

Synchronic and diachronic syntax of Occitan

Université de Caen Normandie
Salle du Conseil de l'UFR HSS, 4^e étage, bâtiment B

April 8-9 2026
CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

Xavier Bach (Toulouse). The evolution of adnominal possession in Old Occitan
Adnominal possession is an interesting test case in matter of variation in Old Occitan. Jensen (1994: 114-120), as do most grammarians, distinguishes between full (or tonic) and reduced (or atonic) forms, which present the following (idealised) paradigms (when two forms populate the same cell, the first is nominative, the second accusative):

	Atonic				Tonic			
Possessed	MSG	FSG	MPL	FPL	MSG	FSG	MPL	FPL
1SG	mos, mon	ma	mos	mas	mieus, mieu	mia	miei, mieus	mias
2SG	tos, ton	ta	tos	tas	tieus, tieu	tua	tiei, tieus	tuas
3SG	sos, son	sa	sos	sas	sieus, sieu	sua	siei, sieus	suas
1PL	nostres, nostre	nostra	nostre, nostres	nostras	nostres, nostre	nostra	nostre, nostres	nostras
2PL	vostres, vostre	vostra	vostre, vostres	vostras	vostres, vostre	vostra	vostre, vostres	vostras
3PL	lor	lor	lor(s)	lor(s)	lor	lor	lor(s)	lor(s)

Much less is said about the possible syntactic positions of each of these two series of forms. Atonic forms are always prenominal, and do not generally co-occur with an article, except in the case of indefinite articles.

Tonic forms occur elsewhere, as well as preminally when following a (most often definite) article: as such they can occur preminally and postnominally. This postnominal possibility has not been investigated yet. In Modern Occitan, except in some neo-writing heavily influenced by Catalan, this possibility does no longer exist in the Lengadocian dialect. The possibility of a postnominal usage still exists, if maybe slightly marginal, in Gascon dialects (Romieu & Bianchi 2005: 163-166).

Another postposition that was possible in Old Occitan and is no longer present in Mordern (and even early modern) Lengadocian Occitan is the enclisis of pronouns after an infinitive. This presentation attempts to date the presence of these two positions to envisage whether they would be causally linked (the absence of one implying the absence of the other). The case of French is here illuminating: enclisis is not observed after an infinitive, and adnominal possessives are never postnominal (Buridant 2019: 224-227, 620-623), while in Catalan (and in Gascon) both are observed. As other Romance varieties either present both possibilities or never presented any, Occitan is the perfect test case for assessing whether these two features are linked variables or not.

Buridant, Claude. 2019. *Grammaire du français médiéval (XIe-XIVe siècles)*. Strasbourg: ELIPHI.

Jenssen, Frede. 1994. *Syntaxe de l'ancien occitan*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Romieu, Maurice & Bianchi, André. 2005. *Gramatica de l'occitan gascon contemporanèu*. Bordeaux: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux.

Myriam Bras (Toulouse). The syntax of temporal phrases in contemporary Occitan.

Gilles Couffignal (Sorbonne). Interrogatives directes.

Bryan Donaldson (University of California, Santa Cruz). Object left dislocation in Old Occitan

Old Occitan, often analyzed as a verb-second (V2) language (e.g., Benincà 2006; Vance et al. 2010; Wolfe 2019), allows nominal (NP) complements (e.g., direct object, indirect object) to appear in several preverbal configurations. In (1), the preverbal NP object occupies SpecFocus or its terminological equivalent, the traditional “first position” immediately to the left of the finite verb; such NP objects are moved to SpecFocus and are not doubled by a resumptive clitic (Benincà 2006). In contrast, in (2) and (3), the preverbal NP complement occupies a left-peripheral Topic position (Rizzi 1997). In this configuration, which is significantly less frequent than that of (1), the NP is base generated in the Topic position (Benincà 2006) and is doubled by a (postverbal) resumptive object (2) or adverbial (3) clitic.

- (1) Mal cosselh donet Pilat.
bad counsel gave Pilate
'Pilate gave bad counsel.' (Vanelli et al. 1985: 166)
- (2) El castel de Fornchalcherii que i es o ad in antea factus i erit per nomen de
the castle of Fornchalcherii that there is or to in before built there will-be for name of
castel, redrai lo ti per celas vez que...
castle, I-will-give-back it to-you for those times that
'The castle of Fornchalcherii that is there or that will be built there as a castle, I
will give it back to you at such as time as...' (charter 8, lines 7-8; in Hinzelin
2007: 150)
- (3) E de la sua mort fo-n fort jratz Marceli et toz los siens...
and of his death was.of-it very angry Marcel and all his men
'And about his death, Marcel and all his men were very angry about it.'
(Gesta Karoli Magni, 2666).

To my knowledge, functional distinctions between these configurations of preverbal NP complement have not yet been examined in Old Occitan. In this talk, I analyze examples like (2) and (3) as clitic left dislocations and explore the hypothesis that they differ from examples like (1) with respect to information-structural and discourse-pragmatic properties, drawing on previous research that has argued that left-peripheral subject left dislocations in Old Occitan fulfill different discourse functions than do preverbal subjects placed in SpecFocus (Donaldson 2015, 2016; see Steiner 2014 and Evans (2024) for similar approaches in Old French). I also explore whether the properties of object left dislocation in Old Occitan differ from those of subject left dislocation. Data are drawn from 11th-14th century prose and verse texts, including charters (Brunel 1926, 1952), the troubadour biographies (Boutière 1964), Flamenca

(Manetti 2008), the Gesta Karoli Magni (Schneegans 1898), Jaufre (Lee 2000), and Douceline (Gout 1927).

Pau Francesch Sabaté (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona). The grammaticalization of the *hi* clitic in Old Catalan and Occitan verbs of perception

Catalan intransitive structures involving verbs of perception (*veure* “see”, *oir*, *entendre* and *sentir* “hear”, *sentir* and *notar* “feel”, *palpar*, *tocar* “tact-touch” and synonyms) and cognition (*conèixer* “know”), along with the non-referential inherent locative clitic *hi/i/y/ie*, have been interpreted as the outcome of an “intransitivising” effect related to the clitic. Following the traditional analysis of Fabra (1891, 1918, 1956), Par (1926) and Solà (1991, 1994), among others, *hi* has been argued to participate in valency reduction shifting a transitive bivalent verb into a monovalent structure (V + *hi*). However, the precise syntactic mechanism behind this operation remains unclear.

To clarify the structure’s properties and the conditions underlying its emergence, I conducted a diachronic corpus analysis of all forms of nontransitive *vezer/veure* in Old Occitan (COM; 13-16th c.) and Old Catalan (CICA; 13-17th c. and CIGCMod; 16-17th c.), both with and without *hi* clitic.

I first present the diachrony of the structure showing (contra Coromines 1980) that it originated as early as 14th c. in Old Catalan and earlier in the 13th c. in Old Occitan, from a prepositional structure. I argue that before undergoing a complete reanalysis, the Old Catalan *veure* + *hi* structure was used preferentially as a stage-level predicates opposed to individual-level predicates. Second, I propose separate syntactic analyses of the role of the clitic within distributed morphology depending on whether the predicate is stage or individual-level.

Franck Floricic (Paris 3). Les constructions possessives dans le dialecte gascon de Bethmale.

La question du possessif est intéressante notamment parce qu’elle peut être abordée de multiples points de vue : du point de vue sémantique (cf. la question de la ‘possession’ et de la ‘sphère personnelle’) ; du point de vue de la morpho-syntaxe, car les possessifs peuvent constituer des actualisateurs du nom et des phénomènes d’accord se manifestent au sein du constituant nominal. Il est bien connu aussi que le degré d’individuation du référent de l’expression nominale assumant le rôle de tête du constituant nominal peut conditionner d’une manière variable les possibilités combinatoires des éléments qui le composent (cf. notamment la question des noms propres, des noms de parenté, des parties du corps, etc.).

