

# The expressive function of the *ni que* in subordinate construction in Spanish

Elena Martínez Caro<sup>1,\*</sup>, Laura Alba-Juez<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Universidad Complutense de Madrid; elenamc@ucm.es

<sup>2</sup> UNED; lalba@flog.uned.es

\* Correspondence: elenamc@ucm.es

**Abstract:** Authors such as Schnoebelen (2012: 12) suggest that in some languages (cf. Navajo) certain dependent clauses are frequently used independently to “mark emotional evaluation and background information”. Evans (2007) uses the term *insubordination* to refer to this phenomenon. Our study focuses on a particular in subordinate construction introduced by the sequence *ni que* in Spanish, as in the example [¡Una carta cada día!] *Ni que yo fuese Umbral*. (CORPES 100), used as an independent clause with a sociopragmatic meaning which is different from that of its subordinate counterpart (cf. *No escribiría una carta cada día ni que yo fuese Umbral*). Our research questions ask about the potential for *ni que* to be used as a discourse marker fulfilling an expressive function when it introduces this type of construction, and the derived hypothesis is then oriented to test whether Schnoebelen's (2012) observation about in subordinate constructions applies also to this Spanish construction. In order to test this hypothesis, we performed a functional-discourse analysis of more than 2000 concordances (and their extended contexts) in Mark Davies' *Corpus del Español* and the *Real Academia CORPES XXI*. Our findings show that the in subordinate construction differs in function and meaning from its subordinate counterpart, the former fulfilling a stronger emotive function, often combined with other discourse-pragmatic functions, such as evaluation or the organization of discourse.

**Key words:** in subordinate constructions; the expressive function of language; language and emotion; *ni que* construction in Spanish.

## 1. Introduction

In the past recent decades, linguistics has witnessed an increasing interest in the expressive function of language (as opposed to its referential function; cf. Foolen 2016) and the related areas of subjectivity and stance (cf. e.g. Biber et al. 1999, Englebretson 2007, Thompson and Alba-Juez 2014). Speaker's subjectivity can be manifested in various ways linguistically and non-linguistically, from the several forms of body language to the reflection of subjectivity in the different levels of linguistic analysis. The area of subjectivity itself and the expressive meaning of language can refer to different forms of communication, such as the obvious expression of feelings, and other associated meanings such as affective states, attitudes, beliefs, value judgements and assessments (Baumgarten et al. 2012, Foolen 2016).

A wide range of linguistic structures have received attention in the literature in association with this set of linguistic meanings. Among these, authors such as Schnoebelen (2012: 12) suggest that in some languages (cf. Navajo) certain dependent clauses are frequently used independently to “mark emotional evaluation and background information”. Evans (2007) uses the term *insubordination* to refer to this phenomenon. He defines it as “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses” (Evans 2007: 367), or, in more simple terms, “as the independent use of constructions exhibiting prima facie characteristics of subordinate clauses” (Evans and Watanabe 2016b: 2). Even when they have often been marginalized in grammars, they “turn out to be surprisingly widespread” (Evans and Watanabe 2016b).

This study intends to broaden the present discussion of subjectivity and stance by focusing on a particular in subordinate construction introduced by the sequence *ni que* in Spanish, as in the following examples:

1. a. ¡Una carta cada día! *Ni que yo fuese Umbral.*  
'A letter everyday! **As if I were Umbral.**'  
(CORPES 100. *¿La pareja? Bien, gracias*", El Club de la Comedia)
- b. Dámela, hombre. *Ni que me tuvieras miedo.*  
'Give it to me, for goodness sake. **As if you were afraid of me.**'  
(CdE 86. *Gran Señor y Rajadiablos*, Eduardo Barrios)

The independent clauses in (1) exhibit certain characteristics associated to a subordinate clause, the use of the sequence *ni que* containing the subordinating conjunction *que* and the subjunctive verbal form *tuvieras*, but is used independently, that is, without the accompanying main clause. Thus (1a), for instance, is different from its subordinate counterpart, presented in (2):

2. No escribiría una carta cada día *ni que yo fuese Umbral.*  
'I would not write a letter every day even if I were Umbral.'

Leaving apart the syntactic properties of both, an important difference between (1a) and (2) lies in the semantic-pragmatic meaning of the construction in (1a), as compared to (2). Thus, the two examples of this construction in (1) convey an expressive meaning that goes beyond the mere representational, or truth-conditional meaning, and that is absent from their subordinate counterparts (as shown in 2). In (1a-b) the purpose of the utterances is not to convey some new information but to transmit a purely expressive meaning.

In studies of insubordination in Spanish, where the Spanish term *insubordinación* is often not used, the research in this area has mainly focused on sentences introduced by *que*, *como* and *si* (cf. e.g. Rodríguez Ramalle 2011, 2015; Sansiñena 2015, Sansiñena et al. 2015; Gras 2011, 2016; Gras and Sansiñena 2015; Porroche 2000a, 2003). To the best of our knowledge, there are no studies on the insubordinate construction in Spanish introduced by *ni que* alone; see, however, Porroche (2000b), who explores different discourse uses of the marker *ni* in Spanish, including among others the insubordinate use, and Gras (2007) who studies the subordinate *ni que* clause. By and large, very little has been said to date about the capacity of the *ni que* sequence in Spanish to function as an expressive discourse marker (Porroche 2015) introducing an insubordinate sentence.

The present paper will discuss aspects of the expressive meaning of this construction as the reference to an imaginary, unreal world which is presented as impossible and emphatically negated, generally by pragmatic means such as the triggering of a counter-factive presupposition. In a wider perspective, this contribution aims to shed light onto one of the areas related to insubordination suggested by Evans and Watanabe (2016b) in their review chapter on insubordination, namely how corpus-based approaches can provide a more accurate picture of "what is happening with particular insubordinated constructions" (2016b: 4).

The outline of this paper is as follows. Section 2 reviews the literature on insubordination and section 3 presents the research questions and hypothesis of the study in addition to the data and methodology used to answer and test them. In section 4 we present the findings of the analysis, with the discussion of the main discourse-pragmatic functions found for the construction, and a brief preceding revision of some structural properties also associated with it. In Section 5, we summarize the main ideas of the chapter and point to further areas of study.

## 2. Background

The literature on insubordination is not very abundant but has experienced a rapid growth since the emergence of Evans' (2007) seminal paper 'Insubordination and its uses', which served to standardize different previous studies on dependent clauses used independently in various languages of the world, although in those the term *insubordination* was still not used.

