Interpolation structures and clitics in Triestino*

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1 Introduction

As noted in Benincà (1997), in Triestino an adverb can intervene between a verb and its clitic pronoun, producing interpolation structures that prove ungrammatical in standard Italian. This article investigates the type of adverbs that can occupy this intervening position in relation to finite lexical verbs. Exploiting the adverb hierarchy identified in Cinque (1999), the extent of verb movement, and the pragmatic value of the adverbs involved, it is claimed that, whenever interpolated, the adverbs in question are focalized and occupy an information focus projection (distinct from that postulated in Belletti 2004) at the left edge of the low adverb space. The article also investigates the different behaviour of direct and indirect object clitics, as well as reflexive clitics in interpolation structures, suggesting that cliticization between a verb and its direct object clitic obtains earlier in the derivation than with an indirect object clitic, and that reflexive clitics seem to pattern with the latter rather than with the former.

2 Clitics and verbs

It is well-known that in Italian, and more generally in Romance, direct and indirect object clitics must stand adjacent to the verb, be they proclitics (cf. 1a) or enclitics (cf. 1b):

1 a **Li** *vedo   domani*
      them=I-see tomorrow
      'I'll see them tomorrow'

  b *Vedendo**li** domani*
   seeing=them tomorrow
   'Seeing them tomorrow […]'

  The verb acts as the clitic host (hence the label *ad-verbal* clitic; Renzi, 1989:100) and can only be separated from the clitic by other intervening clitics (cf. 2a-c). Within clitic clusters, the order in which clitics are organized is fixed. In proclitic clusters, the direct object clitic always sits closer to the verb (cf. 2b, d):

 2 a ***Gli** dico <u>già</u> questa cosa*
    to-him=I-say already this thing
  b ***Gliela** dico <u>già</u>*
    to-him=it=I-say already
  c *****Gli** <u>già</u>   dico questa cosa*
    to-him=already I-say this thing
  d *****Lagli** dico*
    it=to-him=I-say
    'I tell him (it) already this thing'

  In Triestino we also find the same ordering within clitic clusters, in that direct object clitics follow indirect object clitics, but, unlike in Italian, the sequence clitic-verb can be interrupted by adverbs, yielding interpolation structures like those in (3a-b) below:

 3 a ***Ghe** <u>sai</u> seca far la spesa*
    to-him=much it-bothers to-do the shopping
    'It bothers him a lot to do the shopping'
  b *Basta che te verzi   boca e i*
    it-suffices that you=you-open mouth and they
    ***te** <u>zà</u>   ziga*
    to-you=already they-shout
    'You only have to open your mouth and they're already shouting at you'

  This is by no means a feature restricted to Triestino, and similar interpolation phenomena are found in a number of (mainly southern) Italian varieties, in early Ibero-Romance, in some modern western Iberian dialects, and in Romanian.[1] These vary with respect to the element that they license in the interpolated position. As noted in Ledgeway & Lombardi (2005:81), the modern interpolation structures in southern Italian varieties

differ from the earlier Romance types in that only adverbs are allowed in the intervening position. In early Ibero-Romance not only do we find a variety of different constituents in the intervening position (cf. 4a), but also two or more constituents can simultaneously co-occur in this position without any apparent restrictions on their ordering (cf. 4b):

4 a *quien **te** <u>algo</u>   prometiere …*
      who you=something would-promise
      'The one who would promise you something' (Rivero 1986:777)
   b *Se **me** <u>Deus   enton a   morte non</u> deu*
      if to-me=God then   the death not gave
      'If God did not then put me to death' (Martins 1994)

This suggests that the two types of interpolation found in modern Italo-Romance and early Ibero-Romance are to be kept distinct, and indeed Raposo (2000:277), among others, has analysed the latter as an instance of scrambling.

