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CODE-SWITCHING IN ITALO-ROMANCE: A VARIATIONIST STUDY OF CONVERGENCE IN BILINGUAL SPEECH

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ABSTRACT: This paper deals with grammatical aspects of code-switching between Italian and Italo-Romance dialects, and focuses on the case of negative constructions featuring a MICA-type particle (i.e. a particle deriving from the Latin MICA(M) "crumb") in a corpus of Italian and *bresciano* speech data. The case at hand, which will be examined following the so-called comparative variationist method (cf. Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001 *inter alia*), will offer valuable insight into the conventionalization of mixing patterns and the interplay between code-switching and convergence in Italo-Romance.

KEYWORDS: code-switching, convergence, sociolinguistic variation, Italian, Italo-Romance dialects.

1. INTRODUCTION [*]

Code-switching between Italo-Romance dialects and Italian represents a case in point for the investigation of bilingual speech between two closely related, but at the same time separate, linguistic systems. As is well-known, in fact, Italo-Romance dialects arise from the Italo-Romance vernaculars spoken in the Middle Ages, and are therefore coeval with the vernacular from which standard Italian developed. At the same time, most Italo-Romance dialects are *Abstand* languages; indeed, they show a noticeable degree of structural distance both from each other and from Italian, which "is comparable to that existing between different Romance languages" (Berruto 1997: 305).

This paper deals with grammatical aspects of code-switching between Italo-Romance dialects and Italian (§ 2) and concentrates on a specific case of interaction between grammars in bilingual speech (§ 3). The focus will fall on the behavior of negative constructions featuring a MICA-type particle

[*] The abbreviations appearing in the interlinear glosses follow the Leipzig glossing rules. The abbreviations used in the main text of the paper are the following: EL = Embedded Language, FW = Factor Weights, ML = Matrix Language, MLF = Matrix Language Frame, S = subject, and V = verb.

(i.e. a particle deriving from the Latin MICA(M) "crumb") in a corpus of Italian and *bresciano* speech data (*bresciano* is an Eastern Lombard dialect spoken in the northern Italian region of Lombardy[1]). The case at hand, which will be examined following the so-called comparative variationist method (see Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001 *inter alia*), will offer valuable insight into the conventionalization of mixing patterns and the interplay between code-switching and convergence in Italo-Romance (§ 4).

2. GRAMMATICAL ASPECTS OF BILINGUAL SPEECH IN ITALO-ROMANCE

Grammatical aspects of code-switching in Italo-Romance have been investigated mainly against the backdrop of Myers-Scotton's (2002) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model. Such a model states that only one of the participating languages, referred to as the Matrix Language (ML), sets the morphosyntactic frame of the whole bilingual speech. In particular, it is only the ML which can provide the morpheme order of bilingual clauses and the so-called late outsider system morphemes, the latter being typically represented by S-V agreement morphemes.[2] The other language, which is termed the Embedded Language (EL), may supply content morphemes (if they are 'sufficiently congruent' with the ML at the level of the abstract grammatical structure) and 'islands', i.e. monolingual phrases which are grammatically well-formed in the EL (see also Myers-Scotton & Jake 2016).

Example (1) illustrates this type of code-switching. In (1), as well as in all bilingual clauses collected in Myers-Scotton's Nairobi corpus, the elements of the morphosyntactic frame, and in particular the morpheme order and the S-V agreement morphemes, come from Swahili (ML), while English (EL) is limited to providing content morphemes (e.g. *repeat*) and islands (e.g. *so many problems*).

(1)	*lakini*	*a-na*	***so many problems***	*mtu*	*a-me-**repeat***
	but	3SG-with	so many problems	person	3SG-PERF-repeat
	mara	*ny-ingi*			
	time	CL9-many			

'but he has so many problems [that he is] a person [who] has repeated many times'

[1] More precisely, the label *bresciano* is used here to cover a group of Eastern Lombard varieties spoken in the Brescian area.

[2] Late outsider system morphemes "co-index relations between elements […] across phrasal boundaries" (Myers-Scotton 2005: 21).

(Swahili/**English**; Nairobi Corpus, Myers-Scotton 2002: 57)

Research has shown that this type of code-switching, which is classified under the heading of *classic code-switching* (see e.g. Myers-Scotton 2002: 8), actually fails to explain code-switching between Italian and Italo-Romance dialects (cf. Berruto 2004, 2005; Regis 2005). In fact, the overriding feature of bilingual speech in Italo-Romance is that neither of the two grammars prevails over the other, as bilingual speech is not framed by only one of the participating languages. One can detect the framing language of each individual clause (*lingua base*, 'base language', in Berruto 2004), but not of the entire bilingual speech (and the same applies to a significant number of other pairs of languages; see e.g. Muysken 2000; Gardner-Chloros 2009: 103-104).[3]