Among the various references, two very recent book-length treatments of insubordination are worthy of mention, Evans and Watanabe (2016a) and Beijering, Kaltenböck and Sansiñena (2019a). They both gather studies by the most relevant authors in the field, addressing aspects of the phenomenon from different angles and on different languages, complementing each other and providing up-to-date overviews of the current state of research on the phenomenon (Beijering, Kaltenböck and Sansiñena 2019b).

As has been noted in the literature, insubordination represents a challenge for traditional grammatical frameworks because of its ambivalent nature, which combines a subordinate structure with an independent main clause use. The problematic syntactic analysis explains the marginal role given to this type of construction by reference grammars (cf. e.g. for English and Spanish, Huddleston and Pullum 2002 and RAE-AALE 2009, respectively). Insubordination is also a complex phenomenon by virtue of the considerable variation it exhibits in both its structure and discourse functions cross-linguistically (Beijering, Kaltenböck and Sansiñena 2019b).

Among the different typologies which have been proposed, D'Hertefelt and Verstraete (2014) distinguish two types of insubordinate construction, based on a group of Swedish and Danish constructions: (i) expressives, which are used to express the speaker's evaluation of a presupposed state of affairs, and (ii) elaboratives, which elaborate on something that was said before by the same speaker or a different one (2014: 90). The *ni que*-insubordinate construction discussed in this study belongs to the first type.

Some scholars mention a cline or continuum of subordination-insubordination (cf. e.g. Beijering et al 2019b). In this respect, Sansiñena, de Smet and Cornillie (2015) observe an interesting distinction between what they call *dyadically dependent* clauses (as in 4) and insubordinated clauses (as in 5):

4. A: ¿Qué dijo?  
B: *Que te calles*.  
'A: What did she say? B: That you should shut up.'
5. (Two people are having a strong argument and one says)  
¿Que te calles!  
'(I insist that you) shut up!' (Literally: 'That you shut up!')

We can compare the two relevant clauses in (4) and (5), in turn, with a third type, their subordinate, dependent, counterpart, as in (6).

6. Me dijo: "*que te calles*".  
'She told me: "shut up"'

Whereas the marked clause in (6) can be seen in one of the extremes of the cline, as a fully subordinate, i.e. non-autonomous, clause, (5) is placed at the other extreme, as a fully autonomous, thus prototypically insubordinate clause. The dyadically dependent clause in (4), in turn, is seen as a semi-autonomous subordinate clause (Beijering et al 2019b), thus occupying an in-between position in the subordination-insubordination continuum. Notice that the distinction between (6) and (5) is the same as the one indicated above between (1) (*Ni que yo fuese Umbral*) and (2) (*No escribiría una carta cada día ni que yo fuese Umbral*). As Beijering et al. (2019b) admit, dyadically dependent clauses are not included by Evans (2007) in his category of insubordinate constructions; however, they are considered as semi-autonomous insubordinates by these authors and illustrate how "dependent clauses used as independent sentences do not represent a uniform, monolithic category" (Beijering et al. 2019b).

One of the ways, and in fact the most important one in our opinion, in which both the dyadically dependent clause, as in (4), and the subordinate counterpart, as in (6), are different from the 'fully' insubordinate, as in (5), we argue, is that only the latter, but not the former two, has an emphatic expressive-emotive meaning. This will be further explored below for the *ni que* construction.

The discussion of the scale of subordinate-insubordinateness leads us to the hypothesis that the insubordinate construction originates from a process of ellipsis of the main clause, as has often been proposed (notably, e.g. by Evans 2007), but also criticized by some authors. Mithun (2008), for instance, finds independent subordinate clauses which do not have this requirement in her data from different indigenous languages. Sansiñena et al. (2015) argue that "insubordinate constructions develop along multiple pathways of change, of which the pathway proposed by Evans (2007) is one plausible candidate". Porroche (cf. e.g. 2000a, 2002, 2003), in turn, considers the subordinator preceding insubordinated clauses not a proper conjunction but a discourse marker which distinguishes itself from a conjunction in various ways.

The range of possible insubordinate constructions appears to be quite restricted (cf. Sansiñena et al. 2015). In a previous study (Alba-Juez and Martínez Caro 2017) we looked at the uses and functions of several insubordinate constructions in English and Spanish with different introducing sequences (*if only/Si (tan) solo, as if/como si, that/que, not that, (pero) si...*). In the present contribution we focus on the construction preceded by the sequence *ni que* in Spanish, which we did not consider previously.

### 2.1. Meanings and functions of insubordinate constructions

Insubordinate constructions are used across languages to perform different discourse functions and it is their adoption of specialized discourse functions that explains their motivation for becoming conventionalized as independent structures (Beijering et al. 2019b).

The literature on insubordination attests a very wide range of functions of these constructions, occurring in different contexts of use. Evans (2007) mentions the three following basic functions: modal meanings; managing the negotiation between speaker and addressee, and discourse organization. Particularly relevant for our purposes, the first meanings, modal meanings, include what he refers to as evaluative insubordination, "in which the omission of the matrix clause implies amazement or shock" (Beijering et al. 2019b: 10).

Similarly to Evans (2007), Porroche (2003) finds modal, interactional and textual functions of conjunctions functioning in discourse. Sansiñena et al. (2015) report modal and discourse-connecting uses of insubordinates introduced by *que* in Spanish.

Mithun (2008), in turn, first called attention to a type of construction in Navajo, the *go*-marked dependent clause, and similar constructions in other indigenous languages (Yup'ik and Chumash), as dependent clauses used independently. Mithun's (2008) analysis differs from that of Evans (2007) in adopting a narrative-structure perspective, where the constructions are examined in their wider context, rather than at a local (sentence) domain, and hence the label 'extension beyond the sentence' adopted by Mithun. The author sees these constructions as exhibiting an off-line discourse contribution to the narrative, providing background information, parenthetical comments, and without advancing the story. In addition, these pervasive dependent clauses used independently are also seen to be exploited for several other "social functions", such as relating comments to the general social situation, saving face and showing respect.

As a conclusion, it can be said that insubordination is "an umbrella term for a formally-defined phenomenon which encompasses a wide range of constructions with different formal realizations (...) and whose functions can be mapped cross-linguistically but with different sets of functions for individual languages" (Beijering et al. 2019b: 12).

