

The early development and establishment of Occitan *pas*

Workshop: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON THE LANGUAGES OF THE VENETO

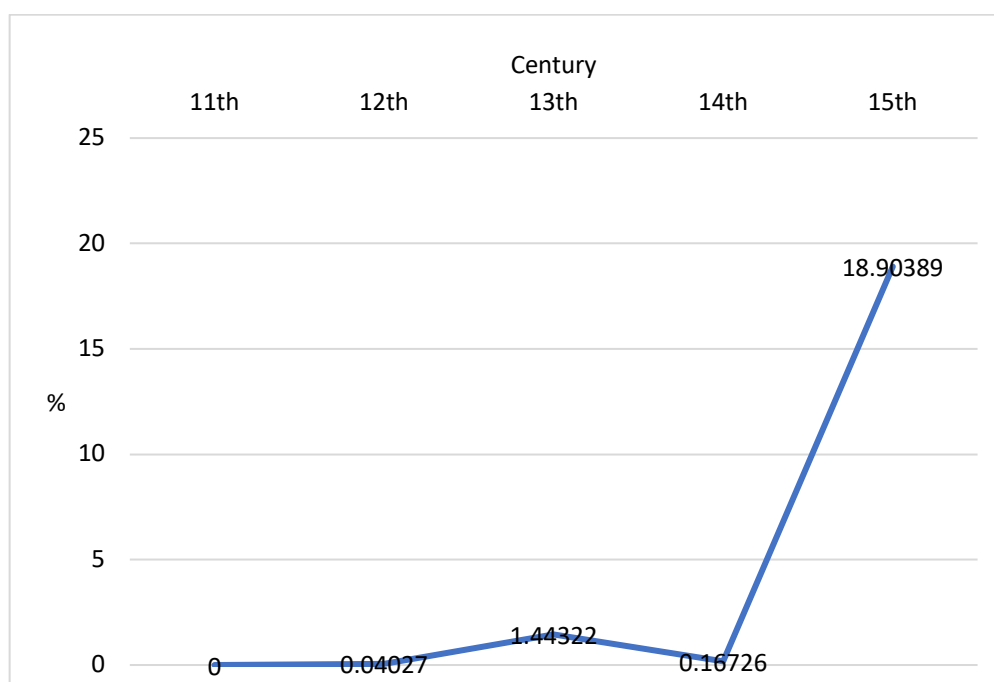
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1. Introduction

- In the modern Occitan varieties that use it, *pas* generally negates a sentence on its own (*non* can still be used on its own in the spoken language when using formulaic expressions and in some constructions such as *ni non... ni non...*). This was already the case by the 17th century, and by the end of the 19th century its co-occurrence with pre-verbal *non* was largely restricted to the written language (Schwegler 1990: 163-4).
- This study focuses on the use of *pas* between the 11th and 15th centuries, using a corpus sourced from the second part of the *Concordance de l'Occitan médiéval* (COM2) (Ricketts 2005). It includes a selection of 11 texts in verse of religious and epic inspiration, from the Languedocian area. There are over 72,000 lines of text, a mixture of mystery plays and *chanson de geste*.

Century	Text	COM2 code
11 th	<i>La Canso de Sancta Fides</i>	CSF
12 th	<i>Roman de Jaufré</i>	JAU
13 th	<i>Flamenca</i>	FLA
	<i>Canso de la Crotzada</i>	CCA
14 th	<i>Guilhem de la Barra</i>	GDB
	<i>Breviari d'Amor</i>	BRV
15 th	<i>Lo Jutgamen General</i>	JDE
	<i>Mystère rouergat de la Passion</i>	MDP2
	<i>Résurrection de Lazare</i>	RDL
	<i>Mystère rouergat de l'Ascension</i>	MDA
	<i>Joseph d'Arimathie</i>	JAR



2. Pas through the centuries¹

2.1 12th century

(1) a *"Seiner, aintz irai ieu ab vos,"/ Ditz mos seiner Galvan, "si·us plas,/ Que sol n'en anaretz vos pas!"*/ "Neps," ditz lo rei, *"no·n parletz plus,/ C'ab me non anara negus,/ E no m'en sonetz motz oimai!"* (JAU)

"Lord, I will go with you",/ says my lord Galvan, "if you like,/ so that on your own you will not go PAS!"/ "Nephew" says the king "don't speak anymore,/ that with me nobody will come,/ and don't say any more about it to me now!"

