

Diachronic change and negation in French

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Recent work on the syntax of clausal negation posits the existence of a Neg projection which can be situated immediately above the Tense projection in the structure of the clause. Depending on the language, lexical negative elements may occupy (in the D-structure) either the head or the Spec position in NegP, or both of these positions. Studies of diachronic change in the morphological realization of negative elements show patterns of strengthening, weakening and loss. This paper undertakes a study of the syntactic properties of these strengthening/weakening changes, through an analysis of attested changes in the forms of negative infinitives in French. On the basis of the data examined, the conclusions are (i) a weak negative element is in Neg^o at D-structure; (ii) a weak negative element must be identified either through a relation of Spec-head agreement or through lexical support, achieved by incorporation with a Tense-associated lexical element.*

1. Introduction.

1.1. Weakening and strengthening.

The forms of sentential negation in languages can be subject to change over time. One pattern of such change has been described by Jespersen (1924: 335) in terms of weakening and strengthening processes. The idea is that the principal negative morpheme becomes weak (loss of stress and subsequent cliticization) and it then needs to be reinforced by the inclusion of an additional morpheme. This pattern of change is illustrated below for French.

In Old French (OF) the finite clause could be negated by *ne* alone (1a) or by *ne* and an intensifier expression (*pas, point, mie, ...*) (1b,c):

- (1) a. par coi il *ne* puisse chaoir en temptacion d'anemi (Queste 146,31)
by which he may not fall into enemy temptation

* My thanks to Liliane Haegerman and Nicolas Morcovescu for comments and to Paul Hirschbüler, Marie Labelle, France Martineau and Richard Kayne for giving me access to prepublication copies of their papers. Naturally, all errors are mine.

- b. que tu ne retomas pas a pechier mortelment (Queste 144,24)
'that you did not return to sin mortally'
c. il ne voit mie coment il en puisse eschaper sanz peril (Queste 146,26)
'he does not see how he may escape (from it) without peril'

In these examples the finite verb is preceded by *ne* and is immediately followed by the adverbial intensifier when it is present.

In Modern French (ModF), apart from certain marked constructions,¹ the intensifier expression is always present but, whereas *ne* continues to be present in written French, *ne* is usually absent in spoken French:²

- (2) Courier (*ne*) monte pas au filet
'Courier doesn't go into the net'

The direction of change towards loss of an original negating element, as illustrated in (1) and (2) for French *ne*, has been fully implemented in the attested history of German. In Old High German the pre-verbal particle *ni* was usually the sole element of negation in a clause, but this particle could also be combined with a noun: *ni + iowiht* 'not anything' > *ni(o)wiht* 'nothing' and used in conjunction with *ni* (examples from Lockwood 1968: 207):

- (3) a. enti imo hilfa ni quimit (Muspilli)
and to-him help NEG comes
'and help does not come to him'
b. ni zawêta imo es niawihit (Otfrid)
NEG succeed to-him it NEG
'he did not succeed in it (at all)'

In Middle High German the reflex of *ni* (*-ne/en/-n-*) is a clitic and, at this stage of the language, clausal negation could be carried out by the clitic alone (4a), by the clitic in conjunction with *nihit* (4b), or by *nihit* alone (4c). These uses are exemplified from Matthewson (1990):

- (4) a. dune haetest diz gesprochen (Iwein 153)
you-NEG had this spoken
'you wouldn't have spoken of this'
b. ir'n sult ouch *nihit* vergezzen (NL 1856,1)
you-NEG should also NEG forget
'also you shouldn't forget'

¹ These uses are discussed in detail in Gaatone (1971:69-100) and Muller (1991:227-245).

² For some further discussion of *ne* - \emptyset in spoken French, see Moritz (1989), and Hirschbühler & Labelle (1992a).

- c. min frouwe sol iuch *nihit* erlan (Iwein 226)
my lady should you NEG release
'my lady should not release you'

In New High German negation of the clause is carried out by *nicht* alone. In English the same pattern of developments have been carried a step further: the original reinforcing adverb has itself developed clitic or affixal characteristics. Jespersen (1924: 335-6) illustrates these English developments as follows:

- (5) a. ic *ne* secge
b. I *ne* seye *not*
c. I say *not*
d. I do *not* say
e. I don't say

Reinforcement of *ne* has applied in the stage represented by (5b) by the inclusion of *not*. At stage (5c) the original *ne* has been dropped; and at stage (5e) the weaker phonological value of *not* is evidenced by its reduction to *n't*. Clearly, the use of forms like *I didn't say nothing* (= 'I didn't say anything') represents a further development in the weakening/strengthening process.

This paper undertakes an investigation of the syntactic characteristics of the weakening/strengthening cycle which has just been illustrated through a detailed study of historical changes in the forms of negation in French infinitives.

1.2. Negation and clause structure in Middle French infinitives.

In much recent work on clausal negation³ one of the principal concerns has been to identify the location in the clause of the different types of negative elements. Following Pollock (1989), the surface position of the clausal negative is a primary clue for identifying both the location of functional projections in the clause and the role of verb movement in the derivation of surface structures. Thus, for instance in French, the examples in (6) indicate movement of the verb to a functional head position in the finite clause in (6a) and absence of such movement in the nonfinite clause (6b) (from Pollock 1989):

- (6) a. Marie *ne* semblej pas tj heureuse.
Marie NEG seems NEG t happy
'Marie doesn't seem happy'

³ Including Moritz (1989); Ouhalla (1990); Laka (1990); Zanuttini (1990, 1991); Haegeman (1992); Pearce (1990b, 1991); Hirschbühler & Labelle (1992a,b,c); Kayne (1992); Martineau (1993).

- b. *ne pas* sembler heureux est une condition pour écrire des romans.
NEG NEG to-seem happy is . . .
'not to seem happy is a condition for writing novels'

In studying the evolution from *ne* to *ne . . . pas*, it is of particular interest to analyze the use of negation in nonfinite clauses. Whereas French presents consistent evidence over time for verb raising over *pas* in finite clauses, in nonfinite clauses the relative position of the infinitive verb and of negative adverbs like *pas* has been subject to change over time. The examples from Middle French (MidF) of the 15th and 16th centuries in (7) - (9) show three distinct realizations of the position of the nonfinite Verb, of *ne* and of the Adverb. In (7) the ordering is : *ne-Verb-Adverb*; in (8): *Adverb-ne-Verb*; and in (9): *ne Adverb-Verb*. In (7) - (9) the nonfinite verb is in small caps in the French and the negative elements are in italics in both the French and the English.)