L’intérêt des données occitanes – et tout particulièrement celle du dialecte gascon de Bethmale – réside tout d’abord dans le fait qu’il s’agit de données dialectales largement inexploitées dans les travaux de typologie, de syntaxe ou de morphologie formelles – les données dialectales romanes sont largement sous-exploitées dans les travaux de typologie d’une manière générale. En réalité, il est possible d’identifier dans le domaine occitan une grande variété de constructions et de variantes concurrentes qui posent la question du polymorphisme. Dans le dialecte de Bethmale, l’article défini et le possessif sont co-présents au sein du GN et le possessif présente la même forme, qu’il soit déterminant ou déterminé (cf. *era* ‘mjəwə’ ‘so’ ‘ma soeur’ / *era* ‘mjəwə’ ‘la mienne’ ; et *so* *aneɥ* ‘son agneau’ / et *so* ‘le sien’). Toutefois, on relève d’une part des alternatives concurrentes dans la forme du possessif (cf. et *tjəu* ‘fraɥ’ ‘ton frère’ / et *to* ‘paɥ’ ‘ton père’). D’autre part, si dans le dialecte de Bethmale, les

constructions possessives impliquant les noms de parenté exigent l'article défini, dans d'autres localités le pattern Poss + N coexiste synchroniquement avec le pattern Art. + Poss + N.

Barbara Francioni (Girona) and **Natalia Romanova** (Caen). Negation in the history of Gascon: Lessons from the CorAG corpus.

One of the most striking features that distinguishes modern Gascon from other Romance varieties and from Occitan in particular is the use of enunciative particles. Enunciatives appear to be used to reinforce an affirmative (*que*), interrogative (*e*) or exclamatory (*be*) statement. The particle is placed before the verb of the main clause and, if the subject is expressed, it is inserted between the subject and the verb. Enunciative particles in Gascon, however, are omitted when the sentence contains negation. The position of some negative particles in the sentence coincides with that of the enunciatives, which sometimes led linguists to count “no” or “non” among enunciative particles (e.g. Marcus 2014: 151-157; Pilawa 1990: 30, n. 3; Field 1985, 83-84).

In the following modern Gascon sentence from the Tolosa treebank corpus (Miletić et al 2021), for example, we have two main clauses: the first affirmative clause uses the enunciative particle *que*, and the second negative clause has a preverbal *non* and a postverbal *pas* combination:

Rénder l'amna *que* va, rénder l'amna *non* vòu *pas* (UD_Occitan-TTB@2.17).

A corpus-based approach to the evolution of linguistic phenomena allows tracing the emergence of distinctive features of language varieties across time. We have recently had an opportunity to study the first examples of the use of the enunciative particle *que* in the new calibrated and syntactically annotated corpus of ancient Gascon legal texts CorAG (Francioni, *in preparation*). Part of a project conducted by the authors under the direction of Pierre Larrivé at the CRISCO Lab at the University of Caen, CorAG (Romanova et al. 2025) was published in its second release in the Universal Dependencies collection in November 2025 (UD_Old_Occitan-CorAG@2.17). It currently contains six texts from the 13th to the 15th century, and a 16th-century witness is being added. The corpus is annotated in parts of speech (PoS), syntactic functions and a range of morphological features in the Universal Dependencies framework (Marneffe et al. 2021). A campaign of annotation of negative constructions using Polarity=Neg and PronType=Neg features is currently underway.

In this presentation, we shall continue previous work by studying the use of negative constructions in the diachronic perspective in the annotated CorAG corpus (13th-16th century) in the context of existing literature on negation in Gascon, Occitan, and French, focusing in particular on the following aspects:

- the expression of negation: the adverbs and forms of other PoS (pronouns, prepositions) used to create negative constructions;
- co-occurrence of several adverbs and pronouns in the same clause (negative concord or double negation);
- the emergence and the use of restrictive constructions with *que*;
- diatopic variation within the Gascon-speaking areas covered by the corpus;
- specific grammatical and lexical contexts where negation is most likely to appear and the link between negation and the mode of the verb;

Finally, we will address the question of whether some negative adverbs can be encountered in contexts where their function can be linked to that of the enunciative particles.

Sites and resources

UD = *Universal Dependencies*, <https://universaldependencies.org>.

UD_Occitan-TTB@2.17 = *Tolosa Treebank*, https://universal.grew.fr/?corpus=UD_Occitan-TTB@2.17.

UD_Old_Occitan-CorAG@2.17 = *Corpus de l'Ancien Gascon*, plateforme GrewMatch https://universal.grew.fr/?corpus=UD_Old_Occitan-CorAG@2.17; GitHub repository https://github.com/UniversalDependencies/UD_Old_Occitan-CorAG.

Texts of the CorAG corpus

Cheronnet, Bernard & Jacques Dumonteil, 1996. Carta de poblacion de Herrera (21 de novèmer de 1278), “*Ligam/DiGaM*” 7, 5-8.

Lépicier, Jules, 1861. Coutumes et privilèges de l'Entre-Deux-Mers, “*Archives historiques du département de la Gironde*” 3, 101-130.

Ourliac, Paul & Monique Gilles (edd.), 1990. *Les Fors anciens de Béarn*. Paris, Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

Soutras, Frédéric & Jean-Marie-Lucien Dejeanne (edd.), 1882. Fors et coutumes de Bagnères-de-Bigorre, “*Bulletin de la Société Ramond*” 17/4, 1-16.

Rouyer, Jacques, 1663. *Stil de la justicy deu pais de Bearn publicat en l'an mil cinq cens sixante quouate, Regente Iohanne Regine dame Souvirane de Bearn. Ensems las ordonnances faites per Henric Second rey de Navarre, seignour souviran de Bearn. Sus la direction de la iusticy*. Orthez. 153pp. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k133765v>.

Tucoc-Chala, Pierre, 1957. La charte des boucheries d'Orthez (2 novembre 1270), “*Annales du Midi*” 69/40, 323-332.

Studies

Alibèrt, Loïs, 1976. *Gramatica occitana segon los parlars lengadocians*. Montpellier, Centre d'estudis occitans.

Anglade, Joseph, 1921. *Grammaire de l'ancien provençal ou ancienne langue d'oc*. Paris, Klincksieck.

Bach, Xavier, 2023. Negation in contact: French and Occitan, “*Transactions of the Philological Society*” 121/3, 444-459.

Corblin, Francis & Lucia M. Tovenà, 2003. L'expression de la négation dans les langues romanes, in: Godard, Danièle (éd.), *Les langues romanes: problèmes de la phrase simple*. Paris, CNRS Editions, 281-343.

Darrigrand, Robert & Michel Grosclaude, 1976. *Grammaire abrégée du gascon. Béarn, Sud Gascogne*. Per Noste, Orthez.

De Marneffe, Marie-Catherine, et al., 2021. Universal Dependencies, “*Computational Linguistics*” 42/7, 255–308, <https://aclanthology.org/2021.cl-2.11.pdf>. (dernière consultation: 10/12/2025).

Donaldson, Bryan, 2018. Diachronie de la négation phrastique en français: apports d'une approche sociohistorique, “*Canadian Journal of Linguistics*” 63/2, 221-241.

Espinal, Teresa & Ares Llop, 2022. (Negative) Polarity Items in Catalan and Other Trans-Pyrenean Romance Languages, “*Languages*” 7/30, 1-27.

Field, Thomas T., 1985. Speech Act Markers in Modern Gascon, in: Larry D. King & Catherine A. Maley (edd.), *Selected Papers from the XIIIth Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 77–97.

Florici, Franck, 2006. Remarques sur la négation connexionnelle en Occitan Languedocien, “*Studia Romanica Posnaniensia*” 33, 113-132.

Florici, Franck, 2007. *La négation dans les langues romanes*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing.

