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¡Mira! The grammar-attention interface in the Spanish left periphery

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Abstract: In this paper, we focus on Spanish hearer-oriented particles like the highly frequent verb-based particle *mira* (lit. ‘look’). We provide a detailed syntactic account of these particles by demonstrating (i) that they must be distinguished from both vocative/appellative and expressive/exclamative particles, and (ii) that they feature illocutionary restrictions familiar from the class of discourse particles in languages other than Spanish. Since our proposal locates *mira* in the information-structural layer of the clause and, at the same time, demonstrates its sensitivity to the illocutionary component of sentence interpretation, we thus raise more general questions about the interaction between the syntax of speech acts and the syntactic encoding of information structure.

Keywords: information structure; particles; Spanish; speech-act syntax; vocative

1 Introduction

Most of the current literature on Romance languages distinguishes between two classes of particles that can appear in the left periphery of the clause and that encode information at what can be called the ‘grammar-attention interface’: vocative/appellative particles, which encode attention on the part of the hearer (1), and exclamative/expressive particles, which encode attention on the part of the speaker (2). The following examples are taken from Spanish, but this distinction has been used to account for the inventory of particles of other languages as well (e.g., Espinal 2013a, 2013b; Stavrou 2014; and many others); particles are given in italics:

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- (1) a. *Eh*, papá, ¿te acuerdas de Ana?
 PART dad you remember of Ana
 ‘Hey dad, do you remember Ana?’
- b. *Hey*, ¿adónde te crees que vas?
 PART where you think that go.2NDPERSON
 ‘Hey, where do you think you are going?’
- (2) a. ¡*Oh!* ¿Qué me está pasando?
 PART what me_{DAT} is happening
 ‘Oh! What is happening to me?’
- b. ¡*Ah!* ¿Qué puedo hacer?
 PART what can-I do
 ‘Ah! What can I do?’

In this paper, we focus on a class of particles that is often left out of the picture: hearer-oriented so-called ‘phatic’ particles (López Bobo 2002; Pons 1998). In Spanish, these particles are highly frequent, and the most famous cases are probably the particles *mira* and *oye*. Both particles are verb-based particles (imperative forms of the verbs *mirar* ‘to look’ and *oír* ‘to hear’, respectively).¹ According to López Bobo (2002: 27), these particles are used to maintain or ‘preserve the contact with the interlocutor’:²

- (3) a. *Mira*, no entiendo qué te pasa.
 PART don’t understand what you happens
 ‘Look, I don’t understand what is with you.’
- b. *Oye*, a mí no me hables así
 PART to me don’t me talk like-that
 ‘Look, don’t talk to me like that.’

1 Spanish features a large number of particles that are derived from verbs (i.e., verb-based aka deverbal particles). According to Sánchez López (2017: 491–492), these verbs were originally imperative (*mira*, *oye*, *anda*, *fíjate*), subjunctive (*vaya*, *venga*), or indicative forms (*sabes*, *digo*, *no veas*).

2 This is the use of these particles we are focusing on in this paper. However, we do not neglect that these particles can also feature other readings and functions. We know from the literature on particles like Spanish *ah* that these elements can express a variety of different meanings (e.g., López Bobo 2002: 30 et seq.)—depending on context, intonation, and many more factors. It thus comes as no surprise that different usages of particles like *mira* and *oye* are documented in the literature as well. For instance, *oye* can also function as an appellative particle as in *Oye, ¡préstame atención!* (‘Hey, pay attention to me!’; see Rodríguez Ponce 2005: 15). Again, we do not neglect that there are many more other readings and felicitous uses of these particles, but our driving premise in this paper is that the use exemplified in (3) poses interesting new challenges for the syntactic analysis of those particles.

The present article provides a detailed syntactic account for these particles by demonstrating (i) that they must be distinguished from both vocative/appellative and expressive/exclamative particles, and (ii) that they feature illocutionary restrictions familiar from discourse particles in other languages. These restrictions suggest that, although phatic particles like *mira* contribute a separate speech act, there has to be a link to the illocutionary force of their host clause. We will claim that this link connects the information-structural layer of the clause (where those phatic particles occur in, according to our approach) with its illocutionary force. In this paper, we thus raise more general questions about the interaction between the syntax of speech acts and the syntactic encoding of information structure. Our paper mainly focuses on Peninsular Spanish, but at some points we highlight that our observations also hold for American Spanish varieties.

Our paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, we will first introduce our notion of particles, and on this basis demonstrate that phatic particles like *mira* have to be distinguished from both vocative (Section 2.1) and expressive (Section 2.2) particles. In particular, we will discuss data showing that the syntactic distribution of phatics cannot be captured by claims that have been proposed for the other types of particles.

Based on this discussion, Section 3 asks the question of where in the functional hierarchy of the clause phatic particles should be located. Section 3.1 will first explore an already existing hypothesis (Slocum 2010, 2016; Taglicht 1984), namely that phatic particles are ‘intrusive’ watershed elements in the sense that they partition the utterance at the level of information structure into topical and focal material. On this basis, Section 3.2 then addresses another property that distinguishes phatics from other types of particles: Unlike vocative and exclamative particles, particles like *mira* feature illocutionary restrictions. We will discuss this aspect of *mira* in the context of cross-linguistic work on discourse particles, which are known for restrictions in this domain—and we show how our analysis can capture this interesting interaction between information structure on the one hand and restrictions to particular speech-act types on the other hand. Finally, in Section 4 we will draw some more cross-linguistic conclusions and point out future avenues of research.

2 Core distributional properties of phatic particles

In this section, we will show to what extent the syntactic distribution of phatic particles like *mira* has to be distinguished from both vocative (Section 2.1) and

expressive (Section 2.2) particles. Before turning to these distinctions in more detail, let us clarify how we use the term ‘particle’ in the following sections.

Traditionally, ‘particle’ refers to uninflected words more generally, including, e.g., prepositions, verb particles in particle verb constructions, and many more (e.g., see Huddleston and Pullum 2002 on this use of ‘particle’ for English). However, there is also a vast class of uninflected particle elements that is not located at the levels of argument structure/verb semantics, spatial semantics, etc., but rather concerns the discourse level of an utterance. In this domain, we find notions like ‘discourse particles’ (e.g., Grosz, To appear), ‘pragmatic particles’ (e.g., Foolen 1996), or ‘modal particles’ (e.g., Coniglio 2011).³ The particles in these discussions all express some relevant meaning at the level of discourse. That is, they refer to epistemic and/or attitudinal states of the speaker, the hearer, or both; or they connect utterances and conversational turns in a discourse at a more general level.

