

On the interpretation of Spanish 1st Person Plural pronoun

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Abstract

We explore the connection between the clause left periphery and the referential values of inclusion or exclusion of the addressee associated with Spanish 1st Person Plural pronoun *nosotros*, otherwise morphologically marked in many world languages. We examine the referential values of *nosotros* in clauses marked with different topics and foci regarding the inclusive/exclusive interpretation of the pronoun. We observe, *contra* Posio (2012), that overt *nosotros* doesn't always involve exclusivity. The exclusive interpretation of the pronoun is nonetheless required in contexts typically declarative and non-contrastive (i.e., out-of-the-blue,thetic), and its overt use is perceived as odd if the Addressee is intended to be included. In Aboutness-Shift Topic and Given Topic contexts the clusive interpretation of the pronoun is obtained from the immediate context (i.e., whether the Addressee is active). Similarly, contrastive topics or foci include the presence of the Addressee in the immediate context as one of their points of contrast. To account for the influence of the immediate context on the interpretation of the pronominal values of clusivity we propose an analysis based on the projection of a Speech Act Phrase (SAP) (Speas & Tenny 2003) in combination with a Logophoric Center (Bianchi 2003) above the clausal left periphery (CP). In our analysis, the pronoun *nosotros* has an [Addressee] feature that is valued according to the availability of the Addressee in the left-most left periphery. Our formalization of clusivity assumes that interpretation is read off syntax (Haegeman & Hill 2013).

1. Introduction¹

In this chapter, we explore the connection in Spanish between the clause left-most left periphery and the interpretation of the referential values of inclusion/exclusion of the Addressee associated with 1st person plural (1PL), as expressed by the overt pronoun *nosotros*. While these referential values are explicitly marked in the morphology of many world languages (Cysouw 2002), they are not realized morphologically in Spanish. However, Spanish clusivity has been observed (Posio 2012) to have a potential impact on Information Structure (IS), as exclusive 1PL reference was claimed to be associated with overt *nosotros*, whereas inclusive reference was realized by a null pronoun.

In order to determine whether the 1SG pronoun is in fact associated with IS, we examine referential values of *nosotros* in sentences marked with different types of topic (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007), and foci (Jiménez-Fernández 2015), especially regarding inclusive/exclusive restrictions.

Contra Posio (2012), we argue that it is not the overt/null nature of the pronoun (i.e., IS) that determines its interpretation, but the answer is in the left-most left periphery, which determines the reference of indexicals (Bianchi 2003, Delfitto and Fiorin 2014).² More precisely, the inclusive or exclusive interpretation of 1PL is due to a mechanism that anchors the deictic components of an event to the context of Speech. While 1PL comes from the lexicon underspecified for its Person reference, its interpretation is anchored to the context by means of logophoric features housed in the Logophoric Center (Bianchi 2003), in the left-most left periphery. Part of the information provided by logophoric

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² For Bianchi (2003) indexicals are the values assigned to the participants in a communicative act by means of a semantic anchoring with the Speaker or the Addressee activated in the Logophoric Center. In our system, these indexicals are viewed as a consequence of an AGREE relation with the Speaker and/or the Hearer as activated by the Logophoric Center.

features is the presence of the Addressee in the interpretation of a pronoun, as available in the discursive context. The nature of the Speech Act (SA) (e.g., interrogative, imperative) may also naturally presuppose or exclude the Addressee. We adopt the Speech Act (SA) system proposed by Speas (2000), Speas & Tenny (2003), formalized in terms of a Speech Act Phrase, immediately dominated by the Logophoric Center, and dominating the left periphery of the clause. If the logophoric operator in DiscourseP or the nature of SA values the [+Addressee] in SA, 1PL will also value this feature in CP, TP and vP, accounting for its inclusive interpretation. To put it shortly, the Logophoric Center is instantiated in our analysis by projecting a SAP above CP, being this SAP dominated by the DiscourseP. Any relation between a pronominal and the clusivity feature in SAP is viewed as an Agree relation.

The use of a SAP projection to account for the interpretation of pronominal features has been independently adopted by D'Alessandro (2007) to describe the person feature of *si* in Italian, and by Woods (2014) to account for the anchoring of speaker oriented adverbs with the Speaker or Addressee.

