A Monica e Alessandro, per avermi accompagnata, sempre.

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CHAPTER IV

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

My work will focus on the Strict Negative Concord (NC), i.e. the possibility to have a preverbal n-word followed by the preverbal negative marker, in a local variety of venetian dialect. This variety is spoken in Zeminiana, a little village in the district of Padua, the place where I was born and where I live.
To introduce the research questions I will deal with in the next chapters, I will first start with the description of negation and NC in Standard Italian.
Italian uses a preverbal negative marker and an optional postverbal negative adverb (*mica*) to express sentential negation. This postverbal negative adverb is spreading in the north of Italy.

(1)   Non mangio (mica)
             (I)NEG eat   NEG
             'I do not eat'

Italian is a NC language, i.e. a language in which two or more negative elements do not cancel each other out, as we expect in logic, but they all contribute to the clause's negative meaning.

(2)   Non ho visto nessuno   Italian
             (I)NEG have seen N-WORD (nobody)
             'I didn't see anyone'

Italian is a Non Strict Negative Concord (No NC) language, i.e. it doesn't allow the presence of a preverbal n-word followed by the negative marker.

(3)   *Nessuno non ho visto   Italian
             (I) N-WORD (nobody) NEG have seen
             'I didn't see anyone'

The variety of dialect I will explore in this work uses a preverbal negative marker (*no*) and an optional postverbal negative adverb (*mia*) to express sentential negation similarly to standard Italian.

(4)   No go mia magnà e patate.   Zeminianese
             (I)NEG have NEG. eaten the potatoes
             'I didn't eat potatoes'

It is also a NC language as Italian.

(5)   No go magnà niente   Zeminianese
             (I)NEG have eaten N-WORD (nothing)
             'I didn't eat anything'

However, as I will show in this work Zeminianese seems to behave more as a NC language than as a No NC one. Actually, it allows for the presence of a preverbal n-word followed by the negative marker in lots of cases.

(6)   Niente nol gà magnà   Zeminianese
                            N-WORD (nothing) NEG+he has eaten
                            'He didn't eat anythig'

(7)   Nianca nol me gà vardà
                            N-WORD (neither) NEG+he me has looked
                            'Even he didn't look at me'

The classical minimalist analysis on NC (Zejilstra, 2004) focuses on preverbal subject and so on nominal n-words as nobody or nothing. In my study I will test both nominal and adverbial n-words. These will be: *nessuno* (nobody), *niente* (nothing), *nianca* (neither, even), *niancora* (not even). Then I will test *nessuno* and *niente* in their subject, object and indirect complement syntactic functions.
This analysis will shed light on a very important topic. I will show that the acceptability of the NC structures depends on the type of n-word I put at the beginning of the clause and on its syntactic functions.
This fact will take me to consider an "outside in" perspective (Deprez, 2011) in the analysis of the NC.

The property of being a NC language is similar to the one displayed by Slavic languages. These are examples from Zeijlstra (2004:48)

(8)   a. Milan *nikomu ne*volá.   Czech
                                      Milan N-BODY NEG-call
                                      'Milan doesn't call anybody'

                                   b. *Ne*volá *nikdo*.
                                      NEG-calls N-BODY
                                      'Nobody is calling'

                                   c. *Nikdo ne*volá.
                                      N-BODY NEG-calls
                                      'Nobody is calling'

Before starting my analysis on the NC in dialect, I will present some preliminaries considerations on a phenomenon, that is anteposition, that are necessary to understand the core of my study.
Italian has a very spacious left periphery and so this area could host lots of syntactic material. The elements in the clausal left periphery are usually far from their base and unmarked position. They usually reach the left periphery after the syntactic operation 'Move' and so they give rise to marked structures.
The empirical evidence of my work will also show that in Zeminianese it seems to be easier to find marked clauses and preposed elements than in Italian.
I think this may depend on the pragmatic characteristics of a language which is an oral and not written variety.
Preposed and marked structures are the base condition for my analysis on the NC in Zeminianese, since we can only observe the presence of an n-word followed by the negative marker only in marked and preposed clauses, if the n-word is not the subject of the clause.

According to what I've just said, I could only detect the data on the anteposition together with which ones on the NC, and that's what I did both for main clauses and embedded ones. Then, I decided to divide the two data's corpora in the analysis (see chapter IV) creating different diagrams and tables.

Here I will present my research questions concerning only the NC which will be the core of my work.

Research questions on NC:

-Is there a difference between the Italian NC structures and which ones of Zeminianese?

-If so, what are the difference or the differences?

-Do these differences depend on the presence of different preverbal n-words?

-If so, what are and how do we explain these differences between n-words?

I will check these research questions both in main clauses and in embedded ones as I said before.
In embedded clauses I will investigate some additional research questions.
In particular I will focuse my attention on the choice of the main clause verb.

These are the research questions on the NC for the embedded clauses:

-Does the main clause verb influence the presence of the NC in an embedded clause?

-If so, what are the characteristics of the main clause verb which are relevant for the presence of the NC in the embedded clauses?

-Does the presence or the acceptability of the NC depend on the preverbal n-word?

-If so, which n-words are acceptable in a NC context and which ones do not or are less acceptable?

CHAPTER II

II.1

SENTENTIAL NEGATION, N-WORDS AND NEGATIVE CONCORD

In this chapter I will focus my attention on the following topics: sentential negation, n-words and NC. Since the literature on negation and NC is rather big, I will concentrate on the work by Zeijlstra (2004) and Deprez (2011), both of which are relevant for the analysis I intend to put forth here. I will present their analyses and I will try to compare them. The two authors follow two opposite perspectives to analyse sentential negation, n-words and so NC, which I think might be fruitfully integrated.

The former adopts a minimalist macro parametric view. In Zeijlstra´s analysis, NC is seen as a form of syntactic agreement. He proposes that NC is an instance of the operation Agree and that its properties follow from the analysis of the syntactic status of sentential negation and the negative markers.

Following Zeijlstra´s analysis, sentential negation is introduced by a covert negative operator *Op*← which is located inSpec,NegP and carries an interpretable feature [iNEG]. NC is the result of an operation of multiple Agree between *Op*←, the negative marker, and any present n-words. The n-words present a non-interpretable feature [uNEG], which has to be checked by the interpretable feature [iNEG] carried by the negative operator in an agreement relation. Languages differ with respect to the base position of the negative marker, which could be in the head of the NegP projection or in its Spec. Languages which have the negative marker in the head position are Non Strict NC (No NC), and languages which have their negative marker in the Spec position are Strict NC (NC) (I will diffusely explain this difference in the following paragraphs). The minimalist approach shows an "inside out" perspective. It starts from the syntactic analysis of sentential negation to arrive at n-words and to the interpretation of the NC.

On the other side, Deprez adopts a micro parametric and a diachronic approach. She doesn't start from sentential negation and the syntactic status of the negative markers, but from the inner structure of the n-words and their historical changes to arrive at negation and to the interpretation of the NC. Differently from the minimalist approach, Deprez adopts an 'outside in' perspective: she starts from the characteristics of the n-words to arrive at the syntactic status of the sentential negation and the negative markers. This approach takes the n-words as the key factors of the variation in the NC systems. Deprez's perspective gives also importance to the historical changes. In her approach, historical changes of the n-words influenced the development of the sentential negation and so of the way of expressing the NC.

In my opinion these two different perspectives are both useful to understand how languages express negation and NC and they have to be linked together.

INTERPRETABLE AND UNINTERPRETABLE FEATURES

Before going on with the dissertation, I will briefly unfold what interprtabel and uninterpretalbe features are. These working definitions will be very important in the whole analysis.

Following Koeneman and Zeijlstra (2005), we could define an interpretable feature as a feature which is semantically interpretable, and an uninterpretable feature as a feature which is semantically uninterpretable.

Ex: Giulia am-a Marco
               Giulia love-s Marco
               [3ps]   [u3ps]

Here there are two elements which take the [3ps] feature, but only one is semantically active, namely the one on Giulia. This is the interpretable feature. On the other side, the [3ps] feature on the verb doesn't take part in the semantic interpretation of the clause, it could be semantically missed. This is the uninterpretable feature. The fact that uninterpretable features can be ignored by the semantics, however, does not mean
that they are inconsequential for the grammar. After all, uninterpretable features have the power to make a sentence completely ungrammatical as in the example:

         *Io am-a lei
          I   love-s her

Here the problem is that the clause contains an uninterpretable feature of [3ps] but there isn't an interpretable feature of [3ps]. We could say that the ungrammaticality arises when an uninterpratable feature appears without an interpretable counterpart. We can formally state this as follow:

Any clause in which some element carries an uninterpretable feature [uF] requires the presence of a matching interpretable feature [F]; otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical.

II.2

SENTENTIAL NEGATION

The human languages show different ways of expressing sentential negation. However, the number of these different ways is restricted. Three different kinds of languages can be distinguished following Zeijlstra (2004):

1. Languages that have special verbs that deny a sentence like Evenki (spoken in Siberia)

2. Languages, like Tongan (Polynesian), with negative verbs that take an entire clause as their complement.

3. Languages which use negative particles or negative affixes (either prefixes, suffixes or infixes).

Here I will concentrate on the analysis of the latter category.
In lots of languages negative particles or affixes can express sentential negation by themselves, e.g. the Czech (a) negative prefix *ne-* , the Italian (b) negative particle *non* or the German (c) negative adverb *nicht*. In other cases there are obligatory combinations of negative particles/affixes, such as Negative Doubling in Afrikaans (d), or the combination of affix/particles and adverbs, as in standard French (e). (Zeijlstra 2004:49)

(1)   a. Milan moc *ne*jedl   Czech
           Milan much NEG.ate
           'Milan hasn't eaten much'

        b. Gianni *non* ha telefonato   Italian
           Gianni NEG has called
           'Gianni hasn't called'

        c. Hans hat *nicht* gegessen   German
           Hans has NEG eaten
           'Hans hasn't eaten'

        d. Die voorbereiding neem *nie* lank *nie*   Afrikaans
           The preparation takes NEG long NEG
           'The preparation doesn't take long'

        e. Jean *ne* mange *pas* beaucoup   St. French
           Jean NEG eats NEG much
           'Jean doesn't eat much'

Each of these languages then differ both synchronically and diachronically with respect to the number, the syntactic position and the syntactic status of these negative markers.
Italian uses a preverbal negative marker to express sentential negation and an optional postverbal negative adverb (*mica*). This negative adverb is spreading in the North of Italy.

(2)   Non ho (MICA) visto nessuno   Italian
                  (I) NEG have NEG seen nobody
                  'I didn't see anyone'

In Standard French such a combination of a preverbal negative marker and a negative adverb is obligatory. On the other side a language like German expresses negation by means of a single negative adverb or argument introduced by a negative determiner -*kein*.

Zeminianese has a preverbal negative marker *no* and an optional postverbal negative adverb *mia* as Italian.

(3)   a. Non ho (mica) mangiato le patate.   Italian
        (I)NEG have (neg) eaten the potatoes
        'I didn't eat potatoes'

        b. No go mia magnà e patate.   Zeminianese
        (I) NEG have (neg) eaten the potatoes
        'I didn't eat potatoes'

Languages do not only differ cross-linguistically in the way they express sentential negation; they also vary diachronically. The Danish grammarian and philosopher Otto Jespersen (1917) observed a general tendency in the expression of negation in various languages:

> 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 in his studies found three phases in the developing process of the languages. These phases form a cycle and the evolution concerns negative markers and also n-words.

Here I present the Jespersen cycle in the way Zeijlstra (2004:61) rephrased it. Differently from Jespersen, Zeijlstra detects seven phases:

Phase I: Negation is only expressed by a single negative marker that is attached to the finite verb.

Phase II: The negative marker that is attached to the finite verb becomes phonologically too weak to express negation by itself and a second negative adverb becomes optionally available.

Phase III: Sentential negation is obligatory expressed by the negative marker that is attached to the finite verb and the adverbial negative marker.

Phase IV: The negative adverb is the obligatory marker for negation and the use of the negative marker that is attached to the finite verb becomes optional.

Phase V: The negative adverb is the only available negative marker. The negative marker that is attached to the finite verb is no longer available.

Phase VI: The negative marker is available in two forms: it can appear either as negative adverb or as a negative marker that is attached on the finite verb, though sometimes simultaneously.

Phase VII=I Negation is only expressed by a single negative marker that is attached to the finite verb.

II.3

MULTIPLE NEGATION

The first problem an analysis of negation has to face is the presence of multiple negative elements in most human languages. This phenomenon gives rise to lots of semantic and pragmatics effects. Contrary to formal logical systems, in lots of the languages of the world it is not generally the case that two negations cancel each other out and yield an affirmation. Actually, in the major part of the languages in the world two negations don't give rise to an affirmation but they both contribute to the negative meaning of the sentence.

Van der Wouden (1994) describes four different classes of multiple negation.

-**Double Negation**: Two negative elements cancel each other out and yield an affirmative.

Double Negation (DN) refers to cancellation of two negative terms as in formal logic.
This process is ruled by the Law of Double Negation (LDN), which is defined as follow (Zeijlstra, 2004):

Law of Double Negation:

$p \leftrightarrow p$

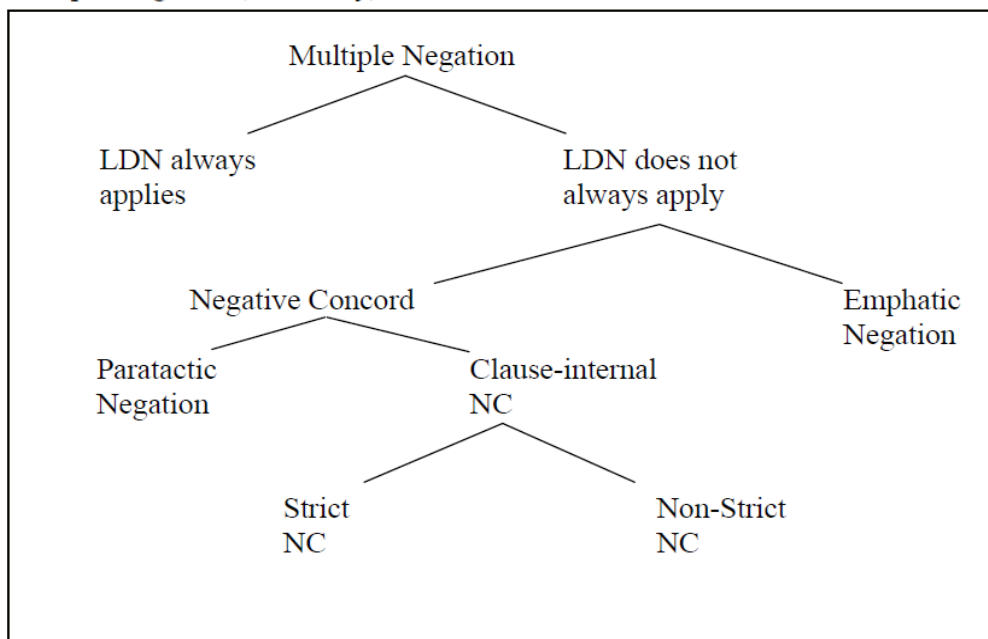Mary will *not not* show up $\leftrightarrow$ Mary will show up

-**Weakening Negation**: One negative element weakens the negation of another negative element.   The result is somewhere between a positive and a negative.

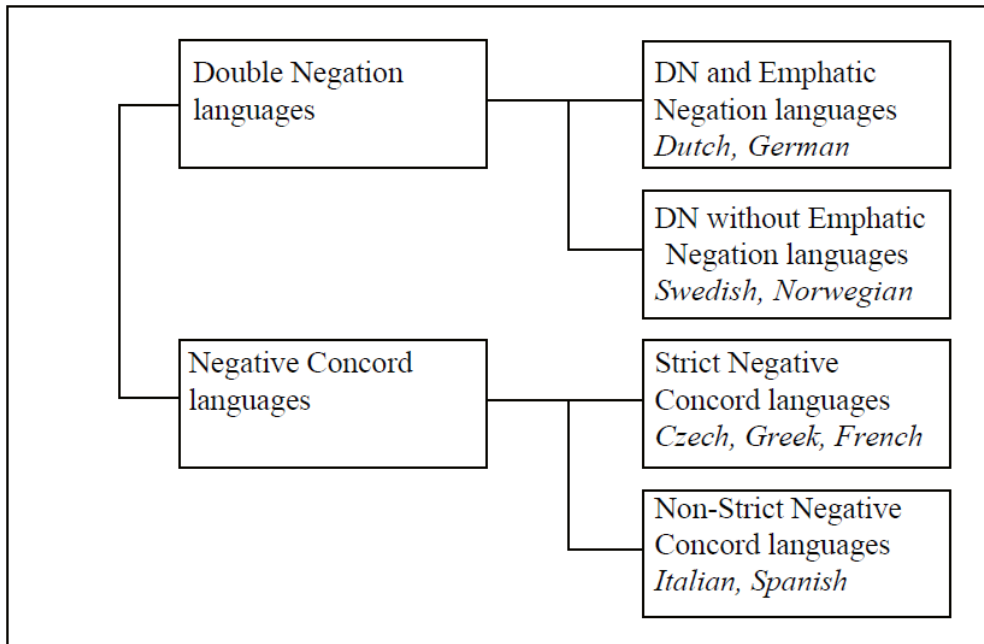-**Negative Concord**: two or more negative elements yield one negation in the semantics.

-**Emphatic Negation**: One negative element enforces another negative element. The result is stronger than it would be the case with just the second negative element.

Zeijlstra (2004:102, 103)

Multiple Negation (taxonomy)

Multiple Negation (typology)

```
Double Negation          ┌─ DN and Emphatic
languages        ────────┤  Negation languages
                         │  Dutch, German
                         │
                         └─ DN without Emphatic
                            Negation languages
                            Swedish, Norwegian

Negative Concord         ┌─ Strict Negative
languages        ────────┤  Concord languages
                         │  Czech, Greek, French
                         │
                         └─ Non-Strict Negative
                            Concord languages
                            Italian, Spanish
```

II.3.1

DOUBLE NEGATION

DN languages express negation in the first way I described before, i.e. in a semantic way. The semantic negation implies that every negative element is lexically negative. These negative elements carry an interpretable negative feature [iNEG]. If every negative element carries a feature [iNEG], and there are no elements with uninterpretable negative features [uNEG], no syntactic operation with respect to negation is triggered. This means that the information about negation that has already been encoded in the lexicon enters the level of semantic representation without being subject to specific syntactic requirements.

II.3.2

NEGATIVE CONCORD

Italian and Zeminianese are both NC languages. It means that two or more negative
elements do not cancel each other, out as we expected in logic, but they all contribute to the clause's negative meaning. This is a challenge for the logic theory. There are lots of other languages which present NC and actually they are rather the majority of the world's languages. Only in a small number of them, such as Standard Dutch, two negative elements cancel each other out. The class of the NC languages is not homogenous, as not every combination of two negative elements can be assigned an NC interpretation.

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II.4

STRICT AND NON STRICT NEGATIVE CONCORD LANGUAGES

NC languages differ with respect to the possibility of having a negative element (in the preverbal position) followed by a negative marker in a NC reading. Zeijlstra doesn't clearly defined the negative elements which could reach the preverbal position and he doesn't specify their categorial and thematic characteristics. For the Italian, he generally creates examples with the nominal n-word *nessuno* in the subject function. On the other side, in the definition displayed by Giannakidou, which I will present as a working definition, there is the reference to the subject function of the preposed negative element.

In my work I will spread the field of the possible n-words considering different grammatical categories, nominal and adverbial, and different thematic roles, subject, object and indirect complement.

This is the way Giannakidou (1997, 2000) explain this distinction among NC and No NC languages:

a. **Strict Negative Concord**: N-words are not allowed to occur by themselves, but have to be always accompanied by a single negative marker.

b. **Non-Strict Negative Concord**: N-words are not allowed to occur by themselves, but should be accompanied by a single negative marker, except when the n-word is in a preverbal (subject) position. Then it may not co-occur with a negative marker.

Following Giannakidou, and as I've already pointed out in the first chapter, Italian is a No NC language.

(4)   a. Non mi ha salutato nessuno   Italian
                     NEG to me said hello nobody
                     'Nobody said hello to me'

             b. Nessuno (*NON) mi ha salutato
             Nobody   (*NEG) to me said hello
             'Nobody said hello to me'

The clause "Nessuno non mi ha salutato" in Standard Italian is completely out. So we could rephrase Giannakidou´s definition of No NC by saying that "In Italian, when the n-word is in a preverbal position, it cannot co-occur with a negative marker".

Another revision I propose to Giannakidou's definition of No NC languages is about the grammatical categories and the thematic roles of the preverbal n-words.

Actually, in Italian not only subject n-words cannot stay together with the negative marker in the preverbal position, but also n-words which have different thematic roles (a). Moreover, the same rule works both for nominal elements and adverbs (b).

(5)   a. *Nessuno NON hanno salutato   Italian
                  Nobody (OBJ.) NEG said hello
                  'They didn't say hello to anybody'

            b. *Nemmeno io NON ci vado
            Even   I   NEG (clitic) go
            'Even I go'

Zeminianese, as I shown in the first chapter, seems to behave as Italian in the way it expresses sentential negation. According to this, we could also expect it to be a No NC language. Whereas the facts show that reality is different and this will be the core of my work and of my analysis in chapter IV.

II.5

ZEJILSTRA'S TEORY OF NEGATIVE CONCORD

In this section I briefly summerize Zejilstra's NC theory.

A theory of NC has to be based on three pillars: syntax, semantics and typology. The theory that Zejilstra proposes is a syntax-semantics interface theory.

The central idea behind this theory is that Universal Grammar allows for more than one way of expressing negation. The set of languages and varieties that have been under investigation in Zeijlstra's work manifest at least two different ways of expressing negation, which we could call *SYNTACTIC NEGATION* and *SEMANTIC NEGATION*.

Following Zeijlstra (2004), these different ways of expressing negation could be defined as follow:

(1) *SEMANTIC NEGATION*: every negative element corresponds 1:1 to a negative operator.

(2) *SYNTACTIC NEGATION*: negative elements mark the presence of a (c)overt negative operator.

Languages that exhibit semantic negation, defined as in (1), do not allow the presence of a negative element which takes a non-negative reading, since every morpho-phonological negative element corresponds to a negative operator. As a consequence, these languages do not have n-words at their disposal, since n-words may receive non-negative readings, but only negative quantifiers. Therefore, languages that express negation by means of semantic negation are DN languages.

NC languages obviously violate the definition in (1) since not every negative element corresponds to a negative operator. NC languages fall under the category of syntactic negation. This means that the negative elements are not necessarily the realisation of negative operators, but they may also mark the presence of a (c)overt negative operator. In the case of NC, this means that there is only one negative operator, and the other negative elements only mark the presence of this operator.

This way of expressing negation allows for different subclasses: it can be the case that no overt negative element corresponds to a negative operator and that the negative operator, responsible for the negative semantics, is only covertly present. It is also possible that in a particular language some negative elements correspond to a negative operator (i.e. they are semantically negative), and other negative elements are non-negative, only marking the presence of a negative operator (i.e. being syntactically negative). The first, strict version of (2) accounts for NC, and that the second, less strict version accounts for No NC languages.

II.5.1

STRICT NEGATIVE CONCORD LANGUAGES

These are the major points in Zejilstra (2004) analysis of NC languages:

-Negative markers are the phonological realisation of a [uNEG] feature

-N-words are semantically non-negative indefinites that carry a [uNEG]
feature.

-Negation is introduced by a covert Negative operator *Op* in Spec,NegP that carries an [iNEG] feature. *Op* does not only introduce a negation at LF, but also unselectively binds all free variables under existential closure.

-NC is the result of multiple Agree between *Op*, the negative marker and any present n-words
.
-The reason for the absence of an overt negative operator is functional: its phonological realisation would not contribute to the interpretation of the sentence.

II.5.2

NON STRICT NEGATIVE CONCORD LANGUAGES

In what follows I will analyse the difference between No NC languages. As we saw in the previous subsection, this difference between NC and No NC languages can be reduced to the status of the [NEG] feature of the negative marker. In the Strict NC languages, the negative marker carries an uninterpretable feature [uNEG] that needs to stand in a checking relation with *Op*. In the No NC languages however, the negative marker carries an interpretable feature [iNEG] and it is the realisation of the negative operator. Hence, the interpretation of a negative marker in a No NC language, such as Italian *non*, is defined as in Zeijlstra (2004:59):

(5) $[[non]] = (\exists)$

In NC constructions in which all the n-words occur to the right of the negative marker, the syntactic and semantic requirements are fulfilled in a similar fashion as in Strict NC languages,
Zeijlstra (2004:60, 61, 62):

(6)　　　　　　　*Non* ha telefonato a *nessuno*　　　　　　Italian
　　　　　　　　Not has called to n-body
　　　　　　　　'He hasn't called anybody'

(7)　　　　[NegP [Neg *non* [iNEG]] [vP ha telefonato a *nessuno* [~~uNEG~~]]

(8)　　　　　　　　$\neg \exists e, x [\textbf{Call'}(e, \textbf{he}, x)]$

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Zeijlstra (2004:60, 61, 62)

Things are different, however, in the case of an n-word in the preverbal position.
The subject n-word, being base-generated in Spec,vP has eliminated its [uNEG] feature after Agree with *non*, and its free variable is bound by the existential quantifier introduced by *non, Zeijlstra (2004)*:

(9)   *Non* ha telefonato *nessuno*   Italian
                Neg has called n-body
                'Nobody called'

(10)   [a Gianni [NegP [Neg *non*[iNEG]] [*v*P ha telefonato *nessuno* [~~uNEG~~]]]]

(11)   ¬ ∃e ,x[**Call '**(e, x, **g**)]

                                                    Zeijlstra (2004, 63, 64, 65)

In this case the sentence is well-formed, as the n-word has its feature checked against [iNEG] and the variable introduced by *nessuno* is bound by the negative operator. The fact that this variable is bound implies that the indefinite *nessuno* is no longer allowed to move out of the domain that is introduced by the negative quantifier, i.e., out of the domain c-commanded by *non*. If the n-word raises out of this domain as in Zeijlstra (2004:66), it would have a variable as its argument that has been bound by a lower quantifier. Such constructions are illicit at LF, Zeijlstra (2004:67).

(12)   *Nessuno non* ha telefonato
                N-body neg has called
                'Nobody called'

(13)   *[TP [**Person'**(x) & **Call'**(e , x)] [Ne g P ¬ ∃e ,x]]

                                                    Zeijlstra (2004, 66, 67)

This analysis is supported by the fact that the n-words are allowed to participate in NC relations if *non* is absent. In that case, the first n-word is licensed by the abstract negative operator *Op*, with which it forms a compound, Zeijlstra (2004).

(14)   *Nessuno* ha telefonato a *nessuno*
                Not has called to n-body
                'Nobody called anybody'

(15)   [NegP [*Op*[iNEG]-*Nessuno*[~~uNEG~~]i] [vP ti ha telefonato a *nessuno*[~~uNEG~~]]]

(16)   ¬ ∃e ,x,y[**Person'**(x) & **Person'**(y) & **Call'**(e, x, y)]

                                                    Zeijlstra (2004, 68, 69, 70)

The examples above show that the No NC readings immediately follow as a consequence of the fact that negative markers in these languages carry [iNEG].

II.6

ANOTHER APPROACH ON N-WORDS AND NEGATIVE CONCORD ANALYSIS
VIVIEN DEPREZ

Vivien Deprez (2011) presents an analysis of NC and n-words which is opposite from which one we saw in Zeijlstra (2004). Actually, his macro-parametric approach to NC of the latter is contrasted with the opposite micro-parametric view of the former.

She tries to change the minimalist focus on the syntactic properties of the sentential negative marker and move to the syntactic properties of the n-words. Deprez started from the claim, as I've said in the previous paragraphs, that the different properties of the Negative Concord which are observable in a great variety of languages of the world, synchronically or diachronically, are influenced by the *internal* micro-morpho-syntax structure of the negative-expressions that participate in it, rather than from the syntactic nature of the sentential negation. In this perspective, Negative Concord works *from the outside in*, that is, from the micro-syntactic level of negative expressions to the macro-syntactic level of the clause. Whereas the Zeijlstra's approach works *from the inside out*, that is, from the macro-level of sentential negation to the n-expressions.

These two pictures clearly show the difference between these two perspectives:

(17)
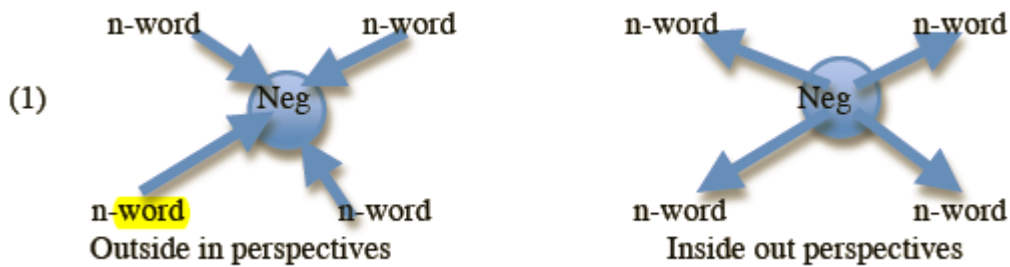
Deprez (2011, 1)

II.6.1

CROSS-LINGUISTIC VARIATION AND INNER LANGUAGE HOMOGENEITY

If we follow the Zeijlstra inside-out perspective on sentential negation and NC, variation in the NC characteristics of a language has to correspond with variation in the syntactic nature of the sentential negation marker. It follows that if a language presents a given type of sentential negation marker, it is also expected to manifest a given type of negative relations.
For example, that is a generalization that is predicted by the Zeijlstra's (2004) theory:

a. Every language that has a negative marker X° is an NC language (provided that n-words are present).

This generalisation is unidirectional. Actually, it means that, if a given language has a negative marker which is not a head, we can not speak about NC. Whereas, the generalisation in (a) predicts clearly that a language with an X° negation should manifest NC throughout. Following this perspective, we're expecting an inner language homogeneity with respect to NC. The problem is that this homogeneity is not found in the reality of the languages of the world. Actually, what we see in languages that effectively manifest NC is that they regularly present a big and surprising inner variation.
The empirical linguistic observations show that languages are mixed systems in which there are some negative relations that present a certain type of linguistic behaviour and others that present different ones.
For example, Italian or Spanish, which are treated as NC languages in Zeijlstra (2004), also have distinct NPI expressions that behave quite differently (Zanuttini 1991, Laka 1990).
We could say that, in the reality of the languages of the world, inner language diversity is more often the rule than the exception. The problem this matter of facts lifts up is: how do we explain the inner variation in the NC behaviour in a language in which the sentential negation form remains constant? This question could not have an answer if we refer to the generalisation in (a) and to the Zeijlstra approach.
In sum, how an inside-out macro-parametric theory of NC, whose determining factor is the syntactic nature of sentential negation, could account for a language in which distinct n-expressions behave differently while sentential negation, in contrast, remains constant?
In the micro-parametric view, it is the internal build up of an n-expression that determines its 'external' behaviour and so its concord properties. Following this perspective, n-expressions do not have to be homogeneous in the same language. In other words, on a micro-parametric perspective, inner-language or dialect homogeneity across all n-expressions is not required. If homogeneity is detected it is because some n-words have a comparable structure in the same language.

Instead, what is important from a micro-parametric-outside in perspective is that *n-expressions with a common internal make up behave in the same way whether within or across languages.*
We could always speak about homogeneity, but of a different kind.
Variety is not problematic for this perspective and is in fact expected because of the different internal make up of the n-words.
To conclude, inside-out perspectives, such as Zeijlstra's, which center on the properties of sentential negation, produce expectations of homogeneity within languages that have a unique sentential negation marker. In contrast, the micro-parametric outside-in perspective produces expectations of *homogeneity* across types *of n-expression structures*.

II.7

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The data I collected and I analysed in this work (chapters III, IV) will show the necessity to consider both the two theoretical perspectives I've just presented to give a satisfying explanation to the phenomenon of the Strict NC in the variety of Paduan spoken in Zeminiana.

Zeijlstra's theory is fundamental to understand how the NC could stand in the human languages, and so also in the variety I studied, and how it could be explained from a syntactic point of view. I'll consider Zeijlstra's results on NC (a form of syntactic agreement) valid for the Zeminiana's variety of language.

On the other hand, the data I collected show a different NC behaviour depending on the different n-words I considered. In particular, depending on the grammatical category of the n-words and on their thematic role. This state of fact puts in contact my work with the Deprez's analysis. Actually, also in the Zeminiana dialect the different inner characteristics and structures of the n-words seem to influence the NC behaviour. In Deprez´s perspective, NC could vary because of the synchronic differences between the n-words, but also because of the diachronic changes the n-words experienced throughout the evolution of a given language. In this work, I will focus only on the synchronic differences between the different n-words and I will leave the analysis of the diachronic changes for further studies. My work will show that an 'inside out' perspective in the fashion of Zeijlstra is an unavoidable starting point to do a solid analysis of the NC; but then, if we want to explore and to explain the variety the reality of the languages present, we must use also an 'outside in' perspective in the same way of Deprez. And that's why I chose to focus my attention on the behaviour of the n-words. Actually, the n-words can be considered as the key factors in the inner language variety of the NC behaviour and that's because of their proper inner differences.

