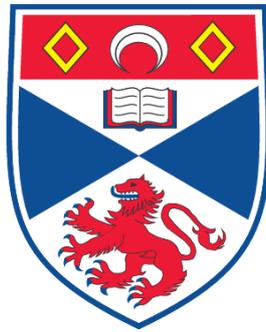


**A DIACHRONIC STUDY INTO THE DISTRIBUTIONS OF TWO
ITALO-ROMANCE SYNTHETIC CONDITIONAL FORMS**

Jennie Parkinson

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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**A Diachronic Study into the Distributions of Two Italo-Romance Synthetic
Conditional Forms**

Jennie Parkinson

January 2009

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Abstract

Two distinct conditional paradigms are available to speakers of Italian, derived from the Latin periphrases CANTARE HABUI/CANTARE HABEBAM. The aim of this thesis is to describe and explain their patterns of attestation in the earliest northern Italian and Tuscan texts, which date from between 1200 and 1400.

Textual analysis showed that while the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis was native to both areas, the use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis differed in the northern and central dialects. In the northern dialects, the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was attested in all genres over the whole time period, whereas in the Tuscan dialects it only appeared in literary genres. Moreover, although the northern texts attested both periphrases consistently over time in every genre, only Tuscan poetry followed this pattern. Other genres attested reflexes of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis for short periods in the fourteenth century. These results suggest that different influences resulted in different patterns of conditional use in the two areas.

This thesis postulates that in the northern Italo-Romance dialects, other than those of the extreme north-west, the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was introduced through the proximity to, and influence of, Provençal. Although the use of reflexes of CANTARE HABEBAM was reinforced in the north by the Sicilian school of poets, the dual nature of the sources meant that it was also retained in prose, and thence into modern dialect use. In contrast, reflexes of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis were introduced into central Italy through the Sicilian school alone. Although it appeared in prose texts, this was a sporadic phenomenon, resulting from imitation of the influential poetic texts. Because there was no prose source for reflexes of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, it did not enter non-literary genres and quickly disappeared from literary prose genres. The CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis eventually disappeared entirely from Tuscan poetry as well, and is not attested at all in the modern central dialects.

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My thanks go to everyone who had helped in various ways to make this thesis possible, particularly to my parents and to Alyson. Thanks are also due to Moira and to Bridget for help with last minute proof-reading

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A. M. D. G.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Alone among the Romance languages, Standard Italian, based on Tuscan, derives the conditional paradigm from the Latin periphrasis CANTARE HABUI, rather than from a reflex of CANTARE HABEBAM, as is the case elsewhere in Romania.¹ The situation in Italy is also unusual in that in certain areas of the peninsula reflexes of both periphrases co-exist in the modern dialects, whereas in other areas there is no native form of the conditional at all. Attestations of both periphrases appear in the earliest texts across the different regions of Italy, with little or no apparent order to their use. The primary aim of this thesis is to describe the distributions of the two conditional periphrases at the earliest possible point for which concrete data exists. The secondary aim of this study is to explain any patterns that appear in the distributions of the two periphrases in the light of the historical context. It is reasonable to assume that current variation between standard and dialect forms must have its roots in the past, and it is hoped that the historical variation described here will shed light on the current distributions of the two paradigms.

While the chapters of background theory will trace the roots and development of the modern conditional from the syntax and semantics of the infinitive + HABUI/HABEBAM periphrasis, this chapter will focus on the semantic and distributional differences between the two variants, infinitive + HABUI and infinitive + HABEBAM in Latin and

¹ While Elcock regards the CANTARE HABEBAM reflexes as having had a continuing existence in the northern Italian dialects, stating that “North Italian dialects still have flexions deriving from the imperfect”, Ferguson, in a close linguistic study of Venetian and the Veneto, asserts that CANTARE HABUI was also the native type in Venice, the Veneto and most of northern Italy, as well as in the central dialects, although the reflex of CANTARE HABEBAM has prevailed in contemporary Venetian. Additional evidence for this analysis is presented by Rohlfs, who notes that “soltanto nell’estremo Mezzogiorno, dove tēla > tīla, la desinenza *-ia* potrebbe direttamente risalire al latino *habebam*”. This analysis will, therefore, be presumed correct in the discussion of the distributions of the two reflexes in this chapter, but it will be considered in more detail in the Conclusions to this thesis.

W. D. Elcock, *The Romance Languages* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), p. 107.

Ronnie Ferguson, *A Linguistic History of Venice* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2007), p. 156.

Gerhard Rohlfs, *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti: Morfologia* (Turin: Einaudi, 1968), p. 339.

their modern reflexes, the *canterei* and *cantaria* types in the modern Italo-Romance dialects. With the two paradigms set in their past and present contexts, the possible loci of variation exemplified in the earliest texts will be isolated, and hypotheses set up to form a framework in which to describe this variation.

1.2 Theories on Different Distributions of the Periphrases in Latin

In the literature on the development of the Romance conditional, descriptions of the sources of the modern paradigms almost invariably conflate the two periphrases in formulae such as: “CANTARE HABEBAT > fr. *chanterait*; sp., pg., prov. e dialetti italiani *cantaría* e sim.; oppure CANTARE HEBUIT (= HABUIT > it., tosc. *canterebbe*)”.² Little or no consideration is given to the differences in meaning and use of the two tenses in the periphrasis. From this it may be inferred that either the two periphrases are often regarded as equivalent, or that the shades of meaning involved are considered to be too fine for further discussion. Even Fleischman, whose seminal work provides the fullest description of the formation of the Romance conditional paradigms, only expands the formula CANTARE HABEBAM to CANTARE HABEBAM/HABUI midway through her discussion of the topic, without further analysis of the semantics of the two forms.³ Rohlfs is one of the few authors to note a semantic difference, suggesting that “nel latino volgare *cantare habui* pare aver espresso in origine il grado passato del condizionale, di contro al grado presente espresso da *cantare habebam*”, but he does not go on to draw out the implications of this analysis.⁴ Recent work by Bourova on the differences in use of the two periphrases is, therefore, particularly welcome.

Bourova takes as her starting point 671 attestations of the construction HABERE + infinitive in Latin, and establishes that the differences in use of the two past indicative tenses were not limited to the temporal reference noted by Rohlfs, but that the two

² Lorenzo Renzi and Alvise Andreose, *Manuale di linguistica e filologia romanza* (Bologna, il Mulino, 2006), p. 215.

³ Suzanne Fleischman, *The Future in Thought and Language: Diachronic evidence from Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 63.

⁴ Rohlfs, *Morfologia*, p. 342.

forms also differed in their syntactic and semantic functions.⁵ Across the texts included in her analysis, both periphrases showed both word orders. CANTARE HABEBAM showed a slight tendency towards the order infinitive + HABERE, whereas CANTARE HABUI had a strong tendency towards the order HABERE + infinitive, and was more prone to permitting intercalated elements.⁶ On this basis, Bourova concludes that CANTARE HABEBAM was closer to the fixed infinitive + HABERE word order found in Romance, and showed a stronger potential for synthesis than CANTARE HABUI. From a syntactico-semantic perspective, CANTARE HABEBAM was found most frequently in subordinate clauses, whereas CANTARE HABUI was most frequently found in main clauses.⁷ When the statistics on word order, intercalated elements and clause type were compared, the distributions of the two tenses also differed from each other in their similarity to other forms of HABERE: CANTARE HABUI showed patterns that were more similar to those of CANTARE HABEO than CANTARE HABEBAM, which in its turn reflected the patterning of use of the subjunctive periphrasis, CANTARE HABEREM. This pattern leads Bourova to conclude that “la présence de l’infinitif ne semble pas altérer les caractéristiques de ces temps”, and that “la préférence pour les subordonnées de CANTARE HABEBAM est liée au repère secondaire et à la nature anaphorique de l’imparfait, tandis que l’affinité de CANTARE HABUI avec les coordonnées de base de l’énonciation, *moi-ici-maintenant* [...] est illustrée par le pourcentage élevé de la première personne.”⁸ An example-by-example analysis of the attestations suggests that while CANTARE HABEBAM is often accompanied by markers indicating posteriority, this is not the case for CANTARE HABUI, and that “CANTARE HABUI ne peut jamais se substituer à CANTARE HABEBAM quand il s’agit d’un potentiel”.⁹ Given the

⁵ Viara Bourova, ‘Les constructions latines Infinitif + *habebam* vs. Infinitif + *habui* et le développement du conditionnel roman’, in *Actes du XXIV^e Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes (Aberystwyth, 2004)*, ed. by David Trotter (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2007), pp. 461-474 (p. 462).

⁶ Ibid., p. 465.

⁷ Ibid., p. 464.

⁸ Ibid., p. 466.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 468-70.

data that Bourova sets out, her conclusion that CANTARE HABEBAM was the stronger source for the potentiality readings of the periphrasis is entirely reasonable.¹⁰

Although the two periphrases have different syntactic and semantic ranges in Latin, the two Italo-Romance reflexes make no such distinctions: the two paradigms co-exist as semantically and syntactically identical variants, differing in their geographical and sociolinguistic distributions. This will be discussed in more detail below. At some point in the emergence and development of the Romance languages, therefore, two processes must have occurred. Firstly, the two paradigms must have lost the semantic and syntactic distinctions described by Bourova. Secondly, in order to account for the resultant appearance of reflexes of both periphrases in the different parts of Romania, each area of Romance must eventually have selected one periphrasis. The exact stages by which these processes occurred cannot be concretely established, owing to the lack of documentary evidence for the period in question, that is, between the latest Latin texts and the earliest Romance texts. Two potential routes have been suggested to account for the changes.

The most widely-accepted argument posits three stages, of which the first would have been a period in which the semantic and syntactic distinctions described by Bourova were still operational. Elcock suggests that in a subsequent stage, “in selecting the appropriate past tense of HABĒRE, speakers hesitated between the imperfect and the perfect, the original shade of difference in meaning being obscured when the emphasis was thrown onto the infinitive of the other verb”.¹¹ This conclusion is reinforced by Fleischman, who notes “the disturbing freedom of tenses that investigators have perceived in the early vernaculars”.¹² She emphasises the high degree of orality of the emergent Romance vernaculars, and attributes this to the fact that there “was not yet a codified, written idiom, nor one in which linguistic functions were heavily grammaticalized”.¹³

¹⁰ Elsewhere Fleischman has made further cross-linguistic links between the concepts of imperfective and irrealis. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.2, but it is sufficient to note here that Bourova’s deductions are typologically valid.

¹¹ Elcock, p. 107.

¹² Suzanne Fleischman, *Tense and Narrativity* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 66-7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

The confusion between, and variation in use of, the two past tenses in the periphrasis resulted, according to Rohlfs, in the situation where “nell’VIII secolo compare *committere habuit* in mera funzione di [condizionale] presente”, with the tenses in the periphrases no longer functionally distinguishable.¹⁴ It is not, however, possible to state at what stage in this process synthesis of the elements involved occurred; it must be assumed that the two sets of processes occurred in parallel. Similarly, it is not possible to specify whether synthesis had taken place before or after each area of Romania selected the periphrasis which was to continue into each Romance language. It can only be stated with certainty that in each area of Romania both the periphrases and their eventual synthetic forms were available for eventual adoption and standardization, and that Italy, both central and northern, was unique in selecting CANTARE HABUI as the conditional periphrasis. Overall, this hypothesis is not unconvincing, especially when considered in the light of other changes that occur in only one area of Romania, such as the use of the conditional composite to express the future in the past in modern Standard Italian, or the two past subjunctive forms retained in Spanish.

An alternative hypothesis to explain the use of CANTARE HABUI in Italo-Romance has been presented by Savić, who argues for a continued semantic distinction between the two tenses of the periphrasis. Consequently, he asserts that the derivation of the conditional from CANTARE HABUI implies that in Italo-Romance the conditional has been ‘ereditato dall’epoca preistorica soltanto come modo e non come tempo’.¹⁵ According to this hypothesis, to which Bourova subscribes, it was only later that the Italo-Romance paradigm adopted a temporal reference: “la valeur ‘futur du passé’ du conditionnel italien est le résultat d’une influence française: *canterei* et *cantaria* se seraient confondus dans les hypothétiques et par la suite *canterei* aurait copié la

¹⁴ Rohlfs, *Morfologia*, p. 342.

¹⁵ The article by Savić is only available in Russian. The summary of his argument presented here has been extracted from the articles by Radanova-Kuševa. The responsibility for any mis-interpretation of his hypothesis is entirely mine.

Neli Radanova-Kuševa, ‘Sui motivi dello spostamento dei tempi del condizionale in italiano’, *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*, 30.4 (1985), 385-90 (p. 385).

Momcilo Savić, *Temporalni kondizional u italijanskom jeziku, Doctorsja disertacija*, (unpublished dissertation).

valeur future de *cantaria*".¹⁶ This analysis presents a number of difficulties when compared to the variationist account of the change proposed above.

The primary flaw in Savić's argument is the presupposition that the loss of a periphrasis implies the loss of the related function as well, in the case of Italo-Romance, the 'future in the past' function expressed by the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. It does not seem plausible that Italo-Romance would lose the 'future in the past' construction, with no construction to replace it. Nor is it plausible, if Savić's argument is taken to its logical conclusion, that the other Romance languages would lose the modal functions expressed by the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis once this periphrasis was no longer available for use. Savić's suggestion that the 'future in the past' function was eventually re-introduced from Gallo-Romance at a later point is also unconvincing. Such a line of reasoning presupposes a high degree of contact between Gallo-Romance and all the emergent Italo-Romance vernaculars, even in non-literary registers, to the extent that a complex syntactic function could be re-introduced as a contact feature. It will therefore be assumed that the first argument presented here for the selection of the CANTARE HABUI reflex in Italo-Romance is the more likely of the two hypotheses to be correct.

1. 3 The Modern Forms of the Conditional in the Dialects

Despite the adoption of the reflexes of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis in the Italo-Romance vernaculars, reflexes of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis are still widely attested in the modern Italian dialects. There are also areas of the peninsula where the conditional derived from the CANTARE HABUI/HABEBAM reflex is not attested in the dialects. This section will describe briefly the forms of the conditional to be found in the four main groups of dialects: the northern, central, southern, and Sicilian dialects. While the historical roots of the patterns of modern conditional use in the southern and Sicilian dialects will be described, the historical development of the northern Italo-Romance and Tuscan situations will not be discussed here, as this will form the basis of the Conclusions to this thesis.

¹⁶ Bourova, 'Les constructions', p. 472.

The Northern Italo-Romance Dialects

In the northern Italo-Romance dialects, as has been noted above, reflexes of the periphrasis CANTARE HABUI are regarded as being the native form of the synthetic conditional.¹⁷ While the phonetic reflexes have generally resulted in desinences in *-ev* or *-ef*, it is possible also to find “*a*, ovvero *o*, come vocale tonica, in luogo di *e*, corrispondentemente ai locali continuatori di habui (avi, ovi)”.¹⁸ Reflexes in *-ave* are also commonly found. The periphrasis CANTARE HABEBAM is also attested in the modern northern Italo-Romance dialects. The AIS shows, for example, that “the Piedmontese and Ligurian forms reflect different phonetic developments of the most common conditional type found in Romance, that formed from the infinitive of the verb followed by the imperfect indicative of HABĒRE” whereas “the Emilian derives from a more exclusively Italo-Romance formation: the infinitive + the reduced perfect indicative of HABĒRE”.¹⁹ The situation is not, however, as clear-cut as a simple binary opposition between the reflexes of CANTARE HABUI and CANTARE HABEBAM. As Ferguson observes, “in Contemporary Venetian the paradigm is a hybrid, with sg. 1 and 3 and pl. 3 continuing *-ia*, and the remaining inflexions based on *-ave* forms”.²⁰ In the Lombard dialects, a sigmatic type of conditional is used, attributed either to contamination with the imperfect subjunctive, or analogical extension from the first two persons plural and the second person singular.²¹ Examples of the unsynthesised conditional in the earliest northern texts also provide additional corroboration of the roots of the Romance conditional in the CANTARE HABUI/CANTARE HABEBAM reflex.²²

¹⁷ The role of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis will be discussed in greater detail in the Conclusions to this thesis.

¹⁸ Rohlfs, *Morfologia*, p. 342.

¹⁹ Mair Parry, ‘Sigmatic Conditional Constructions between Monderrato and Savona: Latin survival or Romance innovation?’, *Romance Philology*, 43.4 (1990), 549-56 (p. 549).

²⁰ Ferguson, *Linguistic History*, p. 156.

²¹ Mair Parry, ‘Piedmont’, in *The Dialects of Italy*, ed. by Martin Maiden and Mair Parry (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 237-44 (p. 242).

Rohlfs, *Morfologia*, p. 343-4.

²² Rohlfs, *Morfologia*, p. 346.

The Central Italo-Romance Dialects

As in the northern dialects, CANTARE HABUI is the native periphrasis from which the conditional forms in the central dialects have developed, with the phonetic reflexes in *-ei, -esti, -ebbe, -emmo, -este, -ebbero/-ebbono*, which “corrispondono esattamente alle forme del perfetto di ‘avere’”.²³ Reflexes of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis are not attested in the modern Tuscan dialects. Instead, the reflexes of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, from which the Standard Italian conditional has been derived, are the sole forms to be attested.²⁴

The Southern and Sicilian Italo-Romance Dialects

The southern and Sicilian dialects present a more complex picture of conditional use than the northern and central dialects. The reflexes of the periphrasis CANTARE HABUI are never found in the southern dialects, but in Lazio, Umbria, and the Marche, the form of the synthetic conditional used, the /kanta'ria/ type, is derived from the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, /.²⁵ Likewise, in the Abruzzi and Molise, “distinct conditional forms (comprising original infinitives followed by imperf. or PR forms of the auxiliary ‘to have’) are found mainly in the 1sg. and 3sg.”.²⁶ These are of the types [fatʃar'rijə], [far're] and [far'rebbə].²⁷ In the southern dialects, a conditional paradigm derived from the Latin pluperfect indicative, of the type *cantara, avèra*, is described by Rohlfs as “saldamente radicato in tutto il Mezzogiorno continentale, dall’Abruzzo, attraverso la Campania e la Lucania, fino alla Calabria centrale”.²⁸

²³ Rohlfs, *Morfologia*, p. 342.

²⁴ Rohlfs also notes attestations of the conditional paradigms in *-ra* in the mediaeval central Italian dialects. This form was derived from the Latin pluperfect indicative, and is generally regarded as a Southern morph. Rohlfs does, however, suggest tentatively that its occasional attestation in Dante, Petrarch, and others, and its continued survival in the Abruzzi implies that it may in fact have been a native form in central Italy, rather than a borrowing which was later discarded in favour of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.

Rohlfs, *Morfologia*, p. 346.

²⁵ Ugo Vignuzzi, ‘Lazio, Umbria and the Marche’, in *The Dialects of Italy* (see Parry, above), pp. 311-20 (p. 315).

²⁶ Robert Hastings, ‘Abruzzo and Molise’, in *The Dialects of Italy* (see Parry, above), pp. 321-9 (p. 328).

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Rohlfs, *Morfologia*, p. 347.

Sicilian presents a similarly complicated picture of conditional use as that of the mainland southern dialects. Historically, the conditional forms found in the Sicilian dialects were the reflexes of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, such as *cantaria*, and “non si riscontra la forma toscana in *-ebbi* derivata dalla fusione dell’infinito e del perfetto HABUI”.²⁹ Alternatively, in some southern and Sicilian dialects, no conditional form at all is attested, and hypotheticality is signaled by the use of the subjunctive in both protasis and apodosis, in sentences such as *se venissi, vedessi*.

Rohlf's suggests that the use of the CANTARE HABEBAM reflex was introduced into the southern and Sicilian dialects as a result of re-Romanization, citing as evidence the lack of a conditional derived from the Latin pluperfect indicative in either the southern Calabrian dialects, or in the Sicilian dialects.³⁰ According to this hypothesis, these extreme southern dialects were not exposed to Latin at a time in which the pluperfect indicative was available for use in conditional sentences. The later re-Romanization of these areas then occurred after the phase in which the pluperfect indicative was available for use in conditional sentences. This later phase of Latin was one in which the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was productive, and the form was adopted into the southern dialects. More recent work, such as that of Vincent and Bentley on Sicilian, suggests instead that “the local dialects have never developed historically the periphrasis of infinitive followed by appropriate form of HABERE which underlies the standard conditional morphology”.³¹ They posit instead that the use of the conditional reflexes should rather be seen as “Gallo-Romance intrusions”, resulting in the formation of hypothetical sentences using the subjunctive in both protasis and apodosis.³² Further research by Bentley confirms this hypothesis. She

²⁹ Delia Bentley, ‘I costrutti condizionali in Siciliano: un’analisi diacronica’, *Revue Romane*, 35.1 (2000), 3-20 (p. 5).

³⁰ Rohlf's, *Morfologia*, pp. 339-40.

³¹ Rohlf's, *Morfologia*, p. 342.

Vincent, Nigel and Delia Bentley ‘Conditional and subjunctive in Italian and Sicilian: A case study in the province of Palermo’, in *From Pragmatics to Syntax: Modality in second language acquisition*, ed. by Anna Giacalone Ramat and Grazia Crocco Galeas (Tubingen: Narr, 1995), pp. 11-29 (p. 11).

It should be noted that Loporcaro refutes this analysis, asserting that there is no reason to suppose that the synthetic future is not indigenous to the area. Bentley also suggests in a more recent article that the possibility of an indigenous conditional is not as unlikely as her earlier work asserts. The debate is,

proposes that “i paradigmi condizionali, divenuti prerogativi dei registri colti, scompaiono con il declino della pratica letteraria in siciliano. Il dialetto moderno, derivato dai codici informali, ne conserva tracce quasi trascurabili”.³³ The imported conditional paradigms are therefore disappearing as the use of the dialects in formal or literary situations declines. In parallel to this process, cross-contamination between hypothetical sentences using the subjunctive as well as the Standard Italian conditional paradigms has resulted in a situation of extreme complexity in both the southern and Sicilian dialects.

1.4 Loci of Variation

To try and establish whether or not a pattern existed in the use of the two conditional paradigms derived from the Latin CANTARE HABUI/HABEBAM periphrases, a variationist approach was considered to be most appropriate. This approach is “an attempt to describe and discuss language development in terms of changing distribution patterns of variant forms”: to describe loss and emergence of forms and the factors that cause and influence these changes.³⁴ The identification of possible loci of variation in the use of these variant forms was a primary task in this process. The first potential locus for variation was the content of the text and the context in which the text was created. As Stein observes, “a first question to be put to the data from a stylistic point of view is whether all types of text or genre display the relevant pattern [...] in the same way”: there was the possibility that different types of texts or genres will show varying uses of a form.³⁵ From the variationist perspective, Kytö and

however, not particularly pertinent to the general point to be drawn out in this thesis: namely, that the infinitive + HABEO constructions were available for use at the time of the Sicilian school of poets.

Michele Loporcaro, ‘Il futuro cantare-habeo nell’Italia meridionale’, *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, 84.1 (1999), 67-114.

Bentley, ‘Costrutti condizionali’, pp. 14-15.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³³ Delia Bentley, ‘Semantica e sintassi nello sviluppo dei costrutti condizionali: il caso del siciliano’, *Revue Romane*, 35.2 (2000), 163-76 (p. 164).

³⁴ Merja Kytö and Matti Rissanen, ‘The Syntactic Study of Early American English’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 84 (1983), 470-90 (p. 470).

³⁵ Dieter Stein, ‘Stylistic aspects of syntactic change’, *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 6.1 (1985), 153-78 (p. 160).

Rissanen agree that “the study of variant fields gives meaningful results only when distribution patterns appearing in texts of different types are compared.”³⁶ Prior to a comparison of different types of corpora or text types within a corpus, consideration had to be given, therefore, to the ways in which texts could be classified in terms of type or function.

Various methods of classifying texts by their type or function have been suggested for linguistic research. The notion of register in classifying texts, for example, has two broad uses, the most common of which is to describe texts as located on a “series of points on a scale of formality”.³⁷ The first definition is of little help when considering a body of written text. Written language generally falls under the category of “high register” language, indicating a high degree of formality. This is particularly true of texts from the mediaeval period when literacy was limited and texts would, *ipso facto*, have been of a relatively high register. Few gradations of formality would be available to define further sub-groups of texts.

An alternative suggestion for classifying texts is to place them on a scale of orality and literacy. This method seeks to distinguish the different ways in which texts organise information, and how they convey this information to the speaker or hearer. Traugott and Romaine, for example, suggest that “oral modes of expression, whether spoken or written, focus on contextualised participant interaction, especially shared speaker-hearer”.³⁸ They contrast this to literate modes of expression, which show “decontextualized, non-participant, presentation of material organized according to logical sequence in preference to shared knowledge”.³⁹ This approach is applied to the problem of written types of texts by Tiekens-Boon Van Ostade, who categorises styles of writing “along a continuous scale from oral to literate modes of expression” and uses this scale to place a series of letters and other texts by one author along the

³⁶ Kytö and Rissanen, p. 471.

³⁷ James A. Coleman and Robert H. Crawshaw, *Discourse variety in contemporary French: Descriptive and pedagogical approaches* (London: Association for French Language Studies and Centre for Information on Language Teaching, 1994), p. 8.

³⁸ Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Suzanne Romaine, ‘Some questions for the definition of “style” in socio-historical linguistics’, *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 6.1 (1985), 7-39 (p. 14).

³⁹ *Ibid.*

scale.⁴⁰ The texts are ranked on three scales. The first is context dependency, from decontextualised to contextualised texts. The second scale is the degree to which the author is perceived/perceives themselves as participating in the events of the text, and the third is based on the arrangement of information, ranging from texts presenting information in a logical sequence and assuming no prior knowledge of the events, to texts assuming shared, prior knowledge. As an example, Tieken-Boon Van Ostade explains that “on the extreme left or oral end of the scale would be placed Lady Mary’s most personal letters [which] focus on contextualized participant interaction and present material [...] in rhapsodic or chunking fashion with action starting *in medias res*”.⁴¹ While this approach has advantages for a detailed study of a small number of texts, in a large study the amount of analysis required to categorise each text would be prohibitive. Similarly, it is a more useful approach when comparing texts by the same author showing a limited range of possible functions, rather than a full spectrum of functions, from lists of purchases to novels. Mathematical or merchant texts, for example, would be particularly difficult to place on an orality–literacy scale.

As an alternative to an orality-literacy scale, or to the term ‘register’ in the sense of the degree of formality of a text, register is also used to refer to the purpose or to the type of text under discussion. Trudgill uses the term to describe the “linguistic varieties that are linked [...] to occupations, professions or topics”.⁴² Although Biber uses register and genre as interchangeable ways to refer to a “text categorization made on the basis of external criteria relating to author/speaker purpose”, Ferguson makes a crucial distinction between register as “the linguistic difference that correlates with different occasions of use”, and ‘genre’ as “a message type that recurs regularly in a society”.⁴³ This distinction takes into account the idea that register is a particular

⁴⁰ Ingrid Tieken-Boon Van Ostade, ‘Do- Support in the writings of Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu: A change in progress’, *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 6.1 (1985), 127-151 (p. 130).

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Peter Trudgill, *Sociolinguistics: An introduction to language and society* (London: Penguin, 1995), p. 84.

⁴³ Douglas Biber, *Dimensions of Register Variation: A cross-linguistic comparison* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 7.

linguistic variety, rather than a classification of the type of text in which it appears. The term ‘genre’ used in this sense to classify texts is also widespread in the compilation of tagged corpora. Despite Barański’s doubts on its usefulness in the mediaeval context, genre appeared to be the most appropriate formula for classification of a wide variety of texts and was, therefore, chosen to classify and describe the contextual and functional elements of linguistic variation in this study.⁴⁴ The second potential locus of variation to be considered was geographical. Italo-Romance comprises a number of regional dialects, each with its own set of distinguishing features. While the level of detail at which geographical variation can be studied is almost infinitely small, the pre-existence of the regions of Italy were a sufficiently detailed level of variation for the purposes of this study. The regional level was also the lowest geographical level to which the majority of texts could be accurately assigned a classification.

In addition to genre-based and geographical variation, it was also necessary to take into account the possibility of temporal variation. Stein observes that “differential progressiveness means that different corpora or types of corpora reach the same point in linguistic space or on the evolutionary continuum at different times”.⁴⁵ The labeling of texts according to the year of composition is an uncontroversial approach to this type of variation. Stein’s definition of differential progressiveness suggested that the classification of texts by genres would fall within the sphere of creating different

Charles Ferguson, ‘Dialect, register and genre: working assumptions about conventionalization’, in *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*, ed. by Douglas Biber and Edward Finnegan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 15-130, (pp. 20-1).

⁴⁴ Among other points, Barański raises the issue that the Middle Ages lacked a term equivalent to the modern term ‘genre’. Instead, he suggests that the terms *stilus* and *genus* should rather be rendered “more neutrally and properly, as ‘manner’, or ‘type’, or ‘way’ [of writing]”. More particularly, his concern with the application of the concept of genre to mediaeval literature was that it tended to “create bonds between different groups of works (precisely the opposite tendency to that embraced by the discriminatory fervour of modern scholarship)”, but also that the distinctions that were made between different groups of texts “did not have fixed meaning and did not consistently designate one type of text”. It was considered, however, that the lack of an authorial perception of a text’s function or genre, did not preclude the use of this element as a means of classification in a purely linguistic analysis.

Zygmunt G. Barański “‘Tres enim sunt manerie dicendi...’: Some observations on mediaeval literature, ‘genre’, and Dante’, *The Italianist*, 15 (1995), 9-60 (pp. 15-16).

⁴⁵ Stein, pp. 160-1.

corpora. On this basis, genre was assumed to be the primary vehicle through which change would occur, necessitating the analysis of each genre independently, according to area and date.

1.5 Hypotheses Describing the Use of the Conditional in Italo-Romance

With the three potential loci of variation established, and genre identified as the key variable for analysis, two pairs of hypotheses were set up. The first pair of hypotheses had a dual purpose: they were designed to describe the use of the Italo-Romance conditional paradigms, without making any distinction between the reflexes of the two Latin periphrases. This set of hypotheses would also, therefore, test the assumption that genre was the key locus of variation in conditional use. If there was a pattern related to genre that described and accounted for the use of the conditional (both paradigms), this assumption would be proved correct. Further analysis of the two periphrases, analysed independently, and according to genre as the primary classification, would be justified. The second pair of hypotheses was designed to describe the use in Italo-Romance of the reflexes of the two Latin conditional periphrases. This pair of hypotheses was intended to show that reflexes of the two periphrases were not used identically, but that there were differences in the degree to which each periphrasis was used, which varied according to genre. If there was a difference between the use of the two periphrases, and this could be shown to be related to genre, it was postulated that it would be possible to describe the patterns conditioning the reflexes of the two periphrases. Unlike the conditional (both paradigms), however, it was considered improbable that the use of the periphrases would be conditioned only by genre, but that area and date would also be factors in the pattern of use. The two pairs of hypotheses were formulated as follows:

Hypothesis 1: The use of the conditional (both paradigms) was not related to area or to date, but to genre.

Hypothesis 2: There was a pattern that described the link between genre and conditional use.

Hypothesis 3: The use of the reflexes of the two conditional periphrases differed in their rates of attestation in the different genres.

Hypothesis 4: There was a pattern that described the link between genre, area, date and the use of the reflexes of the two conditional periphrases.

The next chapter describes the context in which the conditional paradigms under discussion arose in Latin and are currently used in the Romance languages. The processes by which the hypotheses were tested will be described in the Methodology and Data Analysis chapters. The historical explanations for, and the contemporary consequences of, the variation that the hypotheses describe will be set out in the Conclusions to the thesis.

Chapter 2 – Hypotheticality and the Source of the Romance Conditional

2.1 Introduction

The topics of hypotheticality and conditionality cover an enormous range of theoretical and methodological approaches to an equally wide range of concepts, and are too broad to be covered comprehensively in a language-specific historical description such as this survey. This chapter will therefore sketch out the broad areas of research into conditionality and hypotheticality, mainly from an English language perspective, before focusing on the development of the modern Italo-Romance conditional from its roots in the Latin hypotheticality system.

2.2 Conditionality and Hypotheticality

The fundamental task in a study of any aspect of the conditional is to produce a working definition of conditionals. It is well-recognised that this task is not easy. As Wierzbicka comments: “in the vast literature in which the word *conditionals* appears in the headings this necessary first step is often not made”.⁴⁶ Athanasiadou and Dirven, for example, despite identifying three main types of conditionals, ‘hypotheticals’, ‘course of events conditionals’, and ‘pragmatic conditionals’, never explicitly define, except in somewhat circular fashion, the three central terms from the title of their article “Conditionality, Hypotheticality, Counterfactuality”.⁴⁷

A preliminary definition of conditionals is not far to seek: Comrie, for example, defines conditionals in traditionally formal terms as “a relation between two

⁴⁶ Anna Wierzbicka, ‘Conditionals and Counterfactuals: Conceptual Primitives and Linguistic Universals’, in *On Conditionals Again*, ed. by Angeliki Athanasiadou and René Dirven, Amsterdam studies in the theory and history of linguistic science (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1997), pp. 15-59 (p.15).

⁴⁷ The only definition that Athanasiadou and Dirven put forward is “Conditionality is typically expressed by conditional sentences, but not only by them. Hypotheticality, in its turn, is most typically expressed by one sub-category of conditionals, viz. hypothetical conditionals. And finally, counterfactuality is most typically expressed by one subclass of hypothetical conditionals, viz. counterfactual conditionals”.

Angeliki Athanasiadou and René Dirven, ‘Conditionality, Hypotheticality, Counterfactuality’, in *On Conditionals Again* (see Wierzbicka, above), pp. 61-96 (p. 61).

propositions, the protasis (p) and apodosis (q), such that either p and q are both true, or p is false and q is true, or p is false and q is false”.⁴⁸ Harris puts forward a more general, semantically oriented, definition of conditionality as “the antecedent-consequent relation in which the realization or otherwise of a given circumstance is, was, would be or would have been contingent upon the fulfilment of one or more conditions”.⁴⁹ Difficulties arise, however, in defining the scope and range of such definitions, and drawing the boundary between these and formally similar but semantically different constructions, as “the misleadingly simple **if p, q** structure can receive a great number of widely divergent interpretations”.⁵⁰

Similarly in the terminological realm, Ferguson et al. point out the difficulties of achieving consistency, as “various terminological traditions exist: irrealis (unreal), hypothetical, potential, future less vivid, counterfactual, impossible, ‘indicative’, and ‘subjunctive’”.⁵¹ One of the traditional distinctions, that of subjunctive and indicative conditionals, as described by Barwise, contrasts with a tendency exemplified in much of the modern literature to set up oppositions between conditionals, hypotheticals and counterfactuals, where subjunctive conditionals correspond to both hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals.⁵² Although the modern distinctions between conditionals, counterfactuals and hypothetical sentences largely correspond in turn to the traditional Romance categories of real, unreal and potential conditionals, the modern terminology falls into the trap of referring to conditionals in a general sense as including all the three sub-types of conditional constructions, of which one is the sub-category also designated ‘conditionals’.

⁴⁸ Bernard Comrie, ‘Conditionals: A typology’, in *On Conditionals*, ed. by Elizabeth Closs Traugott et al. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986) pp. 77-99 (p. 78).

⁴⁹ Martin B. Harris, ‘The Historical Development of Conditional Sentences in Romance’, *Romance Philology*, 39.4 (1985), 405-36 (p. 406).

⁵⁰ Barbara Dancygier, *Conditionals and Prediction: Time, Knowledge, and Causation in Conditional Constructions*, Cambridge Studies in Linguistics, 87 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 2.

⁵¹ Charles A. Ferguson et al., ‘Overview’, in *On Conditionals* (see Comrie, above), pp. 3-20 (p. 6).

⁵² Jon Barwise, ‘Conditionals and Conditional Information’, in *On Conditionals* (see Comrie, above), pp. 21-54 (pp. 23).

Approaches to the Study of Conditionals

A wealth of literature on conditionals and conditionality has appeared since the mid-twentieth century. Ferguson et al. identify three main approaches: philosophical, psychological, and linguistic.⁵³ Although these areas are not watertight compartments, the theoretical, or psychological/philosophical, approach aims to provide an overarching theory of conditionals, as exemplified by Johnson-Laird's four questions:

- (i) What do conditionals mean?
- (ii) What are their logical properties?
- (iii) How do people understand them?
- (iv) How do people reason with them?⁵⁴

The theoretical approach inclines towards the logical, inferential and pragmatic fields of conditionality, and is the locus of an important area of discussion, namely real or indicative conditionals. This field includes work such as that by Johnston on the problems of truth conditionality and the relation of logical proposals to the events designated by their antecedent and consequent of indicative/real conditionals.⁵⁵ Another important field in this area of research covers the types of conditional sentences described by Dancygier as "contextual/non consequential conditionals", as contrasting with the prototypical "casual/sequential indicative conditionals".⁵⁶ Contextual conditionals are constructions where the apodosis following an "if" statement is not a result of the condition that has apparently been set up. This class includes the 'course of events conditionals' and 'pragmatic conditionals' proposed by

⁵³ Ferguson et al., p.3.

⁵⁴ P. N. Johnson-Laird, 'Conditionals and Mental Models', in *On Conditionals* (see Comrie, above), pp. 55-75 (p. 55).

⁵⁵ D. K. Johnston, 'The Paradox of Indicative Conditionals', *Philosophical Studies*, 83 (1996), 93-112.

⁵⁶ Barbara Dancygier, 'A Note on the So-Called Indicative Conditionals', *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics*, 24 (1988), 123-31 (p. 126).

Dancygier and Sweetser also refer to the distinction between the two types of conditional mentioned here as 'predictive' and 'non-predictive' conditionals. Predictive or causal/sequential conditionals are those that make an assumption based on a condition being fulfilled, and are of the standard 'if p, q' conditional sentence type as 'If he came, I would see him'. Non-predictive conditionals are those described by contextual/non-consequential conditional sentences, of the type 'If you are thirsty, there is Coke in the fridge'.

Barbara Dancygier and Eve Sweetser, *Mental Spaces in Grammar: Conditional constructions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 13.

Athanasiadou and Dirven,⁵⁷ and the subclass of incentives/threats discussed by Fillenbaum.⁵⁸ A final broad area of debate is the status of constructions that fall outside the prototypical definition of ‘if *p*, *q*’ conditionals, such as concessive conditionals of the type “Even if he does not marry, his parents will give him the house”, and ‘Although he will not marry, his parents will give him the house’.⁵⁹ This type of sentence has been analysed extensively by, among others, Dancygier and König.⁶⁰

Approaches to Linguistic Discussion of Conditionals

In contrast to the comprehensive explanatory aims of the philosophical/psychological approach, the linguistic approach tries to “identify a construction in terms of a prototype rather than in terms of necessary and sufficient conditions”.⁶¹ The linguistic approach to conditionals therefore focuses around the prototypical hypothetical conditionals at three levels: the universal, the descriptive and the historical, which, nevertheless, are not discrete categories, but form a continuum from the general to the language specific. The Universalist approach is exemplified by Greenberg’s 14th Universal which states that “in conditional statements, the conditional clause precedes

⁵⁷ A course of events conditional refers to a sentence where two frequently co-occurring and possible events are juxtaposed, although the apodosis is not entirely dependent on the protasis, as in the example “If there is a drought like this year, the eggs remain dormant”. A pragmatic conditional, on the other hand, describes a situation where the apodosis is independent of the protasis, and the sentence is ‘conditional’ only in the sense that it refers to a potential situation in the protasis, for which the definite statement in the apodosis could be of relevance. Examples of pragmatic conditionals are of the type: “If you are thirsty, there’s beer in the fridge”.

Athanasiadou and Dirven, p. 61.

⁵⁸ This type of sentence contrasts with the types discussed by Athanasiadou and Dirven inasmuch as it is a consequential condition that is not signaled by “if”, rather than a non-consequential condition signaled by “if”. They include examples such as “Break the window and you’ll regret it!”.

Samuel Fillenbaum, ‘The Use of Conditionals in Inducements and Deterrents’, in *On Conditionals* (see Comrie, above), pp. 179-95.

⁵⁹ Josep Quer, *Mood at the Interface* (The Hague: Holland Academic Graphics, 1998) p. 225.

⁶⁰ Barbara Dancygier, ‘Conditionals and Concessives’, *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics*, 24 (1988), 111-121.

Ekkehard König, ‘Conditionals, concessive conditionals and concessives: areas of contrast, overlap and neutralization’, in *On Conditionals* (see Comrie, above), pp. 229-46.

⁶¹ König, p. 230.

the conclusion as the normal order in all languages.”⁶² Comrie, meanwhile, defines four main parameters, for each of which he suggests universals, with the ultimate aim of producing “a characterization of conditionals that has cross-linguistic validity”.⁶³ These four parameters - marking of conditionality, clause order, degree of hypotheticality and time reference - form the cross-over between the Universalist and the descriptive approaches: they delineate a list of questions required for a comprehensive linguistic analysis of conditional constructions, while the detail from which the universals are formulated is provided by the descriptive and historical language-specific accounts.

There are various possible forms of conditional marking: Comrie states that “most languages mark either the protasis, or the apodosis, or both”, with marking of the protasis the most common.⁶⁴ While marking is usually by means of a conjunction, morphological marking is also possible, and “in many languages this semantic parallelism is reflected in morphological parallelism”.⁶⁵ In addition to Greenberg’s Universal on clause order cited above, Comrie suggests that “it is generally the case that the temporal reference of the protasis is located before, or at least not posterior to, that of the apodosis”.⁶⁶ Dancygier links this to the causal interpretation of p as the cause of q , although it is, as she points out, “difficult to say whether it is the causality that comes first, thus implying sequentiality, or whether the obligatory sequentiality of p and q invites the causal interpretation”.⁶⁷

Two opposing stances exist on the question of what Comrie describes as degrees of hypotheticality. The traditional descriptions of conditionality propose a bi- or tri-partite division of conditional sentences, such as the indicative/subjunctive or

⁶² Joseph H. Greenberg, ‘Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements’, in *Universals of language*, ed. by Joseph H. Greenberg (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 1963), pp. 73-113 (pp. 84-5).

⁶³ Comrie, p. 77.

⁶⁴ Comrie, p. 87.

⁶⁵ John Haiman, ‘Constraints on the Form and Meaning of the Protasis’, in *On Conditionals* (see Comrie, above), pp. 215-27 (p. 219).

⁶⁶ Comrie, p. 85.

⁶⁷ Dancygier, ‘Note’, p. 125.

real/unreal/potential types of sentence mentioned above. Comrie, however, posits the notion of a hypotheticality continuum, “with (perhaps) no clear-cut divisions, and that different languages simply distinguish different degrees of hypotheticality along this continuum”.⁶⁸ Although Wierzbicka disagrees strongly with Comrie, insisting that the traditional account “distinguishing ‘real’ and ‘unreal’ conditions seems [...] to be much closer to the truth”, the two analyses do not appear to be as conceptually polarised as she suggests.⁶⁹ Greenberg’s analysis of Greek provides, perhaps, some degree of conceptual synthesis between these two opposing formulations. He presents a quad-partite division forming a continuum based on “a gradient from the indicative through the subjunctive to the optative on the basis of a realis-irrealis continuum”, thus allowing for both the distinctive varieties of conditional sentence argued for by Wierzbicka as well as for the hypotheticality continuum proposed by Comrie, into which the conditional, hypothetical and counterfactual distinctions could also fit.⁷⁰

Time reference is the final key parameter required by Comrie for the description of conditional sentences. James suggests that “it is not uncommon in languages for a morpheme which otherwise indicates past tense to also be used to indicate the hypothetical”,⁷¹ although Bybee points out that “it is not the past tense alone that is contributing the hypothetical meaning, but rather the past in combination with a modal verb, a subjunctive mood, a hypothetical marker (such as *if*) or, in some cases, the imperfective aspect”.⁷² Comrie puts forward the suggestion that time reference must be treated separately for constructions with high and low levels of

⁶⁸ Comrie, p. 88. This is a particular example of the problems of terminology. In this passage, Comrie is using ‘hypotheticality’ to refer to the “probability of realization of the situations referred to”, on a scale from real conditionals of the type “if he comes (regularly), I run away” to potential or unreal conditionals. In contrast, in much of the literature surveyed here, the use of ‘hypothetical’ is restricted only to the potential ‘If he came, I would run away’ type of conditional sentence.

⁶⁹ Wierzbicka, p 35.

⁷⁰ Joseph H. Greenberg, ‘The Realis-Irrealis Continuum in the Classical Greek Conditional’, in *On Conditionals* (see Comrie, above), pp. 247-264 (p. 247).

⁷¹ Deborah James, ‘Past Tense and the Hypothetical’, *Studies in Language* 6.3 (1982), 375-403 (p. 375).

⁷² Joan L. Bybee, ‘The Semantic Development of Past Tense Modals in English’, in *Modality in Grammar and Discourse*, ed. by Joan Bybee and Suzanne Fleischman, *Typological studies in language*, 32 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1992) pp. 503- 517 (p. 514).

hypotheticality respectively. For constructions with a high level of hypotheticality he suggests the two general rules: time distinctions tend to be lost, and “backshifting of tense” is found cross-linguistically in conditionals with high hypotheticality. In constructions with low levels of hypotheticality, time relations are more complicated, and tend to vary more widely across languages.⁷³ The traditional explanation for the link between past time and hypotheticality is that “the basic connection between the notion of past tense and the notion of the hypothetical is that they share the characteristic of being distant from or disassociated from present reality”.⁷⁴ Fleischman’s explanation of this analysis is that “a situation which takes place ‘not-now’ and ‘not-here’, i.e. one which is **distant** from the time and place of utterance, cannot be vouched for by the speaker in the same way”: that is, the truth value of the temporally distant statement cannot be guaranteed with the same degree of certainty as a present situation.⁷⁵ She also suggests that “the greater the distance from reality, the more remote the PAST tense used to represent that epistemic distance”.⁷⁶ Dahl, however, discounts any link between past and non-reality in hypotheticality, suggesting instead that it is based on the grammaticalisation of Tedeschi’s branching futures model, where the temporally past element of the counterfactual conditional is introduced by “going backwards in time [...] and then forwards along an alternative path”.⁷⁷

⁷³ Comrie, pp. 93-4.

⁷⁴ James, p. 375. This suggestion is tested cross-linguistically by James, and also by Fleischman, who cites Latin, Greek, German, Old Irish, Cree, and various Balkan languages.

In addition, Fleischman notes a “more than a chance connection” between imperfectivity and unreality. She formulates the link in terms of perceived incompleteness of an action: the unrealised nature of the protasis in a conditional sentence is linked in the mind of a speaker to the incomplete nature of an action signalled by the imperfect.

Suzanne Fleischman, ‘Imperfective and Irrealis’, in *Modality in Grammar and Discourse*, ed. by Joan Bybee and Suzanne Fleischman (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995), pp. 519-551 (p. 523).

⁷⁵ Suzanne Fleischman, ‘Temporal Distance: A basic linguistic metaphor’, *Language*, 13 (1989), 1-51 (p. 2).

⁷⁶ This analysis is particularly relevant in the case of the Romance system of hypothetical sentences, and will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

Fleischman, ‘Temporal Distance’ pp. 6-7.

⁷⁷ Östen Dahl, ‘The Relation between Past Time Reference and Counterfactuality: A new look’, in *On Conditionals Again* (see Wierzbicka, above), pp. 97-114 (pp. 101-2).

The Descriptive Tradition

Temporal reference tends to be central in descriptive studies, such as the analysis carried out by Tynan and Lavín, as it ties together the semantic and formal ranges of conditional possibilities, rather than the pragmatic and logical ranges which fall within the scope of the philosophical/psychological approach.⁷⁸ A classic example of the descriptive tradition is Fillmore, who, although specifying that he “will touch hardly at all on the vast world of logical, psychological and philosophical issues in the treatment of the meanings and functions of such sentences”, attempts to put forward a comprehensive list of possible ‘if *p*, *q*’ construction in English.⁷⁹ The historical approach to conditionals generally proceeds from a descriptive basis, mapping the diachronic changes that transform one synchronic description into another.

Since, then, this thesis is located firmly within the Romance tradition, it will adhere to the terminology of that tradition. Hypotheticality and hypothetical sentences will be taken to refer to the fairly abstract concept of the not-concrete, encompassing not only the hypotheticality systems set up by languages to account for conditionality, but also the wider level of the imaginary and the doubtful. Hypotheticality, in accordance with Comrie’s use as noted above, will also be used to define the degree to which a proposition is likely to be fulfilled. Conditionality, on the other hand, will be specifically related to the if-then relationship with conditional sentences as the realisation of all varieties of this relationship. To distinguish between the different types of conditional sentence, this thesis will follow what Harris describes as the “the three time-honoured categories of conditional sentences”: namely ‘real’, ‘potential’ and ‘unreal’.⁸⁰ Equally, since this thesis sits within the historico-descriptive tradition, it is also necessary to provide an outline of the source and development of the topic

⁷⁸ John Tynan and Eva Delgado Lavín, ‘Mood, Tense and the Interpretation of Conditionals’, in *On Conditionals Again* (see Wierzbicka, above), pp. 115-142.

⁷⁹ Charles J. Fillmore, ‘Varieties of Conditional Sentences’, in *Proceedings of the Third Eastern States Conference on Linguistics*, ed. by Fred Marshall, Ann Miller, and Zheng-sheng Zhang (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1987), pp. 163-82.

⁸⁰ Martin B. Harris, ‘The Historical Development of si-clauses in Romance’, in *On Conditionals* (see Comrie, above), pp. 265-84 (p. 266). The term ‘non-real’ will be used in situations to describe both unreal and potential conditions when these are contrasted with ‘real’ conditions.

under discussion, namely the Italo-Romance conditional paradigms, and their roots in the Latin hypotheticality system.

2.3 The Latin Hypotheticality System

The subjunctive is a set of modal paradigms that appear throughout the various stages of development of Latin, although “l'éventail des valeurs attribuées au subjonctif latin varie d'un linguiste à l'autre”.⁸¹ A standard description, such as that provided by Thomas is that “le subjonctif exprime tout ce qui n'est pas donné comme réel, mais comme souhaité, voulu, possible, éventuel, contraire à la réalité, indéterminé, incertain etc.”⁸² The Latin subjunctive paradigms were formed from two earlier IE modal paradigms, the subjunctive and the optative, which “had in Latin become fused by a process of syncretism into a single mood, the subjunctive, which had morphological characteristics derived from the subjunctive and optative of the parent language with numerous innovations of its own”.⁸³ It is these dual sources and various functions which render it “merely an exercise in ingenuity to attempt to establish the ‘unity of the Latin subjunctive’”.⁸⁴ Most linguists, therefore, describe and attempt to categorise the various uses of the paradigms over Early, Classical, and Late Latin. This is the approach taken by Handford, among others, who tries to “classify the Latin usages [...] into what appear to be from a psychological point of view different types and sub-types, recognizing the fact that any classification must be an empirical and not a scientific one, and that it is often not possible to decide what really are different types”.⁸⁵ His classifications include, for example, “subjunctive expressing obligation”, “subjunctive expressing will in questions”, and “subjunctive as an expression of wish”

⁸¹ M. K. Sabanéeva, *Essai sur l'évolution du subjonctif latin: Problèmes de la modalité verbale* (Louvain: Peeters, 1996), p. 12.

⁸² F. Thomas, *Recherches sur le subjonctif latin: Histoire et valeur des formes* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1938), p. 14.

⁸³ L.R. Palmer, *The Latin Language* (London: Faber and Faber, 1954), p. 309.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ S. A. Handford, *The Latin Subjunctive: Its usage and development from Plautus to Tacitus* (London: Methuen, 1947), p. 29.

Another example of a similar type of work is that of Nutting, who examines in detail the interaction and various shades of meaning of each combination of tenses and moods available in Latin.

H. C. Nutting, *The Latin Conditional Sentence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1925).

etc.⁸⁶ Since the end of the twentieth century, however, a simpler but more elegant description of subjunctive use has been developed, based on a bi-partite division of the field, as opposed to the somewhat scattergun list-based analysis of the numerous semantic functions the paradigm fulfils described by Handford and his predecessors.

The modern analysis of the Latin subjunctive functions is based largely on a diachronic perspective that uses the modern Romance subjunctive functions as the starting point for a retrospective re-analysis. This analysis proposes that “already in Latin, it is necessary to postulate two quite separate uses of the subjunctive, the distinction not between two different ranges of meaning but precisely between those cases where the subjunctive was already an empty formal marker of subordination [...] and those cases where the subjunctive was meaningful, that is to say, where there was a real and distinctive opposition, normally with the indicative”.⁸⁷ The use of the subjunctive as a meaningful category, in this analysis, is essentially restricted to conditional sentences.

The Latin system of conditional sentences and the broader conditionality systems within which they are located, and on which the Romance patterns are based,⁸⁸ have traditionally been described as an opposition between real and non-real (both potential and unreal) conditions, “le réel exprimé par l’indicatif; le potentiel et l’irréel exprimés par le subjonctif”.⁸⁹ Various critiques of the traditional tri-partite opposition have been put forward, however. Vairel, for example, suggests that the system is not based around a simple triple opposition, but around two hierarchical oppositions, “l’une qui correspond, du point de vue morphologique, à l’opposition *modale* indicatif/subjonctif; l’autre, subordonnée à la précédente, qui correspond à l’opposition

⁸⁶ Handford, pp. 8-9.

⁸⁷ Martin Harris, ‘The Subjunctive as a Changing Category in Romance’, in John M. Anderson and Charles Jones, *Historical Linguistics* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1974), pp. 169-88 (p. 171).

⁸⁸ The analysis of Latin and Romance conditional sentences is usually based on the type triggered by *se/si*, but as Harris points out, these constructions may also be triggered by other markers such as *ut* (Latin) or *che/que* (Romance) as well as by parataxis.

Harris, ‘Conditional Sentences’, pp. 422-3.

⁸⁹ Alfred Ernout and François Thomas, *Syntaxe Latine* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1951), p. 376.

temporelle subjonctif present/subjonctif parfait”.⁹⁰ Alternatively, Baratin presents a quadripartite division whereby the distinctions between the types of conditional *vrai*, *faux*, *vrai ou faux*, *ni vrai ni faux*, are based on the truth assertion by the speaker, not according to the actual relation to the truth or otherwise of the statement itself, or its temporal reference.⁹¹ Such analyses, however, do not appear to account for the variation observed in the changing patterns of subjunctive tenses in the protases and apodoses of conditional sentences over Early, Classical and Late Latin, nor for the distinctions between potential and unreal conditionals found in the traditional analysis presented by Harris.⁹² These patterns “ont suscité depuis longtemps une littérature abondante, mais extrêmement répétitive, dont l’analyse détaillée serait sans intérêt”, and which is not the main topic of discussion here.⁹³ The point to be noted is that this pattern of subjunctive use in protasis and apodosis was not preserved into the

⁹⁰ Hélène Vairel, ‘Un modèle d’analyse linguistique des conditionnelles: Latin *SI DI SUNT*, *SI DI SINT*, *SI DIESSENT*’, *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris*, 76 (1981), 275-326 (p. 281).

The markedness-based element of Vairel’s analysis is refuted, however, by Brunel, who finds it unconvincing to presuppose that in a conditional sentence, a real situation (i.e. an indicative form) is the unmarked form, or default setting. While this is a fair criticism, the two sets of oppositions she sets up provide a useful addition to the more usual tri-partite analysis.

Jean Brunel, ‘Sur la syntaxe latine des périodes conditionnelles’, *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris*, 83.1 (1988), 111-36 (p. 112).

⁹¹ Marc Baratin, ‘Remarques sur l’emploi des temps et des modes dans le système conditionnel latin’, *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris*, 76 (1981), 249-73.

⁹² Harris presents an outline of the most significant sets of alternative protases/apodoses.

Harris, ‘Changing Category’, and Harris, ‘Conditional Sentences’.

It is interesting to note that it is not always the subjunctive that is considered to signal the hypothetical nature of the conditional sentence. Tariverdieva, for example, suggests that “la spiegazione dell’alternanza dei modi nella protasi appare possibile se accettiamo l’opinione che per mezzo di una congiunzione s’introduce nel campo dell’ipotesi non solo il contenuto della protasi, ma tutta la situazione del contenuto del periodo ipotetico nel complesso”. According to this analysis, in Italian it is *se* that triggers the interpretation of a conditional sentence as conditional, rather than the use of a mood marking unreality or non-assertion, although as shown in the introductory section to this chapter, sentences of the type ‘if P, Q’, even including a specific conditional conjunction, are not necessarily true conditionals. This analysis, therefore, cannot be regarded as convincing.

M. A. Tariverdieva, ‘I periodi ipotetici in latino e in italiano: forma e contenuto’, *Studi italiani di linguistica teorica ed applicata*, 31.2 (2002), 215-25 (p. 216).

⁹³ Vairel, p. 278.

Romance languages, but mutated in different ways in the different languages, primarily by the introduction of a new paradigm, the conditional.

2.4 The Introduction of the Infinitive + HABERE Periphrasis

Since Thielmann's seminal work,⁹⁴ the Romance conditional paradigm which has replaced the Latin subjunctive in the apodoses of conditional sentences has been assumed to have developed from the imperfect tenses of the periphrasis infinitive + HABERE.⁹⁵ The standard, but somewhat over-simplified, explanation is that the present tense paradigm, CANTARE HABEO, was "introduced" to replace the synthetic Latin future, and by analogy CANTARE HABEBAM arose to subsume the function of 'future in the past'.⁹⁶ Vincent, for example, puts forward the explanation that "a periphrasis such as *cantare habeo* logically entails a whole paradigm of possible periphrases based on the inflectional possibilities of *habeo* [...] Of these *cantare habebam*, of course, leads to the conditional formations".⁹⁷ Similarly, Bourciez states that:

il faut observer que *credo quod venturus est* [...] était ensuite généralement devenu *credo quod venire habet*. Pour répondre à un temps passé dans la principale, et exprimer le future qui se rapporte à ce passé, on a donc eu symétriquement *credebam quod venire habebat*, ou aussi *quod venire habuit*. [...] en raison de leur emploi dans les périodes hypothétiques irréelles [ils] ont donné naissance au nouveau mode appelé 'conditionnel'.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Ph. Thielmann, 'Habere mit dem Infinitiv und die Entstehung des romanischen Futurums', *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik*, 2 (1885), 48-89, 157-202.

⁹⁵ The role of the perfect periphrasis CANTARE HABUI has been discussed in the Introduction.

⁹⁶ Alternative suggestions, such as Lanly's hypothesis that the conditional was derived from the imperfect subjunctive, unlike the future which was derived from an infinitival periphrasis, do not appear to have gained foothold in the modern literature on the subject.

A. Lanly, 'Proposition hypothétique et conditionnel', *Le Français Moderne*, 25 (1957), 103-120.

A. Lanly, 'Sur le conditionnel français et roman: à propos d'une remarque de M. Imbs', *Travaux de linguistique et littérature*, 11.1 (1973), 391-99.

⁹⁷ Nigel Vincent, 'The Interaction of Periphrasis and Inflection: Some Romance Examples', in *Historical Development of Auxiliaries*, ed. by Martin Harris and Paolo Ramat (New York, M. de Gruyter, 1987), pp. 237-56 (p. 246).

⁹⁸ Édouard Bourciez, *Éléments de linguistique romane* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1923), p. 272.

These and other such explanations overlook some crucial stages in the development of the future and conditional periphrases, and do not provide sufficient explanation for the complexities of the extension into the subjunctive functions of the ‘future in the past’ periphrasis. As Giot comments, it is an “*évolution complexe*”, with “*causalité multiple, ou, plus exactement, de voies complexes*”, of which the main outlines will be traced below.⁹⁹ There are multiple strands which must be distinguished in order to provide a comprehensive account of the shift in question: the replacement of the Latin synthetic future with a periphrasis and the subsequent extension of the ‘future in the past’ into the apoduses of conditional sentences; the roots of the infinitive + HABERE periphrasis and the relative geneses of the future and ‘future in the past’ meanings and the replacement of the –URUS + ESSE paradigms with the new construction. An initial caveat must be, of course, that the development and introduction of the two periphrases and their replacement of the synthetic future did not occur along a neat, linear, timeframe but were in overlapping distribution for considerable periods. Therefore the separate discussion here of the development of the infinitive + HABERE periphrasis is not intended to suggest that it developed in temporal and distributional isolation from the –URUS + ESSE periphrasis, but rather that it was a result of the complexity of the two interwoven strands.

Replacement of the Latin Synthetic Future

Various explanations have been put forward to account for the introduction of the periphrastic future and ‘future in the past’ into the functions of the synthetic Latin future paradigm. The majority of these focus on the phonological changes that weakened the distinctions between the future paradigms and others in the Latin conjugational system.¹⁰⁰ To summarise briefly, Herman posits “*confusion graphique entre les terminaisons verbales –et et –it*” where “*la confusion qui se manifeste au*

⁹⁹ J. Giot, ‘Le futur, du latin aux langues romanes: À propos d’un livre récent’, *Études Classiques*, 52.4 (1984), 336-42 (p. 336).

¹⁰⁰ It is important to note that “the periphrastic future did not *replace* the synthetic forms; the clearest proof of this is that the synthetic forms died out everywhere in the Romance-speaking area, while the periphrastic forms did not emerge everywhere.” (Emphasis mine). It was instead available for use by speakers when the synthetic future became phonologically and morphologically ambiguous.

Ian Roberts, ‘A Formal Account of Grammaticalization in the History of Romance Futures’, *Folia Linguistica Historica* 13 (2001), 219-258 (pp. 233-4).

présent devait bientôt englober le futur”.¹⁰¹ Anderson likewise points out that “the third and fourth conjugations of the future closely resembled other tenses, namely the present indicative and present subjunctive”,¹⁰² and Pinkster mentions that the merge of /b/ and /v/ had the result that “the distinction between, for example, future *laudabit* ‘he will praise’ and PERFECTUM forms such as perfect *laudavit* ‘he praised’ disappeared and new forms became necessary”.¹⁰³ An interesting suggestion is put forward by Elcock, who observes that:

one can indeed manage quite well without a future. It suffices to envisage a present, with reference to the immediate future, as we commonly do in English. Among relatively primitive peoples, a more remote future is seldom contemplated. The frequent use in later Latin texts of the present tense where Classical Latin would require the future suggests that a similar outlook (or lack of outlook!) prevailed among the common people of the Empire.¹⁰⁴

While it is certainly remarked by others such as Valesio that there is “una tendenza a respingere il futuro ai margini del sistema verbale”,¹⁰⁵ the link to the “primitive” nature of this pattern is not necessarily apt in this context. The Latin synthetic future was still attested into the period of Late Latin, and none of the evidence suggests that there was not a time when a prototypical form of “furity” with any time reference, immediate or remote, was not available to speakers.

The Incursion of the –URUS Future Periphrasis

This future periphrasis –URUS + ESSE, derived from the future active participle, was present from Early Latin, with “distinct semantic values from the inflectional future,

¹⁰¹ József Herman, ‘Remarques sur l’histoire du futur latin et sur la préhistoire du futur roman’, in *On Latin: Linguistic and literary studies in honour of Harm Pinkster*, ed. by Rodie Risselada, Jan R. de Jong, and A. Machtelt Bolkestein (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1996), pp. 57-70 (p. 60).

¹⁰² Eric W. Anderson, ‘The Development of the Romance Future Tense: Morphologization II and a tendency towards analysis’, *Papers in Romance* 1.1 (1979), 21-35 (p. 27).

¹⁰³ Harm Pinkster, ‘The Strategy and Chronology of the Development of Future and Perfect Tense Auxiliaries in Latin’, in *Historical Development of Auxiliaries* (see Vincent, above), pp. 193-223 (p. 210).

¹⁰⁴ Elcock, p. 105.

¹⁰⁵ Paolo Valesio, ‘La genesi del futuro romanzo’, *Lingua e stile*, 4 (1969), 405-12 (p. 407).

characterised [...] as intention, predestination and imminence”.¹⁰⁶ The replacement of the accusative-infinitive construction in *oratio obliqua* by a construction with *quod* meant that indirect speech now had to be expressed using the finite verbal system, technically the domain of the subjunctive. However, the lack of a future subjunctive paradigm meant that “when it became necessary to distinguish future from present in the subjunctive, the –URUS construction would be used.”¹⁰⁷ Even more significantly for our later discussion on the genesis of the conditional paradigms, “for indirect discourse involving future in a past context [...] the possibilities were theoretically fewer, inasmuch as there were no past counterparts of the simple future indicative. The –URUS formations [...] were therefore the sole options [...] for expressing what was formerly expressed by [the accusative-infinitive constructions].”¹⁰⁸ As Fleischman notes, “the two most common syntactic environments for –URUS structures in pre-Classical and Classical texts are (a) subordinate clauses expressing relative tense relationships, and (b) the apodoses of hypothetical conditional sentences in *oratio obliqua*”, but it was through the temporal dimension of ‘future in the past’ that the –URUS + ESSE periphrasis acquired its modal function.¹⁰⁹

It is frequently the case that a jump is made from temporal reference to modal meaning without analysis of the intervening semantic shifts. Harris, for example, comments that the future periphrases “developed primarily as markers of later time on the past axis” but “within the apodoses of conditional sentences, however, they were from the outset modal in value”.¹¹⁰ He does not, however, explain in detail how the extension of meaning takes place. Fleischman, on the other hand, presents a thorough examination of the route taken from ‘future in the past’ reference to modal reference, by examining the cross-over between the two sets of meaning in sentences such as “Peter said he would come (if he got the money) [...] where it is difficult to decide

¹⁰⁶ Nigel Vincent and Delia Bentley, ‘On the Demise of the Latin Future Periphrasis in –URUS + ESSE’, in *De Lingua Latina Novae Quaestiones: Actes du X^e Colloque International de Linguistique Latine*, (Paris, 1999), ed. by C. Moussy (Paris: Peeters, 2001), pp. 143-155 (p.146).

¹⁰⁷ Fleischman, *Thought and Language*, p. 37.

¹⁰⁸ Fleischman, *Thought and Language*, p. 38.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹¹⁰ Harris, ‘Conditional Sentences’, p. 414.

whether to call *would come* conditional or future in the past”.¹¹¹ Such ambiguity in one area, ‘future in the past’ in indirect speech, allowed the possibility of the extension of the periphrasis into full sentences. This resulted in a situation where “the popular language often dispensed with the subjunctive altogether in main clauses (apodoses), using in its place [...] the periphrastic *–urus eram*”, which was ultimately replaced by the periphrasis CANTARE HABUI/CANTARE HABEBAM.¹¹²

The Genesis of the Infinitive + HABERE Periphrasis

It is assumed that the infinitive + HABERE periphrasis developed initially from a possessive function limited to the sphere of informing: “*habeo + id dicere* or *habeo id + dicere*, ‘I have it to say, I have the saying of it’, such as the example found in Cicero: “*habeo etiam dicere*”.¹¹³ Through a shift of emphasis similar to that found in the development of the Romance perfect tense,¹¹⁴ to *id + habeo dicere*, Coleman posits a semantic shift to create additional tangential meanings of possibility and obligation/necessity.¹¹⁵ Gratwick proposes a tri-partite set of modalities, including

¹¹¹ Fleischman, *Thought and Language*, p. 65.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹¹³ A. S. Gratwick, ‘*Habeo* and *aveo*: The Romance future’, *Classical Quarterly*, 22.2 (1972), 388-398 (p. 389).

