

# THE ROLE OF PRAGMATICS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEGATION IN NORTHERN ITALIAN DIALECTS

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# Page of Contents

CHAPTER 1 Introduction.....	19
1.1 Introductory Statement .....	20
1.2 Negation in Logic and Natural Language.....	21
1.2.1 Negation in Propositional Logic.....	22
1.2.2 Metalinguistic Negation.....	23
1.2.2.1 <i>Presupposition Denials</i> .....	24
1.2.2.2 <i>Implicature Denials</i> .....	26
1.2.3 Negation and Discourse Pragmatics .....	28
1.3 The Scope of Negation.....	30
1.3.1 Basic Clause Negation .....	30
1.3.2 Constituent Negation .....	31
1.3.3 Quantifier Negation.....	32
1.4 Negation in Diachrony .....	35
1.4.1 Jespersen’s Cycle .....	35
1.4.1.1 <i>Number of Stages</i> .....	36
1.4.1.2 <i>Multiple Cycles</i> .....	39
1.4.1.3 <i>Motivations for Jespersen’s Cycle</i> .....	40
1.4.2 Sources of New Clause Negators in Northern Italian Dialects .....	42
1.4.2.1 <i>Minimizers</i> .....	43
1.4.2.2 <i>Generalizers</i> .....	44
1.4.2.3 <i>Pro-sentence</i> .....	45
1.5 Licensing of Non-canonical Clause Negation in Romance .....	46
1.5.1 Generative Analyses of Negation in Italo-Romance .....	46
1.5.1.1 <i>Position of Post-verbal Negators</i> .....	47
1.5.1.2 <i>Functional Analyses in the Generative Literature</i> .....	50
1.5.2 Usage-based Analyses of Negation in Romance .....	53
1.6 Chapter Summary.....	60

CHAPTER 2 Theoretical Model.....	61
2.1 Introduction to Construction Grammar.....	62
2.1.1 Constructions.....	62
2.1.2 Inheritance .....	66
2.1.3 Language Change as Network Change .....	68
2.2 Why Diachronic Construction Grammar? .....	69
2.2.1 Grammaticalization and Diachronic Construction Grammar.....	70
2.2.2 Construction Grammar and Pragmatics .....	72
2.3 Issues in Diachronic Construction Grammar .....	74
2.3.1 Linguistic knowledge in Historical Linguistics .....	74
2.3.2 Constructionalization and Constructional Change .....	75
2.3.3 Links between Constructions .....	79
2.4 Modelling Negation in Construction Grammar .....	81
2.4.2 Previous Studies on Negation in Construction Grammar .....	82
2.4.3 Is there a Negation Constructional Schema? .....	83
2.5 Chapter Summary.....	86
CHAPTER 3 Methodology.....	87
3.1 Old Northern Italian Dialects: Data Collection and Context.....	88
3.1.1 Data Collection.....	89
3.1.1.1 <i>Corpus A: Lombardy</i> .....	90
3.1.1.2 <i>Corpus B: Veneto</i> .....	95
3.1.2 Context .....	103
3.1.2.1 <i>Toscanizzazione</i> .....	103
3.1.2.2 <i>Koinè</i> .....	104
3.1.2.3 <i>Volgarizzamenti</i> .....	105
3.2 Northern Italian Dialects: 1400-1905.....	107
3.2.1 Data Collection.....	107
3.2.1.1 <i>Corpus C: Lombardy</i> .....	108
3.2.1.2 <i>Corpus D: Veneto</i> .....	115

3.2.2	Context .....	119
3.2.2.1	<i>Dialect as a Characterization Device</i> .....	119
3.2.2.2	<i>Verismo</i> .....	121
3.3	Data Analysis.....	123
3.4	Chapter Summary.....	125
CHAPTER 4 The Constructionalization of <i>mi(n)ga</i> in Northern Italian Dialects .....		127
4.1	Negation in Old Northern Italian Dialects.....	128
4.1.1	Basic Clause Negation.....	128
4.1.1.1	<i>Non-canonical Negation: Miga</i> .....	131
4.1.2	Constituent Negation .....	134
4.1.3	Quantifier Negation.....	137
4.2	Negation in Northern Italian Dialects: 1400–1905 .....	145
4.2.1	Basic Clause Negation.....	146
4.2.2	Constituent Negation .....	149
4.2.3	Quantifier Negation.....	150
4.3	Incipient Jespersen’s Cycle in Northern Italian Dialects.....	150
4.3.1	The <i>mica</i> Construction in Latin .....	153
4.3.2	The QUANTIFIER <i>miga</i> Construction in Old Northern Italian Dialects .....	158
4.3.3	Bridging Contexts .....	164
4.3.4	Context Expansion .....	171
4.4	Chapter Summary.....	179
CHAPTER 5 The Pragmatic Licensing of <i>miga</i> in Old Northern Italian Dialects .....		180
5.1	Inferencing and the Licensing of Non-canonical Negation in Northern Italian Dialects.....	181
5.1.1	Inferable Information.....	182
5.1.2	Inferencing and the Licensing of <i>miga</i> .....	185
5.1.2.1	<i>Explicit Denial or Rejection</i> .....	187
5.1.2.2	<i>Repetition or Paraphrase</i> .....	189
5.1.2.3	<i>Expression or Denial of a Presupposition or Part of the Common Ground</i> .....	191
5.1.2.4	<i>Denial of an Inference</i> .....	194

5.1.2.5	<i>Janus-faced Contexts</i> .....	197
5.1.2.6	<i>Brand-new</i> .....	199
5.2	(Inter)subjectivity and the Licensing of <i>miga</i> .....	201
5.2.1	(Inter)subjectivity and Language Change.....	201
5.2.2	(Inter)subjectivity and Italian <i>mica</i> .....	205
5.2.3	(Inter)subjectivity and <i>miga</i> in Old Northern Italian Dialects.....	208
5.2.3.1	<i>Denial or Refutation of a Salient Viewpoint or Shared Assumption</i> .....	213
5.2.3.2	<i>Reinforcement of a Viewpoint</i> .....	215
5.2.3.3	<i>New Viewpoint</i> .....	217
5.2.3.4	<i>Viewpoint Negotiation not involved</i> .....	219
5.3	Chapter Summary.....	220
CHAPTER 6 The Development of Post-verbal <i>nò</i> into a Clause Negator in Milanese.....		225
6.1	Pro-sentence Negation: Origins and Development.....	228
6.2	A Framework for the Analysis of Pro-sentence Negation.....	233
6.3	Negation in Late Nineteenth-century Milanese.....	241
6.3.1	Pre-verbal Negation.....	242
6.3.2	Post-verbal negation.....	246
6.3.2.1	<i>Interactional nò</i> .....	251
6.3.2.2	<i>Mi soo no</i> .....	256
6.4	The Development of Non-canonical <i>nò</i> .....	264
6.4.1	The Expression of Negation in <i>I Conti d'Agliate</i> .....	264
6.4.2	Non-canonical <i>Nò</i> : 16th c. – early 19th c. ....	270
6.5	Chapter Summary.....	276
CHAPTER 7 Conclusion.....		278
7.1	Summary of the Research Project.....	279
7.2	Key Findings.....	283
7.3	Suggestions for Further Research.....	288
Bibliography.....		290
<i>Primary Sources</i> .....		291

Databases and Linguistic Atlases .....	291
Corpus A.....	291
Corpus B.....	292
Corpus C.....	294
Corpus D.....	296
<i>References</i> .....	300

Final Word Count: 81,478

# List of Tables

Table 1 -loguality and -logicity (based on Schwenter 2000: 260).....	30
Table 2 Zeijlstra (2016: 38).....	38
Table 3 Corpus A.....	91
Table 4 Texts containing <i>miga</i> in Corpus A.....	94
Table 5 Corpus B.....	98
Table 6 Texts containing <i>miga</i> in Corpus B.....	102
Table 7: Volgarizzamenti and translated texts containing <i>miga</i> .....	106
Table 8 Corpus C.....	114
Table 9 Corpus D .....	118
Table 10 Syntactic and semantic features of non-canonical negators.....	124
Table 11 Salient features of the syntagmatic context.....	125
Table 12 Different forms of <i>miga</i> in Corpus B.....	131
Table 13 Distribution of <i>miga</i> in Corpora A and B.....	133
Table 14 Locutions in non-canonical clause negation with <i>miga</i> in Corpora A and B .....	134
Table 15 <i>Niente</i> and <i>negota</i> in Corpus A.....	138
Table 16 <i>Niente</i> and <i>negota</i> in Corpus B.....	139
Table 17 Argument and adverbial uses of <i>niente</i> and <i>negota</i> in Corpora A and B.....	140
Table 18 <i>Niente</i> and <i>negota</i> : contexts in Corpus A.....	143
Table 19 <i>Niente</i> and <i>negota</i> : contexts in Corpus B.....	144
Table 20 Corpora C and D: <i>Mi(n)ga</i> and <i>nò</i> .....	148
Table 21 Bridging Contexts.....	165
Table 22 Bridging Contexts in Corpus A .....	166
Table 23 Bridging Contexts in Corpus B .....	166
Table 24 Bridging Contexts in Corpora C and D.....	169
Table 25 The distribution of <i>miga</i> with different VERBAL constructions in Corpora A and B....	171
Table 26 Collocations of <i>miga</i> with the TRANSITIVE construction in Corpora A and B.....	174
Table 27 Collocations of <i>miga</i> with the INTRANSITIVE construction in Corpora A and B.....	176

Table 28 Verb collocations with <i>miga</i> in Corpora C and D .....	178
Table 29 Prince's (1992) taxonomy of information status.....	182
Table 30 Birner (2006: 25) .....	182
Table 31 Semantic and Pragmatic Relations in Birner (2006: 27).....	184
Table 32 Typology of denials involving <i>miga</i> in Corpora A and B .....	186
Table 33 Typology of denials involving <i>mi(n)ga</i> in Corpora C and D .....	186
Table 34 Types of (Inter)Subjectivity.....	204
Table 35 Viewpoint negotiation and <i>miga</i> .....	212
Table 36 Attestations of different clause negators in late nineteenth-century Milanese texts.....	241
Table 37 Attestations of <i>minga</i> and <i>nò</i> : 1872-1905.....	246
Table 38 Locutions of different clause negators in nineteenth-century Milanese.....	248
Table 39 Verb collocations with <i>nò</i> in nineteenth-century Milanese.....	251
Table 40 Verb collocations with <i>minga</i> in nineteenth-century Milanese .....	252
Table 41 Distribution of negators in <i>I Conti d'Agliate</i> .....	265
Table 42 Clausal <i>nò</i> : 16 <sup>th</sup> c.–1850 .....	271

## *List of Figures*

Figure 1 Representation of a construction based on Croft (2001: 18).....	63
Figure 2 The intend-CAUSE-RECEIVE construction (Goldberg, 2006: 20).....	65
Figure 3 The QUANTIFIER schema (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 17, Figure 1.3).....	66
Figure 4 Constructionalization of the <i>mi(n)ga</i> CLAUSE NEGATOR construction .....	76
Figure 5 Constructionalization and constructional changes (Traugott and Trousdale, 2013: 28) 76	
Figure 6 Croft and Cruse (2004: 321) .....	82
Figure 7 The CLAUSE NEGATION schema.....	84
Figure 8 Paradigmatic links between NEGATOR constructions .....	85
Figure 9 A comparison of negation in the <i>Bible Française</i> and the <i>Vangeli</i> .....	106
Figure 10 A comparison of the first stanza of <i>Gerusalemme Liberata</i> in Italian and Milanese.....	111
Figure 11 The <i>no miga</i> CONSTITUENT NEGATION micro-construction .....	136



Figure 12 The MINIMIZER <i>mica</i> construction .....	155
Figure 13 Polysemy of the COUNT NOUN and MINIMIZER <i>mica</i> constructions in Latin.....	155
Figure 14 The QUANTIFIER <i>miga</i> construction.....	161
Figure 15 The PRONOMINAL <i>miga</i> construction .....	164
Figure 16 The NEGATIVE REINFORCER <i>miga</i> construction .....	173
Figure 17 Intersubjectification of <i>mica/miga</i> .....	223
Figure 18 Multiple inheritance in the non-canonical NEGATOR construction.....	239
Figure 19 The NEGATIVE INTERROGATIVE construction .....	254
Figure 20 The <i>mi soo no</i> micro-construction .....	261
Figure 21 The development of <i>mica</i> : from COUNT NOUN to BASIC CLAUSE NEGATOR .....	287

## *List of Abbreviations*

#	Pragmatic infelicity
*	Ungrammaticality
+>	Implicature
<b>AIS</b>	Atlante linguistico ed etnografico dell'Italia e della Svizzera meridionale ( <i>Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz</i> )
<b>AFF-assertion</b>	Affirmative assertion
<b>ADV</b>	<i>Archivio Digitale Veneto</i>
<b>B.Pt.</b>	Brazilian Portuguese
<b>CxG</b>	Construction Grammar
<b>D-new</b>	Discourse-new
<b>D-old</b>	Discourse-old
<b>DCxG</b>	Diachronic Construction Grammar
<b>DN</b>	Double negation
<b>Emil.</b>	Emiliano
<b>Eng.</b>	English
<b>Fr.</b>	French
<b>H-new</b>	Hearer-new
<b>H-old</b>	Hearer-old
<b>It.</b>	Italian
<b>Lat.</b>	Latin
<b>Lomb.</b>	Lombard
<b>Mil.</b>	Milanese
<b>NC</b>	Negative concord
<b>NCI</b>	Negative concord item
<b>NEG-assertion</b>	Negative assertion
<b>NPI</b>	Negative polarity item
<b>NID</b>	Northern Italian Dialect
<b>NRI</b>	Northern Regional Italian
<b>OVI</b>	<i>Opera del Vocabolario Italiano</i>
<b>Pied.</b>	Piedmontese

<b>Pt.</b>	Portuguese
<b>Sp.</b>	Spanish
<b>TLIO</b>	<i>Tesoro della Lingua Italiana delle Origini</i>
<b>Ven.</b>	Venetian

# *List of Glosses*

Proper names are abbreviated in the glosses.

ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
AUX	Auxiliary
CNJ	Conjunction
COMP	Complementizer
COND	Conditional
COP	Copular
DAT	Dative
DEM	Demonstrative
EXCL	Exclamative
EXPL	Expletive
F	Feminine
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive
IMP	Imperative
IMPERS	Impersonal pronoun
IMPF	Imperfective
IND	Indicative
INF	Infinitive
INTER	Interrogative
LOC	Locative
M	Masculine
MICA	<i>mica*</i>
MIGA	<i>miga**</i>
MOD	Modal
NE	<i>né-/ni-</i>
NEG	Negator
NOM	Nominative

<b>PASS</b>	Passive
<b>PERS.PRON</b>	Personal pronoun
<b>PF</b>	Existential pro-form
<b>PL</b>	Plural
<b>POSS</b>	Possessive
<b>PPRT</b>	Past participle
<b>PRF</b>	Perfective
<b>PRS</b>	Present tense
<b>PRT</b>	Partitive
<b>PST</b>	Past tense
<b>PUNTO</b>	<i>punto</i>
<b>REFL</b>	Reflexive
<b>REL</b>	Relativizer
<b>SCL</b>	Subject clitic
<b>SG</b>	Singular
<b>SJV</b>	Subjunctive
<b>VOC</b>	Vocative

\*Latin uses of *mica* where it is a minimizer are glossed as *mica*.

\*\*Where *miga* is not used as the basic clause negator, it is glossed as *miga*, irrespective of form.

## *Abstract*

This thesis studies the development of clause negation in varieties of Northern Italian Dialects (NIDs). NIDs are related varieties spoken in northern regions of Italy and in some regions of bordering countries, notably Switzerland. Although traditionally referred to as dialects, owing to their sociolinguistic relation to standard Italian, NIDS are not dialects of Italian, but rather minority languages derived from Latin (cf. *primary dialects* in Coseriu, 1980). NIDs display a large amount of variation in their morpho-syntax, and this is also true in the expression of negation. In many varieties, the original negator derived from Lat. *non* has been replaced by a new lexical item, which negates the clause in a post-verbal position, in a cyclical development described by Jespersen (1917). Two such items are *mi(n)ga* and *nò*. Assuming the hypothesis that changes to the expression of negation are initiated by the role of these new items in the pragmatic “strengthening” of clause negation, this thesis investigates the role of pragmatics in the licensing and development of *mi(n)ga* and *nò*, using data from historical texts that date from the thirteenth century to the turn of the twentieth century. Applying a qualitative analysis to the data, the thesis examines the role of these items in indexing the intersubjective relations between discourse participants, both through the management of the common ground, and in interlocutor interaction.

## *Declaration*

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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*For Tom.*

# CHAPTER 1

## Introduction

---

## 1.1 Introductory Statement

This thesis investigates the development of clause negation in varieties spoken in northern regions of Italy and southern Switzerland, traditionally known as Northern Italian Dialects (NIDs). As the research is diachronic, using data that date from the earliest attestations in the thirteenth century to the turn of the twentieth century, the thesis focuses on varieties of the Lombardy and Veneto regions, as they are historically the best attested. Present-day NIDs have a great deal of variation in the expression of clause negation. In many varieties, the original negator that continued the Latin negator *non* has been replaced by a new lexical item in a development that is often referred to as Jespersen's Cycle (Jespersen, 1917). In addition, present-day and historical varieties of NIDs attest clause negation structures whose licensing may be attributed to discourse pragmatics. Another reason for selecting the varieties of the Lombardy and Veneto regions is that, generalizing to a certain degree, Lombard varieties have replaced *non* with a new lexical item expressing clause negation, while Venetan varieties, especially those in the eastern part of the region surrounding Venice, have typically retained *non*. Therefore, these two regions allow for a comparative analysis of changes to the expression of clause negation. This thesis seeks to determine the role of pragmatics in the development of two items that have developed into clause negators in NIDs: *mi(n)ga* (< Lat. *mica* 'crumb') and *nò* (< Lat. *non* 'not'). Several studies have shown that similar items in other languages are initially used as a pragmatic mechanism that reinforces the semantic negation expressed by the basic clause negator, before taking over the function of clause negation (Schwegler, 1991, 2018; Molinelli, 1988; Schwegler, 1988; Detges and Waltereit, 2002; Schwenter, 2002, 2005, 2006; Eckardt, 2003; Visconti, 2009; Hansen, 2009a, 2009b; Hansen and Visconti, 2009, 2012; Larrivé, 2010; Hansen and Molinelli, 2020).

The research carried out for this thesis takes Hansen and Visconti's historical research on the pragmatics of reinforcing negators in French (*pas, mie, point*) and Italian (*mica*) as its starting point. In their research, these authors show that pragmatic reinforcers of negation in the early stages of these languages are licensed in denials of salient or inferable information in the discourse. This thesis thus seeks to determine whether similar licensing conditions are placed on *mi(n)ga*, cognate of Fr. *mie* and It. *mica*. In addition, following Visconti's (2009) claim that It. *mica* has developed a greater role in speaker interaction, this thesis also examines the role of intersubjectivity (Traugott and Dasher, 2002; Verhagen, 2005; Traugott, 2010a; Nuyts, 2014) in the licensing of both *mi(n)ga* and *nò*. The data have therefore been analysed qualitatively in order to analyse the intersubjective uses of these pragmatic markers. The data were categorized into contexts according

to the number of discourse participants and the number of points of view in the discourse, thus also making a contribution to our understanding of how we can better carry out historical pragmatics research. It is shown that not only is *mi(n)ga* licensed in denials of salient and inferable information, but that it also indexes intersubjectivity through involvement in denials that contribute to managing the common ground between discourse participants. Moreover, uses of *nò* are shown to be intersubjective, with a role in interlocutor interaction.

In order to carry out empirical research on the historical pragmatics of markers in the development of clause negation, the thesis adopts a usage-based stance. As a result, the framework of Diachronic Construction Grammar (DCxG), most iterations of which are usage-based, is used. Negation has not been explored in any detail in Construction Grammar, either synchronically or diachronically, offering this thesis the opportunity to explore how the changes to the expression of clause negation may be modelled in this framework. The framework is shown to be particularly useful in accounting for distributional differences between multiple clause negation constructions that co-exist in a single variety, which is observed particularly in the analysis of late nineteenth-century Milanese.

The thesis is structured as follows. The remainder of Chapter 1 introduces relevant concepts, and reviews the key literature for the thesis. Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical framework that is adopted. Chapter 3 presents the methodology used in the thesis, providing information about the data collection and analysis methods that were used. Chapter 4 is the first empirical chapter, and provides an overview of the changing expression of negation as attested in texts from Lombardy and Veneto. Chapter 4 also provides an account of the development of *mi(n)ga* in the framework of DCxG. Chapter 5 then takes a closer look at the role of pragmatics in the licensing of *mi(n)ga*, particularly in the early texts from the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries. Chapter 6 provides an account for the development of *nò* in Milanese, examining its interactional properties in particular. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the thesis and offers suggestions for further research.

## 1.2 Negation in Logic and Natural Language

This section discusses different approaches to understanding negation, beginning with negation in propositional logic (§1.2.1). On the basis that the expression of negation in natural language displays more variation and complexity than in logic, §1.2.2 discusses so-called metalinguistic

denials, specifically presupposition and implicature denials, defining the use of these terms. §1.2.3 then discusses negation from the view of discourse pragmatics. The discussion of negation in this section forms the basis of how negation is understood in this thesis, which is as a speech act that guides discourse participants' interpretation of the common ground in communicative contexts (i.e., interaction).

### 1.2.1 Negation in Propositional Logic

There is a long tradition dating back to Aristotle of viewing negation as a truth-conditional operator, denoted by the symbol  $\neg$ , in propositional logic, such that, in combination with a proposition  $p$ ,  $\neg p$  is true if and only if  $p$  is false. Typologically, all known human languages have some means of rendering a proposition  $p$  as  $\neg p$ , making negation one of the few true linguistic universals. Implicit in this statement is that negation is the linguistically marked pole of a binary affirmative–negative opposition. Not only do negative sentences contain more semantic material than affirmative ones, with  $p$  a more conceptually basic expression than  $\neg p$ , negation also receives overt morpho-syntactic and phonological expression (Greenberg, 1966; Matthiessen, 2004: 625-9). In English, for example, negation is realised by the adverb *not*, which is supported by the auxiliary verb *do*:

- (1) a) I listen to Beethoven. (*listen*<*I,Beethoven*>)  
b) I *do not* listen to Beethoven. ( $\neg$ *listen*<*I,Beethoven*>)

There is little evidence that any language has overt marking for the affirmative and null-marking for the negative. Moreover, there is evidence from psycholinguistics that negative statements are more difficult to process than affirmative ones (Just and Carpenter, 1971: 248-9). There is therefore an asymmetry between affirmation and negation in natural language that does not exist in logic, as noted first by Plato in *The Sophist*, which is also evidenced by the fact that negative statements are usually less informative than affirmative ones (e.g., *The name of my dog is not Bert* vs. *The name of my dog is Clover*) (cf. Horn, 1989: Chapter 3). Horn (1989: xiii) notes:

*Despite the simplicity of the one-place connective of propositional logic ( $\neg p$  is true if and only if  $p$  is not true) and of the laws of inference in which it participates (e.g. the Law of Double Negation: from  $\neg\neg p$  infer  $p$ , and vice versa), the form and function of negative statements in ordinary language are far from simple and transparent’.*

Horn’s statement contrasts the relative simplicity of negation in logic with its expression and use in natural languages. One example of this is negative concord (NC) (discussed in §1.3.3 in more detail), in which more than one negative lexical item in a sentence amount to only a single propositional negation. For example, in the Spanish sentence *No vi a nadie* ‘I didn’t see anybody’, both *no* ‘not’ and *nadie* ‘nobody’ are negative, and may negate a sentence (e.g., *No vi a Juan* ‘I didn’t see Juan; *Nadie vio a Juan* ‘Nobody saw Juan’). According to propositional logic, the co-occurrence of two negative lexical items in a proposition should lead to a double negation (DN) reading, such that the sentence has a positive truth-value. In reality, only a single semantic negation is expressed, and the truth-value of the sentence is negative.

Moreover, it has been shown that negation may target non-propositional material. Horn (1985, 1989, 1992) makes a binary distinction between ‘metalinguistic’ and ‘descriptive’ negation. Descriptive negation negates the propositional content of an utterance, targeting its truth-values, and is thus equivalent to the negative operator in propositional logic. Metalinguistic negation, on the other hand, is ‘a device for objecting to a previous utterance on any ground whatever, including the conventional and conversational implicata it potentially induces, its morphology, its style or register, or its phonetic realization’ (Horn 1989: 363). The following section examines how negation is involved in denials of non-propositional information.

### 1.2.2 Metalinguistic Negation

Geurts (1998: 275) proposes a four-way distinction between denial types:

- (i) Proposition
- (ii) Presupposition
- (iii) (Scalar) Implicature
- (iv) Form<sup>1</sup>

Proposition denials are equivalent to Horn’s descriptive negation, and, as in (1), target the truth-value of the propositional content. The remaining three denial types ((ii)-(iv)) are types of metalinguistic negation.

Presuppositions have been shown to affect truth-values, but also behave differently to propositions under the scope of negation. A significant portion of work in theoretical semantics and pragmatics has investigated presupposition, and while it is impossible to give a thorough account of the literature on presupposition here, it is nevertheless an important concept in the study of negation, and one to which a number of scholars working on negation in Romance have appealed. Therefore, it deserves some attention here (§1.2.2.1). In addition, since reference is made to implicatures throughout the thesis, they are also defined in §1.2.2.2.

#### 1.2.2.1 Presupposition Denials

It is generally agreed that presuppositions are a separate kind of meaning from propositions, although presuppositions have been approached from different perspectives in linguistics. Typically, presuppositions and propositions are distinguished on the basis of assertion and implication, where propositions are what is asserted, and presuppositions are presented by the speaker as part of the common ground:

*‘(An utterance of) a sentence S presupposes a proposition p if (the utterance of) S implies p and further implies that p is somehow already part of the background against which S is considered’ (Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet, 2000: 349).*

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<sup>1</sup> Form denials, which target some part of the form of a preceding utterance (e.g., *It’s IRresponsible, not UNresponsible*) are not considered here, as they are not relevant for this thesis.



One approach attempts to account for presuppositions in truth-conditional terms, since presupposition failure leads to an utterance having an indeterminable truth-value. Under this approach, presuppositions are linked to specific triggers. For example, Russell's (1905) example, *The King of France is bald*, is semantically ill-formed because the existential presupposition attached to the definite article *the* (i.e., that the King of France exists) fails, as there is no King of France. The presuppositions of an utterance must not fail in order for the utterance to have a truth-value, therefore. Moreover, within this semantics-driven approach, it has been shown that presuppositions “survive” the scope of the negative operator. For example, the sentence *I listened to Beethoven again* presupposes that *I had listened to Beethoven before*. In the corresponding negative sentence, *I did not listen to Beethoven again*, the presupposition that *I had listened to Beethoven before* survives. Presuppositions are frequently accommodated in natural language (Lewis, 1979), since on hearing an utterance like *I did not listen to Beethoven again*, it would readily be accepted that the speaker had listened to Beethoven before, without prior knowledge of whether the speaker had done so or not.

Presupposition denials must therefore directly target the presuppositions of an utterance. In (2), B's response does not deny the propositional content of A's statement (i.e., that A listened to Beethoven on this occasion), but rather denies the truth-value of the presupposition that *A had listened to Beethoven before*.

- (2) A: *I listened to Beethoven again.*  
B: *You have not listened to Beethoven before.*

Notably, the presupposition in (2) is attached to the word *again*, suggesting that the presupposition is part of *again*'s lexical semantics. Researchers working in semantics have therefore sought a semantic solution to the behaviour of presuppositions, including their ability to survive, not only negation, but also conditional antecedents and interrogatives (Karttunen, 1973; Fodor, 1979; Heim, 1983; Burton-Roberts, 1989; Fintel, 2004).

In a bid to account for presuppositional phenomena with a theory that does not rely on truth-values, Stalnaker (1974) argues for a pragmatic analysis of presuppositions, in which presuppositions are *background beliefs* that are taken for granted as part of the *common ground* between interlocutors. Under this analysis, presuppositions are not tied to specific words or constructions, but rather, they “belong” to speakers:

*'A proposition P is a pragmatic presupposition of a speaker in a given context just in case the speaker assumes or believes that P, assumes or believes that his addressee assumes or believes that P, and assumes or believes that his addressee recognizes that he is making these assumptions, or has these beliefs' (Stalnaker, 1974: 473).*

The set of shared propositions that the speaker assumes or believes to be shared between the interlocutors form the *common ground* of the discourse. In a later paper, Stalnaker (1978: 321) revises his original position that an interlocutor must assume or believe a proposition forms the common ground for it to be a presupposition, as was stated to be the case in his earlier work, thus conceding that under the pragmatic view of presupposition, hearers must still accommodate presuppositions.

Givón (2018[1979]: 94) defines presuppositions from the perspective of logic-based propositional modalities as *necessary truths* from the speaker's subjective point of view. Under this view, negative assertions (NEG-assertions) involved in presupposition denial must target information that is indexed as assumed in the common ground. In (3), for example, A's statement presupposes that A believes it is allowable to smoke inside the restaurant. B acknowledges this presupposition and corrects A's understanding of the common ground.

- (3) A: *I'm going to have a cigarette.*  
B: *You can't smoke inside the restaurant.*

The pragmatic view of presupposition forefronts the importance of context in negation, something that is returned to in §1.2.3.

#### 1.2.2.2 Implicature Denials

*Conversational implicatures* arise from the assumption that in discourse speakers adhere to the *Cooperative Principle* and a set of four maxims: quantity, quality, relation, and manner (Grice, 1975).

*Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged' (The Cooperative Principle, Grice, 1975: 45).*

In (4), B implicates that they will not be going for a drink after work with colleagues. The implicature arises from the assumption that B's response is conversationally cooperative, and therefore relevant to the discourse.

- (4) A: *Are you coming for a drink after work?*  
B: *I have to pick up my daughter from football.*  
+> I am not coming for a drink after work.

This type of conversational implicature is a *particularized* conversational implicature, which depends on the context to be understood. For example, the proposition *I have to pick up my daughter from football* would not normally implicate *I am not coming for a drink after work*, but it does so in the context in which it is uttered.

*Generalized* conversational implicatures, on the other hand, are linked to particular words or propositions. For example, the verb *think* conversationally implicates that its subject does not know for certain that what is expressed in its complement clause is true (5).

- (5) *I think there are 10 biscuits left in the tin.*  
+> *I do not know how many biscuits are in the tin.*

Scalar implicatures are a type of generalized implicature. Following Geurts (1998), the interpretation of scalar words is derived from their lexical meaning and their scalar implicature. For example, the lexical meaning of *large* denotes a lower bound, but not an upper bound (i.e., *large or more than large*), the upper bound being inferred by the conversational implicature that the speaker is as informative as possible (i.e., if the building is more than large, the speaker will say so). Under negation, the lower bound of *large* is negated, thus reversing the scalar entailments, so that if something is *not large*, it cannot be *more than large*, rather, it must be *less than large*. (6) is a descriptive denial demonstrating this. (7), on the other hand, is a metalinguistic, scalar implicature denial, as

*not large* does not imply *huge*. Scalar implicature denials are used as rhetorical devices. For example, (7) may express surprise at the building's size.

(6) *That building isn't large, it's small.*

(7) *That building isn't large, it's huge.*

This is relevant, as minimizers, which are the principal source for new clause negators in Romance, and are frequently used as reinforcers of clause negation, are scalar items that denote a minimal quantity (e.g., *a drop, one bit, an iota*) (to be discussed in more detail in §1.4.2.1).

The following section examines negation from the perspective of discourse pragmatics, and how this relates to some views of *intersubjectivity*.

### 1.2.3 Negation and Discourse Pragmatics

Givón (2018) argues in favour of a view of negation that takes into account the communicative context in which a negative proposition, or NEG-assertion, is uttered. Givón (2018: 118) demonstrates that NEG-assertions are made on the assumption that the corresponding affirmative (AFF-assertion) is part of the 'presupposed shared background' (Givón, 2018: 101; c.f. Ducrot, 1972). That negation is sensitive to the communicative context explains the infelicity of exchanges like (8).

(8) A: – What's new?

B: – My wife **isn't** pregnant.

A: – Gee, was she **supposed to be**?

(Givón, 2018: 101. Emphasis added.)

A's response to B's NEG-assertion indicates that the relevant background – that B's wife was or intended to be pregnant – was not indeed shared by both interlocutors. As such, Givón (2018: 102-3) contends that NEG-assertions are a distinct speech act, since the communicative goals

of the speaker are distinct from those of AFF-assertions. Whereas AFF-assertions communicate new information, NEG-assertions aim to correct an incorrect belief (Givón, 2018: 103). This was observed in relation to (2), where it was shown that B's response to A's statement that A is going to smoke a cigarette corrects A's misinterpretation of the common ground.

Verhagen (2005: 29-32) makes a similar argument about negation, albeit in a cognitively driven, rather than communication-driven, analysis. Verhagen (2005: 29-32) maintains that, in communication, negation 'opens' two mental spaces (Fauconnier, 1994): one that is the negative state of affairs, and the other the corresponding affirmative state of affairs. For example, if the speaker utters the sentence, *I am not going out tonight, it would be too tiring*, the utterance of the negative proposition *I am not going out tonight* opens two cognitive representations of mental spaces: one in which the speaker does go out (*affirmative*), and one in which they do not (*negative*). That the affirmative mental space is 'opened' by the NEG-assertion is attested by the anaphoric pronoun *it* in the second clause, which refers to the state of affairs in the affirmative mental space. Verhagen (2005: 29) claims that, by uttering a negative proposition, the speaker instructs the addressee to adopt the mental space that is the negative state of affairs and to reject the affirmative mental space. Negative utterances therefore guide the addressee's interpretation of the common ground.

It is for this reason that Traugott (2010b: 15) cites negation as a context that always indexes some degree of *dialogicity*. Dialogicity and *monologicity* are terms that refer to the number of viewpoints that are represented in a given context. Dialogic contexts are those in which more than one viewpoint is represented, while *monologic* contexts contain a single viewpoint. This is distinguished from *mono-/dialoguality*, which refer to the number of voices (Roulet, 1984: 41-2; Roulet *et al.*, 1991; Schwenter, 2000). Monologal contexts are those in which there is only a single voice, while dialogal contexts are those in which there are two voices. Narration is usually monologal because it only involves one voice. The majority of speech interactions, on the other hand, include (at least) two voices, usually referred to as the speaker and addressee. In written language, dialogal contexts are found in theatrical works, where the characters each have a voice. Dialogal contexts are normally dialogic, as each voice carries its own subjective viewpoint, although in instances of co-construction, more than one voice may build a monologic discourse. Monologic contexts, however, are rare, since most, if not all, language use involves interaction in which the speaker/writer considers the addressee. This may also be true, for instance, in monologal written narration, such as the narration of poetry, or in the opening monologue of a play, where, although there is only a single voice, the narrator may recognize the presence of

additional viewpoints and incorporate them into their monological discourse (Traugott, 2008a: 144). The combinations of number of speakers and viewpoints are summarized in Table 1.

Number of Speakers	Number of Viewpoints	
<b>One: Monological</b>	One: Monological/Monologic	Two: Monological/Dialogic
<b>Two: Dialogual</b>	One: Dialogual/Monologic	Two: Dialogual/Dialogic

Table 1 -loguality and -logicity (based on Schwenter 2000: 260)

Studies in historical pragmatics have shown that dialogual and dialogic contexts are key in language change. Such contexts may be ‘language-internal’ dialogic contexts (e.g., Roulet, 1984; Traugott, 2008a, 2010b), or they may be involved in speaker interaction, such as in turn-taking devices (e.g., Detges and Waltereit, 2003; Detges, 2006), in the tradition of Ford (Ford, 1994, 2001). Here, both are explored owing to differences between *mi(n)ga* and *nò*. In this thesis’s investigation of the pragmatics of non-canonical negation, it is assumed that negation plays a significant role in speaker interaction by managing the common ground and the presuppositions that are contained therein.

### 1.3 The Scope of Negation

Negation may scope either over the whole clause, or just over a constituent within a clause. This section first examines the expression of basic clause negation (§1.3.1), followed by constituent negation (§1.3.2), and defines how the terms are used in this thesis. §1.3.3 examines clause negation expressed by quantifiers.

#### 1.3.1 Basic Clause Negation

The sentence in (1) above is an example of *basic clause negation* in English. In this thesis, basic clause negation refers to what in other studies is referred to as “standard” clause negation, and is defined as the most frequent, basic means of negating declarative main clauses in a given language (cf. Payne, 1985; Miestamo, 2003, 2005). There are other forms of clause negation, including: quantifier

negation (9), negative coordinating and subordinating conjunctions (10)-(11), negative derivational affixes (12), lexical negation (13), expletive negation (14), and pragmatically marked forms of clause negation, which carry pragmatic inferences in addition to the semantic negation (15).

- (9) *Nobody* dreamt.
- (10) *Neither* John *nor* Mary went to China.
- (11) He listened *without* understanding.
- (12) It is urgent ~ *un*urgent.
- (13) The song is good ~ *bad*.
- (14) I prevented him from *not* hurting himself.
- (15) *Like hell* he passed his driving test.

This thesis focuses on the use of pragmatically marked clause negation, which is referred to as *non-canonical* throughout the thesis.

### 1.3.2 Constituent Negation

A distinction is made between clause negation and *constituent negation*. While in clause negation the whole proposition is negated, it is possible to negate only part of a clause, so that the overall polarity of the sentence remains positive (Klima, 1964). This is constituent negation (16)-(17).

- (16) The tomatoes, *not the leeks*, were rotten.
- (17) We saw a *not terrible* film.

While the propositions in (16) and (17) have positive polarity (i.e., *The tomatoes were rotten* and *We saw a film*), a part of the sentence is negated. In (16), the negator *not* scopes only over the constituent *the leeks*, while in (17) it does so over the modifier *terrible*. Again, while this thesis focuses on basic clause negation, where relevant I discuss examples of non-canonical constituent negation that is pragmatically marked. I also distinguish between constituent negation and *elliptical negation*, used to describe instances of verbal ellipsis (18), as well as cases of sentence ellipsis where the negator is used as a polarity response particle, also called *holophrastic negation* (19). Note that in the

case of holophrastic negation, a different negator, *no*, is used. This type of negator is referred to as the *pro-sentence negator* in Chapter 6.

- (18) A: Who fed the chickens?  
B: *Not* me [=I did not feed the chickens].
- (19) A: Did you feed the chickens?  
B: *No* [=I did not feed the chickens].

### 1.3.3 Quantifier Negation

Quantifier negation is clause negation expressed by a negative indefinite that may be either pronominal (20) or adverbial (21).

- (20) *No one* laughed.
- (21) The dog *never* barked.

Systems of clause negation involving quantifiers may be broadly divided into two categories: *double negation* (DN) and *negative concord* (NC). In DN systems, each negative marker, including the basic clause negator and negative quantifiers, expresses a semantic negation, such that in sentences with more than one negative marker, the negations combine logically. For example, in present-day Standard English, which is a DN language, a negative quantifier combined with either another negative quantifier (22) or the basic clause negator (23) generates a positive polarity proposition.

- (22) *No one* saw *nothing* [=Someone saw something].
- (23) The policeman did *not* see *nobody* [=The policeman saw somebody].



In NC systems, on the other hand, clause negation is normally semantically expressed only once, irrespective of the number of negative markers. A further distinction can be made among NC languages, which may be either *strict* or *non-strict* (Giannakidou, 2020: 462-7). In *strict* NC languages, the presence of the basic clause negator is always required (24), whereas in *non-strict* NC languages, it is not (25).

- (24) *Senki \*(nem) láttot semmit.* [Hungarian]  
 nobody NEG see.PST.PRF.IND.3SG nothing  
 ‘Nobody saw anything.’

(adapted from Giannakidou, 2020: 462)

- (25) *Nessuno ha visto niente* [Italian]  
 nobody AUX.PRS.IND.3SG see.PPRT nothing  
 ‘Nobody saw anything.’

Examples like (25), in which there are multiple quantifiers and no basic clause negator, are sometimes referred to as *negative spread* (den Besten, 1986), but are included here as examples of NC. In non-strict NC languages like Italian, the insertion of the basic clause negator results in a DN interpretation (26). However, in some languages, such as some varieties of Catalan, the presence of the basic clause negator in NC is optional, and does not cause a DN interpretation (27).

- (26) *Nessuno non ha visto nessuno* [Italian]  
 nobody NEG AUX.PRS.IND.3SG see.PPRT nothing  
 ‘Nobody didn’t see anyone [=Somebody saw someone].’

- (27) *Ningú (no) va veure ningú* [Catalan]  
 nobody NEG AUX.PRS.IND.3SG see.INF nobody  
 ‘Nobody saw anyone.’

Although in non-strict NC languages a quantifier may express clause negation in a pre-verbal position (28), in a post-verbal position, the basic clause negator is required (29).

- (28) *Nessuno* ha visto Giulio [Italian]  
 nobody AUX.PRS.IND.3SG see.PPRT G.  
 ‘Nobody saw Giulio.’
- (29) \*(*Non*) ha visto *nessuno* [Italian]  
 NEG AUX.PRS.IND.3SG see.PPRT nobody  
 ‘S/he did not see anyone.’

However, in elliptical question responses, quantifiers such as *nessuno* ‘nobody’ have a negative interpretation (30).

- (30) A: Chi hai visto? [Italian]  
 INTER AUX.PRS.IND.2SG see.PPRT  
 ‘A: Who did you see?’
- B: *Nessuno*.  
 nobody  
 ‘B: Nobody [=I saw nobody].’

Accounting for the distribution of quantifiers used in non-strict NC has been the subject of much research. Some researchers (e.g., Giannakidou, 2000, 2006 (for strict NC languages); Ladusaw 1992) analyse them as *negative polarity items* (NPIs). NPIs are not semantically negative, but are licensed in negative polarity contexts, most obviously in clause negation, and are infelicitous in positive polarity contexts.

- (31) a. Non li conosco *affatto*  
 NEG PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3PL know.PRS.IND.1SG at all  
 ‘I don’t know them at all.’
- b. #Li conosco *affatto*  
 PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3PL know.PRS.IND.1SG at all  
 #‘I know them at all.’

NPIs are also licensed in ‘affective’ contexts (Klima, 1964), such as interrogatives, comparatives, conditional antecedents, relative clauses headed by a universal quantifier, and

negation present in a syntactically higher clause. However, the fact that quantifiers may be licensed in elliptical answers and express clause negation in a pre-verbal position in languages like Italian distinguishes them from NPIs. Nor are they negative quantifiers, since they would then produce a DN interpretation in examples like (25). Here, quantifiers in non-strict NC languages are referred to as *negative concord items* (NCIs), and are considered a distinct group of items that have both NPI and negative quantifier uses depending on the context of their use (cf. *n-words* in Laka, 1990).

In many languages, including Romance, NCIs and negative quantifiers often become basic clause negators (e.g., Pied. *nen* < Lat. *ne gente* ‘no person’), which is returned to in §1.4.2.2.

## 1.4 Negation in Diachrony

Studies on the history of negation date back to at least the early twentieth century (Gardiner, 1904; Meillet, 1912; Jespersen, 1917). The most famous of these is certainly Jespersen’s work on the history of negation in European languages, since the pattern of change Jespersen describes was named *Jespersen’s Cycle* by Dahl (1979). Following Jespersen, there has been a considerable effort by linguists to understand better the mechanisms involved in the development of clause negation. §1.4.1 presents Jespersen’s Cycle, and explores the main issues that have emerged from the body of diachronic work on negation. §1.4.2 also examines negation in the history of NIDs, and the main sources for new clause negators in these languages.

### 1.4.1 Jespersen’s Cycle

Jespersen’s oft-cited description of the pattern commonly found in the history of negation in many languages is repeated here:

*‘The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation; the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word’ (Jespersen 1917: 4).*

Jespersen describes a pattern of change witnessed in a number of languages, not least in several Romance languages, whereby a new lexical item comes to express basic clause negation, replacing an earlier negator in this function. For example, in French, *ne* ('the original negative adverb') begins to co-occur with *pas* ('some additional word'). Then, owing to the frequent collocation of the additional word with the basic clause negator, the additional word is reanalysed as the marker of basic clause negation ('felt as the negative proper'). In present-day French, for example, *pas* has become the basic clause negator, with which *ne* optionally collocates as an agreement marker (Rowlett, 1998: 40-2). The pattern is referred to as a cycle as, in theory, the new negator may then undergo the same pattern of change in a pattern of cyclical renewal. There is an indication of this happening in Canadian French, where *ne* is less frequently used than in Hexagonal French, and *pas* may be 'strengthened' by *pantoute* (< *pas* + *du* + *tout* 'not at all').

The following sections address some of the main issues that have emerged in modern scholarship on Jespersen's Cycle.

#### 1.4.1.1 Number of Stages

The stages of Jespersen's Cycle are often described with reference to the position of the negators respective to the main verb of the clause. The pattern described by Jespersen has three stages:

$$(32) \quad \text{NEG}_1 (\text{V}) \longrightarrow \text{NEG}_1 (\text{V}) \text{NEG}_2 \longrightarrow (\text{V}) \text{NEG}_3$$

In the first stage, basic clause negation is expressed by a single marker in a pre-verbal position (NEG<sub>1</sub>). In Romance, this marker is that derived from Lat. *non*. The second stage is characterized by a bi-partite structure, in which two markers of negation, the original NEG<sub>1</sub> and a new item, NEG<sub>2</sub>, which is in a post-verbal position, express basic clause negation. In the final stage, only the post-verbal marker of negation remains (NEG<sub>3</sub>). However, a number of authors have taken issue with the three-stage model of Jespersen's Cycle, on the basis that it suggests discrete stages, when in reality a single variety often attests multiple stages of Jespersen's Cycle. For example, there are contexts in more formal registers of present-day French in which *ne* may express clause negation without *pas*, such as with the verbs *pouvoir*, *oser*, *cesser*, and *savoir* followed by an infinitival clause (cf. Hansen, 2016: 315-6 for an exhaustive list).

Moreover, Jespersen's three stages only represent the stages of basic clause negation, whereas basic and non-canonical negation structures may co-exist. For example, basic clause negation in Italian is expressed by a NEG<sub>1</sub> (i.e., *non* (V)), which co-exists with a non-canonical bi-partite structure with the NEG<sub>2</sub> *mica* (i.e., *non* (V) *mica*). Moreover, in some regional varieties, a NEG<sub>3</sub> *mica* (i.e., (V) *mica*) is attested, and in Regional Northern Italian a NEG<sub>1</sub> *mica* (i.e., *mica* (V)) is possible (Ballarè, 2015). Researchers have therefore suggested various models with four (e.g., Dahl, 1979; Schwegler, 1990; Schwenter, 2006; van Gelderen, 2008) and five (e.g., Van der Auwera and Neuckermans, 2004; Van der Auwera, 2009) stages, that better represent the stages in which negative markers are optional:

$$(33) \quad \text{NEG}_1 (\text{V}) \rightarrow \text{NEG}_1 (\text{V}) (\text{NEG}_2) \rightarrow \text{NEG}_1 (\text{V}) \text{NEG}_2 \rightarrow (\text{NEG}_1) (\text{V}) \text{NEG}_2 \rightarrow (\text{V}) \text{NEG}_3$$

Zeijlstra (2016) provides an example of a nine-stage development of negation using the history of French (Table 2), which demonstrates the repeated cyclical pattern from Proto-Latin to present-day Québécois and Haitian French Creole, where *pa(s)* is the only element used in basic clause negation.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Hansen (2011: 569), however, notes that no variety of French, including Québécois and Swiss French, has lost the use of *ne* entirely, although in conversational registers it is marginal.

<b>Proto-Latin</b>		*NE	DICO	
<b>Proto-Latin</b>		*NE	DICO	OINOM/OENUM
<b>Classical Latin</b>		NON	DICO	
<b>Old French</b>	Jeo	ne	di	
<b>Middle French</b>	Je	ne/n'	dis	(pas)
<b>Modern French</b>	Je	ne	dis	pas
<b>Colloquial French</b>	Je	(ne)	dis	pas
<b>Québécois</b>	Je		dis	pas
<b>Haitian French Creole</b>	Je	pa	di	

Table 2 Zeijlstra (2016: 38)

Table 2 identifies two complete cycles of Jespersen's Cycle from Latin to French. Classical Lat. *non* (said to be formed from the merging of Proto-Latin NE and OINOM/OENUM) reduces to *ne/n'* in Old and Middle French.<sup>3</sup> In Middle French, *pas* is optional, but by Modern French it is obligatory in basic clause negation. Having been reanalysed as a basic marker of negation, *pas* may now be used as the sole negator in Colloquial French (where *ne* is frequently dropped, e.g., *Je le connais pas* 'I don't know him'). In Zeijlstra's example, Haitian French Creole is cited as an illustration of *pa(s)* having assumed a pre-verbal position like that of original *ne*, suggesting that Jespersen's Cycle has been fully realized both semantically and syntactically in this language.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Note that in Zeijlstra's table, OINOM/OENUM is placed after the main verb, but univerbation of NE and OINOM/OENUM presumably occurred with OINOM/OENUM in a pre-verbal position (i.e., NE OINOM/OENUM DICO).

<sup>4</sup> Examples of French-based Creoles may be potentially misleading, since the formation of Creoles is not bound by the same mechanisms of reanalysis as in natural language change. It seems likely that the original speakers of French-based Creoles correctly analysed *pas* as a negator and a pre-verbal position was assumed since it is coherent with the semantic function of clause negation (to negate the tensed verb in the main clause). It could reveal that *ne* had already fallen out of colloquial use in French when Creoles were formed, but it does not seem safe to assume that the first speakers of French-based Creoles like Morisien copied the post-verbal position of French *pas* exactly, and that its present-day pre-verbal position is the result of a natural linguistic development that occurred subsequently. In French, however, there is evidence of *pas* taking a higher position in infinitival clauses (e.g., *Je pense ne pas y aller* 'I don't think I'll go'), where it previously followed the infinitive, which is perhaps indicative of a wider syntactic change taking place.

### 1.4.1.2 Multiple Cycles

More interesting than determining the number of stages that may occur in Jespersen's Cycle is the consideration that there may be more than one, or even multiple, Jespersen Cycles (van Gelderen, 2008, 2011; Hoeksema, 2009; Van der Auwera, 2009), as not all languages appear to follow the same trajectory as French. As already noted above, individual languages may attest more than one stage associated with Jespersen's Cycle. In the case of Brazilian Portuguese, all three syntactic structures associated with Jespersen's Cycle co-exist.

- (34)
- a) *Não vi*  
NEG see.PST.PRF.IND.1SG
  
  - b) *Não vi*                      *não*  
NEG see.PST.PRF.IND.1SG NEG
  
  - c) *Vi*                              *não*  
see.PST.PRF.IND.1SG NEG  
'I didn't see'

However, only (a) is a basic clause negation structure in Brazilian Portuguese, while (b) and (c) both have discourse-pragmatic licensing restrictions.<sup>5</sup> Many Romance languages have a NEG<sub>2</sub> that is part of a non-canonical clause negation structure, but that has not become part of the expression of basic clause negation (e.g., It. *mica*, Pt. *não*, Sp. *nada*, Ven. *miga*). It is also the case that an optional NEG<sub>2</sub> may fall out of use without having assumed a function as the basic clause negator. This occurs in the case of *mie* in the history of French. In addition, although there are doubts surrounding the stability of the bi-partite expression of basic clause negation, Afrikaans is proving to be surprisingly inert at this stage (Biberauer, 2012). Meanwhile, some languages develop a third marker of negation, known as tripling, which has occurred in some Bantu languages (Devos, Kasombo Tshibandi and Van der Auwera, 2008), in Lewo (Van der Auwera, 2009: 62-4), and in Brabant Dutch (Pauwels, 1958: 454). It is also possible, of course, for languages not to progress through Jespersen's Cycle at all. Until relatively recently, Standard Spanish did not seem to be

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<sup>5</sup> Although Schwegler (1991: 195) and Ronacarati (1996) do not discern a functional difference between the structures in (34b) and (34c) the general consensus among more recent scholarship is that their functions do differ (Schwenter, 2005; Biberauer, 2015; Teixeira de Sousa, 2015). The structure in (34c) is also restricted geographically to the north of Brazil, and is most commonly associated with the speech of the north-eastern State of Bahia, and in particular its capital city, Salvador.

undergoing any kind of change in its basic negative structure, but *nada* ('nothing') is beginning to gain traction as a non-canonical negator, beyond its use as an NCI.

Finally, it ought to be noted that Jespersen's Cycle as it has been described here refers only to what van Gelderen (2011) calls the 'Scandinavian cycle', in which a (pro)nominal indefinite develops a clause negation function. Other cycles have been identified, such as Givón's Cycle (after Givón, 1978) and the negative existential cycle (Croft, 1991), but as these do not appear to occur in the languages in question in this thesis, they are not discussed here. However, it ought to be noted that there is some debate surrounding new post-verbal negators like Milanese *nò*, which do not derive from a (pro)nominal, and their relation to Jespersen's Cycle. This is explored in more detail in Chapter 6. Lastly, the indefinite cycle (Ladusaw, 1993; Haspelmath, 1997; Breitbarth, Lucas and Willis, 2020: 151-77), in which indefinites in negative clauses become increasingly negative, is not treated here, since this thesis focuses on basic clause negation, rather than the development of indefinites in quantifier negation.

#### 1.4.1.3 Motivations for Jespersen's Cycle

In Jespersen's account, the basic clause negator is 'strengthened' by an 'additional word' owing to its own phonological weakening (e.g., Lat. *non* > Fr. *ne*). This view has been accepted by some (e.g., Dahl, 1979; Horn, 1989; Van Kemenade, 1999; Jäger, 2008), and rejected by others (e.g., Gardiner, 1904; Meillet, 1912; Dahl, 2001; Hopper and Traugott, 2003; Kiparsky and Condoravdi, 2006). Kiparsky and Condoravdi (2006) note that in many languages, markers of negation undergo renewal without any formal weakening of the original negator, and that there is no precedent elsewhere for phonological weakening to cause such significant morpho-syntactic change. Moreover, in many languages, the formal reduction of the negator does not trigger change to the expression of clause negation. For example, many Italo-Romance varieties in central-southern regions of Italy have a pre-verbal negator reduced from Lat. *non* to *nə*, yet no post-verbal element has arisen as a basic clause negator.<sup>6</sup> Phonological reduction does not therefore signify that the NEG<sub>1</sub> is unable to express semantic negation and thus requires 'semantic strengthening'. Indeed, it seems unlikely that such a basic expressive need (i.e., the need to express negation) could be eroded in some way.

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<sup>6</sup> This does not exclude the possibility of post-verbal elements being used in certain pragmatically licensed contexts.



Those who oppose the phonological weakening hypothesis therefore typically promote a hypothesis of pragmatic strengthening, rather than semantic strengthening. Van der Auwera (2009: 46-7, 52) offers something of a hybrid view of the phonological weakening analysis and the pragmatic strengthening analysis. While Van der Auwera does not believe that the NEG<sub>2</sub> emerges to ‘strengthen’ the NEG<sub>1</sub> in basic clause negation because the NEG<sub>1</sub> is formally too weak to express semantic negation, he does argue that the NEG<sub>1</sub> is too weak to express emphatic negation, and thus a NEG<sub>2</sub> is required to distinguish between basic and emphatic negation. For example, in Middle French, *ne* could not be stressed, therefore Van der Auwera argues it would not be strong enough on its own to express emphatic negation (this assumes that a stressed vs. unstressed NEG<sub>1</sub> is the only way to distinguish between basic negation and emphatic negation in languages with only one basic clause negator). While this is perhaps plausible in a language like French, where a formal reduction from Lat. *non* to Fr. *ne* has occurred, new negators do emerge in other languages that can place emphasis on the NEG<sub>1</sub>, such as Afrikaans (Biberauer, 2009, 2012). As such, it does not seem that the formal inability of the NEG<sub>1</sub> to express emphasis necessarily drives Jespersen’s Cycle, but rather the tendency of speakers to distinguish between basic and emphatic negation structurally. It is assumed here that Jespersen’s Cycle may be instantiated when a NEG<sub>2</sub> has a discourse-pragmatic function in the expression of clause negation. While at first the conditions under which it is licensed make it a non-canonical negation structure, eventually the NEG<sub>2</sub> may come to express basic clause negation, following which NEG<sub>1</sub> may fall from use, and NEG<sub>2</sub> becomes NEG<sub>3</sub>.

Lastly, other studies have similarly looked at changes elsewhere in the grammar as a contributing factor to Jespersen’s Cycle in Italo-Romance. For example, Vennemann (1974: 366-368) argues that the shift from an SXV word order in Latin, in which adverbs appear before the verb, to an SVX word order in Romance, in which adverbs appear after the verb (cf. Molinelli, 1988) accounts for the development of *pas* in French.<sup>7</sup> Word order change can explain why new negators of the minimizer and generalizer type develop in post-verbal position, but it does not explain nor describe in sufficient detail how nominal elements grammaticalize as non-canonical, pragmatically marked negators, and, in some cases, become basic clause negators.

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<sup>7</sup> This is a typological change that affects most Romance languages, interpreted by Ledgeway (2012) as a shift from dependent- to head-marking. Cf. Lehmann (1973), however, who concludes that VX languages are *more* likely than XV languages to have pre-verbal negators.

Elsewhere, some scholars have claimed that the grammaticalization of pre-verbal clitics in NIDs, including the sometimes homophonous nasal partitive (< Lat. *inde* ‘where from’) and first-person plural complement clitic (< Lat. *nos* ‘we’), results in syntactic restrictions against the occurrence of the pre-verbal negator, which in turn has encouraged the development of post-verbal markers of clause negation. This may explain the prevalence of post-verbal clause negation among varieties of NIDs compared to other Italo-Romance languages (a hypothesis supported by Ashby, 1981; Harris, 1978; Posner, 1985 for French and other Romance varieties). Parry (1997: 246), for example, reports that, in varieties of the Val Bormida, the loss of the pre-verbal negator *n* occurs in the presence of complement clitics, especially partitive *n/nun* and first-person plural *n* (35). Finally, it is important to note, as above, that multiple negation structures may co-exist in a single variety. Parry (2013) shows that, although basic clause negation is expressed by a bi-partite structure in Val Bormida, the NEG<sub>1</sub> persists in irrealis and exceptive *n... âtr* (‘only’) clauses.

- (35)        *a        n' =eu                    nent a abbastanza* [Val Bormida (SV), Liguria]  
               SCL.1SG PRT=PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG NEG    to enough  
               ‘I haven’t enough of it’
- (Parry, 1997: 246)

However, as above, I conclude that, while such changes to the grammar may facilitate the routinization of post-verbal negation, they do not adequately explain why non-canonical negation structures were licensed in the first place.

#### 1.4.2 Sources of New Clause Negators in Northern Italian Dialects

This section provides a synchronic typology of negation in NIDs. In doing so, it presents the types of lexical items that take over the expression of basic clause negation.

All three syntactic structures associated with the three stages of Jespersen’s Cycle are attested in the varieties of northern Italy. Generalizing somewhat, following Parry (2013), NEG<sub>1</sub> is found in Veneto, Friuli, and Liguria (36); NEG<sub>2</sub> is found in Emilia, Ticino (Lombard variety spoken in the Ticino canton of Switzerland), and on the border between Piedmont and Liguria (37); and NEG<sub>3</sub> is found in the central Po area, Lombardy, and Piedmont (38).

- (36) *non dormiró* [Cavarzere (VI), Veneto]  
NEG sleep.FUT.IND.1SG
- (37) *a n dùmro briza* [Nonantola (MO), Emilia]  
SCL.1SG NEG sleep.FUT.IND.1SG NEG
- (38) *dórmro miga* [Bergamo (BG), Lombardy]  
sleep.FUT.IND.1SG NEG  
'I will not sleep'
- (AIS, Map 653, Points 385, 436, 246)

The lexical items that have become NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub> negators belong to three etymological classes:

- (i) Minimizers (e.g., It. *mica* < Lat. *mica* 'crumb'; Emil. *briza* < Lat. *\*brisiare* 'to break', cf. It. *bricia*, *bricola* 'crumb'; Pied. *pa* < Lat. *passus* 'step');
- (ii) Generalizers (e.g., Pied. *nen* < Lat. *ne gente* 'no person', cf. It. *niente* 'nothing'; Pied. *nuta* < Lat. *ne gutta* 'not a drop'<sup>8</sup>);
- (iii) Pro-sentence (e.g., Lomb. *no* < Lat. *non*).

#### 1.4.2.1 Minimizers

The most common source for new negators in NIDs, and across Romance, is minimizers.

- (39) *A n dorum briza* [Bologna (BO), Italy]  
SCL.1SG NEG sleep.FUT.IND.1SG NEG  
'I won't sleep.'
- (AIS Map 653, Point 456)

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<sup>8</sup> *Nuta* is considered a generalizer, even though its etymology is ultimately a minimizer (i.e., *not a drop*), as in Old NIDs it is a NCI meaning *nothing*, from which it develops basic clause negation uses.

Minimizers may be defined as “positive expressions that denote a minimal quantity or extent” (Tubau, 2016: 739) under the scope of negation. Minimizers reinforce the semantic negation of the basic clause negator by indexing that the expressed proposition does not hold at any point on some relevant scale (Fauconnier, 1975b, 1975a, 1976; Israel, 1997, 1998, 2004).

As minimizers derive from referential count nouns, Hopper and Traugott (2003: 65-6) hypothesize that minimizer uses must have developed in semantically harmonious verb constructions. In the case of Fr. *pas* (< Lat. *passus* ‘step’), the authors assume that it must have first been used as a minimizer with verbs of movement (i.e., *I didn’t go/walk/jump a step*), its use then extending to all verbs as it was reanalysed as an obligatory marker of basic clause negation. Hansen and Visconti (2009: 147) note, however, that, in other languages, new minimizers do not apparently need to first appear in semantically coherent contexts. Moreover, there is no direct evidence of *pas* being used first with ‘harmonic’ verbs such as *marcher* ‘to walk’. Grieve-Smith (2009: 9-13) also states that there is no evidence of Lat. *passus* ‘step’ being used with Lat. *vadere* ‘to go’ in a sentence like *non vado passum* ‘I don’t go a step’. Instead, Grieve-Smith cites evidence from the Vulgate Bible that suggests that *passus* was used as a land measurement of minimal value (i.e., a pace), before it became part of the expression of negation.

The development of basic clause negators from minimizers is an example of grammaticalization (Hopper and Traugott, 2003), as a (pro)nominal lexical item gradually develops a more grammatical function.

#### 1.4.2.2 Generalizers

The basic clause negators that belong to the generalizer class derive from words for *nothing* in NIDs.

- (40) *Dumru*            *nent* [Cavaglia (BI), Piedmont]  
           seep.FUT.IND.1SG NEG  
           ‘I will not sleep’

(AIS Map 653, Point 147)

In some present-day NIDs, notably Venetian, the use of *gnente* ‘nothing’, cognate of It. *niente* ‘nothing’, is used in non-canonical clause negation (Poletto, 2016: 838, 842-3). Garzonio and

Poletto (2008) and Poletto (2016) observe that the licensing of *gnente* appears to be restricted by *Aktionsart*. For example, *gnente* is only compatible with a class of verbs that denote an activity, and the presence of a direct object or, in some cases, of a verbal modifier that turns an activity verb into an accomplishment verb prohibits the use of *gnente*. Note that in (41) there is some ambiguity between the quantifier and non-canonical clause negation interpretations of *gnente* (i.e., *He doesn't eat nothing* vs. *He doesn't eat at all*).

- (41) *No =l magna gnent*  
 NEG=SCL.M.3SG eat.PRS.IND.3SG nothing  
 ‘He doesn’t eat at all’
- (42) *#No =l magna fora gnente*  
 NEG=SCL.M.3SG eat.PRS.IND.3SG up nothing  
 ‘He doesn’t eat up at all’

(Garzonio and Poletto, 2008: 71)

Although the development of basic clause negators from generalizers constitutes grammaticalization, unlike minimizers generalizers in NIDs already have negative uses, as they are NCIs in their early attestations, and are able to express quantifier negation (cf. §4.1.3). The items investigated in detail in this thesis do not fall into the generalizer category.

#### 1.4.2.3 Pro-sentence

Pro-sentence negators are a less common source for new negators in Romance, and in NIDs are restricted to south-west regions of Lombardy.

- (43) *La Maria l' =ha no mangià la carne* [Pavia (PV), Lombardy]  
 the M. SCL.F.3SG=AUX.PRS.IND.3SG NEG eat.PPRT the meat  
 ‘Mary hasn’t eaten meat’

(adapted from Zanuttini, 1997: 67)

Items in this class are referred to as pro-sentence negators (Poletto, 2016: 939), since they have the same form as the holophrastic negator used in elliptical question responses to substitute an entire clause (e.g., *A: Do you have the time? B: No [=I do not have the time].*). Pro-sentence negators

are a less common source of new negators than those derived from (pro)nominals, at least in European languages. How this type of negator develops a basic clause negator use, and the relation of this type of negator to Jespersen's Cycle, is unclear. Notably, the development of basic clause negators from this etymological class of negator is not a straightforward case of grammaticalization, since the pro-sentence lexical item that is the source of the new clause negator is already a negator. It has additionally developed procedural functions that do not contribute to the truth values of what is said, but guide the interpretation of what is said in context. It may, therefore, be considered a case of *secondary grammaticalization*, defined as grammaticalization where the input item is already a grammatical item (Kurylowicz, 1965; Givón, 1991; Traugott, 2002; Breban, 2015). The origin and development of this class of negator is less well understood than the other two, as §6.1 explores in more detail.

Finally, it ought to be noted that individual varieties may develop more than one new clause negator that belong to different classes. Zanuttini (1997) shows that varieties of Piedmontese have two clause negation structures: one basic clause negation structure involving post-verbal *nen*, and a second non-canonical structure involving post-verbal *pas*. The following section reviews the literature on the licensing of non-canonical negation structures in Romance, both in present-day and historical varieties.

## 1.5 Licensing of Non-canonical Clause Negation in Romance

This section summarizes the existing literature on the licensing of non-canonical clause negation in Romance. Research in both synchronic and diachronic studies, and within both Generative and usage-based frameworks, has made important contributions, the foremost of which are reviewed here. §1.5.1 provides an overview of the contributions to the study of negation in Italo-Romance within the Generative tradition. Such approaches favour syntactic analyses of negation. §1.5.2 then presents previous usage-based studies that focus on the pragmatic licensing of non-canonical clause negation in Romance.

### 1.5.1 Generative Analyses of Negation in Italo-Romance

There is a strong tradition among Italianists of working within the Generative framework, especially in Cartography (Rizzi, 1986; Cinque, 1999). A large proportion of the scholarship on

negation in Romance is written within this tradition, therefore, and tends to focus on the syntactic positioning of negators in the clausal spine (§1.5.1.1), although some attention has been paid to function (§1.5.1.2). Although this thesis adopts a functional perspective within a non-Chomskyan framework, owing to the significant contributions of Generativists to the study of negation in NIDs, their contributions are summarized here.

