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The Gascon Énonciatif System: Past, Present, and Future
A study of language contact, change, endangerment, and maintenance

by

Nicole Elise Marcus

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Linguistics

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Gary Holland, Chair

Professor Leanne Hinton

Professor Johanna Nichols

Fall 2010

The Gascon Énonciatif System: Past, Present, and Future
A study of language contact, change, endangerment, and maintenance

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by Nicole Elise Marcus

Abstract

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A study of language contact, change, endangerment, and maintenance

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Professor Gary Holland, Chair

The énonciatif system is a defining linguistic feature of Gascon, an endangered Romance language spoken primarily in southwestern France, separating it not only from its neighboring Occitan languages, but from the entire Romance language family. This study examines this preverbal particle system from a diachronic and synchronic perspective to shed light on issues of language contact, change, endangerment, and maintenance.

The diachronic source of this system has important implications regarding its current and future status. My research indicates that this system is an ancient feature of the language, deriving from contact between the original inhabitants of Gascony, who spoke Basque or an ancestral form of the language, and the Romans who conquered the region in 56 B.C. Since this system initially arose via language contact and Gascon is a minority language threatened by French, can language contact also be the same mechanism to cause its demise? To answer this question, I conducted fieldwork in the Gascon region during 2008-2009 to examine how this system is currently used and taught.

My findings reflect both the damaging effects of language marginalization and the significant effects of language maintenance. While I found that the overall syntactic behavior of the énonciatif system is not endangered and that these preverbal particles are in fact spreading to Gascon regions that historically never used them, the system's semantic foundation and regional variations found mainly among native speakers are in danger of disappearing. The significant variation encountered in the énonciatif usage not only challenges some of the prior semantic theories that have been proposed to account for the énonciatif behavior, but more importantly indicates that there is a pressing need to record older native speakers throughout Gascony before this information, of particular import to future speakers who wish to speak the Gascon-specific dialect of their relatives, becomes lost.

Since this system is simply one aspect of the language, the final chapter examines the overall future of Gascon. While I am optimistic provided there is much more political and economic support, the study of Gascon provides yet another example of how quickly a language can disappear and how important it is that action be taken to prevent its loss. Just as the énonciatif system identifies Gascon and is a link to the region's ancestry, the Gascon language is integral to the rich culture, history, and identity of the Gascon region and people.

To my parents for always believing in me.

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Grammatical abbreviations

1 = 1 st person	GERUND = gerund
2 = 2 nd person	IMP = imperative
3 = 3 rd person	IMPF = imperfect tense
ABL = ablative	INDEF = indefinite
ABS = absolutive	INF = infinitive
ADV = adverb	LOC = locative
ADVB = adverbializer	M = masculine
ALL = allative	NEG = negation
APN = adverbial pronoun	NEU = neuter
ART = article	OBJ = object
AUX = auxiliary	PART = past participle
BEN = benefactive	PL = plural
COMP = complementizer	POSS = possessive
COND = conditional	POT = potential
DEF = definite	PRES = present tense
DEM = demonstrative	PRF = perfective
DIM = diminutive	PRTT = partitive
DIS = distal	PST = past tense
DST = destinative	REFL = reflexive
EMPH = emphatic/stressed form	REL = relativizer
ENC = énonciatif	SG = singular
ERG = ergative	SUB = subject
F = feminine	SUBJ = subjunctive mood
FUT = future tense	WH = wh-word
GEN = genitive	

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Objective, background, and fieldwork methodology

1.1 Objective

The Gascon énonciatif system is one of, if not the, most distinctive features of this Romance language. These preverbal particles termed *énonciatifs* that occur before the finite verb are foreign to the rest of Romance and therefore distinguish Gascon not only from the official language of Gascony, French, but from the other regional languages of southern France that, like Gascon, are classified under the larger term *Occitan*. Gascon is spoken primarily in southwestern France and, like the other non-French languages of France, it does not have official status and is considered a regional minority language that is endangered. The only region where Gascon has official status is in Val d'Aran, Spain; this variety of Gascon is termed *Aranais* and is one of the three official languages, alongside Catalan and Spanish, spoken in this Pyrenean valley.

This project developed from my initial research concerning the diachronic evolution of the énonciatif system, which I argue to be a vestige of the Gascon region's Basque substrate, such that the system evolved from intense language contact between speakers of Basque and Latin following Romanization of Gascony. The terms *Basque* and *Latin* will not be used in their traditional senses when they appear throughout this work in reference to the énonciatif diachronic source as a result of contact. Rather, each term will encompass the various forms of the respective languages throughout time, as it is impossible to identify the exact time frame at which the énonciatif system began evolving and therefore what the forms of Basque and Latin were at the time of the system's evolution. Considering the extended contact between Basque and Latin in Gascony and the fact that languages undergo continual change, Basque will refer to the variety spoken in Gascony at the time of Romanization, which is argued to be an ancestral form of Basque, and its more evolved form that resulted in the subsequent centuries. Similarly, Latin will refer to the form of Latin spoken in Gascony at the time of Roman conquest in 56 B.C., the later forms of Latin that evolved, and the earlier forms of the Romance vernacular that evolved into present-day Gascon.

The historical significance of this linguistic feature, combined with the well known outcomes of language attrition, led me to wonder what effect the majority language, French, will have (if any) on this system. Fieldwork in the Gascon region during the 2008-2009 academic year set out to answer the following questions:

- How are the énonciatifs currently used and how do the findings compare to prior synchronic descriptions of the énonciatifs?
- Are the énonciatifs used differently across speakers of different generations?
- How are the énonciatifs currently taught in schools that teach Gascon?
- Based on my findings and observations in the region, what predictions can be made regarding the future usage of the énonciatif system and the overall future of the language?

In particular, questions concerning the future usage of this system were driven by Moreux's (2004) opinionated paper against the various Occitan language maintenance efforts; he insists that Occitan teachers eliminate specificities of the Gascon language, but provides no evidence to substantiate his claims. Given that the énonciatif system is undoubtedly a Gascon-specific feature, I tested Moreux's claim by observing the usage of the énonciatifs in various schools that teach Gascon and by interviewing and recording the instructors. The findings of this project shed light on the fields of language contact and language maintenance/revitalization, and have important implications for other endangered language communities.

1.2 Geography

The Garonne River, Pyrenees, and Atlantic Ocean form the natural borders of Gascony. Aside from its usage in Val d'Aran, Spain, Gascon is spoken in the following nine *départements* of France. As illustrated in Table 1, these *départements* are often referred to by number and compose two larger administrative regions, termed *les régions*.

Région ¹	Département (number of département)
Aquitaine	Gironde (33) Lot-et-Garonne (47) Landes (40) Pyrénées-Atlantiques (64)
Midi-Pyrénées	Tarn-et-Garonne (82) Haute-Garonne (31) Gers (32) Hautes-Pyrénées (65) Ariège (09)

While Gascon is the only non-French language, also termed minority or regional language, in four of these *départements* (Gironde, Landes, Gers, and the Hautes-Pyrénées), the borders of Lot-et-Garonne, Tarn-et-Garonne, Haute-Garonne, and Ariège overlap with another Occitan tongue, Languedocien, and the remaining *département* (Pyrénées-Atlantiques) is shared with Basque (Luchaire 1877: 20-21). The énonciatifs have been described to occur in the majority of Gascon dialects, with their usage becoming more sporadic and eventually non-existent as one moves further away from the Pyrenees and approaches Gascony's northern and eastern borders (refer to Chapter 2 and the maps in Appendix A for a detailed account of the énonciatif geographical distribution).

It is important to mention that the Pyrénées-Atlantiques *département* was formerly termed the Basses-Pyrénées *département*, as this former designation (abbreviated *B.-PYREN*) appears on Séguy's maps from his *Atlas linguistique de la Gascogne*, hereafter abbreviated ALG, which contains isoglosses of the Gascon region based on speaker recordings collected from the 1960s-1970s. Those relevant to this study are compiled in Appendix A.

It is also necessary to clarify other maps in Appendix A which do not contain the names of the governmental *départements*, but rather regional designations, such as Armagnac, Béarn, Bigorre, Chalosse, Comminges, and Couserans, which are terms referring to former territorial

¹ The *département* within the Aquitaine administrative region that is not within the Gascon domain is Dordogne (24) and the *départements* within the Midi-Pyrénées region not within the Gascon domain are Aveyron (12), Lot (46), and Tarn (81).

boundaries in southwestern France and are thus older in origin. These terms are still used today; unlike the names of the départements, these regional terms are more intimately connected with each area's historical and cultural significance. Since previous descriptions of the énonciatifs and maps of the Gascon region contain these regional designations, Table 2 provides the locations of these regions in relation to the borders of the départements so that the reader can more readily understand the discussion concerning the geographical distribution of the énonciatif system presented in Chapter 2 and can also better compare the maps contained in Appendix A.

TABLE 2. Location of relevant Gascon regional appellations in relation to the département administrative boundaries	
Regional Appellation	Location in relation to the département(s) divisions
Armagnac	portions of Gers, Landes, and Lot-et-Garonne (located in the Pyrenean foothills)
Béarn	majority of Pyrénées-Atlantiques
Bigorre	Hautes-Pyrénées
Chalosse	southern portion of Landes
Comminges	extreme southern portion of Haute-Garonne
Couserans	western portion of Ariège

1.3 Terminology of the region: Its historical significance

The administrative region *Aquitaine* is not to be confused with the term *Aquitaine*, or more accurately *Aquitania* in Latin, which is what Romans during the time of Julius Caesar named the region bounded by the Pyrenees, the Garonne River, and the Atlantic Ocean, corresponding with that of present-day Gascony (Luchaire 1877). It is believed that the first part of this toponym is composed of the Latin morpheme *aqua* 'water', and that the Romans provided this name for the region due to its great abundance of water, with the ocean forming one of its natural borders, in addition to its various rivers and mountain streams (Monlezun 1846/2000: 2).

The language spoken by the original Aquitaine inhabitants prior to Romanization is argued to be an ancestral form of Basque (see Chapter 4 for further discussion). In Julius Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* in 58 B.C. (Constans & Denis 1906), Caesar remarked how the language spoken by the Aquitaine inhabitants was distinct from that of the Celts, and also of that spoken by the Belgae tribes (argued to be of possibly Celtic and/or Germanic origin):

Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit.² (*De Bello Gallico*, I.1)

Consistent with the scholarly literature, I will use the term Aquitaine to describe the Gascon region during ancient times and the term Aquitanian to refer to the region's original

² English translations of all quotations in a foreign language appear in footnotes throughout this work. The English translation reads: 'All of Gaul is divided into three parts, one of which the Belgae inhabit, the Aquitani another, and the third by a people who in their own language/tongue call themselves the Celts, who in ours [Latin] are called the Gauls. All of these groups differ from each other in their language, customs, and laws. The Garonne River separates the Gauls from the Aquitani; the Marne and the Seine Rivers separate the Gauls from the Belgae.' This translation was gleaned from researching various Latin grammars and dictionaries, and was verified in Constans's work (1926: 2), which provides a French translation of the original Latin source.

inhabitants who spoke an ancestral form of Basque. To avoid confusion with the administrative region of Aquitaine whose boundaries do not correspond with those of Julius Caesar's Aquitaine, I will refer to today's administrative region as *Aquitaine (a.r.)*, where the acronym (*a.r.*) stands for "administrative region". The terms *Aquitaine/Aquitanian* without any following specification will refer to Julius Caesar's Aquitaine, equivalent to modern-day Gascony.

Following the expansion and reorganization of Julius Caesar's territory, the Gascon region experienced various appellations throughout history. Aquitaine referred to a vaster geographical domain when Augustus Caesar in ca. 16 B.C. extended Julius Caesar's boundaries north to the Loire River and east to the Cévennes mountain range (i.e., to the Massif Central) (Labarge 1980: 1, Cocula 2000: 22). The region changed once again towards the end of the 3rd century under the rule of Diocletian who divided Augustus's Aquitaine province into the following three parts: *Aquitania Prima*, comprising the eastern part of the area between the Loire River and the Garonne River; *Aquitania Secunda*, including the western part of the said area; and finally *Aquitania Tertia*, later termed *Novempopulana* 'province of the nine peoples', referring to the same geographic region as Julius Caesar's Aquitaine and that of present-day Gascony (Mussot-Goulard 1996, Cocula 2000: 36).

The term *Vasconia*, from which the word Gascony derives,³ has a much narrower time depth than that of Aquitaine, appearing for the first time under the name *Vasconiae saltus* in a 4th century text by the Bordeaux-born writer Saint Paulin to designate the Pyrenean mountain range, where Latin *saltus* refers to 'a level or mountainous woodland/forest pasture' (Rohlf's 1970: 17-18, Andrews 1850). The Romans used this term to refer to the territory of the Vascones, today's Basques, who called their own language *euskera*: "La Vasconia était donc le territoire des *Vascones* [original emphasis], c'est-à-dire des Basques d'aujourd'hui" (Rohlf's 1970: 18).⁴ Since the Vascones/Basques occupied the Pyrenean regions, Rohlf's (1970: 18) states that the historical circumstances causing the name *Vasconia* to apply to areas north of the Pyrenees (those within the limits of modern-day Gascony) are murky at best.

While the term *Vasconiae* first appeared in the 4th century, the Vascones are cited much earlier in the literature. Gorrochategui (1995: 35) finds that the Vascones are first mentioned in Roman sources regarding the events of the Sertorian war (87-72 B.C.) and appear in the poetic writings of Silius Italicus (1st century A.D.) regarding Hannibal's invasion of Italy, in which some Vascones participated as mercenaries. Still, the most notable and cited mention of the Vascones concerns their invasion in southwestern France as described by Saint Gregory of Tours in his *Historia Francorum* in 587 A.D. (Gorrochategui 1995: 34, Intxausti 1992: 56):

Wascones vero de montibus prorumpentes, in plana descendunt, vineas agrosque depopulantes, domus tradentes incendio, nonnullos abducentes captivos cum pecoribus. Contra quos saepius Austrovaldus dux processor, sed parvum ultionem exegit ab eis.⁵

³ The phonetic change from *Vasconia* to Gascogne was from Germanic influence: the Visigoths who first entered the region in the 5th century most likely pronounced *Vasconia* as [w]asconia, and, in the Gallo-Romance area, Germanic [w] > [gw] > [g], thus yielding [w]ascon > [gw]ascon > [g]ascon (Rohlf's 1970: 18).

⁴ 'Vasconia was therefore the land of the *Vascones*, who are the Basques of today.'

⁵ Gorrochategui (1995: 34) provides this original citation from *Historia Francorum*, along with its corresponding English translation that is reproduced here: 'The Vascones, rushing in from the mountains, descended to the plains, depopulating vineyards and fields, burning down houses, taking many captives and sheep. The chief Austrovaldus often triumphed against them, but caused little damage to them.'

This well documented 6th century invasion of the Vascones in southwestern France, leading to their subsequent creation of the Duchy of Gascony in 602 A.D., is the source of confusion regarding the chronology of Basque presence in Gascony. For instance, although Lodge (1926: 3) asserts that “Anthropologists tell us that the early Aquitanians were a race of Iberians, which mixed by degrees with other races, and only remains in its purity among the Basques of the Pyrenees”, she goes on to state that, “The Vascones were a Spanish tribe, who crossed the Pyrenees in the sixth century and overran the whole of Novempopulania, including ‘High Gascony’ where Basque was spoken, and ‘Low Gascony’ from the mountains to the Garonne, where Gascon, a development from the Latin, was the native tongue.” Based on this account, we are apt to conclude that the Vascones were a different group from the original Aquitaine inhabitants, even though the language spoken by the inhabitants of Aquitaine has long been argued to be the ancestor of Basque.

More accurately, the Aquitanians, along with the Basques, had long been believed to belong to the same ethnic and linguistic group as the Iberians. While the connection still holds between the language of the Aquitanians and Basque, the Iberian hypothesis has since been dispelled, and the widely-accepted view today is that Basque is an isolate whose ancestral form was the language spoken by the inhabitants of Gascony (Aquitaine) prior to Romanization:

The scanty remains of Aquitanian [referring to Julius Caesar’s Aquitaine] are in many cases so transparently Basque that few specialists now doubt that Aquitanian is an ancestral form of Basque, and hence it seems safe to conclude that Basque, as is commonly believed, is the last surviving pre-Indo-European language in western Europe. Otherwise, there is not the slightest trace of persuasive evidence that Basque is related to any other language at all, living or dead. (Trask 1995: 91-92)

According to Intxausti (1992), the language spoken in Gascony prior to the arrival of the Romans dates back ~ 2200 years. Based on archaeological evidence, the proto-Basques are believed to have occupied Julius Caesar’s Aquitaine region and the regions to the northeast of today’s Basque country (Euskal Herria), with particular evidence found in the Pyrenees whose place names are undoubtedly of Basque origin (see Chapter 4, §4.3.1 for further discussion): “A cette époque [~2200 years ago], les Aquitains parlaient l’euskara ou une langue très proche” (Intxausti 1992: 47).⁶

Still, due to the historical circumstances associated with the etymology of the term Gascony, the presence of the Basques in Gascony is misinterpreted to have resulted from their 6th century migration from Iberia (present-day Spain) into southwestern Gaul (present-day Gascony). According to Rohlfs (1970), this misconception is the widespread opinion among Basques — excluding the majority of Basque scholars — who wish to deny any direct relation between the language spoken in Aquitaine and Basque. Rohlfs (1970: 24) and Luchaire (1877: 71) point out that if the introduction of Basque in southwestern France (French *le pays basque*) really occurred following the complete Romanization of Gascony (i.e., during the Vascon invasion in the 6th century), then Latin vestiges should be found in the toponyms of southwestern France, as opposed to those of Basque origin, which are so numerous throughout the region.

⁶ ‘At this time [~2200 years ago], the Aquitanians spoke Basque or a very closely related language.’

1.4 Terminology of the language: Its sociopolitical significance

*Language is very powerful. Language does not just describe reality.
Language creates the reality it describes.*

- Desmond Tutu

Like the region, the name of the language of the present study has various designations. However, unlike those of the region, terms relating to the language are extremely sensitive in nature and provide credence to the message in the above-cited quotation. The terms *l'aranais*, *le béarnais*, *le gascon*, *l'occitan*, and *le patois*, arranged in ascending order of geographical and linguistic scope to which each term applies, can be used to describe the language variety of the present study, yet each term carries with it certain political, historical, and cultural ideologies. I have thus far termed the language *Gascon* and will continue to do so, as it is the most general term that encompasses the different dialects of this linguistic variety, and is also the most politically neutral, which will become evident once the other terms are defined in the subsequent sections. Although I am not referring to Gascon as “Gascon Occitan” on linguistic grounds, as Occitan is not a language family (see §1.4.3), this decision does not in any way serve as a political act to distance Gascon from the Occitan domain: I greatly support the Occitan movement and its associated organizations whose tireless efforts have increased the teaching, transmission, promotion, and awareness of these minority languages and cultures of southern France.

1.4.1 Aranais

L'aranais refers to the variety of Gascon spoken in the Spanish Pyrenean valley Val d'Aran that has official status (see Maps 5a-b in Appendix A). In contrast to the situation in France where Gascon is not an official language, Aranais is obligatorily taught in schools, along with Catalan and Spanish, the other official languages of Val d'Aran.

1.4.2 Béarnais

Just as Aranais has a specific geographical designation, the term *le béarnais* refers to Gascon spoken in the Béarn region of France (see Map 4e in Appendix A). In addition to this term's geographical designation, it has strong historical, cultural, and political undercurrents. The historical importance of Béarn is evident in the following excerpt from Puyau's (2007) Béarnais grammar:

Au sud de ce bassin [the basin of the Adour River], le Béarn, ressemblant à un coeur dont la pointe serait appuyée sur les Pyrénées, est traversé par plusieurs affluents de l'Adour, « gaves » torrentueux des montagnes, ou rivières nées dans les coteaux du nord de Pau. Mais, diriez-vous alors, si le Béarn est en tout et pour tout un coin de Gascogne, qu'est-ce qui le distingue ? Et bien justement : l'Histoire.⁷ (Puyau 2007: 21)

⁷ 'At the south of this basin [the basin of the Adour River], Béarn, resembling a heart in which the point would be resting on the Pyrenees, is crossed by various tributaries of the Adour River, surging mountain streams, or rivers

Béarn was a province (viscounty) formed within the Duchy of Gascony in the 9th-10th centuries (Tucoo-Chala & Staes 1996), but its most notable fame came in the 14th century under the rule of Gaston Fébus who declared its independence. Béarn continued to retain its sovereignty up until the 17th century when it came under French rule. In addition to its prolonged independence, much of the prestige associated with Béarn is tied to King Henri IV of France in the 16th century. This ruler was not only born in Pau (the capital of Béarn), but also held the title King Henri III of Navarre and refused to incorporate Béarn into France under his rule, thus maintaining its sovereignty within the Kingdom of Navarre.

Béarn remained independent from France until 1620 when Louis XIII decreed the Edict of Annexation of Béarn, making French the official language. Due to Béarn's prolonged independence, it was unaffected by the 1539 Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts which prescribed all non-literary acts to be written in French and not in other "langues vulgaires" (Grosclaude 1977, Grosclaude 1979, Sibille 2000). This prolonged official written usage of Gascon that did not occur in other Gascon regions adds to the pride held by Béarnais inhabitants. For instance, the *Fors du Béarn*, acts describing the customs and laws of the region that began in the 11th century, were printed in Béarnais in 1552 and reprinted again in the same language in 1602 (Keller 1985). Although Béarnais was no longer deemed the official language of the region from 1620 onwards, Keller (1985) points out that the *Fors* were reprinted in Béarnais many times throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, in contrast to other Occitan areas in the Midi-Pyrénées region which translated their texts into French immediately after 1540. Keller (1985: 70) attributes this continued usage of Béarnais to the protesting attitude of the Béarnais people: "...on peut parler ici d'une attitude protestataire."

Based on my observations in Béarn, the pride associated with the region's history is quite apparent in Pau where the Béarn flag (Figure 1) hangs above the city hall (la Mairie), reflecting the region's past independence, and where the Château de Pau, the birthplace of the notable French king Henri IV, overlooks the Boulevard des Pyrénées. Since I was fortunate to be in the region during the Carnaval Biarnés, a major Béarnais cultural festival held in February, numerous Béarnais flags hung throughout Pau during this time, making it impossible for someone with even absolutely no knowledge of Béarn to be unaware of this important symbol.

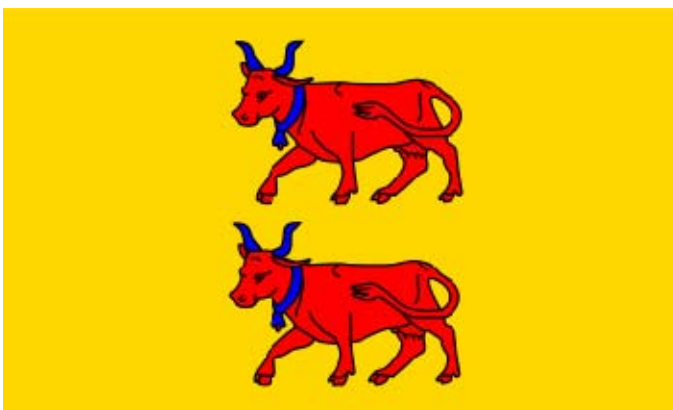


FIGURE 1. Béarn flag

originating in the slopes of northern Pau. But, would you then say if Béarn is after all a corner of Gascony, what distinguishes it? And the answer is quite precisely history.'

Due to this region's prolonged independence, the term *le béarnais* and what it represents constitute a politically sensitive and heated issue. The organization *Institut Béarnais & Gascon* was founded in 2002⁸ in Pau as an effort to maintain the language and culture, while at the same time functioning to combat the various Occitan movements (see discussion below for Occitan), as members of this organization are against Gascon being considered within the Occitan domain and fear that the language is not being transmitted properly through the Occitan programs. A member of the Institut Béarnais & Gascon informed me that this organization was against the Occitan flag (see Figure 2) hanging from Pau's city hall (la Mairie de Pau) and petitioned to remove it, wishing only the Béarnais flag to be present. The petition must have failed, as I witnessed both the Béarnais and Occitan flags hanging from this building.

1.4.3 Occitan

Due to the widespread usage of the term *occitan* for cultural, social, and political reasons, it has come to be misinterpreted as a linguistic genetic classification. I concur with Fossat's (1999: 239) following definition of Occitan as a "negotiated" language based on historical, social, and geographical reasons:

L'occitan est une langue négociée, tout au long de son développement historique ; il est caractérisé par ses arrangements historiques, géographiques et sociologiques. Les formes territoriales prises par l'occitan, des Pyrénées aux Alpes, du Somport au Cantal et St-Martial de Limoges, ont constitué des "arrangements" [quotations consistent with original source] coutumiers qui construisent des formes de cohésion sociale négociée : ils n'intéressent pas les seuls linguistes ; être occitan, c'est habiter un pays doté de sa propre cohésion sociale, en relation avec ses premiers voisins ; c'est la première caractéristique de la situation occitane : on est né dans la Bouriane, et la parlatura de Bouriane a la vie dure, tout autant que les parladures gasconnes ou niçardes.⁹

The etymology of this term, which stems from the word for 'yes', explains why Occitan should be considered neither a language family nor an individual language and its members (Auvergnat, Gascon, Languedocien, Limousin, Provençal, and Vivaro-Alpin or Provençal Alpin) as dialects. Occitan, or rather *langue d'oc*, was coined by Dante Alighieri in his work *De vulgari eloquentia* (ca. early 14th century), in which he classified the Romance languages according to their word for 'yes': *oïl* referred to the languages in northern France (which now refers to the

⁸ Even though the Institut Béarnais & Gascon was founded in 2002, it is a resurgence of the former organization *l'Escole Gastou Fébus* (named after the former Béarn viscount), which was founded in 1894 in Béarn to maintain and revitalize the language. The spelling Gastou is a variant of Gaston since the final <n> in Gascon is not pronounced. Although this organization was active until the early 1980s, it became weakened with the spread of the Occitan movements during the 1960s (Moreux 2004). Moreux (2004) states how the Institut Béarnais & Gascon has received support from former members of the *Escole Gastou Fébus*.

⁹ 'Occitan is a negotiated language, throughout its historical development; it is characterized by its historical, geographical, and sociological arrangements. The territorial areas held by Occitan, from the Pyrenees to the Alps, from Somport [in Pyrenees] to Cantal [in Massif Central] and St-Martial in Limoges, set up customary "arrangements" which are creating some forms of negotiated social cohesion; they do not solely interest linguists; to be Occitan is to live in a country equipped with its own social cohesion connected with its earliest neighbors; it's the first characteristic of the Occitan situation: one born in la Bouriane [located in the Lot département], and the Bouriane speaker has a hard life, as do the Gascon or Niçard [Provençal dialect of Nice] speakers.'

French language), *oc* denoted the languages in southern France, and *si* classified the languages in Italy and Iberia. Although *langue d'oc* categorized the languages of southern France, it is important to mention that this term was often replaced by the names of certain individual Occitan languages to refer to all of the Occitan languages; namely, Limousin, Provençal, or Languedocien. The terms *occitan*, *langue occitane*, and *Occitanie* were first attested at the end of the 18th century, but were not widely used until the 20th century, in which such terms became popularized with the rise of the Occitan movement (Sibille 2000: 34-35).

Just as the word for ‘yes’ does not provide sufficient evidence on which to base a linguistic genetic classification of Occitan, additional linguistic data challenges such a definition. While it is true that the Occitan languages do share certain linguistic features, some of these are also shared by other neighboring non-Occitan Romance languages, such as Catalan. All Gascon speakers who informed me that they are able to understand other Occitan languages, such as Provençal and Languedocien, also said that they could understand Catalan. However, the political boundary of Catalan prevents it from being considered Occitan, as the Catalan linguistic domain primarily lies within Spain where Catalan is considered an official language. Although Aranais is also spoken in Spain, it is still considered Occitan since Aranais, an official language confined to a rather small Pyrenean valley, is a dialect of the language whose larger geographical domain is located in southwestern France where this language (i.e., Gascon) lacks official status.

Furthermore, Chambon & Greub’s (2002) study, which analyzes unique phonetic/phonological features¹⁰ of Gascon to determine the approximate date of proto-Gascon, concludes that Gascon should be considered an independent Romance language: “Du point de vue génétique, le (proto)gascon est à définir comme une langue romane autonome” (Chambon & Greub 2002: 492).¹¹ They find that Gascon shared only one feature in common with the rest of the Occitan languages (Latin -tr-, -dr- > [-jr-]) at the proposed date of Gascon’s development (ca. 600), which ultimately refutes Occitan’s genetic classification:

...il paraît clair que le gascon, hautement spécifié *ca* [original emphasis] 600 au plus tard, ne peut être considéré comme un «idiome détaché du provençal» ou comme une «variété/forme» ou encore comme un «dialecte/groupe de parlers» de l’occitan. En effet, «si l’on cherche des innovations qui soient propres à tout le domaine occitan, on ne trouve que des changements relativement insignifiants» (Wüest 1979, 369). À la date où le gascon est linguistiquement individualisé, l’occitan ne pourrait se définir génétiquement que par une seule innovation ancienne à la fois commune à tout son espace et spécifique, à savoir l’évolution en [-jr-] des groupes -TR-, -DR- primaires ou secondaires (Ronjat 1930-1941, 220, 226), c’est-à-dire du groupe */dr/.¹² (Chambon & Greub 2002: 490-491)

¹⁰ Some of the features analyzed were: Latin f > [h]; Latin n > Ø/V__V; Latin ll > [r]/V__V; Latin ll > [t]/V__#; Latin mb, nd > [m, n]/V__V; Latin Ø > [a]/#__; and the fusion of Latin b and w becoming [b] in Gascon.

¹¹ ‘From the genetic point of view, (proto)gascon should be defined as an independent Romance language.’

¹² ‘...it appears clear that Gascon, having its unique features [lit. highly specified] ca. 600 or later, cannot be considered as “a language from Provençal” or as a “variety/form” or still as a “dialect/group of speakers” from Occitan. This is because, “if one looks for innovations which belong throughout Occitan, one only finds relatively insignificant changes” (Wüest 1979, 369). At the date when Gascon is linguistically individualized, Occitan could only genetically define itself by one single former innovation that at the time was common throughout its domain, which was the evolution of [-jr-] from the Latin primary or secondary clusters -TR- and -DR- (Ronjat 1930-1941, 220, 226), which is to say from the group */dr/.’

In view of Gascon's distinguishing linguistic features, among them being the énonciatifs, it is not surprising that the Occitan status of Gascon has been questioned throughout history and still is to this day. Gascon was deemed a *lengatge estranh* 'foreign language' in the *Leys d'Amour*, a 14th century text which codified the grammatical and poetic rules of Occitan (Bec 1963), and Sibille (2000: 35) remarks, "Parmi eux [Auvergnat, Gascon, Languedocien, Limousin, Provençal, Vivaro-Alpin/Provençal Alpin], c'est le gascon qui se différencie le plus, à tel point que son occitanité a parfois été discutée."¹³ Moreover, according to Blanchet & Schiffman (2004: 6):

The very existence of "Occitan" as a single distinct language, present, in the Occitanist works, as a linguistic fact in most cases, with very little discussion, has always been contradicted by independent scientific sources, . . . , by South-French (socio)linguists outside the Occitanist circle . . . , by various linguists at least as far as Gascon is concerned, by the basic data, and even by Occitanist supporters . . .

Still, Gascon is considered a dialect by many people, including scholars, due to the overwhelming usage of the term Occitan following the foundation of the *Institut d'Etudes Occitanes (IEO)* in 1945 whose goal is to collectively promote the Occitan languages and cultures to strengthen their sociolinguistic status. For instance, when I referred to Gascon as "une langue" while speaking with one of the professors in the Occitan department at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, the professor informed me that Gascon is a dialect of Occitan and not a language. Once again, this provides credence to Tutu's saying that language can create reality, for the term *Occitan* has led to the following two misconceptions: (1) Occitan is a language family; (2) Occitan is a single language and the Occitan varieties are dialects and not individual languages.

Although Occitan is not a linguistically viable genetic classification, this categorization has been a leading factor in the improvement of the sociolinguistic situation of southern France's minority Romance languages and this term therefore should continue to be used in this social and political manner to enact change. Since the founding of IEO, the Occitan movement has spread significantly. To mention just a few of the various Occitan efforts, there are IEO offices in each administrative region and département within the Occitan domain, Occitan immersion schools termed *Calandretas*, Occitan teaching in public schools, adult Occitan courses, Occitan radio and television programs, and Occitan magazines and newspapers (see Chapter 7 for further discussion). Because of this widespread political movement and teaching programs that are linked with France's national education system (see §1.5.5 for details), regional language policies for France consider Occitan as one of its regional languages and therefore policies for Occitan affect all of its members.

Despite the success of the Occitan movement, there are opponents as mentioned in the previous section regarding the foundation of the Institut Béarnais & Gascon. Published studies by Blanchet & Schiffman and Moreux indicate that they are among those against the usage of the term *Occitan* and its associated movement. Moreux (2004) states that the various Occitan movements have contributed to Gascon's decline in addition to that of other Occitan languages, claiming that the Occitan efforts attempt to make all of the languages resemble the most centrally-located Occitan variety, Languedocien, and therefore eliminate distinctive features of

¹³ 'Among them, it's Gascon which differs the most, to such a point that its Occitanity has sometimes been disputed.'

the individual languages. Both Moreux (2004) and Blanchet & Schiffman (2004) contend that many Occitan teachers are not native speakers of the languages they are teaching and therefore do not know or pay attention to each language's distinctive features, even though these studies do not provide any evidence to substantiate their claims. My findings refute their conclusions, as the énonciatif system is one of the most distinctive features of Gascon and I found that it was not only taught in the classes I observed, but is spreading to northern Gascon regions that never before had this system (see Chapter 6 for further discussion).

Finally, to compare the Béarnais flag with that of Occitan, the Occitan flag is reproduced in Figure 2. The Occitan symbol, known as the “Occitan cross” or “cross of Toulouse”, is represented not just on the flag, but is an emblem found in necklaces, key-chains, stickers for automobiles, etc. as a means to assert one's identity as a supporter of the Occitan movement. It is important to mention that the Béarnais and Occitan flags, and also terminology, do not necessarily oppose each other. As previously mentioned, both the Occitan and Béarnais flags hang from the Mairie de Pau and I met many people in Béarn, including Occitan activists, who refer to the language as Béarnais, but also support the Occitan movement. For instance, the *Ostau Bearnés*, an organization founded in 1981 in Pau to promote the Béarnais language and culture, works with various Occitan movements and institutions, such as the Calandretas and other Occitan teaching establishments within Béarn, to diffuse various linguistic and cultural events to the larger community. As of 2008, the Ostau Bearnés is partnered with 45 member associations that promote Béarnais, including the Calandretas in the region, various singing groups, such as *Ardalh*, and organizations that offer classes in traditional Gascon music and dances, such as *Menestrèrs Gascons*.



FIGURE 2. Occitan flag

1.4.4 Patois

This historically derogatory word used to group all non-French languages together to demean their existence and promote the usage of French was one of the factors that prompted the various Occitan movements to attempt to reverse the sociolinguistic situation of France.

L'occitanisme (au sens large: Félibrige inclus) a mené et mène bataille contre le terme "patois". Malgré le fait, qu'on n'a pas manqué de nous rappeler, que les usagers eux-mêmes désignent leur langue comme patois et que cela n'implique pas de leur part une intention dépréciative, le terme patois enferme l'occitan dans

l'état de non langue et verrouille sa minoration sociolinguistique. Avec le plus grand respect et le plus grand ménagement envers la pratique et les sentiments des occitanophones naturels qui en usent, il a fallu et il faut encore corriger l'usage du terme "patois". Il faut nommer la langue occitane, la nommer "occitan" ou "langue d'oc" ou comme on voudra (mais autant se servir d'un seul terme) pour la poser comme langue.¹⁴ (Sauzet 2002: 44-45)

The term *patois* refers to any language of France that is not French and can therefore be used to refer to languages as diverse as the Celtic language Breton, the language isolate Basque, and the Romance language of the present study. French was considered the language of the elite, while speakers of patois represented a much lower social status, as evidenced in the Académie française's definition of this word in 1694 as "langage rustique, grossier comme est celui d'un païsan ou du bas-people" (Sibille 2000: 17).¹⁵

Due to the fact that the various efforts to reverse the sociolinguistic situation of France are very recent given the country's long history of language marginalization, many older generations of native speakers still refer to their language as patois without being aware of its derogatory connotation, as Sauzet mentions in his above-cited quotation. I encountered this exact scenario while conducting fieldwork and found myself shifting to the term patois during interviews with some older Gascon speakers who were more comfortable using this term since it was what they had always called their language.

Even though these speakers do not necessarily imply a derogatory meaning with the use of the term patois, it is there nonetheless. Language does indeed create the reality it describes: by referring to their language by a word like patois, which does not have a specific designation, many speakers I interviewed believed that this language was not of the same value as French, and it is for this reason that many older native speakers informed me that they would never dare speak in patois to doctors or other people considered members of the elite. Since Gascon and the other Occitan languages are Romance languages, this led some speakers to mistakenly view Gascon and the other Occitan languages as ill-formed French, an impossible scenario for speakers of minority languages of France that do not share a genetic link with French, such as Breton and Basque; this information was obtained from a 57-year-old non-native Gascon speaker from Bigorre. Moreover, the following excerpt from a 66-year-old native Languedocien speaker and second language learner of Gascon, who is currently a retired Occitan professor in Béarn, illustrates how the term patois prevented him from knowing that his native language was a distinct language like French or Italian; he did not discover this until he began to study Occitan in his mid-30s.

À partir du moment où on ne parlait que de patois, ce terme a toujours eu dans la langue française un sens un peu péjoratif, le patois. Et donc on ne pouvait pas réellement avoir conscience par exemple qu'il s'agissait d'une langue

¹⁴ 'Occitanism (in the larger sense: Félibrige included) led and is leading the fight against the term "patois". In spite of the fact, one that we did not forget to mention, that the users themselves call their language patois, which does not imply a derogatory intention on their behalf, the term patois imprisons Occitan in a state of being a non-language and maintains its sociolinguistic minority status. With the utmost respect and attention towards the practice and sentiments of native Occitan speakers who use it [the term patois], it was necessary and still is necessary to correct the usage of the term "patois". It is necessary to call the language Occitan, to name it "occitan" or "langue d'oc" or as one wishes (but all the same makes use of a single term) to establish it as a language.'

¹⁵ 'rustic language, crude as it is the language of a peasant or of a lowly/poor people.'

comparable au français à l'italien. On ne pouvait pas l'imaginer dans la mesure où elle était considérée comme un patois. ...Quand j'ai commencé à étudier cette langue... à ce moment-là je me suis aperçu effectivement que la situation qui était faite de la langue était une situation qui ne correspondait pas à la réalité historique. Mais cette prise de conscience elle est arrivée beaucoup plus tard.¹⁶

Walter (1999) maintains that the lack of regional language transmission in France is associated with the word patois, as schoolmasters severely punished students who spoke it in the late 19th and early 20th centuries:

Older people today bitterly recall some of their unpleasant school classes when the first child who let a *patois* word slip was instantly given a card featuring a cow or another animal, or a filthy shoe, or any object intended to stand as a symbol of shame. When the next child was caught saying another word in the forbidden language, he or she was compelled to take the “symbol” and to keep it until he or she was able to hand it on to the next offender. And when the bell rang at break time, it was the hapless child holding the “symbol” who was punished.

When these children grew up and became parents themselves, these men and women kept like an open wound the memory of this humiliating treatment and made a point of avoiding speaking *patois* to their children. They wanted to spare them the shameful moments they themselves had suffered. [original emphasis throughout] (Walter 1999: 16)

This practice, termed *la pratique du signal* (Sibille 2000: 118), was recounted to me by some of my research participants. Although not all of the older research participants whom I interviewed encountered this practice in schools, all did inform me that they were forbidden to speak Gascon (then termed patois) at school.

Based on all of my interviews, I can conclude that the French school system's forbiddance of patois caused Gascon speakers to stop transmitting the language (see Chapter 7, §7.2 for further discussion). For instance, a 78-year-old native Gascon speaker¹⁷ from the village Sénac in Bigorre informed me that she did not transmit Gascon to her children since she was forbidden to use the language in school and therefore believed that it served no purpose. Although this speaker was not punished in school for speaking patois (she attended a communal school in her village from 5-14 years of age) and therefore did not experience the *pratique du signal*, the fact that the language was not permitted still had a psychological impact since fellow students, herself included, teased those who used patois. She told me that the majority of the students who spoke patois during school were the younger students who had recently entered the school: such students spoke the language at home and therefore naturally assumed that they

¹⁶ ‘From the time it was considered that we only spoke patois, this term always had a slight pejorative meaning in French. And so you couldn't actually be conscious for example that it was a language comparable to French or Italian. You couldn't conceive of it that way since it was considered patois. When I began to study this language, I realized that the situation that was presented for the language was one which did not correspond to historic reality. But this realization didn't occur until much later in my life [in this participant's mid 30s].’

¹⁷ This participant refused to be recorded, so I informally spoke with her about her language usage. In my opinion, she was uncomfortable being recorded since she still has shame associated with the language. She informed me that she sees no point in maintaining Gascon or Occitan since, according to her, these languages serve no purpose.

would extend this language usage to other settings. She said that she too was teased when she had entered school and had spoken patois. The fact that this speaker did not experience the *pratique du signal*, but still chose to not transmit the language to her children, demonstrates that it was the school system at large forbidding the usage of patois, and not just the *pratique du signal*, that led to the lack of familial transmission.

The term patois is so engrained in the consciousness of French inhabitants that it continues to be used in a derogatory manner by those who seem completely unaware of their prejudice. For instance, upon returning to Berkeley from France, I joined a social group where people gather to speak French; when I was describing my research on Gascon, I asked one of the younger native French members of the group (aged in his late twenties to early thirties) from the Alsace-Lorraine region if there are any other minority languages in that region other than *Alsacien* and he responded that they're all just "patois". Moreover, at another such event I met a 40-year-old native French speaker from Toulouse who not only never heard of Gascon, but told me that "c'est pas une vraie langue" ['it's not a real language']. Even after I informed him that indeed it was, he still responded "c'est pas structuré, c'est un patois" ['it's not structured, it's *un patois*']. I told him that he was misinformed and was influenced by the widespread belief in France that languages deemed patois are not real languages.

I encountered similar reactions in France from those who were not associated with any of the regional language maintenance efforts. For instance, while in Bordeaux, I was invited to a social event that consisted of people without any direct link (or none that I was aware of) to Gascon or Occitan. When someone (probably aged in his thirties) at the dinner asked me what I was doing in the region, I informed him of my study and he was shocked that I was interested in what he termed as "patois". He was even more surprised when I informed him that people still speak the language, as he had thought that it was dead. These observations show that, still to this day, many people share the belief that any language deemed patois represents nothing other than the unstructured speech of peasants unworthy of linguistic recognition. I therefore strongly concur with Sauzet (2002) who wishes to end the usage of the term patois, as it continues to inherently convey an inferior status to the languages of its reference due to its historical underpinnings.

1.4.5 Terminology preference

Prior sociolinguistic studies of Gascon have surveyed the terminological preferences of speakers to refer to their language, and this section presents the results of two of these studies, in addition to observations made during my interactions with various speakers. Although the sociolinguistic interviews that I conducted did not focus on the language's terminology, I noticed certain terminological preferences held by speakers, as I found myself changing the terminology of the language depending on the person to whom I was speaking.

In Arenas's (1999) sociolinguistic study, which surveyed 100 people in the Béarn region, she refers to the language as *le béarnais* as opposed to *le gascon* or *l'occitan* since she found the majority of those surveyed (66%) to use this term to describe the language. Those surveyed include 48 males and 52 females with the following age distribution: 30% over 50 years old, 17% 41-50 years old, 16% 31-40 years old, 14% 26-30 years old, and 23% 18-25 years old. The question concerning what to call the language was an open-ended question (i.e., no choices were provided) and the results are reproduced in Table 3.

TABLE 3. Preferred language terminology in Arenas's (1999: 8) study of 100 people in Béarn

Terminology of the language	Percentage (of the 100 people surveyed) who preferred each term
béarnais/lou biarnès	66%
la langue béarnaise	1%
patois béarnaise	5%
patois béarnaise populaire	1%
pur patois béarnais	1%
occitan-béarnais or gascon	1%
occitan and béarnais	2%
occitan or béarnais	2%
patois	15%
occitan	2%
gascon	2%
langue d'oc	1%
français	1%

A recent sociolinguistic survey (*Enquête sociolinguistique: Chiffres et données clés*) conducted in 2008 via the telephone among 6,002 people from the Aquitaine administrative region, comprising the départements of Dordogne, Gironde, Landes, Lot-et-Garonne, and Pyrénées-Atlantiques, contained various sociolinguistic questions, including those concerning the terminology of the language. Table 4 provides the distribution of the total respondents surveyed organized by age and département.

TABLE 4. Respondent age/département distribution based on the *Enquête sociolinguistique: Résultats de l'étude sociolinguistique (2008: 2)*

	Dordogne	Gironde	Landes	Lot-et-Garonne	Pyrénées-Atlantiques	Total % from all regions
15-29 yrs old	18.0%	25.5%	19.3%	19.9%	21.7%	22.3%
30-44 yrs old	23.3%	26.0%	25.0%	23.8%	25.2%	25.1%
45-59 yrs old	22.7%	22.9%	23.2%	22.8%	22.5%	22.8%
60 yrs and older	36.0%	25.6%	32.5%	33.5%	30.6%	29.7%
Number (not %) of those surveyed	1000	1000	1000	1000	2002	6002

Table 5 represents the respondents' terminology preference. The percentages are not based on the total respondents surveyed, but rather approximately half of the population (3,082 to be exact) who declared to know at least some of the Occitan variety spoken in their region.

TABLE 5. Respondent terminology preference based on the *Enquête sociolinguistique: Chiffres et données clés (2008: 9)*

	Dordogne	Gironde	Landes	Lot-et-Garonne	Pyrénées-Atlantiques	Total % from all regions
patois	71%	50%	66%	74%	16%	53%
occitan	22%	24%	9%	20%	22%	20%
béarnais		2%	2%		53%	11%
gascon		8%	16%	2%	5%	6%
médocain		7%				
landais		2%	6%			
limousin	2%					
languedocien				1%		

The percentages reflect that the majority of speakers term the language patois, except in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques département (where Béarn is located), where béarnais is the more popular term. Interestingly, the age of respondents was not necessarily linked with the term patois; this finding surprised me, as I observed the vast majority of older speakers to refer to their language using this term. Out of all 6,002 respondents that used the term patois to refer to their language, the following percentages reflect the age distribution: 23.8% 15-29 years old, 32.6% 30-44 years old, 34.7% 45-59 years old, and 42.4% 60 years and older (*Enquête sociolinguistique: Résultats de l'étude sociolinguistique* 2008: 60). While most who used the term patois were in the older age groups, the 23.8% response by the younger generation of speakers is not that drastically different from the percentages of those aged 45 years and older.

This survey also included questions concerning the respondents' views and feelings towards the term Occitan. One such question was the following, whose responses are reproduced in Table 6 (the percentages are based on 2,479 people surveyed):

On utilise souvent le terme Occitan pour regrouper les parlars du sud de la France. Parmi les 3 phrases suivantes, laquelle correspond le mieux à ce que vous pensez ? Diriez-vous que « la langue de référence » que vous parlez ou comprenez...

