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## DIVERGENT PATHWAYS OF JESPERSEN'S CYCLE IN WEST IBERIAN ROMANCE: EVIDENCE BASED ON SPANISH AND ASTURLEONESE (PART I)\*

This paper is the first part of Alonso Pascua (in press). Both address the question as to why Jespersen's Cycle (JC) evolved differently in Romance, focusing on the analysis of negation patterns in two West Iberian languages: Spanish and Asturleonese. The hypothesis that JC gets blocked when speakers are provided with evidence that negation is complex, but activated when this evidence is unavailable, will be tested. It will be contended that the alternation of two forms for negation in Old Spanish, triggered by adjacency with object clitics (OCs), provided speakers with evidence of the complex nature of negation and contributed to the blocking of JC. Conversely, it will be argued that the lack of such an alternation in Asturleonese hampered the speaker's awareness of this complexity and favoured the activation of JC. This evidence will be used to support the hypothesis tested and thus contribute to a better understanding of the long-standing question of JC triggers.

Keywords: Jespersen's Cycle, Negation, Clitics, West Iberian Romance, Spanish, Asturleonese

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## 1. Introduction and aims<sup>1</sup>

It is well known that Spanish displays a negation (Neg) pattern upon the scheme Neg V (1), which contrasts with those languages where Jespersen's Cycle (JC) gets activated, giving rise to different negation schemes such as the Neg V (Neg) pattern of Catalan (2), the (Neg) V Neg scheme of spoken French (3) and the V Neg structure of Piedmontese (4):<sup>2</sup>

- (1) *Ana no tiene dinero para pagar las deudas.*  
 Ana NEG have.3SG.PRS.IND money to pay.INF the debts  
 'Ana has no money to pay off her debts'.

- (2) *És un secret, no els ho digueu (pas).*  
 be.3SG.PRS.IND a secret NEG them.DAT it.ACC tell.2PL.IMP NEG  
 'It is a secret, do not tell them'.

- (3) *Louis (ne) va pas en montagne en été.*  
 Louis NEG go.3SG.PRS.IND NEG in mountain in summer  
 'Louis does not go to the mountains in summer'.

- (4) *Lur a mangio nen furmagg 'd crava.*  
 they NOM eat.3PL.PRS.IND NEG cheese of goat.  
 'They do not eat goat cheese'.

For the purpose of accounting for this asymmetry and shedding some light on the blocking of JC in Spanish, for which scant attention has been paid in previous literature, this paper will test the hypothesis that the speaker's awareness of the morphological complexity of Neg may lie behind the (non) activation of the process, as put forth and shown by Garzonio and Poletto (2014) in Italo-Romance. To this end, the particulars of Spanish Neg will be analysed both independently and in contrast with those used in Asturleonese, a closely related Ibero-Romance language that coexists with Spanish in the northwestern region of

<sup>1</sup> All the glosses follow the general guidelines of The Leipzig Glossing Rules. Further abbreviations have been introduced for imperfect, (IPRF), minimiser (MINIM) and expressive (EXPR).

<sup>2</sup> For a panoramic, schematic view of the negation patterns in the entire Romance space, see Lindblom (2013).

Asturias and, less commonly, in the provinces of Leon and Zamora. The choice of a comparative study is justified by the fact that, in spite of the close linguistic similarities between both languages and their common external history, they have interestingly developed different Neg systems. The first system displays a Neg V pattern, as in (5), and the second one allows for Neg V (Neg) structures, as in (6). The comparison is thus aimed at scrutinising the linguistic factors to which these diverging developments of JC may be attributed:

- (5) *No vivo en Gijón, qué voy a vivir.*  
 NEG live.1SG.PRS.IND in Gijon what go.1SG.PRS.IND to live.INF  
 'I do not live in Gijon, why the heck would I live there?'

- (6) *Nun vivo ná en Xixón,*  
 NEG live.1SG.PRS.IND MINIM in Gijon  
*qué voi vivir.<sup>3</sup>*  
 what go.1SG.PRS.IND live.INF  
 'I do not live at all in Gijon, why the heck would I live there?'  
 (San Segundo Cachero 2017: 10)

The hypothesis is intended to be tested on the observation that old Castilian Neg displayed both a full (*non*) and a reduced form (*no*), which appeared in contexts that seem to be sensitive to syntactic information and determined by their adjacency with object clitics (OCs). Also, it will be contended that this alternation constitutes an evidence of the morphological complexity of the preverbal Neg and could be a factor responsible for the non-activation of the cycle. As a counterpart, I will show how the lack of such an alternation in Asturleonese can explain the triggering of JC, which seems to have been entered by this language. The ultimate aim of this work is to provide new supporting evidence for the proposed hypothesis that acts as a comprehensive account of the (non) activation of JC rooted in the complexity of Neg, which morphologically surfaces by means of its interaction with OCs.

To address this issue, the remainder of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 will present the main characteristics of JC, with a particular focus on its cross-linguistic distribution and the proposals that may account for its triggering. Section 3 will analyse the hypothesis of Garzonio and Poletto (2014), which will be comparatively checked later on in both Castilian and Asturleonese in

<sup>3</sup> *Ná* is the result of the grammaticalization process of *nada*, 'nothing' (lat. < [REM] NATAM), which involves phonological reduction.

Section 4. Lastly, Section 5 will summarise the main conclusions that defend the hypothesis tested in light of the evidence retrieved, and will highlight any knowledge gaps for which future research should be directed.

## 2. Jespersen's Cycle: development and triggers

Since Jespersen's (1917) generalisation, the existence of different cross-linguistic Neg patterns has been assumed in which both a preverbal and a postverbal Neg interact in successive diachronic stages as schematised in (7):

(7)	1.	Neg1	Infl	
	2.	Neg1	Infl	(Neg2)
	3.	(Neg1)	Infl	Neg2
	4.		Infl	Neg2

Without going into the details, at Stage 1, Neg1 acts as a preverbal negator infused with a full negative charge, which allows it to operate alone with stability and autonomy. At Stage 2, Neg1 starts becoming eroded and requires the aid of a reinforcement particle (Neg2) that emerges in the postverbal space. This element is most typically a noun or an adverb that initially lacks any negative value, but becomes pervaded by it, owing to its association with Neg1. When Neg1 progressively loses its original negative charge in favour of Neg2, the latter becomes indispensable inasmuch as it now plays the role of full negator, as in Stage 3. This uneconomic negation pattern, in which Neg2 is made mandatory and Neg1 is not left with any negative value, makes the spell-out of Neg1 unnecessary. The natural outcome is Stage 4, where Neg1 is definitively deleted and Neg2 stands in the postverbal space as an autonomous negator.

This evolutionary path accounts for the transition from a Neg V to a V Neg pattern diachronically attested in a wide array of languages, albeit not all of them have moved through the entire process; for an overview of Neg patterns in the world languages, the reader is encouraged to consult van der Auwera and Krasnoukhova (2020). The progression of JC is noticeable in several European languages, some of which have completed the whole cycle (e.g. English or Germanic) whereas others are still settling into the last phase.<sup>4</sup> In broad terms, Stage 2 is detectable in a high number of languages, although the status and productivity of Neg2 does not exhibit the same robustness in all of

<sup>4</sup> Dutch, Low and High German, Scandinavian (Old Norse), Italic/Romance, early Latin, colloquial French, some Northern Italian dialects, Romansh varieties, Celtic and Welsh (Willis, Lucas and Breitbarth 2013).

them.<sup>5</sup> It may also happen that the development of JC is still underway, of which contemporary French constitutes a prototypical example. In this language, the old Neg V pattern progressed to Stage 2 when Neg1 *ne*<sup>6</sup> began to be reinforced by the copresence of a postverbal minimising particle, mainly *pas* ('step'), but also *mie* ('crumb') and, less commonly, *point* ('point') and *goutte* ('drop') (Hansen 2018). The negative force of *ne* was progressively eroded and transferred into *pas*, which became infused with full negative power, causing *pas* to operate alone as in today's spoken French:

(8)	1.	<i>ne</i>	Infl	
	2.	<i>ne</i>	Infl	( <i>pas</i> )
	3.	( <i>ne</i> )	Infl	<i>pas</i>
	4.		Infl	<i>pas</i>

The special character of French discontinuous Neg in the European linguistic context lies behind the copious amount of literature on the topic (Ashby 1981; Posner 1985b; Muller 1991; Godard 2004; Zeijlstra 2009; Rooryck 2010; Ingham 2014; Hansen 2013, 2018). In fact, the same can be argued for the rest of Indo-European languages having completed the cycle throughout their histories, such as English (Jespersen 1917; Iyeiri 2001; Ingham 2013; Willis 2016), Germanic (Abraham 1999, 2003; Breitbarth 2014), the Northern Italian dialects (Parry 1996; Zanuttini 1997; Colombini 2007; Penello and Pescarini 2008; Garzonio and Poletto 2009), the Occitan languages (Harris and Vincent 1997 [1988]; Zanuttini 1997) or some Romansh varieties (Posner 1985a, Zanuttini 1997), as well as for those in which the first phases of the cycle are presently underway, like standard Italian (Hansen and Visconti 2012), Catalan (Espinal 1991; Batllori 2014) or Aragonese (Tomás Arias 2016; Llop 2017). Less attention has been paid in contrast to the Neg systems that remained fossilised at Stage 1; i.e. those with a Neg V pattern, as it is mainly found in the Iberian Romance world.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Catalan, standard Italian, some northern Italian dialects, Estonian and some varieties of Brazilian Portuguese (Willis, Lucas and Breitbarth 2013).

<sup>6</sup> Muller (1991) attributes a clitic status to *ne* and distinguishes it from *non*, which was aimed at negating finite clauses before specialising to negate non-finite clauses already in Old French.

<sup>7</sup> With the well-known exception of Brazilian Portuguese (a), Caribbean Spanish (b) (Schwegler 1985, 1996), as well as vernacular Argentinian, Chilean and Andean Spanish (c) (Real Academia Española 2009: § 48.1e), where examples like the following ones may be found:

- (a) *Não falo Italiano não.*  
 NEG speak.1SG.PRS.IND Italian NEG  
 'I do not speak Italian'.
- (b) *No creo no que eso es factible.*  
 NEG believe.1SG.PRS.IND NEG that that be.3SG.PRS.IND feasible  
 'I do not think that it is feasible'.

Considering the overall European linguistic landscape, this raises the question as to why Castilian did not move across JC like its neighbouring languages in spite of sharing a common baseline. Given the vast and varied literature on JC, which has captured researchers' attention for decades without having led to a conclusive account, only the best-known proposals will be mentioned here with the aim of illustrating the lack of consensus with regard to the factors behind the (non) activation of JC.

Jespersen (1917) himself explained the process as the consequence of phonetic weakening, so that when Neg1 became eroded, it needed to be reinforced by a phonologically strong element that assured the negative sense of the sentence. Given the certain imprecision of this proposal, several hypotheses based on phonetic, semantic and syntactic factors attempted to fill the gaps of Jespersen's account, whose power is more descriptive than explanatory. Some authors, such as Kiparsky and Condoravdi (2006) and van der Auwera (2010), have sought not only for a phonological trigger but also a semantic one, and suggest that postverbal elements (reinforcers or minimisers) appear with an emphasising aim when Neg1 is deliberately focalised. In pragmatic terms, some accounts (Schwenter 2006; Larrivé 2010) rely on the discourse status of propositions with postverbal negators. From a different perspective, Zeijlstra (2004) assumes that Neg is fit with a negative feature and that, when that feature becomes impoverished, it leads to reinforcement. Against this background, the present paper seeks to address these issues, transposing into two close Iberian Romance languages a hypothesis based on the speaker's awareness of Neg complexity that has been proposed and successfully tested in Italo-Romance by Garzonio and Poletto (2014). The following section will focus on analysing this proposal with a view to be retested in both Castilian Spanish and Asturleonese.

### 3. When negation meets clitics: a new hypothesis for Jespersen's Cycle

The hypothesis proposed by Garzonio and Poletto (2014) is based on the assumption that no single factor lies behind the (non) activation of JC and that a set of factors interact to provide the speaker with some kind of evidence that Neg1 has weakened in all domains of grammar. More precisely, one of these key factors is the degree of morphological complexity of the preverbal Neg. Hence, when Neg1 is morphologically undermined and the speaker has access to some kind of proof of its weakness, the negative marker will require the copresence of

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- (c) *No me avisó nada.*  
 NEG me.DAT inform. 3SG.PST.IND NEG  
 'He/she did not inform me'.

an element encoding a full negative charge, a stage that constitutes the first step for the development of JC.

To test this hypothesis, Garzonio and Poletto (2014) carried out an analysis of Neg in both Florentine and some Sicilian varieties. This study revealed that the alternation of two forms of Neg, the full variant *non* and the shortened one *no*, provides evidence that, in these dialects, Neg was not a monomorphemic but complex element consisting of two morphemes. Assuming that *non* can be segmented either as [no.n] or as [n.on], the forms *no* / *n* may be understood as monomorphemic variants in which the last morpheme of *non* has been deleted. In this context, Garzonio and Poletto (2014) propose, first, that the alternation of both forms provides the speakers of these dialects with evidence of the actual complex morphemic nature of Neg and, second, that this evidence may be claimed as being responsible for the (non) activation of JC in the terms hereafter.

When a speaker is aware that Neg is complex in the sense of bimorphemic and, as such, morphologically articulated, Neg does not need to be reinforced by any additional element and thus stands alone at the head of NegP.<sup>8</sup> Since no support is needed, JC does not get activated and a sole preverbal negative marker autonomously operates upon a Neg V pattern. In other words, JC becomes blocked when the parser has access to any kind of evidence that the negative marker is morphologically complex and, hence, no negative reinforcement is required. Instead, when the referred alternation is absent, the speaker is not provided with evidence of the complexity of the negator, which is thus likely to be reinforced. From this perspective, the French negative pattern could be explained as follows. Over time, the Old French preverbal Neg *ne* became eroded, so it began being perceived as a morphologically weak element, which is, for instance, highlighted by the lack of any eventual alternation of negative variants at this stage, as in (9).<sup>9</sup> In this context, Neg1 started getting reinforced in

<sup>8</sup> This paper follows Pollock's (1989) analysis of Neg. In this model, Neg1 is assumed to be hosted in the head of NegP, whose Spec can eventually be occupied by Neg2, if any.

<sup>9</sup> Importantly, the alternation *nen* / *ne* of Old French (Ingham 2014) should not be considered equivalent to the *non* / *no* Italian opposition. The form *nen* appeared as an alternative to avoiding *e* elision before vowels (*ne avrai* > *n'avrai* / *nen avrai*). This alternation, which does not imply a deletion but a paragoge, is owing to a mere phonological, not syntactic rule (cf. Moignet 1965: 58). I must point out, however, that Old French also displayed a syntactically determined *non* / *ne* alternation and that, according to the hypothesis followed in this paper, this should have prevented the triggering of JC, but clearly it did not. It must be remembered that *non* was restricted to minimal clauses with auxiliary verbs *être* ('to be') and *avoir* ('to have'), with the pro-verb *faire* ('to do') and, seldom, with verbs *pouvoir* ('can'), *vouloir* ('to want'), *savoir* ('to know') and *devoir* ('must'), provided that they referred to an explicit correction or rejection of what had been said in some preceding clause. With non-auxiliary verbs, *non* is exceptionally attested only in northern and eastern Old French (Moignet 1965). This limited and non-systematic use of French *non* in verbal negation patterns is not, however, comparable with the basics of the *non* / *no* alternation in both Old Florentine and Old Spanish and it

the postverbal margin by the noun particle *pas*, until the *ne + V + pas* construction ended up taking root in Middle French, once Neg2 had finally been hosted at Spec/NegP, as in (10). Lastly, this stage derived in the modern oral *V + pas* pattern (Ashby 1981), accepting, for the sake of simplicity, that *pas* had acquired a full negative charge and moved to Neg<sup>O</sup> once it had disposed of *ne* (van Gelderen 2008)<sup>10</sup>:

- (9) *Si quelqu'un vient, en amour infidèle, /*  
 if somebody come.3SG.PRS.IND in love unfaithful  
*de ce moutier ne trouvera l'entrée.*  
 of this monastery NEG find.3SG.FUT.IND the.entrance  
 'If somebody comes with love that is unfaithful, he/she will not find the entrance to this monastery'.

