Clitic Climbing and Presuppositional Negative Markers in Occitano-Romance Verbal Complexes. Exploring the Crossroads of Micro-Syntactic Phenomena*

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Abstract

In this paper we propose that verbal clusters with restructuring verbs contain a defective embedded clausal boundary. Additionally, this paper constitutes a methodological and empirical contribution to syntactic microvariation in Occitano-Romance varieties: we describe the synchronic variation in the expression of presuppositional postverbal negation and the position of clitics in infinitival complex structures. This empirical study contributes to the understanding of the micro-syntax of negation and clitics as independent phenomena. However, the interaction of both phenomena brings to light the structure of three types of verbal clusters: restructuring verbs, non-restructuring verbs and control predicates. Crucially, the data collected highlight that, although clitic climbing and embedded presuppositional negation are independent phenomena, they can both be explained by the transparency of the embedded clausal boundary. We claim that restructuring verbs select for a defective embedded C/T. Ultimately, the article shows how the comprehension of phenomena in closely related varieties allows us to better understand the architecture of grammar.

Keywords: Occitano-Romance; presuppositional negative markers; clitic climbing; verbal complexes

Resum. *L'ascens del clític i els marcadors negatius pressuposicionals en els complexos verbals occitanoromànics. Una exploració de les cruïlles dels fenòmens microsintàctics*

En aquest treball proposem que els verbs de reestructuració seleccionen una subordinada encapçalada per un límit clausal defectiu. A més, aquest treball constitueix una contribució metodològica i empírica a la microvariació sintàctica en les varietats occitanoromàniques: descrivim la variació sincrònica en l'expressió de la negació pressuposicional postverbal i la posició dels clítics en les

estructures complexes amb infinitius. Aquest estudi empíric contribueix a la comprensió de la microsintaxi de la negació i dels clítics com a fenòmens independents. L'anàlisi de la interacció d'ambdós fenòmens permet determinar l'estructura que defineix tres tipus de configuracions verbals encapçalades per diferents verbs: verbs de reestructuració, verbs de no reestructuració i verbs de control. Les dades recollides posen de manifest que, tot i que l'ascens del clític i la legitimació a llarga distància de la negació pressuposicional són fenòmens independents, tots dos poden explicar-se per la transparència del límit clausal de la subordinada. En concret, postulem que els verbs de reestructuració seleccionen un C/T incrustat defectiu. En síntesi, aquest treball palesa com la prospecció de fenòmens presents en varietats properes en el contínuum lingüístic permet entendre millor l'arquitectura de la gramàtica.

Paraules clau: varietats occitanoromàniques; marcadors negatius pressuposicionals; ascens del clític; complexos verbals

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1. Introduction

Restructuring verbal clusters are claimed to not have a clausal boundary (Rizzi 1976, 1982; Picallo 1990; Cinque 2001, onwards; Wurmbrand 2001; Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004). However, if we adopt the opposite hypothesis (i.e. restructuring verbal clusters are bi-clausal), we cannot explain why clitic climbing is possible without adopting an additional mechanism (Kayne 1989; Burzio 1986; Bok-Bennema & Kampers-Manhe 1994; Terzi 1994). Moreover, a bi-clausal account of verbal clusters cannot explain the licensing of NPIs in verbal clusters in some varieties of Catalan.

What is crucial for the study we present is the possibility for the clitic to be hosted in both domains in restructuring contexts: the matrix clause and the embedded clause. From a formal perspective, this optionality raises some questions about the nature of complex predicates and inter-clausal phenomena: a) what is the categorial status of the non-finite embedded clause?; b) are restructuring verbs an accidental class, or do they share any properties?; and, c) what is the locus of variation regarding clitic climbing? In this paper, we provide an account that solves this puzzle showing that restructuring verbal clusters are bi-clausal, but that the embedded clause is defective. We provide data from the interaction between clitic climbing and the licensing of presuppositional negative markers (PresNeg) in different types of verbal clusters in Catalan and Occitan varieties. The value and attractiveness of Occitano-Romance data – which have gone unnoticed for a considerable amount of time – turn any research about those varieties into highly promising projects.

Additionally, as stated by Ledgeway (2013: 271),[1] micro-syntactic studies are useful for challenging linguistic orthodoxies and shaping and informing new ideas and perspectives about language change, structure and variation. Accordingly, in the present study, and in order to explain the pattern of variation attested we propose that clitic climbing depends on the defective v* and licensing of NPIs depend on the defective C.

The paper is organised as follows: Section 2 introduces the background and the methodology of the micro-syntactic research conducted. Section 3 is devoted to presenting clitic climbing and restructuring and presuppositional negative markers in Occitano-Romance varieties. Section 4 offers a description of the positions occupied by clitics and PresNeg in complex structures according to the data gathered. The formal analysis proposed and the discussion of its theoretical implications are presented in section 5. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Methodology

The research presented here is the continuation of two independent studies on linguistic variation and change in varieties in contact carried out previously by the two authors: one about CC (Paradís 2019) and another one regarding the PresNeg in some Catalan and Occitan varieties (Llop 2017, 2020). The Occitano-Romance varieties studied in the latter, as well as in the current study, were: North Western Catalan (NWCat); Central Catalan (CCat); Pallarese Catalan (PallCat); Roussillonese Catalan (RouCat); Aranese Gascon Occitan (ArOcc); and Languedocian Occitan (LangOcc) (see Figure 1).[2]

The two previous investigations mentioned allowed the two phenomena to be singled out separately and subjected to what Cornips & Poletto (2007) call *in vitro* observation. This observation consisted of a narrow-focused survey with a strict control and planification of the variables interfering to delimit the distribution, extension and intricacies of each phenomenon, as well as their connections with other linguistic variables via the identification of clusters of similar properties.[3]

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1. Another relevant contribution of micro-syntactic studies is the fact that they can be used as a complementary means of approaching linguistic change: synchronic micro-syntactic differences displayed in dialects can be taken as a mirror of diachronic patterns and historical dynamics which might not be possible to attest due to the lack of historical evidence. Despite the interest and need of diachronic studies on Occitano-Romance varieties, this approach goes beyond the scope of this paper.
2. The data presented show the continuity and contact between Catalan and Occitan, hence the use of the term *Occitano-Romance* (following the lines of research that explore the links between these two languages; Blasco Ferrer 1986; Juge 2007). The crossroad of clitic climbing and PresNeg markers in other Ibero-Romance varieties remains a task for further research. Regarding Gascon Occitan, we only explore the Aranese variety. The preliminary data we gathered for the other Gascon varieties regarding clitic position, as well as the availability or not of clitic climbing, reveal the existence of different patterns which are still under analysis.
3. The methodology to obtain a fine-grained sample of linguistically and geographically-informed data followed the *layered methodology* by Cornips & Poletto (2007), a stepwise procedure for the study of linguistic structures which allows researchers to determine "how [micro-syntactic] phenomena themselves and relations among phenomena can be discovered and brought to the attention of the
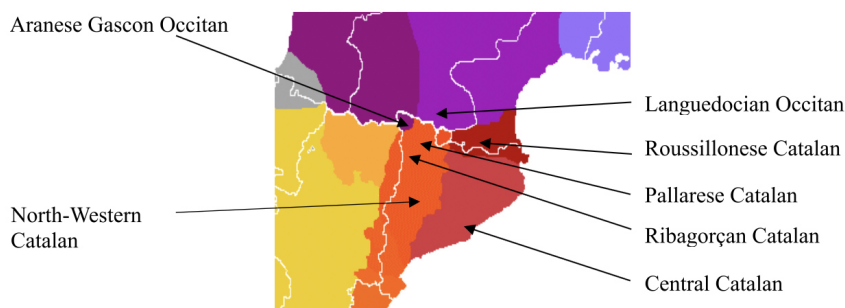
Figure 1. The continuum of Occitano-Romance varieties.