¹¹⁴ Salvi, among others, presents a detailed discussion of the processes of re-analysis of HABERE + object + past participle from Latin to Romance. As Coleman comments, “the construction provided a new point of reference for the organization of the tense system comparable to the currently emerging synthetic perfects: a future *habeo scribere* beside a perfect *habeo scriptum*, both explicitly related to a present morpheme *habeo*, as *habebam scribere*, *habebam scriptum* relate to *habebam*. It is at least a possibility that this patterning was itself a contributory factor in establishing the construction under discussion here.”

Giampaolo Salvi, ‘Syntactic Restructuring in the Evolution of Romance Auxiliaries’, in *Historical Development of Auxiliaries* (see Vincent, above), pp. 225-236.

Robert Coleman, ‘The Origin and Development of Latin *habeo*+infinitive’, *Classical Quarterly*, 21.1 (1971), 215-32 (p. 222).

¹¹⁵ Coleman, ‘Origin and Development’, p. 217. Contiguous with these developments of HABERE are the use of other modal verbs such as *velle*, *debere* and *posse* and the infinitive as alternative future periphrases. Pinkster, particularly, has considered the semantic development and role of these verbs in periphrastic future constructions, and rejects entirely the notion that the modal verbs mentioned took on future meaning, or that HABERE took on any modal values of necessity and obligation as a route to futurity. Instead, he insists that “the auxiliary use of *habere* will have developed via the channel of praedictivum constructions”, hypothesizing that *habeo* was maintained as the sole future auxiliary

also a ‘volition’ modality,¹¹⁶ but Coleman rejects this idea on the basis that the earliest attestation of a ‘volitive’ use of the construction is later than the earliest future-oriented attestation of the HABERE periphrasis.¹¹⁷ Ultimately, these future-oriented modalities lead to post-Classical meanings of futurity and ‘futurity in the past’. While Raiskila identifies four core uses of the periphrasis in Tertullian: modal auxiliary with potential meaning; obligative; temporal auxiliary with future meaning and temporal auxiliary with ‘future in past’ meaning,¹¹⁸ Coleman suggests obligation rather than possibility as a better source for creating future and ‘future in the past’ meanings.¹¹⁹

precisely because it had no modal overtones. Kooreman provides evidence to support this hypothesis, noting that in the Latin of Tertullian, “*habere* + infinitive overlaps with *-urus esse*”, which, at that time, was mainly found with neutral modality.

While the evidence on the modal verbs may be correct, there does still seem to be evidence that the HABERE in the CANTARE HABUI/CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis took on a modal function. A weaker version of Pinkster’s argument, such that HABERE had a wider semantic field and weaker semantic force than the other modal verbs, might well account for its retention as a future auxiliary. This is largely the line to which Adams adheres, suggesting that “he [Pinkster] should have added that it was the order *habeo* + infinitive which lacked such features”, but making it clear that “since the Romance future reflects the order infinitive + *habeo*, it follows that the future developed out of this marked form of expressing obligation/necessity”.

Harm Pinkster, ‘Some Methodological Remarks on Research on Future Tense Auxiliaries in Latin’, in *Subordination and Other Topics in Latin. Proceedings of the 3rd Colloquium on Latin Linguistics (Bologna, 1985)*, ed. by Gualtiero Calboli (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1989), pp. 311-326.

Harm Pinkster, ‘The Development of Future Tense Auxiliaries’, *Glotta*, 63 (1985), 186-208 (p. 202).

Marion Kooreman, ‘The Expression of Obligation and Necessity in the Works of Tertullian: The use of *HABERE* + infinitive, *-URUS ESSE*, and the gerundive’, in *Latin vulgaire - latin tardif: Actes du 4e Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif, (Caen, Septembre 1994)*, ed. by Louis Callebaut (Zürich: Olms-Weidmann, 1995), pp. 383-93.

J. N. Adams, ‘Some Neglected Evidence for Latin *HABEO* with Infinitive: The order of the constituents’, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 89.2 (1991), 131-96 (pp. 157, 160).

¹¹⁶ Gratwick, p. 394.

¹¹⁷ Robert Coleman, ‘Further Observations on *HABEO* + infinitive as an Exponent of Futurity’, *Classical Quarterly*, n.s. 26.1 (1976) 151-9 (p. 156).

¹¹⁸ Pirjo Raiskila, ‘Periphrastic use of *habere* in Tertullian’, in *Subordination and Other Topics in Latin: proceedings of the Third Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, (Bologna, 1985)*, (see Pinkster, ‘Methodological remarks’, above), pp. 209-217.

¹¹⁹ Coleman, ‘Origin and Development’, p. 219. Additional cross-linguistic evidence against Pinkster’s arguments is provided by Bybee and Pagliuca, who suggest that futurity often arises from non-temporal (i.e. modal) forms. Coleman’s emphasis on obligation as the source of future modality is reinforced by

A point of debate that must be considered, albeit briefly, is the question of the relative development of futurity and ‘futurity in the past’: which of the two meanings was the first to evolve, and which laid the foundation for the other? Harris puts forward the standard position that “AMATURUS SUM was one of the many alternatives to AMABO in popular use as a future tense, all of which eventually yielded in Western Romance to the form AMARE HABEO. By analogy to this development, AMATURUS ERAM was, of course, replaced in V.L. by AMARE HABEBAM”.¹²⁰ Fleischman suggests that “from a structural standpoint one could make a case for *cantare habeo* having been the leader in this development. Given that the empty posteriority slot was in past time, one might expect a new exponent created to fill that slot to be modeled on an already existing, functionally analogous form.”¹²¹ Both Benveniste and Coleman separately insist, however, that “it is clear in written Latin [...] the new construction established itself within the finite morpho-syntactic system first as an exponent of Futurity-in-the-past and subsequently [...] as an exponent of Futurity”.¹²²

Modal Development of the ‘Future in the Past’

The extension of the infinitive + HABERE periphrasis to conditional meaning from the ‘future in the past’ should not be regarded as surprising, as both that periphrasis and the –URUS + ESSE periphrasis “each began as future in the past and as such was pressed into service to express conditional irrealis”.¹²³ Coleman sees no difficulty in the

their statement that “verbs indicating desire, obligation and movement are the most common” sources of future modality, and their omission of ‘possibility’ as a primary modal source.

Joan L. Bybee and William Pagliuca, ‘The Evolution of Future Meaning’, in *Papers from the 7th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Anna Giacalone-Ramat, Onofrio Carruba and Giuliano Bernini (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1987), pp. 109-22 (pp. 109-10).

¹²⁰ Martin Harris, ‘The History of the Conditional Complex from Latin to Spanish: Some structural considerations’, *Archivum Linguisticum*, 2 (1971), 25-33 (p. 28).

¹²¹ Fleischman, *Thought and Language*, p. 61.

¹²² Coleman, ‘Origin and Development’, p. 224.

Émile Benveniste, ‘Mutations of Linguistic Categories’, in *Directions for Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Winfred P. Lehman and Yakov Malkiel (Austin: University of Texas, 1976), pp. 85-94 (pp. 89-90).

¹²³ Fleischman, *Thought and Language*, p. 64. Harris raises this point in his review of Fleischman, suggesting that she may be “creating an unnecessary problem for herself in insisting that the temporal values of the new paradigms must have developed first”. His counter-example of “doit faire” in French taking solely modal value may, however, be slightly misplaced if Pinkster’s discussion of modal verbs

addition of conditional meaning to the ‘future in the past’ periphrasis, and suggests that meaning of conditioned unreality “can easily be related either to one tangential to Possibility – ‘I was capable [under certain conditions] of doing this’> ‘I should now be doing this [had those conditions been fulfilled]’ - or to one tangential to Obligation-Necessity – ‘I was bound to do this [under certain conditions]’> ‘I should now etc.’”.¹²⁴ Fleischman does, however, point out that while the similarity in evolution of the past form of both the –URUS + ESSE and infinitival periphrases could be due solely to analogy, “any form that comes to function as a future [...] will predictably acquire certain irrealis modalities of posterior tempus.”¹²⁵

The Replacement of –URUS +ESSE by Infinitive + HABERE

It must again be highlighted, however, that the development of these functions of the HABERE + infinitive periphrases did not take place in isolation from the –URUS + ESSE periphrases that they ultimately replaced. This approach contrasts with the work cited above, for example, by Coleman, which details only the extending functions of the periphrasis, without taking into account the fact that this occurs through the extension of the infinitive + HABERE periphrasis to extant functions of the –URUS + ESSE periphrasis. The development of these functions might therefore best be analysed as a drag chain, where the restriction of –URUS + ESSE leaves a semantic gap, that is filled by infinitive + HABERE, rather than as an independent development of two subsequent and entirely innovative future periphrases.

Various proposals have been made for the ultimate replacement of the –URUS + ESSE periphrasis by the infinitive + HABERE construction. Herman suggests that “les locuteurs avaient à leur disposition diverses constructions ‘infinitif + auxiliaire modal’”, of which –URUS + ESSE was the less morphologically or semantically convenient.¹²⁶ Vincent and Bentley, however, reject Herman’s suggestion as

(note 68) is accurate, and if the modal value of such verbs in periphrases is, in fact, what precludes their ultimate adoption as non-modal temporal auxiliaries such as HABERE.

Martin B. Harris, ‘The Future in Thought and Language: Review’, *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 4.1 (1983), 139-47 (p. 145).

¹²⁴ Coleman, ‘Origin and Development’, p. 217.

¹²⁵ Fleischman, *Thought and Language*, p. 63.

¹²⁶ Herman, p. 67.

inadequate on the grounds that “there does not seem to be any reason to believe that infinitive + habeo had any significant morphophonemic edge over –urus + sum when it came to providing morphologically imperiled formation”¹²⁷. Instead, they provide a robust and convincing morpho-syntactic explanation, in which the periphrasis is lost through a process of restriction in the use of ESSE to adjectival constructions, for which the –URUS form was not available.¹²⁸

Time-frame for the Developments of the Future Periphrases

As Banniard makes clear, establishing a time-frame for the developments discussed above is difficult: “il n’y a le plus souvent pas de début absolu à l’apparition d’une nouvelle forme. Toute innovation est déjà disponible à un stade initial dans le diasystème de la langue [...et] la forme ancienne et la forme nouvelle cohabitent longtemps [...] Par voie de conséquence, il n’y a pas non plus d’effacement absolu de l’ancienne forme.”¹²⁹ It has been shown above that both future periphrases were available in Classical Latin and attested from Cicero onwards, but they appeared in tandem with the synthetic future until Late Latin: attestations of both the synthetic and the analytic futures are attested in Alcuin, in the late eighth century. A relative chronology can be established, however, for the infinitive + HABERE periphrasis, which shows that although the documentary evidence places the infinitive + HABEBAM as earlier than the infinitive + HABEO periphrasis, “the replacement of the subjunctive exponents of Conditioned Unreality was a much slower process than that of the classical future morphemes, which had disappeared already in the earliest attested stages of the Romance languages”, and were eventually replaced entirely by newly synthesised forms of the periphrases.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Vincent and Bentley, p. 152.

¹²⁸ Ibid., pp. 152-4.

¹²⁹ Michel Banniard, ‘À la recherche de strates concurrentes entre le futur du latin classique et le nouveau futur roman’, in *Actes du XXIVe Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes (Aberystwyth, 2004)* (see Bourova, above), pp. 441-450 (p. 442-3).

¹³⁰ Coleman, ‘Origin and Development’, p. 226.

2.5 Grammaticalisation of the Future and ‘Future in the Past’ Periphrases

The development of the future and ‘future in the past’ periphrases, as described above, is part of the process of grammaticalisation that results in the synthetic, or fused, forms of the future and conditional found in the Romance languages. Grammaticalisation, which may be defined as “that subset of linguistic changes through which a lexical item in certain uses becomes a grammatical item, or through which a grammatical item becomes more grammatical”, is divided into sub-processes or sub-stages, depending on the focus of study.¹³¹ Squartini and Klausenburger, for example, follow Heine and refer to the general processes by which grammaticalisation occurs.

Desemanticisation
v
Decategorialisation
v
Cliticisation
v
Phonological erosion.¹³²

Ramat, on the other hand, defines the verbal grammaticalisation process in terms of the stages reached in the development of the periphrases, and suggests the stages shown below.

Full verb
v
Predicative construction
v
Periphrastic forms
v
Agglutination.¹³³

¹³¹ Paul J. Hopper and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, *Grammaticalization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 2.

¹³² Mario Squartini, *Verbal Periphrasis in Romance: Aspect, actionality and grammaticalisation* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), p. 19.

Jürgen Klausenburger, *Grammaticalization: Studies in Latin and Romance morphosyntax* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2000), p. 77.

Bernard Heine, *Auxiliaries: Cognitive forces and grammaticalisation* (Oxford: OUP, 1993), pp. 54-8

¹³³ Paolo Ramat, ‘Introductory Paper’, in *Historical Development of Auxiliaries* (see Vincent, above), pp. 3-19 (pp. 8-11).

Despite the different focus and terminology of these two examples, they both describe two groups of processes in the overall process of grammaticalisation. The first of these, which can be described as a semantic and morphosyntactic reinterpretation, includes Heine's processes of desemanticisation and decategorialisation, and Ramat's stages of full verb, predicative construction and periphrastic forms. The second group of morphonological processes - cliticisation and phonological erosion (Heine), or agglutination (Ramat) - describe the process of fusion through which the Latin analytic periphrasis becomes the synthetic inflected form found in the Romance languages. So far, only the periphrasis-specific reanalysis by which the infinitive + HABERE periphrasis came to take on future and 'future in the past' meaning has been described. These developments will be briefly related to the stages of desemanticisation and decategorialisation, and the stages in the second process of fusion will be considered in greater detail.

Reanalysis

Reanalysis is defined by Hopper and Traugott as the process that "modifies underlying representations, whether semantic, syntactic, or morphological, and brings about rule change".¹³⁴ As Langacker insists, however, it is a "change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation", but is intertwined with, and results in, the processes of desemanticisation and decategorialisation.¹³⁵ Desemanticisation describes the loss of lexical content of part of the periphrasis, resulting in the allocation of a syntactic role to what was, semantically, a full verb, although Squartini underlines the fact that "loss of lexical content of the auxiliary is always balanced by

¹³⁴ Hopper and Traugott, p. 32.

Hopper and Traugott present a detailed discussion of the mechanisms through which reanalysis takes place, from a broadly generativist point of view. However, their definition of reanalysis is curious, as they suggest that "one of the simplest types of reanalysis, and one very frequently found in grammaticalisation, is fusion: the merger of two or more forms across word or morphological boundaries", whereas most authors would regard the process of fusion as a *result* of reanalysis, not part of the *process*.

Hopper and Traugott, p. 40.

Fleischman, *Thought and Language*, pp. 58-9.

¹³⁵ Ronald W. Langacker, 'Syntactic Reanalysis', in *Mechanisms of Syntactic Change*, ed. by Charles N. Li (Austin: University of Texas, 1977), pp. 57-139 (p. 58).

an increase of grammatical meaning as a verb morpheme”.¹³⁶ Decategorialisation occurs when a lexical item loses the ability to function in its full syntactic capacity, and becomes dependent on other, full, lexical items in the sentence. A verb, for example, may be limited to functioning as an auxiliary. Further stages of decategorialisation may occur even within a new, limited category: in the case of auxiliaries, for example, Roberts suggests a subsequent set of shifts from a lexical auxiliary, which still maintains some possessive meaning, to a functional auxiliary, which acts simply as a tense marker.¹³⁷ Once the auxiliary has reached the functional stage, and is dependent on the verb, rather than possessing full freedom to move in the sentence, it is a small shift to cliticisation, at which point the necessary adjacency of the clitic to the verb permits the possibility of fusion.

Parallel to desemanticisation and decategorialisation, lexical split may occur, where a lexical item continues to retain its full meaning in some contexts. The form and meaning of the full verb are retained independently of the grammaticalisation process taking place only in limited, specific, semantic and syntactic contexts. This process took place in the Romance languages, which “separate lexically from one another the two inherited senses of the verb *to have*”.¹³⁸ Although *habere* in the context of an infinitive undergoes semantic bleaching and loss of autonomy, “the reflexes of *habere* in other contexts have survived as full formal and semantic entities”, and retain their meaning of possession.¹³⁹

The interaction of reanalysis, decategorialisation and desemanticisation can be used to describe the stages in the development of the infinitive + HABERE periphrasis. The commonly used example, *habebam litteras scribere*, ‘I had a letter to write’, where *habebam* was used in its full sense of possession, is re-analysed to include a degree of

¹³⁶ Squartini, *Verbal Periphrasis*, p. 21.

¹³⁷ Roberts, p. 236.

¹³⁸ Ernst Pulgram, ‘Latin-Romance *habere*: Double function and lexical split’, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 94 (1978), 1-8 (p. 5).

While Pulgram is referring to the past tense auxiliary, the general point he is making may also be applied to the future/conditional auxiliaries which have continued further down the path that he envisages for the past tense auxiliary.

¹³⁹ Roberts, p. 232.

obligative modality, ‘I had a letter that was going to have to be written’. At this point, no desemanticisation or decategorialisation has taken place, as the semantic force of possession is retained, *habebam* remains a full verb, and the structure of the sentence remains identical. The following stage in the process of grammaticalisation is the complete shift to a modal meaning of ‘obligation’, from ‘I had a letter to be written’ to ‘I had to write a letter’. This is still only an example of semantic reanalysis: desemanticisation has taken place, as the primary meaning of *habebam* as possession has been lost, but the structure remains identical. Decategorialisation has not yet taken place, as *habebam* continues to function as a full verb, but a shift in syntactic boundaries, referred to by Langacker as reformulation, has occurred, although this is not visible at the surface level.¹⁴⁰ The main verb *habebam* is now bracketed with the infinitive rather than the object and the syntactic pattern has become (*scribere habebam*) *litteras* rather than *scribere (litteras habebam)*. It is this syntactic reanalysis, however, that “permits repositioning of the object complement [...] and its eventual deletion” to *habebam scribere*, ‘I had to write’ with purely obligative and no possessive meaning.¹⁴¹ This development is no longer an example of reanalysis, as an observable surface change has occurred. Both desemanticisation and decategorialisation have taken place, as *habebam* has lost all possessive force. In this context, *habebam* is no longer acting as a full verb, but as an auxiliary, dependent on the presence of the infinitive. Ultimately, this shift results in the situation where “*habere* carries the ‘functional’ content while the infinitive carries the lexical, i.e. thematic content”, and *habebam* functions as a clitic rather than as a full verb.¹⁴² The semantic shifts that have created syntactic ties between the infinitive and *habebam* have paved the way for the subsequent fusional changes, or in Langacker’s terms, resegmentation has provided the conditions in which boundary loss may occur.¹⁴³

Fusion

Modern work on grammaticalisation and fusion proceeds from the insight of Givón, who coined the frequently cited expression: “today’s morphology is yesterday’s

¹⁴⁰ Langacker, p. 79.

¹⁴¹ Fleischman, *Thought and Language*, p. 59.

¹⁴² Roberts, p. 237.

¹⁴³ Langacker, pp. 64-5.

syntax”.¹⁴⁴ Fusion, or univerbation, is the shift from auxiliary to desinence. It is the second main stage in grammaticalisation, although Schwegler points out that “while semantic reanalysis must have occurred prior to any other type of synthesis, it is clear that diachronically these processes overlapped and interacted.”¹⁴⁵ Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca define two stages in the process, namely “the reduction or loss of phonological bulk and fusion of the grammaticizing material to surrounding material”, as well as distinguishing between dependence (cliticisation) and the actual fusion of the grammatical component with the verb.¹⁴⁶

The synthesis of the Romance future and conditional have been summarised by Valesio as a development where “two separate words, members of a verbal phrase,

¹⁴⁴ Talmy Givón, ‘Historical syntax and synchronic morphology: An archaeologist's field trip’, in *Papers from the 7th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1971), pp. 393-415 (p. 413).

¹⁴⁵ Armin Schwegler, *Analyticity and Syntheticity: A diachronic perspective with special reference to Romance languages* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990), p. 133.

The cyclical introduction of analytic forms, their reduction to synthetic forms, and the subsequent introduction of further analytic forms has been well documented, notably by Schwegler. A welcome addition to the subject has been made by Bichakjian, who emphasises, in contrast to the cyclical approach taken by Pulgram, the linear nature of the individual analytic > synthetic changes that take place in the development of the future and conditional.

Ernst Pulgram, ‘Synthetic and Analytic Morphological Constructs’, in *Weltoffene Romanistik: Festschrift für Alwin Kuhn zum 60 Geburtstag*, ed. by Guntram Plangg and Eberhard Tiefenthaler (Innsbruck: Leopold-Franzens-Universität, 1963), pp. 35-42.

Bernard H. Bichakjian, ‘Language Change: Cyclical or Linear? The case of the Romance future’, in *Historical Linguistics: Papers from the 8th International Conference on Historical Linguistics (Lille, September 1987)*, ed. by Henning Anderson and Konrad Koerner (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1990), pp. 37-49.

¹⁴⁶ Joan Bybee, Revere Perkins and William Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994), p. 107-10.

Anderson further delineates the sub-stages of fusion which must be taken into account when describing the process of univerbation, stipulating that an analysis must distinguish between morphological, phonological, segmental and prosodic univerbation.

Henning Anderson, ‘From Auxiliary to Desinence’, in *Historical Development of Auxiliaries*, (see Vincent, above), pp. 21-51 (p. 31).

combine together as two morphemes, constituting a new single word”.¹⁴⁷ While he also notes that the Romance future forms are more deeply grammaticalised than the unfused, analytic, past-tense forms, showing change “both of linguistic *category* and linguistic *level category*”, this does not account for the causes of the changes described.¹⁴⁸ Nocentini states the difficulties in accounting for the differences between the perfect periphrasis and the future and conditional forms in terms of three problems to be addressed.¹⁴⁹

A. Only the Future and Conditional are Fused Forms; the Perfect is Unfused

The first problem, which considers the difficulty of the fused forms, is the most easily explained. Nocentini considers Fleischman’s explanation to be sufficient, in that it is only in situations where the auxiliary follows the infinitive that the forms can merge “without sacrificing any necessary grammatical information”.¹⁵⁰ The remaining possibilities - *habeo scriptum*, *scriptum habeo*, and *habeo scribere* - all presuppose loss of person, gender or case marking. Joseph questions this analysis, suggesting that

¹⁴⁷ Paolo Valesio, ‘The Romance Synthetic Future Pattern and its First Attestations: I’, *Lingua*, 20 (1968), 113-61 (p. 119).

¹⁴⁸ Valesio, ‘Synthetic Future I’, p. 121. See also Klausenberger, p. 75, Roberts, p. 226-7.

As Clancy points out, Valesio’s suggestion that “a restructuring takes place within the original present infinitive form, by virtue of which the vocalic phoneme /e/ [...] disappears and the first part of the suffix, -r- combines with the original stem creating a new, enlarged stem”, which is one of his arguments for the early development of the synthetic future, is not necessarily correct. She does not, however, sufficiently distinguish between the difficulties inherent in this analysis of the loss of /e/ and the conclusion mentioned above that he draws, which is not in fact dependent either on this analysis or on the early rise of the synthetic future which is his underlying thesis.

Valesio, ‘Synthetic Future I’, p. 119.

Patricia Clancy, ‘The Rise of the Synthetic Future Tense in Romance: A critique of some recent hypotheses (Benveniste, Valesio, Butler)’, *Romance Philology*, 28.4 (1975), 545-54 (p. 550).

¹⁴⁹ Alberto Nocentini, ‘La genesi del futuro e del condizionale sintetico romanzo’, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 117 (2001), 367-401 (p. 367).

This article is an expanded version of Nocentini’s earlier article on the formation of the Romance future.

Alberto Nocentini, ‘La formazione del futuro romanzo’, in *Atti del XXI Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica e Filologia Romanza 1: Grammatica Storica delle Lingue Romanze*, ed. by Giovanni Ruffino (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), pp. 259-65.

¹⁵⁰ Fleischman, *Thought and Language*, p. 115.

there is no reason why a paradigm such as **ocantato*, **aicantato* etc. could not have developed, but this analysis overlooks the difficulty that such an innovation would be peculiar in a language where every other inflection is word-final.¹⁵¹

B. The Inflected Auxiliary is Post-Posed in the Future and Conditional, but Pre-Posed in the Perfect

The second problem raised by Nocentini is the post-position of the auxiliary, which contrasts with the pre-position of all other auxiliaries in the Romance languages. Fleischman suggests that this may be accounted for by the word order shift between Latin and the Romance languages: the future/conditional periphrases already existed and the word order had become fixed in the earlier, O(object) V(verb), phase of Latin, whereas the perfect periphrases emerged during the later VO phase.¹⁵² This proposal is rejected by Adams, on primarily chronological grounds, stating that “the periphrasis is not attested with a meaning approaching futurity until at least the time of Tertullian [...] and in colloquial [...] registers the infinitive was regularly placed after its defining verb [...] long before the first attestation of the new future.”¹⁵³ For Adams, not only is the chronology put forward by Fleischman insufficiently compelling in the light of the evidence, but “even if one were to make the (untenable) assumption that infinitive + *habeo* in a future sense came into use at the ‘OV stage of the language’, it would be necessary to explain why the order of the constituents remained fixed. In the case of other auxiliaries the basic order infinitive + auxiliary gradually gave way to the reverse order, and it would be odd if infinitive + *habeo* expressing futurity were immutable.”¹⁵⁴ Instead, as has been mentioned above, Adams’s analysis of the word order is based on the development of the periphrasis from an infinitive-auxiliary word order, semantically marked for obligation and, ultimately, futurity.¹⁵⁵ Fleischman’s proposal of OV-VO shift is also rejected by Joseph, on the similar grounds that “the

¹⁵¹ John E. Joseph, ‘Inflection and Periphrastic Structures in Romance’, in *Studies in Romance Linguistics*, ed. by Carl Kirschner and Janet de Cesaris (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1989), pp. 195-208 (p. 199).

¹⁵² Fleischman, *Thought and Language*, p. 119.

¹⁵³ Adams, p. 132.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

¹⁵⁵ See note 112.

typological situation is too complex to fit neatly into an OV slot”.¹⁵⁶ He suggests instead that that Colloquial Latin was organised according to a theme-rheme pattern: *scribere habeo* and *habeo scriptum* are the two forms which follow this pattern. The word-orders *scriptum habeo* and *habeo scribere* would fall into a rheme-theme pattern, typologically inconsistent with the dominant theme-rheme order, and were therefore discarded.¹⁵⁷

Fleischman’s analysis, and the rebuttals given above, are all rejected by Nocentini on various grounds of insufficiency. He points out that the shift in word order cannot be used to explain the changes, as the word order typology is a description of the word order itself, and has only descriptive, and not explanatory, power. Therefore, “sostenere che la sequenza V – Aus è coerente con l’ordine basico OV o che è stata generata da una struttura di base $X \rightarrow \text{Spec}X$ [...] equivale ad enunciare una tautologia”.¹⁵⁸ He also points out the weakness of Joseph’s idea of a theme-rheme arrangement, observing that the periphrasis is not a set of separate pieces of information, but that “si tratta di forme analitiche che hanno un valore funzionale d’insieme”.¹⁵⁹ It is only Adams’s explanation that Nocentini does not discard out of hand, but while some of his criticisms, particularly those discounting the statistics presented by Adams, may not be apt, his alternative analysis of the data is equally valid.¹⁶⁰

Nocentini puts forward an explanation of the word order of the future and conditional auxiliaries that is based on the interaction of prosodic factors and sentence position. He suggests:

¹⁵⁶ Joseph, p. 197.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 200-1.

¹⁵⁸ Nocentini, p. 372.

¹⁵⁹ Nocentini, p. 373.

¹⁶⁰ Adams’s statistical evidence is borne out by Bourova, who presents a similar analysis of the attestations of the periphrasis, noting that the order tends towards infinitive + HABERE for the imperfect, and HABERE + infinitive for the perfect and present tenses.

Viara Bourova, ‘À la recherche du ‘conditionnel latin’: les constructions ‘*Infinitif + forme de habere*’ examinées à partir d’un corpus électronique’, in *Romanistische Korpuslinguistik II*, ed. by Claus D Pusch, Johannes Kabatek and Wolfgang Raible (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2005), pp. 303-16, (p. 307).

nel proto-romanzo è esistita una fase in cui le forme perifrastiche del verbo ricorrevano secondo due varianti sequenziali, condizionate dalla posizione della frase; le forme con Aus posposto ricorrevano in posizione iniziale e le forme con Aus preposto in posizione interna o finale [...] Questi contesti sono già sufficienti a garantire [al variante Inf-Aus] una frequenza tale da competere con le sequenze non iniziali.¹⁶¹

In the light of the third problem that Nocentini proposes for the synthesis of the future and the conditional, this solution may be more compelling than that of Adams, as it also explains the problem of prosodic shift. Adams's analysis of marked word order signaling modal meaning cannot, however, necessarily be excluded as a factor in the sentence position of the auxiliary-infinitive word order.

The most recent, and indeed, most convincing hypothesis presented to account for the Infinitive + HABERE word order, is that of Bourova and Tasmowski, which includes elements of both Nocentini's and Adams's analyses.¹⁶² These confirm that in Late Latin there is no particular tendency towards the word order infinitive + HABERE. Their explanation suggests that the two word orders, particularly in initial position, are determined by the type of modality expressed. They agree with Nocentini that the periphrasis in sentence-initial position is linked to the order infinitive + HABERE, but further suggest that this occurs in situations where the periphrasis has alethic, rather than deontic, modality. In this context, HABERE occurs in the non-focalised position, acting as a clitic, which paves the way for fusion of the infinitive and HABERE. In contrast, where the periphrasis takes on deontic modality, HABERE is acting as a verb with a greater degree of independence than in the alethic periphrasis. It tends to occur in the focalised, periphrasis- and sentence-initial position which precludes the possibility of fusion. There is, therefore, a complex syntactico-semantic interplay that accounts for the word order of the synthetic Romance conditional.

¹⁶¹ Nocentini, pp. 381-2.

¹⁶² Viara Bourova and Liliane Tasmowski, 'La préhistoire des futurs romans: Ordre des constituants et sémantique', *Cahiers Chronos*, 19 (2007), 25-41.

C. The Auxiliary Takes the Main Stress

Unlike other modern Italian verbal paradigms, the synthetic future and conditional are stressed on the desinence rather than on the stem. While for the conditional paradigms, “la pesantezza delle desinenze derivate dall’Aus è da sola una condizione sufficiente a giustificare la sede dell’accento”,¹⁶³ this does not account for the stress position in the phonologically lighter future paradigm. Although Valesio *describes* the problem: “in a phrase like /kantare habeo/, where the verb has a grammatically auxiliary function, the primary stress /’/ becomes a secondary stress /˘/ dependent on the primary stress of the preceding infinitive. With the merger, which gives origin to the future pattern, the stress of the *-habeo* form is transformed from secondary to primary, as all the derived Romance paradigms show”, he does not, in fact, explain *why* the stress shifted.¹⁶⁴ Nocentini, however, notes the shift of accent onto the clitic in the case of clitic clusters in some of the dialects, and on this basis puts forward the suggestion that “l’accento desinenziale del futuro e del condizionale è dovuto al riaggiustamento prosodico del gruppo clitico, formato dalle sequenze Inf-Aus e Inf-CI-Aus, che ha spostato l’accento principale sull’Aus”.¹⁶⁵ When the forms fused, the accent remained on the auxiliary, and ultimately the desinence.

Other than Valesio’s work on the future, and related criticism, few authors present a more detailed description of the precise sound changes that occur in the fusion of the

¹⁶³ Nocentini, p. 384.

¹⁶⁴ Valesio, ‘Synthetic Future I’, pp. 155-6.

Butler provides a rebuttal of Valesio’s theories of sound change leading to the future/conditional paradigms, but does not himself distinguish between the phonological pressures on HABEO as a future auxiliary, past auxiliary or main verb, insisting that “the reduced forms of HABEO became the ancestral forms for the reflexes of HABERE in any environment, as auxiliary or independent verb”. Valesio criticises this approach on the grounds that it a) “disregards the complex morpho-syntactic framework which characterizes the periphrastic future form”, b) is self-contradictory in regarding the habeo auxiliary forms as both “counter tonic” and “strongly stressed”, and c) requires the derivation of the future auxiliaries from a proclitic, an assumption which fails to take into account the known word order in early Romance.

Jonathan L. Butler, ‘Remarks on the Romance Synthetic Future’, *Lingua*, 24 (1969), 163-80 (pp. 174-5).

Paolo Valesio, ‘The Synthetic Future Again: Phonology and morpho-syntax’, *Lingua*, 24 (1969), 181-93 (pp. 189-91).

¹⁶⁵ Nocentini, p. 387.

future and conditional periphrases.¹⁶⁶ For the Standard Italian conditional, derived from the Florentine, various sound changes must be postulated for the third person singular of the verb.¹⁶⁷

<i>cantare habuit</i> > <i>cantare *hebit</i>	(assumed Tuscan form)
<i>cantare hebit</i> > <i>cantare hebui</i>	(loss of final /t/ almost universal between Latin and Romance)
<i>cantare hebit</i> > <i>cantare ebbi</i>	(gemination of consonant following due to following semi-consonant) ¹⁶⁸
<i>cantare ebbi</i> > <i>cantarebbi</i>	(fusion)
<i>cantarebbi</i> > <i>canterebbi</i>	(raising of /a/ before -r- to /e/, typical of Florentine phonology.)
<i>canterebbi</i> > <i>canterebbe</i>	(atonic /ĩ / > /e/ when syllable final.) ¹⁶⁹

Chronology of Fusion

Various arguments have been put forward for the chronology of the synthesis of the future and conditional paradigms. These divide into two camps: early synthesis, or late synthesis. Valesio, for example, suggests an early fusion on the grounds of an alternative interpretation of attestations of *faciam/feram* found in the Vulgate, which Butler contests.¹⁷⁰ Despite the different arguments, it is impossible to prove the timescale with any degree of precision: the earliest attestation of a fused future, *daras*, found in Fredegar, must be considered in the light of unfused forms, such as *have*

¹⁶⁶ Valesio, 'Synthetic Future I', Butler, Valesio, 'Synthetic Future Again'.

¹⁶⁷ As has been noted in the Introduction, the paradigm in *-ria* is non-native in central Italy. In consequence, there is no parallel phonological derivation in Tuscan for the reflexes of CANTARE HABEBAM.

¹⁶⁸ Gerhard Rohlfs, *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti: Fonetica* (Turin: Einaudi, 1966), p. 415.

It should be noted that the schema does not imply any particular chronological sequentiality, merely an indication of the phonological changes that occurred. The 3rd p. sing. was used rather than the 1st p. sing. to avoid confusion relating to the further reduction of *-ebbe* to *-ei*.

¹⁶⁹ Rohlfs, *Fonetica*, pp. 178-9.

¹⁷⁰ Paolo Valesio, 'The Romance Synthetic Future Pattern and its First Attestations: II', *Lingua*, 20 (1968), 279-307 (pp. 296-8).

offende, found much later in Bonvesin.¹⁷¹ Instead, the principle of Fleischman's conclusion that "*chanterai* must have existed for some time alongside what was written as *cantare habeo*, perhaps until as late as the ninth century", must be regarded as sufficient, with allowance for greater conservatism, and therefore a longer time-frame for the process, in the Italo-Romance dialects.¹⁷²

2.6 Conclusions

This chapter has outlined the general areas of study in the fields of conditionality and hypotheticality, using Latin as an example. It has also been shown that the Romance conditional developed from a Latin indicative periphrasis, although alternative sources have been put forward. Possible reasons for the development of the conditional meaning of the periphrasis have been discussed, and the reasons for incorporation into the Latin conditionality system have been considered. Chapter 3 will therefore examine the functions covered by the paradigm in the modern Romance languages.

¹⁷¹ Gerhard Rohlfs, *Morfologia*, p. 346.

¹⁷² Fleischman, *Thought and Language*, p. 75.

Chapter 3: Functions of the Modern Conditional

3.1 Introduction

As the preceding chapter has shown, the Latin periphrasis CANTARE HABEBAM/CANTARE HABUI took on conditional meaning through its introduction into the apodoses of conditional sentences in *oratio obliqua*.¹⁷³ It is generally agreed that modern Romance conditional has two canonical functions: conditional statements, and the ‘future in the past’ function.¹⁷⁴ There is, however, no absolute consensus on the delineation of the other main canonical function or functions, which could be broadly classified as attenuative. Moreover, as “le lingue romanze, accanto ad alcune tendenze comuni, presentano [...] un quadro estremamente diversificato”, there are variations between the languages in these areas which makes an over-arching and complete summary of every function in every language impossible.¹⁷⁵ This chapter will present an overview of the two canonical functions and a single, over-arching attenuative function encompassing the various types of attenuative uses of the conditional, taking into account the particular variation shown by Standard Italian.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ In an early contribution to the field, Yvon traces the development of the nomenclature and analyses of the French conditional, noting the relatively modern introduction of the term “le conditionnel” which dates from Girault-Duvivier’s *Grammaire des grammaires* of 1812, and replaces the earlier term ‘optatif’.

H. Yvon, ‘Faut-il distinguer deux conditionnels dans le verbe français?’, *Le Français Moderne*, 20 (1952), 249-65 (p. 252).

Charles Pierre Girault-Duvivier, *Grammaire des grammaires: ou, analyse raisonnée des meilleurs traités sur la langue française*, (Paris: Porthmann, 1812).

¹⁷⁴ Patrick Dendale, ‘Les problèmes linguistiques du conditionnel français’, in *Le conditionnel en français*, ed. by Patrick Dendale and Liliane Tasmowski (Metz: Université de Metz, 2001), pp. 7-18 (p. 9).

¹⁷⁵ Mario Squartini, ‘La relazione semantica tra futuro e condizionale nelle lingue romanze’, *Revue Romane*, 39.1 (2004), 68-96 (p. 68).

¹⁷⁶ Spanish is particularly unusual in that it maintains the conditional in *-ia* alongside two subjunctive paradigms, of which the paradigm in *-ra*, the modal value of which Mourin describes as “extremement vague”, may function as either a conditional or a subjunctive. For this reason the primary comparisons in this section will be between French and Italian.

Louis Mourin, ‘La valeur de l’imparfait, du conditionnel et de la forme en *-ra* en espagnol moderne’, *Romànica Gandensia*, 4 (1955), 251-78 (p. 273).

It is intended that the conclusions reached will provide additional support for this approach.

3.2 Use of the Conditional in Conditional Sentences

As in Latin and English, the modern Romance conditional sentence “è una frase complessa, costituita da una frase dipendente introdotta da *se* (‘protasi’), e da una frase reggente (‘apodosi’),¹⁷⁷ where the protasis “‘ipotizza’ una ‘condizione’, soddisfatta la quale si ha come ‘conseguenza’ quanto espresso dall’apodosi”.¹⁷⁸ The Romance languages differ from Latin and English in that the usual means of expressing the apodosis is through use of the synthetic conditional paradigm, unknown in either of these languages. Although the Romance languages vary in the specific combinations of temporal and modal paradigms in the protasis and apodosis, “for all the formal differences between them, [they] do seem to have developed a comparable system in this domain of syntax”.¹⁷⁹

Across the Romance languages, the distinction between real and non-real conditions found in Latin is maintained, as is the opposition between “indicative: subjunctive ~ other modality marker”.¹⁸⁰ The indicative continues to be used in real conditionals, while the alternative modality marker, the conditional, occurs in the apodoses of non-real conditional sentences.¹⁸¹ Although in Latin the distinction is usually made

¹⁷⁷ Marco Mazzoleni, ‘La semantica della scelta modale nei condizionali italiani’, *Revue romane*, 29.1 (1994), 17-32 (p. 18).

¹⁷⁸ Marco Mazzoleni, ‘Le frasi ipotetiche’, in *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione*, ed. by Lorenzo Renzi and Gianpaolo Salvi, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1991), pp. 751-817 (p. 752).

¹⁷⁹ Harris, ‘Conditional Sentences’, p. 420.

¹⁸⁰ Harris, ‘Conditional Sentences’, p. 420. On this point, see also Rohlfs (Italian) and Haff (French). Gerhard Rohlfs, *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti: Sintassi* (Turin: Einaudi, 1966), p. 139.

Marianne Hobæk Haff, ‘Quelques hypothèses sur les constructions hypothétiques’, *Revue Romane*, 25.1 (1990), 35-45 (p. 35).

¹⁸¹ Lombardi Vallauri notes that in certain contexts in spoken Italian, there exist subordinate clauses of the type *se* + indicative verb which lack a main clause. Although these have traditionally been regarded as the apodosis of an implicit main clause (protasis), he suggests instead that it is not the case, and that

between real, potential and unreal conditions, each of which could occur with past and non-past temporal reference,¹⁸² Harris suggests that across the modern Romance languages, this tri-partite opposition is not maintained, and, in effect, “non-past potential (‘if he came...’) is opposed to ‘past unreal’ (‘if he had come...’)”.¹⁸³ To express this distinction, the simple and composite conditionals are used.¹⁸⁴ The schema below presents the pattern of oppositions that Harris proposes for French and Italian.¹⁸⁵

“the unembedded conditional clauses represent a pragmatically, semantically and intonationally complete and self sufficient construction.”

Edoardo Lombardi Vallauri, ‘Grammaticalization of Syntactic Incompleteness: Free conditionals in Italian and other languages’, *SKY Journal of Linguistics*, 17 (2004), 189-219 (p. 204).

¹⁸² Present and future time-reference are not explicitly marked by verbal morphology, but as Imbs notes, this temporal distinction “ne se précise qu’au moment de son entrée dans la phrase à l’aide d’éléments lexicaux (*aujourd’hui, demain* etc)”.

Paul Imbs, *L’emploi des temps verbaux en français moderne: essai de grammaire descriptive* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1960), p. 246.

¹⁸³ Harris, ‘Conditional Sentences’, p. 420.

Maiden simplifies the opposition still further, stating that “the distinction between false and improbable conditions is effaced”, and reduces the distinction to bare past/non past comparison ‘if he had’ (past) vs. ‘if he were to’ (non past). Fleischman’s analysis is useful here, linking the degree of “past” to the degree of “unreality”. This suggests that the “the greater the likelihood that a situation will be realized, i.e. the closer to ‘reality’ the speaker perceives it as being, the closer to ‘now’ (= PRESENT) will be the tense used to represent it.” Conversely, the greater degree of pastness accorded to the hypothesis, the greater the likelihood it will be unrealised. There is, therefore, an *ipso facto* linking of the improbable and a greater degree of past marking on the verb, which accounts for the Romance data.

Martin Maiden, *A Linguistic History of Italian* (London: Longman, 1995), p. 224.

Fleischman, ‘Temporal distance’, pp. 5-6.

¹⁸⁴ The conditional of the type auxiliary + past participle, where the auxiliary is formed from the conditional form of the verbs *avere/avoir* or *essere/être* will be referred to as the conditional composite, as contrasting with the conditional simple, to avoid any confusion when discussing sequence of tense phenomena in the section on the ‘future in the past’. Although in grammars the conditional composite is often referred to as the past conditional, its use in ‘future in the past’ sentences shows that this is not actually the case, as the temporal reference is created by the main verb, not the conditional verb.

¹⁸⁵ While Harris refers simply to the modern conditional systems, Pountain presents an extremely thorough examination of the varying patterns of tense/mood combinations in the three main Romance languages from early Romance to the modern period.

UNREAL		POTENTIAL	
	Protasis:	Plup. Subj. (It)	-
PAST:		Plup. (Fr)	
	Apodosis:	Conditional composite	-
NON-	-	Protasis:	Imp. Subj. (It)
PAST:			Imp. (Fr)
	-	Apodosis:	Conditional simple

The possible combinations are usually expressed by grammars in the form of three examples, such as:

Se vieni al cinema, ti divertirai. (real condition)

Se venissi al cinema, ti divertiresti. (non-past potential condition)

Se fossi venuto al cinema, ti saresti divertito. (past unreal condition)

Unfortunately, such schemata are not necessarily adequate. Formally speaking, they are inadequate as they do not account for the alternative combinations of tenses and moods which fill in the semantic gaps. Italian, for example, allows the combination of plup. subj. and conditional simple to express a past potential action and its consequence, such as *se avessimo preso il treno, saremmo già a Napoli* and an imp. subj. combined with a conditional composite to express a non-past unreal condition, such as *se fosse in Italia, ci avrebbe già contattato*.¹⁸⁶

The Romance languages also show a tendency towards the use of the conditional in the protasis of conditional sentences marked with *se*. Although such usage is regarded as non-standard, Rohlfs notes that it may occur with both the conditional in *-ia* and in *-ei*,¹⁸⁷ and its existence is traced by Aliberti from the earliest texts until the present day.¹⁸⁸ A similar pattern is attested in Spanish, although “handbooks of Spanish syntax either do not mention it, or explicitly refer to its impossibility of occurrence, or

Christopher J. Pountain, *Structures and Transformations: The Romance verb* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), pp. 155-87.

¹⁸⁶ Martin Maiden and Cecilia Robustelli, *A Reference Grammar of Modern Italian* (Arnold: London, 2000), p. 397.

¹⁸⁷ Rohlfs, *Sintassi*, p. 143.

¹⁸⁸ Domenico B. Aliberti, ‘Della congiunzione *SE* costruita con il verbo al condizionale’, *Italica*, 44.4 (1967), 446-79 (p. 446).

at best, they characterise it as a vulgarism or a dialectalism reduced to some areas in northern Spain”.¹⁸⁹ In the light of recent work on the conditional as a means of distancing the speaker from their statement, Leeman has suggested that *si* signals an event which falls within the bounds of a possible “moi-ici-maintenant”, a situation in which the speaker could see themselves as present in the here-and-now, and therefore has a truth value that they are prepared to assert.¹⁹⁰ In this context, then, the conditional, which marks a situation for which the speaker is not prepared to vouch, must be regarded as ungrammatical if combined with *si* in a protasis.

In addition to the greater flexibility of the combinations of conditional and subjunctive suggested by the schemata above, the conditional is not necessarily obligatory even in non-real conditional sentences. As D’Achille points out, in both French and Italian, “nell’uso corrente è frequente, e forse soprattutto, il tipo col doppio imperfetto indicativo: se venivi, vedevi. Si hanno inoltre i tipi detti ‘misti’ come se fossi venuto, vedevi; se venivi, avresti visto”.¹⁹¹ This combination of tenses is not by any means a modern innovation, but is a trait present from the fifteenth century onwards, attested first in the apodosis and then extending into the protasis.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Guillermo Rojo, ‘On the Evolution of Conditional Sentences in Old Spanish’, in *Studies in Romance Linguistics. Selected Papers of the Fourteenth Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages*, ed. by Osvaldo Jaeggli and Carmen Silva-Corvalán (Dordrecht: Foris, 1986), pp. 167-88 (p. 183).

Particular varieties of Spanish also show the extension of the conditional from the apodosis of conditional sentences not only into the protasis, but into other past subjunctive contexts such as purpose clauses, a development first noted by Espinosa and taken up by Silva-Corvalán.

Aurelio M. Espinosa, ‘The Use of the Conditional for the Subjunctive in Castilian Popular Speech’, *Modern Philology*, 27.4 (1930), 445-9.

Carmen Silva-Corvalán, ‘Conditional for Subjunctive in Old Castile’, in *Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society (February 1982)*, no ed. (Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society, 1982), pp. 87-96.

¹⁹⁰ This analysis of the conditional will be discussed further in section 4 of this chapter.

Danielle Leeman, ‘Pourquoi ne peut-on combiner *si* et le conditionnel?’, in *Le conditionnel en français*, ed. by Patrick Dendale and Liliane Tasmowski (Metz: Université de Metz, 2001), pp. 211-30.

¹⁹¹ Paolo D’Achille, *Sintassi del parlato e tradizione scritta. Analisi di testi dalle origini al secolo XVIII* (Rome: Bonacci, 1990), p. 296.

¹⁹² D’Achille presents some of the various explanations for the introduction of the imperfect into the protasis and apodosis, concluding that the ‘hypothetical imperfective’ is essentially another of the modal values of the tense. The link discussed in Chapter 2.2 between imperfectivity and irrealis is

Not only do the schemata not cover all possible combinations of tenses and moods of the “if p, q” type, or account for the cases where the indicative may be used, it has also been noted that in colloquial speech the conditional and the future tend not to be used as the standard markers of modality. Gobert and Maisier suggest that “ni le futur ni le conditionnel sont utilisés spontanément pour exprimer respectivement la probabilité et l’hypothèse”, but instead circumlocutions such as *il doit* and *il paraît que* are favoured over the morphological non-reality markings.¹⁹³ Similarly, “if p, q” constructions can also be expressed through parataxis, without an explicit *si* marker.¹⁹⁴

Semantically, the schemata are also inadequate as one combination of tense and mood may cover several meanings. Haff, for example, suggests that the “le schéma *si* + PQP + COND PASSÉ peut marquer, en français moderne, non seulement l’irréel du passé [...] mais également l’irréel du présent et l’irréel de l’avenir”.¹⁹⁵ Mazzoleni comments that “i costrutti in *casus realis* possono essere fattuali [...], ipotetici, o controfattuali [...]; i costrutti in *casus possibilis* possono essere ipotetici, o controfattuali [...]; i costrutti in *casus irrealis* possono essere controfattuali, o ipotetici”, and, given the

relevant here: if, as Fleischman suggests, “imperfective aspect is indeed associated in discourse with a reduced degree of assertiveness”, the incursion of the imperfect into conditional sentences is consequently not surprising. This analysis may also go some way to explaining the problem raised by Barral, that of the imperfect subjunctive required after the conditional in French, in examples such as “Je voudrais qu’il fût docile”, where the imperfect marking of the subjunctive might have the implication of greater tentativeness, creating a degree of concordance with the lesser degree of assertion marked by the conditional in the main clause.

D’Achille, pp. 296-300.

Fleischman, ‘Imperfective and Irrealis’, p. 539.

Marcel Barral, ‘Un cas de la concordance des temps du subjonctif: l’imparfait après le conditionnel présent’, *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, 79 (1971), 29 – 69 (p. 30.)

¹⁹³ David L. Gobert and Véronique Maisier, ‘Valeurs modales du futur et du conditionnel et leurs emplois en français contemporain’, *The French Review*, 68.6 (1995), 1003-14 (p. 1013).

¹⁹⁴ For examples of the different types of paratactic conditional constructions available in French, see recent work by Borillo.

Andrée Borillo, ‘Le conditionnel dans la corrélation hypothétique en français’, in *Le conditionnel en français*, ed. by Patrick Dendale and Liliane Tasmowski (Metz: Université de Metz, 2001), pp. 231-50 (pp. 240-7).

¹⁹⁵ Haff, p. 44.

requisite deictic markers, any combination of moods/tenses may be used to express any particular meaning.¹⁹⁶ It may be seen, therefore, that the apparent clarity of the tense and mood combinations generally regarded as available to express the various types of conditional sentences in Romance is merely a conventional simplification, and that the reality is more complex.¹⁹⁷

Alternative Analyses

Given the flexibility of the system described above, it is not unexpected that various scholars question the basic orientation of the distinctions between real, unreal, and potential conditions. Rather than a system based on the probability that a condition will be fulfilled, Mazzoleni suggests an alternative model of characterizing conditional sentences according to the perceived truth value of the statement. In this system, the indicative signals the “possible truth” of a statement, and the subjunctive/conditional expresses “possible falsity”.¹⁹⁸ Pountain puts forward a distinction made on similar terms, where the opposition is between open conditionals “the truth value of which is not known but could be either positive or negative” and “protases which have a negative truth-value”.¹⁹⁹ Martin, on the other hand, has suggested an analysis of the conditional functions which entirely rejects the standard notions of tense and mood, proposing that the functions are related to either a “changement d’univers” or “mondes possibles”. The conditional of ‘mondes

¹⁹⁶ Mazzoleni, ‘Semantica’, p. 24.

¹⁹⁷ Gosselin considers these schemata so unconvincing that he suggests that in conditional constructions “le potentiel et l’iréel ne sont pas des valeurs – même contextuelles – propres à l’imparfait et au conditionnel.” Instead, “les effets de sens décrits par les termes de potentiel et d’iréel résultent d’une interaction complexe de ces valeurs avec celles des autres marqueurs constitutifs de l’énoncé et avec des principes pragmatiques généraux”. Taken to its logical extreme, however, it would seem that this type of reductionist approach would leave a linguist with no starting point for any formal or structural analysis.

Laurent Gosselin, ‘Les valeurs de l’imparfait et du conditionnel dans les systèmes hypothétiques’, *Cahiers Chronos*, 4 (1999), 29-51 (p. 47).

¹⁹⁸ Mazzoleni’s assertion that Haff is proposing a similar distinction does not appear to be justified: Haff is charting a change in the system of potential/unreal distinctions by temporal expansion of the pluperfect and composite conditional pattern, rather than proposing a complete reanalysis of the basis on which the distinctions are made.

Mazzoleni, ‘Semantica’, pp. 24-5.

¹⁹⁹ Pountain, p. 106.

possibles' essentially correlates to hypothetical statements with an explicit or implicit *si* trigger, and is based in a possible world where the apodosis is true. The conditional of the type 'changement d'univers' signifies that the speaker does not entirely accept what he is saying.²⁰⁰ Nevertheless, these types of reanalysis no more explain the range of combinations of tense and mood that they describe than the traditional set of oppositions. A more convincing alternative analysis is presented by Paradisi, which, while still analyzing conditionals in terms of the possibility or not of realisation, requires the interpretation of the conditionals in context "non solo nella realtà ma in situazioni possibili alternative alla realtà".²⁰¹ This analysis fulfils Akatsuka's requirements for contextualisation, in that although "logicians have long noted that normally there is some kind of connection between *p* and *q* [...] it was partly due to difficulty in pinpointing the exact nature of this connection that they generally concluded that this connection should be treated as a problem of pragmatics rather than grammar".²⁰² Akatsuka and Paradisi agree that "what is contextually determined is the specific nature of the connection/correspondence".²⁰³ Paradisi defines the nature of this connection as to do with whether a condition may be fulfilled in a 'real world', or in a 'possible' one. Further sub-groups of conditional types are based on the likeness or otherwise of the 'possible' world to the 'real' world.²⁰⁴ As with the alternative model proposed by Mazzoleni, Paradisi does not provide an explicit set of tense/mood combinations which will account for all the 'possible worlds' that he proposes. As the examples above show, there is no entirely satisfactory model that possesses the necessary descriptive and explanatory power required by this area of syntax.

²⁰⁰ Robert Martin, *Pour une logique du sens* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983), p. 146.

In a recent article, Moeschler and Reboul have reached similar conclusions to those outlined by Martin, but do not appear to have related them to his work on the topic.

Jacques Moeschler and Anne Reboul, 'Conditionnel et assertion conditionnelle', in *Le conditionnel en français*, ed. by Patrick Dendale and Liliane Tasmowski (Metz: Université de Metz, 2001), pp. 147-67.

²⁰¹ Enrico Paradisi, 'La semantica dei condizionali e il contesto', *Studi di Grammatica Italiana*, 15 (1993), 325-37 (pp. 326-7).

²⁰² Noriko Akatsuka, 'Conditionals are Discourse-bound', in *On Conditionals* (see Comrie, above), pp. 333-51 (pp. 334-5).

²⁰³ Akatsuka, pp. 335.

²⁰⁴ Paradisi, pp. 328-9.

3.3 Attenuative Functions of the Conditional

As Ondráček notes, “the conditional is not restricted to conditional sentences only. The unreality of the action continues to be its characteristic feature but is no longer based on an explicit condition, although in many cases some sort of condition still remains in the background”.²⁰⁵ This function of the conditional is attenuation, and accounts for various related functions, including reported information and politeness strategies. While recent work on the conditional, particularly in French, has re-defined attenuation as a small sub-type of modal use of the conditional, limited to the use of the verbs *dire*, *vouloir* and *devoir*, the broader sense of the term will be used here.²⁰⁶ This type of conditional use serves “à marquer la distance du locuteur vis-à-vis de ce qui est dit”, and is used in situations where the speaker wishes to show that they are not necessarily fully committed to the reality or truth value of a statement.²⁰⁷ The primary attenuative function operates when “the conditional is called into service to express under the guise of a possibility or probability what is in reality a fact” in phrases such as *il serait neuf heures*.²⁰⁸ Italian forms the exception to this rule, as Squartini explains: “a differenza del francese l’italiano non ammette però l’impiego del Condizionale per esprimere un minor grado di impegno epistemico da parte del locutore”, instead requiring the use of the future to express this possibility.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Jaroslav Ondráček, ‘On Some Characteristic Features of the Conditional and the Subjunctive in Italian and in English Compared with Finnish and Czech’, *Brno Studies in English*, 15 (1983), 111-35 (p.116).

²⁰⁶ Pierre Haillet, *Le conditionnel dans le discours journalistique. Essai de linguistique descriptive* (Québec: Bref, 1995), pp. 224-5.

With the possible exception of politeness usage, the types of attenuation described here are those that fall within Dendale’s definition of the “conditionnel d’emprunt”. Although the terminology is slightly at variance with Dendale’s, the basic analysis of the main types of conditional use are, in fact, the same.

Dendale, ‘Les problèmes’, p. 9.

²⁰⁷ María Luisa Donaire, ‘La mise en scène du *conditionnel* ou quand le locuteur reste en coulisses’, *Le Français Moderne*, 66.2 (1998), 204-27 (p. 205).

²⁰⁸ T. A. Daley, ‘What is the French Conditional?’, *Modern Language Journal*, 26.2 (1942), 133-6 (p. 136).

²⁰⁹ Squartini, ‘Relazione semantica’, p. 78.

For examples, see Rohlf’s, *Sintassi*, pp. 53-4

Brambilla Ageno also devotes considerable attention to the use of the conditional in rhetorical questions, which could best be classed as falling into the category of attenuation proper. In these constructions, the conditional is used deliberately to distance the speaker from the events reported, with the degree of implicit disbelief at the possibility of the events described creating a (negative) value judgment in phrases such as *chi avrebbe mai pensato!*²¹⁰

The broad attenuative function described above can also include politeness strategies. In most situations, a speaker aims to produce “un énoncé qui est en apparence inoffensif, c’est-à-dire non nuisible aux interlocuteurs”.²¹¹ If the indicative is interpreted as a mood of definiteness, with the potential to “imposer une certaine vision du monde, un certain système de croyance”, the attenuative character of the conditional can provide a means to weaken the impositional force of an indicative form.²¹² As such a marker of politeness, the conditional is therefore particularly suited to certain modal verbs which possess strong illocutionary force, such as *volere/vouloir* and *dovere/devoir*. The use of the conditional in phrases such as *vorrei qualcosa/je voudrais quelque chose*, where the speaker does not wish to be seen to be making a forceful demand, softens the request. Leone, for example, refers to an incidence of the extension of the conditional after *se* in a letter: although strictly speaking incorrect in a high-register text, he considers that the writer “ha inteso accentuare il tono cortese che caratterizza tutta la lettera”, and because he or she “ha inteso trasportare nella forma dipendente quella stessa sfumatura di modestia o discrezione [...]”

²¹⁰ Franca Brambilla Ageno, *Il verbo nell’italiano antico: ricerche di sintassi* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1964), pp. 341-3.

See also Tasmowski and Haillet for a more detailed consideration of the difficulties raised by the use of the conditional in non-rhetorical questions.

Liliane Tasmowski, ‘Questions au conditionnel’, in *Le conditionnel en français*, ed. by Patrick Dendale and Liliane Tasmowski (Metz: Université de Metz, 2001), pp. 331-43.

Haillet, Pierre Patrick, ‘À propos de l’interrogation totale directe au conditionnel’, in *Le conditionnel en français*, ed. by Patrick Dendale and Liliane Tasmowski (Metz: Université de Metz, 2001), pp. 295-330.

²¹¹ Caroline Foullioux and Didier Tejedor de Felipe, ‘À propos du mode et de l’atténuation’, *Langue Française*, 142 (2004), 112-28 (p. 114).

²¹² Ibid.

conseguentemente non ha potuto fare altro che conservare il condizionale”.²¹³ The type of conditional usage in such sentences as *Questo andrebbe controllato*, or *Da parte degli adulti non si dovrebbero mai usare espressioni volgari davanti ai bambini*, probably falls into the category of attenuation proper, in that a certain degree of doubt as to the absolute necessity or prohibition of an action is implicit in the construction.²¹⁴ Given that sentences of this type may also function as a command, in many contexts this type of conditional use could also imply a degree of courtesy sufficient for it to be included within the politeness function of attenuation. As Maiden suggests, politeness structures “probably originate as ‘virtual’ hypothetical structures, where some protasis is implicit”, perhaps based on the convenience of the person addressed, with either an explicit or implicit condition *if it is convenient to you*.²¹⁵ Indeed, Haillet goes as far as to say that these constructions should not be regarded as attenuative at all, but should be viewed solely as conditional sentences.²¹⁶ While this analysis has some merit, the non-explicit nature of the protasis means that these constructions also fall within the broader definition of attenuation proposed at the beginning of this section.

Reported information is the other main attenuative function of the conditional falling within Dendale’s “conditionnel d’emprunt”. It describes situations where information is explicitly attributed to a source other than the speaker, which “se caractérise par une absence totale de prise en charge, comparable à du discours rapporté”. Unlike attenuation proper, the conditional is used for this function in Italian as well as in the other Romance languages.²¹⁷ Examples are to be found particularly in journalistic reportage, such as *secondo le ultime notizie, i giapponesi avrebbero occupato Hankau*, where the speaker makes it clear that they are reporting information gained

²¹³ Alfonso Leone, ‘SE ipotetico + conditionale’, *Paideia*, 46 (1991), 48-51 (p. 49).

²¹⁴ Example taken from Maiden and Robustelli, p. 285.

²¹⁵ Maiden, *Linguistic History*, p. 225.

²¹⁶ Pierre Haillet, *Le conditionnel dans le discours journalistique. Essai de linguistique descriptive* (Québec: Bref, 1995), pp. 224-5.

²¹⁷ Patrick Caudal and Carl Veters, ‘Un traitement conjoint du conditionnel, du future et de l’imparfait: les temps comme des fonctions d’acte de langage’, *Cahiers Chronos*, 12 (2005), 109-124 (p. 120).

at second hand, for which they cannot or will not guarantee the veracity.²¹⁸ Indirect speech, while formally similar in French to reported information constructions, differs in that it is the subordinating of a direct quotation rather than a general distancing of the speaker from his statement. Unlike the reported information constructions, indirect speech requires an explicit identification of the source of the quotation, an explicit verb marking the quotation, such as *dire*, and is generally to be found with the main verb in the past tense. The precise classification of the form within the range of conditional uses is, however, subject to debate. It could fall under the attenuative function of the conditional, as, in the same way as the reported information constructions, it could be regarded as implying an element of doubt about the truth of the statement quoted. The indirect speech construction could also be classified as a form of the ‘future in the past’, as it consists of a combination of the temporally past action *il a dit/ha detto* combined with a future action, *il viendra/verrà*, which is transposed into the conditional to convey relative posteriority. The fact that Italian requires the use of the conditional composite, the canonical ‘future in the past’ construction, for indirect speech suggests that Dendale is correct in subsuming it within the ‘future in the past’ function.²¹⁹

3.4 The Use of the Conditional to Express ‘Future in the Past’

The third main function of the modern conditional is its use in ‘future in the past’ constructions, a function maintained from Latin and occurring across all the Romance languages. The ‘future in the past’ “expresses futurity viewed from the standpoint of some point of time in the past, rather than from the standpoint of the time of speaking”, and marks the transformation of *I know that he will arrive later*, via back-shifting of the main verb, to *I knew that he would arrive later*, and encompasses the

²¹⁸ Example taken from Rohlfs, *Sintassi*, p. 56.

²¹⁹ Dendale, ‘Les problèmes’, p. 9.

In this article, Dendale changes his terminology from earlier work, in which he refers to the ‘conditionnel de citation’ rather than the ‘conditionnel d’emprunt’. His earlier definition, that “le conditionnel signale premièrement que l’information transmise est empruntée à autrui” suggests that he has changed the term in order to clarify that the term encompasses a broader range of contexts than citation, and to enable a re-analysis of the indirect speech function as a ‘future in the past’.

function of indirect speech.²²⁰ The tendency across the Romance languages is to use the conditional simple in the subordinate clause to express this relation between events, in examples such as *j'ai compris qu'il viendrait*.²²¹

Development of the Analytic 'Future in the Past' in Italian

Italian differs from the other Romance languages, "in quanto usa una forma analitica del condizionale per esprimere il futuro visto da un punto di riferimento situato nel passato: 'disse che sarebbero venuti'",²²² although the fact that "il cs pourra se rencontrer à notre époque comme archaïsme" implies that the conditional composite in this function is innovative, rather than conservative.²²³ Diachronically, therefore,

²²⁰ Maiden and Robustelli, p. 286.

²²¹ It is interesting to note that this use of the conditional, often referred to in French as the 'conditionnel-temps' and contrasted to the 'conditionnel-mode', or modal functions of the paradigm described above, is often regarded as the more puzzling aspect of the use of the conditional, despite the fact that the 'future in the past' use of the CANTARE HABEBAM/CANTARE HABUI periphrasis was in fact the primary one. This is particularly evident in the work of D'Hulst, who asks "how can one express both past and future in a single category?" In largely inflecting languages there is no *a priori* requirement for explicit past and future markers in such a form, as there would be in agglutinating languages: the sign 'future in the past' takes its meaning from its place in the linguistic system, not from the diachronic morphological markers which may or may not have been obscured in the any given synchronic stage.

Yves D'Hulst, 'French and Italian Conditionals: From etymology to representation', in *The Syntax of Time*, ed. by Jacqueline Guéron and Jacqueline Lecarme (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 2004), pp. 181-201 (p. 184).

²²² Martin Maiden, 'Ipotesi sulle origini del condizionale analitico come "futuro del passato" in italiano', in *Italiano e dialetti nel tempo. Saggi di grammatica italiana per Giulio Lepschy*, ed. by Paola Benincà et al. (Rome: Bulzoni, 1996), pp. 149-73 (p. 149).

It is however, noted by Squartini, that "la differenza tra l'italiano e le altre lingue romanze si neutralizza in contesti diafasicamente orientati verso il colloquiale, dove, sia in italiano che nelle altre lingue romanze, il futuro nel passato viene espresso non solo con il condizionale ma anche con l'imperfetto indicativo (Mi disse che veniva invece che Mi disse che sarebbe venuto)". This parallels the shift towards the use of the imperfect in protases and apodoses of both French and Italian noted above.

Mario Squartini, 'Riferimento temporale, aspetto e modalità nella diacronia del condizionale italiano', *Vox Romanica*, 58 (1999), 57-82 (p. 58).

²²³ Hans Nilsson-Ehle, 'Sur le conditionnel-temps en italien', *Revue Romane*, 8 (1973), 178-84 (p. 179).

