



Espinal, M.Teresa & Cyrino, Sonia. 2025. Experiencers at the syntax-pragmatics interface. The case of the *jo* 'I' – construction in Catalan. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 10(1). pp. 1–33. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.16995/glossa.17284>



Experiencers at the syntax-pragmatics interface. The case of the *jo* 'I' – construction in Catalan

M.Teresa Espinal, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, ES, Teresa.Espinal@uab.cat

Sonia Cyrino, University of Campinas, BR, & University of Lisbon, PT, cyrino@unicamp.br / scyrino@edu.ulisboa.pt

This paper aims to support the thesis that Speech Act related operators have landing sites in syntax, specifically at the syntax-pragmatics interface. In order to attain this goal, it presents the first formal analysis of a construction, dubbed the *jo* 'I' – construction, that shows an overt first person strong pronoun sitting in sentence-initial position of declarative sentences both in pro-drop and partial pro-drop languages of the Romance family. Taking Catalan as a case in point, it is shown that, prosodically, this first person strong pronoun has a particular intonation (a rising pitch accent followed by a high boundary tone). Syntactically, it corresponds not to a subject but to a (kind of) hanging topic that requires a resumptive element in the clause, while semantically it introduces a reference to the speaker who at the time of uttering the sentence is performing a subjective declaration speech act.

Glossa: a journal of general linguistics is a peer-reviewed open access journal published by the Open Library of Humanities. © 2025 The Author(s). This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC-BY 4.0), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited. See <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>.

OPEN ACCESS



utterance is due to be interpreted. Likewise, in Talmy's (1978; 2000) terms, the pronoun acts as a reference entity or Ground with respect to which an event is described (Espinal 2011: 73).

This construction, in which the first person strong pronoun corresponds to a non-integrated prosodic unit (graphically represented by an upward arrow), should not be confused with several other constructions in which (i) the pronoun *jo* 'I' is intonationally integrated into the sentence and corresponds to the subject of a propositional attitude predicate or a psychological verb (2) (note that the subject can be null); (ii) *jo* 'I' is in contrastive topic position and can be replaced by other pronouns and DPs (3); and (iii) the pronoun *jo* 'I' is in sentence-final position and conveys a strengthening effect over a proposition *p* (4).²

- (2) a. (Jo) crec que no vindré.
I believe.1PSG that not come.1PSG
'I think I'm not going to come.'
- b. (Nosaltres) ho veiem molt negre tot plegat.
we it.NEUT see.1PPL very black everything joined
'Altogether the situation looks very bad to us.'
- (3) I {jo, ell, vostè, la meva filla}, cal que porti mascareta?
And I he you the my daughter need that wear.{1PSG/3PSG} mask
'And should {I, he, you, my daughter} wear a mask?'
- (4) a. Crec que no vindré jo.
believe.1PSG that not come.1PSG I
'I strongly believe I'm not coming.'
- b. Ho veiem molt negre tot plegat nosaltres.
it.NEUT see.1PPL very black everything joined we
'Altogether WE strongly believe that the situation looks very bad.'

From a prosodic perspective it is important to highlight that the examples in (1) differ from the ones in (2) – (4) in that the first person strong pronoun has a special intonation, with a rising pitch accent on the stressed syllable followed by a high boundary tone (L+H* H%).³ See

² See McCready's (2009; 2012) studies on the contrast between sentence-initial use and sentence-final use of the particle *man* in English.

³ An additional difference between (1) and (2) at Spell-Out is the activation of phonological processes such as vowel deletion for initial schwa or gliding for an initial back close vowel. As the following examples illustrate, vowel deletion of the initial schwa applies only in (ib) and gliding in (iib).

- (i) a. *Jo*↑, espero ... ['ʒəəs'peru...]
I hope
b. *Jo* espero ... [ʒəs'peru...]
I hope

the graphs in Figures 1 and 2, which show the F0 contours of the sentences in (1a) and (2a), respectively, as produced by a native speaker of Catalan.⁴

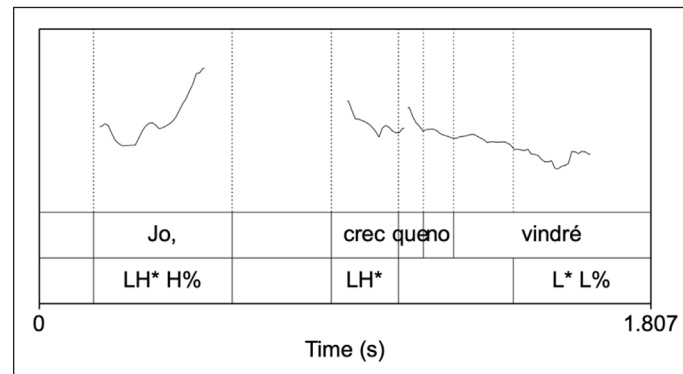


Figure 1: Intonation contour of the Catalan utterance in (1a). The first person strong pronoun is marked by a rising LH* pitch accent followed by a high H% boundary tone and a pause. The hanging topic is clearly uttered as an independent intonational phrase. The main clause is uttered as a canonical statement sentence, with a pre-nuclear rising LH* pitch accent aligned with the verb of the main clause, followed by a nuclear low L* pitch accent aligned with the verb of the subordinate clause and an L% boundary tone.

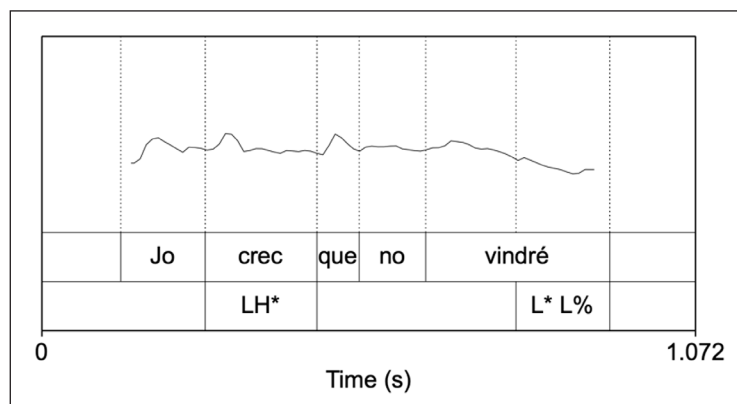


Figure 2: Intonation contour of the Catalan utterance in (2a). In a canonical declarative sentence, the pronoun is deaccented. The pre-nuclear rising LH* pitch accent falls on the verb of the main clause, followed by a nuclear low L* pitch accent aligned with the verb of the subordinate clause and an L% boundary tone.

-
- (ii) a. *Jo*↑, opino ... [ˈʒuˈpinu...]
 I think
 b. *Jo* opino ... [ʒwˈpinu...]
 I think

⁴ We thank F. Torres-Tamarit for discussion on the intonational differences between (1a) and (2a), and for providing us Figures 1 and 2.

The main goal of this study is to analyze the structure and meaning of the *jo*-construction as exemplified in (1). In Section 2 we focus on the syntactic properties of *jo*↑, given that both pro-drop languages and partial pro-drop languages allow null subjects. Therefore, the relevant question that we try to answer in Section 2 is what the syntactic status of *jo*↑ / *nosaltres*↑ is. We review the reasons why the first person strong pronoun can neither be considered a subject, nor the subject of a double subject construction (Duarte 1995; Kato 1999). In so doing we also review how *jo*↑ differs from quirky subjects and from what look like third person expletive subjects and topics in Romance. This section ends by presenting several arguments that support the hypothesis that *jo*↑ is a (kind of) hanging topic.

In Section 3 we move to the semantic properties of the *jo*-construction. We show that (i) *jo*↑ introduces a subjective sentence; (ii) *jo*↑ refers to a non-selected experiencer, the speaker, that introduces a subjective declaration speech act; (iii) *jo*↑ can be instantiated as a judge in the periphery of the sentence; and (iv) *jo*↑ appears to contribute to / constrain the not-at-issue content as well as the at-issue meaning, since on the one hand its presence is the indicator that what follows is a special kind of declaration and, on the other, its presence requires a resumptive element inside the clause, exactly like other hanging topics.

In Section 4 we present a formal analysis of the *jo*-construction based on a model of the syntax-pragmatics interface that postulates several layers of illocutionary force (Krifka 2019; 2023; 2024a; 2024b). In accordance with this model, we explain how all these syntactic and semantic properties follow. In that way, we aim to support the thesis that heads of Speech Act related operators are represented in syntax, specifically at the left periphery where the syntactization of speech acts is commonly assumed to take place (Ross 1970; Speas & Tenny 2003), thus showing that the study of the *jo*-construction is relevant for the research on the syntax-information structure interface and pragmatics in general.

2 The syntax of the *jo*-construction

In this section, we first show that, syntactically, the first person strong pronoun in the *jo*-construction is not a subject but rather a (kind of) hanging topic. In Section 2.1 we present the core properties of this construction and show how they differ from other close constructions. We argue that the sentence-initial pronoun in the examples in (1) is distinct from the subject of double subject constructions (Duarte 1995; Kato 1999), from the so-called *quirky* subjects in Romance and from the third person strong expletive pronouns also described in various Romance languages. In Section 2.2, after reviewing the properties postulated for hanging topics (Cinque 1997), we argue that, syntactically, *jo*↑ is a (kind of) hanging topic and we point out that the construction is only possible with a resumptive element in the clause linked to *jo*↑ / *nosaltres*↑.

