

# A typological approach to Catalan interrogative sentences headed by *que*\*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION.

It is well known that linguistic variation and therefore dialectal diversity are a direct and unavoidable consequence of the very nature of human language. Moreover, the degree of variation allowed by the human linguistic capacity can only be understood through the comparison of different grammatical systems. Just as the contrasting of languages that belong to different families allows us to characterize the human faculty of language, the study of the syntactic diversity offered by dialects of a language help us to better understand the limits of variation in the structuring of sentences. It is for this reason that the study of variation is necessary. As Hale (1997:72) argued, we will only be able to detect what is invariant in the grammars if we study and delimit what is variable.

The aim of this article is to offer a combined syntactic and prosodic description of Catalan polar (or yes/no) questions headed by the word *que* and other sentences related to them and characterize the main syntactic properties responsible for the syntactic variation found in this language. The study of the syntactic and prosodic variation found in Catalan interrogative sentences entails a descriptive interest, as it is important to base any such study on a detailed analysis of the syntactic solutions followed by a language. Catalan is an interesting language in this connection for two reasons: (a) because it behaves differently from neighbouring Romance languages such as Spanish, Occitan, French, Italian and Portuguese, and (b) because it shows a rich intra and interdialectal variation.<sup>1</sup>

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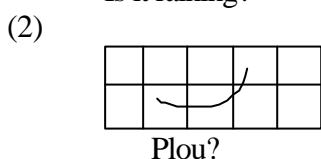
<sup>1</sup> Catalan is a Romance language spoken in northeastern Spain: in Catalonia, the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands. It is the official language in Andorra, and it is still spoken in the Rosselló region of southern France, and also in Italy, in the city of L'Alguer, located on the western coast of the island of Sardinia. Catalan comprises a collection of mutually intelligible dialects. The main Catalan dialects are organized in two dialectal blocks: Western and Eastern Catalan. The Western Catalan block comprises two dialects, Northwestern Catalan and Valencian, whereas the Eastern Catalan block comprises four dialects: Rossellonese, Central Catalan, Balearic and Alguerese. Dialects can be subdivided into different subdialects (e.g., Balearic is subdivided into Majorcan, Minorcan and Eivissan Catalan).

As far as Catalan neutral polar interrogative sentences is concerned, we can distinguish two basic types of sentences:

- A. Neutral polar questions without differentiating formal markers other than characteristic prosodic properties.
- B. Neutral polar questions headed by the formal marker *que* and characterised by specific prosodic properties.

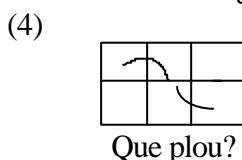
Type A sentences are exemplified in (1)-(2) and type B sentences in (3)-(4).

- (1) Plou? Central Catalan  
rains  
'Is it raining?'



The intonation contour of neutral yes-no questions not headed by the complementizer *que* is characterized by a low tone that is associated with the last (nuclear) stressed syllable followed by a sharp rise at the end. In Central Catalan, the interrogative sentence in (1) alternates with the one in (3):

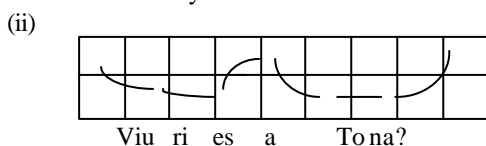
- (3) Que plou? Central Catalan  
that rains  
'Is it raining?'



Type B sentences are pronounced with a falling question intonation, as shown in (4). This intonation pattern is characterized by a steady high tone which spans from the beginning of the sentence up until the last stressed syllable followed by a falling pitch movement aligned with the most prominent stressed syllable in the utterance (*plou*) and by a low boundary tone sequence which reaches the bottom range of the speaker.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> If the utterance has more than one accent, like (i), whose subject is elliptical, the first accent is characterized by a low tone followed by a rise, as shown by the intonation contour below:

- (i) Viuries a Tona?  
would-live.2s in Tona  
'Would you live in Tona?'



Sentences in (1) and (2) are both impersonal interrogative sentences. However, when the interrogative neutral sentence has an explicit (or non-elliptical) subject, it appears in a left- or right dislocated position, as in (5).<sup>3</sup> In both cases, the main clause and the subject are produced with two separate intonational phrases which have the same intonation characteristics as those described for Type A questions (see Prieto 2002, and fn. 2).

- (5) a. *Viu a Barcelona, en Joan?*  
       lives in Barcelona, the John?  
       ‘Does John live in Barcelona?’  
    b. *En Joan, viu a Barcelona?*  
       the John lives in Barcelona  
       ‘Does John live in Barcelona?’

The sentences in (5) are neutral yes/no questions in Central Catalan. However, when the subject appears in postverbal position and the utterance is produced as a single intonational phrase, the resulting sentences are not neutral (vg. (6)). Interestingly, no element is dislocated in (6). Such sentences cannot be used out of the blue. In fact, the sentences in (6) constitute a strategy to manifest surprise or disapproval on the part of the speaker after a statement from the interlocutor which contradicts his/her initial assumptions. Hence, these questions solicit a confirmation or a refutation on the part of the hearer.

- (6) a. *Vindrà ella?*  
       will-come she  
       ‘She’s coming?’  
    b. *Ho ha portat en Joan?*  
       it has brought the John  
       ‘John brought it?’

When the sentence is transitive and the subject is explicit, as in (7), the subject has to be dislocated. Otherwise, the question is not a neutral yes/no question.

- (7) a. *Ha portat el cotxe, en Joan?*  
       has brought the car, the John  
       ‘Has John brought the car?’  
    b. *En Joan, ha portat el cotxe?*  
       the John, has brought the car  
       ‘Has John brought the car?’

Another way to obtain a neutral yes/no question is to dislocate the direct object, as in (8). In this case, an accusative resumptive clitic pronoun appears inside the clause, and the utterance contains two intonational phrases.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Catalan is a null-subject language with the basic syntactic order SVO.

<sup>4</sup> The same conditions apply when the subject is a strong pronoun:

- (8) a. L'ha portat en Joan, el cotxe?  
it has brought the John, the car  
'Has John brought the car?'  
b. El cotxe, l'ha portat en Joan?  
the car, it has brought the John  
'Has John brought the car?'

Similarly, the subject of a neutral question headed by the word *que* 'that' –if present– has to appear in a peripheral position, i.e. left- or right-dislocated, as shown in (9).

- (9) a. Que ho sap, la Maria? (Central Catalan)  
that it knows, the Mary  
'Does Mary know?'  
b. La Maria, que ho sap?  
the Mary, that it knows  
'Does Mary know?'

In this type of neutral interrogative, the subject cannot appear in a (non-dislocated) preverbal position, as shown in (10a). Moreover, if the subject appears in a (non-peripheral) postverbal position, as in (10b) the question is not neutral. When question (10b) is uttered as a single intonational unit the speaker typically expresses his or her surprise after hearing something which contradicts the presuppositions held by him/her (i.e., I think that what you say now is not what you first made us assume).

- (10) a. \*Que la Maria ve?  
that the Mary comes  
b. Que ve la Maria?  
that comes the Mary  
'Mary's coming?'

The goal of this article is to describe interrogative sentences headed by *que* 'that' either on its own or with other interrogative elements, and also characterize the properties of the polar questions that cannot be introduced by this particle. We will establish the properties for each sentence-type, considering both their form (syntactic and prosodic patterns) and their meaning (semantic characteristics and pragmatic use). In some cases, intonation will be the only property that allows us to detect the discourse function of a question headed by *que*.

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- (i) a. L'has escrit tu, aquest poema?  
it have written you, this poem  
'Did you write this poem?'  
b. Has escrit aquest poema, tu?  
have written this poem you  
'Did you write this poem?'

The sentences in (i) are both neutral yes/no questions. The utterances have been produced with two prosodic phrases that are separated by a comma in the written form. However, the question *Has escrit aquest poema tu?* 'Did you really write this poem?', uttered in a single prosodic phrase, is a non-neutral question.

