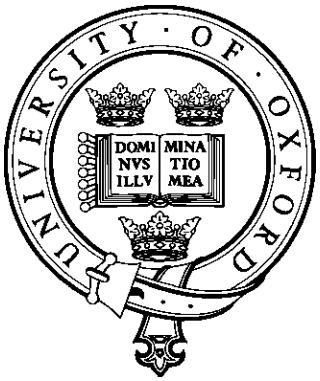
The Microvariation of Post-verbal Negative Particles in Old Gallo-Romance: A Comparative Study



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Abstract

This thesis is a microvariational analysis of post-verbal negative particles in varieties of Old Gallo-Romance between the years 1100 and 1500 A.D. It examines the internal and exogenous factors contributing to the survival of certain particles and the disuse of others. Using a mixture of verse and prose data from six *oïl* varieties and ten *oc* varieties of Old Gallo-Romance, it draws comparisons between them from the following perspectives: rates and degrees of grammaticalisation; the influence of discourse-pragmatics and information-structure on their presence, absence and frequency of occurrence; their diatopic and diachronic spread; and the effect that standardisation, linguistic prestige, and a scribal *koiné* had on the diminishing number of competing post-verbal negative particles in the grammar. In essence, it seeks to clarify why *pas*, as one of several hundred so-called 'minimisers', came to be the default sentential negator in French, rather than any other competing variant.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

§1 Background

The story of negation in the languages of France is one which has received considerable attention over the last century. From its ostensibly cyclical nature (Van Gelderen 2008, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2016; Larrivée 2010, 2011)[1] through to deletion of the pre-verbal particle[2] *ne* (Martineau and Mougeon 2003; Auger and Villeneuve 2008)[3] and its contemporary diatopic variation (Burnett *et al*. 2015; Burnett and Auger 2016; Dagnac and Burnett 2016; Burnett 2019),[4] it has been explored by scholars from many different angles and continues to be a subject of interest to this day. The reason for the amount of scholarly attention French negation receives is in no small part due to the fact that very few features of it are unequivocally agreed upon. One area of contention that persists is how and why negation in Modern Standard French has come to have a bipartite form comprising a pre-verbal negative particle, *ne*, and a post-verbal negative particle, *pas*. What is more, a perennial question still inadequately answered is why, out of all possible post-verbal particles, *pas* was 'selected' as the default sentential negator when there were hundreds of other possible choices.[5]

[1] See also Ladusaw (1993), Kiparsky and Condoravdi (2006), Schwenter (2006), Biberauer (2009), Hoeksema (2009), van der Auwera (2009), Hansen (2011), Larrivée (2010, 2011), Bermúdez-Otero and Trousdale (2012), Breitbarth (2020), and van der Auwera, Krasnoukhova and Vossen (*forthcoming*).

[2] I will use the terms 'particle' and 'negator' interchangeably in this thesis to refer to the post-verbal elements that form part of bipartite Old Gallo-Romance, and latterly French, negation, e.g. *pas*. See

[3] See also Ashby (1976, 1981), Armstrong (2002), Armstrong and Smith (2002), Christensen (2003), and Rowlett (2011).

[4] See also Escure (1974), Posner (1985), Coveney (1989), and Martineau and Vinet (2005).

[5] See Möhren (1980) for a study of around c.400 of these.

Before exploring these and other questions, it is first worth outlining the way in which scholars believe Modern Standard French negation to have developed since Latin. The principle process through which this change occurred is what Östen Dahl (1979: 88) termed 'Jespersen's Cycle'.[6] This was the observation made by Otto Jespersen (1917: 4) that, in the clausal negation of some European languages, 'the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word'. It should be mentioned at this stage that the syntactic elements constituting the expression of negation are referred to in the literature variously as adverbs, particles, n-words, negative markers, and negators. As the syntactic status of these elements is still disputed, I have chosen to adopt the neutral terms 'particle', 'negator', and 'negative marker' for pre-verbal *ne*/*non* and the grammaticalised post-verbal elements *pas*/*mie*/*point*, while I reserve 'ungrammaticalised lexical item' for nouns that never underwent grammaticalisation at all, e.g. *beloce* ('sloe berry'), and for those elements that would eventually grammaticalise into particles, but which are at the pre- or incomplete stages of the process in the data.[7]

To return to Jespersen's proposal of initial 'weakening' and subsequent 'strengthening' of the negative marker: if we assume Jespersen's proposal is correct, then this development took the following course in the case of French. In Classical Latin, the original negative adverb or

[6] Throughout the thesis, we will note numerous objections to the cyclical nature of this phenomenon. To choose one recent example, Larrivée (2011: 10) presents a challenge to Jespersen's Cycle on polarity grounds as he argues that non-negative reinforcing elements recruited to reinforce a waning negative particle, e.g. *pas*, do not eventually come full circle and resume their positive polarity once more. Yet, he concedes that the syntactic behaviour of negative particles can be cyclical.

[7] A vast literature exists on what particles are, but they are usually agreed to be 'a range of (typically monosyllabic) items which are invariable in form, and which do not fit easily into traditional systems of grammarical categories'.

'particle' was *ne* (< PIE *ne*). This first came to be 'strengthened' by the addition of the cardinal numeral *oenum* ('one') in argument position, which gave 'not one'. Then, through the process of univerbation, i.e. 'the syntagmatic condensation of a sequence of words recurrent in discourse into one word' (Lehmann 2020: 205), as well as through phonetic reduction, *ne* and *oenum* formed *non*, as in *non vado* ('I do not walk'). Latin *ne* + ø was only retained in prohibitive contexts and subordinate negative clauses. This was inherited by Old Gallo-Romance[8] as the default sentential negator, e.g. *non marche*, before being further reduced phonetically to *ne*, as in *ne marche*.[9] *Ne* and *non* co-existed until the 12th century before *ne* assumed the role of default negative particle, and *non* fell into disuse. Much as in Latin, this pre-verbal particle *ne* came to be reinforced in a strikingly similar way to *ne* in Latin, i.e. with the addition of a nominal item, but this time univerbation did not occur between the negative elements *ne* and *pas*. As Breitbarth *et al*. (2020: 35-36) have put it:

> Emphatic reinforcers typically start out as nominal or pronominal elements that can appear only in argument position. The next stage in their development, once they have overcome a number of lexical, semantic, pragmatic and syntactic restrictions is reanalysis as negative polarity adverbs (NPAs) (i.e. non-arguments with an NPI distribution), reinforcing negation in more general contexts. It then takes a second reanalysis for these elements to become new markers of standard sentential negation.
>
> (Breitbarth *et al*. 2020: 35-36).

Yet, scholars do not agree on the exact syntactic relationship between verb and complement, with some suggesting that there was a semantic relationship between them, e.g. *pas* ('step', 'pace') would, at least initially, be restricted to occur with verbs of movement as *mie* ('crumb') would with verbs of ingestion, e.g. *manger* ('to eat') and *avaler* ('to swallow')

[8] In this thesis, 'Old Gallo-Romance' will refer to the dialects of the *langue d'oïl* regions (traditionally taken to mean north of the Loire river) and to those of the *langue d'oc* regions (traditionally deemed to be those south of the Loire).

[9] Verbal subjects were not expressed explicitly in Early Old Gallo-Romance, except for emphatic purposes where the agent was being highlighted.

(Schmerling 1971: 204; Ashby 1981: 674-675; Posner 1997: 371; Catalani 2001: 163; Eckardt 2002: 53, 2006: 128-170; Schwenter 2006: 3-4; Fonseca-Greber 2017: 124). Others have remarked that we have little to no evidence for this and can therefore not draw this conclusion (Eckardt 2006: 161; Grieve-Smith 2009: 17-18; Hansen and Visconti 2009: 147).

Based on the data collected for this thesis, we can say with more confidence that *pas* had grammaticalised fully to become the default sentential negator by the 14th century in many Old Gallo-Romance varieties and, as a result, other negative markers such as *mie* fell into disuse by the 15th century (Catalani 2001: 164-165; Willis *et al*. 2013: 23). It was only in the 19th century, however, that the pre-verbal particle *ne* began to be 'dropped' with considerable frequency (Martineau and Mougeon 2003: 146).

To return to the incremental process of this syntactic change, Jespersen's observation about the additional element subsequently becoming insufficient to mark negation also has an evidential basis. One instantiation of this is when a negative polarity item,[10] e.g. *brin* in *cela ne vaut pas un brin* ('that is not worth a blade of grass'), is incorporated into the clausal scope of negation to reinforce the scalar implicature of denial. This progression from monopartite negation to bipartite negation and then back to monopartite negation is illustrated by Figure 1 below where 'X' refers to an intermediate stage of grammaticalisation at which the future

[10] Coined by Baker (1970: 170), this term refers to those items that usually (but not always) require a negative construction either to be grammatical or to make sense, e.g. *yet*, *ever*, *any*, *lift a finger*. They are typologically very common and are used alongside a negator, e.g. 'not' or 'never', which is said to 'license' it. Such words or phrases can be indefinite, e.g. 'any', 'at all', 'ever' or they can be definite, e.g. 'a fig', 'a jot'. An example where an NPI is used felicitously is 'He does not care at all', while it is used infelicitously (or not 'licensed') in 'He cares at all'.

negative particle still retains some of its original semantic meaning before being fully grammaticalised and becoming NEG:[11]

Stage	Strategy
1	non_{NEG}
2	ne_{NEG}
3	$ne_{NEG}...pas_{X}$
4	$ne_{NEG}...pas_{NEG}$
5	$ne_{X}...pas_{NEG}$
6	pas_{NEG}

Figure 1

Reproduced from van der Auwera (2009)

In a chronology already proposed by scholars, such as Chaurand (1999), post-verbal negative particles were being used in 50% of negative propositions in the 13th century, i.e. in late Old French, though their status at that point as fully grammaticalised particles remains moot. Then, suggests Marchello-Nizia (1979: 305), this tendency to incorporate a second negative element into the negative strategy increased during the Middle French period of the 14th and 15th centuries before becoming the default exponent of negation, while the use of *ne* + ø was restricted to archaising texts, such as poems (Haase 1969: 250).

[11] Grammaticalisation is the gradual process by which a lexical item (i.e. a noun) or a grammatical morpheme (e.g. a clitic) either becomes a grammatical item (e.g. when a noun becomes a grammatical particle) or changes grammatical category (e.g. when a clitic becomes an inflectional affix). See Chapter 2 for a fuller treatment of this.

Martineau and Mougeon (2003: 146) express these changes in terms of 'stability' from the perspective of the presence or absence of *ne*. They describe the period between the 9th and 13th centuries as 'stable' in that *ne* was used alone as the primary clausal negator and, if reinforced at all by words such as *pas* or *point*, then the latter did not have any negative meaning. The period between the 14th and 16th centuries, they said, was 'unstable' as *ne* + ø was in close competition with *ne…pas/point* to express clausal negation and *ne*-deletion was decreasing. The period between the 17th and 18th centuries was 'stable' as *ne…pas/point* was firmly established as the default exponent of negation, and *ne*-deletion was exceptional. Finally, the 19th and 20th centuries were 'unstable' in this respect as *ne…pas* and ø + *pas* were vying with each other to be the default exponents of negation.

While I broadly agree with these observations, I will suggest in this thesis that reinforcing secondary elements like *pas* did have negative value before the 14th century (see later chapters). Furthermore, these schemata are too broad to account adequately for the nuances in evolution from one stage to the next. For example, it has been suggested that having just one paradigm to explain negation in often very typologically diverse languages is inappropriate. By way of illustration, in his 2009 study of, *inter alia*, Bella Coola, Dutch, and Brazilian Portuguese, van der Auwera proposes eight Jespersen's Cycles that can account for the cyclical nature of negative strategies, rather than just one. He criticised Jespersen's limited consideration of emphatic strategies, i.e. his focus on *pas* alone, and claimed that while it loses its lexical valency it gains in pragmatic meaning through what he termed 'semantic reanalysis' (van der Auwera 2009: 7). This is something which will become clear from the results of the test in Chapter 2 as I posit that the continued free movement of the post-verbal negative particles around the clause is pragmatically driven.

Similarly, Biberauer (2009: 105) used Afrikaans data to show that one language can, in fact, be at different stages of Jespersen's Cycle simultaneously and that therefore 'it might be useful to think not just of *related JCs* [Jespersen's Cycles]...but of *genuinely independent or multiple JCs which are simultaneously underway*' [emphasis my own - AL]. This particular challenge to Jespersen's view shows that it is inadvisable to consider the cycle as a 'one size fits all' description of the cyclical nature of negation across several languages. Indeed, its causal trigger is still in question, as are the constituent steps, how many of these there are, and whether more than one 'cycle' can be said to exist, or if any cycle can be said to exist at all.

A final point of division among scholars in this area is the proposal by Jespersen that phonetic erosion necessitated the addition of a post-verbal negative particle. Hoeksema (2009: 19) calls into question the causal role played by the phonetic reduction of *ne* and does not believe that a strategy as important as negation would ever weaken to the extent that it would need reinforcement, but rather thinks that the change occurs through a desire for variation on the part of the speaker. Haspelmath's (1999: 1055) 'maxim of extravagance' follows a similar line of reasoning, though this was later challenged by Geurts (2000: 786-787) who saw Haspelmath's view as insufficiently elaborated since he did not explain the reasons for following one maxim instead of another, or why anyone would want to adopt the innovative use of a word or expression in the first place. Similarly, Schwegler (1983: 301) thought that it was the increase in the 'functional load of the "new" negative particle (the erstwhile emphasiser), and not phonological weakening [that] triggers the shift EMPH > NEG and, in turn, the loss of the old negative particle.' Van Gelderen (2004, 2011: 295) and Kiparsky and Condoravdi (2006: 175) also deny the causal role of phonetic weakening, as does Larrivée (2014: 42) who questions the directionality of *ne*-erosion by proposing that it may be the *result* and not the *cause* of the addition of the post-verbal negative particle. Finally, Breitbarth

et al. (2020: 115) believe the reanalysis of the additional particle, rather than the weakening of the original negator, is the trigger of change in the expression of negation:

> Emphatic reinforcement of the expression of sentential negation being freely available in most, if not all, languages, independently of the weakness or strength (however defined) of the standard negative marker, means that a change in the properties of the reinforcer, not the original negator, is likely to be the trigger of the renewal of the expression of sentential negation.
>
> (Breitbarth *et al*. 2020: 115)

Space constraints prevent a full review of the details here, but these accounts all demonstrate a significant challenge to Jespersen's original view that phonetic weakening was the ultimate trigger for the addition of a post-verbal negative particle.

Thus, with so much obscurity and contradiction still clouding our understanding of these phenomena, this thesis intends to cast light over those facets of French negation that are crucial to improving our appreciation of how French came to have the system of negation it does today.[12] To date, no comparative account has been given, or comparative analysis been conducted, into the negation of as many of the closely related varieties of Old Gallo-Romance as this thesis considers. The approach I have adopted for this study is a syntactic microvariational one which, as explained by Brandner (2012: 113), takes as its object of study 'the syntax of [closely related] dialects and dialectal variation' and uses 'profound and systematic methods for collecting data'. Such an approach will allow us to account for any variation found in the data by drawing on pre-existing explanations of language variation. I will also propose my own, potentially more appropriate, explanations for what we observe.

[12] I use the term 'French' to denote the languages of France grouped as a whole for general expository purposes when not wishing to focus on idiosyncrasies, e.g. 'French negation', but also to denote that language we know today as 'Modern Standard French'. Context should clarify which is intended.

This thesis therefore aims to elucidate further the development of negation in Old Gallo-Romance varieties over the course of the Middle Ages, and it will do so over the years c.1100-1500. These years were chosen as the *termini post* and *ante quem* primarily on the basis of the availability of data. Very few Old Gallo-Romance data survive from before the year 1100 and, of those that do, nothing has proven useful to this study since those texts either contained no negation whatsoever, or the negation that was expressed therein did not show features relevant to the present study. I have chosen the year 1500 as the latest date for the collection of my data as by then the first efforts towards standardising the language of France were in evidence, and the expression of negation had changed considerably from what it had been 400 years earlier. It is with the aim of showcasing the development and variety of negation through time and dialects that a 400-year span was chosen.

This thesis will demonstrate that the variation to be observed in the cross-dialectal expression of negation is, in fact, substantial. It will do this by examining the development of negation within *oc* and *oïl* dialects from four perspectives, each forming the focus of one chapter in the following order: (Chapter 2) the grammaticalisation of lexical items into post-verbal negative particles in Old Gallo-Romance varieties; (Chapter 3) the influence of information-structure and discourse-pragmatics on the newly emerging post-verbal negative particles; (Chapter 4) the diatopic and diachronic spread of these particles across medieval France; and (Chapter 5) the influence that extra-linguistic factors, such as standardisation and linguistic prestige, have had on establishing *pas* as the default sentential negative marker.

I will now turn to an exposition of the background of post-verbal negation in French and, in doing so, I will highlight some of the lacunae that have so far prevented us from forming a complete picture of its development.

§1.1 Point of Departure

It is widely agreed that, on the surface level, basic productive clausal negation in Modern Standard French relies on two negators to express a single negative polarity, namely *ne* and *pas*, which both have negative polarity and combine to express a single negation instead of nullifying one another. It is for this reason that French is termed a 'negative concord language', viz. one where 'a single semantic negation is indicated by both the head of the clause and the argument expression' (Ladusaw 1993: 438; see also Rowlett 1998: 167, Déprez 1999: 329, De Swart and Sag 2002: 373, Zeijlstra 2009: 447, van der Auwera and Van Alsenoy 2016: 475). What this means is that such languages permit a series of negative constituents to occur alongside one another within a single domain, without their inherent negativity being lost (Rowlett 1998: viii).[13] This is evident from examples (1) and (2) below.

(1) *Je* ***ne*** *suis* ***pas*** *escroc*.
I NEG be.1SG.PRS NEG crook.
'I am not a crook'.[14]

(2) ***Ne*** *me* *quitte* ***pas***.
NEG PRON leave.2SG.IMP NEG.
'Do not leave me'.

[13] This thesis is not concerned with the multiple co-occurrence of negators, e.g. *Yves ne mangera plus jamais rien* ('Yves will never eat anything again').

[14] All translations are my own, unless otherwise stated.

It should be noted here, however, that this is still the case for Modern Standard French only, and that in some regional, basilectal, and informal varieties of French the pre-verbal particle *ne* is frequently deleted (Ashby 2001; Armstrong 2002; Martineau and Mougeon 2003; Auger and Villeneuve 2008), as in (3).[15]

(3) *Je* *regrette* ***rien***.
I regret.1SG.PRS NEG.
'I regret nothing'.

From example (3), it is clear that the negative polarity of the utterance can be assumed by the post-verbal negative indefinite alone, even if this is etymologically positive (< Latin *rem*, accusative of *rēs*, 'thing'). This evolution of a lexical item with a positive polarity into a grammatical particle with a negative polarity is central to understanding the development of negation in French from the earliest stages. The story of how French came to have a bipartite structure of negation has been told numerous times (*inter alios* Schweighäuser 1852; Ewert 1949; Englebert 1984; Horn 1989; Lodge 1993; Grieve-Smith 2009; Hansen 2009, 2013; Hansen and Visconti 2009, 2014; Willis *et al*. 2013; Breitbarth *et al*. 2020), albeit with the proposed factors motivating the evolution of negation differing across time and between accounts. I will therefore restrict myself to outlining briefly what we understand to be the origins of this system of standard negation before detailing which unanswered questions exist and how the thesis aims to address these.

[15] *Ne*-deletion is not a modern phenomenon, however, and is attested as early as the 16th century (Ashby 1981), and in interrogatives from the 17th century (Schwegler 1983), but only took hold considerably in the 19th century (Martineau and Mougeon 2003: 146)

To recapitulate, clausal negation in Modern Standard French comprises two parts: a pre-verbal particle and a post-verbal particle that 'sandwich' the finite verb, as in (1) and (2) above. Both particles are negative in the sense that each can negate a clause on its own, although *ne* + ø is now restricted to contextually formal modal contexts alone with verbs like *pouvoir*, *cesser*, *oser*, and *savoir*, as in (4):

(4)	*Je*	***ne***	*peux*	*vous*	*parler*.
	I	NEG	can.1SG.PRS	you	speak.INF.
	'I cannot speak to you'.				

We know that a bipartite structure is now the norm in Modern Standard French negation, but that in Latin the early negative marker *ne* came to be reinforced by *oenum* ('one') and through univerbation they formed the eventual standard *non*. In early Old Gallo-Romance varieties, it was common to express sentential negation using this pre-verbal particle, which eventually weakened phonetically to form *ne* (or prevocalic *nen*). Yet, once *non* was formed in Latin, other elements were integrated into the syntax of the negation in order to reinforce the communicative strength of the utterance (Diez 1876: 1079; Väänänen 1967: 240; Eckardt 2006: 130). These were nouns denoting a small quantity of something, or something worthless, such as 'droplet', 'nut', 'berry' (amongst many others) and, when used as the complement of a negated verb for this purpose, they have been termed 'minimisers' (Bolinger 1972) and 'items/units of minimal value' (Schweighäuser 1852) as they express something that is not the case even to the smallest degree. We can see these used in (5) and (6) below:

(5) ***Ne*** *iste* *hercle* *ab* *ista* ***non*** ***pedem*** *discedat*.

NEG that Hercules from her NEG foot leave.3SG.SBJV.

'Good Lord! The fellow would not move a foot (step) from her'.

(Plautus, *Asinaria* III, 3, 13, quoted from Grieve-Smith 2009: 11)

(6) *Quod* *autem* *dedit* ***nec*** ***passum*** ***pedis***,

Because then give.3SG.PST NEG pace foot.GEN

dicit *Stephanus*.

say.3SG.PRS Stephen.

'Because he did not give him a single pace of a foot, says Stephen'.[16]

(*Collection Doat*., vol. XXXVI, folio 120, quoted from Grieve-Smith 2009: 11)

In these two examples, 'not a step' and 'not the pace of a foot' are used to heighten the negative polarity of the assertions made on the scalar implicature of denial. By saying in (5) that the man in question would not move *even as much as a step* from the woman referred to, Plautus emphasises the man's reluctance to do so by denying him even the smallest degree of movement. In (6), clarified by footnote 16, not even as much land as that upon which the size of a foot could tread would be given from one party to the other. This is rhetorically more emphatic, and certainly more evocative from a literary perspective, than simply saying 'no land'. As Detges and Waltereit (2002: 177) formulated it:

> If you want to express in a strong way that some state of affairs did not take place at all, say that the state of affairs in question did not even take place to the smallest degree imaginable. In order to do so, take the negative form of the predicate and combine it with some direct or cognate object-NP which expresses the smallest conceivable quantity affected or brought about by the state of affairs in question.
>
> (Detges and Waltereit 2002: 177)

[16] Grieve-Smith (2009: 12) contextualises this by providing the Vulgate translation of this passage as follows: 'For I will not give you of their land so much as the step of one foot can tread upon'.

This form of reinforcement through the addition of lexical items is also attested in the earliest Old Gallo-Romance documents and, during the Middle Ages, there were several hundred so-called units of minimal value that could be used in Old Gallo-Romance varieties in this way, for example *beloce* ('sloe berry'), *areste* ('fish bone'), *ail* ('garlic'), and *clou* ('screw'), but very few of these survived to become negative particles.[17] In fact, bipartite or 'discontinuous' negation (i.e. comprising two parts), e.g. *ne…pas*, is relatively rare across present-day Western European languages, but it is attested at various times in French, Occitan, Northern Italo-Romance, Romansh, Breton, Welsh, and English, amongst others (Price 1999: 127). In written French up to the Early Modern era, the bipartite construction was in competition with the monopartite *ne* + ø, as noted in §1. When exactly the bipartite form superseded the monopartite is still subject to debate, however (see *inter alios* Gougenheim 1951: 217; Ashby 1981: 674; Detges and Waltereit 2002: 175).

Then, as these nouns began to grammaticalise, whatever semantic proximity they had to their verbs was lost (see Chapter 2). This is what we see with those few lexical items that became full negative particles, to wit *pas*, *mie*, and *point*, which grammaticalised from nouns denoting a small quantity (i.e. 'step', 'crumb', and 'dot'/'stitch') to negative particles occupying the specifier position of NegP in Modern Standard French (Detges and Waltereit 2002: 171-190; Hansen 2009: 228-232; Martineau 2009: 196; Meisner, Stark, and Völker 2014: 1-8; De Clercq 2017: 52).[18] I suggest, however, that we cannot consider all units of minimal value

[17] See Möhren's 1980 study of several hundred of these units of minimal value and the verbs with which they were used. It also is interesting to note that some of these units of minimal value were common to Medieval French, German and English, e.g. *paille*/*strô*/*stra* ('straw'), *agoille*/*nadel*/*nedle* ('needle'), *chevol*/*hâr*/*here* ('hair'), *nois*/*nutz*/*note* ('nut'), and *puscin*/*floch*/*flea* ('flea') (Koskenniemi 1966: 387).

[18] By this is meant cases of basic productive clause negation (Payne 1985: 198).

together as homogenous functional equivalents. It is very clear that some pertain to minimal quantities, e.g. *mie* 'crumb', *areste* 'fish bone' and *brin* 'grain', while others to worthlessness, e.g. *denier* 'coin (of small denomination)' and *œuf* 'egg' (presumably in abundant supply). While words like 'crumb' and 'fish bone' could be used with all manner of verbs to convey how little one had received, given of something, or possessed, there is one lexical item which denotes a small quantity that would be semantically incongruous and nonsensical if used in this way: *pas* 'step'. Breitbarth *et al*. (2020: 36) have also made a similar observation:

> These three types of element [nominals/pronominals in argument position, negative polarity adverbs, and full negative markers] can be exemplified with the Present-day English items (i) *a penny*, an emphatic nominal reinforcer with lexical occurrence restrictions (^{OK}*not pay a penny*, **not like someone a penny*, **not help a penny*); (ii) *one bit*, an NPA with consequently greater, though not total, freedom of occurrence (^{OK}*not like someone one bit*, ^{OK}*not help one bit*, $^{?}$*not see the point of something one bit*); and (iii) *not*, a full-blown sentential negator (which in Middle English could co-occur with the original pre-verbal negator *ne*).
>
> (Breitbarth *et al*. 2020: 36)

This makes the question of why *pas* came to be used with *every* verb, irrespective of semantic content, all the more intriguing and it is a question that will be addressed throughout the subsequent chapters. This thesis intends to provide a greater level of certainty over the question of whether such semantic congruity really ever did exist between complement and verb, as well as over the question of why *pas* 'won' the competition between the several hundred other units of minimal value that could have grammaticalised to become the default sentential negative marker in French. This is especially important as explanations as to how French negation has reached this stage remain inconclusive. Not only is it disputed whether there ever was any semantic congruity between complement and verb (Hansen and Visconti 2009: 147), but we also cannot say for certain whether the development of French negation is cyclical in nature, as is frequently claimed, since the observable changes do not necessarily

show ‘an orderly movement from pre-verbal to post-verbal negative marking and back’ (Larrivée 2011: 2).

We will see in Chapter 3 that the emphatic reinforcement proposal is evinced by the data and that it makes sense to think of the cycle(s) as having overlapping liminal stages along the cline, termed ‘bridging contexts’ by Heine (2002: 86), wherein more than one negative strategy can be active as lexical elements undergo the process of grammaticalisation.

§1.2 Data

Before addressing the data themselves, it is first worth noting that historical linguists wishing to study the origins of Old Gallo-Romance syntax must contend with the complete absence of relevant extant written evidence from the years between the fall of the Roman Empire (476 A.D.)[19] and the first document written in Old Gallo-Romance, the *Strasbourg Oaths* (842 A.D.). This means that, in practice, we can only extrapolate based on the latest documents written in Latin that we have from the final years of the Roman Empire and the earliest documents that survive from the beginning of the Middle Ages. Labov (1996: 11) termed this the ‘bad data’ problem, i.e. it is the lot of the historical linguist to make the best use of what few data remain to him. We must also not maintain the pretence that the data we collect represent anything like natural speech. As Marchello-Nizia *et al*. (2020: 97) have remarked:

> *On constate en effet qu’aucun écrit médiéval ne reflète complètement un dialecte oral donné, et que les divers dialectes sont représentés à l’écrit par un nombre toujours minoritaire de traits spécifiques*.
>
> ‘We note that no medieval writing completely reflects any given oral dialect, and that the diverse written dialects are represented by a minority of specific traits.’

[19] The exact date remains contested as its decline and ultimate fall did not happen just over the course of one year (in addition to Gibbon 1776-1789 [1836], see Veyne 1997).

(Marcello-Nizia *et al*. 2020: 97)

That said, I have drawn the data in each chapter of this thesis from five sources in order to maximise dialectal variation and the quantity of tokens. Most of the data are in verse for the reason that the majority of digitally transcribed texts in oïl and oc varieties are in verse; there is very little available prose data by comparison. In the introduction to each section, I describe the justification behind the data used and some of the challenges using a mixture of forms can present, such as how the use of prose may be a better reflection of spoken language or how verse may present the confounding variable of metrical constraints, which may determine the post-verbal negative particle used (Foulet 1968: 262). Moreover, as Leech (1969) and Nofal (2012) have observed, verse permits of particular linguistic deviations that prose would not, and thus may also accord lexical, syntactic, and pragmatic *freedom* to the writer. For these reasons, we must be conscious of the influence that the mode of writing may have on syntactic variation.

The first corpus, used for most *langue d'oïl* data, is the *Base de Français Médiéval* (ENS Lyon, 2019), henceforth 'BFM'. The second, used for most *langue d'oc* data, is the *Concordance de l'Occitan Médiéval 2* (Ricketts, 2005), henceforth 'COM 2'. The first groups together 153 texts (4.1 million words) from the 9th to the 15th centuries of diverse genres, Old Gallo-Romance varieties, and length. The second comprises 2500 works of troubadour poetry and narrative verse, but the number of words for each text and for the corpus overall is not provided. It is mentioned in the COM2 accompanying directions that a third tranche, COM3, was embryonic at the time of publication (2005), that it would contain prose texts (including administrative documents), and that the total word count for COM1, COM2, and COM3 together would total some 7 million words. It is to be regretted that COM3 never came to

fruition and this made it impossible to carry out normalised statistical tests on the Old Occitan prose data with a reliable number of total words. The third source of data, to compensate for the lack of prose provided by the first two corpora, is the *Chartae Galliae* project run by the Centre National des Recherches Scientifiques (CNRS). This offers transcribed charters, papal bulls, and notices written in Latin, or in local vernacular Old Gallo-Romance varieties, and produced predominantly by abbeys across France. The fourth corpus, used specifically for Provençal data, is the Project for American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language (ARTFL), and the fifth corpus, used to supplement Parisien data from the BFM, is the *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, written between 1408 and 1449 by a clerk from Paris, which offers valuable natural and uncontrived prose data.

For this study, I did not examine all Old Gallo-Romance varieties provided by the corpora. Instead, I limited my search to those varieties that yielded the most data (ideally above 11,500 words for the purposes of representativeness) and/or those that enabled my comparison to encompass a wider geographical spread than if they had not been included. Due most digitised early Old Gallo-Romance data being literary, and most literature being written in verse, it was necessary to use verse texts if I wished to gather enough tokens for a reasonable comparative study. I expressly excluded Walloon as I was unable to find a sufficient number of suitable digitised texts of medieval Walloon dating from between 1100 and 1500 to make a reasonable comparison with other medieval *langue d'oïl* varieties. I also excluded Franco-provençal as its status as either a *langue d'oc* or a *langue d'oïl* has long been in doubt (see Jochnowitz 1973 and de Planhol 1994: 126). The *oïl* varieties I chose were Champenois, Orléanais, Picard, Poitevin, Parisien, and Lorrain. The *oc* varieties I chose were Provençal, Limousin, Languedocien, Toulousain, Gascon, Briançonnais, Vaudois, Niçois, Auvergnat, and Pyrénéen. Naturally, some varieties provided far more data than others, but those that provided few were

included for reasons of linguistic diversity and representativeness. In typological terms, what has constituted an *oc* or *oïl* linguistic variety has changed over time; for instance the long-established boundary between the *oïl* and *oc* varieties was the Loire river, but this eventually became a more arbitrary isogloss that moved further south and ended by running through the centre of the Auvergne, following reassessment (Brun-Trigaud 1990; Marcello-Nizia *et al*. 2020: 97). In this study, *contra* Andreose and Renzi (2013: 294), I have treated Poitevin as an *oïl* dialect, even though they maintain this could feasibly be classified as an *oc* dialect until the 13th century. I have done this as the Poitevin texts I used are most often classified as written in an *oïl* dialect for the features they display. Other than this, I have followed the typology of Andreose and Renzi (2013).

In terms of data collection, the method by which I collected the *oïl* data from the corpora was to note all occurrences of standard clausal negation (*ne*/*non* + ø and *ne* + NEGATIVE PARTICLE)[20] in context within each text classified by the corpus compilers as having been written in a particular variety, if this was stipulated at all. I also searched for the contracted form (*n'*) and the compound forms (*nen*, *nes*, *nel*). As *ne*-deletion was extremely rare until the 16th century (Gougenheim 1951: 218; Ashby 1981: 674; Martineau and Mougeon 2003: 120), I could safely assume that practically all post-verbal negative particles would co-occur with *ne*, and this was therefore the most expedient way to identify them within the texts. As this study does not focus on cases of *ne*-deletion or those where post-verbal negative particles occur on their own as polarity items,[21] I did not include instances of these. I adopted a similar

[20] All non-occurrences of post-verbal negative particles, i.e. where *ne* appears alone (*ne* + ø), were included in the spreadsheet to satisfy Labov's Principle of Accountability, namely that 'any variable form should be reported with the proportion of cases in which the form did occur in the relevant environment, compared to the total number of cases in which it might have occurred' (Labov 1972: 72).

[21] See Martin and Wilmet (1980: 33), Price (1993: 191-195), Eckardt (2006: 133-134), and Hansen (2013: 63) for a discussion of post-verbal particles, e.g. *pas*, being used in interrogatives and negative polarity contexts but

approach for the *oc* data, but searched instead for *no(n)* as this was the standard pre-verbal negative particle in Old Occitan that would occasionally be reinforced by post-verbal ones 'whose chief function it is to come to the rescue of the regular negation *no* whenever the latter is felt to be somehow faltering or inadequate' (Jensen 1986: 309). I extracted each token of a pre-verbal negative particle in its context and noted the post-verbal particle if there was one, then entered all into a spreadsheet. Unfortunately, it was impossible to create a subcorpus on COM2, or to search for specific language varieties, dates, or texts. It was therefore necessary for me to determine the *oc* variety that the data were written in, and the likely composition date of them before tagging them for these aspects, as well as for genre, title (if provided), and whether they were in verse or prose. In order to determine the variety, I looked for lexical and morphological regional variations in the texts, and also supplemented these with any information that existed about the author's background.

The BFM posed few problems when selecting the *oïl* data: authors, putative composition and manuscript dates, Old Gallo-Romance variety, and word counts were all provided for every entry. For this reason, I included the word count in the presentation of this data. In contrast, the COM2 does not provide word counts, nor the facility to copy and paste the text into a word processor to find this out, and therefore I could not include this for most of the varieties. The exception to this were the Provençal data as they came from a different corpus, the 'Provençal Database' compiled by the ARTFL.

A distinction to which attention should be drawn is the way in which I have tabulated the data. I organised the *oc* data according to author and the dates they are thought to have been

without inherent negative value.

active, rather than by distinct works. This is because Occitan poems rarely had individual titles and thus collections have been formed of many untitled poems, which have subsequently been added to corpora such as COM2 and the ARTFL. These collections form the basis of the data I have gathered from each author. Conversely, the *oïl* works I used are often anonymously composed, but instead have dates attached to them by the BFM compilers. For this reason, I chose to use the name of the work (the only choice in some instances) and the date attributed to it by the compilers. Furthermore, some of the *oïl* works were tens of thousands of words long and therefore, for reasons of expediency, I decided to take a sample of 11,500 words from the start of those works which were over 30,000 words long.
Lastly, I discounted partitive negations, e.g. *pas de*, as not all post-verbal negative particles are capable of taking an object complement, e.g. *goutte*, and this would therefore cause the token count to be unrepresentative. I also discounted constituent tonic negations, e.g. *non pas*, as these are narrow in scope and do not constitute sentential negation.[22]

To summarise, then, Old Gallo-Romance negation followed the pattern of Latin negation in the sense that the original negative particle came to be strengthened by the addition of a second element. These second elements, which were indefinites or lexical items, were not always semantically congruous with their verbs, but I argue that some were, and we will see evidence of this in Chapter 2. Previous studies have not adequately accounted for *pas* becoming the default sentential negator, especially in light of its lack of versatility and concomitant restriction to verbs of movement when it still retained vestiges of its lexical status, evinced by the presence of a determiner (**Je ne mange un pas* (*'I do not eat a step')).

[22] See Klima (1964: 270) for syntactic tests to identify what is and is not sentential negation.

Finally, the very nature of grammaticalisation remains an area of debate among scholars, but most agree that it is unidirectional and incremental. It is likely that phonetic erosion was not the reason for the addition of the post-verbal negative particle, but that instead a pragmatic need for emphasis, amongst other reasons that I will explore, was responsible for its inception. And the various stages of grammaticalisation are not discrete but instead overlap with one another, it being useful to think of there being more than one cycle to account for changes observed in languages.

With these points reiterated, it is appropriate to set out the guiding research questions that will underpin the following four chapters. In Chapter 2, I will begin by posing the question of whether lexical items grammaticalised to become post-verbal negative particles at the same rate as each other, and whether there is any structured variation to be observed in these rates as determined by region, time, or linguistic variety. Furthermore, as we know that some of these lexical items did in fact grammaticalise, and that grammaticalisation is incremental, it is also worth determining the order in which the lexical items underwent the different stages of the grammaticalisation process to understand better the evolution from nominal element to full grammatical negator. In Chapter 3, I will focus on the discourse-pragmatics of Old Gallo-Romance negation and investigate which, if any, pragmatic constraints can be seen to determine the presence or absence of post-verbal negative particles, as well as how these constraints might affect the expression of negation across time, space, and Old Gallo-Romance variety. I will also consider whether the grammaticalisation process and these discourse-pragmatic constraints are connected in any way.

Chapter 4 deals with the diachronic and diatopic distribution of post-verbal negative particles across medieval France between 1100 and 1500, asks whether there are any discernible

indications of when *pas* starts to become the default sentential negator, and whether prose, as opposed to verse, has an influence on the presence or absence of post-verbal negative particles. The final substantive chapter, Chapter 5, focuses on exogenous influences on the development of negation in Old Gallo-Romance varieties and, ultimately, French. Adopting the framework of Social Network Theory, it examines the potential roles that a Parisian scribal network, standardisation and linguistic homogeneity could have played in causing *pas* to become the default post-verbal negative particle. It questions whether social networks and speech communities could have helped *pas* to spread across the Île-de-France and eventually more widely across the country.

Chapter 2

The Grammaticalisation of Old Gallo-Romance Negation

§2 Outline

In this chapter I will present an overview of the main areas of contention in grammaticalisation and negation scholarship and explain the rationale behind the criteria I have identified for measuring grammaticalisation. As a result of testing my data against these criteria, we will see that post-verbal negative particles in Old Gallo-Romance varieties grammaticalised at different rates and to different extents and that an interplay between internal and external factors can account for the microvariational patterns observable in the grammaticalisation of these particles. In §2.5 I will discuss the conclusions drawn from my findings and suggest further avenues of research that will be necessary for a full understanding of the grammaticalisation of post-verbal negative particles in Old Gallo-Romance.

§2.1 Negation and the Grammaticalisation Debate

§2.1.1 Background

Language change is known to be caused by both internal and external factors (Labov 1996, 2001; Croft 2001: 166-174; Campbell 2004: 316-326; Hickey 2012: 401-421). One of the most commonly proposed instantiations of internally driven language change, and the one which concerns us here, is grammaticalisation.

This was defined by Hopper and Traugott (2002:2) as:

> The increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical, or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical, status e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one.
>
> (Hopper and Traugott 2002: 2)

The process is, as seen in the definition above, thought to involve more than one distinct 'stage', i.e. either a noun changing status to become a grammatical morpheme (as with negative particles from nouns), or a grammatical morpheme becoming a different grammatical morpheme, as seen in the CONTENT ITEM > GRAMMATICAL WORD > CLITIC > INFLECTIONAL AFFIX schema expounded in Hopper and Traugott (2002: 7). This is sometimes expressed in terms of a morpheme becoming 'more' grammatical from a state of 'less' grammaticality, but quite what Kuryłowicz (1965) and others envisage when speaking of grammaticality in quantifiable terms of more and less is unclear. I see this as unnecessarily misleading and obscurantist, and I will therefore talk in terms of 'grammaticity' instead, i.e. how grammaticalised a morpheme is. This description, sometimes expressed in terms of 'primary' and 'secondary' grammaticalisation (Traugott 2002: 26-27; Norde 2012: 76), was also adopted by subsequent scholars, most notably by Lehmann (2015), Hopper and Traugott (2002), and Heine (2003).

It is clear from the above that some form of cline or *continuum* is involved and that there is gradual movement either from a lexical item, e.g. *un pas* ('a step'), to a grammatical item, e.g. *pas* (negative particle), or from one grammatical category to another grammatical category. The latter encapsulates the diachronic approach to the study of grammaticalisation, i.e. one which focuses on the 'gradualness' of the grammaticalisation of the gram (grammatical morpheme), as opposed to the synchronic approach which views it in terms of its 'gradience',

i.e. how grammaticalised a gram already is at a given point in time (Traugott and Trousdale 2010). It is with gradualness that this study is primarily concerned.

As Heine and Reh (1984: 67) have stated, when an element becomes more grammaticalised, it suffers a loss of semantic value, expressive value, pragmatic significance, and functional significance. However, it gains syntactic significance and a more abstract meaning while the number of elements in the same morphosyntactic paradigm reduces (e.g. post-verbal negative particles in French). It loses in syntactic flexibility, i.e. it can no longer move within a clause as freely as before, and its use becomes obligatory in certain contexts but impossible in others.[23] Finally, the element begins to fuse with other elements on morphosyntactic, phonetic, and semantic levels and it loses in phonetic substance. These broad stages were also formulated by Heine (2003: 579) as desemanticisation, extension (the element is generalised to new contexts), decategorialisation or 'category shift' (Wright 1986:63) where the element loses its nominal status but keeps its morphological form, and phonetic erosion. Some of these 'symptoms' form the basis for the tests below, namely Semantic Specialisation,[24] Co-occurrence of the Negative Particle with a Determiner, Co-occurrence with an Ungrammaticalised Negative Polarity Item, and Syntactic Movement (no phonological change or collocational fusion has been observed for these post-verbal negative particles).

What should be noted here is that none of these stages is independent from the rest, with decategorialisation and erosion presupposing desemanticisation. According to Heine (1993:

[23] According to Lehmann (2015: 167-170), this syntagmatic variability is indicative of the greater autonomy of a sign, i.e. the freedom with which it is used. The more autonomous a sign is, the more syntactic positions it is able to occupy.

[24] 'The process of reducing the variety of formal choices available as the meanings assume greater grammatical generality' (Hopper and Traugott 2002: 114).

48-53), they 'overlap' as follows:

i) There is a linguistic expression 'A' that is recruited for grammaticalisation.

ii) This expression acquires a second use pattern, 'B', with the effect that there is ambiguity between A and B.

iii) Finally, A is lost and only B remains.

This overlap will become clear from the data in this chapter where we will see the negative particles in varying stages of completion on the grammaticalisation cline.

One central issue in the grammaticalisation literature is worth noting before we continue. Most linguists agree that grammaticalisation is a unidirectional phenomenon, meaning that items on the cline follow a trajectory from either the lexical to the grammatical or from one grammatical category to another, without being able to move back. The prototypical case of this is the grammaticalisation of lexical items into negative particles in French negation.[25] This is seen from the results of the tests below, where the data point to the conclusion that the process of grammaticalisation in the domain of semantic specialisation moves in one direction only: towards the semantically more general. That said, many scholars maintain that valid examples of the bidirectionality of grammaticalisation (or 'degrammaticalisation') do in fact exist, such as the change from affix to clitic, as exemplified by possessive 's' in English and Swedish, or in the Saami suffix *-taga*, which transitioned first into a clitic, then into a post-

[25] See Givón (1975a: 96); Traugott (1988: 405-407); Heine *et al*. (1991: 4-5); Lessau (1994: 885-886); Ramat (1998: 115-116); Herring (1991: 253); Campbell (2001: 124-141); Janda (2001: 265 ff.); Hopper and Traugott (2002: 113-129); Lehmann (2015: 19); De Castilho (2014: 35-60); Hilpert and Saavedra (2018: 357-375).

position, and finally into an adverb (Janda 2001: 127). See also Tabor and Traugott (1998: 229); Campbell (2001: 127-134); Willis (2007: 272-273); Norde (2010: 123-145); Börjars and Vincent (2011: 167); Norde (2011a: 8, 2011b: 476-479); Ishizaki (2012). Yet, there is currently no evidence that this is possible for negative particles.

