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Reporting on 'thinking' in Spanish and Portuguese and the role of the subject pronoun¹

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Abstract

The present paper is concerned with the phenomenon of reporting on the speakers' thinking when both the reporting and the reported clauses originate in one and the same speaker, i.e. the performative uses of the verbs sp. *creer* and pt. *achar* ('think'). The data are retrieved from the CdE-NOW and CdP-NOW. Adopting both a quantitative and a qualitative perspective, I concentrate on reporting on thinking with and without the overt expression of the subject pronouns sp. *yo* and pt. *eu*. In doing so, the constructions (*yo*) *creo* (*que*) and (*eu*) *acho* (*que*) as well as parenthetic and right-peripheral *creo yo* and *acho eu* are studied. According to the corpus data and compared to other possible constructions with *creo* and *acho*, *creo que* and *acho que* represent the most frequent constructions if searching for the 'node' creo or acho, that is, if the non-use of the subject pronoun exceeds its explicit expression.

1 Introduction

Since reported thought "is embedded in words" (Vygotsky 1991: 249), it represents a form of direct or indirect speech or an "intermediate strateg[y] languages may have" (Spronck 2019: 606). There are

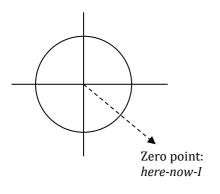
different structural ways of explicitly making other voices heard. From the Bakhtinian perspective, the opposition between direct and indirect speech is only relevant in the sense that it illustrates how the speaker can structurally signal other voices: direct speech displays the voice of the reported speaker as if the current, reporting speaker reflects it fully (cf. also Wierzbicka 1974), 'less direct' strategies increasingly signal that the voice of the reported speaker is filtered through that of the reporting speaker. (Spronck 2019: 606; cf. also von Roncador 1988)

Spronck (2015) as well as Spronck/Nikitina (2019) argue that reported speech should be seen as a syntactic construction on its own, comparable to modal-epistemic expressions or evidential structures. Reported speech should not be understood as transitive/intransitive clauses (only) introduced by a specific verb of saying or thinking. What, if "both the reported and the reporting clause are construed entirely from the perspective of the current speaker" (Vandelanotte 2006: 141; cf. also Vandelanotte

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2009)? In these cases, the reporting person reports on his*her own thinking. Indeed, "verbal thinking is a complex formation that is heterogeneous in nature" (Vygotsky 1987: 320) so that the reporting person and the person about whom is reported can, of course, overlap (on the overlapping between author and narrator, cf. Bakhtin 2008: 314, 324).

The present paper is thus concerned with the phenomenon of reporting on the speakers' thinking, when both the reporting and the reported clauses originate in one and the same speaker, such as in *Now I think (that) this is a paper on reporting on thinking in Spanish and Portuguese*. In such examples, "it is [...] the speaker's deictic centre from which both the reporting and the reported clauses are deictically and expressively construed" (Vandelanotte 2006: 139). The *here-now-I* system of subjective orientation in a concrete speech event, i.e. the coordinate system of subjective orientation, is also called *origo* (cf. Bühler 1999: 102-103, 149). The *origo* can thus be understood as a point of origin as it refers to the zero point of the coordinate system of every speaking 'ego' (cf. Innis 1982: 22; cf. also Hennemann 2013: 48):



"Let two perpendicularly intersecting lines on the paper suggest a coordinate system to us, 0 for the origin, the coordinate source[.] My claim is that if this arrangement is to represent the deictic field of human language, three deictic words must be placed where the 0 is, namely the deictic words *here, now* and *l*." (Bühler 1990: 117)

And in the performative use of cognitive verbs like *think*, a speaker reports on his*her own thinking, and both the reporting as well as the reported clause originate in one and the same speaking 'ego', i.e. *origo*.

2 Object and aims of the study

Before explaining the object and the aims of the present study in more detail, it should be mentioned that phrases like *yo creo* or *eu acho* belong to the so-called *modus* part of a sentence and not to the *dictum* part (cf. Bally 1965: 56-75). In adding a qualification to the *dictum*, the *modus* conveys the speaker's attitude regarding what is said. "For example, in a sentence such as 'I think that the accused is innocent', *I think* is *modus*, 'that the accused is innocent' is *dictum*" (Graffi 2001: 248). However, if dealing with the performative use

of thinking, the meanings of 'think' can be very versatile, as explained for the English cognitive verb:

In the most "literal" case, *think* is construed as an action, the act of thinking, and, in the most "metaphoric" case, it is construed as the subjective result of the act of thinking, as an indicator of opinion. In between these two extremes, discourse can constrain many construals of the semantic potential of *think* [...] (Cappelli 2007: 194)

When a token of *I think* appears in context, it becomes impossible to determine its precise semantic meaning out of context, on its own and independent of the utterance in which it occurs. (Kärkkäinen 2003: 111)

