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# **‘Exclamative’ and ‘quotative’ illocutionary complementisers in Catalan, European Portuguese and Spanish**

A study in Ibero-Romance syntactic ‘near-synonymy’

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The use of the Ibero-Romance complementiser *que* in non-embedded contexts with various illocutionary functions is argued to be non-trivially distinct from its canonical function as a marker of subordination. Interpretative and grammatical differences, as well as variation in the availability and clause-typing of non-embedded ‘exclamative’ and ‘quotative’ illocutionary QUE across Catalan, European Portuguese and Spanish provide evidence that the subordinating complementiser has been repurposed for the representation of pragmatic information in the complementiser systems of Ibero-Romance, a hypothesis supported by analogies drawn between illocutionary QUE and illocutionary functions of the interrogative complementiser *si/se* in Catalan and European Portuguese.

**Keywords:** Peninsular Ibero-Romance, illocutionary complementisers, syntax-pragmatics interface, main clause phenomena, Catalan/European Portuguese/Spanish

## **1. Introduction**

The present paper offers a formal account of the grammatical properties of Ibero-Romance complementisers (Rosenbaum, 1967; Bresnan, 1970) when, in addition to their canonical function as markers of subordination (1a), these items come to encode illocutionary meaning, such as the ‘exclamative’ (1b) and ‘quotative’ (1c) functions of (Ibero-)Romance *que* ‘thət’ (< Latin QUID), in non-subordinate contexts:

- (1) a. Disseram *que* iam ganhar.  
say.PST.3PL thət go.IMPF.3PL win.INF  
“They said thət they would win.” (E.Pg.)

- b. (Ai) *que* t'atrapo!  
 ohhh EXCL you=catch.1SG  
 “Ohhh, I’m coming to get you!” (Cat.)
- c. Era el becario... *Que* le ha  
 be.IMP.3SG the intern QUOT to.him=have.3SG  
 tocado la lotería.  
 touch.PST.PTCP the lottery  
 “It was the intern... [He said] he’s won the lottery” (E.Sp.;  
 cartoon)

In (1b-c), the core function of the semantically-bleached complementiser *que* as a subordinator has been lost, and its morpholexical material has instead been reharnessed for the purpose of representing illocutionary information. Such illocutionary uses of the complementiser *que* have been identified within recent functional approaches (Gras, 2011, 2016; Gras and Sansiñena, 2015, 2017, forthcoming) as instances of ‘insubordination’, defined as “the phenomenon whereby a formally subordinate clause is conventionally used as a main or independent clause” (Gras and Sansiñena, 2017: 21; see also Evans, 2007, 2009 for the origin of the terminology). Though the presence of the complementiser in these constructions leads to the prima facie appearance of a subordinate clause, on a formal approach such as the one taken here, a structure cannot be simultaneously “formally” subordinate yet “conventionally used” as a main clause. That is, if a structure has the formal properties of a subordinate clause, it must necessarily also *be* (used as) one, and the same applies, mutatis mutandis, for main clauses; consequently, whilst recognising the descriptive contribution of such work, we do not appeal to the notion of ‘insubordination’ here.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, whilst the functional and descriptive literature on what we dub *illocutionary complementisers* offers a rich taxonomy of the various interpretative values and functions of such structures, the contribution of the present article is to show that morphological (or phonological) similarity in the complementiser system does not guarantee semantic or, crucially, *syntactic* equivalence. Building on previous work focused predominantly on Spanish (Spitzer, 1942; Porroche Ballesteros, 2000; Escandell Vidal, 1999; Pons Bordería, 2003; Etxepare, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2013; Biezma, 2008; Rodríguez Ramalle, 2008a, 2008b; Gras, 2011, 2016; Demonte and Fernández-Soriano, 2009, 2013, 2014; Gras and Sansiñena, 2015, 2017, forthcoming), and, to a lesser extent, Catalan (Wheeler *et al.*, 1999), we examine the formal properties of just two types of non-embedded, illocutionary complementisers, viz. exclamative (1b) and quotative (1c) QUE, in Catalan, European Portuguese and Spanish. We will show that, despite near-synonymy in terms of their lexical entry, the contrasting interpretations of exclamative and quotative illocutionary QUE correspond to non-trivially distinct syntactic behaviours, differing both from each other as well as from the subordinating item *que* ‘that’ in Ibero-Romance. That is, the various illocutionary nuances of non-embedded structures involving an Ibero-Romance complementiser are a consequence not of any lexical specialisation of the complementiser itself, but are encoded by the syntactic conditions of the complementiser and its place in the wider discourse and/or structural context.

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<sup>1</sup> The treatment of ‘insubordination’ within a formal framework is addressed in Corr (forthcoming).

By offering Catalan and European Portuguese data in addition to Spanish, and showing that the formal properties of exclamative and quotative QUE are systematic across these languages, this article expands both empirically and theoretically on existing work. Specifically, after reviewing the key features of the Ibero-Romance finite complementiser system (Section 2), it will be shown that exclamative and quotative QUE differ from the subordinating complementiser *que* not only in terms of their (illocutionary) interpretative contribution (Section 3), but in terms of their clause-typing (Section 4.1), compatibility with embedding (Section 4.2), conjunction and disjunction (Section 4.3), and their availability across Ibero-Romance, revealing micro-variation in the comparative grammar of complementisers of Catalan, European Portuguese and Spanish (Section 5). The empirical focus of the present article are the varieties spoken in and around the Iberian Peninsula, with attested data obtained from a variety of spoken and/or textual sources, all of which are publicly available online (and typically indexed by Google). Data elicited from and/or provided by Ibero-Romance native speaker informants appear here without citation (see Corr, 2016, 2017 for further methodological clarifications). Their introspective judgments, obtained via questionnaire and corroborated through in-person qualitative consultations, form the basis for any claims in the present article for ‘(in)felicitousness’ or ‘(un)grammaticality’ of the empirical data (cf. Ludlow, 2011; Schütze, 2016; Corr, 2017).

## 2. The Ibero-Romance (finite) complementiser system

The formal analysis offered here adopts the view that there is a correspondence between interpretation and structural representation (an assumption taken to its extreme in the so-called ‘cartographic enterprise’, although we will not mapping the structural position of Ibero-Romance complementisers here).<sup>2</sup> Multifunctional units of language such as the Ibero-Romance particle *que* are a case in point: this item can introduce adverbial, relative and complement clauses; it licenses polar interrogatives in Eastern Ibero-Romance; and, in Spanish, it is (superficially)<sup>3</sup> homophonous with the wh-pronoun *qué* ‘what’. Given its morphological and phonological invariability, and in the absence of any kind of substantive content, the interpretation of *que* is determined by its syntactic distribution: it has one interpretation – i.e. grammatical function – in a given syntactic context (e.g. when selected by a particular class of verb in a higher clause), but another interpretation/function in a different syntactic environment (e.g. when the clause it introduces modifies a noun phrase).

