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# Negation and Verb-Movement in Romance: New Perspectives on Jespersen's Cycle

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**Abstract:** In this article we bring to light one additional factor underlying so-called Jespersen's Cycle (JC) in Romance which has to date gone unnoticed, namely the varying position of the finite verb within the IP. More specifically, we show that there exists an empirical correlation between the availability of clause-medial/high verb-movement and Stages II–III of JC in which a postverbal negator is licensed. Drawing on novel data, we demonstrate that this correlation holds not only across modern Romance varieties, but also across early varieties. Formally, we explain this link between negation and verb-movement from the (in)active status of the T-domain and the consequent (im)possibility of donating a [Neg] feature to the lower *v*-VP domain. Although verb-movement in itself is not a sufficient condition to trigger a shift towards Stages II–III negation, we argue that it is a necessary one, a fact which explains the peculiar distribution of negation strategies across the Romània.

**Keywords:** negation, verb-movement, Jespersen's Cycle, Romance

## 1 Introduction

Negation has attracted a great deal of interest in the literature offering a fertile testing ground for both diachronic investigations, witness extensive research on the grammaticalization of negators, and synchronic studies like those focused on the modelling of the wealth of microvariation observed in the shape and distribution of negators. Since Jespersen's (1917) original formulation of the cyclical development of negation, researchers have been particularly interested in unveiling the language-internal and -external factors responsible for the observed

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shifts across the preverbal, discontinuous and postverbal stages. In recent years, many have acknowledged that it is the combination of various triggers of different types which underlie so-called Jespersen's Cycle (JC).

Focusing on Romance, in this article we bring to light one additional factor which has to date gone unnoticed, namely the varying position of the finite verb within the sentential core (IP). More specifically, we show that there is an empirical correlation between the availability of clause-medial/high V(erb)-movement and Stages II–III of JC in which a postverbal negator is licensed. Drawing on novel data from an extensive corpus of varieties, we demonstrate that this correlation holds across not only modern Romance varieties, but also early varieties. Formally, we explain this link between negation and V-movement from the (in)active status of the T-domain and the consequent (im)possibility of donating a [Neg] feature to the lower *v*-VP domain. Although V-movement in itself is not a sufficient condition to trigger a shift towards Stages II–III negation, we argue that it is a necessary one, a fact which explains the peculiar distribution of negation strategies across the Romània.

The article is organized as follows. After an overview of Romance negation (Section 2) and V-movement (Section 3), we show that there holds an empirical correlation between them (Section 4). In order to test the empirical validity of this correlation and the predictions it makes, a large body of new evidence is investigated from both early (Section 5.1) and modern Romance varieties (Section 5.2). Given the robustness of the observed correlation between V-movement and negation typologies, we offer a formal account of the same, demonstrating how this relationship is not an accident of the system but, rather, finds a principled explanation in the (in)active status of the T-domain across the relevant varieties (Section 6). The article concludes with an overview of the main insights of the paper and some novel observations regarding parametric variation and the typological split between northern and southern Romance varieties (Section 7).<sup>1</sup>

## 2 Negation

From a descriptive point of view, three broad types of sentential negation can be observed across Romance variously involving preverbal (1), discontinuous (2), and postverbal (3) negators.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The reader is referred to Ledgeway and Schifano (2022) for an earlier version of this work. The authors would like to thank Anna Pineda, two anonymous reviewers, as well as the audiences of conferences and seminars held at the universities of Prague, Barcelona, Oxford and Tenerife, where earlier versions of this paper were presented. All the errors remain solely our responsibility.

<sup>2</sup> Translations will be provided only where meaning cannot be otherwise readily deduced from the glosses.



where distinct negators move to their superficial positions in accordance with their feature checking requirements.<sup>5</sup>

Another point of variation is represented by the stage(s) of negation instantiated by each variety in relation to JC. This is broadly illustrated in (5) with examples from French where the preverbal negator of earlier stages of the language (Stage I; 5a) is obligatory reinforced by a postverbal adverb in the modern standard language (Stage II; 5b), which functions as the sole negator in contemporary spoken registers (Stage III; 5c).

- (5) a. *Je ne dis.* (OFr.)  
       I   NEG   say.1SG
- b. *Je ne dis pas.* (modern (written/formal) Fr.)  
       I   NEG   say.1SG   NEG
- c. *Je dis pas.* (spoken (colloquial) Fr.)  
       I   say.1SG   NEG

Since its original formulation, several aspects of JC have been subject to further scrutiny such as the number of stages involved (cf. van der Auwera 2009, 2010; Willis et al. 2013: §1.5; Llop 2017b) and its triggers,<sup>6</sup> including phonetic, morpho-syntactic, pragmatic-semantic and exogeneous factors such as prescriptive pressures (Armstrong and Smith 2002; Breitbarth et al. 2020: 134) and contact (Breitbarth et al. 2020: Ch. 4; Krasnoukhova et al. 2021; Lindblom 2013), or a combination of these. The aspect which concerns us most here regards the particular geographical distribution of the different stages of the cycle across Romance which, we argue, is not random or accidental but, rather, follows in a principled manner from independently noted differences among varieties. Broadly speaking, Table 1 shows that Stages II–III varieties are concentrated in a continuous geographical area including Belgium, France, Switzerland and northern Italy where most Gallo-Romance varieties are spoken, as well as some parts of the northeastern Ibero-Romance territory bordering on southern France, while the rest of the Romània is still at Stage I, with postverbal reinforcers only employed under specific pragmatic conditions.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Manzini and Savoia (2005, III: Ch. 6, 2011: Ch. 4) and Breitbarth et al. (2020: §3.3.2) for analyses of Romance negative strategies which do not assume a NegP.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. van der Auwera (2009, 2010), Larrivée (2011, 2014), Martineau (2011), van Gelderen (2011: Ch. 8), Hansen and Visconti (2012), Hansen (2013, 2020: 1681), Willis et al. (2013), Garzonio and Poletto (2014), Meisner et al. (2014), De Clercq (2017), Llop (2017a), Breitbarth (2020), Garzonio (2020), Larrivée (2020), van der Auwera and Krasnoukhova (2020), Moscati (2022), among others.

<sup>7</sup> We use the labels ‘Stage I/II/III’ as a shorthand for the more articulated steps widely discussed in the literature. On negation strategies, cf. Schwegler (1990: Ch. 6), Bernini and Ramat (1996: 17–21), Parry (1997a: 179, 2013: 78–79), Zanuttini (1997), Manzini and Savoia (2005, III: 127–155), Poletto

**Table 1:** Negation strategies.

Type	Distribution
Preverbal	EuPt., Sp., Cat., It., CIDs, SIDs, north-eastern and some north-western Italian dialects, eastern Rms., Ro.
Discontinuous	standard Fr., Gsc., many NIDs
Postverbal	Ara., northern Cat. varieties, several Gallo-Romance ( <i>langue d'oïl/d'oc</i> ) varieties, many north-western Italian dialects, western/central Rms.

Various proposals have been advanced to account for this rather peculiar distribution such as contact with German(ic) (Hansen and Visconti 2012: 463; Lockwood 1968: 208; Posner 1985: 174–175; Tanase 1986) and Gaulish (Price 1999) or the reduced use of postverbal emphatic constructions (Schwegler 1983: 323).<sup>8</sup> As noted by Poletto (2016: 837), such a distribution suggests that ‘some Romance languages but not others have independent properties that have accelerated, slowed down, or blocked Jespersen’s Cycle’. Indeed, in this article we shed light on one such independent property which has not previously received any attention, namely V-movement, highlighting a correlation between the position of the finite verb and the type of negator (preverbal or postverbal) which is licensed. Before discussing this correlation in further detail, we provide a brief overview of V-movement across Romance.

### 3 Verb-Movement

One of the most common diagnostics for V-movement is the linear placement of the verb with respect to different adverb classes,<sup>9</sup> which, following Cinque (1999, 2006) and much subsequent cartographic work, we assume to lexicalize the specifiers of a universally fixed hierarchy of functional projections which we can informally associate with a higher adverb space (HAS, 6a) and a lower adverb space (LAS, 6b).<sup>10</sup>

(2016: 836–837), and Benincà (2017: 190–91). The picture is more complex in Brazilian Portuguese, cf. Schwegler (1983: 317, 1987), Bernini and Ramat (1996: 42–44), Schwenter (2005, 2006), and van der Auwera (2009: §1.3).

**8** On French Stages II–III versus Italian Stage I, specifically, see Hansen and Visconti (2012) and Garzonio and Poletto (2014).

**9** Cf. references in Schifano (2018: 2, fn. 5), as well as the more recent discussion in Tescari Neto (2022).

**10** Adapted from Cinque (1999: 106) and Ledgeway (forthcoming a). See Tescari Neto (2022: 8–9) for a division into three zones.

- (6) a. HAS  
 [frankly Mood<sub>speech act</sub> [unfortunately Mood<sub>evaluative</sub> [apparently Mood<sub>evidential</sub>  
 [probably Mod<sub>epistemic</sub> [now T<sub>(past/future)</sub> [perhaps Mood<sub>irrealis</sub>  
 [necessarily Mod<sub>necessity</sub> [usually Asp<sub>habitual</sub> [again Asp<sub>repetitive(event)</sub>  
 [often Asp<sub>frequentative(event)</sub> [deliberately Mod<sub>volitional</sub> [slowly Asp<sub>celerative(event)</sub> [...
- b. LAS  
 [not Neg<sub>1presuppositional</sub> [already T<sub>(anterior)</sub> [anymore Asp<sub>terminative</sub>  
 [still Asp<sub>continuative</sub> [always Asp<sub>perfect</sub> [hardly Neg<sub>2</sub> [just Asp<sub>retrospective</sub> [soon  
 Asp<sub>proximative</sub> [briefly Asp<sub>durative</sub> [typically Asp<sub>generic/progressive</sub>  
 [almost Asp<sub>prospective</sub> [completely Asp<sub>SgCompletive(event)</sub>  
 [everything Asp<sub>PICompletive</sub> [well Voice [fast Asp<sub>celerative(process)</sub>  
 [again Asp<sub>repetitive(process)</sub> [often Asp<sub>frequentative(process)</sub> [completely  
 Asp<sub>SgCompletive(process)</sub> [v-VP ...

Given these theoretical assumptions, we can test not only the presence or absence of V-movement, an opposition frequently applied to the Germanic versus Romance contrast (Biberauer and Roberts 2010; Pollock 1989; Roberts 2010; Vikner 1995), but also the precise height of V-movement allowing us to identify (at least) four distinct types of V-movement across Romance.<sup>11</sup> By way of illustration, consider the examples below from Schifano (2018) where the relevant placement of the finite verb with respect to a selection of adverbs within the IP highlights the existence of high (7), clause-medial (8), low (9) and very low (10) V-movement languages.<sup>12</sup>

- (7) *Antoine confond probablement (\*confond) le poème.* (Fr.)  
 A. confuse.3SG probably the poem
- (8) a. *Gianni (\*confonde) generalmente confonde queste poesie.* (It.)  
 G. generally confuse.3SG these poems
- b. *Gianni parla apposta (\*parla) con un  
 G. speak.3SG intentionally with an  
 accento napoletano.* (It.)  
 accent Neapolitan
- (9) a. *A Maria (\*se ricorda) ainda se ricorda*  
 the M. still REFL= remember.3SG

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005, 2014), Ledgeway (2012, 2020a), Schifano (2015a, 2015b, 2016, 2018), and Roberts (2019: Ch. 5).

<sup>12</sup> Following Schifano (2018), identification of these V-movement types is based on the placement of the present indicative lexical verb. The reader is referred to the aforementioned work and references therein for a discussion of movement patterns with other verb forms.

- desta história.* (EuPt.)  
of.this story
- b. *O João vê sempre (\*vê) este tipo de*  
the J. see.3SG always this type of  
*filmes.* (EuPt.)  
films
- (10) a. *Sergio (\*se equivoca) casi se equivoca.* (Sp.)  
S. almost REFL= err.3SG
- b. *Entiendo completamente (\*entiendo) lo que dices.* (Sp.)  
understand.1SG completely the= which say.2SG  
'I understand entirely what you say.'

Further examples of the distribution of the four types across different Romance varieties are presented in Table 2.<sup>13,14</sup>

**Table 2:** V-movement types.

Type	Distribution
High	Fr., Occ., Gsc., Ro. <sub>2</sub>
Clause-medial	NRIt., NIDs
Low	EuPt., SRIt., SIDs
Very low	Sp., VCat., Ro. <sub>1</sub>

As argued in Schifano (2015a, 2018), these four types are not accidental choices, but, rather, represent the predictable outcome of a precise interplay between morphology and syntax in licensing the interpretation of the verb in the relevant varieties. For the sake of the argument developed here, though, it will suffice to acknowledge the existence of (at least) four types of V-movement, whose correlation with negation types is discussed below.

<sup>13</sup> See Schifano (2018) for data and references. For Gascon and Occitan, see Ledgeway (2020a, 2020b).

<sup>14</sup> While some authors argue that Romanian exhibits high V-movement (Cornilescu 2000; Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Hill 2002; Motapanyane 1995; Nicolae 2015, 2019; Rivero 1994; Schifano 2014, 2015a, 2015b, 2018; Ștefanescu 1997), others have argued for a lower placement (Alboiu 2002; Boioc 2021; Cinque 1999; Costea 2019; Cruschina and Ledgeway 2016; Ledgeway 2012; Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005, 2014). Following Costea (2019: §3.1) and Ledgeway (2020a, in press), we take this to reflect the existence in Romanian of at least two different (possibly diatopic) grammars, viz. Romanian1 (with very low V-movement) and Romanian2 (with high V-movement), as specified in Table 2.



## 4 Correlation Between Negation and V-Movement

If we combine the negation and V-movement types just described, an interesting correlation emerges, with Stages II–III varieties coinciding exclusively with those exhibiting clause-medial or high V-movement, as illustrated in Table 3.

**Table 3:** Negation and V-movement types.

Negation V-movement	Stage I	Stages II–III
High	Ro. <sub>2</sub>	Fr., Occ., Gsc.
Clause-medial	NRIt., some NIDs	(NRIt.), some NIDs
Low	EuPt., SRIt., SIDs	N/A
Very low	Sp., VCat., Ro. <sub>1</sub>	N/A

Descriptively, this empirical correlation can be captured by the generalization in (11).

