Geographical and discursive variation of discourse-connective *que* in Spanish

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Abstract. This study presents a corpus-based analysis of discourse-connective *que* (DCQ) in five varieties of Spanish and across four different discursive genres. On the one hand, we show that DCQ is not only a spoken phenomenon but at the same time mainly restricted to colloquial language use. On the other hand, the results show that DCQ is more entrenched in the Peninsular variety than in the Latin-American varieties (Mexico shows the lowest overall frequency). Moreover, we also analyze geographical variation regarding the position in which DCQ is located in the turn of the speaker (heading the turn or not), distinguishing between three different profiles associated with specific regions: i) Spain, where DCQ is mostly found in initial position, ii) Argentina, the Caribbean and Mexico, where DCQ is primarily used in non-initial position, and iii) Chile, where DCQ is almost equally distributed between initial and non-initial positions. Finally, we also attested differences across language varieties regarding the type of turn in which DCQ occurs (initiation, preferred response and dispreferred response) and the internal structure of the turn (utterance in a complex turn vs turn extension, for multiturn units).

Keywords: insubordination; language variation; conversation analysis; discourse structure; complement clauses

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1.Introduction

In Spanish, clauses can be preceded by a complementizer *que* 'that' without an accompanying matrix clause. They constitute syntactically independent clauses, i.e. they are not complements of a preceding matrix clause in the same turn, nor do they complement a predicate mentioned in (a) previous turn(s) or one that can be considered elided. This is called an instance of insubordination and is exemplified in (1). In this conversation, speaker J01 uses an indicative *que* clause to direct the attention of the interlocutors to something that can be directly observed in the situational context, i.e. the fact that there is water seeping from the microwave:

> (1)   G01: a ver si me vas a dar en la cabeza
>   'you are going to hit my head'
>   J01: **que**   **se**   **sale**   **el agua por todo el microondas**
>   COMP   RFL   go.out-PRS.IND.3SG   the water around all the microwave
>   '[COMP] the water is seeping from the microwave'
>   que no era coña te lo he dicho
>   'COMP it was not a joke, I told you'
>   (COLA, Madrid)

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Functional approaches (Gras 2011, 2013, 2016a; Gras & Sansiñena 2015) have proposed the label "discourse-connective *que* constructions" (henceforth DCQ) to refer to these structures, as they connect the clause headed by *que* with the preceding discourse, in that they "are used to express dependency relations in talk-in-interaction" (Gras & Sansiñena 2015: 510). Similarly, in line with generative approaches, Corr (2016: 2) refers to the complementizer *que* expressing discourse-related functions as illocutionary *que*, "to distinguish these uses from the well-established role of *que* as a complement subordinator".

This type of construction occurs in other Romance languages (Corr 2016) as well as in Germanic languages (D'Hertefelt 2018). Previous literature suggests that DCQ is a phenomenon of spontaneous conversation (Gras 2015; Corr 2018). Nevertheless, until now, it has not been empirically checked whether it occurs in other genres, and how it occurs there. In addition, recent corpus-based research has shown that DCQ is subject to significant geographical variation, being more entrenched in Peninsular Spanish than in Latin-American varieties. However, studies of the construction's use in language varieties different from Peninsular Spanish remain very limited (but see Sansiñena 2015; Gras 2020, 2021).

In this paper we will address two relatively unexplored aspects of this type of insubordination. We have formulated them in the form of three research questions: i) is DCQ truly limited to colloquial spoken language? How does it appear in other genres? ii) what is the geographical variation in the use of DCQ, i.e. where is it used more or less frequently? iii) is DCQ similarly used across varieties of Spanish? Does it occur in the same interactional contexts?

This study attempts, first, to substantiate/verify empirically the claims made in the literature regarding DCQ as an oral phenomenon, characteristic of Peninsular Spanish, by registering the variation in the use of DCQ in five varieties of Spanish and across four different discursive genres. Second, it aims to establish whether there are differences other than overall frequency across language varieties in the use of DCQ. Using concepts of conversational analysis (CA), we will analyze the interactional contexts (IC) in which this construction typically occurs.

We will argue that DCQ is not only a spoken phenomenon but at the same time mainly restricted to colloquial language use. We will show that the construction is far less frequent in interviews (a spoken genre), where it also behaves differently interactionally speaking. The very few instances of use in other (written) genres mimic spontaneous conversation. Regarding geographical variation, DCQ is more entrenched in the Peninsular variety than in the Latin-American varieties (Mexico shows the lowest overall frequency), as was expected. Moreover, we also analyze geographical variation regarding the position in which DCQ is located in the turn of the speaker (heading the turn or not), distinguishing between three different profiles associated with specific regions: i) Spain, where DCQ is mostly found in initial position, ii) Argentina, the Caribbean and Mexico, where DCQ is primarily used in non-initial position, and iii) Chile, where DCQ is almost equally distributed between initial and non-initial positions. Finally, we also attested differences across language varieties regarding the type of turn in which DCQ occurs (initiation, preferred response and dispreferred response) and the internal structure of the turn (utterance in a complex turn vs turn extension, for multiturn units).

Section 2 briefly reviews previous studies of DCQ and their claims on the subject of lectal variation. In Section 3, the data and the methodology are discussed. Section 4 reports on the results obtained for the lectal variation of DCQ. Section 5 concludes with a general discussion.

2. DCQ in the literature

Constructions like DCQ have been associated with the phenomenon of insubordination (Evans 2007), particularly with its third macrofunction called *presuppositionalizing* (Gras 2011, 2016a; Gras 2017, 2020, 2021). This function consists in signaling "high levels of presupposed material in the insubordinated proposition, i.e. signaling relatively specific presuppositions about the discourse context in which the sentence can occur" (Evans 2007: 410).

