

ITALIAN DISCOURSE MARKERS: THE CASE OF *GUARDA TE*

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Abstract. This paper offers a detailed analysis of the expression *guarda te* lit. ‘look you’ in regional Italian of Veneto. Firstly, we show that *guarda te* is a discourse marker that can have two distinct interpretations associated with different syntactic behaviors and prosodic contours. Secondly, we explain the evolution of *guarda te* as a discourse marker in terms of a process of syntacticization. In particular, we argue that *guarda te* has different interpretive and syntactic properties depending on the structural position it occupies in the clausal spine within the Speech Act layer above ForceP.

1. Introduction

This paper aims at providing a detailed analysis of the predicate *guarda te* lit. ‘look you’ in regional Italian of Veneto (North-East Italy, Padua-Este area), formed by the combination of the second person singular imperative of the verb *guardare* ‘look’ and the Accusative second person singular pronoun *te* ‘you’. *Guarda te* is the regional Italian

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version of the expression (v)*ar(d)a ti*¹ in the Veneto dialect of the Padua-Este area,² from which arguably the accusative form of the subject derives.^{3,4}

We show that, under certain pragmatic conditions, *guarda te* displays a number of morphological, syntactic, semantic, and prosodic properties as the result of a process of syntacticization into a verb-based discourse marker. The interpretive and syntactic features of *guarda te* depend on the structural position that the discourse marker occupies in a dedicated domain in the left periphery, where functional projections encode not only syntactic and interpretative features (Rizzi 1997, Munaro & Poletto 2009, Speas & Tenny 2003, Hill 2007, Coniglio & Zegrean 2010, 2012, Haegeman & Hill 2013, Haegeman 2014, Haegeman, Biberauer & van Kemenade 2014), but also prosodic features (Frascarelli & Hinterözl 2007, Giorgi 2010, 2015; Wiltschko 2014, Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández 2016).

The paper is organized as follows: In section 2, we illustrate the general properties of discourse markers; In section 3, we show that *guarda te* is a discourse marker that can have two distinct interpretations associated with different syntactic behaviors and prosodic contours; In section 4, we propose that *guarda te* can be analyzed within a framework that expresses discourse features syntactically. In particular, we argue that

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¹ The forms *vara ti*, *varda ti*, and *ara ti* are all admitted in the variety under examination.

² Regional Italian variety of Veneto is based on the *standard* language as codified by the literary and grammatical tradition, while also including a number of informal, spoken and regional features. In the Veneto area, (regional) standard Italian /dialect bilingualism is widespread (Dal Negro & Vietti 2011).

³ Some speakers of other regional varieties of Italian (not only in Veneto) prefer the nominative form *tu* 'you'. The analysis we propose in this paper ideally covers both of these options.

⁴ For an overview of the pronouns in Italian Northern dialects see Vanelli (1984) and Benincà, Parry & Pescarini (2016).

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guarda te can occupy the specifier position of two distinct projections within the Speech Act field above ForceP; In section 5, we draw the most significant conclusions and discuss some open issues.

2. Discourse markers: General properties

The expressions belonging to this class are defined in several ways by researchers working on different languages: discourse particles, discourse markers, modal particles (see for instance Schiffrin 1987, Fraser 1999, 2009, Biberauer *et al.* 2008, Biberauer & Sheenan 2011, Degand, Cornillie & Pietrandrea 2013, Haegeman, Biberauer & van Kemenade 2014, Roussou 2015, Bayer 2012, Bayer & Struckmeier 2017, Bayer & Obenauer 2011 a.o.). The varied terminology reveals the difficulties in providing a comprehensive classification and corresponding linguistic analysis. As for Italian discourse markers, we follow the largely accepted classification proposed by Bazzanella (1995, 2001, 2006), who defines discourse markers as follows: “Discourse markers are external to propositional content; they are useful in locating the utterance in an interpersonal and interactive dimension, in connecting and structuring phrasal, inter- and extra-phrasal elements in discourse, and in marking some ongoing cognitive processes and attitudes” (Bazzanella 2006: 456). Despite the notable variety of approaches and terminologies, scholars agree on the fact that discourse markers modify and update the dynamic process of conversation and have a few general common characteristics: (i) They embrace different grammatical categories, such as adverbs, conjunctions, verbal forms, small clauses; (ii) They tend to occur mainly in spoken rather than written language, even though they are not an oral phenomenon *per se*; (iii) They are multifunctional: They can

have one or more pragmatic functions and their lexical meaning is often difficult to retain in a translation or paraphrase, since their literal interpretation is bleached or completely lost; (iv) Their interpretation is strictly related to the speech situation: Discourse markers are mainly used to introduce the speaker's point of view in the discourse, "to stress her attitude or opinion with respect to the propositional content of the utterance." (Coniglio & Zegrean 2012: 2); (v) They typically do not add anything to the propositional content of the sentence; (vi) They are characterized by limited agreement morphology and restricted syntactic distribution (for instance, discourse markers most frequently occur in sentence initial position, connecting adjacent segments of a larger discourse; They can be multiples, but with ordering restrictions, and reduplicated to a certain extent; They cannot be coordinated or modified either); (vii) They are typically a root clause phenomenon and can be sensitive to clause type or illocutionary force⁵ (viii) They are often intonationally marked and prosodically independent. This list of properties suggests that discourse markers are better classified in relation to their function in context, rather than morpho-syntactically. Syntactic elements with such properties are understood to belong to the class of discourse-oriented constituents.

3. *Guarda te*

The discourse marker *guarda te* can assume two different interpretations. In some contexts, *guarda te* expresses an emotional and evaluative attitude of surprise (unexpectedness) of the speaker towards a certain state of affairs, as illustrated in example

⁵ With clause type we intend the syntactic structure and related morphological properties that characterize different kinds of sentences, like declaratives, imperatives, or interrogatives. Differently, illocutionary force is a pragmatic category that is related to the speaker's attitude and intention (Austin 1962, Searle 1969, Coniglio & Zegrean 2012).

(1a). We call this type of *guarda te*, *Surprise guarda te* (henceforth, SGT). In (1a) *guarda te* expresses the speaker's surprise towards the fact that someone went to the restaurant without saying a word to her, contrary to her expectations. In this case, *guarda te* can be paraphrased with the adverb *surprisingly*.⁶ In contrast, in (1b), the presence of *guarda te* is infelicitous because the clause is a simple declarative that does not express any sense of surprise.⁷

- (1) a. Guarda te è andato al
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG be.PRS.3SG go.PST.PRT to-the
 restaurant senza dirmelo!⁸
 Ristorante without say.INF-to.me-it(CL)
 ‘*Surprisingly* he’s gone to the restaurant without saying a word to me!’
- b. #Guarda te è andato
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG be.PRS.3SG go.PST.PRT
 al ristorante.
 to-the restaurant
 ‘*Surprisingly* he’s gone to the restaurant.’

⁶ The translations into other languages of the discourse-related elements as discourse markers are quite problematic, since it is generally quite difficult to find a one-to-one correspondence among discourse markers across languages (Haegeman & Hill 2013). For sake of simplicity, in this paper we will use the adverb *surprisingly* and *obviously*. However, as we will discuss in section 4.2, notice that these adverbs cannot be used interchangeably with the two variants of *guarda te*, being completely different linguistic objects with distinct syntactic, prosodic and semantic properties.

⁷ As an anonymous reviewer points out, the sentence is fine as long as the propositional content is in contrast with the speaker's expectations, that is, if the speaker did not expect the subject to go to the restaurant.

⁸ The following abbreviations are used in glossing examples: 1/2/3SG = first/second/third singular, 1/2/3PL = first/second/third plural, PRS = present, PST past; PRT = participle, INF =infinitive, IMP = imperative, IMPF = imperfect, CL = clitic, SUP = superlative, ACC = accusative, NOM = nominative.

In other contexts, *guarda te* is used to assert and confirm what has been said in the preceding context of the conversation. In this case, *guarda te* can be paraphrased with expressions such as *obviously, yes of course, I know that and it's obvious*, so we call it *Obvious guarda te* (henceforth OGT). OGT expresses the speaker's commitment towards a situation that is evident to her; it conveys an obvious confirmation together with a sense of authority and superiority, sometimes also with a hint of irony:

(2) *Context:*

The weather is not promising, the sky is black and all the weather forecasts for today are very bad.

A: Mi sa che devo prendere l'ombrello.
to.me know.PRS.3SG have-to.PRS.1SG take.INF the umbrella
'I think that I have to take the umbrella.'