We thus observe that the (Ibero-)Romance finite complementiser system is a (relatively) simple one: roughly speaking, the complementiser *que* introduces declarative subordinate clauses (2a), whereas the interrogative complementiser *se/si* (<Lat. *si*) introduces polar interrogative subordinate clauses (2b):

- (2) a. Sei *que* vais comprar aquele livro amanhã.  
 know.1SG that go.2SG buy.INF that book tomorrow  
 “I know that you’re going to buy that book tomorrow” (E.Pg.)

<sup>2</sup> See, however, Corr (2016) for a cartographic account of the phenomena discussed here.

<sup>3</sup> The wh-item can carry focal stress, whilst the complementiser cannot.

- b. En Pau li va preguntar si li agradava  
 the Pau to.her=go.3SG ask.INF if to.her=please.IMPF.3SG  
 cantar.  
 sing.INF  
 “Pau asked her if she liked singing” (Cat.; À. Burgas, *Una canço per a Susanna*, 2008)

The absence of the declarative (or indeed any) complementiser in simple sentences, as in

(3), is understood to mark a declarative matrix clause, an observation which holds cross-linguistically with few exceptions (one of which, notably, is the neighbouring dialect of Gascony Occitan; cf. Campos, 1992):

- (3) (\**Que*) vais comprar aquele livro amanhã.  
 that go.2SG buy.INF that book tomorrow  
 “(\*That) you’re going to buy that book tomorrow” (E.Pg.)

In addition to its dedicated function as a marker of subordinate declarative clauses, the complementiser *que* is well-known for its multifunctionality and syncretism, as noted at the start of this section. In the case of subordinate clauses, the Ibero-Romance complementiser *que* does not show sensitivity to mood, introducing indicative and subjunctive clauses:

- (4) Le dije *que* {volvió/volviera}  
 to.him=say.PST.1SG that return.PST.3SG/return.IMPF.SUBJ.3SG  
 a casa.  
 to home  
 “I told him {(s)he had returned/to return} home” (Sp.)

In Portuguese, the subordinating complementiser is also sensitive to clause type and finiteness, licensing declarative finite structures only as illustrated in (1a, 2a).<sup>4</sup> These restrictions do not, however, apply in Catalan and Spanish, varieties in which the subordinator *que* can introduce a range of clause types beyond declaratives – as exemplified here by an embedded infinitival command (5) and wh-exclamative clause (6) – when selected by a *verbum dicendi* (cf. Section 4.2.2).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> An exception are deontic modal constructions, which are also attested in Catalan and Spanish:

- (i) Temos *que* humilhar o inimigo.  
 have.1SG that humiliate.INF the enemy  
 “We have to humiliate the enemy” (E.Pg., *O Jornal Económico*, 11 May 2017)

<sup>5</sup> Note, however, that, historically, Portuguese had a specialised evidential complementiser *ca* (<Lat. QU(I)A), which is attested exclusively with indicative clauses (Corr, 2016), and that the generalised complementiser *que* could introduce clause types other than declaratives (Suñer, 1999; Matos and Brito, 2013), as illustrated in (i) and (ii) respectively:

- (i) *cuido* *ca* me quer matar.  
 consider.1SG that me=want.3SG kill.INF  
 “I think that he wants to kill me” (GPMP; Osoir’Anes, *Que me non podesse forçar*)
- (ii) Perguntaram-lhes as vizinhas *que* adonde leixara  
 ask.PST.3PL=to.them the neighbours that where leave.PLUP.3SG  
 ela o filho.  
 she the son  
 “The neighbours asked where she left her son.” (Dias, 1917: 265, apud Matos and Britos, 2013: 91)

- (5) Dijo *que* a no molestarle  
 say.PST.3SG thət to not bother.INF=him  
 “He said not to bother him” (Sp.; Rivero, 1994: 551)
- (6) Vaig dir *que* quina pallissa *que* els van clavar.  
 go.1SG say.INF thət what battering thət they go.3PL get.INF  
 “I said what a battering they got” (Cat.)

Multiple complementisers across Romance with distinct morphological forms, semantico-pragmatic specifications (e.g. modality) or conditions (e.g. discourse context), and/or distributional patterns (Ledgeway, 2005, 2012, 2016; D’Alessandro and Ledgeway, 2010; Mascarenhas, 2015; Villa-García, 2015) suggest that, despite the impression that Ibero-Romance *que* functions as a ‘one-size-fits-(almost)-all’ complementiser, the morphological uniformity of *que* in its various roles may in fact mask distinct grammatical behaviours.

Although it is uncontroversial to assume that the Spanish complementiser *que* ‘thət’ is a separate grammatical item from the wh-constituent *qué* ‘what’, there is a reluctance to assume that the same could apply to phonologically-identical complementisers. Yet, we already have evidence that this is the case. Namely, Catalan (and other Eastern Ibero-Romance varieties patterning alike) is unique in this branch of the Romance languages in allowing the complementiser *que* to introduce interrogatives *in root clauses*:

- (7) Que puc fumar?  
 INT can.1SG smoke.INF  
 “Can I smoke?” (Prieto and Rigau, 2007: 35)

Catalan interrogative *que* (Hernanz and Rigau, 2006; Prieto and Rigau, 2007) provides uncontentious evidence that, in this variety, the complementiser *que* has moved beyond its canonical role as a marker of subordination into a signifier of exclusively illocutionary information. In other words, we already have confirmation of our thesis that phonologically-identical complementisers – in this case, Catalan matrix interrogative *que* versus Ibero-Romance subordinating *que* – can exhibit distinct grammatical compatibilities from one another.

In the remainder of this paper, we will argue that, despite the apparent ban on the complementiser *que* in matrix clauses, exclamative and quotative sentences directly introduced by *que* (rather than a higher selecting predicate), such as those illustrated in (1b-c) are genuine cases of root clauses headed by a complementiser. While we consider correct the received view that the absence of a complementiser in matrix clauses is an indicator that the sentence is to be interpreted as a declarative assertion, we should not automatically assume that the presence of the complementiser *que* denotes a subordinate clause (i.e. the absence of a higher selecting clause is a result of elision of that constituent). Rather, the presence of the complementiser *que* in a non-embedded clause signals that the sentence has a non-neutral illocutionary interpretation. In this regard, we understand 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). Illocutionary complementisers function as precisely that interface between a propositional content and the articulation of discourse in a root clause.

### 3. Interpretative contribution of illocutionary QUE

The complementiser *que* is devoid of any fixed lexical or semantic content, entailing that its interpretation is a function of its syntactic distribution. For example, we may label it a ‘declarative’ or ‘finite’ or ‘subordinate’ complementiser – i.e. descriptors reflecting a grammatical role – as these are the most common environments in which the item is found across (Ibero-)Romance. In the present section, we detail the interpretative specialisations of the complementiser in certain syntactic-pragmatic environments, namely, its ‘exclamative’ and ‘quotative’ usages, which can be said to constitute ‘near-synonymy’ in syntactic terms. That is, the reflexes of Latin QUID, whilst sharing a set of common syntactic behaviours, have undergone specialisation to innovate illocutionary functions in this language family.

