]

Note, however, that on Haegeman’s (2014) analysis, the highest projection in the C-domain is ForceP, yet in §2.3.1.4 we assumed that the projection above Force is EvaluativeP. This projection does not feature in Haegeman’s account, but is similar in value (cf. §2.3.1.4) to the interpretation which she ascribes to SpecSA2P. Despite this apparent conflict in terms of the interpretative properties of these layers, the distinct prosodic and syntactic characteristics of utterance-oriented versus evaluative discourse particles indicate that SpecSA2P and EvalP should not be conflated, a solution corroborated by the attestation of two ‘performative’ speech-act heads to the left of evaluative constructions:

- (74) a. *joder, hostia, mira que te quiero!*
 DM DM DM that you=love.1SG
 ‘Fuck, bloody hell, gosh I love you!’ (Sp.[†])
 b. [SA_{1'} [SA₁ *Joder*][SA_{2'} [SA₂ *hostia*][Eval' [Eval *Mira*][Force' [Force' *que*] [Fin *te quiero*]]]]]

Finally, though Ibero-Romance discourse particles share a number of properties in terms of their sentential distribution with vocatives, they do not behave identically. Unlike vocatives, Ibero-Romance discourse particles exhibit sensitivity to clause type:

- (75) a. *Vinga, ara després de tants anys i han tingut majoria absoluta*
 ‘C’mon now, finally after all these years they’ve got an absolute majority’
 (Cat.[†])
 b. *Vinga, anima’t!*
 ‘C’mon, join in!’

2.3 Discourse particles

- c. **Vinga*, m'ha picat una abella!
(‘C'mon, a bee has stung me!’) (Hernanz 2008[2002]:1012)
- d. **Vinga*, quina por!
(‘C'mon, how scary!’) (ibid.:1012)

The interaction of discourse particles with clause type has led to the suggestion that particles spell out sentence-type features (cf. Struckmeier 2014; also Bayer&Obenauer 2011). Strictly speaking, Ibero-Romance discourse particles are not sensitive to clause type per se, as witnessed by the felicity of *vinga* with the declarative in (75a) versus its oddity in (75c): in this case, the particles are sensitive to the *interpretative* contribution of the utterance. We therefore take the stance that Ibero-Romance discourse particles are speech-act modifiers which, though sensitive to the formal and interpretative properties of the sentence, are not themselves responsible for clause-typing.

2.3.1.7 Interim summary

Ibero-Romance verb-based discourse particles show semantically-, morphosyntactically- and phonologically-deficient properties with respect to their —*prima facie* identical— lexical imperative counterparts. These particles have context-dependent interpretations and morphologically-invariant forms; they cannot host negative XPs, clitics or adverbial modifiers; they are not clause-typers; nor can they be productively embedded. These properties lead us to analyse Ibero-Romance verb-based discourse particles as lexicalising functional heads at the left-periphery. Interpretative and syntactic differences between discourse particles and their linear distribution led us to propose that evaluative discourse particles, merging directly above an obligatory finite complementiser, lexicalise the head of an evaluative phrase (cf. Cruschina 2015; Hinterhölzl&Munaro 2015; Munaro 2016), whereas ‘performative’ particles are operative within the dedicated speech-act field. Further differences between discourse-activating and discourse-bonding interpretations—and their distinct corresponding structural distributions—were taken to provide evidence of a bipartite structure within this dedicated domain, following Haegeman (2014). The crucial role of intonation in distinguishing between otherwise highly similar syntactic constituents was taken to provide evidence in support of proposals such of that of Giorgi (2014,2015) which advocate a prosody-oriented syntax.

2.3.2 Verb-based discourse particles in Ibero-Romance: counterexamples

Morphological invariability has been taken as a key property of discourse particles, both within the foregoing analysis and cross-linguistically. In §2.3.1.1, we noted the existence of some problematic data in Ibero-Romance which contradict this generalisation; viz. discourse particles which appear to retain the ability to inflect. A number of discourse markers show a two-way alternation between informal and formal inflections, e.g. Spanish *oye* ‘hey.IMP.2SG’ /*oiga* ‘hey.PRES.SUBJ.3SG’ (76a-b), or even multiple forms, corresponding to the verbal paradigm of imperative forms available in that language, as illustrated for Portuguese/Spanish *olha/mira* ‘look here’ (76c-i):

- (76) a. *Oye mamá dime un chiste*
 ‘Hey.IMP.2SG mum, tell me a joke’ (E.Sp., Segovia; CREA)
- b. *Oiga, idiotazo, no le hable así a mi mamá*
 ‘Listen.SUBJ.3SG, idiot, don’t talk like that to my mother’ (Per.Sp., Lima[†])
- c. *Olhe, nunca usavam farinha misturada de trigo e milho?*
 ‘So.SUBJ.3SG, you never used a mix of wheat flour and corn flour?’ (E.Pg., Perafita, Vila Real; CORDIAL-SIN)
- d. *Olhai gente se não é amor eu não sei o que é*
 ‘Look.2PL, people, if that’s not love, I don’t know what is’ (B.Pg.[†])
- e. *Olhem, eu vou comer qualquer coisita*
 ‘Look.SUBJ.1PL I’m gonna go eat something’ (E.Pg.; CORDE C20)
- f. *Mire, profe, casi me quemó*
 ‘Look.SUBJ.3SG, teacher, I almost burnt myself’ (Bol.Sp., La Paz[†])
- g. *Mirad cabrones, como esto sea verdad, juro que os quemó la casa, eh*
 ‘Look.SUBJ.2PL, you bastards, if this turns out to be true, I swear I’ll burn your house down, got it?’ (E.Sp.[†])
- h. *miren amigos soy nuevo en esto*
 ‘Look.SUBJ.3PL, friends, I’m new to this’ (Arg.Sp.[†])
- i. *mirar chavalas creo que nos pasará a la mayoría*
 ‘Look.INF, girls, I think this happens to the majority of us’ (E.Sp., Toledo[†])

Given that discourse particles are commonly understood to be inflectionless, one might analyse the above inflected forms —particularly those (e.g. discourse particles originating from the verb *mirar* ‘look/watch’) which exhibit the full verbal paradigm— as lexical

2.3 Discourse particles

imperatives. However, despite appearing to be inflected for number and person, the utterance-oriented interpretation of these forms suggests that they are in fact operating as discourse particles. That is, the use of the verb-based items highlighted in (76a-i) retain none of the semantics of the full imperative —i.e. exhorting the addressee(s) to literally *look at* (or listen to) something— but instead correspond to the conversation-oriented interpretation that the addressee(s) merely *pay attention* to the speaker and the utterance that follows. The hypothesis that these verb-based forms are *not* in fact functioning as lexical verbs is supported by the observation that they cannot host clitics or be substituted by a suppletive form which supports negation:

- (77) {**Olhe-me/*não olhe(s)*}, *nunca usavam farinha misturada de trigo e milho?*
 look.DM/ not look.SUBJ.2/3SG never use.IMPF.3PL flour mixed of wheat and corn

Further, these forms exhibit the same distributional pattern as vocatives (§2.2.2) and discourse particles (§2.3.1.6):

- (78) *Não se esqueça, olhe, que prometeu chegar cedo.*
 not REFL=forget.SUBJ.3SG DM that promise.PST.3SG arrive.INF early
 ‘Don’t forget, okay, that you promised to arrive early’ (adapted from Moreira 2013:29)
- (79) *Não se esqueça que, (*olhe), prometeu chegar cedo, (olhe).*
 not REFL=forget.SUBJ.3SG that DM promise.PST.3SG arrive.INF early DM

As such, these ‘inflected’ discourse particles can be analysed as less grammaticalised forms of the original lexical imperatives relative to those which have been reduced to fully invariant particles (e.g. Sp. *anda*; Cat. *vaja*/Sp. *vaya*; Cat. *vinga*/Sp. *venga*), with the variation in number and formality reflecting the characteristics of the addressee (cf. Ocampo 2009 for a similar conclusion on Rioplatense Spanish *mirá* and its related forms *mire/miren*). This suggests a trend towards rigidification of the form of discourse particles over time (as

2.3 Discourse particles

attested, for example, in the ‘fossilised’ Catalan items *vaja*, *vinga*, *visca* discussed in §2.3.1.1).¹⁸

There are, however, restrictions on the morphological variants of the discourse particles according to sentential distribution, namely, that discourse particles can vary utterance-initially but not utterance-finally (cf. Cardinaletti 2015 for the same and related observations with Italian, and Hill 2014 for similar data in Romanian, where only one of two co-occurring utterance-initial particles may inflect for person/number). Thus, whereas in initial position *mira* can show all possible morphological variants of its imperative form, minus the first-person plural optative, as illustrated in (76f-i) above; in utterance-final position, only a two-way alternation between the formal/informal second-person singular morphology is permitted:

- (80) a. {*Mira/mire/mirad/miren/?mirar*}, *yo he estado*
 DM.IMP.2SG/.SUBJ.3SG/.IMP.2PL/.SUBJ.3PL/.INF I have.1SG be.PST.PTCP
 bastante en Brasil
 quite.a.lot in Brazil
 ‘Look, I’ve spent a lot of time in Brazil’ (Sp.)
- b. *Yo he estado bastante en Brasil,*
 I have.1SG be.PST.PTCP quite.a.lot in Brazil
 {*mira/mire/*mirad/*miren/*mirar*}
 DM.IMP.2SG/.SUBJ.3SG/.IMP.2PL/.SUBJ.3PL/.INF
 ‘I’ve spent a lot of time in Brazil, okay’

As Cardinaletti (2015:81) points out in relation to her Italian data, ‘the different agreement possibilities suggest that the particles are different items in the two clausal positions’. However, whereas she discounts the proposal that the CP moves to a specifier position in the SAP, assuming instead that utterance-final particles (which, on her account, are weak XPs) are merged in an IP-internal position, ‘enter[ing] an Agree relation with the Speech Act head(s) encoding the discourse coordinates’ (Cardinaletti 2015:74), we take the view that the agreement pattern is evidence of the internal articulation of the utterance domain as follows.

¹⁸ Note, however, that the existence of ‘inflecting’ discourse particles does not entail that the grammaticalisation of the original lexical imperative into a speech-act modifier be a recent development, since ‘inflected’ discourse particles are attested from the C15/16 onwards in Spanish/Portuguese corpora.

2.3 Discourse particles

To recap, the utterance-initial vs. utterance-final position of discourse particles cross-linguistically/outside Ibero-Romance has already revealed interpretative differences according to structural distribution (cf. §2.3.1.6), and these in turn have motivated Haegeman's (2014) postulation of a bipartite architecture for the utterance domain, an account which finds empirical corroboration in our Ibero-Romance data. We argue that the ‘inflectional’ agreement facts strengthen this conclusion. In contrast to utterance-initial particles, utterance-final particles in Ibero-Romance can show a maximum of two variants, where the only agreement alternation possible is \pm FORMALITY (viz. indicative 2SG vs. subjunctive 3SG morphology): in other words, the utterance-final particles can only value features related to the *relationship between speech participants*, which in Ibero-Romance happens to take the form of the T/V distinction. Utterance-initial particles can also be marked for this property as well as that of number. On our view, it is improbable that utterance-final particles should be merged in a distinct domain from the utterance layer (on Cardinaletti's account, the lower IP domain) yet show all but one of the properties of utterance-oriented elements associated with the higher dedicated domain. In particular, the ‘bonding’ nature of the features valued in utterance-final particles, and the independent evidence that such an interpretation corresponds to a distinct and, crucially, lower projection in the SAP indicates instead that utterance-final particles are indeed merged in SA2°.

We contend that the more compelling account is that in which there are a minimum of two left-peripheral utterance projections, to which the CP can move in order to derive the sentence-final order exhibited by utterance-oriented particles. However, we highlight the point made by Del Gobbo et al. (2015:fn1) that sentence-final particles could in fact be either ‘sentence-internal or sentence-final depending on the movement of other elements’. Indeed, we suspect it is likely that linearly-final particles are a heterogeneous class, insofar as some will indeed merge lower down in the clause (in the IP or at the vP-edge), rendering aspectual interpretations, as is the case with German modal particles. Other particles in an apparently similar linear position will be merged higher up in the topmost domain of the clausal hierarchy, producing discourse-oriented interpretations. In the latter case, their left-peripheral merge position is presumed to be obscured by CP-fronting to specifier position(s) above the particle.

We therefore assume that Ibero-Romance verb-based discourse particles are not necessarily invariant, and that their agreement patterns value features associated with the utterance domain. Although we leave the precise nature of this mechanism to future research, we argue that, rather than inflecting according to phi-features, discourse particle agreement

2.3 Discourse particles

with a two-way formality/politeness alternation is the consequence of valuing speech-act features, instead of being marked for 2/3SG per se. However, given that agreement with the addressee has been observed to involve only singular to the exclusion of plural marking (cf. §2.2.4; Miyagawa 2012; Akkuş 2016), we propose that utterance-initial discourse particle agreement with *multiple* variants is the result of interaction between allocutive and phi-feature agreement. That discourse particle marking interacts with number is evident from the behaviour of infinitive forms, which can be used informally in Spanish as an imperative, when deployed in an utterance-oriented function. Specifically, infinitive forms operating as discourse particles, e.g. *mirar* (<'look/watch.INF') in (81a-c) are fully felicitous only when accompanied by a plural vocative:

- (81) a. *Mirar chavalas creo que nos pasará a la mayoría*
(‘Look.INF, girls, I think this will happen to most of us’)
- b. *?Mirar creo que nos pasará a la mayoría*
(‘Look.INF, I think this will happen to most of us’)
- c. **Mirar chavala creo que nos pasará a la mayoría*
(‘Look.INF, girl, I think this will happen to most of us’)

In the above examples, *mirar* as a discourse particle is only felicitously licensed when there is a co-occurring 2PL vocative: the vocative’s absence produces a degraded sentence in (81b) and the presence of a singular vocative an impossible one in (81c). We assume that the necessity of an appropriately-marked vocative in these cases is due to the lack of person marking in Spanish infinitives. By contrast, a vocative is not required with discourse particles exhibiting morphologically-complex forms (e.g. *mirad/olhai* ‘look.2PL’), we presume, since the number marking is encoded on the discourse particle itself via Agree with phi-features.

Note that the validity of this proposal is contingent on its compatibility with our argument in §2.3.1.4 that the highest SAP positions correlate with phonological autonomy and morphological invariability. As such, we assume there must be some syntactic mechanism which prevents number agreement occurring when the CP moves into a specifier position above base-generated (utterance-final) particles in the SAP. We speculate that this would require that the derivation occurs in stages —specifically, that movement of the CP to a specUP position must occur before local feature-checking between the lower SA-head and phi-features in C in order to interrupt this process—, though it is at present unclear why the SAP/CP interacts in this way. As such, we do not attempt to account for it here.

2.3.3 Non-verb-based discourse particles in Ibero-Romance

Our definition of discourse particles, in its simplest form, is of utterance-oriented constituents whose interpretative function is to ‘profile the speaker-hearer relationship’ (Kirsner&van Heuven 1996) and whose formal properties categorise them as functional heads in the left-periphery of the sentential syntax above ForceP. On our analysis, then, any element with a discourse-oriented interpretation and the ability to lexicalise a corresponding functional head is to be classified as a discourse particle. As such, a number of utterance-oriented items, which under traditional analyses would be given distinct categorial classifications—including the group of disparate elements traditionally labelled interjections (cf. Cuenca 2011)—can be analysed as discourse particles. These include (reanalysed) nouns (82a-c), adjectives (82d) and non-lexical interjections (traditionally defined) (82e-f):

- (82) a. *Silêncio meninos, é pecado rir na procissão!*
 ‘Silence children, it’s sinful to laugh during the procession!’ (B.Pg.[†])
- b. *Veña, forza, que xa non che queda nada!!*
 ‘C’mɒn, be brave, you’re almost there!’ (Gal.[†])
- c. *Cudiato, que fa temporal!*
 ‘Be careful, there’s a storm!’ (Arag.[†])
- d. *Tranquilo chavales la copa del rey se la lleva el Madrid seguro*
 ‘Don’t worry, guys, Madrid will definitely win the Copy del Rey’ (E.Sp.[†])
- e. *¡Ai, virgen santísima!, hai aquí un cuélebre esageráu*
 ‘Ohhh, dear Lord, there’s a massive snake in here!’ (Ast.; ASLA)
- f. *Ala, que mesmo he escrito en o blog*
 ‘No way, I wrote just the same in the blog’ (Arag.[†])

Like verb-based discourse particles, these utterance-oriented items are interpretatively deficient with respect to their lexical counterparts, where these exist (e.g. the noun *forza* ‘strength’ is reanalysed as a call to ‘be strong!'; the adjective *tranquilo* ‘calm, peaceful’ becomes an injunctive order ‘don’t worry/chill!'), and their precise meaning is contextually derived according to the wider discourse situation. Their distribution is identical to verb-based discourse particles: in addition to utterance-initial positions, items such as those in (82a-f) can also appear in sentence medial (83a) and final (83b) positions, being absent, again, in embedded clauses:

2.3 Discourse particles

- (83) a. [...] *deben decirnos personas que trabajan en una película pero ¡ojo!, que sólo valdrán las formas masculinas o femeninas [...]*
 ‘give the name of people who work on a film but careful! [lit. ‘eye!’] – only masculine and feminine [gender] forms count’ (Mad.Sp.; CORLEC)
- b. *Que la gente sea imbécil no es tu culpa, ánimo*
 ‘It’s not your fault that people are idiots, cheer up’ (Mad.Sp.[†])

Despite their holophrastic nature, which may suggest a compositional phrasal status (cf. Hinterhözl&Munaro 2015), we argue that their intonational properties identify these units as functional heads rather than discourse particles. As functional heads, they are either fully intonationally integrated into the clausal structure, aligning with Cruschina’s (2015) C-constructions, or they can be followed by a prosodic break of the type we have identified as characteristic of speech-act heads (cf. §2.3.1.4):

- (84) *Hala, (que) la tía ha traído un juguete al nene*
 DM that the aunt AUX.3SG bring.PST.PTCP a toy for.the child
 ‘Wow, aunty has brought a toy for the child!’ (Sp.[†])

- (85) *Hala *(que) sois unos cabrones*
 DM that be.2PL some bastards
 ‘Gosh you’re a bunch of bastards’ (Sp.[†])

The items which are fully integrated into the utterance’s intonational contour, such as (84), have an evaluative reading, whereas those followed by a prosodic break (85) show the ‘performative’ interpretation we have associated with speech-act heads (§2.3.1.4).¹⁹ We therefore analyse the non-lexical expression *hala* in (84) and (85) above as lexicalising the head of EvalP and SAP (specifically, given its attitudinal value, SA2P) respectively.

Finally, like verb-based discourse particles, non-verb-based discourse particles which derive from other lexical categories show a reduction in their inflectional possibilities. In the

¹⁹ This behaviour is also seen in English with the particle *man* (McCready 2009), a parallel case of a discourse particle derived from a non-verbal item.

2.3 Discourse particles

case of discourse particles derived from nouns, these are morphologically invariant; the discourse particles in (86) contrast with their lexical counterparts (87) insofar as the latter but not the former can be inflected for (plural) number:²⁰

- (86) *Que la gente sea imbécil no es tu culpa, {ánimo/*ánimos}*
‘That people are idiots isn’t your fault, cheer up’ (Sp.[†])

- (87) *La goleada del Infantil C ante el Portillo, 0-6, debe servir para levantar ánimos*
‘The amazing win of Infantil C against Portillo, 0-6, should lift the spirits’ (E.Sp.[†])

Discourse particles deriving from adjectives show number/gender agreement with the addressee (88), although, like verb-based discourse particles (cf. §2.3.2), there is a trend towards invariability insofar as the default, non-inflected form is frequently attested irrespective of the number and/or gender of the addressee (89):

- (88) ***Quietos** todos, xa chegou Alfredo pa cortar*
quiet.M.PL all.M.PL already arrive.PST.3SG Alfredo for cut.INF
la empanada
the empanada
‘Be quiet everybody, Alfredo’s here to cut the empanada’ (Gal.[†])
- (89) ***Tranquilo** chavalas que estoy on fire jajajaja*
calm.M.SG girls CONJ be.1SG on fire hahahaha
‘Don’t worry, ladies, I’m on fire hahaha’ (Sp.[†])

2.3.4 Implications for the utterance domain

The distinct syntactic, distributional and interpretative properties of the class of utterance-oriented elements we have labelled *discourse particles* —a group which comprises a range of (originally) lexical and non-lexical items with a speech-act modifying interpretation— has revealed a number of properties regarding the nature of the syntactic encoding of the utterance

²⁰ Compare lexical suppletion in vocatives e.g. masculine singular *hombre* ‘man’ is used irrespective of the number or gender of the referent(s) (cf. Sp. *;Venga hombre!* *;Sois unas envidiosas!*[†] ‘C’mon man, you.FEM.PL are so jealous!’).

2.4 Interjections

in Ibero-Romance. Firstly, despite a linear order which might suggest the contrary, we have found further evidence of a dedicated utterance domain at the height of the sentential syntax: utterance-oriented elements merge to the left of ForceP, the C-projection responsible for clause typing, but may appear lower down in the structure due to clausal movement into SpecSAP. Secondly, differences in the formal properties of discourse particles merging as functional heads have indicated three distinct structural projections above ForceP: an evaluative layer (cf. Cinque 1999, Speas&Tenny 2003; Hinterhölzl&Munaro 2015; Munaro 2016), and two higher speech-act layers which corroborate Haegeman's (2014) bipartite division of this phrase into a higher 'discourse-activating' projection and a lower 'discourse-bonding' projection. In other words, we have started to build up a picture of the type of *meaning* codified in the utterance domain, and its *structural* representation via an articulated structure.

Thirdly, suprasegmental phonology, in particular prosody, has been crucial in differentiating between otherwise highly similar utterance-oriented items and their corresponding structural status: the extent of integration into the utterance's intonational contour allowed us, amongst other formal properties, to distinguish between discourse particles lexicalising the head of the Evaluative Phrase (which are fully integrated into the sentence's prosodic contour), and those lexicalising 'performative' speech-act heads, which show a degree of prosodic independence from the rest of the sentence (viz. from the CP). The ability to reflect formal distinctions in the utterance domain via intonational information is evidence in favour of analyses (Giorgi 2014,2015; Frascarelli&Jiménez-Fernández 2016; Wiltschko 2015,2016a,2016b) which propose that prosody plays a role in formalising utterance syntax.

2.4 Interjections

On our analysis, interjections have two (pre-theoretical) defining properties: in terms of meaning, they are contextually-determined *expressive* items (Kaplan 1999; Potts 2007a,b) which can be derived from lexical or non-lexical material; and in terms of form, they constitute an autonomous linguistic utterance by themselves (see also Poggi 2009; Munaro 2010a). Like other utterance-oriented items, interjections have been excluded from a syntactic treatment on both traditional and formal accounts, a view which persists even in more recent theoretical work on speech-act syntax (cf. Hill 2014:134 on utterances in which 'the particle is disconnected from the sentence and may qualify as an interjection – that is, with no implications for the structure of the sentence'). Nonetheless, some authors (notably Poggi

2.4 Interjections

2009; Munaro 2010a, 2016) have proposed that interjections *do* have syntactic properties, insofar as they adhere to a systematic distribution at the sentential peripheries (though see Hill 2014 for the opposite claim). For our analysis, however, the items which are classified as interjections in Poggi and Munaro's work qualify as discourse particles, since utterance items which can merge in the heads of clausal functional projections are labelled as particles, a descriptor chosen to convey their structurally-deficient status.

Indeed, much of the difficulty in establishing the syntactic status of interjections can be attributed to the fact that the term ‘interjection’ can and has been applied to any number of heterogeneous items which loosely correspond to an utterance-oriented, context-sensitive meaning. As such, ‘interjections’ do not form a unitary category or part of speech. However, on the view that cases of ‘syntacticised’ interjections (Munaro 2010a, 2016) can be subsumed under the grammatical analysis of discourse particles, we maintain the standard generative view that interjections lack an edge feature (cf. Chomsky 2008) and thus cannot enter into syntactic structure. Problematic to this position is the observation that, as discussed in §2.3.1.4, discourse particles and interjections frequently appear to be interchangeable on account of the fact that the same phonetic material (e.g. *venga*, *hala*, *puxa*), where said material has a discourse-oriented interpretation,²¹ can correspond to either item. In the remainder of this section, we set out our understanding of the properties that differentiate the two categories.

The crucial common factor between discourse particles and interjections is their utterance-oriented meaning. Their interpretation is context-sensitive:

- (90) *Boh! Eu para iso xa teño o Badoo!*
 ‘Pfft! I’ve got Badoo for that!’ (Gal.[†])
- (91) *Chsssssss caralho calla-te pah! Que ja vejo o javali... boh... boh!!!*
 Ssssh, for fuck’s sake, shut up mate! I can see the boar... no way... No way!
 (Mir.[†])

²¹ The lexical entry/phonetic material *anda*, for example, can be inserted into the syntax as a lexical imperative (i.e. it has a lexical/non-discourse-oriented meaning ‘move!’ from the verb *andar* ‘to move’) or as an expressive element, where it conveys a contextually-derived expression of surprise ('wow/gosh!'), disbelief ('no way!') or command ('c'mon!'), depending on the discourse environment.

2.4 Interjections

This pragmatico-semantic contribution, despite its context-dependent nature, is codified and language-specific (Poggi 2009), even in the most iconic (e.g. onomatopoeia) or cross-linguistically attested cases (cf. Wiltschko's work on Canadian *eh*, for one notable example). That is, speakers in the same linguistic community share a finite repertoire of conversational markers by which they can navigate discourse situations (e.g. *uh-huh*, *ah*, *oh*, *well*, *yeah*, *okay*), not all of which will be shared outside that group. Further, interjections have been characterised as (semantically-underdetermined) holophrastic utterances; i.e., their meaning is equivalent to that of a sentential proposition. Munaro (2010a:79), for example, decomposes the interpretative contribution of an interjection as containing:

- a. the obligatory (and largely implicit) presence of the entities involved in the specific communicative situation (*speaker* and *hearer*);
- b. a verb, which makes explicit the illocutionary (and loosely performative) value of the linguistic act (which can be made explicit as *inform*, *ask*, *express*...);
- c. the propositional content of the interjection, divisible in two factors:
 - c1. the mental state of the speaker, which can be surprise, curiosity, desire, disappointment, anger and so on; this part is conventionally codified by the interjection;
 - c2. a deictic expression, typically a demonstrative, that refers to the entity or event of the external world that is the source of that mental state

In other words, an interjection instantiates the values we have associated with the dedicated utterance domain: speaker and addressee; performativity; and Kaplanian expressiveness.

On the other hand, the understanding that interjections lack an edge feature entails that they cannot participate in any syntactic operations. Notably, whereas some discourse particles are still able to show some limited morphological alternations (cf. §2.3.2), interjections are fully invariant (e.g. *toma*, *anda*, *vaya/vaia*). Another consequence of the lack of an edge feature is the inability to integrate into syntactic structures (i.e. via external merge), as evidenced empirically by the standard view that interjections are standalone items. Conversely, we have shown through numerous diagnostics in §2.3 that discourse particles *are* integrated into syntactic structure, albeit with some variation in their interpretative and prosodic properties according to the position in which they are merged. The alternation between discourse particles and interjections in cases in which the same phonetic material can instantiate either category is thus a fallout of whether that material is endowed with an edge feature or not. This analysis captures a formal distinction and allows for the maintenance of the traditional view of interjections as non-participants in syntactic processes.

2.4 Interjections

The proposal mooted in §2.3.1.4 that the highest projections in the utterance domain are both those which are morphologically invariant and which exhibit a greater degree of prosodic autonomy does, however, leave open the possibility that interjections could be amenable to formal analysis. Since reanalysis in the case of discourse particles has been hypothesised to follow the predicted upwards path of grammaticalisation along functional structure, the highest point on this trajectory could simply be morphological (coupled with syntactic) invariability and prosodic autonomy. Autonomy in the prosodic domain would thus permit, paradoxically, the independence to manipulate such items' phonetic realisation. Indeed, we can observe not only that interjections can be pronounced in isolation, but that they can be subjected to various phonetic processes, as illustrated in the following exchanges (92-95):

- (92) A: *¿Quién? No debería preguntar.*
 ‘Who? I shouldn't ask.’
- B: *Un tuitero que la policía lo busco por unos tuits denigrantes que hizo*
 ‘A Twitter user who the police are after because of some offensive
 tweets they sent.’
- A: *aaaanda*
 ‘No wayyyyy!’ (Sp.[†])
- (93) A: *Epa, não faz nem 40s do meu bom dia e ja reclamei no Twitter!!!! Epaaaa*
 ‘Wow, not even forty seconds have passed since I said good morning and I've
 already complained on Twitter! Wowwwww!’ (B.Pg., São Paulo[†])
- (94) A: ‘#Brespain’ i que sigui ràpid.
 ‘#Brespain’ and fast!’
- B: *Vinga vinga!*
 ‘Hear hear!’ (Cat.[†])
- (95) A: *Y yo sin fecha de examen aun.. oju, oju, oju, oju!*
 ‘And me, still without a date for the exam... watch out!’ (Sp.[†])

In the above examples, the interjections have undergone initial (92) and final (93) syllable lengthening, reduplication (94) and quadruplication (95). Such changes to the phonetic

2.5 *The Utterance Phrase*

realisation of interjections typically lead to a strengthening of commitment (to the preceding propositional content, or to one's own investment in the intensity of the emotive communication of the utterance).

While these phonetic variants could be merely iconic (e.g. louder equals stronger), a second possibility would be to explore the notion that feature valuation can occur via sound (Wiltschko 2016a; cf. §1.4). That is, interjections might correspond to some basic formal utterance structure which is morphologically invariant but still sensitive to basic phonetic manipulation. In support of this conjecture is the performative nature of syntacticised speech acts and their holophrastic meaning (e.g. [I] ASK, ASSERT, COMMAND [(TO) YOU TO/TH Θ T], on their basic characterisation), properties shared by interjections. If, i) in lexicalising a speech-act head, one facilitates the expression of that functional layer, which, semantically, instantiates a dynamic illocutionary act (on which cf. Krifka 2014), and if, ii) the meaning of that functional layer is an expression of its formal features, then it would follow that an element (e.g. an interjection) exhibiting the same properties would be of the same category (i.e. a syntactic item). Nonetheless, our understanding of the interaction between utterance syntax and phonology is not yet in a place where such possibilities can be reasonably explored, for which reason we leave such theories as mere speculation for the present.

2.5 The Utterance Phrase

The present chapter has provided a variety of evidence that Ibero-Romance vocatives and discourse particles are not merely pragmatic items external to clausal syntax but are instead full participants in the functional structure. The key difference between these constituents and those merged in the sentential core is that the latter are part of the argument structure and contribute to the construal of the utterance's proposition and information packaging, whereas vocatives and discourse particles participate in the syntactic encoding of conversational dynamics. That is, vocatives and discourse particles mediate between the propositional content encoded lower down in the functional structure —i.e. the at issue, semantic content that the speaker wants to communicate to their addressee(s)— and the extra-sentential context, i.e. the wider, interactive discourse environment into which, via the act of the utterance itself, the proposition is introduced.

This dissertation argues against the received view that the highest domain within the clausal architecture is the CP, whose highest projection is ForceP/DeclP. That such a structure is insufficient for encoding Ibero-Romance vocatives and discourse particles is evidenced by

2.5 The Utterance Phrase

the distribution of such constituents at the left-edge of the clause relative to illocutionary QUE (note that the structural analyses in (96a-b) will be adjusted in subsequent chapters):

- (96) a. *Ai mamá* [DeclP [Decl *que* [TP *me leva el demo!*]]]
 DM mum that me=take.3SG the devil
 ‘Arghh mum, the devil is taking me away!’ (Ast.)
- b. *Veña meninas!* [DeclP [Decl *Que* [TopicP *estos dias* [TP *hai molta metralha que queimar!*]]]
 DM girls that these days there.is much
 shrapnel that burn.INF
 ‘C’mon girls, we’ve got a lot of shrapnel to burn off at the moment!’ (Gal.)

In other words, designating the highest CP projection as the highest clausal position maroons utterance-oriented elements outside the sentential structure.²² It also fails to explain the distributional constraints on non-initial utterance-oriented constituents, which cannot merge in embedded CPs yet are nonetheless attested in utterance-final positions (cf. §2.2.2; §2.3.1.6). Thus, on the long-held assumption that the sentence is the maximal unit encoded by syntax, and taking into account the observation that vocatives and discourse particles *do* obey formal constraints after all, we are compelled to postulate extra structure at the clausal left-edge. A single utterance layer (e.g. Hill 2007) has, however, proven insufficient for capturing the empirical distribution of the utterance-oriented constituents discussed in this chapter. Further, it lacks the complexity of what one might predict for the encoding of interactive meaning which characterises this portion of the clausal structure. Haegeman’s (2014) analysis, which divides the SAP into two dedicated layers, and Wiltschko and her team’s work, which distinguishes between a Response layer and a Grounding layer, can accommodate such data more readily. We nonetheless make some further minor adjustments to their structural arrangements as follows.

²² Note also that these utterance-oriented elements do not trigger proclisis in Ibero-Romance varieties whose clitic placement pattern follows what I term a ‘North-West distribution’ (cf. ch5):

- (i) *Oes séntate la mar de ben ese anorak!*
 hey suit.3SG=**you** the sea of well that anorak
 ‘Hey, that anorak looks great on you!’ (Gal.)[†]

2.5 The Utterance Phrase

Firstly, since the utterance domain encodes not only the speech act itself, but encompasses a wider range of information (e.g. prosodic information) and constituents (e.g. utterance participants), we label this syntactic space the Utterance Phrase (UP). Our conceptualisation of the highest sentential domain does not only represent the logical form of the speech act (e.g. as an operator, unpaired to its morpholexical/phonological shape). Rather, the utterance is tied to its physical (i.e. PF) representation, not least due to the crucial effects of prosody and their role in licensing grammatical expression. We therefore opt for the use of UP rather than SAP to capture this extra component of illocutionary syntax.

Secondly, *pace* Haegeman (2014), we do not distinguish between the utterance layers according to a performative vs. non-performative opposition. On our view, the potential to ‘change the world’ (Szabolcsi 1982; Krifka 2014) is an intrinsic property of speech acts, and therefore any mapping of the speech act to the clausal structure should reflect this defining property in the speech act’s syntactic characterisation. Consider the following examples:

- (97) *Au va, vinga, els britànics han decidit democraticamente*
‘C’mon now, the British have decided democratically’ (Cat.[†])
- (98) *Au va, tira cap a dormir vinga*
‘C’mon, off to bed with you, c’mon!’ (Cat.[†])

Assuming that *au va* (‘c’mon’) occupies the highest utterance projection, the second discourse particle *vinga* (‘c’mon’) must lexicalise the lower U-head in (97) and (98) alike. Both *au va* and *vinga* have a performative interpretation in the above sentences, as evidenced by their identical translation in the parenthetical glosses as ‘c’mon’, even if their contribution modifies the utterance in slightly different ways. In fact, the first item, *au va*, contrary to what Haegeman and Wiltschko’s proposals might lead us to predict, has less of an addressee-oriented interpretation than *vinga*, a particle which follows up on expressive contribution of the initial discourse marker by reiterating, and thereby strengthening, its directive force. Together, the two items implement a complex conversational move à la Beyssade&Marandin (2006a,2006b), each updating the illocutionary force with a distinct interpretative nuance. Thus the property of performativity is not a defining feature of one utterance head to the exclusion of other. Indeed, it is this property that distinguishes higher-merging discourse particles in UP from non-performative evaluative particles (cf. §2.3.1.4), which, following Munaro (2016), are encoded as the head of EvalP.

2.5 The Utterance Phrase

Thirdly, our Ibero-Romance data indicates that vocatives can merge in the lower utterance layer only. In all the sentences with a co-occurring vocative and discourse particle discussed so far, the discourse particle has consistently preceded the vocative:

- (99) a. *Silêncio meninos, é pecado rir na procissão!*
 ‘Silence children, it’s sinful to laugh during the procession!’ (B.Pg.[†])
- b. *Tranquilo chavales la copa del rey se la lleva el Madrid seguro*
 ‘Don’t worry, guys, Madrid will definitely win the Copy del Rey’ (E.Sp.[†])
- c. *Ala, venga, noies, a pensar què farem la semana que ve!*
 ‘Right, c’mon, girls, start thinking what we’ll do next week!’ (Cat.[†])
- d. *Olhai gente se não é amor eu não sei o que é*
 ‘Look here, people, if that’s not love, I don’t know what is’ (B.Pg.[†])

Indeed, when tested, the basic order for Ibero-Romance utterance-oriented constituents, following a ‘default’ intonational contour appropriate to the sentence type, is indeed particle > vocative:

- (100) a. *¿Oye, María, dónde has estado?*
 DM María where have.2SG be.PST.PTCP
 ‘Hey, María, where have you been?’ (Sp.)
- b. *#¿María, oye, dónde has estado?*
 María DM where have.2SG be.PST.PTCP

Recall that, on our analysis, vocative nouns are analysed as XPs, occupying specifier positions of the utterance structure, and discourse markers are utterance heads. As such, the above sentences correspond to the structural representation illustrated in (101), corroborating the various proposals for an articulated speech-act structure:

- (101) [UP1 [U1° *oye*] [UP2 *María* [U2°][CP *dónde has estado*]]]

The reverse order (i.e. where the VocP precedes the discourse particle) requires a significant intonational break between the vocative and the following utterance, such that the vocative is analysed as instantiating a separate utterance (and, by extension, a separate UP):

2.5 The Utterance Phrase

- (102) [UP *i María!*] [UP [U° *oye*] [CP *dónde has estado*]]]

In other words, vocatives are banned from merging in the highest layer of the Ibero-Romance UP. Further, vocatives are assumed to merge above EvalP, as evidenced by the impossibility of interpolation between the evaluative particle and the obligatory finite complementizer *que* (103) versus the felicity of a VocP between a performative discourse particle and a C-construction (104):

- (103) *Anda (*mamá) que eres pesada!*
 DM mum that be.2SG annoying
 ‘Gosh (*mum’) you’re annoying!’ (Sp.)

- (104) *Anda, mamá, mira que eres pesada!*
 DM mum DM that be.2SG annoying
 ‘C’mon, mum, gosh you’re annoying!’ (Sp.)

Following cartographic principles, we contend that vocatives must be merged in dedicated utterance positions (i.e. those which have a performative, ‘world-changing’ interpretation) and, as such, do not occupy the specifier position of EvalP. Nonetheless, EvalP appears to have some intermediary properties which align this projection neither with what we will find in subsequent chapters to be the prototypical behaviour of UP, nor entirely with the formal properties of the CP — a finding which echoes observations that the border between CP and TP is not as sharp as one might expect.

In fact, it seems likely that the utterance domain has additional structure beyond the bipartite division suggested above. We have taken the view that Ibero-Romance ‘performative’ discourse particles merge in the clausal structure as U-heads, where there is a one-to-one particle:head ratio (cf. Haegeman 2014). Evidence of multiple co-occurring particles in Ibero-Romance therefore motivates the expansion of the UP beyond Haegeman’s (2014) structure, as illustrated by the following Spanish sentences:²³

- (105) a. ***Oye mira vale no es ni mala idea***

²³ Note that Peninsular Spanish more readily licenses multiple particles in a single sentence than other Ibero-Romance varieties, an observation which is consistent with the finding that emerges from this dissertation that Peninsular Spanish has the most ‘developed’ utterance syntax of the Ibero-Romance family.

2.5 The Utterance Phrase

- b. ‘Hey, look, okay, it’s not a even bad idea’[†]
- c. *Oye mira vale, llévame contigo*
‘Hey, look, okay, take me with you’[†]
- d. *Oye mira yo también quiero copiarme vale*
‘Hey, look, I also wanna copy, okay’[†]
- e. *Oye chico, mira vale, así dicen*
Hey, boy, look okay, that’s what they say’[†]
- f. *Oye Samy mira vale dime si no quieres que te fastidie más*
‘Hey, Samy, look okay, tell me if you want me to stop pestering you’[†]

The Spanish examples feature three co-occurring ‘performative’ discourse particles above the CP, between each of which interpolation by a VocP or CP is permitted. As such, we assume that each of the ‘performative’ discourse particles in (105a-f) corresponds to a distinct functional head within the utterance domain. While a necessary avenue for future research, we do not discuss these possibilities further in this dissertation, in order to retain focus on our investigation of the extended left-periphery through illocutionary QUE.

A key insight that we nonetheless take away from the co-occurrence of multiple discourse particles is that the ban on vocatives occupying an absolute-initial position continues to apply in these sentences. Whereas the vocative phrase can interpolate between discourse particles (106-107), it is consistently judged infelicitous when preceding (any number of) discourse particles, if the VocP occurs in utterance-initial position, as in (108):

- (106) *Oye, guapo, mira, yo no soy del PP, eh?*²⁴
 DM good-looking DM I not be.1SG of.the PP DM
 ‘Hey, mate, look, I’m not a Tory, okay?’ (E.Sp.[†])
- (107) *Oye, mira guapo, yo no soy del PP, eh?*
 DM DM good-looking I not be.1SG of.the PP DM

²⁴ We assume that *eh* ‘eh’ can also be analysed as a discourse particle, due to distributional restrictions, and to examples such as the following:

(i) *;Eh, que yo no soy idiota!*
 ‘Hey, I’m not an idiot!’ (Spanish[†])

2.5 The Utterance Phrase

- (108) #*Guapo* *oye mira*, *yo no soy del PP, eh?*
 good-looking DM DM I not be.1SG of.the PP DM

We therefore confirm the impossibility of utterance-initial vocatives merging in the specifier of the highest speech-act projection, leaving the possibility of further articulation within the UP based on the distribution of Ibero-Romance discourse particles to future research.

2.5.1 A bipartite structure (for now)

We thus continue to appeal to the basic bipartite division of the UP. For us, the first of its two performative layers initiates the utterance, attracting the addressee's attention and identifying the initial illocutionary update material, i.e. how the speaker wishes the addressee to interpret the utterance that will follow. Whilst this discourse-initiating layer involves both speech participants, the perspective of the initial update material can vary: for example, both the addressee-oriented discourse particle *oye* 'hey!' and the speaker-oriented *ay* 'ohhh!' can lexicalise an initial utterance projection, as illustrated by their identical distribution with respect to vocatives in (109-110):

- (109) a. *Oye, tía, ¿qué hora es?*
 DM aunt what hour be.3SG
 'Hey, aunty, what time is it?'
 b. #*Tía, oye, ¿qué hora es?*
 aunt DM what hour be.3SG
 c. *Tia! Oye, ¿qué hora es?*
 aunt DM what hour be.3SG

- (110) a. *Ay, amor, ¡cómo te quiero!*
 DM love how you=love.1SG
 'Ohh, darling, I love you so much!' (Sp.)
 b. #*Amor, ay, ¡cómo te quiero!*
 love DM how you=love.1SG
 c. *¡Amor! Ay, ¡cómo te quiero!*
 love DM how you=love.1SG

2.5 The Utterance Phrase

In both (109) and (110), the discourse particle is responsible for activating the discourse, but their interpretative contribution differs in that *oye* ‘hey!’ (109) is purely an attention-calling device, whereas *ay* ‘ohhh!’ (110) is a purely speaker-oriented expressive, i.e. it conveys a context-sensitive update on the speaker’s mental state, where the interaction of the addressee is neither requested nor indeed relevant. Thus, despite the different modifications each particle contributes to their utterance, they both lexicalise a position preceding the vocative XP, which, on a bipartite division of the utterance domain, must be the highest position in the UP.

A second consequence of the distribution in (109-110) is that it undermines the characterisation of the lower utterance phrase as the attitudinal layer. Instead, attitudinal content can be conveyed in either projection, as illustrated by the utterance-initial versus utterance-final position of the Galician speaker-oriented expressive *vaites* ‘gosh-wow!>:

- (111) a. *Vaites, também há trolls acó no eufalo!!*
‘Gosh, there are also trolls around here on *eufalo.tv!*’
- (112) b. *Merquei o outro dia o primeiro DVD [...] e xa non cheghei ao primeiro para gravar, vaites.*
‘I bought the first DVD the other day [...] but I still haven’t videoed the first episode, pfffft’

In the discourse contexts of (111-112), *vaites* ‘gosh-wow!’ establishes the exclamative interpretation of the utterance in (111), and the degree of the particle’s expressive contribution is roughly equal to that of the CP that follows, whereas the final position of the particle in (112) renders its emotive content secondary to that of the proposition. Note, however, that even though the discourse particle *vaites* is a primarily speaker-oriented expression, the addressee is nonetheless implicit in its meaning due to the remnants of addressee information in its morphology via the second-person fossilised clitic *te*: a finding which we take as supporting the hypothesis that the utterance domain is primarily *interactive* in nature.

Despite these minor amendments, we nonetheless subscribe to the basic interpretative distinction between the two layers established by Haegeman and Wiltschko. On our view, what these (and our) accounts have in common is that the higher layer is conceived as the ‘outward’-looking projection, providing a connection to the extra-sentential discourse – enabling the speaker to initiate discourse, interrupt, draw attention to themselves and to what they want to say. The type of discourse particle that lexicalises this position will determine

2.5 The Utterance Phrase

the activational update role more narrowly, according to that particle's interpretative content. The explicitness of this invitation to interaction is contextually-derived and will also depend on the clause type and substantive content of the sentence that follows. Wiltschko (2015, forth.a, forth.b) identifies the highest utterance layer as Call on Addressee/ResponseP,²⁵ indicating an addressee-oriented focus for this domain, an intuition we do not follow given the observation that chiefly speaker-oriented meaning can be encoded in this layer to the exclusion of addressee-oriented information (e.g. *ay* 'ohhh' does not call on the addressee to do anything). Instead, we assume its contents are underspecified with respect to the utterance participants, in line with the approach to the UP as an interactive domain. Evoking the external orientation that we hold characterises the upper projection of the UP, we label this layer SAhighP, and associate it, somewhat crudely, with a [+ACTIVATIONAL] feature.

The lower UP layer, conversely, looks inwards towards the sentence itself, and its function is to get the addressee to focus their attention to the sentence's content. For Wiltschko, it 'grounds' the utterance, hierarchically conveying the perspective of the addressee and the speaker towards the proposition. For Haegeman, the layer is dedicated to 'discourse-bonding', mediating the interaction between the speaker and addressee. While we agree that the merge order of utterance participants is hierarchically-constrained (discussed below) and that said participants are syntactically encoded within this (sub)domain, we opt for Haegeman's proposal that the key interpretative property of this layer is *interaction*. Distinct from the higher interactive domain, however, the function of discourse particles merged in the lower layer is to maintain the addressee's attention and manipulate their attitude towards the utterance, an effort which demands the speaker's participation, whence Haegeman's characterisation of 'bonding'. Nonetheless, the sentence-oriented focus of the lower layer (i.e. towards the proposition the speaker wants to convey), rather than extra-sentential focus (viz. the role of the higher layer), will manifest itself in a more speaker-focused interpretation for this layer overall, whence its frequent characterisation as the speaker's attitudinal/evaluative layer. The clearest indicator that this is the case will be shown in Chapter 3, in which we discuss exclamative QUE.

²⁵ In fact, in Wiltschko's hypothesis, Call on Addressee is commonly valued by intonation rather than lexicalisation, which is not the case on our—or Haegeman's—approach. This suggests that her ResponseP may be a different projection altogether. Nonetheless, we identify the higher utterance projection ('SA1' for Haegeman) with Wiltschko's Call on Addressee component, as the two seem to be the same in spirit.

2.5 The Utterance Phrase

Finally, we examine the possibility that the lower, internally-oriented speech-act layer itself has internal structure. The finding that vocatives cannot merge higher or lower than the specifier position of EvalP or ExtraP respectively (cf. §2.5) entails that vocatives must be merged within the lower UP layer. On the evidence from Brazilian Portuguese ‘double-vocative’ construction (viz. where two phonetically-identical VocPs obtain in a single utterance, cf. §2.2.3) and Italo-and Daco-Romance ‘speaker-oriented’ vocatives that there are *two* merge positions for vocative XPs, we are forced to conclude that the lower utterance layer has internal structure. Based on the strict linear hierarchy of ADDRESSEE > SPEAKER of co-occurring Romance addressee- and speaker-oriented vocatives, alongside independent work corroborating this merge order (Lam 2014; Thoma 2014; Jlassi 2016), we assume, *pace* Sigurðsson 2010, Hill 2014 that addressee is encoded higher than speaker in the functional structure.²⁶ Nonetheless, since speaker-oriented vocatives are not attested in Ibero-Romance, and the double vocative construction in Brazilian Portuguese is exceptional in this language family, we informally collapse these projections for the purposes of this dissertation.

We label the lower utterance layer SAlowP to reflect the fundamental opposition of the interactive, utterance domain which we propose holds between the external orientation of the higher functional layer and the internal orientation of the lower utterance space. We thus assume at least the following projections for the expanded left-periphery, incorporating EvalP (Speas&Tenny 2003; Munaro 2016) immediately beneath UP (cf. fn27), and Ledgeway’s (2012) left-peripheral cartography beneath that as follows:

²⁶ Given that disagreement exists over the relative hierarchy of speaker vs. addressee positions, it may be the case that the order is language-specific and therefore parametrisable (Theresa Biberauer, p.c.). Although we do not elaborate further on the possibility here, we intuit that it will prove preferable to separate utterance participants from their speaker/addressee roles, in the vein of Sigurðsson’s (2010) proposal ‘logophoric agent’ and ‘logophoric patient’, providing the flexibility for the participants to switch between illocutionary functions where necessary (i.e. the speaker could be encoded as the illocutionary AGENT in certain syntactic environments/languages, and the PATIENT in others, parallel to alignment in core syntax; cf. Perlmutter&Postal 1984). By disassociating the syntactic configuration of the interlocutors from the speaker/addressee orientation, one can maintain the intuition that speech participants are represented in a dedicated domain distinct from the event structure, whilst allowing utterance syntax to be parametrised according to ‘illocutionary’ alignment (for a similar idea, cf. Wiltschko forth.a.). Note that Speas&Tenny’s (2003) SAP relies on the concept of alignment by associating illocutionary force with distinct structural configurations. While we assume that (complex) illocutionary force is instead encoded in left-peripheral heads, retaining a performative/eventive parallel with V-heads, we nonetheless consider Speas&Tenny’s original (2003) intuition worth retaining, albeit in a distinct format.

2.6 Conclusion

- (113) [SAHighP [SALowP_{Addressee} [SALowP_{Speaker} [EvalP [DeclP [FrameP1 [FrameP2 [ConcP [HypP [ExclP [ThemeP1 [ThemeP2 [IntP [CFocP1 [CFocP2 [IFocP1 [IFocP2 [FinP [IP ...]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

For practical purposes, however, we collapse a number of the above positions which are not relevant for identifying the structural position of the three types of illocutionary QUE discussed in this dissertation, yielding the more manageable structure in (114):²⁷

- (114) [SAHighP [SALowP [ForceP [TopicP [Pol-IntP [ExclP [Wh-IntP [FocP [FinP [IP ...]]]]]]]]]]]

2.6 Conclusion

As set out in the introduction to this chapter, our aim has not been to elaborate a speech-act structure for Ibero-Romance. Rather, it has been to provide diagnostic tools for differentiating between the three different types of illocutionary QUE under discussion in this thesis. We have identified a number of indicators which suggest an internally-articulated utterance field, such as the existence in (Ibero-)Romance of syntactically-constrained, hierarchically-ordered vocatives and discourse particles in a structure that is subordinate to the CP. We have labelled this syntactic space the Utterance Phrase, a domain dedicated to the encoding of complex illocutionary force, which is conceived as a dynamic process of conversational moves updated by the interaction between speaker and addressee. Discourse particles are understood to provide key evidence in support of the updated view of illocutionary force as conversational moves, such that distinct discourse particles modify the speech act, contributing information and instructions regarding how the speaker wants the addressee to understand the utterance and the direction in which the speaker wishes the conversation to proceed. We have followed Haegeman (2014) and Wiltschko et al. (2015) in assuming a basic bipartite division for the UP's internal structure, although we take the fundamental distinction between its two layers as based on an opposition between an utterance-external versus utterance-internal orientation. Further, we hold that, from a cartographic perspective, it is highly likely that the utterance

²⁷ We collapse EvalP and DeclP into a single ForceP for now. This structural arrangement will be revised in subsequent chapters.

2.6 Conclusion

structure is much more complicated than the rudimentary two-way split we will follow here, and predict that future investigation will provide the necessary empirical facts to elaborate its articulated structure. Nonetheless, the structures elaborated in this chapter are more than sufficient for serving their purpose in the present dissertation, i.e. to act as diagnostics for the formal differentiation between the different types of illocutionary QUE under discussion in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3

Exclamative QUE

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we argued the case for the syntactic encoding of utterance-oriented elements in Ibero-Romance within a dedicated articulated domain of the clausal architecture above the CP, an area which we designated the Utterance Phrase (UP). In this chapter, we reinforce the necessity of distinguishing between two separate domains, viz. CP and UP, within the left-periphery, by examining the formal properties of exclamative QUE, the first of the three types of Ibero-Romance illocutionary QUE to be discussed in this dissertation. We will show that exclamative QUE exhibits a number of syntactic, distributional and interpretative characteristics which distinguish the element from the *prima facie* identical Ibero-Romance finite complementiser *que* ‘that’, arguing that these differences are best explained by the recent extension of the clausal left-periphery into distinct fields encoding utterance content (in the UP, a revision of Speas&Tenny’s 2003 Speech Act Phrase) and information structure (in the already-established CP).

The construction referred to here as ‘exclamative QUE’ consists of an indicative clause, typically (1-3) but not necessarily (4) a declarative, that is introduced by the item normally known as the Romance finite complementiser *que* (‘that’), and which has the illocutionary force of an exclamation:

- (1) *Apa mama, que la tia Afra m’ha comprat una joguina nova!*
 wow mum EXCL the aunt Afra me=AUX.3SG buy.PST.PTCP a
 toy new
‘Wow mum, aunt Afra has bought me a new toy!’ (Cat.^Δ)
- (2) *Que aquilo dava muito dinheiro antigamente!*
EXCL that give.IMPF.3SG much money formerly
‘That used to be a good earner!’ (E.Pg., Larinho, Bragança; CORDIAL-SIN)
- (3) *iAy que se me muer!*
DM EXCL REFL=me=die.3SG
‘Oh it’s dying on me!’ (Leon.; CDL:44)

3.1 Introduction

- (4) *ufff, que qué putadón Coronil, cuida ese cuerpo*
 ufff EXCL what bugger Coronil look.after.IMP that body
 ‘Ufff, what a bugger, Coronil, look after that body!’ (E.Sp.[†])

Evidence of exclamative QUE sentences is attested today and historically across all major Ibero-Romance varieties, viz. Brazilian and European Portuguese, Catalan, Galician, and Peninsular and Latin-American Spanish. However, the frequency of such constructions, and whether an individual speaker will use exclamative QUE at all, appears to be subject to a large degree of variation. Informally, we suggest that such uses are most frequently attested in Peninsular Spanish and other northern Peninsular Ibero-Romance varieties, and least frequently attested in central-southern European Portuguese, and Latin-American (both Spanish and Portuguese) varieties. As stated in the introduction, whilst we will make reference to Latin-American varieties throughout, our investigation will centre on and attempt to account for the microparametric variation of Peninsular Ibero-Romance only.

Exclamative QUE constructions are interpretatively similar, though structurally distinct from other types of sentence exclamation found in Ibero-Romance, such as wh-exclamatives (5-7), ‘right-dislocate’¹ exclamatives (7), and non-degree (here, VSO) exclamatives (8):

- (5) *Ai home, que molhado benes!*
 DM man what soaked come.2SG
 ‘Oh man, how soaked you are!’ (Mir.[†])
- (6) *¡Qué bien charra ixa moceta!*
 how well speak.3SG that girl
 ‘How well that girl speaks!’ (Arag.[†])
- (7) *Ai, filla, que en vas, d'equivocada!*
 DM daughter que of.it=go.2SG of=mistaken
 ‘Oh, daughter, how wrong you are!’ (Cat.; Laca 1986:83)
- (8) *Leu o miúdo os livros todos e o professor*
 read.PST.3SG the child the books all and the teacher
dá-lhe esta nota!
 give.3SG=to.him this mark

¹ My term. These sentences are referred to in Villalba (2001,2003) as *que*-exclamatives (cf. also Solà 1990, 1994, 1999; Mariner 1979; Castroviejo Miró 2008).

3.1 Introduction

‘The kid reads everything and the teacher [only] gives him this mark!’ (E.Pg.; Martins 2013b:85)

Exclamative sentences, and, in particular, wh-exclamatives, have received extensive treatment in the literature, both within (Ibero-)Romance (Radford 1982,1997; Bosque 1984; Torrego 1988; Gutiérrez-Rexach 1996,2008; Munaro 2003; Castroviejo Miró 2008; Villalba 2008; Gutiérrez-Rexach&Andueza 2011; Andueza 2011; Valadas 2012; Martins 2013b) and without (Elliot 1971,1974; Grimshaw 1979; Abels 2007,2010; Ono 2006; Delsing 2010; Rett 2008,2011,2012). Exclamative QUE sentences have, on the other hand, passed almost unnoticed within formal accounts, with the exception of Biezma (2008) on Spanish ‘matrix-*that*’ clauses, and reference to the ‘exclamative use of the Romance finite complementiser’ in Ledgeway (2012:175-178). Similar phenomena are, however, found across a range of different languages (Saebø 2005; Schwabe 2006; Delsing 2010). Whereas Saebø (2005,2006) argues that matrix-‘*that*’ clauses are declaratives whose interpretation is simply the result of semantic type of such clauses when unembedded, Biezma (2008:14) holds that, in Spanish, exclamative QUE constructions are indeed exclamative sentence types, ‘not just declaratives with exclamative intonation’. Biezma (2008) analyses exclamative QUE as an *expressive* (Kaplan 1999; Potts 2007a,2007b) and argues that it is syntactically distinct from the homophonous Spanish subordinating complementiser *que*.² However, on her account, jussive *que* also falls under the category of her ‘expressive’ QUE, which is categorically not the case here. That is, on our analysis jussive *que* and exclamative QUE are viewed as two distinct lexicalisations of separate functional heads (cf. ch1); specifically, we assume that jussive *que* lexicalises a low C-head, Fin°, whereas exclamative QUE will be shown to lexicalise a U-head, viz. SAlow°.

Due to the lack of attention afforded to exclamative QUE sentences in Ibero-Romance, little is known about their syntactic properties, and many questions remain both in terms of their empirical characterisation and their formal analysis. This chapter therefore surveys the properties of such constructions across Ibero-Romance varieties with particular reference to their sentence type (§3.2) and exclamative characteristics (§3.3) before examining exclamative QUE’s properties in terms of the ‘neo-performative’ hypothesis (§3.4) —i.e.