### 2.2. Insubordination and the expression of emotion

As stated above, the main argument we support in this work is that one important way in which the *ni que* dependent construction in Spanish is different from the insubordinate one is that the latter has a stronger emphatic and expressive-emotive meaning. This correlation between insubordinate constructions and affective meanings has been previously noticed by some scholars, although only scarcely and without great detail. Authors such as Foolen (e.g. 2012, 2016) or Schnoebelen (2012), for instance, have noticed this in their research about emotion and expressive meanings. Schnoebelen's (2012: 12) previously mentioned observation that in some languages certain dependent clauses are

frequently used independently to “mark emotional evaluation and background information” stems from the study by Mithun (2008) mentioned above.

Our general approach to the study of the expression of emotion entails a discursive perspective within the overall field of functional linguistics, but it also includes an eclectic, multidisciplinary approach enriched by the views and findings of other fields of knowledge, such as psychology, sociology or philosophy. We are conscious of the fact that language is no longer thought to be a totally objective and valid representation of reality; language is viewed in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as an intersubjective expression of correlational truth, where the expression of emotion plays a fundamental part (Lüdtke 2015). We now know that emotion permeates all linguistic levels (Schnoebelen 2012, Majid 2012, Foolen 2016, Alba-Juez and Mackenzie 2016, 2019) and that it can manifest itself in different forms and modes. The focus of this study is its manifestation at the syntactic level, through the *ni que* in subordinate construction, such as shown in the previous examples and in (7):

7. *¡Y ustedes, cuidadito con ir con cuentos a los Montero, ni a esas barrigas resfriadas de las Bringas! - nos previno madre a Laura y a mí. - Ni que fuéramos unas chusmas.*  
 ‘And you; be careful with going to the Monteros or to the blabbermouthy Bringas, with invented stories. **As if we were gossipy women!**  
 (CdE 126. *Novios de Antaño*, María Elena Walsh)

However, it is important to note here that, even if the syntactic level is the one taking the lead in this particular linguistic manifestation of emotion, the pragmatic level intertwines with it as well as with all the other levels.<sup>1</sup>

We want to clarify here that we will use the terms *expressive* and *emotive* indistinctly to refer to the emotional content of utterances and discourse in general. Different terms are used by different authors to refer to the phenomenon of human emotion, but the discussion of the terminology regarding the different types of emotion, as well as whether these types are universal or cultural-dependent, goes beyond the scope of this paper.

Considering the above, for the analysis of emotion in this work we take as a point of departure (and adhere to) Alba-Juez and Mackenzie’s (2019: 18) definition of the phenomenon:

...we view emotion as a (dynamical) system of language which interacts with the system of evaluation but whose main function is the expression of the speaker’s feelings, mood or affective experience. It is a multimodal discourse process, which permeates all linguistic levels but also manifests itself in non-verbal ways, presenting different stages and forms (influenced by variables such as pragmatic expectations or common-ground knowledge) according as the discursive situation and interaction changes and evolves.

In analyzing the *ni que* constructions in the corpus, we will focus on the different pragmatic domains and functions of this construction, including its role as a discourse marker, which has the power of expressing and manifesting dynamical intersubjective affective meanings.

### 3. Research goals and methodology

#### 3.1. Research questions and hypothesis

The study presented herein arose from our interest in testing Schnoebelen’s (2012) assertion about the possibility for some dependent clauses to act independently in order to mark emotional evaluation. In

---

<sup>1</sup> Gras (2007: 311-12) also sees this overlap of levels for the *ni que* construction when he states that the presence of *ni que* is a syntactic phenomenon because it determines the grammatical relation between the main proposition and the subordinate one, but it is also necessary to resort to pragmatic information to account for the functioning of the connective sequence *ni que* composed by the negative scalar operator *ni* and the conjunction *que*.



would considerably change, because, in fact, *¡Ni aunque me tuvieras miedo!* could not be considered as an appropriate equivalent option in that particular context. This suggests that the concessive meaning attached to the subordinate construction is somehow lost or not found in the insubordinate one, whose meaning has more to do with pragmatic phenomena such as the triggering of counterfactive presuppositions, the organization of discourse, the emotive domain and the realization of expressive speech acts, as we shall further illustrate and discuss in 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4.

### 3.2. Corpus

Our corpus consisted of more than 2,000 concordances and their extended contexts from two corpora of the Spanish language, namely:

- a) the *Davies' Corpus del Español* (CdE), where we examined 1067 Concordances in both Peninsular and American varieties of Spanish and found 128 insubordinate constructions (representing 12% of the scrutinized *ni que* concordances in it);
- b) the *CORPES XXI*, where we examined 1001 concordances in Peninsular Spanish and found 104 insubordinate constructions (representing then 10.39% of the *ni que* concordances).

It is worth noticing that the *ni que* insubordinates were mostly found in the spoken language section of the corpora used and in the dialogue sections of written language or written fiction works, in the form of direct reported speech or thought, more or less explicitly indicated in the text. So even when it is found in written texts, it is always representing the oral use of the construction, which leads to the assumption that the *ni que* discourse marker in insubordinate constructions is mainly a feature of spoken Spanish. This undoubtedly has to do with the illocutionary force accompanying them, which very frequently is that of a direct or indirect retort (cf. Porroche 2000b).

## 4. Discussion and Analysis

In the insubordinate construction, the otherwise conjunction *ni* has an independent value which does not allow for conjunctive locutions (RAE-AALE 2009: 2461). We have observed that the *ni que* insubordinates are normally triggered by the previous linguistic or extra-linguistic context, which is not surprising, considering that, as the data examined show, the *ni que* sequence acts as a discourse marker within the expressive/emotive domain, and as such any contextual cue in its interpretation is crucial (cf. Crible and Degand 2019). Consider this fact in (10), where both the linguistic and extralinguistic contexts make for the whole meaning of *ni que* as an interpersonal emotive marker. The speaker responds here to the facial expression of surprise/astonishment of her interlocutor:

10. *Oiga, ¿qué le pasa? Ni que le hubiera contado una historia de fantasmas... ¿no es Ud. periodista? Seguro que ha oído casos más raros que éste o ¿está creyendo que estoy loca?*  
'Listen, what's the matter with you? **As if I had told you a ghost story...** Aren't you a journalist? Surely you've heard of stranger cases than this one, or do you believe I'm crazy?'  
(CdE 146. *Desenlaces*, Lucía Melgar)

As stated above, this construction operates on different linguistic and discourse-pragmatic levels, some aspects of which we shall discuss in the next subsections (4.1, 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4). One interesting pragmatic aspect found is the fact that the *ni que* insubordinate clauses normally trigger a counterfactive presupposition which works as the linguistic support for its interpretation as emotionally-loaded markers. We turn to this in section 4.2, but first, in 4.1, some structural features of the construction in Spanish are presented.

