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Interpolation structures and verb movement in Triestino

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Per questi porti non saprei tracciare la rotta sulla carta, né fissare la data dell'approdo. Alle volte mi basta uno scorcio che s'apre nel bel mezzo d'un paesaggio incongruo, un affiorare di luci nella nebbia, il dialogo di due passanti che s'icontrano nel viavai, per pensare che partendo di lì metterò assieme pezzo a pezzo la città perfetta, fatta di frammenti mescolati col resto, d'istanti separati da intervalli, di segnali che uno manda e non sa chi li raccoglie.

Italo Calvino

A papà, nonna, Grazia, Bernardo, Luciano e Filippo.

Sara

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Introduction

This work deals with testing and analysing interpolation structures in Triestino. In particular, it is proposed to verify whether the analysis proposed by Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) for interpolation structures in Cosentino is applicable to interpolation structures in Triestino.

The first chapter deals with the theory of the elements involved in interpolation structures: clitics and cliticization, adverbs and verb movement. Then the theory of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) of interpolation structures in Cosentino is summarized: Cosentino presents a linear interpolation phenomenon, whereby an adverb separates the object clitic or the reflexive clitic from the finite verb. According to Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) the verb tends to stay lower than in Italian, and the clitics are inserted in the head of a projection YP, so you can have the cases of interpolation.

The second chapter deals with a description of Triestino and of our research on the field. The selection of the reference sample, the construction of the test, the execution of the pilot test and the final review of the test are then presented. At last, the data collected through the survey are exposed.

Finally, in the third chapter we try to answer our research questions:

1. Are there any restrictions in Triestino on clitics which can interpolate?
2. Are there restrictions in Triestino on adverbs that can interpolate?
3. In Triestino do pairs of adverbs interpolate?
4. Is the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) for Cosentino also applicable to Triestino?

After answering the research questions, we presented our proposal for an analysis of interpolation structures in Triestino: first of all we demonstrate that the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) is not applicable to Triestino because adverbs which individually are allowed in interpolation structures, respecting the hierarchy of Cinque (1999), cannot co-occur in interpolation structures in Triestino. Then we show how the adverb *neanche* (not even), which is the one that lends itself

most to appear in these structures, can go to a position of Focus, the clitic rises to a position of Wackernagel and the verb, instead of remaining at the bottom as it happens in Cosentino, rises normally.

Chapter 1

Interpolation structures, verb movement and clitic positions in Romance

1.1 Introduction

The starting point for my research is the analysis of interpolation structures conducted by Adam Ledgeway and Alessandra Lombardi in their paper *Verb movement, adverbs and clitic position in Romance* (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005). The aim of this work is to verify whether the analysis proposed by Ledgeway and Lombardi for interpolation structures in Cosentino is also representative of the phenomenon of interpolation existing in Triestino. On the surface the phenomenon of interpolation appears identical in both varieties, but there's no assurance that what appears identical on the surface is equal also in depth. Ledgeway and Lombardi in their work reflect on the so-called interpolation structures in the dialects of southern Italy in which the inseparable *nexus* between clitic and verb is interrupted by a specific class of adverbs. Their analysis is based on a systematic comparison between Italian and Cosentino, with this work in fact they also want to clarify some aspects concerning cliticization and verb movement in Romance up to a typological classification based on these two Parameters (cliticization and verb movement). In Italian the link between clitic and verb cannot be broken by any adverb, on the contrary in Cosentino a clause as

(1.1)

Si **sempre** lava

self= always he-washes

'he always washes himself' (Ledgeway, Adam, and Alessandra Lombardi. "Verb movement, adverbs and clitic positions in Romance." (2005): 78.)

it is not only grammatical, but also widespread.

The elements involved in this phenomenon are three: the clitic, the adverb and the verb with its movement. First, we will make a brief introduction to the theory of these elements which is also used by Ledgeway and Lombardi in their work. Then we will proceed with the analysis of the two authors of interpolation structures existing in Cosentino through a comparison with Italian.

1.2 Clitics and cliticization

Clitics are a category of monosyllable or bisyllable words. They are non-autonomous particles, similar to affixes: they do not have their own accent and have to be attached to another word with which they form a close unit. The clitics standing before the word are traditionally called proclitics, those standing after enclitics. The word to which a clitic attaches is called its 'host'¹.

Syntactic pronominal clitics do not constitute autonomous syntactic units and they form a unit with a host and are divided into two types: Wackernagel clitics (1982) and Adverbial clitics (Renzi 1989). Wackernagel clitics attach themselves enclitically to the first constituent of the clause and for this reason they appear in second position. We can see this kind of clitics in classical languages like Latin, Greek or Sanskrit, but also in modern languages like the Slavonic ones (Jakobson 1935; Bennacchio 1988). Adverbial clitics instead necessarily attaches to the verb, their host, either enclitically or proclitically, indeed they do not have their own accent and so they must stick to the verb with which they form a strict unity. In the variety chosen by the Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005), the Northern Calabrian dialect of Cosenza, the clitics are of the adverbial type, but they can also attach proclitically to certain adverbs giving rise to interpolation structures.

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¹Definition taken from [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/clitici\(Enciclopedia-dell'Italiano\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/clitici(Enciclopedia-dell'Italiano)/)

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(1.2)

- a Si lava **sempre**
a self= he washes always
 'he always washes himself'
- b Si **sempre** lava
b self= always he-washes
 'he always washes himself'

The two authors do not specify whether in (1.2b) the clitic is still considered as an adverbial clitic or if it is of another type. However, this phenomenon is very rare in Romance varieties.

In Italian we have adverbial pronominal clitics and they can attach to the verbal host enclitically or proclitically, in detail we have enclisis with non-finite verb forms including infinitive, gerund, participles and imperative, whereas we have proclisis with finite verb forms.

Cliticization and alternation of enclisis and proclisis have two interpretations: Syntactic Interpretation and Phonological Interpretation.

- Syntactic interpretation: cliticization is the result of a syntactic process in the overt syntax where clitic and verb come to occupy the head of a single

functional projection before Spell-Out.

- Phonological interpretation: cliticization is a phonological phenomenon and the clitic and the verb occupy different, but adjacent, positions before Spell-Out.

1.2.1 Different approaches to clitics and cliticization

The syntax of clitic pronouns is very complex and varied. Following the subdivision of Cardinaletti-Starke (2000) we can divide personal pronouns into clitic pronouns, weak pronouns and strong pronouns. These three classes differ because they have peculiar semantic, morphological, syntactic and phonological characteristics. From the point of view that interests us more, that is the syntactic one, the clitic pronouns are X^0 , i.e. heads and they cannot be used in isolation or coordinated. Strong pronouns, on the other hand, would be maximum projections and they behave like NP, so they can appear in arguments, in isolation, and they can be coordinated and modified.

The position of clitic pronouns is regulated by the mode of the verb they accompany. If the verb is finite then the clitic will be proclitic and will therefore precede the verb. If the verb is in the indefinite or imperative mode the clitic will be enclitic and then it will follow the verb as we can see in (1.3):

(1.3)

- a Gianni lo mangia (proclitico)
Gianni it= eats
'Gianni eats it'
- b Gianni è sicuro di mangiar-lo (enclitico)
Gianni is sure to eat-it=
'Gianni is sure to eat it'

With modal verbs we can see a very interesting syntactic phenomenon, clitic climbing, whereby the clitic can rise above the modal verb, which is the main verb, and place itself in proclisis to it as we can see in (1.4):

(1.4)

- a Gianni deve mangiar-lo
Gianni must eat-it=
'Gianni must eat it'
- b Gianni lo deve mangiare
Gianni it= must eat
'Gianni must eat it'

So according to Cardinaletti and Starke (2000), the differences between pronouns at the distributional level are due to the different internal functional structure and cliticization would be a change in structural representation during derivation.

A much discussed problem concerning clitic pronouns is the restriction involving object clitic pronouns: they are semantically the arguments of the verb, but from the syntactic point of view they cannot appear in an argumental position (Kayne 1975). A constituent to be interpreted as an argument of the verb must receive thematic role in specific argumental positions and so if the clitic pronoun cannot appear in the argumental position where it receives its thematic role? Thanks to this question we can briefly describe the three main approaches to clitic theory: base generation approach, movement approach and mixed approach.

Base generation approach: In this approach, proposed by Jaeggli (1982) (and then Borer 1984), the clitic pronoun is generated in a position outside the VP and it is subsequently interpreted as an argument through a relationship with a *pro* (null element) that shares the same traits with the clitic.

Movement approach: Contrary to the base generation approach, in the movement approach, proposed by Kayne (1975, 1989, 1991), the clitic pronoun occupies an argumental position in the deep structure of the VP and in this position it receives its thematic role. Then it rises (and hence the term 'movement') in a functional projection of the highest sentence to satisfy phonological, morphological and syntactic conditions (as later claimed by Belletti 1999) or interpretative, as Uriagareka (1995) argues.

Mixed approach: Then there is an approach, called precisely mixed approach,

which is what we decided to adopt for our analysis, which combines the two previous approaches. In detail, according to the mixed approach proposed by Sportiche (1992) the clitic is generated as the head of its peculiar functional projection that is CliticVoiceP associated with the verb. Meanwhile a pro (null element), generated in the argumental position, moves towards the CliticVoiceP specifier to meet the requirement of agreement spec-head with the clitic.

Manzini and Savoia (2002, 2004) then, following the mixed approach of Sportiche (1992), reject the idea that the clitics are generated in an argumental position and then welded to the VP. In fact, with their research in the Italian dialectological field, the two authors have proposed that the clitics are generated directly in a dedicated position between CP and IP.

Manzini and Savoia in turn follow Cinque 1999 in stating that there is a universal hierarchy of functional positions and consequently also a universal clitic string. According to the two authors the order of the categories projected by clitic pronouns is suggested by the internal structure of the nominal syntax: D, R, Q, P, Loc, N. D to represent the definiteness properties such as the definite article, R to represent the reference properties, Q to represent the quantified properties i.e. the indefinite quantifiers, P instead to represent the reference properties for the speaker and the listener, Loc to represent the reference to the spatial coordinates of speech such as the demonstrative, N to represent the predicative properties of the name.

Manzini and Savoia believe that the nominal string also describes the order of clitics within the sentence and to each category of the string is assigned a certain class of clitics. The clitic subjects are therefore in the position of D (definition), the category of P (person) is projected by first and second person pronouns not subject, N instead hosts the third person accusative, in Q we find clitics characterized by quantified properties, R (referential) is the point of union of clitics with properties on other clitics and is functional for the reordering of the clitic string, Loc hosts locative clitics.

Except for the base-generation approach, the clitic is expected to move. This clitic movement, according to Belletti (1999), is due to the syntactic nature of the clitic which, having case features, must 'verify' them through the movement. According to Kayne (1975) this movement occurs close to the verb because clitic pronouns do not bind to names, adverbs or prepositions. It happens, however, that the clitics, in the restructured verbs, are fixed to the auxiliaries and not to the lexical verbs. For this reason, it is better to follow the proposal of Chomsky (1993) for which the landing site of the clitics is a functional head linked to the verb that possesses some traits that must be checked by V. According to Belletti (1999) this functional head linked to the verb would be AgrO: the pronoun starts from the position of complement in the VP, then it goes up and reaches the head of AgrOP where it

cliticizes to the verb and establishes the agreement.

As we have said before, the clitic pronoun is an atonic monosyllabic form that must attach to another form, usually the verb. The system of clitic pronouns is structured according to the traits of person, number, gender and case. The clitics we have chosen for our analysis are the first-person clitic *mi*, the third-person clitic *lo* and the third-person clitic *si*.

Lo (it=)

Lo is a masculine singular third-person clitic pronoun whose case is accusative, so it covers the grammatical function of a direct object of the verb. It is a phonologically weak monosyllabic morpheme, its syntactic position depends on the finiteness of the verb as we can see in (1.3).

These clitics, from the morphological point of view, are marked by person, number, gender and case, when the tense of the verb is composed (auxiliary + past participle) the participle agrees with the clitics by gender and number as we can see in (1.5):

(1.5)

- a Gianni lo ha mangiato
Gianni it=(male) has eaten
'Gianni ate it'
- b Gianni la ha mangiata
Gianni it=(female) has eaten
'Gianni ate it'

From a pragmatic point of view, like all pronouns, this clitic refers to an argument from the speech that has already been introduced.

Si (self=)

Si is a third-person clitic, it is singular, but also plural, his case is dative, but in some cases may also be accusative as you will see in our test. *Si* is a reflexive clitic and occupies, like *lo*, a preverbal position when the verb is finite and postverbal when the verb is not finite as we can see in (1.6):

(1.6)

- a Gianni si lava
Gianni he= washes
'Gianni washes himself'
- b Gianni ha detto di lavarsi
Gianni said to wash-he=
'Gianni said to wash himself'

Unlike *lo*, and in general unlike direct object clitics, reflexive clitics are marked only by number and person and *si* in particular is marked only by person as the same form corresponds to both plural and singular as we can see in (1.7):

(1.7)

- a Gianni si lava
Gianni he= washes
'Gianni washes himself'
- b Gianni e Marco si lavano
Gianni and Marco them= wash
'Gianni and Marco wash themselves'

From a pragmatic point of view, thoughtful clitics such as *si* do not refer to a nominal object already introduced, but should be interpreted as co-referents of the subject of the sentence and in fact it is with the subject of the sentence that, from a morphological point of view, the past participle agrees (in case of compound tenses), not with the clitic as happened with the direct object clitic *lo*.

Mi (to-me=)

Mi is a first-person clitic, its case is dative, but in some cases may also be accusative, and, as you will see, in our test was used in both cases although predominantly with the dative case. *Mi* can be either an animated indirect object clitic

or a direct object clitic and it occupies, like *lo*, a preverbal position when the verb is finite and postverbal when the verb is not finite as we can see in (1.8):

(1.8)

- a Gianni mi risponde
Gianni to-me= answer
'Gianni answers to me'
- b Gianni ha detto di rispondermi
Gianni said to answer-to-me=
'Gianni said to answer to me'

Being a singular first person the clitic *me* does not need to be marked with the gender trait and from a pragmatic point of view, thoughtful clitics such as *mi*, or *si* as we have seen earlier, do not refer to a nominal object already introduced, but should be interpreted as co-referents of the subject of the sentence and in fact it is with the subject of the sentence that, from a morphological point of view, the past participle agrees (in case of compound tenses), not with the clitic as happened with the direct object clitic *lo*.

1.3 Adverbs and adverb positions

It is useful at this point to recall the classification of Cinque concerning adverbs (Cinque 1999). According to Cinque, adverbs follow a fixed order invariant across languages.

The different classes of adverbs are distributed in a strictly ordered sequence in the sentence. This closely ordered sequence is also mirrored by a series of functional heads containing different head morphemes that encode different types of functional categories. There is therefore a sort of semantic relationship between the order of adverbs and the different functional heads. For this reason, each adverb is in a position of specifier of a functional projection that semantically connects it to the head morpheme. In conclusion we have a very articulate clause structure in a fixed order. Cinque classifies adverbs in “Lower” (pre-VP) AdvP and “Higher” (Sentence) AdvP.

“Lower” (pre-VP) AdvP in Italian occur in the lower portion of the clause, in particular the space of these adverbs is delimited to the left by the leftmost position

that a past participle can occupy and to the right by the complement or the subject of the past participle (Cinque 1999). Then we will have an order of this kind: usually > mica > already > more > always > completely > all > well (in Italian “solitamente > mica > già > più > sempre > completamente > tutto > bene”). It is important for our analysis to remember that the adverb “not even” “neanche” seems to occupy the same position as “mica”.

“Higher” (Sentence) AdvP in Italian occur in the higher portion of the clause with a fixed relative order which appears to be composed as follows: frankly > fortunately > evidently > probably > now > sincerely > unfortunately > clearly > presumably > then > perhaps > intelligently > by chance > awkwardly (in Italian “francamente > fortunatamente > evidentemente > probabilmente > ora > sinceramente > purtroppo > chiaramente > presumibilmente > allora > forse > intelligentemente > per caso > goffamente”).

1.4 Verb and verb movement

In Romance languages such as Italian, there is an overt verb movement (it implies a reordering of words) as opposed to German or English showing a covert movement of the verb. In Italian then we have a generalized movement of the inflected verb in I° (while in German the position in I° can be used only as an intermediate stage to reach C°). In addition, Cinque (1999: 49-51) gives us a more detailed idea of the movement of the finite verb in Italian: in his work he notes that finite verbs in Italian occupy a variety of positions within the structure of the clause, while finite lexical verbs cannot target positions in the higher adverb space, but only in YP (a clause-medial projection inserted between the ‘higher adverb space’ (HAS) and the ‘lower adverb space’ (LAS)). These different positions (Ledgeway, Lombardi 2005) can be identified thanks to the presence of different adverbs that act as a watershed between the different positions. This will be useful later because Cosentino shows a verb movement different from the Italian one: in Cosentino the verb tends to remain in lower positions of the structure than in Italian.

1.5 Interpolation structures in Cosentino according to Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005)

After this quick, obviously simplified, review of the theoretical tools used by Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) for their analysis, we will see their analysis of interpolation structures. As for its geographical distribution we can find it in the southern Italo-Romance varieties like Cosentino, Casertano, Salentino, Neapolitan and early Sicilian, but also in early Tuscan, central Apennine dialects and Triestino

(the variety that we will analyse in the next chapters of this work). Ledgeway and Lombardi also point out that there are other similar interpolation structures in other varieties such as Spanish and Portuguese, but the material that intervenes between clitic and verb in these varieties is very wide and without a precise order, for this reason it is believed to be cases of scrambling.

They develop their analysis through a comparison between Italian and Cosentino. The two authors (unlike my approach in which the focus of the analysis will be on clitics and adverbs with the choice of a limited and circumscribed set of them) do not select a limited set of clitics and adverbs, but rather base their analysis on different types of verbs and verb structures involved (finite auxiliary verbs, finite lexical verbs, non-finite verbs, restructuring predicates, perfective auxiliaries). For our research, however, mainly the finite lexical verbs and infinitival verbs are relevant, so we will focus on these.

Ledgeway and Lombardi in their work (2005) noted that in Cosentino are allowed interpolation structures: the inseparable nexus that exists between clitic and verb is separated by the interpolation of the adverb. So, if in Italian, and also in Cosentino, we have a string consisting of Clitics + Verb + Adverb in Cosentino is also allowed and spread an order of the type Clitics + Adverb + Verb. In other words, the grammar of Cosentino generates not only the canonical order existing in Italian, but also structures that present interpolation of the adverb between clitic and verb as we can see in the examples in (1.9b-d) taken from Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005):

(1.9)

- a Si lava **sempre**
self= he washes always
‘he always washes himself’
- b Si **sempre** lava
self= always he-washes
‘he always washes himself’
- c Un mi **cchù** parra
not me= anymore he-speaks
‘he doesn’t speak to me anymore’
- d S’ **ancoravinnan**
selves= still they-sell
they’re still on sale’

So, this should shed light on the functional projections targeted by clitics, the types of movement involved and where cliticization occurs in the syntactic structure.

