On the typology of Negative Concord. A view from Old Venetan
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1. Introduction
(1) The typology of NC in the framework of Zeijlstra (2004; 2008):

	neg-particle	n-word
no NC	[iNEG]	[iNEG]
non-strict NC	[iNEG]	[uNEG]
strict NC	[uNEG]	[uNEG]
strict NC, no NS	[uNEG]	[iNEG]
NS only	[iNEG]	[uNEGø]

(from Breitbarth 2013)

<u>no NC</u>: double negation languages (negative quantifiers introduce a negative Operator);
<u>non-strict NC</u>: only the negative particle on the verb introduces a negative operator;
<u>strict NC</u>: there is no lexical item introducing the negative operator (all negative items carry an uninterpretable negative feature);
<u>strict NC, with no Negative Spreading</u>: a type of Afrikaans (Biberauer & Zeijlstra 2012), where n-words can co-occur with the negative particle (sentence final *nie*) but not with each other; Old Saxon (Breitbarth 2013; 2014);
<u>only Negative Spreading</u>: French (cf. Penka 2010: n-words can be licensed by a covert negative operator).

(2) In this system, the main difference between strict and non-strict NC regards the nature of the sentential negative marker. If it carries [iNeg], it introduces the negative Operator, while if it carries [uNeg] it just agrees with a covert negative Operator.
Sic stantibus rebus this approach does not predict the existence of mixed strict/non-strict NC languages. However, similar cases are reported.

(3)   a.   Senki nem látott soha (sem) semmit (sem).   Hungarian (Szabolcsi 2018)
                n-one not saw n-ever nor n-thing nor
                `No one ever saw anything.'
        b.   Mari nem látott soha (sem) semmit (sem).
                M   not saw n-ever nor n-thing nor
                `M never saw anything.'
        c.   Senki sem látott soha (sem) semmit (sem).
                n-one nor saw n-ever nor n-thing nor
                `No one ever saw anything.'

(4) In this talk, I will consider the variation regarding NC observed in Old Venetan and compare it with present day varieties. I will show
a) that the alternation between strict and non-strict NC observed in (5) is not optional;

b) that the obligatory presence of the sentential negation in strict NC cases is not just a "morphological" fact;

c) that the variation I describe requires a partial rethinking about the strict/non-strict NC alternation as derived from a [i/uNeg] difference on the sentential negative marker.

(5)   a.   Sapi che ***nesuna*** medexina çoa così in una apostematiom de l'oio
           know that no   medicine aids so in an   inflammation of the eye
           (…) cum fa   el polleçuolo
              like does the oregano
           'Be sure that no medication is so helpful against an inflammation of the eye as the oregano'
           (Paduan, El libro Agregà de Serapiom, Herbal CCXCIV)

      b.   che uxandola in questo muodo la dona ***may no*** se   ingravierave
           that using-it in this way   the woman never not refl would.become-pregnant
           'that using this remedy in this way the woman will never become pregnant'
           (Paduan, El libro Agregà de Serapiom, Herbal, CCCLII)

2. Old Venetan

(6) GraVO project: 'Grammatica del veneto delle origini' *A Grammar of Old Venetan*.

Where? Texts from three main areas: Venice (Venetian); Padua (Paduan); Verona (Veronese).

When? XIII-XIV centuries (Venetian attested through the whole timespan; Veronese mainly in the first half of the XIV c.; Paduan in second half of the XIV c.).

3. The Data

(7) Venetian, Paduan and Veronese display strict NC with adverbs corresponding to 'never' and with the negative coordinator *né*. I provide some examples with these items in the preverbal space.

