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Semantic polyfunctionality and constructional networks: On in subordinate subjunctive complement constructions in Spanish

Abstract

This paper offers an analysis of in subordinate subjunctive complement clauses (ISCs) in Spanish and aims to contribute to the general debate in Construction Grammar on how to deal with a highly pragmatically specified surface form that expresses several meanings. We explore whether the meanings expressed by ISCs are encoded in the construction or can be derived via independently existing principles of pragmatic interpretation. The results of the analysis are represented in a constructional network.

Key words: Construction Grammar, in subordination, complement clauses, syntax, interactional linguistics

1. Introduction

Polyfunctionality -a single surface form associated with more than one meaning- poses a challenge for a constructional analysis. As Smirnova & Sommerer (2020:7) argue, “one crucial question is when to postulate an extension of the semantic range of a particular existing construction and when to postulate the emergence of a completely new form-meaning pairing”. An interesting case study is the analysis of in subordinate subjunctive complement clauses (ISCs) in Spanish, since they can express several pragmatic values: reiterated requests (1), expression of permission to a third party (2), curses (3), polite wishes (4), third-person requests (5), and requests that are obvious to the speaker (6), amongst others ¹:

- (1) Reiterated requests²
[Some boys are getting annoyed at their friend, who is playing very loud music]
- J03: baja el volumen tronca
“turn down the volume, buddy”
- G01: no te quedas sordo/
“aren’t you going deaf/”
- J01: calla. pero que no, que está bien
“shut up. I said no, it is fine”
- J03: *que* *bajes* *el volumen*
COMP turn.down-3SG.PRS.SBJV the volume

¹ The glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. The three-line format is only applied to the turns containing *que* clauses, given the length of some examples and for purposes of reader-friendliness. The conventions used in each corpus can be found in Appendix 1.

² To our knowledge the literature does not offer a specific term to refer to commands that are presented as obvious by the speaker. In English this meaning can be expressed by the pattern <imperative + *already*>, e.g. *Shut up already!*

“turn down the volume already!”
(COLA-Madrid)

- (2) Expression of permission to a third party
[J01 and J03 are collecting money from their friends to buy drinks for the whole group.
J01 wants to wait for two other friends to give the money]

J01: Vamos a organizarnos. Esperar a @nombre y al @nombre.
“let’s organize ourselves. Wait for @name and @name”
esperar al @nombre. llamarlos o algo.
“wait for @name. Call them or something”

J04: venga tronco
“come on dude”
que no paguen
COMP no pay-3PL.PRS.SBJV
“let them not pay and that’s it”
y ya está. Sabes/. dos euros venga
“and that is it. you know/ two euros come on”
(COLA, Madrid)

- (3) Curses
[Two friends are gossiping in the school playground about some other girls who are not present in the conversation]

J01: chicas no se peleen con ellas por eso
“girls don’t fight with them for that”
son unas taradas
“they are morons”

J02: pero no. en la clase digo son unas forras
“but no. In class I say they are bitches”

J01: **que se vayan a un manón.**
COMP RFL go-3PL.PRS.SBJV to a shit.
“may they go to the shit”
son todas un par de soretes ja ja ja boluda
“they are all assholes ha ha ha. jerk”
(COLA, Buenos Aires)

- (4) Polite wishes
Feliz cumple,
“happy birthday”

que sea un gran día
COMP to.be-3SG.PRS.SBJV a great day
“may it be a great day”
(Twitter, Chile)

- (5) Third-person requests
[A student asks fellow students why one girl is carrying a recorder with her]

V01: y qué lleva grabando ahí/
“and what does she have\ recording there?”

G03: [y queee y qué qué sentido tiene ese]
“and, what’s, and what’s the point of this?”

G01: [es eso es]
“it’s...that is”

G02: es un poco largo.
“it’s a long story”

<i>que</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>cuenta</i>	<i>ella</i>
COMP	2SG.DAT	3SG.OBJ.M	tell-3SG.PRS.SBJV	she

“she should tell you”

V01: [colaborando] [está colaborando con la universidad de Bergen/
“collaborating she is collaborating with the University of Bergen/”

J03: estoy de servicio no puedo hablar ahora
“I’m on duty, I can’t talk right now”
(COLA, Madrid)

(6) Requests that are obvious to the speaker

[A girl who is making some drawings gets mad at her friend because she is constantly commenting on her work]

J04: y luego hay que que dibujarlo todo otra vez ochenta veces o qué/
“and then everything must be drawn eighty times again or what?”

J03: ochenta mil a lo mejor
“eighty thousand maybe”

J04: y ahora cómo lo vas a despegar de ahí/
“and how how are you gonna remove it from there?”

J03: pues si iré pasando la línea. [no me quiero apurar]
“well, I will go through the line. [I don’t want to rush]”

J05: [tía lo haces así
“buddy you do it like that”

J03: *que te calles tía ya*
COMP 2SG.DAT shut.up-2SG.PRS.SBJV dude already
“shut up already, dude”
es que no paras tronca
“you don’t stop dude”
(COLA, Madrid)

The question arises as to how to model the rich pragmatic information expressed by the construction. Is it possible to posit a schema shared by all instances? If so, what would be the shared meaning and

what mechanisms would be involved to derive the different pragmatic meanings? Or would it be better to consider the different pragmatic meanings as belonging to separate constructions instead?

Previous approaches differ in terms of how to deal with pragmatic information, either considering the different semantic categories as belonging to separate constructions (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van Linden 2012; D’Hertefelt 2018; Gras 2011, 2016a) or positing only one construction with an abstract meaning that covers all the pragmatic meanings (Sansiñena, De Smet & Cornillie 2015; Sansiñena 2015). Generative syntactic studies (Demonte & Fernández Soriano 2007, 2009) provide enough formal evidence to distinguish at least two types of *que*, third-person imperative and quotative. We will follow up on that suggestion in the remainder of this study and, accordingly, argue for a constructional account that assumes two basic construction types.

Based on a quantitative corpus analysis, we argue that quoted directives, as in (1), show specific formal marking so that they can be considered subschemas of a separate quotative construction (not specifically restricted to directive uses/subjunctive mood), whereas desiderative functions without quotative value (curses and wishes, third-person requests, intensified requests, etc.), illustrated in (2-6), share another type of formal marking and can be explained by general pragmatic mechanisms of interpretation (i.e. conditions on speech acts). Moreover, we argue that desiderative uses can be analyzed as instantiating a minor imperative sentence type in Spanish.

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, we review previous approaches to ISCs in Spanish and equivalent constructions in other languages. Section 3 outlines the methodological basis of our analysis. Section 4 presents the results of our corpus analysis, whereas Section 5 models the results in a constructional network. Finally, Section 6 presents our conclusions.

2. Insubordinate subjunctive complement constructions

The examples mentioned in the previous section meet the criteria for being considered cases of insubordination. Evans introduced this term to refer to “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses” (Evans 2007: 367).

ISCs share formal features with regular subordinate clauses, as they are introduced by the initial complementizer *que* ‘that’, and take a verb form in the subjunctive mood, which is normally found in subordinate contexts. It could be argued that their meaning is partly motivated, given that the subjunctive mood signals potentiality and other Romance languages have similar constructions, such as in the following example from French:

- (7) *Que tout le monde sorte*
COMP all the world leave-3SG.PRS.SBJV
“everybody should leave”
(Grevisse 1993: 1561 *apud* Panther and Thornburg 2011 :89)

However, the whole range of pragmatic meanings expressed by the ISCs cannot be fully explained if we consider only this motivation³. We should also examine the features that set them apart from regular complement clauses: the tense selection they make and their behavior as a main clause. ISCs take mostly present tense as in (1-6), but it is also possible to find cases with pluperfect marking, by means of which

³ Demonte & Fernandez Soriano (2009: 39) argue that the morphology of the verb forms in these clauses does not signal imperative mood, and it is only thanks to *que* that the clauses get an imperative meaning. Moreover, the complementizer can be replaced with *ojalá* ‘hopefully’ in optative sentences (Sansiñena, Cornillie & De Smet 2015: 11).

the speaker expresses a reproach about something that should have been done (or not) in the past, as in (8):

