Movement of negative adverbs in French infinitival clauses*

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the position of negative adverbs such as *m ie, pas, point* and *jamais* in Middle and Classical French infinitival clauses. Instead of linking the movement of the infinitival verb to the strength of functional categories such as AGR\(^O\), I propose to link it to a parametric change of NEGP from strong to weak. Up to Classical French, the infinitival verb can move to AGR\(^O\) because NEGP is strong; this movement of the infinitival verb to AGR\(^O\) allows the movement of negative adverbs, which are base-generated in VP initial position. At the beginning of Classical French, a parametric change affected the strength of NEGP, from strong to weak. As a result of this parametric change, movement of the infinitival verb to AGR\(^O\) becomes more limited. Moreover, the difference between *pas* and other negative adverbs is due to a change in the nature of *pas*, from an adverb base-generated in VP initial position which can move, to a fixed adverb base-generated in the specifier position of NEGP.

I. NEGATION IN FRENCH

The aim of this paper is to examine the position of negative adverbs such as *m ie, pas, point* and *jamais* in Middle and Classical French infinitival clauses.\(^1\)*

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\(^1\) Middle French covers the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the beginning of the sixteenth century; the sixteenth century is often considered a period in itself; Classical French covers the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The paper only examines the position of negative adverbs such as *jamais, mie, pas* and *point*. Other elements may be used to express negation in French (for instance, *aucun, nul* and *rien*) but they behave as nouns. In fact, at the origin, *pas, point* and *mie* were nouns which express small quantities. In Old French, *pas* had lost its nominal meaning (Foulet 1982: 260) but *mie* and *point* maintained it until the end of Old French (thirteenth century). In Middle French, all these adverbs behave as negative adverbs.
In Middle French and sixteenth century French, the negative adverb appears after the infinitival verb and the clitic object, as shown in (1); in Classical French, the sentences in (1) are still possible but sentences such as (2), where the negative adverb intervenes between the infinitival verb and the clitic object, become more and more frequent; finally, in Modern French, the negative adverb generally appears in front of the infinitival verb and the clitic object, as shown in (3).

(1) a. **Middle French**
   et de ne s’en empescher point (Comynnes, Mémoires, 1990)
   ‘and to not stop himself’

   b. **Sixteenth-century French**
   car elle . . . commençea à ne le chercher pas (Navarre, Heptaméron, 763)
   ‘because she started to not look for him’

(2) **Classical French**
   de ne le pas aimer (LaFayette, Princesse de Clèves, 1157)
   ‘not to love him’

(3) **Modern French**
   Goyard a feint de ne pas le voir (Simenon, Le Chien jaune, 94)
   ‘Goyard pretends not to see him’

Most analyses of negation assume that there is no specific rule of adverb movement (see for instance Pollock 1989 and Belletti 1990). Following these analyses, the relative position of the negative adverb and the infinitival verb in (1)–(3) must be a result of the movement of the verb. I will show that an analysis in which negative adverbs are VP initial and move up to TP or to AGRP is more adequate to explain Middle and Classical French data.

In section 2, I summarize Pollock’s analysis. Section 3 develops an analysis of the movement of negative adverbs in Middle and Classical French. Section 4 deals with movement of the infinitival verb to different functional heads. Finally, in section 5, I will link the movement of the infinitival verb to a parametric change in the strength of NEGP.

2. **Pollock’s (1989) Analysis of Negation in Modern French**

Pollock (1989) proposes a division of the functional category IP into two independent projections: TP (Tense Phrase) and AGRP (Agreement Phrase). He also assumes that adverbs such as souvent, rarement and à peine do not move from their VP initial position; thus, he concludes that the word order Verb–Adverb in (4b) is derived from a movement of the tensed verb to the head AGR° and then to the head TO°. Sentence (4b) is represented in (5).

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2 Pollock (1989) suggests that verb movement is a head-to-head movement.Specifier positions of VP and AGRP are not indicated in Pollock’s structures.
   b. Jean embrasse souvent Marie (Pollock 1989: 367)  
      'John often kisses Mary'

(5) **Positive tensed clauses**

```
TP
   T'  
  AGRP
   VP
   t_i  
  VP
   t_i  
   souvent
   Marie
```

When the sentence is negated as in (6), Pollock proposes that a NEGP projection intervenes between TP and AGRP. The head of NEGP, the negative clitic ne, adjoins to T0. The negative adverb pas, contrary to the adverb souvent, is base-generated in the specifier position of NEGP and appears after the tensed verb which has been moved to T0. Sentence (6b) is represented in (7).