§2.1.2 The Case of French

Having now reviewed the process of grammaticalisation and its specific instantiation in Jespersen's Cycle, it remains to be said that the two are very much presented in the literature as *ex post facto*. What is still lacking is a microvariational analysis involving the detailed study of the gradual grammaticalisation of these particles in *langue d'oïl* and *langue d'oc* varieties of Old Gallo-Romance, which this study aims to resolve.

Research into this area is so far either textually, temporally, and dialectally restricted (Offord 1976; Hansen and Malderez 2004; Martineau and Vinet 2005; Martineau 2009; Dagnac 2015; Burnett *et al*. 2018; Guilliot and Becerra-Zita 2019) or diachronically and holistically broad at the expense of detailed comparative insights into grammaticalisation (Posner 1985; Hansen 2013; Hansen and Visconti 2014). Moreover, studies have mainly focused on either cyclical change (Hoeksema 2009; Van Gelderen 2008, 2009, 2011; Larrivée 2011; Rowlett 2011; Labelle and Espinal 2014; Poletto 2016) or the larger 'episodes'[26] of grammaticalisation, rather than the gradual changes occurring within and between Old Gallo-Romance languages along the grammaticalisation cline. It is my intention, therefore, to shed light on this area and

[26] 'A term that is to be understood as encompassing a distinct coherent grammatical change…which potentially forms part of a long-term multi-episode grammaticalisation process' (Petré and van de Velde 2018: 877).

to plot the transformations observable in negative particles in Old Gallo-Romance as they gradually move from being lexical to grammatical elements.[27]

§2.2 Structure of the Chapter

This chapter will begin with a presentation of the criteria developed to determine degrees of grammaticalisation and the motivation behind viewing grammaticalisation as an incremental process (§2.3). It will then propose in line with Schmerling (1971), Eckardt (2002), Schwenter (2006), and Hansen (2013), among others, that there existed in Old Gallo-Romance a semantic congruity between lexical item and verb before the onset of grammaticalisation and that the presence of this semantic harmony is indicative of a lower degree of grammaticalisation (§2.3.2). In §2.3.3, we address the cases of post-verbal negative particles accompanied by determiners and argue that this too is evidence of a lower degree of grammaticalisation as they appear still to function as determiner phrases (DPs), rather than as negative particles, and we will address the pragmatic implications of this. §2.3.4 looks at the co-occurrence of the negative particles with an ungrammaticalised minimiser, e.g. *cela ne vaut **pas un gant*** ('that is not worth a glove'). It posits that the post-verbal negative particle will have passed the stage of semantic bleaching and lost its determiner, a surface indication of a change in grammatical category. It will then have become a functional element and reached a high degree of grammaticalisation by this stage. The co-occurrence of a post-verbal negative particle with an ungrammaticalised negative polarity item proves unquestionably that the NEG is now a particle, no longer a noun. The final criterion, explored in §2.3.5, is that of

[27] 'Negative particle' is the most neutral and widely applicable term for the grammatical elements under study as it suggests an ambiguity of syntactic status and for this reason it is adopted throughout.

syntactic variability, which draws on Lehmann's (2015) parameter of 'syntagmatic variability', and tests if and how frequently the negative particle moves around the clause.

§2.3 Determining Degrees of Grammaticalisation

§2.3.1 Introduction to the Tests

The idea that linguistic constituents can change grammatical category, e.g. a noun becoming a clitic, has been widely accepted since at least the 1980s when scholarship challenged the view of lexicality and functionality as having no grammatical middle ground between them (Boye and Harder 2012: 1). Work by Traugott and Heine (1991: 4-5), Lehmann (2015: 13-15), and Hopper and Traugott (2002: 6-7), *inter alios*, views grammatical categories not as discrete entities but rather as two extremes of a cline wherein lexical and functional items may move gradually towards the functional extreme, but often stabilise midway between the two, especially in cases involving subjectivity (Egan 2017: 185). This was the case for the majority of elements used to reinforce negation in Old Gallo-Romance during the Middle Ages: the majority began and remained as lexical negative polarity items reinforcing only semantically congruous verbs or functioning as units of minimal value with evaluative verbs. Only a few – *pas*, *mie*, *point*– ever came near to the functional extreme of the continuum, but even these grammaticalised to different extents (Price 1962a: 380, 1962b: 14-25; Posner 1997: 372; Detges and Waltereit 2002: 173-174; Eckardt 2002: 53) and hundreds, e.g. *beloce* ('sloe berry'), *areste* ('fish bone'), *ail* ('garlic'), and *clou* ('screw') never did.[28] Furthermore, the frequencies of those that underwent grammaticalisation fluctuated considerably over time,

[28] See Möhren (1980) for a list of c. 400 of these in their syntactic contexts.

even within the same Old Gallo-Romance variety, as the tables annotated with author and floruit date or work and date of compositon in the Supplementary Materials show.

Drawing on previous grammaticalisation work set out in §2.1.1, the remainder of this section presents the diagnostic criteria which can be used to establish precisely *how* grammaticalised specific post-verbal negative particles are in certain texts. We will go through each of these criteria in turn and consider how they help us to determine the degree of grammaticalisation of our data.

§2.3.2 **Semantic Specialisation**

Various scholars have theorised that negative reinforcing particles, as former lexical items, were once restricted to co-occur with semantically congruous verbs in the manner of *pas* ('step') with verbs of movement, *mie* ('crumb') with verbs of consumption, and *mot* ('word') with *verba dicendi* (Schmerling 1971: 204; Ashby 1981: 674-675; Posner 1997: 371; Catalani 2001: 163; Eckardt 2002: 53, 2006: 128-170; Schwenter 2006: 3-4; Hansen 2013: 56). In (1) below, reproduced from Hansen (2012: 77), we see this demonstrated with *un pas* ('a step'):

(7) *Onc* ***n'*** *i* *passastes* ***un*** ***pas,*** *par* *vérité*

Never NEG LOC.CL go.2SG.PST a step, by truth

Que *ne* *fussiez* *o* *feruz* *o* *botez.*

That NEG AUX.2SG.SBJV.IPFV or beaten or shoved.

'In truth, never did you walk a step without being beaten or shoved.'

(Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube, *Li Coronemenz Looïs* (c. 1130), Champenois)

As the post-verbal negative particles underwent grammaticalisation, they began to lose 'independent semantic content and acquire [their] new and more general meaning from the syntactic environment *ne*……. in which [they] occur with increasing frequency' (Vincent 1980: 56). Yet, as Hopper (1998: 153) makes clear, it is impossible to know that negation was *categorically* reinforced at some stage by semantically appropriate post-verbal negative particles. This is because most post-verbal negative particles we find in the earliest Gallo-Romance texts have already undergone semantic bleaching and are being used with semantically incongruous verbs, with no extant Old Gallo-Romance textual data prior to the onset of semantic bleaching reported to be available (Schweighäuser 1852: 53; Lodge 1993: 88; Walter 1996: 25).[29] Be that as it may, we still find apparent instances of semantic congruity in the data, such as the five instances of *mot* or *parole* ('word') used as post-verbal negative particles and negative polarity items to mean 'nothing' or '*not even* the smallest conceivable amount'.[30] This is a construction that happens to have survived as an idiom in

[29] What this process entails is still disputed. Some believe it results in a broadening of meaning (Haiman 1994: 9-14) and some that it causes a morpheme to become more abstract (Matisoff 1991: 406), but most agree that there is an element of metaphorisation (Traugott 1988: 407 ff.; Sweetser 1988: 393-396; Sweetser 1990: 27) and a loss of 'inherent descriptive content' (Roberts 2010: 66). Yet, it is neither a sufficient nor necessary criterion of grammaticalisation since there are instances of the process that do not require a change in meaning at all, e.g. the Balto-Finnic category shift from postposition to case suffix where both still mean 'with' (Campbell 2001: 119).

[30] On the implicature of 'not even' see Fillmore (1965: 70), Horn (1969: 105-106), Blumenthal (1974: 50-56), Kay (1990: 97-98) and Giannakidou (2007: 52-64).

Modern French with the verbs *dire* ('to say'),[31] *parler* ('to speak'), and *souffler* ('to whisper') (Byrne and Churchill 1950: 446).

In order to see whether it is indeed the case that no verbs co-occur with semantically congruous post-verbal negative particles in the corpus, all texts were searched for semantic congruity between verb and post-verbal negative particle. All tables and results for each variety and criterion of grammaticalisation can be seen in the Supplementary Mateirals on pages 201 and 202, but I provide in (8)-(10) some noteable examples from the data for illustrative purposes:

(8) *Ains que* ***nus*** ***d'*** ***ex*** ***mot*** ***i*** ***parlast,***
Before no one of them word there speak.2SG.SBJV.IPFV
ne ***le*** ***parole*** ***racontast,***
NEG *the* *word* speak.2SG.SBJV.IPFV
vint *uns* *vallés*.
come.3SG.PST a vassal.
'Before any of them spoke a word or said a thing, a vassal arrived.'
(Anonymous, *Le Lai de Graalent* (1178-1230), Picard)

[31] This is in contrast to the fully productive VPs constructed with 'thing' in English, e.g. 'I didn't see/hear/say/find/remember/eat/need/explain a thing' (Schmerling 1971: 203).

(9) *Catola, anc de ren* ***non*** *fo*

Catola never of thing NEG be.3SG.PST

pres ***un pas****, que tost no*

approach.3SG.PRES a step, that quickly NEG

s' en loignes.

REFL PRON distance.3SG.SBJV.PRS.

'Catola, [Love] never took a step towards me without fleeing quickly.'

(Marcabru, *Poésies*, 1130-1150, Gascon)

(10) ***N'*** *irai* ***un pas*** *avant.*

NEG go.3SG.FUT a step forward.

'I will not go forward one step.'

(Anonymous, *Vie de Saint Thomas Becket* (c. 1174), Picard).

In the above examples, the lexical items used as minimisers are semantically congruous with the verbs of which they form the object, but the syntactic status of these is uncertain. In example (9), *pas* 'step' is functioning either as the indirect object of the verb (i.e. 'a step') and the negative exponent is *ne* + ø, or as an incompletely grammaticalised particle that has retained a vestige of its nominal status in the form of its determiner.

By way of comparison with the *oïl* examples given above, Tables 1-3 below present the number tokens of those clauses negated by a reinforcing negative particle in the Occitan data and the number of those particles which are semantically congruous with their verb (see Supplementary Tables for all relevant *oïl* tables).

A figure of (1/2) under Provençal in Table 1 represents two tokens of the post-verbal negative particle *Miga* having been found from among the Provençal data and one of those tokens as semantically congruous with its verb. From these tables, it is immediately evident that, while it is a theoretically valid criterion for determining the degree of grammaticalisation, the instances are too few in number and too ambiguous to draw any firm conclusions from them.

Oc *Miga*	**Semantic congruity between verb and post-verbal negative particle (low g.)**[32]
Provençal	✓ (1/2)
Limousin	✓ (1/7)
Languedocien	✓ (1/3)
Toulousain	X (0/1)
Gascon	X (0/1)
Briançonnais	X (0)
Vaudois	X (0)
Niçois	X (0)
Auvergnat	X (0)
Pyrénéen	X(0)

Table 1

Oc *Pas*	**Semantic congruity between verb and post-verbal negative particle (low g.)**
Provençal	✓ (3/35)
Limousin	✓ (1/8)
Languedocien	✓ (1/17)
Toulousain	X (0/4)
Gascon	X (0/7)
Briançonnais	X (1/11)
Vaudois	X (0/4)
Niçois	X (0/2)
Auvergnat	X (0)
Pyrénéen	X(0)

Table 2

Oc *Ponch*	**Semantic congruity between verb and post-verbal negative particle (low g.)**
Provençal	X (0/73)
Limousin	X (0/8)
Languedocien	X (0/8)
Toulousain	X (0/4)
Gascon	X (0)
Briançonnais	X (0)
Vaudois	X (0)
Niçois	X (0)
Auvergnat	X (0)
Pyrénéen	X(0)

Table 3

[32] 'G.' denotes 'grammaticalisation'.

That there are tokens of semantic congruity between post-verbal negative particles and verbs in texts from as late as the 13th century is notable as semantic congruity between verb and negative particle, where the lexical meaning of the negative particle is still discernible to some degree, is in evidence from the earliest documentary evidence. This is not, of course, analogous to the semantic congruity that can be seen today between an optional verbal complement and its verb, where the semantic meaning of the actual negator is immaterial, e.g. *Je ne marche pas un pas* ('I do not walk a step'), as *un pas* is not functioning both as an indirect object and a semantically appropriate negator here as it is in (9). These seem difficult to justify at first as we would expect post-verbal negative particles to have undergone semantic bleaching before this point, if it is indeed the incipient stage of grammaticalisation.[33] Their presence can nevertheless be accounted for by the principles of 'persistence' and 'layering' as expounded by Hopper (1991: 22):

> *Persistence*: When a form undergoes grammaticisation[34] from a lexical to a grammatical function, so long as it is grammatically viable some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution.
>
> *Layering*: Within a broad functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. As this happens, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers.

The above explanations of the multi-layered nature of grammaticalisation, i.e. that it is not characterised by discrete stages, but rather involves overlapping liminal phases at varying degrees of completion, account for why some vestiges of pre-grammaticalisation are still observable. While most of the *oïl* data display advanced stages of grammaticalisation in this

[33] The argument that it forms the incipient stage of grammaticalisation, one which has the majority of support, has been advanced *inter alios* by Heine and Reh (1984) and Lehmann (2015), while Traugott (1982) and Hopper and Traugott (2002) suggest that it forms a later stage.

[34] An alternative name for grammaticalisation.

domain, there remain some ambiguous examples which could either demonstrate close semantic congruity between verb and minimiser or simply an ordinary verb-modifier relationship, as illustrated by (11)-(13) below:

(11) *Quant vols aler por m' anor*
When want.1SG.PRS go.INF for ADJ honour
Querre, ainz que meüe fust la
look for.INF before move.PP be. 3SG.SBJV.IPFV ART
Guerre, vous l' oïstes si m' en
war, you it hear.2SG.SBJV.IPFV if REFL PRON
Chosastes et ***pas n' aler*** *m' i*
Choose.2SG.SBJV.IPFV and NEG NEG go.INF PRON LOC.CL
lessastes.
leave.2SG.SBJV.IPFV
'When I want to go and find honour, rather than allow war to be waged, and you hear about it, you quarrel with me and do not let me go (a single step).'
(Anonymous, *Roman de Thèbes* (c. 1266), Poitevin)

(12) *Mais je vous di*
But I you say.1SG.PRS
que c' est en vain, ***ne*** *le puet*
that it be.3SG.PRS in vain, NEG it can.3SG.PRS
trespasser ***un seul pas.***
go beyond.INF one single step.

‘But I am telling you that it is in vain, he cannot go beyond one step.’

(Gautier d’Arras, *Eracle* (1176-1184), Picard).

(13)

Ja	***de***	***mot***	***n’***	***en***	***mentirai;***	*je*	*sui*	*assez*
NEG	of	word	NEG	of it	lie.1SG.FUT	I	am	enough
de	*haut*	*parage*		*e*	*nee*	*de*	*gentil*	*lignage*
of	high	parentage		and	born.PP	of	noble	lineage

‘Never will I speak a single word of a lie about this; I am of great and noble lineage.’

(Anonymous, *Melion* (1170-1267), Picard).

Such ambiguous examples are few in number but, despite this, it is clear that semantic congruity did indeed exist between a verb and its complement, which in this case retains at least some vestige of lexicality before grammaticalising further, as Hopper (1998: 153) and Buridant (2000: 60) maintained. This is illustrated again in (14) below:

(14)

Fors	*tant que*		*hom*	*de*	*soisante*		*anz*	*ou*	*de*
except	as		man	of	sixty		years	or	of
plus	***n’***	***iera***		***pas,***	*mais*	*s’*	*il*	*a*	*lo*
more	NEG	go.3SG.FUT		NEG,	but if	he	have.3SG.PRS		the
pooir	*soffisant*		*il*	*i*	*envoiera*			*un*	*home*
power	enough		he	there	send.3SG.FUT			a	man
por	*lui,*	*selonc*		*son*	*pooir*.				
for	him,	according to		his	power.				

‘But a man of sixty years or more will not walk [a step] if he has enough power to send someone in his stead.’

(Thibaut de Champagne, Charter (1231), Champenois).

In this example from a charter enfranchising the inhabitants of the town of Saint-Florentia, Thibaut de Champagne is making the point that a man need not take *even a step* if he is able to send someone on his behalf. As a result, we see *pas* used with *aller*, but it is striking that this is both the only use of *pas* and the *only* instance of a post-verbal negative particle in the whole charter. Every other exponent of negation is *ne* + ø. That this is the sole post-verbal negative particle and that it also happens to be one which is semantically harmonious with its verb lends some weight to the theory that it was still possible by this date (1231) to rely on semantic congruity for emphatic purposes.

Example (15) is taken from the *oc* data, which feature very few examples of semantic congruity between particle (or content word) and verb (see Tables 1-3 above), demonstrating that post-verbal negative particles in *oc* varieties were considerably grammaticalised according to this criterion by 1225 (latest attestation) and that the use of a semantically congruous verb with a post-verbal negative particle (15) was licensed by the grammar until at least this date:

(15)	*Torna*		*sai,*	*que*	***non***	***iras***.
	Turn.IMP		here	that	NEG	go.2SG.FUT
	un	***pas***	*enan*.			
	a	step	forward.			

‘Turn here, in order that that you will not go one step forward.’

(Giraut de Bornelh, *Poésies* (c. 1175), Limousin).

In sum, therefore, we may draw the following conclusions about semantic specialisation and the grammaticalisation of post-verbal negative particles:

- Overall, there is very little semantic congruity remaining in Old Gallo-Romance varieties, but what examples there are occur no later than the 13th century.

- While most of the examples of semantic congruity are ambiguous and could be interpreted as monopartite negation with a modifier, there are some instances (such as (12) above) that suggest some vestige of rhetorical or emphatic effect remains before the noun loses its nominal properties.

- The only instances of semantic congruity in Old Occitan varieties occur *in the same varieties* for both *miga* and *pas*, viz. Provençal, Limousin, and Languedocien, suggesting that the grammaticalisation of negation may have been slower to progress along the cline in these regions than in others.

§2.3.3 **Co-Occurrence of Particle with Determiner**

In this section, I investigate whether the apparent post-verbal negative particle in the texts examined can co-occur with a determiner. It is well-attested that argument nouns could occur in Old Gallo-Romance without an overt determiner (Harris and Vincent 2001: 266; Dufresne *et al*. 2018: 23), but where the definite article was used it ‘seems to have been used initially

less as a specifier, picking out the individuality of the object designated by the noun, than as a topicaliser, anaphorically picking out a noun that is accessible to the hearer' (Posner 1997: 213; see also Ledgeway 2012, 2016). The indefinite article, on the other hand, functioned more as a numeral than as a determiner in Old Gallo-Romance, and was used to identify 'the type, but not the individuality, of a new element in the discourse' (Posner 1997: 385). Importantly for our purposes, despite it having more limited functions than in Modern French, the definite article was nevertheless in frequent use in medieval texts (Carlier 2013) and not much less so than in Modern French, as Figure 3 from Carlier and Lamiroy (2018) shows:

	Latin	Old French	Modern French
Possessives	4%	6%	10%
Demonstratives	5%	4%	6%
Relative pronouns	3%	4%	0%
Identity markers	3%	2%	3%
Definite article	0%	40%	44%
Interrogative or indefinite determiners	7%	5%	3%
Unity numeral or indefinite article	2%	8%	21%
Partitive article	0%	0%	8%
Zero marking	77%	32%	6%

Figure 3

Frequency of articles in the Latin original and Old and Modern French translations of Cicero's *De Inventione* (Carlier and Lamiroy 2018: 142)

In §2.3.2 we saw that, in instances of semantic congruity, there was often a determiner accompanying the post-verbal negative particle, but it should be remembered that lexical items like *pas*, *goutte*, *mie*, and *point* may have retained lexical status even in absence of a determiner, since the determiner system was not fully developed until late in the Old French period (Eckardt and Speyer 2014: 505).

In examples (7), (9), (10), (12) and (15) the post-verbal negative particle (or DP) retains the indefinite article, suggesting that such a construction was still licensed in the 12th century. It is also likely that the function of article retention was one with a marked pragmatic value, potentially to reinforce the negation, akin to *je n'ai pas marché un (seul) pas* ('I did not walk a single step') in Modern French. Yet, there is no instance of *miga* or *ponch* occurring with an article across the negative constructions in the *oc* data, as seen in Table 4 below. Moreover, as we know that *miga* ('crumb') and *ponch* ('dot', 'point', 'stitch') continued to be used as nouns accompanied by determiners outside of a negative polarity context, but without their determiners in negative polarity contexts, this suggests that these particles were among the first to grammaticalise and that context generalisation had already taken hold more firmly for them than it had for *pas*.

Co-Occurrence of Post-verbal Negative Particle with Determiner in *oc* varieties (low g.)	**Oc *Miga***	**Oc *Pas***	**Oc *Ponch***
Provençal	X (0/2)	✓ (1/35)	X (0/73)
Limousin	X (0/7)	✓ (1/8)	X (0/8)
Languedocien	X (0/3)	X (0/17)	X (0/8)
Toulousain	X (0/1)	X (0/4)	X (0/4)
Gascon	X (0/1)	✓ (1/7)	X (0)
Briançonnais	X (0)	✓ (1/11)	X (0)
Vaudois	X (0)	X (0/4)	X (0)
Niçois	X (0)	X (0/2)	X (0)
Auvergnat	X (0)	X (0)	X (0)
Pyrénéen	X (0)	X (0)	X (0)

Table 4

As previously stated, it is clear from the table above that *pas* co-occurs with a determiner more frequently than the other post-verbal negative particles, as seen in Table 5 below.

Co-Occurrence of Post-verbal Negative Particle with Determiner in *oïl* varieties (low g.)	**Oïl *Mie***	**Oïl *Pas***	**Oïl *Point***
Champenois	X (0/327)	✓ (3/543)	X (0/68)
Orléanais	X (0/7)	✓ (1/201)	X (0/16)
Picard	X (0/553)	✓ (5/1345)	X (0/867)
Poitevin	X (0/83)	X (0/4)	X (0/12)
Parisien	X (0/21)	✓ (4/477)	X (0/66)
Lorrain	X (0/45)	X (0/59)	X (0)

Table 5

It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that, at the very least, *pas* could function in certain grammars as a determiner phrase as well as a negator, and therefore that grammaticalisation was mostly but not quite complete for this post-verbal negative particle by the end of the 13th century when *Eracle* was composed. This comparably early syntactic versatility would understandably encourage *pas* to be used in far more contexts than its rivals, and thus establish it before the others as a default sentential negator.

With regard to *ponch*, as seen in (16) below, it is possible that some of its original meaning of 'point', 'dot', or 'stitch' (e.g. 'He did not find a stitch of it left') *is* retained and that it is used partitively,[35] as Foulet (1968: 26) and later Hansen (2013: 56) suggest. There are 29 examples of this from the total 96 across the *oc* data, which constitute a far greater proportion of its total token count than we find for *miga* and *pas*.

[35] 'Inflection, etc. by which reference is made to some part of a whole…Hence, more loosely or more generally, of any form or use of a form which can be translated by "some": e.g. *de* ("of") as partitive in French, *J'ai mangé du pain* "I ate some (lit. "of the") bread"' (Matthews 2014: 290).

(16) ***En*** ***infer*** ***no*** *ha* ***ponch*** ***de*** *redemptio*.

In hell NEG have.3SG.PRS NEG of redemption.

'There is no redemption in hell.'

(Anonymous, *Mystères Provençaux du Quinzième Siècle* (1466-1500), Provençal).

This is unsurprising in retrospect as *point* was in complementary distribution with *pas* as the reduced partitive article (*pas*/*point de* + DP) until as late as the 18th century (Kawaguchi 2008: 195; Martineau 2009: 173). Yet, the other 70% of *ponch* tokens display no semantic congruity with their verbs and act as sentential post-verbal negative particles:

(17) ***No*** *respondo* ***ponch***.

NEG respond.1SG.PRS NEG

'I do not respond'

(Anonymous, *Mystères Provençaux du Quinzième Siècle* (1466-1500), Provençal).

What we have, therefore, is a clear picture that *pas* is the most common post-verbal negative particle to co-occur with a definite article. This suggests that it was slower to grammaticalise in this respect than any other lexical item, also implying that it retained its original semantic meaning for longer. On the other hand, *point* may still retain some of its semantic content when being used partitively, which would then make it the least grammaticalised post-verbal negative particle among all three. Although further research would be required to determine this, it is unlikely that this is the case as the other tests have shown it to be highly grammaticalised in all other ways.

§2.3.4 **Co-occurrence with Non-Grammaticalised Negative Polarity Item**

Following these two pieces of evidence from the preceding sections that the grammaticalisation of the negator may be more advanced in some Gallo-Romance varieties than in others, the third diagnostic criterion for determining the extent of grammaticalisation is whether a non-grammaticalised negative polarity item can co-occur with the negative particle. As Hansen (2011: 577) states:

> Once such elements become bleached of their literal meanings…and become general-purpose NPIs, capable of appearing with semantically non-harmonious verbs and subsequently acquire actual negative meaning, *as evidenced by their ability to occur alongside NPIs*, they can be considered to have undergone grammaticalisation, as evidenced by context expansion [emphasis my own – AL].

If so, this suggests that the original negative reinforcing element has lost its nominal properties and undergone a category shift from negative argument to functional element and come to function as a negator, a conclusion further evinced by its loss of determiner (cf. §2.3 above). Rowlett (1992: 5) has suggested that it then 'enters into a specifier-head agreement relation with *ne* in such a way that the two elements together are interpreted as a single instance of negation' and this can then take a noun phrase complement, as in (18):

(18) *Sire, non est, il ne valt rien.*
Sir, NEG be.3SG.PRS it NEG worth.3SG.PRS NEG.
Hui fu li miudres qui i fust,
Today be.3SG.PST it better which there be.3SG.SBJ
or ***ne valt pas un pouri fust.***
now NEG worth.3SG.PRS. NEG a rotten stick
'Sir, it is not, it is worth nothing. It was the best that there was. Today it is not [even] worth a rotten stick.'
(Gautier d'Arras, *Eracle* (c. 1176), Picard).

This particular construction is usually found with evaluative verbs, as above, but in some later texts the focus has shifted from the lack of inherent value in the minimiser as in (18) to its small size as in (19) where we are encouraged to measure the character's fear as commensurate with it:

(19) *Je* ***ne*** *te crain* ***pas une nois.***
I NEG you fear.1SG.PRS NEG a nut.
'I do not fear you a nut.'
(Anonymous, *Miracle de la Fille du Roy de Hongrie* (1379), uncertain dialect).

In order to discern how widespread the construction is, a search was undertaken across the *oïl* corpus. As seen from Table 6 below, the noteworthy finding is that the use of a post-verbal negative particle with a non-grammaticalised negative polarity item is a rare phenomenon across the corpus, occurring only in conjunction with *pas*.

Co-occurrence with ungrammaticalised NPI in *oïl* data (high g.)	**Oïl *Mie***	**Oïl *Pas***	**Oïl *Point***
Champenois	X (0/327)	✓ (3/543)	X (0/68)
Orléanais	X (0/7)	✓ (1/201)	X (0/16)
Picard	X (0/553)	✓ (5/1345)	X (0/867)
Poitevin	X (0/83)	X (0/4)	X (0/12)
Parisien	X (0/21)	✓ (4/477)	X (0/66)
Lorrain	X (0/45)	X (0/59)	X (0)

Table 6

From the Occitan data, as seen in Tables 7-9 below, *pas* and *miga* are the only post-verbal negative particles to co-occur with an ungrammaticalised negative polarity item.

Oc *Pas*	**Occurrence with ungrammatical-ised NPI (high g.)**
Provençal	✓ (2/35)
Limousin	✓ (2/8)
Languedocien	✓ (2/17)
Toulousain	X (0/4)
Gascon	X (0/7)
Briançonnais	X (0/11)
Vaudois	X (1/4)
Niçois	X (0/2)

Table 7

Oc *Ponch*	**Occurrence with ungrammatica-lised NPI (high g.)**
Provençal	X (0/73)
Limousin	X (0/8)
Languedocien	X (0/8)
Toulousain	X (0/4)
Gascon	X (0)
Briançonnais	X (0)
Vaudois	X (0)
Niçois	X (0)

Table 8

Oc *Miga*	**Occurrence with ungrammatical-ised NPI (high g.)**
Provençal	✓ (1/2)
Limousin	X (0/7)
Languedocien	✓ (1/3)
Toulousain	X (0/1)
Gascon	X (0/1
Briançonnais	X (0)
Vaudois	X (0)
Niçois	X (0)

Table 9

While this co-occurrence is comparably rare across the Old Occitan varieties, a point of significance is that the only instances of it occur in *exactly the same* dialects as the tokens of semantic congruity, with the exception of *mie* in Limousin, which does not show an

occurrence with an ungrammaticalised negative polarity item. To reiterate, the occurrence of an ungrammaticalised negative polarity item alongside a post-verbal negative particle signifies higher levels of grammaticalisation, while semantic congruity between the post-verbal negative particle and the verb signifies lower levels of grammaticalisation.

Yet, the PARTICLE + POLARITY ITEM construction only occurs as a marked variant, rarely, and seemingly only in literary texts, especially *chansons de geste*. This is therefore likely to be an example of what Hagège (1993: 153) called 'expressive renewal', i.e. speakers choosing a novel form in order to express meaning more fully once the original strategy is felt to be inadequate.[36] It is thus possible that a post-verbal negative particle can be marked, especially in co-occurrence with a determiner, and that it will be unmarked and highly grammaticalised if it co-occurs with an ungrammaticalised DP.

In summary, therefore, select Old Occitan varieties, known for having engendered much of the literature of the *langue d'oc*, demonstrate a feature of high grammaticalisation and one of low grammaticalisation for the same post-verbal negative particles during the same centuries. It is from these data that a picture of polyfunctionality begins to emerge.

§ 2.3.5 Syntactic Movement of Post-verbal Negative Particles

In Old Gallo-Romance, it is common to find post-verbal negative particles in various positions in the clause, including to the left of the sentential core in Spec-CP. In the typological approach of Harris (1978: 26, 118), the pre-verbal position is regarded as the

[36] Schweighäuser (1851-1852: 203-206) makes the point that units of minimal value were used primarily in dialogue for reasons of exaggeration from the comedies of Plautus up to Middle French, with some texts preferring particular UMVs over others for thematic reasons.

unmarked position for sentence qualifiers, such as negative particles, in VO languages like French. Harris sees the gradual replacement of *ne* + ø by *ne...pas* and eventually ø + *pas* as problematic for his theory since the latter, as a sentence qualifier, should not be in post-verbal position. Vennemann (1974: 367-370), on the other hand, circumvents this problem by regarding *ne* and *pas* as adverbs rather than qualifiers and sees the *ne* + ø > *ne...pas* > ø + *pas* sequence as exemplifying the movement of an adverb from a position appropriate for an OV language, i.e. a pre-verbal one, to one appropriate for a VO language like French, i.e. a post-verbal one.

Further clarity comes from Schwegler (1983: 322) who maintains that if a language 'develops a nominal or any other EMPH (emphasiser) to the right of the verb, a switch to post-verbal negation will occur, provided nominal EMPH > Neg2 or Neg3. The switch is precluded, however, if Neg3 is attracted into the position of Neg1 because of syntactic conservatism'. He proceeds to explain that:

> A switch from XV to VX will favour a change in negative syntax precisely because in the new syntax a nominal EMPH…must be positioned post-verbally. It is of paramount importance, however, to recognise that the switch from XV to VX merely sets up favourable conditions for the change and does not necessitate it. In other words, EMPH (> Neg2) is not positioned after the verb because of typological pressures, as suggested by Vennemann, but because the new VX syntax now channels any nominal EMPH into post-verbal position; a typological change (XV > VX) thus acts as a pathway for change rather than as a cause.
>
> (Schwegler 1983: 322)

We know *a posteriori* that the current position of French reinforcing particles is post-verbal, and that this is a likely consequence of the head-final to head-initial change in syntax, which has progressed at different rates for different functional categories (cf. Ledgeway 2011: 445-446, 2012: 225). However, we see in the data various distinct positions which can host the post-verbal negative particle, many of which are not post-verbal:

(20) *Cadune naus lor deit*

Each ship them owe.3SG.PRS

.iii. cens bezans tregues u ***un pas***

3 hundred bezans reprieve have a NEG

non *er entraus durans*.

NEG be.3SG.FUT between them meanwhile.

'Each ship owed them 300 'bezans'; there will be no reprieve between them during this time.' (Anonymous, *Aigar et Maurin* (12th c.))

(21) *Gardés que* ***pas ne*** *vous vantés* de

Ensure that NEG NEG you boast.2SG.PRS of

cose par quoi me perdés.

thing by what me lose.2SG.PRS.

'Ensure you do not boast of anything by which you could lose me.'

(Anonymous, *Le Lai de Graalent* (1175-1238))

This suggests that, even as late as the 15th century (see (22) below), the reinforcing negative particles did not have a fixed position within the clause. The ability for syntactic movement aside, the *reasons* for the movement of these negative particles is undoubtedly affected, *inter alia*, by discourse-pragmatics (Faarlund 1990; Lambrecht 1994; Belletti 2001; De Cat 2007; Lehmann 2008; Samek-Lodovici 2015). While discourse-pragmatics will be dealt with more fully in Chapter 3, it is worth mentioning here, for purposes of relevance, their importance to the position of negative particles within the clause.

As Lehmann (2008: 207) has shown, information-structure is subject to the same evolutions as grammatical structure since they are intricately linked. What concerns us here, however, is the ability for post-verbal negative particles to move with relative freedom around the clause: the V2 structure of Old Gallo-Romance, while generally less strict in *langue d'oc* than in *langue d'oïl* varieties, allowed for a pragmatically salient constituent to move to the left periphery, and this included negative exponents (Vance 1997: 43-47; Donaldson 2016: 41-42; Wolfe 2018: 67). If a constituent such as a post-verbal negative particle is able to move around the clause, it is said to have high syntactic variability, which Lehmann (2015: 167-170) deemed indicative of low grammaticalisation. This means to say that the more grammaticalised a constituent becomes, the fewer positions there are in the clause which it can hold; this is sometimes referred to as increased syntagmatic fixedness (Hudson 1998; Bergs 2005).

As Table 10 below shows, syntactic variability among these particles was possible during the Middle Ages, while it is not in Modern Standard French, and that the grammaticalisation process is incomplete for the tokens demonstrating this feature.

Syntactic Variability of Post-verbal Negative Particle in *oïl* varieties (low g.)	**Oïl *Mie***	**Oïl *Pas***	**Oïl *Point***
Champenois	✓ (4/327)	✓ (1/543)	✓ (1/68)
Orléanais	X (0/7)	X (0/201)	X (0/16)
Picard	X (0/553)	X (0/1345)	✓ (1/867)
Poitevin	X (0/83)	X (0/4)	X (0/12)
Parisien	✓ (3/21)	✓ (4/477)	X (0)
Lorrain	X (0/45)	X (0/59)	X (0)

Table 10

The overall token frequency for the *oc* varieties also shows little syntactic variability across all three post-verbal negative particles and eight varieties, as seen in Tables 11-13 below. All

instances of syntactically variable *miga* occur between 1050 and 1250, but for *pas* and *ponch* this phenomenon occurs as late as the 15th century and the one token of this from the *oïl* data also occurs in the 15th century.

Oc *Miga*	**Syntactically Variable Post-verbal Negative Particle (low g.)**
Provençal	✓ (1/2)
Limousin	✓ (2/7)
Languedocien	✓ (1/3)
Toulousain	X (0/1)
Gascon	X (0/1)
Briançonnais	X (0)
Vaudois	X (0)
Niçois	X (0)

Table 11

Oc *Pas*	**Syntactically Variable Post-verbal Negative Particle (low g.)**
Provençal	✓ (1/35)
Limousin	✓ (2/8)
Languedocien	X (0/17)
Toulousain	X (0/4)
Gascon	X (0/7)
Briançonnais	X (1/11)
Vaudois	X (0/4)
Niçois	X (0/2)

Table 12

Occitan *Ponch*	**Syntactically Variable Post-verbal Negative Particle (low g.)**
Provençal	X (0/73)
Limousin	X (0/8)
Languedocien	X (0/8)
Toulousain	X (0/4)
Gascon	X (0)
Briançonnais	X (0)
Vaudois	X (0)
Niçois	X (0)

Table 13

Now, we know that *pas*, *mie*, and *point* eventually finish as being highly grammaticalised in both *langue d'oïl* and *langue d'oc* varieties with a fixed position within the clause and,

therefore, we would expect less syntactic variability in texts of a later date. This is not, however, supported by the findings. In the Provençal example (22) below, the post-verbal negative particle is in a left-peripheral position, which we would not necessarily expect from a text from the 15th century:

(22) ***Pas*** ***non*** *cudavo* *viore*
NEG NEG know.1SG.PST live.INF
Tant, ni my no nostre enfant
so NEG me NEG our child.
'I did not think I would live, neither I nor our child.'
(Anonymous, *Istorio de Sant Bertalmiou* (15th c.)).

This level of syntactic freedom is similarly observable in items that have undergone pragmaticalisation, which is 'associated with a greater degree of syntactic freedom, and with an increase in the scope of the item concerned…At the same time, they [the items] lose the valency properties of their source items and gain in positional variability within the host utterance' (Hansen 2008: 59). This supports the earlier assertions by Hoeksema (2009), van der Auwera (2009), and Poletto (2016) that the motivation behind the addition of post-verbal negative particles was pragmatic, and for negative emphasis in particular, and suggests that some post-verbal negative particles are still pragmatically marked in some Old Gallo-Romance varieties by the 15th century, and have therefore not undergone 'pragmatic unmarking' (Harris 1976: 44). A similar, if somewhat counter-directional, observation was made by Fonseca-Greber (2007: 249-268) in relation to the optional *ne* in modern conversational Swiss French where a cycle seems to be in operation and this particle foregrounds negative utterances, i.e. *pas* is obligatory and *ne* is syntactically marked. This is

the mirror image of my data, i.e. *ne* remains mandatory and there is a gradual obligatorification of post-verbal negative particles, as predicted by Lehmann (2015: 174). Hansen (2013: 66-67) subsequently observed that that the gradual pragmaticalisation of *ne* may constitute a reverse diachronic cycle:

> Although the acquisition of a new function for pre-verbal *ne* would prevent the completion of the negative cycle as traditionally understood…if seen in conjunction with the pragmatic analysis of bipartite negation in medieval French…the suggested development would instantiate a diachronic cycle of a different kind, namely one where an obligatory, hence purely grammatical, item and an optional, pragmatically laden item have gradually come to swap functions while remaining in their original syntactic slots, returning the bipartite construction as a whole to something closely resembling (if not identical to) its original meaning.
>
> (Hansen 2013: 66-67)

It therefore seems clear that, while criteria §2.3.2-2.3.4 demonstrate high degrees of grammaticalisation for the data, criterion §2.3.5 shows that the potential for syntagmatic variability continues long after the other criteria indicative of high grammaticalisation have been satisfied.

§2.4 Conclusion

From §2.3.2-2.3.5 there are several conclusions to be drawn. Firstly, the development of post-verbal negative particles in Old Gallo-Romance from mono- to bipartite negation is a prototypical instantiation of grammaticalisation. Not only is a functional category evolving from a lexical one, but the change shows very clear directionality. However, it is not yet possible to establish if this change is truly cyclical as Modern Standard French is still only at Stage 5 of Figure 1 above.

Secondly, the grammaticalisation of post-verbal negative particles in Old Gallo-Romance varieties is nearly complete by the close of the 12th century. While there are still instances of weak or seemingly absent effects of grammaticalisation across the *langue d'oc* and *langue d'oïl*, these are few in number. It is also clear that there is more evidence of weaker grammaticalisation in the *oc* data than there is in the *oïl* data across the tests. The *oc* varieties demonstrating the least grammaticalisation in terms of semantic congruity, co-occurrence with a determiner, and syntactic variation are Provençal, Limousin, and Languedocien. These observations can be seen from the schematised tables, inspired by those of Blaxter and Willis (2018: 460) which they constructed for the typology of information-structure contexts in North Germanic.

Thirdly, the frequent syntactic movement of post-verbal negative particles, despite advanced stages of grammaticalisation in the Old Gallo-Romance varieties, suggests that the fixing of the negative's position in the clause is in transition and that this is evidence of an overlapping liminal stage between partial and full grammaticalisation, and that a broader syntactic change is underway. It is also highly likely that the reasons for the position of these post-verbal negative particles is that they are still pragmatically marked and used to foreground pragmatically prominent or salient information (Arnold *et al*. 2013: 404), even as late as the 15th century. This was highlighted by a comparison with pragmaticalised items and could suggest that syntactic fixedness occurs at a later stage of the grammaticalisation process.

The grammaticalisation of these lexical items will be further elucidated in subsequent chapters. In Chapter 3 we will see how discourse-pragmatic constraints require post-verbal negative particles to be highly grammaticalised for their pragmatic use in the clause. Chapter 4 will show the distribution of post-verbal negative particles, grammaticalised to different

degrees, across medieval France. Finally, Chapter 5 will demonstrate that emphatic reinforcement strategies occur most frequently in verse rather than prose texts, and will give an account of why *ne…pas* became the neutral negative strategy over *ne* + ø or any other particle in Modern Standard French.

Chapter 3

The Discourse-Pragmatics and Information-Structure of Negation in Old Gallo-Romance

§3 Introduction

The correlation between syntax and pragmatics, especially the interaction within the CP of syntax and information-structure, has received increasing attention in recent years (Chomsky 1995; Marten 2002; Georgiafentis 2005; Bentley 2008; Ferraresi and Lühr 2010; Hinterhölzl and Kemenade 2012; Kempson 2012; Hill and Stavrou 2014; Hinterhölzl 2019; Zinova 2019). In particular, the influence of pragmatics on syntactic structure has been the subject of numerous studies aiming to map the extent to which functional categories are affected by discourse constraints (Schwegler 1983, 1988; Chierchia 2004; Schwenter 2005; Kaiser 2006; Puskás 2006; Hansen 2009; Fonseca-Greber 2017; Nølke 2017; Abbott 2018). Moreover, since the 1970s, scholarship has specifically recognised the close relationship between negative strategies and information and discourse structure in Romance languages, such as Italian (Cinque 1976; Stalnaker 1978; Molinelli 1987; Zanuttini 1997; Schwenter 2006; Hansen and Visconti 2009), Catalan (Espinal 1993, 2011; Wheeler *et al*. 1999; Schwenter 2006), and French (Schwenter 2006; Hansen 2009; Hansen and Visconti 2009; Larrivée 2010, 2011, 2014b, 2016b, 2019; Blaxter and Willis 2018).

Moreover, this interaction between syntax and pragmatics has implications for how negation is viewed as a sentential operator, whether it is, as propositional logic would have it, merely the equal and opposite of affirmation (the so-called 'symmetrical hypothesis') or whether it is

more syntactically and pragmatically complex than this (the 'asymmetrical' hypothesis).[37] It has been argued by Gaatone (1971: 96), Dahl (1979: 79), Miestamo (2005: 7, 2006: 312), Dryer (2011: 143), and Roitman (2017: 3) that negatives are, in fact, 'more complex morphosyntactic and semantic compositions than assertions', not least because 'using negation is often motivated by special semantic and pragmatic functions that may not be attained through other structures' (Roitman 2017: 3). This apparent dichotomy between a rather simplistic view of negation and affirmation as two sides of the same coin, and one which views negation as being inherently more complex than the mirror-image of affirmation, is somewhat facile. This is because negation can be yet further subdivided on a pragmatic level into 'descriptive' negation and 'metalinguistic' or 'polemic' negation (Moeschler 1982: 75-100; Moeschler 1993: 16-18; Ducrot 1984: 171-233; Horn 1989: 370-392, 425-426; Muller 1991: ch.8; Van Eemeren *et al*. 2007: 54-59), the former being analogous to negative equivalents of affirmations describing states of affairs, and the latter to refutations or rejections of what has come previously. What is more, the superficially simple descriptive function of negation as a propositional modality is, itself, more complex than it would appear since it does not extend to the introduction of new referents into the discourse, but instead limits itself to presenting information that already holds the status of being 'definite', i.e. previously established (Givón 1978: 6).

In concrete terms, as we shall see, the syntactic expression of these pragmatic functions of negation is manifested in unmarked (initially monopartite) and marked (initially bipartite) strategies of negation across varieties of Old Gallo-Romance (Schwegler 1988: 40-44; Hansen 2009: 227-250), but also in Middle English (Wallage 2016: 224-225), Old and Modern Italian (Cinque 1976: 108; Manzotti and Rigamonti 1991: 284; Zanuttini 1997: 61; Hansen and

[37] See Horn (1989) for a discussion of this.