So, this should shed light on the functional projections targeted by clitics, the types of movement involved and where cliticization occurs in the syntactic structure. We have briefly summarized in the previous paragraphs the theory on adverbs of Cinque (1999) because in Cosentino not all classes of adverbs can occur in interpolation structures.

As we can see from the examples (1.10) an irrealis modal adverb like *forse* ‘perhaps’ and a circumstantial adverb of time like ‘dumani’ ‘tomorrow’ are excluded from interpolation structures and the clauses are not grammatical because these adverbs must necessarily precede the clitic:

(1.10)

- a *vi **dumani** / **forse** chiamanu
 you= tomorrow / perhaps they-call
 ‘perhaps/tomorrow they’ll call you’
- b **dumani** / **forse** vi chiamanu
 tomorrow / perhaps you= they-call
 ‘perhaps/tomorrow they’ll call you’

Thanks to these examples we can understand that the restrictions about which classes of adverbs cannot intervene between clitic and verb can be explained systematically following the classification of Cinque (1999). What Cinque calls ‘Higher (sentence) AdvP’ are excluded from interpolation structures. The relative order from left to right of these adverbs with their functional heads is given in (img: 1.1) and is an adaptation of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) to Cinque (1999:106):

(1.1)

pragmatic (speech act) adverbs (*onestamente* ‘honestly’) > evaluative adverbs (*pi ffurtuna* ‘luckily’) > evidential adverbs (*dicica* ‘apparently’) > epistemic adverbs (*prubbabbilmente* ‘probably’) > (purely deictic) temporal adverbs (*dumani* ‘tomorrow’) > irrealis adverbs (*forse* ‘perhaps’) > alethic adverbs of necessity (*pi fforza* ‘necessarily’) > repetitive (event) adverbs (*ancora* ‘again’) > frequentative (event) adverbs (*spessu* ‘often’) > alethic adverbs of possibility (*pussibilmente* ‘possibly’) > habitual adverbs (*normalmente* ‘usually’) > subject-oriented adverbs (e.g., *apposta* ‘deliberately’) > celerative (event) adverbs (*chianu* ‘slowly’)

On the contrary, adverbs that can intervene between the verb and the clitic in Cosentino are those that Cinque defines as Lower pre-VP adverbs. The relative order from left to right of these adverbs with their functional heads is given in (img: 1.2) and is an adaptation of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) to Cinque (1999:106):

(1.2)

[*mica* Neg1_{presuppositional} [*already* T(Anterior) [*no longer* Asp_{terminative}
[*still* Asp_{continuative} [*always* Asp_{perfect} [*guère* ‘hardly’ Neg2 [*just* Asp_{retrospective}
[*soon* Asp_{proximative} [*briefly* Asp_{durative} [*characteristically* Asp_{generic/progressive}
[*almost* Asp_{prospective} [*completely* Asp_{SgCompleitive} [*everything* Asp_{PICompleitive}
[*well* Voice [*fast/early* Asp_{celerative(process)} [*again* Asp_{repetitive(process)} [*of-*
ten Asp_{frequentative(process)} [*completely* Asp_{SgCompleitive(process)} [_{V-VP} . . .

These adverbs occupy a syntactic space delimited to the left by adverb negators as ‘mica’ (we must remember that according to Cinque (1999) *neanche* ‘not even’ has the same status as ‘mica’) and to the right from the arguments of the VP. It should be added, however, that only a limited subset of these adverbs can intervene between the clitic and the verb, in particular adverbs that range from ‘mica’ to ‘completamente’ as we can see in (1.11):

(1.11)

unn’ / i propiu / **cchiù** / mai chiamu
(Neg1/Asp_{termin.}/Asp_{perf.})
not / them at-all / anymore / never i-call
‘I won’t call them at all anymore ever’

We can notice in (1.12) that all lower VP adverbs that are under the highest completive aspectual head cannot intervene between clitic and verb and therefore cannot make interpolation. This type of adverb must necessarily appear to the right of the finite verb.

(1.12)

- a *cciù tuttu / **buonu** / torna cuntu
to-him-it= everything / well / again I-tell
'I'll tell him everything/well/again'
- b *cciù cuntu tuttu / **buonu** / torna
to-him-it= I-tell everything / well / again
'I'll tell him everything/well/again'

In addition, in (1.13) we can see that more than one adverb can appear in interpolation structures, but these adverbs, however, can only be combined if they respect the rigid order of the adverb hierarchy proposed by Cinque (1999):

(1.13)

- un si **mancu ancora** / *ancora mancu canuscianu
not selves= not yet / yet not they-know
'In any case they don't know one another yet'

For these reasons the two authors exclude the adoption of theories that allow adverbs to freely adjoin or move towards maximal projections as they would not account for the restrictions on adverbs. Therefore, the selection of adverbs that interpolate depends on the extent of the clitic and verb movement. Higher adverbs are excluded from these structures because the clitic in the variety examined by Ledgeway and Lombardi cannot climb beyond the YP projection which is located immediately below the higher adverbs space.

This point will be important for our analysis proposal because we will see that Triestino behaves differently, so that the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) is not applicable to interpolation structures of Triestino.

The two authors therefore state that in the canonical strings with order Adv+Cl+VP the clitic and the finite verb leave the v-VP complex going up to positions immediately above the functional projection which hosts 'tuttu' and 'nente'. On the contrary, interpolation structures present a further movement in which the clitic rises alone to the head of a clause-medial projection YP inserted between the 'higher adverb space' (HAS) and the 'lower adverb space' (LAS). In such cases the

verb is stranded in its derived position under the adverb.

(1.14)

- a [HAS Giovanni...] [YP [LAS sempe ni rumpa] [*v*-VP *trumpa tni*]]
 Giovanni alaways us= annoys
 ‘Giovanni always annoys us’
- b [HAS Giovanni...] [YP ni [LAS sempe rumpa] [*v*-VP *trumpa tni*]]
 Giovanni us= alaways annoys
 ‘Giovanni always annoys us’

Regarding verb and verb movement Ledgeway and Lombardi note that in Cosentino the finite lexical verbs are not able to rise to a position in HAS, but rather they move either to the head of YP, as in Italian, or they target a head within the LAS. The latter, according to the two authors, is the unmarked option.

(1.15)

- a [HAS Rosina (*fatica) **purtroppo**] [YP ci (fatica) [LAS **sempre** fatica][*v*-VP *tfatica tci*]]
 Rosina works unfortunately to-it= works alaways works
 ‘Rosina unfortunately is always working on it’
- b [HAS Rosina] [YP (cucina) [LAS cucina **buonu** (*cucina)][*v*-VP *tcucina*]]
 Rosina (cooks) cooks well (cooks)
 ‘Rosina cooks well’

We will see in the following chapters that this will be a further nerve point of our analysis as Cosentino shows an unmarked movement of the verb at lower positions (in LAS) while Triestino does not show this tendency of the verb to remain in low positions as we can see in our baseline test in the second chapter.

As for clitics and cliticization the two authors summarize the two main interpretations of the phenomenon of cliticization (syntactic and phonological), they also ask themselves if clitics should be treated as agreement markers (merged on a functional head and coindexed in a DP position within the *v*-VP) or as heads of

deficient DPs merged in the v-VP complex and then raised in a projection higher in the clause. Whether it is interpreted as a syntactic phenomenon or as a phonological phenomenon (as we saw in the introduction) recent analysis of cliticization suggest an additional functional projection labelled WP/FP/ Σ P between CP and IP. According to Syntactic interpretations proclisis is derived through left-adjunction of the clitic to a functional head hosting the raised verb (Kayne 1991) while enclisis is derived through right-adjunction (Uriagereka 1995b). On the other hand, Phonological interpretations (PF interpretations) assume that with proclisis the clitic occupies the head of a functional projection like WP /FP/ Σ P above the verb which left-adjoins to a functional head within the I space (Kayne 1994), while with enclisis the verb left-adjoins to the clitic under WP/FP/ Σ P (additional functional projection between C and I space). Ledgeway and Lombardi say that cliticization is a result of syntactic movement and in particular proclitics are merged in one of the complement positions in the v-VP complex and they are forced to raise to a high functional projection (for that reason proclisis is ‘deficient’). The two authors agree with Kayne (Kayne 1991, Cardinaletti and Starke 1999) in saying that clitics move for both head-movement and XP movement. Clitics are hybrid categories that move first for XP movement through spec-positions before being incorporated as heads to the functional projection hosting the verb. For this reason, Romance cliticization is not always of the syntactic type because sometimes the clitic and his host do not occupy a single functional head at the time of the Spell-Out. For example, according to the two authors in Cosentino cliticization is phonological (while in Italian it is syntactic) because the verb is not pied-piping with the clitic to the clause-medial projection YP, but on the contrary the clitic rises alone and the verb is stranded in LAS:

(1.16)

- a Gianni[YP [LAS **ggià** mi canuscia][v-VP *tcanuscia tmi*]]
 Gianni already me= knows
 ‘Gianni already knows me’
- b Gianni[YP mi [LAS **ggià** *t_{mi}* canuscia][v-VP *tcanuscia tmi*]]
 Gianni me= already knows
 ‘Gianni already knows me’
- c Gianni[YP mi canuscia [LAS **ggià** *t_{mi}t_{canuscia}*][v-VP *tcanuscia tmi*]]
 Gianni me= knows already
 ‘Gianni already knows me’
- d *[HAS Gianni mi **forse**] [YP *t_{mi}* canuscia [LAS **ggià** *t_{mi}t_{canuscia}*][v-VP *tcanuscia tmi*]]
 Gianni me= perhaps knows already
 ‘Perhaps Gianni already knows me’

In (1.16b) the cliticization of *mi* to the verb *canuscia* has not yet taken place otherwise we could not have structures like (1.16b). In (1.16a), the verb raises out of the v-VP complex moving up through the LAS by head movement and then stops in a position to the left of AspSgCompleteive, the clitic instead has moved by XP movement, leaving the v-VP complex, through the various specifier positions of LAS to to the specifier of ZP where in the head we have the verb. So, in the surface we can see proclisis but the cliticization has not yet occurred, clitic and verb are only linearly adjacent and cliticization is only at PF. In (1.16c) we can see that cliticization has occurred (the clitic has moved by head movement in ZP and has cliticized to the verb and they move together in YP), this is confirmed by (1.16d) which is ungrammatical because now cliticization has occurred and the clitic cannot climb alone in HAS, so we cannot have interpolation of the adverb *forse* ‘perhaps’. This is a further fundamental point because applying the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi of cliticization of Cosentino to Triestino we would be faced with a paradox: syntactic cliticization in Triestino occurs in YP and in fact the sentence with interpolation structure with *forse* ‘perhaps’ isn’t acceptable (1.17a), but it also doesn’t occur in YP because the sentence with *forse neanche* ‘perhaps not even’ is acceptable as we can see in (1.17b):

(1.17)

a *Mario e Luigi i se **forsi** scrivi
Mario and Luigi they= selves= perhaps they-write
'Perhaps Mario and Luigi write each other'

b dopo questo no i se **forsi** **gnanca** saluderà
after that not they selves= perhaps not even they-will greet
'After that perhaps they won't even say goodbye'

Summing up Ledgeway and Lombardi assume that Italian and Cosentino differ for the position in which the clitic object and reflexive objects are inserted and for the position to which the inflected verb rises: in Italian the clitics are inserted in a lower position (ZP) and then move higher with the verb that rises at least beyond the position of already (T_{anterior}); in Cosentino the verb tends to remain lower than the Italian (under the adverbs as already, again, etc.), but the clitics are inserted higher than such adverbs (in the head of a projection YP), so you can have the cases of interpolation. My proposal for an analysis of interpolation structures in Triestino differs from that one of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) for Cosentino, as can be seen more in detail in the third chapter of this work.

Chapter 2

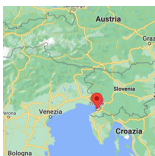
A survey to test interpolation structures in Triestino: construction, modification and application

In order to investigate interpolation structures existing in the dialect of Trieste (Triestino), we decided to build a survey and to submit it to the speakers of Triestino.

2.1 Trieste and Triestino

Trieste is a city and seaport in north-eastern Italy. It is located towards the end of a narrow strip of Italian territory lying between the Adriatic Sea and Slovenia, approximately 10–15 km (6–9 mi) southeast of the city. Croatia is about 30 km (19 mi) to the south¹.

¹<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trieste>





Before proceeding with the presentation of the construction of the survey We think it is useful to say a few words about the city of Trieste and about Triestino. In fact, as M. Doria says in his essay *On the Slavisms of Triestino dialect reached by Friulian intermediation*: ‘the phenomena, sometimes very showy and also curious that are found in Triestino [...] are the consequence of the interplay of reciprocal influences between the various languages and dialects that characterize the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region, which we can, quite rightly, define as an area of encounter (rather than confrontation) of three civilizations, of three worlds [...] Romance, Slavic and German². This author specifies that for the Romance component we have Italian, Veneto, Veneto-Giuliano, Triestino and the Friulan, for what concerns the Slavic we have the archaic Slovene of the Val Resia, the Slovene of the valleys of Torre and Natisone, the Karst dialects, the dialects (Slovenians and Croats) of Istria, as well as the standard Slovenian, as for German we have in the north the Carinthian dialect varieties, while in the south (Gorizia, Trieste and Istria) literary German (as a language imported by the Habsburg administrators into the individual areas and taught in schools both in Italian and Slovenian language) (Doria 1983).

As for the area we chose for our survey, we know that in Trieste and Muggia were initially spoken Friulian dialect varieties (Tergestino and Muglisano) and the dialect we decided to analyse that is Triestino (and modern Muggesano) is mainly of

²Doria, M. *Sugli slavismi del dialetto triestino giunti per intermediazione friulana*, in *Studi forogiuliesi in onore di C. C. Mor*, Udine, 1983.

Venetian type, but it still suffers from influences due to this substratum and the influences of which we have spoken in the few lines above.

Triestino itself and all the influences of which we have spoken have been extensively studied from a lexical or phonological point of view (Doria 1987, Vidossich 1962 ecc.). As far as morphology is concerned, we can find some hints of lexical morphology in *Profilo dei dialetti italiani* (Cortelazzo 1974) or in *Suffissi triestini* (Vidossich 1903). For the syntactic field, however, we must keep in mind *La variazione sintattica. Studi di dialettologia romanza*. (Benincà 1994) and *I dialetti italiani settentrionali nel panorama romanzo. Studi di sintassi e morfologia* (Vanelli 1998) that provide useful information on the main syntactic facts of northern dialects. Our work instead aims to be a syntactic investigation of a phenomenon not very widespread in the Romance panorama: interpolation structures. Before proceeding to the description of our empirical research, a brief description of Triestino dialect may be useful. For this part we have taken as reference the works mentioned in the previous paragraph and in addition *Profilo linguistico dei dialetti italiani* (Loporcaro 2013) and a thesis in dialectology entitled *Morfologia flessiva del dialetto triestino* (Loffredo 2001).

2.2 Linguistic profile of Triestino

Triestino belongs to the so-called Venetian dialects. Venetian dialects can be divided into venetian (lagoon and mainland), central veneto (including the dialect of Padua, Vicenza, Polesine), western veneto (ie the Veronese) and upper veneto (which includes Treviso, Feltre and Belluno). The venetian dialect guarantees the autonomous position of veneto in the northern italian group, even if it shares with Gallo-Italic dialects the isoglosses of degemination and lenition and as for morphology and syntax shares with these varieties the recurrence of the clitic subject (in veneto limited to the II and III person) as we can see in (2.1):

(2.1)

ti	ti	magni
you	self=you	eat

‘you eat’

The Venetian dialects differ from the Gallo-italic for a series of traits: first of all they keep the final vowels un stressed (only the /e/ fall after /n l r/ or /o/ after /n/), they don’t have the weakening and falling of the internal un stressed vowels, the diphthong from the Latin Ĕ [jɛ] persists while the diphthong from Ő is reduced to [o]. As for consonantism, there is a non palatal outcome of the -CT-

nexus ([late] from lat. LACT ‘milk’). As for the nominal and verbal morphology, the veneto is characterized by the maintenance of ending morphemes such as -e of the plur. fem. or -o to the first singular person and the third singular person and the third plural person have the same form ([el/i ciama] ‘he calls=they call’).

Returning to Triestino, we can say that the presence of the final vowels is not a characteristic of the Tergestino dialect (the autochthonous dialect spoken in Trieste), but rather an influence, due to the prestige of Venice, which led to the full replacement of the regional dialect on a Venetian basis to the native dialect (Tergestino). Proof of that is the fact that in Trieste in the nineteenth century we can distinguish an autochthonous Tergestino and a ‘venetian’ dialect spoken in Trieste (so-called Triestino) as we can see in (2.2) which reports the beginning of the ‘*La parabola del figliol prodigo*’ (Salvioni 1908:585, 589):

(2.2)

a Un òmis l’hau bu do fioi (Tergestino)
 One man had two children

b Un omo el gh’avù do fioi (Tergestino)
 One man had two children

‘A man had two children’ (‘*La parabola del figliol prodigo*’, Salvioni 1908:585, 589)

It is precisely because of these Venetian influences on the varieties spoken in Trieste that we can define today’s Triestino a dialect of the Venetian type.

Let’s now describe a little more in detail, as much as possible, the dialect of Trieste.

The general reference work for the linguistic analysis of Triestino is *Studi sul dialetto triestino* by Giuseppe Vidossi (Vidossi 1899). This work, however, deals mainly with phonetics, phonology and morphology, while as far as syntax is concerned little or nothing has been formalized.

Triestino is therefore not an autochthonous dialect, but imported, in fact it is called Venetian colonial dialect.

According to the areal tendencies of Bartoli, Trieste and Muggia formed with western Friuli the peripheral and therefore conservative and then recessive area of the Friulian linguistic domain until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: examples of this are the dialect Tergestino and Muglisano (disappeared in the 19th century).

Triestino therefore is a variety of Venetian type that has been established in Trieste between eighteenth and nineteenth century as a consequence of the great development of Trieste due to the free port established by the Habsburgs. It is important to point out that Triestino is not Venetian tout court, but the particular type of Venetian that has been spoken in Trieste for many centuries, at least since the fourteenth century, the time of the first attestations.

Triestino has been exposed for centuries to Slovenian and German influence for geographical and historical reasons. This influence is visible mainly on the level of lexicon and phonetics. Within our work in the syntactic field, however, we do not want to refer our analysis to the influence of a specific variety, but only to highlight the fact that the dialect spoken in Trieste has been influenced, and still is today as regards the Slovenian, by other varieties. Today we face a situation of diglossia regarding the relationship between Triestino and Italian. The dialect is spoken in all social strata and environments without the dialectophony being socially sanctioned.

There was, however, as expected, an italianization of Triestino from which the term 'triestin slavazado' (watered-down Triestino) which in Trieste is used instead of the regional Italian.

Below we decided to give a small description of the phonology and morphology of the dialect of Trieste. It is a short-term description, however, necessary to frame the elements that will be the protagonists of our analysis.