To gather the data on question intonation, we prepared a questionnaire especially designed to trigger semispontaneous replies on the part of the speaker.<sup>5</sup>

In section 2, we analyze some simple clauses that are headed by *que* ‘that’ in Catalan in order to show that the conjunction *que* does not appear exclusively in subordinate clauses. In section 3 we characterize the prosodic and syntactic properties of polar questions headed by *que* and contrast them with polar questions not headed by *que*.<sup>6</sup> We investigate the contribution of both the presence of *que* and the intonation contour to utterance interpretation in different dialects (namely, Central Catalan, Valencian, Rossellonese, Majorcan, Minorcan and Eivissan Catalan). Section 4 describes the use of *que* in alternative questions. Section 5 analyzes the properties of biased questions, mainly confirmatory and anti-expectational questions headed by *que*. Finally, section 6 briefly describes the different types of echo or repetitive sentences that are headed by *que*.

## 2. THE PRESENCE OF *QUE* IN SOME CATALAN NON-SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

We will assume that the word *que* ‘that’ found at the beginning of some polar Catalan questions is the conjunction *que*, which appears in some subordinate finite clauses, as in (11). The conjunction in (11) acts as a complementizer which connects the subordinate proposition with a constituent in the higher clause.

- (11) a. Ella no vol que tu vinguis amb mi.  
she not wants that you come with me  
‘She doesn’t want you to come with me’  
b. Jo estic content que tu vinguis amb mi.  
I am happy that you come with me  
‘I am happy that you are coming with me’

The Catalan complementizer *que* is also present in some simple (non-subordinate) clauses which are non-interrogative constructions, as shown in (12):<sup>7</sup>

- (12) a. La Maria sí que ve.  
the Mary yes that comes

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<sup>5</sup> For example, to trigger confirmatory questions such as *Oi que vindrà, en Joan?* ‘John is coming, isn’t he?’, the experimenter will ask “You are convinced that Joan will be coming to the party, but you still ask for confirmation from the party organizer.” The intonation contours of the sentences have been obtained and the utterances prosodically analyzed.

<sup>6</sup> The conjunction *que* should not be confused with the [–human] interrogative pronoun *què* (‘what’), with a tonic syllable, which heads wh-questions (*Què vols?* ‘What do you want?’). Furthermore, it worth noting that Catalan polar interrogative subordinate clauses cannot be headed by the conjunction *que* ‘that’. They are introduced by the conjunction *si* ‘if, whether’, as shown in (i):

- (i) Ella preguntarà [si plou ]  
she will-ask if (it) rains  
‘She will ask if it is raining’

<sup>7</sup> In Bearnese Occitan, simple declarative sentences are headed by the conjunction *que* ‘that’, which acts as an assertive modality marker: *Que me’n vau tà casa* ‘I’m going to my house’.

- ‘Mary *is* coming’
- b. Tot avui que plou.  
all today that rains  
‘It has been raining all day’
- c. Segurament que ella ho sap.  
surely that she it knows  
‘Surely she knows’
- d. Des de les set que estudia.  
since of the seven that studies  
‘(S)he has been studying since seven o’clock’
- e. De l’abril que no el veig.  
since the april that not him see.1s  
‘I haven’t seen him since April’

The sentences in (12) show that the presence of the conjunction *que* ‘that’ is not unusual in Catalan simple clauses<sup>8</sup>. In such constructions, the clause is connected to a preposed constituent by the complementizer. In (12a) the noun phrase *la Maria* is given a focused meaning by the positive polarity adverb (*si*), which is connected with the clause by *que*. In (12b) and (12c) the complementizer *que* connects a quantified temporal expression and a modality adjunct with the clause, respectively (see Rigau 2001). In (12d-e), the complementizer *que* relates a preposed temporal adjunct to the remaining part of the clause.

Interestingly, the elements preceding the conjunction *que* in (12) are related to the modality of the sentence. They are emphatic focused elements, modality adverbs, quantified phrases, and topic temporal phrases. All of them appear in a peripheral initial position, i.e., they are external to the main clause. It could be argued that they need some connector, a complementizer, in order to be attached or related to the clause. The complementizer *que* is also obligatorily present in other Catalan sentences where modality is involved, as shown by the exclamative sentences in (13).

- (13) a. Quin fred que fa!  
which cold that does  
‘It’s really cold!’
- b. Quants que serem!  
How-many that will-be.1pl  
‘We will be so many people!’

Given the data in (12) and (13), it is not surprising that sentences with an interrogative marker (or operator) select the complementizer *que* in order to link the interrogative marker with the clause. This is the case of the confirmatory questions in

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<sup>8</sup> The complementizer *que* is also present in simple clauses in other Romance languages:

- (i) a. Peut-être que Marie viendra.                      French  
Perhaps that Mary will-come  
‘Perhaps Mary will come’
- b. Desde el año pasado que no llueve.                      Spanish  
since the year past that not rains  
‘It hasn’t rained since last year’

(14), which belong to different Catalan dialects. The set of interrogative markers (or operators) found in confirmatory questions exemplifies the great linguistic variety displayed by Catalan dialects.<sup>9</sup> All of the sentences in (14) are leading questions expecting an affirmative answer. Correspondingly, if the sentences were negated the expected answer would also be negative (e.g. *Oi/no/eh que no vindràs?* ‘You’re not coming, are you?’)(see Rigau 1998).

- (14) a. *Oi que vindràs?* Central Catalan (Barcelonese)  
Op. that will-come.2s  
‘You’re coming, aren’t you?’
- b. *Eh que vindràs?* Western Catalan; Central Catalan, Rossellonese  
Op. that will-come.2s  
‘You’re coming, aren’t you?’
- c. *No que vindràs?* Central Catalan (Tarragonese)  
not that will-come.2s  
‘You’re coming, aren’t you?’
- d. *(Vi)tat que vindràs?* Valencian  
Truth that will-come.2s  
‘You’re coming, aren’t you?’
- e. *Fa que vindràs?* (a subdialect of) Central Catalan  
makes that will-come. 2s  
‘You’re coming, aren’t you?’
- f. *És ver que vindràs?* Minorcan  
is true that will-come.2s  
‘You’re coming, aren’t you?’

In contrast with interrogative sentences headed by *que*, the questions headed by confirmatory operators can have the subject in preverbal position:

- (15) a. *Oi que tu vindràs?*  
Op. that you will-come.2sg  
‘You’re coming, aren’t you?’
- b. *Eh que la Maria no vindrà?*  
Op. that the Mary not will-come  
‘Mary isn’t coming, is she?’

Alternatively, the interrogative marker (or operator) can appear at the end of the clause, as in (16). In this case, the complementizer *que* does not appear and the sentence shows a question tag structure (see Cuenca 1997).

- (16) a. *Vindràs, eh?* Western Catalan, Central Catalan  
‘You’re coming, aren’t you?’
- b. *Vindràs, oi?* Central Catalan (Barcelonese)
- c. *Vindràs, no?* (a subdialect of) Central Catalan
- d. *Vindràs, (vi)tat?* Valencian
- e. *Vindràs, fa?* (a subdialect of) Central Catalan
- f. *Vindràs, és ver?* Minorcan

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<sup>9</sup> In (14), the fact that we attribute the use of a given interrogative marker (or operator) to a particular dialect or dialects does not mean that it cannot be found in another dialect. It simply means that this marker is typically found in that dialect.

The element acting as an interrogative operator can belong to several categories: it can be a polarity adverb (*no* ‘not’, and probably *oi* ‘yes’), a noun or an adjective (*vitat* is the truncated form of *veritat* ‘truth’; *ver* ‘true’), a verbal form (*fa* ‘makes/does’), etc. An intriguing property of some Catalan polar questions is the presence of the complementizer *que* ‘that’ in initial position without any interrogative operator, as in (17) (and in (4)).<sup>10</sup>

- (17) *Que plores?*  
 that cry.2s  
 ‘Are you crying?’

We can account for polar interrogatives if we assume that in sentences such as (17) there is a polar interrogative operator heading the construction and related to the clause (*plores*) by the conjunction *que*. This operator is visible not by segmental elements but only by suprasegmental information (i.e., by intonation). Consequently, the role of *que* in such sentences is similar to those in (14): it attaches an interrogative operator to the clause.<sup>11</sup> According to Moll (1973:45), the present conjunction *que* heading interrogative sentences comes from the phrase *¿és que...?* (‘is that?’), which was similar to French *est-ce que...?* (See also Mascaró i Pons 1986).