In this context, it is worth noting that also interjections—being uninflected and referring to a particular attitude/state of the speaker in a given discourse—are often referred to as ‘particles’ or, more specifically, as ‘expressive particles’ (McCready 2008). One prominent way to look at interjections is to categorize them as pragmatic markers (Norrick 2009; no matter if cases of interjections are ‘simplex’ or ‘secondary’, i.e., derived from other lexical categories); hence we can safely conclude that they function as discourse elements too. The same holds for so-called vocative particles, whose pragmatic and discourse properties are at the center of research dealing with those elements (González López 2019 for recent work on Spanish; Haegeman and Hill 2013; Hill 2007).

In what follows, we will thus use the term ‘particle’ to refer to the subclass of the particle inventory in natural language that operates at the discourse level of utterances (i.e., expressive particles/interjections, vocative particles, discourse particles, etc.). Here, we hypothesize that so-called ‘phatic’ particles like Spanish *mira* are particularly interesting and not fully accounted for so far when we look at their syntactic and pragmatic behavior.⁴

In particular, our goal in this paper is to contribute to the cartographic literature on these verb-based particles, which so far has only focused on either their clause-initial or clause-final occurrences (e.g., Cardinaletti 2015; Haegeman 2014).

³ In other frameworks, we often also find the notion of ‘discourse markers’ for referring to very similar (and sometimes identical items); see Haselow (2019) for recent work.

⁴ In what follows, we focus on the prime example *mira*, but we would like to point out that the class of derived ‘phatic particles’ (i.e., particles coming from other word classes) is much broader (e.g., *fijate*, *oye*, *bueno*, etc.). Also, simplex particles like Spanish *¿eh?* are also sometimes classified as phatic particles (see López Bobo 2002: 24; RAE and ASALE 2009: §32.2a).

In contrast to those approaches, we will also take into account the particles' clause-medial occurrences and, as a consequence, propose a unified account for both the particles' utterance-internal and their peripheral positions. In a nutshell, we will argue that particles like Spanish *mira* are part of the information-structural layer of the clause and not located in the illocutionary domain like it has been proposed for comparable particles in other languages (see literature cited above). Our approach illustrates that the interaction and similarity between information-structural and illocutionary meaning is even closer than often suggested in recent syntactic work.

To illustrate the main data points and the theoretical blind spots that will be analyzed in Section 3, the following two sections will first compare *mira* with vocative (Section 2.1) and expressive (Section 2.2) particles. The Spanish literature already mentions that particles like *mira* are different from the other classes of particles insofar as *mira* and similar particles are used to 'maintain the linearity of the discourse' and/or to 'preserve the contact with the addressee and to keep the channel open' (see López Bobo 2002: 27; our translations).⁵ In the next two sections, we will focus on syntactic (i.e., distributional) differences between phatic particles like *mira* and the other types of particles; we will then discuss the distinct pragmatic properties and restrictions of particles like *mira* in more detail in Sections 3 and 4 below.

2.1 Phatic particles and vocative particles

According to the descriptive literature on Spanish, vocative particles like *¡eh!*, (*h*) *ey*, *¡ea!*, *¡aúpa!*, *¡hala!* are used to "to call the attention of the addressee with the intention to encourage him/her to do something, or to awake in him/her different feelings or attitudes" (RAE and ASALE 2009: §32.1h; our translation).⁶ In what follows, we focus on particles like the ones cited above and thus concentrate on a subgroup that is also often referred to as being 'appellative' because these particles are explicitly calling for the attention of the hearer in contrast to fixed expressions ('formularia' in Spanish descriptive grammars) like *¡Salud!* or *¡Buenos días!* (see, again, RAE and ASALE 2009: §32.6).

In the context of these 'appellative' vocative particles, the literature in theoretical syntax has proposed that those elements are situated in the specifier of a

5 Original Spanish text: "A estos tres grupos, últimamente se han añadido las [...] *fáticas*; entre éstas se encuentran un pequeño número de formas, cuyo único cometido es mantener la linealidad del discurso o preservar el contacto con el interlocutor para que el canal siga abierto" (López Bobo 2002: 27).

6 Original Spanish text: "Se dirigen a algún destinatario [...] con intención de moverlo a la acción o de despertar en él sentimientos o actitudes diversas" (RAE and ASALE 2009: §32.1h).

Vocative Phrase (VocP); see Hill (2007, 2014), Espinal (2013a), and others.⁷ The head of this projection, Voc^0 , features the deictic constraint that the phrase must refer to an addressee (which has to be grammatically encoded by second-person inflection in pronominal cases); see Espinal (2013a):

- (4) $[_{\text{VocP}} \{(\text{h})\text{ey}/\text{eh}\} [_{\text{Voc}^0} [\text{DX}] \text{DP}]]$

The syntactic claim that vocative particles are not heads but phrases makes sense for several reasons, well documented in the literature (see Espinal 2013a on the following remarks). The basic assumption is that the functional head Voc^0 can be specified by a particle, and that Voc^0 selects a DP. For instance, consider Moro's (2003: 263) observation that vocative expressions (5a) can be coordinated (5b), but the particle can appear only once, as we can see in (5c):

- (5) a. O Maria, Gianni è arrivato.
PART Maria Gianni is arrived
 'Maria, Gianni has arrived'
- b. O Maria e Pietro, Gianni è arrivato.
PART Maria and Pietro Gianni is arrived
 'Maria and Pietro, Gianni has arrived'
- c. * O Maria e o Pietro, Gianni è arrivato.

As a consequence, Espinal (2013a) argues, vocative particles cannot be analyzed as heads of VocP and must be represented separately from the DP complement of the head Voc^0 .

Let us now briefly illustrate the deictic constraint, which is a typical feature of vocative phrases (D'Alessandro and Van Oostendorp 2016; Espinal 2013a, 2013b; Hill 2007). Vocative expressions only allow the presence of structures compatible with a second-person feature (6a). This is why first-person as well as third-person pronouns are ruled out in these structures (6b):⁸

⁷ Note that this phrasal account is also able to capture cross-linguistic variation in this domain. For instance, according to Hill (2014), if the vocative is expressed by bound morphemes (e.g., *-be* in Bulgarian, which is attached to a proper name), these morphemes are instantiating the head of this functional projection. In other cases, like in the examples given above, the vocative is expressed by free morphemes (like *¡eh!* in Spanish); these items are located in SpecVocP.

⁸ Exceptions are proper names, common nouns, and adjectives, third-person cases in any other context, but reinterpreted as second person in vocative expressions (see Hill 2007, 2014):

- (i) (H)ey, Celia/niña/bonita, ¿quieres tranquilizarte?
PART Celia/girl/pretty, want-you calm-down
 'Hey Celia/girl/sweetie, would you please calm down?'