Other scholars prefer to analyze the construction as an instance of *extension of dependency* from sentence to discourse domain (Mithun 2008) or *dependency shift* (Verstraete et al. 2012; D'Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014). As they argue, these mechanisms "are known from the literature on subordinators shifting from narrow (propositional) to wide (discursive) scope, with accompanying changes in the internal structure of the clause and the status of the subordinator" (D'Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014: 100). Nevertheless, both approaches agree on the fact that the function of the structure is discourse-related, i.e. it establishes dependency relations across discourse[4].

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[4]   Note that in Germanic languages, there are stronger arguments to set apart cases labeled as insubordination (minor sentence types, e.g. deontic uses of independent *que* clauses) from instances of dependency shift (cases like DCQ). One of the arguments used by D'Hertefelt & Verstraete (2014) to distinguish *dependency shift* from *insubordination* is word order. Whereas instances of insubordination always exhibit the Germanic word order of subordination (verb in final position), instances of dependency shift are characterized by main-clause word order. In Germanic languages (except English), word order variation is a formal marker of subordination; by contrast, in Spanish only the conjunction signals subordination, as differences

In traditional and descriptive grammars of Spanish, the discourse-contextual functions expressed by DCQ with indicative mood have long been observed. Some of the meanings identified include continuation of topic, change of topic, or logical relations such as causality or finality (see Spitzer 1942; Gili Gaya 1943; Alcina & Blecua 1975; Sirbu-Dumitrescu 1992, 1994a, 1994b, 1998; Cascón Martín 1995; Escandell-Vidal 1999; Porroche Ballesteros 2000; Pons 1998, 2003). Generally, while pointing out the polyfunctionality of DCQ, no actual restrictions are offered on which function can occur in which context. Moreover, most studies are based on isolated examples (cf. Pons 2003; Rodríguez Ramalle 2008), lacking enough context to assess discourse-related functions.

More recently, adopting an interactional approach, Gras (2015, 2020, 2021) considered DCQ a single construction with "an abstract indexical meaning" and a series of situated meanings in context, which indicates the need to recover some semantic element that is accessible in the context. It can be recovered from previous speech (2), through shared knowledge assumed between the interlocutors (3), or is directly accessible in the communicative situation (4):

(1) Previous speech
     [A girl talks about a date she had the week before.]
     G01: joder Ana eres una cerda
          'damn Ana you're a pig'
          [eres una putilla con patas eh]
          ['you're a little slut eh']
     J01: [eee/]
          ['eh/']
     G01: **que   eres   una   putilla   con patas**
          COMP   to.be-PRS.IND.2SG   a   little.bitch   with legs
          '[COMP] you're a little slut'
     (COLA, Madrid; Gras 2020: 279)

(3) Shared knowledge
     G32: como que no hay fotos de dios
          'like there's no photos of God'
          […]
     G01: nadie sabe que como es dios
          'nobody knows what God looks like'
     G33: **que   la   biblia   dice   que   dios**
          COMP   the   bible   say-PRS.IND.3SG   COMP   God
          '[COMP] the bible says that God'

          nos   hizo   a su   semejanza
          us   do-PST.IND.3SG to his   resemblance
          'made us in his own image'
     (COLA, Chile; Gras 2020: 292)
(4) Accessible in the communicative situation

     [Two boys talk in front of a turtle.]

     G01: guuus ja ja <laughter>
          'guuus ha ha <laughter>'
     G05: groooooo
          'groooooo'
          que   se   lo   comeee\ <laughter>
          COMP   RFLX   DAT.SG it   eat-PRS.IND.3SG
          '[COMP] he eats it\ <laughter>'
     G01: se va a comer el micrófono este tío coño mira mira
          'this guy is going to eat the microphone damn look look'
     (COLA, Madrid; Gras 2015: 523)

As they claim, the construction can give rise to several situated meanings. Thus, the overall interpretation depends on the meaning of the construction and several pragmatic factors (the type of contextual information

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in word order do not apply.

being retrieved, the co-occurrence of pragmatic markers; and the discourse position within the turn and sequence) (Gras 2015: 512).

Later on (Gras 2020, 2021), they examined the variation in three varieties of Spanish: Madrid, Santiago de Chile and Buenos Aires. Their main findings are the following. First, the frequency of some situated meanings varies dramatically among varieties. Second, the exclamative-evaluative meaning, exemplified in (5), is exclusively found in Chile (for a detailed description, see Gras 2017). And third, the three language varieties can be placed in a *continuum* with respect to dependency, which runs from low discourse dependency to high discourse dependency.

(5)   Sobrina: tenía hasta lágrimas
       Niece: 'he even had tears'

       que   es   mentiroso
       COMP is-PRS.IND.3SG   liar
       'such a liar he is' (literally '[COMP] he's a liar')
       (Ameresco, Iquique)

In generative approaches, the latest studies (Corr 2016) identify three types of "illocutionary *que*". Each of them shows different morphosyntactic, interpretative and distributional properties. Table 1. Summarized description of the three types of illocutionary que identified by Corr (2016 and their geographical variation provides a definition, an example and the geographical variation for each type: i) quotative, ii) exclamative, and iii) conjunctive.

Type	Definition	Example	Geographical variation
Quotative	The speaker introduces a prop-osition without committing to its truth.	(i) El becario… **Que le ha tocado la lotería** 'The intern (he said) COMP he has won the lottery'	Attested in Spain (maybe dia-lectal & idiolectal variation).
Exclamative	The speaker expresses an emotive attitude towards the content of their utterance. The positive or negative inter-pretation is context-depend-ent.	(ii) Ay y **que me estás cuarteándome el dedo** 'Ouch COMP you are cutting up my finger' (iii) **¡Que hace un día bonito!** 'COMP it is a beautiful day'	Most frequently attested in Peninsular Spanish and less in Latin-American varieties.
Conjunctive	The speaker makes explicit a discourse connection between the clause introduced by *que* and an antecedent (which can be linguistic or nonlinguistic).	(iv)No llores **que yo te perdono** Don't cry, COMP I forgive you' (v) (Addressee is trying to switch on the light) **Que ya no funciona.** 'COMP it's no longer working'	Found across all varieties, without exception.