2.2.1 Phonology

As far as phonology is concerned, there is a substantial identity of the phonological system of Triestino with the ones of Venetian and Italian. The phonological system of Triestino is composed of 24 units: 19 consonants and 5 vowels.

vowels

vowels	front	back
close	i	u
mid	e	o
open	a	

(2.3)

As you can see from the table of the vowel system there is no distinction between medium-high vowels and medium-low vowels in stressed position: this distinguishes Triestino from other venetian dialects and Italian. To distinguish it from the Gallo-Italic varieties there is the lack of rounded anterior vowels, while it differs from the Friulian varieties due to the absence of significant vowel's length facts.

consonants

consonants		bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosive	non voiced	p		t		k
	voiced	b		d		g
fricative	non voiced		f	s		
	voiced		v	ʃ		
affricative	non voiced			z	č	
	voiced			ʒ	ǰ	
nasal		m		n	ɲ	
lateral				l		
trill				r		

(2.4)

As for consonantism we notice the presence of dental affricates that, unlike the Venetian, have not been reduced to sibilants. In fact, Triestino does not present such Venetian innovation (which dates back to the first half of the 19th century). The lateral palatal phoneme // has penetrated as Italianism in the dialect of Trieste but is reduced, in accordance with the Venetian, to the nexus [lj].

Finally, the phonological inventory of Triestino includes 19 consonants : /p b m f v t d n l r s ʃ z ʒ ç j ɲ k g / and 5 vowel /a e i o u/ and the supersegmental accent trait / ' /.

The analysis of the phonological system of Triestino phonological system is taken from. E. Kosovitz, *Dizionario-vocabolario del dialetto triestino e della lingua italiana*, Trieste, 1889, II ed., rist. fotomeccanica con intr. di M. Doria, Italo Svevo, Trieste, 1968, p. IX e M. R Cerasuolo Pertusi, *Per un'analisi fonetica e fonologica del dialetto triestino. Premesse metodologiche ed anticipazioni*, in AA. VV., *Scritti di linguistica e dialettologia in onore di Giuseppe Francescato*, Edizioni Ricerche, Trieste, 1995, p. 74.

2.2.2 Morphology

Nominal morphology

Following the model words and paradigms we can say that the nominal morphology of Triestino is articulated in six inflection's classes. The first class includes feminine nouns in -a (singular -a/plural -e). The second class includes masculine nouns in -a (singular a-/plural -i). The third class includes masculine nouns in -o (singular -o/ plural -i). In the fourth class are present all the names that come out in -e both male and female (singular -e/ plural -i/-e). The fifth class includes nouns ending in -l, -r, or -n (singular -l, -r, -n/ plural -i). An exception is the word *hand* [man] which has a zero-degree plural. In the sixth class are included names that have only one form that represents both singular and plural: they are nouns that come out in stressed vowel -ì, -è, -à, -ò, -ù and -i.

Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns indicate all the participants in a language communication. We can identify six people who perform different functions in the act of communication: the first person indicates the speaker (fourth person if the speaker is more than one) and the second person indicates the co-speaker (fifth person if the co-speaker is more than one). The fourth and fifth person pronouns are not simply plurals, but pronouns that embrace the first or second person with others. For what concerns the third and sixth person pronouns (for which the category of number applies in the sense that they are one the singular and one the plural) define the person of which we speak but which are absent (really or figuratively) from communication. Triestino as the Italian has both stressed pronouns and un stressed pronouns and in this dialect un stressed pronouns can perform the function of subject. In the following table are represented all the personal pronouns of Triestino:

	stressed	unstressed nom.	unstressed acc.	unstressed dat.	unstressed refl.
I person	mì		me	me	me
II person	tì	te	te	te	se
III person	lù, lùì éla	el, [l], la	lo, la	ge	se
IV person	nòi		ne	ne	se
V person	vòi		ve	ve	ve
VI person	lòri, *lòre	i, le	li, le	ge	se

(2.5)

All these morphs are in complementary distribution and most of these pronouns have an invariable shape. The stressed pronouns can appear in all positions, on the contrary the unstressed forms present many more restrictions. The stressed pronouns can appear in all positions, on the contrary the unstressed forms present many more restrictions. Precisely because of their unstressed nature, the unstressed forms need a verb to lean on (but there are exceptions to this fact and constitute the main topic of this thesis). The link between clitic and verb is so strong that it cannot be broken by the insertion of other elements except another unstressed form. This is what is reported in the grammars, but thanks to our work we were able to demonstrate that in Triestino dialect, as suggested by other authors such as Benincà, Pescarini etc., there are interpolation structures in which the link between clitic and verb is interrupted by an adverb. In the non-marked forms, however, the unstressed pronouns have proclitic collocation except with the presentative adverb ‘ecco’ ‘eko-lo’ (here it is) and with imperative verbs ‘guàrdi-te’ (you have to watch), gerundi movendo-te (moving) or infinitive ‘amar-se’ (to love each other). If the infinitive depends on another verb the clitic can either lean on the ruling verb as proclitic or on the infinitive as enclitic. The fact that construction with the enclisis is impossible with finite verbs prevents the existence of an interrogative conjugation parallel to the declarative one, so in the dialect of Trieste, as in Italian, the interrogative sentence is manifested through prosody. This is one of the traits that opposes in the dialect of Trieste to Friulian and Venetian (even if now in disuse). Both the stressed pronouns and the unstressed pronouns can perform the function of subject (among the unstressed ones, however, we do not have the first the fourth and the fifth person subject). stressed forms are emphatic and may be omitted, while unstressed forms are mandatory and usually serve to

distinguish verbal forms.

Verbal morphology

Verbs are divided into four classes corresponding to three thematic vowels: first class has as thematic vowel the -a-, the second class has as thematic vowel the -e-, the third class has as thematic vowel the -e- and the fourth has as thematic vowel the -i-. the bending of the second and third classes is identical and diverge only in the present infinitive (with metaplasms).

2.3 Empirical research: a survey for the syntax of interpolation structures

2.3.1 Introduction

After reviewing the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) of interpolation structures in Cosentino, we decided to test the same structures in Triestino through a survey.

Our choice fell on Triestino because in the Romance panorama this is one of the few varieties that shows the phenomenon of the adverb interpolation between the clitic and the verb as we can see in Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005)³ but it is also very distant from the variety examined by the two authors.

Indeed, according to the two authors, Triestino is one of the few modern varieties of northern Italy to present this phenomenon, so we decided to investigate it.

2.3.2 Research questions and hypothesis

Our research hypothesis is that the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi of Cosentino is not suitable to represent interpolation structures of Triestino. To test this hypothesis, we started from some research questions to which we tried to answer through the data collected with the survey.

The phenomenon of interpolation, as we have seen in the first chapter, involves three fundamental elements: the clitic, the verb and the adverb. While Ledgeway and Lombardi focused their research primarily on verbal modes, verbal structures and adverbs leaving aside clitics, we decided to focus our research on the clitics and the adverbs involved.

Our research questions are:

³Ledgeway, Adam, and Alessandra Lombardi. "Verb movement, adverbs and clitic positions in Romance." (2005): 79-113.

1. Are there any restrictions in Triestino on clitics which can interpolate?
2. Are there restrictions in Triestino on adverbs that can interpolate?
3. In Triestino do pairs of adverbs interpolate?
4. Is the clitic or the adverb the most important influence on the acceptability of interpolation structures?
5. Is the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005 also applicable to Triestino?

One of the first research questions we asked ourselves is ‘*Are there any restrictions in Triestino on clitics which can interpolate?*’ For our research we decided to investigate in particular three clitics, as we will see in the following paragraphs on the construction of the test. On this point our research is distinguished from the one of Ledgeway and Lombardi, indeed about the clitic we cannot make a balanced comparison with the data of the two authors because they did not do a systematic survey based on the clitics. Another research question that drove the construction of our test is ‘*Are there restrictions in Triestino on adverbs that can interpolate?*’. This aspect is very important because it is not said that the subset of adverbs that is acceptable in interpolation structures in Cosentino is the same in Triestino. Then we took five adverbs in various positions of the structure and pairs of them to verify the presence of any further restrictions compared to Cosentino, indeed another research question is ‘*In Triestino do pairs of adverbs interpolate?*’. Instead, the more general research questions we have asked are: ‘*Is the clitic or adverb the most important influence on the acceptability of interpolation structures?*’ and ‘*Is the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005 also applicable to Triestino?*’. The answers to these questions will be given in chapter III of this work, now we will see the construction, modification and application of the survey.

2.3.3 Research

To conduct our research initially we thought of building a test for Triestino that contained the same clauses present in Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) in order to make the data more easily comparable with that study. Once we collected and analysed the sentences in the paper of Ledgeway and Lobardi (2005), however, we realized that there were no fixed conditions to follow except the division of verbal forms and so we decided to build our own test.

Definition of the reference sample

Our reference sample has two main conditions i.e to be speakers of Triestino and to be resident or to have spent most of their lives in Trieste or in Muggia. There are

no other conditions such as sex, age, origin (for example, there is a speaker born in Canada by Triestine parents, but who lived his whole life in Trieste and turned out to be a very competent speaker) or level of education. The search for informants was quite complex. I started my research in May 2021 and, due to the pandemic, the biggest difficulty was not to find speakers willing to submit to the survey, but to be able to meet them. The speakers of Triestino are very proud of their origins and roots and they have proved themselves to be very willing and proactive. Thus, excluding the difficulties caused by the pandemic, my search for informants did not find any social or cultural obstacles. In fact, the citizens of Trieste and Muggia show their desire to keep their language and history alive and they have seen in my research an excellent opportunity to enhance and emphasize their dialect. For my research I went directly to Trieste and spent a few months there searching for informants. Some informants were then interviewed in person, others instead filled out the survey independently with my assistance and my telematic supervision. As for informants who filled out the survey independently, they were contacted through the Instagram platform. A special thanks goes to the Professor Davide Bertocci who put me in contact with a very valuable speaker who helped me both to smooth my survey from the lexical point of view and to find other speakers.

Mode of investigation

Since I am not a native speaker of Triestino I decided not to conduct an oral interview to the sample of speakers, but rather to submit a survey which in most cases was submitted in person and not telematically. To make the compilation more agile and lighter I chose to submit an evaluation survey of 20/30 sentences (including filler sentences). The choice to submit a survey with an evaluation task and not with a translation task proved to be correct, in fact, during a first approach with a speaker, I had the sentences I designed translated from Italian to Triestino and the phenomenon was not found.

Thanks to this fact I obtained two information: first I understood that a translation task would not be valid for the purpose of this research because the phenomenon does not come to light in this way, second I understood, interrogating the speaker directly, that the interpolation forms are not non-marked structures because they do not appear in a simple translation task, but rather are marked structures because by submitting the interpolated sentence to the speaker it is found acceptable, but more marked, almost with a hint of reproach in which the adverb is given particular importance and prominence.

It would therefore be interesting to examine from a semantic point of view the difference between non-marked structures, that is, structures without interpolation and structures marked with interpolation.

After having reached the final version of the survey I preferred to print it and have

it filled in directly to the speaker with my supervision. In this way the speaker could read the sentences independently and give his own judgment consulting me only in case of need, to minimize my interference. After completing the surveys I transferred the data to pivot tables on Excel so that I could work efficiently with the data. To the sample was told only that this research is focused on Triestino, but the specific topic of the research was not communicated in order not to influence in any way the speaker and his evaluations.

For my research I decided to submit to the interviewees an evaluation task: I proposed a series of sentences in Triestino, with interpolation and without, to some speakers and I asked them to give a judgment of grammaticality. I chose to give the speaker the opportunity to attribute only two values: acceptable or not acceptable. I excluded the use of the Likert scale to make the test as quick and easy as possible for sociolinguistic reasons: dialect speakers are usually over 50-60 years old and in the face of too complicated or long surveys tend either to abandon the survey itself or to give random answers to finish the attempt as quickly as possible. Also for sociolinguistic reasons I decided to use a familiar lexicon for my sentences, that is words, expressions and common situations that are used and lived in the family. This is to bring to light the dialect and its connection with everyday situations to eliminate possible external interference and encourage truthful judgments and not distorted by the use of too complicated or strange words for the speaker. The use of a familiar lexicon and everyday situations has allowed me to further lighten the survey by omitting the context of the sentence. For this reason, however, I decided to be always available to the speaker during the survey to provide any explanations on the context and meaning of the sentence. Fortunately, they have never needed any clarification from me as the speakers have always easily understood the meaning and context of the sentence.

As I mentioned before, a translation test from Italian was excluded (except in a first necessary phase since I am not a Triestino dialect speaker I had to ask a speaker to translate my sentences). This choice, later proved to be correct, is due to the fact that a translation test would produce literal translations with the normal order: clitic + verb + adverb. This is what happened with the first speaker who translated for me the sentences from Italian to Triestino: whether in the sentence in Italian was present or not interpolation (in Italian incorrect), the speaker at the time of translation produced a sentence without interpolation. At the same time the same speaker, faced with a sentence already in dialect with interpolation gave positive judgment of grammaticality, finding the sentence acceptable.

Construction of the survey

In a first approach we thought to propose the sentences present in the paper of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005), translated into Triestino, to obtain a quick and simple comparison between the data collected by the two authors and the data collected by me. This approach was abandoned after an initial study of the sentences used by Ledgeway and Lombardi because, excluding a division into verbal tenses and modes, it was not possible to clearly identify the conditions used by the two authors. I have in fact thought that the traditional method of investigation of the phenomena of the clitics, phenomena like enclisis and proclisis, is not as valid for the investigation of interpolation structures as this phenomenon is much more complex and so, according to me, it requires more stringent conditions on adverbs and clitics to be analysed clearly and efficiently. The adverbs present in the sentences of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) are many and it would have been impossible to thoroughly and exhaustively test all these adverbs in a survey of only 30 sentences. In fact in the paper of the two authors we have the following adverbs:

Adverb in Cosentino	Translation	Interpolation
sempe	always	+
cchiù	anymore	+
ancora	still	+
mai	never	+
mancu	not	+
propriu	at all	+
ammalappena	hardly	+
subbitu	soon	+
quasi	almost	+
tantu	much	+
tuttu	everything	-
buonu	well	-
torna	again	-
puru	really	+
propriu	really	+
cazzu	bloody	+
già	already	+
dumani	tomorrow	-
forse	perhaps	-

(2.6)

Clitics used in Ledgeway and Lombardi's sentences: se (self=), lo (it=), me (to-me=), li/i (them=), vi (you=), ti (you=), ciu (to-him-it=), ni (us=).

As you can see the clitics and adverbs used are many. But they are used in very different sentences, with different characteristics, with different adverbs and not all possible combinations of clitics and adverbs are tested, not to mention possible combinations of adverbs.

For this reason, we decided to create our own sentences to be submitted to speakers following certain conditions that we set ourselves during the design phase of

the survey.

Conditions

The conditions initially taken as reference are not the same as those that regulated the final survey. There was a first draft of conditions, then the first sentences were drawn up, but the result was not satisfying and I preferred to change the conditions. The process was as follows: first hypothesis of conditions, drafting some sentences regulated by these conditions, assessment, modification of conditions.

The first conditions selected were:

- Absence of negation
- Declarative sentences
- Transitive or ditransitive verbs
- Main and subordinate sentences
- Clitics: *mi* (to-me=), *lo* (it=), *ci* (to-us=)
- Adverbs: a selection of those that in Cosentino make interpolation (see table 2.6) : *sempre* (always) *più* (anymore), *ancora* (still), *mai* (never), *manco* (not), *proprio* (at all), *subito* (soon), *quasi* (almost) and *tanto* (much)

The purpose of these conditions was to create very simple sentences, with low degree of complexity to focus on interpolation structures without interference due to further elements. As you can see, at first, we thought to build sentences without negation, declarative with transitive verbs. We also wanted to test the phenomenon of interpolation in subordinate sentences to see any differences or similarities with the main sentence. We then selected some of the adverbs that interpolate in Cosentino taken from the examples of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005).

After a first revision we modified the conditions as follows:

- Declarative sentences
- Main sentences + subordinate control sentences
- Transitive verbs
- Clitics: *mi* (to-me=), *lo* (it=, him=), *si* (self=)
- Adverbs: *sempre* always, *neanche* not even, *bene* well, *forse* perhaps

Let us therefore analyse these first modifications:

As you can see, the number of adverbs has been further reduced, in fact only 4 adverbs have been selected: *sempre* always, *neanche* not even, *bene* well and *forse* perhaps. This is because we have preferred to analyse in a comprehensive and precise way few elements in order to obtain clear and well comparable data, rather than analyse summarily many elements without deepening or combining them. We decided to add the adverb *neanche* not even because in Benincà (1997 : 129) we found a sentence in Triestino with interpolation with this adverb as we can see in (2.7):

(2.7)

(C'è una nebbia che ...) non se gnanca vedi
not self= not-even sees

'There was so much fog that you could't even see' (Benincà 1997 : 129, Guglielmo Cinque (pc))

We kept *sempre* always because it is an adverb that in Cosentino lends itself to interpolation (as we explained in the first chapter of this thesis, 'always' belongs to the Lower pre-VP adverbs of Cinque (1999) and Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) say that 'only a subset of the lower pre-VP adverbs occurs in interpolation structures, in particular all adverb classes of adverbs occurring in the syntactic space delimited to the left by Neg1 (*mica*) and to the right by the highest (singular) completive aspectual head (completely)'⁴ .

We kept *bene* well because, in addition to appearing in interpolation structures in Cosentino, it lends itself semantically to be combined with other adverbs.

We have chosen to put in our list also an adverb that in Cosentino does not appear in interpolation structures: *forse* perhaps. We made this choice to test two things: first if Triestino and the Cosentino select the same set of adverbs, second to verify, combining the adverb 'perhaps' with other adverbs, that instead interpolate, whether the analysis proposed by Ledgeway and Lombardi for Cosentino can also be applied to Triestino.

Given the presence of *neanche* (not even) it was necessary to allow the presence of the negation and to eliminate the condition for which the negation could not be present.

In view of these conditions, the following sentences have been composed:

⁴Ledgeway, Adam, and Alessandra Lombardi. "Verb movement, adverbs and clitic positions in Romance." (2005): 82.

Sentence	adverb	clitic
Lucia <u>mi</u> sempre dice che va a Barcola con Gianni	sempre	mi
Maria <u>si</u> sempre lava	sempre	si
Mario mi ha detto che Gianni <u>lo</u> sempre saluta	sempre	lo
Quando ci vediamo Carlo <u>mi</u> bene racconterà tutta la storia	bene	mi
La nonna <u>lo</u> bene cuce	bene	lo
La torta <u>si</u> bene vede dalla finestra	bene	si
Non <u>si</u> neanche parlano	neanche	si
Mi hanno detto che non <u>lo</u> neanche guardano il telegiornale	neanche	lo
La jota non <u>mi</u> neanche piace	neanche	mi
<u>Si</u> forse amano	forse	si
Gianni mi ha detto che <u>mi</u> forse chiama	forse	mi
Aldo <u>lo</u> forse compra il cane	forse	lo

(2.8)

As you can see in the table we took our reference conditions and crossed them so that each adverb is tested with each clitic, so as to exhaust every possible combination. As you can see, all the sentences contain a familiar lexicon and familiar situations, this to later encourage the use of dialect instead of Italian. These sentences, however, present some problems: for example, a sentence such as ‘la torta si bene vede dalla finestra’ (the cake is well seen from the window) might be difficult to understand and hard to imagine, the same goes for ‘la nonna lo bene cuce’ (grandma sews it well) and also for ‘mi hanno detto che non lo neanche guardano’ (They told me they don’t even look at him). These sentences, given our decision not to include the context to lighten the survey, would be unclear and risk compromising the judgment of the speaker.