(1) b [...] *e fer del cap a la paretz/ ez laisa·s en terra cazer,/ tan autz con es, per gran poder./ Mas Jaufre non s'es pas mogutz/ per tal, c'aissi es esperdutz,/ c'ades cuja eser feritz.* (JAU)

'[...] banging his again head against the wall/ and letting himself fall on the floor,/ from his full height, with great force./ But Jaufré did not PAS move/ because, terrified,/ he now thought he was going to be wounded.'

Position: in both examples *pas* follows the finite verb and it precedes the past participle, possibly already mirroring its modern location (Zanuttini, 1997: 4).

Type of verbs: both are intransitive, which may parallel the observation that in the 13th century Fr. *pas* occurred mainly with *être* and other intransitive verbs (Foulet 1967: 260); furthermore, they are verbs of motion, *to go* and *to move*, perhaps offering support to the view that in its earlier uses, *pas* was semantically restricted.

Pragmatics: in both instances *pas* co-occurs with *n(on)*, the predominant marker that could negate a sentence by itself: the presence of *pas* must therefore be understood as 'adding' something to the negation.

(1a): *pas* can be taken to mean 'completely', or it could be interpreted in its literal meaning 'not a step'. Additionally, it could represent the negation of the 'discourse-old' proposition 'king Arthur needs to go alone'.

(1b): it is unlikely that *pas* is used with its literal meaning; it is possible that it has an intensive reading of 'at all' or 'in the least', or that it is used to negate Jaufré's previous actions, i.e. getting up and asking questions, or to what is going on around him.

The 'emphatic' interpretation (i.e. 'not at all') and the interpretation based on the negation of a 'discourse-old' proposition may, in fact, not be mutually exclusive, allowing for an intensive reading perhaps granted by the contextually overt contrast between the negated proposition and the discourse-old scene described earlier.

2.2 13th century

There are a total of 38 examples of *pas*: no changes in position wrt finite and non-finite verbs; there are 9 instances of *pas* pre-posed to *no(n)*, as shown in (2):

(2) a *Fin'Amors l'esperit l'en mena/ Lai en la tor on si jasia/ Flamenca, que pas non sabia/ Qu'am fos per leis enamoratz.* (FLA)

'True Love had taken his spirit/ away to the tower where laid/ Flamenca, who PAS did not know/ that someone was in love with her'.

¹ I gratefully acknowledge receipt of a small award by the Humanities Division (REF Strategic Support Fund), and thank Alice Traisnel, who worked as an RA, for painstakingly extracting the data on *pas* from the COM2 corpus. I am also grateful to Xavier Bach for his guidance on limiting the scope of the corpus to Languedocien for this study and his help with some translations.

(2) b *En Archimbautz vai per cambon/ E quan poc jostar saup li bon./ Trobatz s'es ab lo don d'Andusa/ Que sa josta **pas non** refuza,/ **Ans** si feron per tal vertut/ Que tre[n]cat foron lur escut/ E lur ausberc fort desmaillat [...]* (FLA)

'Sir Archambaut went through the field,/ and when he could joust, he felt good./ He chanced upon the Lord of Anduze,/ who did not refuse a joust with him;/ rather, they struck each other so powerfully/ that their shields were cut through/ and their hauberks cut to pieces [...].'

(2) c *Qu'ieu **pas no** creiria, neis qui-m jurava·ls sants/, que Dieus viratz no·s sia per los nostres engans.* (CCA)

'And I would not believe, he who may swear to me on the saints/, that God has not turned against us because of our sins.'