#### 3.1 Exclamative QUE

On our definition, Ibero-Romance exclamative QUE pairs a finite indicative root clause – which is typically (8a-b) though not necessarily (8c) a declarative clause type (see Section 4.1.1) – with an exclamative illocutionary force:

- (8) a. Uau, *que* a bebe já faz 18 anos!  
wow EXCL the baby already make.3SG 18 years  
Wow, the little one’s already turning 18!’ (E.Pg., Twitter)
- b. Ay, *que* estamos allí, nos tienen puestos  
ohh EXCL be.1PL there us=have.3PL put  
en el bar.  
in the bar  
“We’re here, they’ve set us up at a bar!” (E.Sp.; La 8 León *rtvcyl*)
- c. uff, *que* qué putadón Coronil.  
uff EXCL what bugger Coronil  
“Oof, what a bugger, Coronil” (E.Sp.; forum comment)

Such constructions can occur in discourse-initial environments (as in 9a), or constitute an exclamation within an existing discourse (as in 9b-c), following Martins’ (2013: 88) definition of an exclamative sentence as one in which “the speaker expresses an emotive attitude towards the content of his/her utterance”.<sup>6</sup> Note that we adopt a ‘wide’ definition of the interpretative contribution exclamative sentences (see Author 2016 for discussion), although our structural definition is relatively narrow. In particular, the class of constructions introduced by exclamative QUE has little overlap with the typology of ‘exclamative’ in subordinate constructions identified in the recent functional literature (Van linden and Van de Velde, 2014; Gras and Sansiñena, 2017), and only corresponds to a subclass within Biezma’s (2008) formal category of expressive QUE constructions that she identifies for Spanish.

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<sup>6</sup> Due to space constraints, we provide examples of exclamative QUE without the surrounding discourse environment. The reader should therefore assume the illocutionary contribution as a given, where a structure has been explicitly identified as an exclamative QUE construction, even in cases where a disambiguating discourse context has not been provided. The exclamative illocutionary contribution of clauses introduced by exclamative QUE is, however, witnessed by the illocutionary complementiser’s frequent collocation with interjections and discourse particles, items which are retained in the examples presented here.

As such, exclamative QUE constructions constitute a grammatically-coherent subset within a wider typology of structurally distinct, but interpretatively similar, sentence exclamations found in Ibero-Romance, which include wh-exclamatives (9a), ‘right-dislocate’ exclamatives (9b) and non-degree (here, VSO) exclamatives (9c):

- (9) a. ¡Qué guapa está la zona con nieve!  
 how pretty be.3SG the area with snow  
 “How pretty the area is when it’s covered in snow!” (E.Sp.)
- b. Ai, filla, que en vas, d’equivocada!  
 ohh daughter que PART=go.2SG of=mistaken<sup>[SEP]</sup>  
 “Ohh, my girl, how wrong you are!” (Cat.; Laca, 1986: 83)
- c. Convidei eu a Maria para jantar e ela  
 invite.PST.1SG I the Maria for dinner and she  
 não apareceu!  
 not appear.PST.3SG  
 “I invited Maria for dinner and she didn’t show up!” (E.Pg.; Martins, 2013: 85)

Minimal pair comparison between constructions introduced by exclamative QUE and otherwise structurally identical sentences without exclamative QUE reveals that the unique contribution of exclamative QUE itself is to express the speaker’s emotive attitude towards the sentence’s proposition. For instance, exclamative QUE sentences, unlike their structurally identical counterparts without the illocutionary complementiser, are non-cancellable (10a-b) and non-displaceable (11a-b):

- (10) a. ¡*Que* hace un día bonito! #Pero me da  
 EXCL make.3SG a day lovely but to.me=give.3SG  
 igual.  
 equal  
 “It’s [such] a lovely day! #But I don’t care.”
- b. Hace un día bonito. Pero me da  
 make.3SG a day lovely but to.me=give.3SG  
 igual.  
 equal  
 “It’s a lovely day. But I don’t care.”
- (11) a. En aquell moment, me feia mal la panxa!  
 in that moment me=make.3SG bad the tummy  
 “At that moment, my tummy hurt!”
- b. \*En aquell moment, *que* me feia mal la  
 in that moment EXCL me=make.3SG bad the  
 panxa!  
 tummy

As such, exclamative QUE fulfils Potts’ (2007) criteria for *expressive* items (cf. Biezma, 2008; Corr, 2016), viz. non-displaceability, descriptive ineffability, immediacy, independence, perspective dependence, and repeatability. As originally observed by Biezma (2008) for her ‘expressive’ QUE in Spanish, exclamative QUE sentences are *non-displaceable* because they predicate something of the utterance situation, as shown by their *descriptive ineffability* – i.e. the impossibility of capturing the exact meaning contribution of the



expressive item, since this is context-dependent – and their *immediacy*: i.e. the performative nature of such items, which “achieve their intended act simply by being uttered” (Potts, 2007: 167). The discourse-initial sentence in (12), for example, has a number of possible interpretations:

- (12) Que arriba l’avia aquest nit!  
 EXCL arrive.3SG the=grandmother this night  
 “Granny’s arriving tonight!” (Cat.)

The above sentence could mean that the speaker is happy (e.g. they cannot wait for their grandmother to arrive), unhappy (e.g. they are unprepared for their grandmother to arrive so soon), or simply surprised that their grandmother is arriving (e.g. because they had no prior warning she would be coming). That is, the sentence could constitute a positive, negative, or mirative exclamation: we are reliant on the wider discourse and/or extralinguistic context to understand the affective meaning of the sentence, but the contribution of this non-propositional content cannot be precisely pinned down, i.e. it is ineffable. The contrast between (13a-b) demonstrates the property of *immediacy*, insofar as the addition of the exclamative QUE morpheme transforms the assertion into a performative expression of the speaker’s emotional state:

- (13) a. Es casen la Joana i l’Enric!  
 REFL=marry.3PL the Joana and the=Enric  
 “Joana and Enric are getting married!” (Cat.)  
 b. *Que* es casen la Joana i l’Enric!  
 EXCL REFL=marry.3PL the Joana and the=Enric  
 “Joana and Enric are getting married!” (Cat.)

In (13a), where exclamative QUE is absent, the speaker asserts the proposition, whereas in (13b), through the contribution of exclamative QUE, the utterance of the sentence *ipso facto* produces an expression of the utterer’s attitude.

Indeed, in (13a-b), the difference in interpretation is reducible to the absence versus presence of affectivity, correlating with the absence versus presence of exclamative QUE. The contribution of (13a) is the proposition  $p$  = ‘Joana and Enric are getting married’, whereas the contribution of (13b) is the proposition  $p$  = ‘Joana and Enric are getting married’ plus the speaker’s attitude towards  $p$ . 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 (13a) is the speaker’s attitude towards  $p$ . In Potts’ (2007) terms, exclamative QUE thus exhibits the property of *independence*, since exclamative QUE contributes ‘not-at-issue’ meaning which is separable from the descriptive (i.e. propositional) content of the sentence.

