Synchronic and diachronic syntax of Occitan
Université de Caen Normandie
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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):

Possessed	Atonic				Tonic			
	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 prenominally when following a (most often definite) article: as such they can occur prenominally 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.

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Myriam Bras (Toulouse). **Syntaxe des expressions temporelles en occitan contemporain**

Gilles Couffignal (Sorbonne). **Polar question with -*ti* particle in Early Modern Provençal and East Lengadocian**

This paper will focus on the post-verbal interrogative particle -*ti* in Early Modern Provençal texts as in (1).

(1) Zerbin, Prov., 17th C.

Sabés	*-ti*	*ben*	*tirar*	*das*	*armos?*
know.PRS.2SG	INT	well	of.DEF.F.PL	shoot.INF	weapon.PL

`Do you know how to shoot well?'

Historically, philologists have concentrated their efforts on determining its origin. Contrary to Gaston Paris's view, Chabaneau (1877) initially described it as a continuation of the second-person singular dative pronoun found in Old Occitan (2).

(2) Flamenca, Leng., 13th C.

cujas	*ti*	*qu'*	*en*	*paradis*
cujas	.2SG.DAT	that	in	Paradise

Aia	*hom*	*talent*	*de*	*manjar?*
have.SBJV.3SG	3SG.INDF	yearning	of	eat.INF

`Do you think that we shall long for eating in paradise?

Brusewitz (1905) notes that the interrogative -*ti* only appears in the 16th century, at the same time as its appearance in French, and is initially used with third-person singular verbs. He therefore concludes that it should have been borrowed from French and this hypothesis is repeated in reference works (Ronjat 1937, 624; Sibille and Bach 2024, 386). Beyond the origin of interrogative -*ti*, we would like to describe its emergence and grammaticalisation. In which contexts is it used for anything other than the third-person singular and at what pace of change? Which kind of verbs and subjects are more frequently used with this particle?

Our aim is to situate this construction within a broader model of the evolution of interrogative marking strategies in Occitan domain, Gascon included. In Old Occitan (Jensen 1994, 353), polar questions were primarily indicated by the placement of the subject (3).

(3) *Jaufre*, Leng. 13th C. *(*cit. Jense 1994, 353)

non	*am*	*ieu*	*donx*	*Jaufre ?*
not	be.PRS.1SG	1SG.NOM	so	Jaufre

    `So I don't love Jaufre?'

In Modern Occitan, intonation is the main marker (4), but various strategies are used depending on the dialect area (Ronjat 1937, 620–627; Sibille and Bach 2024, 386–387): preverbal particles in Gascon (5); postverbal particles in Provençal and Eastern Lengadocian (6); inversion of Spro in some non-null subject northern Occitan varieties (7). Despite Ronjat's reservations, the borrowing of *est-ce que* from French is also widespread (8).

(4) Mouly, Leng., 20th C. (Batelòc)

Son	*plan*	*gròssas?*
be.PRS.3PL	well	big.F.PL

    `Are they big?'

(5) Camelat, Gasc., 20th C. (Batelòc)

Peirona	*e'*	*m*	*trompava ?*
Peirona	INT	1SG.ACC	cheat.on.PST.3SG

    `Was Peirona cheating on me?'

(6) Mistral, Prov. 19th C.

Es	*-ti*	*juste ?*
be.PRS.3SG	INT	fair

    `Is it fair?'

(7) Lim., 20th C. (cit. Ronjat 1913, 222)

ploù-t-	*éu ?*
rain.3SG	3SG

    `Is it raining?'

(8) Mouly, 20th C. (Batelòc)

Es	*que*	*los*	*empacharàs*	*d'*	*aganir ?*

be.3SG   that   3.M.PL.ACC   prevent.FUT.2SG   of   exhaust.INF

    `Will you prevent them from becoming exhausted?'

In an earlier talk (Couffignal, 2024), we examined the evolution of subject expression and position in Lengadocian polar questions from the 16th to the 18th century. In this paper, we build on a database of Provençal polar questions from the same period to describe how the *ti* construction works and measure its extent. This will enable us to refine our model of the evolution of interrogatives in Occitan. One hypothesis to be tested is the correlation between borrowing a postverbal particle from French and the loss of the postposition of the subject pronoun (Spro) in a language that acquires, or regains, a pro-drop character (Sauzet, 2007, 2020). All data and scripts will be available online.