In all these instances, the context confirms an intensive reading, as well as a sense of overt contrast:

In (2a): between the intensity of the restlessness and agony of love-sick Guillem (his sleepless night is described in previous verses), and Flamenca's quiet lying in the tower, completely unaware of his consuming love for her;

In (2b): between 'not jousting' and 'fighting with great vigour';

In (2c): between the favour that God is showing to Count Raymond ('and clearly it is God who has given the place back to him') and the way things are turning out for the Crusaders ('Every one of us must grieve, for we have lost honour and glory, we have disgraced the whole of France[...] And it is clear that the situation is getting worse, for they are prospering and we are not').

As for the *no(n) ... pas* examples: it is impossible to establish with absolute certainty whether an emphatic reading ensues or not. However, each proposition negated by *pas* is linked to a state of affairs described in the text, either earlier or immediately later.

This is clear in (3a): the king's arrival is greeted with great joy by his men who thought he would help them, since they were his people and his friends; however, he had not come to do this.

(3) a [...] *e tuit sei cavalier, que n'an gran gaug agut,/ que cujan per lui estre ladoncas mantengut,/ que ilh eran sei ome, sei amic e sei drut;/ e si se foran ilh; mas non es pas vengut/ que el non a poder, ni forsa ni vertu,/ mas cant son de preguieira, si el ne fos crezut.* (CCA)

'[...] and all his men, who had great joy from it (i.e. seeing the king),/ as they thought they would be supported by him,/ as they were his vassals, his friends and very dear to him;/ and this, they were to him; but he had not come (to help them)/ as he had no power, nor strength nor virtue,/ nothing but prayer, if he were to be believed.'

Pas can also co-occur with a nominal that is in some respect minimal, and the example clearly conveys emphasis; however, this is the result of the presence of *una castanha* 'a chestnut', and not of *pas*:

(3) b [...] *vengon a Castelhou rengat per mei la planha./ Mas lo coms, sel de Foiss, ab tota sa companha/ lor es e mei la via e li roter d'Espanha, que no les prezan pas per forsa **una castanha**;/ ans dizon entre lor: "Baros, us non remanha/ que no sian aucis aicela gens estranha, [...]"* (CCA)

'(Frenchmen from Paris and knights from Champagne) ride across the plain towards Castelnaudary./ But the count of Foix, with his whole company/ they block their way, and (with) their Spanish mercenaries,/ they think the force not worth PAS a chestnut;/ and tell each other: "Barons, let's not rest/ until all those foreign peoples have been killed, [...].'

For parallel old French examples, the co-occurrence of a nominal designating minimal value and *pas* has been interpreted as evidence that *pas* is not a negative polarity item but 'an integral part of

negation' (Hansen 2018: 284), or that it is used as English *even* (Eckardt 2006: 142) 'to signal the minimality of that other object.'

It is unlikely that at this early stage *pas* had already been integrated into plain negation; it is possible that it had an intensive reading, 'not worth *even* a chestnut', but equally that *pas* negated the value of Bouchard's army, already described earlier as fewer in number, and only with helmets and hauberks in contrast to count of Foix's men and allies who outnumbered the former and were much better equipped.

Turning to the type of verbs that are found with *pas*: in both texts there seems to be a majority of verbs denoting an abstract mental state such as '*to be, to be able to, to think, to believe, to wish, to fear, to have the opportunity to, to know, to value, to forget, etc.*'. Is there a link to the expression of subjectivity??

2.3 14th century

A very similar situation, qualitatively speaking, is found in the 14th century: *pas* can co-occur with minimal nominals, as in (4a), in general it negates a discourse-old proposition, as in (4b), and it is difficult to establish whether it conveys emphasis or not. There are no examples of pre-posed *pas*:

(4) a [...] *E fon tornatz viassament/ al rey so senher dir ayssi:/ "Senher, lo coms manda per mi/ qu'el no-us presa pas .i. boto/ ni totz aquels ques ab vos so/ ni vostr'aver ni vostra terra,/ ni no tem en re vostra guerra* (GDB)

'[...] And they returned in all haste/ to the king their Lord to say this / 'Lord, the count sends through me/ that he doesn't value you PAS a button/ nor of all those who accompany you/ nor of your riches nor of your kingdom/ nor does he fear that you declare war to him.'

