The case of *cusà* in Sicilian:
from interrogative clause to epistemic adverb and discourse marker

Luisa Brucale, Maria Cristina Lo Baido, Egle Mocciaro

DISROM 6 - BERGAMO MAY 29 - 31 2019

1. Introduction
2. Aims of the paper
3. Methodological remarks: a combined analysis
4. Results:
   - **A synchronic picture: from adverb to complex conditional connective**
   - **A quick glance at the diachrony of *cusà***
   - **A semantic map**

1. Introduction

We intend to analyse the functions of the expression *cusà*, a marker which has been defined as serving the following functions:

   1) adverb;
   2) interjection;
   3) conjunction (Piccitto 1977, *Vocabolario Siciliano)*

Morphologically: literally 'who knows' → wh-+3ps of 'to know': see also Italian *chissà,* Spanish *quiza*(*s*), ancient Portuguese *quiga* (Ramat & Ricca 1998; Houle & Martinez Gomes 2011)*,* English *who knows*, Dutch *wie weet* (De Smet & van de Velde 2013).

Where it comes from? a wh-question routinized in the function of adverb (cfr. Fortuna 2002; Cruschina 2010 on modal adverbs in Sicilian), **synchronically** used to **express**: doubt, lack of knowledge, commitment modulation, condition in different contexts with slightly different functions.

2. Aims of the paper:

   - **analysing** both in synchrony and in diachrony the grammaticalization process whereby an interrogative wh-clause develops into **a CONDITIONAL DUBITATIVE CONNECTIVE and into a DUBITATIVE ADVERB and PRAGMATIC MARKER**
   - **examining** in depth mechanisms of semantic, syntactic and of formal reduction
     (cf. Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]; Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991).

3. Methodological remarks:
The data:
   - ✓ written spoken Sicilian (CMC) and
   - ✓ diachronic data, Corpus Artesia (14th-15th centuries), Giovanni Meli's Works (18th century), Domenico Tempio's Works (18th century), Giuseppe Pitrè's Fairy Tales (19th century).
   - ✓ a two-facets questionnaire: 216 speakers (mostly coming from the west of Sicily), 15 questions, asking to judge the acceptability and to translate from Sicilian to Italian and viceversa.

4. Results/discussion: *cusà* in Present-day Sicilian

4.1. A synchronic picture: from adverb to complex conditional connective

Main research question(s):
- Analysing the behaviour and the development of the opaque rhetorical question *cusà*, which is mobilized to express doubt, uncertainty and epistemic meaning and that
- In its most typical contexts of occurrence shows signs of **incipient grammaticalization**.

Some remarks:

- *Cusà* still maintains some aspects of the source construction (i.e., see the contexts in which it heads wh- and if-questions), despite acquiring new **functions**.
- Synchronically, it plays several functions,
  - common denominator = **EVENTUALITY** (NOT BARE EPISTEMICITY),
  - ranging from **CONNECTIVE** to **ADVERBIAL FUNCTIONS** which, in some cases, may be **PRAGMATICALLY** motivated.

Synchronic picture of *cusà* in Present-day Sicilian in more detail:

> - Opaque rhetorical question heading wh/if clauses (1),
> - Near-connective in 2)-3),
> - Dubitative connective (4)-(5),
> - Dubitative adverb (6) eventually playing politeness functions (7)-(9), and
> - Dubitative corrective adverb 8).

1. ***Cusà*** *chi ffini fici Pinu* vs ***Cusà*** *si chiovi*
   I'm wondering what Pino is doing now vs **Who knows** if it is raining/going to rain

2. *Signuri, mi lu dicissi a mia:* ***cusà*** *si lu pozzu aiutari...*
   Sir, just let me know: **maybe** I can help you

3. *Prega* ***cusà*** *ni fa na grazia*
   Pray, **maybe** He does us a favour

4. ***Cusà*** *nisciti, l'accattati*
   If you go out, buy it

5. ***Cusà*** *ti serbi un cavettu, c'è un negozio di pc/ Mi purtu u paracqua* ***cusà*** *chiovi*
   If you need a cable, there's a computer store nearby / I bring my umbrella **in case** it rains

6. ***Cusà*** *ti chiamu cchiù tardu*
   In case I'll call you later

7. *Hai* ***cusà*** *na cipudda?*
   Do you happen to have an onion?

8. *Iddu un ava diri nenti a nuddu; sunnu l'avutri **cusà** ca l'hannu a diri a iddu.*
   He must not say anything to anyone. **If anything**, the others must tell him this.