- (8) A: Díaz Ferrán defraudador, moroso con sus trabajadores,
 “Díaz Ferrán: defrauder, defaulter with his employees,”
 [...] saldrá de prisión cumpliendo un tercio de la condena por buen
 “he will leave prison having served one third of the sentence for good”
 comportamiento.
 “behavior”
- B: Por buen comportamiento?
 “For good behavior?”
- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Que | lo | hubiera tenido | antes de |
| COMP | 3SG.OBJ.M | have-3.SG.PLUPRF.SBJV. | before of |
| “he should have had it before” | | | |
| delinquir, | no | en la cárcel. | |
| commit.a.crime-INF | not | in the jail | |
| “committing crime, not in jail” | | | |
- (Twitter, Spain)

Even though it is rare, ISCs also allow for present-perfect subjunctive marking (9) to express a wish about a state of affairs that is assumed to be realized (or not), but whose realization the speaker does not know about yet. And unlike regular subordinate clauses, ISCs can never appear with the imperfect, as in the invented example in (10):

- (9) [A student is talking about one of their teachers at school]
- J02: qué bueno chicas que esté tardando mucho (...)
 “it’s great girls that she is taking so long (...)”
- J02: chicas hace quince minutos que deberíamos estar en clase
 “girls the class should have started fifteen minutes ago”
- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|------------------|
| que | haya | faltado | por favor |
| COMP | have.3SG.PRS.SBJV | be.absent-PTCP | please |
| “[I hope] she hasn’t come (.) please” | | | |
- (BABS2-03, COLA BA) (Sansiñena 2015: 65-66)
- (10) ***Que** **llegaran** **pronto**
 COMP arrive-3PL.IPRF.SBJV soon
 “That they arrived soon”

Moreover, it is necessary to distinguish ISCs from elliptical clauses and syntactically dyadic sentences (Sansiñena, De Smet & Cornillie 2015), i.e. clauses that are dependent on the previous matrix clause in the turn that immediately precedes them. As exemplified in (11), the *que* clause is a reply to the immediately preceding turn, in which the main predicate *quieres* ‘want’ has been omitted:

- (11) [Two friends are having a fight]
- J01: que sí que vale ya me he cogido la silla qué quieres/
 “alright ok, I have already taken the chair what do you want/
 qué más quieres/”

“what else do you want?”

J02: *que te calles*
COMP RFL shut.up-3SG.PRS.SBJV
“that you shut up”
(COLA-Madrid)

As opposed to regular (possibly elliptical) complement constructions, ISCs do not depend on any syntactic unit that could function as a main clause: they are syntactically, pragmatically⁴ and prosodically independent. These properties can be illustrated by example (12):

(12) [A group of friends are talking about what they did the night before]

J02: a qué hora te fuistes a tu casa/
“what time did you go to your place?”

G01: ayer/
“yesterday”

J01: no no llegó directamente
“no no he arrived directly”

G01: *que diga @nombre*
COMP say-3SG.PRS.SBJV name
“@name should say”
lo que hice
3SG.OBJ.M REL do-1SG.PRT.PRF.IND.
“what I did”
qué hice/
“what did I do?”

J01: lo normal de un borracho
“the usual for a drunkard”
(COLA, Madrid)

The ISC in (12) is not syntactically related to the previous clause. Moreover, it serves to perform a directive speech act, which is clearly differentiated and independent from the illocutionary force of the question that follows it: *¿qué hice?* ‘what did I do?’. And finally, regarding prosody, the example constitutes an independent unit and is not included in the prosodic contour of the following speech act. According to Elvira-García (2016), ISCs tend to show a prosodic pattern similar to that of exclamative clauses, expressing contrast and/or assertion of obviousness.

In sum, ISCs have formal and functional features that cannot be explained based on the behavior of corresponding subordinate clauses. Their special formal and semantic properties suggest that we are dealing with constructions that operate beyond the level of the clause. Kay and Michaelis (2012: 2286) offer concepts that will allow us to relate these structures to other types of constructions with “less commonly recognized illocutionary forces”.

⁴ Following D’Hertefelt & Verstraete (2014), we distinguish between syntactic and pragmatic independency. ISCs are both syntactically independent in that they function as a matrix clause and they are pragmatically independent in that they do not depend on preceding discourse.

Evans (2006: 368) identified three macro-functions of in subordinate clauses: (i) indirection and interpersonal control, including requests, commands, hints, warnings and admonitions; (ii) modal functions of various types such as epistemic and evidential, but also deontic, exclamation and evaluation; and (iii) signaling presupposed material. Evans acknowledges that one type of in subordinate clause can serve more than one macro-function. Indeed, according to Evans’s typology, ISCs cover the first two macro-functions: as speech acts, ISCs take on an indirect value, given that they are used as directives, but at the same time, they express the modal position of the speaker in that the speaker wishes for the realization of a state of affairs. As Gras (2011: 355) puts it, there is a notable overlap between the first two macro-functions: whereas the modal function qualifies the semantic representation involved (primarily as unreal), the function of indirection and interpersonal control refers to the illocutionary values that the constructions acquire in certain contexts.

In the literature, constructional approaches have analyzed ISCs in terms of modality (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012; D’Hertefelt 2018) a sentence type (Gras 2011, 2016a) and illocutionary force (Sansiñena, Cornillie & De Smet 2015; Sansiñena 2015, 2017). In a study of similar clauses in six Germanic languages, D’Hertefelt (2018: 63) groups them under the broad category of “deontic constructions”, as they “evaluate a potential state of affairs in terms of desirability”. However, she considers each semantic category as a different construction. As Table 1 shows, she posits a great number of constructions: even though the functional motivation with some types is acknowledged — for instance, wishes—, she considers them to be separate constructions without appealing to unmotivated formal features. In this typology functional differences thus take precedence over formal marking⁵. From a constructional perspective, however, functional and formal features should be assessed equally in terms of motivation.

Semantic types		Formal marking			
Deontic constructions: evaluate a potential SOA in terms of desirability	Uncontrolled: - addressee not assumed to control potential realization - speaker does not influence realization	Potential short-range wishes: - potential realization located in present or immediate future - no reservations about potential realization		- particles (e.g. English <i>only</i>) - present tense form	
		Potential long-range wishes: - potential realization located in or projected into indefinite future - no reservations about potential realization		- verbs of potentiality (“may”, “can”) - present tense form (- particles (e.g. English <i>only</i>))	
		Irrealis wishes: - potential realization evaluated as improbable		- particles (e.g. English <i>only</i>) - past tense form	
		Counterfactual wishes: - potential realization evaluated as impossible		- particles (e.g. English <i>only</i>) - past perfect form	
	Controlled: - addressee assumed to control potential realization - speaker’s utterance influences realization	Strong: - speaker strongly committed to potential realization - speaker and addressee have conflicting attitudes	Order / prohibition: speaker tells addressee (not) to do something		- particles (Dutch <i>maar</i> , German <i>ja, aber, bloss, mir</i>) - present tense form
			Weak: - speaker weakly committed to potential realization - speaker and addressee have aligned attitudes	Permission: speaker allows addressee to do something	
		Advice: speaker advises addressee to do something		- particles (Dutch <i>misschien, eens</i>) - present tense form	
		Challenge: speaker challenges addressee to do something speaker believes they cannot or may not do		- particles (Dutch <i>maar + eens</i>) - present tense form	

⁵To further support her argument against unifying these constructions, D’Hertefelt (2018) points to the differences in availability of specific semantic types found across the closely related Germanic languages under study and to the different degrees of constructionalization, as not all types described in the typology allow for the reconstruction of the main clause.

In Spanish, Gras (2016a) proposes a single imperative-hortative construction that functions as an alternative to the imperative mood—to express third-person commands and both second- and third-person wishes—and a discourse-connective construction for quotative uses.

From an illocutionary-force perspective, Sansiñena, Cornillie & De Smet (2015) and Sansiñena (2015) propose a unified analysis for all the different uses and posit a single construction which functions as a “displaced directive” (Sansiñena 2015:43). The invariant meaning of the construction is described as “atypical directivity” (hence, a type of “less commonly recognized illocutionary force”) because all uses depart from at least one of the felicity conditions of directive speech acts. According to Searle (1969: 66), the felicity conditions for prototypical directives such as orders and commands are the following:

1. Propositional content condition: the speaker predicates a future act (A) of the interlocutor.
2. Preparatory condition:
 - a) The interlocutor is able to do A and the speaker believes that the interlocutor is able to do A.
 - b) It is not obvious to both speaker and interlocutor that the interlocutor will do A in the normal course of events of his own accord.
 - c) The speaker must be “in a position of authority over the interlocutor”.
3. Sincerity condition: the speaker wants the interlocutor to do A.
4. Essential condition: the utterance counts as an attempt to get the interlocutor to do A.