B: Guarda te non vedi che cielo nero?
look.IMP.2SG you.2SG not see.PRS.2SG that sky black
'*Obviously*, don't you see such a black sky?'

The two functions of *guarda te* illustrated above and the difficulty in retaining their lexical meaning in translation are properties indicating multifunctionality, a characteristic typical of discourse markers.

3.1 *Guarda te as discourse marker*

The two interpretations of *guarda te* are strictly related to the context of speech. OGT, in contrast to SGT, must always be linked to the immediately preceding context and both interlocutors – speaker and addressee – must be involved in the conversation. OGT necessarily refers to an addressee, marking the relation between the participants in the conversation. In this respect, the use of OGT as addressed towards more than one person is infelicitous, as illustrated in example (3).

(3) *Context:*

The weather is not promising, the sky is black and all the weather forecasts for today are very bad.

A: Che dici, dovremmo prendere l'ombrello?
what say.PRS.2SG should.1PL take.INF the umbrella
'What do you think, should we take the umbrella?'

B: #Guarda te non vedete che cielo nero?⁹
look.IMP.2SG you.2SG not see.PRS.2PL that sky black
'Obviously don't you see such a black sky?'

In contrast to OGT, SGT can be used with more than one addressee as well as when the speaker does not have an interlocutor at all. SGT, in fact, can occur in the context of self-

⁹ An anonymous reviewer points out that the sentence is felicitous if *guarda te* is in second person plural:

(i) Guardate voi non vedete che cielo nero?
Look.IMP.2PL you.2PL not see.PRS.2PL that sky black

All the 29 native speakers I have consulted find the sentence quite marginal. However, some of them have pointed out that the clause would notably improve adding the adverbial form *un po'* 'a bit': *guardate un po' voi*. We don't have an explanation for this phenomenon, so we will leave this issue open for further research. However, here the relevant point is related to the difference between the use of SGT and OGT. SGT, in fact, contrarily to OGT, can be used by a speaker even if the interlocutors is more than one, without the necessity of resorting to the second person plural.

talk or inner dialogue, where speaker and addressee are one and the same (see Holmberg 2010).¹⁰ This is a property shared with utterances that express surprise, like exclamations. In particular, it has been noticed that, although the propositional content of exclamations is presupposed (Elliott 1974; Grimshaw 1979; Abels 2010, a. o.), this presupposition must be entertained by the speaker, but not necessarily by the addressee. In particular, the feeling of unexpectedness typical of exclamations can involve only the speaker, without *requiring* the presence of an interlocutor. So, differently from clauses containing OGT, the sentence introduced by SGT in (1a) can be uttered by the speaker without an addressee present or active in a conversation.

An additional difference between SGT and OGT is that, whereas SGT can be uttered out-of-the-blue in reference to a situation happening at the very moment of utterance, OGT always needs a discourse that precedes it.

As discourse maskers in general, *guarda te* is limited in agreement morphology, i.e. to second person singular (we will discuss this property in detail in section 3.2) and has limited syntactic distribution. As for their position in the clause,¹¹ both SGT and OGT occur mainly at the beginning of the sentence (example (4)) and are both unacceptable in internal position (example (5)). SGT is felicitous in final position only when uttered after a strong pause (6a),¹² while OGT is not (6b).¹³

¹⁰ With self-talk we intend an “intrapersonal communication or inner dialogue. This is when you talk to yourself, audibly or inaudibly” (Holmberg 2010: 57) (see also Vygotsky 1986, Winsler *et al.* 2009).

¹¹ The acceptability judgments are based on the sentences uttered with a unique prosodic contour that includes SGT/OGT and the rest of the sentence, i.e. without any prosodic break. This article deals only with the SGT/OGT in sentence initial position.

¹² For some of the informants we have consulted, the example (6a) with the SGT in sentence final position uttered in a unique prosodic contour together with the preceding sentence is slightly better, however it has been judged still as marginal.

¹³ The example in (6b) is acceptable only if OGT is used in isolation after the question: *Non vedi come piove? Guarda te.*

- (4) a. Guarda te come piove oggi!
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG how rain.PRS.3SG today
 ‘*Surprisingly* how it’s raining today!’ (SGT)
- b. Guarda te non vedi come piove?
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG not see.PRS.3SG how rain.PRS.3SG
 ‘*Obviously* don’t you see how it’s raining?’ (OGT)
- (5) a. Come (*guarda te) piove (*guarda te) oggi!
 how look.IMP.2SG you.2SG rain.PRS.3SG look you today
 ‘How (**surprisingly*) it’s raining (**surprisingly*) today!’ (SGT)
- b. Non vedi (*guarda te) come
 not see.PRS.2SG look.IMP.2SG you.2SG how
 (*guarda te) piove?
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG rain.PRS.3SG
 ‘Don’t you see (**obviously*) how (**obviously*) it’s raining?’ (OGT)
- (6) a. #Come piove oggi guarda te!
 how rain.PRS.3SG today look.IMP.2SG you.2SG
 ‘How it’s raining today *surprisingly!*’ (SGT)
- b. *Non vedi come piove guarda te?
 not see.PRS.3SG how rain.PRS.3SG look.IMP.2SG you.2SG

‘Don’t you see how it’s raining *obviously*? (OGT)

Both SGT and OGT can be used in isolation (7,8), although they are judged as more natural when preceded by an additional discourse marker, such as *ma* ‘but’ or *eh*. The multiple discourse markers exemplified in (7) and (8) obey to some, although still unclear, ordering restrictions. For instance, the (conjunction-based) discourse marker *ma* ‘but’ in (7) can only precede and never follow *guarda te*. The same holds for *eh* in (8).

(7) A: Sai che è sparito con tutti i soldi?

‘Do you know that he disappeared with all the money?’

B: (Ma) guarda te! SGT

but look.IMP.2SG you.2SG!

‘But *surprisingly*!’

(8) A: Devo portare l’ombrello?

‘Should I bring the umbrella?’

B: (Eh) guarda te. OGT

eh look.IMP.2SG you.2SG

‘Eh *obviously*.’

Although allowed to co-occur with other verb-based discourse markers like *vedi* ‘see’, SGT and OGT cannot be coordinated (9) nor modified or negated (10).

- (9) *Guarda te (*e) vedi com' è importante*
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG and see.PRS.IMP.2SG how be.PRS.3SG important
 questa cosa!
 this thing
 ‘*Surprisingly* and see how important this thing is!’

- (10) *Non guarda(re) te che brutto che è!
 not look.PRS.IMP(.INF) you that che be.PRS.3SG
 Lit. ‘Don’t look you how awful he is!’

As other discourse markers, both SGT and OGT are a main clause phenomenon and cannot be embedded (11a,11b).

- (11) a. *Lei ha pensato che
 she have.PRS.3SG think.PST.PRT that
 guarda te che bello che è
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG that beautiful that be.PRS.3SG
 diventato!
 become.PST.PRT
 ‘She thoughts that *surprisingly* how beautiful he became!’
- b. *Lui sa che guarda te bisogna
 he know.PRS.3SG that look.IMP.2SG you.2SG have.to3SG
 prendere l’ ombrello.

take.INF the umbrella.

‘He knows that *obviously* it’s necessary to bring the umbrella.’

This observation fits with the notion that discourse markers express the speaker’s attitude and, often, have performative value (Haegeman 2014). Once a discourse marker is embedded, its performative value is lost: The marker loses its fundamental deictic coordinates and assumes a descriptive reading.

It should be noticed that, despite their common properties, SGT and OGT differ with respect to their sensitivity to clause type and illocutionary force. SGT can occur with any type of sentence as long as it conveys exclamative illocutionary force, expressing unexpectedness, that is, a violation of the speaker’s expectations (Michaelis 2001, Zanuttini & Portner 2003, Abels 2010, Rett 2008, 2011 a.o.). This condition can be satisfied by a number of clause types such as declaratives (see (1a) above), exclamatives (12a), and rhetorical questions (12b). It excludes, however, regular questions (13a), echo questions (13b), and imperatives (13c).

(12) a. Guarda te che bella che era!
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG that beautiful that be.IMP.3SG
 ‘*Surprisingly* how beautiful she was!’

 b. Guarda te non è stata bravissima?!
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG not be.PRS.3SG be.PST.PRT good.SUP
 ‘*Surprisingly* hasn’t she been very good?!

