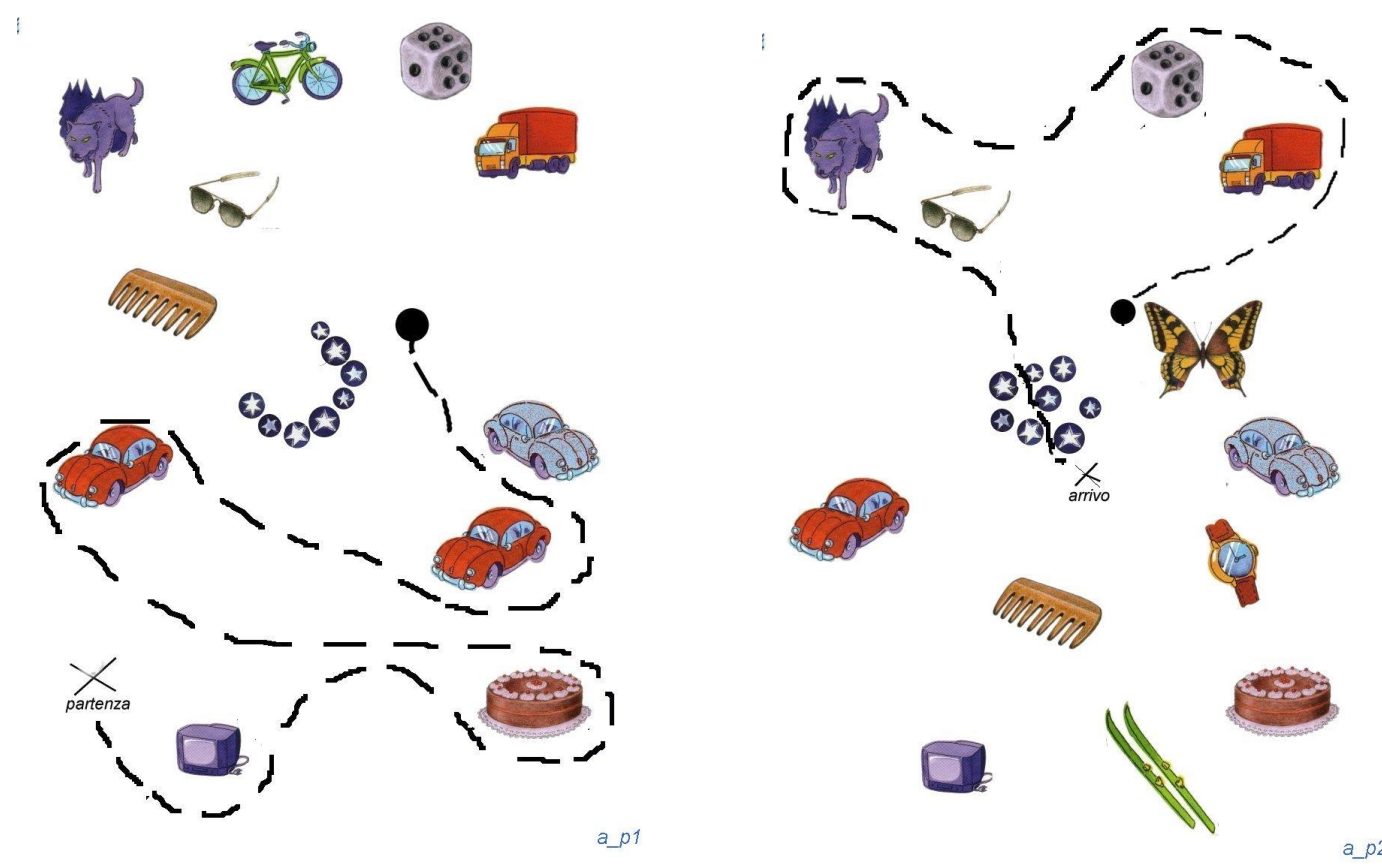


Fill the gap: constituent-internal discourse markers in Italian L2