Some key aspects of code-switching between Italian and Italo-Romance dialects are illustrated in example (2), in which the languages involved are Italian and Piedmontese, the latter being an Italo-Romance dialect spoken in the northern Italian region of Piedmont. Here, the morphosyntactic frame of the discourse does not come from only one of the participating languages; in fact, some clauses are framed by Italian, supplying (at least) the morpheme order and the S-V agreement morphemes (e.g. *loro il lavoro non è* ['kume nuj]... [əŋ fiŋ di kunt lur] *quella cosa lì non ce l'hanno*), while others are framed by Piedmontese (e.g. *loro* [suŋ neŋ buŋ a trava'je]). This implies that nothing constrains code-switching apart from the requirements of either grammar. For example, in (2), there are clauses in which canonical negation is expressed by a preverbal marker, as in Italian, and clauses in which canonical negation features a postverbal marker, as is the case with Piedmontese (as well as with other Northern dialects). Moreover, due to both the genealogical closeness and to the long-standing and intense contact between Italian and Piedmontese (as well as between the former and all Italo-Romance dialects), the speech is characterized by a large number of bilingual homophones (e.g. *a*, *è*, *lì*).[4]

(2)	*loro*	[**suŋ**		**neŋ**	**buŋ**	**a**	**trava'je**]	*perché*	*non*		
	they	be.PRS.3PL		NEG	able	to	work.INF	because	NEG		
	hanno	*mai*	*lavorato...*		*loro*	*il*	*lavoro*	*non*			
	have.PRS.3PL	never	worked		they	the	work	NEG			
	è	['**kume**	**nuj**]...	[**əŋ**	**fiŋ**	**di**	**kunt**	**lur**]	*quella*	*cosa*	*lì*

[3] Actually, Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009: 338) acknowledge that even in data sets showing classic code-switching "the ML may vary from clause to clause, although this is unusual".

[4] Contact in speech between Italian and Italo-Romance dialects can also lead to the emergence of hybrid words, which are formed with rules and surface materials coming from both languages (see e.g. Berruto 2004; Regis 2016).

be.PRS.3SG like us in end of.the counts they that thing there
non ce l' hanno… [**suŋ** **mɑj** **sta**
NEG LOC it.ACC have.PRS.3PL be.PRS.3PL never been
stimu'la **a** **fe** **tant**]
stimulated to do.INF much
'they are unable to work because they've never worked… working is not the same thing for them as it is for us... after all they don't have that thing... they have never been stimulated to do much'
(Italian/**Piedmontese**; Cerruti & Regis 2005: 190)

At the same time, dialect/standard convergence in Italo-Romance has resulted in a range of intermediate varieties between the most ancient and rural varieties of Italo-Romance dialects and the standard variety of Italian. In most areas, this range of varieties is to be understood as divided into two separate continua, the dialect continuum and the Italian continuum (given that Italo-Romance dialects and Italian pertain to separate linguistic systems: cf. § 1); the former consists of varieties resulting from the Italianization of Italo-Romance dialects, whereas the latter consists of varieties resulting from the dialectalization of Italian (cf. Berruto 2005). It follows that code-switching in Italo-Romance mostly occurs between varieties of Italian which are structurally interfered by Italo-Romance dialects and varieties of the latter which are structurally interfered by Italian (see e.g. Berruto 2011: 54-55). In fact, both Italian and Italo-Romance dialects may supply not only the surface forms but also the underlying grammatical frame of the same bilingual clause.

Such is the case with utterance (3). Here, Italian and Northern-Calabrian (the latter being a geographical variety of Neapolitan-Calabrese, spoken in the southern Italian region of Calabria) jointly contribute to the grammatical frame of the bilingual non-finite clause [a ttʃi] *cambiare* [u] *motore con suo zio*. The dative pronoun [tʃi] is proclitic to an uninflected verb form, as is the case with Northern-Calabrian (the dative pronoun would be enclitic in Italian), while the prenominal position of the possessive adjective *suo* comes from Italian (the same adjective would be postnominal in Northern-Calabrian).[5]

(3) [**ti** **kum'mɛna** **a** **ttʃi**] *cambiare* [**u**] *motore*
to you is convenient to it.DAT replace.INF the engine
con suo zio?
with 3SG.POSS uncle

[5] It should also be noted that utterance (3) features some bilingual homophones, i.e. *ti*, *a*, and *ci*.

‘is it convenient for you to replace the engine together with his uncle?’
(Italian/**Northern-Calabrian**; Perrotta 2013: 107)

The MLF Model provides for the possibility that the underlying frame of a bilingual clause comes from both participating languages. This type of code-switching, which is explicitly meant to account for convergence phenomena, is known as *composite code-switching* (see e.g. Myers-Scotton 2002: 105). An example of this can be seen in (4): here, the lack of a copula in the predicative construction is typical of Hungarian (Kovács 2005: 346), while the lack of agreement in number between the predicative adjective and the plural noun is in accordance with English grammar (in Hungarian the former would require the plural marker).