- (6) a. (H)ey tú, ¿cómo te va?
 PART you how you goes
 ‘Hey man! How are things going?’
 b. * (H)ey yo/ella, ¿cómo te va?
 PART I/she how you goes

Let us now start looking at *mira*. We can easily see that the deictic constraint also holds for phatic particles like *mira*; observe (7), which is adapted from Sánchez López (2017: 492):

- (7) Mira niño (*yo/ella), tienes que beber la leche
 PART boy I/she, have.2SG that drink.INF the milk
 ‘Hey boy, you have to drink the milk.’

Also, particles like *mira* cannot be coordinated, similarly to what we have seen for vocative particles and their non-head status in (5) above:

- (8) a. Mira Diego, hoy no estoy de humor.
 PART Diego, today not I-am of mood
 ‘Hey Diego, today I’m not in the mood.’
 b. Mirad Diego y Antonio, hoy no estoy de humor.
 PART Diego and Antonio today not I-am of mood
 ‘Hey Diego and Antonio, today I’m not in the mood.’
 c. * Mira Diego y mira Antonio, hoy no estoy de humor

With these two parallels of vocative particles and *mira* in mind, we can now illustrate a first feature that distinguishes *mira* from vocative particles, namely that the verb-based particle *mira* displays agreement patterns when it is used with vocative constructions, as Sánchez López (2017) has recently pointed out. In particular, we can thus find *mira* with singular inflection when it is combined with *Antonio* (9a), or with plural inflection (*mirad* in Peninsular Spanish) when it appears with *chicos* (9b):⁹

- (9) a. Mira, Antonio, las cosas no funcionan así.
 ‘Look Antonio, things don’t work like this/in this way.’
 b. Mirad, chicos, a casa no os podéis llevar eso
 ‘Look boys, you cannot bring this to my house.’

⁹ The same holds for other verb-based phatic particles like *oye* (*oye/oid*) or *fijate* (*fijate/fijaos*), but we continue to focus on *mira* as our key example. Note that these agreement patterns are also documented in further Romance languages: *mira/mire*, *oes/oiches* (Galician); *olha/olhe*, *vê/veja*, *ouve/ouçam lá* (Portuguese), *mira/miri* (Catalan); see Corr (2016: 42).

We would like to highlight at this point that plural agreement marking in this construction exists in other Spanish varieties too. Look at the Latin-American counterpart of *mira* (i.e., *mire*) in (9'a), and how it can likewise be inflected for instance in Caribbean Spanish (9'b):¹⁰

- (9') a. *Mire*, señor, este establecimiento se reserva el derecho de
 PART sir this establishment itself reserves the right of
 admisión
 admission
 así que, si es tan amable, le
 so that if you-are so kind it
 agradecería que saliera.
 I-would-appreciate that you-come-out
 'Look sir, this establishment reserves the right of admission so if
 you'll be so kind, I'd appreciate it if you would come out.'
 (CREA)
- b. Miren señores, si nosotros estuviéramos equivocados hoy
 PART gentlemen if we were wrong today
 hubiéramos salido públicamente y reconocido el error [...]
 we-would-have come-out publicly and recognized the mistake
 (Corpes XXI, Panamá, 2001)
 'Look gentlemen, if we were wrong today, we would have come out
 publicly and recognized the mistake [...]'

Examples like these show that *mira* and the vocative expression enter into a close phrase-structural relationship, and that this relationship—due to the verbal origin of *mira*—can be expressed by agreement morphology that is unavailable in vocative particles. One could thus claim that both vocative particles and *mira* (when occurring with vocatives) occupy the same structural position (Spec VocP), and Spec-Head agreement can either be expressed by the deictic constraint

10 CREA (*Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*: 'Reference Corpus of Present-day Spanish) is a corpus of data created by the Royal Spanish Academy. It contains a huge variety of documents from both European Spanish (60%) and American Spanish (40%). As for the American varieties, 40% of the data is from Mexican areas (Mexico, southwestern United States, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador), 20% from the Andean region (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia), 17% from the Caribbean area (Cuba, Puerto Rico, Panama, Dominican Republic, the coasts of Venezuela and Colombia, and northeastern United States), 14% from the River Platte area (Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay), 6% from Chile, and 3% from the central zone (Nicaragua and Costa Rica).

alone or, in the case of verb-based *mira*, by verbal agreement.¹¹ However, a closer look at the distributional properties of *mira* indicates that this cannot be the whole story.

More specifically, we also observe cases where phatic particles (in what follows, in bold) can co-occur with vocative particles such as *eh* (in italics). In these contexts, the phatic particles show a strong tendency to follow vocative particles (cf. [10a] vs. [10b]). This suggests that phatics and vocative particles may occupy different positions in the structure:

- (10) a. *Eh*, **{*mira*, *oye*}**, a mí no me hables así.
 PART PART PART to me don't me talk like-this.
 'Hey, MIRA/OYE, don't talk to me like that!'
 b. ?? **{*Mira*, *Oye*}**, *eh*, a mí no me hables así.¹²

This brief discussion already indicates that particles like *mira* might form a syntactic class of their own and, although sharing many features with related particles, are distinct in many respects. When we now turn to comparing *mira* with expressive particles, we see even more features that fit neither the class of vocative nor other classes of particle elements.

11 We are aware of the fact that agreement also in this context could be analyzed in various ways, and not necessarily by a Spec-Head configuration (see Corbett 2006 and Preminger 2014 for comprehensive overviews of various proposals) – and in fact, we use an alternative version of agreement (so-called agreement at a distance) for a different aspect of *mira* later in the paper, see Section 3.2 below. However, the point here is to highlight the parallels between agreement found in vocative expressions (which is 'only' deictic) and number agreement in the case of *mira*. We thus adopt the proposal that has been put forward in the context of vocatives, see examples and literature above.

12 We hasten to add that this judgment might be a potential locus of speaker variation, and we hypothesize that this is the case because (10b) would be grammatical if *eh* would be interpreted as an interrogative element: *Mira*, *¿eh?*, *a mí no me hables así*. However, in this case it would feature a different meaning and intonation. According to the *Diccionario de partículas discursivas del español* (Briz et al. 2008), *¿eh?* can have three different meanings: (i) 'confirm, ratify or accept what has been said' (e.g., *Haces la cama, ¿eh?*: 'you make the bed, eh?'); (ii) 'reaffirm what has been said and ask the listener to agree with it' (e.g., *Los cambios yo creo que son bastante claros, ¿eh?*: 'I think the changes are quite clear, eh?'); and (iii) ask for a clarification or repetition of what has been said (e.g., *–Buenos días, le llamo de la oficina de turismo. –¿Eh? ¿De dónde dice?:* '–Good morning, I'll call you from the tourist office. –Huh? Can you say it again?/Why the tourist office?'). Since *eh* in those readings always forms a separate intonation phrase with question intonation, we submit that it performs a separate speech act and thus does not have an impact on the syntactic structure of the sentences that would contain particles like *mira* in examples such as (10).