This is even the case with sentences which are already apparently typed as exclamatives. For example, *prima facie*, wh-exclamatives introduced by exclamative QUE do not involve an extra or independent dimension of affectivity from their regular, non-exclamative QUE counterparts:

- (14) a. Hala, *que* cómo me enrollo a veces.  
 wow EXCL how me=go.on.1SG at times  
 “Gosh, I don’t half witter on sometimes...” (Sp.)  
 b. Hala, cómo me enrollo a veces.  
 wow how me=go.on.1SG at times  
 “Gosh, I don’t half witter on sometimes...” (Sp.)

Whilst both sentences contain the proposition  $p =$  ‘I don’t half witter on sometimes’, only the former (14a) conveys the attitudinal contribution syntactically, as revealed by attempting to embed sentences (14a-b) in the following examples:

- (15) a. \*Es        impresionante    *que*        cómo    me enrollo    a  
           be.3SG    impressive        EXCL    how    me=go.on.1SG    at  
           veces.  
           times
- b.    Es        impresionante    cómo        me enrollo        a    veces.  
       be.3SG    impressive        how        me=go.on.1SG    at    times  
       ‘‘It’s quite something how much I witter on sometimes.’’ (Sp.)

Embedding under a suitable predicate (i.e. a factive) exposes a syntactic distinction between (14a-b), viz. that only the version *without* the illocutionary complementiser is embeddable. Although (14a-b) is interpreted from the speaker’s perspective, this is not as a consequence of the syntax of the wh-exclamative, as illustrated by the contrast between the following non-embedded wh-exclamative (16) and its embedding under a first-person (17a) and third-person (17b) predicate:

- (16) ¡Cuántas        molestias            os está        generando!  
       how.many    inconveniences    you=be.3SG    generate.PTCP  
       ‘‘How inconvenient it is for you!’’ (Sp.)
- (17) a.    Lamento        cuántas        molestias        os        está  
           lament.1SG    how.many    inconveniences    you=be.3SG  
           generando.  
           generate.PTCP  
           ‘‘I regret how inconvenient it is for you.’’ (Sp.; forum comment)
- b.    Lamenta        cuántas        molestias            os        está  
       lament.3SG    how.many    inconveniences    you=be.3SG  
       generando.  
       generate.PTCP  
       ‘‘S/he regrets how inconvenient it is for you.’’ (Sp.)

The interpretation of the wh-exclamative from the speaker’s perspective in (17a) is a direct result of the sentence’s first-person matrix subject, which happens to align with the speaker. However, the switch to third-person in (17b) prevents any interpretation for the wh-exclamative from the speaker’s perspective. In other words, despite its clause type, the wh-exclamative itself does not syntactically encode the affectivity associated with exclamative illocutionary potential. On this view, the difference in grammaticality between (17a) and (17b) is that only the former encodes illocutionary force, via the presence of exclamative QUE, and factive predicates disallow illocutionary complements. Exclamative QUE sentences necessarily entail evaluation from a particular perspective (i.e. they exhibit *perspective dependence*), which, by pragmatic default, is that of the speaker.

Finally, expressive items can be repeated without redundancy, unlike descriptive items, which cannot. Exclamative QUE fulfils this criterion of repeatability, as witnessed by the contrast between the felicitous repetition of the complementiser (18a), which *strengthens* its illocutionary contribution; and the degraded repetition of a descriptive substitute, here the wh-exclamative *quina*

*emoció* ‘how exciting’ or the declarative *estic emocionada* ‘I’m excited’ (18b-c):

- (18) a. Que ve l’Afra! (Que) ja arriba!  
 EXCL come.3SG the=Afra EXCL already arrive.3SG  
 (Que) ja ve!  
 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)
- b. {Quina emoció/estic emocionada}! Ve l’Afra!  
 what emotion be.1SG excited come.3SG the=Afra  
 Ja arriba! Ja ve!  
 already arrive.3SG already come.3SG  
 “{How exciting/I’m excited!} Afra’s coming! She’s about to arrive! She’s about to get here!” (Cat.)
- c. ??{Quina emoció/estic emocionada}! Ve l’Afra!  
 what emotion be.1SG excited come.3SG the=Afra  
 {Quina emoció/estic emocionada}! Ja arriba!  
 what emotion be.1SG excited already arrive.3SG  
 {Quina emoció/estic emocionada}! Ja ve!  
 what emotion be.1SG excited already come.3SG  
 “{How exciting/I’m excited!} Afra’s coming! {How exciting/I’m excited!} She’s about to arrive! {How exciting/I’m excited!} She’s about to get here!” (Cat.)

In (18a-c), only the illocutionary complementiser can be repeated without redundancy, whereas its descriptive substitutes are rendered superfluous on repetition.

Ibero-Romance exclamative QUE thus fulfils each of Potts’ (2007) criteria for expressive items. In all cases, exclamative QUE is the only constituent responsible for guaranteeing via the syntax that a sentence will have an *affective illocutionary interpretation*, i.e. an exclamative reading.<sup>7</sup>

### 3.2 Quotative QUE

The specialisation of the complementiser *que* as a marker of reported speech in colloquial, spoken registers of Spanish is well-attested (Spitzer, 1942; Gras, 2011; Etxepare 2007, 2008, 2010, 2013; Demonte and Fernández-Soriano, 2013, 2014, *i.a.*), though its descriptive and formal characterisation is disputed (see Corr, 2016 for discussion of these discrepancies in the literature).<sup>8</sup> This section reviews the key features of so-called quotative QUE as reported by our native-

<sup>7</sup> See Corr (2016) for arguments and evidence in favour of the analysis of exclamative QUE being the overt morphosyntactic realization of Zanuttini and Portner’s (2003) exclamative operator.

<sup>8</sup> For reasons of space, we will not enter into these differences here. The reader is, however, encouraged to consult the various accounts of quotative QUE in the literature, which do not always coincide with the characterisation put forward in the present section. Given that previous works do not agree on the empirical facts, let alone analyses, we suggest that the phenomenon is likely to be an area of considerable microvariation between speakers and/or speech communities. A comprehensive overview or classification of the fine-grained differences in the properties of quotative QUE across Ibero-Romance, and existing accounts thereof, goes far beyond the remit of the present article. We therefore highlight it here as a worthwhile avenue for future research.

speaker consultants for Spanish and Catalan, a specialisation of the complementiser which is not shared by Portuguese, as will be discussed below.