(8) 'never'
    a.   cothal era la soa dotrina, che sovra leto *mai non* zassé, chalzari
        such was the his doctrine that on bed never not lay sandals
        uncha mai non portà, carne *uncha mai non* manzà,
        never not wore meat never not ate
        vino *uncha mai* el *non* bevì
        wine never he not drank
        'Following his doctrine, ne never lay on a bed, never wore sandals, never ate
        meat and never drank wine' (<u>Venetian</u>, Cronica deli imperadori)
    b.   così sono sparti per lo mondo sì che *mai no* pote faro terra de loro
        so are scattered for the world so that never not can make land of them
        e *mai no* la farà
        and never not it will.make
        'They are so scattered around the world that they never cannot have their
        own land and they will never have' (<u>Veronese</u>, Lucidario)

(9) 'and not'
    a.   la mea mente *né* la mea lengua *no* serve a mi
        the my mind and.not the my tongue not help to me
        'Nor my mind nor my tongue can help me' (<u>Venetian</u>, Panfilo)
    b.   e s'el (con)trafesse, de raxon *né* de fato *no* vaia
        and if he contravene of right and.not of fact not is-valid
        'and if he contravenes the will is not valid by right and de facto' (<u>Paduan</u>,
        notarial document)
    c.   *né* ira *né* gran cor *né* mal talento logo *no* po trovar en la soa mento
      and.not wrath and.not rancor and.not hostility place not can find in the his mind
        (<u>Veronese</u>, Dell'Amore di Gesù)

(10) 'and not' with clausal conjuncts: preverbal negation can be dropped if it is present
    in the first conjunct (i.e. the first clause is negative), otherwise it is mandatory (cf.
    Old Italian):
    la quale è çoativa in multi casi (…) *né no* è alguna medexina
    the which is curative in many cases and.not not is any medicine
    più çoativa de questa
    more curative than this
    'which is very healthy in many cases and there is no other medicine so healthy'
    (<u>Paduan</u>, El libro Agregà de Serapiom, Herbal, CXXXI)

(11) With negative indefinites ('nobody', 'nothing') and the negative determiner Q ('no')
there is diatopic variation. In Venetian, these items in the preverbal space normally co-occur
with the preverbal marker of sentential negation *non/no*. In Paduan and Veronese these
items normally have a non-strict NC configuration (*non/no* is absent).

(12) a. co ***nesun no*** posa pasar et ***no*** abia via de qa
       so.that nobody not can pass and not has way of here
       'so that nobody could pass and go this way' (<u>Venetian</u>, will of Pangrati
       Barbo)

      b. e questo me par de tegnire; / ***nexun*** me'n   _ porave departire.
       and this to.me seems to keep   nobody me=from.it could divide
       'and I think that I will follow this suggestion and nobody could convince me
       to the contrary' (<u>Paduan</u>, Lamento della sposa padovana)

      c. che ***neguna*** consa _se pò saver se no quanto   Deo ne vol   altrui
       that no   thing REFL can know if not how.much God of.it wants to.other
       revelar.
       reveal
       'that nothing can be known if not what God wants the other to know.'
       (<u>Veronese</u>, Lucidario)

(13) In all the three dialects, postverbal negative adverbs and indefinites normally co-
      occur with the sentential negation marker on the verb.
      de quelli ***no*** ne   pote ***nexuno*** perire
      of those not of.them could no one perish
      'Of those, no one could perish' (<u>Veronese</u>, Lucidario)

(14) <u>To summarize</u>: Old Venetian is a strict NC language, Old Paduan and Old Veronese
behave as strict NC languages with 'never' and the negative coordination particle, and as
non-strict NC languages with negative indefinites.

(15) <u>Hypothesis 1</u>: variation is "lexical", in the sense that in all three dialects 'never' and *né*
are NPIs, while the indefinites are NPIs (i.e. simply licensed by non-veridical operators) in
Old Venetian and n-words (i.e. carriers of [uNeg]) in Old Paduan and Old Veronese (like
for instance in Modern Italian).