2.1 *Jo*↑ is not a subject

First, we focus on the non-subject status of *jo*. Catalan is a null subject language, and as such it allows subjects not to be pronounced, and be syntactically represented by a null pronoun *pro*. Alternatively, the subject may also be overt. The two possibilities of example (2a) are illustrated in (5a, b).⁵

- (5) a. *pro* crec que no vindré.
 pro believe.1PSG that not come.1PSG
 ‘(I) think I’m not going to come.’
- b. *Jo* crec que no vindré.
 I believe.1PSG that not come.1PSG
 ‘I think I’m not going to come.’

The status of *jo*↑ in *jo*-constructions is different from subject *jo* because it may show up even in a left peripheral position of an impersonal existential sentence, such as (6a). In this example it is the null subject in the subordinate clause, whose first person feature is expressed in the verbal morphology, that resumes *jo*↑, as shown in (6b).

- (6) a. *Jo*↑, hi ha gent que no l’entenc.
 I there has.3PSG people that not CL.3PSG-understand.1PSG
- b. *Jo*↑, hi ha gent que *pro* no l’entenc.
 I there has.3PSG people that not CL.3PSG-understand.1PSG
 ‘There are people that I don’t understand.’

Jo↑ in *jo*-constructions may also co-occur with an overt first person subject (7). However, recall from section 1, that the first *jo*↑ has comma intonation, while the second *jo* has an integrated intonation:

- (7) a. *Jo*↑, *jo* crec que no vindré.
 I I believe.1PSG that not come.1PSG
 ‘I think I’m not going to come.’
- b. *Jo*↑, *jo* ho veig molt negre tot plegat.
 I I it.NEUT see.1PSG very black everything joined
 ‘Altogether the situation looks very bad to me.’

The examples in (7) remind us of the so-called “double subject” construction (Duarte 1995; Kato 1999; Costa et al. 2004; Costa 2010; a.o.), which has been postulated in Brazilian Portuguese. In

⁵ See Rigau (1988) for the initial proposal that a sentence such as (ia) with a strong pronoun in nominative case should be analyzed as in (ib), where *jo* occupies a peripheral position distinct from the subject one.

- (i) a. *Jo* estimo la Maria.
 I love the Maria
 ‘I love Maria.’
- b. [_s *Jo*_i [_s *pro*_i INFL estimo la Maria]]

(8), we show that a resumed subject may occur with left-peripheral DPs – nominals, pronouns or quantifiers – that have an integrated intonation with the clause.⁶

- (8) a. [*O Mario*]_i *ele*_i *saiu cedo esta manhã.* (Brazilian Portuguese)
 the Mario he left early this morning
 ‘Mario left early this morning.’
- b. [*A incompetência*]_i *ela*_i *é de caráter nacional.*
 the incompetence it is of character national
 ‘Incompetence is at a national level.’
- c. [*Você*]_i *cê*_i *sempre fala isso.*
 you you always say that
 ‘You always say that.’
- d. [*Toda criança*]_i *ela*_i *aprende rápido a gostar de coca-cola.*
 every child she learns quickly to like of coca-cola
 ‘All children quickly learn to enjoy coke.’

It should be noted that in sharp contrast with the examples in (8), double subject constructions in Brazilian Portuguese are rare when a first person pronoun is resumed (Costa et al. 2004). However, examples are easily found in oral speech (9a), and even on the internet (9b), from a post at a site dedicated to complaints.

- (9) a. *Eu*↑, *eu não quero nada disso.* (Brazilian Portuguese)
 I I not want.1PSG nothing of-this
 ‘I don’t want any of this.’
- b. Então *eu eu acho isso um absurdo de uma empresa que se chama*
 then I I think that an absurdity of an enterprise that se.CL call
 Santander fazer essa covardia com cliente
 Santander do this cowardice with client
 ‘I think it’s outrageous that an enterprise that calls itself Santander to act so cowardly with clients.’
[\(https://www.reclameaqui.com.br/santander/entao-eu-eu-acho-isso-um-absurdo-de-uma-empresa-que-se-chama-santander-faze_RPieI8wx6Q555YZb/\)](https://www.reclameaqui.com.br/santander/entao-eu-eu-acho-isso-um-absurdo-de-uma-empresa-que-se-chama-santander-faze_RPieI8wx6Q555YZb/)
 Accessed on 08-07-24.

⁶ Duarte (1995) shows that these constructions look like Left Dislocation, but she remarks that this phenomenon is exclusively found in non-pro-drop languages like French. Interestingly, Duarte (1995: 103–104) reports the findings of Barnes (1985), who used a recorded corpus of oral conversation of French and showed that the construction occurs in informal speech:

- (i) *Nancy elle aimairait beaucoup ça.*
 Nancy she would-love a lot this
 ‘Nancy would love this a lot.’ (Barnes 1985: 33, ex. (30))

This construction has never been separately studied, since the literature on Brazilian Portuguese focuses on the double subject construction in (8). However, notice that the examples in (9) (see also footnote 1, ex. (ic)) need a special intonation on *eu*↑ ‘I’ in initial position, differently from what happens in double subject constructions. The Brazilian Portuguese examples in (10), as well as the Catalan sentences in (11), show that *eu*↑ / *jo*↑ may occur without a double subject, from which we conclude that the strong pronoun heads a different construction.

- (10) a. *Eu*↑, tem gente que *me* faz sentir mal.
 I has people that me make feel bad
 ‘There are people who makes me feel bad.’
- b. *Eu*↑, parece que *eu* não irei.
 I seems that I not go.1PSG
 ‘It seems I’m not going.’
- (11) a. *Jo*↑, hi ha gent que *em* fa sentir malament.
 I there has.3PSG people that me makes.3PSG feel bad
 ‘There are people that make me feel bad.’
- b. *Jo*↑, sembla que no podré venir.
 I seems that not be.able.1PSG come
 ‘It seems that I will not be able to come.’

At the time of characterizing the core properties of the *jo*-construction, it must also be pointed out that *jo*↑ differs also from so-called “quirky subjects” (Sigurdsson 1992). In Romance, quirky subjects are dative (12a) or locative (12b) (Belletti & Rizzi 1988; Masullo 1993; Fernández-Soriano 1999; Rigau 1999), and it is this dative or locative subject that is assumed to satisfy the EPP feature of Tense. A sentence that contains both the dative and the locative subjects is ungrammatical (12c), thus suggesting that the dative and locative compete for the same subject position. The dative clitic subject *em* can be doubled with *a mi* (12d) (Demonte 1995), and it can even combine with *jo*↑ (12e), which has a default nominative case, thus supporting once more the conclusion that the peripheral first person strong pronoun is not a subject.

- (12) a. *Em* falta cafè.
 me misses.3PSG coffee
 ‘I’m missing coffee.’
- b. *Aquí* falta cafè.
 here misses.3PSG coffee
 ‘Coffee is missing here.’
- c. ^{??/*}*Aquí em* falta cafè.
 here me misses.3PSG coffee

- d. *A mi, em falta café.*
 to me me misses.3PSG coffee
 ‘I’m missing coffee.’
- e. *Jo↑, a mi em falta café.*
 I to me me misses.3PSG coffee
 ‘I’m missing coffee.’

Before we close this section we may also consider the extent to which *jo↑* could be conceived an expletive subject or topic similar to third person strong pronouns used for purely pragmatic purposes. Thus, the pronoun *ele* in European Portuguese is hypothesized as being an expletive element that lexicalizes Force Phrase and, interestingly, can precede an overt first person singular pronoun.

- (13) *Ele eu gosto de socorrer as pessoas!*
 it I like.1PSG of help the people
 ‘I like to help people!’ (Carrilho 2008: 2, ex. (1))

Similarly, the pronoun *ell* in Majorcan Catalan and the pronoun *ello* in Dominican Spanish have been claimed to be used as exclamative particles and discourse markers, respectively.

- (14) a. *¡Ell ha de ploure un dia o altre!*
 it must of rain one day or other
 ‘It is going to have to rain one of these days!’ (Todolí 2002: 1371, ex. (32a))
- b. *Ello hay muchos mangos este año.*
 it has.there many mangos this year
 ‘This year there are many mangos.’ (Hinzelin & Kayser 2007: 177, ex. (b))

These expletive items share with *jo↑* the fact that they are not obligatory but differ in that *jo↑* (i) requires a resumptive item in the clause, (ii) is excluded with meteorological verbs, (iii) and does not precede assertions, but rather declarations, as argued in Section 3.

2.2 *Jo↑* is a (kind of) hanging topic

In this section we show that *jo↑* in the *jo*-construction is a (kind of) hanging topic, since on the one hand it fulfills the properties attributed to hanging topics in general, but on the other hand it is restricted to first person. The *jo*-construction shares syntactic properties with hanging topics, but not necessarily their interpretive properties.

Hanging topics have several distinguishing properties that have been pointed out by Cinque (1997: 96; see also Cinque 1990).

- (15) a. The lefthand phrase can be of category DP only.
 b. There may be at most one lefthand phrase.
 c. The left-hand phrase occurs typically to the left of a “root” S.
 d. The “resumptive element” can be a “pronominal” noun (or epithet, like *that poor guy*) or an ordinary pronoun, either stressed or clitic.
 e. There is no connectedness between the left-hand phrase and the resumptive element (in terms of case-matching, etc.).
 f. The relation between the left-hand phrase and the resumptive element is not sensitive to island constraints.

