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Relative clauses in discourse. Data from Italian spoken language

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*Conversation*

The tumult in the heart  
keeps asking questions.  
And then it stops and undertakes to answer  
in the same tone of voice.  
No one could tell the difference.

Uninnocent, these conversations start,  
and then engage the senses,  
only half-meaning to.  
And then there is no choice,  
and then there is no sense;

until a name  
and all its connotation are the same.

*(Elizabeth Bishop, Poems)*



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# Abbreviations and symbols

COMP	complementiser
CT	contrastive topic
D OBJ	direct object
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
F	focus
GEN	genitive
LIV	living entity
LOC	locative
NP	noun phrase
PP	prepositional phrase
PTL	particle
RC	relative clause
SPC	specific
SR	subordinating particle
T	topic



# Introduction

The present work deals with the realisation of relative constructions in spontaneous spoken Italian, in dialogues belonging to the Map Task and Spot the Difference sections of the Clips *corpus*.

The aim of this study is to present a multi-dimensional inquiry on relative constructions in spontaneous spoken Italian, by connecting at the interface the outcomes of the analysis on the semantic, syntactic and information structure behaviour of relative constructions.

The sample has been taken from the Rome section of the Map task and Spot the difference CLIPS *corpus*. It is composed of 8 Map Task dialogues, that in total last for 2 hours and 6 minutes, and 7 Spot the difference dialogues, totally amounting to approximately 1 hour. The folders of the Rome section that I accessed contain an audio file (in wav format) for each of the dialogues and a text file with the orthographic transcription for 3 out of the 7 Spot the Difference dialogues and for 3 out of the 8 Map Task dialogues.

The relative constructions that were extracted from the dialogues amount to 314 occurrences. In order to locate them throughout all the dialogues I first analysed, i.e., listened to, each of the dialogue audio files. For the dialogues that had a transcription (less than half of them) I double-checked the occurrences of relatives. All of the extracted relative constructions have been organised into excel sheets for each of the dialogues with the purpose of keeping track of all the levels of analysis for each of the occurrences. In order to carry out the analysis of the information structure of the relatives, I have transcribed the dialogues that had no transcription, following the indications that had been used for the text transcription already present in the CLIPS corpus, see Savy (2007). What I would like to underline here is that the audio files of the dialogues have been an essential tool for carrying out my analysis: I have used them in a “naïve” way, not with the purpose and the instruments of a prosodic analysis.

The present work is structured in two parts: a first *state-of-the-art* part, made up of the first two chapters, and a second analytical part. Within the *Literature Review* part, the first chapter deals with the literature on relativisation; it presents briefly some of the more relevant studies that have proved useful for the theoretical background behind the present work.

The second chapter introduces the Map Task dialogues, how they have been conceived and how they have been pragmatically annotated. It then gives an overview on the CLIPS *corpus* and presents the details of the dialogues from which the sample of relatives has been extracted.

Within the *Analysis of the sample* part, the third chapter introduces the topic of spontaneous spoken speech and relative clauses. After a quick overview of the literature on relative constructions in spoken language, I introduce spontaneous spoken language and its specific properties, as well as examples of the realisation of relative constructions therein. Finally, I present some of the relative constructions from the sample which show an influence of this genre in their superficial realisation.

In the fourth chapter I present the semantic analysis of the sample that resorts to a composite set of frameworks in order to grasp the different nuances between the types of relative constructions.

In the fifth chapter the syntactic analysis of the sample is dealt with, from a global perspective as well as considering the syntactic behaviour of each semantic type.

The last level of analysis is presented in the sixth chapter: a proposal for an information structure interpretation of each semantic type of relative is proposed.

Finally, in the conclusions, an interface interpretation connecting all the previous outcomes is proposed.

# **Part I**

## **Literature review**

# Chapter 1

## Literature on Relative Construction

### 1.1 Introduction

This first chapter introduces the topic of relative construction on the basis of the major works found in the literature. Section 1.2 is an attempt to give an overview on the more relevant works to the present study, on the topic of ‘relative construction’. While it would not be possible to mention all of the studies on relative constructions the design of this first part aims at associating the main sectors of inquiry on the issue with the most relevant studies dedicated to each of them.

Section 1.3 deals with the definition of relative construction, providing insight from both formal and functional theoretical fields.

Finally, sections 1.4 and 1.5 present a typology of relative constructions based on the main lines of variation: syntactic and semantic.

### 1.2 Main studies on relative constructions

This section does not aim at providing an exhaustive list of works on relative constructions<sup>1</sup>: given the amount of literature on this topic, it would take too much space and time and it would be beyond the goal of the present work. What this outline will provide is a list that associates a specific linguistic issue concerning relative clauses to the works that have investigated it, starting from the most general and global studies on the phenomenon of relativisation, to more

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<sup>1</sup> See de Vries (2013) annotated bibliography on relative clauses for a complete annotated list of works dealing with theories of relativisation, syntax, semantics, and specific constructional realisations (internally headed, free, etc.). For other topics like information structure, relative clauses and spoken language, please take into consideration the list in the present work.

specific works dealing, for example, with the informative structure of relative constructions or the influence of spoken language.

### **1.2.1 Cross-linguistic and formal theoretical works on relativisation**

In the functional-typological area, a number of influential works have dealt with this topic, mainly starting from the 1970s.

Keenan and Comrie (1977) propose a universal accessibility hierarchy for the relativisation of different syntactic positions of the NP in the relative clause based on a cross-linguistic sample of relative clause realizations presented later in Keenan and Comrie (1979).

Downing (1978) discusses Universals and tendencies that are found in the syntax of relative sentences cross-linguistically, while Comrie (1981) proposes an analysis of relativisation strategies in a typological perspective. More recently, Comrie (1998) proposes new insight on relativisation by comparing English and Japanese relative strategies.

Touratier (1980) is a study on Latin relative clauses, conducted by comparing Latin and Romance and Germanic languages. Lehmann (1984) is a monography on Relativisation set in the functional framework and based on data from a large number of typologically different languages. Lehmann's detailed analysis evolves around the idea that relativisation is a process made up of three operations that interact on continuous scales: subordination, empty place formation and attribution.

Data for relative constructions from the world's languages is available in the "World Atlas of Language structures online" of which five chapters have been dedicated to different aspects of this issue, including relativisation strategies and various issues of word order and relativisation. Cristofaro and Giacalone Ramat (2007) is a survey on relativisation strategies as realised in a sample of 26 European languages, while Andrews (2007) is an overview on the phenomena that samples languages more globally.

On the formal literature side many works have had Relative Clauses as an object of inquiry. Two competing theories have developed since the '60s, the Matching Analysis and the Raising Analysis.

Chomsky (1965) is claimed as the first work proposing the former view that has been then followed and refined by works such as Jackendoff (1977), Chomsky (1977), and more recently, Čitko (2001).

The second, the Raising Analysis<sup>2</sup>, was first put forward in its basic tenets by Schachter (1973) and Vergnaud (1974, 1985) in reference to Brame's 1968 unpublished work. It was then put aside until Kayne (1994) matched two ideas, the raising of the relativised NP from its base position (inside the relative clause) to the matrix clause position, and the D-complement hypothesis<sup>3</sup> (dating back to Smith (1964)), in the Antisymmetry Framework. Other studies that defend the Raising Theory are Bianchi (1999, 2000) and De Vries 2002<sup>4</sup>.

Cinque (2013) propose a hierarchy of functional projections that differentiates positions according to their different semantic nature<sup>5</sup>, as well as claiming a prenominal deep structure nature for relative constructions.

### 1.2.2 Studies on the semantics of relative clauses

Various studies have focused their attention on the semantics of relative clauses. The binary grouping of relative clauses into restrictives and appositives, according to their semantics, goes as far back as the *Grammaire de Port-Royal* (Arnauld & Lancelot, 1660). Sells (1985) gives a formal answer to this binary opposition, while Fuchs (1987) is a collection of various works analysing this issue from synchronic, diachronic and experimental points of view. De Vries (2002, 2006) looks at appositive relative clauses from a transformational perspective. For Italian relative clauses, Alisova (1965, 1972), Scarano (2002, 2007), De Roberto (2008), deal with this issue. Scarano (2007) and De Roberto (2010) also consider other types of relatives, proposing a multi-level interpretation.

Since Carlson (1977), a pioneering work on amount relatives, other works such as Heim (1987) and Grosu and Landman (1998) have introduced a third category of relative clauses: the so-called maximalizing relative construction. Other works have focused on the so-called "relatives of the third kind"<sup>6</sup>, which includes Grosu (2002, 2003, 2013), Groos and Van Riemsdijk (1981).

Yet another semantic type of relative clause, the so-called "kind-defining" relative, has been proposed by Benincà and Cinque (2014).

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<sup>2</sup> Also called Promotion Theory by some authors, while De Vries (2002: 86) specifies that by Promotion Theory throughout he means a theory that includes both the D-complement and Raising hypothesis.

<sup>3</sup> The DP hypothesis claims that Nominal Phrases are DPs.

<sup>4</sup>For further details about the two opposed theories see de Vries (2002) and Alexidou et al. (2000).

<sup>5</sup> Cinque (2013) can also be seen as an attempt to reconcile the matching and the raising theory.

<sup>6</sup> This is the title of the 1998 article by Grosu and Landman discussing this third semantic category.

### 1.2.3 Works on the structure of the relative clauses: free or headless relatives

A series of works have focused their attention on the structure of relative clauses, especially on the parameter of the *presence* or *absence of the antecedent* (also called head). The so-called headless or free relatives are in fact the actualisation of the [+absence of head] parameter. Smits (1988) gives a full overview on all relative structures throughout Romance and Germanic languages of Europe. Along with giving examples of the realisation of free relative clauses in those languages, he also points out the existence of *semi-free relatives*: constructions where there is no lexical antecedent, only a semantically empty pronominal head.

De Vries (2002) provides a refined classification of all existing types of free relatives, and van Rjemsdik (2006) deals with free relatives and in particular a sub-type called transparent free relatives. Čitko (2004) gives a formal interpretation for light-headed (Smit's semi-free) relatives found in Polish. Caponigro and Pearl (2009) compare the structures of free relatives and interrogatives. Grosu (2013) investigates the semantics of free relatives in connection to maximalisation. Pompei (2014) proposes an interpretation based on semantic and pragmatic grounds for Latin headless relatives.

### 1.2.4 Discourse, information structure and relative clauses

The influence of discourse on the realisation of relative sentences has been analysed in works such as Thompson (1968, 1971), which claim that all relative clauses are originally coordinated structures that result in different superficial constructions depending on the presuppositional settings they have<sup>7</sup>. Fox and Thompson (1990)<sup>8</sup> highlights the determining role of pragmatics in the relativisation phenomenon in terms of communicative factors. Taking into account those previous studies, Lombardi Vallauri (1994) proposes that the differentiation along and beyond the restrictive and non-restrictive line is also answering to specific discourse features; the author differentiates six types of relatives on the basis of the setting of the parameter [+/- presuppositional content of the relative clause] and the thematic or rhematic informational status of the relative clause.

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<sup>7</sup> Thompson (1971) proposes that the dichotomy between restrictives and non-restrictives can be exhausted in terms of presuppositional differences.

<sup>8</sup> This study has been conducted on data from spoken corpora of English.

Scarano (2002, 2007) intersects information structure and semantics to give a new subdivision of relative sentences.

As for relative sentences and information structure *per se*, Kuno (1973) proposes that relativisation is always a process of thematization, while Schachter (1976)<sup>9</sup> suggests the opposite, i.e. relativisation drives focalization.

### 1.2.5 Relative clauses in spontaneous spoken language and non-standard varieties

The relativisation phenomena has been studied also in non-standard varieties, in spoken language, and in spontaneous<sup>10</sup> spoken language. In the early '90s, along with the studies on spoken language, some works focused on the features of relativisation in spoken language, including Bernini (1991), Benincà (1993) and Berretta (1993). Fiorentino (1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1999) study a specific relativisation strategy (there renamed *la clausola relativa debole*) examining data extracted from a spoken (partially spontaneous) *corpus* of Italian, whilst from the same *corpus* Alfonzetti (2002) analyses relative non-standard constructions<sup>11</sup>. Aureli (2004) evaluates the presence of non-standard relative constructions (compared to the standard realisation) in four spoken corpora<sup>12</sup> of Italian. Scarano (2007) analyses relative and pseudo-relative constructions in the C-ORAL-ROM *corpus* of spontaneous spoken Italian conversations and Sornicola (2007) looks at predication and modification in relative constructions from a *corpus* of a non-standard spoken variety of Italian<sup>13</sup>. Finally, Murelli (2011) is an investigation on the relative constructions based on data retrieved from non-standard varieties of European languages<sup>14</sup>.

In the next section I will go through definitions of relative clause and construction, according to different frameworks.

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<sup>9</sup> This work only deals with restrictive relatives.

<sup>10</sup> The opposition between spoken language and spontaneous spoken language is due to the planned *versus* non-planned nature of these two different varieties.

<sup>11</sup> The *corpus* of Italian that both works analysed is the LIP *corpus*.

<sup>12</sup> The corpora are: the LABLITA *Corpus*, the LIP *corpus*, the LIR *corpus* and the AVIP one.

<sup>13</sup> For this work, the author has analysed a *corpus* of interviews with Procida island fishermen.

<sup>14</sup> The author used data that were mostly gathered from “grammars, syntactic atlases and studies on dialect syntax and spontaneous spoken language”, Murelli (2011, p. 1).



### 1.3 Definitions of relative clause and construction

For defining the relative clause and construction, I rely on definitions coming from functional as well as formal grounds, but at first, an example of relative clause is provided below in (1):

(1) I'd like to watch the **play** *that is on at the Beaumont tonight*.

In (1) above, we can see the head (also called antecedent) in bold, and following it, in italics, the relative clause.

For what concerns the definitions, a first functional one is proposed below in (2). While defining the relative construction, the author points out a terminological issue, according to which the term *relative construction* refers to both the reference noun and the relative clause, Lehmann (1986: 664)<sup>15</sup>:

(2)

“A relative construction is a construction consisting of a nominal [...] (which may be empty) and a subordinate clause interpreted as attributively modifying the nominal. The nominal is called the head and the subordinate clause the relative clause. The attributive relation between head and relative clause is such that the head is involved in what is stated in the clause.”

The author (Lehmann: 665) points out how this definition of relative construction is mainly a semantic one that makes use of some syntactic notions; on top of that, he also clarifies that he is adopting a semantic notion of the so-called “head”, i.e. the notion that is modified by the relative clause.

Along with this basic definition of the relative construction, Lehmann (1984: 44) also labels (semantically) its components; the relative construction is an endocentric construction, the head

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<sup>15</sup> Lehmann (1984: 43-49) outlines the terminology that will be used throughout his volume. Therein, *Nominal* stands for Noun Phrase without determiner. The NP, *Nominal Syntagma* (in Lehmann's original terminology), is defined as a referential expression containing one or more determiners. Lehmann (1984:43): “Ein Nominalsyntagma ist ein referenzfähiger Ausdruck [...] Es kann ein oder mehrere Determinantien. [...] Ein Nominal unterscheidet sich von einem NS durch die fehlende Determination. Es kann Attribute enthalten.”

is the semantic nucleus and the relative clause is the satellite<sup>16</sup>. The latter, the satellite, plays the semantic role of a modifier, and behaves like an attribute.

On the formal side, we find the definition given in Bianchi (2002:167), according to which the headed relative clause is:

(3)

“A headed relative clause is a syntactically complex modifier involving abstraction over an internal position of the clause (the relativisation site) and connected to some constituent it modifies (the relative “head”). In the standard approach, abstraction is syntactically implemented by means of an unbounded dependency between the relativisation site and a relative operator taking scope over the whole clause:

i. the article which John believes that I wrote *e*.”

Bianchi adds that all generative approaches to relativisation have always been confronted with two fundamental issues: the connectivity and the modification problem.

The former consists in the fact that the relative head “seems to play a double role in the overall structure”, i.e. it has a role as a constituent both in the matrix clause and in the relative clause itself; the reason for that would be that the relative head satisfies the selectional requirements of both the matrix clause and the relative clause predicate. In other words, “the surface head is connected to the relativisation site”.

The modification problem has to do with the nature of the modification relation holding between the head and the relative clause, especially with regards to the syntactic side of the semantic difference between apposition and restriction.

De Vries (2002:1) highlights the same issue, speaking about the “problem of the pivot” in the following terms:

“What distinguishes relative clauses from other subordinate clauses is that there is a direct link between an element in the relative and in the matrix. To put it even stronger: there is a pivot element that plays a role in both”.

---

<sup>16</sup> Lehmann (1984: 44): “Es handelt sich also um eine endozentrische Konstruktion; das Bezugsnomen ist ihr Nukleus, der RS ihr Satellit. Ein Satellit ist, semantisch gesprochen, ein Modifikator. Ein Satellit, der ein Nominal modifiziert und also ein (komplexes) Nominal mitkonstituiert, ist ein Attribut”.

The *pivot* must be understood as the element that is semantically shared by the matrix and the relative clause, therefore it coincides with the concept of what Lehmann (1984) and Bianchi (2002) call the *head*. In the following example of relative clause from de Vries (2002:1) we can see the correspondence between the two labels, where the pivot is the NP *books* in bold:

(4) de Vries (2002: 1; (1))

Jack never reads **books** I recommend to him.

The author signals how a series of structural and semantic issues of particular interest from various research perspectives arise from this peculiarity of the relative construction.

In order to give a definition that may encompass as much relative phenomena as possible<sup>17</sup>, the author formulates the following (de Vries, 2002: 14):

(5) DEFINING PROPERTIES OF RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS:

a. A relative clause is subordinated.

b. A relative clause is connected to surrounding material by a pivot constituent.

(Here the pivot is a constituent semantically shared by the matrix clause and the relative clause).

The author also points out how the realization of the pivot leads to different structural options for the relative clause.

In addition to the above definition a (universal although not defining) property is signalled in de Vries (2002: 15): the semantic thematic role of the pivot in the relative clause, along with its syntactic one, does not depend on the same roles of the pivot outside the relative clause.

Relative constructions show variations among languages and within one single language according to the setting of a certain number of parameters, which in turn are strictly related to the elements that compose the relative construction itself. I am going to present those

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<sup>17</sup> The author (critically) uses as a starting point the definition given by Downing (1978: 378), where it is stated that it is not possible to give a universal syntactic definition of the relative clause, but it is only possible to establish semantic grounds for one. According to the author such grounds are coreference (of the shared element inside and outside the relative clause), and assertion (the relative clause itself would be an assertion about the head NP). De Vries (2002: 14) demonstrates that it is so too wide a definition, as coreferential coordinated clauses would also fit into it.

parameters as divided into two main groups: the syntactic and the semantic ones. The next two sections are expressly going to deal with those two issues.

#### **1.4 Syntactic Parameters of variation**

I am now introducing the syntactic group of parameters. I will present first what Lehmann calls the ‘positional types of relative constructions’, then the variation according to the relativisation strategies.

However, before dealing with the variation along the syntactic axis, I am going to briefly introduce the main syntactic hypotheses proposed in the literature on the nature of the relative clause, in both the functional and formal field.

##### **1.4.1 Syntax of relative clauses**

For what concerns the functional-typological field, Lehmann (1984) proposes that relativisation is made up of three linguistic operations: *subordination* (which is tightly connected to nominalization), *attribution* and *empty-place formation*<sup>18</sup>.

*Subordination* is connected to the degree of embedding and connectedness of a sentence, as well as its degree of nominalisation. A relative clause is always subordinated but to varying measures, depending on its degree of embeddedness and its structure (what the author calls *positional type of the RC*)<sup>19</sup>.

Nominalisation, instead, is the transformation of a predicative expression into a nominal one; it has a different impact on subordination, again, according to the positional nature of the relative clause. Lehmann (1984: 169) draws a continuum for positional types of relative sentences as related to nominalization and subordination, as we can see below in figure (1).

---

<sup>18</sup> At the end of its monography the author gives another, final, definition of the relative clause that specifies all the operations that make up the relativisation process, Lehmann (1984: 401):

“A clause is a relative clause when the operations of subordination/nominalization, anaphor/gap-construction, attribution/nucleus-formation have been applied, and it is more so the closer to the centre of the scale is the process which implements the three involved operations.”

<sup>19</sup> The positional typology of relative clauses, as it has been formulated by Lehmann and other authors, will be presented in §1.4.2. What is relevant in the present context is that Lehmann (1984) speaks about different degrees of subordination which also apply to relatives: at the low subordination pole there are adjoined clauses (which have no embedding and no nominalization), and at the opposite extreme, adnominal relatives, that undergo stronger nominalization and embedding. The “degree of subordination” can also be measured by applying the criteria in Lehmann (1988), which elaborates six semantic-syntactic parameters for detecting the degree of clause linkage, (subordination is there conceived as a form of clause linkage).

(1) *Skala der Subordinationsverfahren*

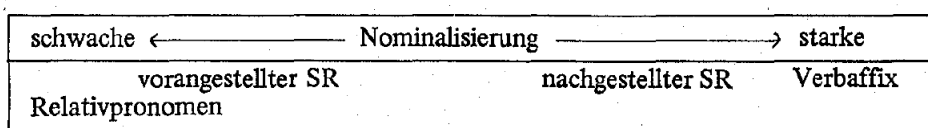


Figure 1 Lehmann (1984:169)

The author also points out the existence of a relationship between the number of syntactic positions that a relative clause is able to relativise and its degree of nominalization.

As for *attribution*, it is the property of languages to designate (discourse)-new referents through an operation of connection between elements of the sentence.

The author distinguishes two kinds of attribution<sup>20</sup>: explicit and implicit. The former is carried out by structural means and is achieved either by the juxtaposition of the attribute to its head or by making use of agreement markers, i.e., through grammatical strategies.

Implicit attribution, instead, is more based on semantic processes and can be of two kinds. The first kind takes place each time an indefinite (specific) NP is introduced (*implizite Begriffsbildung*); the second kind, instead, is carried out (through what the author calls post-attribution, *nachträgliche Attribution*), by anaphorically referring to an NP that has previously been introduced in the text.

Relative clauses are part of the implicit attribution process, and, respectively, adjoined relatives belong to the first sub-kind, while pre- and post-nominal relatives to the second one.

The third process is that of *gap construction* or *empty place-formation*. Lehmann (1984: 223-227) illustrates this last operation involved in relativisation through the concept of anaphora, which is directly linked to it.

The connection between gap construction and anaphora lies in the fact that a relative is a clause with an empty (i.e. unsaturated) syntactic position, which can be filled either by an internal nucleus (yielding internally headed relatives) or by a phoric element (coreferential with the nucleus in the matrix clause). Lehmann (1984: 225) proposes a continuum of anaphora (*Skala der Anapher*) below in figure (2):

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<sup>20</sup> Lehmann (1984: 177).

(11) *Skala der Anapher*

explizite ←		Anapher		→ implizite	
Anapher			Kongruenz Leerstellenbildung		
identisches oder kore- ferentielles NS	hyperonymer Begriff	freies Pronomen	affixales Pronomen	personales Kongruenz- affix	Leerstelle

Figure 2: Continuum of Anaphoric expressions

In addition to that, the degree of *anaphoricity* is also linked to the implicitness or explicitness of attribution. The more explicit the attribution is, the less so the anaphoric expression is.

Finally, in relation to relative pronouns, Lehmann (1984: 248) argues that they are the outcome of the interaction of the above mentioned three operations: subordination, attribution and gap-construction.<sup>21</sup>

For what regards the formal field, there have been two competing hypotheses: the raising analysis and the matching analysis.

The former, the raising analysis, considers relativisation as a process that involves raising of the head from a relative clause internal position to the matrix clause, via movement. It was originally proposed in an unpublished work by Brame in the late '60s, then advanced by Schachter (1973) and Vergnaud (1974, 1985). With Kayne (1994) the raising hypothesis has been remastered in an antisymmetric perspective, and adopted in other studies such as Bianchi (2002) and De Vries (2002).

The matching theory, instead, proposes that there is an external as well as internal representative of the head NP, of which only the former is pronounced. This idea dates back to Chomsky (1965) and has been supported, for example, by Sauerland (1998) and Čitko (2001).

#### 1.4.2 Positional types of relative clauses

I will now introduce the syntactic parameters that determine a part of the variation in the potential typology of relative clauses. The parameters that are relevant to the first classification are outlined in table (1) below.

<sup>21</sup> For further details on this issue see Lehmann (1984).

Table 1

PARAMETER		TYPE OF RELATIVE
1.a. Presence <i>vs</i> absence of the head	→	headed relative clause / headless or free relative clause
1.b. Relative clause is a constituent of the matrix clause <i>vs</i> relative clause is not a constituent of the matrix clause	→	embedded / adjoined
1.c. Position of the head w.r.t. the relative clause	→	internally headed / externally headed
1.d. Linear order of head and relative clause (externally headed)	→	prenominal / postnominal

For what concerns the first opposition in 1.a “presence *vs* the absence of the head” there are two possible realisations: relative clauses with an antecedent (or head), which are called headed relative clauses, and relative clauses without a head noun, i.e. headless relative clauses or free relatives.

Below in (6), we can see an Italian example of headed (6.a) and headless (6.b), respectively.

(6) HEADED AND HEADLESS RELATIVES

- a. La strada [che porta all’aeroporto]<sub>REL</sub> è interrotta da dei lavori in corso.  
 b. [Chi sbaglia]<sub>REL</sub> paga

In (6.a) above the head of the relative sentence is the nominal *strada*, while in (6.b) there is no referential expression to which the relative clause may attach itself in the function of a modifier (as stated in Lehmann (1986) definition above in (2)). The whole relative clause in (6.b), introduced by the independent pronoun *chi*, seems to have an argument value itself and saturates the valency of the verb<sup>22</sup>.

Headless relatives have been treated in various ways in the literature. Smits (1988: 43) says that a relative without an antecedent “is a clause that by itself functions as a nominal expression in the sentence. There is no *visible antecedent*<sup>23</sup> [italics mine]. [...] They [free or headed relatives, ed.] are to all intents and purposes, NPs, even if they don’t look it, whereas the others

<sup>22</sup> Graffi (1994:118) observes that: “[...] *le frasi relative senza antecedente [...] le cosiddette relative indipendenti o “libere” [...] si comportano [...] non come dei modificatori, ma piuttosto come degli argomenti*”.

<sup>23</sup> Smits (1988: 46) adds that the antecedent can be either not visible or not audible.

[headed relatives, ed.] are not”. Alongside this kind of free relatives, Smits (1988: 46) highlights the existence of another kind of relatives that have an antecedent, but it is “semantically virtually empty”, and calls them *semi-free* relative clauses<sup>24</sup>.

The second parameter in table (1), point (1.b), takes into account the position of the relative clause with regards to the main clause<sup>25</sup>. The relative clause may be a constituent of the NP belonging to the matrix clause, and when this is the case, it is an embedded relative clause. If it does not belong to an NP of the main clause it is then a *correlative* in de Vries (2002) terms, an *adjoined* according to Andrews (2005), whilst Lehmann (1984, 1986) distinguishes two cases (as it will be explained below), *pre-posed* and *post-posed*<sup>26</sup> *adjoined*. Below in (7.a) we see an embedded relative clause, whereas in (7.b) there is an example of an adjoined or correlative relative.

(7) EMBEDDED RELATIVE CLAUSE AND ADJOINED (CORRELATIVE) RELATIVE CLAUSE

- a. The girl who is standing is tall
- b. [jo laRkii khaRii hai]<sub>rel, VO</sub> lambii hai. (CORRELATIVE, Hindi, Dayal 1991:642)
- rel girl standing is DEM tall is
- The girl who is standing is tall

The point (1.c) in table (1) has to do with the location of the head which can be inside or outside the relative clause. The former case gives an internally headed relative clause<sup>27</sup>, whereas the latter an externally headed relative clause.

Examples to be compared are below in (8): (8.a) is an internally headed from Dagbani (the internal head has been highlighted in bold) and (8.b) is an externally headed relative clause from English.

(8) INTERNALLY HEADED AND EXTERNALLY HEADED RELATIVE CLAUSES

- a. A mi [o nƏ ti **saan-so** lƏgri]<sub>REL</sub> la. De Vries (2002:16)

<sup>24</sup> De Vries (2002:16) defines the free relative as a relative “without an overt nominal head” and outlines a detailed typology of free and semi-free relatives, which will not be dealt with here.

<sup>25</sup> De Vries (2002:17) labels this parameter as “*Hierarchical status of RC*”.

<sup>26</sup> De Vries (2002) excludes the post-posed relative, arguing it is a case of extraposition.

<sup>27</sup> For a specific treatment of internally headed see Basilico (1996).



You know he SR give stranger-SPC/LIV money PTL<sup>28</sup>

You know the stranger whom he gave the money to

- b. The **book** [that Maria bought yesterday] was a very bad one.

Finally, the parameter in 1.d regards only externally headed relatives, and it signals the linear order of head and embedded relative clause, as it is shown below in (9.a), a post-nominal example from Italian, and (9.b) a prenominal one from Japanese.

(9) POST-NOMINAL AND PRE-NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES

- a. [L'albero [che lo zio ha potato lo scorso anno]<sub>REL</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> è ricresciuto rigoglioso.  
The tree [that uncle bought last year] is growing luxuriant
- b. Watasi wa sono otoko ga tataita inu o miru. (Keenan & Comrie (1979:339))  
I TOP that man SU struck dog DO see  
I see the dog which that man struck.

Lehmann (1984, 1986: 666), as already mentioned, calls the outcome of the effect of these parameters “positional types of relatives”. The author shows how internal versus external head (position of the head w.r.t. the relative clause) interacts with the embeddedness or not of the relative clause in the matrix sentence. The author points out how the two categories cut across each other, as it is visible in table (2) below, where each type is linked to its corresponding example from the ones given so far in (6), (7), (9) above.

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<sup>28</sup> SR = subordinating particle; SPC = specific; LIV = living entity; PTL = particle.

Table 2 POSITIONAL TYPES OF RELATIVES (Lehmann 1986)

↓	<i>POSITION OF RELATIVE CLAUSE W.R.T. MATRIX CLAUSE</i> →	
POSITION OF HEAD W.R.T. RELATIVE CLAUSE	<i>ADJOINED</i>	<i>EMBEDDED</i>
INTERNAL HEAD	Pre-posed [7.b] (correlative)	Circumnominal [8.a]
EXTERNAL HEAD	Post-posed <sup>29</sup>	Adnominal: i. Postnominal (with initial head) [9.a] ii. prenominal (final head) [9.b]

### 1.4.3 Relativisation Strategies

Languages differentiate between and within themselves for the relativisation strategies they employ. Comrie (1981: 146) observes that “the encoding of the role in the embedded sentence is, cross-linguistically, one of the most significant parameters”. Keenan & Comrie (1977, 1979)<sup>30</sup> and Comrie (1981) identify four different types of relativisation strategies, as we can see, alongside corresponding examples, in the following table.

<sup>29</sup> Post-posed have a problematic interpretation that could see them as extraposed (at least in languages with non-rigid word order) according to Lehmann (1984).

<sup>30</sup> Keenan and Comrie (1977, 1979), on the basis of the use of relativisation strategies within a language, outline an accessibility hierarchy for the relativisation of NPs. In the next chapters this study will be presented in more details.

Table 3 Relativisation strategies

STRATEGY	EXAMPLE
A. NON-REDUCTION	i. (lat.) <b><i>In quo loco</i></b> posturus eris terram bene subigito et stercerato In which place you will want to plant it/settle it down, work well and muck the soil (Cato agr. 161,3)
B. RESUMPTIVE PRONOUN	ii. (it.) Il ragazzo che <b><i>gli</i></b> ho dato venti euro per la pizza è scappato via the boy that to-him <sub>CLIT</sub> twenty euros for the pizza ran away
C. RELATIVE PRONOUN	iii. (Rus.) Parih', <b><i>kotoromu</i></b> ja dala dvadcat' evro na pizzu boy REL PRON DAT I gave 20 euro for pizza ubezhal. ran away
D. GAP STRATEGY	iv. (Engl.) The dog (that) you saw yesterday is running towards us

The first strategy we find in table (3) above in (A) is the non-reduction strategy, i.e., the head noun appears in the relative clause in its original full nominal form, with the same case and position that a constituent with the same function would have held in an independent clause. We see this strategy directly applied on the constituent in bold in (i), i.e., *in quo loco*.

In the second strategy, called “resumptive pronoun”, the head noun is represented in the relative clause by a pronominal form that signals its syntactic position. In the corresponding example (ii) the complementiser *che*<sup>31</sup> does not provide any information about the syntactic function of the relativised element, whilst the clitic pronoun *gli* shows the indirect object function inside the relative clause.

<sup>31</sup> In the present work we assume, following Fiorentino (1997, 1999), that *che* is a complementiser and not a pronoun. See also Voghera (1992: 226-227) as well as Cinque (1991) that, on generative grounds, supports the complementiser status of *che*.

The relative pronoun strategy, instead, requires a relative pronoun in initial position to denote the syntactic role of the relativised constituent<sup>32</sup>. This is clear in (iii) from Russian, where the head nominal *paren'* (guy) is followed by the relative pronoun [+DAT] *kotoromu*, which belongs to the relative pronoun group *kotoryj, kotoraja, kotoroe* (who, which). Those pronouns have gender and number specification coindexed with the head noun, while their case corresponds to the syntactic function of the pivot within the relative clause itself.

In conclusion, the last strategy listed in table (3) is the gap strategy, which as it can be seen in (iv), does not provide any overt indication of the relativised position. The complementiser *that* does not offer any information apart from indicating the presence of subordination.

The following section will deal with the semantic parameter of variation.

### **1.5 Semantic Parameters of variation**

This section deals with the semantics of relative constructions. Before introducing the content of the chapter, I must make a note on the way it has been designed, especially for what concerns the literature on the semantics of relative clauses.

The amount of works on this topic is extremely wide and it would be impossible to take into account all of it. Therefore, after a general overview of the main studies and main hypotheses on the semantics of relativisation, the presentation of theories will be 'data-driven', i.e. the works and hypotheses that are going to be presented in more detail are those that have emerged as more useful in the attempt of classifying the relative clauses of the *corpus* sample extracted for the present work.

After this short introduction to which the first section is devoted, section 1.5.1 deals with the state of the art of the semantic opposition restrictive *versus* appositive relative clauses. It does so in an attempt to present the main works on the topic, from both formal and non-formal proposals, along with the syntactic and intonational features of the two types of clause. Section 1.5.2 is about the tripartite (or more) semantics of relative clauses: the works that have highlighted it, along various axes of variation, the types that have emerged from it. Section 1.5.3 outlines two frameworks that propose a systematisation for Italian relative constructions.

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<sup>32</sup> Lehmann (1984: 248-252), as already pointed out in §1.4.1, frames a detailed analysis of relative pronouns.

### 1.5.1 Semantics of relative clauses: restrictiveness and non-restrictiveness

As already mentioned in §1.2.2, the semantics of relative clauses has traditionally been assumed as including just two types: restrictives versus non-restrictives (also called appositives). I will now go through part of the vast amount of literature dedicated to this subject. To start with, the possibly first work that has framed this semantic difference will be considered, to move on to formal and functional typological studies.

This binary distinction is not recent in linguistics and can be traced back to the works of the XVII century Jansenists based in the Port-Royal Abbey, namely *La Logique où l'Art de penser* (Arnauld & Nicole, 1990) and *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* (Arnauld & Lancelot, 1975).

In the sixth chapter of the former volume, titled “*Des propositions incidentes, qui font partie des propositions complexes*”, Arnauld & Nicole highlight the two different values that the relative pronoun *qui*, introducing this specific type of clauses, may have, i.e. *explicatif* (explanatory) or *déterminatif* (determinative), corresponding to appositive and restrictive use respectively. Comparing the sentences “*les hommes qui sont créés pour connaître et aimer Dieu*” and “*les hommes qui sont pieux sont charitables*” the authors recall that there are two different ways in which additional material can be added to a term (Arnauld & Nicole, 1990: 113):

“Les additions des termes complexes sont de deux sortes : les unes qu'on peut appeler de simples explications, qui est lorsque l'addition ne change rien dans l'idée du terme, parce que ce qu'on y ajoute lui convient généralement et dans toute son étendue<sup>33</sup>, comme dans le premier exemple, les hommes, qui sont créés pour connaître et pour aimer Dieu.

Les autres qui peuvent s'appeler des déterminations, parce que ce qu'on ajoute à un terme ne convenant pas à ce terme dans toute son étendue, en restreint et en détermine la signification, comme dans le second exemple, les hommes qui sont pieux. Suivant cela, on peut dire qu'il y a un qui explicatif et un qui déterminatif.”

As we can see in the lines above, the XVII century thinkers had quite clearly outlined the features of the two different relative pronouns, in a way that is very similar to other studies some centuries later, and in the next few passages of the chapter they propose a characterisation that links the relative pronouns to the content of the clauses (Arnauld & Nicole, 1990: 114):

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<sup>33</sup> In the first part of the *Logique* the authors develop the distinction between *compréhension* and *étendue*, which parallels the modern one between meaning and reference, (Arnauld & Nicole, 1990: 51-52).

“Or quand le qui est explicatif, l’attribut de la proposition incidente est affirmé du sujet auquel le qui se rapporte. [...] Quand le qui est déterminatif, l’attribut de la proposition incidente n’est point proprement affirmé du sujet auquel le qui se rapporte. [...] mais l’esprit, joigne [Ed.] ensemble l’idée de pieux avec celle d’hommes, et en faisant une idée totale.”

In the other volume issued from the Port-Royal environment, the attention is again focused on relative pronouns, but also on rules forbidding the presence of a relative clause after a noun without an article, i.e., the authors explore the semantics of the head noun, (Arnauld & Lancelot, 1975: 108-114).

#### 1.5.1.1 *Generative studies on restrictiveness versus non-restrictiveness*

Moving to the XX century, a similar view for what concerns restrictives, which has been named the *intersective* (interpretation), is proposed in Partee (1973: 512)<sup>34</sup>, and has been adopted since in the formal field<sup>35</sup>. The author proposes that the interpretation of the restrictive relative clause derives from the intersection of the set denoted by the head noun and the set denoted by the relative clause, as we can see in the example below:

(10) Intersective interpretation of relative clause

[The [boy] [who lives in the park]]

(Partee, 1973: 512)

In (10) the noun *boy* denotes a class (the class of boys) and the relative clause *who lives in the park* denotes a class as well (the class of entities living in the park). Those two class-phrases are combined to form a complex phrase (again a class-denoting one), that is interpreted as denoting the intersection of the two classes {*boys*} and {*entities that live in the park*}. Finally, the article is combined with the result of this intersection, to assert that this class has only one member.

Moving on to appositive relative clauses, Sells (1985) shows how the appositive is in a relationship of discourse anaphora with the antecedent, and calls this relationship

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<sup>34</sup> The work within which this interpretation arises is an attempt of the author to integrate Montague’s logics with generative syntax.

<sup>35</sup> Bianchi (2002) and Grosu and Landman (1998), to name just two, explain restrictives in Partee (1973) “*iintersective*” terms.

*cospecification*. In an appositive relative clause, the relative pronoun is an E-type pronoun<sup>36</sup> and in order to be interpreted as such, it needs to linearly follow its antecedent. The antecedent of an appositive is a discourse entity (rather than a syntactic one), and the central notions of this phenomenon are centering<sup>37</sup> and temporal modification, instead of reference. The accounts this author makes for non-restrictive modification is in terms of relations between pieces of discourse structure and in terms of the truth conditions assigned to those relations.

Bianchi (2002) in her *State of the Art* article for relative clauses sketches the opposition restrictive *versus* appositive in the following terms: restrictives have an intersective interpretation and “contribute to determine the restriction of the determiner”, whilst appositives “modify the whole noun phrase “head”, rather than contributing to the restriction” (Bianchi, 2002: 197).

Grosu & Landman (1998) and Grosu (2002) before proposing a new semantic interpretation for the whole class of relative clauses, read the dichotomy restrictive *versus* appositive in light of the above proposals, i.e., Partee (1973) intersective interpretation and Sells (1985) co-specification or discourse anaphora.

For what concerns mainly non-restrictives, or appositives, as they are also called in the works now being presented, the semantic readings in the formal field are often tightly connected to a syntactic one. After having presented a few semantics-based hypotheses, in the next sub-section I am going to concisely mention the main syntactic lines of interpretation for apposition as opposed to restriction.

#### 1.5.1.1.1. *Syntactic interface of restrictiveness versus non-restrictiveness*

Many proposals in the generative literature focus on the syntactic aspects of the dichotomy restrictive versus appositive. However, being the semantics of this opposition the main topic of

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<sup>36</sup> Sells (1985) is a work belonging to the framework of DRT (Discourse Representation Theory) theory, and the explanation provided for apposition is not a syntactic one. An E-type pronoun is, according to Evans (1977) and following studies, a particular type of anaphora that cannot be considered as a referential expression nor as a bound variable.

<sup>37</sup> *Centering* refers to a system of rules and constraints that govern the relationship between what the discourse is about and some of the structural linguistic choices that characterise the discourse, e.g., choice of grammatical function, syntactic structure, and type of referring expression. As it is used by Sells (1985), it is a notion that goes back to the works of Grosz and Sidner of the late '70 and early '80s. Sells (1985) maintains that the expected centre is determined by a combination of thematic and grammatical information; usually, the centre is the object if there is one, in which case the subject is not going to have the role of centre.

this chapter, I will just touch upon the works that have received more attention in the various debates on the issue<sup>38</sup>.

As de Vries (2013) points out, in the generative literature there are a few different concurring accounts for the structure of appositives. I will therefore present, in sequence, the view that sees appositives as main clauses then conjoined to the antecedent (Main Clause Hypothesis) in contrast with the Subordinate Clause Hypothesis, as well as two other conflicting hypotheses that see appositives as either orphans or structurally integrated.

Emonds (1979)<sup>39</sup> formalises an analysis, the so-called MCH (Main Clause Hypothesis), according to which the appositive is a main clause that is conjoined to the clause containing the antecedent. This can be achieved via syntactic operations whose result leaves the antecedent and the relative clause in a linear sequence<sup>40</sup>.

This theory has then been supported by other studies such as Kaisse (1981), McCawley (1982), Stuurman (1983), all of which bring about certain upgrades to the initial proposal of Emonds (1979).

As mentioned above, the MCH overtly opposes itself to the SCH as it has been proposed in Jackendoff (1977)<sup>41</sup>, and before in Smith (1964) and Kuroda (1968). In Jackendoff (1977), which we can here assume as representative of the SCH<sup>42</sup>, appositives are subordinate clauses throughout the whole process of derivation, i.e., the relative clause and the head noun are only one constituent. In this work, which adopts the (by then) newly issued X'-theory, appositives are daughters of N'' (the operating process is right -adjunction).