On a par with Cosentino, Triestino too only allows the interpolation of adverbs. In their investigation and analysis of interpolated constructions in Cosentino, Ledgeway & Lombardi (2005) convincingly account for the separability of the clitic from its verbal host as the result of the interaction between verb movement and the 'height' in the structure at which cliticization obtains. More specifically, they argue that finite lexical verbs in Cosentino do not necessarily raise as high as they do in Italian, hence they naturally occur to the right of adverbs that are found to the right of the verb in Italian, and that clitic and verb become one unit in a higher position in the dialect than they do in Italian. The interplay of these two factors is responsible for the fact that specific adverbs may intervene between the two.

Ledgeway & Lombardi (2005) only record limited differences in meaning between interpolated and non-interpolated structures in Cosentino (cf. the discussion of their examples 30-32), but note no difference between direct and indirect object clitics in terms of their separability from the verb. Taking Ledgeway & Lombardi's (2005) study of Cosentino as our point of reference, we follow their analysis of both cliticization and interpolation structures, applying to Triestino their tripartite division within the adverbial hierarchy and the idea that finite lexical verb movement is not uniform across the Romance languages, although we claim that in Triestino interpolated adverbs do not occupy their canonical positions.

3 Adverbs and verb movement

3.1 Adverbs

As in Cosentino, not all adverbs are admitted in interpolated structures in Triestino. From the adverbial hierarchy identified by Cinque (1999), we note that his class of sentence adverbs, including evaluative, epistemic, temporal, irrealis, necessity, and habitual adverbs, cannot split the clitic-verb sequence (cf. 5a), but, rather, are most naturally found in sentence-initial position (cf. 5b):

5 a ****Me** *probabilmente* / *doman*   / *forsi*   / *per forza*
to-me= probably   / tomorrow / perhaps / necessarily
/ *de solito* *piasi*
/ usually   it-pleases

b *Probabilmente* / *doman*   / *forsi*   / *per forza* / *de solito*
probably   / tomorrow/ perhaps / necessarily / usually
me *piasi*
to-me=it-pleases
'I('ll) like it probably/tomorrow/perhaps/necessarily/usually'

Similarly, a subset of the so-called *low* adverbs such as *ben* 'well', situated to the right of the highest (singular) completive aspectual head, cannot intervene between clitic and finite verb (cf. 6a), and in their neutral reading are most readily found in a sentence-final position (cf. 6b):

6 a ****Ve** *tuto*   / *ben* / *bonora* / *spesso* *seca*
to-you=everything / well / early   / often   it-bothers

b **Ve** *seca*   *tuto*   / *ben* / *bonora* / *spesso*
to-you=it-bothers everything / well / early   / often
'It completely/indeed/soon/often bothers you'

Rather, the adverbs that we do find interpolated come from the subset that form the higher part of the lower adverb field, delimited to the left by $\mathrm{Asp}_{\mathrm{Celerative\,(I)}}$, and to the right by $\mathrm{Asp}_{\mathrm{CompletivePl}}$:

7   *(No) **ghe** <u>miga</u>   / <u>zà</u>   / <u>ncora</u>/ <u>sempre</u> / <u>subito</u>/ <u>squasi</u>*
    (not) to-him=not / already / still   / always /soon   / almost
    rompi   sta storia![2]
    it-annoys this story
    'This matter doesn't/already/still/always/soon/almost annoy(s) him'

These are also the same set of adverbs that interpolate in Cosentino. Interpreting these findings in relation to Cinque (1999), we obtain (8), a reduced version of Cinque's (1999:106) adverb hierarchy combined with the results of Ledgeway & Lombardi (2005:83), in which the adverbs allowed in the interpolated position occupy the space delimited by the arrows:

8   …[<u>per fortuna</u> Mood$_{Evaluative}$ … [<u>probabilmente</u> Mod$_{Epistemic}$ [<u>doman</u> T(Future) [<u>forsi</u> Mood$_{Irrealis}$ … <u>per forza</u> Mod$_{Necessity}$ … [<u>de solito</u> Asp$_{Habitual}$ [<u>de furia</u> Asp$_{Celerative(I)}$…➡ [<u>miga</u> Neg1$_{Presuppositional}$ [<u>zà</u> T$_{(Anterior)}$ [<u>più</u> Asp$_{Terminative}$ [<u>ncora</u> Asp$_{Continuative}$ [<u>sempre</u> Asp$_{Perfect}$ [<u>pena</u> 'barely' Neg2 [<u>pena</u> 'just' Asp$_{Retrospective}$ [<u>subito</u> Asp$_{Proximative}$ … [<u>squasi</u> Asp$_{Prospective}$ … ⬅ [<u>tuto</u> Asp$_{Pl\ Completive}$ [<u>ben</u> Voice … [<u>bonora</u> Asp$_{Celerative\ (II)}$ [<u>spesso</u> Asp $_{Frequentative\ (II)}$ …