Visconti 2009: 159-165), and Catalan (Espinal 1993: 360; Bernini and Ramat 1996: 17-22, 37-44, 53-58; Schwenter 2006: 327-340).

Over time, the information-structural categories to which these apply become less fixed, and eventually the marked becomes unmarked and the standard exponent of sentential negation (Harris 1978: 256; Hansen 2009: 235; Hansen and Visconti 2009: 188; Wallage 2017: 114). This is not, however, as straightforward as it might seem. Van der Auwera (2009: 44) posits that the formal and functional changes occurring within the NegP are not concurrent and instead, through syntactic reanalysis, new negative morphemes like *pas* are semantically and formally strengthened through the Jespersen Cycle and will, at first, be functionally marked and then gradually become pragmatically unmarked. We also know that post-verbal negative particles become obligatory at one stage or another in all varieties of Gallo-Romance, with Modern Occitan having gone even further and completed the NEG1 > NEG3 transition, i.e. it has dropped the originally mandatory pre-verbal particle *no(n)* in favour of the post-verbal particles *pas* and *ges* as the sole exponents of negation (Schwegler 2013: 163), as in (23):

(23) *Sabe* ***pas***.
Know.1SG.PRS NEG.
'I do not know.'

It has been argued that the remaining particle performing the function once assumed by two particles now has unmarked status, while the occasional appearance of the pre-verbal particle is enough to imbue the bipartite strategy with marked emphatic status. Fonseca-Greber (2007) has argued that this is the case for conversational Swiss French, and Hansen (2011: 579) suggests that, if true, it would constitute a case of exaptation and regrammaticalisation.

Be that as it may, what is certain is that the formal expression of canonical sentential negation in Old Gallo-Romance is the result of grammaticalisation, which is to say that pragmatic discourse structures, fuelled by communicative needs, give rise to grammaticalised syntactic structures through a process of 'syntacticisation' (Givón 1979: ch.5; Traugott 1980: 45-59; Traugott 1982: 253-256; Fleischman 1982: 204-214; Wright 1986: 65-74). See Chapter 2 wherein this is addressed.

The present chapter examines this syntactic-pragmatic interface of these negative markers to determine the extent to which pragmatics play a role in the syntactic expression of Old Gallo-Romance negation, and whether there is any patterned diachronic and diatopic variation to be observed there. This will also have the advantage of concomitantly remedying the dearth of research into *langue d'oc* negation identified previously by Schwegler (1988: 24), Paoli (2020), and Paoli and Bach (2020). It will begin with an outline of the relevant theoretical background before turning to the diagnostic criteria formulated to test the data gathered for discourse-structural governance, and will finally present the data, the typology developed, and provide a discussion of the findings.

§3.1 Background

Most research has suggested that, in languages with two or more negative strategies, at least one will have some procedural value related to information- or discourse-structure, with new negative markers usually negating discourse-old propositions at their incipient stage (Cinque 1976; Espinal 2000; Schwenter 2005, 2006; Hansen 2009; Hansen and Visconti 2009; Wallage 2013; Larrivée 2016b). Usually one of these negative markers will then, according to

Blaxter and Willis (2018: 451-452) and Schwenter (2006: 330), extend its domain of application gradually over various discourse contexts and predicates before it generalises and loses its original nominal meaning to become the unmarked negator for that language. A canonical example of this at work is in Modern Standard French where *pas*, an originally focused and informative DP minimiser,[38] was reanalysed first as a negative polarity item and then as an autonomous post-verbal negative particle capable of negating a clause or sentence without recourse to the previously obligatory pre-verbal clitic *ne* (Price 1978, 1993). How and why *ne* 'weakened' to the point of obsolescence before returning cyclically as a marked variant, while *pas* assumed unmarked status, is disputed even now (Schwegler 1983: 329-333; Schwegler 1988: 36-50; Detges and Waltereit 2002: 177; Kiparsky and Condoravdi 2006: 176; Breitbarth 2009: 85-87; Hoeksema 2009: 22; van der Auwera 2009: 43, 2010: 76-81).

These DP minimisers eventually took the place of the previously multifunctional pre-verbal particle *ne* or *no(n)*, which served to mark propositions of every discourse status. Now, as Hansen (2011: 575) has made clear, 'such differences would be inexplicable if the reinforcing element (*pas*, *mie*, *point* etc.) had been introduced simply to compensate for the formal reduction of the original negator (*ne*)'. If we accept this as true, then the long-held theory that the addition of a post-verbal particle was the necessary result of phonetic 'weakening' of the pre-verbal particle is seemingly inaccurate. As various scholars have highlighted, it makes much more sense to think of this weakening as a *result* of the additional particle, rather than as its *trigger* (van der Auwera 2009; Hansen 2009, 2011; Hansen and Visconti 2009).[39] The subsequent rhetorical overuse of such an informative negative strategy then triggers the

[38] 'Generally speaking, "focus" refers to the portion of an utterance which is especially informative or important within the context, and which is marked as such via some linguistic means…Most often, it refers to the linguistic marking of (i) contrast, (ii) question-answering status, (iii) exhaustivity, or (iv) discourse unexpectability' (Stevens 2017: 1).

[39] See Kiparsky and Condoravdi (2006: 4) for a comparative account of the rarity of such phonetic weakening.

grammaticalisation process of a DP into a negator (Detges and Waltereit 2002: 178). Yet, as Hansen (2009: 231) also states, this does not explain *why* reinforcement was necessary in the first place. She argues that the Neg2 stage occurred through a need on the part of the speaker to be more informative when denying assertions, a concept closely related to Israel's (1998) 'emphasis' and Jakobson's (1990) 'emotive' or 'expressive' function of language, the latter aiming 'a direct expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he is speaking about' (Jakobson 1990: 73).

Previous research has shown that bipartite forms of negation occur more frequently in pragmatically-activated contexts in Old French (Schwegler 1988: 40-44; Hansen 2009: 227-250), Middle English (Wallage 2016: 224-225), Old and Modern Italian (Cinque 1976: 108; Manzotti and Rigamonti 1991: 284; Zanuttini 1997: 61; Hansen and Visconti 2009: 159-165), and Catalan (Espinal 1993: 360; Bernini and Ramat 1996: 17-22, 37-44, 53-58; Schwenter 2006: 327-340). In addition, research has also found that pragmatics in the form of speaker-hearer interaction (Nicolle 2011: 401) and exogenous factors more generally, such as 'the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used' (Hopper and Traugott 2002: 75), motivate the grammaticalisation of lexical items into negative particles like *pas*. In Old Gallo-Romance, these grammaticalised particles came to serve a pragmatic function to mark discourse-old information as greater emphasis was thought necessary to counter adversative contexts (Offord 1976: 333; Hansen 2018b: 279-280, *pace* Schøsler and Völker 2014: 131).

One putative pragmatico-syntactic aspect of post-verbal negative particles is their 'emphatic' nature, the suggestion being that they arose through the need to emphasise the negative polarity of an utterance and were employed 'whenever speakers want[ed] to act against some

strong counter-expectation on the part of their listeners' (Detges and Waltereit 2002: 183). Yet, 'emphasis' as a notion is still poorly defined, despite its ubiquity as a concept in linguistics. One of the most cogent attempts to clarify it, however, was made by Israel (1998: 47) who argued that it equates to the high informativity of a proposition in relation to a scalar norm of informativity (Israel 1996, 2001, 2011). He stated that emphatic items demonstrate high informational value (*i-value*), which is a 'pragmatic feature encoding a speaker's attitude toward the content she conveys: emphatic utterances express high involvement and commitment to what is said' (Israel 1996: 17). In other words, the speaker is making the point that what they are saying is more than usually informative and, in the case of a negative polarity sentence in Old Gallo-Romance, a post-verbal negative particle is added to achieve this aim 'to commit the speaker to a maximally informative interpretation of what has been said' (Blaxter and Willis 2018: 457). By way of illustration, the example below makes a distinction between a normative denial and a maximally informative one:

(1.a) Did you drink anything from that bottle of wine?

(1.b) No, I didn't.

(1.c) No, I didn't drink *a drop*.

Detges and Waltereit (2002: 177) posit that sentences like (1.b) do not exclude the possibility that negligible increments of the proposal might, in fact, have occurred. Yet, in (1.c) this proposal is categorically denied as it 'formulates the strictest criterion imaginable by means of which the truth of [the] negative assertion can be verified.' To do this, they suggest combining the negative form of the predicate with a cognate object-DP, which denotes the smallest

quantity imaginable. In this case, the smallest conceivable quantity of the wine is a drop, and thus by denying the drinking of a drop the speaker denies with emphasis that he has drunk any of the wine.

While this exploration of linguistic emphasis is necessary, it is certainly not sufficient to provide an information-structural account of negation in Old Gallo-Romance. This is because it is both too difficult to define, too limited in discourse-pragmatic scope, and too difficult to operationalise for it to be of empirical use in a study measuring the pragmatic influences on a syntactic operator, viz. negation. We will therefore now turn to those constraints selected as being of more use in accounting for the variation observable in the collected data.

§3.1.1 The Activation Hypothesis and Pragmatic Presupposition

Another widespread theory for the addition of post-verbal negative particles in Old Gallo-Romance, and one which is thought to account more reliably for their distribution (Schwenter 2006; Blaxter and Willis 2018), is that of 'presupposition' or 'pragmatic activation' (Larrivée 2011: 1987-1988).[40] By 'activation' is meant that 'the underlying proposition is accessible to the hearer because it has been mentioned before or can be inferred through accommodation or contextual relations' (Larrivée 2011: 1987-1988). As alternatively defined by Dryer (1996: 480), activation refers to certain propositions that are '"lit up", in the individual's attention,

[40] The role of activation, specifically 'common ground', in triggering the post-verbal negator in Catalan and Italian is also clear from *no…pas* and *non…mica* respectively (Cinque 1976; Zanuttini 1997; Espinal 2000; Schwenter 2006). The assertion of Zanuttini (1997: 61) that 'Non so. Ma Gianni non ha mica la macchina' (*I don't know. But Gianni doesn't have the car*) is a felicitous response to 'Who's coming to pick you up, Gianni?' is only such because there is a common understanding that Gianni has a car in the first place. See Schwenter (2006: 7-9) for a criticism of Zanuttini's conception of 'common ground'.

[or] in their consciousness.'[41] Equally, these propositions can be 'what they are thinking about at a given point in time, while most of the things in one's mind or memory are nonactivated, not being attended to, not in one's consciousness, and not being thought about at that point in time'; in other words 'accessible' (Larrivée 2010: 2254). This relates closely to what Prince (1981: 230) called 'saliency' under her conception of 'givenness'. Prince divided 'givenness' into 'shared knowledge' and 'saliency', the first being where the 'speaker assumes that the hearer knows, assumes, or can infer a particular thing (but is not necessarily thinking about it).' The second is where 'the speaker assumes that the hearer has or could appropriately have some particular thing/entity in his/her consciousness at the time of hearing the utterance' (Prince 1981: 228).

Ultimately, these conceptions of what activation entails coincide with those expounded by Blaxter and Willis (2018). Their study set out to determine whether, as they hypothesised, the Old Norwegian negative marker *ekki* ('nothing') was used first only in discourse-old ('activated') contexts before expanding to inferred propositions and then ending by becoming licensed in discourse-new contexts. Their data suggest that this was the case and they document a watershed c. 1425 when they believed *ekki* began to be used in inferred informational contexts and then entered into competition with the previously existing negative marker *ei(gi)*, only eventually to supersede it. They focus on 'activation' rather than 'emphasis' as a pragmatic mechanism driving syntactic change. For them, 'activation' refers to 'sensitivity to information-structure' in the manner of Dryer (1996) and Schwenter (2006), while 'emphasis' pertains more to 'highly informative negation', as described by Israel (2001,

[41] A not insubstantial difficulty in this field is the competing terminology used by scholars. However, as Lee (2001: 22) points out, 'the plethora of terms used reflects the current state of interest expressed by various scholars in this [field], which people seem to draw upon in helping them to express themselves as well as to understand each other. The plethora of terms used also reflects a general confusion of the terminology.'

2011) and Eckardt (2006, 2012). Yet, emphasis remains too intuitive and difficult to operationalise in any reliable way with historical data (see also Larrivée 2010: 2242) and so they concentrate on observing how activation affects negative strategies in Old Norwegian. This is not to say, however, that emphasis is in any way discounted by studies of negation, as seen in analyses of the negative strategies of, *inter alia*, Catalan, French, Hungarian, and English (Fillmore *et al*. 1988; Piñón 1991; Van der Wouden 1997; Espinal 2000; Detges and Waltereit 2002; Zeijlstra 2004; Kiparsky and Condoravdi 2006; Schwenter 2006; Larrivée 2014b; Wallage 2017).

As Dryer (1996) makes clear, activation must be distinguished from 'pragmatic presupposition' in that the former refers to a mental representation of a proposition, and the latter to a proposition being believed. He defines pragmatic presupposition as 'a proposition that is considered part of the common ground, the set of propositions that the speaker of an utterance believes and assumes the hearer to believe as well' (Dryer 1996: 478). It is clear from this that pragmatic presupposition involves an unspoken understanding between the interlocutors that they share particular personal or cultural referents and assumed knowledge. This is further supported by Lambrecht (1994: 52) who describes pragmatic presupposition as 'the set of propositions lexicogrammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered.'[42] He distinguishes this from 'pragmatic assertion' which is 'the proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence used.' In sum, therefore, we can distinguish pragmatic presupposition from

[42] 'Lexicogrammatically evoked…is here understood as a specifically linguistic concept. To count as a pragmatic presupposition…an assumption made by the speaker concerning the hearer's state of mind must have some actual manifestation in the grammatical or lexical structure of the sentence, i.e. the presupposed proposition *must be in one way or another formally evoked by the speaker in the sentence*' (Lambrecht 1994: 55) [emphasis my own - AL].

pragmatic assertion in that the former works on an *unspoken assumption* of shared ground, while the latter involves the *explicit intention* of the speaker to communicate a state of affairs and how he feels about this. These are not, however, the only discourse-pragmatic influences for which the data will be tested, and §3.1.2 outlines these below.

§3.1.2 Additional Information-Structural Constraints

Equally relevant to the present study are those of Birner (2006), Hansen (2009), Hansen and Visconti (2009), and Blaxter and Willis (2018) that have identified some common information-structural constraints relevant to my data, for example Informational Inferences. On this subject, Hansen (2018a: 17) makes the following point:

> It may be safe to assume that human beings of past eras had basic cognitive abilities similar to ours. Nevertheless, not only do concepts and ways of perceiving the world evolve, and by implication differ, from one historical epoch to another, but inventories of speech acts and speech events, norms of politeness, principles of text structuring, and conversational routines have been shown not to be constant across time. For these reasons, we cannot take for granted that the patterns of inferencing that operated in the past were similar to those that are operative in contemporary meaning changes.
>
> (Hansen 2018a: 17)

Yet, in spite of this, Hansen (2018a) does find evidence for the Uniformitarian Principle in the semantic/functional extensions arising from source items that remain diachronically consistent across languages. It is against this background that we will consider the two types of inference thought to determine the presence or absence of post-verbal negative particles (the presence of an inference resulting in the presence of a particle):

a. Forward/elaborating inference. This is where the addressee infers a proposition from a 'trigger'.[43]

b. Backward/bridging inference. This is where the addressee infers the proposition retroactively from a 'trigger' in the past.

The difference between forwards and backwards inferences is exemplified in (I) and (II) below:

(I) Mark passed his piano exam. His teacher is very pleased.

(II) Mark wrote a brilliant essay. The school essay prize will undoubtedly be awarded to him.

In (I), an inferential link is invited to be formed when a piano exam is mentioned to the effect that one can infer the tutelage of a piano teacher. In (II), the writing of a good essay in no way causes the hearer to infer the existence of an essay prize at the writer's school but, working 'backwards', it is an unproblematic inference to draw. Inferential links such as these were elaborated by Birner (2006: 17) to remedy a problem inherent in the discourse-age typology established previously by Prince (1981), illustrated by the Table 14 below:

Discourse Status	**Hearer-old**	**Hearer-new**
Discourse-old	Previously-evoked	N/A
Discourse-new	Not evoked but known	Brand new

Table 14

(Adapted from Prince 1981)

[43] This term is not clearly explained in the studies above but should be taken to mean a word that is semantically close or in some way connected to another. An example from Hansen (2009: 234) would be the trigger 'exams' when discussing 'grades'.

By working solely on the basis of *explicit* mention, a typology such as Prince's ignores those propositions that may qualify as discourse-old but are inferable rather than stated. In light of this, Blaxter and Willis (2018) make the point that *ne* + post-verbal particle could be licensed in the following contexts:

a. When the proposition has been explicitly stated.

b. When the proposition is part of the perceptual context.

c. When the proposition was forward-inferable from earlier discourse.

d. When the proposition was backward-inferable from earlier discourse.

e. When the proposition was discourse-new but hearer-old.

In addition, and despite being disregarded for not applying to Blaxter and Willis's data, other information-structure distinctions were identified by Hansen (2009) as having a potential effect on the choice of negative strategy employed. These were:

f. Whether the proposition had already been asserted or denied (or whether this was inferable).

g. Whether the proposition is part of common knowledge.

h. Whether the proposition is a pragmatic presupposition.

The above considerations (a)-(h) will be taken into account when analysing my data in order to determine the extent to which Old Gallo-Romance varieties behave according to these constraints, yet the more difficult issue is how to identify the above propositional contexts. While there are some syntactic indicators of discourse-old status, such as the presence or absence of a determiner (Hawkins 1978: 86-115; Prince 1981: 225-232, 1992: 297-304; Goldberg 2006: 429; Burkhardt 2008: 141-143; Ledgeway 2012: 85-86), such a criterion is not failsafe with a language group like Old Gallo-Romance where determiners were subject to different constraints from those in Modern Standard French (Dufresne *et al*. 2018). One solution, proposed by Larrivée (2019: 6), is to use a 'decision tree', as in Figure 2, to determine discourse-oldness, but this must be supplemented with a consideration of whether an utterance is drawing on a pragmatic presupposition or part of the perceptual context.

i.	Has the phrase been explicitly mentioned in the previous discourse?	
	Yes -> It is discourse-old	No -> Go to ii.
ii.	Is the phrase referring by anaphor or deixis to a previously-mentioned phrase?	
	Yes -> It is discourse-old	No -> Go to iii.
iii.	Is the phrase used in a construction that accommodates it as discourse-old information?	
	Yes -> It is discourse-old	No -> Go to iv.
iv.	Is the phrase used in a context that leads to infer it as discourse-old information based on a. previous discourse or b. world-knowledge?	
	Yes -> It is discourse-old	No -> It is discourse-new

Figure 4

Reproduced from Larrivée (2019: 6)

More problematic, however, is the method by which 'perceptual context' and 'common knowledge' can be operationalised. The first is defined by Bunt and Black (2000: 4) as 'events and actions perceivable in [the speaker's and hearer's] environment', while the second relates to the Peircean idea of familiarities and commonly understood references accompanied

by the tacit knowledge that one's interlocutor shares these too (Peirce MS 614: 1-2 in Pietarinen 2006: 438, 395; Bergman 2009: 139).

The assumption of what these shared familiarities and references are is likely to be unproblematic when the subjects are real people and their background information is ascertainable. However, the ability to draw conclusions about shared familiar knowledge becomes more difficult to achieve when the cultural conventions of the subjects, in this case the people of the Middle Ages, are remote from our own. This difficulty is exacerbated all the more when these subjects happen to be fictional characters. It therefore pays to be judicious when considering what, say, a peasant or a nobleman or a knight might have known about his *habitus*. We, as receivers of the text, can draw conclusions about what a character is likely to know, not only from their 'basis type' (basic outline of a character) or performance as a 'stock character' (Jannidis 2013: 34-35), but also what they say, termed 'projected knowledge' as they 'project' clues to their knowledge onto us, the audience, and we can then infer what they may know (Gerrig *et al*. 2001: 81-91). It is with these considerations in mind that I consider the likely knowledge of characters in the works of fiction used in my study in order to test whether common knowledge and perceptual context really do have an effect on negative strategies in Old Gallo-Romance. Finally, I have created a typology for all the information-structural contexts mentioned above, which I have completed according to the findings yielded, and which I have included below.

§3.2 Data and Discussion

I searched all texts available for each Old Gallo-Romance variety in the corpus in order to determine whether their negative strategies are truly influenced by information-structure, as hypothesised. I limited my search to the varieties offering most available texts, ranging in date

from 1100-1500, in order to ensure statistical significance, and have found at least one instantiation of each category of information-structure in the varieties examined.

The initial point to note is that my findings are encouraging as they correlate with those of Hansen (2009) and Blaxter and Willis's (2018).[44] One impediment to a comfortable comparison with the latter study is that Blaxter and Willis do not elaborate on what they intended by 'Old French', hence their choice of Old Gallo-Romance varieties may diverge from my own and this could have implications for a fair comparison.

§3.3 Illustrative Findings

§3.3.1 INFORMATION-STRUCTURE IN *LANGUE D'OÏL* AND *LANGUE D'OC*

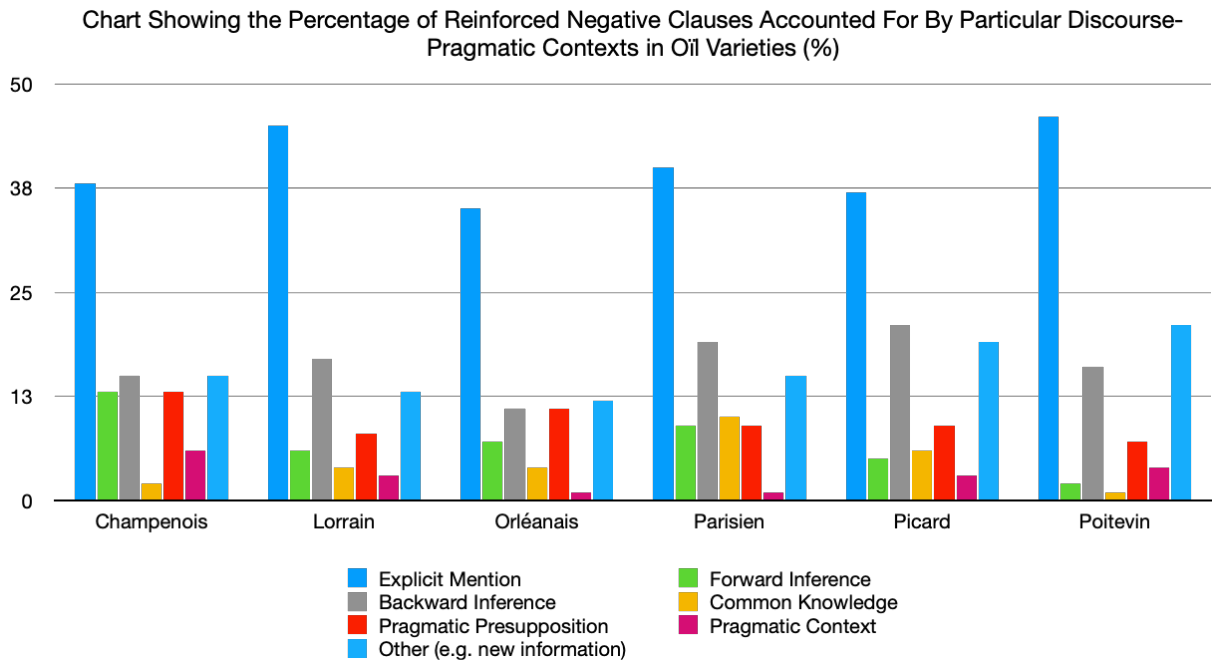


Figure 5

[44] While the telos of Blaxter and Willis's study was to understand the pragmatic influences on cyclical negation in North Germanic, they provided additional comparative data on bipartite negation in Old French.

Figure 5 above shows the overall proportion of all *reinforced* (bipartite) negative clauses in *oïl* varieties that each discourse-pragmatic status accounts for in percentage terms. While monopartite *ne* + ø remains the predominant exponent of negation throughout 1100-1500 (as calculated by the number of raw tokens of post-verbal particles subtracted from the number of pre-verbal particles and their lemmas),[45] it is notable that, save for Forward Inferencing in Champenois, the differential between the same discourse-pragmatic contexts across different varieties is small. This suggests that the gradual expansion of post-verbal negative particles to new information-structural contexts was diatopically very consistent across Old Gallo-Romance varieties. Within these, it is abundantly clear that Explicit Mention accounts for the highest percentage of *reinforced* negative clauses (between 35% and 46%), while Common Knowledge accounts for the least (between 1% and 10%). The proposed reasons for these striking differences will be discussed in the sections below wherein I set-out each of the discourse-pragmatic contexts for the *oïl* and *oc* varieties with examples and an explanation of what can be observed.

[45] As I excluded indefinites such as *rien*, *jamais*, etc., 'pleonastic' *ne*, and *ne…ni…ni*, what is left when the number of post-verbal particles is subtracted from the total of all pre-verbal particles, e.g. *ne*, *nes*, *nen*, etc. is the raw token count of *ne* + ø.

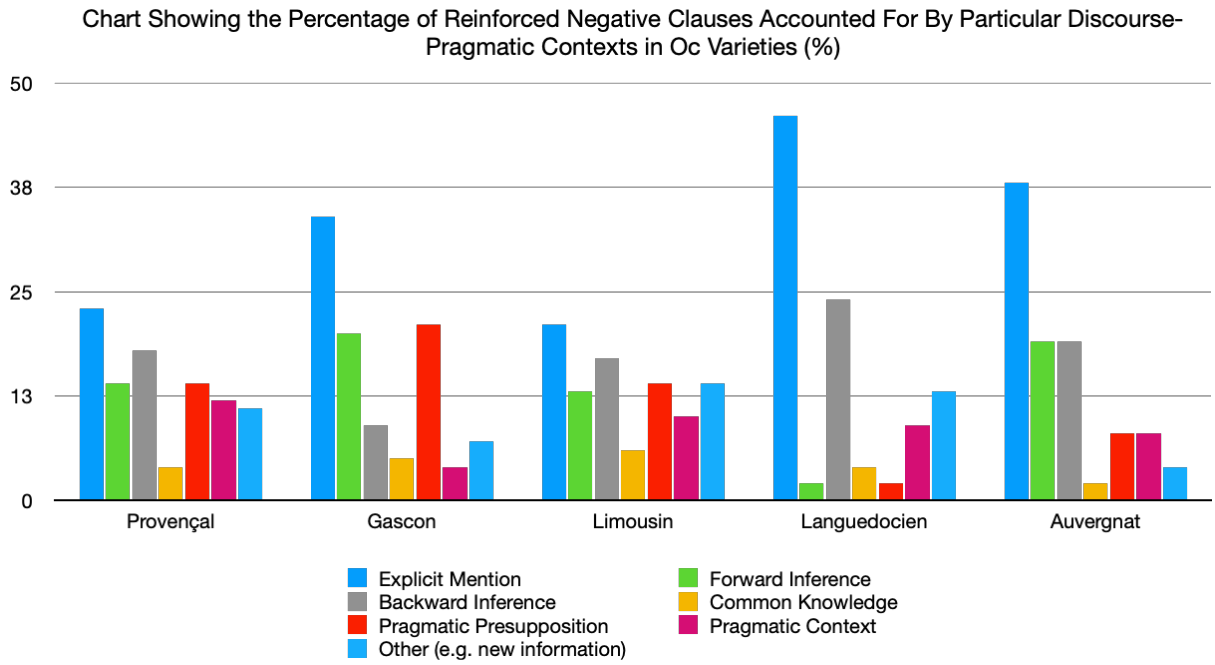


Figure 6

Figure 6 above similarly shows that Explicit Mention is the most common discourse-pragmatic status to trigger post-verbal negative particles (between 21% and 46%), and Common Knowledge is the least common (between 2% and 6%). A striking contrast with the *oïl* data is the differentials between discourse-pragmatic status across *oc* varieties. One example of this is Pragmatic Presupposition, which stands at 21% in Gascon but only 2% in Languedocien; such significant variance is not present in the *oïl* data. Another observation to be made is the intra-varietal disparity between information-structural contexts, such as that between Pragmatic Presupposition and Forward Inference at 2% and Explicit Mention at 46% in Languedocien. This is suggestive of a regional disparity with respect to the relative dominance that some information-structural contexts hold in the grammar of certain Old Gallo-Romance varieties. Let us now turn to explore these contexts in more detail and compare their manifestations in *oïl* and *oc* varieties.

§3.3.2 Explicit Mention

The first context I will address is that of Explicit Mention. This is where a proposition is made in a text and then (often assisted by the explicit repetition of names) is mentioned again explicitly, though understandably not always using exactly the same words. It is perhaps the least problematic of all information-structural categories to test as whatever 'triggers' the addition of a post-verbal negative particle must have occurred in some form already. This discourse-pragmatic context is unquestionably the most common context with which post-verbal negative particles occur in both *oïl* and *oc* varieties, accounting for between 35% (Orléanais) and 46% (Poitevin) of all negative clauses reinforced by post-verbal negative particles in *oïl* varieties (see Figure 5 above), and between 21% (Limousin) and 46% (Languedocien) in *oc* varieties (Figure 6). If we follow Givón (1978: 6), who suggests that negation does not introduce new information, but rather must by its very nature deny an assertion or a connected assumption already made, it is perhaps unsurprising that this information-structural category is the most frequently occurring. This is illustrated below by an example from my data, taken from Chrétien de Troyes' *Érec et Énide* (c. 1170), wherein Érec espies Guivret's army of men and goes to see who they are. Guivret in turn sees Érec and we are told that neither recognised the other.

(24) *Atant ez vos lance beissiee*
EXCL lance lowered
Guivret, qui l' ot de loing veü ;
Guivret who him have.PRS.3SG from afar see.PP
*ne se sont **pas** reconeü,*
NEG REFL be.PRS.3PL **NEG** recognise.PP
qu' an l' onbre d'
CONJ PREP the shadow of
une nue brune s' estoit esconsee la lune.
a cloud dark REFL be.3SG.IMP hide.PP the moon.
'Behold Guivret, lance outstretched, who saw him from afar. They did not recognise each other as the moon was hidden by the shadow of a dark cloud.'
(Chrétien de Troyes, *Érec et Énide* (c.1170))

To work out which discourse-pragmatic context (if any) is triggering the addition of a post-vebal particle, it is necessary to see what the particle is negating. In this example, the negated proposition is Guivret not recognising Érec. We then must see if there is an activiating and related proposition that is explicitly mentioned and that therefore licenses the second. In this example, the activating proposition is that of Guivret's catching sight of Érec, which then permits the recognition to take place. While the two verbs are different, it is established and has been explicitly mentioned that Guivret sees Érec. The fact that 'see' is not used twice in succession in the narrative is immaterial (and understandable without repetition or contradiction) as, without the sight of Érec as a primer and being explicitly mentioned, the recognition cannot occur. They are both especially as *reconoistre* in Old French could be used as the semantic equivalent to 'notice' (i.e. 'see') and would therefore retain this semantic value for the medieval listener, though in this instance it bears more on the identification of

Érec.

Another example of Explicit Mention triggering the use of a post-verbal negative particle in my data comes from the Parisian prose *Chartes de l'Abbaye de Saint-Magloire* (c. 1330-1345). While Explicit Mention was overwhelmingly the discourse-pragmatic context licensing the highest percentage of post-verbal negative particles in 12th-century Champenois, with no other context coming close to this majority, in the 14th-century Parisien prose text below, the Explicit Mention rate of 43% is followed closely by the Pragmatic Presupposition context at 29%, suggesting either a diachronic, diatopic, or prose vs. verse influence at work. The extract here concerns a request, presumably from a cleric at the Abbey, to Philip of France, the exciseman, and other 'justices' to grant to the Abbey the possessions of a recently-banished member of their order. The writer mentions the banishment explicitly and then reinvokes it with the indefinite demonstrative pronoun *ce*, whereupon a post-verbal negative particle is used.

(25)	*Vous*	*les*	*laissiez*		*joïr*	*et*	*user*	*et*	
	You	them.CL	leave.SBJV.2SG		enjoy	and	use	and	
	n'	*y*	*mettez*	*aucun*	*empeschement*	*de par*	*nous*		
	NEG	LOC.CL	put.PRS.1PL	no	impediment	ADV	we		
	pour	*cause*	*dudit*	*bannissement,*	*comme*	*ce*	*ne*	*soit*	***pas***
	for	reason	ADJ	banishment,	as	this	NEG	be.SBJV.3SG.	**NEG**
	cas	*pour*	*lequel*	*ses*	*biens*	*estanz*			
	case	for	which	his	property	PRESP			
	souz	*autres*	*hauz*	*justiciers*	*nous*	*appartiegne.*			
	under	other	high	justicesus	us	belong.PRS.3SG			

> ‘You allow them [the monks] to use and enjoy [the possessions of the banished Pierre Chauvel] and not impede this in any way because of the banishment, as though this were not the reason for which they come to us.’
>
> (Anonymous, *Chartes de l’Abbaye de Saint-Magloire*)

The activating proposition here is the banishment. It has been explicitly mentioned and is then referred to once more, this time necessitating the addition of a post-verbal particle.

§3.3.3 Forward Inference

Much as with Explicit Mention, a Forward Inference also relies on a proposition, but in this case it is one which licenses an *inference* to be made. As mentioned previously in §3.1.2, a forward or *elaborating* inference is one which is formed from a preceding trigger, which is topically relevant to what comes afterwards and does not require as much of a logical ‘leap’ as a backwards inference might. In essence, it contributes to what has come previously by elaborating it with detail, but at the same time relying on what has come previously in order for it to make sense. Hence, in the example given in §3.1.2, the fact that Mark’s piano teacher is very pleased makes little sense if we are not told what (s)he is pleased about – the inference drawn is that (s)he is pleased because of his passing a piano exam. In comparative terms, in the oc data there is a greater numerical disparity between the highest number of reinforced negative clauses accounted for by Forward Inference and the lowest number than that between the highest and lowest in the oïl data. In the oc data, the fewest cases accounted for by Forward Inference are in the Languedocien data (2%) and the highest are in the Gascon data (20%). The fewest in the oïl data come from Poitevin (2%) and the highest from Champenois (13%).

In example (26) below, taken from the Lorrain *Epistle Saint Bernart a Mont Deu* (c. 1190-1200), the forward inference draws on a preceding trigger in the form of Saint Bernart telling the sinner that Jesus gathers his sins to him in the spirit of fellowship, which is to say that he is not alone in contending with his sins. This message of togetherness is reinforced by Saint Bernart telling him that he does not want him to think that the light and dark only fall on him, thus expanding on what has come previously but elaborating it further.

(26)

Je	*ne*	*uoil*	***mie***	*ke*	*tu*	*cudes*	
I	NEG	want.PRS.1SG	**NEG**	that	you	think.SBJV.2SG	
Ke	*li*	*comuns*	*selouz*	*del*	*ior*	*ne*	*lus*et
that	the	common	sun	PART	day	NEG	light.PRS.3SG
an	*nul*	*leu*	*mais*	*c'*	*an*	*ta*	*celle*
in	no	place	but	that	in	your	cell
et	*ke*	*li*	*serains*	*ne*	*soit*	*an*	*nul*
and	that	the	night	NEG	be.SBJV.3SG	in	no
lev	*s'en*	*aier*		*ti*	*nun*.		
place	without	have.INF		you	NEG.		

'I do not want you to think that ordinary daylight does not illuminate any place other than your cell and that the night does not fall anywhere without you'.

(Anonymous, *Epistle Saint Bernart a Mont Deu*)

The negated proposition draws on the inference that the sinner believes he is alone, stemming from the assertion by Saint Bernard that the sinner is in fellowship with Jesus with regard to his sins. There is clear topical relevance and connectivity here (being alone with one's sins, light only illumninating one's cell, night falling nowhere without one), and the inference drawn, i.e. that the sinner might feel alone, is not a difficult 'leap' to make.

In example (27) below, which comes from the Languedocien troubadour Daude de Prades (fl. 1218-1242), we learn that the author is grappling with personified Reason as he tries to justify his senseless love for his Lady. The forward inference here is when he states that his lady's reputation will remain intact if leniency bestows its gifts on her, especially as he is aware that his unreasonable conduct might jeopardise this.

(27) *Ges de midons no .m pot Razos*
NEG from my lady NEG REFL can.PRS.3SG Reason
partir, qu' ieu clam per Dieu e per
separate.INF that I call.PRS.1SG PREP God and PREP
humilitat; *e si Razos trai, de lai,*
humility; and if Reason invoke.PRS.3SG from there
sas ricors, *ieu fatz, de sai, de Merce mon*
its power, make.PRS.1SG from here, of Mercy my
*capduelh; e **ges** no pert son pretz fina*
citadel; and **NEG** NEG lose.PRS.3SG its value good
lauzors si chauzimens li daura son escuelh.
reputation if leniency her gild.FUT.3SG its sheath.

'Reason cannot separate me from my lady as I call upon God and Humility; and if Reason, from its perspective, invokes its power, then as far as I am concerned I will make Mercy my citadel; and good reputation in no way loses its value if Leniency dispenses its gifts.'

(Daude de Prades, *Poésies Complètes*).

Once more, the negated proposition (that a good reputation will not loses its value) is based on the inference that, if Leniency dispenses its gifts (i.e. the poet achieves what he wants),

then there is every possibility that such a reputation could be devalued. Daude de Prades anticipates that we might infer from his getting his own way that his lady's reputation could suffer as a consequence, but he assures us that this will not be the case.

§3.3.4 Backward Inference

To recall from §3.1.2, a backward or *bridging* inference is one which is formed on the basis of a 'trigger' being mentioned previously and which the following assertion relies on to make sense since, without the requisite contextual grounding, the motivation behind the utterance would be unclear. For illustrative purposes, the tables and charts in the Supplementary Materials show that backward inference accounts for 21% of reinforced negative clauses in Picard and 11% of all reinforced negative clauses in Orléanais. In *oc* varieties, it accounts for 9% of all cases in Gascon and 24% in Languedocien. By way of an example of such an inference, (28) below comes from a Parisian didactic manual of 1360, which tells us to look after our daughters and especially prevent them from being physically compromised, but then not to be too lenient with them either. The text is hortative in nature and begins with one piece of advice before following it with a second, seemingly unconnected one. It is by way of a bridging inference, however, that we join the two together and infer that being too lenient with one's daughters may result in a compromise of their bodies and thereby breach the first piece of advice we received.

(28) *De la garde des pucelle et absconsement de*
On the guardianship PART young girls and protection of
icelles. 'Tu as des filles, garde le corps de
them. 'You have.PRS.2SG PART girls, guard.IMP the body of
icelles et ne leur moustre pas ta face joyeuse
them and NEG their show.INF **NEG** your side happy.'

> ‘On the guardianship of young girls and the protection thereof. “If you have daughters, guard their bodies well and do not be lenient with them.”’
>
> (Jean Daudin, *De la Érudition*).

In this example, the instruction not to be too lenient is the negated proposition. Taken in insolation of what comes before it, there is very little to suggest why we should not be too lenient with our daughters. What is required, therefore, to make sense of this advice, i.e. to bridge the comprehension gap, is a contextualising activating proposition from which we can infer the consequences of not heeding the latter piece of advice. We may then infer that some unfortunate consequences for the daughters’ bodies may arise if we are too lenient.

In example (29) below, we have a poetic duel issued by Aimeric de Peguilhan (fl. 1190-1221) to Albert de Sestaro (fl. 1194-1221), another troubadour, on the perversely literal grounds of ‘nothing’. In a sense, it is a nonsense poem under a *tenzone* form,[46] i.e. a literary dispute, and the trigger for the backward inference here, marked by the *ges* clause, is the silence Aimeric intends to keep (‘calarai me’), subsequently elaborated by this assertion that such a response is valueless.

(29)	*Us*	*nienz*	*es*		*d’*	*autre*	*compratz.*	
	One	nothing	be.PRS.3SG		of	another	comparable	
	Per q’	*al*	*nien*	*don*	*m’*	*apellatz,*		
	CONJ	PREP	nothing	title	PRO	call.PRS.2SG		
	respondrai		*com?*	*Calarai*		*me!*		
	respond.FUT.1SG		ADV	keep silent.FUT.1SG		REFL		

[46] See De Bartholomaeis (1911: 319-342) for information concerning Aimeric’s soujourn in Italy and potential influence from Italian versification.

Albertz,	***ges***	*callan*	*non*	*enten*	*que.l*
Albert,	**NEG**	silent	NEG	understand.PRS.1SG	CONJ
respondres	*aia*			*valor*.	
answer	have.PRS.3SG			value.	

'One nothing is counterbalanced by another. As you do not challenge me to anything, how shall I respond? I'll keep silent! Albert, I do not think a silent answer has any value'.

(Aimeric de Peguilhan, *Poésies Complètes*)

Here, Aimeric tells us that Albert has not made any challenge, that silence has no value, and that he (Aimeric) will remain silent. We therefore infer from this that his response is as valueless as the challenge not presented to him by Albert, with 'one nothing' being 'counterbalanced by another'. We therefore infer that they are equals.

§3.3.5 Common Knowledge

Common knowledge, also known in Peircean terms as 'common familiar knowledge' (see Pietarinen 2006) is, in the context of discourse-pragmatics, 'that information which members of a particular community assume to be held common by virtue of the fact they have very similar background or up-bringing' (Lee 2001: 24). According to Dryer (1996: 483), it implies a greater level of consensus among speaker and hearer to the extent that it might be interpreted as more 'objective' than the 'belief' integral to pragmatic presupposition. The 'knowledge' need not be empirically or objectively true but should be information accepted as known by the majority of people. This is not a particularly common discourse-pragmatic context for triggering post-verbal negative particles. The lowest rate in *oïl* and *oc* varieties is the same, 2%, shared by Auvergnat and Champenois, while the highest for *oc* is just 6% and in *oïl* it is 10%.

This is perhaps the most difficult discourse-pragmatic status to establish with any great conviction as it is impossible to tell with certainty what is or was common knowledge among a given community at any point in time. That said, by relying on what we know to be major cultural points of reference during the Middle Ages, e.g. the Bible and chronicled battles, we can hazard an assumption of what was or was not common knowledge when looking to establish the discourse-pragmatic status of a proposition.

Example (30) below comes from the early 14th-century Picard poem *Livre de Passion*. We are told that the disciples of Jesus gave thanks and washed their feet after eating but before taking their leave. This is a story from the Gospel of John (13:2) with which we can reasonably expect a medieval audience to be acquainted. The post-verbal particle *mie* is marking negation in a proposition of common knowledge, i.e. due to the prevailing custom and what we know about the conduct of the Disciples, it would be unthinkable for them to leave without washing their feet.

(30) *Aprés mengier graces rendirent, mez* ***mie*** *ne*
After eat.INF thanks give.PST.3PL but **NEG** NEG *se*
departirent devant c' orent leurs
REFL depart.PST.3P before that have.PRS.3PL their *piés*
laves.
feet wash.PP.
'After eating, they gave thanks but did not leave before they washed their feet.'
(Anonymous, *Livre de la Passion* (14th c.))

Another example of common knowledge, and one which coincides closely with what Lee (2001) envisages as 'assumed knowledge' by a particular community, comes from the Gascon troubadour Aimeric de Peguilhan (fl. 1190-1221) who tells his overlord that he would be treated no worse if he were part of Martin Algai's company.[47] Algai was a mercenary captain from Navarre who owned a castle at Biron in western Quercy, later stormed by Simon de Montfort in an act of vengeance, and was 'a man of low birth, little piety, and strong superstitions whose brutal, aggressive reputation had penetrated the songs of the troubadours in his own lifetime' (Sumption 1978: 210-211). That Aimeric includes the reference to Algai in this lyric, (31) below, obviates any doubt that both he and his Count were well-acquainted with Algai's nefarious deeds during the Albigensian Crusade, thus making it part of their common framework of reference and triggering a post-verbal negative particle.

(31)	*Seigner*	*en*	*coms,*	*cum*	*poiria*		*eu*	*soffrir*
	Sir	the	count,	how	can.FUT.1SG		I	bear.INF
	Aquest affan		*que*	*vos*	*mi*	*faitz*		*durar?*
	This	wretchedness	that	you	me	make.PRS.2SG		endure.INF?
	Que	*nuoich e*	*jorn*	*mi*	*fasetz*			*cavalgar*,
	For	night and	day	me	make.PRS.2SG			ride.INF
	Que	*no*	*·m*	*laissatz*	*ni*	*pausar*	*ni*	*dormir*.
	that	NEG	me	let.PRS.2SG	NEG	stop.INF	NEG	sleep.INF
	Ges	*en*	*la*	*compaigna*	*Martin Algai*		*hom*	*pieitz*
	NEG	in	the	company	Martin Algai		man	worse

[47] 'Martin Algai was captain of a mercenary band who served Richard the Lionheart, then Simon de Montfort, and subsequently Raimon VI of Toulouse, finally being captured and put to death on Simon's orders' (Harvey and Paterson 2010: 276).

non *trai;* *sembla* *manjars* *mi* *sofraigna*.

