

THE PERSON FEATURE AND THE “CARTOGRAPHIC”
 REPRESENTATION OF THE CONTEXT
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1. Introduction

CARTOGRAPHIC ASSUMPTION: the clausal (or phasal) left periphery is the interface site between grammar and the context (Enç 1987...Rizzi 1997)

(1) [_{CP} Force ... Topic ... Focus ... Fin [_{IP} ...
]

Cinque & Rizzi (2008, 52, 53): «This conception makes possible a very transparent approach to the interface between syntax and semantics-pragmatics: peripheral functional heads can be seen as overt “flags” carrying very transparent instructions to the interface systems on how their immediate dependents are to be interpreted... The cartographic studies can be seen as an attempt to “syntacticize” as much as possible the interpretive domains...»

No clear definition of context → unclear cartographic mapping:

- a) position of “silent” projections
- b) do all phases have exactly the same left periphery?

My aims today:

1. Introduce two views of the context: the kaplanian one and the stalnakerian one
2. Discuss the syntacticization of the kaplanian parameters for the analysis of grammatical person (first and second person).
3. Discuss a possible extension to (A-free) third person pronouns.

2. Two views of the context

2.1. Kaplanian context

Assume an infinite set W of possible worlds/circumstances w :

- The extension of a sentence S at a single w is a truth value (1 or 0)
- The intension of a sentence S is a proposition, the set of possible worlds/circumstances in which S is true (a function from worlds/circumstances to truth values)
- S is necessary iff S is true in every possible world/circumstance.

(2) I am here now (Kaplan 1977/89, 508-9)

(2) is true in every possible context of utterance, yet (2) is contingent, not necessary.

→ It is necessary to distinguish the context of use from the circumstances of evaluation.

→ Namely, it is necessary to distinguish two levels of meaning:

Character: contexts \Rightarrow contents

Content: circumstances \Rightarrow extensions, or:

Meaning + context \Rightarrow intension

Intension + possible world \Rightarrow extension (Kaplan 1977/89, 505-506)

Indexical terms have a character which, when applied to a context, yields an appropriate 'content' (e.g., an individual, in the case of first and second person pronouns)

Indexical terms are thus DIRECTLY REFERENTIAL: "the designatum (referent) determines the propositional component rather than the propositional component, along with a circumstance, determining the designatum" (Kaplan 1977/89, 497). In this, they differ from definite descriptions (e.g. *the President of the USA*), whose extension varies with the circumstance of evaluation.

A Kaplanian context is an INDEX with several coordinates, e.g. $i = \langle w, t, p, a \dots \rangle$ where w is a possible world/circumstance (the actual world of the utterance), t is a time, p is a position in 3D space, a is an agent (speaker) etc.

A context $\langle w, t, p, x \rangle$ must be PROPER, i.e. x must be located at p in w at time t . This is what guarantees that (2) is a priori true, though not necessary (for not all possible circumstances of evaluation are proper contexts).

"The problem is that on my analysis, the mechanism of direct reference operates *before* the familiar semantical notions of truth and denotation come into play. If I continue to think, as Carnap taught me, that the overall theory of language should be constructed with syntax at the base, semantics built upon that, and pragmatics built upon semantics, I am faced with a dilemma. The mechanisms of direct reference certainly are not *postsemantical*. But equally surely they are not syntactical. Thus I put them in the bottom layer of semantics." (Kaplan 1989, *Afterthoughts*, 575-76)

2.2. Stalnakerian context

COMMON GROUND: a set of propositions representing the information that is mutually presupposed by participants in a conversation

This set of propositions uniquely determines (by intersection) a CONTEXT SET of possible worlds that are compatible with all the information contained in the common ground.

One basic goal of ordinary conversation is to DISTINGUISH AMONG THE ALTERNATIVES in the context set, which are candidates for the actual world (for the purposes of that conversation)

The ESSENTIAL EFFECT of the assertion of a declarative clause S is that the propositional content of S updates the common ground (by intersection), discarding all the worlds in which S is not true. If an assertion is not rejected, from that point on the propositional content of S is added to the common ground.¹

Heim (1983): meaning can then be conceived of dynamically, as a function from contexts (Stalnaker's context sets) to contexts, by recursively defining the Context Change Potential of any sentence S . E.g., for an atomic sentence like *it is raining*:

¹ I am disregarding the fact that the presupposition associated to a proposition may restrict the applicability of the update.

