ITALIAN DISCOURSE MARKERS:

Linda Badan / May 25, 2017 Cambridge University

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSLATION, INTERPRETING AND COMMUNICATION
RESEARCH GROUP

MULTIPLES
Syntax of discourse

Discourse markers in Italian

Verb-based marker: *guarda te*

to *te*: interpretation, syntax, prosody

Cartographic view

Projection that encodes different levels of orientation
THE SYNTAX OF DISCOURSE

Representation of utterance syntax within a dedicated domain

Illocutionary force: pragmatic category conveying the communicative function (Austin 1962, Searle 1969, 1975)

Clause type: formal or grammatical (morphosyntactic) structure of the sentence
Rizzi (1997), Cinque (1999): **Split CP**


*Speaker and hearer* are syntactically represented in *Speech Act P*, whose head encodes *illocutionary force*.


[Speaker layer] [Hearer layer] encoded in the Speech Act domain encodes the performative aspect of the illocutionary act and is involved in establishing the speaker-hearer relationship.
Formalization of prosody within the functional structure
Prosodic properties and semantic/pragmatic interpretation are mediated by syntactic structure. They are encoded via dedicated functional projections in a hierarchical structure (Cinque 1999, Rizzi 1997).
DISCOURSE MARKERS

SCOURSE MARKER

ARDA TE
DISCOURSE MARKER

- Not a unified/clearly defined category
- Multifunctional: attract the addressee's attention, encode speaker attitude or intention
- Interpretation related to the speech situation
- Prosodic properties of the marker per se and with respect to the sentence (pause) play a crucial role in the interpretation
Guarda: ‘look’, imperative 2s
Te: you, Accusative / tu: you, Nominative

‘look’ (Cardinaletti 2011, 2015)

used discourse marker

of north-(east) area of Italy, from Veneto dialect

limited morphology, signaling only agreement with the addressee
Mirative (M) - surprise, unexpectedness
(evaluative)

Re to clause type:
atives and sentences of different types
ing (or in a context) of unexpectedness/surprise
Guarda che bella che era!

Look at that beautiful that was how good she was!
but with surprise!

Guarda (che) è andato al ristorante senza dircelo! that is gone to-the restaurant without say it to us

Guarda (that) he’s gone to the restaurant without saying a word!

Cf.

Guarda è andato al ristorante.

he’s gone to the restaurant.’
Guarda te è andato al ristorante?
'Is he gone to the restaurant?'

Echo question:
Guarda te è andato DOVE?
'He's gone WHERE?'

Imperative:
Guarda te mangia!
'Go eat!'
(ii) ‘that’s obvious’
(evidential) (E)

... ‘obviously’, ‘yes of course’, ‘I knew that’, ‘I know and... confirmation with authority and sense of su...
The weather is not promising, the sky is black and all the forecasts for today are very bad.

Che dici, dovrei prendere l’ombrello?
‘What do you think, should I bring the umbrella?’

Guarda te, mi pare evidente.
‘Guarda te, that’s obvious.’

Guarda te, non vedi che cielo nero?
‘Guarda te, don’t you see such a black sky?’
I: Evidential

Evidential must be linked to the immediately preceding context.

Both the interlocutors must be involved in the conversation; it implies a real act of addressing someone else.

If there is more than one interlocutor, guarda te (2s) is felicitous but only if there are two interlocutors (one-to-one relation).
Mirative: Guarda

is not necessarily addressed to an interlocutor.

Property shared with exclamatives:

to be factive (presuppositional) only for the speaker
be used even if there are more than one addressee
speaking to
Guarda te che coraggioso che è stato in questa situazione difficile!

Guarda te, he was so brave in such a difficult situation!

Guarda te, non vedi come piove?

Guarda te, don’t you see how much it rains?
How good she was guarda te in such a difficult situation!

Non guarda te come piove?
You see guarda te how much it rains?
Dove è andata a finire! Guarda te!

"Where she ended up guarda te!"

Non vedo come piove guardatene?

"Don't you see how much it rains guarda te?"
Both mirative and evidential can be used in isolation (independent illocutionary force).

A: Sai che è sparito con i soldi?
B: (Ma) Guarda te!