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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 'mjɛwo 'sɔ 'ma soeur' / era 'mjɛwo 'la mienne' ; et so aɲetʃ 'son agneau' / et so 'le sien'). Toutefois, on relève d'une part des alternatives concurrentes dans la forme du possessif (cf. et tjɛu̯ 'frai̯ 'ton frère' / et to 'pai̯ '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 Larrivée 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.

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Pierre Larrivée (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-

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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 oïl 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).

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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 achevé) 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 émanent 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'enclise 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.

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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 clasues (*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 sercar, e sees penhere tornar are (LVertBenacB 189, 22*sq.*)

Comm.: no matter how many *sens* - inifnitive 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, 31*sq.*) / *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, <u>senza pagar</u> reva (1445, docAlpHPr 15d,19), *en la forma et en la maniera que ay atrobat en scrich, <u>sensa ren ajustar</u> ny amermar* (1478, *ibid.* 42,1);

mossen Peyre Bertran l'avie requist faire qualque plaser <u>senso my ren declarar</u> ne dire (1495, docArles 60,5);

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

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

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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.

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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.**

Thierry Ruchot (Caen). **Réflexions pour une grammaire onomasiologique de l'occitan à l'exemple du gascon**

La réflexion développée dans cette communication n'est pas spécifique à l'occitan, ni même aux langues minorisées en général, mais se heurte à des problèmes particuliers pour ces langues. On peut penser que, pour toute langue qui s'enseigne comme langue étrangère ou à des fins de revitalisation, il est utile de disposer de ressources qui partent des besoins d'expressions pour arriver aux moyens permettant de les exprimer. Une telle grammaire ne s'oppose pas aux grammaires sémasiologiques, plus largement représentées, y compris pour des langues minorisées et leurs variétes diatopiques, qui systématisent les moyens grammaticaux en partant des parties de discours ou de la distinction morphologie-syntaxe. Une approche onomasiologique présuppose que des grammaires sémasiologiques aient déjà été réalisées, mais aboutit aussi de nouveau à de la sémasiologie pour distinguer les moyens d'expression que l'on a listés et en comprendre le fonctionnement précis et les nuances. Dans le domaine du lexique, cette approche a été assez utilisée, y compris pour l'ancien occitan (Baldinger et al. 1975). La grammaire onomasiologique, en revanche, a rarement eu sa chance, malgré quelques tentatives, théoriques ou appliquées (Brunot 1922; Bondarko 1991; Schwall 1991; Charaudeau 1992; Matte Bon

1999; Hands 2017; Dessì Schmid 2020; Gosselin 2021). Cependant, tout le programme de recherche entamé par Halliday et ses collègues, qui nous inspirera ici, peut être vu comme une entreprise de linguistique onomasiologique (Halliday et Matthiessen 2014), avec, en plus, une ouverture sur le texte et le discours. Notre objectif dans cette communication sera d'esquisser les lignes d'une grammaire onomasiologique de l'occitan dans sa variante gasconne, à l'exemple de quelques sous-systèmes (détermination, temporalité et modalité énonciative essentiellement). On verra que des difficultés particulières se pose : 1) l'accès à l'information n'est pas toujours simple dans les grammaires sémasiologiques du fait même de leur principe d'organisation (Lafont 1967; Rohlfs 1977; Hourcade 1986; Romieu et Bianchi 2005; Guilhemjoan et Romieu 2006; Carrera 2007), 2) pour une langue se présentant sous la forme d'un diasystème avec de nombreuses formes dialectales, le choix des variantes est une véritable question, ainsi que le choix entre normalisation, en favorisant les néo-locuteurs, et respect de la variation, plus proche des locuteurs ayant reçu la langue par transmission et fortement ancrés au niveau très local, cependant de moins en moins nombreux et, pour certains, nés dans des familles de néo-locuteurs ; 3) Le fait que la langue soit de plus en plus parlée par des néo-locuteurs ou par des locuteurs natifs ayant de moins en moins de pratique, peut entraîner une certaine insécurité linguistique sur certaines questions. 4) Le fait que l'occitan soit une langue de contact partout (avec le français ou avec l'espagnol et le catalan) peut provoquer l'apparition de calques ou d'emprunts. Se pose alors la question de savoir s'il vaut mieux promouvoir une variante plus « pure » ou idiomatique s'appuyant sur la production littéraire, y compris ancienne et l'expérience des locuteurs plus âgés compétents ou accompagnant les changements de façon tolérante ?

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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 univerbation (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.

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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 primu*m* ego me illor*um* dederim q*uibus* e*ss*e poetas excerpa*m* nu*m*ero

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, l.39-40 (BnF 7979 f.19r-1, l.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.

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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.

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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).

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