Despite occurring within the adverb space delimited by the arrows in (8), *più* 'no longer' cannot be interpolated, witness the ungrammaticality of (9):

9   ***Dopo un poco, no **te** <u>più</u>   frega*
    after   a   bit   not to-you=any-longer matters
    'After a while you couldn't care less anymore'

To conclude, in Triestino only the highest adverbs of the lower adverb space (henceforth termed 'middle' adverbs) can interrupt the clitic-verb sequence. Unlike in Cosentino (see Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005:87-88), however, Triestino only permits at most one middle adverb in interpolation structures.

3.2 Verb movement

Turning now to verb movement, we note that in standard Italian finite lexical verbs need to raise to the head immediately to the left of the presuppositional negator *mica* (Cinque 1999:152). Despite claims that Triestino exhibits low verb movement (see Benincà 1997:125-26), we maintain that it parallels standard Italian in all relevant respects, inasmuch

as finite lexical verbs cannot target a position within the higher adverbial space (cf. 10a), but must occur to the left of the negative presuppositional marker *miga* (cf. 10b) and to the right of *de solito* 'usually' (cf. 10c):

10 a *(**Legemo)* <u>*Per fortuna*</u> *legemo el giornal tuti i giorni*
    (we-read) for luck we-read the newspaper all the days
    'Fortunately we read the newspaper every day'

  b *No legemo* <u>*miga*</u> *(**legemo) el giornal tuti i giorni*[3]
    not we-read miga (we-read) the newspaper all the days
    'We don't read the newspaper every day'

  c *(**Legemo)* <u>*De solito*</u> *legemo el giornal bonora de matina*
    (we-read) usually we-read the newspaper early of morning
    'We usually read the newspaper early in the morning'

Indeed, finite verbs in Triestino can optionally occur to the right of lower adverbs such as *zà* 'already', *subito* 'soon', *ben* 'well' and *bonora* 'early', but in these cases the adverb carries a particular emphasis, which we attribute to the fact that the adverb itself has raised into a higher, focalized position (see Paoli 2006). Hence, we conclude that there are no grounds for assuming that finite lexical verbs target a lower position in Triestino than in Italian.

4 Interpretation of interpolated adverbs and their position

Alongside interpolation structures like those observed above, Triestino also allows structures in which the relevant adverb fails to interrupt the clitic-verb nexus:

11 **Ghe** *rompi*   <u>*zà*</u>   / <u>*ncora*</u>/ <u>*sempre*</u> / <u>*subito*</u>/ <u>*squasi*</u> *sta*
   to-him=it-breaks already/ still   / always / soon   / almost this
   storia!
   story
   'This matter already/still/always/soon/almost annoys him'

However, the pragmatic interpretations related to the two structures (cf. 7 vs 11) prove quite different. The word order in (11) corresponds to the more neutral reading, namely, when no element of the sentence is given discourse prominence. We can therefore say that the word order in (11) is the canonical word order, namely, the one in which the adverb occupies

its neutral, most natural position. By contrast, in the corresponding interpolated structure (7), the adverbs are 'emphatic' in nature, insofar as they are pragmatically salient. Prosodically too, they are marked by a falling intonation, witness the contrast between (12a) and (12b):

      –   –   –   –

12 a ***Ghe*** <u>***zà***</u>   ***rom-pi***

      –   –   –   –

   b ***Ghe rom-pi*** <u>***zà***</u>

It would appear then that interpolated adverbs are focalized, as further evidenced by the fact that in Triestino only one adverb may be interpolated at any one time. In this respect, it is instructive to consider examples (13), where the adverb provides Speaker A with the information sought and can variously occur in postverbal position (cf. 13b) or between the clitic and its verb (cf. 13c):