CHAPTER III

I created two different tests. The first tries to capture the behaviour of the n-words and so of the NC in the main clauses, while the second sees the n-words and the NC in the embedded ones.

III.1.

MAIN CLAUSES TEST

I divided the main clauses test into two different subtests. The first is the translation test and the second is the filling the gaps one. I chose two different testing strategies because I wanted to have two different ways of testing the same phenomenon in the same clauses. Actually, the two different testing strategies I'll present below they both have some advantages and disadvantages (I'll present them in the section 'Problems'). Using both of the two I could balance the adventages of the first with the disadvantages of the second.
The two main clauses tests share the same hypothesises and the same conditions of change.

HYPOTHESISES

-Zeminianese presents the NC in the main clauses.

-The NC changes depending on the element we put in the preverbal position.

CONDITIONS OF CHANGE

1. The grammatical category of the preposed n-word:

-ADVERBIAL elements: NIANCA, NIANCORA

-NOMINAL elements: NIENTE, NESSUNO

2. The thematic role of the preposed n-word:

-Nessuno: SUBJECT, OBJECT, INDIRECT COMPLEMENT

-Niente: SUBJECT, OBJECT

SUPPLEMENTARY PRELIMINAR CONDITIONS

NIANCA-CORRELATIVE CONTEXT:

-The CORRELATIVE context seems to be the most natural context which "suggests" the presence of the NC.

NIANCORA:

-In Zeminianese a real NEGATIVE element 'NIANCORA' substitutes the corresponding POSITIVE italian one 'ANCORA'.

TRANSLATION TEST

TYPE OF TEST

In the translation test the informants are given a simple context in Zeminianese and they are asked to translate into Zeminianese a final clause, which is presented in Italian. This test gives the possibility to the informants to imagine a real marked situation in which they could create a clause with a preposed and focused n-word.
Here an example:

(1)

   "Varda, a ghe gaveo parecià de tuto: risoto col radicio, bacaeà, poenta, dolse fato in casa, e eo
   See, I to him had prepared of all: risoto with radicchio, baccalà, polenta, cake made at home, and he
   'I prepared all for him: risoto with radicchio, baccalà, polenta, homemade cake and he'

   NIENTE HA MANGIATO, sto desgrasià".
   Nothing has eaten , this miserable
   'He didn't eat anything, this miserable'

The main clauses' test is composed by 40 questions. 21 testing questions and 19 fillers, which I scrambled together. There are 13 traslation questions. I interviewed 40 people and I considered 32 of the results. The test lasts between 20 and 30 minutes.

SENTENCES

I analyze the adverb *nianca* in questions 1, 2, 3, 4.
This is an exemple:

(2)

Correlative context:

   "Varda, Tony ze gà comportà veramente mae co mi. A no go mia voja de ciamarlo e
   Look, Tony cl has behaved really bad with me. I NEG have NEG desire of call him and
   'Tony behaved very badly with me. I don't want to call him and'

Translation: NEANCHE VOGLIO VEDERLO".
                 Neither (I) want see him
                 'I don't even want to see him'

I analyse the adverb *niancora* in questions 5, 6, 14.
This is an example:

(3)

Context: Ciò, o go spetà tuta a note, seto. Zè rivà e sete dea matina
                This, I have waited all the night, you know. Is come the seven of the morning
                'I waited for him all night long. It came seven o'clock in the morning'

Translation: E ANCORA NON ERA A CASA, sto desgrasià
                and still (he)NEG was at home, this miserable
                'And he wasn't at home yet, this miserable'

I analyse the indefinite pronoun *nessuno* in questions 7, 8, 9. In question 7 *nessuno* is the subject of the clause. In question 8 it is the object and in question 9 it is the indirect complement of the clause.

I analyse the indefinite pronoun *niente* in questions 10, 11, 12. In question 10 *niente* is the object of the clause, while in questions 11 and 12 it is the subject. In question 11 it is the subject of an impersonal verb, *niente c'è da fare* (there is nothing to do). In question 12 it is the subject of a psychological verb, *A me niente è piaciuto di quello che hanno fatto* (I didn't like anything of what they did).

<u>CARRY OUT OF THE TEST-PROBLEMS</u>

First

The NC could rise only when the n-word is in the preverbal position.
The preverbal position of the n-words is, in the most of the cases, a focused position.
When the informant does not detect the focus, it becomes harder for him to put the n-word in the preverbal position.

PILOT
I decided to create the preliminar contexts to the translation clauses to help the informants to imagine a real marked situation and so to put the n-word in the preverbal position.
The first problem I faced in the pilot was that some contexts I created seem to work better in suggesting the output of a focused structure to the informants than others.
When the preliminar context is really well formed and the informant is able to imagine a real marked situation, he naturally puts the n-words in the preverbal position and so the NC could rise.

EXECUTION
In the execution, when the informant didn't put the n-word in the preverbal position, I decided to suggest him the clause with the anteposition and the NC and to ask him if it was correct or not.

Second

PILOT
I observed that some informants have difficulties in the translation from Italian into the Zeminianese. Some of them translated in a literal way so they often didn't put the NC (following the Italian rules) where probably they normally do when they speak in Zeminianese.

EXECUTION
In the execution I proposed to the informants the alternative clause with the NC and I asked them if they consider it correct.

Third

PILOT
Some people asked me the possibility to rephrase by themselves the context phrases. This was good for someone but not for all. Some old people rephrased the question in a wrong way. Actually they changed the marked structure of the clause I proposed and this invalidated the anteposition.

Example:

(4)

Varda, Tony ze ga comportà veramente mae co mi. A no go mia voja de ciamarlo e
Look, Tony cl has behaved really   bad with me. I NEG have NEG desire of call him and
'Tony behaved very badly with mi. I don't want to call him and'

NEANCHE VOGLIO VEDERLO
Neither   (I) want   see   him
'I don't even want to see him'

The informant could rephrase the preliminar context in this way:

"Tony ze proprio antipatico. No vojo ciamarlo e.."
Tony is so   rude   (I)NEG want call him and
'Tony is so rude. I don't want to call him and'

With such a rephrasing, it becomes more difficult to detect the focus and so to put the n-word in the preverbal position in the translation.

EXECUTION
When the informant rephrased the clause in a 'wrong' way, I proposed him the part he had to translate with the NC and I asked him if he considered it correct.

QUESTION 11

(5)

Quando uno nase co poca voja de fare zè difisie chel cambia, o digo sempre mi,
When   one born with few longing to do is hard that he changes, I say always I
'When a person has no longing to do things it's hard for him to change, I always say this'

NIENTE C'E' DA FARE
nothing   there is to do
'There is nothing to do'

PILOT
In the pilot I noticed that with this clause the most part of the informants didn't put the n-word in the anteposed position and they also didn't accept my proposal with the anteposition.

EXECUTION
I decided not to consider question 11 in my analysis because I didn't collect NC results.

NUMBER OF THE TESTED SUBJECTS
I interviewed 40 people. For the main clauses test I decided to consider 32 of these 40 interviews I made. The reasons of this selection are mainly two:

-The informant was to old to bear the entire interview.

-The informant had not sufficient linguistic abilities to product relevant results.

III.1.2

FILLING THE GAPS TEST

TYPE OF TEST

In the filling the gaps test the informants are given a clause with the negative marker at the beginning and they are asked to fullfill it with a given n-word. These clauses do not have a preliminar context.
This test is very simple and prompt. It gives the possibility also to the informants who do not have a good linguistic ability or which ones who feel embarassed in the translation to answer in a very easy and fast way.
I used the same clauses I created for the translation test in the filling the gaps ones.

Here an example:

(6)

FILLING THE GAPS: "Nol ga magnà" (Here the informants have to fill the clause with NIENTE).
                 NEG he has eaten
                 'He didn't eat'

The main clauses' test is composed by 40 questions. 21 testing questions and 19 fillers, which I scrambled together. There are 8 filling the gaps questions.
I interviewed 40 people and I considered 32 of the results.
The test lasts between 20 and 30 minutes.

SENTENCES

I analyse the adverb *nianca* in question 13. The clause is the same of the translation question 1.

I analyse the adverb *niancora* in questions 15, 16. Question 15 is the same of the translation question 14, and question 16 is the same of 6.

I analyse the indefinite pronoun *nessuno* in questions 17, 18, 19. Question 17 is the same of translation one 7. Question 18 is the same of 8 and question 19 is the same of 9. As in the translation test, I here analyse *nessuno* in its three different syntactic functions: subject (17), object (18), indirect complement (19).

I analyse the indefinite pronoun *niente* in questions 20, 21. Question 20 is the same of the translation question 10 and question 21 is the same of 12. In question 20 *niente* is the object, while in question 21 is the subject.

CARRY OUT OF THE TEST-PROBLEMS

First

PILOT
The major problem with this test is that there's no contexts before the clauses and so the informants tended to put the n-words in the unmarked position which is in the most of the cases the postverbal one. Anyway, there are also cases in which the informants put the n-word in the preverbal and focused position as their first answer.

EXECUTION
When the informants put the n-word in the postverbal place, I proposed them the alternative with the n-word in the preverbal position and I asked if they tought the clause was right or wrong.

Second

PILOT
In some cases the informants put the n-word in the preverbal position but they missed the negative marker *no* which was proposed in the clause.

EXECUTION
In these cases, differently from which I did in the translation test, I did not proposed to the informants the alternative clause with the presence of the negative marker. This could explain some differences in the results of the two tests.

QUESTION 12

I decided not to consider question 12 in my analysis because the most part of the informants didn't accept the anteposition of *niente* and so no NC could be detected from this clause.

I also recorded the comments the informants said. These are so interesting to understand what people think about what they say and about what they choose to say.

EMBEDDED CLAUSES TEST

HYPOTHESISES.

-Each n-word has a different acceptability level when it is in the preverbal position in an embedded clause.

-The presence of different n-words could influence the characteristics of the NC in an embedded clause.

-Different bear verbs entail a different acceptability level of the n-words anteposition in their embedded clause.

-Different bear verbs entail different characteristics in the NC of their embedded clause.

CONDITIONS OF CHANGE

1. The grammatical category:

- The ADVERBIAL category: NIANCA

- The NOMINAL category: NESSUNO

2. The thematic role:

-NESSUNO: SUBJECT-OBJECT

3. The bear verbs

-Verbs which bear the subjunctive vs. verbs which bear the indicative.

-Verbs which entail the truth of the complement vs. verbs which do not entail the truth of the complement.

SUBJUNCTIVE	INDICATIVE
CREDERE-TO BELIEVE	ACCORGERSI-TO NOTICE
DISPIACERE-TO REGRET	DIMENTICARSI-TO FORGET
E' MEGLIO-IT'S BETTER	DOMANDARE (CHIEDERE)-TO ASK
DOMANDARE (PREGARE)-	SAPERE (CREDERE)-
TO ASK (TO PRAY)	TO KNOW (TO BELIEVE)

ENTAIL THE TRUTH OF THE COMPL.	DOES NOT ENTAIL THE TRUTH OF THE COM.
DISPIACERE-TO REGRET	CREDERE-TO BELIEVE
ACCORGERSI-TO NOTICE	DOMANDARE (CHIEDERE)-TO ASK
DIMENTICARSI-TO FORGET	E' MEGLIO-IT'S BETTER
SAPERE (CREDERE)-	DOMANDARE (PREGARE)-
TO KNOW (TO BELIEVE)	TO ASK (TO PRAY)

TYPE OF TEST

The test I created for the embedded clauses is a 'giving the marks' test. The informants has to give a mark which goes from 1 to 5 to the clauses I proposed them.

I created, for each main verb, two embedded clauses, one with the NC and the other without.
The two clauses are the same except for the presence of the negative marker *no*.

(7)

Ex. Credea che NIANCA NOL vegnese casa magnare   NC
   (I) thought that neither NEG+he came home to eat
   'I thought that he didn't even come home to eat'

   Credea che NIANCA el vegnese casa magnare   No NC
   (I) thought that neither he came home to eat
   'I thought that he didn't even come home to eat'

The informants were asked to judge the two clauses and to give them a mark between 1 and 5. If in their opinion the clause were right, they decided for 5. Otherwise, if the clause seemed to them less good or completely wrong, they gave it lower marks.

The test is composed by 70 clauses, 48 test clauses and 22 fillers.
I did the test with all the 32 people I tested for the main clauses test. Then I eliminated a part of the tests and I decided to consider 24 of them for my analysis.
I will explain the reasons of this choice in the section 'Problems'.
The test lasts 20 minutes.

CARRY OUT OF THE TEST-PROBLEMS

ANTEPOSITION IN THE EMBEDDED CLAUSES

PILOT
The first and the major problem I faced in the pilot was connected with the fact that the anteposition in the embedded clauses seems to be very hardly acceptable and innatural for the most of the informants.
In particular, the adverb *nianca* sounded badly in the preverbal position in an embedded clause.
Also *nessuno* subject and *nessuno* object sounded quite badly in the anteposed position. *Nessuno* subject had clearly less problems because of its preverbal syntactic position in the base order of the clause .

EXECUTION
In the esecution I decided to consider a smaller number of interviews. I eliminated which ones of the informants who seemed not to accept the anteposition of the n-words in the embedded clauses at all. In these cases, the marks of the informants were connected only with the anteposition and not with the NC, so they would have been irrelevant for my analysis.

JUDGEMENT TOPIC

PILOT
Another problem in the embedded clauses test was the "rule" the informants chose to gave marks to the clauses. The most part of them chose between all the possible marks (5-4-3-2-1), but some others decided to gave 5 to the clauses which seemed to them good and 4 for all the others. This way of evaluating makes impossible to distinguish between clauses which sound not so good and others which sound badly or completely wrong.

EXECUTION
I decided not to consider in my analysis the tests of the three people who chose this way of evaluating.

NUMBER OF THE TEST'S SUBJECT
I tested 40 people and I had to do a selection of the results for some reasons that I'm going to list:

-The informant was to old to bear the entire interview.

-The informant had no sufficient linguistic abilities to product relevant results.

-The informant didn't accept the anteposition in the embedded clauses in the most of the cases.

-The informant used only the marks 5 or 4 to evaluate the clauses.

III.3

THE LOCATION

The setting of my work is a small village in the district of Padua, in the municipality of Massanzago, which is called Zeminiana. It is located in the middle of three different districts: Padua (23 km far from), Treviso (29 km far from) and Venice (32 km far from). It is the last village in the district of Padua, or the first one if we come from Venice. Actually, on the other side of Via Parauro, which is one of the Zeminiana's border, there begins the area of Noale, which is in the Venice district. The fact of being very next to the Venice district and to a linguistic area which has some specific and marked characteristics has strengthened the linguistic consciousness of the Zeminiana's citizens. Infact they are very proud of being "padovani" instead of "veneziani" and first of all they mark this difference in a linguistic way. As a matter of fact, I noticed that there are some important differences between the dialect spoken in Zeminiana and that one spoken in Noale, which is only 5 km far from the village.
Zeminiana has 1000 citizens. It is a long time the population haven't increased, except from some new citizens who came from foreign contries and some others from the area of Mestre/Marghera in the last ten years. We could explain this few increasing of the population with the setting of the village, wich is away from the arterial roads of the area. It's not very far from the important roads, but it has developed (also the modern part) all around the ancient church, which is located on the meander of the river Muson and so not along an important road as lots of modern villages in the same area. This saved Zeminiana from hard building and destruction of its typical and traditional features and it maybe also helped the strenght and the vitality of its dialect.

HISTORY

"Eccoci alla Graticola romana; già dobbiamo attenderci nomi, insegne, vicende militari. Pertanto il vocabolo Zeminiana, Zumiliana, Zumignana ci richiama un aggettivo militare da Gemini (Castore e Polluce) d'onde una legione qua attendata o meglio fatta colona, prendeva gli auspici...".

These are the words of Monsignor Carlo Agnoletti, who presents some historical news about "la Pieve di Zeminiana" in 1898. In his book, "Treviso e le sue pievi", he spoke about the origin and the historical-geographic position of the village.

Zeminiana is crossed by the river Muson which divides "l'Agro Centuriato" of Padua from which one of Altino. The Venetians were the ancient population which lived in these lands. By the time of the Gallic war (225 B.C-218 B.C.) they came into contacts with the Romans. Romans settled on this area and gradually colonized it. They sent lots of veterans and gave them lands. These veterans were called soldiers-colonists. Romans divided the area into little square plots of land following the method of the "centuriazione". This method was inspired to the traditional foundation of Rome made by Romolo.

Zeminiana's area, we could see the marks of "graticolato"

The name of the village, as we saw in Monsignor Agnoletti's words, took its origin from the adjective Gemini (twins), which was the name of "Castore e Polluce", the Zeus's sons. Following the romans tradition, the Twins were the guardians of the veterans and the soldiers in general. A little temple consecrated to them was probably located where now there is the village's church.In the Christian Age, Zeminiana became an important reference point for lots of the little villages which were located around its area. Its church was consecrated to the Virgin Mary blessed by the angel, "L'Annunciazione". In the Middle Age "la Pieve di Zeminiana" controlled lots of other villages in its surrounding area as: Santa Maria di Sala, Noale, Stigliano, Villanova. It's interesting to notice that the major part of its domain was in the Venice area (Santa Maria di Sala, Noale, Stigliano). In the Modern Age Zeminiana gradually lost its importance and became a little village under the Padova's area.

III.4

LINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS

I'm going to start this section speaking about my own linguistic competence. I was born in Camposampiero on the 11th of July, 1991. In my first years of life I learned italian from my parents and Zeminianese from my grandparents, so I am bilingual. Now that I am adult, I normally speak italian with parents and friends, but I continue to speak Zeminianese with my grandparents and with all the village's people who speaks to me in Zeminianese.

As I said in the previous section, Zeminiana has a very strong linguistic identity. In my opinion there are various reasons to explain it.

First of all, Zeminiana is a border village and this made its citizens conscious of their beeing different from people who live "on the other side" of the border.

Second, the village is located out of the major communication routes of the area in a meander of a river and this made the conservation of the traditional language easier.

Third, the population is very few (1000 citizens) and it is composed by a small number of historical families and some new citizens. A part of this new citizens is coming from the area of Mestre-Marghera and the other part from extracomunitarian contries.

The presence of these new citizens didn't weaken the strength of the variety of Paduan spoken in Zeminiana. In fact, the social and cultural context of the village assimilated the linguistics differences, and there are lots of foreign people who learned and normally speak the linguistic variety of the village.

Zeminianese is spoken in all informal contexts, but also in lots of formal ones.

I noticed that all people over 50 speak Zeminianese as their first language. Then there are people between 30 and 50 who still have Zeminianese as their first language but they also speak Italian in lots of contexts. Finally there are young people who have Italian as their first language but they learned dialect at home and they still use it in lots of informal contexts.

I noticed that there is a sort of return to dialect competence between young people.

I think this is because dialect in no longer considered as a sign of cultural inferiority, or perhaps it is less considered in such a bad way than it was until a few years ago.

The dialect is becoming a linguistic style, not longer or not only a cultural marked language.

III.5

TEST'S SUBJECTS

Following the tradition of the AIS, I now present all the informants I tested.

CONDITIONS FOR CHOOSING MY BEST SUBJECTS

-I tested 40 people.

-They all actually live in Zeminiana.

-They spent the major part of their life in Zeminiana.

-I tried to test people of different ages and both males and females.

MAIN CLAUSES TEST

MEN	WOMEN
16	16

AGE	18/30	30/50	50/70	OVER 70
	4	9	10	9

EMBEDDED CLAUSES TEST

MEN	WOMEN
9	14

AGE	18/30	30/50	50/70	OVER 70
	6	7	9	2

Following the tradition of the AIS, I now present all the informants I tested.

- A. P. Zeminiana, 03/03/1955. Middle school degree. He's retired. He worked as responsible in a glasses factory. He's married. He has got three sons and one grandchild.

- A. L. Camposampiero, 07/ 01/ 1989. Graduated at the University of Padua in Statistics. He works as a demand planner in a water pomps factory.

- A. d. F. Camposampiero, 14/06/1989. Graduated at the University of Padua in Civil engineering. She works in a engineering study.

- A. M. O. Trebaseleghe, 07/12/1935. Third class of primary school degree. She didn't work. She's now retired. She's widow. She has got three sons and six grandchildren.

- A. B. Massanzago, 27/08/1956. High school degree. She's now retired. She was an office worker. She's married and she has got a daughter.

- A. d. G. Massanzago, 08/06/1955. Middle school degree. She didn't work. She's now retired. She's married, she has got two daughters and one grandchild.

- M. B. Camposampiero, 30/08/1996. High school degree. He is a workman in a electric factory.

- D. C. Camposampiero, 02/06/1985. He graduated at the University of Ferrara in Meteorology. He now works in the communication office of a service company.

- D. B. Camposampiero, 17/05/1969. High school degree. He is responsible in a alarm systems factory. He's married and he has got two daughters.
D. L. Noale, 15/06/1959. High school degree. He works as an office worker in a varnish factory. He's married and he has got two sons.

- D. L. Noale, 08/08/1962. High school degree. She works as janitor in a primary school. She's married, she has got three sons and one grandchildren.

- E. B. Camposampiero, 23/04/1977. High school degree. She's an office worker.

- F. Z. Mirano, 07/09/1993. High school graduation. He is a chef and works in a restaurants.

- G. F. Noale, 17/12/1953. Primary school degree. He is retired. He worked as electrician. He is married, he has got two sons and one grandchild.

- G. D. Civè, 02/08/1944. Primary school degree. He's retired. He is a woodworker. He's married and has got two sons.

- L. B. Camposampiero, 18/09/1981. High school degree. She's employed in a office.

- A. S. Camposampiero, 31/10/1978. High school degree. He is quality responsible in a plastic factory. He's married.

- L. S. Mirano, 31/12/1942. Primary school degree. She didn't work. She is widow. She has three sons and two granchildren.

- L. P. Camposampiero, 21/01/1964. Middle school degree. He is a workman. He is married and he has got two daughters.

- M. B. 25/10/1975. High school degree. He works as a office worker in a varnish factory.
He's married and he has got a daughter.

- M. M. Camposampiero, 22/04/1980. She graduated at University of Padua in Translator and Interpreter. She is the commercial office's responsible in a tractors factory.

- M. M. 1. Noale, 09/02/1975. High school degree. She works as a workman in a plastic factory. She's married and she has got two sons.

- M. Z. Camposampiero, 12/07/1974. Middle school degree. She doesn't work. She's married and she has got a daughter.

- O. C. Massanzago, 10/10/1951. Middle school degree. She is retired. She worked as a nurse. She is married, she has got three sons and two grandchildren.

- O. D. Noale, 23/11/1949. Middle school degree. He's retired. He was a bus driver. He is now member of the municipality council. He's married, he has got three sons and two grandchildren.

- P. C. Massanzago, 24/03/1956. Middle school degree. He's retired. He was a nurse. He's married and he has got two sons.

- P. F. Massanzago, 03/04/1942. Primary school degree. He's retired. He was the manager of a shoes factory. He's married, he has got two sons and five grandchildren.

- R. C. Massanzago, 26/08/1948. High school degree. He's retired. He worked as a surveyor.

- R. C. 1. Noale, 25/04/1961. Middle school degree. She's retired. She didn't work. She's married, she has got two sons and one grandchild.

- V. C. Noale, 27/08/1956. Middle school degree. He's retired. He was a truck driver.
He's married.

- S. P. Massanzago, 21/10/1936. Primary school degree. He's retired. He worked as a farmer. He's married.
He has got three sons and five grandchildren.

- E. R. Massanzago, 27/05/1950. He's retired. He worked as a carpenter. He's married. He's got a daughter
and two grandchildren.

- S. C. Camposampiero, 07/09/1992. High school degree. He works as a workman in a plastic factory.

- M. P. Mirano, 05/01/1989. High school degree. He works as a workman in a plastic factory.

- O. B. S.Maria di Sala, 31/03/1945. Primary school degree. She's retired. She didn't work. She has got three
sons and two grandchildren.

III.6

TEST 1- MAIN CLAUSES

TRANSLATION

NIANCA

1. Varda, Tony ze ga comportà veramente mae co mi. A no go mia voja de ciamarlo e
         NEANCHE VOGLIO VEDERLO

2. A Nini me ga proprio stufà. No vojo pi vederla e
         NEANCHE ANDRO' PIU' A TROVARLA

3. I tosati? A mi no i go mia visti e
         NEANCHE MI HANNO DETTO NIENTE DI STASERA

4. A te ghe poco da lamentarte che Giorgio zè sempre in giro,
         NEANCHE IO SONO MAI A CASA, seto

NIANCORA

5. Ciò, o go spetà tuta a note, seto. Zè rivà e sete dea matina
         E ANCORA NON ERA A CASA, sto desgrasià

6. Giovanni? Asemo perdare! A no o go pì sentìo e
         NIANCORA HO VISTO NEANCHE UN SOLDO

14. L'operazion ze 'ndà ben, ANCORA NON MANGIA, ma i dotori dize che ze normae e bisogna spetare
almanco na setimana.

NESSUNO SUBJECT

7. No so chi che te gabia contà ste storie. Mi so stà co jori tuto el dì e
NESSUNO HA PARLATO MALE DI TE

NESSUNO OBJECT

8. A Giulia e a Maria? Ben varda, robe de chealtro mondo...
NESSUNO HANNO SALUTATO, ste do betoneghe

NESSUNO INDIRECT COMPLEMENT

9. Te pensi sempre che a zente te parla drio e spae. Vuto che te diga a verità?
A NESSUNO INTERESSANO I TUOI AFFARI, sta tranquio

NIENTE OBJECT

10. Varda, a ghe gaveo parecia de tuto: risoto col radicio, bacaeà, poenta, dolse fato in casa, e eo invese,
NIENTE HA MANGIATO, sto desgrasià

NIENTE SUBJECT

11. Quando uno nase co poca voja de fare zè difisie chel cambia, o digo sempre mi,
NIENTE C'E' DA FARE

12. Vuto che te diga a verità?
A ME NIENTE E' PIACIUTO DI QUELLO CHE HANNO FATTO

FILLING THE GAPS

NIANCA

13. No vojo vederlo

NIANCORA

15. No a magna

16. No go visto nianca un scheo

NESSUNO SUBJECT

17. No ga parlà mae de ti

NESSUNO OBJECT

18. No e gà saeudà

NESSUNO INDIRECT COMPLEMENT

19. No ghe interesa i to afari

NIENTE OBJECT

20. Nol ga magnà

NIENTE SUBJECT

21. No me ga piazo de sta storia

FILLERS

- Chealtro dì so 'ndà catare Marco chel ze tornà da Mian. A speravo de fare do ciacoe co eo e invese
  NON MI HA NEANCHE SALUTATO

-A pensavo de 'ndar catare a Giovanna unquo che zè na bea giornada:
  VIENI CON ME?

-Pena che me so inacorta, ghe go corso drio pa a strada e go tacà osare:
  TORNA INDIETRO CHE TI SEI DIMENTICATO IL PORTAFOGLI!

- A Marta zè in sinta de nove mesi. A dovea comprare a setimana pasà ma
  NON HA ANCORA PARTORITO

-I me gavea dito de star distante da a Maria parché a xè bisbetica, ma ciò
  NON PENSAVO COSI' TANTO

-A xe na setimana che te serco parché voeo domandarte na roba importante:
  HAI PIU' SENTITO NIENTE DELLA MARIA?

-Vuto vegnere co mi doman de matina? A voea 'ndar vedere un negoxieto novo Noae
  SEMBRA CHE CI SIANO DELLE BELLE OFFERTE

-Andrea nol voe pi vegnere in vacansa co noialtri e no rieso veramente capire parché:
  MI DISPIACE PROPRIO TANTO

-Stamatina so 'ndà al marcà e go catà tanta roba de stajon in oferta. Go comprà un chio de fenoci e i cavoi,
  QUELLI CHE PIACCIONO A MIO MARITO

- A gavemo organizà un feston casa de Mateo, speso tanti schei, parecià tuto puito, ma ga piovuo e
  NON E' VENUTO NESSUNO

-Davide ga portà casa tuti i so amighi. I ga fato el casin, sporcà partera, dasà onto,
  TI SEMBRA POSSIBILE UNA COSA DEL GENERE?

-Go portà casa do quadri dal mercatino dell'antiquariato. Prova vegnerli vedare cuxita
  MI DICI SE TI PIACCIONO

-No sta mia farte problemi, seto. Mi go do biglieti in pì, dopo, se no te voi vegnere
  BASTA CHE ME LO DICI

-Me manca i ovi pa fare el dolxe pal compleanno dea Michela,
 POTRESTI ANDARMELI A PRENDERE?

-A procesion xe durada pocheto parché piovea. Se fuse sta bel tempo
 AVREBBERO FATTO FARE ALLA MADONNA IL GIRO LUNGO

-I funghi de chea xocata i xé mati
 NON MANGIARLI MICA, SAI

-So drio deventare vecia. A no rieso pi fare tuti i mestieri. Bisogna che ciama na signora
 CHE VENGA A DARMI UNA MANO

- Go visto che Fantinato ga verto na nova botega Xeminiana dove chel vende un fia de tuto ma
  A ME NON HA DETTO NIENTE

-Mi a Pamela no a me piaxe mia masa. Pare sempre che a sapia tuto ea.
 PER ME E' MEGLIO LA PAOLA

III.7

TEST 2- EMBEDDED CLAUSES

1-Credea che nianca nol vegnese casa magnare
2-Credea che nianca el vegnese casa magnare

3-Me despiaze che nianca nol vegna via co noialtri
4-Me despiaze che nianca el vegna via co noialtri

5-Me incorzo sempre tardi che nianca nol ghe ze el Sabo de sera
6-Me incorzo sempre tardi che nianca el ghe ze el Sabo de sera

7-Ze mejo che nianca nol ze fasa vedare el to amigo stasera
8-Ze mejo che nianca el ze fasa vedare el to amigo stasera

9- Me desmentego sempre che nianca nol vien casa magnare
10-Me desmentego sempre che nianca el vien casa magnare el Sabo

11-Ghe domandarò in zenocio che nianca nol ghe diga niente a eori
12-Ghe domandarò in zenocio che nianca el ghe diga niente a eori

13-Ghe domando subito se nianca nol vien
14-Ghe domando subito se nianca el vien

15-Seto che nianca no me ricordo come chel ze ciama?
16-Seto che nianca me ricordo come chel ze ciama?

17-Credeva che nesuni no me ciamase cantare sto ano
18 -Credeva che nesuni me ciamase cantare sto no

19-Me despiaze che nesuni no me ciama casa sua magnare
20-Me despiaze che nesuni me ciama casa sua magnare

21-Me incorzo sempre tardi che nesuni no me scolta quando che parlo
22-Me incorzo sempre tardi che nesuni me scolta quando che parlo

23-Ze mejo che nesuni no me ciama pi pa ste robe qua
24-Ze mejo che nesuni me ciama pi pa ste robe qua

25-Me desmentego sempre che nesuni no vien casa magnare el Sabo
26-Me desmentego sempre che nesuni vien casa magnare

27-Ghe domandarò in zenocio che nesuni no ghe diga niente de stasera
28-Ghe domandarò in zenocio che nesuni ghe diga niente de stasera

29-Ghe domando subito se nesuno no lo gà ciamà pa ndar via
30-Ghe domando subito se nesuno lo ga ciamà pa ndar via

31- Ti o saveito che nesuni no xe vegnuo catarlo in ospedae?
32-Ti o saveito che nesuni xe vegnuo catarlo in ospedae?

33-Credeva che nesuni nol conosese de i to amighi
34-Credeva che nesuni el conosese de i to amighi

35-Me despiaze che nesuni nol conosa dei tosi che ze qua
36-Me despiaze che nesuni el conosa dei tosi che ze qua

37-Me incorso sempre tardi che nesuni nol saeuda dei to amighi
38-Me incorso sempre tardi che nesuni el saeuda dei to amighi

39-Ze mejo che nesuni nol conosa de sta zente che ze qua
40-Ze mejo che nesuni el conosa de sta zente che ze qua

41-Me desmentego sempre che nesuni nol conose dei to amighi
42-Me desmentego sempre che nesuni el conose de i to amighi

43-Ghe domandarò in zenocio che nesuni nol varde de quei che vegnarà stasera
44-Ghe domandarò in zenocio che nesuni el varde de quei che vegnarà stasera

45-Ghe domando se nesuni nol ga visto de quei chel conosea
46-Ghe domando se nesuni el ga visto de quei chel conosea

47-Ti o saveito che nesuni nol ga saeudà quando che l'è 'ndà via?
48-Ti o saveito che nesuni el ga saeudà quando che l'è 'ndà via?

FILLERS

-Viento co mi catare a Maria?

-Ara che ghemo a visita ae oto: no sta mia rivar tardi!

-No vedo ora che sia Sabo pa stare tuta a matina in leto!

-Dito che sia mejo che vaga mi parlare co Mario?

-Come stai i to tosi?

-I ga fato proprio na bea festa chealtra sera Sandono

-Gheto bisogno che te juta co a putea?

-No vojo pi sentir parlar de ste storie

-A ze rivà un fredo!! Stanote ga anca giazà!

-Ara che se no te te movi, te perdi a coriera

-Oncora in leto te si? Movate che ze tardi!