Moreover, we can distinguish several types of interrogative sentences headed by *que* with different prosodic properties, and different meanings and uses. In the next section, we will analyze the syntactic and prosodic features of the polar interrogative sentences headed by *que* ‘that’ in different Catalan dialects, as well as their semantic differences.

### 3. POLAR QUESTIONS HEADED BY *QUE* IN SOME CATALAN DIALECTS

The use of the complementizer *que* in neutral polar questions in Catalan varies depending on the regional variety and on the semantic value of the sentence. For example, while the sentence in (18a) can be interpreted as a neutral polar question in varieties such as Central Catalan (Barcelonese, Tarragonese) and Balearic Catalan, other dialects do not allow for such an interpretation.

- (18) a. *Que plou?* Central Catalan, Balearic  
 that rains  
 ‘Is it raining?’  
 b. \**Que plou?* (neutral polar) Northern Central Catalan, Rossellonese, Valencian  
 that rains

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<sup>10</sup> Questions headed by *que* should always be complete sentences: *Que vindrà demà, la Maria?* ‘Is Mary coming tomorrow? Consequently, constructions such as \**Que demà?* ‘that tomorrow’ and \**Que la Maria?* ‘that Mary’ are ungrammatical, in contrast to *Demà?* and *La Maria?*, which are well-formed.

<sup>11</sup> Similarly, when the conjunction *que* is not present, as in (i), we can also assume that there is a polar interrogative operator realized by suprasegmental information (see Rigau 1984):

- (i) *Plores?*  
 ‘Are you crying?’



‘Is it raining?’

In Northern (Central) Catalan and in Rossellonese as well as in Valencian, a neutral yes-no question cannot begin with the complementizer *que*, as (18b) shows. In such dialects, *que plou?* ‘is it raining?’ can only be interpreted as an anti-expectational question (see § 5.2 below), that is, as an expression of the lack of agreement between the facts and the speaker’s own expectations (‘I thought it would not rain’).

The typical intonation pattern of questions headed by *que* is characterized by a falling final intonation (see the graphs in (4) and in (20) below). This intonation contour is characterized by a steady high tone which spans from the beginning of the sentence up until the last stressed syllable. After that, a falling pitch movement is aligned with the last stressed syllable in the utterance and by a low boundary tone sequence which reaches the bottom range of the speaker. Thus, a sentence like (18a) with a falling question intonation will be interpreted differently by the two groups of dialects mentioned above (either as a neutral yes-no question or as an anti-expectational question).

In the remainder of this section, we will describe the differences between the use of *que* in neutral yes-no questions in dialects that allow the presence of the complementizer, namely, Central Catalan (mainly Barcelonese) and Balearic Catalan dialects.<sup>12</sup> We will consider both their intonational patterns and their meaning (semantic characteristics and pragmatic use).

**3.1. Neutral polar questions in Central Catalan.** In Central Catalan, two types of neutral polar questions are possible depending on the intonation pattern and the use of *que*, namely, a falling intonation pattern (which is optionally headed by *que*) and a rising intonation pattern (Bonet 1984, Prieto 2002).<sup>13</sup> Crucially, the presence of the complementizer *que* is incompatible with the rising intonation pattern. Consider the neutral polar questions in (19):

- (19) a. (Que) l’heu llogada?  
(that) it (her) have.2pl rented.fs  
‘Did you rent it?’  
b. L’heu llogada?  
it have.2pl rented.fs  
‘Did you rent it?’

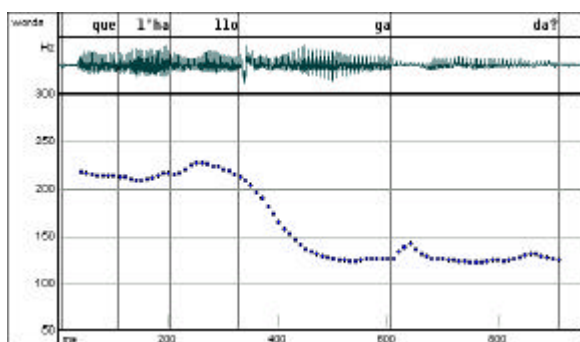
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<sup>12</sup> In this article, we will not deal with two other subdialects that also use the complementizer *que* in neutral yes-no questions, such as Northwestern and Tortosí Catalan. For a description of the intonational form of such utterances in Northwestern Catalan and Tortosí, see Martínez-Celdrán *et al.* (2005), Prieto (1998), and Prieto & Pradilla (2004).

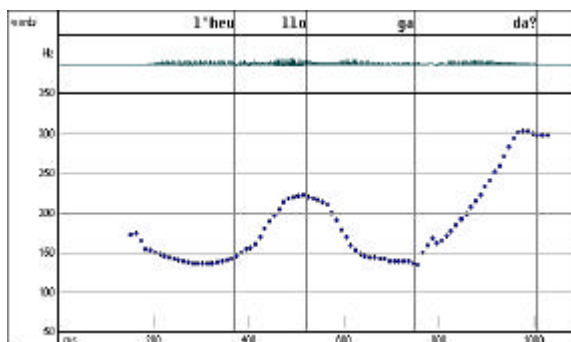
<sup>13</sup> The rising pattern has usually been considered as the “canonical” intonation for polar interrogatives in Catalan. As Badia i Margarit (1994:257) points out, “the main trait that characterizes [interrogative] utterances is sentence-final rising intonation”. However, other authors such as Bonet (1984) have acknowledged the use of both types of intonation patterns for neutral polar questions. In this article, the data on question intonation comes mainly from Bonet (1984), Prieto (1998), and Prieto (2002), and also on newly recorded data.

The two graphs in (20-21) show the waveforms and intonation contours of the two types of intonation patterns found in neutral polar questions in Barcelonese.<sup>14</sup> The panel in (20) illustrates the typical falling intonation pattern of the polar question in (19a), that is, a high tone over the initial part of the sentence up to the last stressed syllable, which receives a falling tone. The panel in (21) illustrates the rising intonation pattern with the question in (19b): the first stressed syllable of the utterance is pronounced with a falling tone followed by a rise and the last stressed syllable is pronounced with a low tone followed by a sharp rise.

(20) Falling pattern



(21) Rising pattern



In our view, the speaker's selection of the falling intonation pattern in polar questions optionally headed by *que* basically depends on two pragmatic conditions.

The first condition is the proximity or familiarity between the speaker and the hearer. Polar questions with a falling intonation pattern and optionally headed by *que* are used in contexts where the speaker wishes to convey complicity or emotional attachment with the hearer. That is why such sentences are typically used in motherese and in child-directed speech, as the examples in (22) show :

- (22) a. (Que) no has dormit bé, bonica?  
 that not have.2s slept well, my dear  
 'Didn't you sleep well, dear?'  
 b. (Que) vindràs, un altre dia?  
 that will.come.2s another day  
 'Would you like to come some other day?'

Because of this discourse property, the use of the falling intonation pattern and the presence of *que* in Barcelonese can be considered as a kind of *orality* mark: while this pattern is widely used in spontaneous speech, it very rarely occurs in written texts (perhaps in plays where the intention is the mimicry of spontaneous situations).

<sup>14</sup> Fundamental frequency patterns have been obtained with the program Pitchworks (SciCon), which allows the reader to observe the alignment of the tonal changes with the text. As stated in the introductory footnote, the reader can find the intonation patterns and audio files analyzed in this article at the Internet addresses indicated there.

Similarly, polar sentences headed by *que* are not found in formal speech styles, for instance in a court of law, as the examples in (23) show.

- (23) a. Us considereu innocent?  
you consider.2pl innocent  
'Do you consider yourselves innocent?'  
b. Coneixeu l'acusat?  
know.2pl the accused  
'Do you know the accused?'

The head *que* is also absent in ceremonial formulas:

- (24) Joan, vols per esposa la Maria i promets ser-li fidel ...?  
John, wants.2s as wife the Mary and promise.2s be-her loyal...  
'John, do you take Mary to be your wife and promise to be faithful to her forever..?'