13 a Sp A: *Quando ghe cominciarà   a romper a tuo   fradel*
              when   to-him=will-start to to-break to your brother
              sta storia?
              this story
              'When is this situation going to annoy your brother?'
   b Sp B: ***Ghe*** *rompi*   <u>*zà*</u>
              to-him=it-breaks already
   c Sp B: ***Ghe*** <u>*zà*</u>   *rompi*
              to-him=already it-breaks
              'It's already annoying him'

In (14), on the other hand, the adverb cannot be interpolated, and the fact that (14c) is pragmatically odd is clearly due to the fact that it has already been introduced in the discourse in the previous intervention:

14 a Sp A: ***Ghe*** *seca*   <u>*zà*</u>   *a tuo   fradel*
              to-him=it-bothers already to your brother
              starghe   *drio*   *ai*   *pici?*
              to-stay=them behind to-the kids
              'Is your brother already fed up with minding the children?'
   b Sp B: *Si,* ***ghe*** *seca*   <u>*zà*</u>
               yes to-him=it-bothers already

c Sp B: #*Si, ghe <u>zà</u>   seca*
            yes to-him=already it-bothers
            'Yes, he's already fed up with it'

   The contrast between (13) and (14) patterns with the traditional distinction between new and old information, and it is plausible to conclude that interpolated adverbs occupy a focalized position insofar as they represent the new information focus of the clause.[4] Given the adverbal nature of object clitics and the height reached by finite verb movement in Triestino, it seems clear that this position is not the one identified by Benincà & Poletto (2004) in the left periphery but, rather, lies within the IP space. In this respect, Belletti (2004) argues for a clause-internal focus position that differs from the left-peripheral focus position in hosting only non-contrastive elements. However, the position targeted by interpolated adverbs in Triestino cannot be this clause-internal position for two reasons. Firstly, the position postulated by Belletti hosts verbal arguments, and not adverbs, expressing new information; secondly, this position is assumed to occur within the VP space, possibly situated at its left edge and replicating, in a reduced way, the sentential left periphery. Yet, it is clear that Triestino only allows adverbials to interpolate clitic and verb, a fact which suggests that the Triestino position involved is clearly a dedicated slot, only available to adverbs.

   To sum up, we have demonstrated that interpolated adverbs are pragmatically salient. In particular, we claim that they do not occur in their canonical positions but, rather, a specific IP-related information focus position, distinct from the VP-related position identified by Belletti (2004).

5 Differentiation between clitics and more adverbs

The data analysed so far focus on a particular type of verb, so-called 'psych-verbs', and their semantic subjects realized as indirect object clitics. However, the generalizations made for indirect object clitics do not straightforwardly hold for direct object clitics. In particular, it is apparent that interpolation proves much more restricted with direct object clitics, in that fewer adverbs may interrupt the clitic-verb sequence (cf. 15a). Of the set of middle adverbs identified in (8) only *miga*, the presuppositional negator, can felicitously intervene between direct object clitic and verb (cf. 15b) and, somewhat more marginally, *squasi* 'almost' (cf. 15c):

15 a **No podarìa, ma mi **li** <u>ncora</u>   magno
      not I-could but I   them=still I-eat
      'I shouldn't but I am still eating them'

  b Ma cos   te zighi,   no   te **lo** <u>miga</u>   sbrego!
     but what you=you-shout not to-you=it=miga I-tear
     'What are you shouting for, I'm not tearing it!'

  c ??**Lo** <u>squasi</u> perdemo
     it=almost   we-lose
     'We are almost losing it'

It would therefore appear that no adverb to the right of *miga* can be interpolated, suggesting that the link between direct object and verb is of a more intimate nature than that holding between the verb and indirect object clitic. An apparent exception, however, is the interpolation of *sempre* 'always' (cf. 16a) and *pena* 'barely (cf. 16b)':[5]

16 a Quela povera dona, **la**   <u>sempre</u> penso
      that poor lady her always I-think
      'I'm always thinking about that poor woman'[6]

  b Ma te **lo** <u>pena</u>   conossi!
     but you=him=barely you-know
     'But you barely know him!'