### 1.5.1.1 Position of Post-verbal Negators

In a (1997) study on negation in NIDs, Zanuttini shows that different etymological types of post-verbal negators display syntactic differences, using evidence from Piedmontese varieties in which negation is realized by either post-verbal *nen* (generalizer type) or post-verbal *pa* (minimizer type). Zanuttini evaluates *nen* as the basic clause negator, whereas *pa* is the pragmatically marked, ‘presuppositional’ negator (cf. §1.5.2).<sup>9</sup> Zanuttini’s analysis maps both *nen* and *pa* against Cinque’s (1999) universal hierarchy of adverbial positions, which states that adverb phrases hold fixed positions in the clause, lexicalizing functional heads that encode specific semantic information.

- (i) *solitamente* > *mica* > *già* > *più* > *sempre* > *completamente* > *tutto* > *bene* [It.]  
 usually > NEG > already > anymore > always > completely > all > well

It is demonstrated that Pied. *pa* appears before *already*, much like Italian *mica* in (i), while *nen* appears after *already* but before *anymore* and *always*.

- (44) *A l’ =avia già nen vulu ‘ntlura* [Piedmontese]  
 SCL.SCL.M.3SG=AUX.PST.IMPE.IND.3SG already NEG want.PPRT then  
 ‘Already at that time he had not wanted to’

(adapted from Zanuttini, 1997: 70)

Zanuttini relates the higher position of *pa* to the function of ‘presupposition’ denial, and the lower position to basic clause negation. This argument is supplemented by data from the Gallo-Romance variety, Valdôtain, spoken in the Aosta valley, which has a single post-verbal

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<sup>9</sup> Zanuttini acknowledges that the term ‘presuppositional’ is given without a thorough investigation of the denial types in which *pa* appears.

negator, *pa*, which may occur in either position. When licensed in the higher position, *pa* has pragmatic licensing restrictions similar to It. *mica* and Pied. *pa*, while in the lower position it is contextually neutral (i.e., the basic clause negator).

Zanuttini, building on earlier work by Pollock (1989) and Belletti (1990) on the functional NegP projection, thus identifies four syntactic positions for negators based on (i), one for the pre-verbal negator derived from Lat. *non* (NEG<sub>1</sub>), and the other three post-verbal.

- (ii) *solitamente* > NEG<sub>2</sub> > *già* > NEG<sub>3</sub> > *più* > *sempre* > *completamente* > *tutto* > *bene* > NEG<sub>4</sub>

Poletto (2016: 837-8) notes that the three post-verbal positions identified by Zanuttini correlate with the negator types reviewed in §1.4.2: NEG<sub>2</sub> correlates with the minimizer type (e.g., It. *mica*), NEG<sub>3</sub> with the generalizer type (e.g., Pied. *nen*), and NEG<sub>4</sub> with the pro-sentence type (e.g., Mil. *nò*, Port. *não*).

However, Manzini and Savoia (2011) and Garzonio (2008) provide examples in which the NEG<sub>3</sub> and NEG<sub>4</sub> types of negator occur in a higher or lower position than that in Zanuttini's schema. For example, in Casorezzese, the post-verbal pro-sentence negator *no* (type NEG<sub>4</sub>) may appear before 'always' and 'well'.

- (45) *Al dormi no sempar ben* [Casorezzo (MI), Lombardy]  
 SCL.M.3SG sleep.PRS.IND.3SG NEG always well  
 'He doesn't always sleep well'

(adapted from Manzini and Savoia (2011: 156))

Garzonio (2008) reports examples from Florentine that are problematic for Zanuttini's analysis, since the optional post-verbal *punto*, which is a minimizer type negator and should therefore appear above all aspectual verbs, may be positioned below 'yet'.

- (46) *Un ha ancora dormito punto* [Florence (FI), Tuscany]  
 NEG AUX.PRS.IND.3SG yet sleep.PPRT PUNTO  
 'He hasn't slept yet'

(adapted from Poletto, 2017: 89)



Poletto (2017: 90) argues that Zanuttini’s original empirical observations may be preserved, and the exceptions pointed out by Garzonio (2008) and Manzini and Savoia (2011) accommodated, if it assumed that ‘all negative markers are merged inside a single constituent located in the VP area, as Manzini and Savoia (2011) also assume, and then raised to the specifiers of functional positions in the clausal spine’. Poletto calls this the ‘Big NegP’ hypothesis. Manzini and Savoia’s assumption, which is based on their analysis of negators as a nominal category, allows Poletto to maintain the theoretical framework being used.

Assuming the hypothesis of Belletti (2005), Kayne (1975) and Uriagereka (1995) that elements in doubling structures are merged as a unit and then raise independently to different positions to check different features, Poletto (2017) argues that the negative doubling of discontinuous structures like Fr. *ne...pas* and It. *non...mica* is evidence for a ‘big NegP’ at the VP edge. Under this hypothesis, ‘all combinations between all negative markers should be allowed’ (Poletto, 2017: 95), though in many NIDs doubling or tripling is dependent on semantic or pragmatic conditions. This is true of all dialects that can combine NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub>, NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>4</sub>, or NEG<sub>3</sub> and NEG<sub>4</sub>, such as in Piedmontese varieties that combine the NEG<sub>2</sub> *pa* with NEG<sub>3</sub> *nen* to give rise to Zanuttini’s ‘presuppositional’ negation.

- (47) *Fa pa nen sulì* [Piedmont]  
do.IMP NEG<sub>2</sub> NEG<sub>3</sub> DEM.M.SG  
‘Don’t do that!’

(Zanuttini 1997: 46)

Poletto thus concludes that ‘any type of negative marker is compatible with any other depending on the dialect. In some cases, the combination gives rise to basic clause negation, in others to non-standard negation’ (Poletto 2017: 97). However, what is not clear is what causes this movement. While there have been suggestions that NEG movement is caused by contextual factors, such as presupposition denial (e.g., for Valdôtain *pa*), this hypothesis is tentative even for this example, as it has not been explored empirically. Moreover, Zanuttini’s description of these contexts as ‘presuppositional’ is disputed by the usage-based literature (cf. §1.5.2 below).

### 1.5.1.2 Functional Analyses in the Generative Literature

Although Poletto's research is mainly aimed at identifying the syntactic positions for negators in NIDs, it, along with joint work with Garzonio (Garzonio and Poletto, 2008, 2009), also attempts to provide a functional characterization of different types of negators, which additionally leads to a historical analysis of different etymological types of negators. The main argument is that the operations involved in natural language negation are more complex and numerous than the simple negation operator of logic, and that these operations are lexicalized by different NEG types based on their etymologies, under the assumption that there is a relational link between the type of post-verbal negator and the contexts in which they first appear (cf. Poletto, 2016: 838-9).<sup>10</sup> The set of functional projections that Poletto (2017) proposes are as follows:

- (i) [FocusP NO [MinimizerP *mica* [ScalarP *non* [ExistentialP (ni)ente]]]]  
(Poletto, 2017: 100)

It is suggested that the lowest element in the NegP is an existential, over which the pre-verbal marker *non* is assumed to encode a scalar projection. Above this, the minimizer projection 'lexicalizes the semantic operation that connects the existential to the scale' (Poletto 2017: 99). The last projection is a focus projection, lexicalized by the NEG<sub>4</sub> pro-sentence type of negator. Poletto hypothesizes that any of these four projections that express the operations that take place in clause negation may surface. For Poletto, the difference between basic (e.g., Fr. *ne...pas*) and non-canonical (e.g., It. *non...mica*) discontinuous clause negation is that, in the former, the whole NegP moves to the position where *pas* is lexicalized, while in the latter *mica* is extracted from the NegP to its position in the aspectual field and the NegP moves to the clitic field with *non*. However, it is not yet clear why, if all these functional projections play a role in sentential negation, only one or two of them are lexicalized, and Poletto (2017) readily admits that it may need to be completely restated following semantic testing. Therefore, unfortunately, the empirical grounds for claiming (i) have not been ascertained.

Following the same notion that negation in natural language is a complex element 'formed as the result of the interaction of several abstract processes' (Garzonio 2016: 6), Garzonio (2016)

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<sup>10</sup> In earlier work, Garzonio and Poletto (2008) had already suggested that negation in natural language is a scalar operation rather than one of polarity.

argues that the difference between Old and Modern Italian *mica* is not a change in the syntactic encoding of clause negation, but one in the ‘internal micro-morpho-syntax’ (Déprez 2011: 222). Garzonio (2016) argues that *mica* is not inherently negative, in either Old Tuscan or present-day Italian, even in constructions where *mica* appears pre-verbally without *non*, a structure gaining frequency in NRI.

- (48) *Mica ci vado* [NRI]  
 MICA LOC go.PRS.IND.1SG  
 ‘I’m not going there’

(Garzonio, 2016: 2)

With supporting evidence from Pescarini and Penello (2012), Garzonio (2016: 4-5) convincingly demonstrates that pre-verbal *mica* in (48) is not the semantic equivalent of *non*. While the basic clause negator *non* can scope over a modal verb, as well as appear in the scope of the modal, pre-verbal *mica* can only have the former interpretation.

- (49) *Non deve guidare*  
 NEG MOD.PRS.IND.3SG drive.INF  
 ‘It is not necessary that he drives’  
 ‘It is necessary that he does not drive’

- (50) *Mica deve guidare* [NRI]  
 MICA MOD.PRS.IND.3SG drive.INF  
 ‘It is not necessary that he drives’  
 \*‘It is necessary that he does not drive’

In addition, whereas *non* may introduce the negated constituent in corrective focus constructions, *mica* may only do so if it is elliptical:

- (51) *Ne=lla salsa ho dimentico non/\*mica il sale, ma il pepe*  
 in =the sauce AUX.PRS.IND.1SG forget.PPRT NEG MICA the salt but the pepper  
 ‘In the sauce I forgot not the salt, but the pepper’

- (52) *Ne=lla salsa manca qualcosa... mica il pepe, forse il sale*  
 in =the sauce lack.PRS.IND.3SG something MICA the pepper maybe the salt  
 ‘The sauce is missing something... not pepper, maybe salt’  
 (adapted from Garzonio, 2016: 4-5)

Garzonio thus concludes that pre-verbal *mica* always occupies a focus position:

- (53)  $[non [T [mica [VP ]]]]$   
 $[FOCUS mica [T [VP ]]]$

Moreover, in a post-verbal position, *mica*'s syntactic behaviour leads Garzonio to assume that *mica* is an NCI like It. *niente* ‘nothing’, acting as a free variable under the scope of an operator, which may either be negation in discontinuous *non ... mica* constructions, or also an interrogative operator, where *mica* is acceptable without *non*, much like NCIs.

- (54) *Hai mica mangiato?*  
 AUX.PRS.IND.2SG MICA eat.PPRT  
 ‘Have you not eaten?’
- Hai mangiato niente?*  
 AUX.PRS.IND.2SG eat.PPRT nothing  
 ‘Have you not eaten anything [lit. Have you eaten nothing]?’
- Hai mai mangiato carote?*  
 AUX.PRS.IND.2SG never eat.PPRT carrots  
 ‘Have you ever eaten carrots?’

(adapted from Garzonio, 2016: 3)

In addition, pre-verbal *mica* may license NCIs in post-verbal position (e.g., *mica ho visto nessuno* ‘I haven’t seen anybody’), although this construction is marginal for some speakers. However, pre-verbal *mica* cannot license some polarity adverbs like *mai* ‘never’ or *ancora* ‘yet’, which is accounted for under the assumption that *mica* is a nominal category (cf. Manzini and Savoia

2002), and therefore its NC properties are computed at the VP level, rather than at the tense/aspect layer.

That *mica* and *non* are not semantically equivalent is well-established. However, I disagree with Garzonio's claim that *mica* is not a clause negator in sentences like (48), (50), and (54), since there is no other item from which the propositional negation may derive. Squartini (2017) instead shows that in present-day NRI, *mica* is a non-canonical negation structure that also has modal functions. For example, in polite requests (e.g., *Hai mica una sigaretta?* 'You don't have a cigarette by any chance?'), *mica* indicates to the addressee that the speaker does not expect the addressee to have the requested item, but rather expects the truth-value of the situation to be negative, thus *mica* is both a negative marker and a modal particle (cf. §5.2.2).

Structural analyses of negation in Italo-Romance have made many interesting insights into the syntax of negation, particularly concerning the correlations between negator type and position in the clause. Functional analyses of negation within these syntax-driven approaches, however, have not been empirically supported, and, as is argued at different points in this thesis, do not adequately capture the pragmatics of non-canonical negation structures. The following section demonstrates that usage-based analyses have been more successful in progressing a more refined view of the pragmatic and semantic value of non-canonical negators, both synchronically and diachronically.

### 1.5.2 Usage-based Analyses of Negation in Romance

Cinque (1991[1976]) was one of the first scholars to study the pragmatics and syntax of Italian non-canonical *mica* from a synchronic point of view. Cinque (1991: 313) argues that negative declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives presuppose their affirmative counterparts, in the sense that the utterance of a negative proposition presupposes that the corresponding affirmative proposition is assumed in the discourse.

- (55) *Giulio non è arrivato* [Italian]  
G. NEG AUX.PRS.IND.3SG arrive.PPRT  
'Giulio has not arrived'

- (56) *Giulio è arrivato* [Italian]  
 G. AUX.PRS.IND.3SG arrive.PPRT  
 ‘Giulio has arrived’

Under Cinque’s analysis, (55) presupposes that (56) is assumed in the discourse, either explicitly (i.e., an interlocutor has uttered (56)) or implicitly (e.g., it is assumed that Giulio has arrived because he usually arrives at that time), and it is only appropriate to utter (55) if (56) is assumed to be true. The addition of *mica* to a negative sentence therefore ‘amplifies’ the presuppositions of the logical negation, lending *mica* a presuppositional value, Cinque (1991: 314) argues.

- (57) *Giulio non è mica arrivato* [Italian]  
 G. NEG AUX.PRS.IND.3SG MICA arrive.PPRT  
 ‘Giulio has not arrived’

For Cinque (1991: 314-315), a sentence like (57) denies an expectation, rather than an assertion, in the discourse, and demonstrates to one’s interlocutor that they or somebody else assumes the affirmation of the proposition that is negated. Although Cinque never explicitly mentions Stalnaker’s work on pragmatic presupposition, Cinque’s use of the term presupposition is very similar, and points to the discourse-pragmatic and cognitive views of negation discussed in §1.2.3.

Schwenter’s (2002, 2005, 2006) functional studies on the pragmatic value of post-verbal *não* in Brazilian Portuguese have demonstrated that Cinque’s analysis of *mica* as a negator of presupposed information requires modification. Schwenter (2002: 253) states that the characterization of *mica*’s use as a negator of information ‘assumed in the discourse’ and part of the ‘common ground’ between interlocutors does not hold in all instances, since information that is ‘assumed in the discourse’ and/or part of the ‘common ground’ may refer to implicitly shared assumptions, while *mica* may only be used when the negated proposition is in some way derivable from context, and does not necessarily have to be believed. Schwenter (2005) argues that the use of non-canonical clause negation structures, at least in in Brazilian Portuguese (cf. (34)), is governed by the activation status of the proposition or entity that is negated. Schwenter uses a framework proposed by Dryer (1996), which hypothesizes that propositions or entities may be more or less activated in discourse depending upon their accessibility. Accessibility is

determined according to the status of a proposition in the discourse (i.e., old/new), their association to other propositions/entities in the discourse, and whether they have an anchor (i.e., a direct referent) in the preceding discourse (Dryer, 1996: 481). By means of these criteria it may be possible to measure the activation status of inferable information that links negative clauses to the preceding discourse. Dryer (1996: 480) distinguishes between pragmatic presupposition and activation by means of the two uses of ‘givenness’ that are characterized by Prince (1981):

- (i) *Shared knowledge*, i.e., what is assumed but not necessarily being thought about.
- (ii) *Saliency*, i.e., prominence in the discourse.

For Dryer, Prince’s ‘shared knowledge’ is akin to pragmatic presupposition, while ‘saliency’ is better thought of as proposition activation, i.e., something in the consciousness of interlocutors at the time of hearing the utterance, but which is not necessarily believed by the interlocutors.

Schwenter’s analysis of Brazilian Portuguese shows that, in order to license non-canonical post-verbal *não*, the proposition that is negated must be activated in the discourse. Moreover, the discontinuous structure *não V não* is felicitous in instances where the proposition is inferable/accessible from some activated proposition or entity in the discourse, whereas *V não* may only be used when the proposition is explicitly activated.

- (58) *Você*                      *gostou*                      *d =a palestra d =a Maria?*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG like.PST.PRF.IND.3SG of=the talk      of=the M.  
 ‘Did you like Maria’s talk?’
- a. *Eu*                      *não fui*                      *não.*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG NEG go.PST.PRF.IND.1SG NEG  
 ‘I didn’t go.’
- b. *#Fui*                      *não.*  
 go.PST.PRF.IND.1SG NEG  
 ‘I didn’t go.’
- c. *Gostei*                      *não.*  
 enjoy.PST.PRF.IND.1SG NEG  
 ‘I didn’t enjoy [it].’

(Schwenter, 2005: 1449)

In (58), for example, (a) is felicitous, as the question *did you like Maria's talk?* makes the proposition that the addressee attended Maria's talk accessible, since to be able to enjoy it, the addressee would have had to attend. (b), on the other hand, is infelicitous, as the *V não* structure may only be used to deny the proposition that is explicitly activated, as in (c), rather than those that are made accessible.

Building on synchronic studies that relate the use of optional, non-canonical negators to contradict a proposition that is either explicitly or implicitly salient in the discourse (Schwegler, 1988; Cinque, 1991 [1976]; Schwenter, 2002, 2005, 2006), diachronic functional studies have attempted to further explain the development of negative reinforcers. Examining data from Old French and Old Italian (i.e., Old Florentine), Hansen and Visconti (2009) document the development of Fr. *mie* and *pas* and It. *mica* in the early stages of these languages. The data reveal that these negators are sensitive to information structure, initially appearing in denials of salient discourse information, with this pragmatic licensing condition weakening over time. In their research, a typology of contexts in which *mie/pas/mica* appear emerges:

- (i) Denial/rejection of part of the preceding text
- (ii) Repetition or paraphrase
- (iii) Expression or denial of a presupposition or an element of the common ground
- (iv) Expression or denial of an inference warranted by preceding text

In *mie/pas/mica*-clauses involved in the “denial or rejection of part of the preceding text”, the part of the text that is denied is explicitly activated in the discourse. In (59), for example, the proposition ‘the king is mad’ (*Fols est li reis*) is activated in the discourse prior to the *mie*-clause (*Carles n'est mie fols* ‘Charles is not mad’), which therefore denies an explicitly activated proposition.

- (59) *Fols est li reis ki vos laissat as porz. [...] « Ulte, culvert! **Carles n'est mie fols,** ... »* (*Roland*, vv.1193, 1207)  
 “Mad is the king who left you in these passes ...” [...] Go to, villain! **Charles is not mad, ...**”

(Hansen and Visconti, 2009: 149)



In the study carried out for this thesis, presented in §5.1.2, I follow Visconti (2009) and determine *explicitly activated* to mean instances of explicit evocation by means of a lexical identity, synonymy or semantic contiguity relation between the anchor in the preceding discourse and the *miga*-clause. In (59), for example, there is a lexical identity relation between *folz est li reis* and *Carles n'est mie folz*. This type of denial therefore involves d-old, h-old information.

Similarly, examples of “repetition or paraphrase” (ii) are understood in this study to mean instances where the *miga*-clause repeats or paraphrases something that is explicitly activated in the discourse (60).

- (60) *Le destre poign ad perdut, n'en ad mie.* (Roland, v.2721)  
 ‘He’s lost his right hand, **he doesn’t have it**’

(Hansen and Visconti, 2009: 151)

While it is not always the case in repetitions or paraphrases that the *miga*-clause has a lexical identity relation with the anchor, there is typically one of semantic contiguity, which is also included as explicit activation. Again, the information that is denied in this category is d-old, h-old.

The remaining two categories of denial, however, require a certain degree of inferencing to link the *miga*-clause to the anchor. The first of these is “expression or denial of a presupposition or an element of the common ground” (iii). In this study, presuppositions are understood as the set of assumptions that form the common ground. In §1.2.2.1 on presupposition denials, presuppositions were described as *necessary truths*, following Givón (2018: 94), against which discourse takes place, and a set of *background beliefs*, following Stalnaker (1974). Presuppositions in the common ground are not necessarily being thought about, but they may be accommodated. For example, it is a shared assumption among most of the world’s population that the world is round, but it is not something that is typically salient in discourse. Such denials may therefore involve d-new, h-old information (i.e., unused), and typically arise via a relation of encyclopaedic knowledge. However, information that may be considered background knowledge in the common ground may be made salient via an anchor in the discourse, in which case the presupposition may be d-old.

Like Hansen and Visconti (2009), I include general cultural knowledge as shared background assumptions that are part of the common ground between discourse participants in

this category. In (61), for example, the *miga*-clause is interpreted against cultural knowledge regarding the appropriate salutations assumed between the interlocutors.

- (61) *Dreiz emperere, entendez mon langage; Ne vos salu, n'est pas dreiz que le face.* (Louis, vv.2388-9)  
 'Just emperor, hear my words; I don't salute you, **it's not appropriate that I should**'  
 (Hansen and Visconti, 2009:153)

Finally, "expression or denial of an inference warranted by the preceding text" (iv) refers to inferences made between an anchor in the preceding discourse and the *miga*-clause. Three possible relations that may create linking inferences arise in Hansen and Visconti's data: presuppositional (of any kind, including, for example, existential and temporal presuppositions), synonymy or contiguity relationships, as in the case of paraphrastic negations, and, finally, inferences identified through extra-linguistics and/or elements of encyclopaedic knowledge. In this study, presuppositions are categorized as a type (iii) denial, and synonymy and contiguity relations lead to categorization as type (i) or (ii) denials, but examples in which a degree of inferencing is required to link the *miga*-clause to the anchor are considered category (iv) denials.

This category also includes contexts termed 'Janus-faced' by Hansen and Visconti, in which the clause containing *mie/pas/mica* denies part of the preceding text but also 'stands in contrast to the immediately following clause' (Hansen and Visconti 2009: 157). In the Old Italian texts studied by Hansen and Visconti, 51% of examples are Janus-faced, which often occur in structures such as *mica ... ma/anzi* 'mica ... but/on the contrary', as in (62).

- (62) *Anzi fue poscia nato de la Vergine, ma quella natività **no fu mica secondo la deità ma secondo l'umanità*** (Storia di San Gradale, 69.74, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 'He was then born by the Virgin, but that nativity **was not according to divinity, but to humanity**'  
 (Hansen and Visconti, 2009: 164)

This type of denial is viewed as possibly key to the grammaticalization of non-canonical negators, since they allow the hearer/reader to interpret the negative clause as either denying a part of the preceding or the following text, thus severing the relationship with the preceding text and

enabling the grammaticalization of *mie/pas/mica* as basic clause negators. This argument is supported by the use of *mie/pas/mica* in adversative/contrastive contexts where there is only a relation between the negative clause and the following text, as in (63).

- (63) *Palaço tòrre, castello o cittade non a ragion, m'a fraude non è mica prodeça: rapina o furto di ciò face alteça.* (Fr. Da Barberino, Doc. Am, 1314 (tos.) 2.6.20 [TLIO]).  
“To take palace, castle or town not by right, **but by treason, it is not mica a thing to be proud of:** to robbery or theft, to that it is equal.”  
(adapted from Visconti, 2009: 942)

Hansen and Visconti conclude that the use of *mie/pas/mica* in Old French and Old Italian relies on their relationship to activated elements of the preceding text, though what may be considered activated is often dependent upon inferences linking the *mie/pas/mica*-clause to an anchor.

In each case, the link to the preceding text becomes more tenuous over time (i.e., requires a greater degree of inferencing to link the information in the denial to an anchor in the preceding co-text), from the denial of information that is explicit and salient in the discourse to a greater degree of required inference, something which Visconti (2009) also concludes. Hansen and Visconti consider what they term ‘Janus-faced’ contexts as possibly key to the grammaticalization of these non-canonical negators. In Janus-faced contexts, the clause containing *mie/pas/mica* denies part of the preceding text but also ‘stands in contrast to the immediately following clause’ (Hansen and Visconti 2009: 157). For example, in the sentence *I went to the supermarket, not to buy food, but to get petrol*, the negated constituent denies an inference from the preceding clause, while also standing in contrast to the following adversative clause. These contexts are considered important, since they allow the hearer/reader to interpret the negative clause as either denying a part of the preceding or the following text, thus severing the relationship with the preceding text and enabling the grammaticalization of *mie/pas/mica* as basic clause negators. This argument is supported by the use of *mie/pas/mica* in adversative/contrastive contexts, where there is only a relation between the negative clause and the following text.

## 1.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter opened with an introductory statement that introduced the research presented in this thesis. The rest of the chapter provided an overview of the concepts and literature necessary as background for the empirical chapters of the thesis. First, §1.2 discussed different approaches to negation. Showing that the negative operator of propositional logic does not account for the full complexity of negation in natural language, this section also reviewed metalinguistic denial types, and negation from the point of view of discourse pragmatics. It was argued that clause negation is a specific type of speech act, following Givón (2018[1979]), that guides the interpretation of the common ground between discourse participants.

§1.3 then provided an overview of the expression of negation with different scopes. The term basic clause negation was defined (§1.3.1), and clause negation was distinguished from constituent negation. Lastly, different systems of quantifier negation were discussed, distinguishing between DN and NC languages, which were further divided into strict and non-strict.

§1.4 introduced Jespersen's Cycle, and addressed some of the main issues that have arisen in modern scholarship on the diachrony of negation. This section also presented the sources for new clause negators in NIDs. This thesis deals with a minimizer type negator (*mi(n)ga*) and a pro-sentence type of negator (*nò*).

Finally, §1.5 summarized the existing literature on the licensing of non-canonical negation in Romance. As much of the research on Italian and NIDs has been carried out in the Generative tradition, an overview was given of the principal analyses in that framework. It was observed that analyses of negation in this theory have been successful in the field of syntax, but that functional analyses have yet to be empirically proven. Instead, §1.5.2 demonstrated that usage-based empirical studies on the licensing of non-canonical negation have been much more successful in determining the discourse-pragmatic licensing restrictions against non-canonical negators. As a usage-based approach is adopted here, the thesis presents the results in the model of Diachronic Construction Grammar, which is the subject of Chapter 2.

# CHAPTER 2

## Theoretical Model

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The theoretical model used for this thesis is Diachronic Construction Grammar (DCxG). DCxG aims to model language change according to the principles of Construction Grammar (CxG), whose foundation lies in work developed in the 1980s by researchers working at Berkeley (Fillmore, 1985, 1988; Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor, 1988; Kay and Fillmore, 1999). CxG comprises a set of models that all share a set of basic tenets and assumptions (see Goldberg, 2013; Hoffmann and Trousdale, 2013). §2.1 provides an overview of the architecture of CxG and presents how linguistic knowledge is modelled in this framework. At relevant points, where there are divergences in the models adopted in CxG, the framework used in this thesis is stated. §2.2 then provides a justification for the use of (D)CxG as the theoretical model for this thesis. §2.3 introduces the main issues that are currently unresolved in DCxG and indicates how they are dealt with and understood here. §2.4 then presents a model for negation in CxG.

## 2.1 Introduction to Construction Grammar

In CxG, linguistic knowledge consists of form–meaning pairs called constructions, which are conceptually rooted in the notion of the Saussurean sign (Saussure, 1916, 1983). Beyond the traditional association of signs with words and morphemes, however, constructions in CxG are found at all levels of the grammar (§2.1.1). Constructions exist in a network, which is arranged in most models of CxG according to inheritance relations between more and less abstract constructions in constructional schemas (§2.1.2). As linguistic knowledge is conceptualized as a network of constructions, language change is therefore conceptualized as change to constructions and the configuration of the network. (§2.1.3).

### 2.1.1 Constructions

Constructions are holistic units of linguistic knowledge; they are mental representations of everything that a person knows about the construction, including pragmatic and contextual constraints. Since CxG is a non-derivational theory focused on surface form, the meaning of a construction is directly mapped onto its form, and the relationship between the two is conventional. In this thesis, I borrow the representation of constructions from Croft's (2001) *Radical Construction Grammar*, which facilitates the visualization of a construction's formal and meaning properties. This is beneficial for studies of language change, where changes may occur to

either the meaning or the formal properties of a construction, without changes necessarily occurring to the other.

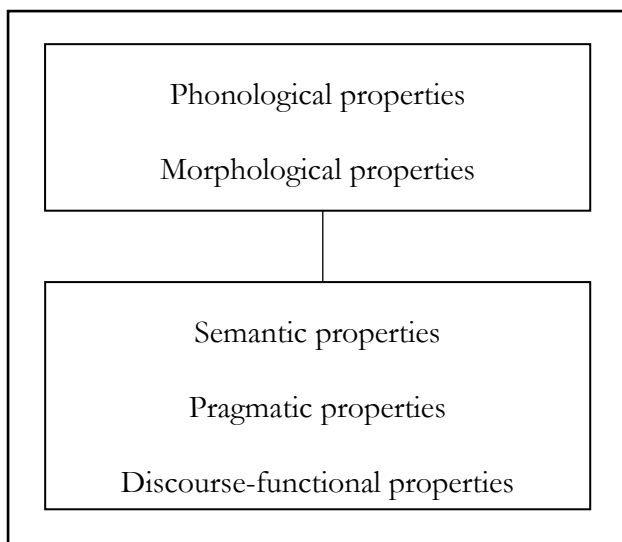


Figure 1 Representation of a construction based on Croft (2001: 18)

In Figure 1, the internal boxes specify the construction’s formal features and meaning features, which are paired via a symbolic correspondence link to form a holistic unit, the construction, which is represented by the outer box.

The definition of a construction has changed over time, and there is no consensus on the extent to which all linguistic knowledge may be contained in constructions. Earlier research in CxG stipulated that only non-compositional form–meaning pairings were to be considered constructions, as Goldberg's (1995: 4) commonly cited definition highlights:

*C is a CONSTRUCTION iff<sub>def</sub> C is a form–meaning pair  $\langle F_i, S_i \rangle$  such that some aspect of  $F_i$  or some aspect of  $S_i$  is not strictly predictable from C’s component parts or from other previously established constructions.*

For example, in sentences like *God knows*, the combination of the subject and the predicate is semantically and formally transparent. However, in certain communicative uses the expression *God knows* emphasizes the truth about a state of affairs. The *God knows* construction therefore has

a conventionalized, non-compositional meaning that cannot be paraphrased by ‘God is knowledgeable’ or ‘God is aware’. In an episode of *Gilmore Girls*, the writers exploit this for comedic value in the following exchange between Lorelai and Mrs. Kim, a very religious woman who often casts her aspersions on Lorelai’s less conventional life.

- (64)        *Lorelai*: “God knows my mother and I had our differences.”  
              *Mrs. Kim*: “Yes. God *does* know.”

(*Gilmore Girls*, S.7, ep.16)

In order to speak a language with proficiency and idiomaticity, and to understand the comedic intentions of (64), it is necessary to know this kind of information about constructions like *God knows*. CxG has demonstrated that this kind of idiomaticity is not limited to so-called “peripheral” examples, but in fact permeates language (e.g., Hilpert, 2014).

However, Goldberg (2006) later abandons unpredictability as a defining criterion of constructions, with fully predictable patterns of form and meaning being stored as constructions too, as long as they occur with sufficient frequency (Goldberg, 2006: 5). The idea is that all linguistic knowledge is contained in constructions, summarized by the now oft-used ‘it’s constructions all the way down!’ (Goldberg, 2006: 18). This means that even traditional phrase structure rules, such as the combination of a subject with a predicate to form well-formed simple sentences, are constructions (e.g., the SUBJECT-PREDICATE construction). This allows compositionally transparent sentences like *John smokes* to be accounted for by positing only constructions as the locus of all linguistic knowledge, although some researchers in (D)CxG are increasingly looking to the connections between constructions as a place in which linguistic knowledge is stored (cf. §2.3.3)

Constructions are abstractions formed via generalizations over instances of language use. While constructions are mental representations of a language user’s linguistic knowledge, *constructs* are actual usage tokens (Hilpert, 2014: 12). The written data used for this thesis are constructs. From the perspective of diachrony, constructs are the locus of language change in usage-based frameworks of DCxG (Barlow and Kremmer, 2000), a view that is adopted in this thesis. At the same time, constructs are sanctioned by constructions.

In CxG, constructions are often represented as nodes that exist in a multidimensional network called the *constructicon* (Goldberg, 2019: 16-7; Sommerer and Smirnova, 2020). In the



two-dimensional networks that researchers are able to model, the nodes are connected via vertical and horizontal links. The exact type and nature of these links is still an open question in (D)CxG, particularly with regard to horizontal links (see §2.3.3 for a more detailed discussion). However, what is generally agreed upon is that vertical links represent inheritance links between constructions at different levels of abstraction in a constructional schema according to their degree of schematicity. Schematicity pertains to the level of specificity within a construction, and is often discussed in terms of slots, and their degree of phonological specification. For example, the much discussed case of the ditransitive CAUSE-RECEIVE construction (see Goldberg, 1995, 2006: 20-1), which is represented in Figure 2, is highly schematic. None of its slots is phonologically specified, and it is a total abstraction over partially substantiated schemas (e.g., [SUBJ *bake* OBJ<sub>1</sub> OBJ<sub>2</sub>] or [SUBJ *give* OBJ<sub>1</sub> OBJ<sub>2</sub>]), which themselves are generalizations over constructs (e.g., *John baked Mary a cake*, *John gave Mary a rose*) (cf. §2.1.2 on the inheritance relations between more and less schematic constructions in a constructional schema).

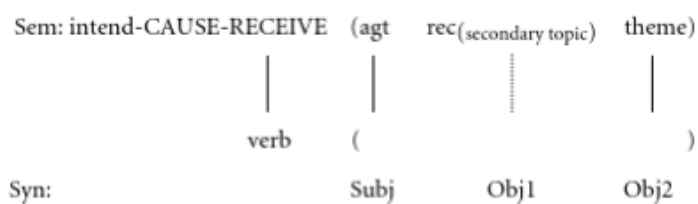


Figure 2 The intend-CAUSE-RECEIVE construction (Goldberg, 2006: 20)

Schematicity is closely related to a construction's productivity. The productivity of a construction is determined by its extensibility (Barðdal, 2008), that is, the degree to which a construction may sanction other more substantive constructions, and the degree to which a construction is constrained (Boas, 2008). The more productive a construction, the less lexically specified it is. For example, the [SUBJ V OBJ<sub>1</sub> OBJ<sub>2</sub>] construction is more schematic, and thus more productive, than the [SUBJ *bake* OBJ<sub>1</sub> OBJ<sub>2</sub>] construction, since the former's slots can be filled by a wider range of lexical items, while the specification of *bake* in the V slot reduces the number of items that can fill the complement NP slots (e.g., *I baked John a cake* but *#I baked insurance fraud a tomato*). The vertical links that exist between more and less schematic constructions in constructional schemas are called *inheritance links*, and it to this that the following section turns.

### 2.1.2 Inheritance

The sanctioning of well-formed constructs is the result of the inheritance relations between constructions in the constructicon, which is conceptualized as a hierarchical inheritance network, in which more substantiated constructions are represented as being lower in the hierarchy, and inherit properties from higher, more schematic, constructions, in what may be described as ‘a downward spreading of facts’ (Hudson: 2007: 21).<sup>11</sup> There are no agreed upon terms for the different levels of representation in the inheritance network, so I follow Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 16) in referring to the most schematic level of representation as *schemas*, which are superordinate to *sub-schemas*, which in turn are superordinate to *micro-constructions*. Only micro-constructions are fully substantive, while (sub-)schemas are lexically underspecified. Taking Traugott's (2008b) study of *NP of NP* patterns as an example, Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 17) provide the following representation of the QUANTIFIER schema. Out of convention, the most schematic construction is represented highest in the schema, and the most lexically specified at the bottom.

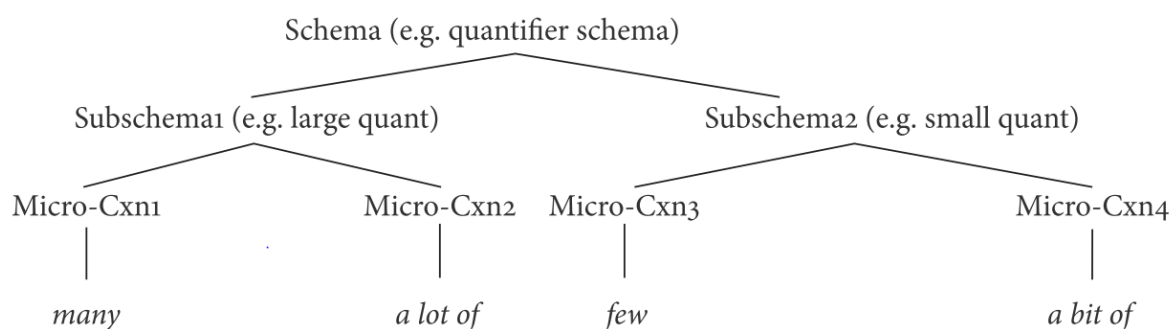


Figure 3 The QUANTIFIER schema (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 17, Figure 1.3)

Figure 3 represents an example of what Barðdal and Gildea (2015: 23) refer to as ‘taxonomic and meronymic networks of constructional families’ (see also Croft 2001: 5). For example, that micro-constructions under the LARGE QUANTITY sub-schema may only denote large quantities (e.g., *many*, *a lot of*) demonstrates the taxonomic constraints placed by constructions

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<sup>11</sup> In Hudson’s Word Grammar, the relations between concepts are taxonomic, such that ‘chair’ inherits properties associated with ‘furniture’, as do more specific examples, such as ‘wheelchair’, ‘dining chair’, ‘arm chair’, ‘throne’, ‘stool’.

higher in the inheritance hierarchy on those lower. At the same time, constructions on the same level of the hierarchy are meronyms of their immediately superordinate node.

Three models of inheritance have been proposed in the literature, which differ according to whether information is stored once in the highest (i.e., most schematic) node or information is stored redundantly at lower levels of the network (Hilpert, 2014: 65-7; Sommerer and Smirnova, 2020: 22): *complete inheritance*, *full-entry inheritance*, and *default inheritance*. In the complete inheritance model, all information is represented at the highest possible level of a schema, which is then inherited by all subordinate constructions. This means that information is not stored redundantly at different levels of the network. In the full-entry model, however, all information is represented redundantly at every level of the network. In the default inheritance model, only information that does not conflict is inherited from superordinate nodes, and lower nodes may specify information that is not contained in a superordinate node. For example, in the formation of the past participle in English, a form ending *-ed* is inherited by default. However, certain verbs block the default, and specify a different form (e.g., *swum*, *bitten*). The default inheritance model is the most widely accepted in usage-based research in (D)CxG. Although less economical than complete inheritance, which is used primarily for computational implementations of CxG, there is empirical evidence to suggest that language users retain a high level of detail about individual language tokens in memory (Bybee, 2010; see also Schmid, 2017a on the 'episodic memory'). Accordingly, the construction is created and modified through language usage events, which accords with the usage-based framework this thesis adopts.

It is important to note that constructions may inherit their properties from more than one 'supra'-construction. When a construction has properties from more than one supra-construction, this is called *multiple inheritance* (Goldberg, 2003; Trousdale, 2013). A commonly cited case from syntax is the gerund, which inherits from both the NOUN and the VERB categories. Multiple inheritance has been cited as central to understanding how new constructions come into use in DCxG, since 'in a network model, multiple source constructions intersect in the development of a new constructional type' (Trousdale, 2013: 500). However, in a recent squib Sommerer (2020) questions why multiple inheritance is often avoided in usage-based cognitive grammar, noting that detailed discussion of how multiple inheritance works or may be modelled is often missing from research. Sommerer (2020: 327-8) identifies two ways in which multiple inheritance may be modelled and calls for researchers to state which model they use. The first way involves positing a node in the network that inherits properties from two parent nodes. The second is to assume "creative unification" at the construct level, where multiple constructions are combined at the

point of utterance, and no separate node is stored in the constructicon. The models of negation in previous studies in CxG seem to assume the former of these two suggestions (§2.4.2). However, as evidence presented in this thesis suggests that language users select negators from a paradigm according to syntagmatic and pragmatic relations, emphasis is placed here on negation micro-constructions, which are treated as combining with other constructions in the network according to these relations.

### 2.1.3 Language Change as Network Change

Under the view that linguistic knowledge is a network of constructions, language change is accordingly conceptualized as network change. There are three principal ways in which the constructicon may change: growth, obsolescence (i.e., loss), and reconfiguration (Traugott and Trousdale, 2013: 62-73). In terms of network growth, Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 63) maintain that new constructions are often on the margins of a schema and that new micro-constructions are created through a series of small gradual changes (cf. §2.3.2 for problems with Traugott and Trousdale's model). Certain micro-constructions in a schema may be more marginal than others, possibly owing to variation in their productivity (Barðdal, 2008). Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 38) identify *analogization* as a key mechanism in language change, particularly in network growth, whereby a construction's productivity increases owing to analogy with other constructions in the schema. *Analogical thinking*, on the other hand, is the motivation behind the collocational extension of a new construction. Here, it is understood that analogization cannot occur without prior reanalysis of a construction. It may be assumed that increased productivity signifies a greater degree of *entrenchment* of a construction in a language user's constructicon. The replication of language change across a community is then referred to as *conventionalization*.

Equally, the marginalization of a construction in turn may lead to its loss. Factors that may play a role in a construction's obsolescence include 'competition', whereby one of two constructions with the same or similar function may fall from use.<sup>12</sup> Additionally, infrequent use of a construction may lead to it either becoming a niche micro-construction, or to its eventual loss. If a schema sanctions fewer tokens of the construction, this may lead to reduced productivity and

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<sup>12</sup> The use of the term 'competition' is not intended to reify the language network, but rather expresses the idea that the preferences of language users may lead to the eventual loss of one construction over another (cf. *mie* and *point* vs. *pas* in French).

eventually the loss of the link between the micro-construction and the sub-schema that sanctions it. Hilpert (2008) demonstrates that English *shall* first collocated with verbs of perception and appearance, while *will* appeared with verbs of speech. Both items later expanded to collocate with different sets of verbs. Such expansion may lead to competition between alternative constructions, leading to certain constructions being preferred in ‘niches’ (Torres Cacoullos and Walker, 2009), or it may cause one of the constructions to decline. For example, in English we may observe the niche collocation of *a fig* as a minimizer with verbs of caring (e.g., *I don’t give a fig!*), compared with more generalized *at all*, which may collocate with a wider range of verbs.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to growth and obsolescence, schemas and sub-schemas may be reconfigured by changes to the links between related nodes.<sup>14</sup> This is observed in cases where new links are forged between pre-existing nodes. For example, Patten (2010, 2012) demonstrates that the post-copular slot in IT-clefts (e.g., *It was **John who sued the firm***) has expanded from NPs to clauses, such as *because*-clauses (e.g., *It was **because of unfair dismissal** that John sued the firm*). In this case, a new link has been drawn between the IT-CLEFT construction, and the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE construction (cf. Torrent’s (2015) Construction Network Reconfiguration Hypothesis, where links are formed between pre-existing constructions in the network that were not previously linked).

This section has outlined the main principles of CxG and how they affect the conceptualization of language change in DCxG. Nonetheless, many questions remain surrounding the mechanics of language change in DCxG. These are picked up in §2.2. The following section first justifies the selection of DCxG as the theoretical model for this thesis.

## 2.2 Why Diachronic Construction Grammar?

The present thesis has two major components that call for theoretical modelling. First, the thesis deals with a clear case of the ‘Scandinavian-style’ Jespersen’s cycle (van Gelderen, 2011), in which a (pro)nominal element (in this case Lat. *mica* ‘crumb’) becomes an item expressing basic clause negation (*miga*, and phonological variants thereof) in NIDs, replacing the original negator derived

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<sup>13</sup> Sub-schemas may also obsolesce. See Coleman and De Clerck (2011), who argue that the sub-schema of verbs of banishment and exclusion (e.g., *banish*, *forbid*) have been effectively lost from the ditransitive schema.

<sup>14</sup> Though not mentioned explicitly by Traugott and Trousdale, it seems that growth and obsolescence may both involve reconfiguration of nodes, particularly in cases of renewal.

from Lat. *non*. This historical development in the expression of basic clause negation is an indisputable case of grammaticalization, independent of any theoretical notions of how grammaticalization is best understood or modelled, since it is a case of a non-grammatical item gradually developing a more grammatical use. Below, I explain why using DCxG as a model for language change is preferable to referring only to grammaticalization, when a large body of work has been carried out on the latter (§2.2.1). Second, the study seeks to account for the role of pragmatics in the development of new negators, offering a qualitative analysis of historical empirical data, and examining the role of interaction in language change to the extent that this is possible in historical linguistics. §2.2.2 explains why (D)CxG offers a suitable framework for a usage-based study of pragmatics in language change.

### 2.2.1 Grammaticalization and Diachronic Construction Grammar

Many researchers working on modelling language change in DCxG (have) also work(ed) on grammaticalization. These researchers consider the conceptualization of linguistic knowledge as form–meaning pairs in (D)CxG to be a complementary framework for the analysis of instances of grammaticalization (cf. Croft, 2001; Fried, 2013; Traugott and Trousdale, 2014),<sup>15</sup> since grammaticalization is primarily interested in changes to an item’s form and meaning (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994). Moreover, previous studies have demonstrated the importance of context in grammaticalization (cf. Lehmann, 1992; Diewald, 1999, 2002; Heine, 2002), and in reanalysis (Hansen, 2021). That context is central to grammaticalization and theories of language change further justifies the selection of DCxG as the framework for this thesis: as above, one of the defining properties of constructions is their productivity, which is in part related to the links between a construction and other parts of the network (e.g., constructions at the word level that constrain the [SUB] *bake* OBJ<sub>1</sub> OBJ<sub>2</sub>] construction). In CxG, syntagmatic relations are thus of central importance. Special attention is made to syntagmatic relations in this thesis, as the syntactic–semantic contexts in which new negators are found reveals how they developed. Moreover, there are theoretical reasons for using DCxG, as well as empirical ones related to the specifics of this research project.

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<sup>15</sup> CxG has also been used in the analysis of lexicalization, but as this thesis does not deal with any cases of lexicalization, it is not discussed.

First, there are two readings for the term grammaticalization: one is a process reading, the other a result reading. So far, grammaticalization has been used with a result reading to describe the outcome of language change where an item has become more grammatical. The existence of a theory that may account for grammaticalization as a unique type of language change, i.e., the process reading, is a matter of debate (cf. Barðdal and Gildea, 2015: 6). One of the main drivers of a grammaticalization theory is the unidirectionality principle (Haspelmath, 1999), whereby the process of grammaticalization occurs along clines, and reverse developments are impossible. If grammaticalization were unidirectional, it would have unique properties as a process. However, several counterexamples to unidirectionality have been identified (Norde, 2009), placing doubt on whether this measure can establish grammaticalization as a type of change. In the Generative literature, the identification of grammaticalization as a type of language change has generally been avoided (e.g., Roberts, 1993a, 1993b; Harris and Campbell, 1995; Roberts and Roussou, 2003), with it being proposed that grammaticalization is an epiphenomenon of reanalysis.

In the usage-based literature on mechanisms of change, the question of whether grammaticalization is an independent type of change similarly relates to its status in regard to reanalysis, on the nature of which there are several positions. Some classify grammaticalization and reanalysis as synonymous (e.g., Lord, 1976), while others consider them ‘closely related processes’ (Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer, 1991: 215) that are inextricably linked (e.g., Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer, 1991; Hopper and Traugott, 1993). Several researchers have argued that reanalysis and grammaticalization should be kept separate (e.g., Haspelmath, 1998; Detges and Waltereit, 2002; Hansen, 2021). Here, I agree with Hansen (2021) that grammaticalization is not a unique type of language change, but rather a tendency in language change that is the result of other types of change (e.g., reanalysis, morpho-phonological reduction), and is therefore epiphenomenal. The use of the term grammaticalization in this thesis equates to the outcome reading, whereby it describes the result of several independent processes of language change. The view taken here is that evidence of a construction’s grammaticalization in historical data is evidence of the occurrence of independent processes of language change and their conventionalization in the language user community (cf. ‘actualization’ in Andersen, 2001), and serves as a useful descriptor for the outcome of these processes.

From an empirical point of view, this thesis also benefits from using DCxG, since it examines changes to the expression of clause negation that cannot be described as grammaticalization. Although the change undergone by *mica* is a classic example of grammaticalization of a lexical item, the change undergone by *nò* (cf. Chapter 6) cannot so easily

be treated as such, since *nò*'s etymon is the pre-verbal basic clause negator *non* 'not', which already has a grammatical function. In Chapter 6, it is argued that the post-verbal clause negator *nò* develops from the pro-sentence negator, which has an interactive function in discourse, before developing a basic clause negator function in a post-verbal position. *Nò* does not therefore follow the lexical → grammatical trajectory that could be described as grammaticalization. However, it may be considered an example of secondary grammaticalization, defined above as grammaticalization where the input item is already a grammatical item (Kurylowicz, 1965; Givón, 1991; Traugott, 2002; Breban, 2015). DCxG offers a more holistic account of language change, since it treats all types of change as network change. These include cases of increased grammatical meaning, but it also includes types of language change that do not necessarily have this outcome, as in the case of *nò*, which actually loses procedural functions in the process of developing into the basic clause negator. Similarly, while different processes of language change that may lead to grammaticalization are examples of reduction—e.g., morpho-phonological reduction (e.g., Lehmann, 1995; Haspelmath, 2004)—and others are examples of expansion—e.g., context expansion (Himmelmann, 2004)—constructionalization accounts for both types of change.

### 2.2.2 Construction Grammar and Pragmatics

The second component of this thesis for which a theoretical model ought to be suitable is the investigation of the role of discourse pragmatics in the development of markers of clause negation, through the qualitative analysis of historical empirical data. There is therefore a focus on the role of context and interaction in language change. It was stipulated above that this thesis applies a usage-based model of (D)CxG, since it offers the necessary tools for qualitative analysis. Not all approaches to CxG are usage-based (see Hoffmann and Trousdale, 2013: 5-8 for a useful overview of the different approaches to CxG and the chapters cited therein, as well as Goldberg, 2013 in the same volume), but CxG does offer usage-based research a suitable theoretical model.

(D)CxG readily incorporates pragmatics into analyses. In structuralist theories of language, syntax holds a central, privileged position in the grammar, and a definitive division between the syntax and the lexicon is stipulated (cf. Principles and Parameters theory in Chomsky, 1981). In these frameworks, syntax is as an autonomous part of the grammar from which all utterances derive. As such, what are deemed “peripheral” uses of language, such as idioms, are not handled easily. Conversely, CxG, as stated in the introduction, is a non-derivational theory in which the meaning of a construction is directly mapped onto its form. A significant advantage of this



conceptualization of language is that all language use can be accounted for, including those peripheral examples. Moreover, as Hilpert (2014) demonstrates, beyond well-known idiomatic expressions like *It's raining cats and dogs*, idiomatic language, understood as conventional form–meaning pairs where the whole cannot be derived from its parts, is found throughout language. For example, simple expressions such as *In winter* and *In Summer* mean something like *in wintertime/summertime in general*, rather than refer to a specific winter/summer, or to a specific time during winter/summer. The meaning of such expressions is thus not discernible from their structure and is something that a language user must know about their use.

An additional advantage is that CxG recognizes pragmatics as an integral and conventional part of the meaning of constructions, as observed in Kay (2006), who demonstrates that metalinguistic expressions and illocutionary force are part of the conventional meaning associated with several constructions. Metalinguistic negation (Horn, 1985, 1989), for example, demonstrates that the pragmatics of a construction is directly related to its form, as may be observed comparing the sentences in (65). (65a) is a metalinguistic scalar implicature denial (cf. §1.2.2.2), as *not good* does not imply *exceptional*, yet the expression may be used to index surprise at the quality of the champagne, or to emphasize its exceptionality. The infelicity of (65b) arises from the insertion of *but*, indicating that the meaning of the metalinguistic denial is tied to the form *X wasn't X, it was >X*.

- (65) a. The champagne wasn't good, it was exceptional.  
b. #The champagne wasn't good, but it was exceptional.

Finally, the conceptualization of language as a network of constructions makes it easier to capture relations between constructions and other parts of the network. This includes syntagmatic, paradigmatic and pragmatic associations (cf. Schmid, 2017b). For example, in Chapter 6, it is demonstrated that *minga* and *nò* exist in a paradigmatic relationship determined by syntagmatic and pragmatic associations of those items to other constructions. In contrast, as observed in §1.5.1.2, the functional projections of Generative frameworks, in which much research on negation in Romance has been carried out, have not been shown to account for the complexities of such relations.

## 2.3 Issues in Diachronic Construction Grammar

Although the previous section argued that DCxG is the best theoretical model for this thesis, many aspects of (D)CxG continue to be debated and many open questions remain (Hilpert, 2018, 2021: 60-89; Sommerer and Smirnova, 2020). This section looks at some of the main issues that remain unresolved and are the subject of current debate in DCxG: (i) whether it is possible to stipulate the psychological reality of constructions in periods where access to a spoken record is an impossibility §2.3.1; (ii) the difficulty in determining when a new construction comes into existence §2.3.2; and finally (iii), the still debated nature of the links that exist between constructions in the constructicon §2.3.3.

### 2.3.1 Linguistic knowledge in Historical Linguistics

The extent of DCxG's commitment to stipulating the psychological reality of historical constructions is an issue under debate (Hilpert, 2018). If the goal of the CxG programme is to determine what linguistic knowledge language users have (i.e., what constructions/constructional schemas are a psychological reality for language users), then the goal of DCxG ought to be to determine the psychological reality of constructions/constructional schemas for historical language communities, and how those constructions/constructional schemas change over time. However, the representation of language in historical corpora is highly limited (Hilpert, 2018: 23). It is limited by only being available in written record, by the types of text that are available, and by the fact that it only represents the written language use of a relatively small percentage of the population. In the research for this thesis, the data represent a small number of authors, and in many cases, particularly in the earlier period, the identity of the author is unknown.

At the same time, usage-based corpus studies have made connections between corpus frequency and linguistic entrenchment (Bybee, 2010). However, in many cases, large amounts of data may not be possible, and this is particularly the case for those working on lesser studied languages, and/or languages without an extensive written record. Therefore, it may be that the extent to which the psychological reality of historical constructions can be ascertained is dependent on the size of historical corpora available for individual languages. Given the relatively small amounts of data available for NIDs, it is unlikely that this thesis is able to claim unequivocally the psychological reality of the constructions/constructional schemas that it posits. That said, DCxG, for the reasons stipulated in §2.2, remains a useful tool for diachronic analysis.

### 2.3.2 Constructionalization and Constructional Change

In DCxG, one of the main issues involves the modelling of language change in determining at what point a new construction can be claimed to have come into existence. DCxG distinguishes between *constructionalization* (first used by Rostila, 2004), defined broadly as the creation of a new construction, which inevitably leads to the reconfiguration of the network, since new links are formed between the new construction and the rest of the network, and *constructional change*, defined as node-internal change. The fullest treatment of constructionalization and constructional change is given by Traugott and Trousdale (2013). Their widely cited (and critiqued) definition of constructionalization is as follows:

*'Constructionalization is the creation of form<sub>new</sub>-meaning<sub>new</sub> (combinations of) signs. It forms new type nodes, which have new syntax or morphology and new coded meanings, in the linguistic network of a population of speakers. It is accompanied by changes in degree of schematicity, productivity, and compositionality. The constructionalization of schemas always results from a succession of micro-steps and is therefore gradual. New micro-constructions may likewise be created gradually, but they may also be instantaneous. Gradually created micro-constructions tend to be procedural, and instantaneously created micro-constructions tend to be contentful' (Traugott and Trousdale, 2013: 22).*

Central to Traugott and Trousdale's definition is that both morpho-syntactic and meaning change must occur in the creation of a new type node. For example, the change at the centre of this thesis, whereby nominal Lat. *mica* 'crumb' develops into the basic clause negator *mi(n)ga* in some NIDs, is an example of constructionalization according to Traugott and Trousdale's above definition, since it undergoes both morpho-syntactic changes and meaning changes. Figure 4 is a representation of this change.

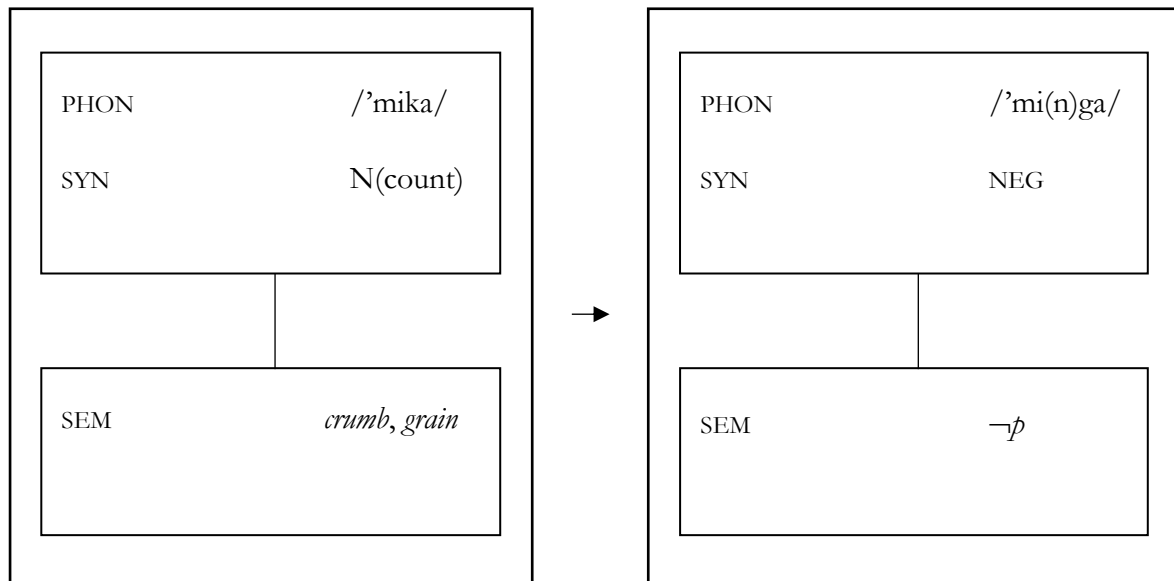


Figure 4 Constructionalization of the mi(n)ga CLAUSE NEGATOR construction

Furthermore, Traugott and Trousdale highlight that constructionalization may be a gradual process.<sup>16</sup> The “micro-steps” that Traugott and Trousdale’s above definition refers to are what they define as *constructional changes*, which they also describe as ‘conventionalized incremental steps’ (Traugott and Trousdale, 2013: 26). Constructional changes may not result in a new construction, since they affect individual internal aspects of constructions, either their form or their meaning, without the creation of a new node, which requires both. In Traugott and Trousdale’s model, constructional changes may occur either before the creation of a new node (*pre-constructionalization constructional changes*), or following (*post-constructionalization constructional changes*).

PreCxzn CCs



Cxzn



PostCxzn CCs

Figure 5 Constructionalization and constructional changes (Traugott and Trousdale, 2013: 28)

<sup>16</sup> The gradualness of language change has been one of the contributions of studies on grammaticalization (see Traugott and Trousdale, 2010).

However, Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) definition of constructionalization, and ultimately their model for language change, have been widely criticized, particularly in regard to their stipulation of when a new construction comes into existence. Traugott and Trousdale (2013) do not consider node-internal changes, where only an aspect of meaning *or* form has changed, to constitute the creation of a new construction. However, this has been criticized on both theoretical and empirical grounds (cf. Börjars, Vincent and Walkden, 2015; Hilpert, 2018; Flach, 2020). The view taken by these researchers is that any change to the form–meaning pair, even if only to one component, results in a new symbolic relation between form and meaning, and thus in a new construction. Sommerer (2020a), for example, contends that any change to a node constitutes constructionalization. Empirically, this is demonstrated by constructions whose meaning may change, but whose form remains the same. It is observed below in §4.3.2 that new clause negators may be used as such but retain partitive syntax from a previous stage at which they were quantifiers used in partitive constructions (e.g., Fr. *pas de cadeaux* ‘no presents’).

The question of when a new construction comes into existence has become a central issue in DCxG (Diewald, 2021), and resolving it may be an impossibility owing to the dynamic nature of language, and the static means of representation. Diewald (2015) points out that pre-constructionalization constructional changes to internal aspects of a construction's form and/or meaning result in the stipulation that both the form and the meaning must be new in Traugott and Trousdale's definition of constructionalization being impossible. Diewald (2021) suggests instead that a new construction is created when a new connection is made between a form and meaning, which may both contain elements that previously belonged to different constructions and are in that sense “old”. Traugott (2021) updates Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) definition along the same lines, while maintaining a distinction between constructionalization and constructional changes:

*“Constructionalization is the establishment of a new symbolic association of form and meaning which has been replicated across a network of language users” (Traugott, 2021: Slide 34). The emphasis of the new definition is placed upon the conventionalization of shared generalizations over constructs among a language community.<sup>17</sup> Another difference is that ‘changes in degree*

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<sup>17</sup> It is not quite clear how this definition can be applied in practice to historical data where usually only individual authors are represented, and to what extent their constructs represent a community's generalizations can only be assumed.

*of schematicity, productivity, and compositionality' are now considered post-constructionalization constructional changes (Traugott, 2021: Slide 35).*

In this thesis, the term constructionalization is used as a descriptor for the outcome of any constructional change—understood as node-internal changes to either an aspect of form or meaning, or to both form and meaning simultaneously—that results in a new symbol link between a form–meaning pairing on the micro-construction level. Any aspect of the new construction’s form or meaning may be “old” in the sense of Diewald (2021). Under this definition, constructionalization is treated similarly as grammaticalization above, and is used as a means of describing the outcome of different processes of language change, which fall under constructional change. The one type of change that is not considered cause for positing a new construction is superficial phonetic change. For example, there are several phonetic variants of *miga* in the data for this thesis, which do not systematically correlate with morpho-syntactic or functional differences. Of course, where differences in phonetic realization are caused by interaction with morpho-syntactic or semantic-pragmatic change, this information is included in the new construction (e.g., *got to* and *gotta* in the sentences *I got to/gotta hear my brother sing* are different constructions).

Constructionalization is not deemed to be gradual, but is understood to be instantaneous, at least on the micro-construction level, as has similarly been posited for reanalysis (Hansen, 2021). What is gradual, however, is the entrenchment and conventionalization of a construction. The entrenchment and conventionalization of a micro-construction enacts change at higher (sub-)schema levels of the constructional family, as language users generalize over their knowledge of the new micro-construction. The “gradualness” of language change is understood as increasing distance between the source construction and the new construction. This distance is understood in terms of prototypicality. While a construct may be a more prototypical realization of a micro-construction, others may be less so, and may act as bridging contexts between older and newer micro-constructions. In addition, context expansion, which may occur post-constructionalization, is not deemed to indicate the creation of a new construction. Rather, context affects links between nodes, rather than the symbolic link between form and meaning inside a construction. However, if the context in which a construction appears is no longer compatible with its original meaning, then this indicates that constructionalization has indeed occurred.

### 2.3.3 Links between Constructions

The final issue in (D)CxG to be discussed here is the nature of the links between constructions. §2.1.2 mentioned that constructions are linked via vertical and horizontal links, with vertical connections described as inheritance links between more schematic and more specific constructions. However, different types of inheritance links have been proposed in CxG. Although the kinds of links between constructions are not formally agreed upon in CxG, many work with those proposed initially by Goldberg (1995: 74-5).

The first of these is *instance links* (Goldberg, 1995: 79). Instance links are connections between an abstract construction and its more specific instantiations, and they constrain collocational preferences with respect to a verb and its arguments. For example, the idiomatic NOT GIVE A(N) X construction is restricted to certain collocates (e.g., *a damn, a crap, a fig, a monkey's* but *\*not to give a curse/a bastard/a trash/an orange/a rhinoceros's*). At the same time, however, idiomatic constructions are open to creative extension, which demonstrates the existence of a more schematic construction.

Another type of connection between constructions is *polysemy links* (Goldberg, 1995: 75). A polysemy link exists between constructions that have the same form but different meanings. For example, the construction *on top of* has a spatial meaning in *The jar on top of the table* and an additive meaning in *He has a piano lesson on top of his homework*. Polysemy links therefore connect a construction to its different meanings (Hilpert and Diessel, 2016: 59). Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 59-60) note that polysemy is a synchronic notion, and prefer the term *heterosemy* (Lichtenberk, 1991) to describe the diachronic association between two meanings.<sup>18</sup> However, in order to maintain a distinction between what individual language users know about a construction and its links to other parts of the network, and the use of links in CxG to demonstrate historical change, here such connections are referred to as polysemy rather than heterosemy, since, although polysemy may well exist as a result of language change, language users are not aware of this fact.

As the *on top of* example above shows, polysemy often results from metaphorical extension. The additive meaning of *on top of* derives via metaphor from a locative meaning. *Metaphorical links* are therefore special cases of polysemy (Goldberg 1995: 81-9). Here Goldberg's metaphorical links

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<sup>18</sup> In Lichtenberk's use of the term, heterosemy involves items from different parts of speech, which is not evident in Traugott and Trousdale's use.

are considered to be horizontal rather than vertical links (i.e., they connect constructions at the same level of abstraction).

Finally, *subpart links* (Goldberg, 1995: 78) are connections between constructions that do not instantiate one another (Hilpert and Diessel, 2016: 60). Hilpert and Diessel (2016: 60), for example, use the example sentences *John wrote a letter* and *John wrote Mary a letter*, which have a similar structure, but which are only otherwise related in that they instantiate the more abstract SUBJECT-PREDICATE construction. Subpart links therefore capture the shared relations between constructions on the same representational level in the construction, and are therefore horizontal links (Hilpert and Diessel, 2016: 60).

Horizontal links are elsewhere understood as paradigmatic relations between constructions that share some general meaning but are not formally or semantically equivalent (e.g., Van de Velde, 2014). Sommerer and Smirnova (2020: 26-7) suggest that the English demonstratives *this*, *that*, *these* and *those* are an example of constructions that are in a paradigmatic relationship, and thus connected via horizontal links in the language network. These demonstratives, they argue, are formally similar, though not the same, and semantically different, yet they share some semantic features owing to the fact that they inherit features from the same superordinate schema. Paradigmatic links are here likewise treated as horizontal links between constructions of the same schematic level.

It should lastly be noted that a construction consisting of nodes connected in a multi-dimensional network (cf. Sommerer and Smirnova, 2020) is only one way in which linguistic knowledge is modelled in (D)CxG. Some researchers are increasingly looking to the links as the locus of linguistic knowledge, and are centring these relations in their models. Schmid (2017a: 25) proposes a model in which linguistic knowledge is found in four types of associative links: symbolic (the links between form and meaning), syntagmatic (links between forms and meanings that are ‘processed sequentially’), paradigmatic (links between competing symbolic associations), and pragmatic (links between symbolic, syntagmatic, and paradigmatic associations and language external situations). In other words, there are no nodes, or what have been called constructions in this chapter (cf. §2.1.1), in Schmid’s associative network. A model of CxG that is centred on associations is also supported by Hilpert and Diessel (2017: 70), who argue that it offers a more dynamic representation of linguistic knowledge. While this thesis continues to use constructions in its representations, it is also recognized that the types of associative links that Schmid (2017a) proposes facilitate the modelling of negation in varieties where more than one clause negation



constructions exist (i.e., basic and non-canonical clause negation). The proposal here, which the following section expands upon, is that clause negation constructions exist in a paradigm, and their use depends at least partly on syntagmatic and pragmatic associations with other nodes in the network.