- 1) ...est une langue bien distincte de ce qu'on appelle l'occitan, et ne devrait donc pas y être rattachée
- 2) ...est une langue qui a ses particularités, mais elle peut être rattachée à l'occitan
- 3) ...correspond effectivement à ce qu'on appelle l'occitan
- 4) ne pas citer¹⁸

TABLE 6. Respondents' feelings towards their language being called Occitan; responses organized based on département (*Enquête sociolinguistique: Résultats de l'étude sociolinguistique* 2008: 132)

	Dordogne	Gironde	Landes	Lot-et-Garonne	Pyrénées-Atlantiques	Total % from all regions
1. distinct from Occitan	15.2%	24.1%	15.0%	14.1%	15.4%	17.6%
2. can be attached to Occitan	46.2%	50.9%	43.0%	63.7%	62.3%	51.9%
3. corresponds to Occitan	32.0%	15.2%	19.9%	15.3%	14.1%	19.9%
4. no response	6.5%	9.9%	22.2%	6.9%	8.2%	10.6%

Table 6 shows that the majority of respondents, including those in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques, did not mind their language being termed Occitan. Even respondents limited to the Béarnais zone of the Pyrénées-Atlantiques département reacted to this question similarly to those of the entire département: 15.1% felt that their language is distinct from Occitan and should therefore not be

¹⁸ 'One often uses the term Occitan to classify speakers from the south of France. Among the following 3 phrases, which one best corresponds to what you think? Would you say that the language of reference that you speak or understand...

- 1) is a language distinct from what one calls Occitan and shouldn't be grouped with Occitan
- 2) is a language which has its distinctive features but can be grouped within Occitan
- 3) effectively corresponds to what one deems as Occitan
- 4) no response'

deemed as such; 62.6% responded that although their language has distinctive features, it can still be grouped within the Occitan domain; 14.9% chose the third option that their language corresponds to Occitan; and 7.4% had no response (*Enquête sociolinguistique: Résultats de l'étude sociolinguistique 2008*: 133).

Age also does not seem to affect the responses to this question. Table 7 shows that the majority chose the second response regardless of age. This result slightly surprised me based on my fieldwork experience where I found many younger speakers to have learned Occitan through various teaching programs put in place by the Occitan movement. I therefore expected the majority of younger speakers to support the term Occitan more than the older speakers and to therefore have higher percentages for responses two and three.

TABLE 7. Respondents' feelings towards their language being called Occitan, organized based on age (*Enquête sociolinguistique: Résultats de l'étude sociolinguistique 2008*: 132)

	15-29 yrs	30-44 yrs	45-59 yrs	60 yrs & older	Total % from all regions
1. distinct from Occitan	15.9%	17.1%	16.5%	19.1%	17.6%
2. can be attached to Occitan	47.6%	55.4%	56.5%	48.8%	51.9%
3. corresponds to Occitan	24.9%	17.6%	18.3%	20.5%	19.9%
4. no response	11.6%	10.0%	8.8%	11.5%	10.6%

Even though these percentages indicate that a minority of the population surveyed is opposed to the usage of the term Occitan, responses to the following question reflect that this term is still debatable and sensitive in nature:

Il apparaît commode de poursuivre le questionnaire en utilisant le terme Occitan pour désigner les parlars du Sud de la France. Acceptez-vous que pour la suite on appelle Occitan « la langue de référence » que vous parlez ou connaissez ?¹⁹ (*Enquête sociolinguistique: Résultats de l'étude sociolinguistique 2008*: 134)

59.2% from all départements answered yes, while 40.8% responded no (3,667 people were surveyed) (*Enquête sociolinguistique: Résultats de l'étude sociolinguistique 2008*: 134). Therefore, it seems as though the usage of the term Occitan is still not entirely accepted within Aquitaine (a.r.).

While I did not ask participants in my study questions that specifically pertained to the language's terminology, I can remark on this issue based on my observations and interactions with various speakers. Throughout the course of fieldwork, I quickly learned to change the terminology of the language depending on the person to whom I was speaking. Even though I had initially planned to use the term Gascon, which I assumed was the most politically neutral term, I discovered that it was best to change my terminology once I understood the preferred term of the speaker.

I found each speaker's terminology preference to correlate with his/her background and age. For instance, when I used the term Gascon during interactions with those in the Occitan milieu (e.g., Occitan teachers, students, professors, members of IEO), some asked me why I did

¹⁹ 'It seems more convenient to continue the questionnaire by using the term Occitan to designate the speakers of the south of France. Do you accept that from here on we call Occitan the language of reference that you speak or know?'

not use the term Occitan. In such situations, I often changed my terminology of the language to “Gascon Occitan” or just “Occitan”. I particularly became cognizant of terminological sensitivities surrounding the language during my stay in Béarn, especially when interacting with members of the Institut Béarnais & Gascon who oppose Occitan. I only used the term Béarnais when speaking to members or proponents of this organization. Like the prior sociolinguistic surveys cited, I found Béarnais to be the preferred term used in this region even among many Occitan supporters there, and thus primarily used this term during my interactions with speakers in Béarn.

Although the prior surveys cited did not find the usage of the word patois to correlate with the person’s age, I observed the speaker’s age to be a determining factor in his/her terminological preference. All of the older native Gascon speakers who were unassociated with any linguistic activism (whether it be with the various Occitan movements or with the Institut Béarnais & Gascon) called their language patois, which led me to term it as such during the interview. My usage of this word surprised me since I had never expected to utter this term. Due to the strong connotations associated with the word patois, I initially referred to the language as Gascon during all of my interactions with speakers and continued to do so even after I had discovered that the majority of older native speakers used the term patois. I did not change my terminology to patois until the speaker indicated his/her preferred comfort level with this term.

1.5 Fieldwork methodology

1.5.1 Overview

Since language is an integral part of culture, I abide by the tenets held in anthropological fieldwork regarding complete immersion in a community. Without this practice, I would not have been able to meet Gascon speakers or instructors to interview for my project nor be equipped to evaluate the larger sociolinguistic situation of Gascon. Being that language provides a gateway into a community, it was essential that I have some speaking knowledge of Gascon in spite of the fact that all Gascon speakers are fluent in French, as am I. I also felt a personal responsibility to improve my Gascon proficiency and use the language (even be it limited, especially during the initial stages of fieldwork), as it would have been hypocritical for me to study Gascon and care about its survival without making an effort to learn it myself.

Due to my interest in Gascon’s survival and in maintaining the world’s linguistic diversity, it would be inaccurate for me to claim complete objectivity while conducting this research. However, I can be considered an “outsider” and an objective researcher in the following ways: (1) I am a U.S. citizen without any familial connection to Gascony or France (I have no ancestral ties to France and learned French as a second language beginning in secondary school in the U.S.); (2) I do not hold any official affiliation with any of the Gascon or Occitan organizations with whom I worked; (3) I, along with those who participated in my study, do not have any financial reward to gain from this project.

My study was approved (granted exempt status) by the University of California, Berkeley Office for the Protection of Human Subjects.²⁰ I will refer to all of the people I interviewed as *research participants* and not *human subjects*, as the term *human subjects* is impersonal and

²⁰ All recorded participants signed the written informed consent forms approved by UC Berkeley’s OPHS. For those limited participants under 18 years of age, parental informed consent was granted.

passive in nature, assuming that the people within the said group are not interacting with the researcher, but are rather being acted upon. Since I did not conduct an experiment, but rather had personal, one-on-one conversations with speakers whose participation in my study was completely voluntary, I will refer to them as research participants. This designation more accurately reflects their active and participatory role in my study, especially since some of the people I interviewed provided me with contact information for additional Gascon speakers.

1.5.2 Goals

My goals in conducting fieldwork in Gascony during the 2008-2009 academic year are outlined below.

1. Determine how the énonciatifs are currently used among native and non-native Gascon speakers.
2. Compare these findings to prior synchronic studies of the énonciatifs and determine if any sociolinguistic factors (e.g., age, region, language learning, language usage/ideology) impact the linguistic data.
3. Determine if and how the énonciatifs are currently taught by observing various establishments that teach Gascon and by interviewing Gascon instructors.
4. Understand how Gascon became endangered and the efforts to maintain its survival to grasp the sociolinguistic dynamics of language endangerment and to make predictions regarding its future status.

To meet the first and second objectives, I recorded interviews with various native and non-native Gascon speakers (refer to Chapters 5 and 6 for details on the research participants). Each interview lasted approximately 1-2 hours at the person's residence or office, or at another agreed upon meeting place. Most of the interview was conducted in French since I was not fluent in Gascon. As my Gascon improved throughout the course of fieldwork, some participants did respond in Gascon to questions I posed in French. I chose to conduct oral interviews as opposed to written surveys or questionnaires to glean sociolinguistic information since speakers are less likely to elaborate their responses in writing. Moreover, additional questions and responses often arise during a conversation that would not in a more impersonal, structured format. For instance, I initially did not think of asking younger speakers if they send text messages in Gascon; this information arose during the initial stages of fieldwork when I was interviewing a student from the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail. The student informed me that he sent text messages in Gascon, which then prompted further questions as to the usage of the énonciatifs in this format and Gascon text messaging in general. After this finding, I asked subsequent young research participants, i.e., aged 30 years and younger, if they text message in Gascon.

The majority of the interview was devoted to various sociolinguistic questions, such as the person's age, birthplace, places of residence, native language, usage of Gascon, transmission of Gascon, and thoughts towards its future status. To understand how Gascon became endangered, I asked those who chose to not transmit the language to their children why they did so. To understand the effectiveness of efforts to maintain the language, I asked the second language learners of Gascon why they chose to learn the language and how they did so. Depending on each participant's time availability, some interviews were more thorough than

others.

In addition to the sociolinguistic question portion of the interview, I elicited Gascon data to determine each participant's usage of the énonciatifs. I asked participants to provide the Gascon equivalents for French sentences I said aloud that were expected to contain certain énonciatifs based on prior synchronic descriptions, which are presented in the following chapter. I initially had not planned on eliciting sentences and instead had intended to analyze the énonciatif usage based on more natural linguistic data obtained from conversations or spontaneous narratives. However, I realized after the first two interviews that I would not be able to determine the énonciatif usage in specific environments, such as subordinate clauses, without direct elicitation. In order to obtain natural linguistic data and verify that speakers' usage of the énonciatifs in the sentence elicitations matched that found in their natural speech, I asked the majority of participants (those who were not under a time constraint) to tell me a spontaneous story in Gascon. For those who had difficulty producing a spontaneous story, I prompted them by asking questions in Gascon, such as what they were doing for Christmas, which generated a natural Gascon response. Although some Gascon conversations among two or more speakers were recorded, they are very limited, as it was extremely difficult to arrange meetings with multiple speakers at the same time.

To meet the third fieldwork goal, I interviewed various Gascon instructors using similar guidelines to those just outlined. The exception is that interviews with instructors included questions pertaining to the teaching of the énonciatifs, their students' usage of the énonciatifs, and their students' overall usage of Gascon. To understand how the classes and schools that teach Gascon function, and to observe students using the language, I visited various teaching establishments (see §1.5.5 for details) after obtaining permission from instructors and school administrators. Finally, to meet the fourth objective, all of my fieldwork observations, interviews, interactions with various Occitan and Gascon organizations, and ultimate immersion in the Gascon community are considered in the final chapter.

1.5.3 Locations

I resided in Toulouse (located in the Haute-Garonne département) for the majority of my stay since this city was home to my prior contacts in the region, including the Institut d'Études Occitanes de la Haute-Garonne (IEO 31) and the Collège d'Occitanie, and is also a major city in the region home to various Occitan libraries and resources.²¹ Because Toulouse is outside the geographical zone of the énonciatif system (see the following chapter for the énonciatif geographical distribution), I conducted fieldwork in the Hautes-Pyrénées and Pyrénées-Atlantiques départements, also termed Bigorre and Béarn via their regional as opposed to administrative designations, since these areas have been described by many researchers, such as Field (1985), to have the most elaborate énonciatif system. The fieldwork trip to the Pyrénées-Atlantiques département followed that of the Hautes-Pyrénées and each trip lasted approximately a month (more or less).

Since most prior synchronic descriptions of the énonciatifs pertain to the Béarnais dialect, fieldwork in Béarn, termed “the Gascon heartland” by Joseph (1992: 481), was particularly necessary to satisfy my study's second objective and was therefore the region where I conducted

²¹ These prior contacts in the region stemmed from my stay in Toulouse during the summer of 2001. Gascon was the topic of my undergraduate senior honors thesis from Cornell University and I was awarded a summer undergraduate fellowship to conduct my research abroad.

the majority of interviews. Moreover, Béarn is home to various Occitan organizations, such as the Occitan radio station *Ràdio País*, the Occitan publisher *Vistedit*, and the first Calandreta (see §1.5.5 for more details on the Calandretas). I met with these organizations and interviewed some of its members to better understand the language maintenance programs in the region.

After conducting fieldwork in Bigorre and Béarn, I decided to travel to the Gironde département, the northernmost part of Gascony that is expected not to use the énonciatifs since it is outside the énonciatif geographic zone, to determine if the énonciatifs were taught in this region. Even though Toulouse, like the Gironde region, is outside the énonciatif geographic zone, I was unable to observe schools in Toulouse since Gascon is not the Occitan variety taught in this city's bilingual French-Occitan programs and Calandretas. Toulouse is located on the border of two Occitan languages, Gascon and Languedocien. The Garonne River forms the natural boundary separating these two languages: to the west is Gascon and to the east is Languedocien. This divide is noted in the street signs in both French and Occitan in Toulouse: the street signs are in Languedocien to the east of the Garonne and in Gascon on the other side of the river.²² Languedocien, as opposed to Gascon, is the Occitan variety taught in the bilingual French-Occitan programs and Calandretas located in Toulouse.

Based on my fieldwork in the other Gascon regions, I hypothesized that the énonciatifs would be taught in the Gironde département since the Gascon normative grammars contain a description of the énonciatif system and the énonciatifs were used by both the students and teachers in the schools I observed in Bigorre and Béarn. Moreover, I realized in Béarn that the majority of language activism stems from this region, causing the majority of Gascon reference grammars and dictionaries to represent this dialect. Although there is no official norm for the language, the Gascon teaching and language resources point to Béarnais. If I found that the énonciatifs were taught in the schools in the Gironde département, this would indicate that the system is spreading to regions that never previously had it and is therefore expanding in usage. This change in the geographical distribution of the énonciatif system would represent a language change driven by language teaching, a sociolinguistic factor.

1.5.4 Research participants

67 Gascon speakers in total were recorded; this number is not inclusive of all Gascon speakers and members of the community with whom I interacted during my stay. The recording of the last research participant (no. 67) is not used in this project, as this last participant indicated on the informed consent form that the data was only to be used if I referred to Gascon as a dialect of the Occitan language and not as the Gascon language itself. The majority of recordings (55%) were conducted in Béarn since the majority of language maintenance projects were started in this region and I therefore met a large number of speakers through their help. Also, data from this region was essential for my project to compare my findings to prior synchronic descriptions of the énonciatifs specific to this dialect.

I recorded speakers who were unaffiliated with any Gascon/Occitan activism in addition to affiliates for the data sample to be representative and unbiased. Still, since I met research participants with help from the various Gascon/Occitan language maintenance programs, the vast majority (80%) of those recorded represent affiliates, as only 14 participants were non-affiliates. The affiliates include Occitan students and instructors, members/employees of language maintenance projects such as IEO, and government officials who work within the sector to

²² Not all Occitan areas contain bilingual (Occitan-French) street signs. For instance, Pau only had signs in French.

promote regional languages and cultures. All younger research participants (i.e., aged 35 years and younger) were affiliated with Occitan activism: s/he was an Occitan student, Occitan instructor, employee of the various language maintenance projects, or family member of someone affiliated with Gascon/Occitan activism.

1.5.5 Teaching establishments

I observed Gascon teaching in various establishments in order to obtain a better perspective of the sociolinguistic situation of Gascon and teaching of the énonciatifs. Since the terms for schools and grade levels in France vary from those used in the U.S., the reader should consult Table 8.

TABLE 8. Description of school grade levels in France

	Abbreviation	Full Name	Students' ages
<i>ÉCOLE MATERNELLE & PRIMAIRE</i> (ELEMENTARY SCHOOL)	TPS	Toute petite section	2, 2 ½
	PS	Petite section	3-4
	MS	Moyenne section	4-5
	GS	Grande section	5-6
	CP	Cours préparatoire	6-7
	CE1	Cours élémentaire, 1 ^{ère} année	7-8
	CE2	Cours élémentaire, 2 ^{ème} année	8-9
	CM1	Cours moyen, 1 ^{ère} année	9-10
	CM2	Cours moyen, 2 ^{ème} année	10-11
<i>COLLÈGE</i> (MIDDLE SCHOOL)	6 ^e	Sixième	11-12
	5 ^e	Cinquième	12-13
	4 ^e	Quatrième	13-14
	3 ^e	Troisième	14-15
<i>LYCÉE</i> (HIGH SCHOOL)	2 ^{nde}	Seconde	15-16
	1 ^{ère}	Première	16-17
	Terminale	Terminale	17-18
	TL	Terminale littéraire	
	TS	Terminale scientifique	
TES	Terminale économique et sociale		

1.5.5.1 Primary and secondary education

The teaching of regional languages in France is relatively recent considering the history of language marginalization within this country. In 1802, the usage of patois was forbidden in school, and in 1881, under the laws of the then Minister of Public Education, Jules Ferry, the *pratique du signal*, as described in §1.4.4, was used in schools to suppress the regional languages (Aries et al. 2000: 32). It was not until the Deixonne law of 1951 that the government authorized the teaching of regional languages, but the presence of Occitan in schools did not begin until the 1970s.

Since most Gascon teaching is linked with the Occitan movement and its efforts to have Occitan teaching approved by *l'Éducation Nationale*, France's national education system, I will use the term Occitan in certain instances since educational policies for the teaching of Gascon in schools and universities, along with teacher certification, apply to the larger Occitan domain. The Occitan language that is taught in a school corresponds to that spoken in its geographical

location. For instance, if a school that teaches Occitan is located in Nice in Provence, then Provençal is the Occitan variety taught, just as a similar school located in Tarbes in Gascony would teach Gascon.

Teaching positions are assigned by the Education Nationale and therefore Occitan teachers have little control over their potential employer,²³ leading to a possible scenario whereby a teacher can be assigned to a school in an Occitan region (e.g., Provence) that teaches a different Occitan language than the one spoken by the said teacher (e.g., Gascon). When I first learned of this policy from an Occitan instructor who speaks Gascon, I was immediately surprised since I told her that it is the equivalent of expecting a Spanish teacher to be able to teach Catalan as well, and she agreed. I therefore greatly respect Occitan teachers who are required to not only have familiarity with more than one Occitan language, but may have to teach a different Occitan variety than the one s/he speaks depending on the school's location.

As previously mentioned, some schools are located in regions, such as Toulouse, where more than one Occitan language was traditionally spoken. Although the primary and secondary schools in Toulouse only teach one Occitan language, Languedocien, both Gascon and Languedocien were taught in the course I audited at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail. The first day of class, the professor asked the students if they wanted to learn Gascon or Languedocien. Although the majority wished to learn Languedocien, there were others, myself included, who were in the class to learn Gascon, and therefore the professor taught both languages simultaneously. Given my prior experience as a student of various Romance languages, I found this situation fascinating, especially since this scenario occurred as a result of the Occitan movement. For instance, I had learned Spanish and Catalan in the U.S. and could have never imagined learning both of these similar Romance languages within the same class. Such a situation would be unlikely to occur since Spanish and Catalan do not comprise one political and cultural entity as do the Occitan languages.

For programs linked with the Education Nationale, Occitan is taught in the following three establishments, organized in descending order based on the amount of Occitan instruction: (1) private, but free and open to the public, Occitan immersion schools termed *Calandretas*²⁴; (2) public schools that have a bilingual French-Occitan program termed *écoles bilingues à parité horaire*; (3) public schools where Occitan is offered as an optional foreign language termed *LV₂* or *LV₃*, where LV stands for *langue vivante* 'living language'. It is important to mention that not all French public schools within the Occitan region offer either the French-Occitan bilingual programs or the teaching of Occitan as a foreign language (*LV₂/LV₃*).

Both the Calandretas and bilingual programs teach Occitan by immersion and not as a foreign language. Occitan is the main language of instruction in the Calandretas and is taught for half of the school time in the bilingual French-Occitan programs. The school time for the bilingual programs is distributed equally between French and Occitan (i.e., French is the instruction for half of the school time and Occitan for the other half). An Occitan instructor at a bilingual school whom I interviewed explained the equal time shared between French and Occitan as follows:

C'est [Occitan instruction] la moitié de l'horaire total. Donc nous, on fait par demi-journée, mais il y a des écoles où ils font peut-être le lundi et le mardi en

²³ Teachers can however indicate their preferences for the school's location.

²⁴ The Calandretas need to meet certain requirements before being approved by the Education Nationale. These requirements are presented in this section within the main document.

français et le jeudi et le vendredi en occitan. Les écoles bilingues on appelle *écoles bilingues à parité horaire*, c'est-à-dire qu'ils devaient avoir le même nombre d'heures en français et le même nombre d'heures en occitan, moitié moitié. Donc nous ici, enfin moi, c'est matin en français et l'après-midi en occitan.²⁵

Unlike a Calandreta in which the entire teaching establishment is the Occitan immersion school, a bilingual program is contained within a larger public monolingual French school. In schools that offer a French-Occitan bilingual program, parents have the option of enrolling their children in the regular (monolingual/French) program like other public schools or the bilingual French-Occitan program. Therefore, students enrolled in the bilingual program interact with students during recess who are only enrolled in the monolingual track, while all students at a Calandreta speak Occitan.

The vast majority of Calandretas and bilingual programs are only offered for primary education (*école maternelle et primaire*, hereafter referred to as *école*). For instance, in the entire Occitan region, there are 47 Calandretas that are *écoles* (11 of which are located in Gascony), while only 2 are *collèges*, with one *collège* located in Pau in Gascony and the other in Grabels in the Languedocien region; there is no high school (*lycée*) education offered. All Calandretas, including *écoles* and *collèges*, totaled 2,520 students as of 2009.²⁶ While the enrollment information for the Calandretas was more readily obtainable since it is run by an independent association, that of public schools offering Occitan teaching under the larger national education system was more difficult to determine since the number of schools vary based on region and *département*. Although this information was too difficult to obtain and is beyond the scope of this study, the following information from Coyos (2004: 135) illustrates the limited amount of bilingual instruction for students beyond primary school: among the 32 *départements* within the Occitan region in 2001-2002, the total number of students in bilingual programs totaled 1,820 for *écoles* versus 220 for *collèges*.

While the majority of Calandretas and bilingual programs offer primary education only, the teaching of Occitan as a foreign language (LV₂/LV₃) applies solely to secondary education (*collège* and *lycée*). To better understand the terms LV₂ and LV₃, this and the following paragraph summarize foreign language teaching within the French education system; this information was obtained through conversations with Occitan instructors, and in particular from my meeting with Jean-Marie Sarpoulet, Inspecteur pédagogique régional d'occitan for Aquitaine (a.r.). Throughout France, all students in *collège* are required to learn two foreign languages, abbreviated LV₁ and LV₂. Students can choose English, Spanish, or German: most students enroll in English for LV₁ and Spanish for LV₂. For those *collèges* that offer Occitan, it is solely offered as an optional course, as students have to take it in addition to the required LV₁ and

²⁵ 'It's [Occitan instruction] half of the total instruction time. Here we teach Occitan for half of the school day, but there are other schools where they perhaps teach in French Mondays and Tuesdays, and in Occitan Thursdays and Fridays. Bilingual schools are termed *écoles bilingues à parité horaire*, which means that they must have the same number of hours in French and Occitan, half and half. Thus we here, well I, teach the morning in French and the afternoon in Occitan.'

²⁶ These figures were provided to me in February 2009 by Lionel Dubertrand of the Fédération Régionale des Calandretas.

LV₂.²⁷ The languages chosen by the student are continued throughout both collège and lycée. Most students begin their LV₁ upon entering collège (6^e grade level), with some students enrolling earlier in CE2, while LV₂ begins in 4^e.

In contrast to the obligatory nature of LV₁ and LV₂, LV₃ is optional for most students and is obligatory only for those high school students specializing in the humanities, which is deemed *littéraire*. The choices for LV₃ are Occitan, Latin, and Greek, and not all schools offer all of these languages. LV₃ begins in lycée (2^e grade level) and continues throughout, but students can enroll in one of these optional foreign languages in collège if schools offer this instruction. During lycée, students can change their LV₂ from collège and can for instance decide to enroll in Occitan as their LV₂. Many high school (lycée) students choose Occitan as their LV₃ to receive supplemental points on the *baccalauréat (bac)*, the exam following high school required for entrance to universities: if Occitan is chosen as an LV₃, the points above the mean for the Occitan exam are multiplied by two and then added to the total score of the bac. However, there is a greater advantage to enroll in Latin or Greek as the optional LV₃ since the points above the mean are multiplied by three instead of two for these languages. Table 9 summarizes the teaching of foreign languages with the approximate hourly schedule; this information was primarily obtained from Jean-Marie Sarpoulet. Based on the classes I observed and interviews with instructors, I found that Occitan was taught for 2 or 3 hours/week when offered as an LV₂/LV₃, which corresponds with Roux-Châteaureynaud's (2007: 291) figures: she states that Occitan is taught for approximately 2-3 hours/week when offered as a foreign language.

TABLE 9. France's foreign language teaching (hourly teaching is variable; that listed is approximate)

		LV ₁	LV ₂	LV ₃
COLLÈGE	6 ^e	2 hrs/week		2 hrs or 1 hr/week, option only in schools that offer these languages
	5 ^e			
	4 ^e		3 hrs/week	
	3 ^e			↓
LYCÉE	2 ^{nde}			3 hrs/week, obligatory only if specialize in humanities (<i>section littéraire</i>)
	1 ^{ère}			↓
	Terminale	↓	↓	↓

In addition to the teaching establishments already mentioned, there are also Occitan teachers termed *Caminaires* who visit some public primary schools (écoles) for approximately 45 minutes/week to introduce young students to Occitan in the hope that they will continue learning the language and choose it as an LV₂/LV₃ upon entering collège or lycée. With the exception of observing the Caminaires, I visited the other types of establishments that teach Gascon. I observed Gascon instruction in Calandretas, French-Occitan bilingual programs in public schools, and public schools where Occitan is taught as a foreign language (i.e., where it is offered as an LV₂/LV₃). Table 10 outlines the schools I observed, grouped according to the département in which each school was located. Note that I was not able to observe any French-Occitan bilingual programs in the Gironde département, as none exist there.

²⁷ For the Hautes-Pyrénées département, most collèges offer Occitan (in addition to the required LV₁, LV₂) for students during their first year of collège, 6^e. However, this département is an exceptional case, as the vast majority of collèges throughout the south of France do not offer Occitan instruction.

TABLE 10. Schools observed in Gascony

Département	School Name	City	Grade levels	Occitan instruction
Hautes-Pyrénées	Calandreta deu País Tarbés	Laloubère	école	immersion
	École Jacques Prévert	Rabastens-de-Bigorre	école	bilingual French-Occitan
	Collège Victor Hugo	Tarbes	collège	foreign language (LV _{2/3})
Pyrénées-Atlantiques	Calandreta Paulina	Pau	école	immersion
	Collège Calandreta	Pau	collège	immersion
	École bilingue de Lagor	Lagor	école	bilingual French-Occitan
Gironde	Calandreta de la Dauna	Pessac	école	immersion
	Collège Paul Esquinance	La Réole	collège	foreign language (LV _{2/3})
	Lycée Jean Moulin	Langon	lycée	foreign language (LV _{2/3})

Now that the types of establishments that offer Occitan instruction for primary and secondary education have been described, the relatively recent enactment of policies pertaining to the instruction of regional languages in France can be further elucidated. Occitan instruction was allowed in public schools beginning with the *circulaire* no. 69-90 in 1969 and no. 71-279 in 1971. However, the bilingual teaching of French and regional languages was not granted until 1982 under the *circulaire* no. 82-261. The first Calandreta opened in 1979 in Pau, but it was not until 1994 that it became a partner of the Education Nationale, provided that the schools meet the following conditions:²⁸ (1) it must be opened for at least 5 years; (2) it meets the adequate *l'effectif* 'number of students/class', a figure based on the approximate number of students/class in other public schools, which is 20; (3) the building of the school meets security standards (*commission de sécurité*). After a Calandreta signs a contract with the national education system, its teachers must have passed the *concours* 'exam' titled *CRPE: Concours de Recrutement des Professeurs des Ecoles*, an exam required for all teachers paid by the national government, *l'Etat*. Teacher certification specific to Occitan is fairly new, as the CRPE in regional languages did not take effect until 2002, and Occitan certification for those wishing to teach it in collège or lycée, termed *CAPES: Certificat d'Aptitude Pédagogique à l'Enseignement Secondaire*, was not offered until 1991.²⁹

1.5.5.2 University education

As previously mentioned, I attended an Occitan course offered through the Occitan department of the *Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail*; I enrolled as an auditor there for the academic year. Although I was unable to observe Gascon classes through the Occitan departments of the *Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour* or the *Université de Bordeaux (Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux 3)* since both universities were on strike during my visits, I did interview professors within the Occitan departments of both universities.

1.5.5.3 Other courses observed

For courses not linked with France's national education system, but associated within the

²⁸ This information was provided to me by L. Dubertrand.

²⁹ Many of the laws cited were based on a document titled "Textes relatifs à l'enseignement des langues régionales" provided to me by *CAP'ÔC (Centre d'animation pédagogique en occitan)*; see §1.5.5.4 for details on this organization.

Occitan movement, I observed adult courses offered through both the Institut d'Etudes Occitanes and the organization titled *CFP'ÒC: Centre de Formation Professionnel en langue et culture occitane*, an organization headquartered in Orthez in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques département that trains instructors of Occitan adult courses and offers classes. I observed an adult course in Fonsorbes within the Haute-Garonne département offered by IEO 31 and a CFP'ÒC course in Capbis in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques département. I also observed two adult Gascon courses that were not linked within the Occitan movement, but were rather offered by the Institut Béarnais & Gascon: one class was in Jalosse and another was in Nay, both within the Pyrénées-Atlantiques département.

1.5.5.4 Organization for Occitan teaching materials

The organization *CAP'ÒC: Centre d'animation pédagogique en occitan* located in Pau is the only Occitan organization creating Occitan teaching materials that is funded by the national education system (it became officially funded by the Education Nationale in 2000). It initially consisted of an informal group of Occitan instructors who wished to share teaching materials, as required teaching materials did not exist. Such required materials offered by schools remain non-existent, as there is no official standard to teach Occitan.

I visited this organization during my stay in Béarn and its members informed me that, even with this organization, the majority of Occitan teaching materials are still in French since there is not enough funding to create books in Occitan. In fact, some Occitan teachers told me that they translate French books into Occitan themselves. Schools that teach Occitan via immersion (i.e., Calandretas and bilingual programs) need Occitan materials that cover various subject matters, such as math and science. For such schools, a book teaching Occitan as a foreign language, similar to books in the U.S. for students enrolled in French and Spanish classes, does not suffice. During my school observations where Occitan was taught as a foreign language (as an LV₂ or LV₃), I noticed the usage of the book entitled *Oc-ben*, which is mentioned in Roux-Châteaureynaud's (2007) dissertation as a prominent Occitan teaching resource. This book contains each exercise and text in four Occitan varieties (Gascon, Languedocien, Limousin, and Provençal) and is thus a work that can be used throughout the Occitan domain.

1.5.6 Other language maintenance projects and cultural events observed

To become immersed in the culture and community, I attended various events and met with members of various language maintenance projects. As a student at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, I attended events held in local bars in Toulouse, in particular the Occitan bar *l'Estanquet* where people converse in Occitan,³⁰ in addition to other social events held among Occitan professors and students. During my time in Toulouse, I also attended events held at the Maison de l'Occitanie,³¹ which houses IEO 31, and those during the Festival Occitània, held September 22-October 25, 2008. This festival contained events in other locations besides

³⁰ I am using the term Occitan here since people spoke different Occitan varieties at the events (e.g., some spoke Languedocien, while others used Gascon).

³¹ Maison de l'Occitanie was founded in December 2006 at the initiative of the Mairie de Toulouse and the Occitan organizations of Toulouse to promote the Occitan languages and cultures.

Toulouse in the Haute-Garonne département. The events were not only associated with the Occitan languages and cultures, but those of other minority language communities of France, such as Basque and Breton, and of other countries as well, such as Cameroon. The theme for this year's festival was entitled *L'Entre Deux Mers* 'between two seas', reflecting the importance of the Occitan region's natural borders, the Mediterranean Sea and Atlantic Ocean: these bodies of water connect the Occitan region to other countries and their associated minority languages. Among the events included plays, movies, dances, songs, debates, presentations, and parades. One of the parades in Toulouse invited members of various Breton associations, and thus contained both Occitan and Breton traditional dances, music, and attire. Likewise, Catalan traditional giant puppets (*gegants*) appeared in the final parade marking the culmination of the Festival Occitània and included smaller puppets constructed by students from the Calandretas in Toulouse.

In the Hautes-Pyrénées region, I attended meetings and events of IEO 65 (also termed *Nosauts de Bigòrra*) and accompanied members on their trips to record native speakers, as IEO 65 has a *collectage* project whose goal is to record all native Gascon speakers in the Hautes-Pyrénées département to ensure and archive this information for future generations. These Gascon recordings (both audio and video), along with their written transcriptions in Gascon and French, are available to the public on the IEO 65 website (www.ieo65.com).

During my stay in Béarn, I attended various events during the Carnaval Biarnés in Pau February 13-24, 2009. I also participated in other events held by the Ostau Bearnés and the Institut Béarnais & Gascon, which included gatherings to sing traditional Gascon songs. For instance, one such event organized by the Institut Béarnais & Gascon that I attended was held in Laruns in the Vallée d'Ossau. Since the majority of language maintenance programs were started in Béarn, I visited the Occitan radio station *Ràdio País*, which began in 1983, and another radio station *La Voix du Béarn*, which began in 1981. I also visited the headquarters of the Occitan publisher *Vistedit* in Lescar and met with the Editor in Chief, David Grosclaude, responsible for the Occitan weekly newspaper *La Setmana* and magazine *Plumalhon*, in addition to other resources. In the Gironde département, I was invited to attend a high school Occitan class fieldtrip to Bazas to view the 2008 Occitan film *Las Sasons* which was in Limousin with French subtitles; Occitan classes from other schools attended this viewing as well, which was followed by a discussion period with the film's creator.

1.6 Orthography

For Gascon examples cited from other sources, the orthography is consistent with that found in the original. To transcribe the Gascon data I collected during fieldwork, I employ the orthography adopted by the Institut d'Etudes Occitanes termed *la graphie normalisée, classique*, or *occitane* since the majority of Gascon grammars and dictionaries use this script, as well as the majority of those who write the language. This was also the convention in which I was trained while auditing Gascon courses at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail. On similar grounds, the Japanese linguist Naoko Sano chose this orthography to transcribe her data of the Occitan variety spoken in the Piedmont valleys in Italy:

Deciding on one writing form simply in order to transcribe conversations is already a "political" act. Based on the fact that I learned Languedoc Occitan

using the classical writing form [she studied Occitan at the Université de Montpellier], so-called “normalized” form in the Valleys, I chose this form to transcribe the interviews for this book. (Sano 2008: 19)

The orthographic debate that Sano encountered during her fieldwork is somewhat similar to the situation I encountered in Gascony. Sano (2008: 147-182) describes the following different writing systems for the Occitan variety she researched in Italy: *Mistralian/Félibrige form*, *K form*, *Escolo dòou Po form*, and *IEO/normalized form*. She states that both the *Mistralian* or *Félibrige form* and the *K form* are rarely used today, while the *Escolo dòou Po form* and the *IEO/normalized form* arouse debate among advocates from both camps even though both were introduced to the region at a similar time. The *Escolo dòou Po form* was proposed by the Félibrian literary association of the same name in 1972 and is the most frequently used form in the Italian valleys, and the *IEO form* was introduced in the 1970s and has been increasingly used since the 1980s (Sano 2008: 155-157).³² In contrast to the *Escolo dòou Po form* which represents dialectal differences, the Occitan form is a normalized, standardized writing system: “While those who use the *Escolo dòou Po* writing insist that they should keep on speaking their dialect, these supporters of the ‘normalized’ form argue that they should have a language which may act as a reference for a more widespread communication” (Sano 2008: 165). In addition, Sibille (2000: 36) mentions a similar debate in the Provence region where the Occitan script opposes the Mistralian script.

The orthographic debate in the Gascon region is linked with that concerning the language’s terminology, as the Institut Béarnais & Gascon, proponents of the terms *le béarnais* and *le gascon* and opponents of *l’occitan*, oppose the writing system founded by the Institut d’Etudes Occitanes. The Occitan writing system stems from Louis Alibert’s orthographic conventions of Languedocien published in his 1935 *Gramatica occitana*, which were then adopted by IEO at the time of its foundation in 1945. Louis Alibert then adapted these conventions to Gascon in 1952 (Chaplain 2002: 12-14).

The writing system advocated by the Institut Béarnais & Gascon is found in Simin Palay’s two editions (1932-34, 1961) of his *Dictionnaire du Béarnais et du Gascon modernes* (Chaplain 2002: 12-13). Chaplain (2002: 12-14) attributes the expansion of the Occitan orthographic conventions to its adoption by the Béarnais sections of IEO (i.e., the IEO organizations located in Béarn) during the 1960s, along with the general spread of the Occitan movement and weakening of the *Escole Gastou Fébus*, the former organization founded in 1894 to promote the Béarnais language and culture. The Institut Béarnais & Gascon term their script *gascon/béarnais* or *phonétique* since they argue their system to be closer to the actual pronunciation of Gascon.

Based on my interactions with members of both the Institut Béarnais & Gascon and its rival organization, the Institut Occitan located in Billère within Béarn, I will do my best to present both points of view surrounding this debate as objectively as possible. The Institut Béarnais & Gascon informed me that they dislike the term *la graphie normalisée* to describe that

³²A summary of Sano’s (2008: 149-151) description of the other two writing systems follows: The *Mistralian/Félibrige form* was founded in the 1950s and is based upon the Rhone dialect in Provençal, which was that spoken by the two Provençal poets Mistral and Roumanille who founded the literary association of Félibrige; this writing system was introduced in Italy by the association *Counboscuero* towards the end of the 1960s. The *K form*, a phonological writing system characterized by the letter “K” not used in Italian, was used in some magazines in the 1980s and is rarely used today except in certain place name signs.

used by IEO and instead prefer that the term *l'écriture occitane* be employed. One of the main concerns of the Institut Béarnais & Gascon is that the Occitan script will destroy the Gascon-specific phonetic features. For instance, in Occitan orthography, the final <r> is represented, while the Institut Béarnais & Gascon omit it since final <r> is not pronounced in Gascon. The choice to maintain the final <r> by IEO is consistent with its goal to have a standardized, normalized orthography which allows speakers of any Occitan variety to share written materials. The Occitan orthography also resembles the writing systems of similar Romance languages, such as Spanish and Catalan, making second language learners of Occitan who are familiar with other Romance languages' orthographic conventions better equipped to learn those of Occitan. Another argument presented by the Institut Béarnais & Gascon in favor of their script concerns the historical documents of Béarn, as they argue that people educated in their convention will be better able to read them.

On the other side of the debate are advocates of the Occitan script who argue that the Béarnais-specific system prevents one from reading the various Occitan magazines, grammars, and literature, and participating in the larger Occitan community, which is extremely important for language policy and planning purposes: “La norme linguistique n'est pas seulement une nécessité pratique, éditoriale et pédagogique. Elle est importante aussi pour le statut de la langue” (Sauzet 2002: 44).³³ Moreover, this standardized orthography is especially important in terms of Internet communication. Since the Institut Béarnais & Gascon is a recent organization in comparison to IEO, the Occitan movement has substantially more efforts already in place to maintain the Occitan languages that are extremely successful, including the teaching programs previously cited that are linked with France's national education system. Therefore, a reversal of the Occitan movement in my opinion would be detrimental to the languages' survival.

I observed Gascon classes offered by the Institut Béarnais & Gascon and those by various Occitan organizations and found that the writing system did not influence the students' pronunciations. For instance, I did not observe any pronunciations of the final <r> in any of the Gascon classes or schools put forth by the Occitan movement. Therefore, my findings do not validate the argument presented by the Institut Béarnais & Gascon that the Occitan writing system will alter the language's pronunciation.

³³ ‘The linguistic norm isn't only a practical, editorial and pedagogical necessity. It is also important for the status of the language.’

Chapter 2

Prior synchronic descriptions of the énonciatifs

Like the Gascon language and region, the Gascon system of preverbal particles has known various appellations. While the variants to describe the language and region stem from the historical circumstances surrounding Gascony, those used to describe Gascon's preverbal particle system arise from the particles' linguistic behavior. There does not exist any adequate linguistic definition or terminology to describe these particles. The present study uses the French term *énonciatif*, consistent with that found in the majority of literature; its less used variant is *enunciative* or its corresponding Gascon/Occitan form *enunciatiu*. This designation to describe the Gascon particles is believed to have been first mentioned by Ronjat (1913) who used the term *particule énonciative*. The term *énonciatif/énonciative* reflects the semantic/pragmatic contribution of the particles, as they affect the subjective content of the discourse: the French verb *énoncer*, from which the word *énonciatif* derives, means 'to express'. Likewise, Field's (1985) terminology of the *énonciatifs* as *subscription particles* refers to their role in relation to the speaker's level of subscription or commitment s/he wishes to convey over his/her statement. On similar grounds, Pusch (2000b) classifies the *énonciatifs* under Longacre's term *mystery particles*, which Longacre (1976: 468) defines as those particles and affixes that, "...are found to have a function which relates to a unit larger than the sentence, i.e., to the paragraph and the discourse."

Since the term *énonciatif* does not capture the specific syntactic environment of the particles, they have also been deemed *la particule verbale* ['the verbal particle'] by Puyau (2007) and *préverbes* ['preverbs'] by Bouzet (1932). The *énonciatifs* occupy a specific syntactic slot: they occur immediately before the finite verb regardless of whether or not the subject is expressed (1a,b), can only be separated from the verb by a clitic pronoun (1c), and no more than one *énonciatif* can occur before the verb (1e).

- (1) a. *Que* *parli*.
ENC speak.PRES.1SG
'I am talking.'
- b. *Joan que parla*.
ENC speak.PRES.3SG
'John is talking.'
- c. *Que't* *parli*.
ENC 2SG.OBJ speak.PRES.1SG
'I am talking to you.'
- d. *Be* *parlas* *plan!*
ENC speak.PRES.2SG well
'Wow, you speak well!'
- e. **Que be* *parlas* *plan!*
ENC ENC speak.PRES.2SG well

A sentence is deemed ungrammatical without one of the *énonciatifs* before the finite verb and it is for this reason that their function has been compared with that of articles appearing before nouns in French: “L’omission des *énonciatifs* paraîtra d’un effet aussi étrange à un béarnais que pourrait l’être à un français l’omission des articles” (Bouzet 1932: 41).³⁴ The particles’ systematic behavior has been questioned, most likely due to their unique behavior as compared with the rest of Romance, for Lafont (1967) is skeptical of Bouzet’s (1932) comparison, although he provides no evidence to the contrary: “nous ne sommes pas aussi sûrs que Bouzet que «l’omission des *énonciatifs* paraîtra d’un effet aussi étrange à un béarnais que pourrait l’être à un français l’omission des articles»” (Lafont 1967: 357).³⁵ There is no doubt that the *énonciatifs* distinguish Gascon from the rest of Romance and it is for this reason that Lespy (1858) designates them *une particularité de la conjugaison béarnaise* [‘a particularity of the Béarnais conjugation’].

This chapter presents previous research on the synchronic description, geographical distribution, and theoretical treatment of these particles found in Gascon normative grammars and linguistic studies. Both the prescriptive and descriptive accounts of the *énonciatifs* are relevant to my study, as I recorded both native and non-native speakers, the results of which are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. When comparing my data results presented in Chapters 5 and 6 with the prior synchronic descriptions of the *énonciatifs* outlined in this chapter, it becomes apparent that there is more variability in the *énonciatif* system than the prior literature presents and that sociolinguistic factors, such as language teaching and language normative forms, are changing the system’s original geographical distribution, such that the *énonciatif* usage is expanding in geographic scope. Both the synchronic and diachronic analyses of this study challenge the prior theoretical treatment of the *énonciatif* system. For instance, Chapter 5 reveals that certain particles have semantic functions that do not correspond to those on which prior semantic theories have been based. Moreover, the diachronic proposal presented in Chapters 3 and 4 sheds new light on the prior synchronic semantic analyses of the *énonciatifs*, thus demonstrating how diachrony affects synchrony.

2.1 Particles in the system

Although there is much debate concerning which particles comprise the *énonciatif* system, I am considering the following six particles as *énonciatifs* (the slashes indicate variants) based on shared unique syntactic properties:

- 1) *que* [ke], [kə]
- 2) *e* [e]
- 3) *be* [be]
- 4) *ja/je* [ja], [je], [ʒa], [ʒe]
- 5) *se/si/ce/ci/çò/ça* [se], [si], [so], [sɔ], [sa]
- 6) the negative morpheme *ne/non/nou* [ne], [nu]

When referring to the particles with variants, I will hereafter term the fourth particle *ja* and the

³⁴ ‘The omission of the *énonciatifs* would have as strange an effect on a Béarnais speaker as the omission of articles would have on a French speaker.’

³⁵ ‘We are not as sure as Bouzet that “the omission of the *énonciatifs* would have as strange an effect on a Béarnais speaker as the omission of articles would have on a French speaker”.’

fifth particle *se*. I do not consider the absence of the énonciatif as a zero morpheme, as it does not meet the syntactic conditions of the other particles.

Table 11 reflects the variability in the particles deemed énonciatifs throughout the literature, organized according to whether the source is a Gascon normative grammar or a linguistic study either specific to the énonciatifs or which contains a description of them as part of a larger work. It is evident that the vast majority of works considers the first two particles as énonciatifs and that the second most common treatment includes the first four particles. While the fifth particle is often not included within the system due to its more restricted dialectal usage and its overlapping environment with the énonciatif *e* found in other dialects, the énonciatif status of the remaining particles (*be*, *ja*, and the negative morpheme) has been more subject to debate.

TABLE 11. Varying treatment of particles considered énonciatifs in the literature		
Source Type	Reference: organized by date (brackets indicate the dialect described)	Particles included as members of the énonciatif system
Gascon Normative Grammars (used by second language learners)	Lespy (1858) [Béarnais]	<i>que, be, e</i> (mentions the emphatic usage of <i>je</i> as found in the works by the Gascon poet Navarrot from Oloron)
	Bouzet (1963)	<i>que, e</i>
	Darrigrand (1974)	<i>que, e, be</i>
	Grosclaude (1977)	<i>que, e, be</i>
	Hourcade (1986) [Béarnais]	<i>que, e, be, ja, ça/ce/ci/çò</i> , negative morpheme <i>non/ne... pas</i>
	Birabent & Salles-Loustau (1989)	<i>que, e, be, ja</i> , negative morpheme <i>non/ne...(pas)</i>
	Romieu & Bianchi (2005)	<i>que, e, be, ja</i> (mentions the more limited uses of <i>se/ce/çò/ça</i>)
	Puyau (2007) [Béarnais]	<i>que, e, be, ce</i> , zero morpheme
	Carrera (2007) [Aranais]	<i>que, e, be, ja</i>
	<i>Cors de lenga occitana: Metòde dialècte gascon</i> (2007-2008)	<i>que, e, be, ja</i>
Linguistic Studies	Ronjat (1937)	<i>que, e, be, ja, o*</i> *The particle <i>o</i> , which he states is from Latin <i>hoc</i> , is not mentioned in any of the other literature that I have encountered on the énonciatifs.
	Bouzet (1932, 1933)	<i>que, e, be, ja/je</i> , negative morpheme <i>nou</i>
	Bouzet (1951)	<i>que, e, be, ja/je</i>
	Bec (1968)	<i>que, e, be, ja</i>
	Rohlfis (1970)	<i>que, e, be, ja</i>
	Joly (1976)	<i>que, e, be, ja/je</i> , negative morpheme <i>ne/nou</i>
	Hetzron (1977)	<i>que, e, be, ja/je</i> (notes that <i>si</i> is used in some dialects for questions)
	Field (1985)	<i>que, e, be, ja, ce/se</i>
	Wüest (1985)	<i>que, e, be, ja</i> , negative morpheme <i>non/ne</i>
	Wüest (1993) [Couserans]	<i>que, se, ja</i> (<i>be</i> rare)
	Haase (1994)	<i>que, e</i> , zero morpheme
	Pilawa (1990)	<i>que, e, be, ja</i>
	Pusch (2000a/b, 2002)	<i>que, e</i> , zero morpheme

Haase (1994) argues that the particles *be* and *ja* should not be considered énonciatifs and should only be categorized as adverbs since they do not solely occupy the preverbal position and

can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Haase only considers *que*, *e*, and the zero morpheme as énonciatifs, an analysis followed by Pusch. I disagree, as the particle *e* also does not solely occupy the preverbal position and can be repeated at the end of a sentence for emphasis, illustrated in the following examples cited by Bouzet (1951: 54) and verified during my fieldwork in the region:³⁶

- (2) a. *Qu'arribarás* *lèu, e?*
 ENC arrive.FUT.2SG soon ENC
 'You will arrive soon, right?'
- b. *Y- at* *bederás, ya.*
 ENC 3.NEU.OBJ see.FUT.2SG ENC
 'You will see it, I guarantee it.'
- c. *Que m' at* *diserá, be.*
 ENC 1SG.OBJ 3.NEU.OBJ say.FUT.3SG ENC
 'He will tell me it, without a doubt.'