(6) a. *Jean ne pas embrasse Marie  
   b. Jean n’embrasse pas Marie  
      'John does not kiss Mary'

(7) **Negative tensed clauses**

```
TP
   T'  
  NEGP
   NEG'  
  AGRP
   VP
   t_i  
  VP
   t_i  
   souvent
   Marie
```

Pollock considers that infinitival clauses in Modern French project to TP, similarly to tensed clauses. However, in Modern French infinitival clauses, the verb generally does not move to T0, and the negative adverb pas must appear preverbally, as shown in (8). Nonetheless, the infinitival verb may move to the lower functional node, AGR0, since it may precede an adverb like souvent which appears in the initial position of VP. Sentence (8a) is represented in (9).

(8) a. Jean promet de ne pas embrasser Marie  
   b. *Jean promet de n’embrasser pas souvent Marie  
      'John promises not to kiss Mary often'
(9) **Negative infinitival clauses**

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(TP) Spec</th>
<th>T'</th>
<th>NEGP</th>
<th>NEG'</th>
<th>AGRP</th>
<th>VP</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>ne</td>
<td>pas</td>
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<td>embrasser,</td>
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<td>tj</td>
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<tr>
<td>souvent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marie</td>
</tr>
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Pollock's (1989: 372) analysis is based on two hypotheses, given in (10):

(10) a. Infinitival and tensed clauses have the same structure. Only the feature \([±\) tense\)] differs.

b. There is no special process of adverb movement at work in syntax. Adverbs like *souvent* appear in the initial position of VP; a negative adverb like *pas* appears in the specifier position of NEGP.

I will adopt the null hypothesis (10a), according to which infinitival clauses have the same structure as tensed clauses and only differ by the feature \([±\) tense\)]\). It must be noted that from Middle to Modern French, the clitic *ne* is found quite regularly in the infinitival clauses, as shown in (11). Since the clitic of negation is generally assumed to adjoin to the highest inflectional head (AGRP or TP depending on the analysis) (see for instance Pollock 1989; Belletti 1990; Zanuttini 1991), infinitival clauses must project to this highest inflectional head.

(11) a. **Middle French**

`et ainsi aurez excuse de n’en point donner`

(Vigneulles, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, 52, 93)

‘and thus you will have a reason not to give any’

b. **Classical French**

`Il ferait fort bien de n’en lire pas davantage` (Scarron, *Le Romant comique*, 575)

‘he would do well not to read anymore’

c. **Modern French**

`mais il avait le défaut de ne pas dire la même chose`

(Simeno, *L’Amie de Madame Maigret*, 27)

‘but he had the fault of not saying the same thing’

However, contrary to Pollock who assumes that TP dominates AGRP, I will follow Belletti’s (1990) analysis which proposes that AGRP dominates TP and is thus more in agreement with Baker’s (1988) Mirror Principle. The structure I adopt for infinitival clauses is represented in (12). The heads V\(^{O}\), T\(^{O}\) and AGR\(^{O}\) project to VP, AGRP and TP. TP is the complement of
AGR P and VP is the complement of AGRP. All these categories have a specifier position.

(12) Infinitival clauses

However, the second hypothesis of Pollock, hypothesis (10b) which states that a negative adverb like *pas* does not undergo movement, cannot take into account the difference between the Middle French sentences (13) and (14). In (13) (= (1b)), the negative adverb *pas* follows the infinitival verb; since the clitic *ne* is adjoined to the highest functional node AGR₀, and *pas* is in the specifier position of NEGP, the infinitival verb should have moved to AGR₀.

(13) car elle . . . commencea à *ne* le chercher *pas* (Navarre, *Heptaméron*, 763)
‘because she started to not look for him’

Compare now (13) to (14), another example from the same period but where the negative adverb appears in front of the clitic *ne* and the infinitival verb.

(14) Car onques ne veistes homme qui eust plus grande affection d'estre roy et riche que moy, affin de faire grande chere, *pas ne* travailler, *point ne* me soucier (Rabelais, *Gargantua*, I, from Gougenheim 1984: 242)
‘because you have never seen a man who wanted so much as I to become a king and to be rich, so as to live well, not to work, not to worry’

If we adopt Pollock’s hypothesis according to which adverbs do not move, two solutions might explain the position of the adverbs *pas* and *point* in (14). First, we can consider that the negative adverb is not in the specifier position of NEGP in (14), in which case we will have to stipulate two fixed positions for the same adverb during the same linguistic period, specifier of NEGP for (13) and specifier of AGRP for (14). Another solution would be to leave the adverb *pas* in the specifier of NEGP and to propose that the clitic *ne* does not adjoin to AGR₀ in (14); this would mean that *ne* would be a clitic in (13), but not in (14). But it is difficult to argue that *ne* is not a clitic in Middle French; for instance, its behaviour contrasts with the non clitic behaviour of *non*. As none of these solutions is completely satisfactory, I will develop an analysis in which negative adverbs can move in the next section.
3. MOVEMENT OF NEGATIVE ADVERBS

To explain the position of negative adverbs in Middle and Classical French, I propose the following hypotheses:

(15) **Middle and Classical French**

a. Negative adverbs are not generated in the specifier position of NEG but in the initial position of VP.³

b. Negative adverbs move along a chain created by the movement of the infinitival verb.⁴

The initial position of VP is generally assumed to be a position for adverbs. That means that negative adverbs are associated, according to hypothesis (15a), with other adverbs. Originally, many negative adverbs were nouns meaning ‘small quantities’ but with no special negative meaning associated with them (for instance *point* means ‘dot’, *mie* ‘crumb’) (see also note 1). In Middle French, they are reanalysed as adverbs but the relation between the head of the negation, the clitic *ne*, and negative adverbs is not very close. For instance, in Middle French and at the beginning of Classical French, the clitic *ne* could express the negation alone, without the negative adverb (16).⁵

(16) a. **Middle French**

*faînstant de ne s’en appercevoir*  
(Vigneulles, *Les Cents Nouvelles Nouvelles*, 40, 24)

'pretending not to notice it'

b. **Sixteenth-century French**

*pour ne troubler le mystère*  
(Montaigne, *Essais*, 76)

'not to disturb the mystery'

c. **Classical French**

*pour ne laisser le certain pour . . .*  
(Sorel, *Histoire comique de Francion*, 193)

'not to leave what is sure for . . .'

³ According to Sportiche’s (1988) Adjunct Projection Principle, this position is an adjunction to VP.

⁴ That the movement of negative adverbs (XP category) is linked to that of the infinitival verb (X⁰ category) may be due to the fact that adverbs have scope over the verb and modify it.

⁵ As pointed out by Huguet (1967: 271) ‘L’idée négative contenue dans la particule *ne* est encore assez forte pour qu’elle n’ait pas besoin d’être confirmée par des mots auxiliaires’. ('The negative meaning of *ne* is strong enough and does not have to be completed by auxiliary words').

The way negation is expressed varies from language to language. For instance, in Italian, only *non* is used, in Modern Standard French, *ne* and the negative adverb must be used and in Valdotain, only the negative adverb *pas* is used (see Zanuttini 1991). The evolution of negation in French shows the three patterns. *Non* was weakened to *ne* which could be used alone during Middle French and at the beginning of Classical French. Then, *ne* had to be reinforced by a negative adverb. Finally, *ne* became weaker and in Modern Popular French, the negation can be expressed by the negative adverb alone (see Bauche 1946). Details of this evolution in French and other Romance languages are beyond the scope of this article.
Movement of negative adverbs

Moreover, negative adverbs can be found alone, without the clitic ne, in indeterminate clauses, as shown in (17)–(19) (see Moignet 1965; Martin 1972; Yvon 1948).6

(17) **Middle French**

a. car par ainsi pourras eschapper d’en point donner
   (Vigneuelles, *Les Cents Nouvelles Nouvelles*, 52, 128)
   ‘and in that way you can avoid giving any’

b. Le veu que vous feistes au partir, dit elle, de point coucher avec vostre femme
   (anonymous, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, 204, 105)
   ‘The vow you made when you left, she said, not to sleep with your wife’

c. de point refuser ung bien quand il leur vient
   (anonymous, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, 351, 126)
   ‘not to refuse something good when it comes’

(18) **Sixteenth-century French**

a. Combiens que, selon la raison, elle estoit delibere de jamais plus l’aymer
   *(ibid.,* 10, ed. M. François, p. 75, from Gougenheim 1984: 242)
   ‘Because, according to reason, she was decided never more to love him’

b. Poinct soupper (respondit Pantagruel) seroit le meiller
   *(Rabelais, III, 13,* from Gougenheim 1984: 242)
   ‘Not to have supper (Pantagruel answered) would be the best’

(19) **Classical French**

Il est bien difficile de se pas imaginer que . . .
   *(Voiture, I, 14,* from Haase 1969: 333)
   ‘It is quite difficult not to imagine that . . .’

Negative adverbs can also be used alone in tensed clauses, without the clitic ne, as in (20)–(21).

(20) **Middle French**

Car en ce monde rien ne say
Ne parens ne ma propre vie
Que je acomparisse mie
A l’amour de toy, mon seigneur
   *(Griseldis,* v. 1676–1679, from Marchello-Nizia 1979: 245)
   ‘Because in this world nobody knows, neither parents nor my own life, that I do not agree to your love, my lord’

(21) **Sixteenth-century French**

a. . . . dont la tristesse et la joye est quasi point sentye
   *(Navarre, from Gougenheim 1984: 241)
   ‘of which the sadness and the joy are almost not felt’

b. Comment dit le prevost, j’avois pas dict cela
   *(Des Périers, Oeuvres,* from Brunot 1967, II: 219)
   ‘What, the provost said, I have not said that’

6 Negative adverbs can also be found alone in direct or indirect interrogative clauses.
Because *ne* could in and of itself serve as negation and was not obligatorily linked to negative adverbs, I propose the hypothesis (15a), that negative adverbs are not D-structure specifiers of NEGP but are base-generated in VP initial position. Pollock (1989: 414) himself admits that some negative adverbs like *point*, *plus* and *guère* must be VP initial in Modern French. I propose to extend this list to all negative adverbs, including *pas*, for Middle and Classical French.\(^7\)

The second hypothesis, hypothesis (15b) on the movement of adverbs, is based on chain analyses like Kayne's (1984a) and Travis' (1988). According to hypothesis (15b), if the infinitival verb only moves to To\(^O\), the negative adverb will not move higher than TP. But if the infinitival verb moves to AGRO\(^O\), the negative adverb will be allowed to move up to AGRP to which it adjoins.