The properties in (15a, c) apply to *jo*-construction directly. The *jo*-construction also complies with line (15b). In fact, hanging topics normally cannot be iterated but can be combined with left-dislocated topics, and they are always higher (Benincà & Poletto 2004; López 2016; Catasso 2022). Consider the Catalan example in (16), where *en Joan* is a hanging topic and *de llibres* is a left-dislocated topic.⁷

- (16) ?(A) *en Joan, de llibres, la Maria n’ha regalat molts a ell.*
 to D Joan de books the Maria CL.has given many to him
 ‘Maria has given many books to him.’

Likewise, *jo*↑ precedes so-called scene setting adverbs and left-dislocated topic constituents, if they are present, as illustrated in (17).⁸

- (17) a. *Jo*↑, *aquest semestre, a la universitat, em preocupa que no em contractin.*
 I this semester at the university me worries that not me hire.SUBJ3PPL
 ‘This semester, at the university, I’m concerned that they do not hire me.’
 b. ??/**Aquest semestre, jo*↑, *a la universitat, em preocupa que no em contractin.*
 this semester I at the university me worries that not me
 hire.SUBJ3PPL

Concerning resumption (15d), the literature (Cinque 1990; Benincà & Poletto 2004; López 2016; a.o.) points out that hanging topics require a resumptive item in the clause. Likewise, the *jo*-construction requires an element in the sentence that resumes the first person in the left periphery. Besides resumption by a pronoun, which may also have a specifier *a mi* (18a) or a PP *per mi* (dubbed an attitude-holder or opinion-holder; Bosse et al. 2012; Bylinina 2017) (18b), the expression of this resumption can be in the form of a null subject *pro* and be instantiated by means of morphological marking on the verb (*-o* in *marxo* ‘I leave’) (18c). See also the examples in (1), (6) and (7) above.

⁷ See Espinal and Giusti (2024) for discussion of the claim that, unlike Italian, Catalan tends to rule out hanging topic structures without an overt marker (e.g., *a* ‘to’ in (16)).

⁸ We thank a reviewer for this minimal pair.

- (18) a. $Jo_i\uparrow$, (*a mi_i*) em_i preocupa que les coses no rutllin.
 I to me.1PSG me.1PSG worry.3PSG that the things not work.3PPL
 ‘I get worried when things don’t work.’
- b. $Jo_i\uparrow$, *per mi_i*, hi ha gent que és imbècil.
 I for me there has people that is idiot
 ‘In my opinion there are people who are idiots.’
- c. $Jo_i\uparrow$, pro_i marxo_i a fer el doctorat a l’estranger.
 I leave.1PSG to do the doctorate at the-abroad
 ‘I’ll leave to do the doctorate abroad.’

If there is neither a verbal first person agreement morphology nor an overt first person pronoun, the *jo*-construction is discarded. See the minimal pairs in (19) and (20).

- (19) a. $*Jo_i\uparrow$, sembla que arribaràs tard.
 I seems.3PSG that arrive.FUT.2PSG late
- b. $Jo_i\uparrow$, sembla que pro_i arribaré_i tard.
 I seems. 3PSG that arrive.FUT.1PSG late
 ‘It seems I’ll arrive late.’
- (20) a. $*Jo_i\uparrow$, en Joan et trobarà a casa.
 I D Joan CL.2PSG meet.FUT.3PSG at home
- b. $Jo_i\uparrow$, en Joan em_i trobarà a casa.
 I D Joan CL.1PSG meet.FUT.3PSG at home
 ‘Joan will find me at home.’

Importantly, number agreement is not crucial, as we can also have plural first person resumption.

- (21) a. $Jo_i\uparrow$, sembla que pro_i som_i molt intel·ligents.
 I seems.3PSG that be.1PPL very intelligent
 ‘It seems that we are very intelligent.’
- b. $Jo_i\uparrow$, ens_i fas sentir bé.
 I CL.1PPL do.2PSG feel good
 ‘You make us feel good.’

There is an apparent exception to that restriction, however. Unlike clitic pronouns (e.g., the dative *em* in (22a)), possessive determiners bearing first person features cannot serve as the resumptive element in the clause, no matter whether the possessive appears in preverbal or in postverbal position, (22b, c).

- (22) a. $Jo_i\uparrow$, se $m’ha$ espatllat l’ordinador.
 I 3PSG.CL CL.1PSG-has broken the-computer
 ‘My computer broke down on me.’

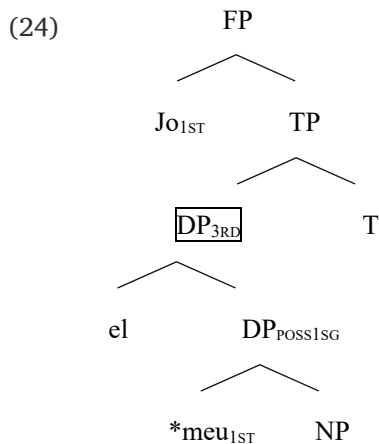
- b. **Jo*↑, [el *meu* ordenador] s'ha espatllat.
 I the POSS.1PSG computer CL-has broken
- c. **Jo*↑, s'ha espatllat [el *meu* ordenador].
 I CL-has broken the POSS.1PSG computer

As pointed out by a reviewer the difference illustrated in these examples is that whereas (22a) is interpreted as a statement about the speaker, (22b, c) are statements about the speaker's computer. However, regrettably, this semantic difference does not explain the ungrammaticality of (22b, c).

We consider that the impossibility of (22b, c) is due to the fact that *meu* is embedded in a DP whose phi-features do not agree in person with *jo*↑. Therefore, we postulate that the ungrammaticality of these examples arises because of the A-over-A principle (Chomsky 1964), which states that if a rule ambiguously refers to A in a structure of the form of (23), the rule must apply to the higher, more inclusive, node (marked with a box).

(23) ...[A]...[A...]

This principle rules out *meu* as a potential pronoun to resume *jo*↑. Since the highest DP projection bears third person, according to the A-over-A principle the embedded DP bearing the first person pronoun is not available to fulfill the requirement for *jo*↑ resumption. See the simplified structure in (24).⁹



Crucially, it must be emphasized once again that *jo*↑ is a *kind* of hanging topic – that is, its peculiarity is related to being first person singular, whereas hanging topics are tacitly assumed in

⁹ There have been some recent works that show that certain syntactic operations in Hindi (Keyne 2017) and in Georgian (Thivierge 2021) also obey the A-over-A principle (see also Rackowski & Richards 2005; Halpert 2019).

the literature to be third person DPs (Cinque 1997; López 2016; a.o.) and, hence, are not subject to the A-over-A principle.¹⁰

Concerning case-matching (15e), it has been claimed in the literature that hanging topics do not generally agree in case (see also López 2016). These constituents take a default case marking, which in Catalan (like in Italian, Portuguese and Spanish) is nominative (Kato 1999; Schütze 2001; Villa-García 2023).¹¹ This notwithstanding, notice that the strong pronoun with default case can be coindexed not only with a default nominative subject (as in (7), (9), (10b)), but also with a pronoun in accusative or dative case inside the sentence, as illustrated in (10a), (11a), (12e) and in (25).

- (25) *Jo*↑, *em* sembla que *em* quedo a casa.
 I me looks-like.3PSG that me remain.1PSG at home
 ‘I think I’m going to stay home.’

Concerning islandhood (15f), it has been claimed that hanging topics are not sensitive to islands (Cinque 1997; Villa-Garcia 2023). In other words, unlike what happens in the case of sequences

¹⁰ Consider (i), where the resumption of the hanging topic by means of a third person DP is not subject to the A-over-A principle.

- (i) En Joan, [el *seu* ordinador] s’ha espatllat.
 D Joan the POSS.3PSG computer CL-has broken
 ‘John, his computer broke down’.

Hanging topics may be first person plural, as in the example below:

- (ii) Tu i jo, (nosaltres) treballem molt.
 you and I we work.1PPL a lot
 ‘You and I, we work a lot.’

However, notice that a sentence with a first person plural hanging topic as in (iii) is also ruled out by the A-over-A principle, since the first person plural possessive is precluded from referring to the hanging topic due to the intervening third person DP.

- (iii) *[Tu i jo]_{1pl}, [el_{DP3rd} els nostres]_{1pl} ordinadors] s’han espatllat.
 you and I the our computers CL-have broken

¹¹ Default case (Schütze 2001) is the form that pronouns take in elliptical contexts and in postcopular position: nominative (Catalan, Spanish, Italian, Brazilian Portuguese), accusative (English), and oblique / dative (French).

- (i) Q. Who wants to try this game?
 R. Jo / Yo / Io / Eu.
 Me.
 Moi.
- (ii) a. Sóc jo / Soy yo / Sono io / Sou eu.
 b. It’s me.
 c. C’est je. > C’est moi. (Hatcher 1948).

containing movement, this restriction does not apply to the *jo*-construction in strong islands such as the Coordinate Structure Constraint, as illustrated in (26) (or the Complex DP Constraint, illustrated in (10a) and (11a)). In fact, the contrast in (26) shows the possibility of a resumptive pronoun occurring in a *jo*-construction (26a), as opposed to a Left Dislocation construction (26b), in which there is leftward movement.