(Anonymous, 12<sup>th</sup> century, *Chanson de toile*, 7c-d)

- (10) *Mon Dieu, mon Dieu, je ne sais pas /*  
 my God my God I NEG know.1SG.PRS.IND NEG  
*par quel moyen, ni comment tu peindras.*  
 by which way NEG how you paint.2SG.FUT.IND

'Oh, my God! Oh, my God! I do not know in which way or how you will paint'.

(P. de Ronsard, 1554, *Élégie à Janet, peintre du roi*, 39-40)

Once the *non / no* alternation has been stated as evidence of the morphological strength of Neg, it remains to be explained when and why this variation takes place. Specifically, a deeper analysis of the old Italic dialects has revealed that the final morpheme of Neg does not occur in contact with OCs (whether accusative or dative), in which case only *no / n* arises. The following examples, borrowed from Garzonio and Poletto (2014), illustrate this in Old Florentine:

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suggests rather a relic of an ancient negation pattern before having succumbed to *ne... pas/mie* than a true alternation. A specific contrastive study in light of the tested hypothesis would be very welcome.

<sup>10</sup> With exception to certain syntactic environments in which *ne* can still appear as the sole negator. This happens in a regular way with the predicates *savoir* 'know', *pouvoir* 'can', *oser* 'dare' and *cesser* 'stop' followed by an infinitive: *Elle ne sait quand son mari reviendra* ('she doesn't know when her husband comes back'). The elision of *pas* is also frequent when *ne* is a part of a conditional clause aimed at attenuating the force of negation: *Si je ne me trompe, il est dix heures et demi* ('if I'm not mistaken, it's half past ten').

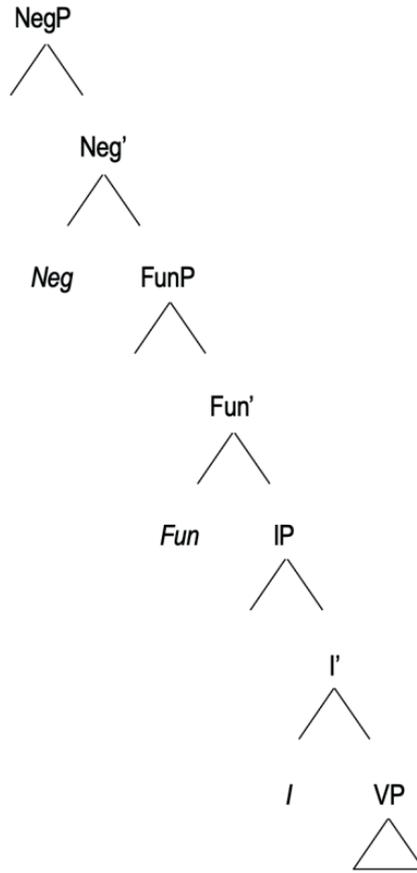
- (11) *Il prossimo tuo non ucciderai e no-l*  
 the neighbour your NEG kill.2SG.FUT.IND and NEG-him.ACC  
*fedirai e no li farai [...]*  
 hurt.2SG.FUT.IND and NEG him.DAT do.2SG.FUT.IND  
*alcuno ricrescimento.*  
 any harm  
 'You will neither kill your neighbour, nor hurt him, nor do him any harm'.  
 (B. Giamboni, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Vizi e virtudi*, 17)

- (12) *No ti vo' qui mostrare e aprire.*  
 NEG you.DAT want.1SG.PRS.IND here show.INF and explain.INF  
 'I do not want to show and explain (that) to you'.  
 (B. Giamboni, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Fiore di Rettorica*, 65)

From the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, it is also observed that *no* solely surfaces in contact with 3<sup>rd</sup> person OCs, but crucially not with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> OCs as in the preceding century (this point will be discussed in Section 4.1.1.):

- (13) *Tu non mi scapperai delle mani che*  
 you NEG me.DAT flee.2SG.FUT.IND from.the hands that  
*io non ti paghi sì dell' opere tue.*  
 I NEG you.ACC pay.1SG.PRS.SBJV so of.the deeds your  
 'You will not flee from my hands before I pay you for your deeds'.  
 (G. Boccaccio, 14<sup>th</sup> century, *Decameron*, 8.7)

To account for the loss of the second morpheme of Neg in the presence of OCs, Garzonio and Poletto (2014) propose that the alternation takes place because both the final coda of Neg and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitic are competing for the same position. That coveted place is the head of a functional phrase (FunP) that stands at an intermediate position halfway between NegP and the inflectional phrase (IP). The reader should bear in mind that this hypothesis is framed in Pollock's (1989) proposal of expanded IPs in the path initiated by Klima (1964) and later developed by Grimshaw (1997), Rizzi (1997) and Cinque (1999), according to which several FunPs can be projected in the IP left periphery as depicted in the derivation below:



In the specific case of the Neg-OCs interaction, it is proposed that Fun<sup>O</sup> can be spelled out by either the clitic or the final morpheme of Neg. Assuming a complementary distribution of both elements, when Fun<sup>O</sup> is realised through the clitic, the nasal coda of Neg is excluded to move to that position. Conversely, if no OC fills Fun<sup>O</sup>, this slot is occupied by the coda of Neg as shown in (15) (Garzonio and Poletto 2014):

- (15) ([NegP *no* [FunP *n* [Clit]]]) → [NegP.*no* [FunP ~~#~~ Clit [~~Cl#~~]]]

The question then arises as to why these elements move themselves to Fun<sup>O</sup>. In the model of Garzonio and Poletto (2014), it is assumed that both Neg and OCs are provided with an existential feature [+EX] that must be checked at the head of FunP. Movement is thus explained in terms of feature checking, which

may be accomplished by either the clitic, if any, or by the coda of Neg. It is therefore assumed that Garzonio and Poletto (2014) are presuming a hierarchy of access to Fun<sup>O</sup>, according to which whenever a clitic can check its [+EX] feature at Fun<sup>O</sup>, it will take precedence over Neg. To account for the presence of this feature in the structure of clitics, the authors adopt Cattaneo's (2009) proposal for the mapping of OCs, who projects them as complex XPs unfolding an internal skeleton of features with devoted positions, one of which is [+EX].<sup>11</sup>

In the following section, Garzonio and Poletto's (2014) hypothesis will be transposed into the analysis of the divergent pathways followed by JC in two West Iberian Romance languages: Castilian Spanish and Asturleonese. If the hypothesis under discussion is certain, given that JC is not found in Spanish, some kind of evidence of the complexity of Neg should be found already in the early stages as in Central and Southern Italo-Romance. In contrast, since JC has already started developing in Asturleonese, clues are predicted in favour of a weak analysis of negation.