In a broader perspective, as pointed out by De Vries (2002: 205), the next controversy is about *orphanage*<sup>43</sup> versus *constituency*, where the former means that the antecedent and the ARC are generated separately, and the latter means that they are one single syntactic

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<sup>38</sup> A detailed organised list of the different formal proposals (and consequent theoretical responses) for the structure of appositive relatives can be found in De Vries (2013).

<sup>39</sup> Emonds (1979) builds on an earlier suggestion found in Ross (1967); see Emonds (1979:212).

<sup>40</sup> An interesting characteristic of appositive relative clauses (again as opposed to restrictive relatives) that Emonds (1979: 239-240) points out is the possibility of having a sentential adverb, which is typical of independent illocutionary acts (and independent clauses).

<sup>41</sup> See Loock (2010: 22) for a more structurally detailed representation.

<sup>42</sup> I here assume as true what stated in De Vries (2002: 205): "The MCH competes with the SCH, the Subordinate Clause Hypothesis, which states that the antecedent and the appositive relative form a constituent; the ARC (Appositive Relative Clause) is a subordinate clause, not a main clause. The difference with restrictives is represented by the attachment of an ARC to a higher level within the noun phrase. As far as I know, Jackendoff (1977: Ch7) is the first who explicitly argues so."

<sup>43</sup> In its turn *orphanage* can be *radical* or *non-radical*, the first meaning that the appositive is not even part of the syntactic structure of the main clause, and the second that appositive is syntactically present, but it is not generated together with the antecedent.



constituent. Studies such as Safir (1986) and Fabb (1990) *inter alia*, are in support of the orphanage hypotheses, while Borsley (1992) and Arnold (2007)<sup>44</sup> reflect the constituency one.

Finally, a mediating solution between the two opposing ones could be De Vries (2002, 2006) which suggests that appositive relative clauses have a coordinative nature, i.e., there would be constituent coordination between the appositive and the antecedent or pivot.

#### 1.5.1.1.2 *Prosodic interface of restrictiveness versus non-restrictiveness*

The topic of this section is tightly linked to the issue of intonation. The syntactic degree of inclusion or exclusion (degree of embeddedness) of the Non-Restrictive Relative Clause (NRRC) into the structure of the host has typically been a triggering factor underlying interpretations of the intonation of the NRRC with respect to the rest of the sentence.

Dehé (2009, 2013)<sup>45</sup> signals how NRRCs, along with the other parentheticals<sup>46</sup>, have commonly been considered as intonationally separate from the rest of the sentence, i.e. phrased in another Intonational Phrase<sup>47</sup>. According to the author, the fact that intonational separateness is usually taken for granted among linguists who are discussing the syntax or semantics of parentheticals (here included NRRCs) would depend on syntactic criteria, i.e., the idea that parentheticals are either syntactically separate from the structure of their host or very loosely attached to it (*via* adjunction).

As for NRRCs specifically, Dehé (2009) adds that, in the “worst-case scenario”<sup>48</sup>, they have often been assumed as external to the syntactic structure of the embedding clause. Consequently, “the idea is that a constituent that is at best loosely related to the syntactic structure of the host cannot be prosodically integrated at the same time”, Dehé (2009: 571).

For what concerns the prosodic field, some hypotheses on parentheticals are aligned with considering them as uttered in a separate Intonational Phrase, e.g., Nespor & Vogel (1986),

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<sup>44</sup> Arnold (2007) argues in favour of syntactic integration associated with semantic independence.

<sup>45</sup> Dehé (2009, 2013) use de Vries’s (2012) proposal for the interpretation of non-restrictive relative clauses. The prosodic data are analysed within an AM (Autosegmental-Metrical) framework, but the literature on parentheticals looks at both AM and British School and compares their views as well.

<sup>46</sup> For a detailed overview on the category of parentheticals from a syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and prosodic point of view, see Dehé & Kavalova (2007).

<sup>47</sup> For English see Quirk et al (1985), Huddleston & Pullum (2002) for some descriptive grammar reference on the intonational features of English relative clauses. One of the most quoted work, and maybe also one of the first references on this phenomenon, is Quirk (1957) who speaks about ‘a fresh intonational contour’ for the appositive clause.

<sup>48</sup> Amongst others the author mentions Safir (1986) and Fabb (1990), who as we have seen before promote the Radical Orphanage Theory.

Selkirk (1984), Truckenbrodt (2005), while others have experimentally seen how separateness would not be obligatory (Cooper & Sorensen (1981), Ladd (1986)). Besides that, Dehé (2009) refers to Watson & Gibson (2004), a psycholinguistics study that has proved how it is far from obligatory to place an intonational boundary before the NRRC. Its presence would in fact depend on other factors, such as the position of the NRRC in the whole sentence and its informative status.

As for what signals the presence of intonational boundaries, Dehé (2013:31) reports how the syntactic-semantic<sup>49</sup> literature usually assumes pauses to be coinciding with intonational breaks<sup>50</sup>. From the prosodic literature perspective, the features of the intonation of parentheticals have been shown to depend on many variables, such as length of the string itself, performance factors such as rate of speech and style, informative factors, to mention some. The cues to intonational boundaries that have been empirically attested are pauses, domain-final lengthening, falling-rising pitch at the end of the immediately preceding domain, and the blocking of Sandhi rules, Dehé (2009: 571, 574; 2013: 31).

For what concerns the status of pauses, that, as seen above, have been assumed in a great deal of syntactic-semantic as well as prosodic literature to be one of the leading cues to the presence of a break, Dehé (2009: 574) along with other studies such as Loock (2010), Auran & Loock (2011) and Truckenbrodt (2005), points out how they should not be considered as reliable cues to intonational phrasing<sup>51</sup>.

Having presented Dehé's studies gives the chance to introduce one difference between appositives and restrictives as it has long been presented (and taken for granted) in linguistics on English and some Romance languages: the presence of a pause or break between the head noun (antecedent) and the appositive, in opposition to an absence of pause between the head of the restrictive and the restrictive clause itself.

This feature that has just been taken into account is obviously only present in oral, i.e., spoken, language. Its corresponding characteristic in written language should be found in a difference in punctuation between restrictives and appositives, where the latter show a comma between the antecedent and the relative clause, which is absent in the former<sup>52</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> See Potts (2005) for the *comma-intonation* theory, amongst others.

<sup>50</sup> Among the prosodic works suggesting obligatory pauses at the edges of parentheticals see Downing (1970).

<sup>51</sup> See also Krivokapić (2007) for a recent overview on pauses.

<sup>52</sup> The comma would not always be there for appositives, according to various authors, including Huddleston & Pullum (2002). For further references see Loock (2010:12).

Furthermore, for what concerns the intonational difference between appositives and restrictives I have so far only introduced studies that look at the English language, mentioning briefly that the same phenomenon applies to some Romance languages, amongst which Italian. As a matter of fact, in the following sections (§1.5.1.2) evidence from works that confront the issue of the *pause* intonation of appositives will be presented.

### 1.5.1.1.3 *Conclusions on the generative approach to restrictiveness versus non-restrictiveness*

To end the section on (some of the) formal hypotheses about the binary semantics of relative clauses, I use a summarising table taken from Loock (2010: 35, table n.1.1).

Table 4 (DRC= determinative relative clause, i.e., restrictive. ARC= appositive relative clause)

	DRC	ARC
1. SEMANTIC/REFERENTIAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE ANTECEDENT	The RC is required to identify the referent of the antecedent	The antecedent is identifiable independently of the embedding of the RC
2. PUNCTUATION	No punctuation between antecedent and relative pronoun	Traditional presence of punctuation between antecedent and pronoun, but not systematic
3. SUPPRESSIBILITY	Non suppressible without referential modification of the antecedent	Suppressible without any referential modification to the antecedent
4. RELATIVE PRONOUN	wh-, that or Ø	(almost) exclusively wh-
5. ANTECEDENT	NP only	NP, VP, PP, AdjP, AdvP, sentential antecedent...
6. SYNTACTIC REPRESENTATION	Antecedent and RC are one constituent	Different theories from full integration to (radical) orphanage

At point 1 of the table above, we see the core semantic difference between restrictive and appositive relative clauses, namely the import of the relative clause to the identification of the referent of the antecedent. When the relative clause is restrictive the referential identification of the antecedent is carried out with the ‘intersective’ contribution of the relative clause itself. When the relative clause is appositive the antecedent is already fully identified without any import of the relative itself.

The second point of the table highlights the role of punctuation when a relative clause appears in a written text: there would be no comma between the head and the relative clause in restrictives whereas a comma would be present between the antecedent and an appositive relative clause.

The third point is somehow a consequence of the first point<sup>53</sup>. If a restrictive relative clause is suppressed, then the referentiality of the antecedent is ‘at stake’, while on the contrary if an appositive is omitted no referential modification is brought to the antecedent. This leads to a different response to the ‘suppressibility test’ for restrictives and appositives: the former cannot be removed from the sentence (as the latter would then have a different antecedent and therefore a different meaning), while appositive relative clauses can be suppressed without bringing any difference to the global meaning of the sentence (as they do not contribute to the referential identification of the antecedent).

The fourth point highlights another issue: which element can introduce the relative clause. As we can see, restrictives can be introduced by all possible elements (pronouns, *that*,  $\emptyset$ ), whereas appositives cannot be introduced by *that* (in most cases)<sup>54</sup> and by  $\emptyset$  (the zero marker)<sup>55</sup>.

To conclude, the last two points consider which syntactic type of phrase the antecedent can be and which syntactic kind of relationship between main and relative clause differentiates restrictives and appositives (as already outlined above, see §1.5.1.1.2).

#### *1.5.1.2 Functional and typological studies on restrictiveness versus non-restrictiveness*

The dichotomy of restriction and non-restriction has been a topic of interest in the typological and functional field, as well as the formal one. The works will not be presented in chronological order, but, instead, they will be grouped either by analogy of author, or by analogy of issues and proposals.

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<sup>53</sup> Loock (2010:12) states that this property has somehow become an “undiscussed” one in the definition of the difference between restrictives versus appositives, and it has been presented as such especially by pedagogical grammars. The author adds that: “although ARCs [appositive relative clauses, ed.] are not necessary for reference purposes, this does not mean that they are not necessary to the understanding of the utterances in which they appear. Their contribution to the definition of the antecedent is essential, although not from a purely referential point of view”.

<sup>54</sup> Some corpora studies prove that this difference does not hold for the totality of cases as there are some exceptions to it. See Loock (2010) and Šimová (2005) for further details.

<sup>55</sup> The counterpart of this observations for Italian can be found in Cinque (1991) and below § 1.3.1.3.

For some outstanding typological works such as Keenan & Comrie (1977, 1979) the relative clause used as prototypical for the study is the restrictive one. The authors define semantically the (restrictive) relative clause with the following words, (Keenan & Comrie, 1977: 63-64):

“We consider any syntactic object to be a RC if it specifies a set of objects (perhaps a one-member set) in two steps: a larger set is specified, called the *domain* of relativisation, and then restricted to some subset of which a certain sentence, the *restricting* sentence, is true. The domain of relativisation is expressed in surface structure by the head NP, and the restricting sentence by the restricting clause”

In Comrie (1981), the author dedicates a whole chapter of his volume on typology and universals to the relative clause and its cross-linguistic realisations. The objective of the chapter is to move away from an only-English-centred conception of language investigation, so as to be able to reach more languages and afford making generalisations on language structures. For what regards the English relative clause, Comrie (1981:138) states that one of the most emphasized points in the literature on relativisation is the opposition between restrictiveness and non-restrictiveness, which he defines through exemplifying sentences from English:

(11) RESTRICTIVE

The man that I saw yesterday left this morning. Comrie (1981:138)

(12) NON-RESTRICTIVE (APPOSITIVE)

a. The man, who arrived yesterday, left this morning.

b. Fred, who arrived yesterday, left this morning. Comrie (1981:138)

As for the first example, Comrie (1981: 138) says that the restrictive relative clause “serves to restrict the potential referents of the expression *the man*: the speaker assumes that the sentence *the man left this morning* does not provide the hearer with sufficient information to identify the man in question” and the restrictive clause provides the additional information that helps to identify which man is specifically being talked about (as a possible answer to a possible question on the identity of this subject).

On the other side, the non-restrictive (also called appositive, explanatory, descriptive), like the ones in (12), are used for giving additional information about a referent that the speaker

presupposes as already identified to the hearer, and the relative clauses in (12.a) and (12.b) do not help to identify *the man* and Fred, respectively.

The author points out how, despite the syntactic similarity of the restrictive and appositive clauses, the two constructions reflect two different semantic and pragmatic conditions, namely the restrictive uses presupposed information to identify the antecedent, whereas the appositive is a tool for presenting new information about an already identifiable referent<sup>56</sup>. A formal distinction between the two types of relative clauses is sometimes present, although in most languages there would be either no distinction or just an intonational one. An example of a formal distinction can be found in Persian, where a suffix is required on the head of a restrictive relative clause but not on the head of the appositive<sup>57</sup>.

In Hawkins (1978), a work dedicated to the semantics of definiteness and indefiniteness, we can find a section devoted to restrictiveness as opposed to appositiveness<sup>58</sup>. The author presents a series of differences between restrictive and appositive relative clauses<sup>59</sup>, introducing them as “*syntactic rules* which are sensitive to the R/A distinction in that their application permits the relative clause to have only an R or an A reading but not both” Hawkins (1978:283). Furthermore, these syntactic rules give rise to *diagnostic criteria*, which are divided into criteria internal to the relative clause itself, and external (when regarding material outside the relative clause).

Amongst the internal criteria that distinguish an appositive relative is the presence of a parenthetical adverb, as in (13) below:

- (13) The Danes, who are *of course* rich, are well-educated. (Hawkins, 1978: 283)

Another internal appositive criterion is the presence of an either explicit or implicit performative verb, as shown in (14) below<sup>60</sup>:

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<sup>56</sup> According to the author in typological terms this distinction seems to be almost irrelevant.

<sup>57</sup> See Comrie (1981:139) for details.

<sup>58</sup> It may be useful highlighting how this section comes into the global objective of a concluding chapter of the book, where the author gathers the evidence for the hypothesis he has been putting forward in his volume. In this perspective, the opposition between restrictiveness and apposition provides evidence for the notion of *rule incompatibility*, see Hawkins (1978: 280) for its discussion.

<sup>59</sup> “In this context, we shall consider only those aspects of restrictiveness and appositiveness which shed further light on the general role of semantic oppositions in rule incompatibility” Hawkins (1978: 283).

<sup>60</sup> The author ascribes this criterion to Seuren (1969).

(14)

- a. The boy, who is very bright isn't he?, is going to university.
- b. The boy, who I suppose is very bright, is going to university.

Amongst the internal criteria that force a restrictive reading, it may be interesting to highlight the following, also given the reason that it may apply to languages other than English unlike the other criteria: the location of contrastive stress in the relative clause (presented by the author in parallel to the matching case of the adjective), as it is shown in the examples (15) below.

(15)

- a. The RICH Danes are well-educated.
- b. The Danes who are RICH are well-educated.
- c. The TALL girl left the party early.
- d. The girl who was TALL left the party early.

As for the external criteria, i.e., aspects of the head noun phrase or the head noun itself, syntactic position of the relative clause or of the head NP, the author draws on Smith (1964)<sup>61</sup> and reports the incompatibility of proper nouns<sup>62</sup> and universal quantifiers with restrictiveness and finally the impossibility of stacking of a restrictive on an appositive relative clause.

Along with this more syntactic criterion, the author states that appositive and restrictive relatives also differ in making contradictory presuppositions. He brings the example of two sentences, namely *The Danes, who are rich, are well educated* and *The Danes who are rich are well educated*. By means of sentential negation he demonstrates how the presuppositions of the above sentences are “logically contradictory” (Hawkins, 1978: 287), and are respectively that *all Danes are rich* for the appositive, and that *some Danes are not rich* for the restrictive.

In conclusion, the author underlines how appositive and restrictive criteria cannot be generated within one and the same relative clause, deriving from this the incompatibility of restrictive and appositive rules, “the syntactic rules generating restrictive and appositive criteria therefore exhibit a semantic sensitivity to logically contradictory meanings” (Hawkins, 1978: 288).

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<sup>61</sup> In Hawkins (1978) this reference is reported as Smith (1969).

<sup>62</sup> In case a proper noun is preceded by a definite article the restrictive reading is allowed.

Moving then to the purely functional-typological side of the literature, Lehmann (1984: 261-267) dedicates a whole section to the nature of the opposition between restrictiveness and apposition.

From a strictly semantic point of view the author points out how, when restrictiveness is applied to an expression whose reference has not yet been determined, it forms a new expression with a greater intension and a smaller extension. Moreover, the nucleus of a restrictive relative clause is neither definite nor generic, as otherwise it would not be possible to apply to it a restrictive operation, i.e., either a definiteness or genericness operation would already have defined its reference. It is possible, instead, to have specific determination, because this operation forms a subset from the original set of the term, but it does not impose limitations on it, therefore not conflicting with the restrictive (limitative) operation.

Conversely, when a relative clause refers to a definite or generic NP, it falls into the category of appositives. It follows from what said above about the nature of the restrictive clause features, that the nucleus of the appositive clause is already referentially determined.

This semantic difference is reflected in a structural one: Lehmann (1984: 262) proposes the following structures for the restrictive relative construction and for the appositive<sup>63</sup>, below in figure (3) and figure (4) respectively, where NS stands for *Nominal Syntagma* (Noun Phrase), Nom for nominal, S for relative clause (German: *Satz*).

Figure 3 RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION (Lehmann, 1984: 263)

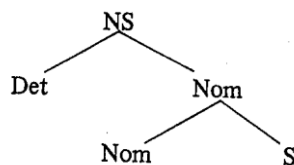
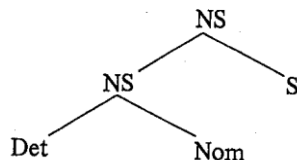


Figure 4 APPOSITIVE RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION (Lehmann, 1984:263)



<sup>63</sup> The author observes (see footnote 14, page 262) how this structural interpretation is in line with Touratier (1980) and Partee (1973).



The author underlines how the semantic-syntactic characteristics of the two structures above are not determined by their “structural aspect”. On the contrary, “the structural difference between restrictive and appositive relative clause is a consequence of the different order in the application of the two operations *Attribution* and *Determination*: in the restrictive construction first comes the operations that attributes and then the one that determine, in the appositive construction it is the other way around. All the well-known different characteristics of the restrictive and the appositive relative clauses are consequences of this fundamental difference in the application of the two operations” (Lehmann, 1984, 263, translation mine). After having clearly stated this point, the author presents, with the use of examples and some typological evidence, six differences between appositives and restrictives. I will here just mention them briefly below in (16).

(16) “WELL-KNOWN” DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RESTRICTIVE AND APPOSITIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES Lehmann (1984: 263-267)

- i. There is a break in the intonational contour in the appositive construction which is absent in the restrictive one (as already seen above in §1.5.1.1.2). The author also underlines how the appositive functions is a parenthetical structure.
- ii. There can be no stacking (which the author calls nesting) of a restrictive relative clause over an appositive one.
- iii. Certain Nuclei, such as proper nouns and personal pronouns would force an appositive reading<sup>64</sup>.
- iv. Some RSs, especially those with universal quantifiers, can only have a restrictive interpretation.
- v. With certain forms of determination there can be an ambiguous reading between restrictive and appositive, i.e., no difference in terms of concept building. This happens when the reference noun (the antecedent) is indefinite and specific.
- vi. Some quantifiers are compatible with both readings.

A few other interesting properties about the semantics of appositives (as opposed to restrictives too) emerge in Lehmann (1984: 270-277). First the author underlines how the

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<sup>64</sup> For exceptions to this rule, see Lehmann (1984: 264) and the examples discussed therein.

appositive clause refers to a fully determined NP, which it can no longer restrain, and this implies that it acts as a parenthesis in which something additional is said about the reference of the NP. Moreover, the resumptive which it contains (under various forms) does not represent, as in the case of a restrictive relative clause, an *empty place*<sup>65</sup> for the restricted nominal, but a determinate NP in a free anaphoric relation (a referential anaphoric).<sup>66</sup> Given this last characteristic, the appositive is not an open clause (as the restrictive is), but a saturated one. It can be independent of the matrix clause, be a main clause itself and have its own illocutive force. Along with this last feature, unlike the restrictive, the appositive can also contain its own performative verb or a sentence-oriented sentential adverb<sup>67</sup>.

Murelli (2011) outlines the opposition of restriction and non-restriction in functional terms, building on Smits (1988), Dasinger and Toupin (1994) and Cristofaro (2003). Murelli gives a definition of relative clause, according to which a relative relation is a subset of all possible relations between two States of Affairs (hence SoA)<sup>68</sup>, as we see below in (17) in a definition adapted from Murelli (2011: 8):

(17) DEFINITION OF RELATIVE CLAUSE

- i. One SoA is the main one and the other the secondary one
- ii. The two SoAs share a participant, which has a (semantic/pragmatic) role in both SoAs
- iii. The secondary SoA (the ‘qualifying SoA’) qualifies a participant of the main SoA in two possible ways.
  - a. the qualifying SoA identifies a participant of the main SoA within a range of possible referents (RESTRICTIVE relative relation);
  - b. the qualifying SoA supplies further information on a participant of the main SoA (NON-RESTRICTIVE or appositive relative relation).

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<sup>65</sup> *Leerstelle*, in the original work, which corresponds to “empty place/position”. *Leerstellenbildung* (empty place formation) is one of the three operations of which relativisation is made up of, see Lehmann (1984: 152-156).

<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, the author signals how cross-linguistically the relative pronouns have different distributions for appositive and restrictives, as can be seen in both Germanic and Romance languages. In English, appositives must contain a relative pronoun whereas restrictives can occur without a resumptive; in Italian, the pronoun *il quale* has a further distribution for appositives than it has for restrictives.

<sup>67</sup> These last two features had already emerged in Emonds (1979: 239-240), see also Hawkins (1978).

<sup>68</sup> According to Cristofaro (2003: 33), a state of affairs is “the conception of something that can be the case in some world, and can be evaluated in terms of its existence. The notion of “state of affairs” [...] should be understood as a hypernym for the entities usually indicated as “events”, “states”, “situations”, and the like”.

As can be seen in (17.iii) above the author differentiates the kind of ‘qualification’ that the secondary SoA brings to the main one into restrictive or non-restrictive. In addition to this, the author points out how these two relations also differ from an informational point of view. The restrictive relation uses a piece of shared information to select a referent out of a set since this had not been previously unambiguously identified. In the non-restrictive relation, instead, a piece of information, either shared or not, is added about an already identified referent.

The table below, taken from Murelli (2011, 9, table 1.1) summarises the features of the two relations.

Table 5

	PARTICIPANT OF THE MAIN SOA	QUALIFYING SOA
RESTRICTIVE RELATIONS	non-identified	shared piece of information
NON-RESTRICTIVE RELATIONS	identified	shared/non-shared piece of information

In conclusion, the author makes an interesting remark on how in functional-typological literature, the restrictive relations have commonly been considered prototypical in comparison to non-restrictive ones. Murelli points out that in Lehmann (1984) and Givón (1990) non-restrictives are considered, respectively, as the ‘marked’ construction and as parentheticals, whilst Cristofaro (2003), differently from restrictives, does not consider appositives as an instance of subordination.

### 1.5.1.3 *Studies on restrictiveness versus non-restrictiveness in Italian*

The present section deals specifically with the treatment of the dichotomy between restrictives and appositives in some of the main traditional grammars of Italian as well as in some works that focus on Italian relative clauses.

As we can see in the literature on English relative clauses, grammars such as Quirk *et al.* (1985), Biber *et al.* (1999), Huddleston & Pullum (2002), do list a series of features that differentiate between the two semantic types of relative clauses in English. The same holds for Italian.

Battaglia & Pernicone (1963) distinguishes two kinds of relative clauses: on one side, those with a *determinative and specificative* value, on the other side those with an *appositive and incidental* value. The presence of a pause in the intonation and of a comma between the antecedent and the relative clause introducing element, give the clause an appositive value<sup>69</sup>.

Dardano & Trifone (1985) introduces the distinction determinative versus appositive as the main one amongst relative clauses. The determining (or limiting) relative clause is necessary for building the propositional meaning of the whole sentence, whereas the appositive (also called explicative), which is separated from the main clause by a comma, does not play an essential role on that purpose.

Serianni (1997), again, depicts as most important the distinction between limiting (or restrictive, determining) and explicative (or appositive, adjunctive) relative clauses<sup>70</sup>. The former would be necessary in order to identify the referent of the antecedent (which would otherwise not be identifiable), while the latter adds a further predication to the antecedent. For formal criteria that can help discerning between the two types Serianni (1997) refers back to Alisova (1965), which will be presented below.

Moving on to the works which focus directly on the relative clause as it is realised in Italian and its semantics, we find, amongst others, Alisova (1965, 1972) and Cinque (1978, 1991).

As for Alisova (1965, 1972), the two studies are devoted to the syntax and semantics of relative clauses in both standard and non-standard Italian. The author considers relative clauses as one of the formal-semantic units expressing the syntactic category of attribute. In other words, given the fact that attributes can be either specifying (*specificativo/limitativo*) or characterising (*caratterizzante*), their position can be occupied by subordinate clauses, which can be, respectively and correspondingly, limiting or restrictive (*limitative*) and explanatory (*esplicative*). As for the first type, the limiting, the author points out how the semantic basis of this attribute is an unstable one, exterior to the object itself and linked to a specific situation. This would be due to the fact that the semantic gap that needs to be filled is a contextual one, in other words, that the noun needs to be filled by other words. Therefore, not only does the attribute have a limiting function on the original ‘concept’ but it also confers this function

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<sup>69</sup> Battaglia & Pernicone (1963) also signals other uses for relative clauses, which are classified as less ‘proper’: temporal, final, consecutive, conditional, causal, concessive.

<sup>70</sup> Again, as in the case of Battaglia & Pernicone (1963), also Serianni (1997) and Dardano & Trifone (1985) the authors signal that relative clauses may have a nuance typical of other subordinate clauses.

exclusively for a specific context, i.e. it has an exclusive selection meaning (*selezione esclusiva*)<sup>71</sup>.

Alisova identifies some features that characterise restrictive relative clauses<sup>72</sup>:

- (18) FEATURES OF LIMITING OR RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES Alisova (1965, 1972)
- a. there is no pause between the antecedent and the relative clause.
  - b. limiting clauses can be introduced by either demonstratives, like ‘*quello*’ (that) and by words such as ‘*il solo*’, ‘*il primo*’, etc. on one side<sup>73</sup>, and by indeterminate articles+ noun on the other side, but they cannot be introduced by proper nouns.
  - c. the dependent and not predicative nature of the restrictive comes out in the impossibility of transforming it into an independent clause (by doing so its meaning and the general structure of the whole sentence would be destroyed).
  - d. there can only be one single restrictive relative clause referring to a single antecedent. In case they were more than one, there would need to be the conjunction ‘*e*’ (and) uniting them, and moreover they should be considered as one single element of the sentence.

On the other side, the features that characterise an explicative relative clause are the following:

- (19) FEATURES OF EXPLANATORY RELATIVE CLAUSES Alisova (1965, 1972)
- a. They can be separated from the antecedent by a pause, and even acquire a formal independence without changing the semantic value of the whole construction.

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<sup>71</sup> The author remarks the fact that she has borrowed the expression ‘*selezione esclusiva*’ (exclusive selection) from Seiler, H., *Relativsatz, Attribut und Apposition*, Wiesbaden, 1960.

<sup>72</sup> In presenting Alisova’s works, despite using a language different from the one in which the works have been written, I am trying to stick to the author’s original ‘linguistic’ vocabulary as much as possible.

<sup>73</sup> The author labels this first group (of the type ‘*quello* +N+limiting rel clause’) as ‘*selezione esclusiva di tipo ordinativo*’ (quantitative), and the other type introduced by the indeterminate article (in all its form here included the zero form) as ‘*selezione esclusiva di tipo qualitativo*’ (qualitative), which the author parallels to an opposition of the kind ‘quantitative versus qualitative’.

- b. Sometimes they may have a semi-predicative nature which relates them to concessive, temporal, causative, consecutive clauses, of which they may also implicitly bear the meaning.
- c. They may include modal words (such as *del resto*, *dunque*, *forse*, and similar) and causative, consecutive and temporal expressions.
- d. They can refer to proper nouns and to nouns preceded by the demonstrative *questo*.
- e. Given the higher intrinsic independence of this type of relative clause, the pronoun *il quale*, a more explicit subordination sign, can always be used.

The author in the mentioned works conducts a descriptive and comparative study on the relative clause in the different registers of Italian, as well as advancing a detailed theoretical picture on the phenomenon<sup>74</sup>, revealing the importance of the semantics and intonation.

On the generative side of studies on the Italian relative sentence, we find Cinque (1978, 1991).

Cinque (1978) deals with the syntax of the pronouns *cui* and *il quale* and gives a structural syntactic account of the difference between restrictives and appositives, according to which the two types of relatives would have two different underlying structures. The restrictive relative clause has a movement of the relativised NP from its original position to COMP, the appositive relative clause, instead, would originally have the *wh*-phrase in TOP that moves to COMP in different stages and by use of cancelling rules too, i.e., the difference would lie in the different original position of the *wh*-phrases. This explanation would not cover all the cases and it would be necessary to resort to a semantic interpretation, which goes back to the referential identification of the head and [+/- specificity] values.

Cinque (1991) is the chapter of the *Grande Grammatica italiana di consultazione* dedicated to relative clauses: a description of Italian's resources and limits into building relative clauses, carried out in a generative framework.

The author starts by defining the relative clause as a nominal modifier that predicates something about the nominal itself. Then he states that there can be two types of relative clauses: restrictives and appositives<sup>75</sup>. The former works, at the same level of the antecedent,

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<sup>74</sup> Interestingly, she also points out the possibility of an area of neutralisation of the two interpretations.

<sup>75</sup> Fiorentino (1999: 17) remarks that the notion of modification can only be applied to restrictives, which are true modifiers of the nominal and have an identifying value, whereas appositives integrate the nominal head and

as a completing and insuppressible part, to identify univocally the person or the object that is being talked about<sup>76</sup>. On the other hand, the latter adds information about a person or an object that has already been identified.

On intonational ground, between the head and the appositive relative clauses there is a pause (or a drop in the loudness), and its correspondent in the written language is a comma, in the same position. The author adds that to these semantic and intonational differences can be added syntactic ones too, for example the use of pronouns. As Lehmann had already observed (see footnote 33), *il quale* (and *cui* furthermore) cannot be found in the restrictive relative clause for subject and direct object positions<sup>77</sup>. Besides that, the two types of relatives can have different construction; the appositive can be either *ordinaria* or *giustapposta parentetica*, as we can see respectively in (20) and (21) below:

- (20) *ORDINARIA APPOSITIVA*  
(can have *che/quale* but not *cui* in subj/direct obj positions)

*La sua proposta, che/la quale voi avete bocciato frettolosamente, avrebbe reso possibile una soluzione più dignitosa.*

- (21) *GIUSTAPPOSTA PARENTETICA*  
(stilistically marked; the relative clause can be separate from its nominal antecedent, and even belong to a different sentence; only *quale* is used for relativizing subj/dir obj/ind obj)

*Non ha mai detto che i suoi parenti dovrebbero essere invitati. Senza i quali, per altro non si azzarderebbe a venire al matrimonio.*

As for the restrictions on the semantics of the antecedents, the author points out that for restrictives, given the specific features of this clause, it is not possible to have antecedents like proper nouns or nouns that already spot a unique referent on their own. On the other hand,

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have an explicative value. Their common function is adding predication about a coreferential anchor and their difference lies in the fact that for restrictives the predication is about a subset of the head noun. Also Downing (1978) classifies *modification* as only pertaining to restrictive relative clauses.

<sup>76</sup> When defining once more the restrictive relative clause in the devoted sub-section the author states (Cinque 1991: 445): “*funzione caratteristica della restrittiva è [...] limitare la classe degli oggetti designati dall’antecedente e concorrere insieme all’antecedente ad individuare univocamente il referente o i referenti del SN costituito dall’antecedente e dalla frase relative, lì dove il SN è un SN referenziale, nel senso che rimanda ad un oggetto del mondo reale o mentale. Da questa caratteristica segue che l’antecedente non è già individuato autonomamente, cioè indipendentemente dall’informazione veicolata dalla frase relativa*”.

<sup>77</sup> Cinque (1991: 451) highlights that this is not true for the bureaucratic sectorial language and literary language (this last label may seem too wide).

antecedents that only work for restrictives are predicative phrases, temporal NPs, negative quantifiers, and nouns preceded by quantifiers (e.g., *alcuni*, *molti*, etc), demonstrative adjectives (*questo*, *quello*), the pronouns *colui/colei/coloro*.

As to the appositive clause, there are some antecedents that can only be paired with this construction, like proper nouns, some quantifiers such as *tutto/i*, *entrambi*, *ambedue*, *costui/costei/costoro*, a whole clause and personal pronouns.

The next section considers the literature that has advanced hypotheses for a semantics of relative clauses that goes beyond the dichotomy restrictive versus appositive.

### 1.5.2 Beyond the binary distinction: other semantic types of relative clauses

The fact that the semantic field of relative clauses may be split into more than two parts, or at least the fact that the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive is not always so neat, has emerged recursively in the literature. Touratier (1980: 313) states that:

“On peut toutefois limiter la portée de la distinction sémantique qui semble correspondre à la distinction des logiciens entre relatives explicatives et relatives déterminatives, en faisant remarquer que dans le fonctionnement des langues la séparation entre les deux valeurs de la relative n’est pas toujours aussi nette qu’on veut bien dire.”

In the French literature on the relative clause, a different type of relative clause has been proposed<sup>78</sup>, since Sandfeld (1936), and again in the late ‘70s and in the ‘80s many other works have developed further the same issue. The other type of relative clause is, in this case, the *relative déictique/prédicative* or pseudo-relative, and amongst other the studies that have dealt with it are Rothenberg (1979), Touratier (1980), Prebensen (1982), Benzakour (1984)<sup>79</sup>. As for re-framing the dichotomy restrictive versus appositive, Fuchs (1987) — a special issue of *Langages* entitled *Les types de relatives* — is expressly devoted to investigating and calling into question the dual nature of the semantics of the relative clauses inherited from Logics.

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<sup>78</sup> Touratier (1980: 330) states: “[...] les francisants [...], dans certain grammaires modernes, refusent implicitement ou explicitement de croire que la dichotomie entre relatives explicatives et relatives déterminatives embrasse toutes les relatives”.

<sup>79</sup> From a strictly generative point of view French pseudo-relatives have received attention too, as in Schwarze (1974), Radford (1975), Kayne (1975), Guasti (1988), while Graffi (1980) deals with the correspondent relative in Italian.



In the English literature the semantic division of relative clauses between the two opposing types has often been questioned as not exhaustive, for example in works such as Jespersen (1954), Krusinga (1932), Zandvoort (1966). Moreover, the opposition between the two values of restriction and non-restriction has often been refused in favour of a gradient between two poles, as can be seen in Jacobson (1995), Huddleston & Pullum (2002), Šimová (2005), the latter of which has proposed it on the basis of a work of *corpus* analysis.

Yet another axis of variation for the semantics of relative clauses has been traced by Grosu & Landman (1998), with the article entitled *Strange Relatives of the third kind*. Grosu and Landman build on previous work on amount relatives by Carlson (1977) and Heim (1987) and find a whole new category of relative clauses, due to a different semantic interpretation, as I will clarify below in § 1.5.2.2.

Furthermore, Benincà & Cinque (2014) highlight the existence of yet another type of relative clauses, to which the *kind-defining* label is given. The same category is also isolated by Scarano (2007) under a different name (*relative di specificazione della denotazione*). In the following sub-sections all the types that have emerged from the literature and that are relevant for the analyses of the present data will be introduced thoroughly. Their main features, as found in the literature, and how the major studies on the topic have dealt with them, will be presented type by type, as to have a clearer view on each of them.

#### 1.5.2.1 *Pseudo-relative clause*

The first type of relative clause to be introduced is the pseudo-relative. The label itself already gives a hint on the fact that, in a portion of the literature, it is not considered as part of the relative clause system. Before moving to the core of the discussion about it, examples of pseudo-relative will be shown below in (22).

- (22) PSEUDO-RELATIVES CLAUSES Casalicchio (2013:75, adapted)
- a. Ho visto / sorpreso / trovato Lucia *che mangiava la torta*.
  - i. Ha la figlia *che studia all'estero*
  - b. Elena lasciò la stanza *che piangeva*
  - c. L'anno scorso eravamo in venti *che seguivamo il corso di Sintassi*
  - d. Abbiamo visitato Parigi con Paolo *che ci faceva da guida*
  - e. Maria *che dice una parolaccia?* Non ci credo!

The relative clauses exemplified in (22) above had first emerged in Sandfeld (1936)<sup>80</sup>, who, working on French data, spotted their separateness from the rest of the relative clauses and their predicative nature. Decades later, they have been considered again in many studies among which Rothenberg (1979), Touratier (1980), Prebensen (1982), Benzakour (1984), and as already mentioned above, in formal works such as Schwarze (1974), Radford (1975), Kayne (1975), Guasti (1988), all of which are on French. Amongst the works that have focused on Italian pseudo-relatives we just mention here Graffi (1980), Cinque (1991), Strudsholm (1998, 2007), Scarano (2002, 2007), De Roberto (2008), Casalicchio (2013). As for the Italian field, which I shall now consider more closely, the last three works propose a systematisation of the previous research.

The defining features of pseudo-relatives are (according to Strudsholm (1998), De Roberto (2008), Casalicchio (2013)):

(23) DEFINING FEATURES OF PSEUDO-RELATIVES:

- a. They necessarily need to be introduced by the complementiser *che* (the pronoun *il quale* is not admitted in its place);
- b. Only the subject of the pseudo-relative clause can be relativised, in other words, the antecedent (in the matrix clause) must be coindexed with the subject of the pseudo-relative.
- c. The time of the subordinate must hold a contemporary relation to the time of the matrix clause.
- d. The antecedent can in some cases be rendered as a clitic<sup>81</sup>.

On a more strictly semantic-pragmatic ground the pseudo-relative has been linked to the perception context. A reasonably recent work that goes in this direction is Strudsholm (1998), which says that perception can be either explicit or implicit. The implicitness of perception would also give as a result the fact of including in the pseudo-relative type those relative clauses used in a presentative context/construction, as in (22.a.i). Moreover, Strudsholm also suggests that this construction has a specific discourse function: it would, in fact, be a strategy having

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<sup>80</sup> Scarano (2002) traces the first works that mention such a construction as far back as studies conducted by German grammarians (Tobler, Meyer Lübke, Polentz) at the very end of the XIXth century/first years of the XXth.

<sup>81</sup> This applies only to a sub-group of pseudo-relatives, see below for detail, and De Roberto (2008:75).

the purpose of giving salience to the antecedent (which is also a topic). It is also interesting to mention the label Strudsholm gives to this relative type: *relativa situazionale*, so to underline that this construction is a means of expressing the situational value of a visual perception. Besides that, a basic semantic property of the pseudo-relative is their predicative function, i.e., they add a predicate to an element of the matrix clause.

Other works such as Scarano (2002) propose an exclusively semantically based interpretation of pseudo-relatives. The author includes in the group of the pseudo-relative clauses occurrences like:

- (24) Scarano (2002:103)
- a. Non ho mai approvato Maria che parla male di tutti.
  - b. Ho fiducia in Marco che fa politica.
  - c. È bene non fare affidamento su Marco che promette di cambiare.
  - d. Non so se cedere ai miei figli che mi reclamano o al loro padre che mi allontana da loro.
  - e. Penso a Carlo che deve partire per il Congo.

The proposal developed by Scarano (2002) is such that it can integrate the constructions above in (24) in the pseudo-relative clause, as already said before. The pseudo-relative, in fact, would be a semantically specified construction, *un costrutto semanticamente specializzato [...] che veicola significati per rendere i quali la lingua può far ricorso ad esso solamente* (Scarano, 2002:107). The meanings specific to this type of relative clause would be the temporary and partial modification brought to the stable meaning of the antecedent<sup>82</sup>. Furthermore, pseudo-relatives must have the feature of a non-intrinsic state (or condition, situation) which, therefore, is strictly non-identifying.

Scarano points out the fact that, in this interpretation, perception does not play a leading role. A new label is also assigned to this clause: *relativa di modificazione della denotazione*, Scarano (2002:144).

De Roberto (2008), a study on Old Italian relative clauses, proposes a new classification of relative clauses, and between the three types that emerge from it we can also find pseudo-

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<sup>82</sup> Scarano (2002: 83) states that the antecedent of a pseudo-relative must be a definite description with a referential value or a proper noun.

relatives, or as the author calls them, *relative predicative*. These relatives apply a modification on the denotation of the antecedent (following Scarano (2002)), without affecting its referential *status*, only picturing a state or a temporary condition it may have. The author refers to the concept, often used in the French literature on this topic, of *prédication seconde* (second predication, indicating a predication contained in an embedded element of a sentence which despite that has a semantic clausal *status*)<sup>83</sup>. Pseudo-relatives (or predicative relative in De Roberto’s terms) form with their antecedent a semantic block with propositional content, their purpose being that of integrating one clause into another clause. In other words: “Si è di fronte a una sorta di *décalage* tra sintassi e semantica: il parlante ricorre a due unità proposizionali per comunicare i diversi aspetti di uno stesso evento o per riferirsi a due eventi, la cui successione è talmente immediata da costituire un unico avvenimento”. (De Roberto, 2008: 115)<sup>84</sup>.

Casalicchio (2013) is a work that is set in the generative framework. It provides a very detailed outlook on all theories on pseudo-relatives, from a pragmatic, semantic and syntactic point of view. As its objective is to define a syntactic structure common to pseudo-relatives, gerunds and prepositional infinitives, on semantic grounds it does not add much to what the previous literature has proposed.

The author outlines a useful classification (in terms of grouping according to the syntactic function of the antecedent) of the possible cases in which pseudo-relatives appear. It is indeed a syntactic classification, but the exemplification of the pseudo-relatives for each group is exhaustive and can be a good list to refer to, as can be seen below in (25)<sup>85</sup>.

- (25) CONTEXT OF USE OF PSEUDO-RELATIVES Casalicchio (2013:23)
- A. Complement of a transitive verb;
  - B. Subject of a transitive or intransitive verb;
  - C. Predicative nominal;
  - D. Complement of a preposition;
  - E. Free expression.