Building on these conditions, Sansiñena (2015: 48) distinguishes three different uses of ICSs: i) third-person directives, which depart from the propositional content condition and the essential condition, ii) wishes, which depart from the propositional content condition and the preparatory condition, and iii) repeated requests, which depart from the essential condition, as they consist of utterances that report previous orders or requests. Additionally, when the speaker repeats a request of a third person, the preparatory condition and the sincerity condition are also violated.

This analysis is suitable for explaining the pragmatic particularities of ICSs, but it does not describe why some instances count as directive speech acts (13) and (14), while others do not (15). Even though Sansiñena (2017: 277-278) includes an example of a second-person subject without an imperative verb form preceding it that counts as a direct speech act, she does not explain how it constitutes an attempt to make an agent carry out an action:

(13) [A group of teenagers are having a fight]

J01: párate
stop-2SG.IMP
“stop it”

G01: dios
“god”

J01: *que te pares*
COMP RFL stop-2 SG.PRS.SBJV
“stop it already!”

(COLA, Madrid)

(14) [A group of friends are playing with a ball]

<botes del balón/>
<bouncing of the ball/>

G03: hala qué ojo
“wow, that was perfect”

G01: *que* *no toque* *el suelo* *vale/*
COMP no touch-3SG.PRS.SBJV the ground alright/
“it must not hit the ground, ok/”

G03: venga va
“alright let’s go”
(COLA, Buenos Aires)

(15) [Two friends are talking about the car of the father of one of them]

G02: con el auto el auto de mi papá también huevón casi le pegaron al Pedro
“with my dad’s car also dude they almost hit Pedro”

G03: *que* *te* *lo* *preste*
COMP 2SG.DAT 3SG.OBJ.M lend-3SG.PRS.SBJV
“he should lend it to you”

para *ir* *a otro* *lado*
to go-INF to another place
“to go somewhere else”

(COLA, Santiago de Chile)

In addition, there is no exact correspondence between the different semantic categories and the felicity conditions. For example, the departure from the essential condition can give rise to *third-person* or *reiterated* requests. Moreover, it is problematic to consider wishes as a type of directive, as they could also be considered a type of expressive speech act with a meaning of volition.

Adopting a syntactic cartographic perspective (Rizzi 1997), recent studies have proposed that *que* is a homophonous element that can head different functional positions in the left periphery of the sentence, such as illocutionary force, information-structural properties (topic, focus) or evidentiality (Demonte & Fernández Soriano 2007, 2009, 2014; Etxepare 2010; Corr 2016, 2018). There is still no agreement regarding how many instances of *que* should be distinguished as well as what their functional value is. However, there is enough formal evidence to distinguish two types: third-person imperatives (16) and quotatives (17):

(16) *Que* *María abra* *la* *puerta*
COMP María open-3SG.PRS.SBJV the door
“María should open the door”

(17) A: María, abre la puerta
 “María, open the door”

B: ¿Qué?

“what?”

A: *Que abras la puerta*
COMP open-3SG.PRS.SBJV the door
“[I said] that you should open the door”

Both types differ regarding three formal features⁶: i) mood selection, ii) sentence type and iii) topic position. Whereas in third-person imperatives the subjunctive mood is compulsory, quotative constructions can also select the indicative mood, as in (18). Thus, while third-person directives only allow for imperative/desiderative sentence types (with subjunctive mood), quotative constructions can also be found in declarative (18) or interrogative (19) sentence types (both with indicative mood):

(18) A: La comida la compra Juan
“the food, Juan buys it”

B: ¿Qué?
“what?”

A: *Que la comida la compra Juan*
COMP the food 3SG.OBJ.F buy-3SG.PRS.SBJV Juan
“[I said] that the food, Juan buys it”

(19) A: La comida la compra Juan
the food 3SG.OBJ.F buy-3SG.PRS.SBJV Juan
“Juan buys the food”

B: *¿Que la comida la compra Juan?*
COMP the food 3SG.OBJ.F buy-3SG.PRS.SBJV Juan
“[I said] that the food, Juan buys it”

And finally, while *que* in third-person imperatives can be preceded by a left-dislocated topic (20), quotative *que* always appears in sentence-initial position and cannot be preceded by any constituent. In fact, when quoting a third-person imperative preceded by a topic, quotative *que* precedes the topic, obtaining two instances of *que* in the same sentence, as in (21):

(20) *La puerta que la abra María*
The door COMP 3SG.OBJ.F. open-3SG.PRS.SBJV María
“the door, Maria should open it”

(21) *Que la puerta que la abra María*
COMP the door COMP 3SG.OBJ.F. open-3SG.PRS.SBJV María
“the door, Maria should open it”

These syntactic analyses provide formal evidence to distinguish third-imperatives from quotative uses of *que*. Nevertheless, as their scope is syntactic, the wide range of semantic categories expressed by ISCs are not accounted for and there are no references to the cases with second-person subjects.

⁶ For a syntactic analysis of third-person imperatives, see Demonte & Fernández (2009). For quotatives, see Etxepare (2010) and Corr (2018). Some proposals further distinguish a purely quotative *que* (echoic) from an evidential reportative one (Demonte & Fernández Soriano 2014). For a discussion, see Corr (2018).

To sum up, constructionist approaches do not agree on the number of constructions that should be posited to account for the functions/meanings identified. On the other hand, syntactic approaches distinguish two types of *que* on formal grounds, but do not deal with the meanings/functions they can express. And finally, none of the approaches provide an explanation of the non-quoted second-person uses of the construction, exemplified in (6) and repeated below in (22):

- (22) J04: y luego hay que que dibujarlo todo otra vez ochenta veces o qué/
 “and then everything must be drawn eighty times again or what/”
- J03: ochenta mil a lo mejor
 “eighty thousand maybe”
- J04: y ahora cómo lo vas a despegar de ahí/
 “and how how are you gonna remove it from there/”
- J03: pues si iré pasando la línea. [no me quiero apurar]
 “well, I will go through the line. [I don’t want to rush]”
- J05: [tía lo haces así
 “buddy you do it like that”
- J03: *que te calles tía ya*
 COMP RFL shut.up-2SG.PRS.SBJV dude already
 “shut up already, dude”.
 es que no paras tronca
 “you don’t stop dude”
 (COLA, Madrid)

In this paper, we will attempt to integrate insights from the previous approaches into a novel corpus-based constructional analysis: (i) we will make use of broad semantic-pragmatic categories (D’Hertefelt 2018) to analyze the different semantic types expressed by ISCs in Spanish (wishes, weak directives, strong directives, in addition to quoted directives); (ii) we will make reference to conditions on speech acts to explain their interpretation (Sansiñena, De Smet & Cornillie 2015), and (iii) we will set apart quoted directives from other semantic types based on their distinct formal behavior (Demonte & Fernández Soriano 2013, Corr 2018). In addition, the corpus analysis (Section 4) offers quantitative evidence about the frequency of each of the meanings (wishes, weak directives, strong directives and quoted directives/wishes) and the relationships between these meanings and certain grammatical, discursive and pragmatic features. On the other hand, the analysis in terms of a constructional network (Section 5) allows us to represent each meaning as a node in a network, which establishes various types of relationships, both with other grammatical constructions and with general principles of interpretation, such as the conditions on speech acts.

3. Data and methodology

The linguistic data used for this study come from different corpora. Table 2 shows the three different genres selected (spontaneous conversation, semi-structured spoken data, and spontaneous-interactive written language) and three of the main varieties of Spanish (Peninsular Spanish, Argentinean and Chilean).