Table 1. Summarized description of the three types of illocutionary que
identified by Corr (2016 and their geographical variation

As to register variation, the three "are characteristic of informal, oral registers -predominantly attested in spontaneous, interactive speech, charting the conversational dynamics between interlocutors, and operative in the very *hic-et-nunc* of the utterance situation itself" (Corr 2016: 3). According to this analysis, conjunctive *que* can establish a discourse connection with a non-linguistic antecedent, as in (v). Nevertheless, it seems that exclamative *que* can also refer to something non-linguistic that is salient in the communicative situation, whether previously noted or not, as in (iii). Consequently, sometimes it is difficult to distinguish these two usage types of *que*, especially when conjunctive *que* appears without a preceding clause.

3. Data and methodology

3.1. Corpus description and data

For the analysis presented in this paper we used a large data set created from corpora of five varieties of Spanish: Argentinean, Chilean, Caribbean, Peninsular and Mexican. We included four different discursive

genres, which show functional and linguistic differences (e.g. Koch & Österreicher 1985; Biber & Conrad 2009). The oral data belongs to already existing corpora and the written corpora were self-compiled using the R package *stringi* (Gagolewski & Tartanus 2016). Table 2 presents the corpora used and their respective sizes.

Register	Variety	Existing corpora	Word count[5]	Total word count per variety in each genre
Spontaneous conversation	Argentinean	COLA- Buenos Aires Ameresco- Tucumán	168 231 114 166	282 397
	Caribbean	Ameresco- Barranquilla Ameresco- La Habana Ameresco- Panamá	522 102 79 316 18 047	619 465
	Chilean	COLA-Santiago de Chile Ameresco-Iquique	188 369 340 025	528 394
	Mexican	Ameresco- Ciudad de México Ameresco- Monterrey	84 515 249 236	333 751
	Peninsular	COLA-Madrid	453 200	453 200
Interview	Argentinean	MC-NLCH	144 618	144 618
	Caribbean	PRESEEA - Puerto Rico Caribe	362 402 1 235 889	1 598 291
	Chilean	PRESEEA - Santiago de Chile	1 241 688	1 241 688
	Mexican	PRESEEA - Ciudad de Mexico		3 120 200
	Peninsular	PRESEEA - Alcalá de Henares		1 103 157
Novels	Argentinean			2 132 485
	Caribbean			2 619 922
	Chilean			1 700 838
	Mexican			2 128 601
	Peninsular			1 727 905
News	Argentinean			2 420 579
	Caribbean			2 731 256
	Chilean			1 559 382
	Mexican			497 085
	Peninsular			3 697 089

Table 2. Corpora used for the analysis

Following Gras (2015: 511), the three requirements to consider a *que* clause an instance of DCQ were the following: "(i) to be syntactically non-embedded; (ii) not to be interpretable as a result of main predicate ellipsis; and (iii) to select an indicative verb form".

From this analysis, we excluded the quotative cases (6) and the exclamative-evaluative cases (5), (repeated below as 7), as these exhibit their own formal restrictions[6], as well as uses involving the pro-forms *sí* 'yes' and *no* 'no' (8).

    (6)   Quotative
        G02:   <u>habéis tenido clase de dibujo/</u>
                    'have you had drawing class /'
        G01:   qué/
                    'what /'
        G02:   **que**   **si**   **habéis tenido**   **clase**
                    COMP   whether have-PRS.PERF.2PL   class
                    '[COMP] whether you had'

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[5]   For the word count we used the R package *stringi* (Gagolewski & Tartanus 2016), which defines words as items between punctuation marks, line starts or line endings.

[6]   Depending on the type of clause being quoted, quotative *que* clauses can select not only the indicative mood, but also the subjunctive mood (see Gras 2016b). On the other hand, exclamative-evaluative *que* clauses usually select verbs that are either copular, like *estar* and *ser* 'to be', or pseudo-copular, like *volverse* 'become' and *andar* 'to go', followed by an adjective that conveys a positive or negative evaluation in relation to a physical or personality trait, such as *weon* 'silly', *bonito*, *lindo* 'beautiful, nice', or *feo* 'ugly'. Crucially, it does not select predicates that do not attribute qualities, like *comer* 'to eat' (see Gras 2017).

> **de**   **dibujo\]**
> of   drawing
> 'drawing class\''
>
> (COLA, Madrid)

(7)   Exclamative-evaluative
        Sobrina hija de hermana: tenía hasta lágrimas
        Niece: 'he even had tears'

> **que   es   mentiroso**
> COMP   is-PRS.IND.3SG liar
> 'such a liar he is'

        (Ameresco, Iquique)

(8)   Pro-form
        J01:   y a mí me van a ver cara pequeña tronco
        'and they are going to see that I am a young dude'
        G01:   **que   no   hombre que   no**
                        COMP   no   man   COMP   no
                        '[COMP] no man [COMP] no'
        (COLA, Madrid)

We also included cases like in (9), where the speaker uses DCQ to justify a previous speech act. Traditionally, these constructions have been regarded as subordinate clauses expressing cause. Even though they look like cases of subordination, the clause introduced by the complementizer is not syntactically dependent on a preceding clause, as the link between these clauses is purely discursive[7]. In fact, DCQ cannot be clefted, as it is not an adjunct to the preceding clause (*Que está super buena, es por lo que voy a seguir viendo mi serie, *lit.* 'that is super good, it is why I'm going to continue watching my series'), as opposed to prototypical subordinate reason clauses which allow clefting (Porque está super buena, es por lo que voy a seguir viendo mi serie, *lit* 'because it's really good, it's why I'm going to continue watching my series').