#### **4. Jespersen's Cycle in West Iberian Romance: on the trail of Spanish and Asturleonese negation**

Both old and modern Castilian Spanish stands at Stage 1 of JC, in which a sole preverbal negative marker is used without demanding or allowing postverbal reinforcement. Diachronic studies on Spanish Neg (Llorens 1929; Camus 1986), as well as general works on historical Spanish Linguistics (Lapesa 1981 [1942]), have reported the coexistence until around the 14<sup>th</sup> century of two preverbal negative markers (*non* and *no*) in complementary distribution. The contexts in which each form arises have been quite thoroughly settled, and the link between this variation and the concurrence with OCs has already been underscored by Camus (1986), who describes a situation that, on its surface, is clearly reminiscent of the landscape painted by Garzonio and Poletto (2014) in Italo-Romance. Nevertheless, neither the reasons underlying the old *non* / *no* alternation nor its possible link to the non-activation of JC have been successfully unveiled in Spanish. As very little formal work has been done so far on Old Spanish Neg and that it is necessary to explain why JC blocked in this language, this section will begin by dealing with the singularities of the Spanish Neg system ranging from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The analysis of the Neg-OC interaction in Spanish will be completed later on by comparing it with that of

<sup>11</sup> This existential feature is furthermore consistent with the etymology of the Latin adverb *NON*. This derives from the ancient *NĒ-OINUM* form (i.e. 'not one'), in which the existential traits were still transparent. Garzonio and Poletto (2014) claim that, even if this feature is no longer morphologically overt in the Romance *non*, it still survives as an underlying value and, as such, may be checked at Fun<sup>O</sup>.

Asturleonese, as a means to examine whether Garzonio and Poletto's (2014) hypothesis is also confirmed in this variety, yet in the opposite direction.

In the following pages, evidence gathered from both Castilian and Asturleonese corpora will be presented with the aim of testing if the (lack of) alternation between two negators behaves analogously to that found in Italo-Romance, which would explain both the blocking and the activation of JC in the Iberian Romance space.

#### 4.1. Negation, clitics and JC in Spanish

Considering the purpose of this analysis, both the clitics paradigm and the Neg system will first be fixed. The toneless clitics system of medieval Castilian is reported in Table 1:

Table 1: Old Castilian clitic system

	Accusative			Dative	Reflexive
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter		
1 <sup>st</sup> sg.	<i>me</i>				
2 <sup>nd</sup> sg.	<i>te</i>				
3 <sup>rd</sup> sg.	<i>lo</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>le / li</i>	<i>se</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> pl.	<i>nos</i>				
2 <sup>nd</sup> pl.	<i>vos</i>				
3 <sup>rd</sup> pl.	<i>los</i>	<i>las</i>		<i>les / lis</i>	<i>se</i>

The medieval clitic system displayed a common form for the accusative, the dative and the reflexive in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person; only the 3<sup>rd</sup> person OCs were inflected with a specific form for each case. Number agreement manifested itself overtly in the whole system, while masculine and feminine gender was only externalised for 3<sup>rd</sup> person accusative clitics. A form for neuter gender was only available in accusative singular and was coincident with the masculine one. Moreover, the greater flexibility of the old system with regard to clitic fusion was responsible for the fact that clitic clusters were wider in medieval Castilian than in contemporary Spanish. The most recurrent forms arose from clustering two 3<sup>rd</sup> person OCs, one dative (*le, les*)<sup>12</sup> and another accusative (*lo, la, lo, los, las*), as depicted in Table 2:

<sup>12</sup> Notice that 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person OCs, as well as the whole paradigm of reflexives, preserve their basic forms when clustering: *me + lo > me lo*; *se + te > se te*. Apart from these possibilities, Lapesa (1981 [1942]) mentions some other interesting cases (e.g. *vos + lo > volo*) that may

Table 2: Old Spanish clitic clusters

	<i>lo</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>los</i>	<i>las</i>
<i>le</i>	<i>gelo</i>	<i>gela</i>	<i>gelo</i>	<i>gelos</i>	<i>gelas</i>
<i>les</i>					

The system above is roughly equivalent to the current Spanish OC paradigm, except for the toneless form *vos*, which lost its initial consonant after the Middle Ages (Lapesa 1981 [1942]), and the clusters included in Table 2 that were finally consolidated as *se lo*, *se la*, *se lo*, *se los*, *se las* from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Lapesa 1981 [1942]). Old Castilian clitics together with the contemporary West Iberian languages, including Asturleonese, manifested an enclitic-based pattern before evolving into a proclitic-based system in modern Spanish (Elvira 1987). Nonetheless, whenever Neg occurs, enclitics become proclitics, as in (16), thus favouring adjacency:<sup>13</sup>

- (16) *No la retovo viento, pobló muchos*  
 NEG it.ACC stop.3SG.PST.IND wind settle.3SG.PST.IND many  
*solares / metiéronla en libros por diversos lugares.*  
 sites put.3PL.PST.IND-it.ACC in books along several places  
 ‘The wind was unable to stop it [the fame], it spread across the land, they wrote about it in books in different places’.  
 (G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 619b-c)

With respect to the Neg system, an alternation between two realizations of Neg, *non* and *no*, is registered throughout the Middle Ages. These variants hereafter will be referred to as the full form and the reduced form respectively. As pointed out by Llorens (1929), in standard medieval Spanish both the full and the reduced forms alternate between the 12<sup>th</sup> century, when their use was first found, and the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when *no* became predominant and *non* gradually disappeared. However, the *non* / *no* variation has not traditionally been explained as an alternation, but rather as the result of a phonotactic process of deletion akin to apocope and triggered by the contact of Neg with other elements (Lapesa 1981 [1942]; Rivero 1986; Romani and González 2008). In other words, deletion of the coda would be aimed at simplifying the complex CVC syllabic structure into

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occasionally contain even subject pronouns (e.g. *yo + te + lo > yollo*). In any event, and as far as this paper is concerned, just standard forms will be considered.

<sup>13</sup> For an interesting account of the reasons motivating Old Spanish clitic climbing in the frame of topicalization processes, see Fernández-Ordóñez (2008-2009).

the unmarked CV Spanish configuration (Hidalgo and Quilis 2012). Conversely, this paper supports the work by Camus (1986), where it was observed that the loss of the nasal coda does not occur randomly but in a particularly prolific way when Neg interacts with a clitic. Thus, the full form is expected when no clitic follows and the reduced form when Neg is immediately followed by a clitic. This behaviour, which will be explained later on, suggests the reconsideration of the pure phonologically-based hypothesis that, as discussed later, presents some limitations in order to be accepted.

For the purpose of clarifying this point, the following paragraphs will transpose Garzonio and Poletto's (2014) hypothesis into the analysis of the Old Spanish *non / no* alternation. The first section will fix the contextual factors that determine alternation by means of the analysis of corpus evidence. The bulk of examples<sup>14</sup> were collected from the *Corpus Diacrónico del Español (CORDE)* with the concordances being separated out according to the century in which they occurred. Even if no limitation has been introduced regarding the nature of the quoted texts, which cover a wide array of fields, mainly literature, religion and administration, the results have been filtered according to several parameters of philological accuracy so as to ensure the reliability of the data.<sup>15</sup> In the second section, further examples will be offered to support the claim that this alternation is driven by a syntactic, not phonological rule. In the third, some counter-examples that disagree with the predictions will be discussed, and the fourth section will provide evidence supporting the strong nature of Neg in ancient Castilian. As will be shown, the evidence retrieved seems to generally support the hypothesis.

#### **4.1.1. Contexts of the non / no alternation in High Medieval Spanish**

The *non / no* opposition is attested in medieval texts from the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards, with the earliest evidence having been gathered from a manuscript dated in 1155:

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<sup>14</sup> For prose texts, the chapter is indicated using Arabic numerals (e.g. *El conde Lucanor*, 4); for theatre, the scene is specified in Roman numerals (e.g. *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, VI), and for poetic sources the line number (e.g. *Poema de Mio Çid*, 148) or the verse number followed by the line letter or the interval (e.g. *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 46c-d) is provided. The individual references of the sources can be all found in the corpus website.