- (7) a. et pour pou de chose ou de meffait *ne* PRENDRE *pas* grant arrogance ou grant desdaign contre aucun d'eulx. (Pisan Policie 51,21)
'and for hardly anything or for misdeed *not* to assume great arrogance or great disdain against any of them'
b. elle avoit contenné de *ne* PARLER *point* a luy simon en la presence de deux ou trois religieux de l'ordre (Arrêts 169,91)
'she hadn't placed much importance on *not* speaking to him except in the presence of two or three members of the order'
c. de *ne* DESTRUIRE *plus* le monde par eau; (Hept 1,16)
'to *not any more* destroy the world by water'
(8) a. afin de se garder de *plus n'y* RENCHEOIR (Pisan Paix 135,11)
'so as to keep *from* falling back into it *any more*'
b. qu'il nous promettera de *jamaïs ne* nous ACCUSER (Vigneulles 57,134)
'that he will promise us to *never* accuse us'
c. et que excuse, jurement et promesse de *plus n'y* RETOURNER n'y servit de rien (Hept 13,5)
'and that excuse, oath and promise to *not* return there *any more* was no use'
(9) a. que la dicte dame fut contrainte et condempnee a *ne plus* PORTER bouquetz ne fleurs en quelque maniere que ce fust. (Arrêts 39,30)
'that the said lady was constrained and condemned to *no longer* wear bouquets of flowers in any way that it might be'
b. mais il faidoit de *n'en point* SAVOIR (Vigneulles 31,101)
'but he pretended *not* to know about it'
c. delibera de *ne se jamais* REMARIER (Hept 229,27)
'decided to *not ever* remarry'

All of the authors/texts represented in (7) - (9) also give evidence of nonfinite clauses negated by *ne* alone:

- (10) a. comme a *ne* lui tollir l'abliié de pouoir bien gouverner (Pisan Policie 61,25)
'so as to *not* take away from him/her the capacity to govern well'
b. qu'ilz se donnerent d'un a l'autre et promisdrent *ne* separer l'aliance d'eulx deux (Arrêts 166,8)
'that they gave themselves to each other and promised to *not* split up the alliance of them both'
c. faindant de *ne* savoir qu'il fut en la huge (Vigneulles 94,100)
'pretending to *not* know that he was in the chest'
d. auquel il pria de *ne* reveler sa honte. (Hept 47,5)
'whom he begged to *not* reveal his shame'

Under the view that the location of the elements of clausal negation in infinitives gives clues as to the relationship between negation and other elements of nonfinite clauses, MidF infinitives are of particular interest because they include a number of definable diachronic stages.

These are indicated by the following stages in the developments for the ordering of the elements which can be associated with the negated verb in (11)⁴ compared with finite declarative clauses in (12).

(11) *Nonfinite clauses:*

Main patterns

- a. *non pas* Cl Verb
b. *ne* Cl Verb *pas*
c. *ne* Cl *pas* Verb
d. *ne pas* Cl Verb
e. (*ne*) *pas* Cl Verb

Alternative patterns

- pas non* Cl Verb
pas ne Cl Verb

(12) *Finite declarative clauses:*

ne Cl Verb *pas*

In (11) and (12), *pas* represents a series of negative adverbs, including *mie* 'crumb', *point* 'point/dot', *jamaïs* 'never', *plus* 'no more/no longer', and Cl represents a complement clitic pronoun. Whilst most texts of the MidF period include attestations of more than one of the forms shown in (11a-c) (always assuming a sufficient number of tokens for a given text), changing frequencies of occurrence within MidF and for later periods indicate chronological developments

⁴ Another attested pattern involving *non*, and occurring during the stage represented by (11a), has the clitic pronoun preceding *non*, as in : *le non pas* Verb. In Pearce (1991) I proposed that these forms must be analyzed as having *non* in a Spec position. The present discussion will leave this pattern aside as it will focus on the analysis of forms in which *non/ne* occupy the Neg head position.

following a progression from (11a) to (11e), passing through (11b,c,d) in that order.⁵

In accounting for (11a-d) there are essentially two types of factors that need to be taken into consideration: (i) the D-structure location of the relevant elements within the clause, (ii) the conditions on movement applying to all of these elements. In the present paper I will provide an analysis which takes both of these factors into consideration. I will show that there has been a change in the D-structure position of the adverb *pas* and that differing conditions have applied over time to movement of the clitic pronouns and of the verb. I will argue that movement both of the clitic pronoun and of the nonfinite verb is best treated as dependent upon properties of the negative elements. These properties are then defined in terms of a set of conditions needed for negative identification.

This account will proceed through an analysis of the characteristic behaviour of each of the elements concerned. Section 2.1 begins with a first attempt at characterizing the properties of the different forms of infinitives including *non/ne*; Section 2.2 focuses on the behaviour of the complement pronouns; Section 2.3 provides an analysis of the conditions affecting verb movement; Section 2.4 looks at the behaviour of the negative adverbs like *pas*; and Section 3 summarizes the findings of Sections 2.1 - 2.4 and sketches out some cross-linguistic implications.

2.1. Infinitives including non/ne.

2.1.1. non/ne and movement.

The diachronic developments in French present clear evidence of a phonological weakening of the central element of the clausal negative, given the sequencing:

- (13) non > ne > (ne)

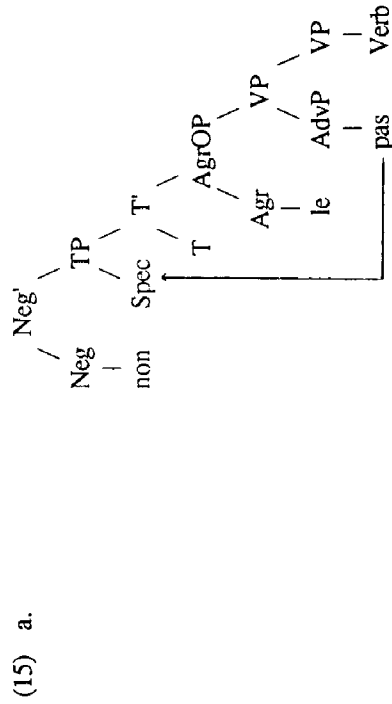
In this Section, I sketch out an approach to the main syntactic properties of the successive stages of the developments in terms of a view of the effects of the strong/weak dimension of the central negative element. Let us begin with the assumption that *non/ne* is a head and that we might informally represent the lexical distinctions of (13) through distinct morphological designations as in (14):

- (14) NEG HEAD: word > strong affix > weak affix

⁵ For post-MidF developments, see de Kok (1985), Hirschbühler & Labelle (1992b,c) and Martineau (1993).

The next step is to consider how the distinctions proposed in (14) can be related to the diachronic changes in the surface forms of negated infinitives. As has already been stated, a number of interacting factors are involved. What will be held constant in our approach at this point is the representation of the clause structure. In particular, I will assume with Moritz (1989) and Belletti (1990) that the Neg projection is located below AgrSP and above TP. The proposed applications for the different stages from MidF on are set out in I - IV below (in which *le* 'it/him' indicates the position for clitic pronouns).