Sections 3.1 and 3.2 constitute a summary of the resulting characterisation of the two phenomena, whose interaction constituted the goal of the present research.

As for the methodological procedure of the current research, based on the initial data highlighting the crucial role of the clausal boundary in understanding the interaction between PresNeg and clitic positions, we designed a questionnaire of grammatical judgements where the target contexts were properly contextualised. The questionnaire was completed by 45 speakers belonging to all the varieties studied, so that the limits of syntactic isoglosses could be properly taken into consideration.[4]

We analysed three different verbal classes: the core-class of restructuring verbs (modals, aspectuals and motion verbs), control restructuring verbs that go beyond the core class (implicative, desideratives and *try*-class verbs), and non-restructuring verbs (propositional and factive verbs).

3. The two phenomena studied

In this section, we separately explore the two phenomena studied: restructuring and clitic climbing (3.1), and presuppositional negative markers (3.2). We first provide a characterisation of both phenomena, and we then explore how their interaction challenges the claim that restructuring verbal clusters involve a bi-clausal structure.

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linguistic community" (Cornips & Poletto 2007: 4). Following this approach, the research presented here was carried out after a thorough process of data collection of both phenomena separately, to depict of the limits of syntactic isoglosses; and to determine the variables involved. The strategies used to analyse both phenomena separately were: exhaustive analysis of the data gathered in corpora, monographs and atlases devoted to the analysis of particular varieties; semi-directed interviews and participant observation recordings; and scan reading of literature written by "dialect-aware" authors. Additionally, grammatical judgments were used to instantiate specific structures in tightly controlled contexts and with very subtle variables difficult to attest in spontaneous productions (see Llop 2017: 1.5; Paradís 2019: 1.1.2).

4.   Together with the answers to the grammatical judgements, we gathered a meta-corpus of qualitative data and speakers' insights about the constructions revised. These comments included sociolinguistic information (related to age groups, contexts of use, etc.). These variables are not reflected in the core analysis of the data. However, qualitative comments regarding these aspects are presented in this paper when considered to be relevant to understand the results.

We delve into the nature of the embedded clausal boundary in order to find an explanation to account for the (un)availability of both long-distance phenomena depending on the nature of the matrix verb.

3.1. Restructuring and clitic climbing

Since Rizzi's (1976) seminal work, linguistic theory has paid increasing attention to modal verbs, aspectual verbs, and some verbs of motion.[5] What makes this class of verbs of special interest is that, when selecting an infinitive complement, all these verbs may trigger a set of transparency effects, i.e local syntactic phenomena and long-distance dependencies that show that boundaries between both clauses have been dissipated. This phenomenon has been called 'restructuring' (Rizzi 1976; Zubizarreta 1982; Wurmbrand 2001; Cinque 2006, among others).[6]

Regarding cross-linguistic variation, the set of transparency phenomena triggered by restructuring verbs varies from one language to another (see Wiklund 2007; Wurmbrand 2015; Paradís 2019). In the case of Occitan and Catalan varieties, the repertoire of restructuring effects may involve different inter-clausal phenomena like:

i)   Long object movement, whereby the embedded object occupies the subject position in the matrix clause (1);

(1)   a.   **Lo poder e la riquesa** se podián pas donar […]

[LangOcc] (BaTelòc: Laus 2003)[7]

'Power and wealth could not be given.'

b.   **Els problemes ambientals** s'han/*s'ha començat a resoldre.

[Cat] (Paradís 2019: 119)

'Environmental problems have begun to be solved.'

ii)   SE-agreement in pronominal structures headed by clitic *se* in which the matrix verb agrees with the embedded object (2a)-(2b). In Catalan, except for North-Western Catalan, the agreement is always mandatory – even in simple clauses **s'aprova moltes lleis vs. s'aproven moltes lleis* 'many laws are passed' (Alonso & Suïls 1998). However, SE-agreement is useful to distinguish between restructuring and non-restructuring verbs (see Hernanz & Rigau 1984: 38), as the contrast between (2b) and (2c) shows.

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5.   Causative and perception verbs are not included in the present study. The analysis of these structures is beyond the scope of this paper. See Villalba (1994), Alsina (2002) and Ciutescu (2018) for an analysis of these verbs in Catalan.

6.   In this work, we use the term *restructuring* for descriptive purposes. We abandon the notion of *restructuring* as a transformational operation from which a bi-clausal structure becomes mono-clausal (Rizzi 1976, 1982).

7.   Glosses are given only when the grammatical information is relevant for the explanation of the phenomena studied.

(2)   a. M'es estat dich que […] **se podián** calcular las lunasons e las marèas […]
                                        [LangOcc] (BatelÒc: Bodon 1991)
          'I have been told that moon phases and tides could be calculated.'

      b. **Es van tornar** a aprovar algunes lleis al Parlament.
                                                    [Cat] (Paradís 2019: 120)
          'Some laws were passed in parliament again.'

      c. ***Es van lamentar** haver aprovat algunes lleis al Parlament.
                                            [Cat] (Paradís 2019: 120)[8]
          '*Some laws were regretted to have been passed in Parliament.'

iii) and auxiliary switch (3), whereby the matrix auxiliary is selected by the embed-
     ded verb. This phenomenon is triggered in Occitan (3a) and was also attested
     in Old Catalan (3b).[9]

(3)   a. O benlèu s'**èra** volgut venjar d'ela.
          'Or maybe (he) had wanted to get revenge on her.'
                                        [LangOcc] (BaTelÒC: Gairal 2004)

      b. qui no **era** volgut romanir per grat […]
                                [Old Cat] (*Diàlegs [St.Gregori]*, f.33r, l.7)
          'whoever did not want to stay, would stay.'

    Apart from all these transparency phenomena, it is a common assumption
that the most reliable test for restructuring is clitic climbing (CC hereinafter),
whereby the clitic selected by the embedded verb is attached to an upper verb
(4b)-(5b). This is indeed a reliable test since, as is shown in (6), non-restructuring
verbs block CC.[10]

(4)   a. He   d' anar   **-hi**,   a Lisboa. b. **Hi**   he   d' anar   a Lisboa.
                                                                                    [Cat]
         have.I of go.inf cl.loc to Lisbon   cl.loc have.I of go.inf, to Lisbon
         'I have to go to Lisbon.'

(5)   a. Devi **o**   creire.   b. **O**   devi   creire.
         have.I cl.neut believe.inf   cl.neut. have.I believe.inf
         '(S)he has to believe it.'   [LangOcc] (Alibèrt 1935: 290)

  8. The sentence becomes grammatical with a reflexive reading ('The Parliament regretted to have
      passed some laws').
  9. In Majorcan and in Algherese auxiliary switch is still possible but in restricted contexts (see Paradís
      2019: 106-107 and references therein). See Paradís (2019: Ch. 3) for a complete analysis of the set
      of transparency effects in Catalan.
 10. Following Paradís (2019), we argue that propositional verbs, e.g. *confessar* 'confess', *admetre*
      'admit', and factive verbs, e.g. *lamentar* 'regret', are non-restructuring verbs since they systemat-
      ically block transparency phenomena.

(6) a. Va   confessar   anar. -**hi**.   b. ***Hi**   va   confessar
        go-past.3sg confess.inf go.inf cl.loc   cl.loc go-past.3sg confess.inf
                                                        anar.   [Cat]
                                                        go.inf

     '(S)he confessed that (s)he goes there.'