- (11) If a variety is at Stages II–III, it necessarily exhibits clause-medial or high V-movement.

The correlation, however, is not bidirectional, inasmuch as it is not the case that, if a variety exhibits clause-medial or high V-movement, it must be at Stages II–III. Illustrative in this respect is Romanian<sub>2</sub> which, despite its high V-movement (see Section 3), does not exhibit postverbal negators.

Far from being an accident of the system, (11) finds a principled explanation in the licensing requirements of postverbal negators. As discussed in Section 2, most of the core elements of the class of postverbal negators are nominal in nature. This is clearly true for negators of the minimizer class (cf. NegP2 in 4), which represent the output of the grammaticalization of nouns denoting minimal units (e.g. Italo-Romance reflexes of Lat. *MICA*(M) ‘crumb’), as well for negators of the quantifier class (cf. NegP3 in 4), which derive from the univerbation of a negator with a quantity or generic noun (e.g. Borgomanerese *nutta* > NE + *GUTTA*(M) ‘not drop’).<sup>15</sup> Indeed, the

<sup>15</sup> Clause-final negators in NegP4 in (4) represent an apparent exception, in that they do not share the same nominal nature as those in NegP2 and NegP3 since they are derived from *NON* ‘not’. However, they should not be equated with prototypical postverbal negators since, unlike the latter, they are sentence-final pro-sentence markers generally related to focus (Garzonio and Poletto 2015; Poletto 2016: 838, 2020: 141) and, as such, do not share the same licensing requirements.

essential nominal nature of negative adverbs has been independently underlined by various scholars (Garzonio 2008a: 25; Meyer-Lübke 1899: §693–694; Rowlett 2011: 218) and is also advocated by Manzini and Savoia (2005, III: 206, 209, 216–218, 2011: Ch. 3) who reject analyses invoking dedicated NegP projections preferring instead to locate all such negative adverbs within a nominal string.

In acknowledging their nominal nature, our claim is that postverbal negators have to be licensed as negators rather than nominal elements in order to function as sentential negators, and that such licensing can only obtain in varieties where the T-domain is active, namely in clause-medial or high V-movement languages. This explains at the same time why (very) low movement varieties never show Stages II–III negation. Before providing a formal account of this empirical correlation between negation and V-movement (Section 6), we review below an extensive sample of evidence from a wide array of both early and modern Romance varieties which directly substantiate generalization (11).

## 5 Empirical Evidence

### 5.1 Medieval Romance

If (11) is descriptively accurate, three related diachronic predictions can be made. First, if clause-medial and high V-movement varieties were at Stage I in the past, V-movement could *a priori* be lower. This follows from the fact that only postverbal negators need to be licensed via higher V-movement. In principle, however, V-movement does not necessarily have to be lower, as Stage I negation is also compatible with higher V-movement, witness the behaviour of Romanian<sub>2</sub> (see Section 4). Second, the rise of V-movement is expected to predate shifts to Stages II–III, as higher verb placement is a precondition on the licensing of postverbal negators. Third, we predict that there should be no early Romance varieties exhibiting Stages II–III but which have low V-movement, since in such varieties the postverbal negators would remain unlicensed. In what follows, we shall review these predictions against data drawn from a corpus of early Romance which includes texts from early varieties of French (Section 5.1.1), Occitan (Section 5.1.2), Francoprovençal (Section 5.1.3) and northern Italian dialects (Section 5.1.4). Before doing so, we first spell out our theoretical and methodological assumptions about two phenomena which are relevant for medieval Romance, namely Verb Second and Stylistic Fronting.

It is widely argued that the syntax of medieval Romance was characterized by a Verb Second (V2) requirement, according to which in root clauses the finite verb raises to the C(omplementizer) position and one or more topicalized or focalized

constituents are fronted to the left periphery (for relevant bibliography, see Ledgeway 2021). When investigating the setting of the V-movement parameter in early Romance, root clauses must therefore be excluded since placement of the verb is always determined by the independent V2 constraint in such contexts. In embedded clauses, by contrast, V2 is much more restricted, potentially surfacing only in so-called ‘bridge’ contexts.<sup>16</sup> By way of illustration, consider the early French example in (12) where the embedded sequence *onques ne se reposerent* is P-ambiguous (Clark and Roberts 1993), inasmuch as it occurs in a potential bridge context such that *a priori* it could have been generated by either a low V-movement grammar (12a) or a V2 grammar (12b).

- (12) *toute la nuit en tel manière que onques ne se*  
 all the night in such manner that never NEG REFL=  
*reposerent*  
 rested.3PL (old French, *Mort Artu*/152a)
- a. ... [CP [C' que [IP ... [AspPPerf [Spec onques] ... ne se reposerent]]]]  
 b. ... [ForceP [Force' que [FocP [Spec onques] [FinP [Fin' ne se reposerent [IP ...]]]]]]

Consequently, when assessing the V-movement parameter, the most reliable examples are those featuring embedded linear V3 sequences where an overt pronominal or lexical subject features in first position followed by an Adv+V or V+Adv sequence (13), as exemplified in (14).<sup>17</sup>

- (13) [CP C [IP S<sub>DP/pronoun</sub> (Adv) V (Adv) [V-VP]]]
- (14) *sì k'el covene k'el portasse continuamente*  
 so that=it suit.3SG that=he carried.SBJV.3SG continuously  
*un sudario* (old Milanese, *Passione Trivulziana*/183)  
 a shroud

Accordingly, in our corpus of medieval Romance we have recorded all and only those structures that conform to the template in (13), only a subset of which (viz.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. deHaan and Weerman (1986), van Riemsdijk and Williams (1986: 294), Adams (1987), Vikner (1995: §4.1.3), Mathieu (2006), Franco (2017), and Wolfe (2018). For Romance specifically, see also references in Ledgeway (2007, 2008).

<sup>17</sup> Although linear V3 sequences produced by the V2 constraint are found in medieval Romance, they typically involve structures in which the first constituent is a Frame element (e.g. scene-setting adverb) giving rise to such sequences as Adv+S/O+V, whereas the structures we are examining involve an initial subject giving rise to the opposite order (namely, S+Adv+V), hence much more likely to be aligned with a non-V2 structure in which the subject is IP-internal. For further discussion, see Ledgeway (2021: §2.2.5).

bridge contexts) are ambiguous with respect to a possible V2 output. By ‘Adv’ we mean only adverbs occupying the specifier of a semantically-related FP in the extended IP domain (Cinque 1999 et seq.), as widely assumed in the Romance verb-movement literature (see Section 3). Moreover, we have only included examples in which the adverb takes scope over the entire event, insofar as focusing usages are not indicative of V-movement (Schifano 2018: §1.2).<sup>18</sup> By the same token, we have disregarded V+O+Adv sequences, since these too may be the output of focus-induced movements of lower portions of the clause around the adverb (Cinque 1999: 22). In terms of verb class, our data collection was restricted to verb forms known to target different landing sites within IP across contemporary Romance varieties, namely finite lexical verbs and the perfective HAVE/BE auxiliaries which we take to be first-merged in *v* (D’Alessandro and Ledgeway 2010; D’Alessandro and Roberts 2008, 2010; Schifano 2018) or at the very bottom of the LAS (e.g. Voice).<sup>19</sup>

Finally, we should briefly address another syntactic phenomenon which has been invoked for some medieval Romance varieties, that is so-called Stylistic Fronting (SF), although reasons of space prevent us from discussing it in detail.<sup>20</sup>

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**18** An anonymous reviewer pointed out that the linear order Adv+V could also be the output of the focalisation of the adverb. Several counterarguments to this alternative analysis are presented in Ledgeway and Lombardi (2014: 36, fn. 9) and Schifano (2015a: 64–67). First, in contemporary (very) low movement languages where speakers’ judgements can be elicited, such as Spanish, it is clear that orders involving low adverbs such as *ya* ‘already’ and *siempre* ‘always’ following the finite verb are grammatical but pragmatically marked. Second, in these same contemporary varieties, low adverbs cannot precede a neutral preverbal rhematic subject; assuming that the preverbal rhematic subject lexicalizes a specifier position at the top of the functional field (and is not necessarily left-dislocated), the fact that the above adverbs cannot precede it indicates that they have not been displaced to the CP when they are preverbal, i.e. they are still in the I-domain. Third, if low adverbs had been focalised, then it should prove impossible to have another genuinely focalised constituent before the verb since they would be both competing for the same position/field, on the general assumption that there can be at most one focus per clause; however, Ledgeway and Lombardi (2014) show examples of Focus + Adv<sub>LAS+</sub> + V. The reader is referred to the above mentioned references for examples and further arguments.

**19** A note about the V-movement parameter and non-finite verb forms is in order. For some Romance varieties, we have to make reference to further microparametric distinctions distinguishing finite and non-finite forms. For example, in modern French and Occitan we witness high movement of the finite verb but low movement of non-finite verbs such as infinitives (see however Groothuis 2021, 2022) and, conversely, in southern Italian dialects infinitives raise high, but finite verbs remain low (Ledgeway 2020a). For the sake of the present discussion in terms of assessing the relationship between negation and V-movement, only finite V-movement is taken into consideration (as well as perfective participles as part of the auxiliary verbal complex), inasmuch as the relevant Romance V-movement typology (Section 3) is based on the placement patterns of finite lexical verbs (Schifano 2015a, 2018).

**20** Cf. Fischer and Alexiadou (2001), Mathieu (2006), Franco (2009, 2017), Salvesen (2011), Fischer (2014), and Franco and Migliori (2014).

Oversimplifying somewhat, therefore, we argue that the embedded S+Adv+V strings included in our corpus should not be interpreted as the output of SF because: (i) the subject gap condition (viz. the requirement for SF configurations to feature a null subject, cf. Mathieu 2006; Franco 2009, 2014, 2017; Franco and Migliori 2014; Ingham 2014) is not met, insofar as our examples all feature an overt (lexical or pronominal) preverbal subject; (ii) the adverbs included in our corpus do not belong to the category of elements typically argued to undergo SF in Romance in embedded contexts, such as participles and infinitives (Franco 2014, 2017; Franco and Migliori 2014, but cf. Hagemann and Laake 2021 on old Spanish); (iii) the majority of adverbs which have been mentioned in the SF literature ('quantifiers/degree modifiers', 'small adverbs' and 'intensifiers', cf. Fischer and Alexiadou 2001; Mathieu 2006; Franco 2014; Franco and Migliori 2014; Labelle and Hirschbuhler 2017) do not belong to the categories under investigation here which only include XPs that occupy the specifier of semantically-related FPs in the HAS and LAS (cf. Sections 3 and 5.1.1);<sup>21</sup> (iv) at least in old French, SF is more common in verse texts than in prose (Mathieu 2006: 230), a fact which further calls into question the validity of an SF analysis for the wealth of (old French) prose data included in our corpus. Finally note that the corpus employed for the present article excludes instances of subject relative clauses, traditionally argued to be a very common structural environment for SF, since they always involve a subject gap (Fischer 2014; Fischer and Alexiadou 2001; Franco 2017; Hagemann and Laake 2021; Labelle and Hirschbuhler 2017; Mathieu 2006), though the wider set of data discussed in Ledgeway and Schifano (in preparation) show that the results hold even if subject relatives are included.

Having concluded our overview of theoretical and methodological considerations, we now turn to the description of V-movement across a selection of medieval Romance varieties.

### 5.1.1 French

Modern French is characterized by an oscillation between Stage II negation, as standardly found in written French and formal spoken registers, and Stage III negation, as attested in the spoken language (5c).<sup>22</sup> As expected under the present

<sup>21</sup> Indeed, Fischer (2014: 57, fn. 7) independently suggests that adverbs should not be considered a target of Romance SF.

<sup>22</sup> Stage I *ne* is still attested in a handful of syntactic contexts in contemporary French (Carlton 2022: 14–16; Rowlett 1998: Ch. 1; Schøsler and Völker 2014: 128; Smith 2016: 309; van der Auwera 2010: 78–79).

approach, both strategies combine with high movement of the finite verb across the HAS (see Section 3).

The situation exemplified in (5c) represents the outcome of a well-known diachronic change. In its infancy, French was a Stage I language exhibiting a preverbal *non/n(e/n)* (15), whose distribution was phonologically and syntactically determined.<sup>23</sup>

- (15) *Sacies kil ne ceuauce fors ke de nuit (Mort Artu/152a)*  
 know.SBJ.2PL that= NEG ride.3SG except that of night  
 he  
 ‘Take heed that he only rides at night’

Between the old and middle French periods, preverbal *ne* began to be optionally accompanied by pragmatically-marked postverbal elements, most frequently *pas* (<PASSU(M) ‘step’), *point* (<PUNCTU(M) ‘stitch’), *mie* (<MICA(M) ‘crumb’), and *goutte* (<GUTTA(M) ‘drop’) (Carlton 2022: 6; Martineau 1994, 2011; Price 1997; Schøsler and Völker 2014; Smith 2016). By the 17th century *pas* had lost its emphatic meaning, at which point the language entered Stage II.<sup>24</sup> The rise of Stage II was therefore a gradual process, initially emerging in root clauses with very few examples in embedded contexts (Combettes et al. 2020: 1256; Hansen and Visconti 2009: 144; Schøsler and Völker 2014: 140–42). Finally, by the 19th century Stage III negation also became available, with optional realization of preverbal *ne* (Hansen 2013: 64; Hansen and Visconti 2012: 464).