² Throughout this chapter and elsewhere, allusions to the homophony of the subordinating complementiser *que* and illocutionary QUE refer to the identical pronunciation of the items themselves, not the prosody of the clauses these introduce (which is understood to be non-trivially distinct; cf. fn4).

3.2 Sentence-typing of exclamative que constructions

whether exclamative QUE is an operator above or below the level of the speech act—and its left-peripheral distribution using the discourse-oriented elements discussed in Chapter 2 as diagnostics (§3.5). We will conclude that, unlike the homophonous subordinating complementiser, exclamative QUE introduces a non-embeddable sentence, contributing a gradable evaluation of this sentence’s content through the complementiser’s lexicalisation of a dedicated left-peripheral Evaluative head above the CP. Differences in the licensing of exclamative QUE across Ibero-Romance will be attributed to microvariation in the composition of the left-periphery in these languages. Specifically, the syncretism of European Portuguese functional structure at the UP/CP border will be shown to restrict the licensing of exclamative QUE, thereby contrasting with feature-scattering in this area of the clausal spine elsewhere in Ibero-Romance, which enables a wider range of microparametric possibilities for these varieties in terms of the clause-typing of exclamative QUE and its interaction with UP constituents.

3.2 Sentence-typing of exclamative QUE constructions

This section presents the sentence-typing properties of sentences headed by exclamative QUE. Exclamative QUE’s interaction with clause-typing is summarised in §3.2.1. In order to determine the utterance type of exclamative QUE constructions, §3.2.2 compares exclamative QUE sentences with the constitutive rules for assertions, exclamations and exclamatives (cf. Searle 1969; Sadock 2006; Rett 2011).

3.2.1 Clause-type compatibility of exclamative QUE

This section tests whether exclamative QUE is sensitive to sentence type, according to the cross-linguistic categories established by Sadock&Zwicky (1985), namely declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives, with the addition of (wh-)exclamatives as per Zanuttini&Porter (2003). We assume that sentence type is a result of the pairing of a formal or grammatical (viz. morphosyntactic) clause type with an illocutionary force (cf. §1.3). The focus of this section is on the grammatical (i.e. clause type) of exclamative QUE sentences, though illocutionary force is considered here when it bears relevance to the clause type under discussion.

3.2 Sentence-typing of exclamative que constructions

Exclamative QUE is used to introduce declarative clause types in all major Ibero-Romance languages:³

- (9) (*Ai*) *que t'atrapo!*
 DM EXCL you=catch.1SG
 ‘I’m coming to get you!’ (Cat.^Δ)
- (10) *Ay ay que me estás cuarteándome el dedo*
 DM DM EXCL me=AUX.3SG cut.up.PTCP=me the finger
 ‘Ow you’re hurting my finger!’ (Chil.Sp.; Gras&Sansiñena 2015:2)
- (11) *Ai, que o gato se me foi ao peixe!*
 DM EXCL the cat REFL=me=go.PST.3SG to.the fish
 ‘The cat went off after the fish!’ (E.Pg., Lisbon^Δ)
- (12) *Ay mi filla! dezie la mai. Que se me quedou*
 DM my daughter say.IMPF.3SG the mother EXCL REFL=me=stay.PST.3SG
 la mi rapazica nu buracu!
 the my girl.DIM in.the hole
 ‘Oh my daughter’, the mother said, ‘my little girl has got trapped in the hole!’ (Mir.[†])

Exclamative QUE cannot, as we would expect, introduce polar interrogatives, where the sentence is a genuine information-seeking question (cf. Huddleston 1994 on the distinction between interrogatives and questions, i.e. between the grammatical structure and its canonically-associated speech act):

- (13) **Ai que coñécela?* (Gal.^Δ)
 DM EXCL know.2SG=her

Note that this infelicitous construction (i.e. a polar interrogative introduced by exclamative QUE), as illustrated for Catalan in (16), is distinct both in its syntax, interpretation and grammaticality from Catalan polar interrogative QUE constructions (15). That is, although (16) could be felicitous if uttered with an exclamative intonational contour, and thus interpreted as

³ We frequently deploy a discourse particle utterance-initially in our examples of exclamative QUE constructions. The aim of this is to ensure that our consultants interpret these sentences according to their intended reading — i.e. an exclamative one — in case of ambiguity with other types of illocutionary QUE.

3.2 Sentence-typing of exclamative *que* constructions

an exclamative ('You know her!'), it is ungrammatical if —as intended here— uttered with the prosody and interpretation of a polar question. The ungrammaticality of exclamative QUE with a polar interrogative (16) therefore contrasts with a genuine Catalan yes/no interrogative introduced by *que* (15), which merges as the head of Pol-IntP (and whose precise interpretation is subject to dialectal variation; cf. Prieto&Rigau 2007):

- (14) (Ai) *que la conèixes {!/*?}^Δ*

DM EXCL her=know.2SG

- (15) (Oi) *que la conèixes?*

DM QUE her=know.2SG

'You know her don't you?'^Δ

Exclamative QUE is similarly incompatible with wh-interrogatives involving a genuine information request:

- (16) *Ai *que què fas aquí?* (Cat.^Δ)

DM EXCL what do.2SG here

By contrast, exclamative QUE can introduce rhetorical polar interrogatives in the majority of Ibero-Romance varieties in which exclamative QUE constructions are attested, as illustrated here for Catalan (17) and Galician (18), but not in all, as is the case for Portuguese (19):

- (17) *Que et sembla que tinc tot el (puto) dia?!* (Cat.^Δ)

EXCL to.you=seem.3SG that have.1SG all the effing day

- (18) *Ai que che parece que teño todo o (puto) día?!*

DM EXCL to.you=seem.3SG that have.1SG all the effing day

'Do you think I've got all (effing) day?!" (Gal.^Δ)

- (19) *Ai *que achas que tenho o dia todo?!* (E.Pg.^Δ)

DM EXCL think.2SG that have.1SG the day all

Despite their interrogative structure, rhetorical questions have been analysed as having assertive, rather than interrogative, illocutionary value (Sadock 1971,1974; Han 2002). Since the illocutionary value of rhetorical polar questions appears to 'overrule' the interrogative

3.2 Sentence-typing of exclamative *que* constructions

structural typing of such sentences, the grammaticality of exclamative QUE constructions is understood to be sensitive to the illocutionary value of a sentence as well as, and indeed over and above, its clause type, a finding which will receive a formal explanation in §3.5.3.

However, fewer Ibero-Romance varieties allow rhetorical wh-interrogatives than permit rhetorical polar questions with exclamative QUE (a bracketed star [*] indicates that some native speakers find the example felicitous whereas others find it ungrammatical):

- (20) (**Ai que què coi fas aquí?!* (Cat.^Δ)
 DM EXCL what on.earth do.2SG here
- (21) (**Que qué diablos haces aquí*
 EXCL what devils do.2SG here
 ‘What on earth are you doing here?!’ (Sp.^Δ)

The group of Ibero-Romance varieties allowing rhetorical wh-interrogatives is a subset of those which permit rhetorical exclamative QUE polar questions. For example, not all Peninsular Spanish speakers find (21) felicitous, whereas they all accept as grammatical the Spanish equivalent of (17-19). The licensing of exclamative QUE constructions in the Ibero-Romance varieties which permit rhetorical questions headed by exclamative QUE (i.e. not Portuguese) can thus be seen to be a consequence both of the clause type as well as the illocutionary force of the sentence in question.

More Ibero-Romance speakers do however permit exclamative QUE to introduce a wh-exclamative, as is illustrated for Spanish (22-23) and Galician (24):

- (22) *Hala, que cómo me enrollo a veces.*
 DM EXCL how me=go.on.1SG at times
 ‘Gosh, I don’t half witter on sometimes...’ (Sp.^Δ)
- (23) *joer que qué envidia cochina mah grande*
 fuck EXCL what envy filthy more big
 ‘Feck, I’m so flipping jealous!’ (E.Sp., Málaga[†])
- (24) *Hala, que que ben (*que) fala a irlandesa!*
 wow EXCL what well that speak.3SG the Irish
 ‘Wow, the Irish girl speaks so well!’ (Gal.^Δ)

This use is only felicitous for a subset of Catalan speakers and is not accepted in Portuguese:

3.2 Sentence-typing of exclamative que constructions

- (25) **Que que bé *(que) parla l'irlandesa!* (Cat.^Δ)
EXCL what well th̄t speak.3SG the=Irish
- (26) **Ai que que bem *(que) fala a irlandesa!* (E.Pg., Lisbon^Δ)
DM EXCL what well th̄t speak.3SG the Irish

Finally, exclamative QUE cannot introduce imperatives, whether ‘true’/positive imperatives (27) or suppletive/subjunctive (28) imperatives:

- (27) **Ai que fala baixo!* (Gal.^Δ)
DM EXCL speak.IMP low
- (28) **Que *(que) fales baixo!* (Gal.^Δ)
EXCL *quejussive* speak.SUBJ.2SG low

Table 3.1 summarises exclamative QUE’s compatibility with clause-typing:

Table 3.1: Summary of exclamative QUE’s clause-typing properties

	Ibero-Romance	Spanish	Galician	Catalan	E.Portuguese
Declaratives	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Polar interrogatives	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
Wh-interrogatives	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
Rhetorical polar	subset	✓	✓	✓	subset
Rhetorical wh	subset	subset	subset	subset	✗
Wh-exclamatives	subset	✓	✓	subset	✗
Positive imperatives	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
Subjunctive imperatives	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗

We thus observe that exclamative QUE can introduce i) declarative sentences in all varieties where exclamative QUE is possible; ii) rhetorical polar interrogatives in Catalan, Galician and Spanish; iii) wh-exclamatives in Spanish, Galician and in the speech of some Catalan speakers; and iv) rhetorical wh-interrogatives (a subset of Galician, Catalan and Spanish speakers). The variation across Ibero-Romance in terms of the compatibility of exclamative QUE with clause-typing follows an implicational order, as illustrated in the following schema:

3.2 Sentence-typing of exclamative que constructions

(29) Implicational hierarchy of exclamative QUE clause types

Declaratives > rhetorical polar interrogatives > wh-exclamatives > rhetorical wh-interrogatives

Exclamative QUE's sensitivity to sentence type is also subject to cross-varietal variation. There is a one-to-one relation between grammatical clause type and the licensing of exclamative QUE in Portuguese, which allows only structural declaratives in exclamative QUE constructions. However, illocutionary force is a factor in Ibero-Romance varieties which permit exclamative QUE to introduce further clause types, suggesting that, in these varieties at least, the relationship with clause-typing is indirect. That is, clause type alone is not sufficient for predicting the grammaticality of exclamative QUE constructions: illocutionary information, which —according the line of reasoning pursued in this thesis, is encoded in the UP— is needed.

3.2.2 Utterance type of exclamative QUE

In addition to grammatical clause type, the licensing of exclamative QUE constructions is further restricted in a large subset of these varieties by the sentence's illocutionary force. The commonality between the following exclamative QUE sentences is that they all encode emotive values such as excitement (30-31), complaint (32), affection (33), or fear (34) on the part of the speaker:

- (30) *Ay que estamos allí, nos tienen puestos en el bar*
DM EXCL be.1PL there us=have.3PL put in the bar
'We're here, they've set us up at a bar!' (Leonese Sp.[†])
- (31) *jQue hemos salido en la radio, oiga!*
EXCL AUX.1PL go-out.PST.PTCP on the radio DM
'We're on the radio, look!' (Mad.Sp.[†])
- (32) *Ai, que estou cansada!*
DM EXCL be.1SG tired
'Oh I'm [so] tired!' (B.Pg.^Δ)
- (33) *Ai, que et trobo a faltar!*
DM EXCL you=find.1SG to miss.INF
'Oh I miss you!' (Cat.^Δ)

3.2 Sentence-typing of exclamative que constructions

- (34) *Ai, que non chego a tempo!*
DM EXCL not arrive.1SG on time
'I'm not going to get there on time!' (Gal.[†])

In other words, the communicative function (i.e. illocutionary force) of such sentences is to convey a non-neutral expression of the speaker's mental state or attitude with respect to the sentence's content.⁴ On the classic approach to speech acts as a mapping between illocutionary force and clause type (cf. ch1), we can ascertain exclamative QUE constructions' sentence type by verifying the felicity conditions of the type of speech act to which these constructions correspond. To this end, this section examines the felicity conditions of exclamative QUE with particular reference to the felicity conditions of assertions (the speech act associated with declarative sentences, i.e. the ostensible grammatical type of exclamative QUE constructions), exclamations and exclamatives, as defined in Rett (2011).

The four properties that we will examine here are Searle's (1965,1969) *content*, *preparatory*, *sincerity* and *essential* 'constitutive' rules for speech acts. Together, these four 'rules' constitute the felicity conditions for a given speech act (cf. also Austin 1962): *content rules* establish the appropriateness of the sentence's semantic/propositional content with respect to the speech act performed; *preparatory rules* establish the contextual preconditions for said speech act; *sincerity rules* fix the conditions necessary for the act to be sincere, in terms of the speaker's intentions or mental state; and *essential rules* specify what the speech act 'counts as' (Searle 1969:15), i.e. in uttering a sentence the speaker undertakes the obligation to perform the given speech act. Table 3.2 summarises the constitutive rules for assertions, exclamations and exclamatives:

⁴ Prosodically, exclamative QUE constructions also incur a non-neutral exclamative intonational contour (cf. ch2 for references on Ibero-Romance intonation). Whilst we leave the verification of the precise intonational pattern of exclamative QUE constructions to future research, we assume, *pace* Biezma (2008:13), that the prosodic contouring of these constructions constitutes a non-trivial, non-isomorphic (cf. Bocci 2013) mapping between discourse-oriented prosody, meaning and syntax.

3.2 Sentence-typing of exclamative que constructions

Table 3.2: Constitutive rules for assertions, exclamations and exclamatives (adapted from Searle 1969, Sadock 2006, Rett 2011)

	Assertions	Exclamations	Exclamatives
CONTENT RULE	Any proposition p	The proposition p denoted by that sentence	a set $\Sigma \in D_{<\tau t}$
PREPARATORY RULE	1. S has evidence for the truth of p ; 2. It is not obvious to both S and H that H knows p	S has direct evidence that p is true	S has direct evidence that some entity x D_τ is a member of Σ .
SINCERITY RULE	S believes p	1. S believes p ; 2. S considers p noteworthy or remarkable	1. S believes that x is a member of Σ ; 2. S considers $\Sigma(x)$ noteworthy or remarkable.
ESSENTIAL RULE	Counts as an undertaking that p represents an actual state of affairs	Counts as an expression of S 's attitude towards p	Counts as an expression of S 's attitude towards $\Sigma(x)$

According to the felicity conditions summarised in Table 3.2, assertions and exclamations differ in their *perspective* towards a proposition p : assertions are a representation of belief, whereas exclamations are a representation of belief plus attitude. Exclamatives and exclamations (on Rett's (2011) terms), however, differ only in their *content*. Specifically, exclamations range over propositions whereas exclamatives range over individuals (though see §3.3.2.2 for the view that exclamatives also range over propositions, i.e. exclamatives can be both what Rett terms 'exclamations' as well as 'exclamatives'). Ibero-Romance examples for each of these three types of speech act are given in (35-37):

- (35) *Hace un día bonito.* [assertion]

make.3SG a day lovely

'It's a lovely day'^Δ

- (36) *¡Hace un día bonito!* [exclamation]

make.3SG a day lovely

'It's a lovely day!'^Δ

- (37) *¡Qué día más bonito hace!* [exclamative]

what day more lovely make.3SG

3.2 Sentence-typing of exclamative que constructions

‘What a lovely day it is!’^Δ

The above proposition is rendered as an exclamative QUE construction in (38):

- (38) *iQue hace un día bonito!*
EXCL make.3SG a day lovely
‘It’s [such] a lovely day!’^Δ

The interpretative difference between (36) and (38) is that the latter, viz. the exclamative QUE construction, implies a stronger degree of affectivity —i.e. a stronger expression of the speaker’s emotional state—with respect to the former, viz. the sentence exclamation (see also the minimal pair in (41-42) below). To describe the exclamative QUE construction in (38) in terms of its felicity conditions, we can say that the content rule is any proposition *p*, since by introducing a declarative with exclamative QUE, the speaker necessarily introduces a proposition. On the view that rhetorical questions have the illocutionary value of assertions (cf. §3.2.1; fn6), the same content rule is assumed to hold for exclamative QUE constructions introducing rhetorical questions, such as (39):

- (39) *Que creis que tengu tol (hoíu) día?!*
EXCL think.2SG that have.1SG all.the effing day
‘Do you think I’ve got all (effing) day?’ (Ext.^Δ)

To utter the apparent question ‘do you think I’ve got all day?’ —where a response is not required, or, if given, is received as impertinent—is to assert ‘I don’t have all day’. Within both the rhetorical question and its paraphrased declarative assertion equivalent is contained the proposition *p* = ‘the speaker does not have all day’. However, in the case of exclamative QUE sentences which introduce a wh-exclamative, such as (40), the content is an individual (an annoying song), not a proposition:

- (40) *Hala que qué canción más pesadita, ¿eh?*
gosh EXCL what song more annoying.DIM eh
‘Gosh, what an annoying song, eh?’ (E.Sp.[†])

3.2 Sentence-typing of exclamative que constructions

The content rule of an exclamative QUE construction thus depends on the grammatical type of the clause it introduces. In most cases, the content is a proposition; however, in a subset of exclamative QUE constructions, viz. those introducing wh-exclamatives (sentences which are only felicitous of in a subset of Ibero-Romance varieties which license exclamative QUE), the content is an individual, characterisable as a set of degrees (Rett 2011,2012) or propositions (Zanuttini&Portner 2003), depending on one's analysis.

The preparatory rule would be that the speaker has direct evidence that the sentence's content is true. Similarly, the sincerity rule would be that the speaker believes the content of their utterance, since to felicitously exclaim 'it is a lovely day' one must have evidence and believe that it is a lovely day, as illustrated by the contrast in felicity between (41), where the speaker's evidence and belief support the stance that it is a lovely day and (42), where the speaker's evidence and belief contradict such a view:

- (41) *¡Que hace un día bonito! Hace un tiempo estupendo.*
‘It’s [such] a lovely day! The weather’s wonderful.’^Δ
- (42) *¡Que hace un día bonito! #Hace un tiempo de perros.*
‘It’s [such] a lovely day! #The weather’s really awful.’^Δ

An additional sincerity condition for exclamative QUE constructions, relative to declarative assertions, is that the speaker must find the content of their utterance noteworthy or remarkable, as evidenced by the contrast between (43), where cancelling the exclamative QUE construction leads to infelicity, and (44), where cancelling the assertion does not:

- (43) *¡Que hace un día bonito! #Pero me da igual.*
‘It’s [such] a lovely day! #But I don’t care’^Δ
- (44) *Hace un día bonito. Pero me da igual.*
‘It’s a lovely day. But I don’t care’^Δ

Finally, the essential rule for the felicity of exclamative QUE constructions is that an utterance of an exclamative QUE sentence must constitute an expression of the speaker's attitude towards the sentence's content.

The constitutive rules described above for Ibero-Romance exclamative QUE constructions are summarised in (27) and compared with those of assertions, exclamations and exclamatives in Table 3.3 below:

3.2 Sentence-typing of exclamative que constructions

(45) Constitutive rules for exclamative ‘QUE’ constructions

- Content: any proposition p ; or a set ($\Sigma \in D_{\langle t,t \rangle}$, cf. Rett 2011)
- Preparatory: direct evidence for p
- Sincerity: 1. S believes p ;
2. S considers p noteworthy or remarkable
- Essential: expresses S 's attitude towards p

Table 3.3: Constitutive rules for assertions, exclamations, exclamative QUE constructions and exclamatives

	Assertions	Exclamations	Exclamative QUE	Exclamatives
CONTENT RULE	Any proposition p	The proposition p denoted by that sentence	The proposition p denoted by that sentence; OR a set $\Sigma \in D_{\langle t,t \rangle}$	a set $\Sigma \in D_{\langle t,t \rangle}$
PREPARATORY RULE	1. S has evidence for the truth of p ; 2. It is not obvious to both S and H that H knows p	S has direct evidence that p is true	S has direct evidence that the sentence's content c is true	S has direct evidence that some entity x D_t is a member of Σ .
SINCERITY RULE	S believes p	1. S believes p ; 2. S considers p noteworthy or remarkable	1. S believes c ; 2. S considers c noteworthy or remarkable	1. S believes that x is a member of Σ ; 2. S considers $\Sigma(x)$ noteworthy or remarkable.
ESSENTIAL RULE	Counts as an undertaking that p represents an actual state of affairs	Counts as an expression of S 's attitude towards p	Counts as an expression of S 's attitude towards c	Counts as an expression of S 's attitude towards $\Sigma(x)$

3.2 Sentence-typing of exclamative *que* constructions

According to the analysis of exclamative QUE constructions put forward in this section, these sentences share the same preparatory,⁵ sincerity and essential rules as Rett's (2011) definitions of exclamations and exclamatives, but vary in terms of their content.

3.2.3 Summary

Exclamative QUE is sensitive to clause type, in that it is only felicitous with a subset of the clause types that exist: namely, exclamative QUE is always grammatical with declarative clauses, but never with imperatives. Its grammaticality with interrogative and wh-exclamative structures is subject to cross-dialectal variation. Most varieties permitting exclamative QUE also license its use with rhetorical polar questions (which, following Sadock 1971, 1974; Han 2002, are assumed to have assertive force),⁶ but not with genuine information-seeking interrogatives. In other words, exclamative QUE is able to introduce polar interrogatives in addition to declarative structures in most varieties, but the grammaticality of such constructions is constrained by the sentence's illocutionary force. A subset of these varieties also allows exclamative QUE to introduce wh-exclamatives. The conclusion that exclamative QUE is sensitive to both clause type and illocutionary force is corroborated by a further subset of Ibero-Romance varieties which additionally license rhetorical wh-interrogatives, but not information-seeking wh-interrogatives, with exclamative QUE. The licensing of exclamative

⁵ Note that the preparatory rule for assertions includes a second criterion, viz. ‘it is not obvious to both the speaker and the hearer that the hearer knows the proposition’; i.e. that the assertion provides some knowledge as yet unknown to the addressee, and thus, on being uttered, will provide an update to the common ground. This criterion is excluded in the table for exclamations/exclamatives. This is because ‘the speaker who makes an assertion wants to provide information and the speaker who utters an exclamative wants to express him/herself’ (Castroviejo Miró 2008:58). However, on our view it is not always the case that exclamatives/exclamations do not provide new information, or provide an update to the common ground. For instance, one can imagine a scenario where two interlocutors are talking about a girl, and one of the interlocutors remarks to the other *¡Qué bien que charra ixa moceta!* (Arag. ‘How well the girl speaks!’[†]; cf (5b)), and the addressee responds that, though he has met her, he has never heard her speak Aragonese, much less comment on whether or not she speaks it well. Sentences exclamations in particular often provide an update to the common ground: for example, if a daughter calls up her mother and exclaims *¡Ai mamá, que me caso!* (Sp., ‘Oh mum, I’m getting married!’^Δ), she is providing both an update to the common ground as well as an expression of her emotional state towards the proposition. We thus assume that exclamatives and exclamations *can* involve an assertion, with the additional criterion that the speaker’s (primary) intention is to express their emotional impression with respect to the sentence’s proposition.

⁶ Rhetorical questions introduced by exclamative QUE would additionally, or alternatively, encode exclamative force over assertive force (cf. fn5).

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative que constructions

QUE constructions according to sentence type can thus be seen to follow an implicational hierarchy of the order: *declaratives* > *rhetorical polar interrogatives* > *wh-exclamatives* > *rhetorical wh-interrogatives*.

In terms of their speech-act categorisation, exclamative QUE constructions pattern with the felicity conditions of exclamations and exclamatives (Searle 1969; Rett 2011), excepting their content rules, which vary according to the clause type introduced. This suggests that a range of syntactic constructions, rather than a single structural configuration, can have exclamative illocutionary force. In §3.3, we examine exclamative QUE constructions in terms of their semantic and syntactic exclamative properties, to see whether an exclamative characterisation is indeed appropriate for these structures.

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative QUE constructions

Disagreement abounds regarding what ‘counts’ as constituting an exclamative syntactically and semantically (Castroviejo Miró 2008; Villalba 2008; Gutiérrez-Rexach&Andueza 2011 provide overviews). Exclamatives have been typically associated with the following properties: factivity (Elliot 1974; Grimshaw 1979), ‘extreme’ degree (Bolinger 1972; Gutiérrez-Rexach 1996; Zanuttini&Portner 2003) and expressivity (Bosque 1984). Despite often exhibiting structural similarities to interrogatives, exclamatives are understood to be formally distinct from interrogatives (in both form and meaning); their semantic and syntactic independence from interrogatives thus constitutes a further distinguishing property, or at least diagnostic, of exclamatives. Whilst this dissertation has no particular stake in the overall formal characterisation of exclamatives, this section nonetheless reviews the abovementioned properties of exclamatives in order to determine whether exclamative QUE constructions should also be classified within this category.

Anticipating the exposition of the diagnostics in the following sections, we will see that exclamative QUE fulfils all the criteria for *expressives* as set out in Potts (2007a, 2007b) (§3.3.1.1-§3.3.1.6), but passes only two out of the three diagnostics for exclamatives established in Zanuttini&Portner (2003), viz. formal independence from interrogatives (§3.3.2.1), and degree interpretation (§3.3.2.2). Whether exclamative QUE fulfils the criteria for factivity (§3.3.2.3) is more open to interpretation. We nonetheless put forward the case for exclamative QUE’s consideration as a bona fide exclamative.

3.3.1 Expressive properties of exclamative QUE constructions

Bosque (1984) notes that traditional grammars typically characterise exclamatives in terms of their ‘expressive’ or ‘emotive’ value. Biezma (2008) suggests that the item which she dubs ‘matrix-that’, a superset term which includes what we define here as exclamative QUE, is to be analysed as an expressive in the sense of Kaplan (1999), Potts (2007a,2007b), evaluating her matrix-*that* clauses against Potts’ (2007a) list of ‘central properties’ of expressives. In this section, we review the expressive value of Ibero-Romance exclamative QUE constructions in terms of Potts (2007a), adducing further diagnostics where appropriate. Corroborating Biezma’s (2008) claims regarding Spanish, we find that the characterisation of exclamative QUE as an expressive holds across Ibero-Romance.

3.3.1.1 Independence

The first property of expressives is that they add a dimension of meaning which is isolatable from the sentence’s descriptive content (Potts 2007a:166). In other words, expressives contribute not at-issue, or non-propositional, meaning. This meaning contribution can be modified or removed from a sentence without affecting its descriptive content (Potts 2005:§3.6.3).

Exclamative QUE’s meaning contribution can be assessed by comparing two versions of the same sentence, one with and one without the exclamative morpheme:

- (46) *Aquilo dava muito dinheiro antigamente.*
 that give.IMPF.3SG much money formerly
 ‘That used to be a good earner in the past’
- (47) *Que aquilo dava muito dinheiro antigamente!*
 EXCL that give.IMPF.3SG much money formerly
 ‘That used to be a good earner in the past!’ (E.Pg., Larinho; CORDIAL-SIN)

The contribution of the sentence in (46) is the proposition $p = \text{‘that was a good earner in the past’}$, whereas the contribution of (47) is the proposition $p = \text{‘that was a good earner in the past’}$ plus the speaker’s attitude towards p . The ‘regular descriptive content’ in this case is the proposition shared by the two sentences, and the non at-issue, or non-propositional, content is the speaker attitude. The minimal pair thus reveals that exclamative QUE’s sole contribution to the sentence over the otherwise identical (excepting the absence of exclamative QUE) declarative structure in (46) is the speaker’s attitude towards p . That this attitudinal

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative que constructions

contribution is an independent dimension of meaning is corroborated by the fact that the absence of exclamative QUE in (46) does not affect the propositional content of the sentence.

One might query what the contribution of exclamative QUE is versus the sentence in (46) when the latter constitutes a sentence exclamation rather than an assertion (i.e. *Aquilo dava muito dinheiro antigamente!*). We contend that exclamative QUE is the overt syntactic reflex of an expressive value: that is, exclamative QUE guarantees via the syntax that a sentence will have a specific, non-neutral, illocutionary interpretation. We will return to provide syntactic evidence in favour of this proposal in §3.5.3; for now, however, we propose that data from sentences where exclamative QUE can introduce a wh-exclamative corroborates our conclusion.

Prima facie, ‘exclamative QUE wh-exclamatives’ (henceforth, as shorthand, wh-QUE exclamatives), as in (48), do not seem to involve a separate meaning contribution versus a second version of an identical sentence in which exclamative QUE is omitted (48):

- (48) *joer que qué envidia cochina mah grande*
 fuck EXCL what envy filthy more big
 ‘Feck, I’m so flipping jealous!’ (E.Sp., Málaga[†])
- (49) *joer qué envidia cochina mah grande*
 fuck what envy filthy more big
 ‘Feck, I’m so flipping jealous!’

In both cases, the wh-phrase conveys the proposition $p = \text{‘X is jealous’}$, where X is the speaker. Thus the speaker attitude appears to be codified within the wh-phrase, and exclamative QUE’s individual contribution to the sentence is unclear. However, if we attempt to embed the sentences, a syntactic distinction between the minimal pair becomes apparent:

- (50) **Es impresionante que qué envidia cochina mah grande tengo.*
 be.3SG impressive EXCL what envy total more big have.1SG
- (51) *Es impresionante qué envidia cochina mah grande tengo.*
 be.3SG impressive what envy total more big have.1SG

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative que constructions

‘It’s quite something how effing jealous I am’ (E.Sp.[†])⁷

In the felicitous example (51), where the wh-exclamative is embedded, although the sentence as a whole is interpreted from the speaker’s perspective, this is not a consequence of the syntax, and much less of the embedded wh-exclamative itself, as the following contrast between a non-embedded wh-exclamative (52) and the embedded version of that exclamative (53) reveals:

- (52) *¡Cómo se ha desperdiciado ese talento humano!*
 how REFL=AUX.3SG waste.PST.PTCP that talent human
 ‘How that human talent has been wasted!’ (Col.Sp.[†])

- (53) *¡{Lamento/lamenta} cómo se ha desperdiciado ese talento humano!*
 lament.1SG/lament.3SG how REFL=AUX.3SG waste.PST.PTCP that talent human
 ‘{I regret/s/he regrets} how that human talent has been wasted!’

In (53), a first-person matrix subject ensures that the embedded wh-exclamative is still evaluated from the speaker’s perspective, but the change from first- to third-person matrix subject makes it impossible for the wh-exclamative to reflect the speaker’s perspective. This is highlighted by making the speaker of each utterance explicit as in (54-56):

- (54) Leticia: *¡cómo se ha desperdiciado ese talento humano!*
 Leticia: ‘How that human talent has been wasted!’
- (55) Leticia: *¡Lamento cómo se ha desperdiciado ese talento humano!*
 Leticia: ‘I regret how that human talent has been wasted!’
- (56) Juan: *¡(Leticia) lamenta cómo se ha desperdiciado ese talento humano!*
 Juan: ‘(Leticia) regrets how that human talent has been wasted!’

⁷ These sentences both read significantly more oddly in the original than in the translation (replacing *qué envidia* ‘what envy’ with *cuánta envidia* ‘how much envy’ is much better). However, we can make the same comparison with (the more natural) (57-58).

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative que constructions

In the first two examples, Leticia is the speaker and the wh-exclamative is interpreted from her perspective regardless of whether the wh-phrase is in the matrix (54) or the embedded (55) clause. However, when the speaker changes to Juan, the wh-exclamative is evaluated by the subject of the matrix clause but not by the new speaker (56). Moreover, the evaluation of the wh-exclamative is not encoded in the complement itself but occurs in the matrix clause, viz. the lexical verb *lamentar* ‘regret’ (see also Hegarty 1990, Basse 2008 for the view that the matrix subject presupposes a factive complement). In effect, there is nothing ‘exclamative’, i.e. no illocutionary value, in the wh-exclamative itself,⁸ which is consistent with the expected characteristics of a factive complement.

The difference in grammaticality between infelicitous embedded wh-QUE exclamatives and felicitous regular embedded wh-exclamatives can be understood in similar terms. On the view that factive complements do not have illocutionary force (Kiparsky&Kiparsky 1970), the infelicity of the embedded wh-QUE exclamative (57) versus the felicitous embedded regular wh-exclamative (58) can be interpreted as the consequence of the encoding of illocutionary value in exclamative QUE itself:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|--|----------------------|------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| (57) | <i>*Es</i> | <i>impresionante</i> | <i>que</i> | <i>qué</i> | <i>bien</i> | <i>camina.</i> |
| | be.3SG | impressive | that | what | well | walk.3SG |
| (58) | <i>Es</i> | <i>impresionante</i> | <i>qué</i> | <i>bien</i> | <i>camina.</i> | |
| | be.3SG | impressive | what | well | walk.3SG | |
| | ‘It’s impressive how well [the car] drives/runs’ (E.Sp. [†]) | | | | | |

Since factive predicates disallow illocutionary complements, a clause headed by exclamative QUE, in effect a syntactic reflex of illocutionary meaning (cf. §3.5.2), will be infelicitous.

Returning to our original non-embedded minimal pair, (48-49), repeated below as (59-60), we can now identify the specific contribution of exclamative QUE versus the wh-exclamative itself. The wh-exclamative (*qué envidia cochina mah grande*) encodes the proposition in both sentences. However, whereas speaker attitude is determined contextually in both sentences, only (59) guarantees that this meaning is represented overtly in the syntax via the realisation of exclamative QUE:

⁸ This is not to say that there is nothing distinguishing about the syntax or semantics of wh-exclamatives that makes them ‘exclamative’ as opposed to, say, a wh-interrogative phrase (e.g. degree reading). These properties will be discussed in §3.3.2. Here, we simply refer to the illocutionary contribution of the wh-component, which is nil.

- (59) *joer que qué envidia cochina mah grande*
 fuck EXCL what envy filthy more big
 ‘Feck, I’m so flipping jealous!’ (E.Sp.[†])
- (60) *joer qué envidia cochina mah grande*
 fuck what envy filthy more big
 ‘Feck, I’m so flipping jealous!’

We assume that this holds for other clause types introduced by exclamative QUE (cf. §3.2.1). We can thus conclude that, irrespective of clause type, exclamative QUE does indeed add a dimension of meaning *beyond* the descriptive content, and that this meaning contribution can be *isolated* from the descriptive content: in other words, exclamative QUE exhibits Potts’ (2007a) property of independence.

3.3.1.2 Non-displaceability

According to Potts (2007a:169), ‘expressives cannot (outside of direct quotation) be used to report on past events, attitudes, or emotions, nor can they express mere possibilities, conjectures, or supposition’ but ‘always tells us something about the utterance situation itself’ (cf. also Cruse 1986). In other words, expressives cannot be used outside of the *hic-et-nunc* of the utterance, which is anchored to the speaker’s spatio-temporal co-ordinates, but instead, expressives predicate something of the utterance situation. We assess exclamative QUE for this property by testing whether exclamative QUE constructions can be displaced temporally. In contrast with sentence exclamations which can be displaced in time (61,63), exclamative QUE cannot be used with a non-present temporal reference (62,64):

- (61) *En aquell moment, me feia mal la panxa!*
 in that moment me=make.3SG bad the tummy
 ‘At that moment, my tummy hurt!’ (Cat.^Δ)
- (62) **En aquell moment, que me feia mal la panxa!*
 in that moment EXCL me=make.3SG bad the tummy
- (63) *Ahir vaig cridar que em feia mal la panxa!*
 yesterday go.1SG shout.INF that me=make.PST.3SG bad the tummy
 ‘Yesterday I shouted that my tummy hurt!’

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative que constructions

- (64) *Ahir vaig cridar (*que*) *que* *em feia* *mal la panxa!*
yesterday go.1SG shout.INF that EXCL me=make.PST.3SG bad the tummy

Since exclamative QUE constructions cannot be removed from the original utterance context in which they arose, exclamative QUE is understood to exhibit the property of non-displaceability.

3.3.1.3 Perspective dependence

The property of perspective dependence stipulates that the contribution of the expressive is defined by the fact that its content is an *evaluation* from a particular perspective (irrespective of what said evaluation contains). By pragmatic default, this perspective is, as a rule, that which belongs to the speaker, but the point-of-view may deviate under certain conditions (Potts 2005,2007a,2007b; Potts&Kawahara 2004).⁹

We have already observed in §3.3.1.1 that the meaning contribution of exclamative QUE is an attitude with respect to a proposition, and that this meaning is independent from the descriptive meaning; i.e. it is not at-issue meaning. The concept of attitude necessarily entails an evaluation from a sentient being's perspective: that exclamative QUE involves attitudinal meaning therefore requires us to conclude that its content must also necessarily entail an evaluation from a certain perspective. Since in §3.3.1.2 we saw that another property of exclamative QUE is its non-displaceability, we can assume that the perspective will be determined by the anchoring of the utterance, which, by similar default to that assumed by Potts (2007a), is the utterance speaker's spatiotemporal co-ordinates. In other words, the characteristics which we have already ascribed to exclamative QUE in the foregoing discussion entail that exclamative QUE has the property of perspective dependence without further stipulation.

3.3.1.4 Descriptive ineffability

Descriptive ineffability refers to the impossibility of capturing the exact meaning contribution of a given item by other means ('speakers are never fully satisfied when they paraphrase expressive content using descriptive, i.e. non-expressive terms', Potts 2007a:2). Such meaning is inherently and inescapably context-dependent, in that the specific interpretation of

⁹ See also Déchaine et al. (2015:3) on the pragmatic term ORIGO, defined in their paper as 'the individual from whose perspective a proposition is evaluated'.

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative *que* constructions

the item's contribution is dependent on the situation in which an utterance is made.¹⁰ Thus whether an expression is understood to convey, say, surprise, rather than excitement, anger, disappointment, fear, and so on, depends on extralinguistic factors (which are often deducible from a sentence's proposition *p*). Compare Munaro's (2010a:fn6) definition of the interpretative import of an interjection, where 'the interjection in itself can only provide information on the speaker's mental state and on his illocutionary intention, but does not inform on the triggering situation'. Updated in terms of exclamative QUE's characterisation, exclamative QUE in itself only provides information on the speaker's mental state and on their illocutionary intention, whereas the clause it introduces informs us about the triggering situation. More accurately, we suggest that, rather than *providing* such information, exclamative QUE acts as a syntactic conduit for the expression of said information (the mechanics by which this is achieved are presented in §3.5.3); to paraphrase McCready (2009:719), it is less instructive to capture exclamative QUE in terms of what it *means* than by what it *does* (cf. also Kaplan 1999:5) — a property identified as *immediacy* in Potts (2007a) and discussed in §3.3.1.3.

The context-sensitive nature of expressives is illustrated in the possible interpretations of the following exclamative QUE construction:

- (65) *Ai, que o repartidor guapo casou*
DM EXCL the deliverman good.looking marry.PST.3SG
'Ohhh, the good-looking deliveryman has got married!' (Gal.)[†]

One plausible interpretation of (65) is that the speaker is happy for the deliveryman that he has got married, that is, the exclamative QUE construction denotes a positive exclamation. A second, equally plausible interpretation, is that the speaker is *unhappy* that he is married (perhaps because he is now off the market); i.e. the sentence is a negative exclamation. A further equally plausible interpretation is that the speaker has no particular investment in the deliveryman's marital status, but merely finds the situation surprising or unexpected; thus the sentence is interpretable without a positive or negative evaluation, but merely denotes an exclamation of surprise. In other words, we are reliant on the surrounding discourse or any

¹⁰ Potts (2007a:177), drawing on Potts&Kawahara (2004), defines descriptive ineffability in terms of *expressive indices*, which encode 'degree of expressivity as well as the orientation of the expressive (who is expressive towards whom or what)'. We return to this idea in §3.3.2.2.

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative que constructions

extra-linguistic clues/general world knowledge to derive the relevant attitudinal value involved in exclamative QUE constructions, but its precise encapsulation lies beyond our descriptive reach. In this sense, exclamative QUE displays the property of descriptive ineffability.

3.3.1.5 Immediacy

For a linguistic expression to have the property of immediacy, it must achieve its intended aim (cf. Searle's (1969) 'essential rule'; §3.2.2) simultaneous to the utterance of that linguistic expression. As Potts (2007a:167) puts it, 'like performatives, expressives achieve their intended act simply by being uttered; they do not offer content so much as inflict it'. In §3.2.2, we argued that the 'essential rule' of exclamative QUE constructions is that they count as an expression of the speaker's attitude towards a proposition *p*. Thus to fulfil the criteria for Potts' (2007a) immediacy property, by uttering an exclamative QUE construction one must *ipso facto* perform an expression of one's attitude towards the construction's proposition.

The contrast in interpretation between (66) and (67) illustrates this property in exclamative QUE constructions:

- (66) (*Ai,*) *que amañana tengu dessamin!*

DM EXCL tomorrow have.1SG exam

'(Ohh), I've got an exam tomorrow!' (Ext.^Δ)

- (67) *Amañana tengu dessamin.*

tomorrow have.1SG exam

'I've got an exam tomorrow'

In the exclamative QUE construction (66), the contribution of the sentence is that the speaker is conveying an attitude about the proposition, viz. that the speaker has an exam the next day (as in §3.3.1.4, whether this is a positive or negative situation depends on the context, viz. the speaker's mental state/opinion). This is the case even if we discount the interjection *ai* and the exclamation mark —an orthographic clue in the absence of spoken intonation —, creating a minimal pair between (66) and (67).

In the declarative example (67), however, i.e. where exclamative QUE is omitted, the sentence merely asserts the proposition, but no attitudinal value is conveyed. Thus, in the absence of any prosody or (para-/extra-)linguistic context, it is in the utterance of the exclamative QUE morpheme, and the exclamative morpheme alone, that an attitudinal

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative *que* constructions

interpretation is conferred to the sentence. In other words, purely by dint of the act of pronouncing an exclamative QUE sentence, one necessarily and instantaneously to the point of atemporality performs an expression of one's attitude towards the proposition.¹¹ As such, exclamative QUE can be considered both performative and as instantiating the property of immediacy.

3.3.1.6 Repeatability

Potts' (2007a) concept of repeatability refers to the observation that expressive items can be repeated without redundancy:

- (68) *Ai, que aquelas grandes putas atravessaram-me a alma! Ai! que eu sinto-me estrafegada! Ai Jesus, que eu morro! Ai...*

'Those whores have penetrated my soul! I am torn asunder! Oh Jesus, I'm dying! Oh...' (E.Pg., Trás-os-Montes; NCM:104)

The property of repeatability relies on a contrast between expressive and descriptive content when such items are used in repetition. Specifically, to repeatedly use an expressive item is to increase the emotive content of one's speech, whereas to repeatedly use a descriptive item is to render the value of that expression somewhat redundant. Potts (2007a:182-183) links the ability to be strengthened rather than rendered redundant by repetition to the expressive index of such items; viz. that when an expressive is uttered, an expressive index changes (cf. fn11).

In (69), the more exclamative QUE is employed, the more emotive the situation becomes (specifically, according to my informant, the speaker sounds increasingly angry):

- (69) *Que ve l'Afra! (Que) ja arriba! (Que) ja ve!*
EXCL come.3SG the=Afra EXCL already arrive.3SG EXCL already come.3SG
'Afra's coming! She's about to arrive! She's about to get here!' (Cat.; examples based on Biezma 2008:13)

¹¹ That is, a speech act does not simply take place in the world, but it changes the world (cf. Stenius 1967; Szabolcsi 1982; Krifka 2014).

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative que constructions

Compared to (69), if exclamative QUE is replaced by the wh-phrase *quina emoció* ‘how exciting’ or the declarative *estic emocionada* ‘I’m excited’ (70-71), the sentences become considerably degraded with each repetition:

- (70) {*Quina emoció/estic emocionada!*} *Ve l’Afra! Ja arriba!*
what emotion be.1SG excited come.3SG the=Afra already arrive.3SG
Ja ve!
already come.3SG

- (71)??{*Quina emoció/estic emocionada!*} *Ve l’Afra! {Quina emoció/*
what emotion be.1SG excited come.3SG the=Afra what emotion
estic emocionada!} *Ja arriba! {Quina emoció/estic emocionada!*}
be.1SG excited already arrive.3SG what emotion be.1SG excited
Ja ve!
already come.3SG

That exclamative QUE may be repeated without redundancy, and that such repetition leads to a heightening of its expressive power, indicates that exclamative QUE has the property of repeatability. This property has been linked to the strengthening of a speaker’s commitments, or an increase in the saliency of those commitments (Krifka 2014:5), where the increased strength of a speaker’s commitment via repetition is understood to be a property of speech acts.

3.3.1.7 Summary

Exclamative QUE shows all the properties proposed by Potts (2007a) to define expressive items, viz. independence, non-displaceability, perspective independence, descriptive ineffability, immediacy and repeatability. We therefore conclude that exclamative QUE’s meaning contribution pertains to the expressive domain. The diagnostic for the property of immediacy has also indicated that exclamative QUE triggers a performative reading for the sentence it introduces, a hypothesis reinforced by the fact that its repeatability leads to a strengthening of its interpretative component, i.e., its repetition leads to changes in the world rather than redundancy. Potts (2007a,2007b) explains these properties of expressive items in terms of *expressive indices*, which he suggests involve *degree* or *gradability*.

3.3.2 Semantico-syntactic properties of exclamative QUE constructions

Based on Zanuttini&Portner (2000) and Porter&Zanuttini (2000), Zanuttini&Portner (2003) proposes three defining properties of exclamatives: inability to function in question/answer pairs, scalar implicature, and factivity. Since sentences with exclamative illocutionary force can occur in a number of syntactic configurations, Zanuttini&Portner (2003) suggest, *pace* Obenauer (1994), that exclamative sentential force is not encoded directly in the syntax but is instead compositionally derived via two syntactic properties: a wh-operator variable structure, and an abstract morpheme FACT in the CP. As is the case for interrogatives, the former creates the denotation of a set of alternative propositions (cf. Hamblin 1973; Karttunen 1977; Groenendijk&Stokhof 1984). The latter gives rise to the presupposition of the sentence's propositional content, a property which differentiates exclamatives from interrogatives. A third ingredient is the widening of the domain of quantification for the wh-operator —i.e. the creation of a wider scale of evaluation beyond the (expected) norm —, the result of a conventional scalar implicature derived by the comparison between two sets of propositions.

We examine each of Zanuttini&Portner's (2003) diagnostics, and associated properties, in turn with respect to exclamative QUE, starting with the inability to function in question/answer pairs (§3.3.2.1), i.e. the independence of exclamatives versus interrogatives; before exploring whether exclamative QUE introduces a scalar implicature (§3.3.2.2), a diagnostic we use as a point of departure to examine the degree interpretation of exclamative QUE constructions. The final part of this section assesses the plausibility of describing exclamative QUE as a factive (§3.3.2.3).

3.3.2.1 Question/answer pairs

Exclamative sentences do not introduce questions in the discourse (Zanuttini&Portner 2003; Biezma 2008), as illustrated by the contrast between the responses to the wh-interrogative in (72) and the wh-exclamative in (73):

(72) A: How tall is he? B: Seven feet

(73) A: How tall is he! B: #Seven feet

On the surface, the wh-phrases in (72) and (73) look structurally identical (though are prosodically very dissimilar), but the effects they have on the discourse are dramatically different.

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative *que* constructions

We cannot use this test in most Ibero-Romance varieties, since interrogatives and exclamative QUE sentences are not structurally similar.¹² The exception is certain East Ibero-Romance varieties, most notably Catalan, which allow polar interrogatives to be introduced by an interrogative particle QUE (cf. Prieto&Rigau 2007), an item which is again homophonous with the finite complementiser and exclamative QUE. Like (72-73), the contrast between the effect on the discourse of an interrogative *que* sentence (74) and an exclamative QUE sentence (75) is noticeable, if not as degraded as B's response in (73):¹³

- | | | | |
|---------|--------------------------------------|----|----------------------------|
| (74) A: | <i>Que arriba l'avia aquest nit?</i> | B: | <i>Sí, crec que sí.</i> |
| | 'Is granny arriving tonight?' | | 'Yes, I believe so.' |
| (75) A: | <i>Que arriba l'avia aquest nit!</i> | B: | ?# <i>Sí, crec que sí.</i> |
| | 'Granny's arriving tonight!' | | 'Yes, I believe so.' |

Note that it is not the case that exclamative structures cannot receive a yes/no response, but that such a reply would have a different effect on the discourse (cf. Holmberg 2016; Wiltschko forth.b.): specifically, it would constitute a confirmation rather than an information-giving answer, as the following contrast reveals:

- | | | | |
|---------|--------------------------------------|----|---------------------|
| (76) A: | <i>Que arriba l'avia aquest nit?</i> | B: | # <i>Sí, ho sé.</i> |
| | 'Is granny arriving tonight?' | | 'Yes, I know.' |
| (77) A: | <i>Que arriba l'avia aquest nit!</i> | B: | <i>Sí, ho sé.</i> |
| | 'Granny's arriving tonight!' | | 'Yes, I know.' |

We can thus conclude that exclamative QUE is not compatible with question/answer pairs, where this diagnostic is appropriate, since it does not introduce a question into the discourse.

¹² We discount rhetorical interrogative structures introduced by exclamative QUE, since i) the overall structure of such sentences is different from regular interrogative structures (as exclamative QUE is absent in the latter); and ii) they lack interrogative illocutionary force (i.e. their effect on the discourse is distinct from information-seeking questions, on which the diagnostic of this section relies).

¹³ Note that B's response in (75) is considerably less degraded than B's response in (76) (or (73) for that matter). That B can confirm (75) as well as presuppose (76) the exclamative's proposition suggests to me that exclamative QUE declaratives contain an assertion (which the addressee confirms) as well as an exclamation (of whose content the addressee is already aware).

3.3.2.2 Degree interpretation

Many authors have argued that a high degree reading (defined below) with respect to the content being exclaimed about is a constitutive property of exclamatives (Bolinger 1972; Milner 1978; Gérard 1980; Obenauer 1984; Carbonero Cano 1990; Espinal 1995; Michaelis&Lambrecht 1996; Ginzburg&Sag 2001; Villalba 2003; Castroviejo Miró 2006; Rett 2011,2012), though this is not a view shared by all (Castroviejo Miró 2006; Andueza 2011; Gutiérrez-Rexach&Andueza 2011; Martins 2013b). According to Zanuttini&Porter (2003), it is a wh-operator in (wh-)exclamatives which introduces the ‘extreme’ degree interpretation. The wh-operator is responsible for widening the domain of quantification, adding a set of alternative propositions to the sentence beyond a previously-expected scale.¹⁴ As such, exclamative constructions introduce a scalar implicature derived from the comparison between two sets, one with expected and one with unexpected elements (Elliott 1974; Zanuttini&Porter 2003; Biezma 2008).

By way of example, consider the following scenario. Eusebio is attending his village’s fiestas, and makes an appearance at the local bar. He is used to visiting the bar during the majority of the year, when there is no special effort gone into its appearance, but during fiestas, the landlord decorates the bar for the occasion, leading Eusebio to exclaim on entering:

- (78) *iQué majo ha quedau lo bar!*
 what nice AUX.3SG turn.out.PST.PTCP the bar

‘The bar has turned out looking really great! [lit. how great the bar has turned out looking]’ (Arag.; Gracia Trell 2010:115)

In other words, on Eusebio’s scale of bar attractiveness, evaluated by the gradable adjective *majo* ‘nice, great’, the wh-operator introduces and extends the degree by which Eusebio grades the bar’s appearance (compare the version without a wh-phrase: *Lo bar ha quedau majo* ‘The bar has turned out looking nice’).

The difference between the version without a wh-phrase and with one is the extreme widening of the scale, from which follows the interpretation of surprise or unexpectedness often entailed by exclamative sentences. Note that the ‘extreme’ degree is a result of a *contextually-determined* scale (though similarly note that the extreme reading does not reach

¹⁴The wh-operator is also responsible for triggering movement of the wh-phrase.

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative que constructions

the limit of that scale, e.g. ‘How great the bar has turned out looking! But’s it’s not turned out looking as great as the bar down the road’ cf. Kalinina 2011:fn3).

Exclamative QUE constructions which contain a wh-exclamative fall under this category without further stipulation. However, less straightforward to categorise are exclamative QUE constructions involving a declarative clause. Following the line of reasoning in the above paragraphs, in examples like (79-80), a scalar implicature would be derived by the comparison between the two sets, or domains of quantification, associated with the non-exclamative (79) and (here, putatively) exclamative (80) sentences:

- (79) *Es casen la Joana i l'Enric.*

REFL=marry.3PL the Joana and the=Enric

‘Joana and Enric are getting married.’ (Cat.^Δ)

- (80) *Que es casen la Joana i l'Enric!*

EXCL REFL=marry.3PL the Joana and the=Enric

‘Joana and Enric are getting married!’

The non-exclamative declarative sentence (79) contains the assertion that Joana and Enrique are getting married, and the domain of quantification is the set of contextually-regular events involved; following Biezma (2008), this would be something like a scenario where two friends are swapping unremarkable chit-chat about their day-to-day activities. The exclamative QUE sentence (80) contains the assertion that Joana and Enric are getting married plus the speaker’s attitude (viz. excitement/surprise) towards this fact: the set of unexpected (i.e. not-contextually regular/usual events) would be the marriage of Joana and Enric, which rocks the monotony of their daily lives. The difference between the two sets (cf. Zanuttini&Portner 2003 for the formal implementation of their analysis) creates an extended interval built over the previous standard scale, within which the evaluation of extreme degree beyond the contextually-derived norm takes place.¹⁵

¹⁵ See Martins (2013b:92) for a similar description of VSO exclamatives in European Portuguese, which she classifies as non-degree exclamatives but which she describes as having ‘at their core [...] the comparison between two facts (or states of affairs) from which the unexpectedness effect results’ – i.e. the property at the core of Martins’ VSO exclamatives is the same as is proposed by Zanuttini&Portner (2003), viz. a widening of the domain of quantification entailing —on their account— an exclamative interpretation. In other words, Martins’ ‘non-degree’ exclamatives would have a gradable property on Zanuttini&Portner’s (2003) analysis.

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative que constructions

To verify this hypothesis, we can test for whether an exclamative QUE sentence can be cancelled. According to Zanuttini&Porter (2003:47), the scalar implicature involved in exclamative constructions must be conventional rather than conversational, since it is non-defeasible (though see Villalba 2003,2008 for discussion of this criterion and conclusion). Indeed, we can establish a contrast between exclamative QUE sentences and their counterparts without the exclamative morpheme in terms of cancellability (see also the Spanish examples in §3.2.2):

- (81) *Es casen la Joana i l'Enric, però no m'interessa/ importa/ sorprèn.*
 REFL=marry.3PL the Joana and the=Enric but not me=interest.3SG
 matter.3SG surprise.3SG

‘Joana and Enric are getting married, but it doesn’t interest/matter to/surprise me’
 (Cat.^Δ)

- (82) *Que es casen la Joana i l'Enric! #Però no m'interessa/ importa/ sorprèn.*
 EXCL REFL=marry.3PL the Joana and the=Enric but not
 me=interest.3SG matter.3SG surprise.3SG
- ‘Joana and Enric are getting married! #But it doesn’t interest/matter to/surprise me’

In the non-exclamative version of the sentence (81), the speaker asserts the proposition that Joana and Enric are getting married, but qualifies their assertion by claiming that it is unimportant to them. In the latter, the speaker exclaims the same proposition, but cannot qualify their exclamation by claiming its contents (viz. Joana and Enrique’s impending marriage) are unimportant to them: in other words, the exclamative contribution of the sentence is non-cancellable.

However, sentence exclamations are usually understood not to involve a degree restriction, because, firstly, they range over propositions instead of individuals, and secondly, they contain no gradable property from which to derive a degree interpretation. Gutiérrez-Rexach&Andueza (2011) and Martins (2013b) take this distinction to mean that there are two types of exclamatives, one with a gradable/degree interpretation ranging over individuals, and propositional, or non-degree exclamatives, which comment on facts or states of affairs (though see e.g. Rett 2011 for the view that only the former constitute exclamatives proper). If we subscribe to this view, then whether or not sentence exclamations do or do not involve a

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative que constructions

degree interpretation changes little, since either way, they will fall under the category of exclamatives.

Yet there is a distinction between sentence exclamations without any overt morphology to indicate that they are an exclamative, and exclamative QUE constructions, which in all cases do.¹⁶ The exclamative QUE morpheme has been identified as the unique overt morphosyntactic feature responsible for guaranteeing an expressive/non-neutral reading, i.e. what is understood here as the exclamative content. This contribution is constant irrespective of the clause type introduced by QUE. Recall that Potts (2007a,2007b), drawing on Potts&Kawahara (2004), defines expressive content in terms of *expressive indices*, which, crucially, are understood to encode gradability or degree of expressivity (cf. §3.3.1.4). If expressives are formalised in terms of expressive indices,¹⁷ and these are defined in terms of degree or gradability; and if exclamative QUE is an expressive (since it passes all tests for expressives, we assume that it is), then it follows that exclamative QUE's interpretation is ultimately reliant on a gradable value. On this view, exclamative QUE formally encodes degree, irrespective of the sentence type it introduces. This intuition is formalised in §3.5.3, a section in which our findings are corroborated by independent evidence from McCready's (2009) analysis of the English expressive *man*.

3.3.2.3 Factivity

Many authors have claimed that exclamative constructions are factive in nature (Elliott 1974; Grimshaw 1979; Bosque 1984; Zanuttini&Portner 2000,2003; Abels 2010), though this is not an uncontested view (Castroviejo Miró 2006; Mayol 2008; Rett 2008,2011,2012) and may not hold cross-linguistically (cf. Ono 2006; Yamato 2010 on Japanese). Factivity is defined by Kiparsky&Kiparsky (1970) in terms of factive predicates and presupposition. Specifically, in using a factive predicate ‘the speaker presupposes that the embedded clause expresses a true proposition, and makes some assertion about that proposition’, and this is a semantic property which is observed in ‘all predicates which behave syntactically as factives’ (*ibid.*:147). In other words, for those who view exclamative constructions as ‘inherently factive’ (Grimshaw 1979:285) the property of being factive entails that the exclamation’s propositional content is presupposed, and the ‘assertive’ contribution of the sentence is the emotional attitude of the

¹⁶ Though see Rett (2012:419) for the hypothesis that exclamatives (necessarily) receive a degree interpretation even in the absence of (overt) degree morphology (cf. also Milner 1978; Gérard 1980).

¹⁷ Cf. Potts (2007a,2007b) for the implementation thereof.