Bouzet (1932, 1951) remarks that all of the énonciatifs (besides *que*) can be repeated at the end of a sentence to add a semantic nuance to the utterance and notes that this finding is exclusive to spoken language. This is illustrated in Bouzet's French translations of the énonciatifs at the end of the phrases cited above: he translates *e* with *n'est-ce pas* which roughly translates into English as 'isn't that right?'; *ya* (a spelling variant of the énonciatif *ja*) with *je te le garantis* 'I guarantee it to you'; and *be* with *sans doute* 'without a doubt'. Bouzet (1932: 52) compares this sentence-final usage of the énonciatifs to tag questions in English, citing the following English example: "You will write me soon, will you?". Taking this evidence into consideration along with Haase's reasoning, Haase should not consider *e* an énonciatif.

Further evidence against Haase's argument is found in Carrera's (2007) Aranais grammar, as Carrera points out the grammatical incompatibility for speakers to use *ja* with another énonciatif in the preverbal position. According to Carrera (2007: 272), a grammatical alternative to the sentence *eth uerdi ja ei segader*, whose interlinear is provided in (3), is *eth uerdi qu'ei ja segader*, where *ja* follows the verb and the preverbal position is occupied by the énonciatif *que*. However, Carrera states that this sentence can never appear as **eth uerdi ja qu'ei segader* or as **eth uerdi que ja ei segader*. In other words, the particles *ja* and *que* cannot occupy the same syntactic preverbal position; this syntactic condition for *ja* is consistent with the behavior of énonciatifs (where only one can occupy the preverbal slot) and not with that of adverbs.

- (3) *Eth uerdi ja ei segader.*
 ART.DEF.M barley ENC be.PRES.3SG reap.INF
 'The barley is ready to be reaped.'

While the particles *be* and *ja* do not co-occur with the énonciatif *que*, the negative morpheme has been noted to appear with the énonciatif *que* in certain dialects (see §2.3.4). The

³⁶ For the Gascon examples cited from other sources, the translations are consistent with the original source if the paper was written in English; English translations are provided if the original source was in another language. Interlinears are the responsibility of the author, as they were not provided in the original sources.

negative morpheme's comparable, but not exact, behavior with the other énonciatifs has led to its debatable inclusion within the system. For instance, Bouzet considers the negative morpheme as an énonciatif in his 1932 paper, but retracts this analysis in 1951, excluding it from the system on semantic grounds. In 1932, Bouzet concludes that the negative morpheme is an énonciatif based on shared syntactic and semantic properties: it occupies the preverbal position, does not co-occur with the other particles, and, just as the other particles mark affirmation or interrogation, the negative morpheme marks negation. However, in 1951 he asserts that the negative morpheme should not be considered an énonciatif since negation affects the objective content of the phrase, while the énonciatifs affect the subjective content, denoting the speaker's attitude.

For different reasons, Wüest (1985) argues that the negative morpheme should be analyzed as an énonciatif based on his finding that Gascon is the only Occitan language which has not been influenced by spoken Modern French in deleting the first part of the negation *ne*, leaving behind only the second morpheme *pas*, as in Modern French *je vais pas* 'I'm not going' instead of the equivalent sentence *je ne vais pas*. He claims that the first negative morpheme in Gascon is not deleted due to its association with the other énonciatifs that occupy the same syntactic preverbal position.

I am treating the negative morpheme as a member of the énonciatif system due to its interaction with the other énonciatifs, which has important diachronic and synchronic implications that are addressed in the subsequent chapters. The variability in the co-occurrence restrictions of the negative morpheme with the other énonciatifs strengthens my argument for contact-induced change from Basque to Latin as the diachronic source of the system. Moreover, since the vast majority of normative grammars describe the énonciatifs as particles restricted to affirmative phrases only, I found the majority of Gascon second language learners and teachers to not allow the negative morpheme with the other énonciatifs, thus causing this once described variability to diminish. Even though the negative morpheme is included within the énonciatif system, it does differ from the other particles, as it functions to negate a sentence and therefore occurs in contexts in which the other énonciatifs are not found, such as before non-finite verbs. For this reason, it will bear a different label in the interlinears: NEG for the negative morpheme, as opposed to ENC for the other énonciatifs.

2.2 Geographical distribution

This section is limited to the previously described geographical distribution of the énonciatif *que*, for this is the only particle described in most works detailing the énonciatif geographic zone. The geographical distribution for the other particles as discussed in the literature will be addressed within the section of each particle in question.

The exact geographical boundaries of the énonciatif system are not consistent throughout the literature. For instance, the map of the énonciatif distribution found in Grosclaude & Narioo's (1998) work is based on Séguy's ALG map 2390, yet one notices slight discrepancies when comparing this map (Map 7b in Appendix A) with that of Séguy's (Map 7c in Appendix A). Moreover, Bouzet (1932, 1933, 1951) finds that the énonciatif system encompasses the region known as the basin of the Adour River, which includes the Pyrenean regions of Chalosse (southern part of the Landes département), Béarn (Pyrénées-Atlantiques département), and Bigorre (Hautes-Pyrénées département). Bouzet (1933) states that the énonciatifs do not go past the north of the Adour River (refer to Figure 3 on the next page for the locale of the Adour River) and are not present in Comminges, which is located in the extreme southern portion of the

Haute-Garonne département.



FIGURE 3. Adour River (Source: <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d1/Adour-en.png>)

However, Séguy’s ALG map 2390 indicates otherwise. This map, reproduced in Map 7c in Appendix A, shows the systematic usage of *que* in the départements of Landes, Pyrénées-Atlantiques, Hautes-Pyrénées, in addition to the western portions of Gers and Ariège and the southern portion of Haute-Garonne (i.e., Comminges). Its usage is optional in the southern portion of Gironde, a village in Lot-et-Garonne, and small portions of the Gers, Hautes-Pyrénées, and Ariège départements. It is absent throughout all of Tarn-et-Garonne,³⁷ the vast majority of Gironde and Lot-et-Garonne, and the non-Pyrenean regions of Haute-Garonne. When referring to this map, it is evident that the énonciatif usage of *que* decreases as one moves away from the Pyrenees and approaches the Garonne River, the natural border of Gascony.

Another discrepancy in the literature concerns the usage of the énonciatifs in Val d’Aran. According to Rohlfs (1970), Aranais does not have the énonciatif, which is contradicted in a recent Aranais grammar by Carrera (2007) who finds the énonciatifs *que*, *e*, *be*, and *ja* to occur. Carrera clearly states that the énonciatif is not dead in Aranais: “Er enonciatiu *que* se pòt emplegar en frases afirmatives. Ei plan comun en gascon generau, mès ei mèslèu excepcionau en aranès. Totun, non ei cap mòrt” (Carrera 2007: 272).³⁸ Rohlfs’s conclusion was most likely based on written evidence, for Carrera states that the énonciatifs are only found in oral language and do not appear in Aranais texts. This is verified in a beginner’s Aranais grammar compiled by the regional government (*Vacances en aranès: Vocabulari en imatges*); this source does not contain a date, but was published prior to 2001 when I purchased it in Vielha, a city within Val d’Aran (see Map 5b). One representative sentence of many without the énonciatif before the finite verb is below, where Ø indicates the absence of the énonciatif:

- (4) Ø *Voleriem es dessèrts, se vos platz.*
 want.COND.1PL ART.DEF.PL desserts if 2PL.OBJ please.PRES.3SG
 ‘We would like desserts, please.’
 (*Vacances en aranès: Vocabulari en imatges*: last page, no page numbers printed)

³⁷ The lack of the énonciatifs in the Tarn-et-Garonne département is confirmed in Kelly’s (1973) descriptive grammar on the Gascon dialect spoken in Donzac, a city in this département. This grammar does not contain any mention of the énonciatifs.

³⁸ ‘The énonciatif *que* can be used in affirmative sentences. It is more common in Gascon, but rather exceptional in Aranais. Still, it is not dead.’

Carrera (2007) finds that the énonciatifs are used by the minority of Aranais speakers, particularly among older generations, as he states that young people rarely use them. His discussion of the énonciatif geographical distribution is limited to that of the énonciatif *que*. According to Carrera, *que* is used in an irregular manner throughout all of Val d’Aran, but appears more often in affirmative phrases by speakers in some villages located in the lower part of the valley, termed *Baish Aran* (*baish* means ‘low’ in Aranais), which occupies the regions of Larissa and Quate Lòcs located on the valley’s northwestern side; in particular, people living in Bausen and Canejan located in the region of Quate Lòcs use the énonciatif *que* (see Map 5a in Appendix A). Carrera (2007: 272) specifies that the usage of *que* among speakers in *Baish Aran* is quantitatively superior (“quantitativaments superior”) to that of other locations, but is more or less the same as that found in villages on the French side of the border, located just to the north of Bausen and Canejan, which comprise the French district (Fr. *canton*) of Saint-Béat in the Haute-Garonne département.³⁹

2.3 *Que*

2.3.1 Affirmative clauses

Que is the most notable Gascon énonciatif and is considered to be the most grammaticalized particle, occurring in the majority of contexts where it serves a purely syntactic role: it occurs before finite verbs in main or independent affirmative clauses and can only be separated from the verb by a clitic pronoun, as illustrated in (1c). In Pusch’s (2000b) four hour corpus of spontaneous speech termed “Corpus Occitano-Gascon” (hereafter abbreviated COG) collected primarily in the regions of Béarn, Basse-Bigorre, and Landes, he found the énonciatif *que* to appear in 88% of affirmative phrases.⁴⁰ Although the COG consists of speakers of different ages and fluency levels, Pusch (2000b) does not compare detailed results between age groups or any other sociolinguistic factors which the present study does. Pusch only remarks that the 88% usage of *que* in main/independent affirmative clauses was not linked to the age of the speaker, but rather reflected a dialectal variation: in Pyrenean and central Gascon, Pusch found *que* to appear in 95% of these clauses versus 80% in Landes. Pusch (2000b) also found that the substitution of *que* by *be* and *ja* in these clauses was marginal, but does not provide a percentage.

Based on this purely syntactic usage of *que*, Joseph (1992: 481) characterizes the énonciatif as “a semantically empty term for a semantically empty particle that corresponds to nothing in the framework of traditional Western grammar.” Joseph is mistaken since the énonciatifs have specific semantic functions, *que* included. The semantic function of *que* is evidenced in its behavior in the additional contexts outlined below, which are excluded from the majority of normative grammatical descriptions. This particle’s semantic function is also

³⁹ Carrera’s (2007) work does not specify which locations on the other side of the border (locations in France) use the énonciatif *que* in the same manner as the locales in the lower part of the valley/Baish Aran. I would like to thank Mr. Carrera for providing me with the following more detailed explanation which I summarized above in the main document: “Que hèsqüi arrepòrt as parlars deth canton de Sent Biat, en departament de Nauta Garona. Doncs, que son es vilatges que i a justaments ath nòrd de Bausen, Canejan.”

⁴⁰ See Pusch (1998: 49-63) for details on his “Corpus Occitano-Gascon”, which was collected during fieldwork in the region from 1995-1996. Pusch (2000b) states that the majority of recordings were made in Béarn, Basse-Bigorre, and Landes and that the speakers from the Pyrenees are underrepresented. The recordings total four hours, comprising 13 different texts, and include speakers of different age groups and levels of language fluency.

revealed in Carrera's (2007) grammar: he finds that the énonciatif *que* in Aranais expresses emphatic affirmation and is more likely to occur in fossilized expressions or proverbs.

2.3.2 Questions

The semantic function of *que* has been noted in linguistic studies and is most evident in questions where it alternates with the énonciatif *e*. This alternation was observed in a study by Schärli (1985) who surveyed nine Gascon speakers from various villages in the Vallée d'Aspe (located in the Béarn region) and asked them to translate sentences from French to Gascon. He found that questions with the use of the French phrase *est-ce que* 'is it that' had the énonciatif *e*, while questions purely marked with intonation had the énonciatif *que*. He also stated that his informants reported using *e* in questions to make them more dubitative.

Joly (1976) and Pusch (2000a) found *que* to be used in questions that were strongly oriented towards a positive response, while *e* occurred in questions in which the speaker did not know what the response to the question would be. An example of this distinction is illustrated below, which was originally cited by Wüest (1985: 295) and thereafter mentioned by Pusch (2000a: 191):

- (5) a. **Que** *tribalhatz sol aci?*
ENC work.PRES.2PL alone here
'You're working here alone, aren't you?'
- b. **E** *tribalhatz sol aci?*
'Are you working here alone?'

As compared to *e*, questions with *que* are described to function closer to statements or assertions than to requests for information: (5a) is not a real yes-no question since the speaker assumes that the interlocutor will work alone and is therefore requesting confirmation of his/her presupposition. Question (5b) on the other hand is a true polar question where the speaker does not know what answer to expect from the interlocutor, just as the following additional question with *e* illustrates:

- (6) **E** *vas tà Paris?*
ENC go.PRES.2SG to Paris
'Are you going to Paris?'
(Darrigrand 1974: 84)

Although Pusch (2000a) finds *que* to appear in the majority of questions as opposed to *e* in his COG, the majority of normative grammars only describe the énonciatif *e* in questions. Among the normative grammars consulted, only Romieu & Bianchi (2005), Guilhemjoan (2006), and Carrera (2007) mention the use of *que* in questions (these grammars also describe *e* in questions). Romieu & Bianchi (2005) remark that *que* can appear in questions other than direct yes-no questions, while Guilhemjoan (2006) notes that *que* can appear in questions in everyday language and does not specify any particular question type. Guilhemjoan (2006: 75) provides the following example of *que* in a question, which he translates with the French phrase *est-ce que*:

- (7) *Que cantas?*
 ENC sing.PRES.2SG
 ‘Are you singing?’

I elicited a nearly equivalent question with *est-ce que* (*Est-ce que tu chantes souvent?* ‘Do you sing often?’) among my research participants since it denotes a pure yes-no question where *e* would be expected to occur based on the traditional énonciatif descriptions; the results are addressed in Chapter 5, §5.2.2.

Carrera’s (2007) grammar specific to Aranais indicates that *que* can appear in questions where the énonciatif *e* is found, but that *que* normally occurs in declarative affirmative statements. In a footnote, Carrera (2007: 273) mentions that *que* is used in questions oriented towards a positive response in contrast to *e*. He provides the following question with the énonciatif *que*, *e*, or no énonciatif, all of which are acceptable in Aranais (Carrera 2007: 273):

- (8) *Que voletz minjar? = E voletz minjar? = Ø Voletz minjar?*
 ENC want.PRES.2PL eat.INF
 ‘Do you want to eat?’

The geographical distribution of *que* in questions is found in Séguy’s ALG map 2400, which is located in Appendix A (see Map 7d). Séguy asked the same question to informants, but changed the position of the pronouns in the sentence. He indicates that he elicited 10 sentences, but only provides the following four French questions that he elicited in Gascon: *Tu l’y portes?* ‘Are you bringing it there?’, *Tu en portes?* ‘Are you bringing some of them?’, *Tu m’en portes?* ‘Are you bringing some of them to me?’, *Tu en as porté?* ‘Did you bring some of them?’. Since the position of the pronoun is not relevant to this study, I reproduced his results concerning the occurrence of the énonciatifs in the question. Given that these elicited questions do not necessarily reflect different semantic nuances, the finding that *que* appeared in these direct yes-no questions indicates that the usage of the énonciatif *que* does overlap with that of the énonciatif *e*, and that the énonciatif behavior is not as discrete as some of the literature suggests. The following sections further illustrate the variability in the usage of *que* as evident in its behavior in subordinate and negative clauses.

2.3.3 Subordinate clauses

While the majority of normative grammars describe the énonciatif *e* as appearing in subordinate clauses (this environment of *e* is not even described in all grammars, see §2.4), *que* or no énonciatif for that matter has been reported in this context. In Gascon, the usage of the énonciatif *que* or *e* in subordinate clauses is restricted to the following syntactic condition: an énonciatif appears before the finite verb in the subordinate clause if it is not immediately preceded by the subordinator; if the finite verb immediately follows the subordinator or is only separated from the subordinator by a clitic pronoun, then no énonciatif occurs. This is illustrated in the examples that follow which contain the énonciatif *e* in the subordinate clause and the énonciatif *que* in the main clause; note that Ø marks where *e* normally would occur if the verb in the subordinate clause was not immediately preceded by the underlined subordinator.

- (9) a. *Quan lo pair e's presente*
 when ART.DEF.M father ENC 3SG.REFL introduce.PRES.3SG
que'u diseràs...
 ENC 3SG.M.OBJ say.FUT.2SG
 'When the father introduces himself, you will say to him...'
- b. *Quan Ø se presente lo pair que'u diseràs...*
 'When the father introduces himself, you will say to him...'
- (10) a. *Ara que tot lo vilatge e's va desvelhar...*
 now COMP all ART.DEF.M village ENC 3SG.REFL go.PRES.3SG wake.up.INF
 'Now that the whole village is going to wake up...'
- b. *Ara que Ø's va desvelhar tot lo vilatge...*
 now COMP 3SG.REFL go.PRES.3SG wake.up.INF all ART.DEF.M village
 'Now that the whole village is going to wake up...'
 (9a-b and 10a-b are from Darrigrand 1974: 84)
- (11) a. *Quan Jan e tornè de la guèrra de Corea,*
 when John ENC return.PST.3SG from ART.DEF.F war of Korea
qu'avè trenta ans.
 ENC have.PST.3SG thirty years
 'When John came back from the war in Korea, he was thirty.'
- b. *Quan alavetz e tornè de la guèrra de Corea,*
 when at that time ENC return.PST.1SG from ART.DEF.F war of Korea
qu'avèi trenta ans.
 ENC have.PST.1SG thirty years
 'When at that time I came back from the war in Korea, I was thirty.'
- c. *Quan Ø tornè de la guèrra de Corea, qu'avèi trenta ans.*
 'When I came back from the war in Korea, I was thirty.'
- d. **Quan que tornè de la guèrra de Corea, qu'avèi trenta ans.*
 'When I came back from the war in Korea, I was thirty.'
- e. **Quan e tornè de la guèrra de Corea, qu'avèi trenta ans.*
 'When I came back from the war in Korea, I was thirty.'
 (11a-e from Field 1985: 86)

Sentences (9)-(11) reveal that any lexical material, other than clitics, separating the verb in the subordinate clause from the subordinator causes the énonciatif *e* to occur. Specifically, (11d) and (11e) show that it is ungrammatical for *e* or any énonciatif to appear before the subordinate verb when the subordinator immediately precedes it.

According to Pusch’s (2000a) COG, when structural prerequisites are met for the occurrence of the énonciatifs in subordinate clauses, *e* occurs in 23% of them, while *que* occurs in 40%. This finding is significant since *e* is described in the majority of normative grammars to occur in this context. Although not all normative grammars discuss the usage of *e* in subordinate clauses, the majority that include this context do not report the occurrence of *que* or no énonciatif for that matter in this environment. Birabent & Salles-Loustau (1989), Darrigrand (1974), Romieu & Bianchi (2005), Hourcade (1986), and Puyau (2007) only describe *e* as appearing in subordinate clauses, while Bouzet (1963) notes that, in addition to *e*, *que* can appear in subordinate clauses. Guilhemjoan (2006) also reports the occurrence of *que* in this environment. He finds that subordinate clauses can replace the énonciatif *que* with *e* (provided the stipulated syntactic condition is met) for stylistic reasons to avoid three occurrences of *que* in a sentence (termed triple *que*), even though one of the instances of *que* is a subordinator and the other two are énonciatifs. Séguy’s ALG map 2506 reproduced in Map 7c in Appendix A shows how the uses of triple *que* are indeed rare. However, Field (1985: 87) reports that, based on his data collected during his 1980-1983 fieldwork in the Pyrenees, the triple *que* construction was frequent in spontaneous discourse, a finding reflected in my data as well (see Chapter 5, §5.2.5).

Yet another variation in Gascon subordinate clauses is the finding that it is possible to delete the subordinator in Gascon, just as in English: ‘I wish your father would come’ as opposed to ‘I wish that your father would come’. Guilhemjoan (2006) is the only grammar and linguistic study for that matter that I encountered with this discussion. He reports that, to avoid the use of triple *que*, it is possible to delete the subordinator and retain the énonciatif *que* in the subordinate clause, as evidenced in (12b). Note that both instances of *que* in (12b) are énonciatifs. (12a) is a variant of the same sentence that contains the subordinator *que* and the énonciatif *e* in the subordinate clause.

(12) a. **Que** sabèvi *que* lo ton pair **e** vieneré.
 ENC know.IMPF.1SG COMP ART.DEF.M 2SG.POSS father ENC come.COND.3SG
 ‘I knew that your father would come’

b. **Que** sabèvi lo ton pair **que** vieneré.
 ‘I knew that your father would come.’
 (12a-b from Guilhemjoan 2006: 76)

The discussion of only the énonciatif *e* in subordinate clauses is not just encountered in normative grammars, but also in linguistic studies, such as Rohlfs (1970) and Joly (1976). However, other linguistic studies have noted the interaction between *que*, *e*, and no énonciatif in subordinate clauses and have in fact used this as the basis for formulating a semantic framework of the énonciatif system (see §2.10.2). Hetzron (1977: 167) for instance concludes that the interaction between *que* and *e* in subordinate clauses illustrates a former semantic function of both particles: “...il existe bien des contextes où il y a une opposition vraie entre *qué* et *e*, impliquant une différence de sens, une survivance d’une situation ancienne où ces particules devaient encore être porteuses de fonction sémantique.”⁴¹ His semantic account is detailed in §2.10.2.2; in summary, he finds that *que* signals new or primary information, while *e* indicates old or secondary information.

⁴¹ ‘There exist some contexts in which there is a true opposition between *que* and *e*, implying a different meaning, a survival of an ancient situation in which these particles still bore a semantic function.’

Moreover, Field (1985: 87) finds that, “For most predicate complements, the contrast between *que* and *e* is possible, depending upon whether one asserts the subordinate proposition or hypothesizes it, a distinction which can be made in English with intonation.” He contrasts the usage of énonciatifs in predicate complements with that in clauses introduced by subordinating conjunctions which contain either *e* or no énonciatif. Using his framework of speaker subscription addressed in §2.10.2.4, Field claims that the speaker’s degree of subscription or commitment is expressed in the main clause and therefore clauses introduced by subordinating conjunctions “preclude the existence of a pragmatic choice in the sentence particle” (Field 1985: 89). The sentences provided by Field (1985: 87) below, which illustrate the pragmatic contrast of *que* versus *e* in predicate complements, were elicited in my data to determine if speakers have the semantic distinction detailed in the following paragraph (see Chapter 5, §5.2.5 for the results):

- (13) a. *Que’m pensavi que Pierre e la crompèra*
 ENC 1SG.OBJ think.IMPF.1SG COMP Pierre ENC 3SG.F.OBJ buy.FUT.3SG
 ‘I thought that PIERRE would buy it.’ (emphasis on *Pierre*)
- b. *Que’m pensavi que Pierre que la crompèra.*
 ‘I THOUGHT that Pierre would buy it.’ (emphasis on *thought*)

In (13a), the énonciatif *e* conveys the speaker’s assumption that Pierre would buy something; this assumption may however be proven false (i.e., someone else other than Pierre may have actually bought it). For instance, someone would utter (13a) in response to a statement where the speaker’s assumption is proven incorrect: “Mary bought the gift. Who did you think would buy it?”. The uncertain nature of the speaker’s assumption is consistent with the general semantic function of the énonciatif *e* to express doubt and uncertainty (see §2.4). In contrast, (13b) with the énonciatif *que* expresses certainty on behalf of the speaker: the speaker is stating with conviction what s/he thought and the utterance thus serves to reinforce the speaker’s presupposition that Pierre bought something. An example in which someone would utter (13b) would be in response to the statement “Pierre bought it”, in which the sentence “I *thought* that Pierre would buy it” reinforces the speaker’s prior belief and indicates that his/her assumption is now certain and verified.

2.3.4 Negative clauses

Another marked discrepancy between the normative versus linguistic descriptions of *que* concerns its behavior in negative clauses. Most Gascon normative descriptions exclude the énonciatif *que*, along with all of the other énonciatifs for that matter, in negative clauses, treating the énonciatifs as particles occurring in affirmative clauses only. This treatment correlates with the behavior of *que* the majority of the time, for Pusch (2000a) finds *que* to appear in less than five percent of all negative declarative main clauses in his COG. The restricted geographical occurrence of the énonciatif *que* with negation is also evident in Séguy’s ALG map 2392 reproduced in Map 7c in Appendix A.

The only normative grammars that describe the possible occurrence of *que* in negations are those by Bouzet (1963) and Carrera (2007). Palay’s (1961: 821) dictionary of Béarnais discusses this as well; it cites the following variations reproduced in (14) of the same negative clause, one with the énonciatif *que* and the other without.

- (14) a. *Qué noû-ns as dit arré.*
 ENC NEG 1PL.OBJ have.PRES.2SG say.PART nothing
 ‘You told us nothing.’

b. *Noû-ns as dit arré.*

According to Bouzet (1963), *que* normally does not occur in negative sentences, but can appear in negations where the énonciatif and negative reinforcement marker *pas* are mutually exclusive. He (1963: 26) reports that while (15a) and (15b) are possible, speakers consider (15c) to be heavy and incorrect.

- (15) a. *Nou boulou pas tournà-se-n.*
 NEG want.PRES.3SG NEG retire.INF-REFL-APN
 ‘He doesn’t want to retire (from it).’

b. *Que nou boulou tournà-se-n.*

c. * *Que nou boulou pas.*

Pusch (2000a) tests whether Bouzet’s finding applies to his oral corpus and discovers that Bouzet’s conclusion is not supported: in the COG, the majority (85%) of all occurrences of *que* with the negation marker also contained *pas*. This in no way dispels Bouzet’s finding, but rather reflects either a linguistic change or dialectal variation. Bouzet’s study of Gascon was conducted nearly 40 years prior to Pusch’s COG and Bouzet’s grammar is specific to Béarnais, while Pusch’s COG is not solely confined to the Béarn region. Even if Pusch’s COG were confined to the Béarn region, dialectal variation could still account for the discrepancies between Pusch’s and Bouzet’s findings since I found variation in the usage of the énonciatifs even among speakers from the same region.

Like Bouzet, Carrera’s (2007) work specific to Aranais finds that *que* can co-occur with the negative morpheme, even though *que* normally does not appear in negative clauses. He cites the following sentences, where (16a) has the same meaning with or without *que*.

- (16) a. *Non plò = Que non plò*
 ENC rain.PRES.3SG
 ‘It’s not raining.’

b. *Eth hart que non es brembe deth languit.*
 ART.DEF.M.SG full ENC NEG REFL remember.PRES.3SG of.the weak
 ‘The full (satisfied) do not remember the weak.’
 (16a-b from Carrera 2007: 272)

Although the discussion of the énonciatif appearing in negative clauses is absent from the majority of grammars, linguistic studies have noted its occurrence. For instance, Field (1985) and Rohlfs (1970) find some dialects to use *que* in emphatic negations and/or negative clauses without restrictions. While Field (1985) does not mention which dialects contain the énonciatif with the negative morpheme, Rohlfs (1970: 142) stipulates the following geographical usage: the Vallée d’Ossau allows *que* in some negative clauses, the Haute Vallée de la Garonne uses *que* in

emphatic negations, and villages in Barèges and the Vallée d'Aure use *que* in negative clauses without any restriction (see Map 4d for geographic details). An example of the emphatic usage of *que* in negation is provided in (17b); compare this same negation without *que* in (17a).

- (17) a. *Non dròmes pas hèra.*
 NEG sleep.PRES.2SG NEG a lot
 'You don't sleep much.'
- b. *Que non dròmes pas hèra.*
 'You certainly don't sleep much.'
 (17a-b from Field 1985: 83)

Wüest (1985) remarks that *que*'s behavior in negative clauses is limited to certain regions and that there are other areas, such as Artix and Aspe in the Pyrenees, which find it unacceptable to have the negative morpheme with the other énonciatifs in the same sentence. His 1993 study of the Couserans dialect indicates that this region seems to allow *que* with negation: the vast majority (9 out of 10) of his informants deemed the following sentence with *que* and *non* acceptable (Wüest 1993: 315).

- (18) *Que non s'espasèc atau.*
 ENC NEG REFL stop.PST.3SG like.that
 'He's didn't stop like that.'⁴²

However, in Wüest's transcriptions of more spontaneous speech, he only found two instances of *que* occurring with the negative morpheme, indicating that this usage, although possible, is rare. See Chapter 5, §5.2.7 for my data results concerning speakers' usage of *que* in negative clauses.

2.4 E

The énonciatif *e* is omitted if a verb begins with a vowel, a phonetically motivated process to avoid vowel hiatus, as shown in (19b).⁴³ The majority of normative grammars find that elision does not occur however before the adverbial pronoun *i*, as illustrated in (19c).

- (19) a. *E yèle?*
 ENC freeze.PRES.3SG
 'Is it freezing?'
 (Joly 1976: 414)
- b. *Ø As tàrias?*
 have.PRES.2SG money
 'Do you have money?'
 (Field 1985: 79)

⁴² Wüest (1993) does not provide the corresponding French translation (or interlinear) of the Gascon phrase. The translation was gleaned from researching various Gascon grammars and dictionaries.

⁴³ The vowel in the other énonciatifs such as *que* [ke] and *be* [be] is also elided before other vowels with the exception of the adverbial pronoun *i* and, as Hourcade (1986) mentions for Béarnais, the 3rd person masculine object pronouns *u* [y] (singular) and *us* [ys] (plural).

c. *E i avèva du monde?*
 ENC APN have.IMPF.3SG PRTT world
 ‘Were there a lot of people?’
 (Guilhemjoan 2006: 76)

Hourcade (1986) notes that the énonciatif *e* is also elided before the glide [j] in some dialects (cf. (19a) where *e* appears before this glide). He also states that, in Béarn, the énonciatif *e* is not elided before the 3rd person masculine object pronoun whose singular form is *u* [y] and plural form is *us* [ys], as shown in (20).⁴⁴

(20) *E’u vedes?*
 ENC 3SG.M.OBJ see.PRES.2SG
 ‘Do you see him?’
 (Hourcade 1986: 42)

Although the absence of *e* in certain contexts is phonetically motivated, its occurrence in others has been explained from its semantic function to express doubt, as *e* appears in questions, wishes, hypothetical sentences, and sentences that express uncertainty. However, just as the énonciatif *que* has a variable usage, so too does the énonciatif *e*. Its description in the literature is varied regarding both its contextual usage and geographical distribution. For instance, Romieu & Bianchi (2005) report that *e* has a limited geographical distribution and only exists in the south of the Gascon domain, but, as Séguy’s ALG maps reproduced in Appendix A demonstrate, even this domain does not consistently use *e*, reflecting the extreme variability in the usage of the énonciatifs.

2.4.1 Questions

§2.3.2 already presented the usage of the énonciatif *e* in questions where the response is not known to the speaker. All normative grammars describe this interrogative usage, with some grammars only describing *e* as appearing in this context. For instance, Grosclaude’s (1977) grammar and the Gascon grammar I received in the course audited at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail (*Cors de lenga occitana: Metòde dialète gascon*) only indicate that the énonciatif *e* occurs in interrogatives.

2.4.2 Optatives and hypothetical clauses

The use of *e* in wishes before a verb in the subjunctive mood is described in many, but not all, normative grammars. This environment is also presented in linguistic studies, along with the appearance of *e* in hypothetical clauses.

(21) a. *E parlèssem tostemps gascon!*
 ENC speak.IMPF.SUBJ.1PL always Gascon
 ‘If only (how I wish) we could always speak Gascon!’
 (Birabent & Salles-Loustau 1989: 73)

⁴⁴ The forms *u* and *us* are abbreviated forms of the pronouns, for they can also be represented by the forms *lo/l’* for the singular (*l’* occurs before vowels) and *los* for the plural; Table 17 in Chapter 3 lists the Gascon object pronouns.

- b. *E digousses la bertat!*
 ENC tell.IMPF.SUBJ.2SG ART.DEF.F truth
 ‘If only you would tell the truth!’ or ‘I wish you would tell the truth!’
 (Joly 1976: 413)
- c. *E m’ at abousse dit,*
 ENC 1SG.OBJ 3.NEU.OBJ have.IMPF.SUBJ.3SG tell.PART
- que seri bengut.*
 ENC be.COND.1SG. come.PART
 ‘If he had told it to me, I would have come.’
 (Joly 1976: 413)

Although *e* should typically occur in conditional clauses, as in (21c), since the semantic function of this énonciatif is associated with the uncertain or hypothetical nature of events (see §2.10.2 for details), Field (1985) finds *e* or no énonciatif to appear in conditional clauses and Bouzet (1932) remarks that *e* is sometimes substituted by *si* ‘if’ in a conditional clause.

2.4.3 Verbs of speaking following quotations

This environment of *e* is discussed in many, but not all, of the normative grammars, and is seemingly unrelated to its semantic function conveying uncertainty. However, Pusch (2002) remarks that the behavior of *e* in this context is somewhat akin to evidentials since *e* occurs before verbs of speaking (e.g., *diser* ‘say’; *respóner* ‘respond’; *replicar* ‘reply’; *har* ‘do, make, say’; *copar* ‘interrupt’) following quotations, thus reporting what someone else had said. The quotative clause must follow the quoted utterance in order for *e* to appear, as shown in (22a); when the quotative clause precedes the quoted utterance and therefore introduces the quotation, the énonciatif *que* occurs before the finite verb, as shown in (22b).

- (22) a. *Ne sias pas tan pèc! e hasó la mair.*
 NEG be.IMP.NEG.2SG NEG so foolish ENC say.PST.2SG ART.DEF.F mother
 ‘“Don’t be so foolish!” said the mother.’
 (Darrigrand 1974: 84)
- b. *Trebuc que hasè: “E tu, parle, ...”*
 ENC say.IMPF.3SG and 2SG.SUB speak.IMP.2SG
 ‘Trebuc said: “And you, speak, ...”’
 (Joly 1976: 418)

Although this context was attempted in my elicitations, it was less successful among certain speakers, particularly native speakers who never wrote Gascon, since sentences where a quotative clause follows a quotation are more often encountered in writing than speaking (see Chapter 5, §5.2.3 for further discussion).

2.4.4 Subordinate clauses

As previously addressed in §2.3.3, most Gascon grammars and studies that describe the occurrence of an énonciatif in subordinate clauses only mention the appearance of the énonciatif *e* in this context. However, other studies have indicated otherwise, such as Séguy's ALG map 2507, reproduced in Map 7e in Appendix A, which reflects the variability in the usage of the énonciatif *e* in subordinate clauses, provided that the stipulated syntactic condition is met. Although this map is consistent with Romieu & Bianchi (2005) who state that *e* only appears in the south of the Gascon domain, it also reflects the inconsistency in the usage of *e* even within this zone. In Aranais, Carrera (2007) finds that *e* does not occur in subordinate clauses even when the required syntactic condition is met; instead, he finds no énonciatif in this context.

2.4.5 Softening/mitigating expressions and dubitative sentences

This contextual usage of *e* is confined to Bouzet's (1932) description of the énonciatifs in Béarnais. In addition to expressing doubt, Bouzet finds *e* to serve a mitigating function in certain contexts. In his examples reproduced in (23), his French translations appear alongside my corresponding English translations since it is difficult to provide exact English translations for these French sentences.

- (23) a. *Lhèu e-m a bist.*
maybe ENC-1SG.OBJ have.PRES.3SG see.PART
'He may have seen me.' (Fr. *peut-être m'a-t-il vu*)
- b. *A penas e poudè segui...*
hardly ENC be.able.IMPF.3SG follow.INF
'He could hardly follow...' (Fr. *a peine pouvait-il suivre*)
- c. *Auta plà e-s ey esbarrit...*
as well ENC-REFL be.PRES.3SG get.lost.PART
'He just as easily may have gotten lost.' (Fr. *aussi bien s'est-il égaré*)
(23a-c from Bouzet 1932: 49)

Since Bouzet's description is in reference to the Béarnais dialect, I elicited (23a) during my fieldwork in Béarn to see how my findings more than 70 years later compare with those of Bouzet. The results are addressed in Chapter 5, §5.2.4.

2.4.6 Negative clauses

While the majority of the literature describes the énonciatifs as appearing in affirmative clauses only, Bouzet (1951: 51) remarks that *e* can occur in wishes that include the negative morpheme, which Field (1985: 83) characterizes as "hypothetical negatives", citing the following example from Bouzet (1951: 51):

- (24) *E nou digousse arré!*
ENC NEG say.IMPF.SUBJ.3SG nothing
'Let's hope he doesn't say anything.'

2.5 *Be*

This énonciatif is typically found in exclamations, which is the environment described in most normative grammars. Other uses of *be* are to add emphasis to an assertion, indicate surprise, or remove doubt from the interlocutor (Joly 1976). Based on its exclamatory function and use as a marker of insistence, Fossat (2006: 160) describes *be* as “un énonciatif d’attaque de la «phrase-énoncé»” [‘an énonciatif attacking the expressed clause’]. As already noted, the énonciatif *be*, along with the énonciatifs *e* and *ja*, can appear in clause final position. Fossat (2006) mentions this clause initial and/or final usage of *be*, but does not specify which dialects have this usage and whether certain speakers only allow *be* clause initially or finally, a finding I discovered during the process of my data collection; see Chapter 5, §5.2.6 for the results.

Like *que*, *be* is found in questions that function more like statements. As evident in (25d), the speaker uses *be* in the question to request confirmation of his/her assertion. Map 7d in Appendix A shows that *be*’s usage is quite limited in questions; however, since the question elicited by Séguy did not occur in a specific semantic context that would correlate with the described usage of *be*, this map is not representative of its occurrence in questions (recall that §2.3.2 provided Séguy’s elicited questions).

Another usage of *be* that is not encountered in the majority of the literature is described by Bouzet (1932, 1951). He compares *be* to the French expression *n’est-ce pas*, which roughly translates into English as ‘isn’t that right?’ or ‘don’t you agree?’. Bouzet claims that a speaker uses *be* to indicate his/her hesitancy in the statement and to solicit approval from the interlocutor who is witnessing the same event (see (25e)).

- (25) a. *Be sabem* *tots çò* *qui s’ ei* *passat.*
ENC know.PRES.1PL all DEM.NEU REL REFL be.PRES.3SG happen.PART
‘We definitely know everything that happened.’
- b. *B’ès* *donc hèra pèc!*
ENC be.PRES.2SG thus very foolish
‘You sure are really foolish!’
(25a-b from Darrigrand 1974: 56)
- c. *B’ as* *raison!*
ENC have.PRES.2SG reason
‘Wow, you’re right!’
(Guilhemjoan 2006: 75)
- d. *Be m’* *entenès?*⁴⁵
ENC 1SG.OBJ understand.PRES.2SG
‘You understand me, don’t you?’
(Field 1985: 80)

⁴⁵ In the original source (Field 1985: 80), the verb is conjugated as *entenét*. Based on the English translation with the verb taking a 2nd person singular subject, I changed the conjugation to *entenès*, which is the correct form for the 2nd person singular present tense of the verb *entèner* ‘understand/hear’ in Gascon grammars. I was unable to find a conjugation corresponding to the word *entenét* in the original source.

e. *Aqueres brumes be hèn pòu.*
 DEM.F.PL clouds ENC make.PRES.3PL fear
 ‘Those clouds are scary, right?’
 (Bouzet 1951: 53)

Carrera (2007) reports that the usage of *be* (and also *ja*) in Aranais is similar to that described for other Gascon dialects: *be* has an exclamatory and emphatic function and, similar to the previously described usage of *be* in questions and the *n’est-ce pas* usage remarked by Bouzet, Carrera finds that speakers sometimes use *be* to ask the interlocutor for approval or confirmation of his/her statement. An example is provided below; note that the phrase in parentheses does not represent the speaker’s statement, but rather what s/he is thinking. The parenthetical phrase is in Aranais since Carrera’s entire grammar is written in this language. Although I translated this parenthetical phrase, I did not provide an interlinear for it, as it does not represent the phrase of interest.

(26) *B’an crompat ua casa polida!*
 ENC have.PRES.3PL buy.PART ART.INDEF.F house charming
 (ètz d’accord qu’an crompat ua casa polida?)
 ‘They sure did buy a charming house! (don’t you agree that they bought a charming house?)’
 (Carrera 2007: 274)

Carrera mentions another usage of *be* not encountered in the rest of the literature where it is somewhat argumentative in nature, as illustrated in the example below:

(27) *Be m’ ac auries pogut dider*
 ENC 1SG.OBJ 3SG.NEU.OBJ. have.COND.2SG can.PART say.INF
 qu’ er oncle ei en casa... (abans non m’ ac as dit)
 COMP DEF.ART.M uncle be.PRES.3SG in house...
 ‘You could have told me that your uncle is home... (before you didn’t tell me it)’
 (Carrera 2007: 274)

In (27), the speaker is annoyed that the interlocutor never told him/her that his/her uncle was at home, reflecting an argumentative function of *be*.

Just as the contextual usage of *be* is varied, so too is its geographical distribution. Wüest (1993) found *be* to rarely occur in the Couserans dialect and Schärli’s (1985) study among nine speakers from the Vallée d’Aspe concluded that the énonciatif *be* is infrequently used in this region. Schärli provided his informants with the following five exclamatory sentences in Gascon, labeled A-E, sharing the same translation ‘How time goes by so quickly!’ and differing only in the usage of the énonciatif, and asked them to choose which sentence they would use, not the one they considered the most grammatical. An interlinear is provided only for the first sentence.

- A) *Be passa lèu eth temps!*
 ENC pass.PRES.3SG quickly ART.DEF.M time
- B) *Que passa lèu eth temps!*
- C) *Passa lèu eth temps!*
- D) *E passa lèu eth temps!*
- E) *Ja passa lèu eth temps!*

His results were as follows: none selected choices C, D, or E; 1 chose A and B; 2 preferred B over A; and 6 chose B. The finding that none of his informants selected C or D corresponds with prior descriptions of the énonciatif system: C lacks an énonciatif and D contains the énonciatif *e*, a particle not expected to occur with exclamations that are not wishes. The finding that none chose E with *ja* is quite interesting since this énonciatif is known to invoke exclamative value, suggesting that *ja* is not used in the Vallée d’Aspe. Moreover, the finding that B was preferred over A suggests that *be* is infrequently used in this region and that *que* instead of *be* occurs in exclamations, a finding contrary to prior descriptions of the énonciatifs. However, my data results presented in Chapter 5, §5.2.6 do not support Schärli’s findings, as a native speaker from the Vallée d’Aspe used the énonciatif *be* in an exclamative manner.

Despite the variability in the geographical distribution of *be*, Fossat (2006) mentions how remarkable it is that *be* has remained geographically stable in southwestern Gascon when these regions are in direct contact with Basque and when the language contains other expressions that mark insistence such as *que* or *coma*, as shown in (28).

- (28) *oh! coma hèi calor uèi! / oh! que hèi calor uèi!*
 as make.PRES.3SG heat today
 ‘Wow is it hot today!’
 (Fossat 2006: 163)

2.6 *Ja*

Like *be*, *ja* reinforces a statement and raises doubt from the interlocutor. Even though both *ja* and *be* have similar semantic functions, according to Field (1985), *ja* adds more emphasis than *be*. Bouzet states that *ja*, which he writes <ye>, is used when the speaker views what s/he is saying as an incontestable fact; see (29c). The pragmatic difference between *be* and *ja* is evidenced in Bouzet’s (1932) sentences (29d) and (29e) which differ only in the énonciatif; his original French translations for these sentences appear alongside the English translations.

- (29) a. *Ja vedes qu’ ei aqui!*
 ENC see.PRES.2SG COMP be.PRES.3SG there
 ‘You certainly see that he is there!’
- b. *J’ac sabi.*
 ENC 3SG.NEU.OBJ know.PRES.1SG
 ‘I know it.’
 (29a-b from Birabent & Salles-Loustau 1989: 74)

- c. *Ye m' at pagarás u die!*
 ENC 1SG.OBJ 3.NEU.OBJ pay.FUT.2SG ART.INDEF.M.SG day
 ‘You will pay it to me one day, I guarantee it/I know it!’
 (Bouzet 1951: 52)
- d. *Y-at bederas.*
 ENC 3.NEU.OBJ see.FUT.2SG
 ‘You will see it, I assure you.’ (Fr. *Tu le verras, je t’assure*)
 (Bouzet 1932: 50)
- e. *B’at bederas.*
 ‘You will see it, right?’ (Fr. *Tu le verras, n’est-ce pas?*)
 (Bouzet 1932: 51)

In Aranais, Carrera (2007) finds *ja* to be used in an argumentative manner similar to *be*, as (30) demonstrates.

- (30) *Ja se ditz, aquerò! (e pensaues dilhèu que non se didie?)*
 ENC REFL say.PRES.3SG that
 ‘That’s it! (lit. ‘that is said’) (and you maybe thought that it wasn’t said?)’
 (Carrera 2007: 274)

The parenthetical phrase indicates the speaker’s thoughts and shows that the speaker uses *ja* to contradict the interlocutor.

Based on recordings from the Couserans dialect, Wüest (1993: 310-311) finds the semantic function of *ja* very difficult to decode. He remarks that it is used in a concessive manner, which he terms “un emploi concessif de *ja*”, and compares it to French *bien que* ‘although’. However, upon closer inspection of his data, *ja* does not function so much like *bien que*, but rather as a conciliatory marker and is better analyzed as a marker of partial or hesitating agreement. In the excerpt below from Wüest (1993), the speaker seems to use *ja* each time he agrees with the interlocutor after having formerly disagreed with the interlocutor’s prior statement/opinion in the discourse. The excerpt is an extract from a show (Wüest does not indicate whether this show was a radio or TV program) titled *Era votz dera montanha* in which a young female journalist (labeled F below) interviews an older man (labeled M) and accuses him of being misogynistic; both excerpts (a) and (b) are from the same interview. Wüest notes that the journalist is not fully fluent in Gascon and sometimes uses French in the conversation, as evidenced in (31b); I did not provide an interlinear for the French discourse.⁴⁶

- (31) a. M: *perqué la voletz hèr trebalhar*
 why 3SG.F.OBJ want.PRES.2PL make.INF work.INF
 ‘Why would you want to make her work?’
- F: *mès qu’ei contenta de trebalhar tanben*
 but ENC be.PRES.3SG happy about work.INF also
 ‘But she’s also happy to work.’

⁴⁶ The labels for the speakers were changed from those used in Wüest’s paper (1993: 311). Interlinears and glosses are the responsibility of the author, as Wüest does not provide interlinears or French translations for his data.

M: *ja som d'acòrd*
 ENC be.PRES.1PL agree
 'Okay, we agree.'