The paper is organized as follows: In Section 2 we present some background and data concerning the use of subject pronouns in Spanish and more specifically the 1PL reference. In Section 3 we put forth the proposal that IS doesn't determine clusivity or logophoricity, but rather this interpretation depends on the context. In Section 4 a formal analysis of the inclusive or exclusive interpretation of 1PL pronoun is proposed based on a SAP in the leftmost part of the left periphery. Section 5 summarizes our conclusions.

2. Background and data

2.1. The use of Spanish subject pronouns and their IS

Overt subject pronouns in Romance languages such as Spanish, Portuguese and Italian are traditionally characterized as occupying an IS-based position in the Left Periphery (Camacho-Taboada *et al.* 2016). Spanish, as a null subject language, doesn't require overt subjects if their deictic information is evident from discourse (Fernández-Soriano 1999). This is illustrated in (1) where the null subject is represented as \emptyset :

(1) \emptyset *Trabajamos* de 9-5 todos los días.

“We work from 9-5 every day.” Fernández-Soriano (1999: 1224 [48d])

However, subject pronouns are necessarily overt in very specific contexts, even if verbal morphology unambiguously shows the subject reference, for example, to indicate switch reference (de Cock 2014):

(2) *En casa mi marido friega los platos porque yo odio hacer eso.*

“At home my husband does the dishes because I hate doing that.”

Fernández-Soriano (1999: 1227[56e])

Current line of research on pronouns (e.g., *NGRAE* 2009, Camacho-Taboada *et al.* 2016) associates overt subject pronouns with particular discourse uses as topics or foci. Camacho-Taboada *et al.* (2016), based on types of topics (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007) and foci (Jiménez-Fernández 2015), analyze the specific IS function of subject pronouns with respect to their overt or null realization:³

³ We give a full description of types of topics and foci in Section 3.

a. Topics

Aboutness-shift (AS-) topics are optionally overt, as shown in (3), Contrastive (C-) topics are obligatorily overt, as shown in (4), and Given (G-) topics are typically null, as seen in (5) --Examples (3-8) are from Camacho-Taboada et al. (2016):⁴

(3) *Has estado hablando de Juan durante horas.... Me han dicho que (él) no sabe nada de los resultados del examen.*⁵

“You’ve been talking about Juan for hours... I heard that (he) doesn’t know anything about the exam results.”

(4) A: *¿Cómo nos organizamos para preparar la fiesta?*

“What are each of us doing to organize the party?”

B: **(Yo) me encargo de la compra, *(tú) puedes enviar las invitaciones.*

“I’ll do the shopping, you can send out the invites.”

(5) *No he visto a María desde mayo. (*Ella)/pro debe estar muy ocupada.*

“I haven’t seen Maria since May. She must be very busy.”

b. Foci

While Mirative (M-) foci may be both null and overt, as seen in (6), Contrastive (C-) and Information (I-) foci are obligatorily overt, as shown in (7) and (8) respectively:⁶

(6) *¡No puedo creerme eso de María! ¡(ELLA) ha terminado sus estudios de doctorado!*

“I can’t believe that about Maria! SHE finished her PhD!”

(7) A: *He organizado todo para la fiesta de cumpleaños de Jimena.*

“I have organized everything for Jimena’s birthday party”

⁴ Although see Peškova (2014) for examples of Given Topics with overt pronouns.

⁵ The pronoun in this example is not contrastive, but refers to a participant (i.e., *Juan*) previously mentioned.

⁶ The optionality of the pronoun in the case of M-Focus interpretation is crucially influenced by the fact that either only the pronoun develops the M-Focus function or mirativity affects the whole sentence. In the former reading the pronoun is obligatory whereas in the latter it is not.

B: *No, no. *(Yo) he organizado todo, no *(tú).*

“No, no. I have organized everything, not you.”

(8) A: *¿Quién ha roto el vaso?*

“Who broke the glass?”

B: *Ha sido *(ELLA).*

“It was HER.”