Besides the adverbs seen so far, adverb interpolation structures are also available to a number of focalizing adverbs, as defined by Cinque (1999:30ff, 180 n. 79), including *propio* 'really' (cf. 17a-b) and *sai* 'a lot, thoroughly' (cf. 18a-b):[7]

17 a I   **ne** <u>propio</u>   rompi
      they to-us=really they-break
      'They really annoy us'

  b La <u>propio</u> detesto sta mata
     her=really I-detest this woman
     'I really detest this woman'

18 a **Ve** <u>sai</u>   piasi   (ste robe)
      to-you=a-lot they-please these things
      'You like them a lot (these things)'

  b **Le** <u>sai</u>   neto   (ste scale)
     them=a-lot I-clean these stairs
     'I thoroughly clean them (these stairs)'

In contrast to middle adverbs, there is no pragmatic difference between the interpolated and the non-interpolated versions of the focalizing adverbs. Consequently, there is no reason to believe that they are syntactically focalized, implying that they do not occur in the same position.

Other adverbs which prove compatible with direct object clitics include *pena* (cf. 19a), which can be loosely translated as 'on the contrary', *pur* (cf. 19b), a positive reinforcing adverb that could be rendered as 'indeed' and analysed as the positive counterpart of negative adverbs (Belletti, 1990:39ff; 1994), and *gnanche* 'not even' (cf. 19c):

19 a *Ma cossa disturbo, **lo** pena   fazo volentieri!*
       But what bother,   it=on-the-contrary I-do willingly
       'What bother, on the contrary, I'll do it with pleasure!'
   b *Ma cossa xe ste   storie, te   **li** pur   magni*
       but what are these stories you them=indeed you-eat of
       de solito!
       usual
       'What is all this fuss, you DO usually eat them!'
   c *No **lo** gnanche vardo*
       not him=even   I-look-at
       'I'm not even looking at him'

Both *pena* and *pur* encode the negation of a presupposition known to both the speaker and listener, and *gnanche* is a negative adverb that is not dissimilar to *miga* in its reinforcing function. In light of these facts, we take the four adverbs to occupy the same position (see also Cinque 1999:8). Interestingly, both the focalizing adverbs in (17)-(18) and the presuppositional negators in (19) are the ones that are most readily found, both with indirect and direct object clitics.

Finally, we come to examine the behaviour of reflexive clitics with respect to interpolation structures. Essentially, all adverbs that can interrupt the sequence of indirect object clitic and verb can also intervene between a reflexive clitic and its verb, namely middle adverbs (cf. 20a-d), and presuppositional negators and focalizing adverbs (cf. 20e), but not *più* 'no longer' (cf. 20f):

20 a *A tre   ani   la **se** zà   lava   sola*
       at three years she self=already she-washes alone
       'Age three and she can already wash herself'

b   *I   se ncora lava col   cadin*
they self=still wash with-the bowl
'They still wash using the bowl'

c   *Ve sempre   incoconè come se no gavessi mai magnà*
yourself=always you-gorge as   if not you-had ever eaten
'You always stuff your faces, as if you had never eaten before'

d   *Con sto sempio de rubineto te   se squasi   scoti*
with this silly   of tap   you self=almost you-scold
'With this silly tap you could almost scold yourself'

e   *Nol se miga   varda   in specio tuto 'l   giorno!*
Not-he self=miga he-looks in mirror all   the day
'He doesn't look at himself in the mirror all day long!'

f   **Nol se più   fa   mala*
not-he self=any-longer he-gets ill
'He doesn't get ill anymore'

As in the previous examples with non reflexive clitics, in interpolation structures middle adverbs receive a pragmatically marked reading (cf. 20a-d), whereas no such marked reading is associated with interpolation structures involving presuppositional or focalizing adverbs (cf. 20e).