### 4.1. Defining the *ni que*-insubordinate construction in Spanish from a formal perspective

In this subsection we look at the distinction between the *ni que*-in subordinate construction and other superficially similar dependent sentences used independently introduced by the sequence *ni que* in Spanish but whose function is different and thus have to be considered different constructions. The following discussion focuses on sentences where the *ni que* sequence is followed by a tensed verb, leaving apart other, often highly conventionalized, constructions with a non-finite verb (i.e. an infinitive), such as e.g. *Ni que decir tiene que...* 'it goes without saying that...'. By discriminating between the *ni que*-in subordinate and other superficially similar constructions we hope to offer an overview of the main formal features associated with the former, without pretending to give a detailed and complete account of these, which goes beyond the scope of the present study.

Similar dependent sentences used independently introduced by *ni que* in Spanish can be coordinated or subordinated. The former group can be illustrated by (11), where *ni* ('neither/nor') is a negative coordinator.

11. Cállese. Yo no quiero ser amigo suyo. *Ni que nos tuteemos.*  
'Shut up. I don't want to be a friend of yours. Nor that we address each other using the familiar.'  
(CORPES 38. *La aventura del tocador de señoras*, Eduardo Mendoza)

Using the term 'semi-autonomous' subordinate (or in subordinate) construction from Beijering (2019b), the construction in (11) can be characterised as a 'semi-autonomous coordinate' construction. A paraphrase of (11), for example, is *Ni quiero que nos tuteemos* 'Nor do I want that we address each other using the familiar'.<sup>2</sup> By contrast to this construction, the word *ni* in the in subordinate is not a coordinator but a scalar adverbial particle or negative operator (cf. e.g. Gras 2007: 312, Yates 2006). This will be further explained below.

In (12), in contrast with (11), *ni que* introduces a subordinate clause, presented as independent, but also different from the *ni que* in subordinate construction that we are concerned with.

12. No le dé dulces, Bendición. *Ni que llore.*  
'Don't give her sweets, Bendición. Even if she cries.'  
(CORPES 506. *Princesas*, Fernando León de Aranoa)

The italicized construction in (12) is a 'semi-autonomous subordinate' clause with a concessive-conditional meaning, in which the sequence *ni que* can be paraphrased by *ni aunque* (cf. ((*No le dé dulces*), *ni aunque llore*), as noted above and in Gras (2007). A common feature of the *ni que* semi-autonomous subordinate and the *ni que* in subordinate construction is the presence in both cases of the *ni* as a scalar negative operator.

Although the explanation of the concept of scalarity transcends the overview of formal features of the construction which we intend to present in this subsection, a brief discussion of it is in order. From a pragmatic point of view, the scalar meaning of *ni* implies the existence of a set of potential propositions related to an event and present in the discursive frame of the speech participants. We may use our previous example (1), (*¡Una carta cada día!*) *¡Ni que yo fuese Umbral!*, to illustrate this. Writing a letter everyday (to a physically-distant girlfriend) implies a set of potential propositions among which we may include, for example, to find writing attractive, to be a good writer or to write for a living (to be a writer). Among these, the scalar operator selects one of the possibilities which can be seen as highly remote, and whose selection implies all the other set of possibilities. Thus, it selects a given proposition from the set as the most informative one, which will automatically imply all the other propositions that are situated below it, presupposing the existence of a set of propositions that can represent the conditions under which something is accepted. In (1), the selected option is being a famous writer such as the novelist and journalist (Francisco) Umbral. The selection of that highly remote possibility has the effect of emphatically negating the previous related statement (writing a letter everyday).

<sup>2</sup> Of course these constructions may occur as 'normal' coordinated clauses within a compound sentence, rather than independently: *No quiero ser amigo suyo ni que nos tuteemos.*

And precisely, in our analysis we have noticed that the scalar nature of *ni* is a crucial factor for the emotive interpretation of the in subordinate construction with *ni que*. As noted in cognitive linguistics (see, for instance, Kay 1990) a scalar model consists of a set of interrelated propositions which generally belong to a discourse frame that is shared by the interlocutors. So for instance *¡Ni que yo fuese Umbral!* is presented as the utterance with greater degree of informativity for being the most negative one as compared with other propositions of the same set. The contrast shown by presenting the most negative option as a non-accepted hypothetical possibility includes an emphatic emotional component of indignation that is certainly triggered by the presence of the pragmatic content of the scalar operator *ni*.

As may have become evident from the examples presented in the previous sections, one of the characterising features of the in subordinate construction in Spanish with *ni que* is the subjunctive verbal form following *ni que*. The subjunctive is found in other in subordinates in Spanish introduced by other sequences (*Como si eso fuera a arreglar algo* 'As if that were to solve anything'; *¡Que te calles!* '(I insist you shut up!)') but by no means in all of them; thus the present indicative (*Que te quiero, joder, que te quiero* 'That I love you, damn it, that I love you') or the future (*¡Si seré despistada!* 'How absent-minded I am!') are used as well. However, with the *ni que* in subordinate construction the subjunctive is a requirement. The required subjunctive is seen as a reflection of the non-factuality of the state of affairs depicted and the unreality of the presented proposition.<sup>3</sup> Thus compare the 'semi-autonomous coordinate' in (13), containing the indicative *hace* 'it-has been', with its in subordinate counterpart in (13'), with the subjunctive form *hiciera*.

13. Porque no puedo olvidar, porque no puedo ignorar, que al fin he conseguido arruinarme. *Ni que hace más de dos años que perdí a mi mujer.*

'Because I cannot forget, because I cannot ignore, that finally I ended up bankrupt. *Nor that it has been more than two years since I lost my wife.*'

(CORPES 227. *Grillo*, José Machado)

13'. *¡Ni que hiciera más de dos años que perdí a mi mujer!*

'As if it had been more than two years since I lost my wife!'