2.2 Phatic particles and expressive particles

Spanish has a rich inventory of expressive (also often called ‘exclamative’) particles (see RAE and ASALE 2009: §32.7); these particles can express a variety of emotions like annoyance, dislike, or disappointment (11a), surprise or incredulity (11b), or admiration and approval (11c):

- (11) a. *¡Maldición!* Me he quedado sin batería.
 PART me have run-out-of without battery
 ‘Damn! I’ve run out of battery.’
- b. *¡Ostras, Pepe!* Me has asustado: no sabía que estabas aquí.
 PART Pepe Me has scared not knew that were here
 ‘Jeez, Pepe! You scared me: I didn’t know that you were here.’
- c. *¡Bravo, bravo!* Sabía que lo conseguirías.
 PART PART Knew that it achieve_{Conditional}
 ‘Well done! I knew that you would achieve it.’

According to Stavrou (2014), these expressive particles have a relatively free syntactic distribution in any language—and, accordingly, also in Spanish:

- (12) a. *¡Maldición!* Sabía que iba a ocurrir esto.
 PART I-knew that was to happen this
 ‘Damn! I knew that this was going to happen.’
- b. Sabía que me iba a ocurrir eso, *¡maldición!*

This property—either appearing clause-initially (12a) or clause-finally (12b)—clearly distinguishes expressive from vocative particles because these can only occur clause-initially (13a) and never at the end of a clause (13b):

- (13) a. *¡Eh!* Déjala en paz
 PART Leave-her in peace
 ‘Hey! Leave her alone!’
- b. * ¡Déjala en paz, *eh!*

Let us now look at *mira*. Concerning its syntactic flexibility, it behaves more like expressive and not like vocative particles; that is, it can appear at the beginning of the sentence or at the end, as has recently been pointed out by Sánchez López (2017: 492–493; examples adopted from her):

- (14) a. *Mira*, tenéis que marcharos ahora.
 PART have.IMP that leave now
 ‘You have to leave now.’
- b. Tenéis que marcharos ahora, *mira*.

In addition to this more flexible syntactic distribution, observe now that expressive particles can co-occur with one another, with no ordering restrictions (15):

- (15) a. **¡Ah!, ¡oh!**, ¡ya lo tengo, ya lo tengo!, ¡ya lo he recordado!, ya sé lo que tengo que decirles y sé cómo empezar, ya lo sé, y es tan sencillo...
Ah! Oh! I already have it, I already have it! I already remembered it! I already know what I have to tell them and I know how to start, I already know, and it is so simple...
[CREA 1991, Sergi Belbel, *Esla Schneider*]
- b. **Oh... Ah...** vuelo... Mm, qué olores... humo, perfumes
Oh... Ah... I'm flying... Mm, what smell, smoke, perfume
[CREA 1991, Sergi Belbel, *Esla Schneider*]

Crucially, this does not hold for vocative particles (16):

- (16) a. ?? **Eh, anda**, mira lo que he encontrado.
'Eh, look what I've found here.'
- b. * **Anda, eh**, mira lo que he encontrado.
'Eh, look what I've found here.'

In this context too, *mira* and other phatic particles pattern more with expressive and not with vocative particles. That is, in contrast to vocative particles, *mira* and *oye*, for instance, can be stacked and display no ordering restrictions when they co-occur with each other:

- (17) a. [...] **mira, oye**, a mí la verdad que me daría igual que fuera un sueco.
'Look, hey, actually I would care if he was a Swedish man.'
[CREA, oral, radio, 1991]
- b. [...] ¡No!, es cierto, **oye, mira**, yo lo que pienso es [...]
'Don't! It is true, hey, look, what I think is [...]'
[CREA, oral].

Let us now briefly summarize our syntactic observations from Section 2.1 and the present section in the following table (Table 1):

Table 1: Distributional properties of particle types.

<i>Particle type</i>	<i>Agreement patterns (person and/or deictic)</i>	<i>Stacking</i>	<i>Free distribution</i>
Vocative	+	–	–
Expressive	–	+	+
Phatic (e.g., <i>mira</i>)	+	+	+

In Table 1, we see that particles like *mira* differ from both vocative and expressive particles, and we therefore hypothesize in the following sections that phatics like *mira* form a particle class of their own. That means that the empirical phenomenon of *mira* may require an analysis that differs from the other two types of particles at the grammar-attention interface. In the next section, we will turn to such an analysis and explore the hypothesis that particles like *mira* are in fact information-structural particles, in contrast to both vocative and expressive particles. We thereby give more empirical and theoretical substance to the traditional and descriptive intuition that these particles are generally used to ‘maintain the linearity of the discourse’ and/or to ‘preserve the contact with the addressee and to keep open the channel’ (López Bobo 2002: 27); see already our remarks above.

3 The particle *mira*: information structure and illocutionary restrictions

In this section, we will analyze the Spanish particle *mira* (pars pro toto for other verb-based items like *oye*) as an information-structural element and propose a detailed syntactic account that captures its semantic and pragmatic properties. In particular, Section 3.1 first deals with its role as ‘intrusive’ discourse partitioner at the level of information structure; we will discuss to what extent this component of *mira* can be related to the ‘watershed’ function that has been observed for other types of particles in languages other than Spanish (see Grosz 2016 for a recent account using the metaphorical notion of an information-structural ‘watershed’ function and our discussion below). Based on this discussion, Section 3.2 then turns to the interesting observation that the particle *mira*—in contrast to closely related particle classes (see Section 2 above)—features illocutionary restrictions. We will demonstrate how this can be accounted for based on the particle’s information-structural role pointed out in Section 3.1, and we will present a syntactic analysis that captures all these semantic and pragmatic aspects of *mira*. Let us now start with clarifying why we think that *mira* can be characterized as an information-structural element.

3.1 Intrusive *mira* and information-structural partitioning

When we now turn to the question of where in the utterance *mira* can occur and what kind of partitioning role it might play there, we first would like to highlight that phatics can only occur (and therefore partition) the utterance at one single

position in the clause. We would like to claim that *mira* is essentially an information-structural element because, as we will show, it partitions the utterance into topical and focal information. Crucially, *mira* is also a parenthetical item, and we suggest that we can analyze its occurrences along the lines of what has been proposed for parenthetical uses of higher adverbs, which in some uses are not integrated into the asserted proposition of an utterance, but instead function as ‘comment on that assertion’ (Bonami et al. 2004).