NEG treat.PRS.3SG seem.PRS.3SG eat.INF me lack.PRS.3SG

'Count, how will I be able to bear this wretchedness that you make me endure? For you make me ride night and day and neither let me stop nor sleep. Even in the company of Martin Algai, one is no worse off. It seems that I do not have enough to eat.'

(Aimeric de Peguilhan, *Poésies Complètes*)

The negated proposition here is also the Common Knowledge proposition. For us to understand the import of Aimeric's suggestion, i.e. that *even in Martin Algai's company*, Aimeric would not fare any worse, the identity of Algai must be known and its significance understood by the audience. This must therefore be common knowledge for the reference to work.

§3.3.6 Pragmatic Presupposition

We might reasonably expect Pragmatic Presupposition to be one of the most common statuses of information-structure that trigger post-verbal negative particles as it has been shown to account for much of their distribution (Schwenter 2006; Blaxter and Willis 2018). To recall, a pragmatic presupposition concerns the 'body of facts which both speaker and hearer believe they agree on' (Kempson 1975: 166) and, while it is obviously impossible to ascertain with absolute certainty whether fictional characters have ideas or referents 'lit up' in their minds at a given moment in the narrative, this is usually evident from the context and what has preceded. In essence, it is an implicit assumption made by the speaker about the understanding, knowledge, and background of the audience. The highest rates of this discourse-pragmatic context in my data are only 13% for Champenois and 21% for Gascon, and the lowest are 2% for Languedocien and 7% for Poitevin.

The example I have chosen to be illustrative of pragmatic presupposition, (32), comes from a didactic prose text from c. 1246 and written in the Lorrain variety of Old Gallo-Romance. It is an encyclopaedic account of the world, its geography and its inhabitants, designed to inform and educate rather than entertain. When determining whether a negated clause has been pragmatically presupposed, it is necessary to consider the cultural referents the speaker and audience are likely to have.

The pragmatic presupposition in this example focuses on (un)conventional marriage practices and how men view women. That is to say that they do not think them capable of fidelity and this denial of a presupposition of that assertion uses *pas* as a post-verbal particle. In this excerpt, the writer informs his audience of the strange practices of the Turks with regard to women – they treat women merely as perfunctory procreators, rather than with Christian veneration and love. It is presupposed by the writer that the audience will subscribe to a common conception of male-female relationships in Western Europe and that they will consequently find this revelation captivating and shocking in equal measure.

(32)	*Si*	*ne*	*ont*	*nulle*	*femme*	*espouse*	*ne*	*amie,*	
	ADV	NEG	have.PRS.3PL	ADJ	woman	spouse	NEG	friend,	
	pour	*ce*	*que*	***il***	***ne***	***croient***	***pas***	*que*	*femme*
	for	this	that	it	NEG	believe.PRS.3PL	NEG	that	woman
	se	*puisse*	*tenir*	*à*	*.i.*	*homme*	*seulement*		
	REFL	can.SBJV	hold.INF	to	one	man	only		

sanz *aler* *à* *autre*. *Si* *ne* *ont*

without go.INF to another. Thus NEG have.PRS.3PL

cure *de* *femme, fors* *tant* *que* *puissent* *enfanz* *engendrer*.

care of woman, except ADV that can.SBJV children give birth.

'They [the Turks] do not take women as spouses as they do not believe that women can be faithful to just one man. Thus, they have no care for women other than for their capacity to procreate.'

(Gossouin de Metz, *Image du Monde*)

In (33) below, we are presented with an altogether different instantiation of pragmatic presupposition in the form of an impassioned lament from the Auvergnat poet Peirol (fl. 1188-1225) who wishes to forget about his Lady and thinks he is succeeding at dissembling his ardour, but is very much failing to do so. He invokes the well-known proverb 'out of sight, out of mind' only to tell us that it is untrue and that he is living proof of this. Again, when considering whether Pragmatic Presupposition is relevant, it is necessary to consider the background implications of the proposition. In this example, the proverb could only be effective if it was known to the audience; Peirol therefore presupposes the audience's understanding of its significance. Moreover, the negated proposition is that the proverb is not accurate, but the presupposition with any proverb is that it is an accurate and succinct perception of how the world is. This presupposition is then negated by the author:

(33) *Lo* *reproviers* *non* *ditz* ***ges*** *ver*

The proverb NEG say.PRS.3SG **NEG** truth

que *'cors* *oblida* *c'* *uoills* *non* *ve'*.

that 'heart forget.PRS.3SG that want.PRS.3SG NEG see.PRS.3SG'.

‘The proverb does not speak truth which says “out of sight, out of mind”.’

(Peirol, *Poésies Complètes*)

§3.3.7 Pragmatic Context

Like Common Knowledge, the rates of occurrence for Pragmatic Context are very low, just 1% in Orléanais and Parisien with a high of 6% in *oïl*, and 4% and 12% in Gascon and Provençal respectively. For the content of an utterance to be part of the pragmatic or *perceptual* context of the speaker and hearer, it needs to relate to the actions and events unfolding as the story is told. In the Picard example (34) below, Robert de Clari, a knight from Picardy, is relating the preliminary preparations being made for the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) and recounts all those who took part. Alongside the royalty and priests were barons, but he tells us that there were too many to name. We, as hearers, are therefore brought in to share the perceptual context of the narrator as he recalls the gathering and evokes this for us when he lists all the participants gathered on the eve of the crusade, and we are party to his inability to name all the attendees in this instance. The post-verbal particle *mie* is used here to negate *savoir* (‘to know’, but which here functions more in its modal sense of ‘to be able to’) and he tells us that he simply could not name all the barons there, implying that they are too numerous to do so.

(34)	*Et*	*des*	*barons*	*qui*	*y*		*furent,*	
	And	PART	barons	who	LOC.CL		be.PST.3P	
	nous	***ne***	***les***	***savons***		***mie***	*tous*	*nommer,*
	we	NEG	PRON	know.PRS.1PL		NEG	all	name.INF
	mais	*une*	*partie*	*vous*	*en*	*savons*	*nous*	*nommer.*
	but	one	part	you	PRON	know.PRS.3PL	we	name.INF

‘And of the barons who were there we cannot name them all, but we can name you some of them.’

(Robert de Clari, *Conquête de Constantinople*)

A common way in which to establish perceptual context is to provide geographical or temporal detail, which allows the speaker to draw the audience into his contextual realm. Example (35) below is an elegiac poem written in the Auvergnat variety of Old Gallo-Romance by the itinerant 12th-century poet Peire Rogier in which he laments his separation from his *locus amoenus*, Monruel. We infer that, because he is pining for this location, he is not currently there. The hyperbolic language he uses in connection with Monruel causes us, the audience, to form the opinion that he is evoking a pleasant, bucolic place and that where he is currently might not be. We are thereby brought into his perceptual context, forced to feel the disparity between the two locations, and told that anyone who could leave Monruel must be unfeeling. To mark this, he uses the post-verbal particle *ges*.

(35) *Belh Monruel, aisselh que .s part*
Beautiful Monruel, he that REFL part.PRS.1SG
de vos e non plora, ***ges non es doloiros***.
from you and NEG cry.PRS.3SG, NEG NEG be.PRS.3SG sensitive.
‘Beautiful Monruel, he who distances himself from you and does not cry cannot have feelings.’

(Peire Rogier, *Poésies Complètes*)

The negated proposition is the unfeeling nature of the person who moves away from Monruel. The perceptual context for this proposition is the beauty and attraction of Monruel as evoked by the speaker. The former would not make no sense if we, the audience, had not already been inducted into the perceptual and pragmatic context, represented by the latter, as established by the poet.

§3.3.8 New Information

As noted in §2.1.1, post-verbal particles lose in pragmatic significance and gain in syntactic significance (Heine and Reh 1984: 67), while also becoming an obligatory constituent in negative constructions (Lehmann 2015: 174), as they progress further along the cline of grammaticalisation. The corollary of this is that they begin to mark not only those contexts we would classify as activated or presupposed, but also those that present new information not previously evoked. The difficulty of classification arises here, as elsewhere, when we wish to determine *what* exactly is new. New Information does *not* mean that one or several words, unencountered to this point, have been brought into use by the speaker. It *does* mean that we are 'told' something which, until now, has not been mentioned by the speaker. This may occur at the beginning of speech, as in (37) below, or in medias res, as in (36). What is important, however, is that we are informed of something that we were previously unaware of.

Occasionally, negations that do not qualify as presupposed have been termed 'descriptive negation' (Geurts 1998: 274-278) or simply 'predicate negation' (Grieve-Smith 2010: 228) as they simply serve to form a negative predicate. In §3.4 and §3.5 we will look to the data to see whether this assumption is verified, but it is first necessary to see how New Information is manifested in the data.

In (36), we have a legal prescription from a Poitevin custumal (c. 1451) concerning the rights of a fief-holder vis-à-vis his men and chattels on his land. Until this point, it has not been mentioned that the landowner may sit in judgment of those living under under his fief. The new information it provides is not that he can issue a fine *but rather that he may judge those living under him and, in such a judgment, the fine will not surpass six deniers*. While the sanction of fines has been mentioned

previously in the custumal, what has not been mentioned is that the landowner has the right to judge his tenants. This is New Information. The whole proposition, however, is that he can sit in judgement *and* the fine in that instance will be no more than six deniers. The negated proposition, viz. that the fine will not surpass six deniers, is dependent on the new information that the landowner can arbitrate. It is in the case of sitting in judgment, and only in that instance, that the fine will not exceed six deniers.

(36) *Et* *en* *tous* *cas* *peut* *congnoistre*
And in all case can.PRS.3SG recognise.INF
sur *sesdits* *hommes* *et* *sur*
on ADJ men and on
les *choses* *immeubles* *de* *sondit*
the things immovable of ADJ
fief *de* *toutes* *causes* *de* *quoy*
fief of all causes of what
l' *amande* *ne* *passe* ***pas*** *sept*
the fine NEG surpass.PRS.3SG **NEG** seven
solz *six* *deniers*.
pennies six deniers.
'And, in every case, he [the possessor of the fief], can sit in judgment regarding his men and physical assets under his fief, whereupon the fine [he can issue] will not surpass seven pennies and six deniers'.
(Anonymous, *Vieux Coustumier de Poictou*)

Yet, before concluding that only later texts feature post-verbal negative particles co-occurring with new information, we see in (37) that the *opening* of a 12th-century poem, by its very nature impossible to be presupposed, does also include a post-verbal negative particle when the author tells us that he does not expect to sing as he desires nothing other than to possess his lady. Moreover, this cannot be a Forward Inference as we at least need a preceding trigger on which to base it. This rather surprising finding that early texts were relying on post-verbal negative particles in New Information contexts will be discussed in §3.4 and §3.5.

(37)

Ges	*de*	*chanter*	***non***	*aten*		*ni*	*esper*	
NEG	PART	sing.INF	**NEG**	expect.PRS.1SG		NEG	hope.INF	
Temps	*ni*	*sazo,*	*chant*	*d'*	*auzels,*	*flor*	*ni*	*fueill*,
Time	NEG	season	song	PART	birds,	flowers	NEG	leaves,
Mas	*vos,*	*dona,*	*tot*	*aital*	*com*	*eu*	*vueil*	
But	you,	lady,	all	this	as	I	want.PRS.1SG	
Et	*trop*	*meillor*		*que*	*neus*	*no*	*sai*	*voler*.
And	too	agreeable		that	even	NEG	know.PRS.1SG	want.INF.

'I do not intend to sing or hope either for time or seasons or birdsong or flowers or leaves, just you, my lady, is all I want – so much more agreeable that I do not even know what I else I want.'

(Gaucelm Faidit, *Poésies Complètes*)

The new information we are presented with here is that the troubadour does not intend to sing. This information contrasts with what we might expect, namely that a troubadour will sing, but the negated proposition tells us otherwise.

§3.3.9 Summary of Findings

To begin with observations on the pre-verbal negative strategies we see from the data, the *oc* varieties rely on two pre-verbal negative particles that occur indiscriminately in every text: *non* and *no*; this is in contradistinction to the *oïl* varieties, which rely on just *ne* and its clitic (*n'*) and compound (*nen*, *nes, nel*) forms. In Provençal, *non* is far more prevalent than *no* (737 tokens vs. 260), while in Gascon, Limousin, and Languedocien the opposite is true: Gascon has 682 tokens of *no* and 421 tokens of *non*, while Limousin has 904 tokens of *no* and 548 of *non*, and Languedocien has 682 tokens of *no* and 513 of *non*. In Auvergnat, the disparity in token count between these two pre-verbal negative particles is very small in comparison (330 *non* vs. 376 *no*). The dramatic differences in number seem to suggest a marked preference for one pre-verbal negative particle over another, depending on the geographical origin of the author – *non* being preferred in the East and *no* in the West.

Pas is the most common post-verbal negative particle across *oïl* varieties with 555 tokens; *mie* produced slightly fewer at 469 tokens, while *point* and *goutte* produced far fewer at 82 and just 2 respectively. This means that negative clauses reinforced by a post-verbal negative particle account for 15.5% of all negative clauses studied (7116 in total). Reinforcement by post-verbal negative particles in *oc* varieties was far less prevalent, with *ges* being the most common particle (285 tokens), compared to *pas* (6 tokens), *miga* (2 tokens), *cap* (2 tokens), and *guans* just one token. *Ges* in *oc* varieties therefore accounts for 97% of all post-verbal negative particles, while post-verbal negative reinforcement in general accounts for just 5% of all negative clauses studied (6164 tokens). The rate of post-verbal negative reinforcement in *oc* varieties is therefore just one third of that in *oïl* varieties, suggesting that the process of grammaticalisation was slower to take hold in southern Old Gallo-Romance varieties (see

Chapter 2 for a corroboration of this). Across *oc* varieties, there was a very steady rate of total post-verbal negative particle occurrence of between 4% (Languedocien) and 6% (Limousin and Auvergnat), while in *oïl* varieties the total post-verbal negative particle occurrence was between 12% (Champenois) and 25% (Lorrain) – a much larger overall total percentage than found in *oc* varieties, but also a much larger differential between these two extremes compared to the *oc* equivalents.

Overall, in *oïl* and *oc* varieties, Explicit Mention is the discourse-pragmatic context which licenses the most post-verbal negative particles, while Common Knowledge and Perceptual Context license the fewest. Contrary to expectation, there is not a discernible increase over time in the licensing of post-verbal negative particles by New Information contexts, which would be indicative of ever decreasing paradigmatic variability or 'obligatorification' (Lehmann 1985: 307). If, as we know to be true, post-verbal negative particles are triggered to some extent by activation and express a particular functional domain but do eventually become obligatory with information of every discourse status, new or old, then it is reasonable to suggest that they would increasingly be found in New Information contexts too. While this is not borne out by the data, they do show that *oïl* varieties have a much higher rate of post-verbal negative particles being used in New Information contexts than do *oc* varieties. As obligatorification with new information is one of the final stages of the grammaticalisation cline (Wada 2018: 213), this is further suggestive of the faster rate at which grammaticalisation took hold in *oïl* varieties of Old Gallo-Romance compared to in *oc* varieties.

We will now turn to observations, also of an empirical nature, that pertain to the specific *oïl* and *oc* varieties under study.

§3.4 Particular Observations: *Oïl*

In Champenois,[48] the percentage of all negative clauses occurring with a post-verbal negative particle is just 5% and some authors even show a rate as low as 2% (Guilhem de l'Olivier) and 3% (Guilhem Ademar). What is particularly striking in certain varieties is the conspicuous absence of some post-verbal negative particles and the categorical presence of others – this is as much true for Gallo-Romance varieties as it is for specific texts. For example, in the Lorrain *Epistle Saint Bernart à Mont Deu* and *Li Sermon Saint Bernart* only *mie* occurs as a post-verbal negative particle, whereas in another Lorrain text – the *Vie de Saint Geneviève* – only *pas* features (and just two tokens at that). This latter finding does run contrary to the suggestion by Grieve-Smith (2019: 37) that *mie* has always been very much dominant in Lorraine to the exclusion of *pas*. Yet, the overwhelming majority of *oc* varieties and the texts studied for each show a categorical absence of *pas*, *ponch*, and *miga* as post-verbal negative particles in favour of *ges*.

In Orléanais, the token count of *mie* is very low with all texts clearly preferring *pas* as the post-verbal negative particle. In this variety, Explicit Mention and Backward Inference both show the highest co-occurrences with post-verbal negative particles and demonstrate very similar rates: 25% and 21% respectively. Backward Inference in this variety shows a steady diachronic increase, while the number of post-verbal negative particles triggered by Pragmatic Context remains consistently low and New Information does not trigger any.

[48] I refer to Old Gallo-Romance varieties by their Modern French appellations as there is not an adequate English equivalent for all.

According to Price (1984: 252), Łęcki (2010: 14), and Burnett (2019: 191), *pas* has been favoured as a post-verbal negative marker in the Île-de-France region since the Middle Ages. We would therefore expect to find that it is the most frequently occurring post-verbal negative particle in the Parisien data, which it is, accounting for 81% of all reinforced negative clauses in Parisien. There is, however, very little reinforcement in the early Parisien texts, noteworthy in itself, but it is therefore unwise to draw diachronic conclusions about the prevalence of discourse-pragmatic statuses based on these figures.

In Picard, the proportion of reinforced negative clauses categorised as demonstrating New Information status is quite high, suggesting that Picardy may have been the first region out of the generally more grammaticalised northern Gallo-Romance regions in which the generalisation of post-verbal negative particles to wider contexts occurred. Other observations to be made about the Picard data are that Backward Inferences decrease steadily over time while the rate of Pragmatic Presupposition increases. There are very few tokens of *point* (7 in total) and we would expect *mie* to account for the majority of post-verbal negative particles (Price 1984: 252; Burnett and Dagnac 2014: 1; Auger and Villeneuve 2017: 553; Tortora and Blanchette 2020: 524), but it does not. 43% of post-verbal negative particles are *mie*, while 52% are *pas*. This is surprising, as is the token count of *point*, given the assertion of Burnett and Dagnac (2014) and Tortora and Blanchette (2020: 524) that, 'in contrast with Standard French *pas*, Picard French has two distinct post-verbal negative markers, *point* and *mie'*. Admittedly, this claim is being made about Modern Picard and not Old Picard, but the prevalence of *pas* over *mie* in Old Picard demonstrates that there was once greater variety in the forms of post-verbal negative particles available to fulfil the function of a negative reinforcing element in Picard.

The corpus only contained three Poitevin texts, two in verse and one in prose. The two in verse are from the 12th century (a chronicle and a romance) and the one in prose is a custumal from the 15th century. We would therefore expect to find considerable differences in the data they provided, and, in some respects, this is the case. The 15th-century prose custumal had the highest percentage of negative clauses occurring with a post-verbal negative particle, viz. 19% vs. 13% and 9% for the verse chronicle and story. The custumal was the only text in Poitevin that featured *point* as a post-verbal negative particle, and the only one that did not feature *mie*. One explanation advanced by Foulet (1968: 262) for the absence of *mie* is that it was often used for metrical purposes in verse texts where the constraints of rhyme often required an alternative post-verbal negative particle to fit the scheme. This would clearly not be relevant to a prose text like the custumal, but this view has, however, been challenged by Sten (1938: 31). Yet, irrespective of whether there is an influence of rhyme on the choice of post-verbal particle, my findings do show that discourse-pragmatic constraints have a material effect on the presence or absence of post-verbal particles, and these do display the discourse-functional properties attributed to them.

§3.5 Particular Observations: *Oc*

With regard to *oc* varieties, and ignoring the authors Jausbert de Puycibot and Guilhem de Figueira who have only two tokens of post-verbal negative particles apiece and thereby create a misleading concordance rate for New Information of 50%, the highest rate in *oc* varieties for New Information contexts is 22%, and this is in the work of Limousin Arnaut Daniel (fl. 1180-1200). It was impossible to tell whether prose had an effect on the *oc* data as none of the texts in the corpus was in prose. Across *oc* varieties, the rate lies between 4% and 14%

compared with a range of between 12% and 21% in *oïl* varieties, clearly demonstrating a greater tendency in northern regions for expansion into new information-structural contexts.

In Provençal, the most common post-verbal negative particle is *ges* with 49 tokens, followed by *mie* with just four. The obvious corollary of this is that post-verbal negative particles feature very rarely in negative clauses in Provençal, to wit just 5% of negative clauses are reinforced by such a particle. There is also no indication that this figure increases over time, as one might expect, and the percentage of clauses featuring a post-verbal negative particle remains fairly steady between 3% and 6%. Those clauses categorised as Backward Inference decrease gradually in number, and Common Knowledge and New Information demonstrate the lowest rate of post-verbal negative particle occurrence of all discourse-pragmatic statuses.

Provençal's total percentage of negative clauses featuring a post-verbal negative particle is matched by Gascon's, also at 5%. Yet, unlike with Provençal, this figure increases over time from 0.6% in 1071-1127 to 9% from 1145. Explicit Mention is the most common discourse-pragmatic status with which post-verbal negative particles are found in Gascon, accounting for 34% of the total, while Pragmatic Context is the least common at 4%.

In Limousin, *ges* is the most common post-verbal negative particle (77 tokens) and the only other post-verbal negative particle found for this variety was *pas*, with just one token. There is clearly a regional preference in evidence here. The most striking observation to be made for the Limousin data is the large absence of post-verbal negative particles in several texts. The works of Elias Fonsalada (fl. 1190-1225) and Elias d'Ussel (1190-1240) contained no post-verbal negative particles whatsoever, and those of Aimeric de Sarlat (fl. 1200-?) contained just one token of one post-verbal negative particle: *pas*. Considering the dates their authors

were active, these works were likely produced around the same time as each other, thus constituting a synchronic snapshot of post-verbal negative particles not being used around the turn of the 13th century in Limousin. Finally, the context of New Information gradually increases in frequency as a licensing context, suggesting that the grammaticalisation of post-verbal negative particles was at a more advanced stage in Limousin than in other regions during the same period of time.

As with the Limousin data, those for Languedocien show very little variation in the post-verbal negative particles used by authors – 53 tokens of *ges* and one of *pas* – and the total percentage of all negative clauses that rely on a post-verbal negative particle is just 4%. This figure reaches a peak of 8% between 1217 and 1253, but then falls to 6% and suddenly to 0% in the works of the two latest authors. There are very few instances of Forward Inference and Pragmatic Presupposition in the Languedocien data (just 7 tokens each and those from just one author), and this observation, coupled with the evidence above, leads to the conclusion that some discourse-pragmatic statuses were not felt to warrant a post-verbal negative particle in some Old Gallo-Romance varieties.

Finally, Auvergnat shows similarities with Languedocien in that the total token count of post-verbal negative particles is 52, and these comprise *ges* alone. While I was only able to find four authors in the COM2 corpus whose writings indisputably demonstrated Auvergnat morphosyntactic characteristics, they nevertheless showed some remarkable variation between them. For example, all four were active in the late 12th and early 13th centuries, but one, the Dalfin d'Alvernhe, used no post-verbal negative particles whatsoever. Conversely, 33% of post-verbal negative particles were licensed by Forward Inference in the work of Peire Rogier, while in the work of Peirol the same rate of 33% describes the percentage of post-

verbal negative particles licensed by Explicit Mention, and this is the discourse-pragmatic context accounting for the highest number of post-verbal negative particles. This is indicative of *inter*-authorial variation, with some authors finding certain discourse-pragmatic contexts more amenable to licensing post-verbal negative particles than others, and other authors finding differently. Further research into *intra*-authorial variation needs to be conducted to discover whether a consistent pattern emerges across a single author's work.

§3.6 Discussion

§3.6.1 Actuation

Now that the major findings from the data have been outlined, it is necessary to address the question of actuation by providing an account of the syntactic innovation we observe.[49] In this section I will address some of the explanations that have been proposed for the addition of a post-verbal particle, viz. communicative saliency and semantic/syntactic ambiguity. I will also argue that it makes more sense to treat pre- and post-verbal negators as formally *and* functionally different, that the functionality of both is eventually assumed by post-verbal negators alone, and that we should look upon the pragmatic variations in Old Gallo-Romance negators as being cyclical in nature.

Thus, what might be the reasons behind the presence of these particles and the influence information-structure has on their genesis and development? It has already been noted by Bybee *et al*. (1994: 297) that 'everything that happens to the meaning of a gram happens

[49] Weinreich *et al*. (1968: 102) first introduced the idea of the 'actuation problem' in the following terms: 'What factors can account for the actuation of changes? Why do changes in a structural feature take place in a particular language at a particular time, but not in other languages with the same feature, or in the same language at other times?'

because of the contexts in which it is used', and the influence of information-structure on the syntax of post-verbal negative particles is not the only instantiation of this. Correlates can also be observed for the role that discursive context and the negotiation of meaning play in syntacticisation in general (Traugott 2010: 13-15; Waltereit 2012: 5; Brinton and Traugott 2017: 561) and in particular in the syntacticisation of subject pronouns in Old French (Detges 2006), in *est-ce que* as an interrogative particle in Modern French (Waltereit and Detges 2008: 14-15, 18), and in discourse markers and modal particles in French and Spanish (Waltereit and Detges 2007: 68-75).

A plausible explanation for the addition of a post-verbal particle, proposed by Fonseca-Greber (2017), is communicative saliency, i.e. 'the way(s) a speaker makes her utterance stand out from the surrounding discourse context' (Fonseca-Greber 2017: 124). She also asserts that there is a 'cross-linguistic proclivity of speakers to recruit forms with which to emphasise negation in order to convey the emotive function'. While this is a superficially attractive explanation for why speakers might decide to use an alternative strategy to monopartite negation, it does not account for the means by which this alternative took hold, and assumes a rather sudden emergence. The facilitative context in which these particles arose has, however, been proposed by Hansen (2009) who believes that, to move from a situation of optional post-verbal negation (Neg1.5) to one of obligatory post-verbal negation (Neg2), syntactic ambiguity and semantic ambiguity are required in the form of 'loose Janus-faced' contexts. These are contexts where 'the negated clauses are backwards oriented in the sense of being discourse-old, [but] they are at the same time forwards oriented in the sense of expressing a contrast with the contents of the immediately following clause' (Hansen 2009: 243). One such example from my data is (38) where we are told that Saint Lambert is resting (his intention to

do so having already been established by the preceding text) and then comes the warning that armed soldiers are arriving who wish to do him harm:

(38) *Encore* *n'* *estoit* *il* ***mie*** *endormiz*,
Still NEG be.IMP.3SG he **NEG** sleep.PP
ainz *se* *reposoit* *beneureusement*,
ADV REFL rest.IMP.3SG beneficently
qant *uns* *des* *serjans* *eisi* *de* *la* *meson*,
when one PART sergeants exit.PP from the house,
qui *vit* *venir* *Duedon* *tot* *armé* *et*
who see.PRT.3SG come.INF Duedon completely arm.PP and
avec *lui* *sa* *cruel* *compaingnie*.
with him his cruel company.
'He [Saint Lambert] had still not fallen asleep, but was resting soundly, when one of the sergeants came out of the house and saw Duedon armed from head to toe and accompanied by his cruel band of men'.
(Anonymous, *Vie de Saint Lambert*)

Such a transition from clearly presupposed to completely new information was, suggested Schwegler (1988: 48), facilitated by 'a significant increase in the frequency of such a construction'. This, he said, would eventually lead to '…a loss of its presuppositional value, whence speakers may extend the use of the construction to all negative predications'. The term 'frequency' here means 'frequency of occurrence', and it should be noted at this stage that this does not mean to suggest that the more frequently a particle is used, the more frequent it becomes. Rather, the more frequent a particle is used, the less marked it becomes,

and the more pragmatic contexts it can appear in. It must be remembered, however, that while increased frequency of a construction is held to be insufficient to trigger changes in the core properties of a grammar (Meisel *et al*. 2013: 171), it is nevertheless thought to precede and at least encourage such changes (Willis 2017: 499).

With this in mind, and knowing as we do that bipartite negation did eventually come to negate utterances of every discourse status, including New Information, we would expect to find bipartite negation being used increasingly in New Information contexts. However, with the exceptions of Parisien and Gascon, this is not the case and there is no clear pattern to suggest it. In fact, Hansen (2009: 243-244) found that the percentage of New Information clauses that were being negated by *ne* alone actually *increased* over time as the bipartite structure came to be associated ever more with given information, thus reinforcing the pre-verbal particle's role as a marker of new information. Her data came from only four texts she classified very generally as being 'Old French' and thus inter- and intra-varietal variation is absent from her study. It is interesting to note in relation to the data collected for my study that, amongst the *oïl* tokens, the highest rates of New Information triggering post-verbal negative particles all come from texts that post-date those used by Hansen (2009), viz. the Poitevin *Vieux Coustumier de Normandie* (c. 1451) at a rate of 20%, the Picard *Livre de la Passion* (c. 1300) at 23%, and the Parisien *De la Érudition* (c. 1360) at 20%. This is noteworthy because all three are comparatively late in date and two out of three are in prose, suggesting that New Information may have begun to be negated by a bipartite structure sometime in the 14th century in Northern Gaul and initially in prose.

With the benefit of *ex-post* information, we can be certain that bipartite negation did eventually obtain across the majority of Gallo-Romance varieties, whether in the 14th century

or earlier, but at differing rates. In nearly all of the data collected, post-verbal particles featured at least once in a text, but there were some exceptions to this. For example, we would expect earlier texts to show a lower rate of post-verbal negation than later ones, but in Limousin the troubadors Elias Fonsalada and Elias d'Ussel (fl. 1190-1225/1240) show a categorical absence of post-verbal negative particles, while earlier Limousin authors use them several times. Why might this be?

Aside from internally motivated explanations already advanced (see Ch. 3 of Breitbarth *et al*. 2020), one potential explanation is that external sociolinguistic factors have some influence on this phenomenon. It must be remembered that the Variation and Change model of sociolinguistics works on the assumption of the existence of patterned, structured linguistic heterogeneity in the form of linguistic variables, i.e. co-existing alternative ways *of saying the same thing*. The choice of alternative can be determined by external social constraints like class, sex, age, etc. and internal linguistic ones, such as the grammatical category of a word or the type and function of a subject in a clause (Tagliamonte 2011: 7). However, we are not dealing with different ways of saying the same thing here, i.e. functional equivalents, nor in the case of the Limousin example are we dealing with speakers from significantly different backgrounds or areas.

With regard to functional equivalency, we have already seen that monopartite and bipartite negation have served different functions at different times, and thus the Principle of No Synonymy is relevant here, namely that 'if two constructions are syntactically distinct, they must be semantically or pragmatically distinct' (Goldberg 1995: 67).[50] In other words, monopartite and bipartite negation are not only formally distinct, but also functionally

[50] See also Bolinger (1968: 127)

distinct, thus highlighting the influence that discourse-pragmatics have on their presence or absence in the clause. In contrast, the particular choice of post-verbal particle, e.g. *pas* vs. *mie*, is almost certainly determined by extra-linguistic factors, *pace* Hansen (2009). Yet, as these are mere alternative surface variants deriving from the same underlying structure, they do not concern us here. Instead, what is more noteworthy is that northern Gallo-Romance varieties moved from Neg1 through Neg1.5 to Neg2 (as detailed in Table 15 below) earlier than southern varieties did and, alongside this, New Information comes to be negated by Neg2 strategies earlier in the north than in the south. In Chapter 5, I provide a sociolinguistic explanation behind this north/south disparity and argue that the centralisation of administration, law, and governance in what is now the Île-de-France region led to the emergence of Parisien as a prestige dialect in the 15th and 16th centuries. This variety was emulated widely by virtue of its acrolectal status, and there emerged a greater production and dissemination of written laws and edicts in this variety, the consumption of which helped to establish *pas* as the default sentential negator in Modern Standard French.

To recapitulate, and drawing on Table 15 below, Old Gallo-Romance negation evolves from a Neg1 stage of universal pre-verbal negation in *oïl* and *oc* where utterances of discourse-old and discourse-new status are negated by one strategy alone: that of pre-verbal *ne* or *no(n)*. Then comes an intermediate stage (1.5) where some discourse statuses are negated by a pre-verbal particle alone, and some by both a pre-verbal *and* a post-verbal particle. Then comes stage Neg2 where all clauses are obligatorily negated by both a pre-verbal and post-verbal particle. Following this, there is Neg2.5 where the once obligatory pre-verbal particle now becomes optional, but the post-verbal particle has become obligatory. Finally, in stage Neg3, the post-verbal particle has become mandatory and the pre-verbal particle is categorically lost.

Stage	Negative Strategy	French Equivalent	Dates (according to dates of texts studied)
Neg1	Ne/non(n) + ø	Je ne vais	< 1150 in *oïl* and ≤ 1071 in *oc*
Neg1.5	Ne/no(n) + (optional) DP complement	Je ne vais (un pas)	1150-1451 in *oïl* and 1071-1270 in *oc*
Neg2	Ne/no(n) + obligatory post-verbal negative particle	Je ne vais pas	1451 ≥ in *oïl* and 1270 ≥ in *oc*
Neg2.5	(Optional) ne/no(n) + obligatory post-verbal negative particle	Je (ne) vais pas	1451 ≥ in *oïl* and 1270 ≥ in *oc*
Neg3	Ø + post-verbal negative particle	Je vais pas	Attained already in Modern Occitan and some varieties of French, but not in Modern Standard French

Table 15
(Stages of Old Gallo-Romance Negation)

According to my data, prior to 1150 in *oïl* and 1071 in *oc*, post-verbal particles begin to be used first as DP complements to the matrix verb (see Table 15 above) to make more informative negative utterances before being relied on more frequently (Detges and Waltereit 2002), and potentially in contexts beyond their strictly delineated discourse-old contexts (Hansen 2009).[51] Then, through the generalisation of their grammatical function, semantic bleaching, and the ultimate expansion of their licensing contexts, these former DP complements began to exercise wider morphosyntactic functions. They finally assumed the function of sentential operators and qualifiers, and were incorporated into the scope of predicate negation, which can formally be captured in a variety of ways, often entailing base-generation or movement to a dedicated NegP (Pollock 1989: 414; Rowlett 1992: 156-162;

[51] Battlori (2016: 358) makes the valid point that, once *mie*/*mica*, *goutte*/*gota* etc. begin to appear with intransitive verbs, they can no longer be part of a nominal phrase.

Schapansky 2002; Zeijlstra 2009; De Swart 2010). Once the post-verbal particle underwent reanalysis as the principal exponent of negation, this discontinuous negation became 'pragmatically unmarked' (Harris 1978: 256; Schwegler 2013: 158), both cognitively and functionally, and gained in syntactic complexity, leading to a negative concord interpretation of the nonveridical structure. A pragmatic change, concomitant with the syntactic one, was clearly also operational with respect to negation in Old Gallo-Romance, especially in the addition of a post-verbal particle that had lost its nominal content but which had gained a semanticised pragmatic implicature (Sweetser 1988).

At this early transformative stage, however, my data show that the pre-verbal particle is still able to mark all discourse statuses in *langue d'oïl* and *langue d'oc* varieties.[52] In terms of discourse-pragmatics, the DPs occupying the VP complement position that eventually became post-verbal particles were originally cognitively marked, i.e. used to indicate discourse-oldness and propositions activated in the short-term memory of interlocutors, while *ne* + ø retained its function as a marker of discourse-newness.[53] The interpretation of this new bipartite negation was not, at first, one of negative concord, i.e. where two negative markers form one negative interpretation, but rather one of Double Negation, i.e. where 'two negative markers cancel their value to yield a positive interpretation' (Larrivée 2016a: 117). Larrivée and others make the point that Double Negation is, by its very nature, marked and that 'one potential explanation for Double Negation markedness is that it involves a specific informational partition where one negative sequence is discourse-old and rejected by a discourse-new negative' (Larrivée 2016a: 178; c.f. Zeijlstra 2004, De Swart 2010, Espinal and

[52] Cf. Wartburg (1937: 120) who found that, in the 13th century, *pas* still retained some of its original lexical meaning of 'step', and with *ne* in only 1 out of 10 cases.

[53] Greenberg (1966: 50) makes the early observation about finding 'evidence for the marked character of the negative as opposed to the positive'.

Prieto 2011, Puskás 2012). Thus, there existed a situation where information structure was encoded in two different negative strategies: discourse-new information in *ne/no(n)* + ø and discourse-old information in *ne/no(n)* + PARTICLE.

As Batllori (2016: 348) has remarked, 'the availability of two or more variants in the same phase [stage] can result into (i) register (ii) region or (iii) discourse-pragmatics specialisation', and I argue that her third proposal accounts for what we observe across these Old Gallo-Romance varieties and in my data. Moreover, I suggest that the transition from mono- to bipartite negation that we see in the *oïl* varieties, and the ultimate pragmatic unmarking this undergoes, is simply a more advanced stage of the same pragmatic continuum that *langue d'oc* varieties find themselves on, but the latter did not reach this stage of contextual and pragmatic generalisation until the 16th century (Lafont 1970: 84-88; Schwegler 1983: 307). That said, Modern Occitan even goes beyond this, and a stage further than French has, to reach Neg4, making the post-verbal particle the principal exponent of negation at the expense of *no(n)*:

(39)	*Deve*	***pas***	*ieu*	*prendre*	*une*	*corde?*
	Should.PRS.1SG	NEG	I	Take.INF	a	rope

'Shouldn't I take a rope?'

(Quoted in Lafont 1970: 262)

But this has never obtained categorically:

(40)	***N'***	*es*	***pas***	*du*	*tout*	*ren*	*difficile*
	NEG	be.PRS.3SG	NEG	PART	all	thing	difficult.

‘It is not at all a difficult thing’

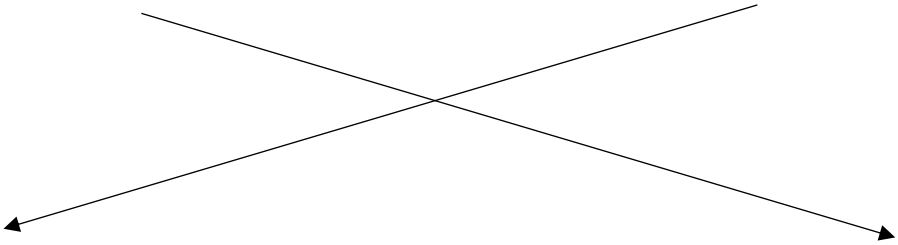
(Quoted in Lafont 1970: 265)

Negation in Modern Standard French, on the other hand, is currently between stages Neg2 and Neg2.5 in that a post-verbal particle alone suffices to express sentential negation, but Neg2 nevertheless remains the default form, especially in Standard written French. Informal spoken French has, however, now reached the monopartite Stage 3. These stages, like the transitional stages of negation in Old Gallo-Romance, viz. from Neg1 to Neg1.5, were subject to pragmatic marking and unmarking. Fonseca-Greber (2007) maintains that the previously unmarked *ne…pas* is now regaining its marked status, especially in informal varieties of Swiss French. Similarly, according to Hansen (2011), stage Neg3 is becoming unmarked through a process of exaptation (Lass 1990: 80; Hansen 2011: 579),[54] akin to what has occurred in Modern Occitan, and the retention of *ne* now imparts more communicative force than *pas* alone does as it undergoes pragmatic renewal, illustrated by Figure 7 below.

[54] ‘Exaptation’ was originally coined by Gould and Vrba (1982) to describe biological structures that evolved for functions other than those they ultimately ended up fulfilling (compare ‘adaptation’), but Lass (1990: 80) adopts the term to describe ‘the opportunistic co-optation of a feature whose origin is unrelated or only marginally related to its later use. In other words (loosely) a “conceptual novelty” or “invention”’.

Medieval French

Subj *ne* [obligatory, pragmatically neutral] Vb (*pas*) [optional, pragmatically marked]



Subj (*ne* [optional, pragmatically marked]) Vb *pas* [obligatory, pragmatically neutral]

Contemporary French

Figure 7

Reproduced from Hansen (2018a)

Yet, as there is little evidence that the post-verbal marker will become the head of NegP (except perhaps in some French-based creoles),[55] and thereby complete Jespersen's Cycle, a pragmatic cycle is a more appropriate explanation for the changes we observe in negative strategies in Old Gallo-Romance (Ghezzi and Molinelli 2014; Hansen 2014; Hansen 2018a).[56] A pragmatically-driven cycle is a relatively recent suggestion in scholarship as cycles previously examined have, in the main, been either morphosyntactic (Wallage 2008; Van Gelderen (ed.) 2009, 2011) or phonological in nature (Kiparsky 1982; Bermúdez-Otero and Trousdale 2012). On the other hand, Hansen (2018a) identified semantic/pragmatic changes operating in a 'quasi-cyclic' manner between French and Latin temporal adverbs, and suggested that future research ought to consider whether there are 'subtypes of semantic/pragmatic cycles' that occur across languages (Hansen 2018a: 19). In relation to my data, and in light of the evidence above that exponents of negation have moved from being

[55] See Rottet (1992) and Déprez (2001) for a discussion of how post-verbal negative particles in French-based creoles are affected by verb-raising and of their placement in relation to tense/mood/aspect markers.

[56] Meillet (1921 [1912]: 140) did, however, remark that 'cycle' *sensu stricto* is not a wholly accurate term to apply to morphosyntactic changes demonstrating cyclicity and, instead, 'spiral' is more appropriate as the end point is never completely identical to the start.

pragmatically marked to pragmatically unmarked and back to being pragmatically marked again, I propose that this constitutes sufficient evidence of a diachronic pragmatic alternation, if not a subtype of pragmatic cycle, operating in addition to the contiguous morphosyntactic one already recognised as accounting for exponents of negation in Old Gallo-Romance.

In sum, this section has provided evidence of so-called 'loose Janus-faced contexts' that facilitate the transition from optional to obligatory post-verbal negation, which operates to maximise communicative saliency. It has advanced the observation from the data, and contrary to expectation, that bipartite negations do *not* show a steady increase in use with new information over time, but there is nevertheless a marked increase in their use in prose texts of the late 13th century and the 14th century, suggesting that the point of change is likely to be around this time and facilitated by prose as a vehicle for transmission. We have also seen that, contrary to expectation, later works do not necessarily show higher levels of bipartite negation than earlier ones, e.g. in the Limousin troubadour œuvre of the late 12th and early 13th centuries, which suggests that pre- and post-verbal negations were not yet functional equivalents but instead served different information-structural purposes, and the early instantiation of the latter should be classed as Double Negation rather than Negative Concord. Finally, I proposed that it makes sense to view the pragmatic changes in Old Gallo-Romance and subsequently Modern French negation as operating according to a pragmatic cycle that is concomitant with the more conspicuous morphosyntactic one at work.

§3.6.2 The Role of Context

It was proposed in §3.6.1 that so-called 'loose Janus-faced contexts' might be responsible for the pragmatic development of Old Gallo-Romance negation, especially in light of the findings

of Hansen (2009). Adopting a usage-based framework, I propose that this pragmatic ambiguity triggers what we eventually observe as a syntactic change, and that we are dealing with a qualitative shift, i.e. reanalysis, in the Neg1.5 > Neg2 construction. The most plausible means by which this occurs is context-induced reinterpretation (Heine and Reh 1984: Detges and Waltereit 2002: 151-170; van der Auwera 2009: 7; Larrivée 2014a: 40-49).

Sometimes referred to as the 'onset context', 'bridging context', or 'switch context', this transitionary context is characterised by pragmatic ambiguity and features an inferential mechanism that places focus on a new 'target' meaning in contrast to the pre-existing 'source' meaning. The target meaning would then require acceptance by the interlocutors if change is to occur. The pragmatic meaning is then 'semanticised' as the 'conventional meaning of the form, independent of context' (Brinton and Traugott 2017: 560), a process termed 'context-absorption' by Kuteva (2001: 150). This change, argue Evans and Wilkins (2000: 550), occurs because 'speech participants do not detect any problem of different assignments of meaning to the form because both…interpretations of the utterance in context are functionally equivalent, even if the relative contributions of lexical content and pragmatic enrichment differ'.

We have attested the significant presence of implicatures in the data above, and it is these that have been credited with bringing about 'context-induced reinterpretation' (Heine *et al*. 1991: 213; Heine and Kuteva 2002: 2) or 'invited inferencing' (Hopper and Traugott 2002: 82), triggering grammaticalisation, and eventually bringing about a grammatical change where monopartite negation becomes inadmissible as the major exponent of negation (Traugott and König 1991: 208; Evans and Wilkins 2000: 550-565; Heine 2002: 85; Diewald 2002: 106, 2006: 5).

As previously stated, pragmatic inferences abound in the data collected from over five centuries of *langue d'oïl* and *langue d'oc* sources. Far from presenting a polarised picture of negation and information-structure where one exponent of negation is used exclusively for one discourse-status at any point, we find all statuses co-occurring with mono- and bipartite clausal negation, many of these constituting the onset contexts responsible for bringing about eventual syntactic change.