(16) Déprez (2000): two types of items entering NC relations:
      a. [DP/XP NegConcItem D…[NP/FP 0]]
      b. [DP/XP 0 …[NP/FP NegConcItem]]

(17) 'Never' and *né* are NPIs:
      a. che ***se*** femena alcuna ***mai*** t'agrada
       that if woman any   never you=pleases
       'that if you ever like any woman' (<u>Paduan</u>, G. Dondi, Sonnet XII)

      b. E ***se*** la dita peça de t(er)ra (…) fise embrigà ***né*** molestà
       and if the said piece of land   were blocked or forfeited
       'If the mentioned piece of land were obstructed or forfeited'
       (<u>Paduan</u>, notarial document)

(18)   However, negative indefinites are found in non-veridical contexts (like conditionals) in all the three varieties:
E   dixe Dyascorides che el polmom del porco e   de l'agnelo e   de l'orso,
and says D.   that the lung of-the pork and of the lamb and of the bear
quando negum de quisti ven metù su le scortegaùre dei   piè, ge   çoa
when   any   of these is   put on the excoriations of-the feet to.them helps
(<u>Paduan</u>, El libro Agregà de Serapiom, Bestiary, XLV)

(19)   Furthermore, negative indefinites can be used as fragment answers in Old Venetian
Domandà chi fo ala començada, dis: *nesun*, se no lo fio de ser Poltron et lo barber
asked who was to.the beginning, says no one if not the son of sir P. and the barber
'Asked who started it, he says: nobody, if not the son of sir Poltron and the barber'
(<u>Venetian</u>, Lio Mazor testimonies)

(20) <u>Hypothesis 1 cannot be correct</u>. The origin of the variation in the NC systems of these varieties is not lexical.

3. Towards a solution

(21) Both Old Paduan and Old Veronese present apparent cases of violation of the pattern described in the previous section. However, the vast majority of these exceptions are of two types:
a) the negative indefinite is contained in an adverbial PP;
b) the negative indefinite is a preverbal object.

(22)   kè lo to   amor unca per *nesun* tempo / *no* deventa   reo
that the your love ever for no   time   not becomes evil
'since your love never becomes evil' (<u>Veronese</u>, Dell'Amore di Gesù)

(23)   *nexuna* altra richeza *no* à   questo bon homo
no   other riches   not has this   good man
'This man has no other wealth' (<u>Veronese</u>, Leggenda di Santa Caterina)

(24) Old Romance V2 in (23)(cf. Benincà 2006):
[FocP [*nexuna altra richeza*] Foc° *no à* [TP [*questo bon homo*] T° ~~no à~~ [vP [~~nexuna altra richeza~~]]]]

(25)   The negative indefinite must be both in subject position and in a Spec-Head configuration with the verb:
Dunca ve' che çescaun serave   pleno che *nexuno* <u>plu</u>   *no* 'n   vorave
thus   see that each one would.be full   that no one more not=of.it would.want
'Thus ensure that each one is so sated that no one wants more of it'
(<u>Veronese</u>, Lucidario)

(26)   [ForceP *che*   [FocusP *nexuno*   [ModP *plu*   [TP *no 'n vorave*]]]]

(27) Negative indefinites in subject positions are very common in subordinate clauses in the GraVO texts, but there are cases of main clauses, where we must assume the verb has moved at least to FocP and the subject occupies its specifier.

(28)   ***Nexun*** homo ___è êl   mundo ch'unca 'l poës cuitar
        no   man   is at.the world that ever=it could tell
        'There is no man in the world who could ever tell it'
        (<u>Veronese</u>, Giacomino da Verona, De Ierusalem celesti)

(29) <u>Hypothesis 2</u>: variation is (mainly) structural. 'Never', 'and not' and negative indefinites of all the three varieties behave as n-words of other Romance systems. The *locus* of variation is at the TP level.