For any context c , $c + it\ is\ raising = \{w \in c : it\ is\ raising\ in\ w\} (= c')$

2.3. In sum

A KAPLANIAN CONTEXT is a package of parameters which determine (at least) the content of indexical expressions, thus **determining the propositional content**.² (NB: The kaplanian strategy has actually been extended to deal with various cases of «pragmatic intrusion», by postulating free variables whose value is supplied by the context; see von Stechow 2005, 149).

A STALNAKERIAN CONTEXT is a set of propositions uniquely identifying a set of possible worlds, and representing a state of information which gets **updated by the propositional content** of an assertion.

→ Various layers of the left periphery are related to one or the other conception.

4. First and second person

Alternative conceptions of speaker and hearer:

- kaplanian (Bianchi 2003, 2006; Sigurðsson 2004; Schlenker 2003, 2004, 2005): they are the individuals participating in the speech EVENT
 - «almost stalnakerian» (Speas & Tenny 2003, Tenny 2006, Puglielli & Frascarelli 2008): they are the arguments (agent, goal) of a functional head expressing a speech ACT.
- The second view, but not the first one, entails a direct relationship with the projection encoding illocutive force.

4.1. The kaplanian view

Bianchi (2003): The tense- person correlation:

(3) Nominative is licensed by [+finite] Tense (Chomsky 1998,39; 1981,50: Tensed INFL)

- (4)
- | | | | | | | |
|----|---------|---------------------|--------|--------------|---------|------------------------|
| a. | Henni | leiddust | | þeir. | | (Taraldsen 1995, (1)) |
| | she-DAT | was-bored-by-3PL-ST | | they-NOM | | |
| b. | * Henni | leiðumst | | við. | | (Taraldsen 1995, (4)) |
| | she-DAT | was-bored-by-1PL-ST | | us-NOM | | |
| c. | Hún | taldi | okkur | leiðast | hún. | (Taraldsen 1995, (43)) |
| | she-NOM | believed | we-DAT | be-bored-INF | she-NOM | |
- (5)
- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------|-------------|-------|-----------|------------|-------|
| a. | A Gianni | piacevo | io. | | | |
| | to Gianni | pleased-1SG | I-NOM | | | |
| b. | * Maria | crede | di | a Gianni | piacere | io. |
| | Maria | believes | PRT | to Gianni | please-INF | I-NOM |

(6) Person agreement is sensitive to finiteness.

² Note that Stalnaker (1978) too defines a notion of propositional concept: a function from worlds/circumstances to propositions.

Finite verbs have the property of expressing independent tense, i.e. the (reichenbachian) Event Time (E) and/or Reference Time (R) are related to the Speech time:

- (7) Gianni dice [che *pro* è malato] $E_1 = S, E_2 = S, E_2 = E_1$
 Gianni says that (he) is ill
- (8) Gianni disse [che *pro* era malato] $E_1 < S, E_2 < S, E_2 = E_1$
 Gianni said that (he) was ill

→ The embedded finite forms vary as a function of the relation of E_2 to S

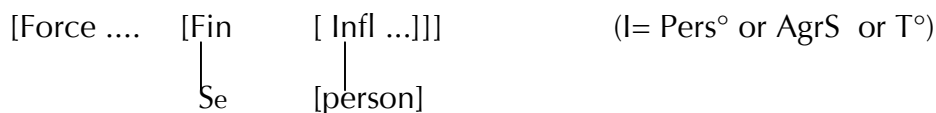
- (9) Gianni dice [di PRO essere malato] $E_1 = S, (E_2 = S), E_2 = E_1$
 G. says to be ill
- (10) Gianni disse [di PRO essere malato] $E_1 < S, (E_2 < S), E_2 = E_1$
 G. said to be ill

→ Non-finite verb forms show no sensitivity to S .

Generalization: A finite verb form encodes the relation of E/R to S (even in embedded contexts). On the contrary, a non-finite form does not encode any relation to S , and therefore, it cannot express independent tense.

Like tense, person is a deictic feature: «Person characterizes the participants of the narrated event with reference to the participants of the speech event» (Jakobson 1971, 134)

(11) The [+Fin] head syntactically encodes the Speech Event, to which the deictic features are anchored. Therefore, only a [+Fin] clausal structure can license person agreement.