- Floricić, Franck, 2009. À propos du statut morpho-syntaxique de la négation connexionnelle en Italien, en Espagnol, et en Occitan Languedocien: 'être' ou 'ne pas être' un clitique..., "Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris" 104/1, 261-309.
- Francioni, Barbara, in preparation. Le *que* en ancien gascon : une enquête sur la particule énonciative et les phrases relatives dans le *corpus CorAG*.
- Guilhemojoan, Patric, 2006. *Nouvelle Grammaire abrégé du gascon*. Per Noste, Orthez.
- High, Karina Anne, 2022. *Non-Cyclical Change in Negation and Indefinites in Romance: A Case Study of Béarnese Gascon*, PhD Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.
- Jensen, Frede, 1986. *The Syntax of Medieval Occitan*. Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Ledgeway, Adam & Norma Schifano, 2023. Negation and Verb-Movement in Romance: New Perspectives on Jespersen's Cycle, "Probus" 35/1, 151-211.
- Lloyd, Andrew James, 2021. *The Microvariation of Post-verbal Negative Particles in Old Gallo-Romance: A Comparative Study*, PhD Dissertation, Kellogg College, University of Oxford.
- Marcus, Nicole Elise, 2010. *The Gascon Énonciatif System: Past, Present, and Future. A study of language contact, change, endangerment, and maintenance*. Doctoral Thesis, Berkeley, University of California.
- Miletić, Alexandra, et al., 2021. A Four-Dialect Treebank for Occitan: Building Process and Parsing Experiments, in : Zampier, Marcos, et al. (edd.), *Proceedings of the 7th Workshop on NLP for Similar Languages, Varieties and Dialects, Barcelona, International Committee on Computational Linguistics (ICCL)*, 2021, 140-149, <https://aclanthology.org/2020.vardial-1.13.pdf>. (dernière consultation : 10/12/2025).
- Pilawa, Jürgen, 1990. *Enunziative. Eine sprachliche Neuerung im Spiegel der gaskognischen Schriftkultur*. Tübingen, Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Piques, Christian & Michel Saint-Raymond, 2017. *Grammaire gasconne. Parler du Savès*. Agassac, Éditions CAPI.
- Rohlf, Gerhard, 1977. *Le Gascon. Études de philologie pyrénéenne*. Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Romanova, Natasha, Rayan Ziane & Barbara Francioni, 2025. Adaptation of models for parsing of Old Gascon, in : *Proceedings of Journées scientifiques du réseau thématique LIFT2 linguistique informatique, formelle et de terrain. 16-17 October 2025*, Paris, <https://lift2-2025.sciencesconf.org/667164> (dernière consultation : 07/11/2025).
- Romieu, Maurice & André Bianchi, 2005, *Gramatica de l'occitan gascon contemporanèu*. Bordeaux, Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux.
- Schweighæuser, Alfred, 1851. De la négation dans les langues romanes du Midi et du Nord de la France (premier article), "Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes", 12, 131-172.
- Schweighæuser, Alfred, 1851. De la négation dans les langues romanes du Midi et du Nord de la France (deuxième article), "Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes", 12, 445-467.
- Sibille, Jean, 2021. Négation et concordance négative dans le parler occitan de Chaumont (Chiomonte, Italie), in : Schøsler, Lene & Juhani Härmä (éds.), *Actes du XXIXe Congrès international de linguistique et de philologie romanes*, Strasbourg, ELiPhi, 491-503.
- van der Auwera, Johan & Gianollo Chiara (eds.), 2025. *Negative Concord: A Hundred Years On*, Berlin-Boston, de Gruyter.
- Willis, David & Christopher Lucas & Anne Bretbarth, 2013. *The History of Negation in the Languages of Europe and the Mediterranean. Volume I: Case Studies*, Oxford University Press.
- Zanuttini, Raffaella, 1997. *Negation and Clausal Structure. A Comparative Study of Romance Languages*. New York-Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Zeijlstra, Hedde, 2023. Pas de Problème: The Distribution and Nature of Double Negation in French and Other Romance Negative Concord Languages, "Languages" 8/118, 1-16.

Pierre Larrivé (Caen). Subject inversion in the history of Gascon.

Gascon is a distinct variety in the Occitan continuum which has largely been understudied, especially where its syntax is concerned (an opinion shared by Sibille

and Bach 2024). The received wisdom is that Gascon is a V2 language with null subjects of the consistent type, and that it was always thus (Ledgeway 2020, Vance et al 2010). This would lead to expect that the subject when expressed would be regularly found in a post-verbal position with a verb preceded by some other XP. The status of the post-verbal subject in Gascon is here investigated. The investigation is conducted in corpus CorAG, that contains calibrated legal texts representative of the language for the 13th and 15th centuries (Glessgen 2021). Exploiting the fully UD-annotated corpus, a treebank approach is used, with special attention to the clause-type distribution. The preliminary results suggest that the Gascon data is convergent with a V2 analysis, although of a relaxed nature: there does not seem to be clear clausal asymmetry, there is a sizable proportion of V3, and the enunciative particle can but need not trigger inversion. It is discussed whether the observed patterns are compatible with a verb in the low left-periphery and a subject in a low position.

CorAG (Corpus Ancien Gascon). *UD_Old_Occitan-CorAG@2.17* = *Corpus de l'Ancien Gascon*, plateforme GrewMatch https://universal.grew.fr/?corpus=UD_Old_Occitan-CorAG@2.17; GitHub repository https://github.com/UniversalDependencies/UD_Old_Occitan-CorAG.

Glessgen, M. 2021. Pour une histoire textuelle du gascon médiéval. *Revue de linguistique romane*, 85(339-340), 325-384.

Ledgeway, A. 2020. Variation in the Gallo-Romance left-periphery: V2, complementizers, and the Gascon enunciative system. Sam Wolfe and Martin Maiden (Eds), *Variation and Change in Gallo-Romance Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sibille, J. and X. Bach. 2024. Syntax. L. Esher and J. Sibille (Eds). *Manuel de linguistique occitane*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 351-398.

Vance, B., B. Donaldson and B. D. Steiner. 2010. V2 loss in Old French and Old Occitan. In *Romance Linguistics 2009: Selected Papers from the 39th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL), Tucson, Arizona, March 2009* (Vol. 315, p. 301). Philadelphia : Benjamins.

Sylvain Loiseau (Université Paris 13 Nord / UMR 7107 Lacito). Syntactic variation and inherited structures in northernmost Occitan

This paper analyzes syntactic variation in a region of the Croissant linguistique, that is, the northernmost part of the Occitan-speaking area.

Drawing on recent research projects that have renewed our understanding of this region (such as the ANR project "Croissant"), we will emphasize that the Croissant is not a (bilateral) "contact zone" between oil and oc or a "transition zone," but rather a zone of unilateral influence of French on oc varieties. This influence is not different in nature, but only in degree (and in diffusion processes), from the processes that have affected the entire Occitan-speaking area and which have characterized most of its internal history over the past centuries (Chambon 2009). The Croissant is thus particularly interesting not as an aberrant case, but on the contrary, as a case of "advanced" Occitan.

While the Croissant has been primarily studied from the perspective of its morphology -- inflectional morphology being more conservative of inherited Occitan structures (Escher *et al.* 2022) --, or to some extent its lexicon -- which illustrates clearly borrowing phenomena -- it has been little studied from the perspective of syntax, where French structures are omnipresent and appear at first sight to have entirely replaced inherited ones. This process, already well advanced in Occitan in general, seems to have reached its conclusion in the Croissant. As a result, syntactic data are rarely addressed in descriptive studies on the dialects of this region.

Relying on first-hand data observed in the area of Saint-Agnant-de-Versillat, we will show that many syntactic features of Occitan are still available to speakers and that they also exhibit significant diatopic variation. Examples include the reflexive construction used to express the passive voice, the placement of pronouns in analytic verb forms, or the causative construction.

We will show that in the domain of syntax, the structural proximity between the object language and a neighboring related standard language -- often used as the metalanguage --, makes it difficult to describe the data without employing a differential method (Thibault 2002), that is, by explicitly contrasting it with French structures. This was already, to some extent, already the implicit approach adopted by Ronjat (1930–1941, vol. 3).

Chambon J.-P. 2009. Prolégomènes à l'étude historique des emprunts de l'occitan au français in André Thibault Gallicismes et théorie de l'emprunt linguistique, L'Harmattan, Paris, 45-69.

Guérin, M. ; Esher, L. ; Léonard, J.-L. ; Loiseau, S. 2022. Comparing inflectional structure across a dialect group: verb morphology in the Croissant linguistique, *Revue roumaine de linguistique*, LXVI/4, 299-316.

Ronjat J. 1930-1941. Grammaire istorique des parlers provençaux modernes, Société des langues romanes, Montpellier.

Thibault A. 2002. « Lexicographie historique et différentielle », dans Gaétane Dostie (éd.), *Combats pour la linguistique au Québec (1960-2000)*. Courants, théories, domaines, Peter Lang, 2020, p. 57-79.

Joel Miró Lozano (Bordeaux). Position du pronom clitique dans le contexte V+INF en gascon : variation géolectale vs prescriptions grammaticales.