<sup>15</sup> Namely, I followed the guidelines proposed by Rodríguez Molina and Octavio de Toledo y Huerta (2017), who assign a three-colour code to each text to assess the reliability of each source: green (quite reliable), amber (relatively reliable) and red (unreliable). I have discarded the red-coloured texts and tried to reduce as much as possible the number of amber-coloured sources so as to enhance the reliability of the sample. More specifically, the final sample has been constituted with 272 texts from ca. 75 authors (several texts are anonymous), i.e. ca. 15 million words. From this sample, 28 texts are from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, 4 from the 14<sup>th</sup> century and 34 from 15<sup>th</sup> century.

- (17) *Otro uirto nin otra fuerza no les fagamos.*  
 other virtue NEG other force NEG them.DAT do.1PL.IMP  
 ‘Let us not make them either other virtue or other force’.  
 (Anonymous, 12<sup>th</sup> century, *Crestomatía del español medieval*, 60:27)

More specifically, there is evidence that Castilian from the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century deleted the final part of Neg1 only when an OC followed, as shown by the examples below:

- (18) [*Herodes:*] “*Decid me uostros nombres,*  
 [Herod:] tell.2PL.IMP me.DAT your names  
*no-m los querades celar*”.  
 NEG-me.DAT them.ACC want.2PL.IMP hide.INF  
 ‘[Herod]: Tell me your names, do not hide them from me’.  
 (Anonymous, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, III)

- (19) *Pero que no me conoçia, /*  
 but since NEG me.ACC know.3SG.IPRF.IND  
*se que de mj non foyrya.*  
 know.1SG.PRS.IND that of me.OBL NEG flee.3SG.PRS.COND  
 ‘But since she did not know me, I knew that she would not flee from me’.  
 (Anonymous, ca. 1205, *Razón de amor*, 100a-b)

- (20) *Mas no-t faran los santos aiuda mas*  
 but NEG-you.DAT do.3PL.FUT.IND the saints help more  
*que a una bestia muda.*  
 than to a beast dumb  
 ‘But the Saints will not help you anymore than they would help a dumb beast’.  
 (Anonymous, ca. 1201, *Disputa del alma y el cuerpo*, 167)

- (21) *Que ningun omne de los sos ques le non*  
 that any man of the his.PL that.if him.ACC NEG  
*spidies, o no-l besas la mano.*  
 bid.farewell.3SG.IPRF.SBJV or NEG-him.DAT kiss.3SG.IPRF.SBJV the hand  
 ‘That if any of his men did not bid him farewell or did not kiss his hand...’  
 (Anonymous, ca. 1200, *Poema de Mio Çid*, 1252)

The examples above reflect a situation in which OCs determine the presence of the reduced form *no* instead of *non*, regardless of whether they are 1<sup>st</sup> (18 and 19), 2<sup>nd</sup> (20) or 3<sup>rd</sup> (21) person clitics. Similarly to Garzonio and Poletto's (2014) claim regarding Italian, the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century also marks a turning point with respect to Neg, as from then onwards occurrences of the weak form significantly boil down to the contact with 3<sup>rd</sup> person OCs:

- (22) *Dezir no lo sabría sobre cuál ocasión /*  
 say.INF NEG it.ACC.N know.1sg.COND on which occasion  
*ca nós no lo sabemos si lo*  
 since we NEG it.ACC.N know.1PL.PRS.IND if it.ACC.N  
*buscó o non.*<sup>16</sup>  
 seek.3SG.PST or NEG

'I could not say in which occasion, since we do not know whether he sought it or he did not'.

(G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 103a-b)

- (23) *No lo podie creer por ninguna*  
 NEG it.ACC.N can.3SG.IPRF.IND believe.INF by any  
*manera, / cuidava que fo sueño,*  
 way think.3SG.IPRF.IND that be.3SG.PST dream  
*non cosa verdadera.*  
 NEG thing true

'He could not believe it by any means / he thought that it was a dream, not a real thing'.

(G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 538a-b)

- (24) *Non sé por qué me viene,*  
 NEG know.1SG.PRS.IND why me.DAT come.3SG.PRS.IND  
*ca yo no lo meresco.*  
 since I NEG it.ACC.N deserve.1SG.PRS.IND

'I do not know why this happens to me, since I do not deserve it'.

(G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Duelo que fizo la Virgen...*, 143c)

<sup>16</sup> I am aware that the *non* featured in (22) does not constitute an example of a bonafide preverbal negator.

Effectively, the concordances below show that, in adjacency with 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person OCs, the arising form is not the reduced but the full one. The same behaviour is detected in clitic clusters and reflexives, for which the *non* form is equally retrieved:

- (25) *Si*                    *vós*                    ***non***                    *vos*                    *quessássedes,*  
 if                    ye                    NEG                    REFL.2PL                    complain.2PL.IPRF.SBJV  
*yo*                    ***non***                    *me*                    *quessaría.*  
 I                    NEG                    REFL.1SG                    complain.1SG.COND  
 ‘If ye did not complain, I would not complain’.

(G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 583c)

- (26) *Entraron*                    *a*                    *Pilato*                    *por*                    *consejo*                    *tomar, / que*  
 enter.3PL.PST                    to                    Pilate                    to                    advice                    take                    that  
***non***                    *gelo*                    *podiessen*                    *los*                    *disciplos*                    *furtar.*  
 NEG                    them.DAT.him.ACC                    can.3PL.IPRF.SBJV                    the                    disciples                    steal.INF

‘They went into Pilate’s house to ask advice of him so that the disciples could not steal it [Jesus’ corpse] from them’.

(G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Duelo que fizo la Virgen...*, 166c-d)

- (27) *El*                    *enclín*                    *e*                    *la*                    *Ave*                    *teniela*  
 the                    genuflexion                    and                    the                    Hail.Mary                    have.3SG.IPRF.IND.it.ACC.F  
*bien*                    *usada, /*                    ***non***                    *se*                    *li*                    *oblidava*  
 well                    used.PTCP.F                    NEG                    REFL.3SG                    him.DAT                    forget.3SG.IPRF.IND  
*en*                    *ninguna*                    *vegada.*  
 in                    any                    time.

‘He was well used to the genuflexion and the Hail Mary, he did not forget them on any occasion’.

(G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 80c-d)

To account for this behaviour, I suggest correlating this asymmetry to the divergent nature of 3<sup>rd</sup> person vs. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person OCs. Ormazabal and Romero (2013) provide evidence<sup>17</sup> that 3<sup>rd</sup> person OCs belong to the determiner

<sup>17</sup> The authors argue the following differentiating properties: 1) Clitic doubling: it is allowed by 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitics, but not by 3<sup>rd</sup> person; 2) Gender agreement: it arises in 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics, but not in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person; 3) Object Agreement Constraint (OAC) violation effects: it is only violated by 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitics; 4) Range of DPs: 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitic allow a narrower array of DPs as antecedents than 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitics do.

paradigm, while 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person OCs are actual agreement markers.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, these authors uphold the idea that, in standard Spanish, 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics behave differently for the accusative and the dative (Roca 1996), the latter ones manifesting properties analogous to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> OCs and thus aligning with the agreement markers paradigm. Significantly, the concordances retrieved are consistent with this observation, as they show that the full form of the clause negator frequently appears adjacent to 3<sup>rd</sup> dative clitics in the same way as with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> accusative and dative clitics:

- (28) *Vassallo que traspassa mandado de señor, /*  
 vassal that breach.3SG.PRS.IND order of lord  
*non li devrié a cuita valer nul fiador.*  
 NEG her.DAT shold.3SG.COND to sorrow help.INF none guarantor  
 ‘The vassal that breaches an order from his lord should not be helped by any guarantor when he is in trouble’.