In terms of verb placement, early varieties of French were characterized by an asymmetric V2 syntax, as is commonly attested across medieval Romance (cf. Section 5.1). In embedded clauses where V2 was generally not an option, one of the most common word orders was the inherited SOV order (Marchello-Nizia and Prévost 2020). Indeed, in some ancient verse texts this order is attested in over 30% of embedded contexts (Marchello-Nizia and Prévost 2020: 1194), and was particularly frequent in relative clauses (Marchello-Nizia 2008). Although this may be interpreted as a consequence of SF (cf. Section 5.1), its attestation in other embedded contexts such as embedded circumstantials (Marchello-Nizia and Prévost 2020: 1182) would appear to indicate a more general parametric cause, namely low V-movement. Over time the frequency of SOV sharply decreased: while

<sup>23</sup> Labelle (2011: §5.1), Hansen (2013: §2.2, 2020: 1680–1681), Ingham (2014), Poletto (2016: 836), Smith (2016: 309–310), Ledgeway (2021: §2.2.1.2), and Ledgeway and Ventura (in preparation).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Posner (1985: 171, 193), Ayres-Bennett (1996: 146), Hansen and Visconti (2009: 143), Hansen (2013: 63, 2020: 1685), and Smith (2016, 309). Originally, postverbal *mie* and postverbal *pas* were equally frequent (Hansen and Visconti 2009: 148) and it is only later that *pas* triumphed (Carlton 2022: 22–25; Hansen and Visconti 2009: 148–149; Marchello-Nizia 1979: 243; Price 1998; Smith 2016: 309).

embedded SOV was still attested in middle French embedded clauses, from the mid 16th century it is only found in verse texts, and only very rarely in declarative clauses (Marchello-Nizia and Prévost 2020: 1197). Below we investigate embedded non-V2 word order in further detail in order to assess the V-movement parameter in early varieties of French and its correlation with the attested negation types.

### 5.1.1.1 *Historie Ancienne jusqu'à César*

Our examination starts with an analysis of the *Historie Ancienne jusqu'à César* (*HA*), a prose text composed in Flanders between 1208 and 1213 (Gaunt in press; Ventura 2019). The data included in our corpus are based on Ledgeway's (2021) investigation of a representative sample of the *Eneas* Section (§§588–611) from the interpretive edition of the Paris fr. 20,125 manuscript (1270–1290) (Morcos et al. n.d.).

Beginning with negation, we searched all the instances of sentential negators attested in §§588–592 (some 2100 words). In this case, and throughout most of our corpus, a smaller sample was analysed for negation than for V-movement due to the higher occurrence of negators and the wider array of syntactic contexts which can be taken into account. The result is that *HA* exemplifies a preverbal *n(e)/non* Stage I variety (16) (cf. also Ledgeway 2021: 18). As already commonly observed in early stages of French (Hansen and Visconti 2009: 143), preverbal *ne* in *HA* co-exists with several instances of postverbal emphatic *mie* (17).<sup>25</sup>

(16) *si vos ne le volés faire* (*HA*/633)  
 if you.2PL NEG it want do.INF

(17) *Tuit cil dedens furent mort au cheir fors*  
 all those inside were.3PL dead at.the falling except  
*ii chivaliers [...].Cil dui n'i monurent mie,*  
 two knights those two NEG=there=died NEG.EMPH  
*mais tant lor avint de mescheance qu'il*  
 but much them.DAT= befell.3SG of ill.fortune that=they  
*entre lor anemis cheiren* (*HA*/626)  
 among their enemies fell.3PL

<sup>25</sup> On the marked reading of *mie* and other optional postverbal negative elements in old French, see Hansen and Visconti (2009) and Hansen (2020). In what follows, we informally refer to pragmatically-marked usages of postverbal negative elements as 'emphatic' or 'presuppositional', as the present discussion only requires the identification of instances in which postverbal negative elements can or cannot act as pure sentential negators. See Schwenter (2006) and Hansen and Visconti (2009) for detailed informational accounts of emphatic and presuppositional readings of Romance postverbal negators.

‘All those inside died when it fell except 2 knights [...]. Yet those two did not die there, but were struck by such ill fortune that they fell among their enemies’

Turning to verb placement, following the methodology in Section 5.1 we extracted all the instances of embedded subject (+Adv)+V(+Adv) contained in §§588–611 (some 12,500 words). The results are summarized in Table 4 and exemplified in (18).

- (18) a. *si dist a ses compagnons qu’il ore savoit bien sans*  
 thus said.3SG to his comrades that=he now knew.3SG well without  
*doutance qu’il [...]* (HA/611)  
 doubt that=they

**Table 4:** *Historie Ancienne jusqu’à César.*

Linear order	Adverbs	N° of instances
Adv <sub>HAS</sub> + V <sub>fin</sub> (18a)	<i>ore</i> ‘now’ (2)	2
V <sub>fin</sub> + Adv <sub>HAS</sub> (18b)	<i>ore</i> ‘now’ (1) <i>volentiers</i> ‘willingly’ (1)	2
Aux <sub>pfv</sub> + Ptcp + Adv <sub>HAS</sub> (18c)	<i>ariere</i> ‘back, before’ (4) <i>devant</i> ‘before’ (2)	6
V <sub>fin</sub> + Adv <sub>LAS</sub> (18d)	<i>mie</i> ‘NEG.EMPH’ (4) <i>ne ... plus</i> ‘anymore’ (1) <i>adés</i> ‘at once’ (1) <i>premerainement</i> ‘first(ly)’ (1) <i>trestot</i> ‘completely’ (1) <i>fermement</i> ‘firmly’ (1) <i>bien</i> ‘well’ (4)	13
Adv <sub>LAS</sub> + V <sub>fin</sub> (18e)	<i>ja</i> ‘already’ (2) <i>mais</i> ‘anymore’ (1) <i>mout</i> ‘much’ (1) <i>mout tres durement</i> ‘very profoundly’ (1) <sup>a</sup> <i>bien</i> ‘well’ (1)	6
Aux <sub>pfv</sub> + Adv <sub>LAS</sub> + Ptcp (18f)	<i>tant</i> ‘so much’ (3) <i>premerement</i> ‘first(ly)’(1) <i>bien</i> ‘well’ (1)	5
Adv <sub>LAS</sub> + Aux <sub>pfv</sub> + Ptcp (18g)	<i>ja</i> ‘already’ (1) <i>jamais</i> ‘never’ (1)	2
		tot. 36

<sup>a</sup>Although the presence of preadverbial modifiers like *mout* ‘very’ does not seem to affect the placement of the verb with respect to adverbs in our corpus, a larger-scale investigation is required to further assess this possibility.



- b. [...] *com il fait ore* (HA/601)  
 like he do.3SG now
- c. *si com je vos ai dit ariere* (HA/592)  
 so as I you= have.1SG told before
- d. *Que Eneas vit premerainement la cité de Cartage* (HA/594)  
 that E. saw.3SG firstly the city of Carthage
- e. *por savoir, se nos ja orions noveles* (HA/597)  
 for know.INF if we already have.COND.1PL news
- f. *Et quant je l'eu tant quise,*  
 and when I her.ACC=have.1SG so.much sought.3SG  
*fait Eneas* (HA/600)  
 said.3SG E.
- g. *il ansois se combatroient qu'ele jamais*  
 they first self= fight.COND.3PL that=she never  
*fust mariee* (HA/602)  
 was.3SG married  
 'they would rather fight than let her ever be married off'

The data summarized in Table 4 show that high V-movement of  $V_{fin}$  above HAS adverbs is extremely rare in *HA* (18b), just two examples, which contrasts notably with the pattern exhibited by modern French (see Section 5.1.1). The more frequent placement of  $Aux_{pfv}$  in the HAS, a total of six examples, is only apparent, in that all occurrences involve the fixed expression *si com je vos ai conté/dit ariere/devant* 'as I have told you before' (18c). Rather, the most common pattern for both  $V_{fin}$  and  $Aux_{pfv}$  is clause-medial movement, targeting a position below the HAS (18a) and above the LAS (18d, 18f). Significantly, *HA* also displays low placement of  $V_{fin}$  below low adverbs (18e), together with the participle (18f, 18g), while the auxiliary rarely remains as low (18g), with just two occurrences.

To sum up, the 36 instances of embedded S(+Adv)+V(+Adv) orders in *HA* reveal a very different scenario from that found in modern French, inasmuch as this early variety exhibits clause-medial and not high V-movement, and even allows instances of low placement in the LAS. *HA* also displays an asymmetry in the behaviour of lexical finite verbs and perfective auxiliaries, in that the latter tend to exhibit a higher placement targeting a clause-medial position above the LAS.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> In Ledgeway (2021) the embedded sequences S+Adv+V included in *HA* are analysed as the output of a V2 grammar. In this paper we take the position that these strings are nonetheless potentially P-ambiguous as the output of a low V-movement grammar (see Section 5.1).

### 5.1.1.2 Mort Artu

A similar picture emerges from our investigation of *La Mort le Roi Artu* (MA), an old French prose text (1230) which we analysed using a digital edition of the Paris BNF manuscript fr. 342 (1274). Our sample of some 4100 words (folios 150a–153b) brought to light again a Stage I variety in which a preverbal *ne* (19) can be accompanied by postverbal emphatic *mie* (20a) and *pas* (20b).

- (19) *uenir au tomoieiment en tel maniere*  
 come.INF to.the tournament in such manner  
*que ie ne fusse conneus destranges* (MA/151b)  
 that I NEG was.SBJV.1SG recognized by.strangers  
 ‘to come to the tournament such that I should not  
 be recognized by strangers’

- (20) a. *Artus [...] uit le ceual Lanselot [...]*  
 A. saw.3SG the knight L.  
*mais Lanselot ne connoist il mie* (MA/152a)  
 but L. NEG recognized.3SG he NEG.EMPH
- b. *ne dites iamais tel parole, car ie ne uos*  
 NEG say.IMP.2PL never such word for I NEG you=  
*en creroie pas* (MA/151b)  
 thereof= believe.COND.1SG NEG.EMPH  
 ‘never say that word, for I would not believe you at all’

In terms of V-movement, we searched all instances of embedded (Adv+)V(+Adv) with overt subjects in a 20-page sample of about 8000 words (folios 150a–157a). The results are summarized in Table 5 and exemplified in (21).

- (21) a. *cil dist kil remanra uolentiers* (MA/153b)  
 this.one said.3SG that=he remain.FUT.3SG willingly
- b. *la fin de cex dont il auoit deuant faite mentium* (MA/150a)  
 the end of those of.whom he had.3SG before made mention  
 ‘the end of those whom he had previously mentioned’
- c. *ele len sara si maluais gre kil*  
 she him.DAT=thereof be.FUT.3SG so bad will that=he  
*ne trouera iamais pais enuers li* (MA/153a)  
 NEG find.FUT.3SG never peace towards her  
 ‘she would be so badly disposed towards him that he would never find  
 peace with her’

Table 5: *La Mort le Roi Artu*.

Linear order	Adverbs	N° of instances
$V_{fin} + Adv_{HAS}$ (21a)	<i>uolentiers</i> 'willingly' (1) <i>ore</i> 'now' (1) <i>anuit</i> 'last night' (1) <i>hui</i> 'yesterday' (1)	4
$Aux_{pfv} + Adv_{HAS} + Ptcp$ (21b)	<i>deuant</i> 'before' (1)	1
$V_{fin} + Adv_{LAS}$ (21c)	<i>mie</i> 'NEG.EMPH' (1) <i>pas</i> 'NEG.EMPH' (2) <i>(ne) plus</i> 'anymore' (2) <i>ne ... ia</i> 'not already' (1) <i>mais</i> 'anymore' (1) <i>encore</i> 'still' (1) <i>iamais</i> 'never' (1) <i>onques mais</i> 'never anymore' (2) <i>molt</i> 'much' (1) <i>rien</i> 'nothing' (1) <i>vraiment</i> 'really' (1) <i>pruueement</i> 'first(ly)' (1) <i>mieus</i> 'better' (1) <i>bien</i> 'well' (4)	20
$Adv_{LAS} + V_{fin}$ (21d)	<i>onques</i> 'never' (2) <i>trop</i> 'too much' (1) <i>plus</i> 'more' (1) <i>autrement</i> 'differently' (1)	5
$Aux_{pfv} + Adv_{LAS} + Ptcp$ (21e)	<i>mie</i> 'NEG.EMPH' (1) <i>communalment</i> '(all) together' (1)	2
$Aux_{pfv} + Ptcp + Adv_{LAS}$ (21f)	<i>casteement</i> 'chastely' (1) <i>clerement</i> 'intensely' (1)	2
		tot. 34

- d. *sil onques le pensa* (MA/151b)<sup>27</sup>  
if.he never it.ACC= thought.3SG  
'if he ever thought of it'
- e. *si tost com il se furent communalment couchie* (MA/151b)  
as soon as they REFL= were.3PL together lain  
'as soon as they had all gone to bed'

<sup>27</sup> On the occurrence of preverbal *onques* and *ja* in embedded clauses with preverbal subjects in *MA* and *La Queste del saint Graal* (early 13th century), see also Ingham (2005).

- f. *Mais comment que Lancelos se fust uiestus*  
 but as that L. REFL= was.3SG dressed  
**castement** (MA/151a)  
 chastely  
 ‘But as Lancelot had dressed so chastely’

In qualitative terms, the 34 examples of verb placement show the grammar of *MA* to be of the clause-medial type, an observation which once again contrasts with the distribution of V-movement in modern French. This is shown by the 20 examples of movement of the finite verb above the LAS (21c), although we cannot entirely exclude a potentially even higher position, as suggested by the four cases of placement above the HAS (21a). However, also possible is a much lower placement where the finite verb fails to climb above low adverbs (21d). The lexical versus auxiliary asymmetry which emerged in *HA* is also encountered in *MA*: Aux<sub>pfv</sub> is found in at least a clause-medial position (21e–f), but never surfaces below the LAS, unlike participles which can be stranded in the LAS (21e).

### 5.1.1.3 Le Second Sermon

We conclude our investigation of early French varieties by looking at a later prose text from 1555, *Le second sermon* by M. Jean Calvin (SS). As expected, our investigation of negation reveals a more advanced stage than in *HA* and *MA*. In our sample of some 5200 words (C2v–C8, D1–D8v), Stage I *ne* still proves to be very common (22) but, in addition to emphatic uses of postverbal *pas* (and *point*) (23), this text also exhibits some genuine instances of *pas* (and *point*) as Stage II negators (24).