Toute démarche de revitalisation d'une langue minorisée en processus de substitution (en cours ou presque achevée) présuppose un modèle que devront suivre les apprenants dont on espère qu'il seront de futurs néo-locuteurs compétents. Or, en ce qui concerne le domaine gascon, les raisons ayant présidé aux choix linguistiques de toute nature mis en avant par les ouvrages à visée prescriptive (grammaires, manuels pédagogiques, méthodes d'auto-apprentissage) -ou par des enseignants seuls dans leur pratique individuelle- sont rarement explicitées et justifiées. Pourtant, face à une variation interne élevée, ces choix devraient systématiquement être légitimés à partir d'une étude exhaustive des pratiques orales héritées ainsi que des corpus écrits émanant de locuteurs compétents. Nous nous sommes intéressé aux pronoms clitiques compléments de V_{inf} , en particulier lorsqu'ils suivent un verbe opérateur, une question corrélée à celle de l'enclose pronominale sur l'infinitif. Nous avons d'abord recensé ce qui en était dit dans la littérature grammaticale ou pédagogique récente pour le confronter aux données concernant la pratique des usagers ayant reçu leur connaissance de la langue par voie intrafamiliale. Ces données procèdent 3 sources principales : L'*Atlas linguistique de la Gascogne*, le *Recueil des idiomes de la région gasconne* -désigné communément comme « Enquête Bourciez », nos propres questionnaires mis en pratique auprès d'informateurs que nous avons rencontrés.

De l'enquête complémentaire ayant conduit à l'élaboration des derniers tomes de l'ALG à travers un questionnaire lexical – base du tome IV- et un questionnaire morphologique qui fournit le matériau dont se nourrissent les tomes V, consacré au verbe, et VI -regroupant traits phonétiques et phonologiques, questions de morphologie et de syntaxe, en particulier pronominales- nous avons consulté à la fois les cartes des Atlas publiés, principalement le dernier, ainsi que les bandes magnétiques contenant les entretiens avec les informateurs. Nous avons constaté que ces dernières fourmillent de données exploitables qui n'ont pas trouvé de place dans les Atlas, disséminées au détour de réflexions ou réactions, hésitations ou lapsus divers des personnes consultées, y compris parfois en réponse à des questions

concernant le lexique et non pas spécifiquement la syntaxe ou la morphologie. Cela a pu être le cas pour la question qui nous occupe d'autant que, pour celle-ci, les enquêteurs se contentent presque toujours de la première réponse donnée sans demander si d'autres positions seraient licites pour les pronoms clitiques et avec quel degré d'acceptabilité. L'enquête Bourciez présente la même limitation dans la mesure où le traducteur du texte adapté de la Parabole de l'enfant prodigue ne peut, entre deux solutions, que n'en donner une à la fois. Nous avons donc tenté d'être plus exhaustif lors de rencontres avec quelques-uns de nos propres informateurs.

Il ressort ainsi que telle solution vilipendée peut s'avérer très courante voire exclusive dans l'usage d'une partie des géolectes, d'autres acceptant diverses solutions ouvrant peut-être la porte à des justifications d'ordre stylistique. Une enclise admise avec tel verbe opérateur sera refusée avec un autre, ou préférée avec certains clitiques. Tout cela de façon pouvant varier d'un lieu (ou simplement d'un locuteur) à l'autre. Le cas de V_{inf} suivant un opérateur lui-même à l'infinitif n'a pas fait non plus l'objet de travaux de fond.

Du fait de la vastitude du domaine concerné, nous avons centré notre attention sur les parlers du département des Landes, avec quelques incursions dans des territoires limitrophes. Le corpus textuel que nous avons épluché en complément -d'une manière encore incomplète- provient aussi de ce département. Notre examen n'est pas encore complet mais, à ce stade, force a été de constater que l'écrit grammatical sur le gascon mériterait d'être amplement enrichi sur ce point.

- BIANCHI, André, ROUMIEU Maurice, (2005). *Gramatica de l'occitan gascon contemporanèu*, Pessac, Presses universitaires de Bordeaux.
- BIRABENT, Jean-Pierre, SALLES-LOUSTAU, Jean (1989). *Mémento grammatical du gascon*, Tarbes, Escòla Gaston Febus-Nosauts de Bigòrra.
- BOURCIEZ Édouard (1895). *Recueil des Idioms de la Région gasconne*, 17 vol., Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Universitaire de Pessac [manuscrit, disponible sur le lien : <https://1886.u-bordeaux-montaigne.fr/s/1886/item-set/435260>].
- BOUZET Jean (1928). *Manuel de grammaire béarnaise*, Pau, Marrimpouey Jeune.
- BOUZET Jean (1963). *Syntaxe Béarnaise et Gasconne*, Pau, Marrimpouey Jeune.
- GROSCLAUDE Michel (1977). *Lo gascon lèu e plan*, Paris, Omnivox.
- GÉNADOT Alexandre (2022). « Quanta metodologia per despolhar l'enquèsta Bourciez » *Lengas n°92*, Montpellier, Presses Universitaires de la Méditerranée.
- GUILHEMJOAN, Patric (2006). *Nouvelle grammaire abrégée du gascon*, Orthez, Per noste.
- GUILHEMJOAN, Patric (2007). *A hum de calhau, le gascon en 25 leçons*, Orthez, Per noste.
- HOURCADE, André (1986). *Grammaire béarnaise*, Pau, Los Caminaires.
- MILLER Philip, MONACHESI Paola (2003). « Les pronoms clitiques dans les langues romanes » in *Les langues romanes, Problèmes de la phrase simple*, GODARD Danièle (dir.), Paris, CNRS Éditions.
- MIRÓ LOZANO Joël (2024). *Les clitique pronominaux du gascon dans les Landes : les propositions normatives à l'épreuve des parlers hérités*. Thèse de doctorat sous la direction de Myriam BRAS et Jean SIBILLE, Université Jean Jaurès – Toulouse 2.
- MULLER Claude (1998). "On the Position of Romance Clitics", *Hermes, Journal of Linguistics*, 20, pp. 115-138.
- SÉGUY Jean (1973). *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique de la Gascogne*, (ALG) vol. VI, Paris, Éditions du CNRS.

Mikołaj Nkollo (Adam Mickiewicz Poznań). Negative small clauses and negative concord in Old Gascon

Abstract. The paper deals with the syntactic properties of negative clauses surfacing as *sens* 'without' - infinitive in Old Gascon (12 by 15th c.). Language data have been retrieved from Th. Field's *Linguistic Corpus of Old Gascon* (LCOG; 377 texts, mainly documentary). Partial results deemed improbable at first have been given an extra

corroboration from DEAG (*Dictionnaire étymologique d'ancien Gascon*) resources. The conceptual apparatus is provided by generative works on negative concord (NC) and the structure of the clause. The old model of encoding negation in non-finite clauses (*no* - gerund), besides being poorly documented in the corpus, is limited to two verbs (*estar* 'to be' and *prejudicar* 'to harm') in the period under discussion. Therefore, rather than in terms of historical continuity, original syntactic features of negative small clauses are reconstructed by means of their comparison with negative root clauses. As a result, *sens* - infinitive sequences are demonstrated to stand out from their finite counterparts subject to negation in the following respects: coordination, co-occurrence with various n-words meaning 'no' (*negun*, *degun*, and *nulhs*), word order and the placement of adjuncts. These properties are synthesized below.

sens – V_{inf}

Spelling variants: *sens*, *senz*, *cens*, *seens*, *senes*, *ses*, *sees*, *seis*, *siens*, *syes*

Properties making *sens* - infinitive sequences different from negative clauses built on finite verb forms:

a. *sens* - V_{inf} *et sens* - V_{inf}

sees guarent cercar, e sees penhere tornar are (LVertBenacB 189, 22sq.)

Comm.: no matter how many *sens* - infinitive sequences are coordinated, the conjunction originating from lat. ET is consistently reiterated

b. *sens* - V_{inf} and n-words meaning "no"

– the *negun* indefinite never appears in the *sens* - infinitive sequence (even if it is found with *sens* - NP structures and with finite verb forms subject to negation). This is tantamount to saying that if numerous negative determiners meaning 'no' accompany the *sens* - infinitive sequence, the only possible combinations are: *nulh* – *degun*; *degun* – *nulh*; *degun* – *degun* and *nulh* – *nulh* (in *nulh* – *degun* and *degun* – *nulh*, *nulh* is a straightforward n-word, whereas *degun* has a reading ambiguous between negation and free-choice quantification)

c. *sens* - V_{inf} - Adverb (< Lat. CONTRA)

cadauna d'eras fermament gardar et tener et ses encontre vener (MariagePBordSH 194, 13-14)

aissi cum dessus es deit, ac tenga leiau ses benir en contra (CartSCrD 209, 7-8)

Comm.: both Adv-V_{inf} and V_{inf}-Adv have confirmation with the element descending from lat. CONTRA in *sens* + *vener* and *sens* + *anar* sequences, i.e. *sens vener* / *anar encontra* or *sens encontra vener* / *anar*. By contrast, in negative root clauses the same adverbial unit, always precedes the finite verb form.