- b. F: *c'est un travail si noble pourtant – de cuisiner*
 'it's a very noble job though – to cook'

M: *j' ei vertat*
 ENC have.PRES.1SG truth
 'I agree.'

The geographical distribution of *ja* has not been well studied, but Séguy does mention in his ALG map 2390 (recall that this map contains an isogloss of the énonciatif *que*; see Map 7c in Appendix A) that *ja* was used instead of *que* in the south of the Gascon domain particularly before finite verbs in the future and conditional tenses. Séguy found this usage of *ja* to occur twice as often as *que* in these types of phrases, but does not specify which regions used *ja*. Wüest (1993) mentions how his study of the Couserans dialect unfortunately failed to test Séguy's finding since phrases with verbs in the future and conditional tenses were extremely rare in his corpus. As for the usage of *ja* in questions, most of the literature does not describe this contextual occurrence. Séguy's ALG map 2400 (Map 7d in Appendix A) indicates one location in the Couserans region (in the south of the Ariège département) with *ja*, which corresponds with Wüest's (1993) finding that *ja* appeared in some questions in the Couserans region.⁴⁷

2.7 *Se/Si/Ce/Ci/Çò/Ça*

These particles are contained under the same heading because the environments in which they occur overlap, thus leading me to believe that they belong to the same category. Since Gascon was traditionally an oral language among the vast majority of speakers, the spellings of *se* and *ce* with identical pronunciations, along with *si* and *ci*, correspond to the same particle. These particles are rarely encountered in both Gascon grammars and linguistic studies. This énonciatif was first cited by Ronjat (1913: 225) who mentions the usage of the particle *se* in questions in the Couserans dialect, providing the following (and only) example:

- (32) *Se benguerats?*
 ENC come.FUT.2PL
 'Will you (plural) come?'

The usage of this particle specific to the Couserans dialect was verified in Wüest's (1993) study. In comparing this finding to Séguy's ALG map 2400, it is evident that the instances of *se* in questions are more numerous in Couserans, but do extend farther west (e.g., location 697NE Barèges-Betpouey).

Field (1985) mentions that some dialects use *se* in polite questions and requests, but does not provide any further specification. His (1985: 82) two examples of *se* in this context are taken

⁴⁷ Wüest's (1993) example of *ja* in a question is not presented since he does not provide any of the surrounding context in which the phrase was uttered and also does not provide a translation of the Gascon phrase. It was therefore difficult to determine if this usage of *ja* even appeared in a true question.

from a 1937 Béarnais work titled *Bite-bitante* by the author Miquèu de Camelat; one such example is reproduced below:

- (33) *S'a* *escribut* *la* *daune*,
 ENC have.PRES.3SG write.PART ART.DEF.F woman
- s'a* *hèyt* *beroy biadye?*
 ENC have.PRES.3SG make.PART nice trip
 'Has Madame written? Did she have a nice trip?'
 (Field 1985: 82, original citation Camelat 1937: 17)

In addition to *se* appearing in questions, Hetzron (1977) remarks that the particle *si* is attested in this environment for some dialects, but does not specify which ones.

Just as this environment overlaps with that typically described for the énonciatif *e*, so too does the other context associated with this énonciatif: before verbs of speaking in quotative clauses following quotations. According to Hetzron (1977), in regions that do not use the énonciatif *e*, no énonciatif occurs except in the environment before verbs of speaking following quotations, where the particles *si*, *sa*, or *que* occur. Joly (1976: 417, 428) also notes the usage of *se/si* in this environment and cites Latin *sic* 'thus' as its diachronic source; he states that this particle functions to summarize the content of the predication and compares it to the English usage of *so*, as in *so he said*.

Among the normative grammars, Darrigrand (1974), Hourcade (1986), and Puyau (2007) mention this particle's usage in quotative clauses. However, Darrigrand (1974: 82) does not consider this particle, spelled <ce> in his source, an énonciatif. The énonciatifs described in his grammar are *que*, *be*, and *e*. Still, Darrigrand notes that the particle *ce* appears in what he terms as "les incisives" 'interpolated clauses' before verbs such as *diser* 'to say', *har* 'to say', *arrespóner* 'to respond', and *créder* 'to believe'; this environment is therefore equivalent with that also described for *e* in his grammar. The other normative grammars that mention this particle in this environment are specific to Béarnais. Puyau (2007) describes the énonciatif *ce*, while Hourcade (1986) includes *ça/ce/ci/çò* as variants. Some examples are reproduced in (34).⁴⁸

- (34) a. *Totun* *com lo* *men* *pair* *m'* *a*
 in.the.same.manner as ART.DEF.M POSS.1SG father 1SG.OBJ have.PRES.3SG
- aimat*, *jo* *que v'* *aimi*, *çò* *disèi* *aus*
 love.PART 1SG.SUB ENC 2PL.OBJ love.PRES.1SG ENC tell.PRES.1SG to
- mens* *disciples bien aimats*.
 POSS.1SG disciples well liked
 '“I love you just as my father loved me,” I tell my well liked disciples.'

⁴⁸ Hourcade's (1986) examples of this énonciatif usage, such as those reproduced in (34a-b), are from written works from the 19th- early 20th century and therefore aren't representative of everyday language. Hourcade (1986) does not provide French translations for any of these Gascon examples: the translations and interlinears are the responsibility of the author.

b. *“Quina calor!” ce ditz Jausèp.*
 what heat ENC say.PRES.3SG
 ‘“What heat!” Jausèp says.’
 (34a-b from Hourcade 1986: 45)

c. *Qu’èy trop coumplicat, c’espliquè lou reyén.*
 ENC be.PRES.3SG too complicated ENC explain.PST.3SG ART.DEF.M teacher
 ‘“It’s too complicated,” explained the teacher.’
 (Puyau 2007: 134)

There is yet another usage of *se* which is only described in Darrigrand’s (1974) grammar: he states that in spoken language *se* is often found in responses to questions to give them more force. Darrigrand translates this usage of *se* as French *mais, puisque* ‘but, since’ and notes that responses with *se* are often protests against the interlocutor who uttered the question. Some examples from Darrigrand (1974: 38) are reproduced below (note that these question-response pairs consist of two speakers):

(35) a. *N’ ei pas tostemps autant esparvolada?*
 NEG be.PRES.3SG NEG always so scatterbrained

*Se ’vs disi que òc!*⁴⁹
 ENC 2.OBJ say.PRES.1SG yes
 ‘She isn’t always this scatterbrained, is she? I’m telling you that she indeed is always like this!’

b. *Perqué ne m’ as pas miat la saca?*
 why NEG 1SG.OBJ have.PRES.2SG NEG bring.PART ART.DEF.F bag

Se n’ac poish pas har!
 ENC NEG 3.NEU.OBJ can.PRES.1SG NEG do.INF
 ‘Why didn’t you bring me the bag? Because I’m telling you that I can’t do it!’

Moreover, Darrigrand (1974: 32) notes that, in central and eastern Gascon, the form *ça* occurs in the expression *ça’m par* ‘it seems to me’, where he indicates that *par* is a conjugation of the former verb *parer* ‘to appear’ whose modern equivalent is *paréisher*. However, it is debatable if the usage of the particle in this context is as an énonciatif since the *ça* here is most likely a demonstrative pronoun.

2.8 Negative morpheme

As mentioned in previous sections, the negative morpheme is typically described to exclude any énonciatif, yet the énonciatifs *que* and *e* have been found to co-occur with negation, albeit rarely. The negative morpheme also differs from the other particles since it is found in contexts in which the other énonciatifs do not occur; these contexts are presented in the

⁴⁹ I did not provide an interlinear for *que* in (35a): it is not an énonciatif, nor is it a complementizer. Here it is functioning as an intensifier, similar to the emphatic uses of *que* found in other Romance languages, which some researchers claim as the diachronic source of the énonciatif; see Chapter 3, §3.2.1.2 for details.

following section. Still, for reasons already discussed, I am including the negative morpheme (specifically, the first part of negation *ne/non*) within the énonciatif system.

The normative grammar by Birabent & Salles-Loustau (1989) is the only grammar or linguistic study for that matter to describe the omission of the second negative morpheme *pas* in the following contexts: orders or requests (36a); expressions with doubt (36b); and when a second negative morpheme already occurs (36c), a restriction shared with French, as in *je n'ai rien* 'I have nothing' versus **je n'ai pas rien*.

(36) a. **Non** *cantes*.

NEG sing.IMP.2SG

'Don't sing.'

b. *Lhèu non sap cantar*.

maybe NEG know.PRES.3SG sing.INF

'Maybe he doesn't know how to sing.'

c. **Non** *poderà jamei léger*.

NEG can.FUT.3SG never read.INF

'He will never be able to read.'

(36a-c from Birabent & Salles-Loustau 1989: 72-73)

While I did not encounter a contrastive usage between the first negative morpheme and both members of negation in my study, I did find a semantic contrast between sentences with both members of negation versus those with only the second negative morpheme *pas*. This contrast that has not been described in any of the literature occurred among a very small minority of participants who described the following semantic/pragmatic contrast: negation with both morphemes (*ne...pas*) served a mitigating function so as not to insult or offend the interlocutor, while negation with only the second morpheme *pas* was a more direct way to negate the sentence and did not function in any way to maintain a rapport with the interlocutor (see Chapter 5, §5.2.7 for further discussion). This finding reflects yet another semantic nuance in the usage of these particles that is not consistent across all speakers.

2.9 Environments in which the énonciatifs (excluding the negative morpheme) do not occur

With the exception of the negative morpheme, the other énonciatifs do not occur in the following contexts, which are illustrated in sentences (37)-(41): (1) in phrases where wh-questions (*qui* 'who', *qué* 'what', *quau* 'what/which', *on* 'where', *d'on* 'from where') immediately precede the verb, which is consistent with the finding that no énonciatifs occur when the verb in a subordinate clause is immediately preceded by the subordinator (note that *d'on* in (37) appears as *doun*); (2) before non-finite verbs, such as the infinitive, participle, and gerund; (3) before verbs in the imperative mood; (4) in parenthetical phrases, which Haase (1994) terms "les parenthèses" and Field (1985) terms "phatic utterances"; and (5) in stage directions in certain plays. Most normative grammars do not include the fourth and fifth environments in their descriptions of the contexts in which the énonciatifs do not occur. While the first two environments cannot be accounted for semantically, the remaining environments have been argued to exclude the énonciatifs on semantic/pragmatic grounds (see §2.10.2). For ease in parsing the examples, the symbol Ø indicates the absence of the énonciatif.

- (37) *Doun Ø èt?*
 from.where be. PRES.2PL
 ‘Where are you from?’
- (38) *Ø En anan entau bousquet.*
 while go.GERUND into forest.DIM
 ‘While going to the small forest.’
- (39) *Ø Anem!*
 go.1PL.IMP
 ‘Let’s go!’
 (37-39 from Joly 1976: 414)
- (40) *Mes, Ø ac sabetz, apres aver passat dus ans en aceths país...*
 But 3.NEU.OBJ know.PRES.2PL after have.INF pass.PART two years in those countries
 ‘But, you know, after having spent two years in those places...’
 (Field 1985: 84)
- (41) *Ø Entran lo notari e dus clerks.*
 enter.PRES.3PL ART.DEF.M notary and two clerks
 ‘Enter the notary and two clerks.’
 (Field 1985: 85)

Hetzron’s (1977: 164-165) study of 20th century Béarnais texts (see §2.10.2.2 for the specific works consulted) finds exceptions to the environments in which the énonciatifs are expected to not occur. In (42), the énonciatif *e* appears in a subordinate clause in which only the adverbial pronoun *y* separates the subordinate verb from the subordinator (recall that pronouns are allowed to intervene between the énonciatif and the finite verb, causing the finite verb in this context to be analyzed as being adjacent to the subordinator, which consequently precludes the occurrence of an énonciatif).

- (42) *mès non sab quoan e y aneram.*
 but NEG know.PRES.3SG when ENC there go.FUT.1PL
 ‘but he doesn’t know when we will go there.’
 (Hetzron 1977: 165, original citation Camelat 1967: 18)

While the énonciatif behavior in this example is not consistent with prior synchronic descriptions, the absence of the énonciatif in parenthetical phrases, such as *pensi* ‘I think’ and *sabetz* ‘you know’, has been supported by Pusch’s (2000b) COG. Pusch not only finds that the énonciatif is absent in these phrases, but observes the following analogical process where this absence is extended to main clauses with these verbs: Pusch (2000b: 628) reports that 45% of cases where the verb *pensar* occurred in a main clause did not contain an énonciatif. Therefore, the finite form of this verb occurred without an énonciatif in non-parenthetical contexts where the énonciatif *que* would be expected. My data conflicts with this finding, as the vast majority of participants used *que* before the finite verb form of the matrix verb *pensar*; see Chapter 5, §5.2.5.

The énonciatif has also been noted to not be necessary in some cases with impersonal expressions, such as *caler* ‘to be necessary’ and *valer mes* ‘to be worth more’ (Field 1985, Joly 1976). (43a-b) both contain a finite form of the verb *caler*: it is preceded by an énonciatif in (43a), but not in (43b).

- (43) a. *Que cau que l’ un de nosauts e*
 ENC be.necessary.PRES.3SG COMP ART.DEF.M one of us ENC

se’n ane.
 3SG.REFL 1PL.OBJ go.PRES.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘One of us must go.’
 (Wheeler 1988: 274)

- b. *Quan èri petita, Ø calèva que*
 when be.IMPF.1SG little.F be.necessary.IMPF.3SG COMP

dromissi dab la mia sòr.
 sleep.IMPF.SUBJ.1SG with ART.DEF.F POSS.1SG sister
 ‘When I was little, I had to sleep with my sister.’
 (Field 1985: 84)

Based on the COG, Pusch (2000a) finds the minority (6%) of phrases with *caler* and *valer (mes)* to not contain an énonciatif. This finding conflicts with that of Pilawa’s (1990) study based on written Gascon corpora, consisting of five written works by four Gascon authors from the 1970s-1980s (see §2.10.2.2 for the specific works consulted), where 43% of phrases with these verbs contained an énonciatif. My data correlates with that of Pusch, as all research participants in the present study used the énonciatif *que* before the finite form of *caler* (see Chapter 5, §5.2.8).

All research participants also used the énonciatif in the following context noted by Field (1985: 85) to sometimes lack an énonciatif: before some third person reflexive verbs. Field (1985: 85) states that the absence of the énonciatif in this context has historical sources unrelated to the semantics of the énonciatifs, and he refers to an “in preparation” publication which has not yet materialized as far as my knowledge. He cites the example reproduced in (44). I elicited this sentence in my data and all research participants included the énonciatif *que* before this third person reflexive verb (see Chapter 5, §5.2.8).

- (44) *Ø S’a copat ua cama.*
 3SG.REFL have.PRES.3SG break.PART ART.INDEF.F leg
 ‘He broke his leg.’
 (Field 1985: 85)

2.10 Theoretical analyses: Form and function

Although the present study is not couched within a specific syntactic and semantic theoretical framework and instead examines the data from a sociolinguistic perspective, this section reviews previous theoretical discussions of the énonciatifs. I will focus more on the prior semantic analyses of the énonciatif system as they are pertinent to one of the following objectives of this study: to determine if current speakers use the énonciatifs for the semantic

reasons outlined in the literature and if this usage is variable based on sociolinguistic factors, such as age, language fluency (if Gascon is a native or second language), and region.

2.10.1 Syntactic/morphological treatment

Due to the syntactic position of the énonciatifs before finite verbs, researchers have considered them inflectional morphemes and syntactic constituents occupying AUX. For instance, Bouzet (1932: 45) classifies the énonciatifs as inflectional elements: “Ils [les énonciatifs] font, dans ce cas, partie intégrante du verbe, au même titre que les flexions.”⁵⁰ Joly (1976) regards the énonciatif as a copula linking the subject to the predicate, comparing it to the French auxiliary verb *être* ‘to be’; he argues that the énonciatif’s role is to actualize the conjugated verb. Similarly, Field (1985, 1989) claims that the Gascon énonciatif occupies the AUX position since it appears before finite verbs and AUX contains constituents that indicate verbal tense or mood. Although the énonciatifs do occupy a specific syntactic slot, Pusch (2000b) points out that a purely syntactic treatment of them is inadequate because of their various semantic and pragmatic functions addressed in the following section.

2.10.2 Semantic frameworks

There have been varying semantic accounts to explain the énonciatif system, yet these theories share certain features in common since they analyze the énonciatifs based on their role with respect to the speaker’s attitude, the event status of the phrase, or the discourse content of the phrase. Event status here refers to whether the event expressed is hypothetical or actual in nature and discourse content pertains to whether the information presented is new or old, or whether it concerns the theme or rheme. While the majority of these theories are based on oral data, those of Hetzron (1977) and Pilawa (1990) are founded on literary corpora. All of these semantic analyses cannot account for the énonciatif’s syntactic behavior: most of the semantic theories attempt to explain the usage of *que* versus *e* in subordinate clauses, yet cannot justify why the énonciatif is absent when the subordinator either immediately precedes the verb in the subordinate clause or is only separated from the subordinate verb by clitic pronouns.

The following sections show that there has yet to be a unified semantic account to describe this system since the behavior of the particles does not fully correspond to any previously described linguistic categories. For instance, Pusch (2002: 110) compares the énonciatifs to discourse markers based on their theme-rheme function, where the énonciatifs act as discursive connective elements to enhance discourse coherence, and their epistemic function, associated with the speaker’s assertive strength. However, he points out that they differ from other discourse markers in their fixed syntactic environment and non-occurrence with the other énonciatifs: “unlike discourse particles in many, though not all languages, they are mutually exclusive and may not co-occur with other particle-like elements...” (Pusch 2002: 110). In addition to the differences remarked by Pusch, the énonciatifs differ from other discourse markers in their obligatory nature: an affirmative sentence is deemed ungrammatical without one of the énonciatifs preceding the finite verb.

The prior analyses presented in this section differ from those of the present study that are addressed in later chapters since prior studies did not consider the effect of sociolinguistic factors on the usage of the énonciatifs and considered the diachronic source of the énonciatif to be a

⁵⁰ ‘They are, in this case, an integral part of the verb, in the same manner as inflectional morphemes.’

more recent development in the language, arising in the 17th-18th centuries. This study's diachronic account of the énonciatif system as a result of contact-induced change between Basque and Latin speakers following Romanization of the region alters some of the synchronic analyses of this system, a topic that is further addressed in §2.10.3 and is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

2.10.2.1 Bouzet's (1951) *affirmé* versus *non-affirmé*

Bouzet (1951) uses the rather vague terms *l'affirmé* and *non-affirmé* to account for the énonciatif's semantic behavior. These terms pertain to the speaker's attitude toward his/her statement and thus operate on the subjective, as opposed to objective, content of the discourse:

Or les particules énonciatives n'influent en rien sur le contenu objectif de la phrase, leur absence le laisse intact, et c'est pourquoi on a pu les prendre pour des mots explétifs. Leur intervention joue sur un autre domaine qui est celui de la *subjectivité* : elles notent, comme nous allons le voir, dans des nuances diverses, l'attitude du sujet parlant vis-à-vis de ce qu'il énonce ; elles opposent en principe, non pas la négation à l'affirmation, mais sur un terrain élargi où sont fondus ces deux aspects, *l'affirmé* au *non-affirmé*.⁵¹ [original emphasis throughout] (Bouzet 1951: 50)

According to Bouzet (1951), *e* marks a verb that is “non-affirmé” by the subject and therefore indicates uncertainty; a speaker uses *e* either to express events that are uncertain or eventual in nature. This theory accounts for the occurrence of *e* in questions; wishes; and doubtful, hypothetical, and conditional clauses. Palay's Béarnais dictionary contains a similar analysis to that of Bouzet. Palay (1961: 821) contrasts the eventual or hypothetical nature of *e* with that of *que* in his following definition for the énonciatif *que*: “Particule énonciative ou préverbe, qui se place devant le verbe pour en marquer l'aspect affirmatif, en opposition avec l'aspect éventuel marqué par *e*.”⁵²

The problem with Bouzet's analysis is that it is inconsistent. In addition to *e* denoting uncertainty, Bouzet states that *e* marks secondary information as opposed to *que* that indicates new or primary information, an analysis later proposed by Hetzron (1977) addressed in the following section. This additional pragmatic domain contradicts his proposed *l'affirmé* and *non-affirmé* contrast: if the non-affirmé expressed by *e* marks uncertainty, then one would assume that the other énonciatifs in the realm of the *affirmé* indicate the certain nature of events. However, Bouzet (1951: 50) defines *que* under the pragmatic domain of new versus old information: “Dans une phrase complexe, elle [la particule *que*] sert à distinguer du thème (ou sujet) et des circonstances, l'élément nouveau que le sujet parlant veut communiquer.”⁵³ As for

⁵¹ ‘The énonciatifs do not influence the objective content of the sentence, their absence leaves it intact, which is why they could be considered as expletives. Their intervention acts on another domain which is that of subjectivity: they indicate, as we are about to see, the attitude of the speaking subject in diverse ways towards what he is expressing; they in principle do not oppose negation from affirmation, but apply to the larger domain founded on two aspects, the affirmed and the non-affirmed.’

⁵² ‘Énonciative particle or preverb, which is placed before the verb to mark the affirmative aspect, in opposition with the eventual aspect marked by *e*.’

⁵³ ‘In a complex sentence, it [the particle *que*] serves to distinguish the new element that the speaking subject wants to communicate from the theme (or subject) and the circumstances.’

be and *ja*, Bouzet associates the pragmatic function of these particles within yet another different pragmatic domain associated with the expression of the speaker's attitude.

2.10.2.2 Hetzron's (1977) new versus old information

Hetzron's (1977) analysis concurs with Bouzet's regarding the use of *que* to mark new information, but is not in accordance with Bouzet's analysis of *e* as a marker of uncertainty. Using 20th century Béarnais texts as his corpora,⁵⁴ Hetzron (1977) finds contexts in which the énonciatif *que* occurs with the adverb (*di*)*lhèu* 'maybe' and does not find any context in which *e* alone conveys uncertainty, for *e* co-occurs with the adverb (*di*)*lhèu*. Based on this finding, Hetzron concludes that the opposition between *que* and *e* does not depend on the certainty of events.

However, this conclusion is contradicted elsewhere in his analysis, as Hetzron uses the uncertain nature of events to account for the absence of *que* in certain clauses. For instance, to explain the contrast between *que* versus *e* versus no énonciatif in complement clauses governed by the negated matrix verb 'to believe', he states that *que* occurs when the complement clause contains new information in the sense that it is unbelievable and unexpected, functioning as an emotional marker, whereas *e* appears when the speaker is not certain if what s/he doesn't believe will even take place and therefore expresses the speaker's uncertainty (Hetzron 1977: 180-181). This same analysis is used to account for the occurrence of *e* or no énonciatif in complement clauses governed by the matrix verb 'to wait': *e* or no énonciatif appears when the time of the event expressed in the complement clause is uncertain (Hetzron 1977: 183). The behavior of the énonciatif in these complement clauses is revisited below since I found discrepancies with Hetzron's conclusions drawn from his textual data.

Hetzron (1977) ultimately claims that the contrast between *que* and *e* lies in the pragmatic domain of new versus old information with *que* conveying new information and *e* old information, but he also alludes to the pragmatic domain of theme/rheme since he finds *que* to mark primary information (theme) and *e* or no énonciatif to indicate secondary information (rheme). His study focuses on the usage of the énonciatifs *que* versus *e* in subordinate clauses, as it aims to provide evidence against Gascon normative grammars that describe *que* as an énonciatif only appearing in main clauses. Hetzron finds that subordinate clauses contain *que*, *e*, or no énonciatif (provided the stipulated syntactic condition is met where the subordinate verb is separated from the subordinator), which he attributes to the survival of a former semantic difference between *que* and *e*, in which their usage was grammaticalized in certain contexts and not others.

He maintains that clauses that typically conveyed new information, such as complement clauses, grammaticalized the usage of *que* to extend to all of these constructions, thus even appearing in complement clauses that convey old information. Likewise, other clauses that do not typically convey new information and contain secondary information not particularly

⁵⁴ Hetzron's (1977) analysis of the énonciatifs in Béarnais is based on the following texts: (1) Simin Palay's 1974 novel *Los tres gojats de Bordavielha*, (2) Yulien Caseboune's 1926 novel *Esprabes d'amou*, (3) Miqueu de Camelat's 1967 work *Letres* and 1971 work *Bite-Bitante*. Hetzron (1977) states that the first two texts (Palay and Caseboune) are the main works cited, but that Camelat's work is mentioned either when it illustrates examples not attested in Palay or Caseboune or when the usage of the énonciatifs in Camelat differs from that found in Palay's or Caseboune's works. All Gascon textual excerpts reproduced from Hetzron contain Hetzron's page citation along with that of the original source. Hetzron provides French translations of his Gascon excerpts, which I translated in English; Hetzron does not provide interlinears and they are therefore the sole responsibility of the author.

important to the discourse, such as temporal and relative clauses, regularly appear without *que*. Hetzron draws these conclusions based on his consultation of Béarnais texts: he finds *que* to never appear in temporal or relative clauses, but to regularly occur in complement clauses, causal clauses (Hetzron defines these as clauses introduced by *per'mor/permou/per'mor qué* 'because' or *puishque* 'since'), and what he terms as pseudo-subordinate consequential clauses governed by phrases such as *de manière que* 'in a way that/such that/so that' when they're affirmative (non-negative). According to Hetzron, pseudo-subordinate clauses are subordinate clauses that have a main clause semantic function.

Hetzron accounts for the exceptions in his analysis to the survival of a former semantic distinction before grammaticalization took place. He finds that certain complement clauses predicted to occur with *que* based on his analysis lack this énonciatif. Such is the case for complement clauses headed by the main clause verbs 'to surprise', 'to not believe', and 'to wait'; Hetzron finds *que* to be present when these complement clauses contain new information and absent when they recall an already known fact or an eventuality, thus reflecting the former semantic distinction between *que* and *e* (Hetzron 1977: 197). Hetzron's conclusion follows:

Qué [Hetzron spells the énonciatif *qué* as opposed to *que*] est toujours présent dans les constructions dont la fonction TYPIQUE est d'introduire une nouvelle information, — indépendamment du fait si elles le font vraiment ou non, et il est toujours absent dans les constructions qui TYPIQUEMENT ne font que rappeler des faits déjà connus, même si une information nouvelle y apparaît à l'occasion. Donc, une distinction originellement sémantique a été grammaticalisée ici. Comme une survivance de cette distinction reconstruisible qui devait être active à un moment donné de l'histoire de la langue, on trouve quelques cas où elle est applicable encore : dans le cas des complétives régies par « s'étonner », « ne pas croire » et « attendre », et avec les propositions causales. Partout ailleurs, c'est l'usage le plus typique qui a imposé ses normes sur toute la construction.⁵⁵
[original emphasis throughout] (Hetzron 1977: 197-198)

Like Hetzron, Pilawa (1990) attributes the variability in the choice of the énonciatif in complement clauses to the survival of a former semantic distinction where *que* marks new or primary information and *e* old or secondary information. Pilawa's corpus is also written, consisting of the following 20th century novels: Jan Gastellú-Sabalòt's 1981 *Margalida: la hilha deu praube*, Rogèr Lapassada's 1975 *Sonque un arrider amistós*, Pèire Bec's 1977 *Contes de l'Unic* and 1978 *Lo hiu tibet: Racontes d'Alemanha*, and Simin Palay's 1974 *Los tres gojats de Bordavielha*. Pilawa claims that the use of *que* is more grammaticalized by Palay and that the other authors retain a semantic distinction, as evidenced in the high percentage of Palay's usage of *que* in Table 12, a reproduction of Pusch's table that presents the distribution of the énonciatifs *que*, *e*, and no énonciatif (Ø) in complement clauses and is organized by the author of the consulted texts.

⁵⁵ '*Qué* is always present in constructions having the typical function of introducing new information, — independent from whether or not they have this function, it [*que*] is always absent in constructions which typically only recall already known facts, even if new information appears in them on occasions. Thus, an original semantic distinction has been grammaticalized here. Serving as a relic of this reconstructable distinction which must have been active at a given time in the history of the language, some cases where it still applies are found: in cases of complement clauses governed by 'to surprise', 'to not believe' and 'to wait', along with causal clauses. Everywhere else, it's the most typical usage which imposed its norms on the entire construction.'

TABLE 12. Reproduction of Pilawa’s (1990: 97) Table 10: Enonciatif distribution in complement clauses

Author	<i>que</i>	<i>e</i>	Ø
Palay	92.1%	4.5%	3.4%
Lapassada	54.6%	31.8%	13.6%
Gastellú	43.3%	22.7%	34%
Bec	25.6%	64.4%	10%
TOTAL	52.1%	29.5%	18.4%

I find that Hetzron’s conclusions are not in total accordance with his data presented. Recall that Hetzron accounted for the variability in the usage of *que* versus *e* in complement clauses governed by the matrix verbs ‘to not believe’ and ‘to wait’ based on the certainty of events: *que* expresses the speaker’s certainty, while *e* marks uncertainty. However, excerpt (45) contains *e* in a complement clause governed by the matrix verb ‘to not believe’, but does not express uncertainty in my opinion since the matrix verb occurs with the intensifier *yamey* ‘never’. The use of *yamey* ‘never’ in this clause precludes any doubt held by the speaker and therefore does not coincide with Hetzron’s semantic account: if a speaker never believed something, then s/he is asserting with conviction (thus certainty) that the statement/event in the complement clause is not accurate/will never take place.

- (45) *N* 'èy *yamey* *credut* *que* *lou* *besièdye d'aquets*
 NEG have.PRES.1SG never believe.PART COMP ART.DEF.M vicinity of these
- auyàmis e sie û mauanoùnci.*
 insects ENC be.PRES.SUBJ.3SG ART.INDEF.M bad.omen
 ‘I never believed that the vicinity around these insects was a bad omen.’
 (Hetzron 1977: 180, original citation Camelat’s *Bite-Bitante* p.32)

Likewise, the excerpts in (46) that contain ‘to wait’ in the matrix clause do not support his semantic proposal. In Hetzron’s corpus, he finds only one instance, reproduced in (46a), where *que* appears in a complement clause governed by the negated matrix verb ‘to wait’. Consistent with his semantic account, he states that *que* occurs in (46a) since the complement clause expresses an event that has a fixed date in time (when the men turn 20 years old) and thus reflects the certain nature of events. He contrasts the usage of *que* in (46a) with that of *e* or no énonciatif that appear in complement clauses governed by the matrix verb ‘to wait’ in which the time of the event expressed in the complement clause is uncertain. According to Hetzron, the complement clause in (46b) that contains no énonciatif and is headed by the matrix verb ‘to wait’ expresses an event whose time is not exact in the future, representing “une éventualité” (Hetzron 1977: 183). However, I do not find a contrast between these two sentences. Even though the specific time of the men’s return from their daily work is not specified in (46b), the time of the event itself is still certain because it is the time when they will finish work. This is no different from the event expressed in the complement clause in (46a), which denotes a time in the future when the men will turn 20 years old.

(46) a. *N' atendèn pas mey que lous òmis*
 NEG wait.PRES.3PL NEG more COMP ART.DEF.M.PL men

qu'aboussen bint ans.
 ENC have.IMPF.SUBJ.3PL twenty years

'They are no longer waiting until the men are 20 years old.'

(Hetzron 1977: 180, original citation Caseboune's *Esprabes d'amou* p.28)

b. *Qu'atendèn que lous òmis*
 ENC wait.PRES.3PL COMP ART.DEF.M.PL men

Ø estessen tournats de la yournade.
 be.PRES.SUBJ.3PL return.PART from ART.DEF.F work.day

'They are waiting until the men return from their daily work.'

(Hetzron 1977: 182, original citation Palay's *Los tres gojats de Bordavielha* p.32)

Moreover, I do not concur with Hetzron's interpretation of certain clauses that contain new versus old information. Hetzron (1977) claims that subordinate clauses introduced by 'now that' represent old information and therefore lack *que*. However, I contend that clauses introduced by 'now that' can indeed represent new information. Hetzron (1977: 184) does not provide adequate examples to discuss this topic further, as one is a citation from one of the novels consulted and the remaining examples consist of a phrase mentioned in Rohlfs's (1970) work and a phrase from Darrigrand's (1974) grammar that was cited in sentence (10) (*Ara que tot lo vilatge e's va desvelhar*).

Another problem with Hetzron's analysis is that it conflicts with his following definition of pseudo-subordinate clauses: subordinate clauses with main clause semantic functions that include clefts and clauses termed *propositions coordonnées conséquentielles* 'consequential coordinated clauses', which Hetzron defines as those clauses that contain a consequence of the information presented in the main clause. Since Hetzron finds *que* to appear in clauses that mark new information or information important to the discourse, then *que* should be expected to appear in all of these clause types. However, he only finds *que* in the consequential clauses and *e* or no *énonciatif* in the subordinate clauses following clefts.

Similarly, *que* should be expected to occur in concessive clauses introduced by phrases such as 'although' since these clauses typically introduce new information (see Heine 2002: 91), but instead *e* or no *énonciatif* appears. Hetzron attributes this finding to the grammaticalized usage of *e* or no *énonciatif* in this context. However, this contradicts his conclusion that clauses with typical semantic/pragmatic functions will contain the *énonciatif* that shares that semantic/pragmatic behavior: if concessives typically introduce new information, then *que* should have become grammaticalized in this context.

Other problems with Hetzron's analysis become apparent once he compares his conclusions drawn from Béarnais texts to Gascon texts from other regions, which consist of 19th century texts from Bigorre, Bayonne, and Gers.⁵⁶ He finds that these dialects are not totally consistent with his results from Béarn and concludes that these discrepancies reflect the different stages of *que*'s development such that *que* became less grammaticalized in certain regions. For

⁵⁶ The non-Béarnais texts that Hetzron (1977) consulted are: 1883 *les Contes de la Bigorre* by le Docteur Dejeanne (Bigorre); 1879 *Cantique des Cantiques* by Ducéré (Bayonne); 1868 Gascon stories by Cénac-Moncaut (Gers).

instance, Hetzron finds *que* to not be grammaticalized at all in Gers since *que* only appears in main clauses that introduce primary information and is absent when the information contained in the main clause is already known to the reader (represents old information) or is secondary in function such that it explains the main event (expresses the rheme):

Il [the énonciatif *que* in main clauses] sert à MARQUER les chainons [*sic*], LES ÉTAPES DU DÉROULEMENT. Il n'apparaît que quand un événement ou action qui est composant primaire du récit est énoncé. Il est omis en cas de répétition ou au cas où des faits incidents à l'événement primaire sont énumérés. Sa régularité dans les propositions complétives peut être expliquée par la considération que la fonction de ces propositions est de communiquer une chose toute à fait nouvelle.⁵⁷ [original emphasis throughout] (Hetzron 1977: 208)

Another main difference Hetzron encountered when comparing literature from Gers with that of Béarnais is that *que* occurred in temporal subordinate clauses when they conveyed new information (recall that Hetzron found that *que* did not occur in the temporal subordinate clauses of the consulted Béarnais texts).

Similar to his findings for Gers, the text from Bayonne indicates that *que* is less grammaticalized in this region since it appears in relative clauses that introduce new information, while texts from Béarn did not include *que* in this context. The Bayonne text also contained some omissions of *que* in main clauses like the Gers text, but Hetzron (1977) states that he is unable to determine whether these omissions are due to poetic license or a variation specific to this dialect. To illustrate the variation in the usage of *que* in main clauses, the excerpt below from the Bayonne text contains two coordinated clauses, the first with no énonciatif and the second with *que*.

(47) *lous* *coumpagnouns* Ø *soun* *reunis*
 ART.DEF.M.PL friends be.PRES.3PL get.together.PART

é *que* *preten* *l'* *aoureille*
 and ENC lend.PRES.3PL ART.DEF.F ear

'the friends got together and listened to each other'

(Hetzron 1977: 201, original citation *Cantique des Cantiques* p.75)

As for the Bigorre text, Hetzron found that it was similar to his findings from the Béarnais texts: *que* occurred in complement clauses and in all main clauses except one where *se* was found. However, the Bigorre textual data diverged from that encountered in the Béarnais texts since *e* occurred instead of *que* in subordinate clauses marking consequence.

My diachronic analysis presented in Chapter 4 significantly alters Hetzron's theory that posits grammaticalization as a later stage in the énonciatif evolution. I argue that grammaticalization is anything but a later development in the énonciatif system and that the fixed syntactic environment of the énonciatifs before finite verbs is due to Basque substratal interference following Romanization, as the original inhabitants of Gascony spoke an ancestral

⁵⁷ 'It [the énonciatif *que* in main clauses] is used to indicate the links, the stages of development. It is omitted in the case of repetition or when facts that are incidental to the primary event are enumerated. Its regularity in complement clauses can be explained by considering that the function of these clauses is to communicate something entirely new.'

form of Basque and Basque contains particles that appear before the finite verb with specific semantic functions like the Gascon énonciatifs. The Gascon areas with a more systematic usage of the énonciatifs are those in the Pyrenees that contain remnants of the language spoken by the original Aquitaine inhabitants, as evidenced in toponyms and ancient Pyrenean inscriptions, and are regions likely to maintain archaic features of the language since they are in the mountains. Unlike Hetzron, I attribute the nonsystematic uses of the énonciatif in certain dialects to various outcomes of contact-induced change, such as attrition (see Chapter 4, §4.4.2).

2.10.2.3 Joly's (1976) hypothèse versus thèse

Hetzron's (1977) findings refute Joly's (1976) semantic analysis of the énonciatifs, which is outlined in Table 13 and is based on a statement's event state (recall that *ye* is a spelling variant of the énonciatif *ja*). Joly argues that *e* marks hypothetical information and "supposition", while *que* expresses certain or actual events, an analysis reminiscent of Bouzet's (1951) affirmé versus non-affirmé.

TABLE 13. Joly's (1976: 425) analysis: Hypothetical versus actual events

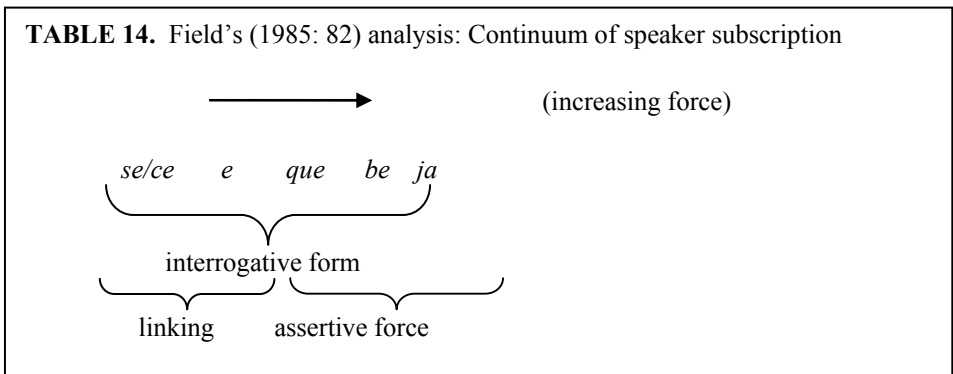
<i>champ de la supposition (hypothèse)</i>	<i>champ de la position (thèse)</i>
E	QUE, BE, YE
phrases { interrogatives hypothétiques optatives	phrases { déclaratives exclamatives (interrogatives)

According to Joly (1976), *e* occurs in subordinate clauses since they always imply a main clause and therefore have no inherent truth value; their truth lies in the main clause. Hetzron's findings of *que* or no énonciatif in subordinate clauses therefore conflict with Joly's conclusion. However, Joly's analysis does account for the alternation of *e* versus *que* in questions: *e* marks a true question corresponding with the hypothetical nature of *e*, while *que* marks a question strongly oriented towards a positive response and therefore functions more like a statement.

2.10.2.4 Field's (1985) speaker subscription

Field's analysis overlaps with that of Wüest, which is presented in the following section, as both analyze the énonciatif in relation to the speaker's level of commitment over his/her statement. The difference is that while Wüest claims that the énonciatifs perform certain speech acts, Field uses illocutionary force to account for the énonciatifs' semantic function. Table 14 reproduces Field's (1985: 81) analysis of the énonciatifs, which is based on a continuum of speaker subscription and which he summarizes as follows: "In fact, the entire series of particles can be viewed as a continuum expressing the degree of intensity with which the speaker is putting forward the proposition contained in the sentence." He uses this analysis to account for the absence of the énonciatif in the following contexts where the speaker's subscription is not relevant: impersonal expressions with verbs such as *caler* 'to be necessary' (although my data

found *que* to occur systematically in this context; see Chapter 5, §5.2.8), stage directions in plays, parenthetical phrases (e.g., *ac sabetz* ‘you know’), and formulaic wishes functioning as fixed expressions. In Table 14, the term *linking* refers to the contextual usage of *se/ce* and *e* before verbs of saying in quotative clauses following quotations since Field (1985) analyzes them as linking elements connecting the quoted speech with its owner (note that the owner refers to the person responsible for the original quotation and does not refer to the speaker who is quoting the other person).



2.10.2.5 Wüest’s (1985) speech acts

Wüest’s (1985) study is couched within the theory of “polyphonie” as proposed by Anscombe & Ducrot (1983: 175) who state that when a locutor expresses a statement, s/he can either identify with it and therefore be in control of his/her illocutionary act, or s/he can distance himself/herself from the statement by associating it with someone else. Wüest (1985: 294) applies this theory to the énonciatifs in the following manner, associating their function with specific speech acts: “la fonction de l’énonciatif gascon est d’expliciter la position du locuteur vis-à-vis d’un énonciateur qui affirme (ou met en doute) l’énoncé.”⁵⁸ Like the previously mentioned analyses, Wüest’s description is vague since he never specifically defines what he means by a speaker’s identification with a statement or assertion as a speech act function.

According to Wüest (1985), *que* does not co-occur with negation since *que* is used when the speaker identifies with the statement, while the negative morpheme serves to distance the speaker from the statement. Wüest (1985) states that negation consists of two acts, the first of which is the positive assertion with which the speaker distances himself, while the second is the negative assertion with which the speaker identifies himself/herself. In contrast to *que*, *e* evokes doubt, but is still similar in function to *que* since Wüest (1985) states that the speaker identifies himself/herself with the doubt expressed in the phrase: “le *e* exprime cette identification avec un énonciateur qui doute” (Wüest 1985: 297).⁵⁹ As for the énonciatifs *be* and *ja*, Wüest (1985) considers them as variants of *que* since they all have emotive value, but ultimately claims that he is unsure of their specific functions since their descriptions in the literature are contradictory. Wüest (1985) therefore does not account for the semantic functions of *be* and *ja* within his analysis that is summarized in Table 15.

⁵⁸ ‘The function of the Gascon énonciatif is to make explicit the position of the locutor with regard to a linguistic act which asserts (or puts in doubt) the sentence.’

⁵⁹ ‘The *e* expresses this identification with a speech act which doubts.’

Enonciatif	Speaker's function	Speech act function
<i>que</i>	identification	assertion
<i>non/ne</i>	distance	assertion
<i>e</i>	identification	doubt

Wüest (1985) uses this analysis to account for the absence of the énonciatifs in imperatives. According to Wüest, affirmative imperatives do not require that the interlocutor do something or even have the intention of doing something. He contrasts this with negative imperatives, which imply an intention on behalf of the interlocutor, and provides the following scenario to illustrate this asymmetry, which is translated from the original (Wüest 1985: 293).

There is a room where two individuals, who we'll term A and B, are busy working at their desks. The window is closed, the room is quiet, and suddenly A raises his/her head and says to B: "Don't open the window."

Wüest claims that A's statement is strange because in order for A to say this, s/he must have thought that B was intending to open the window. However, the oddity disappears if A's command is altered to the affirmative form "Open the window" since B does not need to have the intention of opening the window for A to give this command. Therefore, in a positive command, the speaker does not extend any particular force over the statement and instead the force is inherent to the command itself.

2.10.2.6 Haase's (1994)thetic versus categoricall

Haase (1994) couches his analysis of the énonciatif system within thethetic/categoricall framework. Categoricall andthetic phrases oppose each other based on the subject in the clause. While categoricall phrases include a subject and predicate and comprise two acts (the act of recognizing a subject in the clause followed by an act of what the predicate expresses about the subject),thetic phrases are typically subjectless, and therefore include existentials and impersonal sentences (Kuroda 1972, Sasse 1987). Haase (1994) states that the entire content ofthetic phrases includes new information, while categoricall phrases have a bipartite theme-rheme structure. Haase finds that *que* is obligatory in categoricall phrases, but optional inthetic ones, and that *e* is used in lightly categoricall contexts which include temporal subordinates, modals, and conditionals. However, a crucial problem with this theory is that Haase never defines what he means by "lightly categoricall". This theory is further discussed in Chapter 3, §3.3, as Haase uses this framework to determine how the function of the Gascon énonciatif correlates with that of the Basque preverbal particle *ba*.

2.10.2.7 Pusch's (2000a/b, 2002) and Pilawa's (1990) accounts

Since Pilawa's (1990) conclusions on the semantic/pragmatic nature of the énonciatif are drawn from his literary corpus, Pusch tests them against his oral corpus, COG. Pilawa (1990) finds *que* to be a marker of discourse continuity and its absence to indicate a thematic rupture. This finding is based on the frequency of its occurrence with an expressed versus implicit subject: the énonciatif *que* was absent in more cases with an expressed subject (indicating thematic rupture, change in topic) than with an implicit subject (indicating thematic continuity).

However, Pusch's (2000b) oral data present conflicting results: in cases without an énonciatif, only 10% of them contained an expressed subject, as compared to 87% with an implicit subject. Although this finding seems to disprove Pilawa's reasoning, Pusch still concurs with Pilawa's semantic account and explains this discrepancy based on the usage of the existential expression *i a* 'there is/there are', as Pusch finds that this expression lacks the énonciatif in Landes 50% of the time (he does not indicate the frequency of the énonciatif occurrence/absence with *i a* for the other regions represented in his corpus). According to Pusch, speakers use this existential expression for discourse continuity and thus the large percentage of cases (87%) without an énonciatif is due to this existential expression. However, the crucial problem with Pusch drawing this conclusion is that he never indicates what percentage of the 87% of cases actually contained the existential expression *i a*.

In addition to the énonciatifs marking discourse continuity, Pilawa correlates their distribution with the speaker's attitude, an analysis reminiscent of Field's. Pilawa uses this attitude-induced theory to account for the distribution of *que* versus *e* versus no énonciatif in subordinate clauses. According to Pilawa, *que* indicates the speaker's commitment over his/her statement, while *e* denotes that the speaker is not fully committed to his/her assertion. In phrases with *e*, the speaker is not certain if his/her assertion is accurate and therefore does not wish to take full responsibility for it. Finally, the absence of the énonciatif indicates the speaker's neutrality, as s/he does not wish to assert the certainty or uncertainty of the statement.

Pusch (2000a) tests Pilawa's conclusions and makes the following three further predictions based on Hooper & Thompson's (1973) work which he tests against his COG:

- 1) Verbs of knowing or believing in the matrix clause should be expected to have *que* in the embedded clause: "If enunciatives in complement clauses are to signal the degree of assertion of the embedded sentence, then one would expect *que* to always appear in clauses that follow matrix verbs which by their semantic content already emphasize that the speaker is convinced of what he says" (Pusch 2000a: 195).
- 2) Factive verbs which "express some emotion or subjective attitude about a presupposed complement" (Hooper & Thompson 1973: 479) in the matrix clause should be expected to not have *que* in the embedded clause and instead have *e*.
- 3) Adverbial clauses do not assert presupposed information and therefore shouldn't have *que* (e.g., temporal clauses introduced by 'when, before, after'), while causal adverbials may allow *que* since these kinds of adverbials "may be ambiguous between presupposed and nonpresupposed interpretation" (Hooper & Thompson 1973: 494).

Pusch finds that the first and second hypotheses are supported in his data, while the third is partially supported.