Nilsson-Ehle's proposal that Italian possessed two "synonymous" forms for the expression of the 'future in the past', the conditional simple and the conditional composite, of which one was eventually superseded, suggests two points that require explanation. The first requirement is to establish when, where, and how the conditional composite paradigm gained entry into the 'future in the past' functions, and the second requirement is to explain why the conditional simple was superseded in these contexts.²²⁴

It has been noted by several authors that the introduction of the conditional composite as 'future in the past' is a relatively late development in Italian, as "in italiano antico il futuro nel passato poteva essere espresso dal condizionale semplice, e che la tendenza a sostituirlo con la forma composta costituisce un processo graduale".²²⁵ Although it must be assumed that the conditional composite existed in Tuscan speech from an earlier period, Goggio shows that the conditional composite as 'future in the past' is not attested in Dante, Petrarch or Boccaccio, but that the first attestation is in the *Novelle* of Sercambi in 1374.²²⁶ He suggests that it remains extremely rare until the writings of Cellini in the sixteenth century, finally gaining popularity in literary usage in the nineteenth century, on which points Maiden concurs.²²⁷

Despite his useful contribution to the dating and first attestations of the conditional composite as 'future in the past', Goggio's work is less enlightening on the reasons for the introduction of the form, merely proposing that "at first its purpose was entirely emphatic; then the construction began to lose much of its primitive force".²²⁸

²²⁴ Nilsson-Ehle, p. 182.

²²⁵ Squartini, 'Riferimento temporale', p. 61.

²²⁶ Charles Goggio, 'The Use of the Conditional Perfect for the Conditional Present in Italian', *PMLA*, 37.3 (1922), 566-73 (p. 571).

²²⁷ Maiden, *Linguistic History*, p. 216 and Maiden, 'Ipotesi', p. 152.

²²⁸ Goggio, p. 570. Radanova-Kuševa presents an interpretation of the data, based on Savić's assertion that the Italian conditional "viene ereditato dall'epoca preistorica soltanto come modo e non come tempo", and that "solo più tardi il modo assume anche applicazione temporale". Radanova-Kuševa concludes, on the basis of this assumption, that in early Italian the simple and composite forms of the conditional were not related. Instead, she suggests that they both possessed individual modal forces, and that "il condizionale semplice rappresenta le azioni come potenziali, al presente, al passato e al futuro, mentre il condizionale composto le rappresenta come irreali nei tre livelli temporali".

A more convincing explanation is that of Maiden, who proposes that the use of the conditional composite is “un meccanismo di messa a fuoco (o ‘foregrounding’)” where the conditional composite takes on ‘future in the past’ meaning “quando dalla ottica del passato narrativo un avvenimento futuro è annunciato come certo”.²²⁹ His argument is reinforced by Leone’s suggestion that the conditional simple is used, in the example of reported speech using *disse*, where “la partenza si guarda da un punto collocato nel tempo di *disse*”, whereas the conditional composite is used in cases where “la partenza è guardata dal tempo in cui parliamo e scriviamo”.²³⁰ In other words, Leone suggests that the conditional simple is used in situations where the

Consequently, the conditional varied from all other cases of simple/composite forms which expressed the opposition between past and present temporal value. In line with the other simple/composite forms, the simple and composite conditional came to take on temporal reference, from which the conditional composite was extended to past and ‘future in the past’ function. However convincing this explanation within itself may be, it relies on several assumptions. The primary objection would be the basis of her argument on Savić’s assertion that the indigenous Italian conditional had only modal force, an analysis rejected in the Introduction to this thesis. Her second assumption, that the conditional simple and composite are diachronically entirely modally and temporally independent, seems unlikely, given the essentially temporal nature of the Latin roots of the paradigm, and the constant temporal relationship in Latin and Romance between simple and composite forms such as the perfect tense. The methodology is also flawed, in that the research is based only on analyses of the *Decameron*, and a sample of twentieth century Italian, and does not take into account the intervening centuries, or indeed, other texts from the fourteenth century.

Radanova-Kuševa, ‘Sui motivi’, p. 385.

Neli Radanova-Kuševa, ‘Sui valori del condizionale nell’antico italiano (il trecento)’, *Rassegna Italiana di Linguistica Applicata*, 19 (1987), 55-65 (p. 58).

²²⁹ Maiden, ‘Ipotesi’, p. 153.

²³⁰ Alfonso Leone, ‘Del condizionale dipendente’, *Lingua Nostra*, 23.2 (1962), 57-59 (p. 57).

Mourin puts forward an analysis whereby “il condizionale composto presenta un’eventualità che si situa nell’assenza psicologica del narratore; invece l’azione espressa dal condizionale semplice sarebbe un’eventualità che dipende da un elemento situato nell’assenza psicologica del narratore”. Rather than a completed or temporal reference, Mourin focuses on the relation of the narrator to the events, suggesting that in the conditional composite, the relative certainty or otherwise of the event cannot be established. In contrast, the conditional simple is used in contexts where the speaker is present in the situation, the realization or otherwise can be ascertained, but is not certain. The conditional composite therefore expresses greater objectivity than the conditional simple. These conclusions must be regarded as inconclusive, however, given that Herczeg reaches entirely the opposite conclusion.

Louis Mourin, ‘Il condizionale passato’, *Lingua Nostra*, 17 (1956), 8-15 (p. 12).

Giulio Herczeg, ‘Il ‘futuro passato’ in italiano’, *Lingua Nostra*, 30.3 (1969), 63-68 (p. 68).

speaker is looking forward from a present moment, while the conditional composite is used when the speaker is looking back on that moment. It requires only a slight shift in emphasis to link Maiden's hypothesis of the certainty implied by the conditional composite to the completion implied in Leone's analysis.

While this hypothesis may account for the introduction of the conditional composite as a 'future in the past' paradigm, it does not account for the second problem to be addressed, the loss of the conditional simple in 'future in the past' contexts. As Heinrichsen observes, "il condizionale composto in effetti si adopera in casi simili, ma che il condizionale semplice vi è escluso": the reasons for the exclusion of the conditional simple must be explored.²³¹ Squartini, rejecting the various aspectual and modal explanations put forward, advances an explanation based on that of Brambilla Ageno, who shows that in early Italian, both the conditional simple and the conditional composite could be used in conditional sentences with past time reference.²³² The use of two forms for 'future in the past' in conditional sentences formed an asymmetry resolved by limiting past conditional sentences to the conditional composite. This led to a second asymmetry, in that both the conditional simple and conditional composite could be used with past reference in 'future in past' sentences, but not in conditional sentences, which was resolved by also limiting the 'future in the past' constructions to the composite conditional. Squartini simplifies this idea to show that the conditional simple in Italian came to be restricted to non-past functions, with the result that Italian "ha definitivamente perso la possibilità di usare il condizionale semplice in contesti di passato ed è venuta anche meno la possibilità di impiegarlo come futuro nel passato".²³³ Once the conditional simple came to lose the ability to express past temporal reference, the conditional composite had to be extended to cover all past conditional functions, including 'futura in the past'.²³⁴

²³¹ Arne-Johan Heinrichsen, 'Il condizionale nell'italiano moderno', *Studia Neophilologica*, 43 (1971), 101-12 (p. 102).

²³² Brambilla Ageno, pp. 346-53.

²³³ Squartini, 'Riferimento temporale', p. 80.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

3.5 Theoretical Considerations

The use of the conditional paradigms to cover modal functions of conditionality and attenuation, and temporal relations in the ‘future in the past’, has created a situation where these functions are regarded as entirely separate. Consequently, they are referred to as the ‘conditionnel-temps’, for ‘future in the past’ functions of the paradigm, and the ‘conditionnel-mode’ for hypotheticality functions.²³⁵ This is particularly true of French, as the conditional simple is used for both these functions.²³⁶ Nevertheless, Barrera-Vidal, although maintaining the ‘temps-mode’ distinction, points out that “distinguer soigneusement les emplois modaux des emplois temporels [...] est rendu particulièrement difficile du fait qu’il est presque toujours impossible d’exprimer les valeurs modales à l’état pur, sans qu’intervienne une quelconque mise en perspective temporelle”.²³⁷ This warning is particularly pertinent in the case of Italian, where the use of the conditional composite for the ‘future in the past’ as well as past conditionality means that it is regarded as the temporal form and the conditional simple as the modal form.²³⁸ For this reason, considerable attention

²³⁵ See, for example, Cressot who states that “le conditionnel se présente à la fois comme un temps et comme un mode.”

Marcel Cressot, *Le style et ses techniques: précis d’analyse stylistique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1959), p. 141.

²³⁶ This distinction is first found in Brunot who observes that “leurs formes sont communes, mais tandis que le futur dans le passé a un sens strictement temporel, le conditionnel a une valeur modale”. Ferdinand Brunot, *La pensée et la langue: méthode, principes et plan d’une théorie nouvelle du langage appliquée au français* (Paris: Masson, 1922), p. 755.

²³⁷ Albert Barrera-Vidal, ‘Le conditionnel, mode en expansion: Une approche fonctionnelle et communicative de la question’, in *Festschrift für Rupprecht Rohr zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by W. Bergerfurth, E. Diekmann and O. Winkelmann (Heidelberg: Groos, 1979), pp. 33-51 (p. 33).

²³⁸ It is important to note with Heinrichsen that the conditional composite does not express solely temporal value, but “il condizionale composto, invece, serve da una parte ad esprimere un tempo, cioè il futuro del passato; dall’altra parte esprime valori modali, nell’insieme gli stessi del condizionale semplice.” When viewed in this light, the fact that French uses the conditional simple and Italian uses the conditional composite to express ‘futurity in the past’ makes no difference to the overall range of functions that must be accounted for in a description of the conditional per se: it is merely necessary to explain, as above, the use of the conditional composite for ‘future in the past’ functions.

Heinrichsen, p. 111.

has historically been paid to the various roles of the conditional in an attempt to produce an over-arching analysis of its functions.

One approach has been to base a synthesis on the future-oriented nature of the conditional. Guillaume provides an analysis whereby the conditional is to be regarded as a type of future which has “un caractère de réalité moindre et se présente comme futur hypothétique”, accounting for the ‘future in the past’ function as “un futur qui s’appuie sur le passé [... un] maximum d’hypothèse”.²³⁹ Similarly, Squartini puts forward an analysis of the future and the conditional whereby the future and conditional form part of a unity where the different forms are semantically distinguished by their relation to the past and potentiality and described in terms of +/- DUBITAVO and PASSATO marking.²⁴⁰ The past marking of the conditional shows that “il Futuro esprime posteriorità deittica rispetto al momento dell’enunciazione, mentre il Condizionale ha valore temporale anaforico rispetto ad un momento di riferimento collocato nel passato”, and the conditional “esprime una congettura, ossia un’inferenza debole”.²⁴¹ The variation in the use of the conditional functions in the different paradigms of the Romance languages is caused by the greater emphasis on either the one or the other, modality in the case of French, and temporality in the case of Spanish. Unlike Guillaume, however, this approach is more descriptive of the variation across the Romance languages than it is explanatory of the nature of the conditional. By considering the conditional in the light of the future, both Guillaume’s and Squartini’s analyses have the advantage of situating the conditional in the wider verbal system of Romance, and of explicitly linking the two formally, and historically, related future and conditional paradigms.

Other analyses have attempted to reconcile the temporal and modal functions of the conditional into a primarily modal analysis. Korzen and Nølke, and Donaire, for example, have attempted to describe the unity of the conditional in terms of polyphony, different points of view which distance the speaker from the *moi-ici-maintenant* in different ways. For Donaire, the conditional “est un des moyens

²³⁹ Gustave Guillaume, *Temps et verbe: Théorie des aspects, des modes et des temps* (Paris: Champion, 1965) p. 56.

²⁴⁰ Squartini, ‘Relazione semantica’, p. 70.

²⁴¹ Squartini, *Relazione semantica*, p. 71.

linguistiques à la portée du locuteur pour présenter l'énoncé sous forme de débat entre plusieurs points de vue".²⁴² According to the Korzen and Nølke's analysis, the points of view can be described as "vrai locuteur", which correlates to the reported speech function, "locuteur virtuel", which corresponds to Dendale's conditionnel d'emprunt, and "non-locuteur", which parallels the canonical conditional construction.²⁴³ The strength of the unifying approach is that the conditional is not seen as a binary 'modal vs temporal' opposition, but that the paradigm functions as a single entity, with an underlying unity of meaning. Of the different approaches to the unity of the conditional, Haillet's analysis seems to be the most convincing, allowing for the different perspectives described here. He suggests that:

cette forme verbale revient inévitablement quelle que soit son co(n)texte à représenter le procès correspondant comme non intégré à la réalité du locuteur. La nature exacte de la représentation qui, dans un énoncé donné, résulte de l'interaction entre l'occurrence du conditionnel et son co(n)texte sera appréhendée en termes de point(s) de vue que le locuteur assume ou non sur le procès correspondant.²⁴⁴

If this analysis is considered in the light of Fleischman's work on temporal distancing, the three main conditional functions - conditionality, the various types of attenuation and the 'future in the past' - may be regarded as different ways of the speaker distancing himself from what he has said, either by marking it as temporally remote, in the 'future in the past', or by highlighting the uncertainty of the statement. This analysis has the advantage of taking into account the contextual nature of the interpretation of conditionals, noted by Paradisi above, and the link between temporal distancing and unreality, noted by Fleischman and discussed above.²⁴⁵ It also accounts

²⁴² Donaire, p. 204.

²⁴³ Hanne Korzen and Henning Nølke, 'Le conditionnel: niveaux de modalisation', in *Le conditionnel en français*, ed. by Patrick Dendale and Liliane Tasmowski (Metz: Université de Metz, 2001), pp. 125-46 (pp. 129-33).

Tasmowski, presents a similar tri-partite opposition between the different functions of the conditional. These are classified according to the source of the assertion, either specified or unidentified, or whether a statement is dependent on the truth or otherwise of a condition.

Tasmowski, pp. 331-2.

²⁴⁴ Pierre Patrick Haillet, 'Représentations discursives, point(s) de vue et signifié unique du conditionnel', *Langue Française*, 138 (2003), 35-47 (p. 37).

²⁴⁵ See Chapter 2.2.

for the difficulty noted above in the positioning of the reported speech construction as either a temporal ('future in the past') or a modal use of the conditional.

The Conditional: Tense or Mood?

When considering the different emphases of the approaches to a unified analysis of the conditional, as Imbs comments, "la question se pose naturellement de savoir laquelle des deux est la valeur fondamentale".²⁴⁶ Is the conditional fundamentally modal, "une forme verbale susceptible d'exprimer l'attitude du sujet parlant vis-à-vis du processus exprimé par le verbe", or is it a tense, which exists primarily to express temporal relationships?²⁴⁷ Tassie presents a list of the four possible options: the conditional has only temporal reference; the conditional is a tense, but with modal value; the conditional is a mood with temporal values; the conditional possesses distinct and separate temporal and modal values and functions.²⁴⁸ The analysis of the conditional as comprising separate temporal and modal functions of the conditional has already been refuted above, so it remains to be seen whether the conditional can be said to be only a tense, or whether modal values must be taken into account, and, if so, to what degree.

The arguments for a solely temporal reference of the conditional are not strong. As Abouda admits, despite arguing for solely temporal reference of the conditional, on the basis of its syntactic properties, the traditional arguments in favour of the conditional as tense are weak.²⁴⁹ They are based on the etymological roots of the conditional in the indicative, the link between the future and imperfect in the formation of the conditional, and the fact that the imperfect and future also have modal values, but are not regarded as moods. As he points out, it cannot be assumed that a form may not shift from tense to mood: Lightfoot, among others, has noted

See also Barwise on the context-dependent nature of conditional interpretation.

²⁴⁶ Imbs, p. 41.

²⁴⁷ Gobert, p. 1004.

²⁴⁸ James Tassie, 'Le conditionnel, tiroir uniquement modal', *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, 9 (1963), 20-31 (p. 20).

²⁴⁹ Lofti Abouda, 'Le conditionnel: temps ou mode? Arguments syntaxiques', *Revue Romane*, 32.2 (1997), 179-98 (pp. 179-80).

precisely such a shift in Greek.²⁵⁰ It is also not the case that verb endings, the result of the formation of the paradigm from the indicative, will necessarily mark indicative meaning in the modern system. Yvon, for example, places excessive emphasis on the link between imperfect endings and conditional meaning, suggesting that “les syllabes finales de *sauriez* situent au contraire ce point dans le passé et contribuent ainsi à augmenter la dose d’hypothèse exprimée”.²⁵¹ While the link between imperfect endings of the imperfect and conditional is well documented, it seems unlikely that the morphological similarities influence speaker attitudes towards the use of a modal/temporal paradigm in the way Yvon appears to suggest.²⁵² There is also a widely occurring error in discussions of conditional morphology, where the suggestion is often made that “la sémantique du conditionnel mariait celle de l’imparfait et du futur, ses composants morphologiques”, which is taken as an argument for the inclusion of the conditional in the tense system of the indicative.²⁵³ The reasoning behind this assertion is both synchronically and diachronically incorrect: as was shown in the preceding chapter, the future is not a pre-existing form on which the conditional was modeled, incorporating ‘future’ morphology, but the two paradigms were co-derived from one root periphrasis, both of which retained the medial infinitival marker *-r-*, which was never regarded as a future marker in itself,

²⁵⁰ David W. Lightfoot, *Principles of Diachronic Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 284 ff.

²⁵¹ Yvon, ‘Deux conditionnels’, p. 263.

²⁵² See, for example, Rebecca Posner, ‘Romance Imperfect and Conditional Endings – A Further Contribution’, *Studia Neophilologica*, 37 (1965), 3-10.

Matthews presents an analysis of the Italian future and conditional that is deliberately based on a purely synchronic analysis of the forms and functions, from the stance of a linguist encountering the paradigms without the advantage of the documentation of the historical sources. He concludes, on the basis of a detailed study of the desinences, that despite the “formal matrix in which both the future and the conditional have stems in *-r-* [...] and both the conditional and the past definite have a marked set of terminations [...] in the history of Italian, the connection with ‘*avere*’ has been lost”. While this analysis is not entirely convincing in itself, it does provide counter-evidence to Yvon’s argument for the conditional endings exerting a strong synchronic semantic influence.

Peter Matthews, ‘Two Problems in Italian and Spanish Verbal Inflection’, in *Studies in the Romance Verb*, ed. by Martin B. Harris and Nigel Vincent (London: Croom Helm, 1982), pp. 1-18 (pp. 7-10).

²⁵³ Caudal and Veters, p. 122.

although it came to mark this function.²⁵⁴ More compellingly, as Italian shows, the conditional could also be derived from the perfect of HABERE, rather than the imperfect, with no difference in the synchronic usage resulting from this alternative source. The analogical argument in terms of future/imperfect modal marking may as easily be dismissed by turning it on its head and arguing, from the starting point of the conditional as mood, for the modal interpretation of the future and imperfect. Abouda's sole original argument in favour of the conditional as a tense is that "à chaque fois que, dans une structure syntaxique donnée, un temps de l'indicatif est possible, il peut être remplacé par un conditionnel", and vice versa.²⁵⁵ This set of evidence carries far less weight than he seems to attribute to it: although formally correct, the meaning afforded to the construction, for example *je cherche une voiture qui soit/serait non polluante*, would be entirely different to that implied by the indicative. The conditional does indicate present temporal reference in this context, but it is secondary to the implication of potentiality intended by the use of the form.

The example in the paragraph above presents evidence for a modal analysis of the conditional, as marking the opinion of the speaker towards the content of his statement. The conditional also displays the possibility of expressing different temporal relations, as the past value of the conditional composite in unreal conditional sentences can contrast with the present value of the conditional simple in potential conditional sentences. This suggests that the conditional shows past/present variation paralleling the past/present variation expressed by the analytic perfect forms in the

²⁵⁴ Abouda makes the same mistake, as does Iatridou, commenting that the conditional "is what a French verb would look like if, in the indicative, the future and past morphologies combined". Veters, too, argues that "le conditionnel n'ajoute rien qui n'était pas prévisible sur la base de ses composantes". It could even be argued that Imbs places excessive emphasis on the role of the medial *-r-* in the future and the conditional, rather than taking into account the wider semantic location and use of the two paradigms, as, in this context, *-r-* does not *create* a meaning of futurity, but merely *signals* it.

Abouda, p. 180.

Sabine Iatridou, 'The Grammatical Ingredients of Counterfactuality', *Linguistic Inquiry*, 31.2 (2000), 231-70 (p. 267).

Carl Veters, 'Le conditionnel: ultérieur du non-actuel', in *Le conditionnel en français*, ed. by Patrick Dendale and Liliane Tasmowski (Metz: Université de Metz, 2001), pp. 169-207 (p. 203).

Imbs, p. 141.

²⁵⁵ Abouda, p. 193.

indicative. The conditional, therefore, forms its own, albeit reduced, set of temporal relationships, or ‘tenses’, and cannot therefore be described as a tense *per se*.

Harris provides additional evidence based on the diachronic development of the conditional. He notes that “the indicative use antedates all the modal uses”, but that the modal range of the conditional extended into that of the subjunctive, and eventually “the area of overlap between the conditional and subjunctive increased until [...] the latter was ousted from main clauses”.²⁵⁶ The diachronic trend towards increased modal value implies that the conditional has acquired, or is in the process of acquiring, stronger modal force than temporal force. This is particularly significant in the light of Maiden’s observation that the imported southern conditional forms do not possess temporal value, and may therefore be considered to reflect the interpretation of the conditional as marking primarily modal rather than temporal value.²⁵⁷

The Semantic Continuum of Future, Conditional and Subjunctive

Insight may be gained into the debate on the primary nature of the conditional by consideration of the wider verbal system of the Romance languages. The temporal and modal analyses of the conditional presented above can be integrated further into the verbal system through the idea of a semantic continuum. The conditional is semantically linked to two different modal paradigms, the subjunctive and the indicative, and it will be suggested here that, following the unifying descriptions above, the combination of the future and the conditional form a single unity between subjunctive and indicative which is both tense and mood.

The subjunctive is generally contrasted with the indicative in terms of an opposition between non-assertion and assertion, where the subjunctive covers the semantic field of increased hypotheticality in relation to the indicative, such as the propositions in conditional sentences, thought and belief. The conditional, particularly in the light of the analysis presented by Haillet, has frequently been linked to the subjunctive by merit of its properties of weakened assertion of facts in its attenuative functions. The conditional is also linked to the subjunctive through its marking of the reality of an

²⁵⁶ Martin B. Harris, ‘On the Conditional as Mood in French’, *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 2.1 (1981), 55-69 (p. 63).

²⁵⁷ Maiden, *Linguistic History*, p. 217.

event in the apodosis of a conditional sentence as dependent on the non-real event described in the protasis.²⁵⁸ Tassie, for example, notes that in certain contexts, the French conditional may alternate with the subjunctive, where it is “légèrement plus concret que le subjonctif dans une telle situation”.²⁵⁹ Lunn, moreover, highlights the possibility of graded assertion, suggesting that there is not a distinct binary contrast between assertion and non-assertion, but that speakers “can manipulate modality to express nuances of a speaker’s/writer’s commitment to a proposition”, using the conditional, subjunctive and, in Spanish, different forms of the subjunctive.²⁶⁰ These analyses may be unified in the light of Soutet’s assertion that the conditional may be regarded as forming a scale “du plus au moins virtuel au plus virtuel”, or from more hypothetical to less hypothetical, according to the following levels of modality:

“Les emplois d’actualisation”, including the ‘conditionnel-temps’.

“Les emplois de faible virtualisation”, including the ‘conditionnel d’interrogation rhétorique’.

“Les emplois de moyenne virtualisation”, including the potential conditional sentence.

“Les emplois de virtualisation maximale”, including the unreal conditional sentence.²⁶¹

The conditional may therefore be regarded as encompassing a scale not just of different modalities but, at the lowest level of modality, scalar values of temporality as well. The conditional therefore contrasts with both the indicative and the subjunctive, but forms a bridge between the two.

As Guillaume and Squartini have shown, the conditional is also closely related to the future, in that it represents a doubtful future. The future itself, of course, may also be used to mark non-assertion. Squartini presents a detailed analysis of the evolution of future modal functions, suggesting that in Italian the modal use of the future is

²⁵⁸ It is interesting to note that the link between subjunctive and conditional in Italian is strengthened by the use of the subjunctive in the protases of conditional sentences, which underlines the non-reality of the condition in place in the protasis.

²⁵⁹ Tassie, p. 25.

²⁶⁰ Patricia V. Lunn, ‘Some Stops on the Modality Line’, in *New Analyses in Romance Linguistics*, ed. by Dieter Wanner and Douglas A. Kibbee (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1991), pp. 221-33 (p. 222).

²⁶¹ Olivier Soutet, ‘Reformulation de la chronogenèse et position des formes du futur et du conditionnel dans le système verbal français’, *Le Français Moderne*, 75.2 (2007), 177-90 (p. 184).

primarily to express inference.²⁶² Modal use of the future is not surprising, given that events marked by the future, not yet having occurred at the point of speaking, will be subject to greater degrees of uncertainty than those marked by the present or past tenses. More significantly for the argument presented here, Martin suggests that the use of the future may also be regarded as scalar, extending from temporal to modal use.²⁶³ He puts forward possible gradations such as the ‘futur d’atténuation’, and the ‘futur conjectural’, which suggest that the future cannot be regarded solely as a temporal indicative marker, but may be used to express degrees of epistemic modality.²⁶⁴

It cannot be said, therefore, that the conditional and future form a simple modal/temporal opposition, where the future marks time and the conditional marks mood. Instead, if both the conditional and future are scalar, and both mark temporality and modality at each extreme of their functions, there is good reason to suggest that they form a temporo-modal entity between the indicative proper and the subjunctive. Vet and Kampers-Manhe, for example, observe three parallel uses of the conditional and the future in French: both are used to express posteriority to the moment of reference or utterance, to signal an evaluation of a proposition’s truth-value, and to weaken the illocutionary force of a speech act by a presumed temporal displacement into the future.²⁶⁵ The importance of the formal links between the two paradigms is

²⁶² Mario Squartini, ‘Filogenesi e ontogenesi del futuro italiano’, *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, 86.2 (2001) 194-225, (p. 199-211).

²⁶³ Martin, p. 145.

²⁶⁴ Martin, p. 141.

²⁶⁵ These categories show parallels with the three main categories of conditional use described elsewhere in this chapter.

Co Vet and Brigitte Kampers-Manhe, ‘Futur simple et future du passé: leurs emplois temporels et modaux’, in *Le conditionnel en français*, ed. by Patrick Dendale and Liliane Tasmowski (Metz: Université de Metz, 2001), pp. 89-104 (pp. 94-100).

Additionally, Mithun on the basis of a cross-linguistic survey of non-Romance languages, notes that “futures are classified as Irrealis in most languages; they represent events that have not yet occurred, events still within the realm of thought” but may also occur with straightforward ‘Realis’ marking. This provides evidence that it is not just in the Romance languages that the future has both temporal and modal marking.

Marianne Mithun, ‘On the Relativity of Irreality’, in *Modality in Grammar and Discourse* (see Fleischman, ‘Imperfective and Irrealis’, above), pp. 367-88 (p. 385).

underlined by Squartini. He argues for a closer relationship between the two than is normally proposed, on the basis that “se il parallelismo formale è chiaro, più complesso risulta il rapporto funzionale tra le due forme, caratterizzato da un’articolata interazione di funzioni temporali e modali”.²⁶⁶ This analysis of the conditional as a temporo-modal unit is not new: Yvon refers to a mood that he calls ‘suppositif’, which opposes both indicative and subjunctive, formed by the conditional and future, where ‘probable’ – the future - opposes ‘incertain’ – the conditional.²⁶⁷ If the arguments presented here are correct, the assumption that the future and conditional in Italian are either entirely tense or mood, or that one function is primary in relation to the other, is untenable, and they should therefore be regarded as a paradigm apart, formally marked in the synchronic by medial *-r-*.

3.6 Conclusions

This chapter has shown that the conditional in the modern Romance languages discussed here has considerable homogeneity in its forms and functions, although, as would be expected, with variation. Paralleling the variation shown in the development of the Italian conditional from the periphrasis in *CANTARE HABUI*, Italian shows the most significant alteration to the system, in that the ‘future in the past’ function is subsumed by the conditional composite. No claims are made, however, for a link between the variation in the form of the Italian conditional and the use of the conditional composite for ‘future in the past’ reference, nor will the evidence presented in the Discussion and Conclusions support such an analysis.

²⁶⁶ Squartini, ‘Relazione semantica’, p. 68.

²⁶⁷ H. Yvon, ‘Indicatif future antérieur, ou Suppositif probable d’aspect composé?’, *Le Français Moderne*, 21 (1953), 169-77 (p. 177).

Chapter 4 – Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis is not only to provide a contribution to the understanding of the development of the Italian conditional, but also to contribute to the methodological approaches available for philological research. This chapter will describe in considerable detail the methodology used to collect and analyse the data, in order that other researchers will be able to replicate the methods of analysis and adapt them to similar fields of research. The methodology will cover four main areas: justifying the use of a corpus, specifically the Opera del Vocabolario Italiano; describing the corpus in detail and the difficulties in extracting the necessary data from it; the methods and tools used to render this data analysable; and the statistical approach chosen to carry out the analysis.

4.2 Use of a Corpus

The research to be undertaken required a body of data which could be examined in the light of the hypotheses presented in the Introduction. Given the nature of the research question - the distributions of two conditional periphrases - this data had to consist of attestations of reflexes of the two periphrases, to which it would be possible to link contextual information on the area, date, and genre of the text in which the attestation occurred. The primary task was, then, to establish a source from which these attestations and the bibliographic detail to accompany them could be drawn.

Texts are the only sources of conditional attestations dating from the late mediaeval period, so it was necessary to define a corpus of texts that would be used both to form a source of attestations, and to limit their numbers: in effect, the corpus would form a sample rather than the population.²⁶⁸ There are two types of corpora. There are manuscript corpora, in which text exists solely in printed form, ranging in size from Dionisotti and Grayson's short compilation *Early Italian Texts* or Castellani's *La*

²⁶⁸ In statistical terms, the population refers to the complete set of data from which the sample is taken which, in this case, would consist of every surviving attestation of the conditional, in published and unpublished texts. To compile a list of the population would be a task beyond the scope of a Ph.D. thesis, which is why a sample was the preferred option.

prosa italiana delle origini: Testi toscani di carattere pratico, to large scale, comprehensive collections of texts such as the *Concordanze della lingua poetica italiana delle origini* under the direction of Arco Silvio d’Avalle, which aims to comprise “tutta la poesia italiana trascritta in codici grosso modo anteriori alla soglia del 1300”.²⁶⁹ This type of corpus is only searchable manually, obliging the researcher to read the complete corpus to produce comprehensive data.

The second type of corpus is the electronic corpus, of which there are two main types. An internet corpus is a body of text or collection of texts accessible via a website which includes dedicated corpus software. These corpora are generally built and maintained by a research group or public body for either public or restricted access on a *gratis* or charged basis. A local corpus²⁷⁰ may be a collection of texts incorporating dedicated corpus software, usually produced by research groups or public bodies on CD for acquisition by individuals or libraries, for example, the Library of Latin Texts.²⁷¹ Alternatively, a local corpus may be a collection of texts compiled from the

²⁶⁹ Carlo Dionisotti and Cecil Grayson, *Early Italian Texts* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965).

Arrigo Castellani, *La prosa italiana delle origini: Testi toscani di carattere pratico* (Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 1982).

Arco Silvio d’Avalle, *Concordanze della lingua poetica italiana delle origini* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1992). While the original intention of the CLPIO project, under the auspices of the Accademia della Crusca, was to produce manuscript editions of the works in question, the advances in technology since its inception have led to a different aim, namely “non più la stampa dei volumi con le concordanze, ma la diffusione del corpus lemmatizzato su supporto elettronico, nella forma di un CD-ROM”. <http://www.accademiadellacrusca.it/progetti/progetto_singolo.php?id=2568&ctg_id=27> [accessed 3 September 2008].

²⁷⁰ ‘Local’ is to be understood as data held at the same location as the researcher on CD-ROM, hard disk drive or floppy disk, as opposed to ‘internet’, which refers to data stored elsewhere and accessed remotely by the researcher.

²⁷¹ The *Library of Latin Texts* is produced by the *Centre ‘Traditio Litterarum Occidentalium’* in Turnhout under the supervision of Paul Tombeur. This is a database of texts from the second to the fifteenth centuries. Updated at regular intervals by additional CDs, version 5 contains “texts from the beginning of Latin literature (Livius Andronicus, 240 BC) through to the texts of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). It covers all the works from the classical period, the most important patristic works, a very extensive corpus of Medieval Latin literature as well as works of *recentior latinitas*”. <<http://www.brepols.net/publishers/cd-rom.htm#CLCLT>> [accessed 2 September 2008].

internet or local sources requiring external corpus software, such as Wordsmith.²⁷² This type of corpus is usually built by a researcher to respond to project-specific needs for particular texts or types of texts.

An electronic corpus has a number of advantages over a manuscript corpus. Instead of the researcher being obliged to read the entire corpus, noting down each attestation of the feature or features under scrutiny, parameters are entered into the search fields of the corpus software, which will then retrieve all the attestations of the feature corresponding to the search query. Providing the queries are correctly formulated, this eliminates researcher-introduced error. Additionally, when using a manuscript corpus, only a limited number of features can be searched for and noted on a single reading. Using an internet corpus enables multiple concurrent searches by running the corpus in separate browser windows. While this is usually not possible in the case of local corpora, their use is still immeasurably faster than manual searching. This level of efficiency means that an electronic corpus increases enormously the amount of text that can be analysed. A large corpus may contain millions of words, yet still be searched in seconds for a specific feature, a task which would take months of work by hand. A corpus containing the entire works of Shakespeare, for example, can be searched in a similar time-frame to searching a single sonnet manually. Further analysis of data produced by an electronic corpus search is also simplified, as the data can be printed and studied in its original layout, or copied into other programmes such as Word, Access or Excel for further editing, tagging and analysis.

There is, however, a negative side to the use of an electronic corpus: a great deal depends on the entry of correct search parameters into the corpus search form. While this can have as little impact as requiring additional searches to retrieve the data, or the subsequent elimination of irrelevant results, there is also the danger that badly-chosen search parameters may exclude relevant attestations. An electronic analysis of a corpus will find only the data that it has been programmed to retrieve; the chance of a serendipitous discovery of a related or contrasting piece of evidence is minimal in

²⁷² Wordsmith is the corpus analysis programme, written by Mike Smith of the University of Liverpool, and published by the Oxford University Press. It was released in 1996 and is currently at version 5. <<http://www.lexically.net/wordsmith/>> [accessed 2 September 2008].

comparison to an analysis of a manuscript corpus, where the entire corpus will have been read in context by a researcher who will be aware of the wider implications in a way that a computer cannot be. Despite these potential drawbacks, it was decided that in light of the breadth and volume of data required to produce a detailed picture of conditional use, the advantages of an electronic corpus would outweigh the disadvantages. There are a limited number of on-line or electronic corpora, and the only corpus containing sufficient early Italo-Romance vernacular texts is the Opera del Vocabolario Italiano (OVI).

4.3 Description of the Corpus

In 1965, the Accademia della Crusca began the creation of a new dictionary of Italian, of which the *Tesoro della lingua italiana delle origini*, using an electronic database of early texts as a tool for its writers, would form the first volume. In 1985, the Opera del Vocabolario Italiano became one of the Centri di Studi of the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, and in 1998, in collaboration with ARTFL, an initial version of the OVI corpus containing 1,076 texts was made available on-line for public use.²⁷³ Following two upgrades, there are now 1,960 texts available for query-based searching in a page-by-page access format. In March 2001 there were over 500 users, and by the end of 2008, more than 300 articles were cited on the CNR website as having used the OVI as a source of texts or as a tool for linguistic analysis.²⁷⁴ Approximately half the works that cite the OVI are editions of texts or works on specific authors, such as Renzi's *Le conseguenze di un bacio*.²⁷⁵ Another quarter, Coluccia's *Strumenti informatici e riflessi sul lavoro del lessicografo*, for example, are lexicographical works.²⁷⁶ The remaining quarter of the articles citing the OVI as a

²⁷³ Christian Dupont, 'The Opera del Vocabolario Italiano: Full-text searching of early vernacular sources on the web', *Italica*, 78.4 (2001), 526-39 (p. 526).

²⁷⁴ <<http://www.oivi.cnr.it/index.php?page=citazioni>> [accessed 3 September 2008].

This may not be an exhaustive list of publications, as the site relies on authors to forward the titles of the publications in which it is cited.

²⁷⁵ Lorenzo Renzi, *Le conseguenze di un bacio. L'episodio di Francesca nella "Commedia" di Dante* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007).

²⁷⁶ Rosario Coluccia, 'Strumenti informatici e riflessi sul lavoro del lessicografo', in *Nuovi media e lessicografia storica. Atti del colloquio in occasione del settantesimo compleanno di Max Pfister*, ed. by Wolfgang Schweickard (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006), pp. 59-70.

source are those containing research into syntax, morphology and phonology, of which the majority focus on syntax. Phonological research is the least well-represented area of study. While this may be an imbalance caused by the system of self-reporting of citations to the OVI, it is more likely to be related to the nature of syntactic, morphological and phonological research. The volume of text available to search means that unless the parameters are relatively restricted, such as those required for Colella's article, 'La perifrasi *andare/venire* + *gerundio* nella poesia delle origini', the number of pertinent attestations retrieved from the corpus is likely to be high.²⁷⁷ Phonological and morphological structures are also attested at a higher frequency than individual lexical items. Without a skill-set in other areas of computing, such as database design and use, as well as a background in statistics, meta-analysis of the volume of data available from such a large corpus would be difficult. Videsott's recent study, however, highlights the potential for complex meta-analysis of the texts in the OVI, using large volumes of data to assess the degree of phonological homogeneity of texts from the north of Italy.²⁷⁸

Contents of the OVI

The version of the OVI used in this study is a corpus of 1849 texts, comprising the text itself and additional bibliographic information.²⁷⁹ It is accessed via a website containing four main elements: the corpus of texts, the corpus software, user guides and bibliographies, as well as additional information and links to sites and documents of interest on the main web page.²⁸⁰ The corpus of texts is only accessible to

²⁷⁷ Gianluca Colella, 'La perifrasi *andare/venire* + *gerundio* nella poesia delle origini', *La lingua italiana*, 2 (2006), 71-90.

²⁷⁸ Paul Videsott, 'Tratti costituiti della *scripta* italiano settentrionale dalle origini al 1525', in *Actes du XXIVe Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes (Aberystwyth, 2004)* (see Bourova, above), pp. 345-359.

²⁷⁹ References to texts taken from the OVI will be retained in the format in which they appear in the bibliography, rather than being adapted to MHRA style, as it is the website that is being cited, not the printed edition. This has the additional advantage of ease of use when searching for a text or attestation in the OVI. Second references of OVI texts will be referenced using the OVI code.

²⁸⁰ The web page is accessible from <<http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/>> and a mirror site at <<http://ovisun198.oivi.cnr.it/italnet/OVI/>> [accessed 4 September 2008]. The beta version of the corpus software currently available for testing, which includes additional texts, was launched in March 2006. As this study used only the alpha version of the site, and did not include the updated list

registered users via the search form, while the main page, user guide and bibliographies are open access. The OVI contains documents ranging from the *Indovinello Veronese*, dated 810, to a set of bibles from 1500.²⁸¹ The majority of the texts are dated between 1300 and 1399, of which there are 1423 in total, but there are also 312 texts dated between 1200 and 1299 and 21 texts dated prior to 1200. Of the 83 texts from the fifteenth century, all but one, the *Capitolare dei vaiai. Addizioni 1384-1407*, are dated as 1400.²⁸² The fourteenth century texts are not evenly distributed over the century: there are significantly more texts dated between 1300 and 1325 than in the latter part of the century: 573 texts are dated pre-1325, whereas 850 texts are dated between 1326 and 1399. Given that the date allocated to a text by the OVI is the last possible estimated date for its composition, it is probable that a significant number of the texts dated 1400 are, in fact, fourteenth century texts. Similarly, a high proportion of the 230 texts dated 1300 are likely to be late thirteenth century texts. Once these factors are taken into account, the distributions of the texts over the fourteenth century become more uniform.

The texts in the OVI are drawn from a wide range of genres, including legal documents, poetry, historical, religious and scientific writing.²⁸³ Poetry is the most predominant single genre, with 545 single poems or collections of poetry, but there are also 365 legal texts in various sub-genres. The other significant genre is didactic and religious material, comprising 168 texts. In comparison, there are few medical, rhetorical or philosophical tracts, which would, in the late Middle Ages, generally

of texts, all descriptive and statistical information will refer to the alpha version of the site and the 1,849 texts available when it was carried out.

²⁸¹ Anonimo, [810], *Indovinello veronese* (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, cod. LXXXIX; 84) (Arrigo Castellani, *I più antichi testi italiani*, Bologna, Pàtron, 1976, pp. 13-30 [testo p. 17].) [Indovinello veronese, VIII/IX].

²⁸² =, [1407], *Capitolare dei vaiai. Addizioni 1384-1407* (I capitolari delle Arti Veneziane, vol. III, a cura di Giovanni Monticolo e Enrico Besta, Roma, Istituto Storico Italiano, 1914, pp. 369-409. [testo: pp. 404-409].) [Stat. venez., Addizioni 1384-1407].

²⁸³ A complete list of the genres and their descriptions is included as Appendix 1. A link to the number of texts included in each genre classification is to be found at the head of the original table on the OVI site at: <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/extras/genre_codes.html> [accessed 4 September 2008]. A discussion of the alterations made to the genre classification of some texts is found in section 5 of this chapter.

have been written in Latin. Predictably, the majority of texts are Tuscan. In comparison to a total of 1,147 Tuscan texts, there are only 328 texts from Venice and the Veneto, the next highest regional concentration. Although there are 45 Sicilian texts included in the corpus, there are only 21 texts from Naples and Campania, one text from Puglia and no documents from Basilicata, Calabria or Molise. Apart from Tuscany, Venice and the Veneto, the individual central and northern regions show between 5 and 32 texts each.²⁸⁴

The bibliographic information on each text includes the following categories, all of which have been drawn from the section entitled ‘Database-Specific Searching Tips’.²⁸⁵

- Author: the OVI user guide states that “the author is listed as Anonimo only in cases where the document is regarded as anonymous literary work. For all other genres of anonymous works, the author is listed as = (an equals sign)”.
- Editorial/publication information: the majority of texts included in the OVI are edited works, and this information is provided as part of the on-screen bibliographic data. Both page and line numbers of editions are given to enable cross-referencing with full manuscript copies.
- Date: if a text has no given year of composition and is datable only within a certain time period, the date given will be the final possible date of composition. For example, a text dated between 1325-1350 will have 1350 given as its date of composition.
- Period: The OVI shows the period within which a text was composed, based on the first or second half of a century, by means of an ‘a’ or ‘b’ categorisation. A text dated 1325 will be classed as 14a, and a text dating from 1268 as 13b.
- OVI reference: each text has its own reference in the OVI. This is a unique identifier, usually based on the title of the text, with additional information as

²⁸⁴ A list of general and specific area classifications is included as Appendix 2. Links to the numbers of texts included in each area classification are to be found at the head of each column of the original table on the OVI site at: <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/extras/area_codes.html> [accessed 4 September 2008]. A discussion of the alterations made to the area classification of some texts is found in section 5 of this chapter.

²⁸⁵ <<http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/pwrest/search.form.html>> [accessed 4 September 2008].

required, such as date, author, area, or redactor to distinguish between editions of the same text or two texts with similar names. In order to distinguish the two manuscript versions of Boccaccio's *Trattatello in Laude di Dante*, the OVI marks the redactions in the short reference as [Boccaccio, Trattatello (Chig.), 1359/62] and [Boccaccio, Trattatello (Toled.), 1351/55].

· Genre: the OVI gives a genre classification for each text. Each genre is given an abbreviation which appears in the bibliographic information on each text, such as 'med.' for medical texts or 'did. rel.' for didactic and religious texts. Further references to genres will be signalled by the short form of the genre used in the OVI genre index, in small italicised capitals, such as *MED* or *DID REL*.

· Form: the OVI classifies each text as either V – verse, P – prose, or M – mixed.

· Type: the OVI shows whether a text is an original composition, or whether it is based on another text, such as Belcalzer's *Volgarizzamento del "De proprietatibus rerum" di Bartolomeo Anglico*, which is classed as V, a vulgarization. The classifications are: O = original text, P = paraphrase, V = vulgarization, M = mixed, T = translation.

· General Area and Specific Area: the OVI gives every text a general area classification, usually one of the regions of Italy, for example 'tosc.' for Tuscan texts. Wherever possible, in addition to the General Area, the OVI also provides a more specific classification, such as 'fior.' for Florentine texts. Otherwise, the Specific Area classification repeats the General Area classification. The user guide also details additional forms of notation for mixed linguistic types, or texts altered by later copyists.²⁸⁶ Further references to either type of area classification will be signalled by the short form of the area used in the OVI area index, in small italicised capitals, such as *TOSC* or *FIOR*. The format of the bibliographic information is displayed as follows:

Author name, [final possible date of composition], Title (Editorial/Publicatory information.) [OVI reference name].

Genre=A Period=B Form=C Type=D Gen. Area=E Spec. Area=F²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ <<http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/pwrest/search.form.html>> [accessed 29 September 2008].

²⁸⁷ Texts that do not have a specific date, but instead are classified according to century, are referenced with the title before the date of composition. This is also true of anonymous texts, or texts with no attributed authorial information.

For example, Dante's *Vita Nuova* appears as below:

Dante Alighieri, [1293], *Vita nuova* (ed. critica a cura di Michele Barbi, Firenze, Bemporad, 1932.) [Dante, *Vita nuova*, c. 1292-93].

Genre=lir. Period=13b Form=M Type=O Gen. Area=tosc. Spec. Area=fior.

The OVI Corpus Software

The OVI uses a text version of PhiloLogic, designed by the ARTFL Project, as its corpus software.²⁸⁸ It is accessed through a search form with four main parts: the first part of the form contains fields that can be used to limit searches by defining a search corpus; the second part of the form provides a keyword search function within the defined corpus of texts; the third part of the form allows the user to define search types; and the fourth part of the form is used to select the format in which the results are displayed.²⁸⁹ The OVI-specific user guide to the PhiloLogic software is also displayed on this page.

Searching the OVI

The first step in a corpus-based piece of research is to define a search corpus, either by searching for specific texts that fulfil certain criteria, or by limiting the possible texts to be included in a subsequent keyword search. Search corpora in the OVI can be defined by various criteria, listed below:²⁹⁰

²⁸⁸ The ARTFL project is the American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language and is a collaboration between the Laboratoire ATILF (Analyse et Traitement Informatique de la Langue Française) of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), the Division of the Humanities, the Division of the Social Sciences, and Electronic Text Services (ETS) of the University of Chicago. The project has parallel roots to those of the OVI, being the corpus assembled to produce a new French dictionary, the *Trésor de la Langue Française*, initiated in 1957 by the French government. As a result of collaboration between the University of Chicago and the CNRS, the texts have been made available on-line. Details of the project can be found at:

<<http://humanities.uchicago.edu/orgs/ARTFL/artfl.flyer.html>> [accessed 4 September 2008].

²⁸⁹ <<http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/pwrest/search.form.html>> [accessed 4 September 2008].

²⁹⁰ Examples of search terms will henceforth be given in inverted commas, e.g. 'boccaccio, giovanni', whereas their attestations or the phrases that they describe will be given in italics.

- Author: this field can be searched on the basis of any part of the author's Christian name or surname, for example *Boccaccio* 'boc.*', *Giovanni* 'giov.*' or by the author's full name, in the order 'surname, Christian name', for example, 'Boccaccio, Giovanni'.²⁹¹
- Title: this field can be searched by entering any part of the full title of the text required, using wildcard or Boolean operators, for example 'decameron' or 'decam.*'.²⁹²
- Date: this field can be searched by entering either a specific year, or two years to search between, for example '1250-1300'.
- Period: this field can be searched using the OVI categorisation of a/b and century. The search criterion for texts dating from 1325 to 1349, for example, would be 14a.
- Specific Area: this field can be searched by entering the abbreviated OVI code for the specific area into the search form, for example *FIOR*.
- General Area: this field can be searched in the same way as Specific Area searching, but using the OVI General Area codes.
- Form: this field can be searched by entering V, P or M into the search form to limit searches to Verse, Prose or Mixed texts.
- Text Type: this field can be searched by entering O, P, T or V to limit searches to Original or Paraphrased texts, Translations or Vulgarizations.
- Genre: this field can be searched by entering the abbreviated OVI genre code for the genre into the search form.

Once a search corpus has been defined, the words, word, or part thereof, to be searched for, henceforth parameters, can be entered into the Keyword Search box. Entering two parameters with a space between them functions as the Boolean AND search function: 'nel mezzo' will return all attestations of *nel mezzo*. The | character (vertical line) functions as the OR operator: a search on 'nel|mezzo' will return all attestations of *nel* and *mezzo*, duplicating contexts in which they appear together. A one character wildcard * may be used in any part of the search field, for example 'n*l

²⁹¹ Wildcard searches will be discussed below.

²⁹² In the alpha version of the corpus software it was not possible to search on the OVI code, but in the beta version, the field OVICode [sic] was included in the advanced bibliographic section of the search form at: <<http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/philos3/ovi.search.html#>> [accessed 4 September 2008].

mezzo', which as well as retrieving attestations of *nel mezzo*, would also retrieve attestations of **nal mezzo*, **nbl mezzo*, **ncl mezzo* etc.. The unlimited character wildcard .* in any location would, for the parameter 'nel .*zzo', retrieve *nel mezzo*, but also attestations such as *nel solazzo* and *nel vignazzo*.²⁹³ Accented characters are allowed for by using capitals.

There are two search options. The default is Single Term and Phrase Search, whereby the exact parameter, with or without Boolean operators, entered into the search field is searched on. Using this option for a search on the parameter 'nel mezzo' would return only attestations of *nel mezzo*, not attestations of *nel* and *mezzo* separated within a sentence. Alternatively, if the Proximity Search function by sentence or word separation is selected, searches can be run to show whether parts of a parameter appear within a specified number of words.²⁹⁴ Boolean operators are not required for this type of search, as a space automatically functions as an AND operator. The parameter 'nel mezzo' in a Proximity Search would return all attestations of *nel* and *mezzo* within the proximity specified, as well as *nel mezzo*. The option of a Proximity Search within a paragraph is disabled on the OVI. The results of searches can be displayed chronologically, either as a Concordance Report, showing approximately 300 characters, or as a "Key Word in Context" Report (KWIC Report), showing a single line of text. Results can also be displayed according to the frequency with which a search term is attested, either within a single text, or in all texts by one author, displayed in descending order of frequency.

²⁹³ Anonimo, [1288], *Reggimento de' principi di Egidio Romano (Del). Volgarizzamento trascritto nel MCCLXXXVIII* (a cura di Francesco Corazzini, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1858.) [**Egidio Romano volg., 1288 (sen.)**].

=, [1296], *Libricciolo di crediti di Bene Bencivenni (Secondo)* (Nuovi testi fiorentini del Dugento, a cura di Arrigo Castellani, Firenze, Sansoni, 1952, pp. 363-458.) [**Doc. fior., 1277-96**].

²⁹⁴ While the OVI technically allows proximity searches for up to 999 words, experimentation suggests that with the limitation of searching to within the sentence not the paragraph, the upper limit of word proximity searches is, in fact, approximately 100 words.

4.4 The Access Database

An initial search on the parameter ‘.*rebbe’ was run in the OVI, which expanded to over a thousand search terms, some of which were attested several hundred times.²⁹⁵ Such a volume of attestations was too great to be analysed without further grouping of the data. As the only way to achieve this was through electronic analysis, a custom-built database was required to store and organise the attestations. Microsoft Access was considered to be the most suitable database programme, as it is part of the Microsoft Office Suite readily available on most computers, and simple enough for a non-IT qualified researcher to use. Database programmes use one or more tables, linked or stand-alone, on which the user can run queries to extract entries corresponding to stated criteria.²⁹⁶ They usually feature several options for reporting data, such as full printouts of tables and queries, or, like Access, more sophisticated reporting programmes. In this study, the reporting function was not used, and only the print function for each table or query was used to produce paper datasheets.

The first step was to set up a table into which information on the texts could be entered. A table named Text Info was created with the following fields:²⁹⁷

ID (the unique number that identifies each text)

Name (a shortened version of the OVI code for each text)

Author

Date

Area

Specific Area

Genre

Full Name (full name of text)

²⁹⁵ Search terms are any of the OVI’s index of searchable lemmata that correspond to the parameters entered in the keyword search field and that are included in the corpus of texts defined by the user.

²⁹⁶ Queries in Access perform the same function as searches in the OVI, as the OVI is also a database with a search function. The difference lies in the greater ease of use of the OVI search software, which uses a simplified set of query functions in each field of the search form. The Access database software requires the user to define query parameters and search fields *ab initio*, rather than providing them ready-formulated.

²⁹⁷ See section 5 of this chapter for details of how this table was later modified.

A second table named Attestations was created into which the attestations could be entered. This table contained the following fields:

ID (the unique number that identifies each attestation)

Text Name (the name given to the text in the Text Info table)

Conditional Type (the type of conditional attestation defined by its desinence)²⁹⁸

The two tables were linked using the relationship tool in Access. A ‘one to many’ relationship was set up, whereby one entry in the Text Info table could be linked to many fields in the Attestations table. This meant that each text could be shown as containing many conditional attestations, but each attestation could be identified as belonging to only one text. This relationship required each table to have an identically named field, in this case, the Name field, which was also the primary key in each table. The primary key is the unique identifier in a table that identifies each new entry. Once a name has been entered in the primary key, it cannot be repeated in another entry in that field. The primary key is a different identifier to the ID number of each entry, and using this function further reduced the possibility of error. It ensured that no text could be entered twice into the Text Info table, and that all attestations in one text could only be linked to one entry in the Text Info table.

The relationship box in each row on the left hand side of both tables is a function used to display all the linked fields in the other table. In the Text Info table, it shows a drop-down box containing all the attestations in the Attestations table, and in the Attestations table, it shows the entry for the text in the Text Info table. Data could be entered into the Attestations table from the Text Info table by typing in the drop-down box. This method saved time because it was not necessary to copy and paste the name of a text into the Attestations table each time a new attestation from that text was entered. Greater accuracy was also ensured as, by creating the entries for the attestations within the Text Info table, no typographical errors could occur when

²⁹⁸ Initially the field Conditional Type was intended only to show whether the attestation was a reflex of CANTARE HABUI or CANTARE HABEBAM. It soon became clear that if the specific desinence of each attestation was listed, there would be the potential for phonological analyses of the data to be carried out, as well as the morphological analysis undertaken here.

filling out the Name field in the Attestation table. If such an error had occurred, there would not have been a link to the Text Info table for these attestations, as there would have been no primary key entered in the Text Info table corresponding to the incorrectly typed primary key in the Attestations table. This would have resulted in attestations with no corresponding bibliographic detail. The attestations would not have registered in any queries run on area, date and genre classifications in the linked Text Info and Attestations tables.

4.5 Data Extraction from the OVI

Once a corpus had been identified and a database set up into which the attestations could be entered, it was possible to run searches in the OVI to identify all the attestations of the conditional. The choice of forms to search for was limited by the conflation of the two paradigms in the northern Italo-Romance dialects, noted in the Introduction. Rohlfs also points out that the analogical influence of the imperfect subjunctive on the conditional creates a similarly mixed paradigm in areas of Lazio, Umbria and Tuscany.²⁹⁹ For this reason, only the distinctive forms of each paradigm, 1 sg., and 3 sg./pl. were searched for in the OVI corpus.

To ensure that all the phonological variants of each reflex were included in the searches, a list of all possible variants was compiled. The sets of parameters that would include all these variants in the searches were defined in such a way as to minimise the number of searches that had to be run. For example, to retrieve the attestations of the 3 sg. reflexes of CANTARE HABUI with the desinence *-rebbe*, the parameter *‘.*rebbe’* could have been used. While this parameter would have retrieved all attestations of 3 sg., the parameter *‘.*rebbe.*’* would have also retrieved attestations of 3 sg. forms with enclitic pronouns, 3 pl. forms, and 3 pl. forms with enclitic pronouns. The list of variants, their database code and the parameters used to retrieve the attestations are shown in Table A below:

²⁹⁹ Rohlfs, *Morfologia*, p. 343.

	Variant	Database Code	Parameter
HABUI	<i>canterei</i>	cond	'.*rei.*'
		cond pro	
	<i>canterebbe</i>	cond rebbe	'a.*rebb.*' –
		cond rebbe pro	'z.*rebb.*'
	cond rebbi		
	cond rebbi pro		
	cond rebe	'a.*reb.*' –	
	cond rebe pro	'z.*reb.*'	
	cond rebi		
	cond rebi pro		
	cond raf	'.*raf.*'	
	cond raf pro		
	cond rave	'.*rav.*'	
	cond rave pro		
	cond ravi		
	cond ravi pro		
	cond rave		
	cond rave pro		
	cond reve	'.*rev.*'	
	cond reve pro		
	cond rebi		
	cond rebi pro		
	<i>canterebbero</i>	cond rebbero	'a.*rebb.*' –
		cond rebbero pro	'z.*rebb.*'
	cond rebboro		
	cond rebbono pro		
	cond rebbano		
	cond rebbano pro		
	cond rebbeno		
	cond rebbeno pro		
	cond rebbino		
	cond rebbino pro		
	cond rebbono		
	cond rebbono pro		
	cond rebeno	'a.*reb.*' –	
	cond rebeno pro	'z.*reb.*'	
	cond rebero		
	cond rebero pro		
	cond rebono		
	cond rebono pro		
cond reboro			
cond reboro pro			
HABEBAM	<i>cantaria</i>	cond ria	'a.*ria.*' -
		cond ria pro	'z.*ria.*'
	cond rea	'a.*rea.*' -	
	cond rea pro	'z.*rea.*'	
	<i>canteriano</i>	cond riano	'a.*ria.*' -
		cond riano pro	'z.*ria.*'
		cond reano	'a.*rea.*' -
		cond reano pro	'z.*rea.*'
		cond rie	'a.*rie.*' –
		cond rie pro	'z.*rie.*'

Table A – Search parameters used to retrieve attestations from the OVI.

The most time-effective method of entering attestations into the Access database was to use two computers, one running the OVI and the other the Access database. A search was run in the OVI, and the results were printed off in KWIC form and entered into the Access database from the printout. Where there was doubt about an attestation, as was the case for many of the attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, the concordance entry for the attestation could be brought up on screen on the computer running the OVI. If additional context was necessary, the full-page reporting function accessed via the KWIC report could be used to establish whether it was an attestation of the conditional or not.

One difficulty with the data extraction was that the OVI can only retrieve 1,000 search terms for a given parameter. It could not, therefore, display every search term for the broad parameters ‘.*ria’ and ‘.*rebb.*’. Instead, parameters were formed by the initial letters from *a* to *z* and ‘.*ria.*’ or ‘.*rebb.*’, such as ‘a.*rebb.*’. The OVI is also limited to retrieving 10,000 attestations of the search terms included within a parameter. Where the number of attestations exceeded 10,000, such as the parameter ‘m.*ria’ which included 4632 attestations of *maria*, parameters were set with the first two letters and desinence: ‘ma.*ria.*’, for example. The other problem encountered in the data extraction phase was the difficulty in identifying search terms with certain desinences as conditional attestations. While all search terms with the desinence *-rebbe* were unambiguous, search terms with a desinence in *-ria* proved more complicated. While such search terms as *maria*, *storia* and *samaria* could be ignored, approximately 40% of the search terms could not be identified as conditional attestations from a KWIC report, and had to be translated in Concordance report. Of these terms, about 100 had to be considered in the light of a full-page report. Particular attention was paid to third conjugation verbs with a stem-final *-r-* which showed a tendency to syncopate to *-ria* in the imperfect, such as *coprire*>*copria*. Certain other verbs, including *parere*>*paria/parria*, and *convenire*>*converia/converria*, had to be translated individually in a concordance report, as they demonstrated the same tendency.

Error

Biber notes two general types of error resulting from the use of a corpus: random error and bias error. Random error occurs “when the sample is not large enough to

accurately estimate the true population”, whereas bias error occurs when “the selection of a sample is systematically different from the target population”.³⁰⁰ There was nothing that could be done to eliminate either of these types of error as the corpus was pre-determined and not created specifically for the study, containing almost all the extant texts from the period under consideration. There was, however, the potential for error that was specific to this study, the impact of which could be anticipated and reduced wherever possible. The system of data extraction was designed to avoid error in data collection in two ways. Primarily, accuracy was ensured by translating texts in concordance format where there was any doubt as to whether either a search term or particular attestation was a conditional attestation. Mechanically, error was reduced by entering the data into the Access database from a printout where attestations could be marked off as they were entered. There was still potential for error at this stage, and the section below will account for the potential sources of error and attempt to quantify them.

There were three sources of error that could have occurred in the process of creating the Access database, which could have resulted in inclusion of non-conditional search terms, or omission of conditional attestations. A margin of error of 5% was considered to be acceptable. The first source of error was related to the process by which the attestations were retrieved from the OVI and entered into the Access database. This would have resulted in omission of attestations from the Access database. Firstly, there was the possibility that an attestation was not retrieved by the corpus software because it was a variant not allowed for by the search parameters. As far as it was possible to ascertain, this was not a source of error in this study, as the parameters were designed to be broad enough to cover all potential variants. Secondly, there was the possibility of source error, where accidentally interpolated characters within the desinence meant that it did not fall within the search parameters. An example would be the hypothetical **cantarisa*, in which the *s* is a mistake made in the entry of the text into the corpus. If this type of error occurred at all, it was estimated to be of the order of one or two attestations, as the reputation of the OVI rests on its accuracy, and all entries are carefully checked. Thirdly, it was possible that attestations could have been omitted during the entry of the attestations into the

³⁰⁰ Biber, p. 130.

Access database. In order to prevent this, printouts of KWIC reports were marked into groups of five rows, as by working in small blocks rather than a hundred rows at a time, the chance of a row being omitted would be minimised. This type of error was most likely to have occurred in the entry of a few search terms such as *saria* and *sarebbe*. There were so many attestations of these search terms that it would have been possible that in a column of repeated, identical entries, one could have been omitted. It is estimated that this type of error would have occurred no more than once in every ten full KWIC reports. The potential for error, of 0.1%, or 30 attestations, fell within the acceptable 5% margin for error. In addition, 20 attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis from Liguria and Piedmont, with desinences in *-reiva* and *-reva* were omitted. This added an additional 0.07% error, which was so small as to be irrelevant.

The second source of error was the mis-identification of a search term, either by incorrectly including it as a conditional attestation, or by omitting an attestation by mis-identifying it as a non-conditional form. While all search terms of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis with desinences in *-bb-* were distinctive enough to assert that there was no error of this type, this error was almost certain to have occurred in the searches for attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. A review of 100 random attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis produced 4 entries incorrectly entered as conditional attestations, an error of 4%, which fell within the acceptable margin of error of 5%. Omitted attestations were impossible to quantify, but it was assumed that the degree of error would be lower than that of wrongly included attestations. Error caused by the omission of attestations would have been less significant, as it would have caused the data to show a less detailed picture, rather than creating a potentially misleading picture based on incorrectly included non-conditional search terms.

The third source of error was the update of the corpus on 24th September 2004, when an additional 69 documents were added to the OVI. As the users of the OVI were not notified of the additions made to the corpus, it was not discovered until the end of identification and entry of the reflexes of CANTARE HABEBAM. The search on the parameter *‘.saria’* was run a second time to obtain a “clean” paper copy of the search terms. When it was compared to the original paper copy, it showed additional search

terms. This meant that the corpus was upgraded during the searches run on the parameters describing the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. It was estimated that the upgrade took place approximately a third of the way through the retrieval process of the attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. As the early stages of this task were carried out more slowly, it was estimated that by the date of the upgrade, a fifth of the attestations of the periphrasis had been entered into the Access database. There were three potential consequences of the upgrade.

The first possible consequence was that some new texts containing attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis could have been omitted entirely from the Text Info table. This would have occurred if all the attestations in those texts had been retrieved and entered into the Access database before the upgrade took place. As the searches were run alphabetically, it seemed unlikely that a text would only have included attestations in the early part of the alphabet. The possible error was calculated to make certain that this was not the case. To establish whether all the texts in the upgrade containing attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis had been entered into the Access database, the percentage of texts in the OVI containing attestations of the conditional, and thus the percentage of texts in the upgrade that would be expected to contain attestations, was calculated. This percentage was then applied to the number of texts in the upgrade to calculate how many would be predicted to contain conditional attestations. A total of 376 texts in the Access database contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. Cross-checking of the list of the upgrade texts against the Access database showed that 14 documents from the upgrade contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. Therefore, excluding upgrade texts, 362 out of 1,780 texts in the OVI contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, a total of 20.3%. When applied to the 69 upgrade texts, this percentage suggested that between 14 and 15 upgrade texts should contain attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. As 14 upgrade texts contained attestations of this periphrasis, it could be assumed that all the relevant texts had been identified and entered into the Access database.

The second, more probable, consequence of the upgrade was that attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in a text could have been omitted from the Access database. This could have happened if the text contained attestations of search terms

which had been retrieved and entered before the upgrade took place. While the texts themselves would have been entered in the Access database, as shown above, the lists of attestations pertaining to them would have been incomplete. To establish how many attestations could have been omitted, it was necessary to calculate the predicted number of attestations, had every text been comprehensively searched, and deduct from this the actual number of attestations included in the Access database. The difference between the two figures would be the number of omitted attestations. Two figures were therefore required, the actual number of attestations, which was 4638, and the predicted number of missing attestations.

The predicted number of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis could be calculated by multiplying the average number of attestations in each text by the number of texts containing attestations of the periphrasis. It was initially assumed that the average number of attestations per text could be obtained by dividing the number of attestations, 4,638, by the number of texts in the Access database, 376. This calculation did not allow for the fact that 14 of the texts were potentially incomplete, and would have represented a below-average number of attestations per text. The calculation of the average number of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in all the texts had, therefore, to include an assumed missing 20% of attestations in 14 texts.³⁰¹ There were 4,638 attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis included in the Access database. This figure accounted for 100% of the attestations from 362 texts, and 80% of the attestations from 14 texts. Where X equalled the average attestations per text, it was calculated according to the formula:

$$4638 = 362(X) + 14(0.8X).$$

$$4638 = 362X + 11.2X$$

$$4638 = 373.2X$$

$$X = 12.4$$

On average there were 12.4 attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in each text, and a fifth, or 0.2 of the expected 12.4 attestations in each of the 14 upgrade texts were assumed to have been omitted. The total number of omitted attestations was calculated according to the formula: $0.2 * 14 * 12.4 = 34.7$. On this basis it was

³⁰¹ The figure of 20% is based on the assumption that the upgrade texts were included 1/5 of the way into the searches run to identify attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM reflex.

assumed that 35 attestations had been omitted in total from the upgrade texts. If all attestations had been included, the predicted total number of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis would have been $4638 + 35 = 4673$. The error was therefore the number of omitted attestations, described as a fraction of the total predicted attestations, or $35 / 4673 = 0.007$. Expressed as a percentage, this was an error of 0.7%, considerably below the acceptable margin of 5%.