## 2.4 Modelling Negation in Construction Grammar

To the best of my knowledge, there is no systematic study of negation from the perspective of CxG, nor I am aware of any studies on the cyclic developments to the expression of negation associated with Jespersen's Cycle in DCxG.<sup>19</sup> This offers the present thesis an opportunity to open the discussion on cyclical developments that frequently occur in the development of negation from the perspective of (D)CxG. The status of negation as one of the few true linguistic universals, as well as its typologically diverse range of morpho-syntactic realizations, which contextual factors also influence, mean that it has been and continues to be a much-discussed topic in all sub-disciplines and theories of linguistics. Moreover, the identification of Jespersen's Cycle has drawn the interest of researchers working on language change, in both Generative and functionalist frameworks. Given the centrality of negation to linguistic research as a whole, and to linguistic expression and interaction, it seems worthwhile to think about its representation and modelling in CxG, a quickly growing framework in linguistic research.

Previous research has demonstrated that changes to the expression of clause negation often result in a language having multiple structures and/or lexical items by which clause negation may be expressed. Chapter 6 of this thesis shows that late nineteenth-century Milanese has at least three means of expressing clause negation, each demonstrating tendencies to be used in certain syntagmatic and/or pragmatic contexts. The architecture of CxG, then, may actually prove a useful tool for modelling the connections between negators and other parts of the language network. The model of language as a network in CxG may account for the behaviour of particular clause negators in a much more comprehensive manner than the functional projections of the Cartographic programme, which do not capture the full complexity of emerging clause negators, certainly in terms of pragmatics and discourse functions.

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<sup>19</sup> Ross (2008) examines how paradigmatic “disharmony” in negative verbal clause constructions arose in Puyuma, but the phenomenon and type of change is different to those in this thesis.

This section first presents previous studies in CxG that mention negation (§2.4.2), before addressing the question of whether a NEGATION construction is a psychological reality for language users, and what that constructional schema might look like (§2.4.3).

## 2.4.2 Previous Studies on Negation in Construction Grammar

In CxG, reference to a negation construction usually more accurately describes a negative verbal clause construction (Croft, 2001: 25-7; Ross, 2008). For example, Croft (2001: 25-7) discusses the [Sbj Aux-n't Verb] construction for negative intransitive clauses. According to Croft, negative intransitive sentences like *I didn't sleep* are formed by means of multiple inheritance from the NEGATION construction [Sbj Aux-n't Verb] and the INTRANSITIVE construction [Sbj IntrV]. Similarly, Croft and Cruse (2004: 320-2) posit that each affirmative clause type has a negative counterpart under the same schema. Figure 6 is their constructional schema for the imperative.

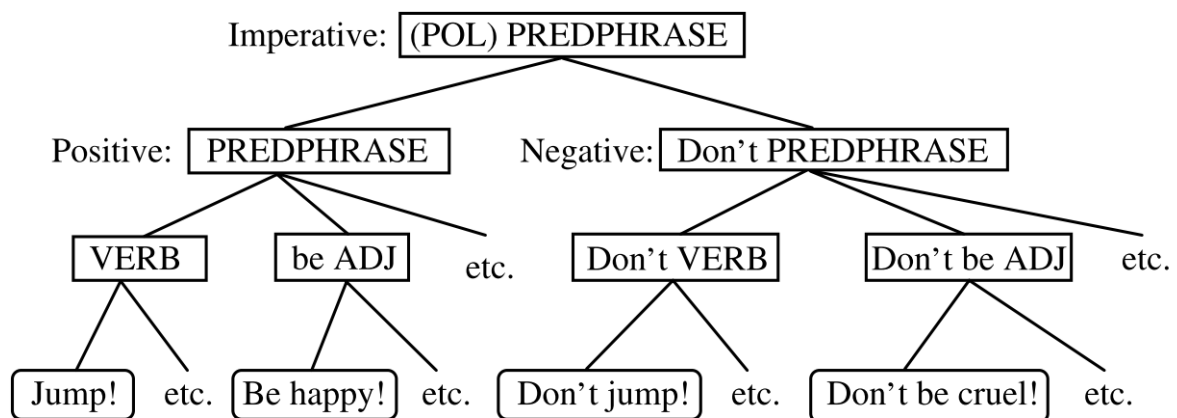


Figure 6 Croft and Cruse (2004: 321)

However, what these representations do not capture is the paradigmatic relations between different negators in languages that have multiple means of expressing clause negation. For example, in English Zwicky and Pullum (1983) show that there are syntactic, semantic and pragmatic differences between the basic clause negator *not* and affixal, as they argue, *n't*. The question is therefore not only how or whether negation constructions combine with different clause constructions through multiple inheritance, but also what the factors are in selecting one particular clause negator construction over another. In this thesis, the factors of interest are the

syntagmatic and pragmatic associations of different negators. For example, the context in which one would utter *Like hell I slept* are very different to those of *I didn't sleep*. Without more investigation, it isn't possible to determine if the syntagmatic relations between the *like hell* construction are more restricted than *n't*, but pragmatically the *like hell* construction may only be uttered if it has been asserted in the preceding discourse that the speaker did sleep well or there was the possibility of such. The *like hell* construction also indexes the speaker's frustration or annoyance. The pragmatic association between *like hell* and this context may lead the speaker to choose *like hell* over *n't* under these circumstances.

This thesis explores principally the role of pragmatic associations in the changes undergone to the expression of negation in NIDs. Since modelling negation and changes to the expression of basic clause negation have been addressed to only a limited extent in (D)CxG before, the remainder of this section considers how it might be done, by considering whether there is a NEGATION constructional schema.

### 2.4.3 Is there a Negation Constructional Schema?

Since there is not a lot of previous research to build upon in terms of modelling negation in (D)CxG, it seems sensible to begin by asking whether there is such a thing as a negation construction, or a negation constructional schema that could be modelled like the schema in Figure 3. If the objective of CxG is to determine what speakers know about language, and in CxG what speakers know is constructions, then answering that question would entail determining whether the NEGATION construction is a psychological reality for speakers.

This section focuses on clause negation. As reported in §1.3, clause negation may be expressed by the basic clause negator, by negative quantifiers/NCIs, and by non-canonical clause negators, such as Eng. *like hell* and It. *mica*. Despite differences in form and pragmatics, which can be accommodated by the default inheritance model, these micro-constructions all seem to inherit their negative semantics from what may be posited as an abstract negation schema, with the sub-schema constructions differentiating between the three types of clause negators mentioned. Such a schema may look like Figure 7.

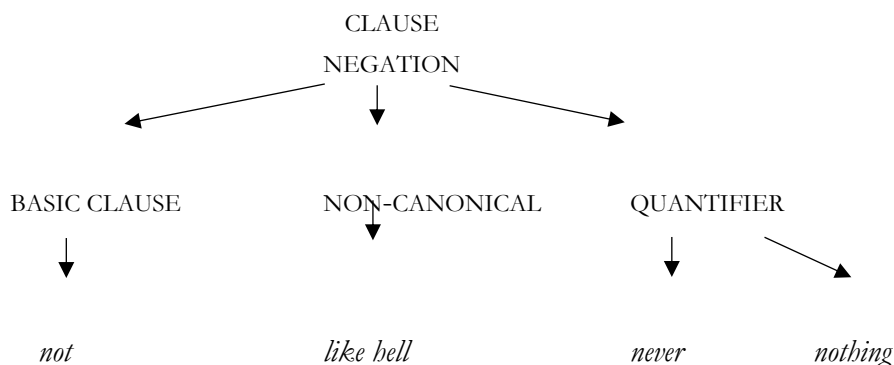


Figure 7 The CLAUSE NEGATION schema

However, there are issues with positing a schema like that in Figure 7. First, assuming that any NEGATION construction would be abstract, researchers argue that highly abstract schemas, such as those constructions on the (sub-)schema levels of representation in Figure 7, may not actually be represented in a speaker's grammar. As such, their existence is merely a tool for linguists to make generalizations about lower-level constructions (Lieven and Tomasello, 2008: 186; Blumenthal-Dramé, 2012: 29). In particular, 'meaningless' constructions, where a form's corresponding meaning is highly abstract, such as the subject–predicate construction, have a controversial status in CxG (Hilpert, 2014: 50-7). Hilpert (2014: 57) writes that 'purely formal generalizations, that is constructions without meaning, have no natural place in the construct-i-con'. The main objection to meaningless constructions is that CxG conceptualizes linguistic knowledge as knowledge of form–meaning pairings. Therefore, meaningless constructions are missing a crucial element. Similarly, highly abstract meanings like negation perhaps lack a tangible formal element. I would argue that this is true of the quantity schema in Figure 3, where it is not clear what formal properties all quantifier micro-constructions inherit from the abstract quantifier schema. With respect to the negation schema, it could be argued that the formal feature that all clause negator micro-constructions inherit is the compositional rules of combining with a predicate. However, not all clause negator micro-constructions combine in the same way. While some behave as adverbs, quantifiers involved in clause negation may be arguments of the verb (e.g., *nothing*, *no-one*), with the exception of some adverbial quantifiers like *never*, *nowhere*, and adverbial uses of *none* in some English varieties (e.g., *I slept none = I didn't sleep*). However, it may be that the micro-construction nodes specify combinatorial rules with other constructions, information that is not contained in a superordinate node, as is possible in the default inheritance

model (cf. §2.1.2). Moreover, that there exist paradigmatic links between NEGATION micro-constructions, as visualized in Figure 8, is an argument for there being a schematic NEGATION schema, under which these micro-constructions are found.

All the micro-constructions in Figure 8 share some general meaning (i.e., clause negation), while being semantically, pragmatically and formally distinct. As in §2.3.3, paradigmatic links are horizontal links that adjoin constructions on the same representational level of a hierarchical schema.

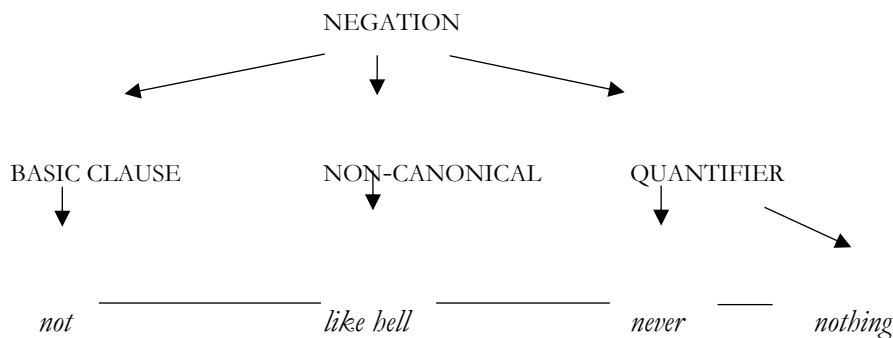


Figure 8 Paradigmatic links between NEGATOR constructions

Each NEGATOR micro-construction contains semantic, pragmatic and syntactic information so that they interact with the rest of the language network in different ways. For example, the semantics of quantifiers used in quantifier negation includes an existential quantifier component, in addition to negation, which the basic clause and non-canonical negators do not necessarily have. Moreover, the NEGATOR micro-constructions contain information about the pragmatic and syntactic associations with other parts of the network, as already shown in the comparison between Eng. *like hell* and *not*.

Finally, in this thesis, clause negators are treated as different constructions to constituent negation. In addition, expletive negation is treated as a separate construction. Expletive negation is a good example of a construction from the point of view of predictability, since the formal semantic features of EXPLETIVE NEGATION constructions are not predictable from the form. Where the form of a NEGATOR construction appears, one would expect semantic negation, but this is not the case. However, EXPLETIVE NEGATION constructions do tend to be related to clause negation in some way. In the example of expletive negation in (14), for example, the expletive

negator occurs in the scope of the verb *prevent*, the semantics of which may be related to negation, since the state of affairs that is prevented does not come into being. There does seem to be some relation, therefore, between expletive negation and the CLAUSE NEGATION schema.

The remaining chapters of this thesis examine the syntagmatic and pragmatic associations of non-canonical NEGATOR micro-constructions in NIDs. The first of these is *mi(n)ga*, followed by *nò*. Traditional conceptualizations of Jespersen's Cycle (cf. §1.4.1) leave the impression that new negators replace the old negator in all its functions. However, this is evidently not the case. Often, the old negators assume specialized functions (e.g., expletive negation), and more than one new negator may emerge. Through conceptualizing language as a network, the thesis models the syntagmatic and pragmatic associations of different basic and non-canonical clause NEGATOR constructions.

## 2.5 Chapter Summary

§2.1 set out the basic tenets of CxG and their implications for understanding language change as network change. Constructions were identified as the locus of linguistic knowledge, which are represented in this thesis borrowing Croft's (2001) box representation (cf. Figure 1). Constructions were said to exist in a multidimensional, hierarchical inheritance network called the constructicon. Constructs, or usage tokens, were said to be sanctioned by constructions through vertical inheritance relations between constructions of different degrees of schematicity. It was argued that the choice of the default inheritance model in this thesis was justified for its application to usage-based models of the constructicon. §2.2 argued that, although insights from grammaticalization studies are invaluable in their contribution to the study of language change, especially from the functional usage-based perspective adopted here, DCxG offers a more holistic framework for modelling language change that is more suitable for this thesis. Further, I argue that the implementation of discourse pragmatics in (D)CxG makes the theory particularly useful for this thesis. §2.3, on the other hand, addressed known issues with DCxG programme, including the possibility of positing the psychological reality of constructions using historical data, how language change is best modelled in DCxG, and the nature of the links that connect constructions in the constructicon. Finally, §2.4 offered a model of negation in CxG.

# CHAPTER 3

## Methodology

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This Chapter explains the methodology used for data collection and analysis in this thesis. The method of data collection differs according to time period. For the earliest texts, the digital *Opera del Vocabolario Italiano* (OVI) corpus was used to collect data. The OVI contains texts that date until around the end of the fourteenth century. For texts following the fourteenth century, no equivalent corpus exists for NIDs, therefore data were sourced from a list of texts that was collated by hand. For all periods, the data were verified using more modern editions where available, either in physical or electronic copy. This chapter is organized in order to accommodate the different data collection methods: §3.1 covers the period where data were collected from the OVI, while §3.2 covers the period from the fifteenth century to the latest text, which dates to 1905. Each section explains the methodology for collecting data (§3.1.1 and §3.2.1). The data collection methodology sections contain information about the corpora used. In addition, given the relatively large time period that is covered, the socio-historical and literary context understandably changes over time. An overview of the relevant extra-linguistic context for each period is also provided (§3.1.2 and §3.2.2). Lastly, the methodology for data analysis is discussed in §3.3.

### 3.1 Old Northern Italian Dialects: Data Collection and Context

In this thesis, the period defined as Old NIDs is that which is covered by the OVI. The OVI is an electronic corpus containing texts written in varieties of the Italian Peninsula in the earliest attested period, beginning with the eighth- to ninth-century *Indovinello veronese*, to some early fifteenth-century texts.<sup>20</sup> The OVI is produced in two versions: the *Tesoro della Lingua Italiana delle Origini* (TLIO), which is lemmatized, and the OVI *dell'Italiano Antico*, which is more expansive.<sup>21</sup> The TLIO, which forms the basis of the vocabulary attached to the corpus, contains 2948 texts and 23,435,445 tokens, while the OVI contains 3218 texts and 29,926,438 tokens. For the purposes of this thesis, the OVI has been used because not all attestations of *miga* in the TLIO have been lemmatized, which became apparent after initial searches (cf. §3.1.1). The OVI continues to be added to for two principal reasons: (i) older editions of texts already in the corpus are substituted for more up-to-date editions; (ii) newly discovered texts are inserted into the corpus because of

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<sup>20</sup> The earliest texts in which *miga* is attested date to the thirteenth century. When this project began, the *Proverbia que dicuntur* was considered to date to the twelfth century, but this has since been changed.

<sup>21</sup> The OVI is part of the *Istituto del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche*. The project is currently directed by Paolo Squillaciotti, and the Director of Research, Pär Gunnar Larson. For current members of the project, see: <http://www.oivi.cnr.it/Persone.html>.



their lexicographic relevance (i.e., they are of particular relevance because of their age, their geographical provenance, or their authorship). All figures related to the size of the corpus and the frequency of data are correct as of 1 January 2022.

### 3.1.1 Data Collection

In order to search for attestations of *miga* in the relevant varieties, two sub-corpora of the OVI were created: one for the Lombardy region (Corpus A) and one for the Veneto region (Corpus B).<sup>22</sup> Initially, a lemma search was attempted using the TLIO corpus, but the results showed very few attestations of *miga* (14 in Corpus A and 25 in Corpus B). As a result, a search for forms of *miga* was carried out in Corpora A and B, which resulted in more attestations of *miga* in the dataset. As a result, all potential forms of *miga* were necessarily searched; these include: *miga*, *ne-miga*, *mia*, and *minga*. Particularly troublesome was the form *mia*, as the form is polysemous, also representing the feminine singular possessive pronoun, which is considerably more frequent than the negative reinforcer. Of this form, there are 138 and 2,359 tokens of *miga* in Corpus A and Corpus B, respectively, and only four (Corpus A) and six (Corpus B) of these were the negative reinforcer. Each attestation of *mia* was scanned to find the negative reinforcer uses, but owing to human error, it cannot be guaranteed that all attestations were noted. All spelling variants were subject to the same data annotation and analysis (cf. §4.1.1 on *miga* vs. NE *miga*). The spelling variants were found to be either regional, with *minga* found in the Old Lombard texts, or text-specific, e.g., *mia* is found only in *Parafrasis pavese* in Corpus A and *Passione (Ud.)* in Corpus B.

The attestations were downloaded and entered into a database. Each data point automatically downloads with a small amount of surrounding co-text, though in most cases, the accompanying co-text needs to be expanded in order to include enough context for the qualitative analysis. The following sections describe Corpus A and Corpus B and the frequency of *miga* in each. Normalized frequencies are to 10,000 throughout.

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<sup>22</sup> Sub-corpora can be created according to several criteria, including, but not limited to, time period, region (general and specific), title, author, and genre.

### 3.1.1.1 Corpus A: Lombardy

Corpus A has 264,117 tokens of 28,454 different forms. Corpus A consists of 50 texts: 5 from Cremona, 9 from Bergamo, 6 from Brescia, 4 from Milan, 1 from Milan/Como, 4 from Pavia, and 12 from Mantova, while the remaining 9 texts are not assigned a specific area. In terms of genre, religious didactic texts are particularly well-represented, totalling 20 texts, and account for 211,693 (80.15%) of the total number of tokens in Corpus A. The remaining texts are divided among the following categories: 1 *pro memoria* (106/0.04%), 2 philological (32,473/12.29%), 10 *laudes* (7,962/3.01%), 3 letters (2,394/0.91%), 8 lyrical (4,349/1.65%), and 6 statutes (5,140/1.95%). It is also notable that certain text types are often associated with specific areas of Lombardy. For example, 5 of the 6 statutes are from Mantova, as are 2 of the 3 letters, while the *laudes* are all from Brescia or Bergamo. This could be coincidental, but it is important to note, as it may not always be clear whether the restrictions on certain forms are influenced by text type, by dialect, or by both. Table 3 summarizes Corpus A according to the genre and specific area of provenance of the texts therein.

Specific Area	Genre	No. Texts	% Tokens <sup>23</sup>
<b>Cremona</b>	Religious Didactic	4	5.02%
	Lyrical	1	0.38%
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>5</b>	<b>5.40%</b>
<b>Bergamo</b>	Religious Didactic	1	0.55%
	Lyrical	2	0.17%
	<i>Laudes</i>	6	1.88%
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>9</b>	<b>2.60%</b>
<b>Brescia</b>	Religious Didactic	2	0.79%
	<i>Laudes</i>	4	1.14%
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>1.93%</b>
<b>Mantova</b>	Religious Didactic	2	3.53%
	Lyrical	2	0.42%
	Philological	1	0.07%

<sup>23</sup> Percentages are counted to two decimal points throughout this chapter.

	Letter	2	0.83%
	Statute	5	0.47%
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5.32%</b>
<b>Milan</b>	Religious Didactic	2	27.91%
	Philological	1	12.22%
	<i>Pro memoria</i>	1	0.04%
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>40.18%</b>
<b>Milan/Como</b>	Religious Didactic	1	2.73%
<b>Pavia</b>	Religious Didactic	4	27.93%
<b>Eastern Lombardy/</b>	Religious Didactic	1	2.47%
<b>Verona</b>	Letter	1	0.07%
	Lyrical	1	0.16%
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2.7%</b>
<b>Unspecified</b>	Religious Didactic	3	9.22%
	Lyric	2	0.51%
	Statute	1	1.48%
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>11.2%</b>

Table 3 Corpus A

Table 3 demonstrates that the extant texts produced in Lombardy in this period do not overwhelmingly originate from one single city. While there are a greater number of texts from Mantova than average, note that 5 of these are statutes, and contribute only 0.47% of the total number of tokens in Corpus A. Compare this, for example, with the religious didactic texts from Milan and Pavia, which together contribute over half the total number of tokens (55.84%), despite there being only 6 in total. In what follows, therefore, particular attention has been paid to the normalized frequency of *miga* within individual texts, as the length of the texts in Corpus A varies greatly, which may in part be responsible for the distribution of *miga*.

*Miga* has a normalized frequency of 1.74 in Corpus A, with 46 attestations in 13 of the 50 Lombard texts. The specific areas of Lombardy that are represented by texts containing *miga*, aside from those that are not assigned a specific area, are Bergamo, Cremona, Eastern Lombardy/Verona, Milan, Milan/Como, and Pavia. Notably, the majority of examples are in texts

from the western Lombardy region, where *miga*'s development into a basic clause negator is more widespread. *Miga* does not appear in texts from Brescia or Mantova. This could of course be because *miga* is not found in these varieties in this period, but there may also be restrictions placed on its attestation by genre. As noted above, 5 of the 12 texts originating from Mantova in this period are statutes, and typically *miga* does not appear in this text type across both Corpora A and B. This is likely to be because statutes tend to be very formulaic and to have a higher register than other texts. *Miga*, like all features that are increasing in frequency in a language, tends to be found in more informal texts, and texts that are intended for a wide audience (cf. §3.1.2.3 on the phenomenon of *volgarizzamenti*). Furthermore, in Corpus A, *miga* appears mainly in religious didactic texts. 10 of the 13 texts in which *miga* is attested are labelled as *religious didactic* texts, 1 as *lyrical*, 1 as a *laudes*, and 1 as *philological*. However, despite being labelled philological by the OVI, the *Elucidario*, in which a “disciple” asks questions that are answered by a “teacher” on topics related to God and Christianity, could arguably be grouped with the religious didactic texts, owing to the religious subject matter and the didactic nature of the disciple–teacher question-and-answer format. The chronological distribution of the texts is relatively even: 7 of the 13 texts date to the thirteenth century, and 6 to the fourteenth century. The distribution of *miga* according to the date, provenance and genre of the texts in which it appears is summarized in Table 4.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Note that throughout the thesis the texts are referred to by the title in the *Abbreviation* column.

Title	Abbreviation	Author	Date	Specific Area	Genre	No. Attestations of <i>miga</i>	Normalized Frequency of <i>miga</i>
<i>Libro</i>	<i>Libro</i>	Uguccione da Lodi	XIII c. (1201-1210)	Cremona	Religious Didactic	1	1.78
<i>Splanamento de li Proverbii de Salamone</i>	<i>Splanamento</i>	Girardo Patecchio	XIII c. (1201-1230)	Cremona	Religious Didactic	2	3.29
<i>Istoria</i>	<i>Istoria</i>	Pseudo-Uguccione	XIII c. (1201-1250)	Lombardy	Religious Didactic	3	4.57
<i>Sermone</i>	<i>Sermone</i>	Pietro da Bescapè	1274	Lombardy	Religious Didactic	2	1.4
<i>Opere volgari</i>	<i>Opere volgari</i>	Bonvesin da la Riva	XIII c. (1271-1280)	Milan	Religious Didactic	15	2.07
<i>Disputatio roxe et viole</i>	<i>Disputatio roxe viole</i>	Anonymous	XIII c.	Milan	Religious Didactic	1	2.89
<i>Leggenda di santa Margherita</i>	<i>Leggenda Margherita</i>	Anonymous	XIII c. (1291-1300)	Eastern Lombardy/ Verona	Religious Didactic	1	1.53
<i>Volgarizzamento antico milanese del "Elucidarium" di Onorio Augustodunense</i>	<i>Elucidario</i>	Anonymous	XIV c. (1300-1310)	Milan	Philological	9	2.79

Title	Abbreviation	Author	Date	Specific Area	Genre	No. Attestations of <i>miga</i>	Normalized Frequency of <i>miga</i>
<i>Parafrasi pavese del "Neminem laedi nisi a se ipso" di s. Giovanni Crisostomo</i>	<i>Parafrasi pavese</i>	Anonymous	1342	Pavia	Religious Didactic	4	0.63
<i>O dolzo Yesu salvator</i>	<i>Yesu salvator</i>	Anonymous	XIV c.	Bergamo	<i>Laudes</i>	1	8.83
<i>Leggenda di santa Maria Egiziaca</i>	<i>Leggenda Maria Egiziaca</i>	Arpino Broda	1384	Pavia	Religious Didactic	4	5.54
<i>Redazione lombarda del Purgatorio di San Patrizio</i>	<i>Purgatorio</i>	Anonymous	XIV c. (1351-1400)	Milan/Como	Religious Didactic	1	1.34
<i>Nativitas rusticorum et qualiter debent tractari</i>	<i>Nativitas</i>	Anonymous	XIV c.	Lombardy	Lyric	1	7.94

Table 4 Texts containing *miga* in *Corpus A*

The normalized frequencies show that the frequency of *miga* remains relatively stable over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and that, although there are notably more examples in Bonvesin da la Riva's *Opere Volgari* and the *Elucidario*, the significantly longer length of these works means that *miga* is attested at a similar rate respective to the other texts. Note that the unusually high frequency of *miga* in the *Nativitas* and the *Yesu salvator* is due to the shortness of these texts. The normalized frequency of *miga* in those texts in which it is attested increases from 2.5 in the thirteenth-century texts to 4.51 in the fourteenth-century texts.

The figures presented for Corpus A are next compared with those for Corpus B.

### 3.1.1.2 Corpus B: Veneto

Corpus B is significantly larger than Corpus A. It contains 782 texts dating from 1150 to 1407 and 98,504 forms, of which there are 1,933,080 tokens. Table 5 summarizes Corpus B according to specific area and genre.

Specific Area	Genre	No. Texts	% Tokens
Venice	<i>Chronicle</i>	21	1.83%
	<i>Religious Didactic</i>	10	8.09%
	<i>Document</i> <sup>25</sup>	231	7.3%
	<i>Philological</i>	1	1.33%
	<i>Letter</i>	12	0.22%
	<i>Lyrical</i>	1	0.06%
	<i>Medical</i>	1	0.45%
	<i>Narrative</i>	1	0.06%
	<i>Statute</i>	10	3.01%
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>288</b>	<b>22.35%</b>

<sup>25</sup> Cover term in the OVI used to categorize all manner of documents, including juridical and mercantile.

<b>Specific Area</b>	<b>Genre</b>	<b>No. Texts</b>	<b>% Tokens</b>
<b>Verona</b>	<i>Chronicle</i>	1	0.0007%
	<i>Religious Didactic</i>	13	2.35%
	<i>Document</i>	89	1.57%
	<i>Philological</i>	1	2.18%
	<i>Laudes</i>	1	0.04%
	<i>Letter</i>	6	0.04%
	<i>Lyrical</i>	3	0.06%
	<i>Rhetoric</i>	1	1.41%
	<i>Statute</i>	12	0.98%
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>9.81%</b>
<b>Belluno</b>	Chronicle	2	0.004%
	Document	2	0.01%
	Lyrical	1	0.002%
	Statute	8	0.15%
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>0.17%</b>
<b>Padova</b>	Religious Didactic	4	3.7%
	Document	52	1.75%
	Formula	2	0.006%
	Letter	4	0.09%
	Lyrical	7	0.55%
	Medical	1	10.32%
	Narrative	1	0.03%
	Rhetoric	1	0.01%
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>15.46%</b>
<b>Chioggia</b>	Document	<b>1</b>	<b>0.03%</b>
<b>Euganean Hills</b>	Religious Didactic	2	0.16%
	Laudes	3	0.04%
	Narrative	1	1.65%
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1.85%</b>



Specific Area	Genre	No. Texts	% Tokens
Eastern Veneto	Lyrical	1	0.01%
Treviso	Religious Didactic	1	0.002%
	Lyrical	4	0.58%
Treviso/Friuli	b.e.l. <sup>26</sup>	1	0.46%
Treviso/Venice	Lyrical	1	0.05%
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>7</b>	<b>1.09%</b>
Vicenza	Chronicle	1	0.0007%
	Letter	1	0.02%
	Statute	1	0.16%
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>0.18%</b>
Unspecified	Commentary	1	6.26%
	Chronicle	1	0.005%
	Religious Didactic	11	10.89%
	Document	85	1.78%
	Philological	1	1.61%
	Nautical chart	1	0.03%
	Laudes	2	0.7%
	Letter	43	0.51%
	Lyrical	8	0.06%
	Narrative	11	20.45%
	Statute	2	0.07%
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>166</b>	<b>42.37%</b>

<sup>26</sup> There is no indication in the OVI what b.e.l. stands for.

Specific Area	Genre	No. Texts	% Tokens
Venice/Dalmatia (Croatia)	Document	1	0.02%
Venice/Pula (Croatia)	Document	2	1.61%
Šibenik (Croatia)	Document	1	0.03%
Split (Croatia)	Document	21	0.26%
	Laudes	1	0.007%
Zadar (Croatia)	Document	1	0.004%
	Letter	2	0.02%
Ragusa (=Dubrovnik) (Croatia)	Document	20	0.11%
	Letter	35	0.32%
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>84</b>	<b>2.38%</b>

Table 5 Corpus B

Like in Corpus A, there are genres that, despite containing a high number of texts, account for a relatively low percentage of tokens in Corpus B. For example, while there are 508 texts belonging to the *document* genre (=64.96% of all texts in Corpus B) and only 41 religious didactic texts, documents account for 14.52% of tokens in Corpus B, while religious didactic texts account for 25.19%. Similarly, while there are only 14 narrative texts in Corpus B, these account for 22.12% of all tokens.

*Miga* is attested in 27 texts in Corpus B, as summarized in Table 6. In total there are 948 attestations of *miga* in Corpus B, giving it a normalized frequency of 4.9 (vs. 1.74 in Corpus A). A large proportion of the attestations in Corpus B are in two texts: the *Vangeli* and the *Tristano veneto*, which account for 83.22% of all attestations of *miga* in Corpus B. Without the attestations in these two texts, the number of attestations in Corpus B is just 158, and it has a normalized frequency of only 0.82. Including all texts that contain *miga* in Corpus B, the mean normalized frequency of *miga* increases from 6.3 in the thirteenth-century texts to 8.96 in the fourteenth-century texts, which is notably higher than the mean normalized frequencies in Corpus A (2.5 and 4.51, respectively). The most common genres of text in which *miga* is found are religious didactic (10/27 texts) and

narrative (including verse) (10/27 texts), which together contain 96.84% of attestations of *miga* in Corpus B. In terms of geographical provenance, 13 texts are unspecified, 6 are from Venice, 6 from Verona, and 2 from Padova. As in Corpus A, there appears to be a correlation between the attestation of *miga* in narrative and didactic texts and consequently to regional centres of literary production. When comparing the texts in which *miga* is attested (Table 6) with Corpus B as a whole (cf. Table 5), note that the varieties in which *miga* does not appear tend to be those in which the textual production is not literary or religious in nature. For example, 84 texts originate from what is now Croatia, but they are mostly documents and letters, an indication of Venice's political and commercial interests in the Adriatic. However, as already noted, these are not genres that typically attest *miga*, with the exception of *Doc. ver. 1379 (3)* (cf. Table 6).

<i>Title</i>	<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Specific Area</i>	<i>Genre</i>	<i>No. Attestations of miga</i>	<i>Normalized Frequency of miga</i>
<i>Proverbia que dicuntur super natura feminarum</i>	<i>Proverbia que dicuntur</i>	Anonymous	XII c.	Venice	Religious Didactic	5	7.3
<i>Pamphilus volgarizzato in antico veneziano</i>	<i>Pamphilus</i>	Anonymous	XIII c. (c.1250)	Venice	Religious Didactic	1	0.87
<i>Della caducità della vita umana</i>	<i>Caducità</i>	Anonymous	XIII c.	Verona	Religious Didactic	1	3.84
<i>Rainaldo e Lesegrino (versione di Udine)</i>	<i>Rainaldo (Ud.)</i>	Anonymous	XIII c.	Unspecified	Narrative (verse)	2	4.89
<i>De Babilonia civitate infernali</i>	<i>De Babilonia</i>	Giacomino da Verona	XIII c. (1250-1300)	Verona	Religious Didactic	1	3.8
<i>De Ierusalem celesti</i>	<i>De Ierusalem</i>	Giacomino da Verona	XIII c. (1250-1300)	Verona	Religious Didactic	1	4.06
<i>Lamento della sposa padovana</i>	<i>Lamento</i>	Anonymous	XIII c. (1250-1300)	Padova	Narrative	1	15.06
<i>Rainaldo e Lesegrino (versione di Oxford)</i>	<i>Rainaldo (Ox.)</i>	Anonymous	XIII c.	Unspecified	Narrative (verse)	6	12.17
<i>Trattato de regimine rectoris</i>	<i>Trattato</i>	Paolino Minorita	1313/1315	Venice	Philological	3	1.16

<i>Title</i>	<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Specific Area</i>	<i>Genre</i>	<i>No. Attestations of miga</i>	<i>Normalized Frequency of miga</i>
<b><i>Legenda de Santo Stady</i></b>	<i>Santo Stady</i>	Franceschino Grioni	1321	Venice	Religious Didactic	17	6.38
<b><i>Volgarizzamento veneziano dei Vangeli</i></b>	<i>Vangeli</i>	Anonymous	XIV c. (1300-1350)	Venice	Religious Didactic	329	33.97
<b><i>Libro dei cinquanta miracoli della Vergine</i></b>	<i>Cinquanta miracoli</i>	Anonymous	XIV c. (1300-1350)	Unspecified	Religious Didactic	2	1.1
<b><i>Laude della confraternita di Santa Maria dei Battuti di Udine</i></b>	<i>Laudi Battuti</i>	Confraternita di Santa Maria dei Battuti di Udine	XIV c. (c.1350)	Unspecified	Laudes	2	1.93
<b><i>Legenda di glorioxi apostoli misier sen Piero e misier sen Polo</i></b>	<i>Leggenda Piero e Polo</i>	Anonymous	c.1370	Venice	Religious Didactic	4	3.27
<b><i>Supplica di Tomeo Montagna e rescritto del fattore</i></b>	<i>Doc. ver. 1379 (3)</i>	Tomeo Montagna	1379	Verona	Document	1	53.48
<b><i>Statuto del capitaniato di Montorio</i></b>	<i>Stat. Ver. 1380</i>	Montorio	1380	Verona	Statute	1	2.16
<b><i>Commento all'Ars amandi</i></b>	<i>Commento Ars Amandi</i>	Anonymous	1388	Unspecified	Commentary	10	0.83

<i>Title</i>	<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Specific Area</i>	<i>Genre</i>	<i>No. Attestations of miga</i>	<i>Normalized Frequency of miga</i>
<i>El libro Agregà de Serapiom</i>	<i>Libro Agregà</i>	Frater Jacobus Philippus de Padua	1390	Padova	Medical	1	0.05
<i>Lucidario veronese</i>	<i>Lucidario</i>	Anonymous	XIV c.	Verona	Philological	1	0.24
<i>Passione e la Risurrezione (ms. udinese)</i>	<i>Passione (Ud.)</i>	Anonymous	XIV c.	Unspecified	Narrative (verse)	1	4.2
<i>Passione (ms. Marciano)</i>	<i>Passione (Mar.)</i>	Anonymous	XIV c.	Unspecified	Narrative (verse)	5	17.82
<i>Tristano veneto</i>	<i>Tristano veneto</i>	Anonymous	XIV c.	Unspecified	Narrative	460	18.03
<i>Frammenti marciani della "Queste del Saint Graal"</i>	<i>Fremmenti marciani</i>	Anonymous	XIV c.	Unspecified	Narrative	3	8.6
<i>Esopo veneto</i>	<i>Esopo</i>	Anonymous	XIV c.	Unspecified	Narrative	1	0.4
<i>Navigatio Sancti Brendani</i>	<i>Navigatio</i>	Anonymous	XIV c.	Unspecified	Narrative	4	1.26
<i>Diatesseron veneto</i>	<i>Diatesseron</i>	Anonymous	XIV c.	Unspecified	Religious Didactic	4	0.59
<i>Tristano corsiniano</i>	<i>Tristano corsiniano</i>	Anonymous	XIV c.	Unspecified	Narrative	73	14.77

Table 6 Texts containing miga in Corpus B

### 3.1.2 Context

When carrying out research in historical linguistics, there are extra-linguistic factors pertaining to the context in which the linguistic source material was produced that must be taken into account. This section therefore discusses some of those that are specific to the study of Old NIDs and considers how they might affect the present study.

#### 3.1.2.1 *Toscanizzazione*

The period covered by Corpora A and B corresponds to the end of the Medieval period (the Medieval period extends from roughly the collapse of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the Italian Renaissance) and the early Italian Renaissance. During this period, the Italian Peninsula was characterized by its polycentricism. Several city-states were powerful, independent centres. In northern Italy, these included Milan, Venice and Florence, but also what are now smaller cities like Ferrara. From a linguistic perspective, no single variety was held in prestige over another across the Italian Peninsula. However, as is well known in the history of Italian, Tuscan, specifically Florentine, would be established as the most prestigious variety. The debate surrounding the *Questione della lingua* ‘language question’, which centred on which linguistic model should be selected for use across the Italian Peninsula, which had its roots in Dante Alighieri’s 1303-05 *De vulgari eloquentia*, was especially vibrant during the sixteenth century. With the publication of Pietro Bembo’s *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525), the literary model of fourteenth-century Florentine was determined to be that model, despite the cultural and economic prevalence of Venice as a European capital.

Once the process of establishing Tuscan as the prestigious variety began, texts from other regions underwent a degree of *toscanizzazione* ‘Tuscanization’, whereby the language in which they were written was altered in order to approximate Tuscan norms. Vincent, Parry and Hastings (2004) note that the rate of *toscanizzazione* varied across different regions and affected certain text types and linguistic levels more than others. For example, the process of *toscanizzazione* may already be noted in the documentary use of Venetian in the early fourteenth century (Vincent, Parry and Hastings 2004: 523).<sup>27</sup> For the study of these early texts, then, the influence of Tuscan may not be as important a factor as for a study of later texts, but still ought to be taken into consideration.

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<sup>27</sup> As discussed above, *miga* is not typically attested in this genre of text.

### 3.1.2.2 *Koinè*

*Koinè* is used here to describe a ‘supra-local’ variety in which dialectal variation is neutralized through the removal of the most characteristically local features (Cardona 1990: 30). The view taken here is that the formation of *koinè*, *koinéization*, results in a *compromise dialect*, as an outcome of dialect mixing (Siegel, 1985: 365). This opposes Cardona’s suggestion that *koinéization* is a form of *vertical dialect levelling*, where one variety that has more prestige among a group of several mutually intelligible varieties is imposed upon other varieties. This is because dialect levelling, while it may result in change among contact varieties, does not produce a compromise dialect (Siegel, 1985: 365).

Furthermore, a distinction is made between spoken and literary *koinè*, since the formation of literary *koinè* may produce features that are not found in the spoken variety or varieties upon which it is based (Cardona 1990: 30). In this regard, some scholars have taken up the term *scripta* to describe the language in the written records in order to avoid using the term *koinè*, as this would refer to spoken language of which there is no record. However, Sanga (1990: 12, 15) contends that it is possible that the written *koinè padana/settentrionale*, found in texts written in Lombardy, Veneto, Piedmont, and Emilia-Romagna, was spoken, since there are traces in present-day varieties of features that can only be derived from the old written *koinè* (e.g., Mil. *-àr*, which derives from the *koinè padana -ar(o)*). Here, *koinè* is used to describe the written language, and while no claims are made about whether those *koinè* were spoken, it is assumed that they do not accurately represent hyper-local features of local spoken varieties.

The *koinè padana* or *settentrionale* for texts written in Lombardy, Veneto, Piedmont, and Emilia-Romagna sits within Siegel’s definition of a *koinè*. Although the texts in Corpora A and B are often identified as belonging to a specific region or city, especially local features of those varieties are often erased, presumably with the aim of making the text legible to a wider audience. Despite this, these sources remain valid for the purposes of this thesis. *Koinè* tend to bleach the most local features of a language, which typically relates to smaller pieces of morpho-syntax, such as the presence or form of affixes and clitics, and phonology. *Mi(n)ga*, therefore, is less likely to be affected by *koinéization*. That said, as a non-canonical form of sentential negation, it may be the case that *mi(n)ga* was avoided in certain genres and registers. This is particularly notable for instance in the absence of *mi(n)ga* from documents and letters, in which the authors may have felt that *mi(n)ga* belonged to a spoken or less formal register than required for these genres. Furthermore, it is difficult to gather extensive information on the micro-variation of *mi(n)ga* from historical texts.



### 3.1.2.3 *Volgarizzamenti*

*Volgarizzamenti* ‘vulgarizations’ are texts originally written in Latin that have been translated into *volgare*, a term used to denote the vernaculars that derive from Latin (e.g., early French, Italian, Venetian, etc.). *Volgarizzamenti* are to be distinguished from translations. Folena (1991: 13) does so on the basis that translations are *horizontal*, since the text is translated from one *volgare* to another, while *volgarizzamenti* are *vertical*, the text being translated from Latin to *volgare*.

*Volgarizzamenti* are treated separately from horizontal translations because of the particular agenda with which they were written. *Volgarizzamenti* were produced with the intention of making a text known to a population without a classical education, who were unable to understand Latin. The purpose of *volgarizzamenti* was not to translate prestigious literary models using *volgare*. For Medieval translators, there was no question of *volgarizzamenti* competing with the Latin original (Lapucci 1983: 13). Latin, in which the prestigious classical and religious texts were written, was valued as a classic, complete, and universal language, while *volgari* lacked the same perceived flexibility and range of expression. The primary concern in the production of *volgarizzamenti* was instead to teach and to evangelize to a larger proportion of the population who could not read Latin. This is of significance, since because of their intended purpose, *volgarizzamenti* tend to replicate structures closer to the spoken language. Conversely, texts in other genres may tend to follow formulaic structures inherited from Latin, or, in the case of horizontal translations, to repeat the structures of the source language, which were written in most cases for literary purposes.

Several of the texts in Corpora A and B in which *miga* appears were not originally written in the vernacular, while others are horizontal translations from one *volgare* to another. Table 7 provides a summary of the texts that are either *volgarizzamenti* or translations.

		13 <sup>th</sup> century	14 <sup>th</sup> century
<b>Volgarizzamenti</b>	Corpus A: Lombardy	<i>Opere volgari</i>	<i>Elucidario, Parafraasi pavese, Purgatorio</i>
	Corpus B: Veneto	<i>Pamphilus</i>	<i>Diatessaron ; Libro Agregà; Esopo Veneto; Legenda Piero e Polo; Navigatio</i>
<b>Translations</b>	Corpus A: Lombardy		<i>Leggenda Maria Egiziaca</i>
	Corpus B: Veneto		<i>Frammenti marciani; Tristano corsiniano; Tristano veneto; Vangeli</i>

Table 7: Volgarizzamenti and translated texts containing *miga*

In §3.1.1.2, it was noted that the majority of examples of *miga* in Corpus B appear in the *Tristano veneto* and *Vangeli*. Table 7 demonstrates that these texts are both translations, the source language being French. This may interfere with the data to a certain degree, since Medieval French had an optional post-verbal negator *mie*, which, like *miga*, is a reflex of Lat. *mica*. This is not to say that these texts are of no value to the present study. It is not the case that *miga* must have been introduced from French, as is evident from its appearance in a number of early texts, as well as in *volgarizzamenti*. This suggests that *miga* is indigenous to NIDs. Moreover, it is demonstrably not the case that *mie* is copied in every example from French into the Venetian text. Take, for example, the comparison between the *Vangeli* and its source text, the *Bible française*, in Figure 9, where *mie* is not replicated in the *Vangeli*.

<i>Bible française</i>	<i>Vangeli</i>
<i>Vos n'enterroiz mie el regne des ciels</i>	<i>vui no entrere in lo regno de cielo</i>
'You won't enter into my kingdom of heaven'	

Figure 9 A comparison of negation in the Bible Française and the Vangeli

The *Vangeli* is an interesting text to consider, since, although it contains *volgarizzamento* in its title, it has been demonstrated that its direct source is the French *Bible Française*, itself a thirteenth-century *volgarizzamento* of the Latin Vulgate (cf. Berger 1967; Calabretta 1994; Gambino

2007). The question remains, therefore, to what extent the *Vangeli* may be considered a *volgarizzamento*. Certainly, in the sense that it is not a vertical translation from Latin, the answer is not at all, but it ought to be considered that the purpose of the *Vangeli* was to evangelize to an audience in a language through which the message of the Bible could be easily transmitted. Therefore, the *Vangeli* are distinct from the literary tradition in which the other translated texts (e.g., *Tristano veneto* and *corsiniano*) stand. Note that, in the analysis provided in later chapters, no significant differences are found between the use of *miga* in *volgarizzamenti* and the other texts, with the exception of the use of *miga* to repeat something stated in the preceding text in the *Vangeli*, which is interpreted as a means to leave no room for the miscommunication of the religious didactic text (cf. §5.1.2.2).

## 3.2 Northern Italian Dialects: 1400-1905

### 3.2.1 Data Collection

There is no comprehensive corpus available for the period following the fourteenth century in Italy, digitalized or otherwise, that collates all material for non-Florentine varieties, as the OVI does for the earliest attested material until the early 1500s. As such, the corpora used to collect data for this chapter were compiled manually by researching relevant authors and works. Particular use was made of Haller (1999), which documents the works of authors writing in varieties other than Italian for each of the regions of Italy from approximately the 1400s to the present day, although not all the works in the corpora for this period are referenced therein. Mostly, physical copies of texts were used to compile databases of attestations of *mi(n)ga* and *nò*. However, some data were sourced using digital archives, and digital copies of certain texts were used where access to the physical copy was not possible. Given that manually compiling corpora and extracting data from non-digital texts is much more time consuming than searching a digital corpus, the corpora are limited in size due to the time constraints of completing the project. The preference was therefore for theatrical works, under the assumption that they would contain examples of more colloquial language use than poetry. However, as theatrical works, especially those in prose, are not available for all periods in these regions, using lyrical works was unavoidable. The following sections discuss the corpora for the Lombardy (Corpus C) and Veneto (Corpus D) regions for this period. Note that it has not been possible to produce normalized frequencies for *mi(n)ga* and *nò* in

Corpora C and D, as using physical copies of texts and PDFs from digital archives makes it impossible to generate total word counts from which normalized frequencies are calculated.

### 3.2.1.1 Corpus C: Lombardy

Corpus C contains 25 texts by 19 authors. With the exception of Francesco de Lemene's *Sposa Francesca*, which is written in Ludesàn,<sup>28</sup> and Lomazzo's *Rabisch*, which is written in Brenogn,<sup>29</sup> all the texts in Corpus C are in Milanese. There are 674 attestations of *minga* and 226 attestations of *nò*. There is a notable increase in the amount of data available pre- and post-1700, with 454 attestations of both *minga* and *nò* appearing in the works of four playwrights of the latter half of the nineteenth century alone (i.e., E. Ferravilla, A. Curti, C. Bertolazzi, and D. Guicciardi). There are several reasons for this. Primarily, by the late nineteenth century, *minga* is used as the basic clause negator in Milanese, therefore attestations of *minga* naturally greatly increase. It is likely that *minga* was used as the basic clause negator before the latter half of the nineteenth century, but these theatrical works in prose capture a more colloquial use of language than is available in earlier poetic sources. Indeed, Corpus C largely contains texts written in verse, as earlier theatrical works were also written in verse. This may limit the attestations of *minga* and *nò*, since as non-canonical negation constructions, their use may be restricted in lyrical poetry, which tends to aspire to a more formal register. Moreover, it is also reasonable to assume that enclitic pre-verbal *no(n)* is more readily adaptable to the rhythm and metre of poetry than disyllabic, non-enclitic *minga*, which may also have been unrecognizable to non-native speakers. Similarly, the position of *nò* as a clause-final item may also have prevented its use in verse due to rhythmic constraints. Conversely, we do find that the use of post-verbal *nò* sometimes coincides with the line-final position where it rhymes with another word. Its use in this position may therefore not always be due to pragmatic licensing.

There are a handful of exceptions: parts of *Rabisch* (16<sup>th</sup> c.) are written in prose; the two philological texts of the early 1600s—the *Varon* and *Prissian*—are both prose texts, and *I Conti d'Agliate* (1713) is the single theatrical work written in prose before the Milanese plays that date to the nineteenth century. *I Conti d'Agliate* is a three-act play, about which little information is available. I have been able to access a copy printed in the 1816 *Collezione delle migliori opere scritte in*

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<sup>28</sup> Spoken in Lodi, a city approximately 35km south-east of Milan.

<sup>29</sup> Variety of Val di Blenio, an Italian-speaking part of southern Switzerland in the Ticino Canton, approximately 140km north of Milan.

*dialetto Milanese*, where it is printed in volume 9. The author is listed as anonymous.<sup>30</sup> In addition, I have viewed a 1785 edition online, which was printed in Milan by Giacomo Pirola and the Scala theatre. On the title page of the 1785 edition, it is written that the play was written by *un'erudita penna Milanese* 'an erudite Milanese pen', and was performed for the first time in 1785 at Lorentecchio, villa of P.P. Olivetani, which refers to the order of Olivetan monks. Underneath the print, written in pencil, is *e poi piu volte in Milano* 'and then [performed] more times in Milan'. However, I have been able to find one other reference to the play in Massimo Fabi's *Dizionario Geografico Storico Statistico di Tutte le Provincie, Distretti, Comuni e Frazioni della Lombardia*, which was published in 1855. Under the entry for Agliate, province and diocese of Milan, Fabi (1855: 5) references *I Conti d'Agliate*, and names the author as *l'erudito Padre Molina* (the erudite Father Molina), an Olivetan monk of San Vittor Grande, which is a neighbourhood of western central Milan. The entry also reports that the play was first produced in the Lorentecchio villa of the Olivetan monks. However, most import in terms of placing the play chronologically is that Fabi dates its first production to 1713, meaning that it may represent an even earlier historical period of Milanese than first thought. However, there is no way to verify that Fabi correctly dates the first performance of *I Conti d'Agliate* without confirmation from additional sources, which I have been unable to find.

Additionally, there are simply few texts available for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Lombardy region, and, as a result, there are not many attestations of *minga* or *nò* in this period. This may in part be due to the establishment of Florentine as the prestigious literary variety in the fifteenth century (cf. §3.1.2.1), although some authors writing in other varieties did garner a certain amount of prestige. In Corpus C one such author is Carlo Maria Maggi, one of the most important authors of the Milanese canon. Notably, after Maggi (17<sup>th</sup> c.), there is an increase in dialect poetry writing in Milanese during the eighteenth century. This results in many more examples of *minga* and *nò*. In particular, the twenty *canti* of Domenico Balestrieri's *Gerusalemme Liberata* provides a high number of examples in comparison to other texts, which is also due to the exceptional length of the text.

The majority of the texts in Corpus C were originally written in a Lombard variety (i.e., they are not translations), with a couple of exceptions: Domenico Balestrieri's 1772 *Gersulamme Liberata*, and Edoardo Ferravilla's 1882 *L'amis del papà*. There are no *volgarizzamenti* in Corpus C.

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<sup>30</sup> The page number references accompanying examples from *I Conti d'Agliate* are from this 1816 edition.

Balestrieri's *Gerusalemme Liberata* is a translation into Milanese of Torquato Tasso's famous sixteenth-century epic poem, *Gerusalemme Liberata* (Jerusalem Delivered), while Ferravilla's *L'amis del papà* is a translation of Edoardo Scarpetta's *L'amico 'e papà*, written in the previous year (1881). Like Ferravilla, Scarpetta (1853-1925) was a comic actor and playwright, but whose works are written in his native Neapolitan.

Translations rightly need to be treated with caution, should they mimic structures in the source language that are not naturally found in the target language. However, having studied the manuscript of Balestrieri's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (MMS 9912105384401631), in which the Italian and Milanese are printed side by side in two columns per page, Balestrieri, an accomplished poet, has re-written Tasso's poem to the extent that the structures and content of the Milanese are almost completely different. The first stanza is reproduced below as demonstration of this.<sup>31</sup> Although the contents of the first stanzas are relatively similar, it is possible to observe that Balestrieri does not replicate the structures and lexical items of Tasso's original poem.

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<sup>31</sup> The translations of Italian and Milanese are my own.

<b>Italian (Tasso)</b>	<b>Milanese (Balestrieri)</b>
<i>Canto l'arme pietose, e 'l Capitano,            Che 'l gran Sepolcro liberò di Cristo.            Molto egli oprò col senno, e con la mano,            Molto soffrì nel glorioso acquisto;            E in van l'Inferno a lui s'oppose, e in vano            S'armò d'Asia, e di Libia il popol misto,            Che il Ciel gli diè favore, e sotto a i santi            Segni ridusse i suoi compagni errant.</i>	<i>Canti la guæra santa, e 'l Capitani,            C'ha liberaa el Sepolcher del Signor;            Par reussinn el n'ba passaa de strani,            El g'ha impiegaa coo, e brasc, struzzi, e sudor.            Bargniff, e i Mori, e i Turch han faa tanc Smani            Par fall stà lù, ma lù i ha faa stà lor;            Che con l'ajutt de Dia l'ha alzaa bandera,            E unii i compagn ch'andaven a stondera.</i>
'I sing the pious arms, and the Captain Who liberated the great Tomb of Christ. He toiled much with reason, and with his <span style="float: right;">hands,</span> He suffered much in the glorious conquest. And in vain Hell opposed it, and in vain The mixed peoples of Asia and of Libya <span style="float: right;">armed themselves,</span> as Heaven favoured him, and under saintly Symbols he gathered his errant companions.'	'I sing the holy war, and the Captain Who liberated the Tomb of Christ. To succeed many strange things occurred, He used his head, and arms, and sweat. Bargniff, and the Moors, and the Turks did <span style="float: right;">so many crazy things</span> To make him stand, but it was he who made <span style="float: right;">them stand;</span> With the help of God he raised the flags, And united his companions who went <span style="float: right;">vagabonding about.'</span>

Figure 10 A comparison of the first stanza of *Gerusalemme Liberata* in Italian and Milanese

Indeed, Balestrieri's translation is so loose, that in many cases there is no negative clause or proposition in the original where an example of negation exists in the Milanese.

Ferravilla's *L'amis del papà* is a much closer translation of Scarpetta's Neapolitan play. Having compared Ferravilla's translation with the original, however, it is not the case that Ferravilla replicates the negation structures from the original Neapolitan, which has a pre-verbal negator, *non/nun*, derived from Lat. *non*, and the scalar negative particle *manco* 'even/at all' (Garzonio and Poletto, 2014), which may be either pre-verbal or post-verbal.

Nevertheless, as above, restrictions imposed by metre and rhythm are sure to affect the data. That is why the dialect works in prose are so important for diachronic research, particularly when that research is interested in pragmatics. That said, these works still present some philological issues, which are discussed in the following section.

Author	Title	Abbreviation	Date	Specific Area	Genre	No. Attestations of <i>mi(n)ga</i>	No. Attestations of <i>nò</i>
<b>Benedetto Dei (1418-1492)</b>	<i>Sonetti milanesi</i>	<i>Sonetti milanesi</i>	XV c.	Milan	Lyric, verse	1	0
<b>Lancino Curti (1460-1512)</b>	<i>Sonetti</i>	<i>Sonetti</i>	XV c.	Milan	Lyric, verse	1	0
<b>Giovan Paolo Lomazzo (1538-1600)</b>	<i>Poesie milanesi</i>	<i>Poesie milanesi</i>	XVI c.	Milan	Lyric, verse	2	2
	<i>Rabisch</i>	<i>Rabisch</i>	XVI c.	Val di Blenio	Lyric, verse Prose	29	1
<b>Fabio Varese (1570/75-1630)</b>	<i>Poesie milanesi</i>	<i>Poesie milanesi</i>	XVI c.	Milan	Lyric, verse	1	0
<b>Giovanni Capis (XVI c. – XVII c.)</b>	<i>Varon milanes de la lengua de Milan</i>	<i>Varon</i>	1606	Milan	Philological, prose	0	0
<b>Giovanni Ambrosio Biffi (XV c. – 1619)</b>	<i>Prissian da Milan de la parnonzia milanese</i>	<i>Prissian</i>	1606	Milan	Philological, prose	2	3
<b>Carlo Maria Maggi (1630-99)</b>	<i>Il Mancomale</i>	<i>Mancomale</i>	1695	Milan	Theatre, verse	3	0
	<i>Il Barone di Birbanza</i>	<i>Barone</i>	1696	Milan	Theatre, verse	5	1
	<i>I Consigli di Meneghino</i>	<i>Consigli</i>	1697	Milan	Theatre, verse	0	6
	<i>Il Falso Filosofo</i>	<i>Falso Filosofo</i>	1698	Milan	Theatre, verse	2	0
	<i>Other works</i>		XVII c.	Milan	Theatre, verse	6	0



Author	Title	Abbreviation	Date	Specific Area	Genre	No. Attestations of <i>mi(n)ga</i>	No. Attestations of <i>nò</i>
<b>Francesco de Lemene (1634-1704)</b>	<i>La Sposa Francesca</i>	<i>Sposa Francesca</i>	1703	Lodi	Theatre, verse	21	4
<b>Anonymous</b>	<i>I Conti d'Agliate. Commedia Patria in tre atti in prosa.</i>	<i>Conti d'Agliate</i>	1713	Milan	Theatre, prose	52	25
<b>Girolamo Birago (1691-1773)</b>	<i>La Donna Perla</i>	<i>Donna Perla</i>	1724	Milan	Theatre, verse	17	3
	<i>Meneghin a la Senavra</i>	<i>Meneghin Senavra</i>	1724	Milan	Monologue, verse	3	0
	<i>Quartine</i>	<i>Quartine</i>	1724	Milan	Lyric, verse	4	1
<b>Carl'Antonio Tanzi (1710-62)</b>	<i>Poesie milanesi</i>	<i>Poesie milanesi</i>	1766	Milan	Lyric, verse	29	0
<b>Giuseppe Parini (1729-1799)</b>	<i>Poesie milanesi</i>	<i>Poesie milanesi</i>	1780	Milan	Lyric, verse	1	1
<b>Domenico Balestrieri (1714-1789)</b>	<i>La Gerusalemme</i>	<i>Gerusalemme</i>	1772	Milan	Lyric, verse	124	28
	<i>Liberata travestita in lingua Milanese</i>	<i>Liberata</i>					
<b>Carlo Porta (1775-1821)</b>	<i>Poesie</i>	<i>Poesie</i>	XIX c.	Milan	Lyric, verse	50	11

Author	Title	Abbreviation	Date	Specific Area	Genre	No. Attestations of <i>mi(n)ga</i>	No. Attestations of <i>nò</i>
<b>Edoardo Ferravilla (1846-1916)</b>	<i>El sur Pedrin ai bagn</i>	<i>Sur Pedrin</i>	1872	Milan	Theatre, prose	4	2
	<i>I difett del sur Tapa</i>	<i>Sur Tapa</i>	1876	Milan	Theatre, prose	68	12
	<i>La class di asen</i>	<i>Class di asen</i>	1879	Milan	Theatre, prose	11	3
	<i>L'amis del papà</i>	<i>L'amis del papà</i>	1882	Milan	Theatre, prose	81	14
<b>Antonio Curti (1858-1945)</b>	<i>La casa Pistagna</i>	<i>Pistagna</i>	1892	Milan	Theatre, prose	35	19
<b>Carlo Bertolazzi (1870-1916)</b>	<i>El nost Milan: La Povera Gent</i>	<i>Nost Milan</i>	1893-4	Milan	Theatre, prose	83	62
<b>Emilio de Marchi (1851-1901)</b>	<i>El Milanin Milanon</i>	<i>Milanin Milanon</i>	1902	Milan	Prose	5	2
<b>Decio Guicciardi (1870-1918)</b>	<i>La lengua de can</i>	<i>Lengua de can</i>	1905	Milan	Theatre, prose	34	26
<b>Total</b>						674	226

Table 8 Corpus C

### 3.2.1.2 Corpus D: Veneto

Corpus D contains 28 texts by 14 authors.<sup>32</sup> There are 322 attestations of *miga* and 11 of *nò*.<sup>33</sup> There are fewer attestations of *miga* in Corpus D than *minga* in Corpus C because *miga* has not become the basic clause negator in Venetian. This is evidenced by the two Gallina plays of 1872, which both contain few attestations of *miga*, as *no(n)* has remained the basic clause negator. In addition, although there are some attestations of *nò* in Corpus D, it is less frequent in Venetian and other varieties of Venetan, than in Milanese and other western Lombard varieties. There are no texts that date to the fifteenth century in Corpus D. However, there are more data available for the sixteenth century than in Corpus C, owing in particular to the works of Angelo Beolco (Ruzante). As in Corpus C, the texts in Corpus D tend to originate from the region's capital, which in this case is Venice. Unlike Corpus C, however, Corpus D contains mostly theatrical texts that are written in prose, including in the earlier centuries. Only in the seventeenth century, where there is a lack of works in prose, have lyrical works in verse been sought in order to collect additional data for the period. Like Corpus C, the majority of the data in Corpus D was collected manually. However, use of digital archives available for certain periods and authors was also made. The *Archivio Digitale Veneto* (ADV) contains texts from the Padova region of Veneto dating between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>34</sup> The ADV therefore contains the works of some of the authors whose texts form part of Corpus D, namely Angelo Beolco (Ruzante) and Andrea Calmo, although physical editions of these texts were also used where available, as they contain invaluable notes on the text. In addition, for attestations of *miga* in Carlo Goldoni's works, the IntraText digital library, which is searchable by form, was used.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Note, however, that Goldoni's *Commedie* include all of his theatrical works, of which there are 173 in the IntraText archive.

<sup>33</sup> As *miga* is the dominant variant in Corpus D, it is referred to as such here.

<sup>34</sup> <http://gag.cab.unipd.it/pavano/public/>

<sup>35</sup> <http://www.intratext.com/>

Author	Title	Abbreviation	Date	Specific Area	Genre	No. Attestations of <i>mi(n)ga</i>	No. Attestations of <i>nò</i>
<b>Angelo Beolco (Ruzante) (c.1496-1542)</b>	<i>La Pastoral</i>	<i>Pastoral</i>	1521	Padova	Theatre, verse	1	0
	<i>La Betià</i>	<i>Betià</i>	1523-5	Padova	Theatre, verse	10	0
	<i>Bilora</i>	<i>Bilora</i>	pre-1528	Padova	Theatre, prose	2	0
	<i>La Moscheta</i>	<i>Moscheta</i>	1528-31	Padova	Theatre, prose	6	0
	<i>Il Reduce</i>	<i>Reduce</i>	1529-30	Padova	Theatre, prose	4	0
	<i>Fiorina</i>	<i>Fiorina</i>	1531-2	Padova	Theatre, prose	6	0
	<i>Piovana</i>	<i>Piovana</i>	1532	Padova	Theatre, prose	14	0
	<i>Vaccaria</i>	<i>Vaccaria</i>	1533	Padova	Theatre, prose	5	0
	<i>L'Anconitana</i>	<i>Anconitana</i>	1533-34	Padova	Theatre, prose	5	0
<b>Anonymous</b>	<i>La Venexiana</i>	<i>Venexiana</i>	1535-37	Venice	Theatre, prose	0	0

Author	Title	Abbreviation	Date	Specific Area	Genre	No. Attestations of <i>mi(n)ga</i>	No. Attestations of <i>nò</i>
<b>Gigio Artemio Giancarli</b> (? – before 1561)	<i>La capraria</i>	<i>Capraria</i>	1544	Venice	Theatre, prose	1	0
	<i>La zingana</i>	<i>Zingana</i>	1545	Venice	Theatre, prose	2	0
<b>Andrea Calmo</b> (1510-1571)	<i>Las Spagnolas</i>	<i>Spagnolas</i>	1549	Venice	Theatre, prose	8	0
	<i>Il Saltuzza</i>	<i>Saltuzza</i>	1551	Venice	Theatre, prose	0	0
	<i>Rodiana</i>	<i>Rodiana</i>	1553	Venice	Theatre, prose	4	0
<b>Girolamo Spinelli</b> (XVII c. – XVII c.)	<i>Dialogo de Cecco di Ronchitti da Bruzene in Prepuosito de la Nuova Stella</i>	<i>Dialogo Cecco Ronchitti</i>	1605	Venice	Dialogue, prose	7	1
<b>Giovan Battista Andreini</b> (1578-1654)	<i>La Venetiana</i>	<i>Venetiana</i>	1619	Venice	Theatre, prose	3	0
<b>Dario Varotari</b> (1588-1648)	<i>Il vespaio stuzicato</i>	<i>Vespaio stuzicato</i>	1671	Venice	Lyric, verse	6	6
<b>Marco Boschini</b> (1605-1680)	<i>La carta del navegar pitoresco</i>	<i>Carta navegar</i>	1660	Venice	Lyric, verse	21	0

Author	Title	Abbreviation	Date	Specific Area	Genre	No. Attestations of <i>mi(n)ga</i>	No. Attestations of <i>nò</i>
<b>Carlo Goldoni (1707-93)</b>	<i>Commedie</i>	<i>Commedie</i>	1729	Venice	Theatre, verse/ prose	187	0
	<i>Canzoni</i>	<i>Canzoni</i>	1748-62	Venice	Lyric, verse	11	0
	<i>Ottave veneziane</i>	<i>Ottave</i>	1748-62	Venice	Lyric, verse	4	0
	<i>Sonetti veneziane</i>	<i>Sonetti</i>	1748-62	Venice	Lyric, verse	1	0
<b>Carlo Gozzi (1720-1806)</b>	<i>L'augellin belvedere</i>	<i>Augellin belvedere</i>	1765	Venice	Theatre, prose	1	0
<b>Alessandro Zanchi (1759-1838)</b>	<i>La regatta de venezia</i>	<i>Regatta</i>	1825	Venice	Theatre, prose	4	0
<b>Francesco Camerone (? – 1878)</b>	<i>El mar in tera</i>	<i>Mar in tera</i>	1833	Venice	Theatre, prose	5	4
<b>Giacinto Gallina (1852 – 1897)</b>	<i>Le barufe in famegia</i>	<i>Barufe in famegia</i>	1872	Venice	Theatre, prose	3	0
	<i>Nissun va al monte</i>	<i>Nissun va al monte</i>	1872	Venice	Theatre, prose	1	0
<b>Total</b>						322	11

Table 9 Corpus D

### 3.2.2 Context

Although the contextual factors that were discussed in §3.1.2 remain relevant for this historical period, there are additional factors pertaining to the introduction of theatrical works into Corpora A and C. In particular, although above was stated that theatrical works, particularly those that are in prose, offer a closer representation of colloquial language use, the literary tradition of the theatre may continue to impact linguistic choices made by the authors of these works. One of the main issues in theatre is the use of language as a characterization tool, exaggerating certain linguistic features that may not have been present, or at least not in the same way or frequency, in the spoken variety of the time. Moreover, depending on the type of theatre, comedic devices such as word play interfere in the naturalness of the discourse. These are two of the biggest caveats when using theatrical works as a historical linguistic source. They are particularly pertinent in the case of Angelo Beolco (herein referred to by his stage name, Ruzante), whose sixteenth-century plays are the earliest theatrical works in the corpora, but are less pronounced in the late nineteenth-century plays of the Milanese playwrights.