Secondly, the use of polar questions with the falling intonation pattern (and optionally headed by *que*) is governed by another pragmatic condition, namely, the relative cost/benefit of the action for the hearer/speaker. Speakers use the falling intonation pattern when the cost/benefit of the action is *low* for both the hearer and the speaker. As soon as the cost of the action is considered to be higher, the use of *que* and the falling pattern is not felicitous anymore, as the minimal contrasting pairs in (25) show. This fact also explains why sentences with *que* have been characterized as being *polite* in general (Payrató 2002: §3.4.3). (For a related discussion about the pragmatic value of *que*, see Payrató 2002, Prieto 2002, and Payà 2004, 2005).

In example (25a), the falling intonation pattern is typically used when the speaker is asking something to *Maria* (being *Maria* a neighbor, a colleague, etc.); yet, as soon as the speaker asks a question to a judge or in a court of law (a higher-cost action), the same intonation pattern and the use of *que* would be considered inappropriate (i.e. impolite).

- (25) a. Que surt, Maria?  
that leave.2s Mary  
'Are you leaving, Mary?'  
b. #Que he de declarar, senyoria? (cf. He de declarar, senyoria?)  
that have.1s of declare, your Honor?  
'Am I supposed to make a statement, Your Honor?'

In fact, this second pragmatic restriction (i.e. the use of *que* in low-cost interactions) explains why sentences with *que* are used extensively in invitations and offers, as follows:

- (26) a. Que vols més cafè?  
that want.2s more coffee  
'Would you like more coffee?'  
b. Que vol que li ho emboliqui?  
that want.2s that to-you it wrap.1s  
'Do you want me to wrap this up for you?'

- c. Que veniu?  
That come.2pl  
'Are you coming?'

Indeed, the use of *que* and a falling intonation pattern are not appropriate when polar questions are used for an imperative use in commands (in fact, Catalan imperative sentences are pronounced with a different intonation contour. On exhortative questions see §5.4):

- (27) a. #Que voleu callar? / Voleu callar?  
that want.2pl to be-silent / want.2pl to be-silent  
'Please be quiet'  
b. #Que voleu estar quiets d'una vegada? / Voleu estar quiets d'una vegada?  
that want.2pl to be still of one time / want.2pl to be still of one time  
'Could you please be still once and for all?'

Thus, in Central Catalan, both the use of *que* and the intonation choice can be regarded as lexical and prosodic markers that help guide the pragmatic interpretation of the polar question and help the addressee in inferring the specific illocutionary force of the utterance.

Finally, close to neutral polar questions are Central Catalan questions headed by the negative elements *no* 'not' ... *pas*'. The answer can be either 'yes' or 'no' and they can be used out of the blue. However, these questions imply that if the answer is positive some action will take place.

- (28) a. No tens pas l'adreça de la Maria?  
not have.2s neg. the address of the Mary  
'Do you happen to have Mary's address, by any chance?'  
b. No voleu pas prendre res?  
not want.2pl neg. take anything  
'Wouldn't you care for a drink?'

Note that in (28a) the speaker could add: *Si casualment la saps i me la dius em faràs un favor* 'If you happen to know it and tell me, you'll be doing me a favor'. By contrast, the question in (28b) implies an invitation. It would be pragmatically inadequate to utter (28b) if the speaker has nothing to offer. However, it would be appropriate to add *Tinc coca i cafè* 'I have some cake and coffee'. Interestingly, the negative elements *no...pas* are incompatible with the conjunction *que* (see Espinal 2002: 2751).

**3.2. Neutral polar questions in Balearic Catalan.** The situation in Majorcan, Minorcan and Eivissan Catalan differs from that of Central Catalan. These Balearic dialects use the falling intonation pattern exclusively in neutral polar questions, that is, these dialects use the rising pattern for other types of interrogatives. The graphs in (30) and (31) show the waveforms and intonation contours of the neutral polar questions in (29) in Majorcan and Minorcan Catalan, respectively.

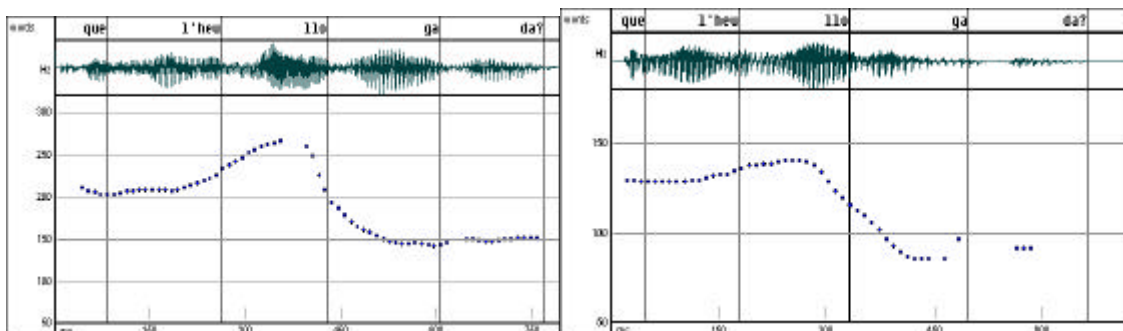
- (29) a. (Que) l'heu llogada? Majorcan  
'Did you rent it?'

b. Que l'heu llogada?  
'Did you rent it?'

Minorcan

(30) Majorcan Catalan

(31) Minorcan Catalan



As we can see, the two dialects use the canonical falling pattern also used in Central Catalan (see the graph in (20)). The main difference between the two contours is the height of the leading tone, which is upstepped in the case of yes-no questions in Majorcan Catalan. On the other hand, the intonation pattern found in Minorcan is identical to the one used in Central Catalan.<sup>15</sup>

A crucial difference between both dialects is the degree of use of the conjunction *que*. While in Minorcan the use of *que* is practically obligatory, in Majorcan and in Eivissan it is used as a pragmatic marker. According to our informants, in Majorcan Catalan, it is exclusively the use of the particle *que* (and not the choice of intonation pattern) that encodes the same pragmatic distinctions and discourse functions found in Central Catalan, as the parallel examples in (32) show (see also Mascaró i Pons 1986, and Vanrell 2004 for potential differences according to sociolinguistic factors):

- (32) a. Que surt, Maria?  
that leave.2s Mary  
'Are you leaving, Mary?'
- b. #Que he de declarar, senyor jutge? (cf. He de declarar, senyor jutge?)  
that have.1s of declare, mister judge?  
'Am I supposed to make a statement, Your Honor?'

Given that *que* expresses proximity and low-cost interactions, it is easy to see why it is used in questions which imply an invitation or an offer, as well as in questions addressed to children, as follows (see Vanrell 2004):

- (33) a. Que vols quedar amb noltros?

<sup>15</sup> The canonical falling question intonation is also used for confirmatory and some anti-expectational questions in Majorcan and Minorcan Catalan (Payà & Vanrell 2005). For Majorcan, the main difference between the two contours lies in the height of the leading high tone before the fall on the nuclear syllable: while the high tone is upstepped in neutral yes-no questions, it is not downstepped in antiexpectatives (Vanrell 2005). For more details and an analysis of the intonational differences between neutral yes-no questions, confirmatory and anti-expectational questions in Majorcan and Minorcan Catalan, see Mascaró i Pons 1986, Payà & Vanrell 2005, and Vanrell 2005.

- that want.2s to stay with us  
 ‘Do you want to stay with us?’  
 b. Que vols ser nostre?  
 that want.2s to be ours  
 ‘Do you want to be part of us?’

By contrast, in Minorcan Catalan, the use of *que* is practically obligatory in polar questions (written texts are perhaps the exception). In this dialect, *que* is a marker of neutral polar questions, and speakers use it in out-of-the-blue sentences without any previous contextual knowledge and regardless of the cost of the action (see Mascaró i Pons 1986: 30-31).

- (34) a. Que he de declarar, senyor jutge?                      Minorcan  
           that have.1s of declare, mister judge?  
           ‘Am I supposed to make a statement, Your Honor?’