At this point, two considerations on CC are in order: on the one hand, it is commonly assumed that restructuring contexts correspond to those in which CC is triggered (Rizzi 1976; Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004, among others). We challenge this line of reasoning and argue that the absence of CC does not imply the absence of restructuring. Support for this claim comes from the observation that in Catalan clitics may be hosted by the infinitive, despite the presence of transparency effects such as NPI long-distance licensing, as we show in sections 4 and 5. Other Romance languages also offer evidence to support the fact that CC is not a necessary condition for restructuring, as is depicted in (7), where auxiliary switch does not make CC mandatory (Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004; Manzini & Savoia 2005: 7.1.2).[11]

(7)   Sarei   voluto andar**ci**   con Maria.   [Standard Italian]
      would-be wanted go.inf cl.loc   with Maria
      'I would have wanted to go there with Maria.' (Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004: 4)

On the other hand, Catalan and Occitan display variation regarding clitic placement: in Roussillonese Cat., when clitics remain in the embedded clause, they are always proclitic to the infinitive (8a). The same pattern is attested in the majority of Languedocian varieties (9a).

(8) a. Podes   **hi**   anar   demà. [RouCat] (Gómez 2011: 135)
        can.you cl.loc go.inf tomorrow

     b. **Hi**   podes   anar   demà.
        cl.loc can.you go.inf tomorrow
        'You can go there tomorrow.'

(9) a. Voli   **la**   véser.
        want.I cl.acc.3.f.sg see.inf

     b. **La**   vòli   véser [LangOcc] (Alibèrt 1935: 290)
        cl.acc.3.f.sg want.I   see.inf
        'I want to see her.'

Conversely, in Southern Gascon varieties, such as Aranese, in non-CC configurations, clitics (10a) occupy enclitic positions (Ronjat 1937: 548; Carrera 2007; Olivieri & Sauzet 2016: 19.4.5).[12]

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11. It seems that similar facts are also attested in some Occitan varieties (Alibèrt,1935: § 8).
12. In some Languedocian varieties, such as Foishenc and Tolosan, pronouns may occupy an enclitic position (see Alibèrt 1935: 289). Note that these varieties are in contact with Gascon Occitan, which would explain the enclitic pattern.

(10) a. Tornam   a hè   'c. [ArOcc] (Carrera 2007: 114-115)
         do-again.we to do.inf cl.loc

   b. **Ac**   tornam   a hèr.
       cl.neut do-again.we to do.inf
       'We do it again.'

We summarise in table 1 the variation regarding the positions occupied by clitics involving embedded clauses headed by an infinitive.[13]

What is crucial for our study is the clitic's ability to be hosted in both domains: the matrix clause and the embedded clause. From a formal perspective, this optionality leads us to raise the following hypotheses regarding the nature of complex predicates and inter-clausal phenomena: a) the categorial status of the non-finite embedded clause is defective, i.e. it is headed by a C_{def}/T_{def} and also contains a defective v_{def} in configurations involving clitic climbing; b) restructuring verbs do not constitute an accidental class; the property shared by all these triggering verbs is that they constrain the temporal orientation of the embedded clause, which shows rigid temporal restrictions. These restrictions are due to the presence of unvalued tense features that need to be valued by the matrix clause (see section 5 for a detailed analysis).

In the following section, we show how the long-distance licensing of PresNeg markers constitutes an additional test in order to detect restructuring in Catalan and, therefore, a transparency effect in order to better understand the nature of complex structures.

Table 1. Clitic positions in verbal complexes involving infinitival forms

Variety	CL	V_1	CL	V_2	CL
Pallarese and Ribagorçan Catalan	ho	V_1		V_2	-ho
Roussillonese	ho	V_1	*ho*	V_2	
North-Eastern Central Catalan	*ho*	V_1		V_2	-ho
Central / North-Western Catalan	*ho*	V_1		V_2	*ho*
Languedocian Occitan	*o*	V_1	*o*	V_2	
Gascon Occitan (Aranese)	*ac*	V_1		V_2	*-ac/'c*

13. A full description and analysis of the above proclisis/enclisis alternation to the infinitive in Occitan varieties goes beyond the scope of this paper. In order to explain the alternation between proclisis/ enclisis, we follow previous analyses in which different patterns are derived from verb movement (Kayne 1991).

3.2. Presuppositional negative markers

The 'standard' or 'unmarked' strategy to express the negative polarity of a sentence (normally by a lexical item with negative features) co-exists with a 'non-standard' or 'marked' negation, which has additional pragmatic values – whence the notions of *emphatic negation, reinforced negation, presuppositional negation,* etc. with which it has been associated (see Schwenter 2006). In Occitano-Romance varieties (and in Romance languages in general) the items that were used in unmarked negation constructions derived from minimisers – nouns referring to small or insignificant quantities of something, such as the ones in (11a-c) – and generalisers – nouns denoting a maximally general type or class, such as the ones in (11d).

(11) a. *Bric/a* (GascOcc, LangOcc) < *brikan (g.t.)/[bri <*brinos 'thread'+ MICA(M) 'crumb']

   b. *Cap* (PallCat; Aran Occ; GascOcc) < CAPU(M) (vlg. Lat.) 'head, end piece'

   c. *Pas* (all Cat and Occ varieties studied) < PASSU(M) 'step'

   d. *Gens/ge(s)* (all Cat and Occ varieties studied) < GENUS-ERIS 'kind'

   All these elements evolved from purely nominal elements to entirely functional polar items (see Llop 2020), which hold different values and contribute in different ways to the expression of negation. Following Ledgeway (2017), we distinguish between *intensive* and *presuppositional* negation. *Intensive negation* is related to the degree quantification of the predicate the minimiser or the generaliser combines with. Given their scalar semantic nature, being used in negative sentences as degree adverbs, items such as *gens* and *bric(a)* contribute to expressing that when an action or a quality does not occur on the smallest degree of a scale or a domain, it does not occur at all.[14] As proposed by Espinal & Tubau (2016) following Chierchia (2013), they hold a scalar feature [+σ] which, licensed by a non-veridical operator ensures their interpretation as PIs (12-14).[15]

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14. Due to space restrictions we do not explore here the properties of intensive negative markers as PI (see Llop 2017, 2020).

15. In the case of minimizers, their semantic contribution to negation is considered to be *quantitative*, i.e. they strengthen "the force of negation quantitatively by making it stricter" (Kiparsky & Condoravdi 2006: 1.2); i.e. negation does not only hold for the lowest alternative of the scale but for the whole scale of alternatives – by an *Even* (E-)exhaustification (Chierchia 2013: 148) and a subsequent universal scalar implicature (Breitbarth 2014: 19). In parallel, *generalizers* such as *gens* ('family, dynasty, kind') contribute to a qualitative negation, that is: negation does not apply to one representative of the maximal class the generalizer denotes ('a kind'), but to its maximal sortal domain – and thus, to 'all kinds' (Kiparsky & Condoravdi 2006: 1.2). Following Chierchia, we assume that minimizers and generalizers are scalar items sensitive to polarity, which activate their scalar alternatives when c-commanded by non-veridical operators. These alternatives constitute an enriched meaning to which we can have access due to proper licensing that checks their "strongest meaning". The operator "quite literally 'freezes' or 'locks in' the implicatures. σ [S] has as its (plain) meaning the (strongest) enriched meaning of S. Once σ applies to a constituent, the implicature of that constituent becomes part of its meaning and hence can no longer be removed or recalibrated".

(12) Op$_\sigma$ no/pas … **gens/bric(a)** $_{[+\sigma]}$

(13) A mi el futbol   no m'   agrada **gens**. (Cat)
      to.me the football not to.me like.I NPI.at all
      'I do not like football at all.'