(G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, 2963-4)

- (29) *Nunca en tantos días lazró más nul christiano, /*  
 never in so.many days suffer.3SG.PST more any christian  
*en cabo su lazerio non li cayó en vano.*  
 in end his suffering NEG him.DAT fall.3SG.PST in vain  
 ‘A Christian has never suffered for such a long time, but his suffering was not in vain after all’.

(G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 855c-d)

In light of these examples, it might be argued that clitics belonging to the determiner paradigm (i.e. 3<sup>rd</sup> person accusative clitics) are more prone to occupy the head of FunP than those behaving as agreement markers (i.e. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person accusative and dative and 3<sup>rd</sup> person dative). Nonetheless, we cannot fail to note that this is just a provisional attempt of account. The issue seems to be much more complex than it looks and it raises some concerns related to the divergent nature of clitics and to their behaviour with regards to the existential feature, which should be revisited by further research.

<sup>18</sup> This raises, however, a separate problem regarding the possibility of determiners to positively manifest the existential feature of clitics surmised by Garzonio and Poletto (2014) and backed by Cattaneo (2009). Silva-Villar and Gutiérrez-Rexach (1997) suggest and prove that neither definites nor demonstratives can occur in existential constructions since they are deprived of an [+EX] feature. Assuming that definite determiners as well as 3<sup>rd</sup> person accusative clitics derive from Latin demonstratives, it then becomes difficult to make this compatible with the existential feature sought by Garzonio and Poletto (2014).

Anyhow, the evidence above supports Garzonio and Poletto's (2014) proposal and suggest a strong, complex nature for Old Castilian Neg. As a matter of fact, medieval Spanish Neg would have been composed of two morphemes ([no] / [n]), the latter of which was removed only in contact with 3<sup>rd</sup> person OCs giving rise to the well-known *non* / *no* alternation. For this reason, it should be accepted that we are not dealing with a genuine process of phonological weakening (CVCCV > CVCV) inasmuch as the alleged deletion is not found in rather similar contexts in which it would be predicted, for instance when a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> OC or a reflexive follows Neg: *non vos* > \**no vos*; *non me* > \**no me*; *non se* > \**no se*. Given that no phonological triggers seem to lie behind the alternation, and accepting that phonology does not have access to categorical information (Garzonio and Poletto 2014), the question then arises as to whether we are faced indeed with a syntactic process. To explore this possibility, the following subsection offers evidence that strengthens the hypothesis of a syntactic, non-phonological trigger of the alternation, calling thus into question previous accounts founded on phonotactic rules.

#### 4.1.2. Evidence in support of a syntactic account for the *non* / *no* alternation

Firstly, if the reduced form were the result of a pure phonological process triggered by the articulatory properties of the incoming sound, it could be predicted that, in general, *no* would be found when Neg is brought into contact with any word beginning with the same liquid consonant as an OC, regardless of its morphological category. The hypothesised phenomenon is not, however, a constant in medieval Spanish texts, where the full form prevails before words beginning with a liquid, placing us on the path of a process that has access to categorical information:

- (30) *Salió de la iglesia, fo a la fermería /*  
 go.out.3SG.PST of the church go.3SG.PST to the infirmary  
*non levava de miedo la voluntat vazía.*  
 NEG carry.3SG.IPRF.IND of fear the willingness devoid  
 'He went out of the church; he went to the infirmary / his willingness was not devoid of fear'.  
 (G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 292a-b)

- (31) *Con su rei en medio, feos, ca non luzientes*  
 with their king in middle ugly.PL since NEG lucent  
 'With their king in the middle, ugly, since they were not lucent'.  
 (G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 779c)

Secondly, the Neg *nin* ('neither') is subject to the same phenomenon in contact with 3<sup>rd</sup> person OCs, which points to a process strictly associated with the semantics of negation and not with any other kind of elements of similar structural characteristics, such as prepositions ending with a nasal consonant (this point will be discussed later). Of course, this does not mean that the negative coordinating conjunction behaves in analogy to Neg with regard to JC:

- (32) *Nin plegó al flabello que colgava*  
 NEG arrive.3SG.PST to.the flabellum that hang.3SG.IPRF.IND  
*delant, / ni li fizo de daño un dinero pesant.*  
 in.front NEG it.DAT do.3SG.PST of harm a dinero weigh.PTCP  
 'Neither did it arrive to the flabellum hanging in front, nor did it scarcely cause the harm of a *dinero*'.  
 (G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 324c-d)

- (33) *Non nos deve doler nin lengua*  
 NEG us.DAT should.3SG.PRS.IND hurt.INF NEG tongue  
*nin garganta.*  
 NEG throat  
 'Neither should our tongue nor our throat hurt'.  
 (G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 280c)

Thirdly, the reduced form does not arise when interpolation takes place and the clitic is linearly spelled out before Neg<sup>19</sup>. Interpolation was rather frequent in Old Spanish, especially during the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, before drastically disappearing in the following century (Poole 2013), and is indeed alive in the remaining West Iberian languages such as Asturleonese, Galician, and Portuguese.

- (34) *Otrossí dixo a los que despreciassen los*  
 furthermore tell.3SG.PST.IND to the that despise.3PL.IPF.SBJV the  
*sos mandados e los non toviessen, [...].*  
 his commandments and them.ACC NEG keep.3PL.IPF.SBJV  
 'Furthermore, He said to those who despised His commandments and did not keep them, [...]'.  
 (Alfonso X, ca. 1275, *General Estoria. Primera parte*, 264r)

<sup>19</sup> It is recalled that interpolation is a phenomenon consisting of the separation of the accusative and dative clitics from the finite verb by elements such as negation, adverbs, subjects and prepositional phrases.

- (35) *Es la piedra a que llaman scopetina*  
 be.3SG.PRS.IND the stone DOM that call.3pl.PRS.IND scopetina  
*de la luna. Et este nombre a porque*  
 of the moon and this name have.3SG.PPRS.IND because  
*la non fallan si non de noche.*  
 it.ACC NEG find.3PL.PRS.IND if NEG of night  
 'It is the stone called *scopetina* of the moon. And it is named so because it is only found at night'.  
 (Alfonso X, ca. 1250, *Lapidario*, 35v)

Fourthly, other phonological processes that would be expected to affect the full form do not produce effects on Neg. This is easily verifiable when analysing the phonological phenomena experimented by other elements structurally equivalent to Neg, for which it is enlightening to observe the special behaviour that Neg manifests in Cantabrian and Riojan Spanish. These dialects display a rule according to which toneless words with a nasal coda (e.g. prepositions *en*, 'in', and *con*, 'with') undergo phonetic assimilation, whether regressive (*en + lo > enno*; *con + la > conna*) or progressive (*con + la > colla*), in contact with a definite determiner (Lapesa 1981 [1942]; Alvar 1996). The following examples, all of them of the Riojan variety, are proof of this:

- (36) *El fust que Moisés enna mano portava.*  
 the whip that Moses in.the hand carry.3SG.IPRF.IND  
 'The whip that Moses carried in his hand'.  
 (G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 40a)
- (37) *El buen missacantano bendixo sal e agua*  
 the good priest sanctify.3SG.PST salt and water  
*conna su sancta mano.*  
 with.the his holy hand  
 'The good priest sanctified salt and water with his holy hand'.  
 (G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, 478a-b)

Presumably, the phonological processes above should also apply in these varieties to a toneless element provided with a nasal coda, such as Neg, when this comes into contact with a 3<sup>rd</sup> person OC, whose entire paradigm is identical to that of the definite determiner with except to the masculine singular.<sup>20</sup> Notice

<sup>20</sup> The masculine singular form is *el* for the determiner and *lo* when for the clitic.

that the overlapping of the pronouns and the determiners systems, both of them deriving from the same Latin demonstrative paradigm ILLE, ILLA, ILLUD (Lapesa 1993; Bleam 2000), supports the already discussed idea of the determiner status for 3<sup>rd</sup> person OCs, differing so from the agreement marker nature attributed to 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> OCs (Ormazabal and Romero 2013). With respect to the prediction above, these analyses evince that neither the clitic nor the coda of Neg undergo assimilation when Neg is adjacent to a 3<sup>rd</sup> person OC. Importantly, processes like those hypothesised in (38) are not found in the corpus:

- (38) *Non la fizo* → *\*Nonna fizo* / *\*Nolla fizo*  
 NEG it.ACC.F do.3SG.PST  
 ‘He/she did not do it’.