A: Devo portare l’ombrello?
B: (Eh) Guarda te.
GUARDATETE: SYNTACTIC DISTRIBUTION

He thought that guarda te how beautiful she became!

He knew that guarda te it was necessary to bring the umbrella.
La te’s prosody ≠ (E) guarda te’s prosody

Interpretive properties are strongly tied to the prosodic characteristics
Guarda te che è partito subito!

Guarda te è partito subito!

‘Guarda te (that) he left immediately!’

’ (no pause) in between guarda te and the rest of the sentence without che ‘that’)

Prosody – raising
Guarda te, mi pare ovvio.

‘Guarda te it seems obvious to me.’
When they appear in isolation, they have the same prosodic properties, which are fundamental to get the appropriate interpretation:

A: Sai che è sparito con i soldi?  
('Do you know that he disappeared with the money?')

B: (Eh) Guarda te! (mirative)

A: Devo portare l’ombrello?  
('Should I bring the umbrella?')

B: (Eh) Guarda te. (evidential)
Guarda ‘look’ (Cardinaletti 2011, 2015)

Involves the function of attracting the attention; suggests the act of looking for attention establishing a mutual understanding.

Guarda, non so di che cosa tu stia parlando. ‘Look, I don’t know what are you talking about.’
to attract the attention in an imperative way

*te) che se non la smetti ti picchio
if you don’t stop it I beat you.’

warning
*te) che cadi
you fall down’
Guarda:"you know"

(*te) che ci sono ancora tante cose che non sai sulla famiglia.

That there are still many things that you don't know about this family."
more morphological variation

(2pl)/ guardi (polite f.), io non so più cosa non’t know what to tell you anymore.’
I don't know what to tell you anymore, look.

Last year everything was very different.
Ga te has two interpretations correlated to two prosodies (mirative and evidential)

Ga te is not guarda
Like many other verb-based discourse markers, *guarda te* has a bleached meaning.

"Guarda te che intelligente che è diventato!""Look you that intelligent that is become how intelligent he’s become!"
**Notes**

Guarda te che cosa fa! 
Look him you that what does
'Look him what he does!'

Guarda ci te dove va! 
Look there you where goes
'Look-there where he goes!'
There are 2s but with te ‘you’ ACC

Imperative: no overt subject

Subject is present when focalized, and in tu ‘you’ U (and not someone else)....
te \rightarrow\text{ regional Italian from Veneto dialect}

Vara ti
usage of **vara ti** ‘look you’ as real imperative with focalized subject is **not felicitous**:

**a ti** (no to sorea) come che se fa
you (not your sister) how it should be done

*Cf.*

**ghe da vardare** come che se fa.
cl-have of seeing how that cl does

cl-have to look how to do it.’
Diferent from te/tu stesso ‘yourself’

da te stesso cosa hanno fatto!
da tu stesso cosa hanno fatto!
yourself what they have done!’

not indicate the speaker’s attitude but the semantic
one of the regular verb guardare

Cf.

da tu stesso che rumore che fa quell’aggeggio!
da te che rumore che fa quell’aggeggio!
what a noise that thing makes!’
*Guarda* tu as real verb is used also with the meaning of ‘try’

*Guarda* tu se riesci a fare ‘sta cosa.

*Guarda* te se riesci a fare ‘sta cosa.

‘Try to see if you can do this thing’
Guarda te = grammaticalized form

insensitive and undetermined with respect to the event time (present indicative)

Guardavi te che veloce correva!
You looked how fast she ran!

Hai guardato te che veloce che ha corso!
You have looked how fast she has run!

Guardato te che veloce che ha corso!
You looked how fast she has run!
te e senti...

(ou) and listen…”

Non guarda(re) te che brutto che è!

ook how awful he is!”
Reduced verb paradigm (Biberauer et al 2014) only 2s

Guarda tu / *guardate voi (2pl)

but

It can be modified with *un po’ ‘a bit’ → plural acceptable!

Guardate un po’ voi che cosa incredibile è successa!

Cross-linguistically some adverbs admit modification

Cruschina (2016)
guarda = cristallized form, but it is also possible

guarda ‘you look’ (less productive)

guarda che intelligente questo bambino!