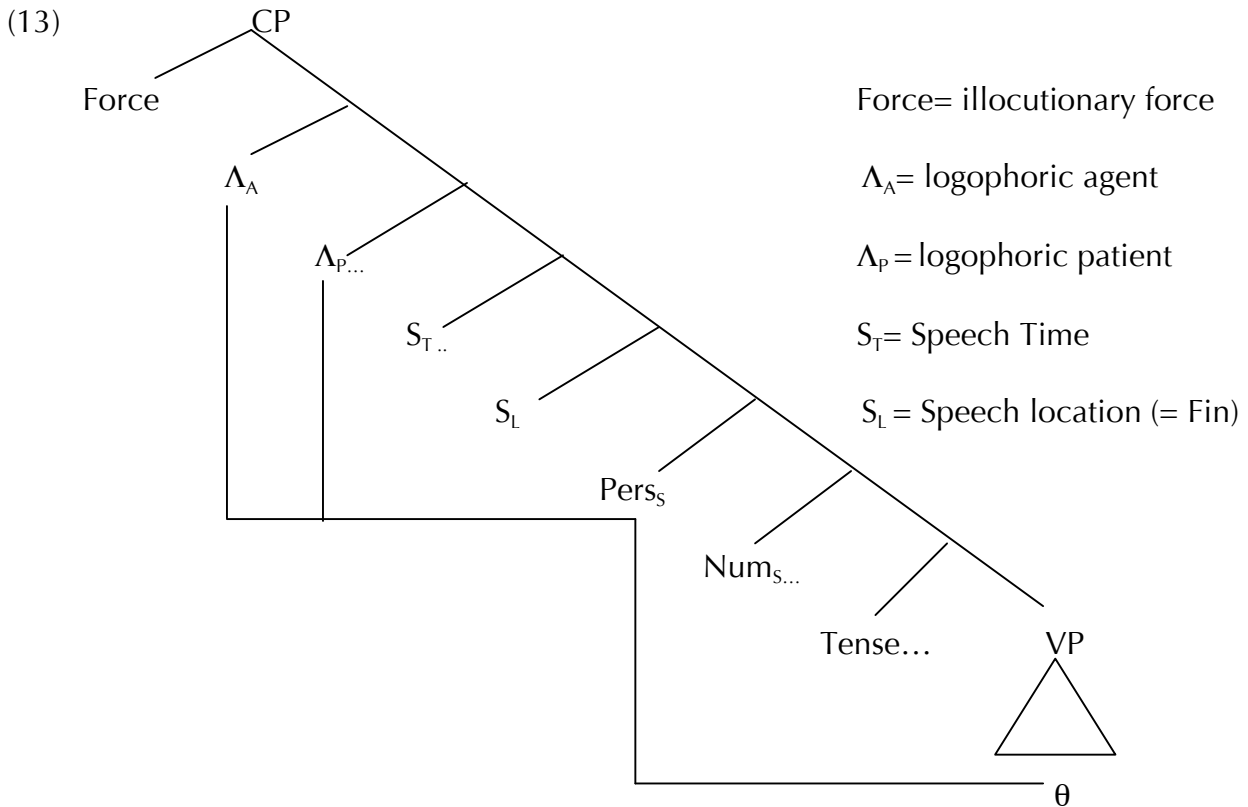
Infinitival clauses like (9)-(10) do not encode the speech event, and cannot license full-fledged person agreement. The implicit subject (PRO) is a logophoric pronoun that refers to an (animate) participant in the matrix clause event (with the exception of Laundau's 2000 exhaustive control by inanimate antecedents; Bianchi 2003, Schlenker 2003, 2004).

Sigurðsson (2004):

- (i) the peripheral field encodes features of the speech event: Speech event $\supset \{S_T, S_L, \{\Lambda_A, \Lambda_P\}\}$
 (these are just kaplanian parameters!)
- (ii) the inflectional layer encodes grammatical features (e.g. Person)
- (iii) the lexical layer encodes event features (theta-features)

There is a MATCHING relation between (iii) and (ii), and between (ii) and (i), such that:

- (12) a. $\theta = +\text{Person} = +\Lambda_A, -\Lambda_P$: 1P by computation
 b. $\theta = +\text{Person} = -\Lambda_A, +\Lambda_P$: 2P by computation
 c. $\theta = +\text{Person} = -\Lambda_A, -\Lambda_P$: 3P by computation
 d. $\theta = -\text{Person} (= 0\Lambda_A, 0\Lambda_P)$: 3P by default (Sigurðsson 2004, (27))



«The constant referential meaning of 1st and 2nd person is coreference with their local logophoric features» (Sigurðsson & Maling 2006, 10)

(14) a. He said to me that he loved me (Sigurðsson 2004, 236, (32))