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative *que* constructions

speaker. Thus, in a sentence such as (83), the exclamative construction presupposes the proposition $p = '@mjbotero98 is looking grown up'$ and asserts that ‘the speaker finds p noteworthy or remarkable’:

- (83) *JMi niña hermosa @mjbotero98, cómo estás de grande!*
 ‘My beautiful girl @mjbotero98, you’re looking so grown up!’ (Col.Sp.[†])

In other words, the sentence’s meaning can be paraphrased as ‘the speaker finds [*the fact that @mjbotero98 is looking grown up*] remarkable’. Such a sentence is embeddable under a factive predicate, as illustrated in (84):

- (84) {*es increible/ me emociona ver*} *cómo estás de grande*
 be.3SG incredible me=move.3SG see.INF how be.2SG of big
 ‘{It’s incredible/it moves me to see} how grown up you’re looking!
 (Arg.Sp.[†]/Chil.Sp.[†])

Exclamative QUE, however, unlike the wh-exclamative in (84) above, cannot be embedded under a factive predicate such as *és increible/ es increible* ‘it’s incredible’, *m’emociona veure/emocióname ver* ‘it moves me to see’ or *saber* ‘know.INF’, as illustrated for exclamative QUE declarative constructions in Catalan:

- (85) *{*És increible/ m’emociona veure/ sé*} (*que*) *que*
 be.3SG incredible me=move.3SG see.INF know.1SG (that) EXCL
es casen la Joana i l’Enrique!
 REFL=marry.3PL the Joana and the=Enrique

A reasonable objection to the above examples is that, if intonation is not taken into account (cf. fn4) and an exclamative reading is not stipulated, then omitting the bracketed complementiser in (85) renders these sentences felicitous; in other words, the non-bracketed *que* (glossed as EXCL) is interpreted as the finite subordinating complementiser *que* (that), which is homophonous with exclamative QUE.

However, when the same factive predicates are tested with exclamative QUE constructions introducing a wh-exclamative, as is possible for a subset of speakers (cf.

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative que constructions

§3.2.1), it becomes clear that exclamative QUE constructions cannot be embedded under a factive predicate:

- (86) *{*Es increible/ emocioname ver/ sei}*} (*que*) *que que ben*
 be.3SG incredible move.3SG=me see.INF know.1SG (that) EXCL what well
 fala a irlandesa!
 speak.3SG the Irish

Nonetheless, in §3.4.1 it will be shown that exclamative QUE constructions are not compatible with embedding at all. A different test for factivity is therefore required.

Since one component of factivity is presupposition, we can make use of the finding in previous sections of a well-known test for presupposed content, viz. non-cancellability. That is, we have already observed that exclamative QUE sentences, unlike their minimal pair counterparts without the exclamative morpheme, are non-cancellable (cf. §3.2.2; §3.3.2.2). The primary illocutionary purpose of exclamative QUE is to make a comment on the proposition of the sentence they introduce, and in so doing, exclamative QUE presupposes the propositional content. The semantic contribution of the exclamative constructions is divisible into the emotive content (isolatable as QUE) and the clausal presupposition that follows. Thus, the exclamative QUE construction *Que es casen la Joana i l'Enrique!* can be paraphrased as ‘I am emotionally affected [by the fact] that Joana and Enrique are getting married’. Likewise, the wh-QUE exclamative *Que que ben fala a irlandesa!* is paraphrasable as ‘I am emotionally affected by [the fact of] how well the Irish girl speaks’. In each respective case, the paraphrase of the exclamative morpheme, viz. ‘I am emotionally affected’, *presupposes* that Joana and Enrique are getting married or that the Irish girl speaks so well. Exclamative QUE in monoclausal structures thus corresponds to the factive predicate in biclausal structures, a result supported by i) the embedding of the clausal presupposition under a factive predicate ('I am emotionally affected'); and ii) the optional insertion of '[the fact that/of]' into the paraphrase. On this view, one can conclude that the paraphrase test reveals the concealed factive value of exclamative QUE.

Pursuing this line of reasoning, one could make the case for treating exclamative QUE as the overt morphosyntactic realisation of Zanuttini&Portner's (2003) left-peripheral FACT morpheme. Its blocking of interrogative illocutionary force (§3.3.2.1; cf. also §3.5.3) and the non-cancellability of exclamative QUE constructions (this section) support the view that exclamative QUE introduces a presupposition, and as such, is factive in nature. We stop short

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative que constructions

of drawing this conclusion given that we would only be pursuing such an analysis simply for the sake of corroborating Zanuttini&Portner's (2003) account. Rather, we hold that the monoclausality of exclamative QUE sentences renders any discussion regarding their embedding under factives or other predicates as moot. Moreover, we suggest that in manipulating the formal structure of the exclamative QUE construction by introducing a factive paraphrase for the expressive morpheme, the test for presupposition is invalidated. That is, by introducing a descriptive factive predicate to paraphrase the expressive contribution of exclamative QUE, one changes the formal structure of exclamative QUE expressions, firstly, by creating a biclausal sentence where the original is monoclausal, and secondly by changing exclamative QUE's contribution from expressive to descriptive. Making the case either way for the factivity of exclamative QUE does not enhance our account of the illocutionary item at this stage, for which reason we do not pursue the possibility further.

3.3.2.4 Summary

Exclamative QUE, like wh-exclamatives, is not compatible with question/answer pairs and does not introduce a question into the discourse. The illocutionary complementiser also entails a degree reading, which can be understood as either a scalar implicature whose degree interpretation ranges over propositions or states of affairs in addition to individuals, or alternatively derived by analysing exclamative QUE's expressive contribution in terms of expressive indices, which encode a gradable value. We will present further evidence in favour of a gradable reading for exclamative QUE constructions in §3.5.3. Finally, exclamative QUE fails the test for factivity under embedding, though it will be seen in §3.4.1 that exclamative QUE is incompatible with embedding *tout court*. Though we stop short of adopting this position, we have shown how paraphrasing exclamative QUE constructions could be understood to reveal exclamative QUE's hidden factive nature, insofar as this diagnostic suggests that exclamative QUE introduces a presupposition, if such a test is accepted.

3.3.3 Interim conclusions

Exclamative QUE has been uncontroversially shown to exhibit all the properties of expressives as defined by Potts (2007a,2007b). In terms of Zanuttini&Portner's (2003) diagnostics for exclamatives, exclamative QUE has been shown to be incompatible with question/answer pairs, where such a diagnostic is possible (i.e. in Eastern Ibero-Romance varieties with matrix illocutionary particles), and to entail a gradable reading. Whether the exclamative morpheme

3.3 Exclamative properties of exclamative que constructions

can be analysed as a factive is less clear-cut, but the point is moot in the context of our current investigation of Ibero-Romance illocutionary QUE.

Nonetheless, our diagnostics have established that exclamative QUE's meaning contribution to a sentence is to give voice to the speaker's affective stance towards the sentence's proposition. As such, exclamative QUE's distinguishing and unique contribution to the sentence fulfils Martins' (2013b:88) definition of an exclamative (versus other sentence types), since '*by uttering an exclamative sentence the speaker expresses an emotive attitude towards the content of his/her utterance*' (my emphasis). We have seen that sentences with exclamative illocutionary force involve a diverse range of syntactic structures: this is evident within exclamative QUE constructions alone, which, depending on the Ibero-Romance variety in question, can include declarative, polar interrogative, wh-interrogative and wh-exclamative structures.

That Ibero-Romance exclamative QUE constructions allow us to isolate and identify the unique constituent in the sentence responsible for guaranteeing an exclamative interpretation, as has been shown through multiple diagnostics in this chapter involving minimal pairs, points towards exclamative QUE being the overt morphosyntactic realisation of a putative exclamative operator.¹⁸ It thus supports intuitions and analyses such as those of Zanuttini&Portner (2003) which hold that there is a dedicated element in the syntax via which an exclamative sentence can be derived (although on these authors' view there are multiple elements via which the exclamative reading is derived compositionally). The advantage of exclamative QUE constructions is that they provide us with overt empirical evidence of a single element responsible for the exclamative reading, independent of theoretical postulation. *Pace* authors who suggest only a subset of exclamations can qualify as exclamatives proper (Rett 2008,2011), exclamative QUE unifies disparate exclamative structures under one overt syntactic unit which takes scope over the rest of the sentence, including a variety of clause types, indicating that a number of syntactic structures can be classified as exclamatives proper. Thus on our view, exclamative QUE constructions *do* qualify as exclamative structures, corroborating a wide rather than a narrow account of the formal category of *exclamatives*.

¹⁸ For us, rather than constituting an exclamative operator, exclamative QUE lexicalises a left-peripheral EVALUATIVE feature/head (cf. §3.5). The empirical evidence we have presented is nonetheless amenable to an analysis of exclamative QUE as an exclamative operator.

3.4 Speech-act level

We have seen that exclamative QUE can introduce a number of clause types, and is associated with a particular illocutionary value, viz. exclamative illocutionary force. Accordingly, in this section, we examine the linguistic level at which exclamative QUE operates within the sentence. Specifically, we seek to establish whether exclamative QUE is operative within the CP or the UP by looking at the formal properties associated with speech acts and evaluating whether exclamative QUE exhibits such characteristics.

The first of these properties is (non-)embeddability (§3.4.1), since speech acts are commonly —though not uncontroversially— considered to be non-embeddable (cf. e.g. Waldie et al. 2009; Krifka 2014). The other properties reviewed are exclamative QUE’s compatibility with negation (§3.4.2), disjunction (§3.4.3) and conjunction (§3.4.4), since according to Krifka (2001,2003,2004), the illocutionary force of a sentence is semantically represented by a speech-act operator, due to the effects that the above-mentioned logical operations have on speech acts. For us, compatibility with these diagnostics will be understood to indicate operation at the level of the CP, and incompatibility will be taken to indicate operation at the level of the UP.

3.4.1 Embedding

Embedding speech acts is understood to be theoretically possible but in reality rare (Krifka 2014). Krifka (2014:12) notes that, although the embedding of speech acts is a logical possibility, the recursion of speech acts is rarely observed since

Linguistic expressions typically denote functions that, when their arguments are supplied, refer to entities [...] or describe state of affairs [...]. Only rarely do they change the world. If we disregard ancient magical spells or modern speech-driven user interfaces, *the ability for utterances to change the world is limited to expressing commitments and obligations in the right circumstances*. As Searle once remarked, the speech act I hereby fry an egg does not work; what might work is to commit an addressee to fry an egg by I hereby order you to fry an egg. (my emphasis)

Here, we take the view that, such exceptional possibilities aside, incompatibility with embedding is an indicator of operation at the level of the UP; conversely, compatibility with embedding is an indicator that a *que* morpheme pertains to the CP domain, introducing a clausal complement.

3.4 Speech-act level

We have already observed in §3.3.1.1 and §3.3.2.3 that exclamative QUE constructions are resistant to embedding following what Sheehan&Hinzen (2011) term ‘non-assertive emotive factives’, e.g. *regret*, and ‘weakly assertive cognitive semi-factives’, e.g. *know* (cf. Hooper&Thompson’s 1973 Class D and E predicates respectively). Below, we test the embedding of exclamative QUE constructions with Sheehan&Hinzen’s (2011) ‘strongly assertive non-factive communication’ predicates, e.g. *say*, and ‘weakly assertive non-factive cognitive’ predicates, e.g. *believe* (cf. Hooper&Thompson’s Class A and B verbs respectively). In contrast with the felicitous embedding of the finite complementiser in such sentences (87,89), the embedding of exclamative QUE is always infelicitous, whether or not it is introduced by the finite complementiser, indicated via brackets in (88,90):

- (87) *Vaig dir que en Mario va collar a la fi!*
 AUX.1SG say.INF th̄t the Mario AUX.3SG shut.up.INF at the last
 ‘I said th̄t Mario shut up at last.’ (Cat.^Δ)
- (88) **Vaig dir (que) que en Mario va collar a la fi!*
 AUX.1SG say.INF th̄t EXCL the Mario AUX.3SG shut.up.INF at the last
- (89) *Crec que es casen la Joana i l’Enrique.*
 believe.1SG th̄t REFL=marry.3PL the Joana and the=Enrique
 ‘I believe th̄t Joana and Enrique are getting married’ (Cat.^Δ)
- (90) **Crec (que) que es casen la Joana i l’Enrique!*
 believe.1SG th̄t EXCL REFL=marry.3PL the Joana and the=Enrique

We therefore conclude that exclamative QUE has distinct syntactic properties from the homophonous finite complementiser, and that its incompatibility with embedding is an indicator of operation at the level of the speech act (i.e. the UP), unlike the finite complementiser which heads a CP complement. However, anticipating our discussion of conjunctive QUE in Chapter 5, we will observe that the embedding of exclamative QUE is not as degraded as that of conjunctive QUE, a finding which is consistent with the gradient scale of acceptability of embedded discourse particles in §4.5.2.

3.4.2 Negation

According to Krifka (2003,2004), Etxepare (2010), speech acts cannot be negated (cf. also Searle 1969:31-32; Faller 2002; Matthewson, Davis&Rullmann 2007). Krifka suggests that it is unclear how to even conceive of what a negated speech act would look like, since it would have to mean something similar to the following paraphrase:

- (91) I don't assert: Al made the pasta.

Though the paraphrase 'I don't assert' is grammatical, it amounts not to a negative assertion, but to a refusal to make an assertion, wherein said refusal itself constitutes an assertion: the paraphrase is instead an act of what Searle&Vanderveken (1985:112) term *illocutionary denegation*. The difficulty in finding an appropriate paraphrase is due to the very impossibility of a negated speech act (since a paraphrase itself constitutes an act). In other words, one may either PERFORM an act (do, or say, something), or fail to PERFORM an act (do, or here, say nothing), but what one cannot do is NOT PERFORM an act: there is no such *performance* as a non-performance, or, put the other way round, a non-performance is not a performance.

In addition to the non-cancellability of exclamative QUE constructions we have already observed (§3.2.2;§3.3.2.2), exclamative QUE constructions cannot be directly negated:

- (92) (Ai) *que me muechu toda!*
 DM EXCL REFL=wet.1SG all
 'Ohh, I'm completely soaked!' (Ast.; Astierna, ASLA)
- (93) *(Ai) *nun que me muechu toda!*
 DM not EXCL REFL=wet.1SG all

In (93), the negative XP cannot take scope over exclamative QUE, whereas it can over a lexical exclamative predicate, such as *esclamar* ('exclaim.INF'), which is felicitous:

- (94) *Nun esclamei que me muechu toda.*
 not exclaim.PST.1SG that me=soak.1SG all
 'I didn't exclaim that I'm completely soaked' (Ast.)

3.4 Speech-act level

In (93), it is the exclamative act itself which is negated, whereas in (94), it is not the illocutionary act itself but a description of that act which falls under the scope of negation.

Some Ibero-Romance speakers have suggested that sentences such as the invented example (95) challenge the claim that exclamative QUE cannot be negated:

- (95) *Ai que me doe a cabeza, #non que me doe a barriga*
DM EXCL me=hurt.3SG the head not that me=hurt.3SG the stomach
'Ohhh, my head hurts ('not my stomach hurts!')' (Gal.^Δ)

Such speakers have claimed that the second clause, marked in the example as infelicitous, is in fact acceptable. However, for (95) to be read as felicitous, the negated clause must be read as a contrastively-focused phrase, which requires a distinctive intonation (cf. Frascarelli 2000; Frota 2014[2000]), one which differs from the intonation associated with exclamative QUE constructions (cf. fn4). A contrastive reading of (95) would, however, involve negation of the proposition $p = \text{'speaker's stomach hurts'}$, rather than the exclamative value of QUE. When one attempts to read (95) as involving the negation of exclamative QUE itself, together with an intonation appropriate for such clauses, the intended interpretation fails. For the exclamative reading of (95), it is not the propositional content —whether I have a headache or a stomach ache— that is at issue. Rather, it is the expression, in these instances, of the pain and the speaker's distaste for that state that is at the heart of the speaker's intention (i.e. that which is codified by exclamative QUE) in producing the utterance. Since that expressive content cannot be negated, the intended meaning contribution of (95) does not result in a felicitous sentence. Sentences such as (95) are thus the exception that proves the rule: exclamative QUE cannot be negated.

3.4.3 Disjunction

According to Krifka (2001), the logical operation of disjunction can only be interpreted at the propositional level (cf. also Faller 2002; Etxepare 2010). This is because, unlike conjunction (though cf. §3.4.4), a sentence involving two clauses linked by the disjunctive operator OR cannot be paraphrased as co-ordinating two acts of assertion (97b):

- (96) Al made the pasta and Bill make the salad
a. *Conjoined propositions*
I assert: Al made the pasta and Bill made the salad

3.4 Speech-act level

b. *Conjoined assertions*

I assert: Al made the pasta, and I assert: Bill made the salad

- (97) Al made the pasta or Bill make the salad

a. *Disjoined propositions*

I assert: Al made the pasta or Bill made the salad

b. *Disjoined assertions*

#I assert: Al made the pasta, or I assert: Bill made the salad

(Krifka 2001:16)

The effect of the disjunctive operator is understood to cancel the illocutionary force of the sentence.

When this diagnostic is applied to exclamative QUE sentences, the result is an infelicitous sentence:

- (98) **Ai mai, que he minchau masiau o que me fa mal a pancha!*
DM mum EXCL AUX.3SG eat.PST.PTCP too.much or EXCL me=do.3SG bad the stomach
(‘Oh mum, I’ve eaten too much, or my head hurts!’) (Arag.^Δ)

Since the sentence is unacceptable, we deduce that exclamative QUE operates at the level of the speech act. As such, it contrasts with the felicitous disjunction of the finite complementiser *que* (‘that’):

- (99) *Nos pensamos que había un cumpleanos ou que estaban gastando unha broma*
we=think.PST.1PL that there.was a birthday or that be.IMPF.3PL spend.PTCP a joke
(‘We thought there was a birthday or that someone was making a joke’ (Gal.[†])

3.4.4 Conjunction

Another diagnostic of speech act status is conjunction. Exclamative QUE clauses, however, cannot undergo this operation:

3.4 Speech-act level

- (100) *Ai que me pica i (*que) no me pueu arrascal!*
 DM EXCL me=itch.3SG and EXCL not me=can.1SG scratch.INF
 ‘Ohhh, it itches and I can’t scratch it!’ (Ext.^Δ)

Note that the grammaticality of (100) is rescued if the exclamative morpheme is omitted. The infelicitous conjunction of exclamative QUE likewise contrasts with the felicitous conjunction of reported complements, headed by the finite complementiser *que*:

- (101) *Dixi que me pica i que no me pueu arrascal!*
 say.PST.1SG that me=itch.3SG and that not me=can.1SG scratch.INF have.1sg
 ‘I said that it itches and that I can’t scratch it!’ (Ext.^Δ)

According to Krifka (2001:13), speech acts can be conjoined, since ‘the conjunction of acts is obviously equivalent to the consecutive performance of those acts’. He claims this holds for all speech acts, as exemplified in (102a-e) for assertions (102a), questions (102b), commands (102c), exclamations (102d), and performative sentences such as (102e):

- (102) a. My dog loves chicken soup. And my cat likes chopped liver.
- b. Which dish did Al make? And which dish did Bill make?
- c. Eat the chicken soup! And, drink the hot tea!
- d. How beautiful this is! And how peaceful!
- e. I hereby baptize you John. And I hereby baptize YOU Mary.

(Krifka 2001:13)

Krifka’s (2001:14) suggestion is that the possibility of conjoining speech acts is demonstrated by the equivalence of the following paraphrases for questions (103a-b) and commands (103a-b):

- (103) a. A:. Which dish did Al make?
 B: The pasta.
 A:. Which dish did Bill make?
 B: The salad.
- b. A:. Which dish did Al make?

3.4 Speech-act level

- And which dish did Bill make?
- B: Al (made) the pasta,
and Bill the salad.
- (104) a. A.: Pick up the ball!
- B: [Picks up ball.]
- A.: Throw it to me!
- B: [Throws ball to A.]
- b. A: Pick up the ball!
And, throw it to me!
- B: [Picks up the ball
and throws ball to A.]

Unlike disjunction (§3.4.3), the conjunction of the two questions (103a-b) and the two commands (104a-b) is seen as the conjunction of two speech acts, since their conjunction leads to two separate responses (verbal in (103a-b) and actions in (104a-b)).

However, it is not the case that all speech acts can be conjoined, since our attempt to conjoin two exclamative QUE constructions (i.e. two consecutive exclamative speech acts) resulted in ungrammaticality (100). In (105), we adduce further examples from English, to demonstrate that the difficulty in conjoining speech acts is not unique to Ibero-Romance:

- (105) Scenario: I return home and walk into an empty house, but know the rest of the family must be around somewhere. I call out:
- a. Hello? Can you hear me? Is anybody home? Where is everyone? Where have you got to? Where are you hiding?
- b. Hello? #And can you hear me? #And is anybody home? #And where is everyone? #And where have you got to? #And where are you hiding?

Given that all the sentences in (105a-b) are items, at least superficially, on an equal linguistic level (i.e. question speech acts), one would expect that they could be conjoined. Even if one disregards the sentences with distinct syntactic interrogative structures, the conjunction of the polar questions ('Can you hear me? Is anybody home?') and the wh-interrogatives ('Where is everyone?' et seq.) in (105b) is still unnatural. Yet, such structures can be felicitously co-ordinated, as the following sentence (106a) and its paraphrases in (106b-c) reveal:

3.4 Speech-act level

- (106) a. [I ask:] Where is everyone, (and) where have you got to and where are you hiding?
- b. A: [I ask:] Where is everyone?
B: We're here!
A: [I ask:] Where have you got to?
B: We're upstairs!
A: [I ask:] Where are you hiding?
B: In the airing cupboard, sorting the laundry!
- c. A: [I ask:] Where is everyone?
[I ask:] Where have you got to?
[I ask:] Where are you hiding?
B: We're here!
And we're upstairs!
And we're in the airing cupboard, sorting the laundry!

It thus appears that speech acts cannot be co-ordinated *tout court*. Without taking a position on what precisely is at stake semantically, we relate the discrepancy to two observations. The first is that, as discussed in Chapter 1, the concept of ‘speech act’ is compositional, insofar as there is a distinction between ‘simple’ speech acts, which involve one illocutionary force, and ‘complex’ speech acts. The latter involve multiple illocutionary forces, an effect of whether, in Beyssade&Marandin’s (2006a,2006b) terms, the speaker’s commitment and the speaker’s call on the addressee are aligned (i.e. one illocutionary force), or distinct (i.e. multiple illocutionary forces). This observation leads to the second: that the discourse context, including the dynamic interaction between speaker and addressee, and updates to the common ground, as well as the prosodic factors associated with different discourse conditions, must be taken into account.

Though Krifka does take discourse interactions into consideration in his account, his examples in (103a-b,104a-b) are nonetheless effectively placed in a discourse vacuum. My suggestion is that the reason Krifka’s invented examples in (103a-b),(104a-b) are felicitous whereas mine (105a-b) are not is that the former examples lack any discourse conditions which would contextualise them, whereas the latter are placed in an imaginary, but possible, dynamic discourse scenario. What we witness, in effect, is that Krifka’s (2001) examples conjoin clauses (containing, at most, a simple speech act, or at least a limited encoding of

3.4 Speech-act level

illocutionary force), whereas my examples conjoin clauses which also constitute separate utterances (a more complex codification of the concept of speech act, or encoding of illocutionary force). In the syntactic terms proposed in this dissertation, Krifka's (2001) examples conjoin CPs whereas my examples conjoin UPs: both contain illocutionary force, substantiating Krifka's logical arguments for the conjunction of speech acts, but only the UP encodes the full utterance context (of that which is able to be syntacticised). We therefore distinguish between an ‘utterance’, a superset term which cannot be conjoined, and ‘illocutionary’ acts, which, used in Krifka's sense, can be conjoined, and therefore must be a subset of a higher class at the syntax-pragmatics interface which is i) sensitive to syntactic factors, but ii) outside the scope of logical operation. The use of these terminology recalls Searle&Vanderveken's (1985:117) distinction between *utterance acts* and *illocutionary acts*: illocutionary acts are a semantic representation (‘performances of propositional acts’), whereas utterance acts are the sound-form representation of that semantic representation (‘the utterance of an expression’).¹⁹

The asymmetry in structural status between ‘regular’ CPs and exclamative QUE constructions is verified by the observation that the constituent order of exclamative QUE clause and the clausal conjunct in sentences such as (107) cannot be reversed:

- (107) *Ai, [ConjP [FP1 no me pueu arrascal] i [FP2 que me pica]]
 DM not me=can.1SG scratch.INF and EXCL me=itch.3SG

Conversely, reversing the order of the clauses beneath exclamative QUE produces a fully grammatical utterance:

- (108) Ai, que [ConjP [FP1 no me pueu arrascal] i [FP2 me pica]]
 DM EXCL not me=can.1SG scratch.INF and me=itch.3SG

¹⁹ On their account, articulating the sentences ‘it's raining’ in English and *il pleut* in French amounts to performing identical illocutionary acts but distinct utterance acts. Conversely, the sentence ‘I'm hungry’ spoken by two different people constitutes two utterance tokens of the same utterance act but two distinct illocutionary acts. This classification is distinct from ours, as we have attributed the concept of ‘illocutionary act’ to the CP level, not to syntax-external real-world indices as Searle&Vanderveken's (1985) example implies. Updated into structural terms, the lexical array for each version of ‘I'm hungry’ would be identical —e.g. SPEAKER in the UP would be co-indexed with 1SG phi-features in the CP/IP in both cases— but the referential indices of each token of that structure would be distinct, i.e. SPEAKER would index a different real-world referent in each use.

3.5 Left-peripheral distribution

‘Ohhh, I can’t scratch it and it itches!’

We assume that the grammaticality contrast between (107-108) can be attributed to the fact (107) features the attempted conjunction of XPs with unlike status, viz. a CP (*no me pueu arrascal* ‘I can’t scratch it’) and a UP (*que me pica* ‘it itches!’), whereas (108) is felicitous because two CPs are conjoined.

In sum, the present section reveals that exclamative QUE constructions are not able to be linked by the co-ordinating conjunction AND. This empirical observation is taken to indicate that exclamative QUE lies beyond the scope of the logical operation of conjunction, and, consequently, that, from a cartographic perspective, exclamative QUE functions at the level of the UP, not the CP.

3.4.5 Summary

The diagnostics utilised in this section —embedding, negation, disjunction and conjunction— tested the syntactic and illocutionary level at which exclamative QUE functions, where compatibility with these operations was taken as evidence of CP status, and incompatibility as evidence of UP status. In all instances, exclamative QUE was found to be incompatible with these diagnostics. Accordingly, we understand that, unlike the finite complementiser which introduces a CP complement, exclamative QUE operates at the level of the speech act, in the UP.

3.5 Left-peripheral distribution

As in chapter 2, we assume an extended cartography for the left-periphery as follows:²⁰

(109) [_{S_Ahigh} [_{S_Alow} [_{Force} [_{Topic} [_{Pol-int} [_{Excl} [_{Wh-int} [_{Focus} [_{Fin} [_{IP} ...]]]]]]]]]]]]

Since previous work has already identified the structural position of various multiple complementisers in (Ibero-)Romance, we can already eliminate a number of projections as possible merge positions for exclamative QUE. Namely, we assume that Force^o is occupied by the finite subordinating complementiser *que* (Rizzi 1997; Ledgeway 2012), that the heads of the Topic and Fin(iteness) projections are lexicalised by recompilation *que* and jussive

²⁰ Recall that we simplify some areas of the structure for expository purposes, since our investigation focuses on the extreme left of the left-periphery.

3.5 Left-peripheral distribution

que respectively (Villa-García 2012a,2012b,2015; also Ledgeway 2005,2012; Gupton 2014), and that the lexicalisation of Focus^o by the morpheme *que* is infelicitous in (modern) Ibero-Romance (Villa-García 2012a,2012b,2015). The full cartography of left-peripheral positions available for lexicalisation by exclamative QUE is therefore the following:

- (110) [_{S_Ahigh} [_{S_Alow} [_{Force} *que_{CT}* [_{Topic} *que_{RECOMP}* [_{Pol-int} [_{Excl} [_{Wh-int} [_{Focus} **que* [_{Fin} *que_{JUSS}* [_{IP} ...
]]]]]]]]]

3.5.1 Distribution in the CP

The diagnostics in §3.4 indicated that exclamative QUE operates in the speech-act domain rather than the C-space. However, before we can rule out a CP analysis for exclamative QUE, we must test the distribution of exclamative QUE vis-à-vis known CP elements. Thus in §3.2, we observed that, in addition to declarative structures, exclamative QUE constructions can also be formed from wh-exclamative (111) and (rhetorical) wh-interrogative (112) structures:

- (111) *ufff, que* [_{Excl} *qué putadón*] *Coronil*
 ufff EXCL what bugger Coronil
 ‘Ufff, what a bugger, Coronil’ (E.Sp.[†])
- (112) *Que* [_{Wh-int} *qué diablos*] *te pasa mocosas inmadura*
 EXCL what devils to.you=happen.3SG snotty immature
 ‘What the hell’s wrong with you, you snivelly kid!’ (LASp.[†])

As such, exclamative QUE must surface higher than the dedicated projections for both wh-exclamatives and wh-interrogatives. Further, on the view that i) exclamative QUE shows no interrogative illocutionary properties, and that ii) certain Ibero-Romance varieties permit an interrogative particle *que* or *si/se* with polar interrogatives (for examples, cf. ch4), we assume that exclamative QUE does not occupy the polar-interrogative phrase either. Similarly, the head of the Topic phrase is understood to be lexicalised by recompilation QUE, following Villa-Garcia (2012a,2012b,2015):

- (113) *Di que dado que a terra é redonda, que non é*
 say.3SG that since that the earth be.3SG round RECOMP not be.3

3.5 Left-peripheral distribution

possible circundala.

possible circumnavigate.INF=it

‘He says that, since the earth is round, (that) it’s not possible to circumnavigate it’
(Iatridou&Kroch 1992:16)

That exclamative QUE does not occupy this position is verified by the observation that exclamative QUE precedes topics in attested examples:

- (114) *jUau, que a esa guapa, la paparazzearon!*
DM EXCL DOM that pretty her=paparazzi.PST.3PL
‘Wow, that girl, they paparazzied her!’ (Sp.[†])
- (115) *Ay mamá que esto lo pagamos todos y sin preguntá*
DM mum EXCL this it=pay.1PL all and without question.INF
‘Oh boy, we’re all going to be paying for this, no question’ (Sp.[†])
- (116) *Ai que eu contigo non me meto*
DM EXCL I with.you not me=put.1SG
‘Hey, with you I haven’t got a problem’ (Gal.; song)
- (117) *Ai, que eu na minha vida anterior (coisas da reencarnaçāo*
DM EXCL I in.the my life previous things of.the reincarnation
e tal) deve ter sido muito crédulo
and such must.3SG have.INF be.PST.PTCP very gullible
‘Ohh, I must have been very gullible in my previous life (reincarnation and all that)’
(Pg.[†])

The only remaining position to the left of the Topic field in the CP is ForceP, which we assume to be lexicalised by the finite complementiser *que*. A possible conclusion is that exclamative QUE lexicalises the same position; however, given its illocutionary interpretation (§3.3)—which on strict cartographic grounds would rule out it lexicalising the same position—, and its distinct formal behaviour compared to the finite complementiser (§3.4), in the next section we explore the possibility that exclamative QUE instead lexicalises a position in the UP.

3.5.2 Distribution in the UP

In this section, we test exclamative QUE's distribution vis-à-vis utterance-oriented elements merged in the UP to verify the relative height of exclamative QUE within an expanded left-periphery. Recall that discourse particles are analysed as utterance heads (Haegeman&Hill 2013) whereas vocatives are XPs, and that, when these utterance-oriented constituents co-occur, there is a ban on vocatives in absolute-initial position (cf. ch2).

Firstly, we observe that, when tested, exclamative QUE follows, not precedes, discourse particles, as in the following examples:

- (118) (*{Ai/apa}*), *que* (**{ai/apa}*) *em poso* *vermella!*
 DM/DM EXCL DM/DM me=put.1SG red
 ‘Ohh/gosh, I’ve gone red!’ (Cat.^Δ)

- (119) (*Uau*), *que* (**uau*) *os meus olhos tão a pesar tanto*
 DM EXCL DM my eyes be.3PL to weigh.INF so.much
 ‘Wow, my eyes are so heavy!’ (E.Pg., Aveiro[†])

It is thus immediately apparent that exclamative QUE cannot lexicalise SAhigh°, since the leftmost U-position is occupied by the discourse particle when this item is present in the lexical array. Further restrictions are found in European Portuguese, where some speakers only accept exclamative QUE with the non-lexical particle *ai* ‘ohh’, as the contrast in (120-121) reveals:

- (120) *Ai/*uau, que me deixas corada!*
 DM/DM EXCL me=leave.2SG red
 ‘Oh, you make me blush!’ (E.Pg., Lisbon^Δ)
- (121) **Que ai/uau me deixas corada!*
 EXCL DM/DM me=leave.2SG red

Prima facie, one might wish to conclude that the particles *ai* ‘ohh’ and *uau* ‘wow’ are merged in different positions, providing evidence that for European Portuguese speakers with the judgments in (120-121), exclamative QUE targets a distinct position from that of other varieties. Whilst not discounting the latter half of this conclusion, we do not believe that such examples provide evidence of a distinct merge position for the above particles. The principle

3.5 Left-peripheral distribution

reason for this conclusion is that such an analysis would necessitate postulating a formal distinction based on the one key difference between these particles' interpretation, viz. the impossibility of a negative evaluation in the case of *uau* 'wow'.²¹ The two particles share the majority of their grammatical properties: both are non-lexical, speaker-oriented expressives, and are observed to merge in a sentence-peripheral position. However, unlike *ai* 'ohh', which can be employed by the speaker to express a range of emotions, *uau* 'wow' only conveys positive emotion or surprise, but cannot itself express a negative evaluation. Even in a sentence like *Uau, que é o mais idiota porra coisa que eu já ouvi* 'Wow, that's the most stupid fucking thing I've ever heard'[†], the particle only conveys surprise at the situation but does not encode the negativity of the sentence itself. Replacing *uau* 'wow' with *ai* 'ohh' in the same sentence, by contrast, adds the extra nuance of lament on the part of the speaker. It is highly improbable that such semantic differences would be grammaticalised: i.e. there cannot be a [±LAMENT] feature in the left-periphery.

Instead, we assume that the two particles target the same functional position in such constructions, and that the restrictions on Portuguese observed in (120) have an alternative explanation; namely, that for such speakers, exclamative QUE itself is no longer a productive unit. The speakers that provided these judgements shared a similar sociolinguistic profile, being young, mobile professionals from Lisbon. For these speakers, exclamative QUE has a distinctly 'rural' flavour and does not form part of their active vocabulary. Its use for these speakers is limited to the particle *ai* 'ohh'. In other words, these speakers do not have

²¹ This is not entirely true, because these particles differ in their compatibility with responses to out-of-the-blue questions, viz. only *ai* 'ohh' but not *uau* 'wow' can be used in response to the question 'what's up/going on':

- (i) *O que é que se passa?* ('What's up?')
 - a. *Ai, que os meus olhos tão a pesar tanto*
 'Ohhh, my eyes are so heavy!'[†]
 - b. *# Uau, que os meus olhos tão a pesar tanto*
 'Wow, my eyes are so heavy!'

We are not yet in a position to have an answer to whether the ban on *uau* 'wow' (and other discourse-initial particles such as *vaia/vaia* 'gosh', *oye* 'hey') is structurally or pragmatically derived: it is more than possible that such differences correspond to further functional gradations at the height of the UP, entailing that these particles merge in distinct functional projections (or that, as Luigi Andriani (p.c.) points out, there may be polarity-sensitive projections for Speech Acts). This would leave open the possibility that differences in the compatibility of exclamative QUE with different particles do in fact reflect microparametric variation in the height at which the illocutionary complementiser merges.

3.5 Left-peripheral distribution

exclamative QUE as part of their lexicon, but rather a complex construction *ai que*, whose structure we analyse in reference to (125-126) below.

That exclamative QUE does not lexicalise SAhigh^o is confirmed by the observation that exclamative QUE follows, but cannot precede, a vocative (in SpecSAlowP), with the exception of European Portuguese, in which the vocative is banned in both positions:

- (122) (*Amor*) *que* (**amor*) *em poso* *vermella!*
 love EXCL love me=put.1SG red
 ‘Darling, you make me blush!’ (Cat.^Δ)
- (123) (*Irmá*), *que* (**irmá*) *é* *para o meu filliño!*
 Sister EXCL Sister be.3SG for the my boy.DIM
 ‘Sister, it’s for my little boy!’ (Gal.[†])
- (124) (**Fofinha*), *que* (**fofinha*) *me deixas corada!* (E.Pg. ^Δ)
 cute.DIM EXCL cute.DIM me=put.1SG red

The contrast between the infelicity of Portuguese (124) and its grammatical equivalents elsewhere in Ibero-Romance (122,123) reinforces the observation that the use of exclamative QUE is particularly restricted in this variety, in line with the clause-typing restrictions attested in §3.2.1. However, it is not the case that an initial vocative preceding exclamative QUE is banned with European Portuguese *tout court*, as (125) reveals:

- (125) *Ai fofinha que me deixas corada!*
 DM cute.DIM EXCL me=put.1SG red
 ‘Oh darling, you make me blush!’ (E.Pg. ^Δ)
- (126) (**Que*) *ai* (**que*) *fofinha me deixas corada!*
 EXCL DM EXCL cute.DIM me=put.1SG red

The above examples demonstrate that exclamative QUE *can* co-occur with a vocative in European Portuguese, with the condition that a discourse particle is also present in the numeration and precedes both constituents according to the order *discourse particle > vocative > exclamative QUE*. Crucially, the linearisation rules in (125-126) are the same as those observed elsewhere in Ibero-Romance:

3.5 Left-peripheral distribution

- (127) *Ai Irmá, que vou poder ler ata as vidas dos santos!*
 DM Sister EXCL go.1SG be.able.INF read.INF even the lives of.the
 saints

‘Ohh Sister, I’m even going to be able to read the lives of the saints!’ (Gal.[†])

- (128) (**Que*) *ai (*que) Irmá vou poder ler ata as vidas dos santos!*
 EXCL DM EXCL Sister go.1SG be.able.INF read.INF even the lives
 of.the saints

In other words, European Portuguese exclamative QUE, in obeying the same relative ordering constraints as other Ibero-Romance varieties, must occupy the same structural position. The restrictions on exclamative QUE structures in European Portuguese are not a consequence of where exclamative QUE merges in European Portuguese, but are a fallout of distinct requirements in this variety, as detailed in the next section.

3.5.3 Exclamative QUE at the UP/CP border

In the preceding sections, we have narrowed down exclamative QUE’s structural position to a projection at the CP/UP border: the illocutionary morpheme merges in a position above topics in the CP and below vocatives in the UP, leaving the following projections remaining in the expanded left-periphery:

- (129) [_{S_Ahigh} *ai/uau*_{DM} [_{S_Alow}, VocP [_{S_Alow} [_{Force} [_{Topic} TopicP [_{Pol-int} [_{Excl} Wh-excl [_{Wh-int} Wh-int
 [Focus [Fin [_{IP} ...]]]]]]]]]]

On the above cartography, exclamative QUE must either lexicalise Force° in the CP, or S_Alow° in the UP. Given the number of formal differences between the finite complementiser *que*, which occupies the head of ForceP, and exclamative QUE (cf. the diagnostics in §3.4), it is unlikely —and ruled out on strict cartographic grounds— that the two homophonous particles lexicalise the same position, leading us to conclude that exclamative QUE is merged in S_Alow°. Whilst this analysis is appealing, insofar as it allows us to account for exclamative QUE’s performative interpretation and its anchoring to the utterance, we propose that further refinement is necessary. Recall that in Chapter 2, we established that the performative (130) versus evaluative (131) interpretation of discourse particles was an effect

3.5 Left-peripheral distribution

of their merge position, a finding which also explained other formal differences between such particles:

- (130) *Mira, chico, déshame'star en paz*
‘Look, boy, leave me alone’ (Arag.[†])
- (131) *Mira que sotz tozudos y raros os d'a tuya tierra*
‘Gosh your lot are stubborn and weird’ (Arag.[†])

Namely, Ibero-Romance ‘performative’ particles (130) have a degree of prosodic independence from their host utterance, and are involved in activating or modulating the speaker-addressee relation, whereas Ibero-Romance ‘evaluative’ particles (131) i) are prosodically integrated; ii) are obligatorily followed by the finite complementiser, and iii) encode the speaker’s evaluation of the sentence’s proposition. We classified the latter within Cruschina&Remberger’s (2016) category of C-constructions (cf. also Hill 2010,2012), and, following Munaro (2016), we determined that the discourse particle in these structures merges in a lower, non-speech act position, viz. EvaluativeP, a projection within Speas&Tenny’s (2003) Sentience Domain.²² The same contrast between the two types of particles is attested elsewhere cross-linguistically, as observable in McCready’s (2009) analysis of the English utterance-oriented particle *man*. McCready (2009) differentiates between a non-prosodically integrated use of *man*, equivalent to what we have denoted a ‘performative’ discourse particle (130), and a prosodically-integrated use, which corresponds to the evaluative constructions in (131).

Crucially, for McCready (2009:679-680), the non-integrated use of *man* simply expresses that the speaker holds an attitude towards the sentence’s proposition, whereas the integrated use conveys that the speaker not only holds an attitude towards the proposition, but that they do so *to a high degree*, ‘coercing’ a gradable reading where necessary (e.g. ‘Man we drank beer last night’ would coerce the gradable interpretation that a lot of beer was consumed the night before). In other words, *man* provides independent evidence that items merged in EvaluativeP (viz. the ‘evaluative’ particles of the sort illustrated in (132-133)) involve gradability: a key constitutive property of exclamatives (cf. §3.3.2.2). When we

²² Recall that at the end of ch2, we collapsed EvaluativeP and DeclP into ForceP. We will return to this decision, and the incorporation of Speas&Tenny’s (2003) Sentience Domain into our revised cartography in §4.5.

3.5 Left-peripheral distribution

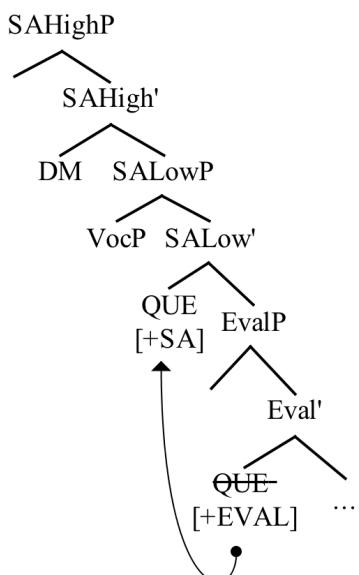
attempt to combine exclamative QUE with such constructions, the result is an ungrammatical sentence:

- (132) *Ai, fofoinha, (*que) olha que estas com sorte!*
 DM cute.DIM EXCL DM that be.2SG with luck
 ‘Oh, darling, gosh aren’t you lucky!’ (E.Pg.^Δ)
- (133) *Ay, Nerea, (*que) mira que tienes una suertaza!*
 DM Nerea EXCL DM that have.2SG a luck.AUG
 ‘Oh, Nerea, gosh aren’t you so lucky!’ (E.Sp.[†])

The incompatibility of exclamative QUE with C-constructions follows straightforwardly if both exclamative QUE and the discourse particle (i.e. *olha/mira* in (132-133) above) target the same position, viz. Evaluative[°]. We therefore assume that exclamative QUE merges as the head of EvaluativeP in order to value an evaluative/gradable feature [±EVALUATIVE], thereby deriving the degree interpretation of exclamative QUE constructions.

However, the observation that EvaluativeP is a non-performative layer is at odds with the identification of exclamative QUE with performative meaning (§3.3.1.5). As such, exclamative QUE must initially merge in Evaluative[°], valuing its [+EVALUATIVE] feature, before raising into the UP, in order to gain its speech act interpretation. Specifically, given the ordering constraints detailed in the preceding section, exclamative QUE must target SALow[°], from which position it can gain its [+PERFORMATIVE] interpretation as follow (in the representation below, the feature [+SA] is used as shorthand for [+PERFORMATIVE]):

- (134) *Licensing of exclamative QUE in the Ibero-Romance left-periphery*

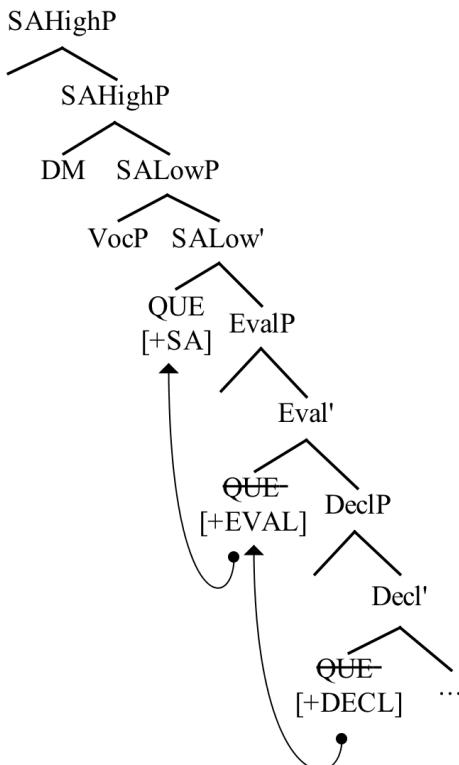


3.5 Left-peripheral distribution

Note that the assumption that exclamative QUE can check a [+PERFORMATIVE] feature in SALowP is incompatible with Haegeman's (2014) characterisation of this layer as a non-performative layer (on her account, only SAHighP has this value), but is consistent with our proposal (cf. ch2) that both UP layers are performative. Rather than postulating that [\pm PERFORMATIVITY] is encoded in SAHighP only and that exclamative QUE must check this feature by long-distance Agree, we contend that the more elegant analysis is simply that exclamative QUE moves to SALow^o, in which position the complementiser can value directly the [+PERFORMATIVE] feature necessary for its interpretation.

Some further adjustments are required to account for the microparametric differences across Ibero-Romance. Since there is a one-to-one mapping between clause type and illocutionary QUE in European Portuguese, i.e. exclamative QUE constructions are limited to declarative sentences only, we assume that exclamative QUE does not start out in EvalP but in fact must first merge directly in Decl^o (cf. fn22), encoding its clause type before raising to check its illocutionary features (viz. [+EVALUATIVE, +PERFORMATIVE]):

- (135) *Licensing of exclamative QUE in the European Portuguese left-periphery:*

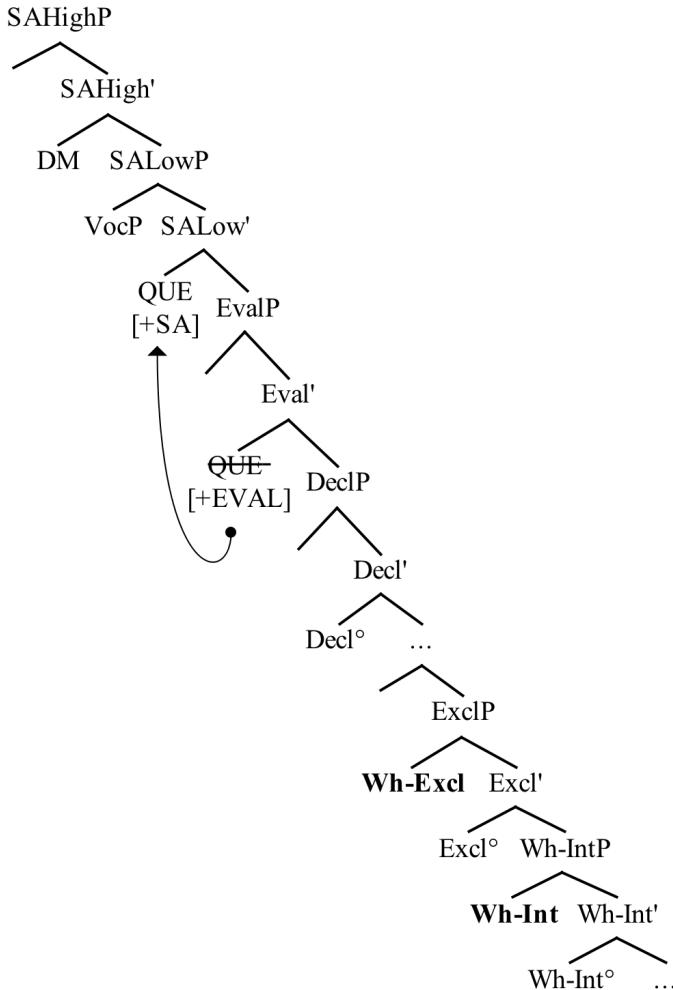


No such requirement is found in varieties in which exclamative QUE can introduce a range of clause types (cf. §3.2.1). In the case of non-declarative structures, e.g. wh-exclamatives or

3.5 Left-peripheral distribution

(rhetorical) wh-interrogatives, we assume that the illocutionary complementiser will merge directly in Eval° (136):

- (136) *Licensing of exclamative QUE with wh-structures*



Where exclamative QUE can introduce interrogative structures without a genuine information-seeking interpretation, we follow McCready (2009) in assuming that the question interpretation is ruled out by the fact that making an exclamation about a proposition p (or a property of an individual) requires that the speaker is already apprised of the contents of that proposition (or familiar with the attributes of that individual). In McCready's (2009:693) words, 'if I am not acquainted with (the properties of) some object, it is odd for me to say that it is 'very P' for any P' – an outcome already anticipated in §3.2.2 by the felicity conditions we established for exclamative QUE, viz. the preparatory rule that ' S has direct evidence that the sentence's content c is true' (cf. Table 3.3;§3.2.2). That is, exclamative QUE can combine with interrogative structures, but a genuine information-seeking request is precluded by the preparatory rules of its felicity conditions, limiting such structures' interpretations to a

3.5 Left-peripheral distribution

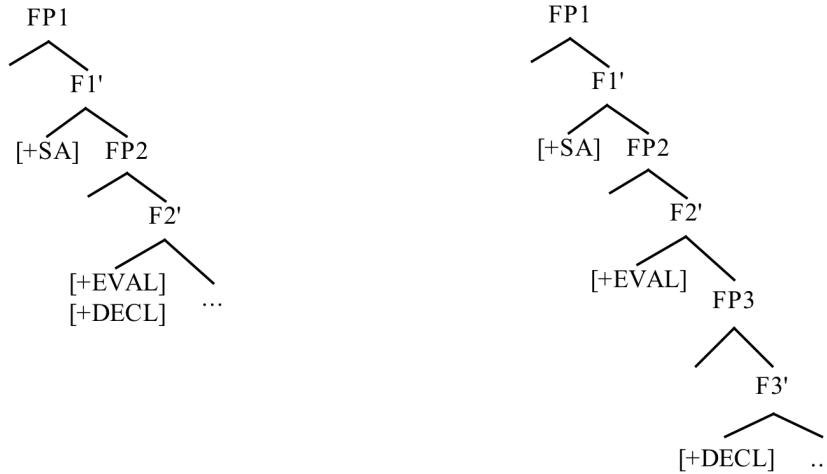
rhetorical interpretation (cf. §3.2.1).

In Ibero-Romance varieties where there is no one-to-one relation between clause type and exclamative QUE (e.g. Spanish, Galician and Catalan), there are two logical options for the licensing of exclamative QUE declarative structures. The first is that, as in European Portuguese, exclamative QUE originates in Decl^o to type the sentence as a declarative before moving higher in the left-periphery to value its illocutionary properties, following the structure schematised in (135). The alternative proposal, which we adopt here, is that exclamative QUE does not lexicalise Decl^o, but instead merges directly in Eval^o before moving into SALow^o. In the latter case, clause-typing in Decl^o is assumed to be unnecessary in the same way that a discourse-neutral matrix declarative does not need any overt licensing of Force for it to be identified as a declarative sentence.

For us, the difference in the licensing of exclamative QUE across Ibero-Romance is a consequence of the make-up of the left-periphery in European Portuguese vis-à-vis other Ibero-Romance varieties; in particular, the relation between the UP and CP. Though we assume a universal order of functional projections, we follow Giorgi&Pianesi (1997) in the further assumption that the features encoded in the head of these projections can have distinct distributions across the clausal structure, with some features being bundled syncretically on a single head whereas others are spread out across the functional sequence, deriving differences in the layout of the sentential architecture cross-linguistically. It is evident that European Portuguese is more restricted than other Ibero-Romance varieties in the range of clause types it permits with exclamative QUE: we attribute this to a constraint in this variety that sentences *must* be clause-typed, or, in structural terms, that European Portuguese requires a sentence to have some sort of formal specification in the CP. Other Ibero-Romance varieties can be underspecified in the CP, allowing sentence-typing to occur directly in the UP. That is, whereas sentence-typing in European Portuguese requires the specification of clause type in CP, other Ibero-Romance varieties can instead directly value an illocutionary feature (e.g. [+EVALUATIVE]) without first having to check a clause-typing feature in the CP to license a sentence type. In formal terms, we assume that in European Portuguese, the illocutionary features associated with EvaluativeP and the clause-typing features of DeclP are mapped onto a single syncretic head (137a), whereas in other Ibero-Romance varieties, these features are mapped separately, with the illocutionary features in EvalP and the declarative-typing features in DeclP (137b):

3.5 Left-peripheral distribution

- (137) a. *Feature bundling in European Portuguese* b. *Feature scattering in other Peninsular Ibero-Romance varieties*



Indeed, it will be observed throughout this thesis that a close relation between the finite complementiser *que* and a declarative clause type is a key feature of the finite subordinator and its illocutionary QUE variants in European Portuguese, entailing that the Portuguese complementiser is more formally-specified than its counterparts in other Ibero-Romance varieties, which will be found to be maximally-underspecified functional heads (as will be discussed in greater depth in ch4).

The restrictions on the licensing of exclamative QUE and co-occurring utterance-oriented elements can be explained in these terms. In §3.5.2, we observed that European Portuguese bans the co-occurrence of a Voc(ative)P to the left of exclamative QUE, but that this order is permitted when the VocP is preceded by a discourse particle (for some speakers, this can only be *ai* ‘ohhh’). In fact, for many speakers of contemporary European Portuguese, exclamative QUE constructions are ungrammatical if they are not preceded by an utterance-oriented element (138), contrasting with older/regional dialects where such an order is possible, as attested in (2), repeated here as (139):²³

- (138) *(*Uau*), *que a bebe já faz 18 anos!*
 wow EXCL the baby already make.3SG 18 years

‘Wow, the little one is already turning 18!’ (E.Pg.[†])

- (139) *Que aquilo dava muito dinheiro antigamente!*
 EXCL that give.IMPF.3SG much money formerly

²³ The sociolinguistic profile of the speaker of the corpus example (139) is that of a rural, 50 year-old male with a basic educational level interviewed in 1996.

3.5 Left-peripheral distribution

‘That used to be a good earner!’ (E.Pg., Larinho, Bragança; CORDIAL-SIN)

While the divide is not absolute, the speakers not accepting (138) without the discourse particle are younger, urban speakers from Lisbon (the dialect we refer to as contemporary European Portuguese), whereas speakers who are older, or who come from Northern Portugal, are more inclined to accept exclamative QUE-initial sentences, a finding in line with the presence of a dialect continuum running northwards and eastwards along the coast of the Iberian Peninsula towards the French border, where Ibero-Romance blends into Gallo-Romance (cf. ch1).

The licensing of exclamative QUE requires that the UP be projected in such constructions, in order for exclamative QUE to value its [+PERFORMATIVE] interpretation by merging as the head of SALow. The ungrammaticality of exclamative QUE in contemporary European Portuguese in the absence of the discourse particle, however, indicates that i) the clausal structure cannot have been projected as far as UP, and that ii) exclamative QUE is unable to activate the UP in this variety. We assume that it is exclamative QUE’s origin as a CP element that prevents it from activating the UP, from which it follows that the UP must be activated by a dedicated UP element. Since the combination of VocP plus exclamative QUE is ungrammatical in European Portuguese (cf. (124) above), we make the further assumption that the UP in such situations can only be projected by activating its highest layer, viz. SAhighP, in the same way that it has been assumed that it is the selection of Force in the CP that activates the Topic/Focus field (cf. Ledgeway 2005), rather than the bespoke activation of any of these CP-medial projections in of themselves. Thus, in contemporary European Portuguese, exclamative QUE constructions are only felicitous once SAhighP has been activated, which occurs when the head of this projection is lexicalised by morpholexical material such as the discourse particle *ay/uau* ‘ohh/wow’. It is therefore not the case that there is a ban per se on exclamative QUE co-occurring with a vocative in sentences such as (124), but that exclamative QUE requires a co-occurring discourse particle to lexicalise the head of SAhigh, activating the internal structure of the UP. The activation of the UP permits exclamative QUE to raise to SALow^o to check its [+PERFORMATIVE] feature, simultaneously opening up the specifier position of SALow in which the interpolating VocP can be generated.²⁴

²⁴ One obvious challenge to this proposal is how the UP is licensed in other root constructions which feature a lone pre-sentential vocative (e.g EPg. Joãozinho, o que é que estás a fazer? ‘Joãozinho, what are you doing?’).

3.6 Conclusion

Exclamative QUE is an expressive (Kaplan 1999; Potts 2007a, 2007b) operative in the UP that introduces a non-embeddable sentence exclamation. Via its expressive indices, the illocutionary complementiser contributes, or ‘coerces’ (McCready 2009), a gradable reading —interpreted as the speaker’s evaluation of the sentential content it introduces. These properties, combined with its incompatibility with interrogative illocutionary force and the plausibility of its analysis as a factive, led us to conclude that exclamative QUE counts as a bona fide exclamative. Moreover, exclamative QUE constitutes evidence of a single morphosyntactic head dedicated to encoding exclamative meaning in the clausal syntax. None of these properties are shared by the finite subordinating complementiser *que* ‘that’, with which exclamative QUE is homophonous.

Intra-familial microparametric variation determines the clause-typing properties of exclamative QUE following an implicational hierarchy of the order: *declaratives* (all varieties) > *rhetorical polar interrogatives* (most varieties except European Portuguese) > *wh-exclamatives* (some speakers of Spanish, Galician and Catalan) > *rhetorical wh-interrogatives* (fewer speakers of Spanish, Galician and Catalan). In all varieties, exclamative QUE lexicalises SALow°, having previously merged in the head of EvaluativeP with the exception of contemporary European Portuguese, which has a syncretic head where [+EVALUATIVE, +DECLARATIVE] features are bundled and in which exclamative QUE first merges. This and further variation within Ibero-Romance in the licensing of exclamative QUE is attributed to

We assume that the possibility of a pre-sentential vocative —and therefore the activation of the UP— is the norm in Ibero-Romance matrix clauses (cf. ch2); compare the possibilities of vocative placement in Arag. (*Chuan*) *viene (Chuan) con nusatros*, (*Chuan*) ‘(Chuan), come (Chuan) with us (Chuan)’. We suspect that the unexpected ban on a pre-sentential vocative in European Portuguese exclamative QUE sentences relates to the fact that illocutionary QUE constructions themselves are ‘exceptional’ insofar as they appear to be complement clauses which, contrary to traditional assumptions, are unembedded.