(9)   A: bueno/ yo voy a seguir viendo mi serie/
              'well/ I'm going to continue watching my series/'

> **¡que   está   super   buena!**
> COMP   is-PRS.IND.3SG   super   good
> '[COMP] it is super good!'
> (Ameresco, La Habana)

Tokens from spontaneous conversation (and the interviews from Argentina, which had a smaller size than the interviews from other corpora) were extracted and annotated manually. For the other corpora, we extracted the tokens by means of regular expressions and the R package *stringi* (Gagolewski & Tartanus 2016). We searched for *que* clauses preceded by punctuation or starting a paragraph and afterwards we applied the *TreeTagger* Part-of-Speech tagger (Schmid 2016) with the Spanish-Ancora language model to automatically annotate the indicative mood. For each discursive genre and language variety, we annotated manually a random sample of 200 tokens. The numbers of tokens obtained across varieties and genres are listed in Table 3.

Genre and language variety	Token
Spontaneous conversation	1387
Argentinean	56
Caribbean	89
Chilean	83
Mexican	13
Peninsular	1146
Interview	**11**

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7   For the distinction between syntactic and discursive dependency see D'Hertefelt & Verstraete (2014), clauses can syntactically independent when they function as a matrix clause and they are pragmatically independent when they do not depend on preceding discourse.

	Caribbean	1
	Chilean	6
	Mexican	2
	Peninsular	2
Novel		**19**
	Argentinean	1
	Chilean	1
	Mexican	6
	Peninsular	11
News		**8**
	Argentinean	2
	Caribbean	1
	Mexican	3
	Peninsular	2
Total		**1425**

Table 3. DCQ across discursive genres and language varieties

As the data was extracted in two different ways, we had two ways of calculating the normalized frequencies. For the data which was extracted manually, we followed the standard way: (number of instances / total number of words in the corpus) * 100 000 words. For the other data, we obtained the normalized frequencies through estimations of the sample, the number of sentences retrieved with the subjunctive mood and the corpus. And finally, we normalized the estimations to 100 000 words. The two calculation methods allowed us to compare the results and examine the variation. To compare normalized frequencies across language varieties, we summed the frequencies and divided the result by 5; for the discursive genres, we divided the sum by 4.

3.2. Interactional contexts (ICs)

For the qualitative part of the analysis we carried out a manual annotation of the tokens using concepts that come from Conversational Analysis (CA). Table 4 presents the numbers of tokens annotated. We focused exclusively on the data from spontaneous conversation, since the categories involved in this analysis only apply to spoken language. For the Peninsular variety, we annotated a random sample of 200 tokens.

Spontaneous conversation	441
Argentinean	56
Caribbean	89
Chilean	83
Mexican	13
Peninsular	200*

Table 4. Selections of tokens for the interactional analysis

We annotated each token taking into account the following parameters: i) position within the turn (initial vs non-initial), ii) type of turn (initiation, preferred response and dispreferred response), and iii) internal structure of the turn (utterance in a complex turn and turn extension, for multiturn units). The combination of the three parameters led to the identification of five different interactional contexts (ICs). In the subsequent sections each IC is explained and exemplified.

i.   Initial, Initiation
ii. Initial, Preferred response
iii. Initial, Dispreferred response
iv. Non-Initial, Turn extension
v.   Non-Initial, Utterance in a complex turn

3.2.1. Initial

Initial DCQs consist of utterances in which the complementizer *que* is in initial position or preceded by a discourse marker. Depending on the type of turn, we identified three possibilities: i) initiation, ii) preferred response, iii) dispreferred response.

3.2.1.1. Initiation

Initiations constitute the first part in an adjency pair. This type of turn introduces relevant pieces of new information not connected to previous turns, i.e. it is not a response to previous turns. This is exemplified in (10), where a group of friends is planning a trip and G01 realizes that his pack of cigarettes has gotten wet:

> (10) G01: ahora venimos espera
> 'we come back right now, wait'
> mira dónde están
> 'check where they are'
> J01: hala halaa
> 'wow wow'
> G01: ay   @nombre   **que   se me   ha mojado**
>   INTER   name   COMP   RFL me.DAT   get.wet-PRS.PERF.3SG
>   'hey, [COMP] it has gotten wet'
> J01: pero da gracias que está el tabaco hijo
>   'but thank god that the tobacco is good, son'
> (COLA, Madrid)

3.2.1.2. Preferred response

Preferred responses constitute second parts in adjency pairs. Structurally, they are related to a preceding turn, i.e. they can be acts of agreeing with or accepting a previous request, an offer, an assessment or a proposal. In (11), G03 agrees with what G02 is explaining and draws a conclusion from the statement in the previous turn:

> (11) G04: ya le he dicho bueno tío ya me buscaré la vida yo por la noche
> 'I have already told him, well man, I'll find my way at night'
> no sé qué y tal
> 'I don't know what and such'
> G02: le he dicho mira no es culpa nuestra que nos han puesto curre
> 'I told him look, it's not our fault that they have given us work'
> G03: **que   tenía   otro   plan   vamos eh eh jeje**
>   COMP   have- IMPERF.IND.3SG   another plan   come.on eh eh hehe
>   '[COMP] he had another plan, come on hahaha'
> (COLA, Madrid)

3.2.1.3. Dispreferred response

Dispreferred responses constitute second parts in adjency pairs. Structurally, they do relate to a previous turn in a dispreferred way. We can find them in the form of disagreements, declinations or refusals with respect to a request or an assessment. In example (12), G03 is pointing out to her friend that the clothes he is wearing are see-through, but J01 denies this:

> (12) G03: se te ve todo
> 'you see everything'
> J01: **pero   que   no se   me   ve   nada**
>   but   COMP   no RFL   me.DAT   see-PRS.IND.3SG   nothing
>   'but [COMP] you don't see anything'
>
>   **coño   que   está   así**
>   cunt   COMP   is-PRS.IND.3SG like that
>   'fuck [COMP] it is like that'
> (COLA, Madrid)

3.2.2. Non-initial

Non-initial DCQs consist of utterances in which the complementizer *que* is preceded by another turn-constructional unit[8] (TCU). Depending on the internal structure of the turn, we identified two possibilities: turn extension and utterance in a complex turn, i.e. multiturn units.