The use of language in dialect theatre is discussed for Corpora C and D in the next two sections, respectively. Dialect here is used to describe varieties that were not the literary standard. The linguistic situation in Italy is often treated as a dichotomy between this literary standard, which is usually referred to as *lingua* ‘language’, and dialect, which do not share the same degree of standardization or cultural and social prestige, although they may maintain a degree of regional prestige, as in the case of Milanese and Venetian. This section is unable to address the vast literature that exists on the sociolinguistic situation in Italy, both historical and contemporary, but a number of observations that it has made are important for understanding the context for this period following the fourteenth century.<sup>36</sup> In order to make the distinction between standard and non-standard languages clear, I follow tradition and refer here to the latter as dialect.

#### 3.2.2.1 Dialect as a Characterization Device

Following the establishment of the Tuscan-based model for the literary standard (cf. § 3.1.2.1), authors who wrote in dialect were making a conscious choice to reject that standard, which represented a broader rejection of the cultural system of noblemen like Bembo (Carroll, 1981: 30).

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<sup>36</sup> For a historical discussion see Migliorini and Griffith (1984) and Bruni (1996, 1997). For a discussion of the present day, see De Mauro (2011[1963]) and the relevant chapters in Sobrero (1993).

As Carroll (1981: 30) notes, the composers of dialect texts were well-educated individuals whose choice of dialect was consciously designed to make a statement against the *status quo* of noble society and the literature that it produced. This is particularly important in the appreciation of the theatre of Ruzante (c.1496–1542), a playwright working in the early sixteenth century. Although an illegitimate son, Ruzante was born into a wealthy and influential Paduan family. Archival evidence collected by Lovarini (see Folena, 1965) and Menegazzo and Sambin (1964) shows that Ruzante was responsible for administering the family's extensive lands. Ruzante was a founding member of the *Compagnie della Calza*, theatre groups made up of the young men of the “leisured” classes, and was under the patronage of his wealthy friend, Alvise Cornaro. This is to say that, although Ruzante's plays are primarily written in *pavan*, the language of rural Paduan peasants, and their stories centre on agricultural Paduan life, Ruzante was a highly educated author, whose plays are regarded as complex social satires (Carroll: 1981: 103-4). It is important to recognize that neither the author nor the audience of Ruzante's plays were L1 speakers of *pavan*, although their position as wealthy landowners would have put them in a position to interact with those for whom it was. In addition, it is important to note that none of Ruzante's plays survive as manuscripts that were written during their author's lifetime, meaning that the earliest available editions were transcribed by a third party. This serves to highlight that the written form of the dialect theatre that are available for linguistic analysis are static forms of what were dynamic performance pieces that may have been different in their live production.

There are several views on the use of dialect in Ruzante. Some critics view Ruzante's use of dialect as mere linguistic ‘posturing’ (Segre, 1963: 356), and others regard it as an act of rebellion (Prosperi, 1965: 42-52), and therefore not authentic. Still, there are those that defend Ruzante as a documenter (Devoto, 1953: 93ff.) with a genuine interest in country people and their language (Carroll, 1981: 120). Even for those who defend the naturalness of Ruzante's use of dialect, there is little doubt that the author distorts and manipulates the language he writes in for literary effect, though notably these distortions are within the domain of morpho-phonology (Carroll 1981: 124), which is not the interest of this thesis.

Moreover, it is important to highlight that Ruzante's plays contain a variety of dialects that served as a characterization device. Although Ruzante preceded the *Commedia dell'arte* and its stock characters, the characters in his plays still speak the social and geographical variety appropriate for their character: those from the mountains speak Bergamasque, the merchant class of Venice in Venetian, social climbers speak in *moscheto*, a mix of Tuscan and dialect, and peasants in *pavan*. In



considering examples of *mi(n)ga* in Ruzante, then, it is important to observe the character for each example.

In addition to Ruzante, Carlo Goldoni (1707 – 1793), whose *Commedie* contain the majority of attestations of *miga* in Corpus C, is another Venetan author to have worked extensively in dialect theatre. Goldoni was particularly prolific in the period between 1750-62, which is characterized as Venetian realism. In this period, Goldoni, seeking to reform the tired *Commedia dell'arte* by reflecting everyday Venetian life in his plays, makes much use of the Venetian language. While the characters of the *Commedia dell'arte* all had a unique way of speaking as a means of characterization and convention, Goldoni uses a variety of dialects in order to reflect the reality of the environment in which each of his plays is set (Carroll, 1981: 133). The ideal of realism is something that also holds for the playwrights working in the nineteenth century, which is discussed further in the following section.

### 3.2.2.2 *Verismo*

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the types of text available for the Lombardy region begins to change. Following the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861, interest in and production of dialect theatre witnessed an unprecedented rise. Perhaps somewhat unexpectedly in a period that saw the consolidation and standardization of political and social systems across the Italian Peninsula, which included efforts to standardize Tuscan as the national language, dialect theatre flourished in major cities like Turin and Milan. As Carlson (2006: 88-89) writes, ‘some of the same pressures that led toward unification, political, cultural, and linguistic, also encouraged throughout Italy a new interest in regional languages and traditions, hitherto taken for granted but now threatened with disappearance by assimilation’. Moreover, the period between 1865 and 1895 saw the establishment and development of the literary movement of *verismo* ‘realism’ in Milan. The central principle of *verismo* was to represent society truthfully, which, from the historical linguist’s point of view, creates an expectation that these plays are an accurate portrayal of the spoken language, at least of the classes, genders and age groups that they represent. Furthermore, since these plays were not written in verse, it can be assumed that the syntax is more representative of the spoken language, given that word choice and placement is no longer restricted by rhythmic and metric structures.

While details pertaining to the data and specific attestations are given in the relevant sections of subsequent chapters, it is fitting to discuss how the text types that are available affect

our understanding of the history of negation in Milanese here. As recorded in Vai's (1995) history of negation in Milanese, both *minga* and *nò*, the latter being first attested in the early 1600s, remain optional reinforcing elements in the available texts for the better part of the period that is discussed in this thesis, while basic clause negation continues to be expressed by pre-verbal *no(n)*. This is true even in Carlo Porta's early nineteenth-century poetry. However, once we reach the latter half of the nineteenth century and theatrical works in prose become available, suddenly the view of negation in Milanese is much different. Pre-verbal *no(n)* is limited to only a few vestigial contexts, while *minga* has developed into the basic clause negator. Post-verbal *nò* is also significantly more frequent and, like *minga*, always appears as the only negator of the clause, rather than in a discontinuous structure with pre-verbal *no(n)*. There is no evidence for a stage of Jespersen's Cycle where the discontinuous structures *no...minga* and *no...nò* are stable strategies for basic clause negation. It is possible that the conventionalization of the discontinuous structure is simply not represented in the literary language. This is definitely true, for example, for the conventionalization of the NEG<sub>3</sub> strategies involving *minga* and *nò*.

The types of text in the corpora affect what it is possible to know about the history of negation in Milanese. The one earlier theatrical work in prose that is available pre-nineteenth century, the 1713 *Conti d'Agliate*, by an anonymous author, provides evidence that *minga* was quickly becoming as frequent as pre-verbal *no(n)* in Milanese (§6.4), belying the evidence of the later poetical works, which would suggest that this wasn't the case. It seems that works written in verse were much more conservative in retaining pre-verbal *no(n)* as the basic clause negator. There are probably a number of factors that affect this decision. First and foremost is that Italian, including prestigious literary varieties, has a pre-verbal negator, and there may have been an avoidance of a local feature like a post-verbal negator, particularly one like *minga*, which is totally different in etymology and form.

Moreover, as is argued in Chapter 6, *nò* has interactional properties that make it an item typical of speech, which may in turn restrict its use in written texts. For example, although the late nineteenth-century theatre demonstrates that *nò* is a frequently used negator, it is absent from Emilio de Marchi's *El Milanin Milanon* (1902), which is a prose piece without dialogue. In fact, *de Marchi*'s main strategy for clause negation is pre-verbal *no(n)*, despite earlier data showing that *minga* has clearly become the basic clause negator.

### 3.3 Data Analysis

The data were collected and entered into a spreadsheet (one spreadsheet per corpus), in order to create a database of examples of *mi(n)ga*, and *no*.<sup>37</sup> Each data point was given a unique reference code, and contextual information about each example was recorded as identifiers, including: title, author, date,<sup>38</sup> region, specific area (if known), genre, text type,<sup>39</sup> and form.<sup>40</sup> The edition from which the data were extracted was also recorded, along with a citation for each data point. Any additional contextual and co-textual information was also recorded as passage notes.

Each data point was then annotated for a number of pre-determined syntactic and semantic features.<sup>41</sup> Table 10 summarizes the features that were recorded. The features in Table 10 were chosen in order to provide a general picture of the semantic–syntactic features of the constructions in which *miga* is found, and to determine later in the analysis whether the use of the NEGATIVE REINFORCER *miga* construction was more common with certain semantic-syntactic contexts.

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<sup>37</sup> In later texts in Corpus C, where it was obvious that *minga* had become the basic clause negator due to its frequency, examples of vestigial pre-verbal *no(n)* were also collected.

<sup>38</sup> Where the exact date is not known, the century is recorded.

<sup>39</sup> *Text type* refers to whether the text is an original text, a translation, paraphrase, or *volgarizzamento*.

<sup>40</sup> *Form* refers to whether the text was written in prose or verse.

<sup>41</sup> Owing to the higher number of attestations in Corpus B and the time it takes to annotate and analyse the data qualitatively, I only had time to do so with a sample from Corpus B, in order to provide enough time to collect and analyse data from the later periods, which, as explained above, took a long time due the lack of digital corpora.

Feature	Example	Motivation
<b>Negation type</b>	Clause (main or subordinate), constituent, elliptical	Determine relative % of use in clause types (main or subordinate), constituent negation, and elliptical negation.
<b>Locution</b>	Declarative, imperative, interrogative	Determine relative % of use in declarative, imperative, and interrogative clauses.
<b>Verb valency</b>	Transitive, intransitive, intransitive (copular)	Determine whether use of <i>miga</i> more frequent in verbal constructions with or without post-verbal complements.
<b><i>Aktionsart</i></b>	Stative, activity, accomplishment, achievement	Determine if <i>aktionsart</i> played a role in the licensing of <i>miga</i> .
<b>Verb tense</b>	Present, past, future	Determine if <i>miga</i> more common with certain verb tenses.
<b>Aspect</b>	Habitual, perfect, prospective	Determine if <i>miga</i> more common with certain verb aspects.
<b>Mood</b>	Indicative, subjunctive, conditional	Determine if <i>miga</i> more common with certain verb moods.
<b>Subject</b>	1SG, 2SG, 3SG...	Determine if <i>miga</i> is more common with certain subject persons and numbers.
<b>Verb</b>	[lexeme]	Determine if <i>miga</i> more commonly used with specific verbs.
<b>Lexical category<sup>42</sup></b>	Adverb (could not be an argument of the verb) Quantifier (argument of the verb; could scope over a noun; often in a partitive construction) Noun (argument of the verb; with an in/definite article)	Determine bridging contexts.
<b>Lexical category of following lexical item</b>	Noun, participle, adverb	Determine if <i>miga</i> more common with certain types of post-verbal complements, and if this is related to its lexical category.

Table 10 Syntactic and semantic features of non-canonical negators

<sup>42</sup> As discussed in §4.3.3, a number examples may be ambiguous between lexical categories. This was noted.

Each data point was also annotated for salient syntactic and semantic features that were not pre-determined, in order to account for contexts in which examples of *mi(n)ga* and *nò* were particularly frequent. Table 11 summarizes the salient features of the syntagmatic context that became relevant for the study.

Salient Features	Description
<b>Pro-form</b>	Presence of existential or locative pro-form (e.g., <i>gbe</i> ‘there’)
<b>Partitive</b>	Presence of partitive morphology (e.g., <i>ne</i> , <i>de</i> + N)
<b>Adversative</b>	Negative clause introduced by an adversative conjunction
<b>Protasis/Apodosis</b>	Negative clause is either the protasis or apodosis of a conditional sentence
<b>Compound verb</b>	Position of <i>minga</i> or <i>nò</i> relative to the compound verb phrase
<b>Preposition</b>	<i>minga</i> or <i>nò</i> is followed by a preposition
<b>Complementizer</b>	<i>minga</i> or <i>nò</i> is followed by a complementizer
<b>ø object position</b>	<i>minga</i> or <i>nò</i> is in the object position
<b>Conjunction</b>	<i>minga</i> or <i>nò</i> is in a conjoined clause or phrase
<b>Minimizer</b>	Minimizer use of <i>mi(n)ga</i>
<b>Exceptive</b>	Negative clause is exceptive (e.g., <i>no(n) ... che</i> )
<b>Licensed NCI or NPI</b>	An NCI or NPI is licensed in the same clause
<b>Rhyme (verse only)</b>	<i>minga</i> or <i>nò</i> is in rhyme with another part of the text

Table 11 Salient features of the syntagmatic context

The data were then annotated for the specific purposes of the study. The methodology varied depending on the item (i.e., *mi(n)ga* or *nò*), and the data that were available. For example, *mi(n)ga* was annotated for bridging contexts that are relevant for (pro)nominal etymons of clause negators (cf. §4.3.3), and for its use in indexing intersubjectivity (cf. §5.1.2), while *nò* was annotated according to criteria that would elucidate its interactional function in dialogal (cf. §6.3.2). Item-specific data analysis is discussed at the relevant points throughout the thesis.

### 3.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has introduced the methodology for the collection and analysis of the data used in this thesis. The data collection was divided into two sections. The first set of data was collected from the OVI, an electronic corpus, while the data for the period following that covered by the OVI were collected by hand, using physical copies of texts, as well as a couple of digital archives.

The four corpora containing the data were discussed. Corpus A and Corpus B include the Lombard and Venetan texts, respectively, that date to before the end of the fourteenth century. The comparison of Corpora A and B with the distribution of *miga* demonstrated that its attestation was limited to specific areas, where designated, and to certain text types. Often, there was a correlation between the two, since the attestation of *miga* is more common in religious didactic and narrative texts, which tend to be from specific cities associated with literary production. Corpora C and D contain the texts from which attestations of *mi(n)ga* and *nò* were collected in the period from the fifteenth to the turn of the twentieth century. The latest text is in Corpus C and dates to 1905.

The contextual factors that may affect the data were also discussed. These include: the *toscanizzazione* of texts written in other regions; the bleaching of hyper-local features through koinéization; *volgarizzamenti*; and, the use of dialect in theatrical works as a characterization device.

Finally, the method of data analysis was discussed. It was shown that there was a set of criteria for which every example was analysed. The data were then analysed according to the specific purposes of different parts of the research. These are discussed in the relevant sections of subsequent chapters.

## CHAPTER 4

# The Constructionalization of *mi(n)ga* in Northern Italian Dialects

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This chapter presents an analysis of the development of *mi(n)ga* from a COUNT NOUN construction in Latin to a NEGATIVE REINFORCER construction in NIDs. The analysis is based upon empirical research of data collected from the Lombardy and Veneto regions, from the four corpora presented in Chapter 3. §4.1 provides an overview of the morpho-syntactic expression of negation in Old NIDs, which is defined as the period represented by the OVI. §4.2 then provides an overview of the morpho-syntactic expression of negation in the same varieties for the subsequent period between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries. Following these overviews, §4.3 offers an analysis of these developments within the framework of DCxG presented in Chapter 2.

## 4.1 Negation in Old Northern Italian Dialects

This section provides an overview of the expression of negation in Corpora A and B (§3.1.1). The section provides an overview of basic clause negation (§4.1.1), as well as the non-canonical *miga* NEGATION construction, following which the expression of constituent (§4.1.2) and quantifier negation (§4.1.3) are discussed. Throughout, a comparison between the data in Corpora A and B is made.

### 4.1.1 Basic Clause Negation

In this period, basic clause negation is expressed by the pre-verbal negator *no(n)* in both Lombardy and Veneto.

- (66) **Non** è                      *bona umeltat taser lo sen*  
 NEG COP.PRS.IND.3SG good humility quieten.INF the heart  
 ‘It is **not** good humility to quieten the heart’  
 (*Splanamento*, v.161, p.567, Lombardy, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

- (67) *Per amor* **no** *comove*                      =*se*                      *la mente mia né l cor*  
 for love NEG move.PRS.IND.3SG=REFL.3SG the mind POSS.F.1SG NEG.CNJ the heart  
 ‘For love my mind does **not** move, nor my heart’  
 (*Proverbia que dicuntur*, v.42, p.525, Veneto, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)



(67) also attests the negative co-ordinator *né*. *Né* is used as a co-ordinator between constituents in a negative clause (68), but it may also co-ordinate between clauses. The clause preceding the *né* conjunction is not necessarily negative (69). *Né* also co-ordinates between two negative clauses where it negates the conjoined clause on its own (i.e., the basic clause negator *no* does not follow it) (70).

- (68) *en paradiso, o' è tanto splendor, / qe sol né luna no g'è*  
 in paradise where COP.PRS.IND.3SG so much splendour COMP sun NEG.CNJ moon NEG EXPL=<sup>43</sup>  
*averà valor*  
 have.FUT.IND.3SG worth  
 'in paradise, where there is so much splendour, / that neither sun **nor** moon has value'  
 (*Libro*, vv.36-7, p.602, Lombardy, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

- (69) *Encontra T[ì] fui fort champion, / né no*  
 against PERS.PRON.ACC.2SG COP.PST.PRF.IND.1SG strong champion NEG.CNJ NEG  
*[au]dì' toa predicación*  
 hear.PST.PRF.IND.1SG POSS.F.2SG predication  
 'Against you I was a strong champion, **and** I did **not** hear your predication.'  
 (*Libro*, vv.661-2, p.623, Lombardy, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

- (70) *no è ric né serà*  
 NEG COP.PRS.IND.3SG rich NEG.CNJ COP.FUT.IND.3SG  
 'he is not rich **nor** will he be'  
 (*Splanamento*, v.411, p.576, Lombardy, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

As discussed in §1.3.1, the basic clause negator is that which is most frequent in declarative main clauses. Basic clause negation also expresses semantic negation. That is, for any *p*, *no(n)* expresses  $\neg p$ . However, additional items may co-occur with the basic clause negator that reinforce the semantic negation. In Corpora A and B, such items include minimizers (e.g., *un speron* 'a spur', *un figo (seco)* 'a (dry) fig'). Although minimizing expressions may be adverbial (cf. Hoeksema, 2009: 23), those attested in Corpora A and B are arguments of the verb. Typically, too, the productivity of minimizers in the data is relatively low, collocating with a relatively small set of verbs. For

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<sup>43</sup> The clitic *ghe* has several functions. Locative *ghe* has a referential value (gloss = LOC), and *ghe* is also the dative personal pronoun for all third persons (gloss = PERS.PRON). In existential constructions, *ghe* is an existential pro-form (gloss = PF) (cf. Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina, 2015). Elsewhere, as in this example, *ghe* is an expletive without referential value (gloss = EXPL)(cf. Benincà, 2007: 28-30).

example, *un figo seco* ‘a dry fig’ collocates with *dare* ‘to give’, with which it has an idiomatic interpretation *not to care one bit* (cf. Eng. *not to give a fig/damn about something*).

- (71) «E’                                    *no ge ne daria* –                    *ço*                    *diso* –                    **un**  
PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG NEG EXPL PRT give.COND.1SG DEM.M.SG say.PST.PRF.IND.3SG a  
***figo seco*** ...»  
 fig    dry  
 ‘I wouldn’t give about it’ – he said – “**a dry fig...**”  
 (*De Babilonia*, v.127, p.647, Lombardy, 13th c.)

Another means of reinforcing basic clause negation in the data is by adverbial negative reinforcers (e.g., *miga*, *niente*).<sup>44</sup> Negative reinforcers behave like adverbs (cf. Zanuttini, 1997), rather than arguments. Perhaps as a result of this, they collocate with a wider range of verbs than minimizers. Note, however, that the prototypical *niente* ‘nothing’ construction is an argument of the verb, and adverbial uses like in (72) are less common (cf. §4.1.3).

- (72) *En pie resalta*                                    *inmantinente*, / *Che plu non dimora*                                    ***niente***  
in foot get on.PRS.IND.3SG immediately                    COMP more NEG delay.PRS.IND.3SG nothing  
 ‘He gets on his feet immediately, / he doesn’t delay any longer **at all**’  
 (*Santo Stady*, vv.2164-5, p.106, Veneto, 1321)

Adverbial uses of *niente* are typically found in constructions where it is preceded either by the preposition *de* or by *per*. Such examples are treated in more detail in §4.1.3 on quantifier negation. *Miga* is the more frequent adverbial means of reinforcing basic clause negation, however, and since it is the focus of this chapter and thesis, the following section is given to describing its distribution in Corpora A and B.

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<sup>44</sup> Breitbarth, Lucas and Willis (2020: 36) call these latter items *negative polarity adverbs*. Here this term is avoided as it gives the impression that these items are negative polarity items, when the analysis of *miga* in §4.3 differs.

#### 4.1.1.1 Non-canonical Negation: *Miga*

First, it ought to be noted that there are two different forms of *miga* in this period: *miga* (including the phonological variants *minga* and *mia*), and *miga* preceded by the negative morpheme NE, of which there are two phonological variants, *né* and *ni* (i.e., *né(-)miga* and *ni-miga*). The latter NE forms are only found in Corpus B, while Corpus A only attests the plain *miga* form. The NE morpheme is the same NE as that found in many NCIs in present-day Italian (e.g., *nessuno* ‘nobody’ < Lat. *ne ipse unus* ‘not even one’; *niente* ‘nothing’ < Lat. *ne gente* ‘no person’, ‘no being’).<sup>45</sup> In their study of *mica* in Old Tuscan, Hansen and Visconti (2009) discuss the two forms *mica* and *né mica*, the latter of which they conclude to be the older of the two, since it appears in almost half of their earlier examples, decreasing in frequency to 33% of their later examples and disappearing after the sixteenth century. The data in Corpus B do not conform with Hansen and Visconti’s Old Tuscan data, with only a small proportion (9/948) of all attestations of *miga* preceded by *né* or *ni*. Most (8/9) NE forms appear in the later fourteenth-century *Tristano Veneto*.<sup>46</sup>

Century	<i>Miga</i>	<i>né-miga</i>	<i>ni-miga</i>	Total
13th	18	1		19
14th	921	1	7	929
<b>Total</b>	939	2	7	948

Table 12 Different forms of *miga* in Corpus B

Moreover, in Garzonio's (2016: 6-8) study of Old Tuscan, it is demonstrated that Old Tuscan *mica* and *né mica* have a different distribution: while *mica* cannot appear pre-verbally, as it may in contemporary NRI, *né mica* is able to do so. Again, this is in opposition to the data in Corpus B, in which there are no instances of pre-verbal *né-/ni-miga*, but two examples of pre-verbal *miga* where it precedes *no(n)*.

<sup>45</sup> NE may either derive from Latin *NĒ*, an older form of negation in Latin, which appears in grammaticalized negative indefinites (cf. Gianollo 2016), and which is incorporated into the Latin negator NON (< \*NE + OENUM ‘NEG + one’), or from the negative co-ordinator NEC.

<sup>46</sup> It is not immediately clear why this might be the case, but there could be some influence from Tuscan, where this form was more frequent, upon the Veneto translation. The attestations of the NE form could also be viewed as cases of layering (Hopper, 1991) of an older form that is not found in earlier texts.

- (73) *Luy e sua muier ave astinençia, / E miga*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.3SG and POSS.F.3SG wife have.PST.IMPF.IND.3SG abstinence and MIGA  
*li non feva demostraxon*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3PL NEG make.PST.IMPF.IND.3SG demonstration  
 ‘He and his wife practiced abstinence, and **not even** they made a display of it’  
 (*Santo Stady*, vv.220-1, p.55, Veneto, 1321)

- (74) *E fieramentre fi plurad / Da tal qe miga no i è*  
 and heavily AUX.PST.PRF.IND3SG mourn.PPRT by such REL MIGA NEG PF COP.PRS.IND.3SG  
*en grad*  
 in grade  
 ‘And he was heavily mourned by such who was not even worthy’  
 (*Istoria*, p.56, Veneto, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

The position of *miga* in (73) suggests that *miga* introduces a constituent in argument focus, as the translation *not even they* expresses (cf. §4.1.2).<sup>47</sup> In addition, the constituent order in (74) may be affected by the poem’s meter, since its expected position between *è* and *en grad* would disrupt this.

With regard to the functional properties of *né-/ni-miga*, there does not appear to be a difference between it and the bare *miga* form. As a result, where *miga* is used in the remainder of the thesis, it refers to both forms, unless the surrounding context explicitly distinguishes between the two.

Table 13 summarizes the distribution of *miga* across NEGATION constructions with different scopes. Note that while in §4.1.3 it is shown that pre-verbal quantifiers like *niente* ‘nothing’ can be used to express clause negation in Corpora A and B, *miga* never appears under the scope of quantifier negation. It may, however, be licensed alongside post-verbal quantifiers in a NC construction.

- (75) *de=lo bevere non faro miga niente*  
 of =the drink.INF NEG do.FUT.IND.1SG MIGA nothing  
 ‘about drinking I will do **nothing at all**’  
 (*Tristano veneto*, p.74, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

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<sup>47</sup> cf. Shyu (2016) on the EVEN component of scalar minimizers.

Corpus	Century	Clausal Negation		Constituent	Elliptical	Total
		Main Clause	Subordinate Clause			
Corpus A	13 <sup>th</sup>	15 (58%)	3 (12%)	5 (19%)	3 (12%)	26
	14 <sup>th</sup>	12 (60%)	1 (5%)	5 (25%)	2 (10%)	20
Corpus B	13 <sup>th</sup>	12 (63%)	5 (26%)	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	19
	14 <sup>th</sup>	184 (71%)	61 (24%)	7 (3%)	6 (3%)	258
<b>Total</b>		225 (70%)	70 (22%)	15 (5%)	12 (4%)	<b>322</b>

Table 13 Distribution of *miga* in Corpora A and B

In both corpora, *miga* is most frequent in main clause negation, but there is a marked difference with regard to the proportion of uses of *miga* in constituent and elliptical negation, which is much higher in Corpus A (27% compared to only 6% in Corpus B). For example, 7/15 attestations of *miga* in Bonvesin da la Riva's *Opere volgari* and 7/9 attestations in the *Elucidario* are in elliptical or constituent negation. Both these texts are written in the Milanese dialect of Lombardy, perhaps suggesting that this use is more common in this variety than others of the Lombardy region, at least in the written form. The single attestation of *miga* in the *Disputatio roxe viole*, another Milanese text, is also in a negative VERBAL ELLIPSIS construction. The difference between Lombardy and Veneto texts in this respect is also noteworthy since in contemporary Lombard dialects *miga* has typically reached a more advanced stage of grammaticalization, having become the basic clause negator, whereas in Venetan varieties *miga* has typically remained an optional negative reinforcer that has pragmatic licensing restrictions. The higher proportion of verbal ellipses with *miga* in the Lombard data could indicate that *miga* had reached a higher degree of grammaticalization by the fourteenth century in these varieties in comparison to the Veneto.

In regard to the type of locutions in which *miga* appears in Corpora A and B (Table 14), it is interesting to note that, in terms of main clauses, negative imperatives and interrogatives with *miga* are not attested until the fourteenth century, and then only in Corpus B. In Corpus A, the main clauses in which *miga* is attested are only declarative. The large increase in attestations in the fourteenth century makes it difficult to assess whether there was any extension of the use of *miga* in main clauses to subordinate clauses. It is typically expected, however, that innovations occur in main clauses, before extending to subordinate clauses (Ross, 1973).

Locutions in Clause Negation		Corpus A		Corpus B	
		13 <sup>th</sup> c.	14 <sup>th</sup> c.	13 <sup>th</sup> c.	14 <sup>th</sup> c.
Main	Declarative	15 (83%)	12 (92%)	12 (71%)	171 (70%)
	Imperative			1 (6%)	14 (6%)
	Interrogative				8 (3%)
Subordinate	Embedded	3 (17%)	1 (8%)	3 (18%)	48 (20%)
	Adverbial			1 (6%)	4 (2%)

Table 14 Locutions in non-canonical clause negation with *miga* in Corpora A and B

#### 4.1.2 Constituent Negation

Constituent negation is primarily expressed by *no(n)* preceding the negated constituent. As in basic clause negation, there is also a non-canonical CONSTITUENT NEGATION construction involving *miga*.

- (76) *faxé questo che io ve insegno non*  
do.IMP.2PL DEM.M.SG REL PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG PERS.PRON.ACC.2PL teach.PRS.IND.1SG NEG  
*miga per mio ben, ma per lo vostro*  
MIGA for POSS.M.1SG good but for the POSS.M.2PL  
‘Do this that I teach you **not** for my good, but for your own’

(*Tristano veneto*, p.67, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

However, the data show that the predominant use of *miga* was as a reinforcer in clause negation, with only 11% and 3% of examples of *miga* occurring in constituent negation in Corpus A and Corpus B, respectively (cf. Table 13).<sup>48</sup>

The use of *miga* in constituent negation appears to be linked to a specialized function in a constituent FOCUS construction. For example, one third (5/15) of the examples in Corpus A are found in so-called Janus-faced contexts (cf. Hansen and Visconti, 2012: 462-3), which negate something in the preceding discourse (i.e., something discourse-old), while also containing something related to the following discourse. As such, they “face” both backwards and forwards. In (77), for example, the clause containing the *no miga* constituent negation denies the request made

<sup>48</sup> It is highly likely the case that clause negation (both basic and reinforced) is more frequent than constituent negation overall, but this has not been verified.

in the preceding co-text that the teacher tell the pupil what God is (underlined), but also relates to the following co-text. In Janus-faced contexts in these data, *no miga* precedes a constituent, which is then contrasted with a constituent that is typically preceded by *ma* ‘but’ or *anzi* ‘in fact’. In addition, the two contrasted constituents are usually of the same type. For instance, in (77), *tanto quanto* is contrasted with *quanto*, both relative pronouns.

- (77) *Disipul [...] dona =me a intende quente cosa*  
 student give.IMP.3SG=PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG to understand.INF what thing  
*è Deo. M. Eyo te 'n diray*  
 COP.PRS.IND.3SG God T[eacher] PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG PERS.PRON.DAT.2SG PRT tell.FUT.IND.1SG  
*no miga tanto quanto tu vorisi, ma quanto è*  
 NEG MIGA REL.PRON PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG want.COND.2SG but REL.PRON COP.PRS.IND.3SG  
*licita cosa a homo mortale savere*  
 licit thing to man mortal know.INF  
 ‘I will tell you **not** as much as you want to know about it, but as much as it is allowed for a mortal man to know’  
 (*Elucidario*, Book 1, Quaest. 2, p.88, Lombardy, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

In other examples, the constituent preceded by *no miga* is likewise contrasted with another constituent, but the contrasted constituent precedes the *no miga* constituent. In a couple of examples this contrast is expressed by *ma* ‘but’, but not always. Again, in (78), two constituents of the same type are contrasted, this time two prepositional phrases.

- (78) *Per lu fo mort to fio, ma no miga per*  
 for PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG AUX.PST.PRF.IND.3SG kill.PPRT POSS.M.2SG son but NEG MIGA for  
*mi*  
 PERS.PRON.ACC.1SG  
 ‘Your son was killed because of him, but **not** because of me.’  
 (*Opere volgari [De Sathana cum Virgine]*, v.94, p.31, Lombardy, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

The use of *miga* in these constructions suggests that its use is favoured in contexts of contrastive focus in constituent negation, where it distinguishes between possible alternatives, as in (78), where the constituent negation distinguishes between *lu* and *mi* as the possible agents. This specialized function, and the fact that *no miga* appears as a unit rather than the bi-partite structure typical in clause negation involving *miga*, suggest that the *no miga* construction used in constituent negation is a distinct construction from the non-canonical CLAUSE NEGATION construction.

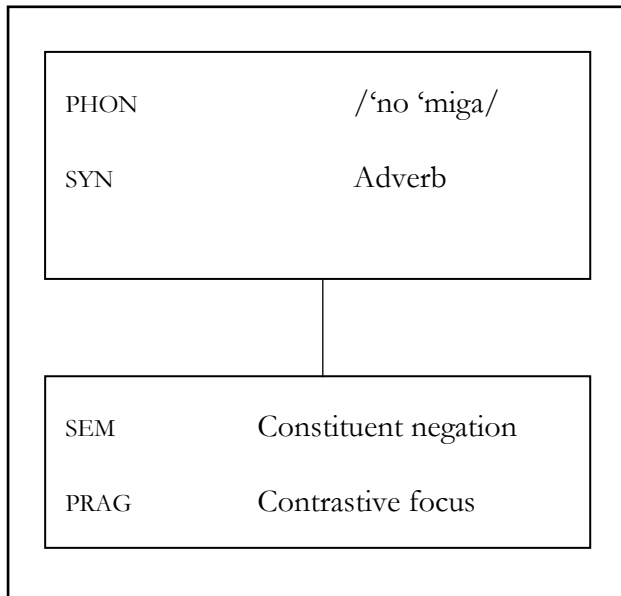


Figure 11 The no miga CONSTITUENT NEGATION *micro-construction*

*Miga* also always co-occurs with *no(n)* on the rare occasions it is used holophrastically in fragment answers.<sup>49</sup> This construction only occurs in the following two instances in Corpus B. There are no instances in Corpus A.

- (79) *alçirisi tu Iesu per salvare questo segolo? D. Non miga.*  
 kill.COND.2SG PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG I. for save.IMF DEM.M.SG century NEG MIGA  
 ‘Would you kill Jesus to save this century?’ D: ‘No’  
 (*Lucidario*, p.80, Veneto, 14th c.)

- (80) *Ve voliti vu' dexarmare?' 'No, miga'*  
 REFL.2PL want.PRS.IND.2PL PERS.PRON.NOM.2PL disarm.INF NEG MIGA  
 ‘Do you want to disarm yourself’ ‘No, not at all’  
 (*Tristano Corsiniano*, p.38, Veneto, 14th c.)

Note that the comma between *no* and *miga* in (80) results in the interpretation of *miga* as negative in its own right, while its interpretation is unclear in (79), where the absence of the comma

<sup>49</sup> These are included as elliptical negation.



suggests that *non miga* should be interpreted together, in which case the negative interpretation of the response may be derived from *no(n)* alone.<sup>50</sup>

#### 4.1.3 Quantifier Negation

In addition to the basic clause negator *no(n)*, clause negation could also be expressed by quantifiers, such as *nisun* ‘nobody’ (81).

- (81) *Nisun farà a la Vergen honor ke i sia in grao*  
 nobody do.FUT.IND.3SG to the Virgin honour REL PF COP.PRS.IND.3SG in grade  
 ‘**Nobody** will honour the Virgin Mary who is worthy’.  
 (*Opere volgari [Laudes de Virgine Maria]*, v.527, p.231, Lombardy, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

The varieties that have been examined for this period are non-strict NC languages (cf. §1.3.3), and therefore NCIs do not obligatorily co-occur with the basic clause negator when the quantifier is in a pre-verbal position (81) or is used in fragment answers (82). NCIs may co-occur with other negative words in the clause without producing a DN interpretation (83).

- (82) *Doma(n)dà que el fe’ a lui, dis:*  
 ask.PPRT REL SCL.M.3SG do.PST.PRF.IND.3SG to PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG say.PRS.IND.3SG  
 «**Nient**».  
 nothing  
 ‘Asked what he did to him, he says: “**Nothing**.”’  
 (*Lio Mazor*, 24, p.66, Veneto, 1312-14)

- (83) *illi no voleno far niente*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3PL NEG want.PRS.IND.3PL do.INF nothing  
 ‘They don’t want to do **anything**’  
 (*Sermone*, v.1466, p.57, Lombardy, 1274)

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<sup>50</sup> However, the translation of (80) follows Allaire (2015), which includes a comma between *non* and *miga*, whereas Tagliani’s (2011) edition does not. It is therefore not possible to assume that there would have a comma in the original text.

As reported in §1.4.2.2, the basic clause negator in some varieties of present-day NIDs derives from the NCIs *niente* or *negota*, which both translate as *nothing*. In the data that have been examined from Corpora A and B, *niente* is significantly more frequent than *negota*, although both have survived as negative quantifiers in present-day varieties of northern Italy (cf. AIS Map 1598). Moreover, data from previous research also show that in contemporary varieties of the Veneto region, *gnente* may be used as a negative reinforcer.

In the earliest attested stages of NIDs, *niente* is the more frequent item, and also appears in texts from a wider range of specific areas within the Lombardy and Veneto regions. Table 15 and Table 16 summarize the distribution of *niente* and *negota* in Corpora A and B.

Century	Specific Area	<i>Niente</i>	<i>Negota</i>
13 <sup>th</sup>	Milan	73	15
	Bergamo	5	
	Cremona	12	
	Mantova	2	
	Unspecified	27	2
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>17</b>
14 <sup>th</sup>	Pavia	58	7
	Mantova	1	
	Milan	26	
	Milan/Como	6	3
	Unspecified	2	
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>212</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Normalized Frequency (to 10,000)</b>		<b>8.03</b>	<b>1.02</b>

Table 15 *Niente and negota in Corpus A*

<b>Century</b>	<b>Specific Area</b>	<b><i>Niente</i></b>	<b><i>Negota</i></b>
13 <sup>th</sup>	Venice	15	
	Verona	5	2
	Euganean Hills	4	
	Unspecified	11	
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>2</b>
14 <sup>th</sup>	Venice	182	5
	Verona	65	3
	Euganean Hills		2
	Treviso	9	1
	Vicenza	2	
	Padova	15	
	Croatia	6	
	Unspecified	494	1
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>773</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>808</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Normalized Frequency (to 10,000)</b>		<b>4.18</b>	<b>0.07</b>

Table 16 *Niente and negota in Corpus B*

The frequency of *negota* is not only significantly less than that of *niente*, it also appears in a much smaller number of texts. In Corpus A, *negota* is attested in only two texts from the thirteenth century and two texts in the fourteenth century. Similarly, in Corpus B, *negota* appears in a total of 13 texts, while *niente* is attested in 130 texts. The normalized frequencies also show *negota* to be more common in Corpus A than in Corpus B. This accords with present-day data, which show *negota* to be more frequent in western regions of northern Italy. In present-day varieties of NIDs, both *niente* and *negota* have developed adverbial uses. Table 17 demonstrates to what extent adverbial uses of *niente* and *negota* had developed in Old NIDs.

Corpus	Century	Item	Argument	Adverbial	Prepositional forms	Total
A	13th	<i>Niente</i>	78 (66%)	12 (10%)	29 (24%)	119
		<i>Negota</i>	12 (71%)	1 (6%)	4 (24%)	17
	14th	<i>Niente</i>	44 (47%)	25 (27%)	24 (26%)	93
		<i>Negota</i>	6 (60%)		4 (40%)	10
B	13th	<i>Niente</i>	27 (77%)	5 (14%)	3 (9%)	35
		<i>Negota</i>	2 (100%)			2
	14th	<i>Niente</i> <sup>51</sup>	120 (83%)	12 (8%)	12 (8%)	144
		<i>Negota</i>	8 (73%)	2 (18%)	1 (9%)	11

Table 17 Argument and adverbial uses of *niente* and *negota* in Corpora A and B

The data in Corpus A show that there is an increase in adverbial uses of *niente* (84) between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Corpus A, although its use is still predominantly as a nominal argument of the verb. Adverbial uses of *niente* are not as frequent in Corpus B as in Corpus A, and the percentage of argument uses in Corpus B is higher too (85). For example, 83% of examples of *niente* in the fourteenth-century data in Corpus B are argument uses, compared to 47% in Corpus A. *Negota* remains principally used as a nominal argument in both corpora (86). The frequency of prepositional forms is lower in Corpus B than Corpus A (87).

<sup>51</sup> The analysis in this section has been carried out on a sample of the 773 fourteenth-century attestations of *niente* in Corpus B.

- (84) *de certo pur un pocho hi porravan mover né trantalar niente quel chi*  
of certain also a little LOC be able.FUT.IND.3PL move.INF NEG.CNJ waver.INF nothing REL  
*manten constancia s'=el vorrà vegiar con lo*  
maintain.PRS.IND.3PL constancy if=PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3SG want.FUT.IND.3SG see.INF with the  
*cor e con l' =annimo e mete' le soe virtue a far bonna*  
heart and with the=spirit and put.FUT.IND.3SG the POSS.F.3PL virtues to make.INF good  
*guardia*  
guardianship  
‘Certainly, they won’t be able to move even a bit nor waver **at all**, those who  
maintain constancy, if they want to see with the heart and spirit, and put their  
virtues toward good guardianship’  
(Parafraasi pavese, ch.12, p.53, Lombardy, 1342)
- (85) *Se bruxà in fogo ardente, / Che no lly*  
IMPERS.3SG burn.PST.PRF.IND.3SG in fire ardent COMP NEG PERS.PRON.DAT.M.3PL  
*romaxe niente*  
remain.PST.PRF.IND.3SG nothing  
‘It burned in an ardent fire / so that **nothing** remained.’  
(Santo Stady, vv.828-9, p.71, Veneto, 1321)
- (86) *Quand tu veniss il mondo, se tu*  
when PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG come.PST.IMP.F.IND.2SG the world if PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG  
*voliss pensar, / Negota ge portassi, negota 'n*  
want.PST.IMP.F.IND.2SG think.INF nothing LOC bring.PST.IMP.F.IND.2SG nothing PRT  
*poi portar*  
be able.PRS.IND.2SG bring.INF  
‘When you came into the world, if you wanted to imagine, / you couldn’t bring  
**anything** there, you can’t bring **anything** from there’  
(Opere volgari [De scriptura aurea], vv.387-8, p.164, Lombardy, 13th c.)
- (87) *el e le soi ovre tornarà a niente*  
SCL.M.3SG and the POSS.F.3PL works turn.FUT.IND.3SG to nothing  
‘He and his works will turn to nothing’  
(Libro, v.517, p.618, Lombardy, 13<sup>th</sup> century)

It ought to be noted that the majority of the thirteenth-century adverbial uses of *niente* (75%) and the single example of adverbial *negota* in Corpus A are in the phrase *parlar quas niente/negota*. All of these examples are in the *Opere volgari*. (88) and (89) are examples of *niente* and *negota* in this context.

- (88) *La somma sí è questa, ke parlo quas niente / D=el*  
 the sum thus COP.PRS.IND.3SG DEM.F.SG COMP speak.PRS.IND.1SG almost nothing of =the  
*gaudio de=l iusto k' =el ha quand el*  
 joy of=the just REL=PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3SG have.PRS.IND.3SG when PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3SG  
*se sente / K' =el è partio*  
 REFL.3SG feel.PRS.IND.3SG COMP=PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3SG AUX.PRS.IND.3SG leave.PPRT  
 ‘Thus, the result is this, that **I speak hardly at all** / of the joy of the just that he  
 has when he feels / that he has left’  
 (*Opere volgari [De scriptura aurea]*, vv.305-7, p.161, Lombardy, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

- (89) *Tant è fort quella pena k' =eo parlo*  
 so much COP.PRS.IND.3SG strong DEM.F.SG pain COMP=PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG speak.PRS.IND.1SG  
***quas negota.***  
 almost nothing  
 ‘That pain is so strong that **I speak hardly at all.**’  
 (*Opere volgari [De scriptura nigra]*, v.340, p.112, Lombardy, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

In the context of this specific phrase, *niente* and *negota* may be interpreted as either nominal or adverbial, thus the interpretation of *parlar quas negota/niente* could be either ‘to speak hardly at all’ or ‘to say hardly anything’. Although typically intransitive, Vai (1996: 65) notes that *parlar* ‘to speak’ is used transitively by Bonvesin (e.g., *tu parli grand bosia* ‘you speak a great lie’, *Sauth. Cum Virg.*, 42). Vai seems to suggest, therefore, that examples like those in (88) and (89) are not adverbial uses of *negota* and *niente*, but rather instances of an internal object that is inferable from the meaning of the verb *parlar* under the scope of the clause negator (i.e., *to not speak = to speak nothing*).

That *negota* only has a nominal use in all other attestations in Corpus A suggests that Vai could be correct. However, although it can be used transitively, *parlar* is far more frequently an intransitive verb. Arguably, the ambiguous interpretation of *niente* and *negota* as either nominal quantifiers or negative adverbs in the formulaic *parlar quas negota/niente* indicates the reanalysis of *niente*, and to a lesser extent *negota*, into the latter. Furthermore, it is notable that, although NCIs like *niente* and *negota* may negate a clause in which they are the sole negator, the clauses in which they appear in (88) and (89) are affirmative, as they are true when the subject speaks to some extent. This has the effect that *niente* appears in a post-verbal position without the basic clause negator *no* in a pre-verbal position, as is usually the case. However, there are a handful of examples in which *niente* appears post-verbally as the sole negator (90).

- (90) *Respond illora li angeli: «Tu vi ancora niente, /*  
 respond.PRS.IND.3SG then the angels PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG see.PRS.IND.2SG still nothing  
*Za tost te portaromo dnanz da l' =Omnipoente*  
 already quickly PERS.PRON.ACC.2SG bring.FUT.IND.1PL in front from the=Omnipotent  
 ‘Then the angels responded: “You still see **nothing**, / yet soon we will bring you  
 before the Omnipotent’  
 (*Opere volgari [De scriptura aurea]*, vv.37-8, p.152, Lombardy, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

Examples like (90) are among the earliest evidence of post-verbal clause negation in NIDs. Table 18 summarizes the distribution of *niente* and *negota* among different contexts in Corpus A.

Context		13 <sup>th</sup> c.		14 <sup>th</sup> c.	
		<i>Niente</i>	<i>Negota</i>	<i>Niente</i>	<i>Negota</i>
Clause negation	Pre-verbal	39 (33%)	9 (53%)	15 (16%)	2 (20%)
	Negative Concord	35 (29%)	2 (12%)	45 (48%)	4 (40%)
	Post-verbal	13 (11%)		12 (13%)	
Weak Negative Polarity Context	Hardly/almost not	9 (8%)	2 (12%)		
	Conditional antecedent			4 (4%)	
	Interrogative			6 (6%)	
Complement of a Preposition in a Positive Polarity Context		23 (19%)	4 (24%)	11 (12%)	4 (40%)

Table 18 *Niente and negota: contexts in Corpus A*

Table 18 demonstrates that cases of post-verbal clause negation involving *niente* and *negota* are relatively uncommon in comparison to clause negation where the NCI is in a pre-verbal position or in a NC construction. In the thirteenth-century data, 45% of attestations of *niente* in clause negation are in a pre-verbal position, and 40% are in a NC construction, while only 15% are post-verbal. In the fourteenth century, the percentage of clause negation in a NC construction increases to 63%. Meanwhile, there are no instances of *negota* in post-verbal clause negation; it is always either pre-verbal, or in a negative concord construction. Notably, there are instances of *niente* in weak negative polarity contexts in the fourteenth-century data, namely interrogatives (91)

and conditional antecedents (92). *Negota*, on the other hand, is restricted to clause negation in the fourteenth-century data.

- (91) [D.] *Noxe niente a li boni se illi no in*  
 hurt.PRS.IND.3SG nothing to the good if PERS.PRON.NOM.M.2PL NEG AUX.PRS.IND.3PL  
*sepelidi in cimiterio de giexa?*  
 bury.PPRT in cemetery of church  
 ‘[D.] Does it hurt the good **at all** if they are not buried in the church cemetery?’  
 (*Elucidario*, Book 2, Quaest. 103, p.181, Lombardy, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)
- (92) *Lo demonio steva su=l braçço de la croxe da la parte senestra per veççer*  
 the devil COP.PST.IMPF.IND.3SG on=the arm of the cross from the part left for see.INF  
*e cognosser s'=el ghe poesse trovar niente de=l so'*  
 and know.INF if =SCL.M.3SG LOC be able.PST.IMPF.SJV.3SG find.INF nothing of=the POSS.M.3SG  
 ‘The devil stood on the arm of the cross on the left-hand side to see and know if  
 he could find **anything** of his there’  
 (*Parafrasi pavese*, ch.23, p.112, Lombardy, 1342)

Table 19 summarizes the contexts in which *niente* and *negota* are found in Corpus B.

Context		13th		14th	
		<i>Niente</i>	<i>Negota</i>	<i>Niente</i>	<i>Negota</i>
Clause negation	Pre-verbal	6 (18%)		35 (24%)	
	Negative Concord	21 (62%)	1 (50%)	70 (48%)	7 (64%)
	Post-verbal	4 (12%)	1 (50%)	13 (9%)	4 (36%)
Weak Negative	Hardly/almost not	1 (3%)			
Polarity Context	Conditional antecedent			14 (10%)	
	Higher clause negation			2 (1%)	
Complement of a Preposition in a Positive		2 (6%)		11 (8%)	
Polarity Context					

Table 19 *Niente and negota: contexts in Corpus B*





and D (§4.2.1), including the non-canonical *mi(n)ga* and *nò* constructions, following which constituent (§4.2.2) and quantifier (§4.2.3) negation are discussed.

#### 4.2.1 Basic Clause Negation

In the earlier part of the period under review in this section, pre-verbal *no(n)* remains the basic clause negator, while *mi(n)ga* is an optional negative reinforcer in both Corpora C and D.

- (94) *no =l se m[eu]u mingha la lingua*  
 NEG=SCL.F.3SG REFL.3SG move.PRS.IND.3SG MIGA the tongue  
 ‘The tongue doesn’t move **at all**.’  
 (Prissian, p.196, Milan, 1606)

- (95) *Ruzante. A’ no me poré miga magnar tuto.*  
 SCL.1SG NEG SCL.1SG be able.FUT.IND.1SG MIGA eat.INF all  
 ‘I won’t be able **at all** to eat everything.’  
 (Moscheta, Act 3, Scene 8, p.21, Veneto, 1527-32)

While in Corpus D *miga* remains a reinforcer of the pre-verbal basic clause negator *no(n)*, in an increasing number of its attestations in Corpus C, *minga* is the only negator in the clause. In texts where *no(n)* is still the basic clause negator and *minga* is an optional strategy for clause negation (i.e., excluding texts where *minga* has become the basic clause negator), in 40% of its attestations, *minga* is the only clause negator (i.e., NEG<sub>3</sub>) (96). The percentage of NEG<sub>3</sub> *miga* in Corpus D meanwhile is only 1.4%, as *miga* continues to collocate with the pre-verbal basic clause negator (97).

- (96) *Dottor Gainone. Forse che Donna Perla è fatta sposa? /*  
 maybe comp D. P. AUX.PRS.IND.3SG do.PPRT bride  
 ‘Maybe Donna Perla has been made a bride?’
- Donda. Ohibo’, l’ =è minga quest*  
 EXCL SCL.EXPL=COP.PRS.IND.3SG NEG DEM.M.SG  
 ‘Oh no, it’s **not** this’  
 (Donna Perla, Act 3, Scene 4, p.69, Milan, 1724)

- (97) *Brigella. No l' =è miga scritto de vostro carattere.*  
 NEG SCL.EXPL=COP.PRS.IND.3SG MIGA write.PPRT of POSS.M.2PL character  
 'It isn't written in your character [i.e., handwriting]'  
 (Goldoni, *Il Bugiardo*, Act 2, Scene 14,<sup>54</sup> Venice, 1760)

By the latter half of the nineteenth century, *minga* has become the basic clause negator in Milanese (98), while in Venetian, *miga* remains a NEGATIVE REINFORCER construction (99).<sup>55</sup>

- (98) *Timoleone. No, no, l' =è minga el mè pan*  
 NEG NEG SCL.M.3SG=COP.PRS.IND.3SG NEG the POSS.1SG bread  
 'No, no, it's **not** my bread'  
 (*sur Tapa*, Act 1, Scene 18, p.32, Milan, 1876)

- (99) *Carlotta. Eh! No son miga una putela sas=*  
 EXCL NEG COP.PRS.IND.1SG MIGA a girl know.PRS.IND.2SG=  
*tu!*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG  
 'Hey! I'm **not** a girl, you know!'  
 (*Barufe in famegia*, Act 2, Scene 10, Venice, 1872)

In addition to the development of *mi(n)ga*, this period also sees the establishment of another post-verbal negator, *nò*. Table 20 summarizes the distribution of *mi(n)ga* and *nò* according to century in Corpora C and D for the Lombardy and Veneto regions, respectively.

<sup>54</sup> [http://www.intratext.com/IXT/ITA1289/\\_PSC.HTM#48](http://www.intratext.com/IXT/ITA1289/_PSC.HTM#48)

<sup>55</sup> The judgement of what is the basic clause negator is made according to frequency of each negator in declarative main clauses.



## 4.2.2 Constituent Negation

Constituent negation continues to be expressed by *no(n)*, which may be reinforced by *mi(n)ga*, in both Corpora C and D (103)-(104). However, in Corpus C, the majority (92%) of constituent negations involving *minga* do not reinforce *no(n)*. Rather, *minga* expresses the constituent negation alone (105). In the Milanese texts of the latter half of the nineteenth century, constituent negation is always expressed by *minga* (106). In Corpus D, *miga* always reinforces *no* when it is involved in constituent negation, as in (104).

- (103) *quell vost scorruscjav l' =è on'=abbondanza / No minga*  
 DEM.M.SG POSS.M.2PL drip-drop SCL.M.3SG=COP.PRS.IND.3SG a =abundance NEG MIGA  
*de refud, ma de creanza.*  
 of refusal but of politeness  
 ‘This drip-drop of yours is an abundance /not of refusal, but of politeness.’  
 (Mancomale, Act 2, Scene 10, p.290, Milan, 1695)

- (104) *tien / Anca elo in manina el so sorbeto; / No*  
 hold.PRS.IND.3SG also PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3SG in hand.DIM the POSS.M.3SG sorbet NEG  
*minga de naranza o de limon, / Ma de sugo de ua sincero e bon.*  
 MIGA of orange or of lemon, but of juice of grape sincere and good  
 ‘He holds / he too in his little hand his sorbet, / **not** of orange or of lemon, / but  
 of true and good grape juice.’  
 (Goldoni, *Il Mondo Novo*,<sup>56</sup> vv. 269-72, Venice, 1748-1762)

- (105) *L' =ha on vell a=l coll minga pontaa, e i cavij, /*  
 SCL.F.3SG=have.PRS.IND.3SG a veil at=the neck NEG tied and the hairs  
*Svolazzen liber co =l rizz natural.*  
 fly away.PRS.IND.3PL free with=the curl natural  
 ‘She has a veil **untied** at the neck, and her hair flies away free with the natural curl.’  
 (Gerusalemme Liberata, Canto XVI, Stanza 18, p.304, Milan, 1774)

- (106) *Pierina. L' =è ben che in cà gb'=era minga*  
 SCL.EXPL=COP.PRS.IND.3SG well COMP in house PF =COP.PST.IMPF.IND.3SG NEG  
*domà di fioeu piccol...*  
 only of children small  
 ‘It’s good that in the house there were **not** only small children...’  
 (Nost Milan, Act 4, Scene 1, p.58, Milan, 1893)

<sup>56</sup> <http://www.intratext.com/IXT/ITA1289/P4B9.HTM#1DS>

### 4.2.3 Quantifier Negation

It is in this period that greater differences between Lombardy and Veneto also begin to appear in the expression of quantifier negation. In Corpus D, items like *niente* ‘nothing’ and *nisun* ‘nobody’ appear to remain NCIs, meaning that in a post-verbal position, they always collocate with the basic clause negator in an NC construction (107). In Corpus C, on the other hand, items that were NCIs in Corpus A have become negative quantifiers that may express quantifier negation in a post-verbal position without collocating with the basic clause negator (108).

- (107) *La cosa no pregiudica gnente*  
the thing NEG judge.PRS.IND.3SG nothing  
‘The thing doesn’t judge **anything**.’  
(*Angellin belvedere*, Act 4, Scene 8, Venice, 1765)

- (108) *Veronica. Ma se ghe n’ =ha pu de bei fraas per mi*  
but if EXPL.PRT=have.PRS.IND.3SG no more of nice phrases for PERS.PRON.ACC.1SG  
*mè mari!*  
POSS.M.3SG husband  
‘But what if he **no longer** has anything nice to say to me, my husband!’  
(*Pistagna*, Act I, Scene 5, p.18, Milan, 1892)

§4.1 and §4.2 have provided an overview of negation in the texts that have been used to gather data on negation in this thesis. §4.3 of this chapter provides an analysis of incipient Jespersen’s Cycle in NIDs with regard to the development of *mi(n)ga*.

## 4.3 Incipient Jespersen’s Cycle in Northern Italian Dialects

This section examines the evolution of *mi(n)ga* in NIDs in Corpora A and B. In addition to this, since *mi(n)ga* was initially a COUNT NOUN construction in Latin, §4.3.1 also uses data from Latin to demonstrate its use in that language, and how this may have played a role in its development into a reinforcer of clause negation.

On the basis of cross-linguistic historical data, Breitbarth, Lucas and Willis (2020: 56-61) propose a pathway of development for some quantifying (pro)nouns into negative reinforcers (what the authors call negative polarity adverbs) in the incipient stages of Jespersen’s Cycle.

- (i) [verb [noun + noun]] > [verb [quantifier + noun]] > [[verb + adverb] [noun]]  
 (Breitbarth, Lucas and Willis, 2020: 57)

First, a quantifying (pro)noun with either a prepositional phrase complement or a dependent case-marked noun phrase that expresses a partitive relation is reanalysed as an adnominal quantifier.<sup>57</sup> Following this, the adnominal quantifier is reanalysed as an adverbial reinforcer, the prepositional phrase or case-marked noun having become an argument selected by the verb. Where the partitive is expressed by a prepositional phrase, at some stage the overt marking of the partitive relation may be lost.<sup>58</sup>

In relation to Italo-Romance, the pathway in (i) has been hypothesized for *punto* (< Lat. *punctus* ‘point’) in Old Florentine, which took a partitive complement expressed overtly by the preposition *di* ‘of’ (109), which was then dropped (110) (Garzonio, 2008).

- (109) *Non ebbono se non poco pane né punto di vino*  
 NEG have.PST.PRF.IND.3PL if NEG little bread NEG.CNJ PUNTO of wine  
 ‘they had only a little bread and **no** wine’  
 (Villani, *Nuova Cronica* 13.66, 14<sup>th</sup> c.; adapted from Garzonio 2008: 120)
- (110) *Il quale... non schifò punto il colpo*  
 REL NEG dodge.PST.PRF.IND.3SG PUNTO the blow  
 ‘who did not dodge the blow (**at all**)’  
 (Boccaccio, *Esposizioni* 4(i).234, 14<sup>th</sup> c.; adapted from Garzonio 2008: 120)

For French, Hansen and Visconti (2009: 148) highlight that *mie*, and, rarely, *pas*, may occur followed by a prepositional phrase headed by *de* ‘of’ in a partitive construction, which is congruous

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<sup>57</sup> Meyer-Lübke (1899) suggested the importance of the partitive in the development of new clause negators, citing evidence from French. Moreover, Streitberg (1910: 176, §263) and Dal (1966:22) both observe that in Gothic the (partitive) genitive is particularly common in negative clauses. The partitive has also been shown to interact with negation in Slavonic, Finnic and Baltic languages, in which direct objects may be marked partitive or genitive in negative clauses where they would be accusative or dative in their positive counterparts (see Miestamo, 2014), although in Finnic the partitive has a variety of functions, such as the expression of aspectuality and hypothetical events, and now rarely encodes the part-whole relation (cf. Seržant, 2021, and references therein).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Fr. *Il n'a pas de cadeaux* ‘He doesn't have presents’, where the preposition *de* remains but does not express a partitive relation.

with Grieve-Smith's (2009) hypothesis that *pas* developed as a measure rather than count noun (§1.4.2.1).

- (111) *De mon nom, fet il, ne puez*  
of POSS.M.1SG name do.PST.PRF.IND.3SG PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3SG NEG MOD.AUX.PRS.IND.2SG  
*tu mie savoir*  
PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG MIE know.INF  
‘Of my name, he says, you cannot know anything’  
(Graal, p. 29; Hansen and Visconti, 2009: 148)

The authors propose that this syntactic difference between *mie* and *pas* demonstrates that *mie* retains more nominal features than *pas*, which is perhaps the reason *pas* was more readily grammaticalized as a basic clausal negator.

It ought to be noted that *partitive* above and in the literature cited within this section is used broadly to describe *NP1 of NP2* patterns (cf. Traugott, 2008b) that are not necessarily true partitives (in the sense of Seržant, 2021), which encode a relation between two distinct sets: a subset, and a superset with a definite specific interpretation. In many languages, and certainly in English and in Italo-Romance, the partitive is expressed by a *NP1 of NP2* pattern, where NP1 is the quantifier and NP2 the restrictor.<sup>59</sup> The quantifier denotes the subset and the restrictor the superset (e.g., *a bar<sub>NP1</sub> of chocolate<sub>NP2</sub>*). In true partitives, the quantifier and the restrictor denote two distinct sets, where the quantifier denotes a smaller portion of a larger portion of the same kind (e.g., *a square<sub>Q</sub> of the chocolate<sub>R</sub> (that you gave to me for my birthday)*). However, several of the examples cited here and below in the discussion of *mica/miga* do not contain a true partitive relation. In many cases, this is because the superset expressed by the restrictor is not a defined set, as it does not denote a particular referent. In (109), for example, *vino* in *punto di vino* ‘bit of wine’ does not have a specific referent, and is therefore semantically a measure phrase. These kinds of *NP1 of NP2* patterns may be referred to as *pseudo-partitives* (following Selkirk, 1977). Moreover, what is called the partitive in (111) seems to refer merely to the syntactic form, as the relation between *mie* and *mon nom* cannot be described as partitive. This example shows that the *mie* construction in French

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<sup>59</sup> In Italo-Romance, the partitive is also expressed by the partitive morpheme *ne* (< Lat. *inde* ‘where from’). In such instances, left dislocation of a preposition or noun phrase may occur (e.g., *(Di biscotti), ne ho mangiati tre* ‘(Of biscuits,) I ate three’; *(Scemi), ce ne sono tanti* ‘(Idiots,) there are so many’). According to Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina (2013: 17), the dislocated phrase is a topic informational unit, while the quantifier is a focal one.



developed adverbial uses while retaining the partitive syntax that is associated with earlier uses as a quantifier. Nevertheless, for convenience, in the following, *partitive* is used to describe *NP1 of NP2* patterns, as well as other morphological means of expressing partitivity.

The following sections examine to what extent there is evidence for the pathway in (i) in the data collected from Corpora A and B. First, the *mica* micro-construction in Latin is examined to determine whether there is evidence for a partitive use. Since relations between nouns are expressed synthetically by case marking in Latin, we don't expect to find *NP1 of NP2* constructions.

#### 4.3.1 The *mica* Construction in Latin

Latin *mica* is a common count noun denoting 'crumb' or 'grain' (cf. Figure 4), and is therefore a micro-construction of the NOUN schema.

- (112) *Utique Domine, nam et catelli comedunt sub mensa de micis*  
 yes Lord.VOC yet even dogs.NOM eat.PRS.IND.3PL under table.ABL of crumbs.ABL  
*puerorum*  
 children.GEN  
 'Yes, Lord, yet even the dogs under the table eat the children's **crumbs**'  
 (Vulg. Mark 7.28)

(112) is also evidence that *mica* inherits its properties from the COUNT NOUN sub-schema, since it is attested in the plural. In (112), *mica* combines with the possessive genitive (i.e., *micis puerorum* 'the children's crumbs'), but more commonly *mica* combines with another noun in the genitive to express a (pseudo-)partitive relation, such that *mica* N.GEN denotes *a crumb/grain of N*, where *N* is a mass noun denoting some physical material (e.g., salt, bread, gold, marble), as in (113).

- (113) *medetur cum mica salis*  
 cure.PRS.IND.PASS.3SG with MICA.ABL salt.GEN  
 'It is cured with **a pinch** of salt'  
 (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 22.43)

The Latin data also attest minimizer uses of *mica* where it appears under the scope of negation, as in (114).

- (114) *Quinque dies aquam in os suum non coniecit, non*  
 five days.ACC water.ACC in mouth.ACC POSS.ACC.M.3SG NEG throw.PST.PRF.IND.3SG NEG  
*micam panis*  
 MICA bread.GEN  
 ‘He didn’t take water for five days, **not a crumb of bread**’  
 (Petr., *Satyr.*, 42)

As a small quantity noun, speakers/writers may exploit *mica*’s scalar properties to strengthen the rhetorical force of the semantic negation (Fauconnier, 1975a, 1975b; Horn, 1989: 400; Israel, 1997, 1998, 2004). At the incipient stages of Jespersen’s Cycle, therefore, clause negation is the *bridging context* (Evans and Wilkins, 1998: 5; Heine, 2002: 84-5) between the COUNT NOUN and MINIMIZER *mica* constructions, since it is under the scope of negation that *mica* has a pragmatic strengthening effect. Bridging contexts, as developed in Heine (2002), are those in which the “target meaning” is possible through inference, in addition to the “source meaning”.<sup>60</sup> While the target meaning is the more likely to be interpreted, it is cancellable, thus the source meaning remains possible.

Moreover, the partitive construction provides a context in which the quantificational interpretation of *mica* is salient, and is therefore a context in which hearers/readers may reanalyse *mica* as a quantifier. The result is the creation of a new MINIMIZER construction. Although the Latin examples above show that COUNT NOUN and MINIMIZER *mica* may occur in similar syntagmatic contexts (i.e., with a genitive complement), the MINIMIZER *mica* construction undergoes desemantization (Lehmann, 1985: 306), as the quantificational uses of *mica* are non-referring expressions. The desemantization of *mica* in its minimizer use is indicative of the constructionalization that has taken place. Furthermore, minimizer uses of *mica* point to decategorialization, as it can only occur in certain contexts that license NPIs, such as negation.<sup>61</sup> As set out in §2.3.2, any change to an internal aspect of a construction is considered an instance of constructionalization.