- the OV - infinitive order is more frequent in *sens* - infinitive sequences than in the corresponding negative root clauses. Both OV and VO orders are likely to alternate in a single text with the same lexical material: *sens arequeste degune autre fazer* (LVertBenacB 146, 31sq.) / *sens fazer degune arequeste* (LVertBenacB 148, 18-19).
- the *sens* - infinitive appears in coordination with: (a) another preposition - infinitive sequence (including another *sens* - infinitive); (b) prepositional phrases (preposition - NP). Unlike negated finite verb phrases, it does not appear coordinated with adverbs

The presence of the *sens* - infinitive sequence in Gascon documents throughout the period contrasts with its paucity in Occitan charts compiled by Clovis Brunel 1926/1952

and de Meyer 1909. Moreover, non-finite negative clauses have only a tardy attestation in the Occitan zone. Although the preposition is firmly established (*sens* and its variants: *ses*, *sens(s)a* / *sens(s)o* and *senes*), the charts contain as few as seven occurrences of the sequence before the end of the 15th century (only one of them originates from the 14th century). This disparity becomes even more puzzling if one keeps in mind that the scriptural production of the Gascon and Occitan areas is the same, consisting mainly of documentary texts.

Occitan negative small clauses prior 1500:

las gardias de la cadena sian tenguts de ubrir ladicha cadena sensa esegir alcuna causa (1387, docAix 3,28);

*moss. Dinha volha far vendre son vin a la grant mesura, senza pagar reva (1445, docAlpHPr 15d,19), en la forma et en la maniera que ay atrobat en scrich, sensa ren ajustar ny amermer (1478, *ibid.* 42,1);*

mossen Peyre Bertran l'avie requist faire quelque plaser senso my ren declarar ne dire (1495, docArles 60,5);

*mandam que dimars que ven nos seren sus lo luec sens falhir (1498, *ibid.* 72,3);*

*que non layssa passar denguna barca de Nissa senssa arrasonar (1498, *ibid.* 74,1);*

*jeu susd. Juhan Rohard sie admes sensa rular l'an prochanament venent (1499, *ibid.* 75,14).*

Brucart, José María / Gallego, Ángel J., 2016. Aspectos formales e interpretativos de la subordinación adverbial, in : Pavón Lucero, María Victoria (ed.), *Las relaciones interoracionales en español: Categorías sintácticas y subordinación adverbial*, Berlin-Boston, De Gruyter, 161-200.

Burnett, Heather / Tremblay, Mireille / Blondeau, Hélène, 2015. The Variable Grammar of Negative Concord in Montréal French, *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 21(2), 11-20.

Casalicchio, Jan, 2019. Gerunds become prepositional infinitives in Romance Small Clauses: The effects of later Merge to the syntactic spine, *Probus* 31(1), 75-117.

Cinque, Guglielmo, 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads. A cross-linguistic perspective*, Oxford/New York, Oxford University Press.

Fernández Lagunilla, Marina, 2011. Restricciones de la negación con el gerundio adjunto modal, in : Escandell Vidal, M. Victoria / Leonetti, Manuel / Sánchez López, Cristina (ed.), *60 problemas de gramática. Dedicados a Ignacio Bosque*, Madrid, Akal, 247-252.

Floricić, Franck, 2009. Pourquoi *nessun* / *nessuno* en italien mais **auque* / *aucun* en français ?, *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis* 126, 33-45.

Giannakidou, Anastasia, 2020. Negative Concord and the Nature of Negative Concord Items, in : Déprez, Viviane / Espinal, M. Teresa (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Negation*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 458-478.

Gianollo, Chiara, 2018. *Indefinites between Latin and Romance*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Gianollo, Chiara, 2020. Evolution of Negative Dependencies, in : Déprez, Viviane / Espinal, Teresa M. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Negation*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 549-561.

Glessgen, Martin, 2021. « Pour une histoire textuelle du gascon médiéval », *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 85, 325-375.

Glessgen, Martin, 2022. L'étude linguistique du gascon médiéval : analyse scriptologique des genres textuels, *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 86, 35-94.

- Jones, Michael A., 1996. *Foundations of French Syntax*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Ledgeway, Adam, 2016. Clausal complementation, in : Ledgeway, Adam / Maiden, Martin (ed.), *The Oxford guide to the Romance languages*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1013-1028.
- Martin, Robert, 1966. *Le mot “rien” et ses concurrents en français (du XIV^e siècle à l’époque contemporaine)*, Paris, Klincksieck.
- Penka, Doris / Zeijlstra, Hedde, 2010. Negation and polarity: an introduction, *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 28(4), 771-786.
- Ramat, Anna Giacalone, 2005. Persistence and renewal in the relative pronoun paradigm: The case of Italian, *FLH*, 26(1-2), 115-138.
- Roberts, Ian, 2007. *Diachronic syntax*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Rothstein, Susan, 1995. Small Clauses and Copular Constructions, in : Cardinaletti, Anna / Guasti, Maria Teresa (ed.), *Small Clauses*, Leiden, Brill, 25-48.
- Salvi, Giampaolo, 2001. The two sentence structures of early Romance, in : Cinque, Guglielmo / Salvi, Giampaolo (ed.), *Current Studies in Italian Syntax: Essays Offered to Lorenzo Renzi*, Amsterdam, Elsevier, 297-312.
- Salvi, Giampaolo, 2016. Word order, in : Ledgeway, Adam / Maiden, Martin (ed.), *The Oxford guide to the Romance languages*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 997-1012.
- Tekavčić, Pavao, 1972. *Grammatica storica dell’italiano*, Vol. 2. *Morfosintassi*, Bologna, il Mulino.
- Zeijlstra, Hedde, 2004. *Sentential negation and negative concord*, PhD thesis, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University.

Marc Olivier (Oxford). The syntax of infinitives in Old Occitan: Evidence from negation, adverbs, and clitics

Following Pollock’s (1989) seminal study on verb movement and adverb placement in English and French (e.g., *I often think about you* vs. *je pense souvent à toi*), research on verb placement in Romance languages has flourished. Kayne (1991) advanced this inquiry by comparing clitic placement with infinitives in Italian and French (e.g., *parlargli* vs. *lui parler*). Collectively, these early studies revealed two key insights: (i) verb placement varies crosslinguistically, and (ii) variation exists within individual systems – for instance, in French, finite verbs move to T, while infinitives do not. Cinque’s (1999) cartographic mapping of the TP field significantly propelled this line of research, which Schifano (2018) expanded into a pan-Romance analysis, offering a more comprehensive view of syntactic variation within the language family. However, such cartographic approaches have not been widely applied to Medieval Romance, partly because earlier grammars exhibit distinct properties: finite verbs typically target the CP field, and crosslinguistic variation appears more constrained (though see Wolfe 2018). Romance infinitives, by contrast, have received relatively little attention in diachronic syntactic studies. Yet the variation observed in modern Romance (e.g., Italian infinitives move high, while French infinitives do not) likely has historical roots. This hypothesis is explored by Olivier (2025), who shows that French infinitives once exhibited high movement – similar to Ibero- and Italo-Romance today – before this property was lost. In southern Gallo-Romance, Modern Occitan now largely patterns with French in terms of infinitive placement. My current work investigates infinitive placement in Old Occitan to illuminate this diachronic development. This presentation will focus on the evolution of infinitive placement in Old Occitan, extending insights

from prior studies and comparing it with Old French data. Three diagnostics are used to determine the (evolution of the) position of the infinitive: negation, adverb placement, and clitic placement. This work plugs a lacuna in the literature on Romance diachronic syntax by analysing novel data from Occitan, thereby enriching our understanding of crosslinguistic variation.

Cinque, G. (1999). *Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective*. Oxford University Press.

Kayne, R. S. (1991). Romance clitics, verb movement, and PRO. *Linguistic inquiry*, 22(4), 647-686.

Olivier, M. (2025). Clitic placement with infinitives in the diachrony of French: from enclisis to proclisis. *Journal of Historical Syntax*, 9(2-10), 1-45.