(4) *a* ***periods*** *nagyon* ***long***
the periods very long
‘the periods are very long’
(Hungarian/**English**; Kovács 2005: 346)

However, this type of code-switching implies the existence of a ‘composite’ ML, i.e. “an abstract frame composed of grammatical projections from more than one variety” (Myers-Scotton 2002: 22; see also Myers-Scotton & Jake 2009), which in many ways seems like a contradiction in terms (cf. Auer & Muhamedova 2005; Berruto 2004: 64; Cerruti & Regis 2015: 22-24). Moreover, the MLF Model has hardly ever examined composite code-switching (as well as classic code-switching) by duly considering those elements that bilingual speech shares with monolingual speech, especially in situations of long-lasting and intense contact.

It is worth recalling, indeed, that neither bilingual nor monolingual speech are always governed by the rules which apply to standard varieties; bilingual speech, as well as monolingual speech, may be characterized not only by categorical rules but also by patterns of variation, and both bilingual and monolingual speech may vary noticeably intra- and inter-individually (see e.g. Auer 1998; Gardner-Chloros 2009: 112-113; Backus 2015: 19). Furthermore, especially when convergence takes place, bilingual speakers do not always switch between two clearly distinguishable sets of rules (cf. Alvarez-Caccamo 1998: 36; Gardner-Chloros & Edwards 2004). These aspects are actually disregarded by most models of code-switching grammar, which do not usually take due account of inherent variability in the languages in contact (cf. Sebba 2009: 52).

On the contrary, these very issues are taken into special consideration by the aforementioned comparative variationist framework (see e.g. Poplack & Meechan 1998; Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001; Tagliamonte 2002; Meyerhoff

2009; Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2015). From this perspective, in fact, the analysis of bilingual speech "cannot rely solely on prescriptive or non-quantitative descriptions of more or less related varieties of either languages, but must compare and contrast the bilingual structures we find with the unmixed patterns in the same corpus" (Poplack & Meechan 1998: 130). The case at hand, to be dealt with in what follows, will be examined in accordance with this method.

3. INTERACTION BETWEEN GRAMMARS IN BILINGUAL SPEECH: A CASE STUDY

From here on, the focus will fall on the behavior of negative constructions featuring a MICA-type particle in a bilingual corpus of Italian and *bresciano* speech data. These data come from a collection of semi-structured interviews with a group of former World War II partisans. Such interviews, which amount to approximately sixteen hours of recordings, were shot for two different documentaries, *La libertà costa cara molto* (A.N.P.I. Brescia, 2011; cf. ParVa Corpus: *www.mediling.eu*) and *La guerra del Grigna* (*www.youtube.com/watch?v=n6tGFB8gQYg*). All the partisans interviewed were born in the 1920s, and most of them were "factory workers, peasants or mine workers, coming from low-income households with little education" (Guerini 2015: 198).

A comparison will be made between *bresciano* and Italian clauses, as well as between monolingual and bilingual clauses, based on the behavior of the MICA-type particle. Such a comparison will allow us to establish whether – as far as the negative constructions in question are concerned – the underlying structure of bilingual speech is framed by both *bresciano* and Italian or is consistent with the rules of either monolingual grammar.

The scope of the investigation is limited to declarative clauses, where the MICA-type particle can occur in three different structures and can fulfill four specialized functions. The structures in question, as well as the functions concerned, represent different stages of development along a grammaticalization cline. In fact, the structures featuring a MICA-type particle correspond to three of the stages recognized for Jespersen cycles, i.e. NEG+V+MICA > V+MICA > MICA+V (see e.g. Van der Auwera 2009; Hansen & Visconti 2012; cf. Bernini & Ramat 1996), and the functions fulfilled form a four-stage path from non-canonical negation to canonical negation, i.e. Discourse-old/Hearer-old > Discourse-old/Hearer-new > Discourse-new/Hearer-old > Discourse-new/Hearer-new (Squartini 2017).

As argued in Squartini (2017), the functions fulfilled by a negative element can be defined by referring to the interplay of discourse givenness (Discourse-old/new) and hearer's knowledge (Hearer-old/new). In particular, a negative element is fully grammaticalized as a canonical negation if it is free of constraints associated with discourse givenness and hearer's knowledge; namely, if it negates a propositional content which is neither triggered by discourse elements, i.e. Discourse-new, nor explicitly stated or expected on the basis of shared knowledge, i.e. Hearer-new. On the contrary, a negative element which cannot negate Discourse-new/Hearer-new propositional contents displays a special semantics, and hence behaves like a non-canonical negation (such is the case with *mica* in standard Italian; cf. Cerruti in press).

3.1 Monolingual clauses

The diagram in Figure 1 refers to the subset of *bresciano* clauses, in which the MICA-type particle is realized with ['mia]. As is apparent from the diagram, such a particle can appear in only one structure, V+['mia], and represents a fully grammaticalized negative marker.