9. *A: Ci vai a aiutari o zio a sbarazzari u malaseno?*
   B: No, un ci la fazzu
   *A: **Cusà**.....*
   A: Would you please help our uncle to clean the garage up?
   B: No, I can't do that
   A: lit. 'Who knows…' → 'I see. If you helped him, it would hurt you!' (ironic)

❖ In what follows the outlined synchronic picture of *cusà* will be argued and explained.

○ 1) ***Cusà** chi ffini fici Pinu* vs ***Cusà** si chiovi*
   I'm wondering what Pino is doing now vs **Who knows** if it is raining/going to rain

   ▪ *cusà* + wh- / if clauses: epistemic function
   ▪ The speaker rhetorically invites the hearer to answer an impossible question, thereby conveying all the more strongly the fact that the question is impossible to answer (cf. De Smet and Van de Velde 2013) → EPISTEMIC SUSPENSION

EPISTEMIC DOUBT → reference of *wh* / truth-value of P introduced by *if* (most frequent distribution)

○ 2) *Signuri, mi lu dicissi a mia: **cusà** si lu pozzu aiutari...*
   Sir, just let me know: **maybe** I can help you

   ▪ signs of incipient shift may be observed. *Cusà* is placed in between two clauses, the former containing a directive speech act, the latter being an indirect interrogative clause introduced by if.
→ *Cusà* used to
   ▪ underline the dubitative value of the clause in its scope,
   ▪ make it clear the dubitative value of the *if*-clause by enriching it of a nuance of eventuality and
   ▪ depict the SoAs which is decribed as a **possible** event, whose realization/felicity **depends on** the preceding clause. → pragmatic/discursive relevance
Syntactically speaking: medial position has probably favoured its reinterpretation as a connective: see *if* ellipsis in 3). However, double possible interpretation:

NEAR-CONNECTIVE → **EPISTEMIC ADVERB / CONNECTIVE**
Q *cusà*/se P

○ 3) *Prega **cusà** ni fa na grazia*
   Pray, **maybe** He does us a favour
   ▪ *cusà* develops towards a CONNECTIVE function, in fact:
   ▪ heads a subordinate optative negative clause
   ▪ deletion of *if*

(NEAR-)CONNECTIVE

P *cusà* Q

Evidence from the questionnaire: for 2) and 3) possible translations *it is possible that, maybe* (in possible co-occurrence with the conditional mood), *it is probable, let's see whether..., in the case that, if, so that*.

Therefore, from the data emerges a double perception of its function:

- epistemic adverb
- connective

o 4) ***Cusà*** *nisciti, l'accattati*
   If you go out, buy it

   ▪ plain CONNECTIVE, CONDITIONAL FUNCTION
   ▪ *Cusà* + a **speech act conditional** (4) (Dancygier 1998: 141: "The protases, however, do not express immediate conditions of appropriateness or felicity, and do not constitute grounds for prediction, but spell out the circumstances which prompt the speaker into performing the speech acts in question".
   → compare to the category of complex dubitative connective as argued by Mauri and Sansò 2014 on 'casomai')

o 5) ***Cusà*** *ti serbi un cavettu, c'è un negozio di pc*
   If you need a cable, there's a computer store nearby

   ▪ *Cusà* + a **meta-discursive conditional** → they express the condition which needs to be satisfied in order to make the event codified by the apodosis acquire pragmatic relevance [...]. Such a condition, rather than being put against the content of the main clause, needs to be put against the performative act which is projected by the former (the main clause). In other words, it refers to the speech act which is carried out by its utterance (Lombardi Vallauri 1999).

   ▪ Evidence from the questionnaire: *if* eventually followed by 'in case'

COMPLEX DUBITATIVE CONDITIONAL CONNECTIVE

Cusà P → Q

> ...Towards the ellipsis of P and the function of ADVERB.