4. The proposal

(30) The ingredients of the analysis:
A: Negative LF is stable in all these systems. There is always a silent negative operator (OP¬) active in all negative sentences. More precisely, it can be assumed that like other logical semantic actors it is "disembodied" (Szabolcsi 2015; 2018) and must be activated by items carrying a [Neg] feature.
B: Disembodied operators need specific conditions to be activated. 'Visibility Condition' of Neg (Déprez 2011): [Neg] must be visible at the TP 'edge' for semantic computation. Notice that sentential negation could be totally optional under the standard zeijlstrian theory, unless it is seen as a purely morphological agreement marker.
C: Variation in the preverbal negation system:
a) Venetian (strict NC): *no/non* is the only item that can make Neg visible
b) Paduan and Veronese (partially strict NC): a [Neg] item in the specifier of T can activate the disembodied OP¬.

(31) Two possible explanations for the Venetian system:
a) *non/no* is [iNeg] (Szabolcsi 2018).
b) the presence of *non/no* is a repair strategy: there is a featural hierarchy, and indefinites carry other features (Existential, Focus, etc.) that "block" the visibility configuration (a Relativized Minimality effect, Rizzi 1990 and subsequent work).

(32) The Paduan/Veronese system: [Neg] items in SpecTP are sufficient to make OP¬ visible. This suggests that when they are located in different positions, RM effects appear.

(33) a.   [ForceP *che* [FocusP [XP(uNeg)+(Foc)][FinP [TP *no*(i/uNeg) V ...]]]] NC
      b.   [ForceP *che* [TP [DP(uNeg)] *no*(i/uNeg) V ...]]]]   no NC

(34) The two explanations in (31) have very different consequences for the theory of NC:
If 31a) is correct, should it be extended to all strict NC systems?
If 31b) is correct, we would expect some variation regarding the hierarchy of features triggering RM effects.

(35) Old Italian vs Modern Italian *mai*:
      a.   io spero di dicer di lei quello che ***mai   non*** fue detto d'alcuna
            I   hope to say of her that   that never not was said of anyone.FEM
            (<u>Old Italian</u>, Dante, Vita Nuova)
      b.   ...che ***mai*** (*non) fu detto...
            (<u>Modern Italian</u>)

(36) Old Italian *mai*: Focus > Neg
Modern Italian *mai*: Neg > Focus

5. The diachrony
(37) Modern Venetan varieties has maintained a similar system of NC. I will consider the variety spoken in Pellestrina (data from Pedrocco 2017). In this variety, Neg items in the preverbal space are followed by the sentential negation marker, unless they are subjects.

(38) a.   Neanche *(no) vogio vedarlo   Neg Focalizer
            not-even   not I.want see=him
      b.   Niancora *(no) la magne   Neg Adver
            not-yet   not she=eats
      c.   Nissun (no) l'ha   parlà   male de ti   Neg Subject
            nobody not he=has spoken bad of you
      d.   Nissuni *(no) le salude   Neg Object
            nobody   not they=greet

(39) The optional presence of *no* in 38c can be analyzed in terms of a different position of the indefinite subject (SpecTP vs SpecFoc), combined with the loss of V2.

(40) Stability of the diatopic variation: in varieties of the Paduan area, NC is ungrammatical with negative indefinites as subjects (optional with a negative indefinite object in the preverbal space and obligatory with preverbal negative adverbs) (Solivo 2017)
a.   Nessuno (*no) ga   parlà   mae de ti   Neg Subject
      nobody   not   has spoken bad of you
b.   Nianca *(no) vojo   vederlo   Neg Focalizer
      not-even not I.want see=him

(41) Emergence of adverbs with a recognizable Neg morpheme (unattested before the XVI c.): *ne-anche* 'lit. not-too', *ni-ancora* 'not-yet'.

(42) A "typological" diachronic cline:
Old Venetian > Old Paduan/Veronese > Pellestrina > Modern Paduan

6. Concluding Remarks
(43) Partially strict NC: you need i) n-words; ii) Neg visibility at the TP edge; RM linked variation

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