

Is Italian Clitic Right Dislocation grammaticalised? A prosodic analysis of yes/no questions and statements

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Abstract

This paper analyses the intonation of Italian yes/no questions and statements containing a Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD) to determine whether this construction shows evidence of grammaticalisation at the prosodic level. We examine 251 CLRDs taken from task-oriented dialogues, showing that the prosody of the CLRD is strongly affected by the modality of the utterance: whereas statements mostly have the main prominence on the verbal predicate, in yes/no questions, the main accent predominantly occurs on the post-verbal noun phrase. Therefore, in declaratives, the traces of prosodic grammaticalisation are relatively weak, whereas the opposite is true for questions. We also analysed the discourse status and the degree of accessibility of the relevant referent. We hypothesise that CLRDs with different modality are functionally differentiated at the discourse level. Whereas declaratives reinforce topic continuity through the repetition of an active topic, we claim that interrogatives encode a high degree of accessibility of the referent to the speaker together with the speaker's uncertainty about the accessibility of the same referent to the listener. We therefore argue that yes/no questions with a CLRD express a confirmation request. We also explore the relationship between the discourse-status of the relevant referent and the prominence pattern of the utterance.

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1. Introduction

This paper concerns the prosodic realisation of yes/no questions and statements containing a Clitic Right Dislocation¹ (henceforth, CLRD) in Italian. The goal of this analysis is to determine whether this construction shows evidence of grammaticalisation from a prosodic viewpoint.

Previous research has suggested that in Italian, CLRD could be undergoing a process of grammaticalisation (Berretta, 1989; Sala Gallini, 1996; see also Koch, 1994 and Soriano, 2006). The construction appears in quasi-fixed expressions, such as *lo sai che...* ("[do] you know that..."), in which the clitic pronoun displays a weak resumptive function. It has therefore been suggested that the pronominal series in CLRD might be evolving towards a morphosyntactic marking of objective conjugation (Berretta, 1989). However, this hypothesis is not supported by other studies, such as that of Nocentini (2003). In fact, research on the morphosyntax of CLRD has shown that evidence of the grammaticalisation of the clitic pronoun is insufficient.

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¹ The terms "dislocation" and "detachment" are used in this paper without reference to the theories of syntactic movement (cf. Berruto, 1986; Lambrecht, 1994; Nocentini, 2003).

Despite the findings on the morphosyntax of the Italian CLRD, the question of whether this construction is undergoing grammaticalisation has yet to be resolved. The view still persists that CLRD is, to a certain extent, grammaticalised (cf. [Sorianello, 2006](#)), even if the evidence supporting the hypothesis of a morphologisation of the pronoun is not compelling. Moreover, from a phonological viewpoint, there are signs of a tendency to realise the CLRD in one tone unit rather than in two ([Rossi, 1997, 1999; Scavano, 2003](#)). This prosodic variation has been explicitly related to the grammaticalisation of the construction ([Sala Gallini, 1996](#)). This observation suggests that evidence of a grammaticalisation process is to be found in the prosody of the CLRD rather than in its morphosyntax.

The phonetic correlates of grammaticalisation have been examined extensively ([Lehmann, 1985, 1995; Wischer, 2006](#)), and experimental evidence indicates that phonetic variation is at the root of the phonological change ([Ohala, 1989](#)). Most of the investigations concerning the role of phonetics and phonology in the grammaticalisation process have focussed on segmental variation and change. However, [Roll and Horne \(2009\)](#) have recently emphasised the impact of prosody on morphosyntax in the grammaticalisation process. In the specific case of CLRD, prosody plays a pivotal role in distinguishing this construction from similar constructions ([Lambrecht, 2001](#)). In Spanish, for instance, the difference between CLRD and Clitic Doubling (henceforth, CD) is not only related to the morphosyntactic properties of the clitic but is also expressed by prosodic means. In fact, the Spanish CD differs from CLRD also at the phonetic/phonological level.

This study seeks to determine whether there is evidence at the prosodic level of an on-going process of grammaticalisation in the Italian CLRD. To achieve this goal, we have analysed a corpus of Italian utterances with CLRDs, focussing on their intonation.

This paper contains seven sections. Section 2 provides an overview of CLRD in Italian from several viewpoints and summarises the debate concerning the possible grammaticalisation of the construction. Next, we present the corpus (section 3) and the methodology (section 4) used in this study. Section 5 reports the results of the analysis, which are discussed in section 6. The conclusions are drawn in section 7.

2. Italian CLRD: an overview

2.1. Syntactic features

We define the CLRD as a syntactic construction in which a noun phrase (NP) that occurs in a post-verbal position is resumed by a coreferent clitic pronoun within the same sentence. Accordingly, our investigation will not consider two other constructions that are superficially similar to the CLRD: marginalisation and afterthought. In marginalisation, the post-verbal NP is not resumed by a clitic but is only separated from the preceding linguistic material by a prosodic pause. We exclude this structure from our analysis based on the claims made by [Antinucci and Cinque \(1977\)](#) and [Cardinaletti \(2002\)](#) on the different syntactic properties of CLRD and marginalisation (see section 2.4.1). As an afterthought, a separate NP is added after a sentence which contains a coreferent pronoun. Despite the similarities with the CLRD, however, the afterthought is not a sentence-level structure to ensure topic continuity but a discourse-level repair strategy used by the speaker to resolve a possibly problematic reference ([Lambrecht, 1981; Ziv, 1994; Averintseva-Klisch, 2008](#)). Afterthoughts and CLRD differ in a number of grammatical and functional features that will be discussed in sections 2.2 and 2.3.

In Italian, a CLRD can involve a predicate argument or an adjunct ([Benincà et al., 1988; Lambrecht, 2001](#)), which appears on the right side of the verbal predicate. The grammatical role of the post-verbal constituent is also represented within the sentence by a coreferent clitic pronoun. In Italian, the CLRD of the direct object (DO) is by far the most common, both synchronically ([Crocco, 2010; Berruto, 1986](#)) and diachronically ([D'Achille, 1990](#)). Therefore, this paper focuses almost exclusively on the CLRD of the DO (cf. section 3).

Because Italian is an SVO language and the DO occurs after the verb in canonical order, a CLRD and its canonical counterpart are superficially distinguishable only by the presence of the clitic pronoun. In the following examples, a sentence with canonical word order (1a, 2a) is followed by its counterpart with a CLRD (1b, 2b):

- (1a) *Non voglio d-are i sold-i*
 Not will.1SG give-INF the.PL money-PL
 'I do not want to give the money'
- (1b) *Non voglio d-ar=li, i sold-i*
 Not will.1SG give-INF=them the.PL money-PL
 'I do not want to give it, the money'

- (2a) *Luisa compr-a il pan-e*
 Luisa buy-3_{SG} the._{SG} bread-_{SG}
 'Luisa buys the bread'
- (2b) *Luisa lo compr-a, il pan-e*
 Luisa him buy-3_{SG} the._{SG} bread-_{SG}
 'Luisa buys it, the bread'

Multiple occurrences of CLRD can appear in the same sentence, as shown in examples 3a and 3b. The sentence in 3a has canonical word order, whereas that in 3b is the corresponding sentence with CLRD of the direct and indirect objects (henceforth IO):

- (3a) *Non voglio d-are i sold-i a Gigi*
 Not will.1_{SG} give-INF the._{PL} money-_{PL} to Gigi
 'I do not want to give the money to Gigi'
- (3b) *Non glie=li voglio d-are i sold-i a Gigi*
 Not to him=them will.1_{SG} give-INF the money-_{PL} to Gigi
 'I do not want to give it to him, the money to Gigi'

2.2. Informational features and the functions of CLRD

The post-verbal NP of the CLRD is established as a topic. At a discourse level, this topic is discourse-given or active (Chafe, 1976, 1987) or accessible through the context and, therefore, a familiar topic (Benincà et al., 1988; Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl, 2007) or a "tail" in Vallduví (1993) terminology. According to Lambrecht (1994:100), the accessibility of a referent can be derived from different sources, such as an earlier activation state, the presence of other active or accessible discourse elements, or the extralinguistic context. The author identifies three types of accessibility: "textual", "inferential" and "situational" accessibility. He also claims that, in CLRDs, the accessibility of the referent is crucial for the listener, who must retain the interpretation of the utterance until the relevant phrase is uttered. The interpretation is easier to postpone if the referent of the NP is highly accessible. Therefore, the author states that the accessibility of the referent is a general condition for the appropriateness of the construction. This generalisation is also valid when the CLRD introduces a referent that has not been mentioned previously in the context of the discourse. In these cases, the listener can interpret the referent as an established topic because of its salience in the situational context.

Following the analysis proposed for French by Lambrecht (1981), Berruto (1986:66) identifies two functions of CLRD in Italian. The CLRD construction is used either to mark "topical continuity" by the repetition of an active topic or as a resource to express *camaraderie* (confidentiality). The nuance of confidentiality stems from the use of CLRD in contexts in which the construction introduces a referent that is discourse-new but presented by the speaker as shared knowledge (Berruto, 1986; Ferrari, 1999; Lambrecht, 1981; Rossi, 1999). The possibility of using the CLRD construction to refer to fictively shared knowledge has also been invoked to explain the occurrence of CLRD at the beginning of dialogue in out-of-the-blue questions (Benincà et al., 1988:146). The following utterances, taken from Berruto (1986:66), provide examples of CLRDs that express the nuance of *camaraderie* by the introduction of a discourse-new referent:

- (4) (context: dialogue between two colleagues on a Monday morning):
L' hai vist-a la partit-a?
 Her have.2._{SG} see- PST.PTCP the._{SG} football match-_{SG}?
 'Have you seen it, the football match?'
- (5) (context: professor at the fruit self-service station in the university cafeteria):
Me la dà una mel-a?
 To me her give.3_{SG} an apple-_{SG}?
 'Can you give it to me, an apple?'

CLRD must not be confused with the afterthought construction. In the afterthought an independent NP is added after a sentence containing a coreferent pronoun. However, as it is claimed by Lambrecht (1981) and Ziv (1994), the afterthought is not a sentence structure like the CLRD, but is a discourse-level repair strategy in which the NP acts as an explanatory

glossa, adding further information after a sentence that was originally produced as an autonomous utterance. In contrast, the CLRD is a sentence-level strategy that is used to re-introduce an accessible topic.² The following are examples of afterthoughts in English and Italian:

(6) I met him, your brother, I mean, two weeks ago (Ziv, 1994:639).