I. When the head is lexical (= *non*) it is a Neg° word. Nothing else can incorporate to a full word.



b. surface: non pas le Verb

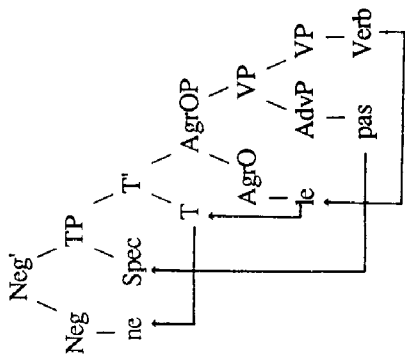
Assuming the (partial) structure in (15),⁶ the relevant movement that can take place is the raising of the adverb to the A' Spec of TP position. A further option that is available is that the adverb may then raise in the syntax to the higher Spec of NegP. This latter option gives the alternative ordering of (11a), in which the adverb precedes the negative head.

The representation in (15a) leaves open the possibility that both the verb and the clitic pronoun may raise as far as T.

II. When *ne* is a strong affix, it induces raising of other heads below it.

⁶ The structures in (15) - (17) are simplified, in that they do not include material which is not relevant to the present discussion. In particular, the AgrO projection does not include a Spec position and the details of the exact location of the complement pronoun are not fully articulated. These structures also presuppose that the AgrS projection would appear above NegP. Not included in (15) - (17) is the Infin projection of Kayne (1991), which will not be incorporated into our discussion until Section 2.3.

(16) a.

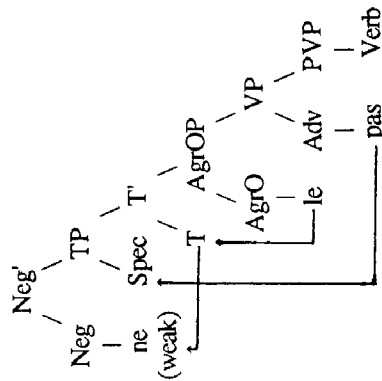


b. *surface: ne le Verb pas*

Whereas (15a) left open the option of raising of the verb and pronoun to T, in (16a) such movement in fact is required for these elements to raise above T to the Neg head.

III. When *ne* is a weak affix it induces the raising only of another affix-like element.

(17) a.



b. *surface: ne le pas Verb*

In (17a) only the pronoun raises up to the Neg head, but the possibility of the Verb raising to T is not excluded.

In the account suggested by (15) - (17), the consistent distinction between main clause negation and negation in infinitives (cf. (12) versus (11)) would be due to the presence above NegP in finite clauses of the strong AgrS affix, which, like the strong Neg affix of (16a), induces the

raising of the heads beneath it including the verb itself. As it has been noted, the representations in (15a) - (17a) would also be consistent with the Verb (and pronoun) raising at least as far as the T head. For the stages represented in (16) and (17) it is also conceivable that the elements preceding *pas* in the surface forms may have moved up to AgrS. For the present, we will assume that head movement applies at least as far as indicated in (15) - (17)

The central notion of the analysis as presented in (15) - (17) is that a developing phonological weakening of the negative head is interpreted relative to changes in the syntactic properties of the negative head and that it is these differences that provide the key to the account of the differences in surface word order. What is kept constant in this account are the D-structure relations between the various elements concerned and also the assumption that movement of the negative adverb to [Spec,TP] is always available.

2.1.2. non /ne and clause structure.

Consider now the possibility that the Neg head might be differently located in the D-structure at different stages in the developments. This was the approach of Pearce (1991), which accounted for the ordering differences between *ne-le-V-Inf-pas* and *ne-le pas-V-Inf* in terms of a shift in the placement of the Neg projection in relation to T. For *ne-le-V-Inf-pas*, Neg was below T and was 'close enough' to V to induce V raising.

Whereas for *ne-le pas-V-Inf*, *ne* was above T and, in this position, was too distant from V to induce raising of the V. The derivations that were proposed are shown in (18):

- (18) a. [TP [NegP ne le_i Verb_j [AgrOP t_i t_j [VP pas t_j]]]]
 b. [NegP ne le_i [TP t_i [AgrOP t_i [VP pas Verb]]]]

(Both (18a) and (18b) also assume the possibility of the movement of the adverb *pas* to Spec of TP and/or NegP and beyond.) Supplementary to the structures shown in (18) was the notion that a non-lexical Agr projection would be deleted in the surface (cf.: the use of this notion in Chomsky 1991). Such deletion ensured that the verb trace in (18a) would be lexically head governed by a [+V] head, whereas in (18b), after deletion of the Agr node, the trace of the verb (if it moved) would not be properly head governed by the non lexical [-finite] T head which maintained a barrier over the VP.

Since the earliest attestations of negated infinitives in French derive from the end of the OF stage in the language (for further discussion, see Moignet 1965, Pearce 1990a: ch. 6; 1991: n. 3), one focus of my earlier

analysis was to link it with the emergence of functional projections like Tense in the infinitival clause. The idea was that, if it was the presence of T which was licensing inclusion of *non*, then there was some plausibility in the notion that the surface variability in the positioning of *non/ne* in nonfinite clauses could be viewed as indicating differing interpretations as to the relative position of T and Neg in the phrase.

This approach receives some support from analyses of other languages which propose that cross-linguistically there is the need to postulate more than one D-structure position for the clausal negative (Ouhalla 1990, 1991; Zanuttini 1991). That is, especially in an emergent use of negation showing distinctions between finite and nonfinite forms, it is not implausible to suppose that learners were faced with an option as to the D-structure location of the negative projection.

On the other hand, the syntax at least of *ne* in finite clauses is well established by the MidF stage⁷ and it thus seems preferable to assume that the variable patterns in nonfinite clauses are to be attributed to the distinct properties of the nonfinite clause rather than to variation in the structural position of the Neg projection. The present account will therefore hold constant the position of the Neg projection within the clause structure.

2.2. Clitic pronouns.

The crucial distinctions in the patterns for clitic pronoun placement are those given in (11a-d), repeated here as (19a-d):

- (19) a. *non pas le V-Inf*
 b. *ne le V-Inf pas*
 c. *ne le pas V-Inf*
 d. *ne pas le V-Inf*

Recall that, when the Neg head is *non*, the highest position available to *le/V-Inf* is T. Assuming that *pas* may be in [Spec,T] in (19b), then *le/V-Inf* must be raised to at least Neg in this construction. For (19c,d), if *pas* is still in [Spec,TP], then in (19c) *le* raises independently above T; whereas in (19d) neither *le* nor the V-Inf raise above T. In (15) - (17) the raising distinctions shown by (19b-d) were attributed to a progressive weakening in the capacity of the *ne* head to induce the raising of lower heads.

There is, however, another factor which needs to be taken into consideration with respect to the behaviour of clitic pronouns like *le*: the clitic climbing phenomena. Galet (1971) has shown for a range of

⁷ Although there is ample evidence of changes in the structure of finite clauses during the MidF period, there is no precise reason to suppose that these changes impinged upon the position of the Neg projection. For accounts of the changes, see Adams (1987a,b, 1988); Hirschbühler & Junker (1988); Vance (1989); Dupuis *et al.* (1992); Roberts (1993).

literary texts of the 17th century that a switch from >50% clitic climbing to <50% clitic climbing occurs in about the middle of the 17th century. Thus, forms like (20a) below occur more frequently early in the 17th century; and forms like (20b), the ModF form, are more typical at the end of the 17th century.