-No sta dirme che te si de novo maeà!

-Daghe da magnare a sto tosato chel ga da cresare

-Doman ndemo Mian catare me sorea Marisa

-Ze tanto che i va in zerca, ma no i ga niancora catà e matonee giuste pa a cuzina

-Ieri sera go catà e fjoe de Bepi che magnava a piza ae Arcate

-I dize tuti che Giacomo l'è strano, ma par mi no ze niente vero!

-O saveito che i ladri ze drio fare tuta via Stradona?

-A no te me dasarè mia in braghe de tea proprio deso?

-Ieri dal dotore a Nusca me ga contà tuta a storia de so mama.

-Gheto tirà a pension sto mese?

-No sta mia dirme che no te poi vegnere doman, seto!?

CHAPTER IV

In this chapter I will analyse the results of the two tests I made. I will start from the analysis of the test results for main clauses and then I will follow with the embedded clauses' one.

The test on main clauses is divided into two different parts, as I explained in the chapter III. The first is the 'translation' and the second is the 'filling the gaps'.
I will start from the first one.

IV.1

MAIN CLAUSES TEST

IV.1.1

TRANSLATION TEST-STRICT NEGATIVE CONCORD (NC) RESULTS

KEY OF THE CONTRACTIONS

A1	NC at first
A2a	NC after the proposal
Ab1	NC after the proposal (postposition at first)
A2	No NC
Ab2	No NC after the proposal (postposition at first)

(1)
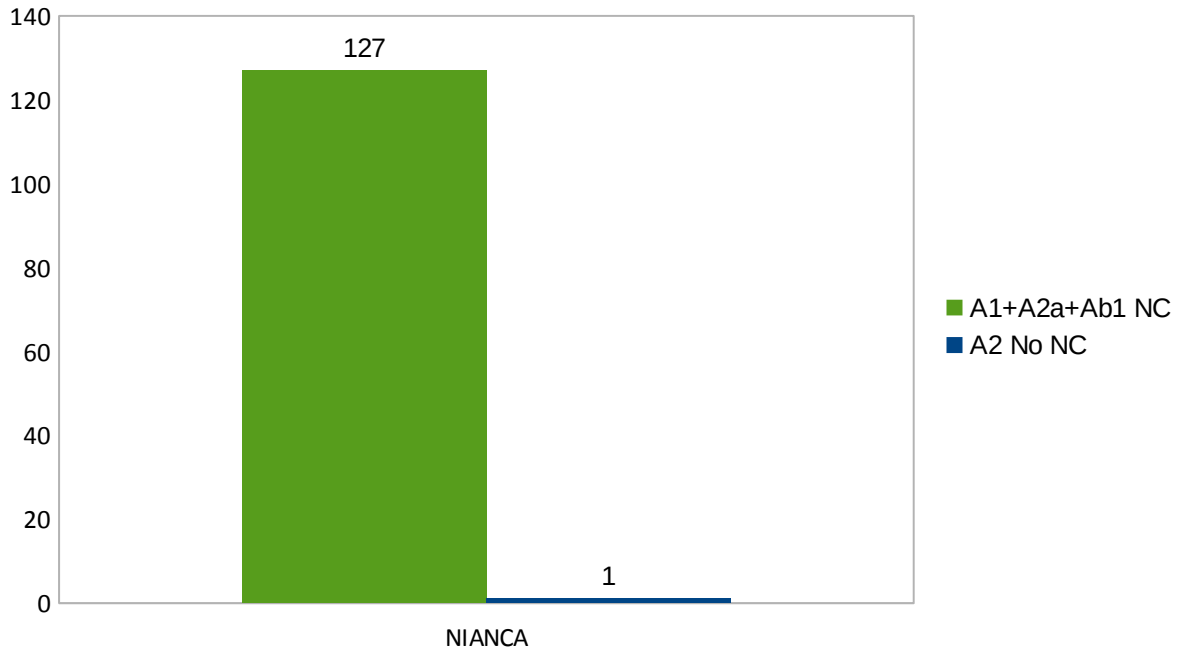
127	NC-A1+A2a+Ab1	92	A1
		33	A2 a
		2	Ab1
1	No NC-A2		

(1)

Ex. I tosati? A mi no i gò mia visti e
The guys? I me NEG them have NEG seen and
'The guys? I didn't see them and '

NEANCHE MI HANNO DETTO NIENTE DI STASERA
neither (n-word) to me have said   nothing   of this evening
'And they did not even say anything to me about this evening'

Nianca no i me ga dito niente de stasera

Here the clause means that I don't want to call Tony *neither* I want to see him, and this correlation between two different events seems to make the presence of the NC almost necessary in dialect.
"Nianca NO vojo vederlo". The NC seems to be perfect when it introduces the last element of a correlative list.
The data show that the NC structure with the n-word *nianca* is the best solution for all the informants. In fact, the absence of the negative marker *no* after the n-word makes the clause ill-formed and, in some cases, almost wrong. The clauses I created are all marked. I chose a particular type of context, which is the correlative one. I noticed, looking at my own competence, that *nianca* in the first position of the clause has a strong correlative function in Zeminianese, and this function seems to be correlated with the presence of the NC.

NIANCORA

(2)
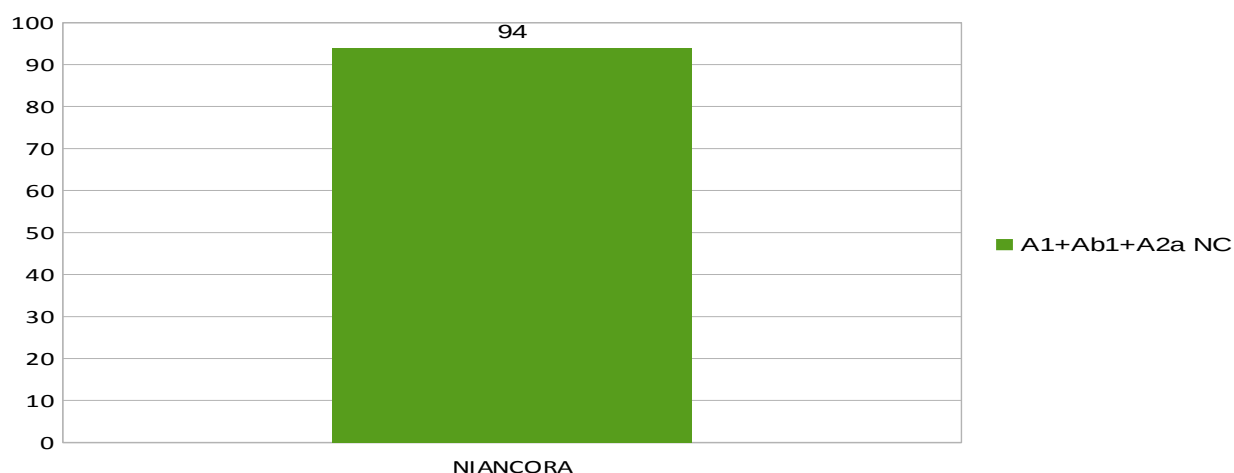
94	NC-A1+Ab1+A2a	66	A1
		9	A2 a
		19	Ab1

(2)

Ex.   Ciò, o go spetà tuta a note, seto. Zè rivà e sete dea matina
             that I have waited all the night you know. Is come the seven of morning
             'I waited for him all night long. It came seven in the morning'

             E ANCORA NON ERA A CASA, sto desgrasià
             and still   NEG   was at home this miserable
             'and he wasn't at home yet, this miserable'

             E niancora NOL jera casa, sto desgrasià

The data show that the adverbial n-word *niancora*, when it is in the preverbal position, requires the negative marker *no* in the most of the cases.

The presence of the NC with *niancora* seems to be a bit more stronger than with *nianca*. Actually, we have 9 cases of No NC at first (informants' first translation) with *niancora*, and 33 with *nianca*. We have to consider that *nianca* has 4 clauses in the test in comparison with the 3 clauses of *niancora*, but, in any case, I think this difference could be considered relevant. Then, *niancora* has no cases of No NC at all (informants who didn't accept the NC alternative), while there is one case of 'No NC only' with *nianca*.

I think that the presence of the NC with *niancora* in Zeminianese is made easier by the presence of the negative marker *no* in the corresponding Italian clauses. Actually, in Italian we have *ancora*, which is not an n-word and so it does not prevent the presence of the negative marker when it is in the preverbal position.

In any case, the strong evidence for my analysis is that *niancora* is completely negative in Zeminianese and it gives rise to NC structures in the most of the cases I tested.

NESSUNO-SUBJECT

(3)
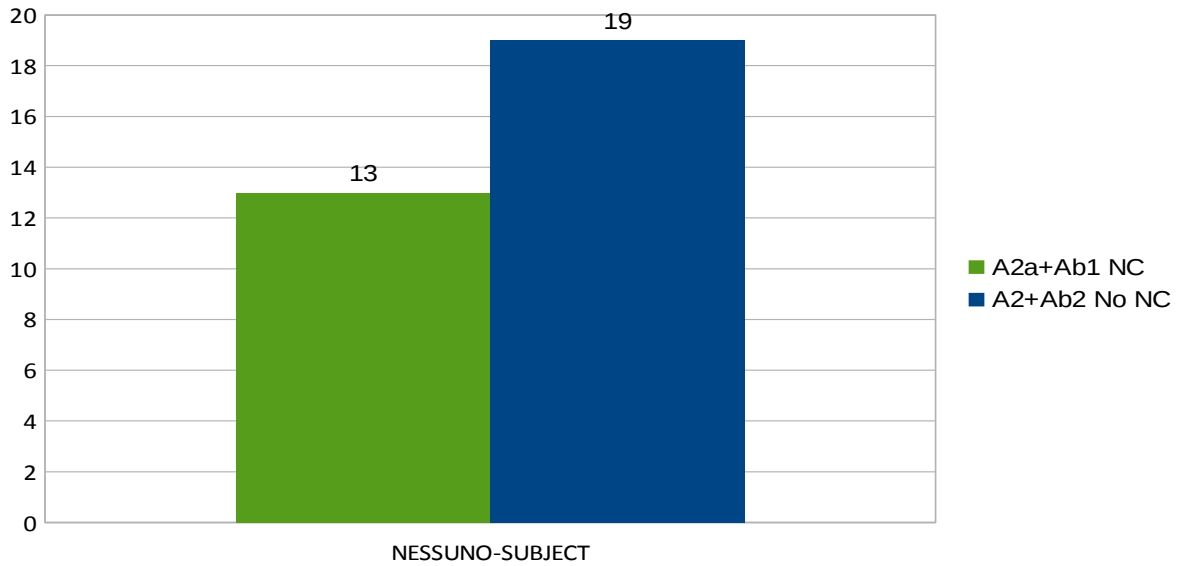
13	NC-A2a+Ab1	11	A2 a
		2	Ab1
19	No NC-A2+Ab2		

(3)

Ex.   No so chi che te gabia contà ste storie. Mi so stà co jori tuto el dì e
(I) NEG know who that have told these tales. I am been with them all the day and
'I don't know who has told you these tales. I've been with them all day long and'

NESSUNO HA PARLATO MALE DI TE
Nobody   has spoken   bad   of   you
'Nobody spoke ill about you'

Nesuni (NO) ga parlà mae de ti

The first important thing to notice is that there were no informants who chose the NC structure as their first translation. Then, there are 19 cases of No NC at all and that's a considerable number if we compare it with the 0 cases with *niancora* and the only case with *nianca*.

I think the indefinite negative element *nessuno* has a strong negative meaning in the feeling of the informants. Actually, when I proposed the NC alternative, some of them detected the presence of the two negations. Contrarily, with *nianca* and *niancora*, they seemed not to perceive the presence of the two negative elements.

The informants accepted the NC alternative (11 cases) when they were able to detect the strong pragmatic accent I put to this.

I conclude that *nessuno*, in its subject function, bans the presence of the negative marker when it is in the preverbal position, and so it doesn't give rise to NC. Nevertherless, the cases in which the informants accept the presence of the negative marker are the ones in which they seem to be able to detect the focus of the n-word, i.e. the fact that *nessuno* is in a FocusP in the left periphery of the clause.

NESSUNO-OBJECT

(4)
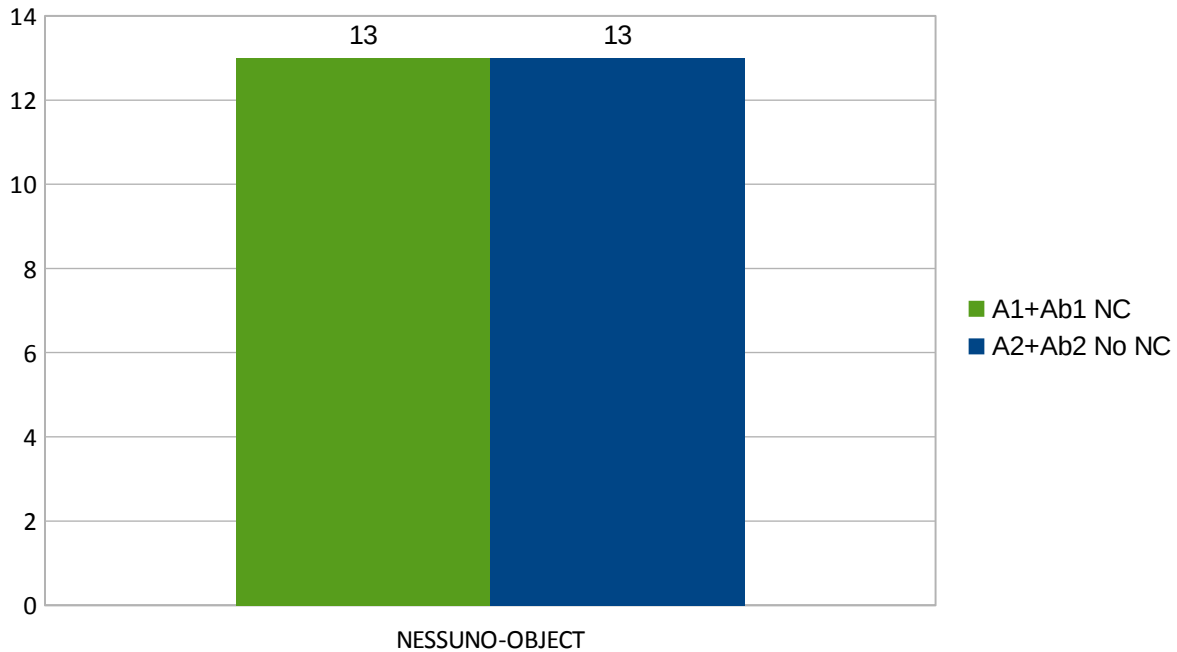
13	NC-A1+Ab1	4	A1
		9	Ab1
13	No NC-A2+Ab2		

(4)

Ex.   A Giulia e a Maria? Ben varda, robe de chealtro mondo…
The Giulia and the Maria? Good look thinks of that other world…
'Giulia and Maria? You know, what an incredible think...'

NESSUNO HANNO SALUTATO, ste do betoneghe
Nobody (they)have   said hello   these two witches
'They didn't say hello to anyone, these two witches'

Nesuni (no) e ga saeudà, ste do betoneghe

That's the only clause in which I tested *nessuno* in its object function in the main clauses test.
This clause had a problem in the dialect translation. Some informants were unable to translate *nessuno* in its object function and they turned it into the subject. So the clause became:

Nesuni (no) e ga saeudae, ste do betoneghe
Nobody neg them has said hello, these two witches
'Nobody said hello to them, these two witches'

This problem shows the difficulty the informants have to analyse a nominal element at the beginning of the clause in a different way from the subject.

When I found this difficulty in the interpretation I added some supplementary questions to elicite the competence of the informants and I recorded their comments. The majority of them chose a personal rule to distinguish between the two interpretations, *nessuno* object and *nessuno* subject.

G. F., for example, told me that to understand that *Giulia e Maria* are the subjects you don't have to put *no* after *nessuno* at the beginning of the clause. On the other side, L. S., for example, gave me an opposite explanation. She told me that to understand that *Giulia e Maria* are the subjects you have to put *no*

Finally, I decided not to consider in my analysis the cases in which the informants interpreted *nessuno* as the subject of the clause because here I need to look only at the object function of the n-word.

Looking at the data, I notice that there is the 50% of the informants who don't accept the NC, and the other 50% who accepted it. If we compare these data with the results of *nessuno* subject, we see that the NC is more acceptable with *nessuno* object than with the subject. The difference isn't so big, but I think it could be considered relevant.

If the informant is able to detect the syntactic function of the preverbal nominal element, the NC structure becomes possible and acceptable.

NESSUNO-INDIRECT COMPLEMENT

(5)
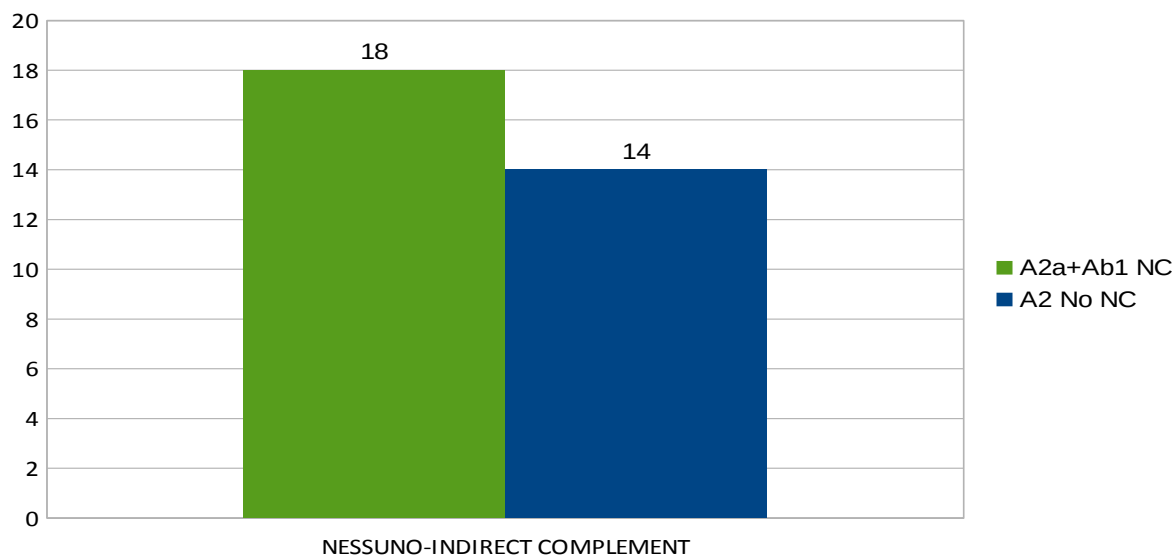
18	NC-A2a+Ab1	16	A2 a
		2	Ab1
14	No NC		

(5)

Ex.　　Te pensi sempre che a zente te parla drio e spae. Vuto che te diga a verità?
　　　　You think always that the people you speak behind the shoulders. Want that (I) you say the truth?
　　　　'You always think that people speak behind your back. Do you want me to tell you the truth?'

　　　　A NESSUNO INTERESSANO I TUOI AFFARI, sta tranquio.
　　　　To nobody　　interests　　　　the your affairs, stay relaxed.
　　　　'Nobody is interested in your thinks, stay relaxed'

　　　　A nesuni (no) ghe interesa i to afari, sta tranquio.

This is the clause in which I tested *nessuno* in its indirect complement function.
The first thing to observe is that, also for the indirect complement function of *nessuno*, there was no informants who created a NC structure as their first translation.
This fact assimilates the indirect complement *nessuno* with the object and the subject ones, but here there is also an interesting difference.
Actually, there are more cases in which the informants accepted the alternative with the NC (16), than cases in which the informants did not accept the NC structure at all (14), and this distinguishes the indirect complement function of *nessuno* from the others two functions in which this correlation was inverted.
To conclude, I think that *nessuno*, in its indirect complement function and when it is in the preverbal position, do not generally allow the presence of the negative marker *no*.
Anyway, the NC structure and the No NC one are both present in the competence of the informants, and that's why a considerable number of the informants accepted the alternative proposal with the NC.

NIENTE-SUBJECT

(6)
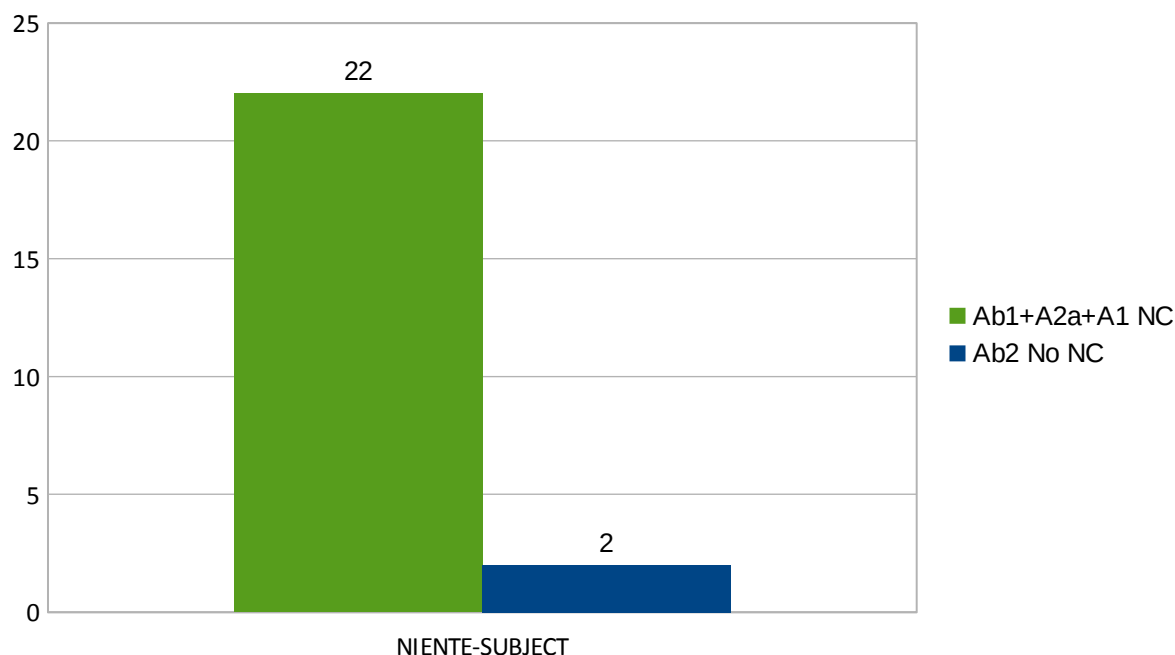
22	NC-Ab1+A2a+A1	1	A1
		7	A2 a
		14	Ab1
2	No NC-Ab2		

(6)

Ex.   Vuto che te diga a verità?
         Want that (I) you say the truth?
        'Do you want me to tell you the truth?'

        A ME NIENTE E' PIACIUTO DI QUELLO CHE HANNO FATTO
        To me nothing   is liked   of that (pronoun) that (conjunction) (they) have done
   'I didn't like anything of what they've done'

        A mi niente (no) me ga piazo de queo che i ga fato

This is the question in which I tested the negative indefinite *niente* in its subject function.

In the analysis of *niente* I notice that only one informant created a NC structure in his first translation, but, anyway, lots of others (14+7) accepted it when it has been proposed. The data then show that only in two cases the NC alternative was not accepted at all.

I conclude that *niente,* in its subject function and in the preposed position, allows for the presence of the negative marker *no*. The two structures, NC and No NC seem to be both present in the competence of the informants. Anyway, the NC alternative does not win as the first answer, it seems to be the most suitable option only when it is proposed.

NIENTE-OBJECT

(7)
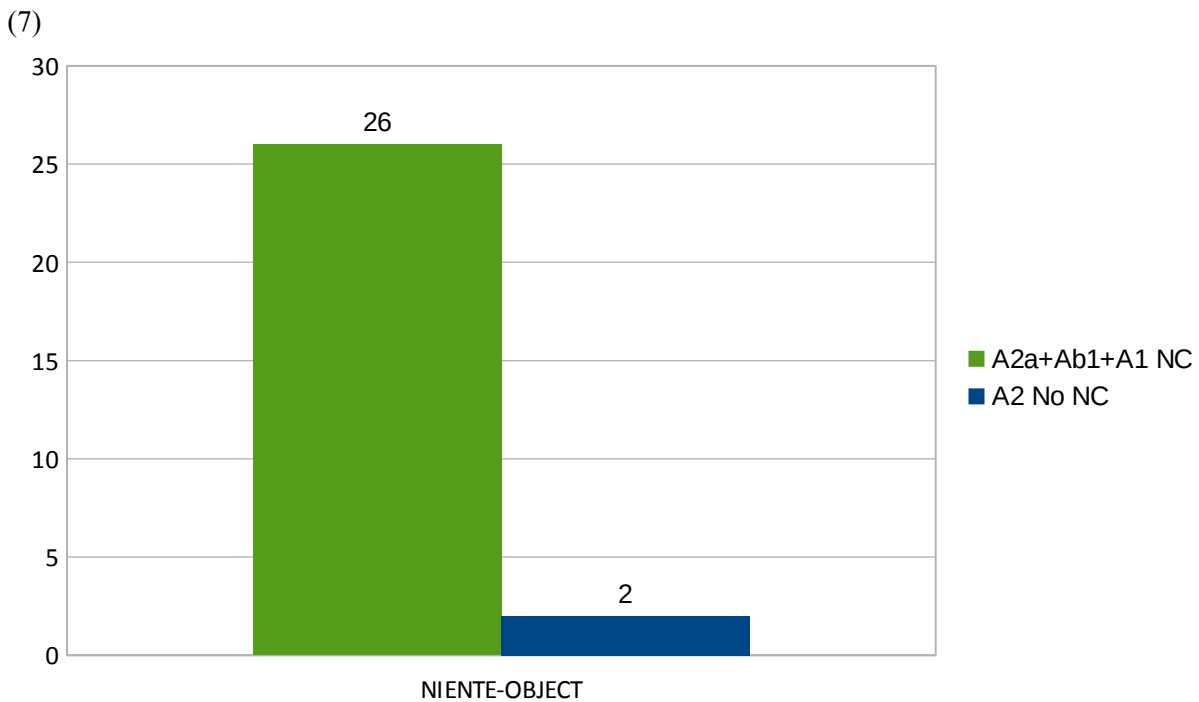
26	NC-A2a+Ab1+A1	8	A1
		9	A2 a
		9	Ab1
2	No NC-A2		

(7)

Ex.   Varda, a ghe gaveo parecià de tuto: risoto col radicio, bacaeà, poenta, dolse fato in casa, e eo
        Look, I to him have prepared all: risotto with radicchio, baccalà, polenta, cake made at home, and
        'Look, I prepared all for him: risotto with radicchio, baccalà, polenta, homemade cake and he'

        NIENTE HA MANGIATO, sto desgrasià
        Nothing(he)has eaten   , this miserable
        'He didn't eat anything, this miserable'

This is the clause in which I tested the object function of *niente*.
The first interesting thing I noticed is the presence of 8 cases of NC in the first translation. That's very important because in the three functions of *nessuno* and in the subject function of *niente* the presence of this alternative was very rare.
Then, we have 18 cases (9+9) in which the NC structure is accepted after my proposal and only 2 cases of No NC only.

To conclude, I detected that *niente* in the preverbal position and in its object function allows for the presence of the negative marker and in some cases it also helps and, I could say, suggests the raise of the NC. Both NC and No NC alternatives are allowed, but the NC one seems to sounds better to the informants.

NESSUNO-SUBJECT-OBJECT-INDIRECT COMPLEMENT

(8)
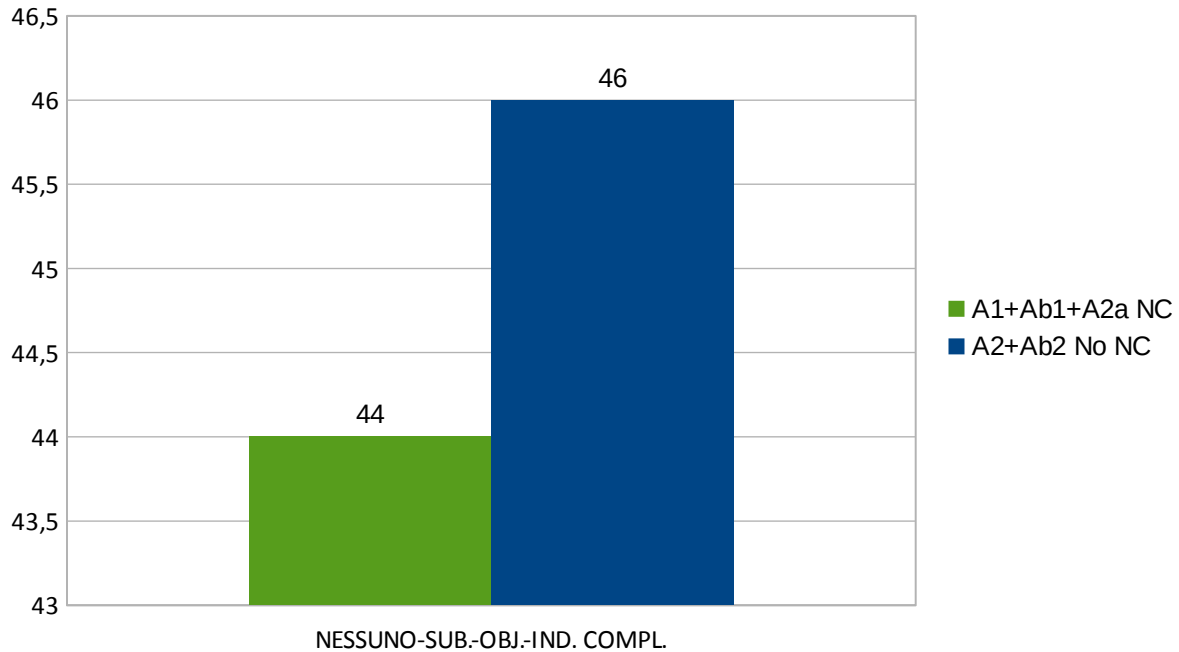
44	NC-A1+Ab1+A2a	4	A1
		27	A2 a-
		13	Ab1
46	No NC-A2+Ab2		

Here we have a picture of the overall situation of *nessuno* in the three syntactic functions I tested.

The data show that with *nessuno* the two structures, NC and No NC are both present and possible in the competence of the informants, but the No NC is the most natural. Actually, we have only 4 cases of NC as the first answer (it's interesting to notice that they are all with *nessuno* object), and 27 cases of No NC at first and that's a very relevant number.

NIENTE-SUBJECT-OBJECT

(9)
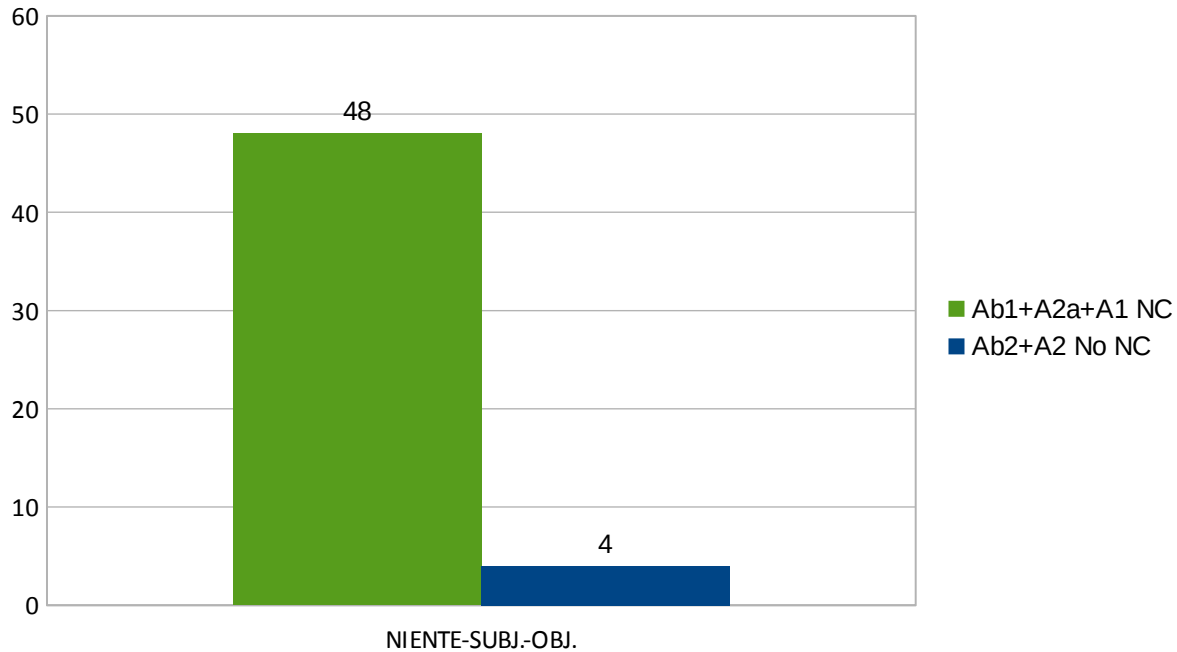
48	NC-Ab1+A2a+A1	9	A1
		16	A2 a
		23	Ab1
4	No NC-Ab2-A2		

The data show an opposite situation comparing to *nessuno*. Actually *niente* seems to be more similar to *nianca* and *niancora*. The majority of the informants accepted the NC structure and considered it the best solution.