(4) b *E-l reys va-l dire: "Don est tu?/ "Senher", diss el, "de loc autru/ no son ieu pas, ans suy d'ayci."* (GDB 2027-2029)

'And the king says to him: 'Where are you from?/ 'Sir', he replies, 'from another place/ I am not PAS, on the contrary I am from here.'

From a quantitative perspective, however, in relation to the great length of the texts (about 5350 for GDB and 34,600 lines for BRV), the very few attestations of *pas* (a total of 7) are surprising and remain unexplained.

2.4 15th century

There is a surge in the use of *pas*: out of 1259 occurrences of sentential negation across the three texts analysed, 238 are realised by *no(n) ... pas*.

There are many examples in which *pas* co-occurs with *serta(s)*, an affirmative adverbial meaning 'certainly, for sure, indeed': in these contexts *pas* negates a state of affairs that belongs to the common ground (cf. (5a) and also (5b)).

Pas can still co-occur with words denoting minimal entities, as in (5c), and there are no instances of pre-posed *pas*:

(5) a *Ma bela sor, d'aquo no duptetz pas,/ quar veramen no qual pas,/ se d'aquel fruch vos autres mangatz,/ per aquo sertas no moriretz pas, [...]* (MDP2)

'My beautiful sister, of that do not doubt at all,/ because in truth it doesn't matter/ if of that fruit you eat/ for which certainly you will not die, [...].'

(5) b [...] *per so que ieu avia presa la querela/ de guardar al tombel lo sant propheta./ Ma ieu no lo podia pas guardar/ quant el es resucitat,/ [...]* (MDP2)

'[...] for this reason I had taken the task/ to guard the holy prophet at the tomb./ But I could not guard it / when he rose from the dead,/ [...].'

(5) *c Regardem be que nos qual mori/ he sabem pas cora sera la fy./ Que que sia ni que que no,/ trastot no val pas hun boto.* (MDP2)

‘Let us remember that we have to die/ and we do not know when the end will be./ Whether it is an ‘or’ or a ‘no’,/ all is not worth a button.’

Similarly to what already found for previous centuries, both an emphatic and a non-emphatic reading are possible, and the context is not always sufficient to resolve the ambiguity.

The main findings so far:

1. *pas* first appears in the 12th century, and it occurs with verbs of motion;
2. there is an increase in its use in the 13th century, and 9/38 occurrences are a pre-posed *pas*;
3. this configuration, expressing a particularly emphatic negation in which a contrast is also present, is only found in the 13th century;
4. in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, *pas* can also co-occur with a nominal expressing minimal value;
5. the use of *pas* exponentially increases in the 15th;
6. throughout this period, the proposition negated by *pas* appears to be linked to previous discourse.

2.5 ‘Emphasis’ and ‘Discourse-old’

So far, in describing a possible interpretation of *pas* the term ‘emphatic’ has been used, mainly in an intuitive sense, alternating with ‘intensive’ and ‘strengthening’, but it has not been defined.

Similarly, ‘discourse-old’ has been used without first providing a definition.

Furthermore, it was claimed that the two functions may not be mutually exclusive: a link between them has already been noticed, since it is a property of all focalizing elements (and negation, here in a scalar intensive reading such as ‘not even’) to imply a presupposition as part of their interpretation (Manzini and Savoia 2005: 154-5), and the two can be mapped onto the same lexical item, as it has happened with Calabrian *mancu* (Ledgeway 2017: 111).

The data discussed here point to the same also being true for Occ. *pas*.