In Pollock (1989), the movement of the infinitival verb, from the nearest to the most distant inflectional head, is based on the position of adverbs which are assumed not to move. By proposing hypothesis (15b) which states that negative adverbs do move, the position of the infinitival verb at S-structure should be motivated independently. Three arguments support a movement of the infinitival verb to AGRO\(^O\) in Middle and Classical French.

First, at least at the beginning of Middle French, no more than one element could appear between the preposition in CO\(^O\) and the infinitival verb, which suggests that the infinitival verb must move to AGRO\(^O\).

\[(22)\] **Middle French**

*de plus guères te voir*

'not to see you very often'

Moreover, in Middle French and in the French of the sixteenth century, the negative adverb usually appears after the infinitival verb (23)–(24); sentences like (25) where the negative adverb also appears after the infinitival verb are still frequent at the beginning of Classical French even if, as will be shown in section (4), the construction with the negative adverb before the infinitival verb starts to be used more often during this period. If the infinitival verb moves to AGRO\(^O\), as we have assumed, we expect to find sentences like (23)–(25) where no element can intervene between *ne* which is adjoined to AGRO\(^O\) and the infinitival verb.

\[(23)\] **Middle French**

Car vous avez le choix de combattre ou de *ne* combatre *pas* . . .

*(Jouvencel, 1, 184, from Martin and Wilmet 1980: 27)*

'because you have the choice to fight or not to fight'

\[(24)\] **French of the sixteenth century**

car elle (. . .) commençait à *ne* le chercher *pas* (Navarre, *Heptameron*, 703)

'because she started not to look for him'

\(^7\) See Rowlett (1991) for a similar idea but for Modern French tensed clauses.
Movement of negative adverbs

(25) Classical French
   une occasion de ne le suivre pas (Sorel, Histoire comique de Francion, 231)
   'an opportunity not to follow him'

   Finally, according to hypothesis (15b), if the infinitival verb moves to AGR₀ in Middle and Classical French, this movement should create a chain within which the adverb may move. If this analysis is correct, the negative adverb should also be found in the initial position of AGRP. Indeed, sentences such as (26)–(27) where a negative adverb like jamais, pas, point or plus precedes the clitic and the infinitival verb are found quite regularly.⁸

(26) Middle French
   a. il nous promettra de jamais ne nous accuser
      (Vigneulles, Les Cents Nouvelles Nouvelles, 57, 134)
      'he will promise us never to accuse us'
   b. afin de jamais n'y renchäoir
      (Pisan, Livre de la Paix, 125, 1, from Pearce 1991: 5)
      'in order never to fall again'
   c. et promist de jamais n'en plus parler
      (Vigneulles, Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, 95, 90)
      'he promised never to talk about it'

(27) Sixteenth-century French
   a. de jamais ne la pouvoir ravoir vive (Navarre, L'Heptaméron, 719)
      'never to be able to have her alive again'
   b. et promesse de plus n'y retourner (Navarre, L'Heptaméron, 713)
      'and promise never to return there'
   c. Car onques ne veistes homme qui eust plus grande affection d'estre roy et riche que moy, afin de faire grande chere, pas ne travailler, point ne me soucier (Rabelais, Gargantua, 1, from Gougenheim 1984: 242)
      'because you have never seen a man who wanted so much as I to become a king and to be rich, so as to live well, not to work, not to worry'

In sentence (26a), represented in (28), the clitic ne moves from the head of NEGP to the head of AGRP to which it is adjoined. Similarly, the object clitic nous moves from head to head to AGR₀. Finally, the infinitival verb

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⁸ Sentences like (26)–(27) are also found in tensed clauses, from Old French to sixteenth-century French. If adverbs can move, we expect them to appear before tensed and infinitival verbs (see also note 15).

(i) Old French
   Saciés, pas ne vous dechoi (Courtois d'Arras, 217, from Foulet 1982: 260).

(ii) Middle French
   a. La royne, qui pas ne dormoit, desirant veoir que c'estoit, dist au roy
   b. Car point ne se doubloient de ce dolent retourner
   c. car jamais n'y pourray recouvrer (Bérinus, 1, §37, from Marchello-Nizia 1979: 248).