In Ibero-Romance varieties such as Peninsular Spanish, illocutionary QUE is highly productive; and, by consequence, such constructions are less remarkable and are accepted as the norm. By contrast, in contemporary European Portuguese the use of illocutionary QUE is less productive: exclamative QUE is increasingly a relic of an old(er) system and therefore speakers of standard/central-southern European Portuguese may analyse it as introducing a complement clause —i.e. a CP which does not project a UP— rather than a matrix construction. As a result, its use by these speakers is limited to set expressions with *ai que* rather than a productive ‘rigidly-root’ complementiser construction, as attested dialectally in rural areas, and in other Ibero-Romance varieties.

3.6 Conclusion

differences in the structural composition of the respective left-peripheries of these varieties, in the spirit of Giorgi&Pianesi (1997).

Finally, we reiterate that exclamative QUE is attested across all major Ibero-Romance varieties. However, not all Ibero-Romance speakers have a productive use of exclamative QUE. Informally, its use is more characteristic of Peninsular varieties, in particular Spanish, and with the exception of standard/central-southern European Portuguese, in which exclamative QUE is rapidly becoming obsolete. Nonetheless, there is no single major diatopic variety in which exclamative QUE is categorically *not* attested.

Chapter 4

Quotative QUE

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, we investigated the formal and interpretational properties of exclamative QUE and concluded that, despite its superficial similarity with the subordinating complementiser *que* ‘that’, exclamative QUE does *not* exhibit the syntactic behaviour of a C-head, but instead constitutes evidence of the lexicalisation of a projection *above* the CP, in the domain we have labelled the Utterance Phrase (UP). The present chapter will present further evidence in support of the view that it is empirically and theoretically justified to distinguish between a higher, utterance-oriented domain (the UP) and a lower domain dedicated to sentence-internal discourse considerations (i.e. the CP) by examining a second type of illocutionary QUE which appears without a selecting predicate: quotative QUE. On our definition, Ibero-Romance quotative QUE constructions are reported speech clauses introduced by the item *que* which, crucially, do not rely on a retrievable *verbum dicendi* to be felicitous:

- (1) *The telephone rings and is answered by interlocutor A in the presence of interlocutor B, who does not hear the telephone conversation. On finishing the call, interlocutor A tells interlocutor B:*

Era el becario... Que le ha tocado la lotería.
be.IMPF.3SG the intern QUOT to.him=have.3SG touch.PST.PTCP the lottery
'It was the intern... [He said] he's won the lottery' (E.Sp.; cartoon[†])

Unlike the other two instances of illocutionary QUE under investigation in this thesis, our research has revealed that quotative QUE is banned in all varieties of Portuguese, whereas its use is frequent in the colloquial speech of Spanish, Catalan and Galician speakers, and varieties patterning alike. This chapter will promote the hypothesis that quotative QUE sentences constitute a *presentative* clause type, in the sense of Déchaine et al. (2015), reviewing evidence from quotative QUE's interaction with clause-typing, logical operations which act as speech-act diagnostics, and the complementiser's left-peripheral distribution: behaviour that differentiates quotative QUE from exclamative QUE and excludes it from

4.1 Introduction

analysis at the level of the UP. Instead, quotative QUE clauses fit a CP analysis, patterning with the finite complementiser *que* ‘that’, and, specifically, lexicalising the head of a dedicated Evidential projection. Quotative QUE’s absence in Portuguese, on our account, is not mere stipulation, but is a result of the same left-peripheral properties that explained the microparametric variation of exclamative QUE in the previous chapter.

The existence of quotative QUE as a colloquial, spoken phenomenon is well-attested in the descriptive and functional literature on Spanish (Spitzer 1942; Porroche Ballesteros 2000; Escandell Vidal 1999; Pons Bordería 2003; Gras 2011; Gras&Sansiñena 2015) and Catalan (Wheeler et al. 1999). Etxepare (2007,2008,2010,2013) and Demonte&Fernández-Soriano (2013,2014) have also tackled the subject from a formal perspective, focusing exclusively on Spanish. In addressing the syntax of quotative QUE across Ibero-Romance dialects, the present chapter therefore expands both empirically and theoretically on existing work. For Demonte&Fernández-Soriano (2013,2014), the item we refer to as quotative QUE in fact corresponds to two distinct lexical items: the first is a reportative hearsay evidential, an illocutionary operator above ForceP with the dedicated function of introducing a reported speech act; the second, merely an ‘echoic’ complementiser that reproduces previous discourse and which is ‘in some cases selected by a silent communication verb’ (Demonte&Fernández-Soriano 2013:1). Etxepare’s work, conversely, provides a unified analysis of Spanish quotative constructions, which, on his latest account (2013), are complex predicates containing —in order of increasing complexity— a result noun SAY, a participial phrase, or a gerundive phrase embedding the result noun. Implicit in Etxepare’s work (and that of others, e.g. Villa-García 2015) is the view that quotative QUE constructions are the same structures as are attested in Ibero-Romance *de dicto* (in the sense of González i Planas 2014) clausal complements (2), which contrast with *de re* (González i Planas 2014) reported speech complements (3):¹

- (2) *En Miquel ens va {dir/preguntar} que quants aniríem a la festa, #però no me'n recordo, de quants va dir.*

‘Miquel asked us how many people were going to the party, #but I do not remember how many he said.’ (Cat.; González i Planas 2014:41)

- (3) *En Miquel ens va dir Ø quants anàvem a la festa, però no me'n recordo, de quants va*

¹ See also Brucart’s (1993) and de Cuba&MacDonald’s (2013) respective distinctions between *discursive* vs. *modal*, and *referential* vs. *non-referential* reported complements.

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

dir.

‘Miquel said to us how many people were going to the party, but I do not remember how many he said.’ (Cat.; *ibid.*:41)

The *de dicto/de re* contrast in (2-3), as codified by the presence vs. absence of the complementiser, concerns the referentiality of *quants* (here, ‘how many people’): *de re* clauses have a referent —in this case, *quants* refers to a specific number of people as communicated by Miquel to the speaker— and hold extensionally. Conversely, *de dicto* clauses are referentially-opaque (Quine 1953), intensional statements; in (2), *quants* is merely a wh-item with an empty reference, whence the inability of the speaker to give a number of party attendees. That *de dicto* complements (on which cf. Plann 1982; Uriagereka 1988; Suñer 1991,1993,1999; Brucart 1993; Rivero 1994; Lahiri 2002; de Cuba&MacDonald 2013; González i Planas 2014) share the same structure as quotative QUE constructions should not, we argue, be assumed *a priori*, but is in fact the correct conclusion to draw in this instance. So too will our account retain Etxepare’s insight that a unified analysis of quotative QUE constructions is called for. However, by considering the implications of Ibero-Romance variation in quotative constructions and *de dicto* complements beyond Spanish, we will depart from Etxepare’s analysis by arguing that the empirical facts regarding quotative QUE across Ibero-Romance can be explained by microparametric differences in the composition of the clausal left-periphery within the CP and, in particular, at the UP/CP border.

The present chapter is structured as follows: §4.2 describes quotative QUE’s basic properties as a quotative evidential; §4.3 will review its compatibility with the speech-act diagnostics presented in Chapter 3, and explore parallels between quotative QUE and corresponding *de dicto* complements, and analogous structures headed by the interrogative complementiser in Eastern Ibero-Romance and European Portuguese; §4.4 analyses quotative QUE’s sentential distribution; and §4.5 reconsiders our proposal for the expanded left-periphery in light of the chapter’s findings.

4.2 Characterising quotative QUE

This section describes the key formal properties which characterise quotative QUE constructions, viz. the ability to be licensed without a selecting predicate (§4.2.1); encoding of information source (§4.2.2); samesaying interpretation (§4.2.3); sincerity conditions —viz. lack of commitment to the truth of the proposition presented in the quotative QUE

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

construction— and its concomitant evidential reading (§4.2.4); and interaction with clause-typing (§4.2.5).

4.2.1 Lack of selecting predicate

Ibero-Romance quotative QUE constructions are not simply instances where a communication verb has been elided. Instead, the availability of quotative QUE in a given variety can be identified by determining whether a quotative complement can be introduced by the item QUE in environments marked by the absence of a suitable communication verb, as exemplified in the following context:

- (4) A: *¿Nos sacan en la televisión? ¡Home non!*
‘Are we going to be on TV? We’d better not be!’
B: *No, que nun traemos cámara pa la tele, hom.*
‘No, we haven’t brought a TV camera, okay’
C: *Non ye pa la tele, ho.*
‘It’s not for the TV, okay’
D: *¿Eh?*
‘Huh?’
C: *Que no ye pa la tele*
QUOT not be.3SG for the TV
‘[I said] it’s not for the TV’ (Ast., Reconcos, LLEna; ASLA)

In (4), the use of QUE to introduce a quotation of a previous utterance (viz. interlocutor C’s original statement *Non ye pa la tele, ho* ‘It’s not for the TV, man/okay’) is felicitous despite the lack of a selecting predicate.

Varieties in which quotative QUE is not possible exhibit a contrast between contexts such as that illustrated in (4) above, where no selecting verb is retrievable, as exemplified for Portuguese in (5), and contexts in which there *is* a suitable predicate retrievable from the surrounding discourse environment, as in (6):

- (5) A: *Não se ouve bem.*
not REFL=hear.3SG well
B: *O quê? Hein?*
the what huh

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

A: **Que não se ouve bem.*
 QUOT not REFL=hear.3SG well

- (6) *Rotsen, sabes o que me disseram?! Que a época iria começar a 3 de Dezembro.*
 ‘Rotsen, do you know what they told me?! That the season was going to begin on 3 December’ (E.Pg.[†])

We suggest that the contrast in grammaticality between (5) and (6) is a function of the availability of a communication verb such that only in contexts in which a communication verb is present and retrievable (i.e. (6)) can a reported speech complement appear without an overt selecting predicate. In such cases, we assume that the clause introduced by the item *que* involves an elided matrix *verbum dicendi* which selects the complement clause, thus rendering such sentences felicitous; that is, the underlying structure of the second sentence in (6) is in fact the following:

- (7) [CP1 *Disseram-me* [CP2 *que a época iria começar a 3 de Dezembro*]]

The ungrammaticality of the reported speech clause in (5) indicates that no such elision of a matrix verb has taken place in this example; i.e. sentences such as (5) exhibit the following underlying structure:

- (8) [CP *Que não se ouve bem*]

The impossibility of a silent elided verb is taken to be a consequence of the lack of an overt selecting predicate in the surrounding discourse environment of sentences such as (5). No such contrast is observed in Ibero-Romance varieties allowing quotative QUE.

One explanation for the attested variation is that, unlike in Portuguese, there is a silent (à la Kayne 2005) or elided verb that selects the quotative complement in Ibero-Romance varieties which license quotative QUE constructions in contexts such as (4) without an overt selecting predicate in the surrounding discourse (an analysis favoured, though not elaborated on, by Demonte&Fernández-Soriano 2013,2014). However, we suggest that the empirical facts are better explained by the more straightforward (and less theory-internal) conclusion that a communication verb does *not* enter the derivation in such contexts in Ibero-Romance. That reported speech clauses are infelicitous in this environment in Portuguese (e.g. (5)) is

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

instead assumed to be a property of the quotative clause itself rather than the presence or absence of a silent/elided selecting predicate. We therefore pursue the hypothesis that quotative QUE constructions do *not* require a selecting predicate to be felicitous.

4.2.2 Information source and traceability

Quotative QUE marks a sentence as reported speech, creating a minimal pair with sentences without the illocutionary item:

- (9) A to B: *No te s'escucha ná.*
 not you=REFL=listen.3SG nothing
- B to A: *Cómu?*
 what/huh
- A to B: *Que no te s'escucha ná.*
 QUOT not you=REFL=listen.3SG nothing
 '[I said] we can't hear you' (Ext.^Δ)

In (9), quotative QUE is the sole grammatical item which differentiates between the quotative QUE construction and the previous utterance, marking the former out as a reported speech clause rather than simply reiterating the first statement (i.e. a repetition of *no te s'escucha ná* 'We can't hear you'). In this way, the use of quotative QUE tells interlocutors something about the *information source* of the utterance the quotative item introduces. Note, though, that quotative QUE does not specify the information source: the quotative construction in (9) would have the same syntax irrespective of whether it was a report by the original speaker or by another interlocutor C.²

Quotative QUE can also be used to introduce a report of a previous utterance made by the addressee (10a) or by an interlocutor who is neither the speaker nor the addressee (10b):

² In the second instance, the English gloss for the final sentence of (9) would be changed to 'C to B: [A said] we can't hear you'. Throughout this chapter, the glosses will use English paraphrases to convey the contribution of quotative QUE. However, since no equivalent of quotative QUE exists in English, these paraphrases will often provide more information (e.g. specific interlocutors; verbal predicates) than is supplied by the use of quotative QUE in the original (i.e. no interlocutor specified; no lexical predicate).

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

- (10) A to B: *Baixas t'o centro?* (Arag.^Δ)
 go.2sg to=the centre
 a. B to A: *Que si baixo t'o centro?*
 QUOT if go.1SG to=the centre
 '[you ask if] I'm going into town?'
 b. C to A: *Que si baixa t'o centro?*
 QUOT if go.3SG to=the centre
 '[you ask if] he's going into town?'

In such cases, it is not quotative QUE which indicates the information source per se but, instead, other grammatical information such as a change of indexicals and associated agreement. For example, in (10a), interlocutor B is the subject of the verb *baixar* ‘go down’ in the original and the quotative utterances. The verb appears in the second-person singular form *baixas* ‘go.down.2SG’ in the original utterance, indexing interlocutor B’s status as the addressee of the utterance, but is used in the first-person singular form *baixo* ‘go.down.1SG’ in the quotative QUE construction, reflecting interlocutor B’s status as the speaker of the quotative utterance (the same goes for (10b), *mutatis mutandis*). In both (10a) and (10b), despite a change in form, the deictic elements —in this case, the phi-features— continue to index the same referent in the quotative construction as the original utterance. This property distinguishes quotative QUE constructions from direct speech complements, in which the original utterance is repeated verbatim:

- (11) *Dic pa les ties: Quereis comprar azeite?*
 say.3SG to the aunts want.2PL buy.INF oil
 ‘S/he says to the women: Do you want to buy oil?’ (Mir.; Merlan 2010:225)

The modifications of the deictic elements in quotative QUE constructions expose a change in the deictic centre, or ORIGO, from the original utterance to the report of that utterance, i.e. the interlocutor identified as the SPEAKER of the quotative QUE construction is distinct from the SPEAKER of the original utterance. In this respect, quotative QUE constructions behave like indirect speech reports. This conclusion is reinforced by the observation that quotative QUE constructions can contain direct speech quotations, in which case, these must be identified (by intonation in spoken form, or quotation marks in written form) and set apart from the rest of the construction as illustrated in (12):

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

- (12) *Veo que pone veinte fotos conmigo en Facebook, que si ‘aquí*
 see.1SG that put.3SG twenty photos with.me on Facebook QUOT if here
estoy con El Bola’ y que si tal
 be.1SG with El Bola and QUOT if such
 ‘I see that he’s put 20 photos on Facebook with me in them, [captioned] ‘Here I am with El Bola’ and [QUE] so on’ (Sp.[†])

Such examples further demonstrate that the deictic centre of quotative QUE sentences is that of the present speaker, not the original speaker of the previous speech event reported in the quotative construction (cf. §4.2.3 for evidence from sequence of tense effects).³

Where the original speaker is neither the speaker nor the addressee of the quotative QUE construction, the majority of speakers permit the information source (viz. the original interlocutor) to be specified via an overt DP preceding the quotative complementiser (cf. §4.4.1), as in (13):

- (13) *A túa nai, que podes sair pero que tes que*
 the your mother QUOT can.2SG go.out.INF but QUOT have.2SG tha
estar ás sete e media na casa.
 be.INF at.the seven and half in.the house
 ‘Your mother [says] that you can go out but that you have to be back home by half seven’ (Gal.^Δ)

In cases where the information source is not otherwise retrievable from the discourse context, some speakers report that it is necessary to specify the original agent overtly, in order to communicate to the addressee that the quotative QUE construction is a reported sentence rather than an emphatic assertion by the present speaker. That is, in a sentence such as (13), it is the overt realisation of *a tua nai* ‘your mother’ that identifies the construction as a quotation, disambiguating it from, for example, an interpretation in which the father is making the

³ The use of the interrogative complementiser *si* ‘if’ immediately following quotative QUE forms a set quotative expression *que si*, which in these instances gives a despective reading to the construction rather than introducing an interrogative structure as might be expected. We leave the relation between quotative QUE and non-interrogative *que si* constructions to future research (though cf. fn9).

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

statement on his own, emphatic terms (i.e. ‘*I’m telling you that* you can go to town’ rather than ‘[it was/your mother] said that you can go to town’), as is possible in Ibero-Romance using illocutionary QUE (cf. ch3). However, the grammaticality of an overt DP information source is subject to variation across Ibero-Romance amongst those speakers for whom quotative QUE is available. Note that the finding that the speaker of the original utterance may be specified in a quotative QUE construction is contrary to the claim of Demonte&Fernández-Soriano (2013,2014), who argue that the overt realisation of the speech source is impossible, and that ‘true’ reportative constructions denote hearsay.

However, my consultants do not accept hearsay interpretations for quotative QUE constructions when elicited. On the basis of the data gathered here, which suggest that quotative QUE at most absents the speaker from responsibility for the content of the quotative QUE construction rather than actively identifying the information source of said structures, our view is that quotative QUE itself does not syntactically encode a hearsay interpretation. To a certain extent, the discrepancy in our findings is likely to reflect dialectal or even idiolectal variation between Ibero-Romance speakers, particularly given the informal register of the construction. On the other hand, Demonte&Fernández-Soriano’s (2013,2014) claim that there must be two different types of quotative QUE —an echoic one and an indirect evidential one— based on the respective possibility versus impossibility of overtly realising the source/agent of the information is the wrong conclusion to draw. Rather, this effect has more to do with such a reading being forced by the context: if an indirect reportative evidential *by definition* has a non-specified source, then forcing a reading of *que* in which it is interpreted as an indirect reportative evidential *and* as having an overtly realised information source will naturally result in an impossible judgment.

The examples that Demonte&Fernández-Soriano (2014) give as evidence of the difference between their putative echoic *que* (14) and hearsay evidential *que* (15) are the following:

- (14) *Y él, que llegábamos tarde, que no se podía salir con nosotros...*
and he QUOT arrive.IMPF.1PL late QUOT not REFL=could.COND.3SG
go.out.IMPF with us
'And he kept on saying that we were late, that it was impossible to go out with us...'
(Demonte&Fernández-Soriano 2014:35)

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

- (15) #*Ciudadanos*, {*que se ha/ que hemos*} *declarado la guerra.*
 citizens QUOT REFL=have.3SG QUOT have.1PL declare.PST.PTCP the war

‘Citizens, someone said that {one has/we have} declared war’ (ibid.:18)

The latter example (15) is used as crucial evidence that their hearsay evidential *que* cannot be used to report one’s own or an addressee’s speech, but only a third person’s speech. However, according to my informants, the incongruousness of (15) relates not to the impossibility of quoting one’s own or another interlocutor’s speech, but to the inappropriateness of employing quotative QUE in a formal register. Thus while (15) sounds odd, if instead the president were to return home to her husband after work and let him know this fact, the use of *que* would be felicitous:

- (16) *Bill, que hemos declarado la guerra.*
 Bill QUOT have.1PL declared the war
 ‘Bill, [I said] we’ve declared war’^Δ

That quotative QUE is inappropriate in a formal context is unsurprising, since the uses of illocutionary QUE discussed in this dissertation are by and large restricted to spoken, informal registers. Note, though, that without an overt DP specifying the original interlocutor, the sentence in (16) is ambiguous: without further context, it could either be read as a quotation of a previous utterance (i.e. quotative QUE) or as an emphatic statement (i.e. as exclamative QUE).

We therefore conclude that the realisation of information source with quotative QUE is not only permissible but is in fact obligatory for disambiguation. In this sense, quotative QUE can *never* be a hearsay evidential, since a hearsay interpretation necessarily precludes the identification of a specific information source. In such cases, our analysis concurs with Etxepare’s (2010:614) proposal that the ‘crucial parameter in the felicitousness of *que*-clauses is not the objective temporal or spatial proximity of the reported utterance, but its traceability: the fact that we can identify the source utterance’. The traceability property of quotative QUE constructions is illustrated in (17):

- (17) *Oye, ¿te acuerdas de aquella transacción de la que me preguntaste hace un año?*

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

Pues que no estaba hecha
well QUOT not be.IMPF.3SG do.PST.PTCP

‘Do you remember that transaction you asked me about a year ago? Well [I was told that] it wasn’t made’ (Sp., adapted from Etxepare 2010:614)

In (17), the original utterance is not active (Chafe 1987; Lambrecht 1994; Cruschina 2016), nor has it been accessed, in the present discourse context up until the point at which the quotative construction is uttered. Despite the fact that the original utterance to which the quotative construction refers (in which the present speaker —with the status of addressee in the original utterance— was told that the transaction had not happened) took place at a time far removed from the utterance context in (17), the original speech event can be brought into the present speech participants’ common ground (Stalnaker 1974) from the discourse-external world.

To summarise, quotative QUE constructions can be used to report one’s own or the addressee’s speech, or, alternatively, a third person’s previous utterance. The quotative construction indexes the present speaker’s deictic co-ordinates rather than shifting to those of the original speaker, in which regard quotative QUE constructions pattern with indirect speech complements. For (at least) my informants, there is no hearsay/indirect reportative reading possible for quotative QUE. In order to guarantee a third person quotation source, the original interlocutor must instead be realised via an overt DP. As such, the original speaker, and thus the original utterance, must be traceable, though not necessarily already active in the discourse environment of the quotative QUE construction.

4.2.3 Samesaying

The traceability criterion of quotative QUE constructions implies that the reporter, according to Faller (2006) and Etxepare (2010), is ‘just a channel for a previous utterance’ (Etxepare 2010:617). For Etxepare, this, in turn, has further consequences, since ‘being a channel means *faithfully* reproducing a previous utterance; in other words, *samesaying*’ (*ibid.*, emphasis mine). In simple terms, a felicitous *samesaying* relation between A and B requires that A says, or is about, the same thing(s) as B (Jago 2015:2). Under such a definition, however, it is

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

unclear to what extent the reproduction must be ‘faithful’ to the original utterance.⁴ In the case of Ibero-Romance quotative QUE, the quotative clause can vary considerably in the degree to which it adheres to the original utterance’s meaning, as illustrated in (18-19):

- (18) A: *¿Estáis liados?*
 ‘Are you involved with each other?’
 B: *¿Perdona?*
 ‘Excuse me?’
 A: *Que si te enrollas con mi padre.*
 QUOT if you=hook.up.2SG with my father
 ‘[I asked if] you’re hooking up with my dad’ (E.Sp.; *Desaparecida*, RTVE)

- (19) A: *Tio, estaba dubyant i això.*
 ‘Mate, I wasn’t sure n’ stuff.’
 B: *Eh?*
 ‘Huh?’
 A: *Que no ho tenia molt clar tampoc*
 QUOT not it= have.IMPF.3SG much clear neither
 ‘[I said] I wasn’t very sure either.’ (Cat., COR)

In both examples, the speaker paraphrases the original utterance in the quotative QUE construction, such that the quotative construction becomes an extended, unequivocal version of the original question in (18), and a rephrased version containing the gist of the original assertion in (19). Moreover, in moving away from the original meaning of the utterance they reproduce, the above quotative QUE constructions simultaneously deviate from the form of the original utterance, a departure evident in sequence of tense effects in such structures (cf. also fn12):

- (20) [...] *y ella, que ella tenía formas de enterarse y*
 and she QUOT she have.IMPF.3SG ways of find.out.INF=REFL and

⁴ An issue which cannot be covered here. For discussion and references on samesaying, see Davidson (1968), Noh (2000), Jaszczołt (2003), Briggs&Jago (2012), Jago (2015).

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

- que si se enteraba de que yo me acercaba*
 QUOT if REFL=find.out.IMPF.3SG of th̄t I REFL=approach.IMPF.3SG
nada más al patio de la fonda [...]
 nothing more to.the terrace of the bar
 ‘And she [said] th̄t she had ways of finding out and th̄t if she found out that I had so much as approached the terrace of the bar [...]’ (Cub.Sp.; *UMOC*:15)

The extent to which a speaker can diverge from both the form and meaning of the original utterance is illustrated by the frequent use of ‘vagueness markers’ (Simpson-Vlach&Ellis 2010) such as Spanish/Catalan *que si tal y (que si) cual/qual* ‘and so on and so forth’ in quotative QUE sentences:

- (21) *Ella a lo suyo, que si los científicos esos trabajaron con animales de laboratorio ya viejunos y cuando les aumentaron la dosis de zinc diez veces rejuvenicieron muchísimo, que si tal y que si cual...*
 ‘She [went] off on one, [saying] th̄t those scientists work with lab animals th̄t are already really old, and when they up the dose of zinc ten times, they reverse their age significantly, etcetera etcetera etcetera’ (Sp.; *HSR*:§31)
- (22) *Desde siempre s'ha associat l'aparició de tota novetat tecnològica [...] amb la desaparició del llibre. Que si la ràdio, que si la televisió, que si els discos, que si el DVD, que si internet, que si tal i que si qual.*
 ‘Every technological advance [...] always gets blamed for the disappearance of the book. [Complaining th̄t] radio this, televisión that, CDs this, DVDs that, the internet, and so on and so forth’ (Cat.[†])

The use of vagueness markers in (21-22) preserves nothing of the original shape or content of the original speech event. Instead, similar to the use of *que si* itself, which conveys a despective attitude on the part of the speaker (cf. fn3), the vagueness markers make a comment on the original utterance and/or the speaker who produced it (Rooryck 2001:161-2 makes a similar observation). Through the act of quoting, the speaker thus not only produces a metalinguistic representation of a previous speech act, but can also offer a subjective evaluation of the previous speech event and/or its component parts. Note, though, that this evaluation comes from the vagueness markers and not via the use of quotative QUE itself.

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

In Ibero-Romance quotative QUE expressions, there is thus a dissociation between the form and content of the reported speech and the act of quoting itself: the speaker assumes responsibility for the quotative act, but not for the faithful rendering of the original utterance. In terms of samesaying, the crucial parameter of Ibero-Romance quotative QUE constructions is not the (degree of) accuracy of a previous utterance's reproduction, but rather that the speaker *considers* themselves the channel, or *samesayer*, of a previous utterance. This metalinguistic awareness is also evident in the speaker's ability to simultaneously report and comment upon a previous speech event: it is their *presentation* that counts.

4.2.4 Sincerity conditions and evidentiality

Since the speaker makes no commitment regarding the veracity of the statement they are reporting (even when quoting their own speech), quotative QUE sentences can be viewed as evidential statements where the speaker conveys a piece of information without committing to the truth of its content. Witness the contrast between (23), where an assertive sentence is uttered, and (24), in which a quotative QUE sentence is produced:

- (23) *Xuana y Aique tán casaos, #pero nun ye verdá.*
Xuana and Aique be.3PL married but not be.3SG truth
'Xuana and Aique are married, but it's not true.' (Ast.^Δ)

- (24) A: *Xuana y Aique tán casaos.*
Xuana and Aique be.3PL married
B: *Cómo?*
what/huh
A: *Que Xuana y Aique tán casaos, pero nun ye verdá.*
QUOT Xuana and Aique be.3PL married but not be.3SG truth
'(I said) Xuana and Aique are married, but it's not true [i.e. that they are married]' (Ast.^Δ)

In the assertive sentence (23), the speaker declares that Juana and Aique are married; the subsequent statement negating this proposition is infelicitous, since one cannot assert a proposition without believing it to be true. The assertion that the two are married can only be negated if it is revealed to be an Austinian 'abuse' by a subsequent corrigendum such as: 'they're not really married: I was lying'. Following a quotative QUE construction, conversely,

4.2 Characterising quotative que

the negation of the initial proposition is possible (24), since the speaker is merely reporting a previous utterance without being obliged to make a commitment regarding the veracity of the statement they are reporting, even when quoting their own speech.

Quotative QUE can thus be analysed as a marker of evidentiality, wherein the speaker conveys a piece of information without taking responsibility for the truth of its content. This finding supports the claim in the previous section that a quotative QUE construction is defined less by its samesaying function than the way in which it allows a speaker to *present* previous discourse. The ability to present a proposition and subsequently contest it, as illustrated in (23-24), is taken by Faller (2002) in her work on Quechua evidentials to reveal a distinction between *presentative* and *assertive* illocutionary force; in the above minimal pair, (23) would represent the latter, and (24) the former.⁵ Déchaine et al. (2015) expand on Faller's distinction, attributing the difference in truth-claim commitment between a presentative and an assertive force to the two different types of grounding involved in the evidential expressions with which each force type is respectively associated. Déchaine et al.'s (2015) account distinguishes between the common ground, i.e. the set of propositions (both uttered and background information) to which the utterance participants have made commitments, and the origo ground, a set of commitments to which the interlocutors are uncommitted but of which they are mutually aware.

Whereas assertions contribute an update to the common ground by putting a proposition 'on the table' (cf. §1.3), a presentation instead updates the origo ground by introducing a proposition 'for which the origo has an experiential basis' (Déchaine et al. 2015:5). That is, in uttering a sentence with presentative rather than assertive value, the speaker does not go so far as to offer the proposition for consideration in the common ground but merely place it in the shared ground with no further obligations either on the part of the speaker or the addressee(s). In this way, Déchaine et al. (2015) differentiate between a 'presented' superset, the set of propositions of which all interlocutors are mutually aware (Portner 2006:8), and a common ground subset, which contains the set of propositions that the interlocutors are not just aware of, but to which they have made commitments. One such commitment is their endorsement of the truth value of a proposition, encoded via the act of assertion (for further details of how these sets can intersect, cf. Portner 2006; Déchaine et al. 2015). In terms of complexity, presenting is thus conceived as the most basic type of

⁵ Note that this is not a property of all evidentials; cf. '**reportedly**, it's raining, but I don't believe it' vs. 'the keys **must be in my backpack**, #but they're not there' (Déchaine et al. 2015:5).

4.2 Characterising quotative que

conversational update (Portner 2006) as it only requires the speaker to put forward a proposition without any further conditions on the interlocutors (e.g. that they should believe *p* or enact *p*). According to Déchaine et al. (2015), presentative value can be encoded via lexical (as is the case in English), morphological (e.g. NuuFchahFnulth) or syntactic (e.g. Plains Cree) strategies, depending on the language in question.

We therefore argue that the defining interpretative contribution of quotative QUE constructions is that they change the origo ground, not the common ground, via a *presentative* conversational update. That it is quotative QUE, and quotative QUE alone, that codifies the presentative value of such structures is evident in minimal pairs such as (23-24), since the presence versus absence of the complementiser determines whether the sentence is interpreted as presenting or asserting a proposition respectively. An advantage of capturing quotative QUE in terms of the distinction established in Faller (2002) and Déchaine et al. (2015) is that their hypothesis aligns quotative QUE's interpretative contribution with both illocutionary force and evidentiality. The former corroborates the intuition that quotative QUE is a type of illocutionary complementiser (a point we return to and expand upon in §4.5), whereas the latter is a welcome outcome since it allows us to agree with Demonte&Fernández-Soriano's (2013,2014) view that quotative QUE is an evidential. Its evidential characterisation an unsurprising result given our claim in §4.2.2 that quotative QUE provides information on *information source*, i.e. the definition of evidentiality (on evidentiality as a grammatical category, cf. Aikhenvald 2004; Faller 2006,2011; Déchaine et al. 2015).

However, the discussion of information source in §4.2.2 showed us that quotative QUE is underspecified with respect to the type of source the constructions it introduces can encode. Instead, this information is provided by secondary means; primarily, phi-feature agreement and/or, where permitted, a sentence-initial overt DP.⁶ Though the speaker does not identify a specific information source via quotative QUE, the crucial contribution made by the illocutionary complementiser is that the speaker has some knowledge *k* —i.e. they have some underspecified *experience* of *k*— which they would like the interlocutor to also be aware of. We therefore conclude that, in using quotative QUE, the speaker simply does not distinguish between different types of evidence (cf. Anderson 1986; Willett 1988; Frawley 1992) but merely conveys to the addressee that they are but the messenger of what follows: in other

⁶ We narrow down the information source DP's structural position in §4.4.2.

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

words, quotative QUE constitutes the most basic type of evidential.⁷ In §4.5, we convert this intuition into structural terms by showing that quotative QUE lexicalises the head of an Evidential Phrase.

4.2.5 Clause-typing

According to Déchaine et al. (2015), presentatives are not only a type of illocutionary force but are also one of a closed set of clause types (on their view, following Portner 2004, in addition to declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives). This section examines quotative QUE's interaction with clause type compared to the subordinating complementiser *que* 'that' and exclamative QUE. In previous chapters, we have noted that the Ibero-Romance subordinating complementiser *que* 'that' is involved in clause-typing, introducing indicative declarative clauses when lexicalising Force^o and tensed subjunctive complements in Fin^o, a property which distinguishes the C-head from the homophonous exclamative QUE, which is operative at the level of the speech act (cf. ch3).

An immediate contrast is thus established between exclamative and quotative QUE, since the latter, but not the former, can introduce a range of clause types, including declaratives (25), wh-exclamatives (26), wh-interrogatives (27), and polar interrogatives, with both genuine information-seeking (28) as well as rhetorical (29) illocutionary force:

- (25) *Que son vieyes glories*
 QUOT be.3PL old glories
 '[I said] they're has-beens' (Ast.[†])
- (26) *Que quina pallissa que els van clavar*
 QUOT what battering that they go.3PL get.INF
 '[I said] what a battering they got' (Cat.^{Δ†})
- (27) *Que cantos días ides quedar na aldea.*
 QUOT how.many days go.2PL stay.INF in.the village
 '[I asked] how many days are you going to stay for in the village?' (Gal.^Δ)
- (28) *Que si t'apetexe ir con yo a ro conzerto ista nueite?*
 QUOT if you=fancy.3SG go.INF with I to the concert this night

⁷ On Aikhenvald's (2004) terminology, this may make quotative QUE closer to a 'reported' rather than a 'quotative' evidential strategy. However, we retain the 'quotative' label for this type of construction given the already-established distinction between embedded *de re* 'reported' and *de dicto* 'quotative' sentences (cf. §4.1).

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

- ‘[I said] do you fancy going to the concert with me tonight?’ (Arag.^Δ)
- (29) *¿iQue si tequieres callar de una puta vez?!*
 QUOT if you=want.2SG shut.up.INF of one effing time
 ‘[I said] do you wanna effing shut up for once?’ (E.Sp.^Δ)

Additionally, despite the complementiser *que*’s close association with finiteness, quotative QUE may introduce non-finite clauses:⁸

- (30) *Que ja callar!*
 QUOT to shut.up.INF
 ‘[I said] shut up!’ (E.Sp.^Δ)

Notably, quotative QUE’s liberal interaction with clause-typing is identical to that of embedded *de dicto* complements (cf. §4.1) —licensed in Spanish, Catalan and Galician, but crucially not Portuguese—, providing strong indication that quotative QUE is the unembedded counterpart of such constructions. In fact, the only restriction on Ibero-Romance quotative QUE sentence-typing is its incompatibility with positive imperatives:⁹

- (31) **Que digue’m!* (Cat.)
 QUOT tell.IMP=me

The same restriction applies to embedded quotative complements:

⁸ Though not without restriction. Namely, quotative QUE can only introduce non-finite clauses where these replicate an attested structure. Thus in Spanish one can report *Me preguntó adónde correr* ‘He asked me where to run’ but one cannot ask **¿Adónde correr?* ‘to.where run.INF’. Consequently, quotative QUE cannot introduce the unattested interrogative structure; i.e. **¿Que adónde correr?* ‘QUOT to.where run.INF’. Note that this ban also applies to quotative complements, offering further evidence that matrix quotative QUE and embedded quotative complements are one and the same.

⁹ *Que si* quotations can, however, introduce positive imperatives (cf. Sp. *Que si cogete el saco, que si pilla los kellogs y la leche...†* ‘[They said] get your bag, grab some cereals and milk...’). This suggests to us that non-interrogative *que si* can introduce direct speech, an assumption that is supported by their ability to introduce fragments (cf. (22)). We leave it to future research to determine the degree to which (if at all) such expressions are integrated into the clausal structure (cf. Sudo 2013), and how these apparent exceptions can be accounted for.

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

- (32) *Va dir que *digue'm!*
 AUX.3SG say.INF that tell.IMP=me

In such cases, the ‘true’ imperative must be substituted by a surrogate imperative form:

- (33) A: *Digue'm.*
 tell.IMP=me
 B: *Eh?*
 huh
 A: *Que em diguis.*
 QUOT me=tell.SUBJ.2SG
 ‘[I said] tell me’ (Cat.; COR)

- (34) Va dir que *em diguis.*
 AUX.3SG say.INF that me=tell.SUBJ.2SG
 ‘I said/ordered that you tell me’.

Since quotative QUE can introduce clauses which encode imperative forms in lower projections (as in previous chapters, subjunctive imperatives and non-finite clauses are associated with Fin°), its ungrammaticality with ‘true’ imperatives is not a ban on embedded commands per se. Note, however, that when quoting an imperative, there is no longer any directive force involved, as the main purpose of the quotative speech act is to cite, not command.

The ban on quotative QUE co-occurring with the ‘true’ imperative form is instead assumed to derive from structural restrictions. ‘Bare’ imperatives are understood to occupy a very high position within the left-periphery: it is generally assumed that imperatives undergo V-to-C movement (Rivero&Terzi 1995; Zanuttini 1997; Han 2000), although work on the encoding of speech participants suggests that true imperatives may be merged in, or at least licensed by a feature of, the speech-act field. For example, Zanuttini (2008) suggests that imperatives are merged higher than other clause types in a dedicated Jussive Phrase, which, on her analysis, is valued by an Addressee operator (cf. Baker 2008). That quotative QUE is compatible with all other clause types suggests that it must occupy a position above the projections in which the permitted clause types are encoded (i.e. the most leftward projections in the CP), corroborating Zanuttini’s (2008) claims for the height of ‘true’ imperatives.

4.2 Characterising quotative *que*

Despite their height, we nonetheless assume that ‘true’ imperatives are typed within the CP. Given the canonical characterisation of the CP as the locus of clause-typing, this makes theoretical sense. Empirical data from Ibero-Romance reinforces this assumption, as ‘true’ imperatives can be conjoined, a logical operation we have determined to be absent from the higher, dedicated utterance domain (cf. §3.4.4):

- (35) [_{UP} *Oye viejo* [ConjP [_{CP} *cállate* [ya] y [_{CP} *lávate los* *los dientes*]]]]
DM old.man shut-up.IMP=REFL already and wash.IMP=REFL
the teeth
‘Hey old man, shut up already and brush your teeth!’ (Cub.Sp.[†])

The hypothesis that ‘true’ imperatives require valuation from the addressee is supported by our earlier observation that the deictic centre of a quotative QUE construction is the present speaker, not the speaker of the quoted utterance; that is, if ‘true’ imperatives require access to an addressee, they must require access to the same domain as that which encodes the SPEAKER. One possibility is that the quotative QUE construction requires valuation by its original addressee for licensing, a proposal which seems unlikely since we know that Romance true imperatives cannot be embedded even in complements with independent illocutionary force. A second possibility, pursued here, is that quotative QUE constructions do not have access to an ADDRESSEE feature tout court, an account which would explain why true imperatives and only true imperatives are banned from quotative QUE constructions, viz. that true imperatives are the only clause type in Ibero-Romance which require valuation by an ADDRESSEE.

4.2.6 Recap

Although all Ibero-Romance varieties permit quotative structures introduced by the complementiser *que* ‘that’ in instances where the selecting matrix verb is elided, only a subset of Ibero-Romance varieties permit the use of quotative QUE. We have examined Ibero-Romance quotative constructions and found that varieties permitting quotative QUE can be distinguished from those which do not by testing whether a given variety permits a quotation introduced by the (apparent) complementiser *que* in environments wherein no communication verb is retrievable from the surrounding discourse context. *Pace* Demonte&Fernández-Soriano (2013,2014), we have found that a hearsay interpretation is not only *not* obligatory,

4.2 Characterising quotative que

but is, according to our informants, impossible. However, we agree with their hypothesis that quotative QUE is to be analysed as an evidential morpheme. Although the use of quotative QUE does not specify a type of information source, its interpretative contribution to the sentences it introduces is to relieve the speaker from taking responsibility for the content of the quotative utterance; i.e. quotative QUE conveys to the addressee that the speaker is not *asserting* the sentence but merely *presenting* it. Furthermore, given that the form and meaning of quotative QUE constructions can diverge considerably from the original utterance, the evidential contribution is in fact the only essential property of quotative QUE clauses. Quotative QUE clauses can also convey an evaluative component, which we assume here to be an effect of other components of the sentence (e.g. the use of affective lexical items) rather than of the quotative morpheme itself. Table 4.1 summarises the properties of Ibero-Romance quotative QUE and the clause it heads:

Table 4.1: Basic properties of Ibero-Romance quotative QUE

Possible without retrievable selecting predicate?	Yes
Speaker can be quotation source?	Yes
Addressee can be quotation source?	Yes
Third-person subject can be quotation source?	Yes
Overt realisation of quotation source permitted?	(Yes)
(Exclusively) indirect/hearsay interpretation?	No
Original utterance traceable?	Yes
Content of original utterance retained?	No
Form of original utterance retained?	No
Assertive value?	No
Evidential value?	Yes
Clause-typing?	All except true imperatives

Our analysis finds no evidence for the proposal of two separate ‘quotative’ items in Ibero-Romance; in fact, the majority of properties of quotative QUE constructions appear to hold across Ibero-Romance varieties where the use of quotative QUE is permitted. Instead, the principle area of variation we have identified amongst our informants is between those who permit the overt encoding of information source via a sentence-initial DP versus those who do not, though this microvariation is idiolectal rather than dialectal. Our account of quotative QUE constructions in Ibero-Romance is thus a unified one, concurring with Etxepare’s view for quotative QUE constructions in Spanish. Although already distinguishable in terms of their

4.3 Speech-act level

interpretation, the clause-typing properties of quotative QUE provide evidence of a syntactic distinction between this type of illocutionary QUE and the first type discussed in this thesis, viz. exclamative QUE.

4.3 Speech-act level

Having established the basic properties by which a quotative QUE construction is identified, this section examines the interpretative level at which quotative QUE operates to establish whether the item lexicalises a C-head or a U-head. As in Chapter 3, we test the compatibility of quotative QUE constructions with conjunction, disjunction, negation and embedding. In each case, compatibility with a given diagnostic will be taken to indicate that quotative QUE lexicalises a C-head; whereas the reverse behaviour will be understood to constitute evidence of operation within the UP.

4.3.1 Conjunction

Multiple quotative QUE clauses typically occur in a paratactic relation with one another, as illustrated by (36):

- (36) *Que qué se puede hacer allí, que a qué hora nos vamos a ir, que cuál es el plan*
QUOT what REFL=can.3SG do.INF there QUOT at what time
we=go.1PL to go.INF QUOT which be.3SG the plan
'[I asked] what you can do there, [QUOT] what time we're going, [QUOT] what the plan is' (Mex.Sp.[†])

Nonetheless, we observe that quotative constructions headed by quotative QUE can be conjoined:

- (37) *Qu'esta noche hai folixa y que si quies dir?*
QUOT=this night there.is party and QUOT if want.2SG go.INF
'[I said] there's a party tonight and [I asked] do you want to go?' (Ast.^Δ)

As discussed in Chapter 3, Krifka (2001,2003) claims that speech acts can be conjoined; however, I disputed his conclusions, arguing that the sentences that he showed to be

4.3 Speech-act level

conjoined were in fact not speech acts (UP projections) but CP-clauses. If this is indeed the case, then this is an indicator that quotative QUE heads a projection within the CP rather than the UP. However, irrespective of one's theoretical stance, the empirical data reveal divergent syntactic behaviour between the two types of illocutionary QUE discussed so far, since the felicitous conjunction of quotative QUE clauses contrasts with the conjunction of exclamative QUE constructions, which is judged unnatural by informants (cf. ch3).

At a minimum, the contrast between the grammaticality of conjoined quotative QUE and exclamative QUE provides a second formal distinction between the first two types of illocutionary QUE under investigation. Conjoined quotative QUE clauses pattern instead with conjoined finite complements headed by the complementiser *que* 'that', as illustrated by the following Portuguese example (i.e. a variety which does not exhibit quotative QUE):

- (38) [CP *A minha amiga Indrina disse* [ConjP [CP *que a Cacau é muito burraaaaaa*], e [CP *que ela tem que ser expulsa*]]]

'My friend Indrina says that Cacau is really dumb and that she should be evicted'
(Ang.Pg., Luanda[†])

On the understanding that exclamative QUE is operative in the UP whereas complement clauses are CPs, these findings align quotative QUE with the syntactic properties of C-heads rather than U-heads.

4.3.2 Disjunction

Unlike conjunction, the disjunction of speech acts is understood to be logically impossible (cf. Krifka 2001; Etxepare 2010; §3.4.3). Quotative QUE constituents, however, can be disjoined:

- (39) *Y él, que llegábamos tarde, que no se podía salir con nosotros o que teníamos que protestar por el retraso*
and he QUOT arrive.IMPF.1PL late QUOT not REFL=could.3SG
salir con nosotros o que teníamos que protestar
go.out.IMPF.1PL with us or QUOT have.IMPF.3SG that complain.IMPF.3SG
por el retraso
for the delay

'And he kept saying that we were late, that he couldn't go out with us or that we should complain about the delay.' (Demonte&Fernández-Soriano 2013:37)

4.3 Speech-act level

As such, quotative QUE is understood to pattern with C-heads rather than U-heads with respect to disjunction, contrasting with the infelicitous disjunction of the U-head exclamative QUE in Chapter 3. Instead, quotative QUE clauses again coincide with the behaviour of complements headed by the finite complementiser *que*, which can similarly be disjoined. Note that Etxepare (2007:32) claims that quotative QUE cannot undergo disjunction due to examples such as:

- (40) **Tu padre que se está haciendo tarde o tu madre que no os espera más*
your father QUOT REFL=be.3SG make.PTCP late or your mother QUOT not
you=wait.3SG more

(‘Your father [says] it’s getting late or your mother [says] she’s not waiting for you any longer’) (adapted from Etxepare 2007:32)

However, the disjunctive operator in (40) takes scope over the information source DPs, entailing that the clausal disjunction is attempted at a distinct structural level from quotative QUE constructions themselves. We hold that establishing quotative QUE’s compatibility with disjunction is more accurately tested via the co-ordination of the clauses headed by the illocutionary complementiser itself; i.e. the disjunctive operator should immediately dominate the quotative QUE clauses —as illustrated in (39)—, rather than a source DP. The fact that the overt realisation of information source is not available to all speakers who accept quotative QUE supports this approach to the present diagnostic, otherwise we would not be comparing like with like. We therefore stand by our conclusion that quotative QUE *is* compatible with disjunction.

4.3.3 Negation

One of Demonte&Fernández-Soriano’s (2013,2014) motivations for distinguishing between two types of quotative/reportative complementisers is that only their ‘quotative/echoic’ *que* (41), but not their ‘evidential’ *que* (42), is compatible with negation, as witnessed by the following examples from their Spanish data set (Demonte&Fernández-Soriano 2014:35):

- (41) *Que cuándo te vas, no que es Santo Tomás.*
QUOT when you=go.2SG not that be.3SG St Thomas
‘[I asked/said] when you are leaving, not it’s St Thomas.’

- (42) #(Oye), que el pan no ha llegado, no que Juan
 DM QUOT the bread not have.3SG arrive.PST.PTCP not that Juan
 se ha escapado.
 REFL=have.3SG=escape.PST.PTCP
 ‘[I heard that] the bread has not come, not that Juan has escaped’

Demonte&Fernández-Soriano (2014) report that (42) is out; presumably due to the fact that the discourse particle *oye* ('hey!') is used in order to create a discourse-initial utterance. Yet, our consultants suggest that (42) *can* be felicitous. (Though recall that the speakers we consulted did not accept a hearsay reading for quotative QUE, i.e. the interpretation presumably being targeted by the authors in (42), a discrepancy which could explain the differences in grammaticality judgment). Data quibbles aside, however, the contrastive use of the second *que* in (41) entails that the current speaker is countering what another interlocutor has said. Such a use is by definition impossible in the discourse-initial context created by Demonte&Fernández-Soriano: if the speaker is the first one to make an utterance, then there is no previous interlocutor within that discourse for the speaker to counter. In fact, if a sentence such as (42) occurs mid-conversation, even with the discourse particle *oye*, which merely attracts the addressee's attention to the speaker's utterance, its use is felicitous (e.g. the discourse particle could be used by the speaker to interrupt another interlocutor in order to correct a statement that has been erroneously attributed to the speaker). Thus we conclude that the impossibility of Demonte&Fernández-Soriano's utterance is a result of the discourse-initial condition on its putative evidential use —or, at least, differences in native-speaker intuitions (cf. §4.2.2)—, rather than an effect of quotative QUE's properties.

However, although quotative QUE constructions are compatible with negated clauses (41), the negative clause itself is an instance of contrastive focus, creating an opposition between its proposition and that of the affirmative quotative clause which precedes it. Indeed, our experimental attempts to elicit judgments in which the quotative interpretation of quotative QUE constructions is negated consistently resulted in the negation of the proposition by the speaker rather than the intended interpretation. On the other hand, we would not anticipate quotative QUE to be compatible with negation, since it is generally accepted that this operation cannot target the highest left-peripheral heads (Zanuttini 1997; Poletto 2008), including the declarative subordinating complementiser.

4.3 Speech-act level

The diagnostic nonetheless proves instructive, however, insofar as the different types of illocutionary QUE pattern distinctly with respect to negation. That is, quotative QUE constructions are readily accepted with a contrastively-focused negative phrase, whereas exclamative QUE and, as will be observed in Chapter 5, conjunctive QUE make little sense in this context.¹⁰ Negation thus provides another piece of evidence that quotative QUE does not align with the syntactic behaviour associated with U-heads.

4.3.4 Embedding

We noted in Chapter 3 that, in terms of semantics, embedding speech acts is logically possible if unlikely (Krifka 2014:12), but that in empirical reality the embedding of speech acts is understood to be impossible. For this reason, U-heads are assumed to be incompatible with embedding, a hypothesis which is borne out by the degraded interpretation of embedded exclamative QUE clauses. As the locus of clausal subordination, C-heads will be expected to be compatible with embedding. Indeed, the embedding of quotative complements is highly productive in Ibero-Romance:

- (43) *Óscar le dizió que él charraba el chistabín y que si sapeba que yeran “las biellas”*
Óscar to.him=say.PST.3SG that he speak.IMPF.3SG the chistabín and that
if know.IMPF.3SG what be.IMPF.3PL the old.F.PL
‘Óscar told him that he spoke chistabín and [asked] if he knew what “*las biellas*”
were’ (Arag.[†])

- (44) *Dizia que quién era el ombri essi.*
say.PST.1SG that who be.PST.3SG the man that
‘I asked who was that man’ (Ext.^Δ)

- (45) *Entrugué-y a Quinos que por qué degorrios*
ask.PST.1SG=to.him DOM Quinos that why devils

¹⁰ Recall that, although regarded as infelicitous by most informants, some speakers accepted exclamations such as *Ai que me doe a cabeza, non que me doe a barriga!* ‘Oh my head hurts, not my tummy hurts!’. However, even as a contrastively-focused phrase (rather than negation of exclamative QUE itself), the second clause, to my mind, is incompatible pragmatically, since it makes little sense to exclaim (unsolicited) that one’s head hurts, only to immediately contradict oneself with the correction that it is another body part that is causing the pain.

4.3 Speech-act level

<i>se</i>	<i>riere</i>	<i>aquella vegada</i>
REFL=laugh.PLUP.3SG	that	time
'I asked Quinos why on earth he had laughed that time' (Ast.; <i>EYTLX</i> :30)		

The felicitousness of the embedded quotative examples above contrasts with the degraded or impossible judgments on attempts to embed clauses introduced by U-heads, viz. exclamative and conjunctive QUE (discussed in ch3, ch5 respectively). Conversely, as noted in §4.2.5, the identical behaviour of quotative QUE and embedded quotative complements with respect to clause-typing provides persuasive evidence in favour of the hypothesis that the former are simply unembedded versions of the latter; i.e. both constructions are headed by the same C-head. Nonetheless, there is no *a priori* reason to assume that the clause headed by unselected quotative QUE has the same underlying structure as the embedded quotative/*de dicto* complements in (43–45) above. Indeed, we identified a number of Brazilian Portuguese examples online of *de dicto* complements:¹¹

- (46) *Pergunto que onde estava seu marido*
'I'm asking [QUOT] where was your husband'[†]
- (47) *Perguntei-lhe que quantas pinzas tinha ela*
'I asked [QUOT] how many clothes-pegs she had'[†]
- (48) *Perguntou que quando será que eles vão chegar?*

¹¹ Medieval Portuguese also possessed *de dicto* complements (Suñer 1999; examples from Dias 1970[1917]:265, apud Matos&Britos 2013:91):

- (i) *Perguntaram-lhes as vizinhas que adomde leixara ela o filho.*
ask.PST.3PL=to.them the neighbours **that** where leave.PLUP.3SG she the son
'The neighbours asked where she left her son.'
- (ii) *E pensaba antre ssy que domde averia aquelle moço que era tan formoso.*
and think.IMPF.3SG to him/herself **that** where would-be that boy who
be.IMPF.3SG so pretty
'And s/he wondered where this boy who was so pretty would be'

The attestation of *de dicto* complements in Medieval Portuguese demonstrates that the lack of such constructions in the modern language is a consequence of their loss in Portuguese (rather than, say, a more modern Catalan and Spanish innovation vis-à-vis Portuguese).

4.3 Speech-act level

‘He asked [QUOT] when might they arrive?’¹²

Since quotative QUE is strongly rejected by all Brazilian and European Portuguese speakers, the sentences in (46-48) could be taken to constitute a counterexample to the claim that quotative QUE is simply the unembedded counterpart of *de dicto* complements. However, without the grammaticality judgments of the speakers of (46-48) on quotative QUE constructions, we cannot use the above examples to argue for or against a unified analysis of non-selected quotative QUE and instances of embedded quotations. The principle of parsimony nonetheless suggests that quotative QUE constructions are the unembedded version of *de dicto* complements. We therefore adopt the position that quotative QUE is simply the non-selected counterpart of an embedded *de dicto* construction.

In this regard, Etxepare’s (2007:50-51) observation that the acceptability of quotative QUE constructions improves when the structure embeds under aspectual or imperfective predicates or deictic items (e.g. discourse particles; locative adverbs) is unsurprising: an embeddable CP which is exceptionally licensed without a selecting predicate lacks the anchoring provided by the matrix structure. Indeed, the emerging picture that quotative QUE is a CP rather than a UP construction entails that quotative QUE is unlike the other illocutionary complementisers discussed in this thesis, since both exclamative and conjunctive QUE lexicalise U-heads, a property which we assume —in analogy with the highest-merging discourse particles— provides these items with structural autonomy (cf. ch2). It is entirely in keeping with the formal character of quotative QUE, lacking this structural support in matrix environments, that the provision of anchoring content would improve grammaticality judgments on this construction.¹²

¹² Similarly, Villa-García (2015) notices certain restrictions on sequence of tense and deictic adverbials in *de dicto* embedded complements. We attribute this not to grammatical differences between quotative QUE constructions and the embedded quotations, but to the fact that unanchored quotations are typically uttered closer to the time of the original utterance, since proximity to the original utterance reduces the difference between the discourse conditions at the time of the quotation versus the time of the original speech event. That is, if I ask someone *Quieris queal conmigo mañana?* (Ext. ‘do you want to meet up with me tomorrow?’^Δ), and my question is quoted during the same conversation, then there is no need to switch ‘tomorrow’ for ‘the next day’. By the same token, the more displaced a quotation is from the original utterance, the more differences between the discourse contexts of the original and the quoted utterance, thereby increasing the requirement on the speaker to contextualise their quotation; i.e. if my question is quoted a few days later, it is more likely to require anchoring in the form of a selecting *verbum dicendi* (to guarantee, given the polysemy of the morpheme *que*, a

3.4.3.1 Parallels in the left-periphery of interrogatives

In this subsection, our discussion takes a brief digression in order to examine the details of interrogative *se/si* constructions, which, we argue, show parallels with the foregoing analysis. The present chapter argues that there is a non-trivial correspondence in Ibero-Romance between the possibility of an unselected quotative declarative complementiser in matrix clauses and the availability of *de dicto*, non-referential complements introduced by the declarative complementiser.¹³ Partial corroboration for this proposal is found in parallels between the aforementioned constructions and Ibero-Romance matrix and embedded interrogative structures with the interrogative complementiser *se/si* ‘if, whether’. Specifically, Eastern Ibero-Romance permits a ‘merge’ strategy in matrix interrogatives, and, dialectally, licenses *de dicto*, non-referential complements (also referred to as ‘concealed questions’) headed by the interrogative complementiser.

Standard Eastern Ibero-Romance is known for the possibility of introducing matrix polar interrogatives with the complementiser *que*:

- (49) *Que vas en tren?*
 INT go.2SG in train
 ‘Are you going by train?’ (Cat.; López-Cortina 2003:142)

The interpretative value of interrogative *que* (and the prosody of the question it introduces) is subject to dialectal variation: in Balearic, Central and north-western Catalan, interrogative *que* heads a neutral polar question, whereas it can only introduce anti-expectational questions in north-central Catalan, Rossellonese and Valencian (cf. Prieto&Rigau 2007; also Payrató 2002; Payà&Vanrell 2005; Prieto&Rigau 2011; Mayol&Castroviejo 2014).

quotative reading), and to replace deictic items so that my quotation indexes the original proposition relative to the spatiotemporal co-ordinates of the new (quotative) speech event.

¹³ González i Planas (2014), in turn, observes a correlation between quotative complements and recomplementation in embedded clauses.

4.3 Speech-act level

Less well known, however, is that some Eastern Ibero-Romance non-standard varieties additionally allow the interrogative complementiser to introduce polar (50) and wh-interrogatives (51):¹⁴

- (50) *Se deu ser veritat que hi anirem?*
 INT might.3SG be.INF truth that there=go.FUT.1PL
 ‘Is it true that we will go there?’ (Rib./Pal.Cat.; Rigau&Süils 2010:154)
- (51) *Se a on deu ser, aquell home?*
 INT at where might.3SG be.INF that man
 ‘Where might that man be?’ (Rib./Pal.Cat.; ibid.:154)

According to Rigau&Süils (2010:154), the interrogative complementiser can head a direct question ‘mainly when it is an expression of doubt’, thereby sharing the interpretative value of interrogative *que* constructions in some Catalan varieties. Note, however, that the dubitative reading is lexically encoded via an obligatory modal verb (*deure* ‘must’) in the non-standard matrix *si/se* interrogative examples, whereas it is syntactically encoded via the merging of interrogative *que* in standard Eastern Ibero-Romance.