So we modified the sentences as follows:

Sentence	Adverb	Clitic	Interpolation in main sentence	Interpolation in subordinate sentence
Lucia mi sempre dice che va a Barcola con Gianni	sempre	mi	+	-
Carlo mi bene racconterà tutta la storia	bene	mi	+	-
E non mi neanche piace la minestra	neanche	mi	+	-
Gianni mi ha detto che mi forse chiama	forse	mi	-	+
Maria si sempre lava	sempre	si	+	-
I fiori si bene vedono dalla finestra	bene	si	+	-
Non si neanche guarda allo specchio	neanche	si	+	-
Marta mi ha detto che non si neanche amano	neanche	si	-	+
La nonna lo bene attacca il bottone	bene	lo	+	-
Non lo neanche salutano	neanche	lo	+	-
Aldo lo forse compra il cane	forse	lo	+	-
Mario mi ha detto che Gianni lo sempre guarda	sempre	lo	-	+

(2.9)

At the same time we have created these filler phrases that have no interpolation to avoid priming effect on the speaker:

frasi	avverbio	clitico
Marco mi dice sempre che sono bello	sempre	mi
La mamma mi racconta bene le favole	bene	mi
E non mi piace neanche la verdura	neanche	mi
Forse si compra il cappello	forse	si
Il papà lo lava sempre	sempre	lo
Maria lo conosce bene Carlo, è suo marito	bene	lo
Non lo bevi neanche il succo	neanche	lo
Il gatto si lecca sempre il pelo	sempre	si
Toni mi parla sempre bene del prete	sempre bene	mi
La maestra mi ben dice sempre di fare i compiti	sempre ben	mi
Forse non lo leggerà neanche più il giornale	forse neanche	lo
Forse lo andranno sempre a trovare dopo che si è fatto male	forse sempre	lo

(2.10)

We then randomized these sentences (both sentences with interpolation and fillers) and submitted them to a speaker asking him to do a translation task first and then an evaluation task. In the table we have also included a space for any notes or signals. This test is one of the few that was compiled independently by the speaker and then sent to me via email. This is because the Veneto Region and the Friuli Venezia Giulia Region were both in the red zone because of the pandemic and therefore I was not able to move from one Region to another.

This is the randomized order of sentences with their tags.

Sentence	Adverb	Clitic	Type of sentence with interpolation
Marta mi ha detto che si forse amano	forse	si	subordinate
Marco mi dice sempre che sono bello	#	#	
Ieri mi hai detto che non lo bevi neanche il succo	neanche	lo	subordinate
Gianni mi ha detto che mi forse chiama	forse	mi	subordinate
Non si neanche guarda allo specchio	neanche	se	main
La zia lo conosce bene Luigi	#	#	
Il gatto si lecca sempre il pelo	#	#	
Maria si sempre lava	sempre	se	main
Mario mi ha detto che Gianni lo sempre guarda	sempre	lo	subordinate
E non mi piace neanche la verdura	#	#	
I fiori si bene vedono dalla finestra	bene	si	main
Aldo lo forse compra il cane	forse	lo	main
Lucia mi sempre dice che va a Barcola con Gianni	sempre	mi	main
Non lo neanche salutano	neanche	lo	main
Forse si compra il cappello	#	#	
E non mi neanche piace la minestra	neanche	mi	main
La nonna lo bene attacca il bottone	bene	lo	main
La mamma mi racconta bene le favole	#	#	
Il papà lo lava sempre	#	#	
Carlo mi bene racconterà tutta la storia	bene	mi	main

(2.11)

Starting from these sentences, the following survey was created:

FRASE	TRADUZIONE	ACC.	NON ACC.	SIGNIFICATO/ CONTESTO PARTICOLARE
Marta mi ha detto che si forse amano				
Marco mi dice sempre che sono bello				
Ieri mi hai detto che non lo bevi neanche il succo				
Gianni mi ha detto che mi forse chiama				
Non si neanche guarda allo specchio				
La zia lo conosce bene Luigi				
Il gatto si lecca sempre il pelo				
Maria si sempre lava				
Mario mi ha detto che Gianni lo sempre guarda				
E non mi piace neanche la verdura				
I fiori si bene vedono dalla finestra				
Aldo lo forse compra il cane				
Lucia mi sempre dice che va a Barcola con Gianni				
Non lo neanche salutano				
Forse si compra il cappello				
E non mi neanche piace la minestra				
La nonna lo bene attacca il bottone				
La mamma mi racconta bene le favole				
Il papà lo lava sempre				
Carlo mi bene racconterà tutta la storia				

(2.12)

The survey was then submitted to S. who is 61 (1961) years old and is a very

schooled speaker who was born in Trieste and lived mainly in Muggia. Usually it is not advisable to choose an extremely schooled informant, but given my inability to go there I had to adapt to the only speaker I found in this first preliminary phase. I asked this speaker to translate the sentences from Italian to Triestino and then to give a judgment of grammaticality. The speaker translated the sentences, but he distorted the order clitic + adverb + verb set by me in the sentences so, perhaps for this reason or laziness, he did not compile the judgment of grammar and not even the section on notes or particularities as we can see in (2.13):

FRASE	TRADUZIONE	ACC.	NON ACC.	SIGNIFICATO/ CONTESTO PARTICOLARE
Marta mi ha detto che si forse amano	Marta me ga dito che forse i se vol ben			
Marco mi dice sempre che sono bello	Marco me ga dito che forsi son bel			
Ieri mi hai detto che non lo bevi neanche il succo	Ierite me ga dito che no te bevi gnanca el suco			
Gianni mi ha detto che mi forse chiama	Giani me ga dito che forsi el me ciama			
Non si neanche guarda allo specchio	Nol se varda gnanca in tel specio			
La zia lo conosce bene Luigi	La zia conosi ben Luigi			
Il gatto si lecca sempre il pelo	El gato se leca sempre el pel			
Maria si sempre lava	Maria se lava sempre			
Mario mi ha detto che Gianni lo sempre guarda	Mario me ga dito che Giani lo varda sempre			
E non mi piace neanche la verdura	No me piasi gnanca la verdura			
I fiori si bene vedono dalla finestra	Dala finestra se vedi ben i fiori			
Aldo lo forse compra il cane	Aldo forsi se compra el can			
Lucia mi sempre dice che va a Barcola con Gianni	Lucia me disi sempre che la va a Barcola con Giani			
Non lo neanche salutano	Gnanca i lo saluda			
Forse si compra il cappello	Forse el se compra el capel			
E non mi neanche piace la minestra	E gnanca el suf me piasi			"szuf" dal tedesco
La nonna lo bene attacca il bottone	La nona taca ben el boton			
La mamma mi racconta bene le favole	La mama me conta bele			
Il papà lo lava sempre	Mio pare lo lava sempre			
Carlo mi bene racconterà tutta la storia	Carlo me conterà ben tuta la storia			

(2.13)

As you can see, the phenomenon of interpolation, as we assumed, does not come up from a translation task. However, we used the translations of the speaker to translate the sentences in the order I set out and then submitted them to another speaker.

I also decided to exclude S. from the list of speakers involved as he did not prove to be a reliable speaker. He only partially completed the survey and in order to have it I had to insist several times. Obviously if I had not found other speakers, I would not have excluded this speaker from the research, since the reasons for the exclusion are not of a linguistic nature, but, having found other speakers, I decided to exclude him.

However, we used the translations of S. to translate the sentences with interpolation structures and then we submitted them to another speaker to see if with a task of evaluation the phenomenon emerges.

I would like to point out that in this thesis I will not speak individually of each survey, but these first two surveys are important because they are pilot surveys from which the final survey was derived, with the necessary modifications that we will see later.

We then used the survey of S. to translate the sentences with the order ‘clitic + adverb + verb’ that we wanted, and we submitted the new survey to another speaker. Asking him to perform, this time, only an evaluation task and not a translation task.

For reasons of space I will first show the sentences we have submitted to the speaker and his judgment of grammaticality, below I will show the notes of the speaker himself.

(table: 2.14) Sentences and judgement of grammaticality:

FRASE	ACC.	NON ACC.
1. Marta me ga dito che i se forse vol ben	x	
2. Marco me disi sempre che son bel	x	
3. Ieri te me ga dito che no te lo gnanca bevi el suco	x	
4. Giani me ga dito che el me forsi ciama	x	
5. Nol se gnanca vardà in tel specio	x	
6. La zia conosi ben Luigi	x	
7. El gato se leca sempre el pel	x	
8. Maria se sempre lava		x
9. Mario me ga dito che Giani lo sempre vardà		x
10. No me piasì gnanca la verdura	x	
11. Dala finestra se ben vedi i fiori		x
12. Aldo lo forsi compra el can	x	
13. Lucia me sempre disi che la va a Barcola con Giani	x	
14. No i lo gnanca saluda	x	
15. Forse el se compra el capel	x	
16. E no me gnanca piasì el suf	x	
17. La nona taca ben el boton	x	
18. La mama me conta ben le favole	x	
19. Mio pare lo lava sempre	x	
20. Carlo me ben conterà tuta la storia	x	

(2.14)

Notes:

SIGNIFICATO PARTICOLARE/COMMENTI/CORREZIONE SE NON ACCETTABILE

1. Più corretto sarebbe: Marta me ga dito che forse i se vol ben
- 2.
3. Più corretto sarebbe: che gnanca te lo bevi el suco (in triestino dovrebbe essere più corretto usare gnanche, gnanca dovrebbe esser più istro-veneto o forse più antico)
4. Più corretto sarebbe: che forsi el me ciama
5. c'è sempre quel gnanca, come sopra - forse più corretto No el se gnanca varda in tel specio
- 6.
- 7.
8. Maria se lava sempre
9. Mario me ga dito che Giani lo varda sempre
- 10.
11. Dala finestra se vedi ben i fiori
12. Aldo forsi compra el can - ma ci stà anche quel "lo" che da quasi una sensazione di rafforzare l'affermazione
13. può andar bene oppure si sente dire anche: Lucia la me sempre disi . . .
14. si sente dire anche: No i lo saluda gnanca, ma più corretto come indicato
15. Forse o anche forsi
16. Si usa anche: E non me piasi gnanca el suf
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
20. Come indicato suona come "minaccioso" normalmente sarebbe: Carlo me conterà ben tuta la storia

Analyzing this survey we notice that many sentences are acceptable and therefore the phenomenon of interpolation is present in the variety while in the other survey the phenomenon had not come to light. The only sentences that are not acceptable are the 8. 'Maria se sempre lava', the 9. 'Mario me ga dito che Giani lo sempre varda' and the 11. 'Dala finestra se ben vedi i fiori'. It is interesting to note that sentence 8. is one of the fundamental sentences in the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) and in Triestino it seems, at least from this single survey, not to be acceptable. This is a first clue that led us to think that the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi may not be suitable for the description of interpolation structures in Triestino. The speaker finds some sentences acceptable with interpolation, but then in the notes he states 'it would be more correct ...' so we understand that the non-marked structure is, as we had assumed, the one without interpolation. and that most probably not all the adverbs chosen by us interpolate, in particular *sempre* (always) that in Cosentino lends itself to interpolation seems not to interpolate in Triestino. Obviously, however, it is only one survey, pilot, of a single speaker, so these are only considerations that will be confirmed or denied by subsequent surveys in their entirety.

However, thanks to the information in this pilot we decided to make some changes to the conditions and therefore to the sentences of the survey: given the note in 20. 'Come indicato suona come "minaccioso" normalmente sarebbe: Carlo me conterà ben tuta la storia' (As indicated it sounds like "threatening" it would normally be: 'Carlo will tell me the whole story well) we decided to add *ben* to the list of adverbs to check if there is any difference with *bene* in interpolation structures. *Bene* is in fact an adverb of manner, while *ben* is an aspectual adverb.

Subsequently we decided to remove from the conditions the control subordinate sentences because otherwise to cross all the conditions, given the addition of a new adverb to be tested, we would need so many sentences. Given, however, our goal of wanting to create a simple and quick survey to fill out, we opted to test interpolation structures only within main sentences.

The final conditions for our survey are therefore as follows:

- Main sentences
- Clitics: mi (to-me=), lo (it=), si (self=)
- Adverbs: *sempre* always, *neanche* not even, *bene* well (manner adverb), *forse* perhaps, and *ben* (well aspectual adverb).
- Combinations of adverbs

We checked the value of 'bene' and 'ben' through the semantics of the verb because in Triestino the two adverbs have the same form 'ben'. These are therefore the sentences in Italian that will compose our survey, with their adverbs and clitics:

Frase	avverbio	clitico
Mario e Luigi si forse scrivono	forse	si
Il succo non lo neanche bevi	neanche	lo
Mi forse chiama Gianni	forse	mi
Non si neanche guarda allo specchio	neanche	si
La zia lo bene conosce Luigi, è suo figlio	bene	lo
Maria si sempre lava	sempre	si
La Maria, Gianni la sempre guarda	sempre	lo/a
Dalla finestra le montagne si bene vedono	bene	si
Aldo lo forse compra il cane	forse	lo
Lucia mi sempre dice che va a Barcola con Gianni	sempre	mi
Non lo neanche salutano	neanche	lo
E non mi neanche piace la minestra	neanche	mi
La nonna lo bene cucina il pollo	bene	lo
Carlo mi ben racconterà tutta la storia	ben	mi
Dopo quello che è successo lo ben dico a Gianni	ben	lo
Dopo questa volta si ben ricorderà di chiamare	ben	si
La Luisa mi bene stira le camicie	bene	mi
Franco mi sempre bene parla di Maria	sempre bene	mi
La mamma mi sempre bene dice di smetterla	sempre ben	mi
La zia lo sempre bene cucina il coniglio per Natale	sempre bene	lo/a
In quel ristorante si sempre bene mangia	sempre bene	si
Gianni lo sempre ben chiama Mario	sempre ben	lo

(2.15)

Si sempre ben guarda dal lavorare	sempre ben	si
Gianni non mi forse neanche parlerà più dopo quello che ho fatto	forse neanche	mi
Da questa volta non lo forse neanche guardano più in faccia	forse neanche	lo
Dopo questo non si forse neanche più saluteranno	forse neanche (più)	si
Gianni mi forse sempre dirá la verità	forse sempre	mi
Dopo questa volta la forse sempre mangerò la verdura	forse sempre	lo/a
Si forse sempre aiutano	forse sempre	si
Gianni si sempre bene veste	sempre bene	si

(2.16)

While these are the filler sentences:

Sentence	Adverb	Clitic
Non lo bevi neanche il succo	neanche	lo
Forse si compra il cappello	forse	si
Mia mamma mi racconta bene le favole	bene	mi
Mia zia lo conosce bene Luigi	bene	lo
Marco mi dice sempre che sono bello	sempre	mi
E non mi piace neanche la verdura	neanche	mi
Il gatto si lecca sempre il pelo	sempre	si
Mio papà lo lava sempre	sempre	lo

(2.17)

Let us now look at the most relevant corrections and their reasons compared to the pilot test:

1. corrections from the lexical point of view as for example in the sentence ' Dala finestra se ben vedi i fiori ' we replaced 'fiori' (flowers) with 'montagne' (mountains) to make the phrase clearer and more natural

2. we have eliminated the expression 'si vogliono bene' 'to love each other' because it is problematic. 'Volersi bene' is in fact an idiom and would have added too much complexity to the sentence.

3. to make sure we use the manner adverb *bene* (well), we have used verbs for which it is easy to think in terms of good and bad as 'cucinare BENE' (cooking well), 'mangiare BENE' (eating well) or 'vestirsi BENE' (dressing well).

4. we used dislocations only to make up for the lack of context.

Below we can see the survey that was submitted to the first 12 speakers. The sentences were translated into Triestino thanks to a speaker and were randomized. A small introduction has been inserted in which I presented myself and in which it is explained how to carry out the survey. Name, surname and place of birth are also required. All speakers have spent most of their lives in Trieste or Muggia.