In reporting a previous utterance, quotative QUE introduces a non-assertive sentence, where the speaker is only committed to presenting a proposition, but does not commit to taking responsibility for the truth of its content:

- (19) A: Necessito reposar una mica.  
 “I need to rest a little.”  
 B: Cómo?  
 “What?”  
 A: Que necessito reposar una mica, *però no*  
 QUOT need.1SG rest.INF a bit but not  
*és cert.*  
 be.3SG true  
 “(I said) I need to rest a little, *but it’s not true* [i.e. that I need to rest]” (Cat.)

Thus in (19), interlocutor A is able to repeat their earlier utterance that they need rest, marking their second utterance out as a quotation via quotative QUE, and subsequently rescind that claim. In other words, the presence of quotative QUE allows the speaker to cancel the proposition they have just put forward into the shared knowledge between interlocutors, as illustrated by the impossibility of cancelling an otherwise identical utterance where quotative QUE is absent (see also Etxepare, 2010; Demonte and Fernández-Soriano, 2013, 2014; Sansiñena, 2017 on the cancellability of quotative QUE utterances in Spanish):

- (20) Necessito reposar una mica, *#però no és cert.*  
 need.1SG rest.INF a bit but not be.3SG true  
 “I need to rest a little, *#but it’s not true.*” (Cat.)

The contrast between the minimal pair in (19-22) in terms of their (non)-cancellability is illustrative of Faller’s (2002) distinction between *assertive* and *presentative* illocutionary force: here, whereas the speaker asserts the sentence’s propositional content in (19), a quotative QUE sentence only presents it. The contrast in (19-20) demonstrates that assertion, unlike presentation, endorses the truth of a sentence’s proposition: only in an assertion does the speaker both bear responsibility for introducing the proposition to the other interlocutor(s), and commit themselves to its truth. Déchaine *et al.* (2015) hold that a presentation is a more basic sentence type than an assertion, since the former involves fewer commitments than the latter,<sup>9</sup> providing evidence that in some languages (e.g. Plains Cree), the basic clause type is a presentative, wherein a discourse participant “publicly commits to the experiential grounding of [a proposition] *p*” (ibid.: 7). As such, presentatives are an *evidential* clause type, providing information on the information source of their proposition. This holds true of quotative QUE, inasmuch as the illocutionary morpheme constitutes a grammatical mechanism by which the speaker can communicate that they are not the source of the propositional content (even in contexts where they are

<sup>9</sup> For Déchaine *et al.* (2015: 4-7), the difference between the two types of illocutionary force is a result of the kind of conversational update each involves: a presentation updates the superset *origo ground* (viz. the set of propositions of which all interlocutors are mutually aware (Portner, 2006: 8), but are not committed to), whereas an assertion updates the *common ground* (Stalnaker, 1974), characterised as the set of propositions (both uttered and background information) to which the interlocutors have, additionally, made commitments.

quoting themselves, in which case the speaker is the information source for the original utterance only, not the quotation).

However, as an evidential, quotative QUE is underspecified with respect to the speaker's information source, making no distinction between evidence types. Instead, information source is supplied by secondary strategies such as person/number agreement (21a-c) or an overt information source DP which appears obligatorily to the left of quotative QUE and the clause it introduces (22):

- (21) A to B:           ¿Bajas al centro?  
                           “Are you going into town?” (E.Sp.)
- a.    A to B:    Que    si    bajas    al    centro  
                           QUOT if go.2SG to.the centre  
                           “[I asked if] you're going into town”
- b.    B to A:    Que    si    bajo    al    centro  
                           QUOT if go.1SG to.the centre  
                           “[You ask if] I'm going into town”
- c.    C to A:    Que    si    baja    al    centro  
                           QUOT if go.3SG to.the centre  
                           “[You ask if] he's going into town”
- (22) (Tu    madre), que    (\*tu    madre) si    (\*tu    madre)  
       your mother QUOT your mother if your mother  
       bajas al centro (\*tu madre)  
       go.2SG to.the centre your mother  
       “Your mother [asks] if you're going into town”

In (21a-c), the information source – i.e. whether the quotative QUE sentence constitutes a self-report by the speaker (21a), or a quotation of a previous utterance by an addressee (21b), or an interlocutor who is neither the speaker nor the addressee (21c) – is codified not by the illocutionary morpheme but by the person and number marking on the verb. In the latter case, the interlocutor can be specified by lexical means, viz. an overt source DP as in (22). Note, however, that the grammaticality of realizing an overt information source DP is subject to idiolectal variation across Ibero-Romance speakers for whom quotative QUE is available (so too do authors disagree as to its availability; cf. Etxepare, 2007, *et. seq.*; Gras, 2011; Demonte and Fernández-Soriano, 2013, 2014, *i.a.*).

That the fundamental illocutionary contribution of quotative QUE is to mark out a sentence as a presentative evidential is corroborated by the observation that the clause introduced by quotative QUE does not have to adhere either to the form or content of the original utterance, as in (23):

- (23) A:    Tio, estava dubtant 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.” (Catalan, COR)

In this regard, quotative QUE clauses can be characterized as *samesaying* constructions, inasmuch as they are “just a channel for a previous utterance” (Etxepare, 2010: 617). By deviating from the form and content of the original

utterance, the only responsibility taken on by the speaker is that of the quotative act. Thus, what counts in a quotative QUE sentence is not its formal similarity to the original utterance, its content or its truth, but solely that the speaker intends for their utterance to be interpreted as a quotation.

It is crucial to note that quotative QUE is only available in a subset of Ibero-Romance varieties; specifically, quotative QUE is ungrammatical in Portuguese according to all native speakers we have consulted. Although superficially ‘quotative’ constructions are attested in Portuguese – i.e. cases of apparently non-embedded quotations headed by the complementiser *que* –, these are only possible where a *verbum dicendi* is retrievable from the (immediately) surrounding discourse context, as witnessed by the contrast in (24-25):

- (24) Sabes o que me disseram? *Que* vou ser boa  
 know.2SG the what me=say.PST.3PL that go.1SG be.INF good  
 mãe.  
 mother  
 “Do you know what they told me? [They told me] that I’m going to be a good mother” (E.Pg.)
- (25) A: Não se ouve bem.  
 “We can’t hear you very well”  
 B: O quê? Hein?  
 “What? Huh?”  
 A: \*Que não se ouve bem.  
 QUOT not REFL=hear.3SG well

We argue that the difference in grammaticality between (24-26) is due to the presence of a *verbum dicendi* in the antecedent of the quoted sentence in (24), and the absence of a suitable selecting predicate which could introduce the quotation in (25). In the former, we assume the felicitousness of the quotation is a result of the elision of a matrix predicate that selects the quoted clause, i.e. the quotation is in fact a complement clause embedded under a non-pronounced matrix clause, as represented in (26):

- (26) Sabes o que me disseram? [~~Disseram-me~~] [*que* vou  
 know.2SG the what me=say.PST.3PL say.PST.3PL=me that go.1SG  
 ser boa mãe]].  
 be.INF good mother  
 “Do you know what they told me? [They told me] *that* I’m going to be a good mother.” (E.Pg.)