$[_{CP} \dots \{\Lambda_A\}_i \dots \{\Lambda_P\}_k \dots [_{IP} \dots he_j \dots me_l \dots [_{CP} \dots \{\Lambda_A\}_i \dots \{\Lambda_P\}_k \dots [_{IP} \dots he_j \dots me_l \dots$

b. He said to me: I love you (Sigurðsson 2004, 237, (33))

$[_{CP} \dots \{\Lambda_A\}_i \dots \{\Lambda_P\}_k \dots [_{IP} \dots he_j \dots me_l \dots [_{CP} \dots \{\Lambda_A\}_j \dots \{\Lambda_P\}_l \dots [_{IP} \dots I_j \dots you_l \dots$

c. Punjabi ((Sigurðsson 2004, 236, (30a))

Gurnekne aakhiaa ki **māi** jāāvaagaa.
 Gurnek:ERG said that I go:FUT:1M.SG
 'Gurneki said that he would go.' (also: '... I would go.')

Cf. Bianchi (2001), Schlenker (1999,2003), Speas (2000), Safir (2004).

Combining (11) and (12), we may hypothesize that the connection with the left periphery of a finite clause is necessary in order to make any person feature interpretable (by anchoring it to the kaplanian parameters), not only for person agreement.

A serious problem for this view is the person feature of non-subject arguments, which is not sensitive to the finiteness of the clause – at least in languages like Italian, where objects do not trigger person agreement on the verb:

(15) Gianni ha dichiarato [di PRO avermi visto davanti al bar].

G. has declared PRT have.INF.CL.1.SG. seen in front of the bar

→ One immediate reaction is to speculate that the person feature of nonsubject pronouns has a different «anchoring point» from the CP periphery: e.g., a kaplanian field in the periphery of the vP phase? But:

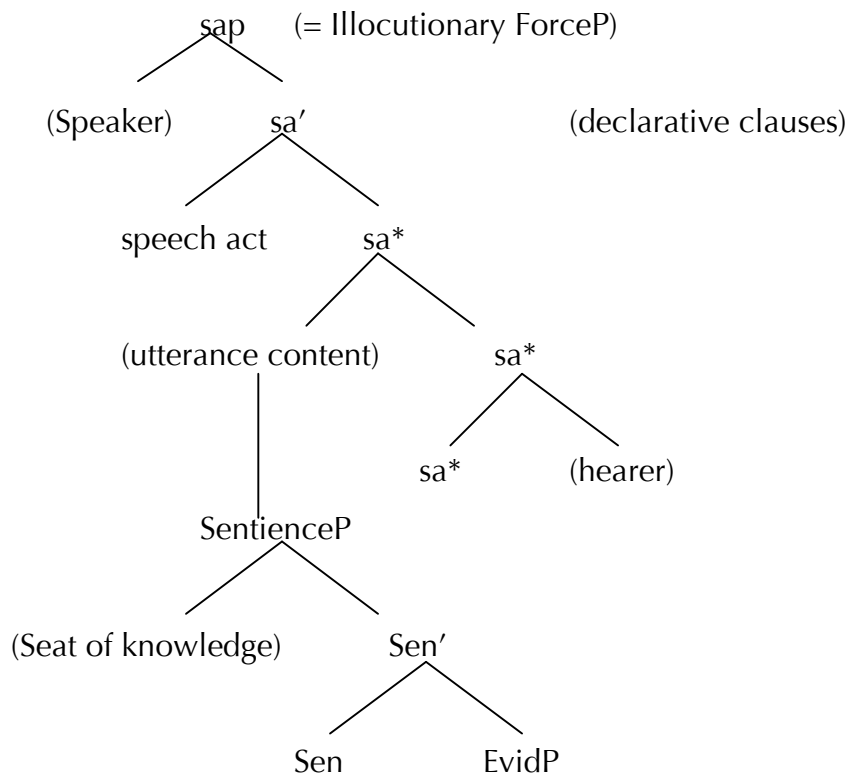
a) why would the vP periphery, contrary to the CP periphery, be insensitive to finiteness?

b) as for Romance clitics, why would they have to move out of vP, if vP is a «phi-complete» phase that can check object person features?

4.2. First/second person and sentience: the almost stalnakerian view

Speas & Tenny (2003), (2004), Tenny (2006): "... we may think of the SPEAKER as the agent of the speech act, the UTTERANCE CONTENT as its theme and the HEARER as its goal." These roles are projected in a larsonian structure (Nota bene: they claim that this is not a version of the implicit performative hypothesis, Ross 1970).