QUESTIONARIO

Ciao! Sono Sara Boscolo, studio Linguistica presso l'Università degli Studi di Padova e ti ringrazio per aver deciso di aiutarmi con la mia ricerca. Ti chiedo quindi di leggere queste frasi e mettere una X su ACCETTABILE (se trovi la frase corretta, la diresti anche tu o l'hai sentita dire da qualcuno anche in contesti particolari o con significati particolari) oppure metti una X su NON ACCETTABILE (se trovi la frase completamente sbagliata, non la diresti mai e non l'hai mai sentita dire). Se alcune parole ti sembrano sbagliate nella forma es. forse/forsi o neanche/nianca non farci caso.

nome e cognome:

data e luogo:

FRASE	ACC.	NON ACC.
Non lo bevi neanche il suco		
Gianni me forse sempre dirà la verità		
Dalla finestra le montagne le se ben vedi		
Forsi se compra il capelo		
Dopo quel che ze suceso lo ben digo a Gianni		
Dopo questo no i se forse neanche più saluderà		
No i lo neanche saluda		
Zia lo ben conosci Luigi, ze su fio		
Mia mare me conta ben le favole		
Maria se sempre lava		
El se sempre ben guarda dal lavorar		
Mario e Luigi i se forse scrivi		
Dopo sta volta la forse sempre mangnarò la verdura		
Mia zia lo conosce ben Luigi		
Non se neanche guarda al specio		
Luisa me ben stira le camize		
Gianni se sempre ben vesti		
Gianni, la Maria la sempre guarda		
Marco me disi sempre che so belo		
Dopo sta volta forse noi lo neanche guarda più in muso		
E non me piasi neanche la verdura		
Mia zia lo sempre ben cuzina il coniglio a Nadal		
Aldo lo forse compra il can		

FRASE	ACC.	NON ACC.
Gianni non me forse neanche parlerà più dopo quel che go fato		
Carlo me ben conterà tuta la storia		
Franco me sempre ben parla de Maria		
El gato se leca sempre el pelo		
Dopo sta volta se ben ricorderà de ciamar		
Lucia la me sempre disi che la va a Barcola con Gianni		
Gianni lo sempre ben ciamà Mario		
Il succo non te lo neanche bevi		
Mio papà lo lava sempre		
Mia mare me sempre ben dizi de smeterla		
I se forse sempre aiuta		
E non me neanche piasì la minestra		
La nona lo ben cusina el polo		
In quel ristorante se sempre ben magna		

(2.18)

This survey was submitted to the first 12 speakers. Subsequently, to the second group of 12 speakers were presented a survey with the same sentences, simply minor corrections were made as we can see:

nome e cognome:

data e luogo:

FRASE	ACC.	NON ACC.
No te lo bevi gnanca el succo		
Gianni me forse sempre dirà la verità		
Dala finestra le montagne le se ben vedi		
Forsi el se compra el capel		
Dopo quel che xe suceso ghe lo ben digo a Gianni		
Dopo questo no i se forse gnanca più saluderà		
No i lo gnanca saluda		
Zia lo ben conossi Luigi, xe su fio		
Mia mare me conta ben le fiabe		
Maria se sempre lava		
El se sempre ben varda dal lavorar		
Mario e Luigi i se forse scrivi		
Dopo sta volta la forse sempre magnerò la verdura		
Mia zia lo conossi ben Luigi		
Nol se nianca varda in specio		
Luisa me ben stira le camise		
Gianni se sempre ben vesti		
Gianni, la Maria la sempre varda		
Marco me disi sempre che son bel		
Dopo sta volta no i lo gnanca varda più in muso		
E non me piasi gnanca la verdura		
Mia zia lo sempre ben cusina el coniglio a Nadal		
Aldo lo forse compra el can		
Gianni no me forse gnanca parlerà più dopo quel che go fato		

FRASE	ACC.	NON ACC.
Carlo me ben conterà tuta la storia		
Franco me sempre ben parla de Maria		
El gato se leca sempre el pel		
Dopo sta volta se ben ricorderà de ciamar		
Lucia la me sempre disi che la va a Barcola con Gianni		
Gianni lo sempre ben ciamà Mario		
El suco no te lo gnanca bevi		
Mio papà lo lava sempre		
Mia mare me sempre ben dizi de smeterla		
I se forsi sempre aiuta		
E no me gnanca piasì la minestra		
La nona lo ben cusina el polo		
In quel ristorante se sempre ben magna		
Me forsi ciamà Gianni		

(2.19)

Fundamental was the help of a speaker, who acted as a 'bridge' between me and the other 11 speakers in a first phase, that we will call R. Before submitting the survey to the other speakers I submitted the survey to R. who helped me in person, with a vocabulary of Triestino in her possession, to file the lexical, phonological and morphological edges that could somehow disturb the speakers. According to R. in fact the lexicon and the phonology of the survey was characterized by some 'venetismi' i.e. characteristics belonging more to the lexicon and phonetics of Veneto than Triestino. Also in the sentences were missing the subject clitics. Let's see the main corrections:

(2.20) ‘Non lo bevi neanche il suco’ becomes ‘No te lo bevi gnanca el succo’

- a non lo bevi neanche il suco
not it= drink-you not even juice
- b no te lo bevi gnanca el succo
not you= it= drink-you not even juice
- ‘You don’t even drink juice’

We see then that in (2.20b) the negation ‘no’ replaced by ‘non’, so with the fall of the vowel ‘o’ at the end of the word, than the subject clitic ‘te’ (you=) was added, the *neanche* was replaced by ‘gnanca’.

(2.21) ‘Forsi se compra il capelo’ becomes ‘forsi el se compra el capel’

- a forsi se compra il capelo
perhaps self= buy-he the hat
- b forsi el se compra el capel
perhaps he= self= buy-he the hat
- ‘Perhaps he buys himself the hat’

We see that in (2.21b) we have the addition of the subject clitic, the definite article is ‘el’ and not ‘il’, also the hat is ‘capel’ with the fall of the final vowel ‘o’ compared to (2.21a).

There were then some lexical corrections as ‘favole’ becomes ‘fiabe’.

Since the data of the first 12 surveys do not differ much from the data of the second 12 surveys we decided to include also the first 12 surveys in our research data.

R., after helping me to perfect the translation of the survey, performed the evaluation task finding many unacceptable sentences. Interesting though that, according to R., the sentence ‘Nol se gnanca varda in specio’.

seemed not only correct but also the standard form that she would use, in essence the unmarked form.

(2.22)

nol se gnanca varda in specio
not-he= self= not even look-he in the mirror

‘he doesn’t even look at himself in the mirror’

In the end the finished survey was submitted to 11 other speakers. In this case the surveys were submitted mainly in person, except for 3 that were submitted online. The 3 speakers who carried out the online survey were contacted via Instagram, they carried out the survey independently and then sent it back via email. The other 9 speakers were found thanks to R. and they did the survey in person, not by email. There was no need for my intervention or clarification, so our goal of creating an agile and simple survey was achieved. The informants were never impatient or tired, indeed they were really satisfied and proactive.

As for the informants we have not chosen speakers of the city centre of Trieste, but rather speakers of Muggia or the less central part of Trieste. From our survey we excluded only one speaker, S. because he was not willing, but rather he filled out the survey in a hurry and after many solicitations. After submitting the survey to all the speakers, I created a small evaluation test that went to form our base-line and I submitted this mini-test to two speakers of trust: R. and D.

Our base-line sentences are sentences without the clitic and with the adverb before the verb and we need them to verify that the verb is not in a low position as a non-market order like in Cosentino.

This is the base-line test we created:

Frase	Acc.	Non acc.
Maria sempre guarda la television de sera		
Carlo ben conterà la storia a Gianni		
Maria ben cucina el pollo		
Gianni forsi guarderà la television stasera		
Luigi no gnanche magna frutti		

(2.23)

2.4 Data

In the following paragraphs we will show the data collected with our survey. We will first expose the data collected on the sample themselves: sex and age. Then we will show the data collected on clitics and adverbs in interpolation structures.

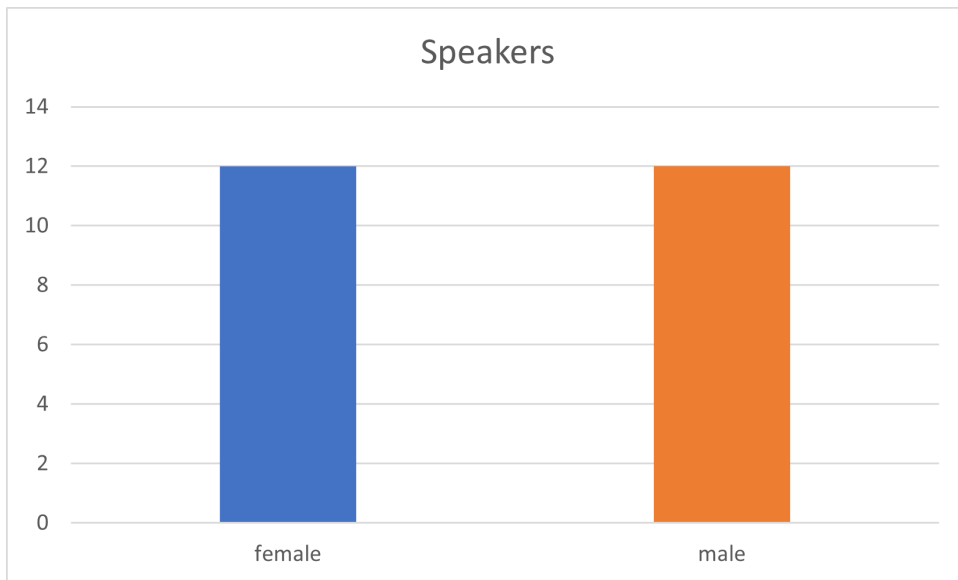
2.4.1 Sample of speakers

The total interviews are 25 and 1 was discarded as the informant was lazy and careless as we explained in the previous paragraphs on the construction of the survey. In general, the speakers do not seem aware of the phenomenon of interpolation. The speakers have all lived most of their lives in Trieste or Muggia. They all were very helpful and happy to be able to give their contribution to my research as proud of their origins and their dialect.

NOME	COGNOME	DATA DI NASCITA	LUOGO DI NASCITA	SESSO
F.	B.	1980	Trieste	male
M.	B.	1971	Trieste	male
F.	C.	1947	Trieste	female
D.	C.	1992	Trieste	male
A.	C.	1990	Trieste	female
R.	D.	1959	Trieste	female
A.	G.	1967	Gatt (Canada)	male
D.	G.	1973	Trieste	male
D.	G.	1957	Trieste	female
N.	K.	1991	Trieste	female
M.	M.	1961	Tireste	female
L.	M.	1938	Isola d'istria	female
M.	P.	1939	Pirano	female
G.	P.	1991	Trieste	female
M.	R.	1999	Trieste	male
C.	R.	1977	Trieste	male
G.	S.	1996	Trieste	male
A.	S.	1972	Trieste	male
T.	S.	1965	Trieste	female
S.	S.	1939	Trieste	female
F.	T.	1971	Trieste	male
M.	T.	1985	Trieste	male
A.	T.	1956	Trieste	male
F.	V.	1997	Trieste	female

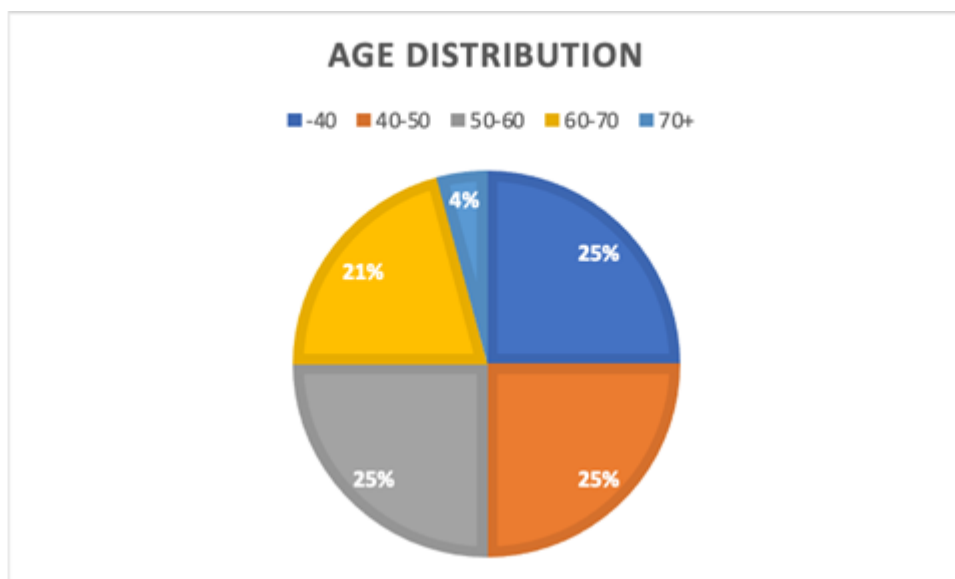
(2.24) List of speakers

Sex of speakers:



As we can see the speakers are exactly half male and half female, this allows us to have statistically balanced data from the point of view of sex of the interviewees.

Age distribution of the speakers:



As we can see also from the point of view of the age the data turn out to be statistically balanced because to every interval of age corresponds almost 1/4 of the speakers.

Correlation between age and acceptability

As a starting point for future research we have tried to identify the presence or absence of a correlation between the age of speakers and the rate of acceptability of the phenomenon of interpolation.



The red line indicates the interpolation of data relating to the % of sentences considered correct by the speaker and the age of the speakers. The graph shows a trend that indicates a decrease in the number of sentences considered correct as the age of the speaker decreases.

This could indicate a progressive disappearance of the phenomenon. In particular the correlation coefficient R^2 is an index that measures the link between the variability of the data and the correctness of the statistical model used. Its ideal value should be 1, in our case R^2 instead has a value of 0.1815 and this is due to the low number of surveys. A more extensive survey might allow a more accurate model to be obtained.

2.4.2 Data of the survey

The data will be displayed in the following order:

1. Data of the clitic MI (to-me=)
2. Data of the clitic LO (it=)
3. Data of the clitic SI (self=)
4. Data of the adverb SEMPRE (always)
5. Data of the adverb BENE (well, manner)
6. Data of the adverb BEN (well, aspectual)
7. Data of the adverb NEANCHE (not even)
8. Data of the adverb FORSE (perhaps)
9. Data of the adverbs pair SEMPRE BEN (always + well, aspectual)
10. Data of the adverbs pair SEMPRE BENE (always + well, manner)
11. Data of the adverbs pair FORSE SEMPRE (perhaps + always)
12. Data of the adverbs pair FORSE NEANCHE (perhaps + not even)
13. Data of the baseline test

We chose to place the threshold between 'presence of the phenomenon' and 'absence of the phenomenon' at 55%, so if the data return a rate below 55% we considered this as absence of the phenomenon.

2.4.3 Clitic

1) MI

'Mi' is a first-person clitic, his case is dative, but in some cases may also be accusative, in our test it was used in both cases although predominantly with the dative case. 'Mi' can be either an animated indirect object clitic or a direct object clitic and it occupies, like 'lo', a preverbal position when the verb is finite and postverbal when the verb is not finite. In our sentences the clitic 'MI' is accompanied by a finite verb so it should always be in a preverbal position. Obviously, given the purpose of our research, the sentences we built present interpolation structures for which the adverb is located between the clitic 'MI' and the verb.

Sentences These are the sentences that contain the clitic 'MI' in combination with the five adverbs present in our conditions:

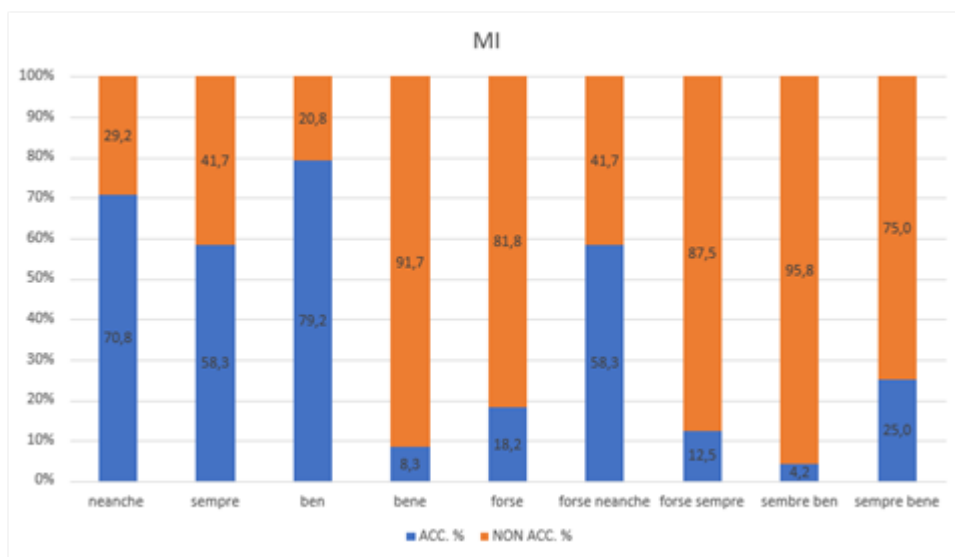
Sentence	Adverb	Clitic
Luisa me ben stira le camise	bene	mi
Carlo me ben conterà tuta la storia	ben	mi
Lucia la me sempre disi che la va a Barcola con Gianni	sempre	mi
E no me gnanca piasì la minestra	neanche	mi
Me forsi ciama Gianni	forse	mi

(2.25)

We tested this clitic also with pairs of adverbs with the following sentences:

FRASI	AVVERBIO	CLITICO
Gianni me forsi sempre dirà la verità	forse sempre	mi
Gianni no me forsi gnanca parlerà più dopo quel che go fato	forse neanche	mi
Franco me sempre ben parla de Maria	sempre bene	mi
Mia mare me sempre ben disi de smeterla	sempre ben	mi

(2.26)



Results This clitic can appear in structures of interpolation with the adverb *neanche* (not even), with the adverb *sempre* (always) (it is the only clitic that allows interpolation with always), with the adverb *ben* (aspectual) and with the pair of adverbs ‘perhaps’ + ‘not even’. It is a high clitic for which it lends itself to interpolation structures. We see instead that with the adverbs *bene* (manner), *forse* (perhaps), *forse sempre* (perhaps + always) and *sempre bene* (always + well) this clitic cannot appear in interpolation structures.

2) LO

‘Lo’ is a masculine singular third-person clitic pronoun whose case is accusative, so it covers the grammatical function of a direct object of the verb. It is a phonologically weak monosyllabic morpheme, its syntactic position depends on the finiteness of the verb, in our case the verb is always finite, so it should be in a preverbal position. Obviously, given the purpose of our research, the sentences we built present interpolation structures for which the adverb is located between the clitic ‘LO’ and the verb.

sentences These are the sentences that contain the clitic ‘LO’ in combination with the five adverbs present in our conditions:

FRASI	AVVERBIO	CLITICO
Dopo quel che xe suceso ghe lo ben digo a Gianni	ben	lo
No i lo gnanca saluda	neanche	lo
Zia lo ben conossi Luigi, xe su fio	bene	lo
Gianni, la Maria la sempre varda	sempre	lo
Dopo sta volta no i lo gnanca varda più in muso	neanche	lo
Aldo lo forsi compra el can	forse	lo
El succo no te lo gnanca bevi	neanche	lo
La nona lo ben cusina el polo	bene	lo

(2.27)

We tested this clitic also with pairs of adverbs with the following sentences:

FRASI	AVVERBIO	CLITICO
Dopo sta volta la forsi sempre magnerà la verdura	forse sempre	lo
Dopo sta volta no i lo forsi gnanca varda più in muso	forse neanche	lo
Mia zia lo sempre ben cusina el coniglio a Nadal	sempre bene	lo
Gianni lo sempre ben ciama Mario	sempre ben	lo

(2.28)

Results The clitic ‘lo’ is one of the clitics that works best with the adverb *neanche* not even, the acceptability of interpolation structures that results from these two elements is more than 90% and according to the interviewed speakers a sentence (2.29) such as:

(2.29)

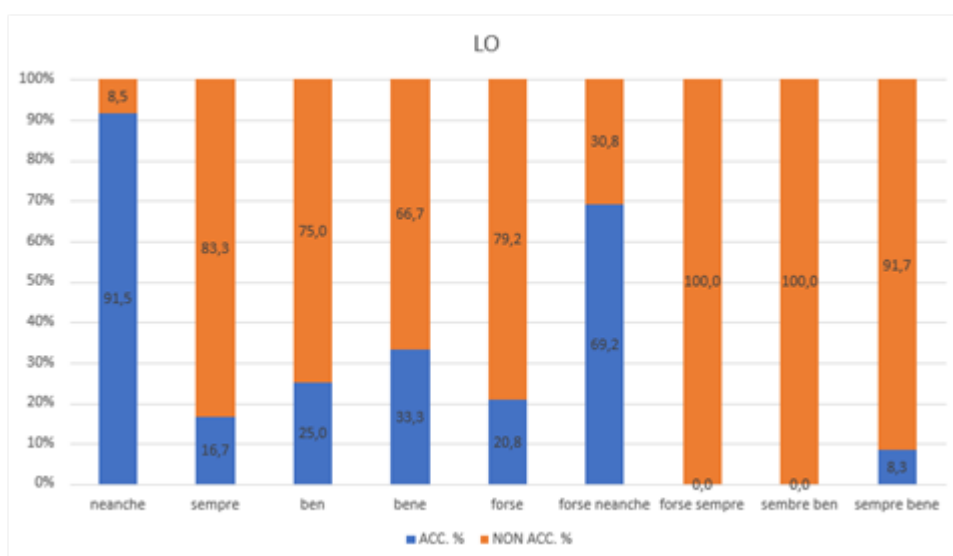
No i lo gnanca saluda
 not they him= not even greet
 ‘they don’t even greet him’

It turns out to be the non-marked option, but this depends more on the adverb

neanche (not even) than on the clitic, in fact the speaker also says the same thing of the sentence (2.30):

(2.30)

Nol se gnanca varda in specio not-him
 self= not even watches in the mirror
 ‘He doesn’t even look himself in the mirror’



This clitic, compared to the other two examined, is the lowest and is the one that has the more ‘intimate’ relationship with the verb (it is its direct object) so it is not surprising that it does not lend much to interpolation structures. We see however that with *neanche* (not even) and *forse neanche* (perhaps + not even) it works very well in interpolation structure, from this we begin to understand that *neanche* (not even) will play an important role in our research.