By contrast, the lack of a suitable selecting predicate in (27) entails that the quotation is genuinely unembedded, which results in an impossible sentence in Portuguese, but a felicitous one in related varieties like Catalan and Spanish:

- (27) A: No se te escucha bien.  
 “We can’t hear you very well.”  
 B: ¿Qué?  
 “What/huh?”  
 A: Que no se te escucha bien.  
 QUOT not REFL=you=listen.3SG well  
 “[I said] we can’t hear you very well.”

Since the above structure results in ungrammaticality in Portuguese, yet is felicitous elsewhere in Ibero-Romance, we assume that quotative QUE is simply unavailable in Portuguese.

As such, in the varieties in which it is available (as discussed in the present paper for Catalan and Spanish), quotative QUE is the only constituent responsible for guaranteeing via the syntax that a sentence will have a *presentative evidential interpretation*, i.e. a quotative reading. On our view, the systematic exclusion of quotative QUE from European Portuguese signals that the quotative reading of the complementiser in Catalan and Spanish is not inferentially derived or a matter of stipulation, but instead provides indication that quotative/evidential meaning is grammatically encoded in the complementiser system of these varieties.

#### 4. The Ibero-Romance (finite) complementiser system

In Section 2, we observed that complementisers are syncretic items which identify a sentence's clause type (e.g. Romance *si/se* for an interrogative clause), finiteness (compare Romance *de/di*, which introduces a non-finite clause) and/or mood (e.g. Old Portuguese *ca* <Lat. *QUIA* heads indicative clauses only). In this section, we examine the behaviour of illocutionary QUE across Ibero-Romance with respect to various syntactic operations, viz. clause-typing (Section 4.1), embedding (Section 4.2) and compatibility with conjunction and disjunction (Section 4.3).

##### 4.1 Clause typing

###### 4.1.1 Exclamative QUE

As observed in Section 2.1, exclamative QUE typically introduces declarative indicative structures (28a-b):

- (28) a. (Ai), que et trobo a faltar!  
 DM EXCL you=find.1SG to miss.INF  
 “Oh I miss you!” (Cat.)
- b. Ai, que os meus olhos tão a pesar tanto.  
 ohh EXCL the my eyes be.3PL to weigh.INF so.much  
 “Ohhh, my eyes are so heavy!” (E.Pg.; Twitter)

Additionally, Catalan and Spanish speakers accept rhetorical questions (i.e. interrogative structures without genuine information-seeking illocutionary force) introduced by exclamative QUE (29a), and a subset of these speakers also accept wh-exclamatives (29b) and rhetorical wh-interrogatives (29c) with exclamative QUE (a bracketed asterisk (\*) indicates that some native speakers find the sentence felicitous whereas others judge it ungrammatical):

- (29) a. Que et sembla que tinc tot el (puto)  
 EXCL to.you=seem.3SG that have.1SG all the effing  
 dia?!  
 day  
 “Do you think I’ve got all (effing) day?!” (Cat.)
- b. (\*)Ai que què coi fas aquí?!  
 ahh EXCL what hell do.2SG here

- “Ahh, what the hell are you doing here?!” (Cat.)  
 c. (\*)joer que qué envidia cochina mah grande.  
 fuck EXCL what envy filthy more big  
 “Feck, I’m so flipping jealous!” (E.Sp.)

Despite the compatibility of exclamative QUE with structural interrogatives, these are only licensed if the sentence lacks the illocutionary force of a question, as witnessed by the ungrammaticality of exclamative QUE with genuine information-seeking polar (30) and wh-interrogatives (31):<sup>10</sup>

- (30) (Ai) (\*que) la conèixes? (Cat.)  
 DM EXCL her=know.2SG  
 (31) (Ai) (\*que) què fas aquí? (Cat.)  
 DM EXCL what do.2SG here

In other words, in Catalan and Spanish, there is not a one-to-one relationship between the (exclamative) complementiser and the clause type it introduces. Additionally, the licensing of exclamative QUE constructions is sensitive to the illocutionary force of a sentence.

Conversely, European Portuguese disallows exclamative QUE with clause types other than declaratives (28b), as illustrated here for polar rhetorical questions (32) and wh-exclamatives (33):

- (32) Ai (\*que) achas que tenho o dia todo?! (E.Pg.)  
 ahh EXCL think.2SG that have.1SG the day all  
 (33) Ai (\*que) que bem \*(que) fala a irlandesa! (E.Pg.)  
 ahh EXCL what well that speak.3SG the Irish.FEM

Other clause types, including imperatives (34), subjunctives (35) and non-finite clauses (36) are ungrammatical with exclamative QUE in all Ibero-Romance varieties:

- (34) (Ai) (\*que) fala baixo! (E.Pg.)  
 ahh EXCL speak.IMP low  
 (35) (\*Que) \*(que) fales baixo! (E.Pg.)  
 EXCL que<sub>jussive</sub> speak.SUBJ.2SG low  
 (36) ¡(\*Que) aguantar a mi edad estas impertinencias!  
 EXCL put.up.with.INF at my age these impertinencies  
 (E.Sp.; adapted from Hernanz 1999: 2338)

We thus observe that exclamative QUE is sensitive to clause type, mood and finiteness, licensing only finite indicative sentences with a restricted set of clause types. Whereas in Catalan and Spanish, the relationship between exclamative QUE and clause-typing is indirect, in European Portuguese there is a one-to-one relationship between the licensing of exclamative QUE and clause type, since only structural declaratives are permitted with the illocutionary complementiser.

<sup>10</sup> Note that, due to the possibility of the complementiser *que* heading polar interrogatives in Eastern Ibero-Romance, if (30) is uttered with prosody of a polar question rather than – as intended here – an exclamative intonational contour, then the sentence would be felicitous.



#### 4.1.2 Quotative QUE

Quotative QUE is felicitous with declaratives (37a), wh-exclamatives (37b), wh-interrogatives (37c), and polar interrogatives, with both (originally) genuine information-seeking (37d) as well as rhetorical (37e) illocutionary force:<sup>11</sup>

- (37) a. Que me'n vaig de vacances  
QUOT me=PART=go.1SG of holidays  
“[I said] I’m going on holiday” (Cat.)
- b. Que quina pallissa que els van clavar  
QUOT what battering thət they go.3PL get.INF  
“[I said] what a battering they got” (Cat.)
- c. ¿Que cuántos días vas a estar fuera?  
QUOT how.many days go.2PL to be.INF away  
“[I asked] how many days are you going to be away for?” (E.Sp.)
- d. Que si vull un caramel?  
QUOT if want.1SG a sweetie  
“[Did you ask] if I want a sweetie?” (Cat.)
- e. ¿Que si te quieres 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.)