The corpus-based analysis does not apparently reveal further restrictions on alternation. In fact, some of the examples retrieved show how the alternation is alive regardless of the presence of two preverbal negators in negative concord constructions provided that the second one is *non*:<sup>21</sup>

- (39) *Que a mio Çid Ruy Díaz que nadi no-l*  
 that to my Cid Ruy Díaz that nobody NEG-him.DAT  
*diessen posada.*  
 give.3PL.IPRF.SBJV lodging  
 ‘That nobody provided my Cid Ruy Díaz with lodging’.  
 (Anonymous, ca. 1200, *Poema de Mio Çid*, 25)

- (40) *Todos iscamos fuera, que nadi non raste.*  
 all go.out.1PL.IMP out that nobody NEG stay.3SG.IMP  
 ‘Let us all go out, let nobody remain inside’.  
 (Anonymous, ca. 1200, *Poema de Mio Çid*, 685)

In view of the above examples, it seems fair to momentarily assume that this process should be approached as a syntactic, non-phonological phenomenon, such that

<sup>21</sup> These constructions were shared by all the Romance languages in their first stages (Camus 1987) and were even found in Late Latin (Löfstedt 1942). Besides being quite frequent in Old Castilian until the late Middle Ages, they fall outside today’s Spanish standard, although they still survive in certain peninsular varieties such as those spoken in the Basque Country and Navarre (Camus 2006).

1. Old Castilian Neg1 was a bimorphemic element, and
2. Neg1's final morpheme was not spelled out in contact with 3<sup>rd</sup> person OCs, since both the coda of Neg and the clitic competed for the same position:

$$(41) \quad \left[ \text{NegP } no \text{ [FunP } n \text{ [Clit]]} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \text{NegP } no \text{ [FunP } n \text{ Clit [Clit]]} \right]$$

As concluded by Garzonio and Poletto (2014) for the Italic languages, neither a phonological nor a syntactic deletion process seem to apply to the Spanish *non* / *no* alternation. Conversely, what actually happens is that the existential feature is spelled out either by the final morpheme [n] of Neg or by the clitic, and that this constitutes evidence of the speaker's awareness of the complexity of Neg. Joining Garzonio and Poletto (2014), it is proposed that the articulated status of Neg may effectively be argued as also being one of factors that interrupted the triggering of JC in Spanish. For the purpose of strengthening this claim, further evidence of the complexity of Spanish Neg will be provided in the following section.

#### 4.1.3. Evidence in support of the strong nature of Spanish Neg

What can be gleaned in light of the evidence gathered is that Old Spanish Neg was a morphologically complex element. If so, this complexity should also be traceable through other cues, whether syntactic or phonological, an expectation that is consistent with Zeijlstra's (2004) cross-linguistic classification of preverbal negators, according to which Spanish preverbal *non* is characterised as a strong element.<sup>22</sup> The aim now is to confirm if the strength or complexity of medieval Spanish Neg is effectively observable through further behaviours incompatible with a weak negative marker. At the syntactic level, the compliance of the Tobler-Mussafia Law (Tobler 1875; Mussafia 1886) moves in this direction. According to this generalisation, old Romance clitics were excluded from the head of any minimal clause (i.e. they cannot precede the verb), in which case they must appear as enclitics. Examples of this are found in the corpus:

(42) *Fizoli*                      *otra*    *gracia*    *cual*    *nunca*    *fue*            *oída.*  
do.3SG.PST.him.DAT    other    grace    as    never    be3SG.PST    heard.PTCP  
'She granted him with a grace the like of which he had never heard before'.  
(G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 60a)

<sup>22</sup> Zeijlstra (2004) proposes a distinction between strong preverbal negative markers (such as those of Spanish or Italian) and weak preverbal negative markers (such as those of French or the Slavic languages) contingent on the position in which Neg is based-generated (on Neg<sup>O</sup> for the first ones and on V<sub>fin</sub> for the latter one).

Significantly, the same is right when another element occupies the initial position of the sentence, as long as that element is weak. This is, for instance, the case of conjunctions, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (43) *Señora benedicta, non te podí servir, /*  
 lady blessed NEG you.ACC can.1SG.PST serve.INF  
*pero améte siempre laudar e bendecir.*  
 but love.1SG.PST.you.ACC always glorify.INF and bless.INF

‘Blessed Lady, I could not serve Thee, but I loved glorifying and blessing Thee always’.

(G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 522a-b)

- (44) *La dueña con el bispo avié esta entencia, /*  
 the nun with the bishop have.3SG.IPRF.IND this intention  
*mas fináronlo todo en buena abenencia.*  
 but finish.3PL.PST.it.ACC.N all in good compromise

‘The nun and the bishop had this intention, but they finished all with mutual understanding’.

(G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 573a-b)

However, when the header position is occupied, in contrast, by Neg, proclitization applies. This phenomenon underlines that a stronger entity should be assigned to Neg in comparison to other elements, such as conjunctions, that are entitled to occupy the first linear position but that produce no effects on the Tobler-Mussafia Law, as shown by the preceding examples.<sup>23</sup> In (45), Neg stands at the header of the sentence and its presence settles the requirements of the rule, which strengthens the complex nature of Neg at the syntactic level in Old Spanish.

<sup>23</sup> It is worth pointing out here that – unlike clause negation, which belongs syntactically to the clause it scopes over, just as subordinating conjunctions do – coordinating conjunctions do not belong syntactically to the clause they introduce, but to the coordination as a whole, as shown by the fact that they do not move with the conjunct that introduces them if the order of the conjuncts is reversed. This behaviour is exemplified in the following contrasts:

(a) Madrid is the capital of Spain; it is *not* the capital of Italy.

Madrid is *not* the capital of Italy; it is the capital of Spain.

(b) Madrid is the capital of Spain, *and* Rome is the capital of Italy.

\**And* Rome is the capital of Italy, Madrid is the capital of Spain.

- (45) *No la tenie mas fresca a la merediãana.*  
 NEG it.ACC.F have.3SG.IPRF.IND more fresh to the midday

‘He did not have it [the tongue] fresher at midday’.

(G. de Berceo, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, 113c)

Furthermore, from a phonological viewpoint, it can also be argued that, compared to the behaviour of Old French *ne*, Spanish *non* does not lose its nucleus before a vowel, neither in the *non* form nor in the *no* form. Conversely, elision is rather common in French when immediately preceding a vocalic sound (Ingham 2014). This stresses the robustness of the Spanish Neg also at the phonological level, as it is resistant to deletion processes typically affecting weak negators. Additionally, the status of Spanish with regard to the entity of Neg differs not only from other Romance languages and dialects, some of them Iberian (see the second part of the paper), but also from Latin, where the realisation of NON was closely linked to the phonetic structure of the subsequent word. Lausberg (1956-1962) claims that, already in Vulgar Latin, the consonantal coda of NON assimilated partially or totally to the adjacent consonant. This process is not, however, found in Old Spanish, where assimilations of the *nonno* / *nollo* type were not allowed, as already mentioned above (the opposite will be claimed later on for medieval Asturleonese). Thus, it should be supposed that the medieval Spanish *non* and its Latin predecessor NON structurally differ despite being spelled the same. A weak status should consequently be attributable to Vulgar Latin Neg, which as will be discussed below is also true for Asturleonese and other Romance languages. The particulars of the evolution of NON should also be assessed more in-depth along this same line.