The third consequence of the upgrade was that the attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis were incomplete, as all the searches for this periphrasis had been completed and the attestations entered into the Access database before the upgrade took place. Unlike the omitted attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, the probable number of omitted attestations was calculated according to the number of unsearched texts, as no texts that had been incompletely searched for attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis were included in the Access database. 581 texts contained attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, which was 32.5% of the 1780 texts in the OVI. This suggested that 22 or 23 of the 69 upgrade texts would have attested the periphrasis. The average number of attestations in each text was 41.8, which, multiplied by the estimated 22.5 omitted texts suggested that there were an estimated 940 omitted attestations. If all the attestations had been included, the predicted number of attestations of the periphrasis would have been $940 + 24311 = 25251$. The error was therefore the number of omitted attestations described as a fraction of the total predicted attestations, or $940 / 25251 = 0.037$. Expressed as a percentage, this was an error of 3.7%, which fell within the acceptable margin of error of 5%.

On examination of the list of texts included in the upgrade, it was discovered that 40 were *LIR*, and that in these texts the word count was much lower than average. This implied that there would be fewer attestations in these texts than had been predicted by the Access database averages, and that the degree of error involved was lower than the estimates above. Additionally, the texts in the update were mainly from Tuscany or Umbria, both areas from which there was no shortage of texts in the OVI. There was, therefore, little reason to suppose that the omitted attestations would have affected the accuracy of conclusions drawn from the data. It was concluded that the potential bias caused by the omission of these texts was acceptable.

Creation of New Fields in the Text Info Table

The texts containing attestations of the conditional were not evenly distributed over the three variables used for classification of the data.³⁰² Some area and genre variants only contained small numbers of texts attesting the conditional. There was only one text in the Access database from Puglia, for example, the anonymous *Contrasti del ms. Laurenziano*.³⁰³ Similarly, only two texts classified as *VEN*, texts covering hunting, falconry and fariery, contained attestations of the conditional. It was considered that extrapolation of data and conclusions based on such variants would not be reliable, and that the minimum number of texts in a variant was to be five. Where a variant contained fewer than five texts, it was either merged with a similar variant, or the texts in it discarded entirely. Two new fields were added to the Text Info table, Study Area and Study Genre, to take account of these changes. The majority of texts retained the same classification, which was entered into the new fields. The texts included within the new merged classifications were re-classified in these fields, but the original classification was retained for reference purposes in the original Genre and Area fields. The changes made to variant classification will be detailed and discussed below.

Area

A number of texts were classified by the OVI as having joint area. These were texts written mainly in the dialect of one area, but with linguistic features pertaining to another area, such as the anonymous poem, *Teniteve, mesere*.³⁰⁴ This text was classified as *SETT. CON SIC.SMI.* and was written in a mainly northern style with some Sicilianisms. Such texts were discarded first, as if they had been retained it would have been necessary to examine every attestation in order to establish to which of the

³⁰² For the purposes of this thesis, ‘variable’ has been designated to cover variation by genre, area and date, and ‘variant’ has been designated as referring to each specific type of variation within the variable. This would mean that *DID REL* and *EP OR* are classed as variants of the variable genre, for example, and *ABRUZZ* and *FIOR* as variants of the variable area.

³⁰³ Anonimo, *Contrasti del ms. Laurenziano XLII.38*, **sec. XIV** (Mahmoud Salem Els Sheikh, *La Zerbitana e dintorni*, SPCT, XLVIII, aprile 1994, pp. 5-19.) [**Contrasti Laur. XLII.38, XIV (pugl.)**].

³⁰⁴ Anonimo, *Teniteve, mesere (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, cod. a. H. 8. 10)*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Sandro Orlando, *Una lettura controversa e ... un debito annoso*, in *Studi di filologia medievale offerti a d'Arco Silvio Avalle*, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1996, pp. 355-364 [testo p. 357].) [**Poes. an. sett., XIII sm.**].

area classifications it pertained. If this approach had been taken, the data analysis would not have been carried out solely on verified area classifications, objectively describing the distributions of the different reflexes of the periphrases. Instead, the data analysis would have been pre-empted by a value judgement as to which of the possible dialects individual attestations corresponded.³⁰⁵

The Access database contained two texts with the General Area classification *MARCH*, which was not sufficient for the variant to be retained. The *Laudi della Scuola Urbinate* was reclassified as *UMBR*, as this was the region closest to Urbino, given as the specific area of the text.³⁰⁶ The *De duy cictade voliove dure bactalie contare (Giostra delle virtù e dei vizî)* was discarded as being insufficiently identifiable with any specific part of Le Marche to be reassigned to an adjoining region.³⁰⁷ Although seven texts in the Access database were classed as *LIG*, sufficient for an independent variant, there were only two texts classified as *PIED* that contained attestations of the conditional. These texts were merged with those from the neighbouring region of Liguria, forming the variant *LIG-PIEM*.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁵ The list of all texts discarded on the grounds of area, genre and date is to be found at Appendix 3.

³⁰⁶ =, [1300], *Laudi della Scuola Urbinate* (Rosanna Bettarini, Iacopone e il Laudario Urbinate, Firenze, Sansoni, 1969, pp. 539-628.) [**Poes. an. urbin., XIII**].

³⁰⁷ Anonimo, [1300], *De duy cictade voliove dure bactalie contare (Giostra delle virtù e dei vizî)* (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. II, pp. 322-49.) [**Giostra virtù e vizi, XIII ex. (march.)**].

³⁰⁸ Despite being a linguistically mixed text, the *Sermoni Subalpini* was retained, as the minimal extra information that it provided (16 attestations) was not sufficient to skew the data significantly. Given that the point under consideration in the later data analysis would be whether a text contained attestations of the *CANTARE HABEBAM* reflex or not, the fact that it contained attestations that were typical of the extreme north-west of Italy, of the *-ea* and *-ia* types, meant that it did not seem unreasonable to retain it. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras's *Testo Bilingue* was retained, as according to the OVI, on which basis the texts were included or discarded, it was designated as linguistically unmixed. Although written by a non-native Provençal poet, it can be assumed that the author would have been sensitive to conditional use in the area in which he was writing, and followed the prevalent local trends in his use of the conditional, an assumption confirmed by his use of both conditional periphrases.

=, [1300], *Sermoni subalpini* (Wolfgang Babilas, Untersuchungen zu den Sermoni subalpini, München, Hueber, 1968. [testo pp. 220-281].) [**Sermoni subalpini, XIII (franco-piem.)**].

=, [1321], *Statuto della Compagnia di San Giorgio del popolo di Chieri* (Carlo Salvioni, Antichi testi

The Access database only contained two texts classified as *LAZ*, which was insufficient for a single variant. These texts, the *Cronica* attributed to the Anonimo Romano, and the anonymous *Volgarizzamento della "Mascalcia" di Lorenzo* were re-classified as *ABRUZZ* in the Study Area field, on the basis that the main isoglosses, such as the La Spezia-Rimini and the Rome–Ancona lines, run horizontally rather than vertically across the peninsula.³⁰⁹ It was assumed that there would be less east-west linguistic variation than north–south variation, and that any re-classification should be in a horizontally adjoining region, rather than a vertically adjoining one.

The classifications *FIOR* and *VENEZ* were also added to the Study Area field, to establish whether variation existed between Florence and Tuscany, and between Venice and the Veneto. Any texts which had no individual Specific Area classification retained the original General Area classifications in the Study Area fields, while those with the Specific Area classifications *FIOR* and *VENEZ* were marked accordingly in the Study Area field. Similarly, although no distinction was made in the OVI classifications between the area of origin of a text and its contextual influences, it was decided to classify the texts of the Sicilian school of poets separately from Tuscan and Florentine poetry. This would permit a comparison of potential differences in use of the two conditional periphrases between Tuscan texts and those showing Sicilian usage. Contini's definition of the Sicilian School as "i rimatori, di qualsiasi regione italiana, che appartennero a quella corte, o le gravitarono attorno, e la cui produzione occupa, genere per genere, il primo posto nella più estesa e organica silloge delle nostre origini, il canzoniere Vaticano 3793" was used as the basis for the list.³¹⁰

dialettali chieresi, in *Miscellanea di filologia e linguistica dedicata alla memoria di Napoleone Caix e Ugo Angelo Canello*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1886, pp. 345-55 [testo pp. 347-50].) [**Stat. chier.**, **1321**]. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras [**1190**], *Testo bilingue [Contrasto bilingue]* (Alberto Asor Rosa, *Storia e antologia della letteratura italiana*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia 1978, vol. I *Le Origini*, a cura di Roberto Antonelli, p. 163-167.) [**Raimb. de Vaqueiras, Contrasto, c. 1190 (gen.)**].

³⁰⁹ Anonimo Romano, [**1400**], *Cronica* (ed. critica a cura di Giuseppe Porta, Milano, Adelphi, 1979.) [**Anonimo Rom., Cronica, XIV**].

Anonimo, [**1400**], *Volgarizzamento della "Mascalcia" di Lorenzo Rusio* (Luisa Aurigemma, *La "Mascalcia" di Lorenzo Rusio nel volgarizzamento del codice Angelicano V.3.14*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 1998.) [**Mascalcia L. Rusio volg., XIV ex. (sab.)**].

³¹⁰ Gianfranco Contini, *Poeti del Duecento*, 2 vols (Milan: Ricciardi, 1960), I, p. 45.

Although there was little reason not to classify the Sicilian school of poets as a unique grouping, a more difficult decision was whether to distinguish further between the Siculo-Tuscan poets and the *stilnovisti*, and whether to create area classifications for them independently of the classification *FIOR*. The first position on this problem, asserting the unity of the two schools, was typified by Usher, who suggests that “to all intents and purposes [the Siculo-Tuscans and the *stilnovisti*] were contemporaries, frequently joined by correspondence through letters and verse, and separated only by talent, taste and reciprocal vituperation”.³¹¹ Hainsworth and Robey, on the other hand, distinguish between the two schools, defining Siculo-Tuscan as a “fairly loose modern term designating those poets who lived in the prosperous mercantile city-states of central Italy [...] and who, despite their different cultural milieu, imitated the poetry of the Sicilian School, as well as that of the Provençal troubadours”.³¹² They further distinguish the *stilnovisti*, stating that the “Siculo-Tuscan manner gave way to the *dolce stil novo* in Florence in the later 13th c”[sic].³¹³ In this, Kleinhenz follows Contini, who separates the Siculo-Tuscans from the *stilnovisti*, stating that from the “doppio punto di vista, tonale e sostanziale [...] il canone scolastico [...] può dirsi giustificato”, with the reservation that “è indispensabile non irrigidire la distinzione in modo categoriale e quasi deduttivo”.³¹⁴ This analysis gave rise to two possible difficulties. Firstly, although both schools were identifiable with one particular area, it was possible that the influence of the Sicilian school might have affected the pattern of conditional use in both schools, differentiating it from the Florentine and Tuscan norms. Secondly, it was also possible that the evolution of the *stil novo* could have altered the pattern of conditional use by the *stilnovisti* from that of the Siculo-Tuscans. Consequently, separate classifications were created for the two schools of poets. The Siculo-Tuscans were classified in accordance with Contini’s list of ‘Poesia

The *canzoniere Vaticano 3793*, however, was removed from the Access database, as retaining it would have caused duplication of texts included as individual works in the database.

Anonimi, [1310], *Sonetti anonimi del Vaticano Lat. 3793* (ed. critica a cura di Paolo Gresti, Firenze, Acc. della Crusca, 1992.) [**Sonn. ann. Vat. Lat. 3793, XIII/XIV (tosc.)**].

³¹¹ Jonathan Usher, ‘Origins and Duecento’, in *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature*, ed. by Peter Brand and Lino Pertile (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 3-38 (p. 15).

³¹² Christopher Kleinhenz, ‘The Siculo-Tuscan Poets’, in *The Oxford Companion to Italian Literature*, ed. by Peter Hainsworth and David Robey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 555-6 (p. 556).

³¹³ Kleinhenz, p. 556-7.

³¹⁴ Contini, vol II, p. 444.

Cortese Toscana e Settentrionale', which coincided closely with Tartaro's list of the Siculo-Tuscan poets.³¹⁵ Contini's grouping of Guido Guinizelli, Guido Cavalcanti, Lapo Gianni, Cino da Pistoia, and Dante himself,³¹⁶ with what he describes as the "tenui appendici dell'Alfani e del Frescobaldi", was used to define the limits of the *stilnovisti*.³¹⁷

Genre

A number of texts were re-classified or discarded to create variants containing enough texts to meet the significance criteria. The four *SC* texts, a variant for exact sciences such as arithmetic and geometry, were insufficient to form a single variant.³¹⁸ These texts were merged with the *GE ASTR* texts on geography, astronomy, and travel to create the variant *SCI-GEO*, which, being broadly scientific texts, also contained the sole *VEN* text, the anonymous *Trattato de' falconi ed altri uccelli di ratto*.³¹⁹ Three texts included in the Access database were classified by the OVI as *FORM*, an eclectic

³¹⁵ Achille Tartaro, 'I rimatori siculo-toscani', in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. by Emilio Cecchi and Natalino Sapegno, 9 vols (Milan: Garzanti, 1965-9), I, 379-425 (pp. 380-1).

Contini, vol. I, pp. VIII-IX.

³¹⁶ Contini, vol. II, pp. VII-VIII.

³¹⁷ Contini, vol. II, p. 444.

A complete list of the Siculo-Tuscan and *stilnovisti* authors included in the database is to be found at appendix 3.

³¹⁸ The texts from the variant *SC* are listed below:

Gherardi, Paolo, [1325], *Liber habaci (cap. XXV, dal cod. 88: Del chorso della luna e del sole)* (Gino Arrighi, Due trattati di Paolo Gherardi matematico fiorentino. I Codici Magliabechiani Cl. XI. nn. 87 e 88 (prima metà del Trecento) della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, AATorino, Cl. II, vol. 101, 1966-67, pp. 61-82 [testo pp. 73-82].) [Paolo Gherardi, *Liber habaci*, XIV po.q. (fior.)].

Anonimo, *Savasorra idest libro di gemetria, sec. XIV p.m.* (Ignazio Baldelli, Di un volgarizzamento pisano della Practica Geometrie, in Studi Schiaffini, RCCM, VII, 1965, pp. 85-92.) [Savasorra, XIV pm. (pis.)].

Dagomari, Paolo, (Paolo dell'Abbaco), *Regoluzze a. 1374* (a cura di Gino Arrighi, Prato, Azienda Autonoma di Turismo, 1966.) [Paolo dell'Abbaco, *Regoluzze, a. 1374* (fior.)].

Dagomari, Paolo (Paolo dell'Abbaco), *Trattato d'aritmetica*(*), a. 1374 (a cura di Gino Arrighi, Pisa, Domus Galilaeana, 1964. [Valgono come Riferimenti il numero progressivo della "ragione", la pag. e la riga dell'EdR].) [Paolo dell'Abbaco, *Trattato, a. 1374* (fior.)].

³¹⁹ Anonimo, [1310], *Trattato de' falconi ed altri uccelli di ratto* (Scritture antiche toscane di falconeria, a cura di Alessandro Mortara, Prato, Alberghetti, 1851, pp. 1-21.) [Trattato de' falconi, XIV in. (tosc.)].

classification including prescriptions, magical incantations and prayers. The *Ricettario Laurenziano*, and the *Ricettario di Ruberto*, anonymous texts on magecraft and mediaeval medicine, both contained some prescriptions and remedies, so were included in the classification *MED*, as the *Ricettario* of Piero Ubertino had also been given this classification by the OVI.³²⁰ The third *FORM* text, the *Ingiurie lucchesi*, a collection of imprecations, was discarded on the grounds that there were no texts or variants similar enough for it to be grouped with.³²¹

One text, the *Rime dei Memoriali Bolognesi* was classified by the OVI as *LIR/DID REL*, but for the purposes of the data analysis, it could only be classified under one variant in the Access database.³²² A similar text, not included in the Access database, the *Antiche rime italiane tratte dai Memoriali bolognesi* was classified as *LIR*, so the *Rime dei Memoriali Bolognesi* was reclassified accordingly.³²³ The *Codice dei Servi*, classified as being *LIR/DID REL*, was allocated to the variant *DID REL*, as it is mainly in prose, with short sections in verse, and could not be described as entirely poetry.³²⁴ Dante's *Commedia* was classified by the OVI as *DID REL*, but although the subject matter conforms to this classification, it was decided that its role in the canon of early

³²⁰ Anonimo, [1355], *Ricettario del codice Laurenziano XLII.22* (Guido Battelli, Segreti di magia e medicina medievale cavati da un codice del "Tesoro", AR, V, 1921, pp. 149-72 [testo pp. 152-72].) [Ricettario Laurenziano, XIV m. (sen.)].

=, [1364], *Ricette, scongiuri e segreti raccolti da Ruberto di Guido Bernardi* (Giovanni Giannini, Una curiosa raccolta di segreti e di pratiche superstiziose, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1898, pp. 23-78.) [Ricette di Ruberto Bernardi, 1364 (fior.)].

Piero Ubertino da Brescia, [1361], *Ricettario* (Piero Ubertino da Brescia, Ricette per gli occhi. Conoscimento de' sogni. Trattato sull'orina. Morsi di cani e loro conoscimento, a cura di Mahmoud Salem Elsheikh, Firenze, Ed. Zeta, 1993.) [Piero Ubertino da Brescia, p. 1361 (tosc.)].

³²¹ =, [1384], *Ingiurie lucchesi* (Ingiurie, impropri, contumelie ecc. Saggio di lingua parlata del Trecento cavato dai libri criminali di Lucca, a cura di Daniela Marcheschi, Lucca, Pacini Fazzi, 1983.) [Ingiurie lucch., 1330-84].

³²² =, [1300], *Memoriali bolognesi (Bologna, Archivio di Stato)*(Rime dei Memoriali bolognesi (1279-1300), a cura di Sandro Orlando, Torino, Einaudi, 1981.) [Memoriali bologn., 1279-1300].

³²³ Anonimo, [1324], *Antiche rime italiane tratte dai Memoriali bolognesi* (Antiche rime italiane tratte dai Memoriali bolognesi, a cura di Adriana Caboni, Modena, Soc. Tipografica Modenese, 1941, pp. 74-117.) [Rime Mem. bologn., 1301-24].

³²⁴ =, *Codice dei Servi (II)*, sec. XIV s.m. (Testi volgari ferraresi del secondo Trecento, a cura di Angelo Stella, SFI, XXVI, 1968, pp. 201-310 [testo pp. 212-35].) [Codice dei Servi, XIV sm. (ferr.)].

vernacular poetry, meant that it should be reclassified as *LIR*.³²⁵ Brunetto Latini's *Volgarizzamento del Pro Ligario*, originally classified by the OVI as *ORAZ* was reclassified as *RET*, as *ORAZ* does not exist within the list of OVI genre codes.³²⁶ As a text on oratory, presumably the source of the mistaken OVI classification, it was considered to fall within the grouping of texts on rhetoric. This text did, however, signal the potential conflict between the OVI classifications *RET*, rhetorical texts, and *EP OR*, described as "Epistole (in prosa e in versi) e orazioni (ivi compresi schemi di lettere, formule notarili, epistolari, ecc.)."³²⁷ There seemed to be no consistency in the classification of a text as either an *orazione* or as a *RET* text. Similarly, when the classification *LETT* was considered as an alternative classification for the *epistole*, the allocation of a text to either genre seemed arbitrary. Although eliminating the variant by re-allocating the texts in the Access database from the variant *EP OR* resulted in fewer genre variants, it resolved the difficulty of a variant in which the texts were of several different types, and which could not be accurately described as forming a coherent genre.

There were nineteen *EP OR* texts included in the Access database, of which 12 were re-allocated to *RET*.³²⁸ There were 4 texts that were re-allocated to *LETT*: Guittone's *Lettere in prosa*; Boccaccio's *Epistola a Francesco di Messer Alessandro de' Bardi* and *Lettera a Leonardo del Chiaro*; and Teperto's *Lettera in prosa*.³²⁹ Guittone's

³²⁵ Dante Alighieri, [1321], *Commedia* (D. A., La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata, a cura di Giorgio Petrocchi, vol. II Inferno, vol. III Purgatorio, vol. IV Paradiso, Milano, Mondadori, 1966-67 [testo rivisto e corretto sulle successive edd. del 1975, per le Concordanze].) [Dante, *Commedia*, a. 1321].

³²⁶ Latini, Brunetto, [1294], *Volgarizzamento dell'orazione Pro Ligario* (a cura di Cesare Segre, in *La Prosa del Duecento*, a cura di Cesare Segre e Mario Marti, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi 1959, pp. 171-84.) [Brunetto Latini, *Pro Ligario*, a. 1294 (fior.)].

³²⁷ <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/extras/genre_codes.html> [accessed 29 September 2008].

³²⁸ For a complete list of these texts, see Appendix 5.

³²⁹ Guittone d'Arezzo, [1294], *Lettere [testo in prosa]* (a cura dell'Ufficio Filologico [d'Arco Silvio Avalle].) [Guittone, *Lettere in prosa*, a. 1294 (tosc.)].

Boccaccio, Giovanni, [1339], *Epistola a Francesco di Messer Alessandro de' Bardi* (l'Ameto. Lettere. Il Corbaccio, a cura di Nicola Bruscoli, Bari, Laterza, 1940, pp. 155-56.) [Boccaccio, *Epist.*, 1339].

Lettere in versi were included within the variant *LIR*, on the basis that the form of the letters, being verse texts, would be more representative of *LIR* than of *LETT*.³³⁰ The religious nature of Cavalca's *Epistola di san Girolamo ad Eustochio volgarizzata* meant that it was reclassified as *DID REL*, didactic and religious works.³³¹

Date

The texts were organised by date into 8 bands, each covering 25 years, such as 1301>1325 and 1326>1350. All texts dated after 1375 were included in the variant 1376>1400. The only texts to be discarded on the basis of date were 10 bibles dated as 1500, almost a century later than any other text. The only exception to this was Raimbaut de Vaqueiras' *Contrasto bilingue*, dated 1190, which was included in the first variant, 1200>1225.³³² As well as the regular distribution of the variants over the two centuries, the advantage of this choice of variants was that they included the key dates of 1375, the year in which Boccaccio died, and 1250, the death of Federico II and the end of the Sicilian School of poets centred around his court.

4.6 Creation of Statistical Data

Once the entries in the Access database had been checked and the re-classifications completed, it was possible to begin the initial production of statistical data. Two sets of data were produced. The first, the B-Tables, contained data that was not differentiated according to the conditional periphrasis. Instead, data was generated to

Boccaccio, Giovanni, [1366], *Lettera a Leonardo del Chiaro* (Roberto Abbondanza, Una lettera autografa del Boccaccio nell'Archivio di Stato di Perugia, RAS, XXII, 1962, n. 3, pp. 227-32 [testo pp. 227-28].) [Boccaccio, Epist., 1366].

Teperto (Tiberto Galliziani ?), [1300], *Lettera in prosa* (a cura dell'Ufficio Filologico [d'Arco Silvio Avalle].) [Teperto, Lettera in prosa, XIII sm. (pis.)].

³³⁰ Guittone d'Arezzo, [1294], *Lettere in versi* (Guittone d'Arezzo, Lettere, Edizione critica a cura di Claude Margueron, Bologna, Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1990, [testi: pp. 93, 99, 129-31, 136-37, 181-83, 191-93, 298-300, 349].) [Guittone, Lettere in versi, a. 1294 (tosca.)].

³³¹ Cavalca, Domenico, [1342], *Epistola di san Girolamo ad Eustochio volgarizzata* (Volgarizzamento del Dialogo di san Gregorio e dell'Epistola di san Girolamo ad Eustochio, a cura di Giovanni Bottari, Pagliarini, Roma 1764, pp. 356-438.) [Cavalca, Ep. Eustochio, a. 1342 (pis.)].

³³² Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, [1190], *Testo bilingue [Contrasto bilingue]* (Alberto Asor Rosa, Storia e antologia della letteratura italiana, Firenze, La Nuova Italia 1978, vol. I Le Origini, a cura di Roberto Antonelli, p. 163-167.) [Raimb. de Vaqueiras, Contrasto, c. 1190 (gen.)].

produce general statistics on the usage of the conditional (both paradigms) in the different variables. The second set of data, the C-Tables, was designed to provide information on the comparative distributions of the two conditional periphrases. As there was considerable variation in the numbers of attestations of each periphrasis contained within the different variables, direct comparison of the numbers of attestations would not have provided meaningful data. Instead, comparisons had to be made on the basis of averaged data for each variable and variant.

The B-Tables

The B-Tables comprised three spreadsheets, one for each of the variables area, genre and date, composed of 9 fields.³³³

- Column A contained the list of variants that were included in the variable.
- Column B, 'No of texts', listed the number of texts that were included in the variant.
- Column C, '% of total', calculated and displayed the percentage of the total texts that the variant contained.
- Column D, 'Word count', listed the number of words in all the texts in the variant.
- Column E, '% of total', calculated and displayed the percentage of the total words that the variant contained.
- Column F, 'No of atts', listed the number of attestations of the conditional to be found in the variant.
- Column G, '% total atts', calculated and displayed the percentage of the total attestations that the variant contained.
- Column H, 'Atts per 1,000 words', calculated and displayed the number of attestations of both types of conditional periphrasis that the variant contained, based on the word count in column D.
- Column I, '% OVI texts cont conds', calculated and displayed the percentage of texts in each variant in the OVI that contained attestations of the conditional. The number of texts the OVI contained in each variant was calculated according to the area and genre counts available on the website, and by running searches for all texts falling within a given time period. Where classifications had been merged, such as the

³³³ All totals, such as total word counts, were calculated from the texts included in the database, unless explicitly signaled as referring to the OVI.

The B-Tables are to be found as Appendix 6.

variant *LIG PIEM*, the number of texts in both the original variants were added together to give the total number of texts in the OVI encompassed by the new variant. The texts contained in the OVI in the variants *STIL NOV*, *SIC TOSC* and *SCOL SIC* were not included in the B-Tables for the variable area, as they did not appear in the OVI area counts. They were also excluded from the calculation of the number of texts appearing in the OVI from Tuscany and Florence, as they were not included in the total number of texts in the Access database from these areas.

The C-Tables

The aim of the C-Tables was to provide a format in which the data on the two periphrases could be easily compared. Consequently, they took the form of six spreadsheets, two spreadsheets for each variable, one for the data on the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and one for the data on the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.³³⁴ In these tables, and the discussion of them below, C signified the particular conditional periphrasis under analysis: in the respective tables, it stood for either the attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis or the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. Along the top of every C-Table sheet were four pieces of information. These were the percentage of texts containing attestations of the periphrasis; the number of attestations of the periphrasis as a percentage of the total attestations; the number of attestations of the periphrasis per 1,000 words; and the total attestations of the periphrasis. The fields in the table were:

- Columns A to D: these columns in each spreadsheet were copied directly from Table B, both for ease of reference and because they were required for further calculations.
- Column E, 'Texts cont C', listed the number of texts in each variant containing attestations of the particular periphrasis.
- Column F, '% texts in variant cont C', calculated and displayed the percentage of texts in each variant containing attestations of the particular periphrasis.
- Column G, 'Attestations of C', listed the number of attestations of the particular periphrasis in each variant.
- Column H, 'C per 1,000 words of variant', calculated and displayed the mean number of attestations of the particular periphrasis per 1,000 words of text in each variant.

³³⁴ The C-Tables are to be found as Appendix 7.

- Column I, ‘%C/conds in variant’, calculated and displayed the percentage of all the attestations in the variant that were of the particular periphrasis. For example, of 132 attestations of the conditional in *ART TECN*, 130 were attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. Therefore, 130/132, or 98.49%, of *ART TECN* attestations were of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, and the entry in Column I for *ART TECN* in the genre spreadsheet for the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis was 98.48.
- Column J, ‘Texts cont both periphrases’, listed the number of texts in each variant that contained attestations of both the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.
- Column L, ‘% texts cont both periphrases’, calculated and displayed the percentage of texts in the Access database that contained both periphrases.

4.7 Statistical Analysis of the Data

Much of the statistical analysis was carried out by direct comparison of the data in the B- and C-Tables, described separately for each hypothesis in Chapter 5. There was also one calculation used at all stages of the analysis, correlation. Correlation is a statistical measure that shows the degree of relatedness of two variables. It is measured on a scale between 1 and -1 , where 0 is no correlation, and $-1/1$ is complete correlation, shown as a perfect straight-line graph, with every point directly on the line. The most common method of calculating correlation is Pearson’s Product Moment correlation, for which the degree of correlation is referred to as the correlation coefficient, henceforth *rho* or ρ . This method is helpful in calculating degrees of linear correlation, but does not describe curves; any calculation of *rho* must be examined in conjunction with a scatter graph to ascertain whether *rho* describes a straight line or a curve. It was assumed that in this study the majority of correlations would be linear, but where it could be shown from a scatter graph that *rho* described a curve, it would be assumed that correlation was greater than that described by *rho*.

For the calculation of correlation, the two sets of data to be compared are labelled X and Y. The two sets of data are composed of N pairs of values, which are labelled x and y. N is the total number of pairs of values, and the individual values x and y are the pieces of data which make up the sets of data X and Y. Σ represents the sum of the data sets specified. The formula used for the calculation is shown below:

$$N\Sigma xy - (\Sigma x)(\Sigma y)$$

$$\sqrt{[N\Sigma x^2 - (\Sigma x)^2][N\Sigma y^2 - (\Sigma y)^2]}$$

The decimal degrees of correlation are banded descriptively.

0-0.2	no/negligible correlation
0.2-0.4	weak correlation
0.4-0.6	moderate correlation
0.6-0.8	high correlation
0.8-1	very high correlation

Once *rho* has been calculated, it is necessary to test whether the correlation is statistically significant. A statistically significant result is one that can be assumed, to a chosen level of accuracy, α , not to have occurred by chance. The typical level of accuracy to which significance is calculated is $\alpha = 0.05$, which implies that there is a 95% chance that the correlation was not accidental. To be statistically significant, the degree of correlation must equal or exceed the critical value for the chosen level of accuracy. Tables of the critical value are found ready-calculated in statistics reference books, and require two pieces of information. The first is the number of degrees of freedom, or *df*, which is the number of values in the sample (N) minus two. The possible *df* values are usually plotted as the first column in a table of critical values. Where the specific *df* is not shown in the table, for example, for numbers over 100, the next lowest value is used. The second piece of information required to use a table of critical values is the level of accuracy, α , usually plotted in the first row of the table. The cell in which the *df* and α meet is the critical value.

Worked Example

Correlation can be calculated for any numerical values, and for any number of paired values. This example will demonstrate the method by working out whether there was any correlation between the number of attestations of the conditional (both paradigms) in each variant of the variable genre, and the number of words in the variant.

As this was a calculation based on the conditional (both paradigms), the B-Tables were the source of the data. The two sets of data to be compared were the number of

words in the variant, X, and the number of attestations in the genre, Y. There were 18 variants in the variable genre, which meant that N, the total number of pairs of values, was set at 18. Each pair of values for a specific variant were referred to as x and y. For example, *ART TECN* had an x value of 143,900, and a y value of 132. To complete the calculation of the correlation coefficient formula, below, seven other values were required:

$$\frac{N\Sigma xy - (\Sigma x)(\Sigma y)}{\sqrt{[N\Sigma x^2 - (\Sigma x)^2][N\Sigma y^2 - (\Sigma y)^2]}}$$

Σx - the sum of the x values, the total words in the texts in the Access database

Σy - the sum of the y values, the total attestations in the Access database

Σx^2 - the sum of the square of each x value

Σy^2 - the sum of the square of each y value

Σxy - the sum of each x value multiplied by its corresponding y value

$(\Sigma x)^2$ - the square of the sum of all the x values

$(\Sigma y)^2$ - the square of the sum of all the y values

The degree of correlation was therefore:

$$\rho = \frac{18*62608743056 - (17496192)(28949)}{\sqrt{[(18*3.67E+13) - 3.06E+14][(18*1.24E+8) - 838044601]}}$$

$$\rho = 0.883$$

It was then necessary to check whether this value was statistically significant. The degrees of freedom (*df*), were calculated by N-2. In this example, N = 18, so there were 16 *df*. The correlation was to be tested at $\alpha = 0.05$, which gave a critical value of 0.478.

The correlation coefficient, $\rho = 0.883$, showed that the degree of correlation between the number of words in a text and the number of attestations was positive and very high. It exceeded the critical value, and was statistically significant. This correlation

coefficient showed that there was a link between the two factors under examination, the number of words and the number of attestations in a variant, and that this connection was not due to chance. The interpretation of this coefficient suggested that the more words a variant contained, the more attestations of the conditional it would contain. While this particular conclusion could have been arrived at through logic alone, the more complex examples of correlation between two sets of data calculated to test the hypotheses in Chapter 5 could not have been predicted or tested without calculation of the degree of correlation. It was not, however, necessary to calculate *rho* manually using the formula above for every correlation required: the calculation functions in Excel will perform this function automatically.

Once the data had been prepared for analysis, and a method of comparison had been chosen, it was possible to examine the data more closely by testing the hypotheses described in the Introduction to this thesis.

Chapter 5 – Data Analysis

5.1 Introduction to the Data Analysis

The data analysis was carried out by testing the four hypotheses set out in the Introduction to the thesis. In the introductory section at the beginning of each hypothesis, the theory behind the hypothesis was re-summarised in order to clarify the data required to test the hypothesis. Where an explanation of the method for extracting and testing the data was required, it was included under the relevant section of the Data Analysis chapter, rather than in the Methodology chapter, which dealt solely with the creation of the tools for carrying out the data analysis.

Hypotheses 1 and 2 were general hypotheses, in that the analysis considered only the distributions of the conditional attestations (both paradigms) summarised in the B-Tables. Hypotheses 3 and 4 were comparative hypotheses, comparing the different distributions of the attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM and the CANTARE HABUI periphrases over genre, area and time, using the data from the C-Tables. Both pairs of hypotheses formed a qualitative/quantitative analysis of the two sets of data found in the B-Tables and in the C-Tables. Hypotheses 1 and 3 were quantitative hypotheses, and demonstrated statistically that the use of the conditional differed across the different variables. In contrast, Hypotheses 2 and 4 were qualitative analyses, which described how the various sets of data on the use of the conditional were distributed across the different variables. The statistical note inserted between Hypotheses 2 and 3 showed that the general and comparative hypotheses were indeed distinct, and the separation of the two sets of data was a statistically valid approach to the analysis.

The conclusions that could be drawn from the analysis of each dataset were discussed briefly at the end of each hypothesis. These sections did not, however, relate the results of the data analysis to the wider pattern of conditional use beyond the specific data under discussion. The interpretation of the proven hypotheses, and potential explanations of the results that they showed, will be discussed in the Conclusions to the thesis.

5.2 Hypothesis 1

The rate of conditional attestations (both paradigms) was not related to the percentage of texts in the OVI attesting the conditional for the variables area and date. The rate of attestation of the conditional (both paradigms) was weakly related to the percentage of texts containing attestations of the conditional for the variable genre.

The fundamental premise of Hypothesis 1 was that “all natural languages are assumed to have some kind of conditional sentences”.³³⁵ The availability of conditionality in the Italo-Romance dialects could not, therefore, depend on geographical or temporal variation, although the formal expression of conditionality might show differences in distribution according to these variables. In the case of the Italo-Romance dialects, this meant that while the choice of the CANTARE HABEBAM or CANTARE HABUI periphrasis might vary over time and area, the data in the B-Tables which did not distinguish between the two periphrases would not show a systematic difference in rates of conditional use over area or date. The rate of conditional use (both paradigms) would instead be dependent on the contextual hypotheticality requirements of each text: the more hypothetical, and less rooted in the here-and-now, a text, the higher the rate of conditional use (both paradigms) would be. Variation in the rate of conditional use in an area or date variant would therefore be a function of the hypotheticality requirements of the texts included in a variant, not of the area or date variant itself.

Hypothesis 1 suggested that the similarity in content of the texts grouped together in each genre would trigger similar hypotheticality requirements. In each variant this would be reflected both in the rate of attestations of the conditional per 1,000 words, and in the percentage of texts from the OVI containing attestations of the conditional (both paradigms). If this was indeed the case, the variable genre would show correlation between the two measures: a genre with high hypotheticality needs would show both high rates of attestations per 1,000 words and a high percentage of texts attesting the conditional (both paradigms). Texts organised into groups in accordance with the other variants, that is, area and date were not organised by similarity of

³³⁵ Ferguson et al., ‘Overview’, p.5.

content. It was therefore unlikely that the variants would have resulted in groups of texts with similar levels of hypotheticality. Instead, it was entirely probable that a variant could have contained a random mixture of texts with entirely differing hypotheticality needs. For example, every text in a particular variant might, by chance, contain attestations of the conditional, but because of the varying hypotheticality needs of the different texts, each text might contain only one attestation of the conditional. Another variant might contain a selection of texts in which only a few contained frequent attestations of the conditional. Further random distributions of texts over the other variants, all with different hypotheticality needs, would result in no correlation between the two measures of conditional use. By testing each of the three variables for correlation between the two measures of conditional use, Hypothesis 1 was therefore testing to see whether there was a link between the variable and conditional use: the use of the conditional in a variable that did not show correlation between the two measures could be said to be random, whereas in a variable that showed correlation between the two measures, the use of the conditional was related to the variable itself.

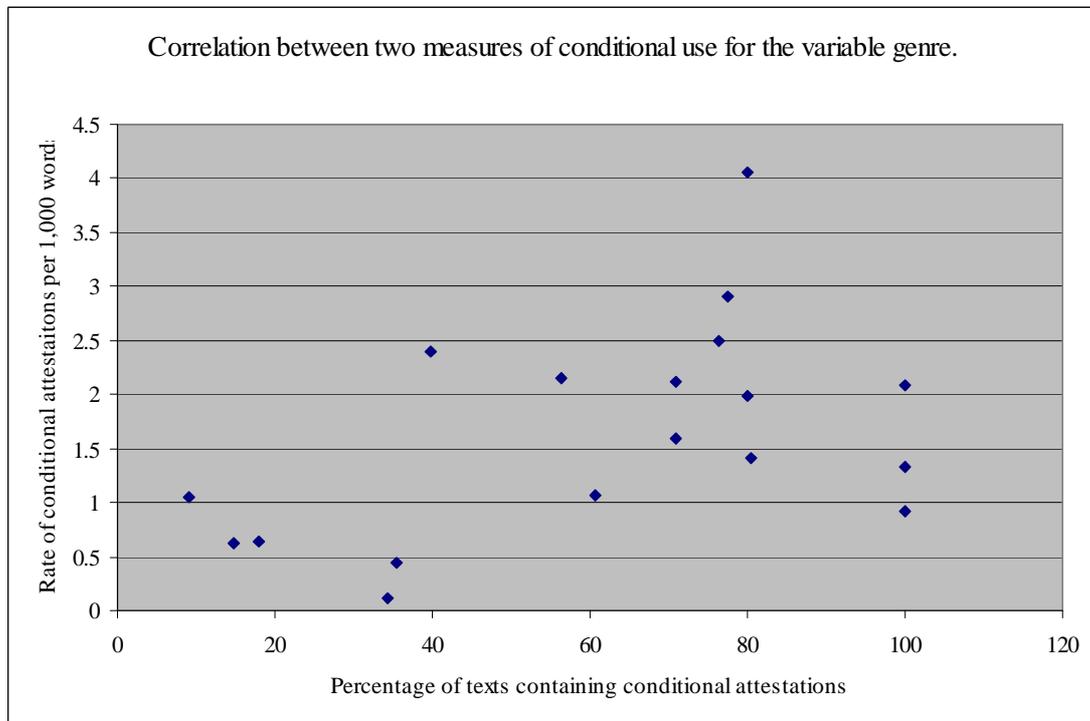
Method

Hypothesis 1 was tested by calculating the correlation between the rate of conditional attestations and the percentage of texts in the OVI containing attestations of the conditional in each of the three variables. This calculation was carried out according to the formula given in the Methodology section. Each correlation was tested at the significance level $\alpha = 0.05$. The data for each variable was also plotted as a scatter graph, to ensure that no possible outliers skewing the numerical correlation were overlooked. This was particularly important given the small number of variants in the variables area and date, where the probability was high that any correlation could be the result of chance.

Genre

In the calculation of a Pearson's correlation, where $\alpha = 0.05$ and $df = 16$, the critical value for statistically significant correlation between the two measures of conditional use in the variable genre was $\rho = 0.468$. The actual degree of correlation was $\rho = 0.48$. The moderate rate of correlation between the rate of conditional attestations and the percentage of texts attesting the conditional was statistically significant. The graph of

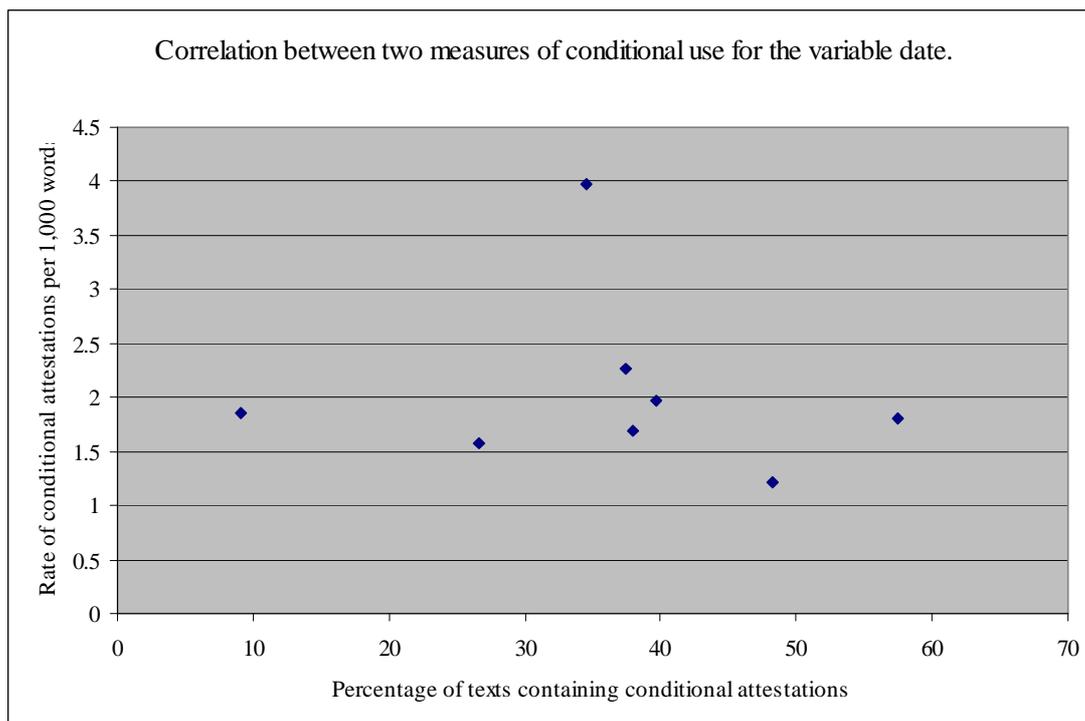
the rate of attestations and the percentage of texts containing conditionals, (Graph 1), showed a good line of best fit.



Graph 1 - Genre

Date

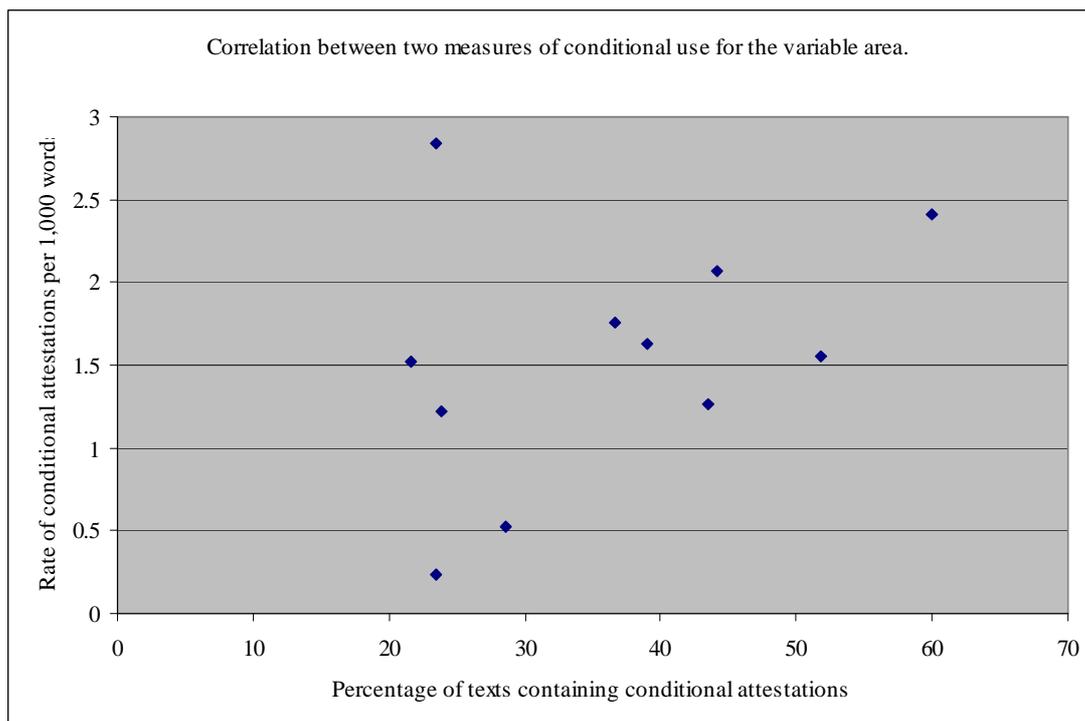
In the calculation of a Pearson's correlation for the variable date, where $\alpha = 0.05$ and $df = 6$, the critical value for statistically significant correlation between the two measures of conditional use in the variable genre was $\rho = 0.71$. The actual degree of correlation was $\rho = -0.11$. As could be seen from Graph 2, there was no underlying correlation skewed by an outlier, and the graph showed no line of best fit. There was therefore no correlation between the two measures of conditional use for the variable date.



Graph 2 - Date

Area

In the calculation of a Pearson's correlation for the variable area, where $\alpha = 0.05$ and $df = 9$, the critical value for statistically significant correlation between the two measures of conditional use in the variable genre was $\rho = 0.60$. The actual degree of correlation was $\rho = 0.36$. Although this degree of correlation was only slightly lower than the degree of correlation displayed by the variable genre, it was below the level of statistical significance, and it could not be asserted that it was not a chance occurrence of correlation. Although the scatter graph for this data (Graph 3) appeared to show a good line of best fit, it was apparent that the correlation was in fact caused by one variant, *LIG PIEM*, at (60, 2.4). Without this point, the degree of numerical correlation would have been $\rho = 0.18$, and there would have been no graphical line of best fit. As the correlation was below the critical value for significance, and the graph showed a line of best fit dependent on one point, the correlation $\rho = 0.36$ was probably the result of chance. There was therefore no correlation between the two measures of conditional use for the variable area.



Graph 3

Conclusions

The data showed that there was correlation between the rate of conditional attestations per 1,000 words and the percentage of texts containing attestations of the conditional (both paradigms) in the variable genre, but not in the variables area and date. Hypothesis 1 was thereby proved to be correct: it could be concluded that genre was the only variable for which texts were organised into variants with similar hypotheticality needs. The variants of the other two variables, date and area, did not contain texts grouped according to similarity in conditional use, but contained random groupings of texts. The variation in conditional use displayed by the variables date and area was, therefore, a function of the genres of the texts the variants contained. On this basis, the relationship between genre and conditional use could be investigated more thoroughly in Hypothesis 2.

5.3 Hypothesis 2

The patterns of conditional use (both paradigms) were unrelated to the variables area and date. The pattern of conditional use (both paradigms) was related to the variable genre.

Hypothesis 1 showed that there was a quantitative link between genre and the use of the conditional (both paradigms), but not between the geographical and temporal distributions of the conditional and the use of the conditional (both paradigms). Hypothesis 2 postulated that it would be possible to discern a qualitative link between specific genres and the rates at which the conditional (both paradigms) was attested, but that there would be no such qualitative link between the use of the conditional and the variables area and date, further reinforcing the conclusions drawn from Hypothesis 1.

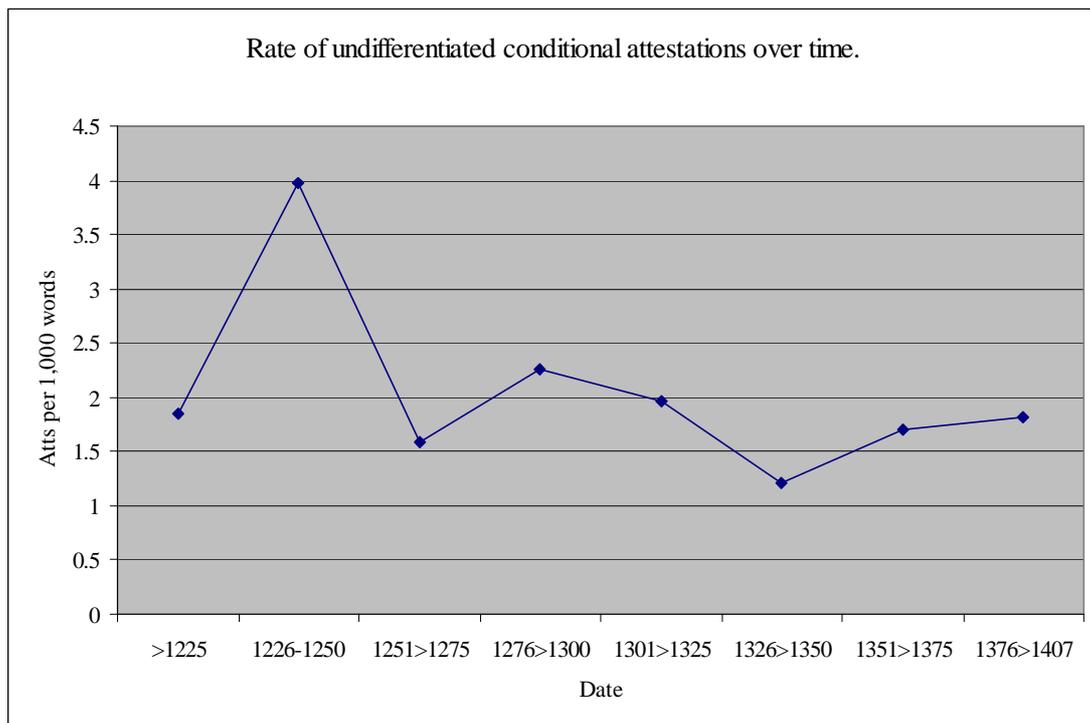
As the link between conditional use (both paradigms) and genre was expected to be weak, it was not anticipated that the absolute rate of conditional use in each genre would show a distinguishable pattern. Instead, it was predicted that the weak relationship between genre and the rate of conditional use (both paradigms) would be reflected by a correlation between the groupings of high, medium and low rates of conditional use and the literary and practical genres. This part of the hypothesis was tested according to the percentage of texts in a genre containing attestations of the conditional (both paradigms) as well as the number of attestations per 1,000 words of text in the genre.

Date and Area

The rate of conditional use according to area varied from 0.23 attestations per 1,000 words in *ABRUZZ*, to 6.03 attestations per 1,000 words in *SCOL SIC*, and 3.98 attestations per 1,000 words in *SIC TOSC*. Although the data could not be plotted on a graph as above, the rate of conditional attestations (both paradigms) per 1,000 words over area varied as a function of the percentages of texts of each genre and each genre's respective rate of conditional use. The high rates of conditional use cited above were genre related: both *SCOL SIC* and *SIC TOSC* comprised almost entirely verse

texts. In contrast, the *ABRUZZ* texts were all prose, including a *MED* text and several *CRON* texts, genres which displayed relatively low rates of conditional use.

The rate of conditional use (both paradigms) varied over time between 1.22 attestations per 1000 words in the second quarter of the fourteenth century to 3.98 attestations per 1,000 words in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. As could be seen from Graph 4, there was no pattern to the variation in the rate of conditionals per 1,000 words over time. The texts in the quarter centuries with high rates of conditional attestation were almost entirely *LIR*, which had a relatively high rate of conditional use, and there were few texts from genres with a low rate of conditional use. Other quarter-centuries contained a lower proportion of texts from genres with high rates of conditional attestation, and therefore showed lower rates of overall conditional use.



Graph 4

Genre

When the genres were grouped according to the rate of conditional attestations per 1,000 words, they fell into the following pattern:

High rate of use:	<i>LIR, NARR, NARR VERSI, BEL, DID REL, LETT</i>
Medium rate of use:	<i>COMM, CRON, FIL, RET, SCI, VITE</i>
Low rate of use:	<i>ART TECN, DOC, DOC MERC, DOC GIUR, MED, STAT</i>

From these groupings, it could be seen that the rate of conditional use (both paradigms) did reflect the distinction between literary and non-literary genres: the texts containing high and medium rates of conditional attestations were literary genres, such as poetry, narratives and didactic texts, whereas the low rates of conditional use were to be found amongst the practical and legal texts, which were largely context-specific, with little scope for hypotheticality or politeness constructions.

Further, but weaker, distinctions could be made between the groupings of texts with high and medium rates of conditional attestations. The highest levels of conditional attestations were found in poetry, narratives, both original and vernacular versions, and *bestiari*, all of which could be described as the most highly literary and least context-specific genres. The genres with medium levels of conditional use were more strongly context-linked than the abstract poetic or literary texts: these included commentaries, saints' lives and histories. The *RET* texts were not rhetorical presentations, but mainly manuals of written and spoken style for those unsure of the conventions. They were, in consequence, context-specific and relatively practical in nature, so it was not unreasonable that they should show medium, rather than high, levels of conditional use. The scientific texts included some quasi-philosophical works, and were therefore less context-specific than the medical texts, which fell within the lowest rate of conditional attestations.

When analysed according to the percentage of texts containing attestations of the conditional, the distributions of the genres over the high, medium and low groupings did not follow the same pattern as when analysed according to the rate of conditional attestations. The groupings were as follows:

High rate of use:	<i>ART TECN, BEL, COMM, FIL, SCI, VITE,</i>
Medium rate of use:	<i>CRON, DID REL, LETT, NARR, NARR VERSI, RET</i>
Low rate of use:	<i>DOC, DOC MERC, DOC GIUR, STAT, LIR, MED</i>

The differences in the distributions of the genres over the three groupings were because the second dataset was not weighted to take into account the frequency of attestations in the texts; one conditional attestation in a text had as great an impact on the data as twenty did. Texts which contained one or two isolated attestations of conditionals were included for comparison on an equal basis with texts that were conditional-heavy. As a result, the second dataset based on the percentage of texts in a genre containing attestations of the conditional was easily skewed, and was considered to be a less reliable picture of the pattern of conditional use (both paradigms) than the data on the rate of conditional attestations per 1,000 words of text. This weakness also accounted for the moderate correlation between the two measures described in Hypothesis 1: the less reliable data in one measure meant that it did not reflect the more accurate measure closely, and the correlation was therefore weakened.

The limitations of the data aside, in both analyses, the practical documents, *DOC*, *DOC GIUR*, *DOC MERC* and *STAT* were included in the grouping that showed the lowest rate of conditional use, and the literary texts, such as *NARR*, *COMM* and *DID REL*, fell within the groupings of medium and high rates of conditional attestations (both paradigms) in both datasets. The one unusual result was the high and low positioning of *LIR* in the two datasets. The shorter *LIR* texts, with formal and semantic constraints were unlikely, in contrast to the longer and thus less constrained prose literary texts, to show single, chance, attestations of the conditional. Consequently, this genre was most open to inaccurate representation in a data analysis based on the percentage of texts containing attestations of the conditional.

Conclusions

It could be seen from the data above that the rate of conditional attestations (both paradigms) did not vary systematically according to area or date, but that it was dependent on the genres of the texts in each variant. Hypothesis 2 was therefore proved to be correct. The distribution of conditional use was qualitatively and weakly linked to genre: the literary genres showed higher rates of conditional attestations (both paradigms) as well as higher percentages of texts containing attestations of the conditional than the practical genres. These results could be explained by a

relationship between reality and hypotheticality where the stronger the tie between the text and the external world, the lower the hypotheticality requirements of the text, and consequently the lower the rate of conditional attestations in all texts in the genre. The non-practical genres, particularly *NARR* and *NARR VERSI*, also contained passages including direct or reported speech, which were a locus of politeness constructions and, accordingly, further conditional attestations. This did not occur in practical genres, thus reducing further their relative rate of attestations of the conditional (both paradigms). It was not reasonable, nevertheless, to draw firm conclusions from the pattern of conditional use described above. Although the rate of conditional use varied according to literary and practical use, the variation was dependent on the communicative needs, and the resultant hypotheticality requirements, of the texts in a genre, rather than their stylistic composition. Conditional use could not, therefore, be regarded as predictive of an orality-to-literacy scale as described in the Introduction, but could be said to be weakly descriptive of it.

Hypotheses 1 and 2 provided both a quantitative and a qualitative proof of the link between genre and conditional use. It was on this basis that the possibility of genre variation as a locus, although not necessarily a cause, of variation between the two conditional periphrases was considered. As a result, Hypotheses 3 and 4, in which the different patterns of use of the two conditional periphrases were examined in detail, were designed using genre as the primary variable of analysis.

5.4 Statistical Note

The higher proportion of attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis than the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis meant that the distribution of the attestations over the whole Access database reflected the patterning of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, not the CANTARE HABEBAM one.

This Note was a purely statistical proposition. It suggested that the ratio of attestations of the CANTARE HABUI to the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrases was so large that the conditional data from the B-Tables reflected the distributions of attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, rather than a balanced picture of the distributions of the CANTARE HABUI and CANTARE HABEBAM periphrases. This implied that the data in the B-Tables could not, therefore, be regarded as a set of control data for comparison with the two sets of data on each periphrasis contained in the C-Tables. As a result, the data analysed in the comparative hypotheses had to remain independent of that analysed in the general hypotheses. Since Hypotheses 1 and 2 had demonstrated that the key variable in the data analysis was genre, Hypothesis 3 was also limited to this variable, as well as to the more accurate measure of conditional distribution, the rate of conditional attestations per 1,000 words.

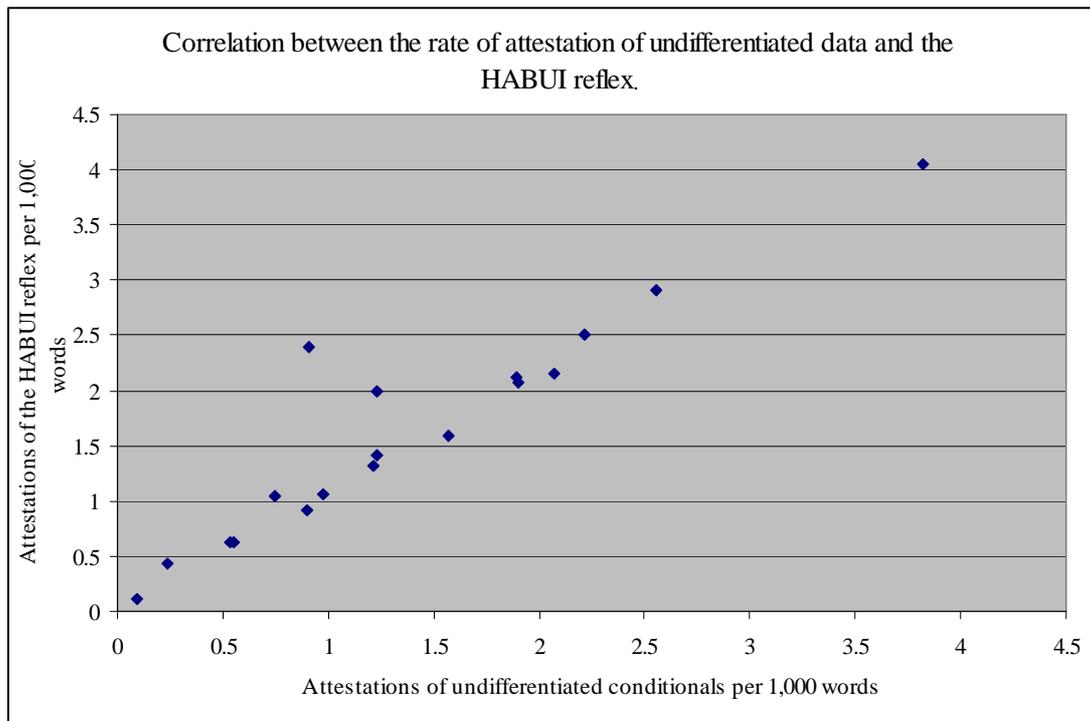
The Note was designed to show which set of data, that of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis or that of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, had the greater statistical weight and, accordingly, which set of data was represented most strongly by the combined data. It was tested by comparing the distributions of the CANTARE HABUI and CANTARE HABEBAM periphrases in the Genre section of the C-Tables with the distribution of the conditional attestations (both paradigms) in the genre section of the B-Tables. The comparison was carried out by calculating the correlation between the rate of attestations (both paradigms) per 1,000 words in each variant of the variable genre as well as the rate of attestations per 1,000 words of the two conditional periphrases in each variant. The correlations were calculated according to the formula given in the Methodology chapter, and were calculated to the significance level $\alpha = 0.05$. Each set of correlations was plotted on to a scatter graph to ensure that no possible outliers skewing the numerical correlation were overlooked. The two correlations would show whether the distribution pattern of the conditional attestations (both paradigms) per

1,000 words was more closely matched by the pattern of attestation of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis or of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. In order to show that one set of data was statistically more influential than the other in the data on both paradigms, there had to be a relatively stronger correlation between the distributions of the periphrasis and the data on both paradigms, and a relatively weaker correlation between the distributions of the other periphrasis and the data on both paradigms. Both of these conditions had to be met, as similar levels of correlation between each periphrasis and the data on both paradigms would show that neither periphrasis was reflected more strongly in the data on both paradigms. This result would imply that neither periphrasis had greater statistical weight, and the requirements for proof of the hypothesis would not, therefore, have been met.

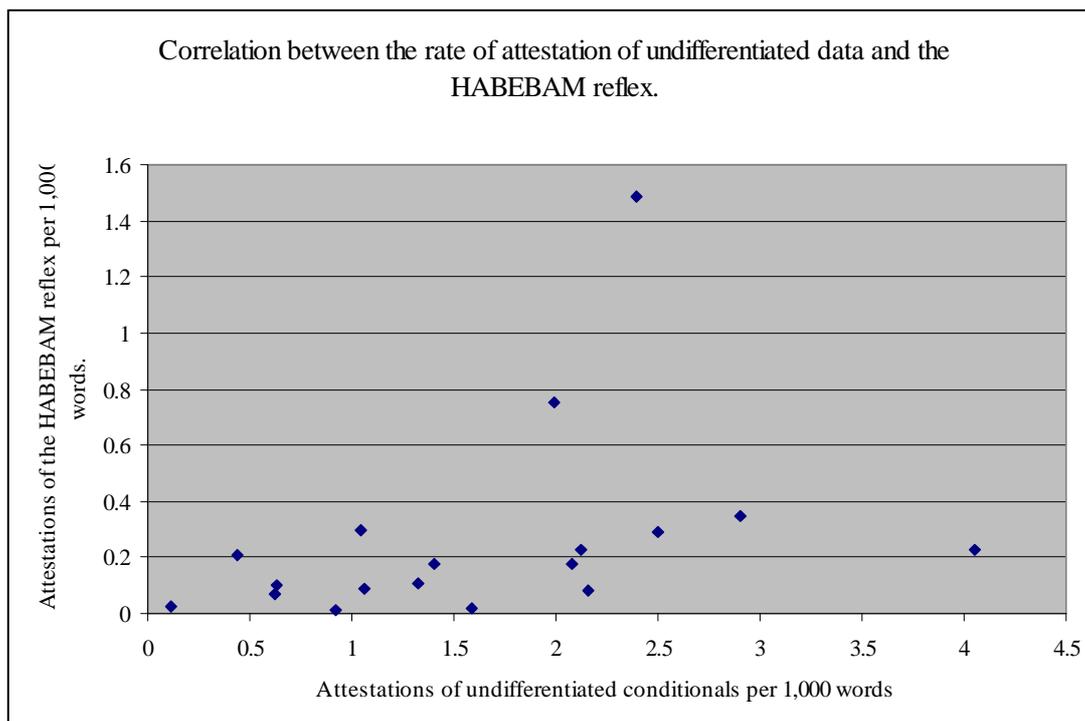
In the calculation of a Pearson's correlation, where $\alpha = 0.05$ and $df = 16$, the critical value for statistically significant correlation between the two measures of conditional use in the variable genre was $\rho = 0.44$. The correlation between the data from the C-Tables on the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis and the data from the B-Tables was $\rho = 0.36$. The correlation between the data from the C-Tables for the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis and the data from the B-Tables was $\rho = 0.94$. The degree of correlation between the use of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis and the data on both paradigms was high, and above the critical value for significance. The correlation between the distributions of the attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis per 1,000 words and the conditional attestations (both paradigms) per 1,000 words was low, and below the critical value for significance. The weak correlation between the distribution of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis and the conditional (both paradigms) could be accounted for, because attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrases comprised approximately one seventh of the total conditional data (both paradigms). The data on the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis included in the B-Tables did affect the overall distributions of the conditional, but it did not have a strong effect, and the degree of correlation between the distributions of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis and the conditional (both paradigms) remained high.

When plotted on scatter graphs, below, the high degree of numerical correlation between the distributions of the conditional (both paradigms) and the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis corresponded to a strongly linear graph (Graph 5). The two outliers were

caused by *LIR* and *SCI GEO*, both of which displayed unusually high rate of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and a correspondingly low rate of attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. The low degree of correlation between the distributions of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis and the conditional (both paradigms) was represented by a graph (Graph 6) with no line of best fit and widely scattered points. While *LIR* and *SCI GEO* also appeared as unusually high points on this graph, they could not be described as outliers, as the other points were randomly distributed. The strongly linear tendency of Graph 5 and the non-linear Graph 6 confirmed that the correlations were valid: it was safe to assume that there was a strong degree of correlation between the distributions of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis and the conditional (both paradigms), and that this was not due to chance.



Graph 5



Graph 6

Conclusions

The degree of numerical correlation between the distributions of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis and the conditional (both paradigms), supported by the graphs, proved that the assumption behind this statistical note was correct. The data on the use of the conditional laid out in the B-Tables reflected the distribution of attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis across the variants of genre. The data in the B-Tables did not reflect equally the distribution of the attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, which formed a relatively small percentage of the data.