(14) Se   vesiá clarament qu'aquò l'   interessava   pas **brica**.
                                                            (BaTelÒc: Vernet 2004])
      cl.refl see   clearly   that.that cl.acc interested.3sg not NPI.at all
      'You could tell he/she was not at all interested in that.' (LangOcc)

Some of the previous intensive negative markers can be used as fully functional elements, without degree, but with pragmatic requirements that restrict their usage beyond their initial quantitative or qualitative negative reinforcing nature. Such properties earned these elements the name of *presuppositional markers* – Cinque (1976) and Zanuttini (1997) being the authors who contributed to the diffusion of such term, and Ledgeway (2017) being the one who contributed to clarifying the properties of different *emphatic* negators. For the sake of simplicity in this paper, we are using the term *presuppositional markers* (PresNeg) to refer to the negative markers we study, i.e. *pas*, *cap*, *bric(a)*. However, we acknowledge the properties of PresNeg can be depicted more specifically bearing in mind the presuppositions, implicatures and inferences necessary for them to be felicitously used.[16]

Here we focus on the morphosyntactic properties of PresNeg, the most important one being that all the PresNeg markers studied behave as Negative Polarity Items (NPIs). On the one hand, their use is restricted to anti-veridical contexts, which means they hold a feature which determines they must be semantically licensed by an anti-veridical semantical operator with an [iNeg] feature (this being *no* in Catalan varieties and in Aranese (15a-b), *non/ne* in Gascon Occitan (15c) and *pas* in Languedocian Occitan and Roussillonese Catalan (15d))[17] (see Llop 2020).

(15) a. No   vindré   *cap/pas*. (PallCat, RibCat)

      b. Non vierè   *pas/cap/bric*. (ArOcc)

      c. Non vienerèi   pas *bric/ges*. (GascOcc)

      d.   vendrai   pas *brica/ges*. (LangOcc)
          Not come.fut.Inot PresNeg
          'I will not come at all.'

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16. For a detailed analysis of the pragmatic properties of such elements, we refer the reader to chapters 4 and 5 in Llop (2020), who follows, among others, Espinal (1993a) and Mascaró (2020).

17. Recall that in Roussillonese Catalan *pas* can only be used as the sentential negative marker. We do not present data about the licensing of other PresNeg in Roussillonese Catalan due to the fact that this variety does not display postverbal reinforcers of negation. On the contrary, unmarked negation is expressed using other particles in the left periphery of the clause (v.g. *Poc que vindré* 'I will not come at all'; see Gómez 2011).

On the other hand, and as opposed to Negative Concord Items (NCIs), NPIs cannot appear in preverbal position (16), and as isolated answers to yes/no questions (as we exemplify for *pas* and *cap* in Catalan varieties in (17)).

(16) *Pas/cap no   vindré.
     PresNeg   not come.fut.I

(17) Vindràs?   *Pas/*Cap.
     come.fut.I PresNeg

According to Zeijlstra (2004 and subsequent works), this last property shows that PresNeg do not behave as N-words (or NCI), and do not take part in (syntactic) negative concord relations, but rather in polarity licensing ones (of a semantic nature). Hence, they do not hold any [uNeg] feature which needs to be syntactically licensed. Conversely, as it was proposed for intensive negative markers, we assume they hold a scalar feature [+σ]. In this case, this feature encodes the need for activating the alternatives of the different relevant propositions, which are necessary to secure the adequate interpretation of the proposition where PresNeg appear. An anti-veridical operator is needed to "constrain the implicatures drawn from an accessible discourse context" (Tubau et al. 2018: 161). See (18a-b).

(18) a. Op_σ no… **pas/cap/bric/ges**$_{[+\sigma]}$ (Cat, ArOcc)

   b. Op_σ (non/ne) pas … **/bric(a)/ges**$_{[+\sigma]}$ (LangOcc)

From a syntactic point of view, following Belletti (2004) we assume the existence of a functional VP-peripheral position (FP, or low focus) in which the expression of focus (in this case the marked polarity of the sentence) is realised.[18] The postverbal position of PresNeg is explained by V-to-T movement in all the varieties studied, which display different kinds of negations: preverbal in the case of Catalan varieties and Aranese (*no*); (19); and postverbal in and Languedocian Occitan (*pas*) (20).

(19) … [$_{NegP}$[$_{Neg°}$ **no**][$_{TP}$[$_{T°}$V$_t$]][$_{FP}$ **PresNeg (pas/cap)** [$_{F'}$ [$_{F°}$] [$_{VP}$ …V$_t$]]]]]

(20) … [$_{TP}$ …V$_t$ [$_{NegP}$ **pas** [$_{Neg°}$ Ø] [$_{FP}$ **ges/brica** [$_{VP}$…V$_t$]]]]

Although the case of Gascon Occitan is not studied here, this variety also displays a postverbal negation (*pas*), with *non/ne* being the negative scope marker; see (21):

(21) … [$_{TP}$ [$_{T°}$ **non/ne**-V$_t$] [$_{NegP}$ pas [$_{Neg°}$ ~~non/ne~~] [$_{FP}$ **PresNeg (pas/cap/bric)** [$_{F'}$ [$_{F°}$]
     [$_{VP}$…V$_t$]]]]]

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18. For the specific properties and approaches to this position in the literature, see Llop (2017), who follows and expands on the proposal by Batllori & Hernanz (2013), and frames the proposal on the analysis of PresNeg in the same vein as Garzonio (2008), Ledgeway (2017) and Poletto (2017). Note that the assertive import conveyed by elements in this position is weaker than the contrastive value of the one introduced by elements in the focal position at the periphery of the clause.

Given that the proposed FP position is available for all VPs, verbal complexes (be they compound tenses or more complex structures) might be able to host functional elements in both the periphery of the finite and the non-finite verb. This is exactly what we find in the varieties studied here (see table 2): *cap* and *pas* can appear in both peripheries in North-Western Catalan and in some Southern areas of Central Catalan. However, in Pallarese and Ribagorçan Catalan, as well as in some North-Eastern Central Catalan areas and all Occitan varieties, PresNeg markers only appear in the peripheral domain of the finite form.

The data in table 2 show that PresNeg markers can be placed between the first and the second verb in verbal complexes, in all the varieties. In Central Catalan and North-Western Catalan, as well as in ArOcc, PresNeg markers can be placed after the second verb showing that the boundary of the embedded clause in these varities allows the licensing of the NPI – which, as mentioned earlier, needs to be local (Llop 2017; Llop & Paradís 2019).

4. The meeting point: CC and PresNeg markers in complex structures

4.1. The data explored

In order to understand if the licensing of PresNeg markers and CC depends on the same structural conditions, the questionnaire of grammatical judgments included three different verbal classes: the core-class of restructuring verbs (modals, aspectuals and motion verbs), control restructuring verbs that go beyond the core class (implicative, desideratives and *try*-class verbs), and non-restructuring verbs (propositional and factive verbs).

4.2. Results

In table 2, we summarise the data obtained in Catalan and Occitan varieties. In order to represent the data more clearly, the results are divided into two tables showing the position of PresNeg with CC in restructuring (table 3.1) and without CC (table 3.2) in verbal complexes in Occitano-Romance varieties.[19]

Table 2. The position of PresNeg in verbal complexes in Occitano-Romance varieties

Variety	Preverbal Neg	V_1	Postverbal Neg	PresNeg	V_2	PresNeg
PallCat, RibCat	*(No)*	V_1		*cap*	V_2	
NE CCat	*No*	V_1		*pas*	V_2	
CCat/ NWCat.	*No*	V_1		*pas*	V_2	*pas*
ArOcc	*No*	V_1		*pas/cap/brica*	V_2	*pas/cap/brica*
LangOcc		V_1	*pas*	*brica/ges*	V_2	

19. We acknowledge the comment by an anonymous reviewer who suggested presenting the data this way. See the appendix of the paper for a detailed explanation of the different configurations.