(7) *Le mangi-o [pause] le mel-e* (Berruto, 1986:58)
 Them eat-1SG the.PL apple-PL
 'I eat them, [pause] the apples'

2.3. Prosodic features of CLRD

Another feature of CLRD is a special prosody. According to Lambrecht (2001), in the French CLRD, the post-verbal NP has a flat pitch and is separated from the preceding phrase by a break (Lambrecht, 1994, 2001). Lambrecht (1981) graphically schematises the intonational pattern of CLRD as follows:

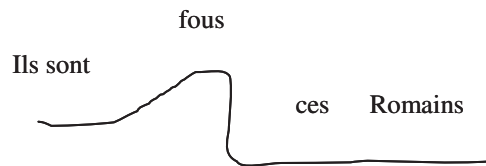


Fig. 1. Melodic profile of a declarative CLRD in French.
 Adapted from Lambrecht (1981:75).

Several studies on Italian, such as Benincà et al. (1988), Berruto (1986), Cardinaletti (2002), and Cecchetto (1999), describe the prosody of CLRD in terms similar to those used by Lambrecht for the corresponding construction in French. According to Benincà et al. (1988) and Cecchetto (1999), the presence of a prosodic break is crucial for the realisation of the CLRD: the absence of a rupture causes ungrammaticality (cf. also Sorianello, 2006:116–117) because the break is one of the differences between CLRD and CD (cf. below, section 2.4.2.1).

Note that the prosodic break preceding the relevant NP should not be confused with a (silent or vocalised) pause. The presence of a pause is, in fact, a prosodic criterion to distinguish the CLRD from the similar afterthought construction. At the prosodic level, CLRD/antitopics and afterthoughts display a different degree of integration with the preceding linguistic material. Whereas the NP of a CLRD is separated by a break but still included in the same global melodic pattern as the preceding phrase, the afterthought constituent appears in a prosodic unit of its own. This independence entails an afterthought constituent with a full-fledged prosodic structure and an autonomous prosodic pattern that is minimally constructed out of a nuclear accent and edge tones (Pierrehumbert, 1980). Empirical evidence supporting the claims made by Lambrecht (1981), Ziv (1994) and Averintseva-Klisch (2008) can be found in Ashby (1994, on French) and Fretheim (1995, on Norwegian).

In short, even if a prosodic break preceding the relevant NP has to be present to have a grammatical CLRD, this boundary must not be confused with a pause, which is instead typical of the afterthought construction. Moreover, the pitch on the relevant phrase of the CLRD is described as lacking salient pitch movements, i.e. it is melodically flat (cf. Fig. 1).

In recent years, the metrical and intonational properties of the CLRD have been experimentally investigated in Siense Italian by Bocci and Avesani (2008) and Bocci (Bocci, 2008, 2013). These authors have demonstrated that, despite its flatness, the NP is neither metricaly destressed nor melodically deaccented. Although the absence of pitch protrusions would suggest that the pitch accents occurring after the main prominence are suppressed via deaccenting, as occurs in other languages (a.o. Cruttenden, 2006), the evidence indicates that Italian allows for the presence of post-focal prominences, even if only in a reduced (hence less visible) form. The experimental evidence collected by Bocci and Avesani (2008) and Bocci (2008) prove that the elements with CLRDs in Italian are not prosodically invisible. Bocci claims,

² The functional difference between afterthoughts and CLRDs is also reflected in their syntactic structures. The CLRD is a sentence structure, whereas the post-posed constituent of the afterthought construction has been construed as an “orphan” (Haegeman, 1991), i.e., a syntactically autonomous phrase that is integrated into the sentence only at the level of discourse. For the debate concerning the distinction between CLRD and afterthought, see a.o. Vallduví (1993), Grosz and Ziv (1994), Villalba (1998) and Averintseva-Klisch (2008).

in contrast, that “the apparent deaccenting in postfocal position [...] must be [rather] analyzed in terms of association with a L* pitch accent on the postfocal phrasal metrical prominences”³ (Bocci, 2008:24). Further evidence supporting Avesani and Bocci’s claims comes from a study of Neapolitan Italian (D’Imperio, 2002). In this regional variety of Italian, post-focal pitch accents are allowed in downstepped form, which means that they undergo a systematic and predictable reduction process (Ladd, 1996).

To summarise, the existing prosodic descriptions of CLRD identify two main features of this construction: a prosodic break that separates the relevant NP from the preceding material and a low pitch on the NP, which, however, is not metrically destressed or melodically deaccented.

2.4. Grammaticalisation

2.4.1. The clitic pronoun

CLRD in Italian is usually considered to be a genuinely syntactic construction, with an actual cataphoric, non-grammaticalised pronoun. However, several scholars (especially Berretta, 1989; see also Koch, 1994; Sala Gallini, 1996) questioned the status of the clitic, claiming that not all of the sentential structures in which a clitic appears together with a coreferent DO are actual cases of CLRD. The authors claim that, at least in certain conditions, the clitic functions as an agreement morpheme of objective conjugation rather than as syntactic anaphora (Berretta, 1989; Berruto, 1986; Koch, 1994; Sala Gallini, 1996; Soriano, 2006). Clitics tend to be less anaphoric, particularly when they anticipate a complement clause. For instance, Soriano (2006) claims that interrogatives introduced by forms such as *lo sai che...* (“[do] you know that...”) or *lo vedi che...* (“[do] you see that...”) have lost their original value of dislocation because of their high frequency in spoken language. For this reason, Soriano (2006:116) considers these utterances to be “grammaticalised formulas” rather than authentic dislocations. However, we must note that in these constructions the speaker can still choose between two equally acceptable alternatives. In the following examples, the pronoun is never obligatory, and its omission is not ungrammatical:

- (8) *Lo sai che Pino viene con noi?*
It know.2sg that Pino come.3sg with us?
‘Do you know it, that Pino comes with us?’
- (9) *Sai che Pino viene con noi?*
Know.2sg that Pino come.3sg with us?
‘Do you know that Pino comes with us?’

Instead, to speak of a complete grammaticalisation, the clitic pronoun should obligatory double the object phrase (Lehmann, 1985; Nocentini, 2003; Sala Gallini, 1996:82ff) and the SVO structure without a clitic pronoun should be ungrammatical. Since both (8) and (9) are acceptable and grammatical, one can conclude that the clitic is an optional pronoun rather than an obligatory morpheme marking the presence of an object. Therefore, the hypotheses concerning the development of an objective conjugation in Italian (cf. Berretta, 1989) appear to be weak. On this basis Nocentini (2003) concludes that the morphosyntactic evidence is not strong enough to support an accomplished grammaticalisation of CLRD in Italian.

Further arguments against the grammaticalisation of CLRD are proposed by Cardinaletti (2002). Following the distinction originally proposed by Antinucci and Cinque (1977), Cardinaletti distinguishes CLRD from another non-canonical construction called marginalisation. By comparing these constructions, Cardinaletti shows that the presence of a clitic pronoun and a co-indexed object phrase in the same sentence triggers the dislocation of the object. This entails, in turn, that an object can never co-occur with a co-indexed clitic within the same clause. Cardinaletti’s argument is summarised below.

Similarly to the CLRD, in the marginalisation the object phrase is separated from the verb by a prosodic break. The two constructions superficially differ from one another only in the presence or absence of the resumptive clitic. This similarity suggests that in Italian CLRD, the resumptive clitic is optional, i.e. that the prosodic pause is sufficient to have a CLRD. The following examples compare a CLRD (10) and a marginalisation (11):

³ L* is associated with the stress of the right-detached NP only when it does not precede the prosodic focus (i.e., the main pitch accent). In contrast, when a right-detached NP occurs in a complex sentence where it precedes a contrastive focus, there is evidence that the pitch accent carried by the NP is not L* but H+L* (Bocci, 2008, on Tuscan Italian). For example, in “La dobbiamo avvisare, [Marianna]_{RD TOP}, quando arriva [PIERANGELO]_{CF}” (“We have to prevent Marianna when Pierangelo is coming”, Bocci, 2008:29), “Marianna” bears a nuclear H+L* pitch accent. See section 6.2 for a broader discussion of this point.

- (10) *L' ho già compra-to, il giorn-al-e* (Cardinaletti, 2002:8)
 Him have.1SG already buy-PST.PTCP the. SG newspaper-SG
 'I have already bought it, the newspaper'

- (11) *Ho già compra-to, il giorn-al-e* (Cardinaletti, 2002:8)
 have.1SG already buy-PST.PTCP the.SG newspaper-SG
 'I have already bought (it), the newspaper'

Cardinaletti claims that the optionality of the clitic in CLRD is only apparent, as right dislocation and marginalisation are not actually the same construction from a syntactic viewpoint. According to her analysis, the object is clause-external in CLRD⁴, whereas the object occurs in situ in marginalisation, i.e., in a VP-internal position. Moreover, the resumptive clitic appears to be obligatory in the first construction but is not allowed in the second. The two constructions are distinguishable by their syntactic properties. For instance, the order of the right-detached arguments is completely free in CLRD but constrained in marginalisation. This assertion is proven by the following examples: whereas the argument order is completely acceptable in (12), it is not acceptable in its counterpart without the resumptive clitic (13).

- (12) *Ce l' ha nascos-to il bambin-o, sotto il lett-o, il libr-o* (Cardinaletti, 2002:14)
 There him have.3SG hide-PST.PTCP the. SG child-SG under the.SG bed-SG the.SG book-SG
 'It is the child that has hidden it, under the bed, the book'

- (13) *??Ha nascos-to il bambin-o, sotto il lett-o, il libr-o* (Cardinaletti, 2002:14)
 Have.3.SG hide- PST.PTCP the. SG child-SG under the.SG bed-SG the.SG book-SG
 'It is the child that has hidden, under the bed, the book'

The author argues that in (12), the order of right-dislocated arguments is free because they are clause-external. In contrast, to obtain an acceptable sentence, the arguments in (13) must occur in the unmarked order. Because the order of the arguments can be free only when the clitic is present, one can conclude that the presence of the clitic entails a change in the syntactic structure of the utterance and that a co-indexed clitic and an object in situ cannot appear together within the same clause. Therefore, a VP-internal DO resumed by a clitic within the clause, i.e., a grammaticalised CLRD, is not possible in Italian.

In conclusion, the clitic pronoun cannot be considered an agreement marker because its presence is not obligatory (Nocentini, 2003) and because it cannot resume an in situ object within the same clause (Cardinaletti, 2002).

2.4.2. Prosodic features of grammaticalisation

Cues suggesting grammaticalisation in CLRD can be found not only in the syntactic properties of the clitic pronoun but also at the prosodic level. One parameter of grammaticalisation is phonological attrition, also called erosion (Heine and Kuteva, 2007; Lehmann, 1985; Wischer, 2006). Attrition or erosion is the loss of phonetic substance that results from undergoing grammaticalisation, as in the reduction of the Latin demonstrative pronoun *ille* to the French article *le* (Lehmann, 1985:126). Heine and Kuteva (2007:43) claim that erosion can also involve a "loss of suprasegmental properties, such as stress, tone, or intonation". This phenomenon applies in the case of the English adjective "full", which has been grammaticalised to the suffix "-ful", losing the ability to carry a stress. In the case of CLRD, the grammaticalisation process would involve suprasegmental features such as internal phrasing and prominence placement, provoking a reduction in phonological complexity: the boundary that separates the sentence final NP from the rest of the clause would disappear, the main accent would fall on the rightmost word, and the basic prosodic structure of the sentence would be restored. In the case of a complete prosodic grammaticalisation, the intonation of an SVO sentence would be virtually indistinguishable from that used in a sentence where a clitic pronoun is present together with a post-verbal DO.