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<sup>60</sup> Heine’s bridging contexts are what Diewald (1999, 2002) terms *critical contexts*.

<sup>61</sup> N.b., there is no evidence that MINIMIZER *mica* occurs in weak negative polarity contexts.

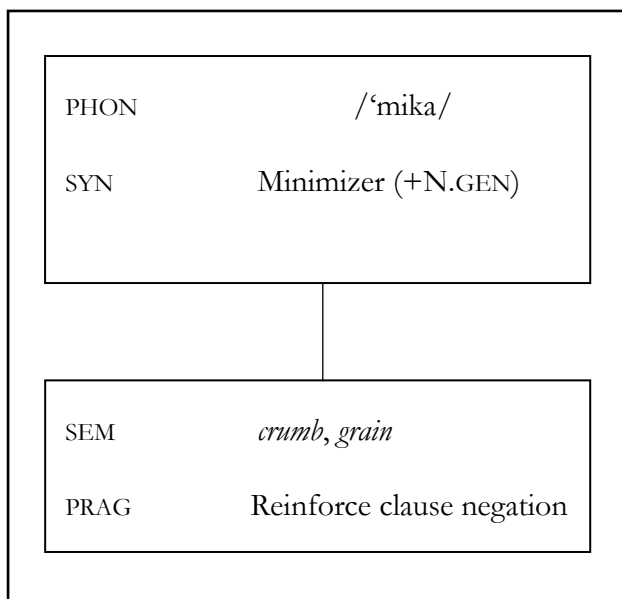


Figure 12 The MINIMIZER *mica* construction

The Latin data suggest that *mica* was polysemous, as both a count noun and a minimizer. The co-existence of diachronically related micro-constructions points to “layering” (Hopper, 1991) in the network. Figure 13 is a visual representation of the polysemy link between the two constructions under different sub-schemas.

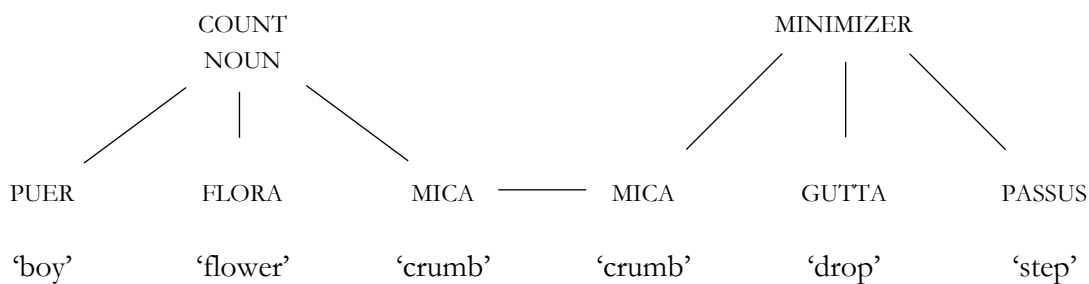


Figure 13 Polysemy of the COUNT NOUN and MINIMIZER *mica* constructions in Latin

Although the primary mechanism for the creation of the MINIMIZER *mica* micro-construction is reanalysis of the count noun in the context of negation, it is also possible that analogy with other minimizers in the language network is involved. For example, Hansen and Molinelli (2020) provide a list of Latin minimizers, which includes *passus* ‘step’ and *gutta* ‘drop’, both of which become negators in Romance languages: *pas* becomes the basic clause negator in

French and Occitan, and *negota* (and phonological variants) becomes a clause negator in some Piedmontese varieties and an indefinite used in quantifier negation in some Lombard varieties. Rather than a mechanism involved in the creation of a new node, however, analogy may aid the entrenchment of a micro-construction, since a constructional schema already exists of which the new micro-construction may become a member.

There is no evidence of a COUNT NOUN *mica* construction in Corpora A and B. However, fifteenth-century data from Corpus C indicates that use of the COUNT NOUN *mica* construction continued to be used until at least then. Benedetto Dei's *Sonetti milanesi* refer to *le micche*,<sup>62</sup> which in the glossary of Milanese that Dei also produced is described as *un pane* 'a bread' (p.130). Furthermore, in RNI, *mica* continues to be used as a COUNT NOUN construction that denotes a bread roll.

- (115) *Ho mangiato una mica co =l salami* [RNI]  
 AUX.PRS.IND.1SG eat.PPRT a bread roll with=the salami  
 'I ate a **bread roll** with salami'

The COUNT NOUN *mica* construction has therefore undergone semasiological change from *crumb* to *bread/bread roll*, although the semantic relatedness of these two concepts is clear (bread rolls being made of crumbs). Like other nouns in the Italian COUNT NOUN schema, *mica* combines with determiners and has plural morphology (i.e., *miche* = bread rolls), but case-marking has been lost. As in Latin, the COUNT NOUN *mica* construction in RNI denotes a specific referent. Notably, in both the fifteenth-century example and in RNI, the COUNT NOUN construction has retained intervocalic /k/ and has not undergone voicing or nasalization.

The MINIMIZER *mica* construction does not occur with determiners. Breitbarth, Lucas and Willis (2020: 38) observe that negative reinforcers are usually derived from bare nouns. Although there are many minimizer expressions with overt determiners that function as reinforcers of negation cross-linguistically, as in (116), it has been hypothesized that determiner-less bare nouns are more readily reanalysed as non-nominal (Breitbarth, Lucas and Willis, 2020: 38).

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<sup>62</sup> Dei, *Sonetti milanesi*, I, v.9, p.106, Milan, 15<sup>th</sup> c.

- (116) *Non capisco un tubo di economia* [Italian]  
 NEG understand.PRS.IND.1SG a tube of economics  
 ‘I understand **nothing** of economics.’

(Garzonio and Poletto, 2009: 143)

However, since there is no evidence of *miga* being used with a determiner in Corpora A and B, it is impossible to say whether *miga* lost determiners in its development into a quantifier, or whether it simply always lacked a determiner, its quantificational use having been established in the Latin period.

As minimizers are less semantically contentful than count nouns, we would therefore expect to see expansion in the nouns that could collocate with *mica* as its genitive complement. Unfortunately, the Latin data are too scant to observe how this process unfolded. There is perhaps some evidence of loss of semantic content in (117), where the restrictor denotes an abstract rather than a physical material, but note that this reading is partially sanctioned by the metaphorical extension of *sale* ‘salt’ to something similar to ‘sense’, or even ‘wit’.

- (117) *Nulla in tam magno est corpore mica salis*  
 no.NOM.F.SG in such large.ABL.M.SG COP.PRS.IND.3SG body.ABL MICA.NOM sense.GEN  
 ‘Not in such a large body is there **a little bit of sense**’

(Cat. *Carm.* 86, 3)

Evidence of an increase in the range of nouns that *mica* may collocate with would be an indication of the further entrenchment and conventionalization of the MINIMIZER *mica* construction. The following section examines what the evidence available in Corpora A and B suggests about the development of the QUANTIFIER *miga* construction in the incipient stages of Jespersen’s Cycle.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> The sound change from /k/ to /g/ reflects the dominant phonological variant in NIDs at this stage.

#### 4.3.2 The QUANTIFIER *miga* Construction in Old Northern Italian Dialects

In the earliest attested stages of Lombard and Venetan varieties, *miga* functions, for the most part, as a negative reinforcer in a non-canonical CLAUSE NEGATION construction. There are, however, examples of the nominal QUANTIFIER *miga* construction. This section examines examples of the QUANTIFIER *miga* construction in order to determine whether there is evidence for the pathway in (i) in Corpora A and B, and what they reveal about the development of *miga*.

Examining the data in Corpus A first, of the 30 attestations of clause negation with *miga*, 10 can arguably be analysed as quantifiers, 7 of which have a partitive complement headed by *de* ‘of’ (118), or are co-referential with the partitive pro-form *ne* (119).

- (118) *de l' =aver nonn ò miga*  
of the=belongings NEG have.PRS.IND.1SG MIGA  
‘of belongings, I don’t have **any**’  
(*Leggenda Maria Egiziaca*, v.1178, p.33, Lombardy, 1384)<sup>64</sup>

- (119) *Qi loda un mat de seno, sì 'g fai gran*  
REL praise.PRS.IND.3SG a mad of sense thus PERS.PRON.DAT.3SG do.PRS.IND.3SG great  
/*desenor, k' =el sa q' =el no 'nd' à*  
dishonour COMP=SCL.M.3SG know.PRS.IND.3SG COMP=SCL.M.3SG NEG PRT have.PRS.IND.3SG  
**miga**  
MIGA  
‘He who praises a mad man for [having] sense, thus does him a great dishonour,  
/ since he knows that **of it** [*sense*] he has **none**’  
(*Splanamento*, vv.261-2, p.570, Lombardy, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

As predicted at the end of the preceding section, the QUANTIFIER *miga* construction has undergone further semantic attrition, which is revealed by its collocation with “inharmonious” noun complements (i.e., #*a grain/crumb of belongings* in (118)).

The presence of different forms of *miga* in Corpus B (i.e., bare *miga* vs. NE + *miga*) provides more insight into its development. First, there is a single early example of the QUANTIFIER *miga* construction in the NE + *miga* form.

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<sup>64</sup> The spelling of *nonn* here with a reduplicated final *n* may indicate that partitive *ne* is incorporated.

- (120) *Lo sol la destruce e no ‘n reman né-miga*  
 the sun PERS.PRON.ACC.F.3SG destroy.PRS.IND.3SG and NEG PRT remain.PRS.IND.3SG NE MIGA  
 ‘The sun destroys it [the snow] and **not a bit of it** [the snow] remains’  
 (*Proverbia que dicuntur*, v.320, p.536, Veneto, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

Assuming it is correct that the NE + *miga* form is older than bare *miga*, this example possibly represents an early stage of *miga*’s development. Following Tubau (2016), who argues that minimizers become negative quantifiers when negation is merged with the quantifier (e.g., I said not a word (=nothing at all)), *né-miga* in (120) may be analysed as an NCI. This mirrors the development of other small quantity nouns that become NCIs, including *negota* (< Lat. NE + *gutta* ‘no drop’) and *nient* (< Lat. NE + *ente* ‘no body’). In these constructions, however, NE and *gutta/ente* undergo univerbation, so that NE is part of their form. The prototypical *miga* construction, on the other hand, is the bare form. This suggests that *miga* perhaps may have been a more marginal micro-construction of the QUANTIFIER paradigm, since it does not have the same form as other NCIs derived from small quantity nouns. This in turn could have facilitated the reanalysis and entrenchment of the NEGATIVE REINFORCER *miga* construction.

Nonetheless, the NE form underscores the importance of the context of negation in the conventionalization of *miga* as a quantifier. Indeed, later evidence from the fourteenth-century *Libro Agregà* indicates that in the QUANTIFIER *miga* construction, *miga* had a negative quantifier use, and it could be used as a clause negator (121).<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> This is a very marginal construction at this stage. I have only found four examples where *miga* expresses clause negation by itself in Corpora A and B.

- (121) *E se tu vuoi purgare cum le foie de la colloquintida, el  
 and if PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG want.PRS.IND.2SG purge.INF with the leaves of the colocynth the  
 çoven che tu le recogy, dapo' che li pomi  
 day REL PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG PERS.PRON.ACC.F.3PL collect.PRS.IND.2SG after COMP the apples  
 è ben maduri, e che tu le  
 COP.PRS.IND.3SG well mature and COMP PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG PERS.PRON.ACC.F.3PL  
 sechi in la umbra, infina che el ge roman miga de humiditè,  
 dry.PRS.IND.2SG in the shade until COMP SCL.EXPL PF remain.PRS.IND.3SG MIGA of humidity  
 e po le co(n)serva.  
 and MOD.AUX.PRS.IND.3SG PERS.PRON.ACC.F.3PL conserve.PRS.IND.3SG  
 ‘And if you want to purge with the leaves of the colocynth, the day that you collect  
 them, after the fruits are well matured, and you have dried them in the shade, until  
**no** humidity remains, then you can conserve them’  
 (*Libro Agregà*, p.280, Veneto, 1390)*

In fourteenth-century texts in Corpus B, QUANTIFIER *miga* is also attested in the weak negative polarity environment of higher clause negation (122)-(123). Note, however, that in (122) *miga* appears to have an affirmative interpretation, indicating some ambiguity surrounding its polarity.

- (122) *Perché no entendé vui che io  
 INTER NEG understand.PST.PRF.IND.2PL PERS.PRON.NOM.2PL COMP PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG  
 ve ne mandà miga de pane...?  
 PERS.PRON.DAT.2PL PRT send.PST.PRF.IND.3SG MIGA of bread  
 ‘Why didn’t you understand that I sent you **some bread**?’  
 (*Vangeli*, p.67, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)*

- (123) *i frari vete uno mar sì claro ch' =elo no  
 the brothers see.PST.PRF.IND.3SG a sea so clear COMP=PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3SG NEG  
 li iera 'viso che 'nde fose miga  
 PERS.PRON.DAT.M.3PL AUX.PST.IMPF.IND.3SG seem.PPRT COMP PRT COP.PST.IMPF.IND.3SG MIGA  
 de aqua  
 of water  
 ‘The brothers saw a sea so clear that it didn’t seem to them that there was **any**  
 water’  
 (*Navigatio*, p.144, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)*

While acknowledging that these NCI uses of *miga* are rare in the data, there is an indication that the QUANTIFIER *miga* construction was an NCI like *niente*, which was also shown to have an extended use in the context of higher clause negation in Corpus B (§4.1.3). However, as above,



the difference in *miga*'s form may have prevented it from being entrenched so easily in the paradigm of NCIs as, for example, *negota*, for which reason it may have been reanalysed as a negative reinforcer more readily.

A new construction may be posited, then, since the desemanticization of *miga* means that QUANTIFIER *miga* is no longer transparently related to its Latin meaning of *crumb*, and evidence points to it developing NCI uses.

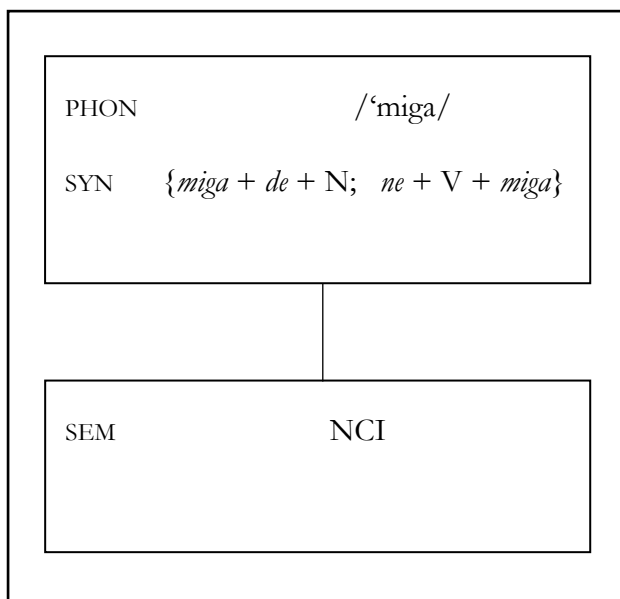


Figure 14 The QUANTIFIER *miga* construction

Other examples of QUANTIFIER *miga* in Corpus A that do not have a partitive complement arguably demonstrate the next stage of QUANTIFIER *miga*'s development, where it has been reanalysed as an adnominal quantifier and the overt prepositional marking of the partitive relation has been lost. While there may be some influence from the poem's rhyme on the post-nominal position of *miga* in (124), evidence of similar uses of *niente* (126) support that this is the next stage in the development of *miga*.

- (124) *E Margarita sença rancura / Ven prender sta mala figura, /*  
 and M. without rancour come.PRS.IND.3SG take.INF DEM.F.SG evil figure  
*Ch' =ella no à paura miga*  
 COMP=PERS.PRON.NOM.F.3SG NEG have.PRS.IND.3SG fear MIGA  
 ‘And Margarita without rancour / comes to take this evil figure, / because she  
 doesn’t have **any fear**’  
 (*Leggenda Margherita*, vv.759-61, p.43, Lombardy, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- (125) *Li demonii han ben sientia de molte cosse per soa natura;*  
 the demons have.PRS.IND.3PL well knowledge of many things for POSS.F.3SG nature  
*permodezò illi no han miga sientia de tutte cosse.*  
 therefore PERS.PRON.NOM.3PL NEG have.PRS.IND.3PL MIGA knowledge of all things  
 ‘The demons do have knowledge of many things by their nature; therefore they  
 do not have **(any) knowledge** of all things’  
 (*Elucidario*, Book 1, Quaest. 48, p.99, Lombardy, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)
- (126) *de Dieu n' =à ponto cura ni vergonça niēte*  
 of God PRT=have.PRS.IND.3SG PUNTO care NEG.CNJ shame nothing  
 ‘About God he has not a bit of care nor **any** shame.’  
 (*Proverbia que dicuntur*, v.586, p.548, Veneto, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

Examples like (125) are in fact ambiguous between a quantifier and a negative reinforcer interpretation. The position of *miga* is the expected position of both an adnominal quantifier (i.e., [*no han [miga + sientia]*] = ‘they have no knowledge’) and an adverbial negative reinforcer (i.e., [[*no han miga*] [*sientia*]] = ‘they don’t have knowledge (at all)’). However, the preceding context suggests that it is the negative reinforcer reading that is most likely here. The preceding sentence states that ‘demons have knowledge of many things’, following which the statement ‘demons do not have any knowledge of all things’ is pragmatically infelicitous. The adverbial reading that ‘they do not (at all) have knowledge of all things’ fits more naturally.

In addition to (121), (127) demonstrates another fourteenth-century use of *miga* where it alone is the clause negator.

- (127) *Madona, vuj sì molto savia dona, et io*  
 my lady PERS.PRON.NOM.2PL COP.PRS.IND.2SG much wise woman and PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG  
*son miga de=lli plu mati d=el mondo.*  
 COP.PRS.IND.1SG MIGA of=the most mad of=the world  
 ‘My lady, you are a much wise woman, and I am **hardly one** of the maddest men  
 of the world.’  
 (*Tristano corsiniano*, p.44, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

The gloss in (127) follows Allaire's (2015: 45) translation of *miga* using 'hardly'. The interpretation here is negative (i.e., 'I am not one of the maddest men of the world'). Notably, however, *miga* potentially has a pronominal interpretation, although a basic clause negation reading is likely, since such structures are possible in Romance (e.g., It. *non sono (uno) di quelli che si offendono facilmente* 'I'm not one of those who gets offended easily'). This raises the possibility that *miga* also took part in a second pathway that is discussed in Breitbarth, Lucas and Willis (2020: 55-6).

- (ii) Adnominal quantifier > pronoun > negative adverb  
(Breitbarth, Lucas and Willis (2020: 55))

Breitbarth, Lucas and Willis's (2020) proposal is that adnominal quantifiers may develop pronominal uses when the quantifier in sentences like *I don't want any (food)* (cf. (124)-(125)) is no longer analysed as elliptical. Such pronominals may then develop into clause negators, as in varieties of English (e.g., *He slept none*).

There has been a tendency to assume that negative reinforcers derived from small quantity items like *mica* follow the pathway in (i), but it is also possible that the QUANTIFIER *miga* construction could give rise to a NEGATIVE PRONOUN *miga* construction, both of which may feed into the creation of the NEGATIVE REINFORCER construction. Given that there is not much evidence for this construction (possible examples are discussed in the following section), it remains hypothetical, but it could be represented as Figure 15.

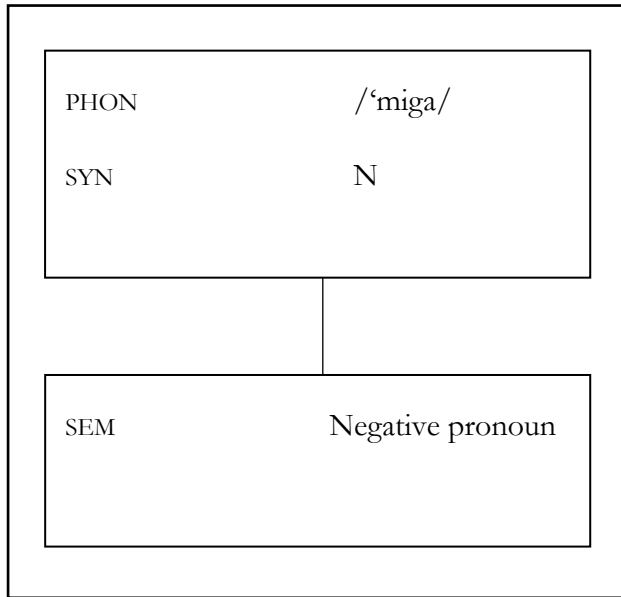


Figure 15 The PRONOMINAL *miga* construction

In order to test the relative importance of different contexts in the development of *miga*, the data in all four corpora used in this thesis were annotated according to a set of what Breitbarth, Lucas and Willis (2020: 45-62) call *bridging contexts*, which may indicate pathways taken by small quantity nouns like *mica* into adverbial negative reinforcers.

### 4.3.3 Bridging Contexts

Breitbarth, Lucas and Willis (2020: 49) distinguish between two groups of bridging contexts: (i) acquisitionally ambiguous argument structures, and (ii) adnominal or partitive quantifiers. The *mi(n)ga* data were annotated to capture potential bridging contexts in its development into a NEGATIVE REINFORCER construction. The contexts that arose are summarized in Table 21.

<b>Bridging Contexts</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>Acquisitionally Ambiguous Argument Structures</b>	
<b>Optional Transitivity</b>	<i>Mi(n)ga</i> could be interpreted as the direct object of an optionally transitive verb (e.g., <i>eat</i> , <i>write</i> )
<b>Extent (pseudo-)argument</b>	<i>Mi(n)ga</i> is an optional pseudo-argument denoting the extent to which the predicate holds (Breitbarth, Lucas and Willis, 2020: 50).
<b>Adnominal or Partitive Quantifiers</b>	
<b>Adnominal Quantifier</b>	<i>Mi(n)ga</i> could be interpreted as an adnominal quantifier where it precedes a noun
<b>Pronoun</b>	<i>Mi(n)ga</i> could be interpreted as a pronoun
<b>Adnominal quantifier or pronoun + partitive</b>	<i>Mi(n)ga</i> could be interpreted as either an adnominal quantifier or a pronoun that is followed by a partitive construction or involves the partitive <i>ne</i> construction
<b>Degree modifier of an adjective</b>	<i>Mi(n)ga</i> precedes an adjective
<b>NPI</b>	<i>Mi(n)ga</i> functions as an NPI in weak negative polarity contexts

Table 21 Bridging Contexts

In addition, the data were annotated as being either a COUNT NOUN construction or unambiguous examples of the NEGATIVE REINFORCER *miga* construction. Table 22 and Table 23 summarize the bridging contexts in which *miga* appears in Corpora A and B.

<b>Bridging Context</b>	<b>13th c.</b>	<b>14th c.</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Direct object of an optionally transitive verb</b>			
<b>Extent pseudo-argument</b>	2 (7.7%)	5 (26.3%)	7 (15.6%)
<b>Adnominal quantifier</b>	3 (11.5%)	1 (5.3%)	4 (8.9%)
<b>Pronoun</b>			
<b>Quantifier + partitive</b>	5 (19.2%)	1 (5.3%)	6 (13.3%)
<b>Pronoun + partitive</b>			
<b>Degree modifier of an adjective</b>	3 (11.5%)	1 (5.3%)	4 (8.9%)
<b>Unambiguous negative reinforcer</b>	13 (50%)	11 (57.9%)	24 (53.3%)

Table 22 Bridging Contexts in Corpus A

<b>Bridging Context</b>	<b>13th c.</b>	<b>14th c.</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Direct object of an optionally transitive verb<sup>66</sup></b>	1 (4.8%)	17 (6.2%)	18 (6.1%)
<b>Extent pseudo-argument</b>	1 (4.8%)	1 (0.4%)	2 (0.7%)
<b>Adnominal quantifier</b>	2 (9.5%)	26 (9.4%)	28 (9.4%)
<b>Pronoun</b>	1 (4.8%)	22 (8%)	23 (7.7%)
<b>Quantifier + partitive</b>	3 (14.3%)	10 (3.6%)	13 (4.4%)
<b>Pronoun + partitive</b>		2 (0.72%)	2 (0.7%)
<b>Degree modifier of an adjective</b>	1 (4.8%)	29 (10.5%)	30 (10.1%)
<b>Unambiguous negative reinforcer</b>	12 (57.1%)	169 (61.2%)	181 (60.9%)

Table 23 Bridging Contexts in Corpus B

<sup>66</sup> In all of these examples, *miga* is a pronoun rather than a referential noun.

A comparison between Table 22 and Table 23 reveals some differences between Corpus A and Corpus B, with the caveat that many more data are available in Corpus B than Corpus A. First, a slightly higher percentage of examples of *miga* are unambiguously negative reinforcer uses in Corpus B (61% vs. 53%). In terms of bridging contexts, there is a higher percentage of uses of *miga* as an extent pseudo-argument, are in Corpus A (128). Extent pseudo-arguments are here understood, following Breitbarth, Lucas and Willis (2020: 46, 50), as optional arguments that denote the extent to which a predicate holds. Pseudo-arguments are here minimizing expressions, but note that in such instances *miga* has undergone desemanticization so that its ‘crumb’ etymology is no longer transparent (compare *I didn’t eat a bite* with *I didn’t eat a bit*).

- (128) *no ve                                    devereve                                    encreser                                    miga*  
 NEG PERS.PRON.ACC..2PL MOD.AUX.COND.2PL displeas.INF MIGA  
 ‘you must not displease [him] **a bit**’  
 (*Leggenda Maria Egiziana*, vv.54, p.4, Lombardy, 1384)

There is also a higher percentage of uses of *miga* in contexts where it is a quantifier construction with the partitive construction in Corpus A (129).

- (129) *Lá no se                                    sente                                    miga de male*  
 there NEG REFL.3SG feel.PRS.IND.3G MIGA of bad  
 ‘There one does not feel **anything bad**’  
 (*Sermone*, v.2435, p.72, Lombardy, 1274)

At the same time, pronominal uses of *miga* are only found in Corpus B, which also corresponds to there being uses where *miga* may be interpreted as the direct object of an optionally transitive verb (130).

- (130) *li tuoi                                    discipuli no deçunano                                    miga?*  
 the POSS.M.PL disciples NEG eat.PRS.IND.3PL MIGA  
 ‘your disciples don’t eat **anything**’  
 (*Vangeli*, p.124, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

There is also a small number of examples in Corpus B where *miga* may have a pronominal use and co-occurs with partitive morphology, though, as above, it is also possible for *miga* to be interpreted as an adverbial negative reinforcer here (i.e., [*no era miga*] [*de li fioli*] rather than [*no era*] [*miga de li fioli*] (131).

- (131)      *no volse*                              *ello*                              *aldir*    *la femena che era*  
 NEG want.PST.PRF.IND.3SG PRON.NOM.M.3SG hear.INF the woman REL COP.PST.IMPF.IND.3SG  
*pagana e no era*                              ***miga*** *de li fioli*    *d'= Israel*  
 pagan and NEG COP.PST.IMPF.IND.3SG MIGA of the children of =I.  
 'he didn't want to listen to the woman who was a pagan and was **not one** of the  
 children of Israel'  
(*Vangeli*, p.145, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

A number of attestations of *miga* occur with verbs that are optionally dyadic, such as in (132), which is a potential bridging context to the NEGATIVE REINFORCER construction, because this context allows for both nominal and adverbial interpretations of *miga*.

- (132)      *Dixe*                              *Çilberto: «No temì*                              ***miga...***»  
 say.PST.PRF.IND.3SG Ç.                              NEG fear.IMP.2PL MIGA  
 'Çilberto said: "Don't fear (**anything/at all**)"  
(*Rainaldo* (Ox.), v.182, p.821, Veneto, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

As the gloss in (132) demonstrates, *miga* may be interpreted as either a quantifier or a negative reinforcer because the verb *temer* 'fear' can combine optionally with the TRANSITIVE or INTRANSITIVE construction.<sup>67</sup> The ambiguous interpretation indicates that reanalysis of *miga* as an adverbial negative reinforcer has occurred (cf. Hansen, 2021: 6). It is important to note that it is possible to interpret *miga* in bridging contexts as a negative reinforcer.

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<sup>67</sup> E.g., *Tu no voler temer le parole de la irada mogler* 'you do not want to fear the words of the angry wife' (*Distichia Catonis veneziana*, L. 3, dist. 20, p.71, Veneto, 13<sup>th</sup> c.) vs. *Devoto mio, no temer* 'my devoted one, do not fear' (*Cinquanta miracoli*, pt. 3, p.56, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.).



It is possible here to also compare bridging contexts in Corpora C and D. Only the data in texts where *no(n)* remains the basic clause negator in Corpus C were annotated for bridging contexts. Table 24 compares the bridging contexts for *mi(n)ga* in Corpora C and D.

<b>Bridging Context</b>	<b>Corpus C: Lombardy</b>	<b>Corpus D: Veneto</b>
<b>Direct Object of an optionally transitive verb</b>	9 (3%)	13 (4%)
<b>Extent (pseudo-)argument</b>	4 (1%)	10 (3%)
<b>Adnominal Quantifier</b>	31 (9%)	17 (5%)
<b>Pronoun</b>	11 (3%)	17 (5%)
<b>Adnominal Quantifier + partitive</b>	14 (4%)	11 (3%)
<b>Pronoun + partitive</b>		5 (2%)
<b>Degree modifier of an adjective</b>	52 (15%)	44 (14%)
<b>NPI</b>		6 (2%)
<b>Unambiguous adverbial reinforcer / Negator</b>	236 (68%)	213 (66%)
<b>Nominal</b>	4 (1%)	

Table 24 Bridging Contexts in Corpora C and D

There is a greater increase in the percentage of unambiguous adverbial uses of *mi(n)ga* between Corpora A and C (53% and 68%) compared to Corpora B and D (61% and 66%), which is perhaps indicative of a greater degree of conventionalization of the NEGATIVE REINFORCER construction. Yet, possible adnominal quantifier uses of *mi(n)ga* are more common in Corpus C than Corpus D (133).

- (133) *Ma n' =bo minga intenzion da morì adess*  
 but NEG=have.PRS.IND.1SG MIGA intention from die.INF now  
 'But I do not have **any intention** to die now'  
 (Tanzi, *Poesie milanesi*, Stanza 27, p.25, Milan, 1766)

In both Corpora C and D, the most common bridging context is the use of *mi(n)ga* as a degree modifier of an adjective.<sup>68</sup>

- (134) *No son minga pratico de sta casa.*  
 NEG COP.PRS.IND.1SG MIGA practical of DEM.F.SG house  
 'I am not **at all familiar** with this house.'  
 (Goldoni, *Chi la fa l'aspetta*, Act 1, Scene 13,<sup>69</sup> Venice, 1765)

One of the notable differences between Corpora C and D is that there exists evidence of an NPI use of *miga* in weak polarity contexts in Corpus D, where *miga* does not have a negative interpretation. In (135), the weak negative polarity context is higher clause negation. Although there are examples of *miga* in Corpus B in the same context, in those instances, *miga* had a negative interpretation, whereas here it does not. There are also examples of *miga* in conditional antecedents (136).

- (135) *A ne vnogio minga dir che gh' =avesse*  
 SCL.1SG NEG want.PRS.IND.1SG MIGA say.INF COMP PERS.PRON.DAT.3SG=AUX.PST.IMP.F.SJV.1SG  
*minga dò bastonè a elo, perché no =l'*  
 MIGA give.PPRT whacks to PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG because NEG =PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG  
*barae mè fato per amore de ela, che l' =barae*  
 AUX.COND.1SG ever do.PPRT for love of PERS.PRON.DAT.F.3SG REL SCL.F.3SG=AUX.COND.3SG  
*bu per male, intendí =vu, compare?*  
 see.PPRT for bad understand.PRS.IND.2PL=PERS.PRON.NOM.2PL friend  
 'I don't mean to say that I would have (**ever**) given him a beating, because I wouldn't have ever done it out of love for her, who wouldn't like it, you see, chap?'  
 (*Reduce*, Scene 3, p.10, Padova, 1529-30)

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Chapter 6 for how the distribution of *minga* in these bridging contexts affects the negator paradigm in the later texts of Corpus C.

<sup>69</sup> <http://www.intratext.com/IXT/ITA1289/ PUK.HTM#5X>

- (136) *A no di =ghe a l' =incontragio mi; l' =*  
 SCL.1SG NEG say.PRS.IND.1SG=EXPL to the=contrary PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG SCL.EXPL=  
*è, che 'l so muò de faellare n' =è bon; se miga*  
 COP.PRS.IND.3SG COMP the POSS.M.3SG mode of speak.INF NEG=COP.PRS.IND.3SG good if MIGA  
*el foesse per gramego.*  
 SCL.M.3SG COP.PST.IMPF.SJV.3SG for grammar  
 'I'm not speaking contrarily, me; it's that his way of speaking isn't good; **even** if it  
 were for grammar['s sake']
- (*Dialogo*, p.314, Venice, 1605)

The bridging contexts seem to indicate that there is a divergence in the categorization of *mi(n)ga* between Lombardy and Veneto. While in Lombardy *minga* seems to retain features that are more prototypical of the QUANTIFIER construction, Venetan *miga* appears to develop NPI uses.

The following section considers the context expansion of the NEGATIVE REINFORCER *miga* construction in Corpora A and B.

#### 4.3.4 Context Expansion

Analysis of the data in Corpora A and B reveals evidence that *miga* was collocationally restricted to certain VERBAL constructions in its earlier uses, before its use extended to a greater range of contexts. It is argued below that this context expansion is evidence of increased conventionalization of the NEGATIVE REINFORCER *miga* micro-construction, which shifts away from more prototypical uses associated with its development from a nominal item.

In Corpora A and B, *miga* is used primarily with the TRANSITIVE construction, and, to a lesser extent, the COPULAR construction (Table 25).

Verbal Construction	Corpus A		Corpus B	
	13 <sup>th</sup> c.	14 <sup>th</sup> c.	13 <sup>th</sup> c.	14 <sup>th</sup> c.
<b>TRANSITIVE</b>	14 (78%)	9 (69%)	10 (59%)	137 (58%)
<b>INTRANSITIVE</b>	<b>NON-COPULAR</b>		3 (23%)	1 (6%)
	<b>COPULAR</b>	4 (22%)	1 (8%)	6 (35%)

Table 25 The distribution of *miga* with different VERBAL constructions in Corpora A and B

The data reveal that, with one exception, *miga* was not used with the INTRANSITIVE construction, other than the COPULAR construction, until the fourteenth century. The tendency for the use of *miga* with the TRANSITIVE and COPULAR constructions ((137)-(138)) is likely related to the nominal origin of *miga*, as these verbal constructions have post-verbal complements. As observed in the previous section, bridging contexts for negative reinforcers that derive from (pro)nominal lexical items include adnominal quantifiers and degree modifiers of adjectives, which were both shown to be frequent in the data. What these two bridging contexts have in common is that *miga* may scope over the following noun or adjective. For example, in (137), *miga* may be interpreted as an adnominal quantifier that scopes over the following noun, *pane* ‘bread’. In (138), *miga* may be interpreted as a degree modifier that scopes over the adjective *certana* ‘certain’.

- (137) *Perché pensè vù che vù no*  
 INTER think.PST.PRF.IND.3SG PERS.PRON.NOM.2PL COMP PERS.PRON.NOM.2PL NEG  
*tolese miga pane?*  
 take.PST.PRF.IND.3SG MIGA bread  
 ‘Why did you think that you didn’t take **any bread?**’  
 (*Vangeli*, p.148, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

- (138) *Saçate, 'sta beleça non è miga certana*  
 know.PRS.SJV.2PL DEM.F.SG beauty NEG COP.PRS.IND.3SG MIGA real  
 ‘You know, this beauty is not **at all real**’  
 (*Proverbia que dicuntur*, v.361, p.538, Veneto, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

Such uses indicate traces of prototypical features that may be traced to *miga*’s diachronic trajectory via a stage where it was a quantifier, since quantifier *miga* is attested either as a post-verbal complement itself, or alongside post-verbal complements, such as nouns and predicative adjectives, over which it takes scope.

Moreover, the later extension of the use of *miga* to the INTRANSITIVE construction would seem to demonstrate a greater degree of conventionalization of the NEGATIVE REINFORCER *miga* construction, since with intransitive verbs *miga* can no longer be interpreted as a post-verbal complement, as in (139), and is therefore less prototypical of earlier quantifier uses.

- (139) *De questo no ve* *mento* *miga*  
of DEM.M.SG NEG PERS.PRON.ACC.2PL lie.PRS.IND.1SG MIGA  
‘About this I don’t lie to you (at all/a bit)’  
(*Santo Stady*, v.2986, p.154, Veneto, 1321)

INTRANSITIVE constructions are therefore what Heine (2002: 85) calls a *switch context*.<sup>70</sup> Switch contexts are those where the source meaning is no longer possible, and the target meaning is the only possible interpretation. With regard to *miga*, intransitive contexts are incompatible with the prototypical features of the QUANTIFIER source construction, as it can no longer be interpreted as a post-verbal complement. This indicates that the constructionalization of a NEGATIVE REINFORCER *miga* construction has taken place. However, note that in some cases, *miga* may be interpreted as a pseudo-argument that denotes that the predicate does not hold to any extent. It is possible, therefore, that pseudo-argument uses of *miga* with intransitive verbs are a context in which *miga* extends its collocational range to intransitive verbs.

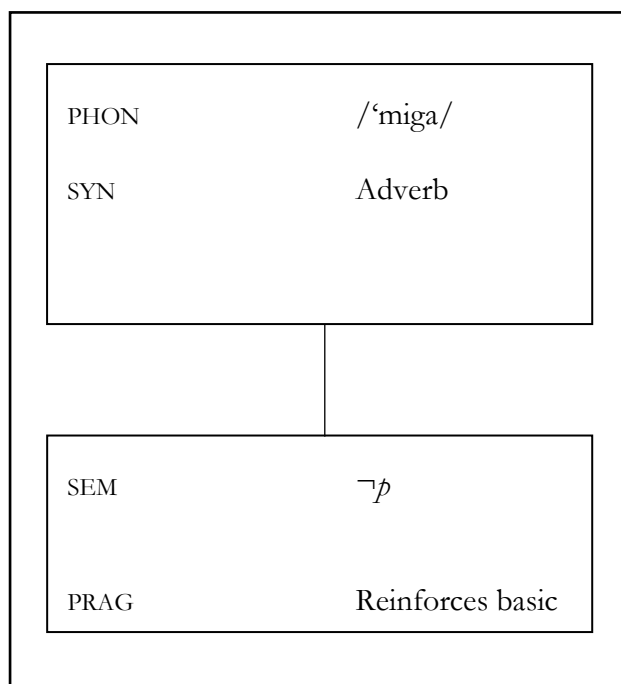


Figure 16 The NEGATIVE REINFORCER *miga* construction

<sup>70</sup> Diewald's (1999) *isolating context*.

A collocational analysis of *miga* and the types of verbs with which it appears demonstrates that the extension of the NEGATIVE REINFORCER *miga* construction is also accompanied by an extension of its use from a more to a less restricted set of verbs, indicating an increase in productivity. Examining first the attestations of *miga* with the TRANSITIVE construction, Table 26 demonstrates the verbal collocations of *miga* in Corpora A and B.

Verb Type		13 <sup>th</sup> century		14 <sup>th</sup> century	
		Corpus A	Corpus B	Corpus A	Corpus B
Non-eventive	Experiencer	5 (36%)	5 (50%)	1 (11%)	50 (36%)
	Possessive	4 (29%)	1 (10%)	2 (22%)	19 (14%)
	Stative	1 (7%)		1 (11%)	1 (0.7%)
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>10 (71%)</b>	<b>6 (60%)</b>	<b>4 (44%)</b>	<b>70 (50%)</b>
Eventive	Achievement	1 (7%)	2 (20%)	4 (44%)	32 (23%)
	Accomplishment	3 (21%)	2 (20%)		13 (9%)
	Activity				4 (3%)
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>4 (29%)</b>	<b>4 (40%)</b>	<b>4 (44%)</b>	<b>49 (35%)</b>
Modal Auxiliary	+ Experiencer				3 (2%)
	+ Achievement				5 (4%)
	+ Accomplishment				4 (3%)
	+ Activity			1 (11%)	2 (1.4%)
	<b>Sub-total</b>			<b>1 (11%)</b>	<b>14 (10%)</b>
Semi-modal	+ Experiencer				1 (0.7%)
	+ Possessive				1 (0.7%)
	+ Achievement				1 (0.7%)
	+ Accomplishment				3 (2%)
	<b>Sub-total</b>				<b>6 (4%)</b>

Table 26 Collocations of *miga* with the TRANSITIVE construction in Corpora A and B

Particularly notable are the high number of non-eventive verbs that collocate with *miga*, to which may also be added the instances of the COPULAR construction (Table 27), since copular verbs also describe states rather than events. Especially high in number are the instances of non-eventive experiencer verbs, which include psych verbs such as *fear*, *esteem*, *(dis)please*, and verbs of cognition like *see*, *want*, *think* and *know*. Notably, these are subject-experiencer psych verbs, which tend to be stative. The lower number of collocations with EVENTIVE VERB constructions, particularly in the earlier texts, suggests the range of contexts in which *miga* may appear extends from NON-EVENTIVE to EVENTIVE VERB constructions.

Verb Type		13 <sup>th</sup> century		14 <sup>th</sup> century	
		Corpus A	Corpus B	Corpus A	Corpus B
Non-eventive	Copular	4	6	1	60
	Experiencer		1		9
	Possessive				1
	Stative				2
Sub-total		4 (100%)	7 (100%)	1 (25%)	72 (68%)
Eventive	Achievement			1	10
	Accomplishment			1	11
	Activity				1
Sub-total				2 (50%)	22 (21%)
Modal auxiliary	+ Copular				1
	+ Experiencer			1	1
	+ Achievement				3
	+ Activity				1
	+ $\emptyset$				1
Sub-total				1 (25%)	7 (7%)
Semi-modal	+ Experiencer				1
	+ Achievement				3
	+ Accomplishment				1
Sub-total					5 (5%)

Table 27 Collocations of *miga* with the INTRANSITIVE construction in Corpora A and B

The proposal here is that there was a restriction against the use of *miga* based on properties of its lexical aspect. The non-eventive verbs with which *miga* first collocates, mostly copular and experiencer verbs, are non-telic, while the achievement and accomplishment verbs are telic. This evidence may point to a development in the semantics of *miga* where at first it may not appear with telic verbs in the earlier attestations, since its nominal features may cause it to be



interpreted as the event's *telos*. This is perhaps clearest when we consider verbs like *mançar* 'to eat', which may be used either transitively or intransitively (140).

- (140) *li farisei e li çudei no mançano miga se elli no se*  
 the pharisees and the Jews NEG eat.PRS.IND.3PL MIGA if PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3PL NEG REFL.3SG  
*à lavado spese fiade le mane*  
 AUX.PRS.IND.3SG wash.PPRT often times the hands  
 'the Pharisees and the Jews don't eat **anything/at all** if they have not washed their hands many times'  
 (*Vangeli*, p.142, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

As *miga* develops into an adverbial negative reinforcer, it is then able to appear with telic eventives because it could no longer have this interpretation. Take example (141).

- (141) *Ma el nor fo miga andado una legua engelexa, cb'=*  
 but SCL.M.3SG NEG AUX.PST.PRF.IND.3SG MIGA go.PPRT a league English COMP=  
*el olde apreso de sì un gran remor de cavallo*  
 SCL.M.3SG hear.PRS.IND.3SG close of PERS.PRON.DAT.3SG a big sound of horse  
 'But he hadn't gone an English league when he heard close by a great sound of horses'  
 (*Tristano Corsiniano*, p.34, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

Here, the typically monovalent *andar* 'to go' appears in a dyadic construction where *una legua engelexa* 'an English league' is a measure complement. If *miga* retained nominal properties and were to appear in the same position as *una legua engelexa*, it may have perhaps meant something like 'He hadn't gone any distance', but this use does not seem possible. Although *miga* could be used with post-verbal arguments previously with stative verbs, there was no *telos* in this case.

Later data in Corpora C and D confirm similar tendencies with regard to verb collocations with *mi(n)ga* (Table 28).

Verb Type		Corpus C: Lombardy	Corpus D: Veneto
<b>Transitive</b>			
Non-eventive	Experiencer	85	44
	Possessive	76 (12.5%)	11 (4%)
	Stative	2	
Sub-total		<b>163 (27%)</b>	<b>55 (18%)</b>
Eventive	Achievement	56	32
	Accomplishment	34	22
	Activity	15	9
Sub-total		<b>105 (17%)</b>	<b>63 (21%)</b>
<b>Intransitive</b>			
Non-eventive	Copular	180 (30%)	104 (35%)
	Experiencer	15	15
	Stative	7	5
Sub-total		<b>202 (33%)</b>	<b>124 (41%)</b>
Eventive	Achievement	16	8
	Accomplishment	19	7
	Activity	10	11
Sub-total		<b>45 (7%)</b>	<b>26 (9%)</b>
<b>Modal Auxiliaries</b>		<b>93 (15%)</b>	<b>31 (10%)</b>

Table 28 Verb collocations with *miga* in Corpora C and D

Table 28 includes all data in Corpus C, including those from texts where *miga* has become the basic clause negator. Even so, in Corpus C, the majority of uses of *miga* are with TRANSITIVE and COPULAR constructions (74%). In Corpus D, a similar percentage of attestations of *miga* are with TRANSITIVE and COPULAR constructions (74%). The number of uses of *miga* in Corpus C in TRANSITIVE POSSESSIVE constructions is particularly notable. 28% of TRANSITIVE VERB constructions with *miga* in Corpus C are in POSSESSIVE constructions, compared to 9% in Corpus D. The data thus continue to indicate that *miga* retains more prototypical features of the

ADNOMINAL QUANTIFIER construction. What is particularly interesting is that this does not hinder its development into a basic clause negator, which is indicated by its frequency in later texts in Corpus C. In fact, a greater percentage of attestations of *miga* with intransitives are found in Corpus D than Corpus C.

#### 4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided an account of the development of *miga* from a count noun construction in Latin to a reinforcing negative adverb in NIDs. It was demonstrated that there is evidence that *miga* followed the pathway in Breitbarth, Lucas and Willis (2020) from a count noun to a quantifier, and from a quantifier to a negative reinforcer. The first instance of a constructionalization was shown to already have begun in Latin, where the small quantity semantics of *mica* ‘crumb’ brought about a scalar reading of *mica* under the scope of negation. The *mica* construction underwent semantic attrition, so that the Latin meaning of *crumb* was no longer transparent. This is evidenced by examples in Corpora A and B where the restrictor phrase of the NP1 of NP2 pattern, in which QUANTIFIER *miga* is particularly common, cannot be portioned into ‘crumbs’ or ‘morsels’.

Moreover, the data from all four corpora indicate that the degree modifier and adnominal quantifier uses of *miga* were the most frequent bridging contexts in which *miga* is found. It was hypothesized that this is related to the fact that *miga* occurs most commonly with TRANSITIVE and COPULAR constructions, its use extending in the fourteenth century to INTRANSITIVE constructions. This is accompanied by an initial restriction on *miga*’s collocates to non-eventive verbs, again extending its collocational range in the fourteenth century to eventive verbs and modal verbs. These trends in the data are thought to show that, as the NEGATIVE REINFORCER *miga* construction becomes conventionalized as the more dominant use of *miga*, the construction gradually loses traces of features that are prototypical of diachronically related constructions. Namely, it gradually loses the prototypical feature of being a post-verbal complement with TRANSITIVE and COPULAR constructions. The extension of *miga*’s use to INTRANSITIVE constructions indicates the loss of prototypical features of the QUANTIFIER construction, and its conventionalization as an adverbial NEGATIVE REINFORCER construction. However, evidence from Corpora C and D show that Milanese *minga* retains more prototypical features of quantifier uses than Venetian *miga*, despite *minga* becoming a basic clause negator in the former.

## CHAPTER 5

# The Pragmatic Licensing of *miga* in Old Northern Italian Dialects

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This chapter examines the role of pragmatics in the licensing of *miga*. Building on previous research on the pragmatics of negative reinforcers in other Romance languages, the first part of this chapter examines the role of *miga* in denying information that is salient in the surrounding co-text of the *miga*-clause. In addition, the latter part of the chapter examines the use of *miga* as a device used to manage the common ground between discourse participants, in light of Visconti's (2009) study that suggests It. *mica* develops an increased *interpersonal* (cf. Halliday and Hasan, 1976) mode, playing a greater role in interlocutor interaction. Visconti (2009) argues that the historical evidence for It. *mica* shows that it develops an increased *intersubjectivity*.

§5.1 presents Birner's (2004, 2006) research and the concept of inferable information, which underpins Hansen and Visconti's (2009) study on reinforced negation in Old French and Old Italian (cf. §1.5.2). The results of a similar study examining the role of inferencing in the licensing of *miga* in NIDs from the early period to the mid-nineteenth century are presented in §5.1.2. §5.2 then examines further the role of *miga* in managing the common ground in Old NIDs, the aim being to determine to what degree the use of *miga* is influenced by its role in intersubjective language use in this early period.

## 5.1 Inferencing and the Licensing of Non-canonical Negation in Northern Italian Dialects

As already discussed in §1.5.2, several researchers since the 1970s have associated the function of NEGATIVE REINFORCER constructions with what is described as a presuppositional use, whereby the negative reinforcer is licensed in contexts where it denies a presupposition that is assumed to be part of the common ground (cf. Cinque, 1991; Zanuttini, 1997). However, Schwenter's (2002, 2005) research on the licensing of post-verbal *não* in Brazilian Portuguese, has shown that the licensing of non-canonical negation may be related to the activation status of the proposition that is denied, which may be accessible via inference. Building on these synchronic studies, Hansen and Visconti's (2009, 2012) diachronic research on the history of non-canonical negation in Old French and Old Italian (i.e., Old Florentine) shows that the licensing of these structures was determined by the discourse status of the underlying proposition denied by the non-canonical negation. Hansen and Visconti, whose study was presented in §1.5.2, use a model of inferable information proposed by Birner (2006). Birner's study and the concept of inferable information are presented in §5.1.1, before the results of a similar study to Hansen and Visconti (2009) are presented in §5.1.2.

### 5.1.1 Inferable Information

Birner's research builds on that of Prince (1981, 1992), who assumes that hearer-new (h-new) information cannot at the same time be discourse-old (d-old) (cf. Table 29).

<b>H-old</b>		<b>H-new</b>
<b>D-old</b>	Previously evoked	(Non-occurring)
<b>D-new</b>	Not evoked, but known (unused in Prince (1981))	Brand-new

Table 29 Prince's (1992) taxonomy of information status

Birner (2006), however, concludes that some information may be d-old, yet new to the hearer, demonstrating that some information is d-old through inference, even though it may not have been explicitly uttered. This type of inference is labelled a *bridging* inference (cf. Table 30). Other types of inference include evoked *identity* and *elaborating* inferences, which are both h-old.

<b>H-old</b>		<b>H-new</b>
<b>D-old</b>	Evoked Identity/Elaborating Inferable (inferentially linked and known to hearer)	Bridging Inferable (inferentially linked, but not known to hearer)
<b>D-new</b>	Unused (not inferentially linked but known to hearer)	Brand-new (not inferentially linked, and not known to hearer)

Table 30 Birner (2006: 25)

With reference to research in psycholinguistics, Birner (2006) distinguishes between *forward* and *backward* inferences. The former is associated with elaborating inferences, and the latter with identity and bridging inferences. The difference between forward and backward inferences is the motivation behind the inference (Keenan *et al.*, 1990: 378-9).

Forward, elaborating inferences are made upon utterance of a trigger, here referred to as an anchor, and are often used to embellish the discourse by adding information.<sup>71</sup> For example, *she got married* in (142) implies that there was a wedding, and thus the proposition *there was a wedding* is activated in the discourse, making *at the wedding* h-old information that is accessible through inference.

- (142)      *She got married recently and **at the wedding** was the mother, the step-mother and Debbie.*  
(Birner, 2006: 22)

Backward inferences, on the other hand, are made to achieve coherence. For example, pronouns that refer to a previously mentioned discourse referent rely on a backwards identity inference for coherence. In (143), there is an identity relation between *the customer* and *he*, from which the hearer infers that *he* refers to *the customer* evoked in the prior discourse.

- (143)      *I told the customer that **he** couldn't return the broken item.*

Bridging inferences are also backwards but are triggered by h-new information. For example, while *beer* in (144) is inferable from picnic supplies, there is nothing to suggest that the hearer should automatically know about the beer at the mention of picnic supplies. Therefore, that the picnic supplies contained the beer is h-new information. Nonetheless, this kind of inferable information may still be considered d-old, since the trigger may be found in the preceding discourse.

- (144)      *Mary took the picnic supplies out of the trunk. **The beer** was warm.*  
(Haviland and Clark, 1974: 514)

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<sup>71</sup> Throughout the chapter, the anchor, from which an inference arises, is underlined.

To summarize briefly, then, the three categories of inferences (identity, elaborating, and bridging) may be distinguished according to their information status, as well as to their discourse function. With regard to their information status, all are produced on the basis of information that is d-old, but while identity and elaborating inferences are h-old, bridging inferences are produced by means of h-new information. A further distinction is made, however, which groups together identity and bridging inferences as backward inferences in opposition to forward, elaborating inferences.

In addition, Birner (2006: 25-29) also touches upon the possible semantic and pragmatic relations that contribute to d-old status (cf. Table 31).

<b>Semantic and Pragmatic Relations</b>
Lexical identity
Referential identity Synonymy / Antonymy
Partitive relations (set/subset, part/whole)
Taxonomic relations (type/subtype)
Scalar relations (e.g., greater-than/less-than)
Entity/attribute relations
Temporal relations (e.g., temporal precedence)
Spatial relations (e.g., spatial proximity, containment relations)
Encyclopedic relations

*Table 31 Semantic and Pragmatic Relations in Birner (2006: 27)*

As Birner notes, some of these relations are purely semantic, such as lexical identity and synonymy, whereas others, such as referential identity and spatial relations, are either partially or entirely pragmatic. In a previous study by Birner and Ward (1998), it was argued that these linking relations may be defined as partially ordered set (poset) relations. The members of a poset may either be related to one another as higher or lower values within the set (e.g., geraniums and lilies are lower values than flower in the poset of plant types) or they may be unordered alternates at the same level (e.g., washing machine and fridge in the poset of household appliances). In the analysis



of *miga* in §5.2, it is argued that an additional relation of (inter)subjectivity ought to be added to the list in Table 31, as attitudes towards entities or propositions in the preceding discourse may also be a type of inferable information.

### 5.1.2 Inferencing and the Licensing of *miga*

This study takes as its starting point Hansen and Visconti's (2009) research into the licensing of reinforced negation in Old French and Old Italian, and the four types of contexts elicited in their data: explicit denial or rejection; denial of a presupposition or part of the common ground; repetition or paraphrase; and denial of an inference. The category of *explicit denial or rejection* is used in instances where the *miga*-clause denies something explicitly activated in the preceding discourse. Following Visconti (2009), examples attributed to this category involve lexical identity or semantic contiguity, thus the link between the *miga*-clause and the preceding co-text is made explicit. The second category, *repetition or paraphrase*, refers to those examples where the *miga*-clause repeats or paraphrases something that precedes it in the co-text. The third category, *denial of a presupposition or part of the common ground*, refers to examples in which the *miga*-clause expresses or denies something that can be inferred via presupposition, or something in the *common ground* (i.e., shared assumptions) between interlocutors. In the case of written texts, common ground may refer to the textual construction of assumptions and expectations between author and reader. Moreover, common ground is understood to include cultural assumptions of the period in which the text was produced or of the text's context itself (for example, the code of the knight-errant in the *Tristano veneto* and *Tristano corsiniano*). Finally, examples where the *miga*-clause expresses something that may be considered accessible to the hearer through inference from something mentioned in the prior discourse are assigned to the last category, *denial of an inference*.

The data were analysed by identifying an anchor or trigger in the preceding co-text in order to determine the relation between this and the *miga*-clause, and then each example was assigned to one of the four categories.<sup>72</sup> Table 32 summarizes the distribution of *miga* among these four types of denial in Corpora A and B.

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<sup>72</sup> In many cases, the portion of co-text downloaded with each data point from the OVI was not sufficient to carry out the qualitative analysis. This meant that I had to either return to the online OVI database to expand the text to search the preceding co-text for an anchor, or, where possible, I used physical editions of texts.

Corpus	Century	Explicit Rejection or denial	Repetition/ Paraphrase	Denial of a presupposition or part of the common ground	Denial of an inference	Brand-new
A	13 <sup>th</sup>	10 (38%)	2 (8%)	6 (23%)	8 (31%)	
	14 <sup>th</sup>	10 (53%)	1 (5%)	4 (21%)	4 (21%)	
B	13 <sup>th</sup>	9 (47%)	2 (11%)	2 (11%)	6 (32%)	
	14 <sup>th</sup>	91 (36%)	36 (14%)	19 (8%)	97 (39%)	8 (3%)

Table 32 Typology of denials involving *miga* in Corpora A and B

This may be compared with the data in Corpora C and D. Only texts where *minga* is not the basic clause negator have been included in the data for Corpus C.

Corpus	Explicit Rejection or denial	Repetition/ Paraphrase	Denial of a presupposition or part of the common ground	Denial of an inference	Brand-new
Corpus C	86 (25%)	22 (6%)	32 (9%)	148 (43%)	59 (17%)
Corpus D	111 (35%)	7 (2%)	44 (14%)	139 (43%)	20 (6%)

Table 33 Typology of denials involving *mi(n)ga* in Corpora C and D

The most notable difference between Corpora A and B, and Corpora C and D is that the percentage of examples where *mi(n)ga* is used in a context where it is brand-new, i.e., the denial is not related explicitly or via inference to something in the preceding co-text, has increased, and is larger in the Lombardy texts. This is what is expected, of course, since it is in Lombard varieties that *mi(n)ga* has become the basic clause negator. Therefore, at some point in its history, the pragmatic licensing condition requiring the *mi(n)ga*-clause denial to be linked to something in the preceding discourse needs to weaken, as speakers routinize it as the basic clause negator, which may be used in all denials, and not just those linked to an anchor. Although in Corpora A and B,



- (146) *ela* \_\_\_\_\_ *parà* \_\_\_\_\_ *una 'magenta quand' è* \_\_\_\_\_ *ben / vernicata.*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.F.3SG seem.FUT.IND.3SG a image when COP.PRS.IND.3SG well painted  
*Saçate,* \_\_\_\_\_ *'sta* \_\_\_\_\_ *beleça non è* \_\_\_\_\_ *miga certana*  
 know.PRS.SJV.2PL DEM.F.SG beauty NEG COP.PRS.IND.3SG MIGA true  
 ‘She will appear a picture when she is well painted. / You know, **this beauty isn’t**  
**real**’

(*Proverbia que dicuntur*, vv.360-1, p.538, Veneto, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

In both (145) and (146), the *miga*-clause makes a generalized implicature (Grice, 1975; Levinson, 1983; cf. §1.2.2.2) that arises in the preceding co-text explicit. The verbs *creer* ‘believe’ (145) and *parer* ‘seem’ (146) produce a generalized conversational implicature that the truth-value of their complement is unknown rather than positive or negative. For example, in (145), that *many people believe* (*molti credeno*) that the narrator enjoys himself (*q’ eu allegro me faça*) does not entail that the complement clause has either a positive or a negative truth-value. This implicature is made explicit by the *miga*-clause, which denies that the narrator really enjoys himself. In (146), that a woman may *seem* to be beautiful (*parà una 'magenta*) conventionally implicates that whether the woman is beautiful is not known to be true or false. Again, the *miga*-clause (*'sta beleça non è miga certana* ‘this beauty isn’t real’) resolves the implicature activated in the preceding co-text.

There are also examples of *miga*-clauses involved in explicit denials and rejections in later fourteenth-century texts. In (147), the student ([D.]) asks the teacher ([M.]) whether demons have knowledge of everything (underlined), which the teacher denies (bold). The *miga*-clause (*Illi no han miga scientia de tutte cosse* ‘they don’t have knowledge of all things’) provides a negative response to the student’s question made explicitly in the preceding discourse. The question and the answer are linked by a lexical identity relation. Therefore, the proposition underlying the *miga*-clause is both d-old and h-old.

- (147) [D.] Or me di', magistre: àn li demonii sentia de  
 now PERS.PRON.DAT.1SG tell.IMP.2PL teacher have.PRS.IND.3PL the demons knowledge of  
tute le cosse? M. Li demonii han ben sentia de molte cosse per soa  
 all the things the demons have.PRS.IND.3PL well knowledge of many things for POSS.F.3SG  
 natura; permodezò illi no han miga sentia de tutte  
 Nature therefore PERS.PRON.NOM.3PL NEG have.PRS.IND.3PL MIGA knowledge of all  
**cosse.**  
 things  
 '[D] Now tell me, teacher: do demons have knowledge of all things? M. Demons  
 do have knowledge of many things, therefore **they do not have knowledge of all  
 things.**'

(*Elucidario*, Book 1, Quaest. 48, p.99, Lombardy, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

A sub-type of the explicit denial/rejection category is the negative imperative, as in (148). In (148), Raynaldo claims that he and their companions are afraid because of a loud noise (underlined), which Raynaldo rejects by telling them not to be afraid of anything (bold). The *miga*-clause thus rejects something that is explicitly activated in the discourse. Although the relation between the *miga*-clause and the preceding co-text is not made through lexical identity (*aver paura* lit. 'have fear' vs. *temer* 'fear'), the two verbs are synonymous, and there is therefore a semantic contiguity relation between the *miga*-clause and the anchor.

- (148) No oldi =tu con' gran remor? / E nu  
 NEG hear.PRS.IND.2SG=PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG DEM.M.SG big noise and PERS.PRON.NOM.1PL  
avén sù gran paura. / Dixe Çilberto: «**No temi miga**; /  
 have.PRS.IND.1PL thus great fear say.PRS.IND.3SG Ç NEG fear.IMP.2PL MIGA  
 vignì sicuramente en questa via...  
 come.IMP.2PL assuredly on DEM.F.SG path  
 “Don't you hear the big noise? And for this reason we are very  
 afraid.” Çilberto said: “**Don't be afraid**; come assuredly along this path...”

(*Rainaldo (Ox.)*, vv.180-3, p.821, Veneto, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

### 5.1.2.2 Repetition or Paraphrase

There are several examples in the data where the *miga*-clause either repeats or paraphrases something in the preceding co-text. This is a particularly common use in the *Vangeli*, whose chief purpose, as discussed in §3.1.2.3, was to educate about Christianity in the vernacular language. Repetitions or paraphrases involving a *miga*-clause appear to be a device employed in order to

elucidate the meaning of a passage or sentence, to which *miga* adds an absolute interpretation to avoid room for misinterpretation. For example, in (149), the parenthesized *miga*-clause explicates the original bible verse that precedes it, perhaps using vocabulary and language that is more familiar to its intended readership.

- (149) *En la resurecion ne elli no faran noçe né*  
 in the resurrection NEG.CNJ PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3PL NEG make.FUT.IND.3PL nuptials NEG.CNJ  
*elli no [ne] reçeverano (ço è a dir homo*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3PL NEG PRT receive.FUT.IND.3PL DEM COP.PRS.IND.3SG to say.INF man  
*né femena no seran miga acompagnadi né conçonti*  
 NEG.CNJ woman NEG COP.FUT.IND.3PL MIGA accompanied NEG.CNJ joined  
*ensemble per maridaço per patrimonio over matrimonio)*  
 together for marriage for patrimony or matrimony  
 ‘In the resurrection they will not be married, nor will they become so (that is to say, **man and woman will not be accompanied nor joined together by marriage**, either by patrimony or matrimony)’  
 (*Vangeli*, p.90, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

Similarly, there are a number of examples of paraphrastic *miga*-clauses in which the paraphrase contains a negated antonym of the lexical item of the preceding co-text that is being rephrased, thus making the two near semantic equivalents. In (150), *trista* ‘sad’ is paraphrased as *miga allegro* ‘not happy’.

- (150) *Alora elo li disse: <<La mia anima*  
 then PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3SG PERS.PRON.DAT.M.3PL say.PST.PRF.IND.3SG the POSS.F.1SG spirit  
*è trista deschi a la morte (ço è a dir io*  
 COP.PRS.IND.3SG sad until to the death DEM COP.PRS.IND.3SG to say.INF PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG  
*no sere miga alegro ni çoioso deschi a tanto che*  
 NEG COP.FUT.IND.1SG MIGA happy NEG.CNJ joyous until to so much COMP  
*io no averè reschatado l' =umano lignaço per la mia*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG NEG AUX.FUT.IND.1SG rescue.PPRT the=human line for the POSS.F.1SG  
*morte e per la mia resurecion)*  
 death and for the POSS.F.1SG resurrection  
 ‘Then he said to them: “My soul will be sad until death (that is to say, **I will not be happy nor joyful** until I have saved the human race through my death and resurrection)’.  
 (*Vangeli*, p.109, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

In some examples, the *miga*-clause repeats the previous co-text, while narrowing the scope of the verb. In (151), while *el no se convene* ('it is not lawful') in and of itself suggests that the statement applies universally, the *miga*-clause specifies the chief priests as those for whom it is unlawful.

- (151) *Et ello getà li XXX dinari en lo templo e and PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3SG throw.PST.PRF.IND.3SG the 30 dinari in the temple e andè e s' =apichà per la gola. [6] Li principi de li go.PST.PRF.IND.3SG and REFL.3SG=hang.PST.PRF.IND.3SG for the neck the chiefs of the prevedi, ricevando li XXX dinari, disseno: «El no se priests receive.GER the 30 dinari say.PST.PRF.IND.3PL SCL.EXPL NEG IMPERS.3SG convene (çò è a dir el no se convenience.PRS.IND.3SG DEM COP.PRS.IND.3SG to say.INF SCL.EXPL NEG IMPERS.3SG convene miga a nui) che noi convenience.PRS.IND.3SG MIGA to PERS.PRON.DAT.1PL COMP PERS.PRON.NOM.1PL li metemo con l' =elemosene, enperçò ch' =el PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3PL put.PRS.IND.1PL with the=alms therefore COMP=SCL.M.3SG è presumpcio de sangue>>. COP.PRS.IND.3SG tainted of blood*  
 'And he [Judas] threw the 30 *dinari* into the temple and hung himself by the neck. [6] The chief priests, receiving the 30 *dinari*, said: "It is not lawful (that is to say, **it is not lawful for us**) to put them into the treasury since it is tainted by blood."

(*Vangeli*, p.n., Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

### 5.1.2.3 Expression or Denial of a Presupposition or Part of the Common Ground

In this category, the *miga*-clause expresses or denies a presupposition or part of the common ground. The presupposition or part of the common ground may be activated by an anchor in the preceding co-text and is linked via inference to the *miga*-clause. For example, it is reasonably common knowledge that violets flower earlier in the year than roses and many other flowering plants, but it is not something that is salient in most interactions between interlocutors. However, in the context of a conversation between a rose and a violet, this information may be salient, as in (152). In the preceding co-text, the rose mentions that it flowers when the weather is warm (underlined). This makes the flowering time of the two flowers salient in the discourse, in particular the fact that violets flower earlier in the year, when it is still cold. There is, therefore, a link between the *miga*-clause and part of the preceding discourse based on knowledge that may be considered part of the common ground between these interlocutors. This is strengthened by the rose's use of

the personal pronoun *Eo* ('I'), which implies a contrast between the rose and the violet. Since the rose states 'I appear when it is warm ... when the other flowers appear', this presupposes that the violet, in contrast, does not, which is then expressed by the *miga*-clause.