- (22) *les Papistes sont miserables, lesquels ne se peuuēt*  
 the papists be.3PL wretched who NEG REFL= can.3PL  
*tenir à ceste doctrine* (SS/C4r)  
 hold.INF to this doctrine
- (23) *la porte nous est close, tellement que nous ne pouuons pas*  
 the door us= be.3SG closed so.much that we NEG can.1PL NEG  
*venir pour le prier. Or n’auons nous*  
 come.INF for him= pray.INF now NEG=have.1PL we  
**pas** *besoing de le prier tout le temps*  
 NEG.EMPH need of him= pray.INF all the time  
*de nostre vie?* (SS/C8r)  
 of our life

- (24) *Comme nous auons veu ce matin [...] le Fils de Dieu*  
 as we have.1PL seen this morning the son of God  
*n'est pas aujour-d'huy tellement Moyëneur pour*  
 NEG=be.3SG NEG today so medium for  
*nous faire trouver grace devant Dieu (SS/C2v)*  
 us= make.INF find.INF grace in.front.of God  
 'As we have seen this morning [...] the Son of God is today not a medium  
 through which we can find the grace of God'

If the approach developed here is correct, the emergence of Stage II negation in SS should be accompanied by a change in the V-movement parameter, namely a move to exclusively clause-medial or high movement in order to license the relevant postverbal negators. This expectation is borne out by the verb placement patterns revealed by our investigation of the entire text (some 7000 words) summarized in Table 6 and exemplified in (25).

- (25) a. *notons bien que nostre Seigneur Iesus*  
 note.IMP.1PL well that our Lord J.  
*intercede maintenant pour nous (SS/C3r)*  
 intercede.3SG now for us
- b. *pource qu'ils imaginoyët que Dieu cõtinuast*  
 for.this that=they imagine.PST.PFV.3PL that God continue.SBJV.3SG  
*tousiours ce train (SS/D2r)*  
 always this course

Table 6: *Le second sermon.*

Linear order	Adverbs	N° of instances
$V_{fin} + Adv_{HAS}$ (25a)	<i>maintenant</i> 'now' (2) <i>alors</i> 'then' (1)	3
$V_{fin} + Adv_{LAS}$ (25b)	<i>point</i> 'NEG.EMPH' (7) <i>pas</i> 'NEG.EMPH' (3) <i>tousiours</i> 'always' (3) <i>tant &amp; plus</i> 'so much and more' (1) <i>pas ouuertemët</i> 'not overtly' (1) <i>bien</i> 'well' (1)	16
$Aux_{pfv} + Adv_{LAS} + Ptcp$ (25c)	<i>point</i> 'NEG.EMPH' (2) <i>pas</i> 'NEG.EMPH' (3) <i>desia</i> 'already' (3) <i>(bien bien) tousiours</i> 'always' (2) <i>iamais</i> 'never' (1) <i>bien</i> 'well' (1)	12
		tot. 31

- c. *vne vaine presumption [...] de se faire accroire*  
 a vain presumption of REFL= make.INF believe.INF  
*ce que Dieu ne leur a jamais promis?* (SS/C4v)  
 what that God NEG them.DAT= have.3SG never promised  
 ‘a vain presumption [...] to allow themselves to believe what God  
 had never promised them?’

The 31 relevant (Adv+)V(+Adv) strings identified in SS reveal a clause-medial variety where both  $V_{\text{fin}}$  (25b) and  $\text{Aux}_{\text{pfv}}$  (25c) climb above low adverbs, possibly reaching a higher position in the HAS, as shown by three placements of the lexical verb above high adverbs (25a). However, unlike the HA and MA, in this Stage II variety of middle French the finite verb is no longer attested in the LAS, a position now only targeted by the perfective participle (25c). SS offers therefore strong empirical support for the correlation provisionally identified above between Stages II–III and clause-medial and high V-movement. While HA and MA are Stage I varieties still undergoing a shift from low to clause-medial/higher V-movement, SS has already entered Stage II and, as expected, has completed the shift from low to clause-medial(/higher) V-movement.

### 5.1.2 Occitan

Across modern Occitan varieties, all three stages of negation can be observed, the most common being Stage III (26).<sup>28</sup>

- (26) *i voilá pas creire* (Occ.)  
 he wanted.3SG NEG believe.INF  
 (Wheeler 1988b: 273)

An analysis of two 20th-c Occitan plays (Debrons 1931; Galtier n.d.) confirms the generalized distribution of postverbal negators in Stage II (27a) and III (27b) configurations. As for V-movement, the same sample confirms the high V-movement status of these varieties, witness the displacement of both  $V_{\text{fin}}$  and  $\text{Aux}_{\text{pfv}}$  across the LAS (28)–(29) and HAS (30)–(31).

- (27) a. *d'abord n'es pas questioun de trevant* (LO/3)  
 firstly NEG=be.3SG NEG question of ghost  
 b. *Es pas questioun di verme* (LO/4)  
 be.3SG NEG question of worm

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Schwegler (1983: §4.3), Posner (1985: 175–176; 1996: 303), Wheeler (1988b: 273), Olivieri and Sauzet (2016: 346–347), Poletto (2016: 835), Llop (2017b), and Poletto and Olivieri (2018).

- (28) a. *lou tocon jamai* (LO/5)  
 it.ACC= touch.3PL never
- b. *Monco enquèro moun fraire Ugèno* (LTG/17)  
 miss.3SG still my brother U.
- (29) a. *Subre-tout aquéli que lis avian encaro jamai*  
 above.all those who them.ACC= had.3PL still never  
*vist s'aplanta eici* (LO/2)  
 seen REFL=stop.INF here
- b. *bous ai jomai bist omb uno caro enchipouso*  
 you= have.1SG never seen with a face sullen  
*coumo l'obès ohuèi* (LTG/3)  
 like it=have.2PL today
- (30) *Li monco soubent un escut per ober*  
 him.DAT= lack.3SG often one ecu for obtain.INF  
*cinq frons* (LTG/5)  
 five Francs
- (31) *Se sara belèu destaca* (LO/14)  
 REFL= be.FUT.3SG perhaps detached

An identical picture emerges from an investigation of Occitan varieties spoken in Italy (Piedmontese and Ligurian valleys), where postverbal *pas* (and, less frequently, *ren*) (32) combines with clause-medial/high V-movement of both lexical (33)–(34) and auxiliary (35)–(36) verbs.<sup>29</sup>

- (32) *Las consultacions pòlon pas aver luec en coïncidença*  
 the consultations can.3PL NEG have.INF place in coincidence  
*abo d'operacions electoralas*  
 with PART operations electoral
- (33) a. *lhi temps ente lo formatge rintrava encà dins una*  
 the times where the cheese was.part.of.3SG still in a  
*lògica de subsistença*  
 mindset of subsistence  
 'the times when cheese was still considered a means of subsistence'
- b. *Aquò pòrta sempre de vantatges*  
 this bring.3SG always PART advantages

<sup>29</sup> Data collected from a sample of *Traduzioni Atti Amministrativi Oc* and *Una cusina de montanha*.

- (34) *lo formatge parelh coma lo conoissem encuei*  
 the cheese such as it.ACC= know.1PL today  
*se ditz [...]*  
 IMP.S say.3SG  
 ‘cheese as we know it today is said ...’
- (35) *N'avem já parlat mai d'un bòt*  
 of.it=have.1PL already spoken more of one time
- (36) *[...] qu'es istat establít actualament per la Region Piemont*  
 which=be.3SG been established currently by the region Piedmont

The widespread distribution of Stages II and III in modern varieties of Occitan reviewed above reflects the output of a diachronic change similar to that seen for French. Until at least the 16th century Occitan was still predominantly at Stage I, and only around the mid 17th century did Stage II negation become predominant, in turn followed by the emergence of Stage III negation.<sup>30</sup> Under the current approach, our expectation is therefore that medieval Occitan might exhibit lower V-movement, as is indeed borne out by the data from the two early texts discussed below.

### 5.1.2.1 Roman d'Arles

Our investigation of medieval Occitan starts with an analysis of the *Roman d'Arles* (RA), written around 1375.<sup>31</sup> The analysis of a sample of some 7000 words (lines 371–1096) reveals a systematically Stage I language where the preverbal negator *non* is not accompanied by any (emphatic) postverbal markers (37).

- (37) *S'ieu vostra mort non venge, ren non*  
 if=I your death NEG revenge.1SG nothing NEG  
*me sie perdonat (RA/445)*  
 me= be.SBJV.3SG forgiven

The same sample was used to extract (Adv+)V(+Adv) strings, as summarized in Table 7 and exemplified below.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Lafont (1967), Schwegler (1983: 307–308), Jensen (1986: 309–310), Wheeler (1988b: 273), Jagueneau (2007), Olivieri and Sauzet (2016: 346), Breitbarth et al. (2020: 132), Paoli (2020: 1021), and Paoli and Bach (2020: 118).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Chabenau's (1889) edition. With the exception of lines 1–370, excluded from our corpus, RA is a prose text.



Table 7: *Roman d'Arles*.

Linear order	Adverbs	N° of instances
Adv <sub>HAS</sub> + V <sub>fin</sub> (38a)	<i>tantost</i> 'immediately' (1)	1
V <sub>fin</sub> + Adv <sub>LAS</sub> (38b)	<i>tant</i> 'so much' (1)	1
Adv <sub>LAS</sub> + V <sub>fin</sub> (38c)	<i>anc</i> 'never' (1)	1
Aux <sub>pfv</sub> + Adv <sub>LAS</sub> + Ptcp (38d)	<i>tot</i> 'all' (1) <i>fort</i> 'much' (1) <i>ben</i> 'well' (1)	3
Adv <sub>LAS</sub> + Aux <sub>pfv</sub> + Ptcp (38e)	<i>ben</i> 'well' (1)	1
		tot. 7

- (38) a. A *Carle* *Maine fon* *mandate* *a Paris*  
to C. M. was.3SG sent to Paris  
*qu'el tantost s'en anes* (RA/869)  
that=he immediately REFL=therefrom= went.SBJV.3SG  
'To Charlemagne was sent message in Paris that he should leave at once'
- b. *Si ieu en saupes tant* (RA/404)  
if I thereof= knew.1SG so.much
- c. *montanha, qu'el anc non s'estanquet* (RA/691)  
mountain that=he never NEG REFL=quenched.3SG
- d. *qu'el o a ben gazanhat* (RA/419)  
that=he it.ACC= have.3SG well deserved
- e. *xxx. m<sup>a</sup>. son, que ieu ben los ay*  
thirty thousand be.3PL that I well them.ACC= have.1SG  
*contatz* (RA/647)  
counted  
'there are 30 thousand of them, for I have counted them well'

Although the number of relevant strings is admittedly smaller in this text, a qualitative analysis of the data in Table 7 shows that *RA* is a low/clause-medial V-movement variety. On the one hand, V<sub>fin</sub> is able to climb above the LAS (38b), but not the HAS (38a). On the other, *RA* also displays low V-movement below the LAS (38c), an observation entirely expected under the current approach where the lack of postverbal negators correlates with low V-movement. Moreover, the lexical versus auxiliary asymmetry identified for medieval French varieties also holds for this Occitan text, as can be observed in the relatively more frequent placement of Aux<sub>pfv</sub> above the LAS (38d) than below it (38e).

### 5.1.2.2 Nouveau Testament vaudois de Zurich

We complete our investigation of early Occitan by considering the mid-late 15th-century Waldesian New Testament (*Nouveau Testament vaudois de Zurich*, henceforth *NT*), following Salvioni's (1890) edition based on the Zurich codex. Our investigation of a sample of some 6750 words (pp. 8–18) reveals a Stage I variety in which preverbal *non* (39) is never accompanied by postverbal negators.

- (39) *Car tu non poz far vn pel blanc ho nier* (*NT/3v*)  
 because you NEG can.2SG make.INF a hair white or black

In terms of verb placement, our sample of some 67,500 words (pp. 8–103/267–272) includes 16 relevant instances, summarized in Table 8 and exemplified in (40).

- (40) a. *s-ilh non se lauan souent las mans* (*NT/56r*)  
 if.they NEG REFL= wash.3PL often the hands  
 b. *E si uos fare ben a aquilh que fan ben a*  
 and if you do.FUT.2PL well to those who do.3PL well to  
*uos* (*NT/91v*)  
 you  
 c. *E uesent qu-el aguesa ben respondu*  
 and see.GER that=he had.SBJV.3SG well replied  
*a lor demande* (*NT/67v*)  
 to their question

**Table 8:** *Nouveau Testament vaudois de Zurich.*

Linear order	Adverbs	N° of instances
$V_{fin} + Adv_{HAS}$ (40a)	<i>souent</i> 'often' (1)	1
$V_{fin} + Adv_{LAS}$ (40b)	<i>ia</i> 'already' (1)	7
	<i>totas cosas</i> 'all' (1)	
	<i>plus</i> 'more' (1)	
	<i>claramente</i> 'in a clear manner' (1)	
	<i>viaczament</i> 'openly' (1)	
	<i>degnament</i> 'with dignity' (1)	
	<i>ben</i> 'well' (1)	
$Aux_{pfv} + Adv_{LAS} + Ptcp$ (40c)	<i>ia</i> 'already' (2)	4
	<i>dereca</i> 'again' (1)	
	<i>ben</i> 'well' (1)	
$Aux_{pfv} + Ptcp + Adv_{LAS}$ (40d)	<i>viaczament</i> 'openly' (2)	4
	<i>totas cosas</i> 'all' (1)	
	<i>saiuament</i> 'wisely' (1)	
		tot. 16

- d. *Mas yesus uesent qu-el agues respondu*  
 but J. see.GER that=he had.SBJV.3SG replied  
*saiument* (NT/67v)  
 wisely

A qualitative analysis of the data broadly indicates that *NT* is a high or clause-medial variety, as shown by movement of  $V_{\text{fin}}$  above high (40a) and low adverbs (40b).  $\text{Aux}_{\text{pfv}}$  also appears to target a high or clause-medial position, either in combination with the participle (40d) or stranding the latter in a lower position (40c). Significantly, the low placement of  $V_{\text{fin}}$  below the LAS exhibited by *RA* (Section 5.1.2.1) is not attested in this later text, highlighting how raising of the verb to a higher position predates the shift to Stage II negation in accordance with our expectations.

To sum up, the Occitan evidence reviewed here lends strong empirical support to a fundamental prediction stemming from the correlation explored in this article: a shift in the *V*-movement typology should precede a shift in the negation strategy. Both early Occitan texts analysed here display Stage I negation. However, while *RA* (second half of the 14th century) still exhibits residual low *V*-movement below LAS adverbs, the later *NT* (mid-late 15th century) no longer allows low placement of the finite verb. This highlights how, before the shift to Stages II–III negation took place around the 17th century, another fundamental change, previously unnoticed, also occurred in Occitan involving a shift from low to clause-medial/high *V*-movement.