As the statistical note demonstrated that the data in the B-Tables was a slightly skewed version of the representation of the distributions of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, it also raised the possibility that the conclusions drawn from this data in Hypotheses 1 and 2 were invalid. However, while the B-Tables did indeed reflect a disparity in the proportions and distributions of the CANTARE HABUI and the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrases, this was not caused by skewed data, such as a systematic omission of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. Instead, the disparity was caused by the innate imbalance in the proportions in which attestations of the CANTARE HABUI and CANTARE HABEBAM periphrases occurred, as the CANTARE HABUI

periphrasis was attested more frequently in almost all linguistic contexts. When the two sets of data were combined in the B-Tables, however, they reflected every instance of hypotheticality that occurred in the OVI corpus. Hypotheses 1 and 2 examined the link between the genre and the attestation of any type of hypotheticality, a different concept entirely to the two distinct realisations of hypotheticality analysed in Hypotheses 3 and 4. It follows that the data from the B-Tables was a valid dataset for the analysis of these hypotheses.

The statistical note did, however, show that although conclusions could be drawn from the B-Tables about the variation in use of the conditional (both paradigms), comparisons between the C-Tables and the B-Tables could not be valid. The two sets of data in the C-Tables differentiated between the distributions of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis and the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. As a result, comparisons between the data on the distributions of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the C-Tables and the data from the B-Tables would be a comparison between like and like. Consequently, the B-Tables could not act as a control for comparison with the C-Tables, as the data in the B-Tables was essentially a slightly skewed version of the differentiated data in the C-Tables on the distributions of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. Any analysis of the C-Table data on the distributions of the two conditional periphrases would, therefore, have to be data-internal, that is, an analysis of the different distributions of the differentiated data within the C-Tables, without external reference. This principle was fundamental to the analysis carried out in Hypotheses 3 and 4.

5.5 Hypothesis 3

Attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM and CANTARE HABUI periphrases occurred at a ratio of approximately 1:5. This disparity showed that the two periphrases were not in free variation, and that the difference in use of the two periphrases was further demonstrated by the varying rates at which attestations of each periphrases occurred in the different genre variants.

Hypotheses 3 and 4 were intended to produce quantitative and qualitative genre-based analyses of the data in the C-Tables, which were a statistical representation of the variation of the two periphrases over genre, area and date. The underlying premise of Hypothesis 3 was that since the two periphrases were attested in widely disparate proportions, they were not in free variation during the period covered by this study. Instead, the high proportion of attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis suggested that it was the default conditional form, and that the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was a minority form used in a limited range of contexts. As genre had already been shown to be the main locus of conditional variation, it was to be expected that if the two periphrases were not in free variation, the genres would display the two periphrases attested in different proportions. Hypothesis 3 was designed to prove that the two periphrases were not attested at a constant ratio across the genres.

Hypothesis 3 was tested by comparing the rate at which the two periphrases were attested in the different genre variants. The two measures used for these comparisons were the percentage of texts containing attestations of each periphrasis, and the number of attestations of each periphrasis per 1,000 words. Two correlations were calculated, in which the distributions of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis were compared with the distributions of the attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis across each variant, using the two measures of conditional use outlined above. The correlation showed how closely increased or decreased attestation of one periphrasis was mirrored by the other periphrasis. As the degree of correlation increased, the greater the similarity of the rate was at which the two periphrases were attested across the variants. The degree of correlation showed, therefore, how close the two periphrases were to a constant rate of attestation.

The primary correlation was relationship between the attestations per 1,000 words of the two periphrases in each genre variant. The CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was attested at an overall ratio of approximately 1:5 to the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. If this ratio was maintained at a constant rate over each variant, the proportion in each variant of the CANTARE HABEBAM:CANTARE HABUI periphrases would also remain constant at 1:5. To maintain this 1:5 ratio as a constant, the rate of increase or decrease in the attestation rate of each periphrasis would have had to occur at a similar rate in each variant. A high degree of correlation between the rates of attestation of the CANTARE HABUI and the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrases would be the statistical marker of this mirrored increase and decrease, and accordingly a marker of the constant ratio. If the hypothesis were incorrect, the correlation between the patterns of the two periphrases would be high, as both the CANTARE HABEBAM and the CANTARE HABUI periphrases would be distributed evenly across the genres, at a consistent 1:5 ratio. A high or low rate of attestations in one periphrasis would be mirrored by an increase or decrease in the other. A consistent cross-genre ratio similar to that of the overall 1:5 ratio would show that the frequency of attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis did not vary according to genre.

If the hypothesis were correct, there would be minimal correlation between the two sets of data. A high or low occurrence of one periphrasis would not be mirrored in the other, implying a variable ratio of attestation between the two periphrases across the different variants. The same pattern would hold for the secondary measures of conditional use, the percentage of texts containing attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. Across the whole Access database, the CANTARE HABEBAM and CANTARE HABUI periphrases were attested in texts at an approximate ratio of 1:1.5. A high degree of correlation between the distributions of the two sets of periphrases would indicate that a consistent percentage of texts in the genre attested each periphrasis. Low correlation would show that a variable percentage of texts in the different genre contained attestations of each periphrasis.

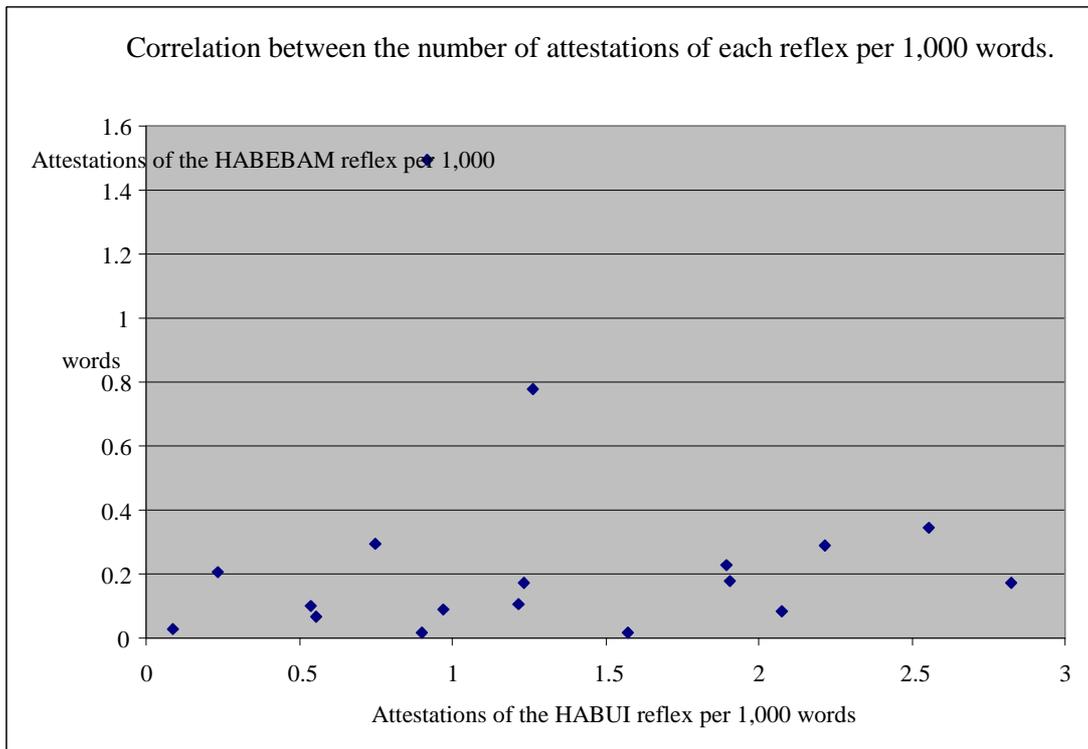
In addition to the calculation of the numerical correlation of the distributions of the two periphrases, the relationships were represented graphically in two ways. The first was a standard scatter graph in which correlation was shown by the degree to which points were gathered around a straight line (Graphs 7 and 9). The second graphical

representation was a line graph which plotted the ratios at which the CANTARE HABUI and CANTARE HABEBAM periphrases were attested in each genre variant (Graphs 8 and 10). For example, attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis occurred at approximately 1:5 ratio overall compared to attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. This ratio was calculated by dividing the data on the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis by the data on the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. There were 24,310 attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, and 4,639 attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, so for every attestation of a CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, there were 0.19 attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The ratio at which the CANTARE HABEBAM and CANTARE HABUI periphrases were attested was then calculated individually for each genre variant and plotted on a line graph (Graph 8). A straight horizontal line on the Y axis would show that the ratios remained constant in each genre variant, whereas a jagged or rising or falling line shows that the ratios varied according to genre. Values of less than 1 for this measure would show that there were fewer attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis than the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis in a particular genre variant. A value higher than 1 would show that the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was the more common. The actual ratios at which each periphrasis was attested in the different genre variants were not discussed in this hypothesis, which was a purely quantitative proof that the use of each periphrasis varied according to genre.

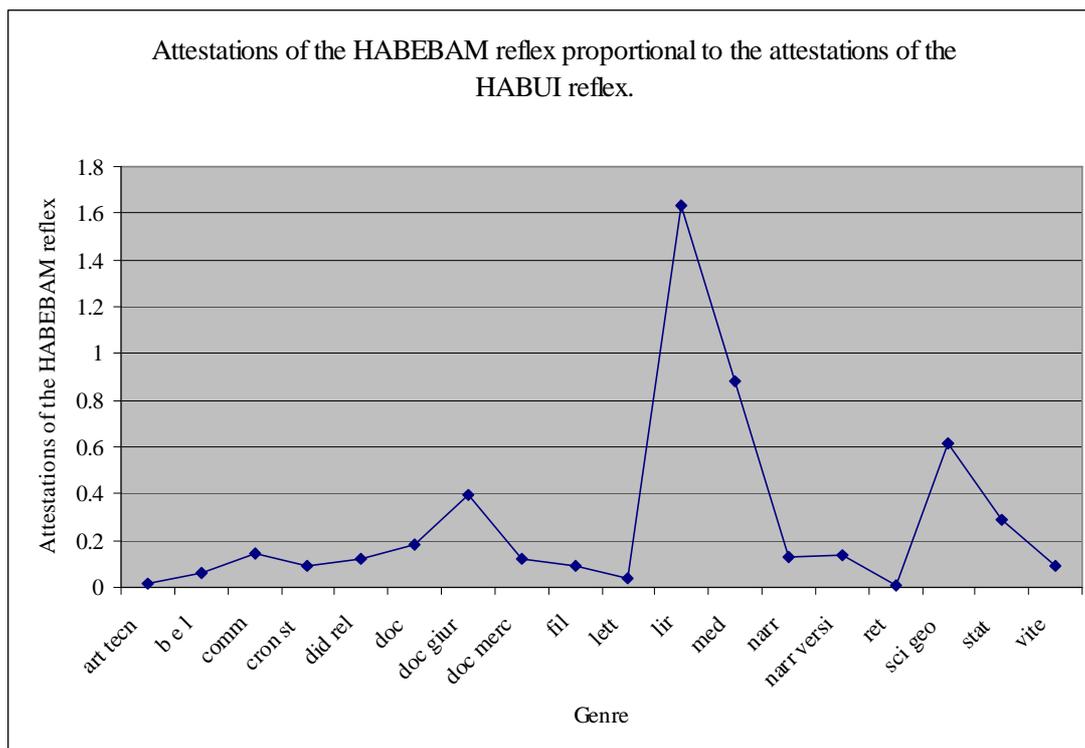
The second measure, the percentage of texts containing attestations of each periphrasis, was represented graphically in the same way as the primary measure. The ratios of the percentage of texts using CANTARE HABUI as compared to CANTARE HABEBAM in each variant were calculated and plotted on a similar line graph. The line graph had the advantage over a scatter graph of showing more clearly how individual genre variants varied, as each variant was labelled along the X-axis. The scatter graph was a more useful representation of the degree of correlation between the use of the two periphrases across all the variants.

The first calculation was the correlation between the number of attestations of each periphrasis per 1,000 words across the genre variants. In the calculation of a Pearson's correlation, where $\alpha = 0.05$ and $df = 16$, the critical value for statistically significant correlation between the two measures of conditional use in the variable genre was

$\rho = 0.468$. The actual degree of correlation was $\rho = -0.002$. The graphical representations of the data showed that the numerical correlation was unaffected by potential outliers: when the data was plotted as a scatter graph, (Graph 7), there was no discernible line of best fit. When the ratios of the different genre variants were plotted as a line graph, (Graph 8), they formed a jagged line that varied between 0.01 and 1.63, which demonstrated that the ratio at which the two periphrases were attested did not remain constant across the genre variants. There was therefore no relationship between the rate of attestation of the two periphrases for the variable genre.

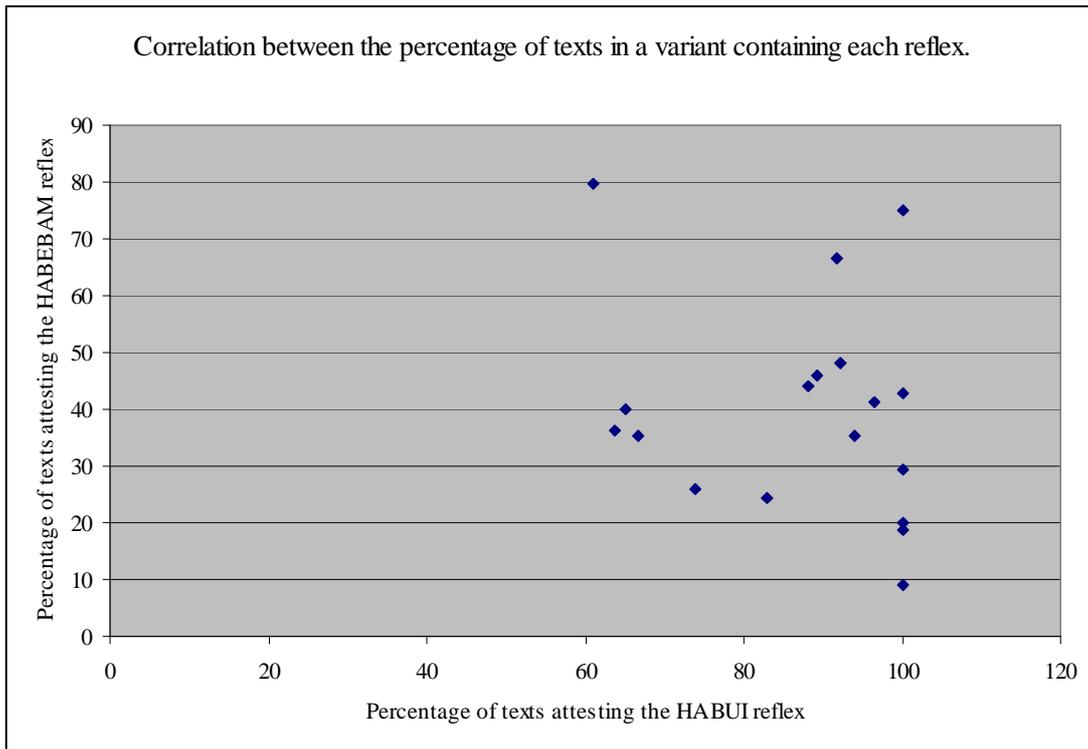


Graph 7

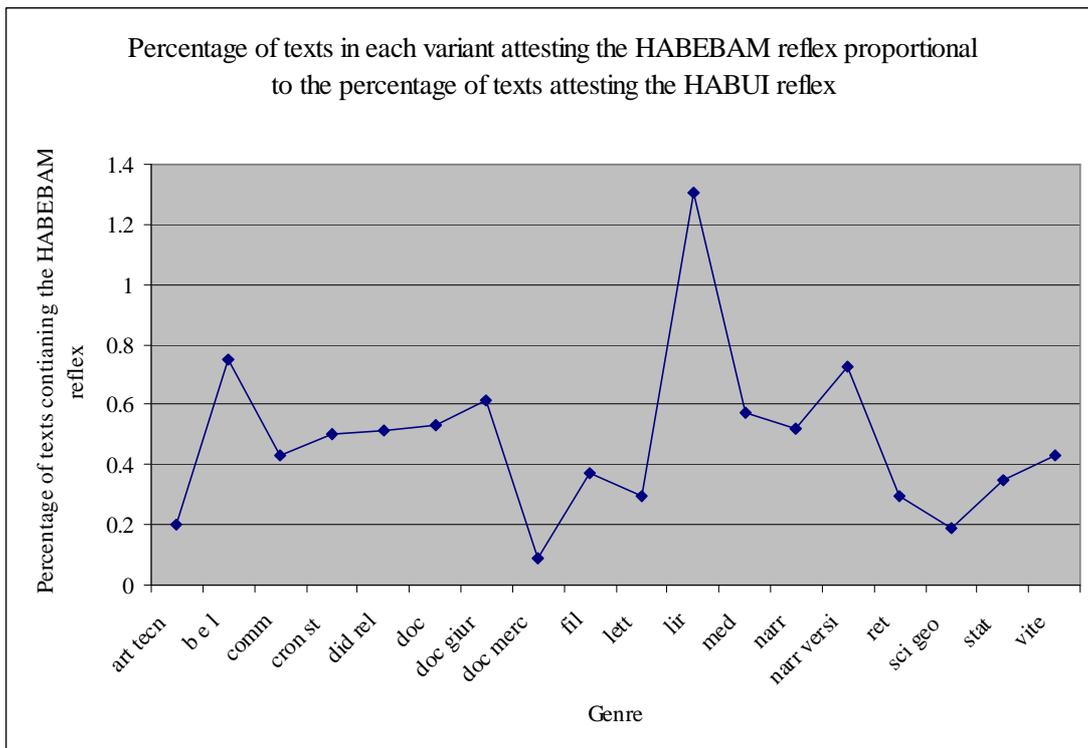


Graph 8

The second calculation was the correlation between the percentage of texts attesting each of the two periphrases across the genre variants. In the calculation of a Pearson's correlation, where $\alpha = 0.05$ and $df = 16$, the critical value for statistically significant correlation between the two measures of conditional use in the variable genre was $\rho = 0.468$. The actual degree of correlation was $\rho = -0.22$. While this degree of correlation was greater than that of the first measure of conditional use, it was still low, falling below the level of statistical significance. The numerical correlation was shown by the graphical representations of the data to be unaffected by potential outliers, as when the data was plotted as a scatter graph, (Graph 9), there was no discernible line of best fit. When the ratios of the percentages of texts in a variant containing the two periphrases were plotted as a line graph, (Graph 10), they formed a jagged line that varied between 0.09 and 1.31. This demonstrated that the genre variants did not show a constant relative percentage of texts containing each periphrasis. There was, therefore, no link between the percentage of texts in each variant that contained the two periphrases.



Graph 9



Graph 10

Conclusions

The data from the C-Tables analysed in Hypothesis 3 showed that there was no link between the patterns of occurrence of the two conditional periphrases for the variable genre. The CANTARE HABEBAM and the CANTARE HABUI periphrases did not show any numerical correlation for either of the two measures of conditional use. The ratios at which the two conditional periphrases occurred varied: the 1:5 ratio of attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM and the CANTARE HABUI periphrases demonstrated by the C-Table data as a whole was not reflected in the individual genres, which showed widely disparate ratios of attestation of the two periphrases. Similarly, the percentages of texts in each variant containing attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis demonstrated varying rates of use of the CANTARE HABEBAM and the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis: they did not maintain the overall 1:1.5 ratio. These results proved that the proposition set out in Hypothesis 3 was correct: there was a quantitative difference in the patterns of use of the two conditional periphrases over the variable genre. In consequence, it was reasonable to assume that the two conditional periphrases were not interchangeable, and were not in free variation in the period covered by the data analysed in Hypothesis 3. This premise provided a statistical justification for a qualitative analysis of the data on the two conditional periphrases, carried out in Hypothesis 4. This hypothesis suggested that there was a distinguishable pattern to the distributions of the CANTARE HABUI and CANTARE HABEBAM periphrases.

5.6 Hypothesis 4

It was possible to identify a pattern to the variation in the distributions of the CANTARE HABUI and CANTARE HABEBAM periphrases according to genre. This pattern was also conditioned by area and date.

Introduction

Hypothesis 3 demonstrated that the distributions of the CANTARE HABUI and CANTARE HABEBAM periphrases were not consistent over the different genres, and that the rate of use varied by a factor of up to 100, from 0.015 to 1.68 attestations per 1,000 words for the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, and from 0.014 to 1.49 for the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The degree of divergence between the rates at which each periphrasis was attested, demonstrated in Hypothesis 3, suggested that the two periphrases were not interchangeable, but that choice of one or the other periphrasis was based on a value judgment. The variation in use was shown in the C-Table data as the varying attestation rates of, and percentages of texts containing, each periphrasis. The purpose of Hypothesis 4 was to establish whether any patterning of the relative use of the two variants could be reconstructed on the basis of the data in hand.

The previous hypotheses focused solely on genre-based variation of conditional use, adequate for the data on the attestations of both paradigms, and sufficiently detailed to establish whether or not there were grounds for further, more detailed, analysis to be carried out on the distributions of the two periphrases. When undertaking a close scrutiny of the patterning of the two periphrases, the possibility of a geographical or temporal dimension to the variation had to be assumed, however, and the method of analysis tailored accordingly.

Method

The key difficulties in the detailed analysis of the C-Table data were the tripartite and multi-variant nature of the variables, and the representation of the variables. The two problems were interwoven, in that a complete analysis was impossible without a more detailed representation of the data for comparison than the C-Tables provided, but that without prior analysis the requirements of the representation of the data were

impossible to establish. The presentation of the data needed to take into account simultaneously variation over time, variation by area, and variation by genre, allowing for interpretation of both sets of periphrases simultaneously.

This problem was solved by two separate analyses of the data. Italy was divided, like Gaul, *in partes tres*: southern Italy, northern Italy and Tuscany. There was no need to carry out a detailed examination of the data from southern Italy, as there were no attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis in either Campania or Sicily, and only three attestations from the Abruzzi. While the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis was attested relatively widely in the Umbrian texts, the small number of texts meant that the region was not included in the detailed written analysis. The main focus of the analysis was therefore the dialectic between the Tuscan and northern Italian distributions of conditional attestations.

The first stage of hypothesis testing required a detailed written analysis describing the patterns of conditional use in each genre and area. The two measures used in the comparison between the Tuscan and northern Italian texts were the percentage of texts in a genre attesting the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis and the proportion of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis as a percentage of the total attestations in each genre. The measure used in Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3, the rate of attestation of each periphrasis per 1,000 words, was rejected because it could not be used as a periphrasis-internal comparative measure. For example, if variant A contained 0.5 attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis per 1,000 words, and variant B contained 3 attestations per 1,000 words, the two rates of attestation could not be directly compared as the claim could not be made that variant A showed a lower use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis than variant B. The 0.5 attestations per 1,000 words of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in variant A might well include every attestation in the variant, whereas the 3 attestations per 1,000 words in variant B could feasibly be only, for example, half the total attestations, with the rest of the attestations occurring in the variant being reflexes of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. In this case, variant A would have a 100% rate of use of CANTARE HABEBAM, compared to a 50% use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in variant B. To provide a periphrasis-internal comparison, the rate per 1,000 words at which a periphrasis occurred would, therefore, also have had to be compared with the overall rate of

conditional attestations (both paradigms) per 1,000 words. This extra step was made redundant by adopting the percentage of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis as the primary measure of relative density of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in each variant.

The percentage of texts that were consistent in their use of one periphrasis or the other was the third statistical measure that was used in the detailed analysis of the different distributions of the two periphrases. While the percentage of texts containing the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis gave an indication of how widespread the periphrasis was over each genre and area, the measure of consistency showed the percentage of texts in a genre that maintained use of one periphrasis, either CANTARE HABUI or CANTARE HABEBAM. This measure was a helpful secondary piece of information to show whether a genre in one area or the other was restricted to the use of one periphrasis in a single text, or alternated between both periphrases. A high level of consistent texts in a genre would suggest that once a periphrasis had been chosen, the text would maintain it, whereas a genre with low levels of consistency would display higher levels of variation. Each set of combinations of use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and the degree of consistency with which it was used, would need to be considered individually to provide a picture of the overall pattern of use.

Similar genres were grouped together for further comparison: the legal documents *DOC*, *DOC MERC*, *STAT*, *DOC GIUR*; the narrative genres, *NARR* and *NARR VERSI*; the historical genres, *CRON* and *VITE*; the meta-literary genres *BEL*, *FIL* and *RET*; the scientific and medical genres, *SCI-GEO* and *MED*; and the didactic genres *COMM* and *DID REL*. The genres *LIR*, *LETT*, and *ART TECN* were not compared with any other genres as there were none that were sufficiently similar.

In the second stage of the analysis of Hypothesis 4, the variable date was accounted for by presenting the genre/area data in timeline form. Although it was impractical to plot each of the 28,942 conditional attestations, the 741 texts provided a more realistic source from which to draw for a manageable breakdown of the data on the distributions of the two conditional periphrases. Each text was classified as either attesting or not attesting the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and marked as a cross on the corresponding parallel timeline on the genre chart. As a result, the charts could

visually represent possible temporal variation over genre and area, which could not have been observed in the written analysis of the two variables.³³⁶

³³⁶ The charts are to be found in appendix 8.

Medical and Scientific Documents

MED

Of the 11 *MED* texts, 4, or 36.4%, attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, the 9th highest use of the periphrasis. While the genre displayed the second highest rate of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, where 48.6% of the total 94 attestations were in the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, the attestations of the two periphrases were entirely geographically conditioned.

All the *MED* texts were consistent. The CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was attested only in the southern Italian texts, and the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis only in Tuscan texts. There were no northern Italian texts. The one text from the Abruzzi, the anonymous *Volgarizzamento della "Mascalcia" di Lorenzo Rusio*, which could have been said to run counter to the Tuscan model, was a re-classified text from Lazio, and consequently followed the southern Italian pattern of conditional use.³³⁷

SCI-GEO

Although an extremely low percentage, 18.8%, of the 16 *SCI-GEO* texts contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, the second lowest out of the 18 genres, this genre showed the second highest percentage of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, 38.0%. This disparity was caused by one text, *La Composizione del mondo colle sue cascioni* of Restoro d'Arezzo, which contained 430 of the 432, or 99.5%, attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.³³⁸

La Composizione del mondo colle sue cascioni, dated 1298, was an early text, written in what Usher describes as “a rhetorically artless Aretine dialect”.³³⁹ As the other two texts were contemporaneous and more typically Tuscan in features other than their similar use of the different conditional periphrases, they were assumed to be representative of the broader Tuscan conditional use. *La Composizione del mondo colle sue cascioni* was, therefore, regarded as anomalous. Once this text was

³³⁷ [Mascalcia L. Rusio volg., XIV ex. (sab.)]. For the justification of this re-classification, see Chapter 4.5.

³³⁸ Restoro d'Arezzo, [1282], *Composizione del mondo colle sue cascioni (La)* (ed. critica a cura di Alberto Morino, Firenze, Acc. della Crusca, 1976, pp. 3-252.) [Restoro d'Arezzo, 1282 (aret.)].

³³⁹ Usher, p. 30.

excluded, the percentage of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in *SCI-GEO* fell to 0.28%, which was lower than any other genre. The percentage of texts that contained the periphrasis fell to 2 out of 15, or 13.3%, causing the genre to be ranked 17th for this measure.³⁴⁰ Other than *La Composizione del mondo colle sue cascioni*, two Tuscan texts, or 14.3%, contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, dating from the third quarter of the fourteenth century, the *Trattato d'aritmetica* of Paolo Dagomari, and *Il Dittamondo* of Fazio degli Uberti.³⁴¹ These two texts each contained one attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, out of a total of 65 and 128 attestations respectively, although there did not appear to be any conditioning factors to account for these two attestations. Additionally, a high proportion, 85.7%, of the Tuscan texts were consistent, which suggested that the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis did not penetrate into *SCI-GEO* until late on in the fourteenth century, and where it did so was responsible only for sporadic attestations in a few texts.

There was no point of comparison for the Tuscan *SCI-GEO* texts, as there were only two northern Italian texts. This was too small a sample from which to extrapolate reliably, either for the rate of attestations of the two periphrases, or for consistency. Both texts were anonymous, dated 1350: an Emilian *Frammento del Milione* (*versione VA dal ms. 3999 della Casanatense*), and the anonymous text from the Veneto, *Il lapidario estense*, neither of which contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.³⁴²

³⁴⁰ The corrected percentage of texts containing the CANTARE HABEBAM reflex fell to 13.3% from 18.75% but the genre maintained its rank order of 17th.

³⁴¹ [Paolo dell'Abaco, *Trattato*, a. 1374 (fior.)].

Uberti, Fazio degli, [1367], *Dittamondo* (*Il*) (Fazio degli Uberti, *Il Dittamondo e le Rime*, a cura di Giuseppe Corsi, vol. I, Bari, Laterza, 1952.) [Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo*, c. 1345-67 (pis.)].

³⁴² Anonimo, [1350], *Frammento del Milione* (*versione VA dal ms. 3999 della Casanatense*). (Alvaro Barbieri, *La prima attestazione della versione VA del Milione* (ms. 3999 della Biblioteca Casanatense di Roma). Edizione del testo, «Critica del testo», IV, 3, 2001, pp. 493-526 [testo pp. 502-22].) [Framm. Milione, XIV p.m. (emil.)].

Anonimo, [1350], *Lapidario estense* (*Il*) (a cura di Piera Tomasoni, SFI, XXXIV, 1976, pp. 131-86 [testo pp. 138-70].) [Lapidario estense, XIV pm. (trevis./friul.)].

Comparative Conclusions

The geographically conditioned nature of the attestations in the two genres meant that comparisons between the rankings and figures on the data pertaining to both paradigms were meaningless. Once the attestations in *La Composizione del mondo colle sue cascioni* had been excluded, however, the negligible occurrence of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in *SCI-GEO*, 0.3%, was close to the 0.0% occurrence in the Tuscan *MED* texts. The two genres were similarly consistent, as 100% of the *MED* texts maintained the same periphrasis, compared to 85.7% of the *SCI-GEO* texts. Across the whole Access database the southern Italian texts were entirely consistent in their use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, so it could also be assumed that the two genres would also show a similar pattern. From the small amounts of data involved, it was therefore reasonable to state that both the *SCI-GEO* and *MED* texts displayed similar distributions of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, as might have been expected in two practical, scientific, data-oriented genres.³⁴³

³⁴³ The rank order of all other genres was calculated on the basis of the corrected *SCI-GEO* data.

Administrative Documents

DOC GIUR

There were 20 *DOC GIUR* texts, of which 8, or 40%, contained the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, which, ranked 8th, was in the average range. Conversely, 28.3% of attestations in the genre, a high percentage, were reflexes of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, ranking the genre 4th. There were no texts that skewed these figures, nor was there any conditioning factor apparent in the choice of periphrasis.

Two editions of the *Atti del podestà di Lio Mazor* were included in the OVI. Together these contained 46.6% of the total attestations in the genre.³⁴⁴ Such a high proportion of reduplicated data would have skewed the distributions of the data in favour of the pattern displayed by this one text. In order to eliminate any potential bias caused by discrepancies in conditional use between the duplicate text and the rest of the genre, the earlier of the two editions, assumed to be the less reliable, was removed from the Access database. The corrected data showed a percentage of texts containing attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis similar to the original data, 36.8%, but an increase of 10% of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis to 36.2% from 28.3%.

When the *DOC GIUR* texts were separated out into the three geographical areas, a difference in the patterning of the two periphrases was apparent. The CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was not attested in the three Tuscan texts, which showed 100% intra- and inter-textual consistency. Similarly, all but one of the 16 northern Italian *DOC GIUR* texts, or 93.8%, were internally consistent, but the texts attested both periphrases in close to a 1:1 ratio across the genre: 7 texts attested only the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis and 8 texts attested only the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. The one text that attested both periphrases, the *Deposizione di Michele Zancani*, contained two attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis and one attestation of the

³⁴⁴ =, [1314], *Atti del Podestà di Lio Mazor* (Atti del podestà di Lio Mazor. Edizione critica e lessico a cura di Mahmoud Salem Elsheikh, Venezia, Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1999 («Memorie. Vol. LXXXVI»). [Testo pp. 17-74].) [Lio Mazor (ed. Elsheikh), 1312-14 (venez.)].

=, [1314], *Atti dei Podestà di Lio Mazor* (Ugo Levi, I monumenti del dialetto di Lio Mazor, Venezia, Visentini, 1904, pp. 13-48.) [Lio Mazor, 1312-14 (venez.)\$].

CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, but there was no apparent reason for the choice of either one or the other periphrasis.³⁴⁵ All but three *DOC GIUR* texts, two Tuscan and one northern Italian, were dated to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and so did not provide a strong evidence base from which to draw conclusions about change over time.

STAT

A low proportion of the 50 *STAT* texts, 26%, contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, resulting in a rank order of 14th. This contrasted strongly with the high rate of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, which, at 23.7%, was ranked 5th, below *DOC GIUR*. There were no texts that skewed these figures, nor was there any conditioning factor apparent in the choice of periphrasis.

The *STAT* texts were 100% consistent across all three areas. The southern Italian texts, including the Umbrian texts, attested only the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. Only one of the 36 Tuscan texts, or 2.8%, attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis; moreover, this text, the *Statuto dello Spedale di Santa Maria di Siena*, contained only one attestation, *deverrieno*.³⁴⁶ The overall consistency in the use of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, and the single, isolated attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, implied that the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis was the standard form used in *STAT* in Tuscany. Of the 6 northern Italian texts, 4, or 66.6%, contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. While the graph of these texts showed that the two texts containing the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis appeared late in the period under discussion, preceded and followed by texts attesting the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, there were too few texts in this category on which to base definite conclusions.

³⁴⁵ =, [1307], *Deposizione di Michele Zancani* (Testi veneziani del Duecento e dei primi del Trecento, a cura di Alfredo Stussi, Pisa, Nistri-Lischi, 1965, pp. 52-53.) [Doc. venez., 1307 (5)].

³⁴⁶ =, [1318], *Statuto dello Spedale di Santa Maria di Siena* (Statuti senesi scritti in volgare ne' secoli XIII e XIV, vol. III, a cura di Luciano Banchi, Bologna, Romagnoli, 1877, pp. 11-119.) [Stat. sen., c. 1318].

DOC MERC

Only one text, or 9.1%, of the 11 *DOC MERC* texts contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, which was the lowest percentage of any genre. There were, however, sufficient attestations of the periphrasis for the genre to be ranked 9th out of 18, with a total of 11.1% of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. This dataset was easily explained by the geographical distributions of the texts in the genre: 10 out of the 11 *DOC MERC* texts were Tuscan, all of which attested only the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. As these texts were dated between 1300 and 1380, it was reasonable to assume that the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was never available for use in *DOC MERC*. The only northern Italian text, which was also the only one to contain attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, was the *Zibaldone da Canal*, which displayed a mixture of both periphrases.³⁴⁷ It was possible that the mixture of periphrases was a reflection of differences in written style between a handbook of merchant practice and documentation of merchandise. This possibility was discarded as there was a similar text in the genre, Pegolotti's *La Pratica della Mercatura*, which was also a handbook of merchant practice and followed the other Tuscan *DOC MERC* in its use of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.³⁴⁸ It was therefore considered reasonable to assert that the cause of the different uses of the two conditional periphrases in the *Zibaldone da Canal* and the other texts in the genre was geographical.

The distributions of the two periphrases in the *Zibaldone* were almost even: 35 out of 66 attestations were periphrases of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, and 31 were attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The author tended to maintain the same form within a paragraph: 12 paragraphs contained only one periphrasis, either the CANTARE HABUI or the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, compared to 5 paragraphs that displayed a mixture of both periphrases. There was no syntactic or semantic conditioning to account for the distributions of the two periphrases. Paragraph-internal variation, and use of the same lemmae in both paradigms, such as

³⁴⁷ =, [1330], *Zibaldone da Canal* (Zibaldone da Canal, Manoscritto mercantile del sec. XIV, a cura di Alfredo Stussi, Venezia, Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 1967, pp. 5-73, 75-101, 109-12.) [**Zibaldone da Canal, 1310/30 (venez.)**].

³⁴⁸ Balducci Pegolotti, Francesco, [1350], *Pratica della mercatura (La)* (a cura di Allan Evans, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge [Mass.] 1936.) [**Pegolotti, Pratica, XIV pm. (fior.)**].

seria/serave, *vegniria/vegnirave*, suggested that the level at which the variation occurred, that of the sentence, was probably too low to be caused by multiple authorship. The alternative explanation, that the two periphrases were in free variation in all contexts for the author(s) of the *Zibaldone da Canal*, was one which concurred with the data from other genres in the group, and, in consequence, it was accepted.

DOC

In total, 18, or 35.3%, of the 51 *DOC* texts contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, which caused it to be ranked 8th, lower than *DOC GIUR*, but higher than *STAT* and *DOC MERC*. *DOC* displayed a high percentage of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis when compared in rank order to the percentage of texts containing the periphrasis, as 25.3% of attestations were the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, placing it 4th. There were no texts that skewed these figures, nor was there any conditioning factor apparent in the choice of periphrasis, as the following passage shows, “Se eo avesse, eo seria tegnuto da render et renderia”, where the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis is used both as an auxiliary and full verb, and in conditional statements.³⁴⁹

As anticipated, the *DOC* from southern Italy and Umbria attested only the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The Tuscan and northern Italian texts displayed slightly different distributions of the two periphrases when compared to the other genres in the grouping. Two out of the 35 Tuscan *DOC* texts, or 5.7%, contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, which, although higher than the other genres in the group, was still lower than any non-administrative texts. The Tuscan texts were only 97.1% consistent, as one of the two anomalous texts, the *Documenti per la storia della città di Arezzo nel medio evo*, contained attestations of both periphrases, while the other text, the second of the four *Lettere del conte Francesco da Santa Fiora ai Governatori della città di Siena*, was consistent in its use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ = [1314], *Cedula di Pietro Zen* (Testi veneziani del Duecento e dei primi del Trecento, a cura di Alfredo Stussi, Pisa, Nistri-Lischi, 1965, pp. 103-07.) [Doc. venez., 1314 (5)].

³⁵⁰ =, [1337], *Documenti per la storia della città di Arezzo nel medio evo*, (a cura di Ubaldo Pasqui, vol. II, Firenze, Viesusseux, 1916, pp. 652-56.) [Doc. aret., 1337].

The 12 northern Italian *DOC* texts were internally consistent in their use of one periphrasis throughout a text but, unlike the other administrative texts, attested only the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis across the genre. As these texts clustered towards the latter half of the fourteenth century, it was not possible to draw conclusions about potential use of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis in the earlier part of the century. The slight variation between *DOC* and the other administrative genres could be accounted for by the greater variety of content such as letters and instructions contained in *DOC* than in the purely legal genres, *DOC GIUR* and *STAT*.

Comparative Conclusions

As in the scientific genres, the distribution of conditional use over the group of administrative genres was almost entirely geographically conditioned. The genres in the administrative text grouping showed a relatively low rate of texts containing the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. This was caused by the almost complete lack of use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the Tuscan texts. The contrasting high proportion of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was ascribed to the high levels of intra-textual consistency in the choice of periphrasis: the northern Italian texts which attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis maintained it throughout the text, giving rise to a high relative use that statistically outweighed the absence of the periphrasis from the Tuscan texts. Although *STAT* was the only genre to cover the whole timescale, the *DOC GIUR* texts from the first quarter of the fourteenth century and the *DOC* texts from the second half of the fourteenth century provided supporting evidence to confirm that the small amounts of data in these genres could be extrapolated to show a similar pattern of Tuscan and northern Italian use for all four genres in the group.

The patterns of attestation of the two periphrases in the administrative genres strongly suggested that the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was widely available for use in northern Italy, particularly in the *DOC* texts, but was not generally available for use in

{Francesco da Santa Fiora}, [1370], *Lettere del conte Francesco da Santa Fiora ai Governatori della città di Siena (quattro)* (Documenti inediti dell'amiatino tre-quattrocentesco, a cura di Siriana Sbarra, SFI XXXIII, 1975, pp. 15-188 [testo pp. 105-06, 108].) [**Doc. amiat.**, 1370 (2)].

Tuscan administrative texts. The northern Italian data implied that the requirements of the genre prompted consistency, as the texts were largely formulaic, and necessitated close attention to detail, so that the periphrasis chosen initially was retained throughout the text. The inter-textual variation provided evidence, therefore, for the relatively free variation of the two conditional types in northern Italy: the intra-textual consistency in all areas was a result of genre conditioning.

Narratives

NARR VERSI

There were 24 *NARR VERSI* texts, of which 16, or 66.6%, contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, but only 12.8% of the total attestations of the conditional in the genre were attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The data was skewed by the anonymous *Il libro di messer Tristano*, which accounted for 1055 out of 1817 attestations, or 58.0% of the data, all of which were attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.³⁵¹ The corrected data showed that 28.5% conditionals in *NARR VERSI* were attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, which, with a high rank order of 3rd, brought the relative ranking into line with the percentage of texts containing the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, as the genre was also ranked 3rd for this measure.

A high proportion, 68%, of Tuscan *NARR VERSI* texts contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, which was comparable to the 71.4% of northern Italian texts that attested the periphrasis. It was apparent that in these texts form took precedence over content in determining the periphrasis of choice, and the frequent attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the Tuscan texts was explicable by the preponderance of verse texts in the genre: only one Tuscan text out of 17 was prose. The genre therefore displayed a level of use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis similar to *LIR*, in which 78.6% of texts attested the periphrasis.

The genre was also unusual in that a lower percentage of Tuscan texts than northern Italian texts were consistent in their choice of periphrasis: 31.3% of Tuscan texts were consistent, in contrast to 3 out of 7, or 42.8%, of northern Italian texts maintaining the same periphrasis throughout. The verse nature of the texts could not have been responsible, as 59.0% of the Tuscan *LIR* texts were consistent in their use of periphrasis, almost double the rate for *NARR VERSI*. On closer examination, the percentage of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was lower in Tuscan texts, at 10.9%, than the 19.0% in the northern Italian texts. While an unusually high proportion of the texts were inconsistent, and a high percentage of texts contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, this did not equate to more frequent

³⁵¹ Anonimo, [1400], *Il libro di messer tristano* (“*Tristano Veneto*”) (Il libro di messer Tristano (“*Tristano veneto*”) a cura di Aulo Donadello, Venezia, Marsilio, 1994.) [**Tristano Veneto, XIV**].

use overall of the periphrasis, but was caused by a high number of texts containing sporadic attestations. Possible causes, albeit tenuous and beyond the scope of this study, might be found in the syntax or metre of the original texts translated in these versions, but otherwise there appeared to be no reason for this anomaly.

Although the consistent Tuscan texts attested only the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, equal numbers of the consistent northern Italian texts attested the two periphrases: two texts attested only the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, two attested only the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, and three texts attested both periphrases. The use of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis alone in consistent Tuscan texts and the frequent attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in inconsistent texts suggested that the default periphrasis was CANTARE HABUI, but that the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was widely available for use. Conversely, in the northern Italian *NARR VERSI* texts, the balance between the CANTARE HABEBAM and the CANTARE HABUI periphrases in consistent texts, and the similar proportion of inconsistent texts, implied that both periphrases were equally available for use and that neither was the default periphrasis.

NARR

There were 52 *NARR* texts, of which 48.1%, or 25 out of 52, attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, with a rank order of 4th, below *LIR*, *MED* and *NARR VERSI*. In contrast, only 11.6% of the total attestations were of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis which gave it an average ranking of 8th. These figures suggested that while a large proportion of the texts contained at least one attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, the predominant form was still the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, which made up the majority of the attestations in each text. There were some long *NARR* texts that contained high numbers of attestations, such as Boccaccio's *Decameron* or the anonymous *La Tavola ritonda o l'Istoria di Tristano*, but as there were several such texts, no single one could be said to skew the results disproportionately, and no corrections were made to the data.³⁵² There appeared to be

³⁵² Boccaccio, Giovanni, [1370], *Decameron* (ed. critica secondo l'autografo hamiltoniano, a cura di Vittore Branca, Firenze, Acc. della Crusca, 1976.) [Boccaccio, *Decameron*, c. 1370].

Anonimo, [1350], *Tavola ritonda o l'Istoria di Tristano (La)* (La Tavola Ritonda o l'Istoria di Tristano a cura di Filippo Luigi Polidori, Bologna, Romagnoli, 1864.) [Tavola ritonda, XIV pm. (fior.)].

no external motivation for the selection of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the *NARR* texts: the texts were prose, so there were no metrical considerations; attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis occurred in close proximity to attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, in phrases such as “già non la potrei io guardare e mia gelosia non la faria però buona”.³⁵³ The CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis occurred as auxiliary verbs in phrases such as “non si sariano messe solo a uno disordinato sguardo e pensiero d’amore”; as verbs in non-conditional sentences such as “Et loro risposero che farieno suo comandamento”, and in conditional sentences, such as “Et se ‘l vino non mi trae di mia memoria, questo non faria a ogni persona che tenesse il modo che tengo io”.³⁵⁴

The genre showed a considerable difference between the percentages of Tuscan and northern Italian texts attesting the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis: only 37.5% of Tuscan texts attested the periphrasis, compared to 83.3% of northern Italian *NARR* texts. While the texts in both areas were inconsistent in their percentage attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, ranging from 30.4% in the *Filocolo* to 1.15% in Sacchetti’s *Il Trecentonovelle*, the Tuscan texts were also considerably more consistent in maintaining one periphrasis throughout a text than the northern Italian *NARR* texts.³⁵⁵ 62.5% of the Tuscan texts were consistent compared to 33.3% of northern Italian texts.

The genre contained five texts by the same author, spread over almost 35 years, which provided a basis for a more detailed examination of possible variation in use over time. When placed in order of composition, it could be seen that, with the exception of the *Decameron*, the percentage of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in prose texts by Boccaccio generally decreased over time:

³⁵³ [Tavola ritonda, XIV pm. (fior.)].

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Boccaccio, Giovanni, [1338], *Filocolo* (a cura di Antonio Enzo Quaglio, in *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, vol. I, Milano, Mondadori, 1967, pp. 61-675.) [Boccaccio, *Filocolo*, 1336-38]. Sacchetti, Franco, [1400], *Trecentonovelle (Il)* (a cura di Vincenzo Pernicone, Firenze, Sansoni, 1946.) [Sacchetti, *Trecentonovelle*, XIV sm. (fior.)].

Filocolo (1338): 30.4%

Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine (Ameto) (1342): 32.9%

L'Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta (1344): 10.9%

Il Corbaccio (1355): 1.6%

Decameron (1370): 4.0% ³⁵⁶

Given that the *Decameron* was dated later than the other texts by Boccaccio, it would have been anticipated that it would have contained fewer attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. However, 23 out of 31 attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis were contained within the stories, not the frame, and of those attestations, three fell within verse sections leaving only 5 attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the frames and, consequently, unconditioned by metrical factors. It was possible that the stories, written either to represent characters' speech, or to evoke an atmosphere, might well be using the conditional and other stylistic factors of an earlier period. The frame, in Boccaccio's "own" style, with a lower occurrence of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, would therefore have been more representative of Tuscan conditional use at the time the *Decameron* was written than the stories, bringing it into line with the decreasing use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis shown by the other texts.

One of the three attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis in the southern Italian texts occurred among the 205 conditional attestations in *NARR* texts, a redaction of the *Fiorita* of Armannino Giudice di Bologna. As this was an Abruzzese redaction of a northern Italian text, and was one attestation out of a total of 205, the attestation was discounted as being an original form that had not been nativised by the editor.³⁵⁷ The

³⁵⁶ [Boccaccio, *Filocolo*, 1336-38].

Boccaccio, Giovanni, [1342], *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine (Ameto)* (a cura di Antonio Enzo Quaglio, in *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, vol. II, Milano, Mondadori, 1964, pp. 678-835.) [Boccaccio, *Ameto*, 1341-42].

Boccaccio, Giovanni, [1344], *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta (L')* (a cura di Franca Ageno, Parigi, Tallone, 1954.) [Boccaccio, *Fiammetta*, 1343-44].

Boccaccio, Giovanni, [1355], *Corbaccio (Il)* (a cura di Tauno Nurmela, Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1968.) [Boccaccio, *Corbaccio*, 1354-55].

[Boccaccio, *Decameron*, c. 1370].

³⁵⁷ Armannino giudice da Bologna, [1325], *Fiorita (frammento della redaz. C, cod. BNCF Nuovi Acquisti 444)* (Antonio Medin, Una redazione Abruzzese della Fiorita di Armannino, AIVeneto,

two Umbrian texts differed in their use. The anonymous *Rinaldo da Monte Albano* attested only the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, whereas the anonymous *Il Romanzo di Perugia e Corciano* contained attestations of both periphrases in similar proportions.³⁵⁸

The two key areas displayed differences in the patterns in which the periphrases occurred. The Tuscan texts were more consistent than the northern Italian texts, and tended to attest only the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. Moreover, the brief breakdown of the writings of Boccaccio suggested that the frequency of use dwindled over the fourteenth century. In contrast, the northern Italian texts showed stronger tendencies to inconsistency and higher percentages of texts containing attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. Despite the frequency at which the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was attested, however, there were no *NARR* texts where the periphrasis occurred consistently, and 81.0% of the northern Italian attestations were of the CANTARE HABUI type. It may be concluded from this data that although the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was more frequently attested in the northern Italian *NARR* texts than in the Tuscan ones, it did not approach the level of free variation.

Comparative Conclusions

While the two narrative genres were ranked similarly high in the percentage of texts attesting the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, the differences in use of the two periphrases in verse and prose was reflected in the disparity in the rankings of the percentage of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. In both genres the northern Italian texts contained higher percentages of texts attesting the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis than the Tuscan texts. This suggested that in both *NARR* and *NARR VERSI* texts the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was more widely available for use in northern Italian texts than in Tuscan ones. The anomalous, and inexplicable, low level of consistency shown by the Tuscan *NARR VERSI* texts, however, made it

LXXVII, 1917-18, pp. 487-547 [testo pp. 501-02, 508-18, 529-47].) [Armazzino, Fiorita (12), p. 1325 (abruzz.)].

³⁵⁸ Anonimo, [1350], *Rinaldo da Monte Albano* (Michele Catalano, *Il Romanzo di Perugia e Corciano*, BDSPU, XXVII, 1924, pp. 41-151 [testo pp. 139-45].) [Rinaldo da M. Albano, c. 1350 (perug.)].

Anonimo, [1350], *Romanzo di Perugia e Corciano (Il)* (a cura di Michele Catalano, BDSPU, XXVII, 1924, pp. 41-151 [testo pp. 90-139].) [Perugia e Corciano, c. 1350 (perug.)].

unlikely that any comparisons between the two genres on this point would be meaningful.

Educational Writing

COMM

There were 29 *COMM* texts, of which 12, or 41.4%, attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. Although only 12.4% of the attestations were of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, *COMM* was ranked 7th for both measures. There were no texts that skewed the data in the genre, but several texts, such as Francesco da Buti's *Commento al Purgatorio*, were long, as they also included the text commented on in full.³⁵⁹ For this reason it was crucial to establish whether attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis were, in fact, original forms chosen by the author or if they were merely cited forms. For example, the anonymous *Chiose dette del falso Boccaccio* contained two attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, both quoted forms.³⁶⁰ In contrast, the various redactions of *L'Ottimo Commento della Commedia* contained 23 attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, of which 12 were original forms and 11 were quotations.³⁶¹ None of the texts attesting only cited forms of CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis were removed from the data as they all contained additional original attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.

The one southern Italian text attested only the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The Tuscan and northern Italian texts differed in their rate of use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis and in the consistency of the texts: 6 out of 25, or 24%, of the Tuscan *COMM* texts attested original forms of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis,

³⁵⁹ Francesco di Bartolo da Buti, [1395], *Commento al Purgatorio* (Commento di Francesco da Buti sopra la «Divina Commedia» di Dante Alighieri, a cura di C. Giannini, 3 voll., Nistri, Pisa 1858-62, vol. II.) [Francesco da Buti, *Purg.*, 1385/95 (pis.)].

³⁶⁰ Anonimo, [1375], *Chiose dette del falso Boccaccio (Purgatorio)* (a cura di lord William Warren Vernon, Firenze, Piatti, 1846.) [Chiose falso Boccaccio, *Purg.*, 1375 (fior.)].

³⁶¹ Anonimo, [1334], *Ottimo Commento della Commedia (L')*, t. I *Inferno* (a cura di Alessandro Torri, Pisa, Capurro, 1827.) [Ottimo, *Inf.*, a. 1334 (fior.)].

Anonimo, [1334], *Ottimo Commento della Commedia (L')*, t. II *Purgatorio* (a cura di Alessandro Torri, Pisa, Capurro, 1827.) [Ottimo, *Purg.*, a. 1334 (fior.)].

Anonimo, [1334], *Ottimo Commento della Commedia (L')*, t. III *Paradiso* (a cura di Alessandro Torri, Pisa, Capurro, 1829.) [Ottimo, *Par.*, a. 1334 (fior.)].

Anonimo, [1340], *Ottimo Commento della Commedia (L') (seconda redazione)*, *Inf. I-III* (Commento volgare ai tre primi canti della Divina Commedia del codice di San Daniele del Tagliamento, a cura di Giusto Grion, Pr, vol. I, 1868, pp. 332-55, 435-64 [testo pp. 334-55, 435-64].) [Ottimo (sec. red.), a. 1340 (fior.)].

compared to 33.3% of the northern Italian texts which attested the periphrasis. The Tuscan texts were more consistent in their use of one periphrasis throughout a text, as 76.0% were consistent, compared to 66.7% of northern Italian texts. The northern Italian data was based on only 3 texts, all by the same author, Jacopo della Lana. This was too small a sample to be regarded as representative. Furthermore, the one text which contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis contained 61 attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, and only two attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, one of which was a cited form.³⁶² The limitations of the data notwithstanding, the greater consistency of the texts and fewer texts containing the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in Tuscany suggested that the periphrasis was more widely available for use in northern Italy than in Tuscany.

DID REL

There were 122 *DID REL* texts, of which 56, or 45.9%, contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The genre was ranked highly on this measure, with a rank position of 5th, in contrast to its average rank position of 11th, based on the 10.7% of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the genre. A high proportion of the *DID REL* texts were in verse, which, as the *LIR* texts demonstrated, attested the two periphrases in a different pattern to that of the prose texts. In order to prevent any possible skewing of the data, the *DID REL* texts written in verse were excluded and the data recalculated on the basis of the 84 prose texts, 64 of which were Tuscan texts, 16 of which were northern Italian texts, and 4 were southern Italian or Umbrian texts. Of these texts, 28, or 33.3%, attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and 5.1% of the 6673 attestations were of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and the genre was ranked similarly for both measures, 11th and 13th respectively.

A smaller percentage of Tuscan texts contained the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis than the northern Italian texts: 11 out of 64, or 17.1% of Tuscan prose *DID REL* texts contained the periphrasis, compared to 9 out of 16, or 56.3%, of northern Italian texts. The Tuscan texts varied between those which attested the CANTARE HABEBAM

³⁶² Jacopo della Lana, [1328], *Chiose alla "Divina Commedia" di Dante Alighieri. Inferno* (La Divina Commedia nella figurazione artistica e nel secolare commento, vol. I, a cura di Guido Biagi, Torino, UTET, 1924, pp. 1-790.) [Jacopo della Lana, *Inf.*, 1324-28 (bologn.)].

periphrasis only sporadically, such as the *De Amore di Andrea Cappellano volgarizzato*, which contained only one attestation of the periphrasis out of a total of 219 conditional attestations, and those in which the periphrasis occurred at a similar rate to the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.³⁶³ Francesco di Barberino's *Del Reggimento e costumi di donna*, for example, attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis 113 times, in comparison to the 41 attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis that the text contained.³⁶⁴

The Tuscan prose *DID REL* texts were highly consistent. 84.1% maintained the same periphrasis throughout the text, in comparison to 43.8% of the northern Italian texts which attested only one periphrasis consistently. The greater consistency of the Tuscan texts and the lower rate of attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in Tuscany than in northern Italy suggested that the CANTARE HABEBAM was a more common form and in wider use in the northern Italian texts. The presence of Tuscan texts which contained frequent attestations of the periphrasis implied, however, that the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was considered appropriate for consistent use throughout a text, and was not, therefore, necessarily perceived as being highly marked in this genre. As in other genres, the southern Italian *DID REL* texts were consistent in their use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. Of the two Umbrian texts, one attested each periphrasis.

Comparative Conclusions

The *DID REL* texts showed lower overall rates of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and were ranked towards the low end of average, in comparison to *COMM*, which was ranked 7th for both measures of attestation rates. Although the small amounts of northern Italian *COMM* data meant that comparisons between the two northern Italian datasets could not be regarded as conclusive, the Tuscan *DID REL* texts were more consistent than the Tuscan *COMM* texts. The overall lower rate of

³⁶³ Anonimo, [1310], *De Amore di Andrea Cappellano volgarizzato* (a cura di Graziano Ruffini, Milano, Guanda, 1980.) [Andrea Cappellano volg. (ed. Ruffini), XIV in. (fior.)].

³⁶⁴ Francesco da Barberino, [1320], *Reggimento e costumi di donna (Del) (secondo la lezione dell'antico testo a penna barberiniano)* (a cura di Carlo Baudi di Vesme, Commissione per i testi di lingua., Bologna, Romagnoli, 1875. Testo dei "Mottetti" a cura di D. Goldin, in Un gioco poetico di società: i "Mottetti" di Francesco da Barberino.) [Fr. da Barberino, Regg., 1318-20 (tosc.)].

attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and the greater levels of consistency in the Tuscan texts, suggested that *DID REL* texts were more geographically conditioned than *COMM* texts.

The variation in patterning and usage of the two periphrases was accounted for by the differences in content and probable authorship and readership of the two genres. All but two of the *COMM* texts were commentaries on poetic literature, such as Francesco da Buti's *Commento al Purgatorio*.³⁶⁵ The *DID REL* texts were intended for teaching purposes, and would have been oriented towards a less literate or educated audience.³⁶⁶ The authorship of *DID REL* texts would not necessarily have entailed the same levels of education as those required for writing commentaries: the *DID REL* texts included sermons and saints' lives, which would have been within the capabilities of those not equipped to write commentaries on other texts. *DID REL* was therefore more liable to geographical conditioning than *COMM*, while the *COMM* texts were more likely to contain attestations of the mainly poetic CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.

³⁶⁵ [Francesco da Buti, *Purg.*, 1385/95 (pis.)].

³⁶⁶ Bencivenni, Zuccherò, [1310], *Esposizione del Paternostro* (Luigi Rigoli, Volgarizzamento dell'Esposizione del Paternostro, Firenze, Piazzini, 1828.) [<Zuccherò, *Esp. Pater*, XIV in. (fior.)>].

Meta-Literature

FIL

There were 17 *FIL* texts, of which 6, or 35.3%, contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. This data was considerably skewed, however, by one text, the anonymous *Questioni Filosofiche*, which contained only attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.³⁶⁷ As these 105 attestations comprised 86.0% of the total attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the genre, the data was recalculated with this text removed. Although the correction made little difference to the percentage of texts that attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, which dropped by 4% to 31.3%, for which the genre maintained its rank position of 12th, the corrected rate of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis fell to 1.3% of attestations in the genre, with a low rank order of 16th. The texts in the genre which did attest the periphrasis displayed only infrequent occurrences, ranging from 2 attestations out of 422, or 0.5%, in *Il Libro del difenditore della pace e tranquillità volgarizzato* to one attestation out of 67, or 1.5%, in Alberto della Piagentina's *Della filosofica consolazione*.³⁶⁸ The attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in *FIL* texts were isolated, frequently the only attestation of the periphrasis in the text, in close proximity to the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, and with no conditioning factors such as metre or rhyme.

Of the Tuscan *FIL* texts, 4 out of 14, or 28.6% texts, attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, in contrast to 50% of the northern Italian texts. This data had the potential to be misleading, as there were only two northern Italian *FIL* texts, one of which contained the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and one of which did not. Similarly, 71.4% of Tuscan texts were consistent in their use of one periphrasis, generally the

³⁶⁷ Anonimo, [1298], *Questioni filosofiche* («Questioni filosofiche» in volgare mediano dei primi del Trecento, edizione critica con commento linguistico a cura di Francesca Geymonat, Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, 2000, 2 voll. [I. Introduzione, Nota al testo, Commento linguistico].) [Questioni filosofiche, p. 1298 (tosc. sud-or.)].

³⁶⁸ Anonimo, [1363], *Libro del difenditore della pace e tranquillità volgarizzato (Il)* (Marsilio da Padova, Defensor pacis, nella traduzione in volgare fiorentino del 1363, a cura di Carlo Pincin, Torino, Fondazione L. Einaudi, 1966.) [Libro del difenditore della pace, 1363 (fior.)].

Alberto della Piagentina, [1332], *Boezio, Della filosofica consolazione* (Il Boezio e l'Arrighetto nelle versioni del Trecento, a cura di Salvatore Battaglia, Torino, UTET, 1929, pp. 3-209.) [Alberto della Piagentina, 1322/32 (fior.)].

CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, a higher proportion than the 50% of northern Italian texts. It was possible to conclude from the high consistency of Tuscan texts and the low percentage of texts attesting the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis that the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis was predominant in Tuscan texts. In comparison, the greater percentage of northern Italian texts that attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and the higher proportion of texts that attested both periphrases, suggested that the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was more widely available for use in the northern Italian *FIL* texts. The small numbers of northern Italian texts, however, meant that the data was, at best, a weak basis from which to draw comparative conclusions.

BEL

A high percentage of the four *BEL* texts, 75%, contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, a higher percentage of texts in any genre other than *LIR*. In contrast, only 5.7% of the total attestations were of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, ranking the genre 12th. These figures were slightly skewed by the nature of the data: two of the four *BEL* texts, the anonymous *Lo Diretano Bando* and *Il Bestiario d'Amore di Riccardo di Fornival*, were translations of the same text, Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'Amours*.³⁶⁹ While the percentages were unchanged in the corrected data, the rank positions of the genre were maintained for both measures: a lower proportion, 66.6%, of *BEL* texts were shown to contain attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, but the rate of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, 5.2%, was similar to the uncorrected percentage. The anonymous *Bestiario d'Amore*³⁷⁰ was also a translation of the *Bestiaire d'amours*, but when compared to *Lo Diretano Bando*, although longer, it contained fewer, and

³⁶⁹ Anonimo, [1400], *Diretano bando (Lo), Conforto et rimedio delli veraci e leali amadori* (Edizione critica a cura di Rosa Casapullo, Firenze, Acc. della Crusca, 1997 (Quaderni degli «Studi di Filologia Italiana», 13) [testo pp. 3-50; glossario alle pp. 145-82].) [**Diretano bando, XIV (tosc.)**].

Anonimo, [1400], *\$Bestiario d'Amore di Riccardo di Fornival (Il), o Lo diretano bando* (Giusto Grion, *Il Mare Amorofo*, poemetto in endecasillabi sciolti di Brunetto Latini, Pr, II, 1869, p. II, pp. 147-179 e 273-289 [con revisione sul ms. a cura dell'Ufficio Filologico].) [**\$Bestiario d'Amore di R. Fornival, XIV (tosc.)\$**].

³⁷⁰ Anonimo, [1310], *Bestiario d'Amore* (Roberto Crespo, Una versione pisana inedita del "Bestiaire d'Amours", Leiden, Universitaire Pers, 1972, pp. 69-96.) [**Bestiario d'Amore, XIV in. (pis.)**].

markedly different, attestations of the conditional.³⁷¹ *Il Bestiario toscano* was not a version of the *Bestiaire d'amours*, but as the mediaeval bestiaries were based on the same texts, the anonymous, possibly Alexandrian, text, *Physiologus*, and subsequent translations or reinterpretations, they contained similar material.³⁷²

All the texts in the genre, which were all Tuscan, contained few attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in each text. The earliest *BEL* text, *Il Bestiario toscano*, contained three attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis: *moveria*, *porria* and *combacteria*.³⁷³ Since these attestations clustered together as the final three attestations in the text, without metrical or syntactic conditioning, any explanatory factors would probably be found in the source texts. *Lo Diretano Bando* contained 5 attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis out of a total of 76 conditional attestations, and, as in the case of *Il Bestiario Toscano*, these attestations were without metrical or syntactic conditioning, although scattered throughout the text rather than occurring in a block.³⁷⁴ The *Bestiario d'Amore* differed from the other *BEL* texts as it did not attest the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, despite being contemporaneous to *Il Bestiario toscano*, and derived from the same source text as *Lo Diretano Bando*.³⁷⁵ As the amount of data available was so limited, and repetitive in nature, it was not possible to draw any definite conclusions on the use of the two periphrases in this genre.

³⁷¹ Only 23 out of the 45 attestations in this text and 76 in the other translation attested the lemmata in the conditional. These two versions varied in terms of the form of the HABEBAM reflex used: the earlier version of the text showed a preponderance of attestations of single -r- and single -b- such as *aspeterebe*, and *serebe*, while the later text attested only the standard forms.

³⁷² Anonimo, [1300], *Bestiario toscano (II)* (a cura di Milton Stahl Garver e Kenneth McKenzie, StR, VIII, 1912, pp. 1-100 [testo pp. 17-94].) [**Bestiario toscano, XIII ex. (pis.)**].

³⁷³ [**Bestiario toscano, XIII ex. (pis.)**]. pp 88, 90, 91

³⁷⁴ [**Diretano bando, XIV (tosc.)**]

[**Bestiario toscano, XIII ex. (pis.)**]

³⁷⁵ [**Bestiario d'Amore, XIV in. (pis.)**]

[**Bestiario toscano, XIII ex. (pis.)**]

[**Diretano bando, XIV (tosc.)**]

RET

There were 17 *RET* texts, of which 5, or 29.4% attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and 1.45% of attestations were of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The data was skewed by the inclusion of two editions of the same text, the *Sommetta ad amaestramento di componere volgarmente* attributed to Brunetto Latini.³⁷⁶ The corrected data showed that 25% of texts contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, but only 1.3% of the total attestations were of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. On the basis of this data, *RET* was ranked low, 13th and 17th respectively, for these measures. No individual texts skewed the distributions, as the percentage of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was low in each text, ranging from one attestation out of 5 in the *Sommetta ad amaestramento di componere volgarmente*, and one attestation out of 64 in Brunetto Latini's *La Rettorica*.

Of the 11 Tuscan texts, 2, or 18.2% attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, while twice as many, 40%, or 2 out of 5, of the northern Italian texts contained the periphrasis. The Tuscan texts were also more consistent than the northern Italian texts: 81.8% of the Tuscan *RET* texts were consistent in their use of one periphrasis, compared to 60% of the northern Italian texts. In both the Tuscan and the northern Italian texts, the attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis tended to be single occurrences within a text, while the majority of attestations were of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. Guido Faba's *Gemma Purpurea*, for example, a text from Bologna, contained one attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and 28 attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.³⁷⁷ The greater consistency and lower rate of attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in Tuscan *RET* texts suggested that

³⁷⁶ Latini, Brunetto (attr.), [1287], *Sommetta ad amaestramento di componere volgarmente lettere* (Helene Wieruszowski, Brunetto Latini als Lehrer Dantes und der Florentiner, AISP, II, 1957, pp. 171-98 [testo pp. 193-98].) [**Sommetta, 1284-87 (fior.)**].