3) SI

‘Si’ is a third-person clitic, it is singular, but also plural, his case is dative, but in some cases may also be accusative. ‘Si’ is a reflexive clitic and occupies, like ‘lo’, a preverbal position when the verb is finite and postverbal when the verb is not finite. Obviously, given the purpose of our research, the sentences we built present

interpolation structures for which the adverb is located between the clitic 'Si' and the verb.

Sentences These are the sentences that contain the clitic 'LO' in combination with the five adverbs present in our conditions:

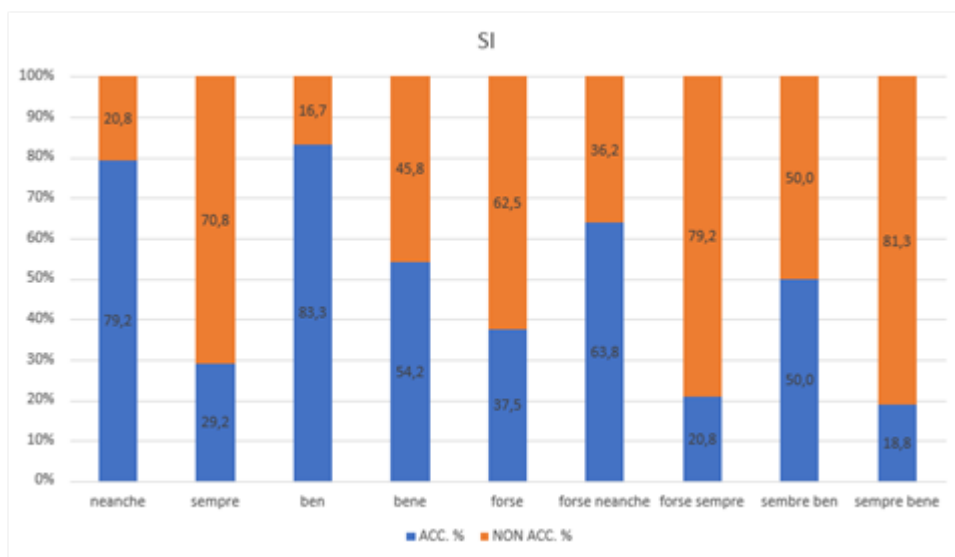
FRASI	AVVERBIO	CLITICO
Dala finestra le montagne le se ben vedi	bene	si
Maria se sempre lava	sempre	si
Mario e Luigi i se forse scrivi	forse	si
Nol se gnanca varda in specio	neanche	si
Dopo sta volta se ben ricorderà de ciamar	ben	si

(2.31)

We tested this clitic also with pairs of adverbs with the following sentences:

FRASI	AVVERBIO	CLITICO
Dopo questo no i se forsi gnanca più saluderà	forse neanche	si
El se sempre ben varda dal lavorar	sempre ben	si
Gianni se sempre ben vesti	sempre bene	si
I se forsi sempre aiuta	forse sempre	si
In quel ristorante se sempre ben magna	sempre bene	si

(2.32)



Results This clitic allows interpolation with the adverbs *neanche* (not even), *ben* (aspectual) and *forse neanche* (perhaps + not even). From the diagram it can be seen that even with *bene* (manner) it seems to work, but for our research we have chosen as a watershed a threshold of 55% for acceptability, for this reason the adverb pair *bene* and clitic ‘SI’ is excluded. In general, however, we see a higher acceptability rate than the clitic ‘LO’. This is probably due to the fact that in this dialect the clitic ‘SI’ is higher than ‘LO’.

2.4.4 Adverbs

In the following paragraphs we will see the data relating to adverbs. First we will look at the sentences with which we have tested the single adverbs with the three clitics in interpolation structures and then we will see how the pairs of adverbs behave in interpolation structures. Obviously for semantic and natural reasons of the sentence it was not possible to couple all adverbs to each other, so we formed pairs that were semantically plausible. After listing the sentences we will show a graph summarizing the data obtained from the surveys.

4) SEMPRE ‘always’

Sempre (always) belongs to the class of adverbs that Cinque (1999) calls lower pre-VP adverbs and in fact it belongs to the lower portion of the sentence. It is an adverb of time, is located in Asp, and it expresses perfective aspect in fact it indicates continuity and indefinite repetition in time.

Sentences We tested this adverb with the following sentences:

Sentence	Adverb	Clitic
Maria se sempre lava	sempre	si
Gianni, la Maria la sempre varda	sempre	lo
Lucia la me sempre disì che la va a Barcola con Gianni	sempre	mi

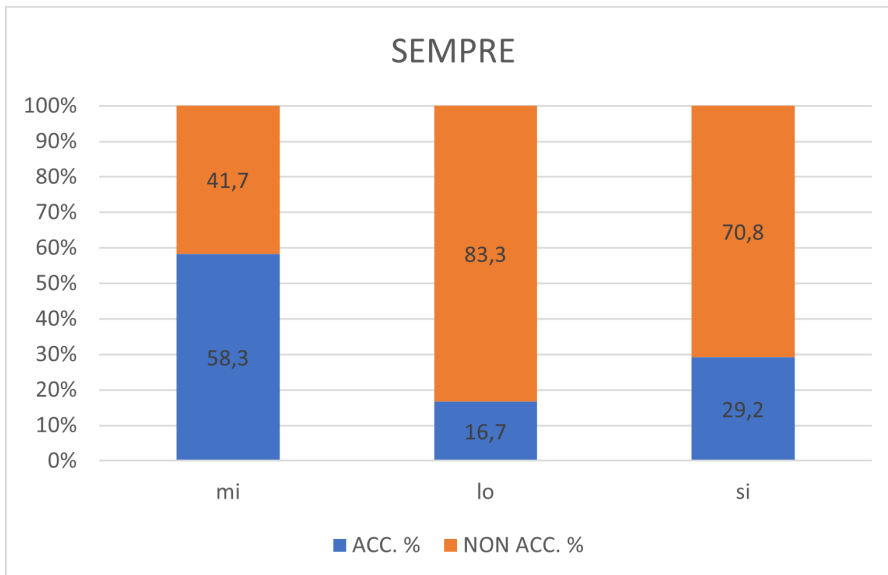
(2.33)

Results Surprisingly the adverb always that, according to the data present in the paper of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005), in Cosentino seems to be an excellent candidate for interpolation structures as we can see in (2.34):

(2.34)

si sempre lava
 self= always he-washes
 'he always washes himself'⁵

on the contrary in Triestino *sempre* (always) does not lend itself to this type of structure if approached to clitics LO and SI, but it's only acceptable with MI:



From these data we understand therefore that for how much the adverb 'always' in the theory of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) can appear in structures of interpolation, it is evident that in the variety examined, that is Triestino, this is only possible with clitic 'MI' (to-me=) and in any case with a rather low rate of acceptability. Let us remember that we have set a watershed rate of 55% and here we are at 58%. It may therefore be that the analysis proposed by Ledgeway and Lombardi is not completely valid for the variety under consideration, but we will see this in the next chapter containing our analysis.

5) BENE 'well, manner'

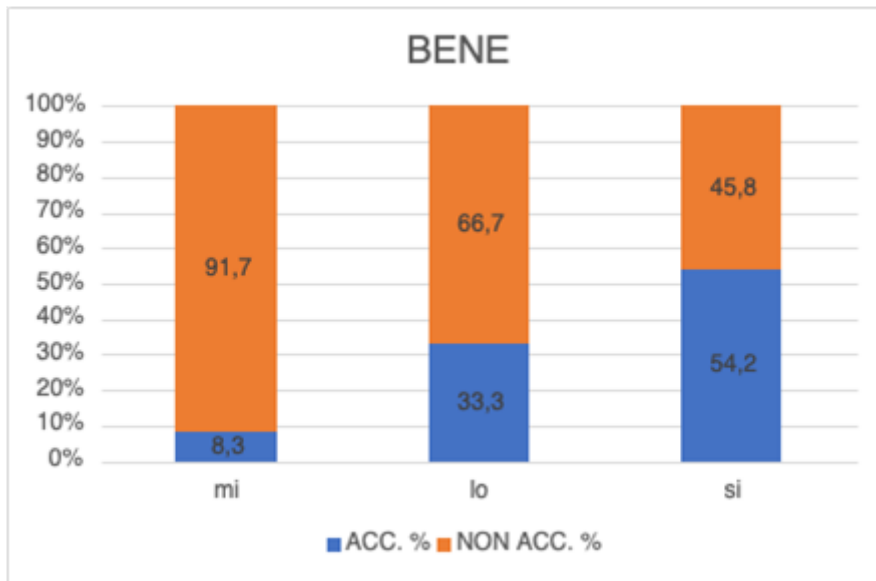
Bene (well) belongs to the class of adverbs that Cinque (1999) calls lower pre-VP adverbs and in fact it belongs to the lower portion of the sentence. It is a manner adverb and is placed in Voice.

Sentences We tested this adverb with the following sentences:

Sentence	Adverb	Clitic
Dala finestra le montagne le se ben vedi	bene	si
Zia lo ben conossi Luigi, xe su fio	bene	lo
Luisa me ben stira le camise	bene	mi
La nona lo ben cusina el polo	bene	lo

(2.35)

Results This adverb does not lend itself to interpolation with any of the clitics examined, even if it is a Lower pre-VP adverb.



In Cosentino this is because it does not belong to the subset of the Lower pre-VP adverb that can appear in interpolation structures (Ledgeway and Lomabardi 2005). So we decided to test this adverb to see if, compared to Cosentino, in Triestino the extension of the subset of Lower pre-VP adverb that may appear in interpolation structures changes. In this case, therefore, the subset of adverbs that can interpolate seems to have no different extension than in Cosentino. But these are just summary observations that were made during the sorting of the data, Chapter III will show our analysis proposal.

6) BEN 'aspectual'

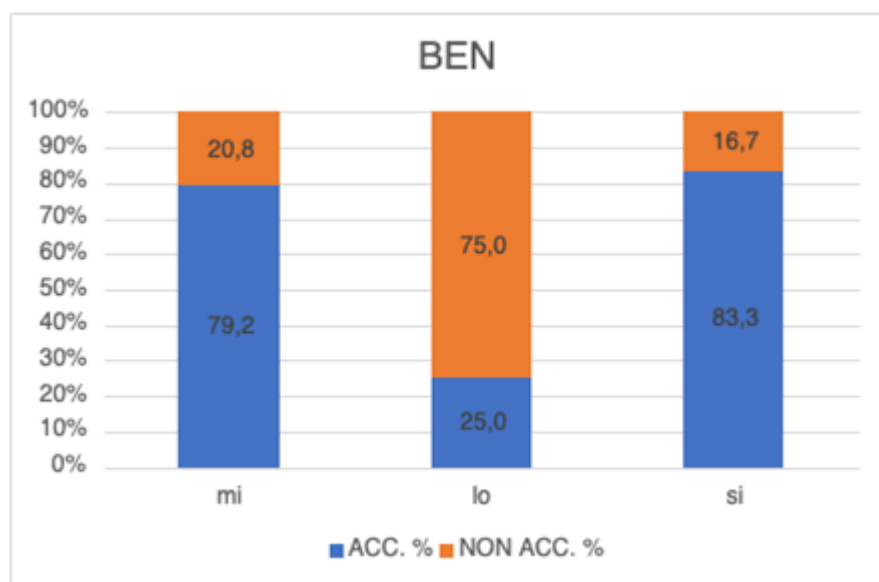
Ben is an aspectual adverb, different from *bene* which is instead an adverb of manner. These two adverbs in Triestino have the same shape because the final vowel falls and remains *ben* for both forms. We decided to introduce this adverb between the conditions and then to test it after the first pilot. In the pilot in fact the speaker declared that the adverb in that position gave the phrase a threatening connotation and was acceptable in interpolation structures.

Sentences We tested this adverb with the following sentences:

Sentence	Adverb	Clitic
Dopo quel che xe suceso ghe lo ben digo a Gianni	ben	lo
Carlo me ben conterà tuta la storia	ben	mi
Dopo sta volta se ben ricorderà de ciamar	ben	si

(2.36)

Results The adverb *ben* (aspectual) is also found in the lower sentence space and lends itself to interpolation with the clitics MI and SI, with the clitic LO instead is not acceptable.



We can see how with this adverb the rate of acceptability rise much (compared to other adverbs): with the clitic SI exceed 80%. For this reason we can say that this adverb is acceptable in interpolation structures.

7) NEANCHE

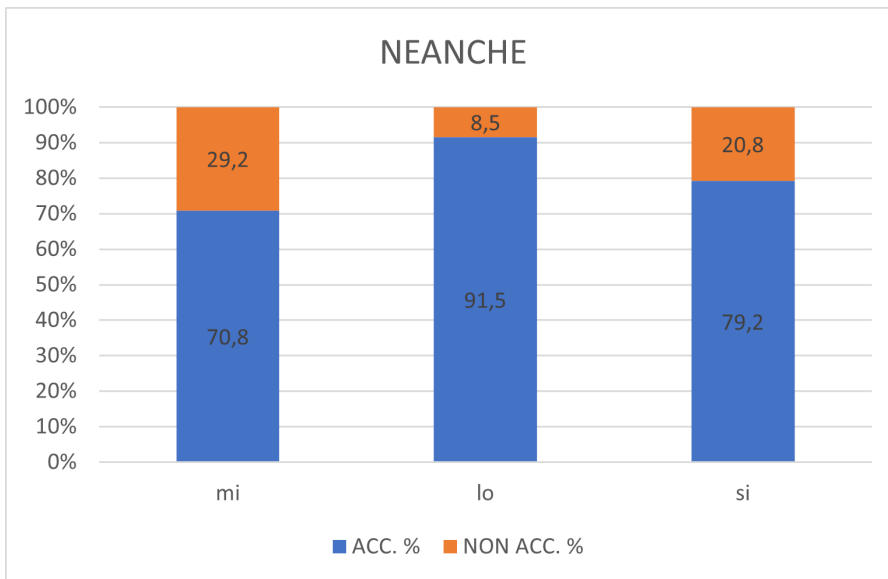
Neanche (not even) is a Lower pre-VP adverb (it has the same status as *mica*) and is a complex negative additive focalizer. It corresponds to the Cosentino 'mancu' and we inserted it because having the same status of *mica* it should constitute the left limit of the subset of Lower pre-VP adverbs that in Cosentino appear in interpolation structures.

Sentences We tested this adverb with the following sentences:

Sentence	Adverb	Clitic
No i lo gnanca saluda	neanche	lo
Nol se gnanca varda in specio	neanche	si
Dopo sta volta no i lo gnanca varda più in muso	neanche	lo
El succo no te lo gnanca bevi	neanche	lo
E no me gnanca piasi la minestra	neanche	mi

(2.37)

Results Among the adverbs that we have decided to test the only adverb that lends itself totally to be appear in interpolation structures is the adverb *neanche* (not even) as we can see from this graph:



As we can see with this adverb the rate of acceptability is very high, with 'lo' almost 92%. Also, unlike 'ben', which had very high rate of acceptability, 'neanche' works with all three of the clitics examined. From this we can see that *neanche* will play a very important role in our analysis proposal.

Sentence	Adverb	Clitic
El se sempre ben varda dal lavorar	sempre ben	si
Gianni lo sempre ben ciama Mario	sempre ben	lo
Mia mare me sempre ben disi de smeterla	sempre ben	mi

(2.39)

7) FORSE 'perhaps'

Forse (perhaps) it is a doubtful adverb and is found in the Higher Adverb Space (HAS) of Cinque (1999). In Cosentino, belonging to the HAS, this adverb does not appear in interpolation structures. We have therefore decided to test it also in Triestino to verify that the set of adverbs that can interpolate is that of the Lower Adverb Space as in Cosentino.

Sentences We tested this adverb with the following sentences:

Sentence	Adverb	Clitic
Mario e Luigi i se forse scrivi	forse	si
Aldo lo forsi compra el can	forse	lo
Me forsi ciama Gianni	forse	mi

(2.38)

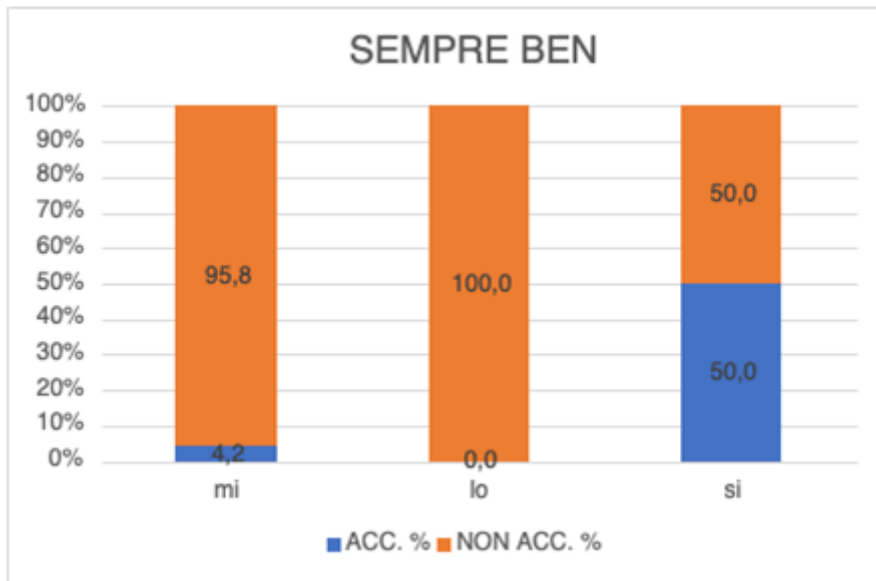
Results The adverb *forse* (perhaps) does not lend itself to interpolation with any of the three clitics examined, as expected as it is a Higher Sentence Adverb.

2.4.5 Pairs of adverbs

As for the pairs of adverbs we decided to test the following pairs: 'SEMPRE + BEN', 'SEMPRE + BENE', 'FORSE + SEMPRE', 'FORSE + NEANCHE'.