- (20) a. *je le veux voir*
 I him want to-see
 'I want to see him'
 b. *je veux le voir*

If it were the case that the switch from (19c) to (19d) occurred in parallel with the switch from (20a) to (20b), then the change for both constructions could be attributed to loss of the 'climbing' property for the pronoun. However, it is also the case that an apparent precondition for clitic climbing involves properties of the governing verbs (like *vouloir* 'want' in (20)) which allow this construction.⁸

Following de Kok (1985: 335), the switch to the (19d) ordering *ne pas le V-Inf* takes place by the 19th century, with greater frequency of the (19c) form in the 18th century and greater frequency of the (19d) form in the 19th century. The clitic climbing construction of (20a) continues however at the rate of about 10% for the 18th century texts analyzed in Galet (1971),⁹ but appears to be lost in non-archaizing texts of the 19th century. During the 18th century then, clitic climbing was still available if the structural preconditions were met. Although the clitic climbing constructions appear to have been lost in the 19th century, another form of clitic climbing was, and still is, in use in the causative construction, as in:

- (21) a. *je vais faire nettoyer la voiture*
 I go to-make to-clean the car
 'I am going to have the car cleaned'
 b. *je vais la faire nettoyer*
 'I am going to have it cleaned'
 c. **je vais faire la nettoyer*
 d. **je la vais faire nettoyer*

⁸ Thus for Pearce (1990a) governing verbs which permit clitic climbing subcategorize for a VP infinitival complement (rather than an IP), whereas for Kayne (1989b) and Martineau (1990, 1991) verbs which allow clitic climbing void barriers over their infinitival complements. As noted by de Kok (1985:427), the conjunction of clitic climbing with negation of the infinitive does not occur, ruling out for all stages of French:

- (i) **je le peux [ne voir pas]*
 I-it can NEG to-see NEG
 (ii) **je le peux [ne pas voir]*

⁹ Martineau texts from 1720-1757 have an overall proportion 8.7% (172/1977) clitic climbing and texts of Voltaire from 1759-1768 have 12% (27/219) clitic climbing forms of the (20a) type.

As shown by the contrast between (21b) and (21c), the clitic pronoun must 'climb' to a position to the left of the causative verb. If the 'climbing' property then is construction-driven, the switch from *ne le pas* V-Inf to *ne pas le* V-Inf is independent of the loss of clitic climbing. We thus remain with the view that the position of the pronoun in the negated infinitives must be related to the properties of that particular construction. Under the present view, the change would be due to changes in the properties of *ne*.¹⁰

Now, if the positioning of the clitic between *ne* and *pas* was not simply a function of the presence of *ne*, then we would expect that the clitic could precede other non-negative adverbs.

In fact, within the infinitival phrase, the ordering: clitic-adverb-Verb_{Inf} is attested in the second half of the 17th century with certain non-negative adverbs, as in the following example:

- (22) On ne peut jamais les mieux recevoir (Séguin [1671]; cited Galet 1971: 179)
 one NEG can never them better to-receive

As pointed out in De Kok (1985: 341), Engver (1972) finds that, where the clitic may precede an Adv-V-Inf sequence in stylistically marked forms of ModF, the adverb is *bien* 'well', *mal* 'badly', *mieux* 'better', or *trop* 'too much'. This finding for ModF accords with the data observations in Galet (1971: 463-475) both for the 17th century and for ModF.

For Kayne (1991) the pronoun position in such cases is accounted for in terms of attachment of the clitic to T. However, since this Pro-Adv-V-Inf ordering applies only in the presence of a restricted range of adverbs (of intensifier/evaluative categories), then, for the Adv position, I think we need to look to the possibility of adverb-movement.

I propose that what distinguishes finite and nonfinite clauses in this regard is the node of attachment of the adverb. In finite clauses the verb raises to AgrS. Assuming that Agr is an A-projection, I suggest that these 'light' adverbs may collocate to the V-Inf but by adjoining only to X' or X nodes of A'-projections. This approach gives the required distinction between finite and nonfinite clauses.

¹⁰ I note, however, that the dissociation proposed here of clitic climbing to the higher verb and climbing of the pronoun above *pas* goes against the combination of two such possibilities in Italian cases which are discussed in Kayne (1992). Specifically, the negated imperative form (ia) is favoured in regions of Italy which also favour clitic climbing over modal verbs.

- (i) a. non lo fare
 NEG-it-to do
 'don't do it!'
 b. non farlo

In the case of (ia), Kayne presents convincing arguments for the presence of a modality head to which the clitic can be attracted in the relevant varieties.

If it were the case that other non-negative adverbs could appear between the clitic pronoun and the infinitive, then there would be reason to suppose that higher clitic movement could apply independently of the presence of the *ne* head. In the terms of the present proposal, we once again remain with the notion that loss of movement of the clitic is due to a weakening of the Neg head.

2.3. Verb-movement.

2.3.1. Conditions on Verb-movement.

As with the discussion of clitic pronoun movement in Section 2.2, the diagnostic for V-movement is the surface position of the verb in relation to other elements shown in the structures in (15) - (17). For the stages shown in (11), (11b) has V-raising in the presence of *ne*, but the subsequent stages all show absence of V-raising (at least over *pas*). But in fact, the modern outcome as it is shown in (11d,e) with (*ne*) *pas le* V-Inf does not distinguish between auxiliary and nonauxiliary verbs, such as in the following examples for ModF from Pollock (1989):

- (23) a. *ne pas* avoir de voiture en banlieue rend la vie difficile
 'not to have a car in the suburbs makes life difficult'
 b. *navoir pas* de voiture en banlieue rend la vie difficile
 (24) a. *ne pas* posséder de voiture en banlieue rend la vie difficile
 'not to possess a car in the suburbs makes life difficult'
 b. **ne* posséder *pas* de voiture en banlieue rend la vie difficile

Hirschbühler & Labelle (1993b,c) (henceforth H & L) show that the turning point of the switch from more frequent *ne* VInf *pas* to more frequent *ne pas* VInf occurs for auxiliary verbs in the period from 1900-1950, but for nonauxiliary lexical verbs in the period from 1600-1650. Intermediate between auxiliary verbs and lexical verbs are modal verbs, and with this category of verbs the time of the switch is between 1750-1800.

H & L's discussion of the set of changes which they describe refers to three distinct processes:

- (25) A. As the adverbs like *pas/point* take on an independently negative function, their placement in the D-structure is affected: the shift is from a VP-adjoined position to a higher Spec position (the Spec of InfnP).
 B. Modal verbs become recategorized as lexical verbs.
 C. The T head of the infinitival phrase loses a requirement that it needs to be associated with a lexical element for the establishment of a T-chain.