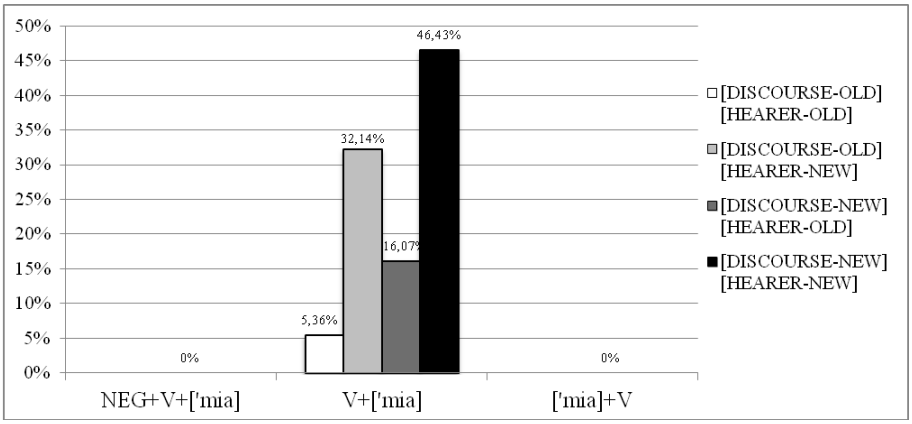

FIGURE 1. MICA-TYPE PARTICLE IN *BRESCIANO* CLAUSES

In fact, ['mia] can negate Discourse-new/Hearer-new propositional contents (though, like all canonical negative markers, it is also found in contexts associated with non-canonical negation). Such is the case with utterance (5), in which the negated content (i.e. [al vu'lia ɲi]) is neither triggered by previous discourse elements nor expected on the basis of shared knowledge. The behavior of *bresciano* reflects that of Lombard dialects, in that the MICA-type particle has reached the postverbal negation stage of Jespersen cycles and has grammaticalized into a plain negative marker (see e.g. Poletto 2008,

Parry 2013).

(5) [ma al tɔ te'dɛhk 'ando 'ɛ-l? al dih
but the 2SG.POSS German where be.PRS.3SG-he he say.PRS.3SG
al vu'lia 'mia ɲi... a'lyra l o ko'pat]
he want.IPFV.3SG NEG come.INF so him have.PRS.3SG killed
‘‘but where is your German?’ he says, ‘he didn’t want to come, so I killed him’
(*bresciano*)

Quite different is the case of Italian clauses, in which the MICA-type particle is realized with *mica*. As can be seen in Figure 2, *mica* occurs only in contexts associated with non-canonical negation, and in the vast majority of cases, it appears in a discontinuous structure, i.e. NEG+V+*mica*.

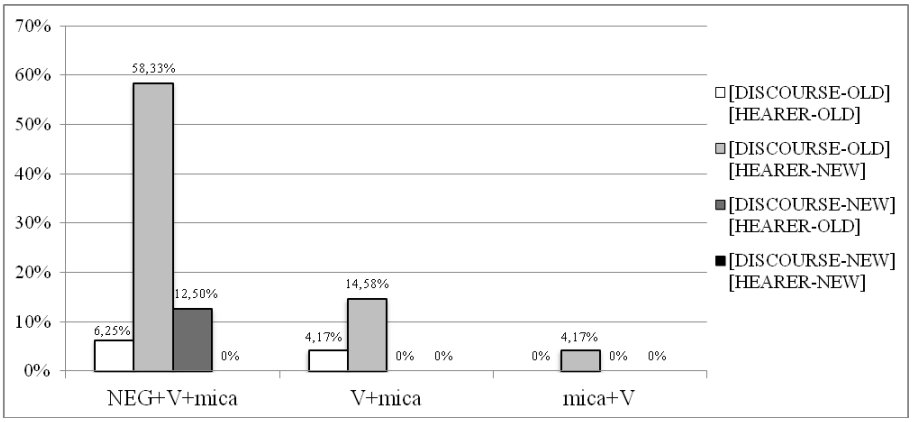

FIGURE 2. MICA-TYPE PARTICLE IN ITALIAN CLAUSES

In particular, *mica* seems to specialize in negating Discourse-old/Hearer-new propositional contents[6], as in the case of example (6). Here, the negated content (i.e. *dormivo*, in the sense of ‘I was a fool’) is not explicitly stated (and, therefore, is not known to the hearer) but is deemed inferable from previous discourse elements (i.e. *ero giovane*); the negative particle *mica* hence disconfirms what can be inferred from the preceding discourse.