However, sometimes Minorcan polar questions seem to appear without the conjunction *que*, as shown in (35). In these cases, the questions are not really neutral: the speaker is presupposing that the event or situation expressed by the sentence is true and wants to get some information about it. Thus, in (35a) the speaker believes that the hearer saw Peter and is asking how he is. In the second question in (35b), the speaker tries to find out how the interlocutor is, and his hope is that the interlocutor and his family are well. Interestingly, in both cases, intonation contours are characterized by a sentence-final rise in pitch (see also the rising intonation contour of a Minorcan antiexpectative utterance headed by *o* in § 5.2).

- (35) a. Vas veure en Peter?  
           saw.2s the Peter  
           ‘Did you see Peter?’  
       b. Què tal l’estiu? *Esteis tots bé?*  
           How the summer. Are.2pl all well  
           How was the summer? Are you all well?’

#### 4. ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS HEADED BY *QUE*

Alternative polar questions express an explicit disjunction of the two possible answers to a neutral polar question, namely yes or no, as shown in (36), which belongs to Central Catalan.

- (36) Véns a dinar, sí o no?  
           come.2s to have-lunch, yes or no  
           ‘Are you coming for lunch or not?’

In Central Catalan, these sentences are not introduced by *que*. Pragmatically, these questions can only be used under certain conditions (that is, when the hearer is not acting according to what he or she said previously, when the hearer does not answer in his or her questions clearly, etc.). With (36), the speaker is essentially forcing the hearer to answer, to make a decision.

Under the same pragmatic conditions, an alternative polar interrogative sentence can be built as a disjunction of the predicate, and the latter negated. Sometimes, repetition of the predicate is avoided in the disjunction, but it has to contain negation:

- (37) a. *Que véns a dinar o no (véns a dinar)?*  
 that come.2s to have-lunch or not (come.2s to have-lunch)  
 ‘Are you coming for lunch or not?’  
 b. \**Que véns o no vindreu?*  
 that come.2s or not will-come.2.pl  
 c. *Que parlarà, en Pere, o no parlarà?*  
 that will-speak the Peter or not will-speak  
 ‘Is Peter going to speak or not?’  
 d. *Que parlarà o no parlarà, en Pere?*  
 that will-speak the Peter or not will-speak the Peter  
 ‘Is Peter going to speak or not?’  
 e. \**Que parlarà, en Pere, o no parlarà, en Joan?*  
 that will-speak the Peter or not will-speak the John

As noted in Rigau (1984), in this type of alternative question, the negated verbal phrase is the second member of the disjunction, and the tense and person-number properties expressed by the verbal forms have to be the same in both verbal phrases, as shown in (37b). The sentential subject can appear in a dislocated position related to the first or the second verbal phrase, as in (37c-d), but both verbal phrases have to share the same subject (see (37e)).

On the other hand, the disjunction in a alternative interrogative sentence can contain two opposite poles of a semantic or pragmatic scale appearing in one or the other element of the disjunction, as in (38a). Moreover, in alternative interrogatives the disjunction can be established between two different verbal phrases, as in (38b) or between two different complements of the same verb, as in (38c):

- (38) a. *Que és gran o petit?* Central Catalan, Balearic Catalan  
 that is big or small  
 ‘Is it big or small?’  
 b. *Que estudies o fas feina, ara?* Balearic Catalan, Tarragonese  
 that study.2s or do.2s work now  
 ‘Are you studying or working now?’  
 c. *Que vols sucre o sacarina?* Balearic Catalan, Tarragonese  
 that want sugar or saccharine  
 ‘Would you like sugar or saccharine?’

In Mallorcan, Minorcan and Eivissan, alternative questions are generally introduced by *que*. In Central Catalan, we have discerned a difference between two subdialects: while in Tarragonese alternative questions are usually headed by *que*, this is not the case in Barcelonese. In this subdialect, the questions in (38b) and (38b) are preferably built without the conjunction *que*. Finally, in Valencian, Rossellonese and Northern (Central) Catalan alternative questions cannot be headed by *que*: *Véns o no véns?* ‘Are you coming or not?’ However, the syntactic conditions shown in (37) apply in these dialects.

## 5. BIASED QUESTIONS HEADED BY *QUE*

Huddleston and Pullum (2002:876s) oppose neutral questions to biased questions. In the latter, the speaker is biased in favour of one answer over another. We will distinguish several types of biased questions: 5.1. Confirmatory questions, 5.2. Anti-expectational questions, 5.3. Rhetoric questions, 5.4. Exhortative questions and 5.5. Exploratory questions.

**5.1. Confirmatory questions.** Some confirmatory questions have been presented in (14) and (16). The examples given in (39) show that the syntactic function of *que* is to connect the interrogative operator with the proposition. The sentence in (39a) is intended to elicit a positive answer, whereas (39b) expects a negative one:

- (39) a. - Oi que plou?      Central Catalan (Barcelonese)  
Op that rains  
'It's raining, isn't it?'  
- Sí.  
'Yes'
- b. - Oi que no plou?  
Op that not rains  
'It isn't raining, is it?'  
- No.  
'No'

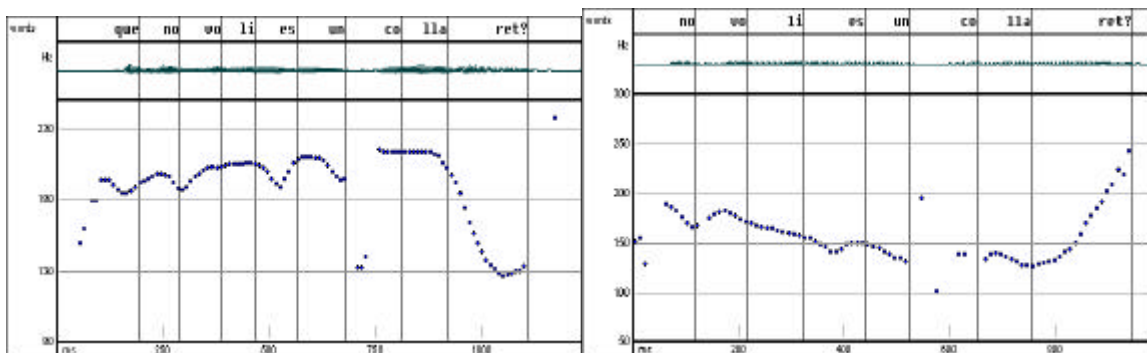
In Central Catalan, the intonation used for these types of confirmatory sentences is the rising question intonation pattern illustrated in (21) above. They cannot be produced with the falling question intonation pattern.

Furthermore, a confirmatory question can be built with the negative adverb *no* 'not' and be headed by *que*, as shown in (40):

- (40) a. *Que no volies un collaret?* Doncs aquí en tens un.      Central Catalan  
that not wanted.2s a necklace. So here cl. have.2s one  
'Didn't you want a necklace? Well, take this one.'
- b. *No volies un collaret?* Doncs aquí en tens un.      Central Catalan  
not wanted.2s a necklace. So here cl. have.2s one  
'Didn't you want a necklace? Well, take this one.'

The graphs in (41) and (42) illustrate the waveforms and intonation contours of the questions in (40) in Central Catalan. As we can see, the question in (40a), headed by *que* (left panel), uses the canonical falling pattern of neutral polar questions. The other possibility is to pronounce the utterance using the distinctive rising intonation pattern shown in (42), which is similar to the one used for neutral polar questions. Typically, the contour starts with a low tone which rises after the first stressed syllable. After that, the tone falls until the last stressed syllable in the sentence. After that syllable, the tone rises until the end of the utterance. One of the differences between the canonical rising pattern and this one is the level of the high boundary tone, which is significantly lower in the confirmatory question.



(41) Confirmatory headed by *que*(42) Confirmatory not headed by *que*

The negation particle in (40) is interpreted as an “external negation” (i.e. external to the proposition), similarly to the cases in (14c) and (16c). In fact, with such negative questions, the speaker reminds the hearer that (s)he has at some time expressed the desire for a necklace (cf. ((43) in § 5. 2). Similarly to (39), the role of the conjunction *que* in (40) is to relate the confirmatory operator realized as suprasegmental information to the clause.