Whereas the indicative in (13) indicates a factual state of affairs ('it has indeed been more than two years that I lost my wife'), the subjunctive in (13') expresses non-factuality, the implication being that the speaker's wife passed away *less* than two years before the moment of speaking, that is, it is not the case that she died more than two years since then.

A common and highly conventionalized construction is the clause *ni que lo digas*, as in (14).

14. -Está buena, la Elisa esa... -dice Gabriel.

'-She's hot, that chick Elisa... -says Gabriel.'

-*Ni que lo digas* -dice Toni.

'-Oh yes/Absolutely -says Toni.'

(CORPES 967. *El hijo del futbolista*, Coradino Vega)

As can be seen in (14), the fixed expression *ni que lo digas* is used in Spanish for expressing strong agreement. This is a semi-autonomous subordinate clause which can be paraphrased in Spanish as *es tan evidente que no hace falta ni que lo digas* ('it is so obvious that you need not even say it'), stressing the self-evident or non-dubious character of the previously mentioned statement.

In Section 2 we mentioned the proposed view of the in subordinate construction to have emerged from a process of ellipsis of the main clause (Evans 2007). The retrieval of the main clause is a simple process in some cases, and the reasons for the speakers to have abandoned that main clause clear, but not in others. One of the most obvious contrasts between the *ni que* in subordinate construction and other

<sup>3</sup> As Gras (2007: 312-313) notes, the subjunctive is also a requirement in *ni que* subordinate counterpart, for the same semantic-pragmatic reasons mentioned for the in subordinate.

insubordinate constructions in Spanish is that in the former the main clause (apodosis) is *not* retrievable from the context, without a change of meaning. Thus, compare (15) and (16) with (17).

15. ¡Que te calles! --> He dicho *que te calles*. 'I have said that you should shut up.'
16. ¡Si tan solo pudiera verte! --> *Si tan solo pudiera verte*, me quedaría más tranquila. 'If only I could see you, I would be less anxious.'
17. ¡Ni que yo fuese Umbral! --> #No te escribiría una carta todos los días, *ni que yo fuese Umbral*. 'I would not write to you a letter everyday, even if I were Umbral'

Whereas the insubordinates in (15) and (16) can become subordinates attached to a main clause, retaining their meaning, the emotive-expressive meaning of the *ni que* insubordinate in (17) is lost when attaching it to the retrieved apodosis from the preceding context (see [1-2] above). Therefore, the meaning of the *ni que* insubordinate changes substantially when converted into a subordinate, whose meaning as said above is concessive-conditional. We argue that this different behaviour of the *ni que* insubordinate is a reflection of the conventionalization of this construction in Spanish. From the impossibility of retrieving the apodosis in this case, it follows that the *ni que* insubordinate construction does not have a dyadically dependent equivalent, as mentioned by Sansiñena et al. (2015), by contrast, for other insubordinates such as for *que te calles* (cf. [4] above).

Another aspect worth considering has to do with intonation. In addition to showing an inversion in the polarity of the main proposition (due to its properties as a negative word), the *ni que* subordinate constructions receive an intonation which is usually associated with dislocated elements (Gras, 2007: 314). In the case of the insubordinate *ni que* clause, we have observed that, as is the case with other expressive constructions, the falling intonation (as well as other prosodic features) typically associated with it contributes to its interpretation as a marker of emotion.

The expressive meaning of the *ni que* insubordinate construction is often reinforced by the use of discourse markers and vocatives in the same clause or in the immediate environment where insubordinate clauses occur. Thus elements such as *hombre* (as in 8b above), *chica* (as in ¡*Ni que fuera Navidad, chica!*, 'As if it were Christmas, girl!' [CORPES 973]), *hija*, *oye*, *vamos*, and others recur in our examples. As noted by Domínguez (forthcoming), these may be seen as an alterity marker showing some kind of disagreement, or even anger.

A final point has to do with the character of the sequence *ni que*. Rather than a combination of two conjunctions, we consider the *ni que* sequence as a sequential pragmatic-discourse marker. Our thesis is that *ni que* functions as a discourse marker which functions as an *initiator* of main clauses. This in line with the work of authors such as Porroche for Spanish (cf. Porroche 2015, e.g.) or Detges (2017) on *puisque* in French, and will be further expanded in 4.3.

#### 4.2. 'Ni que' insubordinate clauses as triggers for counterfactive presuppositions

As noticed above, the *ni que* insubordinate construction always contains a subjunctive form of the verb, which reflects the non-factuality of what is described in the *ni que* clause. This is in agreement with the pragmatic emotive content observed in the corpus, for the construction normally acts as the linguistic trigger for a counterfactive presupposition<sup>4</sup> that is frequently related in some way or other to a negatively-loaded emotion (e.g. fear, contempt, anger, disappointment). Consider (18):

18. *Acércate. Dame la mano. Dámela, hombre. ¡Ni que me tuvieras miedo!*  
'Come near me. Give me your hand. Give it to me, for goodness sake. **As if you were afraid of me!**'

<sup>4</sup> Counterfactive presuppositions are normally associated to counterfactive verbs such as *wish* or *pretend* in English (e.g. in *I wish I were there*, the presupposition triggered is that I am not there) which make the hearer infer that the action or situation expressed is not true or did not happen at all. In the case of the insubordinate construction here being discussed, it is not a verb but the *ni que* sequence that acts as the counterfactive element, given the negative scalar value assigned to it (see 4.1 above).

(CdE 86. *Gran Señor y Rajadiablos*, Eduardo Barrios)

In this particular example, the triggered counterfactive presupposition would be “(Sé que) no me tienes miedo” ((I know that) you’re not afraid of me), and it involves the negative emotion of fear in an inscribed manner (in the sense given to the term by Martin and White 2005), but at the same time the speaker wants to come across as precisely the opposite, as someone whom the interlocutor should trust and not fear, thereby invoking a more reassuring and positive emotion.

19. *Ni hablar. Una camisa de manga larga ¿para qué? Ni que fueras de boda, hijo mío. Esta camisa luego no te la vuelves a poner en la vida.*

‘Absolutely not. A long-sleeved shirt? What for? **As if you were going to a wedding ceremony, my son.** This shirt then you’ll never wear again in your life.’

(CORPES 182. *Los aires difíciles*, Almudena Grandes)

The counterfactive presupposition triggered by the *ni que* clause in (19) is that the addressee is not going to a wedding ceremony, and from there the negative attitude of the speaker, who does not want to buy her son a long-sleeved shirt, thereby implying that her son’s idea is out of the question and inappropriate.