However, I notice an important difference between the data of *nianca* and *niancora* and which ones of *niente*. Actually, if we look at the NC numbers of *niente*, we discover that the NC answers 'at first' are few (9). This means that the informants do not create a NC structure as their first spell out, but that they only accept it after my proposal.

Another interesting thing to notice is the internal composition of these 9 'NC at first'. 8 are in the *niente* object and only 1 is in *niente* subject. It seems that with the subject the NC structure becomes less natural and harder to be yielded and this confirms what I detected with *nessuno* subject.

To conclude, we could say that the two structures, NC and No NC are both present and allowed in the competence of the informants. The No NC alternative wins as the first answer, but then, after my proposal, the NC one overtakes the No NC.

FILLING THE GAPS TEST- NC RESULTS

KEY OF THE CONTRACTIONS

C	NC at first
De	NC after the proposal
C1	No NC
De1	No NC (postposition at first)

<div align="center">NIANCA</div>

(10)
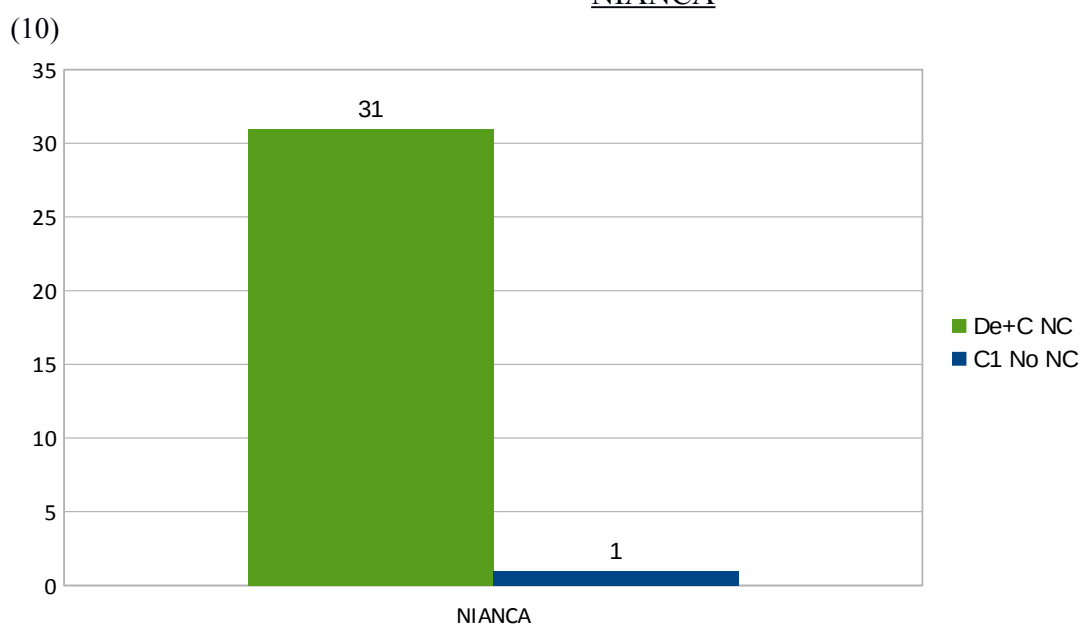
31	NC-De+C	8	C
		23	De
1	No NC-C1		

This is the only question in which I tested *nianca* in the filling the gaps test.

(8)

Ex.   (NIANCA) No vojo vederlo
          Neither (I)not want see (him)
          'I don't even want to see him'

The results confirm the analysis I made for *nianca* in the translation test. *Nianca* in the preverbal position is followed by the negative marker and so it gives rise to NC in the most of the cases. The number of the cases in which the informants chose the postverbal position as their first answer could be explained by the fact that, as I said in chapter III, here, in the filling the gaps test, there isn't a preceding context which suggests the fact that the n-word in the left periphery is in a FocP position. However, the important thing to notice is that, when *nianca* is in the preverbal position, there is always the negative marker and so the NC.

NIANCORA

(11)
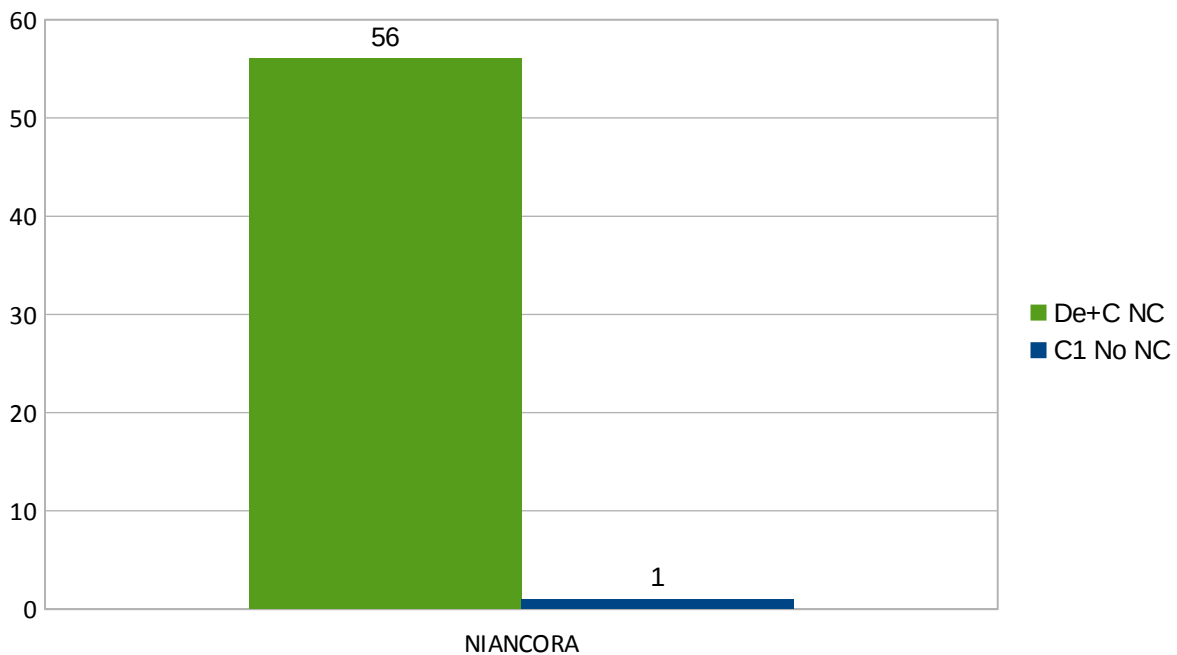
56	NC-De+C	19	C
		37	De
1	No NC-C1		

(9)

Ex.   (NIANCORA) No go visto nianca un scheo
       Not even   not (I) have seen neither a coin
       'I haven't seen neither a coin yet'

From these data I noticed a large presence of the NC with the preverbal *niancora*. This confirms what I observed in the translation test. Actually, there is only 1 informant who did not produce the negative marker *no* after the preverbal n-word. The fact that *niancora* is almost always followed by the negative marker could also depends from the fact that, as I said for the translation test, its corresponding n-word in Italian *ancora* isn't negative and so it allowed for the presence of the negative marker. On the other hand, and that's the important thing for my analysis, *niancora* in Zeminianese has a negative morpheme.

NESSUNO-SUBJECT

(12)
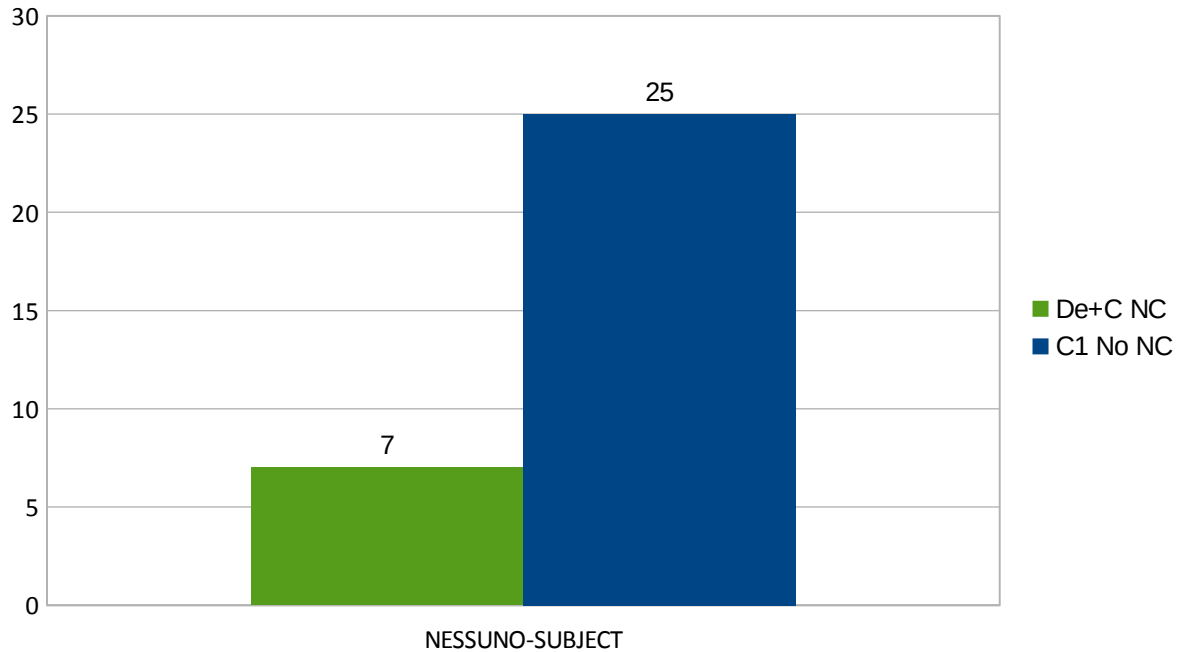
7	NC-De+C	3	C
		4	De
25	No NC-C1		

(10)

Ex.   (NESSUNO) No ga parlà mae de ti
                   Nobody   not has spoken ill of you
                   'Nobody spoke ill of you'

This is the only clause in which I tested *nessuno* in its subject function.

The data confirm the results of the translation test, but they also stress a particular analysis' perspective. Actually, in this test I observed 25 cases of missed negative marker after *nessuno*. In my opinion this is a strong evidence of the fact that *nessuno* in its subject function hardly gives rise to NC. It has a strong negative meaning, and its presence, together with the negative marker in the preverbal position, seems to be redundant to lots of the informants. They accepted the presence of the negative marker only when they detect a focused context.

NESSUNO-OBJECT

(13)
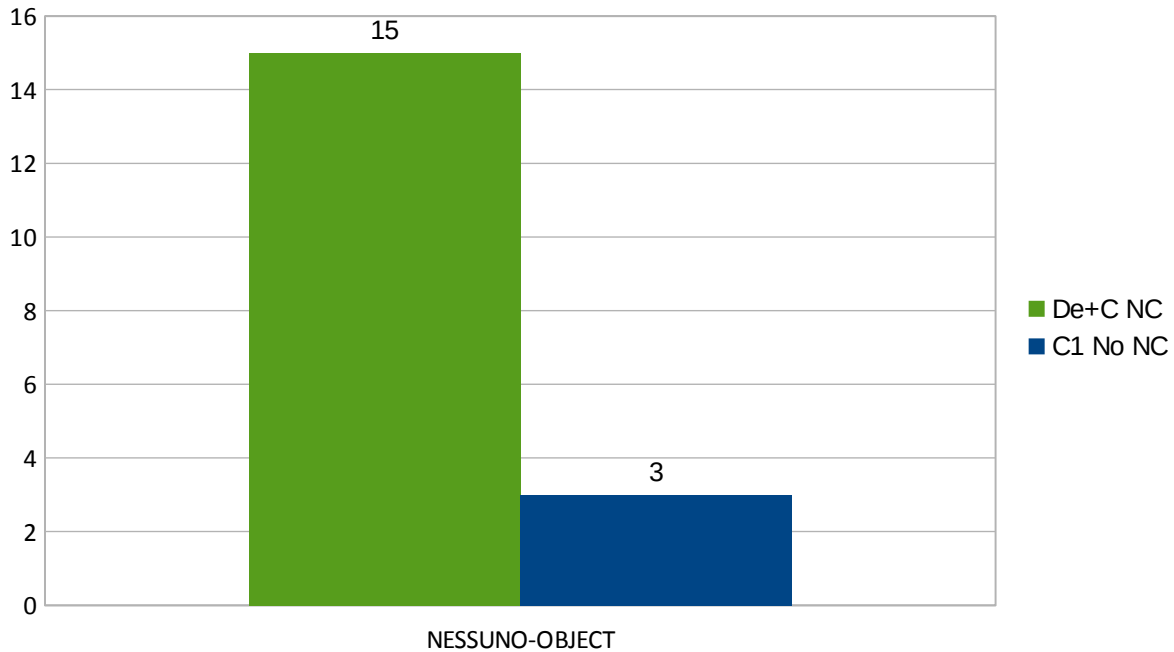
15	NC-De+C	1	C
		14	De
3	No NC-C1		

(11)

Ex.　　　　　　　(NESSUNO) No e gà saeudà
　　　　　　 Nobody　　　not they have said hello
　　　　　　 'They didn't say hello to anyone'

That's the only clause in which I tested *nessuno* in its object function in the filling the gaps test.

As I said for the translation test, some informants had problems in the interpretation of the syntactic function of *nessuno*. Actually, there are 7 informants who interpreted *nessuno* as the subject of the clause. I obviously decided not to consider these data on my analysis.

The major part of the informants who interpreted *nessuno* in the correct way put it in the postverbal position, but, after my proposal in the preverbal position, they accepted it. Moreover, the number of the informants who missed the negative marker giving rise to No NC structure is very little (3). From this analysis, I conclude that the two structures, NC and No NC are both presence in the competence of the informants with *nessuno* object, and that the NC one seems to be the most suitable when it is proposed.

NESSUNO-INDIRECT COMPLEMENT

(14)

11	NC-De+C	5	C
		6	De
20	No NC-C1		

(12)

Ex.   (A NESSUNO) No ghe interesa i to afari
                       To anyone   not to him interests the your affairs
                       'Nobody is interested in your thinks'

This is the only clause in which I tested the presence of *nessuno* in its indirect complement function in the filling the gaps test.
Here the results are a bit different from the ones I detected in the translation test.
There, I noticed a bigger number of cases of NC accepted than cases of NC refused. Here, we observe the opposite situation. Actually, there are 20 cases, in which the informants missed the negative marker after *nessuno*' than cases in which they accepted the presence of both *nessuno* and the negative marker.
I think this difference is connected with the perception of the focused position of the n-word. The more the informants are able to detect the focus in the left periphery of the clause, the more they create NC structures. Here there isn't a preliminar context, so it's harder for the informants to imagine the focus.

NIENTE-SUBJECT

(15)
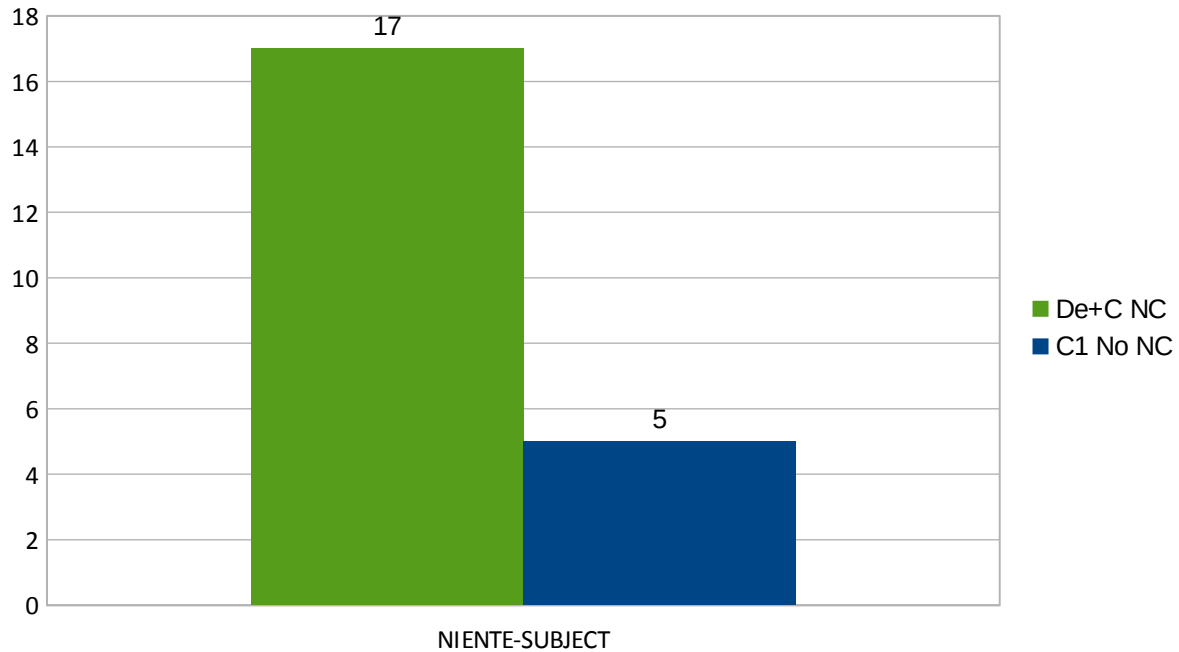
17	NC-De+C	5	C
		12	De
5	No NC-C1		

(13)

Ex.   (NIENTE) No me ga piazo de sta storia
                        Nothing   not to me has liked of this story
                        'I didn't like anything of this story'

This is the clause in which I tested *niente* in its subject function in the filling the gaps test.

The results confirm what I observed in the translation test. The NC and the No NC structures are both present in the competence of the informants. Also here, as in the translation test, the NC wins, but only after my proposal. The number of 'NC at first' answers is a bit higher than which one in the translation test (5 vs 1), but not so big if we look at the whole number.

NIENTE-OBJECT

(16)
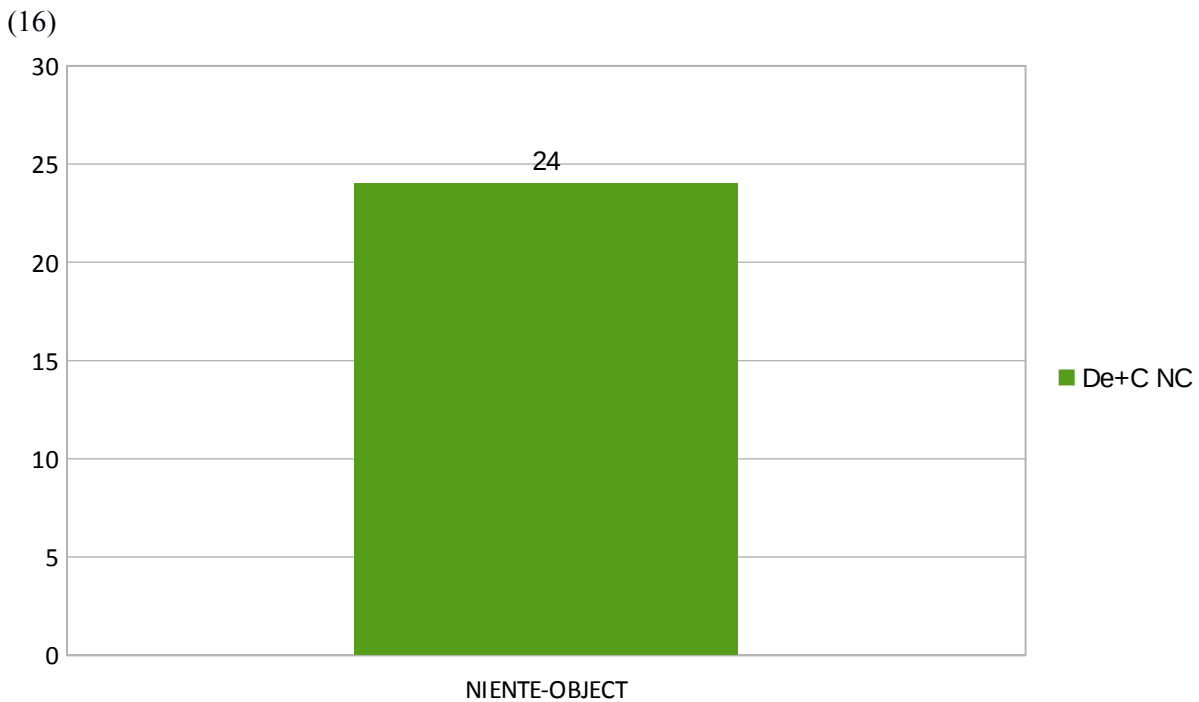
24	NC-De+C	3	C
		21	De

(14)

Ex.   (NIENTE) Nol ga magnà
      Nothing (he) not has eaten
      'He didn't eat anything'

This is the only clause in which I tested *niente* in its object function in the filling the gaps test.

Also here the data confirm what I detected in the translation test. Looking at the presence of the NC, *niente*, in its object function, seems to works better than *niente* subject.

Actually, here we have no cases of No NC at all. On the other side, if we look at the inner composition of the number of the NC answers, we see that the majority of the informants did not create the NC structure as its first answer, but they accepted it after my proposal. The most part of the first answers were with *niente* in the postverbal position. The reason is that, as I already said, in the filling the gaps test the clauses do not have a preliminar context so the informants cannot imagine a focused situation and so move the n-word in the marked preverbal position.

NESSUNO-SUBJECT-OBJECT-INDIRECT COMPLEMENT

(17)
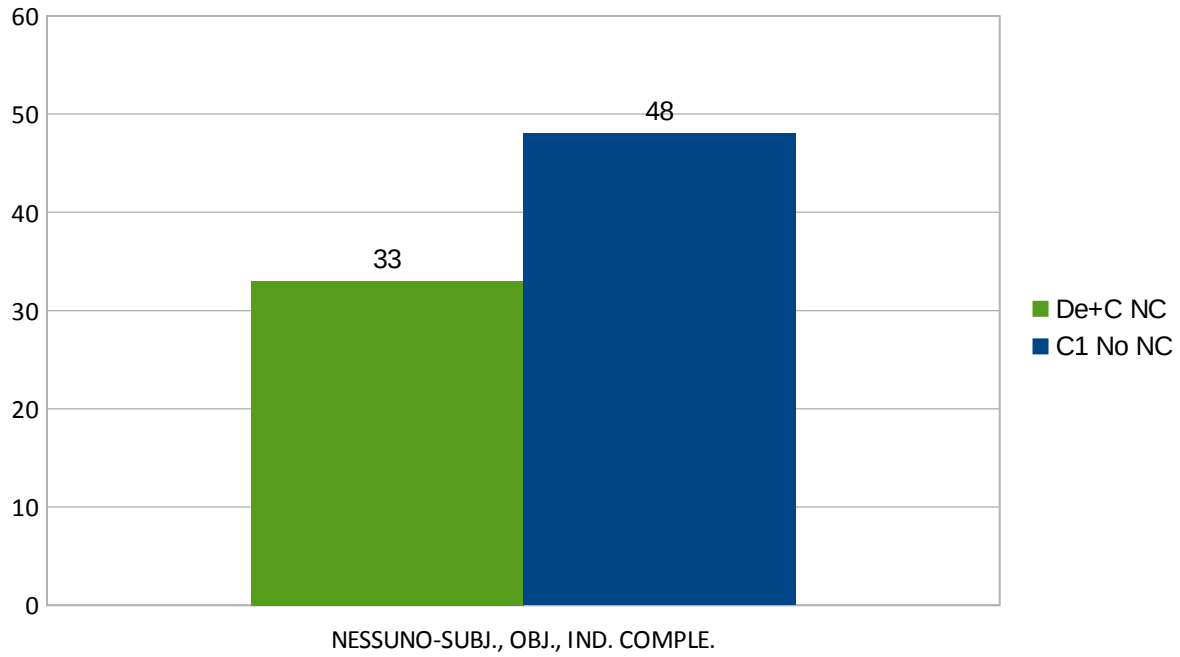
33	NC-De+C	10	C
		23	De
48	No NC-C1		

The overall results for *nessuno* confirm what I detected from the translation test with some internal differences. The graphic and the table clearly show that the two structure, NC and No Nc, are both present in the competence of the informants, but the No NC one seems to be the best.

NIENTE-SUBJECT-OBJECT

(18)
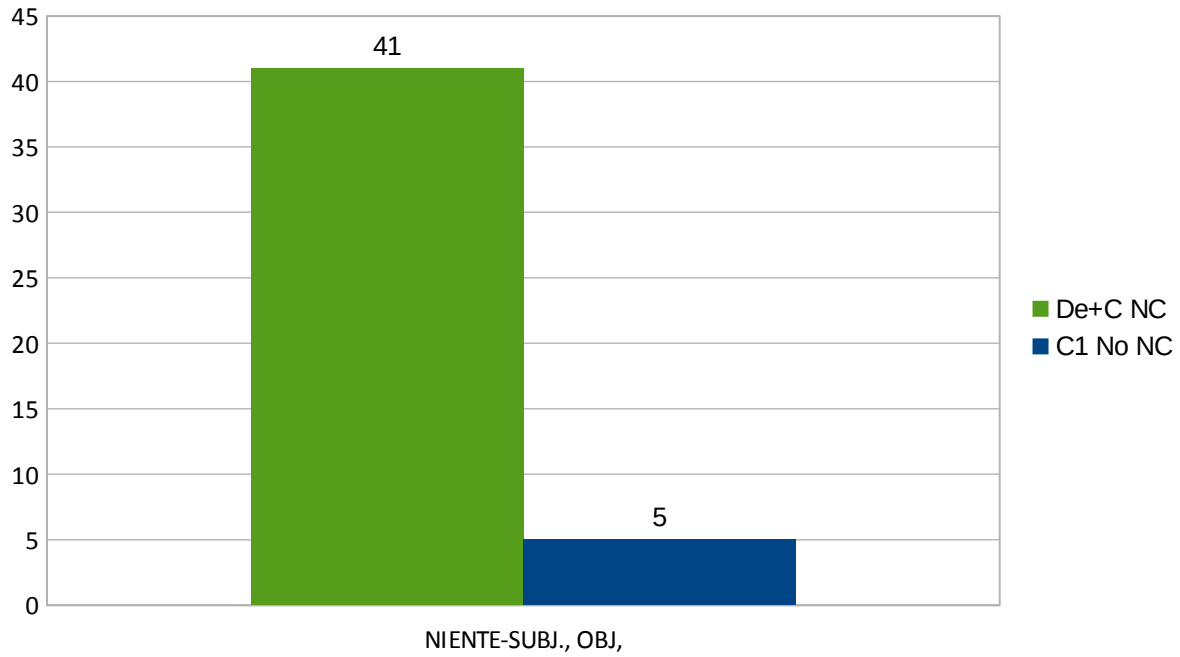
41	NC-De+C	8	C
		33	De
5	No NC-C1		

Also here the data confirm what I noticed for *niente* in the translation test. Even if after my proposal, the NC structure seems to be the best option.

TRANSLATION TEST-ANTEPOSITION RESULTS

Here I will present and analyse the anteposition results, which I separated from the NC results. The phenomenon of anteposition is a prerequisite for the NC one, as I said in the previous chapters, because without the anteposition of the n-words there cannot be NC.

<u>NIANCA</u>

(19)
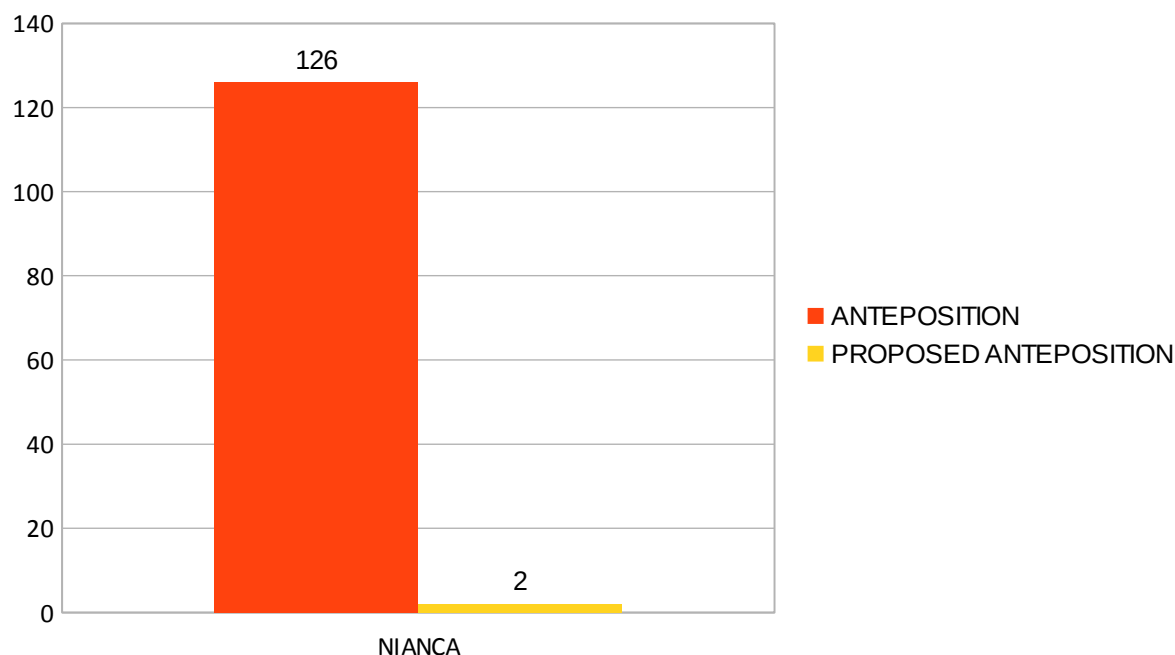
126	ANTEPOSITION
2	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION

(15)

Ex.   A te ghe poco da lamentarte che Giorgio xè sempre in giro
                You have few to complain   that Giorgio is always out
                'You have very little to complain about the fact that Giorgio is always out'

                NEANCHE IO SONO MAI A CASA, seto
                Neither   I   am   never at home, you know
                'Even I am never at home, you know'

                NIANCA mi no so mai casa

As a matter of facts, I conclude that the adverb *nianca* is completely acceptable in an preposed position when there is a marked and a correlative context. The most of the informants put it at the beginning of the clause in their translation and this choice seems to be with no doubts.

NIANCORA

NESSUNO-SUBJECT

(21)

29	ANTEPOSITION
3	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION

(17)

7. No so chi che te gabia contà ste storie. Mi so stà co jori tuto el dì e
    (I)not know who that to you have told these stories. I have been with them all the day and
   'I don't know who told you these stories. I've been with them all day long and'

    NESSUNO HA PARLATO MALE DI TE
    Nobody   has spoken   bad   of you
    'Nobody spoken ill of you'

    NESUNI *no ga parlà mae de ti*

This is the clause in which I tested the position of *nessuno* in its subject function.
The data show an overwhelming preference for the preposed position. I think this is normal and expected. The subject has its natural position at the beginning of the clause in Zeminianese as in all Romance languages. So the number of the *nessuno* preposed follows here more from the syntactic function of the n-word than from the pragmatic structure.

NESSUNO-OBJECT

(22)
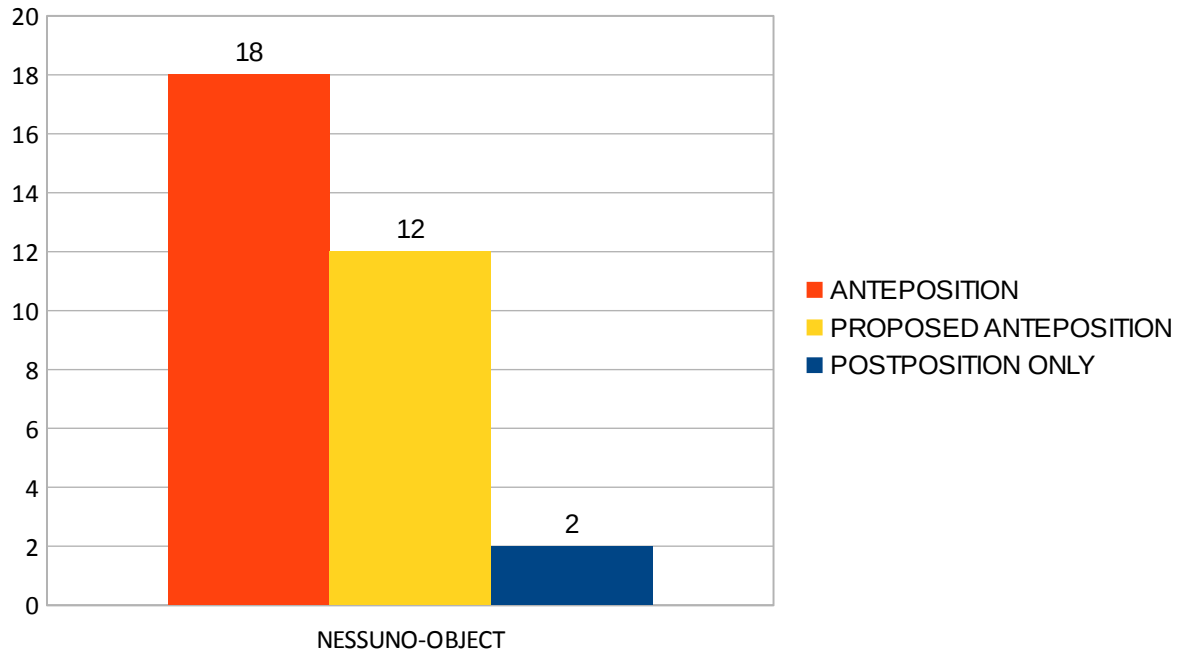
18	ANTEPOSITION
12	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION
2	POSTPOSITION ONLY

(18)

Ex.   A Giulia e a Maria? Ben varda, robe de chealtro mondo…
             The Giulia and the Maria? Good look thinks of that other world…
             'Giulia and Maria? You know, what an incredible think...'