2.2. *The pronominal interpretation of discourse participants*

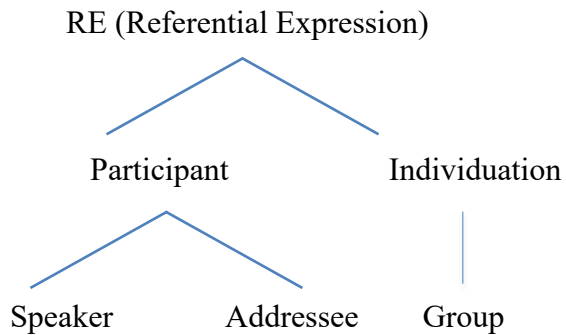
Concerning the deixis of pronouns in discourse, Benveniste (1966) states that 1st and 2nd person reflect a reality of discourse (i.e., Speaker and Addressee), and they are reversible in the communicative act, since speakers and addressees change their reference. For Benveniste, 1PL is not the plural of 1SG, but rather the combination of 1SG (the speaker) and others, its reference being unspecified.⁷

1PL is complex in its deictic reference (Harley & Ritter 2002), and naturally associated with several interpretations, hence its referential vagueness, as discussed in Posio (2012), and Di Tullio (2016). Noyer (1992) and Harley & Ritter (2002) define the reference of 1PL in terms of whether the Addressee is presupposed in the feature composition of the pronoun. Harley & Ritter (2002) formalized the reference of 1PL in terms of the hierarchy of features shown in (9). As seen in the diagrams, the main difference between inclusive and exclusive reference has to do with the presence/absence of the Addressee as a Participant encoded as part of the feature composition of the pronoun: Its presence is associated with inclusive reference whereas the Addressee is absent as a discourse participant in the case of exclusive reference:

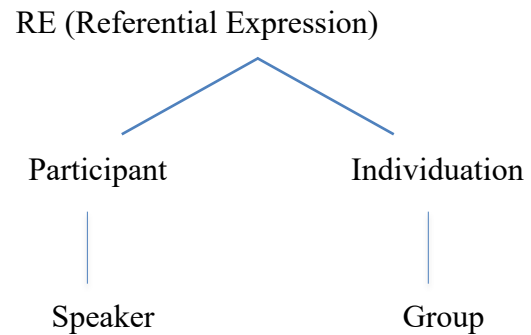
⁷ See also Harley & Ritter (2002) and Di Tullio (2016).

(9) Feature specification of pronouns (Harley & Ritter 2002)

a. Inclusive



b. Exclusive



2.3. *The expression of clusivity*

Many world languages (35% of the languages considered by Harley & Ritter 2002) including many Australian and Amerindian languages (Cysouw 2002), mark the inclusive/exclusive distinction morphologically. This is illustrated in (10) for Guarani, as described in Di Tullio (2016):

(10) Guarani

a. *yané* (1+2(+3))

b. *oré* (1+3) Di Tullio (2016)

In Spanish clusivity is morphologically unspecified, but 1PL is still compatible with multiple readings, containing reference to the speaker plus a hearer or a non-participant, as we can see from the grammaticality of all sentences in (11).

(11) a. *Mañana no todos vamos a esquiar; tú no vas.*

“We’re not all going to ski tomorrow; you’re not going.”

b. *Mañana no todos vamos a esquiar; yo no voy.*

“We’re not all going to ski tomorrow, I am not going.”

c. *Mañana no todos vamos a esquiar; Juan no va.*

“We’re not all going to ski tomorrow, Juan is not going.”

The sentence in (11a) negates the interpretation of the addressee in the reference of 1PL (e.g., *tú*), (11b) negates the interpretation of the speaker (e.g., *yo*), and (11c) negates the interpretation of a non-participant (e.g., *Juan*).

Although clusivity is morphologically unmarked in Spanish, inclusive interpretations may be required by constructions that involve an Addressee by default (e.g., imperative) or conditioned by context-anchoring adverbials (e.g., *entre tú y yo* ‘between you and me’):

(12) a. *Vayamos a la fiesta del sábado.*

“Let’s go to the party on Saturday.”

b. *Entre tú y yo tendremos muchos invitados.*

“Between you and me we’ll have many guests.”