On a definitive individual level, it is still unclear whether this is a change that can occur in real-time over a speaker's lifetime or whether this is a case of inter-generational change caused by reanalysis with acquisition of the new exponent of negation occurring passively in childhood (Lightfoot 1991: 173; Croft 2001: 87; Roberts 2007: 123; Bybee 2010: 1-13). It has been demonstrated by Petré and van de Velde (2018) that reanalysis, grammaticalisation, and conventionalisation can occur during a single lifetime, in this instance for the *be going to* INF construction, but a longitudinal study over the course of an author's lifetime is still wanting for us to be able to say with any certainty whether the Neg1.5 > Neg2 change can occur within an individual's grammar over his/her lifetime.

§3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have looked at which discourse-pragmatic constraints operate on, and therefore influence, the syntax of negative strategies in Old Gallo-Romance between 1051 and 1451 AD. I found a higher rate of bipartite clausal negation in *langue d'oïl* texts, in prose, and at later dates than I did in *langue d'oc* texts, in verse, and at earlier dates – the overall rate of post-verbal negation in *oc* varieties being just one third of that in *oïl* varieties. This suggests

that the process of grammaticalisation and concomitant syntactic reanalysis was slower to take hold in southern Old Gallo-Romance varieties than in northern ones.

Regarding the prevalence of discourse-statuses, Explicit Mention accounted for the majority of instances licensing bipartite negation but, despite reasonable expectation, I did not find a clear increase over time of New Information contexts being negated by bipartite negation. *Oïl* varieties nevertheless had a far higher rate of this than *oc* varieties, suggesting that there was a decrease in paradigmatic variation, itself indicative of more advanced grammaticalisation. I did, however, find that the few 15th-century *oïl* data available and collected, incidentally much later than those collected by Hansen (2009), were characterised by a more advanced stage of grammaticalisation, and it therefore appears that further research ought to be conducted into texts of this late date as it seems likely that this was the century in which the syntactic change took hold and grammaticalisation neared completion.

In terms of pre-verbal particles in *langue d'oc* varieties, I found that *non* was far more prevalent in Provence, while *no* held the majority of tokens for Gascony, Limousin, and the Languedoc, suggesting an East-West divide. In *langue d'oïl* varieties, *ne* was the categorical pre-verbal negative particle. As for post-verbal particles, *pas* was the most common in *oïl* varieties, followed closely by *mie*, while in the South *ges* was by far the most common post-verbal particle, accounting for 97% of all post-verbal negative particles.

From the above I drew the conclusion that, while both northern and southern varieties were following the same morphosyntactic and pragmatic trajectories, *langue d'oïl* varieties underwent such changes as the recruitment of a post-verbal particle and pragmatic unmarking earlier than *langue d'oc* varieties did, but *langue d'oc* varieties ultimately went a step further

in the end and developed monopartite negation with just a post-verbal particle as their default negative strategy (Neg3), while Modern Standard French remains at Neg2.5. I then proposed that the pattern of marking and unmarking we find for the same negators must be, if not a subtype of cycle, then at least a consistent pragmatic alternation operating on Old Gallo-Romance negation.

Finally, I discussed the role that context has played in the reanalysis and advancement of the grammaticalisation process for these negative markers, showing that so-called 'onset' or 'switch' contexts facilitate the interpretative transition between the two syntactically and pragmatically distinct exponents of negation. This usage-based change is helped by inferential contexts and context absorption, potentially resulting in a possible syntactic change over a speaker's lifetime.

Chapter 4

The Diachronic and Diatopic Spread of Negative Particles

§4 Introduction

In Chapter 2, the result of the fine-grained operationalisation of the grammaticalisation process found that nominal minimisers used to reinforce pre-verbal negation had grammaticalised more quickly into post-verbal particles in *langue d'oïl* varieties than in *langue d'oc* varieties. Moreover, by the close of the 12th century, most of these minimisers had grammaticalised fully in all Old Gallo-Romance varieties. Chapter 3 found that bipartite negation was more prevalent in *langue d'oïl* texts, in prose texts, and in later texts than it was in *langue d'oc* texts, in verse texts, and in earlier texts. It also found that Explicit Mention was by far the most common licensing context for bipartite clausal negation in northern and southern varieties, New Information as a licensing context did not increase over time, and 'Loose Janus-faced contexts' facilitated the transition from the Neg1.5 stage to Neg2 stage of negation. Chapter 4 will build on the secondary finding of Chapter 3, namely that there was an uneven distribution of both pre-verbal and post-verbal particles across the regions studied and distinct concentrations of these in particular areas, e.g. *non* was categorical in Provence and *ne* in the north.

Since the work of Kayne (1989, 1996, 2005), Westergaard and Vangsnes (2005), and Poletto (2013), it has been clear that diatopic microvariational studies can use dialectal data to inform us about syntactic structure. With regard to Old French, and specifically *oïl* dialects, less formal approaches to microvariation are not uncharted territory and have received attention

notably from Meder (1891), Price (1962b, 1984, 1986, 1997), Offord (1976), Gregory (1997), and Schøsler and Völker (2014). But, as the latter observe, 'traditional accounts of the distribution of *ne…ø*, *ne…mie*, *ne…pas*, and *ne…point* have usually investigated just one of a number of possible factors of variation' (Schøsler and Völker 2014: 132) or have been textually, synchronically, or dialectally restricted.[57] For example, Meder (1891) found that *mie* increases from the mid-12th century in Anglo-Norman and Norman, but otherwise *pas* is the dominant particle in these varieties. He found that *mie* predominates in Lorrain but rivals *pas* in Picard and Walloon. In Parisian, he found that *pas* predominates in most texts and that by the 16th century *mie* had nearly disappeared as a negative reinforcer (Meder 1891: 26). Price (1962b), on the other hand, examined several *oïl* varieties and found that *pas* was the dominant particle in Parisian, Norman, Anglo-Norman, central, and western dialects while *mie* was more common in Picardy, Lorraine, and Walloon. He also found that *nient* was a common exponent of negation in northern Burgundy.

Another study focusing on the diatopic and diachronic spread of post-verbal negation in *oïl* varieties is that of Gregory (1997) who considered two texts from Wallonia, one from Picardy, and one from Champagne. In the late 12th-century Walloon *Sermones in Cantica of St. Bernard*, he found that *mie* overwhelmingly predominated and that there were 1170 tokens of it against 720 tokens of *ne* + ø, demonstrating that post-verbal negation was already very well established in the North East of France by this date. This predominance of *mie* continued across the North East of France (e.g. in the Lorraine, Vosges, Meuse, and Meurthe-et-Moselle departments) and Wallonia at least until the late 19th century, when the *Atlas Linguistique de*

[57] I treat the term 'dialect' as corresponding to the explanation given by Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998: 2), viz. 'a neutral label to refer to any variety of a language which is shared by a group of speakers'. Hence, 'dialect' and 'variety' are used interchangeably in this thesis.

la France was compiled.[58] However, in the Walloon *Psalter Commentary for Laurette d'Alsace*, also dating from the late 12th-century, Gregory (1997) found 850 tokens of *mie* but 945 instantiations of negation without it, suggesting that geography and date are not the only influences on the choice of negative exponent, and that authorial preference very likely plays a role. Gregory also looks at *La Conquête de Constantinople* and, as explained below in §4.5, the only minimiser this text features is *mie*. The final text he considers is the *Chronicle of Villehardouin* from Champagne, and he found 151 tokens of *ne* + ø and 135 tokens of *ne* + PARTICLE, of which 124 tokens were *mie*, 7 *pas*, and 3 *goutte*. From his small-scale study, it is at least immediately clear that geography and time do not determine which particles are used in certain areas and at certain times.

In short, these limited investigations have naturally left behind an incomplete account of post-verbal negation in Old Gallo-Romance, which this chapter aims to remedy by focusing on the following research questions:

i) What, if any, variation can be observed diachronically and diatopically amongst post-verbal negative particles in Old Gallo-Romance?

ii) Where, if anywhere, are there 'clusters' of particles, and do these alter over time?

iii) Does prosody affect the presence or absence of post-verbal particles and, if so, how?

iv) Is there any evidence for the onset of *pas* as default post-verbal negator and, if so, when and where?

[58] See Map 896 for a spread of *ne…pas* and *ne…mie*: http://lig-tdcge.imag.fr/cartodialect5/#/visualiseur.

v) What are the principle differences in post-verbal negation between *oïl* and *oc* varieties?

This chapter will answer these questions by studying the areal *and* diachronic distribution of these particles within a single study, thus enabling closer comparisons to be drawn between the *oc* and *oïl* dialects and, ultimately, to identify any patterned variation and focal and transitional dialectal areas in the diffusion of the innovation of post-verbal negation. It will begin by outlining the geographical and dialectal landscape of France during the Middle Ages, which will form the background to the study, before turning to the methodology employed and a presentation of the data being used. I will then provide an analysis of the data followed by a discussion of the results before drawing my conclusions.

§4.1 Background

It is commonly agreed that, by the 10th century, the broad dialectal divisions of the *langue d'oïl* and *langue d'oc* had already been established across Gaul (Wartburg 1937: 81; Rickard 1987: 47-50; Lodge 1993: 71; Walter 1996: 28; Battye *et al*. 2000: 11), and that at least some *langue d'oïl* and *langue d'oc* sub-varieties are identifiable from this early stage.[59] What is more, Dees (1985: 111-112) found considerable stability in the areal distribution of regional variants between the Middle Ages and the modern age within isoglosses that have remained substantially the same as a result. However, a caveat must be invoked here as these

[59] *Langue d'oïl* and *langue d'oc* were terms rarely used in the Middle Ages and are not attested pre-1284 (Lusignan and Gervais 2011: 114).

'isoglosses' have never been anything more than artificial geographical cleavages formulated from an aggregate of dialectal traits.[60] As Meyer (1875: 294-295) noted:

> *Aucun groupe de dialectes, de quelque façon qu'il soit formé, ne saurait constituer une famille naturelle, par la raison que le dialecte (qui représente l'espèce) n'est lui-même qu'une conception assez arbitraire de notre esprit. Voici en effet comment nous procédons pour constituer un dialecte. Nous choisissons dans le langage d'un pays déterminé un certain nombre de phénomènes dont nous faisons les caractères du langage de ce pays.*
>
> 'No group of dialects, in whatever way it is formed, can constitute a natural family because a dialect (which represents the species) is itself no more than a quite arbitrary notion of our imagination. This is how we go about making a dialect. We choose from the speech of a given area a certain number of phenomena which we use to create the speech of that area.' (Meyer 1875: 294-295)

It is therefore necessary, argued Lodge (1993: 74), that we avoid the assumption of any great homogeneity within these linguistic zones, not least because it is impossible that any 'pure' form of a variety or sub-variety ever existed.[61] Moreover, the distortionary effect of an isogloss is to imply that variation is 'geographically abrupt' (Trudgill 1984: 47), despite an acknowledgment of so-called 'transitionary zones' like Poitou and Eastern France/Switzerland (Andreose and Renzi 2013: 297), whereas the more realistic likelihood is the existence of dialect continua with lexical and morpho-syntactic features being common to several dialects across the territory. As Wilson (2012: 29) notes, dialectal divisions are confusing as the areal dispersion of diagnostic variants is difficult to plot with any degree of confidence, and therefore isoglosses corresponding to modern-day dialectal boundaries are often used and the dialectologist 'projects backwards with some alteration'; this is the case for Old Occitan boundaries. For this reason, Bec (1963: 35) suggests it is more prudent to talk of 'complexus dialectaux' than 'dialectes' *per se* as 'dialects' and 'sub-dialects' imply discrete

[60] One of the principle 'traits' that separates the *oïl* varieties from the *oc* and Franco-Provençal ones is the raising of Latin tonic /a/ to /e/ (Smith 2016: 313).

[61] See Pooley (2012) for a revised approach to Gallo-Romance dialectology.

and definitive borders, which give a false impression of the fluidity of the linguistic boundaries that existed.

Nevertheless, for purposes of exposition, isoglosses are a useful means by which the broad dialectal divisions can be illustrated and visualised, even if the true picture is a great deal more complex.[62] As seen in Figure 8 below, there is a generally accepted boundary between the *langue d'oïl* and *langue d'oc* regions that runs above Limousin from La Rochefoucauld to Roanne, and is known as *le croissant* ('the crescent'). This area is a so-called 'transitionary zone', the language of which is characterised mostly by *oc* traits (substantial lexicon and morphology) and with the syntax, phonology, and select modern lexicon of *oïl* (Quint 1996, 1998). This is, however, an idealised delimitation of a very complex distribution of dialectal traits and is, therefore, far from absolute or decisive.

The *oc* dialects south of this border, which were the first to develop a *koiné* in the 12th century (Andreose and Renzi 2013: 297), were placed in three distinct groupings by Bec (1963: 37-52) of Northern Occitan, Meridional Occitan, and Gascon. The first group comprises Limousin, Provençal Alpin, and Auvergnat, and these are thought to be more phonologically diverse and syntactically similar to French than other varieties (Wheeler 1988: 246). The second group comprises Languedocien (which Bec further subdivides into four more groups) and Provençal; this is the most linguistically conservative set of varieties and the least remote from their medieval antecedents (Bec 1963: 44). Finally, Bec places Gascon on its own as he sees it as 'une entité ethnique et linguistique tout à fait originale' ('a completely original ethnic and linguistic entity') (Bec 1963: 47).

[62] See Sneddon (2020) for the difficulty of determining distinct linguistic varieties on the basis of textual admixtures.



Figure 8

Reproduced from Offord (1990)

The northern Gallo-Romance varieties, separated into four dialectal zones as early as the 13th century by Roger Bacon (1897: 80-81), were (and still are) distinguished by greater uniformity than their *oc* counterparts, likely as a result of their being influenced earlier than southern varieties by the adstratum of Parisian speech (De Planhol 1994: 127). Nevertheless, they retained most of their idiosyncrasies until after the decline of feudalism and the fall into obsolescence of regional varieties for administrative purposes when the influence of Parisian as a prestige variant was most keenly felt (Ager 1999: 17), however they never lost all of their dialectal traits (Dagnac 2015: 129; McCrea 2019: 38).

Having now introduced the geography of the *langues d'oïl* and *langues d'oc* I will turn to the methodology employed to narrow the focus of this study. I will begin by explaining how texts were chosen for examination before turning to the methodological problems inherent in such a task. I will then present the results of the few studies that have made some progress in the same direction before turning to the presentation of my own chosen method of analysis.

§4.2 Methodology

Having established that there was great dialectal heterogeneity in Gaul during the Middle Ages, and that Old Gallo-Romance varieties could differ from one another in their phonology, morphology, and syntax, it is now pertinent to explain the reasons behind the choice of varieties for this chapter. It is worth saying at this stage that the paucity of extant data with which to conduct a large-scale dialectal investigation of Old Gallo-Romance varieties has meant that I have had to prioritise those dialects offering the most available texts.

In order to maintain consistency and reliability, I will be using the same data as I did in Chapters 2 and 3, that is to say mainly verse texts alongside some prose data for comparative purposes from the BFM, COM2, and ARTFL corpora. That said, many have argued that prose data are superior for investigating syntactic variables. For instance, Ingham (2011: 146) justifiably notes that verse is problematic in studies of diachronic syntax as the periodisation of the texts in which these data are found, namely literary texts, is made all the more difficult through their lack of established provenance. Larrivée (2019: 4) has likewise argued that relying on literary texts 'presents a challenge in determining whether patterns of evolution relate to regional differences, textual differences such as the prose/verse distinction, or a general ongoing syntactic change'. This is because there are always temporal intervals (often

spanning centuries) between the original composition of a work and the extant witnesses of that work. Moreover, copyists understandably adapted works to suit the comprehension of their target audience, producing a circumstance where a composition originally written in Champenois might see its later copies adapted into Poitevin or Gascon, resulting in dialect mixture or perhaps even complete modification (Doyle and Parkes 1978; Laing 1988; van Mulken 1993; Horobin 2016).

I have averted these problems by using the dates and dialects attributed to the *manuscripts* by the compilers of the corpora, rather than the assumed dates and dialects of the original works. This does not obviate all methodological challenges, however, and it must be remembered that the dates attached to the manuscripts are putative at best. In terms of text choice, it must be remembered that the variable examined in this chapter is one which arises mostly in narrative settings. As the post-verbal particle was originally used as a rhetorically emphatic strategy aiming at maximum informativity, it stands to reason that it would occur mostly in dyadic and polyphonic discourse situations. As Nkollo (2000: 253) remarked in relation to the Old Occitan *Costuma d'Agen*, 'one can easily imagine that a legal codex is not a favourable locus for this kind of emphatic expression'. For this reason, verse data are necessary to achieve dialectal diversity and taxonomic coherence since sufficient quantities of prose data are not available for some Old Gallo-Romance varieties to make the study a representative one.[63]

This does not mean, however, that texts such as charters, the telos of which is the communication of information, avoid relying on rhetorical strategies like post-verbal

[63] This is just one inevitable disadvantage of using what Remacle (1948) and Völker (2003) termed *scriptae* and Fleischman (2000) 'text languages', i.e. 'older stages of living languages...amenable to scrutiny only insofar as [they have] been constituted in the form of extant texts' (Fleischman 2000: 33-34).

negation. This would be counter-productive from a communicative point of view as we know negation carries a substantial communicative load, and this is especially so with regard to post-verbal negative particles, if we assume that they are compensating for the weakened communicative force of their pre-verbal counterpart (Dryer 1988: 99, 102).

Schøsler and Völker (2014: 142) found that the principle section of a charter, the *narratio*, contains a great deal of post-verbal negation relative to the other formally-delineated sections as it is the only one which can permit any negation due to its being an account of the charter's purpose. That said, instances of reinforced negation in their study of charters are still outnumbered considerably by *ne* + ø, 27.95% to 72.05%. This is in line with expectation as the *narratio* constitutes one large embedded clause which is subordinated to a formulaic *publicatio* comprising an introductory sentence, e.g. *je fais savoir tous que*... ('I make known to everybody that...') (Schøsler and Völker 2014: 141). Previous research has shown that grammaticalising items will appear in independent clauses first before expanding into embedded ones (Givón 1976: 170; Hansen and Visconti 2009: 144) in addition to following a distinct order of markedness from unmarked to marked contexts (Andersen 2001: 31, 2008: 36; Bergs and Stein 2001: 79-81).

With such heterogenous data, care must be taken not to undermine the reliability of any conclusions drawn following their analysis by compounding verse and prose data as this has been shown to produce unreliable results (Simonenko, Crabbé and Prévost 2018: 397). This is especially so as curves of change differ depending on text type, with legal texts potentially showing greater evidence of change than verse ones (Balon and Larrivée 2016; Ingham 2018; Larrivée 2019: 4). As such, I have separated my verse data from the few prose data I could collect for the regions under examination. All of the Lorrain texts and all but one Parisien text

in the BFM were written in prose, and so I have used these as a control group against which to compare other *oïl* data. The accessibility of prose *oc* data is very slight, despite many legal and administrative documents being written solely in *oc* varieties from the 12th century onwards (Bec 1963: 73-74), but these are not included in any freely available online corpora, and so I have used only verse data to investigate *oc* dialects.

§4.3 Data and Discussion

§4.3.1 Data

The majority of the *oc* data come from texts produced during the period when Occitan flourished as a literary medium, viz. the 11th and 13th centuries, and amongst the troubadours especially from 1100. As such, the chronological spread of these data is not expansive, but what these data do permit is a re-evaluation of the commonly held view that there was very little linguistic variation between troubadour works from different regions. Scholars have long maintained that Old Occitan texts, including legal and administrative ones, were written in a *koine* and were therefore dialectally homogenous, thus presenting no interest to the dialectologist (Bec 1963: 74; Paden 1998: 4). But as we shall see, this is an overly simplistic view in light of the data collected, and I argue particularly for a reassessment of dialectal diversity and variation between Old Occitan varieties.[64]

Regarding the schematisation of the data, the Supplementary Materials include varietal-specific charts where the data have been arranged in chronological order by manuscript date for the *oïl* data, but by *floruit* dates of the troubadour who composed a particular text for the

[64] Dees (1988: 140-145; 1989: 125-126) argued similarly for greater acknowledgement of the linguistic diversity of these *scriptae*.

oc data as it is impossible to determine when the latter were composed exactly. In this way, the trends can be visualised easily, and comparisons made. Each chart is arranged chronologically by text to show the diachronic evolution of negation and the particular exponents of negation are plotted on it. I have used the designation *ne* + ø to represent generic pre-verbal negation without post-verbal reinforcement in all varieties, but this encompasses pre-verbal *ne*, *non*, and compounds such as *nen* and *nes*.

Taking the Champenois table and data first, as seen in the Supplementary Materials on P. 203, *ne* + ø is by far the most common exponent of negation over time, accounting for a high of 90.6% of all negative clauses before gradually falling and then rising once more between 1375 and 1400. *Pas* is the most common particle and accounts for a high of 12.48 % of negative clasues between 1280 and 1300 before falling slightly to 8.15% between 1375 and 1400; *mie* is at its highest rate in 1235 (5.35%) but falls steadily after this date and never truly competes with *pas* in any Champenois text. The one attestation across *oïl* varieties of *goutte* as an exponent of negation occurs in Champenois in the 1235 manuscript of *Érec et Énide*.

With regard to the Orléanais data, the relevant table and chart can be seen on P. 204 of the Supplementary Materials. In a similar way to the Champenois data, the Orléanais data show that *ne* + ø falls steadily over time only to rise once more at the chronological extreme, reaching its apex of 89.51% in 1443; *pas* rises between 1285 and c.1350 and then falls steadily after this date when we would expect it to continue to increase; *mie* is present in 1285 in 3.87% of negative clauses and then categorically absent until 1443 when it reaches a figure of 8.33%; *point* is the third most common exponent of negation in the 1285 *Roman de la Rose* and then absent until 1443 where it is also the third most common exponent.

For the Lorrain data, visible on P. 205, all texts in the BFM were prose texts and so form a comparative sub-group with the Parisien texts. As with the Parisien texts, there is an initial rise in *ne* + ø as an exponent before reaching its highest rate in the early 14th century. *Mie* is the first particle to appear and at a high rate of 33.11% in 1190-1200 before declining steadily over time and reaching 0% by 1300-1350. As *mie* declines, *pas* increases in attestations from 0% before 1200 to 6.64% by 1315 and 40% by 1300-1350. Out of the available Parisien texts in the BFM, all but one were in prose and so these form the sample used. As can be seen from the table and charts on P. 206, after an initial rise in *ne* + ø between 1255 and 1330, this particular exponent continues to fall steadily over time as *pas* rises steadily until 1400 when it rises sharply from 5.97% between 1389 and 1392 to 23.44% between 1400 and 1450. Equally surprising is the rate of *mie* in 1240-1255 at 16.46%, which then drops to 0% in 1330-1345, rises to 0.05% in 1389-1392, before finally returning to 0%. *Point* remains at 0% until 1389-1392 when it reaches 6.7% before dropping to 0.52% in 1400-1450.

In the Picard data (P. 207), *ne* + ø declines steadily over time as the principle exponent of negation but remains the dominant one; *pas* declines gradually from 6.73% between 1250 and 1300 to 3.24% between 1300 and 1320 before constituting the negative exponent of 18.62% of negative clauses in 1400; contrary to common opinion, *mie* does not seem to rival *pas* to any great extent in these Picard data and only ever reaches a high of 4.03% of negative clauses; *point* never reaches above 2.86%. Finally, out of the three available Poitevin texts in the BFM corpus, two were verse and one in prose and so these form the sample used. From the table and charts on P. 208, It is notable that, in the 86 years that constitute the chronological extremes of one text and the other, there is great stability between them. *Ne* + ø is still the principle exponent of negation at 87.58% in the 1180-1200 *Roman de Thèbe*s and

at 91.44% in the 1233-1266 chronicle. This is followed by *pas* at 11.77% and 7.13% and *mie* at 0.65% and 1.43% respectively.

By way of comparison, in Provençal (PP. 209-210), *ne* + ø is the dominant exponent of negation and remains steady over time, varying at most by 4.08%; this exponent reaches its apex at the latest date of post-1260. *Pas* is and *miga* do not vary greatly, being at the same rates of 0.36% in 1129-1150, 0% in 1140-1162, and 0% post-1260. *Pas* reaches a high of 0.53% to *miga*'s 0% in 1204-1272 while *miga* reaches its high of 0.79% to *pas*' 0% in 1190-1217. There does not seem to be a pattern to the behaviour of *ges*, which rises and falls indiscriminately over time. *Cap* and *guans* are attested, but with only one token apiece.
In Gascon (PP. 2111-212), as with Provençal, the rate of *ges* rises then falls alternately over time, but in Gascon the rate of *ne* + ø seems to be inversely proportional to that of *ges* for, as one increases the other decreases. *Ne* + ø remains the dominant exponent of negation over time. *Pas*, *miga*, *ponch*, and *guans* are all categorically absent and *cap* has but one token.

In Limousin (PP. 213-214), the rate of *ne* + ø never falls below 87.02% but is at 100% for two separate authors writing around the same time, viz. Elias Fonsalada (1190-1225) and Elias d'Ussel (1190-1240). The rates of *ges* vary between 0% and 12.98%, but noticeably not incrementally as these rates can vary between 2.94% in c.1200 to 12.98% between 1204 and 1222; this less suggestive of a diachronic change than it is of authorial preference or register variation. The only other particles attested are *pas* in one troubadour's work at 0.42% and *guans* in another's at 0.79%, suggesting that Limousin was linguistically conservative in terms of innovation.

In contrast, there are two Languedocien troubadours writing at around the same time as each other whose works also show a categorical rate for *ne* + ø, but notably later than in Limousin (1250-1300 rather than 1190-1240), which again could be indicative of authorial preference or register variation at that time. As seen on P. 215, *ne* + ø is consistently the most common exponent of negation for this variety, followed by *ges* which fluctuates considerably over time between 1.99% in 1195-1215 and 7.95% in 1217-1253. All other particles are absent apart from one attestation of *pas* in one troubadour's work between 1180 and 1220.

Finally, the four Auvergnat texts available date between 1160 and 1210 but show considerable variation (P. 216). There is a categorical rate of 100% for *ne* + ø in the work of the Dalfin d'Alvernhe dating between 1170 and 1230, two nearly identical rates of 7.45% and 7.46% for *ges* from troubadours writing at around the same time of 1188-1210, again perhaps suggesting register variation. All other exponents of negation are absent.

§4.3.2 Discussion

Much attention has been devoted throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries to disputing the predominance of one or several post-verbal negative particles over others in Old Gallo-Romance (De Vogel 1919; Dauzat 1930; Yvon 1948; Price 1962b, 1978, 1984, 1986, 1993; Offord 1976; Posner 1985; Marcello-Nizia 1997; Buridant 2000; Völker 2003; Kawaguchi 2008; Grieve-Smith 2009; Hansen and Visconti 2009; Martineau 2009; Schøsler and Völker 2014). These accounts are often in direct contradiction with one another and no true consensus seems to have been reached over the diachronic and diatopic spread of these particles in *oïl* varieties. What has not been attempted, however, is a microvariational investigation of this type into post-verbal particles across different *oc* varieties. This section

will therefore add to what work has been done so far into mapping the variation and change of *oïl* post-verbal particles by comparing my findings with those of others to see if we can come any closer to a identifying significant trends, but this section will make a hitherto unattempted contribution by identifying any patterned variation among *oc* particles too.

I will proceed in a systematic fashion by presenting four claims made previously by scholars about the distribution of post-verbal particles, and then measure these against my findings. I will then present four of my own claims based exclusively on my data from this study to add to the picture of variation between particles across Old Gallo-Romance dialectal boundaries.

§4.4 Responses to Previous Claims

The first observation to note comes from Hansen and Visconti (2009: 148) who stated that 'it is well-known that *mie* was originally as frequent as *pas*, and according to most authors even the dominating expression.' In the first instance, this finding directly contradicts that of Price (1962: 19; 1986: 570) who thought that many authors actually favoured *pas* over *mie*, but it corroborates that of De Vogel (1919: 374) and Dauzat (1930: 228) who found similarly. As far as my data are concerned, the only Old Gallo-Romance varieties in which *mie* dominates *pas* as a post-verbal reinforcer are Parisien and Lorrain, incidentally constituting the only prose texts in the sample, and even then not categorically in these two varieties. *Contra* Hansen and Visconti (2009), *pas* overwhelmingly prevails as the post-verbal negative marker of choice, diachronically and diatopically, in *oïl* varieties, but its Occitan cognate is only marginally more present than *miga* as both are exceeded considerably in number by *ges*.

The next observations come from Posner (1985) and Schwegler (1990), who contradict one another. Schwegler stated that, 'since *ges* was lost in French, and since derivatives of *gentium*

survive in dialects south of the Pyrenees, it seems doubtful that *pas*, and post-verbal negators in general, entered *oc* through French' (Schwegler 1990: 307). This assertion concerning the origin of *pas* runs directly contrary to the earlier observation by Posner (1985: 175) that, 'in Occitan, influence from French must be the explanation for adoption in many dialects of the negative marker *pas*, which derives from the characteristic Francien form in Old French.'

The third observation on this point comes from Gregory (1997) who asserted that, at the close of the Old French period, prose texts show a rate of 50% reinforcement by a post-verbal negative particle. He explicitly contrasts this with the assertion by Price (1984: 254) that 'by the end of the Old French period, negation is expressed by *ne* + PARTICLE rather than by *ne* alone in about 25% or 30% of the cases where the particle must or may be used today.' While both scholars treat the close of the Old French period as the end of the 13th century, Gregory makes clear that Price based his findings purely on verse texts while he has used only prose. Moreover, my findings do not fully support those of either Gregory or Price. On the one hand, very few of my texts show a reinforcement rate approaching 25% by the close of the 13th century, but those that do show the highest rates are prose texts. This finding corroborates Gregory's and supports my hypothesis that prose is a better reflection of ongoing change in the spoken language as prose writing is not subject to the metrical constraints that verse is. On the other hand, my data do show that some of the earliest texts have considerable rates of negative reinforcement, as Gregory (1997: 38, 43) himself also found. In my data, the Lorrain *Sermon Saint Bernart* (1190-1200) showed a rate of 33.11% and the *Epistle Saint-Bernart* (1200) showed one of 26.33% for *mie*. This could suggest early innovation or more advanced grammaticalisation in the Lorraine area for this particular particle. In terms of text date, the next particle to reach a reinforcement rate of around 25% is *pas*, also in the Lorrain variety, but this time in the *Vie de Sainte Geneviève* (1300-1350) at 40%. This is followed by *pas* in

the Parisien *De la Érudition* (1400-1450) at 23.44%. This certainly does suggest that Lorraine was a region where innovation in negation arose early in this period and that there may be an influence of prose on the particular exponents of that negation in Parisien and Lorrain texts as they are all in prose.

Finally, I would like to focus on a claim made by Buridant (2000: 713) who, basing his assertion on data from the *Atlas Linguistique de la France*, noted that *mie* is used mostly in Picardy, Lorrain, and the East of France today. This diatopic spread has changed little from what it was in the Middle Ages, as Price (1986: 571) makes clear:

> *La distinction entre mie et pas est dialectale, mie étant caractéristique surtout du nord et de l'est, pas de l'ouest (y compris la Normandie) et du centre (y compris l'Ile-de-France).*
>
> 'The distinction between *mie* and *pas* is dialectal, *mie* being characteristic especially of the North and East, whereas *pas* is characteristic of the West (including Normandy) and of the Centre (including the Ile-de-France).'

The first point to note is that *mie* is the most common particle in Lorrain in my data, but only in the late 12th and early 13th centuries. After this it is very nearly absent, with a rate of 1.75% in 1315 and then 0% after that. In Picard, it is only the second most common particle (*pas* being the first) and, although its second highest rate of 3.46% is in the *Livre de Passion* from as late as 1400, this is greatly overshadowed by the rate of 18.62% for *pas*. Why might this be? The most likely explanation was hinted at by Price, i.e. that if there is a distinction then it is a formal and geographical one, not a functional one (echoed also by Hansen 2009: 227).[65] Yet, as Hansen and Visconti (2009: 168) have recommended, '…a functional comparison between *ne…mie* and *ne…point* [and other particles] should be carried out to see if the

[65] Schøsler and Völker (2014: 131) found that differently produced witnesses of the same text in their study were identical, save for the exponents of negation they used, suggesting functional equivalency between variants.

hypothesis that *mie* ultimately disappeared because it was less grammaticalised than *pas* can be upheld.' This research into the relative degrees of grammaticalisation formed the basis of Chapter 2, and the results from this do confirm that *mie* did not grammaticalise to the same extent as either *ne...pas* or *ne...point*. As a result, its use was limited and it came to be geographically restricted to North Eastern varieties of both Gallo-Romance and, eventually, French. This can be seen from the *Atlas Linguistique de la France*, which shows that *mie* predominated in the late 19th century (when the data were collected) in Lorraine, the Vosges, Meuse, Meurthe-et-Moselle, and Wallonia.[66]

§4.5 Main Observations

I will now turn to an exposition of the more notable observations that can be made about the findings from my own study. The most obvious result is that even in manuscripts from as late as 1400 and in prose, *ne* + ø remains the dominant exponent of negation, thus running contrary to the findings of both Gregory (1997) and Price (1984) mentioned above. In diatopic terms, my findings do confirm that *mie* is more prominent in the north and east of the *oïl* domain than it is elsewhere, but this is not to say that it ever truly rivals *pas*; although it is the most common particle in some varieties some of the time, *pas* is nevertheless by far the most frequently occurring particle. What is somewhat surprising is that previous research has suggested that *mie* is a 'picardism' and *pas* a 'parisianism', but my data challenge this assumption. For example, in the 1240-1255 Parisian *Vie de Saint Lambert*, *mie* accounts for 16.46% of all negative clauses while *pas* accounts for just 1.26%, and we would expect this to be the other way around. Likewise, in the Picard data, *pas* outnumbers *mie* to different degrees (sometimes considerably) in *every* text. This demonstrates that it can be deceptive to

[66] Map 896: http://lig-tdcge.imag.fr/cartodialect5/#/visualiseur.

associate a particular particle with a particular region, that one particle could be favoured by writers in more than one region, and that authorial preference and prose data play a bigger role in the distribution of this variable than topography is generally assumed to do.

This textual or authorial difference is one which was revealed in Gregory's (1997) study where two prose Walloon texts of similar date had strikingly different token counts of particles. The danger of ignoring text type or authorial preference and their influence on the choice of negative exponent can be seen in Price's (1962) reliance on the Picard text *La Conquête de Constantinople* (c.1204) by the knight Robert de Clari. This text features categorical use of *mie* and the presence of no other particle to negate a clause in a text of 34,013 words. The conclusion that Price (1962: 19) draws about Picardy based on this text, namely that it 'provides strong presumptive evidence that *mie* prevailed in Picard...to the exclusion of *pas'*, is troublesome to say the least. Aside from my data that clearly demonstrate the opposite, Price does not take into account the fact that the *Conquête* is written entirely in prose, as are the charters he relies on to support his theory, and that *Aucassin et Nicolette*, which he also relies on, is a *chantefable*, i.e. a text written half in prose and half in verse. While there is no intrinsic link between prose and the use of *mie*, it is nevertheless necessary to consider the exigencies of rhyme and metre that determine the choice of word; with prose there is one fewer factor determining form of negative exponent. Finally, he suggests that the presence of '*pas* in Picard texts is therefore probably to be explained as a non-Picard form coming in with the general process of dialect mingling and being more and more widely used as the influence of Francien grows' (Price 1962: 20). In this last assertion, I am in agreement with Price as c. 1400 there is a sharp rise in the use of *pas* in Picardy according to my data (18.62% of negative clauses by 1400), and this growing influence of Parisien or 'Francien' that Price mentions will be explored in Chapter 5. In sum, therefore, it becomes clear that

whether a text is written in verse or prose, as well as what type of text it is, *must* be taken into account when considering the distribution of particles, a finding also demonstrated unequivocally by Schøsler and Völker (2014), and that the association between *mie* and Picardy is not as strong as was once thought. Moreover, it is encouraging at this stage to find previous scholars suggesting that exogenous influences could have motivated the variation we find amongst these particles to some degree as this hypothesis will be pursued in the next chapter.

In terms of the *oc* data, it is striking that the rates of negative reinforcement across all varieties are considerably lower than those in *oïl* varieties for the same Old French and early Middle French periods, a finding corroborated by Jensen (1986: 309) and most recently by Paoli (2020: 4). In light of the findings from Chapter 2, this is unsurprising as the rate at which DPs grammaticalised into post-verbal particles in *oc* varieties was slower than that in *oïl* varieties. That chapter demonstrated that *oc* varieties showed high semantic congruity between verb and particle, high syntactic variability, low co-occurrence with a determiner, and low co-occurrence with an ungrammaticalised NPI - all of which suggest a low degree of grammaticalisation. This contradicts the suggestion of Jensen (1990: 426) that the reason for the prevalence of the particle *ges* in Occitan was because *pas* and *miga* had undergone early semantic weakening and came to represent unmarked negation, i.e. they had grammaticalised very early. *Ges* was then used for this purpose, resulting in the following contradistinction: *non - ges* 'not at all' vs. *non - pas* 'not' (Jensen 1986: 309).

While my data in this chapter certainly confirm the domination of the particle *ges* ('kind' < *gēnus*) in *oc* varieties compared to other particles, I cannot agree that this is a result of the more advanced grammaticalisation of these other competing particles. This is because *ges* is

attested from the earliest texts, alongside other units of minimal value such as *dorn* 'a bit' (Anglade 1921: 364), and my data show that *pas* and *miga* exhibit hallmarks of weak grammaticalisation into the Middle Occitan period. This coincides with the views of Lafont (1970: 84, 88) and Schwegler (2013: 163) that Occitan negative particles did not grammaticalise to any great extent until the 14th century and later.[67] Furthermore, if *pas* and *miga* had completely grammaticalised by this stage, we would likely find them co-occurring with *ges* or another reinforcing particle but we do not; we simply find very few instances of *pas* - an observation that Paoli and Bach (2020: 123) have described as 'surprising and...unexplained'. Paoli and Bach (2020: 128-129) also found that *ges* negated just 6.6% of all negative clauses in their corpus and that its frequency increased over time. In comparison, my data confirm this low overall figure, which is only occasionally exceeded, but in contrast I have found no clear increase in token frequency of *ges* over time. This is very likely due to textual differences as my Occitan corpus is comprised solely of troubadour poetry and that of Paoli and Bach (2020) solely of miracle plays. A textual comparison would therefore be a worthwhile endeavour.

I will now turn to three distinct observations that have emerged from the results of my study and discuss each in turn.

1) There is a great increase in the frequency of *pas* in Picard in 1400, in Lorrain in 1300-1350, and in Parisien in 1400-1450, namely in all the later texts. There is also a concomitant decrease in the frequency of *mie* during these periods, which is an observation supported by Price (1986: 571). In the Parisien data, we see that *mie* negates 16.46% of negative clauses in 1240 and then just one token is attested after that date, while *pas* rises steadily over time. We

[67] Dees (1988: 143-144) provides a cautionary note about ascribing a putative date to linguistic changes that involve the 'progressive replacement of a traditional category by a competing or new category' since we are not dealing with sudden changes, but rather relative frequencies over the course of time. For this reason, I have not attempted to provide a 'watershed' date for any changes I discuss as it would be both confusing and unrealistic.

also see a steady decline in *mie* in Lorrain and an increase in *pas* alongside this. The competition between *mie* and *pas* in the northern and eastern varieties of Old Gallo-Romance has already been discussed by various scholars. Hansen and Visconti (2009: 143) have placed the demise of *mie* in around the 14th century, and explanations for this range from *mie* undergoing semantic change from denoting a crumb of bread (Mod.F. *miette*) to *the* crumb of the bread (Mod.F. *mie*), and thereby losing its value as a marker of scalar implicature (Yvon 1948: 34); to *mie* being more popular than *pas* for purposes of assonance or rhyme, particularly in Norman, Anglo-Norman, and central varieties (Price 1962: 18; see also Foulet 1968: 262), though Sten (1938: 31) thought this unlikely; to *mie* never grammaticalising as fully as *pas*, demonstrated *inter alia* by its 'persisting "nouniness"' in that it is more frequently found in a partitive construction with another noun than *pas* ever is (Hansen and Visconti 2009: 148). What my data have shown, however, is that the competition between these two particles is not restricted just to northern and eastern varieties; in all *oïl* varieties we see an increase of one alongside the decrease of the other, leading ultimately to *pas* as the canonical sentential negator. I posit that the reason for this is the earlier grammaticalisation and consequential unmarking of *pas* as expounded in Chapter 2 where I also discuss possible reasons for this being the case.

2) In the Occitan data, *ne* + ø constitutes the *sole* exponent of negation in the works of *three* different authors of approximately the *same* dates in Limousin, Languedocien, and Auvergnat. In Limousin, there are Elias Fonsalada (1190-1225) and Elias d'Ussel (1190-1224) (*ne* + ø = 100%), in Languedocien there are Guillaume Fabre (1250-1300) and Guillaume d'Hautpoul (1265-1270) (*ne* + ø = 100%), and in Auvergnat there are Peirol (1188-1225) and Monge de Montaudon (1193-1210) (*ne* + ø = 92.54% and 92.55% respectively). It is noteworthy that the dates of these authors are at the later extreme of the troubadour period and that *ne* + ø as an

exponent of negation never seems to wane in this sub-corpus, even if the troubadour literary tradition begins to. Knowing as we do that varieties are influenced by topographical boundaries, it is possible that the geographical clustering of these three varieties around the centre of medieval France could explain why they share dialectal features in common, e.g. intervocalic [l] can instead be [r] or [w] (Wilson 2012: 30), and thus might explain why they have very similar rates of negative reinforcement.

3) The distribution of the post-verbal particles across the territory is not geographically homogenous. What we see instead are pockets or 'leopard spots' (Poletto 2013; Garzonio and Poletto 2018) of the same construction occurring in different areas alongside other areas that either do not feature the construction at all (e.g. *point* featuring in every *oïl* variety other than Poitevin), or do not feature it to the same extent. We can see this from the distribution of *pas* and *mie* and their Occitan cognates *pas* and *miga*: the former are the most common *oïl* particles and feature in every *oïl* variety but the latter feature in very few *oc* varieties. Conversely, while the most common particle in Occitan is *ges*, its *oïl* cognate *giens* is far rarer in northern varieties and does not feature at all in my data.[68]

This raises the question of what might lie behind this patchwork of clusters? Both Poletto (2013) and Garzonio and Poletto (2018) have advanced the hypothesis that lexical variation lies at the heart of the uneven variation we see. Concentrating on *wh*-items, Poletto (2013: 166) maintains that 'variation of lexical roots across dialects is a "measure" for the internal syntactic complexity of a functional item: the elements that have more variation are those that contain more functional projections in their internal structure, and each dialect lexically

[68] This does not mean to say that *giens* is very rare, but it is considerably less common than its Occitan counterpart (see Reid 1933).

realises only a part of them'. It is clear that the particles in *oïl* and *oc* varieties all share the same lexical roots (*pas*/*pas*; *mie*/*miga*; *point*/*ponch*) and so the considerable variation between lexically related cognates in northern and southern varieties cannot be accounted for by different degrees of lexical variation between them. Garzonio and Poletto (2018: 11), on the other hand, have also suggested that 'typical cases of leopard spots variation...correspond to structures which distribute over the entire [territorial] domain but are not grammaticalised in all dialects'. The disparity in the grammaticalisation of these negative reinforcers was established in Chapter 2, with some particles retaining for longer some of their original lexical properties compared to others.

It is clear from the results of Chapter 2 that the varying rates at which these particles grammaticalised must lie behind their expansive diffusion or limited concentration. By way of illustration, Chapter 2 found that the Old Occitan varieties demonstrating the lowest rates of grammaticalisation in terms of Semantic Congruity, Co-occurrence with a Determiner, and Syntactic Variation were Provençal, Limousin, and Languedocien. In two of these three varieties *miga* is categorically absent, while it is very close to being so in the third. There is clearly very little lexical variation amongst the post-verbal particles in these regions, with *ges* assuming near-categorical dominance. Conversely, Chapter 2 found that grammaticalisation was very far advanced for post-verbal particles in Picard, and the current chapter has found that lexical diversity is also high amongst these particles, with *point*, *mie*, and *pas* in strong competition with each other in Picard. It may therefore be the case that, once a particle has neared the end of the grammaticalisation cline, another is used if further reinforcement is required, ultimately leading to numerous particles co-existing with one another and, though functional equivalents, being used for different stylistic purposes. The aforementioned suggestion by Jensen (1990) that *ges* was used once *miga* and *pas* had weakened appears

theoretically sound, but directionally flawed. It seems more likely that *ges* was first to grammaticalise (considering its very early attestations) and that *pas* and *miga* came later once semantic and pragmatic weakening had reduced its potency as a reinforcer, a suggestion supported by my finding that the latter two maintained features of weak grammaticalisation far longer than *ges* ever did.