Its licensing of a range of clause types thus distinguishes quotative QUE from exclamative QUE, a difference corroborated by the compatibility of quotative QUE with both non-finite (38) and subjunctive clauses (39):

- (38) Que ja terminar los deberes!  
QUOT to finish.INF the homework  
“[I said] finish your homework!” (E.Sp.)
- (39) Que a esa tienda, que no vayas más.  
QUOT to that shop que<sub>jussive</sub> not go.SUBJ.2SG more  
“[I said] don’t go to that shop anymore” (E.Sp.)

In fact, the only utterances which cannot be repeated in a quotative QUE construction are those involving ‘true’ imperative clauses:

- (40) \*Que digue’m!  
QUOT tell.IMP=me (Cat.)

## 4.2 Clause typing

### 4.2.1 Exclamative QUE

Unlike its homophonous subordinating counterpart, exclamative QUE cannot be embedded, as illustrated here by the compatibility of the former (41,48), but incompatibility of the latter (42,49) with embedding under assertive (41-47) and semi-factive (43-(44) predicates (see also exclamative QUE’S incompatibility with embedding under factive predicates in Section 3.1):

- (41) Vaig dir que en Mario va callar a la fi!  
go.1SG say.INF thət the Mario go.3SG shut.up.INF at the last  
“I said thət Mario shut up at last.” (Cat.)

<sup>11</sup> This section excludes data from (European) Portuguese, since quotative QUE is absent in this variety (see Section 3.2).

- (42)\* Vaig dir (que) que en Mario va callar a  
 go.1SG say.INF that EXCL the Mario go.3SG shut.up.INF at  
 la fi!  
 the last
- (43) Crec que es casen la Joana i l'Enric.  
 believe.1SG that REFL=marry.3PL the Joana and the=Enric  
 "I believe that Joana and Enric are getting married" (Cat.)
- (44)\*Crec (que) que es casen la Joana i l'Enric!  
 believe.1SG that EXCL REFL=marry.3PL the Joana and the=Enric

In (42,49), exclamative QUE is incompatible with embedding, whether or not it co-occurs with subordinating *que* (i.e. exclamative QUE can neither be embedded under another type of *que*-complementiser, nor can it be embedded *tout court*).

#### 4.2.2 Quotative QUE

Conversely, quotative QUE clauses are compatible with embedding under a suitable selecting predicate, viz. a *verbum dicendi*, as illustrated here by the felicitous embedding of the Catalan and Spanish examples from Section 3.1.2:

- (45) Vaig dir/preguntar {que me'n vaig de vacances/que quina pallissa que  
 els van clavar/que si vols un caramel}  
 "I said/I asked {that I'm going on holiday/what a battering they got/if  
 you want a sweetie}" (Cat.)
- (46) Dije/pregunté {que cuántos días vas a estar fuera/que si te quieres  
 callar de una puta vez/que a terminar los deberes/que a esa tienda, que  
 no vayas más}  
 "I told/asked (you) {how many days are you going to be away for/if  
 you'll shut the hell up for once/to finish your homework/not to go to  
 that shop anymore}" (E.Sp.)

Embedded quotative clauses are referentially opaque (47a), contrasting with the referential interpretation of embedded interrogatives and wh-exclamatives where the complementiser is absent (47b), a divergence which is well-documented in the literature (González i Planas, 2014 provides extensive discussion and references):

- (47) a. Te pregunto/repito *que* cuáles eran sus  
 you=ask.1SG/repeat.1SG QUOT which be.IMPF.3PL their  
 actores favoritos: #Nicholson y Depardieu.  
 actors favourite Nicholson and Depardieu  
 "I ask/repeat (to) you which their favourite actors were:  
 #Nicholson and Depardieu." (Suñer, 1993: 57)
- b. (Te) pregunto/repito  $\emptyset$  cuáles eran sus actores  
 you=ask.1SG/repeat.1SG which be.IMPF.3PL their actors  
 favoritos: Nicholson y Depardieu.  
 favourite Nicholson and Depardieu  
 "I tell/repeat (to you) who his favourite actors were: Nicholson  
 and Depardieu." (ibid.: 57)

The embeddability of quotative QUE aligns this item with the syntax of the subordinating complementiser, and distinguishes it from the (non-embeddable) exclamative illocutionary complementiser.

### 4.3 Conjunction and disjunction

The clausal complements that the subordinating complementiser *que* introduces can undergo both conjunction (48) and disjunction (49):

(48) Vocês sabem *que* é o último dia de aulas  
you know.3SG that be.3SG the final day of class  
do primeiro período *e que* passadas duas semanas  
of.the first term and that pass.PST.PTCP two weeks  
volta tudo ao mesmo não é?  
return.3SG everything to.the same not be.3SG  
“You know *that* it’s the last day of class of the first term *and that* in two weeks everything will be the same again, right?” (E.Pg.; Twitter)

(49) [...]sin pensar *que* podía causar perjuicio  
without think.INF that could.IMPF.3SG cause.INF harm  
*o que* no se podía hacer.  
or that not REFL=could.IMPF.3SG do.INF

“[...] without considering *that* it could cause harm *or that* it was impossible to achieve.” (E.Sp.; *Diario Sur*)

#### 4.3.1 Exclamative QUE

Unlike clauses introduced by the subordinating complementiser *que*, the conjunction and particularly disjunction of exclamative QUE constructions is degraded:

(50) Ai mãe *que* isso sai muito caro (??*e/ou*) *que*  
ah mother EXCL this go.3SG very expensive and/or EXCL  
não tenho seguro.  
not have.1SG insurance  
“Ahh mum, this is turning out to be very expensive [intended: and/or I don’t have insurance].” (E.Pg.)

In the case of conjoined exclamative QUE clauses, the omission of the second illocutionary complementiser produces a grammatical sentence (the disjunction of exclamative QUE clauses, however, continues to produce an infelicitous sentence; cf. Krifka, 2001, 2003; Corr, 2016 for further discussion).

#### 4.3.2 Quotative QUE

Quotative QUE, on the other hand, shows the same behaviour as the subordinating complementiser with respect to these syntactic operations, permitting both the conjunction and disjunction (for further discussion and, in some cases, alternative conclusions, see Etxepare, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2013; Demonte and Fernández-Soriano, 2013, 2014; Corr, 2016):

(51) Y él, *que* llegábamos tarde, *que* no  
and he QUOT arrive.IMPF.1PL late QUOT not  
se podía salir con nosotros *y/o* *que*  
REFL=could.3SG go.out.INF with us and/or QUOT  
teníamos *que* protestarpor el retraso.  
have.IMPF.3SG that complain.INF for the delay  
“And he kept saying that we were late, that he couldn’t go out with us *and/or* that we should complain about the delay.” (adapted from Demonte and Fernández-Soriano, 2013: 37)

#### 4.4 Summary

Exclamative QUE exhibits restrictions in the structural characteristics of the clauses it introduces, permitting only a limited set of clause types, and licensing only finite indicative clauses. Quotative QUE is extremely liberal in its interaction with clause-typing, finiteness and mood, introducing a range of clause types, including both finite and non-finite as well as indicative and subjunctive clauses, with the notable exception of ‘true’ imperatives, which are disallowed with quotative QUE. Whereas exclamative QUE clauses cannot undergo conjunction and disjunction, quotative QUE is compatible with these operations, behaviour which aligns the latter with the syntax of the subordinating complementiser *que*. The one-to-one relation between exclamative QUE and (declarative) clause type in European Portuguese, and the ban on quotative QUE in this language, highlights the sensitivity of European Portuguese complementisers to formal clause type; that is, the complementiser *que* in European Portuguese is strictly reserved for declarative finite clauses (though, as observed in Section 2, the complementiser system does not show sensitivity to mood). This sensitivity to clause type sets the European Portuguese complementiser *que* apart from its European Spanish and Catalan counterparts, which do not exhibit the same degree of restriction in terms of clause-typing.