In a cartographic perspective, we can be more specific and adopt an analysis that has been proposed by Slioussar (2007) for Russian adverbs and by Slocum (2016) for English. Based on Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy of adverbs, Slocum (2016: 188–190) has suggested that the different positions of speaker-oriented adverbs like *frankly* in (18) can be analyzed by claiming that the adverb has a fixed position, and topical material can move across the adverb (19). Crucially, this analysis is built on the observation that all the different positions of *frankly* correspond to different information-structural interpretations.¹³

(18) (Frankly) time (frankly) is (frankly) passing (frankly) as we speak (frankly).

- (19) a. [_{MoodSpeechActP} *frankly* [_{TP} *time is passing as we speak*]]
 b. [_{TOPP} *time*_i [_{MoodSpeechActP} *frankly* [_{TP} *t_i is passing as we speak*]]]
 c. [_{TOPP} [_{TP} *time is t_i*]_j [_{MoodSpeechActP} *frankly* [_{FoCP} [_{VP} *passing as we speak*]_i *t_j*]]]
 d. [_{TOPP} [_{TP} *time is passing t_i*]_j [_{MoodSpeechActP} *frankly* [_{FoCP} [_{VP} *as we speak*]_i *t_j*]]]
 e. [_{TOPP} [_{TP} *time is passing as we speak*]_j [_{MoodSpeechActP} *frankly t_j*]]

As a first step, let us therefore assume a representation like the following to sketch our central assumption that parenthetical *mira* can as well be accounted for within an account that is driven by information-structural observations. Note that in what follows, we use *MiraP* and not *PhaticP* because our approach diverges from the more traditional accounts and characterizations mentioned in Section 2, which use the term ‘phatic particles’ to commonly characterize particles like *mira*, *oye*, and *fijate*. While we would like to suggest that many of the observations on the syntactic distributions of *mira* presented in Section 2 above also hold for the other ‘phatic’ particles, we would like to leave this point to future research because each

¹³ Note that nothing in our analysis of *mira* hinges on the claim that (19c) is analyzed as a case of TP topicalization. We merely adopt Slocum’s (2016) account here for illustration purposes and hasten to add that there are prominent approaches that are not in line with operations like that (see Grohmann’s 2011 overview of relevant work on so-called ‘anti-locality’).

of those particles can feature additional meanings that might restrict their exact occurrence again (e.g., *oye* can also convey an appellative component; see FN 2 above).¹⁴

(20) ... [_{TopP} ... [_{MiraP} ... [_{FocP} ... [_{FinP} ...]]]]

(20) illustrates that *mira* acts as an information-structural ‘watershed’ element inside the clause. More specifically, being a parenthetical expression, it functions like what has recently been called a ‘parenthetical partition’ (see recent syntactic work by Slocum 2016 and González López 2019). That is, it can not only be compared to parenthetical adverbs, but also to structurally more complex phrasal expressions like the following English cases (see Taglicht 1984: 22 for the original discussion and the following examples):

- (21) a. [That shed], *my dear*, [will have to be painted].
 b. [John], *you know*, [has painted the shed].

Expressions like *you know* and *my dear* typically occur with topical material to their left and focal material to their right (Slocum 2016), as we also tentatively claim for *mira* in (20) above.

Given our structural hypothesis in (20), a first question that might come to mind immediately is how we can then explain the use of *mira* together with vocatives, which, as we have shown in Section 2, always appear at the outermost portion of the left periphery, with *mira* preceding them. Our answer is that in those cases, there simply is no further topical material preceding *mira*, and MiraP is merely introducing the fact that all information that follows *mira* and the vocative is focal.

On this basis, it is but a short step to argue that even the occurrence of *mira* with vocatives dovetails nicely with our approach: *mira* partitions the utterance at the level of information structure, and material occurring to the right of *mira* can be considered focal, while (potentially) material to the left of the *mira* phrase is topical. In the case of the vocative, it is just that there is no topical material occurring to the left of *mira*. We can analyze this as in (20’), where a more complex MiraP (i.e., *mira* and similar particles occurring with the vocative) is analyzed in parallel to VocPs because we have seen that in both cases we have to account for agreement patterns: deictic agreement in the case of VocP, and person (PRS) agreement in the case of MiraP (see Section 2.1 above):

(20’) ... [_{TopP} ∅ [_{MiraP} {*mira/oye*} [_{Mira^o} [PRS] *Maria*] [_{FocP} ... [_{FinP} ...]]]]

¹⁴ We would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for relevant observations in this context.

So far, this may seem like a mere (speculative) hypothesis about the role *mira* plays in the functional hierarchy of the clause. Let us therefore turn to some key data illustrating the information-structural role of *mira*. Consider the following patterns:

- (22) a. CONTEXT: Laura is explaining to David how to analyze a sentence based on a concrete example. She therefore asks David:
 Laura: ¿Has entendido el ejemplo?
 ‘Do you understand the example?’
 David: El ejemplo, *mira*, no hay quien lo entienda.
 ‘The example, PART, there is no one that understands it.’
- b. CONTEXT: Santi and Álvaro are looking for someone who is calm enough to do a specific job. Santi therefore asks Álvaro:
 Santi: ¿Quién es una chica calmada?
 ‘Who is a calm girl?’
 Álvaro: *María, *mira*, es una chica calmada.
 ‘Maria, PART, is a calm girl.’
 [alternative word order is fine:
 Una chica calmada, mira, es MARÍA.
 a girl calm PART is Maria]

Example (22a) demonstrates that *mira* is perfectly fine with a clearly topical constituent (*el ejemplo*) to its left. On the other hand, *mira* cannot be used like in (22b); here, *María* is the narrow-focus term to the question asked in (22b), and so it cannot occur to the left of *mira*. Note that the alternative word order, where the topic appears to the left of *mira* and the narrow focus to the right (heavily stressed) is fine, see above. Based on this core observation, we can characterize *mira* as an ‘intrusive’ element that partitions the utterance in a topic and a focus—or, as Taglicht (1984) uses the term ‘intrusive’ element, in a ‘rheme’ and a ‘theme’.

Crucially, similar information-structural configurations have not only been observed for other phrasal elements like parenthetical adverbs (see [18] and [19] above), but have also been identified in the domain of non-parenthetical clause-level particles in other languages, which are commonly analyzed as functional heads. For instance, we can easily draw parallels from patterns we see with *mira* to the behavior of German CP-level particles such as the particle *denn* (lit. ‘then’), which is typically found in interrogative sentences.