To conclude, we have seen that indirect object clitics can be readily separated from their verbal host by adverbs belonging to the middle field. Direct object clitics, on the other hand, allow interpolation only with a few adverbs, namely a number of focalizing adverbs, presuppositional negators, and a small number of middle adverbs (namely, *sempre* 'always', *pena* 'barely', and possibly *squasi* 'almost'). Reflexive clitics, in contrast, pattern with indirect objects, allowing interpolation with all middle field adverbs, as well as focalizing and presuppositional negative adverbs. *Più* 'no longer' is the only adverb in the middle field that may not interrupt the clitic-verb sequence, irrespective of whether the clitic represents a direct object, an indirect object, or a reflexive. In what follows, we shall attempt to provide an explanation for these facts.

6   Towards an interpretation

We have seen in §3 that the adverbs allowed in Triestino interpolation structures belong to the higher portion of the lower adverb space, and that lexical finite verb movement appears to target the same position in Triestino

as it does in Italian, namely the head to the left of *miga*. The discussion in §5 has shown that the availability of adverbs in the interpolated position is affected by the type of clitic that they separate from their verbal host. Indirect object clitics may be separated from their verb by all adverbs belonging to the middle field except *più* 'no longer'. The connection between a direct object clitic and its verb, on the other hand, appears more intimate, as very few middle adverbs may interrupt the sequence, whereas reflexive clitics pattern with indirect object clitics in this respect. Furthermore, there is another group of adverbs, focalizing adverbs, which are notably easier to interpolate. Finally, in §4 we have claimed that interpolated adverbs are focalized and that the position they occupy lies within the IP space. We now need to identify exactly where this focus position is located. Assuming a system in which only raising, but not lowering, to a position is allowed, the fact that the higher adverbs cannot be interpolated indicates that the relevant information focus position is situated lower than the higher adverbs. By the same token, given the position of those adverbs that can interrupt the clitic-verb sequence, we know that this position must be at the left edge of the space occupied by the middle adverbs, namely to the immediate left of *miga*.

Turning to clitics, we follow Ledgeway & Lombardi (2005) (and, in turn, Kayne 1989a; 1991) in taking them to be simultaneously heads and maximal projections. This explains why lower adverbs are not found in interpolation structures, since clitics are merged in their DP argument positions and then move as phrasal elements in the first instance. The lower adverbs are delimited to the right by verbal arguments, hence a clitic moving through all the intervening specifier positions to reach its surface position would leave behind a trace, which would, in turn, prevent the lower adverbs from moving through them.

Ledgeway & Lombardi's (2005) analysis of interpolation in Cosentino, as already noted, focuses on the interplay of verb movement and cliticization, demonstrating that as well as having low verb movement, this southern variety also displays late syntactic cliticization. In light of the facts observed in §3, showing that finite verb movement in Triestino appears to target a position as high as it does in Italian, and following Ledgeway & Lombardi's (2005) analysis, we are led to conclude that the separability of verb and clitic in Triestino is purely a consequence of the height at which cliticization obtains in this northern variety. Given that indirect and direct object clitics do not exhibit the same behaviour, with direct object clitics not allowing interpolation to the same extent as indirect

object clitics, we must also conclude that the two cliticization processes obtain at different stages. Specifically, direct object clitics and their verb become one syntactic unit earlier in the derivation than indirect object clitics and their associated verb, which also accounts for the linear order found in clitic clusters. If this analysis is along the right lines, we should predict that in clitic clusters the indirect object clitic can be separated from the direct object clitic-verb unit. In this respect, the existence of (21b), albeit marginal, is significant:

21 a **Ghe lo <u>sai</u>**   *racomando sto picio*
       to-you(formal)=him=a-lot I-entrust   this child
    b ?**Ghe <u>sai</u>**   **lo** *racomando sto picio*
       to-you(formal)=a-lot him=I-entrust this child
       'I readily entrust this child to you'

Alongside structures like (21a) in which the adverb (recall that *sai* is a focalizing adverb) intervenes between the direct object clitic and the verb, indicating that verb and indirect object clitic are still syntactically independent, we also find structures like (21b) in which the adverb now intervenes between indirect and direct clitics, suggesting that the two object clitics are not syntactically one element either. We claim then that the possibility of (21b) is due to the fact that the indirect clitic joins the cluster at a later stage. Furthermore, we propose that cliticization of an indirect object clitic and its verb obtains to the immediate left of the focus position identified above, hence two positions to the left of *miga*. In Italian, by contrast, the positions in which direct and indirect cliticization obtains are not so distant, but, rather, are adjacent.