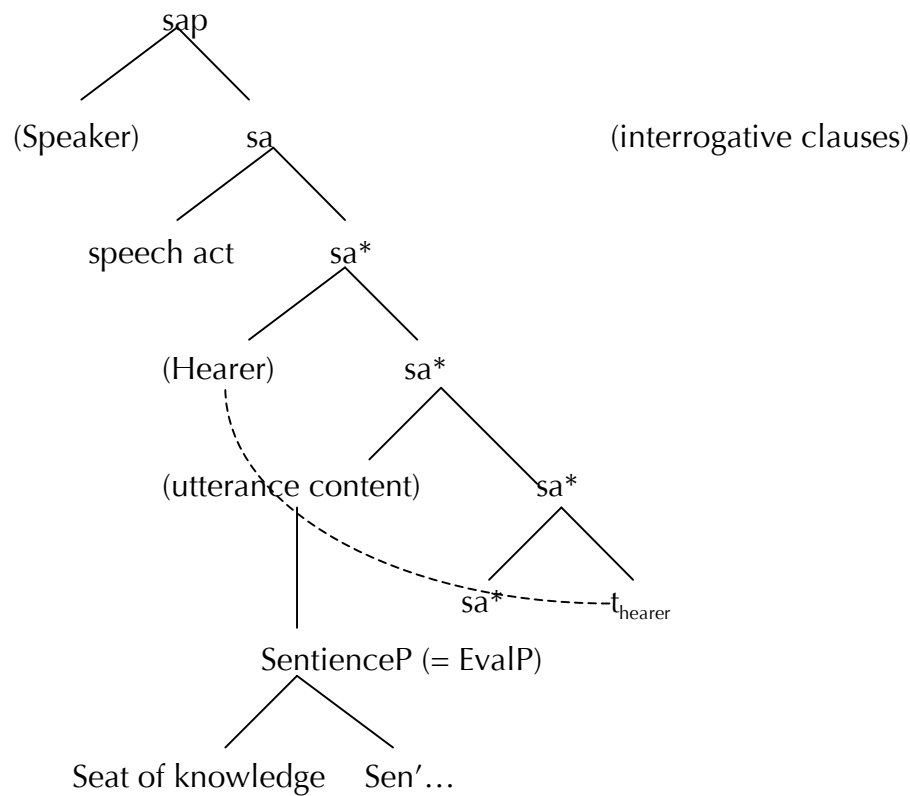
(15)



In declarative clauses, Speaker is the closest c-commander of the Seat of knowledge.

In interrogatives, Hearer is promoted inside SaP and becomes the closest c-commander of the Seat of knowledge :

(16)



Various phenomena illustrate this «interrogative flip»:

- a) Japanese predicates of direct experience in the reportive style (Tenny 2006)
- b) “identifiability” of the referent of specific indefinites (Speas & Tenny 2004)
- c) anchor for evidential adverbs and utterance modifiers like *honestly* (ibid.):

- (17)a. Honestly, Mary knew the victim. (Speaker claims to be honest)
- b. Honestly, who knew the victim? (Request that Hearer be honest [in answering])

A robust phenomenology, to which we may add:

- d) colloquial English subject drop (Servidio 2008, 41 ff. based on Thrasher 1977):

- (18) a. _ Really appreciate the help. (Servidio 2008, 42, (39))
- b. _ Need any help with that? (Servidio 2008, 42, (41))
- c. Trovati gli occhiali?
- d. Trovati.

- e) conjunct/disjunct marking (e.g. Curnow 2002):

- (19) a. (na=na) pala ku-mtu-s (Awa Pit)³
(1SG.(NOM)=TOP) plaintain eat-IMPF-CONJ (Curnow 2002, 613, (1))
'I am eating plaintains.'
- b. (nu=na) pala ku-mtu-y
(2SG.(NOM)=TOP) plaintain eat-IMPF-DISJ (Curnow 2002, 613, (2))
'You are eating plaintains'

³ Barbacoan family; spoken in south-western Colombia and north-western Ecuador.

- (20) a. *min=ta=ma ashap-tu-y?*
 who-ACC-INTER annoy-IMPF-DISJ (Curnow 2002, 613, (4))
 'Whom am I annoying?'
- b. *shi=ma ki-mtu-s?*
 what-INTER do-IMPF.CONJ (Curnow 2002, 613, (5))
 'What are you doing?'