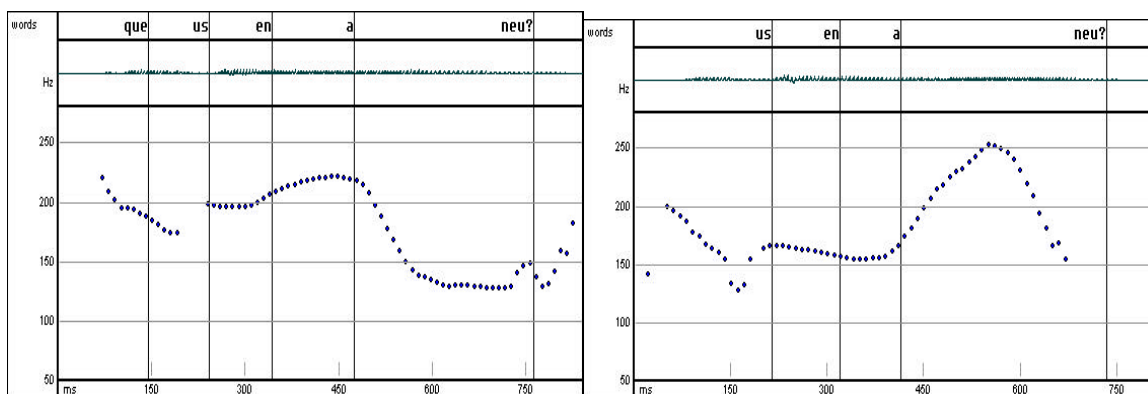
**5.2. Anti-expectational questions.** Anti-expectational questions are used when the facts or the situation do not agree with the speaker’s expectations. They can convey an additional meaning of surprise and astonishment (and even incredulity) on the part of the speaker. These sentences can either be headed by *que* and be pronounced with the canonical falling question intonation pattern described in (20) above (see 43a) or adopt a distinctive intonation pattern (see 43b).

- (43) a. *Que us n’aneu?* Jo em pensava que dinariem junts. Central Catalan  
 that you cl. go2.pl I myself thought that we would-dine together  
 ‘Are you leaving? I thought we were going to have lunch together’  
 b. *Us n’aneu?* Jo em pensava que dinariem junts. Central Catalan  
 that you cl. go2.pl I myself thought that we would-dine together  
 ‘Are you leaving? I thought we were going to have lunch together’

The graphs in (44) and (45) illustrate the waveforms and intonation contours of the anti-expectational questions in (43) in Central Catalan. As we can see, the question *Que us n’aneu?* headed by *que* in (44) uses the canonical falling pattern used for neutral yes-no questions. The other possibility is to pronounce the utterance with no complementizer and using the intonation pattern in (45). Typically, the contour starts with a low tone that continues low until the beginning of the last stressed syllable in the utterance. This syllable is pronounced with a prominent rising tone, which then falls until the end of the utterance. Interestingly, the presence of the complementizer *que* is incompatible with the intonation contour illustrated in the right panel (for a detailed description of this intonational contrast, see Prieto 2002).

(44) Anti-expectational headed by *que*  
by *que*

(45) Anti-expectational not headed



Anti-expectational questions can also be negative, as shown in (46). The intonation patterns shown by the sentences in (46) are similar to the ones shown in the panels above.

- (46) a. *Que no t'ho havien dit?* Doncs jo em pensava que ho sabies. Central Catalan  
that not to-you it had.3pl said. So I myself thought that it knew.2s  
'Didn't they tell you? I thought you knew.'
- b. *No t'ho havien dit?* Doncs jo em pensava que ho sabies. Central Catalan  
not to-you it had.3pl said. So I myself thought that it knew.2s  
'Didn't they tell you? I thought you knew.'

Interestingly, the questions in (40) pronounced with the intonation shown in (45) would be interpreted as anti-expectational questions. In this case, the discourse context would be different, for instance, the one expressed in the second sentence in (47).

- (47) a. *Que no volies un collaret?* Doncs jo em pensava que en volies un.  
that not wanted.2s a necklace. So I myself thought that cl. wanted.2s one  
'Didn't you want a necklace? I thought you wanted one.'
- b. *No volies un collaret?* Doncs jo em pensava que en volies un.  
not wanted.2s a necklace. So I myself thought that cl. wanted.2s one  
'Didn't you want a necklace? I thought you wanted one.'

The negation particle in (47-48) is interpreted as an "internal negation" (i.e., internal to the proposition), as in the corresponding statement *No volies un collaret* 'You didn't want a necklace' (cf. (41), where the negation is "external negation").<sup>16</sup>

In Northern (Central) Catalan and in Rossellonese, where neutral polar questions cannot be headed by *que*, this conjunction is used to head anti-expectational questions.

<sup>16</sup> Only internal negation particles license polarity items such as *res* 'anything': *(Que) no t'havien dit res? Doncs jo em pensava que ho sabies.* 'Didn't they tell you anything? I thought you knew'. The existence of external/internal negation particles in polar questions is also attested in Spanish (see Escandell-Vidal 1999: 3955s)

Typically, the anti-expectational questions in (48) use the canonical falling question intonation found in neutral polar questions in Barcelonese (see (20) above). As we know, this contour is characterized by a steady high tone which spans from the beginning of the sentence up until the last stressed syllable falling pitch movement aligned with the last stressed syllable in the utterance, and by a low boundary tone sequence.

- (48) a. *Que vindràs a Barcelona?* No em pensava pas que ens acompanyessis.  
 that will-come.2s to Barcelona. not myself thought neg. that us go-with  
 ‘Are you coming to Barcelona? I didn’t think you were coming with us.’  
 Northern (Central) Catalan
- b. *Que vindràs pas a Barcelona?* Me pensavi que nos acompanyaries.  
 that will-come.2s neg. to Barcelona. myself thought neg. that us go-with  
 ‘Aren’t you coming to Barcelona? I thought you were coming with us’  
 Rossellonese

Another strategy used by the speaker to express the idea that the situation does not agree with his or her beliefs is to use a polar sentence with the verb *voler* ‘to want’ in present tense and in second person singular followed by *dir* ‘to say’. In (49a) the speaker believes that the deadline is the end of the present month and asks for confirmation. By contrast, in (49b) he or she is not sure that the deadline is at the end of the present month, as his or her interlocutor seems to believe:

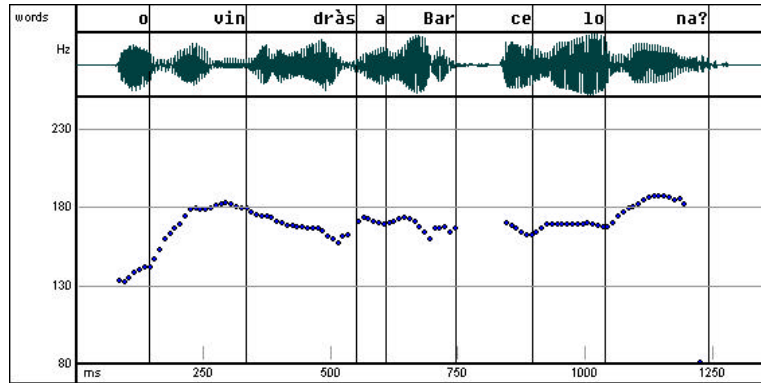
- (49) a. (Que) vols dir que el termini no és a finals de mes?  
 want.2s to say that the deadline not is at end of month  
 ‘Isn’t the deadline the end of the month?’
- b. (Que) vols dir que el termini és a finals de mes?  
 want.2s to say that the deadline is at end of month  
 ‘Are you sure that the deadline is the end of the month?’

In Minorcan Catalan, anti-expectational questions are usually headed by the disjunctive conjunction *o* ‘or’, which is prosodically grouped together with the clause. The sentence in (50a) is the paraphrase of (48a) and (50b) is the paraphrase of (48b).

- (50) a. *O vindràs a Barcelona?* No m’esperava que mos acompanyassis. Minorcan  
 or will-come to Barcelona. not myself hoped.1s that us go-with  
 ‘Are you coming to Barcelona? I didn’t think you were coming with us.’
- b. *O no vindràs a Barcelona?* M’esperava que mos acompanyaries.  
 or not will-come to Barcelona. myself hoped.1s that us go-with  
 ‘Aren’t you coming to Barcelona? I thought you were coming with us.’