- (26) a. *Jo*↑, l'examen *ens* ha sortit malament a mi i a ella.
 I the-exam CL.1PPL has exited badly to me and to her
 'Neither she nor I felt we did well in the test.'
- b. *A *mi* l'examen *ens* ha sortit malament i a ella.
 to me the-exam CL.1PPL has exited badly and to her
 (adapted from Villa-García 2023: 274, exs. (18a, b))

In sum, in this section we have argued that *jo*↑ in the *jo*-construction introduces a (kind of) hanging topic. While *jo*↑ obeys the properties in (15), it should be highlighted that, unlike regular hanging topics, the *jo*-construction only introduces a first person strong pronoun at the highest left periphery position, resumed by an item (a first person null or overt strong pronoun or a weak pronoun), inside the co-occurring sentence.

3 The semantics of the *jo*-construction

In this section we focus on the core semantic properties that characterize the construction here under study. First, we show that *jo*↑ introduces a *subjective* statement by means of which an experiencer (Bylinina 2017), instantiated as the speaker, is performing a speech act. Subjective statements introduced by *jo*↑ are argued to be distinct from subjective sentences containing predicates of personal taste and psychological predicates: whereas in the *jo*-construction the experiencer is the speaker (which can be resumed by a first person *judge*; i.e. the individual on which the evaluation of *p* depends), in constructions with verbs of personal taste and the like the judge is expressed by first, second or third person pronouns, or even by full DPs. Second, we show that such subjective statements differ from sentences containing sentence topics followed by assertions (Reinhart 1981), in that only the latter add propositions to the context set of propositions accepted as true in a given discourse. Third, we show that *jo*↑ introduces an act of declaration, in the sense that the speaker at the time of uttering this construction is performing a *subjective* declaration speech act (cf. Krifka 2023; 2024a; 2024b). Finally, sentences preceded by *jo*↑ are shown to introduce an interpretive puzzle, since they appear to contribute to both the not-at-issue and the at-issue contents. The solution to this puzzle will come in Section 4.

3.1 Experiencers: speakers and judges

We here show that sentences preceded by *jo*↑ are distinct from sentences containing predicates of personal taste (as well as psychological predicates and verbs of propositional attitude). We show

that, while the experiencer of the *jo*-construction can have multiple roles, as speaker (*jo*↑ ‘I’) and judge (the resumptive overt subject *jo* ‘I’, the opinion-holder PP *per mi* ‘as for me’, or the double dative *a mi* ‘to me’), and must be animate or sentient, the judge of predicates of personal taste (and the like) does not have to be.

First, consider the incompatibility of *jo*↑ with so-called predicates of personal taste (e.g., *fun*, *tasty*; Lasersohn 2005: 643, adapted from ex. (1)).¹²

- (27) a. Les muntanyes russes són divertides.
the.PL mountain.PL Russian.PL are fun.PL
‘Roller coasters are fun.’
- b. {Per mi, per tu, per als visitants, per a l’ajuntament}, les muntanyes
for me for you for the.PL visitors for the-townhall the.PL mountain.PL
russes són divertides.
Russian.PL are fun.PL
‘{For me, for you, for the visitors, for the townhall}, roller coasters are fun.’
- c. **Jo*↑, les muntanyes russes són divertides.
- d. *Jo*↑, les muntanyes russes em diverteixen.
I the.PL mountain.PL Russian.PL CL.1PSG amuse.3PPL
‘Roller coasters amuse me.’

Example (27b) shows that opinion-holders (i.e., ‘judge’ PPs) can be second and third person nominal expressions. Thus, while the expressions *per mi* / *per tu* / *per als visitants* / *per a l’ajuntament* introduce an individual parameter (the judge) with respect to which the truth of the sentence is evaluated and relativized, *jo*↑ is not a mere instantiation of the judge. The contribution of *jo*↑ is higher than the levels where the truth of *p* is evaluated. Furthermore, (27c) shows explicitly that, even though one might infer that it is the speaker of the utterance ‘Roller coasters are fun’ in a specific context who finds roller coasters fun, an explicit instantiation of the first person inside the sentence (i.e., the clitic *em* ‘me’) is required to make the sequence well-formed, as illustrated in (27d).

A similar paradigm is illustrated in (28) with an adjectival predicate of the ‘tasty’ class. The ill-formedness of (28c) is due to the absence of a first person element to resume *jo*↑, a problem solved in (28d) by a first person affix on the verb and in (28e) by a first person clitic affixed to a psychological verb.

- (28) a. Aquesta cervesa és deliciosa.
this beer is delicious
‘This beer is delicious.’

¹² Lasersohn (2005) adds a *judge* to the index of evaluation of a sentence, which becomes a triple $\langle w, t, j \rangle$. See Stephenson (2007) for an extension of Lasersohn’s system to epistemic modals and Saebø (2009) for an extension to propositional attitude verbs. See Bylinina (2017) for an analysis of judge PPs as experiencer arguments of predicates of personal taste.

- b. {A mi, em; a la meva parella, li} sembla que aquesta cervesa
to me CL.1PSG.CL to the my partner CL.3PSG seems that this beer
és deliciosa.
is delicious
'{To me, to my partner} it seems that this beer is delicious.'
- c. **Jo*↑, aquesta cervesa és deliciosa.
- d. *Jo*_i↑, *pro*_i trobo_i deliciosa aquesta cervesa.
I find.1PSG delicious this beer
'I find this beer to be delicious.'
- e. *Jo*_i↑, *m*_i'agrada aquesta cervesa.
I me.like.3PSG this beer
'I like this beer.'

The conclusion is that *jo*↑, as an instantiation of the speaker, can combine with verbs of personal taste only when inside the sentence there is a resumptive item instantiating a first person judge.

3.2 *Jo*↑ is incompatible with assertions

In Section 2.2 we argued that *jo*↑ is a kind of hanging topic. Here we show that hanging topics differ from sentence topics (the overt subject pronoun *jo* 'I', the opinion-holder *per mi* 'as for me', and the quirky subject *em* 'me' of psychological verbs) in that sentence topics precede assertions, correspond to topics of declarative sentences (used as assertions), and introduce a relation between an argument and a proposition relative to a context (Reinhart 1981). Consider the discourse in (29):

- (29) A. Que hi ha cerveses a la nevera?
that there has beers in the fridge
'Are there any beers in the fridge?'
- B. *Jo* he estat treballant tota la tarda.
I have been working whole the afternoon
'I've been working the whole afternoon.' (Payrató 1996: 46, exs. (14)–(15))

By uttering (29B) the speaker makes an assertion from which the proposition that they do not know whether there are any beers left in the fridge should be inferred. In (29B) *jo* is a sentence topic that precedes a new assertion: a proposition to be added to the context set of a given discourse (Stalnaker 1978). In this sense sentence topics combine with assertions that add information about what is the matter of current interest or concern and can be analyzed in terms of truth conditions.

The use of *jo*↑ instead of *jo* in (29B) would be inappropriate, since this subjective statement would not satisfy the informative requirements of the conversational exchange initiated by the

question in (29A). Therefore, the hypothesis we postulate is that by means of the *jo*-construction the speaker is performing an act of declaration, although of a specific kind – as we argue, which may be hidden.

Most commonly, declarations differ from assertions in that they have no truth value (Krifka 2024b: 56). To illustrate this claim, consider the conversational exchanges in (30) and (31). While (30A) introduces an assertion with respect to which a reaction such as *That's not true* is acceptable, (31A) does not allow a similar reaction.¹³

- (30) A. Em sembla que no vindré.
 me seems that not come.1PSG
 'I think I will not come.'
- B. Això no és veritat. Saps perfectament que vindràs.
 that not is true know perfectly that come.2PSG
 'That's not true. You know you will come.'
- (31) A. *Jo*↑, em sembla que no vindré.
 I me seems that not come.1PSG
 'I think I will not come.'
- B. #Això no és veritat.
 that not is true
- B'. Això no pot ser. Hauries de venir.
 that not can be should.2PSG of come
 'That can't be the case. You should come.'

These examples show that while (30A) can be falsified, (31A) cannot. Against (31A) the addressee can only express disagreement (31B'), by means of which the interlocutor's declaration is rejected. Thus, (30A) differs significantly from (31A). The *jo*-construction introduces a declaration speech act, which directly changes a situation once it has been uttered. This is possible because the speaker creates a new fact by their utterance, and crucially the contribution of *jo*↑ is at a level of representation higher than the levels where the truth of *p* is evaluated.

The hypothesis that the *jo*-construction serves the speaker to perform an act of declaration conveys the prediction that the speaker does not make any public commitment to the truth of *p*, since declarations differ from assertions in that they do not convey the social commitment characteristic of assertions (Krifka 2024b). Evidence supporting this claim is provided by the incompatibility of *jo*↑ with expressions that appear to modify the commitment to the truth of *p*, such as: *veritablement* 'truly', *vertaderament* 'truthfully', *de veritat* 'for real', *positivament*

¹³ From this point on in the text, we do not represent the resumptive null pronoun *pro*, whose first person is morphologically expressed on the verb in sentences as (31A), but we assume the analysis presented in the previous sections.

‘positively’, *sens dubte* ‘no doubt’, *amb certesa* ‘with certainty’. Consider the data in (32), which exemplify that what the speaker adds to the common ground by means of the *jo*-construction is not a contribution to the truth-conditions of the sentence.