(6) *ero* *giovane* *ma* *non* *dormivo* *mica*
be.IPFV.1SG young but NEG sleep.IPFV.1SG MICA
‘I was young but I didn’t sleep *mica* (I wasn’t *mica* a fool)’

[6] This meaning confirms the inferential interpretation of *mica* suggested in the seminal work of Cinque (1976); see also Zanuttini (1997), Visconti (2009), Squartini (2017) and Penello & Pescarini (2008), the latter dealing with Venetan dialects.

(Italian)

In short, the comparison between *bresciano* clauses and Italian clauses reveals that the behavior of negative constructions featuring a MICA-type particle clearly represents a *conflict site*, i.e. a sector of the grammar in which the structures of the language pair do not match (Poplack & Meechan 1998: 132; cf. Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2015: 377-378).

3.2 Bilingual clauses

As regards bilingual clauses, the first aspect to be considered is that the MICA-type particle is always realized with the *bresciano* form ['mia]; such is the case both when code switching is present in the preceding or subsequent discourse and when the particle occurs in an otherwise Italian clause. Moreover, it is worth noting that there is no variation in contexts associated with canonical negation, the latter amounting to about 14% of the cases. In such contexts, the word order is always V+['mia], and S-V agreement morphemes (the importance of the latter for the morphosyntactic frame of bilingual speech has been stressed in § 2) are always supplied by *bresciano*. An example of this can be seen in (7), in which canonical negation[7] is provided by postverbal ['mia] and the verb ['era] bears the *bresciano* subject agreement morpheme -[a].

(7) *una volta* *avevano* *rotto* *i* *ponti,* *perché* *le* *strade*
one time have.IPFV.3PL broken the bridges because the streets
[**j** **era** **'mia**] *come* *adesso*
they be.IPFV.3PL NEG like now
'they once destroyed the bridges, because the streets were not like they are these days'
(Italian/***bresciano***)

On the contrary, variation does occur in contexts associated with non-canonical negation, the latter amounting to about 86% of the cases. Table 1 presents the results of a multivariate analysis, which was performed on all tokens of non-canonical negation in bilingual clauses in order to identify the linguistic conditioning of V+['mia]. The dependent variable was hence categorized as binary: V+['mia] vs. NEG+V+['mia] and ['mia]+V, the latter structure occurring in less than 4% of the cases. As shown in the table, non-canonical negation is extremely likely to be expressed by V+['mia] when S-V agreement morphemes are provided by *bresciano* (FW = 0.918), while

[7] The negated content (i.e. *le strade* [j era] *come adesso*) is Discourse-new/Hearer-new (cf. §§ 3 and 3.1).

V+['mia] is clearly disfavoured when such morphemes are supplied by Italian (FW = 0.082).[8] It is also to be noted that inter-individual variation is not statistically significant (as indicated by a standard deviation value of 0).

INPUT = 0.652, N = 51, AIC = 28.013					
			N	%	FW
FIXED EFFECTS	S-V agreement morphemes	*bresciano*	44	0.955	0.918
		Italian	7	0.143	0.082
	[Switch point]				
	[Verb class]				
			Standard deviation		
RANDOM EFFECTS	Inter-individual variation		0		

TABLE 1. NON-CANONICAL NEGATION IN BILINGUAL CLAUSES: THE LINGUISTIC CONDITIONING OF V+['MIA]

The most common way of expressing non-canonical negation in bilingual clauses is hence illustrated in utterance (8), in which ['mia] occurs in postverbal position without a preverbal negative marker and S-V agreement morphemes are supplied by *bresciano*. Conversely, when such morphemes are provided by Italian, non-canonical negation is more likely to be expressed by NEG+V+['mia], as in the case of example (9).[9]

(8) *quando tanti di loro han disertato…*
when many of them have.PRS.1PL deserted
[**go** **'mia** **fat**] *la paternale*
have.PRS.1SG MICA done the lecture
'when many of them deserted, I didn't ['mia] lecture (them)'
(Italian/***bresciano***)

(9) *di notte ci hanno dato da mangiare e*
at night us.DAT have.PRS.1PL given something to eat and
da fumare… alla mattina noi dovevamo essere fucilati
something to smoke in the morning we have.IPFV.1PL be.INF executed
alle sei, ma non pensavo [**'mia**] *che lo avrebbero*
at six but NEG think.IPFV.1SG MICA that it.ACC would have

[8] All tokens were coded for three predictors, i.e. the language supplying S-V agreement morphemes, the point in the clause in which code-switching occurs, and the verb class, but neither the switch point nor the verb class had a statistically significant effect.