In the examples in (23), for instance, movement across the particle *denn* results in shrinking the focus domain of the clause; that is, constituents which appear to the left of the particle are interpreted as topical material. When only the lexical verb remains in the focus domain to the right of the particle, as in (23d), the verb receives heavy stress (i.e., [...] *in der Stadt denn GEGESSEN?*). In all of the examples

in (23), *denn* itself cannot be focused and receive stress (see parallel examples in Bayer and Obenauer 2011):

- (23)
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----|---------|-----------|-----------|-----|-------|-------|------------------|
| a. | Was | hat | denn | Andreas | gestern | in | der | Stadt | gegessen? |
| | what | has | PART | Andreas | yesterday | in | the | city | eaten |
| | ‘What has Andreas been eating in the city yesterday?’ | | | | | | | | |
| b. | Was | hat | Andreas | denn | gestern | in | der | Stadt | gegessen? |
| | what | has | Andreas | PART | yesterday | in | the | city | eaten |
| | | | | | | | | | <u>SHRINKING</u> |
| | | | | | | | | | <u>OF</u> |
| c. | Was | hat | Andreas | gestern | denn | in | der | Stadt | gegessen? |
| | what | has | Andreas | yesterday | PART | in | the | city | eaten |
| | | | | | | | | | <u>FOCUS</u> |
| | | | | | | | | | <u>DOMAIN</u> |
| d. | Was | hat | Andreas | gestern | in | der | Stadt | denn | gegessen? |
| | what | has | Andreas | yesterday | in | the | city | PART | eaten |

Bayer and Obenauer (2011: 455) provide additional evidence for this discourse-partitioning function of the discourse particle by showing that weak and clitic pronouns obligatory precede *denn*:

- (24)
- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------|------|-----------|----------|---------------|
| Hat | {es/'s} | denn | {*es/*'s} | jemanden | interessiert? |
| has | it | PART | it | someone | interested |
| ‘Did someone take an interest in it?’ | | | | | |

Observations like those above for *denn* have also been made for many more prominent cases of particles (also declarative ones) in German. For instance, Grosz (2016) has recently proposed that these particles have an information-structural ‘watershed’ function (Grosz adopts this term from Krivonosov 1977). This is illustrated in (25); examples from Grosz (2016: 338):

- (25)
- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|------|------|------|-------|----------|-----|
| a. | weil | Riko | ja | eine | Frau | geküsst | hat |
| | because | Riko | PART | a | woman | kissed | has |
| | ‘(...) because Riko has [JA] kissed a woman.’ | | | | | | |
| b. | weil | {man | ja/ | *ja | man} | arbeitet | |
| | because | one | PART | PART | one | works | |
| | ‘(...) because one is [JA] working.’ | | | | | | |

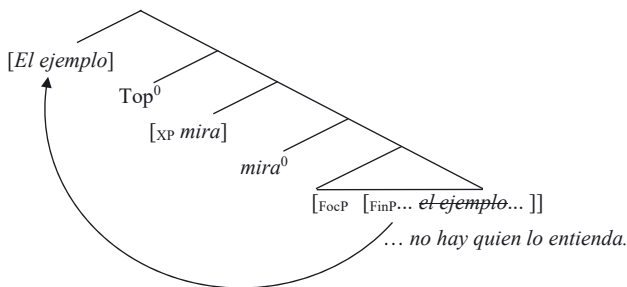
In (25a), the proper name *Riko* is intended to express ‘old/topical’ information, and the indefinite NP *eine Frau* should convey ‘new/focal’ information. A non-focusable phrase such as the arbitrary pronoun *man* cannot appear to the right of the particle *ja*; such elements obligatorily precede the particle (25b). The same is true of the particle *mira*; in Spanish constructions akin to the use of the arbitrary pronoun in (25b), *mira* cannot be followed by the impersonal part of the construction (‘one should know...’):

- (26) a. Uno debería conocer sus opciones antes de tomar una decisión.
 ‘One should know their options before making a decision.’
- b. * Sus opciones, mira, uno debería conocer antes de tomar una
 their options PART one should know before making a
 decisión.
 ‘Their options, look, one should know them before making a
 decision.’

Despite all these similarities, the crucial difference between the particles in German (like *ja* and *denn*) on the one hand and Spanish *mira* and speaker-oriented adverbs on the other hand is of course that only the latter are parenthetical elements. That is, in contrast to *mira*, discourse particles like *ja* and *denn* are fully integrated into the syntactic structure, and they realize functional heads and do not have phrasal status.

However, regarding its information-structural function in the clause, *mira* seems to behave like discourse particles in non-Romance languages like German. Plus, we have shown that parenthetical adverbs like *frankly* (according to a cartographic perspective) can actually also be analyzed as being part of the functional hierarchy of the clause (see [18] and [19] above). Therefore, and given all the data discussed above, we can now see why our proposal already sketched in (20) could make sense: When used clause-internally like in (22a), *mira* is situated between material that has been dislocated to a topical projection and the rest of the clause, which, in those cases, is all focal; see our sample analysis in (27):

- (27) Example tree for clause-internal occurrence in (21a):



However, there are additional facts that need an explanation, but that also further support our approach that parenthetical *mira* has to be an integral part of the syntactic structure of its host clause. In particular, unlike vocatives and exclamative particles, the particle *mira* seems to feature illocutionary restrictions. That is, although *mira* (and related parenthetical partitions such as English *frankly* or *you know*) are distinguished from discourse particles in German by not being prosodically fully integrated into their host clause, these

illocutionary restrictions again bring this Spanish element closer to the particles from languages like German. Let us now turn to this observation and these parallels in more detail.