The relevance of these facts to the present discussion is that the non-standard varieties permitting matrix interrogative *se* questions also license *de dicto* complements introduced by *se/si* ‘if, whether’ (Sarrieu 1908; Coromines 1976,1990; Rigau&Süils 2010; Süils&Ribes 2015):

- (52) *Ell preguntava se quin nom tens.*
 he ask.IMPF.3SG if which name have.2SG
 ‘He asked what your name was’ (Rib./Pal.Cat.; Rigau&Süils 2010:152)

¹⁴ We have also found evidence of wh-interrogatives headed by the complementiser *que* in turn-of-the-century Astur-Leonese texts:

- (i) *Que cumu se cunoz que ‘stán cucidus?*
 that how REFL=know.3SG that be.3PL boil.PST.PTCP
 ‘How does one know when they’re boiled?’ (Leon., CDL:105)

4.3 Speech-act level

- (53) *Guarda se com ac hèn!*
 see.IMP if how it=do.3PL
 ‘Look how they do it’ (Aran.; ibid.:155)
- (54) *Ja sabeu se qui vindrà?*
 already know.2SG if who come.FUT.3SG
 ‘Do you already know who will come?’ (Rib./Pal.Cat.; ibid.:159)

Though these constructions allow a wider range of verb classes to select *de dicto* complements —as illustrated above for communication (52), perception (53) and semi-factive (54) verbs— than is the case for standard *de dicto* complements headed by the declarative complementiser *que*, we nonetheless assume that the two types of *de dicto* complements are analogous constructions.

In favour of this assumption, we note that, unlike modal/*de re* complements (cf. §4.1), both types of *de dicto* complement can introduce wh-exclamatives and wh-interrogatives, forming concealed questions. Moreover, both types of construction are non-referential (cf. de Cuba&MacDonald 2013), as demonstrated by the impossibility of providing an answer to the concealed question in (55-56), contrasting with modal/*de re* complements (57-58), which are referential and permit the speaker to provide an answer (cf. §4.1 for the same contrast):¹⁵

- (55) *Te pregunto/repito que cuáles eran sus actores favoritos:*
 you=ask/repeat.1SG that which be.IMPF.3PL his actors favourite:
 #Nicholson y Depardieu.
 Nicholson and Depardieu
 ‘I ask/repeat (to) you which their favourite actors were: #Nicholson y Depardieu.’ (Suñer 1993:57)

¹⁵ *De dicto* complements headed by the declarative complementiser also show island effects (de Cuba&MacDonald 2013; González i Planas 2014; Villa-García 2015). We do not have the data to verify whether *de dicto* complements headed by the interrogative complementiser display the same behaviour; we predict, however, that they would pattern alike. We leave to future investigation the verification of these patterns, noting that corroboration of our prediction would strengthen the claim that the two types of *de dicto* complement constitute the same underlying construction.

4.3 Speech-act level

- (56) *Sabeu se quan vindran? #Quan puguen!*
 know.2SG if when come.FUT.3PL when can.SUBJ.3PL
 ‘Don’t you know when will they come? #As soon as they can’ (Non-standard Cat.; Süils&Ribes 2015:558)
- (57) *(Te) digo/repito cuáles eran sus actores favoritos:*
 you=say/repeat.1SG which be.IMPF.3PL his actors favourite:
 Nicholson y Depardieu
 Nicholson and Depardieu
 ‘I tell/repeat (to you) who his favourite actors were: Nicholson and Depardieu.’
 (Suñer 1993:57)
- (58) *Sabeu quan vindran? Quan puguen!*
 know.2SG when come.FUT.3PL when can.SUBJ.3PL
 ‘Don’t you know when will they come? As soon as they can’ (Non-standard Cat.; Süils&Ribes 2015:558)

We thus observe that the grammaticality of a matrix construction headed by a complementiser (here, interrogative *se/si*) correlates with the possibility of *de dicto* complements licensed by that same complementiser, analogous to the licensing of quotative QUE in varieties which permit *de dicto* complements with the declarative complementiser.

The correspondence between the widespread declarative and non-standard interrogative structures is only partial, however, insofar as values of interrogative *se/si* in non-standard Eastern Ibero-Romance (50-51) are not the same as quotative QUE. Nonetheless, even though matrix interrogatives and *de dicto* complements cannot be introduced by the interrogative complementiser in standard Eastern Ibero-Romance, the use of the interrogative complementiser for quotative constructions is fully accepted in standard Catalan:

- (59) *Vindran?*
 come.FUT.2SG
 ‘Are they coming?’ (Cat.; Rigau&Süils 2010:161)
- (60) *Si vindran?*
 if come.FUT.2SG
 ‘[Are you asking me if] they are coming?’ (Cat.; ibid.:161)

4.3 Speech-act level

In this instance, varieties permitting a *de dicto* ‘concealed question’ (headed by interrogative *si/se*) are a subset of the varieties permitting what we dub quotative *si/se*. Thus, although the parallel between declarative and interrogative matrix and *de dicto* constructions is not absolute, it appears that the ability to license a *de dicto* complement correlates with the possibility of non-selected clauses headed by the same complementiser as licenses the *de dicto* complement, as summarised in Table 4.2:

Table 4.2: Complementiser functions across Ibero-Romance

	Matrix				Embedded	
	QUE		SI/SE		QUE	SI/SE
	quotative	interrogative	quotative	interrogative	<i>de dicto</i>	
Sp./Gal.	✓	✗	✗ ¹⁶	✗	✓	✗
Cat.	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
non-standard Catalan	(✓)	✓	(✓)	✓	(✓)	✓

Thus in Spanish and Galician, the correlation is between declarative matrix complementisers (in a quotative function) and declarative *de dicto* complements. In non-standard Catalan, the same correlation is attested, mutatis mutandis, for interrogative complementisers. If, following Déchaine et al. (2015), we take presentative sentences to constitute an additional clause type, then we can say that Spanish, Galician and Catalan use a merge strategy to lexicalise a presentative clause type (§4.5 offers a formal implementation),¹⁷ though microvariation is attested in terms of the morpholexical material that renders the operation visible, i.e. phonologically-realised via *si/se/que*.

Regarding the previous discussion, viz. whether matrix quotative constructions are the unselected counterparts of non-referential complements, the Catalan interrogative facts only

¹⁶ Spanish speakers require quotative QUE before the interrogative complementiser *si*, forming the complex structure *que si* (on which, cf. Villa-García 2015):

(i) *i*(Que) si vienes?*^Δ
 QUOT if come.2SG

See also Escandell Vidal (1999:46-7) for her ‘*si citativo*’.

¹⁷ As opposed to a ‘move’ strategy, e.g. V-to-C in positive imperatives.

4.3 Speech-act level

partially support this view. That is, in standard Catalan, although a quotative interrogative complementiser is available, it lacks a non-referential interrogative complement counterpart. Moreover, quotative *si/se* can only license polar interrogatives, unlike quotative QUE, which introduces a range of clause types (§4.2.5). The significance of the non-standard facts is, at present, unclear, as the data for matrix interrogative *si/se* (e.g. (50-51)) identifies these as having various illocutionary contributions, but does not specify whether they also encode a quotative function. However, on the view that standard Catalan *does* permit a quotative usage for the matrix interrogative complementiser, we might wish to induce that this also holds for non-standard Catalan. In this case, we would attribute the lack of description regarding the possibility of a quotative reading with *si/se* in non-standard Catalan to the speculation that, since this interpretation exists in the standard language, the authors who collected the non-standard data regarded the availability of the quotative reading as a given.

Finally, we observe that, despite a lack of interrogative *de dicto* complements and the ungrammaticality of quotative QUE, European Portuguese permits quotative *se*:

- (61) A: *Vens?*
 come.2SG
B: *O quê?*
 the what
A: (**Que*) *se vens?*
 that if come.2SG
 ('[I asked] are you coming?') (E.Pg.^Δ)

The grammaticality of this construction is accepted across our European Portuguese consultants, proving to be one of the most robustly-accepted illocutionary structures in our empirical sample.¹⁸ These facts expose an unexpected parallel between Catalan and European

¹⁸ Quotative *se* was not deemed grammatical by our Brazilian Portuguese informants (i.a), who did not accept any unembedded quotative structures in our survey, instead permitting only a lexical verb to introduce reported speech (i.b):

- (i) A: *Vem?*
B: *Quê?*

4.3 Speech-act level

Portuguese, insofar as they both permit a C-based ‘merge’ —rather than ‘move’— option in matrix interrogative constructions, viz. both interrogative *si* and declarative *que* in Catalan root quotatives, and interrogative *que* in standard Catalan polar questions; quotative *se* in European Portuguese echo questions, and the pseudo-cleft *é que* in wh-interrogatives (e.g. *quem é que comeu o bolo?* ‘who ate the cake?’) and, in non-standard varieties, polar interrogatives. This behaviour is distinct from Spanish, which has no ‘merge’ option in interrogatives, instead using ‘move’-based strategies: polar interrogatives are differentiated from declarative structures solely on the basis of subject-verb inversion (cf. Corr 2016b:1-3) i.e. the subject remains in situ rather than raising to SpecTP.¹⁹ The same mechanism, viz. V-to-T movement without subject raising, also occurs in wh-interrogatives (excepting certain varieties such as Caribbean Spanish, which lack subject-verb inversion in interrogative contexts).²⁰

A further parallel between Eastern Ibero-Romance (62) and European Portuguese (63) is that both permit recompilation with the interrogative complementiser:

- (62) *Ya se beyerá si maitín si se queda u no.*
 already REFL=see.FUT.3SG if tomorrow if REFL=stay.3SG or not
 ‘We’ll see if he ends up staying tomorrow or not’ (Arag., Balle de Tena^Δ)
- (63) *Não sei se o Filipe se o Pedro gosta dele.*
 not know.1SG if the Filipe if the Pedro like.3SG of.him
 ‘I don’t know if Filipe, if Pedro likes him’ (E.Pg.; Mascarenhas 2015:7)

The acceptability of ‘interrogative’ recompilation across Ibero-Romance is subject to variation; but it is more accepted in the above varieties than is the case with Spanish, where it

-
- A: a. **Que se você vem?*^Δ
 that if you come.3SG
- b. *Perguntei se você vem?*^Δ
 ask.PST.1SG if you come.3G

¹⁹ We classify the *que si* cluster that introduces quoted interrogatives (cf. §4.2.5; fn18) as a declarative structure overall (see Bruil 2014:45 for the view that ‘evidentials are used by default in declarative clauses’); the same applies for quotative wh-interrogatives/exclamatives.

²⁰ Note that all Spanish varieties, according to Schifano (2015), have low V-movement.

4.3 Speech-act level

is generally ungrammatical. Nonetheless, some Catalan Spanish speakers do consider sentences such as (64) felicitous (variation in acceptability is indicated by a bracketed asterisk [*] in the below example):

- (64) (*)Dice mamá si a tu hermana si la llamarás
say.3SG mum if to your sister if her=call.FUT.2SG
'Mum asks if you're going to call your sister' (González i Planas 2010:104)

Notably, Mascarenhas (2015:7) reports that, whilst not all European Portuguese speakers accept recomplementation with the declarative complementiser, his informants found *se*-recomplementation 'perfectly natural' (although Ana Maria Martins, p.c., informs me that she has the reverse judgment, suggesting there must be further microvariation in this regard).

Thus European Portuguese and Eastern Ibero-Romance do not only behave alike in that they exhibit 'merge' strategies with the interrogative complementiser in quotative matrix clauses, but also in their licensing of 'interrogative' recomplementation in embedded clauses — neither of which is accepted in standard Peninsular Spanish. Considering González i Planas' (2014) hypothesis that recomplementation structures involve *de dicto* complements (cf. fn13), we can therefore corroborate our initial hypothesis that there is a correlation between the possibility of *de dicto* complements introduced by a given complementiser and root quotative constructions headed by that same complementiser. At the same time, we concede that the correspondence is not absolute: there is not a one-to-one correlation between the possibility of recomplementation and concealed questions, for example.²¹ We do not explore these possibilities further here. Nonetheless, the present section has highlighted a number of non-trivial parallels between the lexicalisation of head positions in Ibero-Romance by complementisers in matrix and embedded clauses which merit further examination in future research.

²¹ Another difference is that, unlike *de dicto* complements with the declarative complementiser, non-standard Eastern Ibero-Romance license non-finite wh-clauses with interrogative *si/se*:

- (i) No sé cap se què fer
not know.1SG NEG if what do.INF
'I don't know what to do' (Rib./Pal.Cat.; Süls&Ribes 2015:556)

4.4 Left-peripheral distribution

4.3.5 Summary

Like the homophonous finite subordinating complementiser, quotative QUE clauses can felicitously undergo conjunction, disjunction and embedding; whilst they cannot be directly negated themselves (though their proposition can be; cf. §4.2.4), they are both compatible with contrastively-focused negative clauses. In each diagnostic, quotative QUE exhibits distinct syntactic behaviour from exclamative QUE, a U-head; this will also prove to be the case in Chapter 5 with conjunctive QUE. As such, the diagnostics of the present section strongly indicate that quotative QUE patterns like a C-head, not a U-head. In particular, quotative QUE constructions show identical behaviour to quotative *de dicto* complements headed by a homophonous complementiser, which we take as evidence in favour of the hypothesis that these quotative clauses are structurally equivalent, differing only inasmuch as quotative QUE is unselected by a higher verbal predicate, whereas the *de dicto* complements are embedded by *verba dicendi*. The behaviour of analogous constructions headed by the interrogative complementiser *se/si* in Eastern Ibero-Romance supports a unified account of the matrix and embedded quotative constructions, although the correspondence between the two is not absolute. Nonetheless, the comparison between the various ‘merge’ strategies of Ibero-Romance in the left-periphery highlights unexpected parallels between the systems of (European) Portuguese and Eastern Ibero-Romance, to the exclusion of (Peninsular) Spanish, which, unlike other Ibero-Romance varieties, relies exclusively on subject-verb inversion strategies for matrix interrogative clause-typing.

4.4 Left-peripheral distribution

In the previous section, on the basis of evidence from clause-typing, conjunction, disjunction, negation and embedding, we determined that quotative QUE does not exhibit the properties of a U-head but rather that of a functional projection within the C-domain. In the present section, we seek to establish the structural position of quotative QUE within the clausal spine relative to other left-peripheral elements. As before, we base our analysis on an extended clausal left-edge, combining the UP with a version of Ledgeway’s (2012:179) cartography for the left-periphery, which has been simplified in places for the purposes of exposition and with certain projections re-labelled to reflect Rizzi’s (1997) functional projections:

(65) *Extended clausal cartography:*

[_{SAHigh} [_{SALow} [_{Force} [_{Topic} [_{Pol-int} [_{Excl} [_{Wh-int} [_{Focus} [_{Fin} [_{IP} ...]]]]]]]]]]]]

4.4 Left-peripheral distribution

4.4.1 Distribution in the UP

Since the previous diagnostics predict that quotative QUE belongs to the CP not the UP, we begin our examination of its structural position by comparing its distribution to ‘rigidly-root’ constituents with the expectation that, if the diagnostics of §4.3 are correct, we can eliminate the possibility that quotative QUE lexicalises a position in the UP.

Indeed, quotative QUE follows, not precedes, discourse particles:

- (66) [_{SAPhigh} *Oye*], *que* (**oye*) *si* *has* *visto* *mis* *llaves*
 DM QUOT DM if AUX.2SG see.PST.PTCP my keys
 ‘Hey, (I asked) have you seen my keys?’ (Sp.^Δ)

Similarly, quotative QUE cannot occupy a position to the left of the sentence-initial vocative:

- (67) [_{SAPlow}. *Irene*], *que* (**Irene*) *si* *has* *visto* *mis* *llaves*
 Irene QUOT Irene if AUX.2SG see.PST.PTCP my keys
 ‘Irene, (I asked) have you seen my keys?’ (Sp.^Δ)

When these particles and vocatives co-occur, it must be in the order particle-vocative-QUE:

- (68) [_{SAPhigh} *Oes*] [_{SAPlow}. *Xuan*], *que* *esta noite hai festa e que se queres ir*
 DM Xuan QUOT this night there.is party and QUOT
 if want.2SG go.INF
 ‘Hey, Xuan, [I said] there’s a party tonight and [I asked if] you want to go?’ (Gal.^Δ)
- (69) **Xuan, oes, que esta noite hai festa e que se queres ir*
 Xuan DM QUOT this night there.is party and QUOT if want.2SG go.INF

Quotative QUE is thus assumed to occupy a position beneath the dedicated utterance-oriented constituents discussed in Chapter 2. Additionally, quotative QUE must follow the quotation source, where this is specified:

- (70) [_{SAPhigh} *Oiga*], [_{SAPlow} *señora Marquesa*], (**que*) *la peinadora que no puede esperar*

4.4 Left-peripheral distribution

can.3SG wait.INF

‘Listen, Lady Marquis, the hairdresser says she cannot wait (adapted from *Al natural*, Jacinto Benavente, 1905, *apud* Gras 2011:277)

On the view that the discourse particle lexicalises SAhigh^o and that the vocative XP occupies SpecSALowP, then the quotation source must merge in a position lower than the dedicated utterance domain as there are no remaining specifier positions within the UP that the source DP could occupy. Since the source DP must precede quotative QUE, we can in turn assume that quotative QUE does not lexicalise a dedicated utterance head. This is an anticipated result, since it corroborates the diagnostics in §4.3 and differentiates the position of quotative QUE from that of exclamative QUE, which we argued in the previous chapter lexicalises SALow^o.

4.4.2 Distribution in the CP

The discussion of quotative QUE’s interaction with clause-typing in §4.2.5 already provides a number of empirical facts with which to narrow down quotative QUE’s structural position. Thus we observe that quotative QUE precedes wh-interrogatives (71), wh-exclamatives (72) and the interrogative complementiser *si* ('if, whether') (73), indicating that the evidential must lexicalise the head of functional layer higher than the associated projections of the respective phrases (viz. Wh-intP, ExclP and Pol-intP):

- (71) (Quot) [_{Wh-int} *cantos días*] (**que*) *ides* *quedar na aldea.* (Gal.^Δ)
 QUOT how many days QUOT go.2PL stay.INF in.the village
- (72) (Quot) [_{Excl} *quina pallissa*] (**que*) *que els van clavar* (Cat.^{Δ†})
 QUOT what battering QUOT that they AUX.3PL get.INF
- (73) (Quot) [_{Pol-int} *si*] (**que*) *t'apetexe ir con yo a ro*
 QUOT if QUOT you=fancy.3SG go.INF with I to the
concierto ista nueite (Arag.^Δ)
 concert this night

The lack of interrogative illocutionary properties associated with exclamative and conjunctive QUE also rules out Pol-intP as a suitable candidate (whose head in non-embedded clauses we already assume to be lexicalised by Eastern Ibero-Romance matrix interrogative *que/si/se*). (A position we will revise §4.5; see also the discussion in Villa-García 2015:213-218).

4.5 Revising the UP/CP border in light of quotative que

Quotative QUE also precedes topics, as observed in (74-75):

- (74) *Que a la fiesta de Derecho, *(que) si vas a ir*
 QUOT to the party of Law RECOMP if go.2SG to go.INF
 ‘Somebody/I asked whether you are going to attend the Law School party.’ (E.Sp.;
 Villa-García 2015:217)
- (75) *Que a Madrid la MARÍA no hi ha estat*
 QUOT to Madrid the María no there=have.3SG be.PST.PTCP
 ‘[I said that] to Madrid, MARÍA hasn’t been’ (Cat.; de Prada Pérez 2009:25)

Note that the recomplementation QUE, lexicalising the head of TopicP, cannot be omitted in (74), but that this position is left unoccupied or unpronounced in (75), signalling that the obligatory realisation of recomplementation QUE is subject to microvariation across the Ibero-Romance family (in those varieties permitting quotative QUE).

The only remaining position to the left of the Topic field is Decl°, which we continue to assume to be filled by the declarative subordinating complementiser. Given that i) quotative QUE always appears below utterance-oriented elements (§4.4.1) and that ii) the subordinating complementiser and quotative QUE pattern alike with respect to the speech-act diagnostics of §4.3, the straightforward conclusion from the foregoing discussion is that quotative QUE lexicalises the same position, i.e. the highest C-head, viz. Force° (Rizzi 1997), or, in Ledgeway’s (2012) terms, Decl°:

- (76) [SAhigh DM [SAhigh, VocP [SAlow *que*_{EXCL} [Force/Decl *que*_{QUOT/SUBORD} [Topic TopicP [pol-int *si/se* [Excl,
 Wh-exclP [Wh-int, Wh-exclP [Focus [Fin [IP ...]]]]]]]]]]]

4.5 Revising the UP/CP border in light of quotative QUE

From quotative QUE’s position relative to known left-peripheral elements, we have concluded that quotative QUE lexicalises a projection above IntP and TopicP but below SAhighP and SAlowP, leaving only Force/Decl° remaining. Given the impossibility of multiple specifiers in our cartographic framework, the positioning of the DP *la peinadora* relative to the vocative phrase and quotative QUE entails that the information source constituent must be in the specifier position above the head lexicalised by quotative QUE, viz. SpecDeclP/SpecForceP.

4.5 Revising the UP/CP border in light of quotative que

We are therefore led to the conclusion that quotative QUE lexicalises Force/Decl°, the locus of (declarative) clause-typing. This corroborates our analysis in §4.3 that quotative QUE is not a U-head, but must instead be a C-head. Quotative QUE is thus understood to obtain at the delimitation of the speech-act domain from the C-domain, occupying the highest slot of the latter as illustrated in:

- (77) [SAhigh [SAlow [Force/Decl *que*_{quotative} [Topic [Pol-int [Excl [Wh-int [Focus [Fin [IP ...]]]]]]]]]]

However, this analysis immediately encounters variously problems. The most obvious of these is that, if quotative QUE in fact merges in the same position as the general Romance subordinating complementiser, —that is, if these complementisers constitute one and the same item across Ibero-Romance—, then we are left without an explanation for why quotative QUE is permitted in Spanish, Catalan and Galician (and non-standard varieties patterning alike) yet is banned in Portuguese.

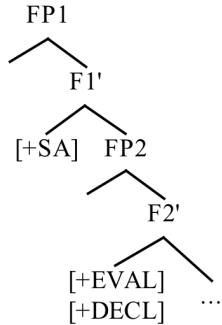
A more serious consequence for our own analysis is that, in the previous chapter, we accounted for the microvariation in the licensing of clause types with exclamative QUE by arguing that European Portuguese requires the specification of clause type in the CP, whereas other Ibero-Romance varieties can directly value an illocutionary feature in the UP to license sentence-type without first having to check a clause-typing feature in the CP. Specifically, in European Portuguese, the illocutionary complementiser starts out in Decl° before raising to Eval°, a mechanism which restricts exclamative QUE constructions to *declarative* structures only. In other varieties of Ibero-Romance, conversely, exclamative QUE enters the clausal structure directly in Eval°, enabling the illocutionary complementiser to introduce a range of clause types beyond declaratives. We cannot therefore propose that quotative QUE merges in Force/Decl° (as the conclusion of 4.4.2 suggests) at the same time as arguing that it licenses all possible clause types except ‘true’ imperatives (cf. §4.2.5) without contradicting our analysis of exclamative QUE in Chapter 3.

In fact, the hypothesis in Chapter 3 that the illocutionary features of EvaluativeP and the clause-typing features of DeclP are mapped onto a single syncretic head in European Portuguese allows us to explain the infelicity of quotative QUE in this language without further stipulation. Combining Munaro’s (2016) proposal that there is an Evaluative projection between the SAP and ForceP (cf. Speas&Tenny 2003) with Giorgi&Pianesi’s (1997) feature-scattering hypothesis, Chapter 3 proposed the following structure for the UP/CP border in

4.5 Revising the UP/CP border in light of quotative que

European Portuguese, where the features associated with EvalP and DeclP are bundled on a single syncretic head:

- (78) *Feature bundling in the European Portuguese left-periphery*

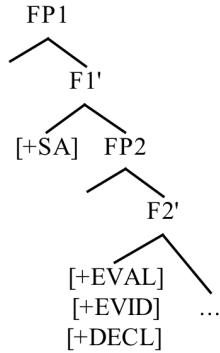


The idea that there is an evaluative projection beneath the SAP which takes scope over the rest of the sentential structure goes back to Speas&Tenny (2003) following the universal hierarchy of projections established by Cinque (1999). Specifically, Speas&Tenny's (2003) proposal assumes that their EvaluativeP is part of a larger structure designated the Sentience Phrase, which is composed of an Evidential projection immediately dominated by EvaluativeP; these together are in turn immediately dominated by the SAP. However, Chapter 3 omitted discussion of the Sentience Phrase and how it fits into the present reconceptualisation of the left periphery into two separate domains, viz. the UP and the CP. Given the theoretical precedent for a dedicated evidential projection, in addition to our assumption that an evaluative layer is part of the universal clausal structure, it follows that we should also assume an evidential layer in the left-periphery of Ibero-Romance.

The foregoing discussion of quotative QUE's evidential properties provides us with the justification to propose that quotative QUE lexicalises the head of an Evidential projection in the Ibero-Romance varieties which license the illocutionary complementiser. However, if the illocutionary features of EvalP and the [+DECLARATIVE] feature of DeclP are bundled on the same head in European Portuguese, then, following the cartographic assumption of a universal order of functional projections (79), the feature associated with EvidentialP (viz. [+EVIDENTIAL]) must also be mapped onto the same head within the Portuguese left-periphery (80), since it lies between the layers for [+EVALUATIVE] and [+DECLARATIVE] in the universal sequence:

- (79) *Universal hierarchy of projections (adapted from Speas&Tenny 2003)*
 [SAP [EvalP [EvidP [DeclP ...

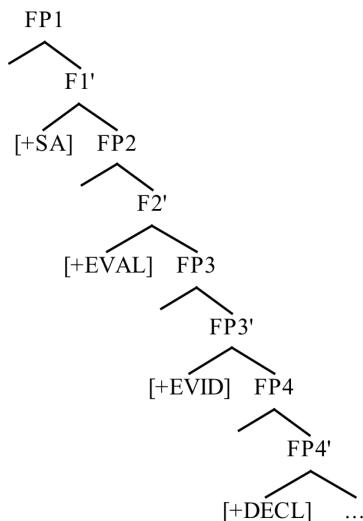
(80) *Feature bundling in the European Portuguese left-periphery (revised)*



The bundling of the various illocutionary features on a single functional head in European Portuguese entails that an evidential feature cannot be lexicalised by the complementiser *que* ‘that’ without simultaneously valuing the [+EVALUATIVE, DECLARATIVE] features on that head. The absence of quotative QUE is thus a consequence of the lack of a specialised functional projection for evidential meaning in European Portuguese. This is a welcome outcome, as it allows us to explain the syntactic distribution in European Portuguese of both types of illocutionary QUE discussed in the thesis so far —viz. the ungrammaticality of quotative QUE and the one-to-one relation between exclamative QUE and clause-typing— using a single analysis.

By the same token, the lack of feature-bundling in other Ibero-Romance varieties at the UP/CP border enables the [+EVIDENTIAL] feature to head its own phrase between the projections corresponding to [+EVALUATIVE] and [+DECLARATIVE] features as proposed in Chapter 3, producing the following structure:

(81) *Feature scattering in Ibero-Romance (revised from Chapter 3)*



4.5 Revising the UP/CP border in light of quotative que

The hypothesis, then, is that Spanish, Catalan and Galician have a dedicated projection for the encoding of evidential meaning, viz. EvidP. Quotative QUE merges directly in this position, deriving a presentative reading for the sentence it introduces. Further evidence in favour of the analysis that quotative QUE lexicalises Evid° is the position of the information source relative to quotative QUE. That is, in §4.4.2, we observed that the quotative source DP is located in the specifier immediately above quotative QUE, a finding which ties the illocutionary complementiser to the functional projection whose specifier hosts an overt information source.

Since quotative QUE does not target a position beneath EvidP, it can license any clause type whose constituents merge lower in the clausal structure, as illustrated here for wh-exclamatives (82) and infinitival commands (83):

(82) [_{S_Ahigh} [_{S_Alow} [_{E_{val}} [_{E_{vid}} QUE_{quot} [_{D_{ecl}} [_{T_{opic}} [_{P_{ol-int}} [_{E_{xcl}}] *quina pallissa* [_{E_{xcl}} *que* [_{W_{h-int}} [_{F_{ocus}} [_{F_{in}} [_{I_P} *els van clavar*]]]]]]]]]]]]

(83) [_{S_Ahigh} [_{S_Alow} [_{E_{val}} [_{E_{vid}} QUE_{quot} [_{D_{ecl}} [_{T_{opic}} [_{P_{ol-int}} [_{E_{xcl}} [_{W_{h-int}} [_{F_{ocus}} [_{F_{in}} [_{I_P} *a* [_{I_P} *callar*]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

The one exception to the clause-typing possibilities of quotative QUE are ‘true’ imperatives: whilst these merge in the C-space (cf. §4.2.5), they require valuation by an ADDRESSEE (in the utterance domain) to be licensed. As true imperatives are banned with quotative QUE, we assume that the imperatives’ licensing mechanism must be blocked in quotative QUE constructions. The most straightforward explanation for this blocking effect is that it is quotative QUE itself which prevents the imperative from being licensed by the ADDRESSEE feature encoded in the UP. To account for this effect, we appeal to Rooryck’s (2001:161) proposal that Ross’ (1970) performative hypothesis can be reinterpreted in terms of EvidentialP as detailed in the following section.

4.5.1 EvidentialP in the Ibero-Romance left-periphery

Rooryck (2001:161) proposes that Ross’ (1970) performative hypothesis can be reframed in terms of EvidentialP, where the evidential projection’s interpretation (viz. information source) defaults to speaker, unless otherwise indicated. Though for us the performative hypothesis pertains to the UP only (i.e. EvidP, beneath the non-performative EvalP, is correspondingly assumed to be non-performative), we retain the latter insight of Rooryck’s (2001) proposal,

4.5 Revising the UP/CP border in light of quotative que

sc. that a lack of marking in EvidP corresponds to the speaker as the information source (cf. ch1 on the lack of overt marking in C as an indication that a matrix clause is a neutral declarative). Thus in an assertive matrix clause, EvidentialP is empty, entailing that the speaker takes responsibility for the truth of their sentence's proposition.

By contrast, the overt lexicalisation of Evid° —here, by quotative QUE— cancels out the ‘default’ interpretation of speaker responsibility for that sentence’s content. Since the utterance participant features are located in the UP, we assume that the cancellation of the default interpretation would have to be achieved by blocking the percolation of the utterance participant features down to the position lexicalised by quotative QUE, and/or by making the interpretation of the information source anaphoric. In the case of indirect speech, the matrix subject determines the information source of the embedded-speech clause (also assumed by Rooryck 2001), itself a CP-complement. However, in the absence of a superior selecting structure, the root quotative construction is simply rendered ‘interlocutor-less’ since there is no higher selecting predicate to supply the correct value for its information source. This account relies on the interpretative value of quotative QUE being marked by the *absence* of the speaker as information source, rather than positively specifying an information source, a desirable assumption given the evidential status of quotative QUE established in §4.2.4. Moreover, this idea is in line with recent work on evidentiality such as Bruij (2014), who argues that, rather than marking information source as such, the function of reportative evidentials is more accurately conceptualised as indicating a shift in ‘epistemic authority’.

For the ‘default’ interlocutor features to be blocked, there must be some syntactic obstacle between the UP and the projection lexicalised by quotative QUE: the boundary between the UP and CP is a natural candidate for the locus of such a barrier. The diagnostics of the present chapter have demonstrated that quotative QUE is aligned with the C-space rather than the utterance domain in terms of its formal behaviour, which in turn indicates —pace Rooryck (2001)— that EvidP is part of the CP. Conversely, the projection which immediately dominates it, viz. EvalP, is more aligned with the UP (cf. ch2,ch3), though it lacks the performative interpretation of this domain. At first glance this could be an unwelcome result, since it requires us to divide up the independently-established SentienceP into a higher projection aligned with the UP and a lower projection aligned with the CP, disposing of any formal coherence of the SentienceP as a structural unit in the process. Further complication comes from the hypothesis that the features associated with SentienceP and DeclP are bundled on a single syncretic head in European Portuguese. If these features correspond to a single left-peripheral head, then we are forced to conclude that it is this syncretic head that is

4.5 Revising the UP/CP border in light of quotative *que*

lexicalised by the subordinating complementiser *que* ‘that’ in this language: i.e. the [+EVALUATIVE] feature we have just associated with the UP must be embeddable when the European Portuguese declarative complementiser introduces a clausal complement (compare C-constructions which, according to Cruschina&Remberger (2016:4), lexicalise this projection yet are unembeddable).

Firstly, however, the microvariation in the featural composition of the projections separating the UP and CP is not only to be expected —compare the CP/TP border, whose divide is also not clear-cut—, but is advantageous to a parametric approach to the clausal structure, since it allows us to explain cross-linguistic differences in sentence-typing. Specifically, the ability to encode illocutionary microparametric differences at the UP/CP border enables us to account for such cross-linguistic variation in the assignment of illocutionary force without losing the key insight that there is a formal divide between the utterance-oriented UP and the clause-typing CP. In fact, we anticipate that the cartographic projections of Eval/Evid/DeclP can be collapsed under the cover term of Rizzi’s (1997) ForceP; i.e. these incremental projections are commonly realised on a single head unless a variety has specialised complementisers lexicalising the respective functional projections (e.g. Ibero-Romance quotative QUE as the head of EvidP). Thus, we would expect cross-linguistic variation in terms of the number of complementisers in a given language, and the specifications of said complementisers (cf. Bhatt&Yoon 1992; Roussou 2000; Baunaz 2015).

Although today, and historically, Ibero-Romance has a minimal complementiser system, diachronic data shows that Old Portuguese possessed an extra, specialised complementiser, viz. an evidential complementiser *ca* from Latin *QUIA* ‘because’ (Corr 2016a), which is only attested in a limited set of embedded contexts. The contexts in which the (now obsolete) evidential complementiser is attested are restricted to a clearly-defined subclass of predicates; namely, perception (84), communication (85) and semi-factive (86) verbs, within which contexts, evidential *ca* occurs in apparently free variation with the generalised complementiser *que*:

- (84) *Viu ca se havia de partir dele*
 saw.3SG that REFL=have.IMPF.3SG of leave.INF of.him

‘She saw that she had to part ways with him’ (CdePg)

- (85) *Dizen-vos ca vos quero ben, senhor*

say.3PL=you that you=love.1SG well sire

‘They say that I love you dearly, sire’ (GPMP)

4.5 Revising the UP/CP border in light of quotative *que*

- (86) *Sei ca mi quer ben*
 know.1SG that me=love.3SG well
 ‘I know that she loves me very much’ (GPMP)

Crucially, the predicates with which the evidential complementiser is attested are the same as those which can select interrogative *de dicto* complements in non-standard Eastern Ibero-Romance (cf. §4.3.4), suggesting that this group of predicates forms a ‘natural class’ in Ibero-Romance. In other words, despite their surface dissimilarities, a number of independent grammatical structures in Ibero-Romance obey the same systematic rules, all of which correspond to evidential/non-referential meaning. The independent evidence for an evidential subtype in Ibero-Romance’s grammatical repertoire gives further weight to the hypothesis that there is a dedicated syntax for evidential meaning; in this case, instantiated by a sublayer of ForceP.

What we are, in essence, proposing is that the Rizzian ForceP and Speas&Tenny’s (2003) SentienceP are (roughly) equivalent, functioning as shorthand for a group of contiguous functional projections encoding interlocutor perspective (EvalP), responsibility (EvidP) and, separately, clause type (DeclP). The idea that there is a ‘split’ ForceP is not new: Coniglio&Zegrean (2010,2012), for example, divide the phrase into two further projections for illocutionary force and clause-typing, an analysis which we suggest is analogous to the division of SentienceP into EvaluativeP and EvidentialP. Indeed, the proposal for illocutionary information to be encoded in ForceP alongside this phrase’s clause-typing function (Rizzi 1997; Haegeman 2003) is commonly used to account for the encoding of illocutionary force in embedded contexts and main clause phenomena (cf. ch1). Note that contemporary European Portuguese is distinct from Spanish and Catalan in that the subordinating complementiser *que* is more specialised in the former insofar as European Portuguese frequently opts for the inflected infinitive as its preferred complementation strategy, unlike Catalan and Spanish whose default complementation strategy is a finite clause headed by the declarative complementiser (Galician benefits from both options). That is, European Portuguese does not require specialised complementisers since it makes recourse to other means by which to codify complex sentences, and therefore a syncretic Force° suffices. By contrast, the lack of alternative subordination strategies in Catalan and Spanish, we speculate, has led to the specialisation of the declarative complementiser into various distinct illocutionary functions in these varieties.

4.5 Revising the UP/CP border in light of quotative que

Moreover, the association of the evidential complementiser with a projection *above* the CP,²² sc. in the Sentience layer of the proposed expanded left-periphery, allows us to account for a number of intuitions which have guided work on quotative QUE and the *de dicto* complements we have assumed to be the embedded counterparts to the matrix quotative construction. Namely, locating quotative QUE just above the CP corroborates the intuition that quotative QUE is an ‘illocutionary’ complementiser, on the understanding that Speas&Tenny’s (2003) SentienceP (i.e. the locus of EvidentialP) is involved in the encoding of illocutionary force. Further, the hypothesis that EvidentialP is the lowest projection in the space above the CP corroborates the proposal that presentative value is the most basic type of illocutionary force, updating only the origo ground.²³ At the same time, the superior position of EvidP relative to the CP accounts for the intuition that *de dicto/referential* CPs involve extra structure (Demonte&Fernández-Soriano 2009; de Cuba&MacDonald 2013; González i Planas 2014). Woods (2016), for example, proposes both that illocutionary force should be conceptualised in terms of responsibility (cf. also Krifka 2014) and that embedded quotations involve an extra Illocutionary Act Phrase (IAP) between the SAP proper and the CP. Her proposal thus finds parallels both in our account of quotative QUE’s interpretative contribution as indicating an absence of speaker *responsibility* for their sentence’s proposition, as well as in the assumption of extra, dedicated structure between a higher ‘rigidly-root’ space and the lower, clause-typing (and information packaging) space.

4.5.2 (Re-)allocating features in the revised left-periphery

This latter observation leads to our final point: that the assumption of a parametrisable UP/CP border (or alternatively, SentienceP or ForceP) provides the means for a syntactic distinction between ‘rigidly-root’ illocutionary information, on the one hand, and, on the other, pragmatic content which indexes deictic co-ordinates without being governed by an exclusively matrix constraint. Indeed, one aspect of the revised left-periphery that has gone unexamined is how the various deictic interpretations are assigned. Chapter 2 established that the two UP projections modify the utterance and enact change via their performativity properties; this

²² Assuming that Ledgeway’s (2012) DeclP is the highest C-projection.

²³ The next highest head, EvalP, encoding interlocutor perspective, would presumably update the common ground by codifying interlocutor commitment. Separating assertion from presentation in this way is preferable from a cartographic perspective, in which an idealised one-to-one relation between interpretation and functional structure is assumed.

4.5 Revising the UP/CP border in light of quotative *que*

area, in addition, is the locus of SPEAKER and ADDRESSEE features. However, existing work (notably Giorgi 2010) has successfully demonstrated that deictic information, often conceived as the speaker's co-ordinates, is encoded in embedded environments at the height of the CP (in ForceP, or nearest equivalent). We propose that it is not the case that ForceP has *speaker*-oriented features, since these are already located in the UP (viz. in SALow_{SPEAKER}P, cf. ch2), but instead encodes more general SPEECH TIME and SPEECH LOCATION features in line with Sigurðsson's (2010) proposal for the left-periphery (cf. ch1). There are various motivations for this proposal. Firstly, we have observed that 'rigidly-root' phenomena are characterised by their impermanence —they hold only in the very moment (and location) at which the utterance is made—, or, more accurately, their momentaneity. That is, aspectually, performatives are achievement events (cf. Vendler 1957; Krifka 2014) and therefore their world-changing operations do not 'take time' but are effected *ipso facto*. Viewed in this light, it is odd to associate the performative nature of the UP with time and space at all: instead, we assume that it is the *absence* of such features that enables UP constituents to encode performativity and enact momentaneous change.

Temporal and spatial deixis is nonetheless crucial for linguistic anchoring, so we continue to assume these are encoded in the clausal structure. Specifically, we speculate that Sigurðsson's (2004,2010) SPEECH TIME and SPEECH LOCATION features are encoded in SentienceP/ForceP. Notably, for Sigurðsson (2010:161), these features —'the basic NOW and HERE of the utterance'— are 'separate but commonly indistinguishable': his analysis locates them on Fin°; we instead suggest that these indistinguishable yet separable features are in fact hosted in EvalP and EvidP respectively. That EvidP should be associated with locative features has some independent justification in that there is an observed link between quotation and locative meaning: consider the parallels between locative and quotative/narrative inversion, particularly in languages (e.g. English) which do not generally permit inversion yet license these structures. Indeed, in Spanish, it is observed that the use of the complementiser *que* makes inversion structures more acceptable in environments where a non-inverted order would generally be required (Sheehan 2006; Leonetti 2014). Other evidence in favour of the association of EvidP with locative meaning are quotative/evidential constructions introduced by (locative) prepositions,²⁴ such as Romanian *după* or French *d'après* 'after', i.e. 'according to'; Dutch quotations embedded under the preposition *van* 'of' (van Craenenbroek 2002); or

²⁴ In addition to its literal interpretation as encoding spatial location, we understand 'locative' as a broad notion, encompassing states or conditions experienced by an origo (cf. Landau 2010; Haddican&Zweig 2012).

4.5 Revising the UP/CP border in light of quotative *que*

Spanish *de queísmo*, where the presence of the preposition *de* ‘of’ preceding the subordinating complementiser *que* has been proposed to contribute evidential value to the clausal complement (Schwenter 1999; Guirado 2006).

The fine-grained nature of this proposal also allows us to account for the various nuances of acceptability of embeddability in this area of the clausal structure. Recall, for example, that discourse particles were found in Chapter 2 to be resistant to embedding, but that the grammaticality judgments were not black or white. This gradience is apparent in C-constructions in particular, where those with evidential meaning are less resistant to embedding than a C-construction whose head (here, the particle *olha*) lexicalises Eval° :²⁵

- (87) ?[_{CP} *Disseram* [Sub *que* [Evid *claro* [Decl *que eu podia*]]]]]
say.PST.3PL th̄t of.course th̄t I could.IMPF.1SG
‘They said th̄t of course I could’ (Pg. Δ^\dagger)
- (88) ???[_{CP} *Disseram* [Sub *que* [_{Eval} *olha* [Decl *que era* *grave*
say.PST.3PL th̄t DM th̄t be.IMPF.3SG serious
nossa situação
our situation
(‘They said that our situation really was serious’; B.Pg.)

If the Evidential projection is associated with only one illocutionary feature, viz. SPEECH LOCATION, whereas EvalP has a SPEECH TIME feature as well as taking SPEECH LOCATION (in EvidP) in its scope, then the greater resistance to embedding can be attributed to the extra component of spatiotemporal anchoring encoded in the latter versus the former. That exclamative QUE merges in Eval° before moving to SALow° would explain the conclusion of Chapter 3 that the illocutionary complementiser is not completely rejected with embedding, even if it is best categorised overall as unembeddable: i.e. EvalP has features (viz. Speech Time) which are compatible with embedding, rendering exclamative QUE constructions

²⁵ We assume a general subordinator in the spirit of Haegeman (2003,2006). Note that, in order to account for these data, we must make some sort of assumption that European Portuguese projects a syncretic Force/Sentience head when lexicalised by the (declarative) complementiser, but can project ForceP’s internal structure when there is morpholexical material to fill each head separately (i.e. the complementiser *que* alone lexicalises the syncretic head, but *olha que* provides sufficient material to lexicalise Eval and Decl as separate projections).

4.6 Concluding remarks

marginally acceptable with this operation. Note, however, that there must be further factors involved in determining whether or not a constituent at the UP/CP border is embeddable (e.g. why EP declarative *que* should be embeddable but an evaluative C-construction such as *olha que* —or, indeed, exclamative QUE— not).

By allowing some leeway in how the illocutionary features cluster at the UP/CP border, we can maintain the intuition that the encoding of illocutionary force is permitted in (a restricted set of) embedded contexts, whilst limiting the degree to which illocutionary information can be encoded in embedded: that is, ‘rigidly’ root content is still in the UP. By the same token, the compositional nature of illocutionary syntax leaves room for microparametric differences and gradient judgments with respect to the discourse-oriented constituents that merge in this liminal zone of the clausal structure.

4.6 Concluding remarks

Quotative QUE is a specialised evidential complementiser that introduces a presentative (in the sense of Déchaine et al. 2015) matrix sentence, enabling the speaker to present a proposition without committing to the truth of its content. Attested in a majority of (European) Ibero-Romance varieties to the crucial exclusion of Portuguese, quotative QUE, which lexicalises Evid° at the UP/CP border, is identifiable by its felicity in environments in which there is no selecting predicate retrievable from the surrounding discourse context. Its formal, distributional and interpretative properties align the quotative complementiser with the CP, setting it apart from exclamative QUE, a U-head. This contrast between the two homophonous illocutionary complementisers in turns provides our investigation with clear candidates that empirically substantiate the hypothesised division of the left-periphery into the higher UP and lower CP. The differences between the structural make-up of the left-periphery in European Portuguese versus other Peninsular Ibero-Romance varieties as proposed in Chapter 3 also account for the lack of quotative QUE in European Portuguese, endorsing the previous chapter’s analysis as well as ratifying the present chapter’s claims.

More crucially, the fine-grained functional sequence of the extended left-periphery has illuminated the compositionality of clause and sentence-typing. For example, quotative QUE constructions other than declaratives appear to have a ‘dual’ clause type: quotative QUE encodes a sentence as a presentative, yet the merging of the interrogative complementiser, or wh-constituents, beneath simultaneously classifies such sentences as polar or wh-interrogatives or wh-exclamatives respectively. Nonetheless, the typing of quotative QUE would seem to override the lower clause-typing, insofar as quotative QUE sentences,

4.6 Concluding remarks

informally speaking, appear to pattern with declaratives; a consequence, one assumes, of their structural height/scope over the lower-merging constituents. Conversely, the co-occurrence of two complementisers can give rise to non-compositional readings; for example, where the complex structure *que si* introduces direct quotes, including otherwise non-embeddable ‘true’ imperatives, or sentence fragments. Furthermore, the structural hierarchy we have adopted is consistent with other proposals for the clausal left-edge, enabling us to draw parallels between a decomposed Rizzian ForceP; Speas&Tenny’s (2003) SentienceP; and Sigurðsson’s (2010) mapping of the CP. The feature-scattering hypothesis has also enabled us to account for fine-grained differences in the complementiser systems of Ibero-Romance and the gradient judgments on the constructions in which these complementisers participate. That is, the discrepancies in the distribution of features across functional projections entail that complementisers lexicalising a single head will value the relevant features on that head, which may be minimally or maximally specified; e.g. a syncretic head with both utterance-oriented [+SPEECH TIME, +SPEECH LOCATION] features will be more resistant to embedding than a singleton head with only [+SPEECH LOCATION], as the former head counts two utterance-oriented features and the latter only one.

At the same time, a comparative picture of Ibero-Romance has begun to emerge. Catalan and Eastern Ibero-Romance are distinguishable by the various merge strategies available in interrogative sentences in addition to declarative structures, whereas Peninsular Spanish features the widespread use of illocutionary QUE in broadly ‘declarative’ structures only. Peninsular Spanish and Catalan make considerable use of ‘merge’ strategies in the left-periphery (i.e. frequent lexicalisation of functional heads via complementisers), conforming to Jairo Nunes’ observation (in Villa-García 2015:45) that ‘*que* is the most underspecified exponent of left periphery in Spanish’ —and, we add, Catalan— ‘hence its pervasive realisation of different CP-related heads’. Our proposal for maximal feature-scattering in the left-periphery of these varieties —i.e. one feature per functional projection— fits with this characterisation of the Ibero-Romance complementiser *que* as a ubiquitous yet minimally-specified functional item.

The declarative complementiser in European Portuguese, by contrast, appears to have more formal specification than its Central and Eastern Ibero-Romance counterparts, as witnessed, for example, by its one-to-one mapping with clause-typing, and the feature-bundling at the UP/CP border (cf. Matos&Brito 2013 for similar comments and evidence to this effect). Perhaps not by coincidence, the lack of quotative QUE in Portuguese points to the progress loss of illocutionary complementisers that we touched upon in reference to

4.6 Concluding remarks

exclamative QUE in Chapter 3. The attestation of *de dicto* complements as well as the morpholexically-distinct specialised evidential complementiser *ca* (<Lat. QU(I)A) in Medieval Portuguese indicates that the language previously possessed a more robust complementiser/complementation system, and provides further evidence of a systemic move towards different formal mechanisms for codifying sentence structure. In addition to the inflected infinitives mentioned in §4.5.1, European Portuguese (and Galician) differ from Central and Eastern Ibero-Romance varieties in the use of roughly-speaking verbal strategies for emphasis and affirmation, such as verbal reduplication in affirmative declaratives, or VP ellipsis in (positive) answers to polar interrogatives (cf. Martins 2007, 2013a, 2016; Dubert&Galves 2016). That is, Catalan and Spanish exhibit a preference for codifying illocutionary function via the base-generation of constituents (predominantly, complementisers) in the left-periphery, whereas European Portuguese is moving away from this system towards one in which the same type of information is encoded by the displacement of lower-merging items (i.e. in the VP/TP) into the CP. It is not clear to us whether the syncretism of the declarative complementiser *que* in European Portuguese is a cause or a consequence of this systemic shift.

Notably, however, outside of declarative structures, Peninsular Spanish is more reliant on move-based strategies (cf. the ubiquity of subject-verb inversion, i.e. V-to-T movement coupled with the lack of subject-raising to SpecTP, across clause types), and frequently uses this mechanism even in declaratives for pragmatic effect. In particular, it does not deploy merge strategies in interrogatives, contrasting with the various uses of the interrogative complementiser *si/se* in European Portuguese and Eastern Ibero-Romance presented in this chapter. That European Portuguese speakers accept recompilation and, perhaps more remarkably, given their rejection of quotative QUE, a quotative function with interrogative *se* suggests to me that the ‘default’ underspecified complementiser of this language is not the declarative complementiser as elsewhere in Ibero-Romance, but the interrogative one.

Finally, Galician appears to get the best of both worlds, licensing the Portuguese-type verb-based strategies as well as the Spanish-type CP ‘merge’ strategies. This finding hints at the role of language contact in the availability of illocutionary complementisers and development of utterance syntax, a possibility evinced by the clustering of ‘merge’ strategies in Eastern Ibero-Romance varieties, i.e. those contiguous with Gascony Occitan and its proliferation of illocutionary complementisers and particles. In this regard, we note that the availability of quotative QUE appears to follow the national boundaries of the standard languages. For instance, my Estremeñu informant, i.e. a speaker from an area where Spanish

4.6 Concluding remarks

is the national language, accepts quotative QUE, but my Mirandese informant in Portugal does not, despite both varieties belonging to the Astur-Leonese branch of Ibero-Romance rather than the Galician-Portuguese or Castilian one.

Chapter 5

Conjunctive QUE

5.1 Introduction

This dissertation has presented evidence of two syntactic heads homophonous with the finite complementiser *que* —viz. exclamative QUE and quotative QUE—, which have been shown to possess distinct syntactic and interpretational properties. We have demonstrated that, whilst quotative QUE exhibits the syntactic behaviour characteristic of a C-head, exclamative QUE is operational within the UP, the locus of utterance-oriented elements such as vocatives and interjections. As such, it has been seen that the distinct illocutionary contributions of matrix-initial uses of the morpheme *que* are not derived inferentially via the discourse context, but are instead a product of their structural height, lexicalising distinct functional projections within separate fields of an expanded left-periphery.

In this chapter, we provide evidence of a further lexicalisation of a functional head within the utterance field of the revised left-periphery, namely conjunctive QUE, the most robustly attested of the three instances of illocutionary QUE discussed in this thesis. Conjunctive QUE is found across all Ibero-Romance varieties, apparently without exception, where its function is to contextualise utterance information for the benefit of the addressee, whence its traditional association with causality. As such, conjunctive QUE is often observed to link two root clauses in a ‘speech act’ (Antomo 2012) causal relation, where the first is typically (1-2), but not necessarily (3-4), an imperative:

- (1) *Pedonatz, frair, qu’ei era mia intencion de parlar abantes damb er abat.*
forgive.IMP friar CONJ=be.3SG the my intention de speak.IMP before with the abbot

‘Forgive me, friar, it’s my intention to speak with the abbot beforehand’ (Aran.; *Óc*:4)

- (2) *Escóndet’ aquí qu’ô mellor aquí non veñen.*
hide.imp=you=here CONJ=the best here not come.3PL

‘Hide here, because they might not come here’ (Gal.; Coruxo, Vigo AGO)

- (3) *bou-me you sola delantre, que yá stá l cura*
go.1SG=me I alone ahead CONJ already be.3SG the priest

5.1 Introduction

a spêra

at wait

'I'll head off by myself, the priest is already waiting' (Mir.[†])

- (4) *Esta xente da parroquia nunca mal me fexu, que todos me quieren bien*
 this people of.the parish never bad me=do.PST.3SG CONJ all
me=love.3PL well

'The people from this parish have never done anything bad by me; they all love me a lot' (Eon.; A Baxada, Asturias ASLA)

Additionally, conjunctive QUE can be used in some varieties (cf. §5.2.4) to contextualise non-linguistic information, as observed in (2):

- (5) *Context: the addressee is trying to switch on the light.*

Que está tancada.

CONJ be.3sg broken

'It's broken' (Cat.^Δ)

As is the case with the other instances of illocutionary QUE surveyed in the dissertation, conjunctive QUE is a feature of oral, rather than written, registers; it is attested in particular in informal dynamic discourse. Though it may be translated into English by a causal conjunction such as 'for' or 'as', conjunctive QUE's semantic content is highly bleached and its register less formal, with its interpretation generally corresponding to asyndetic co-ordination in English:

- (6) *Espera, que te'n sés anada al bar de la Marina*
 wait.IMP CONJ you=PART=be.2SG gone.FEM to.the bar of the Marina
 'Wait, Ø you've gone to Marina bar' (Alg.; AIEC)

- (7) *Context: the addressee is trying to switch on the light.*

Que ya no funciona.

CONJ already not work.3sg

'Ø It's no longer working' (Sp.^Δ)

5.1 Introduction

Conjunctive QUE is also robustly attested historically across Ibero-Romance (Martínez Marín 1978; Carrera de la Red 1982; Bartol Hernández 1988; Battlori, Sánchez&Suñer 2000; Battlori&Suñer 2005; Corr 2016a,2016c):

- (8) *No llores que yo te perdono*
not cry.SUBJ.2SG CONJ I you=forgive.1SG
‘Don’t cry, I forgive you’ (C16 Sp.; CORDE)
- (9) *Embarcai, que haveis de ir à derradeira*
embark.IMP CONJ have.2PL of go.INF to.the final
‘Embark, for you have to go to the last one’ (C16 Pg.; CdePg)
- (10) *Què cuydats fer?, que a mi no podets fugir davant*
what think.2PL do.INF CONJ from me not can.2PL flee.INF in.front.of
la mia cara
the my face
‘What do you think you’re doing? You can’t flee from me right in front of my nose!’
(C14 Cat.; CICA)

In the historical record, the function of conjunctive QUE is interchangeable with that of the conjunction *ca* (<Lat. QUIA ‘since/because’), as evidenced by orthographic discrepancies between the two in different copies of the same text:¹

- (11) *non te cal, que/ca, si vences, non menguarán vasallos*
not you=matter.3SG CONJ if win.2SG not lack.FUT.3PL vassals
‘It makes no difference, for, if you are victorious, you won’t be lacking in servants’
(O.Sp.; *Libro de Alexandre*, various editions)

This chapter, however, focuses on characterising the synchronic picture of conjunctive QUE constructions in Ibero-Romance today.

Given its association with causal conjunction in previous accounts (cf. Alarcos Llorach 1994; Porroche Ballesteros 2000; Peres&Mascarenhas 2006; Etxepare 2013; Colaço&Matos 2014,2015), we begin by discussing the clause-linking properties traditionally

¹ Though these discrepancies could be a result of doubts and/or inaccuracies in the copier’s representation, we give evidence that the two morphologically-distinct items are in free variation in §5.3.3;§5.5.2 (cf. also §4.5.1).

5.2 Causality, clause-linking and clause-typing

associated with conjunctive QUE constructions (§5.2), before assessing conjunctive QUE's formal status with respect to the syntactic characteristics of co-ordination and subordination (§5.3), and those of speech acts (§5.4). The chapter ends with an examination of conjunctive QUE's distribution within the revised and expanded left-periphery (§5.5). This chapter will argue that conjunctive QUE is another instance of a U-head, one which is distinct from exclamative QUE. Like the finite complementiser *que*, conjunctive QUE is responsible for clause-typing, introducing assertive declarative sentences only. However, unlike its homophonous subordinating counterpart, conjunctive QUE is syntactically unembeddable, falling outside of the c-command of its associated clause, and, as such, instantiates an independent speech act. Whilst conjunctive QUE plays a role in clause-linking, patterning similarly to non-restrictive 'peripheral' causal adverbials such as German *denn*, and Romance *car*, it is not itself a causal conjunction. The 'speech-act' causal relation between the two clauses is instead a consequence of the interlocutor-oriented position conjunctive QUE lexicalises, which we argue to be the highest head within the proposed revised left-periphery, viz. SAhigh°.

5.2 Causality, clause-linking and clause-typing

In this section, we illustrate the basic properties of conjunctive QUE, namely its role in clause-typing (§5.2.1), clause-linking (§5.2.2), and the resultant 'speech-act' causal interpretation derived from its relation to an associated clause (§5.2.3), before discussing its role in mediating between speech participants to maintain conversational flow (§5.2.4). We suggest that conjunctive QUE should be primarily defined in terms of this latter property, rather than its role as a 'speech-act' causal on which previous accounts have focused.