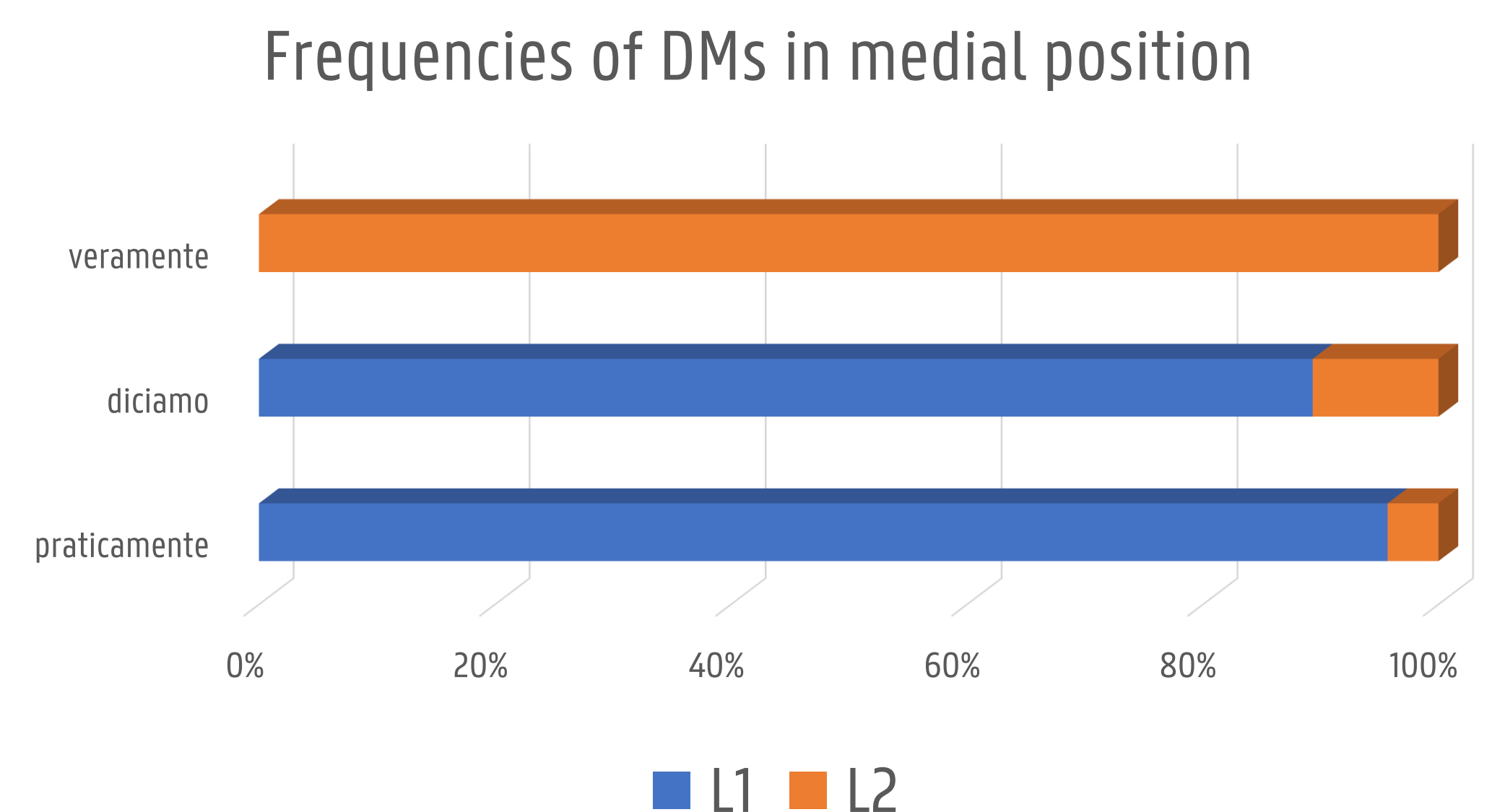
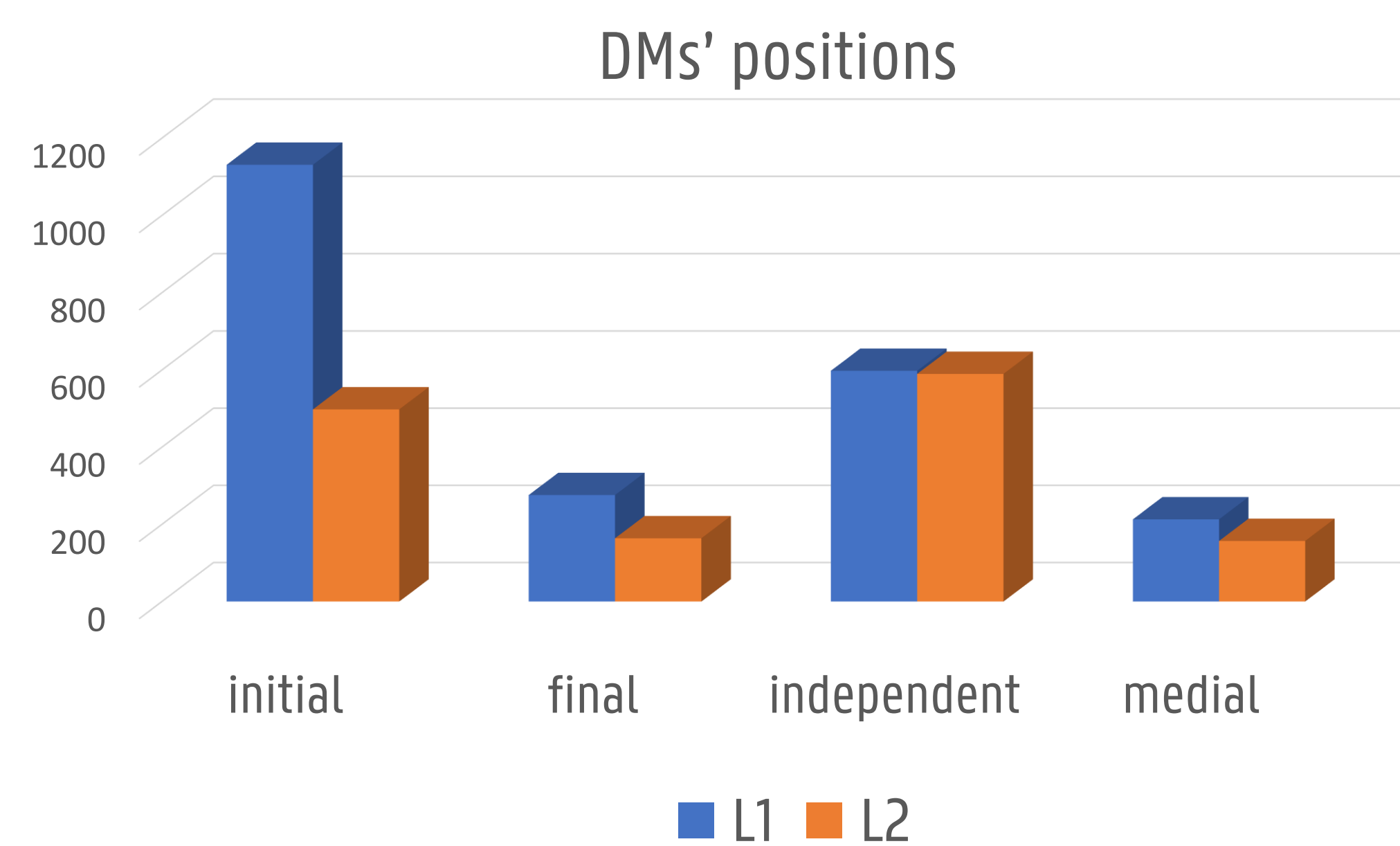
Methodology