- (32) a. *Veritablement*, hi ha gent que no l’entenc.
truly there has.3PSG people that not CL.3PSG-understand.1PSG
‘Truly, there are people that I don’t understand.’
- b. *Jo*↑, hi ha gent que no l’entenc.
I there has.3PSG people that not CL.3PSG-understand.1PSG
- c. **Jo*↑, *veritablement* hi ha gent que no l’entenc.¹⁴
I truly there has.3PSG people that not CL.3PSG-understand.1PSG

Likewise, the *jo*-construction is incompatible with exclamatives, the reason being that exclamatives introduce a commitment to a psychological state *s* (of surprise or annoyance) with respect to *p* (Villalba 2024).¹⁵ Notice that the exclamative in (33a) contains a first person judge PP. Therefore, the ill-formedness of (33b) must be due to the incompatibility between *jo*↑ and exclamatives.

- (33) a. Que car que és aquest cotxe *per mi*!
that expensive that is this car to me
‘How expensive is this car to me!’
- b. **Jo*↑, que car que és aquest cotxe *per mi*!
I that expensive that is this car to me

¹⁴ It is interesting to observe the contrast between example (32c) in the main text and (i) with a sentence-final *jo*, which strengthens the commitment of the speaker with respect to *p*. See McCready’s (2009; 2012) strengthening effect of sentence-final *man* in English.

- (i) *Veritablement*, hi ha gent que no l’entenc *jo*.
truly there has people that not CL.3PSG-understand.1PSG I
‘Truly, there are people that I don’t understand.’

Note also that whereas opinion-holders (e.g., *per mi* ‘for me’) are compatible both with *jo*↑ and with commitment modifiers (ii a,b), the sequence in (ii c) is ill-formed, reinforcing once more the claim that *jo*-constructions are incompatible with statements that are assertions.

- (ii) a. *Certament, per mi*, aquest hotel és massa car.
certainly for me this hotel is too expensive
‘Certainly, for me, this hotel is too expensive.’
- b. *Jo*↑, *per mi*, aquest hotel és massa car.
I for me this hotel is too expensive
‘This hotel is very expensive.’
- c. **Jo*↑, *certament, per mi*, aquest hotel és massa car.

¹⁵ See also Trotzke and Giannakidou (2024) for discussion of the claim that emotive content is what *wh*-exclamatives assert.

Two caveats are in order here. First, from a crosslinguistic perspective it is unclear which modifiers are precisely commitment modifiers. Thus, while German *sicherlich* ‘certainly’ is analyzed as a judgment modifier in Krifka (2023), the data in (32) apply equally to Catalan *amb certesa / certament* ‘certainly’, thus suggesting that these expressions are commitment modifiers: ‘it is certain that *p*’.

Second, while according to Krifka (2024b) declarations are claimed not to allow for epistemic and evidential modifiers, (34) shows that the Catalan *jo*-construction is compatible with judgment (epistemic, evidential, evaluative) modifiers.

- (34) *Jo*↑, {*possiblement, evidentment, afortunadament*}, (*jo*) marxo a fer el doctorat
 I possibly obviously fortunately I leave.1PSG to do the doctorate
 a l’estranger.
 at the-abroad
 ‘{Possibly, obviously, fortunately}, I’ll leave to do my doctorate abroad.’

To sum up, in this section we have argued that *jo*-constructions differ from assertions in that they cannot be evaluated for truth and they resemble declarations in not allowing commitment modifiers. However, in contrast to Krifka’s (2024a; 2024b) analysis of declarations, *jo*-constructions admit judgment modifiers; *jo*-constructions are incompatible with certainty operators but are compatible with operators that express the speaker’s uncertainty towards *p*, which suggests that in their act of declaration the speaker declares that *p* is a fact relative to the worlds they know.

3.3 *Jo*↑ introduces an act of subjective declaration

Semantically speaking, although most commonly no explicit performative is expressed by means of the *jo*-construction, *jo*↑ always introduces a declaration speech act at the time of the utterance act itself (Krifka 2023; 2024a; 2024b), no matter whether a performative predicate DECLARE is overt, as illustrated in (35), or covert.

- (35) *Jo*↑, per aquest mitjà, *et declaro* el meu legítim hereu.
 I by this means you declare.1PSG the my rightful heir
 ‘I, hereby, declare you my rightful heir.’

The act of uttering (35) is an act of declaration because by means of it the speaker does not merely say something but enforces an index change at the time of uttering the sentence (Szabolcsi 1982); the speaker declares *p* and has the authority to perform that change. Most importantly, this is the case whenever *jo*↑ precedes an utterance, even in the absence of an explicit performative, as illustrated in all the examples presented so far.

Jo↑ is the instantiation of a hanging topic projection whose head encodes an indexical feature [spk] (for speaker) that constrains the interpretation of the co-occurring statement as a

declaration of the speaker's subjective point of view. Therefore, as expected, in a *jo*-construction *jo*↑ is compatible with and must precede speaker-oriented modifiers (Schreiber 1972), whereas in regular assertions the adverb must precede the subject. This property follows from the hypothesis that speaker-oriented adverbs modify the speech act layer, whereas the contribution of *jo*↑ is at a higher hanging topic projection. Consider the minimal pair in (36).

- (36) a. *Jo*↑, *personalment*, espero que siguem més solidaris.
 I personally hope.1PSG that be.SUBJ1PPL more supportive
 'Personally, I hope that we become more supportive.'
- b. *Personalment*, *jo* espero que siguem més solidaris.
 personally I hope.1PSG that be.SUBJ1PPL more supportive
 'Personally, I hope that we become more supportive.'

In (36b) the strong pronoun *jo* is not any longer a hanging topic but corresponds to an overt subject (see footnote 3).

The examples in (36) and (37) constitute an additional argument in support of our hypothesis that *jo*↑ at the syntax-pragmatics interface sits in a syntactic position different from the one assigned to judge expressions (nominatives (36b), datives (37b) and opinion-holders (37c)).

- (37) a. ??/**Personalment*, *jo*↑, espero que siguem més solidaris.
 personally I hope.1PSG that be.SUBJ1PPL more supportive
- b. *Francament*, *a mi*, els jutges em sembla que ens prenen el pèl.
 frankly to me the judges me seems that us take the hair
 'Frankly, the judges seem to me that they complicate our lives.'
- c. *Honestament*, *per mi*, millor que l'extrema dreta perdi les eleccions.
 honestly for me better that the-extreme right lose the elections
 'Honestly, for me, it's better that the extreme right lose the elections.'

Before we close Section 3, let us present an interpretive puzzle.

3.4 Constraints to the not-at-issue meaning and to the at-issue meaning

The previous sections support the hypothesis that sentence-initial *jo*↑ is an experiencer non-argumental expression that introduces a subjective declaration speech act compatible with judgment modifiers. These properties, together with the fact that *jo*↑ does not contribute to the truth conditions of *p*, appear to suggest that the strong pronoun *jo*↑ contributes to not-at-issue meaning (Potts 2005). Example (38), repeated from (1a), can only be interpreted as a declaration by the speaker that they believe they will not come, thus showing that *jo*↑ is out of the scope of negation. The same applies to the neg-raising construction in (38b).

- (38) a. [We were thinking of going out for dinner]
Jo↑, *crec* *que no vindré.*
 I believe.1PSG that not come.FUTIND1PSG
- b. *Jo*↑, *no crec* *que vingui.*
 I not believe.1PSG that come.PRESSUBJ1PSG
 ‘I think I’m not going to come.’

Can *jo*↑ be questioned? The answer is negative as well. The *jo*-construction can only precede declarative sentences that are declarations, which excludes requests and commands. Accordingly, the possibility of finding examples such as (39) is discarded.

- (39) **Jo*↑, *vinc* *a casa teva?*
 I come.PRESIND1PSG to house yours

Likewise, the sequence in (40) shows that *jo*↑ cannot co-occur and combine with a command.¹⁶

- (40) **Jo*↑, *marxa!*
 I go-away

All together these properties suggest that *jo*↑ contributes to (or constrains) the not-at-issue meaning.

However, we have repeatedly shown that *jo*↑ requires a resumptive first person pronoun within the sentence, supporting the hypothesis that the representation of the speaker is part of syntax. Furthermore, the previous discussion supports that *jo*↑ is part of ‘what is said’ (Grice 1975), a claim to which we add that *jo*↑ does not contribute to implicatures (its meaning cannot be cancelled without introducing contradiction, and its meaning is independent of the utterance in which it occurs), which suggests that *jo*↑ constrains the at-issue content of the sentence.

The solution to this puzzle is given in Section 4 where we present an analysis of the *jo*-construction at the syntax-pragmatics interface that consists in postulating a Hanging Topic Phrase with a [spk] head, and a Speech Act Phrase with a DECLARE operator head.

To sum up this section, firstly we have argued that the *jo*-construction instantiates a kind of subjective statement headed by a non-argumental experiencer. Secondly, we have argued that the strong pronoun *jo*↑ instantiates the experiencer role of speaker, to be distinguished from the experiencer role of judge that is instantiated either by means of nominative and dative expressions or by judge PPs. Thirdly, we have argued that *jo*↑ indicates that the speaker is performing an act of subjective declaration compatible with judgment modifiers, neither an

¹⁶ Semantically speaking, even though more research is required to identify the restrictions on complex speech acts, it is intuitively not surprising that one cannot find complex speech acts of the kind DECLARE•REQUEST or DECLARE•COMMAND. See Asher and Lascarides (2001), Reese and Asher (2009), and Dayal (2023) for the hypothesis that tag questions convey complex speech acts of the sort ASSERT•ASK.

assertion nor a default (objective) declaration. Finally, we have shown that the *jo*-construction introduces a semantic puzzle, for *jo*↑ appears to contribute to / constrain the not-at-issue content as well as to the at-issue meaning.