I follow Israel (1996) and Larrivé (2014: 121) in viewing the speaker as central to the interpretation of emphasis:

1. for the former, emphasis is an expression of the speaker’s attitude that the informative strength of their proposition is high;
2. and for the latter it is an ‘unmitigated assertion’ of their views.

For ‘discourse-old’, I follow Hansen (2009) and Hansen and Visconti (2009) and understand it in terms of inferential links to previous discourse (Birner 2006) that belong to the common ground. However, I depart slightly from their stance: the data support an interpretation in which both an assertion and a presupposition evoked by an assertion (cf. ‘explicitly activated’ vs ‘inferred’) are relevant. In Occitan they are mapped onto two distinct configurations, *pas no(n)* and *no(n) ... pas* respectively.

Two important notions expressed by *pas* to take into the next section:

Expression of speaker’s attitude;
Common ground.

3. Pas in negative polar questions

Focusing on ‘Lo Jutgamen General’ (JDE): out of 106 total occurrences of *pas*, 31 are in negative polar questions.

(6) *a He, diguas, no as pas tu dic / A tota ta posteritat he co[m]paniha,/ Quant tu eras en la granda monarchia / « Veramen ieu soy Dieu/ He soy sertanamen asetat/ En la cadieyra de Dieu »?* (JDE)

‘And, tell me, haven’t you PAS said/ to all the members of your tribe and your groups,/ when you were still in the celestial monarchy:/ “I am the true God and I am seated indeed in God’s throne”?’

(6) *b No vos soy ieu pas estat promés/ En la vostra ley/ En la quala es estat promés/ Que Dieu vos trametria hun propheta/ Del miech de vostres frayres/ He seria senblable a Moyses?* (JDE)

‘Haven’t I PAS been promised to you/ in your Law/ in which it is promised/ that God will send a prophet/ from among your brothers/ and similar to Moses?’

A few observations:

1. There are no instances of *pas* in wh-questions: negative wh-questions are not well represented in the text (only 7/59 are negative), and, crucially, none of these contains *pas*;
2. 31 out of 42 polar questions, on the other hand, contain *pas*;
3. In general terms, although interrogatives are the canonical form for seeking information, polar and wh-questions differ in that while the latter are truly ‘open’, and the answer is chosen from an open set, responses to polar questions are chosen from a set of two: an affirmative answer or a negative one (Karttunen 1977). In this respect, we could say that while wh-questions are mainly seeking *information*, polar questions are seeking *confirmation* (Bongelli et al. 2018: 31). Optimal relevance is achieved in the direction of the speaker.
4. The set of negative polar questions under investigation are different in that they are not seeking confirmation: the answer can always be given by the context, and in a number of cases, it is overtly provided by their utterer.

(7) *a Mossenhor lo jutge, metatz lo cas/ Que en tal prejudici ieu agués pecat,/ He las! no ha pas pecat Adam senblablamen?/ He si a el veraiamen!* (JDE)

‘Sir the Judge, let’s consider the hypothetical case/ that I have really committed the sins that have been attributed to me,/ Alas! Did Adam not PAS sin in a similar way?/ Indeed, he did!’

(7) *b He no era pas plus reasonable/ De resucitar ho de/ Gerir hun ladre/ Lo jorn del vostre sabat?/ He si era verayamen,/ [...].* (JDE)

‘And was it not PAS more reasonable/ to raise from the death or to/ heal a thief/ the day of your Sabbath?/ And so it was in truth,/ [...].’

These are rhetorical questions, which formally resemble questions, but have the illocutionary force of a ‘strong assertion’ of the opposite polarity from what is apparently asked (Sadock 1971; 1974).