Anonimo, [1287], *Sommetta ad amaestramento di componere volgarmente lettere* (Irene Hijmans-Tromp, La Sommetta falsamente attribuita a Brunetto Latini, CN, LIX 1999, fasc. 3-4, pp. 177-243 (Glossario alle pp. 239-43) [testo pp. 201-207].) [**Sommetta (ed. Hijmans-Tromp), 1284-87 (fior.>tosc. occ.)**].

³⁷⁷ Guido Faba, [1248], *Gemma Purpurea* (La prosa del Duecento, a cura di Cesare Segre e Mario Marti, Milano - Napoli, Ricciardi, 1959, pp. 7-8.) [**Guido Faba, Gemma, 1239/48 (bologn.)**].

the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was less widely available for use in Tuscany than in northern Italy. Closer examination of the texts raised the possibility of further layers of detail, and broader conclusions, to be drawn from these results than was immediately apparent.

The Access database contained four texts that could definitely be attributed to Brunetto Latini, not including the *Sommetta ad amaestramento di componere volgarmente lettere*.³⁷⁸ Two of these four texts were prose *RET* texts: the *Volgarizzamento dell'orazione Pro Ligario*, which did not contain attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and the *La Rettorica*, which contained one, *averia*.³⁷⁹ Both of the other texts by Latini contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis: *Il Tesoretto* contained 14 attestations of the periphrasis out of a total of 25, and the only conditional form used in *Il Favolello* was *vorria*.³⁸⁰ The two prose *RET* texts contained only one attestation of the periphrasis out of a total of 78 attestations; the two verse *DID REL* texts attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis 15 times out of a total of 26 attestations. The non-attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the two *RET* texts could not therefore have been attributed to non-availability of the periphrasis to the author generally: he made use of the periphrasis in poetry.

Additional evidence was provided by a *RET* text from the Veneto, the *Trattato e Arte deli Rithimi Volgari* of Gidino da Sommacampa which did not attest the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.³⁸¹ Although this text could have been interpreted to suggest

³⁷⁸ [**Sommetta, 1284-87 (fior.)**].

³⁷⁹ [**Brunetto Latini, Pro Ligario, a. 1294 (fior.)**].

Latini, Brunetto, [1261], *La Rettorica* (a cura di Francesco Maggini, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1968.) [**Brunetto Latini, Rettorica, c. 1260-61 (fior.)**]. p. 25

³⁸⁰ Latini, Brunetto, [1274], *Tesoretto (Il)* (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. II, pp. 175-277.) [**Brunetto Latini, Tesoretto, a. 1274 (fior.)**].

Latini, Brunetto, [1266], *Favolello (Il)* (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. II, pp. 278-84.) [**Brunetto Latini, Favolello, 1260/66 (fior.)**]. p.282

³⁸¹ Gidino da Sommacampagna, [1400], *Trattato e Arte deli Rithimi Volgari* (Ripr. fot. del cod. CCCCXLIV della Bibl. Capit. di Verona, Testo critico a cura di Gian Paolo Caprettini, Introd. e comm. di G. Milan [et alii], Vago di Lavagno (VR), La Grafica Editrice, 1993. Testo alle pp. 67-186.) [**Gid. da Sommacamp., Tratt., XIV sm. (ver.)**].

that the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was not one with which he was familiar, closer examination of each attestation showed that in reported speech, the Tuscan character used the Tuscan *-ebbe* reflex of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, but the Venetian speaker used the *-ave* reflex. The author must, therefore, have been alert to geographical differences in usage, assumed that his readers would be equally cognisant of these differences, and then made use of them in his writing. It was unlikely that such a high level of linguistic awareness would be accompanied by a lack of awareness of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.

Rhetorical writing, where close attention was paid to form as well as content, was the locus of the highest style, and could have been anticipated to contain a high rate of a high register form, but this was not, in fact, the case. Instead, two linguistically aware authors, from both regions, appeared deliberately to avoid use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in *RET* texts. These two examples suggested, therefore, that the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis could not be described merely as a high register form.

Comparative Conclusions

The data on the three meta-literary genres was similar before it was adjusted for area, in that higher proportions of texts attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis than there were attestations of the periphrasis. This was evident to different degrees among the different genres, most markedly in *BEL*. The data on the use of the periphrases in each area showed that Tuscan *RET* and *FIL* texts were more consistent in maintaining one periphrasis throughout a text than northern Italian texts, and in both genres a lower percentage of texts attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in Tuscany than in northern Italy. The lack of northern Italian data for *BEL* rendered any further comparisons impossible, but it could be concluded that although the specific rates of attestation of the two periphrases differed for the meta-literature, the overall pattern of use that they displayed was the same.

Historical Writing

VITE

There were 7 *VITE* texts, of which 3, or 42.8%, contained the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, a high proportion with a rank order of 6th. The percentage of attestations in the genre, 8.1%, was average, with a rank position of 11th for this measure, which suggested that although a relatively higher percentage of texts attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, these attestations were sporadic, rather than occurring consistently throughout the texts. The genre contained two redactions of Boccaccio's *Trattatello in Laude di Dante*, the *redazione dell'autografo toledano* and the *redazione dell'autografo chigiano*.³⁸² Parts of the *redazione dell'autografo toledano* were duplicated in the *redazione dell'autografo chigiano*, but only 3 of the 13 attestations in the *redazione dell'autografo chigiano*, so both editions were retained for analysis. No other texts skewed the data.

Of the 6 Tuscan texts, 2, or 33.3%, contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. Although 100% of the northern Italian texts attested the periphrasis, this percentage only referred to one text, the *Vita di San Petronio, con un'Appendice di testi inediti dei secoli XIII e XIV*, which contained nine attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis and one attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. This occurred in the same sentence as an attestation of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.³⁸³ The Tuscan texts attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis at a slightly lower rate, 8%, but as attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis were used both as auxiliaries and main verbs, and in close proximity to the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, change of narrative voice could not account for the choice of the periphrasis in these contexts. Two-thirds of the Tuscan texts, or 66.6%, were consistent in their choice of periphrasis, compared to 0% of the northern Italian texts. Although the data on the

³⁸² Boccaccio, Giovanni, [1355], *Trattatello in Laude di Dante (redaz. dell'autografo toledano)* (a cura di Pier Giorgio Ricci, Alpignano, Tallone, 1969, pp. 3-101.) [Boccaccio, *Trattatello (Toled.)*, 1351/55].

Boccaccio, Giovanni, [1362], *Trattatello in Laude di Dante (secondo compendio)* ((*redaz. dell'autografo chigiano. Secondo compendio*) a cura di Pier Giorgio Ricci, Alpignano, Tallone, 1969, pp. 105-61.) [Boccaccio, *Trattatello (Chig.)*, 1359/62].

³⁸³ Anonimo, [1330], *Vita di San Petronio, con un'Appendice di testi inediti dei secoli XIII e XIV* (a cura di Maria Corti, Bologna, Commissione per testi di lingua (« Scelta di curiosità letterarie», 260), 1962.) [Vita di S. Petronio, 1287-1330 (bologn.)].

VITE texts suggested that the Tuscan *VITE* texts were more consistent than the northern Italian texts, and were less likely to attest the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, the small numbers of texts in the genre meant that any conclusions drawn had to be treated with caution, as the danger of over-extrapolation was high.

CRON

There were 34 *CRON* texts, of which 15, or 44.1%, contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, with a high rank order of 5th. The relative percentage of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the genre was considerably lower: 8.3% of the attestations in the genre were of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, which gave *CRON* a rank of 10th. There were no texts that skewed the results, and no grammatical or metrical conditioning of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the *CRON* texts was apparent. This suggested that although a high proportion of texts attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, there were relatively few attestations of the periphrasis in each text.

A lower proportion of Tuscan texts contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis than northern Italian texts: 28% of Tuscan texts attested the periphrasis, in comparison to 66% of northern Italian texts. 72% of the Tuscan *CRON* texts were consistent in their use of one periphrasis, in comparison to 33.3% of the northern Italian texts. Both the inconsistent northern Italian texts, the anonymous *Cronaca di Venezia* and the *Cronaca di Venezia* of Enrico Dandolo, contained one attestation of each periphrasis.³⁸⁴ The remaining northern Italian text only contained 11 conditional attestations, all attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.³⁸⁵ In contrast to the northern Italian texts, the percentage of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM

³⁸⁴ Anonimo, [1361], *Cronaca di Venezia* (Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana* (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204, Firenze, Olschki, 1969, pp. 233-44, 275-76.) [Cronaca di Venezia, 1350-61 (venez.)].

Dandolo, Enrico, [1362], *Cronica di Venexia* (Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana* (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204, Firenze, Olschki, 1969, pp. 261-67, 293-94.) [Enrico Dandolo, Cron. Venexia, 1360-62 (venez.)].

³⁸⁵ Anonimo, [1301], *Cronica deli imperadori romani* (a cura di Antonio Ceruti, AGI, III, 1878, pp. 177-243 [testo pp. 178-243, rivisto e corretto secondo le indicazioni contenute nello studio di G. I. Ascoli, AGI, vol. cit., pp. 244-84].) [Cronica deli imperadori, 1301 (venez.)].

periphrasis was low in Tuscan texts: most texts containing both periphrases attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis at a rate of approximately 2%. The only exception was the anonymous *Libro fiesolano* (*ms. Magliab. XXV. 505*) which contained one attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis out of total of three. The *CRON* texts contained two out of the three southern Italian texts which attested the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, Buccio di Ranallo's *Cronaca aquilana rimata* and the *Cronica* of the Anonimo Romano.³⁸⁶ However, these could not be regarded as representative of the southern usage.

While the number of northern Italian texts was small, and the data could not be regarded as conclusive, the Tuscan *CRON* texts were more likely to be consistent in their choice of periphrasis and less likely to attest the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis than the northern Italian texts. The Tuscan texts tended to be consistent in their choice of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, but where both periphrases were attested, the Tuscan texts also attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in lower proportions than the northern Italian texts. Despite the limitations of the data, it could be concluded that while the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis occurred in both areas, it was more widely available for use in northern Italy than in Tuscany.

Comparative Conclusions

CRON and *VITE* showed unusual levels of similarity in their use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis: the percentages of texts attesting the periphrasis caused them to be ranked respectively 6th and 7th, although with a lower percentages of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis they were ranked 12th and 13th. The percentages of consistent Tuscan texts and texts attesting the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis were similar for both genres: 66.6% of *VITE* texts and 72% of *CRON* texts respectively. Although the amount of northern Italian data was too small for a convincing comparison, from the general similarity of the data it could be concluded that in both genres the Tuscan texts were more consistent and made less use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis than the northern Italian texts.

³⁸⁶ Buccio di Ranallo, [1362], *Cronaca aquilana rimata* (a cura di Vincenzo De Bartholomaeis, Roma, Istituto Storico Italiano, 1907.) [Buccio di Ranallo, *Cronaca*, c. 1362 (aquil.)]. [Anonimo Rom., *Cronica*, XIV].

Poetry

LIR

LIR was the most difficult genre to analyse, partly because of the volume of data, but also because of the nature of the texts: syntactic conditioning could not be distinguished from metrical constraints and issues of rhyme. As Latini commented:

Ma perciò che la rima
si stringe a una lima
di concordar parole
come la rima vuole,
sì che molte fiate
le parole rimate
ascondon la sentenza
e mutan la 'ntendenza.³⁸⁷

The *LIR* texts produced unusual results in all regards. They contained the highest percentages of occurrence of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis: 79.8% of the 218 *LIR* texts contained attestations of the periphrasis, and 60.2% of the 2499 attestations in the genre were of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. Not only did a high proportion of texts in the genre contain the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, but the periphrasis was recurrent within texts, rather than displaying the pattern of use in the metaliterature and *NARR*, for example, which tended towards sporadic, isolated attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis amongst more frequent attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.

The *LIR* texts were also interesting in that the rate at which the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was attested was almost identical in both Tuscan and northern Italian texts: 79.2% of Tuscan texts contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and 17 out of 21, or 81.0%, northern Italian texts contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The percentage of consistent texts was similar in both areas, as 59.0% of Tuscan texts, and 57.1% of northern Italian texts were consistent. Additionally, the proportions of texts attesting each periphrasis consistently were also almost identical: 66.7% of northern Italian texts attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis consistently, as did 64.7% of Tuscan texts. The *LIR*

³⁸⁷ [Brunetto Latini, *Tesoretto*, a. 1274 (fior.)]. p. 190 ll. 411ff

data showed a remarkable level of similarity in the distributions of the two periphrases in both Tuscany and northern Italy, which strongly implied that, unlike any other genre, the use of the periphrases was not geographically conditioned. This was a key piece of evidence in the evaluation of the data, the implications of which were drawn out and discussed further in the conclusion section of Hypothesis 4 and in the Conclusions to this thesis.

Letters

LETT

Of the 53 *LETT* texts that contained attestations of the conditional, a low proportion, 13, or 24.5%, attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The percentage of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was also low, 3.86%, causing the genre to be ranked 15th and 14th respectively for the two measures. While these figures suggested isolated attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis against a background of general use of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, a closer examination of the data revealed that this was not an entirely accurate conclusion.

The CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was not widely attested in either area: it occurred in only 14.0%, of the 41 Tuscan texts, and in 1 out of 6, or 16.7% of the northern Italian texts. The texts in the genre were largely practical in nature, comprising mainly administrative correspondence between political or religious authorities, such as the *Lettera del priore di Santa Maria di Borgo S. Sepolcro di Firenze a Simone Fidati da Cascia*, none of which attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.³⁸⁸ Of the six Tuscan texts that attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, five were essentially literary in nature, consisting of Boccaccio's *Epistole*, Guittone's *Lettere [testo in prosa]* and *Lettere in versi*, the letters of Domenico da Monticchiello to Giovanni Colombini, and the letters of Giovanni Colombini himself.³⁸⁹ An additional factor in regarding these texts as unrepresentative of the genre was that one, Colombini's *Lettere in versi*, was not in prose but was in poetry, which, across several genres, had

³⁸⁸ =, [1348], *Lettera del priore di Santa Maria di Borgo S. Sepolcro di Firenze a Simone Fidati da Cascia* (Il Beato Simone Fidati da Cascia dell'Ordine Romitano di S. Agostino e i suoi scritti editi e inediti, a cura di Nicola Mattioli, Roma, Tipografia del Campidoglio, 1898, pp. 350-52.) [Lett. fior., a. 1348].

³⁸⁹ Boccaccio, Giovanni, [1361], *Epistola a Pino de' Rossi* (Opere in versi. Corbaccio. Trattatello in laude di Dante. Prose latine. Epistole, a cura di Pier Giorgio Ricci, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi 1965, pp. 1112-41.) [Boccaccio, Epist., 1361].

[Guittone, *Lettere in prosa*, a. 1294 (tosc.)].

[Guittone, *Lettere in versi*, a. 1294 (tosc.)].

Domenico da Monticchiello, gesuato, [1367], *Lettere a Giovanni Colombini* (Le lettere del Beato Gio. Colombini da Siena, a cura di Adolfo Bartoli, Lucca, Balatresi, 1856, pp. 40-43, 51-53.)

[Dom. da Monticchiello, Lett., a. 1367 (sen.)].

Colombini, Giovanni, [1367], *Lettere (Le)* (Le lettere del Beato Gio. Colombini da Siena, a cura di Adolfo Bartoli, Lucca, Balatresi, 1856.) [Giovanni Colombini, a. 1367 (sen.)].

displayed consistently higher rates of attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.

Only one of the six Tuscan texts that contained the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, the *Lettera di Senese da Santa Fiora ai Governatori della città di Siena, 12 dicembre 1365*, was not a literary text, but was similar in function to the remaining 37 Tuscan texts. Both the Tuscan and northern Italian *LETT* texts were highly consistent in their use of the same periphrasis: 90.2% of the Tuscan *LETT* texts were consistent, as were 100% of the northern Italian texts. While it was unusual for Tuscan texts to show lower levels of consistency than northern Italian texts, this could be accounted for by different types of text in the genre: if the literary texts were separated from the practical texts, and regarded as exceptional, the Tuscan texts were also 100% consistent. The practical texts followed the same pattern of conditional use as the texts in the administrative grouping: the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was only minimally available for use in the Tuscan texts, but in wider use in northern Italy. In both areas, the precision required in administration resulted in the high consistency of the texts. The literary Tuscan *LETT* texts showed sporadic use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, more frequently in the verse texts than in the prose. However, with no obvious conditioning factors at work, and with no comparative data available, it was not possible to draw any conclusions from this data.

Technical Texts

ART TECN

Of the five *ART TECN* texts, all of which were Tuscan, only one, or 20%, contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, causing *ART TECN* to be ranked 16th, or low in comparison to other genres. Only 1.5% of the attestations were periphrases of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, which was also low, with a ranking of 15th.

There were no texts with high enough word counts to skew the data. While the anonymous *Volgarizzamento di Palladio* was the only text to contain attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, the small numbers of texts in the genre meant that this one text out of five could not be categorically stated as being unrepresentative or creating bias.³⁹⁰ The *Volgarizzamento di Palladio* could also have been representative of low but consistent instances of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis across the genre concealed by the small number of texts. If this had been the case, more data would have exhibited texts attesting the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis at a rate similar to the 20% displayed in the five extant texts. Only two attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis appeared in the *Volgarizzamento di Palladio*'s total of 52 conditional attestations, *infracideriano* and *diventeria*, neither of which showed syntactic or other conditioning factors.³⁹¹

ART TECN displayed high levels of consistency, as 80% of texts maintained the same conditional periphrasis. As the only inconsistent text was also the only text that contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, however, there was little to be deduced from these results about the overall consistency of the genre. In the same way, the small numbers of texts involved in *ART TECN* meant that there were no northern Italian texts for comparison of either consistency or rates of attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.

³⁹⁰ Anonimo, [1350], *Palladio (Volgarizzamento di)* (a cura di Paolo Zanotti, Verona, Ramanzini, 1810, pp. 1-299 [testo pp. 1, 5-299].) [Palladio volg., XIV pm. (tosc.)].

³⁹¹ [Palladio volg., XIV pm. (tosc.)] p. 93

[Palladio volg., XIV pm. (tosc.)] p. 218

Analysis of the Charts

The Tuscan Charts

The Tuscan genre charts showed three broad patterns of distribution: genres that contained the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis at a relatively constant rate throughout the fourteenth century; genres that contained texts attesting the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis for a limited time in the fourteenth century, but with minimal use outside this period; and genres that either did not attest the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, or attested it only rarely.

LIR and *NARR VERSI* were the only genres to contain texts that attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis throughout the fourteenth century. The CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was attested in the earliest *LIR* texts, such as Giacomino Pugliese's *Resplendente stella de albur* from 1235, and continued to be attested beyond 1400.³⁹² Conversely, the earliest attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis in poetry were Pier della Vigna's *Rime*, dated 1249, and the first example of a *LIR* text which attested only the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis did not occur until 1271.³⁹³ Texts containing the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis occurred with greater frequency than those which attested only the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. As was to be expected from a genre that consisted of texts in verse, *NARR VERSI* demonstrated a similar pattern of attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis to *LIR*. The CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was attested alongside the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis in the earliest and latest *NARR VERSI* texts, from Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, dated 1336, to Cicerchia's *La Risurrezione*, dated 1400.³⁹⁴ In contrast, the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis was not attested in *NARR VERSI*

³⁹² Giacomino Pugliese, [1235], *Resplendente stella de albur (frammento)* (Giuseppina Brunetti, Il frammento inedito «Resplendente stella de albur» di Giacomino Pugliese e la poesia italiana delle origini, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 2000 [testo pp. 84-85].) [**Giac. Pugliese, Resplendente, 1234/35 (sic.>ven. or.)**].

³⁹³ Pier della Vigna, [1249], *Rime* (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 119-28 [testi, pp. 121-28].) [**Pier della Vigna (ed. Contini), a. 1249 (tosco.)**].
Anonimo, [1271], *Udendovi laudar, maiestro Pello (Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Carte di San Gimignano, 202)* (Arrigo Castellani, Saggi di linguistica e filologia italiana e romanza (1946-1976), Roma, Salerno, 1980.) [**Poes. an. sang., 1270-71 (3)**].

³⁹⁴ Boccaccio, Giovanni, [1336], *Filostrato* (a cura di Vittore Branca, in Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio, vol. II, Milano, Mondadori, 1964, pp. 17-228.) [**Boccaccio, Filostrato, 1335-36 (?)**].

texts without the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis until it appeared in three texts dated 1375.

The early attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in poetry stand in contrast to the relatively late date of the first attestations found in prose. The earliest prose Tuscan texts, such as the *Ricordo d'impresе pisane* from 1246, or the *Lettera di Vincenti di Aldobrandino Vincenti e compagni, da Siena, a Iacomo di Guido Cacciaconti* from 1260, attested only the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.³⁹⁵ The early attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in verse texts, on the other hand, suggested that the Tuscan poets were so influenced by the Sicilian school that they adhered strictly to the forms of the conditional that they found there, namely the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. This use of the periphrasis was maintained consistently throughout the fourteenth century and beyond.

The majority of genres followed a pattern whereby texts containing attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis appeared over a longer or a shorter period in the fourteenth century, but were pre- and post-dated by texts which contained attestations only of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. The *CRON* and *VITE* texts provided an almost perfect example of this pattern. The two genres were plotted on to the same chart, since there were few *VITE* texts. Both the earliest and the latest *CRON* texts, such as Giamboni's *Delle Storie contra i Pagani di Paolo Orosio*, dated 1292, and the *Cronaca volgare* from 1400, contained only attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.³⁹⁶ The texts containing attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis,

Cicerchia, Niccolò, [1400], *La Risurrezione* (Cantari religiosi senesi del Trecento, a cura di Giorgio Varanini, Bari, Laterza, 1965, pp. 383-447.) [Cicerchia, Risurrez., XIV sm. (sen.)].

³⁹⁵ Anonimo, [1246], *Ricordo d'impresе pisane* (La prosa italiana delle origini: I, Testi toscani di carattere pratico, a cura di Arrigo Castellani, Bologna, Pàtron, 1982, pp. 163-68 [testo pp. 167-68].) [Ricordo d'impresе pisane, p. 1246 (tosc.mer.?)].

{Vincenti di Aldobrandino Vincenti}, [1260], *Lettera di Vincenti di Aldobrandino Vincenti e compagni, da Siena, a Iacomo di Guido Cacciaconti* (La prosa italiana delle origini: I, Testi toscani di carattere pratico, a cura di Arrigo Castellani, Bologna, Pàtron, 1982, pp. 263-72 [testo pp. 264-72].) [Lett. sen., 1260].

³⁹⁶ Giamboni, Bono, [1292], *Delle Storie contra i Pagani di Paolo Orosio libri VII* (a cura di Francesco Tassi, Firenze, Baracchi, 1849.) [Bono Giamboni, Orosio, a. 1292 (fior.)].

such as Giovanni Villani's *Cronica*, were dated between 1312 and 1328.³⁹⁷ Although the *VITE* texts were compressed into a narrower timescale than *CRON*, the pattern of texts containing the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was the same. The texts that attested the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis were distributed consistently across the period from 1330 to 1373, whereas the two texts which attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis were dated 1355 and 1362.³⁹⁸

Insofar as conclusions could be drawn from the small amounts of data involved in the genre, *ART TECN* followed the same pattern as *CRON* and *VITE*. The one text that attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, the *Volgarizzamento di Palladio*, was dated towards the end of the timescale covered by the four texts which attested the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.³⁹⁹ The *LETT* texts also adhered to this pattern: four *LETT* texts, dated between 1361 and 1365, contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.⁴⁰⁰ The other texts in the genre, ranging from the *Lettera di Vincenti di Aldobrandino Vincenti e compagni, da Siena, a Iacomo di Guido Cacciacconti*, dated 1260 to the *Lettere* of Giovanni dalle Celle, dated 1394, contained only attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.⁴⁰¹

On the basis of the written analysis, *RET* and *FIL* were considered to be similar enough in content and in conditional use to be included on the same chart. When the two

Anonimo, [1400], «*Cronaca volgare*» isidoriana (La «*Cronaca volgare*» isidoriana. Testo tre-quattrocentesco di area abruzzese, a cura di Paolo D'Achille, L'Aquila, Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria, 1982 [testo pp. 113-220].) [**Cronaca volg. isidoriana, XIV ex. (abruzz.)**].

³⁹⁷ Villani, Giovanni, [1348], *Cronica* (Giovanni Villani, Nuova Cronica, a cura di Giuseppe Porta, 3 voll. (I. Libri I-VIII; II. Libri IX-XI; III. Libri XII-XIII), Parma, Fondazione Pietro Bembo / Ugo Guanda Editore, 1990-1991.) [**Giovanni Villani (ed. Porta), a. 1348 (fior.)**].

³⁹⁸ [**Boccaccio, Trattatello (Toled.), 1351/55**]

[**Boccaccio, Trattatello (Chig.), 1359/62**]

³⁹⁹ [**Palladio volg., XIV pm. (tos.)**].

⁴⁰⁰ Although Guittone's *Lettere in versi* dated from 1292, they were excluded on the basis that they were poetry not prose, as was discussed in the *LETT* section of the written analysis. [**Guittone, Lettere in versi, a. 1294 (tos.)**].

⁴⁰¹ [**Lett. sen., 1260**].

Giovanni dalle Celle, [1394], *Lettere* (Giovanni dalle Celle - Luigi Marsili, Lettere, a cura di Francesco Giambonini, 2 voll., Firenze, Leo S. Olschki editore, 1991 [testo Vol. I, pp. 249-317, 331-58, 372-75, 379-468, 499-515].) [**Giovanni dalle Celle, Lettere, 1347/94 (fior.)**].

genres were examined together they demonstrated a pattern of consistent use of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis which pre- and post-dated occasional texts that contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, such as Alberto della Piagentina's *Boezio, della filosofica consolazione*.⁴⁰²

It could be seen from the chart of the *COMM* and the *DID REL* texts that both genres exemplified the pattern of mid-fourteenth century use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The earliest commentaries, such as Bencivenni's *La Sfera di Alfragano* from 1314 attested only the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis in their original content, as did the latest texts.⁴⁰³ Moreover, the cited attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the late texts by Francesco da Buti were then glossed by him using the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. In the *Commento all'Inferno*, for example his gloss was: "Chi poria mai; cioè potrebbe mai", which suggested that by 1400 not only was the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis no longer available for use in original text, but also that it was sufficiently obscure as to require glossing in commentaries.⁴⁰⁴ The prose *DID REL* texts contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis spread over a wider range of dates than the *COMM* texts, from the *Tesoro di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato*, dated 1300, to the anonymous text from 1383, *Il Libro di Sidrach*.⁴⁰⁵ This was the latest text of a cluster of five dated between 1373 and 1383 which included, for example, Corsini's *Rosaio della vita*.⁴⁰⁶ Despite their wider distribution,

⁴⁰² [Alberto della Piagentina, 1322/32 (fior.).]

⁴⁰³ Bencivenni, Zuccherò, [1314], *La "Sfera di Alfragano" (Volgarizzamento del Trattato della Sfera di Giovanni Sacrobosco)* (Il Trattato de la Spera volgarizzato da Zuccherò Bencivenni, Edizione critica a cura di Gabriella Ronchi, Firenze, Presso l'Accademia della Crusca, 1999 [testo alle pp. 97-151].) [Zuccherò, Sfera, 1313-14 (fior.).]

⁴⁰⁴ Francesco di Bartolo da Buti, [1395], *Commento all'Inferno* (Commento di Francesco da Buti sopra la «Divina Commedia» di Dante Alighieri, a cura di C. Giannini, 3 voll., Nistri, Pisa 1858-62, vol. I.) [Francesco da Buti, Inf., 1385/95 (pis.)]. p. 713

⁴⁰⁵ Anonimo, [1300], *Tesoro di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato [Libri III, IV e V]* (Brunetto Latini, I libri naturali del "Tesoro" emendati colla scorta de' codici, commentati e illustrati da Guido Battelli, Firenze, Successori Le Monnier, 1917, pp. 3-51, 55-72, 75-192.) [Tesoro volg., XIII ex. (fior.).]

Anonimo, [1383], *Libro di Sidrach (II)* (Il Libro di Sidrach. Testo inedito del secolo XIV pubblicato da Adolfo Bartoli, Parte Prima (Testo) [unica uscita], Bologna, Romagnoli, 1868 [testo pp. 1-531].) [Libro di Sidrach, a. 1383 (fior.).]

⁴⁰⁶ Corsini, Mattero (?), [1373], *Rosaio della vita* (a cura di Filippo Luigi Polidori, Firenze, Società Poligrafica Italiana, 1845.) [Matteo Corsini, 1373 (fior.).]

however, these texts still marked a contained period of use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis set against a consistent background use of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis: the earliest *DID REL* texts, from the *Trattati di Albertano da Brescia volgarizzati*, dated 1288, attested only the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.⁴⁰⁷ Nor was the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis the dominant form at the end of the fourteenth century: the six texts dated 1400 attested only the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.

Despite apparently attesting the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis across most of the fourteenth century, *NARR* contained texts that attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in a similar distribution to the genres discussed above, a cluster of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis against a consistent background use of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. Although the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was attested in *NARR* texts alongside attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis in 1300, the densest period of use was during the mid-fourteenth century from approximately 1335 to 1370. By the end of the fourteenth century, the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis had lost ground, and was once more replaced by the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. The clustering of texts attesting the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis suggested that it was gradually introduced into the range of expression open to writers in *NARR*, reached a pinnacle of use, as demonstrated by the clusters of texts, and then gradually faded out of use once more by the end of the fourteenth century. Although the genre differed from those discussed below, in that the periphrasis became available for use earlier, and was attested by the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth century, it could still be argued from this data that *NARR* did not follow the same pattern as the verse texts, but instead showed similar distributions of attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis as genres such as *COMM*, *CRON* and *VITE*.

The *MED*, *SCI GEO* and legal texts contained so few attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis that the attestations that did occur could be regarded as anomalous, and unrepresentative of the genres. There could therefore be no pattern to

⁴⁰⁷ Anonimo, [1288], *Trattati di Albertano da Brescia volgarizzati* (Francesca Faleri, Il volgarizzamento Bargiacchi dei trattati di Albertano da Brescia, [ed. interna].) [Trattati di Albertano volg., a. 1287-88 (pis.)].

a distribution which did not exist. As discussed in the conclusion to this chapter, and developed further in the Conclusions to the thesis, the lack of texts containing the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was significant in itself. *BEL* was the only genre about which nothing could be concluded from the charts, as there were only three texts, which was too small a sample for any graphical representation to be meaningful.

The Northern Italian Charts

The northern Italian texts showed three general trends in the attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis over time: no change in the pattern of use, an increased use of the periphrasis over time, and a decreased use of the periphrasis over time. Conclusions that could be drawn from the northern Italian charts about distributions of the two periphrases over time were, however, weaker than those drawn from the Tuscan charts. The quantities of northern Italian data were considerably smaller, and it was more difficult to establish whether or not the distributions of texts showed a trend.

The *LIR* texts showed a pattern of consistent proportions of texts attesting, or not, the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was attested in the majority of texts, but the four texts that contained attestations only of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis were distributed evenly over the fourteenth century, as were the texts that attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The majority of *NARR VERSI* texts also attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis: two texts out of seven attested only the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, the *Rainaldo e Lesegrino (versione di Oxford)* dated 1300 and *Il libro di messer Tristano* from 1400.⁴⁰⁸ The five texts which contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis were evenly distributed across the fourteenth century: one text was dated 1300, two texts were dated 1400, and two texts were from the middle of the century. The consistent attestation of both periphrases in these genres suggested that both periphrases were available for use in verse, and that neither periphrasis gained or lost ground during this period.

⁴⁰⁸ Anonimo, [1300], *Rainaldo e Lesegrino (versione di Oxford)* (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 815-41.) [Rainaldo e Lesegr. (Oxford), XIII ex. (ven.)].
[Tristano Veneto, XIV].

Of the seven *NARR* texts, two contained attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, dated 1300 and 1400. Four out of the five latest texts, dated from 1325 onwards, attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and two out of the three *NARR* texts dated 1400 contained attestations of the periphrasis.⁴⁰⁹ The distributions of the texts containing the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis suggested that the periphrasis was more widely available for use in the second half of the fourteenth century than the first. *CRON* and *VITE* were plotted on the same chart as there were only 4 northern Italian texts in these genres. Only one text, the *Cronica deli imperadori romani*, from 1301, attested the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.⁴¹⁰ The other, later, texts in the genres contained attestations of both periphrases, which implied that the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis became more widely used in *CRON* and *VITE* over the fourteenth century. It did not, however, replace the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, which was also attested in all three texts that contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.⁴¹¹ As there were so few northern Italian legal documents, *DOC*, *DOC MERC*, *DOC GIUR* and *STAT* were included on one chart. The CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis occurred regularly in these genres throughout the fourteenth century, but the consistency of the legal texts meant that after the *Capitolare dei vaiai. Addizioni 1335-1370* there were no texts in this genre that attested the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.⁴¹² The attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis in this text could also have been earlier than the final date of 1370, as the text was composed between 1335 and 1370. As the majority of texts containing the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis formed a cluster in the first quarter of the century, the data suggested that by the end of the fourteenth century the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis had replaced the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis in the northern Italian legal texts, and had become predominant.

⁴⁰⁹ Anonimo, [1300], *Lamento della sposa padovana [Responder voi' a dona Frixia] (Padova, Biblioteca del Museo Civico, ms. BP. 4781; Papafava)* (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 802-809.) [**Poes. an. padov., XIII sm.**].

Anonimo, [1400], *Frammenti marciiani della "Queste del Saint Graal"* (Jole M. Ruggieri, Versioni italiane della "Queste del Saint Graal", AR, XXI, 1937, pp. 471-86 [testo pp. 475-81].) [**Framm. Queste Saint Graal, XIV (ven.)**].

⁴¹⁰ [**Cronica deli imperadori, 1301 (venz.)**].

⁴¹¹ [**Vita di S. Petronio, 1287-1330 (bologn.)**].

[**Enrico Dandolo, Cron. Venexia, 1360-62 (venz.)**].

[**Cronaca di Venezia, 1350-61 (venz.)**].

⁴¹² [**Stat. venez., Addizioni 1335-1370**].

Some genres showed the opposite pattern, that of a decrease over time in the proportions of texts attesting the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The *DID REL* texts showed a weak increase in the proportions of texts attesting only the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis over the fourteenth century, and a slight decrease in texts that contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. Two out of three texts dated 1300, the *Disputatio roxe et viole*, and the *Sermoni subalpini*, contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.⁴¹³ This proportion was reversed, however, in 1400, when only one text out of three, the anonymous *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio composito in vorgà*, contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.⁴¹⁴ *RET* and *FIL* also showed a trend towards a decreased use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis over time in the northern Italian texts, although the limited amount of data suggested that the any conclusions should be treated with caution. Of the two texts by Guido Faba that were too early to be plotted on the chart, the *Parlamenti in volgare* contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and the *Gemma Purpurea* did not.⁴¹⁵ As two of the three texts from the first half of the fourteenth century contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, it appeared that both periphrases were equally available for use until this period. The two texts dating from the second half of the fourteenth century, however, did not attest the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, which suggested that the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis became the standard form in northern Italian *FIL* and *RET* texts.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹³ Anonimo, [1300], *Disputatio roxe et viole* (a cura di Leandro Biàdene, StFR, VII, 1899, pp. 99-131 [testo pp. 102-14].) [**Disputatio roxe et viole, XIII (lomb.)**].

= [**Sermoni subalpini, XIII (franco-piem.)**].

⁴¹⁴ Anonimo, [1400], *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio composito in vorgà [da Domenico Cavalca ?]* (a cura di Marzio Porro, Firenze, Accademia della Crusca, 1979.) [**Sam Gregorio in vorgà, XIV sm. (lig.>piem.)**].

⁴¹⁵ [**Guido Faba, Gemma, 1239/48 (bologn.)**].

Guido Faba, [1243], *Parlamenti in volgare* (a cura di Arrigo Castellani, «Bollettino dell'Opera del Vocabolario Italiano», II, 1997, pp. 231-49 [testo pp. 232-49]. [Vale come rif. il num. del "Parlamento volgare" seguito fra tonde dal num. che ha nella serie completa dei Parlamenta].) [**Guido Faba, Parl., c. 1243 (bologn.)**].

⁴¹⁶ [**Gid. da Sommacamp., Tratt., XIV sm. (ver.)**].

Anonimo, [1350], *Dicerie volgari del sec. XIV aggiunte in fine del "Fior di virtù"* (a cura di Carlo Frati, in Studi Rajna, Firenze, Ariani, 1911, pp. 325-35.) [**Dicerie volgari, XIV pm. (bologn.)**].

It was difficult to draw any conclusions about the relative distributions of the two periphrases over time in the northern Italian *LETT* texts, as only one text, the *Lettera di Bogdano Auresso a Paulo de Agabo*, contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.⁴¹⁷ This text fell in the middle of the time period covered by the five texts that attested only the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, one of which, the *Quattro lettere mercantili di Boccalata de Bovi* from 1283, was too early to fit on the chart.⁴¹⁸ Consequently, it was not possible to decide whether the texts containing attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis marked an increased or decreased occurrence of the periphrasis. Nor could any conclusions be drawn about the change in the distributions of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis over time for the *COMM*, *MED*, *SCI GEO*, *BEL* or *ART TECN* texts. The three northern Italian *COMM* texts by Jacopo della Lana were all dated 1328, and there were no northern Italian *MED* texts that contained attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis.⁴¹⁹ There was only one northern Italian *SCI GEO* text, and no northern Italian *ART* or *BEL* texts.

⁴¹⁷ {Bogdano Auresso}, [1303], *Lettera di Bogdano Auresso a Paulo de Agabo* (Monumenta Ragusina. Libri Reformationum, t. V, a cura di J. Gelcic, MSHSM, XXIX, 1897, pp. 60-61.) [**<Doc. venez., 1303>**].

⁴¹⁸ {Boccalata de Bovi}, [1283], *Quattro lettere mercantili di Boccalata de Bovi* (Giancarlo Schizzerotto, *Sette secoli di volgare e di dialetto mantovano*, Mantova, Publi-Paolini, 1985, pp. 3-25 [testo pp. 13-17] .) [**Lett. mant., 1282-83 (?)**].

⁴¹⁹ [**Jacopo della Lana, Inf., 1324-28 (bologn.)**].

Jacopo della Lana, [1328], *Chiose alla "Divina Commedia" di Dante Alighieri. Purgatorio* (La Divina Commedia nella figurazione artistica e nel secolare commento, vol. II, a cura di Guido Biagi, G. Luigi Passerini, E. Rostagno, Torino, UTET, 1931, pp. 1/737.) [**Jacopo della Lana, Purg., 1324-28 (bologn.)**].

Jacopo della Lana, [1328], *Chiose alla "Divina Commedia" di Dante Alighieri. Paradiso* (La Divina Commedia nella figurazione artistica e nel secolare commento, vol. III, a cura di Guido Biagi, G. Luigi Passerini, E. Rostagno, U.Cosmo, Torino, UTET, 1939, pp. 1/750.) [**Jacopo della Lana, Par., 1324-28 (bologn.)**].

Conclusions

The primary analysis of the C-Tables showed that there was no discernible patterning to the raw data on the distributions of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis across the genres. When the percentage of texts attesting the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was correlated with the percentage of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, the correlation between the two measures was 0.26, which was negligible, and was not statistically significant. Unlike the data on both paradigms, there was, therefore, no straightforward link between the percentage of texts that contained the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, and the rate at which it was attested.⁴²⁰ This meant that there was no direct link between genre and use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The different types of genres were randomly scattered in terms of their ranking for each measure of conditional use: although *LIR* was ranked highest for both measures, the genres with the highest percentages of texts attesting the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis were *BEL*, *NARR VERSI*, *NARR*, *DID REL*, and *MED*. The genres that showed the highest rate of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis were *MED*, *SCI GEO*, *DOC GIUR*, *STAT*, and *DOC*. The data also did not show any form of grammatical, contextual or semantic conditioning of the attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. Both periphrases were attested in poetry and prose, as inflected verbs and auxiliaries, in all persons of the verb included in the Access database and in line-medial and line-final position in verse. From the lack of patterning to the distributions described above, it was possible to conclude that factors other than genre conditioned the distributions of the two periphrases. Unlike the analysis of the B-Tables, no substantial claims could be made on the basis of the raw data in the C-Tables.

The written analysis, in which the data was analysed by area as well as genre, showed that there were indeed factors other than genre affecting the use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. This bi-variable analysis revealed geographically conditioned differences and genre-based patterning in the use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The genres showed three main patterns of variation. Poetry showed minimal differences between Tuscan and northern Italian use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The prose genres, however, showed variation in use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the two geographical areas. This variation occurred

⁴²⁰ Critical value = 0.468, where $\alpha = 0.05$ and $df = 16$.

on two levels: the same patterns of regional variation could be seen in both levels, but to a greater degree in one than in the other. The first group of genres, which displayed some regional variation between Tuscan and northern Italian use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, was formed by the literary prose genres, such as *DID REL*, *COMM* and *NARR*. The Tuscan texts in these genres were generally more consistent than the northern Italian texts in maintaining one periphrasis throughout a text, usually the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, and attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis to a lesser degree than the northern Italian texts in each genre. The practical texts, the scientific and legal groupings, showed an extreme version of the pattern described above. Both the Tuscan and the northern Italian texts were entirely consistent, and so did not display regional variation for this measure. The Tuscan genres were, however, more consistent at the textual level than the northern Italian texts: the Tuscan texts maintained consistent use of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis across the practical genres, while the northern Italian texts showed variation across the genres in their choice of periphrasis. As the Tuscan practical genres did not attest the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, the difference in the percentage of northern Italian texts containing the periphrasis was, therefore, more marked in the practical texts than in the literary texts.

The charts provided additional evidence for the differences shown by the written analysis in Tuscan and northern Italian use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis over time in Tuscan genres varied according to the three groupings described above. The use of the periphrasis in poetry did not vary over time, whereas the literary texts generally attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis for a limited period during the fourteenth century, against a background of continuous attestation of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis. As in the written analysis, the practical genres might also be said to show a more extreme version of this pattern: the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was never introduced in these genres, a pattern which could equally be described as a completely truncated period of attestation.

While the northern Italian verse texts showed no change in use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis over time, the prose genres did not demonstrate a pattern of introduction and discarding of the periphrasis similar to that shown by the Tuscan

texts. Instead, the northern Italian prose genres varied between an overall increase or decrease in use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis over time. The majority of genres tended towards an increase in attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, but unlike the Tuscan genres, the northern Italian genres were not split along the practical/literary divide: *CRON*, *VITE*, *DOC*, *DOC MERC*, *DOC GIUR*, *STAT*, and *NARR* showed an increase in attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis over the fourteenth century, whereas *DID REL*, *RET* and *FIL* showed a decrease in the numbers of texts attesting the periphrasis. The results of the northern Italian genre analysis were necessarily less conclusive and more limited than the Tuscan data analysis. While this was to a large extent a facet of the smaller amounts of data, and the nature of the data itself, the greater degree of inconsistency in use of the two periphrases in northern Italian texts, was also a factor in the inconclusive results.

The analysis of the data pertaining to Hypothesis 4 showed that a pattern could be identified explaining the distributions of the two periphrases over area, date and genre. Poetry and prose differed in that poetry did not show an increased or decreased use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis over time or area, whereas prose use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was conditioned by all three factors. The proposition of Hypothesis 4, that it would be possible to identify a pattern to the variation of the distributions of the two periphrases according to genre, was, therefore, proven to be correct. The further implications of the patterns identified will be considered in the Conclusions to this thesis.

Chapter 6 - Summary and Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will evaluate the degree to which the hypotheses laid out in the Introduction were fulfilled, and will provide a short summary of the data analysis found in Chapter Five. It will present an interpretation of the distributions of the two conditional paradigms described by the data. This interpretation will attempt to explain the results of the data analysis in terms of the historical sources for the reflexes of the two conditional periphrases and the channels through which they were introduced into the different areas of Italo-Romance. The results and interpretation of the data analysis will then be related to the creation of the Standard language and the current dialect situation. Finally, the overall contribution made by this piece of research will be assessed, and potential routes for further investigation will be outlined.

6.2 Summary of Results

Each of the four hypotheses set out in the introduction was proved to be correct: for the data in both the B and C-Tables, the pattern of use was observably conditioned by at least one factor. In both cases the use of the conditional is related to genre, but in different ways. The first two hypotheses showed that the rate at which the conditional in mediaeval Italo-Romance occurred was related to genre, but not to area and date. Furthermore, there was a higher level of patterning to this link between conditional use and genre. The rate at which the conditional (both paradigms) was attested in different genres was represented on a scale from high to low frequency. For the texts in this study, this scale could be divided in terms of literary and non-literary texts, with literary texts attesting the highest levels of conditional use, and the non-literary texts, the lowest. It should not, however, be deduced on the basis of this assertion that the rate of conditional use can be linked to the idea of register presented in the Introduction, that is, as a marker of formality and complexity of a text implicit in the use of the terms literary and non-literary. Rather, the link was between the rate of conditional use and the hypotheticality requirements of a text. These were likely to be

lower in the case of texts strongly rooted in the here-and-now in which they were composed, namely, practical texts such as legal and scientific writing.

The third and fourth hypotheses, which described the use of the differentiated conditional, were also proved to be correct. These hypotheses showed that the use of the two conditional paradigms in mediaeval Italo-Romance differed according to genre, and that there was a further degree of patterning affected by the area and date of texts. Both the written analysis of the rate at which each conditional periphrasis was attested, and the consistency with which it occurred, and the diagrammatic representation of the use of each periphrasis over time, area and genre showed a difference in use of the conditional between the Tuscan and the northern dialects of Italy.⁴²¹ The primary difference between the two periphrases was that reflexes of CANTARE HABEBAM appeared consistently in the northern dialects in all genres over the whole time period under consideration, whereas they only appeared in certain genres for limited periods in the central dialects. This difference, however, could be further analysed in terms of verse, literary, and non-literary texts to create an even more nuanced picture of variation.

Verse Texts

The northern Italian and Tuscan verse texts showed the greatest degree of similarity in the use of the two conditional paradigms in verse texts. In both areas, the genres *LIR* and *NARR VERSI* attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis at a similar rate, and the *LIR* texts showed similar rates of consistency. The difference between the areas lay in the date from which the CANTARE HABEBAM reflex was attested: in the northern Italo-Romance dialects it was attested from the earliest verse texts, whereas the paradigm was not attested in the Tuscan verse texts until approximately 1250. The significance of this difference will be drawn out below.

⁴²¹ While the written analysis of the distributions of the two reflexes also took into consideration the use of the paradigms in the southern Italian texts, the use of the CANTARE HABEBAM reflex was almost universal and does not require further discussion here. The central-southern areas such as Le Marche, Umbria and Arezzo were considered to be border areas where usage was mixed, and are a potential topic for more detailed analysis elsewhere.

Literary Prose Texts

The northern dialects attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in literary prose texts, such as narratives and commentaries, from the earliest texts. In contrast, the Tuscan texts attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis for short periods of time in the fourteenth century, but use of this form did not persist. A salient feature of the Tuscan prose literary texts was the higher degree of consistency in the choice of paradigm, generally the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, than in the northern Italian texts. The degree of consistency in the majority of Tuscan prose texts was also higher than in the verse texts. The same was not true of the northern Italian texts: only approximately half the literary prose genres were more consistent in their choice of paradigm than the verse genres.

Practical Texts

The pattern of use of the two periphrases in the practical texts differed strongly from that displayed by the literary texts. In northern Italy, the non-literary genres such as *DOC*, *DOC GIUR* and *SCI-GEO* contained attestations of reflexes of both the CANTARE HABEBAM and the CANTARE HABUI periphrases, in relatively similar ratios. In the northern Italian texts which attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, the use of the periphrasis was also consistent throughout the text. In the Tuscan texts, the legal and scientific texts did not attest the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis at all. This non-attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis could also be described as complete consistency in the choice of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis across these genres. There were two possible interpretations of this piece of data. Either the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was unknown to writers of non-literary texts and was not available for use by them (non-attestation) or the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was not considered appropriate for these genres (consistency of CANTARE HABUI periphrasis). In the light of the analysis presented below, the latter was considered to be slightly more likely.

6.3 Interpretation of Data and Explanation of Results

Four pieces of data stood out from the summary of the use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the different genres when analysed according to the date and geographical source of the texts. The most striking piece of data was the similar pattern of use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in both the northern and Tuscan

texts. No genres other than *LIR* and *NARR VERSI* attested the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the same way in both areas. The CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was attested in Tuscan and Northern Italian poetry from the earliest texts from each area, which were dated 1246 in Tuscany and 1190 in northern Italy.⁴²² In poetry, then, there appeared to be no geographical or temporal conditioning to the use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The second significant piece of data was that, with the exception of two texts by Brunetto Latini, the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was not attested until 1300 in Tuscan prose texts.⁴²³ In northern Italian prose texts, however, the form was attested in texts dated as early as 1200 and 1210.⁴²⁴ This suggested that the sources of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in prose texts were different for the two areas. The difference in use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in non-literary texts in each area was also an important contributing factor to the explanation to be put forward here: the periphrasis only occurred in literary Tuscan genres, whereas in the northern Italo-Romance dialects, the periphrasis was attested in both literary and sub-literary genres. Finally, it was necessary to note particularly the time periods in which the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was attested in the two areas. In the various Tuscan literary genres, the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis appeared for short periods of the fourteenth century, such as 1330 to 1374 for the *CRON* texts. In contrast, the rate of attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the different genres in the

⁴²² [Raimb. de Vaqueiras, *Contrasto*, c. 1190 (gen.)].

It should be noted that the *Contrasto* attests reflexes of both conditional periphrases, despite being a non-native Provençal poet.

Ruggieri d'Amici, [1246], *Lo mio core che si stava* (Maurizio Vitale, *Poeti della prima scuola*, Arona, Paideia, 1951, p. 184.) [Ruggieri d'Amici (ed. Vitale), XIII pm. (tosc.)].

⁴²³ These texts were discussed in Chapter 5.4, in the Meta-Literature section of the written analysis.

[Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, c. 1260-61 (fior.)].

[\$Sommetta, 1284-87 (fior.)\$].

⁴²⁴ Anonimo, [1200], *Proverbia que dicuntur super natura feminarum* (Berlino, *Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 390; Saibante*) (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 521-55 [testo pp. 523-55].)

[*Proverbia que dicuntur*, XII u.q. (venez.)].)

Uguccione da Lodi, [1210], *Libro* (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 597-624 [testo pp. 600-624].) [Uguccione da Lodi, *Libro*, XIII in. (crem.)].

northern Italo-Romance dialects showed a slight tendency to increase over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis is, therefore, different in each of the two areas. Given that the periphrasis was attested from an earlier stage in the northern Italo-Romance dialects, it is possible that the introduction of the form into the Tuscan dialects could merely be an instance of contact-based borrowing. Guazzelli's research on the roots of lenition in the Tuscan dialects provides some circumstantial evidence to support this argument. She suggests that "la sonorizzazione non colpisce mai questi elementi morfologici [...] ma si limita alla componente lessicale", which shows that while contact phenomena did occur between the northern dialects and Tuscan, it did not take place at a morphological level.⁴²⁵ This analysis is in agreement with work on the typology of borrowing which states that, unlike phonological or lexical elements, "inflectional morphology is hardest to borrow, because its component parts fit into a whole that is (relatively) small, self-contained, and highly organised".⁴²⁶ It is therefore unlikely that the introduction of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis into Tuscan was a simple case of proximity-based borrowing, especially since the form is in a clear minority, with only 541 attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis compared to 2540 attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.

Instead of a geographical contact situation, the differences in the patterns of attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in Tuscan suggest a more complicated picture. The non-attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the practical Tuscan genres suggests that the paradigm was, or was perceived as, a literary form. Moreover, the different pattern of use of the periphrasis in the verse and prose texts, and the retention of the form in poetry throughout the fourteenth century, implies that the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was not just a literary form, but primarily a poetic one. Additionally, the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis was not attested in a Tuscan text *LIR* without concurrent attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM

⁴²⁵ Francesca Guazzelli, 'Alle origini della sonorizzazione delle occlusive sorde intervocaliche', *L'Italia dialettale*, 109 (1996), 7-88, (p. 39).

⁴²⁶ Sarah G. Thomason, *Language Contact: An introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), p. 69.

periphrasis until 1271.⁴²⁷ The CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, however, was attested alone in texts from the first Tuscan poem, dated 1246.⁴²⁸ Despite being a non-native form, the CANTARE HABEBAM paradigm was therefore the default paradigm for Tuscan verse compositions. It is in the light of this situation that the simple borrowing hypothesis becomes unconvincing. The Tuscan use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis appeared only in literary texts, which was not the case for the northern Italo-Romance dialects where the paradigm was also attested in the sub-literary genres. Either the northern usage of the form was perceived in Tuscany as higher prestige than was in fact the case, or an alternative source was responsible for the Tuscan use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in verse.

Reflexes of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis with a desinence in *-ia* are attested in two spheres, the Provençal poets, and the Sicilian school, which, as noted in the Introduction, is now thought to have been influenced by the Provençal poets.⁴²⁹ It is not, therefore, coincidental, that the first attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in Tuscan poetry is dated from 1246, coinciding with the beginnings of the Siculo-Tuscan school of poetry. It would appear, therefore that the source of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in Tuscan is the result of Sicilian poetic influence, itself initially derived from Provençal. As Dante notes, “quia ipsum prosaycantes ab avientibus magis accipiunt et quia quod avietum est prosaycantibus permanere videtur exemplar, et non e converse”, it is probable that the use of the paradigm in poetry was extended analogically into literary texts as a prestige form, with the different genres

⁴²⁷ Anonimo, [1271], *Ardente foco al core s'è aspreso* (Firenze, *Archivio di Stato, Carte di San Gimignano*, 202) (Arrigo Castellani, *Saggi di linguistica e filologia italiana e romanza* (1946-1976) t. II, Roma, Salerno Editrice, 1980, pp. 59-72 [testo a p. 69].) [**Poes. an. sang., 1270-71 (1)**].

⁴²⁸ [Ruggieri d'Amici (ed. Vitale), XIII pm. (tosc.)].

⁴²⁹ For more detailed information on the Provençal forms, which differ from the modern French conditional forms, see Grandgent, Smith and Bergin, and Bourciez.

C. H. Grandgent, *An Outline of the Phonology and Morphology of Old Provençal*, (Boston: Heath, 1905) p. 118.

Nathaniel B. Smith and Thomas G. Bergin, *An Old Provençal Primer*, (New York: Garland, 1984), pp. 146-7.

Bourciez, p. 329.

adopting and discarding the form at different points over the fourteenth century.⁴³⁰ As the influence of the Sicilian and Siculo-Tuscan poets waned, the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was eventually discarded in all prose literary texts, although it was retained in its original context, poetry, throughout the fourteenth century. The perception of the paradigm as a poetic form meant that it was never adopted into practical texts or into everyday speech.⁴³¹

In the north, however, reflexes of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis were attested in texts written before the Sicilian school of poets adopted the form. The source of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the northern Italo-Romance dialects was not, therefore, the same as the Tuscan source. More importantly, the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was used in practical texts as well as literary texts, and the earliest attestations occurred in prose. These pieces of evidence imply that the route by which the paradigm was made available into the northern dialects was not solely literary. This suggests that the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was an example of geographically-based contact interference, and was introduced through the physical proximity of the northern Italo-Romance dialects to Provençal.⁴³² The strong cultural

⁴³⁰ Dante Alighieri, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, ed. by Stephen Botterill, Cambridge Mediaeval Classics, 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 47.

⁴³¹ Bentley's assertion, noted in the Introduction, that the use of the conditional in Sicilian is gradually being eliminated seems to be an example of a similar process to that which occurred in Tuscany. The paradigm was also used in Sicily as a literary form, either native or non-native, but as the use of Sicilian for literary functions is eroded, the form is being replaced by lower prestige means of expressing hypotheticality which are also indigenous to the area.

Bentley, 'Semantica e sintassi', p. 164.

⁴³² Maiden notes, in agreement with the authors cited in the Introduction to this thesis, that "the phonological development is such that in the vast majority of Italo-Romance dialects where [the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis] appears, it simply cannot be an indigenous form but must, rather, be the result of diffusion from some external source". The exceptions to this statement, as Rohlfs has suggested, are the dialects from Piedmont and Liguria where, on phonological grounds, it is possible that the reflexes of the paradigm with desinences in *-ea/-eva* could be indigenous. On this basis, it is reasonable to suppose that the Ligurian and Piedmontese use of the paradigm is not a contact phenomenon. Moreover, Maiden notes that the source of the *-ia* desinence is problematic, citing Rohlfs's postulated Occitan source as the most convincing. The indigenous nature of these forms actually constitutes evidence for the Occitan/Provençal source, since the geographical contiguity suggests that the range of the form stretched into the extreme north-west of Italy, rather than being the

influences of the Troubadour poetry from the early thirteenth century onwards would also have played a part in the adoption of the Provençal forms into literary usage of the dialects of northern Italy.⁴³³ In the Veneto especially, a school of writing, described by Folena as “biografico-narrativo, embrionalmente critico e storiografico”, developed around the margins of the Provençal poets, would have reinforced the availability of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in prose.⁴³⁴ It is possible, however, that the higher rates of attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the northern verse texts, in line with the pattern of use shown in the Tuscan verse genres, could be attributed to the additional influence from the Sicilian school on the northern Italian poets.⁴³⁵

The explanation proffered here also accounts for the *prima facie* link between the genres attesting high levels of conditional use (both paradigms) and genres containing high levels of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in Tuscan. On the basis of this evidence, the link can only be described as a correlative relationship, not a causative one. Variation in conditional use according to genre is likely to be a cross-linguistic occurrence, linked to the hypotheticality needs of the different genres. The more literary a genre, the more likely it is to have a greater need to express hypotheticality, and thus a higher rate of conditional use. In contrast, the increased rate of attestation

unlikely result of contact over an isogloss coinciding with the modern political boundaries. This analysis is also in line with the conclusions drawn here, providing confirmation of the dual source suggested here to account for the introduction and retention of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the north of Italy.

Martin Maiden, ‘Accommodating Synonymy: How some Italo-Romance verbs react to lexical and morphological borrowing’, in *Rethinking Languages in Contact: The case of Italian*, ed. by Anna Laura Lepschy and Arturo Tosi (London: MHRA and Maney, 2009), p. 93.

⁴³³ Gianfranco Folena, ‘Tradizione e cultura trobadorica nelle corti e nelle città venete’, in *Storia della Cultura Veneta*, ed. by Gianfranco Folena, 10 vols (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1976), I, 453-562, (pp. 453-5).

⁴³⁴ Folena, pp. 455, 465-6.

⁴³⁵ The higher rate of attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM reflex in poetry in the northern Italian dialects suggests that Rohlfs is perhaps not entirely accurate when he suggests that “anche nel Settentrione, e già presso gli antichi poeti, il tipo in *-ia* si trova difficilmente da solo: solitamente è in compagnia dell’altro condizionale, formato con *habui*”. Additional research using information from the Access database would have the potential to confirm or disprove this statement.

Rohlfs, *Morfologia*, p. 341.

Tuscan vernaculars do not adopt *cantaria*. Use of the form in prose diminishes and disappears.

Cantaria already in use in the northern vernaculars. Use of the form increases and becomes usual.

The eventual differences resulting from the different sources and prestige attributed to the forms can be seen in the modern dialect situations described below.

6.4 Explanation of the Modern Dialect Forms in Light of the Historical Context

The explanation for the different patterns of use of the two conditional paradigms in the late mediaeval period as described above suggests that the usage of the periphrases would continue to develop in separate ways in the northern and Tuscan dialects. Moreover, this analysis would predict a situation in which occurrence of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis would continue to increase in the northern Italo-Romance dialects, but decrease in the Tuscan dialects. The modern dialect data shows that this is indeed the case.

The Northern Italo-Romance Dialects

In the northern Italo-Romance dialects, the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was not solely a literary form: it was used in both practical and literary genres. The use of the form increased in most genres over the fourteenth century. On this basis, it would be expected that the use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis would continue to increase, to the point where it would attain status either equal to or dominant over the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis.

The AIS maps show that the use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis has three main centres in the northern Italo-Romance dialects. There is a strong concentration of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis in the Veneto, which clusters around Venice. Attestations of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis occur at the extremities of the region, particularly in the Istrian dialect regions and the more conservative villages of the Veneto.⁴³⁶ Reflexes of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis are also centred around

⁴³⁶ See AIS maps 1019, 1044, 1104, 1519, 1603, 1630, 1627: points 337, 343, 398, 397 367.

Milan.⁴³⁷ This cluster does not extend far, and it is largely surrounded by the sigmatic forms of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis noted by Parry.⁴³⁸ The third cluster of reflexes of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis is to be found in Liguria and Piedmont.⁴³⁹ This cluster of attestations of the form does not consistently extend east into Lombardy or Emilia-Romagna, which tend to show reflexes of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis with variation between desinences in *-ebbe* and sigmatic desinences.⁴⁴⁰

The attestation of reflexes of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis in the conservative areas of the Veneto, and in the Istrian dialects, and the use of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis only in close proximity to Milan, confirms that the CANTARE HABUI paradigm is the native form in the northern Italo-Romance dialects and that the use of reflexes of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis is innovative. It is not surprising, therefore, that the usage of this paradigm forms clusters around cities, which tend to be the loci of innovation. The incursion of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis into the Ligurian and Piedmontese dialects is, however, less in keeping with the normal pattern of rural areas tending towards the preservation of conservative forms.

This pattern of attestation of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, however, is entirely explicable in the light of the data presented in this thesis. The dual sources of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, geographic and literary, are represented by the Ligurian/Piedmontese and Venetian/Milanese dialect situations. The extreme proximity of the Piedmontese and Ligurian dialects to the Provençal would appear to account for their adoption and retention of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. In contrast, Venice and the Veneto, although exposed to the Provençal form through lesser proximity, also required the literary tradition of the Troubadours and the

Karl Jaberg and Jakob Jud, *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz* (AIS) (Zolfigen: Ringier, 1928-1940).

⁴³⁷ See AIS 1019, 1044, 1104, 1519, 1603, 1630, 1627: points 252, 261.

⁴³⁸ Parry, p. 549.

⁴³⁹ See AIS maps 1019, 1044, 1104, 1519, 1603, 1630, 1627: points 131, 143, 150, 152, 161, 160, 163, 170, 175, 181, 182, 190.

⁴⁴⁰ See AIS maps 1019, 1044, 1104, 1519, 1603, 1630, 1627: points 412, 420, 446, 454, 466, 467, 479 etc.

Sicilian poets for the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis to gain ground. In contrast, Lombardy, which had neither the literary centre of Venice, nor the extreme proximity to Provençal of the Piedmontese and Ligurian dialects, retained the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis and did not generally adopt the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. The same is true of the Emilian dialects, which by reason of their greater proximity to Tuscan, would also have been more likely to be strongly conditioned by the Florentine dialect as a literary influence than Venetian.

The Tuscan Dialects

In Tuscany, in contrast to the northern Italo-Romance dialects, the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis was only perceived as a literary, and primarily poetic, form. As it was not available for use in practical texts, and its use decreased over the fourteenth century, it would be expected that the form would gradually be eradicated in the Tuscan dialects. Corroborating evidence for the actual occurrence of this process is to be found in Bembo, who says:

È il vero che ella termina etiandio così, AMERIA VORRIA: ma non Thoscanamente, e solo nel verso: come che SARIA si legga alcuna volta etiandio nelle prose: PORIA poscia che disse il Petrarca in vece di *Potria* è anchora maggiormente dalla mia lingua lontano. nel qual verso anchora così termina alle volte la prima voce, *Io AMERIA, Io VORRIA* in vece .d' *Ameri* e di *Vorrei*; e così .quelle .de gli-altri.⁴⁴¹

This statement confirms that the reflexes of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis were regarded as a non-Tuscan poetic form. While the use of the paradigm continued in poetry into the sixteenth century and beyond, the form was no longer considered as acceptable in prose. The eradication of the form continued, resulting in the conclusive situation mapped by the AIS, which shows almost universal use of reflexes of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis in Tuscany.

⁴⁴¹ Pietro Bembo, *Prose della vulgare lingua: L'edition princeps del 1525 riscontrata con l'autografo Vaticano latino 3210* ed. by Claudio Vela (Bologna: Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria Editrice, 2001), 139^v (p. 193).

6.5 Further Research and Contribution of the Thesis

Further Research

The methodology used in the data analysis that forms the basis of this thesis has significant advantages for the possibility of further research in this area: the Access database was set up to include sub-categories of information on the modern desinence of each attestation of the two conditional paradigms, such as whether the reflexes of the CANTARE HABUI periphrasis had desinences in *-ebbero* or *-ebbono*. This additional information encoded in the data can be used to carry out searches, similar to those used to describe the distributions of the two periphrases, in order to provide data on the distributions of the phonological and morphological variants of the two reflexes. As well as the *-ebbero/-ebbono* distinction, it will also be possible to carry out further research into the usage of the different plural forms of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, which include the variants *-iano*, *-ie* and *-ieno*. This would necessitate study of the use of the periphrases in the transition zone between Tuscany and the south, which have not been considered in detail in this thesis.

As well as the separately coded information on the desinences, using queries to search for the attestations fulfilling certain criteria will also permit more detailed phonological research. Information that can be retrieved at this level includes the distributions of the geminate *-bb-*, or the thematic vowel in the desinences of attestations of the CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis. It would also be useful to carry out further research into the distribution of the unfused forms of the conditional. This could provide insights into the processes of synthesis and establishment of word order in the periphrases that were raised in the theory section of this thesis. As every attestation of every variant of *avere* would have to be examined in context to establish whether it formed part of an unfused conditional, the volume of data involved would necessarily be prohibitive.

The Access database also provides a starting-point for a piece of research at the textual level. It includes entries for 199 attestations of the conditional taken from Dante's *Commedia*.⁴⁴² These entries can be used in conjunction with the OVI to find

⁴⁴² [Dante, *Commedia*, a. 1321].

line references and the locations of each reference in the text. A close reading of each of the contexts of each of these attestations would show whether the attestation was one spoken by Dante *personaggio*, or by one of the characters that he meets. Two types of analysis of this data would be possible. The use of the conditional by Dante *personaggio* might vary during his journey, shown by different patterns of use in the different books or cantos. Additionally, by considering the use of the conditional according to each character, and in the light of the information known about them, it would be possible to assess Dante as author's perception of the two forms, and whether he attributes any geographical or qualitative connotations to the forms. This perspective would be helpful in establishing any overt prestige implicit in the choice of one periphrasis or the other.