4 The analysis of the *jo*-construction

In this section we aim to provide an analysis of the *jo*-construction at the syntax-pragmatics interface that is able to account for the syntactic and semantic properties discussed in the previous sections. In particular, we address (i) that *jo*↑ is not fully integrated with the rest of the sentence; (ii) that it behaves like a special (kind of) hanging topic reduced to the first person; and, finally, (iii) that by means of the *jo*-construction the speaker is performing a subjective declaration speech act, which may be hidden.

To account for these phenomena we support a particular version of how syntax interfaces with pragmatics.¹⁷ Following Speas and Tenny's (2003) idea that high in the tree structure syntax encodes information that assists in the performance of speech acts and that sentience (i.e., animacy, subjectivity or experiencer-hood) plays an interesting role in grammar, Krifka (2019; 2023; 2024a; 2024b) also postulates a model for the syntax-pragmatics interface that includes a representation of sentience. However, Krifka's approach differs from Speas and Tenny's model in that he provides a more fine-grained analysis of different types of speech acts, including assertions, declarations, exclamations, declarative questions, among others (wishes and reminders). Moreover, besides keeping Speas and Tenny's Speech Act Phrase, Krifka introduces two additional projections: Commitment Phrase (ComP) and Judgment Phrase (JP). ActP is the projection related to the speaker's performance of a speech act, ComP is the projection that maps the speaker's social commitment to act on *p*, and JP is the projection that encodes the speaker's subjective epistemic and evidential attitude or private judgement about *p*. Consider the structure in (41) where the dot symbol corresponds to an ASSERT operator, the turnstile ⊢ is used to notate the public commitment to the truth of a proposition *p*, and J- is used to notate a private judgment of the speaker towards *p*.

¹⁷ We acknowledge the existence of different approaches that formalize Speech Act related information within the syntactic representation of a sentence or utterance. This syntactization of Speech Act related information already starts with the classical works of Ross (1970) and Speas and Tenny (2003) and follows with many relevant studies: Miyagawa (2012; 2017; 2022), Haegeman and Hill (2023), Wiltschko and Heim (2016), Wiltschko (2014; 2017; 2021; 2022), and Dayal (2023), among others.

In a different line of analysis some syntacticians (Rizzi 1997; 2004a; 2004b; Cinque 1999; 2002; 2006; Cinque & Rizzi 2016; among others) have developed the so-called Split CP field hypothesis, by means of which the Complementizer is not an atomic constituent, but appears to have a split structure of the sort exemplified in (i) (in one of its multiple variants):

(i) $C^\circ = \dots \text{Force}^\circ > (\text{Top}^\circ > \text{Foc}^\circ > \text{Top}^\circ) > \text{Fin}^\circ \dots$

$$(41) \quad [_{\text{ActP}} [_{\text{Act}'} [_{\text{Act}^\circ} \bullet] [_{\text{ComP}} [_{\text{Com}'} [_{\text{Com}^\circ} \vdash] [_{\text{JP}} [_{\text{J}'} [_{\text{J}^\circ} \text{J-}] [_{\text{TP}} p]]]]]]]]] \quad \textit{assertion}$$

(adapted from Krifka 2023, (10))

This structure contrasts with the one in (42), which corresponds to a declaration speech act, whose main characteristic is that it lacks both ComP and JP.

$$(42) \quad [_{\text{ActP}} [_{\text{Act}'} [_{\text{Act}^\circ} \bullet] [_{\text{TP}} p]]] \quad \textit{declaration}$$

(adapted from Krifka 2024b: 56, (23))

According to Krifka (2024a), whereas an assertion introduces both a performative and an informative update of the common ground: the speaker is committed to the truth of p , and the addressee must incorporate this p to the common ground, a declaration such as the one in (31A) only introduces a performative update: the speaker by uttering the speech act makes a declaration and induces this specific change in the world without adding any p to a body of information about the world. As a consequence of this speech act, there are no side effects on the addressee such that they also believe p .¹⁸

With these antecedents in mind, the analysis we postulate of the *jo*-construction at the syntax-pragmatics interface provides syntactic positions for ActP and JP. We thus account for the fact that in the *jo*-construction (i) the speaker is the sentient individual whose point of view is reflected in the declarative sentence; and (ii) *jo*↑, as a special kind of hanging topic, constrains the illocutionary force of the sentence (see also Frey & Meinunger 2019) by introducing a subjective declaration speech act. By means of this act of declaration the speaker performs a common ground update at the time of uttering the sentence relative to the worlds they know, without expecting the addressee to accept the truth of that p . The analysis we postulate also allows the representation of different instantiations of judges (nominative and dative arguments of psychological verbs and verbs of propositional attitude, as well as prepositional opinion-holders, so-called judge PPs) at the layer of JP. Hence, we support Krifka's claim that declaration speech acts are structurally simpler than assertions. However, while for Krifka (2024a; 2024b) declarations lack JP and ComP, the analysis we offer of the *jo*-construction postulates JP, as argued for in Section 3.2.

¹⁸ Krifka (2024a: 3–4) defines informative and performative updates as in (i) and (ii), respectively.

- (i) $c + \text{inform}(\varphi) = \{i \in c \mid \varphi(i)\} = \{i \mid i \in c \wedge \varphi(i) = \text{true}\} = c'$
(ii) $c + \text{perform}(\varphi) = \{i + \varphi \mid i \in c\}$
 $= \{i' \mid \exists i [i \in c \wedge i \leq i' \text{ is identical to } i \text{ except for } \varphi(i')]\}$
 $= c'$

Informing that a proposition φ is true simply restricts an input context c to an output context c' . By contrast, performing a proposition φ basically involves that φ is true at a new index i' that is equal or later than i . See also Szabolcsi (1982).

The structures in (43) and (45) also make explicit that speakers and judges are part of ‘what is said’ and because of this they must be represented in syntax. However, recall (Section 3.4) that *jo*↑ appears not to be part of the at-issue meaning, since it cannot be questioned or negated, and it does not contribute to the ‘truth-conditional content’. On the other hand, *jo*↑ imposes first person resumption with some constituent within the sentence, expressed either in the JP layer, in the TP layer, or on both, and this is precisely its contribution to the at-issue content. Therefore, the puzzle we presented in Section 3.4 is solved at the time we represent the *jo*-construction in syntax, since *jo*↑ in (43) and (45) – as a hanging topic – sits in a projection higher than ActP, while it is resumed by another first person element within JP or TP.

Let us now consider how the structure in (45) is altered at the time the hanging topic *jo*↑ interacts with judgement modifiers, as described in Section 3.2. Consider first the evidential and epistemic modifiers in (46), which are represented in the structure in (47).²¹

- (46) a. *Jo*↑, evidentment, (*jo*) no faré cap pas.
I obviously I not make.1PSG any step
‘Obviously, I won’t take a step.’
- b. *Jo*↑, probablement, (*jo*) marxo a fer el doctorat a l’estranger.
I probably I leave.1PSG to do the doctorate at the-abroad
‘Probably, I’ll leave to do the doctorate abroad.’
- (47) [_{HTOPP} *jo*↑_[spk] [_{ActP} DECLARE [_{JP} {evidentment, probablement} [_{JP} *jo*↑ [_{TP} ...T_{1P} ...]]]]]

In the next section we consider the External Merge position for speech act modifiers that may co-occur with the *jo*-construction.

4.2 External Merge position for speech act modifiers

Consider the speaker-oriented adverbs in (48), represented in the structure in (49).

- (48) a. *Jo*↑, honestament, *jo* opino que no té raó.
I honestly I think.1PSG that not has reason
‘Honestly, I think {s/he, you [formal]}{is, are} not right.’
- b. *Jo*↑, personalment, *a mi em* sembla que hauríem de ser més
I personally to me me looks-like that should.1PPL of be more
solidaris.
supportive
‘Personally, I feel we should be more supportive.’

²¹ Other adverbs that may occur in between the HT *jo*↑ and the subject *jo* are subject-oriented adverbs (e.g. *intentionally*, *deliberately*; Jackendoff 1972). We would like to postulate that these adverbs should also be adjoined to JP, since they express additional information about the subject of the sentence.

(49) $[_{HTOPP} jo\uparrow [_{ActP} \{honestament, personalment\} [_{Act^e} DECLARE] [_{JP} \{jo_i, a mi_i\} [_{TP} \dots T_{1P} \dots]]]]$

As pointed out in Section 3.3 the ill-formedness of sequences in which the hanging topic follows the speaker-oriented adverb is accounted for by postulating that: (i) $jo\uparrow$ merges in a position higher than ActP, and (ii) speaker-oriented adverbs merge in ActP.

We are now left with the meaning associated with the structure in (43). We hold with Krifka (2024a; 2024b) that an act of declaration uttered in a context c conveys the performative update of c with the proposition expressed by the declarative sentence it is based on. The speaker of a declaration speech act changes the indices of the context (Szabolcsi 1982) and causes a common ground update at the very moment the utterance is produced, but crucially the speaker is not involved in a social commitment nor makes the addressee accept the truth of that p . This means that in declaration speech acts the speaker is the only one responsible for the performative update and does not trigger an informative update of c on the side of the addressee. That is, declarations (in Krifka's sense) are assumed to be simpler than assertions (see (41)) and, accordingly, they lack ComP in their formal structure (see (42)). Besides, the structure in (43) differs from the one in (42) by including a reference to the speaker above ActP and a reference to the judge below ActP, in JP, which makes it a subjective declaration.