- (152) *Anchora dis la rosa: <<Eo \_\_\_\_\_ paio \_\_\_\_\_ intro calor, /*  
 still say.PRS.IND.3SG the rose PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG appear.PRS.IND.1SG between heat  
*In temp convenievre, ke paren \_\_\_\_\_ i oltre flor [...]* / *Ma quand*  
 in time convenient COMP appear.PRS.IND.3PL the other flowers but when  
*tu par imprima, el è ben freg*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG appear.PRS.IND.2SG first SCL.EXPL COP.PRS.IND.3SG well cold  
*anchora, / Le oltre flor quel tempo no paren miga illora*  
 still the other flowers DEM.M.SG time NEG appear.PRS.IND.3PL MIGA then  
 'The rose goes on: "I appear in the heat, / in a convenient time, that the other  
flowers appear [...]. But when you first appear, **it is still very cold, the other**  
**flowers do not appear then**'

(*Opere volgari [Disputatio rose cum viole]*, vv.85-90, p.80, Lombardy, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

Elsewhere, the part of the common ground that is involved in the *miga*-clause denial may be background knowledge of the discourse participants that is not stated explicitly in the preceding co-text. In such examples, the *miga*-clause expresses d-new, h-old (i.e., unused) information. For example, in (153), the disciples implore Jesus to help a woman, who is described in the narration as being a Canaanite. The *miga*-clause in Jesus' response to the disciples implies that Jesus will not help the woman because she is not an Israelite, who he has been sent to save. The group to which the woman belongs forms part of the common ground of the discourse, as well as the disciples' knowledge that Jesus is a leader of the Israelites. The *miga*-clause therefore makes explicit a proposition that is part of the common ground, and is known to all interlocutors, but has not been explicitly uttered.



- (153) *una chaninea* (ço è a dir *nada de la terra de Chanaam*), [...] a Canaanite DEM COP.PRS.IND.3SG to say.INF born of the land of Canaan  
*andà* *apresso de Iesù Cristo digando*: «Mesièr, tu che go.PST.PRF.IND.3SG next of I. C. say.GER messiah PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG REL  
*es* *figlo de David, ebis merçe' e misericordia de mi.* COP.PRS.IND.2SG son of D. have.IMP.2SG mercy and misericordia of PERS.PRON.DAT.1SG  
*Mia fia è malamente tormentada da lo diavolo*. [23] *Et Iesù* POSS.F.1SG daughter COP.PRS.IND.3SG badly tormented from the devil and I.  
*Cristo no li respond alguna parola. Allora se* C. NEG PERS.PRON.DAT.3SG repond.PST.PRF.IND.3SG any word then REFL.3SG  
*proximà li suoi discipoli da lui e* approach.PST.PRF.IND.3SG the POSS.M.3PL disciples from PERS.PRON.DAT.M.3SG and  
*li disse pregando*: «*Làxa =la, enperçò* PERS.PRON.DAT.M.3SG say.PST.PRF.IND.3SG pray.GER leave.IMP.3SG=PERS.PRON.ACC.F.3SG because  
*che ella crida apresso nui [...]*» [24] *Iesù Cristo* COMP PERS.PRON.NOM.F.3SG cry.PRS.IND.3SG near PERS.PRON.DAT.1PL I. C.  
*respondando li disse: «Io no son* respond.GER PERS.PRON.DAT.3PL say.PST.PRF.3SG PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG NEG AUX.PRS.IND.1SG  
*miga mandado se no a =lle pegore de la maxone de Israel li qual* MIGA send.PPRT if NEG to=the sheep of the house of I. the REL  
*èno peridi*». AUX.PRS.IND.3PL lose.PPRT

‘a Canaanite (that is to say born of the land of Canaan), [...] went up to Jesus Christ saying: “Messiah, you who are the son of David, have mercy on me. My daughter is badly tormented by the devil.” And Jesus Christ did not say any word to her. Then his disciples approached him and begged him: “Help her, because she cries near us [...].” Jesus Christ, responding, said to them: “**I was not sent except to the sheep of the house of Israel**, those who are lost.”

(*Vangeli*, p.64, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

In other examples, the *miga*-clause expresses a proposition that may be considered cultural knowledge, often related to politeness or expected behaviour, that is known to the hearer, but which has not been explicitly stated. In the context preceding the *miga*-clause in (154), for example, Tristan has defeated Dinadan in a duel and unseated him. Dinadan invites Tristan to duel with swords instead, to which Tristan responds by saying that this is not the correct behaviour of a knight-errant (154).

- (154) *Questa non è miga drita cortexia de cavaler errante.*  
 DEM.F.SG NEG COP.PRS.IND.3SG MIGA correct courtesy of knight errant  
 ‘This is not the correct courtesy of a knight errant.’

(*Tristano veneto*, p.18, Veneto, 14th c.)



- (156) *M. - 'dé* *fì lodao Deo in la salvatione de li iusti, in-così*  
M. MOD.AUX.PRS.IND.3SG AUX.INF praise.PPRT God in the salvation of the just in thus  
*dé- ='llo fì lodao in la condempnatione de li*  
MOD.AUX.PRS.IND.3SG=PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3SG AUX.INF praise.PPRT in the condemnation of the  
*rey e peccadori.' [...]* *Tute le cosse há Deo create, El*  
king and sinners all the things AUX.PRS.IND.3SG God create.PPRT SCL.M.3SG  
*le ama tute, ma El no le*  
PERS.PRON.ACC.F.3PL love.PRS.IND.3SG all but SCL.M.3SG NEG PERS.PRON.ACC.F.3PL  
*metara miga tute in un logo.*  
put.FUT.IND.3SG MIGA all in one place  
'M: "God must be praised for the salvation of the just, and in the same way he  
must be praised for the condemnation of the bad and the sinners. [...] All of the  
things he has created, God loves, but **he will not put them all in one place.**"  
(*Elucidario*, Book 2, Quaest. 5-6, p.139, Lombardy, 14th c.)

In other cases, the *miga*-clause is linked to the preceding discourse via a bridging or identity inference that can only be made once the *miga*-clause has been uttered. There are examples of *bridging* and *identity* inferences, though the first is much more frequent, in all likelihood because identity inferences are inferences between referents (e.g., *The shopkeeper heard a noise and he went to investigate*), while *miga*, as a reinforcer of clause negation, has a relation to propositions rather than individual referents.

(157)-(158) are instances of *bridging* inferences. In (157), the information relayed by the *miga*-clause is d-old by means of an inference to *sa fa la garbinela* ('she knows how to play tricks') in the preceding discourse. While *garbinela* and *çogo* are related by means of hyponymy, the inference to women's love (*l'amor de le poncele*) can only be made upon the utterance of the *miga*-clause, and it thus contains h-new information.

- (157) *plui de nul truante sa \_\_\_\_\_ far la garbinela. / Signori, entendete=*  
 more of no truant know.PRS.IND.3SG do.INF the tricks men understand.IMP.2PL=  
*me, çascun 'de prego e rogo: / I' =amor de le*  
 PERS.PRON.ACC.1SG each PRT beg.PRS.IND.1SG and beseech.PRS.IND.1SG the=love of the  
*poncele non este miga çogo/ mai pene crudeliseme qe arde*  
 women NEG COP.PRS.IND.3SG MIGA game but pain cruel COMP burn.PRS.IND.3SG  
*plui de fogo.*  
 more of fire  
 ‘more than any truant she knows how to play tricks. Men, understand, I beg and  
 beseech each of you: / **the love of women isn’t a game**, / but a cruel pain that  
 burns more than fire.’

(*Proverbia que diuntur*, vv.643-7, p.550, Veneto, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

In (158), the queen’s statement of intention to kill Tristan implies that there would be a way to kill him, but her psychological relation to the event, that she doesn’t *know* how to kill Tristan, cannot be known to the reader, and is therefore h-new.

- (158) *perciò serave \_\_\_\_\_ meio avanti qu' =ella \_\_\_\_\_ fesse*  
 therefore COP.COND.3SG better before COMP=PERS.PRON.NOM.F.3SG make.PST.IMP.F.SJV.3SG  
*Tristan murir. Ma ela \_\_\_\_\_ non vedeva \_\_\_\_\_ miga como*  
 T. die.INF but PERS.PRON.NOM.F.3SG NEG see.PST.IMP.F.IND.3SG MIGA COMP  
*ela \_\_\_\_\_ lo \_\_\_\_\_ podesse \_\_\_\_\_ far, se questo non*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.F.3SG PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG be able.PST.IMP.F.SJV.3SG do.INF if DEM.M.SG NEG  
*fosse \_\_\_\_\_ per venin.*  
 COP.PST.IMP.F.SJV.3SG for poison  
 ‘Therefore, it would be better before [he became king] that she [the queen] made Tristan die.  
 But **she didn’t see how she could do it, if not by poison**.’

(*Tristano Veneto*, p.72, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

In (159), on the other hand, there is no preceding discourse from which an inference may be drawn. Rather, the inference arises from the extra-linguistic context. The arrival of the angels is described as a violent earthquake and their appearance as if they are fire or as white as snow. The angels greet the two Marys, who are guarding Jesus’ tomb following his crucifixion, by telling them not to be afraid (*no abiè miga paura*). In this example, therefore, the denial/rejection is not of something activated explicitly between interlocutors in discourse, but rather is made accessible in the extra-linguistic context, and must be inferred from the description of the angels’ arrival. On the other hand, in terms of the author-reader dyad, the proposition ‘Mary is afraid’ is activated through the written description. This use of *miga* is not especially common in my data, but perhaps

demonstrates a shift in the use of *miga* from denials in which the information has been explicitly activated through discourse, to those in which the information need only be accessible from the extra-linguistic context.

- (159) *Et li angeli respondando disse a le femene (ço fo*  
 and the angels respond.GER say.PST.PRF.IND.3SG to the women DEM COP.PST.PRF.IND.3SG  
*a le II [Marie]): «No abiè miga paura. Io sé*  
 to the 2 M. NEG have.IMP.2PL MIGA fear PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG know.PRS.IND.1SG  
*che vni requerì e demandè Iesù Cristo, che*  
 COMP PERS.PRON.NOM.2PL search.PST.PRF.IND.2PL and ask.PST.PRF.IND.2PL I. C. REL  
*è crucifichado.*  
 COP.PRS.IND.3SG crucified  
 ‘And the angels in response said to the women (that is to the two Marys): “**Don’t be afraid.** I know that you searched and asked for Jesus Christ, who is crucified.”’

(*Vangeli*, p.118, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

#### 5.1.2.5 Janus-faced Contexts

In Janus-faced contexts, the negated clause or constituent reinforced by *miga* has a relation to both the preceding and the following co-text, as shown by Hansen and Visconti (2009). The part of the co-text that the *miga*-clause denies or rejects usually closely precedes the *miga*-clause. The link between the two may be described semantically as one of lexical identity/similarity and semantic contiguity, and pragmatically as an explicit denial or rejection by the *miga*-clause of something activated in the discourse. In terms of the contrasted element contained in the co-text following the *miga*-clause, this always states another possible state of affairs, often contrary to that stated in the *miga*-clause itself.

In (160), for example, the *miga*-clause (*no se sacià miga de cavalete* ‘he didn’t satisfy himself with locusts’) and the preceding clause (*mançava le cavalete* ‘he ate locusts’) are semantically contiguous. The following adversative clause states a different state of affairs (i.e., that Saint Paul ate a lot viler foods than those).

- (160) *Misier sen Çane mançava le cavalete e lo miel salvadego, [...] E [sen mister saint Ç. eat.PST.IMP.F.IND.3SG the locusts and the honey wild and saint Polo] no se sacià miga de cavalete ní de miel ma trobo.*  
 P. NEG REFL.3SG satisfy.PST.PRF.IND.3SG MIGA of locusts NEG.CNJ of honey but a lot  
*plu vil cibo 'lo uxà*  
 more vile food PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG accustom.PST.PRF.IND.3SG  
 ‘Mister Saint John ate locusts and wild honey, [...] and [Saint Paul] **did not satisfy himself with locusts and honey, but he grew accustomed to a lot more vile food**’  
 (Legenda Piero e Polo, p.71, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

Similarly, in (161), the *miga*-clause (*io non l'è miga morto* ‘I didn’t kill him’) is an explicit rejection of the preceding piece of dialogue (*el mio fio me ave' morto* ‘you killed my son’), where the two clauses have the same propositional content, except for the reversal of the truth-value. The following adversative clause states an alternative state of affairs to be true.

- (161) *ella disse a =la damisela: <<Che ve ho io fato, ch' =el mio fio me ave' morto?>>. E la damisela, la qual altramente non se saveva scusiar, respoxe e disse: «Mandona, io non l' =è miga morto ma cului che messe colà lo venin, cului l' =à morto*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.F.3SG say.PST.PRF.IND.3SG to=the maid INTER PERS.PRON.DAT.2PL  
 AUX.PRS.IND.1SG PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG do.PPRT COMP=the POSS.M.1SG son PERS.PRON.DAT.1SG  
 AUX.PRS.IND.2PL kill.PPRT and the maid the REL otherwise NEG REFL.3SG  
 know.PST.IMP.F.IND.3SG excuse.INF respond.PST.PRF.IND.3SG and say.PST.PRF.IND.3SG my lady  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG NEG PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.PRS.IND.3SG MIGA kill.PPRT but  
 REL.PRON.M.3SG REL put.PST.PRF.IND.3SG there the poison REL.PRON.M.3SG  
 PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG =AUX.PRS.IND.3SG kill.PPRT  
 ‘She [the queen] said to the maid: “What have I done to you that you have killed my son?” And the maid, who did not know how to pardon herself any other way, responded and said: “My lady, **I did not kill him, but the one who put in there the poison, they have killed him.**”’  
 (Tristano veneto, p.73, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

In some cases, a degree of inferencing is required to relate the *miga*-clause to the following contrasted element, as in (162), where the adversative clause states a potential alternative, rather than the true state of affairs.

- (162) *lo puovol de=lla citade [...] sì domandono se l' =era là*  
 the people of=the city thus ask.PRS.IND.3PL if SCL.M.3SG=COP.PST.IMP.F.IND.3SG there  
*dentro lo cavaliere, quel che per la morte d=el re se*  
 inside the knight DEM.M.SG REL for the death of=the king REFL.3SG  
*diè conbater. «Segnor» ciò dixeno li marineri «or*  
 MOD.AUX.PST.PRF.IND.3SG fight.INF sir DEM say.PRS.IND.3PL the sailors now  
*sapiati cb' =el non è miga qui dentro, ma*  
 know.PRS.SJV.2PL COMP=SCL.M.3SG NEG COP.PRS.IND.3SG MIGA here inside but  
*elo vegnirà tosto, se a Dio plaxe.»*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.M.SG come.FUT.IND.3SG quick if to God please.PRS.IND.3SG  
 ‘the people of the city [...] thus asked if he was there inside, the knight who must fight for the death of the king. ”Sir,” said the sailors, “Know now that **he is not here inside**, but he will come quickly, if it pleases God.”’  
 (Tristano corsiniano, p.54, Veneto. 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

It is possible to view the relation between the *miga*-clause and the following co-text as one of Birner and Ward's (1998) *posets* (partially ordered set), whereby the *miga*-clause and the contrasted element are unordered alternates of the same poset. Using (162), for example, the question posed (i.e., *Is the knight inside?*) implies through inference a set of responses that may be ordered in a poset. The responses in the poset are potentially unlimited, but are partially ordered according to the conversational maxims by which conversation is constrained (cf. §1.2.2.2) (e.g., {*yes, the knight is inside; no, the knight is not inside; the knight is coming; the knight will never arrive...*}). In Janus-faced contexts, the *miga*-clause rejects one of the members of the poset. In the case of (162), one of the members of the poset is rejected (i.e., *the knight is inside* is rejected). The adversative following the *miga*-clause then provides an alternative member of the poset as an answer (i.e., *the knight is on his way*).

#### 5.1.2.6 Brand-new

There are some instances, all of which are in the fourteenth-century texts in Corpus B, where the pragmatic licensing condition of *miga* fails, and there is no apparent link between the

*miga*-clause and something preceding. In (163), the *miga*-clause does not obviously relate to the preceding co-text.

- (163) *ell' =è senpre uxança che algun bon cavalier no*  
PERS.PRON.NOM.F.3SG=COP.PRS.IND.3SG always custom COMP any good knight NEG  
*se loxa may e ciò me dona conforto*  
REFL.3SG praise.PRS.IND.3SG never and DEM PERS.PRON.ACC.1SG give.PRS.IND.3SG comfort  
*ch' =el no è miga longo tempo che io*  
COMP=SCL.EXPL.NEG COP.PRS.IND.3SG MIGA long time COMP PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG  
*enprexi guera contra duj fradelli carnali...*  
wage.PST.PRF.IND.1SG war against two brothers carnal  
 'it is always the custom that any good knight never praises himself and that gives me comfort because **it is not so long ago** that I waged war against two brothers related by blood ...'

(*Tristano corsiniano*, p.14, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

Although there are not many examples of brand-new contexts in the early sources, these are the first examples of *miga* losing its pragmatic licensing conditions. The weakening of the relation between *miga* and the preceding context is evidence of an emerging BASIC CLAUSE NEGATOR construction. Since such examples are rare, it is not possible to say that such uses have a high degree of conventionalization in the corpora. However, such usage events may lead to the association of *miga* with the BASIC CLAUSE NEGATOR construction, leading to its routinization as such in later data. The increased percentage of such contexts in Corpus C indicates this for Milanese.

Finally, in a separate paper on the historical development of the pragmatic function of It. *mica*, Visconti (2009) argues that the use of *mica* undergoes a shift from a 'textual' mode to an 'interpersonal' (cf. Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Traugott, 1982, 2010) mode. *Textual* is understood by Visconti as the relationship between the *mica*-clause and the information in the prior discourse to which it is linked, while *interpersonal* focuses on the interaction between interlocutors. The shift from the former to the latter is representative, Visconti contends, of an overall increase in *mica*'s intersubjectivity. The aim of the rest of this chapter is to determine whether the same may be said of *miga* in Old NIDs, and whether the four categories of denial explored in this section may be alternatively analysed as intersubjective categories involved in the negotiation of viewpoints in the common ground.



## 5.2 (Inter)subjectivity and the Licensing of *miga*

Intersubjectivity has been the subject of a large body of research in usage-based functional approaches to language and language change, therefore §5.2.1 discusses the various approaches to (inter)subjectivity in the literature, so that working definitions may be clarified for the study that is presented here. §5.2.2 then presents Visconti's study in more detail and addresses some criticism of that study. Finally, §5.2.3 presents the results of the study carried out to determine whether *miga* has an intersubjective function in Old NIDs.

### 5.2.1 (Inter)subjectivity and Language Change

There are three main approaches to intersubjectivity (Ghesquière, Brems and Van der Velde, 2014: 130). The first is Verhagen's (2005) cognitive approach that has already been mentioned in §1.2.3 with specific reference to negation. In Verhagen's account, intersubjectivity is the cognitive coordination between hearer and speaker, in which the hearer's role in conceptualizing sentence meaning is foregrounded. Intersubjectivity is thus a part of all linguistic communication, but, as in §1.2.3, intersubjective constructions like negation encode this coordination explicitly. Nuyts (2014), on the other hand, conceptualizes intersubjectivity as meanings that are 'presented as being shared between the assessor and a wider group of people, possibly (but not necessarily) including the hearer' (Nuyts, 2014: 58). The difference between intersubjective meanings and subjective meanings in Nuyts's definition can be observed in pairs like *it is likely that* and *I think that*, where the former expresses a view that may be shared by a wider group of people, and the latter expresses a personal opinion. Lastly, the third approach to intersubjectivity is that which has been developed by Traugott in diachronic linguistics (Traugott, 1982, 1989, 2010a, 2021: Lecture 6; Traugott and Dasher, 2002). Traugott's approach to intersubjectivity focuses on encoded meanings that bring attention to the hearer. Traugott's definition of intersubjectivity is inextricably tied to *subjectivity*, the definition of which is based upon Lyons's (1982: 102) definition of subjectivity, which:

*'provide[s] for the locutionary agent's expression of **himself** and **his own** attitudes and beliefs' (emphasis added).*

Traugott (2010a: 32) thus defines intersubjectivity as:

*'the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent's expression of his or her awareness of **the addressee's** attitudes and beliefs' (emphasis added).*

Under these definitions, (inter)subjectivity is related to the ways in which the expression of one's own attitudes/beliefs (subjectivity) or the expression of one's awareness of the addressee's attitudes/beliefs (intersubjectivity) shapes language use. For example, the set of mental-state verbs that express attitudes or beliefs (e.g., *think, believe, want, be scared*) used in the first-person singular form in sentences like *I think he is stupid* express one's own attitudes/beliefs and are thus subjective. On the other hand, terms of address can signal group solidarity or hostility to the addressee, and are thus intersubjective (Traugott, 2010a: 33-4). Although the definitions above suggest that only some parts of language (i.e., only particular individual constructions) "encode" (inter)subjectivity, Benveniste (1971[1958]), who first drew a distinction between intersubjectivity and subjectivity, notes that all language is to some degree (inter)subjective. This is true in the sense that language users choose what to say, and also interpret language (cf. Verhagen, 2005). In theories of language change, intersubjectivity may be considered the *ambient context* in which language change takes place (Traugott, 2010a: 32).

There have been attempts in the literature to refine the definitions of (inter)subjectivity, by distinguishing between different types. With respect to subjectivity, De Smet and Verstraete (2006) distinguish between pragmatic and semantic subjectivity. The former is 'inherent in language use and independent of the semantics of a particular expression' (De Smet and Verstraete, 2006: 384), which seemingly coincides with Traugott's ambient intersubjectivity. Semantic subjectivity is divided into two subgroups: *ideational* subjectivity and *interpersonal* subjectivity. Ideational subjectivity describes 'the speaker's subjective beliefstate/attitude toward the situation' (De Smet and Verstraete, 2006: 385), while interpersonal subjectivity relates to the properties of language that contribute to interaction. De Smet and Verstraete (2006: 384) provide the example of causal conjunctions (e.g., *as, because, after all*), which not only reflect the speaker's perspective, but also contribute to interpersonal interaction with the addressee (cf. Traugott, 1989).

With respect to intersubjectivity, Ghesquière et al. (2014: 133-8) distinguish between three types of intersubjectivity: *attitudinal*, *responsive*, and *textual*. Attitudinal intersubjectivity encodes the speaker's perception of their relation to the addressee. For example, the *tu/vous* 'you' distinction in French pronouns, which marks a politeness contrast (*tu* = informal, *vous* = formal, polite), indicates how the speaker perceives the relationship between themselves and the addressee. Responsive intersubjectivity is related to the role of language use in signalling turn-taking (e.g., question tags like *isn't it?* that solicit a response from the addressee). Finally, Ghesquière et al. (2014: 134-8) also conclude that there are certain *textual* meanings that are intersubjective. The relationship of textual meaning to (inter)subjectivity is a debated issue, with some authors considering textual meanings to be a distinct meaning type oriented towards discourse itself, alongside subjective (speaker-oriented) and intersubjective (hearer-oriented) meaning (e.g., Narrog, 2012, 2014). Others believe that textual meanings can be subjective or intersubjective (Traugott, 1982, 1989; Breban, 2010: 15). For example, the temporal connective *while* encodes textual meaning by referring to 'a verifiable state-description' (Traugott, 1989: 31), but concessive *while* expresses the subjective attitude of the speaker and guides the hearer's interpretation (e.g., *He sat while waiting for the bus* (textual) vs. *While I don't typically like red wine, this Bordeaux is very drinkable* ((inter)subjective)).

Taking the literature summarized above into account, the following table summarizes different types of (inter)subjectivity as they are used here.

Type of (Inter)subjectivity	Description
<b>Ambient intersubjectivity</b>	Inherent to language use (De Smet and Verstraete's (2006) <i>pragmatic subjectivity</i> ). Captures the fact that language is a communicative device through which conversation is navigated and meanings negotiated by discourse participants (cf. Benveniste, 1971[1958]; Verhagen, 2005 for a cognitive view).
<b>Interactional intersubjectivity</b>	The means of indexing <i>interpersonal</i> and <i>responsive</i> intersubjectivity, i.e., hearer-oriented language use, including turn-taking devices.
<b>Ideational subjectivity</b>	The means of signalling subjective attitude of speakers. Includes attitudes towards the addressee and the speaker's perception of their relationship to them (Ghesquière et al.'s (2014) <i>attitudinal intersubjectivity</i> ).
<b>Textual intersubjectivity</b>	Discourse-oriented meanings that may index a low degree of (inter)subjectivity. Includes markers like concessives, which may express the subjective attitude of the speaker, while also guiding the hearer's interpretation (cf. Hansen, 2012: 595).

Table 34 Types of (Inter)Subjectivity

Here, (inter)subjectivity is considered to be a gradient property of constructions, meaning that a given construction may be and become more (or less) (inter)subjective. Constructions that index textual intersubjectivity are considered to have lower intersubjectivity than constructions that index ideational intersubjectivity, since the former only guides the addressee's interpretation, while the latter comments directly on attitudes and beliefstates that are held by participants and referents in the discourse.

In Traugott's work on (inter)subjectivity (cf. Traugott, 1982, 1999, 2010, 2021), a distinction is made between *intersubjectivity* as an 'ambient context for change' and (inter)subjectification as a historical process by which an item or construction develops a more (inter)subjective function. Working under the assumption that unidirectionality is a defining property of grammaticalization, and that changes in (inter)subjectivity are concurrent with those of grammaticalization, Traugott and Dasher (2002: 225) identify the following cline:

(164) non-/less subjective > subjective > intersubjective

If a lexical item or a construction develops a subjective meaning from a non- or less subjective meaning, then it has undergone subjectification. The process by which a lexical item or a construction develops an intersubjective meaning from a subjective meaning is intersubjectification. Traugott (2010a: 34) defines these processes as follows.

*Meanings are recruited by the speaker to encode and regulate attitudes and beliefs (subjectification), and, once subjectified, may be recruited to encode meanings centered on the addressee (intersubjectification).*

Notably, subjectification is a necessary step in the cline from non-/less subjective to intersubjective in Traugott (2010a) and in Traugott and Dasher (2002). However, it has been demonstrated that, empirically, subjectification is not a requirement for a non-subjective lexical item or construction to become intersubjective. Ghesquière (2010) demonstrates that intersubjective determiner uses of the English adjectives *complete*, *total* and *whole* emerge prior to their subjective emphaser uses. Additionally, Traugott (2021: slide 32) argues that the constructionalization of the discourse structuring marker *by the way* involves an increase of both low subjectivity and low intersubjectivity, rather than one preceding the other. Similarly De Smet and Verstraete (2006) also critique the definition of subjectification given above on the grounds that it is too narrow, as lexical items or constructions may be subjective as well as intersubjective. Thus, it appears that the majority of language use, if not all, indexes some degree of intersubjectivity, even when attitudes/beliefstates are not directly remarked upon.

### 5.2.2 (Inter)subjectivity and Italian *mica*

The basis for part of the research carried out for this thesis was Visconti's (2009) claim that Italian *mica* undergoes intersubjectification. Visconti's (2009) study examines data on It. *mica* from the thirteenth (i.e., Old Florentine) to twentieth century. Two trends in the data are identified. First, there is a decrease in contexts where the *mica*-clause is linked to an explicitly activated proposition or entity (cf. §1.5.2). Instead, an increased degree of inferencing is required in order to determine

the link between the *mica*-clause to the previous discourse, as noted too in Hansen and Visconti (2009). Visconti's second observation is that there is an increase in dialogal contexts, in which there are two interlocutors or "voices".

These two trends are what for Visconti indicate the shift that occurs in the use of *mica* from a textual mode involved in the organization of discourse to an interpersonal mode where its use is determined by its role in interpersonal interaction. The interpersonal mode of *mica* is more evident in dialogal contexts. This is representative, Visconti argues, of *mica*'s increased intersubjectivity overall.

Visconti (2009) supports the argument that *mica* develops an increased intersubjectivity with evidence from the twentieth century, in which it is shown that *mica* obtains what is described as a *polyphonic* (i.e., dialogic) function, where the inference denied by the *mica*-clause is attributed to another 'voice', like *un perfetto imbecille* 'a perfect idiot' in (165).

- (165) *Se scriverete un messaggio in maiuscolo, il minimo che possiate sentirvi rispondere è "Ci sento benissimo". A parte il fatto che solo un perfetto imbecille potrebbe darvi una risposta del genere (che cosa c'entra il sentirci? Voi state scrivendo, **mica parlate**) ...*  
If you write a message in capital letters, the least you can get as a reply is "I can hear very well". Beside the fact that only a perfect idiot could give you such an answer (what has the hearing got to do here? You are writing, **mica speaking**)...'  
(Visconti, 2009: 945)

This polyphonic element, Visconti argues, arises from a use evident in texts as early as the thirteenth century, whereby in dialogal contexts the *mica*-clause refutes an activated proposition that is linked to the interlocutor's point of view. In (166), for example, *mica* is used where the queen refutes the king's implication that she wanted to kill him.

- (166) *E allora disse lo ree: - E dunque volevi tue uccider mee overo Tristano? - Ed ella disse ke **no lo vollea fare, ne' mica uccidere lui**: - E dunqua volei tue uccidere pur Tristano? - Ed ella disse allora ke pur per lui l'avea fatto (Tristano Ricc., Cap. 3 [LIZ, XIII]).*  
"And then the King said: - And so did you want to kill me or Tristan? – And she said that **she did not want to do that, ne' mica to kill him**. – And so did you want to kill Tristan? – And she then said that for him she had done that."  
(Visconti, 2009: 945)

In addition to Visconti's (2009) observations about polyphonic *mica*, an increased intersubjective use of It. *mica* is evident in its modal uses in present-day regional varieties of Italian. Squartini (2017) demonstrates that in direct questions *mica* expresses that there is a mismatch between what the speaker knows and recently acquired information. Additionally, *mica* may express the speaker's surprise at the truth-value of a state of affairs that was expected to have the opposite truth-value, indexing mirativity. In requests like (167), *mica* indicates to the addressee that the speaker does not expect the addressee to have the requested item, but rather expects for the truth-value of the situation to be negative. This makes the request more polite by pre-empting a negative response from the addressee and making the question less demanding (cf. Brown and Levinson, 1987[1978]).

- (167)        (Non) *hai*                    *mica una chiave inglese?* [Italian]  
               NEG have.PRS.IND.2SG MICA a key English  
               'You don't have a wrench **by any chance?**'

These modal uses of *mica* demonstrate that it has developed uses that are involved in interpersonal discourse and that demonstrate a higher degree of intersubjectivity than observed in earlier texts. Such contexts are likely to be more common in dialogical, colloquial discourse than in the written record, which is largely made up of written texts that tend to be written in more formal and monologal language. Indeed, Visconti (2009) notes that there are no examples of questions in the data for her study until the nineteenth century. While this is not the case for the data in this thesis, it does demonstrate that more interactional uses of language may be restricted in historical data because of the nature of the sources.

Parry (2013) raises this same point as possibly undermining Visconti's (2009) overall argument regarding the increased intersubjectivity of *mica*. Parry (2013) surmises that the increase in dialogical contexts could simply be a reflection of the available corpora and data, rather than an actual change in the use of *mica*. While it may certainly be true that, owing to the nature of written language, there may be more monologal contexts in the the historical data, that is not to say that these texts do not contain an indication of the use of *mica/miga* in interpersonal discourse. It may be the case that the type of data available does not invalidate Visconti's overall argument. In §1.2.3, a distinction was made between monologal/dialogical contexts (number of interlocutors) and monologic/dialogic contexts (number of viewpoints). Maintaining this distinction in the analysis

of historical data, it remains possible to determine how the use of *mica/miga* is related to (inter)subjectivity, even in those cases where there may not be more than one speaker. For example, while there may be fewer examples of the negotiation of meanings between interlocutors in represented dialogical conversations in written historical data, meanings may nevertheless be negotiated ‘through dynamic, interactive, discourse expressed by one individual (the writer, represented narrator, etc.)’ (Traugott, 2008a: 144). Traugott (2010b) argues that dialogic contexts, in which different points of view are negotiated by interlocutors, are particularly important contexts for linguistic change. The present study seeks to determine whether, by taking dialogicity into account, (inter)subjectivity plays a role in the use of *miga* from its earliest attestations in Corpora A and B.

### 5.2.3 (Inter)subjectivity and *miga* in Old Northern Italian Dialects

As discussed in §4.3.4, the use of *miga* in Corpora A and B is especially common with experiencer verbs that are typically described as *psych* or *mental-state* verbs. Many of these verbs are used in the expression of thoughts, beliefs and attitudes, (e.g., *think, know, believe*) and as such, it may be hypothesized that the use of *miga* is frequent in (inter)subjective contexts. This section seeks to reconcile the syntagmatic relation between *miga* and experiencer verbs, and its pragmatic function. *Miga* is shown to be involved in the management of multiple viewpoints. I argue that the data show that the use of the NEGATIVE REINFORCER *miga* construction was related to (inter)subjectivity from its earliest attestations, and that by taking dialogicity (viewpoints) into account, as well as the number of voices (mono/dialogal distinction), we can better account for the role of (inter)subjectivity in the licensing of *miga*.

In the study presented here, the data were sorted according to the number of voices (*lognality*) and the number of viewpoints (*logicity*). First, each data point was annotated according to the number of voices in the context: *monologual*, *dialogual*, and *polylogual*. Monologual contexts are those in which there is only one voice. This single voice may be either the narrator, as is typical in poetry, or it may be a character’s monologue.<sup>73</sup> The remaining contexts were labelled as either dialogual or polylogual in order to distinguish between contexts with two voices (dialogual) and more than two voices (polylogual). Dialogual contexts are those in which there are two character

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<sup>73</sup> Throughout, I refer to the “narrator” of poetry rather than the “poet”. This is because the narrative voice cannot necessarily be equated to that of the poet in all cases.



voices. Polylogual contexts are those in which there are more than two character voices. In addition, a number of contexts include the narrator voice, as well as character voices. These are considered polylogual contexts in this study.

Next, the data were annotated for number of viewpoints: *monologic*, *dialogic*, and *polylogic*. Monologic contexts are those in which only one viewpoint is present. Dialogic contexts are those in which two viewpoints are present. Finally, polylogic contexts are those in which more than two viewpoints are present. The majority of dialogic contexts are dialogical. Since spoken data are naturally not available, it is assumed that dialogical contexts in written data allow for a more accurate representation of *miga*'s use in interactional contexts, and thus give a stronger indication of the (inter)subjectivity of *miga*. However, in order to gain as much insight as possible into the pragmatics of *miga* from a relatively limited amount of data, dialogic is understood broadly in this study, so that viewpoints must merely be represented. This includes monological contexts, where multiple viewpoints may be reported by the narrator, as well as allowing for contexts where the narrator may address the reader, and take their viewpoints/attitudes towards a state of affairs into consideration. For example, much poetry is written from the point of view of the narrator, but often the reader is addressed and treated as an interlocutor (examples included below), thus these kinds of contexts may also be considered dialogic. Taking the narrator-reader and monological speaker-audience dyads into consideration, it is actually the case that no entirely monologic contexts were found in the data. This finding echoes Taavitsainen et al. (2006: 1), who claim that very little language use is monologic. However, as discussed in §1.2.3, Traugott (2010b: 15) cites negation as a linguistic expression that always indexes some degree of dialogicity, and negation may be treated as a speech act that presupposes two states of affairs, an affirmative and a negative, which may be conceptualized as two viewpoints (i.e., I believe X is the case vs. I do *not* believe that X is the case).

The data were then assessed on whether or not the *miga*-clause is involved in the negotiation of viewpoints or knowledge in the discourse. To do this, the *miga*-clause was cross-checked with any viewpoints or knowledge that were activated in the preceding discourse, either through explicit mention or through inferential reasoning. Note that the viewpoint did not need to be explicitly introduced by verbs of cognition like *think*, *know*, *believe*, etc., to be considered as such. From the analysis the following four categories emerged. Finally, in a separate paper on the historical development of the pragmatic function of *mica* in Italian *mica*, Visconti (2009) argues that the use of *mica* undergoes a shift from a 'textual' mode to an 'interpersonal' (cf. Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Traugott, 1982, 2010) mode. *Textual* is understood by Visconti as the relationship

between the *mica*-clause and the information in the prior discourse to which it is linked, while *interpersonal* focuses on the interaction between interlocutors. The shift from the former to the latter is representative, Visconti contends, of an overall increase in *mica*'s intersubjectivity. The aim of the rest of this chapter is to determine whether the same may be said of *miga* in Old NIDs, and whether the four categories of denial explored in this section may be alternatively analysed as intersubjective categories involved in the negotiation of viewpoints in the common ground. These categories notably overlap with Hansen and Visconti's categories that were investigated in §5.1.2, which suggests that *miga* is not only involved in the organization of the text, but, more specifically, in the negotiation of viewpoints in the text.

- (i) Denial of a salient viewpoint
- (ii) Reinforcement of a salient viewpoint
- (iii) Denial introduces a new viewpoint on the common ground
- (iv) No involvement in viewpoint/knowledge negotiation

The first category contains examples where the *miga*-clause is involved in denying a viewpoint that has been explicitly activated in the preceding co-text. This category also includes contexts where the current state of affairs is denied by the *miga*-clause. For example, if A states that *B likes dogs*, B may respond with something like *I don't like dogs*. Category (ii) includes contexts where the *miga*-clause reinforces a viewpoint of state or affairs that has already been explicitly stated in the preceding co-text. For example, if A states that *B does not like dogs*, B may respond with something like *You're right, I don't like dogs*. The third category includes contexts where the *miga*-clause denies a viewpoint that may be inferred as part of the common ground. The viewpoint may be an assumption based on commonly shared knowledge, such as shared cultural expectations, or it may have arisen through inference on the basis of something that has previously been activated in the co-text or extra-linguistic context. For example, A may assume that B likes dogs based on the knowledge that B owns 3 dogs. However, if B tells A that, in fact, they *don't like dogs*, this introduces a new viewpoint and updates the common ground shared between the interlocutors. Finally, the last category contains examples where the *miga*-clause is not involved in the negotiation of viewpoints or shared assumptions. In these examples, *miga* has a purely textual function, and as such is involved in relaying verifiable actions, rather than subjective attitudes or beliefs about a state of affairs. Each category is examined in turn below, but first Table 35 summarizes the distribution of *miga* among the four categories above in Corpora A and B.

Significantly, the percentage of examples where *miga* is not involved in viewpoint negotiation is higher in monological contexts (19%) than dia/polylogual contexts (6%). This suggests that in contexts with two or more voices, *miga*'s licensing is more strongly related to the negotiation of viewpoints, while in monological contexts, the licensing of *miga* is more strongly related to a textual function, in which *miga* plays a role in the organization of the text. In confirmation of this, there is a stronger propensity for *miga* in the denial of a salient viewpoint in dia/polylogual contexts (22%) than monological contexts (9%). The data show that intersubjective language use is much more common in dia/polylogual contexts than in monological contexts. While 19% of monological contexts did not involve negotiation viewpoint, this is true of only 6% of dia/polylogual contexts.

Context	Category of Denial	Corpus A: Lombardy		Corpus B: Veneto		Total
		13 <sup>th</sup>	14 <sup>th</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup>	14 <sup>th</sup>	
Monologual	Denial of a salient viewpoint / shared assumption	3 (12%)	1 (5%)	5 (26%)	17 (8%)	26 (9%)
	Reinforcement of viewpoint	5 (19%)	0	0	13 (6%)	18 (6%)
	New viewpoint on the common ground	7 (27%)	3 (16%)	4 (21%)	26 (12%)	40 (14%)
	Viewpoint negotiation not involved	1 (4%)	3 (16%)	4 (21%)	45 (21%)	53 (19%)
Dia/Polylogual	Denial of a salient viewpoint / shared assumption	2 (8%)	1 (5%)	5 (26%)	54 (25%)	60 (22%)
	Reinforcement of viewpoint	3 (12%)	2 (11%)	0	19 (9%)	24 (9%)
	New viewpoint on the common ground	3 (12%)	8 (42%)	1 (5%)	29 (13%)	41 (15%)
	Viewpoint negotiation not involved	2 (8%)	1 (5%)	0	13 (6%)	16 (6%)
<b>Total</b>		26	19	19	216	280

Table 35 Viewpoint negotiation and miga

The following sections provide examples of the four categories of denial related to the negotiation of different points in both monological and dialogal contexts. As stipulated above, monological examples are those in which there is only one voice. However, where viewpoint negotiation is involved, the contexts are dialogic or polylogic, with either two or more than two viewpoints represented in the co-text, respectively. This is often evidenced by the inclusion of markers that address the holder of the other viewpoint (examples given below). Monological contexts are not uncommon in the data, as many of the sources from this period are poetry, and thus the only voice is often that of the narrator. In addition, even in texts that contain more dialogal and polylogical contexts, such as the later fourteenth-century narrative works and the *Vangeli*, which are written in prose and contain sections of dialogue between various characters, monological contexts are found owing to the particular remit of a given text. For example, the didactic nature of the *Vangeli* means that the text often contains monologues. By taking the number of viewpoints into consideration in the data, it is possible to discern better *miga*'s role in viewpoint negotiation. Each example in the following sections adheres to the following key:

Underlined type = Viewpoint 1

**Bold type** = Viewpoint 2

#### 5.2.3.1 Denial or Refutation of a Salient Viewpoint or Shared Assumption

In contexts that are monological, but dia/polylogic, a NEG-assertion can deny a viewpoint that is reported by a single voice. (168), which has already been discussed above (cf. §5.1.2.1) as an example of a denial of explicitly activated information, may also be analysed from the perspective of viewpoint negotiation. In this instance, the NEG-assertion *no m'allegro miga* ('I don't rejoice one bit') denies that the corresponding affirmative state of affairs is true, which is explicitly stated in the preceding co-text (*eu allegro me faça* 'I enjoy myself'). The narrator guides the readers, which may be conflated with *moliti* ('many'), towards a shared assumption between themselves that the negative state of affairs is that which should be accepted, while the positive state of affairs should be rejected. The *miga* construction is thus involved in encoding ideational subjectivity, since it is involved in expressing the voice's subjective viewpoint, while also indexing a degree of textual intersubjectivity, since it is involved in guiding the correct interpretation of the common ground.

- (168) *Eu sai qe molti credeno q' =*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG know.PRS.IND.1SG COMP many believe.PRS.IND.3PL COMP=  
*eu alegro me faça / [...] se Deu me benëiga, /*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG happy REFL.1SG do.PRS.SJV.1SG if God PERS.PRON.ACC.1SG bless.PRS.SJV.3SG  
**[d]e rei fati de femene eu no m' =allegro miga**  
 of things do.PPRT of women PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG NEG REFL.1SG=enjoy.PRS.IND.1SG MIGA  
 'I know that many people think that I enjoy myself / [...] God bless me, / **about**  
**the things done by women I don't rejoice one bit'**  
 (*Proverbia que dicuntur*, vv.277-82, p. 535, Veneto, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

Similarly, in (169), the negative *miga*-assertion (*devemo entender sanamente dele puttane e non miga dele muier* 'we must understand [that we must not have faith and loyalty] in whores, not in wives') refutes part of the viewpoint that is explicitly stated in the preceding discourse. The narrator of the text, which is an analysis of Ovid's *Ars amandi*, reports that Ovid writes that we must not have faith and loyalty in women, which the author partly refutes by denying that Ovid means that we should not have faith and loyalty in wives. Again, the author guides the reader towards an interpretation of the state of affairs by means of the *no miga* CONSTITUENT NEGATION construction. Note that in (169), however, the viewpoints that are salient in the discourse are not one of an affirmative or negative one, but rather of two negated viewpoints. The function of the constituent negation is to qualify the NEG-assertion that 'we mustn't have faith and loyalty in women', from which the addressee would infer 'all women', so that the address understands that it does not apply to wives.

- (169) «*Expedit esse deos*». / [163.1] *En questa parte mette Ovidio amaistramente*  
 in DEM.F.SG part put.PRS.IND.3SG O. lovingly  
*che nuy debiamo aver fe' e lialtade de=le altre cose,*  
 COMP PERS.PRON.NOM.1PL MOD.AUX.PRS.IND.1PL have.INF faith and loyalty of=the other things  
*ma non n=el facto de=le femene. Et devemo entender sanamente*  
 but NEG in=the fact of =the women and MOD.AUX.FUT.IND.1PL understand.INF wisely  
**de=le puttane e non miga de=le muier!**  
 of =the whores and NEG MIGA of =the wives  
 "Expedit esse deos". / [163.1] In this part Ovid lovingly puts that we must have faith and loyalty in other things, but not in regard to womankind. And we must wisely understand in regard to whores and not in regard to wives!  
 (*Commento Ars amandi*, Book 1, 163.1, p.48, Veneto, 1388)

The denial of a salient viewpoint also occurs in dialogical contexts. In (170), one of the characters explicitly states that the synagogue leader's daughter is dead (*Toa fia sé morta* 'Your daughter is dead'), and this is clearly the beliefstate of the people, who are mourning her, as well as that of the readers, who are told that Jesus sees the girl who is dead (*vete la femena che era morta* 'he sees the girl who is dead'). This beliefstate is then rejected when Jesus states that the girl is not dead (*La ponçella no è miga morta*). This example shows that *miga*-clauses are used to deny or reject a viewpoint that is expressed explicitly in the preceding dialogue.

- (170) *Li mesaçier venne a lo maestro de la synagoga digando: «Toa fia sé morta. Perché travagles tu lo Maistro?»*  
 the messenger come.PST.PRF.IND.3SG to the leader of the synagogue say.GER POSS.F.2SG  
*daughter COP.PRS.IND.3SG dead INTER bother.PRS.IND.2SG PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG the teacher*  
 [...] *Et ello [Iesù] vene in la chasa de lo maestro de la*  
 and PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3SG I. come.PST.PRF.IND.3SG in the house of the leader of the  
*synagoga e vete la femena che era morta et quelor*  
 synagogue and see.PST.PRF.IND.3SG the woman REL COP.PST.IMPF.IND.3SG dead and REL.PRON  
*che plançevano duramente. Et Iesù Cristo intrà dentro e*  
 REL mourn.PST.IMPF.IND.3PL heavily and I. C. enter.PST.PRF.IND.3SG inside and  
*li disse: «Perché plançe vù? La*  
 PERS.PRON.DAT.M.3PL say.PST.PRF.IND.3SG INTER mourn.PRS.IND.2PL PERS.PRON.NOM.2PL the  
*ponçella no è miga morta, ançi dorme.*  
 girl NEG COP.PRS.IND.3SG MIGA dead in fact sleep.PRS.IND.3SG  
 'The messenger came to the synagogue leader saying: "Your daughter is dead. Why are you bothering the Teacher?" [...] And he [Jesus] came to the house of the synagogue leader and saw the woman who was dead and those who were heavily mourning. And Jesus Christ entered and said to them: "Why are you mourning? **The girl is not dead**, in fact she is sleeping.'

(*Vangeli*, p.136, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

### 5.2.3.2 Reinforcement of a Viewpoint

*Miga* is found in some monological contexts where the NEG-assertion repeats or reinforces a viewpoint previously stated by the single voice in the text. In (171), the author describes the sermon we are reading in positive terms (underlined). The negative *miga*-assertion that the sermon ought not to be mocked (*questo sermon / non è miga de bufon*) reinforces the affirmative statements in the preceding discourse (i.e., that a person who understands it is honourable, etc., therefore not somebody who would mock it). Here, then, the narrator does not deny a previously stated state of

affairs, but rather confirms and reinforces it. The NEG-assertion implies that the addressees (*signore* ‘gentlemen’) may believe the corresponding AFF-assertion (i.e., that the sermon ought to be mocked), but asserts that it is the NEG-assertion that should be the adopted beliefstate. Such uses of *miga* suggest that it indexes ideational subjectivity, in the sense that it is used in the expression of the viewpoint of the speaker/writer, as well as textual intersubjectivity, as the addressees are also guided towards a certain interpretation of the common ground.

- (171) *Questo digio, sapiai signore, / Ki l'è*  
 DEM.M.SG say.PRS.IND.1SG know.PRS.IND.2PL sirs REL PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG=  
*intende el è da honore / E de gloria e de bonté,*  
 understand.PRS.IND.3SG SCL.M.3SG COP.PRS.IND.3SG from honour and of glory and of goodness  
*/ E de omiunca utilité, / De grandeca et de cortexia, / E de verité sença buxia.*  
 and of every utility of greatness and of courtesy and of truth with lie  
*/ Sapiai signior, questo sermon / Non è miga de bufon, /*  
 know.PRS.IND.2PL sir DEM.M.SG sermon NEG COP.PRS.IND.3SG MIGA of mock  
*Ançe è 'n sermon de grande pagura*  
 in fact COP.PRS.IND.3SG a sermon of great fear  
 ‘This I say, you know, gentlemen, / who understands it is a man of honour/and  
of glory and of goodness, / and of every utility, / of greatness and of good  
manners, / and of truth without lies. / You know, gentlemen, **this sermon / is**  
**not to be mocked,** / in fact it is a sermon of great fear’  
 (*Sermone*, vv.871-9, p.49, Lombardy, 1274)

In dialogical contexts, similarly, a *miga*-clause may repeat a previously stated viewpoint. In (172), Jesus asks his disciples if they do not have firm faith. The negative polarity interrogative implicates two opposing points of view: the disciple’s subjective beliefstate (i.e., that they do have faith), and Jesus’ own viewpoint that the disciples do not, but should, have faith. As observed in §5.1.2.2, repetition is a common device employed in the *Vangeli* to clarify the text.

- (172) *Vui no avé ancora miga ferma fé (ço è*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.2PL NEG have.PRS.IND.2PL yet MIGA firm faith DEM COP.PRS.IND.3SG  
*a dir vui no credé miga ancora fermamente)?».*  
 to say.INF PERS.PRON.NOM.2PL NEG believe.PRS.IND.2PL yet firmly  
 ‘Do you not yet have firm faith (that is to say, **do you not yet believe firmly**)?’  
 (*Vangeli*, p.132, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)



Similarly, in a dialogue between a worm and a fly (*Disputatio musce cum formica*) (173), the fly, which states that all the worm does is luxuriate, reinforces this viewpoint by stating a near synonymous expression through a NEG-assertion stating the opposing state of affairs. As above, two opposing viewpoints are implied: the worm’s understanding, which is ‘not in working’, and the fly’s, which is that the worm should be working.

- (173) Lo to intendemento tut è in luxuriar, / Tut è pur in  
 the POSS.M.2SG understanding all COP.PRS.IND.3SG in luxuriate.INF all COP.PRS.IND.3SG too in  
*lecame, no miga in lavorar*  
 filth NEG MIGA in work.INF  
‘Your understanding is all in luxuriating, / all in filth, not in working’  
 (*Opere volgari [Disputatio musce cum formica]*, vv.229-30, p.96, Lombardy, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

The examples in this section therefore show that, even where one of the voices in a text repeats or reinforces a subjective viewpoint, two viewpoints are implied, and the *miga*-clause serves to indicate to the addressee(s) what their beliefstate should be. As such, *miga* appears to primarily encode ideational subjectivity and textual intersubjectivity, where the speaker/writer’s subjective viewpoint is expressed, while also guiding the addressee’s interpretation of the common ground.

### 5.2.3.3 New Viewpoint

NEG-assertions involving *miga* may also introduce a new viewpoint to the common ground. In (174), Raynaldo states that he used to consider Lion ‘a polite gentleman’ (*un drito signor*), and that is why he came to the area. This is the common ground against which Raynaldo then states that he now doesn’t ‘esteem Lion one bit’ (*e’ no ve prexio miga un speron*). Note that although the wider context is a dialogue between Raynaldo and Lion, the example itself is actually monological, in which two viewpoints belong to the same voice at different periods of time, expressing a change of beliefstate.

- (174) *"Sire Lion," ço dis Raynaldo, / "e' son*  
 sir L. DEM say.PRS.IND.3SG R. PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG COP.PRS.IND.1SG  
*quialò en questa part. / Sì ve credeva un drito signor /*  
 here in DEM.F.SG part thus PERS.PRON.ACC.2PL believe.PST.IMP.IND.1SG a polite sir  
 [...] *Se me voli tignir ben a raxon, /*  
 if PERS.PRON.ACC.1SG MOD.AUX.PRS.IND.3SG hold.INF well to reason  
***e' no ve prexio miga un speron***  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG NEG PERS.PRON.ACC.2PL esteem.PRS.IND.1SG MIGA a spur  
 "Sir Lion," says Raynaldo, / I am here in these parts. / Thus, I believed you were  
a polite gentleman / [...] If you want to hold me to reason, / **I don't esteem you**  
**one bit**<sup>74</sup>

(*Rainaldo (Ox.)*, vv.328-38, p.826, Veneto, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

In dialogical contexts, the *miga*-clause may refute or deny a part of what is implied to be part of the common ground. In the co-text preceding (175), the king accuses Tristan of asking him to save the queen's life, after she has been sentenced to death for trying to kill Tristan, on the instruction of other men in the court. This assumption is part of the king's common ground. Tristan refutes this by stating that nobody advised him (*ça mai non me consejà alcun*), and stating his viewpoint that he ought not allow the queen to die (*io non debia miga lassar mia mandona perir*). This *miga*-clause introduces the new viewpoint that belongs to Tristan, and updates the common ground shared between the two discourse participants. The *miga*-clause serves to correct the king's mistaken interpretation of the common ground.

- (175) *Signor, sapie' che ça mai non me consejà*  
 sir know.IMP.2PL COMP already never NEG PERS.PRON.ACC.1SG advise.PST.PRF.IND.3SG  
*algun, forsi che rasion e dreto me mena a questo che*  
 anyone maybe COMP reason and right PERS.PRON.ACC.1SG bring.PRS.IND.3SG to DEM.M.SG COMP  
***io non debia miga lassar mia mandona***  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG NEG MOD.AUX.PST.IMP.3SG MIGA allow.INF POSS.F.1SG lady  
***perir quando io la podessi salvar***  
 perish.INF when PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG PERS.PRON.ACC.F.3SG MOD.AUX.PST.IMP.SJV.1SG save.INF  
 'Sir, know that I was not ever advised by anybody, except reason and correctness  
 bring me to this, that **I should not let my lady perish when I can save her.**'

(*Tristano veneto*, p.76, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

<sup>74</sup> Note that the negation is here reinforced by the minimizer, *un speron*, which is an expression of extent. That *miga* can collocate with a minimizer is evidence of the obsolescence of the MINIMIZER *miga* construction, as well as the greater degree of conventionalization of the NEGATIVE REINFORCER construction.

### 5.2.3.4 Viewpoint Negotiation not involved

A large proportion of NEG-assertions containing *miga* in monological contexts are not involved in viewpoint negotiation. Such contexts may be described as *textual*, since the *miga*-clause contains objective language that describes a verifiable proposition, rather than something about which there may be different viewpoints. For example, (176)-(177) express objective information that can be verified: in (176), the narrator’s voice reports that the addressee of the king did not respond; in (177), the narrator’s voice reports that the character did not protect his belongings. These are reported events in the discourse, rather than viewpoints.

- (176) *E lo re disse a quelui - Amigo, como entràs*  
 and the king say.PST.PRF.IND.3SG to PERS.PRON.DAT.M.3SG friend INTER enter.PRS.IND.2SG  
*tu qua dentro, che tu no as vestimente*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG here inside COMP PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG NEG have.PRS.IND.2SG clothes  
*de noçe (ço è a dir como osàs tu*  
 of wedding DEM COP.PRS.IND.3SG to say.INF INTER dare.PRS.IND.2SG PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG  
*far ço)? - Et quelui se taxete e no*  
 do.INF DEM and PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3SG REFL.3SG quiet.PST.PRF.IND.3SG and NEG  
**respondi miga.**  
 respond.PST.PRF.IND.3SG MIGA  
 ‘And the king asked him – Friend, how do you enter inside here, when you are not dressed appropriately for a wedding (that is to say, how dare you do that)? -. And he was quiet and **didn’t respond.**’

(*Vangeli*, p.88, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

- (177) *'l so aver è speso, / L'=aver o el*  
 the POSS.M.3SG belongings COP.PRS.IND.3SG spent the=belongings LOC SCL.M.3SG  
*sperava no l' =ha miga defeso*  
 hope.PST.IMPF.IND.3SG NEG PERS.PRON.ACC.3SG=AUX.PRS.IND.3SG MIGA defend.PPRT  
 ‘his belongings are spent, / the belongings that he expected, **he hasn’t defended them**’

(*Opere volgari [Vulgare de elymosinis]*, vv.513-4, p.256, Lombardy, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

Still, it may be possible to argue that *miga* has some low level of intersubjectivity even in contexts where viewpoints are not being negotiated. By its very nature of being a marked construction of non-canonical negation, NEG-assertions involving *miga* indicate more strongly to the addressee that the negated state of affairs is true than plain basic clause negation, and therefore leaves less room for the reader to interpret that a different state of affairs is possible. This may be observed particularly in Janus-faced contexts (cf. §5.1.2.5), in which the reader or addressee is

guided towards one state of affairs over another. Table 31 in §5.1.1 noted the semantic and pragmatic relations by which information is inferred. Janus-faced examples suggest that intersubjective relations should be added to this list, as they highlight possible states of affairs that could be assumed through inference based on the preceding discourse.

Lastly, *miga* may be used in dialogical contexts that do not manage the common ground between discourse participants. For example, in (178), the *miga*-clause reports an objective state of affairs that can be verified, and is accepted by the discourse participants. Still, some degree of intersubjectivity may be indexed, since the use of *miga* reinforces the negation and highlights the contrast between the *miga*-clause and the preceding conjunct (i.e., Saint John’s disciples and the Pharisees’ disciples eat, but Jesus’ disciples do not eat **at all**). Textual uses of *miga* that do not also index ideational subjectivity, however, index only a very low degree of intersubjectivity.

- (178) *Et elli* *vene* *da Iesù Cristo e li*  
 and PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3PL come.PST.PRF.IND.3SG from I. C. and PERS.PRON.DAT.M.3SG  
*disseno:* «*Perqué è ço che li discipoli de sen Çoane et li*  
 say.PST.PRF.IND.3PL INTER COP.PRS.IND.3SG DEM.3SG COMP the disciples of saint Ç.  
*discipuli de li pharisei deçunano, e li tuoi discipuli no deçunano*  
 disciples of the pharisees eat.PRS.IND.3PL and the POSS.M.2PL disciples NEG eat.PRS.IND.3PL  
*miga?*».  
 MIGA  
 ‘And they came to Jesus Christ and asked him: “Why is it that St John’s disciples  
 and the disciples of the Pharisees eat, **and your disciples do not eat at all?**”’  
 (*Vangeli*, p.124, Veneto, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

### 5.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined the role of pragmatics in the licensing of *miga* in Old NIDs. It has shown that not only is the use of *miga* tied to the denial of contextually and co-textually salient information that is either explicitly activated or accessible via inference, it is also tied to indexing (inter)subjectivity, which is observed in the role *miga* plays in managing viewpoints in the common ground, which is particularly notable in dialogical contexts.

§5.1 presented previous models of inferable information that have been used in this and previous studies on the licensing on non-canonical negation structures in Romance. §5.1.2 then presented the results of a study similar to that in Hansen and Visconti (2009) on the licensing of *miga* in NIDs. The results show that the use of *miga* in denials of inferable information increases.

Moreover, in Corpus C, attestations of *minga* in *brand-new* contexts also increase, indicating the increasing routinization of *minga* as a canonical marker of basic clause negation.

§5.2 then examined the role of (inter)subjectivity in the licensing of *minga* in Old NIDs. In order to investigate through comparative evidence Visconti's (2009) claim that It. *mica* becomes increasingly intersubjective, and to address Parry's (2013) criticism that an increase in dialogical contexts is not necessarily indicative of this, the data were categorized according to their *logicity*, in order to examine the role of the management of viewpoints in the common ground. The results show that *minga* indexes ideational subjectivity from its earliest attestations, while also indexing a degree of textual intersubjectivity, as its use guides the interpretation of the common ground through the management of differing viewpoints, either: denying or rejecting a previously stated viewpoint, reinforcing a viewpoint, or introducing a new viewpoint to the common ground. Nevertheless, it has been argued that *minga* always indexes some degree of intersubjectivity, even in textual uses where subjective viewpoint negotiation is not involved.

The *minga* construction has therefore undergone intersubjectification in its development from a count noun denoting *crumb* to a reinforcer of clause negation, something that is typical of grammaticalized constructions (Traugott, 2010a, 2021: Lecture 6). For example, it is not clear that count nouns encode any degree of (inter)subjectivity, since they are not involved in the grammatical organization of text or speech. One could argue that the choice of the count noun *crumb* over other expressions is a conscious choice made by the speaker, perhaps for rhetorical purposes. For example, the use of *crumbs* in a sentence like *even the dogs under the table eat the children's crumbs* (cf. (112)) may be argued to foreground the small quantity, where the writer could use, for example, *food* or *bread*. Count nouns therefore only seem subject to the influence of the broad ambient intersubjectivity by which all language use is influenced. The MINIMIZER *mica* construction, on the other hand, begins to indicate a higher degree of intersubjectivity. Using *mica* as a minimizer, the speaker indexes that the proposition does not hold even to a minimal degree. This pragmatic inference indicates that the MINIMIZER *mica* construction indexes a low degree of textual intersubjectivity, since it guides the addressee's interpretation of the NEG-assertion. This appears to be inherited by the NEGATIVE REINFORCER construction, which, as has been shown in this chapter, indexes textual intersubjectivity, as well as ideational subjectivity, owing to its role in the expression and management of viewpoints in the common ground.

What is not yet evident in the data on Old NIDs is a high degree of interpersonal intersubjectivity in the *minga* construction, as may be found in uses of the present-day *mica*

construction in RNI, which may be used in negative polarity questions to index politeness (cf. (167)). Such uses centre the addressee and index a high degree of interpersonal intersubjectivity. In Old NIDs, some examples of increased interpersonal intersubjectivity may be found in negative polarity interrogatives and imperatives, which are evidently interactional. It may be that once the NEGATIVE REINFORCER construction became used in these constructions, that the degree of interactional intersubjectivity indexed by *miga* began to increase, leading to those highly interpersonal uses found in present-day varieties where *mica/miga* has not developed into a basic clause negator. The increasing intersubjectivity of the *mica/miga* constructions is summarized in Figure 17.

It ought to be noted, however, that, as mentioned above in §1.2.3, negation is always intersubjective/dialogic to some degree, as two alternatives (one negative, one affirmative) are always evoked; this includes plain basic clause negation that is not reinforced by *miga* or other means. Yet, basic clause negation may be considered less intersubjective than reinforced negation, owing to the fact that additional means are not employed to highlight the dialogic nature of negation. Intersubjectivity is therefore a gradient feature of constructions. Notably, when *miga* becomes a basic clause negator, its intersubjectivity decreases, which is further evidence against Traugott and Dasher's (2002) intersubjectivity cline. This is visualized in Figure 21 in §7.2.

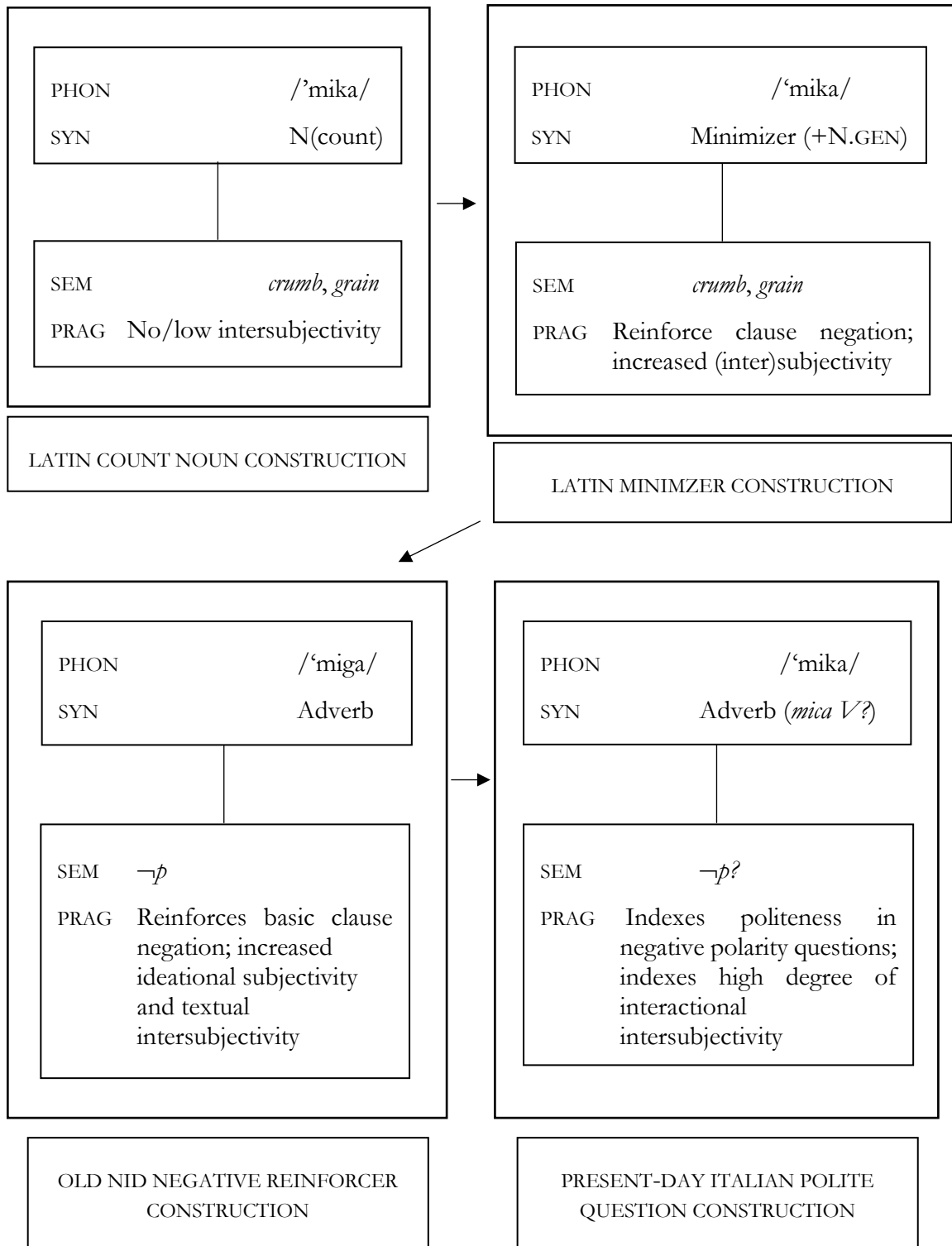


Figure 17 Intersubjectification of *mica/miga*

Lastly, it ought to be noted that this chapter has focused exclusively on negation reinforced by *miga*, and has not investigated plain basic clause negation expressed only by the basic clause negator, pre-verbal *non*. As this dissertation is built on the premise that different clause negation strategies exist in a paradigm, and are licensed according to differing syntactic and pragmatic contextual factors, it would be expected that plain basic clause negation would appear in contexts that *miga* is pragmatically infelicitous, i.e., in contexts in which there is no proposition activated or in the common ground. However, owing to the time-consuming nature of data collection and annotation, a full implementation of this has not been possible, as there are around 4,455 and 27,051 attestations of *non* in Corpora A and B, respectively (including spelling variants, and taking into account the issues with searching for forms rather than lemmas). There are examples of plain negation at the beginning of texts, however, meaning that it is impossible for something to be activated in the preceding co-text (179).