Contribution

As has been shown in the discussion of the data analysis in Chapter 5, and in the Summary and Conclusions section of this chapter, the aims of this thesis have been achieved. It has described the patterning of the distributions of the two Italo-Romance reflexes of the conditional periphrases CANTARE HABUI and CANTARE HABEBAM at the time of the earliest texts. The thesis has also succeeded in its second aim, explaining the factors operating on the use of the two periphrases which were responsible for the pattern described here. Moreover, the explanation of the distributions of the two periphrases presented here also accounts convincingly for the current pattern of use of the two periphrases in the modern dialects. While this was a desirable outcome, given the time differential between the texts under discussion and the modern period, it was not a result of the analysis that could have been guaranteed. It was entirely possible that the patterning of the two periphrases displayed in the late mediaeval period would have been susceptible to other intra- and extra-linguistic pressure in the intervening centuries, creating a mis-match between the current and fourteenth century patterns of use that would not have been explicable on the basis of the two sets of data available here. This would have required further analysis of the intervening linguistic situations, and would have fallen outside the scope of a single Ph.D. thesis.

In addition to the language-specific contribution made to the understanding of the use of the conditional in the late mediaeval period, this thesis has also added to the methodological approaches to corpus linguistics. First, the thesis has shown that the

OVI can be used in conjunction with other database software to create a meta-database of textual information and linguistic data for research beyond the lexicon into morphology. The methodology chapter has set out a readily duplicable template for such research. Second, the methodology chapter has shown that statistical methods can be applied to linguistic data to produce empirically-verifiable information about the data at the level of the variable. Third, the charts included in the Discussion chapter are an innovative method that enables a simultaneous three-factor analysis, area, genre and date, by presenting the data in a visual format for comparison.

It should, however, be noted that this piece of research is not one that undertakes a micro-level study of the individual texts included in the Access database. It is rather a macro-level study of the patterns revealed by a corpus analysis, which relies on the information given by the corpus itself about the texts to form a basis for the process of analysis. This research should not, therefore, be compared to detailed textual studies such as Fratta's, which is a text-by-text study of the relationship between the works of the Provençal poets and the Sicilian School.⁴⁴³ This lack of text-level analysis could be said to be a weakness in this study, as could the reliance on the textual information given by the OVI, but in the light of the volume of data analysed, and the cohesion of the results with the modern dialect situation, the reliability of the conclusions drawn does seem to be justified. The routes for further research discussed above, however, suggest that there are a number of possible paths for a more detailed, text-level analysis that have the potential to shed further light on the data and interpretation presented here.

⁴⁴³ Aniello Fratta, *Le fonti provenzali dei poeti della scuola siciliana: I postillati del Torracca e altri contributi* (Florence: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 1996).

Appendix 1 - Genre Classifications

Abbreviation	<u>Genre</u>
art. tecn.	Arti e tecniche (agricoltura, architettura, pittura, arte musiva, arte della guerra).
b.e.l.	Bestiari, erbari, lapidari.
comm.	Commenti e glosse.
cron. st.	Cronache, storie (ivi compresi volgarizzamenti dalle storie classiche, libri di ricordi, memorie, ecc.) e epigrafi.
did. rel.	Letteratura didattica (ivi compresi proverbi, indovinelli, sentenze, enciclopedie, ecc.) e/o religiosa (prediche, sermoni, vite di santi, preghiere parafrasate, leggende, ecc.).
doc.	Documenti in genere, relazioni e lettere* di ambasciatori, lettere di amministrazione civile, istruzioni, memorie familiari, libri di credito di privati) e inoltre dazi, decime, affitti, ecc., quando documenti elencativi.
doc. giur.	1 di diritto pubblico 2 di diritto privato 3 atti notarili (liti, note di sequestri, note di spese processuali, pagamenti di affitto, pandette, patti, petizioni, domande e suppliche, intimazioni, privilegi, decreti, ecc.) e inoltre dazi, decime, gabelle, quando documenti normativi.
doc. merc.	Libri di mercatura, inventari di magazzino, note di acquisto e vendita di merci, conti di banchieri, assegni bancari, agenti finanziari, e inoltre libri di gabella quando documenti elencativi.
ep. or.	Epistole (in prosa e in versi) e orazioni (ivi compresi schemi di lettere, formule notarili, epistolari, ecc.).
fil.	Filosofia (teoretica, morale, politica, metafisica, teologia, governo della famiglia).
form.	Ricettari e scongiuri, ingiurie, formule magiche, preghiere.
ge. astr.	Geografia, astronomia, libri di viaggi.
Iett.	Lettere (in quanto documenti privati)*.
lir.	Lirica (ivi compresi sequenze, laudi, tropi, ecc.).
med.	Medicina, fisionomia, veterinaria.
narr.	Narrativa (novellistica, prosa di romanzi, romanzi d'avventura, ecc.).
narr. versi	Epica (religiosa e profana), poesia eroicomica, cantari (di qualsiasi argomento).
ret.	Retorica (grammatica, poetica, glossari, ecc.).
sc.	Scienze esatte (aritmetica, geometria, ecc.).
stat.	Statuti (bandi, bolle, brevi, capitolari, capitoli, costituiti, costituzioni, ordinamenti, regolamenti e regole, rubriche, ecc.).
ven.	Trattati di caccia, mascalcia, falconeria.
vite	Biografie, panegirici .

Appendix 2 – Area Classifications

Abbreviation	Area	<u>Specific?</u>	<u>General?</u>
abruzz.	abruzzese	yes	yes
agrig.	agrigentino	yes	
amalf.	amalfitano	yes	
amiat.	amiatino	yes	
ancon.	anconitano	yes	
aquil.	aquilano	yes	
aquin.	aquinate	yes	
aret.	aretino	yes	
ascol.	ascolano		
assis.	assisiata	yes	
bell.	bellunese	yes	
bergam.	bergamasco	yes	
bologn.	bolognese	yes	
bresc.	bresciano		
calabr.	calabrese		
camp.	campano	yes	yes
capuan.	capuano	yes	
carr.	carrarese	yes	
casol.	casolano	yes	
cass.	cassinese	yes	
castelfior.	di Castelfiorentino		
castell.	di Città di Castello	yes	
catan.	catanese	yes	
chier.	chierese		
chiogg.	chioggiotto		
cividal.	cividalese	yes	
colt.	di Coltibuono	yes	
com.	comasco	yes	
cors.	corso	yes	yes
cort.	cortonese	yes	
crem.	cremonese	yes	
dalmat.	dalmata	yes	
emil.	emiliano	yes	yes
eug.	euganeo		

eugub.	eugubino	yes	
fabr.	fabrianese	yes	
fan.	di Fano		
ferr.	ferrarese	yes	
fior.	fiorentino	yes	
folign.	folignate	yes	
fond.(rom).	fondano(romano)	yes	
francoprov.	francoprovenzale		
friul.	friulano	yes	yes
gen.	genovese	yes	
giudeo-it.	giudeo-italiano	yes	yes
imol.	imolese		
ital.	italiano	yes	yes
lad.	ladino		
lat.	latino		yes
laz.	laziale		yes
lig.	ligure	yes	yes
lomb.	lombardo	yes	yes
lucch.	lucchese	yes	
macer.	maceratese	yes	
mant.	mantovano	yes	
march.	marchigiano	yes	yes
merid.	meridionale	yes	
mess.	messinese	yes	
mil.	milanese	yes	
moden.	modenese	yes	
mol.	molisano	yes	
montepulc.	di Montepulciano		
montier.	di Montieri	yes	
mug.	mugellano	yes	
napol.	napoletano	yes	
occ.	occidentale	yes	
or.	orientale	yes	yes
orviet.	orvietano	yes	
os.	osimano	yes	
padov.	padovano	yes	
palerm.	palermitano	yes	

parm.	parmigiano	yes	
pav.	pavese	yes	
perug.	perugino	yes	
piac.	piacentino	yes	
pic.	piceno	yes	
piem.	piemontese	yes	yes
pis.	pisano	yes	
pist.	pistoiese	yes	yes
prat.	pratese	yes	
pugl.	pugliese	yes	yes
ravenn.	ravennate	yes	
reat.	reatino	yes	
rimin.	riminese		
rom.	romano	yes	yes
romagn.	romagnolo	yes	
salent.	salentino		
sang.	sangimignanese	yes	
savon.	savonese	yes	
sen.	senese	yes	
sess.	sessano	yes	
settentr.	settentrionale	yes	yes
sic.	siciliano	yes	yes
sic.smi	sicilianismi	yes	
sirac.	siracusano	yes	
spolet.	spoletino		
ssep.	di Sansepolcro		
tarent.	tarentino		
tean.	teanese	yes	
tod.	todino	yes	
tosc.	toscano	yes	yes
toscp.	toscanopadano		
tosco.-ven.	tosco-veneto	yes	
trent.	trentino	yes	yes
trevis.	trevisano	yes	
udin.	udinese	yes	
umbr.	umbro	yes	yes
urb.	urbinate	yes	

ven.	veneto	yes	yes
venez.	veneziano	yes	
ver.	veronese	yes	
vercell.	vercellese	yes	
vicent.	vicentino	yes	
viterb.	viterbese	yes	
volg.	volgare		yes
volt.	volterrano	yes	
zar.	zaratino	yes	

Appendix 3 - Texts Discarded on Grounds of Joint Area Classification⁴⁴⁴

Antonio da Tempo, [1332], *Rime* (Trattato delle Rime Volgari, a cura di Giusto Grion, Commissione per i testi di lingua, Bologna, Romagnoli, 1869 pp. 76-81, 84-102, 104-08, 112-16, 119-27, 129-33, 136-38, 140-44, 146, 148-51, 154-58, 161, 163, 168-69, 171, 173.) [Ant. da Tempo, *Rime* (ed. Grion), 1332 (tosco.-padov.)].

Bartolomeo di Capua Conte d'Altavilla, *Rime*, c. 1360 (Rosario Coluccia, Tradizioni auliche e popolari nella poesia del Regno di Napoli in età angioina, MR, 2, pp. 44-153 [testo pp. 89-97].) [Bartolomeo di Capua, c. 1360 (napol.>sett.)].

Bosone de' Raffaelli da Gubbio, *Fortunatus sículus o sia l'Avventuroso Ciciliano*, a. 1333 (a cura di Giorgio Federico Nott, Milano, Silvestri, 1833.) [Bosone da Gubbio, *Avv. Cic.*, a. 1333 (eugub.>fior.)].

Buccio d'Aldobrandino, *Giannotto, io aggio moglie inguadiata (Canzone del fi' Aldobrandino)*, sec. XIV ui.di. (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. II, pp. 437-40.) [Buccio d'Aldobr., XIV ui.di. (tosco./orviet.)].

Ciuccio, *Rime*, sec. XIII ex. (Mahmoud Salem Elsheikh, Il caso Ciuccio, SFI, XXXVIII, 1980, pp. 11-32 [testo pp. 20-27].) [Ciuccio, *Rime*, XIII ex. (umbr.>tosco.)].

Federigo dall'Ambra, *Rime*, sec. XIII ex. (Domenico De Robertis, Il Canzoniere Escorialense e la tradizione "veneziana" delle rime dello Stil novo, Torino, Loescher - Chiantore, 1954 (GSLI, suppl. 27), pp. 232-34.) [Federigo dall'Ambra, XIII ex. (fior.>ven.)].

⁴⁴⁴ Texts are organised according to the principles laid out in the introduction to the OVI bibliography.

Francesco di Vannozzo, *Rime*, **sec. XIV ui.di** (ed. critica a cura di Roberta Manetti [tesi di dottorato in Filologia romanza ed italiana (retorica e poetica romanza ed italiana)], VI ciclo, 1994.) [**Francesco di Vannozzo, Rime, XIV sm. (tosco.-ven.)**].

Giovanni fiorentino da Vignano, *Flore de parlar*, **sec. XIII/XIV** (Matteo dei Libri, Arringhe, a cura di Eleonora Vincenti, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi 1974, pp. 231-325.) [**Giovanni da Vignano, XIII/XIV (bologn.>ven.)**].

Girardo da Castelfiorentino, *Rime*, **sec. XIV in.** (Domenico De Robertis, Il Canzoniere Escorialense e la tradizione “veneziana” delle rime dello Stil novo, Torino, Loescher - Chiantore, 1954 (GSLI, suppl. 27), pp. 202-07.) [**Girardo da Castelfior., XIV in. (tosco.>ven.)**].

Gradenigo, Jacopo, [1399], *Gli Quatro Evangelii concordati in uno* (Gli Quatro Evangelii concordati in uno di Jacopo Gradenigo. Introduzione, testo e glossario a cura di Francesca Gambino, Bologna, Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1999.) [**Gradenigo, Quatro Evangelii, 1399 (tosco.-ven.)**].

Guercio da Montesanto, *Rime /duesonetti/*, **sec. XIII/XIV** (Poeti giocosi del tempo di Dante, a cura di Mario Marti, Milano, Rizzoli, 1956, pp. 333, 334.) [**Guercio da M., Rime, XIII/XIV (tosco.>trev.)**].

Landulfo di Lamberto, *Napoli, benché 'l mio lamento è indarno /canzone/, 1389-99* (Rosario Coluccia, Un rimatore politico della Napoli angioina: Landulfo di Lamberto, SFI, 1971, pp. 191-218 [testo pp. 210-18].) [**Landulfo di Lamberto, 1389-99 (napol.>sett.)**].

Maramauro Guglielmo, *Due canzoni*, **p. 1374/78** (Rosario Coluccia, Due nuove canzoni di Guglielmo Maramauro, rimatore napoletano del sec. XIVGSLI, CLX, 1983, pp. 161-202 [testo pp. 192-98].) [**Maramauro, Canz., p. 1374/78 (napol.>tosco./sett.)**].

Maramauro Guglielmo, *Expositione sopra l'Inferno di Dante Alligieri (con l'appendice delle rime)*, **1369-73** (a cura di Pier Giacomo Pisoni e Saverio Bellomo, Padova, Editrice Antenore, 1998.) [**Maramauro, Exp. Inf., 1369-73 (napol.>pad.-ven.)**].

Meo di Bugno, *Tuto il tempo del mondo m'è avvenuto*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Giancarlo Savino, *Il sonetto di noia del pistoiese Meo di Bugno*, SFI, XXXIX, 1981, pp. 23-28 [testo: pp. 26-27].) [**Meo di Bugno, XIII sm. (pist.>trevis.)**].

Quirini, Giovanni, [**1330**], *Rime* (edizione critica con commento a cura di Elena Maria Duso, Roma - Padova, Editrice Antenore, 2002 [Glossario pp. 239-75].) [**Giovanni Quirini, XIV s.-t.d (tosca.-ven.)**].

Quirini, Nicolò, *Rime*, **sec. XIV p.m.** (Rimatori veneziani del secolo XIV, a cura di Vittorio Lazzarini, Padova, Stab. Tip. Veneto, 1887, pp. 93-101.) [**N. Quirini (ed. Lazzarini), XIV pm. (venez.>trevis.)**].

Paolo dell'Aquila, *Rime*, **sec. XIV u.q.** (Rosario Coluccia, *Tradizioni auliche e popolari nella poesia del Regno di Napoli in età angioina*, MR, 2, 1975, pp. 44-153 [testo pp. 98-104].) [**Paolo dell'Aquila, XIV u.q. (napol.>sett.)**].

Rossi, Nicolò de', [**1330**], *Rime* (Nicolò de' Rossi, *Canzoniere Sivigliano*, a cura di Mahmoud Salem Elsheikh, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi 1973.) [**Nicolò de' Rossi, Rime, XIV pi.di. (tosca.-ven.)**].

Stabili, Francesco (Cecco d'Ascoli), *Acerba (L')*, **a. 1327** (a cura di Achille Crespi, Ascoli Piceno, Casa Editrice di Giuseppe Cesari, 1927. [pp. 125-399].) [**Cecco d'Ascoli, Acerba, a. 1327 (tosca./ascol.)**].

Tolomei, Meo dei, *A nulla guisa me posso soffrire /caribo/*, **sec. XIII/XIV** (Anna Bruni Bettarini, *Le rime di Meo dei Tolomei e di Muscia da Siena*, SFI, XXXII, 1974, pp. 31-98 [testo pp. 75-83].) [**Meo dei Tolomei, Caribo, XIII/XIV (sen.>umbro-march.>ven.)**].

Tomaso da Faenza, *Sonetti (sei)*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Guido Zaccagnini, Rime di Tomaso da Faenza, di Onesto da Bologna, di Cino da Pistoia e di altri, ricostruite sopra un nuovo canzoniere del sec. XIV, «l'Archiginnasio», XXXV, 1940, pp. 226-43 [testo pp. 234-35, 237, 238-39].)
[**Tomaso da Faenza (ed. Zaccagnini), XIII sm. (tosc./faent.)**].

Tomaso da Faenza, *Rime*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Guido Zaccagnini, Due rimatori faentini del sec. XIII, AR, XIX, 1935, pp. 79-106 [testi pp. 98-106].)
[**Tomaso da Faenza (ed. Zaccagnini 1935), XIII sm. (tosc./faent.)**].

Tomaso da Faenza, *Amoroso voler /canzone/*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 453-56.)
[**Tomaso da Faenza, Amoroso, XIII sm. (tosc./faent.)**].

Anonimo, *Bestiario moralizzato (II)*, **sec. XIII** (Maria Romano, Il “Bestiario moralizzato”, in Testi e interpretazioni. Studi del Seminario di Filologia romanza dell'Università di Firenze, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi 1978, pp. 721-888 [testo pp. 740-64 (pp. pari), 767, 769, 772-868 (pp. pari)].) [**Bestiario moralizz., XIII (tosc./aret.-castell.)**].

Anonimo, *Laudata et benedicta sia (Biblioteca de El Escorial, cod. d. IV. 32)*, **sec. XIII t.q.** (Sandro Orlando, Assaggi duecenteschi: la lauda escorialense, SFI, XXXIX, 1981, pp. 5-21.) [**Poes. an. ven. (eug.>umbr.-march.), XIII t.q. (3)**].

Anonimo, *Navigatio Sancti Brendani (testo toscano secondo la lezione del ms. C. 2. n. 1550 Conventi soppressi, BNCF)*, **sec. XIII** (Navigatio Sancti Brendani. La navigazione di San Brendano, a cura di Maria Antonietta Grignani, Milano, Bompiani, 1975, pp. 29-267 [pagine dispari].)
[**San Brendano tosc., XIII (ven.>tosc.)**].

Anonimo, *Navigatio Sancti Brendani (testo veneto secondo la lezione del ms. Ambrosiano D. 158 inf.)*, **sec. XIII** (Navigatio Sancti Brendani. La navigazione di San Brendano, a cura di Maria Antonietta Grignani, Milano, Bompiani, 1975, pp. 28-266 (pagine pari).) [**San Brendano ven., XIII**]. (This was excluded on the basis of its mixed ven.eug classification by the OVI)

Anonimo, *Pianto delle Marie*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Testi volgari abruzzesi del Duecento, a cura di Francesco A. Ugolini, Torino, Rosenberg e Sellier, 1959, pp. 119-28.) [**Poes. an. abruzz.>march., XIII sm.**].

Anonimo, *Poi qe neve ni glaza /Sirventese lombardesco/*, **sec. XIII** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 503-06. [testo corretto sull'ed. Stussi (cfr. Note_ed)].) [**Poes. an. lomb., XIII**].

Anonimo, *Tristano Riccardiano (II)*, **sec. XIII ex.** (a cura di Ernesto Giacomo Parodi, Comm. testi di lingua, Bologna, Romagnoli-Dall'Acqua, 1896.) [**Tristano Ricc., XIII ex. (tosc.)**].

Anonimo, *Teniteve, mesere (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, cod. a. H. 8. 10)*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Sandro Orlando, Una lettura controversa e un debito annoso, in Studi di filologia medievale offerti a d'Arco Silvio Avalle, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1996, pp. 355-364 [testo p. 357].) [**Poes. an. sett., XIII sm.**].

Anonimo, [1309], *Placente vixo, adorno, angelicato* (Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli, a cura di Ernesto Monaci, nuova ed. riveduta e aumentata a cura di Felice Arese, Roma-Napoli-Città di Castello, Dante Alighieri, 1955, pp. 342-44.) [**Poes. an. tosc.>bologn., 1309**].

Anonimo, *Dio d'amore (Ell) /serventese/*, **1310/30** (Zibaldone da Canal, Manoscritto mercantile del sec. XIV, a cura di Alfredo Stussi, Venezia, Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 1967, pp. 112-17.) [**Ell Dio d'amore, 1310/30 (venez.)**].

Anonimo, [1343], *Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore* (Cantari antichi, a cura di Domenico De Robertis, SFI, XXVIII, 1970, pp. 67-175 [testo pp. 80-109].) [**Fiorio e Biancifiore, 1343 (ven.>tosc.)**].

=, [1357], *Costituzioni Egidiane del 1357 (Le)*, (Paolo Colliva, Il Cardinale Albornoz, lo Stato della Chiesa, le “Constitutiones Aegidianae” (1353-1357) con in appendice il testo volgare delle Costituzioni di Fano dal ms. Vat. Lat. 3939, Bologna, Publicaciones del Real Colegio de España, 1977.) [**Cost. Egid., 1357 (umbro-romagn.)**].

=, *Laudi della confraternita di Santa Maria dei Battuti di Udine, sec. XIV m.* (Giovanni Fabris, Il più antico laudario veneto, Vicenza, Tipografia S. Giuseppe, 1907, pp. 23-86 [Laudi I-XXXVI].) [**Laudi Battuti di Udine, XIV m. (tosc.-ven.)**].

Anonimo, *Et donali conforto se te chiace* (Vat. lat. 3793, c. 101v), **sec. XIII/XIV** (a cura dell'Ufficio Filologico.) [**Poes. an. umbr., XIII/XIV**].

Anonimo, *Giunte trecentesche del ms. Chigiano M. VIII. 169 alla Composizione del mondo, sec. XIV in.* (Restoro d'Arezzo, La composizione del mondo colle sue cascioni, ed. critica a cura di Alberto Morino, Firenze, Acc. della Crusca, 1976, pp. 255-61.) [**Giunte a Restoro, XIV in. (it.sett./fior./eugub.)**].

Anonimo, *Poesie siculo-umbre (Tre)*, **sec. XIV pi.di.** (Ignazio Baldelli, Medioevo volgare da Montecassino all'Umbria, Bari, Adriatica Editrice, 1977, [testo pp. 255-61].) [**Poes. an. umbr., XIV pi.di.**].

Anonimo, *Storia di Apollonio di Tiro, sec. XIV m.* (a cura di Carlo Salvioni, Nozze Solerti-Saggini, Bellinzona, Salvioni, 1889.) [**Apollonio di Tiro, XIV m. (tosc.-venez.)**].

Anonimo, *Storie de Troia e de Roma (cod. Riccardiano), sec. XIV* (Ernesto Monaci, Storie de Troja et de Roma, altrimenti dette Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum, Roma, Società Romana di Storia Patria, 1920 [pp. 6-334].) [**St. de Troia e de Roma Ricc., XIV (rom.>tosc.)**].

Anonimo, *Trattato del governo delle malattie e guarigioni de' falconi, astori e sparvieri*, **sec. XIV** (Trattato di falconeria, a cura di Antonio Ceruti, Bologna, Fava e Garagnani, 1870.) [**Malattie de' falconi, XIV (tosca.>lomb.)**].

Anonimo, *Tu poi senza speranza di conforto*, **sec. XIV** (Giancarlo Savino, Una canzone trecentesca poco nota di un pistoiese ignoto, BSPist, LXX, 1968, pp. 137-40 [testo pp. 138-40].) [**Poes. an. pist.>march., XIV**].

Appendix 4 - Sicilian School, Siculo-Tuscan and Stilnovisti Texts

Sicilian School texts:

Cielo d'Alcamo, *Rosa fresca aulentissima/contrasto/*, **1231/1250** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 177-85.)
[**Cielo d'Alcamo, Contrasto, 1231/50 (sic.>tosc.)**].

Compagnetto da Prato, *L'amor fa una donna amare*, **sec. XIII** (Flavio Catenazzi, Poeti fiorentini del duecento, edizione critica con introduzione e commento, Brescia, Morcelliana, 1977, pp. 37-50 [testo pp. 44-46].)
[**Compagnetto da Prato (ed. Catenazzi), XIII (tosc.)**].

Enzo, re, *S'eo trovasse Pietanza*, **a. 1272** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 155-59 [testo: pp. 157-59].)
[**Re Enzo, S'eo trovasse, a. 1272 (tosc.)**].

Giacomino Pugliese, *Resplendente stella de albur (frammento)*, **1234/1235** (Giuseppina Brunetti, Il frammento inedito «Resplendente stella de albur» di Giacomino Pugliese e la poesia italiana delle origini, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 2000 [testo pp. 84-85].) [**Giac. Pugliese, Resplendente, 1234/35 (sic.>ven. or.)**].⁴⁴⁵

Giacomino Pugliese, *Rime*, **sec. XIII p.m.** (Bruno Panvini, Le rime della scuola siciliana, vol. I, Firenze, Olschki, 1962, pp. 177-95 [testi: pp. 181-95]; vol. II Glossario, Firenze, Olschki, 1964.)
[**Giac. Pugliese, Rime (ed. Panvini), XIII pm. (tosc.)**].

Giacomo da Lentini, *Rime*, **c. 1230/1250** (Giacomo da Lentini, Poesie, edizione critica a cura di Roberto Antonelli, vol. I, Roma, Bulzoni, 1979 [testi pp. 3-401, escluse le rime di falsa attr.].) [**Giacomo da Lentini, c. 1230/50 (tosc.)**].

⁴⁴⁵ Although this text was classified as sic. > ven. or., it was decided that the membership of the author of the Sicilian school overrode considerations of joint area and was retained in the Access database with the other text by the same author classified as tosc, and both reclassified as scol sic.

Guido delle Colonne, *Rime*, **sec. XIII p.m.** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 97-110.)
[**Guido delle Colonne, XIII pm. (tosca.)**].

Federico II, *Rime dubbie*, **a. 1250** (Federico II di Svevia, *Rime*, a cura di Letterio Cassata, Roma, Quiritta, 2001 [testo pp. 49-50, 89-90].)
[**Federico II (ed. Cassata), a. 1250 (tosca.)**].

Jacopo Mostacci, Messer, *A pena pare ch'io - saccia cantare/canzone/*, **sec. XIII p.m.** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 141-44 [testo: pp. 142-44].) [**Jacopo Mostacci (ed. Contini), XIII pm. (tosca.)**].

Rinaldo d'Aquino, *Per fin' amore vao sì allegramente/canzone/*, **sec. XIII p.m.** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 111-14 [testo: pp. 112-14].) [**Rinaldo d'Aquino (ed. Contini), XIII pm. (tosca.)**].

Rinaldo d'Aquino, *Rime*, **sec. XIII p.m.** (Bruno Panvini, *Le rime della scuola siciliana*, vol. I, Firenze, Olschki, 1962, pp. 94-118 [testi pp. 95-100, 103-18]; vol. II *Glossario*, Firenze, Olschki, 1964.)
[**Rinaldo d'Aquino (ed. Panvini), XIII pm. (tosca.)**]

Siculo-Tuscan texts:

Alberto da Massa di Maremma (Ser), *Donna, meo core in parte /canzone/*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, p. 359-361.) [**Alberto da Massa, XIII sm. (tosca.)**].

Auliver, *En rima greuf a far, dir e stravolger/canzone/*, **sec. XIV c.s.d.** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 509-11.) [**Auliver, XIV c. s.d. (trevis.)**].

Bonagiunta monaco, *Dè, con fera pesanza/ballata/*, **sec. XIII ex.** (*Rime antiche italiane secondo la lezione del cod. Vat. 3214 e del cod. Cas. d. v. 5*, a cura di Mario

Pelaez, Bologna, Romagnoli-Dall'Acqua, 1895, p. 70.)
[**Bonagiunta monaco (ed. Pelaez), XIII ex. (fior.)**].

Bondie Dietaiuti, *Rime*, sec. XIII s.m. (Flavio Catenazzi, Poeti fiorentini del Duecento. Edizione critica con introduzione e commento, Brescia, Morcelliana, 1977, pp. 111-152.) [**Bondie Dietaiuti, XIII sm. (fior.)**].

Compiuta Donzella di Firenze, *Rime/tre sonetti/*, sec. XIII s.m. (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 434-35, 436-37.) [**Compiuta Donzella, XIII sm. (fior.)**].

Dante da Maiano, *Rime*, sec. XIII ex. (a cura di Rosanna Bettarini, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1969.) [**Dante da Maiano, XIII ex. (fior.)**].

Davanzati, Chiaro, *Rime*, sec. XIII s.m. (ed. critica a cura di Aldo Menichetti, Bologna, Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1965.)
[**Chiaro Davanzati, XIII sm. (fior.)**].

Francesco da Firenze (mastro), *Rime*, sec. XIII s.m. (Flavio Catenazzi, Poeti fiorentini del Duecento. Edizione critica con introduzione e commento, Brescia, Morcelliana, 1977, pp. 175-210 [testo pp. 177-78, 183-84, 188, 191, 195, 198, 201, 204].) [**Mastro Francesco, XIII sm. (fior.)**].

Guittone d'Arezzo, *Lettere [testo in prosa]*, a. 1294 (a cura dell'Ufficio Filologico [d'Arco Silvio Avalle].) [**Guittone, Lettere in prosa, a. 1294 (tosca.)**].

Guittone d'Arezzo, *Rime*, a. 1294 (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 189-255 [testo pp. 191-240, 255].) [**Guittone, Rime (ed. Contini), a. 1294 (tosca.)**].

Guittone d'Arezzo, *Rime*, **a. 1294** (Le rime di Guittone d'Arezzo, a cura di Francesco Egidi, Bari, Laterza, 1940 [testo rivisto e corretto con Contini, GSLI, CXVII, 1941, pp. 55-82].) [**Guittone, Rime (ed. Egidi), a. 1294 (tosc.)**].

Guittone d'Arezzo, *Canzoniere. I sonetti d'amore del codice Laurenziano*, **a. 1294** (a cura di Lino Leonardi, Torino, Einaudi, 1994.) [**Guittone (ed. Leonardi), a. 1294 (tosc.)**].

Guittone d'Arezzo, *Lettere in versi*, **a. 1294** (Guittone d'Arezzo, Lettere, Edizione critica a cura di Claude Margueron, Bologna, Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1990, [testi: pp. 93, 99, 129-31, 136-37, 181-83, 191-93, 298-300, 349].) [**Guittone, Lettere in versi, a. 1294 (tosc.)**].

Guittone d'Arezzo, *Manuale del libertino/sonetti/*, **a. 1294** (d'Arco Silvio Avalle, Ai luoghi di delizia pieni. Saggio sulla lirica italiana del XIII secolo, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1977, pp. 163-87.) [**Guittone, Manuale (ed. Avalle), a. 1294 (tosc.)**].

Incontrino de' Fabrucci di Firenze, *Per contrado di ben (canzone)*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, p. 381-83.) [**Incontrino de' Fabrucci, XIII sm. (fior.)**].

Inghilfredi da Lucca, *Rime*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Le rime di Inghilfredi, a cura di Annalisa Marin, Firenze, Olschki, 1978.) [**Inghilfredi, XIII sm. (lucch.)**].

Lotto di ser Dato, *Fior di beltà e d'ogni cosa bona (canzone)*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 315-17.) [**Lotto di ser Dato (ed. Contini), XIII sm. (pis.)**].

Meo Abbracciavacca, *Considerando l'altèra valensa/canzone/*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Le rime di Panuccio del Bagno, a cura di Franca Brambilla Ageno, Firenze, Accademia della Crusca, 1977, pp. 47-50.) [**Meo Abbracc. (ed. Ageno), XIII sm. (pist.>pis.)**].

Meo Abbracciavacca, *Rime*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 337-350 [testi pp. 338-42, 345, 347, 350].) [**Meo Abbracc., Rime (ed. Contini), XIII sm. (pist.>pis.)**].

Monte Andrea, *Rime*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 349, 449-53, 456-72 [undici componimenti].) [**Monte Andrea (ed. Contini), XIII sm. (fior.)**].

Monte Andrea, *Rime*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Chiaro Davanzati, *Rime*, ed. critica a cura di Aldo Menichetti, Bologna, Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1965, pp. 209, 327, 328, 332, 333, 337, 352, 353, 356, 358 [10 componimenti].) [**Monte Andrea (ed. Menichetti), XIII sm. (fior.)**].

Monte Andrea, *Rime (Le)*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (ed. critica a cura di Francesco Filippo Minetti, Firenze, Accademia della Crusca, 1979.) [**Monte Andrea (ed. Minetti), XIII sm. (fior.)**].

Neri de' Visdomini, *L'animo è turbato (canzone)*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 366-70.) [**Neri de' Visdomini (ed. Contini), XIII sm. (fior.)**].

Neri de' Visdomini, *Rime*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Bruno Panvini, *Le rime della scuola siciliana*, vol. I, Firenze, Olschki, 1962, pp. 241-256 [testi pp. 243-45, 249-255, 448-450]; vol. II *Glossario*, Firenze, Olschki, 1964.) [**Neri de' Visdomini (ed. Panvini), XIII sm. (fior.)**].

Nocco di Cenni di Frediano, *Greve di gioia - pò l'om malenansa (canzone)*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 320-21.) [**Nocco di Cenni, XIII sm. (pis.)**].

Orbiccianni, Bonagiunta, *Rime*, **sec. XIII m. (**)** (Rimatori siculo-toscani del Dugento. Pistoiesi, Lucchesi, Pisani, a cura di Guido Zaccagnini e Amos Parducci, Bari, Laterza, 1915, [a cura di A. Parducci] pp. 52-90.) [**Bonagiunta Orb. (ed. Parducci), XIII m. (lucch.)**].

Pacino di ser Filippo Angiulieri, *Tenzone di sonn. con maestro Rinuccino.*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (I sonetti di maestro Rinuccino, a cura di Stefano Carrai, Firenze, Acc. della Crusca, 1981, pp. 71-89 [testi pp. 76-77, 82-85].) [**Pacino Angiulieri (ed. Carrai), XIII sm. (fior.)**].

Pacino di ser Filippo Angiulieri, *Tenzoni con Chiaro Davanzati.*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Chiaro Davanzati, Rime, ed. critica a cura di Aldo Menichetti, Bologna, Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1965, pp. 341-350, 365-367, 398-404 [testi pp. 343, 345, 347, 349, 367, 400, 402, 404].) [**Pacino Angiulieri (ed. Menichetti), XIII sm. (fior.)**].

Pucciandone Martelli, *Lo fermo intendimento k'eo agio/canzone/*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (d'Arco Silvio Avalle, Ai luoghi di delizia pieni. Saggio sulla lirica italiana del XIII secolo, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1977, pp. 148-52.) [**Pucciandone Martelli (ed. Avalle), XIII sm. (pis.)**].

Pietro Morovelli di Firenze, *Donna Amororsa (canzone)*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 377-379.) [**Pietro Morovelli (ed. Contini), XIII sm. (fior.)**].

Teperto (Tiberto Galliziani ?), *Lettera in prosa*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (a cura dell'Ufficio Filologico [d'Arco Silvio Avalle].) [**Teperto, Lettera in prosa, XIII sm. (pis.)**].

Terramagnino da Pisa, *Poi da mastro Guitton latte tenete/sonetto/*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 327-330 [testo pp. 328-29].) [**Terramagnino da Pisa, XIII sm. (pis.)**].

Terino da Castelfiorentino, *Rime*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Armando Ferrari, Le Rime di Terino da Castelfiorentino, rimatore del secolo XIII, MSVE, VIII, 1900, pp. 73-94, 139-63 [testo pp. 142-48].) [**Terino da Castelfior., XIII sm. (tosc.)**].

Torrigiano di Firenze (Mastro), *Rime/cinque sonetti/*, **sec. XIII s.m.** (Flavio Catenazzi, Per maestro Torrigiano da Firenze, RLI, VI, 2, 1988, pp. 265-73.) [**Torrigiano (ed. Catenazzi), XIII sm. (fior.)**].

Anonimo, *Mare amoroso (II)*, **sec. XIII ui.di.** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. I, pp. 483-500 [testo pp. 487-500].) [**Mare amoroso, XIII ui.di. (fior.)**].

Stilnovisti texts:

Alfani, Gianni, *Rime*, **sec. XIII/XIV** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. II, pp. 606-14.) [**Gianni Alfani, XIII/XIV (fior.)**].

Cavalcanti, Guido, *Rime*, **1270-1300** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. II, pp. 491-558, 561, 563-64, 566-67.) [**Guido Cavalcanti (ed. Contini), 1270-1300 (fior.)**].

Cino da Pistoia, *Rime*, **a. 1336** (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. II, pp. 629-90.) [**Cino da Pistoia (ed. Contini), a. 1336 (tosco.)**].

Cino da Pistoia, *Rime*, **a. 1336** (Poeti del Dolce stil nuovo, a cura di Mario Marti, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1969, pp. 431-923.) [**Cino da Pistoia (ed. Marti), a. 1336 (tosco.)**].

Dante Alighieri, *Vita nuova*, **c. 1292-93** (ed. critica a cura di Michele Barbi, Firenze, Bemporad, 1932.) [**Dante, Vita nuova, c. 1292-93**].

Dante Alighieri (attribuibile a), *Fiore*, **sec. XIII u.q.** (Il Fiore e il Detto d'Amore attribuibili a Dante Alighieri, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano, Mondadori, 1984, pp. 2-467.) [**Fiore, XIII u.q. (fior.)**].

Dante Alighieri, *Convivio (II)*, **1304-1307** (a cura di Franca Brambilla Ageno, Firenze, Le Lettere (Società Dantesca italiana. Edizione Nazionale), 1995, tomi 3 [testo: t. III, pp. 1-456].) [**Dante, Convivio, 1304-7**].

Dante Alighieri, *Commedia*, a. 1321 (D. A., La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata, a cura di Giorgio Petrocchi, vol. II Inferno, vol. III Purgatorio, vol. IV Paradiso, Milano, Mondadori, 1966-67 [testo rivisto e corretto sulle successive edd. del 1975, per le Concordanze,].) [**Dante, Commedia, a. 1321**].

Dante Alighieri, *Rime*, a. 1321 (a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Torino, Einaudi, 1980 [4.a ed.].) [**Dante, Rime, a. 1321**].

Dante Alighieri (attribuibile a), *Detto d'Amore*, sec. XIII u.q. (Il Fiore e il Detto d'Amore attribuibili a Dante Alighieri, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano, Mondadori, 1984, pp. 485-512.) [**Detto d'Amore, XIII u.q. (fior.)**].

Frescobaldi, Dino, *Rime*, sec. XIII ex.-a. 1316 (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. II, pp. 616-27.) [**Dino Fresc. (ed. Contini), XIII ex.-a. 1316 (fior.)**].

Frescobaldi, Dino, *Rime*, sec. XIII ex.-a. 1316 (Poeti del Dolce stil nuovo, a cura di Mario Marti, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1969, pp. 353-419 [testo pp. 357-66, 369-80, 383-92, 397-400, 414-19].) [**Dino Fresc. (ed. Marti), XIII ex.-a. 1316 (fior.)**].

Guinizzelli, Guido, *Rime*, a. 1276 (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. II, pp. 450-484.) [**Guinizzelli (ed. Contini), a. 1276 (tosc.)**].

Lapo Gianni, *Rime*, sec. XIII ex./1328 (Poeti del Duecento, a cura di Gianfranco Contini, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1960, t. II, pp. 571-603.) [**Lapo Gianni, XIII ex./1328 (fior.)**].

Appendix 5 – Texts Reallocated from *EP OR* to *RET*

Ceffi, Filippo (ser), [1350], *Dicerie* (a cura di Giuliana Giannardi, SFI, VI, 1942, pp. 5-63 [testo pp. 27-63].) [**Ceffi, Dicerie, XIV pm. (fior.)**].

Giamboni, Bono, [1292], *Fiore di rettorica (redazione beta)* (Bono Giamboni, Fiore di rettorica, a cura di Gian Battista Speroni, Pavia, Dipartimento di Scienza della Letteratura e dell'Arte medioevale e moderna, 1994, pp. 3-107.) [**Fiore di rett., red. beta, a. 1292 (fior.)**].

Guido Faba, [1248], *Gemma Purpurea* (La prosa del Duecento, a cura di Cesare Segre e Mario Marti, Milano - Napoli, Ricciardi, 1959, pp. 7-8.) [**Guido Faba, Gemma, 1239/48 (bologn.)**].

Guido Faba, [1243], *Parlamenti in volgare* (a cura di Arrigo Castellani, «Bollettino dell'Opera del Vocabolario Italiano», II, 1997, pp. 231-49 [testo pp. 232-49]. [Vale come rif. il num. del "Parlamento volgare" seguito fra tonde dal num. che ha nella serie completa dei Parlamenta].) [**Guido Faba, Parl., c. 1243 (bologn.)**].

Latini, Brunetto (attr.), [1287], *\$Sommetta ad amaestramento di componere volgarmente lettere* (Helene Wieruszowski, Brunetto Latini als Lehrer Dantes und der Florentiner, AISP, II, 1957, pp. 171-98 [testo pp. 193-98].) [**\$Sommetta, 1284-87 (fior.)\$**].

Matteo dei Libri, [1300], *Arringhe* (a cura di Eleonora Vincenti, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi 1974, pp. 3-182.) [**Matteo dei Libri, XIII sm. (bologn.)**].

Anonimo, [1287], *Sommetta ad amaestramento di componere volgarmente lettere* (Irene Hijmans-Tromp, La Sommetta falsamente attribuita a Brunetto Latini, CN, LIX 1999, fasc. 3-4, pp. 177-243 (Glossario alle pp. 239-43) [testo pp. 201-207].) [**Sommetta (ed. Hijmans-Tromp), 1284-87 (fior.>tosc. occ.)**].

Anonimo, [1292], *Fiore di retorica (redazione alfa)* (Bono Giamboni, Fiore di retorica, a cura di Gian Battista Speroni, Pavia, Dipartimento di Scienza della Letteratura e dell'Arte medioevale e moderna, 1994, pp. 109-127.) [Fiore di rett., red. alfa, a. 1292 (fior.>bologn.)].

Anonimo, [1292], *Fiore di retorica di Bono Giamboni nella redazione anonima delta*" (Bono Giamboni, Fiore di retorica, a cura di Gian Battista Speroni, Pavia, Dipartimento di Scienza della Letteratura e dell'Arte medioevale e moderna, 1994, pp. 155-60.) [Fioredirett., red. delta2, a. 1292 (tosc.)].

Anonimo, [1292], *Fiore di retorica di Bono Giamboni nella redazione anonima gamma* (Bono Giamboni, Fiore di retorica, a cura di Gian Battista Speroni, Pavia, Dipartimento di Scienza della Letteratura e dell'Arte medioevale e moderna, 1994, pp. 131-46.) [Fiore di rett., red. gamma, a. 1292 (tosc.)].

Anonimo, [1325], *Pistole di Seneca volgarizzate* (Volgarizzamento delle Pistole di Seneca e del Trattato della Provvidenza di Dio, a cura di Giovanni Bottari, Firenze, Tartini e Franchi, 1717, pp. 1-418.) [Pistole di Seneca, a. 1325? (fior.)].

Anonimo, [1350], *Dicerie volgari del sec. XIV aggiunte in fine del "Fior di virtù"* (a cura di Carlo Frati, in Studi Rajna, Firenze, Arian, 1911, pp. 325-35.) [Dicerie volgari, XIV pm. (bologn.)].

Appendix 6 – B-Tables

Genre							Atts per	% OVI texts
Genre	No of texts	% of total	Words	% of total	No of atts	% total atts in db	1.000 words	cont conds
art tecn	5	0.67476383	143900	0.82246468	132	0.4559428	0.91730368	100
b e l	4	0.53981107	56513	0.32300171	229	0.79099168	4.05216499	80
comm	29	3.91363023	2036440	11.6393327	2865	9.89603123	1.40686689	80.5555556
cron st	34	4.58839406	2904453	16.6004866	3084	10.6524818	1.06181784	60.7142857
did rel	122	16.4642375	3742091	21.3880312	7937	27.4152879	2.12100668	70.9302326
doc	51	6.88259109	377162	2.1556805	239	0.8255328	0.63367996	18.0212014
doc giur	20	2.69905533	57456	0.32839146	60	0.20724673	1.04427736	9.13242009
doc merc	11	1.48448043	447510	2.55775657	279	0.96369728	0.62344976	14.8648649
fil	17	2.29419703	693450	3.96343387	1443	4.98428379	2.08089985	100
lett	53	7.15249663	407824	2.33093007	880	3.03961867	2.15779356	56.3829787
lir	218	29.4197031	1043281	5.96290324	2499	8.63182619	2.39532782	39.7810219
med	11	1.48448043	213180	1.21843656	94	0.32468654	0.44094193	35.483871
narr	52	7.01754386	2153072	12.3059463	5389	18.6142102	2.50293534	76.4705882
narr versi	24	3.2388664	625825	3.5769212	1817	6.27612172	2.90336755	77.4193548
ret	17	2.29419703	344535	1.96919993	548	1.89285344	1.59054958	70.8333333
sci geo	16	2.15924426	571698	3.26755673	1136	3.92387137	1.9870631	80
stat	50	6.74763833	1575145	9.00278758	182	0.62864841	0.11554492	34.2465753
vite	7	0.94466937	102657	0.5867391	136	0.46975925	1.32480006	100
Totals	741	100	17496192	100	28949	99.9930918		

Table B: Genre

Area							Atts per	% OVI texts
Area	No of texts	% of total	Word count	% of total	No of atts	% total atts in db	1.000 words	cont conds
abruzz	8	1.07962213	216292	1.23622329	51	0.17617189	0.23579235	23.5294118
camp	5	0.67476383	132368	0.7565532	161	0.55615047	1.21630606	23.8095238
emil	25	3.37381916	288917	1.65131361	472	1.63045356	1.63368718	39.0625
fior	229	30.9041835	8634619	49.3514189	13436	46.4126567	1.55606171	51.8099548
lig piem	9	1.2145749	112847	0.64498035	272	0.93958341	2.41034321	60
lomb	15	2.0242915	227908	1.30261488	471	1.62699921	2.06662337	44.1176471
scol sic	10	1.34952767	15712	0.0898024	109	0.37652423		
sic	20	2.69905533	540852	3.09125551	684	2.36277592	1.2646713	43.4782609
sic tosc	37	4.99325236	164741	0.94158203	656	2.2660541		
stil nov	14	1.88933873	277809	1.58782551	709	2.44913469		
tosc	261	35.2226721	5542783	31.6799393	9753	33.6902829	1.75958539	36.7088608
umbr	34	4.58839406	587924	3.36029691	309	1.06739438	0.52557814	28.5714286
ven	41	5.53306343	545413	3.11732404	1549	5.35078932	2.84004965	23.4285714
venez	33	4.4534413	208007	1.18887013	317	1.09502919	1.52398717	21.5686275
Totals	741	100	17496192	100	28949	100		

Table B: Area

25 yr date								
							Atts per	% OVI texts
Date	No of texts	% of total	Word count	% of total	No of atts	% total atts in db	1.000 words	cont conds
>1225	3	0.4048583	12968	0.07411899	24	0.08290442	1.85070944	9.09090909
1226-1250	20	2.69905533	52860	0.30212288	201	0.6943245	3.80249716	34.4827586
1251>1275	21	2.8340081	167261	0.95598517	264	0.9119486	1.57837153	26.5822785
1276>1300	140	18.8933873	1724870	9.85854522	3907	13.4961484	2.26509824	37.4331551
1301>1325	136	18.3535762	2817038	16.1008635	5532	19.1094684	1.96376478	39.6501458
1326>1350	178	24.0215924	6203783	35.4579042	7553	26.0907113	1.21748295	48.2384824
1351>1375	158	21.3225371	3030654	17.3217921	5145	17.7726346	1.69765338	37.9807692
1376>1407	85	11.4709852	3486758	19.9286679	6323	21.8418598	1.81343242	57.4324324
Totals	741	100	17496192	100	28949	100		

Table B: Date

Appendix 7 – C-Tables

% texts cont C		C as % total atts		Atts of C/1000 words		Total atts C				
50.74		16.02		0.27		4638				
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Genre	No/texts	Words	Attestations	Texts cont C	% texts in variant cont C	Attestations of C	C per 1,000 words of variant	% C/conds in variant	Texts cont both periphrases	% texts cont both periphrases
art tecn	5	143900	132	1	20.00	2	0.014	1.52	1	20.00
b e l	4	56513	229	3	75.00	13	0.230	5.68	3	75.00
comm	29	2036440	2865	12	41.38	355	0.174	12.39	11	37.93
cron st	34	2904453	3084	15	44.12	257	0.088	8.33	11	32.35
did rel	122	3742091	7937	56	45.90	847	0.226	10.67	43	35.25
doc	51	377162	239	18	35.29	37	0.098	15.48	1	1.96
doc giur	20	57456	60	8	40.00	17	0.296	28.33	1	5.00
doc merc	11	447510	279	1	9.09	31	0.069	11.11	1	9.09
fil	17	693450	1443	6	35.29	122	0.176	8.45	5	29.41
lett	53	407824	880	13	24.53	34	0.083	3.86	4	7.55
lir	218	1043281	2499	174	79.82	1549	1.485	61.98	89	40.83
med	11	213180	94	4	36.36	44	0.206	46.81	0	0.00
narr	52	2153072	5389	25	48.08	623	0.289	11.56	21	40.38
narr versi	24	625825	1817	16	66.67	217	0.347	11.94	14	58.33
ret	17	344535	548	5	29.41	6	0.017	1.09	5	29.41
sci geo	16	571698	1136	3	18.75	432	0.756	38.03	3	18.75
stat	50	1575145	182	13	26.00	41	0.026	22.53	0	0.00
vite	7	102657	136	3	42.86	11	0.107	8.09	3	42.86
Totals	741	17496192	28949	376		4638			216	

Table C: CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, Genre

% texts cont C		C as % total atts		Atts of C/1000 words		Total atts C					
78.41		83.98		1.39		24311					
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	
Genre	No/texts	Words	Attestations	Texts cont C	% texts in variant cont C	Attestations of C	C per 1,000 words of variant	% C/conds in variant	Texts cont both periphrases	% texts cont both periphrases	
art tecn	5	143900	132	5	100.00	130	0.903	98.48	1	20.00	
b e l	4	56513	229	4	100.00	216	3.822	94.32	3	75.00	
comm	29	2036440	2865	28	96.55	2510	1.233	87.61	11	39.29	
cron st	34	2904453	3084	30	88.24	2827	0.973	91.67	11	36.67	
did rel	122	3742091	7937	109	89.34	7090	1.895	89.33	43	39.45	
doc	51	377162	239	34	66.67	202	0.536	84.52	1	2.94	
doc giur	20	57456	60	13	65.00	43	0.748	71.67	1	7.69	
doc merc	11	447510	279	11	100.00	248	0.554	88.89	1	9.09	
fil	17	693450	1443	16	94.12	1321	1.905	91.55	5	31.25	
lett	53	407824	880	44	83.02	846	2.074	96.14	4	9.09	
lir	218	1043281	2499	133	61.01	950	0.911	38.02	89	66.92	
med	11	213180	94	7	63.64	50	0.235	53.19	0	0.00	
narr	52	2153072	5389	48	92.31	4766	2.214	88.44	21	43.75	
narr versi	24	625825	1817	22	91.67	1600	2.557	88.06	14	63.64	
ret	17	344535	548	17	100.00	542	1.573	98.91	5	29.41	
sci geo	16	571698	1136	16	100.00	704	1.231	61.97	3	18.75	
stat	50	1575145	182	37	74.00	141	0.090	77.47	0	0.00	
vite	7	102657	136	7	100.00	125	1.218	91.91	3	42.86	
Totals	741	17496192	28949	581		24311			216		

Table C: CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, Genre

% texts cont C		C as % total atts		Atts of C/1000 words		Total atts C				
50.74		16.02		0.27		4638				
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Date	No/texts	Words	Attestations	Texts cont C	% texts in variant cont C	Attestations of C	C per 1,000 words of variant	% C/conds in variant	Texts cont both periphrases	% texts cont both periphrases
>1225	3	12968	24	3	100.00	14	1.080	58.33	3	100.00
1226-1250	20	52860	201	16	80.00	124	2.346	61.69	5	31.25
1251>1275	21	167261	264	12	57.14	58	0.347	21.97	5	41.67
1276>1300	140	1724870	3907	96	68.57	1554	0.901	39.77	53	55.21
1301>1325	136	2817038	5532	49	36.03	542	0.192	9.80	26	53.06
1326>1350	178	6203783	7553	78	43.82	1146	0.185	15.17	53	67.95
1351>1375	158	3030654	5145	77	48.73	625	0.206	12.15	41	53.25
1376>1407	85	3486758	6323	45	52.94	575	0.165	9.09	30	66.67
	741	17496192	28949	376		4638			216	

Table C: CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, Date

% texts cont C		C as % total atts		Atts of C/1000 words		Total atts C				
78.41		83.98		1.39		24311				
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Date	No/texts	Words	Attestations	Texts cont C	% texts in variant cont C	Attestations of C	C per 1,000 words of variant	% C/conds in variant	Texts cont both periphrases	% texts cont both periphrases
>1225	3	12968	24	3	100.00	10	0.771	41.67	3	100.00
1226-1250	20	52860	201	9	45.00	78	1.476	38.81	5	55.56
1251>1275	21	167261	264	14	66.67	205	1.226	77.65	5	35.71
1276>1300	140	1724870	3907	97	69.29	2352	1.364	60.20	53	54.64
1301>1325	136	2817038	5532	113	83.09	4992	1.772	90.24	26	23.01
1326>1350	178	6203783	7553	153	85.96	6405	1.032	84.80	53	34.64
1351>1375	158	3030654	5145	122	77.22	4521	1.492	87.87	41	33.61
1376>1407	85	3486758	6323	70	82.35	5748	1.649	90.91	30	42.86
	741	17496192	28949	581		24311			216	

Table C: CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, Date

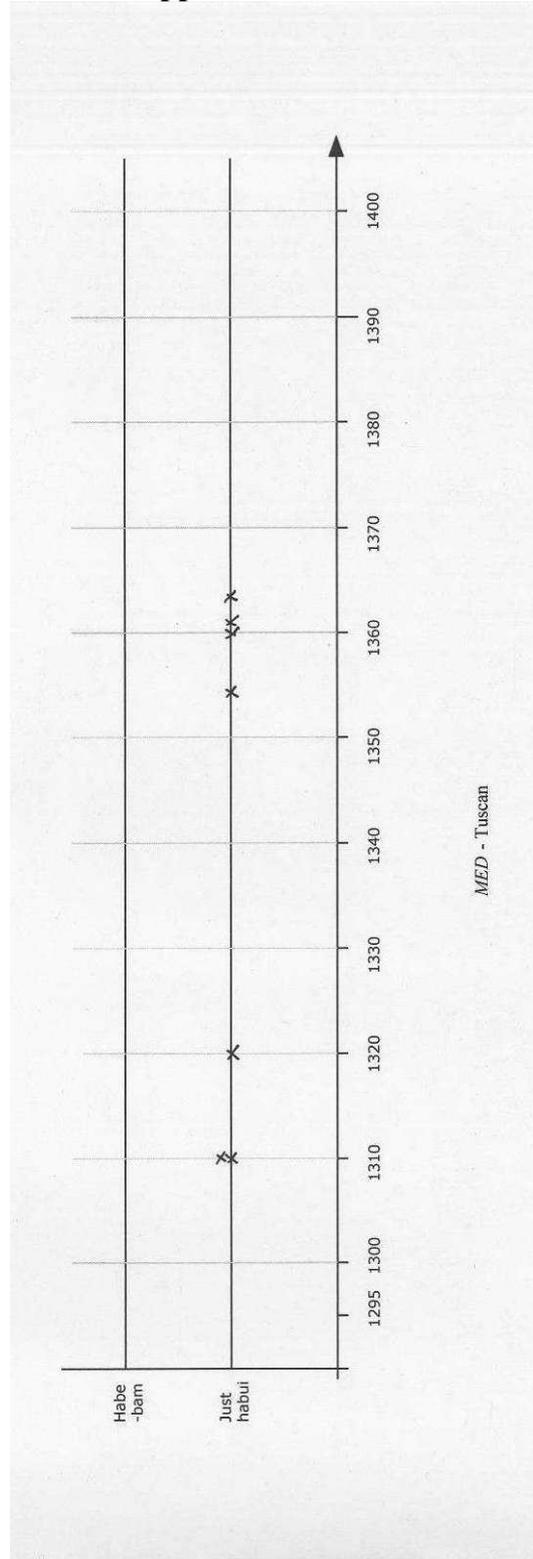
% texts cont C		C as % total atts		Atts of C/1000 words		Total atts C				
50.74		16.02		0.27		4638				
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Area	No/texts	Words	Attestations	Texts cont C	% texts in variant cont C	Attestations of C	C per 1,000 words of variant	% C/conds in variant	Texts cont both periphrases	% texts cont both periphrases
abruzz	8	216292	51	8	100.00	48	0.222	94.12	3	37.50
camp	5	132368	161	5	100.00	161	1.216	100.00	0	0.00
emil	25	288917	472	12	48.00	56	0.194	11.86	9	75.00
fior	229	8634619	13436	85	37.12	942	0.109	7.01	71	83.53
lig piem	9	112847	272	8	88.89	204	1.808	75.00	4	50.00
lomb	15	227908	471	8	53.33	44	0.193	9.34	7	87.50
scol sic	10	15712	109	10	100.00	105	6.683	96.33	2	20.00
sic	20	540852	684	20	100.00	684	1.265	100.00	0	0.00
sic tosc	37	164741	656	35	94.59	539	3.272	82.16	16	45.71
stil nov	14	277809	709	13	92.86	199	0.716	28.07	12	92.31
tosc	261	5542783	9753	92	35.25	1222	0.220	12.53	59	64.13
umbr	34	587924	309	30	88.24	197	0.335	63.75	10	33.33
ven	41	545413	1549	29	70.73	116	0.213	7.49	12	41.38
venez	33	208007	317	21	63.64	121	0.582	38.17	11	52.38
Totals	741	17496192	28949	376		4638			216	

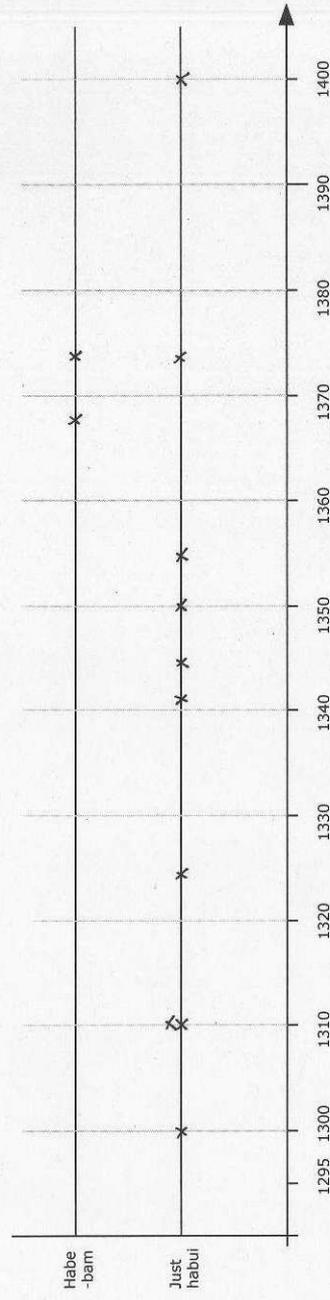
Table C: CANTARE HABEBAM periphrasis, area

% texts cont C		C as % total atts		Atts of C/1000 words		Total atts C					
78.41		83.98		1.39		24311					
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	
Area	No/texts	Words	Attestations	Texts cont C	% texts in variant cont C	Attestations of C	C per 1,000 words of variant	% C/conds in variant	Texts cont both periphrases	% texts cont both periphrases	
abruzz	8	216292	51	3	37.50	3	0.014	5.88	3	100.00	
camp	5	132368	161	0	0.00	0	0.000	0.00	0	0.00	
emil	25	288917	472	22	88.00	416	1.440	88.14	9	40.91	
fior	229	8634619	13436	215	93.89	12492	1.447	92.97	71	33.02	
lig piem	9	112847	272	5	55.56	68	0.603	25.00	4	80.00	
lomb	15	227908	471	14	93.33	427	1.874	90.66	7	50.00	
scol sic	10	15712	109	2	20.00	4	0.255	3.67	2	100.00	
sic	20	540852	684	0	0.00	0	0.000	0.00	0	0.00	
sic tosc	37	164741	656	18	48.65	117	0.710	17.84	16	88.89	
stil nov	14	277809	709	13	92.86	510	1.836	71.93	12	92.31	
tosc	261	5542783	9753	228	87.36	8533	1.539	87.49	59	25.88	
umbr	34	587924	309	14	41.18	112	0.191	36.25	10	71.43	
ven	41	545413	1549	24	58.54	1433	2.627	92.51	12	50.00	
venez	33	208007	317	23	69.70	196	0.942	61.83	11	47.83	
Totals	741	17496192	28949	581		24311			216		