An example of the scenario where a construction that looks like a CLRD is prosodically indistinguishable from a SVO sentence and therefore is prosodically fully grammaticalised is provided by the CD in Spanish. This example is used to illustrate the importance of prosody in distinguishing genuine CLRDs from their grammaticalised counterparts, i.e., from the CD.

⁴ For different analyses, we refer the reader to Villalba (1998), Cecchetto (1999), Frascarelli (2000), Cardinaletti (2002), Belletti (2004) and Samek-Lodovici (2006).

2.4.2.1. CLRD and CD in Spanish. CLRD and CD are superficially similar but have decisive differences regarding the morphosyntactic status of the clitic and the prosodic realisation. In contrast with CLRD, in the CD, a co-indexed clitic pronoun can co-exist with an in situ NP, forming a discontinuous constituent (Anagnostopoulou, 2006:520). In the CD the pronoun is not cataphoric but marks syntactic agreement (Lehmann, 1995).

From the prosodic viewpoint, CD sentences “differ from their [CL]RD counterparts in that the relevant NP occurs in argument position and ha[s] a focus relation to the proposition, hence is necessarily accented” (Lambrecht, 2001:1053). CD also does not require the presence of some sort of prosodic boundary before the nominal phrase. The following pair of sentences in Standard Spanish exemplifies a CLRD of the IO (14) and the corresponding CD construction (15). The word carrying the main stress is capitalised:

(14) *Le di el LIBRO, a María*
To.her give.PASS.1.SG the book to Maria
‘I gave the book to her, Maria’

(15) *Le di el libro a MARÍA*
To.her give.PASS.1SG the book to Maria
‘I gave the book to Maria’

The additional clitic pronoun is not obligatory in (15), although Dufter and Stark (2008) note that double object-marking is widespread. In contrast, CD is obligatory in sentences with a pronominal object in the pre- or post-verbal position:

(16) *A mí me gust-a*
To to.me me like-3.SG
‘I like it’

(17) *Me gust-a a mí*
Me like-3SG to to.me
‘I like it’

(18) **A mí gust-a*
To to.me like-3SG
‘I like it’

(19) **Gust-a a mí*
Like-3SG to to.me
‘I like it’

Beside the CD of the IO, certain regional varieties of Spanish, such as Rioplatense Spanish (Anagnostopoulou, 2006; Jaeggli, 1993), also permit the CD of the DO.⁵ This American variety permits CD with DOs that are pronominal or nominal high in the animacy hierarchy (Silverstein, 1976), e.g., when the DO NP is human. Compare the following examples:

⁵ As for Italian, CD is never allowed with DOs but is marginally permitted with pronominal IOs in informal or sub-standard registers. Note that the pronominal copy is never obligatory, as shown by the comparison of examples (a) and (b). According to Dufter and Stark (2008), CD tends to occur more frequently with experiencer predicates (such as *piacere*, “to like” or *sembrare*, “to seem”) and with the first person IO pronoun than with other types of predicates and pronouns:

(a) *A me mi piac-e*
To me to.me like-3sg
‘I like it’

(b) *A me piac-e*
To me like-3sg
‘I like it’

CD of the IO is also admitted in colloquial Italian when the DO is cliticised. In (c) the word carrying the main prominence is capitalised:

(c) *Glief ho dat-o a GIANNI*
To him..it have.1sg give-Msg to Gianni
‘I gave it to him Gianni’

(Benincà and Poletto, 2004)

(20) *lo tom-o, el libro*
 Him take-1_{SG} the._{SG} book
 'I take it, the book'

(21) **lo tom-o el libro*
 Him take-1_{SG} the._{SG} book
 *'I take it the book'

Whereas the CLRD in (20) is acceptable, the corresponding CD of an unanimated object such as *el libro* is ungrammatical.

Examples (22) and (23) show that CD and CLRD have different prosodic and syntactic properties.

(22) *Parec-e que tuv-ieron que llev-ar=la de urgencia a*
 Seem-3_{SG} that must._{PST-3PL} that take-INF=her of urgency to
los Estados Unidos, la hija de-l Coronel Martínez
 the._{PL} United States the._{SG} daughter of-the._{SG} Colonel Martínez
 'It seems that they had to take her urgently to the United States the daughter of Colonel Martínez'

Jaeggli (1993:161)

(23) *Parec-e que tuv-ieron que llev-ar=la a la hija*
 Seem-3_{SG} that must._{PST-3PL} that take-INF=her to the._{SG} daughter
del Coronel Martínez de urgencia a los Estados Unidos
 of-the Colonel Martínez of urgency to the._{PL} United States
 'It seems that they had to take her the daughter of Colonel Martínez urgently to the United States'

Jaeggli (1993:161)

According to Jaeggli (1993), in the case of a CLRD such as (22), the NP is not in argument position and therefore does not receive case-marking, i.e., it is not preceded by the preposition "a". Moreover, since the construction is a CLRD, it can be grammatical only if the NP is preceded by a prosodic break. In contrast, the object "*la hija del Coronel Martínez*" is an argument in the CD construction (23) and therefore is not preceded by a prosodic break and obligatory receives case-marking.

The examples shown in this section illustrate the morphosyntactic and prosodic differences between the CLRD and CD constructions. CLRD sentences, such as (20) and (22), contain an NP that is resumed by a fully cataphoric pronoun. In CD constructions, such as (23), the clitic instead co-occurs within the clause as the antecedent, an NP high in the animacy hierarchy. In this case, the pronoun is grammaticalised, i.e., it functions as an agreement marker rather than as an anaphoric element (Lehmann, 1995:41).

In all of these utterances, the appropriate prosodic phrasing and prominence placement must reflect the syntactic structure. In (20) and (22), the detached NP is realised in a separate prosodic unit preceded by a boundary (Lambrecht, 2001; Zubizarreta, 1998). In (23), instead, the sentence is not prosodically divided into two phrases, and the NP and the coreferent pronoun are realised within the same prosodic unit with the sentence accent in the unmarked (final) position (Ladd, 1996). The interlacing of syntactic, semantic and prosodic features also explains why a case such as (21), in which an unanimated DO occurs in the same clause and in the same prosodic unit as a coreferent pronominal, is in fact ungrammatical in Rioplatense Spanish (Jaeggli, 1993:161).

In short, the prosodic structure of CD is less complex than that of CLRD because in the former, the internal prosodic boundary of the clause is deleted and the main accent occurs in its basic position at the end of the clause.

The comparison between CLRD and CD in Spanish demonstrates that prosody plays a fundamental role in marking the sentence periphery and distinguishing between a grammaticalised construction, such as CD in Spanish, and a non-grammaticalised construction, such as CLRD. Whereas in CLRD, the clause boundary is indicated at the phonological level by the main prominence and by a prosodic break in the CD, there is no break separating the DO and the verbal predicate, and the sentence is uttered as a unitary tone group with the accent in its regular position on the last lexical stress.

In conclusion, in CLRD, the main accent necessarily occurs before the relevant NP because the latter, by definition, lacks prosodic salience (cf. Lambrecht, 2001:1053). In other words, from the phonological viewpoint, in CLRD the main accent does not fall on the NP, unlike in CD.

2.4.2.2. Prosodic grammaticalisation of the Italian CLRD. The case of Spanish demonstrates that prosody plays a crucial role in the realisation of the CLRD construction and is fundamental to the distinction between genuine CLRD and grammaticalised constructions, such as CD (cf. also Lambrecht, 2001).

As shown in section 2.3, according to the current prosodic descriptions in Italian, the relevant NP in CLRD is preceded by a prosodic break and has a low pitch. However, a number of studies (such as Berruto, 1986; Rossi, 1997; Sala Gallini, 1996; Scarano, 2003) suggest that the actual realisation of the construction does not always display the expected prosodic features.

Sala Gallini (1996) and Rossi (1997) claim that a CLRD can be uttered in one or two “tone units”, i.e., that the NP resumed by the clitic pronoun can be either phrased into an independent prosodic constituent or included in the same prosodic phrase with the preceding linguistic material. Both authors relate the presence or absence of a prosodic break between the matrix clause and the NP resumed by the clitic in the CLRD to the degree of grammaticalisation in the construction. Sala Gallini (1996:89, fn.22) hypothesises a relationship between the ability to insert a pause between the post-verbal NP and the rest of the clause and the degree of grammaticalisation of the construction. The author claims that the constructions with resumptive clitics can be ranked according to their degree of grammaticalisation and depending on the strength of the boundary that precedes the relevant NP: the higher the likelihood of a pause preceding the NP, the lower the degree of grammaticalisation of the construction. Because the pause is, by definition, present in the afterthought (Berruto, 1986:58), this construction represents the lowest degree of grammaticalisation on the scale (cf. also Berruto, 1986:64).

Regarding the expected lack of prosodic salience of the doubled NP, Berruto observes that the main accent of the construction can be located on the NP rather than on the verbal predicate. The following example is taken from Berruto (1986:65):

- (24) *Lo vuole UN CAFFÈ?*
It want.2.SG a coffee?
'Do you want a coffee?'

The author does not relate the prominence of the NP to the grammaticalisation issue. However, his observations are relevant to the present discourse because the displacement of the main prominence would result in the restoration of the basic intonation pattern of Italian.

The remarks reported above by Sala Gallini, Rossi, and Berruto lead us to suppose that in contemporary Italian, there is a fluctuation in the assignment of the main prominence and in the prosodic phrasing in the CLRD: the prominence can be located on the sentence final NP rather than the preceding phrase, and the separation of the two constituents can be blurred. These fluctuations in the prosodic realisation of the CLRD have not yet been the object of a corpus-based investigation. The purpose of the present paper is to analyse the prosody of CLRD in Italian dialogue to address the problem of the grammaticalisation of the CLRD construction from the prosodic viewpoint.