What Cappelli (2007) and Kärkkäinen (2003) here explain for English think is also applicable to its Spanish and Portuguese² equivalents, i.e. Spanish *creer* and Portuguese *achar*. Furthermore, for English *I think* the use of this construction as a routinized chunk of language which organizes the interaction in a conversation has also been demonstrated (cf. Kärkkäinen 2007): "in everyday American English [I think] has been shown in firstposition turns to routinely frame an upcoming stanced turn or longer opinion sequence" (Kärkkäinen 2007: 183; cf. also Travis/Torres Cacoullos 2012: 712). Another function of *I think* is its use as a hedging particle, which may also be inserted to convey politeness, i.e. realized as a politeness strategy (cf. Aijmer 2002): "*I think* can, for instance, be used as a strategy redressing an action threatening the hearer's negative face such as criticism or advice" (Aijmer 2002: 8; cf. also De Cock 2014: 12). Thus, while in *I think* (that) this is a paper on reporting on thinking in Spanish and Portuguese, the construction I think can clearly be described as a fragment conveying the speaker's stance (be it more epistemic or evidential), in other structures and other contexts, *I think* may (predominantly) fulfill other functions, in which the reporting on thinking is not foregrounded (at all). In the present paper I am not concerned with the many different meaning nuances in particular. However, of course, the meaning of thinking when expressing the act of thinking is differentiated from the subjective result of the act of thinking. Both the former and the latter are represented in example (1):

pt. Acho muito difícil, acho que o Filipe Luis não deve vir. 'I find it very difficult, I think that Filipe Luis should not come'

² By "Spanish" and "Portuguese" I refer to the different Spanish and Portuguese varieties.

2.1 Object of study

Spanish and Portuguese belong to the so-called pro-drop languages. In these languages the use of the pronoun is not obligatory (because the pronouns are grammatically/pragmatically inferable). It is therefore particularly interesting to examine the optional use of the pronoun 'I', as in examples (2) and (3), in comparison to its non-use – cf. examples (4) and (5) – in the context of the speaker's thinking:

- (2) sp. Además, **yo creo** que voy mejorando con los años. (CdE:Elplural.com) 'Besides, **I think** that I'm getting better over the years'
- (3) pt. **Eu acho** que somos todos adultos. (CdP:Terra) '**I think** that we're all adults'
- (4) sp. Creo que es un lujazo para el Málaga y desde que llevo aquí [...].
 (CdE:eldesmarque.com)
 '[I] think that it's a luxury for [the] Malaga and since I've been here'
- (5) pt. Acho que o Athletico tem uma estrutura três vezes maior que o Corinthians.
 (CdP:Meu Timão)
 '[I] think Athletico has a structure [that is] three times larger than Corinthians'

Aijón Oliva/Serrano (2010) explain the general variation between verbs used with or without the subject pronoun in terms of discourse-pragmatic factors:

Expression of the first-person subject is correlated with more argumentative and contentious scenarios, which can be explained by the fact that this variant helps focus on the perceptual presence of the speaker and anchor discourse in his/her personal sphere. The contrary obtains for omission, most often appearing in hypothetical contexts and introducing propositions considered to be of a more general scope. (Aijón Oliva/Serrano 2010: 7)

Posio (2014: 5) shows that especially "mental or cognitive verbs such as the verb *creer* 'think' are associated with a significantly higher rate of expressed subject pronouns than other verbs". In comparing sp. *creer* to other Spanish cognitive verbs, it becomes obvious that "the expression of the subject pronoun *yo* is very frequent" (Posio 2014: 16; cf. also Hennemann 2016: 452).

2.2 Aims of the study

Adopting quantitative and qualitative perspectives, I am concerned with the performative use of the verbs sp. *creer* and pt. *achar* ('think'), i.e. when these verbs of thinking encode the subject's cognitive (epistemic/evidential) attitude. The data are retrieved from the CdE-NOW (https://www.corpusdelespanol.org/now/) and CdP-NOW (https://www.corpusdoportugues.org/now/) and reveal that: **1)** while the construction [subject pronoun (*vo/eu*) + verb] is usually followed by the complementizer *que* ('that'), expressing a relatively strong commitment concerning [p],

- (6) sp. **Yo creo que** eso es bueno para todos. (CdE:eldesmarque.com) '**I think that** this is good for everyone'
- (7) pt. **Eu acho que** é um preço muito bom. (CdP:SempreUPdate Notícia) '**I think that** it is a very good price'

2) the construction [verb + subject pronoun] is usually found in parenthetic (8) and rightperipheral (9) sentence positions, **3)** often accompanied by questions requiring backchannel behavior on behalf of the interlocutor like in (10) and (11), thus serving an intersubjective function³:

- (8) pt. Deve ganhar mais alguns GPs até ao fim do ano, acho eu, mas chegar ao mundial é muito improvável. (CdP:AutoSpor)
 '[He] should win a few more GPs by the end of the year, I think [think I], but winning the Championship is very unlikely'
- (9) pt. A Maria está muito consciente disso, **acho eu**. (CdP:Nova Gent) 'Maria is very aware of that, **I think [think I]**'
- (10) sp. [...] no es com..., no es el... el Bonnie and Clyde auténtico, creo yo, ¿no? por los convencionalismos de la sociedad española [...] (CdE:Habla Culta:Madrid:M4)
 `[...] it is not lik[e]..., it is not the ... the authentic Bonnie and Clyde, I think [think I], right? Because of the conventions of the Spanish society [...]'
- (11) pt. [...] fica feio... para isso existe a rubrica Apple acho eu, não? (CdP:Pplware)'[...] it is ugly... for that there's the Apple section I think [think I], right?'

³ The intersubjective function of right-peripheral *creo yo* is explicitly dealt with in Hennemann (2016) and is only marginally dealt with here. That study relies on data which are more oral in character or dialogic in nature so that the intersubjective function and the combination with structures requiring back-channeling such as responses, comments or remarks becomes obvious.

4) While *creo yo/acho eu* expresses the speaker's stance in a confident way (involving intersubjectivity), *creo/acho* serves a mitigating function (cf. De Saeger 2007: 2, Aijón Oliva/Serrano 2010: 7, Posio 2014: 13, Hennemann 2016: 469, Schneider 2007):

- (12) sp. [...] es él del pantalón rayado, creo. Bueno. Todos elegantísimos, elegantísimos; la fiesta más increíble, eso sí. (CdE:Habla Culta:Bogotá:M42)
 '[...] it's the one with the striped pants, [I] think. Well. All [of them] very elegant, very elegant, the most unbelievable party, this [is] for sure.'
- (13) pt. [...] eu devo descartar a possibilidade de ser assexual (acho).
 (CdP:a2forum.forumeiros.com)
 '[...] I should rule out the possibility of being asexual ([I] think)'

5) Hence, I show semantic-functional differences between reporting on the speaker's thinking with and without the subject pronoun, also respecting the position of the pronoun.

3 Quantitative and qualitative corpus analysis

As mentioned above, for the study of reporting on thinking in Spanish and Portuguese from both a quantitative and qualitative perspective, the examples are retrieved from the CdE-NOW and the CdP-NOW, whereby "NOW" stands for "news on the web". The retrieved examples are from web-based newspapers and magazines from 2012-2019.

The following sub-sections deal with the different constructions which are used to report on thinking, i.e. with [subject pronoun (yo/eu) + verb] (without complementizer), [subject pronoun (yo/eu) + verb + que] and [verb + subject pronoun (yo/eu)] (when the subject pronoun is postponed to the cognitive verb) in parenthetical, i.e. surrounded by commas, and right-peripheral position. In the quantitative analysis I deal – in each case – with a sample of 500 examples, namely with the first 500 examples displayed by the corpora.

3.1 The construction [subject pronoun (*yo/eu*) + verb (+ *que*)]

As mentioned above, the study by Aijón Oliva/Serrano has revealed that the uses of *creo* and *yo creo* are linked to different discourse functions. Generally, most instances of the explicit formulation of the subject expression are found in dialogues because it helps to anchor the speaker in the discourse. In studying examples from different contexts

(dialogic in nature), it is shown that the use of the subject pronoun is especially frequent in radio programs, interviews or TV debates, that is, in argumentative discourse where the expression of opinion and evaluation is of relatively high importance (Aijón Oliva/Serrano 2010: 27; cf. also Hennemann 2016: 452-453). The non-use of the subject pronoun, in turn, rather appears in hypothetical contexts. This leads to the conclusion that *yo creo* is linked to the expression of the speaker's responsibility regarding [p], "signalling confident epistemic stance" (Posio 2014: 13), while the use of *creo* (without subject pronoun) is associated with the speaker's wish to express reservations regarding the veracity of [p] (cf. Posio 2014: 14), thus serving "a mitigating function, expressing cautious epistemic stance" (Posio 2014: 13).

According to the first 500 examples from the CdE-NOW, the construction (*yo*) *creo* (*que*) is distributed as follows, whereby for *creo* (alone) its sentence-initial position is differentiated from its mid-position:

[(yo) creo (que)] Total	yo creo que	creo que	yo creo	creo (mid)	creo (initial)
500	40	406	2	2	4

Table 1. Distribution of (yo) creo (que)

However, it should be mentioned that examples containing *creo* as part of a complex verb (as in 14) were not counted, clause-initial uses, even if following a conjunction, were also counted as sentence-initial (as in 15), and examples in which *creo* is part of the *dictum* were also left aside (as in 16). In other cases, when an adverb was found to be used in between *creo* and *que*, these examples were also counted as instances of *creo que* (cf. example 17):