Gras (2007: 317) remarks that the scalar operator *ni* in Spanish often gives place to the working out of conventional implicatures. And as a matter of fact, conventional implicatures have very much in common with presuppositions, because they are both inferences grounded in concrete linguistic elements. Actually, linguists have not yet come to an agreement as to what the difference (if any) between one and the other might be, and this is the reason why many authors, such as Karttunen and Peters (1975, 1979) or Grundy (2008) treat them as if they were the same phenomenon.

#### 4.3. ‘*Ni que*’ as a pragmatic/discourse marker affecting textual-organizational domains

As anticipated in 1 and 2, we herein claim that the sequence *ni que* in Spanish, when used in insubordinate constructions, acts as a pragmatic/discourse marker. In this respect it should be clarified that we will be using the term *pragmatic* or *discourse marker* indistinctly. Some authors, (e.g. Schiffrin 1987), do not make any difference between the two terms either, but others (e.g. Fraser 2006) make it, *pragmatic markers* being a wider, all-embracing category, and *discourse markers* being a sub-category of pragmatic markers whose main function is the connective one. In this work we refer to both pragmatic and discourse markers as any kind of pragmatic marker, including those having a connective function.

Porroche (2000b) is one of the very few authors that have explored the discourse values of *ni* in Spanish, and she presents examples of the insubordinate construction with *ni que* as instances of the fact that it can function as a pragmatic marker/operator, by virtue of the fact that these markers acquire a conventional function and a conversational meaning according to the context and verbal interaction in which they are found.

As is well known, one of the defining features of discourse markers is that they are multifunctional, and this is a feature that we have observed of the *ni que* discourse marker in Spanish as well. Crible and Degand (2019), for instance, remark that any domain or macrofunction can combine with any microfunction at the utterance level. In the same vein, Domínguez (forthcoming) has found that certain discourse markers in Spanish can combine both an emotive and an metadiscursive macrofunction having to do with the organization of dialogical dynamics, and it is in this light that we shall look into the *ni que* insubordinate constructions. In line with Domínguez’s findings, we have noticed that the *ni que* insubordinate construction often fulfils a textual function having to do with the organization of discourse (e.g. topic closure) or with some interpersonal matter (e.g. breaking the silence), which at the same time is tainted with an expressive content of some sort at both the wider textual/discourse level and the utterance level of the speech act. Example (18) above (... ¡*Ni que me tuvieras miedo!*) illustrates how this construction is used to break the silence and/or inaction of the interlocutor, as a discourse

smoothing function showing the workings of an emotive system expressing mixed emotions (inscribed fear vs invoked confidence). (20) and (21) also illustrate this coalescence of domains and functions:

20. — *Quédate a vivir conmigo* – [...]
   
‘Stay in my house and live with me’
   
— *¡Ni que estuviera loca!* –dijo ella y se dio la media vuelta.
   
‘As if I were mad! -said she, and turned around (and left).’
   
(CdE 151. *El Rompecabezas*, Ricardo Martínez Cantú)
21. — *¡Vaya tontería! ¿Quién iba a descubrirlo? Además, ni que hubiera algo malo en ello.*
  
‘How foolish! Who would discover it? Besides, **as if there were something wrong in it.**’
   
(CORPES 229. *Sabatina*, José Luis Borau)

The insubordinate construction in (20) is used organizationally as a topic closure mechanism which at the same time shows the contempt and annoyance of the speaker towards the suggestion that s/he might speak in a certain manner. In the case of (21), the organizational function has to do with the continuity of the topic, including an additional argument to the previous ones exposed, all of which fulfils the coalescing function of expressing certain surprise and contempt as a retort for some foolish idea previously expressed by the interlocutor.

It is worth noticing here that these insubordinate constructions always help move the discourse forward, since they are normally used to react to some previous statement or situation that calls for a more or less emotive reaction. This is the reason, we believe, why we have found many instances in which they fulfil the topic closure or topic continuator function, but no instances of them being used as topic initiators.

#### 4.4. ‘Ni que’ as a marker of expressive illocutionary acts

At the same time as the *ni que* insubordinate construction serves different organizational discourse functions, it is marked by some kind of emotive-expressive illocutionary force. As such, it may fulfil several (normally expressive) functions at the utterance microlevel of the illocutionary act, such as reproach, complaint, rebuttal, counterargumentation or negative criticism, among others. In all the examples examined, the *ni que* insubordinate construction comes across as a retort which somehow questions a previous remark or action on the part of the interlocutor or a third party. Consider (22):

22. *No fue capaz de ayudar con los bolsos. ¡Ni que fuera una dama inglesa!*
  
‘She wasn’t even capable of helping with the bags. **As if she were an English Lady!**’
   
(CdE 93. *Tántalo en el Trópico*, Nila López)

We can place this instance of insubordinate *ni que* construction within the emotive domain, for the speaker is expressing her disdain and anger for what she judges as an inappropriate attitude on the part of the woman she is negatively criticizing, which, at the microlevel of the illocution, translates into an expressive and emphatic act of complaint.

Very frequently these insubordinate constructions present a humorous or ironic (unreal or ridiculous) hypothetical situation. Humour always appeals to the interlocutors’ emotions, as illustrated in (23) and (24):

23. — *¿Y no pudiste, dímelo con franqueza, reconocer a tu agresor?*
  
‘And couldn’t you, tell me in all frankness, recognize your aggressor?’
   
— *Imposible. Ni que yo tuviera como los gatos el privilegio de ver en la oscuridad.*
  
‘Impossible. **As if I had, like cats, the privilege of seeing in darkness.**’

(CdE 241. *El Sochantre de mi Pueblo*, Ginés Alberola)

24. *¿De dónde vamos a sacar la plata para eso? [...] Tengo que ser sincero que desde el principio no vamos a poder hacer todas las obras (...) Ni que fuéramos Mandrake el Mago combinado con Supermán.*

'Where are we going to take the money for that from? [...] I have to be sincere with you that at the beginning we won't be able to do all the works (...) **As if we were Mandrake the Magician combined with Superman.**'

(CdE 176. Prensa libre, CR:PrLibre:98May16)

As noted above, the *ni que* in subordinate constructions normally present a counterargument, criticism or lack of agreement with the interlocutor or some third party. Therefore, it is not uncommon for speakers to resort to humour as a pragmatic resource which acts as a catalyst for the negative feelings, balancing them with positive emotion and the ability to elicit laughter in the hearer. The humour used normally contains hyperbolic, absurd or impossible scenarios that contrast with the real situation being discussed, as shown in (23) by triggering the counterfactual presupposition that "(It is obvious that) I don't have the ability, like cats, of seeing in darkness" or in (24), similarly implying that "they are not Mandrake the Magician or Superman".