### 5.1.3 Francoprovençal

We continue our investigation of early Romance with a consideration of Francoprovençal. An analysis of a sample of data included in the *Atlas Linguistique Audiovisuel Du Francoprovençal Valaisan* shows that in the modern varieties negation oscillates between Stage II (41a) and, more frequently, Stage III (41b). As expected, the finite verb targets a clause-medial (42) or even higher (43) position.

- (41) a. *mæʋe grã n ətsetavɛ pa sɔ̃ gaðãæ* (Troistorrents)  
 mother great NEG buy.IMPV.3SG NEG her clothes  
 ‘grandma didn’t buy her clothes’  
 b. *e z ɛŋvɛi ʃɔ̃ pa dɛ ʃarɛ* (Arbaz)  
 the slow.worms are.3PL NEG PART snakes
- (42) a. *lasə tati ɐ flɔ sœ œ pɔt* (Chamoson)  
 leave.1SG always the key on the door

- b. *a miʒe grã a nɔ l adzətavə zame*  
 the mother great to us she bought.3PL never  
*dɛ ʒ aʒiɔ* (Fully)  
 PART clothes
- c. *mɛ demãndə fə lə mjɔ pavɛ fɛ ɛfʊɛ ɛŋkwɔ*  
 me= ask.1SG if the my godfather REFL= recall.3SG still  
*dɛ mɛ* (Hérémence)  
 of me
- (43) *la bɔʒdyʒ dy dəzɔ alavɔ sɔva av la kolɔ dy*  
 the edging of below went.3SG often with the colour of.the  
*mɔθɔ* (Sixt)  
 scarf  
 ‘the underside edge often went well with the colour of the scarf’

In order to assess the same phenomena in earlier varieties of Francoprovençal, we analysed a selection of late 13th- and early 14th-century texts included in the *Œuvres de Marguerite d’Oyngt (MO)*.<sup>32</sup> Our sample (some 11,600 words) shows that *MO* is principally a Stage I variety in which negation is expressed by *ne* alone (44). Several postverbal negators are also attested (*pas*, *point*, *gota*, *mia*), but they convey an emphatic reading (45) and cannot yet be considered pure sentential negators.

- (44) *les iouz del cor si obscurs, que illi ne poet*  
 the eyes of.the heart so dark that she NEG could.3SG  
*contemplar Nostron Segnour (SPE/39)*  
 contemplate.INF Our Lord  
 ‘the eyes of her heart so dark that she could not see Our Lord’
- (45) *Quant je soy que vos n’entendiez mie*  
 when I know.1SG that you NEG understand.2PL NEG.EMPH  
*bien ceste chose (IAE/79)*  
 well this thing

Turning to verb placement, the 31 relevant instances included in our sample are summarized in Table 9 and exemplified below.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Philopon’s (1877) edition. The following texts included in this edition were analysed: *Speculum (SPE)*, *Li Via Seiti Biatrix*, *Virgina de Ornaciu (VSB)*, *Ex Quadam Espitola*, *In Alia Epistola (IAE)*, *Item: Ex Alia Epistola*, *Item: Alia Epistola*, *Nota Prophetiam*, *Item: Aliud Notabile*, *Aliud Notabile*.

Table 9: *Œuvres de Marguerite d'Oyngt*.

Linear order	Adverbs	N° of instances
V <sub>fin</sub> + Adv <sub>HAS</sub> (46a)	<i>volunteyrs</i> 'willingly' (1)	1
V <sub>fin</sub> + Adv <sub>LAS</sub> (46b)	<i>encores</i> 'yet' (1) <i>toz jors</i> 'always' (3) <i>unques</i> '(n)ever' (1) <i>tant</i> 'so much' (1) <i>clarament</i> 'clearly' (1) <i>benignament</i> 'benignly' (1) <i>pleneriment</i> 'fully' (1) <i>corporalment</i> 'physically' (1) <i>legierement</i> 'lightly' (1) <i>forment</i> 'strongly' (1) <i>de(l) tot</i> 'completely' (4) <i>beyn/bien</i> 'well' (2)	18
Adv <sub>LAS</sub> + V <sub>fin</sub> (46c)	<i>plus</i> 'anymore' (1) <i>unqua/unques</i> 'never' (2) <i>mays</i> 'still (more)' (1)	4
Aux <sub>pfv</sub> + Adv <sub>LAS</sub> + Ptcp (46d)	<i>ja</i> 'already' (1) <i>unques</i> '(n)ever' (2) <i>tot</i> 'all' (1) <i>be(i)n</i> 'well' (3)	7
Aux <sub>pfv</sub> + Ptcp + Adv <sub>LAS</sub> (46e)	<i>mout diligyament</i> (1) 'very diligently'	1
		tot. 31

- (46) a. *assi come li bons meitres regardet volunteyrs una*  
 thus as the good teacher look.at.3SG willingly a  
*bela carta (SPE/46)*  
 good letter
- b. *no voil que tu moyres encores (VSB/56)*  
 NEG want.1SG that you die.SBJV.2SG yet
- c. *oy e[s]t vostra volunta que jo mays vivo (VSB/56)*  
 today be.3SG your desire that I more live.1SG  
 'today it is your wish that I should still live'
- d. *li livros se uvrit, loqual illi non aveit unques*  
 the book REFL= opened.3SG which he NEG had.3SG never  
*veu manques defor (SPE/40)*  
 seen not.even outside
- e. *lo estendirun en terra que li dui premer aviant*  
 it.ACC= laid.3PL in ground that the two first.ones had.3PL  
*appareyllia mout diligyament (VSB/58)*  
 prepared very diligently

Qualitatively, *MO* appears to be a clause-medial variety, albeit with residual low V-movement. In particular, both  $V_{\text{fin}}$  (46b) and  $\text{Aux}_{\text{pfv}}$  (46d, 46e) can climb above the LAS, with the former possibly reaching a higher position (46a). At the same time, however, a low placement of  $V_{\text{fin}}$  inside the LAS is still possible (46c), where the participle also typically surfaces (46d). Once again, we observe a lack of attestations of low placement of the perfective auxiliaries.

In conclusion, the case of Francoprovençal confirms the prediction that when varieties which today are clause-medial or high V-movement languages were at Stage I, V-movement could indeed be lower. More specifically, while modern Francoprovençal is a Stages II–III variety with clause-medial/high verb placement, the data from *MO* (late 13th and early 14th centuries) have revealed a Stage I variety in which residual low V-movement was notably still possible.

### 5.1.4 Northern Italian Dialects

We conclude our investigation of the diachronic predictions in Section 5.1 by turning to a selection of northern Italian dialects. Beginning with Bolognese, the modern variety exhibits Stage II negation marked discontinuously through the combination of preverbal *n* and postverbal *brìʒe* (47).<sup>33</sup> As expected, Bolognese also displays (at least) clause-medial movement with the verb surfacing above low adverbs (48). Perfective auxiliaries also vacate the LAS, which hosts the participle (49)–(50).<sup>34</sup>

(47) *la prôša la n é brîša al gèner pió inpurtànt* (Bol.)  
 the prose SCL NEG be.3SG NEG the genre more important

(48) a. *I tòr I n san pió cum l'é fâta*  
 the bulls SCL NEG know.3PL anymore how SCL be.3SG made  
*una vâca* (Bol.)

a cow

b. *Canâja al s cavèva sänper al capèl*  
 C. SCL REFL= removed.3SG always the hat

c. *s'äl côs i andèven bän, [...] se äl*  
 if=the things them.DAT= went.3PL well if the  
*côs i andèven mèl*  
 things them.DAT= went.3PL badly

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Rohlfs (1969: 303–305), Parry (1997a: 179, 181), and Benincà et al. (2016: 201). Stage I is also occasionally attested in accordance with the same syntactic criteria which can trigger an exclusive preverbal negator in other northern Italian and Gallo-Romance varieties (Parry 1997a: 181; Pescarini 2022; Poletto and Olivieri 2018; Posner 1996: 304).

<sup>34</sup> The examples in (47)–(50) are taken from a collection of short stories in contemporary Bolognese by various authors (<https://www.bulgnaais.com/prosa.html>).

- (49) a. *i dû spuślén i êren bèle parté* (Bol.)  
 the two newlyweds SCL were.3PL already left
- b. *Am é sānper piaśó anc un'etra còpia*  
 me= be.3SG always liked also an other couple
- (50) *L'è anc andè bān* (Bol.)  
 SCL be.3SG also gone well

Similarly, modern Lombard varieties like Milanese and Pavese are characterized by Stage III negation, witness the postverbal negator *no* in (51a)–(51b).<sup>35</sup> In Milanese postverbal *minga* is also attested, either as presuppositional (52) or regular Stage III negator (53) (Zanuttini 1997: 86). In line with our expectations, this northern Italian dialect also exhibits clause-medial V-movement, as shown by the placement of the finite lexical verb between high (54) and low adverbs (55) (Schifano 2018: 13–15).<sup>36</sup> Perfective auxiliaries also climb over low adverbs stranding their associated participles in a clause-medial position within the LAS (56).<sup>37</sup>

- (51) a. *U vist no la tuza* (Mil., Zanuttini 1997: 88)  
 have.1SG seen NEG the girl
- b. *La Maria l'ha no mangià la came* (Pav., Zanuttini 1997: 91)  
 the M. SCL have.3SG NEG eaten the meat
- (52) A- *L'è leè che l'ha sbajà el dì.*  
 SCL be.3SG you that SCL have.3SG mistaken the day
- B- *No, hu minga sbajà el dì.* (OV/3)  
 NEG have.1SG NEG.PRSP mistaken the day
- (53) A- *Guarda che l'è adreè a parlà cun ti!*  
 look.IMP.2SG that SCL be.3SG behind to speak.INF with you  
 'Take note that he's speaking with you!'
- B- *Sun dreè a dil a tutt e doo, se*  
 be.1SG behind to say.INF=it.ACC to all and two if  
*fij minga silensio ve foð*  
 do.2PL NEG silence you.ACC= make.1SG  
*mandà via.* (OV/3)  
 send.INF away
- 'I'm telling both of you, if you don't keep quiet I'll have you removed.'

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Beretta (1980), Nicoli (1983), Vai (1996), and Zanuttini (1997: §3.4.1, §3.4.2).

<sup>36</sup> For clause-medial verb placement in Pavese, cf. Zanuttini (1997: §3.4.2).

<sup>37</sup> Milanese data are taken from De Ruvo (n.d.) *Orario di visita* (OV), unless otherwise indicated.

- (54) *L'Irene* **prubabilmente** *la dorma* (Mil., Schifano 2018: 257)  
 the I. probably SCL sleep.3SG
- (55) a. *Me sorprendi* **pù** *de nagott* (OV/15)  
 me= surprise.1SG anymore of nothing  
 'I'm not surprised by anything anymore'  
 b. *Te speret* **semper** *che* [...] (OV/6)  
 SCL hope.2SG always that
- (56) a. *Franco l'era* **giamò** *staà in prèsun* (OV/4)  
 F. SCL was.3SG already stayed in prison  
 b. *L'ha* **mai** *faà rapin in banca* (OV/8)  
 SCL have.3SG never done hold.ups in bank  
 'He's never held up a bank'  
 c. *Almen la rapina in banca l'è* **ndada ben** (OV/8)  
 at.least the hold.up in bank SCL be.3SG gone well

If our correlation in (11) is correct, the diachronic prediction we make for this set of Stage III clause-medial dialects is that, in their earlier Stage I phases, V-movement could be lower. In the next section we show that this prediction is correct.

#### 5.1.4.1 Arringhe, Matteo dei Libri

Our investigation of early northern Italian dialects starts with the 13th-century Bolognese prose text *Arringhe* (A) by Matteo dei Libri (cf. Vincenti 1974). A sample of some 4000 words (chapters 1–9) shows that A is a Stage I variety in which negation is consistently expressed by preverbal *no(n)* (57).

- (57) *L'onor* *too* **non** *dare* *ad altrui* (A/5)  
 the honour your NEG give.INF to other  
 'Never give your honour to another'

In terms of V-movement, our analysis of the entire text (some 28,250 words) reveals 30 relevant cases of verb placement in conjunction with an adverb which we summarize in Table 10 and exemplify in (58).

- (58) a. *per quello k'eo* *saço* **bene** (A/32)  
 for what that=I know.1SG well  
 b. *ke* *piçol mal cresce* [...] *se 'l savio medico no*  
 that child badly grow.3SG if the wise doctor NEG  
 'l *socorre* (A/5)  
 him.ACC= help.3SG



Table 10: *Arringhe*.

Linear order	Adverbs	N° of instances
V <sub>fin</sub> + Adv <sub>LAS</sub> (58a)	<i>primamente</i> ‘firstly’ (1) <i>manifestamente</i> ‘overtly’ (1) <i>allegramente</i> ‘cheerfully’ (1) <i>habundevolmente</i> ‘abundantly’ (1) <i>ben(e)</i> ‘well’ (5)	9
Adv <sub>LAS</sub> + V <sub>fin</sub> (58b)	<i>sempre</i> ‘always’ (2) <i>primamente</i> ‘firstly’ (1) <i>letamente</i> ‘gladly’ (1) <i>alegramente</i> ‘cheerfully’ (1) <i>vivamente</i> ‘strongly’ (1) <i>pacificamente</i> ‘peacefully’ (1) <i>ben(e)</i> ‘well’ (6) <i>mal(e)</i> ‘badly’ (1)	14
Aux <sub>pFV</sub> + Ptcp + Adv <sub>LAS</sub> (58c)	<i>lo(u)ngamente</i> ‘for a long time’ (2) <i>male</i> ‘badly’ (1)	3
Adv <sub>LAS</sub> + Aux <sub>pFV</sub> + Ptcp (58d)	<i>mo’ primamente</i> ‘now firstly’ (1) <i>grandemente</i> ‘greatly’ (1) <i>largamente</i> ‘abundantly’ (1) <i>brevemente</i> ‘briefly’ (1)	4
		tot. 30

- c. *se l’omo à facto male per lo tempo trapassato* (A/20)  
if the man have.3SG done badly for the time elapsed
- d. *Unde voi brevemente m’aviti inteso* (A/30)  
hence you briefly me=have.2PL heard

A qualitative analysis of the placements above indicates that *A* is a very low movement variety. As shown in (58a), the finite verb can surface above very low adverbs such as ‘well’ and manner adverbs, although it is more common for it to remain below such adverbs (58b) as a result of particularly low V-movement. This very same pattern is also exhibited by the Aux<sub>pFV</sub>+Ptcp complex, which can precede very low adverbs (58c) but follows them slightly more frequently (58d). Whether the verb can also reach a higher position in the HAS cannot be determined given the absence of high adverbs in the text. What is relevant for our analysis, however, is the robustly attested very low movement of the verb in this text which is entirely in line with our prediction that early northern Italian dialects with Stage I negation could exhibit lower V-movement than their modern counterparts.