Genre	Corpora	Word count	Total
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Spontaneous conversations	COLA-Madrid	453k	176
	COLA-Santiago de Chile	141k	24
	COLA-Buenos Aires	71k	27
Interviews	PRESEEA-Madrid	330k	28
	PRESEEA-Santiago de Chile	65k	8
	Macrocorpus de la norma lingüística culta de las principales ciudades de España y América [Macrocorpus of the Linguistic Educated Norm in Major Cities of the Hispanic World]	56k	7
Twitter ⁷	Twitter-Spain	1.m	123
	Twitter-Chile	304k	157
	Twitter-Argentina	800k	138
		3.9m	688

Table 2. Corpora used for the analysis

- The spontaneous data were extracted from the *Corpus Oral del Lenguaje Adolescente* (COLA, Jørgensen 2016), for Madrid (Spain), Santiago de Chile (Chile) and Buenos Aires (Argentina).
- The semi-structured spoken data come from the Project for the Sociolinguistic Study of Spanish from Spain and America (PRESEEA 2014-) for Peninsular and Chilean Spanish. For the Argentinean variety we used the *Macrocorpus de la norma lingüística culta de las principales ciudades del mundo hispánico* [Macrocorpus of the Linguistic Educated Norm in Major Cities of the Hispanic World] (Samper *et al.* 1998), as PRESEEA-Buenos Aires has not been transcribed yet.
- The Twitter data were gathered by tracking the top-400 most frequent words in Spanish, as indicated by the frequency list provided by RAE (2018). We monitored Spanish-language Twitter activities between January 22, 2018 and February 2, 2018 using the R (R Core, 2018) package streamR (Barberá 2018). After compiling the corpus, tweets were coded for country of origin, using a combination of regular expressions and the Data Science Toolkit geocoder. To assign tweets to a country, we did not take into account the coordinates provided by Twitter, as these record the location where users happen to be when they author the tweet. Rather, we took into account the Twitter user’s self-declared country of origin, relying on the time zone indication (e.g., *America/Argentina/Buenos_Aires*) when this field was empty in the data.

We extracted tokens of *que* from our corpora using regular expressions and the R package *stringi* (Gagolewski & Tartanus 2016). We applied a two-step methodology. Firstly, we extracted all clauses or tweets containing the word *que* preceded by punctuation or starting a text or paragraph. Then, we applied the *TreeTagger* Part-of-Speech tagger (Schmid 2016) with the Spanish-Ancora language model to enrich our search results with POS information. Using this extra layer of information, we extracted all cases of initial *que* with a subjunctive clause.

We analyzed each token according to four types of features: (i) semantic, (ii) grammatical, (iii) discourse, and (iv) pragmatic (cf. below).

3.1. Semantic categories

Firstly, we classified the tokens into four possible semantic categories: strong directives, weak directives, wishes and quotatives. The first three categories result from an elaboration of Verstraete, D’Hertefelt and Van linden’s (2012) distinction between “controlled” and “uncontrolled” deontic constructions (directives versus wishes, in our terminology) and, within controlled deontic constructions, a further distinction between weak and strong constructions. We added a fourth category, quoted directives, which was not identified for the Germanic languages. The main goal of the analysis is to determine whether these semantic types can be subsumed under a single constructional schema or

⁷ For the Twitter corpora we took a random selection of 200 tokens and annotated the cases of insubordination.

whether they correlate with specific formal restrictions so as to be considered separate constructions, as it has been proposed for Germanic languages (cf. section 2).

3.1.1. Strong directives

When ISCs are interpreted as strong directives, the speaker attempts to make an agent carry out an action. The agent of the action can coincide with the addressee or with a third person present in the communicative situation. The first possibility is illustrated in (23), which comes from a conversation between two friends while they are eating at a restaurant:

(23) [Two friends are eating in a restaurant]

J09: eh eh.. que te que te estás dejando las patatas
 “hey, hey, you still have some fries there”

J01: *que te calles*
 COMP RFL shut.up-2SG.PRS.SBJ
que te calles
 COMP RFL shut.up-2SG.PRS.SBJ
 “shut up already! shut up already!”
 coño cómetelas tú
 “you eat them!”

(COLA Madrid)

J01 points out to J09 that he is leaving some fries on his plate. In the next turn, J09 replies with a strong command telling J01 to shut up and to eat the fries himself. The addressee is thus pointed out as the agent of the propositional content described in the ISC. It should also be noted that ISCs can express strong directives towards a third person. In example (5), repeated in (24), G03 is asking her classmates why J03 has been recording all their conversations. G02 states that it is J03 who should tell her:

(24) V01: y qué lleva grabando ahí/
 “and what does she have recording there?”

G03: y queee y qué qué sentido tiene ese
 “and, what’s, and what’s the point of this?”

G01: es eso es
 “it’s that is”

G02: es un poco largo.
 “it’s a long story”

<i>que</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>cuente</i>	<i>ella</i>
COMP	you.DAT.SG	3SG.OBJ.M	tell-3SG.PRS.SBJV	she

“she should tell you”

V01: colaborando está colaborando con la universidad de Bergen/
 “collaborating she is collaborating with the University of Bergen”

J03: estoy de servicio no puedo hablar ahora
 “I’m on duty, I can’t talk right now”

(COLA, Madrid)

In sum, strong directives essentially involve an agent present in the communicative situation that can carry out the action described in the propositional content, and most importantly, the utterance counts as an attempt to influence the future action of the addressee or a third person (essential condition, see previous section). This category includes commands, orders, entreaties, etc.

3.1.2. Weak directives

With weak directives speakers want someone to do something but at the same time, they do not impose an obligation, because they cannot exert power over the agent and/or the agent is not present in the communicative situation. For instance, in tweet (25), the speaker expresses what they think should be done, but does not have the power to influence the people responsible for carrying it out:

- (25) Basta de Puigdemont
 “Enough of Puigdemont”
que busquen a otro tonto para hacer
 COMP look-3PL.PRS.SBJV for another fool to play-INF
 “they should look for someone else to play the
el payaso
 the fool
 “fool”
 (Twitter, Spain)

This category also includes speech acts such as permissions. For instance, in (26), the speaker shows little or no interest in the realization of the event:

- (26) **Que haga su vida,**
 COMP make-3SG.PRS.SBJV his life
 “may he make his (own) life,”
 yo no molesto más
 “I won’t disturb (him) anymore”
 (Twitter, Argentina)

Similarly, in (27) the speaker is telling the addressee that it is not important whether the two other friends pay or not. In English these sorts of clauses are translated with modal verbs: *they don’t really have/need to pay*, or with the *let* construction: *Let them not pay*.

- (27) J01: Vamos a organizarnos. Esperar a @nombre y al @nombre].
 “let’s organize ourselves. Wait for @name and @name”
 esperar al @nombre. llamarlos o algo.
 “wait for @name. Call them or something”
- J04: [venga tronco
 “come on dude”
que no paguen
 COMP no pay-3PL.PRS.SBJV
 “come on dude let them not pay”
 y ya está. Sabes/]. [dos euros venga]
 “and that’s it. you know/ two euros come on”
 (COLA, Madrid)

Weak directives are generally interpreted as suggestions, permissions, pieces of advice etc. In contrast to strong directives, with weak directives the speaker does not exert power over the agent and/or the agent is not present in the communicative situation. The distinction between strong and weak directives is made depending on whether the utterances count as attempts to make somebody carry out an action or not.

3.1.3. Wishes

This category is characterized by two features: (i) the speaker wishes for the realization of the action described in the proposition, but does not influence its realization; and (ii) there is no agent responsible for carrying out the action, and in case there is an agent, she/he is presented as not being in control over the action described. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (28) Es la semana más larga de mi vida,
 “this is the longest week of my life”
que llegue ya el domingo,
 COMP come-3SG.PRS.SBJV already the Sunday
 “may Sunday come right away”
 (Twitter, Argentina)

In example (28), the speaker wishes for Sunday to come soon, but cannot influence it. In example (29) the University is not an animated entity that can voluntarily decide to fulfill a role.

- (29) Gran universidad.
 “Great university”
Que siga cumpliendo su rol con los
 COMP continue-3SG.PRS.SBJ play-GER its role with the
 “may it continue playing its role with”

jóvenes de la educación pública del país
 young people of the education public of.the country
 “young people of the public education of the country”
 (Twitter, Chile)

3.1.4. Quoted directives

Quoted directives consist of repetitions of strong directives that can be issued either by the same speaker, as in (30) or by another speaker, as illustrated in (31). Moreover, they can quote directives said in a previous communicative situation, as in (32):

- (30) [Some students are playing with the minidisk]
 G01: no lo mováis
 “do not move it”
 G07: [que es el antishock ese]
 “this is that antishock”
 G01: [*que no lo mováis.* Mira
 COMP no 3SG.OBJ.M move-2PL.PRS.SBJV look-IMP
 “[I said you shouldn’t move it].Look”
 G04: pero. pásalo hasta el minuto diez

“but. forward it to minute ten.”
 (COLA, Madrid)

(31) [Some students want to make one of their friends record a message]

J04: vos también habla algo
 “you too say something”

J07: qué cosa/
 “what?”