- (13) a. *Guarda te è andato al
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG be.PRS.3SG go.PST.PRT to-the
 ristorante?
 restaurant
 ‘*Surprisingly* is he gone to the restaurant?’
- b. *Guarda te è andato DOVE?
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG be.PRS.3SG go.PST.PRT where
 ‘*Surprisingly* he’s gone WHERE?’
- c. *Guarda te mangia!
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG eat.IMP.2SG
 ‘*Surprisingly* eat!’

In contrast, the examples in (14) show that OGT does not display sensitivity to clause type or to illocutionary force. OGT is followed by a declarative in (14Bi), an interrogative in (14Bii), an imperative in (14Biii), an exclamative in (14Biv). Rather, OGT is necessarily deictic and D-linked to the preceding discourse and context.

(14) *Context:*

The weather is not promising, the sky is black and all the weather forecasts for today are very bad.

- A: Forse dovrei prendere l’ombrello.
 maybe should.1SG take.INF the umbrella

‘Maybe I should take the umbrella.’

B(i) Guarda te il cielo è nerissimo.
look.IMP.2SG you.2SG the sky be.PRS.3SG black.SUP

‘Obviously, the sky is very black.’

B(ii) Guarda te non vedi che cielo nero?
look.IMP.2SG you.2SG not see.PRS.2SG that sky black

‘Obviously don’t you see such a black sky?’

B(iii) Guarda te dai prendi questo.
look.IMP.2SG you.2SG com’on take.IMP.2SG this

‘Obviously, com’on take this one.’

B(iv) Guarda te piove già!
look.IMP.2SG you.2SG rain.PRS.3SG already

‘Obviously it’s already raining!’

An additional crucial difference between SGT and OGT is their prosodic contour. As we will illustrate by means of a pilot experiment in the section below, SGT and OGT have clear different prosodic properties.

3.2. Prosodic analysis

In this section we present a pilot experiment to show the prosodic properties of SGT and OGT.

We recorded 4 monolingual native speakers of Italian (2 female and 2 male) from the town of Este, Padova province (North-East Italy). All the subjects are 40-45 years old with a university-level education. Participants were tested individually. The experiment

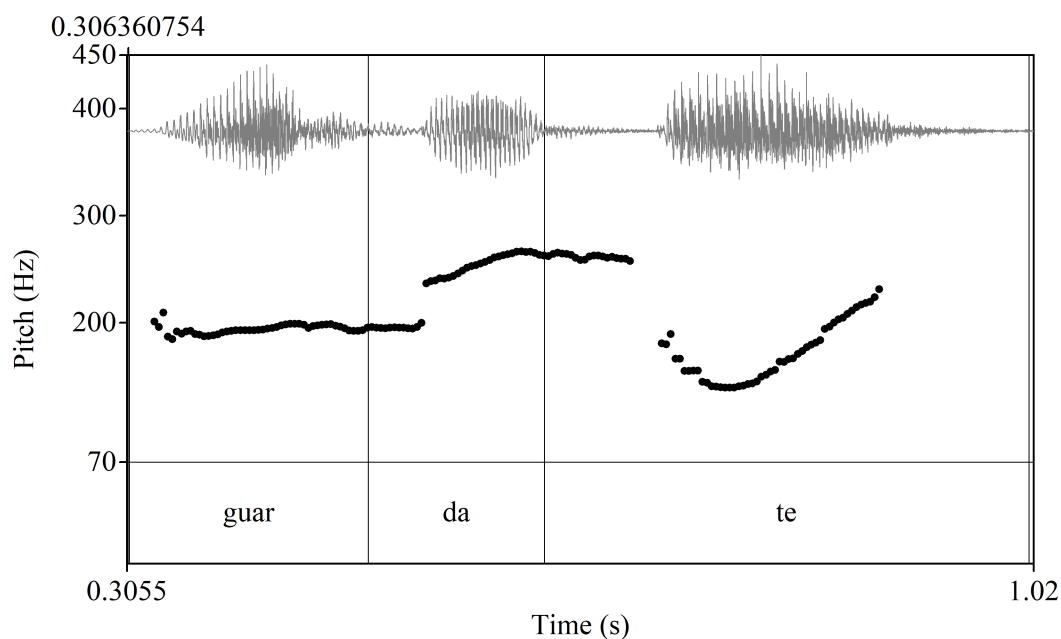
required them to read aloud a number of short situational prompts each followed by a target sentence. Participants were recorded in two distinct sessions, in a quiet room using a Røde HS1-P headset microphone with a portable Marantz PMD 620 recorder. Each recording session took approximately 15 minutes. Speakers could read the stimuli at their own pace and repeat the sentences if necessary. Stimuli were presented on a Microsoft Power Point slideshow. They consisted of 8 dialogues representing the two types of context discussed above in this paper: four contexts triggered OGT, 4 triggered SGT. Experimental items were further intertwined with 8 filler items.

The data collected corresponded to a corpus of 64 utterances, 32 of which were target sentences, 16 with SGT and 16 with OGT. The data sound (.wav files) have been extracted and analyzed using Praat software (Boersma & Weenink 2014). For each target stimulus we extracted duration data by manually segmenting and labelling it in syllables and, then, vowels and consonants. We then inspected the F0 of the stimuli in order to establish the relevant F0 measurement points, which we marked manually.

The analysis of the F0 revealed that there is a clear distinction in prosodic realization between OGT and SGT. All the utterances recorded with OGT can be represented by the example in Figure (1). As the F0 initial measurement we took the middle of the vowels *ua* of *guarda*. The analysis displays a rise in the second syllable of *guarda*. We measured the low F (F0 min) at the first elbow and the F0 max at the end of *guarda*. As for *te*, there is a low point in the vowel *e* of *te*, which corresponds to F0-min, while the rise F0-max is lower than the initial rise in *guarda*. Moreover, we observed that there is a clear lengthening effect in the final vowel *e* in *te* that we do not find in *te* of SGT. Another notable difference with respect to SGT is that in OGT there is a clear pause that indicates a prosodic boundary between the OGT and the rest of the sentence. Finally,

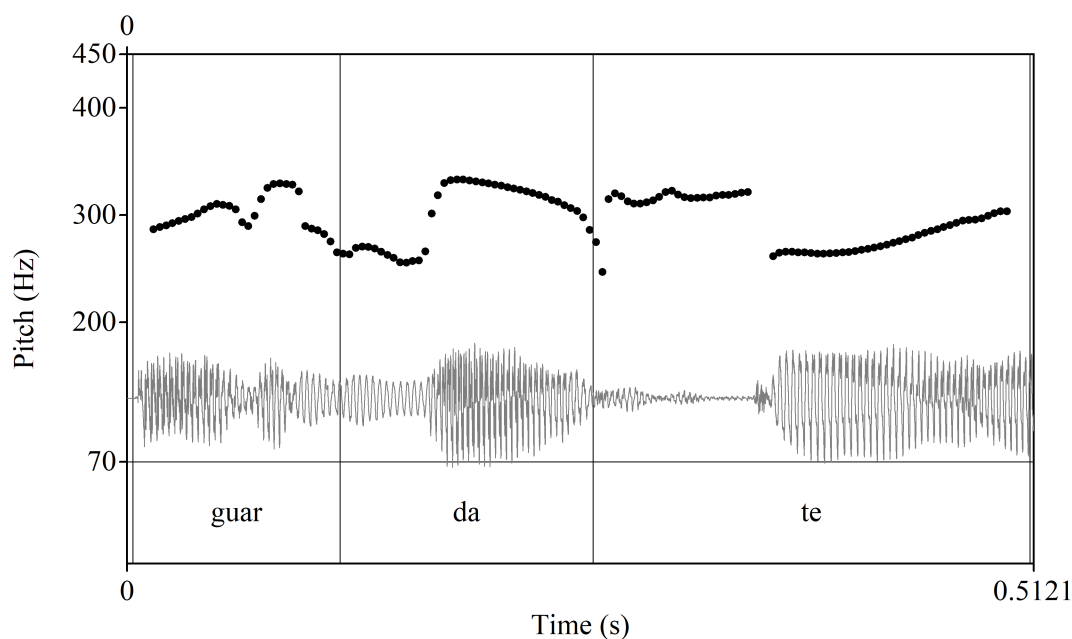
we observed that in OGT, the F0-final of the whole sentence is lower than the F0 we measured at the beginning.