#### 5.1.4.2 Passione Trivulziana

The next text taken into consideration is the *Passione Trivulziana* (PT) (cf. Colombo 2016), a prose tale of the Passion containing some 28,700 words transmitted by a manuscript composed in the first quarter of the 15th century in the Milan area, which we shall broadly classify here as Milanese. Beginning with negation, Milanese is argued to have retained Stage I negation until the 18th century (Beretta 2003). Consistently with this claim, this 15th-century text still exhibits an exclusively preverbal *n(o(n))* negator (59). Two instances of *miga* used as an emphatic constituent negator (as well as two instances of emphatic negative *zà*), are also attested (60), showing how pragmatically-marked (constituent) negators are already beginning to emerge in this early Stage I variety.

- (59) *Se eyo no te lavo li pey, tu no avré parte*  
 if I NEG you= wash.1SG the feet you NEG have.FUT.2SG part  
*con mego in lo meo regno (PT/4r)*  
 with me in the my kingdom
- (60) *Criste apelò J.uda per amico no miga perk'el el*  
 C. called.3SG J. for friend NEG NEG.EMPH because=he him.DAT=  
*fosse so amico sgundo la verità, ma imperò*  
 was.SBJV.3SG his friend according the truth but because  
*k'el infenzeva esse amico (PT/13v)*  
 that=he pretended.3SG be.INF friend  
 'Christ called Juda a friend not so that he should become a true friend to  
 him, but because he pretended to be so'

Turning to verb placement, 17 relevant cases emerged from our investigation of the entire text and are summarized in Table 11 and exemplified in (61).

- (61) a. *sì k'el pendeva e cargava sempre in mezo (PT/25v)*  
 so that=it hung.3SG and weighed.down.3SG always in middle
- b. *k'el no fo may madre ke tanto amasse*  
 that=it NEG was.3SG never mother who so.much loved.SBJV.3SG  
*un so fiolo (PT/163)*  
 a her child
- c. *la parola k'e' v'ò zà dita (PT/7v)*  
 the word that=I you=have.1SG already said

Quantitatively, the most frequent placement of the finite verb in PT is clause-medial occurring above LAS adverbs (61a), although a lower placement (61b) is also attested, a placement which would be ungrammatical in the modern dialect. Although the data are quantitatively limited, we observe again the same lexical

Table 11: *Passione Trivulziana*.

Linear order	Adv	N° of instances
V <sub>fin</sub> + Adv <sub>LAS</sub> (61a)	<i>sempre</i> ‘always’ (2)	14
	<i>tanto</i> ‘so much’ (1)	
	<i>più singolarmente</i> ‘most especially’ (1)	
	<i>veraxemente</i> ‘truthfully’ (1)	
	<i>continuamente</i> ‘continuously’ (1)	
	<i>fortemente</i> ‘loudly’ (1)	
	<i>ben(e)</i> ‘well’ (7)	
Adv <sub>LAS</sub> + V <sub>fin</sub> (61b)	<i>sempre</i> ‘always’ (1)	1
Aux <sub>pv</sub> + Adv <sub>LAS</sub> + Ptcp (61c)	<i>zà</i> ‘already’ (1)	2
	<i>tuto</i> ‘all’ (1)	
		tot. 17

versus auxiliary asymmetry already observed for old French (Section 5.1.3), old Occitan (Section 5.1.4), and old Francoprovençal (Section 5.1.5): perfective auxiliaries appear to surface higher, invariably occurring in a clause-medial position above the LAS (61c) where the participle occurs. Once again, we have evidence of a northern Italian dialect which, in an earlier Stage I attestation, exhibits lower V-movement.

#### 5.1.4.3 Parafraresi pavese

We conclude with an analysis of *Parafraresi pavese del “Neminem laedi nisi a se ipso”* (PP) by Saint Giovanni Grisostomo (1342, Pavia) based on Stella and Minisci’s (2001) edition. On a par with the early varieties of Bolognese and Milanese reviewed above, this medieval Pavese text exhibits Stage I negation with simple preverbal *no(n)* (62). An examination of the entire text (some 64,000 words) also brought to light five occurrences of emphatic postverbal *mia* such as the example in (63).

(62) *Altro pagamento el no ve domanda* (PP/34)  
 other payment he NEG you= ask.3SG

(63) *no te prego mia che tu hi toglij del*  
 NEG you= pray.1SG NEG.EMPH that you them= remove.2SG of.the  
*mondo ma e’ te domando che tu gli conservi e*  
 world but I you= ask.1SG that you them= keep.2SG and  
*guardi da ogne mal* (PP/22)  
 protect.2SG from every evil  
 ‘I’m not asking you to remove them from the world but to keep them safe  
 and protect them from all evil’

**Table 12:** *Parafrasi pavese del “Neminem laedi nisi a se ipso”.*

Linear order	Adverbs	N° of instances
$V_{fin} + Adv_{HAS}$ (64a)	<i>ancò</i> ‘today’ (1) <i>sovenço</i> ‘often’ (1)	2
$V_{fin} + Adv_{LAS}$ (64b)	<i>pu</i> ‘anymore’ (1) <i>sempre</i> ‘always’ (1) <i>anchor(a)</i> ‘still’ (2) <i>mae</i> ‘never’ (5) <i>naturalmente</i> ‘naturally’ (1) <i>chiaramente</i> ‘in a clear way’ (1) <i>amaramente</i> ‘bitterly’ (1) <i>forte</i> ‘heavily’ (1) <i>tuto</i> ‘all’ (3) <i>ben</i> ‘well’ (9)	25
$Adv_{LAS} + V_{fin}$ (64c)	<i>anchor</i> ‘still’ (1)	1
$Aux_{pfv} + Adv_{LAS} + Ptcp$ (64d)	<i>çà</i> ‘already’ (1) <i>mae</i> ‘never’ (3) <i>conpiamente</i> ‘thoroughly’ (1) <i>mal</i> ‘badly’ (1) <i>ben</i> ‘well’ (1)	7
		tot. 35

Turning to V-movement, *PP* includes 35 relevant examples which we summarize in Table 12 and exemplify in (64).

- (64) a. *che Yesu Cristo visitava sovenço (PP/22)*  
that J. C. visited.3SG often
- b. *voleva De’ ch’el ardesse sempre (PP/16)*  
wanted.3SG God that=he burned.SBJV.3SG always
- c. *siché la fameglia che anchor se chiama e dixè*  
so.that the family which still REFL= call.3SG and say.3SG  
*cristianna (PP/15)*  
christian
- d. *como nu havemo çà dichio desovre (PP/34)*  
as we have.1PL already said above

On a par with *PT*, *PP* features clause-medial V-movement with a trace of lower placement no longer admitted in the modern dialect.<sup>38</sup> More specifically, the finite

<sup>38</sup> If subject relative clauses are included, the instances of lower placement are considerably more numerous (Ledgeway and Schifano in preparation).

**Table 13:** Medieval Romance negation and V-movement typologies.

Text	Variety	Cent.	Neg stage	V <sub>fin</sub> -movement
<i>HA</i>	OFr.	13th	I	Clause-medial/low
<i>MA</i>	OFr.	13th	I	Clause-medial/low
<i>SS</i>	OFr.	16th	I–II	Clause-medial
<i>RA</i>	OOcc.	14th	I	Clause-medial/low
<i>NT</i>	OWal.	15th	I	High/clause-medial
<i>MO</i>	OFrp.	13th/14th	I	Clause-medial with low traces
<i>A</i>	OBoI.	13th	I	Very low
<i>PP</i>	OPav.	14th	I	Clause-medial with low traces
<i>PT</i>	OMil.	15th	I	Clause-medial with low traces

verb targets a clause-medial position above the lowest portion of the HAS (64a) and low adverbs (64b), although a lower placement inside the LAS is still possible (64c). The lexical versus auxiliary asymmetry already identified above finds further confirmation in this text, where  $Aux_{pfv}$  is only attested above low adverbs (64d) stranding its participle in the LAS.

In conclusion, the northern Italian evidence lends further support for the correlation between the cyclical development of negation and verb movement: unlike modern Bolognese, Milanese and Pavese which are today at Stages II–III and exhibit clause-medial movement of the finite verb, their medieval textual attestations show low placement of the verb inside the LAS (particularly evident in the case of old Bolognese) and are correspondingly only able to license Stage I negation.

### 5.1.5 Interim Conclusions

Table 13 offers an overview of the negation and V-movement typologies attested in the early texts examined so far.<sup>39</sup>

The evidence summarized in Table 13 shows that the three predictions outlined at the beginning of Section 5.1 are borne out. First, varieties which today display high/clause-medial V-placement could display lower V-movement when negation was still at Stage I. Indeed, leaving *SS* aside for the moment, all the texts analysed above represent the medieval Stage I counterparts of modern Stages II–III varieties. As predicted, they all exhibit either: (i) very low V-movement (cf. old Bolognese

<sup>39</sup> In Table 13 we omit the auxiliary and participle placements, but see further the discussion below.

AR); (ii) an oscillation between low and clause-medial movement (cf. old French *HA* and *MA*); or (iii) a predominant clause-medial movement with traces of low placements (cf. old Occitan *RA*; old Francoprovençal *MO*; old Pavese *PP*; old Milanese *PT*). The only exception is represented by Waldesian Occitan (*NT*) which, despite being at Stage I, does not exhibit any traces of low V-movement. However, even the distribution found in *NT* falls in line with our expectations since this text was composed almost a century after *RA*. What we observe, therefore, is a later stage of Occitan where the shift from Stage I to Stage II negation has not yet occurred, but a shift in the V-movement typology has, preparing the way for the later grammaticalization of postverbal negators in the fullness of time. Accordingly, *NT* provides direct support for our second prediction, namely that the rise of V-movement should predate shifts to Stages II–III, as higher verb placement is a necessary precondition for the licensing of postverbal negators. An even later stage is represented by the 16th-century French text *SS*, where the shift to Stage II has started and, as expected, the V-movement parameter has already completed the relevant change with a shift from (traces of) low to clause-medial verb placement. *SS* therefore provides evidence in favour of our third and last prediction, namely that no early Romance texts should exhibit Stages II–III negation and low V-movement, since in such varieties the postverbal negators would remain unlicensed.

The diachronic investigation in Section 5.1 also highlights another aspect about V-movement which to date has gone unnoticed in the literature: even in medieval varieties which still allow some low placement of the finite lexical verb, the perfective auxiliary typically surfaces in a higher position. The different placements of auxiliary and lexical verbs has already been noted in relation to various contemporary Romance varieties, witness for example the well-known observation that Italian auxiliaries optionally undergo higher movement than their lexical counterparts.<sup>40</sup> However, what this investigation has brought to light is that this asymmetric behaviour has a long history in Romance: as soon as clause-medial movement begins to take root, traces of low placement continue to be detected mainly for lexical but not for auxiliary verbs. This suggests that the parametric change which is responsible for the shift from low to clause-medial/high V-movement targets perfective auxiliaries first, as can still be observed in modern Romance varieties such as Italian.

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<sup>40</sup> Cf. Cinque (1999: 49–51), Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005: 87), Schifano (2015a, 2018: §2.2.1, §3.2.1), Cruschina and Ledgeway (2016: 561), and Ledgeway (forthcoming a).

## 5.2 Modern Romance

In this section we turn our attention to two synchronic predictions which follow from the generalization in (11), starting from the distinct behaviour of lexical and auxiliary verbs. In Section 5.1 we observed that in early Romance texts which display an oscillation between low and clause-medial V-movement, the low option is typically restricted to lexical verbs. From a V-movement perspective, this seems to indicate that any changes in the relevant parametric choice target auxiliary verbs first. If this is correct, we expect to find varieties which exhibit an intermediate stage in the V-movement parametric shift, that is varieties where auxiliaries but not lexical verbs target a clause-medial or high position. On the basis of the correlation in (11), we also expect that such varieties should *a priori* license Stages II–III negation. A selection of data from northern varieties of Catalan confirm this state of affairs (Section 5.2.1).

The second synchronic prediction concerns the emergence of new negation strategies across modern varieties of Romance. In accordance with the correlation in (11), we expect signs of grammaticalization of new sentential postverbal negators to occur only in varieties with clause-medial or high V-movement, but not in varieties where V-movement remains (very) low. This is confirmed by the contrast between northern and southern varieties of Italo-Romance discussed in Section 5.2.2.

### 5.2.1 Catalan

Most varieties of Catalan display Stage I negation (65a). Accordingly, they only employ postverbal negators to convey a variety of pragmatically-marked readings, as exemplified in (65b) with *pas* used to negate a presupposition.<sup>41</sup>

- (65) a. *La noia no baixa les escales.*  
 the girl NEG descend.3SG the stairs  
 (Wheeler et al. 1999: 474)
- b. *Què t'ha dit la mare? –*  
 what you=have.3SG said the mother  
*No hi he parlat pas, amb la mare*  
 NEG LOC= have.1SG spoken NEG.EMPH with the mother  
 (IEC 2016: 1309)

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Wheeler (1988a: 198–99), Espinal (1993), Wheeler et al. (1999: Ch. 26), Schwenter (2006: §2.1), IEC (2016: 1309–10), Tubau et al. (2018: 124–128), and Espinal and Llop (2022).

As expected from a Stage I negation variety, Catalan typically exhibits very low V-movement, as shown by the preverbal placement of low adverbs like *ja* ‘already’ (66a), *encara* ‘still’ (66b) and *sempre* ‘always’ (66c) (Schifano 2015a, 2018: §3.14).