Graph (51) illustrates the intonation contour of the Minorcan anti-expectational utterance in (50a) headed by *o*. The contour is characterized by a falling tone on the nuclear part of the intonation contour (the stressed syllable in *vindràs*); however, this falling tone descends to a mid-level tone rather than a low tone (compare with the unmarked Minorcan falling intonation contour in (31), uttered by the same speaker). After that, the second prosodic phrase ends on a mid tone on the last stressed syllable followed by a scooped high boundary tone.

- (51) Anti-expectational question headed by *o* (Minorcan)

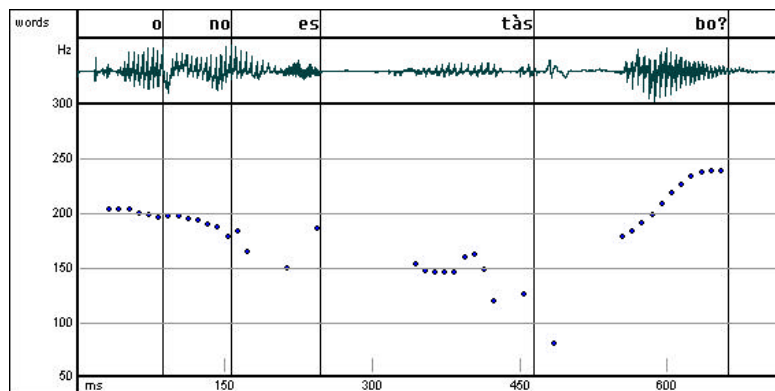


In Majorcan Catalan, anti-expectational questions can be headed by the conjunction *o* ‘or’ and also by the conjunction *que*. They can also be introduced by the sequence *Que és que...?* ‘That is that...’. The anti-expectational question in (52c) has the flavor of a reproach.

- (52) a. O no estàs bo? Majorcan  
 or not are.2s good  
 ‘Aren’t you well?’  
 b. Que no estàs bo?  
 that not are.2s good  
 ‘Aren’t you well?’  
 c. Que és que no estàs bo? Jo pensava que vendries amb jo.  
 that os that not are.2s good. I expected that come.cond with I  
 ‘Aren’t you well? I expected you to come with me’

Graph (53) illustrates the intonation contour of the Majorcan anti-expectational utterance in (52a) headed by *o*. The contour starts with a mid tone and is characterized by a final rising tone that continues rising until the end of the sentence (see a similar description in Vanrell 2004: 19).

(53) Anti-expectational question headed by *o* (Majorcan)



Finally, Eivissan can only use the particle *que* (and crucially, not *o*) to head anti-expectational questions, another Catalan dialect, Valencian, does not have any of these conjunctions in anti-expectational utterances.

The presence of the disjunctive conjunction *o* ‘or’ in two Balearic anti-expectational questions is not surprising. This conjunction is also found inside alternative questions (see 4). In anti-expectational questions, the conjunction *o* relates an interrogative operator, realized by suprasegmental information, to the clause. These questions, when they are negated, presuppose the positive counterpart, and if they are not negated, they presuppose the negative counterpart. In (52a) the speaker asks the question to be sure that his or her belief about the health of the interlocutor is not as well as he or she thought.

**5.3. Rhetorical questions.** Rhetorical questions are pragmatically equivalent to an assertion or a statement because typically the speaker knows the answer very well. With these questions, the speaker attempts to engage the hearer in the conversation. A response that is contrary to what the anticipates is not impossible, but it is hard and provocative. Rethorical questions in a non-formal discourse can be optionally introduced by *que*, as shown in (54). When rethorical questions are negative and headed by *que*, the expected answer is ‘yes’, but if they are positive they strongly presuppose a negative answer:

- (54) a. *Que no ho saps, que t’estimo?* Central, North-Western, Balearic  
 that not it know.2s that you love.1s  
 ‘Don’t you know I love you?( = You know very well that I love you)’  
 b. *Que et penses que tinc quatre mans, jo?*  
 that you think.2s that have.1s four hands, I  
 ‘Do you think I have four hands?’

In Central Catalan, the intonation of rhetorical questions is identical to the intonation patterns found in neutral polar questions. That is, both falling question intonation and rising question intonation can be used. Thus, both sentences in (54), headed by *que*, can only have the falling question intonation pattern.

The questions in (54) could be replaced by the sentences in (55), which are not interrogative, but assertive.

- (55) a. *Ja hauries de saber que t’estimo.*  
 already would-have.2s of know that you love.1s  
 ‘You should know by now that I love you.’  
 b. *No tens en compte que només tinc dues mans, que no puc fer tantes coses.*  
 not have.2s in account that only have.1s two hands, that not can do so many things  
 ‘You aren’t taking into account that I only have two hands and that can’t do so many things at once.’

Finally, in a formal discourse, rhetorical questions typically appear without *que*, as in (56).

- (56) a. *És una propietat exclusivament humana, la facultat del llenguatge?*

- is a capacity exclusively human, the faculty of language  
 ‘Is language faculty an exclusively human capacity?’
- b. No és valuosa la vida?  
 not is worthwhile the life  
 ‘Isn’t life worthwhile?’

**5.4. Exhortative questions.** Exhortative questions endeavor to advise the hearer earnestly or even force him or her towards a given response. They can have the illocutionary force of an order, as in (57), which is equivalent to *Calleu!* ‘Be quiet!’. Importantly, they cannot be headed by *que*.

- (57) Voleu callar d’una vegada?  
 ‘Would you please be quiet once and for all?’

The intonation of exhortative questions depends on the illocutionary force of the utterance: the intonation contours found in these sentences range from the canonical rising and falling question intonation pattern to a series of distinctive intonation patterns (for a review, see Prieto 2002).

If exhortative questions are headed by a negative element *no...(pas)* and the probability modal verb *deure* ‘must’, they strongly induce the interlocutor to give a negative answer. In this case, the conjunction *que* cannot be present.

- (58) a. No deus pas voler que m’enfadi?  
 not must.2s neg to-want that myself get.1s-angry  
 ‘You don’t want me to get angry, do you?’
- b. No deus pas pensar que sóc un babau?  
 not must.2s neg to-think that am a stupid  
 ‘You don’t think I’m stupid, do you?’

In fact, the questions in (58) could be replaced by the ones in (59), which are not interrogative questions, but rather warnings.

- (59) a. Vigila que no m’enfadi.  
 ‘behave yourself, or I’ll get angry.’
- b. Vigila que no sóc cap babau.  
 ‘I warn you, I’m not stupid.’

**5.5. Exploratory questions.** Exploratory questions offer information in the form of a question (Escandell 1996). Through the sentence in (60a) the speaker informs his or her interlocutors that he or she knows that they plan to run away. Pragmatically, it is equivalent to the strong assertion illustrated in (60b).

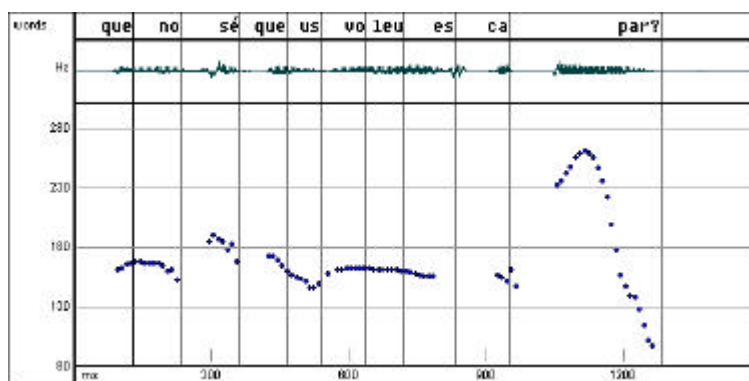
- (60) a. (Que) us penseu que no sé que us voleu escapar?  
 that you think.2pl that not know.1s that yourselves want.2pl to escape  
 ‘Do you think I don’t know you want to escape?’
- b. Heu de saber que sé que us voleu escapar.  
 have.2pl of know that know.1s that yourselves want.2pl to escape  
 ‘Surely you realise that I know you want to escape.’