J06: alguna ahuevonada (.) *que hable* *algo*
 any stupidity COMP speak-3SG.PRS.SBJV something
 “any silly thing (.) he has to say something”
 (COLA, Santiago de Chile)

(32) [A woman narrates the moment she discovers that her husband is having an affair]

A: [...]pues escríbela/ delante de mí//
 “well text her/ before my eyes//”
 porque ni la- ni la quieres a ella ni me quieres
 “because you love neither her nor me”
 a mí así que/ o la dejas a ella o me dejas a mí
 “so you leave her or you leave me”
 o sea que yo fui/ sincera
 “in other words, I was sincere”
¡que a mí me dejara!
 COMP to 1SG.DO 1SG.DO leave-SG.PRS.SBJV
 “[I told him] to leave me”
 ¿no?/
 “right?”
 (PRESEEA, Alcalá de Henares)

3.2. Grammatical features

The grammatical features considered for the analysis are all related to the grammatical subject. First, we annotated the person (first, second and third) and the number (singular or plural) of each verb form. Secondly, we looked at the animacy of the subject (animate, inanimate, or event) and thirdly, its thematic role (agent, patient, experiencer or force).

3.3. Discourse features

The position of ISCs in the conversational structure was analyzed using the basic concepts of Conversational Analysis. First, we annotated whether the ISC constituted a turn on its own, such as in (33), or whether it was embedded in a complex turn, as in (34). Regarding the position within the turn, we considered ISCs to be initial when the *que* clause initiates the turn⁸, as in (33), and non-initial when

⁸ We also considered as initial cases in which the ISC was preceded by vocatives, interjections or discourse markers, which do not express their own illocutionary force (i). If the vocative, interjection or discourse marker expresses its own illocutionary (e.g. expressive) force, then we consider the *que* clause to be non-initial (ii):

And finally, as response initiations we considered those turns that respond to a previous turn and simultaneously instigate a response from the interlocutor, as in (36):

- (36) J02: pero pruébatela
 “but try it on”
- G01: que no me la voy a probar
 “[I said that] I’m not gonna try it on”
- J02: *que te la pruebeess*
 COMP 2SG.DAT 3SG.OBJ.F try.on-2SG.PRS.SBJV
 “[I am telling you] to try it on”
- J01: le da vergüenza hombre
 “she is embarrassed man”
- G01: mañana me la pongo va
 “tomorrow I wear it alright”
 (COLA, Madrid)

3.4. Pragmatic features

All the parameters of this section relate to basic elements of directive speech acts, that is the existence of an agent present in the communicative situation and the possible force exertion that the speaker exerts on the agent.

3.4.1. Agentivity⁹

This parameter explores the relationships among subject, addressee, and agent in the four categories of ISCs. We use the term *agent* to describe the person responsible for carrying out the desired action and *addressee* to refer to the person to whom the speaker addresses the ISC. There are four possible combinations: i) the agent coincides with the grammatical subject and the addressee, ii) the agent is the addressee but not the subject, iii) the agent coincides with the grammatical subject but not the addressee, iv) there is no agent. Let us examine them in this order. The first combination describes the relation found in prototypical directives, such as in example (23), repeated here:

- (37) [Two friends are eating in a restaurant]
- J09: eh eh.. que te que te estás dejando las patatas
 “hey, hey, you still have some fries there”
- J01: *que te calles*
 COMP RFL shut.up-2SG.PRS.SBJ
que te calles
 COMP RFL shut.up-2SG.PRS.SBJ
 “shut up already! shut up already!”
 coño cómetelas tú
 “you eat them!”
 (COLA Madrid)

⁹ With this parameter we do not mean the semantic role of the subject, but whether there is an agent that might correspond with the grammatical subject or not.

When the agent coincides with the addressee but not with the grammatical subject, the speaker refers to a future event in terms of its desirability with no explicit reference to the agent. However, the speaker believes that the addressee is able to carry out the actions needed to bring about the situation described in the propositional content and therefore the utterance counts as an attempt to influence the addressee's future action. Consider example (38). In this conversation, some teenagers are making a card with a rose out of paper for a friend and they are discussing the final touches. With the ISC, G02 explains how the rose should be attached to the card. Despite the missing reference to the addressee, G02 expects G14 to make the necessary adjustments to the rose:

(38) [Some friends are involved in arts and crafts]

g14: o o la rosa se le entregamos así/
 “or or shall we give it to her like this/”

g14: no si le entrego el papel con la rosa
 “no, if I hand it to her, it should be with the rose”

g02: no (po | pues)
 “no then”

que la rosa vaya así como adentro del papel
 COMP the rose go-3SG.PRS.SBJV so like inside the paper
 “the rose should go, like inside the paper,”

que vaya como una cartita así
 COMP go-3SG.PRS.SBJV like a little.letter so
 “it should go like in a little letter so”

adentro de la rosa
 inside of the rose
 “inside the rose”

(COLA, Santiago de Chile)

When the agent of the action coincides with the grammatical subject but not with the addressee, the grammatical subject refers to a third person, as in (39). And finally, when there is no agent, the ISC involves an experiencer/force or an event, as in (40):

(39) [Two students are waiting for some friends]

J03: [esto es muy lento
 “this is very slow”
que vengan ya
 COMP come-3PL.PRS.SBJV now
 “they should come now”

J05: [estaban en el Pryca tía]
 “they were at Pryca, buddy”

J01: ya le escribí un mensaje es que es quéé
 “I have texted them already, it is just that....”

(COLA, Madrid)

(40) @username Hola Juan!!!
 “@username hello Juan!!!”

Que sea un gran día para vos tmb

COMP to.be-3SG.PRS.SBJV a great day for 2SG.OBJ too
 “may it be a great day for you too”
 (Twitter, Chile)

3.4.2. Presence of the agent in the conversation

With this parameter we checked whether the agent is a participant in the conversation, as exemplified above in (37), or not, as in (38). In cases like (39), where there is no agent, this parameter was not applicable.

3.4.3. Force exertion

This parameter refers to a simplified version of Takahashi’s notion of force exertion (2012: 14), which he defines as the “psychosocial influence” that speakers exert on the agent¹⁰ “to cause the latter to realize what is said”. We consider that the speaker may exert force over the agent in both asymmetric relations of power between participants (41) and symmetric relations (42):

- (41) [A teacher is giving instructions to students that are organizing a science fair]
 V1: habría que poner un cartel que dijera
 “there should be a banner that says”
 V1: eee modos artes confección artesanal
 “umm methods, crafts, handmade manufacturing”
 V1: y *que haya* *acá en el puesto* *así*
 and COMP have-3SG.PRS.SBJV here in the stand so
 “and it should be here in the stand like this”
 confección artesanal las agujas.. de este lado
 “handmade manufacturing the needles. from this side”
 (COLA, Buenos Aires)

- (42) J01: pregúntale por mí no seas
 “ask her for me. don’t be”
 g05: *ah que pregunte Marcelo*
 INTER COMP ask-3SG.PRS.SBJV Marcelo
 “ah Marcelo should ask”
 ah que si es un drogadicto
 “ah who is a drug addict”
 (COLA, Santiago de Chile)

An example in which the speaker does not exert force over the agent is found in (43), as the agent is not present in the communicative situation:

- (43) [Some students are complaining about the water at their high school]
 J02: qué ratas. qué ratas
 “how cheap, how cheap”
 J02: que ratas

¹⁰ Takahashi applies this concept to the analysis of the imperative in English and his definition presupposes the addressee as the agent.

“how cheap”
que la arreglen
 COMP 3SG.OBJ.F fix-3PL.PRS.SBJV
 “they must fix it”
 (COLA, Buenos Aires)

There are also cases in which this parameter is not applicable (44) because of the absence of an agent:

(44) @username1 @ username2 @ username3 @ username4 Golazoooo,
 “@username1 @ username2 @ username3 @ username4 What a goal”
que sea el primero de muchos este año
 COMP to.be-2SG.PRS.SBJV the first of many this year
 “may this be the first of many more this year”
 (Twitter, Chile)

4. Results

4.1. Frequency distribution

Table 3 shows the frequency distribution for each category type in our corpora. The expression of wishes is the most frequent semantic category (about 50%), which suggests that this is the prototypical use of the construction. Weak and strong directives are fairly evenly distributed (23% and 22%). If weak and strong directives are jointly considered, they would represent a similar percentage as wishes (45%)¹¹. Finally, quoted directives are the least frequently represented (6%), setting this semantic category clearly apart from directives and wishes.