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<sup>83</sup> De Roberto (2008: 108) adds (from Furukawa (1995)) the following explanation for the term: “*Par prédication seconde, on entend un type de séquence qui, malgré son statut syntaxiquement intégré, exprime sémantiquement un contenu phrastique à l’intérieur même d’une phrase*”.

<sup>84</sup> The author also quotes Lambrecht (2000), in which it is suggested to call the pseudo-relative “presentational relative clause”, as this construction is used for presenting new entities in discourse and adding new information about them.

<sup>85</sup> For a more fine-grained analysis of each sub-group see Casalicchio (2013), Chapter 2.

For each group the single context of use is the following:

A. Complement of a transitive verb:

1. Verbs of physical perception (*vedere, sentire, ascoltare*, etc)  
- Vedo Marco *che mangia la torta*
2. Verbs of intellectual perception (*immaginare, disegnare, fotografare*)  
- Non riesco a immaginarmi Anna *che suona il flauto*
3. Verbs of depiction (*descrivere, disegnare, fotografare*):  
- Qui Romano Scarpa ha disegnato Paperino *che rincorre i nipotini*
4. Verbs in the semantic field of finding and discovering (*trovare, scoprire, cogliere, beccare*):  
- Ho sorpreso Maria *che frugava nella tua borsetta*
5. Presentational verbs (*avere*):  
- Ha la figlia *che studia all'estero*
6. Feeling verbs (*sopportare, odiare, adorare*):  
- Non sopporto Gianni e Mario *che fumano in casa*
7. Verbs with the semantics of leaving and abandoning (*lasciare, abbandonare*):  
- L'ho lasciato *che stava mangiando il gelato*
8. Other verbs with various meanings:  
- Mangiò la pizza *che stava ancora fumando*
9. *Ecco* can be found in a context similar to that of transitive verbs:  
- Ecco Maria *che arriva di corsa*

B. The antecedent of the pseudo-relative is the subject of the matrix verb:

1. In sentences introduced by *c'è/ci sono*:  
- C'è Maria *che piange come una disperata*
2. In the presentational construct of the kind 'essere+DP+pseudo-relative':  
- È Gianni *che sale le scale*
3. With verbs coding locative states (*essere qui/là, rimanere, essere seduti/in piedi*):  
- Il cane è là *che ti aspetta scodinzolando*

4. When the pseudo-relative works as a predicate objective complement of an unaccusative verb (in particular movement verbs):
    - Gianni tornò a casa *che puzzava di vino*
  5. When the pseudo-relative works as a subjective complement of a transitive or unergative verb:
    - Maria lasciò la stanza *che piangeva*
  6. When the pseudo-relative has the function of modifying the subject of the verb:
    - I bambini *che cercano di comportarsi come i grandi sono divertenti*
  7. The pseudo-relative forms part of the subject of the copular verb with its antecedent (the verb always being singular person):
    - Gianni e Mario *che ballano il tango è un vero spettacolo*
- C. The antecedent of the pseudo-relative has the function of nominal predicate:
1. The antecedent is a nominal expression:
    - Io ero tornata la stupida *che rideva*
  2. The nominal predicate is a numeral:
    - siamo in tre *che prendiamo sempre lo stesso treno*
- D. The pseudo-relative is part of a Prepositional Phrase:
1. In the so called ‘*con assoluto*’ construction:
    - Con Maria *che urla come una disperata*, non riesco a sentire la tv
  2. In PPs with a circumstantial function:
    - Abbiamo visitato Parigi con Paolo *che ci faceva da guida*
  3. In PPs where the head is the preposition *con* with a predicative function:
    - Maria è uscita dalla stanza con gli occhi *che le luccicavano*
  4. The PP has any kind of head with an argument function:
    - Continuo a pensare a Mario *che insulta Alessandro*
  5. The PP has the preposition *di* as its head and is inside a DP:
    - La foto di Maria *che cucina i biscotti* è formidabile
- E. In free expressions:
- 6.1 Expressions of incredulity:
    - Aldo *che picchia sua moglie?* Non ci credo!
  - 7.1 Titles of pictures, captions, etc.:

- E. Delacroix, *La libertà che guida il popolo*

#### 8.1 In presentational contexts:

- Di nuovo il PC *che non funziona!*

Interestingly, this author dedicates a section to the features of the antecedent of pseudo-relatives, Casalicchio (2013: 35-38), from which it emerges that the head does not have to be either specific or not specific, as is the case of appositive and restrictives, but it can be either fully referentially identified, on one side, or even indefinite, on the other side<sup>86</sup>.

In conclusion, the studies that have focused on pseudo-relatives, or *relatives prédicatives*, are many, especially in the French literature from the ones of the late '70s mentioned above until the most recent ones, such as Furukawa (1995), Cadiot & Furukawa (2000), just to cite two. For further references and a detailed and reasoned introduction, see De Roberto (2008) as well as Casalicchio (2013).

I will now move on to the next semantic type of relative clause, the maximalising ones, which are distinguished according to yet another semantic parameter, very different from the ones that distinguish pseudo-relatives.

##### 1.5.2.2 *Maximalising relatives*

On the side of the bipolar semantic partition, Grosu & Landman in the article *Strange Relatives of the third kind*, have proposed a third semantic type: maximalising relative clauses<sup>87</sup>.

This new semantic classification is linked to the interpretation of the *sortal*, which can be brought about in two ways, either internally or externally the relative construction CP, yielding respectively *sortal-internal* and *sortal-external* relatives. The *sortal* is “the common noun, or NP, if nominal constructions are DPs”, i.e., the element that Lehmann (1984) calls the nominal. Said with Grosu & Landman (1998: 126):

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<sup>86</sup> Casalicchio points out that most works assume that the antecedent of a pseudo-relative must be definite, while Strudsholm (1998:124) states that an indefinite expression can be an antecedent too.

<sup>87</sup> The first work to cast light on the non standard-restrictive behaviour of certain relative clauses is Carlson (1977) “Amount Relatives”, followed by Heim (1987). Carlson (1977) analyses constructions of the kind *Every man there was on the life-raft died*, to find that they show restrictions that restrictive relatives do not have. The more relevant are: AR cannot be introduced by *wh-forms* but only by *that*; AR cannot undergo *stacking*; AR can only be introduced by a certain number of determiners and quantifiers (*all, any, the, that, what, every*).

“We propose that a more satisfactory classification of relative clauses is in terms of *sortal-internal* vs. *sortal-external* relatives. This dichotomy takes as a criterion whether the relative construction’s sortal (which is the common noun, or NP, if nominal constructions are DPs) is *semantically* construed as outside or inside the construction’s CP.”<sup>88</sup>

The two authors then propose that relative constructions are placed on a continuum like the following:

(26) SPECTRUM OF RELATIVISATION Grosu & Landman (1998:126)

Simplex XPs	– Appositives	– Restrictives	– Maximalizers	– Simplex CPs
1	2	3	4	5

Grosu & Landman (1998) observe that moving along the spectrum from left to right, the relative clause increases its contribution to the interpretation of the whole relative construction. At the extreme left pole, simplex XPs have no contribution from the relative CP as they contain no relative clause, while at the opposite pole, constructions which only have relative CP material<sup>89</sup>, all the material that matters for interpretation is inside the CP, i.e., all inside the relative clause.

Between the two extremes, starting from left, we find appositive constructions, for which according to Grosu (2000: 86) “the clause –internal variables [...] acquire values through co-valuation with an antecedent”, therefore their interpretation is mainly due to material outside the relative clause<sup>90</sup>.

Restrictive relative clauses are in the middle of the *continuum*, because internal and external material give an equal contribution to the interpretation of the construction, being the restriction operation a symmetrical one<sup>91</sup>.

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<sup>88</sup> It is important to take into account the fact that the sortal is a semantic entity, as De Vries (2002: 25) underlines: “Again, the scale is a semantic scale. In principle, the semantic presence and importance of outside material does not necessarily coincide with the syntactic presence of external material. A relevant point in case are circumnominal relatives. At least some of them can have a restrictive meaning. That is, although the head noun is syntactically internal, it is semantically construed outside the relative clause.”

<sup>89</sup> According to the authors, an example of bare CP/simplex CP are irrealis free relatives.

<sup>90</sup> Grosu (2002: 145) defines the relative construction in the following way:

- A relative clause is subordinated.
- A relative clause includes, at some level of semantic representation, a variable that ultimately gets bound in some way by an element of the matrix.

<sup>91</sup> Grosu (2002) observes that in apposition there is discourse binding, in restriction there is syntactic binding.



To the right of restrictive relatives, we find maximalising relative clauses, the new category proposed by Grosu & Landman (1998). For these constructions inner material determines the semantic interpretation of the whole construction *via* an operation of *maximalization* (external material may be present, but its interpretations driven by what is inside the relative CP).

While for the other semantic types of relatives the variable inside the relative is bound by a syntactically present element (binders or anaphors), for maximalising relatives there is a concealed operator with a uniqueness force that binds the internal variable.

Grosu (2002) says that three features are involved to different degrees in the three different relativisation processes, i.e. apposition, restriction and maximalization.

The first feature [REL] signals that there is an inner variable in the relative clause which must get a value from the matrix; it is typical of apposition. The second feature is [PRED] and it indicates that the relative clause must undergo an operation of abstraction in order for the relative CP to denote a property. The last feature, [DEF] “triggers the mapping of a set to a singleton set” Grosu (2002:147). This singleton set contains the result of the maximalisation operation, i.e. an operation that picks up the maximal degree in the set.

The properties that characterize maximalising relative clauses are:

(27) PROPERTIES OF MAXIMALIZING RELATIVES

- a. The whole construction has a definite or universal value but never an existential one.
- b. Impossibility of stacking.

The relative constructions that according to Grosu & Lanmann (1998) reflect the above characterization are:

(28) MAXIMALIZING RELATIVE CLAUSES

- a. Correlatives
- b. Amount relatives
- c. Internally headed relatives of some languages
- d. Free relatives
  - i. Standard free relatives
  - ii. Transparent free relatives

iii. Irrealis free relatives (simplex CPs)

Of the relative clauses in (28) I am just going to consider in further detail those that are relevant for Italian and for the present analysis: free relatives.

I start here by giving an example of free relative in English and a correspondent in Italian.

- (29) STANDARD FREE RELATIVE Grosu (2002:148)
- a. John bought [what(ever) Mary was willing to sell him *e* ].
  - b. Darò un regalo a chi(unque) arriva in tempo.

As we can observe in (29.a), the *wh*-element, which is in the same position of the head of the sortal-external relative clauses, may lead to ambiguity concerning its internal versus external status. This fact has given rise to a controversy between a CP-external interpretation, proposed and supported by works such as Bresnan & Grimshaw (1978) and, on the other side, a CP-internal claim supported by Groos and van Riemsdijk (1981), Grosu and Landman (1998), Jacobson (1988, 1995).

For the morphosyntax of Italian standard free relatives it is interesting to highlight an observation found in Grosu (2003:297):

“Not all languages use the same morphosyntactic strategy as English to convey the import of SFRs [Standard Free Relatives, Ed.]. Some use a ‘doubly filled COMP’ (e.g., Modern Hebrew), others use ‘light-headed’ constructions (in particular, relatives headed by a demonstrative pronoun and with a null operator in [Spec, CP]) as an alternative to SFRs (e.g., Romanian, Polish, Modern Greek). In languages that allow both types, there are typically subtle semantic distinctions [...]. The French counterpart of *what*-relatives is always a light-headed relative [...]”.

Concerning the semantics of Standard Free Relatives, Grosu (2003: 299) makes the following remark.

“Since Jacobson (1988), there seems to be a consensus that the semantics of SFRs involves the application of a uniqueness operator to a set. As far as I can tell, this seems to be an inherent property of these constructions”.

In Italian free relative clauses can appear in both forms, either with what the traditional literature calls an *independent relative pronoun* or with a ‘demonstrative pronoun +relative clause’ (the latter would seem to be equivalent to the ‘*ce*+relative clause’ French light headed relative), as we can see below:

(30) FREE AND LIGHT-HEADED CORRESPONDENCE IN ITALIAN

- a. Darò un regalo a *chi risolve il problema*
  - i. Darò un regalo a *colui che risolve il problema*
- b. Non sono per niente d’accordo con *quanto hai appena detto*
  - i. Non sono per niente d’accordo con *ciò che/quello che hai appena detto*

As far as I know there has been no attempt to investigate on the semantics of Italian free relatives adopting a maximalising perspective. Some works, as De Roberto (2008: 49-51;466-491) have dealt in other ways with these constructions, not taking into account the semantics proposed in Grosu & Landman (1998), but instead, considering the response of the occurrences *demonstrative pronoun+relative clause* to the parameters [ $\pm$ determinato] and [ $\pm$ specific]. According to this author, although all relatives introduced by demonstrative pronouns are restrictives, those sequences *Dem+rel clause* with a semantics [-det], [+spec], which yields a complex indeterminate NP, would be semantically similar to free relatives, i.e., their semantics would be similar but the presence of an overt antecedent blocks the full identity between the two structures.

Cinque (1988: 483-497) deals with *La costruzione con pronomi relativi indipendenti (senza antecedente)*. The author highlights how independent pronoun perform, at the same time, the role of both antecedent (role typically set in the matrix clause) and that of relative pronoun (typically belonging to the subordinate clause). This double role would emerge when two separate pronouns are used instead of a single independent one, i.e., *Chi = colui il quale, quello che*. From a more strictly semantic point of view, Cinque (1988: 483-484), while dealing with the independent pronoun *chi*, remarks how it has an indefinite and a demonstrative use: only the former may be combined with subjunctive mood. Furthermore, *chi* does only support a non-identifying use, as in (31) versus (32).

(31) NON-IDENTIFYING USE

*Chi/Quello che ha aiutato tuo fratello deve essere un pazzo.* (*chi*, here is used to abstractly denote a person with certain features with no intention of pointing at any specific and determined referent).

(32) IDENTIFYING USE

*Ti vuole al telefono quello che/\*chi ha aiutato tuo fratello* (the expression dem+rel clause enables the listener to identify the person that the speaker refers to. The version with *chi* would be acceptable only in a case in which the speaker is not referring to a person that both himself and the listener know<sup>92</sup>).

Graffi (1994) mentions free relatives but gives a more syntactic than semantic account. Graffi (1994: 118) remarks that: “le frasi relative senza antecedente [...] le cosiddette relative indipendenti o “libere” [...] si comportano [...] non come dei modificatori, ma piuttosto come degli argomenti”.

Let us now take into consideration the next type of free relatives in the list of maximalising relative clauses, at point (28.d.ii): transparent free relatives, as we can see in (33) below.

(33) TRANSPARENT FREE RELATIVE (van Riemsdijk, 2006, 363; Jong-Bok, 2001, 154,158<sup>93</sup>)

- a. [[What appeared] to be [a jet airliner]]<sub>FREE REL</sub> had landed on the freeway.
- b. [[What appear] to be [trousers]]<sub>FREE REL</sub> are/\*is really leggings that only come halfway up each thigh.
- c. In that process I begin to work [what I would call **creatively**]<sub>Adv</sub>].

The free relatives in (33) above have features that differentiate them from the previously presented Standard free relatives. At first sight, it seems that the semantic nucleus of the relative clause is the predicate of the *small clause* [a jet airliner] in (33.a); also on the syntactic side it looks as if agreement and category of the whole construction are determined by this constituent, as in the examples (33.b) (agreement with [trousers]) and (33.c) same category as [creatively])

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<sup>92</sup> Even in the latter interpretation, to me, the sentence *Ti vuole al telefono chi ha aiutato tuo fratello*, does not sound well-formed.

<sup>93</sup> These examples are extracted from COCA (*Corpus of Contemporary American English*).

respectively. The label *transparent free relative* has been assigned by Wilder (1998: 91) for this reason, i.e., the fact that the free relative is somehow transparent to the properties of the predicate in the small clause therein contained.

From a syntactic point of view a few works have focused on the status of transparent free relatives, Wilder (1998), de Vries (2002), Grosu (2002, 2003), van Riemsdijk (2006), resulting in different structural hypothesis, that I will not introduce here.

Grosu (2002, 2003) highlight two cardinal features of transparent free relatives, one syntactic and, interestingly, one semantic: the (syntactic) matching effects between the nucleus and the free relative itself (in terms of its global interpretation), and the indefinite reading of the whole free relative construction. This last point would be due to the fact that the *wh*-element is “semantically and syntactic underspecified”, and the [+def] force of the standard free relatives would here be absent. Another relevant semantic remark can be found in Grosu (2003: 79):

“A TFR [Transparent Free Relative, Ed.] is felicitous just in case it implies that the predication expressed by the small clause does not necessarily hold in all contextually relevant possible worlds and/or at all contextually relevant moments in time. That is to say, a TFR minus its small clause has the essential force of lexical intensional modifiers like *alleged(ly)*, *presumed(ly)*, *previous(ly)*, *former(ly)*”.

In the present work we have found one example of relative clause that looks like a Transparent Free Relative. Again, there is no work that I know of, dealing with this semantic type of relative clause in Italian (either in a maximalising perspective or not).

The next sub-category of free relative, the one at point (28.d.iii), instead has not occurred in the present sample. For completeness sake I will only exemplify it below and mention the pertaining literature.

- (34) RELATIVA LIBERA IRREALIS Grosu & Landman (1998: 156); Grosu (2002: 158)
- a. Am [cu cine [discuta, s`a discut] filozofie].  
I-have with whom to discuss SUBJ I-discuss philosophy  
I have [someone] with whom to discuss philosophy.
  - b. Je n'ai plus [avec la femme de qui danser]
  - c. Non ho con chi parlare di filosofia.

This last free relative has been investigated in Grosu & Landman (1998), Grosu (2002). They have been analysed as bare CPs, in fact as the very end of the sortal external-internal continuum. In the last work mentioned above, Grosu re-labels the construction as Modal Existential Clausal Construction, at the light of the modal verbal features and the existential reading carried by this free relative<sup>94</sup>.

Many more studies focus on maximalising relative clauses in languages other than Italian. I have not directly mentioned or introduced them as not too pertinent to maximalisation in Italian relative clauses.

We now move on to the last semantic type of relative clauses. In the next sub-section, the kind-defining relative clause is going to be considered.

#### 1.5.2.3 *Kind defining relatives*

The last semantic class that is considered in this work is the one of Kind-defining relatives, as they have been defined in Benincà & Cinque (2014). I start by giving a few examples, below in (35).

- (35) KIND-DEFINING RELATIVE CLAUSES (Benincà & Cinque 2014)
- a. Gianni è un uomo *che non si dà mai per vinto*.
  - b. Gianni è uno *che non gli si può dire di no*.
  - c. Questo è un problema *che non lo risolti facilmente*.
  - d. Cercava una segretaria *che conoscesse il cinese*.
  - e. Vorrei sposare una ragazza *che sappia cucinare le lasagne*.
  - f. There's a train  $\emptyset$  *goes without stopping*. (Hermann 2003)

As we can notice from the examples above the first striking feature (that differentiates them from prototypical restrictives) is the indefiniteness of the head of the relative clauses. In fact, Benincà & Cinque (2014: 261), propose that the function of this clause is not that “of narrowing down the reference of the head noun, which can remain undetermined, but that of giving the features which characterize the class they belong to”. The head is indefinite and can remain so, as the aim of this relative is that of defining its head as a kind, and, moreover, differently from

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<sup>94</sup> See also Pompei (2014) for an interpretation according to pragmatic, semantic, syntactic and textual parameters (applied to these constructions in Latin) of the same type of relative clause.

core restrictives, the DP in predicate position is not truly referential and the propositional content of the relative clauses is not presupposed.

According to the authors, this semantic type of relative can be found:

(36)

- a. modifying a post-copular DP, as in (35.a), (35.b), (35.c)<sup>95</sup>;
- b. modifying a DP in the predicate position of existential sentences, as in (35.f);
- c. in the apparent object position of a class of verbs ('have', 'meet', 'know', 'look for', etc), which may involve a hidden predicative structure (possibly 'look (for)' [whether there is] a certain DP, 'know' [that there is] a certain DP, etc.).

The properties of kind-defining relatives, as they have been identified by Benincà & Cinque, are:

(37) PROPERTIES OF KIND-DEFINING RELATIVES Benincà & Cinque (2014: 265)

- a. the use of presuppositional negative adverbs such as *mica*;
- b. the possibility of using a non-realis mood;
- c. the possibility of using a modal in genuinely epistemic readings, which in Italian is allowed in non-restrictive but not in restrictive relatives;
- d. the illocutionary independence of the relative clause (only in colloquial style);
- e. their occurring necessarily after ordinary restrictives and before ordinary non-restrictives;
- f. the impossibility of stacking;
- g. the use of resumptive pronouns;
- h. the possibility of retaining the internal Head.

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<sup>95</sup> Benincà and Cinque (2014: 265) point out that their work is going to focus on this specific sub-group of the kind-defining relatives, taking them as the prototype of kind-defining relatives. These relative clauses modifying a nominal predicate "belong to a larger class of kind-defining relatives, in which other kinds of verb incorporate a stage-level predicate. [...] The copular structures whose predicate can be the antecedent of a kind-defining relative belong to the predicational (canonical, extensional) type, while the identificational (inverse, intensional) ones are excluded, Benincà & Cinque (2014: 57).

Other authors have isolated the same class of relative clauses, although keeping it as an integrating part of the restrictive group. For instance, Scarano (2007), labels them as *relative della specificazione della denotazione*, stating that they are restrictive relatives with a generic antecedent. Furthermore, she adds that “Le relative di specificazione indicano la specie dentro la classe, gli antecedenti hanno letture di tipo generico o universale, sono relative che escludono l'interpretazione referenziale della testa”, Scarano (2007: 75).

De Roberto (2008) also places this relative type in the wider class of restrictives, under the label of *relative definitorie*. According to her, this subtype of restrictive has an antecedent that is governed by virtual verbs, e.g., *cercare*, *volere*, etc., and the relative clause predicates qualities that do not identify only one referent, but a whole class of potential referents. The sequence NP+relative clause characterises more than one potential entity whose existence, though, is not presupposed<sup>96</sup>, and, furthermore, the author adds, it is then obvious for the SN to remain undetermined: its referent could either not exist or there could be a manifold of them, provided that they all fulfil the feature requested by the relative clause.

This last type of relative clause ends this part of the presentation of the literature on the semantics of relative clauses and I move on to the next part, the presentation of the sample response to the semantic classification.

### 1.5.3 Systematisation of Italian relative clauses: Scarano (2007) and De Roberto (2008)

Two works on *corpus* realisation of Italian relatives propose a global picture for the system of relative constructions in Italian: Scarano (2007) and De Roberto (2008)<sup>97</sup>.

Scarano (2007) is the *corpus*-based counterpart of the previous Scarano (2002) which was a proposal for Italian relative construction system based on *exempla ficta*. The model, which is mainly based on information structure, prosodic integration studies and semantics, proposes that there are the following types of relatives below in (38), with the correspondent label given in the previous section in brackets:

(38)

- a. *Relative della modificazione dell'identificazione* (restrictives)

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<sup>96</sup> In the authors's words: “individua più oggetti la cui esistenza non è presupposta”. This explanation seem to go against the same features that De Roberto pointed to for holding together the class of restrictives in its three subparts, see De Roberto (2008) for further details.

<sup>97</sup> The latter work explores written Old Italian corpora, and relative sentences therein, but it actually proposes a system of relative clauses for contemporary Italian too.

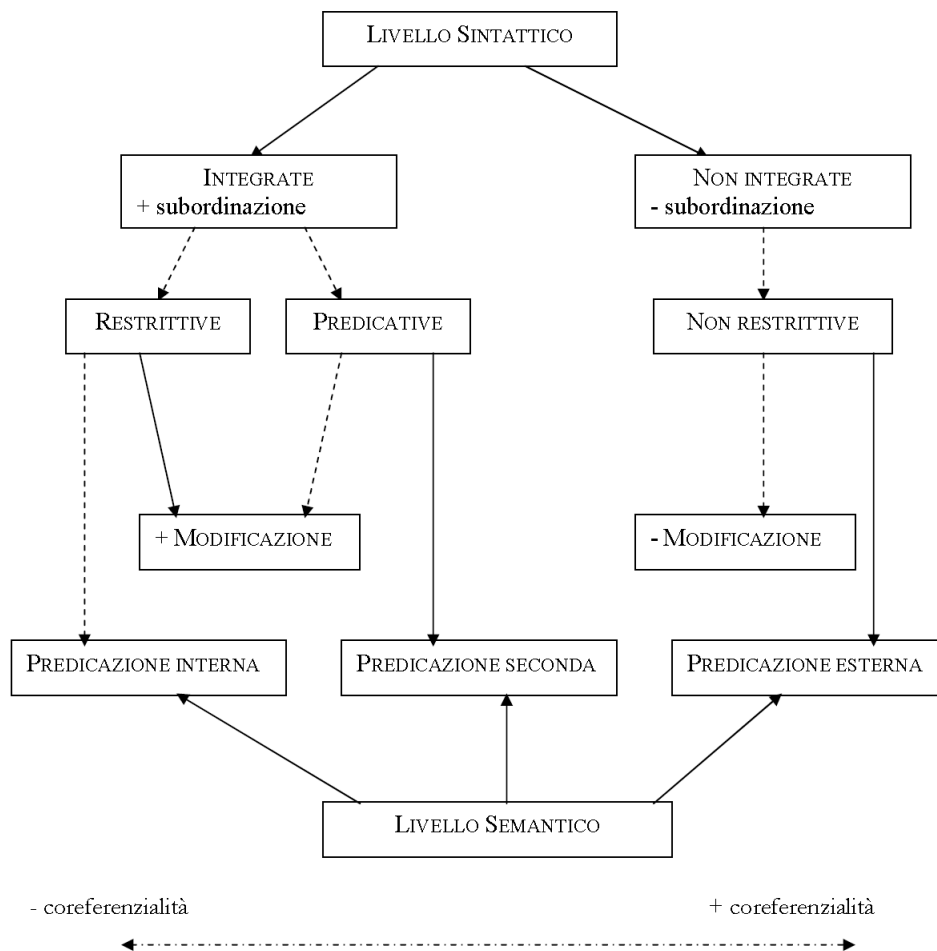


- b. *Relative della modificazione della denotazione* (pseudo-relatives)
- c. *Relative della specificazione della denotazione* (kind-defining)
- d. *Relative di integrazione* (appositives)

De Roberto (2008), always on the basis of an integration of semantics, syntax and information structure, proposes instead the following picture, below in (39):

(39) Proposta per la classificazione delle relative

De Roberto (2008:105)



The outcome is the following system:

(40) CLASSIFICATION OF ITALIAN RELATIVES

a. *Relative restrittive*

- i. *Determinative* (restrictives tout court, that identify the referent)
- ii. *Definitorie* (kind-defining)

- iii. *Attualizzanti*
- b. *Relative predicative* (pseudo-relatives)
- c. *Relative non restrittive*
  - i. *Appositive* (appositives)
  - ii. *Continuative* (continuative appositives)

De Roberto's proposal is quite complex and for examples of types that have no counterpart in other works we have introduced (or in the occurrences we have extracted for the present work) the reader can refer to De Roberto (2008: 455-765).

## 1.6 Conclusions

This first chapter presents a wide array of literature on the phenomenon of relativisation, in the attempt to explore (with necessary limitations) the vast amount of works that have been dedicated to it, ranging from a strictly theoretical to more sectorial points of view.

Not all the frameworks introduced are going to be taken into account the same way for analysing the data for the present study. Therefore, I would pinpoint for each chapter the works that are somehow starting points, leaving more details to be found inside the manuscript itself.

For what regards the syntactic analysis works such as Keenan & Comrie (1977) and Comrie (1981) are starting points. Fiorentino (1999), Alfonzetti (2002) are considered for a comparison on previous studies on the topic of Italian relativisation strategies.

For the semantic chapter the categories additional to the restrictive-appositive opposition have been modelled on works such as Scarano (2007), Strudsholm (1998), De Roberto (2008), Casalicchio (2013), Grosu & Landman (1998), Benincà & Cinque (2014), to mention the main ones.

The information structure chapter takes off from works dating back to the '70s, Schachter (1973) and Kuno (1976), as well as more recent ones such as Scarano (2007), Strudsholm (1998) and Lambrecht (2002).

# Chapter 2

## Presentation of the *corpus*

### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present the CLIPS *corpus*, from which the sample of relative constructions was extracted.

Section 2.2 presents the CLIPS *corpus*, while section 2.3 deals with the part of this *corpus* that has been consulted for the present work, i.e., the Map Task and Spot the difference dialogues. Section 2.4 is a brief presentation of the annotation symbology used for annotating the conversations.

### 2.2 The CLIPS *Corpus*

CLIPS is a *corpus* of spoken and written Italian, whose acronym means, *Corpora e Lessici di Italiano Scritto e Parlato*. The data for this project was collected from 1999 to 2004, which makes it a quite recent *corpus*. It is subdivided in two sections, the written and the spoken one, which are freely available from the *corpus* website, [www.clips.unina.it](http://www.clips.unina.it).

Given that for the present work I have only focused on relative realisation in spoken Italian, this presentation will only concern the spoken part of the CLIPS *corpus*.

The spoken section of the *corpus* has been built with the purpose of being a tool for studying the Italian spoken language, as well as being a tool that can be exploited for synthesised language. The objective of the designers was to make a *corpus* that is stratified and graded along two dimensions: diatopic and diaphasic, in order to take into account most of the variables that are involved in spoken communication (see Albano Leoni (2004)).

To capture diatopic variation, the material has been recorded in the following cities: Bari, Bergamo, Bologna, Cagliari, Catanzaro, Firenze, Genova, Lecce, Milano, Napoli, Palermo, Perugia, Roma, Torino and Venezia.

To capture diaphasic variation, the texts that compose the *corpus* belong to various communicative situations:

- (1)
  - a. Broadcasting speech: radio and television broadcasts (news, interviews, talk shows)
  - b. Dialogue speech: 240 dialogues collected using the Map Task procedure and the Spot the Difference game.
  - c. Read speech: 20 sentences each, covering medium-high frequency Italian words read by non-professional speakers
  - d. Speech over the telephone: conversations between 300 speakers and a simulated hotel desk service operator
  - e. Read speech recorded in an anechoic chamber: 20 professional speakers reading 160 sentences, covering all phonotactic sequences and medium-high frequency Italian words.

All the material has been organised in folders: for each city there are five folders specialised for all the diaphasic content above in (1). The audio files have the WAVE file format, and some of them are also phonetically labelled and orthographically transcribed.

The spoken *corpus* content amounts to 100 hours of speech, equally divided between male and female voices.

The diaphasic type of speech used for the present work is the dialogic one—the Map Task and Spot the difference conversational games— which I will consider in detail in the next section.

### **2.3 Sections of the *corpus* analysed: Map Task dialogue and Spot the Difference game**

The part of the CLIPS *corpus* that has been analysed for extracting relative constructions is made up of conversational games: 8 Map Task and 7 Spot the Difference, for a total amount of 2 hours 6 minutes and 1 hour 39 seconds, respectively.

The two types of dialogues differ from each other but belong to the same category of “natural elicited speech”. Having mentioned this type of speech, an additional note about it is needed.

In linguistic research significant quantities of natural speech are needed as a basis for inquiry. This material, though, in order to be employed on many levels of linguistic research (phonetics, prosody, *etc.*), must meet certain requirements in terms of quality. As a consequence, there are two needs that should be fulfilled at the same time: on the one side the naturalness of the speech and on the other side a certain degree of researcher's control on the (production of the) material<sup>98</sup>. This fact has brought linguists to implement elicitation techniques, i.e., techniques that stimulate spoken production. The elicited speech that results from this process can be defined semi-spontaneous, as opposed to spontaneous speech proper, which refers to the informal production of a speaker with no constraints on topic and vocabulary, Cerrato (2007), Eskenazy (1993).

The two types of dialogues of the CLIPS *corpus* have been collected using a similar elicitation technique. Elicitation techniques can be grouped into two major categories:

- a) Linguistic techniques, according to which the speaker is more or less explicitly given the text to be reproduced, in the form of either a list of words or isolated passages to be read aloud.
- b) Non-linguistic techniques, according to which the speakers are assigned a non-linguistic task, which has the purpose of distracting them from the fact that they are being recorded and "observed". If this objective is attained, then the speakers are more immersed in a situation that allows for more spontaneous speech to be produced<sup>99</sup>.

I am not going to consider any further the first group of elicitation techniques in a). The two dialogues that compose my source of data, belong to the second group of elicitation techniques, on which I will concentrate my attention.

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<sup>98</sup> In other words, the need for the naturalness of the spoken material does not have to imply the total lack of control on it. On this issue Anderson et al. (1991: 351) state that "Many linguistic phenomena depend heavily on the linguistic and extralinguistic contexts in which they appear, and in corpora of spontaneous speech, critical aspects of context may be either unknown or uncontrolled." Further on, the authors list amongst the objectives of the Map Task [*italics mine*] "The intention behind the present *corpus* is not to detract from 'cast' materials which allow rigorous study of linguistic phenomena, but to attempt to supplement them with a [...] *corpus* of dialogues large enough and controlled enough to permit profitable simultaneous study from a number of points of view. While the dialogues in the *corpus* are unscripted, the *corpus* as a whole comprises a large, carefully controlled elicitation exercise".

<sup>99</sup> An advantage of the non-linguistic techniques is that the fact of giving a task to the speaker, "lets him forget the microphone and furnishes really natural speech" Eskenazy (1993:507).

In the Map Task conversational game, the task is to reproduce a route on the map that each of the two player-interlocutors has *via* spoken interactions between them. In the Spot the Difference conversational game the task is for the two player-interlocutors to find the differences between the two images they have.

In the next sub-sections, I consider in further detail the features and the setting of each of the two dialogues, starting from the Map Task.

### **2.3.1 Map task**

The Map Task, defined as “spontaneous task-oriented spoken dialogue” by Carletta *et al.* (1996), was originally designed by Brown *et al.* (1983) and then developed by the HCRC research group in Edinburgh for the acquisition of the HCRC Map Task (Anderson *et al.*, 1991).

This technique consists of a two-way conversation that flows naturally enough, and at the same time allows the operator to control it. As already mentioned, each of the two participants in this task has a schematic map which the other cannot see, but both collaborate to reproduce on one of the maps a route already printed on the other, see fig.5 and fig. 6 below. The player that has the pre-printed route on the map is the Instruction Giver, whereas the other player is the Instruction Follower<sup>100</sup>.

Each map consists of around twelve landmarks, which are icons labelled with their names. The two players at the beginning of the game do not know a fundamental detail of the setting: the two maps are not identical, but they differ in a number of small details. The number, nature and position of some of the landmarks change from map to map, so to cause potential misunderstandings and surprise during the interaction, all of which guarantees a certain level of naturalness in the dialogue. All of these mismatches are under control of the experimenter, the same way as the roles, the route and task of the conversational game<sup>101</sup>.

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<sup>100</sup> There is an inherent asymmetry between the two roles, both in terms of responsibility and in length of the turns, which results in favour of the Instruction Giver.

<sup>101</sup> The names of the landmarks constitute controlled and “targeted” material too.

Figure 5 Sample of Instruction's giver map. Anderson et al. (1991).

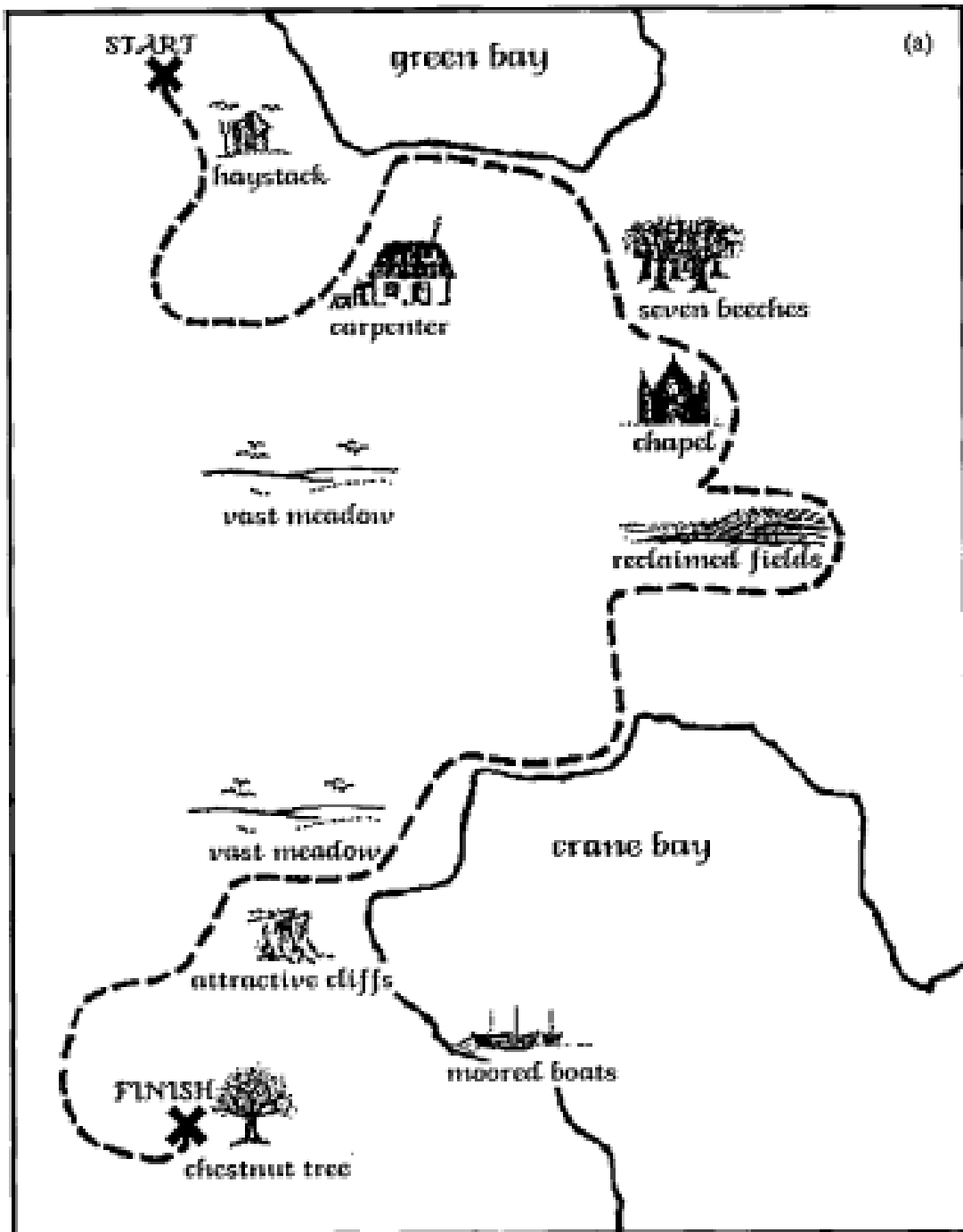
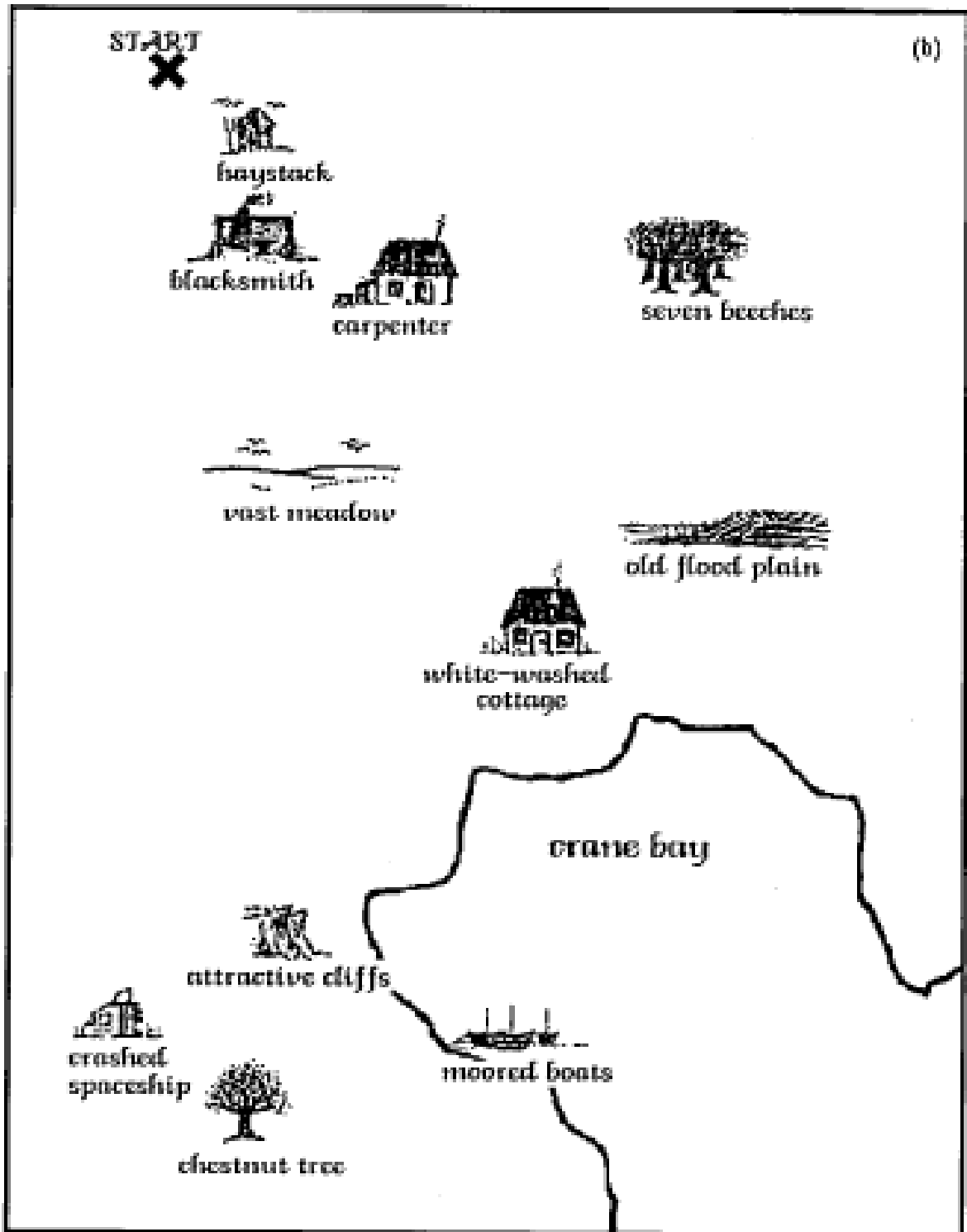


Figure 6 Sample of Instruction follower's map. Anderson et al. (1991).