---

o 6) ***Cusà*** *ti chiamu cchiù tardu*
   In case I'll call you later

   ▪ *cusà* co-occurs with Q leaving implicit P, being
   ▪ **P** = a condition highly general depicting possibility/necessity to make Q possible, based on P (see Visconti 2000: 124 on P ellipsis), therefore
   ▪ it behaves as an adverb, given that
   ▪ it is syntactically detachable (Schneider 2007; Kaltenböck et al. 2011)

- expresses a function of conditioned possibility → [most frequent translations *in caso* 'in case' (72) and *casomai* (46). → Conversely, 80 translate *casomai* by employing *cusà*!]:

  EPISTEMIC, COMPLEX FRAGMENT
- Possible explanation? *If* ellipsis

COMPLEX DUBITATIVE ADVERB

<div align="center">

***Cusà* (P) → Q**

</div>

o 7) *Hai **cusà** na cipudda?*
   ***Do you happen** to have an onion?*

➢ …Towards the ellipsis of Q

Cusà as a **DISCOURSE MARKER**:
- co-occurrence with a directive/interrogative speech act
- mitigating/negative politeness effect, based on presupposition of reference to possibility (cf. Molinelli 2014 on **SOCIAL COHESION**) → reaching social agreement [corresponding translations in the questionnaire: *per caso* + conditional mood → attenuation]
- scope level: speech act (outside the *dictum* – Visconti 2012)

DISCOURSE MARKER: politeness *through* implied conditionality

<div align="center">

***Cusà* P → (Q)**

</div>

o 8) *Iddu un ava diri nenti a nuddu; sunnu l'avutri **cusà** ca l'hannu a diri a iddu.*
   He must not say anything to anyone. **If anything**, the others must tell him this.

➢ Towards a complex **ADVERBIAL FUNCTION**: *cusà* as a dubitative corrective adverb (see *casomai* in Italian)

- Visconti (2000: 125) → speakers' intuition that *caso mai* may also express an alternative to what has been previously stated
- Mauri and Sansò (2014: 110-111) → the two crucial aspects of dubitative corrective *caso mai* are (i) that it does not simply refer to, but rather challenges the presupposed statement, depicting it as a hypothesis (i.e. not to take for granted), and (ii) that it further presents the clause in which it occurs as the correct consequence, in case the presupposition holds, as opposed to the preceding one.

  A, *cusà* (P) → Q (P=if there is anyone that must say that, P is contextually-relevant)

- Evidence from the questionnaire: the corrective adverb function proved by the translations.
- 50 speakers employ *casumai* ('in the event'), or *in caso* ('in case') and 17 employ *simmai* ('if anything).

DUBITATIVE CORRECTIVE ADVERB

> ➢ From connective to adverb to plain **PRAGMATIC MARKER**:

- *cusà* may occur in isolation
- activation of some propositions on the level of implicit assumptions.

o 9) A: *Ci vai a aiutari o zio a sbarazzari u malaseno?*
   B*: No, un ci la fazzu*
   A: ***Cusà***…
   A*: Would you please help our uncle to clean the garage up?*
   B: *No, I can't do that*
   A: *lit. 'Who knows…'*→ **'I see. If you helped him, it would hurt you!'**

- it alludes to a complex conditional of the form *cusà*/if P –> Q. More specifically,
- speaker B refuses to perform A's request
- speaker A reacts ironically by uttering *cusà* alluding to a conditional with the following ironic meaning: Oh I see, you cannot do it, *since if* you did it, it would hurt you – which is presupposed.
- by using *cusà* speaker A ironically expresses her reaction by alluding to a conditional conveying rhetorical meaning. Therefore, being placed on the implicit level of communication, the meaning which is conveyed may be claimed to be the result of an **insinuating function**: the conditional meaning is treated in terms of presupposed, shared knowledge - not needed to be verbalized – activated by the previous speaker's utterance (paraphrases, we know what you mean) (Fiorentini and Sansò 2017: 65):

> ➢ Pragmatic marker: which properties?

$$cusà \ (P, Q) \ o \ (P, Q) \ cusà.$$

- **Syntactically detachable** (Cignetti 2002). Nevertheless, its deletion would affect the global interpretation, and would cancel an important interactional component, aimed at making the speaker's intentions and her relation with the interlocutor explicit (Molinelli 2014 on **markers** of **personal stance** and of **social cohesion** → **pragmatic** markers). By making speaker-hearer relation explicit, *cusà* may be considered as **intersubjective marker** (Degand 2014).
- It constitutes a **turn** in its own and
- Performs **interpersonal functions**, not epistemic, strictly speaking; reduced or null propositional content, difficult to grasp lexically → procedural function: making speaker's intention explicit (cf. Brown and Yule 1983: 106).

4.2. A quick glance at the diachrony of *cusà*

> ➢ *cusà/cu sa/ cu sapi* are not attested in the Artesia Corpus (14th-15th centuries) and in Domenico Tempio's *Opiri* (1750-1821) (there is a gap in the timespan between medieval and modern texts.)
> ➢ most ancient occurrences in the poetic work by Giovanni Meli (1740-1815), in which the components parts may still occur separated, i.e., *cu sa*.