As for the first hypothesis, Pusch states that although Pilawa did not quantify the distribution of énonciatifs occurring after matrix verbs of knowing or believing, he did always find *que* after verbs of knowing, while negated verbs of knowing were always followed by *e*. Pusch's corpus supports Pilawa's conclusion: after matrix verbs of thinking, knowing, and saying, *que* appears 79.5% of the time in the subordinate clause, while *e* is exclusively found following negated verbs of this type (Pusch 2000a: 196). However, Pusch (2000a) footnotes that he only found three cases of negated verbs of this type in his data. My data results presented in

Chapter 5, §5.2.5 contradict Pusch's conclusion since a negated verb of thinking in a matrix clause that contained a subordinate clause was among the sentences elicited in my data and I found a significant percentage to use the énonciatif *que* or no énonciatif in the subordinate clause.

Like the first hypothesis, Pusch's second hypothesis was supported in his data. Pusch asserts that the only factive verbs in his data were verbs like *caler* 'to be necessary' and *valer* 'to be worth'. As predicted, Pusch found no occurrence of *que* in the complement clause following these verbs, and instead found speakers to use *e* or no énonciatif. As for the third hypothesis, the prediction does not hold, as the majority of adverbial clauses contained *que*: 45% had *que* versus 16% had *e*, with the remainder (39%) containing no énonciatif. Still, Pusch concludes that the third hypothesis is partially supported since he did find causal adverbial clauses to have *que* more than the other énonciatifs.

Pusch (2000a) extends this proposed speaker attitude-induced semantic theory of the énonciatifs to main clauses and formulates the following hypothesis: since declarative sentences mark assertion, whereas interrogatives and imperatives lack assertion, then *que* should be expected in declaratives, while it should not be expected in interrogatives or imperatives. In support of this hypothesis is Pusch's finding that imperatives lacked an énonciatif and that *que* appeared in the majority of declarative sentences in his COG: 88% had *que*, 11% had no énonciatif, and *be* and *ja* accounted for 1%. Note that the énonciatif *e* did not appear in any main clauses, consistent with Pilawa's findings.

However, the énonciatif distribution in questions did not meet Pusch's prediction, as the majority of questions contained the énonciatif *que* rather than *e*: out of the wh- and polar (yes-no) questions in the COG, Pusch (2000a: 198) found 37% to occur with *que*, 10.5% with *e*, 7% with *se*⁶⁰, and the remainder with no énonciatif. Despite these results, Pusch concludes that they do not disprove Pilawa's semantic account of the énonciatifs. Pusch proposes that questions with *que* can be interpreted as statements, directing the addressee towards an affirmative reply, while questions with *e* are simply requests for information. This conclusion however does not hold since Pusch does not provide any percentages of the distribution of questions that are either oriented towards a positive response (expected to occur with *que*) or are sincere requests for information (expected to appear with *e*). In other words, of the 37% of questions with *que*, Pusch does not provide any evidence that these questions were indeed oriented towards a positive response. My data indicates that the vast majority of participants did not choose *que* over *e* in questions based on any semantic/pragmatic reasons and that *que* occurs in question-types where *e* would be expected to appear based on prior synchronic accounts (see Chapter 5, §5.2.2 for further discussion).

Pusch (2000a) formulates additional hypotheses concerning the énonciatif behavior based on his attitude-induced semantic theory. He predicts that negated sentences should co-occur with *que*: "Negation is used to indicate the speaker's conviction of the falsity of a positive statement that is presupposed by the interlocutor or a third person. As such, negation itself is an assertion-marking device" (Pusch 2000a: 199). Contrary to this semantic prediction, and as already mentioned in §2.3.4, Pusch finds *que* to occur in less than 5% of all of the negated declarative main clauses in his corpus. Pusch (2000a) also uses his COG to test Field's (1985) prediction regarding the absence of the énonciatif in parenthetical phrases and his data supports Field's conclusion.

In a later paper, Pusch (2002) proposes an alternate semantic analysis to account for the

⁶⁰ Pusch (2000a) remarks that the énonciatif *se* is restricted to southeastern subdialects of Gascon.

behavior of the énonciatifs, which is very similar to his previously discussed framework. He describes the particles within the category of epistemic modality, whereby the énonciatifs convey modal features of assertiveness and evidentiality. He (2002: 105-106) characterizes the énonciatifs as “pragmatic devices that are used to underscore different modal values or to enhance discourse coherence”, where the choice of the énonciatif reflects differing amounts of the speaker’s assertion:

Preverbal *que* signals unrestricted assumption of the communicative responsibility by the speaker, equaling a high degree of assertiveness. Preverbal *e* expresses reduced assertiveness, whereas zero indicates that a proposition is unasserted or unworthy of assertion because of being unrealized, dubious, presupposed or backgrounded. (Pusch 2002: 112)

Pusch (2002) uses the notion of evidentiality to explain the occurrence of the énonciatif *e* in quotative clauses and considers *e* a marker of hearsay information, such that it indicates that the information uttered by the speaker does not come from the speaker himself/herself. Pusch defines evidentiality as follows:

Evidentiality, defined as the expression of the source of knowledge on which a proposition is based, is a pragmatic category that is closely related to but not identical with assertion, or rather assertiveness... Suffice it to say that, in languages with a well-developed evidential system, a distinction is made between direct sensuous observation or indirect sources of information which can be inferential, hearsay etc. Evidentiality, if linguistically marked, encodes the objective conditions or bases of the speaker’s knowledge, and hereby differs from assertion-marking which is the speaker’s subjective evaluation of her or his knowledge, but evidentiality may provide the fundamental reason for such a subjective evaluation. (Pusch 2002: 113-114)

Pusch (2002) points out that the énonciatif *e* only appears in quotative clauses when they follow the quoted utterance since *que* occurs when the quotative clause precedes the quoted utterance. This syntactic restriction makes his conclusion less convincing, especially since this is the only environment of the énonciatif that is somewhat evidential in nature.

Pusch further explores this notion of evidentiality in a subsequent paper (2007) where he sets out to determine whether the énonciatifs are comparable to evidentials. He concludes that this system does not function as an evidential system in the strict sense described by Aikhenvald (2006), as the primary function of the énonciatifs does not convey the information source. He also concludes that it is unlikely that the énonciatif system would evolve into an evidential system since he finds *que* to be increasingly grammaticalized.

The following two chapters on the diachronic development of the énonciatif system suggest that one would not expect this system to ever evolve into an evidential system at the present time, as I argue its origins to come from a system once present in Basque that conveyed evidentiality as one of its semantic functions. It would be unlikely for an evidential function to arise at a much later time in the language when Gascon speakers are no longer shifting from Basque to Latin and are under increased influence from French. Pusch’s analysis differs from that of the present study since he attributes the diachronic source of the énonciatif to its Latin

foundation, namely a cleft construction whereby *que* became grammaticalized. This diachronic theory is presented in the following chapter, along with others that have been proposed to account for the development of the énonciatif system.

2.10.3 How the present study's diachronic proposal and synchronic data challenge the prior semantic theories

The different diachronic account of the present study as outlined in detail in Chapter 4 alters some of the semantic accounts just described. Hetzron and Pusch believe the énonciatif to be a recent, independent development in Gascon arising in the 17th-18th centuries from its Latin foundation (see Chapter 3 for details) and use the process of grammaticalization to account for the systematic behavior of the énonciatif before finite verbs. In contrast, I argue that grammaticalization was not a later development in the language and instead resulted from the Basque substrate in Gascony, such that the extended Basque-Latin contact following Romanization of the region caused the grammaticalized nature and preverbal syntactic position of certain Basque particles, along with their semantic/pragmatic functions, to become transferred to the local Romance vernacular.

This account significantly alters the prior theories accounting for the Gascon regions with an unsystematic usage of the énonciatifs. While prior studies, such as Hetzron's, have argued that such regions reflect remnants of an older form of the language before grammaticalization took place, I argue the opposite: the Gascon regions with a more systematic usage of the énonciatif system are those regions located in the Pyrenees that are not only isolated areas that are likely to maintain archaic linguistic features, but are also those Gascon regions that contain more numerous remnants of the language spoken by the original inhabitants of Aquitaine (see Chapter 4, §4.3-4.4 for details). This study's diachronic theory also explains why the énonciatifs cannot be defined within a specific semantic framework since the énonciatifs' semantic functions result from a mixture between those of the Basque particles and the Latin morphemes adopted to fulfill the Basque particles' role.

Synchronic evidence further exemplifies how a unified semantic theory cannot be formed. The synchronic descriptions presented in this chapter show that there is a high degree of speaker variability, a finding that is strengthened in Chapter 5. While it is true that some énonciatifs operate on the semantic/pragmatic domain, the specific function attached to each particle is not consistent across all speakers, causing any unified semantic theory couched in a specific theoretical framework to ultimately fail. Moreover, my data shows that most speakers' usage of *que* versus *e* in questions and subordinate clauses is not based on a specific semantic/pragmatic function that s/he wishes to convey. Instead, many non-native speakers' énonciatif choices were influenced by what s/he viewed as the normative or standardized form of the language, showing how linguistic norms and language pedagogy impact a language's usage, a topic that is further addressed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Chapter 3

Prior diachronic accounts of the énonciatif system

The origin of the énonciatif system has long puzzled scholars. The earliest Gascon grammar describes the diachronic source of the énonciatif as an oddity: “C’est une bizarrerie, comme on en rencontre dans toutes les langues; l’usage les a consacrées, on n’en peut découvrir la raison” (Lespy 1858: 224).⁶¹ This mystery remains to this day, as Pusch (2000a: 189) remarks: “Gascon enunciatives have long puzzled specialists in Romance linguistics both because of their diachronic evolution and their synchronic function.”

The énonciatifs do not regularly appear in texts until the 17th-18th centuries, which has led to the widespread opinion that they are a recent phenomenon in the language, as evidenced in Wüest’s (1985: 287) following summary regarding the énonciatifs’ diachronic development: “Notons simplement que, selon l’opinion générale, les énonciatifs, au moins dans leur usage généralisé, seraient un phénomène assez récent, qui ne daterait que du XVIII^e siècle.”⁶² The other accepted theory is that the énonciatifs evolved from Gascon’s Latin foundation since their surface (phonetic) forms are indisputably Latin in origin. Table 16 provides the Latin origin of the Gascon énonciatifs that are discussed in the majority of diachronic studies.

Gascon énonciatif	Latin Origin
<i>que</i>	<i>quid</i> ‘what’
<i>e</i>	<i>et</i> ‘and’ (debatable, see §3.2.2)
<i>be</i>	<i>bene</i> ‘well’
<i>ja</i>	<i>iam</i> ‘already, indeed, moreover’
negative morpheme	<i>non</i> ‘not’

That this is the accepted theory is evidenced in Birabent & Salles-Loustau’s (1989) Gascon grammar, as the authors indicate that the origin of the énonciatif derives **without a doubt** from the evolution of the Latin conjunction *que*.

Le QUE énonciatif provient sans doute du maintien de la conjonction QUE après une principale sous entendue, ce qui a généralisé l’emploi d’un QUE explicatif, très fréquent également en espagnol (Si, que lo hizo : oui il l’a fait).⁶³ [original emphasis throughout] (Birabent & Salles-Loustau 1989: 72)

The overarching problem with positing Gascon’s Latin foundation as the underlying syntactic and semantic source of these particles is that this system is not found in any other Romance language. In addition, these theories only account for the development of the

⁶¹ ‘It’s [the origin of the énonciatif *que*] an oddity/particularity as one encounters throughout all languages; usage established them, we cannot discover the reason behind them.’

⁶² ‘We note that, according to general opinion, the énonciatifs, at least in their generalized usage, would be a rather recent phenomenon which would only date from the 18th century.’

⁶³ ‘The énonciatif *que* derives without a doubt from the preservation of the conjunction *que* occurring after an implied main clause, which led to the widespread usage of the explicative *que*, occurring very often in Spanish (*Si, que lo hizo*: yes he did it).’

énonciatifs *que* and *e*, and not the other particles. Other researchers, such as Haase (1994), Bouzet (1932, 1933, 1951), and Rohlfs (1970), have proposed a possible Basque substratal influence, citing similarities that the Gascon énonciatifs share with the Basque preverbal particle *ba*, but ultimately conclude that there is not sufficient evidence to posit Basque as the underlying source of the énonciatif system. This chapter details the previous diachronic theories of the énonciatif system, which significantly differ from my claim outlined in the subsequent chapter – the Gascon énonciatif system arose from intense contact (namely, language shift) over an extended period of time following Romanization of the region, whereby the original inhabitants of the Gascon region who spoke Basque (or an ancestral form of the language) gradually adopted Latin morphemes to their underlying particle system, thereby altering the system’s original semantics.

3.1 Textual evidence

As the énonciatif does not regularly appear in texts until the end of the 17th century (Bouzet 1933, Grosclaude 1979, Darrigrand 1974), or the 18th century according to Ronjat (1937), the majority of theories posit the énonciatif as a more recent feature of the language, becoming systematic from the 17th century onwards. The regular appearance of the énonciatif in texts is even claimed to be much later, for Bouzet (1932) finds that although traces of the énonciatifs are more numerous in Béarnais texts from the 17th century onwards, they only fully appear beginning in the works by Navorrot, dating to the first half of the 19th century.

The oldest known Gascon document, formerly believed to be the 1179 *Charte de Montsaunès* from the Comminges region (Luchaire 1881: 4), is the 1143 *Coutumes de Corneilhan* from Gers (Aries et al. 2000: 88); the énonciatif has been noted to appear as early as the 13th century. Ronjat (1937) finds *que* as an énonciatif in the 1269 *Charte de Castillon* and the 1309 *Charte de Maubourget*, and Bourciez (1946: 384) cites the usage of the énonciatif *que* in two documents from the 13th and 14th centuries (1269 *Charte de Castillon*, 1387 *Charte béarnaise*) that are reproduced in (48).⁶⁴

- (48) a. *Bona femna e-l so heres que deuen*
noble woman and-ART.DEF.M 3PL.POSS heirs ENC must.PRES.3PL
- auer maiso feita el casal*.⁶⁵
have.INF house make/build.PART in.ART.DEF.M property
‘The woman of high status (the noble woman) and her heirs must have the
house built on their rural property.’ (*Charte de Castillon*, 1269)

⁶⁴ Since the original source (Bourciez 1946) does not provide any translations (or interlinears) of the examples cited, I would like to thank Robert Darrigrand and Patrick Sauzet for greatly assisting me with the translations.

⁶⁵ According to Robert Darrigrand, *el* in the phrase *el causal* is most likely an abbreviation for *en lo* ‘in the’, along with *e-l so* being an abbreviation for *e los sons* ‘and her’. In Gascon, possession is marked with the definite article and possessive adjective (Birabent & Salles-Loustau 1989): *los sons* consists of the masculine plural article *los* and the masculine plural possessive adjective *sons* (possession agrees with the masculine plural noun *heres* in this phrase). Also, both Darrigrand and Sauzet informed me that *heres* designates ‘heirs’ (since communications were in French, they informed me that *her* corresponds to French *héritier*) and *casau*, which means ‘garden’ in Modern Gascon, refers here to a person’s rural property.

b. *Arnaut que s' en es exit de l' ostau.*
 Arnaut ENC REFL PRTT be.PRES.3SG leave.PART from ART.DEF.M house
 'Arnaut left home.' (*Charte béarnaise*, 1387)

An even earlier instance of *que* is found in a 12th century text (ca. 1179-1192) compiled by Ravier & Cursente (2005: 70) from the region of Laloubère in the south of Tarbes or La Loubère in Lavedan.⁶⁶

(49) *E deant que i auie en pengs MDCC solis.*
 and before ENC there have.IMPF.3SG. in mortgage.payment 1700 sous
 'And before there was a mortgage payment of 1700 sous.'

Still, the finding that the more systematic nature of the énonciatif appears much later has led to the accepted theory that the énonciatif system is a recent development in the language. For instance, Bourciez (1946: 384) proposes that the énonciatif began evolving towards the end of the Middle Ages, but did not become systematic until the Early Modern Era (15th-18th centuries): "A l'époque moderne, cet emploi d'un *que* énonciatif deviendra de règle en Gascogne, sauf au nord de la zone."⁶⁷ Likewise, Lafont attributes the lack of the énonciatif or the sporadic traces of it in older texts to a particular Gascon push, "une poussée particulière gasconne", occurring between the 17th and 19th centuries when the systematic behavior of the énonciatifs suddenly emerged (Lafont 1967: 352). Evidence for Lafont's (1967) analysis is based on his finding that the particles *que* and *be*, along with *que* and the negative morpheme *non*, coexist in older texts. Lafont argues that *que* should exclude the existence of *be* and the negative morpheme and that these textual instances with both particles prove that the énonciatif system was not yet fully developed at this time. The example cited by Lafont (1967: 355) illustrating the coexistence of *que* with *be* is reproduced below and is an excerpt from the work by François de Cortète, a 17th century author (1586-1667) originally from Agen, titled *Ramounet ou lou paisan agenès tournat de la guèrro*.⁶⁸

(50) *O be, que j' estaré per so que bous disès.*
 1SG.SUB refrain.FUT.1SG for DEM COMP 2PL.SUB say.PRES.2PL
 'Of course I will refrain from doing that because of what you say.'

Direct evidence against Lafont's analysis is that *que* and the negative morpheme have been known to, and in fact still do, coexist in Modern Gascon. Would Lafont (1967) therefore

⁶⁶ I wish to thank Robert Darrigrand for providing me with this early attestation of *que* and the French translation. I provided the English translation and interlinear.

⁶⁷ 'In the Early Modern Era, this use of the énonciatif *que* will become a rule in Gascon, except in the northern part of the region.'

⁶⁸ The original excerpt cited by Lafont (1967: 355) contains a typo and reads: "*O be, que j'estaré per so que bous bisès.*" Because of this typo, I was initially unable to glean a translation for this excerpt (Lafont does not provide any French translations) and I therefore verified the citation in the original source (Ratier 1915: 159). I would like to immensely thank Patrick Sauzet for aiding me with the translation. According to Sauzet, the character Leno whose line is cited in (50) has an ironic tone. The surrounding context indicates that Leno threatened Alis to dump his pocket in the back of Alis's pig if the pig ever ate his cabbage again. Alis then dares Leno that if he does that, she will not be happy, to which Leno responds with the citation in (50): he states that he will refrain from doing that. Sauzet finds that the use of *estaré* in this context, which is the first person singular future tense verb conjugation, is most likely a shortened version of the phrase *estar de far quicòm* 'to refrain from doing something'.

argue that the énonciatif system is still not fully developed today? Further evidence contradicting Lafont’s analysis concerns his example with *be* and *que* cited above. In this citation, *que* and *be* do not function as énonciatifs and therefore do not bear the label ENC in the interlinear. I contend that *be* functions as an adverb rather than an énonciatif since it does not appear before the finite verb and the exclamation *O be* functions as an interjection similar to English *Oh my*. The comma following *be* further illustrates how it is used as a separate exclamation from the rest of the clause. Likewise, the instance of *que* before *j’estaré* is not an énonciatif since it does not appear directly before the finite verb *estará* (also note the absence of *que* before the finite verb *disès*). *Que* in this excerpt is best analyzed as a complementizer of the interjection *O be*, resembling the usage of French *bien sûr que* ‘of course that’ and the emphatic usage of *que* found in Spanish and French, which Ronjat argues to be the diachronic source of the énonciatif system (see §3.2.1.2). It is very likely that no énonciatifs occur in the work by this author from Agen since this city falls within the Gascon and Languedocien regions, as it is located on the right bank of the Garonne River in the Lot-et-Garonne département. Based on Séguy’s ALG map 2390 (see Map 7c in Appendix A), Agen is outside the énonciatif zone, as it is located just north of Layrac (location no. 648) and south of Lafitte-s/Lot (647NE).

In contrast with Lafont (1967), but in accordance with Bouzet (1933), I do NOT correlate the development of the énonciatif with its appearance in writing. Grosclaude (1979) also shares this same belief; in texts he compiled from the Béarn region, he finds the énonciatif *que* to appear for the first time in 1659 and poses the following question indicating his hesitancy to conclude that the énonciatif was not used at a prior time: “Faut-il croire qu’on ne l’employait pas avant?” (Grosclaude 1979: 7).⁶⁹ Bouzet (1933: 34) points out that a diachronic study of the énonciatifs solely based on written evidence would have to conclude that this system was created or at least organized in the interval separating the authors Arnaut de Salettes (16th century) from Fondeville (17th century). Bouzet claims that it is highly unlikely that this unique system would evolve and become organized in the time frame of a bit more than one century by speakers without literary or political prestige, especially at a time when Gascony was under increasing French influence. Some examples from Fondeville provided by Bouzet (1933: 33) which demonstrate the more systematic usage of the énonciatif are reproduced below.⁷⁰

(51) a. *Ere que parti donc dab son hilh e sa hilhe.*
 3SG.F.SUB ENC leave.PST thus with 3SG.POSS.M son and 3SG.POSS.F daughter
 ‘She therefore left with her son and daughter.’

b. *Atau per sa bontat Diu qu’at abé volut.*
 Thus by 3SG.POSS.F kindness God ENC 3SG.NEU have.IMPF.3SG want.PART
 ‘And so God had wanted it through his kindness.’

c. *Desquets qui sens gran pene e-s gagnen pla*
 of.those who without big difficulty ENC-3.REFL win.PRES.3PL well

la bite.
 ART.DEF.F life

‘Those over there who without much difficulty earn their living well.’

⁶⁹ ‘Must we believe that one didn’t use it [the énonciatif *que*] before [1659]?’

⁷⁰ Bouzet (1933) only provides French translations for his examples cited; the interlinears and English translations are the responsibility of the author.

- d. *Losquans touts adaron e calè massacre...*
 the.ones all one.after.another ENC be.necessary.IMPF.3SG slaughter.INF
 ‘It was necessary to slaughter all of them, one after another...’

Despite Fondeville’s more systematic usage of the énonciatif, Bouzet (1933) remarks that this author still avoids using the énonciatifs in the majority of his works and often replaces *que* with *be*. Based on this occurrence, Bouzet concludes that *que* must appear heavy to Fondeville.

Another reason not to equate written with spoken Gascon is that written language during the Middle Ages tended to predominantly consist of legal writing and resembled French or the more centrally located Occitan languages, such as Languedocien (Bouzet 1933, Grosclaude 1979). Bouzet (1933) finds that older texts do not contain other defining characteristics of Gascon, such as the complementizer *qui* (cf. *que*) and the definite articles *eth/era* (cf. *lo/la*) that occur in certain areas of the Pyrenees. Furthermore, official writings in the Béarn region of Gascony did not reflect the sound change Latin *f* > Gascon [h] until after the French revolution, and therefore texts are found with the spelling *femna* instead of the current Gascon spelling *hemna* ‘woman’. This textual data does not imply that the sound change occurred only after the French revolution, for there are texts dating before this time which have the grapheme <h> for words deriving from Latin *f* (Grosclaude 1979).⁷¹ According to Luchaire (1877: 28), Latin and other literary Occitan influence account for the persistence of the grapheme <f> in Gascon texts. He ultimately concludes that written language did not reflect everyday pronunciation.

La persistance de l’orthographe par *f* peut s’expliquer de plusieurs façons, notamment par l’influence du Latin et de la langue littéraire provençale sur la manière d’écrire des notaires publics qui ne se conformaient pas toujours, évidemment, à la prononciation locale et populaire.⁷² (Luchaire 1877: 28)

Moreover, Keller (1985) points out that, in Béarn, Latin was used in the majority of 13th century texts and that works written in Béarnais do not appear until the second half of the 13th century and are limited to acts written by local notaries.

Even more recent writing does not accurately indicate spoken language. For instance, texts in Aranais still do not contain the énonciatifs, even though they are used by some speakers (Carrera 2007). Moreover, the fact that many older native Gascon speakers do not know how to write Gascon suggests that it was solely an oral language for most speakers. In conducting fieldwork, I discovered that all of the older native Gascon speakers – with the exception of those involved in the various Gascon/Occitan language maintenance efforts – do not know how to write Gascon, but are of course literate in French. If in the 21st century the majority of native speakers still do not know how to write Gascon, then it is very probable that this was indeed the case centuries ago, especially at a time when writing was limited to the educated elite.

⁷¹ The Gascon grapheme <h> corresponding to Latin *f* is found in a song dating from 1698-1749, titled “De cap a tu soi marion”. In this text, the verb ‘to make’ contains an initial <h>, which corresponds to Latin *facere* ‘to do’. An example from the Gascon text is *hérey* ‘make.FUT.1SG’ (Grosclaude 1979: 81).

⁷² ‘The persistence of the spelling *f* can be explained in many ways, notably by the influence of Latin and literary Provençal [Provençal in Luchaire’s work refers to Occitan] found in the writings by public notaries who did not always conform to local and everyday pronunciation.’

3.2 Theories of Latin origin

Since the theories positing Gascon's Latin foundation as the source of the énonciatif system only account for the development of the énonciatifs *que* and *e*, and not the other particles, this section is divided into two subsections: the first details the theories on the diachronic evolution of the énonciatif *que* and the second outlines those of the énonciatif *e*.

3.2.1 Development of the énonciatif *que*

3.2.1.1 Developed from *be* and *ja*

Lafont (1967) claims that the énonciatif *que* developed from the already existing particles *be* and *ja*. However, this hypothesis does not explain the syntactic and semantic functions of the entire énonciatif system.

3.2.1.2 Emphatic *que*

Ronjat (1937: 537) argues that the énonciatif *que* developed from the subordinating conjunction *que*, which is used in many Romance languages to reinforce an assertion. He compares the usage of the énonciatif *que* to the usage of *que* in French to reinforce an assertion, providing the following French examples: *Que non!* 'Oh no!', *Que si!* 'Oh yes (of course)!'. Similarly, Rohlfs (1970: 207) cites the usage of *que* in Spanish to add emphasis, as in the Spanish exclamation ¡*Que no quiero riqueza!* 'I really don't want any wealth!'. Lafont (1967) disagrees with this hypothesis, pointing out that while emphatic *que* is limited to the introductory position of a sentence and does not occur before a verb in these Spanish and French examples, the Gascon énonciatif *que* is not limited to the introductory position of a sentence and must immediately precede the finite verb.

3.2.1.3 Expressions with *que*

Rohlfs (1970) proposes that the énonciatif *que* arose from its usage in an expression that had the same value as the énonciatif in reaffirming a statement, as in French *bien sûr que* 'of course', *certainement que* 'certainly', or *c'est que* 'it's that'. According to this theory, the expression occurring before the *que* became implied, leaving behind only the *que* to mark this semantic function. Hetzron (1977) agrees with Rohlfs and states that *que* underwent the following grammaticalization process:

- 1) the phrase/expression with *que* was frequently used
- 2) only *que* was used (the preceding adverb or proposition became implied)
- 3) grammaticalization of *que*, whereby *que* underwent a change in its syntactic position to become preverbal

Hetzron (1977: 216-217) posits the introductory phrase that he spells as *es ke*, which is equivalent to the French phrase *c'est que*, to be the most probable candidate to account for the origin of the énonciatif *que*. The only piece of evidence supporting Hetzron's theory is his remark that Gascon dialects to the north which do not consistently use the énonciatifs do use the

introductory phrase *es ke*. However, Hetzron notes that the dialectal distribution of *es ke* is not known, which weakens his argument. Joly (1976) identifies an even larger weakness to the theory that the énonciatif *que* arose from certain expressions with *que*. He rightly states that if the énonciatif *que* were to have developed in this manner, then it would have to be limited to sentence-initial position since these expressions occur sentence initially, as illustrated by the French sentence *Bien sûr qu'il viendra!* 'Of course he'll come!'.

3.2.1.4 Cleft constructions

Similar to the aforementioned theory, Pusch (2002) argues that the énonciatif *que* developed from a cleft construction to account for the pragmatic usage of *que* to place focus or emphasis on the speaker's assertion. However, if clefting were the source construction, then the énonciatif would be expected to only occupy sentence-initial position.

3.2.1.5 Relative pronoun

Spitzer (1942) proposes that the Gascon énonciatif *que* developed from its role as a relative pronoun. He (1942: 117) compares the following two French sentences, in which the relative pronoun *que* is present in the first sentence and absent in the second: 1) *ton père qu'est arrivé* 'It is your father who arrived!'; 2) *ton père est arrivé* 'Your father arrived'. The corresponding Gascon sentence is provided in (52).⁷³

(52) *lou tou pay qu'ey arribat.*
 ART.DEF.M 2SG.POSS.M father ENC be.PRES.3SG arrive.PART
 '(It is) Your father who arrived.'
 (Joly 1976: 418)

Spitzer (1942) argues that the first French sentence with the relative pronoun *que* is more emphatic, expressing 'It's your father who arrived!', while the second sentence does not have an exclamatory effect. He therefore accounts for the development of the Gascon énonciatif *que* as follows: it originated as a relative pronoun serving as an emphatic marker, which then became grammaticalized.

Joly (1976: 418) dispels this theory based on evidence for *qui* as the relative pronoun in Béarn, Bigorre, the south of Landes, and the west of Gers, which are the regions of Gascony with the most elaborate énonciatif system. If *que* were to have developed from its usage as a relative pronoun, then one would expect the énonciatif to be *qui* instead of *que*, and would expect the following incorrect sentence **lou tou pay qui ey arribat* 'Your father arrived'.

3.2.1.6 To support clitic pronouns

Bec (1968), Field (1989), and Lafont (1967) contend that the énonciatif *que* developed in order to allow clitic pronouns to occur in preverbal position; this hypothesis has also been proposed to account for the origin of the énonciatif *e* and is addressed in §3.2.2.2. In this way, the énonciatif *que* forms a syllable with the asyllabic pronoun, such as the sentence *Que-t parli* 'I

⁷³ It is important to note that the corresponding Gascon sentence cannot resemble the second French sentence that does not contain the relative pronoun, as the Gascon sentence requires the énonciatif *que* before the finite verb.

am speaking to you’ illustrates. Table 17 adapted from Grosclaude (1977: 71) outlines the Gascon object pronouns.

TABLE 17. Gascon Object Pronouns⁷⁴

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	Full form	Asyllabic Form	Full form	Asyllabic Form
1	<i>me</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>nos, nse</i>	<i>ns</i>
2	<i>te</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>vos, ve</i>	<i>vs, v</i>
3 D.O. M	<i>lo</i>	<i>l', 'u</i>	<i>los</i>	<i>'us</i>
F	<i>la</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>las</i>	—
NEU	<i>at, ac, ec</i>	—	—	—
3 I.O.	<i>lo</i>	<i>l', 'u</i>	<i>los</i>	<i>'us</i>
ADV	<i>ne</i>	<i>n</i>	—	—
ADV	<i>i</i>	—	—	—
REFL	<i>se</i>	<i>s</i>	—	—

This hypothesis has been supported by the finding that the geographical limit of the énonciatifs corresponds with that of the regions which allow asyllabic pronouns. Field (1989) concurs with this theory based on textual evidence, illustrated in (53). He finds that clitics follow the conjugated verb up until the 15th century and therefore correlates the later systematic behavior of the énonciatif to the occurrence of preverbal clitics (Field 1989: 53).

- (53) a. *Conexi te per nom.* (14th century)
 know.PST.1SG. 2SG.OBJ by name
 ‘I knew you by your name.’
- b. *Autreyam los ac.* (1391)
 grant.PRES.1PL 3PL.OBJ 3SG.NEU.OBJ
 ‘We grant it to them.’
 (53a-b from Field 1989: 53)

Evidence against this analysis is my finding that preverbal clitics appear prior to the 15th century. In registries from the 14th century Béarnais notary Bernard de Luntz who served under Gaston Fébus, examples of preverbal clitics with the énonciatif are found, such as that reproduced in (54).⁷⁵

⁷⁴ The abbreviation “D.O.” stands for the direct object pronoun and “I.O.” for the indirect object pronoun. The direct object pronouns for the 3rd person have a gender distinction, as evidenced by the different masculine (M) and feminine (F) forms. The asyllabic forms marked with an apostrophe following them are termed proclitic forms and occur before a verb or another pronoun beginning with a vowel. In contrast, the asyllabic forms marked with a preceding apostrophe are termed enclitics and occur when they are followed by a consonant (Birabent & Salles-Loustau 1989: 56-62). The forms marked without an apostrophe can occur either as proclitics or enclitics. The neutral 3rd person pronoun *ac, at, or ec* stands for an event or undetermined object (Birabent & Salles-Loustau 1989: 59). The pronouns *ne* and *i* are equivalent in function to the French adverbial pronouns *en* and *y*. The French pronoun *en* stands for persons, things, etc. preceded by any form of the preposition *de* ‘some, of’. The French pronoun *y* stands for things or places preceded by the pronoun *à* ‘to’ or any preposition other than *de*.

⁷⁵ The interlinear and translation are not provided in the original source, Tucoo-Chala & Staes (1996: 83). Although the initial *E* in (54) is glossed as ‘and’, it serves to introduce the sentence and it is thus debatable whether it serves as a conjunction here.

- (54) *E que-us ne obliga tote sa terre,...* (1373 text)
 and ENC 3PL.OBJ of.it require.PRES.3SG all 3SG.F.POSS land
 ‘And all of his land is to be given to them...’
 (Tucoc-Chala & Staes 1996: 83)

Moreover, Courouau’s (1999) analysis of the 1604 text *La Margalide gascoue et Meslanges* reveals that the enonciatifs *be* and *que* do not occur with asyllabic pronouns in the majority of cases. Courouau finds the following distribution (1999: 48):

<i>be/que</i> + enclitic personal pronoun	19%
<i>be/que</i> + personal pronoun + verb beginning with a vowel	12%
<i>be/que</i> + verb beginning with a consonant	34%
<i>be/que</i> + verb beginning with a vowel	30%

Furthermore, if the énonciatif developed with the sole function to support asyllabic pronouns, then how can the system’s semantic/pragmatic function be explained? Also, why would the particles begin to appear in contexts in which the énonciatif was not preceded by a clitic pronoun? Bouzet (1932) states that the énonciatif’s role in supporting asyllabic pronouns is only secondary since other particles in Béarnais, like conjunctions, can support the asyllabic pronouns. Rather, the primary role of the énonciatif lies in its relation to the verb.

Quoi qu’il en soit, les énonciatifs malgré leur fréquence n’ont pas été les uniques facteurs de l’asyllabisation des pronoms proclitiques, puisque d’autres mots, conjunctions, propositions, etc. peuvent leur servir d’appui. Ce rôle qu’il convenait de signaler n’est donc, malgré tout, que secondaire. Il reste évident que la première et la seule raison d’être des particules énonciatives est leur rôle vis-à-vis du verbe.⁷⁶ (Bouzet 1932: 46)

Contrary to the proposed theories which argue that the geographical distribution of the Gascon asyllabic clitic pronouns provides evidence for them as the source of the énonciatif’s evolution, I propose the opposite: I argue that the already existing preverbal énonciatifs allowed asyllabic clitic pronouns to develop in Gascon, thus explaining the geographical distribution.

3.2.1.7 Syntactic and phonological pressures: Verb-second and stressed first position

Joseph (1992) provides the following syntactic and phonological motivation for the emergence of the Gascon énonciatif: it arose from the Gallo-Romance syntactic pressure to have the verb in the second position (termed V2) and the Gallo-Romance phonological pressure to have a stressed first position (termed S1). The phonological pressure is similar to the clitic pronoun theory discussed in the previous section, for Joseph argues that the stressed first position gave clitic support to unstressed pronouns occurring before the verb that occupied the second position of the sentence.

⁷⁶ ‘Be that as it may, the énonciatifs, in spite of their frequency, weren’t the only factors in the asyllabization of proclitic pronouns since other words, conjunctions, clauses, etc. can serve to support them. This role that was important to remark upon is, after all, only secondary. It remains clear that the first and only reason to be deemed an énonciatif concerns its role with regard to the verb.’

This analysis accounts for the distribution of the énonciatifs with respect to the negative morpheme since the negative morpheme fills the stressed first position, and therefore provides support for the clitic pronouns. However, it fails to account for the occurrence of the énonciatifs when the first position is occupied by an expressed subject and for the semantic contribution of the entire system. More importantly, the question still remains as to why Gascon would be the only Romance language to develop this particular innovation if the Gallo-Romance region had these same syntactic and phonological pressures and also had unstressed personal pronouns.

3.2.2 Development of the énonciatif *e*

3.2.2.1 Conjunction

The traditional diachronic view of the énonciatif *e* is that it emerged from the conjunction *et* ‘and’ in Latin. This theory is supported by Lafont (1964) and Rohlfs (1970) who state that the conjunction *et* ‘and’ in Latin was used to introduce a sentence and thus functioned as a connective element in the discourse. Lafont (1964: 35) provides examples of *e* as the introducer of a temporal phrase or nominal complement in ancient texts of Occitan languages. One of these examples is (55), an excerpt from the 13th century Provençal text *Vie de sainte Douceline*.⁷⁷

- (55) *E un jorn e ell la venc vezer.*
 ART.INDEF.M day 3SG.SUB.M 3SG.F.OBJ come.PST.3SG see.INF
 ‘And one day, he came to see her.’
 (Lafont 1964: 35)

Lafont (1964) suggests that *e* occurs in Occitan when the syntactic order of the clause deviates from the normal word order, which is Subject, Verb, Complement; the syntactic order is not logical when the nominal or adverbial complement is at the beginning of a clause, and therefore *e* is used to link the two propositions. However, (11c) presented in Chapter 2 contains the complement clause at the beginning of the sentence, but still does not contain the énonciatif *e*. The grammaticality of this sentence demonstrates how the behavior of the énonciatif *e* differs from that of the conjunction *e*, which occurs clause initially in Occitan languages. In Gascon, it is the position of the verb with respect to the subordinator that dictates the usage of *e*, not the position of the complement with respect to the clause, as Lafont argues.

Even though Lafont (1964) agrees with Latin *et* ‘and’ being the diachronic source of the Gascon énonciatif *e*, he still presents the following two problems with this theory: the first concerns the phonetic difference between the Gascon conjunction *e* and the Gascon énonciatif *e*, and the second pertains to the functional difference between the conjunction and the énonciatif. Unlike Lafont who still claims that the énonciatif *e* derives from its usage as a conjunction, I argue that these problems present sufficient evidence against this theory.

Regarding the first problem, Bouzet (1932, 1933) concludes that the Gascon énonciatif *e* could not have emerged from the conjunction, as they have different pronunciations: the

⁷⁷ Lafont (1964) does not provide a translation or interlinear. I decided to not label *e* in the interlinear since it does not function in the same manner as the Gascon énonciatif *e* (therefore, it is not labeled ENC) and is also not used as a conjunction to link two clauses (in (55), *e* introduces the clause and does not behave as a conjunction). The interlinear was gleaned from my analysis of the following Provençal grammars: Smith & Bergin (1984), Martin & Moulin (1998), and Blanchet (1999).

conjunction is the mid-low front vowel [ɛ], while the énonciatif is the mid-high front vowel [e]. Haase (1994), like Bouzet, states that this pronunciation difference dispels the theory that the Gascon énonciatif *e* derived from its usage as a conjunction. On the other hand, Rohlfs (1970), like Lafont (1964), still supports the theory that the énonciatif *e* arose from its usage as a conjunction. Rohlfs (1970: 210) concurs with Lafont’s (1964: 41) following account of this discrepancy: the different pronunciation of the énonciatif is due to a secondary development arising from its unstressed position.

Even if this phonological change did occur, this theory still does not account for the different functions of the conjunction and énonciatif: the conjunction *e* serves to introduce a sentence and can occur before a verb contained in a declarative independent or matrix clause, while the énonciatif *e* does not always occupy sentence-initial position and is found in subordinate clauses in which the verb is not immediately preceded by the subordinator (Lafont 1964: 40-41). Pusch (2001: 386) also mentions this problem, stating that if *e* derived from its usage as a conjunction to introduce a sentence, then it would not be expected to occur in subordinate clauses and to occupy non-sentence-initial positions.

3.2.2.2 To support clitic pronouns

Due to the problems in positing the conjunction *e* as the diachronic source of the Gascon énonciatif *e*, Haase (1994) proposes a different theory, which states that the énonciatif *e* arose as a prothetic vowel to support unstressed pronouns in subordinate clauses where *que* or another subordinator did not occur. This theory is similar to that already discussed in §3.2.1.6 (the énonciatif *que* arose to support clitic pronouns), and therefore the evidence presented there applies here as well. Haase (1994) argues that the syntactic position of the énonciatif *e* was grammaticalized, such that *e* began to appear in subordinate clauses not containing any unstressed pronouns.

Pusch (2001) concurs with Haase’s (1994) theory, and states that a similar development occurred in Catalan. Pusch (2001) compares the supposed prothetic vowel *e* that developed in Gascon to support clitic pronouns, which then became the énonciatif *e* according to Haase (1994), to the object pronouns in Catalan that contain a prothetic vowel when they are reinforced. Table 18, reproduced from Pusch (2001: 387), outlines the Catalan object pronouns.⁷⁸

TABLE 18. Catalan Object Pronouns (Pusch 2001: 387)

	SINGULAR				PLURAL			
	Full form	Enclitic	Proclitic	Reinforced	Full form	Enclitic	Proclitic	Reinforced
1	<i>me</i>	<i>'m</i>	<i>m'</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>nos</i>	<i>'ns</i>	<i>nos</i>	<i>ens</i>
2	<i>te</i>	<i>'t</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>vos</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>vos</i>	—
3 D.O. M	<i>lo</i>	<i>'l</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>el</i>	<i>los</i>	<i>'ls</i>	<i>los</i>	<i>els</i>
F	<i>la</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>l'</i>	—	<i>les</i>	<i>les</i>	<i>les</i>	—
3 I.O.	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	—	<i>els</i>	<i>els</i>	<i>els</i>	—
REFL	<i>se</i>	<i>'s</i>	<i>s'</i>	<i>es</i>				

⁷⁸ The content of Table 18 is the same as that in the original, with the following exception: since the chart is translated into English from French, some of the linguistic labels were changed to match those of the present study. “D.O.” stands for the direct object pronouns and “I.O.” for the indirect object pronouns. The direct object pronouns for the 3rd person have a gender distinction, as evidenced by the different masculine (M) and feminine (F) forms.

In Catalan, it is argued that once the full forms of the pronouns (e.g., *me*) became asyllabic (e.g., *m*), a prothetic vowel arose to support the asyllabic clitics that preceded a verb with an initial consonant (Pusch 2001: 387). Pusch (2001) states that these reinforced pronouns are also found in Gascon, such as *em*, *et*, and *es*, but he mentions that normative grammars do not contain them.⁷⁹ Pusch (2001: 390) provides the following account to describe the morphological reanalysis that the Gascon énonciatif *e* underwent:

Ce qui est remarquable dans le cas de cet élément [the énonciatif *e*], c'est l'essor qu'il a pris après avoir été réanalysé comme morphème. Il faut supposer que les formes renforcées en *e-* ont été soumises à un processus de dissociation par lequel la voyelle *e-* prosthétique a pu être « facilement réinterprétée comme élément significatif en opposition avec l'énonciatif *que* » (Haase 1997, 220), notamment de par sa position identique, c'est-à-dire entre un sujet exprimé ou un autre constituant préposé et le verbe. Adoptant la terminologie de Haase, on peut parler, dans le cas du *e* énonciatif, d'une morphologisation et d'une fonctionnalisation secondaires, résultat d'une réinterprétation par analogie.⁸⁰

This theory does nicely account for the usage of *e* in subordinate clauses, as the énonciatif does not occur in subordinate clauses where the finite subordinate verb is immediately preceded by the subordinator. Since the subordinator provided support for the clitic pronouns, the occurrence of *e* in this context was not necessary. Nevertheless, Pusch (2001: 391) remarks that this theory fails to explain the appearance of *e* in questions and certain exclamations. In order to account for these functions, Pusch agrees with the traditional explanation of *e*, such that it arose from the conjunction *e* that served to introduce the sentence. In this way, Pusch (2001) states that there are two forms of the énonciatif *e*: (1) its usage in subordinate clauses, which arose from a prothetic vowel; (2) its usage in questions and some exclamations, which arose from the conjunction *e* serving to introduce a sentence.

While I agree with Pusch that more than one process accounts for the development of the Gascon énonciatifs, the following questions still remain to explain the énonciatif *e*. Why does the énonciatif *e* mark uncertainty or hypothetical situations? Why is this énonciatif only found in the Gascon language if other Romance languages, such as Catalan, contain asyllabic pronouns that need support? In response to the first question, one could argue that the semantic function of the énonciatif *e* is a secondary development, such that *e* became reanalyzed as being a marker of hypothetical statements since the truth of subordinate clauses relies on the truth of the main clause. However, the second question would still remain unanswered. Bouzet (1933: 35) remarks that Catalan does not have any system comparable to the Gascon énonciatif:

⁷⁹ I concur with Pusch's (2001) statement that these forms are not found in the normative grammars, for the Gascon grammars by Darrigrand (1974), Grosclaude (1977), and Hourcade (1986) do not mention these reinforced pronominal forms.

⁸⁰ 'What is remarkable in the case of this element [the énonciatif *e*] is the development that it underwent after having been reanalyzed as a morpheme. We can hypothesize that the reinforced forms with *e-* underwent a process of dissociation by which the prothetic vowel *e-* could be "easily reinterpreted as a significant element in opposition with the énonciatif *que*" (Haase 1997, 220), in particular due to its identical position between an expressed subject or another preposed constituent and the verb. Adopting Haase's terminology, one can say that the énonciatif *e* developed from a secondary morphologization and functionalization, resulting in reinterpretation by analogy.'

On peut nous rétorquer avec raison que le catalan lui aussi disposait des mêmes éléments adverbiaux *be, ya, no* et de la conjonction explicative *que*, qu'il a connu les formes pronominales *em, et, es, ens* encore vivantes d'ailleurs, et que cependant il n'a tiré de tout cela rien d'analogue à nos énonciatifs. Cette hypothèse repousse le problème [*sic*] dans le passé mais laisse dans l'ombre ce qui en constitue le fond.⁸¹

3.3 Diachronic accounts with Basque influence

Due to the history of Basque presence in Gascony, some researchers have looked to Basque to explain this system, especially since the énonciatif system does not occur in any other Romance language. Bouzet (1951: 54) alludes to Basque influence as a possible explanation for the origin of the énonciatif system: “Remontent-elles [Bouzet is referring to the énonciatifs here, specifically “les particules”] à un substrat psychologique pré-roman? Ont-elles quelque chose de commun avec les particules qui précèdent le verbe en basque?”⁸² Moreover, in Pusch’s (2007) study which analyzes whether or not the Gascon énonciatif system is akin to an evidential system, he poses the question as to whether or not the Gascon énonciatif system could have arisen from Basque contact. However, Pusch never again revisits this question throughout his study, nor does he provide any analysis regarding the diachronic evolution of the énonciatif system; the diachronic development he does briefly outline concerns some of the already mentioned Latin theories.

Even though Hetzron (1977: 212-213) states that the Basque substrate would provide a likely source for the origin of the énonciatifs due to the history of the Basques in Gascony, he ultimately argues against this account for the following two reasons: (1) Basque does not have a comparable particle; (2) the first attestations of the énonciatif system are in the 12th century, where the usage of *que* is sporadic and only became generalized in the 16th century. Based on these reasons, Hetzron (1977) concludes that the Gascon énonciatif system arose from a spontaneous development occurring within the language without any exterior influence.

Evidence contrary to Hetzron’s second reason was already discussed in §3.1. His first reason is not viable either, for researchers have noted the commonality between the Basque preverbal particle *ba* and the Gascon énonciatifs. Unlike the present study, previous researchers have hesitated to posit a direct connection between the Gascon énonciatif system and this Basque particle. Rohlf’s (1970) and Allières (1987) remark that the Basque particle *ba* and the Gascon énonciatifs both serve to reinforce an affirmation, yet ultimately state that there is not a clear link between the two phenomena. Haase (1993) also notes similarities between Basque *ba* and the Gascon énonciatif, yet claims that the Gascon system developed to support pronouns:

The equation of the two forms [*que* and *ba*] is made too easily, because *ba-* can appear under conditions where *que* would not (e.g. as a marker of a conditional protasis), whereas it would not appear with imperatives or subjunctives... The use

⁸¹ ‘We can retort with good reason that Catalan also has the same adverbial elements *be, ya, no* and the explicative conjunction *que* and the pronominal forms *em, et, es, ens* that are also still alive, but that in spite of all this they are not analogous to the énonciatifs. This hypothesis pushes the answer to the past but leaves in its shadow what constituted its base.’