   NESSUNO HANNO SALUTATO, ste do betoneghe
             Nobody (they)have   said hello   these two witches
             'They didn't say hello to anyone, these two witches'

             Nesuni (no) e ga saeudà, ste do betoneghe

This is the clause in which I tested the *nessuno* anteposition in its object syntactic function. The choice of the postverbal position in 14 cases follows from the syntactic function of the n-word. The object normally goes after the main verb in Standard Italian and also in Zeminianese. However, the number of preverbal cases is bigger than the postverbal one. This means that the object could easily stay in a preverbal position in a marked structure.

NESSUNO-INDIRECT COMPLEMENT

(23)
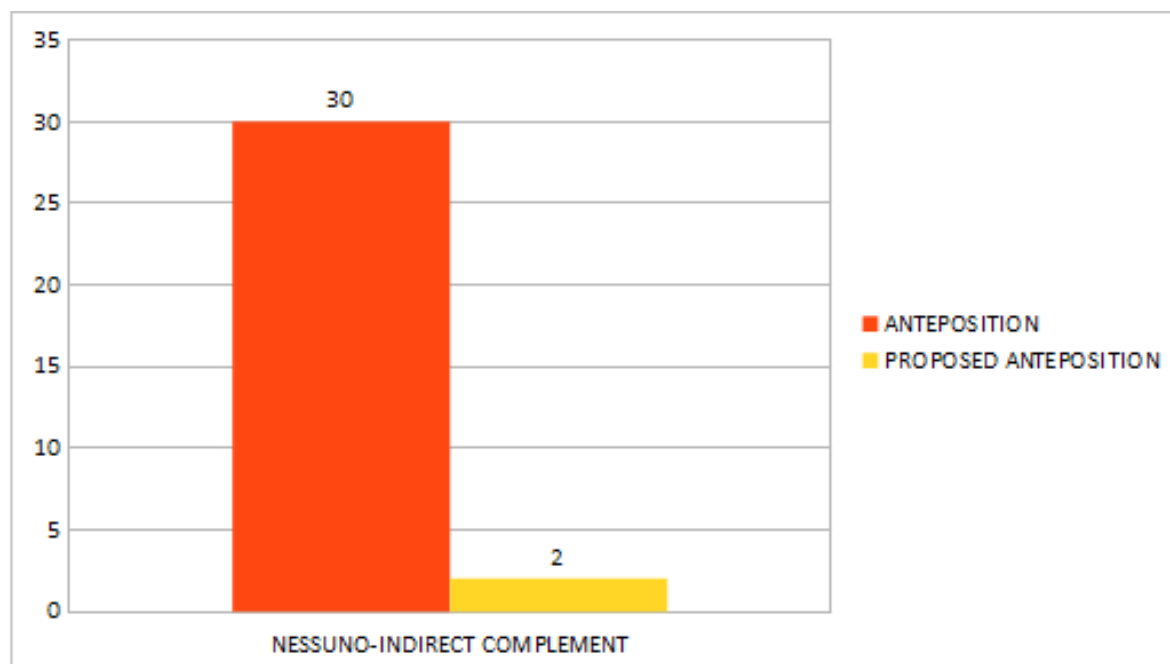
30	ANTEPOSITION
2	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION

(19)

Ex.   Te pensi sempre che a zente te parla drio e spae. Vuto che te diga a verità?
        You think always that the people speak behind the shoulders. Want that (I) you say the truth?
        'You always think that people speak behind your back. Do you want me to tell you the truth?'

        A NESSUNO INTERESSANO I TUOI AFFARI, sta tranquio.
        To nobody   interests   the your affairs, stay relaxed.
        'Nobody is interested in your thinks, stay relaxed'

        A nesuni (no) ghe interesa i to afari, sta tranquio.

This is the clause in which I tested the *nessuno* anteposition in its indirect complement function.
It seems that in an indirect syntactic function the best place to put *nessuno* is the preposed one, in particular when the subject follows the verb. Actually, the base order of this clause is: *I tuoi affari non interessano a nessuno* (The your affairs NEG interest to nobody). But when I put the subject, *I tuoi affari* after the verb, the most suitable place for *a nessuno* seems to become the preposed position.

The following two clauses are ill formed:

 -Non interessano A NESSUNO i tuoi affari
  Neg interests   to nobody   the your affairs
  'Nobody is interested in your things'
-Non interessano i tuoi affari A NESSUNO
  NEG interests   the your affairs to nobody
  'Nobody is interested in your things'

NIENTE-SUBJECT

(24)

8	ANTEPOSITION
16	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION
7	POSTPOSITION ONLY

(20)

Ex.   Vuto che te diga a verità?
          Want that (I) you say the truth?
          'Do you want me to tell you the truth?'

          A ME NIENTE E' PIACIUTO DI QUELLO CHE HANNO FATTO
          To me nothing   is liked   of that (pronoun) that (conjunction) (they) have done
          'I didn't like anything of what they've done'

          A mi niente (no) me ga piazo de queo che i ga fato

This is the clause in which I tested the anteposition with *niente* in its subject function.
Niente seems to have more difficulties in reaching the preposed position than *nessuno*. Actually in Zeminianese, the base position of *niente* in this clause is after the verb:

          'A mi no me ga piaxo niente de queo che i gà fato'
          To me NEG me have liked nothing of what that they have done
          'I didn't like anything of what they've done'

In this position *niente* seems to have a hybrid function. It is not a nominal element at all, and it seems to share some adverbial characteristics with the Italian *per niente*.

The only way to put *niente*' in a preverbal position is to have a focused structure as I tried to do.
Lots of the informants detected the focus on their own or after my proposal.
Some others did not detect it at all.

68

NIENTE-OBJECT (QUESTION 10)

(25)
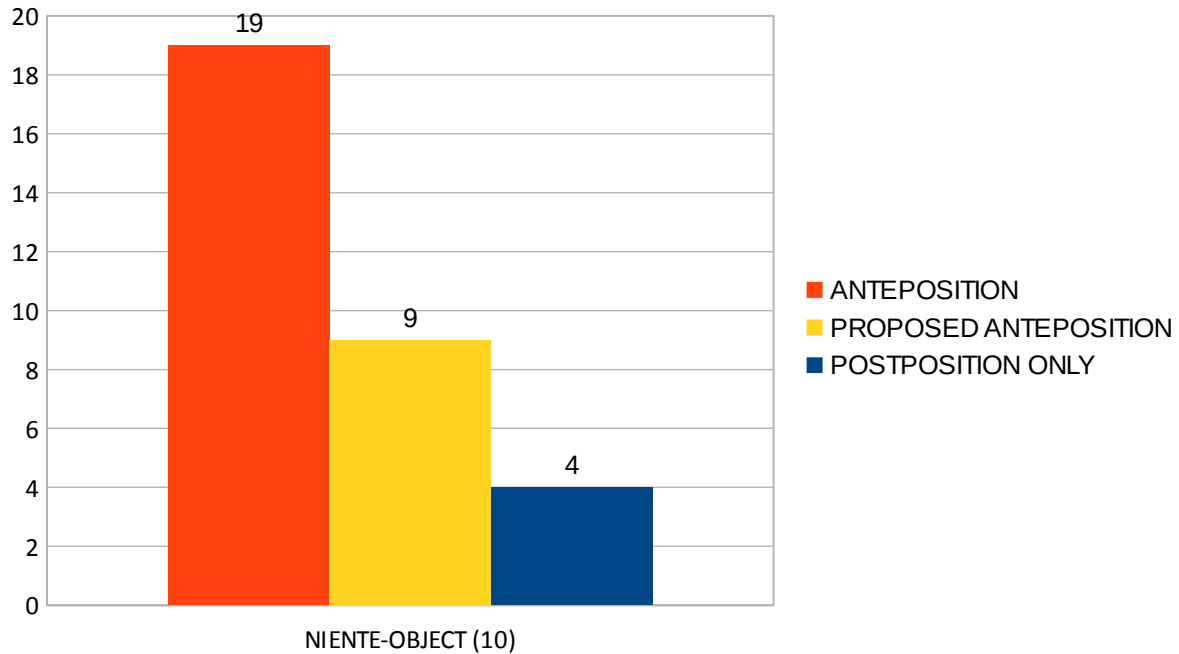
19	ANTEPOSITION
9	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION
4	POSTPOSITION ONLY

(21)

Ex.   Varda, a ghe gaveo parecià de tuto: risoto col radicio, bacaeà, poenta, dolse fato in casa, e eo
       Look, I to him have prepared all: risotto with radicchio, baccalà, polenta, cake made at home, and
       'Look, I prepared all for him: risotto with radicchio, baccalà, polenta, homemade cake and he'

       NIENTE HA MANGIATO, sto desgrasià
       Nothing has eaten   , this miserable
       'He didn't eat anything, this miserable'

The object function does not prevent *niente* to reach the preposed position. Actually, the major part of the informants chose the preposed position at first and only a few part of them did not accept the anteposition at all. I think it depends on the pragmatic structure of the clause. The clause I made presents a focus and this focus has been easily detected from the most part of the informants.
Here we have the opposite example.

NIENTE-OBJECT (QUESTION 11)

(26)
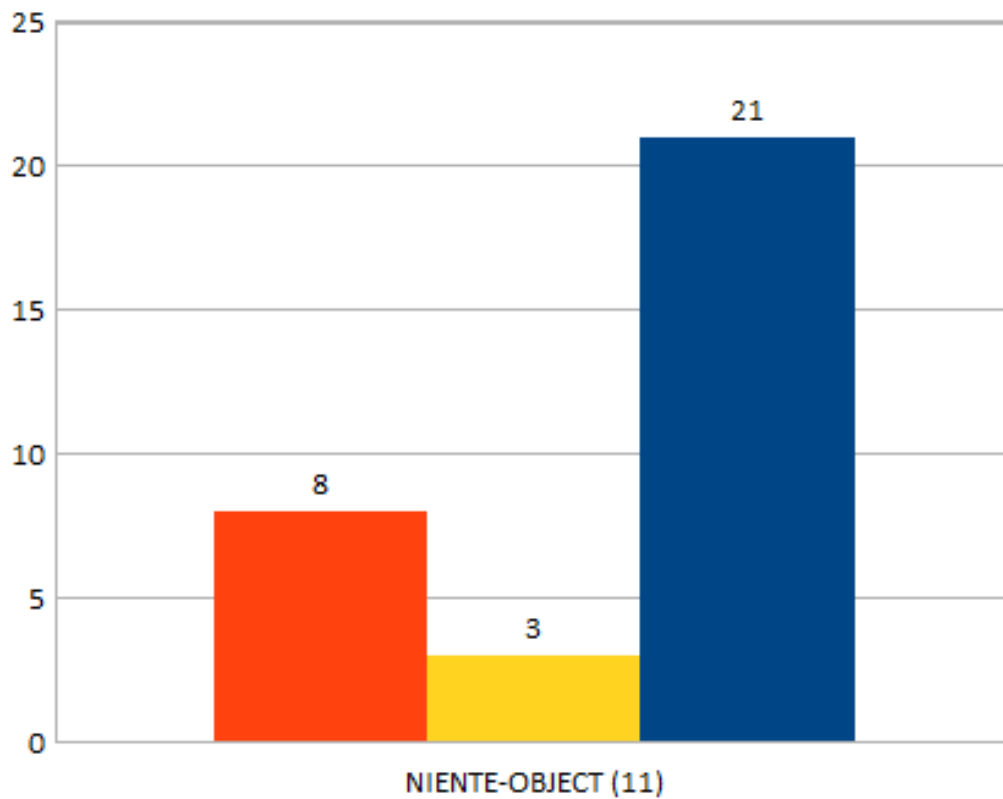
8	ANTEPOSITION
3	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION
21	POSTPOSITION ONLY

(22)

Ex.   Quando uno nase co poca voja de fare xè difisie chel cambia, o digo sempre mi,
When   a person is born with a little longing to do is hard that he changes, (I) it say always me
'When a person is born with a little longing to do is hard for him to change, I always say this

NIENTE C'E' DA FARE
Nothing there is to do
'There is nothing to do'

NIENTE *no ghe ze da fare*

In this case, the base order of the clause is: 'Non c'è niente da fare' (NEG there is nothing to do). The marked alternative with the anteposition of *niente* seems to be very 'strange' and mostly wrong to all the informants. So I decided not to consider this clause in my analysis of the NC.
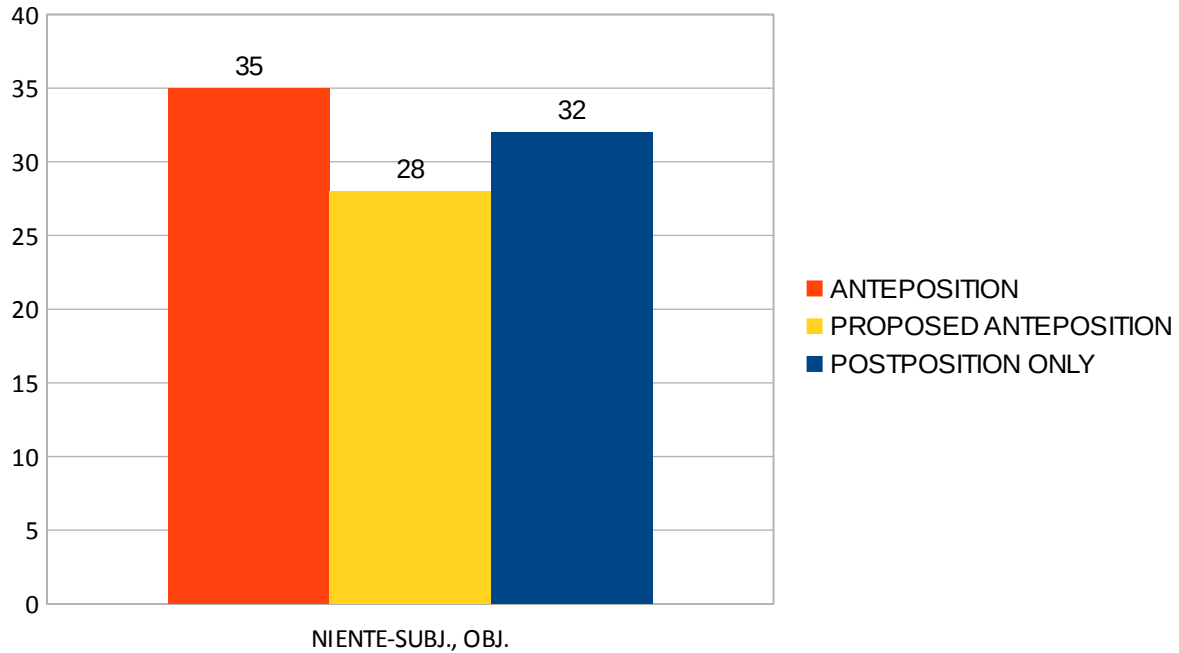
NESSUNO-SUBJECT-OBJECT-INDIRECT COMPLEMENT

(27)
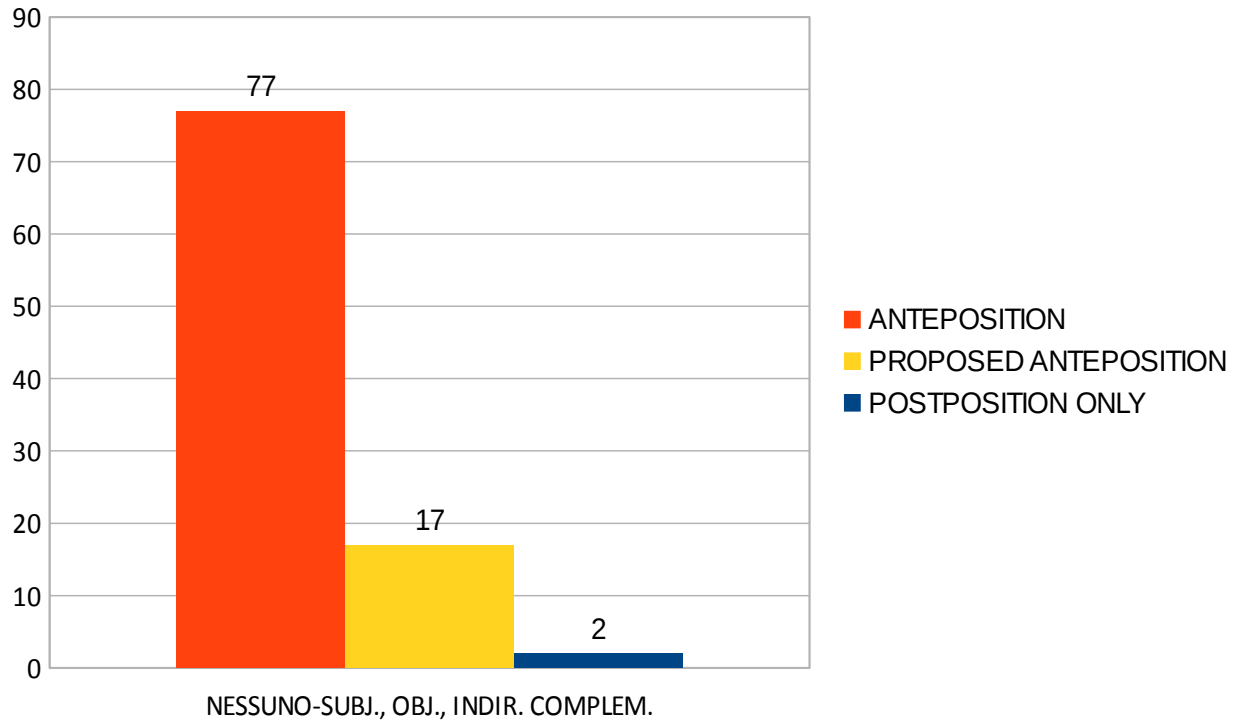
77	ANTEPOSITION
17	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION
2	POSTPOSITION ONLY

NIENTE-SUBJECT-OBJECT

(28)

35	ANTEPOSITION
28	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION
32	POSTPOSITION ONLY

To summarize, I noticed that between the two adverbs, *nianca* and *niancora*, *nianca* is more acceptable in the preposed position. On the other hand, between the two indefinites, *nessuno* is more acceptable in the preposed position than *niente*. The acceptability for *nessuno* and *niente* in the preposed position depends mostly on the syntactic function they have in the clause.

In general, the anteposition is acceptable if the context is pragmatically marked and if the informant is able to detect the focus.

FILLING THE GAPS TEST-ANTEPOSITION RESULTS

Before presenting and analysing the results, some preliminary remarks are in order. As I've already explained in Chapter III, the 'filling the gaps' test does not create or recreate a marked situation, because the clauses are not preceded by any context. This means that it was harder for the informants to put the elements they were asked to fill in an preposed and focused position as their first answer. For this reason, after their first answer, if it was with no anteposition, I proposed to them the alternative clause with the n-word in the preverbal position and asked if they considered it correct or not.

NIANCA

(29)
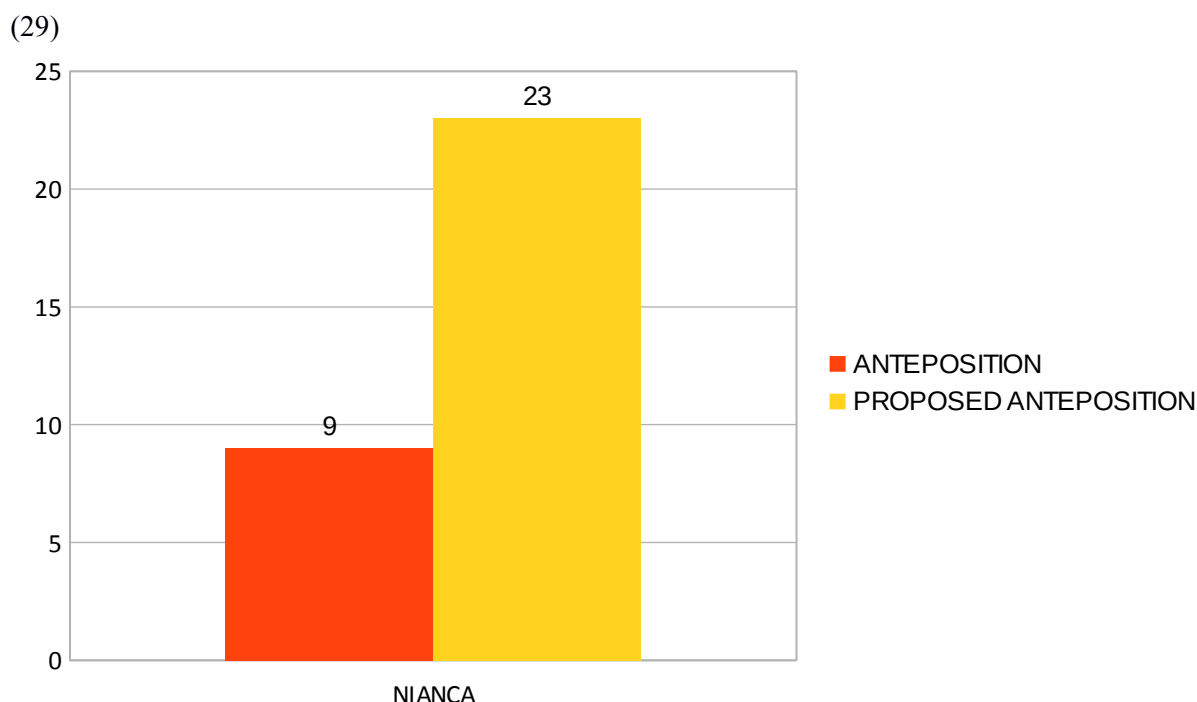
9	ANTEPOSITION
23	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION

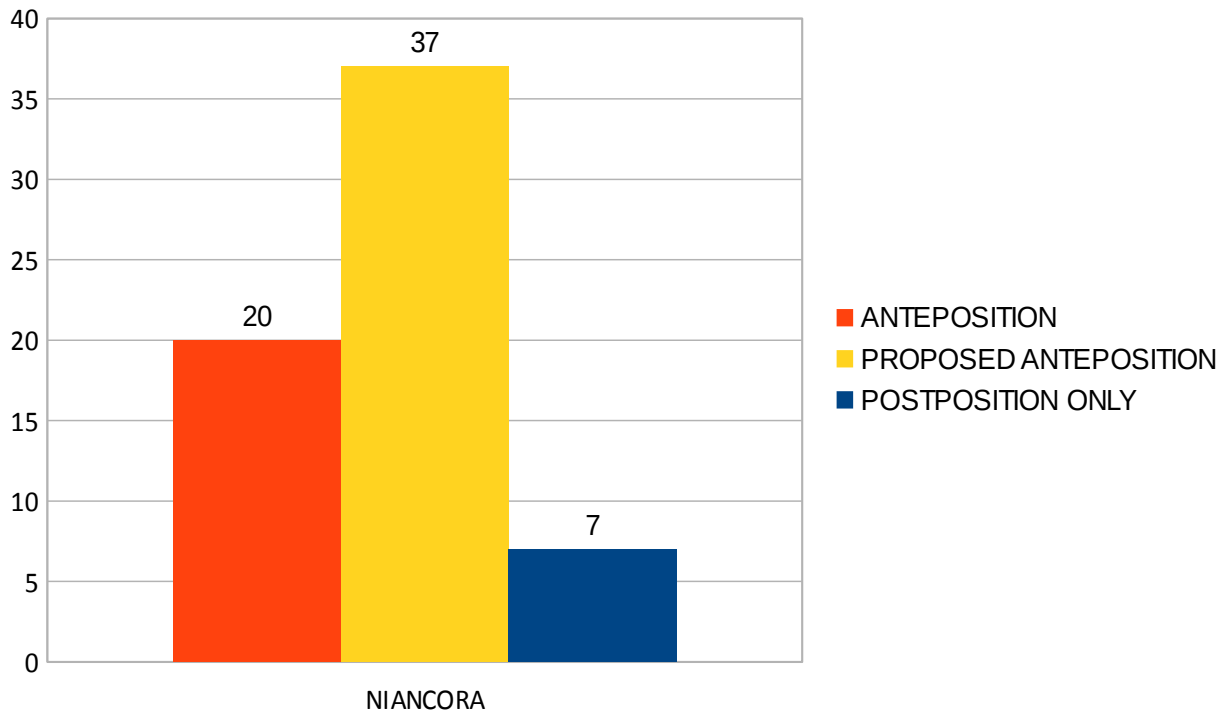(23)

Ex.   (NIANCA) No vojo vederlo (NIANCA)
                 Neither   not want to see him
                'I don't even want to see him'

Considering the preliminary remark I've just presented, I could say that *nianca* is completely acceptable in the preposed marked position of a main clause and that nothing blocks its movement from its base position to the beginning of the clause.

NIANCORA

(30)

20	ANTEPOSITION
37	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION
7	POSTPOSITION ONLY

(24)

Ex.   (NIANCORA) No a magna (NIANCORA), a putea
                         Not even   not she eats   , the baby
                         'She hasn't eaten yet, the baby'

In a similar fashion to which I detected for *nianca* and *niancora* in the translation test, I could say that *niancora* seems to be a bit worse in the preposed position than *nianca*.
In my opinion the reason, as I said for the translation test, could be found in the pragmatic force of *niancora*, which seems to me to be less strong than the one's of *nianca*.

(31)
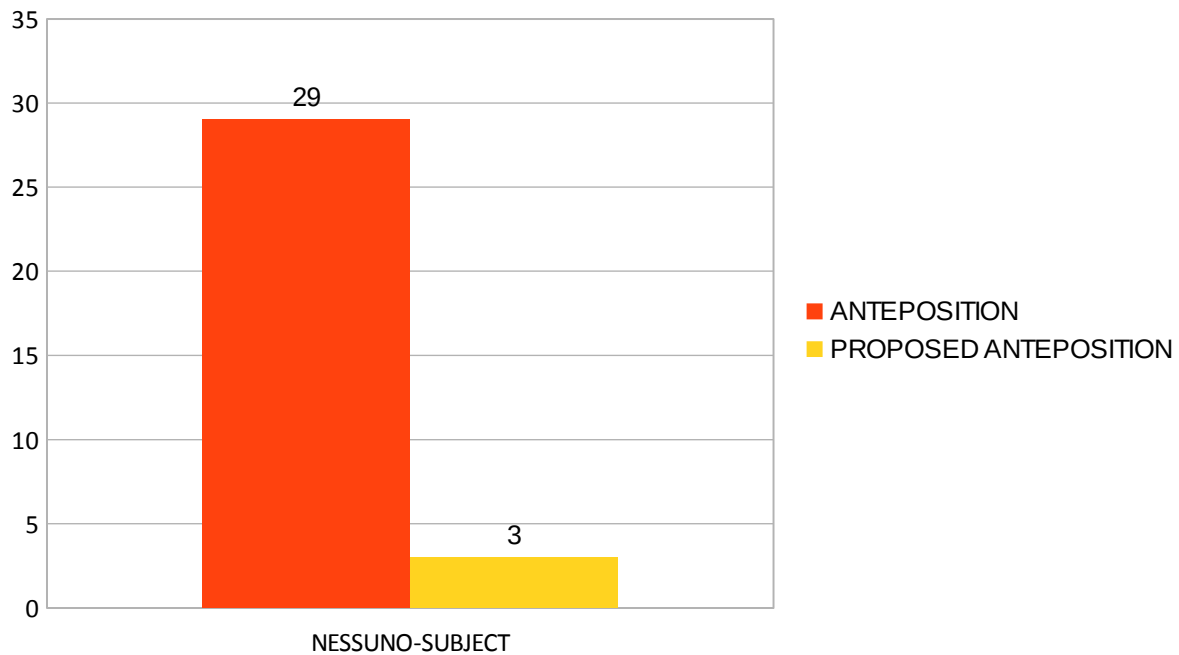
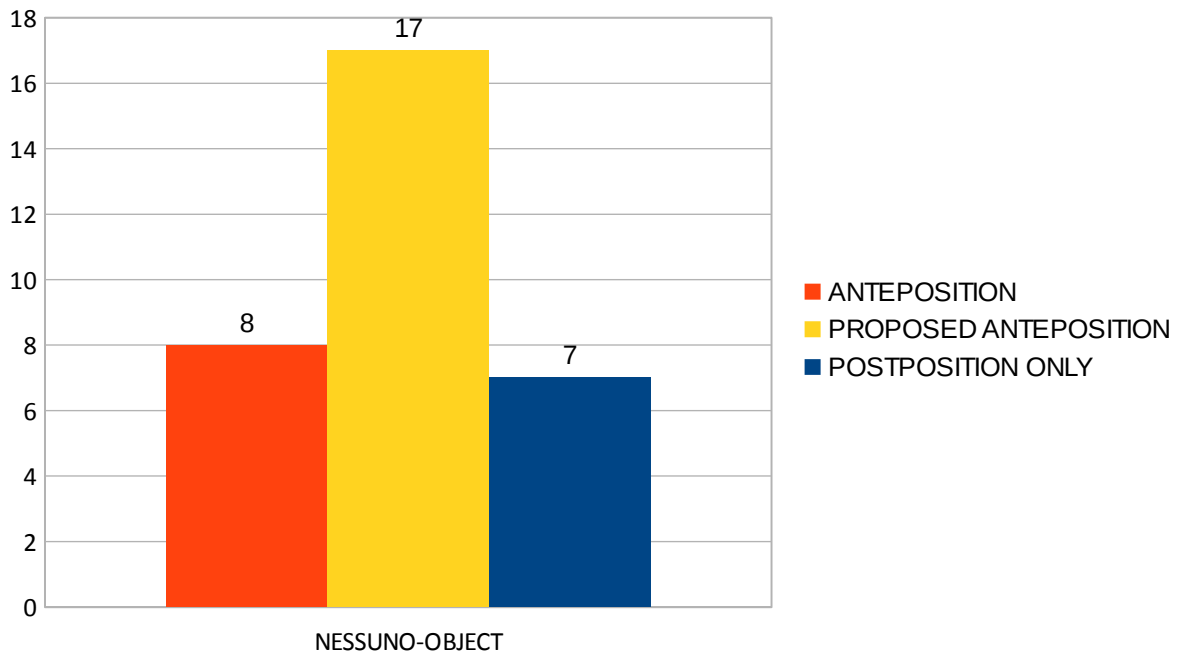| 29	ANTEPOSITION
3	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION

(25)

> (NESSUNO) No gà parlà mae de ti (NESSUNO)
> Nobody   not has spoken bad of you
> 'Nobody spoke ill of you'

This is the only clause in which I tested the anteposition of *nessuno* when it has a subject function in the filling the gaps test.

The data detect an undisputed winner, which is *nessuno* in the preposed position. Also here, the results are similar to which ones I found in the translation test. *Nessuno* subject is very suitable in the preposed position. The first reason is that the subject is normally located in the first position of the clause in the surface structure both in Italian and Zeminianese. But here, there is also a second reason, which explain this crushing victory of the preposed *nessuno*. That is the presence of an indirect complement (*de ti*) after the main verb. This makes the clause "heavy" in its right periphery and so *nessuno* feels really better in the left part of the clause.

NESSUNO-OBJECT

(32)

8	ANTEPOSITION
17	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION
7	POSTPOSITION ONLY

(26)

(NESSUNO) No e gà saeudà (NESSUNO)
Nobody   not they have said hello
'They didn't say hello to anyone'

This is the only question in which I tested the anteposition of *nessuno* in its object function in the filling the gaps test.

The data show a preference for the preposed position as I noticed in the translation test. This follows from the syntactic function of *nessuno*. The object is normally located in the preposed position at the surface structure both in Standard Italian and Zeminianese.

However, it's also interesting to notice the large possibility of having *nessuno* in the preposed position. This means that *nessuno* object could reach the preposed position without obstacles.