(iii) Sixteenth-century French
   a. Vray est aussi que pas ne les mérite
accuser moves to the highest functional node AGR⁰; this movement allows the negative adverb jamais to move to AGRP to which it is adjoined.⁹

\[
(28)
\begin{align*}
\text{AGRP} & \\
\quad \text{AGR'} & \\
\quad \text{NEGP} & \\
\quad \text{NEG'} & \\
\quad \text{TP} & \\
\quad \text{Spec} & \\
\quad \text{VP} & \\
\quad \text{V'} & \\
\quad t & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Following this analysis, we also expect the difference between (29a) and (29b). In a prepositional infinitival clause, the complementizer de in the head of CP disallows any movement of the infinitival verb to this position; therefore, we do not expect negative adverbs to adjoin to CP.¹⁰ Systematic research for such data does not produce one single example like (29b).

\[
(29) \quad \begin{align*}
a. \quad & \text{il nous promettera de jamais ne nous accuser} \\
b. \quad & ^*\text{il nous promettera jamais de ne nous accuser} \\
& \text{‘he will promise us never to accuse us’}
\end{align*}
\]

To summarize, if the infinitival verb moves to AGR⁰ in Middle and Classical French, we expect (1) no more than one element to intervene between the preposition in C⁰ and the infinitival verb in AGR⁰; (2) no element to intervene between the clitic ne adjoined to AGR⁰ and the infinitival verb in AGR⁰; (3) adunction of the negative adverb to AGRP, since the adverb follows the verbal chain created by the movement of the infinitival verb.

(Marat, Épîtres, 35, vol 1, p. 204, from Gougenheim 1984: 241)

b. Et pas ne s’en alloit \( (\text{Rabelais, 1, 132 from Huguet 1957: 270}) \)

I adopt Koopman and Sportiche (1985) who propose to generate the subject inside VP. However, for reasons of clarity, I would represent it in its surface position.

In sentences (26)–(27), no pause intervenes between the adverb and the infinitival verb and no differences in scope are found whether the negative adverb appears preverbally or postverbally.

As Kayne (1989) has shown for Italian, di is a complementizer since it blocks the head-to-head movement of the object clitic. In Middle French, de behaves as a complementizer and also blocks clitic movements (see Martineau 1990) (see also Kayne 1984b for an analysis of de as a complementizer in Modern French: for another point of view, see Battye 1983).
4. MOVEDMENT OF THE INFINITIVAL VERB TO TO

At the end of Middle French and at the beginning of Classical French, two important changes occur in infinitival clauses. First, sentences with more than one element between the preposition in CO and the infinitival verb are found more and more frequently, as in (30).

(30) a. et sans plus γ gueres penser va besoigner a sa cuisine
   (anonymous, Les Cents Nouvelles Nouvelles, 117, 61)
   'and without thinking more of it, he goes to work in the kitchen'

b. pour la loy d'armes aigremente observer
   (Alain Chartier, Quadrilogue invectif, 55, 4, from Pearce 1991: 6)
   'in order to strictly observe the military law'

Moreover, negative adverbs can appear before the infinitival verb, so that they intervene between the object clitic, adjoined to AGR⁰, and the infinitival verb, as in (31)–(32).

(31) Middle French
   mais il fainoit de n'en point savoir
   (Vigneulles, Les Cents Nouvelles Nouvelles, 38, 16)
   'but he pretended not to know about it'

(32) Classical French
   a. de ne la pas tourmenter davantage
   (LaFayette, Princesse de Clèves, 1180)
   'not to torment her more'

b. de ne le plus nommer
   (LaFayette, Princesse de Clèves, 1251)
   'not to name it anymore'

c. esperant de ne vous point payer
   (Sorel, Histoire comique de Francion, 159)
   'hoping not to pay you'

In sentence (32a), repeated in (33), the negative clitic ne is adjoined to AGR⁰, where the object clitic is also adjoined. This means that the infinitival verb, which is separated from the negative clitic ne and the object clitic by the negative adverb pas, must be in a position lower than AGR⁰. The fact that the adverb davantage, in the initial position of VP, follows the infinitival verb suggests that the infinitival verb has been moved to TO.

(33) de [AGR⁰ nek la j [NEG⁰ pas [NEG¹ t⁰k t⁰j [TP [TO t⁰j tourmenter [VP davantage [VP [v t⁰i t⁰j]]]]]]]]

But is the movement of the infinitival verb to TO obligatory? Could the infinitival verb also stay within VP? If we follow Pollock's assumption that there is no specific rule of adverb movement, the movement of the infinitival verb to TO must be optional since in (34)–(35) the adverb appears before the infinitival verb.