3.2.2.1. Turn extension

Turn extensions can be defined as an increment which justifies or adds support to a previous turn-constructional unit. In example (13), the DCQ constitutes a turn extension because the speaker uses it to justify the fact that she wants to continue watching her series, i.e. because it is really good:

> (13) A: bueno/ yo voy a seguir viendo mi serie/
>   'well/ I'm going to continue watching my series/'
>
>   **¡que   está   super   buena!**
>   COMP   is-PRS.IND.3SG   super   good
>   '[COMP] it is super good!'
>   (Ameresco, La Habana)

2.2.2. Utterance in a complex turn

Utterances in a complex turn are found within long interventions by one single speaker. These are usually descriptions or narrations in which the speaker splits the discourse into shorter parts in the form of a multi-turn. This is exemplified in (14). In the following conversation, speaker B tells her mum about all the homework she needs to do and cuts up the conversation into several turns, one of them being a DCQ:

> (14) B: porque el lunes - el lunes ya tengo pregunta escrita para lo de morfo
>   'because on Monday - on Monday I already have a written question for the morpho'
>   y ya yo estoy adelantando/ la tarea esa para el martes/ pero ahora
>   'and I am already working on it/ that task is for Tuesday/ but now'
>   lo de Educación Física no lo descargué/
>   'I haven't downloaded the thing of Physical Education/'
>
>   **que   es   decir   que   lo   tengo**
>   COMP   is-PRS.IND.3SG   say-INF REL   OBJ   have-PRS.IND.1SG
>   '[COMP] that is to say that I have'
>
>   **que   hacer   corriendo   el   lunes/**
>   to   do-INF rush-GER   the   Monday
>   'to do it in a rush on Monday/'
>
>   eso es para la semana esa pero como
>   'that is for that week but like'
>   (Ameresco, La Habana)

4. Variation of DCQ

4.1. DCQ across discursive genres

The normalized frequencies of DCQ across discursive genres are represented in Figure 1. This histogram shows that DCQ is by far more frequent in spontaneous conversation. The other three discursive genres show clearly lower figures, with novels exhibiting the second highest figure.

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[8]   A turn-constructional unit (TCU) is the smallest unit which can constitute a turn in a conversation (Sacks et al. 1974).
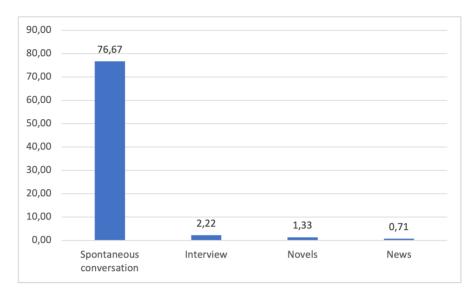
Figure 1. DCQ across discursive genres

The virtual absence of DCQ in interviews corroborates that the use of DCQ is not simply an oral phenomenon, but also indexes features of informality and immediacy. The very few examples found in this genre correspond mainly to two ICs: utterances in a complex turn and preferred response. Both ICs are associated with functions related to structuring information. In (15), the speaker resorts to DCQ to mark the continuation of their turn and in (16), the interviewer uses the construction to elaborate on the reply of the interviewee:

(15) Utterance in a complex turn

Aja. Por lo menos nosotros, que somos católicos, (Aja). le damos mucha importancia a la Navidad, (Aja). el veinticuatro de diciembre, el veinticinco. (Aja).

que	**desde**	**que**	**vino**	**el Papa,**
COMP	since	COMP	come-PRT.PRF.IND.3SG	the Pope

'[COMP] since the Pope came'

Juan	**Pablo**	**Segundo**	**pues,**	**declaró**	**feriado el, el**
John	Paul	Second	well	declared-PRT.PRF.IND.3SG	holiday the the

'John Paul the Second, well, he declared a holiday the, the'

día veinticinco de diciembre
day twenty-fifth of December
'on the twenty-fifth of December'

Porque antes, no. ¿No era feriado? No era feriado ni nadie celebraba. Actualmente, lo que la gente aquí en Cuba celebra, lo que más se celebra es el treinta y uno, Fin de Año. (Aja). Y ese gobierno también lo relacionaban porque el primero de enero fue… (Aja). El triunfo de la Revolución.

'Aha. At least us, who are Catholics, (Aha). We find Christmas really important, (Aha).. on the twenty-fourth of December, on the twenty-fifth. (Aha). **COMP since the Pope came, John Paul the Second,** (Aha). **Well, he declared a holiday on, on the twenty-fifth of December.** Because before, no. It wasn't a holiday? It was not a holiday and no one was celebrating. Currently, what people here in Cuba celebrate, what is celebrated the most is the thirty-first, New Year's Eve. (Aha). And that government was also related because the first of January was… (Aha). The triumph of the Revolution.'
(Caribe, Cuba)

(16) Enc: ¡anda!, nos dejan solas, ¿ y tú de dónde eres?,
        'wow, they are leaving us alone, and where are you from?'
     Inf: de aquí de Alcalá
        'from here from Alcalá'