[9] In both (8) and (9), the negated content is Discourse-old/Hearer-new (cf. §§ 3 and 3.1). In fact, both [go fat] *la paternale* and *pensavo che lo avrebbero fatto*, which are not known to the hearer, can be considered as expected on the basis of previous discourse elements, i.e. *tanti di loro han disertato* (insofar as those who desert are expected to be harangued) and *di notte ci hanno dato da mangiare e da fumare* (given that convicted men who receive their last meal expect to be executed), respectively.

fatto, *allora* *arriva* *l'* *ordine:* *lasciate-li* *liberi*
done then come.PRS.3SG the order let.IMP-them free
'at night they gave us something to eat and something to smoke… we were supposed to be executed at six in the morning, but I didn't ['mia] think they would do it; then the order came to releases us'
(Italian/***bresciano***)

At this point, a comparison between bilingual clauses and *bresciano* clauses can be fruitful. Table 2 presents the results of a multivariate analysis of all tokens of V+['mia], some of them being produced as part of code-switched speech and others occurring in monolingual clauses (cf. § 3.1). Such an analysis was performed to identify the linguistic conditioning of ['mia] expression in the context of code-switching. As is apparent from the table, the occurrence of V+['mia] in bilingual clauses is disfavored when the negated content is Discourse-new/Hearer-new (FW = 0.321), i.e. when canonical negation is expressed, and this pattern seems to be shared by all individuals (as indicated by a standard deviation value of 0).[10] Hence, canonical negation is less likely to be realized with V+['mia] when the latter is produced as part of code-switched speech than when it appears in monolingual clauses (cf. § 3.1).

INPUT = 0.439, N = 99, AIC = 36.028					
			N	%	FW
FIXED EFFECTS	Functions	Discourse-old/Hearer-new	61	0.525	0.594
		Discourse-new/Hearer-old	6	0.500	0.566
		Discourse-old/Hearer-old	2	0.500	0.526
		Discourse-new/Hearer-new	30	0.267	0.321
	[Verb class]				
	[S-V agreement morphemes]				
			Standard deviation		
RANDOM EFFECTS	Inter-individual variation		0		

TABLE 2. V+['MIA]: THE LINGUISTIC CONDITIONING OF ['MIA] EXPRESSION IN BILINGUAL SPEECH

3.3 Discussion

A caveat should be issued here. The data set has experienced difficulties in supporting multivariate analyses, as little or no variation has been found in the data. In fact, it has been necessary to rely on a limited range of predictors (with a small number of factors) and to refrain from testing the interaction between such predictors. Therefore, it may be questionable whether the

[10] Neither the language supplying S-V agreement morphemes nor the verb class were selected as significant.

model adequately fits the data.

However, there are arguments to contend that the multivariate analyses performed do yield interpretable results. The small data set could well have impinged on the number of cells with no variation. Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that the sample of informants is composed mostly of uneducated elderly speakers, and the majority of uneducated elderly speakers of Italian, who were socialized in an Italo-Romance dialect, tend to use Italian features categorically (or near-categorically). In fact, they generally have a command of a single variety of Italian, which is referred to as *italiano popolare* (cf. Cerruti 2017). Furthermore, it has to be considered that categoricity is found in monolingual clauses as well; canonical negation is always provided by ['mia] in *bresciano*, while *mica* never behaves as a canonical negation in Italian (cf. § 3.1). Therefore, it is not the variation but the categoricity we find in monolingual grammars that may extend to bilingual speech.

At the same time, inter-individual variation is not deemed significant. This may be due, again, to the restrictions imposed by the data set on multivariate analyses. It is a fact, however, that the sample of informants is particularly homogeneous in its social composition, as all individuals were born in the 1920s in the province of Brescia and were socialized in *bresciano*; moreover, most of them are poorly educated speakers (cf. § 3). As previous studies have shown (see Guerini 2016; Berruto 2016), it is no coincidence that the majority of these informants share the same social variety of Italian, i.e. the so-called *italiano popolare* (see above). Social homogeneity may indeed bring about the homogeneity of linguistic behavior.

In view of this, an interpretation of our results can finally be provided. As far as bilingual speech is concerned, the MICA-type particle – which is always expressed by the *bresciano* form ['mia] – is found to occur in a range of structures and contexts which reflect the grammaticalization path mentioned in § 3. In fact, the uses of ['mia] range from discontinuous negation to postverbal and preverbal negation on the syntactic side, and from non-canonical negation to canonical negation on the semantic side. Moreover, the most prevalent pattern is represented by V+['mia] appearing in contexts associated with non-canonical negation, along with *bresciano* S-V agreement morphemes (cf. § 3.2).

Differences with monolingual speech do indeed emerge. Not all the structures and functions we find in bilingual speech coexist in either monolingual grammar (cf. § 3.1). At the same time, a given combination of structure and function can occur to a different extent in either grammar; for example, canonical negation is less likely to be realized with V+['mia] in bilingual speech than in *bresciano* (cf. § 3.2). Differences as such suggest that in bilingual speech both *bresciano* and Italian exert an influence on the behav-

ior of negative constructions featuring ['mia]; the underlying frame can hence be argued to come from both participating languages.