8) SEMPRE BEN 'always well, aspectual'

Sentences We tested this pair of adverbs with the following sentences:



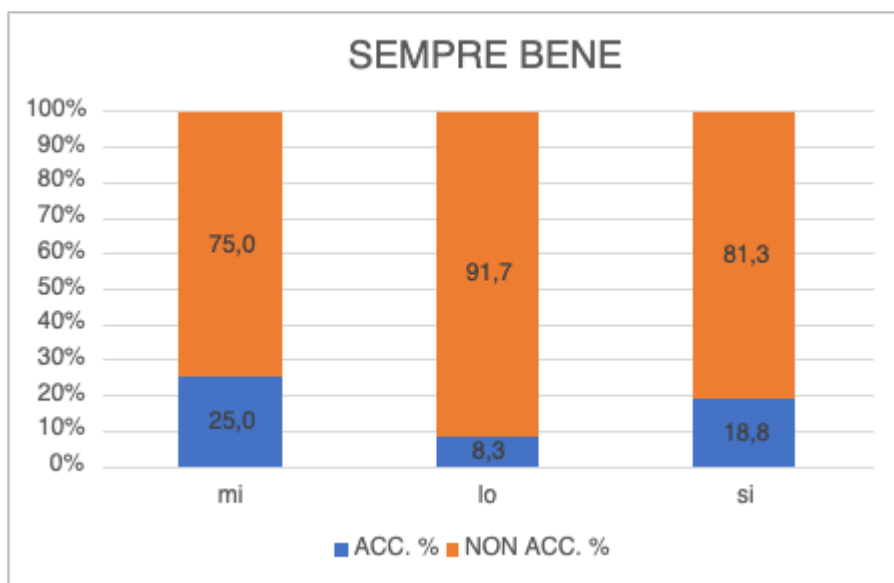
Results The combination of adverbs *sempre* (always) and BEN (well, aspectual) cannot appear in interpolation. In this case it seems that the behaviour of SEMPRE, which does not lend itself to interpolation, has conditioned that one of BEN that instead lends itself to interpolation. Only with the clitic SI we find a certain acceptability (50% of speakers), but it's still below the threshold we chose as a watershed.

8) SEMPRE BENE 'always well, manner'

Sentences We tested this pair of adverbs with the following sentences:

Sentence	Adverb	Clitic
Gianni se sempre ben vesti	sempre bene	si
Mia zia lo sempre ben cucina el coniglio a Nadal	sempre bene	lo
Franco me sempre ben parla de Maria	sempre bene	mi
In quel ristorante se sempre ben magna	sempre bene	si

(2.40)



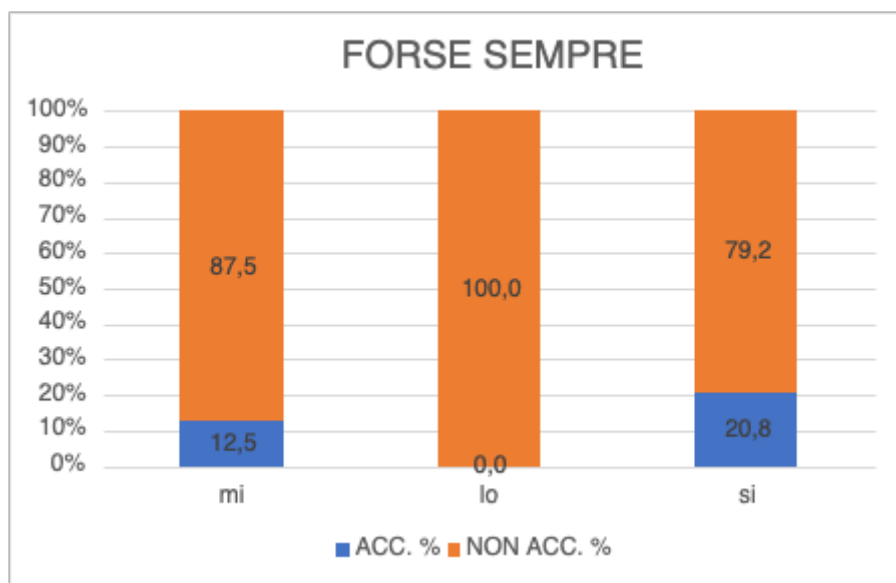
Results The combination *sempre bene* (always well, manner) does not lend itself to interpolation, this confirms the behaviour of the two adverbs taken individually.

8) FORSE SEMPRE 'perhaps always'

Sentences We tested this pair of adverbs with the following sentences:

Sentence	Adverb	Clitic
Gianni me forse sempre dirà la verità	forse sempre	mi
Dopo sta volta la forse sempre magnerà la verdura	forse sempre	lo
I se forse sempre aiuta	forse sempre	si

(2.41)



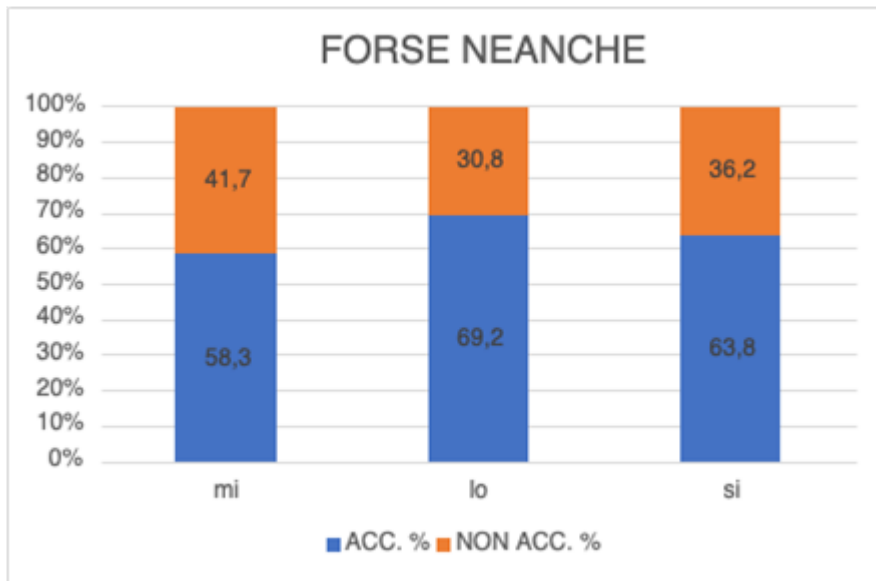
Results The combination of adverbs *forse sempre* (perhaps always) does not lend itself to interpolation with any of the clitics examined, after all not even the two adverbs individually lend themselves to this phenomenon (except always that lends itself with MI)

9) FORSE NEANCHE 'perhaps not even'

Sentences We tested this pair of adverbs with the following sentences:

Sentence	Adverb	Clitic
Dopo questo no i se forsi gnanca più saluderà	forse neanche	si
Dopo sta volta no i lo forsi gnanca varda più in muso	forse neanche	lo
Gianni no me forsi gnanca parlerà più dopo quel che go fato	forse neanche	mi

(2.42)



Results Unlike what we expect the combination of *forse neanche* (perhaps not even) lends itself to interpolation mainly with the clitic LO. It is a very special case because according to the proposal of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005), since the verb remains at the bottom, we should not have interpolation with an adverb as *forse* (perhaps) located in HAS. We assumed that the presence of the *neanche* (not even) allows the interpolation of *forse* (perhaps), in fact also *neanche* (not even) works better with the clitic LO, but we will deepen this pair of adverbs in Chapter III in which we will present our analysis proposal.

2.4.6 Baseline Test

This table shows the results of our base-line test, submitted to two trusted speakers.

FRASE	GRAMMATICALE	AGRAMMATICALE
1 Maria sempre guarda la television de sera		XX
2 Carlo ben conterà la storia a Gianni		XX
3 Maria ben cusina el pollo		XX
4 Gianni forsi guarderà la television stasera	XX	
5 Luigi no gnanche magna frutti		XX

(2.43)

We have tested the acceptability of sentences in which we have structures in which the clitic is absent and the adverb precedes the verb. This is to check if we are actually faced with interpolation structures (in the survey) or if it is the unmarked order of adverb and verb in absence of the clitic. Based on these data we see that most base-line sentences are not acceptable. This makes us understand that even in absence of the clitic the normal order is verb + adverb (with the adverbs of our conditions excluding *forse* (perhaps) that is a HAS adverb and is therefore in its correct position) and that in this variety the lexical verb does not tend to remain at the bottom as in Cosentino.

Chapter 3

Analysis

This chapter is organised as follows: Section 3.1 deals with answering the research questions presented in the second chapter, in the 3.2 section instead, we will present our analysis proposal for interpolation structures in Triestino.

3.1 Clitics, adverbs and pairs of adverbs in Triestino

In this section we will try to give answers, based on the data collected through the survey, to the research questions presented in the Second Chapter. The research questions are:

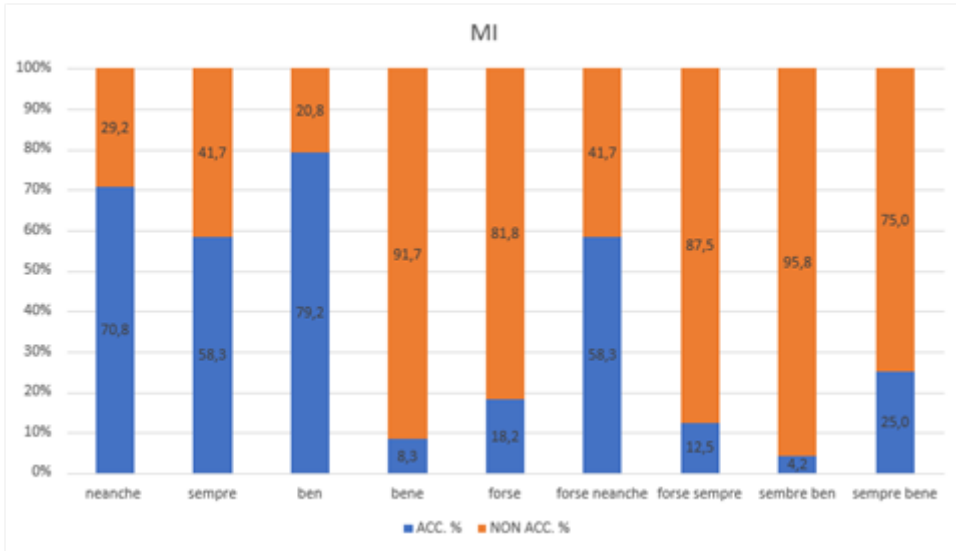
- a Are there any restrictions in Triestino on clitics which can interpolate?
- b Are there restrictions in Triestino on adverbs that can interpolate?
- c In Triestino do pairs of adverbs interpolate?
- d Is the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005 for Cosentino also applicable to Triestino?

We can say that the answer to the first three research questions is preparatory to the answer to the fourth research question from which our analysis proposal will then be developed.

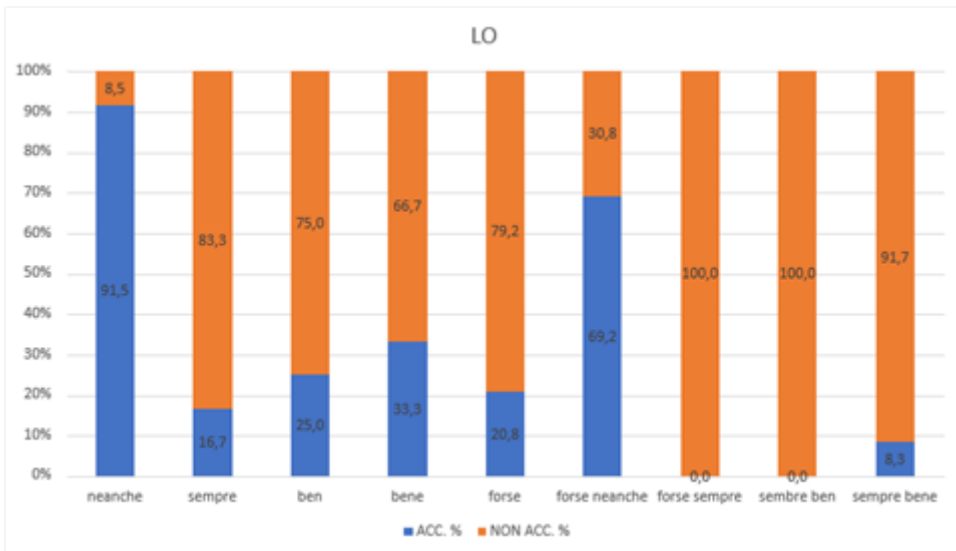
3.1.1 Are there any restrictions in Triestino on clitics which can interpolate?

According to the data collected through our survey there are no absolute restrictions on clitics. All clitics examined can appear in interpolation structures as we

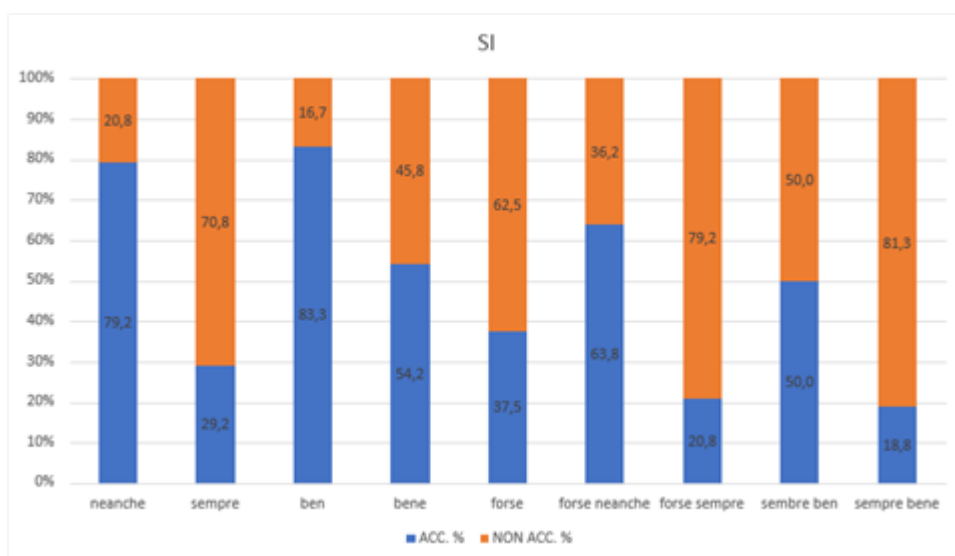
can see from the following graphs:



mi (to-me=)



lo (it=)



si (self=)

In summary we can say that, on the basis of these data, we know that 'MI' can appear in interpolation structures with the adverb *neanche* (not even), with the adverb *sempre* (always) (it is the only clitic that allows interpolation with always), with the adverb *ben* (well, aspectual). 'LO' instead works very well with *neanche* (not even), it reaches an acceptability of 91,5%, with the other adverbs instead is not acceptable in interpolation structures. 'SI' allows interpolation with the adverb *neanche* (not even) and with the adverb *ben* (well, aspectual).

In general, compared to the 3 clitics that we have decided to test (MI, LO, SI), there are no restrictions on clitics that can appear in interpolation structures, at most we have clitics that in combination with some adverbs work very well and others less well, but the acceptability of the sentence is usually due to the adverb and not to the clitic involved. In short, there is none of the three clitics tested that completely excludes interpolation cases. Based on these data, we can also deduce that the focal point is not so much the clitic as the adverb involved. In the next paragraph we will reflect more precisely on the adverbs tested, however already from the analysis of the behaviour of the clitics we can note that the adverb *neanche* (not even) has a special statute: is the only one that appears in structures of interpolation with the clitic *lo* (it=), and most important this is the only one of interpolation structures analysed that results to be the non-market form.

Are there restrictions in Triestino on adverbs that can interpolate?

Among the adverbs that we tested we have noticed that the only adverb that lends itself totally to appear in interpolation structures is the adverb *neanche* (not even)

that is a Lower pre-VP adverb. The adverb *sempre* (always) that, according to the data in Ledgeway’s paper, in Cosentino seems to be an excellent candidate for interpolation structures, in Triestino does not lend itself to this type of structure if combined with clitics *lo* and *SI*, but it’s only acceptable with *MI*. The adverb *ben* (aspectual) lends itself to interpolation with the clitics *mi* and *si*, with the clitic *lo* instead is not acceptable. This could be due to the order of the clitics in Triestino or to the fact that in Triestino the subset of adverbs that can interpolate is even narrower than in Cosentino. It can be useful to remember that in Cosentino we have interpolation with a particular subset of the lower pre-VP adverbs: from *MICA* to *completamente* (completely), so however higher than *tutto* (everything) and *bene* (well), which shows that the verb rises anyway to IP. Indeed, as we could expect also in Triestino, as in Cosentino, adverbs too high in the structure as *forse* (maybe) and those too low as *bene* (well, manner), are excluded from interpolation structures. Answering then with the data to this research question it seems that the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005), for which it is only a subset of the Lower pre-VP adverb to appear in structures of interpolation, could work also for Triestino. It should be noted, however, that interpolation structures with *neanche* (not even) result the non-marked structure (affirmed by more than one speaker) with an acceptability of 91%, while an adverb as *alaways* has significantly lower rate (58% with *mi*, 16% with *lo*, 29% with *si*). It is not possible to explain this difference with Ledgeway’s analysis unless we further narrow down the subset of adverbs.

It will then be the answer to the research question *c. In Triestino do pairs of adverbs interpolate?* to be decisive to then answer the research question of higher order ie *Is the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005 for Cosentino also applicable to Triestino?*

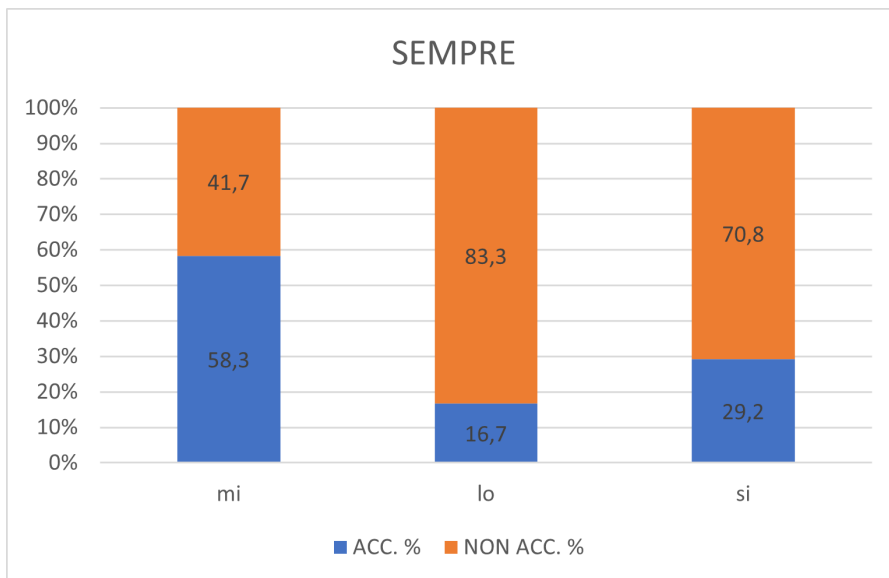
3.1.2 In Triestino do pairs of adverbs interpolate?