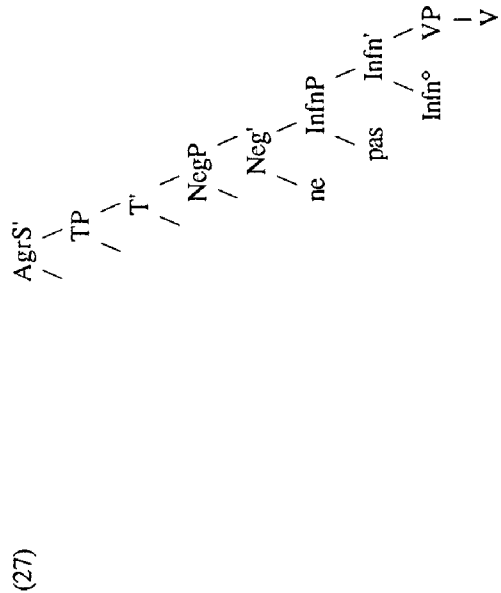
In terms of the clause structure proposed in H & L, the (25A) change gives an immediate account of the ordering switch between the lexical verb and the adverb as:

- (26) a. ... AgrS' ... T' ... *ne* ... [InfnP Infn' [VP pas [VP V']]]
 b. ... AgrS' ... T' ... *ne* ... [InfnP [Spec pas] Infn' [VP V']]

In both (26a,b) *pas* remains in its D-structure position and the V' raises only as far as Infn'. Changes B and C in (25) both impinge on the implementation of V-raising as it applies to the non-lexical verbs (auxiliaries and, at least for a time, modals), which, at the earlier stage, could raise to T'.

Up to this point, the account that has been presented here has focused on the role of the *ne* head for defining the differences in the application of movement possibilities for lower elements of the structure. Such an analysis does not preclude the development of other changes such as the shift in Adverb position proposed in H & L. Further discussion of the question of changes in adverb position will however be postponed to Section 2.4 - although I note here that one difficulty that I have with the H & L account of the new position for the negative adverb is that it gives the result that there will be distinct D-structure positions for *pas* in finite and nonfinite clauses: presumably VP-adjoined in finite clauses where there is no InfnP.

Another difference between the analysis proposed by H & L and that represented by (15) - (17) is in the ordering of the functional projections of the infinitival phrase. The essentials of the H & L clause structure for ModF infinitives are as indicated in (27):



The structure (27) includes an Infn projection which has not been included in (15) - (17), but it lacks the AgrO projection which was placed below T in (15) - (17).¹¹ Another difference between (27) and (15) - (17) is in the relative ordering of the TP and NegP projections.

H & L consider the alternative ordering with NegP above TP but their preference is for the ordering in (27). This preference is linked to their account of the progressive loss of raising above NegP with the different classes of verbs. If such raising is associated with conditions of tense linkage, as they propose, it is preferable to have raising to T rather than to AgrS.

2.3.2. The role of functional heads.

What we will now consider is the placement of the Infn projection in the structure. A transposition of the work of Belletti (1990) on Italian clause structure to French would require that any projection of Infn must be located above AgrOP. The AgrO projection is required for past participle agreement (as in Kayne 1989a for French).

In Belletti's analysis an auxiliary verb will be located above AgrOP. If the auxiliary verb is an infinitive, then Infn must be above AuxP, giving the following adaptation of Belletti's structure for Italian:

- (28) a. [InfnP -re [AuxP ave- [AgrOP la -t- [VP saluta-]]]]
 b. [InfnP laj ave-j -re [AuxP tj tj [AgrOP tj saluta-k -t-a [VP tk]]]]
 c. l'avevo salutata
 her-to have greeted-FEM
 'to have greeted her'

In (28) I have collapsed the AgrO projection with the projection which supplies the past participle morphology. The auxiliary verb has moved up to the Infn head in (28b) and the verb has moved up to AgrO where it is in an agreement relation with the object pronoun *la*.

The clitic *la* itself raises out of AgrOP to the highest projection shown in (28). When the structure in (28) is built into our account of French, the projection which is immediately above InfnP must be TP.

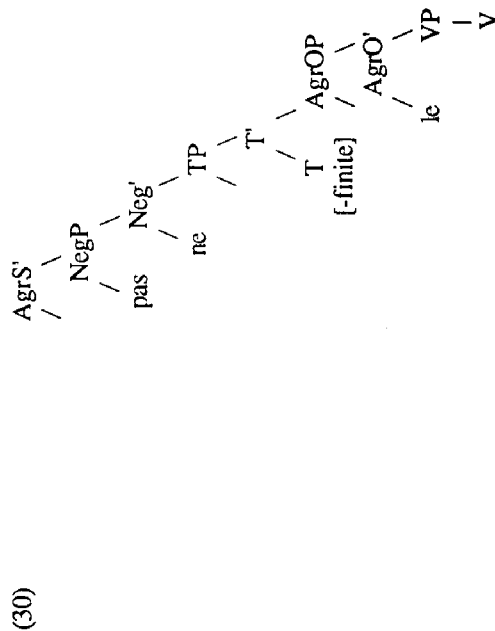
In effect, we might as easily consider that Infn is the spellout of a [-finite] T (corresponding to the view that English *to* of infinitives is placed under T). This approach to the structure for French is now given as (29):

- (29) [AgrSP [NegP ne [TP [-finite] [AgrOP le [VP pas [VP V]]]]]]

¹¹ In (15) - (17) I have included the AgrOP on the assumption that such a projection will be required for Case checking (as in Chomsky 1992), and that it is this same projection which is required at least for coindexing of the clitic (whether the clitic is base-generated within the AgrO projection, or whether it must move into this projection in the course of the derivation). See §2.3.2 for further elaboration.

Now, if [-finite] T and Inf_n are indeed indistinguishable, it must then be the case that the verb in French (finite or nonfinite) must always move to T.¹² In the structures given earlier in (15) - (17) it was assumed, in particular in (17), that the modern outcome could be represented as the failure of V --> T movement for the nonfinite V.

We are now led to a reinterpretation of this structure, under which what is indicated by the development to *ne pas* V-Inf is the loss of movement of the V-Inf to AgrS. This interpretation also gives the result that *pas* in ModF should be in [Spec,NegP] rather than in [Spec,TP] immediately below NegP. The structure now given in (30) shows the ModF form with necessary movement indicated by angled arrows.



Whereas for ModF the nonfinite V is below the adverb *pas*, assuming that [Spec,NegP] was available for *pas* in earlier stages of French, the *ne*-V-Inf-*pas* ordering could have been obtained only by movement of the V-Inf to AgrS. Roberts (1993:50) suggests that V --> T/AgrS movement is lost in French infinitives because as AgrS loses the capacity to license null subjects it fails to govern classes of head traces. However, as H & L (1993c) point out, Dupuis *et al.* (1992) show that French loses the null subject possibility towards the end of the 16th century, whereas the *ne*-V-Inf-*pas* ordering continues to be attested for lexical verbs into the first half of the 18th century. The fact that the switch from <50% *ne-pas*-V-Inf to >50% *ne-pas*-V-Inf for lexical verbs occurs in the data described in H & L in the 1600-1650 period nevertheless suggests a possible link between loss of NS and loss of V-raising. It could be that

¹² Contra Pollock (1989) and in agreement with Ouhalla (1990, 1991). Note also that obligatory V --> T [-finite] is also in accord with the economy considerations of the morphologically driven account of head movement in Chomsky (1992).