❖ In Meli's *La Fata Galanti*, the construction occurs without univerbation
   - in 10 it introduces wh- and if- clauses;

- in 11 it occurs in between two clauses, the former is a directive act, the latter is a declarative clause, which is modalized through the adverb *forse* (maybe).

10. ***Cu' sa, cu' sa,*** *sta sira unni ti scura;*
Cu' sa, cu' sa *s'ánnu a scanciariti pri mulu;*
Cu' sa *si sì jittatu a la malura*   La fata Galanti 1. 4-6
Who knows who knows where you're spending the night
who knows who knows if they're mistaking you with a mule
who knows if you're going into trouble

11. *Mi dissi cca la fata mariola;*
Appizza si tu ài cosi d'appizzari;
Cu' sa *forsi la sorti ti cunsola;*
L'autri cussì ànnu misu a 'nnavanzari.   La fata Galanti, 2.23
The cunning fairy told me
if you have things to waste, you'll waste them,
who knows, maybe luck will confort you

➢ In other words *cusà* occurs as a **univerbated construction**

- in 12 it occurs as protasis introductor (See example 4).

12. *Ora è fattu tuttu niuru,*
Lassu, ciuncu, struppiatu,
N'avi lena, n'avi ciatu;
Cusà *d'iddu chi sarrà?*   Canzuni XXVII
Now he is all black,
exhausted, crippled, battered,
he has no energy, no breath,
Who knows what will happen to him!

- in 13 *cusà* behaves as an adverbial fragment with epistemic function (see Venier 1991 on modal adverbs in Italian, Dik 1997 and, later, Thompson 2002).

13. *Pirchì dunca ssu 'nnuccenti*
Nun vuliti cumpatiri?
Ah chhiù guai e cchiù suspiri
Pruviriti vui ***cusà***!...   Canzuni XXVII
Why, then, do you not want to sympathize with this innocent person?
If anything, you could get more trouble and more sighs...

➔ the most ancient attestation shows an advanced stage with respect to the process of grammaticalization undergone by *cusà*.

➢ Notice that in this phase
- the components appear as separate units, notwithstanding it is impossible to insert any material into them (see the clitic -*lu*, between *cu* e *sa* in *cu*lu*sa* '*who*it*knows') ➔ MERGING;

- in two texts of the same age, the two units are melted (univerbated)
- *cusà* may occur as utterance-final epistemic fragment.

➢ In Meli's works *cusà*
  - Retains its original form (interrogative clause)
    but…
  - It does not express a question.
    rather
  - It confers a dubitative function to the proposition it co-occurs with.

❖ We can suppose:

  ➢ ***Desemanticisation***. Merging correlates with weakening of meaning and increase of generality (cf. Brinton & Traugott 2005: 108).
  - First, the *wh-* element *cu* loses personal referentiality, that is, it no longer refers to an individual (whose identity is being sought in the question "who knows?"): it undergoes ***impersonalisation***.
  - Second, the notion of "knowing" itself loses relevance in the new overall semantics, which shifts towards a more general sense of 'uncertainty' or 'doubt' with respect to a certain SoAs

  ➢ ***Subjectification***. In other words, the process of change gives rise to a form expressing the speaker's attitude towards what is said (Traugott 1995: 32). *Cusà* acquired an *epistemic value*. (see Venier's work – 1991 - for a comprehensive picture on the similar category of epistemic adverbs and parenthetical verbs in Italian).

  ➢ *Locus of change*. The shift from question to other values may have been favoured by the use of the interrogative structure *cu sa* as a rhetorical question amounting to a negative assertion (i.e. the question is impossible to answer), as postulated by De Smet & Van der Velde (2013) for Dutch *wie weet* 'who knows' (and in line with Ramat & Ricca 1998: 193-194 on It. *forse* 'perhaps').

❖ Summing up
  - at the end of this stage, the function of *cusà* are the following:

  ➢ OPAQUE RHETORICAL QUESTION:
  ➢ NEAR-CONNECTIVE
  ➢ ADVERBIAL FRAGMENT WITH EPISTEMIC FUNCTION

❖ Pitrè data (dating back to the end of the 19th century) provide evidence for a picture a little bit less complex than the one attested in Present-day Sicilian, whereby confirming the path outlined in section 4.1:

  - OPAQUE RHETORICAL QUESTION in 14-15
  - NEAR-CONNECTIVE/DUBITATIVE ADVERB in 16
  - INTER-CLAUSAL CONNECTIVE in 17
  - COMPLEX DUBITATIVE CONDITIONAL CONNECTIVE in 18

- **PRAGMATIC MARKER** in 19

14. **Cusà** + wh_____
*Figghiu traditturi, tu la testa **cu' sa'** a cu' l'hai!* (II, p. 57)
Treacherous son! Who knows where your mind is!