(179) *No è cosa in sto mundo, tal è lla mia credença,*  
 NEG COP.PRS.IND.3SG thing in DEM.M.3SG world such COP.PRS.IND.3SG the POSS.F.1SG belief  
 / *Ki se possa fenir se la no se*  
 COMP IMPERS.3SG MOD.AUX.PRS.SJV.3SG finish.INF if PERS.PRON.ACC.F.3SG NEG IMPERS.3SG  
*comença.*  
 begin.PRS.IND.3SG

(*Sermone*, vv.1-2, p.33, Lombardy, 1274)

This suggests that there are contexts in which plain negation is the only felicitous negation, and a full investigation and comparison with non-canonical negation is suggested for future research.



## CHAPTER 6

### The Development of Post-verbal *nò* into a Clause Negator in Milanese

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This chapter studies the development of post-verbal *nò* as a non-canonical clause negator in Milanese. The first attestations of *nò* date to the sixteenth century, but it becomes much more frequent in the later data gathered in Corpus C dating to the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century (§3.2.1.1). As noted in §4.2.1, there is evidence that over the course of this period, *minga* becomes the canonical expression of basic clause negation in Milanese, while *nò* appears as a non-canonical post-verbal negator in Corpus C (180).<sup>75</sup>

- (180) **No l'** =è *mudaiscia no*  
 NEG SCL.F.3SG=COP.PRS.IND.3SG changeable NEG  
 'It isn't changeable.'

(Prissian, p.196, Milan, 1606)

In some present-day varieties of western Lombardy, post-verbal *nò* has become the canonical basic clause negator. For example, Vai (1996: 88, 1995: 167) reports that in present-day Milanese, simple verbal predicates without complements or adverbs are almost always negated by *nò*.

- (181) *Canti* **no** [Milanese]  
 sing.PRS.IND.1SG NEG  
 'I don't sing.'

(adapted from Vai 1995: 167)

- (182) *Dormi* **no** [Monza (MB), Lombardy]  
 sleep.PRS.IND.1SG NEG  
 'I will not sleep.'

(AIS, Map 653, Point 252)

As reported in §1.4.2.3, *nò* belongs to a different etymological class of new negators than the (pro)nominal classes to which *mi(n)ga* and *nen* (Pied.) belong. In this thesis, the etymological class of negator to which *nò* belongs is called pro-sentence, as it is referred to elsewhere (cf. Poletto, 2016). Examples in other languages include, Afrikaans *nie* (Biberauer, 2009, 2015; Biberauer and

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<sup>75</sup> *Nò* is not always accented in the data, but here it continues to be in order to distinguish it from pre-verbal *no(n)*. Attestations of *nò* in Corpus D are sparse, therefore the focus is on its uses in Corpus C.

Cyrino, 2009a, 2009b) (183), Portuguese *não*, particularly in varieties spoken in Brazil (Schwegler, 1991; Schwenter, 2005, 2016) (184), and Palenquero *no* (Lipski, 2018; Schwegler, 2018).

- (183) *Ek is nie rijk nie* [Afrikaans]  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG COP.PRS.IND.1SG NEG rich NEG  
 ‘I am **not** rich.’

(adapted from Biberauer and Cyrino, 2009b: 3)

- (184) a) *Não vou não* [Brazilian Portuguese]  
 NEG go.PRS.IND.1SG NEG  
 b) *Vou não*  
 go.PRS.IND.1SG NEG  
 ‘I am **not** going.’

(184) demonstrates that there are two non-canonical clause negation structures involving a post-verbal negator in Brazilian Portuguese: the first is a discontinuous structure with the pre-verbal basic clause negator (a), and the second is a single negator in a post-verbal position (b). In this chapter, I refer to the discontinuous structure as NEG<sub>2</sub> and to that in (b) as NEG<sub>3</sub>, following Schwenter (2005). Notably, in the NEG<sub>2</sub> structure, the post-verbal negator has the same form as the pre-verbal negator. This is what leads Breitbarth et al. (2020: 42) to call this class of negators *clause-final repeated negators*. However, not all non-canonical negation constructions with this etymological class of post-verbal negator repeat the pre-verbal negator (c.f. 184b). Moreover, in some NIDs *nò* may have a position different to clause-final. In (185), for example, *nu* appears before the non-finite verb. Here, therefore, the etymological class of this type of negator is referred to as pro-sentence, following Poletto (2016).

- (185) *Mi a m pudiva nu nda* [Godiasco (PV),  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG SCL.1SG REFL.1SG be able.PST.IMPF.IND.1SG NEG go.INF Lombardy]  
 ‘I couldn’t go.’

(AIS, Map 1669, Point 290)

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows: §6.1 discusses in further detail the existing literature on negation involving negators of the pro-sentence etymological class, and the various hypotheses regarding its origin and its function in those languages where its licensing is

pragmatically conditioned. It becomes evident that there is some confusion surrounding the terminology used to discuss this type of negation, therefore §6.2 provides a model for doing so that is used in this chapter. §6.3 then turns to the analysis of *nò* in Milanese. This section examines more broadly the expression of clause negation in late nineteenth-century Milanese, in which *minga* has become the canonical expression of basic clause negation, and *nò* is a non-canonical NEGATOR construction whose frequency is gradually increasing, and pre-verbal *no(n)* is now a marginal NEGATOR construction mostly limited to a few vestigial contexts. §6.4 then examines earlier attestations of *nò* in Corpus C, and provides an analysis for the pathway of development that the data suggest for *nò*.

## 6.1 Pro-sentence Negation: Origins and Development

The body of work that has examined clause negators derived from pro-sentence negation has above all focused on Afrikaans and Brazilian Portuguese. Pro-sentence negation has also been discussed in some of the literature on negation in NIDs by syntacticians whose interest lies in the position of the negator (Zanuttini, 1997; Manzini and Savoia, 2002, 2012), but, as far as I am aware, there are no studies that deal exclusively with this type of negation in Italo-Romance. Nevertheless, in her work on the ‘Big NegP’, Poletto (2008, 2017) hypothesizes that the pro-sentence negator is related to a Focus position, something which Zanuttini (1997) also claims for post-verbal *nò* in Milanese and Pavese. Ramat (2006) also considers the pragmatic function of post-verbal *nò* and its historical development. Ramat (2006: 363) determines that the repetition of the pre-verbal negator in NEG<sub>2</sub> structures ‘represents an afterthought strategy, the aim of which is to enhance the negative force of the entire utterance’. For Ramat, the origin of the NEG<sub>3</sub> structure in Milanese is pragmatic, realising a TOPIC-COMMENT structure (186), which then becomes grammaticalized as the basic negative structure (Ramat, 2006: 363-6).

- (186)      TOPIC [*A scòla ghe voo*]                      COMMENT [*no*] [Milanese]  
                  to school LOC go.PRS.IND.1SG                      NEG  
                  ‘I am not going to school [lit. To school I go not]’

(adapted from Ramat, 2006: 364)

However, empirical research with a thorough investigation of the meaning contribution and pragmatics of optional pro-sentence negators has not been carried out for Italo-Romance. Similarly, the literature on pro-sentence negation in Afrikaans also focuses on syntax (Biberauer, 2009; Biberauer and Cyrino, 2009b). Functional analyses of pro-sentence negation have been more successful in studies on Brazilian Portuguese, which have offered similar explanations for its licensing as those given for non-canonical negation structures with lexical items belonging to the minimizer and generalizer etymological classes. Typically, the analyses rely on notions of emphasis (Uppendahl, 1979; Schwegler, 1990), presupposition (Schwegler, 1991; Ronacarati, 1996), and activation status and inference (Schwenter, 2005). This stands in contrast to Afrikaans, where it is claimed that the use of clause-final *nie*, a repetition of the pre-verbal basic clause negator, is treated as a pragmatically neutral concord item (Biberauer, 2012).

Despite the advances that these authors have made in the understanding of this type of negator, a lack of clarity remains over the exact origin and function, which are likely connected, of post-verbal negators of this type. Schwegler (1983: 170-1) hypothesizes that pro-sentence negators derive from the tendency in many languages to add a supplementary absolute negator as a tag to the beginning or end of a sentence containing a clause negation (e.g., *I did not see him, no*). Schwegler (1983: 170-1) hypothesizes that the negative structures in Brazilian Portuguese involving clause-final pro-sentence negators arise via two developments. First, the intonational break between the supplementary negator and the preceding sentence is ‘eliminated’. Second, frequent co-occurrence of the two negative elements leads to ‘morphological and phonological synthesis’. That is to say, eventually the supplementary negator becomes part of the expression of negation, which is then expressed by a bi-partite structure (187).

- (187) *Não vou, não* → *Não vou não* [BPt]  
 NEG go.PRS.IND.1SG NEG      NEG go.PRS.IND.1SG NEG  
 ‘I am not going, **no**.’ → ‘I am **not** going.’

The addition of a word that “strengthens” the clause negation in a post-verbal position looks very much like the first traditional stage of Jespersen’s Cycle. Indeed, in later research, Schwegler (1990) argues that the three clause negation constructions that co-exist in Brazilian Portuguese represent the three diachronic stages of Jespersen’s Cycle. According to Schwegler, *não*<sub>2</sub> is the result of the conventionalization of the supplementary *não* as part of the expression of

negation, and *não*<sub>3</sub> is the structure that remains once the clause-final negator takes over completely the expression of negation, allowing pre-verbal *não* to fall from use.

- (188) *Não vou* → *Não vou*      *não*<sub>2</sub> → *Vou*      *não*<sub>3</sub> [B.Pt.]  
 NEG go.PRS.IND.1SG    NEG go.PRS.IND.1SG NEG      go.PRS.IND.1SG NEG  
 ‘I am **not** going.’

Under this analysis, the developments that the Brazilian Portuguese negation system is undergoing mirror those in languages like French (*ne > ne ... pas > pas*). However, in Brazilian Portuguese, the pre-verbal structure (i.e., *não vou*) remains the only canonical way of expressing basic clausal negation, since *não*<sub>2</sub> and *não*<sub>3</sub> are felicitous only in denials of previously activated information in the discourse (cf. §1.5.2). While the NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub> structures are pragmatically motivated in Brazilian Portuguese, the NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub> stages that are posited for the history of negation in French describe stages of the development of the canonical construction for basic clause negation. However, it is possible for multiple stages of Jespersen’s Cycle to co-exist in a single variety, as in present-day French (cf. §1.4.1.1). That said, it ought to be noted that the use of the NEG<sub>1</sub> only in the expression of clause negation is marginal in present-day French, whereas it remains the principal strategy in Brazilian Portuguese.

Biberauer and Cyrino (2009b: 15-17) bring into question whether negation in Brazilian Portuguese is undergoing changes associated with Jespersen’s Cycle. These authors argue that *não*<sub>2</sub> and *não*<sub>3</sub> do not represent two stages of a cyclical development, but rather that each has a different source structure. Drawing on Cavalcante’s (2007) proposal that *não*<sub>2</sub> and *não*<sub>3</sub> are similar to the supplementary tag negator, Biberauer and Cyrino (2009b: 19) contend that only *não*<sub>3</sub> is related to the tag negator, since *não*<sub>3</sub> may only occur in matrix clauses, while *não*<sub>2</sub> is also grammatical in dependent clauses. This suggests that *não*<sub>3</sub> occupies a position in the CP-structure that is not found in embedded clauses. It is proposed that *não*<sub>3</sub> originates from short echo responses to questions, consisting of a verb and post-verbal negative polarity marker, which is a grammatical strategy in varieties of Portuguese spoken in northern Brazil (see Sadock and Zwicky, 1985: 191; König and Siemund, 2007: 321). Accordingly, it does not appear that the developments in Brazilian Portuguese reflect those of Jespersen’s Cycle, although this cannot be stated definitively without further historical analysis.

- (189) Q: *Tem um carro?* [BPt]  
 have.PRS.IND.3SG a car  
 Q: ‘Do you have a car?’
- A: *Tenho não* A<sup>i</sup>: *Tenho sim*  
 have.PRS.IND.1SG NEG have.PRS.IND.1SG yes  
 A: ‘I have **not** (a car).’ A<sup>i</sup>: ‘I **do** have (a car).’

This corroborates Thomas's (1969: 289) observation that *não*<sub>3</sub> is often used following the verb in brief replies to questions, in short clauses and in exclamations. Although Schwegler (1983: 328-9, nt. 42) claims that much of Thomas's grammar of Brazilian Portuguese requires revision, the observation is interesting, since it suggests that post-verbal *não* has an interactional use. A use associated with discourse accords with the hypothesis that pro-sentence negators arise from tag negators, which are features of spoken language. Biberauer (2015: 142) mentions that this hypothesis for Afrikaans *nie*, supported by Roberge (2000), could be a reason for its late attestation, something that is suggested for the paucity of the data on post-verbal *nò* in Lombard varieties in this thesis (§3.2.2).

A final point to note regarding post-verbal negators of this class in a cross-linguistic perspective is that, although typologically rare, they are most commonly found in languages that arose in situations of language contact. The question of creolization with regard to Brazilian Portuguese and Afrikaans remains open (‘Brazilian Portuguese: The Question of Creolization’, 1975; Van der Wouden, 2012) but it is the case that these languages emerged in situations of colonization in which European lexifier languages came into contact with indigenous and African languages to which they bore no genealogical relation.<sup>76</sup> The socio-historical context of these languages is relevant because it has led some to the conclusion that the post-verbal negation is a borrowed structure from one of the contact languages (cf. Lamberti, 2020 on negation in Afro-brazilian varieties; Roberge, 2000 on possible contact sources for clause-final *nie* in Afrikaans).

Although the same socio-historical context cannot be claimed for the varieties of Lombardy where this type of negation also exists, Milanese's own socio-historical context ought to be taken into account. Despite the economic and cultural dominance of Milan in Italy today, it is Italian, not Milanese, that is the socio-economically and culturally dominant language. The

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<sup>76</sup> Likewise, Palenquero, the other language mentioned as having post-verbal negation above is a Spanish-based Creole spoken in Colombia.

socio-linguistic situation in Italy is complex, since not only is there the distinction between *dialetto* and *lingua* to be made, but there also exist regional varieties of Italian that have their own grammars (Berruto, 1993a, 1993b; Telmon, 1993). For example, Ballarè (2015) demonstrates that NEG<sub>3</sub> *mica* constructions are grammatical only in the RNI of the Lombardy and Ticino (Switzerland) regions. Contact between different diastratic varieties (i.e., varieties differentiated according to social factors) and diatopic varieties (i.e., varieties differentiated according to geographic factors) may bring about the question of whether Milanese *nò* is a calque of its native structure with *minga*, as *nò* shares its etymology with the Italian basic clause negator *non* ‘not’. For example, when confronting his native-speaker participants with complementary pairs of sentences in Milanese, Vai (1995: 167) reports that his informants mention that *nò* sounds “more Italian” than *minga*. However, as much of the structural research on negation in NIDs has demonstrated, negators derived from minimizers tend to hold a different position in the clause to those derived from pro-sentence negators, thus it is not the case that *nò* may straightforwardly replace *minga*. Although it is possible that *nò* could be borrowed into a different syntactic domain, it is important to note that in its history *nò* remains a lexical item in Milanese as a negative response particle and tag negator, even as *minga* becomes the basic clause negator. Milanese therefore has its own lexical source for the clause negator *nò*, and it is not necessary to posit Italian as its source.

This section has demonstrated that a good deal of uncertainty remains around the exact origin of pro-sentence negators, and, connected to this, their function in languages where their licensing is pragmatically determined. This uncertainty is not helped by the notable lack of diachronic studies on pro-sentence negators, with most research aimed at describing and accounting for their syntactic distribution and pragmatic licensing conditions in synchrony. Although NIDs are not as well attested as other languages of Europe, other languages where pro-sentence negation is attested do not tend to have long written diachronic records, while, as has already been observed in previous chapters, evidence for Milanese dates back to the thirteenth century. This chapter therefore helps to bridge a gap in the literature on this class of clause negator by providing historical empirical evidence for the development of a negator whose etymological source is a pro-sentence negator.

First, since there is no consistency in the terminology used to discuss this type of negation—in particular, the item typically deemed to be the origin of this class of post-verbal negators is referred to as ‘supplementary’, ‘anaphoric’, ‘pro-sentence’ and ‘clause-final repeated’ in different parts of the literature owing to terminological uncertainty—the following section clarifies the use of terminology in this chapter, in addition to exploring some of the relations between



different negative constructions. The status of negators that not only have a propositional value as negative polarity items, but also have discourse-related functions, such as response particles, tag negators, and directives, is also considered.

## 6.2 A Framework for the Analysis of Pro-sentence Negation

Taking into account the research that has been carried out on pro-sentence negation, three broad categories of negation may be identified which negators of the pro-sentence etymological type may express:

- (i) Propositional negation
- (ii) Non-canonical negation
- (iii) Pro-sentence negation

Propositional negation is semantic clause negation, what has been referred to as basic clause negation in this thesis, and it is therefore the easiest to define, as it is defined by truth conditions. Items that express propositional negation are polarity markers, which, combined with the predicate, denote a negative truth-value. Examples of this type of negation are found in NIDs in NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub> structures. For example, in Viguzzolo, propositional, basic clause negation is expressed by a bi-partite structure.

- (190) *A n al cham no* [Viguzzolo (AL), Piedmont]  
 SCL.1SG NEG PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG call.PRS.IND.1SG NEG  
 'I am **not** calling him'

(adapted from Manzini and Savoia, 2002: 328)

The second group includes items that are pragmatically licensed. These items seem mostly to arise as a means of denying something that is activated or inferable from the preceding discourse (Schwenter, 2002, 2005). Morpho-syntactically, non-canonical negators are integrated into the clause (Schwegler, 1983; Biberauer and Cyrino, 2009b). An example of a non-canonical negator is *nãõ*<sub>2</sub> in Portuguese.

- (191) *Não fui*                      *não* [Portuguese]  
 NEG go.PST.PRF.1SG NEG  
 ‘I did **not** go.’

Pro-sentence negators, on the other hand, are syntactically independent of the clause, and are able to replace a proposition. Included in this category are: negative polarity response particles (192); tag negation (193); and negative polarity directives (194).

- (192)        A: *Did you burn the sauce?* B: **No** [=I didn’t burn the sauce].
- (193)        A: *I heard he likes the Beatles.* B: *That’s not true, no.*
- (194)        ~Child reaches towards a hot stovetop~ A: **NO!** [= Don’t touch the stovetop]

In this study, this type of negator is referred to as pro-sentence negation, to distinguish them from propositional, basic clause negators, although in a lot of research on negation, they may be referred to as *anaphoric*.<sup>77</sup> *Anaphoric*, however, does not seem to capture the wide range of uses for this kind of negator. In (194), the pro-sentence negator used to direct the child away from touching the hot stove is used in reaction to the deictic context, rather than to anything that has previously been referenced in the co-text or discourse. Propositional basic clause negators and pro-sentence negators do not always have the same form, as is evident for English, which distinguishes between the propositional negator *not* and the pro-sentence negator *no*. In English, which has a polarity-based yes/no system (Sadock and Zwicky, 1985: 189-90; König and Siemund, 2007: 320-2), it is the pro-sentence negator that is used as a negative response particle, not the basic clause negator *not* (195). The pro-sentence negator is also used in elliptical prohibitive directives (196).

- (195)        A: *Do you have a pencil?* B: **No.** (\**Not.*)

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<sup>77</sup> This distinction between the basic clause negator and the anaphoric negator is made in language acquisition studies, where it has been shown that children acquire the anaphoric negator (e.g., Eng. *no*) earlier than the clause negator (e.g., Eng. *not*). Cf. Dimroth (2010: 48-59) for an overview of the acquisition of formal features of negation.

(196) ~Child reaches towards a hot stove~ Adult: **NO!** (\*NOT!)

In terms of an initial pragmatic analysis of pro-sentence negation, Dimroth (2010: 48) states that '[a]naphoric [i.e., pro-sentence] negation relates to the content of an earlier utterance', something which previous pragmatic analyses of Brazilian Portuguese post-verbal *não* have also demonstrated. Dimroth's characterization can be observed explicitly in (195), where *no* is used in response to a yes/no question, and less explicitly in (196), where the adult uses *no* in reaction to something in the extra-linguistic context.

As discussed in §6.1, it is the tag pro-sentence negator that is generally posited as the source for propositional negators of the pro-sentence class, typically via a phase where the post-verbal negator reinforces the pre-verbal negator in a non-canonical structure. However, distinguishing between pro-sentence tag negators and non-canonical negators of the pro-sentence class is not always easy, particularly using historical data. One of the principal factors that can be used to determine the status of the clause-final negator is by determining its integration into the clause. Pro-sentence tag negators are not fully integrated into the clause, while non-canonical clause negators are so. In historical research reliant on written data, however, this distinction is difficult to make, as phonological information is evidently not available. Punctuation may be used instead, since the presence of a comma would indicate that a pro-sentence negator is not part of the clause, but this is not a particularly reliable measure.

There are other features that can be used to identify pro-sentence negators. Pro-sentence negators cannot license negative polarity items (197). In Romance languages, pro-sentence negators are used in structures like (198), which are elliptical. *No* replaces a clause headed by a non-finite verb (e.g., *Penso di non andare* 'I think that I won't go').

(197) \**No, I drink anything.*

(198) *Penso di no* [Italian]  
think.PRS.IND.1SG of NEG  
'I believe **not**/I **don't** believe so.'

Propositional clause negators, on the other hand, may license NPIs in cases of verbal ellipsis, but are infelicitous in structures like that in (198).

- (199) Q: *Did you drink anything?* A: *Not a drop.*  
 Q: *What did you have to eat?* A: *Not anything.*

- (200) \**Penso*                    *di non* [Italian]  
           think.PRS.IND.1PS of NEG  
           ‘I think **not**/I **don’t** think so.’

In terms of pragmatic features, pro-sentence negators are distinguished from propositional negators by their role in discourse organization. Pro-sentence negators are polarity markers, denoting that the proposition that they replace is a negative one, but their function in tags, responses and directives (cf. (192)-(194)) are also tied to speaker interaction. For example, Hansen's (2020: 11) research on response particles in French demonstrates that *non*, which is used as the negative response particle, may, depending on the context, express ‘interpersonal agreement or disagreement’, and sometimes ‘neutrality’. The licensing of pro-sentence negators, therefore, seems to be motivated fundamentally by their function in discourse.

Similarly, NEG<sub>3</sub> non-canonical negators, like *nò*, in nineteenth-century Milanese, are at once markers of negative polarity and pragmatically motivated, which leads to the discussion of the diachronic relationship between the pro-sentence negator, the non-canonical negator and the propositional clause negator belonging to the pro-sentence etymological class. Despite the similarity in form that the three types of negator identified in (i)-(iii) often share, it ought to be noted that English *no* and *not* do not share the same etymology, and that *no* is not a reduced form of *not*.<sup>78</sup> However, in Italian and Milanese, the pre-verbal propositional negator *no(n)* and the pro-sentence negator used in tags and response particles, *no*, share the same etymon, Lat. *non*. *No(n)* continues to be used as the propositional clause negator in Milanese for most of the language’s recorded history in a position preceding the verb.<sup>79</sup> The *no(n)* construction diverges so that it takes on the pro-sentence functions identified in (iii): tag, response, and directive particles. Here,

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<sup>78</sup> *No* derives from OE *nā* from the negative particle *ne*, while *not* is a reduced form of *nought* from OE *nōwiht*, a compound of the same particle *ne* and *ōwiht* ‘aught’ (Hoad, 2003: 509, 512).

<sup>79</sup> It most commonly has the form *no*, but also appears as *n’* before vowels, and occasionally as *non*. Throughout the discussion in this chapter, it is referred to as *no(n)* to distinguish it from post-verbal *nò*.

pro-sentence negators are treated as individual constructions rather than as extensions of a prototypical clause negator. There are two reasons for this. First, as has been detailed above, while pro-sentence negators retain a negative polarity meaning, they have specific formal and pragmatic features that distinguish them from propositional negators. Second, pro-sentence negators are in a paradigm with other tags, response particles and directives. On the one hand, they are in a paradigm with other negative polarity constructions. For example, Schwenter (2003) demonstrates that the Spanish response particle *no* is in paradigmatic distribution with *tampoco* ‘neither’, albeit the use of *tampoco* is pragmatically specialized, and thus not felicitous in all contexts.

- (201) A: *No voy a clase, ¿vas a ir tú?* [Spanish]  
NEG go.PRS.IND.1SG to class AUX.PRS.IND.2SG to go.INF PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG  
 ‘A: I’m not going to class, are you going to go?’
- B: *Yo tampoco (voy a ir).*  
PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG neither go.PRS.IND.1SG to go.INF  
 ‘B: I’m **not** going **either**.’ (OR: ‘**neither** am I.’)  
 (adapted from Schwenter 2003: 1005)

In addition, negative polarity pro-sentence items are in a paradigmatic relationship with a set of positive polarity items that may similarly replace a whole sentence. For example, Spanish *tampoco* ‘neither’ is in a paradigm with the positive polarity *también* ‘too’, and Italian and Milanese have a positive polarity response particle *sì* ‘yes’ which forms a paradigm with *no/nò*.

- (202) A: *Hai già fatto la colazione?* [Italian]  
AUX.PRS.IND.2SG already make.PPRT the breakfast  
 ‘A: Have you already had breakfast?’
- B: **Si/No.**  
 ‘B: **Yes/no.**’

Moreover, data of NEG<sub>3</sub> non-canonical negators in Brazilian Portuguese indicate that non-canonical *não*<sub>3</sub> is in a paradigm with a similar positive polarity structure with the positive polarity response particle *sim* ‘yes’.

(203) A: *Você tem muitas dívidas?*  
PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG have.PRS.IND.3SG many debts  
 ‘A: Do you have many debts?’

B: *Tenho / Tenho, sim / #Tenho muitas dívidas*  
have.PRS.IND.1SG have.PRS.IND.1SG yes have.PRS.IND.1SG many debts  
 ‘B: I do / I do, **yes** / I have many debts’

B<sup>i</sup>: *Não / Tenho não*  
NEG have.PRS.IND.1SG NEG  
 ‘B<sup>i</sup>: No / I have **not**’

(adapted from Biberauer and Cyrino (2009b: 21-2))

Notably, however, the positive polarity marker *sim* is disconnected from the clause, while non-canonical *não<sub>3</sub>* is integrated, as indicated by the insertion of the comma before the former and not the latter. Supposing that non-canonical and basic clause negators of the pro-sentence class derive from these types of structures involving pro-sentence negators, such data imply that the non-canonical negator may emerge as a case of multiple inheritance (cf. §2.1.2) from the basic clause negator and the pro-sentence negator, so that it not only marks clause negation, but also arises in pragmatic contexts involving discourse interaction. This is captured in Figure 18 using B.Pt. *não*.

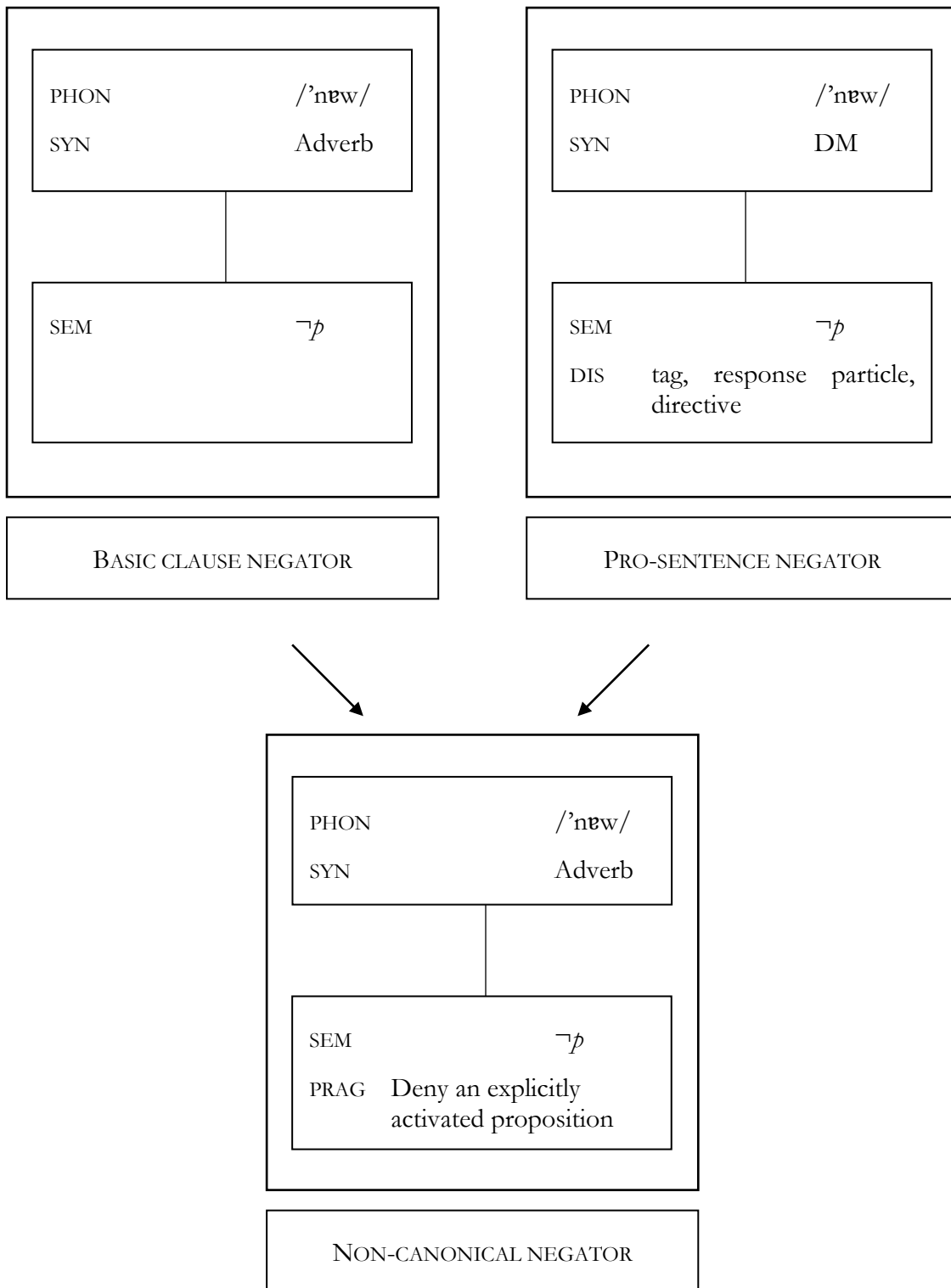


Figure 18 Multiple inheritance in the non-canonical NEGATOR construction

This section identified three different types of negator that form a complex part of the language network. It was shown that, despite having the same etymology and form, the propositional and pro-sentence negators in Milanese are different constructions. Pro-sentence negators share paradigmatic links with potentially numerous other negative *and* positive polarity items that have discourse functions that distinguish them from the propositional negator. One of the drawbacks with other analyses of this type of negator in previous research is that there has not been a systematic analysis of the pro-sentence negators from which clause negators of this class derive. Drawing out a typology of functions that pro-sentence negators may have allows for the opportunity to explore the possibility that post-verbal *nò* may have developed via other pathways, perhaps simultaneously to that of the tag negator, as is generally assumed.

The rest of this chapter examines the role of discourse pragmatics in the development of *nò* into a non-canonical clause negator. Where possible, the role of interlocutor interaction in its development is investigated. Much of the focus in this chapter is on theatrical works, particularly those in prose in late nineteenth-century Milanese, which provide evidence of more colloquial usage, and may be more readily exploited to develop an understanding of how interactional uses of *nò* play a role in its development. The chapter also seeks to shed further light on the question of whether *nò*<sub>2</sub> and *nò*<sub>3</sub> are a continuous development or have two different origins. To do this, this chapter works “backwards” through diachrony, beginning with the later nineteenth-century data in Corpus C, which is more reliable than earlier data, owing to the existence of colloquial theatrical works.

§6.3 examines the expression of negation in late nineteenth-century Milanese. It considers the factors involved in the use of a particular negator micro-construction over another, comparing in particular the syntagmatic and pragmatic properties of *minga* and *nò*<sub>3</sub>, while also considering the development of the pre-verbal *no(n)* micro-construction. The role of *nò*<sub>3</sub> in interactional contexts is then examined. §6.4 then studies earlier examples of *nò*<sub>2</sub> and *nò*<sub>3</sub> from its first attestations in the sixteenth century. The aim is to establish not only what the licensing conditions of *nò*<sub>2</sub> and *nò*<sub>3</sub> are in the earlier texts, but also whether there is a historical link between them in a Jespersen Cycle-like development. This section also looks at the one theatrical text in prose that precedes the nineteenth century, the *Conti d'Agliate* (1713), as an indication of the expression of negation in this earlier period.



### 6.3 Negation in Late Nineteenth-century Milanese

The texts dating to the late nineteenth century reveal that *minga* is the canonical basic clause negator in Milanese at this stage of the language's history. Continuing to define basic clause negation as the most frequent means used to negate declarative main clauses, Table 36 demonstrates that *minga* is more frequent than *nò* in this context. Some vestigial contexts where pre-verbal *no(n)* is found in clause negation remain.

Locution		<i>Minga</i>	<i>Nò</i>	Pre-verbal <i>no(n)</i>
Main	Declarative	155 (71%)	55 (25%)	9 (4%)
	Imperative	45 (63%)	26 (37%)	
	Interrogative	37 (66%)	19 (34%)	
Subordinate	Embedded	47 (61%)	21 (27%)	9 (12%)
	Adverbial	13 (62%)	2 (10%)	6 (29%)
Constituent		12 (100%)		
Verbal ellipsis		7 (32%)	15 (68%)	
Total		316 (66%)	138 (29%)	24 (5%)

Table 36 Attestations of different clause negators in late nineteenth-century Milanese texts

Furthermore, the pro-sentence negator used in negative tags and response particles continues the Lat. *non* form, rather than that of the new basic clause negator *minga*.

- (204) *Gustin.* [...] *Oj, Pivetta t'* =*en bevet* *on bicer...? Vino di pasto ma*  
EXCL.P. SCL.2SG=PRT drink.PRS.IND.2SG a glass wine of meal but  
*eccellente! [...]*  
excellent  
‘Hey, Pivetta do you want of glass of something...? [I only have] table wine  
but [it’s] excellent!’
- Pivetta. No...* *Te see,* *foeura de past bèvi* *minga vin.*  
NEG SCL.2SG know.PRS.IND.2SG outside of meal drink.PRS.IND.1SG NEG wine  
‘No... you know, outside of mealtimes I don’t drink wine.’  
(*Lengua de can*, Act 1, Scene 6, p.193, Milan, 1905)

Additionally, there is a negative polarity tag, *nee*, used in directive illocutions, similar to It.  
*nevero* ‘isn’t it true; right?’.

- (205) *Luisina. Mi* *la* *ringrazi,* *ma la*  
PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG PERS.PRON.ACC.F.3SG thank.PRS.IND.1SG but SCL.F.3SG  
*me capiss nee... l' =è ona*  
PERS.PRON.ACC.1SG understand.PRS.IND.3SG right SCL.F.3SG=COP.PRS.IND.3SG a  
*sciora, e mi invece...*  
lady and PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG instead  
‘Thank you, but you understand me, **right**... you are a lady, and me, well...’  
(*L’amis del papà*, Act 1, Scene 7, p.17, Milan, 1882)

The following section comments on the few attestations of pre-verbal negation in this period.

### 6.3.1 Pre-verbal Negation

The low frequency of pre-verbal *no(n)* in Table 36 suggests that it is very much a marginal construction by the late 1800s, with only 24 examples out of the 478 attestations of negation (= 5%). These examples reveal that, for the most part, pre-verbal *no(n)* is no longer associated with basic clause negation. Only a small percentage (4-5%) of declarative main clauses are negated by pre-verbal *no(n)* (206), and most of these appear in the earlier Ferravilla plays (7/9). Otherwise, examples of pre-verbal *no(n)* are found in subordinate clauses, such as result clauses (207) and conditional antecedents (208), which are typically more conservative than main clauses, in which changes typically occur (Ross, 1973; Bybee, 2002). While there are no other examples of negative

result clauses in Ferravilla to determine whether *minga* or *nò* could have been felicitous in (207), in all other instances of if-clauses, *minga* is used.

- (206) *Liborio. No soo                      cosa di.      Allora te                      spetti.*  
 NEG know.PRS.IND.1SG what say.INF then      PERS.PRON.ACC.2SG wait.PRS.IND.1SG  
*Andem.*  
 go.IMP.1PL  
 ‘I don’t know what to say. Then, I’ll wait for you. Let’s go.’  
 (*L’amis del papà*, Act 1, Scene 19, p.34, Milan, 1882)

- (207) *Pedrin. Tàs                      che non la                      senta.*  
 quiet.IMP.2SG COMP NEG SCL.F.3SG hear.PRS.SJV.3SG  
 ‘Quiet so that she doesn’t hear.’  
 (*sur Pedrin*, Act 1, Scene 2, p.11, Milan, 1872)

- (208) *Giovanni. [...] Oh, ma a costo de tutti i costi stassera se no ghe*  
 EXCL but at cost of all the costs this evening if NEG PERS.PRON.DAT.3SG  
*parli                      voo                      minga via.*  
 speak.PRS.IND.1SG go.PRS.IND.1SG NEG away  
 ‘[...] Oh, but at all costs, tonight, if I don’t talk to him, I’m not going  
 away.’  
 (*L’amis del papà*, Act 1, Scene 21, p.36, Milan, 1882)

A point of comparison concerning the maintenance of pre-verbal negation is with present-day French, whose main strategy for basic clause negation is post-verbal *pas* (e.g., *Je sais pas* ‘I don’t know’), with which pre-verbal *ne* may optionally occur as an agreement marker. In late nineteenth-century Milanese, however, pre-verbal *no(n)* appears alone where it is attested, rather than in a bi-partite structure with either *minga* or *nò*.<sup>80</sup> Pre-verbal *no(n)* does not therefore appear to have undergone a markedness reversal (Waugh, 1982), whereby the pre-verbal marker is reanalysed as a reinforcer of the post-verbal negator (Breitbarth et al., 2020: 66-8), something that has been claimed for Swiss French (Fonseca-Greber, 2007, 2017). Camproux (1968: 475-6) shows that, in Gévaudanais Occitan, pre-verbal *noun* (< Lat. *non*) may be used without the canonical basic clause negator, post-verbal *pas*, in contexts of emphatic negation. However, there is nothing about the contexts in (206)-(208) that suggests that the use of the pre-verbal negator is related to emphasis. Instead, the data suggest that in the earlier plays by Ferravilla (1872-1882), a weak

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<sup>80</sup> N.b., there are more formal registers of present-day French in which *ne* may negate the clause alone.

association between pre-verbal *no(n)* and the BASIC CLAUSE NEGATION sub-schema remains, although its use in this context has become extremely marginal. It may be relevant, however, that two of the attestations in Ferravilla appear in an NC construction with the indefinite *nagotta* ‘nothing’.

- (209) *Timoleone. El mangia do lira de pan a=l di sto porch e no*  
 SCL.M.3SG eat.PRS.IND.3SG two lira of bread at=the day DEM.M.SG pig and NEG  
*l' =impara nagott.*  
 SCL.M.3SG=learn.PRS.IND.3SG nothing  
 ‘He eats two *lira* of bread a day this pig and he doesn’t learn **anything**.’  
 (*sur Tapa*, Act 1, Scene 5, p.13, Milan, 1876)

Since the Milanese of this period has a paradigm of negative quantifiers that are used as negators in quantifier negation, of which *nagotta* is a member, *nagotta* could appear as the only negative item in the clause. There are no instances in the data of either post-verbal negator (*minga* or *nò*) being used with *nagotta* or *nient* ‘nothing’. It is possible that in (209), the pre-verbal negator does act as an agreement marker with the post-verbal indefinite. This is quite likely a more conservative bi-partite structure that perhaps reveals some ambiguity surrounding the status of *nagotta* as an NCI or negative quantifier, which leads to the maintenance of the pre-verbal negator in the language.

There is, however, also evidence that the pre-verbal negator is “leaving” Jespersen’s Cycle, in the sense that at least some of its functions are no longer related only to the expression of semantic clause negation (cf. Breitbarth et al., 2020: 68-71). There are eight examples of pre-verbal *no(n)* involving specialized contexts in which the negative “force” of the illocution is mitigated. These include indirect questions (210), exceptive clauses (211), and a single example of expletive negation in a purposive non-finite clause (212). In (210), *non* is attested in the complement clause of *chissà* ‘who knows’. (210) describes a hypothetical event, as evidenced by the use of the subjunctive. Similarly, the clauses in (207)-(208) are hypothetical, suggesting that the *irrealis* mood might be connected to the maintenance of pre-verbal negation in Milanese. In (210), Liborio is encouraging Marietta to arrange a meeting with one of the other characters, but Marietta is uninterested. The context in which (210) is uttered is therefore one in which it is assumed that Marietta does *not* want to arrange to meet.

- (210) *Liborio. Chissà di volt che non s' =abbia de combinà quaicossa.*  
 INTER of time COMP NEG IMPRS.3SG=AUX.PRS.SJV.3SG of arrange.INF something  
 ‘Who knows that some time it would(n’t) suit you to do something.’  
 (*L’amis del papà*, Act 1, Scene 12, p.28, Milan, 1882)

In (211), the exceptive clause mitigates the negative force of the clause negation expressed by *no(n)*, as it implies that *all* Lao thinks about is the chief-medic nomination.

- (211) *Veronica. l’ =è staa lu a scalda=*  
 SCL.M.3SG=AUX.PRS.IND.3SG COP.PPRT PERS.PRON.NOM.M.3SG to scold.INF=  
*m el coo de sposà el Lao el qual no =l*  
 PERS.PRON.ACC.1SG the head of marry.INF the L. the REL.M.3SG NEG=SCL.M.3S  
*pensa invece che a =lla nomina di capo-medico!!*  
 think.PRS.IND.3SG instead COMP to=the nomination of chief medic  
 ‘It was him to scold my head to marry Lao, who instead doesn’t think  
 about anything **except** the chief-medic nomination!!’  
 (*Pistagna*, Act I, Scene 8, p.27, Milan, 1892)

(212) is an example of expletive negation, but note that the utterance is negatively oriented, as Guiditta does *not* want to tire herself out.

- (212) *Giuditta. Naturalment sont minga vegnuda su stanott per non fai*  
 naturally AUX.PRS.IND.1SG NEG come.PPRT up tonight for NEG make.INF  
*stremi!*  
 tire.INF  
 ‘Naturally I didn’t come up this evening just **to tire myself out!**’  
 (*Pistagna*, Act I, Scene 1, p.10, Milan, 1892)

*Minga* and *nò* never appear in the types of clauses in (210)-(212), although pre-verbal *no(n)* does appear in other purposive *per* clauses where it, however, expresses clause negation. As (212) is a single example, it is not clear whether this could be a mistake in the text (i.e., *non* has been incorrectly inserted during the transcription of the manuscript), or, on the other hand, whether the low frequency is an indicator of the structure’s markedness. The constructions in (210)-(211) may be analysed as partially specified constructions in which pre-verbal *no(n)* is a requisite part: the CHISSÀ CHE NON construction and the EXCEPTIVE NON V CHE construction. Breitbarth et al. (2020):

68) analyse the use of old negators in the types of constructions observed here as ‘a separate further development, as it were leaving Jespersen’s cycle and the expression of sentential negation’. However, in the case of Milanese, it seems as likely that the use of pre-verbal *no(n)* in these constructions may actually be a case of maintenance rather than change in the language, with the pre-verbal negator becoming “fossilized” in the partially substantiated constructions, since these types of clauses had always been negated by *no(n)*.

The next section turns to post-verbal negation in the same texts from the late nineteenth century.

### 6.3.2 Post-verbal negation

As is evident in Table 36 above, the two post-verbal negators, *minga* and *nò*, have a much stronger association with CLAUSE NEGATION constructions than pre-verbal *no(n)*. A comparison between *minga* and *nò* in the seven individual works from this period (Table 37) shows that, over the course of the last few decades of the nineteenth century, use of post-verbal *nò* increases, so that it shares more evenly the percentage of clause negations with *minga*.

Author	Text	Year	<i>Minga</i>	<i>Nò</i>
Edoardo Ferravilla	<i>El sur Pedrin ai bagn</i>	1872	4 (75%)	2 (25%)
	<i>I difett del sur Tapa</i>	1876	68 (85%)	12 (15%)
	<i>La class di asen</i>	1879	11 (79%)	3 (21%)
	<i>L’amis del papà</i>	1882	81 (84%)	14 (16%)
Antonio Curti	<i>La casa Pistagna</i>	1892	35 (65%)	19 (35%)
Carlo Bertolazzi	<i>El nost Milan</i>	1893	83 (57%)	62 (43%)
Decio Guicciardi	<i>La Lengua de Can</i>	1905	34 (57%)	26 (43%)

Table 37 Attestations of *minga* and *nò*: 1872-1905

If the metric of frequency is relied upon as the indicator of the basic clause negator in any given language, this makes it less clear which of the two, *minga* and *nò*, is the basic clause negator by the end of the nineteenth century in Milanese. The definitions of Payne (1985) and Miestamo

(2005), which stipulate that the standard, i.e., basic, clause negator of a language is that which is most frequent in declarative main clauses, must be employed for these data. As Table 36 already shows, as the negator used in 71% of declarative main clauses, *minga* is the most frequent negator in this context, while only 25% of declarative main clauses are negated by *nò*. Table 38 further breaks down the data into periods with roughly a decade between them. This demonstrates the increase of *nò* in declarative main clauses from 14% in 1872-1882 to 41% in 1905.

Locution	1872-1882				1892-3				1905				
	<i>Minga</i>	<i>Nò</i>	<i>No(n)</i>	Total	<i>Minga</i>	<i>Nò</i>	<i>No(n)</i>	Total	<i>Minga</i>	<i>Nò</i>	<i>No(n)</i>	Total	
<b>Main</b>	Declarative	78 (79%)	14 (14%)	7 (7%)	99	59 (67%)	28 (32%)	1 (1%)	88	18 (56%)	13 (41%)	1 (3%)	32
	Imperative	27 (100%)			27	13 (38%)	21 (62%)		34	5 (50%)	5 (50%)		10
	Interrogative	17 (77%)	5 (23%)		22	17 (57%)	13 (43%)		30	3 (75%)	1 (25%)		4
<b>Subordinate</b>	Embedded	31 (78%)	6 (15%)	3 (8%)	40	11 (46%)	10 (42%)	3 (13%)	24	4 (44%)	5 (56%)		9
	Adverbial	5 (56%)		4 (44%)	9	5 (63%)	2 (25%)	1 (13%)	8	3 (75%)		1 (25%)	4
<b>Constituent</b>		3 (100%)		3		10 (100%)							
<b>Verbal ellipsis</b>		3 (33%)	6 (67%)		9	3 (30%)	7 (70%)		10	1 (33%)	2 (67%)		4
<b>Total</b>		164 (78%)	31 (15%)	14 (7%)	209	118 (58%)	81 (40%)	5 (2%)	204	34 (55%)	26 (42%)	2 (3%)	62

Table 38 Locutions of different clause negators in nineteenth-century Milanese



Moreover, the use of *minga* and *nò* appears to be influenced by the syntagmatic context. First, there is a stronger tendency for *mi(n)ga* to collocate with verb constructions that have post-verbal object complements. Of examples where the negator is followed by a demonstrative, a noun, or a prepositional phrase, which total 141, 84% are in clauses negated by *minga*, while 16% are negated by *nò* (213). Similarly, *minga* is the only post-verbal negator used with predicative adjectives (214). *Minga* also collocates more frequently with post-verbal adverbs than *nò* (80% vs. 20%). In addition, *minga* is used in compound tenses more commonly, with 98% collocating with *minga* and 2% with *nò* (215). Finally, *minga* is more commonly used with partitive morphology than *nò*, with 68% of such contexts collocating with *minga*, and 32% with *nò* (216).

(213) *g' =boo minga temp*  
 EXPL=have.PRS.IND.1SG NEG time  
 'I don't have time'  
 (*Sur Tapa*, Act 1, Scene 11, p.25, Milan, 1876)

(214) *L' =è minga vera*  
 SCL.F.3SG=COP.PRS.IND.3SG NEG true  
 'It's not true'  
 (*Class di asen*, Act 1, Scene 6, p.13, Milan, 1879)

(215) *in casa altrui se pò minga vegni*  
 in house other.GEN IMPRS.3SG be able.PRS.IND.3SG NEG come.INF  
 'In some one else's house, one can't come.'  
 (*Sur Tapa*, Act 1, Scene 19, p.33, Milan, 1876)

(216) *de fever te ghe ne minga*  
 of fever SCL.2SG PF PRT=COP.PRS.IND.3SG NEG  
 'You don't have any fever [lit. of fever you don't have]'  
 (*Sur Tapa*, Act 1, Scene 12, p.27, Milan, 1876)

Although *minga* and *nò* are used at the same frequency in contexts where the negator precedes a complementizer, the frequency of *nò* is still of note, since with other types of post-verbal complements, *minga* is the more commonly used NEGATOR construction (217). *Nò* is also more frequently used with simple verbal predicates that do not have complements (cf. Vai, 1995: 167), with 66% of such contexts found with *nò*, and 33% with *minga* (218).

- (217) *A=l Tivoli vuj                      no che te                      vegnet*  
 to=the T.      want.PRS.IND.1SG NEG COMP SCL.2SG come.PRS.IND.2SG  
 ‘I don’t want you to come to the Tivoli.’  
 (*Nost Milan*, Act 1, Scene 8, p.22, Milan, 1893)

- (218) *T' =el                                      set                                      che boo                                      cercaa!;*  
 SCL.2SG=PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG know.PRS.IND.2SG COMP AUX.PRS.IND.1SG look.PPRT  
*troeui                      no, troeui                      no.*  
 find.PRS.IND.1SG NEG find.PRS.IND.1SG NEG  
 ‘You know that I looked! I didn’t find [it], I didn’t find [it]!’  
 (*Nost Milan*, Act 3, Scene 4, p.47, Milan, 1893)

The distribution of *minga* and *nò* among these syntagmatic contexts may be attributed to their diachronic development, and the retention of prototypical features of earlier uses. In the case of *minga*, in §4.3.3 it was shown that the most frequent bridging contexts in which *mi(n)ga* is used in Old NIDs and in Corpora C and D are *quantifiers (+ partitive)* and *degree modifier of an adjective*. These bridging contexts anticipate the distribution of *minga* in the late nineteenth century, since *mi(n)ga* developed in a post-verbal position where it had scope over other post-verbal complements. *Minga*’s use before object complements, predicative adjectives, verb phrase complements in compound tenses, and with partitive morphology therefore reveals prototypical features of earlier bridging context uses, which can be attributed to the scalar semantics of the MINIMIZER *mica* construction, from which quantifier and degree modifier uses developed.

*Nò*, on the other hand, appears to have developed from a pro-sentence use in a clause-final position. Again, this anticipates the use of *nò* in simple verbal predicates, as it is also naturally found in clause-final position in this context. That *nò* is also found more frequently with complementizers than other post-verbal complements may therefore be explained by this tendency to be used as the edge of a clause boundary.

Finally, Table 36 shows that *nò* is in fact more frequent in imperative and interrogative constructions than it is in declarative main clauses. This and the tendency for *nò* to collocate with verbs of cognition are explored in the following section, which considers both of these syntagmatic properties to be indicative of a discourse-pragmatic function that indicates the interactional nature of *nò*.

### 6.3.2.1 Interactional *nò*

This section examines the use of post-verbal *nò* in interaction between dialogue participants. A collocational analysis reveals a number of correlations in the data, not least between the type of verb with which the *nò* construction collocates most frequently. Further analysis reveals that there is an additional correlation between the use of *nò* and certain discourse features for which the data were annotated. These features include: turn position (i.e, the beginning, middle or end of an interlocutor’s turn); sequencing (i.e., is the *nò* clause independent or is it related to other clauses, complements, or discourse elements); question/directive response; opt out of turn; illocutionary force. The qualitative analysis reveals patterns in the usage of *nò* in discourse.

A collocational analysis of the data reveals that there is a strong attraction between the use of *nò* and *psych* or *mental-state* verbs. Of the 123 attestations of *nò* in clause negation, 70 (57%) are used with *psych* verbs, principally verbs of cognition, though not exclusively (Table 39). Such verbs include *savè* ‘to know’, *vedè* ‘to see’, *capi* ‘to understand’, *credè* ‘to believe’, *pensà* ‘to think’. In particular, there is a strong attraction to the verb *savè* ‘to know’, which accounts for 29 (24%) of attestations of clausal *nò*, the majority of which (19/29) are found in the first-person singular form of the present indicative tense, i.e., *mi soo no* ‘I don’t know’.<sup>81</sup> This particular construct is discussed in more detail in §6.3.2.2.

Locution		<i>Mi soo no</i>	Other psych verbs	Non-psych verbs	Totals
Main	Declarative	17 (31%)	18 (33%)	20 (36%)	55
	Imperative	N/a	7 (27%)	19 (73%)	26
	Interrogative		18 (95%)	1 (1%)	19
Subordinate	Embedded	2 (10%)	7 (33%)	12 (57%)	21
	Adverbial		1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2
<b>Total</b>		19 (15%)	51 (41%)	53 (43%)	123

Table 39 Verb collocations with *nò* in nineteenth-century Milanese

<sup>81</sup> There are some slight variations, e.g., *mi el soo no*, *soo no mi*. These are included nonetheless.

The tendency for *nò* to collocate with psych verbs is all the more striking when compared with the collocational tendencies of *minga* in the same texts (Table 40).

Locution		<i>Mi soo minga</i>	Other psych verbs	Non-psych verbs	Totals
<b>Main</b>	<b>Declarative</b>	2 (1%)	14 (10%)	121 (88%)	137
	<b>Imperative</b>	N/a	9 (23%)	31 (77%)	40
	<b>Interrogative</b>		4 (12%)	30 (88%)	34
<b>Subordinate</b>	<b>Embedded</b>		8 (19%)	34 (81%)	42
	<b>Adverbial</b>		1 (10%)	9 (90%)	10
<b>Total</b>		2 (<1%)	39 (14%)	225 (81%)	279

Table 40 Verb collocations with *minga* in nineteenth-century Milanese

A comparison between Table 39 and Table 40 demonstrates that there is a much stronger tendency for *minga* to collocate with non-psych verbs than *nò*. 81% of *minga* examples are with non-psych verbs, while 43% of *nò* examples are so. *Nò*, on the other hand, has a much higher percentage of instances where it collocates with psych verbs than *minga* (56% vs. 15%). The *mi soo no* construct is also more frequent than *mi soo minga*, of which there are only 2 examples. The comparison also demonstrates that a higher percentage of imperatives and interrogatives are found with *nò* than *minga*. 37% of *nò* examples are in imperatives and interrogatives, while 27% of *minga* examples are in these types of locution. The difference between *minga* and *nò* is particularly notable in interrogatives, where 95% of *nò* interrogatives collocate with psych verbs, compared to just 12% of *minga* interrogatives. Typical examples of *nò* include those in (219)-(221), which demonstrate an imperative use (219), and examples of interrogatives with *nò* (220)-(221).

- (219) *Gniff.* *Pasqualin, inrabisse =t no; te vedet no che*  
 P. anger.IMP.2SG=REFL.2SG NEG SCL.2SG see.PRS.IND.2SG NEG COMP  
*fann a posta?*  
 do.PRS.IND.3PL at place  
 ‘Pasqualin, **don’t get angry; don’t you see** that they are doing the right thing?’  
 (*Nost Milan*, Act 1, Scene 2, p.13, Milan, 1893)
- (220) *Conte.* *Me par che te siet de cattiv umor.*  
 PERS.PRON.DAT.1SG seem.PRS.IND.3SG COMP SCL.2SG COP.PRS.SJV.2SG of bad mood  
 ‘It seems to me that you are in a bad mood.’
- Ersilia.* *No; che diavol! Saria ingiusta a vèss de cattiv umor. Te*  
 NEG COMP devil COP.COND.3SG unfair to COP.INF of bad mood SCL.2SG  
*vedet no che anzi me divertì...*  
 see.PRS.IND.2SG NEG COMP even REFL.1SG enjoy.PRS.IND.1SG  
 ‘No, what the devil! It would be unfair to be in a bad mood. **Don’t you see** that I’m even enjoying myself...’  
 (*sur Pedrin*, Act 1, Scene 7, p.17, Milan, 1872)
- (221) *Vittorio.* *Donca el me cred propi no è?*  
 so SCL.M.3SG PERS.PRON.ACC.1SG believe.PRS.IND.3SG really NEG eh  
 ‘So **he really doesn’t believe me, eh?**’  
 (*Pistagna*, Act I, Scene 6, p.24, Milan, 1892)

Negative polarity yes/no interrogatives are not pragmatically neutral, since, unlike their affirmative counterparts, they conversationally implicate that the question’s underlying proposition is a negative one, and that the speaker assumes that this is part of the common ground between interlocutors. Negative polarity yes/no interrogatives may also index that the speaker does not agree with the accepted state of affairs in the common ground. These pragmatic inferences cannot be derived from the form of negative interrogatives, i.e., the combination of the negative operator with the interrogative syntax of a given language, but are instead part of the conventional meaning of the NEGATIVE INTERROGATIVE construction. In the co-text of (221), for example, Vittorio’s interlocutor has made it clear that he does not believe Vittorio, so the question *He really doesn’t believe me, eh?* is rhetorical rather than a truth-seeking question. It expresses Vittorio’s surprise and also implies that Vittorio does not agree with his interlocutor. Given that the pragmatics of negative polarity questions are not predictable from their form, I analyse them as a partially specified construction (Figure 19). The construction specifies the semantics and pragmatics of negative polarity interrogatives, and any language-specific rules about polarity question formation.

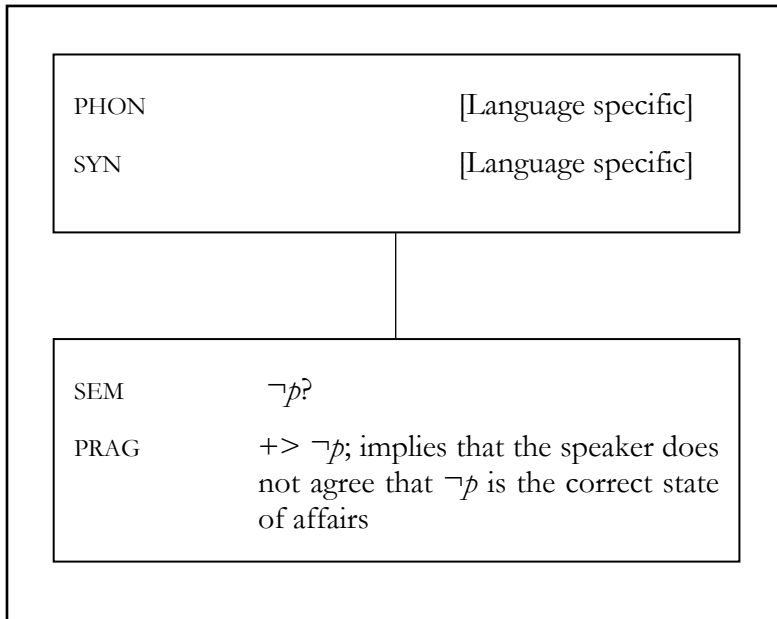


Figure 19 The NEGATIVE INTERROGATIVE construction

In Milanese, the collocation of *nò* with verbs of cognition in negative polarity yes/no questions appears to establish *nò* as a non-canonical form of negation used in interpersonal speaker interactions, conveying more than truth-conditional negation. The interactional use of *nò* is also observed in questions that do not contain a psych verb, as in (222).

- (222) *Peppon. [...] A=l Tivoli vuj no che te vegnet,*  
to =the T. want.PRS.IND.1SG NEG COMP SCL.2SG come.PRS.IND.2SG  
*vuj minga che te faghet come tutt'=i alter! Adess*  
want.PRS.IND.1SG NEG COMP SCL.2SG do.PRS.IND.2SG like all =the others now  
*va' a casa subit, te trovaree preparaa tuttoss).*  
go.IMP.2SG to home immediately SCL.2SG find.FUT.IND.2SG prepare.PPRT everything  
‘[...] I don’t want you to go to the Tivoli, I don’t want you to do like  
everyone else! Now go home immediately, you’ll find everything prepared).

*Nina. E ti te vegnet nò?*  
and PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG SCL.2SG come.PRS.IND.2SG NEG  
‘And are you not coming?’

(*Nost Milan*, Act 1, Scene 8, p.22, Milan, 1893)

In the text preceding the *nò*-clause in (222), Nina has been sent home by her father, Peppon, to eat. While Nina’s question does seek to fill a gap in Nina’s knowledge, since it hasn’t been established whether Peppon will also return home to eat, it reveals Nina’s expectation or desire for her father to do so.

The interactional properties of *nò* are also evident in its frequent use in imperative locutions (223)-(224), which, like interrogatives, also have a directive illocutionary force, usually requesting or commanding something from the speaker’s interlocutor. With imperatives, the association with psych verbs is not as strong as with interrogatives. This is not surprising as this type of verb do not combine well with the imperative, except where they have become routinized as discourse markers and no longer carry true imperative force (e.g., *look* in *Look, I don’t know what to say*).

Note in (223) that *nò* is in complementary distribution with *ben*, as indicated by Caterina’s affirmative imperative (*che la guarda ben* ‘watch’).<sup>82</sup>

- (223) *Caterina. (piccata) Vuj la! Che la guarda ben come la parla!*  
 angry EXCL COMP SCL.F.3SG look.PRS.SJV.3SG well how SCL.F.3SG talk.PRS.IND.3SG  
 ‘(angry) Hey! Watch how you talk!’

*Pierina. Ob Signor! che la faga no el santificator!*  
 EXCL lord COMP SCL.F.3SG do.PRS.SJV.3SG NEG the saviour  
 ‘Oh Lord! Don’t act the saviour!’

(*Nost Milan*, Act 4, Scene 1, p.59, Milan, 1893)

- (224) *Vittorio. [...] infin sto sur Pistagna... el ghe fa*  
 finally DEM.M.SG sir P. SCL.M.3SG PERS.PRON.DAT.3SG do.PRS.IND.3SG  
*minga bona compagnia? l’ =è fredd? l’ =è*  
 NEG good company SCL.M.3SG=COP.PRS.IND.3SG cold SCL.M.3PS=COP.PRS.IND.3SG  
*indifferent?*  
 indifferent  
 ‘[...] in the end this sir Pistagna... he doesn’t make good company for you?  
 Is he cold? Is he indifferent?’

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<sup>82</sup> Note that the third-person singular imperative has the same as form of the third-person present subjunctive introduced by the complementizer *che* ‘that’. Such syncretism is very common in the Romance languages, although it is usually found in the other persons (cf. Maiden, 2016: 502-504), and as such, I do not treat this as a different micro-construction. In future research, additional data would be needed to ascertain whether there are distributional preferences for *minga* and *nò* among different persons of the imperative, but the data used for this thesis did not indicate any.





failure to respond to a question adequately. In mid-turn position, *Je sais pas* is instead used as an epistemic hedge, but it can also be used as a floor-holding device while the speaker thinks about how to appropriately complete the turn. Further evidence to support Pekarek Doehler's (2016) claim that the reduced forms of *Je sais pas* are discourse marker-like is that, while fuller forms such as *Je sais pas/J' sais pas* appear more frequently with a complement than without (66%), *chais pas/ch'pas* occur much more frequently without a complement (69%). This suggests that the fuller forms carry the full epistemic weight of 'I don't know', whereas the reduced forms are discourse elements whose epistemic weight is lessened.

The following examines *mi soo no* constructs in the Milanese data, using similar metrics as Pekarek Doehler, such as turn position and sequencing, for evidence of an interactional use. While prosodic information cannot be gathered from the historical sources, it is possible to compare the equivalent construction with *minga*, of which there are only two examples (cf. Table 39 and Table 40).

Of the 19 examples of *mi soo no* (or near equivalents, e.g., *soo no mi*) in the data, 10 of these are in turn-initial position. Of these, the majority (8/10) are in question responses. In total, 12 of the attestations of *mi soo no* are in responses to a question by an interlocutor, which may indicate the interactional use of *mi soo no*. In the turn-initial examples in question responses where *mi soo no* is only part of the turn (5 examples), *mi soo no* introduces a non-answer, as in Pekarek Doehler's French data. (225)-(227) exemplify this.

In (225), the characters are discussing a man who has just entered the bar where they are sitting. Ersilia's response to the Conte's question about who the man is begins as though she is going to answer the question directly (*L'è... 'He is...'*), using *L'è* as a filler while she determines whether she knows the answer to the Conte's question, but changes course and instead begins the turn denying knowledge of who the man is (*mi soo no* 'I don't know').<sup>84</sup> This is followed by an approximation at an answer to the Conte's question (*el sarà on forestee* 'he'll be a foreigner'). *mi soo no* introduces Ersilia's approximation and seems to downgrade her commitment to the answer she provides, since she may only provide an uninformed answer. As such, her response is a non-answer, the non-fittedness of which is pre-empted by its introduction by *mi soo no*.

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<sup>84</sup> Given the filler-like status of *L'è*, this example of *mi soo no* has been included as turn-initial. Pekarek Doehler (2016) similarly includes examples beginning with fillers like *Beh* 'well' or *hm* 'hm' as turn-initial examples of *Je sais pas*.

(225) *Conte.* [...] *Chi l' =è quell lì?*  
 INTER SCL.M.3SG=COP.PRS.IND.3SG DEM.M.SG there  
 '[...] Who is that man there?'

*Ersilia:* *L' =è... mi soo no - el*  
 SCL.M.3SG=COP.PRS.IND.3SG PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG know.PRS.IND.1SG NEG SCL.M.3SG  
*sarà on forestee*  
 COP.FUT.IND.3SG a foreigner  
 'It's... **I don't know** – he'll be a foreigner.'  
 (*sur Pedrin*, Act 1, Scene 7, p.17, Milan, 1872)

Marietta's response in (226) is similarly a non-answer, since no knowledge of exactly what causes the father's anger is presented, but there is an implication that something written in the letter caused her father's outburst of anger ('after he received a letter yesterday, he went crazy')

(226) *Angiolina.* *Cossa diavol gh =è, coss' =el gh =a*  
 INTER devil PF =COP.PRS.IND.3SG INTER=SCL.M.3SG EXPL=have.PRS.IND.3SG  
*el papà de vosà inscì tant? Coss =è success?*  
 the dad of shout.INF thus so much INTER=AUX.PRS.IND.3SG happen.PPRT  
 'What the devil is it, what is wrong with Dad that he shouts so much? What's happened?'