Conversely, exclusive interpretations may be obtained by different means. For example, the Speaker in a conversational opening move may exclude herself from being an event Participant in the reply by using 2PL reference. This would trigger an exclusive interpretation if 1PL is used:

(13) A_i: *¿Qué hacéis_[+A/-S] este sábado?*⁸

“What are you all doing this Saturday?”

B_j: *Vamos_[+S/-A] a una fiesta. ¿Te apuntas_[+A]?* (exclusive)

“We’re going to a party. Wanna come?”

The referential interpretation of 1PL in terms of clusivity has not been explored for Spanish in detail. Based on his corpus, Posio (2012) associates the overt use of *nosotros* with exclusive reference (14). According to this author, only null pronouns may be interpreted inclusively (15):

⁸ Indices referring to the presence [+] or absence [-] of an Addressee [A] or a Speaker [S] are used throughout the paper for ease of exposition.

(14) *Nosotros_{-AJ} nos encargamos del trasplante de medula ósea pero previamente otros compañeros pediatras se han ocupado de la niña en los primeros momentos.*

“We are in charge of the bone marrow transplant but other colleagues have previously treated the child.” Posio (2012: 349[10])

(15) *[...] si le parece doctora, ¿ nos vamos_{+AJ} acercando a la burbuja donde está Elena, mientras tanto.*

“If you’d like Dr., we can start walking to the sterile zone where Elena is, in the meantime.” Posio (2012: 350[12])

However, further data from Spanish shows that the overt use of *nosotros* is not limited to exclusive interpretations, as seen in (16) where the interpretation of the overt pronoun may be inclusive:

(17) A: *Juan y Antonio van a Japón este año.*

“Juan and Antonio are going to Japan this year.”

B: *¿ Y nosotros_{+AJ} no?*

“And we’re not?”

Moreover, the interpretation of an overt 1PL pronoun necessarily feeds from contextual information (including gestures, see Ortega-Santos 2016), as its reference in (17) is compatible with both readings:

(18) A: *Juan y Antonio van a Japón.*

“Juan and Antonio are going to Japan.”

B: *¿ Y nosotros_{+/-AJ} no? (inclusive or exclusive)*

“And we’re not?”

From examples (16-17) we conclude that overt pronouns cannot be limited to an exclusive interpretation, as claimed in Posio (2012). In what follows, we show that the immediate discourse context needs to be considered to draw 1PL pronoun clusivity.

3. Information structure does not determine clusivity

Contra Posio (2012), we claim that 1PL is referentially unspecified, either overt or null, and depends on the left-most left periphery to determine its Person reference. More precisely, the logophoric interpretation of 1PL depends on (i) the immediate context and the Participants' shared knowledge (i.e., Common Ground), and (ii) the role of discourse Participants as established by the Speech Act.

Information Structure also feeds from this information, but it does not directly determine the reference, which explains why the overt nature of person features isn't typically associated with a particular interpretation.

3.1. Topics

In section 2 above we saw that whereas AS-Topics are optional, C-Topics are obligatory and G-topics are typically null. In this section we show that 1PL topics may be associated with either kind of interpretation regardless of its subclass.

3.1.1. Aboutness-Shift Topics

AS-Topics newly propose or reintroduce a topic. In this IS function, the person reference of 1PL must match the Participants already established by the previous context. Our prediction is that 1PL AS-Topics may be interpreted inclusively or exclusively, depending on the Person features available from the immediate context. This is borne out in (18) and (19), with the inclusive interpretation of *nosotros* retrieved from the contextual Speaker plus the Addressee (18), and the exclusive interpretation in (19) made available by the immediate reference of a Speaker plus a Non-Participant (i.e., *Juan*):

- (18) *Has estado hablando de ti y de mí durante horas.... La verdad es que (**nosotros**_[+A]) nunca nos habíamos llevado tan bien.*

“You’ve been talking about you and me for hours... You can really tell we had never got along so well.”

(19) *Siempre me preguntas por mí y por Juan. **Nosotros**_[+A] nunca hemos estado unidos.*

“You’re always asking about me and Juan, but we have never been close.”

3.1.2. Contrastive Topics

According to Lee (2006), C-Topics are given, presupposed or anchored in the speech situation, just like non-contrastive Topics, but they are marked since they break down members of a superset previously established.