L1: CLIPS corpus of spoken Italian

L2: 4 h of oral exchanges; 3 different levels of proficiency (A,B,C); Belgian-Dutch as L1 Map Task (Anderson et al. 1991)



The data



Analysis

Sentence-internal DMs (prosodically integrated)

L1

- Io sono **diciamo** arrivata vicino alla prima freccia*
I am *let's say* arrived close to the first star
- Devi **praticamente** arrivare con una curva*
(you) must *practically* arrive with a curve
- Sei arrivata **praticamente** all'altezza della torta*
(you) are arrived practically at the height of the cake

Diciamo

Praticamente

Epistemic function
Hedging: speaker's confidence

IP > neg > *DM > aux > DM > vP > DM

CP Epistemic1 IP NEG T Epistemic2 vP (Giorgi 2016)

- Diciamo** io non sono arrivata alla prima freccia*
Let's say I not am arrived to-the first arrow
Let's say I am not arrived to the first arrow
- Io **diciamo** non sono arrivata alla prima freccia*
- Io non sono **diciamo** arrivata alla prima freccia*
- *Io non **diciamo** sono arrivata alla prima freccia*

Epistemic1:

Flat intonation
Propositional scope

Epistemic2:

Flat intonation
Propositional scope

Scope ambiguity

- Non sono arrivata **diciamo** alla prima freccia*
- Devi **diciamo** arrivare alla prima freccia*

Flat intonation: scope on the following XP

Parenthetical intonation: propositional scope

L2

- Le altre tre **veramente** erano già arrivate*
the other three truly were already arrived
- Allora la linea va **veramente** nel mezzo delle stelle*
So the line goes truly in the middle of the star
- Andiamo verso la freccia ehm e be' si andiamo **veramente** sopra la freccia*
(We) go towards the arrow ehm and well yes (we) go *truly* on the arrow
- E adesso sei **veramente** andato al lato destro ok?*
And now (I) am *truly* on the right side of the arrow ok?

veramente

Epistemic function: Hedging (Ricca & Visconti 2013)
Interference with the L1
> Dutch *echt* (Vanden Eynde 2003)

- Functional item (completely bleached meaning)
- Used to fill-in the low modality position
- L2: activation of the (epistemic) low position with a "wrong" use of *veramente* due to the interference with L1

