

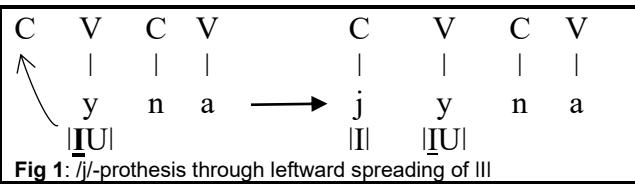
Inheritance, change and diffusion at the Margins of Gallo-Romance

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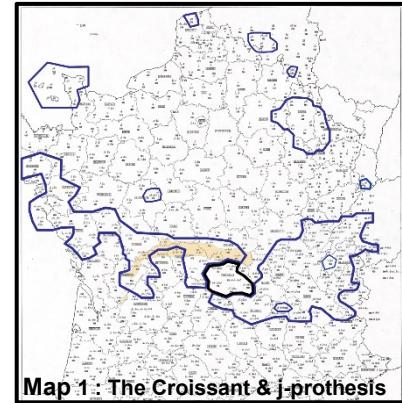
The “Croissant” is a language contact zone at the margins of three major Gallo-Romance clades: *Oil* to the North, *Oc* to the South and *Francoprovençal* varieties to the East. Within this zone (in orange, see Map 1) the Latin etyma *ŪNUM* ‘one.MASC’ and *ŪNAM* ‘one.FEM’ have been targeted by a diachronic 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.

Though comparative cases of word initial, stressed Latin *Ū* are few (cf. *ŪBER* ‘teat’ → Freiburg *uvro* ‘teat’), poorly documented (none in the ALF (Gilliéron 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 excrecent 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 |I| 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 |I| spreading is responsible for the appearance of prosthetic /j/ is confirmed by diatopic variation in the Croissant (1a, 1b) and in surrounding areas (1c, 1d), all of which show prosthetic consonants containing the |I| element: /v/ = |UI,H|, /y/ = |UI|, /k/ = |IA|.



	ŪNUM	ŪNAM
a.	Jouillot (Creuse)	jœ
b.	Millac (Vienne)	jœ
c.	Monton (Puy-de-Dôme)	vœ
d.	Ambert (Puy-de-Dôme)	vó



Map 1: The Croissant & j-prothesis

More challenging from a diachronic perspective is the date and origin of the postulated change *#y → *#jy 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 *Oil* 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 *#y → *#jy 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’.