NESSUNO-INDIRECT COMPLEMENT

(33)
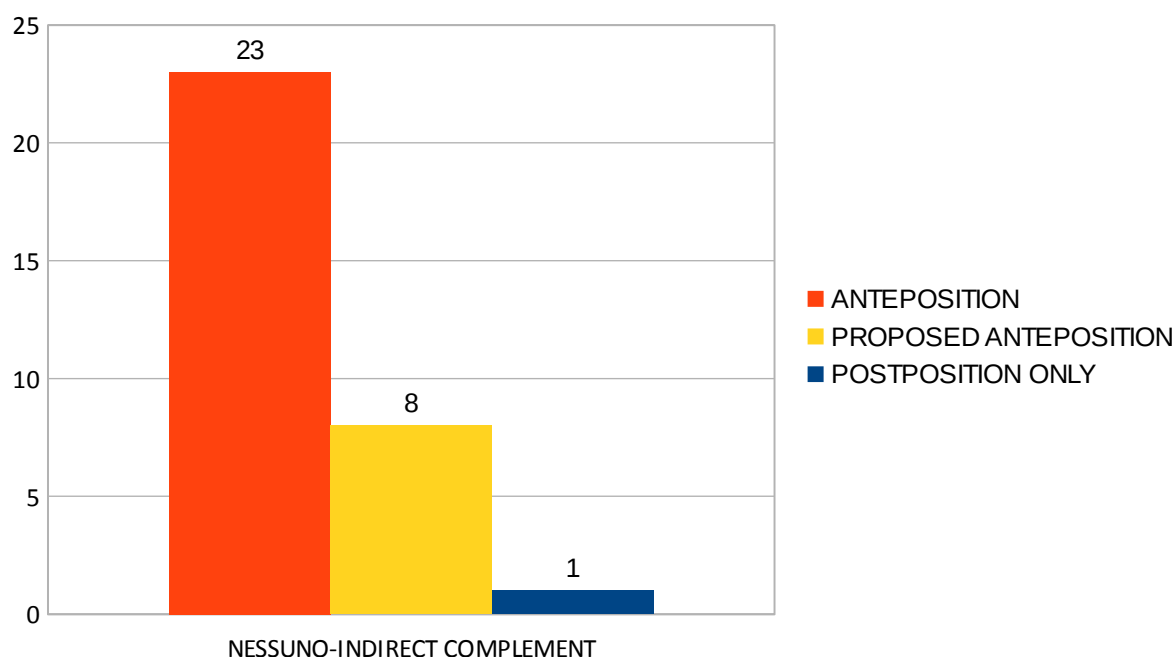
23	ANTEPOSITION
8	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION
1	POSTPOSITION ONLY

(27)

       (A NESSUNO) No ghe interesa (A NESSUNO) i to afari (A NESSUNO)
       To nobody   not to them interest   the your affairs
       'Nobody is interested in your things'

Here we analyse the anteposition of *nessuno* in its indirect complement function.
The data show a clear preference for the preposed position as I've already noticed in the translation test.

The base order of this clause is:

-I tuoi affari non interessano a nessuno.
 The your affairs NEG interest to nobody
 'Nobody is interested in your things'

When the position to the right of the main verb is filled by the subject, the indirect complement seems to reach very naturally the preposed position.

-A nessuno interessano i tuoi affari.
  To nobody interest   the your affairs
  'Nobody is interested in your things'

NIENTE-SUBJECT

(34)
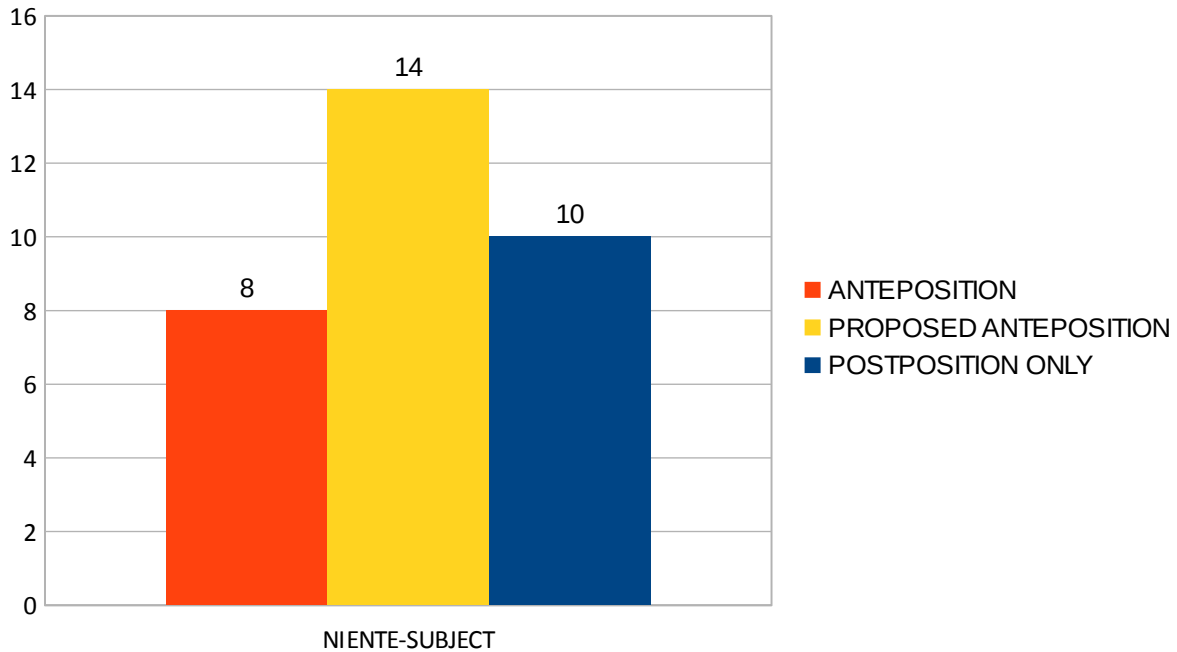
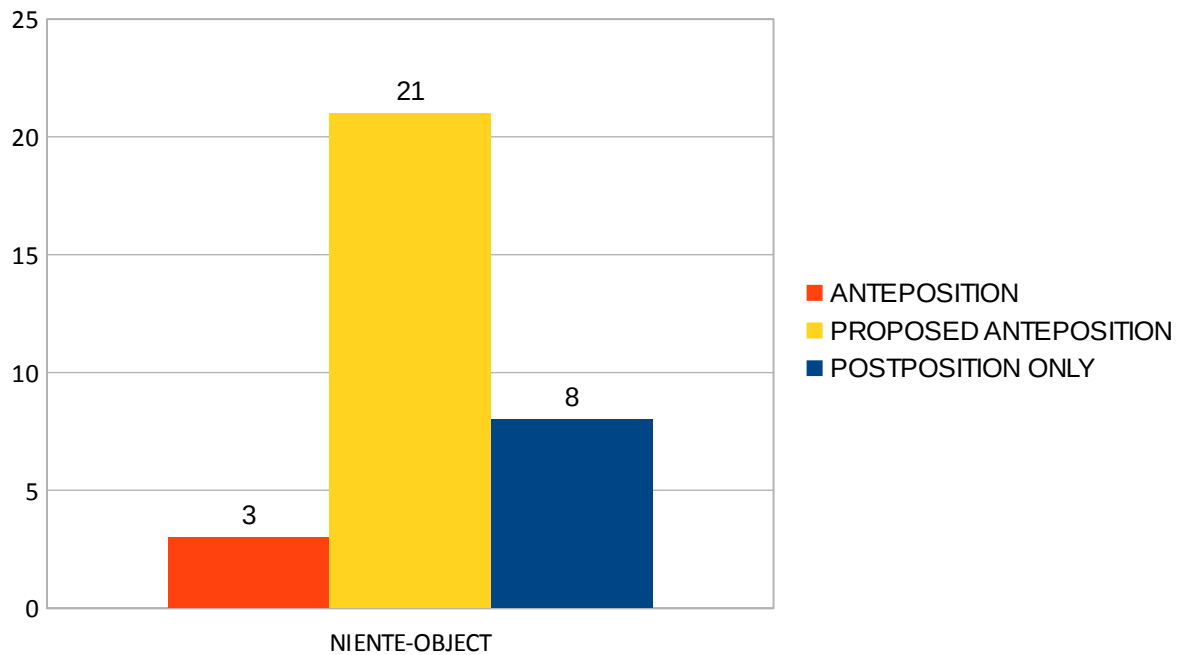| 8	ANTEPOSITION
14	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION
10	POSTPOSITION ONLY

(28)

      (NIENTE) No me ga piazo (NIENTE) de sta storia
       Nothing   not to me has liked   of this story
       'I didn't like anything of this story'

As I said for the translation test, *niente* seems to have more difficulties to reach the preposed position than *nessuno*. Here its base position is after the verb. In this position *niente* seems also to share some characteristics with the Italian adverbial expression *per niente*.
However, the data show also that several informants accept the preposed position and that's when they are able to detect the marked pragmatic sense the clause achieves.

NIENTE-OBJECT

(35)

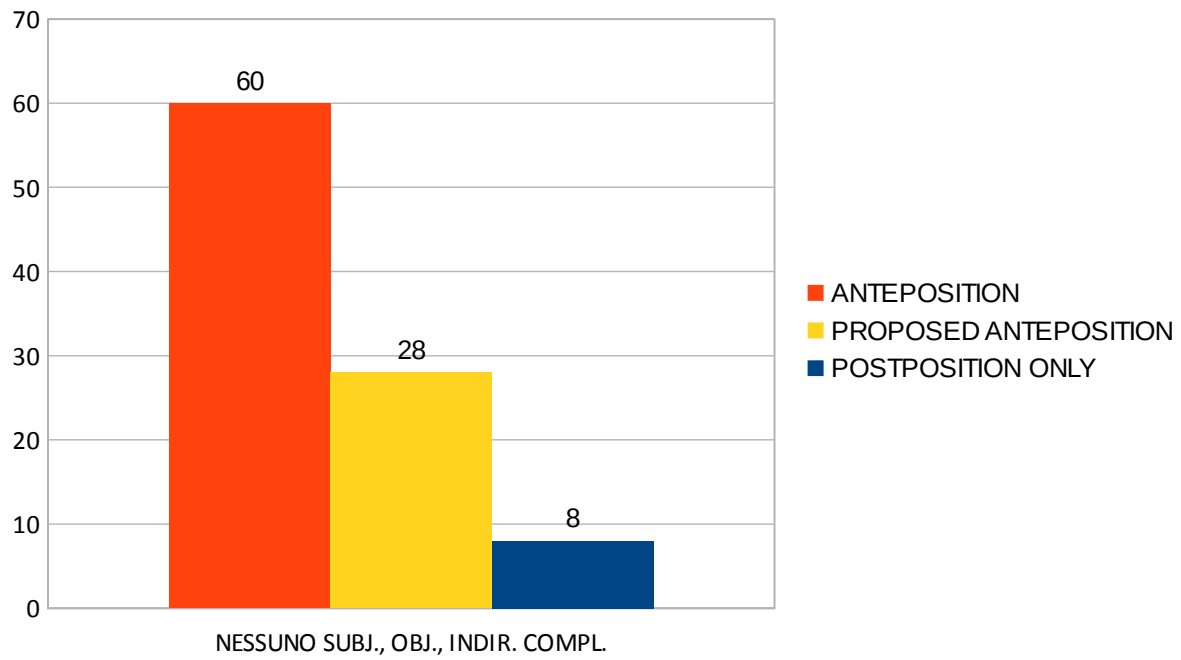| 3	ANTEPOSITION
21	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION
8	POSTPOSITION ONLY

(29)

       (NIENTE) Nol gà magnà (NIENTE)
      Nothing   not (he) has eaten
      'He didn't eat anything'

This is the clause in which I tested the anteposition of *niente* in its object function in the filling the gaps test.
In this case the results are a bit different from which ones I revealed in the translation test, where I noticed a clear preference for the preposed position. Here we have lots of cases of 'postposition first' and also a considerable number of cases of 'posposition only'.
In my opinion the reason is the absence of a marked context, which was the key of the preposed
choice in the translation test. This doesn't mean that the preposed position isn't allowed here. Actually we have 21 cases of 'anteposition accepted' after my proposal.
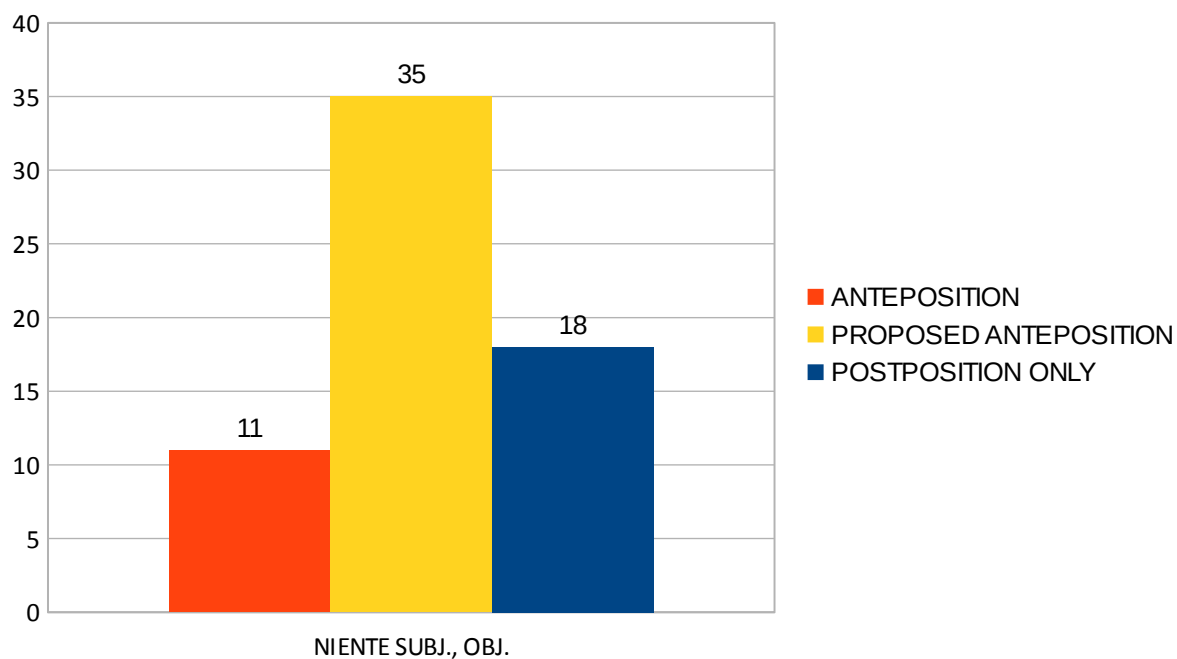
NESSUNO-SUBJECT-OBJECT-INDIRECT COMPLEMENT

(36)

60	ANTEPOSITION
28	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION
8	POSTPOSITION ONLY

NIENTE SUBJECT-OBJECT

(37)

11	ANTEPOSITION
35	PROPOSED ANTEPOSITION
18	POSTPOSITION ONLY

The overall results of the filling the gaps test we could see from these graphics and tables confirm what I've already detected from the results of the translation test.

Nessuno seems to be more acceptable in the preposed position than *niente*.

The inner differences of the distribution of anteposition depends on the different syntactic function of the two n-words.

In general, anteposition takes place when the informants are able to detect the focused context.

IV.2

EMBEDDED CLAUSES TEST.

IV.2.1

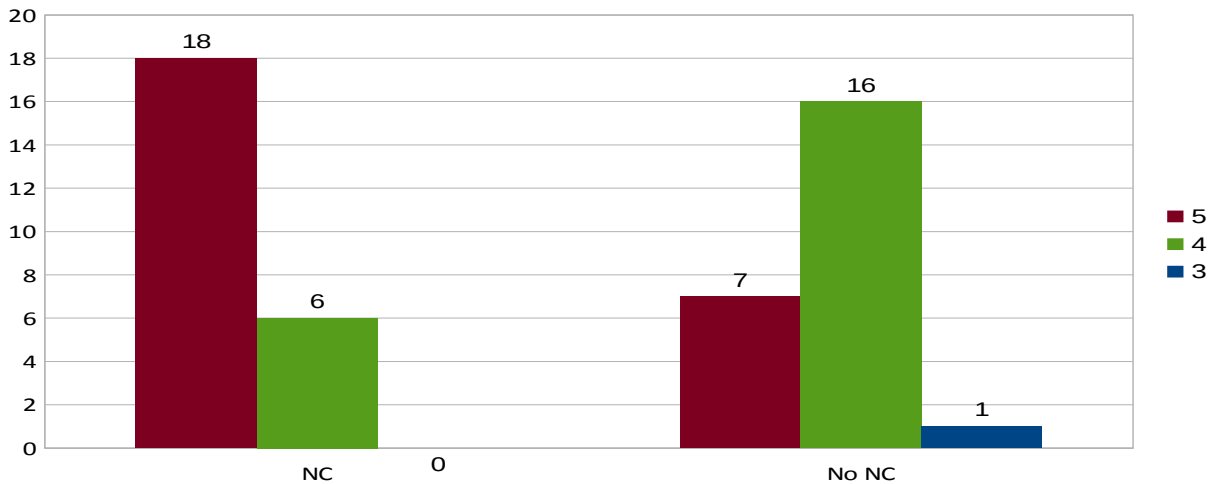**NIANCA**

SUBJUNCTIVE BEARING VERBS

CREDERE- TO BELIEVE

(30)

a-Credea che NIANCA NOL vegnese casa magnare   NC
  (I) thought that neither NEG+he come   home eat
   'I thought that he didn't even come home to eat'

b-Credea che NIANCA el vegnese casa magnare   NO NC
  (I) thought that neither he come   home eat
   'I thought that he didn't even come home to eat'

(38)

NO			NO NC		
5	18	75 %	5	7	29 %
4	6	25 %	4	16	67 %
			3	1	4 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   4.8   4.3

The table above shows that speakers tolerate both NC and No NC sentences, although in a different measure. The data were evaluated along a scale from 1 to 5 and, although both options are accepted, there is a general preference for NC, since no speaker has used less than a 4 to evaluate the NC variant while only 29% of the speakers find the non-NC variant completely acceptable.
With the main verb *credere* the informants felt the anteposition of *nianca* quite natural and they accepted it. The data show that they prefer the NC alternative.
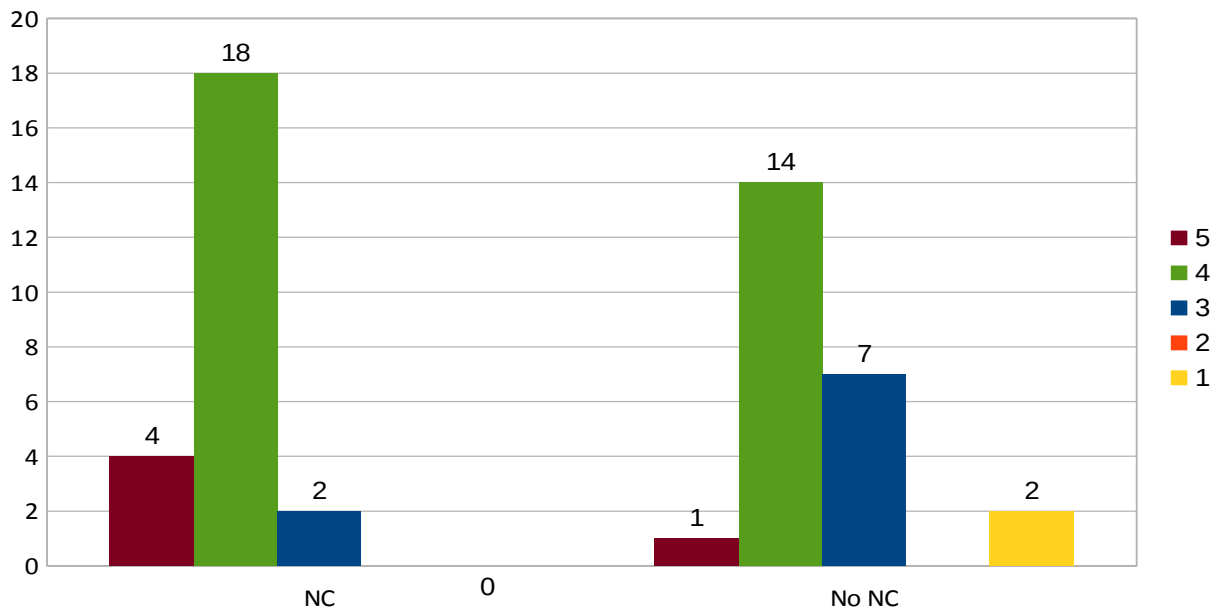
DISPIACERE-TO REGRET

(31)

a-Me despiaze che NIANCA NOL vegna via co noialtri   NC
  To me regrets that neither NEG+he come out with us
  'I regret that he doesn't even come out with us'

b-Me despiaze che NIANCA el vegna via co noialtri   No NC
  To me regrets that neither he come out with us
  'I regret that he doesn't even come out with us'

(39)

NC			NO NC		
5	4	17 %	5	1	4 %
4	18	75 %	4	14	58 %
3	2	8 %	3	7	29 %
			1	2	8 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   4.1   3.5

In this case we face a general problem already discussed in chapter III, namely that some cases of anteposition are just not as good tolerated as others, and this is a function of the main verb. Here we see precisely this effect, since in the case of the main verb *dispiacere*, anteposition generally seems to be worse than *credere* with the presence of the anteposed *nianca* in the embedded clause he bears. Nevertheless, also with *dispiacere* we notice a preference for the NC clause with respect to the No NC variant, since the number over of the 5 and 4 is definitely higher with the NC variant.

E' MEGLIO-IT'S BETTER

(32)

a-Ze mejo che NIANCA NOL ze fasa vedare el to amigo stasera   NC
  Is   better that neither NEG+he pr made to see the your friend this evening
  'It's better that your friend doesn't even come here this evening'

b-Ze mejo che NIANCA el ze fasa vedare el to amigo stasera   No NC
   Is   better that neither he pr made to see the your friend this evening
  'It's better that your friend doesn't even come here this evening'

(40)
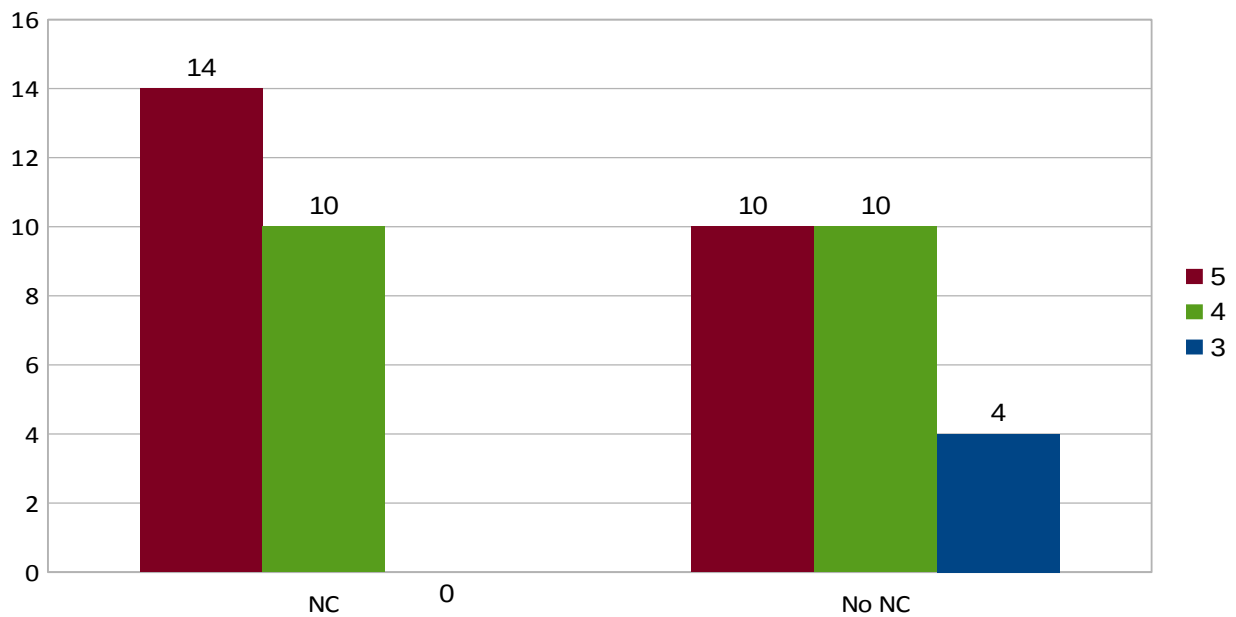
NC			NO NC		
5	14	58 %	5	10	42 %
4	10	42 %	4	10	42 %
			3	4	16 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   4.6   4.3

The verbal expression *è meglio* works very well with the preposed *nianca*, so the effect we saw with the verb dispiacere . The informants accepted it and they gave it high scores. The data also show that the informants still prefer the clause with the NC, although the difference is not so high in this case.

DOMANDARE (PREGARE)-TO ASK (TO PRAY)

(33)

a-Ghe domandarò in zenocio che NIANCA NOL ghe diga niente a eori   NC
 (I)to him will ask on knees that neither NEG+he to them say nothing to them
 'I will pray him that he won't even say anything to them'

b-Ghe domandarò in zenocio che NIANCA el ghe diga niente a eori   No NC
 (I)to him will ask on knees that neither   he to them say nothing to them
 'I will pray him that he won't even say anything to them'

(41)
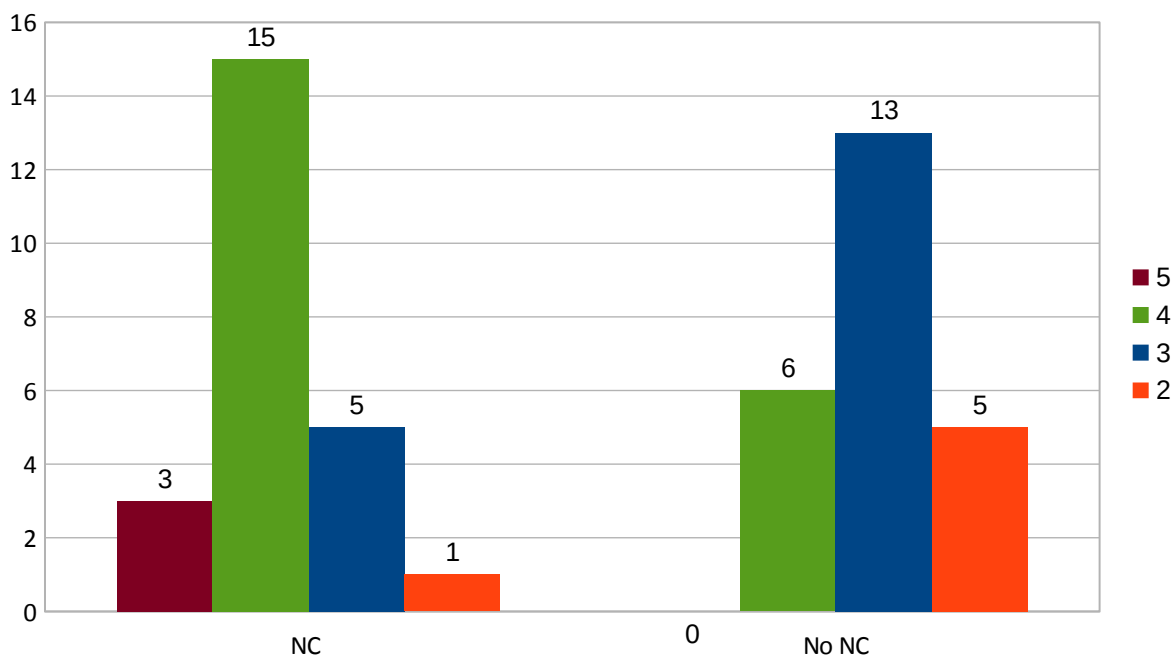
NC			NO NC		
5	3	13 %	4	6	25 %
4	15	63 %	3	13	54 %
3	5	20 %	2	5	2 %
2	1	4 %			

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   3.8   3.0

Domandare (pregare) is the worst main verb in its combination with the preposed *nianca*, i.e. anteposition is in itself a confounding effect, because it is not perceived as completely acceptable. The two clauses I created were therefore, forcedly a little innatural. The informants detected this problem and they gave to both the two clauses lower marks than the ones they gave to the clauses with the other subjunctive bearing verbs. On the other side, looking at the NC, the informants gave their preference to the NC clause.

INDICATIVE BEARING VERBS

ACCORGERSI-TO NOTICE

(34)

a-Me incorzo sempre tardi che NIANCA NOL ghe ze el Sabo de sera   NC
  (I)me notice always late that neither   NEG+he cl is the Saturday of evening
  'I always notice late that he isn't even present on Saturday evening'

b-Me incorzo sempre tardi che NIANCA el ghe ze el Sabo de sera   No NC
  (I)Me notice always late that neither   he cl   is the Saturday of evening
  'I always notice late that he insn't even present on Saturday evening'

(42)
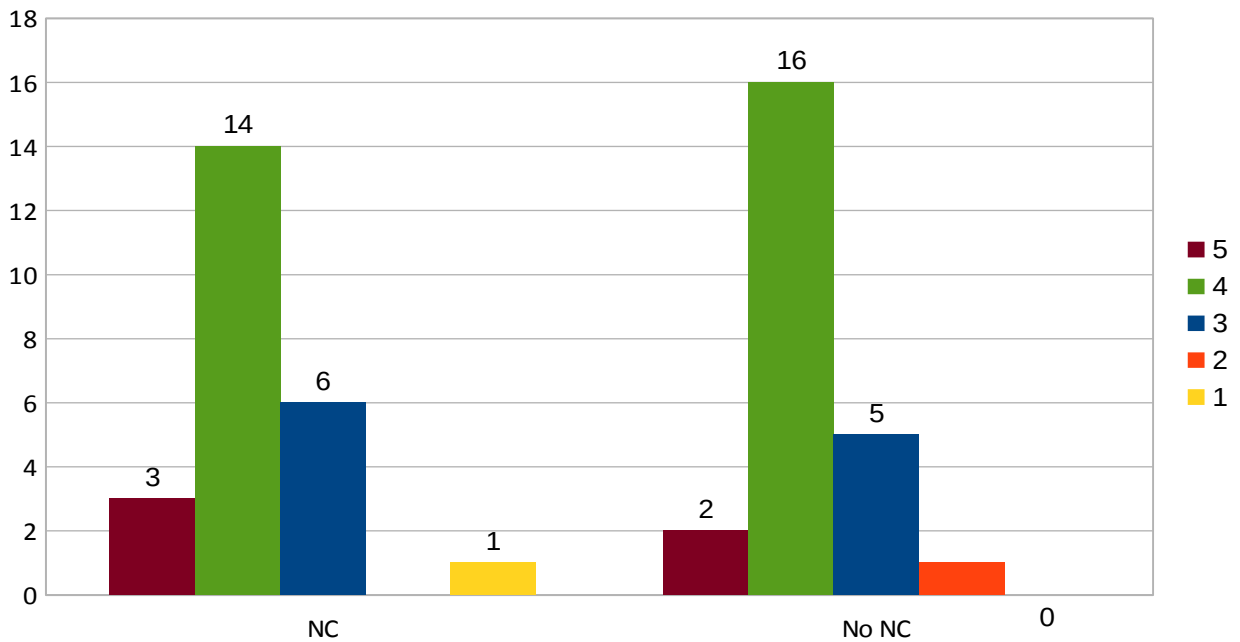
NC			NO NC		
5	3	12 %	5	2	8 %
4	14	59 %	4	16	67 %
3	6	25 %	3	5	21 %
1	1	4 %	2	1	4 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   3.8   3.8

Here we see an interesting effect surfacing: the verb *accorgersi*, which selects the indicative, achieved lower marks than the verbs selecting subjunctive forms in their embedded clause. The informants do not seem to have a preference between the NC and the No NC clauses. The marks they gave to the two different clauses are almost the same.
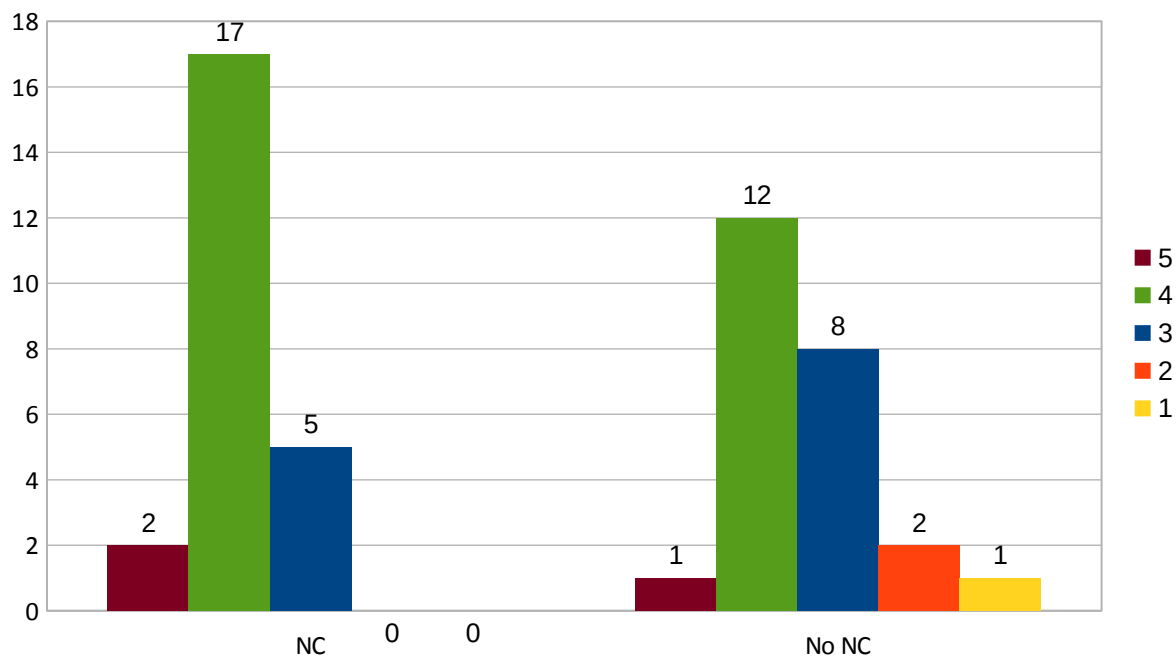
DIMENTICARSI-TO FORGET

(35)

a-Me desmentego sempre che NIANCA NOL vien casa magnare   NC
  (I)me forget   always that neither   NEG+he come home to eat
   'I always forget that he doesn't even come home to eat'

b-Me desmentego sempre che NIANCA el vien casa magnare   No NC
  (I)Me forget   always that neither   NEG+he come home to eat
   'I always forget that he doesn't even come home to eat'

(43)

NC			NO NC		
5	2	8 %	5	1	4 %
4	17	71 %	4	12	50 %
3	5	21 %	3	8	33 %
			2	2	9 %
			1	1	4 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   3.9   3.4

Also *dimenticarsi*, which bears the indicative in the embedded clause, had lower marks than the subjunctive bearing verbs.
However, in this case, the informants showed a slight preference for the NC clause.
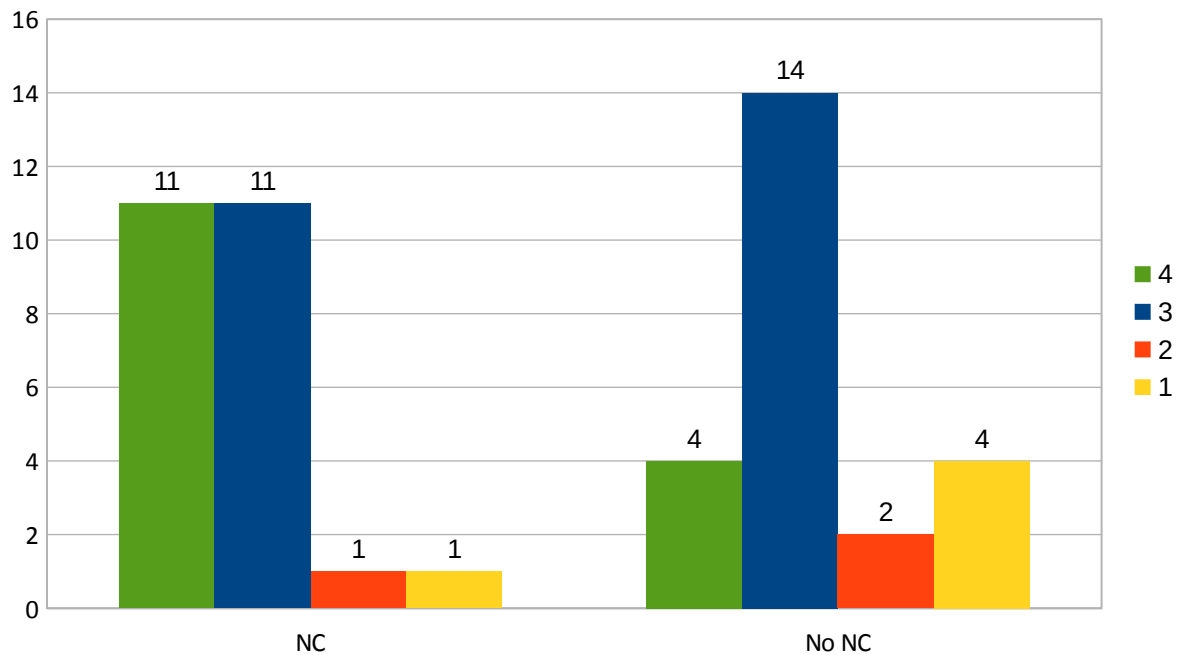
DOMANDARE (CHIEDERE)-TO ASK

(36)

a-Ghe domando subito se NIANCA NOL vien   NC
  (I) to him ask   immediatly if neither NEG+he come
   'I immediatly ask to him if he doesn't even come'

b-Ghe domando subito se NIANCA el vien   No NC
  (I)to him ask   immediatly if neither he come
   'I immediatly ask to him if he doesn't even come'

(44)

NC			NO NC		
4	11	46 %	4	4	17 %
3	11	46 %	3	14	58 %
2	1	4 %	2	2	8 %
1	1	4 %	1	4	17 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   3.3   2.8

Domandare (chiedere) is the worst verb selecting the indicative in the results in combination with the anteposition of *nianca* in the embedded clause.
Also here the informants prefer the clause with the NC.