*Marietta.* *Ma! Cara ti, mi el*  
 but dear PERS.PRON.NOM.2SG PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG  
***soo no; dopo che l' =ha ricevuu***  
 know.PRS.IND.1SG NEG after COMP SCL.M.3SG=AUX.PRS.IND.3SG receive.PPRT  
*ona lettera d'injer l' =è diventaa come matt.*  
 a letter yesterday SCL.M.3SG=AUX.PRS.IND.3SG become.PPRT like crazy  
 'Huh! My dear, **I don't know**; after he received a letter yesterday, he went crazy.'

(*L' amis del papà*, Act 1, Scene 1, p.13., Milan, 1882)

Marietta does not know the contents of the letter, and so does not know the answer to Angiolina's question, but can offer a likely reason for her father's anger. By prefacing her answer with *mi soo no*, Marietta downgrades her commitment to the answer, since, like Ersilia in (225), she is not in possession of the knowledge to provide a definitive response to the question. *mi soo no* in (227) has the same effect of hedging Giovanni's answer, as Giovanni can only offer reported knowledge in response to Luisina's question

(227) *Luisina. Ma chi l' =era sto tal?*  
 but INTER SCL.M.3SG=COP.PST.IMPF.IND.3SG DEM.M.SG such  
 'But who was this guy?'

*Giovanni. Mi soo no, el diseva*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG know.PRS.IND.1SG NEG SCL.M.3SG say.PST.IMPF.IND.3SG  
*che l' =era on amis d =el sur Libori*  
 COMP SCL.M.3SG=COP.PST.IMPF.IND.3SG a friend of=the sir L.  
 'I don't know, he said that he was a friend of Mr. Libori.'  
 (*L'amis del papà*, Act 2, Scene 1, pp.39-40, Milan, 1882)

In each example reported in (225)-(227), the conversational Maxim of Quantity (cf. §1.2.2.2), which stipulates that one ought to be as informative as possible (Grice, 1975), is infringed upon. Each of the answers does not achieve the conditionally relevant action of the question–answer pair, as the speaker is unable to provide a fitting response, since their answers are based on inferred information, and are therefore not maximally informative. In the case of yes/no interrogatives, conditional relevance is reached when the answerer provides either a yes or no response. Where the answerer cannot reach the conditional relevance of their turn in the question–answer pair, the speaker instead attempts to adhere to the Maxim of Relation, which stipulates that one ought to be relevant and pertinent. The speaker answering the question in each example makes an approximation based on contextual factors that is relevant to the question.

These examples contrast with those where *minga* collocates with *savè* 'to know' (228)-(229). Unlike the *mi soo no* examples in (225)-(227), the use of *minga* does not precede a non-fitted response. The locutions with *minga* appear to carry the full epistemic weight of 'I don't know'. This is evident in (228), where Liborio ends his turn with a reciprocal question (*Dove?* 'Where?') to gain the disclaimed knowledge, rather than attempting to make an approximate answer based on the Maxim of Relation. This is particularly striking as Felissin's question ('Can you work out where?') implies that Felissin knows that Liborio does not have the knowledge to make a conditionally relevant answer, and is actually asking Liborio to make a non-fitted response. Liborio's use of *minga* therefore indicates to his interlocutor that he will not approximate an answer.

(228) *Felissin. [...] Che l' =indovina on poo dove?*  
 INTER SCL.M.3SG=work out.PRS.IND.3SG a bit where  
 '[...] Can you work out where?'

*Liborio. Savaria minga mi. Dove?*  
 know.COND.1SG NEG PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG where

‘I don’t know. Where?’

(*L’amis del papà*, Act 1, Scene 10, p.23, Milan, 1882)

Similarly, in (229), Luisina does not follow up the epistemic disclaimer with an approximate answer. Although a non-answer, since a more fitted response would be to confirm either an affirmative or negative answer to the yes–no interrogative, Liborio clearly accepts the answer as completing Luisina’s turn, as he sends Luisina to find out the information that they are both missing.

(229) *Liborio. El s’ =è desedaa el Felissin?*  
 SCL.M.3SG REFL.3SG=AUX.PRS.IND.3SG decide.PPRT the F.

‘Has he decided, Felissin?’

*Luisina. El soo minga*  
 PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG know.PRS.IND.1SG NEG

‘I don’t know’

*Liborio. Va dent in stanza a vedè.*  
 go.IMP.2SG inside in room to see.INF

‘Go into the room to see.’

(*L’amis del papà*, Act 2, Scene 2, p.41, Milan, 1882)

While the examples with *minga* forefront the epistemic value of ‘I don’t know’, *mi soo no* is an interactional device used in question responses to introduce answers that are non-fitted according to the Maxim of Quantity. Like *chais pas/ch’pas* in spoken French, *mi soo no* has discourse marker-like features in this environment. As a result, I would argue that *mi soo no* shows evidence of having been routinized as a negative polarity question response that downgrades the commitment to the answer, and as such may be considered a fully instantiated micro-construction.



Furthermore, most examples of *mi soo no* in mid-turn position, of which there are 8 in total, are also followed by a complement clause. In mid-turn position, *mi soo no* has two identifiable functions in the data. (231) and the second negation in (232) are typical examples of mid-turn *mi soo no*, where *nò* is followed by the complementizer, which may be modified by *diavol* ‘the devil’. In this context, *mi soo no* is used as a hedge to indicate that the speaker’s uncertainty. Such uses perhaps indicate a bridging context between the interactional uses of *nò*, and its use as a propositional basic clause negator, since the syntactic sequencing indicates its integration into the clausal structure. The first instance of *mi soo no* in (232) is evidence of its floor-holding function. Here, *mi soo no* acts as a kind of filler while the speaker thinks about how to continue their turn. This is also evident in (233). Such uses also act as hedges that indicate the speaker is uncertain about what follows ‘I don’t know’.

- (231) *Liborio. Incoeu voraria cominciàa da =gh el toc per*  
 today want.COND.1SG start.INF give.INF=PERS.PRON.DAT.3SG the touch for  
*stoo negozi che voraria dervì. Ma soo no cossa*  
 DEM.M.SG shop REL want.COND.1SG open.INF but know.PRS.IND.1SG NEG what  
*diavol el g' =ha adoss; on poo l' =è*  
 devil SCL.M.3SG EXPL=have.PRS.IND.3SG on a bit SCL.M.3SG=COP.PRS.IND.3SG  
*allegher, on poo l' =è rabiaa; el g' =ha*  
 happy a bit SCL.M.3SG=COP.PRS.IND.3SG angry SCL.M.3SG EXPL=AUX.PRS.IND.3SG  
*de ve =gh ona quaj malattia in d =el sangu.*  
 of COP.INF=PERS.PRON.DAT.3SG a DEM.GEN illness in of=the blood  
 ‘Today I wanted to give him the go ahead for this shop that I wanted to open. But **I don’t know what the devil** is wrong with him; for a bit he is happy, a bit he is angry; he must have one of those illnesses of the blood.’  
 (*L’amis del papà*, Act 2, Scene 2, p.41, Milan, 1882)

- (232) *Nina.* [...] (*Apparentemente calma*) *Da on poo de temp, me senti de*  
 apparently calm from a bit of time REFL.1SG feel.PRS.IND.1SG of  
*vess diventada on' altra tosa, tutta diversa! Mi*  
 AUX.INF become.PPRT a other girl all different PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG  
*soo no, me par de ve =gh on tocch*  
 know.PRS.IND.1SG NEG PERS.PRON.DAT.1SG seem.PRS.IND.3SG of COP.INF=PF a touch  
*de sass a=l post d=el coeur! [...] Oramai me stremisi pú de*  
 of stone at=the place of=the heart now REFL.1SG tire.PRS.IND.1SG no more of  
*nient, me disesen mi so no cosa;*  
 nothing REFL.1SG tell.PRS.IND.3PL PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG know.PRS.IND.1SG NEG what  
*n' =boo passaa tropp de dispiasè!*  
 PRT=AUX.PRS.IND.1SG spend.PPRT too much of displeasures  
 '(seemingly calm) For a while, I feel that I've become another girl, completely  
 different! **I don't know**, it's like a piece of stone where the heart should  
 be! [...] Now I don't tire of anything, they tell me **I don't know what**; I've  
 been too sorry!
- (*Nost Milan*, Act 4, Scene 5, p.64, Milan, 1893)

- (233) *Filomena.* *El g' =ba ditt d=el matrimoni... L'=*  
 SCL.M.3SG EXPL=AUX.PRS.IND.3SG say.PPRT of=the wedding SCL.M.1SG=  
*ha tiraa su ona scusa... mi*  
 AUX.PRS.IND.3SG pull.PPRT up a excuse PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG  
*soo no... Te see che el papà per*  
 know.PRS.IND.1SG NEG SCL.2SG know.PRS.IND.2SG COMP the dad for  
*incenta =nn! Puropp!*  
 invent.INF=PRT unfortunately  
 'He talked about the wedding... He made some excuse... **I don't**  
**know**... you know how Dad is for inventing them! Unfortunately!'  
 (*Lengua de can*, Act 1, Scene 3, p.188, 1905)

Lastly, there is only a single example of turn-final *mi soo no* (234). Here, the speaker opts out of their turn using *mi soo no*, indicating that they are unable to complete the apodosis that is expected following the preceding conditional clause.

- (234) *Paolin.* [...] (*con disperazione*) *Mi se diventi minga matt in*  
 with desperation PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG if become.PRS.IND.1SG NEG crazy in  
*sti dì chi, mi soo no...*  
 DEM.M.PL days here PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG know.PRS.IND.1SG NEG  
 '[...] (with desperation) If I don't go crazy one of these days, **I don't**  
**know**...'

*Filomena.*      *Calme*      =*t*,      *Paolin! Almen le[e]*  
 calm.IMP.2SG=REFL.PRON.2SG P.      at least PERS.PRON.NOM.F.3SG  
*sposa!*  
 marry.PRS.IND.3SG  
 ‘Calm down, Paolin! At least she’s getting married!’  
 (*Lengua de can*, Act 1, Scene 3, p.187, Milan, 1905)

The data presented here suggest that *mi soo no* has routinized as a fully specified micro-construction, the function of which is prototypically related to introducing non-answers in question responses, but which may also extend to uses as a floor-holding device, and as an exit token. The interactional function of *mi soo no* is evident when compared to uses of *minga* with *savè* ‘to know’, in which the full epistemic weight of the verb is expressed, and its use is not followed by a non-fitted response to the preceding question. The following section examines earlier examples of non-canonical post-verbal *nò*, with the aim of providing an analysis for its development.

## 6.4 The Development of Non-canonical *nò*

This section examines examples of *nò* in the data preceding the late nineteenth century. As discussed in §3.2.1.1, Corpus C largely contains texts that are written in verse, and, as a result, many of the data are monologual, making it more difficult to carry out a qualitative analysis of the interactional use of *nò*. However, there is one theatrical work in prose that dates to this earlier period, *Conti d’Agliate* (1713). This text thus represents the earliest theatrical text in prose in Corpus C, and as a dialogual text, it is assumed that it is a better example of colloquial language use than monologual poetry. §6.4.1 thus examines the expression of negation in this text, in order to provide an indication of the stage at which *minga* and *nò* have reached in this earlier period. Following this, §6.4.2 examines examples of *nò* in other sources in Corpus C.

### 6.4.1 The Expression of Negation in *I Conti d’Agliate*.

There are 140 examples of negation in the Milanese text of *Conti d’Agliate*. Large portions of the text are in Italian, as this is the language spoken by the Conte d’Agliate (Count of Agliate), Ruggero, and his friend D’Elbieu, a French knight. Examples of negation in Italian have not been included



in the analysis. Table 41 summarizes the distribution of the expression of negation among *minga*, *nò*, and pre-verbal *no(n)*. The *no(n)* column includes only those examples where *no(n)* is the only negator (NEG<sub>1</sub>) and the *minga* column is divided into two to distinguish between attestations where *minga* cooccurs with pre-verbal *no(n)* (NEG<sub>2</sub>) and those where it is the only negator (NEG<sub>3</sub>).

Locution		<i>Minga</i>		<i>Nò</i>	<i>No(n)</i>
		NEG <sub>2</sub>	NEG <sub>3</sub>	NEG <sub>2</sub>	NEG <sub>1</sub> (only)
Main	Declarative	4	30	2	47
	Imperative		3	1	2
	Interrogative		5		5
Subordinate	Embedded	1	5		9
	Adverbial	2	1		7
Constituent		1			
Verbal ellipsis				15	
Total		52 (37%)		18 (13%)	70 (50%)

Table 41 Distribution of negators in I Conti d'Agliate

Table 41 demonstrates that *no(n)* is the more commonly used negator, though the use of *minga* is relatively frequent too. 41% of declarative main clauses attest *minga*, while 57% attest *no(n)*. *Nò*, on the other hand, is relatively infrequent, accounting for just 2% of declarative main clauses and 13% of all attestations of negation in the text. Based on the definition of basic clause negation that is adopted here, pre-verbal *no(n)* appears to be the basic clause negator, and *minga* appears to be in an advanced stage of conventionalization as a basic clause negator. Furthermore, although there are some examples of NEG<sub>2</sub> *minga*, the majority (90%) of its attestations are NEG<sub>3</sub> (235), suggesting that *minga* is taking over the function of basic clause negation, with some persistence of the pre-verbal negator in a bi-partite structure (236). It is possible that there is some influence from Italian in the maintenance of pre-verbal *no(n)*.

- (235) *Angiola.* *Ob mi vuj parlà. Ol sciur cont l'è*  
 EXCL. PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG want.PRS.IND.1SG speak.INF the sir count SCL.M.3SG=  
*è ol mè pà, mi sont soa*  
 COP.PRS.IND.3SG the POSS.M.1SG dad PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG COP.PRS.IND.1SG POSS.F.3SG  
*fœura; sont minga fœura d'è Ambrœus, boo minga*  
 daughter COP.PRS.IND.1SG NEG daughter of=A. have.PRS.IND.1SG NEG  
*nom Angerina...*  
 name A.  
 'Oh I want to speak. The sir Count is my dad, I am his daughter; I'm **not**  
 Ambrœus' daughter, my name isn't Angerina.'  
 (*Conti d'Agliate*, Act II, Scene 3, p.184, Milan, 1713)

- (236) *Albertone.* [...] *No l' è minga ona cà degn de*  
 NEG SCL.F.3SG=COP.PRS.IND.3SG NEG a house worthy of  
*lu.*  
 PERS.PRON.DAT.M.3SG  
 [...] It's **not** a house worthy of you.'  
 (*Conti d'Agliate*, Act I, Scene 5, p.177, Milan, 1713)

Although not exclusively, pre-verbal *no(n)* appears in an exceptive clause (237) and in a NC construction (238). In §6.3.1, it was shown that these were both vestigial contexts in which pre-verbal *no(n)* remained in use. In regard to the EXCEPTIVE construction, it was argued that *no(n)* had become fossilized in this construction, rather than an additional development that indicates that *no(n)* is leaving the cycle. This earlier evidence supports this argument, as it demonstrates that *no(n)* was used in exceptive clauses, even when *minga* was becoming increasingly conventionalized as the basic clause negator. The NC construction on the other hand is a further indication that indefinites in the scope of negation demonstrate some ambiguity in their status as either NCIs or negative quantifiers. This ambiguity indicates that indefinites had been reanalysed as negative quantifiers, but that their conventionalization as such was ongoing. The collocation with pre-verbal *no(n)* as an agreement marker serves as evidence of such.

(237) *Tommaso.* *Mi* *no* *hoo* *poduu* *vedè* *olter che on*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG NEG AUX.PRS.IN.1SG be able.PPRT see.INF other COMP a  
*fregott de gent vesin a =l Lambro che dava adoss a*  
 swarm of people near to=the L. COMP give.PST.IMPF.IND.3SG upon to  
*Alberton*

A.

‘I couldn’t see anything **other than** a swarm of people near to the Lambro that was hounding Alberton.’

(*Conti d’Agliate*, Act III, Scene 2, p.199, Milan, 1713)

(238) *Lumaga.* *Mi* *no ghe guardaroo* *pu* *adoss.*  
 PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG NEG EXPL look.FUT.IND.1SG (no) more upon  
 ‘I won’t look at it **anymore**.’

(*Conti d’Agliate*, Act II, Scene 8, p.193, Milan, 1713)

*Nò* remains much less frequent than *minga* in clause negation, with only three attestations in this context. All examples of post-verbal *nò* are NEG<sub>2</sub>. Particularly notable is the example in (239), where *nò* collocates with *no(n)* and *minga*:

(239) *No ghe n’ =è* *minga nò di galantomen de sta razza.*  
 NEG PF PRT=COP.PRS.IND.3SG NEG NEG of gentlemen of DEM.F.SG kind  
 ‘There aren’t any gentlemen of this kind.’

(*Conti d’Agliate*, Act II, Scene 10, p.196, Milan, 1713)

(239) is a unique example of negative tripling in the corpora for this thesis. It is further evidence that *minga* is becoming the basic clause negator, which may then be reinforced by *nò*, as Jespersen predicts in his original iteration of the cyclic developments to which clause negation is subject (cf. §1.4.1). Poletto (2017) also reports that in present-day NIDs this combination is possible.

(240) *No la* *go* *miga magnada NO!*  
 NEG PERS.PRON.ACC.F.3SG AUX.PRS.IND.1SG NEG eat.PPRT NEG  
 ‘I haven’t eaten it!’

(adapted from Poletto, 2017: 96)

Examining the examples of *nò* in clause negation, although few, there are some correlations with the later nineteenth-century data. (241) and the second example of *nò* in (242) demonstrate a pragmatic use of rejection of the preceding discourse. In (241), Albertone watches as two men carry his wife off, while he protests. The *nò* clause marks a change in tone, whereby Albertone resolves to stop the men, declaring that they won't succeed. In the passage preceding (242), the Conte tells the story of how d'Elbieu was the one to save him when he had to flee Agliate to France. The second *nò*-clause in (242) denies a possible inference that d'Elbieu could make from the information that has been activated in the common ground between the interlocutors. Albertone, considering that perhaps d'Elbieu thinks that the Conte won't repay him for his help in France, rejects this (*ma che nol se dubita nò* 'but don't doubt'), and guides d'Elbieu's understanding of the common ground towards the state of affairs in which the information relayed in the complement clause (i.e., that the count will repay the knight one hundred for one) is the correct state of affairs.

- (241) *Albertone. Cossa vedi? Oh Alberton! Mia miee in brasc a =l*  
 INTER see.PRS.IND.2SG EXCL A. POSS.F.1SG wife in arm at=the and at  
*feudetari e a quell' =olter sciur! [...] La miee d'=Alberton trattada*  
 feudatory and at DEM.M.SG=other man the wife of=A. treated  
*come la miee d'=on olter? L'=onor mè, la mia roba, la*  
 like the wife of=a other the=honour POSS.M.1SG the POSS.F.1SG ware the  
*mia Angiolina! no ghe reussiran nò par bacco.*  
 POSS.F.1SG A. NEG EXPL succeed.FUT.IND.3PL NEG for Baccus  
*Andem: mi no ghe vedi, ma nò che ghe*  
 go.IMP.1PL PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG NEG EXPL see.PRS.IND.1SG but NEG COMP EXPL  
*vedi anch tropp.*  
 see.PRS.IND.1SG also too much  
 'What do I see? Oh Alberton! My wife in the arms of the feudatory  
 and that other man! [...] The wife of Alberton treated like the wife  
 of another? My honour, my ware, my Angiolina! They won't  
 succeed by goodness. Let's go: I don't see, but oh I see also too  
 much.'

(*Conti d'Agliate*, Act I, Scene 8, pp.181-2, Milan, 1713)

- (242) *Albertone.* *Ab sciur cavalier, ch' =al sia pur benedett cinquanta*  
 EXCL sir knight COMP=SCL.M.3SG COP.PRS.SJV.3SG also blessed fifty  
*millia vœult. Me senti ol cœur a deslenguà par ol*  
 thousand times REFL.1SG feel.PRS.IND.1SG the heart to boor on for the  
*piasè! No ghe n' =è minga nò di galantomen de*  
 pleasure NEG PF PRT=COP.PRS.IND.3SG NEG NEG of gentlemen of  
*sta razza. Ma che no=1 se*  
 DEM.F.SG race but COMP NEG= PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG REFL.3SG  
*dubita nò, sciur cavalier, che l' =è in*  
 doubt.IMP.3SG NEG sir knight COMP SCL.EXPL=COP.PRS.IND.3SG in  
*man d =ol sciur cont, ch' =al ghe*  
 hand of=the sir count REL=SCL.M.3SG PERS.PRON.DAT.3SG  
*savarà restit =ul ol cent par vun.*  
 know.FUT.IND.3SG return.INF=PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG the hundred  
 for one  
 ‘Oh sir kinight, may you be blessed five thousand times. I hear my  
 heart boor on for the pleasure of it! There aren’t any gentlemen of  
 this kind. But don’t doubt, sir knight, it is in the hands of the count,  
 he will know to replace it one hundred for one.  
 (*Conti d’Agliate*, Act II, Scene 10, p.196, Milan, 1713)

Notably, the second example in (242) is an imperative with a psych verb, *dubità-se* ‘to doubt’, which is an interactive use similar to that seen for *nò* in the later plays of the nineteenth century.

Furthermore, *nò* is the pro-sentence negator. Table 41 above showed that there are 15 attestations of *nò* in elliptical environments. A qualitative analysis shows that in 6 of the elliptical examples, *nò* functions as a response particle. Response particles offer a negative response to a polarity question (243).

- (243) *Conte.* *Dite =mi, vostro padre ebba altri*  
 tell.IMP.2PL=PERS.PRON.DAT.1SG POSS.M.2PL father have.PST.IMP.IND.3SG other  
*figli?*  
 children  
 ‘Tell me, did your father have other children?’

*Angiola.* *Sciur nò... sont sempro stada domà mi.*  
 sir NEG COP.PRS.IND.1SG always COP.PPRT only PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG  
 ‘No sir... It’s always been just me.’  
 (*Conte d’Agliate*, Act I, Scene 7, p.179, Milan, 1713)

In the other 9 elliptical examples, *nò* functions as a rejection particle, as in (244), where Lumaga rejects the conte's accusation that Lumaga is lying.

(244) *Conte.* [...] *Eb non ti credo... menti.*  
EXCL NEG PERS.PRON.ACC.2SG believe.PRS.IND.1SG lie.PRS.IND.2SG  
 '[...] Well, I don't believe you... you're lying.'

*Lumaga.* ***Sciuri nò, disi propi la veritaa***  
sirs NEG tell.PRS.IND.1SG really the truth  
**'No, sirs, I'm really telling the truth.'**  
 (*Conti d'Agliate*, Act I, Scene 8, pp.181-2, Milan, 1713)

*Nò* is therefore the pro-sentence negator, and assumes pragmatic functions associated with the management of the discourse in interaction. There is therefore a link between the function of the pro-sentence negator and non-canonical *nò*<sub>2</sub>, which is used in pragmatic contexts of rejection. The use of the pro-sentence negator to reject a previously stated state of affairs may be observed in the non-canonical clause negation uses of *nò*, which also index the rejection of something salient in the common ground. The speaker thus guides their interlocutor's interpretation of the common ground in interaction. This analysis is explored in additional data from Corpus C in the following section.

#### 6.4.2 Non-canonical *Nò*: 16th c. – early 19th c.

This section examines examples of post-verbal *nò* taken from the texts in Corpus C. With the exception of the seventeenth-century *Prissian* and the early eighteenth-century *Conti d'Agliate*, all of the texts in Corpus C that attest *nò* are written in verse. The problems with carrying out linguistic research using works in verse were discussed in §3.2.2.2, but in addition to these, this chapter has so far argued that the use of *nò* is at least partly conditioned by its function in speaker interaction. Typically, although not universally, poetry is monologual, which may reduce the frequency of *nò* in the corpus. Overall, there are just 61 tokens of *nò* in this sample from the corpus.<sup>85</sup> Of these, 46

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<sup>85</sup> This sample includes all examples of *nò* in Corpus C, except those in theatrical works written in prose.

(75%) are in clause negation. Table 42 summarizes the distribution of *nò* in clause negation for this period.

Period	NEG <sub>2</sub> <i>nò</i>	NEG <sub>3</sub> <i>nò</i>	
16 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1650	4	2	
1650-1750	8	1	
1750-1850	17	14	
<b>Total</b>	29 (63%)	17 (37%)	46

Table 42 Clausal *nò*: 16<sup>th</sup> c.–1850

Table 42 indicates that there are more examples of post-verbal *nò* in the later data of this period. This, however, may partly be due to a difference in corpus size for the different periods in Table 42. As discussed in §3.2.1, because a digital corpus is not available for this period, it is near impossible to determine the normalized frequencies of *minga* and *nò*. Nevertheless, for the reasons already discussed regarding limitations to the use of *nò* in this text type, frequency is not going to reveal much about these data in any case. A better approach is to look at the data qualitatively. In particular, this section focuses on the potential interactional functions of *nò*, to determine whether there is any continuity with the functions observed for *nò* in the later nineteenth-century data discussed in §6.3. To achieve this, the data have been sorted into monologic and dialogic categories. Although in some instances there may be only one “voice”, typically the narrator, often more than one viewpoint is represented. Looking at dialogic contexts may thus provide an indication of how *nò* may have been used in interaction.

As in previous sections, a broad definition of dialogic is adopted here. For example, in (245), a single voice, the narrator, addresses their own tears, and the use of the imperative implies an interaction between a speaker and an addressee.

- (245) *Lacrem stee indree... no sbottii foeura, nò!*<sup>86</sup>  
 tears stay.IMP.2PL inside NEG burst.IMP.2PL out NEG  
 ‘Tears, stay inside... don’t burst out(, no)!’

(Porta, *Poesie*, 13, p.12, Milan, 19<sup>th</sup> c.)

Moreover, there are 15 examples of post-verbal *nò* in dialogual contexts in the data. Aside from main clause declaratives, the only other type of locution in which *nò* appears is the imperative (245)-(246).

- (246) *D.L. [...] Ma viene il padre; o mio tesoro, addio. /*  
 but come.PRS.IND.3SG the father EXCL POSS..M.3SG treasure goodbye  
 ‘[...] But here comes your father, oh, my treasure, goodbye.’

- Bin. Eb che no =l scappa nò, / Che quell no*  
 EXCL COMP NEG=SCL.M.3SG escape.IMP.3SG NEG COMP DEM.M.SG NEG  
*ven nanmò.*  
 come.PRS.IND.3SG yet  
 ‘Hey, don’t run away, / he’s not coming yet.’

(*Donna Perla*, 1724, Act 2, Scene 4, p.40, Milan)

In (245)-(246), the imperatives, which enact a directive illocutionary act, are preventative, as the speaker directs their addressee to stop what they are doing. Such a use is indicative of the interactional properties of *nò*<sub>2</sub>, which were also shown to characterize *nò*<sub>3</sub> in §6.3.2.1. This suggests that there is a continuous development between the earlier examples of *nò*<sub>2</sub> and *nò*<sub>3</sub>. As demonstrated in §6.3.2.1, the use of *nò*<sub>3</sub> in imperatives was particularly frequent, which is argued to be indicative of the interactional function of *nò* in discourse that it inherited from the properties of the pro-sentence negator.

In declaratives, *nò* takes on a dissentive function in which the speaker refutes a statement or an assumption that is salient in the discourse. For example, in (247), the doctor makes it clear that he will wait until the *garbata sgnoura* (‘courteous lady’) is finished so that he may spend time with her. Tarlesca, the nuns’ maidservant, rejects the possibility that there is time for this.

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<sup>86</sup> *Nò* is separated from the main clause by a comma in this example, although in the majority of examples it is not. This indicates that there is some ambiguity surrounding the integration of the pro-sentence *nò* into the clause as a non-canonical clause negator.



(247) *Dottore. Ob che garbata sgnoura! / Ela mò stà ben lesta / A fare =m al servizzi? / Voi lassar= la parlar; ch' =al va per mi; / Asptarò ch' =a la finissa. /*  
 EXCL.COMP courteous lady SCL.F.3SG now COP.PRS.IND.3SG well ready to do.INF=PERS.PRON.ACC.1SG the service want.PRS.IND.1SG allow.INF=PERS.PRON.F.3SG talk.INF COMP=SCL.EXPL go.PRS.IND.3SG for PERS.PRON.DAT.1SG wait.FUT.IND.1SG COMP=SCL SCL.F.3SG finish.PRS.SJV.3SG  
 ‘Oh what a courteous lady! / Are you ready now / to spend time with me? / I want to let you talk; because that suits me; / I will wait for you to finish. /’

*Tarlesca. No l' =è temp nò. La monega ha d' = assist / A la soa Baronina / Che impara a bescantà*  
 NEG SCL.EXPL=COP.PRS.IND.3SG time NEG the nun MOD.AUX.PRS.IND.3SG of= assist.INF at the POSS.F.3SG B. COMP learn.PRS.IND.3SG to sing.INF  
 ‘There is **not** time. The nun has to assist / her Baronina, / who is learning to sing in choir.’

(*Barone de Birbanza*, Act 1, Scene 10, p.166, Milan, 1696)

This dissentive function can also be observed in examples where *nò* is used by a speaker near the beginning of a turn in order to reject a directive that their interlocutor has enacted in their preceding turn. This is observed in the reported conversation in (248), in which the woman (*lee* ‘her’) rejects the request of her interlocutor to stop her errand (*lassa st'impegn* ‘stop this task’).

(248) *Par quell che soo, e sont pront a fà ancamò, / Lassa st' impegn; lee respond: poss nò.*  
 for DEM.M.3SG COMP know.PRS.IND.1SG and COP.PRS.IND.3SG ready to do.INF again leave.IMP.2SG DEM.M.3SG task PERS.PRON.NOM.F.3SG respond.PRS.IND.3SG be able.PRS.IND.3SG  
 NEG  
 ‘For that which I know, and I’m ready to do again, / Stop this task; she responds: I can’t.’

(*Gerusalemme liberata*, 1772, Canto XII, Stanza 19, Milan, p.228)

In (248) *nò* rhymes with *ancamò* in the preceding line, but there are attestations of *nò* in similar contexts of directive refutation where rhyme cannot be responsible for the attestation ((247) and (249)). In (249), Catelina refutes the interlocutor’s advice, rather than a directive command or question.

(249) *Giulio. Se aveste poi / Da regalar l' =Amica, io*  
 if MOD.AUX.PST.IMP.F.SJV.2PL then from gift.INF the=friend PERS.PRON.NOM.1SG  
*vi consiglio / Più tosto a dar =le*  
 PERS.PRON.ACC.2PL advise.PRS.IND.1SG more quickly to give.INF=PERS.PRON.DAT.F.3SG  
*il fior, che un pan di miglio. /*  
 the flower COMP a bread of millet  
 'If you have to / give the friend a gift, I advise you / to give her the flower  
 more readily than a millet bread. /'

*Catelina. O Sior cosè disì? / N' =oi da =gh*  
 EXCL sir INTER say.PRS.IND.2PL NEG=want.PRS.IND.1SG give.INF=PERS.PRON.DAT.3SG  
 =el **no**, che =l m' =è  
 =PERS.PRON.ACC.M.3SG NEG COMP=SCL.M.3SG PERS.PRON.DAT.1SG=COP.PRS.IND.3SG  
*tropp car a mè.*  
 too dear to PERS.PRON.DAT.1SG  
 'Oh sir what are you saying? / I don't want to give it [the flower], it's too  
 dear to me.'

(*Sposa Francesca*, Act 1, Scene 5, vv.501-8, p.29, Lodi, 1703)

The use of non-canonical *nò* in clause negation (247)-(249) therefore has a function similar to the use of the pro-sentence negator as a response/rejection particle (250), and the two may actually be in complementary distribution. In each of the examples above, the speaker could have replied with the pro-sentence negator in response to the preceding directive (e.g., for (248): A: *Leave this task*. B: *No/I cannot*).

(250) *Donna Quinzia. E \_\_\_\_\_ =el \_\_\_\_\_ qui? /*  
 COP.PRS.IND.3SG=SCL.M.3SG here  
 'Is this it here? /'

*Tarlesca. Mò siora nò; / Quest chì l' =è on palpireu de*  
 but madam NEG DEM.M.3SG here SCL.M.3SG=COP.PRS.IND.3SG a postcard of  
*donna Lepeda*  
 lady L.  
 'But madam **nò**; / This here is a postcard from Lady Lepeda.

(*Consigli di Meneghino*, Act II, Scene 2, p.56, Milan, 1697)

The suggestion is that the use of post-verbal *nò*<sub>2/3</sub> develops from pro-sentence uses. Importantly, however, these are not limited to the tag negator. In fact, the data suggest that the response particle function of *nò* is key in its development into a clause negator. Above all, it is the

pragmatic function of rejection that appears to be the connection between the pro-sentence negator and the non-canonical clause negator. The data also indicate that  $n\hat{o}_{2/3}$  are related, since, although the syntagmatic associations change over time, there is a correlation between discourse function, particularly with regard to use in directive responses (cf. *mi soo no* above).

The shift from  $n\hat{o}_{2/3}$  is probably related to changes elsewhere in the network. As stated in the introduction and throughout the chapter, *minga* has taken over the expression of basic clause negation in late nineteenth-century Milanese. As a result, pre-verbal *no(n)* has obsolesced from the BASIC CLAUSE NEGATION schema. The emergence of  $n\hat{o}_3$  is probably due to the fact that the *no(n)* construction has obsolesced due to *minga* taking over the function of basic clause negation, rather than a strictly independent change to the non-canonical  $n\hat{o}$  construction. Since  $n\hat{o}$  is negative, it does not require the presence of *minga* to be licensed, in the same way that negative quantifiers (e.g., *pu* ‘no longer’, *nient* ‘nothing’) do not need to be licensed by *minga*. As a non-quantificational clause negator,  $n\hat{o}_3$  has therefore entered into a paradigm with *minga* in late nineteenth-century Milanese. If Vai’s (1995) data are correct, it would appear that over the course of the twentieth century, the syntagmatic associations of  $n\hat{o}$  have extended to more of the network, to the extent that it may be taking over from *minga*. This would also indicate that its association with the paradigm of negative and positive polarity discourse items has grown less strong, through a weakening of the pragmatic associations with this part of the network.

Moreover, as observed in §6.3.2, *minga* retains prototypical features of a quantitative lexical item, even when it is the basic clause negator. This may result in limitations on its use in certain contexts. For example, in §4.3.4, it was hypothesized that the use of *miga* with INTRANSITIVE constructions was limited in Old NIDs because of the nominal properties that it retained from previous uses under the COUNT NOUN, MINIMIZER and QUANTIFIER schemas that caused it to be interpreted as an object of the verb. In this chapter, it has been observed that *minga* continues to retain such properties, perhaps limiting its use in complement-less verb constructions for similar reasons. This may in turn have facilitated the routinization of  $n\hat{o}$  in these syntagmatic contexts where *min(g)a* is dispreferred, given that its negative semantics and formal similarities to pre-verbal *no(n)*, which is still in marginal use, mean that it could relatively easily be reanalysed and routinized as a clause negator.

## 6.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided an account of the development of post-verbal *nò* in Milanese. §6.1 provided an overview of the existing literature on the pro-sentence type of clause negator. In this section, it was reported that the development of this type of clause negator was less well-understood than developments to (pro)nominal lexical items that become clause negators. Previous researchers, however, have hypothesized that post-verbal negators of the pro-sentence type developed from a tag negation structure. Synchronically, it has been demonstrated that non-canonical clause negators of this type are licensed by the negation of explicitly activated information. Data from Brazilian Portuguese seem to show that the use of non-canonical *nãõ*<sub>3</sub> is particularly common in question responses, perhaps indicating an interactional use. However, the fact that many of the languages in which this type of clause negation appears do not have long diachronic written records has hampered studies on the development of this type of negation. This study thus provides such diachronic evidence.

Owing to the different terms and analyses presented for this type of negation in the previous literature, §6.2 provided a model for discussing this type of negation that was used in the rest of the chapter. Three types of negation were identified that could be expressed by the pro-sentence etymological type of negator: propositional, non-canonical and pro-sentence. The first equates to the basic clause negator. The second includes non-canonical clause negation strategies, like *nò*<sub>2/3</sub> that were discussed in this chapter. Lastly, the pro-sentence negator was identified as a negative polarity marker whose use is motivated by its use in interactional discourse. Discussing the diachronic relationship between these three types of negation, it was suggested that the non-canonical CLAUSE NEGATOR micro-construction became a construction via multiple inheritance from the BASIC CLAUSE NEGATOR construction and the PRO-SENTENCE NEGATOR construction. As such, the non-canonical CLAUSE NEGATOR micro-construction would inherit the properties associated with its interactional use from the PRO-SENTENCE NEGATOR construction, while its use in clause negation would be inherited from the BASIC CLAUSE NEGATOR construction.

§6.3 then examined the expression of negation in the Milanese plays that date to the latter half of the nineteenth century, as the dialogal texts written in prose provide a better indication of colloquial language use. The data show *minga* to be the basic clause negator, as the most frequently used negator in declarative main clauses. Meanwhile, pre-verbal *no(n)* showed only a weak association with basic clause negation, and was found in vestigial contexts, as well as contexts of NC. *Nò*<sub>3</sub> was shown to be a non-canonical clause negation structure whose use was determined by

syntagmatic and pragmatic factors. It was demonstrated that *nò*<sub>3</sub> was particularly frequent with verbs of cognition, particularly in interrogatives. These collocational tendencies were shown to indicate an interactional function. Furthermore, §6.3.2.2 determined that the specialized use of *mi soo no* in introducing a non-answer in questions responses indicated that it was a fully instantiated micro-construction with a discourse marker-like function.

Lastly, §6.4 investigated the development of *nò*. §6.4.1 first looked at the expression of negation in an earlier theatrical work in prose, the 1713 *Conti d'Agliate*. This showed that *minga* was increasingly being used as a basic clause negator, while *nò* was much less frequent, and only appeared as NEG<sub>2</sub>. Nonetheless, a qualitative analysis of these few examples showed that there appears to be some continuity between NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub> uses of *nò*. This was confirmed by more data from the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries in §6.4.2. By analysing examples of *nò* in dialogic contexts, it was possible to observe that *nò*<sub>2</sub> is used not only in directives, but also in illocutions that reject some part of the common ground. This rejection function in response to directives is indicative of the high degree of interactional intersubjectivity that *nò* indexes. Such uses are also found with the pro-sentence negator, suggesting that this is how *nò* came to be used as a clause negator. It demonstrates that taking into account the syntagmatic and discourse context is key to understanding how new negators emerge in the grammar.

# CHAPTER 7

## Conclusion

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This thesis has presented a study of the development of the expression of negation in NIDs, paying particular attention to the role of pragmatics in the use and development of non-canonical CLAUSE NEGATION constructions. The research for this thesis is rooted in previous studies that attempt to account for the pragmatic licensing of non-canonical clause negation, both in synchrony and diachrony. These studies have shown that non-canonical clause negators are licensed in the denial of contextually salient or inferable information in the discourse. As the expression of basic clause negation has undergone changes in many NIDs, but as yet has not been investigated thoroughly from a diachronic and usage-based perspective, this thesis provides an account of these developments. The study was based on empirical research using data from the Lombardy and Veneto regions of northern Italy that date from the thirteenth century to the turn of the twentieth century. Through a qualitative analysis, the thesis undertook a study of the role of intersubjectivity and interaction in the use of non-canonical negation constructions. The thesis examines the emergence of two new clause negators in particular: *mi(n)ga* and *nò*. With respect to *mi(n)ga*, it was demonstrated that the negotiation of viewpoints in the common ground was particularly relevant to its use in dialogic contexts. *Nò*, on the other hand, was shown to play a role in speaker interaction, guiding the interpretation of the common ground through its use as a rejection particle, which it inherited from the PRO-SENTENCE NEGATOR construction.

This conclusory chapter summarizes the study (§7.1) and presents the key findings (§7.2). §7.3 then presents implications for further research.

## 7.1 Summary of the Research Project

This thesis sits within research that assumes that the expression of negation in natural languages is more complex than the truth-conditional operator of propositional logic that denotes  $\neg p$ . It is assumed that negation may not only play a role in denying non-propositional information, but that it also plays a fundamental role in communication as a device used to negotiate the common ground. Following previous research (e.g., Ducrot, 1972; Fauconnier, 1994; Verhagen, 2005; Traugott, 2010b; Givón, 2018[1979]), it is assumed that the utterance of a NEG-assertion presupposes two possible states of affairs: one in which the negated state of affairs is the case, and one in which the corresponding affirmative state of affairs is the case. Negation may be used, therefore, to guide interlocutors' interpretation of the common ground, by instructing them to assume that the negative state of affairs is the correct interpretation of the common ground, and

to reject the affirmative state of affairs. As such, Ducrot (1972) and Traugott's (2010b) claim that negation is a context that always indexes some degree of dialogicity (i.e., it always implies two viewpoints), has been adopted.

From the point of view of negation in diachrony, the thesis has taken Jespersen's Cycle as its starting point. In this regard, the notion of discrete stages has been rejected in favour of a view that allows for multiple stages of the cycle to co-exist. In relation to this, multiple iterations of the cycle have been shown to exist cross-linguistically, and there is no pre-requisite that any language must progress through the cycle fully once it shows itself to be in the incipient stages. The view was adopted that Jespersen's Cycle is motivated by pragmatic "strengthening" rather than phonological "weakening". It was also shown that, at least within European languages, the sources for new negators are relatively restricted. *Mi(n)ga* was shown to be derived from a small quantity noun with a scalar interpretation under the scope of negation, while *nò* was assumed to derive from a pro-sentence negator.

Reviewing previous studies of the development of negation in Romance, Generative analyses were shown to have made interesting insights into the position of new post-verbal negators, and their relation to different etymological classes of negators. However, Generative studies aimed at providing functional analyses of new negators in Italo-Romance, were not shown to be as successful as usage-based studies in other Romance languages, as the functional projections of Cartography do not account for the pragmatic licensing restrictions of non-canonical negation. Instead, usage-based analyses of negation in Romance have shown that the licensing of non-canonical negation is related to the denial of salient information in the discourse, which may be either explicitly activated or accessible through inference. Hansen and Visconti (2009, 2012), using a model of inferable information developed by Birner (2006), show that Fr. *mie/pas* and It. *mica* are found in a typology of four types of denials that relate to the status of preceding information in the co-text. As such this thesis has adopted a usage-based approach.

With this in mind, the theoretical model implemented in the thesis is (D)CxG, most iterations of which are usage-based. Although much usage-based diachronic research has been in the field of grammaticalization, a model of grammaticalization was not adopted in this thesis for a number of reasons. First, there is evidence that grammaticalization is not a unique type of language change, but rather a frequent outcome of other kinds of change (reanalysis, morpho-phonological reduction, etc.). Moreover, the development of clause negators from a pro-sentence negator, as in the case of Milanese *nò*, is not a case of *primary* grammaticalization, since the pro-sentence negator



is already grammatical, and has developed procedural functions. It may, however, be considered a case of secondary grammaticalization, as the input item is already grammatical. Indeed, the change to *nò* appears to constitute a reversal in the degree to which it has proceeded along the cline of grammaticalization, losing its procedural functions as it becomes an obligatory grammatical marker of basic clause negation. Therefore, using a model that may be applied to both lexical items investigated was preferable. In addition, the ease with which discourse pragmatics may be incorporated into linguistic analysis in (D)CxG makes it an advantageous model for this thesis.

In (D)CxG, the locus of linguistic knowledge is the construction. In this thesis, the representation of a construction has been borrowed from Croft (2001). The box representation demonstrates that, rather than deriving meaning from syntax, which holds a privileged position in Generative theories, constructions are holistic units in which meaning is mapped directly onto form. A construction also contains all of the information regarding the pragmatics and discourse functions of a construction. In theories of languages change, it is constructs, i.e., usage events, that are the locus of change. Constructs are sanctioned by constructions, which are arranged hierarchically in the constructicon. The relations between different levels of the constructicon, which are labelled schema, sub-schema and micro-construction, are linked via inheritance relations. Default inheritance was adopted in this thesis, so that construction-specific information could be stored in a construction, without having to be inherited from superordinate constructions.

There are, however, issues in DCxG that need to be addressed. CxG posits that constructions are a psychological reality, the natural extension of which in diachronic work is to determine what constructions were a psychological reality for historical speakers and/or writers. It was concluded that the possibility of doing this for historical periods might depend on the size of the available corpora. Given that there is a relatively small amount of data available on *mi(n)ga* and *nò* in NIDs, it cannot be ascertained that the analysis here is a psychological reality for the speakers/writers of these languages in historical periods, but it a best attempt at trying to work out as closely as possible, given the evidence, what that reality may have been.

The methodology used to gather data for this thesis was divided into two historical periods. The first covers the period that is represented in the OVI, which is from the earliest attested texts to the end of the fourteenth century. Two corpora were created for this period: Corpus A (Lombardy) and Corpus B (Veneto). The second covers the period after the OVI, from the fifteenth century onwards. The latest text in the corpora dates to 1905. Another two corpora were created for this later period: Corpus C (Lombardy) and Corpus D (Veneto). While the data could

be searched for digitally and downloaded from the OVI, Corpora C and D had to be compiled manually, thus limiting the amount of data that could be analysed.

With regard to Corpora A and B, attestations of *miga* (including all its phonological variants and the NE forms) were notably more frequent in the Veneto region than in Lombardy. This may be because Corpus B is significantly larger than corpus A, but the normalized frequencies also revealed *miga* to be about twice as frequent in Corpus B as Corpus A. The types of text in which *miga* is attested during this period is similar for both corpora, however. In both regions, most attestations of *miga* are found in narrative or religious didactic texts, and, as such, tend to originate from cultural centres of literary production in these regions, such as Milan, Pavia, Padova, and Venice. Many attestations are found in *volgarizzamenti* and translations of religious didactic texts, such as the *Vangeli*, and narrative texts such as the *Tristano veneto* and *Tristano corsiniano*. It was recognized that many texts are written in a *koinè padana*, with the most local features of these varieties bleached, and that the increasing influence of Tuscan as a literary standard may have influenced the texts.

For Corpora C and D, the types of text that *mi(n)ga* and *nò* appear in vary according to period and region. There is a longer tradition of theatrical works in prose in the Veneto region than in Lombardy, therefore most of the texts preceding the nineteenth century in Corpus C were works of poetry. Moreover, in these corpora, the texts tend to originate from the capitals, Milan and Venice. It is in this period that the expression of negation in the Lombardy and Veneto regions begins to diverge. In Lombardy, *minga* becomes a basic clause negator, while in Veneto, *miga* remains a non-canonical negation structure. Furthermore, in Lombardy, a second item, post-verbal *nò* emerges as a non-canonical NEGATOR construction. Data for *nò* are limited in Corpus C, likely because its use has been found to be linked to interlocutor interaction. In order to exploit the data for the purposes of this thesis, it was therefore categorized as either *mono/dia/polylogual* and either *mono/dia/polylogic*. The data were annotated in order to build a picture of the types of locutions and syntagmatic contexts in which *mi(n)ga* and *nò* appear. The method for data analysis differed according to the lexical item. For example, *mi(n)ga* was analysed to determine the bridging contexts in which it was used, as well as to determine its relation to the preceding co-text, and its role in negotiating viewpoints in the common ground. *Nò*, on the other hand, was analysed according to discourse features, including turn-taking information, in order to determine if it had an interactional function. The main findings of this analysis are presented in the next section.

## 7.2 Key Findings

Chapter 4 of this thesis set out to provide an account for the constructionalization of the non-canonical CLAUSE NEGATOR *miga* construction in the model of DCxG that was developed in Chapter 2. Between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, *miga* is reanalysed as the basic clause negator in Milanese and other Lombard varieties, while *miga* remains a non-canonical clause negator in Venetan. The reanalysis of *miga* as a basic clause negator is indicated by the large increase in attestations where it is the only negator of the clause, while 98.6% of attestations of *miga* in Corpus D appear in a bi-partite structure with the basic clause negator *no(n)*. Examples where *miga* appears without *no(n)* in Corpus D are those where *miga* has a NPI use. In quantifier negation too, while Venetan varieties retain non-strict NC, indefinites previously found in the scope of pre-verbal *no(n)* have become negative quantifiers in Milanese, which may negate the clause in a post-verbal position without the agreement of another pre-verbal or post-verbal negative marker. Evidence from Old NIDs reveals that *niente*, and to a lesser degree, *negota*, were both developing adverbial uses. *Niente*, in particular, displays decreased negativity, in a counter-cyclic development to that posited by the Quantifier Cycle. Furthermore, in constituent negation, *miga* is used as the constituent negator (without pre-verbal *no*) in Milanese, whereas the constituent negation use of *miga* in Venetan always collocates with pre-verbal *no(n)*, as in Old NIDs. The non-canonical CONSTITUENT NEGATION construction in Old NIDs was shown to be a micro-construction, owing to its specified use in CONTRASTIVE FOCUS constructions and Janus-faced constructions.

Incipient Jespersen's Cycle can be observed in Latin. There, the *mica* construction is a micro-construction of the COUNT NOUN schema. Under the scope of negation, however, it is reanalysed as a minimizer, which pragmatically reinforces the semantic negation of the basic clause negator *non*. In these contexts, where the referential semantics of *mica* is bleached and the quantificational semantics is foregrounded, *mica* typically occurs with a partitive construction. It was suggested that analogy with other small quantity noun minimizers may have aided the entrenchment and conventionalization of the MINIMIZER *mica* construction, although the primary mechanism is reanalysis. There is limited evidence for the period between Latin and Old NIDs. However, there is some evidence that the QUANTIFIER *miga* construction was created when the negative NE morpheme merged with *miga* (cf. Tubau, 2016), though there are far fewer attestations of NE + *miga* forms than in Hansen and Visconti's (2009) Old Italian data. Quantifier uses of *miga* in Corpora A and B support Brettarth et al.'s (2020: 57) pathway of development for nominal

lexical items into clause negators. Indeed, the first example of clause negation expressed by *miga* without pre-verbal *no(n)* is in quantifier negation in the *Libro Agregà*.

Testing the relative importance of different bridging contexts for (pro)nominal items that develop into clause negators shows that adnominal quantifier uses, including those with partitive morphology, are the most frequently found bridging context for *miga* in Corpora A and B. In Corpora C and D, on the other hand, the most frequent bridging context in which *miga* is used is as a degree modifier of an adjective. This was shown to be significant in Chapter 6, where the use of *minga* was shown to be favoured in syntagmatic contexts where it either preceded a nominal, adjective, or non-finite verb in compound tenses. This demonstrates that *minga*, even following its reanalysis as a basic clause negator, retains prototypical features of previous bridging constructions. Moreover, a collocational analysis of *miga* in Old NIDs shows that its use spread from transitives and copulas to other intransitive verbs, including modals, in the fourteenth century, as well as from non-eventive to eventive verbal constructions. This has been analysed as demonstrating that the use of *miga* is sensitive to its syntactic and semantic environment.

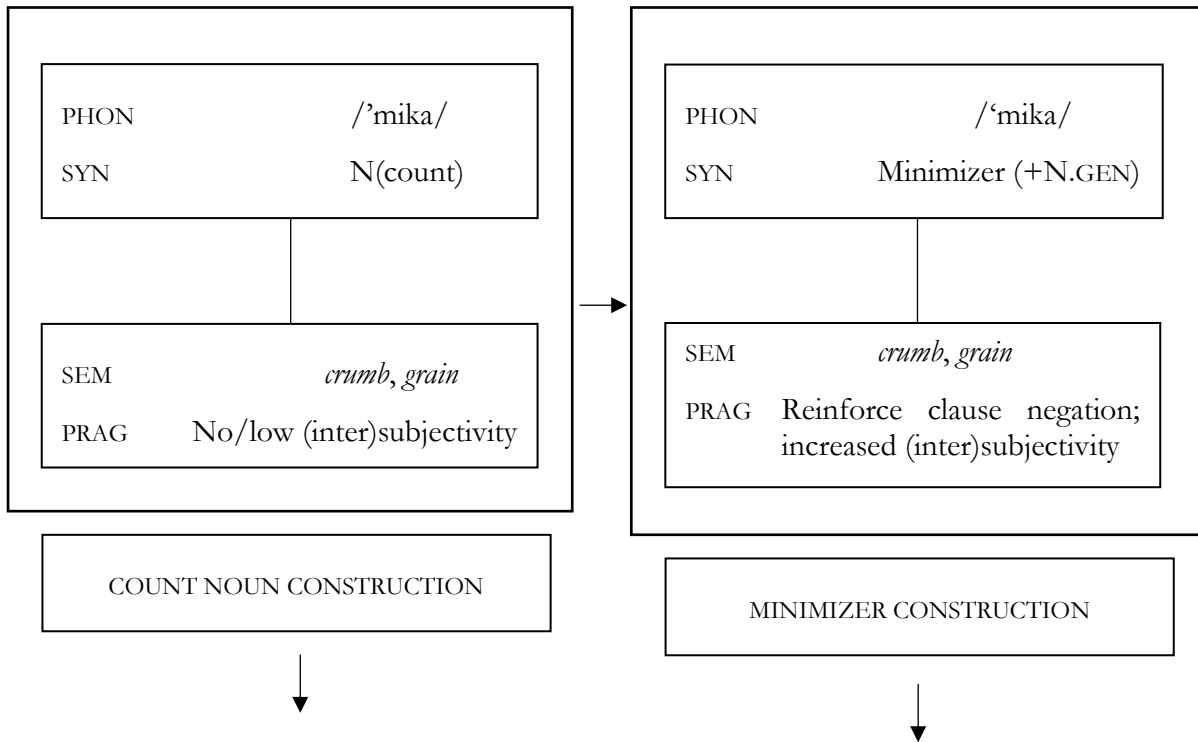
In regard to the pragmatics of *mi(n)ga*, it has been demonstrated that, like It. *mica* and Fr. *mie/pas*, non-canonical *mi(n)ga* is linked to the denial of information that is accessible in the preceding co-text, either through explicit activation or through inference. Between Corpora A and B and Corpora C and D there is a decrease in the percentage of contexts in which the *miga*-clause is linked to the preceding co-text via explicit activation, i.e., in denials or rejections of something explicitly activated in the co-text, and in repetitions/paraphrases of something explicitly activated in the co-text. There is a corresponding increase in the contexts in which *miga* is linked to the preceding co-text via inference, such as in denials of a presupposition or part of the common ground, and in denials of an inference. Furthermore, there is an increase in the percentage of contexts in which the *miga*-clause is not linked via explicit activation nor inference to part of the preceding co-text, but is rather “brand-new”. As such, the connection between *miga* and the preceding co-text is weakening. There is a bigger increase in such contexts in Corpus C, which is considered indicative of the increased conventionality of the *miga* construction as a basic clause negator.

Moreover, the use of *miga* has been linked to intersubjectivity in Old NIDs. While Visconti’s (2009) stipulation that an increase in dialogal contexts in which It. *mica* appears indicative of an increased intersubjectivity, Parry (2013) contends that an increase in dialogal contexts is merely indicative of the types of texts that are available in different periods. This study

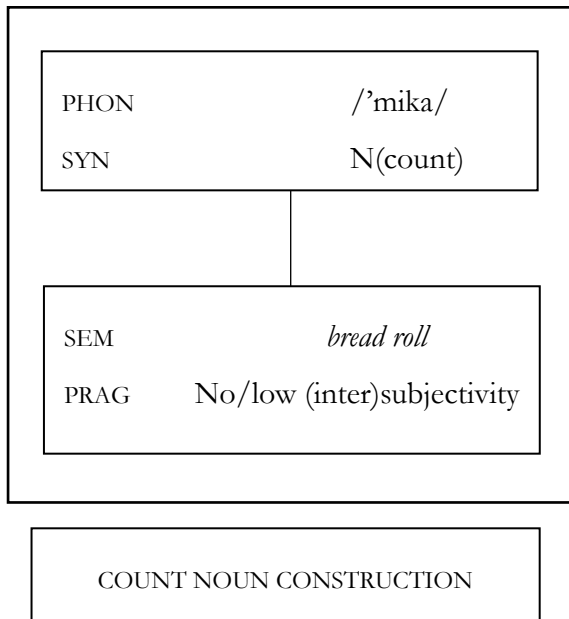
showed that *miga* demonstrates a high degree of (inter)subjectivity even in its earliest attested stages. This was demonstrated by categorizing the contexts not only by *loguality*, but also *logicity*. The data show that in dia/polylogual contexts, 94% of examples involve the negotiation of viewpoints, while in monologual contexts, this percentage is 81%. Nevertheless, using qualitative evidence, it was shown how *miga* is used even in monologual contexts to negotiate multiple viewpoints in the common ground. The most common means of doing so is either through the denial of a salient viewpoint or shared assumption, or through the introduction of a new viewpoint into the common ground. As such, the use of *miga* may be shown to play a role in guiding the interpretation of the common ground between discourse participants. The licensing of non-canonical negation may thus be said to be linked not only to discourse-old information. In addition, the licensing of non-canonical negation appears to be linked to the negotiation of points of view in the discourse and the interpretation of the common ground. As such, it appears that incipient Jespersen's Cycle is linked to the discourse-pragmatic function of negation. Non-canonical negation may "strengthen" basic clause negation in the sense that it guides the interpretation of the common ground, in which there may be multiple possible states of affairs, and instructs other discourse participants to the correct interpretation. In Old NIDs *miga* was said to encode ideational subjectivity, owing to its role in expressing viewpoints and managing beliefstates, as well as a degree of textual intersubjectivity, since its use also guides the interlocutor's interpretation of the common ground. There is little evidence that *miga* encodes interactional intersubjectivity, as its use does not seem to centre the addressee, as, for example, present-day uses of It. *mica* do in polite yes/no questions.

The development of *mi(n)ga* is summarized in Figure 21 using the box representation that has been used throughout the thesis. The arrows indicate the direction of development rather than links in the constructicon.

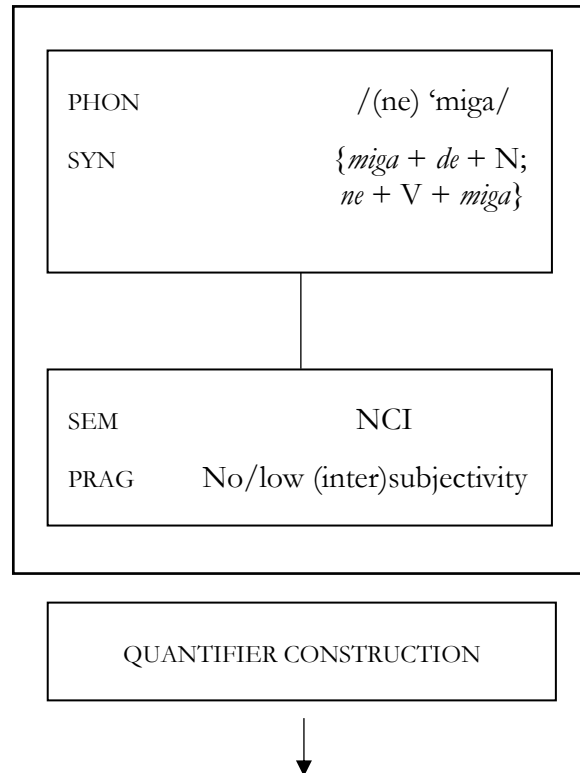
LATIN



ITALIAN



OLD NIDS



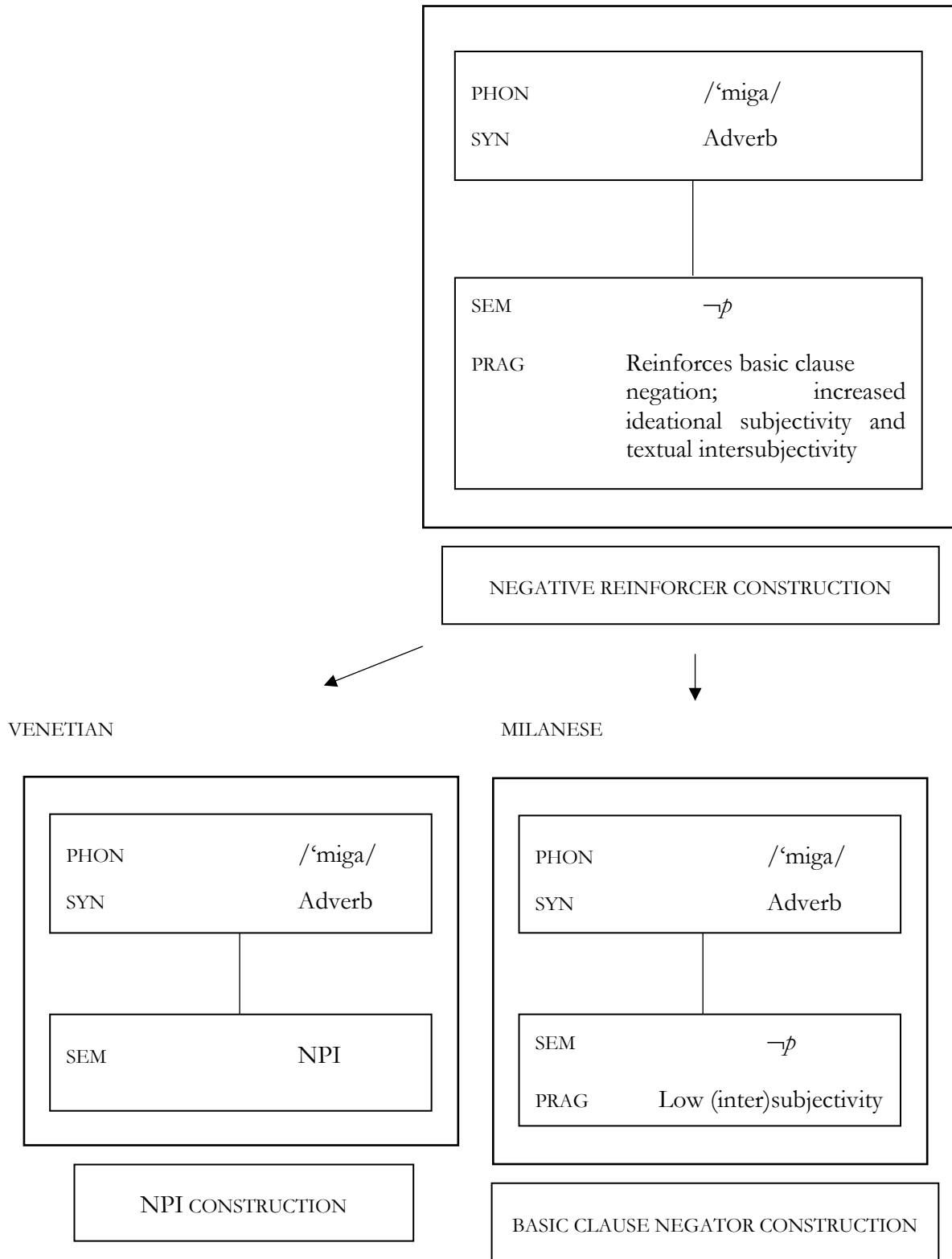


Figure 21 The development of mica: from COUNT NOUN to BASIC CLAUSE NEGATOR

Similarly, post-verbal *nò* is also shown to have a role in directing discourse participants' understanding of the common ground, though its role may be more directly linked to interlocutor interaction, perhaps not least because it is largely attested in dialogal theatrical works written in prose. *Nò* collocates most frequently with verbs of cognition, particularly in interrogatives, and also has a higher frequency in imperatives than *minga*. Such uses indicate a directive function that not only guides the interlocutors' interpretation of the common ground, but also plays a role in turn-taking. This is observed most notably in the *mi soo no* construction, which is used as an opening device to introduce a non-answer, downplaying the speaker's commitment to their answer. Non-answers were shown to infringe upon the Maxim of Quantity, as the answers do not achieve the conditionally relevant action of the question–answer pair. In other positions in the clause, *mi soo no* acts as an epistemic hedge, and may be used as a floor holding or opt-out device.

The development of non-canonical *nò* has been investigated through the qualitative analysis of *nò*<sub>2</sub> in dialogic contexts between the sixteenth century, to which its first attestations date, and the early nineteenth century. This analysis reveals that, aside from declaratives, *nò* is used only in imperatives, foreshadowing the directive function that it has in the later texts. Moreover, in declaratives, *nò* has a dissentive function, often used to refute a preceding directive. The non-canonical *nò* construction has thus been analysed as a case of multiple inheritance from the basic clause negation construction and the pro-sentence negator construction, as it inherits properties from both. From the basic clause negation construction, it inherits the property of clause negation, while from the pro-sentence negator construction it inherits the discourse functions said to belong to tag, directive and response particle negators. There is an indication, then, that *nò*<sub>2</sub> and *nò*<sub>3</sub> are the result of a continuous development. The shift from *nò*<sub>2</sub> to *nò*<sub>3</sub> has been suggested to have been caused by the loss of pre-verbal *no(n)* from the network, owing to the use of *minga* as the basic clause negator. That *nò*<sub>2</sub> is already semantically negative facilitates its maintenance in the network as *nò*<sub>3</sub>, as it may negate a clause without *no(n)* or *minga*.

### 7.3 Suggestions for Further Research

First, although §4.1.3 provided an overview of the use of the NCIs *niente* and *negota* in OLD NIDs, a study on the development of these items into non-canonical and basic clause negators in some NIDs would provide a more complete picture of the development of negation in NIDs. This would also allow for a closer examination of how changes to indefinites under the scope of



negation may interact with changes to the expression of basic clause negation. Furthermore, as discussed in §5.3, since non-canonical negation exists in a paradigm with basic clause negation, it is expected that *miga*-reinforced negation is infelicitous in certain contexts, where only plain basic clause negation is found, such as in contexts where the denied proposition is not activated in the prior co-text or forms part of the common ground. A full investigation is required in future work to verify this.

In addition, while this study has focused on the interactional properties of the negative marker *nò*, the study could be strengthened by investigating other polarity items (including positive polarity items) that are not only polarity markers, but also have a discourse function. This could be done both diachronically and in synchrony. Similarly, as it has been shown that It. *mica* has modal functions (Squartini, 2017), suggesting that the *mica* construction has increased interactional intersubjectivity, it would be interesting to investigate whether there is a related development between these newer modal uses and the (inter)subjective use of *mi(n)ga* identified in this thesis.

Lastly, as diachronic research is limited to the texts that are available, synchronic research of present-day varieties would offer the opportunity to use spoken language, which may reveal more about the interactional uses of negation markers. A synchronic study of present-day Milanese could determine how *nò* has continued to develop, and whether its use has overtaken *minga* as the basic clause negator. Moreover, as stated in the introduction to the thesis, present-day NIDs have a large amount of variation in their expression of clause negation. Comparative research with other varieties, particularly those that attest more than one clause negator, may affirm or help to refine some of the claims that have been made in this thesis.

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	<b><i>Reduce</i></b>	Il Reduce  <a href="https://www.liberliber.it/mediateca/libri/r/ruzzante/il_reduce_etc/pdf/il_red_p.pdf">https://www.liberliber.it/mediateca/libri/r/ruzzante/il_reduce_etc/pdf/il_red_p.pdf</a>
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