During the Map Task the two participants can only hear each other, i.e., they have no visual access to each other's map and, above all, cannot see each other either. In the current design of



the Map Task eye contact is prevented by a barrier between the two speakers, which translates into cutting off all the non-verbal communication and having greater pragmatic control over the interaction.

The design of the CLIPS Map Task game has been slightly modified in order to improve some features that had been perceived as limitations in previous research projects<sup>102</sup>. The changes are the following, Cerrato (2007: 9-10):

- a) The maps have on each of them a complementary part of the route, i.e., one player has his map with the first half of the route pre-printed and the other player has his map with only the second half of the route pre-printed. This way, in one and the same dialogue both speakers will play the two roles of Instruction Giver and Instruction Follower, and the disadvantage of a disequilibrium between the two roles (see footnote 1) is avoided.
- b) The task of tracing the route is integrated with another task, namely that of spotting and describing the differences between the two maps. This part of the game, which is then similar to the Spot the difference game, would interrupt the typical conversation flow of the instruction game and allow for a less pragmatically structured interaction to emerge<sup>103</sup>.

For what concerns the speakers, differently from the HCRC map task where the speakers could either be familiar with each other or not so, the designers of the CLIPS *corpus* decided to select only partners who were familiar with each other, in order to have a more natural production<sup>104</sup>.

The diastatic variable in the population of the CLIPS *corpus* has also been kept constant, as all the speakers are aged between 18 and 30 years, and they are either university student or

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<sup>102</sup> Cerrato (2007:9) reckons as limitations on elicited material of previous projects two aspects, namely, “*la prevedibilità della struttura pragmatica degli scambi interazionali e la produzione di dialoghi sbilanciati dal punto di vista degli interventi*”.

<sup>103</sup> As far as I understand this last feature would not be a modification brought about in the CLIPS *corpus*, but it was already present in the HCRC Map Task *corpus*, see Anderson et al. (1991:352).

<sup>104</sup> The negative side of the familiarity between the speakers is that during the dialogue they could make implicit reference to some common knowledge that they share, which would result into a lesser degree of explicitness of the dialogue.

people who have graduated from high school. They also have the same socio-cultural background, and they have a steady bond with the city they are “representing”<sup>105</sup>.

Another difference in the design of the maps of the CLIPS *corpus* lies in the type of icons that are used in the map. Instead of the imaginary landmark icons typically used in geographical maps (see figure (5) and (6) above), the maps of the CLIPS *corpus* are made up of more ordinary objects, belonging to everyday life and identifiable by using univocal expressions, e.g., *stella*, or by a limited number of them, e.g., *macchina-automobile-maggiolino*, Cutugno (2007).

Two sets of maps have been used in the CLIPS *corpus*: map A and map B. Below, in fig. 7 and fig. 8, there is an example of the maps used in the A dialogues.

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<sup>105</sup> See Sobrero & Tempesta (2007) for further details.

Figure 7: first Instruction Giver's map A

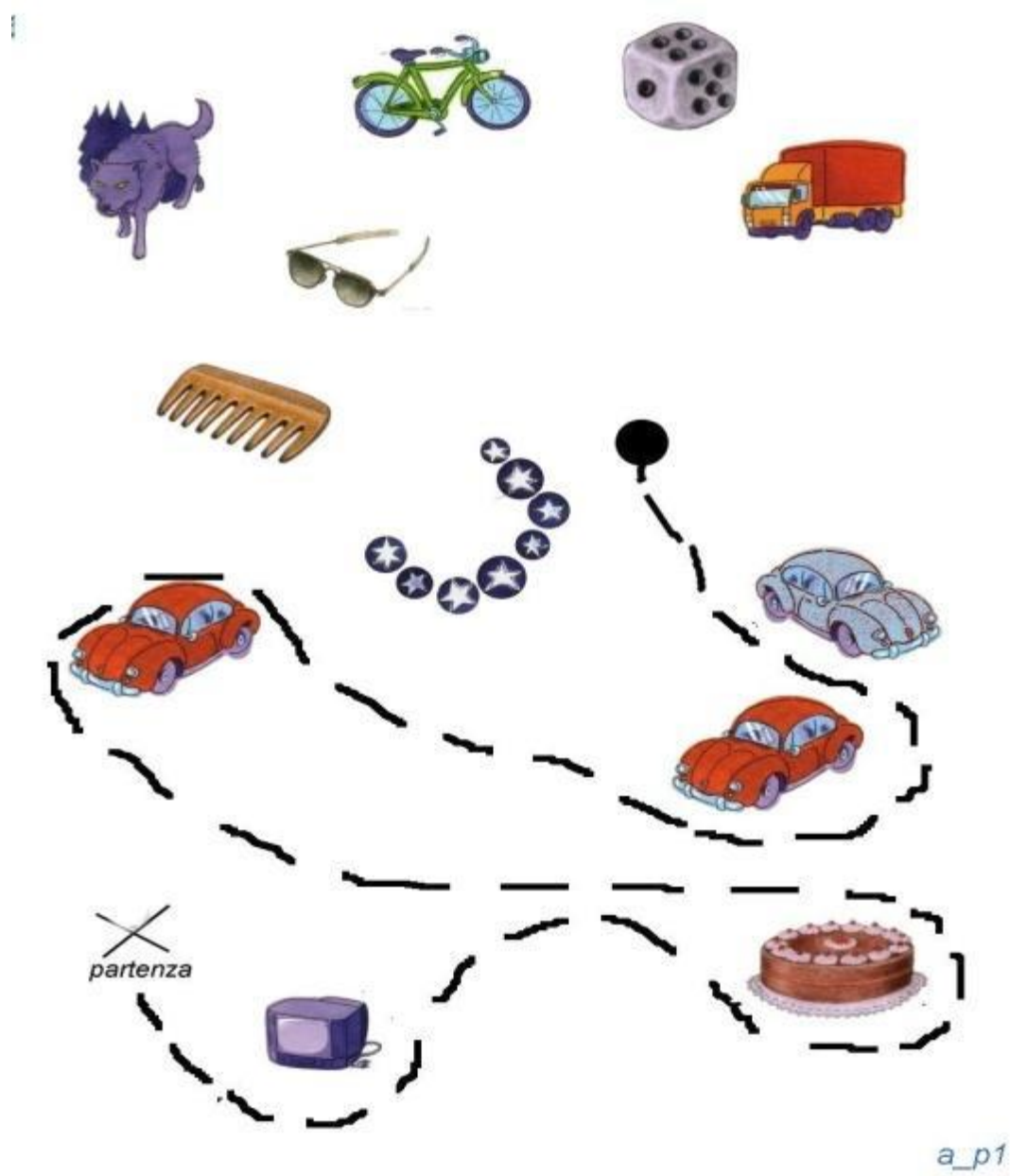
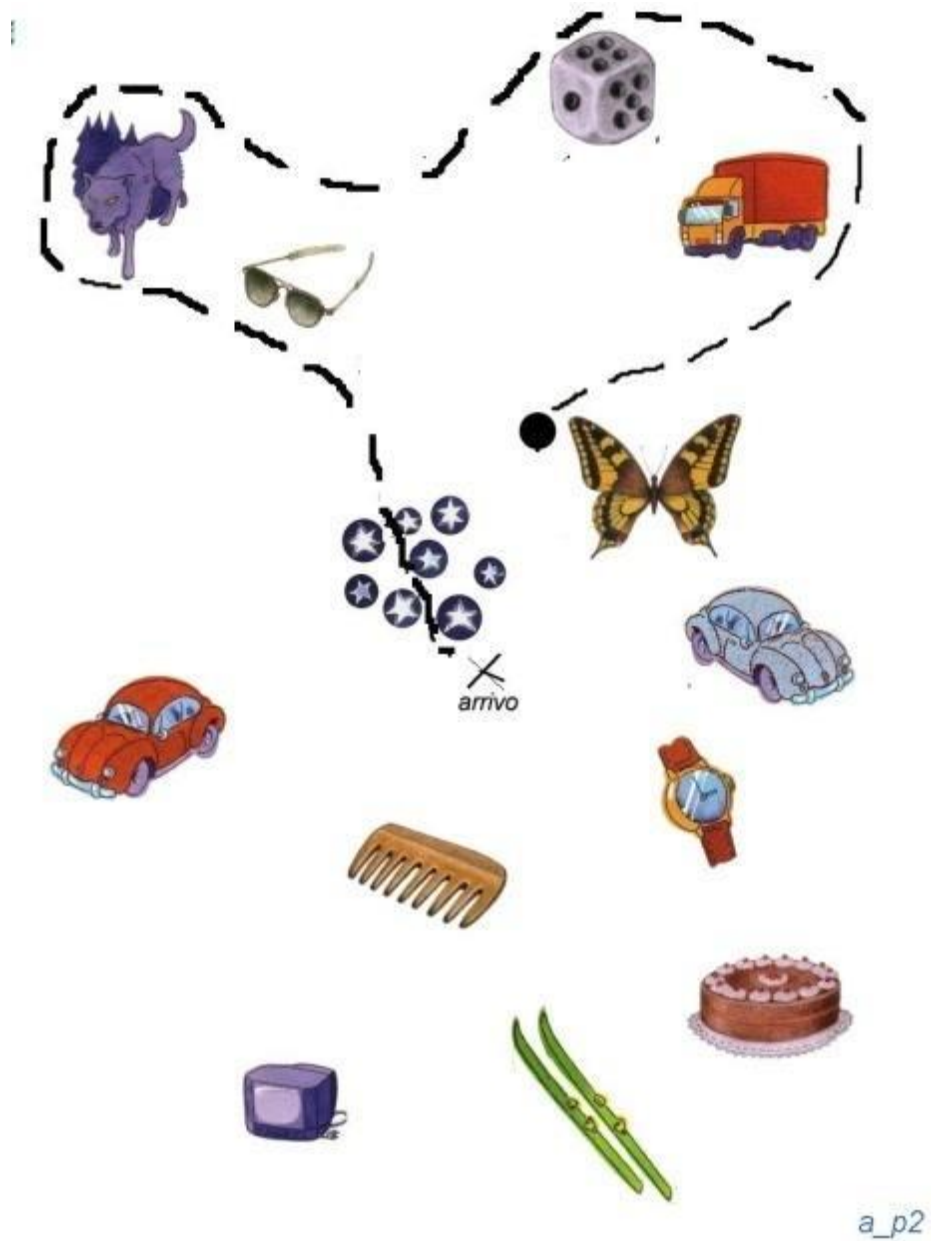


Figure 8: first Instruction Follower's map



The set of instructions that the two players-interlocutors are given is the following in (3) below:

### (3) INSTRUCTIONS FOR MAP TASK

Ognuno di voi ha ricevuto una mappa con una serie di disegni da usare come punti di riferimento per orientarsi.

Sulla mappa contrassegnata con simbolo P1 è tracciato un percorso che si sviluppa da un punto di partenza fino ad un cerchietto nero, all'incirca al centro della mappa, passando intorno ai vari disegni.

Sulla mappa denominata P2 il tracciato riparte dallo stesso cerchietto nero e riprende fino a giungere ad un punto di arrivo.

Obiettivo di ognuno di voi è ritracciare la porzione di percorso che manca sulla sua mappa, chiedendo/fornendo indicazioni utili al raggiungimento di questo scopo.

Per portare a termine questo compito non ci sono limiti di tempo.

La vostra interazione non potrà avvalersi del contatto visivo, cioè non potrete guardare né il viso né la mappa del vostro partner.

All'infuori di queste limitazioni potrete ricorrere a qualsiasi strategia per perseguire il vostro obiettivo.

Cercate di non toccare il microfono per aggiustarne la posizione mentre parlate.

Durante l'esecuzione del compito non dovete rivolgervi in nessun caso all'operatore la cui presenza è dovuta esclusivamente al controllo dei livelli di registrazione.

The map task also has specific pragmatics that has been studied by the HCRC research group; they have proposed an annotation scheme for it that is briefly going to be presented in the next sub-section.

### 2.3.1.1 *Map Task Coding Scheme*

In this sub-section, I am briefly presenting the coding scheme (or annotation scheme) proposed by the research group that has devised the Map Task-elicited dialogue<sup>106</sup>.

The levels of dialogue structure that have been devised for the Map Task *Corpus* are similar to the three levels of classroom discourse proposed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). The idea is that there is a fixed sequence of parts of dialogue that are regularly repeated; in the Map Task dialogue, for example, this sequence can be identified on the basis of the communicative purpose of the players. Starting from the highest to the lowest, they are:

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<sup>106</sup> Another coding scheme proposed in the literature is the DAMSL, which is more detailed and complex but at the same time more flexible and applicable to a wider array of dialogues. The annotation scheme proposed by the HCRC is simpler, has a lighter structure but is more tailored on the Map Task dialogue, and hardly can be fitted to other types of dialogues.

#### (4) LEVELS OF DIALOGUE STRUCTURE

- a. Transactions: “subdialogues that accomplish one major step in the participants’ plan for achieving the task”, (Carletta *et al.*, 1996: 1). A typical transaction is a subdialogue which gets the *route-follower* to draw one route segment on the map.
- b. Conversational games<sup>107</sup>: parts of dialogues that are identified by the “local” purpose that needs to be fulfilled. Therefore, a conversational game is a set of utterances (*moves*), starting with an initiation and encompassing all utterances up until the purpose of the game has either been achieved or abandoned. Games can nest with each other<sup>108</sup>.
- c. Conversational moves: the minimal utterances produced by the participants, in the coders’ words “simply different kinds of initiations and responses classified according to their purpose” (Carletta *et al.*, 1996: 3).

Conversational moves are subdivided into *initiating* and *response* moves: both have yet other sub-types. Starting from initiating moves<sup>109</sup>, all of which set up the expectation of a response, can be:

#### (5) INITIATING MOVES

- a. The INSTRUCT Move: commands, directly or indirectly, the partner to carry out an action
- b. The EXPLAIN Move: states necessary information that had not been elicited by the partner.
- c. The CHECK Move: used for confirming information.
- d. The ALIGN Move: checks the attention or agreement of the partner, or, furthermore, the readiness for the next move.
- e. The QUERY-YN move: asks the partner a polar question (it is different from a *check* or *align* move).

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<sup>107</sup> Also called dialogue games, interactions or exchanges, see Carletta *et al.* (1996: 1).

<sup>108</sup> Carletta *et al.* (1996: 3): “All forms of conversational games embody the observation that, by and large, questions are followed by answer, statements by acceptance, and so on. Game analysis makes use of this regularity to differentiate between “initiations” which fulfill those expectations”.

<sup>109</sup> For a more detailed treatment of the subject refer to Carletta *et al.* (1996).

- f. The QUERY-W move: any query that does not fall into the previous categories.

Response moves, which follow an initiating move, have the purpose of fulfilling the expectations that rise within the game. They can be:

#### (6) RESPONSE MOVES

- a. The ACKNOWLEDGE Move: verbal response showing that the speaker has heard the initiating moves to which he is so responding.
- b. The REPLY-Y Move: a positive reply to a *query-yn* initiation.
- c. The REPLY-N Move: a negative reply to a *query-yn* initiation.
- d. The REPLY-W Move: any response to a query, that has a value different from yes/no.
- e. The CLARIFY Move: any additional reply to a question.

### 2.3.2 “The Spot the difference” game

The Spot the Difference dialogues belong again to a task-oriented category of elicited speech. The idea behind it is to create a conversation in a game situation, whose purpose is that of distracting the speakers and making them forget they are being recorded, in order to increase the naturalness in their speech production<sup>110</sup>.

The Spot the Difference game involves two players, to which two apparently identical images are given. In a limited amount of time, they have to describe the details that differ from an image to the other, without having access to each other’s picture (and to each other’s eyes)<sup>111</sup>. The different details or objects usually correspond to the targeted words under scrutiny.

As for the Spot the Difference game of the CLIPS *corpus*, the instructions that the two players of the game are given are below in (7):

#### (7) INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CLIPS SPOT THE DIFFERENCE GAME

Ognuno di voi ha ricevuto un foglio contenente una vignetta.

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<sup>110</sup> The only negative aspect of this game-situation is the limitation on the topic of the conversation.

<sup>111</sup> This technique has been used, in a variant called “game of seven errors”, for the acquisition of the ICY (a *corpus* for the study of Intraspeaker variability and the Characterisation of speaking styles) Peann et al. (1993).

Le due vignette sono state riprodotte da una rivista di enigmistica, e, come forse saprete, differiscono per alcuni particolari.

I possibili tipi di differenze sono:

- 1) assenza/presenza di piccoli dettagli,
- 2) differente orientamento spaziale di oggetti,
- 3) differenze nella forma o nelle dimensioni di particolari elementi grafici.

Questo test ha una durata fissa di 10 minuti, nei quali dovete cercare di trovare più differenze possibile.

La vostra interazione non potrà avvalersi del contatto visivo, cioè non potrete guardare né il viso né la mappa del vostro partner.

All'infuori di queste limitazioni potrete ricorrere a qualsiasi strategia per perseguire il vostro obiettivo.

Cercate di non toccare il microfono per aggiustarne la posizione mentre parlate.

Durante l'esecuzione del compito non dovete rivolgervi in nessun caso all'operatore la cui presenza è dovuta esclusivamente al controllo dei livelli di registrazione.

Figures 9, 10, 11, and 12 show sample images from the CLIPS corpus. Figures 9 and 10 are from the A dialogues while figures 11 and 12 are from the B dialogues.



Figure 9



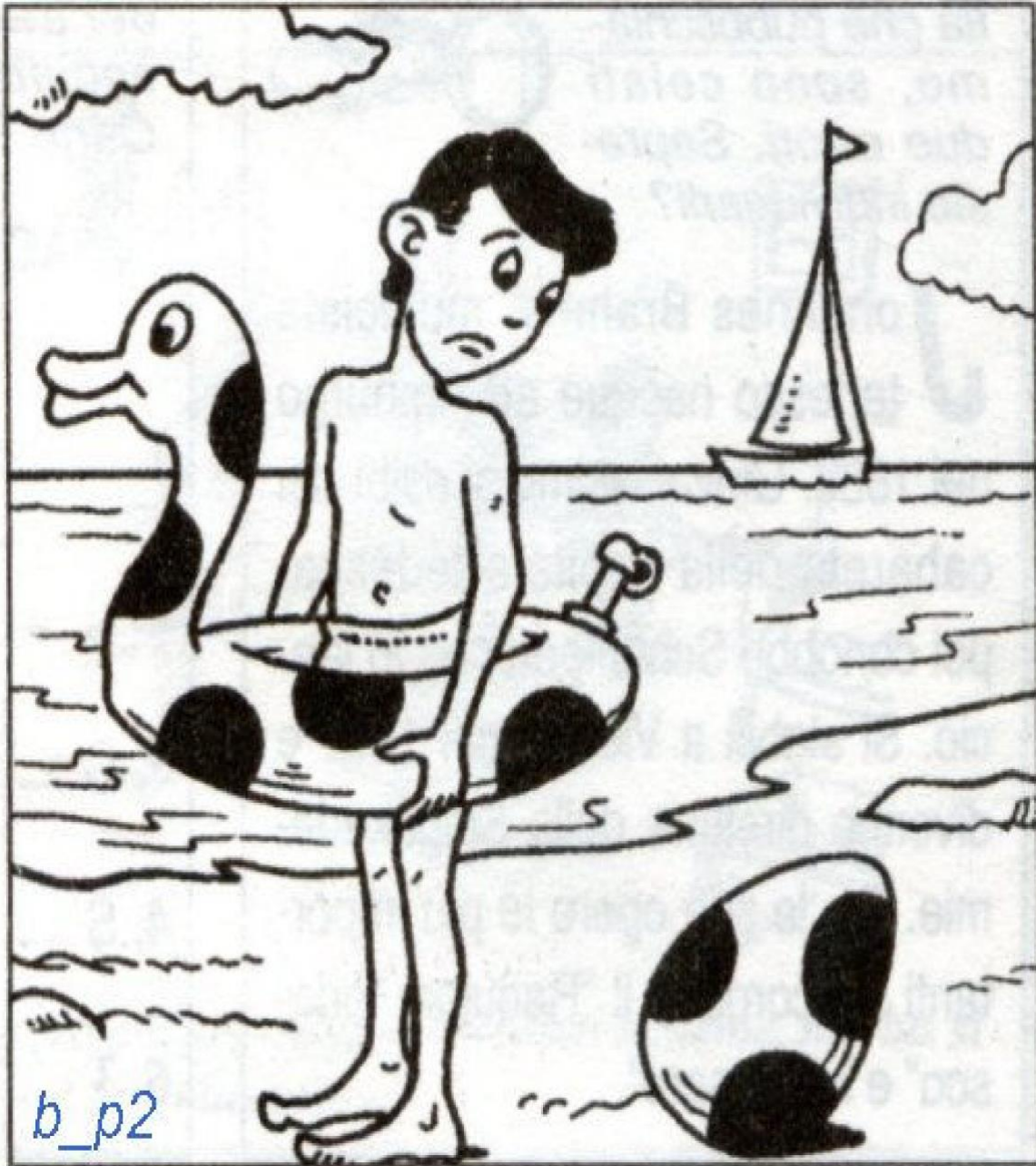
Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



For what concerns the pragmatic annotation of the Spot the Difference dialogues, De Leo and Savy (2007) have proposed one, based on both the HCRC Map Task coding scheme and the DAMSL<sup>112</sup> one. The annotation scheme proposed by the two authors is very articulate and complex; for details the reader should refer to De Leo and Savy (2007).

<sup>112</sup> Dialog Act Markup in Several Layers, a dialogue annotation scheme proposed by Allen & Core. For further details see Allen & Core (1997).

## 2.4 Transcription rules employed in the dialogues

In this section I am going to present the symbol used for transcribing the Map Task and Spot the difference dialogues, building on Savy (2007).

I start from the label given to dialogues, for example, DGmtB01R.

- DG = dialogue (as opposed to the other text types contained in the Clips *corpus*).
- mt = Map Task
- td = Spot the Difference
- B = map/drawing. In the Map Task and Spot the difference games there is a couple of maps/drawings, named A and B
- 01 = sequential dialogue number
- R = Roma

Each speech-turn is labelled by:

- p1 or p2, in order to identify the speaker
- G = instruction giver; F = instruction follower, both only for Map Task dialogues
- the symbol “#”
- a number to indicate the sequence of the speech-turns.

For what regards the rest of the symbols which appear in all the transcriptions of the file I am reporting below in table (1) a table where each symbol is explained.

Table 6

SYMBOL	MEANING	EXAMPLE
+	apocoped/truncated (comes at the end of the word)	da+ ( <i>dato</i> )
?	sentence interpreted as interrogative	Vieni?
,	Syntactic and semantic boundary perceived as such by transcriber	No , mi sembra
<lp> <sp>	Long pause Short pause (with no interruption of the ongoing discourse topic)	il banano <sp> ce l'hai?
<P>	Medium/Long pause with interruption of the ongoing discourse topic	ma io <P> vabbè riprendiamo
<eeh> <ehm>	Pause filled up by vocalisation or nasalisation	allora <eeh> ce l'hai ? o <ehm>
<vv> (v= vowel) <cc> (c= consonant)	Pause filled up by vowel/consonant lengthening at the end of the word Consonant lengthening at word beginning	allora<aa> non<nn> <ss>senti
/	Rephrasing	un tra+ / ce l'hai questo?
<laugh>, <cough>, <breath>, <inspiration>, <tongue click>, <clear throat>	Non-verbal phenomena	ma dove ce l'hai <laugh> ?
<eh>, <ah>, <mh>, <ahah>, <mhmf>	Forms of agreement	G: poi devi andare a destra F: <mhmf>
#	Before and after the overlapping part of the speech turn of the other speaker	il #<F#48> banano ?#



# **Part II**

## **Analysis of the sample**



# Chapter 3

## Relative clauses in spontaneous spoken language

### 3.1. Introduction

In this chapter the studies on the realisation of relative constructions in spoken language –in particular in spontaneous spoken language<sup>113</sup>– are going to be presented. Also presented are the features of relative constructions in the thesis data sample that can be directly attributed to the unplanned spoken nature of the dialogues.

### 3.2. Spoken language and relative clauses in the literature

The realisation of relative constructions in spoken language has been the focus of a series of works on different languages. For spontaneous spoken French, Portuguese and Spanish, relative clauses have been analysed, amongst others, in Blanche-Benveniste (1990), for Italian, amongst others<sup>114</sup>, by Fiorentino (1999) and Scarano (2007), for English<sup>115</sup> and German, by Weinert (2004).

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<sup>113</sup> Spontaneous spoken language corresponds to unplanned spoken language, as we will see below.

<sup>114</sup> Many other works have focused on the diastratic, diamesic and diatopic variation of Italian, taking also into account features of relative clauses, including Bernini (1991), Berretta (1993), Berruto (1993), Aureli (2004) and Sornicola (2007).

<sup>115</sup> From a dialectological perspective, a work that studies specifically relative clauses realisations on a spoken *corpus* of the British Isles is Hermann (2003).

Weinert (2004) compares realisations of relative constructions in English and German and concludes that there are three main functions of relative clauses in a spontaneous spoken discourse: describing, intensifying/confirming, and identifying referents. Syntactically speaking, the author also finds common patterns in both languages, such as the tendency to avoid subject head nouns, to prefer the use of *that* or *zero pronouns* in English. From a pragmatic point of view, the author points out many features on the informational value of relative clauses.

Blanche-Benveniste (1990) analyses data from “*usages normatives et non normatives*” of relative clauses in French, Portuguese and Spanish. She gets to the conclusion that these different uses shall be integrated in a single typological model (accounting for both normative and non-normative uses) which is therefore more heterogenous and complex.

For relative clauses in spoken Italian, many works dealing with diamesic and diastratic varieties, have also dedicated their attention to this construction.

Amongst the studies primarily focused on relative clauses in non-standard varieties, we mention here Fiorentino (1999), that investigates the nature of the *relativa debole* both synchronically (also dedicating space to a pan-Romance perspective) and diachronically<sup>116</sup>.

Scarano (2007) through a *corpus*<sup>117</sup> analysis proves the hypotheses of a previous work, Scarano (2002). In her studies, relative clauses are analysed from a perspective that integrates semantic, information structure and prosody.

### 3.3. Features of spontaneous spoken language

Works such as Miller and Weinert (1998), Miller and Fernandez-Vest (2006), claim that *spoken language* cannot really be opposed to *written language* in terms of genre: “a straightforward distinction between spoken and written language is untenable”, (Miller & Fernandez-Vest, 2006:9). The two labels are too wide, i.e., they include a vast number of different materials (written or spoken) belonging to different genres that cannot be opposed on only one diamesic variable<sup>118</sup>.

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<sup>116</sup> Fiorentino (1999) analyses data from the LIP *corpus*, a *corpus* of spoken Italian.

<sup>117</sup> Scarano (2007) analyses the Italian section of the C-ORAL-ROM *corpus*.

<sup>118</sup> “Written language in general and spoken language in general cannot be clearly differentiated, since it is not just the medium that is important but the factors listed by Biber” (Miller & Weinert, 1998: 21).

All the works quoted above resort to the fine-grained distinction between textual dimensions proposed in Biber (1988)<sup>119</sup> which shows that “a clear-cut distinction between written and spoken language fails to emerge”, because “different texts line up differently with respect to each dimension” (Miller & Fernandez-Vest, 2006:11).

Therefore Miller & Weinert (1998: 21) as well as Miller & Fernandez-Vest (2006: 11) propose that the clear-cut distinction be, instead, between typical spontaneous spoken language *versus* typical formal written language. In other words, the opposition is in terms of *planned* as opposed to *un-planned*.

The properties that distinguish spontaneous spoken language according to Miller & Fernandez-Vest (2006: 13) are listed below.

(1) PROPERTIES OF SPONTANEOUS SPOKEN LANGUAGE<sup>120</sup> (Miller & Fernandez-Vest, 2006, 13)

- (i) Spontaneous speech is produced in real time, impromptu and with no opportunity for editing, whereas written language is generally produced with pauses for thought and with much editing
- (ii) Spontaneous speech is subject to the limitations of short-term memory in both speaker and hearer: it has been said (by the psycholinguist George Miller) that the short-term memory can hold 7+/-2 bits of information
- (iii) Spontaneous speech is typically produced by people talking face-to-face in a particular context
- (iv) Spontaneous speech, by definition, involves pitch, amplitude, rhythm, and voice quality
- (v) Spontaneous face-to-face speech is accompanied by gestures, eye-gaze, facial expressions, and body postures, all of which signal information
- (i) and (ii) are reflected in five linguistic properties.

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<sup>119</sup> Biber (1988) analyses constructions and categories as they appear in texts and according to their frequency assigns values to related factors which are then combined to give textual dimensions. Each dimension is characterised for properties that cluster at each of their poles. For example, the first dimension is “informational *versus* involved production” and opposes “discourse with highly informational purposes which is carefully crafted and highly edited” to “discourse with interactional, affective, involved purposes, associated with strict real-time production and comprehension constraints”, (Biber, 1988: 115).

<sup>120</sup> For what concerns Map Task and Spot the Difference dialogues, conditions (iii) and (v) do not hold as the speakers-players cannot have visual contacts between each other.

- (a) Information is carefully staged, a small quantity of information being assigned to each phrase and clause
- (b) Spontaneous spoken language typically has far less grammatical subordination than written language and much more coordination or simple parataxis
- (c) The syntax of spontaneous spoken language is, in general, fragmented and unintegrated; phrases are less complex than phrases of written language; the clausal constructions are less complex
- (d) The range of vocabulary in spontaneous language is less than in written language
- (e) A number of constructions occur in spontaneous spoken language but not in written language, and *vice versa*<sup>121</sup>.

I am now going to give more attention to how the features (a) and (c) above have been dealt with in the literature. The reason why I focus on these two properties is that they prove more relevant in the dialogues from which I have extracted the sample.

Having information carefully staged and distributed (in small quantities) over different phrases and clauses (a) and having a fragmented syntax (c) are quite tied up together.

The fragmented syntax property has received a lot of attention in terms of its consequences, i.e., whether or not should *text-* and *system-sentences* be considered a basic unit for spontaneous spoken speech (in analogy with written language)<sup>122</sup>. Miller & Weinert (1998) as well as Miller & Fernandez-Vest (2006) claim that the text-sentence is a unit that holds for planned written language only. Sornicola (1981)<sup>123</sup> as well argues against imposing units typical of planned written language on spontaneous spoken language structures, which are not organised with the same syntactic coherence but are rather separate juxtaposed information blocks<sup>124</sup>.

Examples of unintegrated syntax from the literature are many such as in (2).

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<sup>121</sup> Miller & Weinert (1998) have the same list of properties except for two more “subsequent properties” in the list (a)-(e). The two additional properties are:

- f) The sentence is not a useful analytical unit for informal spoken language.
- g) The patterns of constituent structure and the arrangement of heads and modifiers do not always correspond to the patterns recognized by syntactic theory.

<sup>122</sup> The authors refer also to the fact that formal theories use the sentence as elementary unit of analysis for language.

<sup>123</sup> In Sornicola (1981) as well as in the other works mentioned so far the authors underline how the unintegrated nature of syntax is not due to performance errors.

<sup>124</sup> Sornicola (1981) proposes an interesting example of rephrasing in a relative construction that I will report in the next section.

- (2) CAREFULLY STAGED INFORMATION AND UNINTEGRATED SYNTAX (Miller & Weinert, 1998: 46)

B: right if you go from the front giraffe's foot about  
hold on let me see—  
if you go down about straight down about 6 cms  
you find the waterhole  
and it's a big hole . . . with reeds round the side of it ... and animals  
drinking out of it  
and it's about  
it's a an oval hole  
it's about 2 cms wide north to south  
and from the side to side it's about—3 cms wide . . .

The example above in (2) shows how information is carefully staged, i.e., spread out over different clauses<sup>125</sup>.

The authors comment on the possibility of trying to reconstruct sentences from the passage in (2) with the following words:

“The analyst can combine the clauses into sentences, but the combining process is arbitrary and the sentences would not contribute to the analysis of the data as a coherent text. Coherence relations (say, as part of a discourse representation theory) must apply to clauses and indeed phrases, and sentences are not necessary”.

### **3.4. Relative clauses and spontaneous spoken language in the literature**

As for relative constructions in spontaneous spoken language they have been closely investigated by Weinert (2004), as well by Miller & Weinert (1998). The outcome of these works is quite uniform, and I will mainly present the conclusions of Weinert (2004) as it is the

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<sup>125</sup> Voghera (1992: 122), in her analysis of a spoken Italian *corpus*, points out how a syntactic structure fragmented over various speech turns “mette in gioco la stessa definizione di frase”. Interestingly the author takes into account the frequency with which a sentence is uttered over different speech turns and calls it “Turno Complementare”; she also suggests that this indicator shows the degree of cooperation between speakers (Voghera, 1992: 156).

more detailed one and includes Map Task dialogues as part of its dataset. Weinert (2004) investigates the realisation of relative constructions in English and German in a collection of spoken data including Map Task dialogues, conversation, fiction, and news magazines.

Weinert (2004:7) defines relative clause constructions as the following:

“the relative clause is a clause which modifies a head noun. This head may or may not be part of a preceding clause. The term “relative clause construction” will be used to refer to a relative clause plus any clause or phrase including the head noun, with which it combines to achieve a particular discourse function”.

The above definition is tailored specifically for working with spontaneous speech data; indeed, it takes into account the potential fragmentariness of the speech flow and builds a discourse-based solution to overcome potential issues deriving from this syntactic unintegration.

The conclusions the author draws on the nature of relative constructions in conversations are the following. First of all, according to Weinert, the distinction between restrictives and non-restrictives does not hold for spoken language<sup>126</sup>, and the fact that relative clauses are backgrounded should be revisited.

Relative clauses have three main functions: “describing, intensifying/confirming, and identifying”, Weinert (2004: 48).

They represent a way of realising pre- and post-modification as well as offering:

“a compact, right-expanding solution to referent description and establish the relevance of the referent somewhere between the low-key description of non-clausal modifiers and the topic status of main clause descriptions. In other words, they briefly turn a spot-light on a referent”.

For what concerns examples of relative constructions, I start from an English example of relative split up over two different speech turns below in (3), taken from Miller & Weinert (1998), because it shows a phenomenon that is comparable with some examples from my data.

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<sup>126</sup> Moreover, on this semantic distinction Weinert (2004: 45) states that “Spoken language is necessarily characterised by right-expansion of information and its therefore not necessarily easy to decide whether information which expands a referent is incidental/supplementary or not”.

(3) RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION SPLIT UP OVER TWO TURNS

A: ... the first day we went canoeing

L: where I capsized

As we can see above in (3) the head noun is uttered by speaker “A” whereas in the following turn speaker “B” adds a relative clause about it.

Lastly, I propose an example of an utterance containing a relative construction with evident results of the phenomenon of rephrasing<sup>127</sup>. The example is taken from Sornicola (1981: 23).

(4) FRAGMENTARINESS AS EFFECT OF REPHRASING

programmi che / per i bambini / insomma / a l’indomani / vedono / guardano / per la scuola

The author comments on this example in terms of fragmentariness of the speech flow due to re-setting of the utterance-project the speaker had in mind. The syntax is not coherent and linear but the semantics helps in recovering a global meaning of what the speaker may have wanted to communicate. In the next section I am showing one similar text fragment from my sample.

### 3.5. Influence of spontaneous spoken language on the relatives from the sample

In the data analysed for the present work, I have found many instances of fragmented relative clauses<sup>128</sup>, i.e., the speaker suspends the utterance either for rephrasing it differently or for not continuing it at all, or else, he is interrupted by the other interlocutor.

Examples of this phenomenon follow below in (5) and (6):

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<sup>127</sup> Hockett (1958: 48, *italics mine*) describes human spontaneous speech with the following words: “The succession of units produced by a speaker is governed constantly by the changing context, by the units already produced, and by his habits. These factors often supply conflicting directives, not only as to what unit to produce next, but also as to whether to keep on speaking or to stop. Consequently, speech is broken up by pauses, by hesitations, by interruptions, by repetitions, by *sudden changes of direction*.” The phenomenon of rephrasing is recognisable in the last part that I have highlighted in italics.

<sup>128</sup> Cases of fragmentary relative constructions (where the relative clause is not fragmentary, but the main clause is so) are less frequent.

(5) SUSPENDED RELATIVE

(from DGtdA01R)

p1#84: vabbè# ma invece<ee> **questa sorta di radiolina che ha<aa>**

p2#85: televisione? sembra un #<p1#86> televisore#

As we can see in (5) the speaker starts the utterance with the intention of centring his attention on the *sorta di radiolina* (to see if there are differences in it) but he hesitates in outlining the feature this object has. The utterance remains suspended<sup>129</sup> and the other speaker objects on whether it could not be a television instead.

(6) REPHRASED AFTER COMPLEMENTISER *che*

(from DGmtA03R)

p1G#55: sì <sp> arriva intorno al maggioline che/ a sinistra

The example in (6) is even more extreme than (5) in the degree of fragmentariness of the relative clause: only the head noun and the complementiser are uttered before the speaker resorts to another means for identifying the *maggiolone* car.

Other examples of rephrasing follow below in (7) and (8).

(7) REPHRASED RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION

(from DGmtA04R)

p1G#91: ora hai tracciato questa riga *che arriva fino al bord+ /allo spigolo della televisione* quello più a destra

(8) MISSED AGREEMENT AND REPHRASING

from DGmtB03R

p2G#71: no, devi andare ancora un po' su <sp> devi arrivare all'altezza del<ll>  
*primo scaffale che si vedono dove ci stanno le bottiglie dietro*

The example in (8) above seems to be analogous to the one proposed by Sornicola and reported above in (4). The speaker is also uttering his turn with a very high speech rate.

There are also cases of relative constructions, where one speaker-player utters the head noun and the other speaker-player “adds” a relative clause in the next turn. This type of linguistic or verbal cooperation is, in my opinion, due to the situation in which the dialogue is set, i.e., a

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<sup>129</sup> In many instances of relative constructions this uncompletedness does not allow the analyst to determine what is the semantic type of the relative construction.



game in which the players have a specific task to accomplish. This latter property, having to attain the purpose by linguistic means, brings the two players to have some sort of collaboration<sup>130</sup> on linguistic grounds, so for instance in describing the content of their drawings<sup>131</sup>. Both examples below in (9) and (10) come from Spot the Difference dialogues.

(9) *COOPERATIVE* RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION (from DGtdA01R)

p1#258: boh <sp> poi all'interno<oo> della parte più grande c'ha un altro quadrato  
<sp> *rettangolo*# più che quadrato  
p2#259: *che però non corre esattamente parallelamente alla prima<aa>#*

(10) *COOPERATIVE* RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION (from DGtdA01R)

p2#13: <mh> ? <lp> #<p1#14> però come la sciabola# non proprio a punta come  
la<aa> <lp> spada classica  
p1#14: ma è<ee> larga uguale sotto e sopra ha la stessa larghezza?  
p2#15: sì <lp> *tranne in punta che* <sp>  
p1#16: *vabbè si restringe*

Still another case of cooperation<sup>132</sup> can be realised within relative constructions, in their descriptive right-expansion use, when two players utter the same relative clause about a head. An example of this is reported below in (11).

(11) BOTH SPEAKERS UTTER THE SAME PSEUDO-RELATIVE CLAUSE ABOUT A HEAD

p1#22: si e poi c'è *un'altra striscetta* #p2 che va verso il basso in de/ a destra#  
p2#: #p1 *che va verso il basso in de/ a destra*

In conclusion to this chapter that deals with the characterisation of the genre to which the sampled dialogues belong to, I would like to underline one determining factor in the

<sup>130</sup> There obviously must be some psychological component, i.e., the willingness of game partners to engage in some sort of cooperation, that results in different degrees of *linguistic cooperation*.

<sup>131</sup> This cooperation could be higher in the Spot the Difference dialogues, due to the structure of the game, as well as in the Map Task as soon as the players realise they have slightly different maps.

<sup>132</sup> Voghera (1992: 161) calls this phenomenon “cooperazione sintattica tra i parlanti”.

examination of the nature of relative constructions (especially in unplanned speech): the importance of taking into account the text that surrounds each relative construction.

In his work on pseudo-relative realisations in Italian literary texts, Strudsholm (2007:118) clearly states the importance of a *textual* reading for pseudo-relative constructions, that I would generalise to all relative constructions.

“Il contesto è indispensabile per la comprensione del costruito. Per poter identificare una relativa situazionale<sup>133</sup> è spesso necessario trasgredire il limite della frase ed includere il contesto, cioè passare da una linguistica tradizionale che si occupa della frase ad una *linguistica testuale*.”

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<sup>133</sup> *Relativa situazionale* is the label that this author has given to pseudo-relatives.

# Chapter 4

## Analysis of the extracted sample: Semantics

### 4.1 Introduction

I will now present the semantic classification of the sample. First, in section 4.2, the semantic types that have been adopted as representative for the classification of the sample are going to be introduced (with reference to §1.5.2), along with the reasons why such a classifying framework has been adopted. Then, in section 4.3, the classification of the sample will be discussed.

### 4.2 Semantic types of relative clauses used for classification

Before presenting the actual list of types of relative clauses that constitute the parameters for the semantic classification, I am going to explain the reasons that motivated the selection of a list with such a composite origin, instead of opting for one single framework.

To start with, the triggering motivation is to be found in the data itself: not all the occurrences of relative constructions were classifiable according to the traditional settings of the literature on the topic. In a first attempt at applying the dual choice between restrictive and appositive, the result was either leaving too many occurrences as “unclassified” or it was rendering this semantic opposition in imprecise terms which blurred boundaries and mixed up features.

Given these facts, other semantic types had to be brought in, and in order to have them fit with the data, I had to resort to different studies, which were highlighting specific features of relative constructions. These features, which come from different frameworks throughout the literature, would perfectly capture the essence of the relative constructions extracted from the

present *corpus*. In this sense, the parameters for the semantic classification are, to a certain extent, moulded by the kind of data that has been analysed, and the data is, in its turn, classified along these settings. Scarano (2007:73) seems to be making an analogous remark, when she highlights the key role of the *corpus* origin of the data: “*nel suo procedere, la ricerca si è rivelata al tempo stesso corpus based e corpus driven* (Tognini Bonelli, 2001)”.

I would like to show a few examples that demonstrate the reason why it has been necessary to resort to different classifying proposals for the semantic nature of relative constructions.