5.2.1 Clause-typing

Like its homophonous subordinating counterpart (cf. ch1), though unlike exclamative QUE (cf. ch3) or quotative QUE (cf. ch4), conjunctive QUE can introduce declarative sentences (12), but not polar (13) or wh-interrogatives (14); wh-exclamatives (15); or imperatives, whether these have 'true' imperative (16) or suppletive (17) morphology:

- (12) *Fe-lo ya, que lebo tó ro diya asperando a que lo remates!*
do.IMP=it already CONJ spend.1SG all the day waiting for that it
finish.SUBJ.2SG

5.2 Causality, clause-linking and clause-typing

‘Do it already, I’ve been waiting all day for you to finish!’ (Arag.; Bal de Tena^Δ)

- (13) **Vamos pal parque, que quies convidar a Xuan?*
 go.1PL to.the park CONJ want.2SG invite.INF DOM Juan
 (Leon.; Boeza, Bierzo Alto^Δ)
- (14) **¡Failu yá, que ande tuvisti?*
 do.IMP=it already CONJ where be.PST.2SG
 (Leon.; Montemayor del Río, Salamanca^Δ)
- (15) **Vamos pala espicha, que qué día más guapu fai!*
 go.1PL to.the cider.party CONJ what day most nice make.3SG
 (Ast.; Llangréu, Asturias^Δ)
- (16) **Vamos pala espicha, que convida a Xuán!*
 go.1PL to.the cider.party CONJ invite.IMP DOM Xuán
 (Ast.^Δ)
- (17) **Vamos al parque, que ¡que invites a Juan!*
 go.1PL to.the park CONJ que.SUBJ invite.SUBJ.2SG DOM Juan
 (E.Sp.^Δ)

The felicity of conjunctive QUE with declaratives only suggests a one-to-one relationship between conjunctive QUE and clause-typing. However, many speakers (though not all) accept rhetorical polar interrogatives introduced by conjunctive QUE:

- (18) *Facélo xa, que crees que teño todo o puto día?*
 do.imp=it already CONJ think.2SG that have.1SG all the effing day
 ‘Do it already, do you think I’ve got all day?’ (Gal.; El Bierzo, León^Δ)

The acceptance of sentences such as (18) appears to be a point of idiolectal variation across Ibero-Romance. As discussed in §3.2.1, rhetorical questions have been understood to be structurally interrogative but with the illocutionary force of an assertion. Yet wh-rhetorical interrogatives are nonetheless banned with conjunctive QUE, revealing that the felicity of conjunctive QUE with rhetorical questions does not extend beyond polar interrogative structures:

- (19) **¡Failo yá!, que ¿jú coima tuvuesti?!* (Ast.^Δ)
 do.IMP=it already CONJ where on.earth be.PST.2SG

The acceptability of conjunctive QUE with rhetorical polar questions indicates that i) the ban on rhetorical wh-questions is motivated by structural reasons (i.e. incompatibility of wh-items in a conjunctive QUE construction); and ii) the relationship between conjunctive QUE and clause-typing, though closely interconnected, is not one-to-one. While permitted structures are restricted to two clause types only (viz. declarative and polar interrogative clauses), the crucial indicator of felicity within these constraints is illocutionary force potential, identified here as assertion.

5.2.2 Clause-linking

On traditional accounts, conjunctive QUE constructions are understood to link two clauses, where the conjunctive QUE sentence provides the speaker's justification for uttering the preceding associated clause (cf. §5.2.3). Though most commonly attested with imperatives, conjunctive QUE constructions can follow any clause type in the major of Ibero-Romance varieties, as illustrated for imperatives (20), interrogatives (21), declaratives (22), and exclamatives (23):²

- (20) *Dame'el bokaliko, bokaliko de rakí, ke oy yo estó un pokor meraklı*
 give.IMP=me=the bottle.DIM bottle.DIM of rakí CONJ today I be.1SG
 a bit curious
 ‘Give me a little bottle, a little bottle of *rakí*, for today I’m a bit curious’ (Turkish J.Sp.[†])
- (21) *Mamá, ¿y eu cómo hei d'ir?, que despós márchanme as vacas e réñenme.*
 mum and I how AUX.1SG of=go.INF CONJ after leave.3PL=me
 the cows and tell.off.3PL=me
 ‘Mum, and how am I supposed to go [to mass]? The cows will wander off on me and I’ll get in trouble’ (Eon.; Folgueiras, Asturias; ASLA)
- (22) *pero pasábase moi mal, que non había cousas pra but pass.IMPF.3SG=REFL very badly CONJ not AUX.IMPF.3SG things for*

² Including non-canonical imperatives, such as surrogate prepositional infinitive constructions (e.g. Arag. *¡A llebantá-se, que biene l'aurora!* ‘To get.up.INF, Ø the dawn is rising!’[†]).

5.2 Causality, clause-linking and clause-typing

comer

eat.INF

‘But we had a terrible time, for there was nothing to eat’ (Gal., O Irixo; AGO)

- (23) *jPoca faena tenéis eh! jQue no paráis de escribir!*

little job have.2PL eh CONJ not stop.2PL of write.INF

‘Not got much work to do, eh! You just keep on writing!’ (Catalonian Sp.[†])

As conjunctive QUE constructions can be preceded by any grammatical clause type —indeed, in many varieties such clauses do not even require a linguistic antecedent (cf. §5.2.4)— there do not appear to be any syntactic conditions placed by conjunctive QUE on its associated clause. In other words, whilst the use of conjunctive QUE creates an association between two clauses, only the second of these clauses —the one introduced by conjunctive QUE— is subject to syntactic restriction on its sentence type (cf. §5.2.1).

This distinguishes conjunctive QUE from clausal complements introduced by the finite complementiser *que*, as although the finite complementiser is also used to join two clauses, it is selected by a c-commanding matrix embedding predicate. Moreover, the finite complementiser *que* is never used to introduce subordinate causal clauses, a function reserved for the adverb *porque* ‘because’. Since neither relative clauses headed by *que* nor other types of matrix-*que* surveyed here and elsewhere (viz. exclamative, quotative, recomplementation and jussive *que*) involve a causal interpretation, conjunctive QUE appears to be unique amongst *que*-heads in i) linking non-embedded clauses (cf. §5.3), and ii) denoting causality (§5.2.3).

5.2.3 Causality

The constructions which we refer to here as being conjoined by conjunctive QUE are traditionally understood to encode a causal relation (Wheeler et al. 1999; Lobo 2003; Matos 2004; Cunha&Cintra 2005[1984]; Peres&Mascarenhas 2006; Etxepare 2012; Lopes 2012; Colaço&Matos 2014,2015). Conjunctive QUE constructions are causal insofar as they provide the speaker’s justification for producing the main-clause utterance associated with the conjunctive clause (cf. also Colaco&Matos 2014 on ‘explicative’ clauses in Portuguese, which include what we term conjunctive QUE clauses):

- (24) *Nun me teñas medo que son teu irmáu*

‘Don’t be afraid, it’s your brother’ (lit. ‘I’m your brother’) (Eon.^Δ)

5.2 Causality, clause-linking and clause-typing

Thus in (10), the first clause orders the addressee not to be afraid of the speaker, and the second clause, introduced by conjunctive QUE, provides the speaker's justification for uttering this command, viz. that the speaker is in fact the addressee's brother. Discursively, conjunctive QUE clauses are distinct from propositional causal relations in that they encode the interlocutor's perspective, constituting a 'pragmatic' or *de dicto* causal relation, rather than giving the reason for the main clause's proposition (a 'semantic' or *de re* causal relation), reflecting a much-commented bipartite distinction in causal relations in Ibero-Romance (Bello 1949[1847]; Barros 1961; Dias 1970[1917]; Lapesa 1978; Chevalier&Molho 1986; Briz 2001; Peres&Mascarenhas 2006; Goethals 2010; Blackwell 2016).

The distinction between the two types of causal relation is illustrated in the contrast between (25), a semantic/*de re* causal construction, and (26), a pragmatic/*de dicto* causal construction:

- (25) *El vendeol de versus estava una mijina mohinu porque naidi le mercava versu dengunu dende vai un mes*

'The poem-seller was a bit sad because nobody had bought any poems off him for a month' (Ext.[†])

- (26) *Toma esta karne i gízala, porké a la noche vo retornar abierto.*

'Take this meat and cook it, because I'm going to come back hungry tonight' (J.Sp.[†])

De re causes (25) give a *reason* for the main clause's proposition (i.e. 'the reason he was sad is because nobody had bought his poems for a month') whereas *de dicto* causals (26) introduce the *speaker's* motivation for their *utterance* (i.e. 'the reason I'm telling you to cook the meat is because I'll be hungry tonight'); within the literature on causality in discourse (Sweetser 1990,1999; Couper-Kuhlen&Kortmann 2000; Sanders&Sweetser 2009; Lopes 2012; Blackwell 2016), the latter relation is defined as a 'speech-act' causal.³

³ On such analyses, three categories of causal relation are distinguished —content, epistemic and speech act—, following the classifications proposed in Sweetser (1990,1999). Content causals correspond to our semantic/*de re* causals, whereas speech-act causals are analogous to our pragmatic/*de dicto* causals. The additional category, viz. 'epistemic' causals, provide the *speaker's* justification for *believing* in the truth of the main clause's proposition, commonly involving a deduction (i.e. in the example below, 'the reason I believe/I have deduced that it has rained is because the ground is wet'):

5.2 Causality, clause-linking and clause-typing

The difference between causal relations is reflected grammatically by the impossibility of replacing *porque* ‘because’ with conjunctive QUE in semantic causal clauses (27), versus the felicity of the substitution in speech-act causal sentences (28):

- (27) **El vendeol de versus estava mohinu que naidi le mercava versu dengunu dende vai un mes*

(‘[The reason] the poem-seller was sad [is] because nobody had bought any poems off him for a month’)

- (28) *Toma esta karne i gízala, ke a la noche vo retornar abierto.*

‘Take this meat and cook it, because I’m going to come back hungry tonight’

Whilst (27) cannot have a *de re* interpretation, the sentence would nonetheless be felicitous were the causal clause understood as providing the speaker’s justification for commenting on the subject’s emotional state (with the additional crucial condition that a prosodic break is present between the two clauses, cf. §5.3.2.4). In other words, when facilitated by the appropriate intonation, conjunctive QUE necessarily forces a *de dicto* interpretation of the causal relation between the clause it introduces and its antecedent associated clause.

5.2.4 Discourse mediation

Despite conjunctive QUE’s indisputable role in clause-linking, our consultation with native speakers reveals that the role of conjunctive QUE is not specifically to instantiate an explicit causal link between the sentence it introduces and its preceding associated clause. Instead, its use is primarily motivated by the speaker’s desire to maintain and improve conversational flow (an intuition we formalise in §5.5.2). Indeed, my Spanish-speaking consultants in particular report that in contexts where they would expect to deploy conjunctive QUE, the absence of this element results in a halting, abrupt, even impolite discourse flow. Rather than

(i) *O Rui está em casa, porque as luzes estão acesas.*

‘Rui is home, because the lights are on’ (E.Pg. Lopes 2012:454)

On a bipartite classification, such as the syntactic one (cf. §5.3) taken here, epistemic causals are categorised as a pragmatic causal. Although the semantics of Sweetser’s epistemic vs. speech-act causal relations differ, on our view the ‘link’ between the sentences involved is contextually-defined rather than syntactic, so the difference between epistemic and speech-act causals is, for us, moot. Nonetheless, I leave to future investigation whether or not speech-act and epistemic causals should indeed be conflated from a syntactic perspective.

5.2 Causality, clause-linking and clause-typing

defining conjunctive QUE constructions as causal clauses *per se*, the most appropriate characterisation of the interpretative contribution of conjunctive QUE is to be found in the following description, which defines the function of discourse markers as ‘sending a signal from the speaker to the listener that the different parts of the utterance are to be connected, or rather, that the discourse is moved forward’ (Erman&Kotsinas 1993:90). If we replace ‘utterance’ in the previous quotation with ‘discourse’, we arrive at an accurate definition of conjunctive QUE’s interpretative properties.

That a definition intended for discourse markers is found to be most befitting of the role of conjunctive QUE is in itself telling. In the first instance, it suggests that, *pace* previous accounts (e.g. Etxepare 2012), conjunctive QUE should not be defined primarily by causality or clause-linking. This change of approach is corroborated by the observation that, in many varieties —specifically, those patterning with Catalan and Spanish, but not Portuguese—,⁴ conjunctive QUE constructions can be used in isolation. In this environment, conjunctive QUE constructions serve to explicate a non-linguistic situation, as considered salient by the speaker (cf. fn10), *to an addressee* (even if the addressee in question is in fact the speaker themselves). Moreover, the intimate association of conjunctive QUE with speech participants is highlighted by the observation that ‘speech-act’ causals are predominantly attested in dialogic discourse situations (cf. Blackwell 2016), i.e. in *interactive* conversations rather than non-interactive conversations such as interviews, or other types of discourse (e.g. monologues, narratives) where the focus is on a single discourse participant.

As such, we propose that the use of conjunctive QUE constitutes an overt syntactic implementation of a conversational move, contextualising utterance information to/for an addressee and acting as a “social lubricant” in the process. The contextualisation information provided by conjunctive QUE clauses relates either to a previous speech act, where there is a preceding associated clause; or, when such constructions are uttered in isolation, to a non-linguistic situation. In varieties where the latter option is felicitous, the licensing of conjunctive QUE is therefore not reliant on the presence of a linguistic antecedent. Given such utterance-oriented properties, we propose that an updated syntactic assessment of conjunctive QUE must take into account its role in the conversational pragmatics, and that a ‘speech-act’ analysis must therefore be considered. Nonetheless, and particularly since not all varieties permit the use of conjunctive QUE in isolation, the foregoing observations must first be

⁴ Our consultants reported somewhat degraded judgments on Galician example sentences, but they were not completely out.

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive que

verified by an examination of the syntactic relation between conjunctive QUE clauses and their associated clause.

5.2.5 Summary

Conjunctive QUE is responsible for clause-typing, since it only permits clauses which are structurally declarative or interrogative, where the permitted interrogative structures are severely constrained, with only rhetorical polar interrogatives (i.e. sentences with assertive, not interrogative force potential) being licensed by conjunctive QUE. It is also involved in clause-linking between two illocutions (i.e. two non-embedded sentences), without constraint on the sentence type of the associated clause. The function of conjunctive QUE in joining clauses is to provide the speaker's justification for making the preceding utterance, instantiating a 'speech-act' causal relation. However, in a number of varieties conjunctive QUE clauses can occur in isolation (i.e. without a preceding clause), where they are used to contextualise (i.e. provide an explanation of) non-linguistic situations to an addressee. In other words, the role and licensing of conjunctive QUE clauses is not dependent on a linguistic antecedent. The appearance of conjunctive QUE at the head of its clause is instead contingent on the presence of an addressee, insofar as the speaker utilises the complementiser in order to implement a conversational move: to highlight a discursive connection —as perceived by the speaker— between one sentence and the next for the benefit of the addressee, or to initiate discourse in order to make a commentary on an extra-linguistic situation, again for the benefit of the addressee, following a socially-appropriate code.

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive QUE

In the preceding section, we alleged that one of the key differences between conjunctive QUE and the finite complementiser *que* is that the former never introduces embedded clauses, instead conjoining two non-embedded utterances, whereas the latter introduces a subordinating complement selected by an appropriate matrix predicate. The present section provides the syntactic evidence for this claim by examining the formal properties of conjunctive QUE constructions in relation to various diagnostics for identifying the structural relation between clause types in clause-combining operations. Due to conjunctive QUE's association with causal connectives, our focus will be on reviewing the degree to which conjunctive QUE patterns with their syntactic properties. We briefly review the basic properties associated with different types of clause-linking, viz. co-ordination, complementation, adjunction and parataxis (i.e. the absence of a syntactic strategy) in §5.3.1,

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive *que*

before testing how conjunctive QUE patterns with the formal diagnostics which differentiate them (§5.3.2).

5.3.1 Syntactic strategies for clause-combining

As their name suggests, complementisers such as the Ibero-Romance finite complementiser *que*, with which conjunctive QUE is homophonous, introduce clausal complements, having been selected by an appropriate matrix predicate. The syntactic combination of the two CPs creates a complex sentence in which the complement clause is syntactically subordinate to the matrix clause, resulting in an asymmetric relation between the matrix and the embedded clause that it c-commands. Complement clauses are therefore distinct from adverbial clauses, which *modify* the main clause —or a constituent within the main clause— to which they are attached via adjunction. Such clauses show differing levels of integration into the host clause, where the most tightly-integrated clauses are syntactically subordinate to their host (see below). The syntactic operation of co-ordination, on the other hand, combines two clauses of equal status (and of like type) in a symmetric relation, creating a complex phrase in which neither of the clauses is formally subordinate to or modifies the other, via the operations of conjunction (AND) or disjunction (OR). From a formal perspective, parataxis involves the juxtaposition of two clauses without any syntactic relation between the two.

Syntactic accounts analyse causal clauses as adverbial clauses (Hooper&Thompson 1973; Chafe 1984; Haegeman 2012; Larson&Sawada 2012). Borrowing Rutherford's (1970) distinction between *restrictive* and *non-restrictive* ‘because’-clauses (see Lakoff 1970; Ross 1970 for similar observations), Hooper&Thompson (1973) show that there are a number of formal differences between the two types of causal clause, which they argue correlate with differences in assertion. Specifically, restrictive ‘because’-clauses give the reason for the main clause’s events, where the main clause is presupposed, whereas non-restrictive ‘because’-clauses provide the reason for the speaker’s utterance, and both clauses are asserted: in other words, restrictive and non-restrictive causal clauses correspond to the semantic/*de re* versus pragmatic/*de dicto* causal relations described above.⁵ The difference between restrictive (29) and non-restrictive (30) causal sentences is illustrated in Hooper&Thompson’s (1973:492) examples, adapted from English into Ibero-Romance:

⁵ Compare German *weil* ‘because’ V2 clauses, which show the root properties characteristic of *denn* clauses (Wegener 1993; Uhmann 1998; Scheffler 2005; Antomo&Steinbach 2010; Antomo 2012; Reis 2013; Kempen&Harbusch 2016).

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive *que*

- (29) *Samuel sale a cenar porque su mujer está preparando comida japonesa.*
‘Sam is going out for dinner because his wife is cooking Japanese food’ (Sp.)
- (30) *Samuel sale a cenar, porque acabo de hablar con su esposa.*
‘Sam is going out for dinner, because I just talked to his wife’ (Sp.)

Restrictive ‘because’-clauses have been argued to be incompatible with ‘root transformations’ (Emonds 1970,1976) in sentence-final position, whereas non-restrictive ‘because’-clauses *are* compatible with root clause phenomena (cf. Larson&Sawada 2012).

This distinction is part of a wider pattern of main clause phenomena observed in adverbial clauses, which have been accounted for in terms of their integration with the main clause (typically in terms of clause size, cf. Haegeman 2003,2006; Sawada&Larson 2004; or intervention effects, cf. Haegeman 2010,2012), with restrictive clauses more closely integrated into the matrix structure and non-restrictive clauses less so, labelled *central* and *peripheral* adverbial clauses respectively in Haegeman (2003 *et seq*). Central adverbial clauses take their deictic anchoring from the main clause, whereas the deictic centre of peripheral adverbials can be distinct from that of the matrix clause. The possibility versus impossibility of maintaining illocutionary independence from the matrix clause —a diagnostic which distinguishes peripheral from central adverbial clauses— has, on a cartographic approach, been associated with the respective presence or absence of a functional projection encoding illocutionary force (i.e. ForceP).

A frequent observation is that the lexical items which introduce causal adverbial clauses follow one of two patterns: the first type introduces a clause which is subordinate to the main clause, the second type introduces a root clause. Notable examples include English *because* vs. *for*; German *weil* vs. *denn*; French *parce que* vs. *car*; and Swedish *därför att* vs. *ty* (Heycock 2006:178); the same pattern is observed in Ibero-Romance *porque/perquè* vs. *pois/pues/car*. In the following sections, we will examine how conjunctive QUE behaves relative to various diagnostics used to distinguish between the two types of causal adverbial clause-combining, in order to establish the structural relation between the clause introduced by conjunctive QUE and its associated clause. Anticipating the results of these diagnostics, it will be found that the syntactic behaviour of conjunctive QUE clauses parallels that of the second type of causal connective (viz. *for*, *denn*, *car* etc.). However, semantic differences between these causal connectives and conjunctive QUE will reveal that the latter lacks the

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive que

lexical content of the former, patterning instead with the morphological and semantic properties of indicative complementisers elsewhere in Romance.

5.3.2 Structural diagnostics

This section presents the formal diagnostics that differentiate between different kinds of clause-combining, with particular emphasis on adverbial causal clauses and the co-ordination versus subordination distinction. Starting with Hooper&Thompson's (1973) distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive causal clauses on the basis of interrogative scope (§5.3.2.1), the section surveys conjunctive QUE's formal status with respect to its sentential position (§5.3.2.2); phonological integration with the associated clause (§5.3.2.3); R-expression binding, variable binding, and negative scope (§5.3.2.4); XP co-ordination (§5.3.2.5); modification by *only/even* (§5.3.2.6); VP-deletion (§5.3.2.7); and semantic content of the connective element (§5.3.3).

5.3.2.1 Question formation/interrogative scope

Hooper&Thompson (1973) show that when causal sentences are reformulated as interrogatives, it is only restrictive ‘because’-clauses that are questioned, never the associated clause itself, as observed in the semantic causal clause (25) reformulated here as an interrogative:

- (31) *El vendeol de versus estava mohinu porque naidi le mercava versus?*
‘Was the poem-seller sad because nobody bought poems off him?’ (Mir.)

As such, the associated clause is understood to be presupposed. In other words, no one doubts whether the poem-seller was sad, but the query regards the reason for his sadness. Conversely, the associated clause of non-restrictive ‘because’-clauses *can* be the target of the interrogative:

- (32) *Estava mohinu?, porque naidi le mercava versus.*
‘Was he sad? I ask this because nobody bought poems off him.’ (Mir.)

In this latter instance, the associated clause is not presupposed but instead the speaker queries whether indeed the poem-seller was sad.

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive *que*

Put differently, the interrogative takes scope over both clauses in restrictive ‘because’ sentences, but only has scope over the associated clause (rather than the causal clause itself) in non-restrictive ‘because’ sentences. Note that, in (33-34), comma intonation is the sole disambiguating factor for distinguishing between the two readings (cf. Rutherford 1970:100). Nonetheless, the scopal difference between the above sentences is corroborated syntactically by the addition of a contrastively-focused clause to the restrictive-‘because’ sentence, as in (33):

- (33) *El vendeol de versus estava mohinu porque naidi le mercava versus o porque vivía solu?*

‘Was the poem-seller sad because nobody bought any poems off him or because he lived alone?’ (Mir.)

Again, the poem-seller’s sadness is not in dispute in (33), only the reason behind it. That is, the whole sentence comes under the scope of the matrix interrogative operator. Non-restrictive ‘because’ clauses, on the other hand, cannot be co-ordinated with an additional contrastively-focused clause:

- (34) *Estava mohinu?, porque naidi le mercava versus #o porque vivía solu.*

‘Was he sad? I ask this because nobody bought any poems off him #or because he lived alone.’ (Mir.)

That is, only the associated clause is affected by reformulation as a question, but the because-clause falls outside of the scope of the interrogative. This finding is also illustrated by introducing a disjunction into the associated clause (35):

- (35) *Estava mohinu o rebajáu?, porque naidi le mercava versu dengunu dende vai un mes (#o porque vivía solu)*

‘Was he sad or depressed? I ask this because nobody bought any poems off him for a month #or because he lived alone.’ (Mir.)

While disjunction is possible in the associated clause, with both co-ordinated XPs falling under the scope of the matrix interrogative operator, it continues to be impossible in the non-

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive *que*

restrictive clause. In syntactic terms, this indicates that restrictive clauses, but not non-restrictive clauses are c-commanded by their host clause (cf. §3.2.5).

When this diagnostic is applied to conjunctive QUE constructions, we observe that the question reformulation only affects the associated clause (36), not the conjunctive QUE clause (37):

- (36) *Pèro pasábase moi mal? Que non había cousas pra comer.*

‘But did people have a bad time? I ask because there was nothing to eat’ (Gal., O Irixo; AGO)

- (37) *#Pèro pasábase moi mal, que non había cousas pra comer?*

(‘But did people have a bad time, as there was nothing to eat?’) (Gal.)

In the above sentences, one can only query whether the people had a bad time (36), not whether this was because there was nothing to eat (37). That is, conjunctive QUE clauses are only felicitous under the interpretation associated with non-restrictive because-clauses. Further, we can show that conjunctive QUE clauses fall outside the scope of the interrogative by the infelicitous addition of a contrastively-focused phrase (38), or, alternatively, the felicity of disjunction in the associated clause (39):

- (38) *Pèro pasábase moi mal? Que non había cousas pra comer #ou que faltaba diñeiro.*

‘But did people have a bad time? I ask because there was nothing to eat #or because there was no money’ (Gal.)

- (39) *Pèro pasábase moi mal ou saíu todo ben ao final? Que non había cousas pra comer*

‘But did people have a bad time or was it okay in the end? I ask because there was nothing to eat’ (Gal.)

Hooper&Thompson’s (1973) ‘question reformulation’ diagnostic thereby indicates that conjunctive QUE clauses, in their immunity to interrogative scope in the associated clause, are not c-commanded by the sentence immediately preceding them (cf. §3.2.5).

5.3.2.2 Sentential position

Conjunctive QUE clauses obligatorily follow their associated clause, as illustrated in the contrast between (40), where the conjunctive QUE clause is the second clausal constituent in

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive *que*

the sentence, and (41), where the conjunctive QUE clause is fronted, appearing before its associated clause:

- (40) *Cuéntanus lu que y facist' al Ñubrau cun' el tou burru; que tu tamién yes de lley*
 tell.IMP=us the which to.him=do.PST.2SG to.the Ñubrau with the your
donkey CONJ you also be.2SG of law
 ‘Tell us what you did to Ñubrau with your donkey, as you are trustworthy’ (Leon.,
CDL:82)
- (41) **Que tu tamién yes de lley, cuéntanus lu que y facist'*
 CONJ you also be.2SG of law tell.IMP=us the which to.him=do.PST.2SG
al Ñubrau
 to.the Ñubrau

The ban on appearing in initial position sets conjunctive QUE clauses apart from adverbial clauses and clausal complements, neither of which impose a constraint on the order of the clausal constituents: compare the flexibility of adverbial subordinators *se/si* ‘if’ (e.g. B.Pg. (*Se você está contente*), *bate palmas* (*se você está contente*), ‘(if you’re happy), clap your hands (if you’re happy)’) and *cuando/quando/quan* ‘when’ (e.g. Aran. (*Quan es cansat*), *t’i pòs sèir* (*quan es cansat*) ‘(when you’re tired), you can sit down (when you’re tired?’), and complement clauses introduced by the homophonous complementiser *que* (e.g. E.Pg. *é verdade que perdi um pouco a cabeça/Que perdi um pouco a cabeça é verdade* ‘it’s true that I lost my head a bit/That I lost my head a bit is true’).

Instead, the behaviour of conjunctive QUE clauses patterns with that of clausal conjuncts, which, similarly, cannot be fronted:

- (42) *Estoy muy cansada que/y necesito un masaje.*
 be.1SG very tired CONJ/and need.1SG a massage
 I’m very tired, for/and I need a massage’ (Mex.Sp.[†])
- (43) **Que/y necesito un masaje, estoy muy cansada.*
 CONJ/and need.1SG a massage be.1SG very tired

As such, conjunctive QUE clauses appear to behave like adverbial conjunctions such as *pues/pois* or *car* ‘for’ (cf. German *denn*):

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive *que*

- (44) *Ela está em casa, pois as luzes estão acesas.*
she be.3SG at home for the lights be.3PL on
‘She is at home, for the lights are on’ (E.Pg.; Colaço&Matos 2014:1)
- (45) **Pois as luzes estão acesas, ela está em casa.*
for the lights be.3PL on she be.3SG at home

However, whereas causal clauses introduced by such conjunctions may be interpolated in their associated sentence (46-47),⁶ exhibiting behaviour characteristic of parenthetical clauses (cf. Colaço&Matos 2014), conjunctive QUE sentences may never appear in an intermedial position (48-49):

- (46) *O João pois estava frio, decidiu vestir o casaco.*
the João for be.IMPF.3SG cold decide.PST.3SG wear.INF the jacket
‘João, as it was cold, decided to wear his jacket’ (E.Pg.; Colaço&Matos 2014:2)
- (47) *O João decidiu, pois estava frio, vestir o casaco.*
the João decide.PST.3SG for be.IMPF.3SG cold wear.INF the jacket
‘João decided, as it was cold, to wear his jacket’
- (48) #*O João, que estava frio, decidiu vestir o casaco.*
the João CONJ be.IMPF.3SG cold decide.PST.3SG wear.INF the jacket
- (49) **O João decidiu, que estava frio, vestir o casaco.*
the João decide.PST.3SG CONJ be.IMPF.3SG cold wear.INF the jacket

5.3.2.3 Phonological independence

Syntactic integration between two clauses is reflected by the degree of their prosodic integration. As observed for the minimal pair in §5.3.2.1, prosody is key to differentiating between a propositional (50) and a speech-act (51) interpretation of the following otherwise identical causal sentences (examples adapted from Hooper&Thompson’s (1973:492) English

⁶ Strictly speaking, interpolation with causal clauses is not always (fully) accepted in Ibero-Romance; our native-speaker consultants gave a range of gradient judgments when presented with sentences equivalent to (46-47). Nonetheless, such examples were consistently judged more acceptable than the versions with conjunctive QUE.

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive *que*

sentences):

- (50) *¿Sale Samuel a cenar (/) porque su mujer está cocinando?*
 ‘Is Samuel going out for dinner because his wife is cooking food?’ (Sp.)
- (51) *¿Sale Samuel a cenar (,), porque su mujer está cocinando?*
 ‘Is Samuel going out for dinner, [I ask] because his wife is cooking food?’ (Sp.)

In the first example, the causal clause is integrated into the prosodic contour of the first clause (indicated by ‘(/)’, following Antomo 2012:5), marking the sentence out as a single illocution, and, thereby, a propositional causal sentence. In the second, the causal clause is separated from the first clause by comma intonation (marked by ‘(,)’). The lack of prosodic integration marks the second clause out as a separate speech act, blocking a propositional reading and imposing a *de dicto* interpretation.

Conjunctive QUE clauses are prosodically independent from their associated cause. Firstly, conjunctive QUE clauses are necessarily separated from the associated cause by a pause (52), where such constructions are banned from integrating into the main clause’s intonational contour (53):

- (52) *jHabla como aquí!, () que ye lo que quieren*
 speak.IMP like here CONJ be.3SG the which want.3PL
 ‘Speak how we talk here, it’s what they want’ (Ast.; ALSA)
- (53) **jHabla como aquí!, () que ye lo que quieren*
 speak.IMP like here CONJ be.3SG the which want.3PL

The ban on conjunctive QUE clauses integrating into the intonational contour of their associated clause, creating an autonomous illocution, is reflected by the interpretation of such clauses, which are necessarily *de dicto*. Put differently, prosodic integration, and the *de re* interpretation, are banned for conjunctive QUE constructions. Since *porque* ‘because’-clauses permit both options in Ibero-Romance, where prosodic integration obliges a *de re* reading and prosodic separation ensures a *de dicto* reading, we assume that the prosody does not merely reflect but in fact reveals the structural representation of these sentences. Further, given that subordinate clauses headed by the finite complementiser *que* are integrated into the main-clause’s prosodic contour, reflecting their syntactic integration, this diagnostic reveals another grammatical difference between conjunctive QUE and the finite complementiser *que*. In other

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive *que*

words, since conjunctive QUE clauses constitute an independent illocution from their associated clause, but complement clauses headed by *que* do not, these forms, though homophonous, must operate on different structural levels. Moreover, the crucial interaction of prosody in licensing conjunctive QUE (viz. by separating it from the sentence's intonational contour) suggests the involvement of prosody-oriented syntax, which Giorgi (2014,2015) has associated with the highest left-peripheral heads. Indeed, phonological autonomy, as witnessed by conjunctive QUE's ability to head a standalone speech act, is taken in this thesis to be a property associated with the UP (cf. ch2).

5.3.2.4 C-command: co-ordination vs. subordination

In fact, a number of diagnostics show that Ibero-Romance conjunctive QUE is outside the c-command domain of its associated clause. In terms of clause-linking, generation outside of the c-command domain of the main clause is the structural pattern associated with clausal conjunction, syntactic behaviour which contrasts with that of (adverbial) subordination. In addition to scopal effects with interrogatives (§5.3.2.1), this section demonstrates that conjunctive QUE operates outside the c-command domain of its associated clause using diagnostics from binding theory, viz. R-expression and variable binding; and scope effects from negation.

R-expression binding

Principle C of binding theory (Chomsky 1981) dictates that a pronoun cannot be co-referent with an R-expression that it c-commands (i.e. an R-expression must be free in its binding domain), as illustrated by the minimal pair in (54-55):

- (54) *Ele_i disse que o João_j já chegou a casa.*
‘He_i said that João_j had already got home’ (E.Pg.)
- (55) **Ele_i disse que o João_i já chegou a casa.*
‘He_i said that João_i had already got home’

In the above examples, the pronoun in the first clause (*ele* ‘he’) cannot be co-referential with the subject of the second clause (João), a fact which holds irrespective of the linear placement of the antecedent (cf. **Que João_i já chegou a casa ele_i disse* ‘that João_i already got home he_i said’). In conjunctive QUE clauses, this restriction does not hold (cf. also Colaço&Matos 2014 on Portuguese ‘explicative’ clauses):

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive *que*

- (56) *Ella_i debe de star de férias, que Julia_i siempre cerra to'las persianas quando nun sta an casa*

‘She_i must be on holiday, as Julia_i always closes all the blinds when she’s not at home’
(Mir.)

As such, conjunctive QUE clauses must be outside the c-command domain of their associated clause, unlike embedded subordinated clauses (i.e. those illustrated in (54-55)).

Variable binding

Similarly, a quantifier (e.g. *naide* ‘nobody’) in the main clause can bind a pronoun in a subordinate clause (57) but not in a conjoined clause (58) (Heycock 2006:178):

- (57) *Naide_i taba enfocicáu porque ø_i se llevantara demasiado ceo*
nobody be.IMP.F.3SG annoyed because pro REFL=Get.up.PLUP.3SG
demasiado ceo
too early

‘Nobody_i was annoyed because he_i had got up too early’ (Ast., Gijón^Δ)

- (58) **Naide_i taba enfocicáu y ø_i se llevantara demasiado ceo*
nobody be.IMP.F.3SG annoyed and pro REFL=Get.up.PLUP.3SG too
ceo
early

‘Nobody_i was annoyed and he_i had got up too early’ (Ast.^Δ)

In conjunctive QUE constructions, a quantifier in the main clause cannot bind a pronoun in the clause introduced by conjunctive QUE:

- (59) **Naide_i taba enfocicáu que ø_i se llevantara demasiado ceo*
nobody be.IMP.F.3SG annoyed CONJ pro REFL=Get.up.PLUP.3SG
demasiado ceo
too early

(‘Nobody_i was annoyed for he_i had got up too early’) (Ast.^Δ)

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive que

As such, conjunctive QUE constructions pattern like clausal conjunction, and unlike subordination.

Scope of negation

Subordinate clauses fall within the scope of operators in the main clause (60-61), whereas co-ordinated clauses do not (62-63):

- (60) *No dice mucho en la entrevista que me quiere.*

‘She doesn’t say often in the interview that she loves me’

- (61) *Dice mucho en la entrevista que me quiere.*

‘She often says in the interview that she loves me’

- (62) *No dice mucho en la entrevista y/pero me quiere.*

‘She doesn’t say a lot in the interview and/but she loves me’

- (63) *Dice mucho en la entrevista y/pero me quiere.*

‘She says a lot in the interview and/but she loves me’

In causal clauses, only restricted clauses fall under the matrix negative operator (64), whereas non-restricted clauses (65) are ungrammatical in the same context:

- (64) *Javi no va a Buenos Aires (/) porque tiene ahí familia, sino porque quiere visitar la ciudad.*

‘Javi isn’t going to Buenos Aires because he has family there, but because he wants to visit the city’ (Sp.)

- (65) **Javi no va a Buenos Aires () pues/porque tiene ahí familia, sino pues/porque quiere visitar la ciudad.*

‘Javi isn’t going to Buenos Aires, for he has family there, #but because he wants to visit the city’

Omitting the last clause (‘*sino porque [...]*’) in the above sentences improves their grammaticality, but the sentence is rendered nonsensical, signifying the opposite of the sentence with a restricted clausal counterpart. In the context of (64-65), whereas the restricted clause (64) means that the reason for Javi going to Buenos Aires is *not* because he has family there (the reason instead is because he wants to visit the city), non-restricted clauses (65)

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive que

come to mean that the reason that Javi is *not* going to Buenos Aires is because he has family there: that is, the restricted causal clause is negated by the matrix operator in (64), whereas the matrix clause but not the non-restricted clause itself is negated in (65).

Conjunctive QUE clauses are similarly ungrammatical and/or nonsensical when under the scope of the matrix negation:

- (66) **Javi no va a Buenos Aires (\(), que tiene ahí familia, sino porque/que quiere visitar la ciudad.*

‘Javi isn’t going to Buenos Aires, for he has family there, #but because he wants to visit the city’

In other words, conjunctive QUE shows the behaviour of a co-ordinated (i.e. syntactically-symmetrical) clauses rather than a subordinated (syntactically-asymmetrical) clause in terms of its relationship to its associated clause.

5.3.2.5 Co-ordination of phrases

A defining property of co-ordinating conjunctions is that they can connect *any* two like XPs in a symmetrical relation, as illustrated here for DPs (67), PPs (68) and CPs (69):

- (67) *Tornai-bos [ConjP [DP padrino] ó [DP madrina]] d'un burrico mirandés.*

‘Become a godfather or mother to a little Mirandese donkey’ (Mir.[†])

- (68) *[ConjP [PP Al final] y [PP al cabo]] siempre hago lo que vos querés.*

‘At the end of the day I always do what you want’ (Uruguayan Sp.[†])

- (69) *[ConjP [CP Amo o meu país], mas [CP odeio a situação do meu país]].*

‘I love my country, but I hate the situation of my country’ (Ang.Pg.[†])

Since the role of subordinators is to introduce a CP, by definition such items cannot introduce constituents below the sentential level. Similarly, conjunctive QUE can only join sentential constituents (70); it is not clear what the meaning of connecting non-sentential constituents by means of conjunctive QUE would be (71):

- (70) *[CP no tenguis pressa], que [CP amb paciència veuràs que primer o poi ja arribem]*

‘Don’t rush, be patient and you’ll see that sooner or later we’ll get there’ (lit. ‘for with patience you’ll see [...]’) (Alg.; AIEC)

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive *que*

- (71) **Tornai-bos* [ConjP [DP *padrino*] *que* [DP *madrina*]] *d'un*
 become.2SG=you godfather CONJ godmother of=a
burrico *mirandés.*
 donkey.DIM Mirandese

However, the relationship subordinators instantiate between sentential constituents is an asymmetric one (viz. a root and an embedded sentence), whereas conjunctive QUE joins two sentences with syntactically-symmetrical status (viz. two root clauses), as we have observed in conjunctive QUE constructions' (lack of) interaction with c-command (§5.3.2.1;§5.3.2.5) and intonation (§5.3.2.4). In joining sentences of equal syntactic status, conjunctive QUE patterns with co-ordinators. Nonetheless, unlike co-ordinators (72a), conjunctive QUE cannot conjoin two subordinate clauses (72b) (examples adapted from Heycock's (2006:179) German sentences):

- (72) a. *Naide_i* *dixu* *que* \emptyset_i *taba* *llistu(,) y que* \emptyset_i
 nobody say.PST.3SG that pro be.IMPF.3SG ready and that pro
quería *diré p'ancá*
 want.IMPF.3SG go.INF to=home
 'Nobody_i said that he_i was ready and that he_i wanted to go home' (Leon.;
 Montemayor del Río, Salamanca^Δ)
- (73) b. **Naide_i* *dixu* *que* \emptyset_i *taba* *llistu(,) que que* \emptyset_i
 nobody say.PST.3SG that pro be.IMPF.3SG ready CONJ that pro
quería *diré p'ancá*
 want.IMPF.3SG go.INF to=home

In linking syntactically-symmetrical constituents (in the form of root clauses), conjunctive QUE resembles a co-ordinator. However, it is only in this aspect that conjunctive QUE patterns like co-ordinating conjunctions, since its ability to act as a linking element is restricted to sentential constituents only. Conjunctive QUE is thus like canonical subordinators in that it can only connect sentential constituents, but unlike these in that it instantiates an equal relation between the sentences it links. Most crucially, the connection between clauses that conjunctive QUE instantiates is inferentially derived, not syntactic.

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive que

5.3.2.6 Modification by *only/even*

Adverbial subordinators can be modified by focus adverbs such as ‘only’ (74) or ‘even’ (75):

- (74) *Te lebo enta ra estación namás si/cuán plegas á tiampo.*
 you=take.1SG to the station only if/when arrive.2SG at time
 ‘I’ll take you to the station only if/[those times] when you arrive on time’ (Arag.^Δ)

- (75) *Chevute a la estación inda si/cuando chegas seru*
 take.1SG=you to the station even if/when arrive.2SG late
 ‘I’ll take you to the station even if/[those times] when you arrive late’ (Ast.^Δ)

Co-ordinating conjunctions, on the other hand, cannot:

- (76) **Te lebo enta ra estación namás y/u/pero plegas á tiampo.*
 you=take.1SG to the station only and/or/but arrive.2SG at time
- (77) **Chevute a la estación inda y/o/pero chegas seru*
 take.1SG=you to the station even and/or/but arrive.2SG late

Likewise, conjunctive QUE cannot be modified by ‘only’ (78) or ‘even’ (79):

- (78) **Te lebo enta ra estación namás que plegas á tiampo.*
 you=take.1SG to the station only CONJ arrive.2SG at time
- (79) **Chevute a la estación inda que chegas seru*
 take.1SG=you to the station even CONJ arrive.2SG late

In this regard, conjunctive QUE shows the properties of co-ordination, not subordination.

5.3.2.7 VP-deletion

VP-deletion is possible with adverbial subordinators such as *cuando* ‘when’ or *si* ‘if’ (80), but not with co-ordinators (81):

- (80) *Me voy cuando/si se nos hace tarde, y Juan [se—va]*
 me=go.1SG when/if REFL=us=make.3SG late and Juan REFL=go.3SG
también.
 also

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive *que*

‘I leave when/if it gets late, and so does Juan’ (E.Sp.^Δ)

- (81) *Me voy, y/o/pero se nos hace tarde, y Juan [se—va]
me=go.1SG and/or/but REFL=us=make.3SG late and Juan REFL=go.3SG
también.
also

Conjunctive QUE is incompatible with VP-deletion:

- (82) Me voy, que se nos hace tarde, y Juan *(se va)
me=go.1SG CONJ REFL=us=make.3SG late and Juan REFL=go.3SG
también.
also

As such, conjunctive QUE patterns with co-ordinating conjunctions, exhibiting a distinct syntax from that associated with peripheral adjunction.

5.3.2.8 Recap

The structural diagnostics performed in the preceding sections have evaluated the syntactic status of Ibero-Romance conjunctive QUE constructions vis-à-vis their associated clause. Despite conjunctive QUE’s homophony with the finite complementiser *que*, the two items share very few formal characteristics. Namely, unlike the asymmetry of subordination, conjunctive QUE falling outside of the c-command of its associated clauses, exhibiting structural and prosodic independence and a symmetrical syntactic status (i.e. both behave as root clauses). In this way, conjunctive QUE patterns much more closely with coordination and, in particular, ‘peripheral’ adjunction (cf. Ibero-Romance *pues/pois*; German *denn*). Nonetheless, it does not pattern identically with any of the above types of formal clause-linking; for example, unlike adverbial adjuncts, conjunctive QUE constructions are incompatible with clausal interpolation. The results of conjunctive QUE’s compatibility with the foregoing diagnostics are summarised in Table 5.1:

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive *que*

Table 5.1: compatibility with formal diagnostics for structural status of conjunctive QUE clauses

Interrogative scope of matrix	✗
Fronting to initial position	✗
Interpolation	✗
Phonological independence	✓
R-expression binding	✗
Variable binding	✗
Negative scope of matrix	✗
Co-ordination any XP	✗
Subordinate clause linking	✗
Modification by only/even	✓
VP-deletion	✗

5.3.3 Semantic content of conjunctive QUE

The similarity of conjunctive QUE constructions and peripheral adverbial clauses' test results might lead us to conclude that conjunctive QUE clauses fall under the category of peripheral adjunction. However, the semantic content of the items which introduce such clauses (i.e. conjunctive QUE and causal connectives respectively) suggest that this would be an erroneous conclusion to draw.

Due to its overwhelming formal similarity with the finite complementiser *que*, the foregoing discussion has taken for granted conjunctive QUE's structural status as a functional head and its associated semantics. When compared with causal connectives which head non-restrictive adverbial clauses (e.g. *pois/pues, car*), it is clear that conjunctive QUE's lexical content is wholly bleached, having been reduced, like the homophonous finite complementiser, to a purely functional item. The same is not true of causal connectives, which, although grammatical, retain a clear semantic component, namely, that of causality.⁷ Although conjunctive QUE and causal connectives are *prima facie* interchangeable when following an associated clause, their semantic contributions are distinct:

- (83) *Dalle ghas Elvira, que/porque/pois a orquesta xa está a montar o palco*
 ‘Hurry up Elvira, Ø/because/for the orchestra is about to go onstage’ (Gal.[†])

⁷ Though this semantic content may have been lost in other syntactic environments; notably, the grammaticalisation of *pues* as a discourse marker.

5.3 Clause-combining and conjunctive *que*

Causal connectives, i.e. *porque/pois* in (83), render a connection between the two clauses by their lexical content (i.e. English ‘for, because’). Conversely, in a construction with a conjunctive QUE, as previously discussed (§5.2.4), the causal connection between the two clauses is contextually derived (by their juxtaposition), and the interpretative contribution of conjunctive QUE itself, is to signal a connection —which is not explicitly causal— that the speaker perceives between the conjunctive QUE clause and the one that precedes it, for the benefit of the addressee.

The difference between the two is compounded by the observation that only conjunctive QUE (84a) but not causal connectives (84b) can introduce an autonomous utterance, in the varieties where the latter is permitted (cf. §5.2.4):

- (84) *Context: the addressee glances at some boarding passes on the speaker’s desk and the speaker notices what the addressee is looking at.*

- a. *Que me’n vaig de vacances.*
CONJ me=PART=go.1SG of holidays
‘I’m going on holiday’ (Cat.^Δ)
- b. **Perquè/car me’n vaig de vacances.*
because/for me=PART=go.1SG of holidays

Whilst the use of conjunctive QUE is felicitous in explaining the non-linguistic situation to the addressee, the replacement of this item with the causal connectives *perquè/car* (‘because, for’) results in an extremely degraded sentence. The contrasts in (84a-b) between the interpretation and felicity of conjunctive QUE structures and non-restrictive causal adjuncts in different contexts suggest that the constructions, despite many structural similarities, belong to distinct syntactic classes; namely, that conjunctive QUE introduces a syntactically-autonomous clause whereas causal connectives introduce syntactically-dependent clauses.

The hypothesis that conjunctive QUE clauses and non-restrictive causal clauses are distinct is corroborated by the observation that conjunctive QUE clauses are frequently attested across the Romance branch, where the counterpart to Ibero-Romance QUE is not a causal connective, but corresponds in all the instances we have found to the (*realis*/indicative) complementiser of the respective variety:

5.4 Speech-act properties

- (85) *Unde ești? Că îmi arată că postezi din Rusia*
 where be.3SG CONJ to.me=show that post.2SG from Russia
 ‘Where are you? It’s showing me that you’re posting from Russia’ (Rom.[†])
- (86) *Vatti a aggiusta ca nu bbulimu arrivà tardi*
 go.IMP=you and get.ready.IMP CONJ not want.1PL arrive.INF late
 ‘Go and get ready, we don’t want to arrive late’ (Cosentino^Δ)
- (87) *Fă-l mo che i l'adori!*
 do.IMP=it DM CONJ I=it=use.1SG
 ‘Do it, I need it!’ (Badiotto, Rhaetoromance; Poletto&Zanuttini 2003:180)

Given that conjunctive QUE’s causal interpretation is contextually derived rather than lexically encoded not only in Ibero-Romance but elsewhere across the Romance family, bearing the morphology of the indicative complementiser in all instances that we have verified, we take this as clear evidence for conjunctive QUE’s origin as a finite complementiser. Indeed, the close correspondence between conjunctive QUE and grammatical clause type (cf. §5.2.1) indicates that conjunctive QUE remains, like the finite complementiser, involved with clause-typing, but differs insofar as its use implements a conversational move (§5.2.4), suggesting that conjunctive QUE interacts with, or is operative at the level of, the UP.⁸

5.4 Speech-act properties

The evidence examined so far indicates that conjunctive QUE is analysable at the speech-act level. In terms of its interpretative contribution, its primary function is to maintain conversation flow, and is typically used by the speaker to contextualise linguistic or non-linguistic input for the benefit of an addressee. Traditionally, although on our view somewhat inaccurately, it has also been understood to be a speech-act causal. Nonetheless, the association with speech-act causals highlights the consensus that conjunctive QUE is associated with utterance-oriented meaning. Indeed, Rutherford (1970) analyses speech-act

⁸ We do not take a position as to whether ‘speech-act’ adverbial causal clauses should also be analysed in terms of the speech-act domain. Their structural behaviour suggests they pattern alike, and a ‘performative’ analysis has precedent insofar as Rutherford (1970) uses Ross’s (1970) framework to describe speech-act causals (cf. §5.4). However, this does not affect the foregoing conclusion that, whereas causal connectives such as *porque/pues* (i.e. items which head adverbial causal clauses) explicitly encode such sentences as lexically causal, conjunctive QUE only creates a connection between its sentence and the associated clause through pragmatic inference.

5.4 Speech-act properties

causals within Ross's (1970) framework, which —on our updated ‘neo-performative’ hypothesis— corresponds to an analysis at the level of the UP.

In this section, as in previous chapters, we test conjunctive QUE against our diagnostics for operation at the speech-act level, namely negation (§5.4.1), conjunction (§5.4.2), disjunction (§5.4.3) and embedding (§5.4.4). Compatibility with these logical operations is taken as evidence that a constituent is operative within the CP, and incompatibility is taken to indicate operation within the UP.

5.4.1 Negation

In §5.3.2.5, we observed that conjunctive QUE clauses are ungrammatical when under the scope of the matrix negation, as illustrated in (66), repeated here as (88):

- (88) **Javi no va a Buenos Aires (\), que tiene ahí familia, sino porque/que quiere visitar la ciudad.*

(‘Javi isn't going to Buenos Aires, for he has family there, #but because he wants to visit the city’)

We can further observe that conjunctive QUE sentences are similarly ungrammatical when the conjunctive QUE clause itself is modified by a negative operator:

- (89) *Xulla, pous rellaxate, *non que vamos chegare seru*
Xulla can.2SG relax.INF=yourself not CONJ go.1PL arrive.INF late
(Leon.; Montemayor del Río, Salamanca^Δ)

The incompatibility of conjunctive QUE with negation is an indicator that conjunctive QUE, unlike quotative QUE (cf. ch4), is operative in the UP. As such, conjunctive QUE patterns similarly to exclamative QUE; however, the attempted negation of conjunctive QUE clauses is more severely degraded than that of exclamative QUE (cf. §3.4.2).

5.4.2 Conjunction

Ibero-Romance conjunctive QUE clauses cannot be conjoined by a logical operator such as AND:

5.4 Speech-act properties

- (90) *No me pises, que llevo chanclas #y que soy sensible.*
not me=step.SUBJ.2SG CONJ wear.1SG flip.flops and CONJ be.1SG sensitive
‘Don’t step on me, I’m wearing flipflops (‘and I’m sensitive’)’ (Sp.; example adapted from Porroche Ballesteros 2000:106)

Conjunctive QUE thus patterns like exclamative QUE (91), which is resistant to conjunction,⁹ but unlike quotative QUE (92), or finite clausal complements (93), which are compatible with conjunction:

- (91) *Ai, que me pica #i que no me pueu arrascal!*
PRT EXCL me=itch.3SG and EXCL not me=can.1SG scratch.INF
‘Ohhh, it itches (‘and I can’t scratch it!’)’ (Ext.)
- (92) *que si ‘aquí estoy con El Bola’ y que si tal*
QUOT if here be.1SG with El Bola and QUOT if such
‘[saying] ‘Here I am with El Bola’ and so on’ (E.Sp.[†])
- (93) *Dezién que venién a vé'l nuôssso pendon y que*
say.IMPF.3PL that come.IMPF.3PL to see.INF=the our pendon and that
queriên falar cu nos
want.IMPF.3PL speak.INF with us
‘They said that they came to see our pendon and that they wanted to talk to us’ (Mir.[†])

On our analysis, incompatibility with conjunction is an indicator of operation at the level of the speech act (though see the discussion in §3.4.4).

Whilst conjunctive QUE clauses cannot be conjoined, they are able to iterate recursively:¹⁰

⁹ Again, this diagnostic results in a more degraded sentence with conjunctive QUE than it does with exclamative QUE (cf. §5.4.1).

¹⁰ Whilst the particle *que* is normally a proclisis trigger in such varieties, the second conjunctive QUE clause of (94) exhibits V2-like effects, inasmuch as enclisis in North-western Ibero-Romance is a clitic placement associated with root(-like) syntax: specifically, an enclisis/proclisis alternation in these varieties encodes the presence versus absence of speaker ‘conviction’/point-of-view (Viejo Fernández 2008; Fernández-Rubiera 2009,2010,2013). We found numerous examples of enclisis with conjunctive QUE, especially dialectally, in our data survey, highlighting the speaker-oriented perspective of such constructions.

5.4 Speech-act properties

- (94) *Oi ninín, vente cumigo, que teis qu'ir a unha misa, que téñote ofrecido e tou eu pasando muitas por nun te levar a misa.*

'Hey kiddo, come with me, you've got to attend a mass, I've put you forward for communion and I'm getting a hard time for not bringing you to mass' (Eon.; ASLA)

- (95) *Va cállate que eres un criajo que solo tienes 16 años*

'Bah, shut up, you're just a kid, you're only 16' (E.Sp.[†])

In such contexts, a conjunctive QUE clause can either refer to the immediately preceding (conjunctive QUE) clause, as in (94), where the speaker contextualises the assertion of the first conjunctive QUE clause that the child has to go to mass; or to an initial non-conjunctive QUE clause, as in (95), where the assertion that the addressee is only 16 continues to refer to the speaker's order that they shut up. In other words, the relative order of conjunctive QUE constructions vis-à-vis the associated clause does not have any bearing on their interpretation. This would be an unexpected finding if each clause was syntactically inserted into the preceding clause's structure, but the lack of hierarchy is unsurprising on an analysis such as ours where the relation between one clause and the next is pragmatically inferred from the context.

5.4.3 Disjunction

Conjunctive QUE clauses cannot be disjoined (96), patterning like exclamative QUE but unlike quotative QUE (cf. the respective chapters for examples):

- (96) *No me pises, que llevo chanclas #o que soy sensible*
 not me=step.SUBJ.2SG CONJ wear.1SG flip.flops and CONJ be.1SG
 sensitive

'Don't step on me, I'm wearing flipflops ('or I'm sensitive')' (Sp.)

- (97) *disseram-me ou que o estavam finalizando ou que não precisava ser escrito*
 tell.pst.3pl=me or that it=write.IMPF.3PL finish.PST.PTCP or that not
 need.IMPF.3SG be.INF write.PST.PTCP

'They told me either that they were finalising it [the document] or that it didn't need to be written' (B.Pg.[†])

5.4 Speech-act properties

As such, conjunctive QUE constructions in Ibero-Romance display syntactic behaviour distinct from complement clauses headed by the homophonous finite complementiser *que* in C (96b), indicating, again, that conjunctive QUE is operative at a level distinct from the C-domain, namely, the UP.

5.4.4 Embedding

Finally, conjunctive QUE has already been observed to be syntactically unembeddable, as shown by its incompatibility with negation (§3.2.5.3) and interrogative typing (§3.2.1) in the associated clause and lack of Principle C effects (§3.2.5.1-2). Indeed, any attempt to embed conjunctive QUE under a matrix predicate leads to ungrammaticality:

- (98) *Ets estúpid?*, **vaig dir () que m'estàs trepitjant!*
 be.2SG stupid AUX.1SG say.INF CONJ me=be.3SG stepping
 ‘Are you an idiot? (‘I said that you’re treading on me!’)’ (Cat.^Δ)

The prosody of the above sentence (cf. §5.3.2.4) marks the ungrammatical embedded clause as a conjunctive QUE clause. The same sentence, however, would be completely grammatical if the sentence is read without a prosodic break, in which instance conjunctive QUE would no longer be present in the lexical array, being replaced by the homophonous subordinating complementiser *que*:

- (99) *Ets estúpid? Vaig dir () que m'estàs trepitjant!*
 be.2SG stupid AUX.1SG say.INF that me=be.3SG stepping
 ‘Are you an idiot? I said you’re treading on me!’ (Cat.^Δ)

Recall that the switch from a conjunctive QUE reading in (98) to a subordinate complementiser reading in (99) is not an arbitrary distinction, but an empirically-informed observation, since prosody has already been identified as a formal diagnostic for distinguishing between syntactic structures (cf. §5.3.2.4). Conjunctive QUE’s incompatibility with embedding is a further indication that conjunctive QUE is operative outside the C-domain, showing distinct behaviour from quotative and other clausal complements which fully participate in recursive embedding.

Its incompatibility with embedding once more groups conjunctive QUE with the behaviour shown by exclamative QUE, which is also resistant to embedding and which we

5.5 Left-peripheral distribution

have already analysed as lexicalizing a U-head. Note, though, that, according to native speakers, the embedding of conjunctive QUE is much more severely degraded than that of exclamative QUE. We provide a possible explanation for this finding in §5.5.2.

5.4.5 Recap

Conjunctive QUE constructions are severely degraded and rendered nonsensical by negation, conjunction, disjunction and embedding of conjunctive QUE and the clause it introduces. As such, this type of illocutionary QUE, despite a superficial similarity, shows very distinct behaviour from the finite complementiser and quotative QUE, i.e. functional items lexicalising C-heads. Instead, conjunctive QUE exhibits a similar, though not identical, syntactic pattern for the above diagnostics as exclamative QUE. To us, this indicates that conjunctive QUE, like exclamative QUE, is operative in the functional layer we have designated the utterance domain, which is located above the CP in the clausal spine.