- (14a) sp. Y CGI **creo recordar** que si hubo, pero muy poco. (CdE:Las horas perdidas) 'And CGI **[I] think to remember** that there was, but very little'
- (14b) sp. [...] -producidos en monos- para transplantes -en humanos, que no en monos, como creo haber dicho antes-. (CdE:Hispanidad)
 '- produced in monkeys for transplants in humans, not in monkeys, as [I] think I said before -'
- (15) sp. Así es.. los brasileños pararon pero creo que más que indisposición física [...] (CdE: radiosanctispiritus.cu)
 'That's right... the Brazilians stopped, but [I] think that more than physical indisposition'

- (16a) sp. Cree que se cumplirá la condena dictaminada en Italia? # R: No lo creo. (CdE: El confidencial)
 'Do you think the sentence handed down in Italy will be served? # A: I don't think so'
- (16b) sp. # Ni existen ni creo en los milagros y sí en los ingredientes básicos de la vida
 [...] (CdE: Diaro del Alto Aragón)
 'Neither do they exist nor do I believe in miracles, but [I do believe] in the basic ingredients of life'
- (17) sp. He aceptado este gran desafío, porque creo firmemente que una nueva forma de hacer [...] (CdE: AméricaEconomía)
 'I have accepted this great challenge because [I] firmly think that a new way of doing'

While example (18) represents a parenthetical use of *creo*, where the cognitive verb fulfills a hedging function, the subsequent examples (19-21) are regarded as especially interesting since *creo* is used in clause-initial or sentence-initial position without being followed by the complementizer *que*, but rather expressing the speaker's cognitive stance:

- (18) sp. [...] este año se hizo la modificación de crédito número 11, creo, que destinaba un millón de euros a la residencia de Beteta. (CdE:Vocesdecuenca.es)
 'This year the 11th credit modification was made, [I] think, which allocated one million euros to the Beteta residence'
- (19) sp. pero desde que da esa señal a comprar a ojo, creo hay más margen a ojo si se va sin stop [...] (CdE:in Bestia)
 'but since he gives that signal to buy upon seeing, [I] think there's more leeway if he goes non-stop'
- (20) sp. Lo veo más haciendo un Hipercar de el WEC que esto, creo también quieren estar allí. (CdE:Diariomotor)
 'I see him doing more of a WEC Hypercar than this, [I] think they want to be there, too'
- (21) sp. [...] y tenemos muchas ganas de que se quedé, que así creo va a ser, y que nos ayude como en los últimos años. (CdE:MARCA)
 'and we really want him to stay, which [I] think he will, and help us like he has [done] in the last few years'

Comparable to examples (19-21) is the following example. The complementizer *que* is missing but the subject pronoun is overtly expressed:

(22) sp. [...] está materializando la corrección por parte de el clero fiel; una corrección que **yo creo** abre la puerta a la corrección de el rumbo de la humanidad. (CdE:infovaticana.com)

'is materializing the correction by the faithful clergy; a correction that **I think** opens the door to the correction of the course of humanity'

The construction [cognitive verb + subject pronoun] is usually found in sentence- or clause-final position, that is, in the right periphery. The following example of [cognitive verb + subject pronoun], in combination with the complementizer *que* (!), represents a use which I only came across once during my study of the first 500 examples of the CdE-NOW:

 (23) sp. Creo yo que sí hay diferencias, benditas diferencias, amo las diferencias [...] (CdE:Noticine)
 'I think that [Think I that] there are differences, blessed differences, I love differences'

This structure is also found in Portuguese and seems to be more frequent than in Spanish:

- (24) pt. Acho eu que agora ele acabou de se complicar e complicar ainda mais os meliantes [...] (CdP:JC Online)
 'I think that [Think I that] now he's just gotten more and more complicated and the miscreants'
- (25) pt. **Acho eu que** ele terá piedade de você. (CdP:Jornal Extra) '**I think that [Think I that]** he'll take pity on you'
- (26) pt. [...] q não se pronunciava se fosse a o contrário e acho eu q tem q apanhar [...]
 (CdP:Notícias de Patos de Mina)
 'who wouldn't speak up if it was the other way around, and I think that [think I that] he has to catch up'

According to Travis/Torres Cacoullos (2012), in the CdE, *yo creo* is the most frequent *yo* + V_{Present Indicative} combination, "appearing over five times as often as the next most frequent combinations (*yo he* 'I have [auxiliary]' and *yo tengo* 'I have [possessive]', both of which occur just over 700 times)" (Travis/Torres Cacoullos 2012: 740; cf. also Posio 2014), as in the following examples from the CdE-NOW, which illustrate parenthetic uses of *yo creo*:

- (27) sp. [...] porque le tocó conducir la provincia en, yo creo, la crisis más dura de los últimos 20 años. (CdE:El Patagónico)
 'because it led the province through, I think, the toughest crisis in 20 years'
- (28) sp. Necesitamos una regla, yo creo, una regla para la Premier League, pero también en todos los campeonatos [...] (CdE:El Comercio; Ecuador)
 'We need a rule, I think, a rule for the Premier League, but also in every championship'

Comparing the constructions [subject pronoun (yo/eu) + verb] and [subject pronoun (yo/eu) + verb + que] in Spanish and Portuguese – used in sentence-initial or clause-initial position, of course – it becomes obvious that the latter is far more frequent than the former (cf. Table 1 above and Table 2 below). However, when combined with the complementizer, the non-use of the subject pronoun seems to be more usual than the overt expression of the subject pronoun (cf. Tables 1 and 2). The qualitative analysis reveals that the constructions being used in sentence-initial position usually indicate the speaker's cognitive stance regarding [p]; as the *modus* they add a qualification. In midposition, in turn, it is often used as a mitigator, a hedging particle or as a cognitive filler.

According to the first 500 examples from the CdP-NOW, the construction (*eu*) *acho* (*que*) is distributed as follows:

[(eu) acho (que)] Total	eu acho que	acho que	eu acho	acho (mid)	acho (initial)
500	90	302	1		

Table 2. Distribution of (eu) acho (que)

As explained above for Spanish, the instances of (*eu*) *acho* (*que*) were also counted, even if the structure is 'interrupted' by an adverb (29-31). Furthermore, even negated structures were counted (32, 33). What has not been counted was the use of *achar* as represented by the first instance in example (1), here in (34), (35) and (36):

- (29) pt. Eu sinceramente acho que agora as redes sociais são outra coisas... (CdP:SAPO Lifestyle)
 'I honestly think that social networks are another thing now...'
- (30) pt. [...] porque eu sinceramente acho, que Neymar, não precisa jogar assim para ser o melhor [...] (CdP:24Horas New)
 'because I honestly think that Neymar doesn't have to play like that to be the best'
- pt. [...] faz parte de o processo, eu acho mesmo que as pessoas de TV tem que passar por isso [...] (CdP:Observátorio da TV)
 'is part of the process, I really think that TV people have to go through it'
- (32) pt. Mas eu não acho que Trump veja esses aliados como uma forma de construção de pressão internacional. (CdP:Internacional Estadão)
 'But I don't think that Trump sees these allies as a form of international pressure'
- (33) pt. **Não acho que** tenha que haver regras mais rígidas. (CdP:Estado de Minas) '**I don't think that** there have to be any stricter rules'

- (34) pt. **Eu acho** o seguinte, [...] (CdP:Coluna do Fl) '**I think** the following'
- (35) pt. [...], **eu acho muito improvável que** [...] (CdP:Coluna do Fl) '**I find it very unlikely that**'
- (36) pt. **Eu**, particularmente, **acho** o Pedro **muito bom** [...] (CdP:Coluna do Fl) 'I, in particular, **find** Pedro **very good**'

As the examples above also demonstrate, from a syntactic perspective, the use of the subject pronoun is especially dominant in both sentence-initial and clause-initial position (cf. also Posio 2014: 12).

According to the first 500 examples displayed by the CdP-NOW, sentence-initial *acho*, the examples representing the *modus* – but without being followed by the complementizer *que*, – were rarely or not found at all (compare to examples 19-21 above for Spanish). However, these uses exist, of course. After additional searches for collocates such as [*acho* + *debe*] or [*acho* + *é*], the following results were obtained:

- (37) pt. Acho debe ser como es el Perú: variopinto, exuberante, musical, megadiverso
 [...] (CdP:El Comercio)
 '[I] think it must be like Peru: colorful, exuberant, musical, megadiverse'
- (38) pt. Acho é muito feio ainda haver esse preconceito quando o primeiro trabalho [...]
 (CdP:Nova Gent)
 '[I] think it's very ugly that there's still this prejudice when the first job'
- (39) pt. Acho é uma de as melhores que eu vou lançar este ano. (CdP:Jornal Extra)'[I] think it's one of the best I'm going to release this year'
- (40) pt. [...] que alguém ganhe mais um bocadinho de o que eu. Não acho é justo.
 (CdP:Notícias ao Minut)
 'that somebody gets a little more than I do. I don't think it's fair'
- (41) pt. [...] uma deriva hesitante de o PP [ou seja, CDS-PP] relativamente a o populismo, acho há ali a a direita gente que sente que [...] (CdP:PÚBLICO)
 'a hesitant drift of PP [i.e. CDS-PP] towards populism, [I] think there are people on the right who feel that'
- (42) pt. **Acho** foi uma montagem de seu próprio governo. (CdP:BBC Brasil) '[**I**] **think** it was an assembly of his own government'
- (43) pt. Eles escolheram outra forma de o impeachment. Acho foi um golpe mesmo.
 (CdP:Diário de Pernambuco)
 'They chose another way of impeachment. [I] think it was a real blow.'