Another example of an exploratory question is given in (61), which is a paraphrase of (60a). The conjunction *que* heading the second question in (61) syntactically acts as the complementizer of the subordinate clause in (60a). This conjunction is obligatory in all Catalan dialects because it is a constituent of a subordinate clause.<sup>17</sup>

- (61) Què us penseu? *Que no sé que us voleu escapar?*  
 that yourselves think.2pl That not know.1s that yourselves want.2pl to escape  
 ‘What do you think? That I don’t know you want to escape?’

In Central Catalan, exploratory questions receive a special intonation contour that is similar to the one used for anti-expectational questions (see § 5.2 above). The graph in (62) shows the waveform and intonation contour of the utterance in (61). The contour starts with a low tone that continues low until the beginning of the last stressed syllable in the utterance, in this case the syllable *par* in *escapar*. This syllable is pronounced with a very prominent rising tone (more prominent than the one found in anti-expectational questions), which falls after that until the end of the utterance.

(62) Exploratory question (Central Catalan)



## 6. REPETITIVE QUESTIONS HEADED BY *QUE*

Following the classification of echo questions established by Bolinger (1957), we distinguish the following subtypes of repetitive questions: 6.1. echo questions; 6.2. ditto questions; 6.3. reclamatory questions.

<sup>17</sup> We cannot assume that Catalan neutral polar questions headed by *que* stem from a subordinate clause with an elliptic interrogative verb like *preguntar* ‘to ask’, because interrogative verbs do not select the conjunction *que* ‘that’. They select the conjunction *si* ‘whether, if’:

- (i) a. Et pregunto si vindràs.  
 ‘I am asking you whether you will come.’  
 b. \*Et pregunto que vindràs.

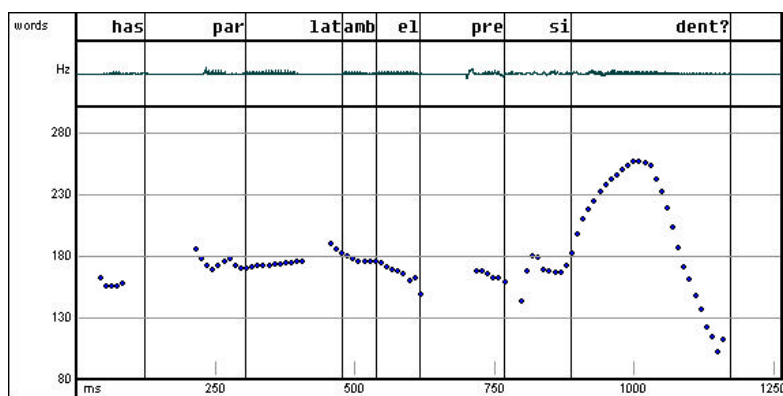
Thus the question *Que vindràs?* ‘Will you come?’ cannot be interpreted as a subordinate clause which has become independent of a main clause.

**6.1. Echo questions.** Echo questions repeat a declarative statement and typically convey surprise or incredulity. The conjunction *que* cannot appear heading an echo question.

- (63) a. Speaker A. – He parlat amb el president.  
 have.1s spoke with the president  
 ‘I have spoken with the president.’
- b. Speaker B. – Has parlat amb el president?  
 have.2s spoken with the president  
 ‘You’ve spoken with the president?’

The graph in (64) illustrates the typical intonation of echo questions. They have the same intonation pattern as anti-expectationals (see § 5.2 above). With the same intonation, speaker B could ask *Dius que has parlat amb el president?* ‘Are you saying that you have spoken with the president?’. Typically, the contour starts with a low tone that continues until the last stressed syllable in the utterance, which is pronounced with a prominent rising tone. After that, the contour ends in a final falling tone.

(64) Echo question (Central Catalan)



**6.2. Ditto questions.** Ditto questions repeat, on request, the speaker’s own question to express incredulity or astonishment. In (65b) and (65c), the two ditto questions are based on the interlocutor’s yes/no question. The intonation contour used for these sentences will typically correspond to the one found in anti-expectational utterances (see § 5.2 above).

- (65) a. Speaker A. – Has parlat amb el president?  
 have.2s spoken with the president  
 ‘Have you spoken with the president?’
- b. Speaker B. – Si he parlat amb el president?  
 if have.1s spoken with the president  
 ‘Have I spoken with the president!?’
- c. Speaker B. – Que si he parlat amb el president?  
 That if have.1s spoken with the president  
 ‘Have I spoken with the president!?’



The answers in (65b) and (65c) correlate with the subordinate clauses in (66a) and (66b), respectively.

- (66) a. Em preguntes si he parlat amb el president?  
to-me ask.2s if have.1s spoken with the president  
'Are you asking me whether I have spoken with the president?'
- b. Em preguntes que si he parlat amb el president?  
to-me ask.2s that if have.1s spoken with the president  
'Are you asking me whether I have spoken with the president?'

The conjunction *que* which appears in (65c) and (66b) is the complementizer *que* that appears in colloquial speech in front of other complementizers when the main verb is an interrogative verb that accepts the direct speech. The same phenomenon is attested in Spanish (see Brucart 1993, Dumitrescu 1994).<sup>18</sup>

**6.3. Reclamatory questions.** Reclamatory questions inquire about something that was not explicit or clear enough in the question addressed to us by our interlocutor. Reclamatory questions are not used in formal speech styles. They are intended to elicit repetitions on the part of the speaker, as the example in (67) shows. The question in (67b) is used either when B doesn't understand the element in subject position or B wants to express his/her surprise at the fact that A is interested in what was said by the president.

- (67) a. Speaker A. - Què ha dit el president?  
what has said the president  
'What did the president say?'
- b. Speaker B. - (Que) què ha dit QUI?  
that what has said who  
'Who did who say?'

Again, the intonation most often used in these types of sentences is the one found in anti-expectational utterances (see § 5.2 above).

A reclamatory question such as the one in (68a) can be paraphrased by the question in (68b) with the verb *dir* 'to say' in the main clause. This indicates that the conjunction *que* in reclamatory questions is the complementizer of a subordinate clause.

- (68) a. Que has parlat AMB QUI?  
that have.2s spoken with whom  
'You have spoken WITH WHOM?'
- b. Dius que has parlat AMB QUI?  
say.2s that have.2s spoken with whom  
'You are saying that you have spoken WITH WHOM?'

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<sup>18</sup> The conjunction *que* also appears in ditto questions based on a wh-question such as (i):

- (i) *Que què vull?*  
that what want.1s  
'Are you asking me what I want?'

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

The linguistic diversity offered by the Catalan dialects with respect to the realization of the neutral polar questions provides evidence that both intonation and the use of the conjunction *que* are used in different varieties to encode a variety of systematic pragmatic information related to proximity or solidarity attitudinal meanings. As far as neutral polar and anti-expectational polar questions is concerned, in Rossellonese and Northern (Central) Catalan the use of polar questions headed by *que* is exclusively for anti-expectational utterances, while other Central Catalan and Balearic dialects can resort to these utterances for neutral and anti-expectational polar questions. Other dialects, such as Valencian, do not use this particle for either of these sentence-types. Moreover, the dialects which use *que* differ in the way they express pragmatic differences related to proximity relations in the discourse. In Central Catalan the presence of the conjunction *que* is a complement of the falling intonation pattern in neutral polar questions to express proximity and a low-cost interaction for both the speaker and the hearer (as two possible intonation contours are possible in this dialect). By contrast, in Majorcan the use of the conjunction *que* is the exclusive pragmatic mark of such an attitude. Finally, Minorcan seems to use sentences with *que* with a falling intonation pattern systematically and resorts to other cues (perhaps pitch range relationships) to express such cost relationships and proximity in the discourse.

The Catalan linguistic area is not very extensive geographically and Catalan dialects are not very distant typologically. Hence, Catalan dialects and subdialects constitute an excellent laboratory where we can detect and compare the grammatical and pragmatic properties that allow microvariation. In this article, we have presented a detailed description of the presence or absence of the conjunction *que* in several types of questions in different Catalan dialects. This line of research is advisable, not only because it enables us to fully understand languages and their dialects, but also because it paves the way for future studies on comparative syntax, prosody and pragmatics. It is through descriptions of sentences such as those analyzed in this article, which mainly belong to colloquial speech, that we realize how much linguistic diversity exists among the dialects of a language.

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