#### 4.1.4. *Irregularities in the compliance of the syntactic rule and further track of Spanish Neg*

A thorough analysis of the corpus reveals however some counterexamples that would lead to question the purely syntactic component of the alternation. Firstly, the full form occasionally appears in the presence of 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics and, crucially, also appears in the same period analysed above:

- (46) *Después d'esto cató Jacob a Manasses e a*  
 after of.this look.3SG.PST Jacob DOM Manasseh and DOM  
*Efraím e non los podié bien devisar.*  
 Ephraim and NEG them.ACC can.3SG.IPF.IND well see.INF

‘After that, Jacob looked at Manasseh and Ephraim and he could not see them well’.

(Alfonso X, ca. 1275, *General Estoria. Primera Parte*, 127)

Secondly, the progressive application of *no* within other contexts in which Neg is followed by a word starting with a liquid (47) or vowel (48 and 49) is observed:

- (47) *El cobre es más fuerte metal que*  
 the copper be.3SG.PRS.IND more strong metal than  
*ell oro ni la plata.*  
 the gold NEG the silver

‘Cooper is a metal stronger than gold and silver’.

(Alfonso X, ca. 1277, *Libro del Alcora*, 25v)

- (48) *E rogol que no estudies alli en aquel periglo.*  
 and beg.3SG.PST that NEG be.3SG.IPRF.SBJV there in that danger

‘And he begged him not to stay there in such danger’.

(Alfonso X, ca. 1270, *Primera crónica general*, 13)

- (49) *E no auien fijos por que era*  
 and NEG have.3PL.IPRF.IND children because be3SG.IPRF.IND  
*Helisabeth mannera e amos eran uieios.*  
 Elisabeth sterile and both be.3PL.IPRF.IND old

‘And they had no children because Elisabeth was sterile and both were old.’

(Alfonso X (ed.), ca. 1260, *Evangelio según san Lucas*, 1:7)

In our opinion, the examples above reveal that in the High Middle Ages the alternation *non* / *no* shifted from being a merely syntactic phenomenon to one that began to have access to a phonological component, as shown by the fact that the reduced form appears precisely in contact with liquids and vowels. This context probably favoured the generalisation of the reduced form to syntactic environments from which it had been excluded during preceding centuries. This would have represented a step towards the loss of a purely syntactic rule that gave rise to an unprofitable situation in which two forms coexisted without abiding by any functionality in the Neg system. Even if the factors accounting for the generalisation of *no* as the only possible negator in Spanish still need to be carefully fixed by future research, which is presently beyond the scope of this paper, it is worth devoting a few lines to the further track of Spanish

Neg given its relevance to the overall picture of the diachrony of West Iberian Romance Neg.

From the Middle Ages onwards, what is observed is that Spanish from the 14<sup>th</sup> century manifested certain confusion between *non* and *no* without respecting any syntactic rule and showing a general prevalence towards the use of the full form:

- (73) *Et yo non lo creo, nin me*  
 and I NEG it.ACC.N believe.1SG.PRS.IND NEG REFL.1SG  
*reçelo ende.*  
 distrust.1SG.PRS.IND PART  
 'And neither do I believe it nor do I distrust it'.  
 (Don Juan Manuel, 1335, *El conde Lucanor*, 4)

- (74) *Señor, la tu faz non la escondas de mí.*  
 lord the your face NEG it.ACC.F hide.2SG.IMP of me.  
 OBL  
 'Oh, Lord, do not hide Thy face from me'.  
 (P. López de Ayala, ca. 1380, *Rimado de palacio*, 4751)

- (75) *Fuéronse herir unos a otros, de man- que*  
 go.3PL.PST.REFL.3PL hurt.INF ones to others of way that  
*no quedó ninguno dellos que no*  
 NEG remain.3SG.PST any of.them.OBL that NEG  
*fuesse muerto.*  
 be.3SG.IPRF.SBJV kill.PTCP  
 'They went to hurt one another in such a way that none of them were left alive'.  
 (F. Martínez, ca. 1300, *Libro del cavallero Cifar*, 15)

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the confusion increased and the form *non* started being progressively less common (except when there was a clear willingness to provide the text with an archaic tone):

- (76) *A quien non perdona non le perdonar.*  
 to who NEG forgive.3SG.PRS.IND NEG him.ACC forgive.INF  
 ‘Do not forgive who does not forgive’.  
 (J. de Mena, 1444, *Laberinto de Fortuna*, 81h)

- (77) *No hará, no contecerá, no será*  
 NEG do.3SG.FUT.IND NEG happen.3SG.FUT.IND NEG be.3SG.FUT.IND  
*tan loco [...] bien se que no le*  
 so crazy well know.1SG.PRS.IND that NEG him.DAT  
*tomará el diablo.*  
 take.3SG.FUT.IND the evil  
 ‘He will not do, it will not happen, he will not be so crazy [...]: I am quite sure that the evil will not possess him’.  
 (A. Martínez de Toledo, 1438, *El Corbacho*, VIII)

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, *no* was already clearly the dominant form. It should be noted that, even if the corpus retrieves 433 occurrences for *non* in literary works throughout the whole century, only 33 appear in genuine Spanish works (some of them with a deliberate use of this form with an archaizing purpose), the remaining 400 arising in Latin quotes and Italian or Galician texts. An interesting fact that is worth mentioning is that, when the alternation system with its corresponding syntactic rule started breaking down, examples like the following, retrieved from a poem from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, arose:

- (78) *E yo con pesar grande non puedo dezir gota.*  
 and I with regret big NEG can.1SG.PRS.IND say.INF MINIM  
 ‘And, to my great regret, I cannot speak’.  
 (J. Ruiz, arcipreste de Hita, 1330-1343, *Libro de Buen Amor*, 1518c-d)

In the sentence above a minimiser with a certain grade of grammaticalization, as the lack of lexical restriction shows (see the second part of the paper), appears in the postverbal space, which could point to a first step in JC that, in any case, does not keep up in contemporary Spanish. Further examples can be found throughout the following centuries:

- (79) *Porque, aunque yo sé hilar,*  
 because although I know.1SG.PRES.IND spin.INF  
*no sé leer migaja.*  
 NEG know.1SG.PRES.IND read.INF MINIM  
 'Because, even if I can spin, I cannot read [at all]'.  
 (M. de Cervantes, 1605, *Don Quijote*, 900)

- (80) *Y a las gargantas [...] se les atravesó un*  
 and in the throats INTR them.DAT cross.3SG.PST a  
*nudo que no les dejaba hablar palabra.*  
 lump that NEG them.DAT allow.3SG.IPRF.IND speak.INF MINIM  
 'And they had a lump in their throats that did not allow them to speak'.  
 (M. de Cervantes, 1613, *El celoso extremeño*)

Examples like (80), in which the minimiser *palabra* ('word') arose owing to its interaction with a verb of the *verba dicendi* group,<sup>24</sup> can still be found in today's Spanish:

- (81) *Y las mozas [...] no respondían palabra.*  
 and the youths NEG answer.3SG.IPRF.IND MINIM  
 'And the youths [...] did not answer'.  
 (M. de Unamuno, 1904, *Vida de don Quijote y Sancho*, 2)

Nevertheless, what is frequent in Spanish is the presence of quantity nouns (Rueda 1995), but, as stated before, they do not behave as actual minimisers. The latter being quite frequent in Asturleonese, which seems to represent a first step in the activation of the cycle, roughly equivalent to the contemporary Italian standard, as I will show in the second part of the paper.

(to be continued)

<sup>24</sup> *decir* ('to tell'), *hablar* ('to speak'), *responder* ('to answer') or *saber* ('to know') (Rueda 1995).

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