Figure 1. Spectrograms and F0 contours of OGT



All the utterances recorded with SGT can be represented by the example in Figure (2). The beginning of the prosodic contour of SGT is observably higher than OGT. As with SGT, we set the F0 initial in the middle of *ua* of *guarda*, where we noticed that the F0 is relatively high. The F0-max is in the *a* of *guarda*. Differently from OGT, in SGT there is no rise in *da* of *guarda*. There is not significant difference in the vowel *a* of *guarda* in the two target stimuli, but clearly *te* in SGT is much shorter than *te* in OGT. We also observed that there is a fall of F0 at the end of the sentence.

Figure 2. Spectrograms and F0 contours of SGT¹⁴



The pilot experiment confirms that SGT and OGT have observably different prosodic properties.

3.3. *Guarda te and “syntacticization”*

A number of studies have analyzed discourse markers in different languages as a result of process of *grammaticalization* (Brinton & Traugott 2005) from perception verbs.¹⁵ The majority of these studies focuses on discourse markers deriving from verbs indicating an act of looking. For Italian, several studies have investigated the diachronic evolution of *guarda* ‘look’ (Fagard 2010, Ghezzi 2012, Ghezzi & Molinelli 2014), which can be considered a variant of *guarda te* only in certain contexts (for instance in context

¹⁴ The waveform in Figure 1 and Figure 2 are distributed differently exclusively for space/graphic reasons.

¹⁵ See for instance Fagard (2010) for Romance languages, Brinton (2001) for English, Iliescu (2009) for French and Romania, Dostie (1999) for French, Marín Jordà (2005) for Spanish, Ghezzi & Molinelli (2014) for Latin and ancient Italian, Cruschina (2015) for Italian varieties.

expressing unexpectedness).¹⁶ In sum, all these authors argue that *guarda* is a result of a grammaticalization path that is triggered by inherent deictic properties of the semantics of the perception verb: The grammaticalization process developed from the invitation to direct sight towards something through imperative mood, to a polyfunctional performative interpretation as attention getter towards the content of utterance or the process of enunciation. Fagard (2010) offers a corpus-based approach to investigate the diachronic evolution of the Italian *guarda*, together with other ‘look’ forms in Romance. For *guarda*, he explores the *Opera del Vocabolario Italiano* database.¹⁷ Fagard observes a number of cases that seem to demonstrate the differentiation of *guarda* from its simple lexical use as verb to a more vague and metaphorical use when located at the beginning of the sentence. However, he reports only one example where *guarda* must be interpreted as discourse marker with the meaning of ‘be aware’ (an interpretation that *guarda te* can never assume).¹⁸

On the face of the studies mentioned above, if we try to apply the grammaticalization analysis proposed for *guarda* to *guarda te*, we encounter a number of problems. Firstly, several scholars discuss whether the evolution of discourse markers should be accounted in terms of grammaticalization or pragmaticalization. Secondly, there is a problem related to the terminology *per se*: the terms grammaticalization and pragmaticalization sometimes overlap and assume distinct nuances in the different analyses (see for instance the discussions in Traugott 1995, Günthner and Mutz 2004,

¹⁶ *Guarda te* and *guarda* are crucially different (for a synchronic analysis of *guarda*, see for instance Cardinaletti 2011, 2015). For reason of space, in this paper we cannot illustrate the properties that differentiate the two discourse markers.

¹⁷ The *Opera del Vocabolario Italiano* database contains a collection of early Italian texts (21 millions words). www.oivi.cnr

¹⁸ The example reported by Fagard (2010:28) is the following:

(i) Se tu voli biasimare o riprendere altrui, guarda che tu non sia magagnato di quello vizio medesimo
“If you want to blame or criticize others, look [to it] that you not be devoured by the same vice”
(Ovi, Tesoro di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato, 1300, L. 7 cap. 13)

Degand & Simon-Vandenberghe 2011, Diewald 2011, Heine 2013, Degand & Evers-Vermeul 2015). Generally, grammaticalization is intended as “the [diachronic] change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions” (Hopper and Traugott 2003:18). Thus, grammaticalization is conceived as a complex diachronic process that leads an item into grammar, that is, into obligatory structures (see also Diewald 2011). Pragmaticalization, in contrast, is defined as the process of linguistic change in which a lexical element becomes a pragmatic item (Erman & Kotsinas 1993, Aijmer 1997, Günthner and Mutz 2004, Dostie 2004, 2009, Molinelli 2008). The change of category from lexical to pragmatic means that the linguistic item is no more fully integrated into grammar but assumes a more pragmatic, interpersonal meaning. Hence, with the concept of pragmaticalization, the domains of grammar and pragmatics are conceived as clearly separated (Diewald 2011).¹⁹

In our analysis, we exclude pragmaticalization as the relevant process because we have reasons to consider both OGT and SGT as fully integrated into grammar (we will review these reasons in section 4). However, also grammaticalization is problematic. The description of the diachronic order of appearance of the different functions of *guarda te* as a discourse marker is not an easy task for a number of reasons. Firstly, *guarda te* is a linguistic element typically used in spoken language. This makes it quite difficult to find it in written texts and, hence, to attest its diachrony. Secondly, differently from *guarda* whose use is widespread in standard Italian, *guarda te* is a regionalism typical of the Italian spoken in the Veneto area, which is based on *vara ti* in Veneto dialect spoken in the area of Padova province. Being an expression typical of regional Italian, its use in old

¹⁹ Some scholars argue that pragmaticalization ought to be subsumed as a subtype of grammaticalization (Barth-Weingarten & Couper-Kuhlen 2002, De Lima 2002, Diewald 2011).

texts is particularly difficult to find. Thirdly, since *guarda te* is the “italianization” of *vara ti*, we could investigate old texts written in Paduan (Veneto dialect in Padua area). However, even if these old texts tend to reproduce the spoken language, we cannot guarantee that the use of *vara ti* in those texts can be comparable to its use in real spoken language. Nonetheless, we investigated the corpus of *Archivio digitale Veneto*, which consists in a collection of texts written in Veneto dialect from the origin (XIII century) to the beginning of the XVII century.²⁰ We found some occurrences of *vara* ‘guarda’ used as discourse marker at the beginning of a sentence, but we did not find any occurrences of *vara ti*. Since we cannot provide uses of *guarda te/ vara ti* in old texts, we cannot demonstrate its diachrony; hence, we cannot analyze *guarda te* in terms of grammaticalization. Moreover, as Waltireit (2002)²¹ and Larrivée & Poletto (2018) point out respectively for *guarda* and other Italian discourse markers, the differences between *guarda te* and the corresponding verbal imperative form could not be accounted in terms of grammaticalization because typical diachronic processes such as phonological reduction are not present.

In the light of these observation, we propose to explain the evolution of *guarda te* as a discourse marker in terms of a process of syntacticization (in line with Haegeman and Hill 2013 and many others, see section 4), intended as a process of fixation both at the pragmatic and the syntactic level of grammar: “[a process] in which the interpretation and syntax markers becomes increasingly fixated to reflect typical interpretative and formal properties of speech acts” Larrivée & Poletto (2018:2). In the contexts in which it

²⁰ The texts collected in the *Archivio Digitale Veneto* corpus are those composed between the thirteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, that is after the phase in which Latin was the language for written texts, but before the written language began to coincide with Italian. http://www.ilpavano.it/?page_id=29. (Paccagnella I., Cecchinato A., Padua University)

²¹ Waltireit (2002) excludes the process of grammaticalization for *guarda* because its diachronic change does not correspond to the grammaticalization parameters defined by Lehmann (1995).

is used as SGT and OGT, *guarda te* cannot be considered a real imperative verb phrase but must be analyzed as a discourse marker. We argue that the interpretations of *guarda te* as SGT and OGT are *conventionalized* meanings (in the sense of Traugott & König 1991) that coexist with the imperative verbal form *guarda te*. Conventionalised meanings have an intersubjective, phatic value that expresses the attitude of the speaker (such as expectedness or mirativity) or her evaluation towards an object, a situation or the following/preceding discourse. As Waltereit (2002) claims in his analysis of *guarda*, the triggers for change from verbal phrases to discourse markers are recurrent communicative functions (high frequency), that lead to “routinization”, which affects all levels of grammar (see also Detges & Waltereit 2002). The fact that *guarda te* derives from an imperative form, is due to a “strategical overuse” of the imperative to call for the interlocutor’s attention (Detges & Waltereit 2002, Waltereit 2002). *Guarda te* has the function of focalizing the addressee’s attention towards something that is evaluated important by the speaker. Interestingly, Bordería (1998) points out that discourse markers act as “relevance markers”, highlighting the importance of a discourse, a situation or an object (see also Ghezzi & Molinelli, 2014). Capitalizing on these analyses, we argue that *guarda te* (as SGT or OGT) also acts as a relevance marker with the aim of focalizing the interlocutor’s attention. *Guarda te*, is based on the imperative form that, as mentioned above, calls for the addressee’s attention. However, differently from *guarda*, *guarda te* has an additional element: the pronoun *te* ‘you’. We propose that *te* appears together with the verb *guarda* in a fixed form in order to highlight the relevance of the discourse or situation at stake. In this respect, we notice that the presence of the pronoun after an imperative is a marked phenomenon *per se*: the subject is usually omitted in Italian real imperatives, but, if it is present, it is obligatorily focalized in contrast with someone else

(as in (15)).