Table 3.1. The position of PresNeg and CC in restructuring verbal complexes in Occitano-Romance varieties

Variety	Preverbal Neg	CL-V_1	Postverbal Neg	PresNeg	V_2	PresNeg
PallCat, RibCat	*(No)*	V_1		*cap*	V_2	*cap*
NE CCat	*No*	V_1		*pas*	V_2	
CCat/ NWCat.	*No*	V_1		*pas*	V_2	*pas*
ArOcc	*No*	V_1		*pas/cap/brica*	V_2	*pas/cap/brica*
LangOcc		V_1	*pas*	*brica/ges*	V_2	

Table 3.2. The position of PresNeg without CC in restructuring verbal complexes in Occitano-Romance varieties

Variety	Preverbal Neg	V_1	Postverbal Neg	PresNeg	V_2-CL	PresNeg
PallCat, RibCat	*(No)*	V_1		*cap*	V_2	
NE CCat	*No*	V_1		*pas*	V_2	
CCat/ NWCat.	*No*	V_1		*pas*	V_2	*pas*
ArOcc	*No*	V_1		*pas/cap/brica*	V_2	
LangOcc		V_1	*pas*	*brica/ges*	V_2	

Overall, the data reveal the following:

1. In Languedocian Occitan, PresNeg markers are only licensed preverbally irrespective of CC, which is only possible with the core class of restructuring (modals, aspectuals, and some verbs of motion) and restructuring control verbs in proclisis. Similarly, in North-Eastern Central Catalan, postverbal negative markers are never possible.
2. Central and North-Western Catalan: in non-restructuring verbs, postverbal negative markers are not possible and are attested in some restructuring control verbs.[20]
3. Pallarese and Ribagorçan Catalan, and Gascon Aranese Occitan: in non-restructuring verbs and restructuring control verbs, postverbal negative markers are

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20. In these varieties, in contexts involving some lexical verbs, such as *aprendre* 'learn', there is a lot of variation. This fact suggests that, for young speakers, these verbs are undergoing a process of change in their restructuring or non-restructuring nature. In these varieties, the configuration without CC and with *pas* in the matrix clause was accepted by all speakers. Furthermore, although the majority of the speakers accepted CC, only some of them allowed the use of *pas* in the embedded domain.

not possible. Embedded PresNeg are only possible (for some speakers) with restructuring verbs and clitic climbing.

Firstly, the micro-syntactic data confirm that CC is possible in all dialects in contexts involving the core class of restructuring verbs (table 3.1). Regarding the position of PresNeg markers, *brica* and *ges* in Languedocian Occitan and *pas* in North-Eastern Catalan display a rigid position in the matrix clause. As for Central Catalan and North-Western Catalan, all four configurations are allowed. As far as we have been able to ascertain, the combinations found in these two dialects are quite idiosyncratic. In these dialects, it is evident that the boundary of the embedded clause permits CC and PresNeg licensing, even if the two processes do not take place at the same time. Similar patterns are also attested for *pas* in Gascon Occitan (Aranese) and *cap* in Pallarese and Ribagorçan Catalan; however, in these varieties there is a stronger interdependency between both phenomena and PresNeg markers *pas* and *cap*, since it seems that the presence of CC facilitates the embedded PresNeg.[21]

Turning to contexts involving non-restructuring verbs (propositional and factive verbs, table 3.2), as expected, speakers of all varieties accept the configuration without CC and with the PresNeg in the matrix clause – the only domain where it can be licensed by the anti-veridical operator *no*. Informants reject all other configurations. These cases prove that the clausal boundary is blocking CC and embedded PresNeg markers.

Finally, we would like to focus on a context not included in the tables above, namely those contexts involving control verbs beyond the core class of restructuring verbs, such as *aprendre* 'learn'. A lot of variation is observed in this case. This fact suggests that these verbs are undergoing a process of change in their restructuring nature. That is, their structure is becoming more transparent (see section 5 for a formal analysis). This process is visible, mainly, in Central and North-Western Catalan. In these dialects, once again, the configuration without CC and with *pas* in the matrix clause is accepted by all speakers (see appendix). Regarding CC, most speakers accept it. Nevertheless, only some of the informants allow the use of *pas* in the embedded domain. If we check the rest of varieties, data show that, despite CC being possible for most speakers, *cap* and *pas* in Pallarese and Ribagorçan Catalan as well as in Gascon Occitan (Aranese) occupy a more rigid position in the matrix domain, especially in the absence of CC. As for Languedocian, as it is observed in the core class of restructuring verbs, CC may be triggered, but PresNeg *brica/ges* have to be licensed in the matrix clause.

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21. Some informants recalled our attention to this pattern as a qualitative observation when answering the grammatical judgments questionnaire. Additionally, we observed that young speakers tend to use CC and embedded PresNeg more frequently than older speakers. This goes in line with the results obtained in previous works in Catalan (Gavarró & Laca 2002; IEC 2016: 24.8.3.2; Paradís 2019).

4.3. Interim conclusions

Summarising the results on clitic and PresNeg positions in verbal complexes, we can draw the following conclusions. The results show a lot of variation within certain dialects – mainly in Central and North-Western Catalan. Some relevant facts arise from these variation scenarios.

Firstly, and as opposed to what might be inferred from the fact that both phenomena are independent, the data show that CC and the licensing of PresNeg in embedded positions are amenable to a common explanation.

Secondly, it is clear from the data that the occurrence of either CC or PresNeg markers does not necessarily take place simultaneously, as it was previously pointed out by Hualde (1992) when studying *pas*: the presence of CC does not necessarily entail the presence of the embedded PresNeg both in Catalan (22a) and Occitan (22a'), and a context involving embedded *pas* does not automatically trigger CC, as it is shown by some Catalan varieties (22b). Recall that PresNeg markers occupy a rigid position in the matrix domain in other Catalan varieties, as well as in the majority of Occitan dialects (22b'). Note that examples like the one in (22b) provide further evidence for the optionality of CC in restructuring contexts.

(22) a. No **la**   vull   **pas**   veure.

                                     [Central and North-Western Catalan]

      not cl.acc.3.f.sg want.I PresNeg see.inf

  a'. **La**   vòli   pas **brica**   veire. (vs.***La** vòli pas veire **brica.**)

      cl.acc.3.f.sg want.I not PresNeg see.inf

                                          [Languedocian Occitan]

  b. No vull   veure   **-la**   **pas.**

                                  [Central and North-Western Catalan]

      not want.I see.inf cl.acc.3.f.sg PresNeg

  b'. *Vòli pas **la**   veire **brica**.   [Languedocian Occitan]

      want.I neg cl.acc.3.f.sg see.inf PresNeg

      'I don't want to see her at all.'

In the next section we claim that there are two different positions for both clitics and PresNeg markers in restructuring configurations. We put forth a proposal in which PresNeg markers are licensed locally by an anti-veridical operator in the matrix domain. The proposal explains why the two phenomena are independent but share some properties.

5. Theoretical analysis

At this point, we must ask how we account for the fact that, in structures involving more than one verb (and, in principle, more than one clausal domain), CC may be triggered, and also that PresNeg are licensed by a matrix operator. In the following

subsections an analysis of the nature of restructuring verbs and a formal approach to both phenomena are presented.

5.1. Restructuring verbs are not always functional heads

One of the most extended analyses in explaining why certain verbs trigger transparency phenomena is to treat them as functional heads (Napoli 1981; Picallo 1990; Cinque 2006). From this perspective, the following facts are easily explained: restructuring verbs, such as *voler* 'want', may allow CC and long-distance licensing of the embedded NPI (23b), as is the case for true auxiliaries, such as Catalan *go*-past (23a).

(23) a. L' Arnau no **hi** *va*   viure **pas**,   a Menorca.
        the Arnau neg cl.loc go-past.aux.3sg live.inf PresNeg to Menorca
        'Arnau did not live there at all (in Menorca).'

     b. L' Arnau no **hi** *vol* viure **pas**,   a Menorca.
        the Arnau neg cl.loc wants live.inf, PresNeg to Menorca
        'Arnau does not want to live there at all (in Menorca).'