4.3. Speculations on Speas & Tenny's field

i) A locality problem: if SaP = ForceP and SenP= Cinque's (1999) EvalP, the left-peripheral Topic, Focus projections etc. would occur in between, disrupting the locality relation between the Speech Act arguments and the Seat of Knowledge

ii) The speaker/hearer alternation is not completely determined by GRAMMATICAL force:

a) Curnow (2002, 614-615): in rhetorical questions, a first person subject may co-occur with conjunct marking (quoting Hale 1980).

b) in "rejoinder declaratives", adverbs like *honestly* are infelicitous:

(21) A. ...So he offered me a job.

B. ...And (# *honestly*/#*apparently*) you accepted (of course – didn't you?)

Alternative: a purely kaplanian view of Speaker and Hearer, not related to illocutive force. If Speaker and Hearer are realized in the low CP area, locality may obtain.

However, under the kaplanian view no syntactic promotion of the Hearer is expected in interrogatives vs. declaratives. The choice of the controller of the Seat of Knowledge cannot be determined by mere syntactic locality.

5. Pronominal third person

On Benveniste's view, third person=lack of person (Kayne 2000, Wechsler 2002 a.o.). But:

a) In Algonquian languages, third person is divided in subcategories (proximate/obviative) which are visible to the direct/inverse system just like first-second person. The third person subcategories encode degrees of topical salience (cf. e.g. LeSourd 1976, 448)

(22)a. *ne-wa:pam-a:-wa* (Fox; LeSourd 1976, 459)

'I see.DIR him'

b. *wa:pam-e:-wa* (NB: vowel change by regular phonological process)

'He.PROX sees.DIR him.OBV'

(23)a. *ne-wa:pam-ekw-a* (Fox; LeSourd 1976, 460)

'He sees.INV me'

b. *wa:pam-ekw-a*

'He.OBV sees.INV him.PROX'

b) Some morphosyntactic phenomena group together first, second and third person pronouns, as opposed to lexical DPs, e.g. Kayne (2000) on clitic doubling in French and:

- (24) a. Chi di noi/ voi/loro/?costoro dovrà farlo? (Bianchi 2006b)
 who of us /you/ them/those-people will-have-to do-it
 b. * Quale di noi/voi/loro/costoro dovrà farlo?
 which of us /you/ them/those-people will-have-to do-it
 c. * Chi dei tuoi studenti dovrà farlo?
 who of your students will-have-to do-it
 d. Quale dei tuoi studenti dovrà farlo?
 which of your students will-have-to do-it

Bianchi (2006a): A-free third person pronouns are essentially interpreted as free variables which receive a value from an assignment function. Following Kaplan (1989, 591-92), we may conceive of the assignment of values as ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE CONTEXT:

Kaplan (1989, *Afterthoughts*, 591-592): "Context is a package of whatever parameters are needed to determine the referent, and thus the content, of the directly referential expressions of the language... *it is natural to treat the assignment of values to free occurrences of variables as simply one more aspect of context* [emphasis mine, VB]... each context is associated with a particular possible world. The agent, time, and place are all drawn from that world. Similarly, an assignment associated with a particular context may be taken to assign only values that exist in the world of the context ."

Under a common view (e.g. Heim & Kratzer 1998, ch. 9), for an LF ϕ to be interpretable w.r.t. a context c , c must determine an assignment g (a function from numerical indices to individuals) such that the domain of g includes all the indices that are free (unbound) in ϕ . Anaphoric pronouns (subject to accidental coreference) are A-free pronouns.

→ The common feature of first, second and third person pronouns is their dependence on the context (direct reference). Following Kaplan (1989,593), we may call this feature [parametric] (Bianchi 2006a: [context-determined]).

→ By the cartographic assumption, third person pronouns should be linked to the left periphery, which syntactically encodes the relevant referents, cf. Sigurðsson & Maling's (2008) Context Linking Generalization for referential pronouns:

- (25) a. Context-linking features of the CP domain include at least Λ_A , Λ_P and Top.
 b. Any referential pronoun, overt or silent, positively matches a context-linking CP feature

5.1. Linking to Topic

A number of recent proposals links A-free third person pronouns to silent Topic positions (Frascarelli 2007; Belletti 2008; Holmberg et al. 2008).

NB: I restrict my discussion to clitic and null pronouns.