15. **Cusà** + if_____
Cu' sa, cu' sa *si fu tradimentu chi mi fici ddu Cavaleri, senza mè mugghieri,mischina, avìricci curpa!... **Cu' sa** s'è viva?... **Cu' sa** s'è morta?* (II, p. 166)
"Who knows?" he was thinking, "Perhaps that knight tricked me and my wife
is completely innocent? Who knows if she's alive or dead?"

16. ____**cusà**+ if ____
*Signuri, mi lu dicissi a mia: **cu' sa** si lu pozzu ajutari...* (II, p. 162)
Sir, just let me know: maybe I can help you

17. ____**cusà** (if)___
*Li so' cumpagni curreru a circari a mastru Juseppi; **cu' sa** era ancora ddà vicinu* (II, 428-9)
The other robbers ran around looking for Master Joseph on the chance that he might still be
nearby.

18. *cusà_____*
Cu' sa *aviti bisognu di mia, arditi 'na pinna di chisti, e allura mi truovu ddà cu vui.* (I, p. 391)
If you have need of me, just burn one of the feathers, and I'll appear right before you."

19. _____ **cusà**
*«Vattinni, brutta vecchia; lassami stari!» — «Ma chi havi?» cci spija la vecchia. — «Vattinni, ca 'un l'hê diri a tia.» — «Ma vassía mi lu dici; **cu' sa**!»* (II, p. 175)
Get out of here, you ugly old hag! Let me be!"
"What's wrong with you?" the old woman said to him.
"Get out of here. I'm not going to tell you." lit. "But Sir, just talk to me, who knows! → Who
knows what might happen *if* your lordship talks to me

6. Summing up:

➢ From matrix clause heading *wh*- and *if*-clauses, *cusà* undergoes a process of shift leading it to
acquire connective, adverbial and discursive functions.

A) The **FUNCTIONS:**

✓ **CONNECTIVE**: *cusà* + non predictive conditionals → eventuality. Such a meaning is mirrored
with the functions we defined as
✓ **ADVERBIAL**: *cusà* + Q => not connective function → eventuality. The dubitative complex
function is absorbed by *cusà*, making reference to a P depicting generic **conditions** of
possibiliy/necessity affecting on Q. Thre reference to conditionality may also be
conversationaly exploited to convey
✓ **PRAGMATIC**:

- o *cusà* (P) Q → eventuality to convey attenuation. Conditionality is presupposed as crucial to make the realization of a face-threatening speech act. Backgrounding: conditionality → foregorunding: attenuation of illocutionary force. The intersubjective potential of the marker is further exploited in cases of
- o insinuating pragmatic functions: *cusà* (P, Q) / (P, Q) *cusà*. → (non verbalized) eventuality (see ex. 9)

B) The SEMANTICS: a case of bare epistemic modalization?

- ✓ As outlined, *cusà* acquired a complex dubitative function, not merely an epistemic modalization:
  Possible paraphrases: *in* (*tal*) *caso* ('in that case/event'), *casomai* ('just in case'), *nell'eventualità che* ('in the eventuality') more frequent than *forse* ('maybe') and *possibilmente* ('possibly').

Eventuality, not mere possibility→ an instance of *constrained* possibility → CONDITION

C) some hints on the SYNTACTIC SHIFT: evidence for a cycle?
Stemming from a matrix clause, *cusà* (re)gains the possibility to head a subordinate clause. However, it shifted toward the function of a connective, in a specific configuration (i.e., introducing the protasis of a conditional).

References:

Corpus ARTESIA = Archivio testuale del siciliano antico, a cura di Mario Pagano, Salvatore Arcidiacono, Ferdinando Raffaele. Università di Catania / Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani. http://artesia.ovi.cnr.it/

Beeching K. and Detges U., (eds), 2014. *Discourse functions at the left and right periphery: Crosslinguistic investigations of language use and language change*. Leiden: Brill.

Brinton L.J. and Traugott E.C., 2005. *Lexicalization and language change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown G. and Yule G., 1984. *Discourse analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Cignetti L., 2002. La [pro] posizione parentetica: criteri di riconoscimento e proprietà retorico-testuali. *Studi di grammatica italiana* 20, 69-125.