- (66) a. *Maria ja coneix la història.* (VCat.)  
 M. already know.3SG the story  
 b. *Maria encara recorda aquell dia.*  
 M. still remember.3SG that day  
 c. *Durant les classes d’història, Joan sempre dorm.*  
 during the classes of history J. always sleep.3SG

However, some northern Catalan varieties have advanced to Stages II–III in the negation cycle, in that today they employ a postverbal non-emphatic *pas*, especially in colloquial registers (IEC 2016: 1310). An exemplary case in point is represented by the variety spoken in Roussillon (southeastern France) where sentential negation is exclusively marked by postverbal *pas* (67).<sup>42</sup>

- (67) *La Maria vindrà pas.* (RosCat.)  
 the M. come.FUT.3SG NEG  
 (Gómez Duran 2011: 301)

If the correlation in (11) is empirically correct, we therefore expect Rossellonès Catalan to exhibit higher V-movement than central (standard) Catalan. Preliminary confirmation of this prediction comes from Gómez Duran’s (2011: 343; 2016: 161) observation that in Rossellonès adverbs can appear immediately after the inflected auxiliary (68a), producing a word order not admitted in central standard Catalan (68b).

- (68) a. *Nosaltres hi havíem sempre anat.* (RosCat.)  
 (Gómez Duran 2011: 366)  
 b. *Nosaltres sempre hi havíem (\*sempre) anat (sempre).*<sup>43</sup>  
 we always LOC= had.1PL gone  
 (central Cat.)

The expected higher V-movement of northern Catalan is further confirmed by an investigation of the Adv-V placements included in Gómez Duran (2011, 2016) from Roussillon and surrounding areas. What this investigation shows is that in

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Espinal (1993: 356), Gómez Duran (2011: 299–307; 2016: 140–143), Arboleas et al. (2020: 107, 109), and Llop (2017a: 57, 2017b: 103).

<sup>43</sup> See Schifano (2018: §5.1.2) for an analysis of postverbal LAS adverbs in Spanish (and Catalan) as cases of focalization, hence irrelevant for assessing the height of V-movement.



northern Catalan finite lexical verbs target the same very low position as in central Catalan (69), but that perfective auxiliaries target a higher position typically climbing over LAS adverbs (70), while the participle can either climb together with the auxiliary or remain in a (very) low position (71).

- (69) a. *mai la reconeixi*  
 never her.ACC= recognize.1SG  
 (Gómez Duran 2016: 149)
- b. *ell encara t'explicarà una hora* (Gómez Duran 2011: 409)  
 he again you=explain.FUT.3SG one time
- (70) a. *era degut sempre a la inversa*  
 was.3SG due always to the opposite  
 (Gómez Duran 2011: 408)
- b. *no m'haig mogut mai d'aquí*  
 NEG REFL=have.1SG moved never from here  
 (Gómez Duran 2011: 360)
- c. *ho han fet de nou* (Gómez Duran 2011: 362)  
 it.ACC= have.3PL done again
- (71) a. *lou gall ère sempre quitllat*  
 the rooster was.3SG still sat.upright  
 (Gómez Duran 2016: 164)
- b. *en Julien ha gairebé arribat*  
 the J. have.3SG almost arrived  
 (Gómez Duran 2016: 161)
- c. *Els ha dolçament coberts d'una camiseta d'oli*  
 them.ACC= have.3SG sweetly covered of a veil  
 of oil  
 (Gómez Duran 2016: 161)
- d. *han ben comprès que [...]*  
 have.3PL well understood that  
 (Gómez Duran 2011: 374)

The Rossellonès data thus confirm our generalization in (11) that Stage III negation requires higher V-movement. At the same time, they also substantiate our prediction about the diachrony of changes in the V-movement parameter. In our medieval corpus we observed that auxiliaries are the first to begin raising to higher positions before lexical verbs (cf. Section 5.1), and that is exactly what we see in Rossellonès which exemplifies

an intermediate step in the shift from low to clause-medial or higher V-movement that exclusively affects auxiliaries, but has not yet been extended to lexical verbs.

### 5.2.2 Northern Italo-Romance

A further synchronic prediction of our approach is that, if the correlation in (11) is correct, signs of grammaticalization of new postverbal sentential negators should only be detected in varieties which exhibit at least clause-medial V-movement. A very revealing test case is represented by colloquial varieties of northern regional Italian where an increased use of *n*-words used as sole non-emphatic negators has widely been reported in the literature (72), suggesting an ongoing shift towards Stage III negation.<sup>44</sup>

- (72) *Insomma va mica male.* (Cremona)  
 after.all go.3SG NEG badly  
 (Molinelli 1987: 170)

Similarly, several northeastern dialects show an increased use of postverbal non-emphatic negators (Poletto 2016: 835–836), witness the case of some Venetan varieties which have started (but not completed) the process of turning *gnente* (lit. ‘nothing’) into a full-fledged negative marker, even occurring in some varieties without preverbal *no* (Garzonio and Poletto 2009: 88–92).

- (73) *Nol ga più dormio gnente, da chela volta.* (Ven.)  
 NEG.SCL have.3SG anymore slept nothing since that time  
 (Garzonio and Poletto 2009: 88)  
 ‘Since then, he did not sleep (at all) anymore’

As expected, these are all clause-medial varieties (Schifano 2018: §2.1.1–2), where the placement of the verb above the LAS may license new postverbal negators. Southern Italian dialects, by contrast, have developed an array of emphatic negators (74), including postverbal ones (74c), but none of these shows signs of grammaticalization as a pure sentential negator in line with the observation that all such southern varieties display low V-movement (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005, 2014; Schifano 2015b, 2018: 17–23).

- (74) a. *Stativi tranquilli, un vi mancu fazzu pagâ.* (northern Calabrese, Ledgeway 2017: 110)  
 be.IMP=yourselves quiet NEG you= NEG.PRSP make.1SG  
 pay.INF  
 ‘Don’t worry, I won’t charge you for it after all.’

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Molinelli (1984, 1987), Molinelli et al. (1987), and Bernini and Ramat (1996).

- b. *Neca ci vonsi jiri.* (Mussomeli, Ledgeway 2017: 107)  
 NEG.PRSP there= wanted.3PL go.INF  
 ‘In any case, they didn’t want to go there.’
- c. *Sta schersi? – Nu’ sta scherzu filu.* (Lecce, Ledgeway 2017: 117)  
 PROG joke.2SG NEG PROG joke.1SG NEG.PRSP  
 ‘You’re kidding? – I’m not at all.’

To sum up, above we have reviewed a selection of data from modern Romance which confirm two synchronic predictions of our approach: (i) the existence of Stages II–III varieties with high auxiliaries but lower lexical verbs; and (ii) the restriction of incipient cases of grammaticalization of postverbal negators to varieties with clause-medial or high V-movement. Having demonstrated the empirical robustness of the generalization in (11), we now turn to a formal account which captures the attested correlation between V-movement and JC.

## 6 Verb-Movement and JC: A Formal Account

The starting point of this article is the observation that there is a correlation between V-movement and negation typologies, as summarized in (11), repeated here as (75).

- (75) If a variety is at Stages II–III, it necessarily exhibits clause-medial or high V-movement.

In Section 5 the empirical validity of (75) has been tested and confirmed against an extensive sample of data drawn from early and modern Romance varieties. In what follows, we provide a formal account for this correlation.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> An anonymous reviewer asked about the implications of (75) for SOV Germanic languages where JC progressed very rapidly. The core insight of this paper is that the specific stage of negation attested in each Romance language follows, ultimately, from the setting of the V-movement parameter in that variety, whereby (very) low V-movement languages exhibit Stage I and the clause-medial/high varieties (can) exhibit Stages II–III. In other words, robust empirical evidence has been provided to show that the negation parameter in Romance is parasitic on the V-movement parameter. A natural consequence of this strong empirical correlation is that there should be no expectation that negation should be regulated in the same fashion outside the Romance family. This is because the V-movement parameter, which is itself parasitic on higher-ranking parameters (Biberauer and Roberts 2015a, 2015b, 2016; Ledgeway 2013; Roberts 2019), will be regulated by different properties, i.e. the TAM distinctions which determine the four types of V-movement attested in Romance (Schifano 2018) do not necessarily play the same role (or any roles at all) in other language families. As a consequence, one cannot expect the Romance-specific clause-medial/high versus (very) low distinction to be able to regulate negation elsewhere.

As anticipated in Section 4, our claim is that (75) finds a principled explanation in the requirement for sentential postverbal negators to be licensed as negators, rather than as nominal elements. As widely discussed in the literature, in the earliest stages of their development elements such as Fr. *pas* are simply DP objects merged in the lexical VP in the typical complement position.<sup>46</sup> The first step in the grammaticalization of such nominals therefore involves their raising to a functional position in IP (cf. Roberts and Roussou 2003: Ch. 4; Garzonio 2008b; Garzonio and Poletto 2009; Poletto 2017). Adopting Zanuttini's (1997) fine-grained cartographic mapping of negation, repeated here as (76), we take the landing site of these former objects to be the specifier of the etymologically-matching NegP inside the IP.<sup>47</sup>

- (76) [HAS [NegP1 preverbal Neg [LAS [NegP2 minimizer [*already* [NegP3 quantifier [*no longer* [*always* [NegP4 pro-sentence]]]]]]]]]]]

As far as preverbal sentential negators are concerned, we argue that there are two possible first-merge positions, namely one located in the HAS, broadly coinciding with the T-domain, and one located in the LAS, broadly coinciding with the extended *v*-VP domain.<sup>48</sup> The former is exploited by high and clause-medial V-movement languages like French and northern regional Italian, as supported by linear orders such as (77), where the sentential negator precedes low and middle adverbs like Fr. *jamais* 'never' and It. *apposta* 'intentionally', respectively. The latter is lexicalised instead by (very) low V-movement languages like Spanish, where the sentential negator follows low adverbs such as Sp. *ya* 'already' and *todavía* 'still' (78).<sup>49</sup>

- (77) a. *Je ne mange jamais de viande.* (Fr.)  
I NEG eat.1SG never of meat

<sup>46</sup> Manzini and Savoia (2011) claim that negation always starts out in the complement position.

<sup>47</sup> In the literature, various concerns have been expressed about the possibility of multiplying negation-related FPs (cf. Garzonio and Poletto 2018) and various exceptions to Zanuttini's (1997) empirical generalizations have been pointed out (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2011; Garzonio 2008b; Poletto 2017). In what follows, we put aside the theoretical debate surrounding this issue and the various technical solutions which have been proposed to overcome it, as these are points of contention which do not directly impact on the approach developed here which hinges instead on a simple distinction between languages where sentential negation is lexicalised in an FP of the extended T- or *v*-VP-domain.

<sup>48</sup> On the distribution of negation as (also) involving TP and the aspectual area (the latter broadly coinciding with *v*-VP terminology adopted here), see also Poletto (2020).

<sup>49</sup> On the low placement of the sentential negator in another low V-movement variety, namely Cosentino (northern Calabria, Italy), see Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005).

- b. *Carlo non parla apposta così: è un*  
 C. NEG speak.3SG intentionally this.way be.3SG a  
*difetto di pronuncia.* (NRIt.)  
 defect of pronunciation

(78) a. *Ya no como carne: soy vegetariano.* (Sp.)  
 already NEG eat.1SG meat be.1SG vegetarian  
 ‘I don’t eat meat anymore: I’m vegetarian.’

- b. *Muchas personas todavía no gozan de servicios de saneamiento*  
 many people still NEG enjoy of services of sanitation  
*adecuados.* (Sp.)  
 suitable

Once raised to the specifier of its associated NegP in (76), the DP (viz.  $NEG_{MIN}$  in 79) is endowed with a [+EMPHATIC] feature that enables it to function as a negator with a specific pragmatic import (cf. fn. 26) (79).<sup>50</sup>

(79) [<sub>HAS</sub> ( $NEG_{PREVERBAL1}$  [Neg]) (V) [<sub>LAS</sub> ( $NEG_{PREVERBAL2}$  [Neg]) (V)  $NEG_{MIN}$  [+EMPH]) (V) [<sub>V-VP</sub>  $\Psi$   $NEG_{MIN}$ ]]]

This is what we observe in the history of Romance where the first step in the grammaticalization of  $NEG_{MIN}$  involves a pragmatically-marked stage where the element no longer acts as a nominal but, at the same time, has not fully grammaticalized either as sentential negator. At this stage, standard negation is still conveyed by the preverbal element alone, whether high ( $NEG_{PREVERBAL1}$ ) or low ( $NEG_{PREVERBAL2}$ ), which is endowed with the relevant [Neg] feature.

The crucial turning point which licenses the shift from Stage I to a pragmatically-unmarked Stage II hinges, we argue, on V-movement. In Ledgeway (2020a, in press), a number of apparently unrelated syntactic properties have been identified which distinguish between Romance varieties where T probes V (viz. V-to-HAS varieties, that is high or clause-medial V-movement varieties) and those where it does not (viz. V-to-LAS varieties, that is low or very low V-movement varieties) in accordance with a broad north-south geographical split, including non-veridical V-to-C movement, differential subject and object marking, and patterns of auxiliary selection and active participle agreement. The distribution of negative strategies, and in particular the development of postverbal negators, also falls out as a concomitant of this same parametric setting of T, as detailed below. Once  $NEG_{MIN}$  has undergone upwards grammaticalization within IP, there are *a priori* two routes open to it: in the first it stabilizes as a pragmatically-marked

<sup>50</sup> In (79)–(81) we omit details in the derivation which are not relevant for our proposal.

negative polarity item (NPI) carrying a [+EMPHATIC] feature (79), whereas in the second it further grammaticalizes into a full-fledged sentential negator. Formally, the latter scenario only obtains when  $NEG_{MIN}$  no longer undergoes movement to the specifier of its corresponding NegP (such as NegP2 in 76), but is first-merged directly in that same position.<sup>51</sup> This can only happen in those varieties in which T probes V, that is varieties in which the T-domain is, broadly speaking, active. This is the case since, in order to be first-merged in its associated NegP,  $NEG_{MIN}$  must be endowed with a [Neg] feature, namely, it must instantiate a negator rather than a nominal element.<sup>52</sup> This is only possible if the verb reaches the HAS, namely when the T-domain is active and [Neg] is lexicalized there (cf.  $NEG_{PREVERBAL1}$  in 79).