In order to disentangle the contribution of each language, the MICA-type particle can now be contrasted with other negative elements in both bilingual speech and monolingual speech. In bilingual speech, canonical negation is provided by the Italian preverbal negative marker *non*, which is also found to occur in cases of negative concord; for instance, in utterance (10) *non* is combined with the *bresciano* postverbal negative quantifier [ɲɛnt]. The combination of *non* and ['mia] is attested as well and, as seen in § 3.2, it expresses non-canonical negation. In this respect, bilingual speech is clearly consistent with Italian grammar, in which canonical negation features *non*, negative concord is present (see e.g. *non c'è niente*, 'there isn't anything'), and non-canonical negation features *mica* (cf. § 3.1).

(10)	*guarda*	*che*	*non*	*c'*	*è*	**[ɲɛnt]**
	look.IMP	that	NEG	LOC	be.PRS.3SG	nothing
	'look, there isn't anything'					
	(Italian/***bresciano***)					

On the contrary, in *bresciano*, canonical negation is provided by the postverbal negative marker ['mia], as seen in § 3.1, and negative concord is not possible, as exemplified in (11). Moreover, an element other than ['mia], i.e. [pɔ], appears in contexts associated with non-canonical negation; an example is given in (12), in which [te he pɔ] has a similar meaning to the Italian clause *non sai mica* ('you never know', lit. 'you don't know *mica*').[11]

(11)	['gia	ɲɛnt]
	have.IPFV.3SG	nothing
	'he had anything'	
	(*bresciano*)	

(12)	['hpie...	ɛl	pol		'ɛher]	**anche**	[ɛl	tɔ	fra'dɛl
	spies	he	can.PRS.3SG		be.INF	even	the	your	brother
	ɛŋ	ki]	**casi**	[le	te	he			pɔ]
	in	those	cases	there	you	know.PRS.2SG			PO
	'spies... even your brother can be (a spy), in those cases you never know'								
	(**Italian**/*bresciano*)								

Therefore, it can be argued that the use of ['mia] in bilingual speech is set forth by a pattern of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships between

[11] The same pattern has recently been observed in other Eastern Lombard dialects; see Ballarè (forthcoming).

negative elements which is essentially modeled on the grammar of Italian. At the same time, this means that the occurrence of a MICA-type particle in contexts associated with canonical negation (see e.g. example 7, § 3.2) reflects the influence of *bresciano*. With respect to word order, the same influence can be seen in bilingual clauses featuring V+['mia] (see e.g. 7 and 8, § 3.2), since postverbal negation basically comes from *bresciano* (the equivalent Italian construction V+*mica*, which is also found in our corpus, cf. § 3.1, is mainly to be considered as a result of substrate interference; see e.g. Telmon 1993: 126).

It should also be noted that the aims of the interviews may have been conducive to the use of Italian. This is the case, in particular, with the approximately fifteen hours of interviews included in the documentary *La libertà costa cara molto* (cf. § 3), for which the interviewees were required to use Italian (as the documentary was intended for school children). Previous studies (Dal Negro 2016: 122-123) have even claimed that the majority of bilingual speech in question can be regarded as an "intended monolingual mode" (in the sense of Clyne 2003: 189). In this respect, it may be no coincidence that there have emerged examples such as (9), § 3.2, in which ['mia] occurs in an otherwise Italian monolingual discourse.

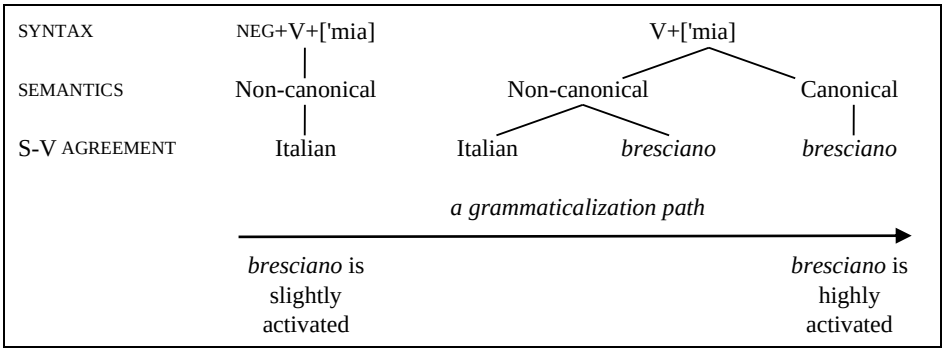

FIGURE 3. NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS FEATURING ['MIA] IN BILINGUAL SPEECH

Figure 3 provides a comprehensive scheme for the use of ['mia] in bilingual speech. As the figure suggests, both the structures involving ['mia] and the functions fulfilled by such a particle can be arranged along a grammaticalization path, ranging from one extreme – in which *bresciano* is slightly activated and ['mia] is less grammaticalized – to the other extreme – in which *bresciano* is highly activated and ['mia] is fully grammaticalized (the scheme in Figure 3 disregards ['mia]+V, which occurs very rarely in our corpus; cf. § 3.2). In the intermediate stages of the path, i.e. when non-canonical negation features V+['mia], both Italian and *bresciano* are activated and jointly contribute to the grammatical frame of bilingual clauses: Ital-

ian supplies ['mia] with the function of non-canonical negation, while *bresciano* provides the same particle with the position of postverbal negation. Hence, consistent with the general characteristics of code-switching in Italo-Romance (cf. § 2), some bilingual clauses have a single framing language, whether it be Italian (at the left extreme of the path) or *bresciano* (at the right extreme of the path), while others are framed by both languages.

