

Negation in Salentino
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New data from Northern and Central Salentino revealed a previously unnoticed feature of negation. In these varieties the negative clause is formed by the addition of the particle *ci* to the negative marker *non*, as the example in (1a) shows.

- (1)
- a. Non ci mangiu
NEG CI eat.1SG
'I don't eat'

It is noteworthy to underline that Northern and Central Salentino do not allow the switch from (1a) to (1b):

- (1)
- b. * Non mangiu
NEG eat.1SG
'I don't eat'

That seems to suggest that *ci* is mandatory in clausal negation. As a consequence, addressing the issue of the morphosyntactic nature of *ci* in the Salentino negative sentence would be worthwhile. This talk aims to report on the early findings of an ongoing research project in order to explain this doubling negation's behaviour.

Essentially, in Salentino, (*n*)*ci* is a third-person singular dative clitic (<HINCE) (Rohlf's 1968). However, in the gathered negative sentences, *ci* cannot have this function. At the same time, the possibility that Salentino *ci* is a homophone of the Italian locative clitic *ci* can be ruled out since Salentino is notoriously lacking locative clitics (Avolio 1995: 89). Indeed, if the *ci* found in the negative sentence was a locative pronoun, we should find it in the corresponding affirmative sentence as well, which it is not. As a matter of fact, the negative sentence in (2a) cannot be turned into the affirmative in (2b).

- (2)
- a. Non ci sta vvau
NEG CI AUX RF.go.1SG
'I will not go'
- b. * Ci sta vvau
CI AUX RF.go.1SG
'I will go'

Similarly, the sentence in (3a) cannot be rendered in negation as in (3b) as the negative form requires the presence of *ci*.

- (3)
- a. Sta vvau
AUX RF.go.1SG
'I will go'

- b. * Non sta vvau
 NEG AUX RF.go.1SG
 'I will not going'

These data suggest that *ci* is a marker of negation. However, in its interaction with *non*, this particle appears to syntactically act as a clitic, even though it has no pronominal function. For example, as a clitic, *ci* follows the preverbal negation *non* (Zanuttini 1997: 18). At the same time, it is relevant to investigate the response of *ci* to Clitic Climbing (Rizzi 1982), because the particle can move and be split from the other negation marker if the verb *want* is present. Hence, (4a) and (4b) are both possible.

(4)

- a. Non ci voju pparlu
 NEG CI want.1SG RF.talk.1SG
 'I don't want to talk'
- b. No bboju nci parlu
 NEG want.1SG CI talk.1SG
 'I don't want to talk'

The analysis that will be presented will also take into account the behaviour of this *non + ci* in connection with the minimizer *filu* (Ledgeway 2017), the negative marker *mancu* (Garzonio & Poletto 2014), the complementizers *ca/cu* (Ledgeway 2012).

The aim is to introduce such a negation pattern previously unnoticed in the literature, discussing preliminary data collected in eight cities of the Northern and Central Salento.

Selected References

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