§4.6 Conclusion

In sum, we have seen that much variation was in evidence among post-verbal particles across Old Gallo-Romance varieties between 1071 and 1450. Rather than being patterned or free, this variation appears in 'leopard spot' clusters with some particles being particularly prevalent at certain times in certain dialects, but rarely in every text of these dialects. We have established that, contrary to Poletto (2013) and Garzonio and Poletto (2018), variation of lexical roots does not seem to be a determining factor in the diatopic or diachronic frequency of occurrence as we are dealing with etymological cognates, but that different rates of grammaticalisation are a plausible explanation for what we observe. The clustering of these particles, such as *pas* in Picard and Parisien, provides new evidence that long-held assumptions concerning the association of some particles with some regions (e.g. of *mie* with Picardy) are too general to be useful and, upon closer examination in light of new data, misleading.

As far as changes amongst clusters are concerned, these do not appear to alter in any meaningful way over time or space, but individual particles do show some patterned variation. For example, it was clear from the data that *point* generally appears late in *oïl* varieties, *pas* increases greatly in frequency in Picard in 1400, in Lorrain in 1300-1350, and in Parisien in

1400-1450, and there is a decrease in the frequency of *mie* during these periods, an observation incidentally also supported by Price (1986: 571). This latter observation is suggestive of the generalisation of *pas* as default sentential negative marker in the beginning of the 15th century and, in Chapter 5, I will argue that this is very likely a result of frequency effects since these are held as one of the main stimuli driving the grammaticalisation process (Hopper and Traugott 2003). The cause of these frequency effects will also be examined in the following chapter wherein I posit that exogenous factors play a substantial role in this and, in particular, the gradual selection of the dialect of the Île-de-France region as a prestige variety and subsequently as the linguistic norm, co-existing with 'a range of intermediate varieties' (Cerrutti 2020: 125).

Finally, I argued that the presence or absence of post-verbal negation is multifactorial and that this must involve a consideration of whether a text is in verse or prose. Those *oïl* texts written in prose, viz. my Parisien and Lorrain texts, do show the highest rates of *pas* and at a late date too, suggesting that prose acted as a vehicular medium for linguistic innovation, in particular that emanating from 'the growing influence of Francien [which] led writers whose own dialect was characterised by *mie* to adopt *pas* into their literary language' (Price 1962: 19).

Chapter 5

Sociolinguistic and Extra-linguistic Factors

§5 Introduction

The previous three chapters demonstrated how some minimisers in *oïl* and *oc* (e.g. *pas* and *point/ponch*), but by no means all minimisers (e.g. *clou* and *bouton*),[69] grammaticalised from nouns to become post-verbal negative particles. Those chapters showed how the minimisers that underwent grammaticalisation did so at different rates and how some were initially restricted to particular information-structural contexts. They also showed how the information-structural scope of these particles then expanded, causing the latter to appear indiscriminately in clauses marking discourse-old or discourse-new information alike. Moreover, we examined the distribution of these particles across France and concluded that their spread resulted in so-called 'leopard spot variation'. Finally, it became evident that there is no *single* reason why only a minority of these minimisers grammaticalised to a high degree while hundreds of others did not. Far from being able to account for the outcome of this competition by relying solely on either linguistic or extra-linguistic factors, it is clearly essential to consider the effects of both to explain the vitality and longevity of some of the particles as compared to the transience and eventual obsolescence of others.

This chapter will focus on the exogenous factors of standardisation,[70] linguistic prestige, and social networks. It recognises, as Weinreich *et al*. (1968) have done, that language change is inextricably linked to social factors. They expressed it thus:

[69] See Möhren (1980) for a list of some 500 of these.

[70] 'The process that creates and promotes a consistent norm for language usage and typically involves the reduction or loss of optional variability' (Ayres-Bennett *et al*. 2021: i).

> Linguistic and social factors are closely interrelated in the development of language change. Explanations which are confined to one or the other aspect, no matter how well constructed, will fail to account for the rich body of regularities that can be observed in empirical studies of language behavior.
>
> (Weinreich *et al*. 1968: 188)

By drawing on these theoretical concepts, this chapter will argue that the reason *pas*, rather than any other minimiser, became the default sentential negator in Modern Standard French was due to the emergence of Parisian as an acrolect, i.e. the prestige variety of a language, which eventually became the *lingua franca* of French-speaking countries and territories. As *pas* was the favoured post-verbal negative particle in Parisian, and the Parisian scribal *koiné* was 'selected' as the basis for the standard,[71] my hypothesis is that there was a considerable increase in the frequency of *pas* in the 16th century when these standardising effects took hold. Moreover, following the *Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts* of 1539, which decreed that only one linguistic variety must be used in legal and administrative documents, and that variety must be 'French', the fate of post-verbal particles from other Old Gallo-Romance varieties was sealed. I will also argue that the increased frequency of *pas* allowed it to grammaticalise more quickly than its rivals *mie* and *point* and, therefore, to be used in a broader range of contexts beyond the mere partitive construction the others were restricted to.

This chapter will begin with a problematisation of the topic and present the findings of previous studies that have looked at the linguistic and extra-linguistic factors determining variation between post-verbal negative particles. It will then give an overview of some of the methodological challenges involved in undertaking a historical sociolinguistic investigation, especially when adopting Social Network Theory, but it will also discuss the ways in which written data can inform us about syntactic change. I will finally adduce data taken from legal

[71] 'Scribal koiné' here refers to an agreed written 'house style' that I argue Parisian scribes adopted when producing writings destined for dissemination across the kingdom.

and administrative texts written in prose. I will do this to demonstrate that the frequency of occurrence of *pas* was considerably greater than that of other minimisers in Parisian prose texts. This is in addition to the observation that *pas* occurs more frequently than any other minimiser in Parisian *verse* texts. Using prose as a comparison immediately removes the influence that metre and rhyme might have had on the choice of *pas* over other minimisers (Hansen 2009: 237).

§5.1 Background and Problematisation

Since the 1980s, various studies have investigated linguistic variables in many European languages from the perspectives of social history, historical linguistics, and sociolinguistics. Under the banner of historical sociolinguistics, the imbrication of these disciplines has afforded valuable insight into how linguistic and extra-linguistic factors can, together, motivate language change. Illustrative studies are those of Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) for Early Modern English, Ayres-Bennett (2004) for Classical French, and Lodge (2004) for Parisian French. Other studies have specifically investigated the development of negation from a historical sociolinguistic perspective, such as Martineau and Mougeon (2003); Martineau (2009); Eslpaß and Langer (2012); Fitzmaurice (2012); Rutten *et al*. (2012); Vosters and Vandenbussche (2012); Tristram and Ayres-Bennett (2012); Schøsler and Völker (2014); Childs *et al*. (2015, 2018); and Donaldson (2018). Finally, the variables of social mobility, urbanisation, and regional variation have also been looked at from a historical-linguistic point of view (Keene 2000; Nevalainen 2000; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2000). In this final chapter, I will build on these previous studies by aiming to

account for the evolution of *pas* into the default sentential negator in Modern Standard French. I will do so by adopting not only a variationist but also a *variational* perspective.[72]

My guiding research question in this investigation is whether we can say with any confidence that the development of *pas* as default clausal negator across the varieties of Old Gallo-Romance can be attributed at least partly to extralinguistic factors, such as standardisation, the development of Parisian as a prestige variety, and the eventual 'selection' of Parisian as the linguistic standard. In relation to such factors, I will also consider frequency effects to see how these could have contributed to the loss of variants in competition with *pas* and to the concomitant promotion of the latter as canonical post-verbal negator.

With this in mind, it is worth setting out briefly at this stage previous research in this area and how this study will complement this. One study that has looked into the potential extra-linguistic factors affecting the rise of pas as default sentential negator was Boerm (2008). Drawing on texts mostly from the 17th century, this research argued that Jewish merchants in the south of medieval France were responsible for spreading *pas* to the northern parts of the kingdom. Although an attractive theory, it fails to address *how* the perigrinations of peripatetic merchants affected the increase in frequency of use of *pas* in the north of France. It does not take account of the contemporaneous early use of *pas* in the north and the south that my data attest to, the author's extrapolations are based on much later texts than the data about which he wishes to draw conclusions, and there is occasional confusion made between *pâs* < *pacem* and the post-verbal negative particle *pas* < *passum*.

[72] On this distinction see Flydal (1952: 255), Gadet (2003: 98), and Völker (2009: 34).

Another study which is relevant to this chapter is that of Schøsler and Völker (2014). The authors investigated the variants *ne* + ø and *ne* + *pas*/*mie*/*point* between the 12th and 14th centuries, and the factors that determined this variation. They used two subcorpora, the first comprised eight manuscripts of the *Charroi de Nîmes*, a verse *chanson de geste* dating from between the 13th and 14th centuries. The second subcorpus consisted of 180 charters composed or received by the Counts of Luxembourg between 1237 and 1281. The authors found that diatextual, diastratic, and diatopic factors determined the variation they observed across both subcorpora and that there was hardly any variation between the *Charroi* manuscripts other than among the negative exponents used, which provides evidence of their functional equivalence. Most pertinent for my investigation is their finding that, contrary to expectation, those charters they term 'King's Charters', i.e. those issued by the King's Chancery, show the least linguistic conservatism as expressed by *ne* + ø. Indeed, they found a high percentage of the innovative *ne* + *pas*, and this accounted for the vast majority of negative exponents used. The researchers interpreted this 'as a hint of the important role of the King's Chancery in defining written and, later on, standard French' (Schøsler and Völker 2014: 147), and it is a finding that corroborates those of Videsott (2013) and Grübl (2014).

The second study which has made a contribution to this area is that of Donaldson (2018). In this he focused on narrative and represented speech within the same text to see if negative exponents varied according to register and sex of speaker. He relied on four prose texts and one *chantefable* that all dated from between 1200 and 1456. He found that, in certain texts, there was a higher rate of reinforced negation in 'represented' than in 'narrative' speech, and that male speakers showed greater linguistic innovation than female ones through their use of reinforced negation across the texts. Furthermore, in line with expectation, he noted that

reinforced negation would begin in independent clauses before spreading into subordinate ones.[73]

The third study which is of particular relevance to my investigation is that of Völker (2007). The corpus used in this study is the same as one of those used in Schøsler and Völker (2014), i.e. the Trier corpus of 180 Old French charters received or despatched by the Countess of Luxemburg or her son between 1237 and 1281. As with the later study, Völker was concerned not only with diatopic and diachronic factors, but also with diastratic ones. One variable under study was the Old French two-case system (*sujet* and *régime*) and he found, *contra* Titz (1926) and Regula (1956), that the 'social centre for political power and its *scripta*', i.e. the King's Chancery, was not 'a stronghold' for the maintenance of this long-established variable but rather that 'it was responsible for driving innovation' (Völker 2007: 216).[74] This is unsurprising in light of the assertion by Wagner *et al*. (2013: 5) that the network of the scribes who would be producing these charters lent itself to norms being passed on quickly and that 'scribal tradition seemed to operate more with spontaneously evolving norms rather than relatively fixed standards'. Pre-empting his 2014 work with Schøsler, he also looked at post-verbal negative reinforcement and found that *pas* was the preferred variant of the King's Chancery and *mie* was favoured for more everyday purposes, thus demonstrating the influence that register and style had on the choice of variant. As the King's charters were produced by various scribes, Völker maintains that this naturally excludes the possibility of such innovation being peculiar to just one scribe. Furthermore, he makes the valid point that:

[73] Discourse-pragmatic information in general is more readily encoded in matrix clauses as opposed to in subordinate clauses (Bybee 2002).

[74] Interestingly, Fisher (1996: 49-50) also found that the Royal Chancery of England favoured innovative spellings reflecting contemporary pronunciation, e.g. 'clerk' instead of French 'clerc'. Conversely, Nevalainen (2013) found that those who were socially upwardly mobile, e.g. administrators and government officials, *shunned* linguistic innovation and were conservative in their language - a finding corroborated by the work of Labov (1972) and Trudgill (1974).

> It is important not to confuse the social position of the royal chancery with the geographical situation of Paris or of the Île-de-France. What can be considered historically certain, is that royalty, and by consequence the *scripta* of the charters in question, is a social fact (diastratic, perhaps also diatechnic); what is far from being historically proven is the frequently-repeated link between the royal chancery and administration on the one hand, and a stable and homogeneous geographic point (Paris, Île-de-France) on the other hand.
>
> (Völker 2007: 217)

Thus, Völker (2007: 217) argues, because it is impossible to prove the link between the language of the masses of Paris and the language used in the King's charters due to the paucity of recorded speech from this sector of society, it is impossible to conclude with certainty that what we see used in the charters represents the dialect of Paris or the wider Île-de-France region. Put another way, just because the royal court and the chancery find themselves in Paris and its environs, this does not automatically mean the language being used by them is that of the local populace, though Lusignan (2004: 63) did think so:

> *Ce français de Paris fut adopté partout par l'administration royale.*
>
> 'This French of Paris was adopted everywhere by the royal administration.'
>
> (Lusignan 2004: 63)

It is very likely that there *was* considerable regional influence on the written output of the royal court and administration during this period. We can discern this from the overwhelming presence of *pas* in Parisian vernacular writings long before the centralisation of power gathered pace in Paris during the 15th century (Lodge 2004: 109), with additional evidence being provided by my data, and also from the considerable use of this vernacular by the court and royal administration once they found themselves positioned there. It is reasonable to posit, then, that the wide dissemination of documents produced by a now centralised administration in Paris, and which were destined for application across the kingdom, e.g. nationally applicable laws, caused *pas* to find itself incorporated into the emergent scribal

scripta and, subsequently, the linguistic standard that the royal, legal, and administrative omphalos wished to perpetuate across the land.

§5.1.1 The Social Network of Parisian Scribes

Throughout most of the Middle Ages, the legal system of France had been a pluralist and customary system working on the basis of feudal laws (customs) that governed the population of distinct areas of the country. These areas could be as large as the regions of Champagne and Normandy, or as small as towns like Lorris in the Loiret (see Thaumassière's *Les Anciennes et Nouvelles Coutumes Locales de Berry et Celles de Lorris*). As Philippe de Beaumanoir explained in his *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* (1280):

> *Les coustumes sont si diverses que l'en ne pourroit pas trouver ou roiaume de France deus chasteleries qui de tous cas usassent d'une meisme coustume.*
>
> 'The [legal] customs are so diverse that you could not find in the whole Kingdom of France two castellanies that use the same custom in every case.'
>
> (Quoted in Kelley 2010: 165)

These customs were often gathered into compilations like the *Très Ancien Coutumier de Normandie* (1199), the *Établissements de Saint Louis* (1273), and the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* (1280), but they regulated only those regions within which they had developed progressively (Taylor 2015: 847). It was only following the Hundred Years War (1337-1453) that Charles VII and Louis XI adopted a strategy to make of France a centralised and absolute administrative monarchy (Dauchy 2018: 760). A significant step was taken in that direction with the promulgation of the Ordinance of Montils-les-Tours (1454), which required local customary law to be gathered, amalgamated and written down with the aim of instigating a

homologation process that would result in greater legal uniformity and predicatibility. In practice, *ius commune* (customary law) was relied on into the Early Modern Period and would eventually result in legal codes, but until then it found itself supplemented by Roman Law that had been taught throughout the Middle Ages in Bologna and brought to France in the form of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (Dauchy 2018: 761). A word should be said here, however, about the distinction between the *Pays de droit écrit* and the *Pays de droit coutumier* that scholars have previously proposed. The former has traditionally referred to some, but not all, regions of France south of the Loire river, while the latter referred to some, but not all, regions north of the Loire. The distinction was made by scholars as the south was felt to have experienced greater cultural and legal influence from the Romans than the north had and, as a consequence, Roman (written) law (particularly the Theodosian Code) had remained influential there (Gaudemet 1979: 165-180; Cohen 1998: 27-53). This is now felt to be too Manichean a distinction as it is now known that local customs were operational in the south and Roman law used in the north (albeit not to the same extent as in the south), and the legal realities of the two halves of the country were actually closer than originally supposed (Dauchy 2018: 762-763).

As the Middle Ages progressed, and efforts to unify the country were taking hold, especially once the royal court and chancery had settled in the Île-de-France in the 15th century, it was the customary law of one city that led the way in standardising the law of the country. *The Custom of Paris* (1510, 1580), which would later form the basis for the 1804 Civil Code, was the written coalescence of those customs governing the principle city of the Île-de-France and location of the royal instututions. This was shortly followed by Charles Dumoulin's influential *Commentaries on the Custom of Paris* (1539), which defended customary law as a valid system of law universally, and the customs of Paris as a system for the whole of France

in general (Dauchy 2018: 765). In time, the increased influence that Paris was having on the unification of the country and the centralisation of law and administration in the 16th and 17th centuries necessitated a new class of administrators who would be needed to facilitate these aims and tend to the drafting and copying of the now widely applicable laws. These individuals were brought in from across the country and would not be able to draft or copy in their native Old Gallo-Romance varieties, thus a common variety would be needed and one which would be comprehensible to the greatest amount of people. Once this had developed, it was then emulated by others, especially those wishing to practise the law, who would return to their home regions with this new administrative and legal standard. The centre of this production and, consequently, the source of what would become the *lingua franca* were the Châtelet, Parlement, Chancellerie, and Palais de la Cité. On this point it is worth quoting Beaulieux (1927) in full:

> *La langue des légistes du Palais et de la Chancellerie fut naturellement le modèle qu'on tâcha d'imiter dans les autres juridictions parisiennes et notamment au Châtelet, où affluaient les jeunes gens désireux de s'initier à la pratique, et qui rapportaient chez eux, dans toutes les parties de France, la connaissance de la langue. Les conseillers au Parlement, légistes, prélats et grands vassaux, ainsi que leurs clercs qui allaient remplir de hautes fonctions en province, qui la parlaient et l'écrivaient, étaient imités par les habitants de leur nouvelle résidence. [...] La langue du Palais était la langue officielle dans toute la France de langue d'oïl et était comprise des praticiens de langue d'oc; elle avait remplacé les dialectes dans les écrits des juridictions provinciales de langue d'oïl et les éclipsait dans les genres littéraires.*
>
> 'The language of the jurists of the *Palais de la Cité* and of the Chancellery was, naturally, the model which people tried to imitate in other Parisian jurisdictions and, notably, at the *Châtelet* where there abounded young people wishing to practise the law and who took the knowledge of this language back to all parts of France from which they came. Councillors in Parliament, jurists, prelates and vassals, as well as their clerks who would be posted to important administrative posts in the provinces, who spoke and wrote this language were imitated by the inhabitants of their new home. The language of the *Palais* was the official language of the *langue d'oïl* areas of France and was understood by *langue d'oc* speakers too; it had replaced dialects in provincial jurisdictional writings and took over from dialects in literary works.'
>
> (Beaulieux 1927: 131)

With this in mind, it is very clear to see that a language which had developed out of professional necessity, and which had facilitated the administration of a gradually centralising state, was then exported across the country by young professionals, adopted for legal purposes

in the provinces, and then found itself adopted by writers of literature. These early pioneers of this standard naturally formed a 'community of practice', which is to say 'an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour' and, as a result, 'ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations - in short, practices - emerge in the course of this mutual endeavour' (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464).

According to Wenger (1998: 72-85), there are three criteria to meet for a community of practice to be formed. These are mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and shared repertoire. Mutual engagement means that a group of people convene to engage in the same practices and, as a result, work out the meanings of these practices. Joint enterprise means that the individuals in question are engaged jointly, not separately, in pursuing whatever enterprise it is. Shared repertoire means that those engaged in the joint enterprise share resources, which could be linguistic (e.g. a linguistic register specific to their profession) or non-linguistic (e.g. a means of performing tasks). What we have in the scribal community of Paris is exactly this, but its importance to the development of Standard French must be explored further. By way of illustration, Kopaczyk and Jucker (2013: 2) have highlighted the importance of considering communities of practice for informing us about diachronic language change. They suggest we consider language 'in the context of the networks of speakers who use specific linguistic resources. We must focus on individual members of such networks who introduce innovations...and on how such innovations spread within the network. Without a network of communicators, a community of people communicating with each other, linguistic change cannot happen'. In addition to this, they say, we must also consider the discourse- and text-types in which any linguistic innovation is thought to originate and subsequently spread since 'a discourse community possesses one or more genres and, therefore, exerts influence on its linguistic character - community creates genre' (Kopaczyk and Jucker 2013: 4). This is where

'the concept of a community is also relevant as specific groups of people engage with specific types of texts and take part in specific discourse activities…[and] a related criterion concerns the use of specific lexis by the members of a discourse community in order to fulfil its communicative goals' (Kopaczyk and Jucker 2013: 4). Therefore, when charting the rise and spread of a variant associated with a particular geographical region, it is imperative that we consider where the variant was being used, by whom, for what purpose, and in what types of text. The most appropriate means to do this is through the lense of Social Network Analysis, i.e. the investigation on the micro level of inter-speaker relationships as a basis for extrapolation to the macro level of wider society. This has been in use in psychology, anthropology, and sociology since at least the 19th century (Wasserman and Faust 1994: 10). As Bergs (2005: 5) has put it, such a theory recognises that:

> Significant patterns of variation may become visible on different levels of (socio-) linguistic analysis: on the level of the group or speech community as a whole, its various subgroups, and on the level of the individual speaker…Any claim about cognitive, universal, or typological determinants of linguistic change need not only hold for the level of the speech community or its subgroups, but also for a substantial number of speakers in isolation, if it wants to reflect reality.
>
> (Bergs 2005: 5)

It was only with Lesley Milroy in the 1980s, however, that it came to be applied to the systematic study of language (L. Milroy 1987, 2002). What is more, since the 1990s, scholars have sought to apply its tenets to historical investigations of language using purely written data, and have done so successfully (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996, 2000; Lippi-Green 1994; Fitzmaurice 2000; Imhoff 2000; Nevalainen 2000; Tieken-Boon van Ostade *et al*. 2000; Bergs 2005). In the last of these, an application of Social Network Analysis to the study of the 15th-century *Paston Letters*, Bergs adopts Milroy's version of Social Network Analysis, which treats the concept of network as 'a set of procedures rather than a fully-fledged theory' (L. Milroy 1987: 46). Bergs sees 'social networks as abstract metaphors somehow representing

social structures' and, therefore, recognises that in this particular guise they are not 'empirically testable constructs, but mainly heuristic devices.' This view echoes the earlier one of Barnes (1972: 2-3) who ventured that 'there is no such thing as a theory of social networks' in that 'the basic idea…that the configuration of cross-cutting interpersonal bonds is in some unspecific way connected with the action of these persons and with the institutions of society…remains a basic idea…rather than a theory with propositions that can be tested'. This does not mean, however, that verifiable linguistic 'facts' are omitted from any such analysis; rather, this cautious view recognises that it might prove difficult to correlate these 'facts' empirically with actual language use and change.

For our purposes, it is encouraging that Boerm (2008: 79-95) has also relied on Social Network Theory in his investigation of the rise of *pas* as the default sentential negator in Modern Standard French. He concluded that it was Jewish merchants in the south of medieval France who were responsible for its spread across the kingdom as they used it in their speech, were 'mobile members of society', interacted with diverse people, and had relationships characterised by weak social ties (Boerm 2008: 256). Unfortunately, several classes of citizen, not least itinerant troubadours and *trouvères*, arguably also fit these four criteria, and so the soundness of the conclusion appears questionable.

In what follows, I have adopted Milroy's and Bergs' approaches to Social Network Analysis, and treat the network as a concept, the value of which is elucidatory rather than empirical. The reasons for this are as follows. Social Network Analysis, especially as realised and developed by Lesley Milroy (1987), depends heavily upon knowing about the individuals one wishes to study. As Milroy and Milroy (1999: 59) have argued:

> The main methodological difference between network...and other variables that have been examined is that it is based, not on comparisons between groups of speakers, but on relationships contracted by individual speakers with other individuals.
>
> (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 59)

In other words, it deals not with the macrosociological variables of class, age, sex, etc. but rather with the microsociological one of inter-speaker relationships. The concepts important in this respect are **Density**: how many speakers in a network know each other, **Multiplexity**: the number and nature of ties that a given individual has to other individuals, **Centrality**: how close an individual is to other individuals in the community or 'zone', and **Clusters**: sub-groups within a network that are defined by high density. Zones are then subdivided into a **First Order Zone**: the group of individuals who are all directly linked to each other, the **Second Order Zone**: those individuals who are linked to at least one individual in the First Order Zone, and the **Third Order Zone**: those individuals who are not directly linked to any in the First Order Zone, but may be to one or more in the Second Order Zone.

Social Network Analysis becomes useful as a prism through which to view the development of Standard French, and ultimately the rise of *pas* as default sentential negator, as we have a distinct community of scribes trained in common 'by the burgeoning schools and universities from the late 12th century' (Evergates 1993: xxii) who went on to form a dense multiplexity of ties working for the centralised administration of the newly created French state. In terms of scribal practice, we know that medieval courts, by their itinerant nature, fostered strong bureaucratic links across kingdoms and that, at least in England, the Chancery 'was at the heart of an administrative scribal culture that spread documents throught the land, far beyond the royal writing offices' (Kendall 2017: 404). We also know that scribal practice was often, but not always, engendered and fostered by so-called *scriptoria* that demanded subscription to

a ‘house style’ and that there was increasing scribal mobility throughout the 12th century in France (Thomson 2018). Though we lack any documentary evidence of the prescriptions of individual *scriptoria* in France, it is highly likely that these scribal practices were at least partly responsible for the spread of pas and its ultimate generalisation as default negator.

If the scribal *koiné* of Paris was, to adopt the terms of Haugen (1966), ‘selected’, ‘elaborated’, ‘codified’, and then finally ‘accepted’ as the basis for Standard French between the 12th and 20th centuries (Cerquiglini 1993: 118), and *pas* was the favoured negative particle in this dialect, as has already been established, then it would be logical if this particle became the default particle wherever the ‘Standard’ was adopted. Scholars have suggested that this *koiné* was already disseminated far into the provinces long before political, legal and linguistic standardisation efforts had ever taken hold, for instance in the 13th century:

> *La diffusion dans les provinces du français de Paris est, à partir de la fin du XIIIe siècle, un fait incontestable, principalement dû aux progrès du pouvoir royal et de la centralisation administrative.*
>
> ‘The dissemination of the French of Paris across the provinces was, from the end of the 13th century, an undeniable fact, principally due to the progress made by royal power and administrative centralisation.’
>
> (Picoche and Marchello-Nizia 1989: 25)

And in the Duchy of Burgundy in the 14th century:

> *À la fin du XIVe siècle, les conditions changent; le duché de Bourgogne, bien avant sa disparition, adopte pour ses textes officiels une langue bien proche de la langue royale et où il devient beaucoup plus difficile de trouver des traits dialectaux.*
>
> ‘At the end of the 14th century, conditions were changing; the Duchy of Burgundy, long before its demise, adopted a language very close to that of the royal court for its official texts, and in which it became ever more difficult to discern dialectal traits.’
>
> (Taverdet 1988: 386)

As Armstrong (1970: 389) and Lusignan and Gervais (2008: 10) have also noted, the chancellery of the Burgundian court also 'disregarded these local forms of French. Its administrative language, like its institutions, was borrowed straight from the practice of the French crown. Only thus could the Burgundian power introduce a standard language, which neither the Netherlandish- nor the French-speaking inhabitants of the Low Countries could provide from their own resources' (Armstrong 1970: 389). Already, we have the pragmatic reason of intelligibility for adopting the newly emerging 'standard', even if the local Burgundian and Picard varieties continued to be used widely in a non-official capacity (Roger 2011: 62).

Further evidence that standardisation played a role in the rise of *pas* as default marker is that an elimination of variants is an attested effect of linguistic standardisation (Wright 2020: 294) - an observation already made about post-verbal negative particles in this thesis - and those variants with the widest areal and social distribution are known to be the most likely to survive the process of 'selection' before the stages of elaboration, codification, and acceptance (Pickl 2020). In Chapter 4 we saw that *pas* did indeed have the widest areal distribution of any post-verbal negative particle and, while it is difficult to prove its entrenchment among all sectors of society due to high illiteracy rates among the general populace, this chapter will demonstrate its abundant use by at least the clerical class of France.

Finally, it must be acknowledged that, while koinéisation and standardisation are separate linguistic processes, *koinéisation* also plays a role in the rise of *pas* as the default sentential negator in Modern French. *Koinéisation* involves, *inter alia*, the stages of 'reduction' and 'simplification' which, according to Mühlhäusler (1980: 21), refer repsectively to 'those

processes that lead to a decrease in the referential or non-referential potential of a language', e.g. fewer lexical variants, and to 'either an increase in regularity of morphology or a decrease in markedness' (see also Siegel (1985: 358) and Trudgill (1986: 103)). We see both processes at work in the data collected for this thesis. Not only do lexical variants of the minimiser variable decrease over time (*clou*, *bouton*, *ail* etc. never even begin to grammaticalise), we also see the discourse-pragmatic markedness of *pas* decrease gradually and its indiscriminate use across all discourse-pragmatic contexts increase.

Once *koinéisation* has taken hold,[75] Trudgill states, this will lead to an eventual loss of the variation that resulted from dialect-mixing, and 'crystallisation' of the new dialect will take place. This 'new dialect' for our purposes has been termed, *inter alia*, *francien*, *françois*, and *Parisien*, and is still widely believed to be the basis of Modern Standard French today. Much has been written on the '*francien* hypothesis', viz. the theory that the language of Paris and of the wider Île-de-France was the basis for Modern Standard French. This was most notably criticised by Cerquiglini (1993: 114-120) who believed that Modern Standard French developed from a literary *scripta* produced by scribes writing in different *oïl* dialects, which accords with my hypothesis below.[76] Similarly, Lodge (2005: 378) believed that a *koiné* was responsible for the development of Standard French but that it was an oral *koiné* and the crucible for its emergence was not literature but the locus of language- and dialect-mixing that Paris became in the 13th century (Lodge 2004: 80). This said, Lodge does not dismiss the Written Koiné Hypothesis, and acknowledges that variants from different *oïl* dialects were

[75] 'A mixing of dialects (or mutually intelligible varieties of language) which leads to the rapid formation of a new dialect or *koiné*, characterised by mixing, levelling and simplification of features found in the dialects which formed part of the original mix' (Tuten 2007: 185).

[76] This so-called 'skriptatheorie' has also received support from Wacker (1916), Remacle (1948), Gossen (1967), Delbouille (1970), and Hilty (1973).

incorporated into a *koiné* 'for the inter-regional diffusion of literary texts and even official documents...by the royal chancery'. Importantly, he goes on to say that this written standard 'provided the basis for standardisation in the spoken language too...[and] was eventually handed on to the royal court as the norm for speech' (Lodge 2004: 73); this then trickled down to the socially aspirant sectors of the populace (Fondet 1995: 201). In this way, adds Lodge, 'the *koiné* in Old French texts did not mirror the spoken language, *but instead dictated it*' (Lodge 2004: 73, my emphasis).[77]

The last remarks of Lodge lend support to my theory expounded above that *pas* became the default negator by virtue of its status as a particle associated with the prestige standard in the Île-de-France region, rather than for any interent linguistic superiority it might have had over other potential particles. Once Parisian had become the prestige variety, speakers began to adopt this variety first in writing as a communicative tool aiming at mutual intelligibility and then, presumably, in speech (though the latter is impossible to prove). Like Lusignan (2004), I acknowledge that the scribes working for the organs of state in the Île-de-France came from diverse regions but I add that they formed a 'community of practice', i.e. 'an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour...[where] ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations - in short - practices - emerge in the course of this mutual endeavour' (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464).[78] Therefore, to achieve uniformity of output for bureaucratic purposes, it is likely they adopted a common

[77] An alternative and plausible explanation was that given by Lusignan (2004: 62) who thought that the Third Republic's efforts at eradicating regional dialects was more responsible for this phenomenon than any superstratum imposing itself on other varieties, but also that the royal scribes were heavily influenced by Classical Latin when formulating their written French.

[78] See also Lave and Wenger (1991) and, in relation to communities of practice in historical sociolinguistic research, Kopaczyk and Jucker (2013).

'house-style', a conclusion also reached by Lodge (2004: 96-97) about the scribes in the Prévôté of Paris.[79]

Yet, it must also be remembered that not all the textual output from the Île-de-France was legal or administrative in nature, and we still find *pas* to be the preferred particle even in literary works. This could suggest that it was a preferred *spoken* regional variant and not simply a bureaucratic or literary one, especially when we take into account that the 'represented speech', i.e. dialogue, in this latter type of document relied heavily on *pas* as well. This makes sense when we consider that the scribes responsible for the Parisian *koiné* can really only have drawn on their immediate linguistic input and, once the *koiné* had formed and been disseminated, it is not difficult to imagine writers wishing to imbue their works with the prestige of the capital.[80] An example of this comes from the *trouvère* Conon de Béthune (c.1160-1219) who, in his poem *Mout me semont Amors ke je m'envoise*, apologises for not speaking the dialect of the Île-de-France, and mentions that he has been criticised for this:

> *La Roine n'a pas fait ke cortoise Ki me reprist. Ele et ses fueis li Rois; Encoir ne soit ma parole franchoise, Si la puet on bien comprendre en franchois Ne chil ne sont bien apris ne cortois S'il m'ont repris se j'ai dit mos d'Artois, Car je ne fui pas norris a Pontoise.*
>
> 'The Queen and her son, the King, acted discourteously when she admonished me: although my speech is not that of the Île-de-France, I can still be understood in French. And those who criticised me for using Artois words are not courteous or polite, for I was not brought up in Pontoise.'
>
> (Quoted in Lodge 2004: 76)

[79] This may also prove to be the first evidence of standardisation, defined by Milroy and Milroy (1999: 26) as 'the intolerance of optional variability in language', that gained traction in Early Modern France. As Wagner *et al*. (2013: 5) state: 'It is reasonable to assume that scribal evidence can show attempts at standardising or inflicting norms on a language' and this has been demonstrated by, *inter alios*, Khan (2013) for Arabic and Stenroos (2013) for English.

[80] It is well attested that social aspirations can determine which linguistic variants are chosen by a speaker. See amongst others Kuhn (1945: 641-642), Labov (1966a, 1966b), Trudgill (1974), and Smith (1996: 26-29).

In this lament, Conon de Béthune could only have been referring to the language that was being spoken at court, i.e. by the King and Queen, and thus the one being used in official documents, not the demotic speech of the capital. While this is a very early sign that the speech of the court and institutions of the Île -de-France might have been viewed as a prestigious one, the emulation of that variety due to its courtly associations came to a head in the 16th century. It was in that century 'under François I (1515-47) [that] the prestige of the crown was such that Marot (1533), Peletier du Mans (1549) and Pillot (1550) all felt able to locate the high-prestige norm in the entourage of the king' (Lodge 2004: 128).[81] The reality was somewhat more nuanced than that, however, especially as the speech and society of some members of the court, viz. those of the *noblesse de robe*, were shunned even by those on the outside of court circles as they were deemed 'arrivistes' and not members of the most noble and ancient *noblesse d'épée*. Instead, they had been elevated to their position from the bourgeoisie at the beginning of the 14th century (Seignobos 1946: 157; Smith 1966: 241).

Thus, the linguistically exogenous hypothesis concerning the rise of *pas* that emerges from this discussion is as follows. Its ascendency as default negator was due to its use by a scribal community of practice that developed a *koiné* which they used to generate legal and administrative documents for wide dissemination and application across the country. By virtue of its use in such authoritative documents issued by the state, it gained the status of a prestige variant by association. This then led to its wider use in literary and non-literary works produced in the provinces since writers wanted to increase intelligibility and instil in their works a social cachet that foreshadowed the emulation of court speech and that of the *honnêtes gens* in the 17th century, as documented by Vaugelas. Finally, the subsequent efforts

[81] Clément Marot (1496-1544) was a poet in the *grand rhétoriqueur* tradition, Jacques Peletier du Mans (1517-1582) was a humanist poet and mathematician, and Jean Pillot (dates unknown) was a grammarian. All were metalinguistic commentators to varying degrees.

towards standardisation that occurred in the Early Modern period in France eliminated any residual competition that might have been left between *pas* and its regional counterparts.

A final *linguistic* reason why negation in Modern Standard French came to have just one default negator (*pas*) and not several possible variants (*pas*, *mie*, *point*) was economy of expression. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 71-73) have called this 'the drive towards economy of expression in historical change', and it is an observation also noted by Croft (2000: 62) who remarked that language changes all occur 'in the same direction, essentially towards reduction and tighter integration of form'. There are, however, competing linguistic processes at work in the development of French negation, such as the addition for pragmatic purposes of a second negative 'reinforcing' element, which naturally runs contrary to the purported 'drive towards economy' by adding an extra element for emphatic reasons. This is unsurprising since diachronic specialisation has been shown not to follow the same trajectory for all speakers, yet it will result in a community settling on a direction of specialisation over several generations (Wallenberg 2019: 245). Intraspeaker variation is also relevant to specialisation, Wallenberg suggests, as 'individual writers do not necessarily show the total specialisation in their idiolects that one might expect' (Wallenberg 2019: 257). Such intraspeaker variation is identifiable in our data, for example, as not all writers use the same negative particles all of the time. In terms of specialisation, this emphasises the importance of a speech community for explaining why some changes take hold while others do not, as also noted by Culicover (2008: 47): 'Finally, language exists in a social network. The social and physical topology of the network determines to some extent the stability of clusters of linguistic properties quite independent of their substantive properties.' In light of this, it reasonable to posit that, while the specialisation of French negation did broadly move in the direction of economy of expression with a reduction in variants, inter- and intra-speaker variation in relation to the

negative particle variable remained observable throughout most medieval texts written in *langues d'oïl* and *langues d'oc*.

On the subject of the motivation behind a reduction in the number of variants, Biber and Gray (2011) studied noun phrase constructions in English academic research writing - a monologic, written, methodically produced dataset much like that of charters - and found extensions in the range of lexical associations, grammatical variants, and grammatical/semantic functions of noun phrases, as well as 'the emergence of grammatical uses (and possibly new constructions) associated with those communicative needs' (Biber and Gray 2011: 225). Such communicative demands would be the intention of the legal documents to inform and achieve maximal intelligibility for the widest possible audience. The emergence of new grammatical uses has already been demonstrated in Chapter 3 as we saw how *pas* assumed ever more discourse-pragmatic roles in addition to its original one as marker of presupposed information.

In order to test these hypotheses, I will draw on the literary data I have already collected, and supplement these with a study of charters from several of the dialectal areas under scrutiny and a diary written by a Parisian clerk. Unfortunately, the historical sociolinguist is faced with multitudinous methodological problems when attempting an investigation of this nature and I will set out just a few of these in the next section before presenting my data.

§5.1.2 Methodological Problems

Much has been written on the methodological challenges facing the historical sociolinguist wishing to study variation and change within past forms of a language. It is widely agreed that

modern sociolinguistics prioritises discourse-based data over other forms of language production for being closest to the most 'natural' and 'authentic' speech act (Meyerhoff 2011: 43).[82] This kind of data is not, unfortunately, available to the historical linguist and we must be content with using 'artificial' (literary) discourse or monologic texts such as charters. While this type of data is 'often patchy as a consequence of the random preservation of some texts and the equally random loss of others' (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 177), it can nevertheless inform us of past stages of a language, e.g. by telling us about register variation and filtering out performance errors or affording us insight into 'language of immediacy' (e.g. through ego-documents) and literacy rates in society (Sević 1999; Schneider 2002; Kytö and Walker 2003; Elspaß 2012). As Esteban-Segura (2012: 140-155) notes, 'one of the main tenets of the discipline [historical sociolinguistics] is that linguistic evidence rendered by written sources can be related to extralinguistic parameters, thus delivering insights into the sociohistorical state of the participants involved in the act of communication which a specific text presupposes'.

Be that as it may, the availability of *very early* data is especially lacking as there remain no extant manuscripts, literary or administrative, that we know with any certainty to have been produced in Paris and written in Romance (i.e. not Latin) from before the year 1200 (Monfrin 1968: 22). It was not until the end of the 12th century that Latin was supplanted by romance as an administrative language across most of France, but in Paris this change did not occur until the middle of the 13th century (Lodge 2004: 82). Moreover, Pfister (1973: 232; 1993: 21) has rightly noted that no literary texts unquestionably written in Paris (outside of later copies) have survived from any time before the end of the 12th century. What this means for this

[82] There is not an unequivocal consensus on this, however, and many have argued that discourse-based data is inferior for its uncontrolled and incomplete nature, as well as for creating a 'cult of authenticity'. See Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998) for more on this.

study, then, is that the administrative Parisian data it relies on all date from the 13th century or later. The other unique element of this chapter is that it introduces a new type of document to the study, viz. an ego-document in the form of the *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*. This journal of approximately 100,000 words was written by a clerk of the University of Paris between 1408 and 1449 and describes the political and religious landscape of Paris under the reigns of Charles VI and Charles VII. It is a particularly useful source of data as it is the nearest approximation to natural speech we can obtain. This is because such ego-documents are devoid of observer/audience bias, i.e. the writer is not concerned about how he will come across to others as his writing is not intended to be read by anyone but himself. Therefore, it presents us with as accurate a picture of everyday (albeit educated) speech as we can obtain.

With regard to the representativeness of these data, i.e. the requirement to consider 'the characteristics of text types and individual texts in the light of their historical and culture-specific settings' (Schneider 2002: 90), I should make clear at this stage that I am not treating negation as a social variable in the full sense of one determined by gender, age, ethnicity, and occupation (Llamas *et al*. 2007: 229). I am, however, interested in negation's observable areal variation, so-called change from above and below (Labov 1966b), and the loss of variation among forms of negative exponents. Moreover, we need to consider the validity of texts as representative of a particular feature and this can vary considerably from one source to another. This being the case, I have included data from as many regions as would yield them in sufficient quantity for comparison with those of Parisian origin.

The final methodological challenge faced in this chapter is one that was raised by Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 26-52). They highlighted the potential imbalance that can result from assuming the language of texts to be representative of wider society when the

majority of the population was illiterate. The incontrovertible problem here is that, by and large, the lowest classes of society did not write because they could not write.[83] As Posner (1994: 88) notes, 'in the absence of evidence there seems no way of recovering the speech of the fourteenth-century illiterate peasant, even assuming that the written texts relate to the spoken usage of the literate'. What this means for us here is that there is no reliable way of discerning how a *koiné* confected by a very small, educated elite impacted the everyday speech of the populace at large. Without recordings, transcriptions, or the ability to issue grammaticality judgment tests, we cannot know for certain the extent to which, and the rate at which, the wider population of France adopted the newly emerging standard. Yet, equipped with the knowledge that *pas* did indeed become the default sentential negator in French, and working from an *ex post facto* position, we can try to piece together the evidence that might indicate to us how we reached this stage. With this in mind, I will now turn to a presentation of the data unique to this chapter.

§5.2 Data

§5.2.1 Presentation of Data

As we have seen from Chapters 2 to 4, the data so far have been literary. As post-verbal negation began as a rhetorical strategy designed to imbue an utterance with greater informativity, and with a presence determined by discourse-pragmatic constraints, it made sense to study the variable in those texts where it was most likely to occur first, namely dyadic and polyphonic discourse contexts. In this chapter, however, I introduce prose texts written by dioceses for dissemination within their own boundaries, e.g. local acts, bulls and

[83] But see Parkes (1991: 275-288) who argues that the burgeoning middle class narrowed this gap and that there were three types of literacy: the professional reader (scholar/man of letters), the cultivated reader (reader for recreation), and the pragmatic reader (merchant/trade).

notices, and also a diary written by a clerk of the University of Paris between 1408 and 1449. The administrative documents are necessarily later in date than many of the literary texts used up to now. This is for three reasons: first, we have very few administrative or legal documents pre-dating 1200 written in Old Gallo-Romance;[84] second, the royal administration continued to use Latin into the 13th century;[85] and third, a written *koiné* and regional *scripta* have been said not exist prior to 1300 (Dees 1985: 113). It will come as no surprise, then, that those documents I have been able to draw on all postdate 1100 and come only from certain of my selected regions of study. All charters have been taken from either the *Chartae Galliae* project run by the Centre National des Recherches Scientifiques (CNRS), the *Base de Français Médiéval*, or the *Édition Électronique des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis*, and my selection comprises the following Old Gallo-Romance varieties: Picard, Lorrain, Champenois, Gascon, Parisien, Pyrénéen, Languedocien, and Proveçal. Although Pyrénéen has not been included in my data so far, the Old Occitan charters contained in the *Chartae Galliae* corpus are from only a small range of areas, viz. the Languedoc, the Pyrenees, Provence, and one charter from Gascony. Hence, I have been unable to include Limousin and Auvergnat in this study and, to have a larger comparative sample, I decided to include Pyrénéen.[86] Likewise, I have been unable to include Poitevin and Orléanais for the same reason. The *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* is an online edition that draws on five manuscripts, one of which dates from the 15th century.

[84] Pfister (1993) stated that none were extant that dated from before 1200. This is palpably untrue, as my data show.

[85] Giry (1894) stated that it was not until the late 13th century that the royal administration began to use French instead of Latin. This conclusion also proves erroneous since my earliest Parisian charter, composed by Philippe II, King of France, dates from the early 13th century, viz. 1215.

[86] The corpus does contain Limousin charters, but they are all written in Latin.