3. Corpus

An analysis of the prosodic realisation of Italian CLRD has been conducted on a large sample of dialogical speech taken from CLIPS (Corpora e Lessici di Italiano Parlato e Scritto), a corpus of spoken and written Italian texts (Albano Leoni, 2003). The spoken section of CLIPS includes different types of dialogical interactions, such as broadcasted speech, phone calls and task-oriented conversations, i.e., map tasks (Anderson et al., 1991; Carletta et al., 1996) and spot-the-difference dialogues (Péan et al., 1993). For the present work, we have decided to focus only on the task-oriented interactions, analysing 90 conversations. In these dialogues, eye contact between the speakers is prevented, which makes the setting of the exchanges similar to that of a phone conversation. The speech elicited with tasks is unplanned: the speakers can talk freely, without constraints on the time or the register to be used. The conversation, however, is curtailed by the task itself and, in the case of the map task, by the roles attributed to the speakers. In the map task, the speakers try to reproduce on one of the maps a route that is already printed on the other (Anderson et al., 1991). The divergences between the two maps in the presence and the position of the landmarks hinder the accomplishment of the task. In the spot-the-difference task, the figures given to the speakers differ from each other in a number of details. The task entails spotting the differences between the two figures using only verbal exchanges. The 90 dialogues contain 251 CLRDs realised as statements or as yes/no questions. The corpus consists of 236 CLRDs of the DO, 13 dislocations of partitive complements resumed by the pronoun “ne” (25) and two of a PP (26):

- (25) *io ce n' ho due di maggiolin-i*
I there of have.1SG two of Beetles-PL
'I have two of them, the Beetles'
- (26) *ci gir-i intorno a-lla tort-a*
There go-2Ps around to-the.SG cake-SG
'You go around it, the cake'

Table 1
Corpus.

	Statements	Yes/no questions	Total
Bari	7	6	13
Bergamo	2	3	5
Cagliari	4	16	20
Catanzaro	2	18	20
Florence	12	19	31
Genoa	6	17	23
Lecce	6	3	9
Milan	1	3	4
Naples	6	7	13
Palermo	12	10	22
Parma	11	7	18
Perugia	7	21	28
Rome	12	7	19
Turin	7	5	12
Venice	9	5	14
Total	104	147	251

Note that 13 utterances out of 251 (5 declaratives and 8 yes/no questions) were not included in the analysis because they were interrupted or because the pitch was perturbed by laughter. The analysis has therefore been carried out on 238 utterances (99 declaratives and 139 yes/no questions).

The CLIPS corpus contains speech collected in 15 different Italian urban centres, which were selected based on their linguistic and demographic importance (Sobrero and Tempesta, 2006). For this study, we selected 6 dialogues for each of the cities represented in CLIPS. Table 1 summarises the data used for the analysis.

The geographical differentiation of the CLIPS corpus reflects the actual linguistic situation of Italy, which is characterised, as far as spoken language is concerned, by a great regional variability (Bruni, 1992). Note that the Standard pronunciation is used almost exclusively by actors or professional speakers who have been specifically trained, whereas the majority of native speakers have a regional accent (Canepari, 1980, 1999).

4. Methodology

According to the studies reviewed in section 2.4.2.2, the main prosodic cues to the grammaticalisation for the Italian CLRD are the following:

- The placement of the main prominence. In the CLRD, the main prominence should be located before the relevant NP (e.g., on the verbal predicate in a sentence similar to (24)). The NP would, instead, be melodically flat and non-prominent. This scenario ensures that the accentual pattern of a CLRD will not match the unmarked prosodic pattern of Italian, which has the main accent on the last lexical word.
- The presence of a prosodic break before the relevant NP. In the CLRD, the NP would be phrased apart from the preceding linguistic material. The presence of a prosodic boundary would, therefore, be necessary to distinguish a genuine CLRD from a grammaticalised construction.

In this paper, we focus on the first of these prosodic cues. This choice is based on observations of the peculiarities of the task-oriented speech used for the analysis. Map task and spot-the-difference dialogues are unplanned and spontaneous, i.e., they are not read or otherwise prepared. In spontaneous productions, the realisation of a prosodic boundary not only reflects the syntactic and pragmatic organisation of the utterance but is also affected by other idiosyncratic factors, such as the speech rate at which the utterance is pronounced, the speech style of the speaker, and the presence of hesitations. These factors make the analysis of the boundaries problematic because the presence of a prosodic break cannot be assumed to be a direct consequence of the syntactic and pragmatic organisation. Therefore, we choose to exclude this prosodic feature from the analysis. We focus instead on the overall intonation pattern of the CLRD and on the prominence of the relevant NP, features that are less affected by the speakers' style, speech rate, and so forth.

The utterances have been grouped according to modality into statements and questions and have been analysed perceptually and acoustically in *Praat* (Boersma and Weenink, 2012) by means of repeated listening and accurate observation of the pitch track and spectrum. To verify whether and to what extent one can speak about the grammaticalisation of the CLRD construction, we took into account the correspondence between the intonation pattern

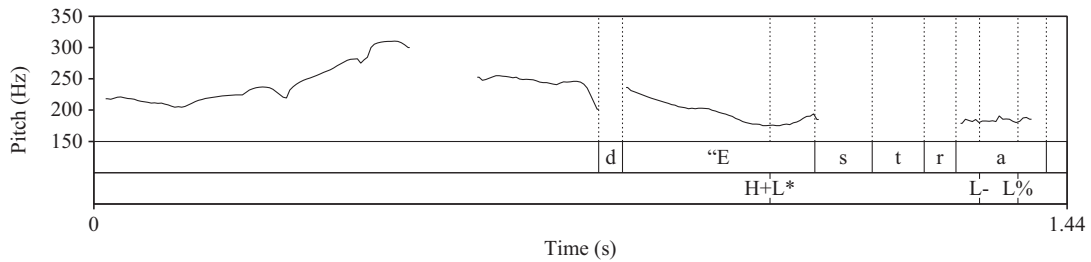


Fig. 2. *La bandiera punta a destra* ('the flag points to the right'). Declarative sentence with basic word order uttered by a female speaker from Genoa representing a broad-focus pattern with the main pitch accent H+L* on the rightmost lexical stress (*destra*, 'right').

observed in the utterances with CLRD and the basic interrogative or declarative pattern reported in the literature for the regional varieties composing the sample (a.o. Crocco, 2011; Avesani, 1995; D'Imperio, 2002; Gili Fivela, 2004; Gili Fivela et al., 2011; Giordano, 2006; Grice, 1995; Grice et al., 2005; Grice and Savino, 1995, 2003; Savino, 2009; Soriano, 2006; Stella and Gili Fivela, 2009). Note that all varieties of Italian share the same basic or neutral intonation pattern with the main pitch accent on the rightmost lexical word (Nespor and Vogel, 1986), in our case, corresponding to the relevant NP. We assume that a CLRD uttered with a neutral intonation pattern is fully grammaticalised from the prosodic viewpoint.

In the following section, we will adopt the terminology currently used in the prosodic literature. We will refer to the main melodic prominence of the utterance using the term "prosodic focus". Pitch accents occurring before or after the prosodic focus are indicated as "pre-focal" and "post-focal". We will indicate the neutral or basic intonation as a "broad-focus" pattern and the non-basic pattern (i.e., a pattern with the main perceptual prominence somewhere other than on the rightmost lexical stress) as a "narrow-focus" pattern.⁶

The analysis is based on the existing research on the intonation of Italian regional varieties, in particular, that in the framework of Autosegmental-Metrical phonology (Ladd, 1996, 2008). While the neutral intonation of the statements is constant across the different regional varieties of Italian, the broad-focus intonation of the yes/no question varies considerably from one variety to another. The typical tune of the neutral declarative in Italian is composed of the following pitch accent and edge tones: H+L* L-L%. An example of this intonation pattern is presented in Fig. 2. The different intonational patterns of the yes/no question in the 15 Italian varieties used for the present work are presented in Table 2 (Savino, 2009; Gili Fivela et al., 2011):

Finally, to obtain a more complete picture of the data, we have also considered the discourse status of the referent of the post-verbal NP. In our corpus, the yes/no questions with CLRDs are typically used to ask whether an element is present on the interlocutor's map or cartoon:

- (27) *Ce l' hai l' altra macchin-a?*
 There her have.2SG the. SG other car-SG?
 'Do you have it, the other car?'
- (28) *Il can-e ce l' ha il guinzaglio?*
 The.SG dog-SG there him have.3SG the.SG lead.SG?
 'The dog has it, the lead?'

According to the literature, the main informational characteristic of a right-detached constituent is that it must be a previously given topic, while a left-detached constituent can be a new topic (Benincà et al., 1988). Therefore, a right-detached constituent is not expected to be a discourse-new referent. However, an informal survey of the data shows that the NP of a CLRD can also be discourse-new. Therefore, we chose to examine the accessibility of the discourse referent more closely, classifying it as discourse-given and discourse-new (cf. Chafe, 1976, 1987; Lambrecht, 1994). We consider

⁶ Note that broad-focus intonation admits the presence of a pre-focal pitch accent and narrow-focus intonation allows post-focal accents, which are phonetically reduced (cf. D'Imperio, 2002). Therefore, the individuation of the prosodic focus is a crucial point for the analysis presented in the following section. In many cases, however, it has not been possible to indicate only one point of prominence on a perceptual basis because the speaker emphasises more than one element in the utterance. In these cases, both the rightmost lexical element (i.e., the NP resumed by the clitic) and the preceding phrase are perceptually salient. When the intonation profiles of these utterances were compatible with the broad-focus pattern described in the literature, they were considered to be instances of broad focus. Only utterances with a) one perceptual prominence located before the relevant NP and b) clearly reduced pitch movements on the NP have been considered instances of narrow focus.

Table 2
Yes/no questions: intonation patterns.

Bari	- L+H* or H* L-L% (or H%) (Gili Fivela et al., 2011; Savino, 2009)
Bergamo	- H+L* L-H% (Savino, 2009)
Cagliari	- L* L-H% (Savino, 2009)
Catanzaro	- L+H* L-L % (or H%) (Savino, 2009)
Florence	- L+H* or H* L-H% (Gili Fivela et al., 2011)
	- (L+)H* L-L% (or H%) (Savino, 2009)
Genoa	- H+L* L-H%
	- L+H* L-L% (or H%) (Savino, 2009; Crocco, 2011)
Lecce	- H+L* L-H% (Gili Fivela et al., 2011)
	- H*+L L-H% (Gili Fivela et al., 2011)
	- L* L-H% (Savino, 2009)
Milan	- H+L* L-H% (Gili Fivela et al., 2011; Savino, 2009)
Naples	- L*+H H-L% (Gili Fivela et al., 2011)
	- L*+H HL-L% (Savino, 2009; D'Imperio, 2002)
Palermo	- L*+H L-L% (Savino, 2009)
Parma	- L*+H L-L% (or H%) (Savino, 2009)
Perugia	- L* L-H% (Savino, 2009)
Rome	- H*+L L-H% (Gili Fivela et al., 2011)
	- (L+)H* L-L% (or H%) (Savino, 2009)
Turin	- L*+H H-L% (Gili Fivela et al., 2011)
	- L+H* or H* L-H% (Gili Fivela et al., 2011)
	- L*+H L-L% (or H%) (Savino, 2009)
Venice	- L+H* L-L% (or H%) (Savino, 2009)

as discourse-given the referents that have been already mentioned in the dialogical exchange preceding the utterance with CLRD, and as discourse-new the referents that are mentioned for the first time in the CLRD. Discourse-new referents can be textually or situationally accessible for both interlocutors or not. A referent is considered not accessible when the listener cannot recover it from the previous text or from the context provided by the map or the cartoon.