(44) pt. [...] e que só lhe restariam Lineker e Rivera co' mo opções, acho foi a melhor escolha. (CdP:Globo.com)
 'and he'd only have Lineker and Rivera to choose from, [I] think it was the best choice'

An additional search for collocates such as [creo + es] or [creo + hay] in the CdE-NOW showed more results likes the ones illustrated by examples (19)-(21) and which are also similar to the Portuguese examples above:

- (45) sp. Estamos en el límite, creo es el 19 de abril cuando ya hay una resolución de los jueces (CdE:Periodico a.m.)
 'We're at the limit, [I] think it's April 19th when there's already a decision from the judges'
- (46) sp. También creo hay un sector de el peronismo que se hace cargo de los cambios
 [...] (CdE:Perfil.com)
 '[I] also think there is a sector of Peronism that takes charge of the changes'
- (47) sp. [...] que seguiremos contando con nuestro equipo; sin embargo, creo es necesario establecer una serie de dinámicas para acercar a la gente [...] (CdE:El Sol de Puebla)
 'that we will continue to count on our team; however, [I] think it is necessary to establish a series of dynamics to bring people'

For Spanish, also uses with the explicit expression of the subject pronoun were found:

- (48) sp. Yo creo hay mucha presión de Estados Unidos en estos momento para hacer[...] (CdE: Milenio.com)'I think there's a lot of pressure from the United States right now to do'
- (49) sp. "Yo creo hay jugadores que ya son transferibles", dijo el ejecutivo. (CdE:Diário Gestión)
 "I think there are players who are already transferable," said the executive'

Aijmer (2002) and Thompson/Mulac (1991) describe uses of *I think* in which the complementizer *that* is deleted as in *I think this is a paper on reporting on thinking in Spanish and Portuguese* as an instance of grammaticalization: "To explain the grammaticalization of *I think* it is assumed that the distinction between main clause and subordinate clause has first become fuzzy as a result of the deletion of *that*" (Aijmer 2002: 17-18). According to Thompson/Mulac (1991: 313), due to the grammaticalization of the fragment as a whole it has become possible to move *I think* into parenthetic (like in d) or right-peripheral (like in c) positions, which could be demonstrated by the following 'path of examples':

(a) *I think that* this is a paper on reporting on thinking in Spanish and Portuguese.

- (b) *I think* this is a paper on reporting on thinking in Spanish and Portuguese.
- (c) This is a paper on reporting on thinking in Spanish and Portuguese, **I think**.
- (d) This is a paper on, **I think**, reporting on thinking in Spanish and Portuguese.

The analysis of *yo creo* as a (grammaticalized) chunk is also backed up by Travis/Torres Cacoullos (2012: 739-740), who explain that *yo creo* may be seen as prefab (or prefabricated unit), thus, a single unit instead of an analyzable structure consisting of a pronoun and a verb. "Evidence for prefab status comes from the high token and relative frequency" of *yo creo* (Travis/Torres Cacoullos 2012: 739):

yo creo is largely autonomous from other instances of a more schematic (subject pronoun) + verb construction. Contributing to the status of *yo creo* as an autonomous unit is (1) the token frequency of the string; (2) the high proportion it comprises of all occurrence both of the lexical type *creer* and of the pronoun *yo* [...] (Travis/Torres Cacoullos 2012: 741)

However, *yo creo* is considered *largely* and *not completely* autonomous, "but retains associations with the more general (*yo*) + cognitive verb construction, as well as the even more schematic (*yo*) + verb construction" (Travis/Torres Cacoullos 2012: 741).

3.2 Parenthetic/right-peripheral [verb + subject pronoun (*yo/eu*)]

In Hennemann (2016) I am concerned with a comparison of the right-peripheral use of *creo* (without subject pronoun) and *creo* followed by the subject pronoun. The former structure is found in examples (50) and (51) or (52) and (53) for Portuguese:

- (50) sp. Son más de dos victorias y son aún el equipo dominante, creo.
 (CdE:thebestf1.es)
 'It's more than two wins and they're still the dominant team, [I] think'
- (51) sp. [...] unos cuantos "hooligans" menos pero eso es un argumento de escasa naturaleza, creo. (CdE:Preferente.com)
 'a few less hooligans, but that's an argument of little nature, [I] think'
- (52) pt. Até pegou a gente um pouco de surpresa, **acho**. (CdP:UOL) 'It even took us a little by surprise, **[I] think**'
- (53) pt. Mas a maioria de os deputados não bate carteira, **acho**. (CdP:Jornal O Globo) 'But most members don't hit wallets, **[I] think**'

However, the use of *creo* and *acho* as in the examples above is not studied in the present paper. Sentence-final uses of cognitive verbs – especially without the subject pronoun –

are generally assigned a mitigating function: they subsequently mitigate [p], expressing the speaker's reservations regarding the veracity of [p] (cf. Posio 2014: 14).