Frascarelli (2007): Italian third person null subjects are always linked to an Aboutness-Shift Topic, which may be silent. The Agree relation with the Aboutness-Shift Topic head identifies *pro*'s phi features:

- (26) $[\text{Shift}^{\circ} \text{DP}_{[\alpha P_n]} [\text{Shift}^{\circ} [\dots [\text{Agr}_{SP} [\text{Agr}^{\circ} [\text{VP}]]]]]]]]$
 AGREE $[\text{pro}_{[\alpha P_n]} [\text{VP}]] \dots$ $[+\text{ABOUTNESS}] [\text{PHI-features}]$

Holmberg et al. (2008, 13-19): an alternative Agree-based derivation:

- a) in consistent null subject languages, T has an unvalued D(efiniteness) feature, whose value is a referential index;
- b) The Aboutness topic values the uD feature of T, transmitting a referential feature to it;
- c) a defective third person pronoun, with valued phi-features but no D feature, is probed by the T head which has unvalued phi-features;
- d) T and the defective pronoun create a chain, whereby only T is spelled out; T also has a valued D- feature, whence a definite interpretation.

(27) $[_{\text{ShiftP}} \text{DP}_{[\text{D}]} [\text{Shift}^\circ [\dots [_{\text{TP}} \text{T}_{[\text{uD}]} [_{\text{VP}} \text{pro}_{[\phi]} [_{\text{VP}}]]]]]]]$

Belletti (2008, § 5): A-free pronouns double a silent pronominal topic raised to the edge of the clause, which looks for an antecedent from that position:

(28) $[_{\text{CP}} \text{DP}_2 \dots [_{\text{TP}} \dots \text{Cl} [_{\text{VP}} \text{V} [_{\text{DP}_1} [_{\text{D}} \text{Cl}]]] [_{\text{DP}_2}]]]]]$

→ If linking to silent Topics is generalized to all referential third person pronouns, there must be multiple silent Topic projections.

→ The silent Topics seem to be a syntacticization of the assignment of values. If they are regular DPs, and if the pronouns are linked to them by the usual syntactic+semantic binding relation, then there are no really unbound pronouns (i.e. free variables) in natural language.

→ If there is no link with illocutive force, these topics may be found also in nonroot phases that lack illocutive force (e.g. vP).

a) Linking to a silent Topic may also solve the problem of grammatical gender of free pronouns (thanks to Enzo Moscati for raising this issue):

(29) (Speaking about one's bag, ital. *borsa*, fem.):
 L'ho dimenticata sull'autobus.
 (I) CL.have left.F.SG. on the bus

Sauerland (2007): Purely grammatical gender cannot be assigned to the pronoun on a semantic (*ad sensum*) basis. The problem is solved if the pronoun contains a covert copy of the noun head, bearing grammatical gender (cf. also Elbourne 2005).

→ Alternative: grammatical gender is inherited (valued) from the silent Topic. (Cp. Kratzer 2009 for feature transmission in the post-Transfer PF computation)

b) Linking to a silent topic may account for certain free pronouns which cannot be easily analysed as having an individual value (not even via the E-type strategy):

(30) a. Altri tre libri, non li puoi prendere.
 three more books, (you) not cl.3.M.PL. can take away
 b. Puoi portare altri tre libri? Sì, dammeli pure.
 can (you) bring three more books? Yes, give.CL.1.SG.CL.3.M.PL.

- (31) a. Una baby-sitter, non l'ha ancora trovata.
a baby-sitter, (s/he) not cl.has yet found.F.SG.
b. Ha poi trovato una baby-sitter? No, non l'ha ancora trovata.
has (s/he) then found a baby-sitter? No, not cl.has yet found.F.SG.
- (32) a. ? Nessun libro, lo puoi tenere per tre mesi.
no book, (you) CL.can keep for three months.
b. A: Lì non ha trovato nessun libro da leggere. B: Be', non lo troverà neanche qui.
there (he) not has found any book to read. Well,(he) not cl.will.find either here
- (33) a. Qualche libro interessante, l'ho trovato.
some book interesting, (I) CL.have found.M.SG.
b. Hai trovato qualche libro interessante? / ? Sì, l'ho trovato/ ? No, non l'ho trovato.
have (you) found any book interesting? Yes, (I) CL.have found.M.SG./ No, not (I) CL.have found.M.SG

Despite its appeal, the silent Topic analysis is faced with an obvious problem: languages like English have much more restricted Topic structures (especially for Topics resumed by a pronoun, i.e. Left Dislocation). The D-type (covert NP) analysis does not suffer from this problem, though in languages like English it requires a heavier allomorphy (the+covert NP ⇒ he/she/it/**them**).

There is some initial evidence that English third person pronoun, contrary to Romance clitic pronouns, bear intrinsic grammatical features (at least gender!) and do not inherit them from the left periphery (Bianchi & Frascarelli 2009a):

- (34) a. √ Tuo fratello, lo conosco bene; tua sorella, no [_{XP} e].
b. ?? Your brother, I know him quite well; your sister, I don't [_{VP} e].
c. √ Your brother, I know him quite well; your father, I don't [_{VP} e].