3.1 Some properties of Rhetorical Questions (RQs)

1. RQs are ‘strong assertions’.
2. A positive RQ has the illocutionary force of a negative assertion, and a negative RQ has the illocutionary force of a positive assertion.
3. RQs neither seek information nor elicit an answer from the addressee: they are ‘redundant’ questions (Rohde 2006: 135).
4. The speaker uses RQs to bring to the fore, for the addressee’s benefit, information already present in the common ground.
5. Their purpose is, therefore, to bring the addressee’s awareness in sync with the speaker’s.
6. RQs combine a strong assertion by the speaker and a focus on the addressee, since the content of the speaker’s assertion is chosen based on its relevance value for the addressee.
7. Negative rhetorical questions do not admit NPIs (Han 2002: 205).

Negative polar questions (PQ) that do not contain *pas* behave differently: they have a bias towards a negative answer.

(8) *a Tu que parlas enaisi/ No as tu legida la Sreptura,/ En Ezechiel en lo ters capitol,/ Que dis enaisi:/ Que ieu iey comandat als pastors/ Que de lors fedas feseso bona guarda/ He que las prediqueso grandamen,/ Ho autramen se gardeso/ De morir eternalmen?/ Mas veramen vos autres/ No avetz pas fach como los pastres/ Del Vieilh Testamen,/ Mas lor avetz mostrat/ Lo cami de malvestat, cosi penso.* (JDE)

'You who speak like this/ haven't you read the Scriptures,/ Ezechiel chapter 3,/ where it says thus:/ I have ordered the shepherds/ to guard attentively to their sheep/ and to preach well to them,/ or they would otherwise/ be condemned to eternal death?/ But in truth you/ have not acted at all like the shepherds/ of the Old Testament,/ but you have shown them (the sheep)/ the way to evil, so I think.' (uttered by the Judge to the Prelates).

Context: not having behaved like the shepherds of the Old Testament strongly suggests that the Prelates have not read the Scriptures.

(8) *b He las paubre! no salhiriey ieu d'aisi/ Huna hora en tota ma vida?/ He las! paubra gen marida,/ Vulhatz penre exemple en mi,/ Quar sertanamen se no ho fachz/ Trastotses seretz sertas dapnatz.* (JDE)

'Alas, poor me! Won't I be able to leave from here/ one hour in my whole life?/ Alas! Poor miserable people,/ may you consider my example,/ because for sure if you do not learn the moral/ you will all be, without a doubt, damned' (uttered by Avarice to one of the devils).

Context: being forever damned, and hence unable to leave hell strongly suggests that the answer is 'no'.

However, these are not statements.

The two types of questions minimally differ in terms of the presence versus absence of *pas*.

Pas: speaker's expression of their attitude and the common ground between speaker and addressee.

RQs: their goal is to create a synchronized common ground, and their driving force is the strong assertion of the speaker's views.

Proposal (Paoli, forthcoming):

It is because of its properties that *pas* triggers the rhetorical reading of a negative polar question.

The properties displayed by rhetorical questions closely resemble Traugott and Dasher's (2002: 30) notions of 'subjectivity' and 'intersubjectivity'. Expressions of (inter)subjectivity are 'expressions the prime semantic or pragmatic meaning of which is to index speaker attitude or viewpoint (subjectivity) and speaker's attention to addressee self-image (intersubjectivity)' (Traugott 2010: 32).

Subjectification (and intersubjectification) results in semasiological phenomena, i.e. it brings about meaning changes. (T&D 2002: 32).

The practice of expressing subjectivity and intersubjectivity leads to the diachronic processes of subjectification and intersubjectification, whose links to grammaticalization have been explored in detail in recent years (Veloudis 2018: 130). Furthermore, the high degree of dialogicity² of the question-answer pairs represented by rhetorical questions, in which multiple points of view are expressed, further aided the establishment of *pas* as the generalised post-verbal negator.

Subjectification: shift from the propositional to the attitudinal (Visconti 2013).

² Dialogic contexts have been claimed to favour the emergence of new syntactic constructions (Schwenter 2000; Traugott 2010b).