Where the corpora permitted, I chose two charters from each Old Gallo-Romance variety at least 25 years apart and sampled them for negative exponents. In this way, I aimed to expose any diachronic changes that had occurred and also to provide a balanced sample from each varietal domain. The exceptions to this are Gascon and Parisien: I have only been able to find one Gascon charter in a digitised format and, as Parisien is the particular focus of this chapter, I have included six official documents for this variety and the *Journal*. I will now turn to a discussion of the prose *oïl* data and we will see how these confirm the findings of previous chapters.

§5.2.2 Data Observations

Before turning to a detailed discussion of the *oïl* data, it is first worth noting that negation in official documents, either royal or ecclesiastical, is simply not common. Upon looking at the prose data in Table 16 below, it is immediately obvious that token counts are extremely low in comparison to their literary counterparts. Why might this be? It is clearly not enough to reiterate the point made above that post-verbal particles were initially a discourse strategy and that these documents feature no discourse; it is not enough because there is hardly any negation of *any form*, mono- or bipartite, here. The answer must therefore lie in the text *type*, and a teleological explanation seems the most appropriate. Schøsler and Völker (2014: 141) have already pointed out that, in charters, negation is far more prevalent in embedded clauses than in main clauses, and that the only part of a charter than permits negation is the *narratio*, it being one long subordinate clause dependent on a formulation such as 'je fais savoir a tous que...' ('I make it known to all that…') (2014: 141). I have found a similar phenomenon for the documents in my study, many of which restric their negations to copulative co-ordinating negations with disjunctive effect, e.g. *ne...ni...ni...* or *ne...ne...ne*. I posit that this is because

much of the focus of these documents is the establishment of what is or is not permitted by a citizen within the diocese and therefore the documents often comprise long co-ordinated negative sentences which do not require more than one negative exponent, relying instead on a pleonastic disjunctive particle. Moreover, many of these declarations use *pouvoir* ('can'), which even today does not require post-verbal negative reinforcement in high register French (Grevisse 1986: 1479); this may also go some way to explaining the lack of post-verbal negation in the documents too.

We will now turn to an analysis of the *oïl* data extracted from the prose documents and discuss their significance in relation to what they can tell us about loss of variation in Old Gallo-Romance negation. Table 16 contains the data from prose texts, other than those from the Île-de-France, and several points are immediately noteworthy.

Negative Exponent	**Picard (1286) 722 words**	**Picard (1311) 430 words**	**Champagne (1268) 403 words**	**Champagne (1336) 394 words**	**Lorrain (1230) 1055 words**	**Lorrain (1286) 749 words**
Ne + Ø	4	0	1	1	10	1
Ne + *Pas*	0	0	1	0	0	0
Ne + *Mie*	0	1	0	0	0	0
Ne + *Point*	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ne + *Goutte*	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 16

(Negative Exponents in *Oïl* Charters by Beneficed Diocese)

Firstly, as stated earlier, there is very little negation present in these texts. This is likely due to their formulaic nature as informative documents with a structure that lends itself to enumeration, rather than discussion. Secondly, *ne* + ø is by far the most common negative exponent; this lack of post-verbal reinforcement, shown by our verse and prose data, accords with the date Ewert (1949: 260) attributes to the major onset of post-verbal negation in Old

Gallo-Romance, namely the 15th century. Thirdly, there does not seem to be any structured variation present, either diatopic or diachronic, but the results from individual varieties is interesting in itself. Take, for example, the Picard data which show four tokens of *ne* + ø in the earlier text (1286) and only one token of negation in the later text (1311). Aside from the different number of negation tokens, which is insignificant considering their low wordcounts, we have a reinforcing particle (*mie*) in the later text and none in the earlier text, which tallies with the gradual decrease of *ne* + ø in the verse data. The question raised here is, therefore, why choose a post-verbal particle instead of *ne* + ø for the only instance of negation when a) both exponents are functional equivalents, b) there are no metrical constraints, and c) a principle of economy would favour the monopartite form. We see from the excerpt below, which is a notice concerning the bequest a woman is making to the Charitable Brotherhood of the Parish of Notre-Dame in Douai, that we have a clear instance of discourse-old information, evinced by the modifiers *le/li dis/ditte*, i.e. 'the said/aforementioned':

> *Et le tenement ki fu Le Roi, le wantier, d'autre part, pour mettre les pourfis de celui tenement cascun an hiretaulement à le carité Notre-Dame; or, est assavoir que pour le pourfit de* ***le ditte carité et por çou que li dis tenemens dekiet et li ditte carités n'a mie bien pooir dou retenir quant à ore****, li dit executeur ont donné à liuaige à Gillon de Cambray et à Ghillain, se femme, le maison et le tenement ù Gilles, li traieres de vins.*
>
> 'And the profits of the property that belonged to the King, the glove factory, will be inherited by the charity of Notre-Dame; moreover, it should be known that for **the profit of the said charity and for those whom the said property benefits, the charity does not have the power to retain the property.** The said executors have given to Gillon de Cambray and to his wife, Ghillain, the house and property of Gilles, the winemerchant.'
>
> (*Les Échevins de Douai pour Douai*, Confrérie Charitable de la Paroisse Notre-Dame (1311))

There could, therefore, be two reasons for the presence of this particle. The first is that, considering the late date, post-verbal negation had already become unmarked in this variety and therefore this was simply the default strategy for negating a clause. Based on this text alone, we cannot say if this was the case as there is only one example of negation. The second

is that its presence is still determined by information-structural constraints. Thus, it is worth looking at another text from the same diocese and date as a comparison. In a 1310 charter from Douai concerning the sale of an annuity, the only negation is in the following:

> *Et a reconnut Jehans Cabellaus, devant dis, que* ***il n'a fait*** *convenence…*
>
> 'And it acknowledged that the aforementioned Jehan Cavellaus did not complete the covenant…'
>
> (*Les Échevins de Douai pour Douai*, Jacques de Lens chapelain de Saint-Amé (1310))

While this, again, is the only example of negation in this text, it is nevertheless clear that there is no presupposition operating and, as Chapter 3 demonstrated, New Information does not trigger a post-verbal particle. It is at least clear, therefore, that New Information at this stage does not *necessarily* trigger a post-verbal particle.

Another observation we can make is that the Lorrain data from 1230 are particularly striking for having ten tokens of negation and not one reinforced by a particle. While this might be in line with expectation because of the relatively early date of the manuscript, the prose data from Lorrain in Chapter 3 showed a rise in *ne* + ø until the early 14th century when it reached its apex. This would suggest that this negative exponent remained in use for longer in this region than in others, especially when we consider that the only negation in the 1286 Lorrain text is also monopartite. This is also confirmed by the later Lorrain text of 1286, the only negative exponent of which is also *ne* + ø.

With regard to the *oc* data, the most noticeable detail is that there is not a single token of a post-verbal negative particle, as seen in Table 17. Chapters 2 and 3 found that Occitan varieties were slower to adopt post-verbal negation, even if they ultimately moved to a

subsequent stage of Jespersen's Cycle while *oïl* varieties did not; this could explain what we see here, especially as the latest manuscript date is 1251. Then again, having also looked at the latest available charters for Occitan, viz. 1298 and 1285, neither of these showed any instances of negation either. This does add support to the view that these documents do not encourage negations due to their enumerative nature. We can see this from the Gascon charter, the only one I have been able to find not in Latin, which is a ratification of the donations made to Berdoues Abbey by Rotbald de St.-Christau. As such, it lists gifts and witnesses, never requiring any negation to be expressed. The Pyrenean data are unique to this chapter and do not present any noticeable differences when compared to other Old Gallo-Romance varieties.

Negative Exponent	**Languedocien (1189)** **872 words**	**Languedocien (1271)** **779 words**	**Provençal (1115)** **198 words**	**Provençal (1200)** **198 words**	**Pyrénéen (1200)** **229 words**	**Pyrénéen (1224)** **97 words**	**Gascon (1251)** **350 words**
Ne + Ø	1	2	4	2	4	1	0
Ne + *Pas*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ne + *Mie*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ne + *Point*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ne + *Goutte*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 17

(Negative Exponents in *Oc* Charters by Beneficed Diocese)

Of particular interest are the Parisien charters that range in date from 1215 to c.1345, seen in Table 18. Not only do they have the greatest number of words per charter, they are also curious from the perspective of negation.

Negative Exponent	**1215 2548 words**	**1232 324 words**	**1266 318 words**	**1268 611 words**	**1300 1110 words**	**1330-1345 30,578 words**
Ne + Ø	37	1	1	4	1	1
Ne + *Pas*	1	1	0	1	0	7
Ne + *Mie*	3	0	0	0	0	0
Ne + *Point*	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ne + *Goutte*	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 18

(Negative Exponents in Charters Benefiting the Diocese of Paris)

In line with expectation, the earliest charter (1215) shows predominantly monopartite negation and the latest (c.1330-1345) shows predominantly bipartite negation. We would expect this from what we know about the development of negation, viz. bipartite negation did eventually become the default exponent in 'French', and so diachronic change from mono- to bipartite negation is to be expected (Detges and Waltereit 2002: 171-190; Hansen 2009: 228-232; Martineau 2009: 196; Meisner, Stark, and Völker 2014: 1-8; De Clercq 2017: 52). This clear transition where the latest charter shows such a large rate of bipartite negation (87.5% of all instantiations) is noteworthy also because contemporaneous charters in other varieties do not show such a rate.

By way of illustration, and ignoring the disparity in wordcounts, the one negation in the 1336 Champagne charter is *ne* + ø when it clearly could have been *ne* + POST-VERBAL NEGATIVE PARTICLE by this date. This is all the more striking when the Picard charter from 1311, with approximately the same word count, also has only one instance of negation but relies on *ne...mie* as its choice of exponent instead. There is therefore clear evidence of variation in negation between Old Gallo-Romance varieties and a greater rate of change occurring within the Parisien variety. This is all the clearer when we look at the earliest Parisien charter (1215) which has *four* tokens of bipartite negation. No charter from any other variety dating from even approximately as early as this shows such a rate of negative reinforcement. Moreover,

three out of four of these particles are *mie*. We know from Chapter 3 that the range of variants narrowed over time and that *pas* eventually assumed the role as default negator in all discourse contexts to the expense of others (Price 1986, 1997). But for one variety to show reinforcement as early as this, and to demonstrate a move towards the eventual default negator as markedly as this, suggests that Paris was a locus of change and its *koiné* a vehicle of this change.[87]

The final set of data we will discuss comes from the 15th-century *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*. What is remarkable about this text is that we have a precise and unbroken chronology over 41 years from one speaker, and we are therefore able to see whether *pas* increases over time in his grammar. Before addressing this question, it is first worth making the more apparent observation that, in line with the administrative data from Paris, *pas* is by far the most common negative particle being used. It is more striking, however, that I have found no instance of *ne* + ø whatsoever in the text; this is a very significant finding for two reasons. It firstly tells us that bipartite negation established itself as the principle exponent of negation at least in the Parisian variety of Old Gallo-Romance far earlier than scholars previously thought. Secondly, as the *Journal* is an ego-document and a close approximation to natural speech, we can be fairly certain that this change had already taken hold in speech by this point too.

[87] That the diary entry featuring the most tokens of *pas* is an early one in relative terms is unsurprising given Labov's assertion that 'cities have always been at the center of linguistic innovation' (Labov 1994: 23).

Negative Exponent	**1408-1449** **99,674 words**
Ne + ø	0
Ne + *Pas*	72
Ne + *Point*	66
Ne + *Mie*	11

Table 19

(Negative Exponents in the *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*)

With regard to the particles used, the percentage of negative exponents that *pas* accounts for in this text is just over 48%. There is, therefore, a distinct increase in *pas* at this time compared with the charters from earlier dates. What is most remarkable is the high token frequency of *point* as clausal negator (i.e. not used as a tonic negation or partitive) in this text and its token count contains only six fewer tokens of *pas*. This finding supports and foreshadows what we already know about *point* in later centuries, namely that it came to rival *pas* to a considerable extent in the 16th and 17th centuries (Martineau 2009: 172-173).

With regard to the diachronic spread of negation in this work, there is very little to be concluded as only one entry in the *Journal* contains 8 tokens of *pas* (1418), one entry 5 tokens (1422), and every other only between 0 and 3. Further evidence to support the view that bipartite negation had taken hold by this point, at least in some texts, comes from (40) and (41) below, the former constituting an instance of Forward Inference and the latter one of New Information, a context shown in Chapter 3 not to trigger post-verbal particles in some texts even into the early 15th century.

(40) *Ilz* *vuydoient* *leurs* *pommes* *ou* *leurs* *prunelles*
They throw.3PL.IMPF their apples or their sloes

en my *la* *rue,* *en intencion que* *les* *porcs* *de*
into the road, so that the pigs from

Sainct-Anthoine *les* *mengeassent.* *Mais* *le* *porcs*
Saint-Antoine PRON eat.3PL.SBJV.IPFV but the pigs

N' ***y*** ***venoient*** ***pas*** *à* *temps.*
NEG PRON come.3SG.IMPF NEG PREP time

'They would throw their apples or their sloes into the middle of the road for the pigs from Saint-Antoine to eat. But the pigs did not come on time...'

(*Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*)

In this example, the proposition that the pigs will come is forward inferable from the activated proposition that the inhabitants of the street threw the apples and sloes for the them.

Further evidence that information structure still plays a role at this late stage comes from example (41) below:

(41) *Prevost* *de* *Paris,* *Jehan* *de* *Montagu* *a*

Provost of Paris, Jehan de Monagu have.3SG.PRS

mis *XXII* *ans* *à* *soy* *faire* *coupper* *la*
Put.3SG.PST 22 years PREP. REFL. do-INF cut-INF the

teste *mais* *vrayement* ***vous*** ***n'*** ***y*** ***en***
head but really you NEG PRON PRON

mettrezpas *trois.*
put.2SG.FUT NEG 3

'It was 22 years before the Provost of Paris, Jehan de Montagu, had his head cut off, but you won't even have to wait three'.

(*Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*)

This reported speech was reported in the diary as being addressed by the Duke of Breban to one Pierre des Essars. Not only does it show us that *pas* is still being used in contexts of explicit mention - *en* (partitive article) standing in for the *ans* ('years' already mentioned) - but it also shows us that this was active in actual speech at this date too. This can be contrasted with an example of *ne* + ø in (42), which abounds in the *Journal* for negation in those contexts that we have seen do not trigger a post-verbal negative particle (see Chapter 3).

(42) *Mais sur tous les maulx la toux estoit si cruelle à tous, jour et nuyt, que aucuns hommes par force de toussir furent rompus par les genitoires toute leur vie; et aucunes femmes qui estoient grosses, qui* ***n'estoient pas à terme****, orent leurz enfans sans compaignie de personne.*

'But out of all the illnesses, the cough was so cruel to everyone that, day and night, some men suffered genital tears for the rest of their lives from the force of coughing; and some women who were pregnant and not at full term gave birth on their own.'

(*Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*)

In this example we see new information being provided (the pregnant women were not at full term) and *pas* is being used in the negative clause. In sum, therefore, these data shed new light on the gradual appearance of bipartite negation in all discourse-pragmatic contexts and provide evidence for the theory that the 15th century was when the change from Neg2 to Neg3 occurred. I will now turn to potential sociolinguistic factors that have contributed to making Parisian the most innovative and potentially influential Old Gallo-Romance variety vis-à-vis Modern Standard French.

§5.3 Possible Exogenous Factors Expediting Change

The Principle of Uniformity (or *Uniformitarian Principle*) states that those linguistic principles we observe in the present could not have been fundamentally different from those that operated in the past (Nevalainen and Raumolin Brunberg 1998: 189; Bergs 2012: 83). Put another way by Labov (1972: 275), 'The forces operating to produce linguistic change today are of the same kind and order of magnitude as those which operated five or ten thousand years ago.' What this means for this investigation is that language varied much the same way in medieval Gaul as it does in modern France. We know that the expression of negation today, whether it be in English (Childs *et al*. 2015) or French (Villeneuve 2017), is still subject to social influence. This can come from 'above' or 'below', namely *with* conscious awareness or *without* it (Labov 1972: 178-180). The first is sporadic and includes the influence from social prestige and a concomitant move towards a linguistic standard, while the latter is systematic and unconscious, disregarding any linguistic norms. I propose that what we observe in relation to negation in Old Gallo-Romance is both change from above and change from below in the form of an interaction between standardisation and frequency effects. I will now deal with each in turn.

The French language has long been regarded as one of the most standardised in history. For at least 500 years, there have been efforts to codify and homogenise the language to the detriment of linguistic variety. These efforts have manifested themselves in a number of ways, from metalinguistic commentaries setting out arbitrary shibboleths to attempts to redefine regional languages as 'substandard' or 'defective' varieties of French, and the promotion of 'Standard French' in schools, offices of state, and in radio broadcasts. Yet, it must be remembered that these moves towards uniformity are not a 20th- or even a 19th-century

phenomenon. In fact, they pre-date even the *remarqueur* tradition spearheaded by Gentleman-in-Waiting and popular linguistic arbiter, Vaugelas. The first real evidence that France had become a centralised state with its disparate regions ceding gradually to the political and social hub the Capetian kings had made of the Île-de-France was Charles VIII's *Ordonnance de Moulins* (1490). This decreed that 'French' could be used instead of Latin when providing a witness statement in the Languedoc region, one which became part of France following the Albigensian Crusade (1208-1229).[88] This was soon followed by *Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts* (1539), promulgated by Francis I, which made the *langue françoise* the official one for legal and administrative documents (Oakes 2001: 55).

Of course, what this legislation does *not* say is what really counted as 'French'; it neither prescribes nor proscribes. Far from providing any form of guide to a linguistic standard to be adhered to, the kings' edicts simply presume the population knows instinctively what they mean by 'French' and how this is distinctive from their own regional *parlers* ('dialects'). As we have no evidence of what this could have constituted on a micro level, I propose that what was intended was the language of officialdom, i.e. that in which these edicts were drafted. We can be fairly sure that the language of the people as spoken in Paris was certainly not what was intended when laws stated 'French' could, or must, be used in an official capacity (Lodge 2004). Thus, we have an influence being imposed 'from above' and those responsible are the same individuals who drafted and copied these decrees for national dissemination, to wit scribes. As Berg (2013: 281) has stated, 'a local norm in use in a chancery (or similar institution) may gain more widespread use and become established as a supralocal norm, which later may be codified as a standard.'

[88] Conversely, medieval Provence was controlled by the German Empire in the 11th and 12th centuries and only eventually by France under Louis XI in 1492 (Reyerson and Drendel 1998: XI).

It is not a huge mental leap, then, to imagine the populace at large beginning to emulate the language prescribed by the State, not only for reasons of communicative efficiency or obligation but also for reasons of social prestige. After all, we know that those most affected by prestige variants are the socially aspirant 'middle classes' (Labov 1972; Trudgill 1974; Clark 2007) who, prior to the social upheaval of the Hundred Years' War, were the *laboratores*. Following this protracted series of conflicts between the Plantagenets, Valois, and House of Lancaster, those who had once been peasants found themselves occupying the positions once held by the majority of those killed in battle, namely 'nobles of the second and third ranks, which in the 13th century formed the real middle class of the kingdom' (Tilley 1964: 150). Tilley goes on to say that the lands of these slaughtered nobles 'passed into other hands and were bought by commoners who had become enriched by work, by speculation, or by the exercise of domestic, administrative, financial, or judicial offices in the service of princes'. Consequently, a new bourgeoisie was formed in the 15th century, one which 'had sprung either from the old bourgeoisie, or from the old urban proletariat, some of whose representatives, and, above all, whose descendants began to hold public offices, both lucrative and honorary, and to acquire land' (Tilley 1964: 151). This new middle class became more literate by necessity of office, and the contemporaneous advent of the printing press and concomitant wider dissemination of the *koiné* in different text types also goes some way to explaining why it was in the 15th century that changes in Old Gallo-Romance negation became unmarked. This process, argues Kabatek (2013: 170), may even have begun as early as the 13th century, 'during which the language of Paris began its expansion beyond the confines of the city.'

Thus, while impossible to demonstrate with incontrovertible evidence, the notion of scribes as agents of language change is not unrealistic. This is all the more so when we consider that the 'French' being promoted by legislation was not that spoken in Paris, incidentally an amalgamation of French, Italian, English, German, and Flemish (Beaulieux 1927: 112-126; Lodge 2004: 81), but the one which legislation itself was written in. We have no record of any published style guides that Parisian scribes were issued with, but to see the lack of variation in their use of language at least suggests a conscious and predetermined set of standards to which they subscribed, i.e. the 'house-style' mentioned previously.

One further factor that is almost certainly responsible for catalysing the loss of the marked status of *pas* and its generalisation as default negator is frequency effects. From a functional perspective, language use shapes grammar (Givón 1979; Du Bois 1985; Hopper 1987; Hopper and Thompson 1993), and the mechanism by which this occurs is high type frequency (Bybee and Thompson 1997: 378). Simply put, this is the preference for one variant of a variable over another, and it has been shown to be predictive of 'the eventual victor in a competition between two forms' (Bybee and Hopper 2001: 6). When this is accompanied by a high token frequency, the variant has been shown to be 'remembered better, recognised faster, produced more readily and otherwise processed with greater facility than low token frequency constructions' (Ellis 2007: 149).[89] I posit that this is what occurred in relation to *pas* becoming the default negative marker. As Kabatek (2013) has noted, Paris became a centre for a variety of Old Gallo-Romance which then spread much further afield.

[89] See also MacWhinney 1978; Bybee 1985; Smith 2001.

As seen from the data above, there was much linguistic variety in local legislation throughout most of the Middle Ages.[90] Of course, this was prior to the onset of standardisation processes that began in the late Middle Ages/Early Modern period which caused such documents to be linguistically uniform, as previously noted.[91] Once these efforts took hold, the 'Standard' began to be increasingly perpetuated and its effects could be felt in vernacular literature, a change most notably wrought in Occitan after the Cathar heresy was crushed during the Albigensian Crusade (Ostergren and Le Bossé 2011: 162). What this means for our purposes is that, as the language of legislation and ultimately literature moved away from regional variety towards a supraregional *koiné*, regionally specific post-verbal particles, e.g. *ges*, *mie*, and *cap* became less common.

§5.3 Conclusion

This chapter began with an overview of what little work had been undertaken into negation in Old Gallo-Romance official documents. While the studies of Völker (2007) and Schøsler and Völker (2014) were informative with respect to the King's Chancery as a locus of linguistic change, they restricted their studies to documents produced by and for just one area, viz. Luxembourg. This inspired my investigation to compare *oïl* and *oc* data from documents produced within diverse regions for consumption by their citizens and the following findings were made. Firstly, *ne* + ø continued as the default exponent in most northern and southern varieties until as late as the 14th century. The exception to this was Paris. In this variety, i.e. scribal *koiné*, there were more variants earlier, and fewer later, culminating in *pas* becoming the most frequent variant above all others. Not only this, but Parisian showed the highest rate

[90] But see Hilty (1973) who argues that the presence of glide consonants (a central French linguistic feature) in the earliest texts provides evidence of supraregional norms even in early Old French.

[91] For example, the Burgundian government adopted French as its administrative language from 1384 (Armstrong 1983).

of negative reinforcement out of all varieties examined, suggesting that Paris was indeed a locus of change. With this in mind, I argued that the reason for the rise of *pas* as the default marker was because of change from above (association with officialdom and the capital's prestige) and change from below (frequency effects as a result of its use in national legislation, legal administration, then literary texts). High type and token frequency resulting from the exponential increase in works being written, published, and disseminated in the *koiné* of the Île-de-France were, I argued, responsible for the cementing of *pas* as default marker and the loss of its competitors. Alongside this, I maintained, the standardising effects that linguistic legislation had, as early as 1490, could only have promoted the language in which it was written.

Uniquely for this thesis, I relied on an ego-document in this chapter: the *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*. This provided a missing piece of the diachronic puzzle as it demonstrated unequivocally that bipartite negation had become the norm by the 15th century, 100 years before scholars believed, and that this was evinced by the categorical absence of *ne* + ø within the *Journal* and also the appearance of bipartite negation in all discourse-pragmatic contexts, including those containing New Information. Finally, while metalinguistic commentary from the Middle Ages is more or less non-existent, Conon de Béthune in his lament over a criticism of his speech could only have been referring to the language in which official documents were written, thus the royal court, not the demotic speech of the capital. Moreover, I argued that such linguistic and extra-linguistic factors led to a grammatical change whereby *pas* is now not only the default negative exponent but also *the only grammatically acceptable one*, save in some exceptional contexts.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

§6

This final chapter will reiterate what the thesis established in Chapters 2-5 and present its findings in the context of the broader research already conducted into French negation. In this way, it will demonstrate how the original data and findings of the chapters have contributed to the overall picture of French negation's development from Latin to Modern French. In addition, this chapter will also make suggestions for further avenues of research into the history of French negation.

§6.1: Chapter 2

This chapter was premised on research already conducted into the expression of negation in French, especially the cyclical and grammaticalising aspects of it, but it sought to explore further the microvariation between lexical items undergoing grammaticalisation, as well as the change from a monopartite to a bipartite surface expression of negation in French. Against the background of previous work, which had suggested that the post-verbal elements in French negation had developed from lexical items acting as minimisers (Detges and Waltereit 2002: 171-190; Hansen 2009: 228-232; Martineau 2009: 196; Meisner, Stark, and Völker 2014: 1-8; De Clercq 2017: 52), the chapter began with the hypothesis that not all such lexical items would grammaticalise to the same extent or at the same rate as each other, if they grammaticalise at all. Research conducted by Möhren (1980) had already established that there existed several hundred of these lexical items in Old Gallo-Romance, but it was clear that very few of these ever grammaticalised at all. Of those that did, no comparative research

had been conducted into their reanalysis as grammatical particles, and no adequate argument had been proposed for why *pas*, among the many hundred possible lexical items, had become the default sentential negator in French. Further motivation for pursuing this research question came from the work of Hopper (1991) and Lehmann (2015) who suggested that the grammaticalisation process was not one of discrete stages but was instead characterised by idiosyncratic pathways and overlapping 'liminal stages'. The chapter therefore began by examining the relative rates and extents of grammaticalisation of a select group of lexical items that had grammaticalised to a greater extent than any others, namely *pas*, *mie*, and *point*.

In accordance with the substantial research on grammaticalisation previously outlined, this chapter found that the evolution of post-verbal negative particles in *oïl* and *oc* varieties of Old Gallo-Romance was a prototypical instantiation of grammaticalisation with demonstrable directionality in the progress of change, a controversial issue that many scholars had previously broached but not in relation to Old Gallo-Romance negation (Haspelmath 2004; Börjars and Vincent 2011). What is more, the comparisons this study conducted found distinctly less advanced grammaticalisation across the *oc* data than across the *oïl* data. The results from the diagnostic tests showed that the *oc* varieties demonstrated weaker grammaticalisation in terms of Semantic Congruity, Co-occurrence with a Determiner, and Syntactic Variation. Those varieties that were particularly noteworthy in this regard were Provençal, Limousin, and Languedocien. As such, one can identify for the first time a typology of more vs. less 'advanced' Old Gallo-Romance varieties in terms of grammaticity.

A further finding was that the grammaticalisation of lexical items into post-verbal negative particles was practically complete by the end of the 12th century, even if there remained some tokens demonstrating low levels of grammaticalisation, or no grammaticalisation at all, across

the *langues d'oc* and *langues d'oïl*. This is an important finding due to the assertion of previous scholars who maintained that grammaticalisation of French lexical items into negative particles was complete as late as the 14th century (Catalani 2001; Hansen 2009; Hansen and Visconti 2014).

Finally, the results from this chapter constitute evidence that broader syntactic change in relation to word order in Romance was in progress during the 400-year span of the study, an unsuprising observation in light of a range of work by other scholars (Marchello-Nizia 1997; Vance 1997; Rowlett 2007; Salvi 2016; Wolfe 2018, 2020, 2021). Among the data are several examples which show clear evidence for syntactic movement of post-verbal negative particles within the clause, a possibility not licensed in Modern Standard French. This suggests that the fixing of the negative exponent's position in the clause is, at this time, still in transition and that there is an overlapping liminal stage between partial and full grammaticalisation evinced by syntactic movement (cf. Roberts and Roussou 2002 for formal implementation of this intuition). We can therefore observe a correspondence between grammaticalisation and the syntactic position of the negative within the clause. Moreover, there is a clear relationship between the position of the post-verbal negative particles and pragmatic marking since their fluid position at this time enables them to foreground pragmatically prominent or salient information until as late as the 15th century, as expected if the left periphery of the clause or prefield mediates the interface between syntax and pragmatics (Rizzi 1997 *et seq*.) . This was highlighted by a comparison between pragmaticalised and non-pragmaticalised items, and informs us that the emergence of a fixed syntactic position occurs as a later stage of the grammaticalisation process.

§6.2: Chapter 3

Wishing to build on research conducted principally by Hansen (2009a, 2009b, 2018a, 2020) into the influence of information structure on the expression of French negation, in Chapter 3 I took a microvariational approach to the study of discourse-pragmatic constraints on the syntax of negative exponents in Old Gallo-Romance between c.1100 and 1500 AD. However, unlike previous research, this chapter did not limit itself just to *oïl* data as it was still unclear until this point whether findings based on *oïl* data, as used in previous studies, could be extrapolated to *oc* data. In the comparison between the data sets, it became clear that there was a distinctly higher rate of bipartite clausal negation in *langue d'oïl* texts, in prose, and at later dates than in *langue d'oc* texts, in verse, and at earlier dates. The overall rate of post-verbal negation in *oc* varieties was just one third of that in *oïl* varieties. The conclusion drawn from this was that grammaticalisation and syntactic reanalysis were slower to take effect in Southern Old Gallo-Romance varieties than in Northern ones.

With regard to the relative dominance of discourse-statuses affecting negative exponence, Explicit Mention accounted for the majority of instances that licensed bipartite negation but, *contra* Lehmann (1985) and Wada (2018), no clear diachronic increase in New Information contexts being negated by bipartite negation was found. Nevertheless, *oïl* varieties had a far higher rate of New Information contexts negated by bipartite negation than did their *oc* counterparts, which suggests a decrease in paradigmatic variation, itself indicative of more advanced grammaticalisation. I did, however, find that the 15th-century *oïl* data I collected were characterised by a more advanced stage of grammaticalisation and, as was seen in Chapter 5, it was in this century that efforts towards standardisation really began in earnest.

With regard to pre-verbal particles in *langue d'oc* varieties, I found *non* to be more prevalent in Provence, while *no* was in the majority in Gascony, Limousin, and the Languedoc, which suggests a hitherto unproposed East-West divide. *Ne* was the only pre-verbal negative particle to feature in the *langue d'oïl* varieties, and *pas* was the most common post-verbal particle in *oïl* varieties followed closely by *mie*. In *langue d'oc* varieties, *ges* was by far the most common post-verbal particle, accounting for 97% of the total, even if *non* + ø was the most common exponent of negation overall. This finding is corroborated by Paoli and Bach (2020), who found that *ges* was the most common post-verbal negative particle in their Old Occitan corpus, even though it only accounted for 6.6% of all instances of negation. The microvariational approach that the present thesis has taken to the quantitative analysis of *oïl* and *oc* particles, i.e. its focus on individual Old Gallo-Romance varieties under the broader *oïl* and *oc* designations, has filled yet another lacuna as it was unclear until this point whether there was any diatopic heterogeneity across the Southern and Northern regions with regard to these particles.

Based on these findings, I concluded that Northern and Southern varieties broadly followed the same morphosyntactic and pragmatic trajectories, but that *langue d'oïl* varieties experienced such changes as the addition of a post-verbal particle and pragmatic unmarking earlier than *langue d'oc* varieties did. This said, *langue d'oc* varieties ultimately went further than *langue d'oïl* ones by returning to a monopartite negative strategy using just one post-verbal particle as their default negative exponence (Neg3), while Modern French remains at Neg2.5. Moreover, the pattern of marking and unmarking we find for the same negators must be, if not a subtype of cycle, then at least a consistent pragmatic alternation operating on Old Gallo-Romance negation.

Finally, this chapter looked at the role that context played in the reanalysis and advancement of the grammaticalisation process for these negative markers, demonstrating that 'onset' or 'switch' contexts assist with the interpretative transition between the two syntactically and pragmatically distinct exponents of negation in both *oïl* and *oc* varieties. This usage-based change is facilitated by inferential contexts and context absorption, which have the potential to effect a syntactic change, viz. 'an abrupt grammatical reanalysis' (Hróarsdótti 2003: 121), that occurs when a new generation acquires the language (Lightfoot 1979, 1991).

§6.3: Chapter 4

This chapter described the diachronic and diatopic distribution of post-verbal negative particles across the geographical areas associated with the Old Gallo-Romance varieties identified for study. It took as its motivation the hypothesis that some particles would be favoured more at certain times and in certain regions than they would at other times and in other regions. This assumption was based principally on the work of Auger and Villeneuve (2008), Burnett and Dagnac (2014), Dagnac (2015), Burnett and Auger (2016) and Burnett (2019). They focused on 20th-century data, and solely on *oïl* varieties, but I wished to see whether diatopic and diachronic patterns in negation would emerge for much older *oïl* and *oc* data. My principal finding was that, rather than being patterned or free, the discernible variation among the particles was of a 'leopard spot' variety, i.e. one where clusters of particles would appear at particular times in particular dialects, but rarely in every text of these dialects. Contrary to Poletto (2013) and Garzonio and Poletto (2018), who proposed this type of variation, this chapter established that the variation of lexical roots is *not* a determining factor in the diatopic or diachronic frequency of occurrence of post-verbal negative particles since I relied on etymological cognates (*pas*/*pas*, *point*/*ponch*, *mie*/*mica(m)*)

for my data. Instead, I proposed that different rates of grammaticalisation are a more plausible explanation for what we observe. The clusters of these particles occasionally ran contrary to established conclusions, for example that *mie* is predominantly associated with the Picardy region. The new evidence this chapter provided shows that claims such as this cannot be extended to, for instance, Old Picard data as the patterns are too sporadic to do so.

As far as differences between particles are concerned, there was some patterned variation to be observed. For example, the data showed that *point* generally appears as a particle later than other lexical items do in *oïl* varieties, while *pas* increases greatly in frequency in Picard in 1400, in Lorrain in 1300-1350, and in Parisien in 1400-1450. There is also a decrease in the frequency of *mie* during these periods, which corroborates the observation made by Price (1986: 571). This latter observation suggests that the onset of *pas* occurred at around the beginning of the 15th century, and Chapter 5 supports this view from an extra-linguistic perspective.

Finally, this chapter established that the presence or absence of post-verbal negation is multifactorial and that a text's being written in either verse or prose is relevant to the exponent of negation chosen. The prose *oïl* texts that this chapter examined, viz. Parisian and Lorrain texts, show the highest rates of *pas*, and at a late date too, which suggests that prose could be a vehicular medium for linguistic innovation.

§6.4: Chapter 5

This chapter differs significantly from the preceding three in several ways. The data used in it are not only written in prose but are also non-literary. Its primary concern is with exogenous, rather than purely linguistic, factors affecting the expression of negation in Old Gallo-

Romance. It also gives extensive consideration to the reasons behind the assumption by *pas* of the status of default sentential negator. As mentioned previously in the thesis, historical linguists have long wished to use prose, rather than verse, data as they are not subject to the constraints of rhyme and metre. As very little Old Gallo-Romance data have been compiled into accessible corpora, especially data written in diverse varieties of Old Occitan, I used verse data in every chapter but the last, this serving as a comparison with the preceding three. The corpora of choice were a collection of charters and legal notices, and the diary of a Parisian clerk. The overriding purpose of this chapter was to propose a new answer to the question of how *pas* had become the default sentential negator in French, as I felt this had either been overlooked or dealt with inadequately (see Boerm 2008).

It begins with an overview of some of the work already conducted into Old Gallo-Romance negative strategies in official documents. While not much had been done to date in this area, the studies of Völker (2007) and Schøsler and Völker (2014) were informative in that they identified the Luxembourgish King's Chancery as a locus of linguistic change. This provided the impetus to explore the hypothesis that official institutions, such as provincial abbeys or the royal *Palais de la Cité* and the *Châtelet*, were also responsible for instigating language change through the documents they produced and disseminated. I therefore sought to compare *oïl* and *oc* data from documents produced within diverse regions for consumption by their citizens, and I made the following findings.

First, it was very clear that *ne* + ø persisted as the default exponent of negation in most northern and southern varieties until as late as the 14th century. The exception to this was Paris. In the scribal *koiné* that developed there, there was greater variety among post-verbal particles in the early Middle Ages and, as time progressed, *pas* became the most frequent variant of all. In addition, Parisian had the highest rate of negative reinforcement of all

varieties examined, which suggests that this was indeed a locus of change as we know this to be a linguistic innovation. With this in mind, I used Social Network Theory as a historical framework as its utility had already been proven by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1996, 2000), Lippi-Green (1994), Fitzmaurice (2000), Imhoff (2000), Nevalainen (2000), Tieken-Boon van Ostade *et al*. (2000), and Bergs (2005). I argued that the reason for the rise of *pas* as the default marker was because of change from above in the form of legal and administrative documents produced by the scribal communities of practice there. This *koiné* then travelled not only through the documents themselves but also with a younger generation of lawyers and administrators trained in the capital, and who moved back to the provinces to practise law. The associated prestige led to an increase in works being written in this *koiné*, both literary and non-literary, which then cemented the role of *pas* as default marker and reinforced the obsolescence of its competitors. Alongside this, I argued, the standardising effects that linguistic legislation had, as early as 1490, could only have promoted the language in which it was written, to the detriment of alternative Old Gallo-Romance varieties.

A further innovation of this chapter was its use of a personal diary: the *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, which was useful in that it gave a personal account in naturalistic speech, and it also increased the textual variety of my data. Furthermore, it was written later than any of my other data, which helped to show unequivocally that bipartite negation had become the norm by the 15th century. This was demonstrated by the categorical absence of *ne* + ø within the *Journal*, and by the appearance of bipartite negation in all discourse-pragmatic contexts, including with New Information. I thus argued that such linguistic and extra-linguistic factors contributed to a reduction in the number of variants of post-verbal negative particles, but also to a grammatical change whereby *pas* is now both the default negative exponent and also the only one licensed by the grammar.

§6.5 Suggestions for Future Research

It is at this stage that I will turn to those avenues of research I believe still warrant pursuit if we are to fill the gaps remaining in our understanding of the history of French negation. The first is whether there is any evidence that the nature of French negation is *truly* cyclical in that the bipartite strategy of negation in Modern Standard French today, viz. *ne…pas*, will see the newest element (*pas*) eventually weaken and require reinforcement from another particle, as we know is already happening in Mauritian Creole (Zeijlstra 2016: 287). It is true that pre-verbal *ne* has lost in semantic and pragmatic force to such an extent that it can now be omitted without any loss in its implicature of denial (Modern Standard French currently being at Neg2.5 in Table 15 above), but whether the post-verbal particle in Modern Standard French will follow the same path remains to be seen.

The second area of research that could inform us further about the evolution of French negation is whether there is a connetion between grammaticalisation and discourse pragmatics for these negators. While this thesis has treated these areas separately for what they can tell us about the development of particles from lexical items, and about their use as markers of discourse-structure, a potentially fruitful line of inquiry could be the interaction between discourse pragmatics and the rate and extent of grammaticalisation of these particles, a potential relationship already proposed by Lehmann (2008), Waltereit (2011), and Bowie and Popova (2019). In other words, would the use of a minimiser in particular discourse contexts, for example, promote or inhibit either its potential to grammaticalise or its rate of grammaticalisation once begun?

A third line of inquiry which, if pursued, could help us to understand better the use and development of French negation, is an analysis of *intra*-authorial variation. This could be approached synchronically, for example by comparing several texts by one author of

approximately the same date to determine the factors affecting the choice of one exponent of negation over another. It could also be approached diachronically by plotting changes in an author's use of negation over time. Historical longitudinal studies such as the latter would, naturally, require a great deal of chronologically verifiable data, but if executed would ultimately go some way to clarifying whether the change from Neg1.5 > Neg2 could feasibly occur in one individual's grammar over his lifetime.