(34) Middle French
   a. Alors tous vindrent le tremblument remercier
   (Saintre, 238, 16, from Martin and Wilmet 1980: 158)
   'Then all came to thank him very humbly'
France Martineau

b. vous avez tort de nous ainsi reveiller
   (anonymous, Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, 212, 169, from Martineau 1990: 203)
   ‘you are wrong to wake us up in that way’

c. elle desiroit a le bien festoier
   (Vigneuelles, Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, 16, 33, from Martineau 1990: 203)
   ‘she wished to celebrate him amply’

d. Promis aussi, s’il ne retournoit de bref, de lui souvent escrire
   (anonymous, Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, 344, 31, from Martineau 1990: 203)
   ‘He also promised, if he did not return rapidly, to write to her often’

(35) Classical French
a. de le bien éprouver avant que de se faire connaître
   (Lesage, Le Diable boiteux, 115, 41)
   ‘to test him well before revealing who he was’

b. pour les mal employer
   (Lesage, Le Diable boiteux, 99, 17)
   ‘not to use them well’

c. ses fers commencent à lui moins peser
   (Lesage, Le Diable boiteux, 189, 17)
   ‘his chains start to weigh less’

However, if we consider that any adverb can move, the fact that the adverbs appear before the infinitival verb in (34)–(35) would not necessarily imply that the verb has not moved.

To reach a more uniform analysis of verb movement, I propose that infinitival verbs, like tensed verbs, must move to inflectional categories in French. In tensed clauses, the verb must move to the highest inflectional head (AGR欢) from Middle through Modern French. In infinitival clauses, the verb also moves to AGR欢 in Middle and Classical French; however, during the Classical French period, the infinitival verb stops moving to AGR欢 and only moves to T欢 (see section 5 for the conditions allowing the short or long movement of the infinitival verb). Maybe this short movement of the infinitival verb to T欢 is necessary for the infinitival verb to get its infinitival suffix. In sentence (34b), repeated in (36), the infinitival verb moves to T欢 and the adverb ainsi moves from the initial position of VP to the initial position of TP.

(36) vous avez tort [CP [C de [AGR [AGR nous [TP ainsi [TP [T t; reveiller, [VP t; [VP [V, t, t]]]]]]]]]]

5. THE STRENGTH OF NEG

In section 4, we have assumed that infinitival verbs must move to inflectional categories (T欢 or AGR欢). The next question which naturally comes to mind is: what are the conditions allowing long movement (to AGR欢) or short movement (to T欢) of the infinitival verb?
Movement of negative adverbs

According to Pollock (1989), the long or short movement of the infinitival verb depends on the strength of AGR (recall that in Pollock’s analysis, TP dominates AGRP). A ‘strong’ AGR\(^O\), as in Italian, will allow long movement of the infinitival verb to T\(^O\) across barriers.

(37) **Italian**
    per non mangiare più / mica  (Pollock 1989: 412)
    ‘to not eat / to never eat’

In Modern French, AGR\(^O\) would not be strong enough to allow the verb, when it is moved up to T\(^O\), to transmit its theta-indices to its arguments; only the auxiliaries être and avoir or modal verbs like devoir, which do not have complements to theta-mark, could move to T\(^O\), as shown in (38).

(38) **Modern French**
    a. qui semble bien ne devoir pas aboutir  
       (Aymé, Clérambard, 80, from Engver 1972: 18)
       ‘which seems in effect not to have an end’
    b. qui prétend n’avoir pas de mémoire  
       (Simenon, L’Amie de Madame Maigret, 53)
       ‘who pretends not to have any memory’

Instead of linking the movement of the infinitival verb to the strength of functional categories, I propose to link it to the negation itself, which has been affected by many changes in Middle and Classical French.

We have seen that until the beginning of Classical French, negative adverbs can be used independently of the negative clitic ne, which can express the negation alone. But at the end of Middle French and at the beginning of Classical French, negative adverbs are associated with ne more and more often. According to Marchello-Nizia (1979: 242), Middle French is characterized by a more frequent use of compound negation. Brunot (1967: 472) mentions that in his 1593 edition, Montaigne added pas where he only used ne in his 1588 edition. Corneille also corrected his texts, adding ne where only the negative adverb appeared in the preceding editions.

The more frequent use of compound negation in the infinitival clauses coincides with a decrease in the use of the construction with the infinitival verb before the negative adverb. As shown in Table 1, the infinitival verb always precedes the negative adverb at the end of Middle French. However, during the sixteenth century, the position of the infinitival verb starts to change and since the seventeenth century, the infinitival verb tends to follow the negative adverb.