5.5 Left-peripheral distribution

According to the diagnostics presented in §5.4, conjunctive QUE patterns with the behaviour of U-heads rather than C-heads. As in previous chapters, this section examines conjunctive QUE's distribution with respect to left-peripheral elements identified in the CP (§5.5.1) and UP (§5.5.2) in order to determine the precise position of conjunctive QUE within the expanded left-periphery assumed in this thesis. We adopt the extended left-peripheral cartography used in previous chapters, with the further assumption that the heads of the following projections are already licensed by different types of *que*, namely exclamative (cf. ch3), quotative (cf. ch4), recomplementation and jussive *que* (cf. ch1):

- (100) [_{S_Ahigh} [_{S_Alow} *que_{EXCL}* [_{Evid} [_{Evid} *que_{QUOT}* [_{Decl} [_{Decl} *que_{SUBORD}* [_{Topic} [_{Topic} *que_{RECOMP}* [_{Pol-int} [_{Excl} [_{Wh-int}
[_{Focus} **que* [_{Fin} *que_{JUSS}* [_{IP} ...]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

Recall that EvalP/EvidP/DeclP correspond to the functional projections at the UP/CP border, encoding speaker belief in and evidence for the proposition, and declarative clause-typing respectively, and commonly collapsible into ForceP. As such, they are the locus of cross-linguistic variation in terms of the distribution of features at the UP/CP border and the specification of complementisers (e.g. the Portuguese declarative complementiser lexicalises all these features on a single syncretic Force head, whereas the declarative complementiser is

5.5 Left-peripheral distribution

underspecified elsewhere in Ibero-Romance, occupying distinct positions according to its illocutionary/clause-typing function).

5.5.1 Conjunctive QUE distribution in the CP

Since the diagnostics presented in §5.4 indicate that conjunctive QUE operates above the CP, we test conjunctive QUE against the highest C-heads, viz. the head positions of the Force and Topic phrases. The lower of these positions is the Topic Phrase, which can host various types of topic constituent. Since we assume a non-recursive cartography, the Topic position can in fact be divided into further projections for each of the different types of topic (cf. Benincà&Poletto 2004; Frascarelli&Hintzerhölzl 2007; Ledgeway 2012). Here, we follow Ledgeway's (2012) mapping of the topic positions, specifically the Frame field, where a hanging topic surfaces above a scene-setting topic, but below the declarative complementiser position:¹¹

- (101) [_{Force} [_{Topic/Frame1} HT [_{Topic/Frame2} Adv_{scene-setting} [_{Pol-int} ...

In the following sentence, we observe that conjunctive QUE must appear above both the hanging topic (*a tía Maite* ‘Aunt Maite’) and the scene-setting topic (*maitín* ‘tomorrow’):

- (102) *Dexaz d'empreñar-me, que a tía Maite_i maitín la_i beyerás*
stop.IMP of=annoy.INF=me CONJ the aunt Maite tomorrow her=see.FUT.3SG
en a fiesta
in the party
‘Stop annoying me, Ø aunt Maite_i, tomorrow you’ll see her_i at the party’ (Arag., Bal de Tena^Δ)
- (103) *Dexaz d'empreñar-me, a tía Maite_i (*que) maitín (*que)*
stop.IMP of=annoy.INF=me the aunt Maite CONJ tomorrow CONJ
la_i beyerás en a fiesta
her=see.FUT.3SG in the party

¹¹ Ledgeway's full (2012:179) cartography for the left-periphery, which we adopt (and adapt) here, is as follows:

(i) [DeclP *que* [FrameP1 HT [FrameP2 Adv_{scene-setting} [ConP *whether-clause* [HypP *si/se-clause* [Wh-exclamP *que*

5.5 Left-peripheral distribution

The same result is obtained when the hanging topic (here, Manolo) is tested without a scene-setting topic:

- (104) *Sube'l volumen, que Manolo_i, siempre alcuérdome*
turn.up.IMP=the volume CONJ Manolo always remember.1SG=REFL
d'el_i cuando ponen esa canción
of=him when put.3PL that song
‘Turn up the volume, Ø Manolo_i, it always makes me think about him_i when this song comes on’ (Leon.^Δ)
- (105) **Sube'l volumen, Manolo_i, que siempre alcuérdome*
turn.up.IMP=the volume Manolo CONJ always remember.1SG=REFL
d'el_i cuando ponen esa canción
of=him when put.3PL that song

Conjunctive QUE must therefore obtain higher than the Topic position. Moreover, on the cartographic framework assumed here, conjunctive QUE’s distinct syntactic properties from the finite complementiser *que*, which lexicalises Decl/Force°, entail the two types of *que* cannot lexicalise the same position. Supporting evidence comes from the lexicalisation of Eval° by evaluative constructions (cf. Cruschina 2015; Cruschina&Remberger 2016), relative to which conjunctive QUE always occupies a leftward position:

- (106) *Y en serio búscate una vida o algo, que mira que eres pesado*
and in serious search.IMP=you a life or something CONJ DM that be.2SG annoying
‘Seriously, get a life or something, Ø gosh you’re so annoying’ (E.Sp.[†])
- (107) *Si no os gusta, no entréis, que anda que sois quejicas*
if not you.PL=like.3SG not enter.SUBJ.2PL CONJ DM that be.2PL whiny
‘If you don’t like it, don’t come in, Ø gosh you’re such whinebags’ (Sp.[†])

These items lexicalise distinct positions within the left periphery as follows:

5.5 Left-peripheral distribution

- (108) [SAhigh [SAlow [Eval *mira/anda* [Decl *que_{CT}* [Topic/Frame1 HT [Topic/Frame2 Adv_{scene-setting} [Pol-int ...

Thus, if conjunctive QUE obtains above the highest types of topic; shows distinct syntactic behaviour from the finite complementiser *que* and quotative QUE; and occupies a position to the left of evaluative constructions, we conclude that conjunctive QUE cannot be operative in the CP.

5.5.2 Conjunctive QUE distribution in the UP

Following the diagnostics developed in Chapter 2, this section examines conjunctive QUE's position relative to utterance-oriented elements in the UP. These diagnostics immediately set conjunctive QUE apart from the other types of illocutionary QUE under investigation in this dissertation. Firstly, we observe that conjunctive QUE, unlike exclamative QUE or quotative QUE, cannot co-occur with utterance-initial discourse particles (X°s) or clause-initial vocatives (XPs):

- (109) *jEscúchame, (*oye) que (*oye) vamos a llegar tarde!*
 listen.IMP=me DM CONJ DM go.1PL to arrive.INF late
 ('Listen, *hey we're going to arrive late!') (E.Sp.^Δ)

- (110) *jEscúchame, (*María) que (*María) vamos a llegar tarde!*
 listen.IMP=me María CONJ María go.1PL to arrive.INF late

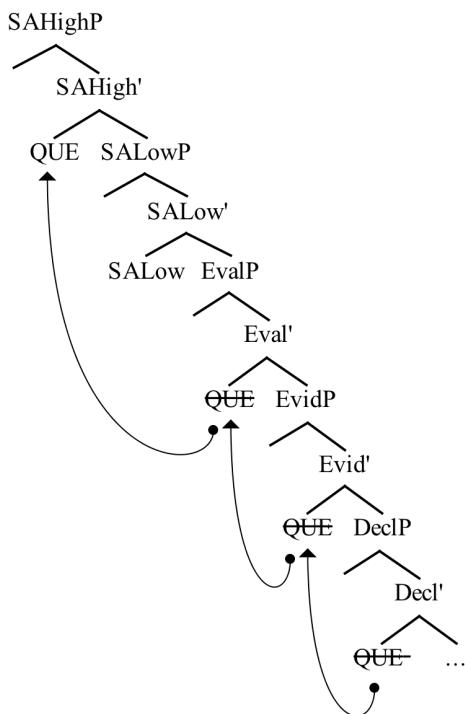
On the view that conjunctive QUE occupies a position higher than the CP and, when activated, SentienceP constituents (e.g. (106-107)), we must assume that conjunctive *que* lexicalises a U-head. Since we have proposed that exclamative QUE lexicalises SAlow°, these results — wherein utterance-oriented items to the left of conjunctive *que* are banned — indicate that the conjunctive complementiser occupies the higher U-head, viz. SAhigh°. However, because of conjunctive QUE's close relation with clause-typing, we assume that, as in the case of exclamative QUE, the illocutionary complementiser does not start out in this position.

In varieties which only license conjunctive QUE with declarative clauses (recall that some also permit conjunctive QUE with rhetorical interrogatives), the most logical conclusion is that conjunctive QUE values both a [+DECLARATIVE] feature belonging to the CP, and [+PERFORMATIVITY, +ACTIVATION] features encoded in the UP. The licensing of these features could be achieved either by the complementiser merging first in Decl°, valuing its clause-type

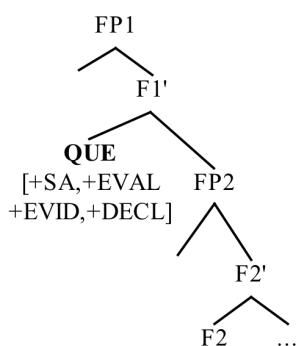
5.5 Left-peripheral distribution

feature, then raising to SAhigh°, where it values its utterance features. Alternatively, given that intermediate utterance-oriented constituents are banned between these two positions, the complementiser could be analysed as lexicalising a syncretic head where it values the above features simultaneously. For reasons of economy, we assume that the internal structure of the UP is not activated, or, —more likely— collapsed (see below), in the latter instance. Given that conjunctive QUE constructions have assertive value, we further assume that the complementiser moves through Eval° en route to SAhigh°, or values a [+EVALUATIVE] feature on the syncretic head. The structures of the two possibilities are as follows:

(111) Head movement analysis of Ibero-Romance conjunctive QUE



(112) Syncretic head analysis of Ibero-Romance conjunctive QUE



5.5 Left-peripheral distribution

Where conjunctive QUE introduces an evaluative or evidential C-construction, we simply assume that the internal structure of the expanded left-periphery is activated instead of the syncretic head, enabling the non-performative discourse particle to lexicalise *Eval*° or *Evid*°, much as a clause projects a syncretic CP unless it requires activation of the Topic/Focus field, in which case the whole split-CP domain is articulated (cf. Rizzi 1997:143-6).

For varieties which permit rhetorical polar interrogatives with conjunctive QUE, we propose that the complementiser merges first not in *Decl*° but in *Evid*° —or alternatively, that the syncretic head that it lexicalises is projected above *Decl*°— before moving to the UP. The primary motivation for this assumption is that it does not restrict conjunctive QUE to declarative structures, as merging in the dedicated *Decl*° would. The hypothesis that conjunctive QUE starts out in a higher position in varieties where it is licensed with polar rhetorical interrogatives is in line with our proposal for evaluative QUE, which we assumed could merge directly in *Eval*° in Spanish, Catalan and Galician, but not in European Portuguese, since the latter only permits declarative structures with evaluative QUE but the former varieties license a wider range of clause types. We assume, however, that wh-exclamatives and wh-interrogatives are banned with conjunctive QUE for independent reasons, most likely incompatibility with assertive illocutionary force.¹²

Further impetus for proposing that conjunctive QUE lexicalises *Evid*° is the complementiser's parallels with the evidential complementiser *ca* outside Romance, and diachronically in Ibero-Romance. At the start of the present chapter, we described how conjunctive QUE alternated historically with the now obsolete causal conjunction *ca* (<Lat. QU(I)A). In previous work (Corr 2016a,2016c), we have hypothesised that the matrix causal conjunction *ca* is the same item as the specialised Old Portuguese evidential complementiser *ca* discussed in Chapter 3. The proposal that matrix *ca* was a complementiser rather than a causal conjunction is supported by this chapter's argument that its modern equivalent, viz. Ibero-Romance conjunctive QUE, is in fact an illocutionary complementiser (Corr 2016a:12 provides evidence in favour of the hypothesis that the latter ousted the former over time as it consolidated its status as the generalised declarative complementiser across Ibero-Romance). The motivation that the medieval conjunctive complementiser, and by extension conjunctive QUE, should be considered an evidential is due to its role in implying causality; as Davis&Hara (2014:194-195) put it: ‘a causal relation is established when a cognitive agent

¹² This does not explain, however, why rhetorical wh-interrogatives are banned, since they are understood to have assertive force.

5.5 Left-peripheral distribution

perceives a particular event in the complement sentence and *causally connects the event to another event*. In this sense, *the causal connective plays a role as an evidential marker*’ (my emphasis). Finally, independent corroboration for conjunctive QUE’s equivalence with now-obsolete *ca* comes from the observation in §5.3.3 that conjunctive QUE is also robustly attested elsewhere in the Romance family, where it corresponds to the realis/indicative complementiser. Crucially, in Southern Italian dialects with more than one complementiser, the *realis/indicative* complementiser is morphologically identical to *ca* (orthographically, *ca/ka/cha*). Indeed, the morphological continuity of *ca* in such varieties from the conjunctive use (113) to its present-day matrix (114) and embedding functions (115) is more readily explained by assuming *c(h)a* is a complementiser in both instances rather than, as traditionally assumed for Ibero-Romance, a causal conjunction historically and a complementiser today (examples from D’Alessandro&Felice 2015:130-9):

- (113) *Iannj, no plorare; cha io te verragio ad recercare, e no smagare*
Iannj, don’t cry, for I will come to look for you, and do not lose your faith’ (C15 Abr.)
- (114) **Ca** nin chischə!
‘[that] you won’t fall!’ (Abr.)
- (115) Penzi **ca** Marje ve’ sicuramende
‘I think that Marje will definitely come’ (Abr.)

D’Alessandro&Felice (2015:2) describe Abruzzese *ca* (which can head both matrix and embedded clauses) as an evidential complementiser, and D’Alessandro&Ledgeway (2010) have proposed that such complementisers in Southern Italian dialects (viz. *ka* and orthographic equivalents) lexicalise Force°. That is, the equivalent of Ibero-Romance *ca* elsewhere in the Romance family also occupies a similarly high position in the left-periphery, though, on our expanded and revised cartography, this position is decomposable into further, more fine-grained functional projections.

We assume that the minutiae of whether conjunctive QUE starts out in Decl° or Evid° is of little consequence to the overall availability of this illocutionary complementiser in (Ibero-)Romance. Rather, this microvariation merely determines whether or not the complementiser is felicitous strictly with declaratives only, or also admits rhetorical polar interrogative readings. More crucial to its interpretation, and licensing, is i) that it checks the [+EVALUATIVE] feature, encoding that it is, specifically, the speaker’s point-of-view (cf. fn10) from which the motivation for uttering the sentence introduced by conjunctive QUE is derived;

5.5 Left-peripheral distribution

and ii) that it targets the highest U-projection, producing the effect of the sentence branching out and establishing a discourse connection with its antecedent, viz. either the non-linguistic environment, or the previous speech act.¹³ That the UP is collapsed in such instances¹⁴ is in fact a preferable outcome, since it entails that conjunctive QUE be licensed irrespective of the internal configuration of the domain (recall that we anticipate certain components of the UP to be parametrisable, such as the order of speech participants; cf. ch2). We suggest that this fact accounts for its robust availability across (Ibero-)Romance, as it masks microparametric differences in the make-up of the left-periphery between varieties. Strictly speaking, however, we suspect that conjunctive QUE lexicalises both SAhigh° and SALow°, simultaneously valuing these layers' discourse-activating and discourse-bonding functions. This alternative analysis again changes little, and has the added advantages of i) providing a syntactic motivation for the discourse-mediating effect of conjunctive QUE (cf. §5.2.4); and ii) offering extra evidence in favour of the collapsing of the highest left-peripheral projections onto a

¹³ We put the ban on licensing conjunctive QUE without a linguistic antecedent in some Ibero-Romance languages, notably Portuguese, down to the increasing obsolescence of illocutionary complementisers in such varieties. Indeed, although conjunctive QUE is possible in Portuguese, it is much less frequently attested than is the case elsewhere in Ibero-Romance. Instead, asyndetic co-ordination as in English (cf. §5.1), or explicit causal forms such as (*que*) é *que* (literally, ‘that be.3SG that’) are often preferred in lieu of the illocutionary complementiser.

¹⁴ This may not prove to be entirely accurate. Indeed, it is not the case that utterance-initial constituents are banned from conjunctive QUE clauses *tout court*. Rather, both discourse particles and vocatives are permitted to appear utterance-finally as follows:

- (i) [UP₁ *Cállate*] [UP₂ *que me pones nerviosa tío raro*] (E.Sp.)
shut.up.IMP=you.SG CONJ me=put.2SG annoyed guy weird
- (ii) [UP₁ *Callaros*], [UP₂ *que nos van a venir a reventar chavales*] (E.Sp.)
shut.up.IMP=you.SG CONJ WE=go.3PL to come.INF to burst.INF lads
- (iii) [UP₁ *Mira, chico, déshame'star en paz*], [UP₂ *que te valdrá más, oyes*] (Arag.)
DM boy leave=me=be.INF in peace CONJ you=be.worth.fut.INF more DM

Following the assumptions of the present work, this would suggest that some internal specification of the UP is projected in (i-iii), requiring that the CP be displaced in order to derive the utterance-final position of the discourse items, or that they are merged directly in a lower illocutionary projection (cf. ch2). Nonetheless, the attestation of utterance-final discourse items is fairly rare in conjunctive QUE clauses, and difficult to elicit naturally in conversation. On the view that our otherwise robust findings would have to be adapted significantly to incorporate such minor and infrequent exceptions, we do not examine such instances further here, but highlight their existence in order that they be taken into consideration in future investigation.

5.6 Conclusion

single syncretic head, inasmuch as this would again verify why no other utterance-oriented constituents can be projected clause-initially.

A further welcome consequence of conjunctive QUE targeting the highest U-head is that it completes the comparison we established between the UP and Sigurðsson's framework for the clausal left-edge. That is, Sigurðsson's (2010) highest projection in the CP (on his account), is a 'general context-linking feature' (CL_n), a feature which straightforwardly maps onto the interpretation and structural position for conjunctive QUE. Thus, following the functional hierarchy, Sigurðsson's CL_n maps to our SAHighP; his 'logophoric' agent and patient features to our SALow_{AddresseeP} and SALow_{SpeakerP}; and his Fin, divisible into Speech Time and Speech Location, to our Eval and Evid projections, more commonly conflated as SentienceP or ForceP. Since Sigurðsson's (2010) proposal not only parallels our hypothesis for the UP, but also accounts for CP-elements (e.g. Topics, adverbials, even expletives), we speculate that Sigurðsson's features are found in the CP as well as the UP: derived, perhaps, in analogy with feature inheritance from C to T (cf. Chomsky 2008). If this can be shown to be the case, it would verify Hill's (2014:36) original observation that Chomsky (2008) requires an additional domain for the encoding of dedicated logophoric/utterance features in a clausal layer superior to the CP.

5.6 Conclusion

Conjunctive QUE is attested robustly across Ibero-Romance in both space and time, serving to overtly realise a discourse connection between a salient antecedent —either a non-linguistic discourse situation, or an immediately-preceding speech act— and the conjunctive QUE clause, a connection that the speaker perceives as requiring contextualisation for the benefit of the addressee(s). Although traditionally categorised as a speech-act causal, on a par with conjunctions such as *pues/pois/car* 'for', we have argued that this analysis is misleading, since it implies that causality is codified in conjunctive QUE itself. Rather, we propose that this interpretation is contextually derived from its role in mediating discourse relations. That conjunctive QUE is distinct from lexical connectives is confirmed by the items' divergent behaviour according to diagnostics for different classifications of clause-combining, which prove the illocutionary complementiser to have a distinct syntax from conjunction, adverbial adjunction and complementation, although overlap exists between these syntactic operations and conjunctive QUE constructions. Despite their homophony, conjunctive QUE also displays distinct grammatical and interpretational properties from the declarative subordinating complementiser, crucially exhibiting incompatibility with the diagnostics for CP status.

5.6 Conclusion

Nonetheless, we propose that conjunctive QUE should be categorised as a complementiser, as witnessed by its similarity with the obsolete Old Ibero-Romance matrix and embedded evidential *ca*, and its modern-day (and historic) counterparts elsewhere in Romance. Its unequivocal rejection of the logical operations associated with the CP, combined with its superior left-peripheral position relative to known CP-constituents, firmly establishes conjunctive QUE as a U-head. We propose that i) conjunctive QUE targets the highest position in the UP, activating the outward-reaching discourse interpretation associated with SAhigh°; and that ii) the (features of the) lower position(s) are either not projected, or, more likely, are collapsed on a singleton syncretic head, thereby preventing other utterance-oriented constituents from merging clause-initially. By assuming the U-features are conflated on a single functional head that is then lexicalised by conjunctive QUE, we can additionally account for the simultaneous discourse ‘bonding’ that conjunctive QUE achieves between the sentence it heads and the preceding discourse context. Minor microvariation in terms of whether conjunctive QUE licenses rhetorical polar interrogatives in addition to declarative structures is attributed to variation in where conjunctive QUE first merges (alternatively conceptualised as whether given features are bundled on the syncretic head), viz. in Decl° for the more restrictive setting where only declarative structures are licensed, or directly above in Evid° in the case of rhetorical polar questions. The structural position of conjunctive QUE parallel to Sigurðsson’s (2010) context-linking feature corroborates the proposal of previous chapters that unifies our cartographic configuration of the left-periphery with that of Sigurðsson (2010).

Chapter 6

Conclusions

6.1 Illocutionary QUE

The empirical focus of this dissertation has been the re-harnessing of the Ibero-Romance declarative subordinating complementiser *que* ‘that’ as the non-selected head of three different types of matrix declarative clause with distinct illocutionary functions. On the basis of novel data from a range of Ibero-Romance varieties standard and non-standard, we have established that the three types of ‘illocutionary’ QUE, viz. exclamative, quotative and conjunctive QUE, differ not only in terms of their interpretation, but also in terms of their formal and distributional properties, lexicalising separate heads in an expanded and revised left-periphery. Exclamative QUE (Chapter 3) introduces a non-embeddable exclamation with a gradable reading derived via the complementiser’s expressive indices, lexicalising SALow°, the head of the lower layer of the U(tterance)P(hrase). As such, it constitutes a morphosyntactic item dedicated to the encoding of exclamative meaning in the clausal syntax. Conjunctive QUE (Chapter 5) introduces a non-embeddable declarative and lexicalises the highest functional head in the expanded left-periphery, viz. SAhigh°, functioning as the overt morphosyntactic reflex of a conversational move whereby the complementiser makes manifest a discourse connection —as perceived by the speaker— between the clause it introduces and a linguistic or non-linguistic antecedent, for the benefit of the addressee(s). Quotative QUE (Chapter 4), by contrast, shows the formal behaviour of a C-head, introducing an embeddable presentative sentence, in the sense of Déchaine et al. (2015), and lexicalising Evid°, a functional projection at the UP/CP boundary. Quotative QUE constructions are identified as the unembedded counterpart of *de dicto* complements.

6.2 The Utterance Phrase

A key theoretical contribution of the dissertation has been to shed light on the possible existence and nature of a dedicated utterance domain above the CP. Previous explorations of this utterance space have typically focused on evidence from items formerly relegated to non-syntactic modules of language; most commonly, vocatives, discourse particles, and, to a lesser extent, interjections. Chapter 2 investigated the grammatical status of such items in Ibero-Romance, finding evidence of syntactically-constrained vocatives and discourse particles with a distribution indicative of an internally-articulated utterance field. We labelled

6.2 *The Utterance Phrase*

this domain the Utterance Phrase (UP), conceptualised as the space wherein illocutionary force—modelled as a complex, dynamic process of conversational interactions and updates between speaker and addressee—is encoded. Assuming a basic bipartite division for the UP’s internal structure following Haegeman (2014) and Wiltschko et al. (2015), we argued that the fundamental distinction between the two layers centres on an opposition between an utterance-external versus utterance-internal orientation, where each functional head encodes performativity and interlocutor interaction. The ban on vocatives in absolute-initial position when co-occurring with discourse particles plus the linear ordering of addressee- and speaker-oriented vocatives elsewhere in Romance led us to decompose the lower layer into further sublayers hosting vocatives in these projections’ specifiers in the order ADDRESSEE > SPEAKER.

Insofar as our discussion merely scratched the surface of the syntax of Ibero-Romance discourse particles, our contention is that, from a cartographic perspective, the internal structure we proposed for the UP is only the beginning. Moreover, this dissertation has concentrated exclusively on utterance-initial elements but has not discussed how utterance-medial or utterance-final constituents fit into the picture; in particular, we have remained agnostic towards the possibility of a lower illocutionary phrase at the vP/TP level. Post-sententially, Ibero-Romance exhibits ‘right-dislocated’ constituents, especially in Catalan; question tags, analysed here as dislocated constituents at the bottom of the clause; and utterance-oriented elements. The attestation of sentence-final utterance constituents in conjunctive QUE clauses was identified as a problem for our theory. There is an elegance to assuming a dedicated domain at the height of the clausal spine, but this at present comes at the cost of requiring multiple movement operations to derive the linear order when utterance-oriented elements do not occur sentence-initially. Yet, the alternative, viz. assuming two dedicated utterance domains at opposite ends of the sentential architecture is similarly inelegant and uneconomic, and does not ring true of the Chomskyan thesis of a perfectly-designed language system. A radical rethink of sentential structure of the type that Wiltschko’s group is working towards to, as per Richard A. Rhodes’ challenge, may be necessary if we are to take seriously the idea that syntax is grounded in encoding the relation between utterance participants. Even at these preliminary stages, a positive outcome of our research is that it points to a fundamental compatibility between the Universal Spine framework and Cartographic enterprise in the investigation of utterance syntax.

6.3 Illocutionary QUE and the clausal left-edge

As the chief lexical exponent of the left-periphery, the advantage of taking the complementiser, rather than discourse particles (as in much previous work), as our experimental subject is that it enjoys an undisputed grammatical status, and is uncontroversially understood to operate exclusively at the clausal left-edge. The distinct syntax of each type of illocutionary QUE has proven crucial in corroborating the findings of Chapter 2 in favour of the postulation of a separate syntactic field above the CP. On the macro-level, the existence of complementisers targeting the UP and CP respectively have verified the hypothesis of two separate domains with different formal properties: complementisers lexicalising U-heads introduce clauses incompatible with conjunction, disjunction and embedding; C-heads do the opposite. The ban on embedding, in particular, fits with the characterisation of UP-constituents as ‘rigidly-root phenomena’; consider, for example, the ungrammaticality of vocatives in embedded CPs in Chapter 2, despite their attestation utterance-finally in complex sentences, and utterance-medially in matrix clauses. The syntactic distinction between the UP and CP also provided a formal motivation for our argument that, *pace* Krifka (2001), speech acts —at least in the updated sense as dynamic conversational moves (Beyssade&Marandin 2006a,2006b)— cannot be conjoined.

On the micro-level, our cartographic approach to the left-periphery enabled a more fine-grained examination of the features at the UP/CP border, revealing the compositionality of sentence-typing. In the case of exclamative and conjunctive QUE, each starts out in a lower functional projection to value evaluative and (declarative) clause-typing features respectively, before raising to value performative and, in the case of the latter, discourse-activating features. More accurately, each type of illocutionary QUE values multiple features simultaneously, on the assumption that these are bundled on syncretic heads following Giorgi&Pianesi’s (1997) feature-scattering principle. We found that the more utterance-oriented features valued by illocutionary QUE, the more resistant that complementiser was to the speech-act diagnostics established in Chapter 3, as evinced by the gradient grammaticality intuitions on exclamative QUE—i.e. the ‘medial’ illocutionary complementiser—in particular. A different effect was witnessed in the lexicalisation of multiple complementisers, or ‘dual’ clause-typing, in the case of quotative QUE: the complex cluster *que si* typed the sentence as both a presentative and an interrogative structure, yet the declarative properties of quotative QUE appear to ‘override’ the interrogative ones of *si* ‘if, whether’ in terms of the overall category of the construction. The cluster *que si* in Spanish is also re-harnessed to introduce

6.4 Prosody and the utterance

direct quotations and is associated with a despective reading, a finding which, conversely, points towards the *non*-compositionality of clause-typing in Ibero-Romance.

The hierarchy of functional projections at the TP/CP border was found to reflect existing proposals for the clausal left-edge, facilitating analogy between Rizzi's (1997) decomposed ForceP, Speas&Tenny's (2003) SentienceP, as well as Sigurðsson's (2010) mapping of the CP, that ultimately led us to assume that these projections are commonly conflated or their features bundled in minimally-differing configurations. As such, these liminal projections are the locus of parametric variation in complementiser systems, giving rise to the fine-grained differences in the specification of complementisers and, consequently, the gradient judgments on the constructions in which these complementisers participate.

6.4 Prosody and the utterance

The formal differences between the three types of illocutionary QUE also showed that homophony is not a sufficient indicator of syntactic equivalence. This is evident in other areas of the grammar —for example, the Spanish complementiser *que* is regarded as distinct from the superficially-homophonous¹ wh-item *qué*— but there is a reluctance to assume the same applies to phonologically-identical complementisers. However, phonology plays a crucial role in utterance syntax; in particular, prosody has been shown to be a key component in formalising utterance constituents. A higher merge position in the left-periphery (e.g. discourse-activating particles; conjunctive QUE) appears to correlate with phonological autonomy. Differences in intonational contouring of syntactic phrases not only reflect non-trivial syntactic distinctions —such as those between ‘evaluative’ and ‘performative’ discourse particles— but encode them. These differences prove critical in the typing of exclamative QUE and conjunctive QUE constructions, and their differentiation from clausal complements introduced by the finite complementiser; in Chapter 5, prosody alone was responsible for creating a minimal pair between restrictive and non-restrictive causal relations. It seems highly likely to us that a more comprehensive understanding —and mapping— of the UP will be impossible without taking the syntax-prosody interface into consideration. A serious question will be how the lack of isomorphism (cf. Bocci 2013) between utterance meaning, prosody and syntax can be reconciled with the strong cartographic thesis of a one-to-one mapping between interpretation and formal representation.

¹ The wh-item can carry focal stress, whilst the complementiser cannot.

6.5 Ibero-Romance and the syntax of the utterance

We conclude with the dissertation's contribution to Ibero-Romance dialectology. The prevalence of matrix illocutionary complementisers in a wide range of contexts across Ibero-Romance is a defining characteristic of the language family, especially Peninsular varieties, to the exclusion of other Romance branches. For example, although main-clause complementisers are also found in Daco- and Italo-Romance, these tend to require a presupposed discourse context, referring back or reacting to some shared knowledge in the common ground (Hill 2010:8; Garzonio&Sorrisi 2013; Prins 2014), whereas Ibero-Romance matrix complementisers are more felicitously deployed in out-of-the-blue environments. The arbitrary cut-off, mentioned in Chapter 1, between Ibero-Romance and Gallo-Romance at the Pyrenean border receives linguistic motivation if we adopt illocutionary complementisers as a typological feature of (Peninsular) Ibero-Romance. Consider the quotative use of *si/se* in both European Portuguese and Eastern Ibero-Romance: the syntactic parallels between the two geographically non-contiguous Ibero-Romance branches reinforce the perception that such constructions are characteristic of Ibero-Romance, by virtue of their absence from French, Italian or Romanian. Viewed in this light, features such as interrogative *si/se* and corresponding *de dicto* complements become a feature of Ibero-Romance that is also attested in Gallo-Romance, rather than vice versa. (Though the matrix particle system of Gascony Occitan is still a case apart.)

Despite characterising the Ibero-Romance family, the syntax of illocutionary complementisers is subject to microvariation across the Ibero-Romance speakers who use them. Yet of all the microvariation attested, only two major isoglosses stand out: i) the availability of information-seeking interrogative complementisers, which are a feature of Eastern Ibero-Romance only; and ii) the availability of quotative QUE in Catalan, Spanish and Galician, and varieties patterning alike, to the exclusion of Portuguese. Other points of variation—such as the grammaticality of an overt information source with quotative QUE; the interaction of clause-typing with exclamative QUE and, to a lesser degree, conjunctive QUE; or the possibility of using conjunctive QUE discourse-initially, without a linguistic antecedent—are idiolectal rather than attributable to a particular variety. Some generalisations can nonetheless be made: a one-to-one relation between clause-type and illocutionary complementiser is most likely in Portuguese; the lack of a linguistic antecedent with conjunctive QUE is not possible in Portuguese, and, to a lesser extent, Galician; Peninsular Spanish is the Ibero-Romance variety with the most pronounced use of illocutionary QUE. Diastrophic variation in Portuguese varieties is observed inasmuch as the use of illocutionary

6.5 Ibero-Romance and the syntax of the utterance

QUE, in particular exclamative QUE, is associated with non-urban, older speakers, though this too manifests itself geographically; i.e. illocutionary complementisers are more of a feature of rural areas of Northern Portugal.

This thesis has argued that Ibero-Romance microvariation in the licensing of illocutionary complementisers is a consequence of differences in the structural make-up of the left-periphery. Namely, the features associated with Force, i.e. [+DECLARATIVE, +EVIDENTIAL, +EVALUATIVE], are bundled on a single head in Portuguese, whereas the same features each head a separate projection in other Ibero-Romance varieties. The result is a minimally-specified finite complementiser *que* across most of Ibero-Romance, and a specifically declarative complementiser with more formal specification in European Portuguese. The syncretic nature of European Portuguese's ForceP disallows the projection of a specialised evidential layer in this language, which in turn prohibits the licensing of quotative QUE. At the same time, the restricted behaviour of illocutionary complementisers in Portuguese vis-à-vis other Ibero-Romance varieties points to wider-ranging, systemic change. That is, illocutionary complementisers are progressively being lost in Portuguese varieties, a trend witnessed by their more frequent attestation in the historical record and in today's rural, archaising varieties than in standard contemporary European Portuguese and the Lisbon norm.

The loss of this 'merge' option in the clausal left-edge for encoding illocutionary meaning is, however, countered by the prevalence of verbal 'move' mechanisms for sentence- and illocutionary-typing, such as inflected infinitives, affirmative verb reduplication in declaratives, and a verb-based answering system. Verb movement is a well-known syntactic strategy for encoding illocutionary information: take V-to-C movement in V2 languages, or the proclisis-enclisis alternation with its associated [±POINT-OF-VIEW] reading in northwestern Ibero-Romance, noted in Chapter 5. Our position —and an area we highlight for further research— is that there is a non-trivial correspondence between verb height and the incidence of overt utterance-oriented syntactic phenomena. Notably, European Portuguese verbs target a higher clausal position (viz. the ASPECT domain) than their Catalan and Spanish counterparts just above *v*-VP (Schifano 2015); though, in comparison to French, Romanian and standard Northern Italian, which target the higher MOOD field (and the lower TENSE field in the case of standard Northern Italian), Ibero-Romance verbs target a very low functional space. In other words, a more developed utterance syntax —discussed here in relation to illocutionary complementisers— correlates inversely with verb height. Indeed, in addition to the pervasiveness of illocutionary complementisers in this variety, Peninsular Spanish has both

6.5 Ibero-Romance and the syntax of the utterance

verbs which target the lowest clausal position in (Peninsular) Romance,² and multiple co-occurring discourse particles at the height of the sentential spine, frequently allowing three discourse particles (as well as vocatives) in a single utterance. By contrast, other Romance varieties would felicitously permit a maximum of one or two co-occurring discourse particles.

These empirical results suggest that the lower the position occupied by the verb, the more functional ‘space’ is available overall within the sentential architecture, facilitating the development of utterance syntax at the opposite end of the functional structure. On the other hand, Schifano’s (2015) work finds that (Valencian) Catalan and Spanish verbs target the same structural position, yet multiple co-occurring particles are judged more grammatical in Peninsular Spanish varieties than Catalan ones. This suggests that verb height only provides a partial explanation for why some varieties have a more advanced utterance syntax than others, or that closer inspection is required to tease out further microvariation between Ibero-Romance varieties. For example, Brazilian Portuguese —whose verbs target a lower position than even Peninsular Spanish (cf. fn2)— has also gone a radical re-organisation of its syntax, diverging from European Portuguese in many aspects, not least its status as a partial null-subject variety (Holmberg et al. 2009). To verify the verb-height proposal, more investigation is therefore required to establish whether there are further fine-grained distinctions in the targets of verb movement in these varieties, or whether there are more factors at play, if indeed this hypothesis checks out at all.

One consideration which we have not investigated in the present dissertation is the implications of the matrix interrogative ‘merge’ option in Eastern Ibero-Romance (polar) interrogatives, which sets this branch of Ibero-Romance apart from Central and Western varieties. Although these clauses are headed by what is morphologically the declarative complementiser *que*, we have excluded this construction from our discussion on the basis that it involves an interrogative clause, targeting a CP-medial position, whereas our focus has been on what we have loosely termed declarative structures at the UP/CP border and upwards. However, given that i) our research has shown that illocutionary QUE can introduce a range of clause types, not just declaratives, and that ii) (we have assumed that) the interrogative complementiser lexicalises an intermediary position (viz. Pol-IntP) between high complementisers and the left-peripheral position targeted by verb movement, the Eastern Ibero-Romance interrogative ‘merge’ construction might constitute a confounding variable in our analysis.

² Only Brazilian Portuguese is observed to target a lower position (Schifano 2015).

6.5 Ibero-Romance and the syntax of the utterance

In purely empirical terms, the attestation of matrix interrogative complementisers in these varieties establishes a clear point of difference in producing a typology of illocutionary complementisers within Ibero-Romance. Thus the Eastern branch is characterised by low verb height and the largest number of ‘merge’ options in matrix sentence-typing; Central Ibero-Romance has similarly low-merging verbs, yet balances matrix ‘merge’ strategies (i.e. illocutionary complementisers) in declarative structures with ‘move’ options such as subject-verb inversion in interrogatives (and exclamatives); and West Ibero-Romance shows the fewest ‘merge’ strategies in terms of matrix declarative complementisers —though has other ‘merge’ options such as the interrogative pseudo-cleft *é que*—, instead relying on verb-based mechanisms for illocutionary content in affirmative/declarative sentences. Galician, however, as noted in Chapter 4, makes use of both Portuguese and Spanish-type strategies, suggesting that its position as a historically low-prestige western Ibero-Romance variety in diglossia with a high-prestige national language, viz. Castilian Spanish, has provided the linguistic conditions favourable for syntactic transfer. So too does the mapping of microvariation along national boundaries, which is particularly apparent in the case of quotative QUE, point to the role of language contact in determining the availability of illocutionary complementisers across Ibero-Romance varieties.

This dissertation has not discussed the ramifications of external influences on utterance syntax, but our empirical survey suggests that the official varieties impose their systems on non-standard, or lesser-spoken, ones. Thus balanced Spanish-Catalan bilinguals report that they accept Catalan utterances with multiple co-occurring discourse particles (i.e. a trait of Peninsular Spanish) more readily than L1 Catalan speakers. Other bilinguals with Spanish and a second Ibero-Romance language also report that they suspect imposition from Spanish on their intuitions regarding illocutionary QUE in their other Ibero-Romance language. Future research on this area would benefit from more detailed sociolinguistic profiling than our empirical survey produced. Our survey relied on self-reports from speakers as to their native language(s), proficiency, and present-day use of these varieties, which did not reveal noteworthy differences between a speaker’s language profile and their judgments on utterance syntax in their respective language(s). However, none of our consultants were monolinguals in non-standard varieties. We suspect that some of our findings regarding non-standard varieties —whose syntax was found, for the most part, to mirror that of the official language of the corresponding region— are a result of standard language imposition on the non-standard variety. We therefore expect that further investigation would reveal differences between non-standard monolinguals and the balanced bilinguals who acted as our consultants

6.6 In short

for the present research, producing a more nuanced picture of microvariation in utterance syntax. If this is found to be the case, then another question that merits future exploration is why utterance syntax should be susceptible to language contact more than other areas of the grammar. Our take on this would be that, since utterance syntax pertains to informal, spoken contexts, speakers do not have a high level of consciousness regarding its rules, resulting in a baseline instability that makes its grammar amenable both to internal as well as external change, in contrast to ‘core’ syntax, which speakers are more consciously aware of, a fact compounded by the latter’s documentation in prescriptive grammars.

6.6 In short

Illocutionary complementisers and utterance syntax have flown below the radar of syntactic investigation for a number of years, yet their role in equipping speakers to carry out language’s most common function —i.e. conversation— is fundamental to successful communication, and, by extension, the operation of the language system’s maximal unit, viz. syntax. Ibero-Romance matrix illocutionary complementisers provide the ideal empirical focus for teasing out underlying formal patterns in this area of sentential syntax, given their uncontroversial grammatical status and prominence as the key exponent of the clausal left-edge. Microvariation in the behaviour of illocutionary QUE and its attestation across Ibero-Romance have provided strong evidence to support the proposal for a division and extension of the left-periphery into dedicated domains for distinct discourse content, viz. the UP and CP, in these languages. Detailed investigation of the cross-linguistic implications is now required in light of our findings.

References

Primary texts

- Bardón, C.A. [CDL]. 1955 [1907]. *Cuentos en dialecto leonés*. Cornejo, Astorga.
- Cano, J.L. [HSR]. 2015. *El hombre que surgió del rímel*. La esfera de los libros.
- Lozano, G. 2014. *Óc*. Editorial Larkos.
- Robles, M. [UMOC]. 2010. *Una mujer y otras cuatro*. Xlibris Corporation.
- Rodríguez Medina, P. 2008. [EYTLX]. *Ello ye too la xente que nun mos comprende*. Academia de la Llingua Asturiana. Uviéu.
- Sans, R.M. [MEV]. 1992 [1984]. *Montserrat, 1936-1939: episodis viscuts*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Torga, M. [NCM]. 2005 [1944]. *Novos Contos da Montanha*. Publicações Dom Quixote.

Corpora

- AGO: Fernández Rei, F. (ed.). 2010-. *Arquivo do Galego Oral. Santiago de Compostela: Instituto da Lingua Galega*. <<http://ilg.usc.es/ago/>>
- AIEC: Prieto, P. & Cabré, T. (eds.). 2010. *Atles interactiu de l'entonació del català*. <<http://prosodia.upf.edu/atlesentonacio/>>
- ASLA: *Atlas Sonoro de la Llingua Asturiana*. Muséu del Pueblu d'Asturies – Red de Museos Etnográficos de Asturias (RedMEDA). <http://redmeda.com/web/?page_id=4657>
- CdE: Davies, M. 2002-. *Corpus del Español: 100 million words, 1200s-1900s*. <<http://www.corpusdelespanol.org>>
- CdePg: Davies, M. & Ferreira, M. 2006-. *Corpus do Português: 45 million words, 1300s-1900s*. <<http://www.corpusdoportugues.org>>
- CICA: Torruella, J. (ed.), with M. Pérez Saldanya & J. Martínez. 2009. *Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic* (CICA). <<http://lexicon.uab.cat/cica>>
- COR: Alturo, N., Bladas, Ò., Payà, M. & Payrató, L. (eds.). 2004. *Corpus oral de registres. Materials de treball*. Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona. <<http://www.ub.edu/cccub/corpusoralderegistres-cor.html>>
- CORDE: Real Academia Española. Online. *Corpus diacrónico del español*. <<http://corpus.rae.es/cordenet.html>>
- CORDIAL-SIN: Martins, A.M. (ed.) [2000-] 2010. *CORDIAL-SIN: Corpus Dialectal para o Estudo da Sintaxe*. Lisboa, Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa.

<<http://www.clul.ul.pt/en/resources/411-cordial-corpus>>

CORLEC: Marín, M.F. (ed.). 1992. *Corpus Oral de Referencia de la Lengua Española Contemporánea CORLEC*. Laboratorio de Lingüística Informática, Departamento de Lingüística, Lenguas Modernas, Lógica y Filosofía de la Ciencia, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid <<http://www.lllf.uam.es/ESP/Corlec.html>>

CREA: Real Academia Española. Online. *Corpus de referencia del español actual*. <<http://corpus.rae.es/creanet.html>>

GMPG: Ferreiro, M. (ed.) 2014-. *Glosario da poesía medieval profana galego-portuguesa*. Universidade da Coruña. <<http://glossa.gal>>

Works cited

- Abalada, S., Cabarrão, V. & Cardoso, A. 2011. O vocativo em português europeo: estudo de parâmetros prosódicos em vocativos com diferentes distribuições. In A. Costa, C. Flores, & N. Alexandre (eds.), *Textos Selecionados do XXVI Encontro da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística*, 1-16. Lisboa, Associação Portuguesa de Linguística.
- Abbate, L. 2010. L’“allocuzione inversa” nell’italiano meridionale: una chiave interpretativa in base ai modelli pragmatici e cibernetici della comunicazione linguistica. In M. Pettorino, A. Giannini, F.M. & Dovetto (eds.), *La comunicazione parlata 3, Atti del congresso internazionale (Napoli 23-25 febbraio 2009)* vol I, 145-160. Università degli Studi di Napoli L’Orientale.
- Abels, K. 2007. Deriving selectional properties of ‘exclamative’ predicates. In A. Späth (ed.), *Interfaces and interface conditions*, 115-140. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter.
- Abels, K. 2010. Factivity in exclamatives is a presupposition. *Studia Linguistica* 64(1), 141-157.
- Aelbrecht, L., Haegeman, L. & Nye, R. (eds.). 2012. *Main clause phenomena: New horizons*. John Benjamins.
- Aikhenvald, A.I. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford University Press.
- Akkuş, F. 2016. Discourse participants in the nominal domain. Paper presented at *GLOW39, Workshop on Phonological and Syntactic Reconstruction of Speech Acts*, 8 April.
- Alarcos Llorach, E. 1994. *Gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- Alcázar, A. & Saltarelli, M. 2014. *The syntax of imperatives*. University of Southern California.
- Alkmim, M.G.R. 2001. Negativas sentenciais no dialeto mineiro: uma abordagem variacionista. PhD thesis, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte.

- Ambar, M. 1999. Aspects of the syntax of focus in Portuguese. In G. Rebuschi & L. Tuller (eds.), *The grammar of focus*, 23-53. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Anderson, L.B. 1986. Evidentials, paths of change, and mental maps: Typologically regular asymmetries. In W. Chafe & J. Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology*, 273-312. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Andueza, P.L. 2011. Rhetorical Exclamatives in Spanish. PhD thesis, The Ohio State University.
- Antomo, M. 2012. Interpreting embedded verb second. Causal modifiers in German. In C. Constantinescu, B. Le Bruyn & K. Linke (eds.), *Proceedings of ConSOLE XVII*, 27-51. Universiteit Leiden.
- Antomo, M. & Steinbach, M. 2010. Desintegration und Interpretation: Weil-V2-Sätze an der Schnittstelle zwischen Syntax, Semantik und Pragmatik. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 29(1), 1-37.
- Ashdowne, R. 2002. The vocative's calling? The syntax of address in Latin. *Oxford University Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology & Phonetics* 7, 143-62.
- Ashdowne, R. 2016. Address systems. In A. Ledgeway & M. Maiden (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*, 897-906. Oxford University Press.
- Austin, J.L. 1962. *How to Do Things with Words*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Bach, K. & R. Harnish. 1979. *Linguistic communication and speech acts*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Baker, M.C. 2008. *The syntax of agreement and concord*. Cambridge University Press.
- Banfield, A. 1982. *Unspeakable Sentences: Narration and Representation in the Language of Fiction*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, Boston.
- Bañón, A.M. 1993. *El vocativo: propuestas para su análisis lingüístico*. Barcelona: Octaedro.
- Barbosa, P. 2000. Clitics: A window into the null subject property. In J. Costa (ed.). *Portuguese syntax: New comparative studies*, 31–93. Oxford University Press.
- Barros, T. de. 1961. *Gramática Portuguesa*. Porto: Editora Educação Nacional.
- Bartels, C. 1999. *The intonation of English statements and questions*. New York, London: Garland Publishing.
- Bartol Hernández, J.A. 1988. *Las oraciones causales en la Edad Media*. Madrid, Paraninfo.
- Basse, G. 2008. Factive complements as defective phases. In N. Abner & J. Bishop (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, 54-62. Cascadilla Proceedings Project, Somerville, MA, USA.
- Batllori, M. & Suñer, A. 2005. Valors adverbials associats a la conjunció *que*: un estudi històric.

Caplletra: revista internacional de filología 38, 279-301.

- Battlori, M., Sánchez, C. & Suñer, A. 2000. La evolución del sistema de nexos adverbiales: un proceso cíclico entre pragmática y sintaxis (el caso de ‘que’). In *Lengua, discurso, texto: I simposio internacional de análisis del discurso*, 227-239. Madrid, Visor Libros.
- Baunaz, L. 2015. On the various sizes of complementizers. *Probus* 27(2), 193-236.
- Bavelas, J.B., De Jong, P., Korman, H. & Jordan, S.S. 2012. Beyond back-channels: A three-step model of grounding in face-to-face dialogue. In *Proceedings of Interdisciplinary Workshop on Feedback Behaviors in Dialog*, 5-6.
- Bayer, J. 1984. COMP in Bavarian syntax. *The linguistic review* 3(3), 209-274.
- Bayer, J. & Obenauer, H. 2011. Discourse particles, clause structure, and question types. *The Linguistic Review* 28(4): 449-491.
- Bayer, J., Hinterhölzl, R. & Trotzke, A. 2015. Issues in discourse-oriented syntax. In J. Bayer, R. Hinterhölzl & A. Trotzke (eds.), *Discourse-oriented Syntax*, 1-12. John Benjamins.
- Beinhauer, W. 1928. *El español coloquial*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Belletti, A. (ed.). 2004. *Structures and beyond: The cartography of syntactic structures*. Oxford University Press.
- Bello, A. 1949 [1847]. *Gramática de la lengua castellana*. Buenos Aires: Losada.
- Benincà, P. 1988. L’ordine degli elementi della frase: Costruzioni con ordine marcato degli elementi. In L. Renzi (ed.), *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione. Volume 1: La frase. I sintagmi nominale e preposizionale*, 129–94. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Benincà, P. 2001. The position of Topic and Focus in the left periphery. In G. Cinque & G. Salvi (eds.), *Current Studies in Italian Syntax. Essays Offered to Lorenzo Renzi*, 39–64. Amsterdam: Elsevier-North Holland.
- Benincà, P. & Munaro, N. 2010. *Mapping the left periphery: The cartography of syntactic structures, Volume 5*. New York: Oxford University.
- Benincà, P. & Poletto, C. 2004. Topic, focus, and V2. In L. Rizzi (ed.), *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Volume 2*, 52-75. Oxford University Press.
- Beyssade, C. & Marandin, J-M. 2006a. The Speech Act Assignment Problem Re-visited: Disentangling Speaker’s Commitment from Speaker’s Call on Addressee. In O. Bonami & P. Cabredo-Hofherr (eds.), *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 6, 37–68.
- Beyssade, C. & Marandin, J-M. 2006b. From complex to simple speech acts: a bidimensional analysis of illocutionary forces. In D. Schlangen & R. Fernández (eds.), *Proceedings of*

the 10th Workshop on the Semantics and Pragmatics of Dialogue, 42-49.
Universitätsverlag Potsdam.

- Bhatt, R. & Yoon, J. 1992. On the Composition of COMP and Parameters of V2. In D. Bates (ed.), *Proceedings of the 10th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, Stanford, Stanford Linguistic Association, 41-52.
- Bianchi, V. 2006. On the syntax of personal arguments. *Lingua* 116(12), 2023-2067.
- Bianchi, V. & Frascarelli, M. 2010. Is topic a root phenomenon? *Iberia: An International Journal of Theoretical Linguistics* 2(1), 43-88.
- Biberauer, T. forthcoming. Particles and the final-over-final constraint. In T. Biberauer, A. Holmberg, I. Roberts & M. Sheehan (eds.), *The final-over-final constraint*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Biberauer, T., Haegeman, L. & Kemenade, A. 2014. Putting our heads together: towards a syntax of particles. *Studia Linguistica* 68(1), 1-15.
- Biezma, M. 2008. An Expressive Analysis of Exclamatives in Spanish. Ms.
- Blackwell, S. 2016. *Porque* in Spanish Oral Narratives: Semantic *Porque*, (Meta)Pragmatic *Porque* or Both? In A. Capone & J.L. Mey (eds.), *Interdisciplinary Studies in Pragmatics, Culture and Society*, 615-651. Springer International Publishing. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-12616-6_25.
- Bocci, G. 2013. *The Syntax Prosody Interface: A cartographic perspective with evidence from Italian*. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Boeder, W. 1989. Über einige Anredeformen im Kaukasus. *Georgica. Zeitschrift für Kultur, Sprache und Geschichte Georgiens und Kaukasiens* 11, 11–20.
- Bolinger, D. 1972. *Degree Words*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Borràs-Comes, J. Sichel-Bazin, R. & Prieto, P. 2015. Vocative intonation preferences are sensitive to politeness factors. *Language and Speech* 58(1), 68–83. DOI: 10.1177/0023830914565441.
- Bosch i Rodoreda, A. 2002. *El català de l'Alguer*. Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Bosque, I. 1984. Sobre la sintaxis de las oraciones exclamativas. *Hispanic Linguistics*, 1(2), 283-304.
- Bresnan, J.W. 1970. On complementizers: toward a syntactic theory of complement types. *Foundations of language*, 297-321.

- Briggs, R. & Jago, M. 2012. Propositions and same-saying: introduction. *Synthese* 189(1), 1-10.
- Briz, A. 2001. *El español coloquial en la conversación: Esbozo de pragmagramática*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Brucart, J.M. 1993. Sobre la estructura de SCOMP en español. In A. Viana (ed.), *Sintaxi. Teoria i perspectives*, 59-102. Lleida: Pagès.
- Bruil, M. 2014. Clause-typing and evidentiality in Ecuadorian Siona. Thesis. LOT, Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics: Utrecht.
- Cabré, T. & Vanrell, M.D.M. 2008. Accent i entonació en els vocatius de l'alguerès. *Communication au XXXV Col·loqui de la Societat d'Onomàstica. Sala del Consell Comunal, l'Alguer (Italie, 10-11 Mai 2008)*.
- Cabredo-Hofherr, P. 2009. Vocatives with definite articles in Romance and Germanic. Paper presented at Surrey Linguistic Circle.
- Campos, H. 1992. Enunciative elements in Gascon. *Linguistics* 30(5), 911–940.
DOI: 10.1515/ling.1992.30.5.911
- Carbonero Cano, P. 1990. Configuración sintáctica de los enunciados exclamativos. *Philologia Hispalensis* 5, 111–137.
- Cardinaletti, A. 2011. German and Italian modal particles and clause structure. *The Linguistic Review* 28(4), 493-531.
- Cardinaletti, A. 2015. Italian verb-based discourse particles in a comparative perspective. In J. Bayer, R. Hinterhölzl & A. Trotzke (eds.) *Discourse-oriented Syntax*, 71-91. John Benjamins.
- Cardinaletti, A. & Starke, M. 1999. The typology of structural deficiency: A case study of the three classes of pronouns. *Clitics in the languages of Europe*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, 145-233.
- Carrera de la Red, M.F. 1982. *Las expresiones causativas en la obras de Gonzalo de Berceo*. Instituto de Estudios Riojanos.
- Carvalho, A.S.A. 2013. An overview of vocatives in European Portuguese. *Linguistica Atlantica* 32, 52-58.
- Castroviejo Miró, E. 2006. Wh-exclamatives in Catalan. PhD thesis, University of Barcelona.
- Castroviejo Miró, E. 2008. Deconstructing exclamations. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 7, 41-90.
- Chafe, W. 1984. How people use adverbial clauses. In C. Brugmann & M. Macaulay (eds.), *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 437-449. Berkeley, CA: BLS,

University of California.

- Chafe, W. 1987. Cognitive constraints on information flow. *Coherence and grounding in discourse*, 11, 21-51.
- Chevalier, J.C. & M. Molho. 1986. De l'implication: esp. *pues*, fr. *puis*. *Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature* 24(1), 23-34.
- Chierchia, G. & S. McConnell-Ginet. 1990. *Meaning and Grammar: An Introduction to Semantics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. 1981. Knowledge of language: Its elements and origins. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London B: Biological Sciences* 295(1077), 223-234.
- Chomsky, N. 1986. *Barriers*. MIT press.
- Chomsky, N. 1995. *The minimalist program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT press.
- Chomsky, N. 2008. On phases. *Current Studies in Linguistics Series*, 45, 133.
- Cinque, G. (ed.), 2002. *Functional structure in DP and IP: The cartography of syntactic structures*. Oxford University Press.
- Cinque, G. 1999. *Adverbs and functional projections: A cross-linguistic perspective*. Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Clark, H.H. & Brennan, S.E. 1991. Grounding in communication. *Perspectives on socially shared cognition* 13, 127-149.
- Clark, H.H. & Schaefer, E.F. 1989. Contributing to discourse. *Cognitive science* 13(2), 259-294.
- Cognola, F. 2013. The mixed OV/VO syntax of Mòcheno main clauses: On the interaction between high and low left periphery. In T. Biberauer & M. Sheehan (eds.), *Theoretical Approaches to Disharmonic Word Orders*, 106-135. Oxford University Press.
- Colaço, M. & Matos, G. 2014. Explicative clauses in Portuguese: a specifying coordination approach. Paper presented at *Going Romance* 28, Universidade de Lisboa and Universidade Nova de Lisboa, December 2014.
- Colaço, M. & Matos, G. 2015. Specifying coordination and causal explicative clauses in Portuguese. Paper presented at *Linguistic symposium on Romance languages* 45, Campinas, São Paulo.
- Colasanti, V. & Silvestri, G. 2016. Force, Mood and Modality: (matrix) complementisers in Upper-Southern Italian Dialects. Paper presented at *CIDSM 2016* Vienna, July 2016.
- Coniglio, M. 2009. Die Syntax der deutschen Modalpartikeln: ihre Distribution und Lizenerung in Haupt- und Nebensätzen. PhD thesis, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia.