Table C: CANTARE HABUI periphrasis, area

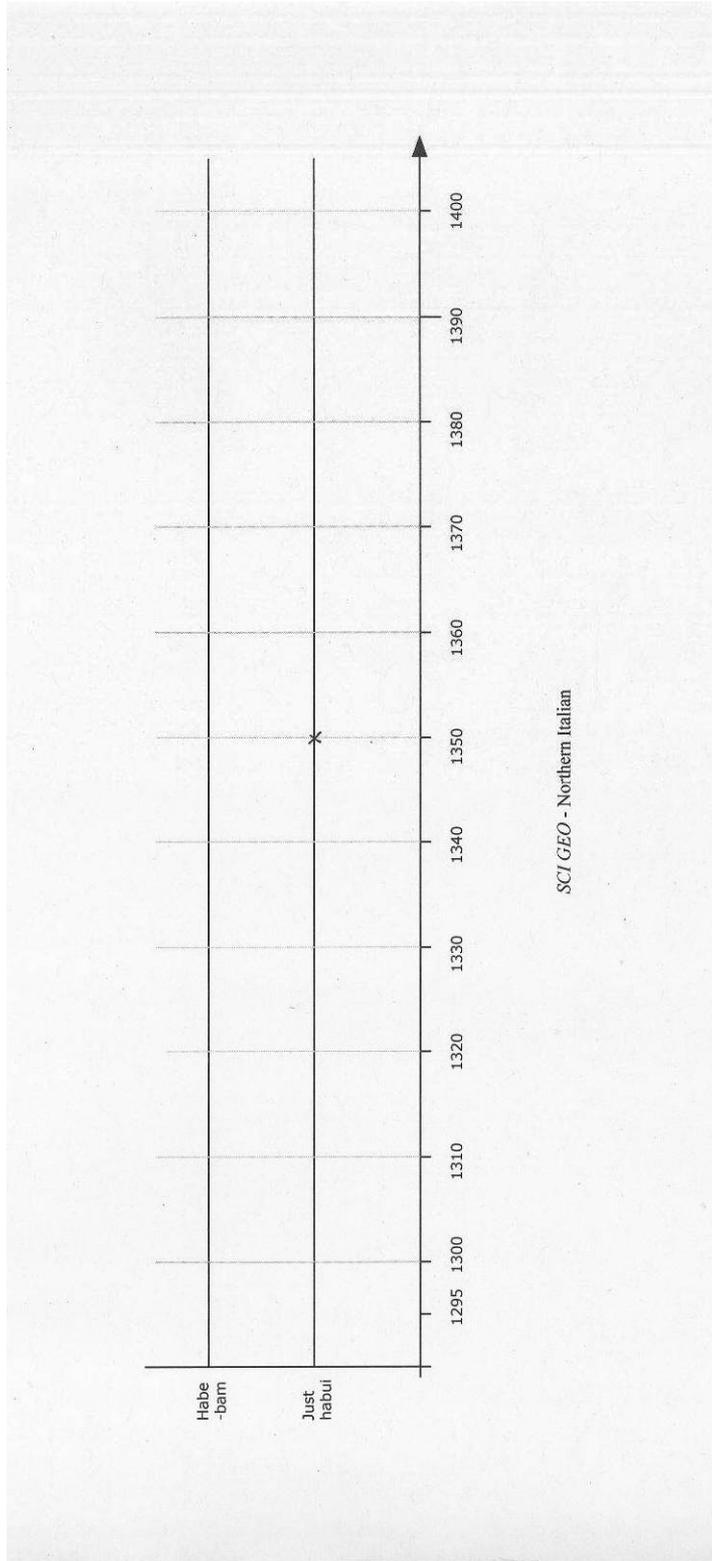
Appendix 8 - Charts

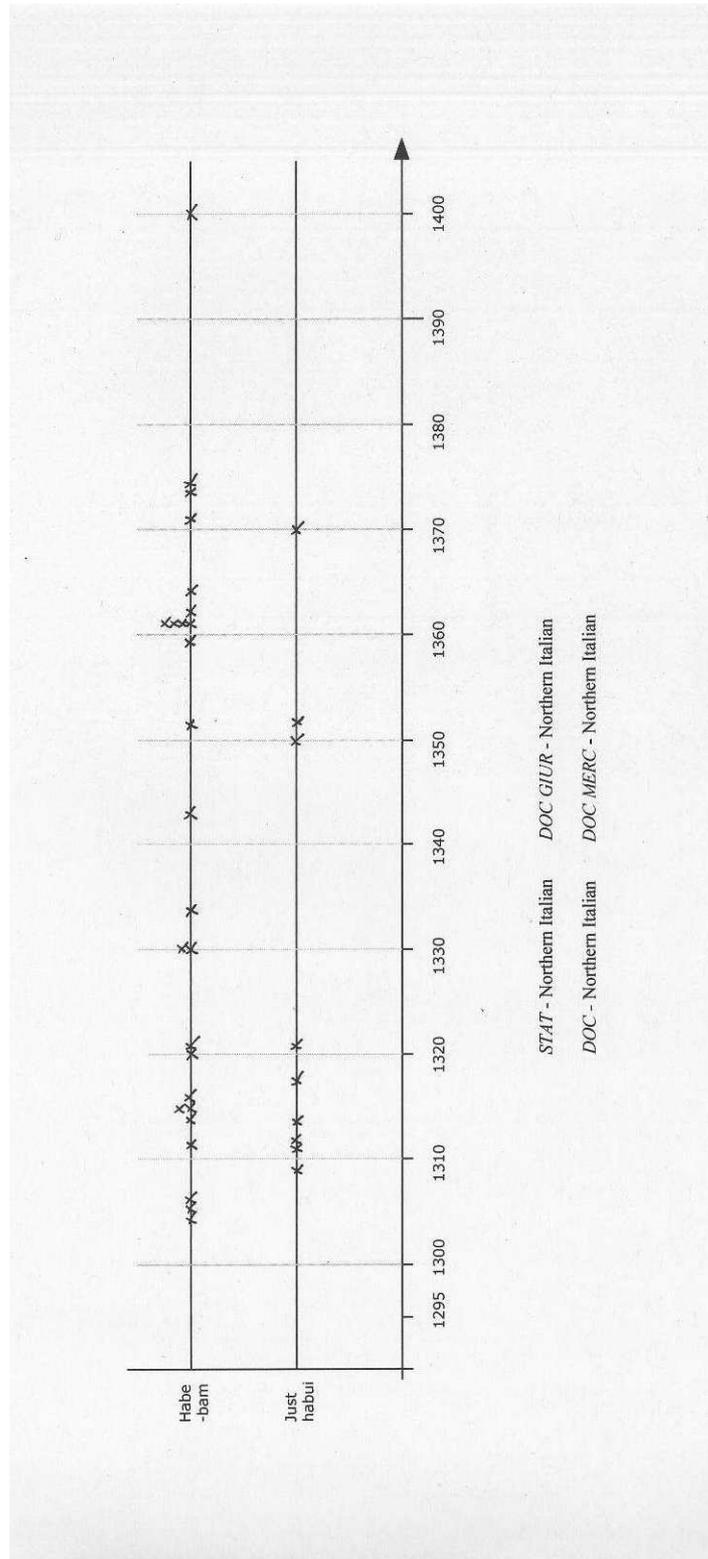


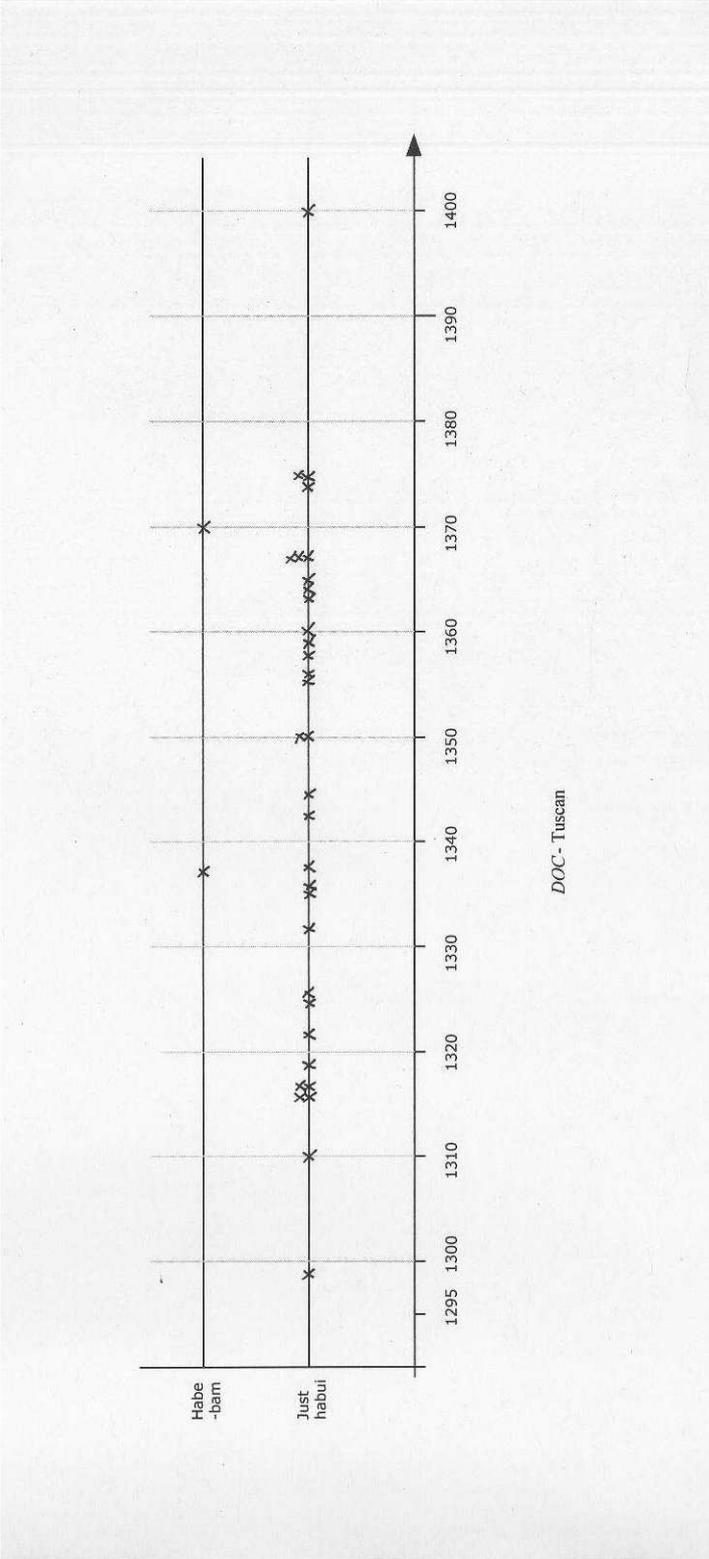


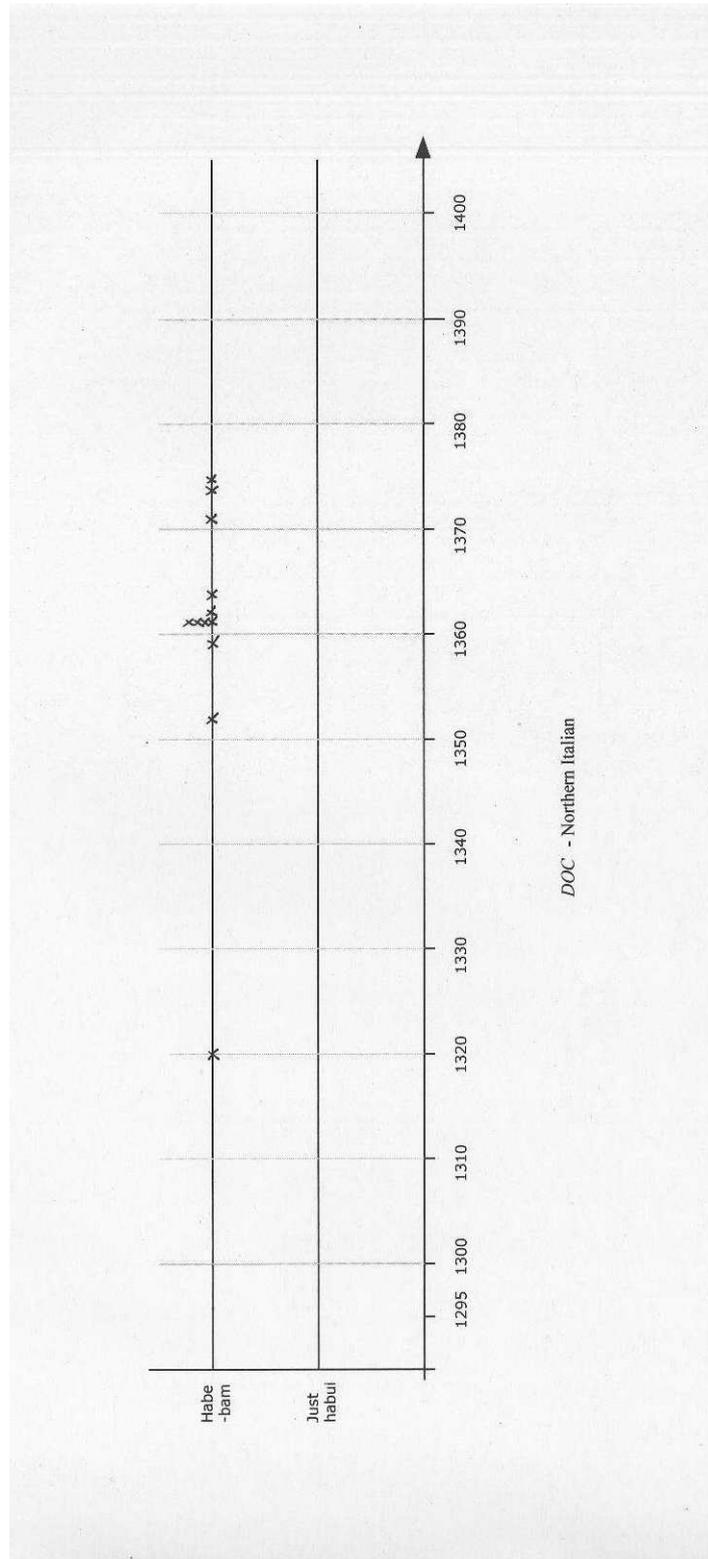
SCI GEO - Tuscan

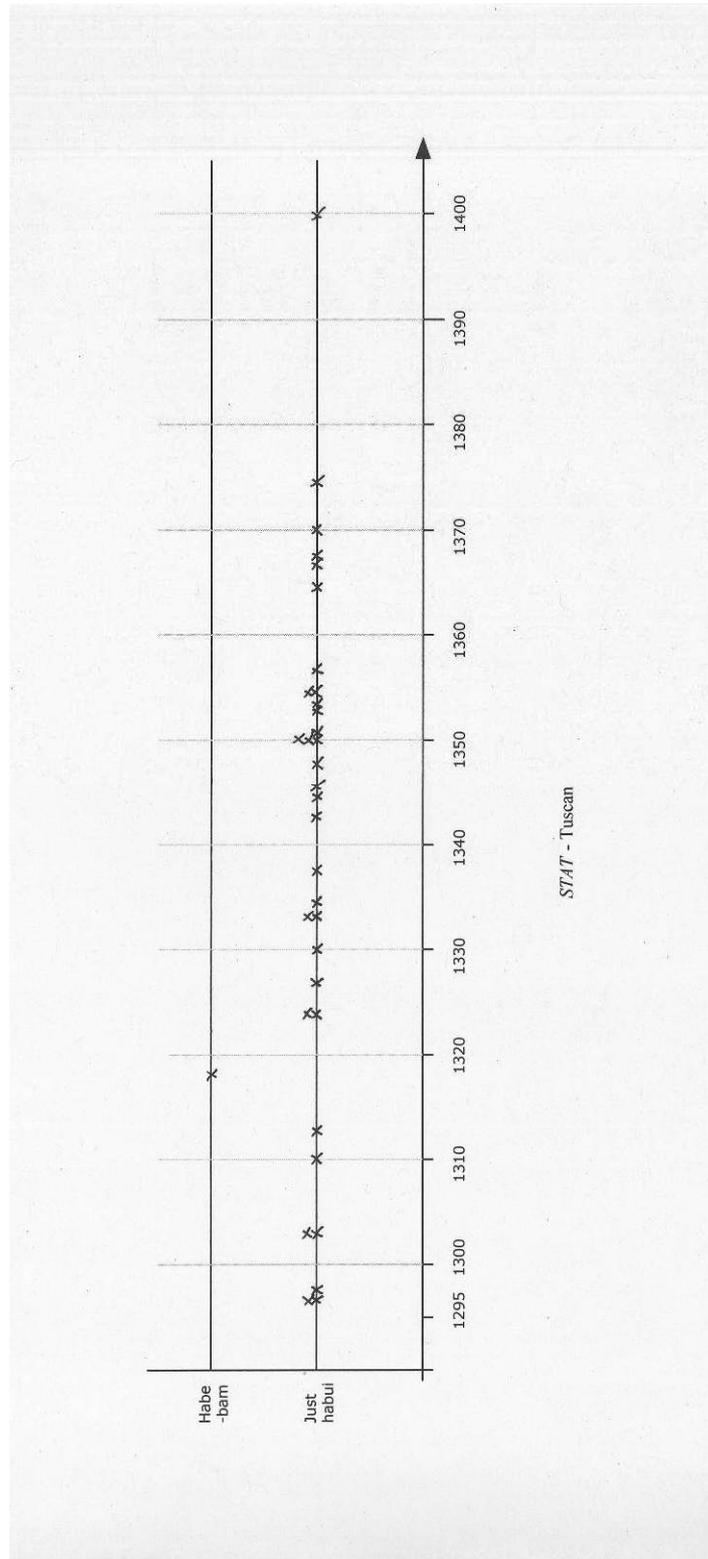
1282 - Restoro d'Arezzo: habebarn

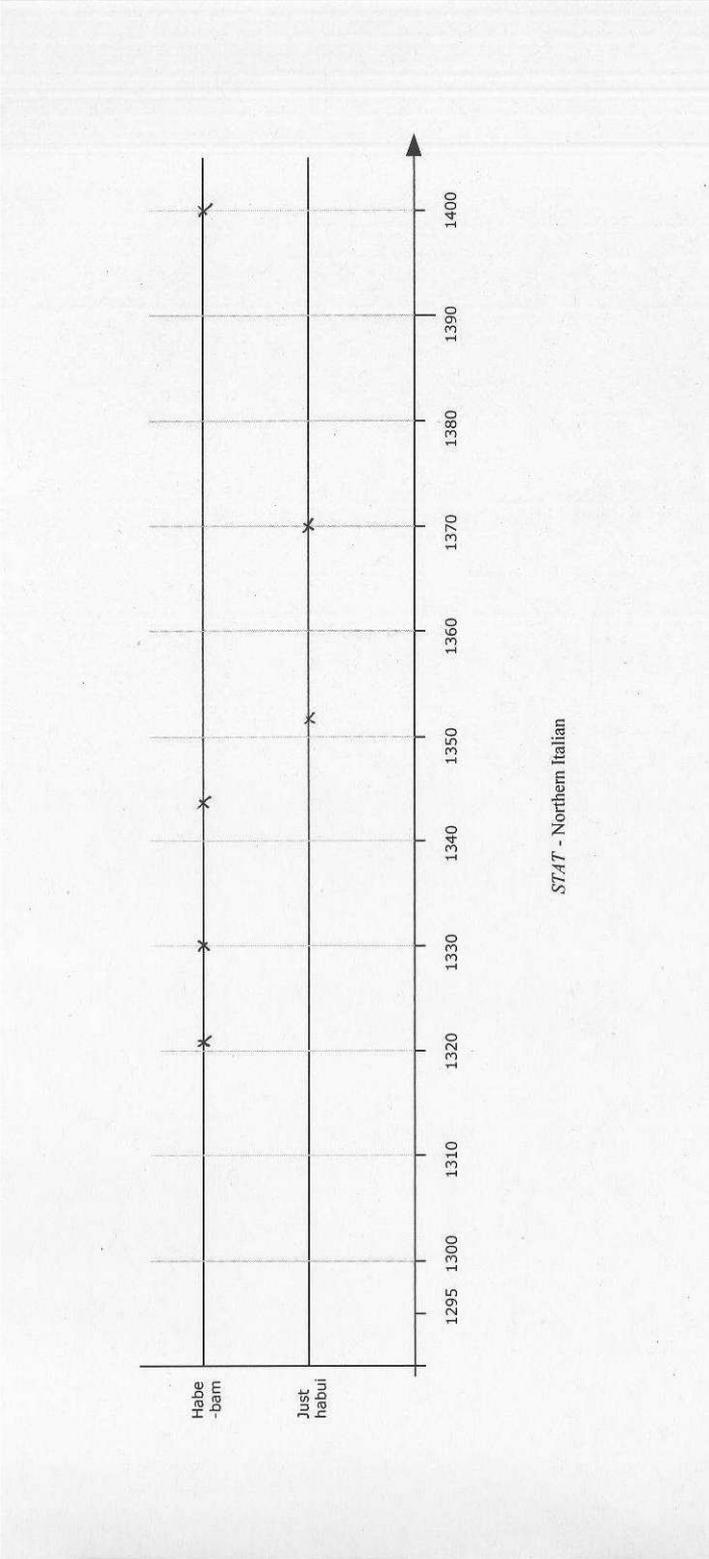


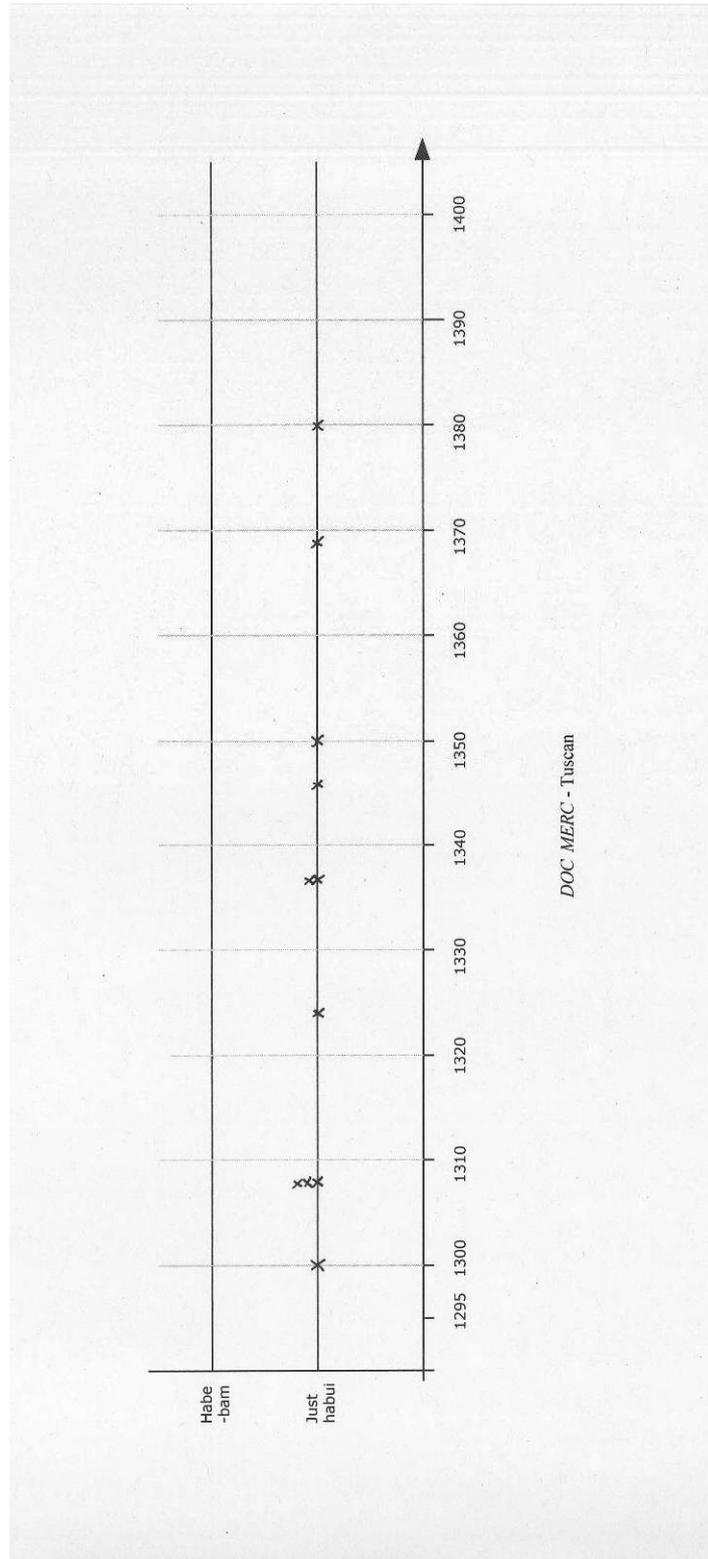


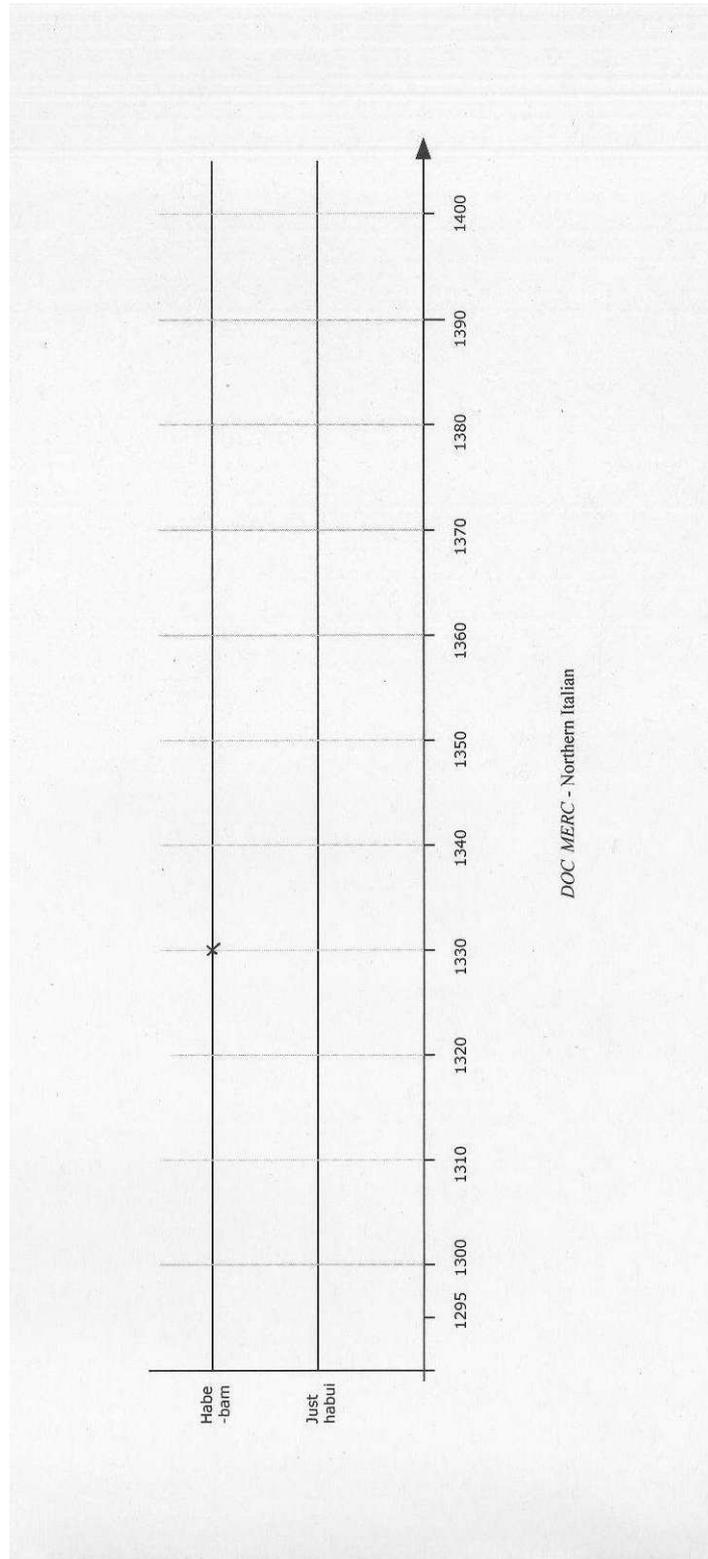


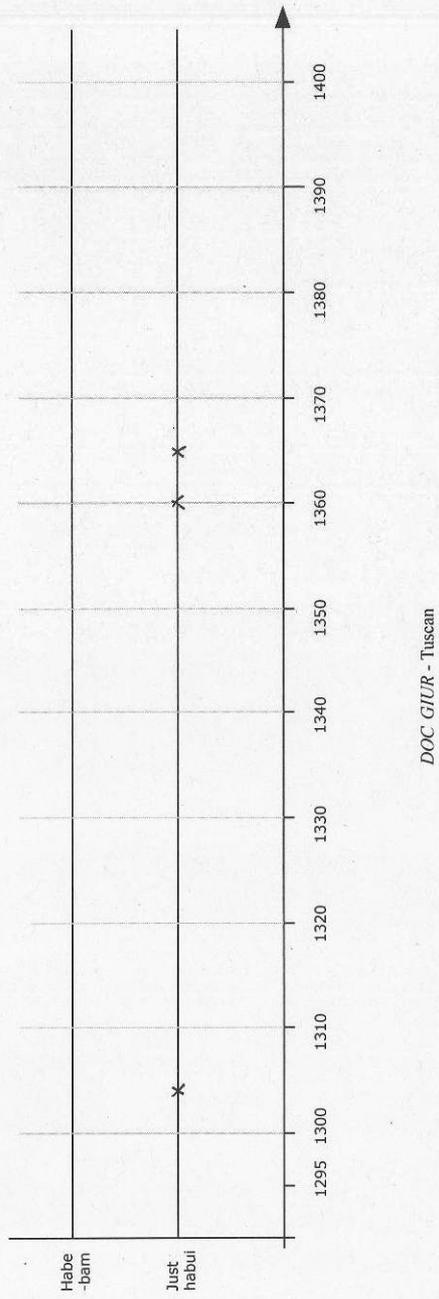


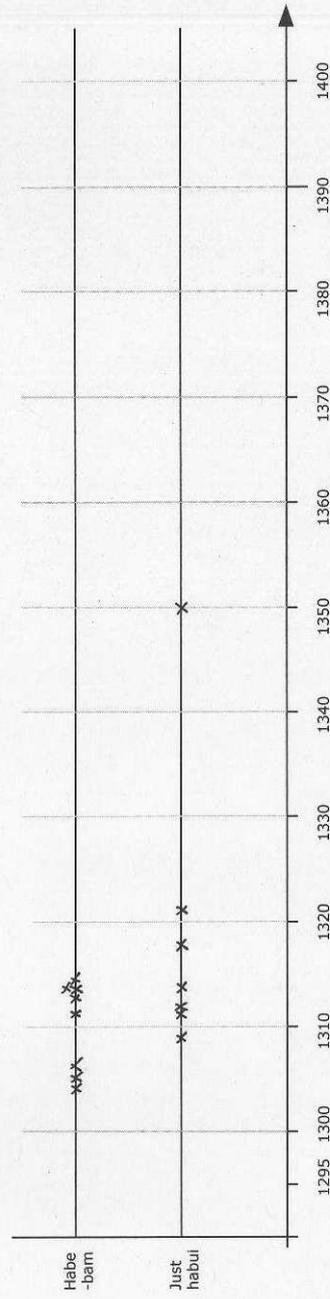






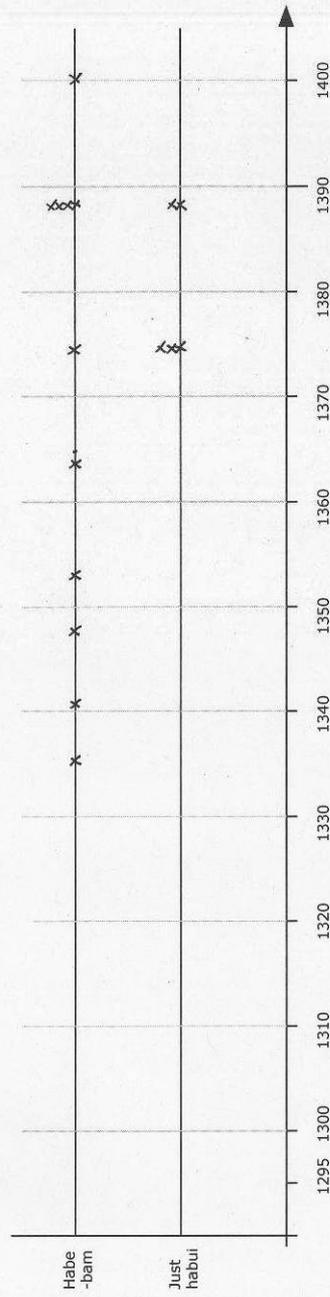




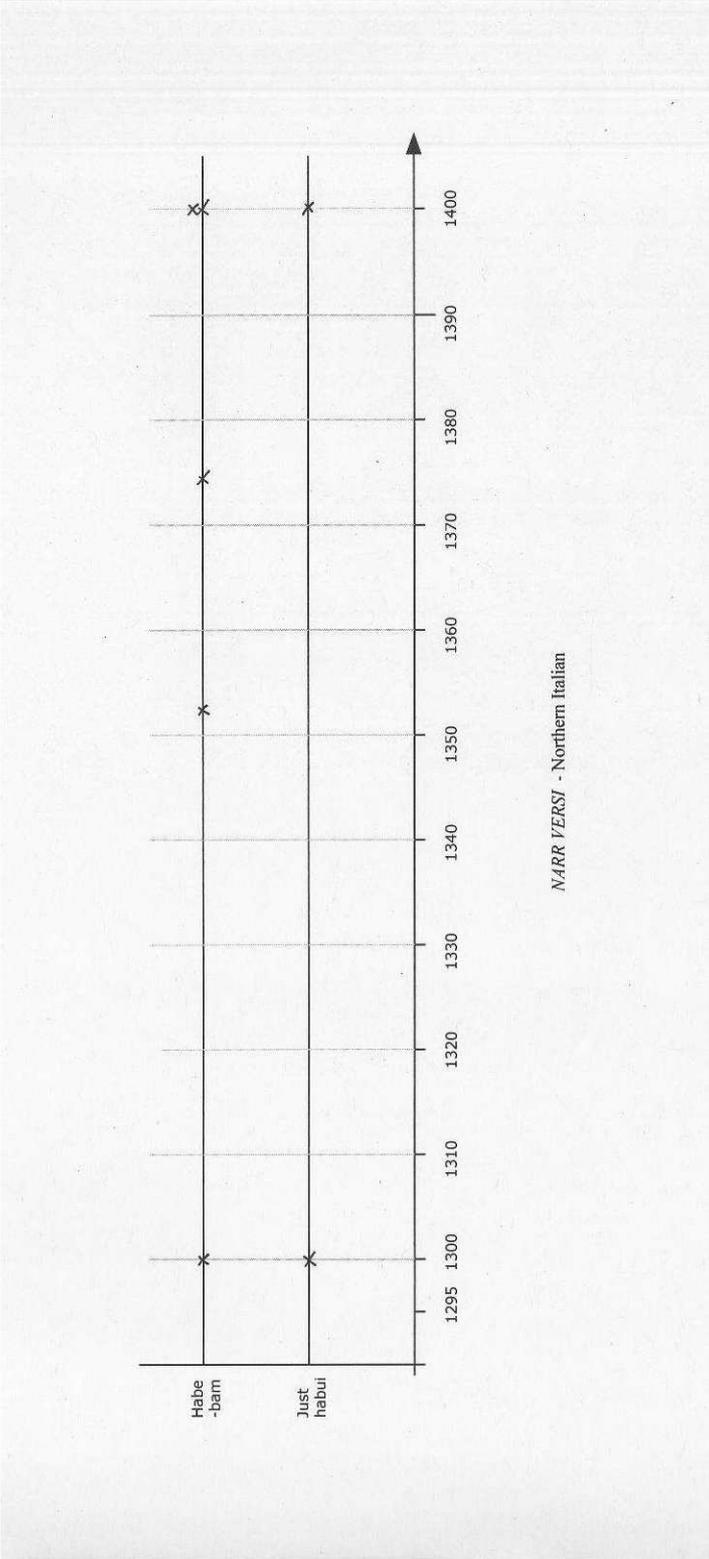


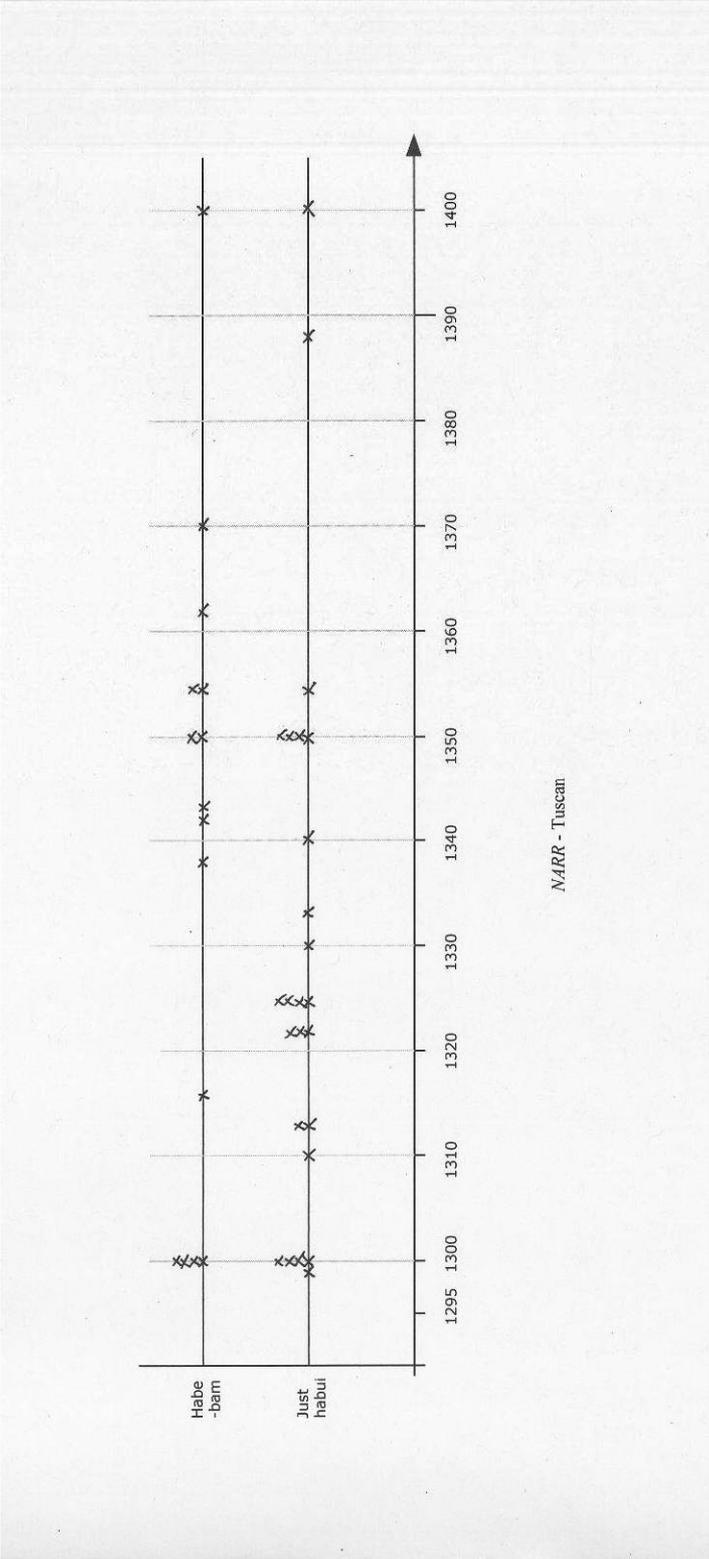
DOC GIUR - Northern Italian

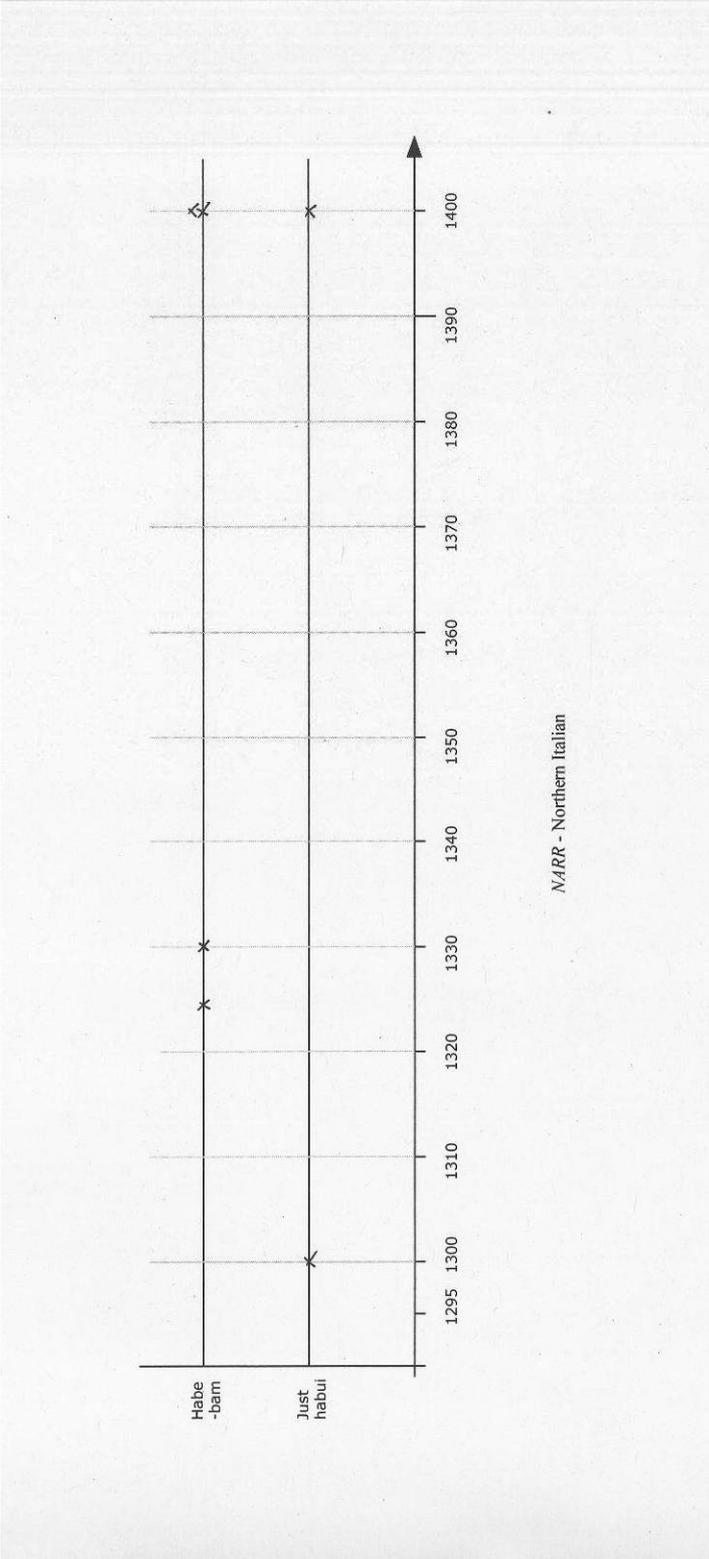
1284 - Capi di accusa in volgare: habui



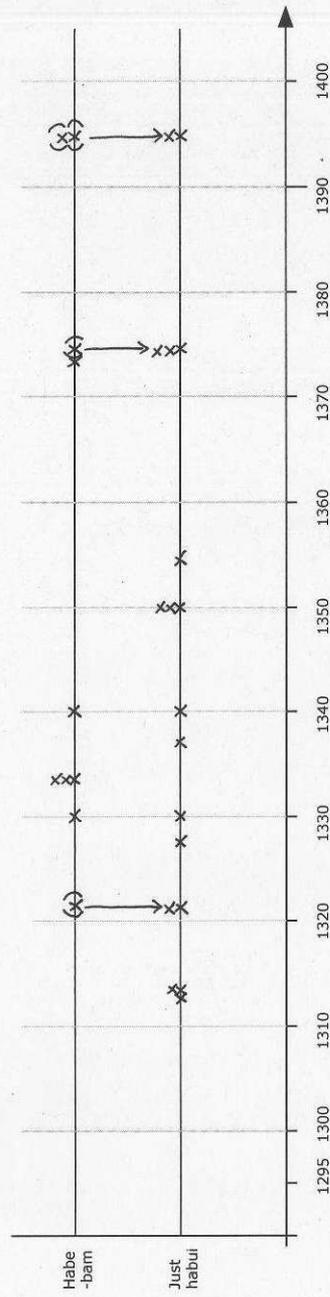
NARR VERSI - Tuscan





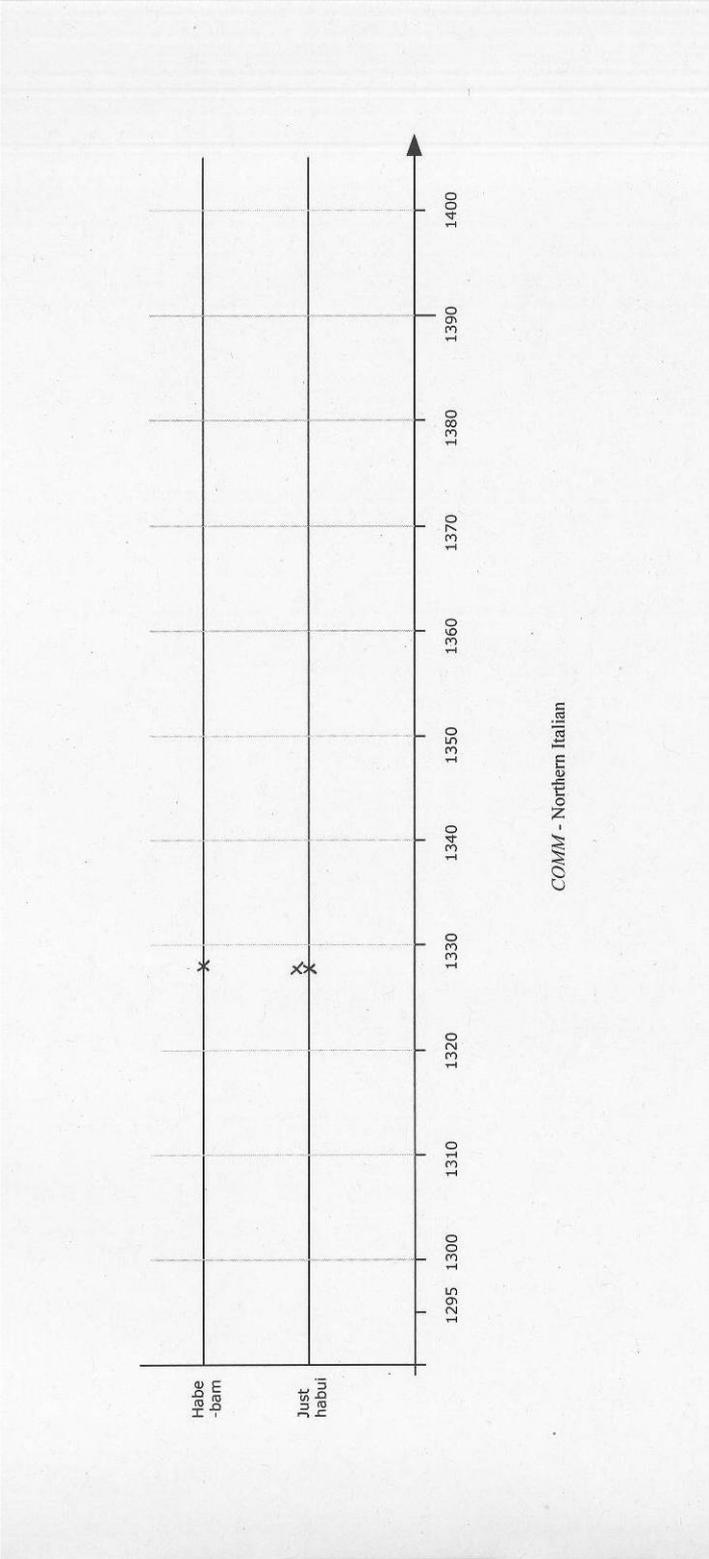


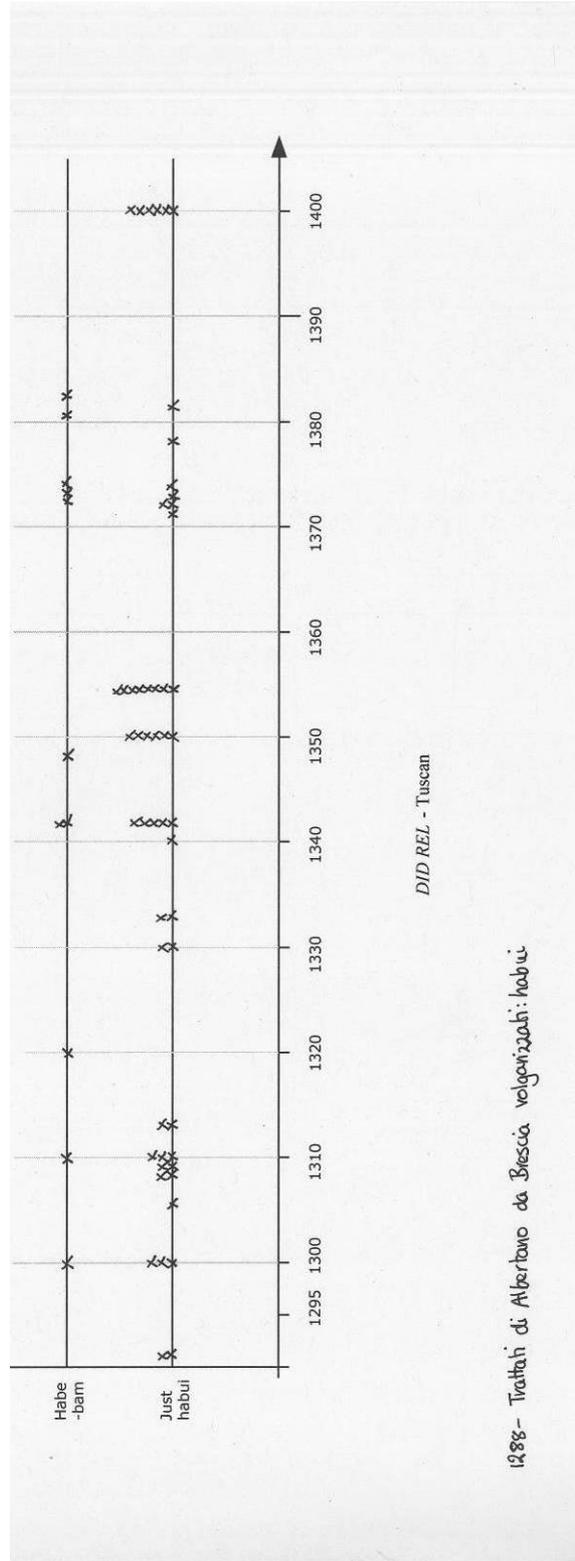
NARR - Northern Italian



COMM - Tuscan

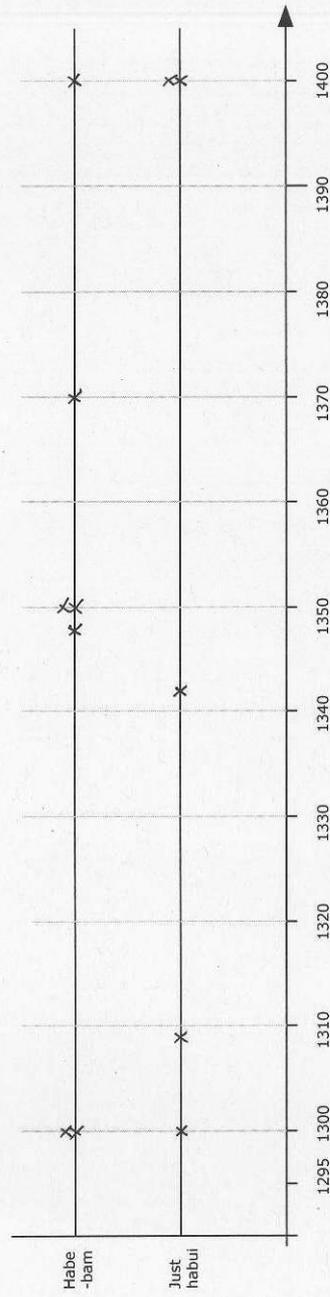
Brackets mark texts containing only cited attestations of habebaum reflex.





DID REL - Tuscan

1288- Trattati di Albertano da Brescia volgarizzati: *habui*

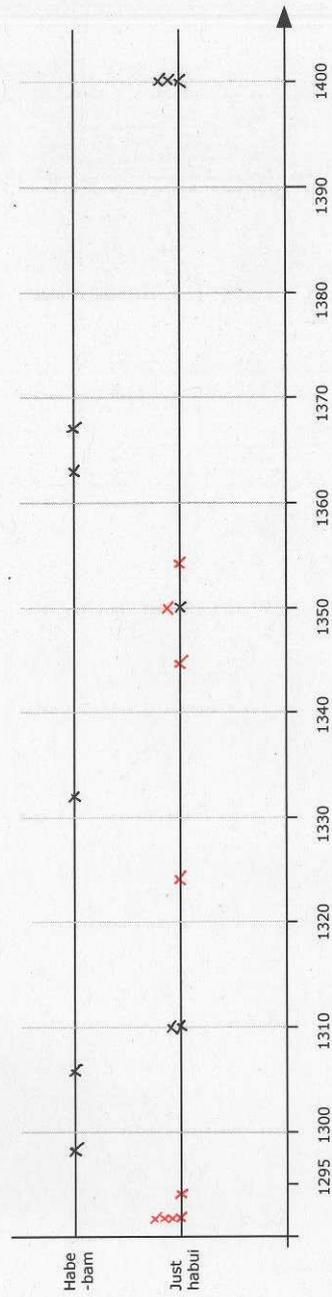


DID REL - Northern Italian

1200 Proverbia que dicuntur super nativa femininarum: habebain

1250 Pamphilius volgarizzato in oratio veneziano: habui

1280 Bonvesin De Croce: habui

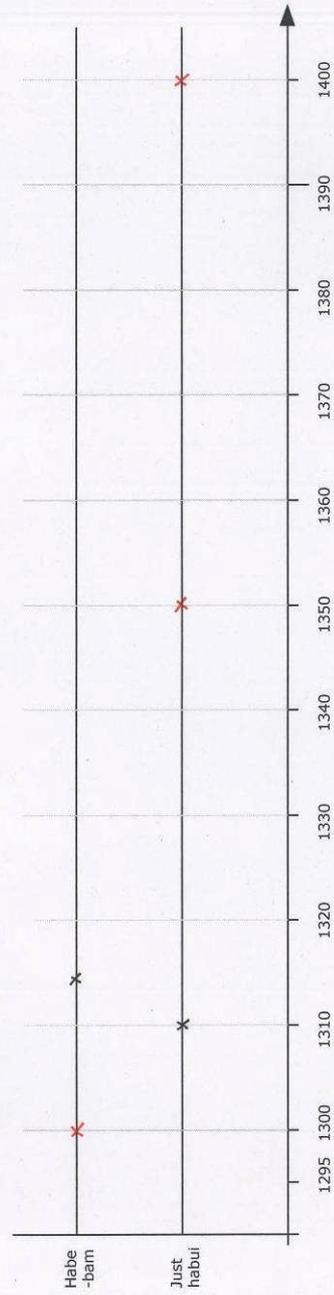


FIL - Tuscan

RET - Tuscan

1268 Andrea da Grossetto ed Segre habui habui
 ed Selmi habui habui
 ed Segre-Marci habui habui

1261 Brunetto Latini La Rettorica habebam
 1287 Sommetta ad amastramento di compiere volgarmente lettere habebam

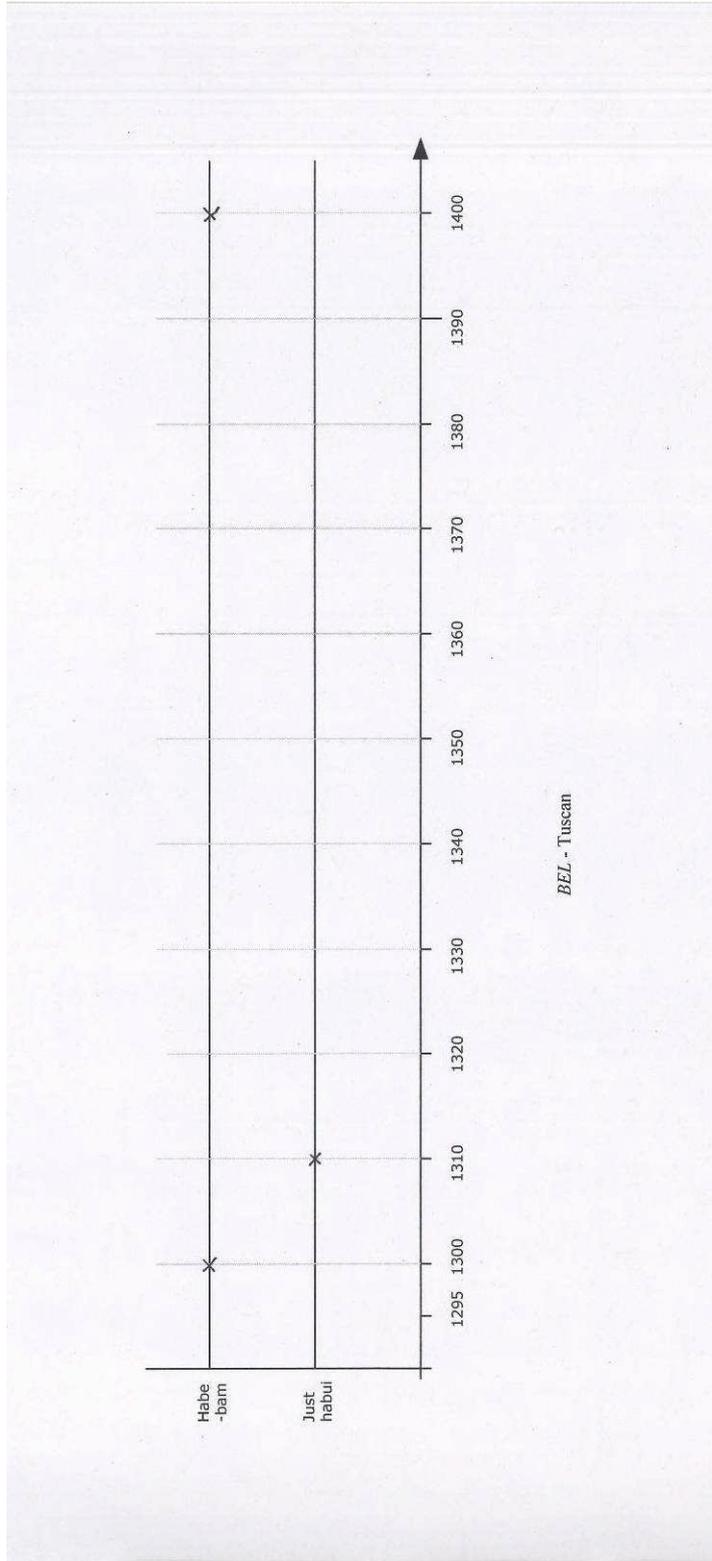


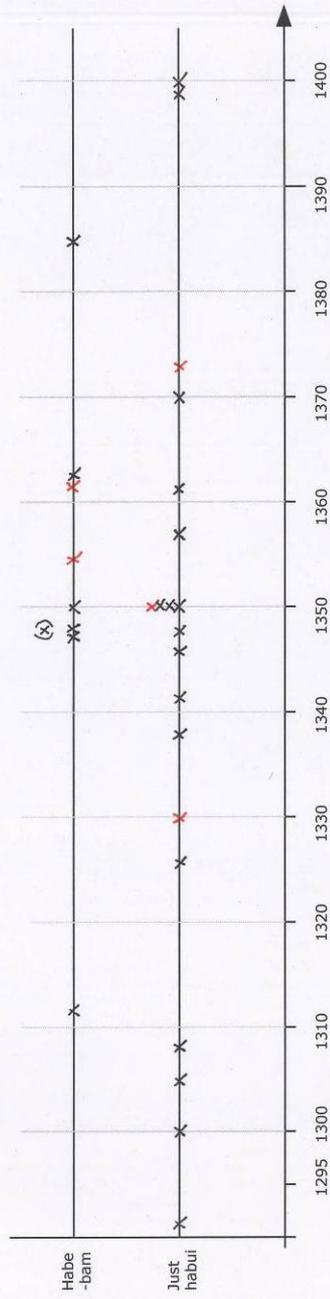
FIL - Northern Italian

RET - Northern Italian

1243 - Guido Faba Parliamenti in volgare: habebam

1248 - Guido Faba Gemma Serpura: habui

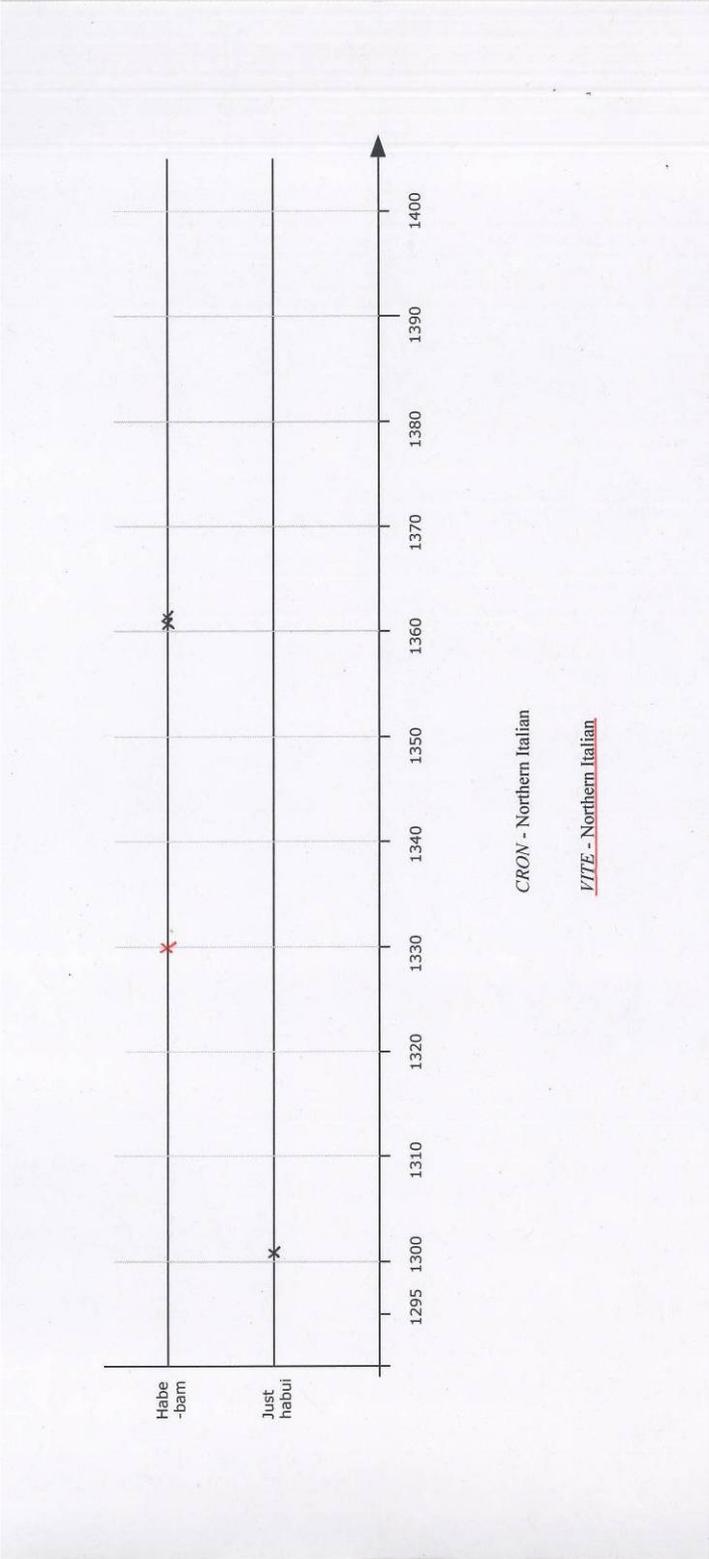


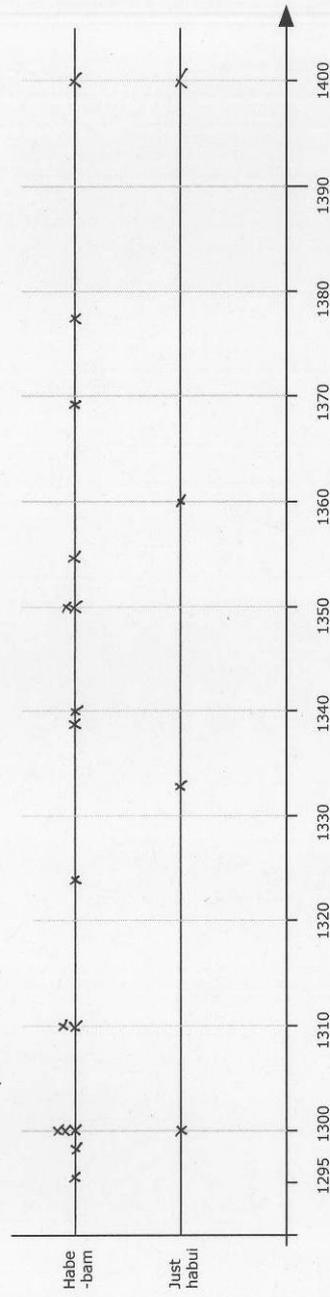


CRON - Tuscan

VITE - Tuscan

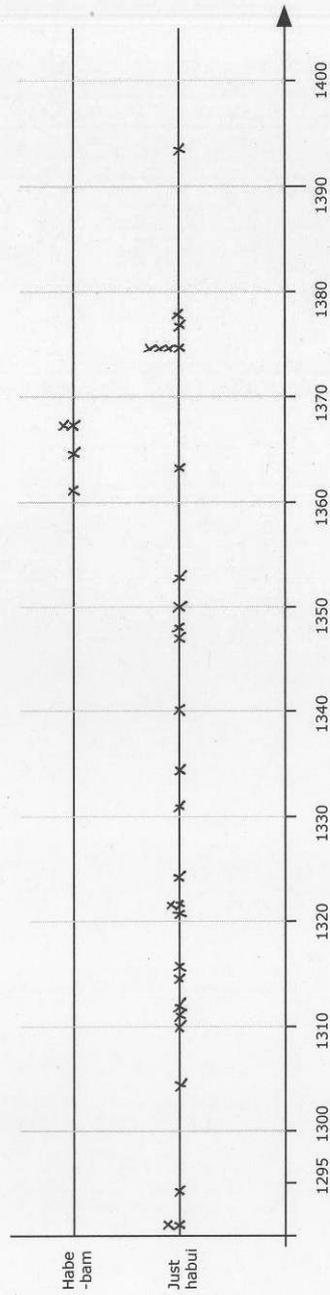
1246 - Ricorde d'imprese pisane : habui
 1275 - Fiori di Filosofia : habui





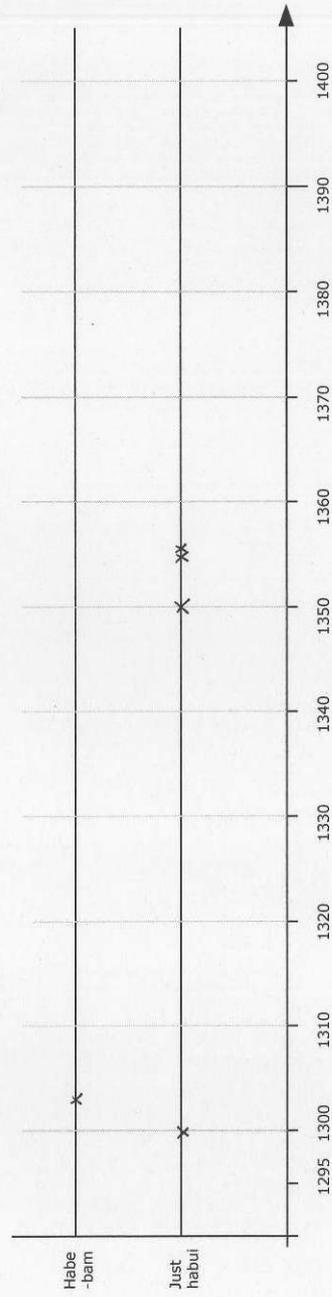
LIR - Northern Italian

1190 - Raimbaut de Vaqueiras Testa Bilingue: habebam



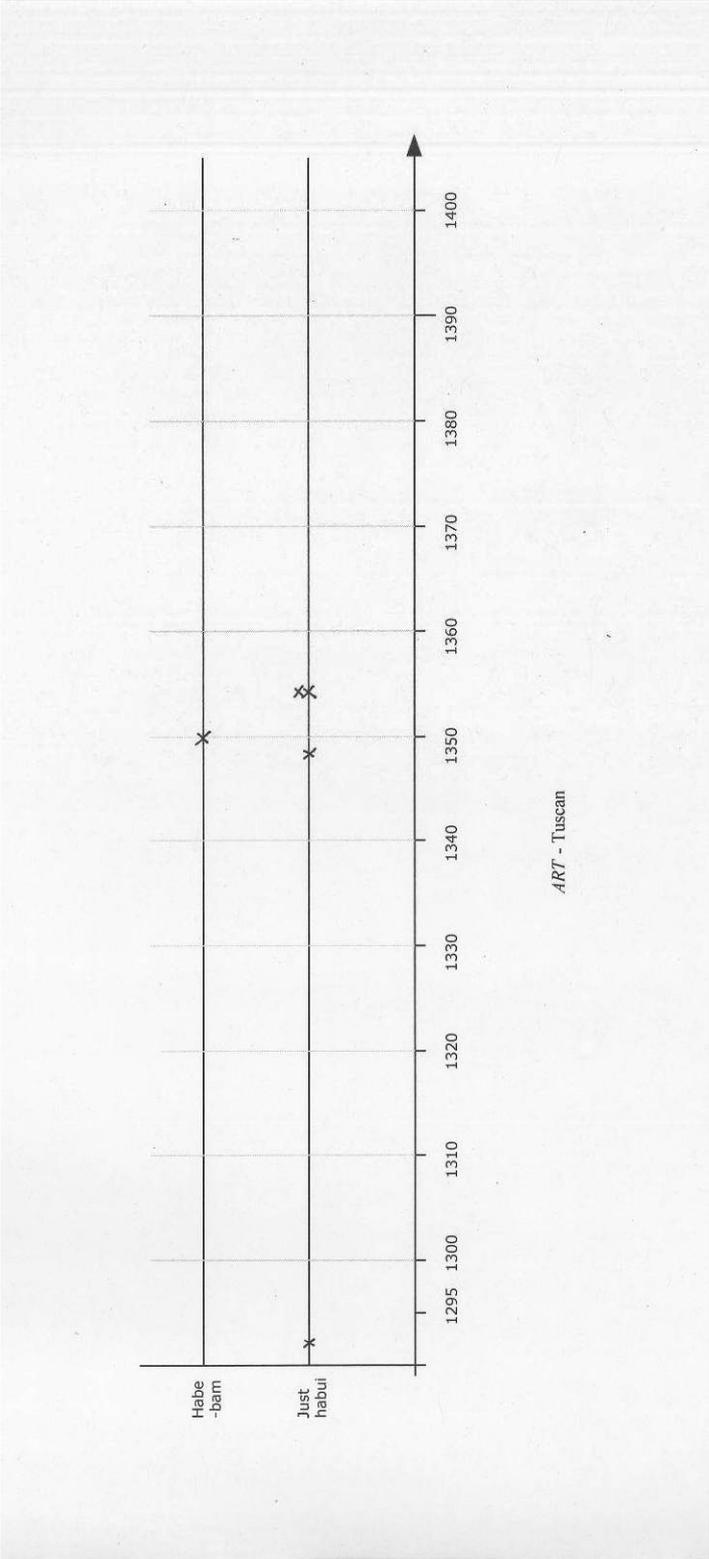
LETT - Tuscan

- 1260 lettera di Vincenzi di Aldebrandino Vincenzi e compagni : habui
- 1262 lettera di Andrea de' Tolomei da Tiroi : habui
- 1265 lettera di Andrea de' Tolomei da Tiroi : habui
- 1269 lettera di Andrea de' Tolomei da Bari sull'Alba : habui



LETT - Northern Italian

1283 - Quattro lettere meauriti di Bocolata de Bovi: habui



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The bibliography of texts cited from the OVI is organised in three sections, according to the information provided about the author. The first section comprises the texts for which an authorial designation, however, tenuous, has been given. This is in alphabetical order, according to the first name given in the OVI reference, despite occasional anomalies where an author has been referred to by surname as well as Christian name first. Subsequent texts by each author have been organised according to the cascade system, first by date, and within any given year, by the title of the text. The second and third sections of the bibliography are the texts for which no author has been cited, and the anonymous texts. Within each section, these are ordered according to date, and within a given year, sub-ordered alphabetically according to the title of the text.

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