- (15) A: Guarda a che ora è il film
look.IMP.PRS.2SG at what time be.PRS.3SG the movie
'Look what time the film is.'
- B: Guarda TU a che ora è
look.IMP.PRS.2SG you.2SG at what time be.PRS.3SG
il film, io ho altro da fare
the movie I have. PRS.1SG something else to do.INF
adesso.
now
'YOU look what time the movie is, I have something else to do now.'

In the contexts with SGT or OGT, however, there is no contrastive focalization of the subject *te*. The pronoun *te* loses its deictic features of real pronoun and subsumes the function of highlighting the relevance of addressing the interlocutor's attention and exaggerating the importance of the content of a discourse or a situation. The pragmatic value of *te* is not an isolated case, it recalls the use of subject pronouns in French, such as, for instance, the pronoun *moi* 'me' in a sentence like *Moi, j'adore ça*. 'Me, I love this'. As Detges (2001) points out, the "improper use" of the pronoun *moi* 'me' as contrastive device highlights the contribution of the speaker as relevant, introducing the turn with a contrastive pronoun that actually does not contrast with anything.

In the same context, we also notice that the subject *te* cannot be assimilated to the reflexive *te/tu stesso* 'yourself' either. *Guarda te stesso* 'look yourself' is not acceptable

in a sentence like (16a), in the sense that *te stesso* fails to be interpreted as the subject of the action, but is rather interpreted as the direct object of a reflexive action: ‘you look yourself’.²² Hence, the embedded clause is not licensed as direct object of the verb. In this sentence, the correct grammatical form is *guarda tu stesso*, with *you* in the nominative form *tu* (16b). However, *guarda tu stesso* is not a discourse marker: it does not indicate the speaker’s attitude and the verb *guardare* is interpreted as a regular verb meaning ‘look’. In example (17a), *guarda tu stesso* is infelicitous because the act of looking is not applicable to noises, whereas *guarda te* as discourse marker contributes a felicitous sentence in (17b). The same holds for the examples in (18) with OGT.

(16) a. */#Guarda te *stesso* cosa hanno
 look.IMP.PRS.2SG you(ACC) self what have.PRS.3PL
 fatto!
 do.PST.PRT

b. Guarda tu *stesso* cosa hanno
 look.IMP.PRS.2SG you(NOM) self what have.PRS.3PL
 fatto!
 do.PST.PRT

‘Look yourself what they have done!’

(17) a. #Guarda tu *stesso* che rumoreche
 look.IMP.PRS.2SG you(NOM) self what noise that

²² However, notice that (17a) is acceptable with a literally interpretation in certain stylistic varieties or varieties of regional Italian.

fa quell' aggeggio!
 make.PRS.3SG that thing
 'Look yourself what a noise that thing makes!'

b. Guarda te che rumore che
 look.IMP.PRS.2SG you(ACC) what noise that
 fa quell' aggeggio!
 make.PRS.3SG that thing
 '*Surprisingly* what a noise that thing makes!'

(18) A: Che cielo nero! Dovrei/ dovremmo prendere un ombrello?
 'What a black sky! Should I/we take an umbrella?'

B: Guarda te / tu stesso
 look.IMP.PRS.2SG you(ACC) you(NOM) yourself
 che razza di domanda è?!
 what kind of question be.PRS.3SG
 '*Obviously* what kind of question is this?'

That *guarda te* is interpreted as a discourse marker and not a real imperative verb phrase is further demonstrated by the fact that its agreement morphology is limited to the second person singular:

(19) a. Guarda te/ *guardi lui/lei
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG look.IMP.3SG he/she

*guardiamo	noi/	*guardate	voi/	*guardino
look.IMP.1PL	we	look.IMP.2PL	you.2PL	look.IMP.3PL
loro	che	intelligente	che	è
they	that	intelligent	that	be.PRS.2SG
				become.PST.PRT

‘*Surprisingly* how intelligent he’s become!’

b. A: Che cielo nero! Dovrei/dovremmo prendere un ombrello secondo te?

‘What a black sky! Should I/should we take an umbrella in your opinion?’

B:	Guarda	te	/	*guardate	voi,
	look.IMP.2SG	you.2SG		look.IMP.2PL	you.2PL
	*guardi	lui/lei	/	guardiamo	noi/
	look.IMP.3SG	he/she		look.IMP.1PL	we
	*guardino	loro	che	razza	di
	look.IMP.3PL	they	what	kind	of
				question	be.PRS.3SG

‘*Obviously*, what kind of questions is this?!’

Finally, notice that, in both SGT and OGT, the meaning of *guarda* is bleached. Notice, in fact, that in example (19a) with SGT, *guarda te* does not denote the real act of looking at the increased intelligence of someone. Similarly, in (19b), *guarda te* does not denote the real act of looking in relation to taking the umbrella or not and does not select a direct object as it happens with the real transitive verb *guardare* ‘to look’.

The analysis of SGT/OGT as discourse marker is further supported by a number

of syntactic restrictions that do not usually apply to genuine verbs. As illustrated in section 3.1, SGT and OGT have a limited syntactic distribution, since they mainly appear at the beginning of the sentence. Additionally, SGT and OGT do not admit the presence of clitics (as in (20) and (21)), and they cannot be negated, as shown in (10) above.

(20) a. **Guardalo* te che cosa fa!
 look.IMP.2SG-him(CL) you.2SG that what do.PRS.3SG
 Lit: ‘*Surprisingly*-him what he does!’

 b. **Guardaci* te dove va!
 look.IMP.2SG-there(CL) you.2SG where go.PRS.3SG
 Lit: ‘*Surprisingly*-there where he goes!’

(21) a. A: Fa caldissimo, forse dovrei accendere il condizionatore.
 ‘It’s very hot. Maybe I should switch on the air conditioning.’

 B: **Guardalo* te che dovresti
 look.IMP.2SG-him(CL) you.2SG that should.2SG
 accenderlo
 switch.INF-it(CL)

 Lit: ‘*Obviously*-it that you should switch it on!’

 b. A: Viene mia nonna a trovarmi, forse dovrei andare a prenderla alla
 stazione.

 ‘My grandmother comes to pay me a visit, maybe I should go to

pick her up at the station.’

- B: *Guardaci te che dovresti
 look.IMP.2SG-there(CL) you.2SG that should.2SG
 andarci!
 go.INF-there(CL)
 Lit. ‘*Obviously*-there that you should go!’

Furthermore, *guarda te* appears to have lost the inflectional paradigm typical of verbs and is undetermined with respect to the event time: it is used exclusively in its present imperative form, as shown in the following examples.

- (22) a. *Guardavi te che veloce correva! SGT
 look.IMP.2SG you(ACC) that fast run.IMP.3SG
 Lit. ‘You looked how fast she ran!’

- b. *Hai guardato te che veloce che ha
 have.PRS.2SG look.PST.PRT you that fast that have.PRS.3SG
 corso!
 run.PST.PRT
 Lit. ‘You have looked how fast she has run!’

- (23) A: Gianni è arrivato in tempo, forse è stato avvertito che il film sarebbe
 cominciato prima.
 ‘Gianni arrived in time, maybe he has been advised that the film would

have been started earlier.?’

B: *Hai guardato te che è stato
have.PRS.2SG look.PST.PRT you.2SG that be.PST.3SG
avvertito! OGT
advised.PST.PRT

The properties illustrated above show that neither SGT nor OGT can be analyzed as real verbs. The bleaching and rigidification of their semantic, morphosyntactic, and prosodic properties and the impossibility of being modified are the hallmark of fixation of the verb phrase into an invariant discourse item.