Moreover, it is worth noting that in the vast majority of cases the underlying frame of bilingual clauses is supplied by both languages, since ['mia] is mostly used in bilingual speech as a postverbal non-canonical negative marker without a preverbal negator (cf. § 3.2); a case in point is utterance (8), § 3.2, in which non-canonical negation features V+['mia]. In such contexts, the S-V agreement morphemes may be provided by either *bresciano*, as in (8), or Italian, as in (13).[12]

(13) *tra* *la* *gente* *c'* *era* *anche* *mio* *fratello,*
among the people LOC be.IPFV.3SG also my brother
m' *ha* **['mia]** *conosciuto*
me have.PRS.3SG MICA recognized
'my brother was also in the crowd, he didn't ['mia] recognize me'
(Italian/***bresciano***)

Finally, the grammaticalization path depicted in Figure 3 points to the emergence of convergence phenomena in bilingual speech. In fact, as the far-right side of the path approaches, the behavior of ['mia] – which is basically patterned after the grammar of Italian – comes to resemble that of the corresponding particle in *bresciano*.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The outcomes of the investigation offer valuable insight into a number of aspects regarding code-switching in Italo-Romance. The first aspect to point out is the conventionalization of certain mixing patterns, which, in the case at hand, results from the conventionalized use of the *bresciano* form ['mia] in bilingual speech. In particular, the conventionalization of a basic strategy of insertional mixing is found when the Italo-Romance dialect is slightly activated (i.e. at the left extreme of the path in Figure 3, § 3.3). In this case, we are faced with what is called "minimal insertion" (Auer 2014: 293); the *bre-*

[12] In (13), ['mia] negates a Discourse-new/Hearer-old propositional content (cf. § 3). In fact, the negated content (i.e. *m'ha conosciuto*) is not triggered by previous discourse elements but is expected on the basis of general world knowledge, and hence can be assumed to be familiar to the hearer.

sciano form ['mia] is inserted into the grammatical frame of Italian, since the MICA-type particle is used as a non-canonical negative marker in a discontinuous structure.

On the other hand, different mixing patterns are found as the speakers activate the Italo-Romance dialect to a greater extent (i.e. as the use of ['mia] approaches the right extreme of the path in Figure 3, § 3.3). This is consistent with the observation that the conventionalization of mixing patterns can take a variety of forms when dealing with closely related languages (see e.g. Auer 2014: 327-328). From this perspective, it is important to note that the most widespread pattern which appears to be conventionalized here (i.e. the pattern displayed in the intermediate stages of the path in Figure 3, § 3.3) is brought about by the joint contribution of both languages to the grammatical frame, as Italian provides ['mia] with the function of non-canonical negation, while *bresciano* supplies such a particle with the position of postverbal negation (cf. § 3.3).

Another aspect to consider deals with the interplay between code-switching and convergence in Italo-Romance. Both bilingual clauses jointly framed by the two participating languages and bilingual clauses framed by *bresciano* reveal the influence of the Italo-Romance dialect at the level of the underlying grammatical frame; indeed, *bresciano* supplies syntactic features in the former case and both syntactic and semantic features in the latter case (cf. Figure 3, § 3.3). What is most important to note is that the Italo-Romance dialect exerts a greater influence on bilingual clauses than on Italian clauses. In fact, in bilingual clauses, postverbal negation is far more widespread (as can be seen by comparing the rate of V+['mia] provided in § 3.2 with the rate of V+*mica* reported in Figure 2, § 3.1) and is also found to occur in contexts associated with canonical negation (as emerges from a comparison of the data discussed in § 3.2 with those presented in Figure 2, § 3.1). In the case at hand, therefore, bilingual speech can be argued to display a higher degree of convergence than monolingual speech (similar results are found in Toribio 2004 *inter alia*). As far as our negative constructions are concerned, bilingual speakers have a command of two grammars which are hardly ever affected by convergence phenomena; the interaction between grammars and the resulting converging patterns thus seem to be prompted by bilingual speech.

This allows us to conclude that even in the case of intense and long-standing contact between two closely related languages – and even when this kind of contact has resulted in two separate continua, each consisting of interfered varieties (cf. § 2) – some sectors of either monolingual grammar can hardly ever be sensitive to the influence of the other language, and structural convergence can be found for the most part in bilingual speech.

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