	Raw counts	Percentages
Wish	333	49%
Weak directive	156	23%
Strong directive	154	22%
Quoted directives	43	6%
Total	686	100%

Table 3 Frequency distribution of meanings

In the following subsections, we will present the main findings of the quantitative analysis for each semantic type and explain them in relation to the conditions on speech acts.

4.2. Strong directives

As Table 4 shows, strong directives allow for second- and third-person subjects, generally animate and agentive –never experiencer or force.

		Strong directives
Grammatical subject	1 st	-
	2 nd	32%
	3 rd	67%

¹¹ In the remaining of this section, strong and weak directives are presented as distinct semantic categories in order to determine whether they have specific non-functionally motivated formal marking (and can be considered separate constructions) or whether they might be considered instances of a single constructional schema.

Animacy of the subject	Animate	89%
	Inanimate	9%
	Event	1%
Thematic role	Agent	87%
	Patient	11%
	Experiencer	-
	Force	-

Table 4. Grammatical features of strong directives

Regarding the discourse features, most frequently, ISCs constitute a turn in themselves and are found in initial position as responses to previous turns.

		Strong directives
Discourse unit	Turn on its own	67%
	Utterance in a complex turn	32%
Position within turn	Initial	77%
	Non-initial	22%
Type of turn	Initiation	29%
	Response	63%
	Response initiation	6%

Table 5. Discourse features of strong directives

The pragmatic features of strong directives can be seen in Table 6. The most salient feature for strong directives is that of force exertion, as in 95% of strong directives the speaker exerts power over the agent. Usually, the agent coincides with the addressee and the subject. It is also possible to find cases in which the agent is the addressee, but the subject is the patient or the experiencer. In most of the cases, the agent is present in the conversation.

		Strong directives
Agent	Addressee and subject	79%
	Addressee (not subject)	15%
	Subject (not addressee)	7%
	No agent	2%
Participation of the agent in the conversation	Speech participant	75%
	Not speech participant	16%
	NA	6%
Force exertion	Yes	95%
	No	5%

are used in situations in which it is obvious, at least to the speaker, that the action should occur. This is exemplified in (6), repeated in (47):

- (47) J04: y luego hay que que dibujarlo todo otra vez ochenta veces o qué/
 “and then everything must be drawn eighty times again or what”
- J03: ochentaa mil a lo mejor
 “eighty thousand maybe”
- J04: y ahora cómo lo vas a despegar de ahí/
 “and how how are you gonna remove it from there?”
- J03: pues si iré pasando la línea. [no me quiero apurar]
 “well, I will go through the line. [I don’t want to rush]”
- J05: [tía lo haces así
 “buddy you do it like that”
- J03: *que te calles tía ya*
 COMP RFL shut.up-2SG.PRS.SBJV dude already
 “shut up already, dude”
 es que no paras tronca
 “you don’t stop dude”
 (COLA, Madrid)

The turns preceding the strong directive issued by J03 show the speaker’s irritation in the ironic reply that she gives to J04: *ochenta mil a lo mejor* ‘eighty thousand maybe’. Thus, it seems that, at least for J03, it is obvious that in the normal course of events, J04 should have realized that she is being annoying with all her questions and needs to shut up.

4.3. Weak directives

The grammatical features associated with weak directives are shown in Table 7. This semantic type takes almost exclusively third-person subjects, animate and agentive.

		Weak directives
Grammatical subject	1st	-
	2nd	2%
	3rd	98%
Animacy of the subject	Animate	91%
	Inanimate	7%
	Event	2%
Thematic role	Agent	83%
	Patient	16%
	Experiencer	1%
	Force	-

Table 7. Grammatical features of weak directives

Weak directives tend to be utterances in complex turns found in initial position. In an initiation-response pair, they are generally responses to previous turns.

		Weak directives
Discourse unit	Turn on its own	42%
	Utterance in a complex turn	57%
Position within turn	Initial	64%
	Non-initial	36%
Type of turn	Initiation	26%
	Response	70%
	Response initiation	4%

Table 8. Discourse features of weak directives

ISCs are normally understood as weak directives in situations in which the proposition describes actions that are presented as not controllable and most of the time the agents are not participants in the communicative situation.

		Weak directives
Agent	Addressee and subject	5%
	Addressee (not subject)	2%
	Subject (not addressee)	90%
	No agent	4%
Participation of the agent in the conversation	Speech participant	9%
	Not speech participant	83%
	NA	8%
Force exertion	Yes	10%
	No	89%

Table 9. Pragmatic features of weak directives

The tendencies just shown suggest that there is no idiosyncratic/non-motivated formal marking associated with this usage type. Its specific interpretive features can be inferred through general pragmatic mechanisms. The differences between weak and strong directives do not come from their formal marking –both can take third person agentive subjects—but are due to the essential condition for directive speech acts, i.e. whether the utterance counts as an attempt to get the interlocutor to do A. An ISC is interpreted as a weak directive whenever there is an animate agentive subject that is not taking part in the communicative situation and on whom the speaker does not exert any force.

The features of this semantic category can also be related to the felicity conditions of directive speech acts. Almost systematically, weak directives violate the essential condition, given that speakers do not exert force on the agent. The propositional content condition is departed from given that the proposition does not refer to a future act of the addressee, but to that of a third party. And one the preparatory conditions is also departed from as the speaker is not in a position of authority over the agent.

4.4. Wishes

Wishes tend to select third-person subjects, with no restrictions or clear preferences in terms of animacy or thematic role.

		Wishes
Grammatical subject	1st	1%
	2nd	19%
	3rd	80%
Animacy of the subject	Animate	57%
	Inanimate	34%
	Event	9%
Thematic role	Agent	36%
	Patient	37%
	Experiencer	25%
	Force	1%

Table 10. Grammatical features of wishes

In Table 11 we observe that wishes tend to occur in complex turns, most frequently in initial position, and that they can be either initiations or responses to previous turns.

		Wishes
Discourse unit	Turn on its own	38%
	Utterance in a complex turn	62%
Position within turn	Initial	62%
	Non-initial	28%
Type of turn	Initiation	55%
	Response	45%
	Response initiation	1%

Table 11. Discourse features of wishes

Generally, ISCs are interpreted as wishes when the proposition describes a state of affairs in which either there is no agent, or the speaker does not exert force on the agent. The parameter about the speech participation of the agent is not relevant in these cases.

		Wishes
Agent	Addressee and subject	8%
	Addressee (not subject)	-%
	Subject (not addressee)	20%
	No agent	72%
	Speech participant	5%
	Not speech participant	15%

Participation of the agent in the conversation	NA	80%
Force exertion	Yes	-%
	No	100%

Table 12. Pragmatic features of wishes

The results indicate that this semantic category does not show any restrictions or non-motivated formal marking. Contextual features are crucial for it. We understand ISCs as wishes either because of the lack of an agent, or because the speaker does not exert force on the agent. The speaker simply expresses the desirability of the realization of a state of affairs.

Wishes do not meet any of the felicity conditions on directive speech acts, mainly because the essential condition is not met (either the speaker does not exert force on the addressee or there is no agent). Consequently, the propositional content condition and the preparatory condition are not met either, in the sense that wishes do not describe a future act of the addressee and the speaker does not believe the addressee (or indeed any agent) is able to carry out the state of affairs described in the proposition.

On the other hand, wishes meet the felicity conditions of expressive speech acts, as they are utterances with which speakers express their desires without attempting to influence the actions of an agent. Searle (1969: 65) describes this speech act as follows: “Whenever there is a psychological state specified in the sincerity condition, the performance of an act counts as an expression of that psychological state.” In particular, this semantic category resembles the type of expressive which Ronan (2015: 36) calls *expressives of volition*, as they simply “express ideals that the speaker has, but which are not matched by the state of affairs”. Other authors put these uses closer to directives. Van Olmen (2011: 39) uses the term *mixed expressives* proposed by De Rycker (1990) to talk about similar meanings expressed with the imperative mood and notes that “they cannot be regarded as attempts to get the hearer to realize some state of affairs [...] But the speaker of a good wish or an imprecation is in the same psychological state (i.e. desire or hope) as the speaker of a (willful) directive.”

4.5. Quoted directives

In the case of quoted directives, we observe a pattern similar to strong directives, selecting both second- and third-person subjects, which are generally animate and agentive.