- Coniglio, M. & Zegrean, I. 2010. Splitting up Force, evidence from discourse particles. In L. Brugè (ed.), *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics* 20, 7-34. Venezia, Dipartimento di Scienze del Linguaggio. Università Ca' Foscari.
- Coniglio, M. & Zegrean, I. 2012. Splitting up force. In L. Haegeman, L. Aelbrecht & R. Nye (eds.), *Main Clause Phenomena: New Horizons*, 190-229. John Benjamins.
- Coromines, J. 1976. El parlar de Cardós i Vall Ferrera. In *Entre dos llenguatges*, 29-67. Barcelona: Curial.
- Coromines, J. 1990. *El parlar de la Vall d'Aran. Gramàtica, diccionari i estudis lexicals sobre el gascó*. Barcelona: Curial, 1990.
- Corr, A. 2016a. The diachrony of Ibero-Romance (matrix) complementizers: a case study of *QUIA*, *CA* and *QUE*. Paper presented *44th meeting of the Romance Linguistics Seminar (RLS44)*, Trinity Hall, University of Cambridge, 4-5 January.
- Corr, A. 2016b. Wide-focus subject-verb inversion in Ibero-Romance: a locative account. *Glossa: a Journal of General Linguistics* 1(1): 11. 1–33. DOI: 10.5334/gjgl.85.
- Corr, A. 2016c. On Old Portuguese *ca* (< QUIA) and (Ibero-)Romance micro-variation. Paper presented at *16th International Conference of the Department of Linguistics: Workshop on Formal Approaches to Romance Microvariation (FARM)*, University of Bucharest, Romania, 25-26 November.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. & Kortmann, B. (eds.). 2000. *Cause-condition-concession-contrast: Cognitive and discourse perspectives*. Walter de Gruyter.
- Croitor, B. & Hill, V. 2013. Vocatives. In C. Dobrovie-Sorin & I. Giurgea (eds.), *A Reference Grammar of Romanian: volume 1: the noun phrase*, 801-826. John Benjamins.
- Cruschina, S. 2012. *Discourse-related features and functional projections*. Oxford University Press.
- Cruschina, S. 2015. The expression of evidentiality and epistemicity: Cases of grammaticalization in Italian and Sicilian. *Probus* 27(1), 1-31.
- Cruschina, S. 2016. Information and discourse structure. In A. Ledgeway & M. Maiden (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*, 596-608. Oxford University Press.
- Cruschina, S. & Ledgeway, A. 2016. The structure of the clause. In A. Ledgeway & M. Maiden (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*, 556-574. Oxford University Press.
- Cruschina, S. & Remberger, E-M. 2008. Hearsay and reported speech. Evidentiality in Romance. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 33, 95-116.
- Cruschina, S. & Remberger, E-M. 2016. Speaker-oriented syntax and root clause

- complementizers. Ms., University of Vienna.
- Cruse, D. A. 1986. *Lexical Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cruz-Ferreira, M. 1998. Intonation in European Portuguese. In D. Hirst & A. Di Cristo (eds.), *Intonation Systems. A Survey of Twenty Languages*, 167-178. Cambridge University Press.
- Cuenca, M.J. & Marín, M.J. 2000. Verbos de percepción gramaticalizados como conectores: análisis contrastivo español-catalán. *Revista española de lingüística aplicada* 1, 215-238.
- Cuenca, M.J. 2011. Catalan interjections. In L. Payrató, L. & J.M. Cots (eds.). *The pragmatics of Catalan*, 173-211. Walter de Gruyter.
- Cunha, C. & Cintra, L. 2005 [1984]. *Nova gramática do português contemporâneo*. Lisboa: Edições João Sá da Costa.
- D'Alessandro, R. & di Felice, C. 2015. The Diachrony of Abruzzese Complementation. *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 60 (2-3 Special issue on syntactic variation), 129-145.
- D'Alessandro, R. & Ledgeway, A. 2010. At the CT boundary: Investigating Abruzzese complementation. *Lingua* 120(8), 2040-2060.
- Daniel, M. & A. Spencer. 2009. The Vocative – An Outlier Case. In A. Malchukov & A. Spencer (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Case*, 626-634. Oxford University Press.
- Daniels, K. 2014. On the grammaticalization of venga ‘come’ as a discourse marker in Peninsular Spanish. In M. Devos & J. van der Wal (eds.), ‘COME’ and ‘GO’ off the Beaten Grammaticalization Path, 219-248. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter. DOI: 10.1515/9783110335989.219.
- Davidson, D. 1968. On saying that. *Synthese*, 19(1), 130-146.
- Davis C. & Hara, Y. 2014. Evidentiality as a Causal Relation: A Case Study from Japanese youda. *Pinón* [2014], 179-196.
- De Cat, C. 2012. Towards an interface definition of root phenomena. In L. Haegeman, L. Aelbrecht & R. Nye (eds.), *Main Clause Phenomena: New horizons*, 135-158. John Benjamins.
- De Cuba, C. and MacDonald, J. 2013. Referentiality in Spanish CPs. In XXXX (eds.) *Information Structure and Agreement*, 117-140.
- de Oliveira e Silva, G.M. & de Macedo, Alzira Tavares. 1992. Discourse markers in the spoken Portuguese of Rio de Janeiro. *Language Variation and Change* 4, 235-249.
- de Prada Pérez, A. 2009. What is the structure of the left periphery in Spanish and Catalan? Ms., Penn State University.

- Déchaine, R., Cook, C., Muehlbauer, J. & Waldie, R. 2015. (De)-constructing Evidentiality. Available at lingbuzz/002089.
- Del Gobbo, F. & Poletto, C. 2008. A typology of sentential particles. Paper presented at *Giornata di Dialettologia*, Università di Padua.
- Del Gobbo, F., Munaro, N. & Poletto, C. 2015. On sentential particles: A crosslinguistic study. In S. Hancil, A. Haselow, & M. Post (eds.), *Final particles*, 359-386. John Benjamins.
- Delsing, L-O. 2010. Exclamatives in Scandinavian. *Studia Linguistica* 64(1): 16-36.
- Demonte, V. & Fernández-Soriano, O. 2007. La periferia izquierda oracional y los complementantes del español. In J. Cuartero & M. Emsel (eds.) *Vernetzungen: Kognition, Bedeutung, (kontrastive) Pragmatik*, 133-147. Francfort del Meno, Lang.
- Demonte, V. & Fernández-Soriano, O. 2009. Force and finiteness in the Spanish complementizer system. *Probus* 21(1), 23-49.
- Demonte, V. & Fernández Soriano, O. 2013. Evidentials *dizque* and *que* in Spanish. Grammaticalization, parameters and the (fine) structure of Comp, *Revista de Estudos Linguísticos da Univerdade do Porto*, 211-234.
- Demonte, V. & Fernández Soriano, O. 2014. Evidentiality and illocutionary force: Spanish matrix *que* at the syntax-pragmatics interface. In A. Dufter & Á.S. Octavio de Toledo y Huerta (eds.), *Left sentence peripheries in Spanish: Diachronic, variationist, and typological perspectives*, 217-252. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Dias, A.E. da S. 1970 [1917]. *Syntaxe Historica Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora.
- Domínguez, C.L. & Álvarez, A. 2005. Marcadores en interacción: un estudio de marcadores en el español hablado en Mérida (Venezuela). *Revista Virtual de Estudos da Linguagem (ReVEL)* 3(4), 1-15.
- Duffield, N. 2007. Aspects of Vietnamese clausal structure: separating tense from assertion. *Linguistics* 45(4), 765–814.
- Duffield, N. 2013. On polarity emphasis, assertion and mood in Vietnamese and English. *Lingua* 137, 248-270.
- Elliott, D.E. 1971. The grammar of emotive and exclamatory sentences in English. PhD thesis, Ohio State University.
- Elliott, D.E. 1974. Towards a grammar of exclamations. *Foundations of language* 11(2), 231-246.

- Emonds, J.E. 1970. Root and structure-preserving transformations PhD thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Emonds, J.E. 1976. *A transformational approach to English syntax: Root, structure-preserving, and local transformations*. Academic Press Inc.
- Erman, B. & Kotsinas, U-B. 1993. Pragmaticalization: The Case of *ba'* and *you know*. *Studier i modern språkvetenskap* 10, 76-93.
- Escandell Vidal, V. 1999. Los enunciados interrogativos: aspectos semánticos y pragmáticos. In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, 3929-3991. Madrid: Real Academia Española/Espasa Calpe.
- Espinal, M. T. 1995. Non-negative negation and wh-exclamatives. In D. Forget, P. Hirschbühler, F. Martineau, & M-L. Rivero (eds.), *Negation and Polarity*, 75–93. John Benjamins.
- Espinal, M.T. 2013. On the structure of vocatives. In B. Sonnenhauser, P. Noel Aziz Hanna *Vocative!: Addressing between System and Performance*, 109-132. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Etxepare, R. 2007. Aspects of quotative constructions in Iberian Spanish. *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca Julio de Urquijo*, 41(2), 25–58.
- Etxepare, R. 2008. On quotative constructions in Iberian Spanish. In R. Laury (ed.), *Crosslinguistic Studies of Clause Combining: The multifunctionality of conjunctions*, 35-77. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Etxepare, R. 2010. From hearsay evidentiality to samesaying relations. *Lingua* 120(3), 604-627.
- Etxepare, R. 2012. Subordination and coordination. In J.I. Hualde, A. Olarrea & E. O'Rourke (eds.), *Handbook of Hispanic Linguistics*, 503-533. Blackwell.
- Etxepare, R. 2013. Quotative expansions. In S. Baauw, F. Drijkoningen, L. Meroni, M. Pinto (eds.), *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory*, 93-123. John Benjamins.
- Evans, N. 2007. Insubordination and its uses. In I. Nikolaeva (ed.), *Finiteness: Theoretical and empirical foundations*, 366-431. Oxford University Press.
- Evans, N. 2009. Insubordination and the grammaticalisation of interactive presuppositions. Paper presented at *Methodologies in Determining Morphosyntactic Change Conference*, Museum of Ethnography, Osaka, March.
- Face, T. & d'Imperio, M. 2005. Reconsidering a focal typology: evidence from Spanish and Italian. *Italian Journal of Linguistics* 17: 271-289.
- Fagard, B. 2010. É vida, olha...: Imperatives as discourse markers and grammaticalization paths in Romance: A diachronic corpus study. *Languages in Contrast* 10(2), 245-267.

- Faller, M.T. 2002. Semantics and pragmatics of evidentials in Cuzco Quechua. PhD thesis, Stanford University.
- Faller, M.T. 2006. Evidentiality below and above speech acts. Ms., University of Manchester.
- Faller, M.T. 2011. A possible worlds semantics for Cuzco Quechua evidentials. *Semantics and Linguistic Theory* 20, 660-683.
- Farkas, D.F. & Bruce, K.B. 2009. On reacting to assertions and polar questions. *Journal of semantics* 27(1), 81-118. DOI: 10.1093/jos/ffp010.
- Fernández Rubiera, F.J. 2009. Clitics at the edge: Clitic placement in Western Iberian Romance languages. PhD thesis, Georgetown University.
- Fernández Rubiera, F.J. 2010. Force^o, Finiteness^o and the placement of clitics in Western Iberian Romance languages. *Estudos de lingüística galega* 2, 75-95.
- Fernández Rubiera, F.J. 2013. Root and embedded contexts in Western Iberian. In C. Meklenborg Salvesen & H.P. Helland (eds.), *Challenging Clitics*. 55-86. John Benjamins.
- Ferreira, A. 2001. Modos de tratamiento ne 1 mirandés de Sendin. *El Filandar/O Fiadeiro* 13, 8-13.
- Fontana, J. 1993. Phrase structure and the syntax of clitics in the history of Spanish. PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania.
- Fouché, P. 1924. *Phonétique Historique du Roussillonnais*. Ginebra, Slatkine, 1980.
- Frascarelli, M. & Jiménez-Fernández, Á.L. 2016. Imperatives and their left periphery. Paper presented at *GLOW39*, Göttingen.
- Frascarelli, M. & R. Hinterhölzl. 2007. Types of topics in German and Italian. In S. Winkler & K. Schwabe (eds.), *On information structure, meaning and form*, 87-116. John Benjamins.
- Frawley, W. 1992. Linguistic Semantics. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Frota, S. & Prieto, P. (eds.). 2015. *Intonation in Romance*. Oxford University Press.
- Frota, S. 2002. Nuclear falls and rises in European Portuguese: A phonological analysis of declarative and question intonation. *Probus* 14, 113–146. DOI: 10.1515/prbs.2002.001
- Frota, S. 2014 [2000]. *Prosody and focus in European Portuguese: Phonological phrasing and intonation*. Routledge.
- Furness, R. 2002. External interference and internal development in Aranese Occitan, *Proceedings from the Second International Symposium on Bilingualism*, Vigo, Spain, 2002.

- Garrett, J. 2013. Which *que* is which?: A squib on reduplicative *que* complementizers in Iberian Spanish embedded clauses. *Indiana University Working Papers in Linguistics* 13, 1-9.
- Garzonio, J. & Sorrisi, F. 2013. On complementizers in main clauses. The case of Palermitan ca. *Quaderni di lavoro ASIt* 16, 45-56.
- Gazdar, G. 1981. Speech act assignment. In A. Joshi, B. Webber, & I.A. Sag (eds.), *Elements of Discourse Understanding*, 64–83. Cambridge University Press.
- Gérard, J. 1980. *L'exclamation en français: la syntaxe des phrases et des expressions exclamatives*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Ginzburg, J. & Sag, I. 2001. *Interrogative Investigations: The form, meaning and use of English interrogatives*. Stanford: Centre for the Study of Language and Information.
- Ginzburg, J. 2012. *The Interactive Stance: Meaning for Conversation*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Ginzburg, J. 2016. The Semantics of dialogue. In M. Aloni & P. Dekker (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Formal Semantics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Giorgi, A. 2010. *About the speaker: Towards a syntax of indexicality*. Oxford University Press.
- Giorgi, A. 2014. Prosodic signals as syntactic formatives in the left periphery. In A. Cardinaletti, G. Cinque & Y. Endo (eds.), *On peripheries: Exploring clause initial and clause final positions*, 161-188. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo Publishing.
- Giorgi, A. 2015. Discourse and the syntax of the left periphery: clitic left dislocation and hanging topic. In J. Bayer, R. Hinterhölzl & A. Trotzke (eds.), *Discourse-oriented Syntax*, 229-250.
- Giorgi, A. & Pianesi, F. 1997. *Tense and aspect: From semantics to morphosyntax*. Oxford University Press.
- Goethals, P. 2010. A multi-layered approach to speech events: The case of Spanish justificational conjunctions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42, 2204–2218.
- González i Planas, F. 2010. Cartografia de la recomplementació en les llengües romàniques. MA thesis, University of Girona.
- González i Planas, F. 2014. On quotative recomplementation: Between pragmatics and morphosyntax. *Lingua*, 146, 39-74.
- Gracia Trell, A. A luenga d'o Pregón d'as Fiestas de Nabal de 2008, *Luenga & fablas*, 14, 105-118.
- Gras, P. & Sansiñena, M.S. 2015. An interactional account of discourse-connective *que*-constructions in Spanish. *Text & Talk* 35(4), 505-529.

- Gras, P. 2011. *Gramática de Construcciones en Interacción. Propuesta de un modelo y aplicación al análisis de estructuras independientes con marcas de subordinación en español*. Universitat de Barcelona.
- Green, G. 1976. Main clause phenomena in subordinate clauses. *Language* 52, 382–397.
- Grimshaw, J. 1979. Complement selection and the lexicon. *Linguistic Inquiry* 10(2), 279-326.
- Groenendijk, J.A. & Stokhof, M.J.B. 1984. *On the semantics of questions and the pragmatics of answers*. Amsterdam: Foris.
- Guirado, K. 2006. Deíxis proposicional en el habla de Caracas: Un análisis cuantitativo del (de)queísmo. *Boletín de Lingüística* 26, 130-156.
- Gupton, T. 2014. *The syntax-information structure interface: clausal word order and the left periphery in Galician*. Walter de Gruyter.
- Gussenhoven, C. 1984. *On the grammar and semantics of sentence accents*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Gutiérrez-Rexach, J. 1996. The Semantics of Exclamatives. In E. Garrett & F. Lee (eds.), *Syntax at Sunset, UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics*, 146-162. Los Angeles: UCLA.
- Gutiérrez-Rexach, J. 2008. Spanish root exclamatives at the syntax/semantics interface. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 7, 117-133.
- Gutiérrez-Rexach, J. & P. Andueza 2011. Degree restriction in Spanish exclamatives. In Ortiz-López, L.A. (ed.), *Selected Proceedings of the 13th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*. Sommerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 286-295.
- Haddican, B. & Zweig, E. The syntax of manner quotative constructions in English and Dutch. *Linguistic Variation* 12(1), 1-26.
- Haegeman, L. & Hill, V. 2013. The syntacticization of discourse. In R. Folli, C. Sevdali & R. Truswell (eds.), *Syntax and its limits*, 370-390. Oxford University Press.
- Haegeman, L. & Miyagawa, S. 2016. The syntax of participants. Paper presented at GLOW39, Göttingen.
- Haegeman, L. 2003. Conditional clauses: External and internal syntax. *Mind & Language* 18(4), 317–339.
- Haegeman, L. 2006. Conditionals, factives and the left periphery. *Lingua* 116(10), 1651-1669.
- Haegeman, L. 2010. The internal syntax of adverbial clauses. *Lingua* 120(3), 628-648.
- Haegeman, L. 2012. *Adverbial clauses, main clause phenomena, and composition of the left periphery: The cartography of syntactic structures*. Oxford University Press.
- Haegeman, L. 2014. West Flemish verb-based discourse markers and the articulation of the speech act layer. *Studia Linguistica* 68(1), 116-139.

- Haegeman, L.M. 1992. *Theory and description in generative syntax: A case study in West Flemish*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hamblin, C.L. 1973. Questions in Montague English. *Foundations of language* 10(1), 41-53.
- Han C-H. 2000. *The Structure and Interpretation of Imperatives*. New York: Garland.
- Han, C. 2002. Interpreting interrogatives as rhetorical questions. *Lingua* 112(3), 201-229.
- Hayes, B. & Lahiri, A. 1991. Durationally specified intonation in English and Bengali. In J. Sundberg, L. Nord & R. Carlson (eds.), *Music, Language, Speech and Brain*, 78-91. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Hegarty, M. 1990. On adjunct extraction from complements. In L.L.S. Cheng & H. Demirdash (eds.), *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 13, 101–124.
- Hernanz, M-L. 2008 [2002]. L’oració. In J. Solà, M-R. Lloret, J. Mascaró & M. Pérez Saldanya (eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, 993-1073. Barcelona: Empúries.
- Hernanz, M.L. & Rigau, G. 2006. Variación dialectal y periferia izquierda. In B. Fernández & I. Laka (eds.), *Andolin gogoan. Essays in honour of Professor Eguzkitza*, 435-452. Gipuzkua: Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea.
- Heycock, C. 2006. Embedded root phenomena. In M. Everaert & H. van Riemsdijk (eds.), *The Blackwell companion to syntax*, 174-209. Blackwell Publishing.
- Higgins, R. 1988. Where the Old English sentence begins. *Ms.*, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Hill, V. 2007. Vocatives and the pragmatics-syntax interface. *Lingua* 117(12), 2077–2105.
- Hill, V. 2010. Main clause că ‘that’ in Romanian. *Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics* 2, 5-17.
- Hill, V. 2012. A main clause complementizer. In L. Haegeman, L. Aelbrecht & R. Nye (eds.), *Main Clause Phenomena: New Horizons*, 279-296. John Benjamins.
- Hill, V. 2013. Features and strategies: the internal syntax of vocative phrases. In B. Sonnenhauser & P. Noel Aziz Hanna (eds.), *Vocative! Addressing between System and Performance*, 133-156. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Hill, V. 2014. *Vocatives: How syntax meets with pragmatics*. Brill.
- Hinterhölzl, R. & N. Munaro. 2015. On the interpretation of modal particles in non- assertive speech acts in German and Bellunese. In J. Bayer, R. Hinterhölzl and A. Trotzke (eds.) *Discourse-oriented syntax*, 41-70. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Holmberg, A. 2016. *The syntax of yes and no*. Oxford University Press.
- Hooper, J. & Thompson, S. 1973. On the applicability of root transformations. *Linguistic*

inquiry 4, 465-497.

- Huddleston, R. 1994. The contrast between interrogatives and questions. *Journal of Linguistics* 30, 411-439. DOI:10.1017/S0022.
- Iatridou, S. & Kroch, A.S. 1992. The licensing of CP-recursion and its relevance to the Germanic verb-second phenomenon. *Working papers in Scandinavian syntax* 50, 1-24.
- Iovino, R. & Rossi, S. Forthcoming. Alcune riflessioni sul “Vocativo Inverso” tra pragmatica e sintassi. In G. Marcato (ed.), *Le mille vite del dialetto*, 219-226. Padova, Cleup.
- Jago, M. 2015. Truthmaking, Content and Same-Saying. Paper presented at Aboutness workshop, Hamburg, 3-4 August.
- Jaszczolt, K.M. 2003. On Translating ‘What Is Said’: Tertium Comparationis in Contrastive Semantics and Pragmatics. *Meaning through language contrast* 2, 441-462.
- Jiménez-Fernández, Á.L. 2011. On the order of multiple topics and discourse-feature inheritance. *Dilbilim Araştırmaları* 1, 5-32.
- Jiménez-Fernández, Á.L. & Miyagawa, S. 2014. A feature-inheritance approach to root phenomena and parametric variation. *Lingua* 145, 276-302.
- Jlassi, M. 2016. Syntactizing discourse particles in Arabic: evidence from a three-tiered speech acts structure in Tunisian Arabic. Paper presented at *GLOW39*, Göttingen.
- Kabatek, J. & Pusch, C.D. 2011. The Romance languages. In B. Kortmann & J. Auwera (eds.), *The Languages and Linguistics of Europe: A Comprehensive Guide*, 69-96. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Kalinina, E. 2011. Exclamative clauses in the languages of the North Caucasus and the problem of finiteness. In G. Authier. & T.A. Maříšek (eds.), *Tense, aspect, modality and finiteness in East-Caucasian languages*, 161-201. Brockmeyer Verlag.
- Kaplan, D. 1999. What is Meaning? Explorations in the Theory of Meaning as Use. Ms., UCLA.
- Karttunen, L. 1973. Presuppositions of compound sentences. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4, 169-93.
- Karttunen, L. 1977. Syntax and semantics of questions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 1, 3-44.
- Kayne, R.S. 2005. *Movement and silence*. Oxford University Press.
- Kempen, G. & Harbusch, K. 2016. Verb-second word order after German *weil*‘because’: Psycholinguistic theory from corpus-linguistic data. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 1(1), 3. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.46>
- Kiparsky, P. & Kiparsky, C. 1971. Fact. In M. Bierwisch & K.E. Heidolph (eds.), *Progress in Linguistics*, 143-173. The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kirsner R. & Hueven V van. 1996. Boundary tones and the semantics of the Dutch particles *hè*,

- hoor, zeg and joh.* In C. Cremers & M. den Dikken (eds.), *Linguistics in the Netherlands 1996*, 133–146. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Krifka, M. 2001. Quantifying into question acts. *Natural language semantics* 9(1), 1-40.
- Krifka, M. 2003. Quantifiers in questions. *Korean journal of English language and linguistics*, 3, 499-526.
- Krifka, M. 2004. Semantics below and above speech acts. Paper presented at Stanford University, April 9.
- Krifka, M. 2014. Embedding illocutionary acts. In T. Roeper & M. Speas (eds.), *Recursion: Complexity in cognition*, 59-87. Springer.
- Kuen, H. 1932. El dialecto de Alguer y su posición en la historia de la lengua catalana. *Anuari de l'Oficina Romànica de Lingüística i Literatura*, V. 121-177.
- Laca, B. 1986. Notes per a un estudi del pleonasme pronominal en català. In *Estudis de llengua i literatura catalanes XIII (Miscel·lània Antoni Badia i Margarit)* 5, 65-88. Publicacions de L'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Ladd, R.D. 1978. Stylized intonation. *Language* 54, 517-540.
- Lahiri, U. 2002. *Questions and answers in embedded contexts*. Oxford University Press.
- Laka, I. 1990. Negation in Syntax: On the Nature of Functional Categories and Projections. PhD dissertation, Cambridge, MA: MIT.
- Lakoff, G. 1970. Irregularity in syntax. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Wilson.
- Lambrecht, K. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form: A theory of topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge University Press.
- Landau, I. *The locative syntax of experiencers*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Lapesa, R. 1978. Sobre dos tipos de subordinación causal. *Estudios ofrecidos a Emilio Alarcos Llorach* 3, 173–205. Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo.
- Larson, R.K. & M. Sawada. 2012. Root transformations and quantificational structure. In L. Haegeman, L. Aelbrecht & R. Nye (eds.), *Main Clause Phenomena: New Horizons*, 47-78.
- Larson, R.K. 1988. On the double object construction. *Linguistic inquiry* 19(3), 335-391.
- Ledgeway, A. 2005. Moving through the left periphery: the dual complementizer system in the dialects of Southern Italy. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 103: 336–96.
- Ledgeway, A. 2006. The dual complementiser system in southern Italy: spirito greco, materia romanza? In A.L. Lepsky & A. Tosi (eds.), *Rethinking Languages in Contact: The case of Italian*, 112–126. Legenda, Oxford.

- Ledgeway, A. 2009. Aspetti della sintassi della periferia sinistra del cosentino. In D. Pescarini (ed.), *Studi sui dialetti della Calabria (Quaderni di lavoro ASIt n. 9)*, 3–24. Unipress, Padua.
- Ledgeway, A. 2012. *From Latin to Romance: Morphosyntactic typology and change*. Oxford University Press.
- Ledgeway, A. 2016. Clausal complementation. In A. Ledgeway & M. Maiden (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*, 1013-1028. Oxford University Press.
- Leonetti, M. 2014. Spanish VSX. In K. Lahousse & S. Marzo (eds.), *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory*, 37-64. John Benjamins.
- Levinson, S.C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, D. 1970. General semantics. *Synthese* 22: 18-67.
- Liberman, M. 1979. The intonational system of English. New York: Garland.
- Lobo, M. 2003. *Aspectos da Sintaxe das Orações Subordinadas Adverbiais do Português*. PhD thesis, University of Lisbon.
- Longobardi, G. 1994. Reference and proper names. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25: 609-65.
- Lopes, A.C.M. 2012. Contributos para uma análise semântico-pragmática das causais de enunciação no português europeu contemporâneo. *ALFA: Revista de Linguística*, 56(2), 451-468.
- López-Cortina, J. 2003. The Structure of Split Interrogatives. In P. Kempchinsky & C-E. Piñeros (eds.), *Theory, Practice, and Acquisition*, 140-155. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Maiden, M. 2007. On the morphology of Italo-Romance imperatives. In D. Bentley & A. Ledgeway (eds.), *Sui dialetti italoromanzi. Saggi in onore di Nigel B. Vincent (The Italianist* 27, Special supplement 1), 148-164. Norfolk, Biddles.
- Manzini, M.R. & Savoia, L.M. 2003. The nature of complementizers. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 28, 87-110.
- Mariner, S. 1979. *Si que... (# sí que...)*, sorpresivo-encarecedor en catalán. In *Estudios ofrecidos a Emilio Alarcos Llorach, IV*. Oviedo: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Oviedo, 167-179.
- Marques, M.L.G. 1993. Os Bordões no Português Falado Contemporâneo. Análise de dois exemplos: Não é e Pá. Dissertation. Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa.
- Martín Zorraquino, M-A & Portolés Lázaro, J. 1999. Los marcadores del discurso. In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, 4051-4214. Madrid:

Real Academia Española/Espasa Calpe.

- Martín Zorraquino, M-A. 1992. Spanish: Partikelforschung. Partículas y modalidad. In G. Holtus, G. Holtus, M. Metzeltin & Ch. Schmitt (eds.), *Lexicon der Romanistischen Linguistik*, 110-124. Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Martínez Marín, J. 1978. *Sintaxis de "La Celestina": I. La oración compuesta*. Granada, Universidad de Granada.
- Martins, A.M. 2007. Double realization of verbal copies in European Portuguese emphatic affirmation. In N. Corver & J. Nunes (eds.) *The Copy Theory of Movement*, 77-118. John Benjamins.
- Martins, A.M. 2013a. Emphatic Polarity in European Portuguese and Beyond. *Lingua* 128: 95-123.
- Martins, A.M. 2013b. The interplay between VSO and coordination in two types of non-degree exclamatives. *Catalan journal of linguistics* 12: 83-109.
- Martins, A.M. 2016. VP and TP ellipsis: Sentential polarity and information structure. In S. Fischer & C. Gabriel (eds.), *Grammatical interfaces in Romance*, 457-485. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Mascarenhas, S. 2015. Complementizer doubling in European Portuguese. Ms., St Catherine's College, Oxford.
- Matos, G. 2004. Coordenação Frásica vs, Subordinação Adverbial. In T. Freitas & A. Mendes (eds.), *Actas do XIX Encontro Nacional da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística*, 555-567. Lisboa: APL.
- Matos, G. & Brito, A-M. 2013. The alternation between improper indirect questions and restrictive relatives. In V. Camacho-Taboada, Á. Jiménez-Fernández, J. Martín-González & M. Reyes-Tejedor (eds.), *Agreement, Information Structure and the CP*, 83-116. John Benjamins.
- Matthewson, L., Davis, H. & Rullmann, H. 2007. Evidentials as epistemic modals: Evidence from St'át'imcets. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 7, 201–254.
- Mayol, L. & E. Castroviejo. 2014. Evaluative adverbs in questions: a comparison between French and Catalan. In R. Baglini, T. Grinsell, J. Keane, A. Roth Singerman & J. Thomas (eds.), *Proceedings from the Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society* 46(2), 143-158. Chicago Linguistic Society.
- McCready, E. 2009. What man does. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 31:671-724.

- Merlan, A. 2010. Sistemas de tratamiento en variedades asturleonesas. In A.M. Cano González (ed.), *Homenaxe al Profesor Xosé Lluis García Arias. Lletres Asturianas. Tomu 1: Llingüística y Filoloxía*, 217-242. Uviéu: Academia Llingua Asturiana.
- Michaelis, L. & Lambrecht, K. 1996. The exclamative sentence type in English. In A. Goldberg (ed.), *Conceptual Structure, discourse and language*, 375–389. Stanford: Centre for the Study of Language and Information.
- Milner, J.C. 1978. *De la Syntaxe à l'interprétation: Quantités, Insultes, Exclamations*. Éditions du Seuil, Paris.
- Miyagawa, S. 2010. *Why Agree? Why Move? Unifying Agreement-based and Discourse Configurational Languages*. Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 54. MIT Press.
- Miyagawa, S. 2012. Agreements That Occur Mainly in the Main Clause. In L. Haegeman, L. Aelbrecht & R. Nye (eds.), *Main Clause Phenomena: New Horizons*, 79-111. John Benjamins.
- Moreira, J. 2008. O vocativo no Português Brasileiro nos séculos XIX e XX: um estudo de mudança linguística. MA thesis, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte.
- Moreira, J. 2013. O vocativo e a interface sintaxe-pragmática no português brasileiro. PhD thesis, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte.
- Moreira, J. & Alkmim, M.G.R. 2013. Preenchedores de vocativo em peças teatrais. In J.M. Ramos & S.M. Coelho (eds.), *Português Brasileiro Dialetal: temas gramaticais*, 73-90. Campinas: Mercado das Letras.
- Morin, A. 2006. On the syntax of clause type particles: Evidence from Gascon, Innu and Quebec French. MA thesis, Concordia University.
- Moro, A. 2003. Notes on vocative case: a case structure in clause structure. In J. Quer, J. Schrotten, M. Scorretti, P. Sleeman, & E. Verheugd (eds.), *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory*, 247-261. John Benjamins.
- Munaro, N. 2003. On some differences between exclamative and interrogative wh-phrases in Bellunese: Further evidence for a Split-CP hypothesis. *The syntax of Italian dialects*, 137-151.
- Munaro, N. 2010a. On the edge-feature of particles, interjections, and short answers. In A.M. Di Sciullo & V. Hill (eds.), *Edges, heads and projections: Interface properties*, 67-85. John Benjamins.
- Munaro, N. 2010b. Towards a hierarchy of clause types. in P. Benincà & N. Munaro (eds.), *Mapping the Left Periphery in The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, 125-162. Oxford

University Press.

- Munaro, N. 2016. On the syntactic encoding of interjections: evidence from Emilian dialects and standard Italian. Paper presented at 11th *Cambridge Italian Dialect Syntax Meeting Vienna, 4-6 July 2016*.
- Munaro, N. & Poletto, C. 2003. Sentential particles and clausal typing in the Veneto dialects. *Working Papers in Linguistics*, 13, 2003, 127-154.
- Munaro, N. & Poletto, C. 2004. Sentential particles and clausal typing in the Veneto dialects. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics*, 35(2), 375-397.
- Munaro, N. & Poletto, C. 2009. Sentential particles and clausal typing in Venetan dialects. In B. Shaer, P. Cook, W. Frey & C. Maienborn (eds.), *Dislocated elements in discourse*, 173–199. New York & London: Routledge.
- Negredo, M. 2001-2. O fabla de Fuenferrada (Cuenca minera zentrales). *Luenga & fablas* 5-6, 87-148.
- Noh, E-J. 2000. *Metarepresentation: a relevance-theory approach*. John Benjamins.
- Obenauer, H-G. 1984. On the identification of empty categories. *The Linguistic Review* 4, 153–202.
- Obenauer, H-G. 1994. Aspects de la syntaxe A-barre – Effets d'intervention et mouvements des quantifieurs. PhD dissertation, Université de Paris VIII.
- Ocampo, F. 2009. Mirá: From Verb to Discourse Particle in Rioplatense Spanish. *Selected Proceedings of the 11th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, ed. Joseph Collentine et al., 254-267. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Ono, H. 2006. An investigation of exclamatives in English and Japanese: Syntax and sentence processing. PhD thesis, University of Maryland at College Park.
- Panagiotidis, P. 2010. *The complementizer phase: subjects and operators*. Oxford University Press.
- Paoli, S. 2007. The fine structure of the left periphery: COMPs and subjects. Evidence from Romance. *Lingua* 117 (6): 1057–1079. DOI: 10.1016/j.lingua.2006.05.007.
- Partee, B.H. 1973. The syntax and semantics of quotation, in S. R. Anderson & P. Kiparsky, (eds.), *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, 410–418. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- Paul, W. 2014. Why particles are not particular: Sentence-final particles in Chinese as heads of a split CP. *Studia Linguistica* 68(1), 77-115.
- Payà, M. & Vanrell, M.D.M. 2005. Yes-no questions and echo questions intonation in Majorcan and Minorcan Catalan: A cross-dialectal comparison. Paper presented at *Phonetics and Phonology in Iberia (PaPI)*. Barcelona, Spain, 20-21 June.

- Payrató, L. 2002. L'enunciació i la modalitat oracional. In J. Solà, M.-R. Lloret, J. Mascaró & M. Pérez-Saldanya (eds.) *Gramàtica del Català Contemporani*, 1149-1220. Barcelona: Empúries.
- Penello, N. & Chinellato, P. 2008a. Le dinamiche della distribuzione di *ciò* in Veneto. Breve saggio di microvariazione. In Gianna Marcato (ed.), *L'Italia dei dialetti. Proceedings of the Dialectology Meeting in Sappada/Plodn 2007*, 111–118. Padova: Unipress.
- Penello, N. & Chinellato, P. 2008b. On the distribution of the particle *ciò* in Veneto dialects. Paper presented at the Workshop *Looking for particles*, University of Venice, 4 February.
- Peres, J.A. & Mascarenhas, S. 2006. Notes on sentential connections (predominantly) in Portuguese. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* 5, 113-169.
- Perlmutter, D. & Postal, P. 1984. The 1-advancement exclusiveness law. In D. Perlmutter & C. Rosen (eds.), *Studies in relational grammar* 2, 81-125. University of Chicago Press.
- Pierrehumbert, J. & Hirschberg, J. 1990. The Meaning of Intonational Contours in the Interpretation of Discourse. In P. R. Cohen, J. Morgan, and M. E. Pollack (eds.), *Intentions in Communication*, 271-3 11. Cambridge, MIT Press.
- Plann, S. 1982. Indirect questions in Spanish. *Linguistic Inquiry* 13, 297–312.
- Poggi, I. 2009. The language of interjections. In A. Esposito, A. Hussain, M. Marinaro, & R. Martone (eds.), *Multimodal Signals: Cognitive and Algorithmic Issues*, 170-186. Springer Berlin Heidelberg.
- Poletto, C. 2008. On negative doubling. In F. Cognola & D. Pescarini (eds.), *La negazione: variazione dialettale ed evoluzione diacronica. Quaderni di lavoro, ASIt* 8: 57-84.
- Poletto, C. & Zanuttini, R. 2003. Making imperatives: evidence from central Rhaetoromance. In C. Tortora (ed.), *The syntax of Italian dialects*, 175-206. Oxford University Press.
- Poletto, C. & Zanuttini, R. 2010. Sentential particles and remnant movement. In P. Benincà & N. Munaro (eds.) *Mapping the left periphery*, 201-227. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pons Bordería, S. 1998. Oye y mira o los límites de la conexión. In M-A Martín Zorraquino & E. Montolí Durán (eds.), *Marcadores discursivos: teoría y práctica*, 213-228. Madrid: Arco Libros.
- Pons Bordería, S. 2003. *Que* inicial átono como marca de modalidad. *ELUA. Estudios de Lingüística* 17, 531-545.
- Porroche Ballesteros, M. 2000. Algunos aspectos del uso de *que* en el español conversacional. *Círculo de lingüística aplicada a la comunicación* 3, 100-116.

- Portner, P. 2004. Vocatives, topics, and imperatives. Paper presented at the *IMS Workshop on Information Structure*. Bad Teinach, Germany, 16 July.
- Portner, P. 2006. Comments on Martina Faller's paper. Paper presented at *Workshop on Philosophy and Linguistics*, University of Michigan.
- Portner, P. & R. Zanuttini. 2000. The force of negation in wh-exclamatives and interrogatives. In L.R. Horn & Y. Kato (eds.), *Negation and polarity: Syntactic and semantic perspectives*, 193-231. Oxford University Press.
- Potts, C. & Kawahara, D. 2004. The Performative Content of Japanese Honorifics. In K. Watanabe & R.B. Young (eds.), *Proceedings of the 14th Conference on Semantics and Linguistic Theory*, 235-254. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.
- Potts, C. 2005. The Logic of Conventional Implicatures. Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Potts, C. 2007a. The expressive dimension. *Theoretical Linguistics* 33(2), 165-197.
- Potts, C. 2007b. The centrality of expressive indices: reply to the commentaries. *Theoretical Linguistics* 33(2), 255-268.
- Prieto, P & Rigau, G. 2007. The Syntax-Prosody Interface: Catalan interrogative sentences headed by *que*. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* 6(2), 29-59.
- Prieto, P. & Rigau, G. 2011. Prosody and pragmatics. In L. Payrató & J. M. Cots (eds.), *The Pragmatics of Catalan*, 17-48. Mouton De Gruyter.
- Prieto, P. & Roseano, P. (eds.). 2010. *Transcription of Intonation of the Spanish Language*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Prins, K. 2014. Overt complementizers in root contexts in southern Italian dialects. MA thesis, Universiteit Leiden.
- Puglielli, A. & Frascarelli, M. 2011. *Linguistic Analysis: From Data to Theory*. Walter de Gruyter.
- Pusch, C. 2000. Gascon: Insights from the analysis of literary and spoken. In G. Andersen, T. Fretheim (eds.), *Pragmatic markers and propositional attitude*, 189-206. John Benjamins.
- Pusch, C. 2002. Preverbal modal particles in Gascony Occitan. In T. van der Wouden, A. Foolen & P. van de Craue (eds.) *Belgian Journal of Linguistics. Special Issue on Particles*, 105- 118. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Quine, W.V.O. 1953. Reference and modality. In W.V.O. Quine, *From a logical point of view*, 139-159. Harvard University Press.

- Radford, A. 1982. The syntax of verbal wh-exclamatives in Italian. In N. Vincent & M. Harris (eds.), *Studies in the Romance verb*, 185-204. London: Croom Helm.
- Radford, A. 1997. Per un'analisi delle frasi esclamative in italiano. In L. Renzi & M. A. Cortelazzo (eds.), *La lingua italiana fuori d'Italia*, 93-123. Rome: Bulzoni.
- Ramos, J.M. 2012. De nome a pronome: um estudo sobre o item *senhor*. *Calígrafo: Revista de Estudos Românicos* 16 (2), 69-84. DOI: 10.17851/2238-3824.16.2.69-84.
- Reis, M. 1999. On sentence types in German: An enquiry into the relationship between grammar and pragmatics. *Interdisciplinary Journal for Germanic Linguistics and Semiotic Analysis* 4(2), 195-236.
- Reis, M. 2013. „Weil-V2“ Sätze und (k)ein Ende? Anmerkungen zur Analyse von Antomo & Steinbach (2010). *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 32, 221–262. DOI: 10.1515/zfs-2013-0008.
- Rett, J. 2008. *Degree modification in natural language*. PhD thesis, New Brunswick Rutgers - The State University of New Jersey.
- Rett, J. 2006. Exclamatives are Degree Constructions. Paper presented at *Rutgers Linguistics Conference (RULing)* 1.
- Rett, J. 2011. Exclamatives, degrees and speech acts. Ms.
- Rett, J. 2012. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 34(5), 411-442. DOI: 10.1007/s10988-011-9103-8.
- Ribeiro, I. & Torres Morais, M.A. 2012. Doubling-*que* embedded constructions in Old Portuguese. In C. Galves, S. Cyrino, R. Lopes, F. Sandalo, & J. Avelar (eds.), *Parameter Theory and Linguistic Change*, 97-116. Oxford University Press.
- Rigau, G. & Suïls, J. 2010. Microvariation in Catalan and Occitan complementizers: the so-called expletive *se*. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 9, 151-165.
- Ritter, E. & Wiltschko, M. 2009. Varieties of INFL: TENSE, LOCATION, and PERSON. In J. van Craenenbroeck (ed), *Alternatives to cartography*, 153-202. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ritter, E. & Wiltschko, M. 2014. The composition of INFL. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 32(4), 1331-1386.
- Rivero, M.L. & Terzi, A. 1995. Imperatives, V-movement and logical mood. *Journal of linguistics* 31(2), 301-332.
- Rivero, M.L. 1994. On indirect questions, commands, and Spanish quotative *que*. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25(3), 547-554.
- Rizzi, L. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In L. Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of grammar*, 281-337. Springer Netherlands.
- Rizzi, L. 2000. *Relativized Minimality*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

- Rizzi, L. (ed). 2004a. *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, Volume 2. Oxford University Press.
- Rizzi, L. 2004b. Locality and left periphery. In A. Belletti (ed.), *Structures and beyond: The cartography of syntactic structures*, 223-251. Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, I. 2004. The C-system in Brythonic Celtic languages, V2, and the EPP. In L. Rizzi (ed.), *The structure of CP and IP. The cartography of syntactic structures, Volume 2*, 297-328. Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, I. & Roussou, A. 2003. *Syntactic change*. Cambridge University Press.
- Rohlf, G. 1935. *Le gascon. Etudes de philologie pyrénéenne*. Halle/Salle: Niemeyer.
- Rohlf, G. 1969. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. III. Sintassi e formazione delle parole*. Turin: Einaudi.
- Rohlf, G. 1983. Distinzione di due congiunzioni in dialetti d'Italia (nel senso del latino *ut* e *quod* o *quia*). In P. Benincà, M. Cortelazzo, A. Prosdocimi, L. Vanelli, A. Zamboni (eds.), *Studi in onore di Giovan Battista Pellegrini*, 147–154. Pacini, Pisa.
- Rooryck, J. 2001. Evidentiality, part I. *Glot International*, 5(4), 125-133.
- Rooryck, J. 2001. Evidentiality, part II. *Glot International*, 5(5), 161-168.
- Rosenbaum, P.S. 1967. *The grammar of English predicate complement constructions*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Ross, J. R. 1970. On declarative sentences. In R.A. Jacobs & P. Rosenbaum (eds.), *Readings in English transformational grammar*, 222-272. Waltham, MA: Ginn & Co.
- Rost-Snichelotto, C. 2002. Olha e veja: multifuncionalidade e variação. MA thesis, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis.
- Rost-Snichelotto, C. 2009. Variação dos marcadores discursivos de base verbal nas línguas românicas. *Working Papers em Linguística*, Florianópolis 9(2), 41-56. DOI: 10.5007/1984-8420.2008v9n2p41.
- Rost-Snichelotto, C. 2013. Os marcadores discursivos nas línguas românicas: (macro)funções textuais e interacionais. *Interdisciplinar-Revista de Estudos em Língua e Literatura* 6(6), 109-130.
- Rost-Snichelotto, C. & Görski, E.M. 2011. (Inter)subjektivização de marcadores discursivos de base verbal: instâncias de gramaticalização. *Alfa: Revista de Linguística*, 55(2), 423-455.
- Roussou, A. 2000. On the left periphery: modal particles and complementisers. *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 1. 65–94.

- Roussou, A. 2015. Is particle a unified category? In J. Bayer, R. Hinterhölzl & A. Trotzke (eds.), *Discourse-oriented Syntax*, 121-158. John Benjamins.
- Rutherford, W. E. 1970. Some Observations concerning Subordinate Clauses in English. *Language* 46(1), 97-115.
- Sadock, J. 1971. Queclaratives. *Papers from the Seventh Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society Chicago Linguistics Society* 7, 223–232
- Sadock, J. 1974. *Toward a linguistic theory of speech acts*. Academic Press, New York.
- Sadock, J. 2006. Speech acts. In Horn, L. & Ward, G. (eds.), *The Handbook of Pragmatics*, 53–73. Blackwell.
- Sadock, J.M. & Zwicky, A.M. 1985. Speech act distinctions in syntax. In T. Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, 155-196. Cambridge University Press.
- Saebø, K.J. 2005. The logical basis of exclamatives. Paper presented at *3^{eme} Journée de Sémantique et. Modélisation*, Paris.
- Saebø, K.J. 2006. Explaining clausal exclamatives. Paper presented at Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
- Sanders, T. & Sweetser, E. (eds.). 2009. *Causal categories in discourse and cognition*. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Sarrieu, B. 1908. *Pirena*. Banhères de Luishon: Sarthe.
- Sawada, M. & Larson, R.K. 2004. Presupposition and root transforms in adjunct clauses. In K. Moulton & M. Wolf (eds.), *Proceedings of NELS* 34(2), 517-528. Amherst, MA: GLSA.
- Schifano, N. 2015. Verb Movement: A Pan-Romance Investigation. PhD thesis, University of Cambridge.
- Schwabe, K. 2006. German dass-clauses. In V. Molnár & S. Winkler (eds.), *The Architecture of Focus*, 429-458. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Schwenter, S.A. 1999. Two types of scalar particles: Evidence from Spanish. *Advances in Hispanic linguistics*, 546-561.
- Searle, JR. 1965. What is a speech act? In M. Black (ed.), *Philosophy in America*, 221-239. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Searle, J.R. 1969. *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge University Press.
- Searle, J.R. 1975. Indirect speech acts. In P. Cole & J.L. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and semantics*, 59-82. New York: Academic Press.

- Searle, J.R. & Vanderveken, D. 1985. Speech acts and illocutionary logic. In D. Vanderveken (ed.) *Logic, thought and action*, 109-132. Springer Netherlands.
- Sheehan, M. & Hinzen, W. 2011. Moving towards the edge. *Linguistic analysis* 37(3-4), 405-458.
- Sheehan, M. 2006. The EPP and null subjects in Romance. PhD thesis, Newcastle University.
- Sheehan, M. 2010. ‘Free’ inversion in Romance and the Null Subject Parameter. In T. Biberauer, A. Holmberg, I. Roberts & M. Sheehan (eds.), *Parametric Variation: Null Subjects in Minimalist Theory*, 231-262. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sigurðsson, H.Á. 2004. The syntax of Person, Tense, and speech features. *Rivista di Linguistica-Italian Journal of Linguistics* 16(1), 219-251.
- Sigurðsson, H Á. 2010. On EPP effects. *Studia Linguistica* 64(2), 159–189.
- Sigurðsson, H Á. 2014. Context-linked grammar. *Language Sciences* 46, 175-188.
- Simpson-Vlach, R. & Ellis, N.C. 2010. An academic formulas list: New methods in phraseology research. *Applied Linguistics* 31(4), 487-512.
- Solà, J. 1990. L’ordre de mots en català. Notes pràctiques. In J. Solà, *Lingüística i normativa*, 91-125. Barcelona: Empúries.
- Solà, J. 1994. Els pronoms febles. In J. Solà, *Sintaxi normativa: estat de la qüestió*, 39-70. Barcelona: Empúries.
- Solà, J. 1992. Agreement and Subjects. PhD thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Solà, J. 1999. Si que és car. In J. Solà, *Parlem-ne. Converses lingüístiques*, 232-234. Barcelona: Proa.
- Sousa Fernández, X. 1994. O artigo cos nomes propios de persoa no galego moderno. In R. Lorenzo (ed.), *Actas do XIX Congreso Internacional de Lingüística e Filología Románicas*, 309-316. Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza.
- Speas, P. & Tenny, C. 2003. Configurational properties of point of view roles. In A.M. DiSciullo (ed.), *Asymmetry in grammar* 1, 315-345. John Benjamins.
- Spitzer, L. 1942. Notas sintáctico-estilísticas a propósito del español *que*. *Revista de filología hispánica* 4(2), 105-126.
- Stalnaker, R. 1974. Pragmatic presuppositions. In M.K. Munitz & P. Unger (eds.), *Semantics and philosophy*, 197–213. New York University Press.
- Stavrou, M. 2013. About the Vocative. In L. Schürcks, A. Giannakidou, U. Etxeberria (eds.), *The nominal structure in Slavic and beyond*, 299-342. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Stenius, E. 1967. Mood and language-game. *Synthese* 17(1), 254-274.

- Struckmeier, V. 2014. Ja doch wohl C? Modal Particles in German as C-related elements. *Studia Linguistica* 68(1), 16-48.
- Sudo, Y. 2013. Biased polar questions in English and Japanese. In D. Gutzmann & H-M Gärtner (eds.), *Beyond expressives: Explorations in use-conditional meaning*, 275-296. Leiden: Brill.
- Süils, J. 2010. Aranés de referéncia e occitan referenciau. Eth besonh d'un modèl sople. In Secretaría de Política Lingüística (ed.), *L'aranés e l'occitan general, quatre estudis*, 72-83. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya.
- Süils, J. & Ribes, S. 2015. Modality markers in Gascon, between grammar and stylistic variation. *eHumanista/IVITRA* 8 544-576.
- Suñer, M. 1991. Indirect questions and the structure of CP: some consequences. In H. Campos & F. Martínez Gil (eds.), *Current Studies in Spanish Linguistics*, 283–312. Georgetown University Press.
- Suñer, M. 1993. About indirect questions and semi-questions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 16(1), 45-77. DOI: 10.1007/BF00984722.
- Suñer, M. 1999. La subordinación sustantiva: La interrogación indirecta. In V. Demonte & I. Bosque (eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, 2149–2195. Madrid: Espasa.
- Sweetser, E. 1990. *From etymology to pragmatics: Metaphorical and cultural aspects of semantic structure*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sweetser, E. 1999. *From etymology to pragmatics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Szabolcsi, A. 1982. Model theoretic semantics of performatives. In F. Kiefer (ed.), *Hungarian linguistics*, 515-535. John Benjamins.
- Tanghe, S. 2009. Sobre algunas interjecciones derivadas de los verbos de movimiento: *anda, vamos, vaya y venga*. MA thesis, University of Ghent.
- Taraldsen, K.N. 2002. The *qui/que* alternation and the distribution of expletives. In P. Svenonius (ed.), *Subjects, Expletives and the EPP*, 29-42. Oxford University Press.
- Thoma, S. 2014. Bavarian discourse particles at the syntax pragmatics interface. In Z. Lam & N. Weber (eds.), *Proceedings of Northwest Linguistics Conference 29, University of British Columbia Working Papers in Linguistics* 38, 41-58.
- Torrego, E. 1988. Operadores en las exclamativas con artículo determinado de valor cuantitativo. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 36, 109-122.
- Travaglia, L. C. 2003. Verbos gramaticais: verbos em processo de grammaticalização In C.A.

- Figueiredo, E.S. Martins, L.C. Travaglia, W.B. Moraes Filho (eds.), *Lingua(gem): reflexões e perspectivas*, 97-157. Uberlândia: EDUFU.
- Truckenbrodt, H. 2012. Semantics of intonation. *Semantics*. In C. Maienborn, K. v. Heusinger & P. Portner (eds.), *Semantics. An international handbook of natural language meaning*. Vol. 3, 2039- 2969. De Gruyter.
- Uhmann, S. 1998. Verbstellungsvariation in weil-Sätzen: lexikalische Differenzierung mit grammatischen Folger. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 17, 92-139.
- Uriagereka, J. 1995. An F position in Western Romance. In K.É. Kiss (ed.), *Discourse configurational languages*, 79-123. Oxford University Press.
- Uriagereka, J. 1998. On government. PhD thesis, University of Connecticut.
- Valadas, A.R. 2012. *A inversão sujeito-verbo em frases declarativas exclamativas do português*. Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, Trabalho final do Seminário de ‘Linguística Comparada: Tópicos de Gramática do Português’ (Mestrado em Linguística 2011-2012).
- Vallduví, E. 1993. Catalan as VOS: evidence from Information Packaging. In W.J. Ashby, M. Mithun, G. Perissinotto, E. Raposo (eds.), *Linguistic Perspectives on the Romance Languages*, 335–350. John Benjamins.
- Vallduví, E. 2002. L’oració com a unitat informativa. In J. Solà, M.R. Lloret, J. Mascaró, M. Pérez Saldanya (Eds.), *Gramàtica del Català Contemporani*, 1221–1279. Barcelona, Empúries.
- Vallduví, E. 1992. *The Informational Component*. New York: Garland.
- van Craenenbroek, J. 2002. Van as a marker of dissociation. In C.J-W. Zwart & W. Abraham (eds.), *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax: Proceedings from the 15th Workshop on Comparative Germanic Syntax*, 41-67. John Benjamins.
- Vanrell, M.D.M. & Cabré, T. 2011. Troncamento e intonazione dei vocativi in Italia centromeridionale. In B. Gili-Fivela, A. Stella, L. Garrapa & M. Grimaldi (eds.), *Contesto comunicativo e variabilità nella produzione e percezione della lingua, Atti el 7 convegno AISV (26-28 January 2011, Lecce)*, 200-211. Roma: Bulzoni.
- Vendler, Z. 1957. Verbs and Times. *Philosophical Review* 66: 143-160.
- Viejo Fernández, X. 2008. *Pensar asturiano. Ensayos programáticos de sintaxis asturiana*. Uviéu: Ed. Trabe
- Villa-García, J. 2012a. Characterizing medial and low complementizers in Spanish: Recomplementation *que* and jussive/optative *que*. *Current formal aspects of Spanish*

- syntax and semantics*, 198-228.
- Villa-García, J. 2012b. Recomplementation and locality of movement in Spanish. *Probus: An International Journal of Latin and Romance Linguistics* 24(2). 257–314.
- Villa-García, J. 2015. *The Syntax of Multiple-que Sentences in Spanish. Along the left periphery*. John Benjamins.
- Villalba, X. 2001. The right edge of exclamative sentences in Catalan. *Catalan Working Papers in Linguistics* 9. 119-135.
- Villalba, X. 2003. An exceptional exclamative sentence type in Romance. *Lingua* 113, 713-745.
- Villalba, X. 2008. Exclamatives: a thematic guide with many questions and few answers. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 7: 9-40.
- Waldie, R., Peterson, T., Rullmann, H. & Mackie, S. 2009. Evidentials as epistemic modals or speech act operators: testing the tests. Paper presented at WSCLA, Purdue University, April 3.
- Wegener, H. 1993. Weil—das hat schon seinen Grund. Zur Verbstellung in Kausalsätzen mit weil im gegenwärtigen Deutsch. *Deutsche Sprache* 21:289-305.
- Wheeler, M., Yates, A. & Dols, N. 1999. *Catalan: A comprehensive grammar*. Psychology Press.
- Willett, T. 1988. A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticalization of evidentiality. *Studies in Language* 12, 51–97.
- Wiltschko, M. 2014. *The Universal Structure of Categories: Towards a Formal Typology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wiltschko, M. 2015. The (not so) silent syntax of speech acts. A comparative approach. Paper presented at CamCoS3, University of Cambridge.
- Wiltschko, M. 2016a. What particle syntax can teach us about the particularities of syntax. Paper presented at the *Workshop on variation in the relation between internal and external syntax*. Utrecht, February 2016.
- Wiltschko, M. 2016b. Conversational Sentences in Ktunaxa. Joint work with Violet Birdstone presented at WSCLA UQAM, April 2016.
- Wiltschko, M. Forthcoming.a. Ergative constellations in the structure of speech acts. In J. Coon, D. Massam & L. Travis (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of ergativity*. Oxford University Press.
- Wiltschko, M. Forthcoming.b. Response particles beyond answering. In L. Bailey & M. Sheehan (eds.), *Order and Structure in Syntax*, Language Science Press.

- Wiltschko, M. & Heim, J. 2014. The syntax of sentence peripheral discourse markers. A neo-performative analysis. Paper presented at *Outside the clause: Form and function of Extra-clausal constituents*. University of Vienna. July 2014.
- Wiltschko, M. & Heim, J. 2016. The syntax of confirmationals. A neo-performative analysis. In G. Kaltenböck, E. Keizer & A. Lohmann (eds.), *Outside the Clause. Form and function of extra-clausal constituents*, 303-340. John Benjamins.
- Wiltschko, M., Heim, J., Keupdjio, H., Osa-Gómez Del Campo, A. & Thoma, S. 2015. Left of the left periphery: The syntax of discourse markers. Paper presented at *West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics 2015*, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver.
- Woods, R. 2016. Investigating the syntax of speech acts: embedding illocutionary force. PhD thesis, University of York.
- Yamato, N. 2010. The left periphery of Japanese exclamatives. *Studia Linguistica* 64(1): 55-80. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9582.2010.01166.x.
- Z. Lam. 2014. A complex ForceP for speaker- and addressee-oriented discourse particles in Cantonese. *Studies in Chinese Linguistics* 35, 61-80.
- Zafiu, R. 2001. *Diversitatea stylistică în româna actuală*. Editura Universității din București.
- Zanuttini, R. 1997. *Negation and clausal structure: A comparative study of Romance languages*. Oxford University Press.
- Zanuttini, R. 2008. Encoding the addressee in the syntax: evidence from English imperative subjects. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 26, 185–218. DOI 10.1007/s11049-007-9029-6.
- Zanuttini, R. & Portner, P. 2000. The characterization of exclamative clauses in Paduan. *Language* 76 (1), 123-132.
- Zanuttini, R. & Portner, P. 2003. Exclamative Clauses: at the Syntax-Semantics Interface. *Language* 79, 39-81.
- Zu, V. 2013. Probing for Conversation Participants: The Case of Jingpo. *Proceedings of The 49th Annual Regional Meeting of Chicago Linguistic Society*, 49(1). Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.
- Zu, V. 2015. A Two Tiered Theory of the Discourse. In P. Umbal (ed.), *Proceedings of the Poster Session of the 33rd West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, 151-160. Simon Fraser University Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Zubizarreta, M-L. 1998. *Prosody, Focus, and Word Order*. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.
- Zwart, J-W. 1993. Clues from Dialect Syntax: Complementizer Agreement. In Abraham, W. & Bayer, J. (eds.), *Dialektsyntax*, 246-270. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Zwicky, A.M. 1974. Hey, Whatsyourname. In M.W. LaGaly (ed.), *Papers from the Tenth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 787–801. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Zwicky, A.M. 1985. Clitics and particles. *Language* 61(2), 283-305.

Zwicky, A.M. 2004. Isolated NPs. Paper presented at the *Stanford Semantics Fest 5*.