In order to explain how  $NEG_{MIN}$  receives [Neg] in such varieties, we adopt Ouali's (2008) proposal about feature transfer between domains in terms of the operations KEEP, SHARE, and DONATE. In a high-movement language such as French where the T-domain is active, T can SHARE [Neg] with its complement (viz. the extended v-VP), such that  $NEG_{MIN}$  can be endowed with [Neg] and is able to act as a fully-fledged negator in combination with  $NEG_{PREVERBAL}$  (Stage II). T can also DONATE [Neg], so that  $NEG_{MIN}$  becomes the only sentential negator (Stage III) (80). The gradual shift between Stage I and Stages II–III is therefore captured here in terms of SHARE and DONATE of [Neg] between T and v-VP, a mechanism only possible in languages where the T-domain is active, namely in V-to-HAS languages.<sup>53</sup>

(80) [HAS  $NEG_{PREVERBAL1}$  [Neg] V [LAS  $\forall$   $NEG_{MIN}$  [+EMPH], [Neg] [v-VP  $\forall$ ]]]

SHARE / DONATE

Significantly, this analysis predicts that the pragmatically-marked function and that of a sentential negator can co-exist (cf. also van der Auwera 2010: 80, fn. 9), inasmuch as the downward sharing or donation of [Neg] does not necessarily entail the loss of the [+EMPHATIC] feature. This prediction is borne out by both early and modern Romance,

<sup>51</sup> See Greco (2020) for another context in which the different first-merge position of a negator (viz. TP vs. CP) affects its interpretation (viz. standard vs. expletive negation).

<sup>52</sup> See Garzonio (2008b) for similar licensing requirements for Tuscan *punto*.

<sup>53</sup> The shift between Stages II and III, formalized here in terms of a DONATE operation, is instead affected by a wide array of factors extensively discussed in the literature (see Section 2) but is ultimately unrelated to the V-movement parameter. Note, furthermore, that the activation of T can be triggered by movement of the lexical verb or, at an earlier stage, by movement of the perfective auxiliary only, as exemplified by the lexical versus auxiliary asymmetry observed in varieties such as Roussellonès Catalan (Section 5.2.1).

witness the case of medieval French *pas/point* in *SS* (Section 5.1.1.3) on the one hand and modern Milanese *minga* and Valdostain *pa* (Zanutini 1997: 86) on the other, which can all act both as presuppositional markers and sentential negators.

More importantly, the analysis developed here explains why postverbal emphatic negators can never grammaticalize in (very) low V-movement languages. These are varieties where T does not probe V, inasmuch as the T-domain remains inactive, with the result that sentential negation is lexicalized in the extended  $v$ -VP domain (cf.  $\text{NEG}_{\text{PREVERBAL2}}$  in 81). As a consequence,  $\text{NEG}_{\text{MIN}}$  in such varieties cannot inherit [Neg], as, generally speaking, the operation  $\text{DONATE}$  can only obtain across different domains: C can  $\text{DONATE}$  to its complement T and T can  $\text{DONATE}$  to its complement  $v$ -VP, but  $v$ -VP does not have a complement which can receive a donated feature.<sup>54</sup> More specifically, in our case T can donate [Neg] to the lower  $v$ , but  $v$  cannot donate [Neg] to itself. Consequently,  $\text{NEG}_{\text{MIN}}$  cannot be endowed with [Neg], such that only the first option (raising to NegP qua emphatic negator), but not the second (first-merge in NegP qua sentential negator) is open to it.

(81) [HAS [LAS  $\text{NEG}_{\text{PREVERBAL2}}$  [Neg] (V)  $\text{NEG}_{\text{MIN}}$  [+EMPH] (V) [ $v$ -VP  $\nabla$   $\text{NEG}_{\text{MIN}}$ ]]]



\*SHARE / DONATE

If correct, we also predict that, in principle, postverbal emphatic negators should be possible across all varieties irrespective of the height of V-movement. Once again this prediction is confirmed by the Romance data, witness the examples from northern regional Italian (82), Salentino (74c) and northern Calabrese (74a) which illustrate, respectively, clause-medial, low and very low V-movement.

(82) *È inutile che ti arrabbi:*  
 be.3SG useless that you= get.angry.2SG  
*non lo sapevo mica che eri già partito.* (NRIt.)  
 NEG it knew.1SG NEG.PRSP that was.2SG already left  
 ‘There’s no point you getting angry about it. How could you expect me to know that you had already left?!’

<sup>54</sup> A relevant notion here is that of phases: C can donate to its complement TP and T can, in turn, donate to the head of  $v$ P in line with the Phase Impenetrability Condition, in that the head (and edge) of the lower phase (=  $v$ P) are visible to the higher phase (= CP-TP), but anything lower in the  $v$ P phase (including VP and its potential complement such as an embedded CP) are not accessible to the head T. In other words, the spreading of [Neg] can only extend from the C head to the  $v$ -head, but not beyond that.

The Salentino-Calabrese contrast in (74c)–(74a) shows that the pre- or postverbal placement of the presuppositional negator in (very) low movement varieties is irrelevant: if the T-domain is not active (as in V-to-LAS varieties), the first-merge option is not available, even if the verb can raise within the LAS to a position above the presuppositional negator. As shown in Section 5.2.2, it is only in northern Italian clause-medial V-movement varieties that presuppositional negators such as *mica* are increasingly found to be used as sentential negators, a shift which we do not see in southern varieties, including in those where the verb can precede the presuppositional element. Similar evidence comes from the diachronic data discussed in Section 5.1. In the early texts examined above which still oscillate, to a certain extent, between low and high(er) V-movement, we never find low movement in conjunction with Stage II negation. For example, in early French varieties the relative order in the relevant syntactic contexts is always *ne* +  $V_{\text{finite}}$  +  $pas_{\text{sentential}}$  and never  $*ne$  +  $pas_{\text{sentential}}$  +  $V_{\text{finite}}$ . If the above account were wrong, we should expect, contrary to fact, examples of *ne* +  $pas_{\text{sentential}}$  +  $V_{\text{finite}}$  on a par with Calabrian *un mancu\_{emphatic}* +  $V_{\text{finite}}$ , since they would not require higher V-movement to be licensed. It is also worth noting that postverbal negators in Stages II–III varieties can co-occur with postverbal presuppositional negators, as exemplified in (83a) with Piedmontese. Notably, only the relative order presuppositional > sentential negator is admitted (83b).

- (83) a. *Fa pa nen sulì!* (Pied.)  
 b.  $*Fa$  *nen pa sulì!* (Pied.)  
 do.IMP.2SG NEG.PRSP NEG NEG.PRSP that  
 ‘Don’t do that!’  
 (Zanuttini 1997: 75)

Both the co-occurrence and the attested relative order between the sentential and presuppositional are predicted under the current approach: presuppositional *pa* incorporates by left-adjunction into *nen* lexicalizing SpecNegP2 (viz. [ $_{\text{NegP2}} [_{\text{Spec}} [pa] \text{nen}] \dots [pa]$ ]; cf. It. [ $_{\text{AspP}_{\text{Terminative}}} [_{\text{Spec}} [mai] \text{più}] \dots [mai]$ ] lit. ‘never anymore’), with which it can co-occur since it does not require licensing via V-movement.<sup>55</sup>

In summary, in this section we have formalized the empirical correlation in (75) in terms of [Neg] transfer across domains in accordance with the V-movement

<sup>55</sup> The fact that *nen* follows *gia* ‘already’ (Zanuttini 1997: 70) is not problematic, as *gia* is clearly a light item that has incorporated into *nen*, as we often see in northern Italian varieties where there is a distinction in the adverb for ‘already’ between a light/weak element (e.g. NRIt. *già*) and a strong/tonic one (e.g. NRIt. *di già*, lit. ‘of already’) (Cinque 1999: 14). On light adverbs surfacing in higher positions in other Romance varieties, cf. also Poletto (2008b, 2009) and Ledgeway (forthcoming b).



typology. V-to-HAS characterizes varieties where the T-domain is active, as supported by independent syntactic evidence from other domains (Ledgeway 2020a, in press). In these varieties, sentential negation (viz. [Neg]) is lexicalized in the T-domain and it can be kept (Stage I), shared (Stage II) or donated (Stage III) to the lower  $v$ -VP domain, where  $NEG_{MIN}$  elements are moved from their original object position. Whenever [Neg] sharing/donation obtains,  $NEG_{MIN}$  is no longer a nominal element but, rather, a negator and can therefore be first-merged rather than raised to its dedicated NegP position, thus functioning from that point as a fully-fledged sentential negator. The doubling of negation which characterizes Stage II languages is then a by-product of the active status of both the T and  $v$ -VP domains across which [Neg] is shared. Note that [Neg] sharing/donation between T and  $v$ -VP can but does not have to obtain, as shown by the existence of clause-medial and high V-movement varieties with Stage I negation found in both early (e.g. *HA*, Section 5.1.1.1) and modern (e.g. Romanian<sub>2</sub>, Section 3) Romance. Conversely, V-to-LAS is a feature of varieties with an inactive T-domain, where sentential negation is lexicalized in the extended  $v$ -VP domain. As [Neg] donation across domains cannot obtain in this case,  $NEG_{MIN}$  elements never develop beyond the raising stage to low Neg projections. In short, they remain nominal elements which can only convey pragmatically-marked readings via the emphatic feature they acquire by raising to low negative FPs.

## 7 Concluding Remarks

This article has presented extensive diachronic and diatopic Romance evidence to support an unmistakable correlation between verb movement and negation, inasmuch as the emergence and licensing of postverbal negators have been shown to require clause-medial or high V-movement. From this simple correlation follow a number of facts.

First, a parametric shift from low (viz. V-to-LAS) to high (viz. V-to-HAS) V-movement represents a precondition for a shift from Stage I to Stages II–III negation, a requirement which, to date, has gone unnoticed in the literature. This is highlighted, for example, by the fact that no variety of Romance with low V-movement exhibits Stages II–III negation. By the same token, all varieties with Stages II–III negation display or have developed clause-medial or high V-movement.

Second, changes between stages in JC are not discrete, but represent transitional phases in which two (and sometimes even three) options may co-exist in the same variety. This is widely reported in the negation literature (cf. van der Auwera 2010: 78–79; Willis et al. 2013: 9; Benincà et al. 2016: 200) and has already been discussed in relation to various northern Italian dialects. For example, in the dialect spoken in Val Bormida all three stages are attested, but are specialized for

distinct syntactic contexts (Parry 1997b); similarly, in modern French Stage I still survives in specific configurations (Section 5.1.1).<sup>56</sup> It is not by chance that a parallel non-discrete behaviour was also seen to characterize V-movement. Such is the case of early French (cf. discussion of *MA* in Section 5.1.1.2) where we observe an oscillation between low and clause-medial movement, albeit alongside emerging high placements too. In short, changes in the distribution of different stages of JC closely shadow parallel changes in the distribution of V-movement.<sup>57</sup>

Finally, the evidence reviewed here from the distribution and development of different negation stages lends substantial further support for a major typological split between northern and southern Romance varieties. In particular, the behaviour of negation aligns with a constellation of other linguistic choices in these two broad areas (Ledgeway 2019, 2020a, 2021), which can arguably be derived from higher-order parametric settings related to the featural content, relative strength and specification of the T- and *v*-domains, as further explored in Ledgeway and Schifano (in preparation). These feature values are thus not set in isolation, inasmuch as parameters ostensibly form an interrelated network of implicational relationships whereby the given value of a particular parameter may entail the concomitant activation of associated lower-order parametric choices, whose potential surface effects may consequently become entirely predictable, or indeed rule out and render entirely irrelevant other parameters. On this view, the surface effects of JC do not therefore instantiate accidental independent properties of the grammar, but turn out to be entirely predictable reflexes of the ability of T or *v* to probe the verb.

## Non-Leipzig abbreviations

A	Arringhe
Ara	Aragonese
Bol	Bolognese
BrPt	Brazilian Portuguese

<sup>56</sup> However the synchronic use of different negation stages in modern French often involves the mixing and conflation of different registers and degrees of formality. Under some analyses, this kind of variation might be more appropriately analysed in terms of Kroch's (1994) competing grammars (cf. Ingham 2014: 38).

<sup>57</sup> A related point about changes between stages in JC is the general lack of complete instances of the cycle, namely the very limited and controversial evidence for Stage III varieties which have reverted to Stage I (Benincà 2017: 192; Garzonio and Poletto 2018; Hansen 2020: 1680; Poletto 2016: 837). This well-known gap is correctly predicted under the approach developed here, as discussed in Ledgeway and Schifano (2022: 661, forthcoming, in preparation).

Cal	Calabrese
Cat	Catalan
CID	central Italian dialect
EMPH	emphatic
EuPt	European Portuguese
Fr	French
Gsc	Gascon
HA	<i>Historie Ancienne jusqu'à César</i>
HAS	higher adverb space
Ic	Icelandic
It	Italian
imps	impersonal
LAS	lower adverb space
Lat	Latin
MA	<i>Mort Artu</i>
Mil	Milanese
min	minimizer
MO	<i>Œuvres de Marguerite d'Oyngt</i>
NID	northern Italian dialect
NRIt	northern regional Italian
NT	<i>Nouveau Testament vaudois de Zurich</i>
OBol	old Bolognese
OCat	old Catalan
Occ	Occitan
OV	<i>Orario di visita</i>
OFlo	old Florentine
OFr	old French
OFrp	old Francoprovençal
OOcc	old Occitan
OWal	old Waldesian
part	partitive
Pav	Pavese
PI	paradigmatic instantiation
Pied	Piedmontese
RA	<i>Roman d'Arles</i>
prsp	presuppositional
Rms	Romansh
Ro	Romanian
RosCat	Rossellonès Catalan
RT	<i>Regles de trobar</i>
Sal	Salentino
scl	subject clitic
SF	stylistic fronting
SID	southern Italian dialect
Sp	Spanish
SRIt	southern regional Italian

SS	<i>Le second sermon</i>
VCat	Valencian Catalan
Ven	Venetian

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