SAPERE (CREDERE)-TO KNOW (TO BELIEVE)

(37)

a-Seto che NIANCA NO me ricordo come chel ze ciama? NC
  know (you) that neither NEG me remember how that he pr call
  'Do you know that I don't even remember what his name is?

b-Seto che NIANCA me ricordo come chel ze ciama? No NC
  know (you) that neither me remember how that he pr call
  'Do you know that I don't even remember what his name is?

(45)
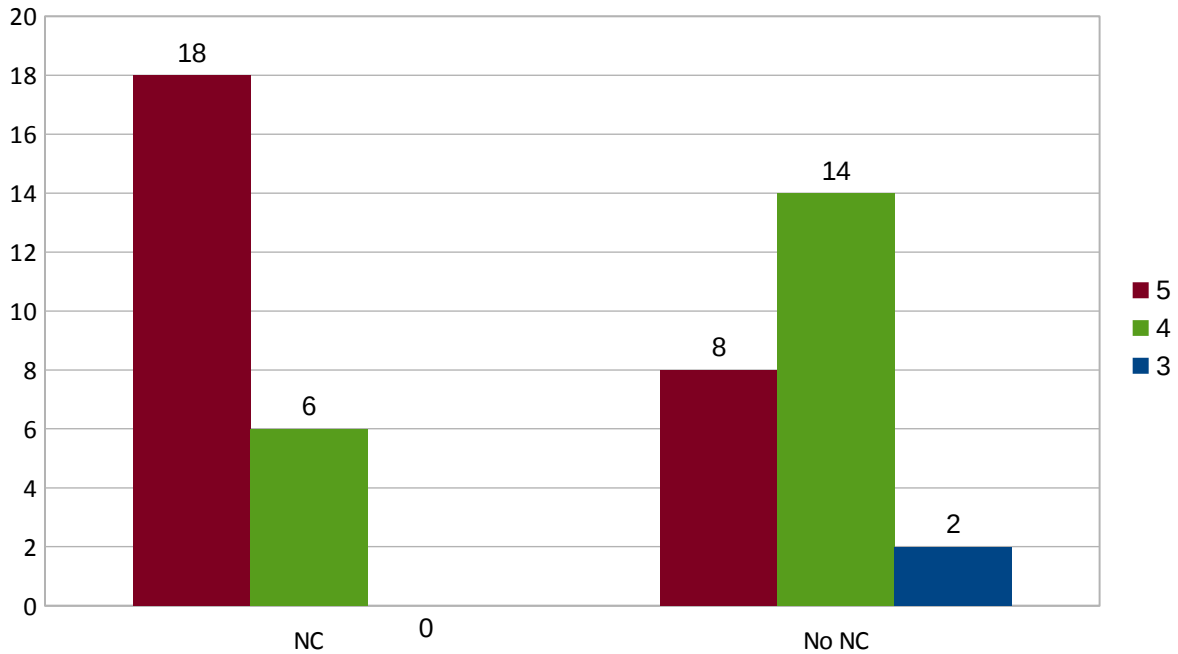
NC			NO NC		
5	18	75 %	5	8	33 %
4	6	25 %	4	14	58 %
			3	2	9 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   4.8   4.3

Sapere (credere) works better than all the other indicative bearing verbs in combination with the anteposition of *nianca* in the embedded clause. The informants accepted the anteposition and they gave high scores to both the clauses.
Nevertherless, they still seem to prefer the NC clause.

NESSUNO SUBJECT

In this case we do not have any disturbing effect, since these examples do not need any particular context, since preverbal subjects are always accepted. Therefore, the data found with subjects are cleaner than the ones found with preposed adverbs.

<u>SUBJUNCTIVE BEARING VERBS</u>

CREDERE-TO BELIEVE

(38)

a-Credea che NESUNI NO me ciamase cantare sto ano   NC
(I) thought that nobody NEG me call to sing this year
 'I thought that nobody would have called me to sing this year'

b-Credea che NESUNI me ciamase cantare sto ano   No NC
  (I) thought that nobody me call to sing this year
  'I thought that nobody would have called me to sing this year'

(46)
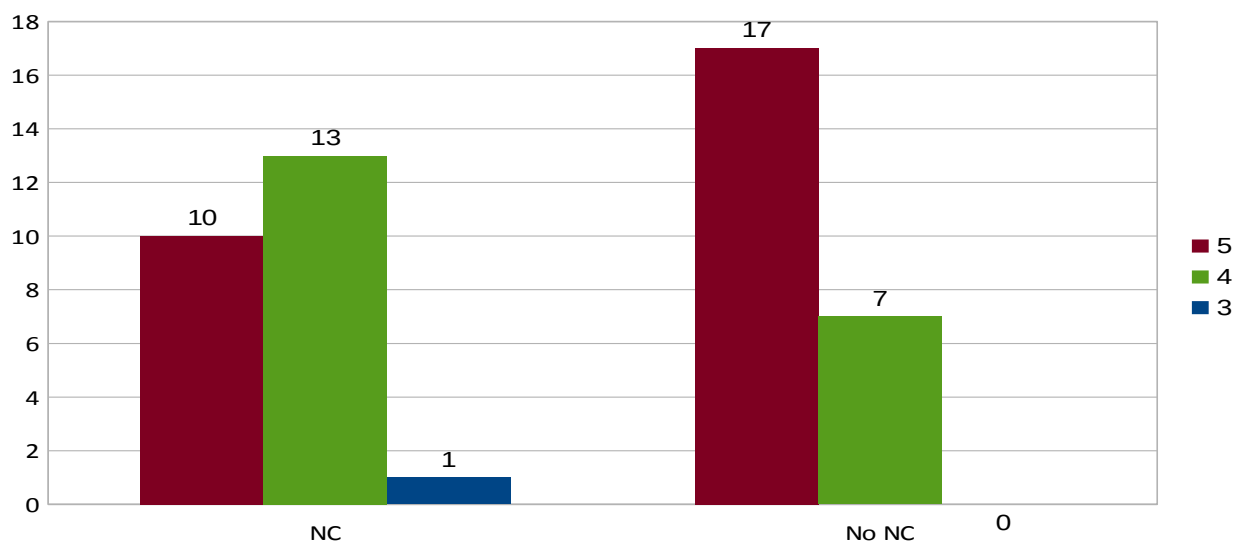
NC			NO NC		
5	10	42 %	5	17	71 %
4	13	54 %	4	7	29 %
3	1	4 %			

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   4.4   4.7

The main verb *credere* is mostly accepted in combination with the preposed *nessuno* subject in the embedded clause and the informants gave high marks to both of the clauses.
Looking at the NC, the informants seem to have a slight preference for the No NC clause.
This is rather interesting, since the cases of adverbs report the reverse.

DISPIACERE-TO REGRET

(39)

a-Me despiaze che NESUNI NO me ciama casa sua magnare   NC
 Me regret that nobody NEG me call home his to eat
 'I regret that nobody call me to his house to eat'

b-Me despiaze che NESUNI me ciama casa sua magnare   No NC
 Me regret that nobody me call home his to eat
 'I regret that nobody call me to his house to eat'

(47)
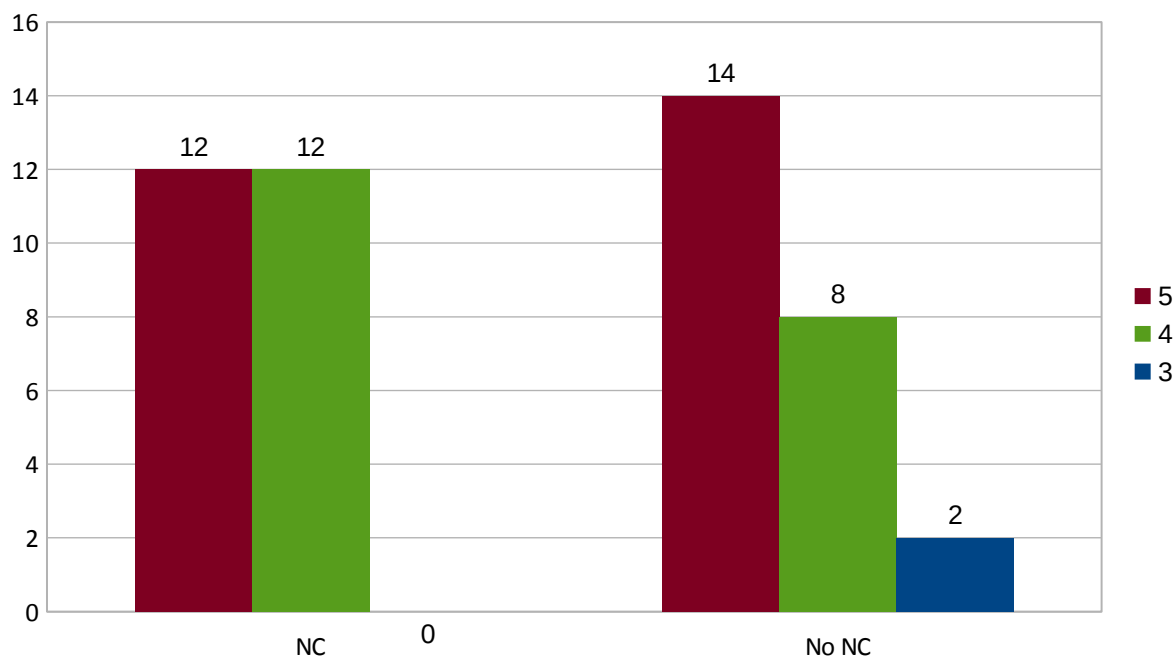
NC			NO NC		
5	12	50 %	5	14	58 %
4	12	50 %	4	8	33 %
			3	2	9 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   4.5   4.5

The main verb *dispiacere* works very well with the preposed *nessuno* subject in the embedded clause. Looking at the NC, from the data we can not detect differences in the preference of the NC or the No NC structure. The informants gave more or less the same scores to the two clauses.
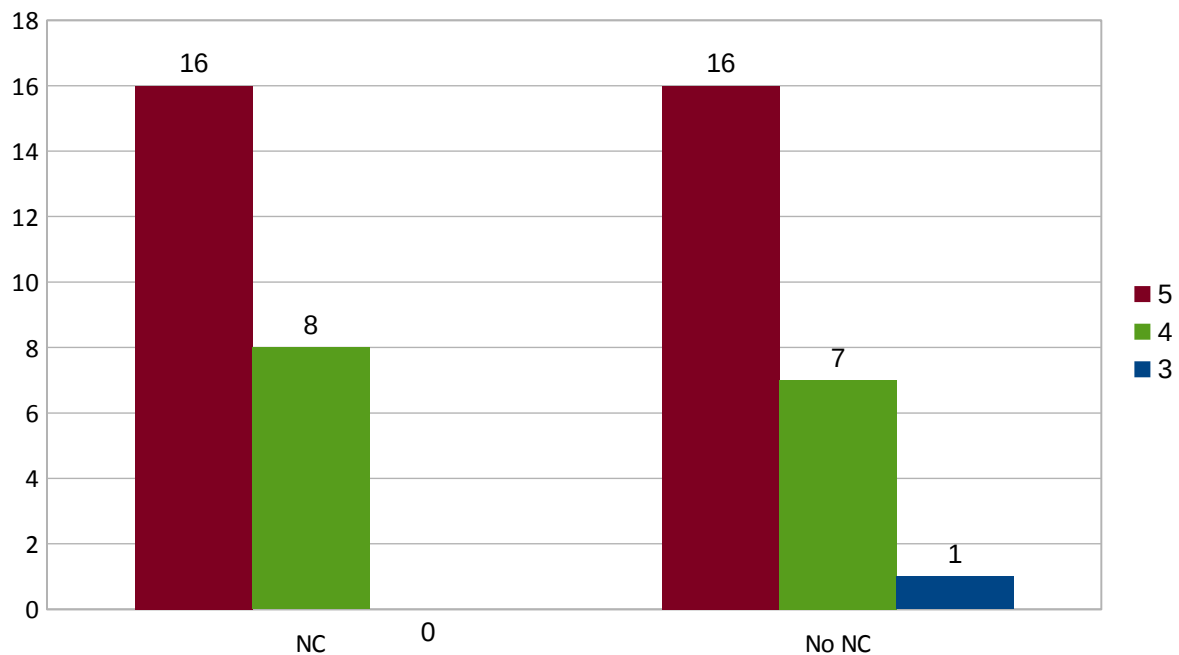
E' MEGLIO-IT'S BETTER

(40)

a-Ze mejo che NESUNI NO me ciama pi pa ste robe qua   NC
 Is better that nobody NEG me call no more for these thinks here
 'It's better that nobody call me anymore for such thinks'

b-Ze mejo che NESUNI me ciama pi pa ste robe qua   No NC
 Is better that nobody me call no more for these thinks
 'It's better that nobody call me anymore for such thinks'

(48)

NC			NO NC		
5	16	67 %	5	16	67 %
45	8	33 %	4	7	29 %
			3	1	4 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE 4.7   4.6

The verbal expression *è meglio* is felt very natural by the informants in combination with the preposed *nessuno* subject in the embedded clause. The informants gave very high marks to both of the two clauses. There is a very little difference between the scores the NC clause achieved and which ones the No NC achieved with a very little preference for the NC alternative.

DOMANDARE (PREGARE)-TO ASK (TO PRAY)

(41)

a-Ghe domandarò in zenocio che NESUNI NO ghe diga niente de stasera   NC
   To him will ask on knees   that nobody NEG to him say nothing of this evening
   'I will pray him that nobody won't say anything to him about this evening'

b-Ghe domandarò in zenocio che NESUNI ghe diga niente de stasera   No NC
   To him will ask on knees   that nobody to him say nothing of this evening
   'I will pray him that nobody won't say anything to him about this evening'

(49)
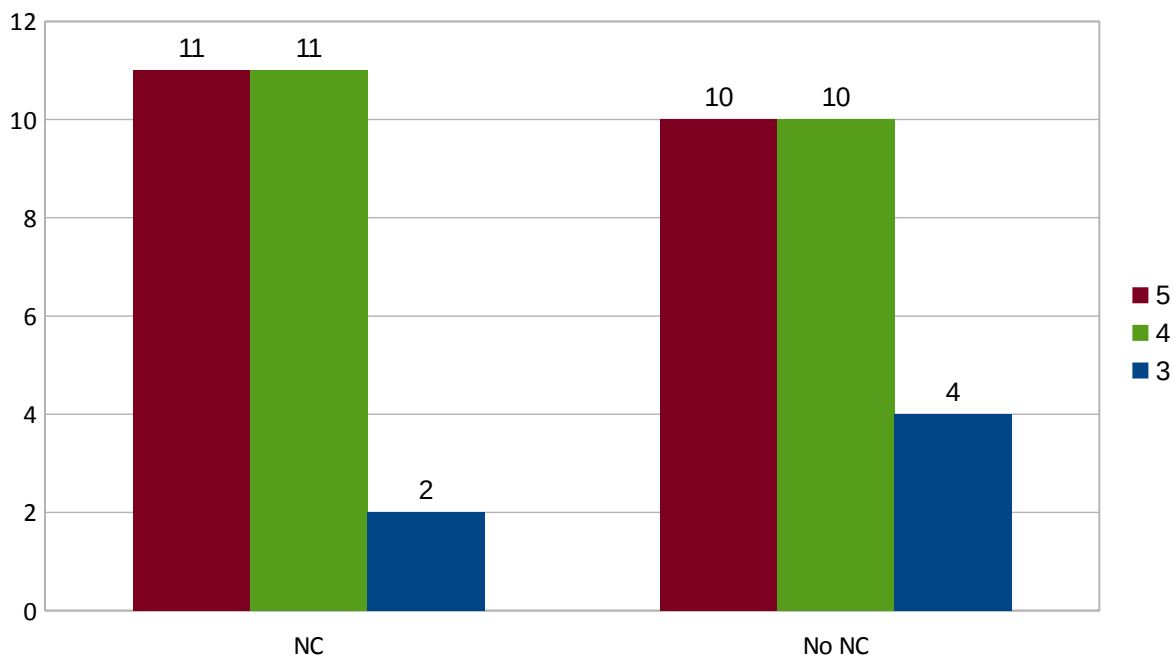
NC			NO NC		
5	11	46 %	5	10	42 %
4	11	46 %	4	10	42 %
3	2	8 %	3	4	16 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   4.4   4.3

The main verb *domandare (pregare)* works better in combination with the preposed *nessuno* subject than with *nianca*. Actually, here the informants gave high scores to both of the two clauses.
Looking at the NC, we could detect a very little preference for the NC clause, which is most probably statistically non-significant.

INDICATIVE BEARING VERBS

ACCORGERSI-TO NOTICE

(42)

a-Me incorzo sempre tardi che NESUNI NO me scolta quando che parlo   NC
  Me notice   always late   that nobody   NEG me listen when that (I) speak
  'I always notice late that nobody is listening to me when I'm speaking'

b-Me incorzo sempre tardi che NESUNI me scolta quando che parlo   No NC
   Me notice   always late   that nobody me listen when that (I) speak
  'I always notice late that nobody is listening to me when I'm speaking'

(50)
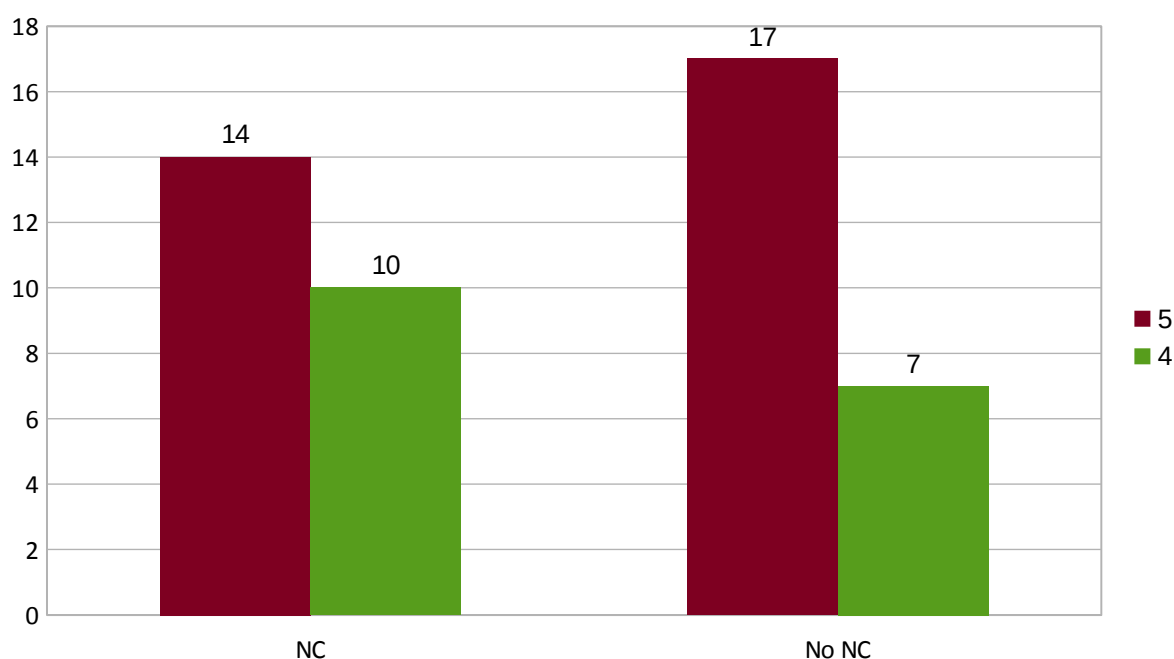
NC			NO NC		
5	14	58 %	5	17	70 %
4	10	42 %	4	7	30 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   4.6   4.7

Accorgersi in combination with *nessuno* subject in the embedded clause gets a lot of high marks differently from the marks it achieved with the anteposition of *nianca* in the embedded clause.
Looking at the NC, again we see a very little difference between the scores the informants gave to the two clauses. There seems to be a very small preference for the No NC alternative.

DIMENTICARSI-TO FORGET

(43)

a-Me desmentego sempre che NESUNI NO vien casa magnare el Sabo   NC
  Me forget   always that nobody   NEG come home to eat the Saturday
  'I always forget that nobody comes home to eat on Saturday'

b-Me desmentego sempre che NESUNI vien casa magnare el Sabo   No NC
  Me forget   always that nobody come home to eat the Saturday
  'I always forget that nobody comes home to eat on Saturday'

(51)
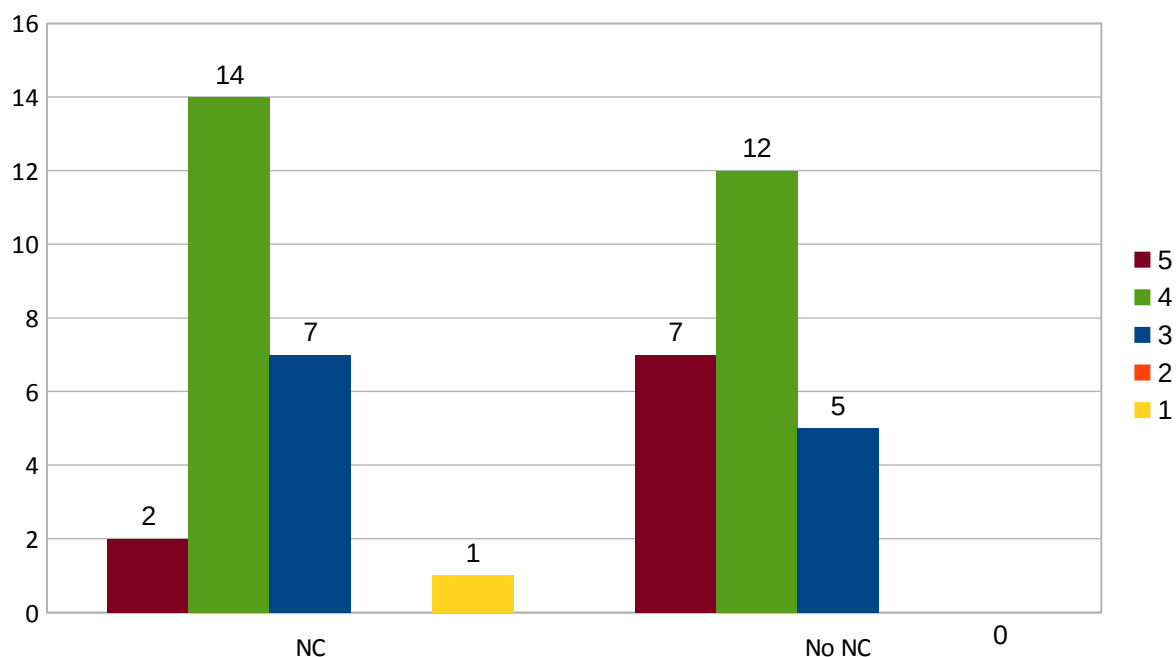
NC			NO NC		
5	2	8 %	5	7	30 %
4	14	58 %	4	12	50 %
3	7	30 %	3	5	21 %
1	1	4 %			

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   3.7   4.1

The main verb *dimenticarsi* seems to work a bit better in combination with *nessuno* subject than with *nianca*.
Actually, the marks the informants gave to these two clauses are a bit higher than the ones they gave to the
clauses with *nianca*.
Looking at the NC, we notice a clear preference for the No NC clause, which reverses the tendency we say
with adverbs.

DOMANDARE (CHIEDERE)-TO ASK

(44)

a-Ghe domando subito se NESUNI NO lo ga ciamà pa 'ndar via   NC
   To him ask   immediatly if nobody NEG him has called for to go out
   'I immediatly ask to him if nobody called him to go out'

b-Ghe domando subito se NESUNI lo ga ciamà pa 'ndar via   No NC
   To him ask   immediatly if nobody him has calles for to go out
   'I immediatly ask to him if nobody called him to go out'

(52)
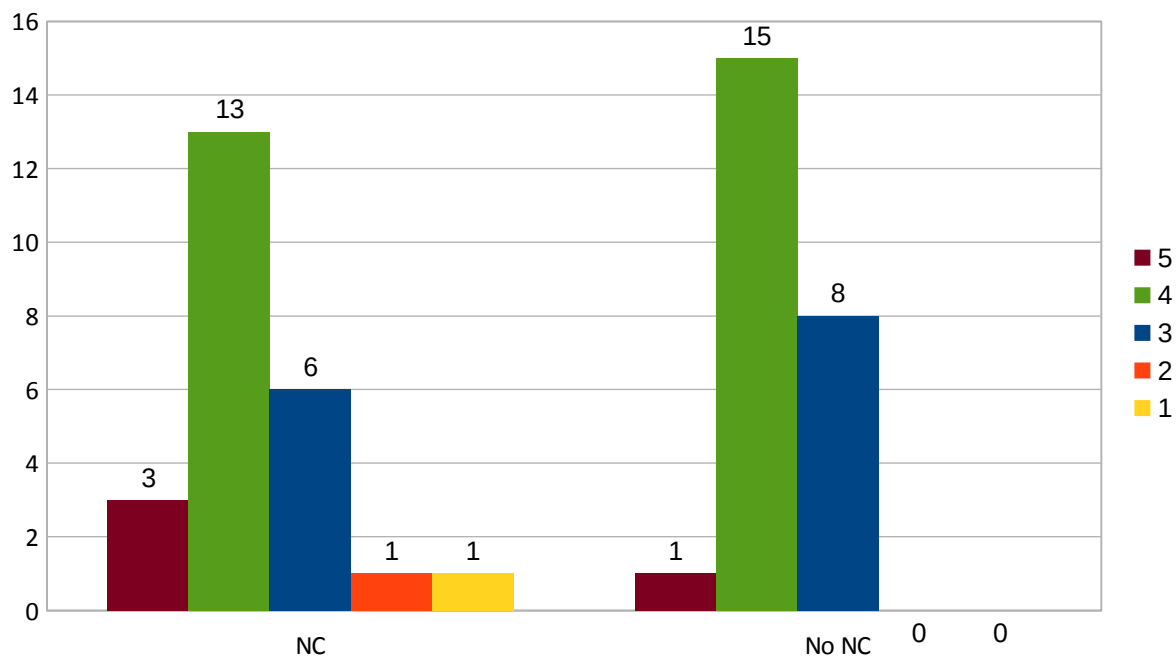
NC			NO NC		
5	3	13 %	5	1	4 %
4	13	54 %	4	15	63 %
3	6	25 %	3	8	33 %
2	1	4 %			
1	1	4 %			

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   3.6   3.7

As expected, also the main verb *domandare (chiedere)* achieved better results with the preposed *nessuno*
subject than with the preposed *nianca*.
On the other side, looking at the NC, we could detect a very little preference for the No NC clause.

SAPERE (CREDERE)-TO KNOW (TO BELIEVE)

(45)

a-Ti o saveito che NESUNI NO ze vegnuo catarlo in ospedae?   NC
   You it know that nobody NEG is come   to visit him in hospital?
   'Did you know that nobody came to visit him at the hospital?'

b-Ti o saveito che NESUNI ze vegnuo catarlo in ospedae?   No NC
   You it know that nobody is come   to visit him in hospital?
   'Did you know that nobody came to visit him at the hospital?'

(53)
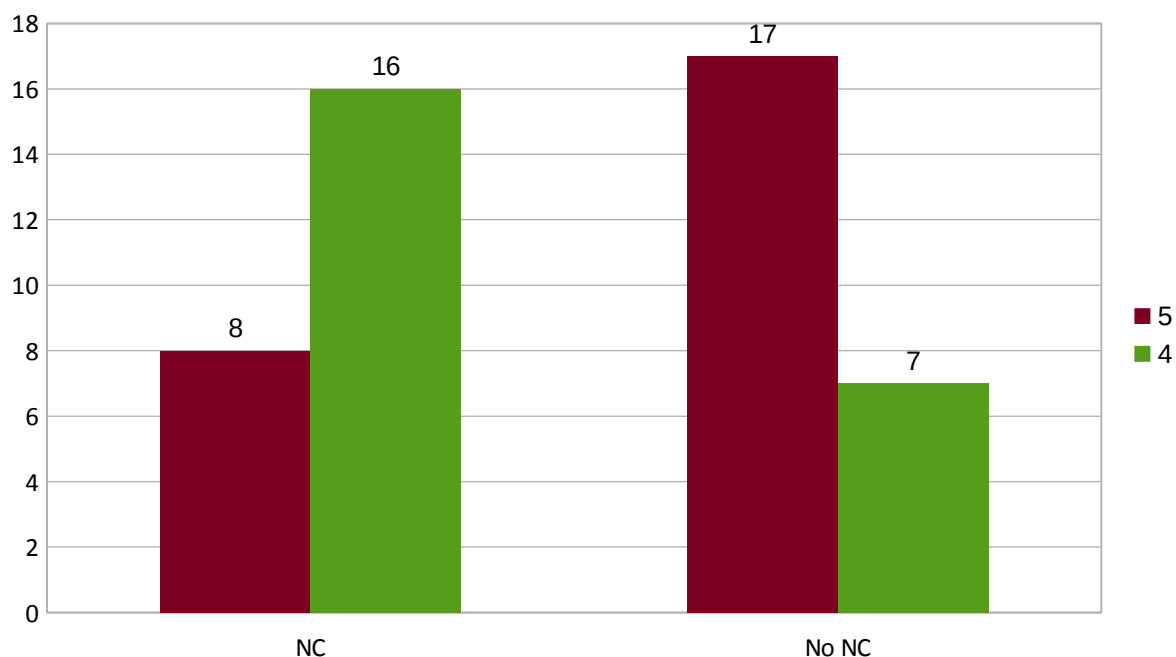
NC			NO NC		
5	8	33 %	5	17	70 %
4	16	67 %	4	7	30 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   4.3   4.7

The main verb *sapere (credere)* got good results in combination with *nessuno* subject in the embedded clause. Actually, the informants gave high marks to both of the two clauses.
Looking at the NC, we see again a relevant preference for the No NC clause.