As with AS-Topics, 1PL C-Topics may be interpreted as inclusive (20), combining Speaker and Addressee, and also exclusive as in (21):

(20) A: *¿Cómo nos organizamos*_[+A] *para preparar el viaje?*

“What shall we each do to organize the trip?”

B: **(Nosotros*_[+A]*) nos encargamos de los vuelos, **ellos** pueden buscar hotel.*

“We will look at the flights; they can search for a hotel.”

(21) A: *¿Cómo nos organizamos*_[+A] *para preparar el viaje?*

“What shall we each do to organize the trip?”

B: **(Nosotros*_[+A]*) nos encargamos de los vuelos, **tú** puedes buscar hotel.*

“We will look at the flights; you can search for a hotel”

3.1.3. Given Topics

G-Topics are used to (i) provide continuity with respect to the AS-Topic, or (ii) reprise background information. When pronominal, they are usually null in Spanish (Jiménez-Fernández 2016). G-Topics are compatible with both an inclusive (22) and an exclusive interpretation (23):

(22) A: *¿Nos apuntamos*_[+A] *tú y yo a la clase de yoga?*

“Shall both you and I sign up for the yoga class?”

B: *Vale, y (nosotros_[+A]) tenemos descuento de estudiante.*

“Ok, and we have a student discount”

(23) A: *¿Os apuntáis_[+A] a tomaros unas cervezas?*

“Are you down for some beers?”

Bj: *¡Sí, sí! (A nosotros_[-A]) nos encanta la cerveza!*

“Yes! We sure love beer!”

3.2. Foci

Recall from section 2 that M-Foci are typically overt if mirativity concerns the pronoun alone and null if mirativity extends to the whole proposition. C- and I-foci are obligatorily overt. In this section we show that 1PL foci may be associated with either kind of interpretation regardless of its class, just like topics.

3.2.1. Mirative Foci

For Cruschina (2011) and Jiménez-Fernández (2015), mirativity is new information that is unexpected, involving some sort of surprise for the speaker. It establishes a contrast with an element that is part of the Participants’ shared knowledge (Bianchi *et al.* 2015). The logophoric interpretation of mirative focus 1PL pronouns can be either inclusive or exclusive, as the ambiguity of (24) suggests:

(24) *¡No me lo puedo creer! ¡(nosotros_[+/-A]) hemos entrado en los estudios de doctorado!*

“I can’t believe it! We’ve been accepted in the PhD program!”

3.2.2. Contrastive Foci

For Zubizarreta (1998), C-foci denote a constituent that is clearly contrasted with another entity previously mentioned. The interpretation of deictics depends on the immediate context, including clusivity in 1PL reference. In (25) we find an example in which 1PL is

interpreted as exclusive, since a contrast is established with reference to the Addressee.

Inclusive reference is also possible if the contrast is made with a non-Participant (26):

(25) [A group of friends are talking about their respective vacation]

A: *Bueno, nosotros_{I-A} hemos pasado unas vacaciones muy buenas.*

“Well, we had a great vacation”.

B: *Pues *nosotros_{I-A} regular — María acabó en el hospital con gastroenteritis. ¡Que te cuente!*

“We could have been better — Maria ended up in hospital with gastroenteritis. Ask her!”

(26) A: *Nadie lo ha pasado bien en la fiesta.*

“Nobody had fun at the party”.

B: *Bueno, *Nosotros_{I+A} no, pero Juan sí lo pasó bien.*

“Well, WE didn’t, but Juan did have fun.”

3.2.3. Information Foci

They denote purely new information (Zubizarreta 1998). Following Krifka (2006), in a question-answer exchange, I-Focus needs to satisfy the information search introduced by the *wh*-Phrase. If a 1PL pronoun is used, it needs to be overt and its reference will be determined by the information that is true for the Speaker. For this reason, it is unrestricted and it may be inclusive or exclusive:

(27) A: *¿Quién ha roto el jarrón?*

“Who broke the vase?”

B: *Lo hemos roto *nosotros_{I+/-A}.*

“WE did”.

The logophoric interpretation of an I-Focus 1PL pronoun is strictly subject to contextual reference and difficult to predict from the linguistic context only.