⁸² ‘Do these particles come from a pre-Roman substrate? Do they have something in common with the particles which precede the verb in Basque?’

of *que* can be better explained: It serves as a delimitator of the verbal complex of a clause, the enclitic object pronouns can ‘lean’ upon it (cf. (4) above), and just as in Basque the verbal complex (containing both the subject and object marking) can freely be moved around in the sentence (cf. (3), *scrambling word order*). [original emphasis throughout] (Haase 1993: 346)

However, in his 1994 paper, Haase’s conclusion is unclear as to whether he posits the Basque substrate as the diachronic source of the énonciatifs. Haase (1994) compares the Basque particle *ba* with the Gascon énonciatifs, considered by Haase to include *que*, *e*, and the zero morpheme. He couches his analysis in thethetic-categorical semantic framework presented in §2.10.2.6 and finds that the particles’ function in both languages is inverse: *ba* replaces the focal element inthetic phrases presenting new information, while *que* and *e* have a categorical function in which they link already established information (termed *le pivot* by Haase) with the new information presented in the clause that expands upon *le pivot*. Using this framework, Haase argues that Basque *ba* does not appear before verbs in the imperative mood since the opposition betweenthetic and categorical does not play a role in this context; he does not explicate this any further, but I interpret this to mean that imperatives do not present new information, nor do they have a theme-rheme function, and therefore do not function within thethetic-categorical framework.⁸³

Haase’s table summarizing the usage of the particles in Basque and Gascon is reproduced in Table 19; note that the only changes made are my translations from his paper written in French to English.

TABLE 19. Reproduction of Haase’s (1994: 811) table comparing the Gascon and Basque particles

Statement Type	Gascon	Basque
Categorical	<i>que</i>	<i>ba</i> (non-focal function)
Lightly Categorical	<i>e</i>	<i>ba</i> , <i>bait</i> , interrogative <i>al</i>
Thetic	Ø	<i>ba</i> , Ø in imperative

Although his table includes the interrogative particle *al*, in addition to the non-focal use of *ba* and the particle *bait*, Haase (1994) only explains the focal use of *ba* in his study. He argues that *ba* replaces the phrase’s focal position since he finds it to appear before finite verbs in initial position. He provides the following schema, where V denotes the conjugated verb.

<FOCUS> V
ba- V
(Haase 1994: 803)

Haase (1994: 811) concludes his comparison of the Basque and Gascon particles as follows: “Due point de vue typologique, on peut dire que le basque a une *orientation focale*, tandis que le gascon est caractérisé par la *prominence du sujet*.”⁸⁴ Although Haase claims that the differing functions between the Basque and Gascon particles do not rule out a contact-induced change, as substratal interference typically does not involve a simple transfer from

⁸³ Haase’s (1994) analysis however conflicts with the framework presented in his table, reproduced in Table 19, as the absence of the Basque particle *ba* in the imperative mood appears in the row labeled “thetic”.

⁸⁴ ‘From a typological standpoint, Basque has a focal orientation, while Gascon is characterized by the prominence of the subject.’

elements of one language to another, he also states that Gascon developed its own process of what he terms *fonctionnalisation* later in the language to support clitic pronouns, which then led to their grammaticalization, and thus corresponds to their later appearance in writing.

The diachronic analysis I present in the following chapter differs significantly from these prior proposals. In contrast to Hetzron who concludes that the *énonciatif* must result from a spontaneous development occurring within the language without any exterior influence, I propose the following diachronic account: *The evolution of the Gascon énonciatif system was a very gradual process occurring over many centuries, arising from language shift from Basque to Latin following Romanization of Gascony.* Moreover, unlike Haase, I argue that the grammaticalized nature of the *énonciatif* system was modeled from the Basque substrate and therefore is not an independent evolution in the language occurring at a later date.

A similar substratal analysis has only been proposed by Bouzet (1933), yet he ultimately rejects Basque as the source of the *énonciatifs*, arguing that Basque and Gascon hardly borrowed any vocabulary from each other and that there is not enough known about the Iberian languages to link either Basque or Iberian to the Gascon *énonciatif*. Nonetheless, he does conclude that the *énonciatif* system resulted from the Romanization of the Aquitaine people whereby they adopted Latin morphology and vocabulary to their language of unknown origin:

Le fait à retenir c'est qu'au moment de la romanisation, il existait dans l'esprit de ces aquitains un souci de précision qui leur a fait détourner ces termes épars de leur acception et de leur rôle latins pour en former un système cohérent. Car si en biologie, il est vrai que la fonction crée ou transforme l'organe, il n'est pas moins vrai, en linguistique [*sic*] que toute création ou toute transformation existe d'abord dans l'esprit avant de se matérialiser dans les sons.⁸⁵ (Bouzet 1933: 38)

Unlike Bouzet who concludes that there is not enough known about Basque or Iberian to formulate a conclusion, the following chapter provides evidence to the contrary. Working from linguistic, historical, and archaeological data in both Basque and Gascon, I posit a direct link between the development of the *énonciatif* system and Gascony's Basque roots.

⁸⁵ 'What is important to remember is that at the moment of Romanization, a concern for precision existed in the minds of the Aquitaine people which made them alter these scattered terms from their Latin meaning and role in order to form a coherent system. For if in biology it is true that function creates or transforms the organ, it isn't any less true that in linguistics any creation or transformation first exists in the mind before being materialized in the sounds.'

Chapter 4

Diachronic evolution of the énonciatif system: Contact-induced change

Although previous researchers have alluded to possible Basque substratal influence to account for the énonciatif system based on similarities shared with the Basque particle *ba*, this chapter shows that the Gascon énonciatif system is not only linked to this particular Basque morpheme, but to a larger Basque particle system obeying similar syntactic and semantic functions as the Gascon énonciatif system. This finding, in addition to archaeological and linguistic evidence revealing Basque to be the language spoken by the original inhabitants of Gascony, support my contention that the énonciatif system is anything but a recent development in the language and is instead a relic of the region's distant past. Taking into account the previously described variable synchronic distribution of the énonciatifs outlined in Chapter 2, this chapter proposes how the énonciatif system evolved from contact-induced language change among Basque and Latin speakers following Romanization of the region and shows how this diachronic account not only differs from prior diachronic theories of the énonciatif system, but also alters some previous synchronic theories posited to explain the system's semantic behavior.

To reiterate the discussion in Chapter 1, §1.1, the terms Basque and Latin, when used in reference to the development of the énonciatif system as a result of contact-induced change, each encompass various forms of the respective languages throughout time. Considering the extended contact between Basque and Latin in Gascony, it is impossible to identify the exact time frame at which the énonciatif system began evolving and therefore what the forms of Basque and Latin were at the time of the system's evolution.

4.1 Basque particles that are the underlying source of the énonciatif system

Basque, like Gascon, has a system of particles with the following properties: they occur immediately before the finite verb (whether it is a synthetic verb or an auxiliary of an analytic verb⁸⁶), occupy the same syntactic position as the negative morpheme *ez*, and contain a syntactic restriction whereby only one particle can occupy the preverbal position. These particles are proclitics, for they make up one phonological word with the finite verb (de Rijk). Due to their syntactic environment, Hualde & de Urbina (2003) state that the Basque modal particles are closely associated with inflection. As for the semantic function of the Basque particles, it is interesting to note that Hualde & de Urbina (2003) define them as “modal particles”, which is similar to Pusch's (2002) description of the Gascon énonciatifs as “preverbal modal particles”. Hualde & de Urbina (2003: 316) describe the Basque modal particles as follows:

A small set of particles can be attached immediately to the left of the tensed verbal form (whether auxiliary or synthetic verb) to modulate and validate the information conveyed by the clause: *omen* ‘hearsay information’, *ei* ‘hearsay information; Bizk.’, *bide* ‘apparently’, *al* ‘yes/no question; desiderative’, *ote*

⁸⁶ Verbs in Basque can be synthetic, consisting of one word, or analytic, consisting of a participial form and an auxiliary, which are “usually called periphrastic in the Basque grammatical tradition” (Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 195). Hualde & de Urbina (2003) state that the majority of verbs are now analytic.

‘rhetorical question’. These particles are mutually exclusive for any single verb:…⁸⁷

In addition, de Rijk (162) considers the following as Basque modal particles: “reportative *omen* (*ei* in Biscayan), inferential *bide*, optative *ahal*, interrogative *al*, dubitative *ote* (*ete* in Biscayan).”

Even though the negative morpheme *ez* and the emphatic *ba* morpheme occupy the preverbal position, they differ from the above-mentioned modal particles since *ez* and *ba* can function as the first element of the sentence to shield the finite verb from initial position (Hualde & de Urbina 2003). The bound morpheme *ba-* is obligatory and attaches itself to the finite verb if the beginning of an affirmative (non-negative) clause is a non-focal/dislocated element. This usage is only obligatory in affirmative clauses since the negative morpheme *ez* serves the same syntactic function as *ba*.

While Hualde & de Urbina (2003) treat the emphatic *ba-* morpheme and the negative morpheme separately from the other modal particles, I am including all as part of the Basque particle system that I argue to be the ultimate source for the underlying syntactic and semantic functions of the Gascon énonciatif system. The seven particles outlined below must occupy the position immediately to the left of the finite verb (with the exception of *ote* and *omen* which can occupy other positions as well: see §4.1.1 and §4.1.3) and share other syntactic and semantic features in common with the Gascon énonciatifs.⁸⁸

- 1) *omen*: hearsay information
- 2) *bide*: inferential information
- 3) *ote*: dubitative marker
- 4) *ahal*: optative marker
- 5) *al*: interrogative marker
- 6) *ba*: conditional & emphatic marker
- 7) negative morpheme *ez*

⁸⁷ The abbreviation “Bizk.” refers to the Bizkaian dialect (or Biscayan, as spelled by de Rijk) spoken to the far west within the Basque-speaking area (see Maps 6a-b in Appendix A). The particle *ei* in this dialect will not be discussed since the particle *omen*, which has a similar function, occurs in the majority of Basque dialects. Also, although not stated in the quotation, Hualde & de Urbina (2003) include conditional *ba* in their list of modal particles (see §4.1.6.1).

⁸⁸ The particle *ohi*, which marks the habitual aspect, is not included in this list of Basque particles since it patterns somewhat differently. In the eastern dialects of Basque, *ohi* patterns with the other particles *omen*, *bide*, *ahal*, and *al* since it occurs before the finite verb in positive and negative clauses. However, in western dialects, it patterns with the participle instead of the auxiliary in negative clauses, occurring after the participle rather than before the auxiliary or finite verb form (Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 322). Moreover, *ohi* can occur before non-finite verb forms, while the other particles cannot (Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 322). Due to the different behavior of *ohi*, Mujika (1988) states that it can be used either as a particle (like *omen*, *bide*, *ahal*, and *al*) or semiauxiliary. Mujika’s (1988) evidence comes from the choice of the participles with which *ohi* occurs: in the eastern dialects where it is a particle and functions similar to *omen*, *bide*, *ahal*, and *al*, the aspectual information is conveyed by the imperfective participle and not solely by the particle itself; in the western dialects, the default perfective participle is used, implying that the use of *ohi* conveys the imperfective or habitual aspect. See Mujika (1988) for more information on the use of *ohi* as a particle or semiauxiliary.

4.1.1 *Omen*

The particle *omen*, glossed by Saltarelli (1988: 29) as ‘they say, apparently’ and by Hualde & de Urbina (2003: 316) as ‘hearsay information’, is “used when the speaker wishes to indicate that the information presented in the sentence was heard or read but is not necessarily the view of the speaker himself” (Saltarelli 1988: 29). Examples follow.⁸⁹

- (56) a. *Egia osoa jakin omen du.*
truth whole know AUX
‘He has apparently found out the whole truth.’
- b. *Aitak omen du aurdiki.*
father.ERG AUX throw
‘It was father who apparently threw it.’
(56a-b from Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 316-317)

As illustrated in the sentences above, the modal particle *omen* immediately precedes the finite verb regardless of its position in the sentence. This syntactic property is shared by all of the modal particles (Hualde & de Urbina 2003). In (56a), the finite verb (the auxiliary) is to the right of the participle, while it occurs to the left in (56b). The first sentence represents the unmarked word order: participle + auxiliary. The second sentence is marked and represents a focalization structure in which the auxiliary is placed to the left of the participle.

Even though *omen* normally precedes the finite verb, there are contexts in which it has a more adverbial usage, occurring independent of the verb, as illustrated in (57). The particle *ote* shares this feature with *omen* (see §4.1.3). According to Hualde & de Urbina (2003: 317-318), “This [the adverbial usage of *omen* and *ote*] often happens when the verb has been deleted, either for stylistic reasons (say the copula) or because it is retrievable from the immediate context:...”

- (57) *Non da Miren? Etxean omen.*
where is Miren home.LOC
‘Where is Miren? Apparently, at home.’
(Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 318)

This usage of *omen* and *ote* is reminiscent of the usage of the Gascon énonciatifs *be* and *ja*, which also occurred in environments in which they did not immediately precede the finite verb, such as in sentence-final position to add emphasis, leading researchers to classify them as adverbs rather than énonciatifs.

⁸⁹ Saltarelli (1988) and Hualde & de Urbina (2003) provide interlinears and translations for all of their Basque examples cited. The interlinears are consistent with those in the original sources; the only changes made are the following: (1) Some abbreviations were altered to match those provided throughout the Gascon examples (e.g., I use the abbreviation PRES to denote the present tense, while Saltarelli (1988) uses the abbreviation PRS); (2) I am leaving the gloss in the interlinear for the particles of interest blank instead of providing their English translation like the Basque grammars (e.g., Hualde & de Urbina gloss the Basque particle *omen* in the interlinears with the English word ‘apparently’). The reason for this decision is that many of these particles convey more than just one meaning and do not have a one-to-one correspondence with the English translation provided.

4.1.2 *Bide*

Similar to the semantic function of *omen*, *bide* marks inferential information; in other words, both particles convey that the information reported by the speaker is uncertain and not supported by direct evidence or facts. These semantic functions are similar to the semantic function of the Gascon énonciatif *e* marking uncertainty. de Rijk (163) states that, “the use of *bide* also hints at the possibility of error, so that it is compatible with adverbs of uncertainty such as *nonbait* ‘apparently’:...” and compares its usage to the epistemic modal *must* or *surely* in English. The sentences in (58) exemplify the usage of *bide* (de Rijk 163).⁹⁰

- (58) a. *Aberatsa bide zara.*
rich.SG be.2SG.PRES
‘You must surely be rich.’
- b. *Ijitoak gaur Donostiara joan bide dira.*
gypsy.PL.ABS today San_Sebastian.ALL go AUX
‘The gypsies must have gone today to San Sebastian.’

4.1.3 *Ote*

Ote is described by de Rijk as a dubitative marker: it “adds an element of speculation to questions of all types” (165). Questions with *ote* are “addressed to oneself just as much as to one’s interlocutor, in contrast to regular questions, which tend to have a well-defined addressee” (de Rijk 165). In accordance with de Rijk, Saltarelli (1988: 29) states that *ote* is used “to express a question posed to oneself with no expected answer, somewhat akin to the English ‘I wonder...’ expressions,...”, which correlates with Hualde & de Urbina’s (2003: 316) translation of this particle as a “rhetorical question” marker. The contrast between *ote* and the particle *al*, appearing in regular questions, is addressed in §4.1.5.

- (59) a. *Ez ote da dagoeneko istilu garratzik sortu arlo honetan?*
NEG AUX already quarrel bitter appear field this.LOC
‘Have there not been bitter fights already in this area?’
(Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 316)
- b. *Usain txar hau no-n-dik ote d-a-tor.*
smell bad this.ABS WH-LOC-ABL 3.ABS-PRES-come
‘I wonder where this awful smell is coming from.’
(Saltarelli 1988: 30)

As was previously mentioned in the discussion of the particle *omen*, the particle *ote* does not have to immediately precede the verb. *Ote* can appear in the same context as *omen* where it functions as an adverb, which is illustrated in (60a), and can also occasionally appear sentence initially as seen in (60b), which is a more archaic usage found primarily in formal texts (Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 317).

⁹⁰ de Rijk does not provide interlinears for any of his Basque sentences. All interlinears are the responsibility of the author who gleaned this information by researching the following Basque grammars and dictionaries: Aulestia (1989), King (1994), and Hualde & de Urbina (2003).

- (60) a. *Nork egingo du? Jonak ote?*
 who.ERG make.FUT AUX John
 ‘Who will do it? Perhaps John?’
- b. *Ote dugu zentzurik?*
 have sense.PRTT
 ‘Do we have any sense?’
 (60a-b from Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 317-318)

4.1.4 *Ahal*

This particle expresses optatives or wishes, and occurs in many blessings or curses (de Rijk), which is similar to the usage of the énonciatif *e* in Gascon. Like the other Basque particles, *ahal* must appear before the finite verb, but this particle usually occurs with the future tense (the auxiliary in the present indicative and the future participle) due to its inherent meaning in expressing wishes, as illustrated below (Saltarelli 1988: 234).

- (61) *Josi-ko ahal dit bihar-ko soineko-a*
 sew-FUT AUX tomorrow-DST dress-SG.ABS
 ‘May s/he sew the dress for me by tomorrow.’
 (Saltarelli 1988: 234)

4.1.5 *Al*

Al, which is a reduced form of the aforementioned particle *ahal*, is an interrogative marker used for yes-no questions and is often used when a speaker does not use rising pitch to mark a question (de Rijk).⁹¹ Questions in Basque therefore do not require an overt morphological marker like *al*: questions can be marked phonetically by rising intonation and syntactically by verb fronting (Basque is an SOV language) (Hualde & de Urbina 2003). More than one of these devices can be used in a question: (62a) illustrates how the particle *al* can co-occur with verb-fronting.⁹²

- (62) a. *Esango al zeniguke zerbait azkenik?*
 say.FUT AUX something finally
 ‘Would you tell us something finally?’
 (Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 468)
- b. *Gure literaturak aurrerakada haundirik egin al du urte hauetan?*
 our literature.ERG improvement great.PRTT make AUX year these.in
 ‘Has our literature made any great improvements in the last years?’
 (Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 467)

⁹¹ This particle is specific to the Gipuzkoan/Gipuzkera dialect (refer to Maps 6a-b in Appendix A). Some other Basque dialects, particularly the eastern dialects spoken in the area of Navarre and the Souletin dialect spoken in northeastern Spain near to the French border, use the enclitic *-a* on the finite verb to mark yes-no questions (Hualde & de Urbina 2003, de Rijk).

⁹² Hualde & de Urbina (2003: 468) state that verb-fronting can co-occur with the interrogative enclitic *-a* as well.

- c. *Ume-a eser-i-ta al d-a-go?*
 child-SG.ABS sit-PRF-ADVB 3ABS-PRES-be
 ‘Is the child seated?’
 (Saltarelli 1988: 3)

Since both *al* and *ote* appear in questions, de Rijk (165) contrasts the following two Basque questions, the first containing *ote* and the second *al*, to demonstrate their difference.

- (63) a. *Alkatea hil ote da?*
 mayor.SG.ABS die AUX
 ‘Has the mayor died?’
- b. *Alkatea hil al da?*

Even though both sentences (63a-b) have the same gloss ‘Has the mayor died?’, each has slightly different meanings, for each particle conveys a different illocutionary force. According to de Rijk, (63a) with *ote* acts as an assertion rather than a question, in which the speaker is wondering if the mayor has died and is asserting the statement “I wonder if the mayor has died”. In contrast, (63b) with *al* functions as a pure question, in which the speaker is simply asking whether or not the mayor has died. With *ote*, the speaker has more commitment over his/her utterance and cares about the status of the mayor, while the question with *al* is purely interrogative to seek information and does not imply that the speaker necessarily cares or was wondering about the mayor’s status.

This discussion of the Basque particles *ote* versus *al* in questions parallels the use of the Gascon énonciatifs *que* versus *e* in questions as presented in Chapter 2, §2.3.2. To reiterate the discussion, *que* occurs in questions where the answer is known to the speaker and the question acts as an assertion, functioning more like *ote*, whereas *e* is found in questions in which the response is unknown to the speaker, functioning more like *al* as a purely interrogative marker. Chapter 5 reveals that some participants had a pragmatic function associated with the énonciatif *e* that closely resembles that described for the Basque particle *ote*. Some speakers used the énonciatif *e* in questions to convey their sincere interest in the interlocutor’s response (§5.2.2); note that some participants contained this pragmatic function of *e* only before interrogative pronouns (§5.2.9.2).

4.1.6 *Ba*

The Basque particle *ba* has a more complex usage than the other particles, for it has two distinct functions: conditional *ba* and emphatic *ba*. Like the other aforementioned particles, conditional *ba* occurs to the left of the finite verb form, cannot occur with any of the other modal particles, and cannot shield the finite verb from initial position. In contrast to conditional *ba*, emphatic *ba* can occur with the other modal particles and can serve to shield the finite verb from initial position. Due to these differences, Hualde & de Urbina (2003) include conditional *ba* with the other modal particles, but treat emphatic *ba* separately. The contrast between emphatic and conditional *ba* is illustrated in the examples that follow (all of the sentences in (64)-(65) are from Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 319).

- (64) a. **Jonek omen badaki...* (conditional *ba*)
 Jon.ERG if.knows
 ‘If Jon apparently knows...’
- b. *Jonek ba omen daki.* (emphatic *ba*)
 Jon.ERG knows
 ‘Apparently, Jon does know.’
- (65) a. **Bazekien, ahaztu egin du.* (conditional *ba*)
 if.knew forget make AUX
 ‘If s/he knew, s/he has forgotten.’
- b. *Bazekien, baina ahaztu egin du.* (emphatic *ba*)
 ‘S/he did know, but s/he has forgotten.’

While conditional *ba* cannot occur with the other modal particles to the left of the finite verb, as illustrated in (64a) with *omen*, emphatic *ba* can, as evident in (64b). Since there is no semantic incompatibility between conditional *ba* occurring with the hearsay marker *omen*, Hualde & de Urbina (2003) conclude that there must be “a syntactic account of cooccurrence restrictions according to which both are members of the same set of modal particles” (319). (65a) illustrates how conditional *ba* cannot shield the finite verb from sentence-initial position, while emphatic *ba* can, as in (65b). The differences between conditional and emphatic *ba* are further explained in the subsequent sections.

4.1.6.1 Conditional *ba*

The conditional usage of *ba*, as illustrated in (66), is similar to the semantic behavior of the énonciatif *e* in hypothetical statements.

- (66) *Garaiz etorri-ko ba-l-i-ra den-entzat hobe l-i-tza-teke*
 early come-FUT if-3.ABS-PST-AUX all-PL.BEN better 3.ABS-PST-be-POT
 ‘If they came early, it would be better for everyone.’
 (Saltarelli 1988: 232)

4.1.6.2 Emphatic *ba*

As was previously mentioned, emphatic *ba* differs from conditional *ba* since emphatic *ba* can co-occur with the other modal particles and can shield the verb from clause initial position. Emphatic *ba* has two different functions, one being semantic and the other syntactic. The semantic usage of *ba* is to add emphasis to a speaker’s assertion when s/he disagrees with the interlocutor, as illustrated in (67); note that the capital letters A and B denote different speakers, unlike the lower case letters a and b that indicate different sentences. In (67), speaker B uses *ba* to negate A’s assertion; *ba* thus serves to emphasize the statement and is somewhat argumentative in nature, which is similar to the usage of the Gascon énonciatifs *que*, *be*, and *ja* as outlined in Chapter 2, and the argumentative function of *se* as remarked by Darrigrand (1974) (refer to §2.7).

(67) A: *Ez dozu ikusi, bada.*
 NEG AUX see then
 ‘You didn’t see it then.’

B: *Badot ikusi.*
ba.AUX see
 ‘I DID see it.’ (emphasis on *did*)
 (Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 538)

While this usage of *ba* is semantic, there is another usage of *ba* clause initially that is syntactic to support the finite verb. If conditional *ba* or another modal particle were to precede the finite verb in initial position, *ba* would still be needed since the other particles do not share this syntactic function, as illustrated in (65a) and (70b). The obligatory syntactic usage of *ba* occurs when synthetic verbs do not occupy the clause final position (they are dislocated or fronted). Analytic verbs do not require *ba* since they contain the participle before the auxiliary (the finite verb) and thus the finite verb cannot occupy the sentence-initial position. Negative clauses also do not require *ba* since the negative morpheme *ez* precedes the finite verb.

(68a) illustrates how it is ungrammatical for the finite verb to occupy the initial position. The usage of *ba* in (68b) rectifies this problem. In (69), the finite verb does not occupy sentence-initial position, but still requires *ba* since the verb does not occupy the unmarked sentence-final position; the verb has been fronted for focus. Finally, (70a) shows how negative clauses do not require *ba*, while clauses in which the initial finite verb is preceded by another Basque modal particle, such as *omen* in (70b), are deemed ungrammatical without it.

(68) a. **Noa.*
 go.1.ABS
 ‘I am leaving now.’

b. *Banoa.*
ba.go.1.ABS
 ‘I am leaving now.’
 (68a-b from Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 539)

(69) *Jonek badakar hori.*
 Jon.ERG *ba*.brings that
 ‘John IS bringing that.’ (emphasis on the verb)
 (Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 471)

(70) a. *Ez dator.*
 NEG comes
 ‘S/he is not coming.’

b. **Omen dator.*
 comes
 ‘S/he is apparently coming.’
 (70a-b from Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 317)

There is another syntactic usage of *ba* in which it occurs to the left of the synthetic form of the verb *izan* ‘be’ when used existentially, as illustrated in (71b).

(71) a. *Hemen euskaldunak dira.*
 here Basque.DET.PL are
 ‘Here, people are Basque.’

b. *Hemen euskaldunak badira.*
 here Basque.DET.PL *ba*.are
 ‘Here, there are Basque people.’

(71a-b from Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 540)

This syntactic usage of *ba* is different from the other syntactic usage of *ba* and will not be dealt with further. However, it is worth noting that the Gascon énonciatif *e* is not elided before the adverbial pronoun *i* that appears in the existential expression *i a* ‘there is/there are’. Still, I will focus on the syntactic usage of emphatic *ba* before synthetic verbs occupying initial position, for this environment finds a parallel in the Gascon énonciatif system.

Another usage of emphatic *ba* that has a parallel in Gascon concerns its behavior in subordinate clauses. It is excluded in those headed by the complementizer *-en* found in interrogatives, subjunctives, and relatives (see (72b)), but is acceptable in those headed by *-ela* (see (72a)).

(72) a. *Ba-datozela uste dut.*
ba-come.that think AUX
 ‘I think that they do come.’

b. **ba-datorren gizona*
ba-comes.COMP man
 ‘the man who does come’

(72a-b from Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 539)

Further research on the behavior of Basque subordinate clauses is necessary, as I believe it is linked to the variable behavior of the Gascon énonciatif in subordinate clauses.

4.1.7 Negative morpheme *ez*

The negative morpheme in Basque shares the same syntactic environment as the other Basque particles: it must precede and form one phonological word with the finite verb. As was already indicated in the previous section, emphatic *ba* cannot co-occur with the negative morpheme *ez*, which is similar to the behavior of the Gascon énonciatifs. The other Basque particles *omen*, *bide*, *ote*, *ahal*, *al*, and conditional *ba* can occur with the negative morpheme *ez* where the word order is *ez* + particle + finite verb (de Rijk). This finding is also in accordance with the Gascon énonciatifs, for certain dialects allow the énonciatif with the negative morpheme. However, the word order is different in Gascon: énonciatif + negative morpheme + finite verb.

4.2 Summary: Basque particles and Gascon énonciatifs

Tables 20 and 21 summarize the Basque particles and Gascon énonciatifs. Although there is not a 1:1 correspondence in the Basque and Gascon systems, an outcome typical in language contact situations, both the Basque and Gascon particles share the following features:

- 1) Syntactic environment
Both the Basque and Gascon particles must precede the finite verb and no more than one particle can occupy this preverbal position. Like the Basque particles *omen* and *ote*, the Gascon énonciatifs *e*, *be*, and *ja* are not limited to the preverbal context and can occupy sentence-final position.
- 2) Distribution with the negative morpheme
The Basque and the Gascon particles occupy the same syntactic position as the negative morpheme. Further, the Basque emphatic particle *ba*, like the Gascon énonciatifs in certain dialects, cannot co-occur with the negative morpheme. The other Basque particles can occur with the negative morpheme, just as some Gascon dialects allow the énonciatif with negation.
- 3) Semantic function
Both the Basque and the Gascon particles contribute a different illocutionary force to the utterance and the choice of which particle to use affects the pragmatics. The énonciatif *e*, which occurs in interrogatives, hypotheticals, and wishes, resembles the behavior of the Basque particles *bide*, *ote*, *ahal*, and *al*. Likewise, the énonciatifs *que*, *be*, and *ja* have an emphatic function similar to Basque *ba*.
- 4) Grammaticalization
The Basque emphatic particle *ba*, like the Gascon énonciatif *que*, serves a purely syntactic role in certain contexts.

Although grammaticalization is a common process, I believe that the grammaticalized nature of the Gascon énonciatif is explainable through contact, namely grammatical replication as put forth by Heine & Kuteva (2005); this is further addressed in §4.4.

Particle	Syntactic Position	Semantic Function
<i>omen</i>	before the finite verb in positive or negative clauses (does not have to appear before the finite verb in all contexts)	hearsay information
<i>bide</i>	before the finite verb in positive or negative clauses	inferential information
<i>ote</i>	before the finite verb in positive or negative clauses (does not have to appear before the finite verb in all contexts)	dubitative, rhetorical question marker
<i>ahal</i>	before the finite verb in positive or negative clauses	wishes
<i>al</i>	before the finite verb in positive or negative clauses	interrogative (uncertainty)
<i>ba</i>	conditional: before the finite verb in positive or negative clauses	conditional (hypothetical)
	emphatic: before the finite dislocated verb in positive clauses (unlike the other particles, emphatic <i>ba</i> can occur with the other particles)	Ø (grammaticalized) emphasis or reaffirmation
negative morpheme	before the finite verb	negation

TABLE 21. Summary of the Gascon énonciatifs

Énonciatif	Syntactic Position	Semantic Function
<i>que</i>	before the finite verb in positive clauses (some dialects allow its co-occurrence with negation)	∅ (grammaticalized) emphasis or reaffirmation in interrogatives and certain other utterances
<i>e</i> (environment overlaps with the énonciatif <i>se/si/ce/ci/çò/ça</i>)	before the finite verb in positive clauses (can occupy sentence-final position; some dialects allow its co-occurrence with negation) before the finite verb in subordinate clauses when the verb is not immediately preceded by the subordinator	uncertainty (interrogatives, hypotheticals, wishes) ∅
<i>be</i>	before the finite verb in positive clauses (can occupy sentence-final position)	emphasis, removes doubt from the interlocutor
<i>ja</i>	before the finite verb in positive clauses (can occupy sentence-final position)	more emphasis than <i>be</i>
negative morpheme	before the verb	negation

4.3 Proving a contact-induced change occurred

To prove that a contact-induced change occurred, both linguistic and non-linguistic factors need to be considered: “The goal of contact linguistics is to uncover the various factors, both linguistic and sociocultural, that contribute to the linguistic consequences of contact between speakers of different language varieties” (Winford 2003: 10-11). According to Aikhenvald (2007: 4), language contact is the “usual suspect” if the following conditions are met:

If one language is significantly different from its proven genetic relatives, language contact is the ‘usual suspect’... And if two languages are (or have been) in contact and share certain features, we immediately suspect that these features have been transferred from one to the other. Our suspicion will be strengthened if the two languages are genetically unrelated, and the features they share are typical of the family to which one of them belongs.

Applying Aikhenvald’s above reasoning to Gascon, the Gascon énonciatif system has indeed already been noted to be unlike anything in the rest of Romance: “the Pyrenean sentence-particle [referring to the énonciatif] today is quite different from anything that exists in Occitan or indeed in the Romance family as a whole” (Field 1985: 79-80). Moreover, Basque has been and continues to be in contact with Gascon and shares other features with the language, detailed in the subsequent sections. Finally, both Basque and Gascon are genetically unrelated and the features of the Gascon énonciatif system are shared with the Basque particles.

The subsections apply Thomason’s (2001: 93-95) following guidelines to prove that a contact-induced change occurred.

- 1) Look at the language as a whole (e.g., phonological and syntactic interference usually coincide; it is unlikely to only find only one area of the language’s structure that has undergone contact-induced change)

- 2) Identify a source language that must be shown to be or have been in contact with the receiving language and the contact has to be intimate enough to make structural interference possible
- 3) Find shared features in the proposed source language and the proposed receiving language
- 4) Prove that the interference features were NOT [original emphasis] present in the receiving language before it came into close contact with the source language
- 5) Prove that the shared features were present in the proposed source language before it came into close contact with the receiving language

I will not proceed in linear order and will instead satisfy Thomason's second condition first since it is essential to the others: historical evidence is necessary to prove that the source language was once in contact with the target language in order for shared features to be possible. Moreover, the first and third conditions overlap one another, as more than one type of shared structural interference satisfies the third condition. I am unable to satisfy the fourth or fifth conditions, which Thomason (2001) finds to be the case for most contact situations throughout the world, especially if the contact situations occur in long-established linguistic areas and involve languages without a written history. Basque (the source language) does not have a written tradition and older written evidence of Gascon (the receiving language) did not necessarily represent actual speech.

4.3.1 Evidence for a Basque substrate prior to Romanization

Since Latin and Basque are typologically different languages and the énonciatif system is a structural interference feature, intense contact must be shown to have occurred. This is indeed the case, for the Gascon region has had extensive contact with Basque throughout history and continues to be in contact to this day, as there are bilingual communities of Basque and Gascon (Haase 1993). In spite of the more recent contact between Basque and Gascon, it is my contention that the énonciatif system is an ancient feature of the language, resulting from shift-induced interference following Romanization of the region.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the accepted theory held today by scholars is that the language spoken by the inhabitants of Gascony (Julius Caesar's Aquitaine) prior to Romanization is an ancestral form of Basque:

The conclusion seems inescapable: Aquitanian is so closely related to Basque that we can, for practical purposes, regard it as being the more-or-less direct ancestor of Basque. It follows that an ancestral form of Basque was spoken in a large area of southwestern Gaul, as well as (as we know from other evidence) throughout the greater part of the Pyrenees and, most likely, in at least the east and north of the modern Basque country. (Trask 1995: 87)

Evidence is found in ancient Pyrenean inscriptions, toponyms, and terms for native vegetation and animals which do not appear to be Celtic, Germanic, or Roman in origin, but do find their correlate in Basque (Luchaire 1877). For instance, the inscription *Leherenn* found in the Pyrenees refers to a god and finds its correlate in Basque *ler* (Guipuzcoan dialect) and *leher* (Bas-navarrais and Labourdin dialects), meaning 'to crush, to destroy' (Luchaire 1877). Figure 4

displays the inscription *Leherenn* that I saw firsthand at the Musée Saint-Raymond in Toulouse in 2008 during a special exhibit on inscriptions and archaeological findings from the Pyrenees. This inscription was discovered in Ardiège in the Haute-Garonne département and dates from the 1st to 4th centuries; the full inscription reads: *Martij // Leherē 'nni' / Ingenu(u)s / Siricco 'ni' s [.] / u(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito)* (Rodriguez & Sablayrolles 2008: 85-86).⁹³



FIGURE 4. Inscription with the name *Leherenn* found at the Musée Saint-Raymond in Toulouse

Examples of personal names found in ancient inscriptions are also shared with Basque: the Pyrenean inscription *andere* for a woman's name correlates with the Basque word *andere* (Labourdin) or *andre* (Guipozcoan) 'woman'. Moreover, an inscription found in the Pyrenean area of Saléchan contains the word *nescato* referring to a woman whose Basque correlate is *neskato* (Labourdin and Bas-navarrais) 'girl, young woman'. Names for native plants and animals in the Gascon region are also shared with Basque. An example is the Gascon word *ambùro* 'asphodel (type of plant)', corresponding to Basque *anbula/anbulo/anburu/amula* 'asphodel' (Rohlf's 1970: 40), and the Gascon word *arriàng* 'eagle', which is nearly identical to the Basque word *arrano* of the same meaning (Rohlf's 1970: 45).

Further evidence that the language of the original Aquitaine inhabitants was related to Basque comes from the region's toponymy. Luchaire (1877: 58) limits his linguistic and archaeological study of Aquitaine to its mountainous regions, which are less subject to change and retain more archaic features of the language than those in the plains:

D'autre part, il faut reconnaître que les recherches sur la toponymie aquitanique, pour être fructueuses, doivent être circonscrites à la région montagneuse et s'appliquer surtout aux dénominations des montagnes, des cols, des vallées, des cours d'eaux, moins sujettes au changement que celles des localités de la plaine. Sans doute, quand on jette les yeux sur une carte de la région située entre la Gave de Pau, l'Adour inférieur et la Garonne, on rencontre des noms de lieux qui n'ont point l'apparence romane et qu'on pourrait expliquer par la langue basque.⁹⁴

⁹³ Rodriguez & Sablayrolles (2008: 37) use the following symbols in their transcriptions: // = a change in the epigraphic area; / = following line in the inscription; [.] = missing letter; x = the letter is certain, but damaged; 'x' = the letters are linked together; () = solution to the abbreviation found on the inscription.

⁹⁴ 'Moreover, it is necessary to recognize that in order for research on Aquitaine toponymy to be fruitful, it must be confined to the mountainous regions and must be particularly applied to the topographic names of mountains,

For instance, the Pyrenean place name *Carasa*, which is spelled *Garrüze* in Basque, is composed of the following Basque morphemes: *gar* ‘high’ + the suffix *za* (variants *ça, xa, txa, z*), which denotes the locality (Luchaire 1877: 14). Table 22 outlines some of the various morphemes provided by Luchaire (1877) that are found in both Gascon and Basque toponyms. The shared toponyms are not limited to place names, as some refer to the names for mountain peaks.

TABLE 22. Basque and Gascon shared toponyms; the parenthetical material indicates the region in which the toponym occurs (Luchaire 1877: 57-69)		
Shared Morpheme	Gascon Toponyms	Basque Toponyms
<i>ar-</i> referring to mountains or rocks	- Arlas (Vallée de Barétous) - Arlet (Vallée d’Aspe) - Arrou (Vallée du Lys) - Arraing (Vallée de Conserans)	- Areta, Arras, Arraco (Navarre) - Arrate, Arno, Aralar, Artia (Guipuzcoa) - Arramendy, Arrate, Harlegui, Hargou, Harria, Arieta, etc. (French Basque country)
<i>aran</i> ‘valley’	- Aramits (village in Vallée de Barétous) - Aragnouet (village in the upper Vallée d’Aure) - Aran (valley between Vallée d’Aspe and Vallée d’Ossau)	- Aran-gorry (Basse-Navarre) - Aran-gorène (Souletin)
<i>as</i> refers to mountains or regions with high elevations or areas close to such areas (Basque has the following variants of this morpheme: <i>aitz, atch, ast, ais, az</i>)	- Aspe (Vallée d’Aspe) - Aspet, Aas, Aste (Vallée d’Ossau) - Aste (Vallée d’Arrens) - Azet, Aspin (Vallée d’Aure) - Azun (Vallée d’Azun)	- Aitzgorria (Navarre) - Atchaburu (Labourdin) - Aiztarte (Guipuzcoa); the literal translation of this place name is ‘between rocks’; Basque <i>aizt</i> ‘rock’ + <i>arte</i> ‘between’ - Azqueta (Navarre)
<i>mal</i> refers to mountains (variant <i>mail</i> in the Pyrenees)	- Malaguar (Vallée d’Ossau) - Mailarrouy (Vallée d’Aspe) - Mail d’ardoun (Vallée de Lavedan) - Mail Abore (Vallée d’Aspe); Luchaire states that this toponym most likely means ‘mountain head’ and derives from <i>mala-bore</i> which correlates with Basque <i>mal-buru</i> , where <i>buru</i> means ‘head’ in Basque	- Malbey, Malgor, Melgar (Navarre)
<i>mur</i> refers to ‘hill, height’	- Mur (Vallée d’Ossau) - Mourrous (Vallée d’Ossau)	- Muruché (Basse-Navarre) - Murugain (Guipuzcoa)
<i>urd/ourd/ord, urs, ust, usq</i> found in the beginning of Pyrenean and Basque names for ports/harbors, mountain passes, mountains, and villages	- Ourdios (Vallée de Barétous) - Urdos (Vallée d’Aspe) - Lourdes, Ourdon, Ourdis, Ousté (Vallée de Lavedan) - Lustou, Ourdissete (Vallée d’Aure)	- Urdains, Urdamendy, Urdandey, Urdos, Urdosbure, Ustaritz, Ustarole, Usteleguy (French Basque country) - Urdaneta, Urdaburu (Guipuzcoa) - Urdaniz, Urdanoz, Udrax, Urdiain, Orderiz, Oscoz, Ozcariz, Uzquiano, Uzquita, Osteriz, Uztarroz, Uzteguay (Navarre)

passes, valleys, and streams, which are less subject to change than those of villages in the plain. Without doubt, when looking at a map of the region situated between the Gave de Pau, the lower Adour and the Garonne, place names are found which have no Roman [Latin] semblance and can only be explained by the Basque language.’

It is interesting to mention that, based on Table 22, the Spanish valley termed *Val d'Aran* literally means 'valley of the valley' since the morpheme *aran* in Basque means 'valley'.

Luchaire (1877: 68) concludes that these commonalities shared among Gascon and Basque toponyms cannot be explained from recent borrowing:

La montagne que le paysan d'Ossau appelle encore *Ar* nous donne le mot euskarien *arri* « pierre, roche », réduit à sa plus simple expression. Est-il croyable que l'Ossalois soit aller emprunter récemment ce monosyllabe d'un caractère si antique aux paysans basques dont il est séparé par deux vallées ? Il est infiniment plus scientifique, suivant nous, d'admettre avec Fauriel que ces éléments toponymiques, communs à tout la chaîne, sont les débris de la langue parlée par les Aquitains des Pyrénées, et que cette langue primitive, dépossédée ensuite par le latin, est encore représentée aujourd'hui par l'euskara.⁹⁵

4.3.2 Other shared structural interference

Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 60) state, "...we have found **no** cases of completely isolated structural interference in **just one** linguistic subsystem [original emphasis]." If the énonciatif system is an outcome of contact-induced change from Basque, then one should expect to find more features of structural interference, which is indeed the case, for shared phonological features between Basque and Gascon have long been noted and hypothesized to be due to substratal interference.

One such feature is that Gascon inserts [a] before [r]-initial words. This is a unique feature of Gascon that is not shared with the other Occitan languages, but is shared with Basque. Basque cannot begin words with an [r] and inserts [e] before r-initial words that are borrowed (Haase 1993). Examples are: Latin *rota* 'wheel', which is *arròda* in Gascon and *arroda* in Basque (Grosclaude 2000: 32, Segura Munguía & Etxebarria Ayesta 1996: 259); Latin *ripa* 'steep slope', which is *erripa* in Basque (Michelena 1995: 146); and Latin *radu* 'ray' which is *arrai* in Gascon (Grosclaude 2000: 53). Haase (1993: 345) accounts for this phonological change in Gascon due to shift from Basque: "Basque speakers shifting to Romance were confronted with many words beginning with [r], which they could not pronounce without an anaptyctic [prothetic] vowel. Since they did not use Basque as a model language, the inserted vowel did not necessarily have to be [e]."

Other shared sound changes between Basque and Gascon include the following: absence of Latin *v*, becoming [b] word initially and [u] word medially or finally in Gascon and becoming [b] or [m] in Basque; reduction of the Latin word internal cluster *-mb-* to *-m-*; deletion of intervocalic Latin *-n-*; Latin *l* > r word medially; and Latin *f* becoming a different sound, [h] in Gascon and [b, m, p] or zero in Basque⁹⁶ (Luchaire 1877, Grosclaude 2000, Chambon & Greub

⁹⁵ 'The mountain that the person from the Vallée d'Ossau still calls *Ar* corresponds to the Basque word *arri* 'stone, rock', reduced to its most simple form. Is it believable that the Ossalois [person who lives in the Vallée d'Ossau] recently borrowed this monosyllable, whose form reflects an older form of Basque, from Basque speakers when this valley is separated from Basque country by two valleys? It is infinitely more scientific for us to admit with Fauriel that these toponymic elements that are common throughout the chain [of the Pyrenees] are the debris of a language spoken by the Aquitaines of the Pyrenees, and that this primitive language, then overtaken by Latin, is still today represented by Basque.'

⁹⁶ Some Basque words today do contain [f] from Latin *f*, as in *fiko* 'fig' in the Labourdin dialect (Segura Munguía & Etxebarria Ayesta 1996: 57).

2002). Table 23 presents examples of Basque and Gascon words derived from Latin that share these phonological features. Although this table displays these sound changes in Basque words derived from Latin, these same phonological features are characteristic in Basque and occur in Basque words not borrowed from Latin. For instance, Luchaire (1877) states that medial *l* often becomes *r* in Basque indigenous words, citing the variants *iruzki/iluksi* ‘sun’, *irargi/ilargi* ‘moon’, and *eskaldun/eskaradun* ‘Basque’. Likewise, deletion of intervocalic *n* is found in variants for some Basque indigenous words: *izokina/izokiya* ‘salmon’, *kharrona/kharroya* ‘ice’, *usaina/usaya* ‘odor’, *zaina/zaya* ‘guard’ (Luchaire 1877).

Shared phonological feature	Gascon < Latin	Basque < Latin
absence of Latin <i>v</i>	<i>biu</i> < <i>vivus</i> ‘living’	<i>abe</i> < <i>avem</i> ‘we have’
reduction of Latin cluster <i>-mb-</i>	<i>coloma</i> < <i>columbam</i> ‘dove’	<i>txoloma</i> < <i>columbam</i> ‘dove’
deletion of intervocalic Latin <i>n</i>	<i>cortia</i> < <i>cortina</i> ‘curtain’	<i>koroa</i> < <i>corona</i> ‘crown’
Latin <i>l</i> > <i>r</i> word medially	<i>bera</i> < <i>bella</i> ‘beautiful’	<i>aingeru</i> < <i>angelus</i> ‘angel’
Latin <i>f</i> becomes a different sound	<i>hört</i> < <i>forte</i> ‘strong’	<i>biku/piku/iku</i> < <i>fiku</i> ‘fig’

Map 7a in Appendix A contains a compilation of Séguy’s ALG isoglosses of the more characteristic Gascon features not shared with the rest of Occitan, which include the énonciatif *que* and most of Gascon’s shared phonological features with Basque. This map reveals that some of the isoglosses overlap and that the énonciatif *que* is more confined to the Pyrenean regions.

Luchaire (1877) argues that Gascon’s shared phonological features with Basque reflect the genetic link between these two languages, especially since these processes are regular in Gascon and Basque, while their occurrence in other Romance languages (namely those of the Iberian Peninsula) are more rare. For instance, Luchaire (1877) notes that while the change from Latin *f* > *h* is also found in Spanish (e.g., Latin *furnu* > Spanish *horno* ‘oven’), this change occurs more regularly in Gascon. Moreover, while all words with *h* deriving from Latin *f* retain their aspiration in Gascon, the majority of Spanish words do not pronounce the *h*. Another phonological development of Gascon that is shared with another Romance language is the deletion of Latin intervocalic *n*, which occurs in Portuguese (e.g., Latin *corona* > Portuguese *coroa* ‘crown’) (Baldinger 1958). It is very probable that these phonological features shared among the Iberian Romance languages, Gascon, and Basque are due to contact. Luchaire dispels the hypothesis that the shared phonological features among Basque and Gascon are due to Gascon’s influence on Basque based on the finding that these shared features occur in indigenous Basque words and words that Basque borrowed directly from Latin.