Pollock, J. Y. (1989). Verb movement, universal grammar, and the structure of IP. *Linguistic inquiry*, 20(3), 365-424.

Schifano, N. (2018). *Verb movement in Romance: A comparative study*. Oxford University Press.

Wolfe, S. (2019). *Verb second in medieval Romance*. Oxford University Press.

Tania Paciaroni (LMU München). Differential Object Marking in Southern Gascon: an overview

This paper provides a fine-grained description of the properties of differential object marking (DOM) in Southern Gascon. The study is based on the examination of dialectal data reported in the atlases and in the previous literature as well as in ethnographic records. These materials are here refined thanks to sets of novel data collected in the Pyrenees since 2016 within the *Morphosyntactic Atlas of Gascony* (MAGY) project.

The examination of a variety of direct object referents at different levels of the Animacy, Definiteness, and Specificity Scales confirm that the properties of animacy/humanness and definiteness of the referent are relevant for DOM. Moreover, Gascon DOM is sensitive to the internal structure of the nominal expression, as the presence of definite articles, numerals and some quantifiers blocks it, while reference-limiting modifiers, such as a modifying PP or relative clause, or other syntactic constructions such as conjoined DPs/NPs trigger it. Moreover, Gascon DOM does not seem to be sensitive to information structure, as marking of dislocated direct objects is restricted to the NP/DP which are DOM-marked when they appear *in situ*. Taking a comparative perspective, I will locate Gascon DOM within the variation attested across Romance.

Francesco Pinzin (Padua). Enclisis in Gascon.

Michela Russo (Lyon). L'encodage du genre grammatical en ancien francoprovençal, à partir des plus anciens documents linguistiques de la France

Aina Torres Latorre (València) and **Miriam Bouzouita** (Humboldt Berlin). The grammaticalization of the future and conditional in Old Occitan (13th - 15th c.): Another case of grammatical contact across the Pyrenees

In the Middle Ages, both analytic (e.g., *cantar-lo-he* ‘I will sing it’) and synthetic (e.g., *lo cantaré* or *cantaré-lo* ‘I will sing it’) future and conditional forms are attested in Ibero-Romance and some Gallo-Romance languages. For Gallo-Romance, while both forms are present in Medieval Occitan, only synthetic forms are documented in Medieval French. To understand the grammaticalization of these verbal tenses, it is crucial to analyse the variation between analytic forms, in which the clitic pronoun (e.g., *lo* in *cantar-lo-he*) occurs between the infinitive-like form and the desinence/auxiliary, and synthetic forms with postverbal clitics (e.g., *cantaré-lo*), since they can appear in the same syntactic-pragmatic environments (for Castilian, Eberenz 1991; Castillo Lluch 2002; Bouzouita 2011, 2016; for Navarrese-Aragonese: Primerano & Bouzouita 2023, 2024, Primerano 2025; for Catalan, Bouzouita & Sentí 2022, Sentí & Bouzouita 2022, Torres-Latorre & Sentí 2023, Torres-Latorre 2023; for Galician and Portuguese, Primerano 2025). Additionally, synthetic forms with postverbal pronouns have been considered to be more grammaticalized due to their univertation (Lehmann 2020), which the analytic counterparts do not manifest.

This study focuses on the grammaticalization of future and conditional tenses in Old Occitan during the 13th-15th century. Previous research has shown that this grammaticalization process progresses from the eastern to the western regions in the Iberian Peninsula due to language and dialect contact (Primerano & Bouzouita 2024; Sentí & Bouzouita 2022, Torres-Latorre & Sentí 2023; Primerano 2025). It has also been hypothesised that Eastern Old Ibero-Romance varieties, such as Catalan, Aragonese or Navarrese, were influenced by Occitan, where this change began earlier. We intend to test this hypothesis by examining the variation between the analytic and synthetic future and conditional forms in Old Occitan and its evolution over time. For this, we analyse several morphosyntactic factors that could have influenced the grammaticalization of these verbal tenses, including verb conjugation, syncope, rhizotonicity, and the presence of non-finite constructions after the future or conditional forms (cf. for Catalan, Torres-Latorre in press; for Old Navarro-Aragonese, Primerano & Bouzouita 2023; Primerano 2025). Additionally, we will focus on the differences between the future and conditional, given the rarity of the analytic conditional forms in Occitan, as noted previously by Bach (2024). Our results reveal that synthetic forms with postverbal pronouns –the more grammaticalized construction– are notably more frequent in Old Occitan from the earliest attestations, compared to the languages of the Iberian Peninsula of that period, thus indirectly corroborating the contact hypothesis.

ALSINA, Àlex (2022) The morphological and syntactic status of the analytic and synthetic future in medieval Catalan, *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 21, 187-208.

BACH, Xavier (2024): Mesoclisism in Old Occitan, *Lingüística Pragmática*, 34.1, 7-24.

BOUZOUITA, Miriam (2011): Future Constructions in Medieval Spanish: Mesoclisism Uncovered, In: Kempson, Ruth T., Gregoromichelaki, Eleni & Christine Howes (ed.), *The Dynamics of Lexical Interfaces*, CSLI, 89-130.

BOUZOUITA, Miriam (2016): La posposición pronominal con futuros y condicionales en el código escurialense I.i.6: un examen de varias hipótesis morfosintácticas, In: Kabatek, Johannes (ed.), *Lingüística de corpus y lingüística iberorrománica*, Berlín, De Gruyter.

BOUZOUITA, Miriam & Andreu SENTÍ (2022): La gramaticalización del futuro y el condicional en el iberorromance del siglo XIV a partir de traducciones bíblicas paralelas: el caso del castellano y el catalán antiguos, In: Enrique-Arias, Andrés (ed.), *Traducción bíblica e historia de las lenguas iberorrománicas*, Berlín, De Gruyter, 243-274.

CASTILLO LLUCH, Mónica (2002): Distribución de las formas analíticas y sintéticas de futuro y condicional en español medieval, *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española, Valencia 31 de enero – 4 de febrero 2000*, 541-550.

- EBERENZ, Rolf (1991): Futuro analítico y futuro sintético en tres obras con rasgos coloquiales: *El Corbacho*, *La Celestina* y *La Lozana Andaluza*, In: Lapesa Melgar, Rafael (ed.), *Homenaje a Hans Flasche: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag 25. November 1991*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 499-508.
- LEHMANN, Christian (2020): Univerbation, *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 41, 205-252.
- PRIMERANO, Antoine (2025): *La gramaticalización del futuro y el condicional en iberorromance medieval. Variación diatópica, difusión geográfica y contacto lingüístico*. PhD dissertation, Ghent University/Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.
- PRIMERANO, Antoine & Miriam BOUZOUITA (2023): El lexema verbal y otras variables en la gramaticalización del futuro y el condicional en navarroaragonés antiguo, *Vox Romanica*, 82, 1, 203-241.
- PRIMERANO, Antoine & Miriam BOUZOUITA (2024) La gramaticalización de los futuros y condicionales en el navarroaragonés de los siglos XIII y XIV: una comparación con el castellano medieval», *Revue Romane*, 59.1, 143-184.
- PRIMERANO, Antoine, Aina TORRES-LATORRE, Andreu SENTÍ & Miriam BOUZOUITA (2024): La gramaticalización del futuro y el condicional en iberorromance antiguo: castellano y catalán en contraste, *Actas del XII Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española*, 287-298.
- SENTÍ, Andreu & Miriam BOUZOUITA (2022): The syntax of clitics in Old Catalan: *Llibre dels Fets*, *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 21, 1-31.
- TORRES-LATORRE, Aina (2023): La gramaticalització del futur i el condicional al català del segle XIII: formes analítiques i formes sintètiques, *Zeitschrift für Katalanistik*, 36, 63-85.
- TORRES-LATORRE, Aina & Andreu SENTÍ (2023): Clitic Placement and the Grammaticalization of the Future and the Conditional in Old Catalan, *Languages*, 8, 182.
- TORRES-LATORRE, Aina (in press): El futur i el condicional entre la mesoclisi i l'enclisi, *Caplletra* [2026].