6. Summing up

General hypothesis: A-free pronouns bearing a person feature, whose interpretation is context-dependent, must connect to the left periphery.

Positive evidence:

- i) Subject person agreement is sensitive to finiteness of the clause
- ii) Local syntactic account of «sequence of person»
- iii) Possible reduction of A-free pronouns to pronouns A'-bound by silent topics

Problems:

- i) "High" person-related effects are sensitive to illocutive force (Speas&Tenny). Yet subject person agreement does not seem to require illocutive force in the local left periphery.
- ii) Multiple silent Topics are unlikely for languages like English; D-type alternative.

7. So what is wrong?

The general strategy of syntacticizing the kaplanian parameters tends to reduce the mechanism of direct reference to the standard operator-variable format (A'-dependency; though, to be fair, Sigurðsson assumes instead a particular feature matching mechanism).

But there is an irreducible difference: an assignment of values, contrary to an operator, is **scopeless**, in the sense that interpretation relative to an assignment a equally applies to a constituent and to any of its subconstituents:

(35) $\llbracket \llbracket \text{IP She}_1 \text{ [VP loves him}_2 \text{]} \rrbracket \rrbracket^a = \llbracket \llbracket \text{VP loves him}_2 \text{]} \rrbracket^a (\llbracket \llbracket \text{she}_1 \rrbracket \rrbracket^a)$ [$a: 1 \rightarrow \text{jenny}, 2 \rightarrow \text{david}$]

On the contrary, an operator applies to its maximal scope, but it does not equally apply to any subconstituents that are included in its scope:

(36) possibly ($\llbracket \llbracket \text{IP Jenny [VP loves David]} \rrbracket \rrbracket$) \neq possibly ($\llbracket \llbracket \text{VP loves David]} \rrbracket$) (possibly $\llbracket \llbracket \text{Jenny} \rrbracket$)

If the A'-dependency in question is simply a lambda binder abstracting over a variable, which then gets converted by the semantic value of the topic (or the kaplanian parameter), the issue of scope would be harmless after all. However, a general reduction to the A'-dependency format seems to be **conceptually wrong** – even if we assume that any phase has a periphery to host the pronouns' silent antecedents.

8. Back to the stalnakerian view?

Let us look more closely at person anchoring in indirect vs. direct speech:

(14) a. He_i said to me_k that he_k loved me_k (Sigurðsson 2004, 236, (32))
 b. He_i said to me_k: I_i love you_k (Sigurðsson 2004, 237, (33))

From a purely morphosyntactic point of view, the subject of the verb of saying is treated as a speaker (grammatical first person) in (14b), but not in (14a). Why?

In both cases, reported speech introduces a «derived, partial context» (Truckenbrodt 2006) which includes (or is updated by) the proposition expressed by the reported clause. However, only in direct speech do the speech act participants of the derived context constitute an anchor for grammatical person.

The reason is that in indirect speech it is the speaker, and not the matrix subject, who is responsible for conveying the reported proposition. This is shown by the possibility of *de re* intrusion into the embedded clause:

(38) John thinks [that *Stevie's dog* is a stray dog] (report of a non-contradictory belief)

On the contrary, in direct speech the subject of the verb of saying is the source (in the sense of Sells 1987) of the reported proposition. *De re* intrusion is impossible:

(39) ! John thinks: «*Stevie's dog* is a stray dog». (report of a contradictory belief)

This suggests that grammatical person is anchored to the contextual parameter that corresponds to the logophoric Source (Speas & Tenny's Seat of Knowledge), though, in languages like Italian, subject person agreement is not sensitive to the interrogative flip.

9. Two cycles of interpretation

Recall our starting point:

A KAPLANIAN CONTEXT is a package of parameters (coordinates, anchoring points) which determine (at least) the content of indexical expressions, thus **determining the propositional content** expressed by a sentence.

A STALNAKERIAN CONTEXT is a set of propositions uniquely identifying a set of possible worlds, and represents a state of information which gets dynamically **updated by the propositional content** expressed by a sentence.

From a unifying viewpoint, we may say that the input context for interpretation plays a double role. At a more abstract level, we can rephrase the distinction in terms of two kinds of access to a context *c* (Bianchi & Frascarelli 2009a):

- **retrieval** of information which is available in context *c*
- **update** of the information, leading to a **new context** *c'*.

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