One framework that has been very useful for grasping the semantic nuances of the relative constructions found in the *corpus*, is the one proposed in Scarano (2007), which was briefly presented in §1.5.3. However, some occurrences of relative constructions in my sample either did not seem to be fully represented by the classification proposed in Scarano (2007), or did not fall under any of the categories (because some feature would not fit in with those of the assigned category).

The first case that I found as not classifiable in Scarano’s terms is that of relative constructions introduced by a demonstrative. The author does not set apart the occurrence of the structure DEM<sub>head</sub>+Rel Clause (see (1.a) and (1.b) below) from the structure DEM<sub>i</sub>+Rel Clause (see (1.c) below), where, in the latter, the presence of an index stands for co-reference with some other previously mentioned entity. Instead, she classifies both cases as restrictives (Scarano, 2007: 78).

(1) RESTRICTIVES WITH A DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN ANTECEDENT Scarano (2007:78)

- a. \*SRE: *volendo // così / se il batterista c' ha i bassi lì / boh // puoi collegare <quello che vuoi>*
- b. \*GNA: [*<*] *<capito> / li [ / ] penso anch'io / quello che dici te //*
- c. \*GIO: [*quelli con l' aereo*]<sub>i</sub> / sono / *quelli che c'hanno il quadratino //*

For cases such as (1.a) and (1.b) I have found more exhaustive the semantic categorisation provided by Grosu & Landman (1998), Grosu (2002, 2003), i.e., these occurrences of light-headed relatives would have a maximalising semantics<sup>134</sup>, see the dedicated sub-section §1.5.2.2.

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<sup>134</sup> As already signalled in §1.4.2.3, Grosu (2003) states that some languages can realise the import of the standard free relative (a relative clause with a maximalising semantics), in the form of a light-headed construction.

The second case in which this classification seemed not to be working for the data, is when a relative that otherwise seemed to be a pseudo-relative (for the context, i.e., presentative), has an indefinite specific antecedent. Now, according to Scarano, it is not possible for the head of a pseudo-relative (using Scarano's terminology, *relativa della modificazione della denotazione*) to have such features. In fact, Scarano (2002:83) states that the antecedent of a pseudo-relative must be either a proper noun or a definite description with a referential value. Therefore, for classifying such occurrences I had to follow Casalicchio (2013) and Strudsholm (1998), who say that the antecedent of a pseudo-relative can also be an indefinite nominal<sup>135</sup>.

For what concerns De Roberto (2008), another global classification of Italian relative (see §1.5.3), it seems to me that the class of restrictives includes other semantic types that may cause some common feature to “fade” or at least not be generally held for all of the class. For example, with relative clauses, the presupposition status applies to a *restrittiva determinativa* (restrictive relative) but not to a *restrittiva definitoria* (kind-defining relative). In another example, common trait of ‘identification’ as one of the defining functions of the restrictive class, does not seem to be strong enough in the case of a *restrittiva definitoria*. This type of relative clause identifies a whole class of potential elements which do not have to be referential, while restrictives are required to be referential. Therefore, in line with Benincà & Cinque (2014) as well as Scarano (2007), it seems to me more appropriate to define this class as separate from the restrictive one and label it ‘kind-defining’ relative clause as proposed by Benincà & Cinque (2014).

Interestingly, concerning the construction DEM+Rel Clause, which seems to behave like a maximalising free standard relative (only as said before in a light-headed relative morpho-syntactic form), De Roberto (2008:482) first states that in certain cases such a construction seems to behave like a free relative, i.e., in the author's terms a relative introduced by the independent pronoun series, but eventually interprets it in terms of Demonstrative pronoun+restrictive determining relative clause (*restrittiva determinativa*).

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The construction DEM+Rel Clause (where the demonstrative pronoun is not coreferential or bound to any antecedent) of Italian seems to fall into this category.

<sup>135</sup> The possibility of having a specific indefinite antecedent is in line with the discourse functions that Lambrecht (2000) assigns to this construction. According to Lambrecht, the pseudo-relative has the function of presenting a new entity into the discourse: (“*J'ai proposé que la fonction discursive de cette construction est à la fois de présenter une entité nouvelle dans un discours donné et d'exprimer une information nouvelle au sujet de cette entité. J'appellerai cette construction la Construction Relative Présentative*” (Lambrecht, 2000: 49).

In conclusion, the need for this composite classification will be more evident when the semantic relative types are exemplified. At that stage it will appear more clearly that each of them has a specific function in the text as well as in the conversational context<sup>136</sup>.

Let us now move on to the classification proper, by presenting the classes of relative constructions according to which the sample will be classified. In the following table we can see a list of semantic types of relative clauses with their corresponding characteristics.

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<sup>136</sup> It would maybe be more appropriate to call the classification ‘semantic-pragmatic’.

Table 7

SEMANTIC TYPE OF RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS	FEATURES
RESTRICTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- [+identifies the antecedent]</li> <li>- Head: [- identified]</li> <li>- Propositional content of relative clause: [+presupposed]</li> <li>- Semantics of the head NP+Rel Clause: [+specific;+identified;+fully referential]</li> <li>- Relation between head and rel <i>pron/other inside</i> rel clause: narrowing down the reference</li> <li>- Sortal interpreted both in the matrix clause and the relative clause</li> </ul>
APPOSITIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- does not identify the head, adds extra info about the already identified head</li> <li>- head already identified [+referential]</li> <li>- propositional content of the rel clause: [-presupposed;+asserted]</li> <li>- semantics of the head NP+rel clause: not unitary</li> <li>- - sortal is interpreted all in the matrix clause</li> </ul>
MAXIMALISING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- the head = sortal is interpreted inside the rel clause</li> <li>- -semantics of head NP+rel clause= semantics of rel constr: [+definite;+generic]; [-existential]</li> </ul>
KIND-DEFINING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- -Head: [+generic]; [-referential];[-specific]</li> <li>- -propositional content of the relative clause: [-presupposed]</li> <li>- -semantics of head+rel clause = [-referential]; [+intensional]</li> </ul>
PSEUDO- RELATIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- -Head: [±definite]; [+specific]</li> <li>- -propositional content of the relative clause: [+asserted]</li> <li>- -semantics of head+ rel clause: [-identified]; descriptive and ‘situational’</li> </ul>

In Table 7<sup>137</sup> above, we can see a list of all the properties that characterise the semantic types of relative clauses used for classifying the sample. These features have already been discussed

<sup>137</sup> For the definitions of definiteness, specificity and genericness, I refer to Vester (1989:335-336), who in her turn refers back to Hawkins (1978) and Lehmann (1984).

in the first chapter, where each type had a dedicated sub-section with a presentation along the lines of the main works in the literature on the issue. However, in the table above, only those features that have been assumed as characterising each type are listed, according to the choices made for the present work. Again, I stress the fact that it is a two-way process: the nature of the data has determined some of the features listed in the table, at least in the measure that some of them have been taken from one proposal and not from another, e.g., the [ $\pm$  definiteness] of the head of the pseudo-relative exemplified above.

I will go through the constructions listed in table (7) briefly, giving a schematic overview of each category, and then showing the actual occurrences of the categories in the corpus.

Starting from the restrictives, I have decided, unlike De Roberto (2008) above, to keep a narrow interpretation of this type: the identification purpose of the clause is a fundamental aspect which is as well provided by the fact that the relative clause is propositionally presupposed. These properties yield a fully identified and fully referential relative construction, i.e., a definite and specific complex NP. On the semantic level these features of restrictives imply that the head cannot be an indefinite NP.

As for appositives, they have the features that they are most commonly associated with in the literature: the head is already identified, and the import of the appositive is on the level of an additional (secondary) predication. The propositional content of the relative clause is asserted, and not presupposed as it is for the restrictive. Given these features, the head and the relative clause do not build a unitary semantics together.

Moving out of the classical dichotomy, we find maximalising relative constructions. According to Grosu & Landman (1998), their semantics is defined in terms of the place where the sortal, i.e., the semantic head, gets interpreted. The effect of this parameter can be seen by comparing the behaviour of maximalising with that of restrictives and appositives with respect to where the sortal is construed. For restrictives the construal of the sortal is carried out by intersection between the matrix and the relative, for appositives the sortal is entirely interpreted in the matrix, whereas for maximalising relatives the sortal is construed exclusively inside the relative clause<sup>138</sup> (see §1.5.2.2 for further details). Besides that, the semantics of this relative construction can be definite or universal but never existential.

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<sup>138</sup> This is a property that is extremely relevant for the interpretation of the demonstrative head of some of the light-headed relative clauses of Italian (the ones for which the Demonstrative is not coreferential with any previously mentioned entity).



Kind-defining relative constructions, on the other hand, are characterised by the non-referentiality of the head, i.e., the head does not refer to any specific entity but, generically, to a class. In addition, the relative clause itself is not presupposed, but it is instead asserted, and it states the intensional properties of the non-referential head. Consequently, the import of the relative clause is that of narrowing down the class to which the head noun belongs, by signalling certain features its potential elements should have.

Lastly, pseudo-relatives unlike kind-defining do refer to a specific entity. They may do so either by having a definite or an indefinite head. The propositional content of the relative clause *per se* is asserted, as opposed to what happens for restrictives. Differently from the latter, a pseudo-relative construction builds a global semantics of description, not of identification, see §1.5.2.1 for further discussion.

After this concise presentation of the features according to which the classification has been carried on, in the next section I shall consider how the sample of the present work has responded to it.

### **4.3 Sample Response to the Semantic Classification**

The sample of text extracted from the dialogues of both the map task and Spot the Difference is composed of 314 occurrences of relative constructions. As discussed in chapter 2, the nature of the *corpus* influences the realisation of relative constructions. What's meant by this, is that because the dialogues are instances of semi-spontaneous speech, the flow of the conversation can easily result be interrupted by the other interlocutor or suspended by the speaker, who will eventually rephrase the text or will end the turn without adding more.

When these typical features of spontaneous speech manifest themselves in the middle of a formulation of a relative construction, one may or may not be able to understand which semantic type the occurrence belongs to. In the latter case, I have categorised these occurrences as “Non-Classifiable”.

Let us now see the chart with the quantitative results of the semantic classification, below in Table 8.

Table 8

TYPE OF RELATIVE	NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES/ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (%) OF TYPE CALCULATED OVER (TOTAL-N.C.)
Restrictive	148	49.83%
Appositive	15	5.05%
Maximalising	8	2.69%
Kind-defining	39	13.13%
Pseudo-relative	87	29.3%
Non-Classifiable	17	-
Total	314	-

The relative frequency of the semantic types in table (2) has been calculated over a total composed of the only “classifiable” occurrences, i.e., relative frequency of type  $x = \text{number of occurrences of type } x / (\text{total number of occurrences} - \text{number of “Non-Classifiable” occurrences})$ . The choice of taking into account only the number of relative constructions to which a semantic category could be assigned, has seemed to me as more representative for having a quantificational idea of relative frequencies of each semantic type.

For what regards the results of the classification, the most frequent relative construction is the restrictive one, that covers almost half of the cases. The second most frequent type is the pseudo-relative, with a quantity close to one third of the total, followed by the appositive, that barely makes up half of the occurrences of the former. The kind-defining occur 13.13% of the time and the least frequent construction is the maximalising one.

Let us now consider each type of relative construction along with examples from the extracted sample.

### 4.3.1 Restrictive relative constructions

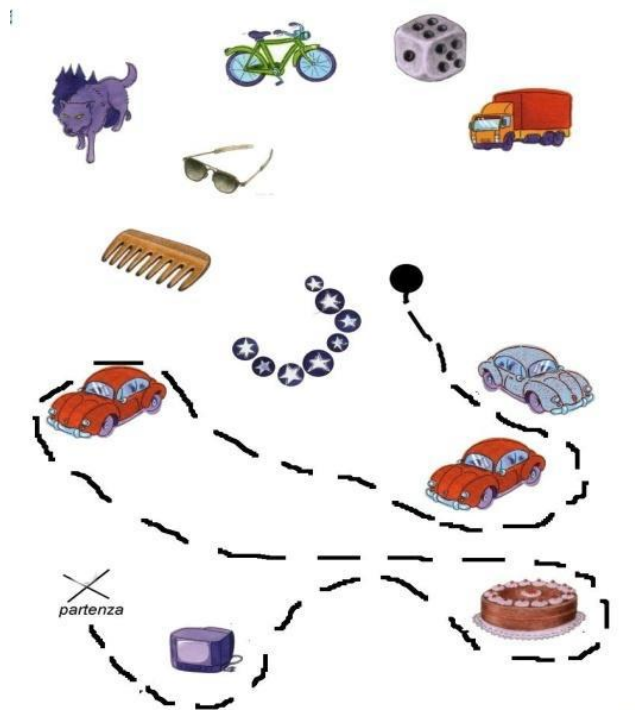
As the results in table 2 show, the restrictive relative construction is the most frequent one between the occurrences that make up the sample of the present work.

I am now going to show a few examples of restrictives that occurred in the corpus, which illustrate the category I have labelled them with.

The first example is that of a prototypical restrictive construction, below in (2).

(2) PROTOTYPICAL RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION (from DGmtA01R)  
p1G#23: *tu <sp> vedi il parafrango della **macchina che sta a sinistra** ?#*

As we can see, the relative clause is a device used by the speaker to identify which car he is referring to out of three cars, only one of which is on the left side of the map, as we can see in the giver's map below in Figure 1.



a\_p1 Figure 13

The properties signalled in table (7) are all fulfilled here: the head noun is not identifiable unless the set of the noun intersects with the set traced out by the relative clause, the

propositional content of the relative clause is presupposed, and the outcome of the construction is a fully identified and referential NP.

Out of the totality of the restrictive occurrences in this sample, 42 have a demonstrative pronoun as antecedent. In this case, the demonstrative pronoun is coreferential, i.e., anaphorically linked, to an entity that was previously introduced in the discourse. It may be useful to add that, in these 42 occurrences, a gestural deictic interpretation of the pronoun is to be rejected, as the interlocutors could not see each other in the task (see chapter 2 for details).

### (3) RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE WITH ANAPHORIC PRONOMINAL HEAD

a. From (DGtdA01R)

p2#9: *un cappello<sub>i</sub> che sembra da baseball <lp> sai **quelli**<sub>i</sub><ii> **che sembrano**<oo> **i classici cappelli americani**<sup>139</sup>*

b. From (DGtdA04R)

p1#38: *poi senti ce l'hai [due/una doppia riga<sub>i</sub>] una che parte dall' orecchia del cane e finisce fino alla fine del foglio*

p2#39: *sì sì sì sì sono [quelle<sub>i</sub> che delimitano l'aiuola]*

In examples above in (3.a) and (3.b) both containing a pronominal head, all the features belonging to the restrictive type (see table 7) are again present, therefore these occurrences classify as restrictive relative constructions with the distinguishing characteristic of having a demonstrative pronominal head.

### 4.3.2 Appositive relative constructions

In these dialogues, appositive relatives make up 5.05% of the classifiable relatives. Such a small percentage might be considered quite surprising if one were to adopt a bipartite semantics for relative clauses.

In (4) below we can see some examples from the sample:

### (4) APPOSITIVE RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

a. (From DGmtA01R)

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<sup>139</sup> In the dialogue <lp> stands for *long pause*.

- p2#11: [...] *poi tiene in mano la spada* <sp><sup>140</sup> ***che è una sciabola a punta***  
 b. (From DGmtB04R)
- p2F#98: *allora dai, dimmi, il cuore gli passa a destra o a sinistra?*
- p1G#99: *a destra di queste di queste linee, **che piano piano si rincurvano un'altra volta a destra***

In (4.a) the NP *la spada* has already been introduced a few conversational turns ahead, therefore it already has a [+ identified] status. The speaker gives an extra information by means of the relative clause, that has an assertive propositional value. The head and the relative clause together do not build a unitary semantics.

The same holds for (4.b), where the head *queste linee* has been previously introduced in the conversation; in addition to answering the question about the side where the heart lies, the speaker adds an extra piece of information about the head, *queste linee*.

### 4.3.3 Maximalising relative constructions

Maximalising relative constructions are not too copious in my sample, but all the same, they are represented. The key semantic feature of this type of relative constructions lies in the (relative) clause-internal construal of the sortal. On the morpho-syntactic side, as claimed in Grosu (2003), some languages realise the standard free relative that corresponds to this semantic type as a light-headed relative construction (see § 1.5.2.2). I consider Italian as one of these languages, as certain occurrences of relative constructions in the present sample seem to prove.

In (5) below I am reporting examples of maximalising relatives from the sample.

#### (5) MAXIMALISING RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

- a. STANDARD FREE RELATIVE IN THE FORM OF A LIGHT-HEADED (from DGmtA03R)  
 p2F#76: *allora facciamo così* <sp> *appurato che tu non hai la farfalla ma dovresti avere da **quello che ho capito un maggiolino rosso***
- b. STANDARD FREE RELATIVE IN THE FORM OF A LIGHT-HEADED (from DGtdA02R)

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<sup>140</sup> In the transcriptions <sp> means *short pause*.

p1#208: *er parabrezza <sp> allora quella è 'n'altra differenza e s+ me pare stiamo a tre*

p2#209: *sì okay <lp> okay*

p1#210: *dopodiché forse potremmo vedè' vabbè **quello che vede lui dentro la televisione***

- c. TRANSPARENT FREE RELATIVE IN THE FORM OF A LIGHT-HEADED ? (from DGtdB01R)

p1#118: *e quelle sono solamente delle ombre, quelle macchie, **quelle che sembrano delle macchie** <lp> in realtà sono delle ombre*

Both (5.a) and (5.b) above are interpretable as being standard free relatives, in the morpho-syntactic form of light-headed relatives. To start with, in none of these examples is the demonstrative pronoun<sup>141</sup> anaphoric or coreferential with some entity that has already been mentioned in the dialogue. This implies that it is not possible to have a restrictive interpretation: the demonstrative does not refer to any generic set on which the following relative clause could intersect. We must then acknowledge the semantic emptiness of the demonstrative<sup>142</sup>, which leads us to the necessity of interpreting it as being inside the relative clause: this confers a maximalising value to the whole relative construction.

Below, (6) shows the data in (5) modified to include an independent pronoun, where (6.a) corresponds to (5.a) and so on:

(6)

a. *Da quanto ho capito*

b. *Quanto vede lui dentro la televisione*

c. *Quanto sembra(no) (essere) delle macchie*

The first two free relatives with independent pronouns in (5) seem to be perfectly acceptable in Italian, and they also seem acceptable if they were to substitute the light-headed counterpart in 5.a and 5.b., as we can see below in (7).

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<sup>141</sup> Another pronoun that could be used in this construction is *ciò*, but it has not been recorded in the present sample. It is interesting to note how Sabatini (1985:158) remarks that its frequency of use has strongly decreased in colloquial Italian.

<sup>142</sup> See De Roberto (2008:482) for Old Italian *corpus* examples.

(7)

- a. p2F#76: *allora facciamo così <sp> appurato che tu non hai la farfalla ma dovreesti avere da **quanto ho capito** un maggiolino rosso*
- b. p1#210: *dopodiché forse potremmo vedè' vabbè **quanto vede lui dentro la televisione***

The alleged transparent free relative in 5.c, instead, does not have the same degree of acceptability and there seems to be a missing element: the copula of the small clause, i.e., *essere*. If we compare it to an example of transparent free relative, with a plural NP, from English, like the one below in (8), we can see that the equivalent of 5.c would be (8):

- (8) [What seem to be **books**] {are, \*is} lying on the desk. (Grosu 2003:281)
- (9) [What seem books] are lying on the desk
- (10) I want to eat [what seem books]

The result of this comparison seems to point at the fact that 5.c may not be an instance of a transparent free relative but, only of a free relative (having left aside the hypotheses that it could be a verb ellipsis of the infinite copula *essere*).

#### 4.3.4 Kind-defining relative constructions

As can be seen in table 7 and as was seen in the literature, the leading features of kind-defining relatives are the non-referentiality of the head, along with the non-presupposed nature of the propositional content of the relative clause. The rest of the features that descend from these two basic properties will be discussed by considering the specific examples taken from the *corpus*, like the ones below in (11).

(11) KIND- DEFINING RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

- a. From DGmtA04R  
p1G#145: *sì eh va be' <sp> tu insomma/ arrivato al centro della torta cerca di fare **una curva che più o meno ricalchi quella che hai fatto intorno alla torta** <sp> andando verso l'alto*
- b. From DGmtB03R

P2G#63: *no no <sp> tu fai/ tracci una linea verticale che arriva fino all'altezza del cuore <sp> al limite massimo del cuore, capito?*

From the examples 11.a and 11.b we can see the manifestation of the features that are typical of kind-defining relatives. First the antecedent is not truly referential, but generically indicates an element of a class: in all three cases it is an indefinite and non-specific expression. Then, secondly, the propositional content of the relative clause is not presented as presupposed, but, instead, looks like a predication of a characteristic that the non-specific element (the head) should have. Indeed as a prove of the non-presuppositional status of the relative, 11.a has the verb of the relative clause in the subjunctive mood, and we can easily see how the subjunctive mood would fit well in the other construction, 11.b, as re-formulated below in (12).

(12)

P2G#63: *no no <sp> tu fai/ tracci una linea verticale che arrivi fino all'altezza del cuore <sp> al limite massimo del cuore, capito?*

The overall semantics of the kind-defining relative construction is that of tracing the features that potential members of a sub-class within a class should have.

All the occurrences of kind-defining relatives in the analysed sample do in fact belong to the conversational move INSTRUCT, i.e., they are used by the speaker when he or she needs to give instructions of how to trace some elements of the map, or more generally to do something for tracing the route on the map.

#### 4.3.5 Pseudo-relative constructions

Pseudo-relative constructions are very copious in the sample, and that may be strictly linked to the typology of the dialogues, as I will clarify in this sub-section.

In (13) below we can see examples of pseudo-relatives from the *corpus*.

(13)

a. From mtA04R

p1G#23: *no devi partire quattro millimetri sotto la E <sp> poi c'è il primo segmento un po' in diagonale che va verso la televisione*

b. From mtA04R



p1G#109: *ecco bravo c'è un segmento che proprio sta sopra il tetto esattamente* <sp> *attaccato in pratica al disegno*

c. From tdA03R

p2#15: *guarda i due fanalini adesso* <sp> *li stai guardando?* <sp> *quello di sinistra c'ha un trattino nero che lo unisce al paraurti* <sp> *anche quello di destra?*

d. From tdA04R

p2#47: *hmm il*<ll> *collo del cane c' ha il collare che sopra non è chiuso*

e. From tdB02R

p2#141: *e poi*<ii> *andiamo verso l'uovo* <sp> *ci stanno due segnetti, e poi uno che arriva fino all'uovo e poi c'è un'ombra sotto all'uovo*

As we can see from the above examples the pseudo-relatives found in this *corpus* can have a definite head, as in the cases of (13.a) and (13.d), as well as an indefinite one, as in (13.b), (13.c), (13.e).

Unlike other frameworks (for example Scarano (2002)), I have included in this class occurrences of relatives with an indefinite head. The indefiniteness of the head seems to be a necessary feature of an NP that is presented for the first time in a discourse by means of a pseudo-relative construction. In other words, the head of a pseudo-relative is very likely to be indefinite in a presentational or descriptive context<sup>143</sup>. This is a feature that characterises both the conversational game Spot the Difference, as well as the Map Task (in the latter in particular after the two interlocutors and players find out that they have different objects on the maps (see chapter 2)). In conclusion, when the function of the relative is purely presentational the head is indefinite and when it is more descriptive the head may also be definite because the entity has been previously presented to the other interlocutor<sup>144</sup>.

From the examples above we can see that the two most frequent presentational as well as descriptive contexts in the dialogues have the main clause introduced by *esserci* or *avere/averci*. In the case of example 13.e the main clause verb is missing, and the pseudo-relative construction is coordinated to the previous descriptive material.

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<sup>143</sup> See Lambrecht (2002), in which these instances of pseudo-relatives are called “Presentational Relative Clauses”.

<sup>144</sup>It may also be the case, as in 13.d, that the head indicates an object that according to common knowledge should be an essential component of the described fragment of the picture. In 13.e the collar is part of most representations of dogs, therefore the speaker introduces it with a definite NP.

#### 4.4 Functions and uses for each semantic type

In conclusion to the semantic classification of the present sample, I would like to make a remark that goes in the sense of integrating the semantic results of the analyses to the uses and the functions that each single type seems to specify on.

By this I mean the following:

Table 9

TYPE OF RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION	CONTEXT OF USE	FUNCTION
RESTRICTIVE	(not specialised)	Pointing at or indicating one specific object between many that belong to the same class inside the map (when not strictly playing, the objects may be from the outer world too)
APPOSITIVE	(not specialised)	Giving extra information about an identified object which is currently at the centre of the conversation
MAXIMALISING	Used in context that relate to the speaker's understanding of the situation	Identifying some sort of object without referring to an outer referent, but only to the content of the relative clause
KIND-DEFINING	Instructions on how to draw objects on the map	Used for giving instructions
PSEUDO-RELATIVE	Description of map content realised by introducing objects on the picture/Description of objects on the map.	-introducing new objects during an interlocutor's description of his/her map -describing objects already introduced

As we can see in table 9 above, in this *corpus*, which is a specific one for pragmatic context, the relative constructions seem to have highly specified functions. The restrictive is obviously used for locating referents when the interlocutors are describing the route on the maps, in reference to the objects of the map.

The moment the two players realise that the maps they were given for the game do not coincide, they start describing the content of their maps, and, at this stage, they also start making larger use of pseudo-relatives: the objects on the maps have to be introduced as new entities, as they may not be “shared content”.

Instead, kind-defining relatives are used when the speaker<sup>145</sup> is giving instructions to the other player concerning how he has to draw some parts of the route. The object of the description is not a real referent, i.e., the expression is not truly referential, it just points out how to potentially instantiate an object of some sort (a class member) with some specific features.

I think that some of these functions can in fact be generalised: kind-defining can be used in all texts that give or suggest instructions (recipes, instruction manuals, etc), where the narrowing down purported by the relative clause is not on a specific referential object, but applies, instead, in indicative potential terms.

The same holds for pseudo-relatives, that differently from kind-defining, have a specific referent, which may be definite or indefinite, accordingly to the context: either an already identified referent is being described in its contingent features, or a new entity is being presented in the text.

For appositives the uses and functions in this *corpus* are not very different from the ones indicated in the literature, i.e., they provide additional information about an already identified referent.

Finally, for maximalising relatives, I have found it harder to identify a context that can be generalised; it might be the case that there are various partial contexts, like the one indicated in table 9. For the function, instead, I think they might have a purely linguistic function. They could be used for identifying some sort of object without referring to an outer referent, but only to the content of the relative clause. Yet, any stable conclusion on the function of this semantic type would need to have more occurrences and possibly a more varied array of *corpus* from which extracting data.

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<sup>145</sup> To be more precise, the speaker giving instructions is *the giver* in the map-task conversational game.

## 4.5 Conclusions

In this chapter we have seen how different frameworks need to be combined in order to classify the semantics of the relatives from the present sample. The relative occurrences that I extracted from the dialogues can be classified in five groups:

- Restrictives relative constructions;
- Appositive relative constructions;
- Maximalising relative constructions;
- Kind-defining relative constructions;
- Pseudo-relative constructions.

The characterising features for each of the groups have been introduced as well as examples from the sample representing each of them.

In the last section of the chapter I have outlined how semantic types of relatives seem to specify on specific functions and uses throughout the sample, also in connection with the pragmatic settings of the dialogues.

# Chapter 5

## Analysis of the extracted sample: Syntax

### 5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I am considering the syntax of relative constructions. In section 5.2 I will present the classification of the sample according to the parameter of relativised position inside the relative clause. In section 5.3 the same analysis is applied to each semantic type along with a classification that highlights the syntactic position of the head noun in the main clause. In section 5.4, relativisation strategies are analysed throughout the sample, comparing the outcome with results of previous studies. Other remarks on the syntactic behaviour of the sample are reported in section 5.5.

### 5.2 Syntactic analysis: position relativised

For what regards the syntax of the relative constructions from the sample, at first I am going to analyse the position relativised inside the relative clauses, with reference to the NP Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977). Before presenting the results of the analysis, though, it may be necessary to highlight one issue about some of the parameters used in Keenan & Comrie (1977).

Keenan & Comrie (1977) use, as a starting point for defining the objective of their investigation, a semantic definition of the relative clause, which corresponds to the restrictive type. This set up is due to the need to identify relative sentences in large number of languages, that is in situations where the syntactic aspect of relative clauses may not be a helpful parameter for such a task. In the authors' words, Keenan & Comrie (1977:63):

“we are attempting to determine the universal properties of relative clauses (RCs) by comparing their syntactic form in a large number of languages. To do this it is necessary to have a largely syntax-free way of identifying RCs in an arbitrary language. Our solution to this problem is to use an essentially semantically based definition of RC”

As pointed out before, the “semantically based definition” which Keenan & Comrie use corresponds to the “restrictive relative clause”.

In the present work, instead, all the relative occurrences (belonging to all the semantic types) have been tested for the parameter of the relativised position<sup>146</sup>, as the use I make of this classification does not have the purpose of detecting large scale tendencies on a wide sample of languages.

In table 10 below, we see the distribution of the relativised positions in the current sample.

Table 10

RELATIVISED POSITION	SUBJECT	DIRECT OBJECT	INDIRECT OBJECT	OBLIQUE	GENITIVE (POSSESSOR)	COMPARISON
OCCURRENCES	192	70	-	30	2	-
RELATIVE FREQUENCY	65.31%	23.81%	-	10.20%	0.68%	

The table shows how the position that is majorly relativised in the sample is the subject one. This is perfectly in line with the results of studies such as Alfonzetti (2002)<sup>147</sup> which have analysed the position relativised in corpora of spoken Italian.

Examples of relative constructions in the different positions relativised follow in (1) below.

(1) RELATIVISED POSITIONS

- a. Subject (from DGtdB04R)  
 p1#24: *no , io ce l'ho<oo> puntata verso la nuvola **che sta sopra***

<sup>146</sup> For what regards, instead, relativisation strategies, the analysis proposed in Keenan and Comrie (1977, 1979) is characterised by the realisation of the trait [ $\pm$ case]. The authors speak as well about a *Primary Relativisation Strategy*, which interacts with the *Accessibility Hierarchy* yielding the *Relativisation Constraints*.

<sup>147</sup> Alfonzetti (2002) explores the relativisation phenomenon within a sociolinguistic perspective.

- b. Direct object (from DGmtA01R)  
 p2G#144: *sì <sp> sopra l'ultimo angolo **che teoricamente puoi toccare***
- c. Oblique  
 Locative
- (From DGtdA01R)  
 p2#15: [...] *tranne in punta **che***  
 <sp>  
 p1#16: ***vabbè si restringe#***
- Temporal
- (From DGmtB03R)  
 p1G#21: *cioè devi fare una linea tratteggiata, il tratteggiamento  
 <sp> deve arrivare nel momento **in cui vai dritto** cioè costeggi il  
 lato del gatto*
- d. Genitive (possession) (from DGtdB04R)  
 p2#111: *quale nuvola?*  
 p1#112: *la nuvola quella **che abbiamo visto le lineette***

### 5.3 Position relativised in RC and Main Clause by semantic type

This section analyses how the semantic types of relative clauses that have been identified in the sample in chapter 3, behave according to the parameters of which position is relativised within the relative clause and which is the syntactic role of the head in the matrix clause.

#### 5.3.1 Position relativised in RC and Main clause: Restrictives

Restrictive relative clauses show a remarkable degree of freedom for what concerns the position of relativisation inside the relative clause as well as the syntactic position of the head noun inside the main clause. With this semantic group being the largest within the present sample, I have decided to first display how it behaves according to the parameter of relativised position inside the relative clause, and then pair this information with the data corresponding to

the realisation of the position of the head in the main clause. This can be seen in the tables below: table 11 shows the relative frequency of each of the position relativised (inside the relative clause) in the sample, whereas table 12 contains the detailed correspondence between relativised position inside the relative clause and position of the NP head inside the main clause<sup>148</sup>.

Table 11

<b>RESTRICTIVES NP+RC</b>	
POSITION RELATIVISED INSIDE REL CLAUSE	FREQUENCY (number of pst/total number of restrictives)
Subject	40.46%
Direct Object	42.75%
Oblique	16.79%

As we can see in table (11) above the positions of direct object and subject together make up 83.21% of the occurrences, with the direct object position (42.75%) being slightly greater than the subject position (40.46%). In order to have a simpler layout of the table I have chosen to unify all the cases of prepositional complements under the label “Oblique”, which includes genitive of possession (amounting to one case for restrictives), temporal and locative complements.

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<sup>148</sup>In this chapter, as well as in the information structure one (see §6.5.1), I have analysed the occurrences of restrictives headed by a demonstrative pronoun coreferential with an adjacent (preceeding) full lexical NP (*full lexical NP<sub>i</sub>+ Dem<sub>i</sub>+RC*) separately from the other restrictives (headed by a a lexical NP or a demonstrative pronoun with no adjacent coreferential NP). This separate treatment has the purpose of highlighting the particular properties of the construction *full lexical NP<sub>i</sub>+ Dem<sub>i</sub>+RC*.



Table 12

<b>RESTRICTIVES <i>NP+RC</i></b>			
n. of occurrences	Relative frequency %	Position relativised inside the Relative Clause	Position of head in the Main Clause
23	17.56%	SUBJ	(NP <sub>HEAD</sub> inside a) PP
17	12.98%	SUBJ	SUBJ
8	6.11%	SUBJ	D OBJ
13	9.92%	D OBJ	D OBJ
21	16.03%	D OBJ	(NP <sub>HEAD</sub> inside a) PP
17	12.98%	D OBJ	SUBJ
3	2.29%	PP	SUBJ
7	5.34%	PP	OBJ
11	8.39%	PP	PP
5	3.82%	SUBJ	-
5	3.82%	OBJ	-
1	0.76%	PP	-

The table above is quite complex due to the number of combinations realised in the sample. Nevertheless, some generalisations about the behaviour of restrictive relative constructions in the present dialogic context can be deduced from it.

The first consideration regards the most frequent combination, i.e., subject position relativised along with head being part of a PP (which is mostly locative) in the main clause. This combination of syntactic roles in the relative and main clauses respectively seems to point

to the main function of the restrictive device, i.e., identifying an entity, combined with the type of dialogues under investigation, where orientation in space is a fundamental pragmatic and semantic (functional) component. The passage below in (2) exemplifies what just observed.

(2) *from DGmtA04R*

p1G#27: però senti <sp> devi fare<ee>/ cioè i segmenti sono<oo> diciamo *da quello che parte sotto la E di partenza* fino a quello che sta proprio in corrispondenza della spina della televisione<ee> # p2F#28#

Another remark that can be made regards the combinations *subject head* and *direct object position relativised*, as well as *subject head* and *subject position relativised*: these combinations could often be linked to a topic expression. In other words, the complex NP made up of *head+RC* could often be the realisation of a topic expression.

Lastly, the occurrences that have no position for the head NP in the main clause are cases where the restrictive construction constitutes an answer to a *wh*-question<sup>149</sup>. An example of this can be seen below in (3)<sup>150</sup>.

(3) *from DGmtA04R*

p2F#42: diciamo allora il tuo segmento arriva sotto o sopra la torta?

p1G#43: non ho capito

p2F#44: arriva sopra o sotto la torta?

p1G#45: quale?

p2F#46: *questo che dalla televisione porta alla torta* <sp>, no?

For what regards those restrictive constructions that are made up of the sequence *full lexical NP<sub>i</sub>+Demonstrative<sub>i</sub>+Relative Clause*, the syntactic realisations therein are reported below in table (13).

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<sup>149</sup> In terms of the conversational moves presented in chapter 2 for the map task dialogues, the question is a *Query-wh* move.

<sup>150</sup> From an information structure point of view these occurrences are likely to be NPs expressing argument focus (given the fact that they are an answer to a *wh*-question), see §6.5.1.

Table 13

<b>RESTRICTIVES <i>full lexical NP<sub>i</sub>+ Dem<sub>i</sub>+RC</i></b>			
n. of occurrences	Relative frequency %	Pst relativised inside the Relative Clause	Pst of full lexical NP (coreferential with <i>Dem head</i> ) in the Main Clause
6	41.18%	SUBJ	PP
1	5.88%	D OBJ	D OBJ
1	5.88%	PP	SUBJ
3	23.54%	SUBJ	SUBJ
1	5.88%	SUBJ	OBJ
2	11.76%	SUBJ	-
1	5.88%	PP	-

A first remark must be added to the above table about the demonstrative pronoun heading the relative clause and coreferential with the full lexical NP in the main clause. The syntactic position of this pronoun is never the same as the syntactic position of the coreferential NP: in all the occurrences recorded, be the coreferential noun phrase in a PP or not, the demonstrative is always in the unmarked form *quello/quella*. This can be illustrated in a more direct way in a passage from the *corpus* reported below in (4).

#### (4) SYNTACTIC POSITION OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE

- Coreferential full lexical NP belongs to a PP (*from DGmtA01R*):  
p1G#3: allora sotto<oo> prendi il parafango [della *macchina<sub>i</sub>*]<sub>PP</sub>  
quella<sub>i</sub> che sta a sinistra

This fact can be interpreted as the syntactic counterpart of the semantics of this construction: the full lexical NP indicates a referent with a definite description, which, in order to be unambiguous (in other words, univocal) must be further specified for the value of the entity it picks out within a contextually restricted set (identified by the N).

For what regards the analysis of the content in table (13), in analogy with the analysis shown in table (12) for the other group of restrictives, the most frequent combination is the one that has the *coreferential NP* in PP position along with a subject relativised position inside the relative.

The argumentation proposed for interpreting this *datum* is similar to the one suggested above for the other type of restrictives, i.e., identifying an object or a part of an object in a spatially restricted location in a type of dialogue where most interactions are dictated by the need of supplying spatial indications. In addition to that, I underline again how this particular instance of restrictive indicates that it picks up one member of a restricted (finite and numerically small) set (either in the given context or for encyclopaedic reasons). This interpretation becomes clearer by considering the passage below in (5) which contains one occurrence of this restrictive construction.

(5) *From DGmtA01R*

p1G#79: poi riscende giù verso destra questa volta in diagonale <sp> andando ve+ / #<p2F#80> sotto<oo> l'altra macchina# <lp> fa il giro sopra la macchina <sp> sopra il tetto però #<p2F#80> capito ?#

p2F#80: #<p1G#79> <laugh># <lp> #<p1G#79> <ehm># sì<ii> e poi torno<oo> in giù a destra in diagonale

p1G#81: in #<p2F#82> diagonale sì#

p2F#82: #<p1G#81> okay#

p1G#83: sotto<oo> la macchina quell'altra rossa <sp> [sotto *l'altro maggiolone rosso*]<sub>PP</sub> <sp> quello<sub>i</sub> che sta a destra

Another observation can be made about the two last lines in table (13) where the position of the full lexical NP in the main clause is missing. These occurrences are cases of restrictive relative constructions that, as complex NPs, make up an utterance, i.e., a speech turn, as we can see below in (6).

(6) *From tdB04R*

p1#270: sta<aa> <inspiration> <sp> allora <sp> la parte finale quella che tocca col bordo più o meno è<ee> all'altezza di metà della<aa> vela <sp> della<aa> sì della vela della bandierina

p2#271: di metà della #<p1#272> bandierina#

p1#272: #<p2#271> sì# <sp>

p2#273: <inspiration> la parte finale; quella<sub>i</sub> che tocca la/ <sp> sul bordo <sp>  
sì <sp> sì<sup>151</sup>

### 5.3.2 Position relativised in RC and Main clause: Appositives

For what regards appositive relative clauses, we can see in table (14) the distribution of the syntactic roles relativised within the relative clause as well as the position of the head noun within the main clause.

Table 14

APPOSITIVES			
n. of occurrences	Relative frequency %	Pst relativised inside the Relative Clause	Pst of head in the Main Clause
1	6.67%	D OBJ	D OBJ
5	33.34%	SUBJ	PP
3	20%	D OBJ	PP
2	13.33%	SUBJ	SUBJ
2	13.33%	SUBJ	D OBJ
2	13.33%	PP	SUBJ

As we can see in table (14), the syntactic combinations that can be realised within the appositive clause and the main clause in which it is embedded are various.

For reasons of space I am only going to report an example from the most frequent syntactic combination in the above table, subject position relativised inside the relative clause and PP position of the antecedent in the main clause.

(7) Appositive subject- PP from *DGmtB04R*

p2F#82: passa vicino al frigorifero?

<sup>151</sup> This speech turn seems to be an instantiation of a pragmatic *Acknowledge* Response Move (see §2.3.1.1).

p1G#83:no <P> {[whispering] <ah!> aspetta, <sp> però} <lp> <inspiration>  
 passa intorno al gatto, poi all'esterno <lp> sulla destra [di *questa freccia*]<sub>PP</sub> che  
piano piano va su<uu> <sp> c'è una mano

### 5.3.3 Position relativised in RC and Main clause: Maximalising

For what regards maximalising relative constructions, in table 15 below we see the distribution of the syntactic positions relativised in these relative paired with the position in the main clause.

Table 15

MAXIMALISING			
n. of occurrences	Relative frequency %	Pst relativised inside the Relative Clause	Pst of maximalising construction in the Main Clause
2	25%	D OBJ	NP inside a PP
2	25%	SUBJ	SUBJ
3	37.5%	D OBJ	-
1	12.5%	D OBJ	D OBJ

Before moving on to the observations on the response of maximalising relatives as shown in table (15) above, I think it is necessary to make a remark about these constructions. The last column on the right hand-side registers the position of the whole maximalising relative construction in the main clause, differently from the tables presented so far where it was representing the position of the NP antecedent inside the main clause. According to the nature of this type of relative, the head is interpreted inside the relative clause, therefore it would make no sense to keep the value “position of the head inside the main clause”, which is then replaced by “position of the maximalising construction inside the main clause”.

As we can see in table (15), the combination of the roles is quite varied for this type of relative as well. I am going to report below a passage from a conversation that contains an

occurrence of the relatively most frequent combination, i.e., the one that has no syntactic position for the whole construction associated with an inner object relativised position<sup>152</sup>.

(8) From *DGmtB03R*

p1F#68: devo andare in diagonale verso la mano <lp> e<ee> a che punto mi devo fermare?

p2G#69: Gli devi passare intorno alla mano <sp> sulla destra

p1F#70: <Hmm> sì

p2G#71: ma<aa> non è che giri proprio intorno<oo> <sp> dopo che sei arrivato all'altezza dell'anulare<ee>/

p1F#72: no, quello che mi devi dire solamente, io a che punto devo cominciare a girare attorno alla mano <sp> devo arrivarci vicino, alla mano?