Now, by way of a model example incorporating the other pragmatic aspects discussed in 4.2 and 4.3, we could complement our analysis of (24) by summarizing it in the following three points (a, b and c):

- a) Pragmatic meanings: Counterfactual presupposition → (Sabemos que) No somos ni Mandrake el Mago ni Supermán '(We know that) We are neither Mandrake the Magician nor Superman.'
- b) Discourse-emphatic /humorous-emotive domain → Presenting a humorous (unreal or ridiculous) hypothetical situation. The humor also fulfils an emphatic but at the same time mitigating macrofunction. The speaker here wants to save face (Brown and Levinson 1987) by minimizing the possible aggressiveness of the counterargument or criticism implied, thereby appealing to the interlocutors' positive face and emotions.
- c) Microfunction (speech act level) → Self-justifying, expressive illocutionary act, also showing the speaker's reprobation of the previous (apparently absurd or unreal) assumption on the part of the interlocutor that they will have the money to do all the works now.

## 5. Conclusions

Our main aim when embarking in this study has been to explore the emphatic and expressive potential of the *ni que* subordinate construction in Spanish, as contrasted with its subordinate counterpart. So the main argument defended here has been that one important way in which the *ni que* dependent construction in Spanish is different from the subordinate one is that the latter has a stronger emphatic and expressive-emotive meaning. In this respect, the results of our corpus analysis have led us to the following conclusions:

- The *ni que* subordinate construction can perform different discourse functions, and an important factor that makes it different from its subordinate counterpart is precisely the adoption of the specialized emotive function that explains its conventionalization as an independent structure.
- Even though emotion permeates all linguistic levels, in the particular case of the *ni que* subordinate construction, the emotion is mainly manifested at the syntactic and the pragmatic levels, the *ni que* construction being obviously a syntactic phenomenon whose interpretation and comprehension necessarily needs to be based on the (socio)pragmatic context and information

surrounding the genre (normally spoken language in conversation or representations of spoken language in writing) and the speech act in which it occurs. Indeed, the scalar nature of this syntactic construction is precisely one of the crucial factors for its emotive interpretation.

- Syntactically, the *ni que* in subordinate construction always contains a subjunctive form of the verb, which reflects the non-factuality of what is described in the *ni que* clause. This is in agreement with the pragmatic emotive content observed in the corpus, for the construction normally acts as the linguistic trigger for a counterfactive presupposition that is frequently related in some way or other to a more or less negatively-loaded emotion.
- This construction then presents particularities regarding different domains and functions, including its roles as a discourse marker expressing and manifesting dynamical intersubjective affective meanings. It often fulfils a textual function having to do with the organization of discourse (e.g. topic closure) that is at the same time tainted with an expressive content of some sort.
- A noticeable difference between the in subordinate and the subordinate constructions with *ni que* lies in the fact that the concessive meaning normally attached to the latter is lost or not found in the former, whose conventionalized meaning has more to do with pragmatic phenomena such as the triggering of counterfactive presuppositions, the organization of discourse, the emotive domain and the realization of expressive speech acts.
- The illocutionary force normally accompanying the *ni que* in subordinate construction is that of a direct or an indirect retort, which can also take the shape of other (very frequently) negatively polarized acts such as complaints, criticisms or counterarguments.
- These constructions frequently contain an element of irony or humor as a pragmatic resource that acts as a catalyst for the possible negative feelings, balancing them with positive emotion and the ability to elicit laughter in the hearer.

We believe that all of these features have contributed to the conventionalization of the in subordinate *ni que* clauses as independent constructions that lie apart in meaning from the concessive subordinate *ni que* counterparts in Spanish. This makes the in subordinate constructions worth studying on their own for their characteristic way of conveying emotional meanings through the working out of counterfactive presuppositions, or the capacity the *ni que* sequence acquires in them to function as a discourse marker.

By focusing on the expressive function of the *ni que* in subordinate construction in Spanish, it is obvious that we have not been able to offer a complete account of the construction. One further issue worth studying, for instance, would be the exact distinction between this construction and the similar Spanish in subordinate introduced by *como si* as in *¡Como si yo pudiera mandar aquí!*, 'As if I could rule in here!', which shares with the *ni que* in subordinate the denial of the main proposition (i.e. "Yo no mando aquí"- Compare with *¡Ni que yo pudiera mandar aquí!*). A related issue is that a contrastive study between the *ni que* in subordinate and its equivalents in other languages could also add to define its precise semantic-pragmatic meaning and use in discourse. Thus, as can be seen in our own translation of the Spanish examples presented, the best alternative in English for the construction is one introduced by *as if*.

Another interesting avenue of research would be to look into the wider contexts in which the *ni que* in subordinate construction appears in the larger topical episodes where it occurs. Such a discourse analysis would reflect the role of the construction representing subevents of a larger episode, or ideas pertinent to an overarching topic of discussion, and thus the meanings found by Mithun (2008) for her indigenous languages as exhibiting off-line discourse contribution to the narrative structure could be tested for the *ni que* in subordinate in Spanish.