Han (2002):

1. Polar RQs are interpreted as strong assertions of the opposite polarity of what is being asked;
2. The 'polarity reversal' is understood as depending on the presence of a covert *whether*;
3. The possible answers to a polar question are two, a 'yes' (+) and a 'no' (-);
4. A speaker (SP) formulates a question in the form of the proposition that would be most informative if it turned out to be true: so, if the SP believes *p*, the question form is 'not *p*', and vice versa;
5. In polar RQs *whether* denotes the negative answer;
6. This is responsible for the polarity reversal.

Pas: a) expresses speaker's attitude b) is linked to the common ground	RQs: a) strong assertion by speaker b) Following Han (2002), covert 'whether' corresponding to sentential negation (responsible for opposite polarity interpretation)
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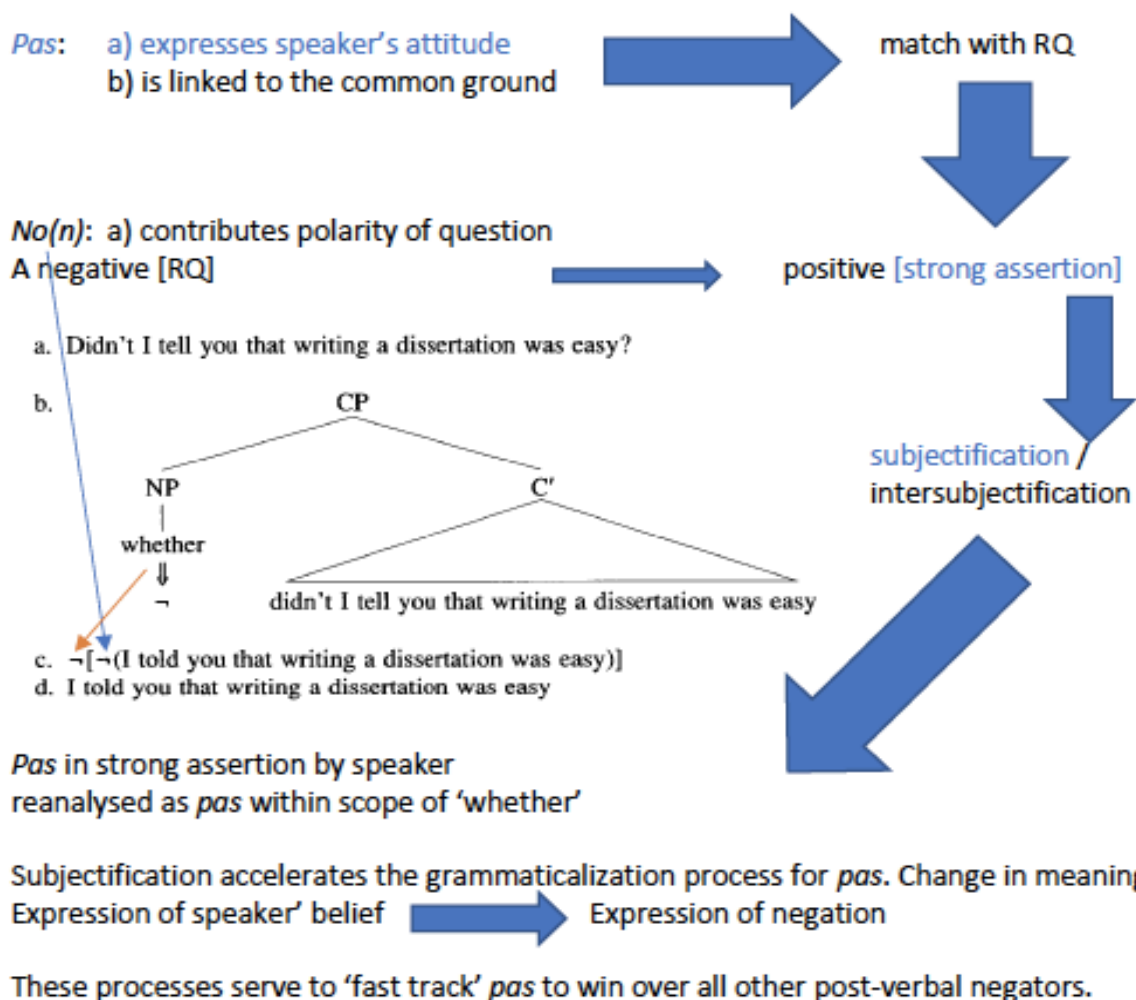


Figure 1: A proposal for the spread of *pas*.