3.2 Information-structural *mira* and illocutionary restrictions

After having outlined an analysis that captures the role that *mira* plays at the level of information structure in a clause, we now turn to another interesting observation that has not been accounted for in the previous literature on *mira* and related particles: *mira*—no matter if appearing clause-internally or clause-peripheral—can appear with declarative, exclamative, or imperative sentences, but crucially not with interrogative configurations:

- (28)
- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------|
| a. | <u>Mira</u> , no sé qué te pasa. | [declarative] |
| | ‘Mira, I don’t know what happened to you.’ | |
| b. | <u>Mira</u> , ¡qué pesado eres! | [exclamative] |
| | ‘How pushy you are!’ | |
| c. | <u>Mira</u> , cállate de una vez. | [imperative] |
| | ‘Shut up only once!’ | |
| d. | ?? <u>Mira</u> , ¿qué ha pasado? | [interrogative] |
| | ‘What happened?’ | |
| d’. | ¿Qué (*, mira,) ha pasado (*, mira)? | |

Note that this restriction does not really depend on the syntactic form of the interrogative (‘clause’ or ‘sentence’ type) but seems to be associated with its illocutionary force, which, nevertheless, should be represented by a relevant operator in the syntactic structure, according to the cartographic view we are adopting here (Rizzi 1997, 2014); see below.¹⁵ Look at the following case of a rhetorical question. We postulate that rhetorical questions like (29) are equivalent to assertions semantically, and we refer to a rich tradition in the syntax-semantics literature in order to support this assumption (going back at least to Sadock 1971 and recently discussed in great detail by Giannakidou and Mari 2020). The following utterance is perfectly fine with *mira*:

¹⁵ Such an approach is also supported by work at the syntax-semantics interface where the main idea is that illocutionary components of utterance meaning should be encoded within the boundaries of sentence grammar (see Krifka 2014, To appear).

- (29) Mira, ¿quién pensaba que Juan se iba a casar?
 PART who thought that Juan was-going to marry
 ‘Who thought that Juan would get married? (Nobody!’)

These illocutionary observations provide additional support for the claim that *mira* is indeed part of the functional hierarchy of the clause and not just a parenthetically inserted element that has no structural connection to the host clause whatsoever. In other words, although the verb-based *mira* might be seen as a separate speech act (with directive force; i.e., telling the addressee to pay attention), there has to be a link to the illocutionary force of the host clause, explaining the incompatibility we observe in (28d).

This, again, is reminiscent of discourse particles in languages other than Spanish. Look at the following German examples, where we can see that the denotation of the assertive particle *ja*, already introduced above, is incompatible with Q (question) Force:

- (30) a. Andreas spricht **ja** Spanisch.
 Andreas speaks PART Spanish
 ‘(As you and I already know,) Andreas speaks Spanish.’
 b. * Warum spricht Andreas **ja** Spanisch?
 why speaks Andreas PART Spanish


Given data patterns like (30), it has been proposed for discourse particles that the connection between force/sentence mood and the particles can be modeled by agreement of illocutionary features like [+assertive]. In particular, Bayer and Obenauer (2011) have proposed an analysis that leaves the particle in situ (in the so-called ‘middlefield’/IP zone) and that rests on agreement at a distance, so-called ‘probe-goal agreement’ (Chomsky 2000, 2001).¹⁶ Importantly, the syntactic mechanism proposed by Bayer and Obenauer (2011) is agreement *at a distance* because according to their approach, the particle has a fixed position and does not LF-move to the Force domain of the clause. There are many empirical facts supporting such an approach, one of them being that discourse particles have the information-structural role discussed in Section 3.1 above (which is crucially shared with *mira*).

To illustrate this approach in more detail, take for instance the assertion in (30a). It is clear that assertive force in this case is independent of the discourse

¹⁶ Illocutionary and/or sentence-type restrictions are also a prominent topic in other frameworks, where different formal tools for modeling the relevant interactions are proposed (e.g., Alm et al. 2018).


particle *ja*. In other words, the particle contributes to/modifies the illocutionary reading (i.e., signaling the ‘uncontroversiality’ of the assertion in our case), but it does not constitute the illocutionary force and can only serve as a ‘communicative cue’ (Grosz 2014), together with intonation and potentially further features.

This connection between any type of force/sentence mood (here: assertive) and the particles can now be accounted for technically by adopting a feature-sharing version of Agree (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007), allowing a mechanism where Force⁰ (e.g., ASSERT) does not have a Prt feature, but the respective particles are likely to have a feature matching the Force. This mechanism is needed because many other particles that do not have an assertive feature (e.g., question particles like *denn* in [22] and [23] above are ruled out in assertions). Look at the following representation where an interpretable feature probes an uninterpretable matching feature; adopting a notational convention, in (31c) agreement is expressed by an arbitrary value that fills the empty slot in []:

- (31) a. $[\text{ForceP Force}^0 \text{ } i_{\text{ASSERTForce}} [\text{ } [\text{TopP} \dots [\text{Prt } u_{\text{ASSERTForce}} [\text{ } \dots]]]]$
 \Rightarrow FEATURE PROBING
- b. $[\text{ForceP Force}^0 \text{ } i_{\text{ASSERTForce}} [\text{ } [\text{TopP} \dots [\text{Prt } u_{\text{ASSERTForce}} [\text{ } \dots]]]]$
 \Rightarrow AGREEMENT
- c. $[\text{ForceP Force}^0 \text{ } i_{\text{ASSERTForce}} [\text{ } [\text{TopP} \dots [\text{Prt } u_{\text{ASSERTForce}} [\text{ } [4] \dots]]]]$
- 

Via agreement, Prt becomes part of C⁰ and its illocutionary components (e.g., ASSERT, Q(uestion), IMP(erative), etc.), according to Bayer and Obenauer (2011) and more recent work adopting their approach (Bayer and Trotzke 2015; Trotzke and Monforte 2019; and many others).

We would like to suggest that we can adopt exactly the same approach to account for the distribution of *mira* across illocutionary forces. In particular, we can model the incompatibility of *mira* with Q Force as follows:

- (32) $[\text{ForceP Force}^0 \text{ } i_{\text{QForce}} [\text{ } [\text{TopP} \dots [\text{MiraP } mira \text{ } u_{\text{QForce}} [\text{ } \dots]]]]$
- 

In other words, just like in the case of discourse particles, a feature-sharing version of Agree at a distance can account for the link between illocutionary force and particles appearing in the information-structural layer of the clause.

As a next step, one might wonder what meaning component of *mira* at the grammar-attention interface is it exactly that renders *mira* compatible with Forces

like assertive, exclamative, and imperative, but incompatible with questions. We propose the following:

- (33) a. $[[mira]] = \text{'S knows } p \text{ and wants to draw attention of H to } p\text{'}$
 b. $[[Q]] = \text{'S does not know } p \text{ (or parts of } p\text{) and wants the hearer to provide } p \text{ (or parts of } p\text{).}'$

From (33) it follows that the speaker cannot draw attention to p in a question by using *mira*. On the other hand, *mira* is predicted to be perfectly fine with other Force operators because in assertives and exclamatives, the speaker already knows about p (either because p is asserted or p is backgrounded/presupposed as in exclamatives); in imperatives, p has not already come about, but, just as in assertives and in exclamatives, the speaker is not missing parts of p because he knows about all the components of the action that he wants to see to come about.¹⁷ All in all, we have seen in this section that the illocutionary restrictions of *mira* can syntactically be analyzed according to proposals for discourse particles that have already been put forward in the literature—discourse particles being the most prominent cases where we can observe such illocutionary restrictions.