IV.2.3

NESSUNO OBJECT

In the case of nessuno object, we face again the problem of anteposition. Therefore, the confounding effect that we noticed for preposed adverbs and that was absent with preverbal subjects, is visible here as well.
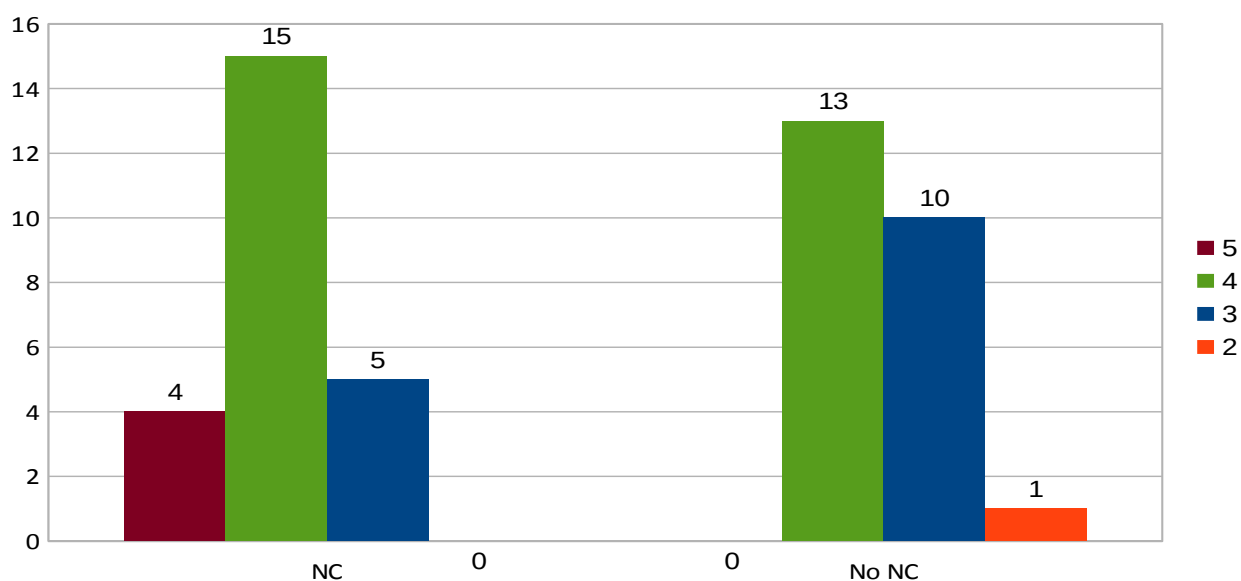
<u>SUBJUNCTIVE BEARING VERBS</u>

CREDERE-TO BELIEVE

(46)

a-Credea che NESUNI NOL conosese dei to amighi   NC
(I) thought that nobody NEG+he knew of your friends
'I thought that he didn't know anyone of your friends'

b-Credea che NESUNI el conosese dei to amighi   No NC
 (I) thought that nobody he knew of your friends
 'I thought that he didn't know anyone of your friends'

(54)

NC			NO NC		
5	4	17 %	4	13	54 %
4	15	62 %	3	10	42 %
3	5	21 %	2	1	4 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   4   3.5

The main verb *credere* achieved worse results in combination with *nessuno* object than in combination with *nessuno* subject and *nianca*.
Looking at the NC, I detect a considerable preference for the NC clause.

DISPIACERE-TO REGRET

(47)

a-Me despiaze che NESUNI NOL conosa dei tosi che ze qua   NC
  To me regret that nobody   NEG+he know of guys who is here
  'I regret that he doesn't know anyone of the guys who are here'

b-Me despiaze che NESUNI el conosa dei tosi che ze qua   No NC
  To me regret that nobody   he know of guys who is here
  'I regret that he doesn't know anyone of the guys who are here'

(55)
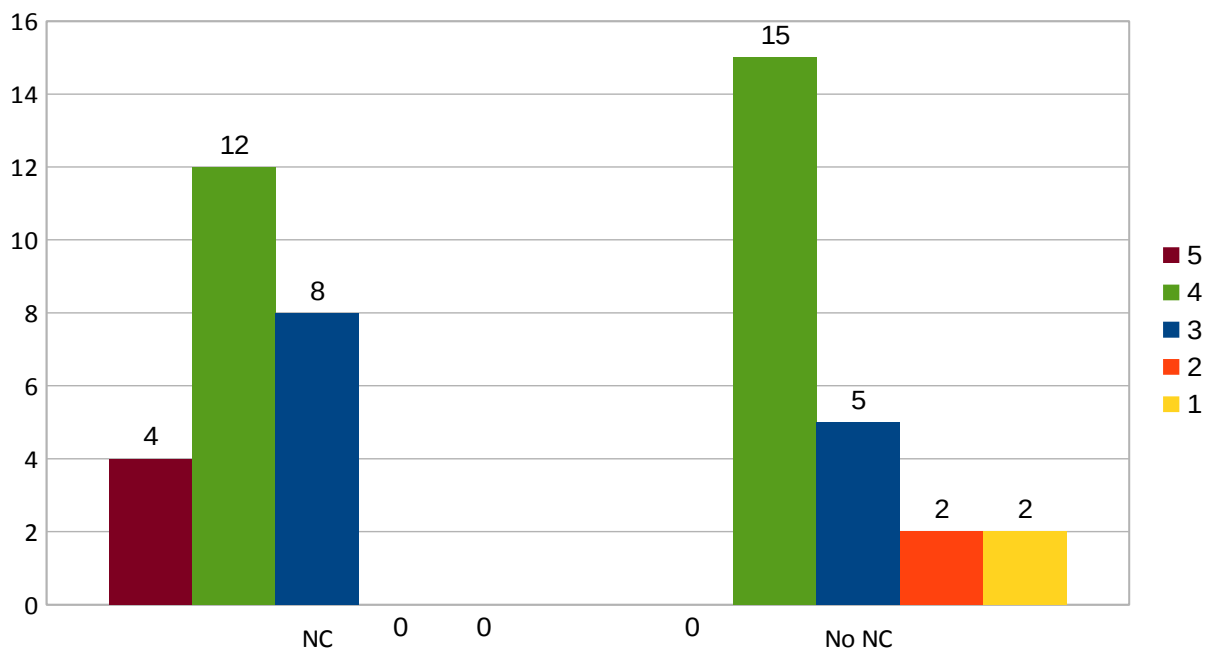
NC			NO NC		
5	4	17 %	4	15	63 %
4	12	50 %	3	5	21 %
3	8	33 %	2	2	8 %
			1	2	8 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   3.8   3.4

Also the main verb *dispiacere* had worse results in combination with *nessuno* object than with *nessuno* subject and *nianca*. The marks the informants gave to the two clauses with *nessuno* object in the embedded clause are lower than which ones they gave to the clauses with *nessuno* subject and *nianca*.
However, looking at the NC, there is a clear preference for the NC clause. This means that object n-words pattern with adverbial ones and not the with subject, which is an interesting observation in itself.

E' MEGLIO-IT'S BETTER

(48)

a-Ze mejo che NESUNI NOL conosa de sta zente che ze qua   NC
  Is   better that nobody NEG+he know of this people who is here
  'It's better that he doesn't know anyone of the people who are here'

b-Ze mejo che NESUNI el conosa de sta zente che ze qua   No NC
   Is   better that nobody he know of this people who is here
  'It's better that he doesn't know anyone of the people who are here'

(56)
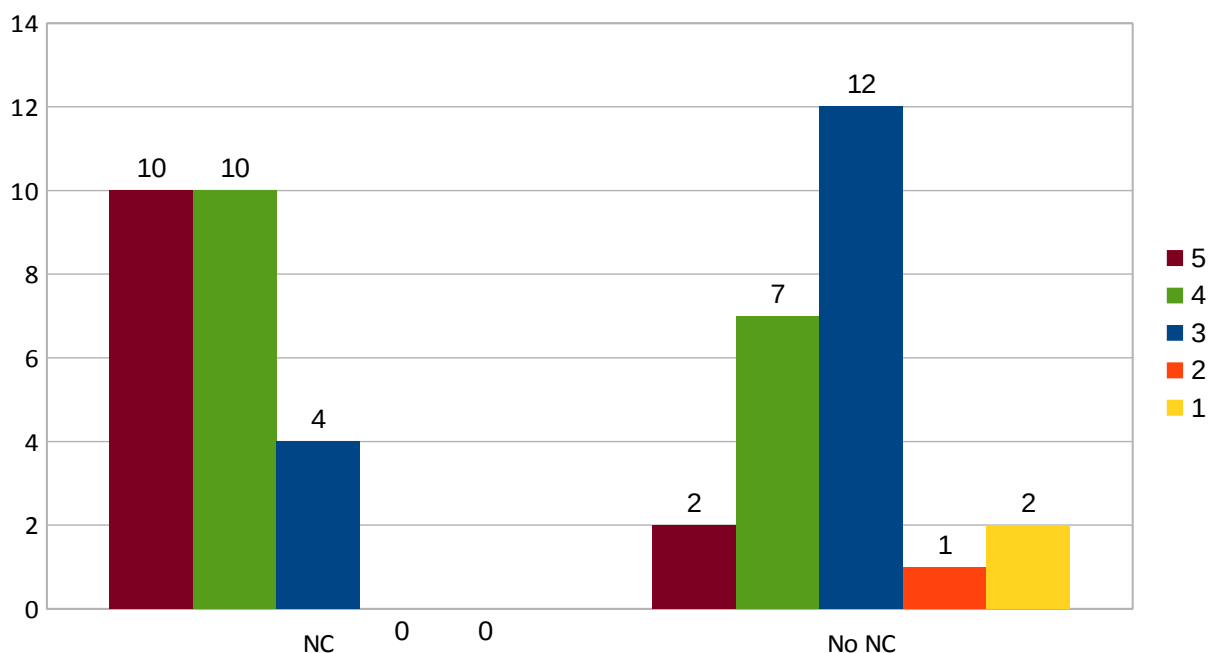
NC			NO NC		
5	10	42 %	5	2	8 %
4	10	42 %	4	7	30 %
3	4	16 %	3	12	50 %
			2	1	4 %
			1	2	8 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   4.3   3.3

E' meglio had worse results in combination with *nessuno* object in the embedded clause than *nessuno* subject and *nianca*, but again this is due to the fact that anteposition of an object is only possible when the object is focused and this is a rather limited construction in Zeminianese.
The data detect an important difference between the clause with the NC and which one with the No NC. The informants clearly prefer the NC clause, as we saw for adverbs.

DOMANDARE (PREGARE)-TO ASK (TO PRAY)

(49)

a-Ghe domandarò in zenocio che NESUNI NOL varde de quei che vegnarà stasera   NC
   To him ask   in knees   that nobody   NEG+he look of those who will come this evening
   'I will pray him that he won't look anyone of whose are coming this evening'

b-Ghe domandarò in zenocio che NESUNI el varde de quei che vegnarà stasera   No NC
   To him ask   in knees   that nobody he look of those who will come this evening
   'I will pray him that he won't look anyone of whose are coming this evening'

(57)
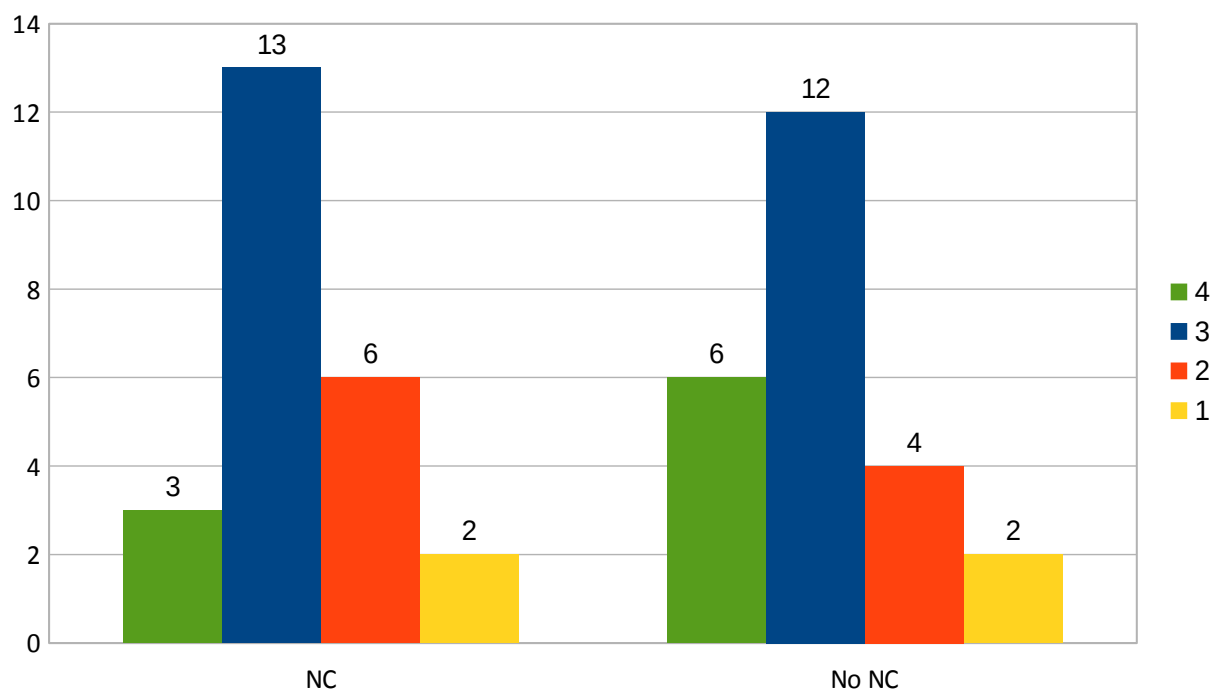
NC			NO NC		
4	3	13 %	4	6	25 %
3	13	54 %	3	12	50 %
2	6	25 %	2	4	17 %
1	2	8 %	1	2	8 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   2.7   2.9

Also here we notice that *domandare (pregare)* conquered lower marks in combination with the preposed *nessuno* object in the embedded clause than in combination with *nessuno* subject and *nianca*.
Looking at the NC, I detected a little preference of the informants for the No NC clause, which goes in the opposite direction of the other cases.

INDICATIVE BEARING VERBS

ACCORGERSI-TO NOTICE

(50)

a-Me incorso sempre tardi che NESUNI NOL saeuda dei to amighi   NC
   Me notice   always late that nobody   NEG+he say hello of your friends
   'I always notice late that he doesn't say hello to anyone of your friends'

b-Me incorso sempre tardi che NESUNI el saeuda dei to amighi   No NC
   Me notice   always late that nobody   he say hello of your friends
   'I always notice late that he doesn't say hello to anyone of your friends'

(58)
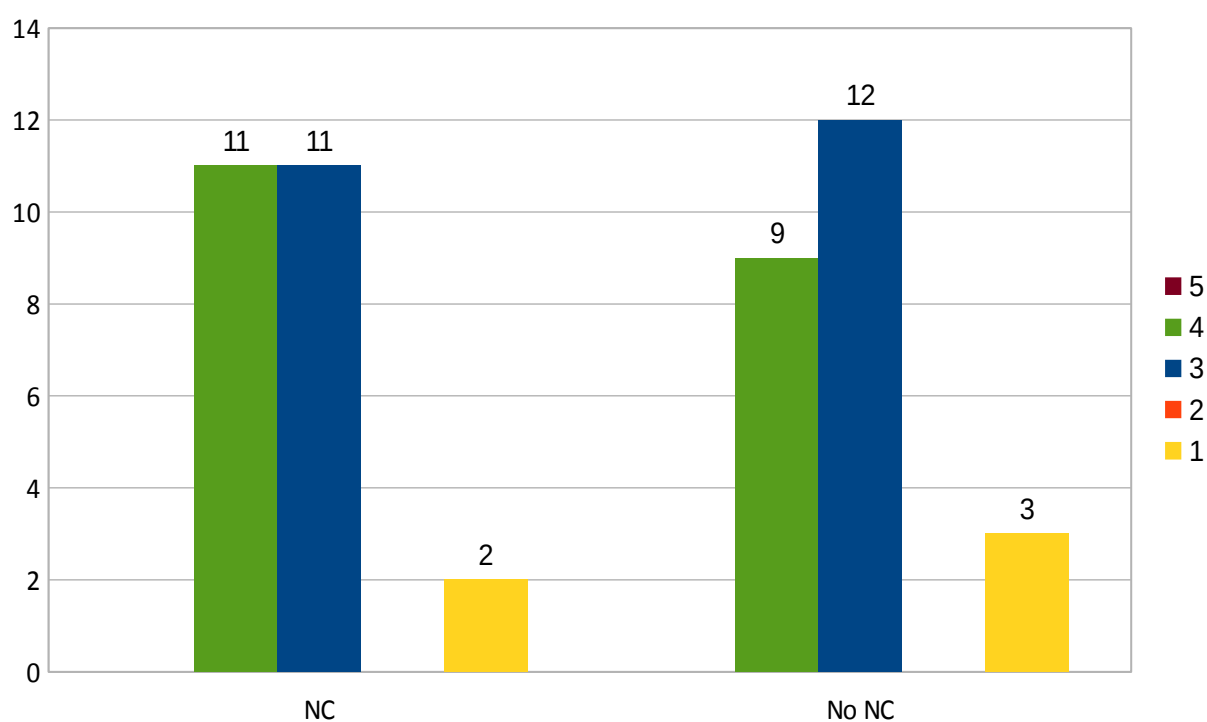
NC			NO NC		
4	11	46 %	4	9	37 %
3	11	46 %	3	12	50 %
1	2	8 %	1	3	13 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   3.3   3.1

The main verb *accorgersi* achieved lower marks in combination with the preposed *nessuno* object in the embedded clause than in combination with *nessuno* subject and *nianca*.
Looking at the NC, the data show a little preference of the informants for the NC clause.

DIMENTICARSI-TO FORGET

(51)

a-Me desmentego sempre che NESUNI NOL conose de i to amighi   NC
  Me forget   always that nobody NEG+he know of your friends
  'I always forget that he doesn't know anyone of your friends'

b-Me desmentego sempre che NESUNI el conose de i to amighi   No NC
   Me forget   always that nobody he know of your friends
  'I always forget that he doesn't know anyone of your friends'

(59)
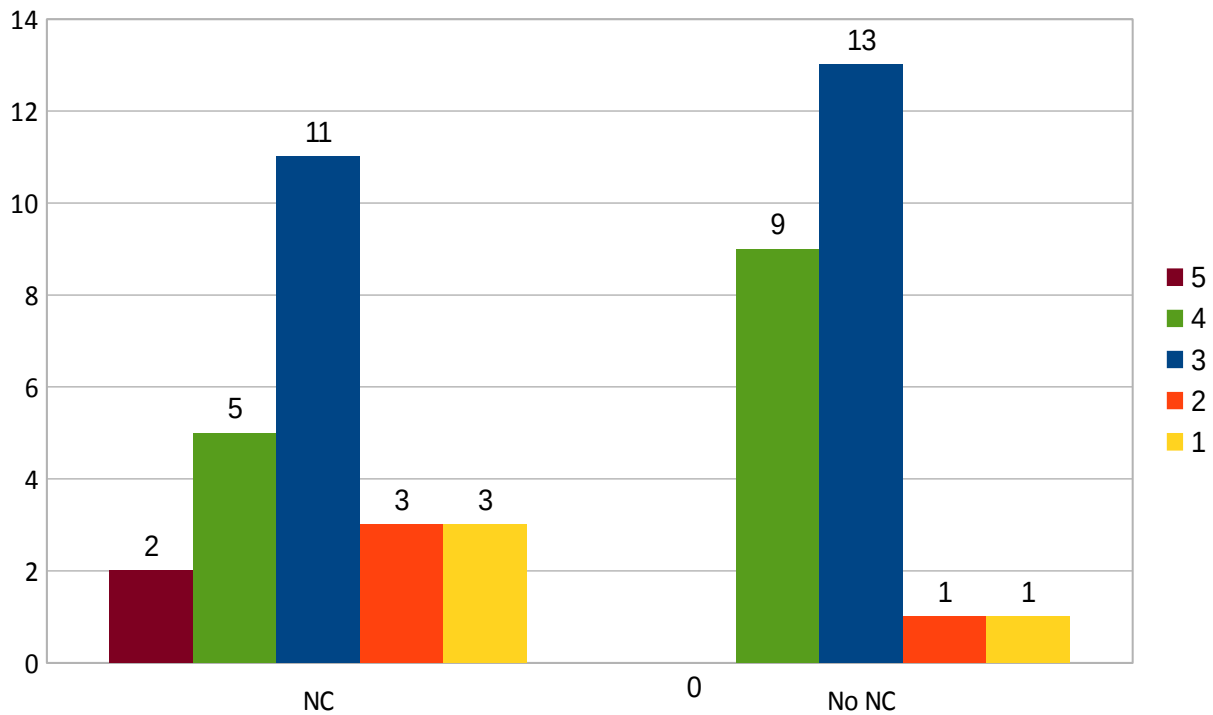
NC			NO NC		
5	2	9 %	4	9	38 %
4	5	21 %	3	13	54 %
3	11	46 %	2	1	4 %
2	3	12 %	1	1	4 %
1	3	12 %			

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   3   3.3

Dimenticarsi seems to work better in combination with the preposed *nessuno* subject and *nianca* than in combination with *nessumo* object in the embedded clause.
Looking at the NC, the data detect a little preference for the No NC clause.
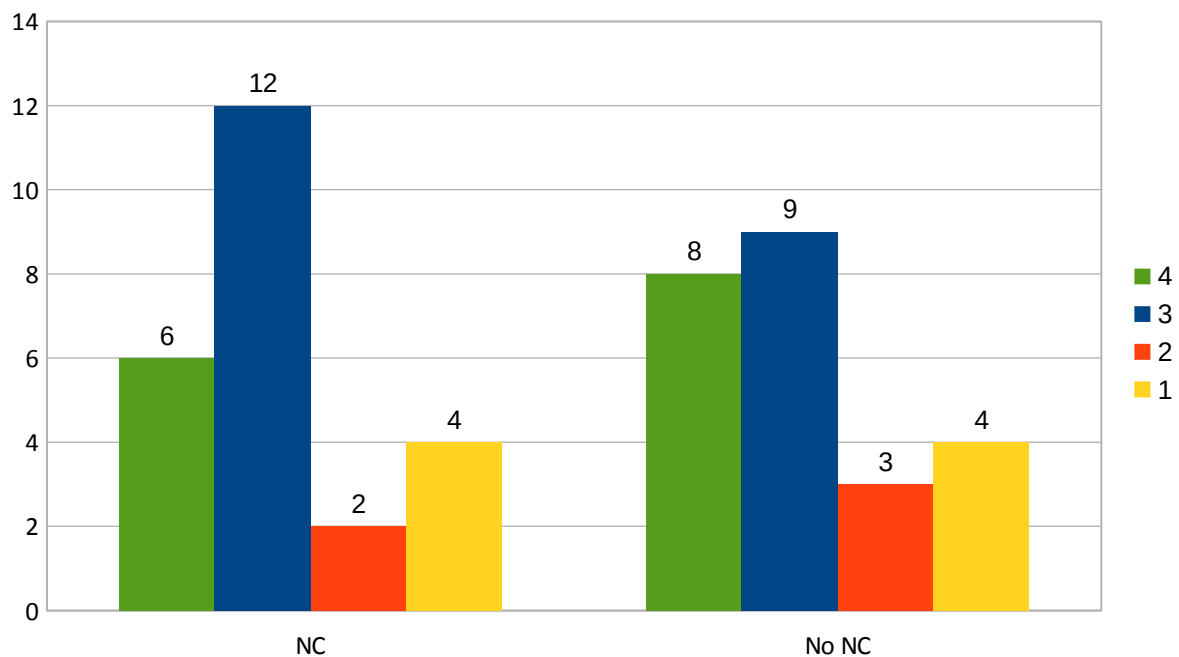
DOMANDARE (CHIEDERE)-TO ASK

(52)

a-Ghe domando se NESUNI NOL ga visto de quei chel conosea   NC
 To him (I) ask if nobody NEG+he has seen of those who he knew
 'I ask to him if he didn't see anyone of those he knew'

b-Ghe domando se NESUNI el ga visto de quei chel conosea   No NC
  To him (I) ask if nobody he has seen of those who he knew
 'I ask to him if he didn't see anyone of those he knew'

(60)

NC			NO NC		
4	6	25 %	4	8	33 %
3	12	50 %	3	9	38 %
2	2	8 %	2	3	12 %
1	4	17 %	1	4	17 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE 2.8   2.9

Domandare (chiedere) achieved better results in combination with the preposed *nessuno* subject and *nianca* than with *nessuno* object in the embedded clause.
Looking at the NC, we notice a very little preference for the No NC clause.

SAPERE (CREDERE)-TO KNOW (TO BELIEVE)

(53)

a-Ti o saveito che NESUNI NOL ga saeudà quando che l'è 'ndà via?   NC
   You it know that nobody   NEG+he has said hello when that he is gone away?
   'Did you know that he didn't say hello to anyone when he went away?'

b-Ti o saveito che NESUNI el ga saeudà quando che l'è 'ndà via?   No NC
   You it know that nobody   he has said hello when that he is gone away?
   'Did you know that he didn't say hello to anyone when he went away?'

(61)
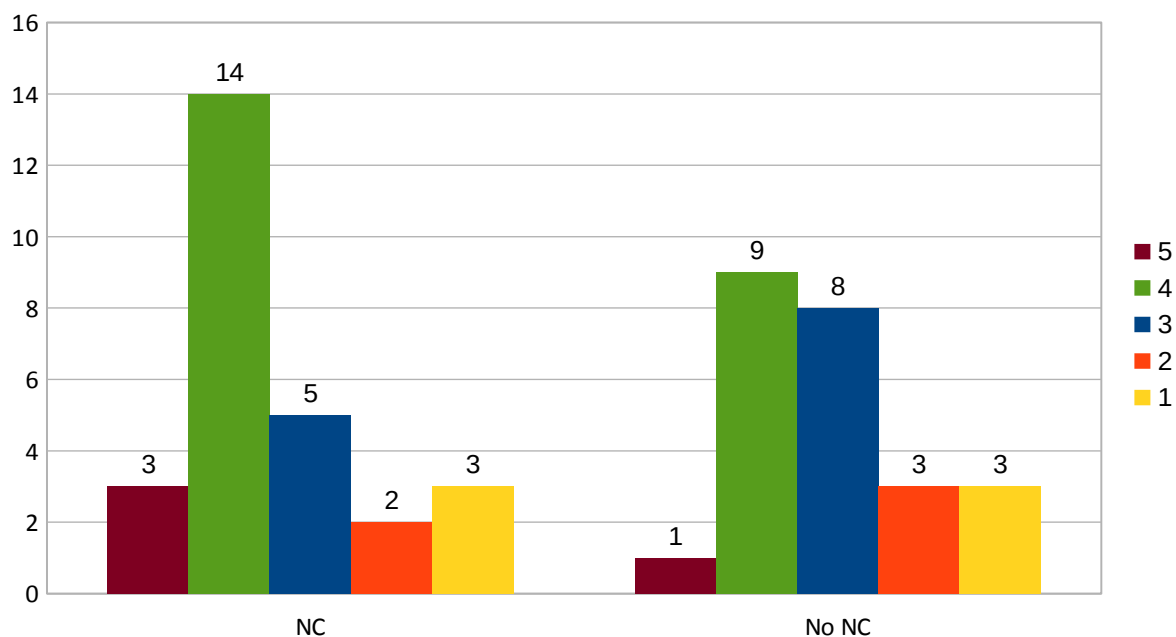
NC			NO NC		
5	3	12 %	5	1	4 %
4	14	59 %	4	9	38 %
3	5	21 %	3	8	34 %
2	2	8 %	2	3	12 %
			1	3	12 %

WEIGHTED AVERAGE   3.7   3.1

Also with *sapere (credere)* I noticed a clear distance between the marks this verb achieved in combination with *nessuno* object in the embedded clause and which ones it conquered in combination with *nessuno* subject and *nianca*.
The marks with the preposed *nessuno* object are clearly lower than with the other two n-words.
Looking at the NC, there is a considerable preference for the NC clause.

TABLE OF THE WEIGHTED AVERAGES

		NIANCA		NESSUNO SUBJECT		NESSUNO OBJECT	
		NC	NON NC	STRICT	NON STRICT	STRICT	NON STRICT
subjunctive							
	credere	4.8	4.3	4.4	4.7	4.0	3.5
	dispiacere	4.1	3.5	4.5	4.5	3.8	3.4
	è meglio	4.6	4.3	4.7	4.6	4.3	3.3
	domandare (pregare)	3.8	3.0	4.4	4.3	2.7	2.9
indicative							
	accorgersi	3.8	3.8	4.6	4.7	3.3	3.1
	dimenticarsi	3.9	3.4	3.7	4.1	3	3.3
	domandare (chiedere)	3.3	2.8	3.6	3.7	2.8	2.9
	sapere (credere)	4.8	4.3	4.3	4.7	3.7	3.1

NIANCA

G1: With *nianca* NC is preferred in all contexts

The most important thing I notice from the data with the n-word *nianca* is the sensible difference between the marks the informants gave to the NC alternative and, one the other side, which ones they gave to the No NC alternative. The direction of the data is univocal. The marks of the NC alternative are always higher than the marks of the No NC one, both with the subjunctive and the indicative and with all the main verbs.
This state of fact confirms what I detected in the analysis of the main clauses test. With the adverbial n-word *nianca* the NC structure always seems to be the better solution. The No NC alternative is also accepted and considered correct.
So I conclude that with the adverbial n-word *nianca* the two structures, NC and No NC, are both present and optional in the competence of the informants, but the NC alternative seems to be the best.

NESSUNO SUBJECT

G2: With *nessuno* subject NC isn't the preferred solution in all contexts

The data of the clauses with *nessuno* in its subject function are quite different from which ones I presented for *nianca*. Actually, I detected the presence of higher marks given to the No NC clause than which ones given to the NC alternative.
The informants seem to prefer the No NC structure. This confirms what I detected for *nessuno* subject in the main clauses test. The two structures, Strict and No NC, are both present and acceptable in the competence of the informants, but the No NC alternative seems to be the best.

<h1 style="text-align:center">NESSUNO OBJECT</h1>

G3: With *nessuno* object NC is preferred in all contexts

The marks the informants gave to the clauses with *nessuno* object are more similar to the ones they gave to the clauses with *nianca* than to the ones they gave to the clauses with *nessuno* subject. Actually, I detected higher marks for the NC alternative than the No NC one except for some specific cases. The informants seem to prefer the clause with the NC. Also here, the data detected for the embedded clauses test confirm what I've already shown for the main clauses one. The two structures, NC and the No NC, seem to be both present in the competence of the informants, nevertherless they seem to prefer the NC alternative.

<h1 style="text-align:center">ADVERBIAL N-WORDS vs NOMINAL N-WORDS</h1>

The data show that the different inner characteristics of the n-words influence the NC phenomenon. If we compare the marks the informants gave to the NC clause with *nianca* and which ones they gave to the NC with *nessuno* object, we will easily see that the marks for *nianca* are considerably higher than the marks for *nessuno* object. This clearly means that the adverbial status of *nianca* helps the presence of the NC.

<h1 style="text-align:center">SUBJUNCTIVE vs. INDICATIVE</h1>

SUBJUNCTIVE AND ANTEPOSITION

Considering the different scores given to the clauses with the subjective and the clauses with the indicative, I noticed that the presence of the subjunctive makes the clauses with the preposed n-words more acceptable than the indicative.
Actually, the marks the informants gave to the clauses with the subjunctive are sensibly higher than which ones they gave to the clauses with the indicative. This means that the subjunctive is a favoring factor for the anteposition.

SUBJUNCTIVE AND STRICT NEGATIVE CONCORD

Looking at the results of the clauses with *nessuno* subject, which seems to prefer the No NC as I said before, I noticed an interesting fact connected with the presence of the subjunctive. The preference for the No NC alternative surfaces with the indicative, while in the clauses with the subjunctive we observe the opposite. It seems that the subjunctive is able to make acceptable the NC structure also with *nessuno* subject. On the other side, when the subjunctive is absent the NC option with *nessuno* subject takes always less scores than the No NC alternative.

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