Furthermore, if we adopt an analysis à la Cinque (2006), who claims that "restructuring is universal, but transparency effects are optional" (Cinque 2006: 153), the optionality of long-distance licensing of the NPI *pas* and CC in Catalan and Occitan varieties can be explained. Despite this conceptual advantage (which avoids postulating a double sub-categorisation for restructuring verbs), this approach predicts that restructuring verbs will always be marked as functional in the lexicon. Note that, as we have shown and as it has been reported in Catalan (Hernanz & Rigau 1984; Solà Pujols 2002; Paradís 2018, 2019), several control verbs (*aprendre* 'learn', *atrevir-se* 'dare', *decidir* 'decide') may trigger transparency effects including CC. Such a functional approach makes the predictions in (a), (b) and (c), which are not always borne out. Hence, we claim that a monolithic treatment for all restructuring verbs is untenable.

(a) Restructuring verbs have no argument of their own and therefore do not assign any thematic role. This prediction is borne out by the following data regarding the ability for restructuring verbs to combine with meteorological predicates (*Pot* ploure 'It may rain'). However, this cannot be applied to restructuring control verbs as seen in (24a) and (24b).[22]

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22. In order to explain the subject restrictions imposed by verbs such as *voler*, some authors who argue that restructuring verbs are auxiliary suggest that they do not select an external argument but assign a thematic role attached to the subject (Zubizarreta 1982). It is worth noting that the division between auxiliaries and main verbs is not entirely clear; an example of this is precisely the verb *voler*, which in some contexts may appear with a meteorological verb (*Vol ploure*). However, note that this is a special example, since this combination is only found in present indicative (**volia ploure* / **voldrà ploure* '*It wanted to rain/*It will want to rain'). For a detailed analysis of the uses of *vol ploure* in Catalan see Antolí Martínez (2015) and Sentí (2022).

(24) a. *El tren *voldrà*/*intentarà* sortir de bon matí.
'The train will want/will try to leave early in the morning.'

b. En Pau *voldrà*/*intentarà* sortir de bon matí.
'Pau will want/will try to leave early in the morning.'

(b) Restructuring verbs are subject to order and co-occurrence restrictions that reflect the position they occupy in the functional hierarchy proposed by Cinque (2006). Thus, following Cinque (2006: 88), the order of the functional positions which verbs like *soler* 'tend to' and *començar* 'begin to' occupy would be: $Asp_{habitual}$ (*soler*) > $Asp_{inceptive}$(I) (*començar a*). This is borne out in (25).

(25) a. El pare *solia començar a* fer el sopar a les vuit.
'The father used to begin to make dinner at eight.'

b. *El pare *començava a soler* fer el sopar a les vuit.
'*The father began to use to make dinner at eight.'

Control verbs such as *parar de* 'stop' and *voler 'want'* do not fall under this hypothesis. Cinque's hierarchy would predict that the only possible order would be: $Mod_{volitional}$ (*voler*) > $Asp_{terminative}$ (*parar de*). Thus, this prediction is incorrect (at least in Catalan):[23]

(26) a. No *para de voler*-te ajudar.
'(S)he does not stop wanting to help you.'

b. No *volia parar d'*ajudar-te.
'(S)he did not want to stop helping you.'

(c) Restructuring verbs have a "weak" semantics, i.e. they are similar to auxiliaries. This is not the case for all restructuring verbs. A clear example are verbs of motion, which maintain their primary meaning, despite the presence of CC. As (27) shows, the motion verb *venir* 'come' can express, for instance, the means of transportation (pace Cinque 2006: 36-37).[24]

(27) - Com **ho**   vindran   a gravar? **Ho**   vindran   a gravar en
how cl.neut come.fut.3pl to record cl.neut come.fut.3pl to record in
furgoneta.
van
'How will they come to record it? They will come to record it by van.'

23. For an analysis of distributional restrictions in Catalan see Espinal (1983) and Gavarró & Laca (2002). See Paradís (2019) for further evidence in favour of a distinction between functional and lexical restructuring verbs.

24. Cinque (2006: 36) claims that verbs of motion display a dual nature: one the one hand, they are functional when triggering transparency effects; on the other hand, in the absence of transparency phenomena, they are lexical verbs. This analysis is a problem for Cinque's assumption that restructuring verbs are always functional.

In light of these facts, we argue that lexical verbs can also be restructuring verbs (Wurmbrand 2001; Amadas 2002; Balza 2012; Etxepare 2014. See also Paradís 2019: 3.5.3, for a detailed analysis in Catalan).[25]

5.2. Restructuring verbal complexes are defective bi-clausal domains

Once we have assumed that not all restructuring verbs can be analysed as functional heads, we need to take into account the categorial status of the non-finite complement. Many authors argue that in contexts where there are transparency effects both verbs form a single structure, either from the beginning (Picallo 1990; Wurmbrand 2001; Cinque 2006; a.o.) or as a result of different mechanisms applied along the derivation (Rizzi 1976; Aissen & Perlmutter 1976; a.o.), which transform a bi-clausal structure, where the infinitive conforms a CP, into a mono-clausal construction (the infinitive becomes a VP). We claim that restructuring verbs involve a bi-clausal structure. This hypothesis is supported by the facts explained below (see also Paradís 2019: 5.2.1).

First, in many restructuring structures, the infinitival clause is introduced by a preposition, such as in *mirar de* 'try to' (28), which is a complementizer, as the pronominalisation of the infinitival clause by the accusative neutral 'ho' (**ho miraré** 'I'll try') reveals. We argue that, in this case, *de* occupies a position in the Fin layer (Rizzi 1997). Also, contrary to what has been posited in the literature (Napoli 1981; Rochette 1988, a.o.), restructuring structures may involve different temporal modifiers, even in the presence of CC, as is depicted in (29). Another argument used in the literature to reject a bi-clausal analysis of restructuring verbs concerns the inability to have embedded negation. As (30) shows, some speakers allow embedded negation despite the presence of transparency effects, such as SE-agreement. This negation is sentential as it may license NPIs such as *enlloc* 'anywhere' (31). Finally, note that the data outlined in section 4 are only explicable with a proposal that restructuring involves a bi-clausal structure, since both clitics and *pas* may appear optionally in the embedded domain in such contexts.

(28) **Les** *miraré* **d**'*analitzar* al més aviat possible.
     'I'll try to analyse them as soon as possible.'

(29) **Ahir es** va decidir matricular a filosofia **el curs vinent**.
     'Yesterday (s)he decided to enrol onto a Philosophy degree next year.'

(30) S'han   intentat **no** fer   més concerts a la plaça.
     se aux.haver tried.ppt neg do.inf more concerts in the square
     'They have tried to not organise more concerts in the square.'

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25. The issue of whether modals are lexical or functional verbs lies beyond the goals of this paper. For relevant discussion, see Wurmbrand (2001) and references therein. For a detailed analysis of modals and auxiliaries in Catalan, see Espinal (1983) and Picallo (1990). Here, we consider that *haver de* 'have to' and epistemic modals may be analysed as functional rather than lexical verbs.

(31) S' intenten   **no** fer   concerts **enlloc**. (Paradís 2019: 298)
     se try.pres.3sg no do.inf concerts anywhere
     'They are trying to not organise concerts anywhere.'