#### 5.3.4 Position relativised in RC and Main clause: pseudo-relatives

As for pseudo-relatives, the positions that can be relativised inside the relative clause, as the literature tells us, are not as many as in the case of the relatives that we have so far considered. The main and canonical relativised position is the subject one, and only marginally the object one<sup>153</sup>. Below in table (16) we can see how the relativisation position inside the relative clause combines with the position of the head in the main clause.

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<sup>152</sup> It is very likely for maximalising relative constructions with these syntactic features to receive one and the same interpretation in terms of information structure, that of not at-issue material, see §6.5.3.

<sup>153</sup> Casalicchio (2013:121) states that with the verb *avere* (in the main clause) the pseudo-relative clause can also be coreferential with other arguments of the embedded verb, provided that there is a resumptive pronoun, “La pseudorelativa usata con il verbo avere è caratterizzata dalla possibilità di essere coindicizzata non solo con il soggetto della pseudorelativa, ma anche con altri argomenti della frase incassata; in questi casi è obbligatoria la ripresa clitic”. Strudsholm (1998:129) claims that although part of the literature tends to restrict the embedded relativised position to the subject one, works such as Sanfeld (1909) claim that there is a small amount of cases where the inner syntactic position is the object one. Besides that, Strudsholm does not add that the clitic resumptive pronoun should be obligatory. The example this author proposes from spoken conversation is (Strudsholm 1998, 129 n. 10, my emphasis) “A casa abbiamo **la facciata** che la stanno ristrutturando”

Table 16

PSEUDO-RELATIVES			
n. of occurrences	Relative frequency %	Pst relativised inside the Relative Clause	Pst of head in the Main Clause
39	44.83%	SUBJ	OBJ
32	36.78%	SUBJ	SUBJ
3	3.45%	D OBJ	D OBJ
3	3.45%	SUBJ	PP
10	11.49%	SUBJ	- (main verb missing) <sup>154</sup>

As pseudo-relatives make up the second largest group within my sample, I am here going to present examples from three types of combinations that seem to me more relevant: the most frequent one, the “less canonical” as well as the type that has the antecedent in a PP inside the main clause.

Starting from the syntactic combination that has the highest relative frequency, I report below in (9) an example taken from DGmtA02R.

(9) PSEUDO-RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION SUBJECT -OBJECT<sup>155</sup> from DGmtA02R

p2G#244: e lo so infatti <lp> <mhmh> <sp> e le mie <lp> sono <lp> comunque non è da girarci intorno perché io ho praticamente *una linea dritta che mi porta fino al punto d'arrivo*

For what regards the pseudo-relative construction that relativises an object position, I propose an example below in (10).

(10) PSEUDO-RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION OBJECT-OBJECT from DGmtA03R

p1G#61: sì quindi passa in mezzo a<aa> / tra il maggiolino rosso e quello azzurro <sp>

<sup>154</sup> These pseudo-relative constructions have no verb *esserci* or *averci*, which may be present many turns ahead.

<sup>155</sup> The combination that has the head of the relative clause in subject position in the main clause is realised along with the verb *esserci*, whereas all the combinations that have the head in object position (like the example in 9) are associated with the verb *avere/averci*.



p2F#62: tra il maggiolino rosso e<ee>/ quindi tu hai<ii> *due maggiolini che io non ho*<sup>156</sup>

The last example of syntactic realisation in pseudo-relative constructions corresponds to the structures where the pseudo-relative is part of a Prepositional Phrase mentioned in §1.5.2.1.

(11) Pseudo-relative construction PP-subject from dialogue

p2#41: i lacci sono uno due tre lacci <sp> *con una striscia<aa> che passa in mezzo ai tre lacci*, giusto?

### 5.3.5 Position relativised in RC and Main clause: kind-defining

The syntactic distribution of kind-defining relative clauses reflects the nature of their functions as was pointed out in the semantic chapter (see §4.4). Indeed, because this type of construction is primarily used to give instructions<sup>157</sup>, the syntactic positions that are most frequently associated with it are *direct object* for the head in the main clause and *subject* for the relativised NP inside the relative clause. This can be seen below in table 17.

Table 17

KIND-DEFINING			
n. of occurrences	Relative frequency %	Pst relativised inside the Relative Clause	Pst of head in the Main Clause
21	53.85%	SUBJ	D OBJ
9	23.07%	SUBJ	SUBJ
2	5.13%	SUBJ	HEAD IN PP
2	5.13%	LOC	OBJ
5	12.82%	OBJ	OBJ

<sup>156</sup> As we can see in this example there is no clitic pronoun (resumptive pronoun, as pointed out by Casalicchio (2013)) inside the relative clause. Instead there is a full subject personal pronoun *io* that signals contrast with *tu* in the main clause. This *object pseudo-relative* (whose pattern is identical in the other occurrence recorded in the sample) does seem to have the precise use of contrasting what one player has or has not in his map in contrast to the other player.

<sup>157</sup> The feature just mentioned is specific to this type of dialogues. On the side of that, there are features that distinguish, more generally, this type of relative construction, i.e., the fact that it is used to trace the characteristics of a certain sub-class within the class (kind) of entities.

An example from the most frequent realisation of kind-defining according to table 17 follows below.

- (12) KIND-DEFINING RELATIVE SUBJECT- DIRECT OBJECT from *DGmtA04R*  
 p1G#77: poi a<aa> a cinque millimetri devi fare *un altro segmento* *che però è*  
*<sp>/ gira proprio intorno al bordo della torta*

#### 5.4 Syntactic Analysis: Relativisation strategy

For what concerns relativisation strategies, the reference for the analysis is Comrie (1981)<sup>158</sup>. What is central to Comrie’s work is determining “the expression of the role of the head noun within the embedded clause”, Comrie (1981:147). An exemplification of the typology identified by the author, as already proposed in §1.4.2, is repeated below in table 18.

Table 18

STRATEGY	EXAMPLE
A. NON-REDUCTION	i. (lat.) <i>In quo loco</i> posturus eris terram bene subigito et stercerato In which place you will want to plant it/settle it down, work well and muck the soil (Cato <i>agr.</i> 161,3)
B. RESUMPTIVE PRONOUN	ii. (it.) Il ragazzo che <i>gli</i> ho dato venti euro per la pizza è scappato via the boy that to-him <sub>CLIT</sub> twenty euros for the pizza ran away
C. RELATIVE PRONOUN	iii. (Rus.) Parch’, <b>kotoromu</b> ja dala dvadcat’ evro na pizzu boy REL PRON DAT I gave 20 euro for pizza ubezhal. ran away
D. GAP STRATEGY	iv. (Engl.) The dog (that) you saw yesterday is running towards us

<sup>158</sup> Comrie (1981) only examines restrictive relative clauses.

Italian relative clauses can be formed by using the B, C, and D strategies in table 18 above, also depending on the setting of the “formal” or “informal” parameter for the text<sup>159</sup>.

In the current sample, the response to the classification sketched according to the settings of Comrie (1981), can be seen below in table 19<sup>160</sup>.

Table 19

STRATEGY	NON-REDUCTION [+ case]	RESUMPTIVE PRONOUN [+ case]	RELATIVE PRONOUN [+ case]	GAP [- case]
NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES	-	4	18 (relative adverb) 13 (relative pronoun)	267
RELATIVE FREQUENCY	-	1.32%	10.27%	88.41%

The first note that can be made about the above results is that for a correct interpretation it is necessary to read them considering two aspects: the fact of being working on spontaneous spoken language and the distribution of the relativised positions throughout the sample. The first factor, by implying a lesser degree of formality of speech as well as an unplanned nature, makes it less likely for speakers to use relative pronouns which are more typical of formal registers<sup>161</sup>. For what concerns the second factor, i.e., the distribution of the positions relativised in the present sample, we can notice that because subject and direct object position amount to 91.12 %, the preferred relativisation strategy for these two positions becomes determining for the whole sample. Indeed, the gap strategy, which prevails in this sample, is the preferred strategy for the relativisation of subjects<sup>162</sup> as well as direct objects. This result is in line and is comparable with the analysis of Alfonzetti (2002) and Fiorentino (1999).

For each of the strategies in table 19 an example from the sample is going to be presented and discussed, starting from the resumptive pronoun strategy below in (13).

(13) RESUMPTIVE PRONOUN STRATEGY *from DGtdA03R*

<sup>159</sup> See Fiorentino (1999), Murelli (2011) for details.

<sup>160</sup> In this part of the syntactic analysis I am going to apply the parameters to all the sample, without proposing a separate analysis for each semantic type.

<sup>161</sup> See Fiorentino (1999).

<sup>162</sup> Subjects are accessible to relativisation strategies with no need for resumptive pronouns, see Keenan & Comrie (1977).

p1#22: e la freccia quella<aa> <sp> sopra la ruota? <sp> in alto a sinistra della ruota?

p2#23: della macchina, no <sp> c'è la freccia, no? *Quella che c+ ce l'hai pure te*

As we can see in this occurrence of relative construction there is a clitic pronoun *la* (in the reduced allomorphic form *l'*) inside the relative clause that signals the syntactic position of the relativised NP<sup>163</sup>.

(14) RELATIVE PRONOUN STRATEGY *from DGmtB02R*

P1F#68: e <hmm> *il punto di/in cui mi devo fermare* è a metà tra la ciliegina e il cuore?

As we can see in the restrictive construction above the speaker uses a relativisation strategy, that signals case: the *cui* relative pronoun strategy.

(15) GAP STRATEGY ON SUBJECT RELATIVISATION *from DGmtA01R*

p1G#23: tu <sp> vedi il parafango della *macchina che sta a sinistra* ?#

In (15) above the strategy used for relativizing the subject position inside the relative clause is the gap one, which is a standard relativisation strategy for both subject and object positions. There are cases in which the gap strategy is also used for relativizing obliques: the relative clauses that show this realisation correspond to what Fiorentino (1999) calls “relativa debole”.

(16) GAP STRATEGY ON CIRCUMSTANTIAL PP RELATIVISATION *from DGtdB01R*

p2#101: senti ma tra il braccio e la ciambella c'è un triangolino?

p1#102: quale braccio? <sp> *quello che non si vede la mano*?

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<sup>163</sup> The use of the resumptive pronoun strategy in this occurrence as well as in the other three might be due to some other factor as well, namely the possibly ongoing process of grammaticalisation of clitic affixes on certain verbs, in example (13) *avercela*, in the other cases in the sample *trovarsela*. The attested grammaticalised verbal form is *averci/trovarsi* but, as stated, it may be an interplay of the relativisation strategy, emphasis and analogy in the use of the second clitic, i.e., the direct object one. Fiorentino (1999: 107) explains the use of a resumptive pronoun for direct object relativisation in terms of emphasis and distance of the head, in analogy with what happens for oblique relativisation. This phenomenon is also explained in similar terms by Berretta (1993) as signalled by Fiorentino (1999: 104).

In (16) above the relativised position is an oblique one. The strategy used does not supply information about the relativised position of the PP, neither does for its case, gender or number. Throughout the current sample there are three cases of this type of strategy.

Going back to proposals for the interpretation of the syntax of relative clauses, next to Comrie (1981), there are others that integrate the typology of relativisation strategy along with a categorisation of the relative element involved in the process. Lehmann (1984), for instance, like already seen in §1.4.1, maintains that relativisation is made up of three processes, namely, subordination/nominalisation, attribution/nucleus building, anaphoricity/gap construction, which in turn influence the features of the relativizing element.

De Vries (2002) combines (and slightly reinterprets) the functional characterisation of Lehmann with corresponding syntactic characteristics, to get to a proposal that differentiates relative elements between: relative pronouns, relative particles (which can be either complementisers or relative markers), resumptive pronouns<sup>164</sup>.

For the present work, it seemed useful to find a classification that would combine all the proposals above in one scheme. The classification proposed in Murelli (2011: 79-112) seems to do this, as well as separating instances of *simple* from instances of *combined* relative elements. The author defines this distinction in the following terms:

“At this point, a distinction will be made between simple and combined relative elements. SIMPLE RELATIVE ELEMENTS consist of a single morphosyntactic unit; COMBINED RELATIVE ELEMENTS are composed of more units, which can be contiguous or non-contiguous<sup>165</sup>”.

The features encoded by *simple relative elements*, as classified by the author, follow in the template below in table 20.

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<sup>164</sup> See de Vries (2002: 155-178) for more details.

<sup>165</sup> Murelli (2011: 98) indicates that “combined relative elements consist of a number of contiguous or non-contiguous morphosyntactic units and are formed through the combination of either two simple relative elements or a simple relative element with another element – a non-relative particle or a resumptive element”.

Table 20 (Murelli, 2011: 88, table 3.5)

parameters	Relative element					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Encoding of						
-link between MC and RC	+	+	+	+	+	-
-syntactic role of the relativised item in the RC	+	+	+	+(∃!)	-	-
-gender agreement	+	+	-	-	-	-
-number agreement	+	-	-	-	-	-
Simple relative element →	Relative pronoun			Specialized relative element	Relative particle	Zero-marker

In my view, this further classification presents an advantage for the analysis of the current sample, namely the fact that it highlights and isolates the instances of an element such as *dove*, here classified as *specialised relative element*.

The response of the present sample to the above is shown below in table 21.

Table 21

Simple relative element →	Relative pronoun (column 3)	Specialized relative element	Relative particle	Zero-marker
Number of occurrences from analysed data	5 ( <i>in cui</i> ) 4 ( <i>di cui</i> )	20 ( <i>dove</i> )	280	1*

For what regards examples of occurrences of relative constructions with pronoun and relative particle strategy I have already presented examples above in (14) and (15, 16) respectively. Instead, I will now show an example of relative construction with the specialised relative element *dove*.

- (17) SPECIALIZED RELATIVE ELEMENT: *dove* (from DGtdA02R)  
p1#102: poi ce sta dunque *la panchina **dove** sta seduto il tizio*

In (17) the element *dove* encodes the features corresponding to the “specialised relative element”: it signals the presence of a link between matrix and relative clause as well as encoding the value of the relativised syntactic position (and it does so for only one value, namely locative).

The last category of simple relative elements in table (20) is the zero-marker (column 6). In the current sample there is a construction that seems to employ this relativisation strategy; in the literature, such a relative clause is also referred to as “contact clause” (Jespersen, 1933, 1954) or “zero relative” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002).

- (18) ZERO RELATIVE from DGtdA04R  
 p1#14: ah l'albero <sp> l'albero che<e> / ha ha il tronco<oo>  
 p2#15: il tronco<oo>  
 p1#16: *fa una curvetta*

The fragment reported above in (18) looks like a case of so-called zero relative construction. Semantically speaking we are dealing with a pseudo-relative that textually is fragmented over three speech turns. There seems to be an analogy with other such constructions pointed out in spontaneous speech in works such as Sornicola (2007):

- (19) ZERO MARKER RELATIVE<sup>166</sup> (Sornicola, 2007:104, es.3)  
*Vedi queste barche ci stanno qua/nessuna barca ci stava*

### 5.5 Remarks about other syntactic phenomena of relativisation

In this section, I am going to report some examples of syntactic phenomena that can be observed throughout the sample.

I start from an example of stacking, which is defined as the co-occurrence of more than one relative clause referring to the same head.

- (20) STACKING from DGmtA02R  
 p1F#127: insomma me devo avvicinare a **quella specie de camion** *che vedi te*  
 <sp> *che ce l'ho pure io*

In (20) above the NP “quella specie de camion” (in bold) is the head of both the two following relative clauses, “che vedi te” as well as “che ce l’ho pure io”.

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<sup>166</sup> Sornicola (2007: 105) names this clause “relativa a connettivo zero”.

Another syntactic phenomenon is what I have called *chinese boxes*, two relative clauses in sequence, but unlike stacking, not embedded on the same head. An example follows below in (21).

(21) CHINESE BOXES *from DGmtA04R*

p1G#81: poi<ii> / e va be' continua a circondare la torta <sp> anzi aspetta, quest'ultimo segmento che hai fatto è più o meno sulla stessa riga di quello della curva<aa>/ dell'**altezza** che ha raggiunto **la curva**<aa> che hai fatto prima tra la televisione e<ee> /

Finally, in (22) I present an instance of missed or mismatched agreement that can be read as a possible result of the *impromptu* nature of the conversation.

(22) MISMATCHED AGREEMENT *from DGmtB03R*

P2G#71: no, devi andare ancora un po' su <sp> devi arrivare all'altezza del<ll> primo scaffale che si vedono dove ci stanno le bottiglie dietro

The speech-turn above in (22) is uttered with a high speech rate, especially for what regards the two relative clauses.

## 5.6. Conclusions

In this chapter I have presented the syntactic analysis carried out the relative constructions of the sample.

The response to the syntactic analysis has been in line with the task and settings of the dialogues (see §2.3) and the functions of the relatives (as highlighted in the semantic chapter, see §4.4); this is especially true in the case of restrictives and kind-defining, which are more strictly definable in functional terms.

For what regards more generally the positions relativised inside the relative clauses as well as the relativisation strategies the data analysed is comparable to previous analysis of spoken Italian.



# Chapter 6

## Information structure of the sample

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the information structure of the relative constructions forming the sample.

To start with, in section 2 I will present the definitions of information structure that I have adopted for analysing the sample. In section 3, I will introduce the previous works that have dealt with the information structure of relative constructions. In section 4, the framework used for analysing the sample will be presented and finally, in section 5, for each semantic type of relative clause the hypothesis of its information structure will be put forward.

### 6.2 Information structure: basic definitions

In this section I will introduce information structure and some of its main components trying to propose definitions that can turn out useful for the present work. I would like to underline how the amount of works on information structure is such that it would not be possible to mention all the contributions to the literature on this topic since the Prague School until recently. It is not only a matter of number of works, but also a matter of number of different accounts with consequent notional and terminological variation. Again, as in the case of the semantic analysis, I have tried to find those tenets and parameters that could fit with the type of data analysed here.

### 6.2.1 Definition of Information Structure

Starting from the term information structure<sup>167</sup> itself, I propose the following definition (Hinterwimmer, 2011: 1875):

“The term information structure is meant to capture the different dimensions at which linguistic messages can be structured in accordance with requirements imposed by the linguistic and extralinguistic context as well as the communicative intentions of the speaker.”

The above definition synthetically highlights the factors that influence information structure, i.e., the form of a message can be moulded by:

- the text to which it belongs;
- the extralinguistic context;
- speaker’s beliefs about the interlocutors’ state of knowledge and consequential speaker’s communicative intentions<sup>168</sup>.

Depending on their informational structuring messages are split up into different parts carrying different semantic-pragmatic values. Many proposals for their articulation can be found in the literature, and here I would not have enough space to give an exhaustive overview. Therefore, I will only introduce the definitions that I have found to be more apt for the analysis carried out in my work<sup>169</sup>, building on the accounts proposed by, amongst others, Krifka (2007), Krifka & Féry (2008), as well Lambrecht (1994), and the literature these authors refer to.

Let us start by underlining (in line with Féry & Krifka (2008)) that as we are talking of communication as a transfer of information which is optimised on the basis of the temporary

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<sup>167</sup> *Information packaging*, another term used in the literature, was introduced in Chafe (1976) and refers to how the message is presented (in Chafe’s metaphoric terms *packaged*) in contrast with the message itself. Other works such as Vallduvì (1993) also use the notion of information packaging in the following way: “A small set of instructions with which the hearer is instructed by the speaker to retrieve the information carried by the sentence and enter it into her/his knowledge-store.” (Vallduvì, 1993, p. 18).

Chafe’s metaphor highlights that information structure does not affect truth conditions of the message; interestingly, Vallduvì (1993:16) adds that “information, unlike propositional content, is crucially defined with respect to *the particular hearer a sentence is addressed to*” (Vallduvì, 1993, p. 16, italics mine).

<sup>168</sup> Krifka & Musan (2012), building on Krifka (2007), take into account and elaborate on this last point through the concept of common ground: “with the term information structure we understand aspects of natural language that help speakers to take into consideration the addressee’s current information state, and hence to facilitate the flow of communication. The view behind this is that communication can be seen as continuous change of the *common ground*, i.e., of the information that is mutually known to be shared in communication; speakers plan their contributions with respect to the common ground.” Krifka & Musan (2012:1).

<sup>169</sup> For an exhaustive and well-structured presentation of all approaches, refer to Vallduvì (1993) and updates with more recent works in Vallduvì (2016), Lombardi Vallauri (2009).

needs of the interlocutors, the concept of a *Common Ground* (see footnote 145), that is mutually shared and constantly updated, should be central for the rest of the notions<sup>170</sup>. The distinctions between presuppositions (as required inputs for the Common Ground), and assertions or proffered content (as changes in the Common Ground), do matter for the packaging of information, which needs to be done at the moment of utterance in accordance with the continuous changes of the Common Ground.

As for the notions of Information Structure proper, I propose now a first distinction between the fundamental categories of *focus*, *newness*, *givenness*, *topic* (and its declinations). The way these categories are integrated into an analytical method will be presented later in § 6.4.

### 6.2.2 Focus

Starting from focus, I propose the following preliminary definition from Krifka (2007: 18):

(1)

Focus indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions.

The definition in (1) refers to the theory of Alternative Semantics (Rooth 1985, 1992), which claims that focus marking indicates the presence of alternatives in the interpretation of the whole sentence. For a better understanding of this claim, I would go back to a view that is quite common throughout the literature, i.e., that the focus of the sentence corresponds to the answer to the *wh*-part of a constituent question<sup>171</sup>, as we can see in the example below in (2).

(2)

A: Who did Jane hit?

B: Jane hit BILL

In (2) above the constituent in focus, namely BILL, is marked out by capital letters, and we can see that it corresponds to the *wh*-part of the question, i.e., *who*.

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<sup>170</sup> This concept goes back to Stalnaker (1974), Karttunen (1974) and Lewis (1979). For further details on this notion see Krifka (2007:15-17), Féry and Krifka (2008:3).

<sup>171</sup> This view goes back to Paul (1880).

The next step that links this common way of spotting a focus expression to the alternative semantics lies in the truth-conditional assumption, first proposed by Hamblin (1973), that a question denotes the set of its potential congruent answers<sup>172</sup>, in other words, a question can be interpreted as a set of propositions, each of which is the denotation of a congruent answer. Semantically, it can be expressed as below in (2):

(3)

A question such as:

*Who did Jane hit?*

denotes the set:

{HIT(JANE)(X)|X ∈ PERSON}, i.e., the set { [[Jane hit Mary]], [[Jane hit John]], [[Jane hit Richard]], ... }

Rooth (1985, 1992) proposes that focus, just like questions in question-answer pairs, has the effect of inducing alternatives for the interpretation of the focused constituent. The congruent answer identifies one of the possible propositions of the set (which in Rooth’s term is called *the ordinary meaning*) and adds it to the Common Ground<sup>173</sup>; the focusing therein signals the presence of alternatives for the interpretation of the marked constituent<sup>174</sup>. Said with Féry & Krifka’s words, (Féry & Krifka, 2008: 126):

“The idea is that the meaning of a question identifies a set of alternative propositions, the answer picks out one of these, and the focus within the answer signals the alternative propositions inherent in the question”.

In semantic terms, what said above equals to what follows in (4) below:

(4)

Jane hit [Bill]<sub>F</sub>.

Ordinary meaning: { HIT (JANE)|(BILL) }

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<sup>172</sup> Büring (1997: 41) states the following about Hamblin-type semantics for questions: “question meanings are represented as sets of possible answers”.

<sup>173</sup> For a concise but effective explanation of Alternative Semantics see Hinterwimmer (2011:1877).

<sup>174</sup> It must be underlined that Focus introduces a set of *contextually restricted*, i.e. *contextually plausible* alternatives to the denotation of the focus-marked constituent.

Focus-induced alternatives<sup>175</sup>: {HIT (JANE) (X)|X ∈ PERSON}

Focus can be used for correcting information *via* contrast, or more generally, answering questions. In the literature the types of focus that have been proposed accordingly are: contrast focus, elaboration focus, answer focus (for further details and discussion see Büring (2016)).

The manifestation of focus marking varies inter and intra-linguistically: there may be languages that use prosodic means, e.g., pitch accent placement on the focused constituent, or word-order variation, or specialised syntactic means, e.g., cleft constructions, and finally, in certain cases, the three combined together.

Another important issue to be highlighted is the size of the focused constituent. Following Lambrecht (1994), this can be:

(5)

- Argument-focus;
- Predicate-focus
- Sentence-focus (also called *broad-focus*, *all-new* or *out-of-the-blue sentence*).

As the label signals, we have an argument-focus when focus is expressed by a NP or PP, like in the following example:

(6)

- a. A: Who ate the cake?  
B: [*Mary*]<sub>F</sub> ate the cake.
- b. A: Where did you buy this necklace?  
B: I bought it [*at the market*]<sub>F</sub>.

Both 6.a and 6.b above are cases of argument-focus. As we can see in 6.a the focus constituent that answers the *wh*-phrase is the NP *Mary*, and in 6.b the same does the PP *at the market*.

Instead, there is predicate-focus when the whole VP is in focus, as example (7) below shows.

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<sup>175</sup> In Rooth's model the focus-induced alternative set is a superset of the question set.

(7)

A: What did you do yesterday evening?

B: I [*went to the shopping mall*]<sub>F</sub>.

For what regards the sentence-focus (or broad focus), it is a structure where the size of the focus stretches out to the sentence boundaries (as we will see in § 6.2.4, this happens when there is no overt topic expression in the sentence). An example of this structure is given below in (8).

(8)

A: What happened?

B: [*John just broke the mug*]<sub>F</sub>

Lastly, I mention the fact that in the so far mentioned theories of information structure, the complement of focus is *background*<sup>176</sup>. That is to say that in an utterance what is not focus expression is called background. As we will see in §6.2.4 inside the background there can be topic expressions.

### 6.2.3 Givenness and Newness

The second notion I am going to introduce is *givenness*, which is a notion that refers to denotations, unlike focus or topic that refer to expressions<sup>177</sup>. Givenness is “the indication that the denotation of an expression is present in the immediate Common Ground content”, (Krifka, 2007: 37). Büring (2016: 18), as well, outlines a similar definition:

“An expression counts as given in a context if its meaning, or some related meaning, is salient<sup>178</sup> in that context [...]. Givenness is not limited to referring expressions; meanings

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<sup>176</sup> The background term here refers to the definition just provided. The same term with (slightly) different meanings can be found in many frameworks but I am not going to deal with them here.

<sup>177</sup> Lombardi Vallauri (2009: 89) underlines that “Dato e Nuovo, Tema e Rema si trovano su un livello diverso della realtà linguistica: chiamiamo Tema e Rema non i *contenuti* dell’enunciato ma il *materiale linguistico* che li esprime. Per Dato e Nuovo, invece, abbiamo sempre fatto riferimento ai contenuti, perché si tratta di nozioni psicologiche.”

<sup>178</sup> Büring adopts here a meaning of *salient* that stands for “highly active in the linguistic and non-linguistic context”, in line with the interpretation in works such as Prince (1981), where the author defines givenness in the sense of saliency.

of any semantic category can be salient and thereby make any kind of syntactic category given.”

Languages have different devices to signal the different degree of givenness; anaphora is one of them, along with de-accentuation, ordering and deletion.

The complementary notion to givenness is *newness*. As signalled by Krifka (2007), as well as Lambrecht (1994) to mention two authors, often in the literature the notion of focus has been conflated with that of newness, although these two notions do not entirely coincide. Further remarks about how the categories of information structure that I am introducing here should be kept separate will be made at the end of this section.

#### 6.2.4 Topic and its declinations

The last concept I am introducing is topic<sup>179</sup>. Topic has been defined by many authors in terms of aboutness<sup>180</sup>, as we can see in the following definition found in Lambrecht (1994: 118): “the topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about<sup>181</sup>”.

Krifka (2007: 40-41) on the side of the aboutness relation, highlights how Reinhart (1981) proposes a definition of topic that employs the notion of Common Ground:

“new information is not just added to the Common Ground content in form of unstructured propositions, but is rather associated with entities, just like information in a file card system is associated with file cards that bear a particular heading.”

To exemplify sentence topic, I propose the question-answer sequence below in (9):

(9)

A: Who did Mary see yesterday?

B: *Mary* saw Bob.

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<sup>179</sup> I am referring here to sentence topic, which is different from discourse topic. According to Reinhart (1981) it is convenient to keep the two notions separate. Sentence topics “must correspond to an expression within the sentence”, whereas discourse topics “are topics of larger units and they can be more abstract, (p. 54).

Another aspect that must be underlined is the fact that the notion of *topic* has been introduced in the literature as complementary to that of *comment*. For further details see Vallduvì (1993: 37-44), Lombardi Vallauri (2009).

<sup>180</sup> Reinhart (1981) interestingly remarks what follows: “Although the linguistic role of the relation *topic of* is widely acknowledged, there is no accepted definition for it, and not even full agreement on the intuitions of what counts as topic.” (p. 56).

<sup>181</sup> For the concept of aboutness, Lambrecht (1994) resorts to Strawson (1964).

In (9) above we can see in italics *Mary*, the topic constituent of the sentence<sup>182</sup>.

Topics are most of the times referential expressions, so definite expressions or specific indefinites. Not all sentences must have a topic constituent: this is the case ofthetic sentences, which lack an overt topic constituent, although they refer to a time or situation (what Erteshick-Shir (1997) calls *stage topic*).

Moreover, under the label of topic a few different expressions can be found<sup>183</sup>. To start with, the notion of topic can be associated with that of focus in what are the so-called *contrastive topics*.

An example of contrastive topic follows in (10) below.

(10)

A: What do your parents do?

B: [My [mother]<sub>Focus</sub>]<sub>Topic</sub> runs a pet-shop and [my [father]<sub>Focus</sub>]<sub>Topic</sub> is a physician.

*which, in terms of Focus and Topic combined into the single label of Contrastive Topic (CT), equals:*

B<sub>1</sub>: [My [mother]<sub>CT</sub> runs a pet-shop and [my [father]<sub>CT</sub> is a physician.

As we can see above the aboutness topic is combined with a focus that signals the presence of alternatives, in this case it indicates an alternative aboutness topic, i.e., a contrastive topic (from now on abbreviated CT). A reason for the need of alternatives to be present in the topic constituent is that of signalling that the clause does not deliver all the information the way one would have expected; contrastive topics represent a strategy of incremental answering, i.e., the issue must be split into sub-issues.

Another information structure expression can, according to some authors, be analysed under the label of CT; I am referring to what, instead, other works name *frame setting* (with different

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<sup>182</sup> In some frameworks, topic expressions are somewhat conflated with the notion of 'old' information. Amongst others, Reinhart (1981) and Krifka (2007) state that one should refrain from considering the two notions as coinciding ones.

<sup>183</sup> This could be said in other terms, as one can see in Jacobs (2001). The author claims there is no unitary topic category, but instead topic is a prototype notion that is characterised by a bundle of distinct although related properties. The four dimensions, that all together define the notion of topicality, are: informational separation (of the topical constituent), predication (the comment of the sentence is interpreted as a predicate that applies to the topic), addressation (analogous to aboutness), and frame-setting. A constituent does not have to satisfy all of the four dimensions to count as a topic, but at least two of them.



views but same label, Jacobs (2001) and Hinterwimmer (2011)). Two examples of frame setting expressions follow below in (11) and (12)<sup>184</sup>, where the constituent we are currently interested in appears in italics:

(11)

A: How is Amy?

B: [*Healthwise*]<sub>Frame</sub>, Amy is fine

(12)

A: How is business going for Daimler-Chrisler?

B: [*In Germany*]<sub>Frame</sub> the prospects are good, but [*in America*]<sub>Frame</sub> they are losing money

Constituents like *healthwise* in (11) above are differently labelled and differently grouped throughout the literature. Chafe (1976) classifies these expressions as topics<sup>185</sup>; in Jacobs (2001) frame-setting is one of the four bundle-features that characterise topic prototypes.

Krifka (2007: 47-48) puts forward a unifying category called Delimitation, that in his view should encompass both contrastive topics and frame setting expressions, as both “express that the predication is restricted in some way” (Féry and Krifka, 2008: 128). This new category of IS is defined in the following terms:

“A Delimitator in  $\alpha$  an expression [... $\alpha$ ... $\beta_{\text{Focus}}$ ...] always comes with a focus *within*  $\alpha$  that generates alternatives  $\alpha'$ . It indicates that the current informational needs of the CG are not wholly satisfied by [... $\alpha$  ...  $\beta_{\text{Focus}}$  ...], but would be satisfied by additional expressions of the general form [... $\alpha'$ ...  $\beta'_{\text{Focus}}$  ...].”

Hinterwimmer (2011: 1882) highlights the fact that the frame setting expression indicates alternatives<sup>186</sup> and thus assimilates it with contrastive topics.

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<sup>184</sup> This example has been taken from Krifka (2007: 46).

<sup>185</sup> Chafe (1976: 50) states: “What the topics appear to do is to limit the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain. [...] Typically, it would seem, the topic sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the predication holds. In English we do something similar with certain temporal adverbs”.

<sup>186</sup> The frame setter indicates that there are alternatives for its interpretation and consequently there are alternatives too for the interpretation of the whole proposition (like alternative semantics for focus). The sentence in example (11) above “*Healthwise* Amy is fine”, intuitively sounds as if it could be opposed to “*Financially* she is doing bad”, for example, see Hinterwimmer (2011: 1881).

Büring (2014) states that the nature of these expressions easily leads to a contrastive topic analysis, but on the other side this author remarks how it is also plausible to see them united with CTs in the category of Delimitation proposed by Krifka (2007)<sup>187</sup>.

### **6.2.5. Conclusive remarks on the categories of IS**

Having presented the categories of IS that I will use throughout the analysis, I would like now to make a few final considerations on their interactions.

Firstly, quoting Hinterwimmer (2011: 1876), these categories should be well distinguished and kept apart:

“It is important to keep these levels apart, i.e. it is not necessarily the case that topics are given, while foci are new, or that the topic coincides with the background, while the focus coincides with the comment.”

The notion of topic does not entirely overlap with that of givenness; there can be topics that have not been previously mentioned in the discourse. In other words, “Even if in many cases, topic constituents are ‘old’ in the sense of being inferable from the context [...] there are certainly cases of new topics.” (Krifka, 2007: 41).

On parallel grounds, the notion of focus cannot be conflated with that of newness. Lambrecht (1994: 208-210) thoroughly discusses the reasons why these two categories should be kept separated and concludes that “the function of focus marking is not to mark a constituent as new but to signal a focus relation between an element of a proposition and a proposition as a whole”. Regarding this, Krifka (2007: 29) clarifies importantly that<sup>188</sup>:

“The notion of newness (as an explanation for the occurrence of focus, Ed.) has been defended most often in quite different frameworks [...]. But it clearly gives us wrong predictions. There are many cases in which a constituent that refers to something previously mentioned is in focus.”

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<sup>187</sup> Out of all these different views, I will analyse constituents that fall under this category as contrastive topics of the frame setting type.

<sup>188</sup> Lambrecht (1994) similarly keeps the notion of newness and focus apart.

Given constituents can be in focus; for instance, pronouns can be in focus (and they can also bear accent), as in *Mary only saw[HIM]<sub>F</sub>* (Krifka, 2007: 39).

### 6.3 Literature on the information structure of relative clauses

As one can see in §1.2.4, the literature on the information structure of relative clauses does not abound with a multitude of works as in other sectors. Among the works mentioned in §1.2.4, we will only consider now the ones that deal with information structure in the sense outlined above in §6.1.1, even if they are not sharing the definitions of the notions given in the present work<sup>189</sup>. In the Seventies, Schachter (1973) and Kuno (1976) suggest two interpretations for restrictive relatives<sup>190</sup> that at first sight may look radically different. In fact, the former claims that restrictive relativisation is a process by which one part of the construction is *foregrounded*<sup>191</sup> with respect to the other, in analogy with what happens with focus constructions, e.g., cleft sentences. Schachter, who is working within a generative framework, is seeking a semantic counterpart for the syntactic process (occurring in relativisation) of promotion of material from the embedded clause to the matrix. At first, he tries to account for it in terms of the notions of focus/presupposition<sup>192</sup>; later, he finds out that relativisation cannot be accounted for in terms of this dichotomy, the same way as it happens for cleft sentences, i.e., therein the relative carries a presupposition value whilst the NP has a focus value<sup>193</sup>. In view of this, Schachter proposes to read the process of relativisation by means of the categories of *foreground/background*<sup>194</sup>. In this case, Schachter (1973:44) claims that in a relative

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<sup>189</sup> What I mean is that works that deal with discourse as well as pragmatic-semantic status of relative clauses, such as Thompson (1971), Fox and Thompson (1991) and in most of its parts Lombardi Vallauri (1994), are not strictly pertinent to the theme of the present section.

<sup>190</sup> It is important to underline how it does not apply to all the types of relatives, also because at the time the studies on types other than appositives and restrictives had not been conducted/published yet.

<sup>191</sup> The author defines the process of foregrounding as “the divisions of a sentence into a more prominent part and a less prominent part” (Schachter, 1973: 44).

<sup>192</sup> Defined according to Chomsky (1971).

<sup>193</sup> In Schachter (1973), the author verifies whether relative clauses do express existential presupposition by means of two relative constructions: an ordinary restrictive with a [+definite] head noun (example 65.a, p. 41: *I'm looking for the unicorn that punctured my tires*), and a kind-defining relative with a [-definite] head (example 66.a, p.41: *I'm looking for a man that has travelled faster than the speed of light*) but considering them both restrictives. Of course, in 1973 the semantics of relative clauses had not been widened yet to all the types presented in chapter 3 here. What we know (see §4.3.4) about kind-defining is that the relative clause is not presupposed but asserted. Therefore, the author, in testing the presuppositional nature of 66.a, wrongly attributes the possibility of non-presuppositional status to restrictives.

<sup>194</sup> For focus constructions the author asserts that “the new information is FOREGROUNDED, or IN THE FOREGROUND, while the presupposed information is BACKGROUNDED, or IN THE BACKGROUND.”, (Schachter, 1973: 42).

construction, the element that is foregrounded, i.e., assigned greater prominence, is the head noun.

Kuno (1976) starts off from the hypotheses that relative clauses in Japanese are the result of deletion of the theme in the embedded clause (which equals to saying that what is relativised, i.e., the head noun, is the theme of the relative clause). Building on this, the author formulates a principle, the thematic constraint on relative clauses, which states that “a relative clause must be a statement about its head<sup>195</sup>” (Kuno, 1976, p. 420). The author also points out to empathy as being a factor that can contribute to a functional explanation for processes that have been explained majorly from a syntactic point of view.

More recently, in the literature on Italian relative constructions, Scarano (2007)<sup>196</sup> proposes a very interesting overview of the informational behaviour of relative clauses<sup>197</sup>. The author proposes a picture that integrates syntactic, semantic and intonative-informative levels and how those interact in relative structures.

In the *corpus* the author is analysing, most of the relative constructions are restrictives (*relative di modificazione dell'identificazione*<sup>198</sup>), uttered as a complex NP with their head, and behaving as an informative unit NP<sub>HEAD</sub>+Rel Clause. In other words, the head and the relative clause form both a syntactic and information unit. As for the informational status of these relatives, the author, unlike Kuno and Schachter above, does not find any preferences or limitations for their realisation as a particular informative unit. From the examples in Scarano (2007) we can see that restrictives (*relative di modificazione dell'identificazione*) along with their antecedents, can be either in topic or comment as well as in the other informational units (*unità informative*) provided in her framework of reference. The same holds for kind-defining, which are here called *relative della specificazione della denotazione* and for pseudo-relatives (*relative di modificazione della denotazione*)<sup>199</sup>.

For what concerns appositives, or what would be traditionally classified as such, the author finds out, by analysing spontaneous speech data, that not all of them behave as Scarano (2002)

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<sup>195</sup> Kuno (1976: 277) defines the theme of a sentence as “what the sentence is about”.

<sup>196</sup> This work follows Scarano (2002), an earlier study on relative and pseudo-relatives in Italian, which had been all conducted on laboratory examples of these constructions. In the more recent Scarano (2007), the hypothesis proposed in Scarano (2002) are verified on data from a spontaneous speech *corpus*.

<sup>197</sup> Scarano works within the framework developed in Cresti (2000), Cresti *et al.* (2002), Scarano (2007: 74).

<sup>198</sup> The types of relatives identified by Scarano (2007) have been introduced in §1.5.3.

<sup>199</sup> For what concerns pseudo-relatives, the author does not label as such all of the cases that semantically would fall under this type. This happens when a part of the realisations of pseudo-relatives, esp. in the *esserci* sub-type, are considered not a unitary construction w.r.t. their heads when they are uttered either separately or in different speech turns, see *infra*.

had hypothesized. Some of them are in *appendix* (secondary, additional information; an integration on semantic-informative grounds), as expected, but many of them, along with other cases or relatives that do not fit into the previously elaborated system, are relative clauses uttered in a separate intonational and informative unit (w.r.t. their head).

For such cases of relatives, that occur separated from the head they refer to, Scarano (2007: 93) proposes an interpretation that exclusively resorts to information structure, claiming that those are not unitary syntactic structures; in the author's words, "relative [...] realizzate separate dal proprio riferimento nominale, in unità informative di diverso tipo o addirittura in enunciati differenti. La relazione che le lega al proprio riferimento non è di tipo sintattico subordinante".

These relatives can only be semantically defined in negative terms as non-restrictives, but on the other side, they can be defined positively in the terms of the information unit they make up, which can range from topic to comment and to "inciso" (parenthetical<sup>200</sup>). In conclusion, according to Scarano, information structure takes the place of syntax when the level at which the phenomenon occurs is no more the sentence but the text.

For what regards specific types of relatives, the information structure of pseudo-relatives has been the object of many remarks as well as the centre of works such as Lambrecht (2002).

Along with global considerations on the nature of pseudo-relatives, works such as Muller (2008), analysing pseudo-relative realisations in French (the so-called phenomenon of *la prédication seconde*), highlights how the NP head of the (pseudo)-relative clause behaves as the focus in the main clause and at the same time the topic for the pseudo-relative clause, "le plus souvent, le sujet sémantique est rhème dans la principale et thème pour la relative", (Muller, 2008 : 339).

Lambrecht (2002: 205), instead, focusses entirely on what he calls the (modern) French presentational relative construction (PRC), i.e., a construction:

"headed by a presentational predicator (a verb of existence or perception), whose valence minimally involves three elements: a theme argument, denoting the presented entity, a locative argument, denoting the reference point with respect to which that entity is situated in the discourse, and a predicative argument, denoting the situation in which the entity is involved. Syntactically, the locative is instantiated as a sentence-initial bound pronoun, the

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<sup>200</sup> "Inciso" in this framework is parenthetical material that is so defined: "è un operatore linguistico, esprime generalmente valutazione modale sul testo dell'enunciato". It is different from "appendice", that expresses secondary information defined as not necessary.

theme as a postverbal lexical NP, and the predicative argument as a sentence-final relative clause.”