## References

- Alba-Juez, Laura, and J. Lachlan Mackenzie. 2016. *Pragmatics: Cognition, Context and Culture*. Madrid: McGraw Hill.
- Alba-Juez, Laura, and J. Lachlan Mackenzie. 2019. Emotion processes in discourse. In *Emotion in Discourse*. Edited by J. L. Mackenzie and L. Alba-Juez. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 3-26.
- Alba-Juez, Laura, and Elena Martínez Caro. 2017. Estudio comparativo de la 'insubordinación' en inglés y en español, con especial énfasis en su función expresiva. *XLVI Simposio Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Lingüística*. CSIC, Madrid, January 2017.
- Baumgarten, Nicole, Inke Du Bois and Juliane House. (eds.) 2012. *Subjectivity in language and discourse*. Bingley: Brill.
- Beijering, Karin, Gunther Kaltenböch, and María Sol Sansiñena. (eds.) 2019a. *Insubordination. Theoretical and Empirical Issues*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Beijering, Karin, Gunther Kaltenböch and María Sol Sansiñena. 2019b. Insubordination: central issues and open questions. In Beijering et al. 2019a, pp. 1-21.
- Biber, Douglas, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey Leech, Susan Conrad and Edward Finegan. 1999. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. London: Longman.
- Brown, Penelope, and Steven Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crible, Ludivine, and Liesbeth Degand. 2019. Domains and functions: a two-dimensional account of discourse markers. *Discours* 24, 3-35.
- Detges, Ulrich. 2017. Insubordinated puisque in French. Grammaticalization, De-Grammaticalization, Reanalysis? *JournaLIPP* 5: 17-32.
- D'Hertefelt, Sarah, and Jean-Christophe Verstraete. 2014. Independent complement constructions in Swedish and Danish: Insubordination or dependency shift? *Journal of Pragmatics* 60: 89-102.
- Domínguez, Noemí (forthcoming). Marcadores del discurso en contextos de emoción. *Estudios de Lingüística de la Universidad de Alicante* 36.
- Englebretson, Robert. (ed.) 2007. *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins
- Evans, Nicholas. 2007. Insubordination and its uses. In *Finiteness. Theoretical and empirical approaches*. Edited by I. Nikolaeva. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 366-431.
- Evans, Nicholas, and Honoré Watanabe. (eds.) 2016a. *Insubordination*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Evans, Nicholas, and Honoré Watanabe. 2016b. The dynamics of insubordination. In Evans and Watanabe. 2019a, pp. 1-38.
- Foolen, Ad. 2012. The Relevance of Emotion for Language and Linguistics. In *Moving Ourselves, Moving Others. Motion and Emotion in Intersubjectivity, Consciousness and Language*. Edited by Ad Foolen, Ulrike M. Lüdtke, Timothy P. Racine and Jordan Zlatev. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 349-368.
- Foolen, Ad. 2016. Expressives. In *The Routledge Handbook on Semantics*. Edited by Nick Riemer. London and New York: Taylor and Francis, pp. 473-490.
- Fraser, Bruce. 2006. Towards a theory of discourse markers. In *Approaches to Discourse Particles*. Edited by K. Fischer. Bremen: Elsevier, pp. 189-204.
- Gras, Pedro. 2007. Gramática y pragmática de construcciones subordinadas introducidas por *ni que* en español: un enfoque construccionista. *Actas del VI Congreso de Lingüística General: Santiago de Compostela, 3-7 de mayo de 2004 / coord. por Pablo Cano López*, vol. 2.1, pp. 1609-1620.
- Gras, Pedro. 2011. *Gramática de construcciones en interacción. Propuesta de un modelo y aplicación al análisis de estructuras independientes con marcas de subordinación en español*. Doctoral dissertation, Universitat de Barcelona.
- Gras, Pedro. 2016. Revisiting the functional typology of insubordination: *que*-initial sentences in Spanish. In Evans and Watanabe. 2016a, pp. 113-144.

- Gras, Pedro, and María Sol Sansiñena. 2015. An interactional account of discourse connective *que*-constructions in Spanish. *Text and Talk* 35(4): 505–529.
- Grundy, Peter. 2008. *Doing Pragmatics*. London: Hodder Education.
- Huddleston, Rodney and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Karttunen, Lauri, and Stanley Peters. 1975. Conventional implicature in Montague Grammar. *Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*, pp. 266-278.
- Karttunen, Lauri, and Stanley Peters. 1979. Conventional implicature. In *Syntax and Semantics II: Presupposition*. Edited by Choon-Kyu Oh and David A. Dinneen. New York: Academic Press, pp. 1-56.
- Kay, Paul. 1990. Even. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 13: 59-111.
- Lüdtke, Ulrike M. 2015. Introduction: From Logos to Dialogue. In *Emotion in Language*. Edited by Ulrike M. Lüdtke. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. vii-xi.
- Martin, Jim R., and Peter R. R. White. 2005. *The Language of Evaluation. Appraisal in English*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Majid, Asifa. 2012. Current Emotion Research in the Language Sciences. *Emotion Review* 4(4): 432–443.
- Mithun, Marianne. 2008. The extension of dependency beyond the sentence. *Language* 84(1): 69-119.
- Porroche, Margarita. 2000a. Algunos aspectos del uso de *que* en el español conversacional (*que* como introductor de oraciones “independientes”). *Círculo de Lingüística Aplicada a la Comunicación* 3: 100-116.
- Porroche, Margarita. 2000b. Aspectos del uso de *ni* como marcador discursivo. *Proceedings of Lengua, discurso, texto: I simposio internacional de análisis del discurso*, Vol. 1. Edited by José Jesús de Bustos Tovar. Madrid.
- Porroche, Margarita. 2002. Las llamadas conjunciones como elementos de conexión en el español conversacional: pues/pero. *Círculo de Lingüística Aplicada a la Comunicación* 9: 35-54.
- Porroche, Margarita. 2003. Aspectos discursivos en el uso de algunas conjunciones españolas. *Oralia* 6: 259-282.
- Porroche, Margarita. 2015. Sobre la marcación del discurso en español. *Círculo de Lingüística Aplicada a la Comunicación* 62: 10-31.
- Real Academia Española y Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española. 2009. *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa.
- Rodríguez Ramalle, Teresa. 2011. Sobre *si* y la organización del margen preverbal en español. *Lingüística Española Actual (LEA)* 33.2: 199-222.
- Rodríguez Ramalle, Teresa. 2015. Las oraciones causales con *que* y *como que* y su interpretación en el discurso. *Lenguas Modernas* 45: 127-148.
- Sansiñena, María Sol. 2015. *The multiple functional load of que. An interactional approach to in subordinate complement clauses in Spanish*. Doctoral dissertation, Katholieke Universiteit van Leuven.
- Sansiñena, María Sol, Hendrik de Smet, and Bert Cornillie. 2015. Between subordinate and in subordinate. Paths towards complementizer-initial main clauses. *Journal of Pragmatics* 77: 3-19.
- Schiffrin, Deborah. 1987. *Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schnoebelen, Tyler. 2012. *Emotions are Relational: Positioning and the Use of Affective Linguistic Resources*. Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University.
- Thompson, Geoff, and Laura Alba-Juez. (eds.) 2014. *Evaluation in Context*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Yates, Jean. 2006. Algunas partículas escalares del español y su traducción al inglés. Doctoral dissertation, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.