3.3. *Summary*

The inclusive/exclusive reference of 1PL is not based on IS, since all information structure categories are compatible with both exclusive and inclusive reference. IS does seem to feed on Person specification available from the context, e.g., to continue reference in cases of some topics and to contrast reference to Person in cases of C-Foci.

Contra Posio (2012), the overt nature of the pronoun is not associated with clusivity or logophoricity, but it is rather meeting an exclusively discourse function as topic or focus. This leads us to claim that, in order to determine the inclusive/exclusive reference of the pronoun, we need to look at the Person specification available from the context as well as the nature of the Speech Act.

4. **Speech Act Projection and the Speaker/Addressee relation**

To interpret *nosotros* as inclusive, both discourse Participants need to be part of the specification of the pronominal reference, while exclusivity includes only the Speaker, as formalized in Harley & Ritter (2002). In the derivation we propose, the licensing of Person features for 1PL is multilayered, since the features that are interpreted in TP (i.e., Agreement) need to also be interpreted by IS in CP and very much depend on the nature of the Speech Act (e.g., imperative, interrogative, declarative), and the context of discourse (i.e., whether an Addressee is presupposed).

4.1. *A Logophoric Center and a Speech Act Phrase*

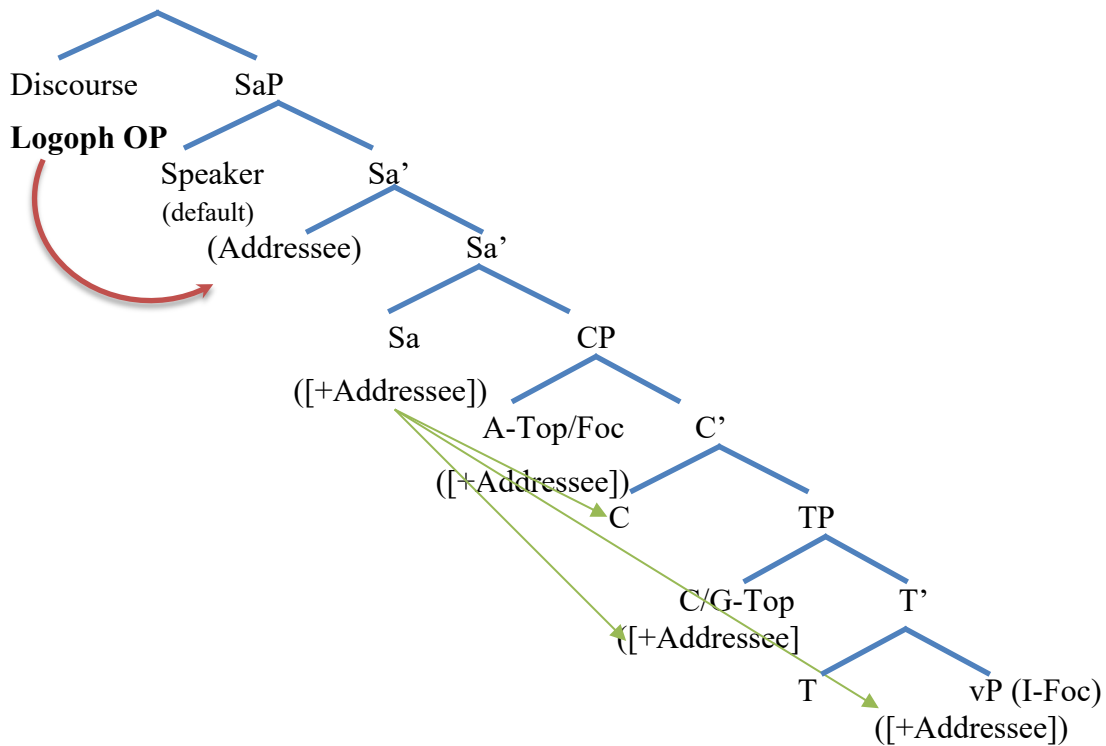
To account for the anchoring of Discourse Participants to the syntactic derivation to determine the 1PL pronoun reference, we assume a superstructure that dominates the proposition: the Speech Act Phrase (Speas 2000; Speas and Tenny 2003). In our proposal,

the Speech Act Phrase serves as a mechanism to anchor the deictic components of an event to the context of Speech (in DiscourseP). A 1PL pronoun comes from the lexicon underspecified (Di Tullio 2016). For interpretation, it needs to be anchored by logophoric features, as proposed by Bianchi (2003). In line with D'Alessandro (2007), [Speaker] and [Addressee] features are sheltered in SAP.