		Quoted directives
Grammatical subject	1st	0%
	2nd	63%
	3rd	37%
Animacy of the subject	Animate	95%
	Inanimate	2.5%
	Event	2.5%
Thematic role	Agent	88%
	Patient	7%
	Experiencer	2%
	Force	2%

Table 13. Grammatical features of quoted directives

Regarding their discourse features, these uses of ISCs are turns in themselves occupying initial position. Nevertheless, in contrast with the three other semantic categories, quoted directives are never initiating turns. This category is closely associated with response initiations or responses.

		Quoted directives
Discourse unit	Turn on its own	83%
	Utterance in a complex turn	17%
Position within turn	Initial	67%
	Non-initial	33%
Type of turn	Initiation	-
	Response	30%
	Response initiation	70%

Table 14. Discourse features of quoted directives

In quoted directives, the agent usually corresponds to the addressee and the subject but there are also cases in which the subject is not the addressee. The speech participation of the agent and the force exertion variable do not show any clear tendencies and have a roughly equal distribution.

		Quoted directives
Agent	Addressee and subject	63%
	Addressee (not subject)	5%
	Subject (not addressee)	30%
	No agent	3%
Participation of the agent in the conversation	Speech participant	74%
	Not speech participant	23%
	NA	2%
Force exertion	Yes	84%
	No	16%

Table 15. Pragmatic features of quoted directives

In sum, quotative uses of ISCs are interpreted as quoted directives because they are never initiating turns, but always respond to previous speech acts. If this is not the case, then the ISC is not a quotative. This feature can be considered as non-formally motivated, given the fact that something is being quoted does not imply that it has to be a response to a previous turn. This serves as an argument for positing a separate construction.

5. The constructional network of ISCs

In this section, we present each semantic type as a node in a constructional network which establishes various types of relationships, both with other constructions and with general principles of interpretation.

A central idea of Construction Grammar approaches is that speaker's linguistic knowledge consists of constructions organized as nodes in a hierarchical network: the *constructicon*. Following Traugott (2018), we distinguish three types of links that connect the nodes in a network: i) vertical, ii) horizontal and iii) external. Vertical links establish the relation between specific constructions that inherit features from more abstract constructions which are situated at higher levels of the network. In other words, vertical links connect schemas (or mothers) with several subschemas (or daughters).

Horizontal links capture the relation between closely related constructions, i.e. constructions at the same level of abstraction that motivate each other. In Van de Velde's words (2014:147), horizontal relations represent the fact that "the form-function relation of a particular construction might be partly motivated in relation to its neighbors", i.e. the relation between subschemas (or daughters), which can instantiate either the same parent schema or different schemas.

Finally, external links symbolize the relation between constructions (form-meaning pairings) and general principles of interpretation such as conditions on speech acts, the cooperation or politeness principles. These explain the use of linguistic resources in a discourse context. As Traugott explains, interlocutors draw "on several elements of discourse production and understanding, most specifically, the pragmatic implicatures that arise as coherent discourse is engaged in, and the unconscious knowledge of both general conceptual domains and of the nodes in the extant networks" of a construction (Traugott 2018: 43). Importantly, these links explain the relation between the *constructicon* (the lexicon and grammar of a language) and the cognitive principles that guide the use of constructions in different situations. Fillmore (1996) differentiates between "general pragmatics", which relates to independently existing principles of pragmatic interpretation such as conditions on speech acts, conversational implicatures or politeness principles, and "constructional pragmatics", which pertains to the description of a particular construction. General pragmatics is at work in the interpretation of the imperative mood used as a wish, as in *mejorate pronto* 'get well soon'. The interpretation as a good wish is motivated by the meaning of the verb *mejorar*, an action over which the addressee has no control. A case of constructional pragmatics is found in *hola* 'hello', which is an informal way to greet in Spanish. This is a very specific communicative purpose not derivable in a straightforward way from the construction and therefore should be included in its description.

To operationalize the types of relationships just described, we adhere to the following principles: if the different subschemas share the same features of form and meaning, they are considered to instantiate the same schema; if, by contrast, we can identify distinctive features in a given subschema, we posit a different schema. In addition, our model also includes principles of interpretation that can derive specific meanings from the general meaning of a schema. Finally, it considers whether the subschemas of different schemas maintain relationships with each other.

Applying this kind of modeling to the four semantic types of ISCs, the question is whether they can be subsumed under a single schema that abstracts away from their formal properties and meaning or whether they belong to separate schemas. In this paper we suggest the existence of two separate schemas: i) one construction with quoted directives, part of a quotative schema, and ii) a minor imperative sentence type that includes the desiderative semantic categories (strong and weak directives and wishes).

Quoted directives show syntactic, discursive and frequency properties that are not shared by strong and weak directives and wishes, which suggests they should be treated as an instance of a different schema. As the analysis has shown, there is a big difference in frequency. Quoted orders are by far scarcer (only 6%) than the other semantic types, which suggests that we are dealing with a different construction. In addition, they are never found as initiation turns in conversation, which means they can never start an interaction and they require a previous turn. This fact cannot be explained on semantic grounds given that other quotative devices can be initial turns, such as: *Como decía mi abuela, el trabajo duro tiene su recompensa* 'As my grandmother used to say, hard work pays off'. Thus, this pragmatic feature

interpretation that exist independently of the construction. More specifically, each illocutionary force is the result of the interaction between the meaning of the construction and the felicity conditions on directive and expressive speech acts. We can identify tendencies in our results that motivate one semantic category over the other: with strong directives the speaker has power over the addressee and the subject of the utterance is generally agentive. If there is an agentive subject but the speaker does not exert force on him/her, then the utterance is normally understood as a weak directive. And finally, wishes tend to take non-agentive subjects.

The boundaries between quoted orders and strong directives are not always discrete. As Gras (2016b: 212-213) notes, there are cases in which quoted directives and (intensified) strong directives intertwine. With quoted orders, the intensification is obtained from the repetition implied by the reiteration of a previous imperative form: if speakers repeat something that they previously said, they are reinforcing their stance:

- (52) G01: no [.] para
no stop-2SG.IMP
“don't. stop”
- J01: que nooo o
“that nooo”
- G01: *que te pares, que te pares*
COMP RFL stop-2SG.PRS.SBJV COMP RFL stop-2SG.PRS.SBJV
“[I said] that you should stop, that you should stop”
(COLA, Madrid)

As the source of quotation becomes more difficult to find, the value of intensification becomes dominant, like in (53):

- (53) G02: en ese quién juega\
“who is playing in this one\
G03: espérate vamos a echar los penaltires. No
“wait, let’s shoot the penalties. no”
- G02: los penaltis
“the penalties”
<pausa/>
- G02: ahora
“now”
- G01: [es otro partido nuevo tío]
“it’s another match, dude”
- G03: *que te calles tronco*
COMP RFL shut.up-2SG.PRS.SBJV due
“shut up dude”
salte para afuera\
qué jugamos una parte/
“get out of here, are we just playing one part”
(COLA, Madrid)

Thus, it is possible to establish a continuum between self-quoted strong directives and intensified strong directives and consider that intensified strong directives might be motivated by the quotative construction. The formal and functional similarities between strong directives and quoted directives suggest that the two constructions are horizontally related: differences in meaning correlate with formal restrictions in such a way that there is a gradual cline from the quotative value to that of intensified commands. The intensification found in some of the strong directives can only be explained by establishing relations with quoted directives. These complex relationships are represented in Figure 1 by the double-headed arrows.

