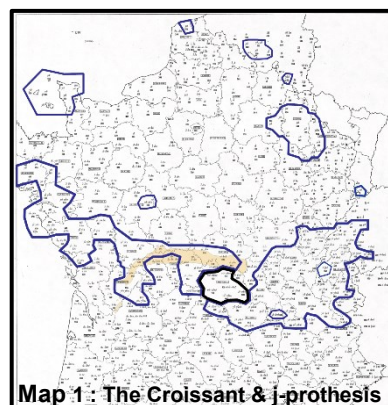


Inheritance, change and diffusion at the Margins of Gallo-Romance

Fabian Zuk ✱ CNRS (LLACAN~LATTICE), Paris

The “Croissant” is a language contact zone at the margins of three major Gallo-Romance clades: Oïl to the North, Oc to the South and Francoprovençal varieties to the East. Within this zone (in orange, see Map 1) the Latin etyma *ŪNUM* ‘one.MASC’ and *ŪNAM* ‘one.FEM’ have been targeted by a diachronic process of jod-prothesis resulting in forms such as masculine /jœ/ and feminine /jyn/ respectively. The result is a phonologically distinct numeral series which contrasts with the cliticised indefinite articles /œ/ and /yn/ descended from these same etyma. In this talk we present the formal analysis of jod-prothesis among these varieties and discuss the challenges they present for the internal phylogeny of Gallo-Romance.



Map 1 : The Croissant & j-prothesis

Though comparative cases of word initial, stressed Latin *Ū* are few (cf. *ŪBER* ‘teat’ → Freiburg *uvro* ‘teat’), poorly documented (none in the ALF (Gillieron 1902)) and rarely survive in the Gallo-Romance lexicon, /j/-prothesis appears to have occurred when Gallo-Romance *y ← Latin **Ū* was word initial and stressed.

Under these conditions, the appearance of an exrescent glide onset can be analyzed as the spreading of *y’s palatal feature into the empty onset. This is best captured, within an autosegmental (Goldsmith 1976; Scheer 2004) and elemental (Harris & Lindsey 1995; Backley 2011) framework. Here the appearance of onset /j/ occurs when the headed *||* element of Gallo-Romance *y *|IU|* branches leftward into the until-then empty onset of Gallo-Romance *yn ‘one.masc’ and *yna ‘one.fem’, thereby forming an optimized CV sequence. That *||* spreading is responsible for the appearance of prothetic /j/ is confirmed by diatopic variation in the Croissant (1a, 1b) and in surrounding areas (1c, 1d), all of which show prothetic consonants containing the *||* element: /v/ = *|UI,H|*, /q/ = *|UI|*, /ʎ/ = *|IA|*.

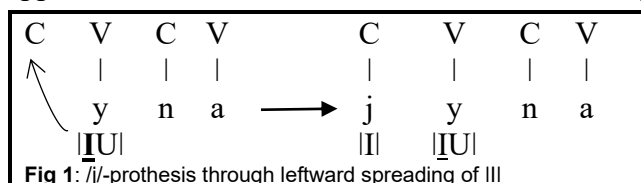


Fig 1: /j/-prothesis through leftward spreading of *||*

More challenging from a diachronic perspective is the date and origin of the postulated change **#ý* → **#jý* and the consequence of said change for the internal language phylogeny of Gallo-Romance. As demonstrated in Map 1, /j/-prothesis not only occurs in Croissant varieties but can also be seen in Francoprovençal in the East, peripheral Oïl varieties in the West and North-East and even in adjacent North-Occitan (Auvergnat). The change of Latin *Ū* → Gallo-Romance *y is generally accepted to have affected all of Gallo-Romance, though dating the phenomenon is problematic. Because the presence of *y feeds the prothesis seen above, the change of **#ý* → **#jý* must be later, yet affects several clades of Gallo-Romance. While various scenarios will be presented: whether this change dates back to the common Gallo-Romance period, whether it has occurred within a single branch and spread, or whether the change has occurred separately across various branches, at this time, the evidence points towards j-prothesis throughout the central Gallo-Romance space, spread of the phenomenon into the northern Oc and regression of the phenomenon in central Francien varieties, notably under the influence of Standard French, where the indefinite articles *un* /œ/, *une* /yn/ today are undifferentiated from the numeral: *j'en veux un* /œ/, *une* /yn/ ‘I want one’.

(1)		ŪNUM	ŪNAM
a.	Jouillot (Creuse)	jœ	jy:n
b.	Millac (Vienne)	jœ	jy:n
c.	Monton (Puy-de-Dôme)	vʎœ	vynɔ
d.	Ambert (Puy-de-Dôme)	ʎœ	vó:nɔ