5.2.1. In restructuring configurations the embedded clause is defective
At this point, once we have assumed a clausal status for the non-finite complement
selected by restructuring verbs, we need to analyse the nature of the clausal boundary.
How can we formally capture CC and long-distance licensing of embedded
PresNeg? How can we solve the anti-locality of both transparency phenomena? We
claim that in restructuring contexts the clausal boundary is transparent: restructuring
verbs select for a C_{def}/T_{def} embedded clause which is phi-defective [-person], and
has unvalued tense features (since the embedded clause lacks tense specification, as
we show below). Hence, the embedded C/T do not conform a phase and therefore
embedded material is visible to the matrix clause (32).[26]

(32) [C [T [v* [V [C_{def} [T_{def} [CL v* [V t_{cl}]]]]]]]]]

Given the defectiveness of the embedded clause, the subject and the tense of
the embedded domain are both licensed via the matrix clause.[27] In this sense, it is
crucial to note that restructuring verbs select for an embedded clause with a rigid
temporal orientation, i.e. restructuring verbs constraint the temporal orientation of
the embedded clause so that the embedded event can have a simultaneous reading,
as is the case of aspectual or implicative verbs (33), or a prospective reading, as
in desiderative verbs (34). This is the crucial property that defines restructuring
(see Paradís 2019: ch.4); those verbs that always block transparency effects (i.e.
propositional and factive verbs), present a neutral (or unselected) temporal orienta-
tion (39), so that all possible readings are available for their embedded clauses.[28]

(33) ***Ahir** {vaig començar/aprendre} a dir-ho **avui**.   [Simultaneous]
     '*Yesterday, I began/learnt to say it today.'

26. Note that this goes back to previous analyses of restructuring that considered Tense to play a
    salient role (Kayne 1989, 1991; Terzi 1994; Roberts 1997; Gonçalves 1999, a.o). We assume
    that the presence of T_{def} does not imply the absence of C, but it is derived from C_{def} due to feature
    inheritance (Chomsky 2007; Richards 2007), i.e. T inherits C_{def} features. This approach allows
    to solve the asymmetry regarding phase heads (Fortuny 2008, Gallego 2009), since in some
    approaches only v has a defective version (Chomsky 2001). C_{def} has also been postulated for
    other embedded clauses such as the complement of causative and Exceptional Case Marking
    constructions (Ciutescu 2018) and subjunctive structures (Gallego 2015). This offers the possibility
    to unify the analysis of different contexts that display a certain degree of transparency, as well as
    other cases of NPI long-distance licensing (see Llop & Paradís 2019).
27. See Paradís (2019: 5.2.2) for a formal approach to the licensing of the embedded subject in both
    control and raising structures.
28. For an in-depth analysis of the semantic tense in different matrix verbs, see Gonçalves, Cunha &
    Silvano (2010). See also Paradís (2019: 4) for a complete description of the implications derived
    from semantic tense in restructuring and control in Catalan.

(34) ***Avui** he decidit dir-ho **ahir**.   [Prospective]
    '*Today I decided to say it yesterday.'

(35) **Aquest matí** ha confessat haver-ho dit **ahir**.   [Unselected]
    'This morning (s)he confessed to having said it yesterday.'

Regarding PresNeg markers, as predicted by the account presented, the assumption that the embedded clause of restructuring contexts is defective allows the licensing of the embedded marker as an NPI by matrix negation (36).[29]

(36) $[C [Neg_\sigma] [T [v* [PresNeg_{[+\sigma]} [V [C_{def} [T_{def} [CL v* [PresNeg_{[+\sigma]} [V t_{cl}]]]]]]]]]]$

As pointed out above, the crucial aspect is the nature of the clausal boundary. In fact, the data collected suggest that the possibility of the preverbal negation licensing a PresNeg (as an NPI) in the embedded domain is a reliable transparency test for determining which verbs are or are not restructuring verbs in Catalan and Aranese. This is confirmed by the minimal pair in (37) vs. (38).

(37) a. No **ho**   vull   **pas**   dir.

    b. No **ho**   vull   dir   **pas**.
       not cl.acc.neut want.pres.ind.1sg say.inf (PresNeg) say.inf (PresNeg)
       'I do not want to say it at all.'

(38) a. No   lamento   **pas**   dir   **-ho**.

    b. *No lamento   dir   **-ho**   **pas**.
       not   regret.pres.ind.1sg (PresNeg) say.inf cl.acc.neut PresNeg
   'I don't regret saying it at all.'

This is also validated by a related phenomenon: there are other clausal boundaries that also display a certain degree of transparency, as is the case with some subjunctives. As shown below, in some cases, in Catalan varieties, the PresNeg mark may appear within a subjunctive clause licensed by an anti-veridical operator in the main domain (39) (Espinal 1993b).[30]

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29. As noted by an anonymous reviewer, in those varieties in which the licensing of postverbal negative markers is never possible in verbal clusters, one could argue that there is a restriction that forces the anti-veridical operator to be local with regard to the negative marker, irrespective of the architecture of the verbal cluster with restructuring verbs. There seems to be a link between the restriction of licensing of PresNeg in the matrix clause and the expression of sentential negation with postverbal negative markers (see Languedocian Occitan). The formal account of this scenario, as well as the optionality of matrix vs. embedded licensing, has not been explained in the previous literature and constitutes a future path to explore in depth.
30. As studied in detail in Llop & Paradís (2019), the sentences with the PresNeg in the matrix clause and in the embedded domain are interpreted in exactly the same way by all speakers interviewed. As mentioned above, further investigation regarding the nature of the differences between those varieties with strict local licensing and those with both local and long-distance licensing

(39) a. **No** sabia   **pas**   [$_{CP}$ que **vingués**
       not know.impf.ind.3sg PresNeg   that come.impf.subj.3sg
       / venia]
       / come.impf.ind.3sg
       'I did not know at all that he was coming.'

   b. **No** sabia   [$_{CP}$ que {**vingués** /   ***venia**}
       not know.impf.ind.3sg   that come.impf.subj.3sg/ come.impf.ind.3sg.
       pas].
       PresNeg
       'I did not know at all that he was coming.'

Regarding CC, we follow previous analyses whereby clitics are instances of A-movement, and they are probed by v* – where uϕ are located (Torrego 1998; Roberts 2010). We argue that clitics move to the edge of v* (Mavrogiorgos 2010; Gallego 2016).[31] Note that C_{def}/T_{def} is necessary but not sufficient for clitic climbing to occur. We assume a gradual nature for restructuring effects: CC requires a more transparent structure.[32] As in Paradís (2019), we claim that the different patterns are derived from the nature of the embedded v* following an analysis of clitics and their hosts as a probe-goal relation (Roberts 2010; Mavrogiorgos 2010; Gallego 2016).[33]

a) If v_{def} [-person] (analogously to participial agreement contexts, in line with Solà-Pujols (2002), the clitic, located in the edge of v*, is still accessible to the computational system, so that it moves to the matrix clause being attracted to the matrix probe v* (40).

(40) ...v*[$_{uϕ}$] [C_{def} [T_{def} [vP$_{def\,[-person]}$ CL $_{[vϕ,\,uCase]}$ [VP [DP_[pro]]]]]][34]
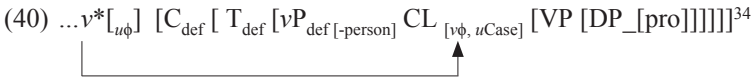
b) If v*[Φ-complete] [+person], the clitic is licensed and therefore frozen in the embedded clause, as shown in (41).

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31. We assume that clitics move as XP and once they cliticise onto their host they become X in the morphophonological component. In this sense, the analysis proposed by Matushansky (2006), who argues that actually head movement is XP movement + plus m-merger, is very illuminating.

remains a task for further research. Additionally, due to space restrictions we do not comment on the possibility of licensing of NPIs in subjunctive clauses, where this mood is triggered by an antiveridical operator in the matrix clause. See Llop & Paradís (2019: 5.2) for a detailed exploration of these cases.

32. We think that this degree of transparency correlates with the pro-drop parameter, a hypothesis that goes back to Kayne (1989, 1991); see Paradís (2019: 5.4.2) for an analysis of this correlation.