Based on the evidence found in answering the previous research questions it would seem that the analysis that Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) give of interpolation structures of Cosentino is also descriptive of interpolation structures of Triestino, only with more restrictions on the subset of adverbs involved. Indeed, research question has proved to be one of the most important for our work because if a variety allows more than one adverb in a preverbal position, respecting the hierarchy provided by Cinque (1999), without contrasting interpretation it is a clue that the verb could rise less in the structure because otherwise it should assume more than one position dedicated to adverbs in CP.

As shown in Chapter II the pairs of adverbs considered are *forse sempre* (perhaps always), *sempre bene* (always well, manner), *sempre ben* (always well, aspectual) and *forse neanche* (perhaps not even).

Forse sempre

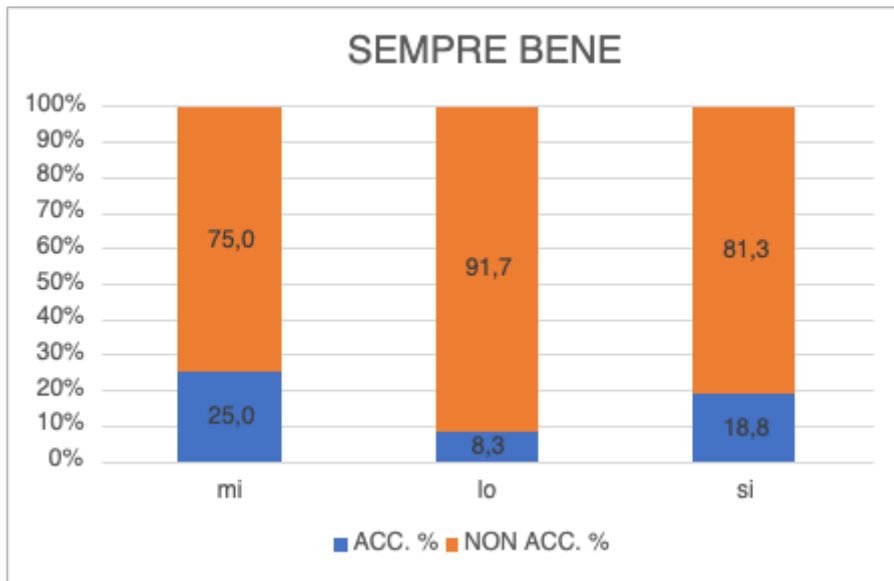
In principle we see that the pair containing *forse* (perhaps) and *sempre* (always) is not acceptable, as we expected since *forse* (perhaps) is not at all suitable to appear in interpolation structures because it is placed in HAS (higher adverb space).



(3.1)

Sempre Bene

Even the couple *sempre bene* (always well, manner) is not acceptable and this may be due to the fact that instead *bene* (well, manner) is an adverb too low to appear in interpolation structures and not appearing in them even by itself it is plausible that it is not grammatical accompanied by another adverb.



(3.2)

It remains to analyze two pairs of adverbs that give us information opposite to what we would expect.

Forse neanche

A couple of adverbs that surprised us a lot, in fact, is the one formed by *forse neanche* (perhaps not even). Since *forse* (perhaps), as we have said, according to the hierarchy of Cinque (1999) it is a higher sentence advP, it is therefore too high in the syntactic structure to appear in interpolation structures. In this case, however, against all expectations, the adverb *forse* (perhaps), which taken individually is not acceptable in interpolation structures, is grammatical if associated with *neanche* (not even).

This pair of adverbs is particularly problematic for the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) because the two authors use interpolation structures to investigate the place in the syntactic structure where cliticization takes place. If we use the same analysis for Triestino we would inevitably be faced with a paradox. According to the two authors, the *clitic + verb* nexus is inseparable when the syntactic cliticization has taken place (clitic moves by head movement to the head of ZP where there is the verb and the two elements come together). Ledgeway and Lombardi in fact use interpolation just as a watershed to see where in the structure occurs the syntactic cliticization (3.1b) and when instead you have simply phonological cliticization (3.1a).

(3.1)

- a Gianni[YP [LAS **ggià** mi canuscia][*v*-VP *tcanuscia tmi*]]
Gianni already me= knows
'Gianni already knows me'
- b Gianni[YP mi [LAS **ggià** *t_{mi}* canuscia][*v*-VP *tcanuscia tmi*]]
Gianni me= already knows
'Gianni already knows me'
- c Gianni[YP mi canuscia [LAS **ggià** *t_{mi}t_{canuscia}*][*v* - *VP_{tcanuscia tmi}*]]
Gianni me= knows already
'Gianni already knows me'
- d *[HAS Gianni mi **forse**] [YP *t_{mi}* canuscia [LAS **ggià** *t_{mi}t_{canuscia}*][*v* - *VP_{tcanuscia tmi}*]]
Gianni me= perhaps knows already
'Perhaps Gianni already knows me'

If interpolation occurs then syntactic cliticization has not yet occurred, while if syntactic cliticization has already occurred then interpolation cannot take place and the sentence is ungrammatical (for the definition of syntactic and phonological cliticization see Chapter I).

In Italian the syntactic cliticization takes place lower in the structure, in LAS, than the Cosentino in which the syntactic cliticization takes place in YP, and in fact in Italian interpolation structures result in all cases non acceptable see example (3.2).

(3.2)

- Gianni[YP mi [LAS **ggià** *t_{mi}* canuscia][*v*-VP *tcanuscia tmi*]]
Gianni me= already knows
'Gianni already knows me'

In Cosentino, according to Ledgeway and Lombardi, syntactic cliticization occurs in YP and not in LAS. In LAS it is present simply phonological cliticization (3.1a) that allows interpolation (3.1b), but anyway we see that the syntactic cliticization happens before HAS because (3.1d) it is ungrammatical. On the contrary

the syntactic cliticization in Triestino seems to occur in YP and in fact the sentence with interpolation structure with *forse* ‘perhaps’ isn’t acceptable (3.4a), but the sentence with *forse neanche* ‘perhaps not even’ is acceptable, so syntactic cliticization seems to have occurred and at the same time not to have occurred in YP. It must then be pointed out that if in Triestino the syntactic cliticization take place simply higher than in Cosentino (as in Cosentino happens higher than in Italian) then the sentence (15a) with only *forse* (perhaps) should be grammatical, which does not happen:

(3.3)

*[HAS Gianni mi **forse**] [YP t_{mi} canuscia [LAS **ggià** $t_{mi}t_{canuscia}$][$v - VP_{t_{canuscia} t_{mi}}$]]
 Gianni me= perhaps knows already

‘Perhaps Gianni already knows me’

Triestino:

(3.4)

a *Mario e Luigi i se **forsi** scrivi
 Mario and Luigi they selves= perhaps they-write

‘Perhaps Mario and Luigi write each other’

b Dopo questo no i se **forsi gnanca** saluderà
 After that not they selves= perhaps not even they-will greet

‘After that perhaps they won’t even say goodbye’

In our opinion, as we will see better in paragraph ??, the adverb *neanche* (not even), which has a fundamental role in our analysis proposal, would be the head of an AdvP projection, placed in the specifier of a Focus projection, and *forse* (perhaps) would be its specifier. Consequently, *forse neanche* (perhaps not even) could be a single constituent.

Sempre ben

Sempre ben turns out to be a pair of adverbs fundamental for our analysis. As we have seen in paragraph 3.1.2 the individual adverbs *sempre* and *ben* are acceptable

in interpolation structures (although with restrictions on the clitic). Taking into account that the clitic with which they work best is *mi* (to-me=), we would expect that in a sentence like (3.5)

(3.5)

Mia mare me **sempre** **ben** disi de smeterla
 my mum to-me= always well (aspectual) say-she= to stop

‘My mom always tells me to stop’

the pair of adverbs to be completely acceptable within interpolation structures. If, in fact, it is the verb, as in the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005), to remain lower in the structure, there should be nothing to prevent these two adverbs, that taken individually make interpolation with the clitic, to co-occur in the same sentence. Instead, what we find is that the sentence in (3.5) is not acceptable and therefore the pair of adverbs *sempre ben* (always well, aspectual), that individually are acceptable in interpolation structures, in pairs are not acceptable. This is a clear indication of the rising of the verb and therefore of the fact that the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) of interpolation structure in Cosentino is not applicable to Triestino. We shall see this more in detail in the next paragraph.

3.1.3 Is the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005 for Cosentino also applicable to Triestino?

We can answer this question of research, which in fact is the question of a higher order, starting from the considerations that we have found from answering the three previous research questions.

According to the data we have in fact understood that there are no absolute restrictions on clitics that can appear in interpolation structures, at most there are trends, that is, clitics which work better with certain adverbs: *lo* works better with *neanche*, while *si* works better with *neanche*, *ben*, while *mi* works better with *neanche*, *sempre* and *ben*. This, however, does not go against the analysis proposed by Ledgeway and Lombardi for the Cosentino, so it would seem valid until now also for Triestino.

Answering the second question of research some doubts started to raise as it would seem that in Triestino the only adverb that lends itself totally to appear in interpolation structures with whatever clitic is the adverb *neanche* (not even). Other adverbs as *sempre* (always) and *ben* (well, aspectual) are acceptable in interpolation structures, but with certain restrictions on clitics. These two adverbs in fact

(3.8)

Mia mare me **sempre ben** disi de smeterla
My mother to-me always well she-say to stop
'My mother always tells me to stop'

Instead, what we find is that the sentence in (3.9) with the pair of adverbs *sempre ben* (always well, aspectual) is not acceptable and this not only with the clitic *mi* (to-me=), but also with all the other clitics:

(3.9)

- a El se **sempre ben** varda dal lavorar
 a Him self= always well he-watch from to-work
 'He always try to stay away from work'
- b Gianni lo **sempre ben** chiama Mario
 b Gianni him= always well he-call Mario
 'Gianni always calls Mario'

Since the pair of adverbs *sempre ben* can not appear in interpolation structures although the individual adverbs can appear in interpolation structure, we understand that the verb has not remained at the bottom but has moved higher in the structure. Therefore, the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) of interpolation structures of Cosentino cannot be extended also to interpolation structures of Triestino.

3.2 Interpolation structures in Triestino: a proposal for analysis

In order to elaborate our analysis of interpolation structures in Triestino, we started from the adverb that has proved to be most effective in supporting interpolation structures, that is the adverb *neanche* (not even).

Neanche (not even)

neanche ‘not even’ is a complex negative additive focalizers, diachronically speaking it is the combination of Negation (not)+*anche* (even) (Franco, I., Kellert, O., Mensching, G., Poletto, C. 2016). The grammaticalization of *neanche* originates from a particular construction in which additive *anche* is immediately right adjacent to the negative disjunction *nè*. The canonical positions state for the aspectual adverbs that they are added to vP (Collins 1997) or that they are merged as specifiers of FPs.

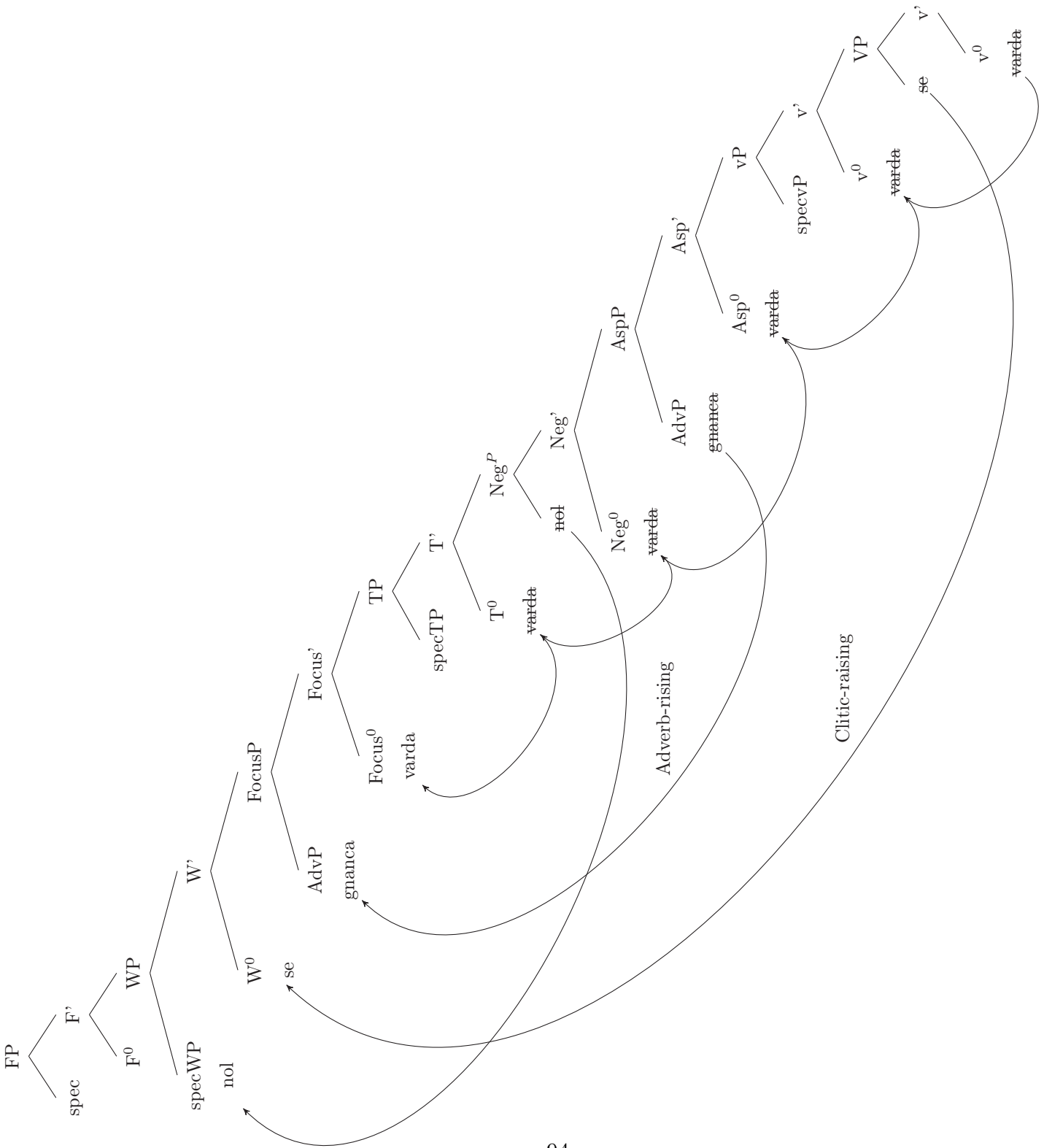
According to Poletto (2016) *anche* may merge in the specifier of the focus head DP (Operator in Poletto 2015) indeed the focus operator quantifies over a set of alternatives as for negative additives.

Poletto also proposes that when *anche* is a negative additive with wide focus the merging point is directly SpecFocusP in CP and when in Old Italian (OI) *anche* is merged in the clausal left periphery and is adjacent to the negative disjunction grammaticalization takes place. There exist a FocusP at the edge of each phase and in OI we find that *anche* can be either merged in CP, vP or DP. The element *anche* is always a Focus marker merged in a Focus position, and its interpretation is linked to the structural object it takes scope over (DP or vP). By contrast when *anche* is merged in the high left periphery or directly in SpecFocusP in CP it has a negative additive semantics. We can have different interpretations that are mirrored by different syntactic positions: aspectual interpretation (merged in Focus position in the vP) or an additive position merged in a specFocusP in CP.

For this reason, for our analysis we have hypothesized that the adverb *neanche* (not even), which is a negative additive focalizers, moves from a position of specifier of AspP to a specifier position in FocusP, in other words to a Focus position in CP. Therefore in Triestino the aspectual adverbs, with different modalities, rise to dedicated positions in the left periphery of the sentence, possibly in relation to an operator trait contained in their semantic structure, which makes them similar to quantifiers and wh elements.

Consequently, the clitic, which must be in a higher position than the adverb, would be located in a position of Wackernagel (WP). In Triestino, therefore, influenced by many other varieties (like Slavic languages, Friulian and German), we will have not adverbial clitics but we would have the so-called Wackernagel clitics. So in the head of WP rises the clitic (from the low positions of the clitics according to the mixed approach of Sportiche 1992 illustrated in chapter I) independently through a long movement. We can then assume a high negation in the WP specifier.

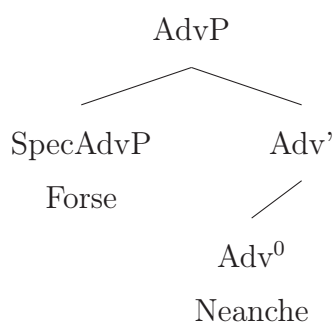
There could be more open Wackernagel’s positions and each clitic would have his own dedicated position. From this order could derive the trends on clitics that we have identified by answering the first research question: the order could be *mi* (to-me=), *si* (self=), *lo* (it=).



Adverb-raising

Clitic-raising

But if it is the adverb to rise to a focus position, why, for example, the adverb *bene* (well, manner) can't appear in interpolation structures? And how is it that in general there are few adverbs that in Triestino can appear in this type of structures? (We remember that only *neanche* (not even) has an acceptability close to 100%). One possible analysis is that only some adverbs actually have a trait of operator and can then rise to a dedicated position in the CP like that of FocusP and so *bene* would therefore be devoid of such a trait. A final problem could be represented by the pair of adverbs *forse neanche* (perhaps not even) that is acceptable in Triestino in interpolation structures. In our opinion it would be a single constituent: in the position of FocusP we would have an AdvP composed of *neanche* (not even) in the head position and *forse* (perhaps) in the position of specifier both going to form a single constituent:



Our analysis can be schematized as follows:

- the clitic rises, from the argumental positions according to the mixed approach of Sportiche 1992, to a position of Wackernagel, in the head of WP
- the adverb, if it is characterized by an operator trait, rises to a Focus position in the CP, in the specifier of FocusP
- the verb normally rises from the head position of vP to the head of TP and then to the head of FocusP

This type of construction is characterized, according to speakers, by a connotation of reproach from the semantic point of view.

Chapter 4

Conclusions

In this work we tested and analysed interpolation structures in Triestino.

After a brief theoretical introduction we showed the construction of our survey and we presented the data collected with it. Thanks to these data we concluded that the analysis of Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) of interpolation structures in Cosentino, in which the verb remains at the bottom and only a subset of the Lower pre-vP adverb can appear in interpolation structures, is not applicable to interpolation structures of Triestino: in this variety two adverbs that individually can appear in interpolation structures cannot co-occur in the same type of structure (interpolation structure). In Triestino, in fact, according to our analysis, the clitic rises to a position of Wackernagel, the adverb rises to a position of Focus while the verb normally rises to the head of TP and then to the head of FocusP.

It would be interesting, as a starting point for future works, to go into the semantics of these structures: in a first comparison with speakers, it would seem that these structures are used to accentuate a sort of reproach towards the person of whom or with whom you are talking, this would definitely be an aspect to be explored and verified. As far as syntax is concerned, it would be interesting to test interpolation structures in this variety with other adverbs and with other tenses and verbal modes following Ledgeway's analysis. As for adverbs finally it would be interesting to better define the trait of operator that would allow them to climb high in the structure as in our case in which the adverb *neanche* rises to a Focus position.

Chapter 5

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