The following sections present the results of the analysis: section 5.1 presents the findings of the prosodic analysis and section 5.2 is devoted to the results concerning the discourse status of the referent.

5. Results

5.1. Prosodic analysis

The results are summarised in Table 3. The analysis reveals that in over half of the utterances (60.5%), the main perceptual prominence falls on the sentence final NP. Moreover, a closer observation reveals a clear-cut difference between the statements and the yes/no questions. For the majority of cases (73.7%), the statements are uttered with the narrow-focus prosodic pattern described in the literature, i.e., with a pattern characterised by a pitch drop before, and a lack of prominence on the relevant NP. In contrast, 84.9% of the yes/no questions show the pitch accent typical of the neutral yes/no question. These results indicate that the modality is crucial in determining the type of melodic realisation, also implying that the CLRD is grammaticalised to different extents depending on the modality of the utterance in which it occurs.

The results of the analysis show that 73.7% of the 99 analysed statements with CLRDs are uttered with a narrow-focus pattern, whereas 26.3% have the prosodic focus on the final NP. The application of a t-test showed that the difference

Table 3
Modality and prosodic patterns of CLRDs.

		BF-YNQ	BF-Dec	BF-All	NF-YNQ	NF-Dec	NF-All
Tot	238 (100%)	118 (49,6%)	26 (10,9%)	144 (60,5%)	21 (8,8%)	73 (30,7%)	94 (39,5%)
Tot-YNQ	139 (100%)	118 (84,9%)	–	–	21 (15,1%)	–	–
Tot-Dec	99 (100%)	–	26 (26,3%)	–	–	73 (73,7%)	–
Tot-BF	144 (100%)	118 (81,9%)	26 (18,1%)	–	–	–	–
Tot-NF	94 (100%)	–	–	–	21 (22,3%)	73 (73,7%)	–

The table summarises the data concerning modality and the type of prosodic pattern of the analysed CLRDs. BF = Broad Focus; NF = Narrow Focus; YNQ = yes/no questions; Dec = declaratives; All = sum of YNQ and Dec.

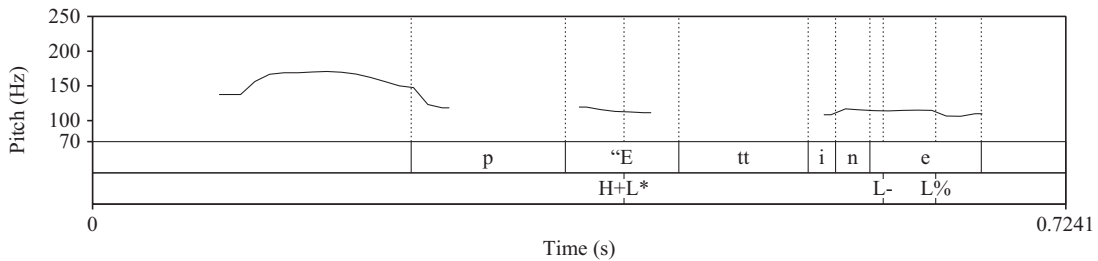


Fig. 3. *Ce l'ho il pettine* ('I have it, the comb'). Declarative sentence uttered by a male speaker from Perugia representing a neutral intonation pattern with the main pitch accent H+L* on the rightmost lexical stress (*pettine*, 'comb').

between the group of the yes/no questions and the group of declaratives with respect to the prosody is significant. Moreover, a Fisher's exact test applied to the factors "modality" (declarative vs. interrogative) and "type of focus" (broad vs. narrow) yields a p value of <0001, showing thus that the clausal type significantly affects the prosodic properties of sentences with CLRDed elements.

The examples in Figs. 2, 3 and 4 are uttered by speakers from Genoa (northern accent) and Perugia (central accent). Fig. 2 shows an example of a declarative utterance without CLRD. This utterance can be compared to a case of CLRD with the prosodic focus on the relevant NP (Fig. 3) and another utterance in which the main pitch accent is located on the verb and the pitch on the post-verbal NP is flat (Fig. 4).

The data presented in Table 3 show that almost 85% of the questions are uttered with broad-focus intonation. Because the intonation of yes/no questions varies considerably from one regional variety to another, the tonal pattern can be composed of different pitch accents and edge tones. In a minority of yes/no questions (15%), the speaker emphasises the phrase that precedes the relevant NP. In these cases, the NP carries a pitch accent that is visibly reduced in scaling.

The following examples (Figs. 5–7) show cases of yes/no questions uttered by speakers from Genoa (northern variety). This triplet of examples contrasts a yes/no question with basic word order and a neutral intonation, a yes/no question with CLRD and a neutral intonation and a yes/no question with CLRD and an emphasis on the verb (narrow-focus intonation). The first utterance (Fig. 5) is a neutral yes/no question with the prosodic focus on the rightmost lexical element. The question is realised as H+L* L- H%. A CLRD uttered with the same pattern is presented in Fig. 6; additionally, the main pitch accent is located on the rightmost element, which, in this case, is the relevant NP. These two examples can be compared with that in Fig. 7, where the prosodic focus is located on the verb and the post-verbal NP carries a perceptually less prominent pitch accent.

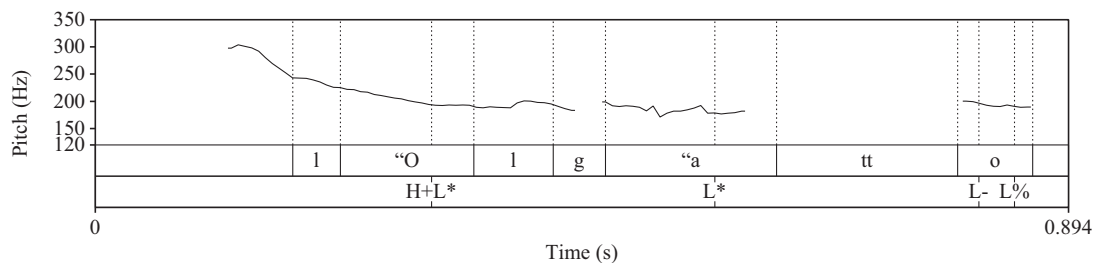


Fig. 4. *Ce l'ho il gatto* ('I have it, the cat'). Declarative sentence uttered by a female speaker from Genoa. Main pitch accent H+L* is on the verb *ho* ('I have'); the pitch on the final NP is flat.

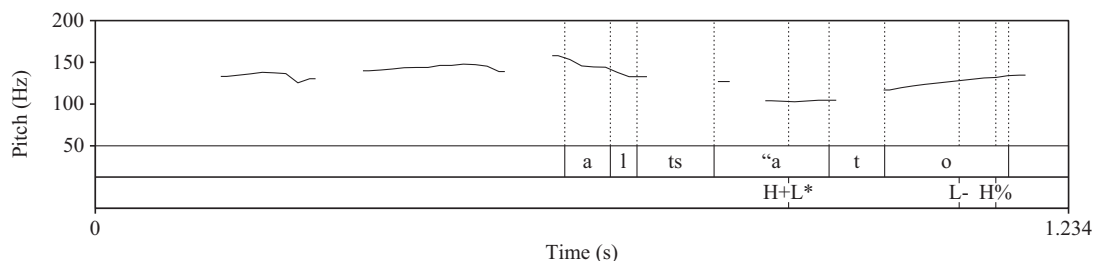


Fig. 5. *C'ha il pollice alzato?* ('is his thumb up?'). Yes/no question uttered by a male speaker from Genoa. The prosodic focus is marked by the pitch accent H+L* on the *alzato* ('up').

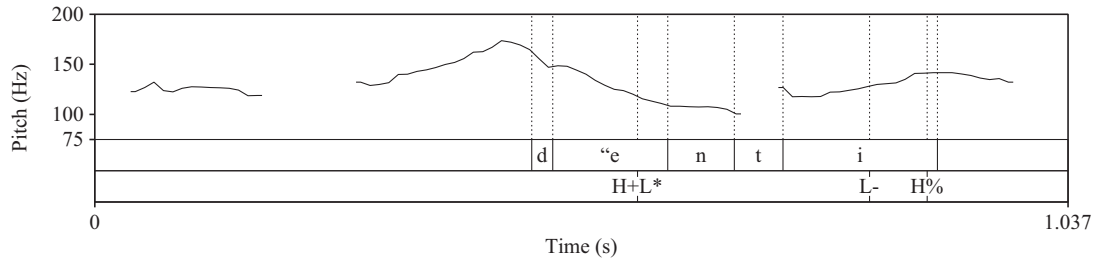


Fig. 6. *Ma ce l'ha i denti?* ('but he has them, the teeth?'). Yes/no question uttered by a male speaker from Genoa. The prosodic focus is marked by the pitch accent H+L* on *denti* ('teeth').

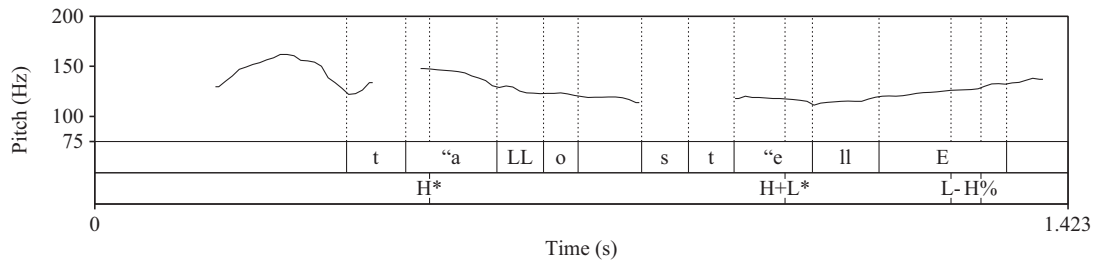


Fig. 7. *Cioè io le taglio le stelle?* ('that is, do I cut them, the stars?'). Yes/no question uttered by a male speaker from Genoa. The main pitch accent on *taglio* ('I cut') can be analysed as H*. The pitch accent on *stelle* ('stars') is less prominent than the preceding and has a reduced scaling.

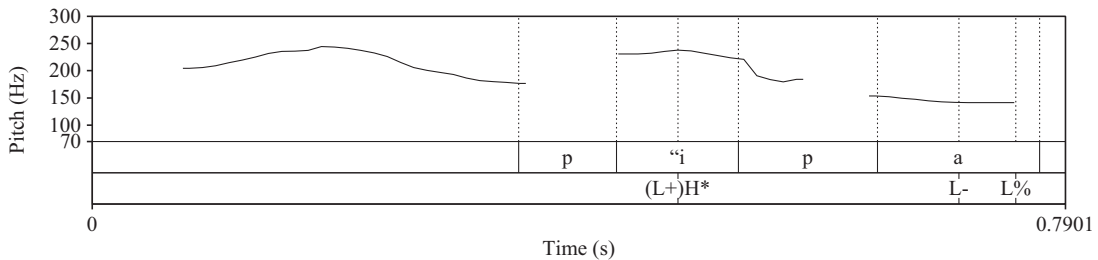


Fig. 8. *C'hai una pipa?* ('do you have a pipe?'). Yes/no question uttered by a male speaker from Bari. The prosodic focus is marked by the pitch accent L+H* on *pipa* ('pipe').