4. *Guarda te* and the syntax of discourse

In this section, we propose an analysis based on the Cartographic approach (Cinque 1999, Rizzi 1997), according to which pragmatics and prosody are mediated by syntactic structure. The fundamental idea is grounded in the Split-CP hypothesis (Rizzi 1997), which conceives the CP as a conglomerate of functional projections that, encompassing all discourse-relevant elements, encode information structure via their heads and their specific features. Within the Cartographic approach, discourse markers have a range of values and can co-occur in the same utterance while occupying different positions within an articulated syntactic structure. It has been proposed that discourse markers occur in a dedicated syntactic layer above ForceP, called Speech Act domain (Speas & Tenny 2003, Hill 2007, Giorgi 2010, Coniglio & Zegrean 2010, 2012, Haegeman & Hill 2013). The functional projections within the Speech Act domain encode the performative aspect of

illocutionary heads and represent the codification of the speaker/addressee related markers, i.e. the speaker's attitude, her commitment towards the content of utterances and her relation towards the addressee.²³ Within this paradigm, we follow Giorgi (2010), who argues that functional projections in the Speech Act layer, include not only interpretative properties, but also prosodic ones. In line with this approach, we will assume a close link between meaning, syntactic codification and prosodic features (see also Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007, Truckenbrodt 2007, Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández 2016, Wiltschko 2014, Wiltschko & Heim 2016). Our task will be, henceforth, that of characterizing SGT and OGT as occupying different syntactic positions within the Speech Act domain. We begin our discussion by showing that *guarda te* is not a head, but an XP that occupies a specifier position (also in line with Cardinaletti's 2011, 2015 analysis of *guarda* 'look')

4.1. *Guarda te* and the Speech Act domain

At first, *guarda te* appear to resist being analyzed as a fully articulated XP: It cannot be coordinated with other discourse markers and cannot be modified or negated (see (9) and (10) above). However, *guarda te* cannot be analyzed as a functional head either: It does not have a unique meaning and can be used in isolation (see (7) and (8)), while functional heads typically cannot.

Guarda te, interpreted as SGT or OGT, displays adverbial features (see Cardinaletti 2011, 2015 for *guarda*):²⁴ It occupies a very high syntactic position in the clausal spine, it has

²³ The literature on this topic is vast, see Speas & Tenny (2003), Munaro & Poletto (2003, 2009), Del Gobbo & Poletto (2008), Sigurðsson (2010, 2014), Poletto & Zanuttini (2010), Delfitto & Fiorin (2011), Frascarelli (2012), Haegeman (2012), Haegeman & Hill (2013), Haegeman (2014), Lam (2014), Bayer, Hinterhölzl & Trotzke (2015), Hinterhölzl & Munaro (2015).

²⁴ Cardinaletti (2011, 2015) analyses verb-based discourse markers in Italian (including *guarda* 'look') as "weak-adverbs".

its own meaning and prosodic characteristics, it has root properties, and has scope over the whole sentence. However, differently from adverbs, *guarda te*²⁵ occupies a fixed position above CP (cf. (24a) and (24b) with (24c) and (24d)) and cannot be coordinated with other discourse markers or adverbs (cf. (24e) and (24f) with (24g)).

(24) a. *#Che bello guarda te che è
 that beautiful look.IMP.2SG you.2sg that be.PRS.3SG
 diventato!
 become.PST.PRT

b. Guarda te che bello che è
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG that beautiful that be.PRS.3SG
 diventato!
 become.PST.PRT

Lit. '(Guarda te) how beautiful (*#guarda te) he's become!'

c. *Sorpriudentemente che bello che è
 surprisingly that beautiful that be.PRS.3SG
 diventato!
 become.PST.PRT

d. ?Che bello che sorpiudentemente è
 that beautiful that surprisingly be.PRS.3SG

²⁵ In this section, we exemplify only contexts with SGT, since, if not indicated differently, OGT displays the same behavior.

diventato!

become.PST.PRT

‘(Surprisingly) how beautiful (surprisingly) he’s become!’

e. *Dai,* (*e) *guarda* *te* *che* *bello*
give.IMP.2SG and look.IMP.2SG you that beautiful
che *è* *diventato!*
that be.PRS.3SG become.PST.PRT

f. **Guarda* *te* *e* *sorprendentemente* *che*
look.IMP.2SG you.2SG and surprisingly that
bello *che* *è* *diventato!*
beautiful that be. PRS.3SG become.PST.PRT

g. *Incredibilmente* *e* *sorprendentemente,* *che* *bello*
incredibly and surprisingly that beautiful
che *è* *diventato!*
that be. PRS.3SG become.PST.PRT

Crucially, *guarda te* as SGT and OGT and the corresponding adverbs *sorprendentemente* ‘surprisingly’ and *ovviamente* ‘obviously’ do not overlap. Even with a light effect of redundancy, SGT/OGT and the corresponding adverbs can co-occur (without conjunction,

but with a pause). Notice that in either case, *guarda te* must be higher than the adverb, otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical or infelicitous:²⁶

- (25) a. (#Sorprendentemente) guarda te, (sorprendentemente)
 surprisingly look.IMP.2SG you.2SG surprisingly
 è arrivato primo!
 be.PRS.3SG arrive.PST.PRT first
 ‘(#Surprisingly) *guarda te* (surprisingly) is arrived first!’
- b. (*Ovviamente) guarda te, (ovviamente) devi
 obviously look.IMP.2SG you.2SG obviously have.PRS.2SG
 prendere l’ ombrello.
 take.INF the umbrella
 ‘(*Obviously) *guarda te* (obviously) you have to take the umbrella.’

Moreover, *guarda te* interpreted as SGT can introduce the following sentence with a complementizer *che* ‘that’. If present, the adverb *sorprendemente* ‘surprisingly’ must appear below the complementizer:

- (26) Guarda te (*sorprendentemente) che (sorprendentemente)
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG surprisingly that surprisingly
 è arrivato primo!
 be.PRS.3SG arrive.PST.PRT first

²⁶ The sentences in (25) are intended to be uttered without breaks or pauses between SGT/OGT and the adverb.

‘*Guarda te* (*surprisingly) that (surprisingly) is arrived first!

On the basis of these observations, we argue that *guarda te* (SGT/OGT) occupies a syntactic position in the Speech Act layer higher than CP. In this respect, we further observe that, whereas *guarda te* can be followed by a complementizer, adverbs cannot:

(27) a. **Sorprendentemente* che è arrivato prima.
surprisingly that be.PRS.3SG arrive.PST.PRT earlier
‘Surprisingly that he arrived earlier.’

b. **Ovviamente* che devi prendere
obviously that have to.PRS.2SG take.INF
l’ ombrello!
the umbrella
‘Obviously that you have to take the umbrella!’

Additionally, differently from SGT, the adverb *sorprendentemente* ‘surprisingly’ can be followed by a sentence with a different illocutionary force. See for instances (28) where *sorprendentemente* is in a declarative clause with no exclamative intonation.

(28) *Sorprendentemente* è arrivato in tempo.
surprisingly be.PRS.3SG arrive.PST.PRT in time
‘Surprisingly he’s arrived in time.’

Differently from adverbs, discourse markers are deictic elements, which refer to the spatio-temporal coordinates of the actual event of utterance.

The analysis of *guarda te* as a specifier finds a parallel in Kayne's (2016) analysis of sentence final particles.²⁷ Kayne reanalyzes certain sentence particles – such as Cantonese final particles – as small clauses occupying the specifier position of silent functional heads in the left periphery of the clause.

As for the interpretation of *guarda te*, assuming that speaker and addressee's coordinates are represented in syntax, we argue that SGT is speaker-oriented whereas OGT is addressee-oriented. By “speaker orientation”, we intend that the utterance is primarily meant for the speaker herself, whereas by “addressee orientation”, we intend that the utterance is intentionally directed to the addressee and linked to the conversational context that the addressee contributed to set up.²⁸ OGT cannot be uttered out-of-the-blue, but only in reaction to an interlocutor's proposition and, therefore, must have an addressee in order to be used felicitously. OGT, in fact, qualifies a source of evidence and confirmation of what has just been said by the addressee. Conversely, SGT shows speaker-oriented properties: It does not require any overt preceding linguistic context or addressee. SGT can be uttered out-of-the-blue in reaction to a situation and without the presence of an interlocutor. Contrarily to OGT, SGT can be also uttered in a self-talk.