I propose that the loss of movement of the infinitival verb to AGR\(^O\) (that is to say, the construction ne + Infinitival verb + Negative adverb) is linked to a parametric change in NEGP. In Middle French, NEGP is ‘strong’ and ne can express the negation alone. But at the beginning of Classical French, NEGP becomes ‘weaker’ and the compound negation is more and more frequently used (for instance, ne . . . pas/jamais/guères). This parametric change, from
France Martineau

Table 1. *Frequency of the constructions* ne + Infinitival verb + Negative adverb and ne + Negative adverb + Infinitival verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>ne + Inf + Negative Adv</em></th>
<th><em>ne + Negative Adv + Inf</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fifteenth century</td>
<td>100% (20/20)</td>
<td>0% (0/20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixteenth century</td>
<td>74% (54/73)</td>
<td>26% (19/73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventeenth century</td>
<td>51% (128/253)</td>
<td>49% (125/253)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighteenth century</td>
<td>32% (63/198)</td>
<td>68% (135/198)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nineteenth century</td>
<td>11% (10/88)</td>
<td>89% (78/88)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twentieth century</td>
<td>14% (5/36)</td>
<td>86% (31/36)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'strong' to 'weak' NEGP, resulted in the creation of a barrier which blocked long movement of the infinitival verb to AGR\(^O\).

For instance, in Modern French, the weakness of NEGP does not allow the movement of the infinitival verb to AGR\(^O\), as in (39).

(39) **Modern French**

    nous devons être aveugles pour *ne pas* la trouver

    (Simenon, *L'Amie de Madame Maigret*, 48)

    'we must be blind not to find her'

Compare now the position of the negative adverb *pas* in (39) to the position of the negative adverb *jamais* in (40); sentence (40) seems to suggest that infinitival verbs can move to AGR\(^O\) in Modern French if the negative adverb is *jamais*.

(40) **Modern French**

    a. Mariez-vous donc, mon pauvre enfant, et puissiez-vous *ne* regretter *jamais* de vous y être résolu  
        (Aymé, *Clérambault*, p. 24, from Engver 1972: 26)

        'Get married, my poor child, and may you never regret having decided it'

    b. Mais je tiens que se piquer de ne parler *jamais* d'argent est une fausse élegance, et marque de bourgeoisie


        'But I maintain that to pride oneself on never talking about money is false elegance and a sign of bourgeoisie'

However, we would like to arrive at a more uniform analysis than one which allows the movement of the infinitival verb to AGR\(^O\) with *jamais* but which excludes it with *pas*.

Part of the answer seems to be based on the nature of these adverbs; at the end of Middle French, the negative adverb *pas* becomes closely linked to the expression of negation at the expense of adverbs such as *mie* and *point* (see Marchello-Nizia 1979: 243). I would argue that this change reflects a change in the nature of *pas*. *Pas*, which appeared in the initial position of VP, became a fixed adverb, base-generated in the specifier position of NEGP, contrary to
other adverbs like *jamais* which are still base-generated in VP initial position and can move.  

In (41) (= (39)), the infinitival verb, which has moved to T^O^, cannot move to AGR^O^ since NEG^P^ is weak. The negative adverb *pas*, in the specifier position of NEG^P^, must appear in front of the infinitival verb. Sentence (42) (= (40b)) is similar to (41), except that the negative adverb *jamais*, in the initial position of VP, appears after the infinitival verb which has been moved to T^O^.

(41) nous devons être aveugles pour *ne pas* le trouver

(‘we must be blind not to find her’)

Simenon, *L’Amie de Madame Maigret*

pour \[\text{AGR} \text{AGR}^\text{N} \text{NEG} \text{pas} \text{NEG}^r \text{t}^k \text{TP} \text{T} \text{la} \text{trouver} \text{VP} \text{V} \text{t} \text{t}^i\]\]

(42) de *ne* parler *jamais* d’argent (Montherlant, *Le Maître . . .

‘on never talking about money’

\[\text{de}\ [\text{AGR} \text{AGR}^\text{N} \text{NEG} \text{NEG}^r \text{t}^k \text{TP} \text{T} \text{parler} \text{VP} \text{jamais} \text{VP} \text{V} \text{t}^i \text{d’argent}]^{-}\]\n
As *jamais* is not a fixed adverb, it can also be moved within the verbal chain created by the movement of the infinitival verb to T^O^, as in (43).

(43) et de *ne jamais* vous laisser dans le besoin (Aymé, *Les Oiseaux . . .

‘and never to leave you in need’

\[\text{et de}\ [\text{AGR} \text{AGR}^\text{N} \text{NEG} \text{NEG}^r \text{t}^k \text{TP} \text{jamais} \text{TP} \text{vous} \text{laisser} \text{VP} \text{t}^i \text{VP} \text{V} \text{t}^i \text{t}^i_1 \text{t}^i_2 \text{dans le besoin}]^{-}\]\n
If the hypothesis that negative adverbs can move within the chain created by the movement of the infinitival verb is correct, the adverb *jamais* should not move higher than TP when movement of the infinitival verb becomes limited to T^O^. Indeed, sentences such as (44), where *jamais* is adjoined to AGR^P^ as in sentences (26)–(27), are ungrammatical in Modern French.

(44) *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’

However, in Modern French, verbs like *être, avoir, devoir* are able to move across NEG^P^, as in (45).  