Enc: ¡ah!	**que**	**eres**	**de**	**aquí**	**de**	**Alcalá**
oh!	COMP	be-PRS.IND.2SG	from	here	from	Alcalá

'ah! [COMP] you are from here from Alcalá'

Inf: sí
    'yes'
Enc: de aquí también entonces, ¿llevas muchos años?, desde que has nacido
    'from here too then, have you been around for many years? since you were born'
Inf: siempre
    'always'
(PRESEEA, Alcalá)

4.2. DCQ across language varieties

Figure *2.* shows the normalized frequencies of DCQ in the five language varieties under investigation.
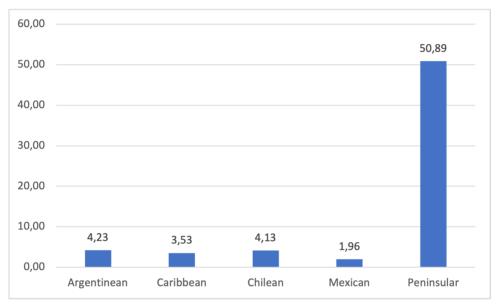

Figure 2. DCQ across language varieties

The comparison across language varieties clearly confirms that DCQ is by far more frequent in the Peninsular variety. The Mexican variety shows the lowest frequency. Argentina, the Caribbean, and Chile have low frequencies, closer to the Mexican variety. Thus, we can see a clear distinction between the Peninsular variety and Latin-American varieties in the entrenchment of DCQ. This confirms empirically what has been said in the literature in terms of global frequencies (Corr 2016, Gras 2020, 2021).

4.3. Position within the turn across language varieties

Looking at the position of DCQ across language varieties, based on Table 3 we can identify three different profiles. First, in the Peninsular variety DCQ is mostly found in initial position while in the Caribbean, Argentina and Mexico there is a preference for non-initial positions. In the case of Chile, DCQ's position within the turn is quite balanced, with 1,33 instances non-initial and 1,58 instances in initial position. These results are in accordance with previous studies by Gras (2020, 2021).

	Initial	**Non-initial**
Argentinean	1,06	4,77
Caribbean	0,36	3,23
Chilean	1,33	1,58
Mexican	0,18	2,54
Peninsular	32,14	19,67

Table 3. Normalized frequencies of DCQ according to position within the turn across varieties

4.4. ICs across language varieties

Figure 4 shows the normalized frequencies of ICs in each language variety. The Peninsular variety shows the highest frequencies in every IC. In the other four varieties, the frequencies are extremely low, particularly the three ICs that occur in turn initial position (preferred response, dispreferred response and initiation) do not even reach one instance per 100 000 words. Each IC shows a slightly different behaviour, therefore, in the next subsections, each IC will be discussed in relation to the frequency across language varieties, the functions expressed and the discussion in the literature.
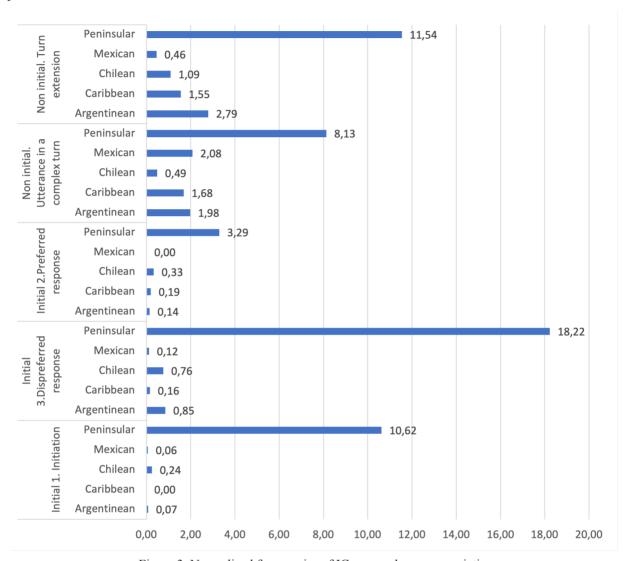

Figure 3. Normalized frequencies of ICs across language varieties

4.4.1. Non-initial, turn extension

Non-initial turn extension and non-initial utterance in a complex turn are the most frequent ICs the Latin American varieties. From a semantic pragmatic point of view, this IC has a clear profile, it introduces the justification of a prior speech act. This is exemplified in (13), repeated here as (17):

> (17)   A: bueno/ yo voy a seguir viendo mi serie/
>   'well/ I'm going to continue watching my series/'
>
>   **¡que**   **está**   **super**   **buena!**
>   COMP   is-PRS.IND.3SG   super   good
>   '[COMP] it is super good!'
>   (Ameresco, La Habana)

Traditionally, this IC has been treated as involving a causal subordinate clause in Spanish reference grammars (see, for instance, NGLE 2009: §46.6) and it has been associated with causal conjunctions (cf.

Alarcos Llorach 1994; Porroche Ballesteros 2000; 2006; Etxepare 2013). Nevertheless, recent studies argue that this interpretation is inferentially derived. Gras and Sansiñena (Gras 2011; Sansiñena 2015; Gras 2015, 2020, 2021) refer to it as a "support of a prior claim" and similarly, Corr (2016) considers it a causal interpretation of conjunctive *que*.

4.4.2. Non-initial utterance in a complex turn

Non-initial utterance in a complex turn shows similar frequencies to, the previous IC, non-initial, turn extension, though differences between the Peninsular variety and the American varieties are less. In contrast to the previous IC, the semantic pragmatic profile of this IC is clear. This IC serves functions related to discourse organization and formulation in the conversation, reflecting the speaker's effort to build their turn or signaling a conclusion of their turn. For instance, in (18) DCQ signals a closure of the turn of the speaker and a personal assessment of what has been previously stated.