Let us now consider focalizing adverbs. According to Cinque (1999:30ff), these are peculiar, in that they can occupy different positions depending on the element they modify. Kayne (1998) claims, on the other hand, that they are merged in a specific position, and that variation in word order between adverb and verb is the result of remnant movement. In light of the facts seen in (17)-(18), we claim that focalizing adverbs occupy a low position within the lower adverb space, at least to the right of *miga* (see also Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005:85-86 n. 5), and possibly even lower, to the left of the Triestino counterpart of standard Italian *completamente*, the Specifier of $Asp_{SgCompletive}$. This immediately accounts for the fact that focalizing adverbs are permitted in interpolated structures involving a direct object clitic: they can interrupt the sequence clitic-verb because the two do not yet form a syntactic unit. In other

words, the position occupied by focalizing adverbs is to the immediate right of the position in which cliticization of a direct object clitic obtains. This may also explain the possibility of (15d), in which *squasi* 'almost', the projection immediately to the left of Asp$_{\text{SgCompletive}}$, may marginally interpolate clitic and verb.

We have thus identified two positions hosting adverbs in interpolated positions. A higher one, to the left of *miga*, at the left edge of the space containing the middle adverbs, to which adverbs move and in which they receive a focused interpretation, and a lower one, possibly to the right edge of the middle field, in which adverbs are generated. No pragmatic saliency is associated with this latter position.

If we wish to maintain that direct object cliticization takes place at the right edge of the space containing middle adverbs, we face the challenge of how to explain examples such as (15b) and (16a-b), in which the adverbs belonging to the middle field *miga*, *sempre*, and *pena* can intervene between a direct object clitic and its associated verb. A possible solution would be to interpret them all as 'focalizing' usages of the adverbs, inasmuch as their modifying function is focused on the element that follows. This interpretation would equate *sempre* with *sai* 'a lot'. This is a tentative rather than conclusive analysis, and it is not without its problems. Clearly, further research is needed to understand fully what may be at work here.

Another challenge, for which we have, again, no satisfactory answer, is the impossibility of interpolating *più* 'any longer' with indirect and direct object clitics, as seen in (9), although its Cosentino counterpart *cchiù* behaves like all other middle adverbs in occurring in interpolation structures. Given that here we are only using present tense verbs, it may be that the *più* used with past and non-past tenses is a different lexical element, having different semantics and, hence, occupying different positions. Yet, this does not seem plausible, since in both cases the adverb expresses the termination of a situation. Moreover, it has been observed (Zanuttini 1997) that the semantic contribution of *più* is presuppositional, as with *mica*, a fact which suggests that perhaps the two may even occupy the same position, although interpolation with the Triestino counterpart of Italian *mica*, namely *miga*, proves felicitous.

A final piece of problematic evidence concerns examples like (22), where a direct object clitic is separated from its verbal host by what appears to be one of the lower adverbs *tuto* 'everything':

22 ***Li*** <u>*tuti*</u>   *vardo*
   them=all I-look-at
   'I look at them all'

As we have seen, none of the other lower adverbs is admitted in interpolation structures, and this holds for all clitic types (direct, indirect, or reflexive). However, we take *tuti* here to be a floating quantifier and not the expression of the specifier of the $\text{Asp}_{\text{PlCompletive}}$ projection. Following Sportiche (1988), we analyse *tuti* as having moved with the DP: floating quantifiers signal positions in which DPs can stop (or move through). Incidentally, we now also have further support for the idea that the clitic moves as an XP in the initial part of its journey.