The distinction between declarations (that only involve a performative update) and assertions (that involve both informative and performative updates) accounts for the meaning differences observed between (30A) and (31A) of Section 3.2, repeated here for convenience as (50) and (52), with their corresponding structures in (51) and (53).

(50) Em sembla que no vindré.
me seems that not come.1PSG
'I think I will not come.'

(51) $[_{ActP} [_{Act^e} \bullet] [_{Comp} [_{Com^e} \vdash]] [_{JP} [_{J^e} J^-] [_{TP} em sembla que no vindré]]]]$

(52) $Jo\uparrow$, em sembla que no vindré.
I me seems that not come.1PSG
'I think I will not come.'

(53) $[_{HTOPP} jo\uparrow_{i[spk]} [_{Act^e} DECLARE] [_{JP} [_{J^e} J^-] [_{TP} em sembla que no vindré]]]]$

The example in (50), an assertion, conveys a performative update followed by a perlocutionary effect on the addressee, by means of which (s)he is informed that the proposition 'I will not come' is true and restricts an input context c to a new output context set c' . In (52), a subjective declaration, $jo\uparrow$ hosts an indexical reference to the speaker, who directly serves to indicate that the utterance conveys a performative update. Its meaning is such that it changes indices of

the context c so that the proposition *Em sembla que no vindré* holds at a new index i' , once the declaration has been uttered. Thus, the *jo*-construction introduces a declaration, as represented in (53), by which the speaker believes p and there are no side effects on the hearer such that he also believes p .

5 Conclusion

In this paper, we have focused on a special kind of syntactic construction that to our knowledge has received little attention in the literature on Catalan and other Romance (pro-drop and partial pro-drop) languages, but which is particularly interesting for the study of the left periphery and the syntax-pragmatics interface. This construction, dubbed as the '*jo* 'I' – construction', contains a first person strong pronoun that is pronounced with a special intonation: a rising pitch accent on the stressed syllable followed by a high boundary tone. We have argued that, syntactically, this pronoun is a (kind of) hanging topic that, like ordinary hanging topics, requires resumption in the sentence; in this case, a first person resumptive element in the clause. Furthermore, this construction is special, as it encodes overtly in syntax the speaker of the act of declaration. Semantically, this construction introduces a subjective sentence that focuses on the speaker's point of view but must be distinguished from other sentences that simply introduce an individual judge parameter (such as an opinion-holder or a judge nominative/dative). Finally, we have shown that by means of the *jo*-construction the speaker performs an act of subjective declaration, usually hidden, which accounts for its compatibility with judgment modifiers. The analysis here postulated for the *jo*-construction at the syntax-pragmatics interface also predicts its incompatibility with commitment modifiers, with exclamatives, requests and commands.

Abbreviations

1PSG = first person singular, 2PSG = second person singular, 3PSG = third person singular, 1PPL = first person plural, 3PPL = third person plural, PL = plural, CL = clitic, NEUT = neuter, POSS = possessive, INFL = inflection, FUT = future, SUBJ = subjunctive, FUTIND = future indicative, PRESSUBJ = present subjunctive, HTopP = Hanging Topic Phrase, ActP = Act Phrase, ComP = Commitment Phrase, JP = Judgment Phrase, spk = speaker

Funding information

We acknowledge financial support from the Spanish Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación (PID2020-112801GB-I00 and PID2023-150347NB-I00); the Generalitat de Catalunya (2021SGR787); the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq-Brazil, 303015/2022-5); the São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP-Brazil, 2023/04610-0); and the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT-Portugal, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.54499/2023.07609.CEECIND/CP2891/CT0009>).

Acknowledgements

We thank the three reviewers of *Glossa* for their detailed and positive comments on the manuscript. We are extremely grateful to the judgments of various linguists and native speakers of Catalan (namely, M. Llobet, M. Pons, G. Rigau, S. Tubau, I. Vallès and X. Villalba), as well as to the audiences of the *Workshop on Functional Categories, Dimensions of Meaning, and Expletiveness* (Bellaterra, 2024) and the *Workshop on Speech Act Related Operators* (Berlin, 2024).

Competing interests

The authors have no competing interests to declare.

References

- Alturo, Núria & Payrató, Lluís. 2002. *Corpus Oral de Conversa Col·loquial*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona. <https://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/handle/2445/10411>
- Asher, Nicholas & Lascarides, Alex. 2001. Indirect speech acts. *Synthese* 128(1–2). 183–228. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1010340508140>
- Barnes, Betsy. 1985. *The Pragmatics of Left Detachment in Spoken Standard French*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/pb.vi.3>
- Belletti, Adriana & Rizzi, Luigi. 1988. Psych-verbs and θ -theory. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 6(3). 291–352. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00133902>

- Benincà, Paola & Poletto, Cecilia. 2004. Topic, focus and V2: defining the CP sublayers. In Rizzi, Luigi (ed.), *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, 52–76. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195159486.003.0003>
- Bosse, Solveig & Bruening, Benjamin & Yamada, Masahiro. 2012. Affected experiencers. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 30. 1185–1230. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-012-9177-1>
- Bylinina, Lisa. 2017. Judge-Dependence in Degree Constructions. *Journal of Semantics* 34. 291–331. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/jos/ffw011>
- Carrilho, Ernestina. 2008. Beyond doubling: overt expletives in European Portuguese dialects. *Syntax and Semantics* 36. 301–323. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9781848550216_012
- Catasso, Nicholas. 2022. Looking at the periphery from the suburbs: An information-structurally based taxonomy of Hanging Topics in German. *Linguistik Online* 116(4). <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=664572716002>. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.13092/lo.116.8888>
- Chomsky, Noam. 1964. *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1990. *Types of A-bar Dependencies*. Cambridge (MA): MIT Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1997. Topic constructions in some European languages and ‘connectedness’. In Agnostoupoulou, Elena & van Riemsdijk, Henk & Zwarts, Frans (eds.), *Materials on Left Dislocation*, 93–118. Amsterdam: Benjamins. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.14.08cin>
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads*. New York: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195115260.001.0001>
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2002. Mapping functional structure: a project. In Cinque, Guglielmo (ed.), *Functional Structure in DP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, 3–11. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195148794.003.0001>
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2006. On the order of clausal functional heads. In Freidin, Robert & Lasnik, Howard (eds.), *Syntax. Critical Concepts in Linguistics*, 274–324. London: Routledge.
- Cinque, Guglielmo & Rizzi, Luigi. 2016. The cartography of syntactic structures. In Heine, Bernd & Narrog, Heiko (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis*, 51–66. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199544004.013.0003>
- Costa, João. 2010. PB e PE: orientação para o discurso importa? *Estudos da Língua(gem)* 8(1). 123–143. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22481/el.v8i1.1117>
- Costa, João & Duarte, Inês & Silva, Cláudia. 2004. Construções de redobro em português brasileiro: sujeitos tópicos vs. soletração do traço pessoa. *Revista Leitura* 33. 135–145. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.28998/0103-6858.2004v1n33p135-145>
- Dayal, Veneeta. 2023. The Interrogative Left Periphery: How a Clause becomes a Question. *Linguistic Inquiry* 1–50. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1162/ling_a_00507
- Demonte, Violeta. 1995. Dative alternation in Spanish. *Probus* 7. 5–30. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/prbs.1995.7.1.5>
- Duarte, Maria Eugénia Lammoglia. 1995. *A Perda do Princípio “evite pronome” no Português Brasileiro*. Campinas: Universidade Estadual de Campinas. (Doctoral dissertation.)