Michelle Troberg (Toronto) and **John Whitman** (Cornell). Old Occitan between the lines: syntactic glossing in Horace's *Satires*

This paper explores the significance of syntactic glosses as a data source for historical syntax, and the specific utility of a glossed 12th century text for the study of Old Occitan. We show that in addition to their importance as sources of information about phonology and lexicon, glossed materials are a potential source of information about the syntax of languages in periods when extensive vernacular materials are scarce or lacking. Old Occitan prose texts pre-dating the 12th century are vanishingly rare and are principally notary texts (*chartes*).

The target text is MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 7979 (BnF 7979), previously noted by Munk Olsen (1982, 1996, 2007, 2009) and studied by Reynolds (1990a, b, 1996, 2000). BnF 7979 contains the *Odes*, *Ars poetica* et *Satires* of Horace, as well as Lucan's *Pharsalia*. Its precise provenance is uncertain, but all authors agree that it was produced in the south of France in the 12th century. The manuscript is extensively glossed with sequence glosses, a specific type of syntactic gloss using letters of the alphabet, written interlinearly above words or phrases in the text. The lemmata could then be re-arranged in alphabetic order.

- (1) Gloss **a** **b** **d** **f** **h** **g** **i** **k** **c** **e**
Latin *primum ego* *me illorum dederim quibus esse poetas excerpam numero*
- Reordered: **a** **b** **c** **d** **e** **f**
 primum *ego* *excerpam* *me* *numero* *illorum [...]*
 first I select.1SG.FUT me.ACC list.ABL them.GEN
 ‘First, I myself will take my name from the list of such...’
 Satires I-4, 1.39-40 (BnF 7979 f.19r-1, 1.10-11)

Based on a limited sample of the *Satires*, Troberg and Whitman (2022) show that the word order of the glosses is fully consonant with the picture that has emerged in recent research of Old Occitan as a “relaxed” V2 language (Vance, Donaldson, and Steiner 2009, Donaldson 2016, Wolfe 2018, 2019). This in turn supports the vernacular reading hypothesis for this particular text—the hypothesis that such Latin texts of the period may be read with vernacular syntax as well as phonology—, and further, the BnF 7979 and glossed Latin texts like it can be used to expand the corpus of early Romance vernacular materials, recently demonstrated in Pujol i Campeny (2025, Ms.) for Old Catalan and Troberg and Whitman (2025) for Old Spanish.

Interpreted in terms of an articulated left periphery, the reordered main clause in example (1) presents a typical example of V3, shown in (2).

- (2) **a** **b** **c** **d** **e** **f**
 _{[FrameP} *primum* _{[TopicP} *ego* _{[Focus/FinP} _{[Focus/Fin} *excerpam=me* _{[TP} *excerpam=me numero illorum...*]]]
 first I select=me from.list of.them

The reordered sentence begins with a presumably base-generated frame-setter, *primum*, followed by a likewise base-generated contrastive topic, the first-person pronoun *ego*. In this example of V3, the glossator has preserved Horace’s placement of the frame-setter and contrastive topic while satisfying the requirement of Old Occitan grammar that the finite verb raise to a position in the left periphery: the third position in this clause, glossed as “c”.

Donaldson (2016) argues that Old Occitan main clauses involving preverbal subjects and (less common) post-verbal object clitics, like that in (1), are pragmatically marked and involve subject left-dislocation. Following Benincá (2006), the enclitic is in essence a Tobler-Mussafia effect, evidence that no element has merged as Spec,FocP. The discourse context of our text corroborates the formal analysis; the preceding discourse topic is the despised satirist (i.e., *any* despised satirist), and the clause in (1) shifts the topic from what some people say about them to the narrator’s personal opinion of satirical poets, which includes himself. He first addresses the designation of “poet”, emphasizing that he himself would cut his own name from the roster of real poets as he doesn’t consider his writing to be of such a caliber. In this context, *ego* is a contrastive topic, not a narrow focus, as there is no presupposition that Horace is the only satirical poet who says he’s not a poet. This is one example of many that demonstrate the glossator’s virtuosity in using the syntactic resources of Occitan to render the information structure of Horace’s verse.

In this talk, we expand our original analysis to three of Horace’s *Satires* (Book 1, i, ii, ix): 333 lines and approximately 2323 words. We demonstrate how the sequence glosses generate a relaxed V2 clausal word order; we show that the vernacular order has the potential to reveal new facts about Old Occitan; and by way of Latin word

orders that are systematically rejected by the glossator, we suggest that glossed texts are uniquely placed to indicate orders that were *not* possible in the native language of the glossator.

- Benincá, Paola. 2006. A detailed map of the left periphery of medieval Romance. In Rafaella Zanuttini, Héctor Campos, Elena Herburger and Paul H. Portner (eds.), *Crosslinguistic research in syntax and semantics: Negation, tense, and clausal architecture*, 53–86. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Donaldson, Brian. 2016. Preverbal subjects, information structure, and object clitic position in Old Occitan. *Journal of Linguistics* 52/01: 37–69. doi:10.1017/S0022226714000619.
- Munk Olsen, Birger. 1982. *Catalogue des manuscrits classiques latins copiés du IXe au XIIe siècle*. Tome 2. Paris: CNRS.
- Munk Olsen, Birger. 1996. Medieval manuscripts of the Latin classics: Production and use. In Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel and Margaret M. Smith (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, Leiden, 1993*, Los Altos Hills, Calif.: Anderson-Lovelace.
- Munk Olsen, Birger. 2007. Chroniques des manuscrits classiques latins (Ixe-XIIes). VI. *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 2: 49–106.
- Munk Olsen, Birger. 2009. *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XIIe siècles*. Tome IV. 1, *La réception de la littérature classique : travaux philologiques par Birger Munk Olsen*. Paris : CNRS éd., impr, cité p.227.
- Pujol i Campeny, Afra Ms.. Word order in Early Old Catalan.
- Pujol i Campeny, Afra. 2025. The syntactic glosses of the Liber Iudicorum Popularis. In Giovanbattista Galdi, Simon Aerts and Alessandro Papini (eds.), *Varietate delectamur: Multifarious Approaches to Synchronic and Diachronic Variation in Latin. Selected Papers from the 14th International Colloquium on Late and Vulgar Latin (Ghent, 2022)*, 635–649, Turnhout: Brepols.
- Reynolds, Suzanne. 1990a. Ad Auctorum expositionem: syntactic theory and interpretative practice in the twelfth century. *Histoire Epistemologie Langage* 12(2): 31–51.
- Reynolds, Suzanne. 1990b. Ad Auctorum expositionem: Syntactic glosses on literary texts in the twelfth century. *Histoire Epistemologie Langage* 12(4): 65–67.
- Reynolds, Suzanne. 1996. *Medieval Reading, Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Reynolds, Suzanne. 2000. *Inventing authority: Glossing, literacy and the classical text*. In Felicity Riddy (ed.), *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, Woodbridge: York Medieval Press.
- Troberg, Michelle and Whitman, John. 2025. The Sequence Glosses in the *Glosas Emilianenses* and Old Spanish Syntax. DiGS26, University of Oxford, June 23-26.
- Troberg, Michelle and John Whitman. 2022. Syntactic glosses and historical syntax. In L. Grestenberger, C. Reiss, H. A. Fellner, and G. Z. Pantillon (eds.), *Ha! Linguistic Studies in Honor of Mark R. Hale*, 369–394. Weisbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- Vance, Barbara, Brian Donaldson, and B. Devan Steiner. 2009. V2 loss in Old French and Old Occitan: The role of fronted clauses. In S. Colina, A. Olarrea, and A. M. Carvalho (eds.), *Romance Linguistics 2009. Selected Papers from the 39th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL)* Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 315, 301–320. Tuscon, Arizona, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wolfe, Sam. 2018. Occitan, verb second and the Medieval Romance word order debate. In J. Berns, H. Jacobs and D. Nouveau (eds.), *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 13: Selected Papers from Going Romance 29, Nijmegen*, 315–336. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wolfe, Sam. 2019. Redefining the typology of V2 languages: The view from Medieval Romance and beyond. *Special Issue: A Micro-Perspective on V2 in Romance and Germanic. Linguistic Variation* 19(1) 16–46.