You look how much intelligent this child is!”
Similarly to sentential adverbs, *guarda te* is in L closely related to its meaning and prosody. It can be used in isolation, while functional heads are not.
no exact correspondence with a sentential adverb

**Mirative** *(guarda te)* che bella che è diventata!

‘Surprisingly how beautiful she’s become!’

**Evidential** *(guarda te)* questo è certo.

‘Obviously this is sure.’
WEAK ADVERB

- No focalization, no contrastive stress
- Weak lexical meaning, but expression of a relation between speaker and context/speaker attitude

Deficient adverbs lack referential features as non referential discourse markers

Cardinaletti & Starke (1999)
Discourse markers are ordered in the LP in a hierarchical order as adverbs à la Cinque (1999).
*a te* can co-occur with other DMs

...of: sequences of DMs with different functions

(Bazzanella 1995)

Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy:

Evaluative (mirative) > Evidential > Epistemic > Obligation (injunction)
Evaluative (mirative)

*guarda te* ‘look you’
*dai* ‘give’

Evidential

*guarda* ‘look’
*senti* ‘listen’
*vedi* ‘see’
*guarda te* ‘look you’

Epistemic

*sai* ‘know’

Obligation/injunctions

*dai* ‘give’
Guarda te com'è importante questa cosa!

You see, see how important this thing is!
guarda chi si rivede!

Look who’s back!”
CARTOGRAPHIC VIEW

>epistemic

Guarda che se non la smetti..

Look know that if not it stop

guarda che se non la smetti

Look that if you don’t stop it…”
Guarda te saì mi pare ovvio.
You you-know to-me seems obvious

Guarda te mi pare ovvio

'You know it seems obvious to me.'
Guarda te sai che cosa stupida ha fatto!

Look you know that thing stupid has done!
sed discourse makers respond to Cinque's hierarchy

- Evaluative (mirative) > Evidential > Epistemic > Obligation (injunction)
In the Speaker field, (E) guarda te in the Hearer field, (E) guarda te is always higher than the others DMs.
te’s prosody ≠ (E)guarda te’s prosody

Interpretive properties are strongly tied to the
prosodic characteristics
Guarda te che è partito subito!

Guarda te è partito subito!

‘Guarda te (that) he left immediately!’

’ (no pause) in between guarda te and the rest of the

without che ‘that’)

prosody – raising
Guarda te, mi pare ovvio.

‘Guarda te it seems obvious to me.’
Giorgi (2014, 2015): Encoding of the intonation and syntactic properties in one level of representation; the utterance must be “exhaustively” represented.

Here, the first position in LP that contains the coordinates of the speaker- discourse features.
KP is in LP

K is a non-lexical head that mediates between syntax and prosody.

[XP [K YP]]
la te **che** è partito subito!
la te *pause* è partito subito!

*da te* he left immediately!

che è partito subito guarda te!
partito subito guarda te!

Not a real complementizer (see Corr 2017)
Speaker field in LP

\[ F \text{ guarda te } [_{\text{MirP}}]]_{H} \ldots \text{sentence} \]

\[ H \text{ empty = pause} \]
\[ O \text{ overt=} \text{ che ‘that’} \]

This proposal accounts for a number of facts…
Cinque (2008) introduces a head not corresponding to any lexical material for discourse fragments:

\[ \text{[HP C/DP [H CP]]} \]

'A pink shirt. I will never wear any such thing in my life!'
Head H intervenes between DM and the sentence and is very similar to the prosodic head K (Giorgi) in that, at least potentially, a pause may intervene between the two constituents. Their interpretive properties anchor the speaker to the sentence and constitute a transformation layer which constitutes le trait d’union between the sentence and the context.
Grammaticalized weak adverbials in Spec,Fp in the LP

Typological view

- evidential > epistemic > obligation

The mirative is higher and expresses the speaker point of view.

trait-d’union between sentence and context

...DMs typical of...

\[
[H_P[_{Spec\,MF}^{guarda\,te\,[_{MirP}]}_H] \ldots sentence]
\]
Experimental investigations of the prosody of other discourse markers

Verb-based discourse markers

Types of discourse markers

Grammaticalization

Interjections
THANK YOU!

Linda Badan
Department of Translation, Interpreting and Communication- Italian section - linda.badan@ugent.be
Linda Badan

Department of Translation, Interpreting and Communication

linda.badan@ugent.be