Only post-verbal negator found in JDE rhetorical questions: *pas*;

In MDP2, out of 9 RQs, only one with *ges*:

(9) *Pueys que sains etz vengut,/ an vos volem parlar./ Etz vos ges dels disiplis/ d'aquest malvat truan/ que ha convertida la gen?* (MDP2 3752-6)

‘Because you have come here,/ we want to talk to you./ Are you not among the disciples/ of that bad crook/ who converted people?’

◦ **A Look ahead:**

17th century:

(10) *Deve pas ieu prendre une corde/ et m’estrangla tout vitamènt?*

‘Shouldn’t I take a cord/ and immediately strangle myself?’ (Rolichon; Pansier 1973) – Negative RQ, exp. answer ‘yes’.

19th century:

(11) *Ansin! T’agradon pas li traite? ... Eh bèn, tant miés!*

‘So! You don’t like traitors? ... Oh well, so much the better’ (Lou raubatori; Aubanel 1963) – Negative PQ, exp. answer ‘no’.

4. A (very) brief look at French

Price (1993: 192) reports *ne*-less interrogative sentences:

	1230	1300-1450	1450-1500
<i>mie</i>	2	0	1
<i>pas</i>	3	1	84
<i>point</i>	11	45	142

(12) *Suis je pas bele dame et gente,/ digne de servir un preudome,/ E fust empereres de Rome?*

(Roman de la Rose)

‘Am I PAS a beautiful and gentle lady,/ fit to serve a(ny) ‘prudhomme’,/ were he emperor of Rome?’

Starting with *point*, Price claims that these must be interpreted as ‘positive’, since *point* ‘occurs widely with a ‘positive’ value in other types of clause’. The positive interpretation is then extended to *pas*. However: considering the context for (12) (‘I have no wish for you to remain without a sweetheart. It if pleases you, fix your thoughts on me. [...] I would like to become your beloved [...]’), it is clear that it is actually a negative rhetorical question: ‘Am I not a beautiful and gentle lady ... ?’.

Eckardt (2006: 144): ‘Nevertheless, it is undeniable that *pas* as a simple negation (i.e. on its own, SP) occurred first in rhetorical questions.’

(2006: 145): ‘When used as a part of negation (*ne pas*), it does not seem to carry any particular emphasis even in the earliest documents. **Emphasis is present** in [...] very restricted type(s): in clauses embedded under a negation in a higher clause, and in **rhetorical questions**’.

Eckardt: French texts 1500-1800, 16 *ne*-less negations by *pas*. **10 (1500-1673): in rhetorical questions**. Only in 1660: first *ne*-less negation with *pas* in an assertion; second instance: 1741; 4 further cases after 1770.

Mie and *goutte* were only very marginally recorded in rhetorical questions: neither survived as negators in French.

This deserves further research within the Oïl dialects.

5. Conclusions

- First attestations of *pas* may be semantically restricted to verbs of motion;
- From beginning, possible both emphatic reading and negation of discourse-old proposition;
- In 13th century: *pas no(n)* as an expression of overt contrast with proposition in context;
- From 13th century *no(n)* ... *pas* can co-occur with nominals expressing insignificant value;

- In 15th century there is a great surge in the use of *pas*, especially in rhetorical questions;
- Negative rhetorical questions do not license NPIs: *pas* at this stage was not an NPI;
- It is this highly subjective and dialogical context that may have given *pas* the impetus to fast-track grammaticalization and ‘win’ over all the other post-verbal markers in Occitan, and possibly in French, too.

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