Rather, I concentrate on the syntactic distribution of *creo yo* and *acho eu*, comparing the parenthetic and right-peripheral position, even though there are, of course, sometimes cases of doubt:

(54) sp. [...] que la repercusión económica que genera la F1 es mucho mayor, pero eso creo yo, la mayoría de la gente no [...] (CdE:Diariomotor)
 'that the economic impact of F1 is much greater, but I think [think I] most people don't'

Similarly, there are instances of, for example, *acho eu*, which cannot be considered either parenthetical or right-peripheral, such as (55), which is sentence-initially used and (56) or (57), which represent a *dictum* of their own:

- (55) pt. [...] prende-se essencialmente com uma coisa: monopólio. Acho eu, assim de repente # Leste mal. (CdP:Pplwar)
 'is essentially about one thing: monopoly. I think [Think I], all of a sudden # You read it wrong'
- (56) pt. Vejo os 2 algo saturados disto. **Acho eu**. (CdP:AutoSpor) 'I see the two of them saturated with this. **I think [Think I]**.
- (57) Mas se vai ganhar, depois vai ter que partilhar o que ganhou. Acho eu! BINGO! (CdP:blogosferalegal.com)
 'But if he is going to win, then he has to share what he won. I think [Think I]! BINGO!'

Examples like (55), (56) and (57) above were not counted and have not influenced the quantitative analysis. Table 3 represents the quantitative distribution of the construction [verb + subject pronoun (*eu*)] according to the parenthetic and right-peripheral position in a sentence or clause. Obviously, these usages are distributed in equal parts:

acho eu	parenthetic	right-peripheral		
(Total: 374) 4	107	113		

Table 3. Syntactic distribution of the structure [verb + subject pronoun (eu)]

⁴ As exemplarily indicated by the uses in (55)-(57), a total amount of 154 instances was not counted because I was explicitly focusing on the right-peripheral and the parenthetic use.

The construction [verb + subject pronoun] is usually found in parenthetic and rightperipheral sentence positions. Especially with regard to the latter position, it is often accompanied by questions requiring back-channel behavior on behalf of the interlocutor, then serving an intersubjective function (cf. also Hennemann 2016), because "the postverbal placement of the pronoun can be interpreted as contrastive, as it typically marks the modified utterance as representing the speaker's point of view but not necessarily being shared by others" Posio (2014: 15) so that the postverbal subject pronoun can be said to fulfill a contrastive function; it invites the interlocutor(s) to comment on the speaker's utterance. Thus, the domain of intersubjectivity is more present than in the reporting on thinking without the (postponed) subject pronoun. As Davidson (1996: 547) argues, the use of cognitive verbs (used parenthetically) can only be described in terms of subjectivity if they come without the subject pronoun consequently, comparing the constructions with and without postponed subject pronoun in parenthetic and right-peripheral position, the following can be stated:

Creo [*acho*] alone is a construction to indicate that [p] represents the speaker's mental state and *creo yo* [*acho eu*] fulfills a further function besides this. This study has shown that *creo* [*acho*] and *creo yo* [*acho eu*] in utterances having the structure [*p*], *creo* Ø [[*p*], *acho*] and [*p*], *creo yo* [*p*], *acho eu*] fulfill different functions. While *creo* [*acho*] without subject pronoun is considered a construction expressing subjectivity, *creo yo* [*acho eu*] is regarded as representing the domain of intersubjectivity, inviting the interlocutor to comment upon [p] or to ask a question about [p]. This is also supported by the short questions or particles that are means of requiring back-channel behavior, questions or comments. (Hennemann 2016: 469)

While examples (58)-(61) illustrate parenthetic uses of *creo yo*, even though the punctuation might not be correct in every single case (as in 60 or 61), examples (62)-(65) show *creo yo* in right-peripheral sentence position, whereby in (65) a comma is also missing:

- (58) sp. Afortunadamente, creo yo, no todo aquello que se define como tal es fascismo
 [...] (CdE:Deportes)
 'Fortunately, I think [think I], not everything that is defined as such is fascism'
- (59) sp. Un artista, creo yo, desconociendo tal magnitud y aceptando con gratitud ser un músico popular, tiene [...] (CdE:Perfil.com)
 'An artist, I think [think I], unaware of such magnitude and accepting with gratitude to be a popular musician, has'
- (60) sp. El respeto a el lector **creo yo**, no responde a prohibir se una "mala" palabra, porque [...] (CdE:Aporrea)

'Respect for the reader, **I think [think I]**, does not respond to prohibiting a "bad" word, because'