(45) qui prétend n’avoir *pas* de mémoire (Simenon, *L’Amie de Madame Maigret*, 53)

‘who pretends not to have any memory’

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11 To be interpreted as a compound negation, the negative adverb must be in a Spec–Head relation with the head of the negation *ne* (or its trace). This relation may occur at the level of Logical Form or at S-Structure (see Belletti 1990). For negative adverbs like *jamais*, base-generated in VP initial position, this relation occurs in Logical Form. However, for a negative adverb like *pas*, this relation occurs at S-Structure, *pas* being the specifier of NEG^P^.

12 Both Belletti (1990) and Ouahalla (1990) argue that auxiliaries are aspectual elements which project an ASPP. The relative position of this phrase must be higher than NEG^P^, so as to prevent other verbs moving to this position in Modern French.
As expected, sentence (46) is ungrammatical since *pas, a fixed adverb base-generated in the specifier of NEGp in Modern French, cannot move in the specifier position of AGRp even if the auxiliary verb has moved to AGRp.

(46) *Je vous promets de vous aider et de *pas n’être absent
     ‘I promise to help you and not to be absent’

However, following our analysis, *jamais should be able to adjoin to AGRp when auxiliary verbs like être and avoir move to AGRp. Sentence (47) is not fully acceptable but, for many speakers, it is better than (46). 13

(47) ?? Je vous promets de vous aider et de *jamais n’être absent

In fact, adverbs like *jamais and point can also appear before ne in tensed clauses, as in (48), contrary to an adverb like *pas, as in (49), since tensed verbs must move to AGRp. 14, 15

(48) a. Point n’en va de même en Bulgarie
     (Arland, A Perdre Haleine, p. 155, from Gaatone 1971: 63)
     b. Comme *jamais ne m’a embrassé ma mère
        (Vallès, L’Enfant, 146)

(49) a. *Pas n’en va de même en Bulgarie
     b. Comme *pas ne m’a embrassé ma mère

13 Most of the fifty speakers I consulted found a significant contrast between sentence (46) and sentence (47). For them, sentences with *pas before ne are completely excluded whereas sentences with *jamais before ne are better, even if not fully acceptable. The fact that sentence (47) is accepted by the speakers I asked is not due to some regionalisms since different dialects (French from Canada, France and Belgium) were spoken by my informants.

For some speakers, there is not a clear difference between sentence (44) and sentence (47); both sentences with *jamais before ne and the infinitival verb were considered acceptable. In other words, for a subset of speakers, the type of infinitival verb used, full verb as in (44) or auxiliary verb as in (47), does not have an influence on the acceptability of these sentences. This result may probably be explained by the influence of tensed clauses. In tensed clauses, *jamais can appear before ne, no matter which verb is used since all tensed verbs must move to AGRp (see 48b). I leave that point for future research.

14 Tensed verbs can move over NEGp from Middle to Modern French. A difference in the strength of AGRp between tensed and infinitival clauses, as proposed by Pollock (1989: 385), may explain why tensed verbs always move to AGRp in Modern French; in the framework of my analysis, the fact that AGRp is strong will avoid the barrierhood of NEGp. Notice that Pollock’s parallelism between English tensed clauses and French infinitival clauses, which both present a weak AGRp, could also be maintained within my analysis.

It must be emphasized that, following my analysis, the differences in the movement of negative adverbs in infinitival clauses rely on a parametric change of NEGp, from strong to weak, and not on the strength of AGRp, which remains weaker in infinitival clauses from Middle to Modern French just as it remains stronger in tensed clauses from Middle to Modern French.

15 As Gougenheim (1984) remarks for Middle French tensed clauses, the structure where the negative adverb precedes ne is found when the subject is not expressed (prodrop) or when it appears after the verb. Modern French tensed clauses like (48) seem to follow this pattern.

In Modern French, *pas can appear before ne in tensed clauses only when it forms a constituent with the subject (see Gaatone 1971: 49)

Mais pas la moindre étincelle n’avait jailli. (Gaïdès, Se le grain ne meurt, p. 19, from Gaatone 1971: 49)
6. CONCLUSION

We have seen that the movement of the infinitival verb, from Middle to Modern French, is linked to a parametric change of NEGP. Up until Classical French, infinitival verbs can move to AGR0 since NEGP is strong. The movement of the infinitival verb allows the movement of negative adverbs, which are base-generated in VP initial position. At the beginning of Classical French, compound negation becomes more frequently used and this change reflects a parametric change of NEGP, from strong to weak. As a result of this parametric change, movement of the infinitival verb to AGR0 becomes more limited. Moreover, the difference between pas and other negative adverbs is due to change in the nature of pas, from an adverb base-generated in VP initial position which can move, to a fixed adverb base-generated in the specifier position of NEGP.

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France Martineau


**COLLECTED TEXTS**

*Middle French to sixteenth-century French*


Movement of negative adverbs

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French


Nineteenth- and twentieth-century French