The author claims that this construction has a specific discourse function: introducing a new entity into a (given) discourse world and at the same time expressing some new piece of propositional information concerning this entity<sup>201</sup>. Lambrecht (2002: 205) detects a few different constructional subtypes instantiating this construction<sup>202</sup>, the variation between them being due to “partly divergent discourse function”. Having said that, there is an important feature that all these subtypes share, namely the fact that the pragmatic goal of the PRC is always introducing a new entity (the theme argument above) in a given context as a result of being involved in some state or event.

I am going to present schematically the sub-types of PRC (headed by *avoir*) as outlined by Lambrecht (2002); the different behaviour of each subtype has been analysed according to three pragmatic parameters, as framed in Lambrecht (1994) and sketched below in (13):

(13)

- a. pragmatic status of the proposition, e.g., asserted vs presupposed<sup>203</sup>;
- b. status of mental representation of referents in a discourse (the referent is either identifiable based on prior discourse or not. If it is identifiable it can be active or inactive in the hearer’s mind)
- c. pragmatic relations between discourse referents and propositions, e.g., topic or focus relation.

In the following table, along with an example for each subtype, I will outline the different values showed by each PRC according to the above pragmatic parameters.

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<sup>201</sup> Lambrecht (2002: 204) also states (very interestingly) another *raison d’être* for this construction in other terms: “the existence of the PRC is motivated by the cognitive constraint on simultaneous expression of the presentational and the predicative discourse function within the same predicate-argument structure.”

<sup>202</sup> Lambrecht isolates seven subtypes of PRC, three belonging to the PRC headed by *avoir*, and four belonging to the “perception report” typology (*Je vois la jeune fille qui fume/ La jeune fille est là-bas qui fume/ Voilà la jeune fille qui arrive*). The subsequent analysis proposed by the author focusses exclusively on the three subtypes of *avoir* PRC.

<sup>203</sup> For definitions of pragmatic presupposition and assertion see Lambrecht (1994: 52). Furthermore, Lambrecht (1994: 60–65) deals with the definition and notion of *pragmatic* presupposition with respect to *semantic* presupposition.

Table 22

TYPE <i>Example</i>	PRAGMATIC PARAMETER 1	PRAGMATIC PARAMETER 2	PRAGMATIC PARAMETER 3
EXISTENTIAL <i>{T'as/(Il) y a} une voisine qui fume.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Main clause proposition is pragmatically asserted;</li> <li>- relative clause is pragmatically asserted.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Theme NP is hearer-new, discourse-new, i.e., the entity is previously unidentifiable.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Theme is in focus in the main clause;</li> <li>- predicate of the Relative Clause is focal;</li> <li>- within the RC the pronoun <i>qui</i> is topical (as it refers to the previously introduced entity).</li> </ul>
CLEFT <i>{T'as ta fille/Y a la jeune fille} qui fume.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Main clause “functions non-propositionally”;</li> <li>- relative clause proposition is pragmatically;</li> <li>- asserted (it is the only clause carrying propositional information).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Theme NP is hearer old but discourse new, i.e., the entity is identifiable but previously inactive.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Theme is in focus in the main clause;</li> <li>- predicate of the Relative Clause is focal;</li> <li>- within the RC the pronoun <i>qui</i> is topical (as it refers to the previously introduced entity).</li> </ul>
ENUMERATIVE <i>Y a moi qui fume, y a Marie-Paule, y a la jeune fille.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Main clause proposition is pragmatically asserted;</li> <li>- relative clause is propositionally presupposed.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The theme NP can be either hearer/discourse new/old, i.e., the cognitive status of the theme denotatum is <i>unconstrained</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Theme is in focus in the main clause;</li> <li>- predicate of the Relative Clause is topical;</li> <li>- within the RC the pronoun <i>qui</i> is topical (as it refers to the previously introduced entity).</li> </ul>

#### 6.4 Analysis proposed for IS of the sample: framework

As I have already remarked in chapter 3, the realisation of relative constructions throughout the texts is deeply influenced by the spontaneous speech nature of the dialogues under investigation.

Again, as it has been the case for the semantic analysis of the relative constructions, this fact has an impact on the difficulty one encounters in analysing their informative structure.

The fragmentariness of the utterances, the partial overlapping of speech turns that create discontinuity on the realisation of relative constructions, as well as the fast communicative exchange of the interlocutors, have the effect of making any informative annotation quite a hard task to carry out.

Given these conditions, a dynamic analytic method for detecting the informative structure of each relative construction of the sample is needed. One such analytic tool, to which I have resorted for the present analysis, is the one proposed in Riester *et al.* (to appear) and further discussed in De Kuthy *et al.* (2018). I will now briefly introduce it, highlighting the aspects that are more relevant for the present type of work.

First, this annotation scheme and discourse-analytic method in the authors' words is (Riester *et al.*, to appear: 1):

“a method for the information-structural analysis of naturally attested data, which is built on the idea that for any assertion contained in a text (or transcript of spoken discourse) there is an implicit Question under Discussion (QUD) that determines which parts of the assertion are focused or backgrounded.”

In other words, central to this analysis is the concept of the implicit Question Under Discussion<sup>204</sup> and the way it is constitutive of the internal structure of a text: this is equivalent to assuming that every statement contained in a text is the immediate answer to precisely one implicit QUD (De Kuthy *et al.*, to appear). The content of the QUD is the part of the text that is backgrounded or given, whereas the constituent which answers the QUD is the focused constituent. Therefore, according to (De Kuthy *et al.*, to appear: 1) “the QUD determines the information structure of the assertions contained in the text”<sup>205</sup>.

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<sup>204</sup> The idea that implicit questions may play a role in discourse analysis has already been introduced in §6.2.2, where implicit questions were helping in detecting the focused constituent. Now, this annotating method makes direct reference to the category of Questions Under Discussion, which have been postulated by Roberts (1996), building on Stalnaker's concept of common ground and Carlson (1983) for what regards dialogues being organised in (*implicit*) *question/answer relations* (see Roberts (1996: 8)). In short, Roberts suggests that discourse represents the attempt of conversational participants to discover and share the answer to the Big Question *What is the way things are?*. In order to satisfy this initial goal, a strategy of sub-questions and sub-answers will be necessary, i.e., an implicit inquiry strategy. In other words, the founding idea of Roberts (1996) is that dialogue advances through a series of questions and answers, in accordance with precise strategies.

<sup>205</sup> The method here presented has the objective of detecting the information structure of each utterance of a text as well as the aim of building a QUD tree for the whole dialogue. The latter aim falls outside of the objectives of my analysis of the information structure of relative constructions.



The implicit QUD, which are used ‘assertion-by-assertion’ to highlight information structure (of each assertion), should be formulated according to the principle of question-and-answer congruence, should make reference to the preceding context and contain given or context salient material only<sup>206</sup>.

As already mentioned above, each assertion of the text must contain a focus, which answers the QUD, and an optional background (the background is optional because in case of broad focus it’s not present). The background is identical to the “given” part of the QUD.

For what concerns the so-called *not-at-issue material*, this notion groups together “the parts of a clause that do not answer the current QUD” (Riester *et al.*, to appear: 34). The authors make explicit reference to the notion of not-at-issue content as proposed in Potts (2005)<sup>207</sup>, which “in general refers to optional information that does not contribute to the truth or falsity of the assertion” (Riester *et al.*, to appear: 34). What is relevant to the present work is that appositive relatives are considered as not-at-issue material in Potts (2005) and Dehé (2009, 2013).

Precise instructions on how to proceed in the annotation of texts can be found in a dedicated appendix in Riester *et al* (to appear); here I am only going to present a table with the labels employed in this method, bearing in mind that I have mainly resorted to this analysis as a helpful tool, in view of the rest of the multi-level analysis I have conducted.

In table (23) below we find the label inventory with relative explanations.

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<sup>206</sup> In one case this rule can be overrun: at the beginning of the text, where a general question is needed, e.g., *What happened?, What’s going on?...* etc).

<sup>207</sup> In his works Potts unifies the accounts of “suppletives” (non-restrictive relative clauses, as-parentheticals, NP appositives, several kinds of adverbials) and “expressive contents” (expressive attributive adjectives, epithets, honorifics) as ‘Not- At-Issue’ (NAI) content. He analyses them as Conventional Implicatures and as a semantic natural class that behaves like un-embedded structures typically expressing speaker commitments, and, most importantly, being interpreted independently of At-Issue content. The opposition at-issue versus not at-issue content refers to the content that affects propositional meaning versus the content that does not so. Potts (2015: 168) on this topic states the following points:

“Presupposition and implicature are defined in part by their collective opposition to the regular semantic content. I henceforth refer to this content as *at-issue*. At-issue content corresponds to what Frege (1892/1980) calls the “sense” and what Grice (1975) calls “what is said”. It is often labeled “truth-conditional content”, though that is confusing, since presuppositions and implicatures can generally be evaluated for truth and will thus affect the conditions under which a speaker's utterance is judged true. Roberts (1996) calls it “proffered” content, which, like “at-issue”, helps to convey that hearers will expect this information to constitute the speaker's central message. I leave open whether the at-issue content is delimited by semantic or pragmatic considerations; the answer depends in part on how presupposition and implicature are defined, which, we will see, is still hotly contested.

Table 23 Inventory of information structure labels (Riester *et. al*, to appear, table1: 53)

Tag	Definition
<i>Focus (F)</i>	The part of a clause that answers the current QUD
<i>Focus domain (~)</i>	A piece of discourse containing both a focus and, usually, some background. In general, the focus domain directly corresponds to the QUD. If a sentence isthetic (i.e. all-focus), the focus and focus-domain coincide, and the respective QUD is of the kind <i>What happened?</i> or <i>What is the way things are?</i>
<i>Background</i>	The non-focal part of a focus domain (that part which is already mentioned in the current QUD)
<i>(Aboutness) topic (T)</i>	A referential entity (“term”) in the background which constitutes what the utterance is about.
<i>Contrastive topic (CT)</i>	The instantiation of a variable within the background, which signals the existence of a superquestion-subquestion discourse structure. CTs are backgrounded w.r.t the subquestion and focal with respect to the superquestion.
<i>Non-at-issue content (NAI)</i>	The part of a clause which provides optional information with respect to the current QUD

Table 1 Inventory of information-structure labels

## 6.5 Analysis of the information structure of the sample

The present section is concerned with the presentation of the analysis of the relative constructions that make up the sample. As previously outlined in §6.4 above, I have resorted to the *QUD annotation framework* therein presented as a support for detecting the information structure of these spontaneous speech occurrences of relative constructions.

In the next sub-sections, I am going to present the results of such analysis by showing for each semantic type of relative construction the correspondent information structure as found throughout the sample<sup>208</sup>.

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<sup>208</sup> I would like to add here that for analysing the information structure of the data I have resorted to the audio files of the recordings by listening to all the occurrences (as well as all the surrounding text).

### 6.5.1 Restrictive relative constructions: information structure

Restrictive relative constructions have been interpreted as having a head that carries foregrounding value, see Schachter (1973) above, § 6.3. Other works such as Kuno (1976) see a theme value in the same constituent, whereas Scarano (2007) does not identify a special informative value for the cluster head+ Restrictive clause.

The results of the analysis I conducted on the restrictives of the sample indicates that the cluster *NP+ restrictive clause* can have any informative value. In carrying out the analysis I have differentiated between constructions headed by a NP (either lexical or pronominal) and constructions with a demonstrative pronominal head coreferential with an immediately preceding lexical item, i.e., the construction *full lexical NP<sub>i</sub>+Dem<sub>i</sub>+RC*, in analogy with the previous syntactic analysis (see § 5.3.1).

Table 24

RESTRICTIVE CONSTRUCTION – NP + REL CLAUSE		
INFORMATION STRUCTURE	TOTAL	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY %
head +RC in NP argument focus	56	47.46%
head+RC in PP argument focus	6	5.09%
head+RC in topic	24	20.34%
head+RC in CT	11	9.32%
head+RC in CT <sub>framing expression</sub>	12	10.17%
head+RC in bigger focus constituent	9	7.62%

As table (24) shows, the relative construction (here understood *à la* Lehmann, i.e., NP+rel clause), can have different informative values. The most frequent role is that of focus, which amounts to almost half of the occurrences, followed by that of topic which sums up to less than a quarter.

But let us exemplify the information structure behaviour of restrictives with some examples from the dialogues, following the order provided in table (24).

Concerning the first typology *Head+RC in NP argument focus*, I am reporting below an example from dialogue DGmtA03R. The examples are going to be presented in the following way: first the transcription of the utterance containing the relative construction is reported, with

no annotation. Then, the utterance is going to be annotated, with the explicit use of QUD, in order to better highlight the information packaging.

- (14) UTTERANCE (DGmtA03R): *the two players are starting the game and the instruction giver is trying to find the exact spot where to start describing the route from.*

p1G#1: vado <sp> allora si parte dalla x <sp> la x che sta in fondo a<aa> a sinistra

*Q: Da dove si parte? (the fact that there must be a spot on the drawings where to start from is part of the game and of the instructions too, therefore it is contextually given information).*

p1G#1: vado <sp> [allora si parte [dalla x]<sub>F</sub>]- <sp>

*Q: Quale x?*

[la x che sta in fondo a<aa> a sinistra]<sub>F</sub>

As we can see above in (14) the NP head *la x* together with the relative clause *che sta in fondo a sinistra* do answer the *wh*-phrase, therefore I interpret it as an argument focus.

The next relative construction I show has been analysed as part of a PP constituent in focus. Let us see below in (15) an example.

- (15) UTTERANCE (DG mtB04R): *the two players are trying to find out the exact spot where an object (la freccia) is placed on the maps.*

p2F#54: aspetta eh <sp> allora <lp> allora la<aa> ehm la freccia sta sulla destra quindi della de+ #<p1G#55>

p1G#55: sì, #<p2F#54> sta sotto la curva che va a destra#

ANNOTATION:

p2F#54: aspetta eh <sp> allora <lp> allora la<aa> ehm la freccia sta sulla destra quindi #<p1G#55> della de+

*Q (explicit, what speaker2 asks): la freccia sta sulla destra quindi?*

p1G#55: #<p2F#54> sì #

*Q: dove esattamente sta la freccia allora?*

[sta [sotto la curva che va a destra]<sub>F</sub>]~

In the fragment of conversation above in (15) we can see that the restrictive construction *la curva che va a destra* is inside a PP headed by *sotto* that answers the *wh*-phrase of the implicit QUD.

For what concerns topic expressions in the analysed data, below in (16) we can see an example from DGmtA04R.

- (16) UTTERANCE (DGmtA04R): *the two speakers are interacting about the directions taken by the route, and they are not understanding each other about how the route here called linea must circumnavigate the car, in which direction, clockwise or anti-clockwise. Also, they are somehow realising that they have different drawings.*

p1G#127: come in senso antiorario # p2F#128 # <sp> non ha senso da sopra verso sotto<sp> da sinistra<aa>/ devi passare a sinistra della macchina

p2F#128: # p1G#127# da sopra verso sotto <lp># p1G#127# eh

p1G#129: cioè la<aa> la linea che ti porta dalla torta alla macchina deve passare a sinistra

Q: *da dove deve passare la linea che va dalla torta alla macchina?*

p1G#129: *cioè la [la linea che ti porta dalla torta alla macchina]<sub>T</sub> [deve passare a sinistra]<sub>F</sub>*

For what concerns restrictives constructions expressing contrastive topic, I report an example in (17).

- (17) UTTERANCE (DGtdB04R): *the two players are describing the egg lying on the beach (see § 2.3.2, fig.11 and 12).*

p2#29: allora poi <ehm> allora c'è una specie di uovo sulla<aa> sulla/

p1#30: sì, #<p2#31> per terra sì sì#

p2#31: #<p1#30> su <ehm> <sp> <eh> okay# <sp> ci sono tre palline / tre palle nere <inspiration>

p1#32: sì

<lp>

p2#33: <eeh> le<ee> le palle<ee>, quella sopra <sp> e quella sotto che sta per terra sono collegate da<aa> due linee

*Q: quali palle hanno quale caratteristica?*

[[le palle<ee>]<sub>T</sub>, [quella sopra]<sub>CT</sub> <sp> e [quella sotto che sta per terra]<sub>CT</sub> [sono collegate da<aa> due linee]<sub>F</sub>]-

As the fragment of the text in which the turn under investigation is inserted indicates, there are three black spots on the egg. Therefore, when the speaker wants to assert some qualities about some of them, she needs to highlight which one she is talking about<sup>209</sup>. This can be attained by resorting to the information strategy of contrastive topic: the topic expression signals that its denotatum is being talked about while, at the same time, focus signals that there is a set out of which the alternatives “being talked about” have been selected.

As for the subtype of contrastive topic which expresses what is called *frame setting*, I report below in (18) a fragment of conversation containing an example from DGmtB04R.

- (18) UTTERANCE (DGmtB04R): *speaker 1 is describing the route of map B, the way it goes around some lemons on the map. Then it goes straight for a while, and then it bends to the right, where there is a cat, then straight again until there is an arrow. At this point speaker2 asks the question that opens the dialogue fragment that follows.*

p2F#26: oddio aspe+ / sulla destra c'è un gatto <inspiration> cioè a destra/ il gatto sta alla destra della curva?

<sp>

p1G#27: <ehm> <sp> 'o sai che è / allora #<p2F#28> ci sta<aa># <sp> <inspiration> questa <sp> cioè questa curva che<ee> <ehm> sì! <sp> alla destra de quella curva c'è<ee> il gatto, che potrebbe esse' / cioè <sp> io la<aa> / penso che <sp> potrebbe esse' dest+ <lp> no <sp> nel momento in cui tu vai con+ / stai sulla strada dritta <sp>

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<sup>209</sup> It is actually interesting to notice how the speaker starts the turn by uttering *le palle* and then by a change of intonation she moves on to specify which balls (in the set of three just introduced in the dialogue world) she is talking about.

e poi vai in curva <sp> alla destra di questa strada dritta inizia il gatto <sp> c'è il gatto

*Q: che cosa c'è in quale momento del percorso?*

*Q': che cosa c'è nel momento in cui stai sulla strada dritta?*

[nel momento in cui tu vai con+/ stai sulla strada dritta <sp> e poi vai in curva]<sub>FRAMING</sub>  
CT' <sp> [alla destra di questa strada dritta]<sub>FRAMING CT'</sub> [inizia il gatto]<sub>F</sub>

As we can see above in (18) the instruction giver (p1G), is trying to identify the exact point where the cat is placed in relation to the route he has on his map. In order to do this, he twice makes use of the CT/frame-setting informational expression, the first one of which contains a restrictive relative construction and spots the exact “moment/point” where the cat is placed. The second framing expression indicates (and repeats w.r.t. the indications he had already given) whether this point shall be to the right or to the left of the straight route.

The last of the type of information structure in which the restrictive construction is realised in the present sample is a bigger focus constituent, which encompasses three cases:

- the restrictive construction is in argument focus where the NP in focus is bigger than the NP cluster of *head+Restrictive*;
- the restrictive construction is in a PP clause which includes more than one NP;
- the restrictive construction is part of a jussive sentence focus.

What I report below is an occurrence of restrictive construction in a bigger jussive focus, an example of focus imposed by the illocutionary force of the verb.

- (19) UTTERANCE (DGmtB02R): *while describing the route via indications of the objects “on the way”, the two players realise that they have different objects on the map. The reaction of the instruction giver (p1G) is instantiating an instruct move by making use of a jussive that asks a description of all the objects on the instruction follower (p2F)’s map.*

p2F#20: adesso sto <hmm> <sp> sopra la freccia andando ss+/ verso la coda <sp> e sto scendendo verso il basso del foglio proprio

p1G#21: sì e ti trovi al cuore

p2F#22: no <sp> sotto ho una barchetta

p1G#23: non è possibile che hai una barchetta <sp> dimmi gli oggetti che c'hai partendo dal basso verso l'alto

Q: *cosa devi fare adesso?*

p1G#23: [dimmi gli oggetti che c'hai partendo dal basso verso l'alto]<sub>F</sub>

In (19) we can see how the restrictive construction is the direct object of the jussive verb which gives illocutionary force as well as focus value to all the jussive utterance.

Finally, let us consider those restrictive relative constructions headed by a demonstrative pronoun that immediately follows a coreferential full lexical NP, i.e., the construction *NP+Dem+Restrictive Clause*.

I am going to present two different realisations of this peculiar construction. The reason why for a construction that has a relative incidence of 15/307 cases I present three types of occurrences is due to the peculiarity of this construction, that may be again text and dialogue related. At this stage I am just going to consider the information structure of this construction; global considerations on all the linguistic levels will follow in the interface chapter.

Table 25

RESTRICTIVE CONSTRUCTION – FULL NP <sub>i</sub> + DEM HEAD <sub>i</sub> +REL CLAUSE		
INFORMATION STRUCTURE	TOTAL	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY %
DEM head +RC in argument focus	15	100%

Let us start with the case in which we find the coreferential NP in a jussive broad focus and the DEM+Rel Clause immediately adjacent to it, as we can see in (20).

(20) UTTERANCE (DGmtA01R): *in this case the relative construction appears at the very beginning of the dialogue, when the instruction giver must indicate where the route starting point is.*

p1G#1: allora il punto di partenza devo dire, no?

p2F#2: sì

<sp>



p1G#3: allora sotto<oo>/ <sp> prendi il parafrango della macchina quella che sta a sinistra

*Q: cosa devi fare per trovare il punto di partenza?*

p1G#3: [allora sotto<oo>/]rephrasing <sp> [prendi il parafrango della macchina]<sub>F</sub>

*Q': quale macchina?*

[quella che sta a sinistra]<sub>F</sub>

The access to the audio file of DGmtA01R dialogue is essential for a better understanding of the utterance above. First, there is no pause between the lexical NP *macchina* and the demonstrative pronoun heading the relative construction. What we can hear is a slight change in intonation, that goes along with the fact that the jussive *prendi il parafrango della macchina* has a suspended intonation.

For what concerns the relative construction, we can notice that it is uttered as a unitary chunk, i.e., with no intonational separation of the parts that compose it, namely the demonstrative and the relative clause. The latter fact seems to be in support of an interpretation that does not see the demonstrative pronoun as expressing a topic. As the QUD points out, the whole relative construction made up of *demonstrative+restrictive clause* answers (as a unitary chunk) the *wh*-question posed by the QUD.

From a strictly functional-descriptive point of view, the fact that the speaker needs to highlight which car he is referring to is due to the need to pinpoint one specific car in a limited set of cars that are on the maps (see maps in fig.7 and fig.8, § 2.3.2). It almost seems like while uttering the instruct move and getting to the lexeme *macchina* the speaker realises that he needs to be more specific about *which* one car he is referring to (between the cars on the map).

The second example I propose below in (21) is taken from DGmtA01R and shows again how this construction is in focus.

- (21) UTTERANCE (DGmtA01R): *the instruction giver is trying to describe the route to the instruction follower. They already had a hint at the fact that the objects on the maps may slightly differ from one another. The instruction giver (p1G) is describing how the follower has to draw a route that goes through the cars.*

p1G#79: poi riscende giù verso destra questa volta in diagonale <sp> andando ve+ /  
#<p2F#80> sotto<oo> l'altra macchina# <P> fa il giro sopra la macchina <sp> sopra  
il tetto però #<p2F#80> capito ?#

p2F#80: #<p1G#79> <laugh># <lp> #<p1G#79> <ehm># sì<ii> e poi torno<oo> in  
giù a destra in diagonale  
<sp>

p1G#81: in #<p2F#82> diagonale sì#

p2F#82: #<p1G#81> okay#

p1G#83: sotto<oo> la macchina quell'altra rossa <sp> sotto l'altro maggiolone rosso  
<sp> quello che sta a destra

*QUD: dove passi in diagonale?*

p1G#83: sotto<oo> la macchina quell'altra rossa

*QUD: sotto quale macchina?*

[sotto l'altro maggiolone rosso]<sub>F</sub>

*QUD: quale maggiolone?*

[quello che sta a destra]<sub>F</sub>

Again, as it was the case for (20) before, this specific construction has the purpose of pinpointing the one car the route goes under. Being there on p1's map two red *maggiolone* cars<sup>210</sup>, one on the left side of the map and the other one on the right side, in order to indicate under which one the route is going diagonally, the instruction giver (p1) utters three different NPs. Ultimately, p1 decides to identify *l'altro maggiolone rosso* with a relative construction carrying focus value (and coreferential with the full noun phrase in a PP focus in the previous part of the utterance). From a naive intonational point of view, both the previous utterances trying to identify the car under which the route goes diagonally are uttered with a suspended intonation. Again, the relative construction *quello che sta a destra* is uttered with a high speech rate and as a unitary chunk, with no pauses in between its component parts.

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<sup>210</sup> On the instruction follower's map (p2's map) there is only one red *maggiolone*, but at this stage the instruction giver ignores this piece of information.

### 6.5.2 Appositive relative constructions: information structure

Appositive relative clauses have usually been considered as linguistic material expressing additional information and having a parenthetical status, see §1.5.1.

According to the analysis I have carried out on the appositives of the sample, as it can be expected, the head of this semantic type of relative is not in the same informative unit as the relative clause, and above all, in most of the cases, it can be in different speech turns uttered either by the same speaker or by different ones.

The informative interpretation of this semantic type of relatives has been challenging because of the strong influence of the structuring of utterances in spontaneous speech. In such a “landscape” of fragmented, interrupted utterances, there is a divide between a semantic not-at-issue interpretation and an information structure interpretation which does not seem to be its legitimate counterpart<sup>211</sup>.

Table 26

APPOSITIVE CONSTRUCTION		
INFORMATION STRUCTURE	TOTAL	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY %
NP head in focus (separate from) RC carrying predicate focus+ evidentials/frame setting material	14	82.3%
RC carries not at issue content	1	7.7%

All appositives in the sample have the head in one informative unit that is separate from the one to which the relative clause belongs. Most cases can be analysed (with some incongruence with their semantics, like I just mentioned above) as having the relative clause expressing a predicate focus. One case seems to be a parenthetical like the typical example of appositives that can be found in the literature, which coincides with Scarano’s appendix, i.e., additional secondary information, as well as with not-at-issue material within the annotation framework adopted.

Let us see below in (22) an example of appositive construction which does not look like a typical parenthetical.

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<sup>211</sup> For the semantic not-at-issue interpretation of appositives see, amongst others, Potts (2005), Déhé (2009, 2013).

- (22) UTTERANCE (DGmtA04R): *the current Instruction Giver is giving extremely detailed indications about the route, up to the point that she describes it segment by segment. She is now describing how these segments, one after the other, go around the car when the Follower interrupts her by saying that he has reached the height of the left hand-side headlight (where headlight is “faro” in Italian, homonymous with “lighthouse”) The Instruction Giver wrongly understands that her interlocutor is saying he is at the level of some lighthouse on his map.*

p1G#113: ecco <sp> e poi devi andare un po' verso il basso

p2F#114: sempre intorno alla macchina comunque <sp>

p1G#115: sì

p2F#116: ora sto all'altezza del faro

p1G#117: che io non c'ho # naturalmente p2F#118 #

p2F#118: #p1G#117 no il faro della macchina# <sp> il faro a sinistra # p1G#119 guardando la macchina in faccia#

*QUD: Dove sei ora? / A che altezza sei della macchina?*

p2F#116: [ora sto all'altezza del [faro]<sub>F</sub>]-~

*QUD: cosa si può dire di questo faro?*

p1G#117: [che [io non c'ho]<sub>F</sub> [naturalmente]<sub>Not-at-Issue</sub>]-~

As we can see in the utterance above in (22) the head *faro* is the argument focus in speech turn 116 whereas the appositive relative clause is added by the other speaker as a consideration about it in turn 117. Semantically, the propositional content of the relative clause does not constitute what in the literature is called “at issue” material; it is, instead, an evaluation proffered by the instruction giver about the non-presence on her map of a *faro* by which the instruction follower has stopped by in his route-drawing task. The proposition relative to the statement that p1G (the Instruction Giver) does not have what she mistakenly understands as a lighthouse, is not in fact added to the common ground. All the same, in information structure terms, this relative clause takes up the whole span of a speech turn as an independent chunk of linguistic material, not parenthetical to anything that follows (because the conversation

necessarily needs to correct this statement afterwards). Therefore, I have been forced to analyse it as an answer to a QUD, which by definition clashes with a not-at-issue interpretation, according to the framework presented in §6.4 above. At the light of this, the relative clause carries a predicate focus expression coupled with an evidential adverbial that, according to the framework adopted, can be classified as not-at-issue material.

Again, we can see how the fragmentariness and the unplanned nature of spontaneous speech, create deviations from the standards of categories moulded on laboratory planned speech models.

The second case we want to show is that of an appositive construction that fits with the widespread parenthetical notion of this construction.

- (23) UTTERANCE (DGtdA02R): *the two speakers are trying to spot the differences between their two drawings and in the passage below their attention is moving from the device the man is holding in his hands, to the house in the background, see (fig. 9 and 10 § 2.3.2).*

p1#124: quindi vediamo un po' de cose che <sp> potrebbero esse' diverse 'na <sp> il transistor lì di quel affaretto #<p2#125> a me m'# arriva<aa> oltre a metà d'a casa è abbastanza lungo #<p2#125> l'antenna#

p2#125: #<p1#124> <mh># <lp> #<p1#124> sì# <lp> okay  
<lp>

p1#126: e<ee> i quadretti della casa che penso siano 'e finestre #<p2#127> so' uno/#

p2#127: #<p1#126> sono due quattro<oo># <lp> otto

*QUD: cosa si può dire (a riguardo) dei quadretti della casa?*

p1#126: e<ee> [i quadretti della casa]<sub>T</sub> [che penso siano 'e finestre]<sub>Not-at-issue</sub> [so' uno/ ]<sub>F</sub>

The appositive in (23) above is a sheer case of not at issue material: the relative clause *che penso siano 'e finestre* does not answer any part of the QUD. From a content point of view, it is a secondary, parenthetical consideration made by the speaker about the topic of the utterance to which it belongs.

In conclusion, the information structure of appositives seems to be one of the “most affected” by the features of spontaneous speech; that is to say, that in most cases their information structure does not correspond to their semantics as we would have expected.

### 6.5.3 Maximalising constructions: information structure

Maximalising relative constructions are a complex NP, therefore, in principle, we would expect them to take up any informative role in discourse. In the present sample I have found instances of maximalising relatives expressing argument focus and not at-issue material<sup>212</sup>, as table (26) shows.

Table 27

MAXIMALISING CONSTRUCTION		
INFORMATION STRUCTURE	TOTAL	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY %
All in argument focus	4	50%
Not at-issue	4	50%

For the realisation of maximalising construction expressing an argument focus, I report an example below in (24).

- (24) UTTERANCE (DtdA02R): *The two speakers-players are shifting their attention from an object to the other one in order to find the differences between their two pictures through descriptions. They have now just found a difference in the car and are then moving on to consider what the man is watching on the small tv.*

p1#206: quello pe' guardà' de dietro 'nsomma quello classico #<p2#207> <sp> quello te manca proprio <eh> nun [dialect] c'hai niente dentro al quadro de<ee>#

p2#207: #<p1#206> sì sì sì <sp> no no non ce l'ho , ho tutto bianco , c'ho il parabrezza# #<p1#208> bianco#

<sup>212</sup> This lack of variety could be due to the small size of this sample.

p1#208: #<p2#207> er [dialect] parabrezza# allora quella è 'n'altra differenza  
#<p2#209>e s+ me pare# stiamo a tre

p2#209: #<p1#208> sì okay# <lp> okay

p1#210: dopodiché forse potremmo vedè' vabbè quello che vede lui dentro la televisione

*QUD: A cosa potremmo passare dopo? Cosa potremmo vedere?*

[dopodiché forse potremmo vedè' vabbè [quello che vede lui dentro la televisione]F]~

As the QUD highlights in (24) above, the maximalising relative construction *quello che ha lui dentro la televisione* answers the *wh*-phrase and stands therefore in a focus relation to the rest of the utterance (which is given, highly salient material in the pragmatics of this gaming-dialogue).

Moving on to the next informative configuration found, we can see below in (25) how a maximalising relative construction can express not at-issue content.

(25) UTTERANCE (DGmtA03R): *while trying to draw the route the two speakers have just realised that they have different objects on their maps, in particular, the instruction follower is ascertaining whether the instruction giver has or not a butterfly beside a black dot (which is the starting point of his route).*

p2F#72: quindi tu non hai una farfalla <sp> arrivi ad un punto nero<oo> #p1g#73 e vicino a questo punto nero # <lp> non c'è farfalla

p1G#73: # p2F#72 non c'è farfalla #

p2F#74: c'hai anche un punto con scritto arrivo tu?

p1G#75: hmmm <sp> no <sp> solo partenza

p2F#76: allora facciamo così <sp> appurato che <sp> tu non hai la farfalla ma dovresti avere da quello che ho capito # p1G#77 un maggiolino rosso#

p1G#77:# p2F#76 hmmm <sp> # c'ho due<ee>/

*QUD: quali sono le nostre premesse? Che cosa abbiamo appurato che hai? Che cosa abbiamo appurato che non hai?*

p2F#76: allora facciamo così <sp> [appurato che <sp> [[tu]<sub>CT</sub> non hai [la farfalla]]<sub>F</sub>~  
 ma ~~appurato che~~ [dovresti avere [da quello che ho capito]<sub>N@I</sub> # p1G#77 [un  
 maggiolino rosso#]<sub>F</sub>]~

In (25) above the pragmatic annotation<sup>213</sup> of the utterance indicates (as well as the access to the audio file)<sup>214</sup> that the maximalising relative construction *quello che ho capito* is inside a PP that constitutes not at-issue material: semantically this content does not change the truth conditional value of the complex proposition, and pragmatically it is not a content that gets added to the common ground.

#### 6.5.4 Kind-defining relative constructions: information structure

All the kind-defining relative constructions of this sample align on one single information packaging. As we can see in table (28) below, the head of this type of relative construction carries a contrastive topic value, whereas the material of the relative clause is an expression of sentence focus.

Table 28

KIND-DEFINING RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION		
INFORMATION STRUCTURE	TOTAL	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY %
Head in CT, relative clause carries predicate focus	39	100%

This construction can be exemplified below in (26) by one of the kind-defining relatives from dialogue DGmtB03R.

- (26) UTTERANCE (DGmtB03R): *the Instruction Giver is telling the follower how to draw the route around the cat on the map, i.e., by getting closer to the lower side of the cat. Having*

<sup>213</sup> In this example the QUD annotation may look slightly heavy: this is because whenever an utterance contains conjunctive or disjunctive material (in this case the adversative conjunction *ma*) then it should be split up into different assertions and the elided material should be reconstructed. For reasons of clarity I have kept the text together, just signalling the presence of a focus domain boundary (by using the symbol tilde “ ~ ”) and reconstructing the shared elided material *appurato che*.

<sup>214</sup> By listening to the recording of the dialogue one can hear how *da quello che ho capito* is uttered with the typical parenthetical intonation.



*heard that, the Follower asks for a validation on which kind of line should he draw around the cat.*

p1G#15: allora siccome il rett+/  
hmmm <sp> gatto è un rettangolo <sp> lo devi costeggiare più vicino ai due vertici in basso

p2F#16: ah <sp> lo devo costeggiare più vicino <sp>/ sì ho capito ho capito <sp> devo fare una curva #<p1G#17> quindi che gira intorno sotto#

*QUD: che cosa devo fare quindi?*

[devo fare [una curva]<sub>CT</sub> #<p1G#17> quindi che [gira intorno sotto]<sub>F</sub>]

The information structure annotated in (26) above points out that the head of the kind defining relative construction expresses a contrastive topic<sup>215</sup>, while the relative construction is an expression of predicate focus about this particular (abstract) head.

What is interesting to notice is the one to one correspondence between information structure and the semantics of the kind-defining construction, as I am now going to explain. The contrastive topic marking of the head indicates the fact that the speaker is going to say something, i.e., outline he features, about an (abstract) entity<sup>216</sup> (the denotatum of the topic component) as opposed to all the other entities belonging to the same set (focus component of the CT, i.e., alternatives interpretation<sup>217</sup>). The predicate focus inside the relative clause is the characterisation of this entity. This informational reading perfectly coincides with the semantics of kind-defining: by means of this construction the speaker outlines the features that an indefinite entity should have.

### 6.5.5 Pseudo-relative constructions : information structure

Pseudo-relative constructions make up the second most represented type of the relative constructions in the present sample. Informationally, this construction has a single realisation that sees the head (either definite or indefinite) as the argument focus of the main clause as well the covert topic of the relative clause, which, in turn is carrying a predicate focus.

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<sup>215</sup> This CT interpretation is supported by an intonational prominence (typical of contrastive topics) on the NP *una curva*.

<sup>216</sup> This entity is not referential, see §1.5.2.3 and § 4.2.

<sup>217</sup> In other words, the purpose of the contrastive topic marking of the head is pulling out a member from a set of abstract, i.e., non-referential, entities.

I will give examples of three types of occurrences of the pseudo-relative construction, in order to provide a more complete outlook of its spontaneous spoken speech realisation.

Table 29

PSEUDO-RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION		
INFORMATION STRUCTURE	TOTAL	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY %
[[esserci/(x) avere/ (x) averci [NP <sub>i</sub> ] <sub>F</sub> ][che [ <i>covert top</i> <sub>i</sub> ] [VP] <sub>F</sub> ]	87	100%

In (27) below I start with an example, coming from DGtdB02R, of a pseudo-relative construction whose head is a [- definite] NP.

- (27) UTTERANCE (DGtdB02R): *this is the first utterance of the dialogue, that belongs to the Spot the Difference gaming interaction.*

p2#1: allora <sp> la mia vignetta ha <sp> un bambino che sta dentro una ciambella e guarda un grande uovo <laugh>

p1#2: sì

*QUD: Quali differenze hanno le vignette? Che cosa ha la tua vignetta che ha quali/con quali caratteristiche?*

[[[la mia vignetta] CT ha <sp> [un bambino]<sub>F</sub>~ [che [sta dentro una ciambella e guarda un grande uovo]<sub>F</sub>~]

The utterance containing the pseudo-relative construction in (27) opens one of the *Spot the difference* dialogues. It is worth spending a few words about the typology of the gaming interaction, as it affects the type of linguistic constructions that are used by the speakers. As we could read in the instructions of this gaming dialogue (see §2.3.2), the purpose of the game is for the two speakers to find the maximum number of differences between the two drawings they have been given. The differences can be in terms of *absence* or *presence* of details, differences in spatial orientation of the objects and in their shapes and sizes. Therefore, in the status of information knowledge, the fact that they *have* a certain number of objects on the

drawings and that these objects may or may not carry potential differences is stored as given/salient information from the very beginning<sup>218</sup>. This layout is reflected in the information packaging of the pseudo-relatives that are used with the purpose of describing the content of the drawing<sup>219</sup>.

We can see this in (27) above, where the first interlocutor begins the game-dialogue by describing what she has in her drawing. The fact of *having* objects on the drawing is salient, as I have claimed above, whereas the NP *un bambino* is being newly introduced and is a focus expression. At the same time as this referent is being introduced in the main clause, in the pseudo-relative a predication<sup>220</sup> is being attributed to it: the VP of this relative clause is a predicate focus expression<sup>221</sup>.

The whole construction *la mia vignetta ha <sp> un bambino che sta dentro una ciambella e guarda un grande uovo* is here interpreted as a unitary informative construction with two clauses and two focuses inside (a *bi-clausal* and *bi-focal* construction), in line with Lambrecht (2002)<sup>222</sup> and as I will further argue later in the interface conclusions.

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<sup>218</sup> This can be stated in more precise terms: these instances of pseudo-relative constructions that in other contexts could maybe be interpreted as *all new* constructions, in the current dialogues are not broad focus expressions. In addition to what has just been said about saliency, the following can also be highlighted: the pseudo-relative construction is a frequent descriptive tool in the map task and spot the difference games, and if it were to be a broad focus construction it would be an anti-economical use of focus in terms of size of the constituent to which it applies.

<sup>219</sup>In dialogue DGtdA03R, the speakers explicitly refer to the instructions and paraphrase their content as an explicatory way of starting the dialogue:

p2#1: allora Vale <hmmm> che faccio guido io un po' <sp> dai <sp> descrivo io?

p1#2: mah <sp> differenze?

p2#3: leggiamo le istruzioni <sp> assenza e presenza di piccoli dettagli <sp> ovvero io posso avere cose <breath> che tu non hai e tu puoi avere cose che io non ho

p1#4: eh sì.

Two points, that seem to support what I have been claiming, are overtly stated in this dialogue opening: there may be things that are absent *vs* present in the two drawings, and, along with that, describing is what the players have to do.

<sup>220</sup> In terms of features assignment typical of a description.

<sup>221</sup> It is tempting to propose a partial parallelism with Lambrecht (2002) in so far as the author therein proposes that the subject pronoun *qui* in French presentational relative clauses has a topic value. The fact of having case agreement features on the pronoun in French makes it easier to propose such an interpretation, whereas for the Italian counterpart the *che* (that has largely been interpreted as a complementizer) does not show any agreement feature. Therefore, it might be plausible to posit the presence of a covert denotatum for a topic expression (as well as for a subject) of the pseudo-relative clause. This covert topic-subject would be coreferential with the focused NP in the main clause as well as being what the predicate focus is about. This hypothesis is also corroborated by looking at one potential *allo-construction* (in analogy with Lambrecht (1994) *allo-sentences*) of the pseudo-relative construction: [*La mia vignetta*]<sub>CT</sub> ha [*un bambino*]<sub>F</sub> e [*questo bambino*]<sub>T</sub> [*sta dentro una ciambella*]<sub>F</sub>. The coordinated construction that is comparable with the pseudo-relative has the second clause headed by a deictic NP expressing a topic and coreferential with the previous clause Focus NP.

<sup>222</sup> Muller (2008) proposes the same informative interpretation for the components of the pseudo-relative construction.

The next example in (28) is an utterance containing a pseudo-relative construction with a [+definite] head.