### 5. Multifunctionality of QUE and Ibero-Romance dialectology

The foregoing discussion has revealed both interpretative and syntactic differences between the canonical role of the Ibero-Romance complementiser *que* as a subordinator and the repurposing of this morpheme for the encoding illocutionary meaning in non-subordinate environments via the items we refer to as exclamative and quotative QUE. The multifunctionality of the complementiser *que* and its illocutionary QUE variants, however, does not occur uniformly across Ibero-Romance. The present section summarises the general patterns we can discern across the three major Peninsular varieties, viz. European Portuguese, Spanish and Catalan.

Firstly, the availability of the information-seeking interrogative complementiser QUE is a feature of Catalan (and other Eastern Ibero-Romance dialects) to the exclusion of other Ibero-Romance varieties. Secondly, European Portuguese is the only major Ibero-Romance language in which quotative QUE is ungrammatical. As such, the complementiser *que* in this variety is reserved for introducing declarative finite clauses. Thirdly, the languages vary in terms of the clause types with which illocutionary complementisers are compatible: as detailed above, European Portuguese reserves the complementiser *que* for introducing declarative finite clauses, whereas European Spanish and Catalan allow a wider range of clause types with illocutionary complementisers.

That these behaviours are not simply quirks of the subordinating complementiser *que* in non-canonical environments is verified by the replication of these patterns with the interrogative complementiser *se/si* ‘if, whether’ in European Portuguese and Catalan varieties. That is, despite the impossibility of

quotative QUE in European Portuguese, this variety permits what we dub ‘quotative *se/si*’ (52), as does Catalan (53a-b):<sup>12</sup>

- (52) A: Vens?  
 come.2SG  
 “Are you coming?”  
 B: O quê?  
 the what  
 “What?”  
 A: Se vens?  
 if come.2SG  
 “[I asked] are you coming?” (E.Pg.)
- (53) a. Vindran?  
 come.FUT.2SG  
 “Are they coming?” (Cat.; Rigau and Süils, 2010: 161)  
 b. Si vindran?  
 if come.FUT.2SG  
 “[Are you asking me if] they are coming?” (ibid.: 161)

Spanish speakers cannot introduce interrogative quotations in this way, but instead require quotative QUE before the interrogative complementiser *si* (though see Escandell Vidal’s (1999: 46-7) discussion of her ‘*si citativo*’):

- (54) ¿\*(Que) si vienes?  
 QUOT if come.2SG  
 “[I asked] are you coming?”

Moreover, in the Ribagorçan and Pallarese varieties of Catalan, the interrogative complementiser can also be used to introduce polar (55a) and wh-interrogatives (55b), analogous to the use of the information-seeking interrogative complementiser QUE in Eastern Ibero-Romance:

- (55) a. 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?” (Ribagorçan/Pallarese; Rigau and Süils, 2010: 154)  
 b. Se a on deu ser, aquell home?  
 INT at where might.3SG be.INF that man  
 “Where might that man be?” (Ribagorçan/Pallarese; ibid.: 154)

Crucially, when embedded, the interrogative complementiser plus wh-constituent constructions involve a non-referential interpretation (56a), contrasting with the referential interpretation of the same construction when the complementiser is absent (56b):

- (56) a. 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”  
 (Ribagorçan; Süils and Ribes, 2015: 558)  
 b. Sabeu Ø 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”  
 (Ribagorçan; ibid.: 558)

<sup>12</sup> Brazilian Portuguese speakers do not accept this use of the interrogative complementiser.

In other words, embedded interrogative complementiser plus *wh*-constituent constructions in the above varieties show exactly the same syntactic behaviour as quotative *QUE* plus *wh*-constituent clauses do when embedded (see Section 3.2.2).

If the illocutionary interpretations of the (ordinarily) declarative complementiser *que* were simply inferentially derived rather than syntactically encoded, we would not expect to see the same properties occurring elsewhere in the complementiser systems of Ibero-Romance. That these behaviours are repeated systematically in parallel but independent contexts is strong evidence for a grammatical, rather than pragmatic, explanation of the multifunctionality of *que* (and its interrogative cousin, *si/se*) in Ibero-Romance. The unexpected parallel between European Portuguese and Catalan – i.e. geographically non-contiguous varieties – to the exclusion of European Spanish constitutes further evidence in support of this conclusion, since the illocutionary functions of the interrogative complementiser occur independently and are unlikely to be a result of contact/transfer between these varieties.

## 6. Conclusions

Despite their indistinguishable appearance and pronunciation, the subordinating complementiser *que* in Ibero-Romance does not exhibit the same syntactic behaviour as the *prima facie* identical illocutionary complementisers exclamative and quotative *QUE*. Whilst the subordinating complementiser is semantically bleached, and is dedicated to encoding ‘core’ grammatical relations, exclamative and quotative *QUE* each encode specialised illocutionary content and mark non-trivially distinct syntactic-pragmatic relations from each other and from their subordinating counterpart. The availability of these complementisers differs systematically across Ibero-Romance: European Portuguese shows a strict one-to-one relation between complementiser and clause type, disallowing quotative *QUE* (though permitting quotative *se*); Spanish and Catalan are much more liberal in the range and syntax of the complementisers they permit, with Catalan additionally licensing interrogative illocutionary complementisers. In other words, near-synonymy can be observed in the syntactic domain, insofar as the lexical item *que* has developed overall relatively similar, yet subtly distinct, functions across this language family, constituting structural differences which only intricate formal diagnostics can tease apart. The various illocutionary nuances encoded in the grammar of complementisers in Ibero-Romance supports the view promoted by Rizzi (1997: 283) that these items are not solely dedicated to a subordinating function, but are also the locus of the interface between a sentence’s propositional content and the discourse itself in simple matrix clauses.

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### **Abbreviations and glosses**

(E.)Pg.	(European) Portuguese
(E.)Sp.	(European/Peninsular) Spanish
Cat.	Catalan
CONJ	Conjunctive QUE
INT	Interrogative complementiser
QUOT	Quotative QUE
SUBJ	Subjunctive
that	the finite declarative complementiser, orthographically 'that'