As for the specific interpretations of SGT and OGT, for sake of simplicity we have translated them respectively with the adverbs *sorprendentemente* ‘surprisingly’ and *ovviamente* ‘obviously’. In line with Hinterhölzl & Munaro's (2015) analysis of modal particles in Bellunese and German, we argue that SGT's expressive meaning indicates

²⁷ Kayne (2016) argues that not only sentence final particles, but also complementizers, aspect, tense, focus, topic, and agreement morphemes are actually small clauses that occupy the specifier position of silent heads in the sentential spine.

²⁸ This hence reminds a “bonding” function between interlocutors *à la* Haegeman and Hill (2013).

the speaker's unexpectedness towards an event or a state of affairs expressed by the proposition. We define this attitude as "mirative" (De Lancey 1997, 2001, Friedman 1980, Peterson 2010), which is a combination of an evaluation by the speaker and an evidentiality component.²⁹ Despite the complexity of the mirativity concept, we adopt Cinque's (1999) terminology (see also Munaro & Obenauer 1999, Hinterhölzl & Munaro 2015) and we define the SGT marker as a mirative marker that occupies an Evaluative projection. The mirative definition, in fact, has the potential to unify the surprise property and the speaker-oriented property of SGT, which is typical of exclamations. Crucially, notice that exclamations are also "inherently factive" (Grimshaw 1979:285) (see also Elliott 1974, Abels 2010), but their propositional content is presupposed only by the speaker, not necessarily by the interlocutor. This type of analysis is again in line with Hinterhölzl & Munaro (2015), who argue that mirative discourse markers convey the speaker's evaluation of a state of affairs irrespectively of the presence and contribution of an addressee.

As for OGT, following Cinque's (1999) classification, we analyze it as an evidential marker occurring in an Evidential functional projection. We adopt the definition of evidentiality by Alkhvald (2004:3): "a linguistic category whose primary meaning is the source of information" (see also Cruschina 2015). Actually, *obviously* is one of those adverbs quite problematic for a clear-cut classification. Cinque (1999) first classifies *obviously* in a class of evidential adverbs on par with *clearly*, *evidently*. However, in a footnote, he points out that "[these adverbs] are sometimes assigned to the class of "modal" epistemic adverbs [and] should perhaps be assigned to a distinct class" (Cinque 1999: ft 37 p.174). Moreover, Cinque explicitly admits to "ignore the (quite)

²⁹ In terms of Marandin (2008), we could define SGT as an "ego-evidential" marker, since it presents as "the opinion of an agent who is the potential speaker" (Marandin 2008: 443) (see also Badan & Cheng 2015).

different nuance of these and (other) adverbs” (Cinque 1999: ft 24 p 201). There is no consensus in the literature on this topic as to whether evidentiality represents a category in itself or it is subsumed under the domain of epistemic modality (Palmer 1986, Kiefer 1994, de Haan 1999, 2001, 2005, Aikhenvald 2004).³⁰ In the context of our present purposes, we will not address this complex issue but adopt Faller’s (2002) definition of the semantic notion of ‘obviousness’ as *epistential*. Faller coins this label to refer to those linguistic devices that simultaneously bear a modal as well as an evidential function, such as adverbs like *obviously* and *patently*. This functional overlap generally applies to the subcategory of epistemic modality and inferential evidentiality. OGT falls into this category as it conveys an obvious confirmation. Moreover, as discourse markers in general, the interpretation of OGT is strictly linked to the intonation that expresses also something more: a sense of authority and superiority, sometimes also with a hint of irony.

Ultimately, our proposal is that *guarda te* is realized as the specifier of two distinct syntactic positions within a Speech Act layer that encode, respectively, speaker-oriented and addressee-oriented features. In doing so, we adopt Hinterhölzl & Munaro’s (2015) approach who argue that the Speech act layer must be subdivided in two fields, one to encode the speaker-oriented discourse markers and one to encode the addressee-oriented markers.³¹ This approach can be explained also in terms of Hale & Keyser’s (1993) and Speas & Tenny’s (2003) analyses, who conceive the speaker as the agent of the Speech Act, the utterance content as its theme and the addressee as its goal: speaker-oriented markers are intended as those markers without a goal, while addressee markers as markers

³⁰ For an interesting overview on evidentiality in generative grammar see Rooryck (2001a, 2001b).

³¹ In turn, Hinterhölzl & Munaro’s (2015) analysis is developed in the spirit of Speas & Tenny (2003), Haegeman & Hills (2013), see also Witschko (2014), Witschko & Heim (2016). The proposals of the authors cited here are similar in arguing a Speech act domain divided in one field dedicated to speaker-oriented projections and the other one to hearer-oriented projections..

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with goals. Such a dichotomy among discourse markers can be easily found in other Italian discourse-related elements. On the one hand, we can categorize other evaluative markers expressing surprise (like *Madonna* ‘Madonna’, *cavolo* ‘cabbage’, *dai* lit. ‘give’) as speaker-oriented discourse markers:

- (29) *Madonna /cavolo /dai che grande che sei*
Madonna cabbage give.IMP.2SG that big that be.PRS.2SG
diventato!
become.PST.PRT
‘Madonna, cabbage, give how big you have become!’

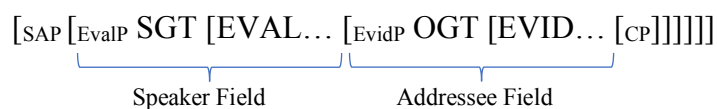
On the other hand, we can classify markers that call for the addressee’s attention (like *vedi* ‘see’, *senti* ‘listen’, *dai* ‘com’on’ [Lit. ‘give’]) as addressee-oriented markers:

- (30) *Dai, vattene*
give.IMP.2SG go.IMP.2SG-CL
‘Com’on go away’
(Cardinaletti 2015: 30)

To summarize, we analyse SGT as a specifier of an Evaluative projection within a speaker-oriented field and OGT as a specifier of an Evidential projection within the addressee-oriented field. Both fields are in the Speech Act domain above CP:³²

³² As for the hierarchical order between evaluative and evidential discourse markers we assume Cinque (1999). We leave this test open for future research.

(31)



Our proposal is in line with other studies of discourse markers in other languages. Overall, it seems that the Evaluative and Evidential projections are two crucial projections realized within the Speech Act domain, independently of the specific definitions given by different analyses, (Munaro & Obenauer 1999, Cruschina 2015, Hinterhölzl & Munaro 2015).³³

4.4. *Guarda te* and complementizers

To complete our analysis of *guarda te*, in this section we show that SGT and OGT behave differently also with respect to the complementizers that follow them.

The presence of the complementizer *che* ‘that’ or *se* ‘if’ with *guarda te* as SGT is always optional:

- (32) Guarda te (che/se) è andato al
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG that/if be.PRS.3SG go.PST.PRT to-the
 ristorante senza dirmelo!
 Restaurant without say.INF-to.me-it(CL)

‘*Guarda te* he’s gone to the restaurant without saying a word to me!’

³³ The analysis of German modal particles by Hinterhölzl & Munaro (2015) offer a detailed semantic analysis of the concept of speaker field and addressee field and the relation with the Evaluative and Evidential projections.

In contrast, OGT admits the presence of *che* ‘that’ only when the following sentence expresses an echo-type of content, that is a repetition of an utterance (or at least a portion of it) expressed in the preceding context. Example (33) offers a non-echo context: the sentence that follows OGT is not a repetition of a preceding utterance, so the presence of *che* yields ungrammaticality. Example (34), instead, illustrates an echo-context where the clause following OGT is a repetition of (a portion of) the utterance expressed by the addressee. In this context, the presence of the complementizer is mandatory. Notice that with OGT the complementizer *se* ‘if’ is always excluded.

(33) *Context:*

The weather is not promising, the sky is black and all the weather forecasts for today are very bad.

A: Forse dovrei prendere l’ombrello
 maybe should.1SG take.INF the umbrella
 ‘Maybe I should take the umbrella.’

B1: Guarda te, (*che) non vedi che cielo nero?
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG that not see.PRS.2SG that sky black
 ‘Obviously, don’t you see such a black sky?’

(34) A: Per fortuna ho portato l’ombrello, me l’avevi detto che avrebbe piovuto a secchiate.

‘Fortunately I brought the umbrella, you told me that it would have rained cats and dogs.’

B: Guarda te *(che) te l’ avevo detto

look.IMP.2SG you.2SG that to.you it have.IMP.1SG say.PST.PRT

(che avrebbe piovuto a secchiate)

that would.have.3SG rain.PST.PRT at buckets

‘*Obviously* that I had said it to you (that it would have rained cats and dogs).