Bianchi (2003) proposes that every finite clause is anchored to a Logophoric Center, which is a speech or mental event (i.e., the utterance), with an obligatory animate Participant (the Speaker) and optional Addressee, as well as temporal and spatial coordinates. Following Bianchi (2003), 1/2 person features in pronouns are licensed via checking/valuing with SA in order to be deictically interpreted. But this value is determined by DiscourseP, the formal mechanism which in our system enables the interpretation of 1PL in terms of the Participants it encodes.⁹ The Person feature is selected by [+finite] Fin^o, in CP, which directly selects TP, where Person Agreement happens. The Logophoric Operator determines the contextual values of Person and its reference in CP, TP and vP. The diagram in (28) illustrates the derivation:

⁹ As we mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, in our system Bianchi's Logophoric Center is interpreted as projecting a DiscourseP, whose specifier shelters a logophoric operator which may or may not activate the Addressee. This DiscourseP dominates SaP, which contains the relevant [Addressee] feature. This feature values the logophoric feature in pronouns as [+Addressee], thus obtaining the inclusive interpretation.

(28) DiscourseP



The logophoric operator determines whether the Addressee is present in the context of speech. The nature of the Speech Act (e.g., interrogative, declarative, imperative) may also require the presence of the Addressee in its Spec position. If the logophoric operator in DiscourseP or the nature of SA values the [+Addressee] in SA, 1PL will also value this feature in CP, TP and vP (depending on the type of discourse category), accounting for its inclusive interpretation. In other words, the logophoric operator acts as a probe in search of a goal, and finds the Addressee and possible occurrences of the unspecified 1PL, valuing their feature as [+Addressee], obtaining the inclusive reading.

4.2. Further evidence for SAP

Miyagawa (2017) offers evidence for the existence of an SAP from Jingpo, a Tibeto-Burman language that exhibits allocutive agreement. In Jingpo, agreement occurs on a sentence final particle, which may establish neutral agreement with the subject (29a), but

agreement may also target the speaker, implying “bonding”, which results in 1PL agreement (29b).¹⁰

- (29) a. *Jongma du hkum m-s-ai* b. *Jongma du hkum sa-ga-ai*
 student arrive complete PL-PERF-3:DECL student arrive complete PERF-1PL-DECL
 “The students have all arrived” (Miyagawa 2017)

Agreement with the speaker in combination with the clausal subject is also exhibited in the so-called empathic 1PL in Spanish (30), which combines the reference of the event participant in [Spec, vP] (i.e., the Addressee which has become active by the directive Speech Act, an interrogative) with the reference of the Speaker, a discourse participant, in [Spec, SaP]:

- (30) *¿Cómo estamos_{S+A} hoy?* (A mother to her kid)
 “How are we today?”

This strategy is generally involved in cases where the speaker includes self as a target for agreement along with another event participant, as part of a mitigation/solidarity strategy, as a way to express politeness, as in (30):¹¹

- (31) [gossiping with a friend about a co-worker wearing an extravagant dress]
 ¡Cómo venimos_{A+S} hoy!
 “How we’re dressed today!”

Conversely, in cases of discursive strategies whereby the Speaker is augmented as group in the plural of modesty (Corbett 2000), the interpretation of 1PL is naturally exclusive, as the Speaker is the only event Participant, and an augmented Speaker gives way to exclusive interpretation in Harley & Ritter’s (2002) analysis:

- (32) *En este artículo planteamos_{S+NP} [...].*

¹⁰ Gloss key: DECL: declarative; PERF: perfective; PL: plural

¹¹ We thank Maria Cristina Cuervo and Liliana Sánchez for examples along the lines of (31).

“In this article we consider [...]”