Still, there are researchers who hesitate to posit a connection between Gascon’s distinctive linguistic features and Basque. For instance, Sauzet (2006) states that many of Gascon’s unique features are not necessarily due to a Basque substrate:

Si un substrat a agi dans la formation du gascon, il a agi au tout début, quand les Aquitains, euscariens, celtes ou mêlés des deux, ont appris le latin et restaient bilingues. Une fois le latin appris et oubliées les vieilles langues du cru, c’est dans ce latin lui-même devenu langue romane, que spontanément ont pu se

produire des changements.⁹⁷ (Sauzet 2006: 18)

Sauzet (2006) accounts for Gascon's uniqueness in comparison to the rest of Occitan based on its geographic location to the far west of the Occitan region such that this location allowed Gascon to conserve older features. He mentions how the sound change Latin *f* > Gascon [h] could have arisen independently, proposing the following scenario: Latin *f* could have been pronounced as a voiceless bilabial fricative, which became [h] in Gascon and [f] in the rest of Occitan. Unlike Sauzet, I argue that it is more likely that Latin *f* became [h] in Gascon due to the Basque substrate whereby Basque speakers in Aquitaine did not contain the Latin sound corresponding to Latin orthographic *f*, whether it was a voiceless bilabial or labiodental fricative, and therefore adopted a sound in their native language to correspond to the Latin sound. This proposal would account for why both Gascon and Basque changed this Latin sound in different ways: speakers in Aquitaine who spoke an ancestral form of Basque substituted this Latin sound with [h], while Basque speakers in other regions chose other bilabial sounds to substitute this sound, such as [b, m, p]. It is also very possible that dialects in Basque that substitute Latin *f* with nothing had originally substituted this sound with [h], as the Basque speakers did in Aquitaine, which then lost its aspiration over time. An intensive study to determine which Basque dialects have the sound change Latin *f* > \emptyset would be needed to test this hypothesis.

While it is also true that the simplification of consonant clusters such as Latin *mb* > *m* is a common sound change as Sauzet argues, the fact that this linguistic feature is shared with Basque is too close for comfort. If there was no evidence of contact between Basque and Gascon or no other shared linguistic features, I would tend to agree with Sauzet and argue that this consonant cluster simplification or the sound change Latin *f* > [h] is an independent, natural development in Gascon. However, since there is known evidence for Basque presence in Gascony and numerous shared linguistic features in both languages, it is more likely that Gascon's distinctive linguistic features that find their correlate in Basque are attributable to Basque substratal interference.

In addition to these shared phonological developments, Allières (1987, 1994) alludes to other possible shared phonetic, morphological, and syntactic features among Basque and Gascon. Allières states that primitive Gascon did not have the vowel [y], a feature shared with Basque. He finds that while the sound change [u] > [y] occurred throughout the Gallo-Romance region, with the exception of the northeastern portion where this sound change arose at a later time, this lack of [y] comprised the entire Aquitaine triangle consisting of the Pyrenees, Garonne River, and Atlantic Ocean.

He also mentions a possibility that the vowel change in the western domain of Gascon (termed *Gascon noir*, comprising the region of Landes) could have been influenced by Basque since this change resulted in a vowel system containing three heights, a feature shared with Basque, as opposed to four vowel heights occurring in the rest of Gascon. The Basque vowel system follows (Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 15):

i	u
e	o
a	

⁹⁷ 'If a substrate acted in the formation of Gascon, it acted in the beginning when the Aquitaines, Euskarians, Celts, or a mixture of them, learned Latin and remained bilingual. Once Latin was learned and the raw languages were forgotten, it's in this Latin becoming a Romance language that these changes could spontaneously be produced.'

In *Gascon noir*, the vowel [e] was eliminated, which led to the creation of a new phoneme /œ/ that replaced /e/. For instance, the Gascon word for ‘month’, pronounced [mes] in the majority of Gascony, is pronounced [mœs] in Landes; likewise, Gascon [hemna] ‘woman’ is pronounced [hœmna] in Landes (Allières 1987: 185). This vowel shift led to the following three-height system (cf. the Gascon vowel chart in Appendix B) (Allières 1987: 185):

i	y	u
ε	œ	ɔ
	a	

Unlike Allières, I am not entirely convinced that this vowel shift is attributable to Basque influence. Even if it were proven to result from Basque, I believe that this vowel shift would be an outcome of more recent Basque contact in Gascony than a substratal effect since this sound change is not confined to the Pyrenean regions, which are those regions likely to maintain archaisms of the language. Moreover, ancient inscriptions indicate that it was the Pyrenean regions that were primarily occupied by the Basques prior to Romanization.

I am also skeptical regarding the Gascon morphological and syntactic features that Allières argues to be shared with Basque. This discussion is noteworthy, for it shows the reader that not all of the proposed connections between Gascon and Basque carry equal weight. The Gascon morphological features that Allières presents include the definite article specific to the Pyrenees and the asyllabic pronouns.

Allières (1987) notes how the Gascon definite article *eth/era* (masculine/feminine) particular to the Pyrenees (cf. *lo/la* in the rest of Gascony) is completely homophonous with the 3rd person personal pronoun, both of which derive from the Latin demonstrative pronoun *ille*. He compares this usage in Gascon to the following Basque phrases where there is similarity between the Basque demonstrative and definite article (Allières 1987: 195).⁹⁸

(73) a. *gizon har-en*
 man DEM.DIS-GEN
 ‘of that man’

 b. *gizon-a-ren*
 man-DET-GEN
 ‘of the man’

Allières states that it is possible that the Pyrenean Gascon usage of the definite article, which has the same form as the 3rd person personal pronoun, is modeled on the homophonous usage in Basque of the demonstrative in (73a) and genitive in (73b). However, I believe that the usage of the Pyrenean definite article in Gascon is just an independent development from Latin and not influenced by Basque, as these cited Basque phrases do not provide strong enough evidence to account for this Gascon morphological feature, especially since these phrases do not illustrate a homophonous usage of the Basque definite article with a personal pronoun, as occurs in Gascon.

⁹⁸ Since Allières (1987) does not provide interlinears for any of his cited Basque phrases, they are the sole responsibility of the author and were determined by researching various Basque grammars.

Likewise, I do not entirely agree with Allières in his comparison of Gascon’s asyllabic pronouns to Basque’s person marking on synthetic verb roots. He states that the Gascon asyllabic pronouns are attached to the verb root, just as Basque person marking is attached to synthetic verbs. This is not convincing enough evidence to conclude that Gascon asyllabic pronouns are linked to Basque influence, as Gascon verbal inflection is consistent with that found in the rest of Romance, such as French, and does not match that in Basque. For instance, the morpheme that denotes person marking on the verb in Basque also includes case marking (Basque is an ergative language⁹⁹), while verbs in Gascon (an accusative language) do not exhibit case agreement.

As for the shared syntactic features, Allières (1987) does mention the Gascon énonciatif and briefly compares it with the Basque particle *ba-*, but concludes that there is not a clear genetic link between the two phenomena: “Pero no resale [*sic*] nada capaz de acreditar claramente un nexo genético entre ambos fenómenos” (Allières 1987: 197).¹⁰⁰ The other syntactic feature of Gascon that Allières presents as a possible shared feature with Basque is the usage of the Gascon partitive in Béarnais to emphasize an adjective. Allières indicates that this proposed shared feature with Basque is just a suggestion and does not posit a definite connection between the two phenomena. Allières (1994: 22, 1987: 198) cites the sentences in (74): he compares the Béarnais sentence in (74a) with the Basque use of the partitive in (74b), which is the title of a famous poem by the Souletin poet Pierre Topet-Etxahun. All of the interlinears are the responsibility of the author, as Allières does not include them.

(74) a. *Que’s crompà pomas de las maduras.*
 ENC REFL buy.PRES.3SG apples PRTT ART.DEF.F.PL ripe
 ‘He’s buying himself some ripe apples.’
 (lit. ‘He’s buying himself some apples (of them) ripe.’)

b. *Bi berset dolorus-ik.*
 two verse sorrowful-PRTT
 ‘Two sorrowful verses.’ (lit. ‘Two verses (of them) sorrowful.’)

These shared syntactic features posited by Allières are not steadfast claims, for he concludes his work by indicating his hesitancy to link these Gascon syntactic features with Basque (note that he does not provide any argumentation for this hesitancy): “Ces dernières considérations syntaxiques ne sont que de bien timides suggestions; mais il faut reconnaître que dans les autres domaines, en revanche, le dossier des affinités basco-gasconnes est tout de même bien fourni!” (Allières 1994: 23).¹⁰¹ Unlike Allières’s work, this study claims that the Gascon énonciatif system not only represents a shared feature between Gascon and Basque, but is a result of contact-induced change following Romanization of the Gascon region, which was inhabited by Basque speakers. The following sections present a detailed account of how the énonciatif system evolved and the motivation for Basque speakers to transfer this linguistic feature to Latin.

⁹⁹ Basque has tense-based split ergativity: transitive and intransitive subjects contain the same marking for certain tenses (see Hualde & de Urbina 2003: 207).

¹⁰⁰ ‘But we are not capable to clearly accredit a genetic link between both phenomena.’

¹⁰¹ ‘These last syntactic arguments are only hesitant suggestions; but it is necessary to recognize that in the other domains, however, the amount of Basque-Gascon similarities is really well provided!’

4.4 Reconstructing the past: Proposal of how the énonciatif system arose

4.4.1 Shift-induced interference

“In the vast expanses of the Roman Empire, where mobility was high among such groups as the army, administrative personnel, traders and slaves, language contact was a fact of everyday life” (Adams 2003: 1). Due to the social situation of Basque and Latin where Latin was the politically dominant language, I argue that shift-induced interference, specifically substratum interference, was the mechanism behind the evolution of the Gascon énonciatif system. Linguistic evidence strengthens this argument, for Thomason & Kaufman (1988) predict that shift-induced interference will have more structural than lexical interference. Recall that Bouzet (1933) did not posit Basque as the source of the énonciatif system due to the lack of shared vocabulary between Basque and Gascon. In contrast to Bouzet, I argue that this lack of extensive shared vocabulary is to be expected in this type of sociolinguistic situation where Basque speakers were shifting to Latin.

Haase (1993) claims that evidence for Basque influence in Gascon due to shift and not borrowing is the finding that Gascon does not have many loan words from Basque. Moreover, Luchaire (1877) finds that the majority of common Basque and Gascon words are due to Basque borrowing these words from Gascon when the Gascons entered the Basque region. This is evidenced in Basque words that contain the clusters *pr*, *pl*, *tr* that do not follow Basque phonetics; an example is the Basque word *plainu* which corresponds to Gascon *planh* ‘moan’ (Luchaire 1877: 44). Although it is true that there are Basque words that are borrowed from Gascon and are not derived from Latin, I concur with Luchaire (1877) who states that many of the shared words among Basque and Gascon may not necessarily be due to Gascon or Basque borrowing from each other, but rather from each language deriving these words separately from Latin since the language of the original inhabitants of Gascony was related to Basque. An example is the word ‘furrow’ deriving from Latin *rigare* which is Basque *erreka* ‘furrow, ravine, river’ and Gascon *arrègue* ‘furrow’ (Luchaire 1877: 44).

Since Gascon’s linguistic situation is so deep-rooted in history, there is no definitive evidence to prove exactly how the énonciatif system arose. According to Thomason (2001), shift-induced interference results from imperfect language learning, while borrowing accounts for interference features that are introduced into the receiving language (in this case Latin) by people who speak the receiving language fluently. Therefore, the fluency level of Basque speakers in Latin would be needed to truly distinguish borrowing from shift-induced interference: if the original inhabitants of Gascony who spoke Basque or a related language were bilingual in Latin, then borrowing occurred, but if these speakers were learning Latin as a second language, then shift-induced interference occurred. This information is not only impossible to determine, but is also not entirely relevant: at high intensity contact situations such as that between Gascon and Basque, the lines between borrowing and shift-induced interference are murky. When people are bilingual, they do not become bilingual overnight and therefore some imperfect learning would have to play a role in the process.

Based on available evidence and known outcomes of contact-induced change, I propose the following account for the development of the énonciatif system as a result of shift-induced interference. In cases of language shift, Thomason (2001: 75) states that there can be two outcomes: (1) no change in the TL [target language], where members of the shifting group speak the same variety of the language as the original TL group members; (2) change in the TL.

She (2001: 75) outlines the following processes through which interference features are introduced:

- 1) Learners carry over some features of their native language into their version of the TL (termed TL₂)
- 2) Learners may fail or refuse to learn some of the TL features, especially marked features, and their errors form part of the TL₂
- 3) If the shifting group isn't integrated into the original TL speech community and its members remain a separate ethnic or national group, then the TL₂ becomes fixed as the group's final version of the TL (since they're not interacting with the TL speech community)
- 4) If the shifting group is integrated into the original TL speech community, then speakers of the original TL community (TL₁) and shifting group speakers' version of the TL (TL₂) will negotiate a shared version of the TL, becoming TL₃

Due to the extended period of contact between Basque (the language of the shifting group) and Latin (the target language or TL), I propose that the énonciatif system is a result of TL₃, a negotiated form of TL₂ with the original TL.

Specifically, I argue that the énonciatif system is an outcome of Basque abstract structure that was transferred to Latin. As the original language (i.e., Basque) of the Aquitaine inhabitants was used less and less as Latin became more widespread in usage, the abstract syntactic and semantic structure of the Basque particle system remained, but became filled by surface forms of Latin etymology since the Basque speakers most likely had some degree of fluency in the TL. This account correlates with Myers-Scotton's (2002: 217) analysis of attrition:

...the state of morphology in attrition is better seen in terms of the extent to which the abstract morphosyntactic frame of the attriting language [Basque in this scenario] is maintained. The results are best interpreted as sometimes showing retention of L₁ target forms, sometimes substitution of an L₁ form for another, sometimes substitution of an L₂ form, and then, but only then, sometimes outright loss. But the crucial point is that most of the time, the abstract morphosyntactic frame of the L₁ is retained; that is the need to fill its slots is observed.

The Latin morphemes that eventually filled the Basque particle slots were those particles that were used very often and already had certain pragmatic functions. For instance, *que* is used as an emphatic marker in Romance languages such as Spanish and French, and the adverbs *be* 'well' and *ja* 'already' add emphasis to a statement in Romance languages due to their semantic meaning from Latin. Bouzet (1933: 21-22) points out that the énonciatifs *be* and *ja* (written <ya> in his quotation) once had more semantic value and now have to be modified by adverbs: "A côté de *be* et *ya* réduits au seul rôle d'outils grammaticaux, nous trouvons dans le béarnais les adverbes *plá*, bien et *deyá*, déjà, qui assument dans le parler actuel le sens qu'avaient primitivement et étymologiquement ces particules" [original emphasis throughout].¹⁰² I however

¹⁰² 'Next to *be* and *ya*, reduced to the single role of being grammatical tools, we find in Béarnais the adverbs *plá* 'well' and *deyá* 'already', which take on the meaning in present-day speech that these particles once originally and etymologically had.'

argue that these adverbs exist precisely because the particles *be* and *ja* did not function like the original Latin forms and instead filled the syntactic and semantic functions formerly occupied by the Basque particles. The difference between the usage of the Gascon énonciatifs as compared to the function of these words derived from the same Latin etymology in other Romance languages concerns the particles' specific syntactic environment and semantic function in Gascon. While previous diachronic theories failed to account for the unique behavior of the Gascon énonciatif as compared to the rest of Romance, this distinction can now be explained via the Basque substrate.

This substrate explains the énonciatifs' syntactic behavior before finite verbs and their co-occurrence restrictions with the other particles. This analysis contrasts with previous diachronic accounts which attributed the preverbal position of the Gascon énonciatif to a later grammaticalized development, claiming for instance that it initially arose from its role to support clitic pronouns or from its usage in an expression that became implied leaving behind only the *que*. Using Heine & Kuteva's (2005) model of replica grammaticalization, I propose that speakers shifting to Latin modeled both the Basque modal particles' syntax and the grammaticalized function of the Basque emphatic particle *ba* to account for the grammaticalized nature of the énonciatif system whereby a sentence is deemed ungrammatical without an énonciatif before the finite verb.¹⁰³ Heine & Kuteva (2005: 80-81, 92) find that grammatical replication is a cross-linguistic regular process and they present the following two types of contact-induced grammaticalization (emphasis is consistent with the original):

- 1) ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization
 - a. Speakers notice that in language **M** there is a grammatical category **Mx**.
 - b. They create an equivalent category **Rx** in language **R** on the basis of the use patterns available in **R**.
 - c. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using construction **Ry** in order to develop **Rx**.
 - d. They grammaticalize **Ry** to **Rx**.

- 2) replica grammaticalization
 - a. Speakers notice that in language **M** there is a grammatical category **Mx**.
 - b. They create an equivalent category **Rx** in language **R** on the basis of the use patterns available in **R**.
 - c. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language **M**, using an analogical formula of the kind [**My** > **Mx**]: [**Ry** > **Rx**].
 - d. They grammaticalize **Ry** to **Rx**.

The difference between the two types above concerns the existence of a grammaticalization model in the source language for the target language to replicate; ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization has no such model, whereas replica grammaticalization does.

The fact that Gascon's overall morphology and syntax are comparable to other Romance languages and not to Basque does not in any way dispel the theory that the énonciatif system is a remnant of the morphosyntactic structure of the language spoken by Gascony's original

¹⁰³ Another possible argument that the grammaticalized nature of the énonciatif system is an archaic feature of the language is the fact that the grammaticalized nature of the Basque particle *ba* reflects an older form of Basque since *ba* is only grammaticalized before synthetic verbs, a verb form used in earlier stages of the Basque language.

inhabitants. Heine & Kuteva state how grammatical replication does not seem to have any effect on a language's overall grammatical structure.

We also found no evidence to support the view according to which the grammars of languages in contact are or behave like structurally balanced, self-contained, or closed systems. Grammatical replication takes place not between different systems but rather between different ways of saying things, of structuring discourses, and of expressing grammatical concepts. While replication may, and frequently does, lead, for example to a reorganization of grammatical paradigms, as a rule this has no noticeable effects on the structure of grammar as a whole. (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 263)

To account for the semantic behavior of the énonciatif system, it is likely that the adoption of the Latin morphemes to fill the Basque particles' slots resulted in changes to the semantic and pragmatic functions of the original Basque particles. This theory corresponds to Myers-Scotton's (2002) observation of how the semantics and pragmatics of lexical elements may change once abstract lexical structure from one language is combined with another. Therefore, it is not surprising that there is not a 1:1 correspondence between the Basque and Gascon preverbal particles.

4.4.2 Accounting for variation in the énonciatif system

The finding that certain Gascon regions use different particles than others strengthens the argument that this system arose from contact. Some speakers in certain regions for instance must have adopted the Latin morpheme *se* instead of *e* to mark questions, while others preferred *be* over *ja* for emphasis. Moreover, the variability in the co-occurrence of the énonciatif with negation can be explained via the Basque substrate, as the Basque particles can occur with negation, with the exception of the emphatic particle *ba*. In areas where the énonciatif does not co-occur with negation, it is likely that speakers in these areas modeled the usage of the énonciatif based on the grammaticalized function of the Basque emphatic particle *ba*, which does not occur with negation, and extended this usage to the other particles. Meanwhile, the areas which allow negation with the énonciatif were influenced by the other Basque particles that can occur with negation. Therefore, certain regions developed a slightly different system, a situation likely to occur in extended contact situations.

I also propose that some of the variability in the usage of the énonciatifs is due to more recent attrition. For instance, the seemingly desemanticization of some énonciatifs, in particular the énonciatif *e*, whereby *que* is used instead of this particle in questions and subordinate clauses, is most likely due to more recent contact with the majority language, French. Heine & Kuteva (2005: 253) mention how contrasts can be neutralized in attrition in which one linguistic structure is generalized at the expense of another, leading to context generalization that entails desemanticization: "Context generalization entails desemanticization, i.e. loss in semantic specificity in that, as a result of its use in new contexts, S₁ [one linguistic structure, the énonciatif *que* in this case] tends to acquire a more general meaning, combining the semantics of both S₁ and S₂."

Contact also explains the geographical distribution of the énonciatif system. The fact that the énonciatif system is present in the Pyrenean regions, which are those regions containing

remnants of the language spoken by the original Aquitaine inhabitants and are the most isolated regions maintaining more archaic linguistic features, strengthens the arguments that the énonciatif system is anything but a recent development in the language and that the grammaticalized nature of the énonciatif appearing before all finite verbs did not develop at a later stage and is instead due to replica grammaticalization. I propose the following scenarios to account for the regions towards the northern and eastern borders of Gascony with a less systematic usage of the énonciatif system.

One scenario is that these regions may have at one time had a systematic usage of the énonciatif, requiring this particle to precede finite verbs. This usage then became less systematic over time due to increased influence from Latin, French, or the other neighboring Romance vernaculars, in addition to possible decreasing numbers of Basque speakers in these areas, leading to less Basque-Latin/Gascon bilingualism. Another possibility is that these regions may never have had an énonciatif system. According to this scenario, the regions with an optional use of the énonciatifs developed them at a later time due to contact with speakers of the Gascon Romance vernacular in the Pyrenees who had the énonciatif system.

To explain those Gascon regions without any usage of the énonciatifs, I argue that these regions never had an énonciatif system since they were most likely not occupied by the original Aquitaine inhabitants upon Romanization of the region. It is likely that the Aquitaine inhabitants retreated to the mountains once the Romans entered the area, especially since ancient inscriptions, toponyms, and other interference features shared with Basque are prevalent in the Pyrenees.

Carrera's (2007) description of the énonciatif system in Aranais indicates that it is an older feature of the language, strengthening the present study's diachronic account. Carrera remarks that only older generations of speakers use the énonciatifs in regions close to the French border. Younger speakers however do not use the énonciatifs, an outcome that is most likely due to increased Catalan and Spanish influence. Although one could argue that the énonciatif system in Aranais is due to more recent contact with Gascon speakers, I do not believe that this is the case. Since proto-Basque speakers inhabited this Pyrenean valley, it is more likely that Aranais developed the énonciatif system from shift-induced interference that developed over centuries like the other Gascon areas, especially since Aranais does not use the énonciatifs *be* and *ja* in precisely the same manner as other Gascon regions. Further evidence is Carrera's finding that the énonciatif *que* occurs most often in fossilized expressions or proverbs, which indicates that the énonciatif is an archaic feature of the language.

4.4.3 Motivation for this contact-induced change

While Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 35) propose that linguistic interference is “conditioned in the first instance by social factors, not linguistic ones”, Myers-Scotton (2002) argues that it is the structure of the language that plays a more prominent role in which features become transferred from one language to another. She argues that content morphemes (including discourse markers) which convey speakers' intentions are incorporated first in the contact language or transferred in language shift since “the main goal of speakers is to satisfy their intentions to convey specific meanings, including pragmatic inferences” (Myers-Scotton 2002: 299). She goes on to state:

When words in a second language convey such intentions better than those that the speakers already know in their L₁, semantic/pragmatic ‘bootstrapping’ kicks in. That is, speakers incorporate content morphemes from an L₂ into their speech. Eventually, if these morphemes are used again and again, they are included in a reconfiguring of the speakers’ competence. (Myers-Scotton 2002: 299)

Moreover, according to Heine & Kuteva (2005: 264):

What surfaces from these works is that there are not necessarily clearly definable goals that motivate people to replicate – other than speaking one language as they speak another language. Still, in doing so, they may be induced, for example by the fact that the other language offers a particularly useful way of saying certain things, or that expressing things the way they are expressed in the other language may be advantageous – socially, communicatively, or otherwise – or that replication reduces the cognitive load that the simultaneous handling of two or more different languages entails.

Similarly, Aikhenvald (2007: 26) claims that “Constructions used for marking pragmatic functions of constituents – focus, topic, backgrounding, and foregrounding – are the easiest to diffuse.”

It has been shown that the Basque modal particles convey evidentiality and other important discourse functions, which accounts for why this morphosyntactic feature of the language was transferred to the Romance vernacular in Gascony. Evidence for the importance of the Basque particles in their mental lexicon is Rohlf’s (1970) finding that Basque speakers use the Spanish word *ya* ‘already’ in all of the affirmative (non-negative) sentences when they speak Spanish. Rohlf (1970: 210) cites the following sentences uttered by Basque speakers in Spanish: *ya lo sé* ‘I know it’, *ya estoy en casa* ‘I am in the house’. Moreover, González (2000: 309) notes the following: “Basque speakers identify the Spanish temporal adverb *ya* with the Basque affirmative prefix *ba-* and transfer its affirmative function to the Spanish adverb.” This illustrates that the Basque particle *ba* is so deep-rooted in the language that Basque speakers insert a comparable particle, such as Spanish *ya*, to occupy its position in the phrase. If Basque speakers currently utter *ya* to replace *ba* when speaking Spanish, it is likely that centuries ago this same mechanism occurred: the original Aquitaine inhabitants who spoke an ancestral form of Basque chose comparable Latin morphemes to replace the Basque particles’ syntactic and semantic functions when shifting to speaking Latin.

It was thus the pragmatic use of the Basque particles, coupled with the sociocultural context of the region, which led to their initial inclusion and ultimate survival in the Romance vernacular of Gascony. It is not the case that the pragmatic function of the particles alone led to their transfer since my fieldwork in the region indicates that the Gascon énonciatifs are not being transferred to French. Native Gascon speakers when speaking French did not use any Gascon énonciatif or any comparable French particle before finite verbs that would fulfill the Gascon énonciatif syntactic position and semantic functions. I attribute this finding, which did not correlate with my initial hypothesis, to the different sociolinguistic context in Gascony. Native Gascon speakers acquired French in schools where the standardized form of the language was

formally taught. Therefore, native Gascon speakers did not shift to speaking French in a natural context occurring over centuries, as happened in the past among Basque and Latin speakers.

4.5 How diachrony affects synchrony

Contact explains why the énonciatifs are not quite akin to an evidential system, discourse markers, or other clearly definable linguistic categories. While certain Basque particles are evidential in nature with *bide* marking inferential information and *omen* hearsay information, the fact that Latin did not have evidential markers led the Aquitaine inhabitants to adopt Latin morphemes to fulfill the evidential functions already present in their language. These evidential particles are not the sole basis of the énonciatif system, as this chapter showed that Basque has a larger system of preverbal particles, including the emphatic particle *ba* that functions somewhat differently from the other modal particles. Semantic traces of the Basque system are left behind in the énonciatifs, such as *e* or *se* which, in certain dialects, indicate uncertainty or introduce reported speech.

While prior semantic accounts of the énonciatifs are valid, particularly Field's theory of speaker subscription, the function of the énonciatifs becomes clearer once their diachronic source is elucidated. Previous theories attempted to categorize the function of the énonciatifs within a particular semantic framework, but failed since the énonciatifs' semantic functions result from a mixture between those of the Basque particles and those of each énonciatif's Latin etymological source. For instance, as presented in Chapter 2, Bouzet (1951) describes *e* as a marker of uncertainty, but then describes *que* under a different semantic domain, claiming that it indicates new information. Each énonciatif has overlapping semantic functions and does not behave in exactly the same manner across all dialects, making it impossible to fit into a neat model. The data results presented in Chapter 5 illustrate even more variability in the énonciatif behavior than prior studies present and reveal additional pragmatic functions of the particles, some of which contradict the previously proposed semantic theories of the énonciatif system.

4.6 Conclusion: Diachronic source of the énonciatif

The development of the Gascon énonciatif system is anything but neat and straightforward. Heine & Kuteva (2005: 5) state, "Contact-induced language change is a complex process that not infrequently extends over centuries, or even millennia." The Gascon region has had layers of contact over centuries with numerous languages accompanying the occupation of the Franks, Visigoths, and British to name a few, not to mention the more recent contact with French, Catalan, and Spanish. The influence of Basque in Gascony however differs from the other languages/groups cited above since Basque, or rather an ancestral form of the language, was that spoken by the original Aquitaine inhabitants prior to any subsequent occupation. In a way, Gascon can be viewed as Romanized Basque.

Although possible Basque substratal influence on Gascon has long been noted in Gascon's phonology, this study has shown that a feature of Gascon's morphosyntax and semantics can be explained via the same mechanism. Luchaire (1877), who has provided one of the most extensive studies on Gascony's Basque substrate, concluded that the Basque substrate did not seem to extend to Gascon's syntax, which he attributed to the differing syntax of Basque and Latin:

Cette influence [Basque on Gascon], il est vrai ne nous paraît pas s'être étendu jusqu'à la syntaxe. A ce point de vue, aucune comparaison n'est possible entre le gascon, dialecte d'une langue à flexion, et le basque, langue agglutinante, restée au second degré du développement linguistique.¹⁰⁴ (Luchaire 1877: 37)

This study provides evidence for Basque influence on Gascon's morphosyntax and, in so doing, fills a gap in the previous diachronic theories of the énonciatif system that posited Latin as the source and, as a result, failed to account for the unique syntactic distribution and semantic function of the Gascon particles. The specific origin of the énonciatif *e* in subordinate clauses still remains unknown, though studies have noted similarities with Romanian particles (see Bouzet 1933: 28-29, Bourciez 1946: 595-597 for details). However, I believe an in-depth study of Basque subordinate clauses would shed light on this issue, as emphatic *ba* is restricted to certain subordinate clause types. Nonetheless, the commonalities shared between the Basque and Gascon particles outlined in this chapter, coupled with the history of the Gascon region and known outcomes of contact-induced change, provide sufficient evidence to claim that shift-induced interference from Basque to Latin is the diachronic source of the Gascon énonciatif system.

¹⁰⁴ 'This influence [Basque on Gascon] does not appear to be extended to the syntax. In this way, no comparison is possible between Gascon, dialect of an inflectional language, and Basque, an agglutinative language, remaining at the second degree of linguistic development.'

Chapter 5

Comparison of current énonciatif usage to prior synchronic descriptions

The results presented in this chapter give credence to the following Gascon saying:¹⁰⁵

Cada vilatge qu'a lo son lengatge; cada maison la soa faïçon.
'Each village has its own language; each house has its own way [of speaking].'

Data gathered primarily via sentence elicitations and speaker reports concerning his/her énonciatif usage uncovered more variation in the énonciatif system than is described in prior literature. Consequently, recordings of older speakers should be made throughout Gascony (like those done by IEO 65 for the Bigorre region as mentioned in Chapter 1, §1.5.6) to capture the language's significant variability before this pertinent and irreplaceable information becomes lost. This data is essential to future academic research in not only linguistics, but diverse fields, such as archaeology, history, and geography. Considering the significant time-depth of this language as presented in the previous chapter, this information is particularly crucial for studies on the origins of language, especially when linguistic data is combined with genetic and archaeological information. Of even more import is the intrinsic value that this data holds for future generations of Gascon speakers, as language is but a reflection of a person's culture, roots, and identity. I met many non-native Gascon speakers who sought to specifically learn the Gascon variety spoken by their relatives and did so by speaking with them and with other residents of the same community. Since the vast majority of native Gascon speakers will no longer be living in 20-30 years, there is truly a pressing need to gather this data before it becomes lost forever.

The variation encountered not only strengthens the diachronic account outlined in the previous chapter, but enriches the literature regarding the énonciatif synchronic behavior. In particular, the findings oppose some of the prior semantic theoretical proposals of this system, as specific semantic/pragmatic functions previously associated with particular énonciatifs were not consistent across all speakers and even additional functions were uncovered. Even more important was the finding that the vast majority of speakers did not have a semantic/pragmatic contrast based on the choice of an énonciatif, thus pointing to a likelihood for the semantic/pragmatic foundation of the énonciatif system to gradually disappear. The findings presented in this chapter, which analyze the linguistic data from a sociolinguistic perspective, shed light on the future usage of this system, an issue that is further addressed in the following chapter.

5.1 Methodology

To accurately compare my findings to prior synchronic descriptions of the énonciatif system, this chapter only considers the results from those participants (60 in total) who are either originally from the regions within the énonciatif geographic zone (e.g., Bigorre, Béarn, Comminges) or have family origins from these regions and thus heard Gascon at a young age

¹⁰⁵ Silvan Carrère of IEO 65 informed me of this Gascon saying.

from family members. Those speakers whom I met in Bigorre and Béarn who are from the Gers département are from areas within the énonciatif zone (see §5.1.1 for details). Data from the remaining participants recorded in the Gironde département, a region not expected to use the énonciatifs, is considered in the following chapter regarding the future usage of this system. For additional details concerning this project’s fieldwork methodology, refer back to Chapter 1, §1.5.

5.1.1 Sociolinguistic variables

Table 24 at the end of this section reflects the gender, age, native language, and dialect region of each participant who hereafter will be referred to by his/her participant number to ensure each speaker’s confidentiality. The table also labels those participants who are either currently Occitan/Gascon teachers or who used to teach Occitan/Gascon (are currently retired or have changed their employment); data from these participants will be considered in more depth in the following chapter concerning the énonciatif future usage.

Gender is reasonably equally distributed among the participants even though it is not one of the sociolinguistic variables considered in this study: 35% female versus 65% male. All ages are reflective of that at the time of the recording (during 2008-2009). The age of each participant is detailed in Table 24, but the overall age distribution organized by age group is outlined below:

Age Group	Total number of participants (% of those surveyed)
14-35	25 (42%)
36-65	21 (35%)
66 and over	14 (23%)

How to classify each participant’s native language proved challenging, as I realized throughout the course of my study that the notion of one’s native language is quite complex. For instance, some of the participants had a passive knowledge of Gascon from a young age, with some having even limited oral usage of the language, such as certain phrases, but did not become fluent in Gascon until they were older and learned it by actively speaking to others, taking Gascon courses, and/or reading grammars. Such participants often had parents who only spoke to them in French, but grew up hearing Gascon around them from their family members (often including their parents who would speak in Gascon to each other, but in French to the children) and/or neighboring people in the village. Since these speakers did not have a strong command of the language since birth, I will not consider them as native speakers, but rather as Gascon relearners due to their prior exposure to the language. I consider one’s native language to be that used by the participant’s parents/guardians when speaking to the participant from birth. All speakers whose native language is listed only as Gascon (as opposed to Gascon and French) learned French upon entering school around the age of 5-6.

Exceptions to my classification of native language are participants 41 and 49 who are deemed Gascon native speakers (in addition to French) since they spoke Gascon from a young age even though their parents/guardians did not transmit the language to them. Although participant 41’s parents spoke to him in French (his parents were both native Gascon speakers who did not transmit Gascon to their children), he is classified as a native Gascon and French speaker since he informed me that his maternal grandmother always spoke to him in Gascon (he lived in the same village as his grandparents) and that he was able to speak both French and Gascon since birth, as he always responded to his grandmother in Gascon. Participant 49 is classified as a native speaker since he lived with his parents and paternal grandparents and spoke

Gascon since he was young. While his parents spoke to him in French, his grandparents spoke to him in Gascon. He informed me that he always responded to his grandparents in Gascon and therefore spoke Gascon from a young age, thus considering both Gascon and French as his native language. Interestingly, the brother of participant 49, participant 23, did not speak Gascon while growing up. In contrast to participant 49 who would respond to his grandparents in Gascon, participant 23 would respond to them in French. Participant 23 informed me that he was not able to speak Gascon until he enrolled in an optional Occitan course in lycée, where Occitan was taught as an LV₂/LV₃, when he was 17 years old. Both participants did not have an answer as to why one of them spoke Gascon at a young age and the other did not even though they were both raised in the same household.

Table 24 does not indicate whether or not each non-native Gascon speaker is a Gascon relearner since nearly all had prior exposure to the language and can thus be classified as such. Only four participants (participants 1, 26, 35, and 43) never heard Gascon growing up and thus are not considered Gascon relearners and will be classified instead as Gascon second language learners. Participant 1 was raised in Bigorre, but her family does not speak Gascon; her only Occitan familial connection is that her maternal grandparents are from the Languedocien region and speak limited Languedocien. This participant therefore did not have any prior exposure to Gascon before she enrolled in Occitan courses in collège when she was 10 years old. Participant 26 is from Paris and does not have any familial connection to Gascon. He did not begin learning the language until he moved to Béarn when he was 10 years old (he enrolled in an optional Occitan course during his first year of collège in Oloron), but did not fully begin speaking the language until he moved to Pau to attend the Université de Pau (he did not enroll in Occitan courses at the university, but taught himself the language by reading grammars and speaking to others in the region). Participant 35 who speaks Languedocien as his native language, and whose entire family is from the Languedocien region, did not begin speaking Gascon until he moved to Béarn in the 1970s and was asked to teach Occitan courses. Since Gascon is the variety of Occitan spoken in Béarn, he had to learn Gascon to teach this Occitan language to others. Finally, participant 43 is from Marseille (located in Provence) and does not have any family members who speak Gascon. He learned Gascon when he was in his 20s as an undergraduate at the Université de Pau where he enrolled in Occitan courses.

Although I had initially wished to compare the results of my data across Gascon speakers of different fluency levels, almost all speakers whom I met considered themselves to be nearly or fully orally fluent (concerning both production and comprehension, as I encountered many people throughout the region who could understand Gascon, but could not speak it); therefore, each speaker's fluency rating is not reported in Table 24. To determine each speaker's level of Gascon fluency, I provided each participant a numeric scale from 1-4 and asked him/her to self-rank his/her fluency in Gascon and French, where 4 represented the highest level of competence. Although I gathered data pertaining to each participant's self-rated oral, written, and reading fluency, only his/her oral fluency rating is reported, as this chapter's focus concerns the oral usage of the énonciatifs. The fluency ranking I provided follows:¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ The English translation of the fluency scale follows: 'Using the following scale from 1-4 where 1 is least fluent and 4 is most fluent, please describe (provide a number for) your oral fluency in Gascon, and also your oral fluency in French. 1 = can produce minimal utterances using basic vocabulary; 2 = can produce simple sentences; 3 = can participate in conversations, but cannot construct elaborate narratives/stories; 4 = fully fluent, can participate in all conversations in any situation.'

Votre facilité orale

L'échelle d'un à quatre où le numéro un indique le moins de facilité en la langue et le numéro quatre indique le plus de facilité en la langue. Veuillez décrire (donnez un numéro à) votre facilité orale en gascon et aussi en français.

- 1 = vous pouvez dire des phrases minimales en utilisant le vocabulaire fondamental
- 2 = vous pouvez dire des phrases simples
- 3 = vous pouvez participer aux conversations, mais vous ne pouvez pas raconter des histoires élaborées
- 4 = vous parlez absolument avec aisance; donc vous pouvez participer à n'importe quelle conversation dans n'importe quelle situation

With the exception of participant 5 who ranked his oral production of Gascon between 2 and 3 (as opposed to his comprehension which he told me was 4), all participants ranked their Gascon oral fluency as 3, 4, or between the two numbers, thus being equivalent or nearly equivalent to that described for French (all participants ranked their French oral fluency as 4).

Although each participant's Gascon literacy (reading and writing fluency levels) is not the primary focus of this study, a trend worth noting is a transition from a language that most speakers did not know how to write to a language that is now written by the vast majority of new generations of Gascon speakers. Even though Gascon has a long literary tradition, the language was primarily an oral language: all of the native Gascon speakers whom I interviewed who are unassociated with the Occitan movement do not know how to write Gascon, but have full written fluency in French, having learned the language in school. Some of these speakers informed me that they are able to read a limited amount of Gascon using their knowledge of French literacy or that of additional Romance languages taught in school, such as Spanish. One such speaker (participant 52) independently had created his own writing system for Gascon when he was young based on the French writing system. While the native Gascon speakers who did not know how to write Gascon were aged over 50, all of the younger Gascon speakers (both native and non-native) whom I interviewed (i.e., aged 35 and younger) not only knew how to write Gascon, but ranked their Gascon written fluency as 3-4, with most ranking it on the same level as French, 4.¹⁰⁷ Interestingly, one participant (no. 12), who is a native French speaker and Gascon relearner, ranked his written fluency of Gascon higher than that of French (3 for Gascon writing, 4 for French writing; level 4 was provided for both French and Gascon oral and reading fluency).

This transition from a purely oral to an oral and written language is arising since newer generations of speakers are formed primarily through the school system than familial transmission. Moreover, those speakers who are currently transmitting the language to their children are primarily those involved in the Occitan movement and therefore already know how to write Gascon. Participant 14, a 77-year-old native Gascon speaker who cannot write Gascon and did not transmit the language to her children or grandchildren, remarked about this change in the language. One of her seven grandchildren began learning Occitan (Gascon) in lycée when she was 18 years old and told her grandmother that she cannot speak Gascon well and prefers

¹⁰⁷ The exception is participant 49 who ranked his Gascon writing ability as 2. He is a native Gascon and French speaker not involved in Occitan activism; he began learning how to write Gascon when he enrolled in Occitan as an LV₂/LV₃ during his last two years of high school. In contrast to French which he ranked as 4 for his oral, written, and reading fluency, his Gascon written fluency was ranked 2 and reading ranked 3 (his Gascon oral fluency was the same as that for French: 4). Still, the fact that this speaker is able to write Gascon due to his prior exposure to Occitan in school distinguishes him from older native Gascon speakers who never learned how to write the language.

writing than speaking: “Elle [participant’s granddaughter who enrolled in a high school Gascon course] arrivait pas à parler gascon. Elle préfèrait l’écrire que le parler.”¹⁰⁸ Since participant 14 had never learned how to write Gascon, she informed me that she was amazed to hear that her granddaughter had found speaking Gascon more difficult than writing.

The overarching region of each speaker’s dialect, such as Béarn or Bigorre, is outlined in Table 24. Regional designations (e.g., Béarn) are used instead of the names of the départements (e.g., Pyrénées-Atlantiques) since the different Gascon dialects bear these labels, such as Béarnais, Bigourdin, or Commingeois, which correspond to the regions Béarn, Bigorre, and Comminges. Refer back to Tables 1 and 2 in Chapter 1 for the names of the Gascon regions and départements. Although I chose these larger geographical labels to describe each speaker’s dialect, it is important to mention that these designations do not reflect actual dialect divisions: there is speaker variation within the said regions (e.g., speakers from the mountainous regions of Béarn and Bigorre use the definite articles *eth/era* as opposed to *lo/la* uttered by speakers who live in the plains of both areas).

The region is provided instead of a more specific geographical designation since it was impossible to identify a singular locale for all participants that would accurately define his/her Gascon usage. For instance, some participants have lived in various areas throughout Gascony, and the Gascon dialect for other participants is not necessarily based on where they grew up, but rather on the hometown of their relatives from whom they learned Gascon; in many cases, the relatives were not from the same locale. Where relevant, I will discuss specific geographical details of the speakers.

I determined each participant’s Gascon dialect region based on data collected during the sociolinguistic portion of the interview. For native Gascon speakers, the region is based on their childhood residence and that of their parents who transmitted the language to them. To glean this information for non-native Gascon speakers, I asked them how they learned Gascon (or rather re-learned the language, as most non-native Gascon speakers had prior exposure to Gascon) and how they would label their Gascon dialect (e.g., some used the terms *Armagnac*, *Béarnais*, *Bigourdin*, or *Commingeois*). For some Gascon relearners, the dialect area is based on that of their Gascon-speaking relatives’ place of origin as opposed to the participants’ birthplace/hometown: this applies to the Gascon relearners who were not raised in the same locale as their Gascon-speaking relatives with whom they interacted later in life to both improve their language abilities and adopt their relatives’ specific Gascon dialect.

The dialect region for Gascon speakers from the Gers département is listed as Armagnac only for those participants (nos. 33 and 53) who described their Gascon dialect as such. I did not use this term to describe the Gascon dialect region for participant 10, who is also from the Gers département, since she is not from an area within the Armagnac region (she is from Saint-Arroman, a village located in the southern portion of Gers bordering the Hautes-Pyrénées département; note that her parents who transmitted Gascon to her as a native language were from this village as well). Moreover, this participant did not describe her Gascon dialect as Armagnac, unlike participants 33 and 53.

There are two participants (nos. 10 and 53) whose dialect region bears two terms. Participant 10’s dialect area falls between both Gers and Bigorre. In addition to the fact that this participant grew up in an area of Gers that borders the Bigorre region, she moved to Bigorre (specifically Lescurry where her husband is from) in 1982 and has lived there ever since. There

¹⁰⁸ ‘She [participant’s granddaughter who enrolled in a high school Gascon course] cannot speak Gascon. She preferred to write it than to speak it.’

are also two regions (Armagnac and Bigorre) listed for participant 53, a non-native Gascon speaker. She described her Gascon dialect as being a mixture of these two regions. This participant was born and raised in the Armagnac area, but then moved to Bigorre to live with her grandmother for two years in order to attend a lycée where she could enroll in Gascon, as no schools in the Armagnac area where she lived offered Occitan instruction. Although participant 53 currently lives in Béarn, I did not include this regional designation within her dialect area, as she did not describe her Gascon dialect as such and just recently moved to Béarn to attend the Université de Pau. It is also worth mentioning that participant 53 informed me that she is trying to learn the Gascon dialect specific to Armagnac.

Being that the Gers département consists of areas that fall outside the énonciatif geographic zone, it is important to mention that all participants from this département are from areas within the énonciatif zone, as based on Séguy's ALG map 2390 (refer to Map 7c in Appendix A). Participant 10 is from Saint-Arroman, participant 33 is from Saint-Mont, and participant 53 is from Nogaro. Of these locales, Nogaro is the only one identified on Séguy's ALG map 2390, which shows that it falls clearly within the systematic énonciatif zone. To locate the other places that are not labeled on this map, their position in relation to the identified locations is provided: Saint-Arroman is 21 km south of St-Martin and 21 km west of Faget-Abbatial, and is thus very close to the area of Gers where the énonciatif usage is optional; Saint-Mont is located 6 km west of Riscle and 23 km south of Nogaro, and is thus within the systematic énonciatif zone.

TABLE 24. Research participants' distribution: gender, age, native language, dialect region

Participant #	Sex	Age	Native language	Gascon dialect region	Gascon/Occitan Teacher (T)
1	F	19	French	Bigorre	
2	F	21	French	Comminges	
3	M	20	French	Comminges	
4	F	21	French	Bigorre	
5	M	59	French	Bigorre	
6	M	78	French, Gascon	Bigorre	
7	F	80	French, Gascon	Bigorre	
8	M	79	French, Gascon	Bigorre	
9	F	24	French	Bigorre	T
10	F	51	French, Gascon	Gers/Bigorre	
11	M	32	French	Béarn	T
12	M	25	French	Bigorre	
13	M	32	French	Béarn	
14	F	77	Gascon	Bigorre	
15	M	60	French	Béarn	
16	F	33	French	Bigorre	T
17	F	27	French	Béarn	T
18	F	24	French	Comminges	T
19	M	57	French	Bigorre	
20	M	40	French	Bigorre	former T
21	M	22	French	Bigorre	
22	F	36	French, Gascon	Béarn	
23	M	29	French	Béarn	
24	M	54	French	Béarn	T
25	M	62	French, Gascon	Béarn	former T

26	M	23	French	Béarn	
27	M	33	French	Béarn	
28	M	48	French	Béarn	former T
29	F	49	French	Béarn	T
30	M	57	Spanish	Béarn	
31	M	75	French	Béarn	former T
32	M	80	Gascon	Béarn	
33	F	45	French	Armagnac	T
34	M	51	French, Italian	Béarn	T
35	M	66	Languedocien	Béarn	former T
36	F	84	Gascon	Béarn	
37	M	85	Gascon	Béarn	
38	M	74	Gascon	Béarn	
39	M	58	Gascon	Béarn	
40	M	85	French, Gascon	Béarn	
41	M	40	French, Gascon	Béarn	
42	M	36	French	Béarn	
43	M	24	French	Béarn	
44	M	27	French, Gascon	Béarn	
45	M	51	French	Béarn	
46	M	39	Gascon	Béarn	
47	M	66	Gascon	Béarn	
48	F	62	Gascon	Béarn	
49	M	33	French, Gascon	Béarn	
50	F	54	French, Gascon	Béarn	former T
51	M	31	French	Béarn	T
52	M	70	Gascon	Béarn	
53	F	20	French	Armagnac/Bigorre	
54	M	80	Gascon	Béarn	former T
55	F	22	French	Béarn	
56	M	54	French	Béarn	
57	F	15	French	Béarn	
58	F	14	French, Gascon	Béarn	
59	F	14	Gascon	Béarn	
60	M	14	French	Béarn	

5.1.2 Data elicitation

The following section, §5.2, presents the results from direct sentence elicitations with the participants. In order to obtain the participants' natural speech and not word-by-word translations from French to Gascon, I informed speakers that I was interested in their natural usage of the language and asked them to provide a Gascon sentence that conveyed the general meaning of the French sentence I uttered (the sentences elicited are discussed within each subsection of §5.2). I prompted speakers with relevant questions regarding their usage of the énonciatifs to elicit specific information that was not obtained via the sentence elicitations. For instance, to elicit the énonciatifs with specific semantic functions, such as *be* or *ja*, or to determine if speakers allowed the usage of the énonciatif *que* with negation, I produced examples of Gascon sentences with the said particles in question and asked speakers if they

could utter those sentences. To determine if a speaker's énonciatif choice in certain contexts was linked to a particular semantic/pragmatic function that s/he wished to convey, I repeated the Gascon sentence they provided using another énonciatif and asked whether the sentence conveyed the same meaning. The vast majority of speakers understood my questions, with some informing me that although they would not use certain sentences with the said particles in question, they have heard other speakers utter such sentences. My prompts did not influence the data since each speaker understood that I was interested in their actual, natural Gascon usage and I asked specific questions to ensure that the responses obtained were natural.