Barbara Vance, Scott Evans, and Chase Tiffany (Indiana at Bloomington). Verb-second and the syntax of *on* in Old Occitan and Old French

In previous work (Vance, Evans, and Tiffany to appear), we used a small data base to examine in detail the syntax and semantics of the human impersonal pronoun *hom/om* (from Latin *homo*) in Old Occitan (OOc), comparing it to that of its cognate *on/l'en/len* in Old French (OFr). Results from four 13th- century texts (one prose and one verse from each OOc and OFr) indicated many similarities between the use of *on* in the two medieval Gallo-Romance varieties, including: the use of *on* for both non-referential (generic) and referential (episodic) meanings (confirming e.g. Weerenbeck 1943, Welton-Lair 1999, Egerland 2003, 2007, Giacalone Ramat & Sansò 2007); the availability of the same range of syntactic distributions for both non-referential and referential uses, despite their different positions on the semantic scale from noun to pronoun; and similar uses of preverbal and postverbal position for *on* -- given the V2 nature of both languages, certain information structural considerations, and the impossibility of a null *on*. However, we also noted a striking distributional asymmetry among referential *on* in matrix clauses: OFr prefers preverbal *on* while OOc prefers postverbal *on* (a contrast not observable among personal pronouns). In the current study, we expand our data base significantly in order to confirm or refute these preliminary observations and further determine whether genre (prose vs. verse) affects the patterns. We focus especially on documenting the preverbal vs. postverbal positioning of referential *on*, which has implications for the different diachronic developments of the two languages: French toward a non-null-subject language with very little postverbal positioning of subjects (see Marchello-Nizia 2018 for an overview), and Occitan toward a null-subject language with comparatively more frequent postverbal subjects (see e.g. Olivieri 2004). Tracking the behavior of *on* is a particularly fruitful way to examine the history of verb-second order because *on* is always atonic (Giacalone Ramat & Sansò 2007) and cannot be dislocated, unlike the personal pronouns which can be either tonic or atonic in both languages and thus participate in multiple types of syntactic configurations. Our present corpus draws literary texts from south-central Occitan (Languedoc and Provence) and central northern France between the 11th and 14th centuries, separating regional varieties (and sub-varieties) insofar as possible.

EGERLAND, Verner, "Impersonal pronouns in Scandinavian and Romance," in *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 71, 2003, p. 75-102.

EGERLAND, Verner, "On Old Italian *uomo* and the classification of indefinite expressions," in *Syntactic variation: the dialects of Italy*, ed. R. d'Alessandro et al., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 71-85.

GIACALONE RAMAT, Anna et SANSÒ, Andrea, "The spread and decline of indefinite man-constructions in European languages: an areal perspective," in *Europe and the Mediterranean as linguistics areas*, ed. P. Ramat et E. Roma, Amsterdam, Benjamins, 2007, p. 95-131.

OLIVIERI, Michèle, "Paramètre du sujet nul et inversion du sujet dans les dialectes occitans et italiens," in *Cahiers de Grammaire* 29, 2004, p. 105-120.

VANCE, Barbara, Scott EVANS and Chase TIFFANY. "Le pronom ON et les systèmes pronominaux de l'ancien français et de l'ancien occitan," to appear in proceedings of *Diachro X*, Paris, Champion.

WEERENBECK, B.H.J., *Le pronom on en français et en provençal*, Amsterdam, Noord Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschaap, 1943.

WELTON-LAIR, Lisa Kay, *The evolution of the French indefinite pronoun 'on': A corpus-based study in grammaticalization*, thèse de doctorat, Cornell University, 1999.

Marinus Wiedner (Freiburg) and **Anne Wolfsgruber** (Berlin). Development of the Hypotaxis in Old Gallo-Romance: a Comparison of *oc* and *oïl* varieties

Gallo-Romance is characterised by early divergent developments between the *oc* and *oïl* varieties, observable from the medieval period onward. These divergences manifest in several domains, including the (non-)null subject parameter, distinct word order patterns between main and subordinate clauses (cf. Kaiser 2002; Wolfe 2018), and the grammaticalisation of the reflexive passive construction (cf. Wolfsgruber 2017, among others). The underlying causes of these differences remain largely unsolved. Selig (2022), for instance, argues that the *oc* area's early written tradition developed with a relatively high degree of autonomy, whereas Cornillie (2022) highlights the influence of contact with Germanic languages in the *oïl* domain, particularly within the context of the *Charlemagne Sprachbund*.

Based on Selig's (2022) observation that early Occitan scripturality exhibits a high degree of autonomy in comparison to the *oïl* varieties, we set out to explore this observation further. To this end, we conducted a corpus study of Old Occitan and Old French hagiographies from the period between 1150–1400. We examined the development of hypotaxis in both linguistic areas by looking at the use of *que* and its variants. We specifically chose hagiographies because they often have Latin precursors or are largely based on Latin traditions and are therefore often viewed as rather conservative and most commonly not the locus of innovation.

The *oc* corpus consists of six hagiographies taken from COMETA (2025). This corpus comprises 17 manuscripts that were semi-automatically transcribed using *Transkribus* (Wiedner 2023). For the *oïl* corpus, we analysed the nine hagiographies from the corresponding period available in the *Base de Français Médiéval* (BFM).

One of the most intriguing results of this study is that, although complex subordination patterns are often associated with the development of the Romance languages during the Renaissance (cf. Pountain 2011, Cornillie 2022), we find a high frequency and variability of (complex) subordination patterns with *que* in the Southern-Gallo-Romance area. This indeed supports the observation of an independent development of the *oc* varieties in the Middle Ages in a textual domain that is still largely influenced by Latin models.

In the *oc* corpus, *que* occurrences are almost twice as frequent (~7,000 in ~240,000 tokens vs. ~3,200 in ~180,000 tokens in the *oïl* corpus). Additionally, the manner of use also shows clear distinctions: in *oc* varieties, *que* appears significantly more often and in more variable combinations with other elements (e.g., *per/so/cil/iassiaisso que*), while such combinations are rare in the *oïl* corpus. Furthermore, *que* as a relative pronoun is far more generalised and established in the *oc* corpus, whereas in the *oïl* corpus, it appears only in a limited set of expressions (e.g., *manière que*, *chose que*). The following examples give insight into the variability found in the *oc* domain.

- (1) per ren que fezes la cara non li podia vezer. **iassiaisso que** fortmens la esgardes per la cara (BnF, Français 13503)
- (2) ni anc mais aital sollempnitat non l'avian facha. **enaissi que** fora la carriera dels fraires (BnF, Français 13503)
- (3) mais al girar que fes illi vi una persona **que** s'en annava e que si partia d'ella. (BnF, Français 13503)

The data presented here offer a more nuanced perspective on the emergence of subordination patterns within Romance written traditions, contributing to a deeper understanding of the function of subordinate clauses in broader processes of language change (cf. Salaberri, Wolfsgruber, & Verkerk 2024).

BFM = *Base de Français Médiéval*. <txm.bfm-corpus.org>.

Cornillie, B. (2022): “Syntactic complexity in Standard Average European: language contact and discourse traditions in the domain of communicative distance”. In: Winter-Froemel, E./ S. Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, Á. (eds.): *Manual of Discourse Traditions in Romance*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 721–738.

COMETA = Wiedner, M. (ed.) (2025): *Corpus de l’occitan médiéval comparatif et annoté: Provence et Languedoc*. <<https://zenodo.org/records/15300719>>.

Kaiser, G. (2002): *Verbstellung und Verbstellungswandel in den romanischen Sprachen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Pountain, C. (2011): “Latin and the Structure of Written Romance”. In: Maiden, M./Smith, J. C./Ledgeway, A. (eds.): *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages. Volume 1: Structures*. Cambridge: CUP, 606–659.

Salaberri, I./Wolfsgruber, A. C./Verkerk A. (2024): “Subordinate and independent clauses in diachrony: An overview”. *Italian Journal of Linguistics*, 29–52.

Selig, M. (2022): “Discourse traditions in the early Romance period (with a focus on Gallo-Romance varieties)”. In: Winter-Froemel, E./ S. Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, Á. (eds.): *Manual of Discourse Traditions in Romance*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 353–368.

Wiedner, M. (2023): “OldOccitanHandwriting” (Modell-Nr. 52822, CER=3,51%). <<https://readcoop.eu/de/modelle/old-occitan-handwriting/>>

Wolfe, S. (2018): “Syntactic Variation in Two Sister Languages: A Study of Word Order in Old French and Old Occitan”. In: Panā Dindelegan, G. et al. (eds.): *Romance Syntax. Comparative and diachronic perspectives*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 53–84.

Wolfsgruber, A. C. (2017): “On, se and related valency alternations in Medieval French”. *Lingvisticæ Investigationes* 40:1, 59–80.