V can raise independently of *ne* until null subject licensing is lost. Then subsequently, the possibility of V-raising becomes dependent on at least presence of a strong *ne*. Now for ModF we have evidence of at least phonological weakening of *ne*, given that *ne* may be omitted. For earlier stages of French, the best evidence for a weakening of *ne* is the extent to which it requires the presence of a negative adverbial.

The idea would be that, when *ne* is the sole element of clausal negation it is strong, but where *ne* must be accompanied by an adverb it is not so strong. Over an extended period of time there is a degree of optionality as to the need for a reinforcing adverb. It is during this intermediate period that the two orderings *ne*-V-Inf-*pas* and *ne-pas*-V-Inf are attested for lexical verbs.¹³ The role of *ne* as presently envisaged predicts that the switch from *ne*-V-Inf-*pas* to *ne-pas*-V-Inf is parallel to the loss of the ability of *ne* to appear alone as the negative element of a clause. Some striking evidence in support of this view derives from the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (1505-1515) of Philippe de Vigneulles.

This text is unusual in that it is very early in showing the preference for *ne-pas*-V-Inf over *ne*-V-Inf-*pas*. The figures in (31) below show that the Vigneulles text is also unusual in its disfavouring of the use of *ne* as the sole negative element in infinitives in comparison with other texts of the first half of the 16th century.¹⁴

(31)

	A	B	C	D	E
	<i>ne</i> V Adv	<i>ne</i> Adv V	sole <i>ne</i>	Neg Inf	%C/D
Deffence (1549)	3	-	9	14	64%
Rabelais (1532-46)	1	-	12	25	48%
Heptaméron (1542-9)	59	4	68	163	42%
Briçonnet (1521-22)	6	1	28	47	59.5%
Vigneulles (1505-15)	1	5	2	16	12.5%

¹³ It is on the basis of the idea that *pas/point* take on an independently negative value during the 16th century that H & L have proposed the change in the D-structure placement of these adverbs. Martineau (1993) discusses similar evidence but suggests that, because in this same stage of French *ne* could appear alone, then the adverbs must be generated in Spec,VP. (In Martineau's account the different surface orderings are obtained by movement of the adverb.) For Martineau, the concomitant weakening of *ne* means that *ne* becomes a barrier blocking the movement of the V from T to AgrS (Martineau's account has V --> T for ModF infinitives). Martineau's analysis will be further discussed in §2.4.

¹⁴ The data in (31) is based on analysis of the entire text, except for Rabelais (see References for indications). My thanks to Paul Hirschbühler for having generously supplied me with his concordance of the Vigneulles text.

In (31) columns A and B provide the comparison in terms of total number of tokens for the differing positions of the Adv and the V_{Inf} when the Adv does not precede *ne*.¹⁵ Column C gives the total number of occurrences in which *ne* is the sole negative element: excluded from C are forms containing negative adverbs and other elements entering into negative concord.¹⁶ Column D gives the total number of negated infinitives and Column E shows the percentage of negated infinitives which include *ne* as the sole element of negation.

What is significant in (31) is that it shows that the Vigneulles text is precocious both in its preference for *ne-Adv-V-Inf* and in its low percentage for *ne* as the sole negative element. This result assumes even greater significance when it is viewed in relation to the null subject (NS) characteristic.

Hirschbühler & Junker (1988) have shown that the Vigneulles text maintains the NS possibility at 23% of pronominal subjects. As reported in Vance (1988, 1989), Dupuis *et al.* (1992), and Roberts (1993), the erosion of the NS possibility, linked to loss of Verb Second during the 15th century, continues to be attested during the 16th century. The decline of NS in the first half of the 16th century is shown by Roberts' count of 29% NS in Vigneulles against 7% NS in the *Deffence* text. Roberts, in fact, concludes (p. 201) that Vigneulles is representative of the older system for NS.

For us, what this means is that Vigneulles' preference for the *ne-Adv-V* ordering is not related to the NS possibility.

If it were the case that V --> AgrS in infinitives was related to the NS possibility, then the predicted ordering for negated infinitives in Vigneulles would be *ne-V-Adv*, as in the other texts of the NS period, and as in the 15th century (this point is made also in H & L 1992b). But what we have found here is that the *ne-Adv-V* ordering correlates with the use of a supporting negative element rather than with the loss of the

NS possibility, given the results from (31).¹⁷ These findings also indicate a lack of evidence in support of the availability of V --> AgrS in nonnegative infinitives in earlier stages of French.

In summary, the conclusion is that V --> Neg/AgrS is progressively lost as *ne* becomes progressively weaker. The relative strength of *ne* is defined as a function of the extent to which it can be the sole negative element involved in clausal negation.

2.3.3. Weak/strong *ne*.

The 'strength' dimension which has just been presented aligns a 'weak' *ne* with the obligatory presence of *pas* in [Spec,NegP]. Following the proposals of Rizzi (1991) and Haegeman (1992), I will adopt the view that there is operator-head agreement within NegP between *pas* and the Neg'. One clause of this relation is expressed in Haegeman (1992: (16a)) as:

(32) A NEG-operator must be in Spec-head configuration with an X' [NEG].

When, as in ModF, the Neg-operator must be lexical,¹⁸ the negative function in the clause is identified by the operator-head agreement of (32). Suppose that, if the operator is lexical, then there is no requirement for the head to be lexical: it may be a clitic, an affix or empty. When the operator does not have to be lexical (i.e., when *ne* alone carries the weight of the negative function), if the Neg belongs to a weak morphological category, then it needs to be lexically identified. Given our assumption that the clausal Neg selects T, then the identifier of a morphologically weak Neg must be T. That is, lexical T must raise to the node to which weak Neg is attached. This leads to the following statement of conditions applying to clausal negation:

(33) NEG identification

- (i) NEG head is lexical (= strong); or
- (ii) NEG head is morphologically weak:
 - (a) NEG must be supported by T with lexical content; or
 - (b) NEG must be identified through Spec-head agreement with a lexical NEG-operator.

¹⁷ It clearly would be useful to test this conclusion from the results shown in (31) against comparable data from texts of the post-*ne-V-Adv* period.

¹⁸ I am leaving aside here the negative concord cases in which [Spec,NegP] is empty in the surface, as in ModF:

(i) je n'ai vu personne

I *ne* have seen nobody

For discussion of forms of this type, see Haegeman (1992).