7 Conclusion

This article has investigated interpolation structures in Triestino and has put forward a number of claims based on the different dynamics exhibited by direct and indirect object clitics, the interpretation of interpolated adverbs, and the analysis offered by Ledgeway & Lombardi (2005). We have argued for the existence of an information focus position to the left of *miga*, into which middle field adverbs raise, and the existence of a lower position, to the right of *miga* and possibly lower, into which focalizing adverbs are generated. We have also claimed that cliticization occurs at different stages, with direct object clitics cliticizing onto the verb earlier than indirect object clitics. At the same time, we have also uncovered problematic facts such as the occurrence of interpolation with specific adverbs. For these we have not reached a satisfactory account, which we leave here for future research.

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Notes

1 In Romanian monosyllabic intensifiers can intervene between the clitic and its verb:

i ***îl*** <u>*mai*</u> *văd*
   it again I-see
   'I see it again'

Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:26) analyses *mai* as part of the clitic cluster, hence a clitic itself (but see Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005:104 n. 12 for a different analysis). The status of these

interpolation structures is not considered here.

2 In (7) the sentence-initial negator is only used with *miga*.

3 In Triestino, as in northern varieties of regional Italian, it is possible to use *miga* (*mica*) as the sole negator of a sentence (cf. i), with the result that the verb does indeed occur to its right:

i **Miga** legemo el giornal   tuti i   giorni
  miga we-read the newspaper all   the days
  'We don't read the newspaper every day'

 We take this word order to reflect movement of *miga* (*mica*) to the higher negation position usually reserved for the main clausal negator *no* 'not', as argued in detail in Zanuttini (1997).

4 It is clear that this is not a type of contrastive focus, since the sentence **Ghe** *zà piasi* is not uttered in reply to something like *No ghe piasi 'ncora* 'he does not like it yet'. Furthermore, if the adverb does carry a contrastive value, it must either occur sentence-initially, namely, *ZÀ ghe piasi*, or sentence-finally (*Ghe piasi ZÀ*).

5 Another apparent exception is the possibility of interpolating *zà* 'already', as in the following example:

i **Li** *zà*   vedo mi, sti   fioi, su per i
  them=already I-see I   these kids up for the
  monti
  mountains
  'I'm already imagining them, these kids, up the mountains'

Closer investigation, though, reveals that in such examples this *zà* does not encode the temporal features related to T anterior, the position filled by 'already'. This use of the adverb is often found in conjunction with verbs such as *imaginarse* 'to imagine', *veder* 'to see', and it conveys the idea of an event that is real only in the speaker's realm of imagination and may not even take place. We are

unable at present to identify the exact meaning and position of this *zà*. Significantly, though, when *zà* does encode a temporal interpretation, it cannot be interpolated, which suggests that the two adverbs occupy different positions. Given the restrictions on direct object clitic interpolation, it would seem that the temporal one occupies a higher position:

ii a Sp A: *Ma va   a farte   un corso*
       but you-go to to-do=yourself a   course
       de inglese!
       of English
       'Go and do an English course!'

  b Sp B: ****Lo** *zà*   fazo
       it=already I-do

  c Sp B: **Lo** fazo *zà*
       it=I-do already
       'I'm already doing one'

6 On a par with what Ledgeway & Lombardi (2005) observe for Cosentino, the two meanings associated with standard Italian *sempre*, 'always' and 'still', are also rendered by the same adverb in Triestino. To these we can add a third one, usually found in conjunction with the modal *poder* 'to be able to', expressing the meaning of 'at any rate':

i *Podemo* *sempre*   no ndar
  we-can   at-any-rate not to-go
  'At any rate we can NOT go'

The only meaning compatible with the interpolated structure (and also affected by the inherent aspectual properties of the verb itself), is 'always', which in Cinque's hierarchy occupies the Specifier of $Asp_{Perfect}$, lower than $Asp_{Continuative}$ hosting 'still'.

7 Cinque defines 'focusing' the set of *auxiliary position* adverbs described in Jackendoff (1972:59, 82) which include *only*, *simply*, *merely*, *really*.