We tentatively analyze the complementizers on the lines set by Coniglio & Zegrean (2012). Their proposal is to split ForceP into two distinct projections: Illocutionary Force and Clause Type. We also follow a proposal by Corr (2018) who further distinguishes between illocutionary complementizers and clause-type complementizers. Corr (2018) shows that the exclamative *que* ‘that’ in Ibero-Romance cannot be analyzed as a canonical subordinator, but as an illocutionary complementizer: “as the interface between a propositional content [...] and the superordinate structure (a higher clause, or possibly, the articulation of discourse, if we consider a root clause)” (Rizzi 1997:283, cited by Corr 2018:76). In line with Corr’s (2018) proposal, we argue that the complementizers *che* ‘that’ and *se* ‘if’ in contexts with SGT are illocutionary complementizers. The proposal is supported by the following observations: (i) exclamatives introduced by *che* ‘that’ or *se* ‘if’ can be root clauses endowed with an independent illocutionary force, while a regular complementizer generally does not introduce a main clause; (ii) As observed above, the complementizer *che* ‘that’ and *se* ‘if’ are always optional in the contexts with SGT; this holds also for exclamative sentences in general, where the presence of a

complementizer is not obligatory to turn a sentence into an exclamative;^{34,35} (iii) Another difference between a subordinated clause introduced by a regular subordinator and *che* ‘that’ and *se* ‘if’ followed by an exclamative is that the subordinate clause can be topicalized above the matrix predicate, while the exclamative clause in contexts with SGT cannot:

(35) a. Maria aveva previsto che Gianni
 Maria have.IMPF.3SG foreseen.PST.PRT that Gianni
 sarebbe arrivato primo.
 would-be.3SG arrive.PST.PRT first
 ‘Maria had foreseen that Gianni would have arrived first.’

b. Che Gianni sarebbe arrivato primo, Maria
 that Gianni would-be.3SG arrive.PST.PRT first Maria
 l’aveva previsto.
 it-have.IMPF.3SG foreseen.PST.PRT
 ‘That Gianni would have arrived first Maria had foreseen it.’

(36) a. Guarda te che Gianni è
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG hat Gianni be.PRS.3SG

³⁴ For an analysis of exclamatives in Italian see Zanuttini & Portner (2000, 2003). As Zanuttini & Portner suggest, *pace* Obenauer (1994), the exclamative sentential force is not encoded directly in the syntax, but is instead compositionally derived via different syntactic and semantic principles.

³⁵ As we have seen, in fact, a simple declarative can be interpreted as an exclamative, if pronounced with the proper prosodic contour (indicated in the written text with the exclamation mark):

(i) Il tuo cane è bellissimo./!
 the your dog be.PRS.3SG beautiful.SUP
 ‘Your dog is very beautiful./!’

arrivato primo!

arrive.PST.PRT first

‘*Surprisingly* that Gianni is arrived first!’

b. (*Che) Gianni è arrivato primo guarda te!

that Gianni be.PRS.3SG arrive.PST.PRT first look.IMP.2SG you

“(*That) Gianni is arrived first *surprisingly!*”

These observations support the view that the complementizer following SGT is not a subordinator selecting an embedded clause but an illocutionary complementizer introducing a matrix clause. Interestingly, the behavior of the complementizer *che* following OGT (henceforth, OGT-*che*) is significantly different: whenever the OGT-*che* is absent, the sentence that follows OGT can be of any type as long as the OGT is separated from the sentence by a prosodic break. If the OGT-*che* is present, the only possible following clause must be an echo context. As Garzonio & Poletto (2015) point out for constructions with polarity particles in Italian, the (portion of) sentence that is repeated and introduced by *che* is not identical to the original stimulus. The clause in (37) (i) does not correspond to a same-saying or hearsay since the speaker does express her commitment towards the proposition (see also Corr 2018); (ii) it can contain clitics that refer to the previous sentence, which functions as a topic; (iii) deictic coordinates are different, since they are those of the speaker (Giorgi 2010).

(37) A: Il cielo è nero, forse dovrei portare l’ombrello.

‘The sky is black, maybe I should bring the umbrella.’

B1: *(Guarda te) che dovresti portarlo.
 look.IMP.2SG you.2SG that should.2SG bring.INF-it(CL)
 ‘Obviously that you should bring it.

Therefore, OGT-*che* cannot be analyzed as simple quotation complementizer, because it does something more than quoting: it expresses the commitment of the speaker, confirming what has been said and uttered above, conveying a high grade of confidence.³⁶

We analyze OGT-*che* as a real subordinator since it has the function of linking and transmitting its value of asserting and confirming a content drawn from the previous discourse. Differently from SGT-*che*, in fact, OGT-*che* cannot be used without the presence of *guarda te* (see (37)); in echo-context the presence of *che* is not optional, but mandatory (cf. (34) with (32)). Notice, in this respect, that in non-echo contexts, when OGT-*che* is not present, the following sentence can be of any type, as illustrated in (14) above. In contrast, when the OGT-*che* is present, can be only interpreted as a confirmation of what has just been said. On the basis of these observations, we thus propose that OGT-*che* is a real subordinator, occupying a position in Clause TypeP.

On the basis of the different behaviors of the complementizers following SGT and OGT, and in the spirit of Coniglio & Zegrean’s (2012) hypothesis of split-ForceP and

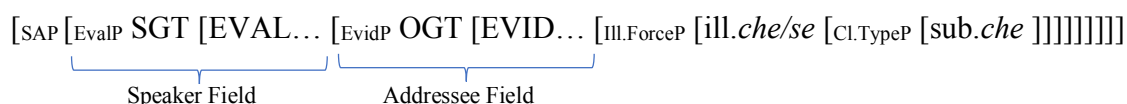
³⁶ These structures can be compared to the structures with polarity emphasis discussed by Poletto & Zanuttini (2013) and Garzonio & Poletto (2015) (see also Breibarth, De Clercq & Haegeman 2013), as those illustrated below.

- (i) A: È poi arrivato Gianni?
 be.PRS.3SG then arrive.PST.PRT Gianni
 ‘Did Gianni arrive in the end?’
 B: Sì/no che (non) è arrivato.
 yes no that non be.PRS.3SG arrived.PST.PRT
 (From Poletto & Zanuttini 2013)

The authors argue that emphasis structures are characterized by a bi-clausal structure where the context corresponding to the stimulus is present twice in the reply.

Corr's (2018) differentiation of complementizers, we tentatively propose the following syntactic hierarchy for SGT/OGT and their related complementizers in (38):

(38)



5. Conclusions

In this paper, we have shown that in certain contexts *guarda te* is not a real verb phrase. The bleaching and the rigidification of its semantic, morphosyntactic and phonological properties are the hallmark of a “fixation” of the original VP *guarda te* into an invariant discourse marker. We have also shown that *guarda te* can be interpreted as SGT and OGT, two interpretations that are strictly intertwined with different prosodic properties and syntactic distribution. We have proposed that SGT has an evaluative reading whereas OGT has an evidential interpretation. We have also provided evidence that the two markers occupy the specifier positions of, respectively, EvaluativeP and EvidentialP, and that these two projections are hosted in the Speech Act field in the left periphery. Additionally, we have illustrated some distinctions in the syntactic behavior of the complementizer *che* that links the markers to the following sentence.

When applying the Cartographic approach to *guarda te*, we face several problems related to the labelling of the functional projections. Differently from adverbs, discourse markers cannot be accurately paraphrased. This yields several difficulties in the definition of the meaning of such discourse markers, and, as a consequence, difficulties in the labeling of

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the different functional projections that host them in the Speech Act field. These observations suggest that a more refined cartography of the functional projections is needed, since discourse markers are often the blend of different semantic components. SGT displays an evaluative component together with an evidential one. In the case of OGT, we face the much-debated problem of the (inter-)connection between evidentiality and epistemicity. Despite these difficulties, our findings are in line with previous works on discourse markers in observing that evidentiality and evaluativity are two crucial properties of discourse markers cross-linguistically.

Our research also defends the idea that the Speech Act field is subdivided in two areas, one dedicated to speaker-oriented projections and one to addressee-oriented projections, as originally proposed by Speas and Tenny (2003) and a number of related studies. However, our research highlights also the difficulties in formally defining the distinction between speaker-oriented and addressee-oriented discourse markers, as well as those in identifying the relative hierarchical order of the two fields.

The observations offered in this paper are therefore relevant for studies on language change as well as for the line of research on syntax-pragmatics interface, defined also as “syntacticization of discourse”, giving rise to relevant questions for the theory in this field.

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