¹⁵ The adverbs which are included in the count for Columns A and B in (31) are *point* 'not', *jamais* 'never', *plus* 'no more', *pas* 'not'. The word *rien* 'nothing' also gives evidence of variable ordering. If *rien* was included in the count for A and B, the figures for Column B would be significantly higher for Briç (1 --> 4) and for Vigneulles (5 --> 10), but with no change for Column A for these texts.

The tokens in Column B include two instances of the ModF ordering in which the clitic pronoun follows the adverb. These are:

(i) a. *pour y planter la croix et à icelle les cloquer pour ne jamais en partir* (Briç 38.202,7)

so as-there-to plant-the-cross-and-to-that-them-to nail-so as-*ne-never-of* it-to leave
'to plant the cross there and to nail them to it so as not to ever leave it'

b. *après avoir prins son serment de ne jamais le reveler* (Hept 391,7)

after-to have-taken-her-oath-COMP-*ne-never-it-reveal*
'after having taken her oath to never reveal it'

¹⁶ The forms represented in column C of (31) are essentially those which do not belong in ModF. However, the modern language has a 'literary' register which permits *ne* as the sole element of negation with modal verbs (see n. 1). A relatively high number of such forms (total = 8) are included in the Briçonnet text. If these are excluded from the count for Briçonnet Column C, the figures for this text for Columns C and E are respectively 20 and 42.5% (correspondingly for Vigneulles they are: 1 and 6%).

In the history of French, as the (33iib) condition has become obligatory, the (33iia) condition has become redundant and has been lost as a requirement.

The conditions set out in (33) formalize the relation between the *ne* negative and the V-Inf, but they do not in themselves specify a relation between *ne* and the clitic pronoun discussed in Section 2.2, the behaviour of the latter appears to be 'intermediate' in comparison with the behaviour of the V-Inf.

We might consider that a similar type of account is available to distinguish the behaviour of the different classes of V-Inf as described by H & L, under the assumption now that V-Inf --> AgrS could apply only in the presence of *ne*. I thus retain in part the account of the role of morphologically weak *ne* of Pearce (1991) by which a 'strength' parameter of *ne* was interpreted as a simple morphological characteristic.

It seems that the conditions proposed in (33) are well motivated for the French data that has been described; and that (33) presents the advantage that it can be situated within the broader framework of Spec-head agreement relations. I see it as a further advantage of these proposals that they can be implemented in a structure like (30) which appears to be less idiosyncratic than, for example, H & L's (27), because (30) can be aligned with Belletti's proposals for Italian and because it does not require differing positions for *pas* in the D-structure of finite and nonfinite clauses.

2.4. Negative Adverbs.

Because this paper takes the view that V --> T movement is a constant in French infinitives in the periods under study, then differing surface positions for negative adverbs must be due either to differing D-structure positions for adverbs and/or to adverb movement.

A distinction proposed in Pollock (1989) for the D-structure position of different types of negative adverbs is exploited in H & L (see also Section 2.3.1) and in Martineau (1993) in order to account for the diachronic change in the surface position of the adverb relative to the infinitive verb. Pollock (1989:413) provides the examples for ModF in (34):

- (34) a. *Pierre dit ne manger pas
 'Pierre says not to eat'
 b. (?) Pierre dit ne manger point/plus/rien
 'Pierre says not to eat/not to eat any more/not to eat anything'

Both sentences of (34) are in contrast with the fully acceptable form in which the V-Inf follows both negative elements. For Pollock, a higher D-structure position for *pas* accounts for the grammaticality distinction

between (34a) and (34b). The transposition of this analysis to the data of the historical changes suggests that one aspect of the changes involves a shift in the D-structure position of the negative adverbs. An alternative analysis, as is assumed in the structures given in (15) - (17), is that negative adverbs are VP-adjoined in the D-structure and they can move up from their initial position in the course of the derivation. If we accept that the VP-adjoined position is an appropriate representation for earlier stages of French (prior to the requirement for an obligatory negative operator) and that ModF allows for such adverbs to be generated in [Spec, NegP], as in (33), then the issues that remain are to do with the conditions associated with the implementation of the shift.

In Section 2.3 we saw that H & L have proposed to account for the switch from *ne-V* Inf-Adv to *ne-Adv-V* Inf by a change in the D-structure Adv position from that of VP-adjunction to the Spec of InfnP. H & L (1992b: fn. 3) also note that *jamais*, *plus*, *rien* behave differently from *pas/point*. In particular, they observe that *rien*, *plus*, *jamais* occur more frequently than *pas/point* in the *ne-Adv-V* Inf ordering in the early stages of this construction, although *jamais* also continues for a longer period of time in the older construction. These facts suggest that there would have been certain movement possibilities for adverbs. This point will be taken up further below.

Martineau (1993) also argues that, at the stage when *ne* could be the sole negative element of the clause (in MidF and in Classical French), negative adverbs (just like other adverbs) would have been VP-adjoined in the D-structure, Martineau's analysis of the changes occurring in the surface placement of negative adverbs is based on two related conditions. One condition is that the adverb position is linked to V-movement:

- (35) Negative adverbs move along a chain created by the movement of the infinitival verb. (Martineau 1993 (15b))

The second condition is that the possibility of movement of the verb is related to the strength of *ne*. This second condition works in parallel to the approach taken here in Section 2.3, given that the basic clause structure assumed by Martineau is comparable to that given in (30). But, for Martineau, the loss of V --> AgrS is viewed in terms of barrierhood: NegP is weak when it requires the supporting adverb to be in its Spec and the weak NegP creates a barrier blocking movement of the V out of the TP. An important focus of Martineau's analysis is the attempt to account for differences in the behaviour of *pas* against other negative adverbs like *jamais*. Particularly relevant is the ModF contrast for some speakers between (36a) and (36b) (Martineau (45) and (48)):

- (36) a. *je vous promets de vous aider et de *jamais* ne vous laisser dans le
 besoin
 'I promise to help you and never to leave you in need'

- b. ??je vous promets de vous aider et de *jamais* n'être absent
'I promise to help you and never to be absent'

(For speakers who do not distinguish between (36a) and (36b), both forms are acceptable (Martineau fn. 13).) For speakers who do make the distinction shown in (36), the possibility for *jamais* to precede *ne* is linked to the possibility for the auxiliary verb to be raised to AgrS along with *ne*.¹⁹

The greater acceptability of (36b) is in parallel with the possibility of the *jamais* . . . *ne* ordering in tensed clauses which have V --> AgrS, whether or not *ne* is present. For neither tensed nor nontensed clauses, what does not occur in ModF is the ordering *pas* . . . *ne*. Thus, whereas *jamais* may move in tandem with the verb, the position of *pas* is fixed and, for Martineau, it is in [Spec,NegP].

The preposing of the negative adverb is an option that is clearly available in ModF. The text of my data that has the highest number of tokens for the *ne*-V-Inf-Adv ordering, the *Heptaméron*, gives a total of 15 tokens for the Adv-*ne*-V-Inf ordering, representing 18% of the total of 85 occurrences of *ne* + Adv tokens. However, in this text, 13/15 of the Adv-*ne* ordering tokens occur with *jamais* as the Adv. (For the *ne* . . . Adv orderings, *jamais* occurs in the proportion 14/70.)