Further examples of broad-focus CLRD questions come from other varieties, such as Bari and Milan. Figs. 8 and 9 show two yes/no questions (without and with CLRD) produced by the same speaker from Bari. Both utterances have a broad-focus intonation realised with the typical tune of this regional variety: (L+)H* L-L%.

A pair of similar examples comes from the Milanese section of the corpus (Figs. 10 and 11). In this variety, the neutral interrogative intonation is realised by an H+L* L-H% tune. The tune is used in the utterance presented in Fig. 10, which has a basic word order, and in the utterance presented in Fig. 11, which includes a CLRD.

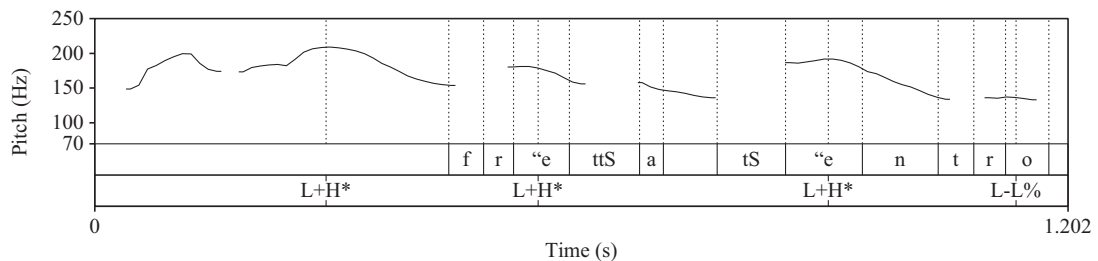


Fig. 9. *Tu ce l'hai la freccia al centro?* ('do you have it, the flash in the middle?'). Yes/no question uttered by a male speaker from Bari. The prosodic focus is marked by the pitch accent L+H* on *centro* ('middle').

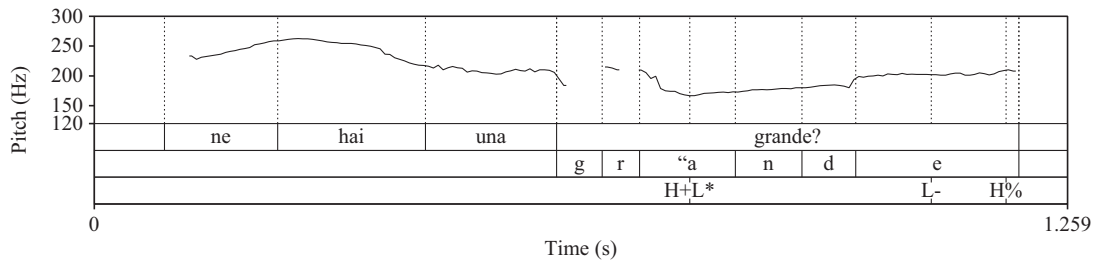


Fig. 10. *Ne hai una grande?* ('do you have one of them, a big one?'). Yes/no question uttered by a female speaker from Milan. The prosodic focus is marked by the pitch accent H+L* on *grande* ('big').

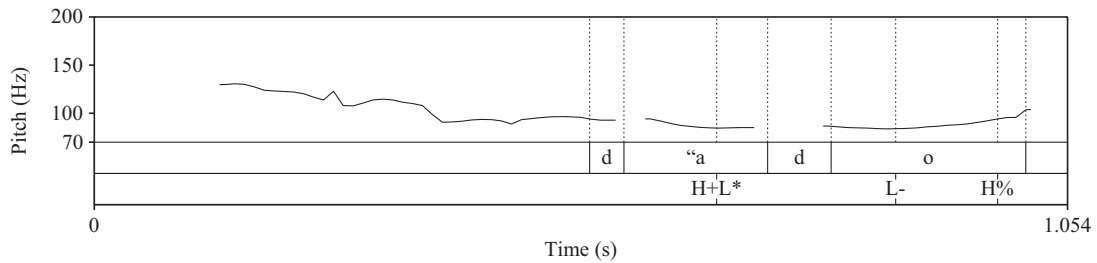


Fig. 11. *Tu lo vedi il dado?* ('do you see it, the die?'). Yes/no question uttered by a male speaker from Milan. The prosodic focus is marked by the pitch accent H+L* on *dado* ('die').

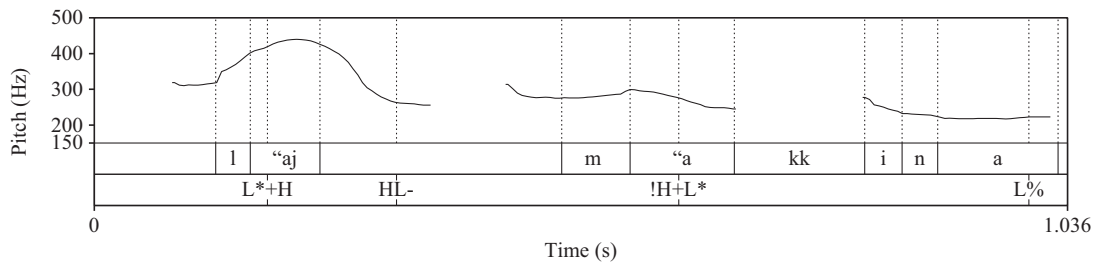


Fig. 12. *Ce l'hai l'altra macchina?* ('do you have it, the other car?'). Yes/no question with a narrow focus on the VP *ce l'hai* ('do you have it'), uttered by a female speaker from Naples.

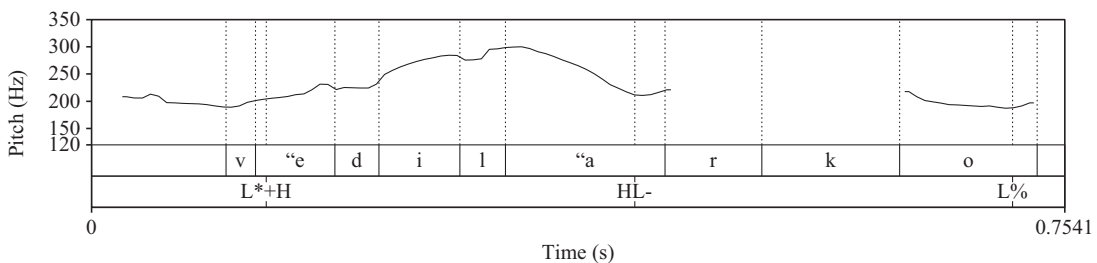


Fig. 13. *Lo vedi l'arco?* ('do you see it, the arch?'). Yes/no question with a broad focus, uttered by a female speaker from Naples.

The contrast between narrow- and broad-focus intonations in yes/no questions with CLRD is also illustrated by the following pair of examples in Neapolitan Italian (Figs. 12 and 13). In this variety, the prosodic focus in both broad- and narrow-focus questions is marked by a bitonal L*+H accent, followed by a boundary that is melodically realised by means of an HL- phrase accent (D'Imperio, 2001, 2002).⁷ An example of the narrow-focus pattern is presented in Fig. 12. In this utterance, the prosodic focus is located on the verb, marking the subsequent stretch as post-focal. Consequently, the

⁷ Because the H tone of the phrase accent is associated with the stress of the last word, the phrasal tone HL- is superficially similar to a pitch accent (Grice et al., 2005:381).

word *macchina* (“car”) bears a reduced bitonal accent !H+L⁸ that is associated with the last stress (D’Imperio, 2002). The utterance in Fig. 12 can be compared with that presented in Fig. 13. In this question, the two tonal events that compose the focal pitch accent of the yes/no question in Neapolitan Italian occur on the verb (L*+H) and the following NP (HL-). The perception also confirms that both the verbal predicate and the final NP are prosodically focused.

5.2. Accessibility of the referents

A clear difference between statements and yes/no questions has also emerged from the analysis of the discourse status of the relevant NP. Whereas in declaratives the referents are always discourse-given and active, 64% of the 139 yes/no questions that were examined introduce a discourse-new referent, which in the majority of cases is accessible by the listener through the situational context. The results concerning yes/no questions are presented in Table 4.

Discourse-new referents introduced in yes/no questions are usually situationally or textually accessible by both interlocutors (79 out of the 89 cases of discourse-new referents, cf. Table 4, columns “new” and “accessible”). New referents can be presented by the speaker as definite (69 occurrences) or indefinite (20 occurrences) NPs. Using an indefinite NP, the speaker presents the referent as possibly not accessible by the listener. However, with only one exception, indefinite NPs are in fact situationally accessible by both interlocutors. An example of a CLRD introducing a discourse-new indefinite NP which is situationally accessible by both interlocutors is presented in Table 5.

Nine out of the 10 cases of non-accessible discourse-new referents are definite NPs. In these utterances, the speaker presents the referent as accessible, whereas it is actually not recoverable for the hearer through the situation or the linguistic context. The following examples show cases of interrogative CLRDs introducing discourse-new definite NPs that are not accessible by the listener from his/her situational context (Table 6).

In the cases reported above there is a mismatch between the speaker’s and listener’s figures. The consequences of the differences in the context at the interlocutors’ disposal for the analysis of CLRDs are discussed in section 6.1.

Table 4

Yes/no questions: discourse-given, discourse-new and accessible referents.

	Total	Given	New	Accessible
Bari	6	5	1	0
Bergamo	3	0	3	3
Cagliari	15	5	10	10
Catanzaro	16	1	15	12
Florence	18	9	9	7
Genoa	16	4	12	9
Lecce	3	1	2	2
Milan	3	0	3	3
Naples	6	3	3	3
Palermo	9	5	4	3
Parma	7	4	3	3
Perugia	21	3	18	18
Rome	7	3	4	4
Turin	5	4	1	1
Venice	4	3	1	1
Total	139 (100%)	50 (36%)	89 (64%)	79 (57%)

Table 5

Interrogative CLRD introducing a discourse-new indefinite NP which is situationally accessible. Each turn of the map task dialogue is identified by a number and by a code indicating the speaker (P1 or P2) and his/her role in the game (G: instruction giver; F: instruction follower).

1 - Map task, Perugia

p2G#136: sì <p> quindi tu va+ / cammini <p> su 'sta
stradetta e trovi a sinistra il camion

p1F#137: mh <p> sì

p2G#138: a quel punto / adesso eeh tu ce l'hai un dado?

p1F#139: sì<ij>

p2G#136: yes <p> then you g+ / walk <p> on this little street
and you find the truck on the right

p1F#137: mh <p> yes

p2G#138: at that point / now eeh do you have it, a die?

p1F#139: yes

⁸ Compression due to a downstep is indicated in the transcription by the symbol “!”.