- (61) sp. "Es la primera vez, creo yo en la historia de el Congreso que esto se ha complicado tanto". (CdE:Pulso Diario de San Luis)
 ""This is the first time, I think [think I], in the history of Congress that this has become so complicated.""
- (62) sp. No es mal negociante, **creo yo**. (CdE:eldiario.es) 'Not a bad businessman, **I think [think I]**'
- (63) sp. Ahora solo se ha añadido una más, **creo yo**. (CdE: CapitalMadrid.com) 'Now only one more has been added, **I think [think I]**'
- (64) sp. Esto con Pérez Tapias no habría pasado, creo yo. (CdE:eldiario.es)'This [thing] with Perez Tapias wouldn't have happened, I think [think I]'
- (65) sp. [...] y aceptan papeles de mierda por cifras ridiculas de dinero. No hay mas creo yo. (CdE:Las horas perdidas)
 'and they take shitty papers for ridiculous amounts of money. There's no more I think [think I]'

Similar to *creo yo, acho eu* is found in parenthetic position. However, the marking of parenthetic usage varies from being surrounded by commas (66, 67), being embedded by dashes (68), or no marking at all (69):

- (66) pt. Às vezes eles eram atingidos e caíam, acho eu, muito fácil e eu começava a ficar muito frustrado. (CdP:BeSoccer P)
 'Sometimes they'd get hit and fall, I think [think I], too easily, and I'd start to get very frustrated'
- (67) pt. A população tende, acho eu, a apoiar mais o voto distrital. (CdP:Rede Brasil Atual)
 'The population tends, I think [think I], to support the district vote more'
- (68) pt. Ele conseguiu acho eu evitar uma corrida a os bancos e a rendição total [...]
 (CdP:Esquerda
 'He managed I think [think I] to avoid a run to the banks and total surrender'
- (69) pt. Moderei um debate dias depois, os convidados perceberam, mas em o ar acho eu ninguém percebeu. (CdP:Nova Gent)
 'I moderated a debate days later, the guests noticed, but in the air I think [think I] nobody noticed'

If found to be used in the right periphery of the sentence, *acho eu* is generally separated by a comma from the rest of [p], as in (70) or (71). However, it may also be put into

parenthesis, as in (72), or not separated (graphically) by the rest of the sentence at all, as in (73):

- (70) pt. Encontrei a Cláudia e resultou muito bem, acho eu. (CdP:Observador)'I met Claudia and it worked out really well, I think [think I]'
- (71) pt. As pessoas precisam de modelos mais convencionais, **acho eu**. (CdP:MYWA) 'People need more conventional models, **I think [think I]**'
- (72) pt. Comprar dá mais trabalho. É esse o problema (**acho eu**). (CdP:Pplware) 'Buying is more work. That's the problem (**I think [think I]**)'
- (73) pt. só para aí 10 episódios, embora ainda possa ser vista em a Netflix acho eu. (CdP: Observador)
 'only about 10 episodes, although it can still be seen on Netflix I think [think I]'

4 Conclusion

This paper has undertaken a quantitative as well as qualitative analysis regarding the overt and covert expression of subject pronouns in the context of reporting on thinking in Spanish and Portuguese. Thus, semantic-functional differences between reporting on the speaker's performative thinking with and without the subject pronoun, also respecting the position of the pronoun within the construction itself, have been studied. In this context, the constructions (*yo*) *creo* (*que*) and (*eu*) *acho* (*que*) as well as parenthetic and right-peripheral *creo yo* and *acho eu* were studied, while also respecting the different syntactic positions the constructions may occupy.

The data were retrieved from the CdE-NOW and CdP-NOW and have shown that the construction [subject pronoun (yo/eu) + verb] is usually followed by the complementizer *que* ('that'), expressing a relatively strong commitment concerning [p]. The construction [verb + subject pronoun], by contrast, is usually found in parenthetic and right-peripheral sentence positions. Furthermore, while *creo yo/acho eu* expresses the speaker's stance in a confident way, *creo/acho* predominantly serves a mitigating function, even as a hedging particle. Interestingly, the combination of [verb + subject pronoun (yo/eu) + *que*], i.e. *creo yo que* [p] and *acho eu que* [p], was also shown to be possible, even though – according to the data – comparatively rare. The grammaticalization path which was illustrated for *I think* by Aijmer (2002) and Thompson/Mulac (1991) could also be shown for Spanish and Portuguese. However, the big difference is that structures without the complementizer *que* as in *Creo es una* *contribución sobre la reproducción de pensamientos en español y portugués* or *Acho é uma contribuição sobre a reprodução de pensamentos em espanhol e português* are relatively rare when 1) compared to other structures with *creer* or *achar* and 2) compared to the use of English *I think*. From a quantitative perspective, *creo que* and *acho que* represent the most frequent constructions if searching for the 'node' *creo* or *acho* in corpora, that is, the non-use of the subject pronoun exceeds its explicit expression. Even though the overt expression of the subject pronoun helps to anchor the speaker in (argumentative) discourses, i.e. conversations, the more economic non-use is more frequent.

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