The examples in (37) show different orderings for *jamais* in *Heptaméron* relative to *ne*, V-Inf and a clitic pronoun. (In (37) the sequencing (a,b - d) reflects successive historical stages.)²⁰

- (37) a. *deliberé de jamais n'en partir* (Hept 146,2)
'decided to never leave from there'
b. *vous me promectrez (. . .) de n'en pourchasser jamais la consommation*
(Hept 162,31)
'you will promise me (. . .) to never pursue the consummation of it'
c. *delibera de ne se jamais remarier* (Hept 229,27)
'decided to never remarry'
d. *après avoir prins serment de ne jamais le revele* (Hept 391,7)
'after having taken (an) oath to never reveal it'

¹⁹ Muller (1991:325) claims a marked possibility for the preposing of *jamais* and of other adverbs in ModF. Whilst Muller makes no mention of a distinction between auxiliary and nonauxiliary verbs, the one example that he gives involves an auxiliary verb:

(i) *je lui reproche de jamais n'avoir essayé de nous aider*

'I reproach him for never having tried to help us'

²⁰ The number of tokens in *Heptaméron* for the surface ordering represented in (37) are as follows (Pro = clitic pronoun):

(i)	Adv <i>ne</i> Pro V-Inf	8
	<i>ne</i> Pro V-Inf Adv	32
	<i>ne</i> Pro Adv V-Inf	3
	<i>ne</i> Adv Pro V-Inf	1

Under Martineau's chain-movement approach, the adverb *jamais* is adjoined to AgrSP since, in the regular pattern for ModF, the V moves up to AgrS. The contrast between (37a) and (37b) indicates that the adverb movement is an option because in (37b), although the V has moved up to AgrS, it is higher than the adverb in the surface structure (as also in tensed clauses). For the (37c,d) minority patterns for this period the V has moved only as far as T in infinitives.

The problem is then to determine exactly what is the adverb position in (37b-d). The adverb could be in NegP, like *pas* in ModF, or it could be lower than TP in the structure. For Martineau, the adverb should not be higher than TP in (37c,d) because the V has moved no higher than in T in these forms.

On the basis of the analysis of Section 2.3, the failure of V --> AgrS suggests that *ne* is identified by Spec-head agreement with the Neg operator in [Spec,NegP]. Now it could be that in the marked (37c,d) cases the Spec-head agreement applies dynamically at LF given that the majority pattern for this text and period achieves Neg-identification through V --> *ne*.²¹ However, I would suggest that before the emergence of *pas* as the prime [Spec,NegP] occupant, other reinforcing adverbs are comparable to *pas* in their syntactic behaviour. That is, they could move to [Spec,NegP] in the syntax.

Martineau's notion of chain-movement of the adverb is an interesting one. But, whilst it is successful in accounting for the dialect which includes the grammaticality contrast between (36a) and (36b), it is evident that a supplementary mechanism is required for the dialect which accepts both (36a) and (36b). It also cannot be extended to the analysis of English examples like those shown below:

- (38) a. never have I seen such a mess
b. no longer will I put up with this nonsense
(39) a. I hope to never see you again
b. I hope never to see you again

Clearly, it is not possible to say that the preposing of the adverb in (39b) is triggered by V/T-movement. If it is V --> C which triggers the possibility of the negative adverb in [Spec,CP], then the contrast between (40a) and (40b) is unexpected:

- (40) a. *have I never seen such a mess [non-question]
b. I have never seen such a mess

Rather, it would be the presence of the adverb in [Spec,CP] in (38) which is the trigger for V-movement to the C head.

²¹ With the proviso of note 17.

Although both the account that is given here and the account of Martineau (1993) provide analyses of changes in patterns of negation in terms of a negative strength parameter, the essentials of the analyses are nevertheless distinct. In my account $V \rightarrow \text{AgrS}$ is lost because the V is no longer required to identify a weak negative head. In Martineau's account, $V \rightarrow \text{AgrS}$ is lost because NegP becomes weak and creates a barrier blocking V -movement out of TP. Whilst the effects of both analyses are the same for the surface orderings, the Neg-identification approach seems more helpful in providing a motivation for the effects because it is consistent with other proposals requiring Spec-head agreement relations (as notably for *wh*-identification in Rizzi 1991). Another difference between the two approaches is that the (33_{iiia}) clause of the NEG-identification conditions proposed here provides a specific motivation for $V/T \rightarrow \text{AgrS}$ in the earlier stages of the construction.

3. Summary and implications.

The aim of this paper has been to find a means of identifying syntactic parameters to weakening/strengthening characteristics of elements involved in clausal negation. The changes in French that have been examined have led to the formulation of the NEG-identification conditions expressed in (33). The analysis that has been undertaken here has not attempted to propose an explanation of why it is that such weakening/strengthening changes actually occur, nor does it attempt to make predictions about future implementations of change, except in so far as any such changes would be predicted to conform with the conditions of (33). The conditions proposed in (33) are expressed in the terms of a syntactic framework that is based on the view that the syntactic principles that apply in a particular language are not peculiar to that language but are drawn from a universal system of principles which are applicable to all languages. Whilst it is not possible here for me to test the claims of (33) in such terms, I nevertheless propose to conclude with a brief discussion of how (33) might apply in English.

With regard to the developments in English as shown earlier in (5), Roberts (1993: ch. 3.2) proposes that *not* initially occupied [Spec, NegP] whereas the original *ne* was in Neg' (see especially p. 334, n. 7). During the stage which has the form *I ne seye not*, English is comparable to French *je ne dis pas* in terms both of the functions of the two negative elements and of the presence of $V \rightarrow \text{AgrS}$. With the loss of *ne*, the form *I say not* is then comparable to spoken French *je dis pas*. Subsequent to this stage, English loses $V \rightarrow \text{AgrS}$ and, according to Roberts' account, evidence for the cliticization of *not* as *n't* is simultaneous with the development of *do*-support in negative clauses. In terms of the conditions of (33), this suggests that the Neg is weak because *do*-support is required for its identification. On the other hand, following the discussion in Roberts, *do*-support is required in negative

clauses because the Neg blocks the V -raising which would otherwise have to apply for V -identification at LF. This interpretation means in effect that *do*-support is required in the domain of Neg independently of the need for Neg-identification.

However, when the forms of nonfinite clauses are contrasted with finite *he does not say/he doesn't say*, we find that *n't* is no longer possible:

- (41) a. they seem not to have heard the warning
 b. (?)they seem to not have heard the warning
 c. they seem to have not heard the warning
- (42) a. *they seem ton't have heard the warning
 b. *they seem to haven't heard the warning

Assuming that there are independent reasons for the failure of *to*-raising from T in (42a), then neither (42a) nor (42b) is possible because *n't* is an unidentified Neg (it is not identified by its T).

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