- Espinal, M.Teresa. 2011. Pragmatic particles at the syntax-cognition interface. In Payrató, Lluís & Cots, Josep M. (eds.), *The Pragmatics of Catalan*, 49–79. Berlin: Mouton Series in Pragmatics, MSP 10. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110238693.49>
- Espinal, M.Teresa. 2013. On the structure of vocatives. In Sonnenhauser, Barbara & Noel, Patricia (eds.), *Vocative!*, 109–132. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110304176.109>
- Espinal, M.Teresa & Giusti, Giuliana. 2024. On the property-denoting clitic *ne* and the determiner *de/di*. A comparative analysis of Catalan and Italian. *Linguistics* 62(2). 457–489. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling-2022-0084>
- Fernández-Soriano, Olga. 1999. Two types of impersonal sentences in Spanish: locative and dative subjects. *Syntax* 2(2). 201–140. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9612.00017>
- Frey, Werner & Meinunger, André. 2019. Topic marking and illocutionary force. In Molnár, Valéria & Egerland, Verner & Winkler, Susanne (eds.), *Studies in Generative Grammar [SGG]* 136, 95–138. Berlin: De Gruyter. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501504488-004>
- Giorgi, Alessandra. 2010. *About the Speaker. Towards a Syntax of Indexicality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199571895.001.0001>
- Grice, Herbert P. 1975. Logic and conversation. *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts*, 41–58. Leiden: Brill. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004368811_003
- Haegeman, Liliane & Hill, Virginia. 2023. The syntactization of discourse. In Folli, Raffaella & Sevdali, Christina & Truswell, Robert (eds.), *Syntax and its Limits*, 370–390. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199683239.003.0018>
- Halpert, Claire. 2019. Raising, unphased. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 37. 123–165. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-018-9407-2>
- Hatcher, Anna Granville. 1948. From *Ce Suis Je* to *C'est Moi* (The Ego as Subject and as Predicative in Old French). *PMLA/Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 63(4). 1053–1100. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/459607>
- Hill, Virginia. 2007. Vocatives and the pragmatics-syntax interface. *Lingua* 117. 2077– 2105. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2007.01.002>
- Hill, Virginia. 2014. *Vocatives: How Syntax Meets with Pragmatics*. Leiden/Boston: Brill. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004261389>
- Hinzelin, Marc-Oliver & Kaiser, Georg. 2007. El pronombre *ello* en el léxico del español dominicano. In Mihatsch, Wiltrud & Sokol, Monika (eds.), *Language Contact and Language Change in the Caribbean and Beyond [Lenguas en Contacto y Cambio Lingüístico en el Caribe y Más Allá]*, 171–188. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Kato, Mary. 1999. Strong que weak pronominals in the null subject parameter. *Probus* 11. 1–37. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/prbs.1999.11.1.1>
- Keyne, Stefan. 2017. Agreement and vP phases. In LaCara, Nicholas & Moulton, Keir & Tessier, Anne-Michelle (eds.), *A Schrift to fest Kyle Johnson*, 177–185. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7275/R57D2S95>

- Krifka, Manfred. 2019. Commitments and beyond. *Theoretical Linguistics* 45(1–2). 73–91. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/tl-2019-0006>
- Krifka, Manfred. 2023. Layers of assertive clauses: propositions, judgements, commitments, acts. In Hartmann, Jutta M. & Wöllstein, Angelika (eds.), *Propositionale Argumente im Sprachvergleich / Propositional Arguments in Cross-Linguistic Research: Theorie und Empirie / Theoretical and Empirical Issues. Studien zur deutschen Sprache* 84, 116–183. Tübingen: Narr.
- Krifka, Manfred. 2024a. Performative updates and the modeling of speech acts. *Synthese* 203. 1–31. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11229-023-04359-0>
- Krifka, Manfred. 2024b. Structure and interpretation of declarative sentences. *Journal of Pragmatics* 226. 51–63. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2024.04.002>
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1972. *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*. Cambridge (MA): MIT Press.
- Langacker, Ronald. 1987. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar: Theoretical Prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald. 1991. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar: Descriptive Application*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Lasersohn, Peter. 2005. Context dependence, disagreement, and predicates of personal taste. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 28. 643–86. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10988-005-0596-x>
- López, Luis. 2016. Dislocations and information structure. In Féry, Caroline & Ishihara, Shinichiro (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Information Structure*, 402–421. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199642670.013.003>
- Masullo, Pascual. 1993. Two types of quirky subjects: Spanish vs. Icelandic. *NELS* 23. 303–317.
- McCready, Eric. 2009. What man does. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 31. 671–724. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10988-009-9052-7>
- McCready, Eric. 2012. Formal approaches to particle meaning. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 6(12). 777–795. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1002/lnc3.360>
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2012. Agreements that Occur Mainly in Main Clauses. In Aelbrecht, Lobke & Haegeman, Liliane & Nye, Rachel (eds.), *Main Clause Phenomena: New Horizons*, 79–112. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.190.04miy>
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2017. *Agreement Beyond Phi*. Cambridge (MA): MIT Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/10958.001.0001>
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2022. *Syntax in the Treetops*. Ms. MIT. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/14421.001.0001>
- Payrató, Lluís. 1988, 1996³. *Català Col·loquial. Aspectes d'Ús Corrent de la Llengua Catalana*. València: Universitat de València.
- Potts, Christopher. 2005. *The Logic of Conventional Implicatures*. Oxford: Oxford. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199273829.001.0001>
- Rackowski, Andrea & Richards, Norvin. 2005. Phase edge and extraction: A Tagalog case study. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36. 565–599. <https://doi.org/10.1162/002438905774464368>

- Reese, Brian & Asher, Nicholas. 2009. Biased questions, intonation, and discourse. In Zimmermann, Malte & Féry, Caroline (eds.), *Information Structure: Theoretical, Typological, and Experimental Perspectives*. Oxford Scholarship Online. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199570959.003.0007>
- Reinhart, Tanya. 1981. Pragmatics and linguistics: an analysis of sentence topics. *Philosophica* 27(1). 53–94. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21825/philosophica.82606>
- Rigau, Gemma. 1988. Strong pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19(3). 503–511. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25164908>
- Rigau, Gemma. 1999. Relativized impersonality: deontic sentences in Catalan. In Treviño, Esthela & Lema, José (eds.), *Semantic Issues in Romance Syntax*, 193–229. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.173.13rig>
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In Haegeman, Liliane (ed.), *Elements of Grammar*, 281–337. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-5420-8_7
- Rizzi, Luigi. 2004a. Locality and left periphery. In Belletti, Adriana (ed.), *Structures and Beyond*, 223–251. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195171976.003.0008>
- Rizzi, Luigi. 2004b. On the cartography of syntactic structures. In Rizzi, Luigi (ed.), *The Structure of IP and CP: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, 3–15. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195159486.003.0001>
- Ross, John. 1970. On declarative sentences. In Jacobs, Roderick A. & Rosenbaum, Peter S. (eds.), *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*, 222–272. Waltham (MA)/Toronto/London: Ginn and Company- AXerox College Publishing.
- Saebø, Kjell Johan. 2009. Judgement ascriptions. *Linguistic and Philosophy* 32. 327–352. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10988-009-9063-4>
- Schreiber, Peter. 1972. Style disjuncts and the performative analysis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 3(3). 321–347. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4177716>
- Schütze, Carson. 2001. On the nature of default case. *Syntax* 4(3). 205–238. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9612.00044>
- Speas, Peggy & Tenny, Carol. 2003. Configurational properties of point of view roles. In Di Sciullo, Anna Marie (ed.), *Asymmetry in Grammar. Syntax and Semantics*, 315–344. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.57.15spe>
- Sigurdsson, Halldor Armann. 1992. The case of quirky subjects. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*. Vol. 49. Department of Scandinavian Languages, Lund University.
- Stalnaker, Robert. 1978. Assertion. In Cole, Peter (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics 9: Pragmatics*, 315–332. New York: New York Academic Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004368873_013
- Stavrou, Melita. 2014. About the vocative. In Schürcks, Lilia & Giannakidou, Anastasia & Etxeberria, Urtzi (eds.), *The Nominal Structure in Slavic and Beyond*, 299–342. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614512790.299>

- Stephenson, Tamina. 2007. Judge dependence, epistemic modals, and predicates of personal taste. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 30. 487–525. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10988-008-9023-4>
- Szabolcsi, Anna. 1982. Compositionality in Focus. *Folia Linguistica* 15. 141–162. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/flin.1981.15.1-2.141>
- Talmy, Leonard. 1978. Figure and ground in complex sentences. In Greenberg, Joseph H. (ed.), *Universals of Human Language (vol. 4): Syntax*, 625–649. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Talmy, Leonard. 2000. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics: Concept Structuring Systems*. Cambridge MA: MIT. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/6847.001.0001>
- Thivierge, Sigwan. 2021. *Phasehood and Phi-intervention*. College Park: University of Maryland. (Doctoral dissertation.)
- Todolí, Júlia. 2002. Els pronoms. In Solà, Joan & Lloret, Maria-Rosa & Mascaró, Joan & Pérez Saldanya, Manuel (eds.), *Gramàtica del Català Contemporani*, 1337–1433. Empúries/Grup 62: Barcelona.
- Trotzke, Andreas & Giannakidou, Anastasia. 2024. Exclamation, intensity, and the assertion of emotion. *Theoretical Linguistics*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/tl-2024-2022>
- Villa-García, Julio. 2023. Hanging Topic Left Dislocations as extrasentential constituents: toward a paratactic account. Evidence from English and Spanish. *The Linguistic Review* 40(2). 265–310. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/tlr-2023-2003>
- Villalba, Xavier. 2024. Expressive commitments: A normative approach to exclamations. *International Review of Pragmatics* 16. 87–108. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/18773109-01601004>
- Wiltschko, Martina. 2014. *The Universal Structure of Categories: Towards a Formal Typology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139833899>
- Wiltschko, Martina. 2017. Response particles beyond answering. In Bailey, Laura R. & Sheehan, Michelle (eds.), *Order and Structure in Syntax I: Word Order and Syntactic Structure*, 241–279. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1117726>
- Wiltschko, Martina. 2021. *The Grammar of Interactional Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108693707>
- Wiltschko, Martina. 2022. What is the syntax-pragmatics interface. In Bîlbiie, Gabriela & Cysmann, Berthold & Schaden, Gerhard (eds.), *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 14, 273–308. Paris: CSSP. <http://www.cssp.cnrs.fr/eiss14/>. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.178.11wil>
- Wiltschko, Martina & Heim, Johannes. 2016. The syntax of confirmational. A neo-performative analysis. In Kaltenböck, Gunther & Keizer, Evelien & Lohmann, Arne (eds.), *Outside the Clause. Form and Function of Extra-clausal Constituent*, 303–340. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.178.11wil>