At this point, we would like to add an aspect that is also often discussed in the literature on discourse particles: their embeddability and their status as a main clause phenomenon (see Zimmermann 2011 and many others for relevant remarks). Look at the following pattern that has been raised by an anonymous reviewer:

- (34) Susana cree que María, *mira*, es abogada.
 Susana believes that Maria PART is lawyer
 'Susana believes that Maria, *mira*, is a lawyer.'

¹⁷ One might argue again at this point why the observed incompatibilities between *mira* and questions cannot be modeled at the level of discourse only, and why we propose a syntactic model to account for these restrictions. We think that this point refers to a much wider topic that we cannot do justice to in this paper; note that such criticism would also hold for the syntactic analysis of discourse particles we are adopting here in this paper, and there are arguments for and against it ((see Grosz, To appear) for a comprehensive discussion). As already pointed out above (see FN [12]), our approach adopts the general perspective that illocutionary meanings and distinctions should be modeled within syntax (Krifka 2014, To appear), but we are well aware of the fact that not only within other frameworks (Fried 2015), but also within generative linguistics itself, this conception is controversial (see Reis 1999 for a comprehensive discussion and Lohnstein 2020 for recent work).

- (34') Susana cree que María, *mira*, es abogada,
 'Susana believes that Mary, *mira*, is a lawyer,'
- a. ... pero yo no lo creo.
 'but I don't believe that Mary is a lawyer.'
 - b. ... pero yo sé que eso no es verdad.
 'but I know that Mary is a lawyer is not true.'
 - c. pero yo sé que no es cierto que Susana crea que María es abogada.
 'but I know that it is not true that Susana believes that Mary is a lawyer.'

These examples show that the interpretation of *mira* sketched in (33) above applies at the level of the main clause (and thus at the level of illocutionary force as stated above). In particular, the sentence in (34) could be felicitously followed by the utterances given in (34'a,b), which convey that the speaker does not assert and/or knows the embedded proposition (i.e., that Mary is a lawyer). However, the reading in (34'c) that the speaker does not assert and knows that Susana believes that Mary is a lawyer is infelicitous.

Crucially, the interpretation that *mira* draws the attention of the hearer to the fact that Susana believes something (and not to the content of that belief) is perfectly fine. We thus claim that both our syntactic analysis and our denotation in (33) above represent this interpretation of *mira*: semantically speaking, it behaves like a Conventional Implicature (CI) because it has been shown that CIs under predicates like *believe* project (display non-local effects), in contrast to presuppositions (e.g., Tonhauser et al. 2013). Syntactically speaking, *mira* is licensed by and interpreted according to the relevant Force operator at the level of the main clause and can thus be characterized as a main clause phenomenon when occurring embedded as in (34) above.¹⁸

Together with our account in Section 3.1, where we claim that *mira* acts as a watershed element at the level of information structure, we can now turn to some general conclusions about the interaction between information structure and the syntax of speech acts.

18 The status of *mira* as a main clause phenomenon is further supported by the fact that it can appear in recomplementation configurations under verbs of saying (Spanish *decir* 'to say'), which have been shown to be main clause phenomena (Villa-García 2015, 2019). To see this, look at the following example pointed out to us by an anonymous reviewer:

María	dice	que	<i>mira</i> ,	que	no	hay	más	tu	tía
Maria	says	that	PART	that	not	is-there	more	your	aunt

'Maria says that MIRA there's nothing more to do.'

4 Conclusions

In this paper, we provided a detailed syntactic account of the highly frequent Spanish verb-based particle *mira* (lit. ‘look’). We demonstrated (i) that this particle must be distinguished from both vocative/appellative and expressive/exclamative particles (Section 2), and (ii) that it interacts with both the information-structural configuration and the illocutionary force of the clauses it occurs in (Section 3). We have highlighted at several points that these characteristics of *mira* are very much reminiscent of the core features that have been proposed for so-called discourse particles in the literature. In particular, both the information-structural watershed function and the illocutionary-force agreement that have been claimed for discourse particles dovetail nicely with our observations about *mira*. The only difference between the two classes of elements is that discourse particles (as functional heads) are an integrated part of the clause, while phrasal expressions like *mira* (in line with some speaker-oriented adverbs or phrases like *frankly* or *you know*) are parenthetical expressions. However, both discourse particles and phrasal parentheticals like *mira* partition the clause into topical and focal information.

Based on our analysis of locating *mira* in the information-structural layer of the clause, let us now turn to some more general questions about the interaction between the syntax of speech acts and the syntactic encoding of information structure. We would like to suggest (as we already did throughout the paper) that ‘parenthetical partitions’ (González López 2019; Slocum 2016) are indeed separate performatives at the level of speech acts. For *mira*, we have proposed an illocutionary meaning that can be paraphrased as ‘S knows *p* and wants to draw attention of H to *p*’. Note now that at the grammar-attention interface, we find many more means that can be considered as actually performing separate speech acts (always in the imperative mood; i.e., S wants to draw someone’s attention to *p*/parts of *p*). For instance, Hanging Topics (HT), according to Portner (2004), also involve separate performatives. Look at one of his examples and the respective paraphrases:

- (35) Maria, I like her very much.
At-issue: ‘I assert that I like Maria very much.’
Not-at-issue: ‘I hereby request that you activate your mental representation of Maria ($\text{Maria} \in p$).’

According to this view, the syntactic layer of information structure (here: the representation of HTs) also encodes illocutionary meaning (at the not-at-issue level), and in many cases like in our examples featuring the Spanish particle *mira*,

this illocutionary component can clearly be identified as soon as we observe an interaction between the at-issue Force and the not-at-issue Force (see Section 3, where we modelled this interaction in terms of probe-goal agreement). Accordingly, as we have already proposed in Section 3 above, *mira* involves something similar to (35):

- (36) Mira, (Antonio,) las cosas no funcionan así.
At-issue: ‘I assert that (p things don’t work like this).’
Not-at-issue: ‘I hereby request Antonio’s attention towards p .’

In sum, our paper thus demonstrates that particles like *mira* contribute a separate speech act, but, crucially, as part of the information-structural layer of the clause (like German-style discourse particles), and not by being located in the illocutionary domain of the clause itself (like it has been proposed for comparable particles in other languages; see Haegeman 2014; Hill 2007; and many others). Accordingly, we hypothesize that the interaction and similarity between information-structural and illocutionary meaning is even closer than often suggested in the syntactic literature, and we hope that our paper encourages and initiates further research in this domain.

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