> (18)   G04: a eso eso ya
>   'to that already'
>   pero digo que vamos a estar ahí todo el rato\ no
>   **'but I say that we are going to be there all the time\ no'**
>   **que   pregunto   que   no lo sé**
>   COMP   ask-PRS.IND.1SG   COMP   no   OBJ know-PRS.IND.1SG
>   '[COMP] I ask that I do not know'
>   G01: no estaremos un rato o así no nos aburrimos
>   'no we will be around for a while or so we won't get bored'
>   (COLA, Madrid)

In contrast with turn extension, this IC has been unnoticed in reference grammars. This can be explained by its relatively low frequency in Peninsular Spanish (since most reference grammars take Peninsular Spanish as the default variety). Nevertheless, we can identify some typical uses of *que* that characterize these cases. First, Pons (1998) refers to similar cases as *que soldador* 'welder *que*', which he defines as follows*:*

> When the connection capabilities of the connector do not operate at the level of the word, but at the level of the utterances (or on segments of utterances, because it is an unplanned language), welder *que* becomes nonspecific *que*, whose function is that of serving as a connecting element between two blocks, without indicating the type of relationship (our own translation, Pons 1998: 135).

On the other hand, Corr (2016) provides a similar definition of conjunctive *que*, describing it as a "social lubricant". Even though she does not provide similar examples to ours, its function can be applied here as well: it "constitutes an overt syntactic implementation of a conversational move, contextualising utterance information to/for an addressee and acting as a 'social lubricant' in the process" (Corr 2016: 208). Similarly, Gras (2015: 512) talk about incremental uses of *que,* and define them as "devices for projecting textual sequences within a turn. This resource is typically found in contexts where the speaker reports a previous speech event".

This IC is also found introducing direct speech, as if the original utterance included an instance of *que.* This is exemplified in the following conversation, where speaker B is telling A about a conversation she had with a boy in a club:

> (19)   B   me dice <cita> me encantaría tener tu cuerpo para hacer el amor
>   'he tells me <quote> I would love to have your body to make love'
>   </cita> así <risas/> así nada de que <cita> ¿cóm-? ¿cómo estás?
>   '</quote> like this <laughs/> like this nothing about <quote> how- how are you?'
>   un besit- un ¿qué hacés?</cita> nada
>   'one kiss- what are you doing? </quote> nothing'
>   A   nada de un chamuyo
>   'no flirting'
>   primero y [después]
>   'first and later'
>
>   B   [y no] no hay chamuyo primero ni nada y yo le he <u>contestado</u>
>   'and no no flirting first or nothing and I answered'
>
>   **eh <cita> jajaja   que   estás   pasado </cita>**
>   eh <quote> hahaha COMP   be-PRS.IND.2SG   drunk

'eh <quote> hahaha [COMP] you are drunk <quote>'

y me dice él
'and he says to me'
(Ameresco, Tucumán)

Until now the literature has not associated this function with DCQ. Nevertheless, this has been identified as a common function in pragmatic markers: for instance, *well* in English or *pues* 'then' in Spanish (Schourup 1983; Travis 2004; Borreguero 2018). Travis (2004) explains this function as follows:

> [T]he marker links the quote to some aspect of the conversation being quoted [...] it contextualizes the quote, [...] it can make it sound like a more genuine quote from a real interaction, by implying that the speaker was continuing on from what has been said. (Travis 2004: 277)

4.4.3. Initial, preferred response

This IC shows low frequencies across varieties, including the Peninsular variety (3 instances). Interestingly enough, this use is absent in Mexico and shows almost no cases in the other Latin American varieties (between 0,3 and 0,1 instances). The functions of DCQ found in initial preferred response are similar to the ones found in utterance in a complex turn. Both ICs include functions related to discourse organization and formulation, but whereas utterance in a complex turn has a monological, i.e. it is found within a turn, preferred response is dialogic, it is found as a response. For instance, in example (11), repeated as (20), G03 introduces a conclusion inferred from what the previous speaker has said. The discourse function is reinforced by the combination with another marker *vamos* 'well' (literally, 'we go'):

(20) G02: le he dicho mira no es culpa nuestra que nos han puesto curre
         'I told him look, it's not our fault that they have given us work'

      G03: **que   tenía   otro   plan   vamos eh eh jeje**
           COMP   have-IMPERF.IND.3SG   another   plan   come on eh eh hehe
           '[COMP] he had another plan, come on hahaha'

      G04: no no estaba allí por el tribunal y ver a ver si
           'no he was not there for the court to see if'
      (COLA, Madrid)

This IC has also been unnoticed by reference grammars. Similar functions of the complementizer have been found in Germanic languages. D'Hertefelt & Verstraete (2014: 92) refer to these cases as "elaborative" since the speaker resorts to them "to further elaborate on what they said before".

4.4.4. Initial, dispreferred response

DCQ as initial dispreferred response shows very dramatic differences between Spain and the Latin American varieties. Whereas in Spain this is the most frequent IC, in the Latin American varieties, figures are below 1 instance in all varieties. In this IC, DCQ maximizes disagreement with the previous turn. This is exemplified in (21), where G04 disagrees with what J02 has just said:

(21) J02: [como sigas así no te la sacas la ingeniería]
           'if you continue like that you are not passing engineering'
      G02: [ja ja ja ja]
           'ha ha ha ha'
      G04: **que   sí   que   se   la   saca   ya**
           COMP   yes   COMP RFL   OBJ   pass-PRS.IND.3SG   already
           '[COMP] yes, [COMP] he will pass'

        te digo yo que sí
        'I tell you that he will'

      (COLA, Madrid)

As with other ICs, this IC can be found in combination with other discourse markers, such as *pero* 'but'. In the literature, Gras (2015) noticed this function, and some cases of the exclamative proposed by Corr (2018a) could be interpreted as initial dispreferred response, like the one illustrated in (22). In Germanic languages, this IC is not available.