Table 6

Interrogative CLRDs introducing discourse-new definite NPs that are not accessible by the listener from his/her situational context.

1 - Map task, Florence	
p2F#128: <i>te ce l'hai gli sci e il televisore?</i>	p2F#128: <i>do you have them, the skis and the television?</i>
p1G#129: no, c'ho soltanto il televisore	p1G#129: no, I only have the television
p2F#130: eh e do+ / e il televisore dove sta?	p2F#130: eh, and wh+ where is the television?
p1G#131: è in fondo, alla mia partenza	p1G#131: it is at the bottom, at the starting point
2 - Map task, Bari	
p2G#148: poi comincia a scendere ti prendi il cuore giallo cioè / ossia l'ultimo oggi+ l'u+ l'oggetto che sta più in alto <p> lo prendi da sotto	p2G#148: then you begin to go down and you take the yellow heart, I mean / that is the last obj+ the l+ the object that is at the top <p> you take it from below
p1F#149: sì <p> da sotto? <p> sì	p1F#149: yes <p> from below? <p> yes
2G#150: e arrivi <p> più o meno con una linea sinuosa fino al / tu ce l'hai il secondo cuore rosso?	2G#150: and you arrive <p> more or less with a sinuous line at the / do you have it, the second red heart?
p1F#151: no <p> io ho una barchetta e un gelato <p> a+ / la barchetta	p1F#151: no <p> I have a small boat and an ice cream <p> a+ / the small boat
p2G#152: allor+ <p> allora <p> praticamente arrivi / brava! <p> eeh <p> tra il cuore e la barchetta <p> però fino alla fine della barchetta fai questa linea sinuosa	p2G#152: then+ <p> then <p> basically you arrive / good! <p> eeh <p> between the heart and the small boat <p> but you draw this sinuous line up to the end of the small boat
p1F#153: mhmh <p> okay	p1F#153: mhmh <p> okay

6. Discussion

The results of the analysis show that CLRDs tend to have different prosodic features and discourse-level features according to the declarative vs. interrogative modality.

As for prosody, the results indicate that the realisation of a CLRD is strongly affected by the modality of the utterance. On the one hand, the large majority of the statements are realised with a non-neutral, narrow-focus intonation pattern that closely matches the one described in the literature on CLRD. In contrast, yes/no questions are predominantly realised with a neutral, broad-focus pattern with the main perceptual prominence on the relevant NP. Based on these results, we can claim that CLRD in yes/no questions is strongly grammaticalised at the prosodic level, whereas in declaratives, the traces of grammaticalisation on the prosodic level are weak overall because the prosodic focus is mostly located on the lexical item that precedes the final NP. This observation indicates that the degree of prosodic grammaticalisation of the CLRD varies according to the modality of the utterance considered. A significant difference between the CLRD questions and statements has also emerged from the analysis of the accessibility of the NP. Whereas the referent is textually given in declarative utterances, it can be either discourse-given or new in the interrogatives.

The results summarised above, however, leave a number of issues open for debate. The first question is raised by the discrepancy in the data between yes/no questions and statements. Because this divergence has been observed at the prosodic as well as the discourse level, one can hypothesise that the prominence placement and the discourse status of the referent of the NP resumed by the clitic are related. A further issue pertains to the relationship between the prosodic form and the syntactic structure in prosodically grammaticalised CLRDs with the main prominence on the relevant NP. These problems are examined in the following sections. In section 6.1, we claim that there is a functional differentiation between the interrogative and the declarative CLRD which is related to the accessibility of the referent mentioned in the construction. Subsequently, in section 6.2, we examine the relationship between the prosody and the accessibility, coming to the conclusion that the hypothesis of a direct relationship between the prosodic prominence and the discourse-newness of a referent is insufficiently supported by the empirical evidence. Then, we comment on the relationship between syntax and prosody in the cases of a mismatch between the two levels.

6.1. Discourse function of the CLRD

Whereas the discourse function of CLRD in declarative utterances can be described quite clearly based on the data presented in this paper, the analysis of yes/no questions is less straightforward. The analysis of task-oriented speech has shown that CLRD is consistently used to restate a given topic when it occurs in a declarative utterance, in accordance with the claims of authors such as Berruto (1986). In questions, instead, CLRD is used to restate a given (active) referent or to introduce a referent that is textually new. Following the thinking of Lambrecht (1981) and Berruto (1986), one could suppose that the CLRD introducing a discourse-new referent is used to express a nuance of confidentiality (“*camaraderie*”). However, as this nuance is not necessarily present in the questions that we analysed, we argue that the expression of confidentiality is not the main function of CLRD in yes/no questions. In the examples reported in Tables 5 and 6, for instance, we have no

reason to believe that the speaker wishes to express any special communicative nuance. Therefore, even if there can be a shade of *camaraderie* in certain utterances, this nuance is not necessarily due to the use of the construction.

A clue to understanding the discourse function of yes/no questions with CLRD comes from the peculiar context of task-oriented dialogues. In these dialogues, the extralinguistic context available to the speaker partially differs from the context available to the listener. This dissimilarity is due to the experimental conditions of the interaction. Each participant performs the task using a map or a cartoon that is partly different from that of their partner. Under these conditions, the situational contexts available to the speakers during the interaction do not coincide completely⁹.

Most of the questions analysed for this paper are of the form *ce l'hai x?* ('do you have it, the x?'). This trend occurs because yes/no questions with CLRD are often used to explore the differences between the maps/cartoons. In other words, the speakers use yes/no questions with CLRD to ask whether the listener has a particular referent on his map or cartoon, as in the following example (Table 7 = Table 5):

Table 7

Yes/no questions with CLRD used to ask whether the listener has a particular referent on his map or cartoon.

1 - Map task, Perugia	
p2G#136: sì <p> quindi tu va+ / cammini <p> su 'sta stradetta e trovi a sinistra il camion	p2G#136: yes <p> then you g+ / walk <p> on this little street and you find the truck on the right
p1F#137: mh <p> sì	p1F#137: mh <p> yes
p2G#138: a quel punto / adesso eeh tu ce l'hai un dado?	p2G#138: at that point / now eeh do you have it, a die?
p1F#139: sì<ii>	p1F#139: yes

In these cases, speakers can use CLRD because the referent is highly accessible from their viewpoint. The speaker, however, does not know whether the referent is equally accessible to the listener: in fact, it can be "hearer-new" (Prince, 1992). As has been shown in the previous section, in some cases a hearer-new referent is not accessible through the linguistic or extralinguistic context at the listener's disposal. This consideration suggests that the degree of accessibility of the referent to the listener is less important for the use of the construction. Therefore, we can conclude that an informational feature shared by the yes/no questions examined for this study is the high accessibility of the referent of the relevant NP to the speaker. Whereas the declarative CLRD is used with given referents that are already established as topics by both speakers, a yes/no question with a CLRD can introduce a referent that is highly accessible to the speaker but not necessarily to the hearer.

This observation can be further refined by examining the conversational functions of yes/no questions in task-oriented dialogues. According to the scheme proposed by Carletta et al. (1996) for the conversational annotation of map task interaction, a yes/no question can be used to ask for either information that the speaker does not know or confirmation of a hypothesis implicitly formulated by the speaker (Bolinger, 1988). These two types of questions are, respectively, called "query" and "check" moves in the map task coding scheme of Carletta and collaborators (Carletta et al., 1996). With a query, the speaker asks for new information, whereas a check seeks confirmation of a piece of information that the speaker has reason to believe is true (Carletta et al., 1996).

Based on the foregoing observations, we hypothesise that the interrogative CLRD introducing a discourse-new referent is a syntactic resource to encode the high degree of accessibility of the referent to the speaker, together with his uncertainty about the accessibility of the same referent to the listener. In other words, a yes/no question with CLRD can be considered a means of expressing a check (i.e., a non-confident confirmation request). This concept would explain the use of yes/no questions with CLRD in task-oriented speech as way of asking for confirmation regarding the presence of a certain element on the partner's map or cartoon (*ce l'hai x?*; 'do you have it, the x?').

The linguistic expression of the confirmation request is an area in which further research is needed. However, if the interpretation outlined above is fundamentally correct, we can observe a functional difference between the CLRD in yes/no questions and in declaratives: whereas the latter are used with referents that are given (i.e., active for the speaker as well as for the listener), the former encode the accessibility of the referent to the speaker together with a request for confirmation.

6.2. Prominence, accessibility and syntactic structure

Because the results of the analysis of both the prosodic realisation and the accessibility of referents suggest a clear difference between yes/no questions and statements, one can hypothesise that in the utterances with CLRD, the prosodic differences and the discourse status of the referent are related. In this section, we explore this hypothesis showing that,

⁹ Whereas the core of the spot-the-difference task is looking for the dissimilarities, in the case of map tasks, the difference between the two maps is determined by the speakers during the interaction.

despite the frequent co-occurrence of prosodic and discourse-level features, the results cannot be construed as evidence of a direct relationship between prominence and discourse-newness.

In most statements of the examined CLRDs, there is correspondence between the syntactic, informational and prosodic structures: on the one hand, in 73.7% of the declarative CLRDs, the NP is syntactically detached, discourse-given, and intonationally weak (i.e., marked by a pitch accent such as L* or the downstepped !H+L*). This result is coherent with the primary function attributed to the CLRD, namely that of reinforcing topic continuity (Benincà et al., 1988; Berruto, 1986; Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl, 2007; Vallduví, 1993). On the other hand, in 61.2% of the yes/no questions, a new referent is introduced in the discourse using a neutral intonation. We can also include in the data supporting the correspondence between the prosodic and the discourse-level organisation another 10.8% of the yes/no questions (15 cases) with prominence on the relevant NP. In these cases, the referent is discourse-given but introduced for the first time by the speaker in the same turn in which the yes/no question with the CLRD appears. Even if the referent is textually given, it is not yet established as the topic, and the speaker uses the CLRDed yes/no question to ask the listener for confirmation of the accessibility of the referent on his/her side. See the following examples (Table 8):

Table 8

The relevant NP is introduced for the first time in the same turn in which the CLRD appears. The speaker uses a yes/no question with CLRD to ask the listener for confirmation of the accessibility of the referent on his/her side.