33. Unlike Roberts (2010), we assume that clitics also receive Case. Also, unlike Roberts (2010), we propose that XP movement is involved in these contexts. See Gallego (2016: § 2.3) and Paradís (2019 and references therein) for some support against a caseless approach to clitics.

34. As for the internal structure of clitics, we assume that they are the head of a DP and select a null nominal element as a complement, following Torrego (1998), Uriagereka (1995), a.o.

(41) …v* [C$_{def}$ [T$_{def}$[vP*$_{[u\phi]}$ CL$_{[v\phi, u Case]}$ [v [VP [DP _ [pro]]]]]]]

Some support for this analysis comes from the interdependence between CC, Long Object Movement (LOM) and SE-agreement phenomena. Indeed: varieties that systematically block CC also block LOM and SE-agreement, despite triggering other transparency effects, such as licensing of other NPIs such as *nunca* 'never' in Brazilian Portuguese (see Modesto 2016) or leftward quantifier movement in French (see Kayne 1975; Rochette 1988: 3.4.1, a.o.).[35] Further evidence to support our approach is given by the obligatoriness of CC in long passive constructions (42).[36]

(42) El càrrec **li**   *va*   *ser*   *tornat*   *a*
     the post   cl.dat.3sg go-past.aux.3sg be.inf come-back.ppt.3sg to
     assignar   sense   que ningú   no s'   hi   oposés.
     assign.inf without that nobody neg cl.ref cl.loc oppose.imp.subj.3sg
     'The post was reassigned to him/her without anyone opposing it.'

All the aforementioned cases support our proposal, but also constitute an open window to the transparency tests to be explored in further micro-syntactic investigations about restructuring and long-distance dependencies.[37]

6. Conclusions

In this paper we claimed that restructuring complexes are bi-clausal, but the embedded infinitival clause is defective. Thanks to the gathering and the systematic description of dialectal data, it has been possible to observe that both CC and licensing of embedded PresNeg may be triggered by restructuring verbs (raising and control verbs, except for propositional and factive verbs). In order to explain both cross-clausal phenomena, we have drawn an analysis according to which restructuring verbs select for a C$_{def}$/T$_{def}$ (which lacks [-person] and has unvalued Tense features). Under this approach, it is possible to explain the licensing of PresNeg in the embedded domain by an anti-veridical operator located in the matrix clause. Our data have also revealed the presence of PresNeg in the embedded clause in some Catalan varieties and in Aranese as a reliable transparency test for restructuring. As for CC, we have made clear that it is an epi-phenomenon of restructuring and it is not always mandatory.

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35. See Cinque (2002), Grano (2015: 201), for more evidence for restructuring in French; see Wurmbrand (2015) and Paradís (2019: 3.4 and references therein) for a list of other transparency phenomena in different languages.
36. See Paradís (2019: 3.3.5; and chapter 5) for a detailed analysis of CC.
37. Some authors postulate that the locus of variation regarding the optionality of CC depends on which copy is spelt out, due to semantic effects (see Uriagereka 2002; Gallego 2016) or morphophonological reasons (Villa-García 2019). See also Paradís (2019: 5.4.1) for a critical approach to this analysis in Catalan.

We have shown that C_{def}/T_{def} is necessary but not sufficient for CC to occur and, therefore, we have postulated a more transparent structure: in CC contexts the embedded v is phi-defective forcing the clitic to escape from the embedded clause by being probed by matrix v*. All in all, the study presented is an already-tested methodological backbone for innovation and optimization in the field of micro-syntactic analyses, which constitutes a promising line of research for future studies on language variation and language contact.

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Appendix

Table 1. Results in the varieties with preverbal sentential negation (*no/non*) + PresNeg (*pas/cap/bric*) and (un)availability of CC and enclisis to the embedded verb

Variety	Central Catalan	North-Western Catalan	Pallarese and Ribagorçan Catalan (cap)	Gascon Aranese Occitan[1]	Northern-Eastern Central Catalan
Core class of restructuring verbs ('She/he does not want to say that at all.')					
a. No **ho** *vol* **pas** dir	✓	✓/?	✓	✓	✓
b. No *vol* **pas** dir-**ho**	✓	✓/?	✓/?	✓/?	✓
c. No **ho** vol dir **pas**	✓	✓	?/✓	?/✓	*
d. No *vol* dir-**ho** **pas**	✓	✓	*	?	*
Non-restructuring verbs[2] ('She/he does not admit to saying that at all.')					
a. No **ho** *admet* **pas** dir	*	*	*	*	*
b. No *admet* **pas** dir-**ho**	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
c. No **ho** *admet* dir **pas**	*	*	*	*	*
d. No *admet* dir-**ho** **pas**	*	*	*	*	*
Restructuring control verbs ('She/he does not learn to say that at all'.)					
a. No **ho** *aprèn* **pas** a dir.	✓	✓	✓/?	✓/?	?
b. No *aprèn* **pas** a dir-**ho.**	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
c. No **ho** *aprèn* a dir **pas.**	✓/?	✓/?	?/*	?/*	*
d. No *aprèn* a dir-**ho** **pas.**	✓/?	✓/?	*	?/*	*

1. Note that the equivalent examples in Aranese would be:
   (1) *Non **ac** vò **pas** díder, Non vò **pas** didè'c, Non **ac** vò díder pas, Non vò didè'c pas*.
   (2) *Non **ac** admet **pas** díder, Non admet **pas** didè'c, Non **ac** admet díder **pas**, Non admet didè'c pas*.
   (3) *Non **ac** apren **pas** a díder, Non apren **pas** didè'c, Non **ac** apren díder **pas**, Non apren didè'c pas*.
2. The verb *admetre* 'admit' can also have the meaning of 'let/allow', which may trigger clitic climbing and other transparency phenomena. In the contexts we use, *admetre* is used as a propositional verb.

Table 2. Results in the varieties with postverbal sentential negation *(pas)* + PresNeg *(brica/ges)* and (un)availability of CC and proclisis to the embedded verb

Core class of restructuring verbs '(S)he does not want to say that at all.'		Non-restructuring verbs '(S)he does not admit to saying that at all.'		Restructuring control verbs '(S)he does not learn to say that at all.'	
Languedocian Occitan					
a. **O** vol pas (**brica/ges**) dire.	✓	a. **O** admet pas (**brica/ges**) dire.[3]	*/?	a. **O** apren pas (**brica/ges**) a dire.	✓
b. Vòl pas (**brica/ges**) **o** dire.	✓	b. Admet pas (**brica/ges**) **o** dire.	✓	b. Apren pas (**brica/ges**) a **o** dire.	✓
c. Vòl pas **o** dire (**brica/ges**).	*	c. Admet **o** dire (**brica/ges**).	*	c. Apren pas a **o** dire (**brica/ges**).	*
d. **O** vòl dire pas (**brica/ges**).	*	d. **O** admet dire pas (**brica/ges**).	*	d. **O** apren a dire pas (**brica/ges**).	*
e. **O** vol pas dire (**brica/ges**)	*	e. **O** admet pas dire (**brica/ges**) .	*	e. **O** apren pas a dire (**brica/ges**).	*
f. Vòl **o** dire pas (**brica/ges**).	*	g. Admet **o** dire pas (**brica/ges**).	*	g. Apren a **o** dire pas (**brica/ges**).	*

3.   Those informants accepting (23a) were given an alternative reading for verb *admetre* 'admit', in which the verb is re-analysed as an object control verb adopting the meaning of 'let'. This is not a counterexample, since this class of verbs also trigger transparency effects (see Paradís 2019: ch. 4 for a detailed explanation). It is noteworthy to mention that some authors argue that triggering object control verbs could be re-analysed as hidden causatives (Kayne 1989; Cinque 2006. See also Paradís 2019: 4.5.3).