- (28) UTTERANCE (DGmtB02R): *the players have already noticed that there might be differences between the layout of the objects (as well as the presence of the objects themselves) on their two maps. The Instruction Giver is telling the follower the way the route should turn around the boat and the chair, and the follower is trying to understand how to apply the instructions to the way his objects are arranged on her map.*

p1G#37: allora scendi costeggiando la barca a lato sinistro <sp>fai sempre contorno con linea leggermente<ee> <sp> in diagonale verso destra circondando<oo> la sedia <sp> la cerchi completamente insieme alla barca

p2F#38: ma la barca l'ho costeggiata verso il basso invece dovevo farlo verso l'alto?

p1G#39: al lato sinistro della barca

p2F#40: il lato sinistro/ <sp> la mia barca ha la punta che va verso il /<hmm> diciamo<oo> sinistra <laugh>

QUD: *che cos'ha la mia barca che fa che cosa/che ha quali caratteristiche?*

[[[la mia barca]<sub>CT</sub> ha [la punta]<sub>F</sub>] [che [va verso il /<hmm> diciamo<oo> sinistra]<sub>F</sub>]

The Instruction Follower (p2F) cannot fully apply the directions given to her, because of the different distribution of objects between the two players' maps. Therefore, she describes the way a crucial object is positioned in her map. In order to do so, she resorts to a pseudo-relative construction composed by a main clause where the object that is possibly differently represented between the two maps (*la barca*) is expressed *via* contrastive topic (CT), the detail where the difference lies is represented by the NP *la punta* and is introduced *ex novo* in the dialogue by means of a focus expression. The relative clause of this construction describes the feature of *la punta* with a predicate focus corresponding to the VP *va verso sinistra*, which is proffered about a covert topic denotatum coreferential with the focus NP denotatum of the main clause.

Again, in analogy with (27), I propose to interpret this construction as a *bi-clausal* and *bi-focal* informative unit, where a NP is introduced in the main clause with the purpose of describing it in the relative clause.

In (29) I display a case of a pseudo-relative where the main clause verb (*esserci/averci*) is missing.

- (29) UTTERANCE (DGtdB02R): *the players are having a hard time in finding differences between the two drawings. They are now shifting their attention from the boy to the egg looking for discrepancies on the latter.*

p2#35: proviamo sull'uovo

p1#36: e<eehh>

p2#37: l'uovo ha questi tre palloni/ pallini, di cui quello in basso <ehmm> ha sulla sinistra <hmm> <sp> due segnetti

p1#38: due, sì <sp>uno/ quello di sotto più lungo.

p2#39: eh <sp> e poi a destra <sp> due linee che attaccano<oo>/ che collegano i due cerchi

*QUD: cosa c'è poi sull'uovo? Cosa c'è poi sull'uovo a destra?*

[[poi [a destra]<sub>FRAME SETTING CT</sub> <sp> [due linee]<sub>F</sub>~ [che [attaccano/che collegano i due cerchi]<sub>F</sub>~]

In (29) above, the utterance p2#39 (to which the pseudo-relative clause belongs) is composed of a frame-setting expression *a destra* (here coded as a frame-setting CT), the NP in focus and the pseudo-relative; the main clause verb (*averci/avere/esserci*) is missing. This latter fact supports, in my view, the interpretation that the main clause verb signalling the presence of something (we could call it the existential predicate) in this gaming context belongs to the given (or salient) material.

Having said that, the information packaging of utterances of this kind is the same as the other pseudo-relative constructions analysed so far. By means of a frame-setting contrastive topic expression the speaker isolates one of the potential places he wants to pick up for describing the features of one object that is there. The object that is highlighted in the main clause by means of a focus expression *due linee* is then described in the pseudo-relative clause through the predicate focus *che attaccano/ che collegano i due cerchi*.

In conclusion, the information structure of pseudo-relative constructions reflects their pragmatic nature in spontaneous dialogues, i.e., that of introducing (or making relevant) and describing an entity at the same time<sup>223</sup>.

## 6.6 Conclusions

The analysis above shows a few trends in the information packaging of relative constructions, i.e., *head+relative clause*. Restrictives can express argument focus, topic, contrastive topics or they can belong to bigger focus expressions; it is plausible that a complex NP –made up of a head noun and a relative clause having the purpose of identifying the head– would show such a variety of realisations on information structure grounds. This is quite contrary to what the two studies dating back to the ‘70s introduced in §6.3 were stating: the head NP was to have fixed functions of either theme – according to Kuno (1976) – or focus<sup>224</sup> – according to Schachter (1973) – respectively, while in line with Scarano (2007) I have proposed that head NP and relative clause act as a minimal informative unit that can eventually be included in bigger size expressions but is never informationally separated from its head.

Appositive clauses behave accordingly to their definition, in the sense that the head belongs to an informative expression separate from the one where the appositive belongs to<sup>225</sup>. Contrary to the not-at-issue interpretation generalised to the category of appositive clauses<sup>226</sup>, only one appositive could be interpreted as not-at-issue material, whilst the others have been analysed as assertions separate from the head, carrying a predicate focus expression along with evidential material. A consideration is needed about this fact: the one appositive that shows a not-at-issue behaviour is textually structured as a parenthesis inside the rest of the utterance, whereas the other relative clauses that I have semantically interpreted as appositives are not parenthesis just because they are not followed by other material. The latter case could be due to the type of text analysed in this work. Appositives (above all those interpretable as not at-issue material) seem to be more a category of planned speech or planned written texts; in the type of dialogic spontaneous speech analysed for this work it seems that the fragmented and unplanned nature

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<sup>223</sup> It must be added that in these specific types of gaming dialogues where descriptions are crucial in terms of differences, the pseudo-relative construction is mostly uttered about a contrastive topic.

<sup>224</sup> In the author’s terms the head would be *foregrounded*, see § 6.3.

<sup>225</sup> The classical feature of appositive is either the so-called “comma intonation” for the oral or a comma in the punctuation to separate head and relative clause.

<sup>226</sup> Amongst others Potts (2005), Dehé (2007, 2013).

of the interaction does not create favourable conditions for the realisation of this construction which vehiculates additional information “into brackets”, i.e., secondary or accessory considerations that may not be highly used in *impromptu* gaming speech (if not spontaneous speech in general).

Maximalising relative constructions behave as clusters of *head+ relative clause* and in the present *corpus* are used for expressing argument focus as well as for making speaker-oriented considerations that have been classified as not at-issue.

For what regards kind-defining and pseudo-relative constructions, the analysis shows that they express one single information structure each. The specificity of the pragmatic use of these constructions is such that they have specific information packaging associated with them.

Kind-defining highlight the abstract NP (that needs to be defined) with a contrastive topic expression that is followed by a relative clause where the “defining” predicate is in focus, and is mostly used in instructions or in validation of instructions.

Pseudo-relatives, on their side, are a type of relative construction that in the present dialogues is used for describing the content of maps or drawings. This construction instantiates two needs: introducing (either for the first time ever or after having already mentioned it before) an object as the centre of description (in the main clause) and at the same time, in the relative clause, stating a characterisation of this object. The information packaging of this double-clause construction has the head NP being introduced as a focus expression in the main clause, then acting as a (covert) phonetically null topic in the relative clause where its description is expressed by a predicate focus.

# Conclusions at the interface

This chapter links all the levels of analysis presented so far. The considerations on the semantic, syntactic and informative nature of relative clauses and constructions are going to be combined with the features of the type of text to give a global overlook of this phenomenon as it has been recorded in the present sample.

The importance of conducting a linguistic analysis that takes into account all the levels of inquiry, integrating them at a multidimensional *interface*, emerges from composite studies such as Mereu (2009).

An interface analytical approach is particularly needed when we are dealing with spontaneous spoken language: an analysis relying on syntax alone or semantics alone would not grant a complete picture.

Another issue that I would like to highlight is the importance of considering the constructions under investigation not as isolated units of language but, instead, as components of a bigger cluster of text that needs to be considered all together in order to get a thorough picture. In other words, Mereu (2009: 3) emphasises that:

“I) information structure cannot be studied in isolated sentences, and II) we need samples of spoken language to extract chunks to be analysed phonologically, syntactically and pragmatically. Both of these issues were not clear in most works in the past century, at least up until the 1980s, as these were based more on the analysis of single sentences, or even question-answer pairs, rather than on a systematic study of actual language use.”

In this final jointed level of analysis, I am also going to take into account the textual dimension as a mattering factor for a global understanding of the behaviour of relatives throughout this work. By textual dimension I mean the settings of the dialogues, according to their pragmatics, situational context, as well as the set-up of interactions of the interlocutors.



Having set these premises, I will move on to the core of the discussion about the interface considerations for the present work.

First of all, note how the *pragmatically oriented* nature of the Map Task and Spot the difference dialogues from which the relatives were extracted, has highlighted the connection between each specific type of relative and its functions and uses.

By this I mean that because these conversations belong to the genre of spontaneous speech elicited with gaming techniques<sup>227</sup>, the pragmatics of the games, which is set up with clear tasks and rules, channels their linguistic uses and functions. This was illustrated in the semantic chapter where each semantic type of relative construction was described with its associated functions and uses.

Matching the different levels of analysis at the interface, we get the following picture, that I will present first from a global *gaming-text* perspective, and then by looking into some of the types of relative construction<sup>228</sup>.

The Map Task and Spot the difference dialogues are online spoken interactions with no visual contacts between the speakers. The former gaming dialogue has a task for the two speaker-players that needs to be accomplished in a non-limited amount of time: through verbal interactions only the Instruction Giver must enable the Instruction Follower to reproduce the portion of the route that is missing on the Follower's map. There is also a detail of the game that is not known to the players at the beginning, i.e., the objects on the two maps are not distributed in the exact same way and some objects may be missing in one or the other map.

In the Map Task dialogues relative constructions are used for specific purposes. For describing the route in relation to the objects on the map, the Instruction Giver uses restrictive constructions in order to identify places, objects, portions of the route. She/he uses kind-defining relatives either to outline what kind of objects, e.g., parts of the route the follower should draw, or to sketch what type of objects or details she/he has on the map, especially when they start finding out that there are discrepancies between the drawings. Pseudo-relatives are used for describing an object or a detail of an object right after having stated (or highlighted) the presence of the object on the map.

A very similar picture can be sketched for the Spot the difference dialogues, with the difference that the players have equal roles and they have a limited amount of time for finding

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<sup>227</sup> Carletta *et al.* (1996) defines the Map Task dialogue as "spontaneous task-oriented dialogue".

<sup>228</sup> I am going to dedicate more space to restrictives, pseudo-relatives and kind-defining which have emerged more in the present sample.

out the differences between their two drawings. The relatives are used quite in the same way, the only difference being that they are here applied to spotting out how objects or details of the drawings may or may not be present on both maps. Therefore, pseudo-relatives are widely used for describing the content of the drawings, i.e., an object is there and has certain features. Kind-defining are used as well, in terms of defining the features characterising a kind of object or detail, and restrictives are always the linguistic tool for referent identification *par excellence*.

Lastly, in both dialogue types maximalising relatives are less frequent and are either used for expressing speaker's evaluation comments or for giving prominence to the NP identified within the relative clause. Appositives are not a conspicuous feature of spontaneous speech, as the unplanned nature of the latter is not an ideal ground for a speaker to formulate them.

Let us now see more in detail how each type of relative behaves at the interface between syntax, semantics, pragmatics and information structure, also taking into account textual characteristics.

In this sample restrictive relative constructions behave as complex NPs, mostly used for identifying objects, details or parts of objects or routes, as well as more generically anything that needs to be identified and may not be strictly bound to the *gaming-text* purposes<sup>229</sup>. As already highlighted in the syntactic chapter there are many instances of the head being in prepositional phrases inside the main clause, which goes along with the "spatial setting" of the dialogue. On the informative level, given that restrictives are complex NPs that can be either syntactically contained in other phrases or be independent, these constructions can be the expression of topics, focuses, contrastive topics or belong to bigger focus expressions.

Lastly, there is also another aspect of the realisation of restrictives that is worth highlighting and which I have not found traces of in the literature: the use of the construction *full lexical NP<sub>i</sub>+Dem<sub>i</sub>+RC* for pointing (somehow deictically) to specific objects out of limited sets. From an information structure point of view this function is realised through an argument focus on the complex noun phrase made up of Demonstrative<sub>i</sub> head+Relative clause.

My conclusions on the "interface" nature of restrictive constructions are in line with works such as Scarano (2007), that sees this complex NP behaviour on syntactic and informative grounds as a basis for positing a structure that has a unique interpretation at the same time syntactic, semantic and informative.

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<sup>229</sup> I am referring to comments that do not strictly refer to the content of the maps or drawings.

Next, I'd like to focus on the behaviour of pseudo-relative constructions throughout the sample. Pseudo-relative constructions are widely used in these dialogues. This, as already hinted above, is due to the pragmatics of the games: in the Spot the difference game, for instance, the players need to find differences between their drawings by conversational means exclusively<sup>230</sup>. The easiest way to (linguistically) attain the goal is to make widespread use of descriptions. The speakers need a linguistic tool that enables them to present an entity as relevant (assess or highlight its presence in a certain environment) and at the same time describe it (characterise it): pseudo-relative constructions<sup>231</sup>. This entity is represented by an NP which can be either definite or indefinite but specific. The pseudo-relative construction (the head and the relative clause) make up with the main clause what Lambrecht (2002) calls the Presentative Relative Construction. In the *corpus* the combination of main clause and pseudo-relative constructions used for descriptions look like the following:

(1)

[[([PP]/[NP]) *esserci/averci* NP<sub>HEAD</sub>] + [pseudo-relative clause]

The PP is an optional component that specifies some place on the drawing/maps and it can either alternate or be adjacent to an optional NP that can express either the object that needs to be described or marking contrastively “*io/tu*”, as the following examples show:

(2)

- [A sinistra]<sub>PP</sub> c'è [un albero]<sub>HEAD</sub> [che però verso sinistra non è disegnato completamente]<sub>PS-REL</sub>
- [Quello di sinistra]<sub>NP</sub> c'ha [un trattino nero]<sub>HEAD</sub> [che lo unisce al paraurti]<sub>PS-REL</sub>.
- [Io]<sub>NP</sub> [in alto a sinistra]<sub>PP</sub> ho [una nuvoletta]<sub>HEAD</sub> [che però non è intera]<sub>PS-REL</sub>.

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<sup>230</sup> The same need for describing the content of the maps rises in the Map Task dialogues as soon as the players realise that the maps do not have the same objects placed the same way. Therefore, at that stage there is a similarity between the two dialogue types.

<sup>231</sup> It is interesting to notice how Weinert (2004), Miller and Weinert (1998) claim that one of the three functions of relatives in spontaneous spoken language is that of describing.

In informative terms, the interpretation I have given to this *descriptive construction* made up of main clause together with pseudo-relative clause, is not far from the (partial) suggestions found in much of French literature on the topic as well as the view proposed in Lambrecht (2002). What I have suggested is that the head NP has a focus value inside the main clause as well as being the topic denotatum for a phonetically null topic expression inside the relative clause. The VP of the relative clause, i.e., its predicate, instead expresses focus. Globally, it is a *double focus* and *double clause* construction, consisting of two focal domains corresponding to main and relative clause<sup>232</sup>.

### (3) INFORMATION STRUCTURE OF THE CONSTRUCTION USED FOR DESCRIBING

[[([PP]) [esserci/(x) avere/ (x) averci [NP<sub>i</sub>]<sub>F</sub>][che [covert top<sub>i</sub>] [VP]<sub>F</sub>]

The semantic-pragmatic values of the description, expressed in this double clause, or if we want to call it so, *descriptive construction*, have their counterpart in the information structure: a highlighted head noun in the main clause (argument focus) about which a prominent predication follows in the relative clause (predicate focus).

Moreover, having two clauses and two corresponding focal domains, allows for a better interpretation of the instances where the two clauses are split up over different conversational turns. The relative constructions of the sample, and particularly pseudo-relatives, are affected by the online, unplanned nature of the conversation. Miller and Weinert (1998), Miller and Fernandez-Vest (2006) and Weinert (2004), call this phenomenon “unintegrated syntax”. I would add that in the dialogues of game situations like the ones I have been examining, the text is inevitably distributed over different speech turns that can get to have fast succession (when not overlapping) and furthermore the two speaker-players do collaborate to achieve their goal in the game. The latter aspect highlighted, the collaboration between the player-speakers, has a linguistic counterpart when the players are describing drawings content or paths on the map: one speaker may utter the object he has on his sheet of paper and the other speaker adds on top of that a pseudo-relative clause, like in (3) below.

### (4) COLLABORATIVE DESCRIPTION WITH PSEUDO-RELATIVE CLAUSE

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<sup>232</sup> In this typology of dialogues this *descriptive construction* is not interpreted as an all-new,thetic, broad focus complex sentence. For a non-thetic interpretation of such constructions in dialogues see also McNally (2011: 1833-1843) and Ward & Birner (1995).

p1G#43: e quando <sp> piano piano inizia a fare una curva a destra

p2F#44: <mh>

p1G#45: c'è *una freccia*

p2F#46: *che te la trovi sulla destra*

The informative interpretation that I have suggested seems to fit well in a realisation such as the one in (3). The main clause with the first focus on the NP is in a turn, whereas the pseudo-relative clause is in the next turn carrying a predicate focus about a null coreferential topic. What changes here is that instead of having a compact construction with adjacent syntactic bonds on a linear succession of phrases, we have relations that hold over different speech turns. The syntax becomes somehow, paradoxically, a “textual syntax”, or in line with other authors such as Scarano we could say that what we are dealing with here are “textual relations”, Scarano (2007).<sup>233</sup>

For what regards kind-defining, as already highlighted, in the map task dialogues they are mainly used for giving instructions (as well as asking for validation) on how to draw route segments. In both typology of dialogues, they are used when a speaker is classifying (or defining in terms of *kind*) an object or a detail.

The semantics of the head is generic, a non-referential member of a class (or set defined by the Noun) about which the relative clause sketches some defining features.

The counterpart of this in the information packaging, as I have interpreted within the framework that I have chosen, seems to match particularly well. The head noun expresses a contrastive topic, so to indicate that *one* entity (against all the others) is being picked up for the predication/aboutness relation that will follow. The relative clause contains the predicate focus (the VP) that intensionally defines the head.

In conclusion, I would like to comment on how the choice of such a heterogeneous classification, that uses radically different frameworks, has helped me to understand the nuances behind relative constructions that were particularly hard to fit under a traditional label of restrictive *versus* appositive. By turning to the findings of different studies I have tried to classify relative constructions in a spontaneous spoken *corpus*. The composite and multilevel analysis I have conducted and the conclusions I have reached seem to fit in with the features of relative constructions in spontaneous spoken language, as Weinert (2004: 3) points out:

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<sup>233</sup> Scarano (2007: 88) speaks about “interpretazione “testuale” del *che*”.

“the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive is largely irrelevant for spoken language, nor can relative clauses be considered as backgrounded. Instead they are best analysed in terms of their three functions, serving to *describe*, *intensify/confirm* or *identify* the nature of referents”

# Appendix

## Sample of Relative constructions

### Relative constructions

DGmtA01R
allora sotto<oo> prendi il parafango della macchina quella che sta a sinistra
e poi c'è tutto il percorso che poi/ mo' te dico ti dico
tu vedi il parafango della macchina che sta a sinistra
allora da lì/ parte il percorso che passa/ sotto la televisione
A: prendi la partenza B: allora la partenza A: che se la vedi sta sotto il paraurti
sotto l'altro maggiolone rosso <sp> quello che sta a destra
l'ultimo angolo che teoricamente puoi toccare
A: arrivi fino a quella B: cioè che è..che<ee>..A: a fianco a quella B: che è a semiluna sì?
DGmtA02R
questo che dici te pure grigetto azzurro
a sto maggiolino che c'hai sotto uguale gli dovresti gira' intorno
er maggiolino questo che invece c'abbiamo tutt'e due
penso che sto orologio che c'hai te che sta dv io c'ho l'artra macchina
cioè passo sotto a quello che c'ho io, l'orologio, che per te sarebbe il maggiolino
che per te sarebbe il maggiolino
e salendo passi anche sotto a quello/ al maggiolino che c'abbiamo tutt'e due
A: un camion rosso<oo> quasi in alto a destra del foglio B: che sta molto in alto, sì
insomma mi devo avvicinare a quella specie di camion [che vedi te] che ce l'ho pure io
che ce l'ho pure io
perché io c'ho un punto di partenza che è diciamo vicino alle pallette <sp> a destra
ah sì che dovrebbe essere il mio punto d'arrivo poi 'n pratica
delle prime tre che incontro
sì delle prime tre che incontri
le prime tre pallette che incontriamo, una a sinistra è un po' più grande

perché io ho praticamente una linea dritta che mi porta fino al punto d'arrivo
praticamente io ho un punto di arrivo che sta<aa> -> <i>next</i>
c'ha un tracciato che<e> passa in mezzo a queste stellette
conta che sia una linea dritta all'incirca che arriva quasi al<ll> al centro del foglio leggermente spostata in basso
te segnati il punto di arrivo che è all'incirca<aa> <lp> conta centro del foglio in verticale
ho una linea quasi dritta che in diagonale mi attraversa queste stelle
poi c'è l'arrivo che è questa croce [che hai segnato]
croce che hai segnato → ( <i>next</i> )
che# quindi rispetto / facendo <sp> proprio centro su<uu> su<uu> sul centro del foglio me devo sposta' leggermente verso destra e leggermente verso sud?
<b>DGmtA03R</b>
la x ['iksθ] che sta in fondo a<aa> a sinistra
allora facciamo un attimo il punto delle due cose che c'abbiamo
fino ad arrivare al maggiolone che si trova sulla sinistra
arriva intorno al maggiolino che/ a sinistra
che da me è di color rosso
ci gira intorno ed arriva <sp> al secondo maggiolino a quello che sta a destra
quindi tu hai due maggiolini che io non ho
dopo il maggiolino rosso quello che sta tutto a sinistra
gli gira intorno sino ad arrivare a a quello che sta a destra
a quello che sta a destra (B ripete A)
tu non hai la farfalla ma dovresti avere da quello che ho capito un maggiolino rosso
c'ho quei due rossi che<ee> che già ho detto
no dovrebbe essere quello che a me corrisponde come farfalla
c'è pure il pettine che dici te
tutta la roba che sta dal maggiolone blu verso l'alto
il lupo è la cosa più in alto a sinistra che hai, vero?
<b>DGmtA04R</b>
Sì, però quello, diciamo, dove c'è lo schermo
lo spigolo dove c'è lo sch+/- all'interno dov'è lo schermo
più o meno la grandezza è uguale a quella dove c'è scritto istruzioni



partendo dalle E di partenza se l'hai fatta bene che dovrebbe essere rispetto al puntino dell'incrocio
ehm diciamo nel momento in cui passi sotto con i segmenti devi saltare ad una distanza di 1 cm
i segmenti sono<oo> diciamo da quello che parte da sotto la E di partenza fino a quello che (->next)
fino a quello che sta proprio in corrispondenza della spina della televisione
e ricordati che quelli che stanno sotto devono stare a circa 1cm
intanto io faccio i gesti che tu non puoi vedere
quale? questo che dalla televisione porta alla torta no?
c'è un segmento che sta praticamente in diagonale
compreso quello del/che/ il segmento che hai messo davanti alla spina della televisione
sono uno, due etc sono quattro i segmenti che fanno questa curva
e siamo a metà curva come se ci fosse una linea perpendicolare che li<ii>
a questo <sp> diciamo che segue la curva a destra del merletto della torta<aa>
c'è l'altro segmento che è precisamente eh perpendicolare cioè scusami parallelo alla parte alla torta
poi a cinque mm devi fare un altro segmento che però è/ gira proprio intorno al bordo della torta
quest'ultimo segmento che hai fatto è più o meno sulla stessa riga di quello della curva<aa>
dell'altezza che ha raggiunto la curva<aa>
che hai fatto prima tra la tv e<ee>
incroci quasi la curva che sta/
hai tracciato questa riga che arriva fino al bord+/ allo spigolo della televisione
tu sei andato sopra la torta e hai fatto una riga orizzontale in pratica che se ehmm
devi andare a quella rossa a sinistra che sta spostata ancora più a sinistra rispetto a la televisione
c'è un segmento che proprio sta sopra il tetto esattamente
poi<ii> ce n'è un altro che<ee> che la segue in diagonale
A: adesso sto all'altezza del faro. B: che io non c'ho naturalmente
la linea che ti porta dalla torta alla macchina deve passare a sinistra
devi cercare di non prendere l'altra linea che avevi fatto prima
arrivato al centro della torta cerca di fare una curva che più o meno ricalchi ->next
quella che hai fatto intorno alla torta <sp> andando verso l'alto

adesso tu con l'ultimo segmento che hai fatto etc
e fai un segmento che che è uguale alla coda del lupo scostato di circa quattro millimetri
arrivi all'altezza dell'occhio sinistro del lupo con un segmento che scende
fai un altro segmento che arriva esattamente alla zampa ch'è<èè> in avanti del lupo
alla zampa ch'è<èè> è in avanti del lupo
e fai un altro segmento che va dalla zampa e<ee> eh diciamo passa a circa un cm dalla lente <i>etc</i>
adesso devi fare un segmento che vada da lì verso in basso a destra
in pratica mi trovo rispetto al puntino nero che era il mio arrivo
tutte le altre a destra che sono<oo> cinque
tu hai la tua riga che finisce in prossimità di una stellina grande che tu te la trovi a sinistra però
di una stellina grande che tu te la trovi a sinistra però
tu hai una stellina grande a sinistra che è l'ultima quella più bassa
<b>DGmtB01R</b>
il primo tratteggino che devi fare deve partire da sopra il limon+/ <i>etc</i>
devi girare intorno al limone<ee> che tu vedi spezzato a metà
andando verso la sedia che mi sembra di aver capito che tu ce l'hai
dalla parte diciamo del<ll> dove si mette il tabacco
<b>DGmtB02R</b>
vai giù giù e in pratica <ehh> costeggi il rettangolo dove c'è il gatto
è come se sta linea che te stesti facendo/stai facendo tenesse dentro il gatto <i>etc</i>
p1: [...] e la mano p2: dov'è la ma+/#p1# la mano è lassù# p1: che sta giù<ùù>
dimmi gli oggetti che c'hai partendo dal basso verso l'alto
fammi capire prima gli oggetti che c'hai perché sennò
ma la mia barca ha la punta che va verso <hmm> diciamo sinistra
quindi ti trovi <i>quasi un ovale</i> in cui c'è la barca e la sedia?
dunque lo spazio che c'è tra la sedia e la pipa il mio punto è diciamo <ehh> un terzo
dimmi gli oggetti che c'ha+/ <i>cioè</i>
allora sopra la pipa non ho<oo>/ ho in alto la mano che tu non hai
il punto di/in cui mi devo fermare è a metà tra la ciliegina e il cuore?
<b>DGmtB03R</b>
sì però se segui questa/ questo puntino che t'ho fatto io ci arrivi proprio preciso

devo fare una curva quindi che gira intorno sotto
in pratica gli faccio un sorriso sotto che però si avvicina ai due vertici di sotto
devi fare <sp> non dico la stessa distanza rispet+/- che hai dall'altra parte leggermente maggiore
il tratteggiamento <sp> deve arrivare nel momento in cui vai dritto cioè costeggi il lato del gatto>
dev'essere leggermente più grande questa distanza rispetto a quella che hai dall'altra parte
il vertice di cui pensavo stessi parlando è i+
ora ti sto dicendo di fare <sp> rispetto al lato del gatto dove c'è la faccia
una distanza maggiore rispe+/- leggermente rispetto a quella che c'è dall'altra parte
fino/ fino ad arrivare al vertice in alto dove c'è la faccia
l'unica parte che forse<ee> <lp> è meglio che fai bene è la parte quella<aa> dove c'è la coda della freccia
c'hai solamente una parte di linea retta <sp> che è la parte che costeggia il disegno
la parte che costeggia il disegno
nel senso che è un tratteggiamento<oo> <sp> che circonda proprio la sedia
tu fai/ tracci una linea verticale che arriva fino all'altezza del cuore
vai verso il bar però con una curva bella larga che passa, penso, tra la forchetta e il bar
e poi devo fare una curva che rientra dentro verso<oo>/tra bar e forchetta
devi arrivare all'altezza del primo scaffale che si vedono dove ci stanno le bottiglie dietro
dove ci stanno le bottiglie dietro
No, quello che mi devi dire solamente, io a che punto devo incominciare a girare attorno alla mano
è quasi una diagonale, in realtà, quella che devi fare
quello che voglio capire è <sp> la distanza della linea rispetto al pollice fai conto <sp> è maggiore rispetto a quella che c'è da/ al mignolo?
la distanza della linea rispetto al pollice fai conto <sp> è maggiore rispetto a quella che c'è da/ al mignolo?
[quando arrivi a toccare li/ il raggio che parte dall'indice], diciamo, <sp> cominci una piccola curva
A: come se facessi un angolo quindi B: esatto <sp> solo<oo> che qua, capi+, è arrondato capito
questa cosa che mi hai fatto disegnare adesso di lunghezza è uguale a quella che<ee>/ al segmento verticale
è uguale a quella che<ee>/ al segmento verticale

sì vorrei capire, il disegno in alto a sinistra che tu hai quale è?
ah il più in alto che c'ho
il più in alto che c'hai
quello che sta a sinistra della mano
devo risalire un po' e fare una curvetta che poi riporta giù fino al gelato
eh sì sta sopra il cuore però capito siccome si tiene a distanza di un centimetro poi dal cuore che c'ho sotto
e tracci una/ in pratica un'obliqua che<ee> è lunga un centimetro e mezzo
e arrivi fino a fare una curva che poi piega verso il<ll> <sp> la punta del cono
è solo un po' più accentuata come curva però come quella che abbiamo fatto prima dalla mano al cuore giallo
tu ce l'hai questa lineetta dove è infilato il cono?
più o meno è uguale<ee> a quella che mi hai fatto tracciare da destra verso sinistra per arrivare al cono
adesso faccio una critica <sp> alle gomme che ci hanno fornito
in modo che arrivi poi anche sulla ciliegia più o meno alla stessa distanza che c'hai dalla palla in orizzontale
<b>DGmtB04R</b>
al momento #<p2F#2> in# cui va verso sinistra ci sono dei limoni
allora ci sta<aa>/ c'è questa curva che<ee> sì<ii>/ <sp> alla destra di quella curva c'è il gatto che potrebbe essere
alla destra di quella curva c'è il gatto che potrebbe essere/cioè/
no, nel momento in cui tu stai sulla strada dritta e poi vai in curva
A: e quando [...] c'è una freccia B: che te la trovi sulla destra
sta sotto# la curva che va a destra
sta sotto la curva che va a destra
sotto questi trattini che vanno giù a curva c'è un cuore
poi a destra# di questa che piano piano ridiventa curva un po' va dritto
sulla destra di questa freccia che piano piano va sù
e sopra c'è una freccia <sp> c'è la freccia che gli passa intorno<oo> queste linee
a destra di queste di queste linee che piano piano si rincurvano un'altra volta a destra
alla destra della mano? che poi sarà la destra mia
<b>DGtdA01R</b>
il tizio ha <sp> una scucchia notevole [...] un cappello che sembra da baseball

sai quelli che sembrano i classici cappelli americani però con la cosa copriorecchi
poi tiene in mano la spada <sp> che è una sciabola a punta
A: tranne in punta che ... B: vabbe' si restringe
A: ha una zampa alzata B: che non si capisce bene quale è.
il cane c'ha dei piedi che sembrano piedi di porco
ma invece questa sorta di radiolina che ha<aa>
non ha coltetto la camicia, o quello che ha, la giacca
uno due tre quattro cinque l'altra <lp> quella che prosegue
ha un ghirigori sulla mano l'uomo che tiene in mano la televisione
no la gamba del tizio dico è messa a cavalcioni sopra l'altra <sp> quella che si vede bene
quelle due che stanno sotto <sp> che sembra uno sopra l'altro<oo> l'albero
che sembra uno sopra l'altro... l'albero diciamo/
A: poi all'interno [...] c'ha un altro quadrato [...] rettangolo è[..] B: che però non corre parallelamente
e sta sopra le finestrelle che in verticale sono due
la spada che ha in mano il tizio <sp> ha la punta rivolta verso<oo>
<b>DGtdA02R</b>
la panchina dove sta seduto il tizio
poi ce sta dunque la panchina dove sta seduto il tizio <sp> che mi pare c'ha/
A: se vedono una zampa bianca B: [...] A: che arriva <aa> non proprio alla fine della vignetta ma 'nsomma poco ce manca
quindi vediamo un po' di cose che -potrebbero essere diverse
e poi c'è l'ombra dell'altra zampa che quindi è nera
i quadretti della casa che penso siano 'e finestre
quello che vede lui dentro la televisione
er naso che c'ha lui e arriva verso sta specie di trans+ sta cosa che c'ha lui
<b>DGtdA03R</b>
A: io posso avere cose che tu non hai
B: che io non ho
tu puoi avere cose che io non ho
B: che tu non hai
tu dimmi le cose che c'hai e [che non c'hai]
e che non c'hai

abbiamo una, due, tre, quattro, cinque finestr+/una fila di finestre che sono cinque
#a sinistra c'è un albero #che però verso <breath> sinistra non è disegnato completamente vero?
quello di sinistra c'ha un trattino nero che lo unisce al paraurti
un trattino nero<oo> quello <sp> quello a destra <sp> c'ha un trattino nero che<ee>
mentre quello di destra di fanalino <sp> ce l'ha 'sto trattino nero che unisce?
della macchina no <sp> c'è la freccia no? Quella che c+/ ce l'hai pure te
cioè lo specchio che sta dentro la macchina
si vede lo specchio che ch+/ (quello che sta dentro la macchina)
quello che sta dentro la macchina
e poi e lo specchio quello che sta fuori <sp> retrovisore
e sul televisore che sta a guardare sto cre+/ eh<hh>
eh sul televisore che/ che guarda il signore che è un cane?
con una parte che procede/ che prosegue anche sopra di nero vero?
la bocca senti com'è <sp> una linea che<ee>?
la bocca sì era una linea<aa> <sp> che va/ che tende verso sinistra e poi c'ha<aa>
e poi 'cha un piccolo spessorino verso l'alto <lp> tipo un<nn>/ uno spigolo che va verso l'alto
i lacci sono uno, due, tre lacci con una striscia che passa in mezzo ai tre lacci giusto?
aspe' che si vede anche la seconda scarpa [..]<sp> la scarpa di sinistra <sp> che sta tra il ca+/?
B:la bocca è una semplice linea giusto? A: sì B: che sta a metà tra scucchia e naso
uno<oo> è chiuso che tende verso il basso a<aa> destra
vediamo un po' un'altra cosa che potrebbe esse+
senti la base dove poggia il cavallo no? ce l'hai presente?
la base dove poggia-?
aspe' cioè la ruota quella che si vede<ee>
A:c'è una linea B: che parte da d+/?
A:c'è una linea orizz+/ B:una linea sì che parte dall'alto arriva al basso poi tende verso destra <sp>
una linea sì che parte dall'alto arriva al basso poi tende verso destra <sp> che va verso la stalla
e non c'hai anche una linea che parte dalla freccia di sinistra della macchina e arriva fino alla stalla

praticamente<ee> <sp> vedi la zampa del cavallo <sp> que+ que+ quella che sta alzata
<b>DGtdA04R</b>
e poi c'ha una spada alta<aa> che tocca il bordo in alto del foglio
televisore che ha otto tasti neri-intorno
senti ce l'ha la manica nella giacca? <sp> Cioè la manica, il polsino che esce fuori?
il polsino che sporge sì sì
guarda un po' i puntini sotto il monumento non quelli tipo i chiodini quelli che per <laugh>
A: l'albero ha il tronco<oo> B: ha il tronco<oo> A: fa una curvetta
senti invece la testa ce l'hai che fa/ hmm hmm
cioè partendo dall'orecchio c'è una linea che scende poi rientra e poi scende
e poi ce n'è un'altra ancora più interna # p2#35 che<ee> continua#
# p1#34 un'altra ancora più interna #che<ee> è sempre continua quella invece
ce n'ha una con la spada e l'altra regge le redini <sp> che non ci sono le redini però
poi senti ce l'hai due/una doppia riga una che parte dall' orecchia del cane e finisce fino etc
sì sì sì sì sono quelle che delimitano l'aiuola
la manica è delimitata all'altezza della spalla <sp> cioè ha una riga che finisce fino alla panchina
senti dallo spigolo della televisione in lato a sinistra c'è una linea che va verso il naso del<ll>
hmm il<ll> collo del cane c' ha il collare che sopra non è chiuso
senti dallo specchietto esterno parte una riga che scende e va verso il monumento poi<ii>
<b>DGtdB01R</b>
io in alto a sinistra ho una nuvoletta ..una nuvoletta che però nn è intera
no io ho delle lineette<ee> diciamo come le lineette che stavano sulla nuvola
#la ciambella ch'ha [...] #poi c'ha il cappuccetto dietro che chiude
la papera ha [ ..] ha anche un occhio.<lp>.che sembra un altro uovo
e poi c'è la linea quella che si unisce a<aa> tutt' il cie+
e poi le lineette che sono alla sinistra della papera .. corrispondenti diciamo
e poi sotto /le lineette che diciamo formano la sabbia sono
ma secondo te c'è una linea che definisce la sabbia dal mare?
quella è una linea che fanno tutte eh della risacca sì delle onde
oppure i tratteggini che si vedono all'interno forse della ciambella
A: però c'è anche quella riga verticale sopra la palletta.B. esatto, che esce fuori

B.però poi la riga qui della ciambella cioè che parte da etc e finisce A.si interrompe
quale braccio? quello che non si vede la mano?
e quelle sono solamente delle ombre, quelle macchie, quelle che sembrano delle macchie
pure la cosa la bandierina su in alto che sembra un po' un gagliardino no diciamo
e poi la terza sta rispetto alla prima di cui abbiamo parlato prima...
c'ha una specie di altro rotondo di altro affafretto dove si va ad infilare dentro
nella nuvola quella a sinistra è più cicciona la parte che sta verso l'angolo
<b>DGtdB02R</b>
allora la mia vignetta ha un bambino che sta dentro una ciambella e guarda un grande uovo
poi c'ha un'altra striscetta che va verso il basso a destra
che va verso il basso a destra
sul semicerchio di base a sinistra c'è una linea lunga che lo prende de entrambe i lati
l'uovo ha questi tre palloni, pallini ,di cui quello in basso ha a sinistra
[l'uovo ha..]e poi a destra due linee che attaccano/ che collegano i due cerchi
ha l'ombelico marcato <sp> fatto una specie di c al contrari+/- no C giusta che va <laugh> verso il basso
A: si che ha tutti i puntini puntini B: si che/
si che/ uno due tre quattro cinque sei sette otto di cui due un po' più grandi
poi a destra e sinistra ci sono due linee un po' più lunghe #p2#63#<sp> che come te l'ho/sono ondulate
sotto ancora curv+ /che curvano verso sinistra
come che curvano a sini+ <laugh>/
cioè che curvano un/ sono leggermente in diagonale #p2#69# <sp>
io le vedo ..che vanno un po' verso<oo>/
si..rispetto aaa..si che vanno un po' a sinistra insomma
che vuol dire che vanno un po'
partendo da destra è una riga che va verso .. leggermente verso il basso
cioè ..in lungoo che va verso
a sinistra invece c'è una serie di queste curve che abbiamo visto prima
va beh <sp> quelle che avevamo detto prima
A:poi più giù una specie di s che parte dalla paperella
A:poi più giù una specie di s che parte dalla paperella B:che parte dal pois dal primo pois a sinistra



poi un'altra che invece è attaccta alla linea del quadrato
un'altra sempre che parte dalla linea del quadrato e arriva quasi alla ciambella
un'altra che parte dal quadrato <sp> e arriva insomma bella lunga
A: un'altra che sta<aa> B: a metà tra la riva e questa ultima
c'è un segnetto che non è sicuramente nel disegno <sp> magari è una differenza
cm tra ..tra la riva e queste lineette che abbiamo appena detto
queste lineette strane che abbiamo detto adesso che abbiamo detto che sono sette
che abbiamo detto che sono sette
cioè un'altra serie di<ii>/ <sp> una una curva che tende verso il basso
e andiamo verso l'uovo<oo> <sp> ci stanno due segnetti e poi uno che arriva fino all'uovo
e poi c'è la base dello scoglio che è leggermente ondulata
sono solo delle lineette che vanno verso l'alto
invece queste lineette per me hanno una specie di curva che le chiude
A: c'è una nuvola a destra B: quella che sbuca dal quadrato sulla destra
c'è un altro tondo <sp> un semicerchio che va verso il basso
partiamo dall'alto del disegno perché qui ci sta un<nn> pezzo che non<nn>/ non ne sono sicura
la terza è quella è una punta che scende poi verso il basso
una grande all'interno della quale ci sono i segnetti
<b>DGtdB04R</b>
la punta della bandiera sta verso la nuvola <sp> che<ee> a metà praticamente che <ehm>
no , io ce l'ho<oo> puntata verso la nuvola che sta sopra
le palle , quella sopra <sp> e quella sotto che sta per terra sono collegate da<aa> due linee
due linee , sì perfetto <lp> vabbè# non conto la terza che sarebbe l'uovo
in quella che sta<aa> <ehm> per terra , di palla <insp>
ci sono due linee<sp> se+ / che partono da questa<aa> da questa palla
sì# <lp> che escono <sp> fuori# #<p2#41> da questa palla
sì , che escono fuori
A: cioè c'ha il becco ora la parte sopra all'insù B: sì A: e la parte sotto che <ehm> è più corta
A: quale nuvola? B: la nuvola quella là che abbiamo visto le lineette
io ce n'ho una , una lineetta che è proprio attaccata al bordo e che st+ /
e che st+ /

a parte# sotto <sp> c'è una linea <sp> che ni+ / ini+
non so <sp> io c'è un qualche cosa che mi fa capire <lp> boh <lp>
no , mi sa che c'è qualcosa che non va , {[whispering] aspetta un attimo
allora , la prima lineetta , quella che parti dal becco e vai giù <inspiration> che finisce <i>etc</i>
sì , insomma è il<ll> buco <inspiration> <eeh> dove entra dentro il bambino
A: e poi dopo c'è un pezzettino B:- A:che<ee> <sp> a sinistra va sulla <sp> sulla sinistra <sp> sulla destra#
poi c'ha sulla<aa> <sp> sotto la spalla<aa> quella che sta più giù , ci sono due lineette?
la parte finale quella che tocca col bordo più o meno è all'altezza
la parte finale quella che tocca la <sp> sul bordo <sp> sì <sp> sì
tra il bordo superiore della figura dove si inc+ / della<aa> / dove si incrocia la nuvola

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