1 - Map task, Rome	
p2G#152: però non ne ho la più pallida idea eeh e arrivi fino quasi <p> alle stecchette degli occhiali, <i>tu li vedi gli occhiali?</i>	p2G#152: but I have no idea eeh and you arrive until almost <p> the glasses temples, <i>do you see them, the glasses?</i>
p1F#153: mhmh <p> sì	p1F#153: mhmh <p> yes
2 - Map task, Venice	
p1G#3: allora <p> metti la matita sulla partenza <p> va bene?	p1G#3: then <p> put the pencil on the starting point <p> right?
p2F#4: eh, non ce l'ho la partenza!	p2F#4: eh, I haven't it, the starting point!
p1G#5: allora <p> okay, allora	p1G#5: then <p> okay, then
p2F#6: eeh dimmi, me+ mettila sul puntino nero, <i>tu ce l'hai il puntino nero?</i>	p2F#6: eeh say, pu+ put it on the black dot, <i>do you have it, the black dot?</i>
p1G#7: eh <p> va ben, dal puntino nero allora	p1G#7: eh <p> right, from the black dot, then

Finally, in 12.2% of the yes/no questions, the given referents occur in utterances with narrow-focus prosody. This latter group mirrors the predominant combination of prosodic and informational features found in declaratives. This observation suggests that, in these cases, the CLRD has the same function in yes/no questions and statements, i.e., in both modalities, this usage reinforces the topical continuity by the repetition of a given topic. This situation is exemplified by the following excerpts (Table 9):

Table 9

Interrogative CLRDs can be used to reinforce the topical continuity.

1 - Map task, Genoa	
p1F#113: sì <p> cioè<ee> <p> nel percorso praticamente <p> passi in m+ con la s+ / con la riga in mezzo alle stelle scendi giù dall'arrivo <p> subito dopo la fine del disegno delle stelle <p> le tagli in mezzo	p1F#113: yes <p> I mean <p> in your route <p> you pass in the m+ with the+ / with the line in the middle of the stars you go down from the endpoint <p> after the end of the drawing of the stars <p> you cut them in the middle
p2G#114: cioè <i>io le taglio le stelle?</i>	p2G#114: You mean, <i>do I have to cut them, the stars?</i>
p1F#115: cioè quattro da una parte e quattro dall'altra	p1F#115: I mean four at one side and four at the other

Overall, we find a correspondence between prominence placement and degree of accessibility in over 70% of the utterances (73.7% for declaratives and 84.2% for yes/no questions). This result suggests a tendency for a discourse-new referent to be marked prosodically by the main prominence of the utterance and, conversely, for a discourse-given referent to be prosodically non-salient. However, the existence of such a relationship is challenged by the presence of a significant number of utterances in which the prominence and the activation status of the referent do not correspond. In fact, a considerable portion of the data (23.3% of the declaratives and 15.8% of the yes/no questions; approximately 20% of the whole corpus) remains unexplained under the hypothesis of a discourse-prosody correspondence. In these cases, the main prominence is on a discourse-given referent (23.3% of the statements and 12.9% of the yes/no questions) or a discourse-new referent is freshly introduced in a yes/no question with prosodic focus on the VP (2.9% of the interrogatives). These results suggest caution, highlighting that the co-occurrence of discourse-level and prosodic features does not require a direct relationship between these two linguistic levels. Although it is plausible that the discourse-newness of the referent has an influence on the prosodic salience of the NP, other factors aside from the discourse status of the referent may also affect the prosodic realisation and can therefore help explain the variations in

the main prominence placement observed in the data. In particular, we cannot exclude that other semantic or phonological factors that have not been considered in the present work might at least be partly responsible for the observed variation.¹⁰

This point is further illuminated by Bocci's analysis (2008, 2013) of the relationship between prominence and focus in Italian declarative CLRDs. Bocci observes that the pitch accent on a discourse-given, syntactically right-detached NP changes according to the phonological environment in which the dislocated phrase occurs: when the NP occurs after the (contrastive or informational) focus, the pitch accent is a reduced L*, whereas a regular H+L* occurs on the NP when the detachment precedes the focus. Bocci's work shows that the prominence type variation on a right-detached NP is neither directly related to the discourse status of the referent nor necessarily to the syntactic dislocation. Examples (29) and (30) show the effect of focus and the phonological environment on the pitch accent type. In (29), a right-detached topic (RDed Top) occurs after the informational focus (IFoc), while in (30) the right-detached topic occurs before the contrastive focus (CFoc)¹¹:

(adapted from Bocci, 2013:165)

- (29) H+L* L-L% L* L-L%
 {{{ ()_φ }_ι [()_φ }_ι }_ν
La invit-o domani, Mariangela
 Her invite-1SG tomorrow_{IFoc} Mariangela_{RDed Top}
 'I will invite her tomorrow, Mariangela'

(adapted from Bocci, 2013: 167)

- (30) H+L* L-L% H+L* L-H% L+H* L-L%
 {{{ ()_φ }_ι [()_φ }_ι [()_φ }_ι }_ν
La dobb-iamo invit-are, Marianna_{RDed Top}, quando arriv-a PIERANGELO_{CFoc}
 Her must-2PL invite-INF Marianna when arrive-3SG Pierangelo
 'We have to invite her, Marianna, when PIERANGELO arrives' (not when Giulio arrives)

These examples show that a right-detached NP (*Mariangela* or *Marianna*) receives a different pitch accent (L* vs. H+L*) according to its position relative to the (informational or contrastive) focus, despite being discourse-given and syntactically right-detached in both examples. The contrast between L* and H+L* supports the author's hypothesis that the phonological environment (i.e., the position relative to focus) primarily affects the choice of the pitch accent on the right-detached NP, rather than the activation level of the NP referent. Based on the foregoing observations, we can argue that a new referent is likely to be prosodically prominent, although the prosodic realisation does not necessarily match the degree of activation of the referent. Therefore, prosodic variation cannot be seen as a direct consequence of the discourse status of a referent, since other factors, such as those examined by Bocci in the study summarised above, can affect the prosody of a CLRD.

Another question posed by the results concerns the relationship between the syntactic detachment and the main prominence placement. On the one hand, in regular CLRDs, prosody, discourse-level organisation and syntax match because the right-detached, given topic does not bear the prosodic focus. On the other hand, in the case of a grammaticalised CLRD or CD (cf. section 2.4.2.1), the doubled NP is expected to bear the main prominence, to occur in situ and to be discourse-new. This schema conflicts with the results presented in this work: in 72% of the interrogative CLRDs, the NP is at the same time discourse-new, prosodically focused and syntactically detached, creating a mismatch between prosody and discourse status of the referent on one hand, and syntax on the other.¹² Moreover, 12.9% of the interrogatives and 23.3% of the declaratives have a broad-focus prosody but a given NP referent, showing a mismatch between prosody on one hand, and level of accessibility and syntax on the other. One can therefore wonder whether these variations concerning the prominence placement and the activation status of the referent affect the syntactic structure, i.e., the dislocation. Although we cannot provide a clear answer to this question on the basis of the data examined in this work, we may speculate that the mismatches observed in this study do not necessarily have consequences on the syntax and

¹⁰ The analysis of these factors goes beyond the scope of the present paper and is the object of another work devoted to the relationship between prominence(s), semantic structure and prosodic well-formedness conditions in utterances with marked and unmarked word order (in preparation).

¹¹ Note that the utterance ν is composed of one or more intonational phrases ι , which are, in turn, composed of one or more intermediate phrases φ . Every intermediate phrase φ has a nuclear pitch accent, identified as the pitch accent associated with the rightmost lexical stress, which is followed by the appropriate edge tones.

¹² We will not discuss here the utterances with a narrow-focus prosody and a new referent because this combination is marginal in the corpus (2.9% of the yes/no questions) and therefore does not allow any generalisation.

that the NP is still dislocated despite the possible newness and prominence of the NP. An element in favour of this hypothesis comes from the analysis of interrogative CLRDs proposed in section 6.1. In section 6.1, we have argued that syntactic detachment can be seen as a grammatical resource to express a confirmation request by marking the accessibility of a discourse-new referent for the speaker. As the reader can easily see, this line of interpretation presupposes that the NP is syntactically detached and that the clitic pronoun has a cataphoric function. As for prosody, it is plausible that in these cases, prominence marks discourse newness. However, in CLRDs with the main prominence on a given NP, the mismatch between prosody on one hand and syntax and discourse-level organisation on the other is more problematic because a functional explanation cannot be easily invoked and therefore there is no clear reason for the given referent to bear the main prominence. The relationship between syntax and prosody in these utterances could be clarified by an in-depth phonological analysis of their complete prominence pattern. It is worth noting that, in our analysis, the presence of the main prominence on the final NP did not exclude the occurrence of other pitch accents on the verbal predicate or on other words in the utterance (cf. fn. 6). This point is crucial because in regular SVO sentences (i.e., sentences with the basic word order and no dislocation), we can expect the predicate to be prosodically weak, i.e., non-pitch-accented, whereas the arguments will be accented (cf. Selkirk, 1995), whereas in regular CLRDs, a pitch accent is usually expected on the VP. Therefore, a closer examination of all melodic prominences occurring in the utterances with prominence on the final NP, regardless of their perceptual salience, could provide clues for interpreting the relationship between the prosodic structure and syntactic detachment.

7. Conclusion: functional differentiation and prosodic grammaticalisation

In this paper, we investigated the grammaticalisation of CLRD in spoken Italian. The main findings of this research concern the difference between CLRDed yes/no questions and statements from prosodic and functional viewpoints. As for prosody, the results show that in the large majority of the interrogative yes/no questions, the main perceptual prominence is located on the relevant NP, whereas this is not the case for declarative CLRDs, in which the main prominence usually falls before the NP. This finding led us to conclude that the yes/no questions appear to be prosodically grammaticalised to a significantly larger extent than the declaratives. A second finding concerns the discourse-level functions of the CLRDs: this construction can be used to strengthen topical continuity, a function that is typical of declarative CLRDs or, in contrast, to introduce a discourse-new referent that is accessible to the speaker and not yet established as a topic, a function that is typical of interrogative CLRDs. We therefore hypothesised that there is a functional differentiation in CLRDs according to the modality of the utterance and argued that the interrogative CLRDs are a grammatical resource to express a confirmation request.

The results of the analysis strongly indicated a prosodic and functional differentiation among CLRDs according to their modality and showed a clear tendency for a discourse-new referent to be marked prosodically by the main prominence of the utterance but for the discourse-given referents to be prosodically non-salient. However, this tendency did not allow us to conclude that the placement of the prosodic prominence in these constructions is exclusively determined by the discourse status of the NP resumed by the clitic: other factors may come into play, such as those indicated for instance by Bocci in his works.

The results of this work therefore leave room for future investigation. The inquiry of semantic and phonological factors that have not been taken into account in this paper could provide further evidence to elucidate the relationship between prominence placement and syntactic structure. As for the grammaticalisation, it is worth noting that this notion is primarily used to describe diachronic change. The findings of this research provide evidence of prosodic grammaticalisation in yes/no questions and of a functional differentiation at the discourse level in contemporary Italian, but they cannot help answer the question of whether this differentiation results from linguistic change. Further studies concerning other historical moments in the development of the Italian language would therefore cast new light on the results presented in these pages.

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