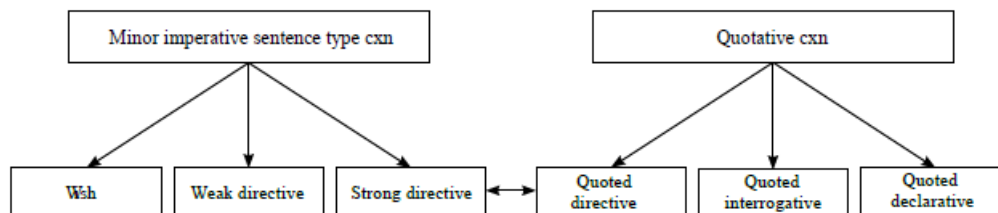


Figure 1. Two ISC constructions (with horizontal links)

The questions that arise next are: How to characterize the construction that groups non-quotative usage types? What is its location within the constructional network of Spanish grammar? As we have seen, these three usage types functionally constitute main clauses that express the speaker's attitude towards the propositional content. In fact, the three semantic categories share the same stance towards the proposition, which is a desiderative/imperative one (Gras 2016a), i.e. the speaker always expresses her/his desire for the realization of the predicate. However, none of the concepts proposed in the previous literature entirely captures this meaning: the category of *deontic* (D'Hertefelt 2018) ignores the fact that the responsibility of the deontic position expressed by these ISCs always lies with the speaker, since deontic modals can also express non-subjective modal positions. As for the analysis in terms of *displaced directives* (Sansiñena, De Smet & Cornillie 2015), it does not explicitly set apart the cases in which ISCs encode directive force by which the speaker makes somebody carry out an action from those that do not. And finally, the concept of *third-person imperative* (Demonte & Fernández Soriano 2009) captures the fact that most attested cases are third-person imperatives, but it ignores other cases such as second-person imperatives or wishes.

An alternative analysis that captures the formal and interpretive features of ICSs is to consider them an example of a minor clause type. Within the analysis of English clause types, Siemund (2018) offers the following defining features of minor clause types:

1. Their formal features are different from those of major types.
2. They can be structurally related to one of the major types.
3. They are never used as declaratives or questions.
4. They tend to convey simultaneously directive and expressive speech acts.
5. Their formal differentiation is driven by a demand for more expressive power in the domains of directive and expressive speech acts.

The construction that subsumes strong directives, weak directives and wishes can be considered as a "minor imperative", as all the characteristics listed above are met: i) it shows different formal features from the ones that characterize any other major clause type: the initial complementizer *que* followed by a clause with a subjunctive verb form, ii) it is formally related to the basic imperative clause type in that it is (syntactically, prosodically and pragmatically) independent and encodes similar illocutionary force, iii) from a functional point of view, it fits in perfectly with Siemund's definition in that it cannot be

used as a declarative or interrogative, (iv) it can perform both expressive and directive speech acts and (v) it is considered a special, more expressive version of imperatives.

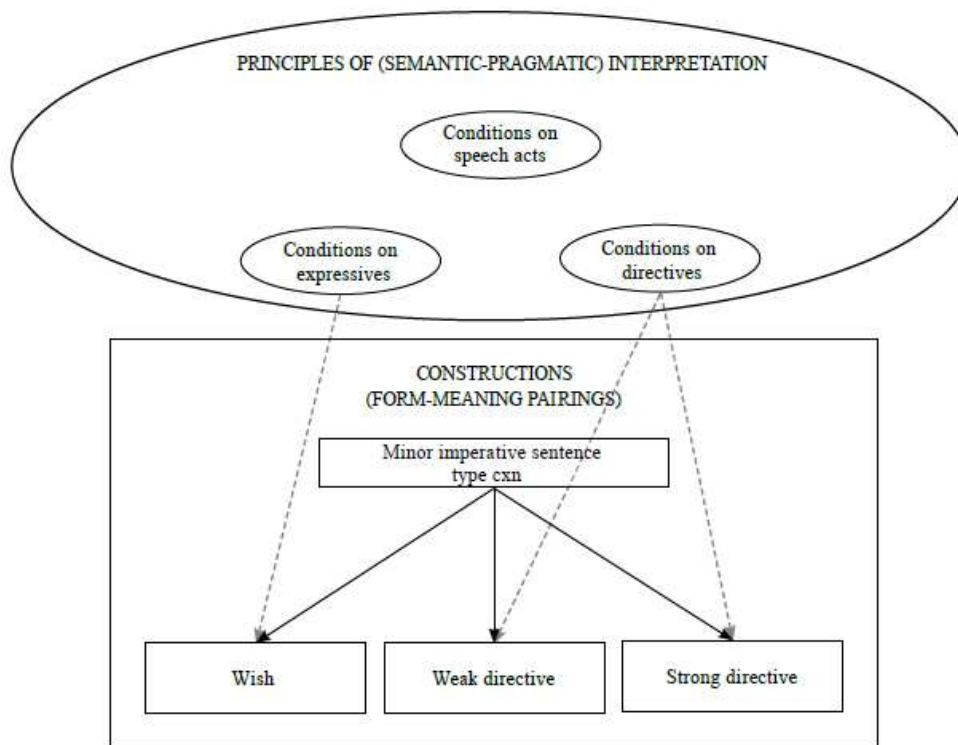


Figure 2. Constructional network for the minor imperative construction including the interaction of the felicity conditions on directive and expressive speech acts

6. Conclusions

The aim of this study was to explore the type of pragmatic information encoded in the linguistic form of ISCs. For this purpose, we have conducted an analysis taking constructions as our basic linguistic unit, i.e. pairings of form and meaning. The relation between different constructions has been modeled by integrating horizontal relations and multimodal links in a traditional inheritance network based on vertical links, represented in Figure 3.

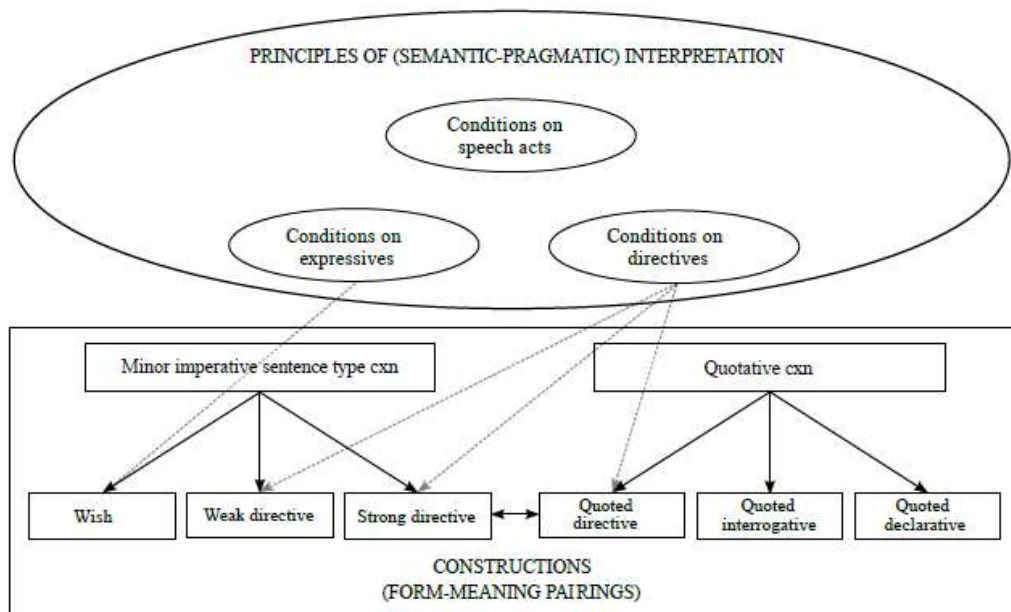


Figure 3. Multidimensional constructional network of the minor imperative sentence type and the quotative construction

Our analysis shows that quoted directives differ from the other three semantic types, both in terms of their formal behavior and in terms of their frequency. Quoted directives would therefore constitute a subschema of the quotative construction. This construction is used to quote an interactionally accessible source: not only the speaker but also the addressee, or a source from a different speech event than the current conversation (see Gras 2016b). The other three semantic types (strong directives, weak directives and wishes) share the same form and meaning. Consequently, two schemas need to be distinguished: one for the quotative uses and a second one for the non-quotatives.

We have also accounted for the cases in which quoted directives and strong directives intertwine. This close relation between constructions can best be represented through horizontal links. The three desiderative semantic categories are instantiations of the same schema and it is through multidimensional links that speakers arrive at each specific meaning. Depending on the felicity conditions of the relevant speech acts (directives or expressives), one interpretation is more salient than others. Finally, we have tried to locate the construction that groups the non-quotative semantic categories within the Spanish grammar *constructicon*, as a minor imperative sentence type.

The analysis has provided a substantial contribution to the understanding of insubordination. On the one hand, the network model provides a general framework that can easily be applied to other cases of polysemous insubordination: different interpretations are represented as nodes that have several links to other schemas and to general principles of interpretation. The important distinction between the two schemas suggests that insubordination works at different levels of abstraction. One type of insubordination operates at the level of the sentence as a minor sentence type, while the other operates at the discourse-organizing level and accordingly comes with its own discourse restrictions. The significant difference in frequency between them supports this argument.

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