Supplementary Materials

Chapter 2 *Oïl* Tables

Co-occurrence with ungrammaticalized NPI in *oïl* varieties (high g.)	***Oïl* Mie Raw Tokens**	***Oïl* Pas Raw Tokens**	***Oïl* Point Raw Tokens**
Champenois	X (0/327)	✓ (3/543)	X (0/68)
Orléanais	X (0/7)	✓ (1/201)	X (0/16)
Picard	X (0/553)	✓ (5/1345)	X (0/867)
Poitevin	X (0/83)	X (0/4)	X (0/12)
Parisien	X (0/21)	✓ (4/477)	X (0/66)
Lorrain	X (0/45)	X (0/59)	X (0)

Syntactic Variability of Post-verbal Negative Particle in *oïl* varieties (low g.)	***Oïl* Mie Raw Tokens**	***Oïl* Pas Raw Tokens**	***Oïl* Point Raw Tokens**
Champenois	✓ (4/327)	✓ (8/543)	✓ (11/68)
Orléanais	X (0/7)	✓ (1/201)	X (0/16)
Picard	X (0/553)	X (0/1345)	✓ (1/867)
Poitevin	X (0/83)	X (0/4)	X (0/12)
Parisien	✓ (3/21)	✓ (10/477)	X (0/66)
Lorrain	✓ (2/45)	✓ (3/59)	X (0)

Co-Occurrence of Post-verbal Negative Particle with Determiner in *oïl* varieties (low g.)	***Oïl* Mie Raw Tokens**	***Oïl* Pas Raw Tokens**	***Oïl* Point Raw Tokens**
Champenois	X (0/327)	✓ (3/543)	X (0/68)
Orléanais	X (0/7)	✓ (1/201)	X (0/16)
Picard	X (0/553)	✓ (5/1345)	X (0/867)
Poitevin	X (0/83)	X (0/4)	X (0/12)
Parisien	X (0/21)	✓ (4/477)	X (0/66)
Lorrain	X (0/45)	X (0/59)	X (0)

Semantic congruity of Post-verbal Negative Particle in *oïl* varieties (low g.)	***Oïl* Mie Raw Tokens**	***Oïl* Pas Raw Tokens**	***Oïl* Point Raw Tokens**
Champenois	✓ (1/327)	✓ (1/543)	X (0/68)
Orléanais	X (0/7)	X (0/201)	X (0/16)
Picard	X (0/553)	✓ (2/1345)	X (0/867)
Poitevin	X (0/83)	✓ (1/4)	X (0/12)
Parisien	X (0/21)	X (0/477)	X (0/66)
Lorrain	X (0/45)	X (0/59)	X (0)

Chapter 2 *Oc* Tables

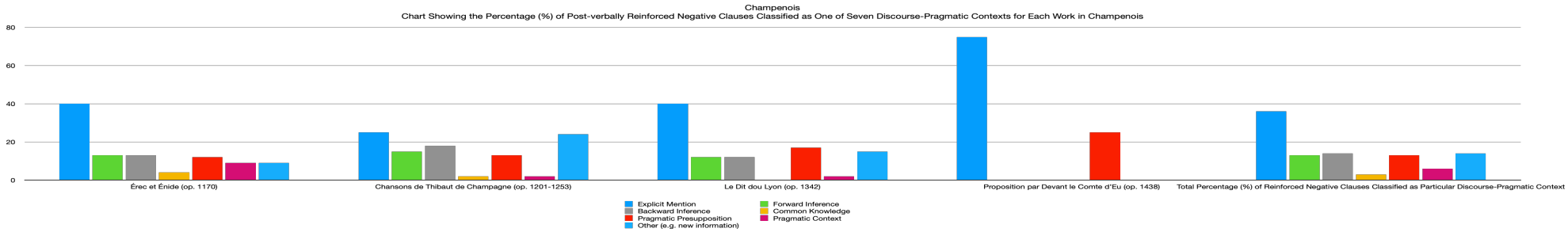
Co-occurrence with ungrammaticalized NPI in *oc* varieties (high g.)	*Oc* Miga Raw Tokens	*Oc* Pas Raw Tokens	*Oc* Ponch Raw Tokens
Provençal	✓ (1/2)	✓ (2/35)	X (0/73)
Limousin	✓ (0/7)	✓ (2/8)	X (0/8)
Languedocien	✓ (1/3)	✓ (2/17)	X (0/8)
Toulousain	X (0/1)	X (0/4)	X (0/4)
Gascon	X (0/1)	X (0/7)	X (0)
Briançonnais	X (0)	X (0/11)	X (0)
Vaudois	X (0)	X (1/4)	X (0)
Niçois	X (0)	X (0/2)	X (0)

Syntactic Variability of Post-verbal Negative Particle in *oc* varieties (low g.)	*Oc* Miga Raw Tokens	*Oc* Pas Raw Tokens	*Oc* Ponch Raw Tokens
Provençal	✓ (1/2)	✓ (1/35)	X (0/73)
Limousin	✓ (2/7)	✓ (2/8)	X (0/8)
Languedocien	✓ (1/3)	X (0/17)	X (0/8)
Toulousain	X (0/1)	X (0/4)	X (0/4)
Gascon	X (0/1)	X (0/7)	X (0)
Briançonnais	X (0)	✓ (1/11)	X (0)
Vaudois	X (0)	X (0/4)	X (0)
Niçois	X (0)	X (0/2)	X (0)

Co-Occurrence of Post-verbal Negative Particle with Determiner in *oc* varieties (low g.)	*Oc* Miga Raw Tokens	*Oc* Pas Raw Tokens	*Oc* Ponch Raw Tokens
Provençal	X (0/2)	✓ (1/35)	X (0/73)
Limousin	X (0/7)	✓ (1/8)	X (0/8)
Languedocien	X (0/3)	X (0/17)	X (0/8)
Toulousain	X (0/1)	X (0/4)	X (0/4)
Gascon	X (0/1)	✓ (1/7)	X (0)
Briançonnais	X (0)	✓ (1/11)	X (0)
Vaudois	X (0)	X (0/4)	X (0)
Niçois	X (0)	X (0/2)	X (0)

Semantic congruity of Post-verbal Negative Particle in *oc* varieties (low g.)	*Oc* Miga Raw Tokens	*Oc* Pas Raw Tokens	*Oc* Ponch Raw Tokens
Provençal	✓ (1/2)	✓ (3/35)	X (0/73)
Limousin	✓ (1/7)	X (1/8)	X (0/8)
Languedocien	✓ (1/3)	✓ (1/17)	X (0/8)
Toulousain	X (0/1)	X (0/4)	X (0/4)
Gascon	X (0/1)	X (0/7)	X (0)
Briançonnais	X (0)	✓ (1/11)	X (0)
Vaudois	X (0)	X (0/4)	X (0)
Niçois	X (0)	X (0/2)	X (0)

Chapter 3 *Oïl* Tables and Charts



Raw Token Count and Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work

Titles and Dates of Works Mined (op.)	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Érec et Énide (op. 1170)	66/164 (40%)	21/164 (13%)	21/164 (13%)	6/164 (4%)	20/164 (12%)	15/164 (9%)	15/164 (9%)	164
Chansons de Thibaut de Champagne (op. 1201-1253)	22/87 (25%)	13/87 (15%)	16/87 (18%)	2/87 (2%)	11/87 (13%)	2/87 (2%)	21/87 (24%)	87
Le Dit dou Lyon (op. 1342)	21/52 (40%)	7/52 (12%)	6/52 (12%)	0/52 (0%)	9/52 (17%)	1/52 (2%)	8/52 (15%)	52
Proposition par Devant le Comte d'Eu (op. 1438)	3/4 (75%)	0/4 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	1/4 (25%)	0/4 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	4
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	36 (%)	13 (%)	14 (%)	3 (%)	13 (%)	6 (%)	14 (%)	

Number of Tokens of Pre-verbal and Post-verbal Particles For Each Work

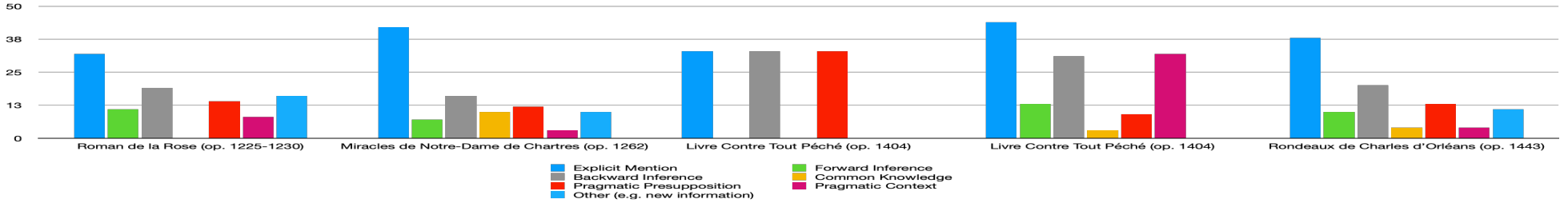
	Érec et Énide (op. 1170)	Chansons de Thibaut de Champagne (op. 1201-1253)	Le Dit dou Lyon (op. 1342)	Proposition par Devant le Comte d'Eu (op. 1438)	Total
Words	40,710	21,937	13,052	1619	77,318
Ne	840	613	330	6	1,789
N'	359	262	171	3	795
Nen	0	0	0	0	0
Nes	15	1	2	0	18
Pas	97	60	41	2	200
Point	0	5	3	1	9
Mie	65	22	8	1	96
Goutte	2	0	0	0	2
Percentage of All Negative Clauses Co-occurring with Post-Verbal Particle	14	10	10	44	12

Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work

Titles and Dates of Works Mined (op.)	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Érec et Énide (op. 1170)	40	13	13	4	12	9	9	164
Chansons de Thibaut de Champagne (op. 1201-1253)	25	15	18	2	13	2	24	87
Le Dit dou Lyon (op. 1342)	40	12	12	0	17	2	15	52
Proposition par Devant le Comte d'Eu (op. 1438)	75	0	0	0	25	0	0	4
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	36	13	14	3	13	6	14	

Orléanais

Chart Showing the Percentage (%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work in Orléanais



Raw Token Count and Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work

Titles and Dates of Works Mined (op.)	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Roman de la Rose (op. 1225-1230)	22/69 (32%)	7/69 (11%)	13/69 (19%)	0/69 (0%)	9/69 (14%)	5/69 (8%)	11/69 (16%)	69
Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres (op. 1262)	20/48 (42%)	4/48 (7%)	7/48 (16%)	5/48 (10%)	6/48 (12%)	1/48 (3%)	5/48 (10%)	48
Livre Contre Tout Péché (op. 1404)	1/3 (33%)	0/3 (0%)	1/3 (33%)	0/3 (0%)	1/3 (33%)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	3
Rondeaux de Charles d'Orléans (op. 1443)	14/32 (44%)	4/32 (13%)	10/32 (31%)	1/32 (3%)	3/32 (9%)	0/32 (0%)	0/32 (0%)	32
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	38 (%)	10 (%)	20 (%)	4 (%)	13 (%)	4 (%)	11 (%)	

Number of Tokens of Pre-verbal and Post-verbal Particles For Each Work

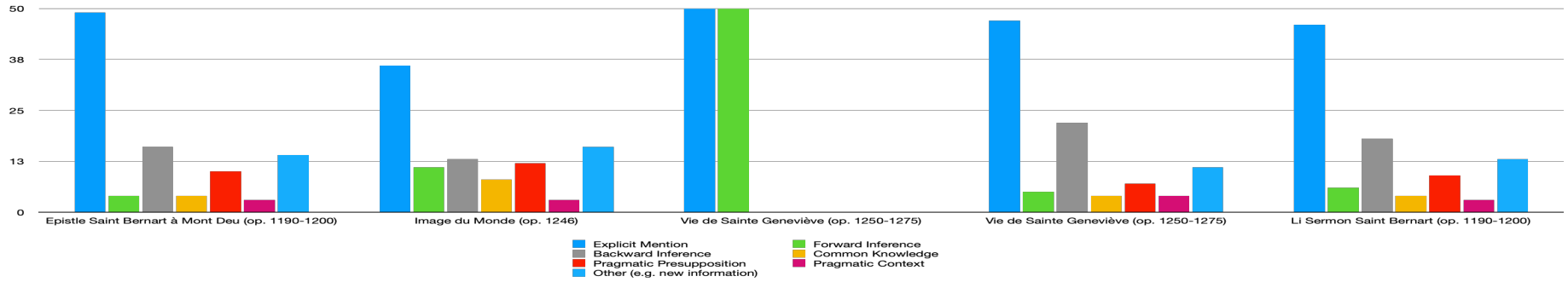
	Roman de la Rose (op. 1225-1230)	Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres (op. 1262)	Livre Contre Tout Péché (op. 1404)	Rondeaux de Charles d'Orléans (op. 1443)	Total
Words	11,500	11,500	819	11,500	35,319
Ne	221	189	9	200	619
N'	115	0	3	105	223
Nen	0	0	0	0	0
Nes	0	0	0	0	0
Pas	37	39	2	25	102
Point	20	0	0	6	26
Mie	14	9	1	1	24
Goutte	0	0	0	0	0
Percentage of All Negative Clauses Co-occurring with Post-Verbal Particle	21	25	25	10	18

Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work

Titles and Dates of Works Mined (op.)	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Roman de la Rose (op. 1225-1230)	32	11	19	0	14	8	16	69
Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres (op. 1262)	42	7	16	10	12	3	10	48
Livre Contre Tout Péché (op. 1404)	33	0	33	0	33	0	0	3
Rondeaux de Charles d'Orléans (op. 1443)	44	13	31	3	9	32	0	32
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	38	10	20	4	13	4	11	

Lorrain

Chart Showing the Percentage (%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work in Lorrain



Raw Token Count and Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work

Titles and Dates of Works Mined (op.)	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Epistle Saint Bernart à Mont Deu (op. 1190-1200)	77/158 (49%)	7/158 (4%)	25/158 (16%)	6/158 (4%)	16/158 (10%)	5/158 (3%)	22/158 (14%)	158
Image du Monde (op. 1246)	12/36 (36%)	5/36 (11%)	5/36 (13%)	3/36 (8%)	4/36 (12%)	1/36 (3%)	6/36 (16%)	36
Vie de Sainte Geneviève (op. 1250-1275)	1/2 (50%)	1/2 (50%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	2
Li Sermon Saint Bernart (op. 1190-1200)	47/100 (47%)	5/100 (5%)	22/100 (22%)	4/100 (4%)	7/100 (7%)	4/100 (4%)	11/100 (11%)	100
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	46 (%)	6 (%)	18 (%)	4 (%)	9 (%)	3 (%)	13 (%)	

Number of Tokens of Pre-verbal and Post-verbal Particles For Each Work

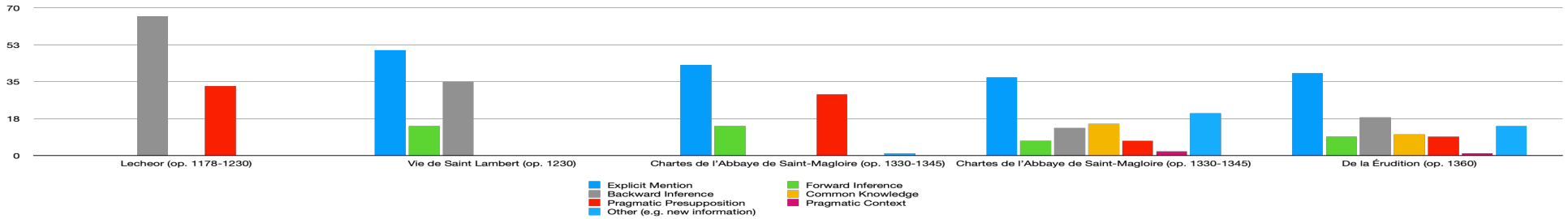
	Epistle Saint Bernart à Mont Deu (op. 1190-1200)	Image du Monde (op. 1246)	Vie de Sainte Geneviève (op. 1250-1275)	Li Sermon Saint Bernart (op. 1190-1200)	Total
Words	30,408	46,678	825	11,500	89,411
Ne	409	221	5	216	851
N'	5	65	0	8	78
Nen	153	0	0	14	167
Nes	33	0	0	64	97
Pas	0	19	2	0	21
Point	0	12	0	0	12
Mie	158	5	0	100	263
Goutte	0	0	0	0	0
Percentage of All Negative Clauses Co-occurring with Post-Verbal Particle	26	13	40	33	25

Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work

Titles and Dates of Works Mined (op.)	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Epistle Saint Bernart à Mont Deu (op. 1190-1200)	49	4	16	4	10	3	14	158
Image du Monde (op. 1246)	36	11	13	8	12	3	16	36
Vie de Sainte Geneviève (op. 1250-1275)	50	50	0	0	0	0	0	2
Li Sermon Saint Bernart (op. 1190-1200)	47	5	22	4	7	4	11	100
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	46	6	18	4	9	3	13	

Parisien

Chart Showing the Percentage (%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work in Parisien



Raw Token Count and Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work

Titles and Dates of Works Mined (op.)	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Lecheor (op. 1178-1230)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	2/3 (66%)	0/3 (0%)	1/3 (33%)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	3
Vie de Saint Lambert (op. 1230)	7/14 (50%)	2/14 (14%)	5/14 (35%)	0/14 (0%)	0/14 (0%)	0/14 (0%)	0/14 (0%)	14
Chartes de l'Abbaye de Saint-Magloire (op. 1330-1345)	3/7 (43%)	1/7 (14%)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	2/7 (29%)	0/7 (0%)	1/7 (14%)	7
De la Érudition (op. 1360)	17/46 (37%)	3/46 (7%)	6/46 (13%)	7/46 (15%)	3/46 (7%)	1/46 (2%)	9/46 (20%)	46
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	39 (%)	9 (%)	18 (%)	10 (%)	9 (%)	1 (%)	14 (%)	

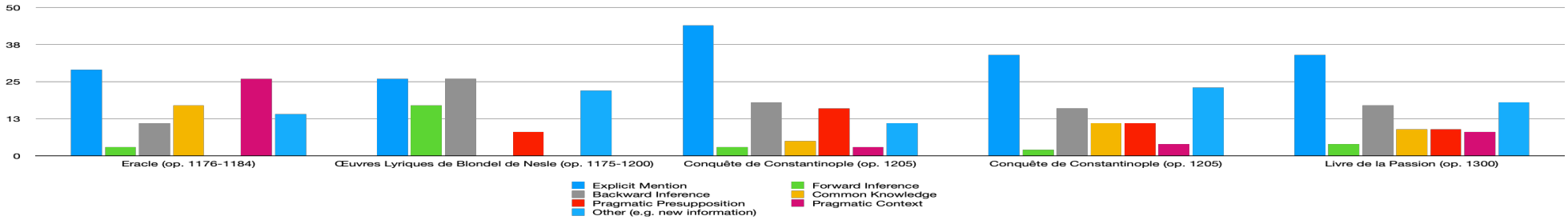
Number of Tokens of Pre-verbal and Post-verbal Particles For Each Work

	Lecheor (op. 1178-1230)	Vie de Saint Lambert (op. 1230)	Chartes de l'Abbaye de Saint-Magloire (op. 1330-1345)	De la Érudition (op. 1360)	Total
Words	689	5843	11,500	11,500	29,532
Ne	7	58	98	146	309
N'	5	21	24	46	96
Nen	0	0	0	0	0
Nes	0	0	0	0	0
Pas	1	1	7	45	54
Point	0	0	0	1	1
Mie	2	13	0	0	12
Goutte	0	0	0	0	0
Percentage of All Negative Clauses Co-occurring with Post-Verbal Particle	25	18	6	24	17

Titles and Dates of Works Mined (op.)	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work								
Lecheor (op. 1178-1230)	0	0	66	0	33	0	0	3
Vie de Saint Lambert (op. 1230)	50	14	35	0	0	0	0	14
Chartes de l'Abbaye de Saint-Magloire (op. 1330-1345)	43	14	0	0	29	0	1	7
De la Érudition (op. 1360)	37	7	13	15	7	2	20	46
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	39	9	18	10	9	1	14	

Picard

Chart Showing the Percentage (%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work in Picard



Raw Token Count and Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work

Titles and Dates of Works Mined (op.)	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Eracle (op. 1176-1184)	10/35 (29%)	1/35 (3%)	4/35 (11%)	6/35 (17%)	0/35 (0%)	9/35 (26%)	5/35 (14%)	35
Œuvres Lyriques de Blondel de Nesle (op. 1175-1200)	6/23 (26%)	4/23 (17%)	6/23 (26%)	0 (0%)	2/23 (8%)	0 (0%)	5/23 (22%)	23
Conquête de Constantinople (op. 1205)	17/38 (44%)	1/38 (3%)	7/38 (18%)	2/38 (5%)	6/38 (16%)	1/38 (3%)	4/38 (11%)	38
Livre de la Passion (op. 1300)	19/56 (34%)	1/56 (2%)	9/56 (16%)	6/56 (11%)	6/56 (11%)	2/56 (4%)	13/56 (23%)	56
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	34 (%)	4 (%)	17 (%)	9 (%)	9 (%)	8 (%)	18 (%)	

Number of Tokens of Pre-verbal and Post-verbal Particles For Each Work

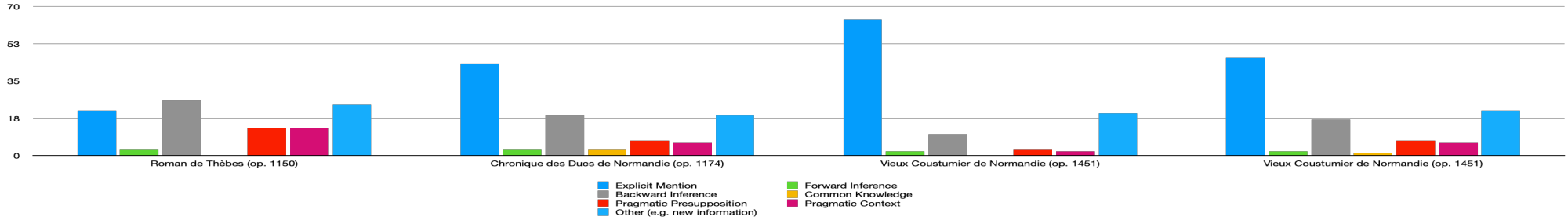
	Eracle (op. 1176-1184)	Œuvres Lyriques de Blondel de Nesle (op. 1175-1200)	Conquête de Constantinople (op. 1205)	Livre de la Passion (op. 1300)	Total
Words	11,500	5321	11,500	11,500	69,181
Ne	218	169	149	148	684
N’	121	83	50	79	333
Nen	0	0	8	4	12
Nes	9	1	0	0	10
Pas	19	17	0	43	79
Point	2	0	0	5	7
Mie	14	6	38	8	66
Goutte	0	0	0	0	0
Percentage of All Negative Clauses Co-occurring with Post-Verbal Particle	10	9	18	24	15

Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work

Titles and Dates of Works Mined (op.)	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Eracle (op. 1176-1184)	29	3	11	17	0	26	14	35
Œuvres Lyriques de Blondel de Nesle (op. 1175-1200)	26	17	26	0	8	0	22	23
Conquête de Constantinople (op. 1205)	44	3	18	5	16	3	11	38
Livre de la Passion (op. 1300)	34	2	16	11	11	4	23	56
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	34	4	17	9	9	8	18	

Poitevin

Chart Showing the Percentage (%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work in Poitevin



Raw Token Count and Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work

Titles and Dates of Works Mined (op.)	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Roman de Thèbes (op. 1150)	8/38 (21%)	1/38 (3%)	10/38 (26%)	0 (0%)	5/38 (13%)	5/38 (13%)	9/38 (24%)	38
Chronique des Ducs de Normandie (op. 1174)	15/36 (43%)	1/36 (3%)	7/36 (19%)	1/36 (3%)	3/36 (7%)	2/36 (6%)	7/36 (19%)	36
Vieux Coustumier de Normandie (op. 1451)	38/60 (64%)	1/60 (2%)	6/60 (10%)	0 (0%)	2/60 (3%)	1/60 (2%)	12/60 (20%)	60
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	46 (%)	2 (%)	17 (%)	1 (%)	7 (%)	6 (%)	21 (%)	

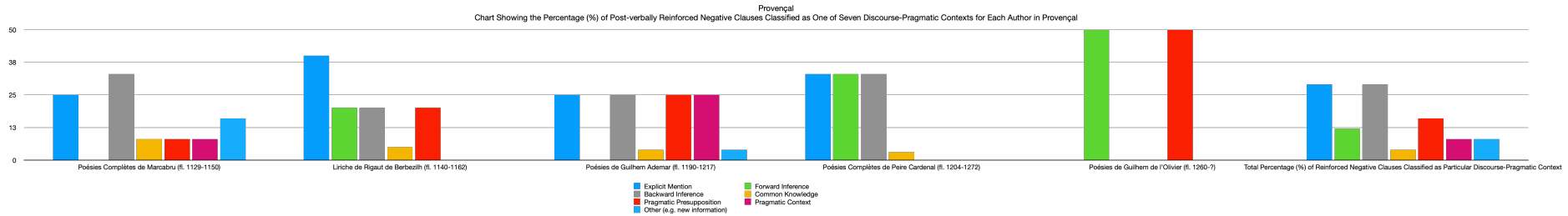
Number of Tokens of Pre-verbal and Post-verbal Particles For Each Work

	Roman de Thèbes (op. 1150)	Chronique des Ducs de Normandie (op. 1174)	Vieux Coustumier de Normandie (op. 1451)	Total
Words	11,500	11,500	16,636	39,636
Ne	204	268	180	652
N'	98	147	128	373
Nen	0	4	0	4
Nes	4	2	0	6
Pas	36	30	33	99
Point	0	0	27	27
Mie	2	6	0	8
Goutte	0	0	0	0
Percentage of All Negative Clauses Co-occurring with Post-Verbal Particle	13	9	19	13

Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Work

Titles and Dates of Works Mined (op.)	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Roman de Thèbes (op. 1150)	21	3	26	0	13	13	24	38
Chronique des Ducs de Normandie (op. 1174)	43	3	19	3	7	6	19	36
Vieux Coustumier de Normandie (op. 1451)	64	2	10	0	3	2	20	60
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	46	2	17	1	7	6	21	

Chapter 3 *Oc* Tables and Charts[92]



[92] An entry of 'N/A' under 'Words' denotes the data came from the COM2 corpus and therefore it was not possible to provide a word count.

Raw Token Count and Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Author

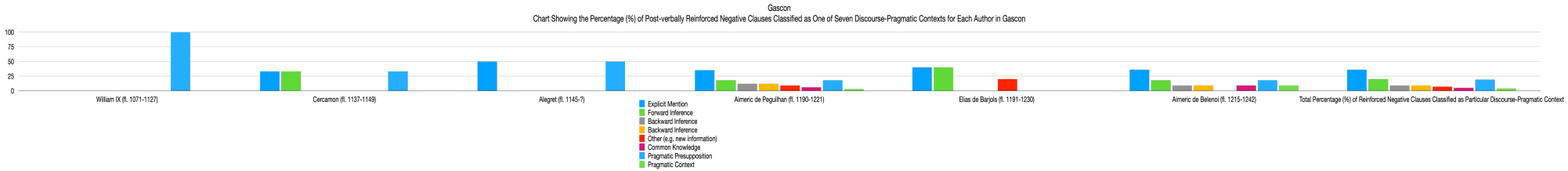
Texts and Dates Author was Active	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Poésies Complètes de Marcabru (fl. 1129-1150)	3/12 (25%)	0/12 (0%)	4/12 (33%)	1/12 (8%)	1/12 (8%)	1/12 (8%)	2/12 (16%)	12
Liriche de Rigaut de Berbezilh (fl. 1140-1162)	2/5 (40%)	1/5 (20%)	1/5 (20%)	0/5 (0%)	1/5 (20%)	0/5 (0%)	0/5 (0%)	5
Poésies de Guilhem Ademar (fl. 1190-1217)	1/4 (25%)	0/4 (0%)	1/4 (25%)	0/4 (0%)	1/4 (25%)	1/4 (25%)	0/4 (0%)	4
Poésies Complètes de Peire Cardenal (fl. 1204-1272)	1/3 (33%)	1/3 (33%)	1/3 (33%)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	3
Poésies de Guilhem de l'Olivier (fl. 1260-?)	0/2 (0%)	1/2 (50%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	1/2 (50%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	2
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	29 (%)	12 (%)	29 (%)	4 (%)	16 (%)	8 (%)	8 (%)	

Number of Tokens of Pre-verbal and Post-verbal Particles For Each Author

	Poésies Complètes de Marcabru (fl. 1129-1150)	Liriche de Rigaut de Berbezilh (fl. 1140-1162)	Poésies de Guilhem Ademar (fl. 1190-1217)	Poésies Complètes de Peire Cardenal (fl. 1204-1272)	Poésies de Guilhem de l'Olivier (fl. 1260-?)	Total
Words	10,735	4406	4759	22,942	4490	**47,332**
Non	152	73	56	397	59	**737**
No	70	21	45	90	34	**260**
N'	54	7	25	82	12	**180**
Ges	10	5	2	31	1	**49**
Pas	1	0	0	3	0	**4**
Miga etc.	1	0	1	0	0	**2**
Cap	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
Guans	0	0	1	0	0	**1**
Ponch	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Percentage of All Negative Clauses Co-occurring with Post-Verbal Particle	4	5	3	6	2	**5**

Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Author

Texts and Dates Author was Active	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Poésies Complètes de Marcabru (fl. 1129-1150)	25	0	33	8	8	8	16	12
Liriche de Rigaut de Berbezilh (fl. 1140-1162)	40	20	20	5	20	0	0	5
Poésies de Guilhem Ademar (fl. 1190-1217)	25	0	25	4	25	25	4	4
Poésies Complètes de Peire Cardenal (fl. 1204-1272)	33	33	33	3	0	0	0	3
Poésies de Guilhem de l'Olivier (fl. 1260-?)	0	50	0	0	50	0	0	2
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	29	12	29	4	16	8	8	


Gascon
Chart Showing the Percentage (%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Author in Gascon
100
75
50
25
0
William IX (fl. 1071-1127)
Cercamon (fl. 1137-1149)
Alegret (fl. 1145-?)
Aimeric de Peguilhan (fl. 1190-1221)
Elias de Barjols (fl. 1191-1230)
Aimeric de Belenoi (fl. 1215-1242)
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context
Explicit Mention
Forward Inference
Backward Inference
Backward Inference
Other (e.g. new information)
Common Knowledge
Pragmatic Presupposition
Pragmatic Context

Raw Token Count and Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Author

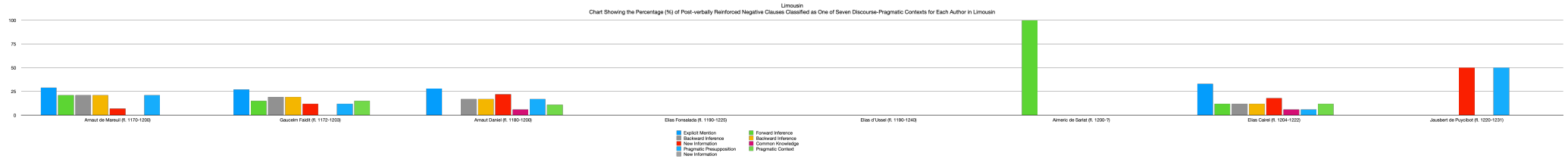
Authors and Dates Active	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
William IX (fl. 1071-1127)	0/1 (0%)	0/1 (0%)	0/1 (0%)	0/1 (0%)	1/1 (100%)	0/1 (0%)	0/1 (0%)	1
Cercamon (fl. 1137-1149)	1/3 (33%)	1/3 (33%)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	1/3 (33%)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	3
Alegret (fl. 1145-?)	1/2 (50%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	1/2 (50%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	2
Aimeric de Peguilhan (fl. 1190-1221)	12/34 (35%)	6/34 (18%)	4/34 (12%)	2/34 (6%)	6/34 (18%)	1/34 (3%)	3/34 (9%)	34
Elias de Barjols (fl. 1191-1230)	2/5 (40%)	2/5 (40%)	0/5 (0%)	0/5 (0%)	0/5 (0%)	0/5 (0%)	1/5 (20%)	5
Aimeric de Belenoi (fl. 1215-1242)	4/11 (36%)	2/11 (18%)	1/11 (9%)	1/11 (9%)	2/11 (18%)	1/11 (9%)	0/11 (0%)	11
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	36 (%)	20 (%)	9 (%)	5 (%)	19 (%)	4 (%)	7 (%)	

Number of Tokens of Pre-verbal and Post-verbal Particles For Each Author

	William IX (fl. 1071-1127)	Cercamon (fl. 1137-1149)	Alegret (fl. 1145-?)	Aimeric de Peguilhan (fl. 1190-1221)	Elias de Barjols (fl. 1191-1230)	Aimeric de Belenoi (fl. 1215-1242)	Total
Words	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**
Non	42	43	11	193	41	91	**421**
No	101	57	11	273	127	113	**682**
N'	12	16	2	49	22	18	**119**
Ges	1	3	2	34	5	10	**55**
Pas	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Miga etc.	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Cap	0	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
Guans	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Ponch	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Percentage (%) of Negative Clauses Co-occurring with Post-Verbal Particle	0.6	3	9	7	3	5	**5**

Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Author

Authors and Dates Active	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
William IX (fl. 1071-1127)	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	1
Cercamon (fl. 1137-1149)	33	33	0	0	33	0	0	3
Alegret (fl. 1145-?)	50	0	0	0	50	0	0	2
Aimeric de Peguilhan (fl. 1190-1221)	35	18	12	6	18	3	9	34
Elias de Barjols (fl. 1191-1230)	40	40	0	0	0	0	20	5
Aimeric de Belenoi (fl. 1215-1242)	36	18	9	9	18	9	0	11
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	36	20	9	5	19	4	7	


Limousin
Chart Showing the Percentage (%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Author in Limousin
100
75
50
25
0
Arnaut de Mareuil (fl. 1170-1200)
Gaucelm Faidit (fl. 1172-1203)
Arnaut Daniel (fl. 1180-1200)
Elias Fonsalada (fl. 1190-1220)
Elias d'Ussel (fl. 1190-1240)
Aimeric de Sarlat (fl. 1200-?)
Elias Cairel (fl. 1204-1222)
Jausbert de Puycibot (fl. 1220-1231)
Exploit Mention
Backward Inference
New Information
Pragmatic Presupposition
New Information
Forward Inference
Backward Inference
Common Knowledge
Pragmatic Context

Raw Token Count and Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Author

	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	New Information	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Arnaut de Mareuil (fl. 1170-1200)	4/14 (29%)	3 /14 (21%)	3 /14 (21%)	0/14 (0%)	3 /14 (21%)	0/14 (0%)	1/14 (7%)	14
Gaucelm Faidit (fl. 1172-1203)	7/26 (27%)	4/26 (15%)	5/26 (19%)	0/26 (0%)	3/26 (12%)	4/26 (15%)	3/26 (12%)	26
Arnaut Daniel (fl. 1180-1200)	5/18 (28%)	0/18 (0%)	3/18 (17%)	1/18 (6%)	3/18 (17%)	2/18 (11%)	4/18 (22%)	18
Elias Fonsalada (fl. 1190-1225)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0
Elias d'Ussel (fl. 1190-1240)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0
Aimeric de Sarlat (fl. 1200-?)	0/1 (0%)	1/1 (100%)	0/1 (0%)	0/1 (0%)	0/1 (0%)	0/1 (0%)	0/1 (0%)	1
Elias Cairel (fl. 1204-1222)	6/18 (33%)	2/18 (12%)	2/18 (12%)	1/18 (6%)	1/18 (6%)	2/18 (12%)	3/18 (18%)	18
Jausbert de Puycibot (fl. 1220-1231)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	1/2 (50%)	0/2 (0%)	1/2 (50%)	2
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	29	13	16	2	14	10	15	

Number of Tokens of Preverbal and Postverbal Particles For Each Author

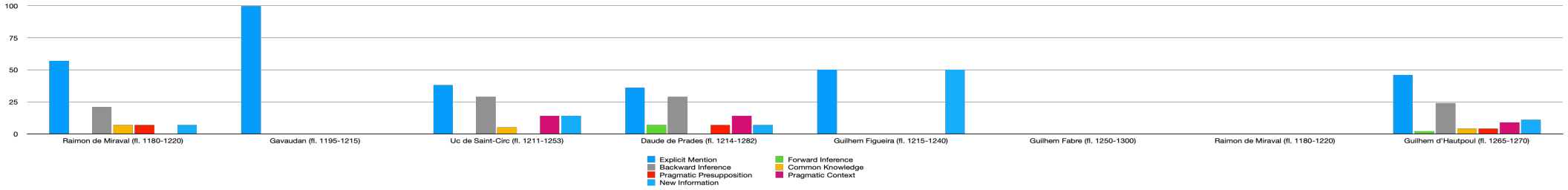
	Arnaut de Mareuil (fl. 1170-1200)	Gaucelm Faidit (fl. 1172-1203)	Arnaut Daniel (fl. 1180-1200)	Elias Fonsalada (fl. 1190-1225)	Elias d'Ussel (fl. 1190-1240)	Aimeric de Sarlat (fl. 1200-?)	Elias Cairel (fl. 1204-1222)	Jausbert de Puycibot (fl. 1220-1231)	Total
Words	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**
Non	76	274	71	6	2	16	65	38	**548**
No	183	413	136	8	7	15	57	85	**904**
N'	22	94	30	4	0	3	9	17	**179**
Ges	14	26	17	0	0	1	17	2	**77**
Pas	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
Miga etc.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Cap	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Guans	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Ponch	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Percentage (%) of Negative Clauses Co-occurring with Post-Verbal Particle	5	3	6	0	0	3	13	1	**6**

Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Author

	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	New Information	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Arnaut de Mareuil (fl. 1170-1200)	29	21	21	0	21	0	7	14
Gaucelm Faidit (fl. 1172-1203)	27	15	19	0	12	15	12	26
Arnaut Daniel (fl. 1180-1200)	28	0	17	6	17	11	22	18
Elias Fonsalada (fl. 1190-1225)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elias d'Ussel (fl. 1190-1240)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aimeric de Sarlat (fl. 1200-?)	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	1
Elias Cairel (fl. 1204-1222)	33	12	12	6	6	12	18	18
Jausbert de Puycibot (fl. 1220-1231)	0	0	0	0	50	0	50	2
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	21	13	17	6	14	10	14	

Languedocien

Chart Showing the Percentage (%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Author in Languedocien



Raw Token Count and Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Author

Authors and Dates Active	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	New Information	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Raimon de Miraval (fl. 1180-1220)	8/14 (57%)	0/14 (0%)	3/14 (21%)	1/14 (7%)	1/14 (7%)	0/14 (0%)	1/14 (7%)	14
Gavaudan (fl. 1195-1215)	3/3 (100%)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	3
Uc de Saint-Circ (fl. 1211-1253)	8/21 (38%)	0/21 (0%)	6/21 (29%)	1/21 (5%)	0/21 (0%)	3/21 (14%)	3/21 (14%)	21
Daude de Prades (fl. 1214-1282)	5/14 (36%)	1/14 (7%)	4/14 (29%)	0/14 (0%)	1/14 (7%)	2/14 (14%)	1/14 (7%)	14
Guilhem Figueira (fl. 1215-1240)	1/2 (50%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	1/2 (50%)	2
Guilhem Fabre (fl. 1250-1300)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0
Guilhem d'Hautpoul (fl. 1265-1270)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0/0 (0%)	0
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	46	2	24	4	4	9	11	

Number of Tokens of Preverbal and Postverbal Particles For Each Author

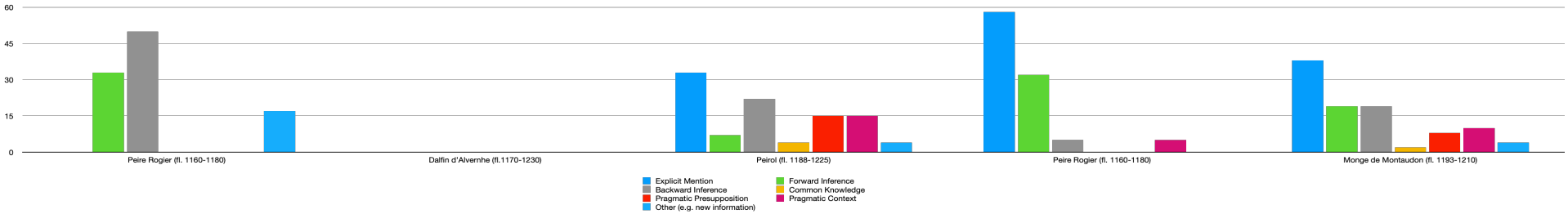
	Raimon de Miraval (fl. 1180-1220)	Gavaudan (fl. 1195-1215)	Uc de Saint-Circ (fl. 1217-1253)	Daude de Prades (fl. 1214-1282)	Guilhem Figueira (fl. 1215-1240)	Guilhem Fabre (fl. 1250-1300)	Guilhem d'Hautpoul (fl. 1265-1270)	Total
Words	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Non	173	41	126	106	40	5	22	**513**
No	306	92	119	111	31	3	20	**682**
N'	53	18	19	19	7	2	10	**128**
Ges	13	3	21	14	2	0	0	**53**
Pas	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
Miga etc.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Cap	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Guans	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Ponch	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Percentage of All Negative Clauses Co-occurring with Post-Verbal Particle	3	2	8	6	6	0	0	**4**

Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Author

Authors and Dates Active	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	New Information	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Raimon de Miraval (fl. 1180-1220)	57	0	21	7	7	0	7	14
Gavaudan (fl. 1195-1215)	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Uc de Saint-Circ (fl. 1211-1253)	38	0	29	5	0	14	14	21
Daude de Prades (fl. 1214-1282)	36	7	29	0	7	14	7	14
Guilhem Figueira (fl. 1215-1240)	50	0	0	0	0	0	50	2
Guilhem Fabre (fl. 1250-1300)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guilhem d'Hautpoul (fl. 1265-1270)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	46	2	24	4	4	9	11	

Auvergnat

Chart Showing the Percentage (%) of Post-verbally Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Author in Auvergnat



Raw Token Count and Percentage (to nearest 1%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Author

Authors and Dates Active	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Peire Rogier (fl. 1160-1180)	0/6 (0%)	2/6 (33%)	3/6 (50%)	0/6 (0%)	0/6 (0%)	0/6 (0%)	1/6 (17%)	6
Dalfin d'Alvernhe (fl.1170-1230)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
Peirol (fl. 1188-1225)	9/27 (33%)	2/27 (7%)	6/27 (22%)	1/27 (4%)	4/27 (15%)	4/27 (15%)	1/27 (4%)	27
Monge de Montaudon (fl. 1193-1210)	11/19 (58%)	6/19 (32%)	1/19 (5%)	0/19 (0%)	0/19 (0%)	1/19 (5%)	0/19 (0%)	19
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	38	19	19	2	8	10	4	

Number of Tokens of Preverbal and Postverbal Particles For Each Author

	Peire Rogier (fl. 1160-1180)	Dalfin d'Alvernhe (fl.1170-1230)	Peirol (fl. 1188-1225)	Monge de Montaudon (fl. 1193-1210)	Total
Words	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Non	43	34	172	81	**330**
No	71	19	142	144	**376**
N'	20	7	48	30	**105**
Ges	6	0	27	19	**52**
Pas	0	0	0	0	**0**
Miga etc.	0	0	0	0	**0**
Cap	0	0	0	0	**0**
Guans	0	0	0	0	**0**
Ponch	0	0	0	0	**0**
Percentage of All Negative Clauses Co-occurring with Post-Verbal Particle	4	0	7	7	**6**

Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as One of Seven Discourse-Pragmatic Contexts for Each Author

Authors and Dates Active	Explicit Mention	Forward Inference	Backward Inference	Common Knowledge	Pragmatic Presupposition	Pragmatic Context	Other (e.g. new information)	Total Number of Post-verbal Negative Particle Tokens (raw count)
Peire Rogier (fl. 1160-1180)	0	33	50	0	0	0	17	6
Dalfin d'Alvernhe (fl.1170-1230)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peirol (fl. 1188-1225)	33	7	22	4	15	15	4	27
Monge de Montaudon (fl. 1193-1210)	58	32	5	0	0	5	0	19
Total Percentage (%) of Reinforced Negative Clauses Classified as Particular Discourse-Pragmatic Context	38	19	19	2	8	10	4	

Variety	Principle Observations Concerning Data
	***Oïl* Data**
Champenois	*Ne* + ø is by far the most common exponent of negation over time, beginning with a high of 90.6% of all negative clauses before gradually falling and then rising once more between 1375 and 1400. *Pas* is the most common particle and rises to a high of 12.48 % between 1280 and 1300 before falling slightly to 8.15% between 1375 and 1400; *mie* is at its highest rate in 1235 (5.35%) but falls steadily after this date and never truly competes with *pas* in any Champenois text. The one attestation across *oïl* varieties of *goutte* as an exponent of negation occurs in Champenois in the 1235 manuscript of *Érec et Énide*.
Orléanais	In a similar way to the Champenois data, the Orléanais data show that *ne* + ø falls steadily over time only to rise once more at the chronological extreme, reaching its apex of 89.51% in 1443; *pas* rises between 1285 and c.1350 and then falls steadily after this date when we would expect it to continue to increase; *mie* is present in 1285 in 3.87% of negative clauses and then categorically absent until 1443 when it reaches a figure of 8.33%; *point* is the third most common exponent of negation in the 1285 *Roman de la Rose* and then absent until 1443 where it is also the third most common exponent.
Picard	Over time, *ne* + ø declines steadily principle exponent of negation but remains the dominant one; *pas* declines gradually from 6.73% between 1250 and 1300 to 3.24% between 1300 and 1320 before constituting the negative exponent of 18.62% of negative clauses in 1400; contrary to common opinion, *mie* does not seem to rival *pas* to any great extent in these Picard data and only ever reaches a high of 4.03% of negative clauses; *point* never reaches above 2.86%.
Poitevin	Out of the three available Poitevin texts in the BFM corpus, two were verse and one in prose and so these form the sample used. It is notable that, in the 86 years that constitute the chronological extremes of one text and the other, there is great stability between them. *Ne* + ø is still the principle exponent of negation at 87.58% in the 1180-1200 *Roman de Thèbe*s and at 91.44% in the 1233-1266 chronicle. This is followed by *pas* at 11.77% and 7.13% and *mie* at 0.65% and 1.43% respectively.
Parisien	Out of the available Parisien texts in the BFM, all but one were in prose and so these form the sample used. After an initial rise in *ne* + ø

	between 1255 and 1330, this particular exponent continues to fall steadily over time as *pas* rises steadily until 1400 when it rises sharply from 5.97% between 1389 and 1392 to 23.44% between 1400 and 1450. Equally surprising is the rate of *mie* in 1240-1255 at 16.46%, which then drops to 0% in 1330-1345, rises to 0.05% in 1389-1392, before finally returning to 0%. *Point* remains at 0% until 1389-1392 when it reaches 6.7% before dropping to 0.52% in 1400-1450.
Lorrain	All Lorrain texts in the BFM were prose texts and so form a comparative sub-group with the Parisien texts. As with the Parisien texts, there is an initial rise in *ne* + ø as an exponent before reaching its highest rate in the early 14th century. *Mie* is the first particle to appear and at a high rate of 33.11% in 1190-1200 before declining steadily over time and reaching 0% by 1300-1350. As *mie* declines, *pas* increases in attestations from 0% before 1200 to 6.64% by 1315 and 40% by 1300-1350.

Variety	**Principle Observations Concerning Data**
	***Oc* Data**
Provençal	*Ne* + ø is the dominant exponent of negation and remains steady over time, varying at most by 4.08%; this exponent reaches its apex at the latest date of post-1260. *Pas* is and *miga* do not vary greatly, being at the same rates of 0.36% in 1129-1150, 0% in 1140-1162, and 0% post-1260. *Pas* reaches a high of 0.53% to *miga*'s 0% in 1204-1272 while *miga* reaches its high of 0.79% to *pas*' 0% in 1190-1217. There does not seem to be a pattern to the behaviour of *ges*, which rises and falls indiscriminately over time. *Cap* and *guans* are attested, but with only one token apiece.
Gascon	As with Provençal, the rate of *ges* rises then falls alternately over time, but in Gascon the rate of *ne* + ø seems to be inversely proportional to that of *ges* for, as one increases the other decreases. *Ne* + ø remains the dominant exponent of negation over time. *Pas*, *miga*, *ponch*, and *guans* are all categorically absent and *cap* has but one token.
Limousin	The rate of *ne* + ø never falls below 87.02% but is at 100% for two separate authors writing around the same time, viz. Elias Fonsalada (1190-1225) and Elias d'Ussel (1190-1240). The rates of *ges* vary between 0% and 12.98%, but noticeably not incrementally as these rates can vary between 2.94% in c.1200 to 12.98% between 1204 and 1222; this less suggestive of a diachronic change than it is of authorial

	preference or register variation. The only other particles attested are *pas* in one troubadour's work at 0.42% and *guans* in another's at 0.79%, suggesting that Limousin was linguistically conservative in terms of innovation.
Langudocien	In comparison to the Limousin data, there are two Languedocien troubadours writing at around the same time as each other whose works also show a categorical rate for *ne* + ø, but notably later than in Limousin (1250-1300 rather than 1190-1240), which again could be indicative of authorial preference or register variation at that time. *Ne* + ø is consistently the most common exponent of negation for this variety, followed by *ges* which fluctuates considerably over time between 1.99% in 1195-1215 and 7.95% in 1217-1253. All other particles are absent apart from one attestation of *pas* in one troubadour's work between 1180 and 1220.
Auvergnat	The four Auvergnat texts available date between 1160 and 1210 but show considerable variation. There is a categorical rate of 100% for *ne* + ø in the work of the Dalfin d'Alvernhe dating between 1170 and 1230, two nearly identical rates of 7.45% and 7.46% for *ges* from troubadours writing at around the same time of 1188-1210, again perhaps suggesting register variation. All other exponents of negation are absent.

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