(22)	¡Que	hace	un día bonito!
	EXCL	make-PRS.IND.3SG	a day lovely

'It's [such] a lovely day!' (Corr 2018a: 95)

4.4.5. Initial, initiation

The final IC identified seems to be practically exclusive of the Peninsular variety (10 instances). In the other varieties is practically absent, with minimal figures (below 0,2). The function in this IC involves (re-) introducing a new topic in the conversation, which can be either i) previously introduced or ii) available from the communicative situation. With topic reintroduction, the speaker wants to signal to the interlocutors that a previously discussed topic is taken up again. This can be observed in the following conversation, in which G01 reintroduces the topic about stopping the recorder (underlined):

(23) G01: voy a probar a ver si se puede parar así
          'I'm going to try to see if you can turn it off'
          […] (conversation continues between G01 and G03, 10 turns)

      G01: eh je je je   bueno tío
          'eh heh heh   well, dude'

que	**lo**	**paro**	**lo**	**dicho**
COMP	OBJ	stop-make-PRS.IND.1SG	OBJ	say-PTCP

          '[COMP] I stop it, as I said'

          es/ aquí
          'it's here'
      (COLA, Madrid)

In other contexts, the topic is not previously mentioned in the conversation, but it is accessible from the situational context. This use performs a similar function to that of discourse markers based on imperative verbs of perception (*mira* 'look', *oye* 'listen') and sometimes it can imply an exhortation to the interlocutors to act:

(24) J01: por aquí\ vamos a bajar\ que está todo embarrizado\
          'over here\ we are going to go down\ that everything is barred\'
      G01: he he subido antees... ahora supongo que bajar será más fácil fácil
          'I have gone up before... now I guess going down will be easier'

J01: **ay**	**@nombre**	**que**	**me**	**mancho**
INTER	voc	COMP	me.DAT	get.dirty-PRS.IND.1SG

          'ouch   @name [COMP] I get dirty'

      (COLA, Madrid)

Gras (2015) identify this function as "warning" and Corr (2018a) considers it exclamative. Among her examples of "exclamative *que*", she includes one taken from Gras (2015):

(24) Ay (.)	**que**	**me**	**estás**	**cuarteándome**	**el dedo**
EXCL	COMP	I.DAT	be-PRS.IND.2SG	cut.up-GERUND-me	the finger

'Ouch [COMP] you're hurting my finger!' (Corr 2018a: 88)

It should be noted that these constructions do not necessarily include a scalable property, which is a prototypical of exclamatives (Michaelis & Lambrecht 1996, Michaelis 2001). Thus, in (25) the predicate *cuartear* 'cut up' is not being graded as opposed to prototypical exclamatives *cuanto me estás cuarteando* *'how much you are cutting me up'* (cf. Corr 2016). However, these constructions share other features of exclamatives, such as the combinations with interjections, like *ay* 'ouch' or *hala* 'gosh' and they are compatible

with degree quantifiers like *menudo* 'what a' in (26). The question of whether to consider these constructions as exclamatives depend on the definition of exclamatives (narrow-broad) that we are using[9].

> (25) *¡Hala,*   *que*   *menudo tocho*   *te*   *he colocado*!
>   INTERJ   COMP   what.a   tome   you.DAT   put.PRS.PRF.IND.1SG
>   'Gosh, [COMP] what a tome I've written to you'
>   (Corr 2018c: 81, not attested in our corpus)

5. Conclusions

This study has provided a corpus-based analysis of the lectal variation of DCQ. First, we have confirmed that DCQ is tightly associated with spontaneous conversation, with other genres in which it occurs primarily mimicking spontaneous conversation. The absence of DCQ in interviews is related to the fact that there is less immediacy in this genre, the relation between participants is not symmetrical and the conversation is semi-structured (i.e. less spontaneous).

As for the geographical variation, we have shown that DCQ is more entrenched in the Peninsular variety than in Latin-American varieties. In addition, the analysis has shown that there are differences across varieties regarding the use of DCQ. First, taking into account the position within the turn, three different profiles were identified: i) in Argentina, the Caribbean and Mexico, DCQ is mostly used in non-initial position within the turn, ii) in the Peninsular variety most of the times it is used in initial position, and iii) Chile occupies an intermediate position. Examining the five different ICs, the analysis showed that there are also differences across language varieties and that some are more frequent than others. In the Peninsular variety dispreferred response is the most frequent of all the ICs, followed by initiation, which seems to be exclusive of this variety. By contrast, in Latin American varieties only turn extension and utterance in a complex turn show relatively high frequencies (above 1 per 100,000 words).

Finally, this study has shown that DCQs show different degrees of entrenchment in the geographical varieties under study. In Peninsular Spanish certain ICs (initiation and dispreferred response) show both high frequency and semantic-pragmatic specialization, which can be considered as evidence of entrenchment. Furthermore, these contexts are typical of pragmatic markers (change of topic, expression of disagreement). However, in Latin American varieties DCQs show general low frequencies, and tend to occur in turn-internal positions, in some cases without a clear semantic-pragmatic function. This can be taken as evidence of low entrenchment of DCQs as pragmatic markers, being mostly used in typical conjunction environments.

Abbreviations

1SG	first person singular
2SG	second person singular
3PL	third person plural
3SG	third person singular
COMP	complementizer
DAT	dative
IMP	imperative
OBJ	object
PRS	present
PRF	perfect
PTCP	participle
INF	infinitive
GERUND	gerund

Acknowledgments

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[9]   For the distinction between narrow and broad exclamative in functional typology of insubordination see Gras (2017).

CREDiT Authorship Contribution

S.P.F., P.G., and F.B. contributed to the design and implementation of the research, to the analysis of the results and to the writing of the manuscript.

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