Cruschina S., 2010. Aspetti morfologici e sintattici degli avverbi in siciliano. *Quaderni di lavoro dell'ASIt*, *11*, 19-39.

Dancygier B., 1998. *Conditionals and prediction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Smet H. and van de Velde F., 2013. Serving two masters. Form–function friction in syntactic amalgams. *Studies in Language* 37:3, 534–565.

Degand L., 2014. 'So very fast then' Discourse markers at left and right periphery in spoken French. In Beeching, K. and U. Detges, (eds.), *Discourse Functions at the Left and Right Periphery. Crosslinguistic Investigations of Language Use and Language Change*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 151-178.

Dik S., C. 199   Fig.1. **Path of development(s) of *cusà***   *Part 2: Complex and Derived Constructions* (Functional   Mouton de Gruyter.

Evans N., 2007. Insubordination and its uses. In I. Nikolaeva (ed*.), Finiteness: Thoretical and empirical foundations*. 366–431. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fiorentini I. and Sansò A., 2017. Reformulation markers and their functions: Two case studies from Italian. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 120, 54–72.

Fortuna, A. 2002. *Grammatica siciliana: principali regole grammaticali, fonetiche e grafiche (comparate tra i vari dialetti siciliani)*. Caltanissetta: Terzo Millennio.

Heine B., Claudi U. & Hünnemeyer F. 1991. *Grammaticalization: A conceptual framework*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Hopper P. & Traugott E.C., 2003[1993]. *Grammaticalization*, 2 ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Houle, L. and Martínez Gómez R., 2011. A closer look at quizá(s): Grammaticalization and an epistemic adverb. In Luis A. Ortiz-López (ed.), *Selected Proceedings of the 13th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 296–304.

Kaltenböck G., Heine B. and Kuteva T., 2011. On thetical grammar. *Studies in Language*. 35:4. 852–897.

Leone, A., 1995. *Profilo di sintassi siciliana*. Palermo: Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani (Materiali e Ricerche dell'Atlante Linguistico Siciliano 3).

Lombardi Vallauri E., 1999. *Grammatica funzionale delle avverbiali italiane*. Roma: Carocci.

Mauri C. and Sansò A., 2014. Pathways to conditionality: two case studies from Italian, *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, 99, 97 - 121

Meli Giovanni, 1839. *Poesie siciliane*, vol. 4. Palermo: Roberti

Molinelli P., 2014. Orientarsi nel discorso: segnali discorsivi e segnali pragmatici in italiano. In Pirvu E. (ed.), *Discorso e cultura nella lingua e nella letteratura italiana Atti del V Convegno internazionale di italianistica dell'Università di Craiova,* 20-21 settembre 2013. Firenze: Franco Cesati Editore, 195-208.

Piccitto G. and Tropea G., 1977. *Vocabolario Siciliano.* 5 Vol. Catania: Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani, Opera del Vocabolario siciliano.

Pitrè, Giuseppe, 1985. *Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani.* Quattro volumi. Sala Bolognese: Arnaldo Forni Editore (anastatic reprint, 1° ed.1875).

Ramat P. and Ricca D., 1998. Sentence adverbs in the languages of Europe. In J. van der Auwera (ed.), *Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin - New York, 187-285.

Schiffrin D., 1987. *Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schneider S., 2007. *Reduced parenthetical clauses as mitigators: A corpus study of spoken French, Italian and Spanish*. Vol. 27. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tempio D., 1814. *Operi di Domenico Tempio catanisi*. Catania: La stamparia di li Regj Studj.

Thompson S. and Mulac A., 1991. A quantitative perspective on the grammaticalization of epistemic parentheticals in English. In Traugott, E.C. e Heine B. (eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, vol. 2. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 313-330.

Traugott, E.C., 1995. Subjectification in grammaticalisation. In Stein, D. & S. Wright (eds), *Subjectivity and subjectivisation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 31-54.

Venier, F. 1991. *La modalizzazione assertiva. Avverbi modali e verbi parentetici*. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Visconti J., 2000. *I connettivi condizionali complessi in italiano e in inglese*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Visconti J., 2012. Facets of Subjectification, *Language Sciences*, vol. 36/1, 2013, pp. 7-17.

Zipes J. and Russo J. (eds.), 2009. *The Collected Sicilian Folk and Fairy Tales of Giuseppe Pitrè*. London: Routledge.