

## Revisiting the functional typology of insubordination. *Que*-initial sentences in Spanish

Pedro Gras

Universitat de Barcelona & KU Leuven

**Objective.** This paper discusses the functional typology of insubordination (Evans, 2007) in the light of Spanish data. In particular, the focus is on the functional load of *que*-initial sentences, which are the most frequent insubordinated constructions in Peninsular Spanish.

**Background.** The form *que* 'that', which is the default subordinator in Spanish, can function as a relative pronoun (1a) or as a conjunction (1b). However, in colloquial Spanish *que* can also be used at the beginning of a clause which is not subject to any previous constituent, as the example in (2) illustrates.

- (1) a. Esta es la casa **que** compramos.  
'This is the house (**that**) we bought.'  
b. Me dijo **que** estaba en casa.  
'He told me (**that**) he was at home.'
- (2) - Tienes que llamar al banco.  
'You have to call the bank.'  
- **Que** ya he llamado.  
'I have already called.'

The behaviour exemplified in (2) is consistent with the phenomenon of insubordination (Evans, 2007), i.e. the use of typical resources of subordination in independent clauses.

As it has been observed in the Spanish linguistic literature (Porroche, 2000; Pons, 2003; Núñez Lagos, 2005; Etxepare, 2008; Rodríguez Ramalle, 2008a, 2008b; Demonte and Fernández Soriano, 2009; Gras, 2011, 2012; among others), *que*-initial sentences can display several functions in interaction: third person imperatives, optatives, evaluative modality, echo-sentences, self-repetition, signalling relevant information, among others.

Considering the high polyfunctionality of *que*-initial sentences, in this paper I would like to address two interrelated questions. Firstly, I will examine whether *que*-initial sentences be considered instances of a single polysemous construction or whether they are different form-meaning pairings with their own grammatical or discursive features. Secondly, I will check to which extent the functional typology of insubordination proposed in Evans (2007) account for the wide array of functions displayed by *que*-initial sentences.

**Data and methodology.** This study is based on the analysis of manually extracted examples (aprox. 130 tokens) from the Val.Es.Co. corpus (*Corpus de conversaciones coloquiales*, Briz & Val.Es.Co., 2002), containing spontaneous conversations among adults from Valencia (Spain). Each occurrence is analysed taking into account grammatical (TAM, person and number, sentence modality), semantic-pragmatic (modal values, illocutionary force, connective value) and conversational factors (initial vs. mid position in the intervention, initiative vs. reactive intervention, preferred vs. dispreferred response). Theoretically this paper is in line with recent constructional-interactional approaches to grammar (Fillmore, 1989; Linell, 2009; Gras, 2011, 2012).

**Results.** My contribution consists in the identification of different *que*-construction types with specific prosodic, grammatical and discursive features, which leads to a typology of insubordination which considers two main macrofunctions: (i) non-declarative sentence modality and (ii) context dependency.

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