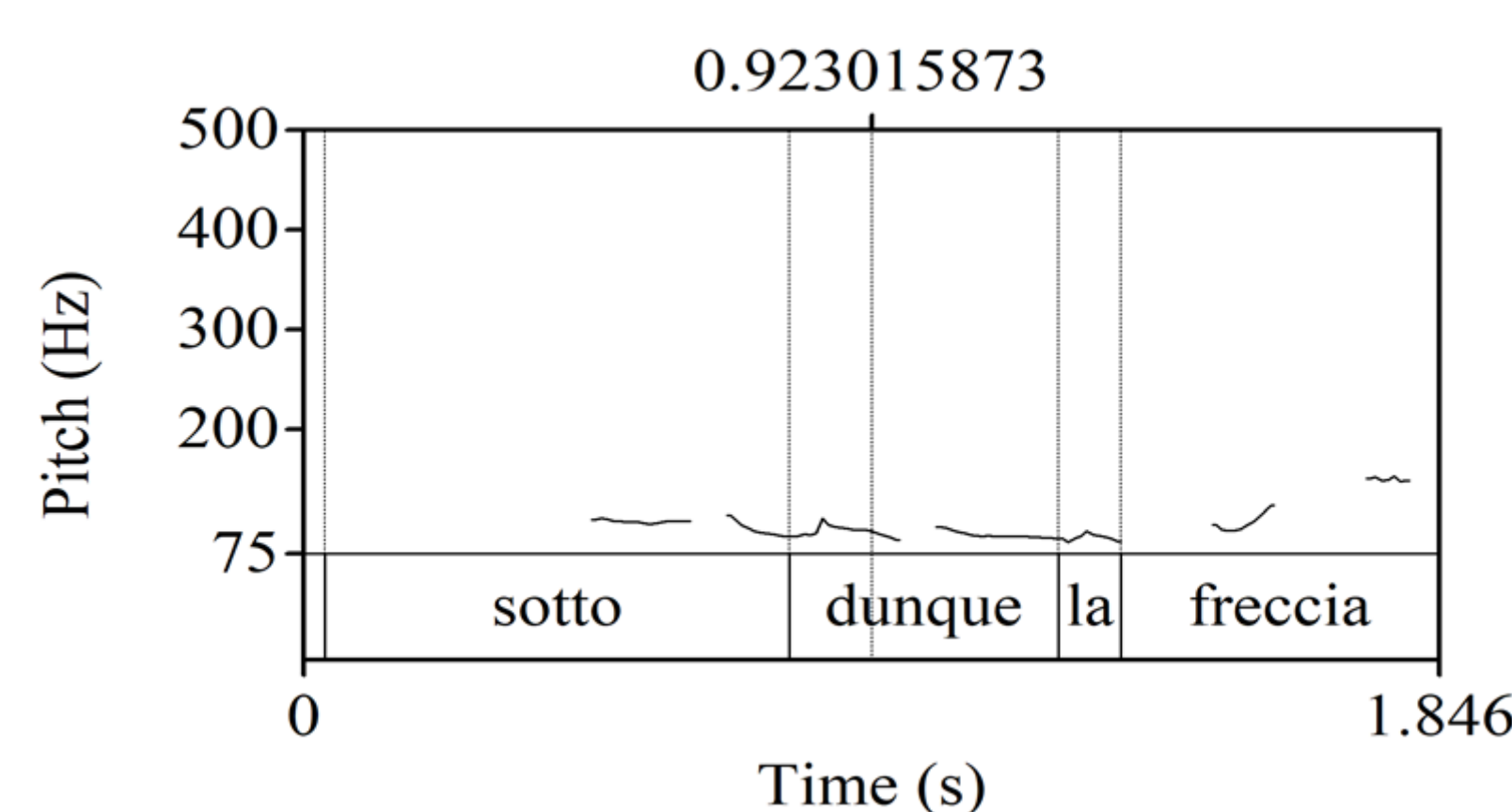
- Dedicated projections in the Low Periphery (Belletti 2004; Poletto 2006) for the expression of Modality (Cinque 1999; Cardinaletti 2015; Coniglio 2008) and epistemicity (Giorgi 2016)
- Parallel with the Speech Act layer in the Left Periphery (Haegeman & Hill 2013)

Open issue
Spec or Head?

A special case: Constituent-internal DMs in L2

- La mano si trova [pp sotto **dunque** la freccia]*
The hand is found under *then* the arrow
- Vai intorno alla tv e facciamo [pp una piccola **be'** curva]*
(you) go around the tv and we do a little *well* curve
- Io ho due macchine rosse e [pp una macchina **be'** blu]*
I have two red cars and a car *well* blue

- Between Head and Compl
- Prosodically integrated in the constituent



- Completely bleached lexical meaning
- Function: functional item filling a pause

- DMs used as filled pauses
- Produced at the micro-level of phrasal syntax, to «sound more fluent»
- Bare roots (Corver 2015) on a par with hesitations (Crible 2018)
- Direct expression of the speaker's emotional state (Corver 2015)

Selected References

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