In cases of unagreement as in (33), a DP unspecified for Person (e.g., *los lingüistas* ‘the linguists’) may trigger 1PL agreement on the verb (e.g., *vamos* ‘go:1PL’). This is possible if we assume that verb agreement takes its reference from the left-most left periphery, where the discourse Participants (e.g., the Speaker) are encoded, as seen in the analysis in (28):¹²

(33) *Los lingüistas nos vamos_{S+NP} de la sala.*

“We linguists are leaving the room.”

As a declarative in athetic sentence, the sentence in (33) would typically be interpreted as exclusive. In imperative contexts, in contrast, 1PL is necessarily interpreted as inclusive (34), as imperatives involve [+Addressee] in SA:

(34) *Vámonos_{S+A} {nosotros_{S+A} /los lingüistas_{S+A}} de la sala.}*

“Let’s/Let us linguists leave the room.”

Politeness particles (e.g., *por favor* ‘please’), associated with Speech Act, force an inclusive reading, as they are interpreted as directives:

(35) a. *¿Vamos a la fiesta?* (ambiguous)

“Are we going to the party?/Shall we go to the party?”

b. *¿Vamos a la fiesta, por favor?* (inclusive)

“Shall we go to the party, please?”

Finally, D’Alessandro (2007: 170) argues that impersonal *si* constructions in Italian bounded by temporal adverbs receive an inclusive interpretation (i.e., their reference includes the Speaker). She proposes an analysis where the discourse participants are present in a Speech Act Phrase to value the Person feature on *si*:

¹² As seen in this paper, Spanish does not mark clusivity morphologically. However, overt agreement with the Speaker as seen in (33) is morphosyntactic evidence in favor of positing a SAP in the left-most left periphery of the sentence, as the 1PL verbal agreement features cannot have been valued by the 3SG subject DP.

(36) a. *Ieri si è arrivati tardi alla stazioni.*

“Yesterday we arrived late to the station.”

b. [_{SAP} [**Speaker/Addressee**] [_{TP} [_T *si*] [_{AspP} [_{E(vent)P} *t_i*]]]]]



All the phenomena just shown illustrates how, Discourse Participants in the left-most left periphery, combine their reference with event participants as targets for Agreement, justifying the need for both SAP and DiscourseP. In the next section we explain why overt 1PL pronouns are dispreferred in out-of-the-blue contexts if their interpretation is meant as inclusive.

4.3. Consequences in informatively unmarked contexts

Thetic or sentence-focus contexts are opening conversational moves (e.g., declarative out-of-the-blue statements), that introduce both new arguments and predicates (i.e., we can't have a topic):

(37) A: Why didn't Mary come to work today?

B: Her husband is sick.

Lambrecht (2000)

The prediction is that if we use a 1PL argument, it will be obligatorily interpreted as exclusive if an overt pronoun is used and the sentence is completely out-of-the-blue, since (i) overt pronouns are either contrastive or marked topics, (ii) 1PL establishes contrast in terms of clusivity, and (iii) an overt 1PL pronoun in a thetic clause searches the context for the Person reference it needs to complete its deictic content, and the Addressee is the only Participant available from the discourse context. Hence in (38), a reply involving an overt 1PL and its default exclusive interpretation would be interpreted as odd:

(38) A: What's the plan?

B: #**Nosotros** vamos a la playa. (if intended as inclusive)

“We're going to the beach.”

5. Conclusions

It is the context that determines Person reference of 1PL in its relevant Speech Act. Information Structure does not determine Person reference, as 1PL may take either inclusive or exclusive value independently of its IS value and its null vs. overt nature.

IS also feeds from the left-most periphery to draw Person reference, as this is a relevant point of contrast in the case of 1PL. In cases of contrast, 1PL plays on the two variables available in its inner composition (i.e., the presence or absence of the Addressee). If there is no contrast with a previously established value, the pronoun may be null if intended as topic.

These facts had never been formalized before for Spanish as far as we know. This work sheds light on the 1PL reference and its relation with the left periphery. It also provides further evidence in favor of a Speech Act Phrase as necessary to capture the mechanisms by which pronouns obtain their Person reference from Discourse Participants. Overall, our analysis supports the view that discourse properties are present in the syntactic derivation (Haegeman & Hill 2013).

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