Elicitations of sentences were not carried out for participants 2, 29, 37, and 56. Participant 2 was among the initial participants (participants 1-3) for whom I did not elicit sentences: in the very initial stages of fieldwork, I had planned to only collect data from spontaneous speech, but soon realized that specific contextual environments of the énonciatifs could only be gathered through direct elicitation. While I was able to arrange an additional meeting with participants 1 and 3 to elicit this specific data, this was not the case for participant 2. I did not obtain elicited data for participant 29 since the recording of this participant was conducted with participant 28 and there was not enough time to elicit sentences from both speakers; however, I did ask both participants questions concerning their language usage, and therefore obtained sociolinguistic information from each speaker. The linguistic énonciatif data reported for participant 29 is based solely on data collected during the portion of the interview where I asked both participants to converse in Gascon. However, this data is limited since participant 28 did not talk for a significant amount of time (in addition to participants 28 and 29, there were other Gascon speakers present in the room and therefore the conversation was not limited to two people). For participant 37, sentences were only elicited with his wife, participant 36. However, I am treating the responses by participant 36 as applying to participant 37 since he was present during the recordings, is a native Gascon speaker from the same village as his wife (they are only a year apart in age and both attended the same school when they were young), and his wife often looked to her husband after her responses since she was curious as to whether or not he would say the sentences the same way, which he did. As for participant 56, I was unable to elicit sentences with him due to limited time availability; the data reported is based on his usage of Gascon obtained during the recording since he responded in Gascon to the sociolinguistic questions that I posed in French.

Reported data is solely based on each participant's natural responses to the elicited sentences and any data that did not elicit a natural response from the speaker and was therefore difficult to obtain is ignored (each section specifies how many participants provided responses for the sentences discussed). Even though measures were taken to ensure that the responses obtained corresponded to each speaker's natural Gascon speech, the data still primarily reflects speakers' reports of their énonciatif usage. Given that the present study sought to determine each speaker's énonciatif usage and whether the speaker's énonciatif choice was linked to a particular semantic/pragmatic function, such information could not be gleaned from a corpus study of natural Gascon speech like that of Pusch based upon data from his COG, particularly since certain énonciatifs only appear in specific contexts.

5.2 Data results: Enonciatif usage

This section presents the results of the data collected via direct elicitations and is organized based on the grammatical context elicited. The tables in Appendix C detail the data

results for the contexts in which significant variation occurred. Note that the tables include participants 57-60 within the same row: these participants were recorded together (all are students at the Collège Calandreta in Pau), making it too difficult to match the response with the participant when different responses were encountered.

5.2.1 Main affirmative declarative clauses

As expected, all participants, including those for whom sentences were not directly elicited, used the énonciatif *que* in main affirmative declarative clauses. I elicited the sentence *Je chante* ‘I’m singing’, whose response was *Que canti* across all research participants for whom direct elicitation was conducted. Moreover, as expected, in the elicitations of sentences with subordinate clauses (see §5.2.5), the main clause consistently contained the énonciatif *que*.

5.2.2 Questions

I elicited the question *Est-ce que tu chantes souvent?* and its equivalent variant *Chantes-tu souvent?* ‘Do you sing often?’ across all participants (with the exceptions of those participants for whom no sentences were elicited: 2, 29, and 56) to determine the énonciatif usage in this context. The prototypical Gascon response is provided in (75), where the underscore indicates the place of the énonciatif of interest. Note that all of the Gascon responses deemed “prototypical” are representative: the responses were not consistent across all participants, as many lexical items and/or verb conjugations varied.

(75) ___ *cantas* *sovent?*
 sing.PRES.2SG often

In contrast to Schärli’s (1985) study which found a difference in the énonciatif usage between questions elicited with French *est-ce que* and questions purely marked with intonation (refer back to Chapter 2, §2.3.2 for details), all participants, with one exception, indicated the same Gascon response for both French sentences, i.e., the one with French *est-ce que* and the other with subject-verb inversion. Participant 17 was the only person who indicated a semantic difference between the French question *Est-ce que tu chantes souvent?* and *Chantes-tu souvent?*, which therefore elicited a different énonciatif usage for both sentences.

Dans le sens *Chantes-tu souvent?*, on n’est pas obligé de mettre le *e*. On peut le mettre, mais on n’est pas obligé. C’est vraiment la différence entre *est-ce que* et sinon, c’est plus *Chantes-tu souvent*, on va plus être dans la phrase où on s’interroge nous-mêmes à savoir si c’est le cas. Après *Est-ce que tu chantes souvent?*, c’est une question, c’est-à-dire général, on se pose pas la question nous-mêmes. *Chantes-tu souvent?*, c’est déjà nous-mêmes ; on se pose la question et on est surpris peut-être de la réponse de quelqu’un. Donc on va leur redemander, « Vraiment? Tu chantes souvent ? ». C’est plus dans ce sens-là, c’est plus une interrogation personnelle sans le *e* [*Cantas sovent ?*].¹⁰⁹
 (participant 17)

¹⁰⁹ ‘For the meaning *Chantes-tu souvent?* ‘Do you sing often?’, you don’t have to use the *e*. You can use it, but it’s not necessary. The difference between using *est-ce que* and not, as in *Chantes-tu souvent?*, it’s that you’re more in

To summarize this quotation, participant 17 uses no énonciatif in questions when the speaker already has a preconceived notion of the response and is asking himself/herself the question as much as s/he is asking the question to the interlocutor; this usage corresponds to the French question *Chantes-tu souvent?* with subject-verb inversion. In contrast, this participant uses the énonciatif *e* in questions that correspond to the French question form with *est-ce que*; these are true questions where the response is not known to speaker. Participant 17's énonciatif usage was unexpected: such an interaction between *e* versus no énonciatif has not been previously described in the literature and will be discussed further in this section.

The distribution of the énonciatif in questions was quite variable. While I had expected to find *e*, *que*, or *se* in this context based on prior énonciatif descriptions, I encountered additional variability. Since prior studies had remarked on the semantic/pragmatic contrast between *e* versus *que* in questions, I sought to determine whether speakers had a semantic contrast between the choice of the énonciatif in questions. To do this, I asked speakers who used *e* for example in questions if they could utter the same question with *que* and, if so, if the sentence had the same meaning; likewise, for those speakers who responded with *que*, I asked if they allowed *e* in this context and whether there was a semantic difference. In order to verify that speakers did not use the énonciatif *e* in a vowel-initial context, I elicited the French question *As-tu de l'argent?* 'Do you have money', whose typical Gascon response, with the exception of some lexical variants, is in (76).

(76) *As moneda?*
have.PRES.2SG money

Only one participant, participant 9, used *e* in this context; (77) reflects her Gascon correlate to the French elicited question *As-tu de l'argent?*

(77) *E avès argent?*
ENC have.IMPF.2SG money

All other speakers who used *e* in questions used no énonciatif in this vowel-initial context.

Table 1 in Appendix C details each participant's énonciatif usage in questions. The data is sorted into five columns: the column labeled "Question" refers to the results gathered from the elicited question *Est-ce que tu chantes souvent?/Chantes-tu souvent?* and the additional columns outline the following: whether or not the participants had a semantic/pragmatic difference based on the choice of the énonciatif in questions, those participants who preferred *e* over *que* (or vice versa) in questions, and those for whom the usage of *que* in questions was not at all possible.

Although Pusch (2000a) found *que* to appear in the majority of questions as opposed to *e* in his COG,¹¹⁰ I found the majority of those surveyed to use *e* in questions: out of the 57 people surveyed for this interrogative context, 50 used *e* (88%); 35 used *que* (61%); 3 used no énonciatif

the phrase in which you're questioning yourself to see if that's the case. *Est-ce que tu chantes souvent?* is a general question and you're not asking the question to yourself. When you say *Chantes-tu souvent?*, you're already asking the question to yourself and you could perhaps become surprised by someone's response and so you would ask them again, "Really? You sing often?" It's that kind of meaning, it's more of a personal question without the *e* [*Cantas sovent?*].'

¹¹⁰ As previously mentioned in Chapter 2, §2.10.2.7, Pusch's (2000a: 198) results had the following distribution: out of the wh- and polar (yes-no) questions that could contain an énonciatif in his data, 37% had *que*, 10.5% had *e*, 7% had *se*, and the remainder had no énonciatif.

(5%); 3 used the phrase *es que* (this seems to be a Gascon adoption of the French phrase *est-ce que* and is discussed further below) (5%); and 2 used *se* (4%). The reason why these percentages do not add up to 100 is that there is overlap, as some participants allowed more than one énonciatif in this environment; for instance, of the 57 people surveyed, 33 allowed *e* or *que* in questions (58%). To clarify, when I mention that there is overlap in the distribution of the énonciatifs in this chapter, this means that the participants allowed the same sentence to be said using one or another énonciatif before the finite verb. In other words, speakers did not use more than one énonciatif before the finite verb within the same sentence (e.g., if a speaker used the énonciatif *que* or *e*, s/he did not use both énonciatifs simultaneously before the finite verb, but rather allowed the sentence to be uttered with either *que* or *e* before the verb).

My data reflects an overall preference for *e* over *que* in questions that is not predictable based on any of the sociolinguistic variables surveyed. An interesting finding is that 15 participants (26%) did not allow *que* in questions at all. For instance, participant 18 was shocked when I had asked her if she could use *que* in questions: she said that if someone were to use *que* in this context, she would not interpret it as a question even with intonation.

En exclamation, au lieu du *be*, oui [*que* can replace *be*] ça peut se trouver à la place du *be*, mais en questions, non. Le *que* me choquerait pas en exclamation, mais en questions, oui, ça me choquerait parce que ça va pas me paraître une question. Du premier coup, je vais pas recevoir ça comme une question. Une phrase avec un *que*, on [referring to the people in her region of Saint-Gaudens] va pas recevoir ça comme une question.¹¹¹ (participant 18)

Likewise, participant 17 said that she would interpret *que* in a question not as the énonciatif *que*, but rather as the homophonous interrogative pronoun *qué* meaning ‘what’. When I asked her if she could say *Que cantas sovent?*, she said that this sentence meant *Qu’est-ce que tu chantes souvent?* ‘What do you sing often?’, where the *que* in the Gascon question is the homophonous interrogative pronoun spelled <qué>.

Quand je dis *que canti*, c’est ‘je chante’, après si je demandais *Est-ce que tu chantes?* ça veut être *E cantas sovent?*. Et si je demande *Qué cantas?*, ça veut être *Qu’est-ce que tu chantes?* Quand on demande *Qué cantas?* dans le sens *Qu’est-ce que tu chantes?*, on met un accent aigu sur le *que* [*qué*]. Alors que le *que* qu’on l’emploie dans les phrases déclaratives, on ne met pas d’accent.¹¹² (participant 17)

¹¹¹ ‘In exclamations, instead of *be*, yes it [*que*] can occur in the place of *be*, but in questions, no. The use of *que* in exclamations would not shock me, but in questions it would because it would not appear as a question for me. Upon first hearing it [a question with *que*], I would not interpret it as a question. One [referring to the people in her region of Saint-Gaudens] wouldn’t interpret a sentence with *que* as a question.’

¹¹² ‘When I say *que canti*, it means *je chante* ‘I’m singing’, but if I am asking *Est-ce que tu chantes?* [‘Do you sing?’], that corresponds to *E cantas sovent?*. And if I ask *Qué cantas?*, that refers to *Qu’est-ce que tu chantes?* [‘What are you singing?’]. When you ask *Qué cantas?* in the sense *Qu’est-ce que tu chantes?* [‘What are you singing?’], you put an acute accent on the *que* [*qué*]. There is no accent on the *que* that is used in declarative sentences.’

Moreover, of the 33 speakers who allowed *e* or *que* in questions, 9 indicated a preference for *e* over *que* (27%), while 4 preferred *que* over *e* (12%); the remaining percentage indicates no response as to particle preference.

Only seven participants (participants 15, 17, 19, 23, 34, 39, 52) indicated a semantic difference in questions based on the choice of the énonciatif. Therefore, the vast majority of those participants who allowed *e* or *que* in questions did not have any semantic difference between these two particles at all and thus used either particle regardless of the question type. Recall that Pusch (2000a) concluded that questions with *que* in his COG were oriented towards a positive response, but did not provide any evidence to substantiate this claim: of the 37% of questions he found with *que*, he did not indicate what percentage of these questions were oriented towards a positive response.

Of the seven participants who had a semantic/pragmatic contrast based on the choice of the énonciatif in questions, participants 15, 19, 34, 39, and 52 had a semantic difference between *e* versus *que* in questions, in contrast to participant 23 who had a difference between *e* versus *se* in questions and participant 17 who had a distinction between *e* versus no énonciatif in questions. These results are not predictable by age, native language, or region; the only commonality across these participants is that none are Gascon second language learners (they are either native speakers or Gascon relearners).

Recall from Chapter 2 that the semantic/pragmatic contrast between *e* versus *que* in questions has been explained as follows: *que* is used in questions oriented towards a positive response (the speaker assumes to already know the response), whereas *e* is used in a pure question where the response is not known to the speaker. This contrast was only described by participant 34:

Il y a un énonciatif pour l'interrogation qui est *e*. En principe, quand on pose une question, on n'utilise pas l'énonciatif *que*. Mais, en faite, c'est pas l'interrogation totale, on peut [trails off, doesn't complete thought], quand on sous-entend une réponse affirmative, on peut utiliser le *que*.¹¹³ (participant 34)

When I inquired participant 34 about the meaning of the Gascon question *Que cantas sovent?*, he said that it entails a positive response from the interlocutor:

C'est tout au fait juste, mais ça [the usage of *Que cantas sovent?* instead of *E cantas sovent?*] implique que celui qui questionne pense qu'effectivement la personne va répondre oui. Tandis que quand on dit *E cantas sovent?*, la question est ouverte, on n'indique pas de tout la réponse.¹¹⁴ (participant 34)

The other participants described a different semantic contrast between *e* versus *que* in questions than that encountered in prior literature. Participants 15, 39, and 52 said that a question with *e* is nicer, while a question with *que* is more imperative, demanding a response from the interlocutor.

¹¹³ 'The énonciatif for interrogatives is *e*. In principle, when you ask a question, you don't use the énonciatif *que*. But actually, it's not a complete question. When you already understand the response to be yes, you can use *que*.'

¹¹⁴ 'It's correct, but it [the usage of *Que cantas sovent?* instead of *E cantas sovent?*] implies that the one doing the questioning actually thinks that the person will respond "yes". While when you say *E cantas sovent?*, the question is open, you're not indicating the response at all.'

Que cantas sovent? c'est quelque chose pour mettre la personne en demeure de dire oui ou non, il chante souvent. C'est une demande. *E cantas sovent?* c'est une façon plus douce de dire, de s'informer s'il chante.¹¹⁵ (participant 15)

Le *que* [in the question *Qu'as sos?* 'Do you have money?'] c'est plus impératif, tandis que le *e* [in the question *E n'as sos?* where *n'* is the partitive pronoun whose full form is *ne*] c'est plus discret, c'est plus subtil, c'est plus doux. C'est moins intrusif. *As sos?*, c'est difficile de vous expliquer. Moi, je trouve que si on dit *E n'as sos?*, on lui pose la question, mais on lui laisse la faculté de répondre ou pas. On est moins impératif.¹¹⁶ (participant 39)

Il est plus direct ceci [the question with *que*]. L'autre [the question with *e*], il est plus timide. *E cantas sovent?* ça veut dire 'Tu chantes souvent?', 'Il t'arrive de chanter?'. Tandis que *Que cantas sovent?*, c'est plus direct: 'Tu chantes souvent?, oui ou non, dis-moi!'. *Que cantas sovent?*, il faut que tu répondes. Il y a une nuance.¹¹⁷ (participant 52)

Moreover, participant 52 stated that *E cantas sovent?* conveys the speaker's interest in the response, while *Que cantas sovent?* is just asking a question without necessarily conveying the speaker's interest. This semantic account resembles the function of *e* used by participants 31 and 32 before interrogative pronouns described in §5.2.9.2, whereby *e* is used to convey the speaker's interest in the response and functions as a warmer way of asking a question.

Participant 19's semantic contrast is somewhat similar to that described in prior literature, in which the question with *que* entails that the speaker has presuppositions. Participant 19 said that *Que cantas sovent?* is asking whether or not the singing is often, while *E cantas sovent?* concerns whether or not the person sings. Based on participant 19's description, it seems that questions with *e* do not assume any presuppositions on behalf of the speaker, as the speaker does not assume that the interlocutor sings. In contrast, the question with *que* presupposes that the speaker already knows that the interlocutor sings and is demanding whether or not it is often:

Si on dit *E cantas sovent?*, la question concerne le fait qu'il chante. Tandis que si on dit *Que cantas sovent?*, la question c'est plutôt sur le *sovent*, est-ce que c'est souvent ou pas souvent. *Que cantas sovent?*, on sait qu'il chante, ce qui nous intéresse c'est à savoir si c'est souvent ou pas souvent.¹¹⁸ (participant 19)

¹¹⁵ '*Que cantas sovent?* orders the person to respond yes or no regarding whether or not he sings. It's a demand. *E cantas sovent?* is a softer/nicer way to say it, to inform oneself if he [the interlocutor] sings.'

¹¹⁶ '*Que* [in the question *Qu'as sos?* 'Do you have money?'] is more imperative, while the *e* [in the question *E n'as sos?* where *n'* is the partitive pronoun whose full form is *ne*] is more discrete, more subtle, nicer. It's less intrusive. *As sos?*, it's difficult to explain. For me, I find that if you say *E n'as sos?*, you're asking someone the question, but you're allowing the interlocutor the option to respond or not. It's less imperative.'

¹¹⁷ 'This is more direct [the question with *que*]. The other [the question with *e*], it is less direct. *E cantas sovent?* means 'Do you sing often?', 'Do you happen to sing?'. While *Que cantas sovent?* is more direct: 'Do you sing often?, yes or no, tell me!'. You have to respond to the question with *Que cantas sovent?*. There's a nuance here.'

¹¹⁸ 'If you say *E cantas sovent?*, the question concerns the fact that he is singing. While if you say *Que cantas sovent?*, the question is rather on the word *sovent* 'often', whether the singing is often or not. With the sentence *Que cantas sovent?*, you know that he sings, but what interests you is whether or not it is often.'

Since this participant's semantic contrast between *e* versus *que* in questions involved whether or not the question focused on the frequency of the singing, I then asked him how he would say the question *Est-ce que tu chantes?* 'Do you sing?' in Gascon to determine if he had a semantic contrast between *e* versus *que* in a context without an adverb of frequency. He informed me that he could say *E cantas?* or *Que cantas?*, but that these two questions are not exactly equivalent. When I asked him to explain further, he provided the following account, whereby he stated that the question with *e* is stronger than that with *que*: "L'interrogation est peut-être moins fort quand on dit *Que cantas* que quand on dit *E cantas?* Moi, il me semble, pour moi."¹¹⁹ This seems to contrast with the account provided by participants 15, 39, and 52 who said that *que* in questions is stronger, functioning as a demand rather than a request for information.

The énonciatifs that triggered a semantic contrast in questions for participants 17 and 23 were unexpected since prior literature only describes such a contrast based on the usage of the énonciatif *que* versus *e* in questions: participant 17 had a contrast between *e* and no énonciatif, while participant 23 had a difference between *e* and *se*. The semantic nuance found for participant 17 resembles that detailed for *que* versus *e* in questions, where her usage of no énonciatif in questions correlates with the semantic function previously described for *que* in questions (the speaker already has a preconceived notion of the response), and her usage of *e* correlates with that described in prior literature for this same particle, whereby *e* occurs in true questions where the response is not known to the speaker. Recall that participant 17 did not allow the énonciatif *que* in questions. For participant 23, his usage of *se* corresponds to that described for *que* in questions. He responded to the question *Est-ce que tu chantes souvent?/Chantes-tu souvent?* with *e* or *se* (*E cantas sovent?* and *Se cantas sovent?*) and described *se* as occurring in questions where the speaker expects a certain response from the interlocutor.

Even though some speakers did indicate a semantic contrast in questions based on the choice of the énonciatif, the vast majority of participants did not have any semantic/pragmatic function associated with a particular énonciatif in questions. This finding indicates that this property of the énonciatif system will most likely not occur among future generations of speakers and will thus not remain in the language. It is my belief that the semantic/pragmatic contrast based on the choice of the énonciatif in questions is a remnant of the semantic function of the underlying Basque particle system that I claim to be the ultimate diachronic source of the énonciatif system. For instance, some speakers used the énonciatif *e*, as opposed to *que*, to express a sincere interest in the question and to soften the request for information, which suggests that this particle functions so as to maintain a rapport with the interlocutor. This description of *e* as making a question nicer corresponds to prior synchronic descriptions of this particle as appearing in softening or mitigating expressions. As further mentioned in §5.2.9.2, this pragmatic function of *e* is reminiscent of that described for the Basque particle *ote*. Moreover, the pragmatic contrast based on the choice of the énonciatif in questions is similar to the contrast encountered in Basque between the particles *ote* versus *al* in questions.

Since participant 44 who is the son of participant 52 did not have a semantic difference between *e* versus *que* in questions, pragmatic nuances in a language are not necessarily transmitted to future speakers. Participant 44 is a native Gascon speaker; his father, participant 52 transmitted the language to him. However, participant 44 informed me that he thinks more in French than Gascon, which shows how an endangered language can still lose certain features

¹¹⁹ 'The question is perhaps less strong when you say *Que cantas?* as opposed to *E cantas?*. For me, it seems that way.'

even with familial transmission since the majority language is still overwhelmingly present. Participant 44 uses the énonciatif *que* more than *e* in questions and did not have any semantic difference between the usage of these particles unlike his father.

Although only seven speakers associated a specific semantic/pragmatic function with a particular énonciatif in questions, I did encounter other speakers whose choice of the énonciatif in questions depended not on the semantic/pragmatic domain of the particles, but rather on other factors, such as which particle was considered the more normative grammatical form. Since *e* is described as the énonciatif occurring in questions in the vast majority of Gascon normative grammars, it is not surprising that some speakers considered this énonciatif to be the more grammatically correct form. Because of this normative usage, some participants, all of whom are Gascon relearners (participants 21, 35, 45, and 51), informed me what while they can use *que* orally, they prefer to use *e* in writing. Interestingly, the usage of the énonciatif in writing is even further influenced by context, as participant 51 said that he uses *e* in questions in formal writing, but writes *que* in questions in informal contexts, such as text or instant messaging, where he abbreviates *que* as <ke>.

Similarly, participants 1, 26, 30, and 44 mentioned how *e* is the grammatically correct form for questions. In contrast to participants 26 and 30 who informed me that they prefer to use *e* over *que* in questions for this reason, participants 1 and 44 said that, while they are aware that *e* is considered the more grammatically correct form, they do not use this particle in their natural speech for questions. Participant 1 uses no énonciatif and participant 44 uses *que*. However, participant 1 did inform me that although she uses no énonciatif in questions in her natural Gascon speech, she did say that she uses *e* in questions as a current student at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail since it is considered the more grammatical form: “à l’université du Mirail il faut le [referring to the usage of the énonciatif *e* in questions] dire.”¹²⁰

The usage of *que* versus *e* in questions for participant 20 is based on the Gascon dialect area of the interlocutor and thus isn’t based on a semantic/pragmatic contrast. He uses *que* in questions in Bigorre when speaking to people either of his village (Lescurry) or of a neighboring region, while he uses *e* in questions, which he said is considered the more normative form, when speaking to other Gascon speakers.

Je parle pas pareil avec des gens de chez moi, des Bigourdains, des locuteurs natifs, et quand je suis ailleurs, je parle pas pareil. Quand je parle chez moi [Bigorre], je parle comme j’ai entendu parlé. Quand je parle autrement, je parle comme la norme un peu, comme les livres, la radio.¹²¹ (participant 20)

Even though the majority of participants used *e* and/or *que* in questions as expected, there were other variations encountered that I did not expect to find. One such variation, which is most likely due to French influence, was the usage of the Gascon phrase pronounced as [ɛʃke], [ɛske], and [ɛskə] among participants 5, 6, and 10. I am choosing to spell this phrase as *es que*. While one could argue that these participants were influenced by the French sentence elicited with *est-ce que*, this is not the case since these same participants provided an equivalent response

¹²⁰ ‘At Mirail University [the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail], you have to say it [referring to the usage of the énonciatif *e* in questions].’

¹²¹ ‘I don’t speak exactly the same way with native speakers from my region, Bigourdains [people from Bigorre], as I do with those from other regions. When I speak in my region, I speak as I have heard the language spoken. When I speak in other contexts, I use the norm a bit, as encountered in books, radio.’

for the French question form with subject-verb inversion not containing *est-ce que*: *Chantes-tu souvent?*. Interestingly, participants 5 and 10 did not use the phrase *es que* in response to the elicited question *As-tu de l'argent?*; instead, they responded with the expected phrase in (76) containing no énonciatif.

Since all of the other participants were not influenced by the French phrase *est-ce que*, it is most likely that *es que* represents these participants' natural way to form questions in Gascon. I asked participant 6, who responded to *Est-ce que tu chantes souvent?/Chantes-tu souvent?* with *Es que que cantas sovent?* and to *As-tu de l'argent?* with *Es que as moneda?* [note that the vowel in *que* was not elided], if he could say *E cantas sovent?* or *Que cantas sovent?* and he said yes to both sentences. He could not however use *se* in questions since he said that *Se cantas sovent?* means 'If you sing often'. Note that this participant used two instances of *que* in response to the elicited sentence *Est-ce que tu chantes souvent?*, but only one in response to *As-tu de l'argent?*. Another remark worth noting is that participant 10, who responded to the sentence *As-tu de l'argent?* with no énonciatif (she said *As argent?*), had initially responded with the phrase *es que*, as she uttered *Es que as argent?* [note that the vowel in *que* was not elided]. Immediately after uttering this sentence, she said that it is better without *es que* before the verb and that she prefers *As argent?*; this was elicited without any prompting on my behalf. Moreover, later during the elicitation, I specifically asked participant 10 if she could utter a question using the énonciatifs *que* or *e* before the finite verb: I asked her if she could say the sentence *E cantas?* or *Que cantas?* 'Are you singing?'. She said no and that she has never even heard of *e* being used in a question; this participant is a native Gascon speaker unfamiliar with any normative grammars, as she never learned how to write Gascon like the majority of older native Gascon speakers (i.e., aged over 40) unaffiliated with any language activism. Participant 10 uses the phrase *es que* or no énonciatif before the finite verb to pose a question: *Es que cantas?* or *Cantas?*.

This usage of no énonciatif before the finite verb in questions where an énonciatif was expected to occur (i.e., questions in which the initial finite verb was not vowel-initial and thus did not preclude the énonciatif *e*) was another unexpected outcome. Although Séguy's ALG map 2400 (see Map 7d in Appendix A), which details the variability in the énonciatif usage in questions, includes the absence of the énonciatif in this context, I still did not expect to encounter this usage, especially among Gascon second language learners, as it is not described in any Gascon normative grammars. I was therefore surprised when participant 1, a Gascon second language learner, used no énonciatif in this context and uttered *Cantas sovent?*. I asked this speaker if she could say *E cantas sovent?* and she told me that even though she knows that the énonciatif *e* occurs in questions in normative Gascon, which she termed "gascon normé", she did not learn this usage in her Gascon courses taken in collège and lycée where she grew up in Bagnères-de-Luchon.¹²² This location is identified on Séguy's ALG map 2400 and, consistent with participant 1's usage, no énonciatif in questions was reported for this region. I asked this participant if she could use *que* in questions (e.g., I asked if she could utter the question *Que cantas sovent?*), to which she replied no: "Le *que* dans les questions, il n'est pas présent."¹²³

¹²² Participant 1 was born in Banios, but moved to Bagnères-de-Luchon at the age of 12. She lived there until the age of 18 when she moved to Toulouse to attend the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail. She began learning Gascon at the age of 10 in collège where Occitan was offered as an option (LV₂/LV₃) and continued to enroll in Occitan (Gascon) courses throughout collège and lycée. Therefore, even after this participant moved to Bagnères-de-Luchon, she continued to enroll in Occitan at her new school. She still continues to enroll in Occitan courses as a current university student.

¹²³ 'Que does not occur in questions.'

Recall that this participant said that she uses *e* in questions as a current student at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail since it is considered the more grammatical form. I verified with this participant if she knows of any Gascon speakers in her village in Bagnères-de-Luchon who would say *E cantas sovent?* and she replied no; according to her, the most common usage is *Cantas sovent?* with no énonciatif.

Similarly, participant 17, a Gascon relearner, and participant 53, a Gascon second language learner, allowed *e* or no énonciatif in questions. While participant 17 had a semantic contrast in the usage of *e* or no énonciatif in questions as already discussed, participant 53 did not. Participant 53 initially responded to the elicited question with *e*: *E cantas sovent?*. When I asked participant 53 if she could say *Que cantas sovent?*, she said no, but then informed me that she does sometimes say *Cantas sovent?* with no énonciatif. Since this speaker's Gascon is influenced from Armagnac, Bigorre, and the Béarn region (she grew up in Armagnac, moved to Bigorre in lycée to enroll in Occitan courses there, and is currently a university student in Béarn), I asked her where she had heard *Cantas sovent?*. She informed me that she heard it while visiting her family members in the Vallée d'Ossau in Béarn. Being that these family members are originally from the Armagnac region, she said that she did not know whether this énonciatif usage is a feature particular to Armagnac or to the Vallée d'Ossau. The four participants from the Vallée d'Ossau in my data (participants 38, 44, 46, and 52), all of whom are native speakers, used an énonciatif in questions; thus it is likely that the usage of no énonciatif by this participant is a feature corresponding to the Gascon spoken in Armagnac.

Since the énonciatif *se* has been described as a particle used in questions by speakers from the Couserans region, I did not expect to encounter this particle, as I did not collect data in this region and none of my participants were from this area. Participants 3, 11, and 23 used the énonciatif *se* in questions. While participants 11 and 23 also used other énonciatifs in this context as well (participant 11 allows *e*, *que*, or *se* in questions and participant 23 allows *e* or *se*), participant 3 solely used *se* for questions. Participant 3 is a Gascon relearner from Cassagnabère-Tournas in the Comminges region (this village is located 11 km west of Boussan labeled on Séguy's ALG map 2400; Boussan was reported to have *que* or no énonciatif in questions). One cannot conclude that speakers from Comminges use *se* in questions, as participant 18 is from Comminges (she is specifically from the village Valentine located 3 km from Saint Gaudens) and does not use *se* in questions. Further evidence that the usage of *se* in my data is not predictable by region is that participant 23, who used *se* or *e* in questions, is from the same locale in Béarn as his brother, participant 49, yet participant 49 did not use *se* in questions and instead only used *e*. I asked participant 23, a Gascon relearner, how he had learned *se* in questions since it's not described in the majority of grammars and he said that he had heard its usage from his girlfriend's grandparents who are from the village Moncla located in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques département, nearby to Landes.

Participant 3 who only used *se* in questions responded to the French elicited question *Est-ce que tu chantes souvent?/Chantes-tu souvent?* with *Se cantas sovent?*; likewise, his response to *As-tu de l'argent?* was *S'as moneda?*. Participant 3 did not allow *que* in questions at all and said that while he is aware of the usage of *e* in questions, he prefers to use *se* since speakers from his village use *se* in this context and he wishes to speak the specific Gascon dialect of his village:

Pour apprendre le gascon de mon village, j'étais voir les anciens de mon village, de ma famille. Je leur ai demandé comment on disait tel mot. C'est comme ça que j'ai appris...il y a plusieurs gascons c'est-à-dire dans le parler et je voulais

conserver le parler de mon village. Donc je suis allé voir les anciens pour leur demander. J'ai encore un manque des mots et je vais les consulter et mon père aussi m'apprend des mots des fois.¹²⁴ (participant 3)

Although he uses *se* in questions, he did say that he uses *e* instead of *se* when writing text messages since this particle is shorter (see Chapter 6, §6.4.2 for further discussion on the usage of the énonciatifs in text messages). Interestingly, this speaker, who began learning Gascon at the age of 10-11 during the 6^e grade level in collège where he enrolled in Occitan as an LV₂/LV₃ (he is classified as a relearner because he had heard some Gascon from certain family members while growing up), informed me that he was taught the usage of the énonciatif *e* in questions and had only learned about the usage of *se* in questions by hearing it used among native Gascon speakers from his family and village. This finding shows how important it is to archive data of native speakers for future generations who wish to learn the specific dialect of their relatives.

Participant 11 said that his usage of *se* in questions is not consistent. This speaker said that he uses *e* in questions if he is paying attention to his speech, but otherwise uses *que*. While this participant responded to the sentence *Est-ce que tu chantes souvent?/Chantes-tu souvent?* with *E cantas sovent?* and *Que cantas sovent?*, he used *se* in response to the question *As-tu de l'argent?*, as he initially responded with *S'as moneda?* and then said *As moneda?* with no énonciatif. I asked this participant if he used *se* in questions and he informed me that he has a variable usage of the particles. He said that he uses the énonciatif *se* in questions since he heard its usage in questions from his father, a native Gascon speaker from the village Betpouey in Bigorre. However, since participant 11 is an Occitan/Gascon teacher in Rabastens de Bigorre, he informed me that he tends to not use *se* in questions since he tries to teach the Gascon specific to the school's locale (although Betpouey and Rabastens de Bigorre are both located in Bigorre, Betpouey is situated in the mountains, while Rabastens de Bigorre is in the plains).

5.2.3 Verbs of speaking following quotations

I elicited the French sentence “*Tu écris bien*”, dit l’instituteur “‘You write well,” says the teacher’ to determine the énonciatif distribution in quotative clauses following quotations since the énonciatifs *e* and *se* (along with its variants *ça/ci/çò*) have been described in this context. The prototypical Gascon response to this sentence, where the underscore indicates the place of the énonciatif of interest, is:

(78) *Qu’escrives* *plan*, *ditz* *lo* *regent*.
 ENC write.PRES.2SG well say.PRES.3SG ART.DEF.M teacher

I was unable to elicit this context among many of the older native Gascon speakers who do not know how to write Gascon since a sentence with a quotative clause following a quotation is not likely to be produced in natural oral speech. I was able to elicit this context among 49 participants (see Table 2 in Appendix C for details: refer to the column labeled “Quotative clause”) and the distribution follows: 24 used *se* (49%), 17 used no énonciatif (35%), 7 used *que*

¹²⁴ ‘In order to learn the Gascon of my village, I went to see the elders from the village and from my family. I asked them how you say such and such word and that’s how I learned it. ...there are several varieties of Gascon and I wanted to keep the language of my village; so I went to see the elders to ask them. I still don’t know all the words and I go to consult them and my father teaches me some words sometimes as well.’

(14%), 2 used *e* (4%), 1 used *ça* (2%), and 1 used *çò* (2%). Since all data collected was oral, the spelling variants of the particle *se* correspond to the following pronunciations: *se* [se], *ça* [sa], and *çò* [sɔ]. Some participants allowed more than one construction and thus the percentages do not equal 100.

No patterns emerge from the data distribution: the variation is not predicted by the participants' age, region, or native language. The only conclusion I can draw is that the particle *se* seems to be considered the more normative form in this context. Participant 25 informed me that *se* is more literary: while he would use *se* in written language, he is more likely to not utter any énonciatif in this context in spoken language. He said that he is more likely to say *Qu'escrives de plan, ditz lo regent* than *Qu'escrives de plan, se ditz lo regent* (note that this participant used the partitive *de* before the adverb *plan* 'well'). Moreover, while eliciting this sentence from participant 28, who is an employee of the organization CAP'ÒC that creates Occitan teaching materials, there were other employees present in the room, which led to the following observation that points to the énonciatif *se* as being the normative particle in quotative clauses following quotations. When the other people present in the room overheard participant 28's response to this elicited sentence as *B'escrives plan, que ditz lo regent* which contained *que* in the quotative clause (note that this participant used the énonciatif *be* in the main clause), the other people in the room corrected him and said "*se ditz lo regent*". Participant 28 jokingly said to the others present that I was interested in analyzing his speech. I then verified with participant 28 that the utterance natural to his speech contained *que* in the quotative clause as opposed to *se*, which he confirmed.

Even if *se* is considered the more normative Gascon usage, the variation encountered that is not predictable by the speakers' age or native language suggests that Gascon relearners or second language learners are not simply adopting the normative Gascon usage and are retaining variations in the language. In particular, the large percentage of no énonciatif in this context was unexpected; if anything, I had expected the énonciatif *que* to occur as I had anticipated the least variable énonciatif, *que*, to become more generalized and spread to additional contexts.

5.2.4 Wishes and dubitative sentences

The énonciatif *e* has been described as appearing in optatives and dubitative sentences, corresponding with its overall semantic function to indicate the uncertain nature of events. To determine the énonciatif usage in wishes, I elicited the French sentence *Puissions-nous parler toujours gascon!* 'If only we could speak Gascon in the future!' taken from Birabent & Salles-Loustau's Gascon grammar (1989: 73) where *e* is described as occurring in this context: *E parlèsem tostemps gascon!* (see (21a) in Chapter 2 for this sentence's interlinear). To obtain a natural Gascon response and not a word-by-word translation, I asked speakers how they would utter this French sentence in Gascon to express a desire/wish in the future. Still, I could not obtain a natural response from all speakers and the percentages reflect the natural responses obtained among 49 of the research participants (see Table 2 in Appendix C for details: refer to the column labeled "Wish").

The results indicate that the majority of respondents used either *e* or no énonciatif in this context to express a wish: 22 used *e* (49%), 15 used no énonciatif (31%), 7 used *que* (14%), 3 used *be* (6%), 3 used *se* (6%), and 2 used *si* (4%). The percentages do not equal 100 since there was overlap in the énonciatif distribution: some participants allowed more than one construction. The high percentage of no énonciatif in this context is interesting, especially since all of the

as discrete as the prior literature suggests. This finding also reflects how a unified semantic account of the énonciatif system cannot be formed due to its extensive variation. The loose semantic/pragmatic behavior of the énonciatif system is further addressed in the following section, as a small minority of participants had a pragmatic contrast based on the choice of the énonciatif in the subordinate clause.

5.2.5 Subordinate clauses

To elicit the énonciatif usage in subordinate clauses where the syntactic condition is met for the énonciatif to occur (the finite verb is not immediately preceded by the subordinator), I elicited the following French sentences where the subject of the subordinate clause intervenes between the subordinator and finite subordinate verb: (1) *J'attends que le déjeuner soit prêt* 'I'm waiting for lunch to be ready'; (2) *J'ai pensé que Pierre achèterait le cadeau* 'I thought that Pierre would buy the gift'; (3) *Je pense que Pierre achètera le cadeau* 'I think that Pierre will buy the gift'; (4) *Je n'ai pas pensé que Pierre achèterait le cadeau* 'I didn't think that Pierre would buy the gift'; (5) *Je ne pense pas que Pierre achètera le cadeau* 'I don't think that Pierre will buy the gift'. The sentences in (80) represent the prototypical Gascon responses for these elicited French sentences; the underscore represents the position of the énonciatif in question.¹²⁶

- (80) a. *Qu'atèndi que lo dejunar ___ sia prêt.*
 ENC wait.PRES.1SG COMP ART.DEF.M lunch be.PRES.SUBJ.3SG ready
- b. *Qu'èi pensat que Pierre ___ cromparé lo present.*
 ENC have.PRES.1SG think.PART COMP buy.COND.3SG ART.DEF.M gift
- c. *Que pensi que Pierre ___ cromparà lo present.*
 ENC think.PRES.1SG COMP buy.FUT.3SG ART.DEF.M gift
- d. *N'èi pas pensat que Pierre ___ cromparé lo present.*
- e. *Ne pensi pas que Pierre ___ cromparà lo present.*

The first elicited sentence was taken from Joly's (1976: 413) paper where the énonciatif *e* occurred: *Qu'atèndi que lou dinna e sia près* (his French translation provided: *J'attends que le déjeuner soit prêt*). This sentence was elicited for 57 participants and results are considered for 54 of them; I was unable to determine the énonciatif usage for one participant and two others placed the subject of the subordinate clause after the finite verb, which consequently became immediately preceded by the subordinator, causing no énonciatif to occur. The second sentence, *J'ai pensé que Pierre achèterait le cadeau*, was elicited to determine whether participants had the semantic contrast between the usage of *que* versus *e* in subordinate clauses as described by Field (1985: 87). Consistent with Field's sentence reproduced in (13) in Chapter 2, I had initially elicited the sentence containing the proper name *Pierre*; however, since some participants pronounced this name as [pe], which could preclude the occurrence of the énonciatif *e* due to vowel hiatus, I thereafter decided to elicit additional sentences of the same type substituting the

¹²⁶ One common variant in the responses for (80b) and (80d) was the use of the synthetic past tense form (preterite) of the matrix verb *pensar* 'to think' versus the analytic past tense composed of the auxiliary plus the past participle; the analytic form is presented in (80b,d).

proper name *Jan* [jan] or *Joan* [ʒuan] instead of *Pierre*. My results did not indicate any difference in the énonciatif usage whether the proper name *Pierre* or *Jan/Joan* was used (note that participants 4-17 are those for whom the sentences elicited only contained the proper name *Pierre*).

The third sentence, *Je pense que Pierre achètera le cadeau*, was elicited to determine if any semantic nuances were triggered by this sentence in the present/future tenses, as opposed to the past/conditional tenses. Since both the second and third sentence types were not elicited across all participants due to time constraints and, being that I did not encounter any differences in responses among those participants for whom both sentence types were elicited, all responses to the phrases *J'ai pensé que Pierre achèterait le cadeau* (past/conditional tenses) and *Je pense que Pierre achètera le cadeau* (present/future tenses) are categorized within the same column in Table 3 in Appendix C.

The negated version of these sentences, which contain the negated matrix verb 'to think', was elicited to test my results against those from Pusch's (2000a) oral corpus, his COG. Pusch found the énonciatif *e* to occur in subordinate clauses following all negated matrix verbs of thinking and concluded that this finding supported his semantic account of the énonciatif *e* as being a marker of uncertainty. Since his corpus only contained 3 cases of negated matrix verbs of this type, his conclusion is not supported by much evidence and is therefore tested against my data. This contextual usage was elicited for the majority of research participants, even though it was not elicited during the initial stages of fieldwork.

Table 3 in Appendix C details the usage of the énonciatif in subordinate clauses. The first three columns outline the énonciatif usage in the subordinate clause for the following French sentences elicited: (1) *J'attends que le déjeuner soit prêt*; (2) *J'ai pensé/Je pense que Pierre achèterait/achètera le cadeau*; (3) *Je n'ai pas pensé/ne pense pas que Pierre achèterait/achètera le cadeau*. The fourth column details the participants for whom the triple *que* construction (that containing three *que* in a sentence) either occurred or was allowed: *que* occurs as the énonciatif in the main clause, the subordinator, and the énonciatif in the subordinate clause. The final column presents whether or not speakers had a semantic contrast based on the choice of the énonciatif in the subordinate clause.

To determine whether or not the participants had a semantic/pragmatic contrast based on the choice of the énonciatif in the subordinate clause, I repeated their initial response using a different énonciatif in the subordinate clause (e.g., if their first response contained *que* in the subordinate clause, I would repeat the sentence with *e* or no énonciatif in this context). I then asked the participants whether this sentence with another énonciatif was acceptable (i.e., if they would utter the sentence in their natural speech) and if it had a different semantic meaning.

It is important to mention that, in addition to the sentences cited, I had also elicited the French sentence *L'enfant que tout le monde connaissait est mort* 'The child everyone knew died' to determine the énonciatif usage in relative clauses where the finite verb is not immediately preceded by the subordinator; this sentence was taken from Darrigrand's (1974: 84) grammar, where the énonciatif *e* is expected: *Lo gojatòt que tot lo monde e coneishè qu'ei mort*. The results of this elicited sentence are not considered, as it was too difficult to determine whether the [e] that appeared in this context was the énonciatif or the vowel at the end of the word *monde* 'world'.

Table 25 outlines the énonciatif usage in subordinate clauses and reflects the significant variation that was encountered across speakers and even within individuals. The percentages do not equal 100, as there was overlap in usage: some participants responded with more than one

construction. My findings differ from those of Pusch (2000a) based on his COG. Recall that Pusch found *que* to occur in 40% of subordinate clauses where syntactic conditions were met for the énonciatif to occur, while *e* appeared in 23% of such clauses (see Chapter 2, §2.3.3). Moreover, as previously mentioned in Chapter 2, §2.10.2.7, Pusch found the énonciatif *e* to appear in all subordinate clauses following negated matrix verbs of thinking, knowing, or saying and the énonciatif *que* to appear in the majority (79.5%) of subordinate clauses following affirmative matrix verbs of this type.

TABLE 25. Enonciatif distribution in subordinate clauses

Elicited Sentence	Enonciatif in subordinate clauses with subordinator <i>que</i>			Enonciatif in subordinate clauses without subordinator <i>que</i>			number of people surveyed/sentence
	<i>que</i>	<i>e</i>	Ø	<i>que</i>	<i>e</i>	Ø	
<i>J'attends que...</i>	6 (11%)	21 (39%)	32 (60%)	2 (4%)	0	0	54
<i>J'ai pensé/Je pense que...</i>	21 (68%)	24 (45%)	31 (58%)	3 (6%)	0	2 (4%)	53
<i>Je n'ai pas pensé/Je ne pense pas que...</i>	12 (29%)	24 (57%)	20 (48%)	3 (7%)	0	0	42

My results differ from those of Pusch, as the data reflects a high percentage in the usage of the énonciatif *e* in subordinate clauses and a marked difference in the énonciatif distribution depending on the subordinate clause type, where *que* occurred more often in the subordinate clause following the matrix verb ‘to think’ than the matrix verb ‘to wait’. Therefore, the higher percentage of the énonciatif *que* versus *e* in subordinate clauses that Pusch found in his COG only occurred in my data among the subordinate clause following the affirmative matrix verb ‘to think’. My data does not support Pusch’s conclusion that *e* is a pragmatic marker of uncertainty: while Pusch found the énonciatif *e* to occur in subordinate clauses following negated matrix verbs of thinking, I found that 29% of participants used the énonciatif *que* in the subordinate clause following the negated matrix verb of thinking (i.e., the negated matrix verb *pensar* ‘to think’). Although a higher percentage used *e* or no énonciatif in this context, the fact that a significant percentage also used *que* indicates that the behavior of the énonciatif *e* is not consistent with its previously proposed semantic/pragmatic function to convey uncertainty, especially since participant 28 said that he actually prefers the énonciatif *que* over *e* in the subordinate clause following the negated matrix verb ‘to think’.

Unlike Pusch’s study, this study considers the frequency of the triple *que* construction. Of the 40% of occurrences in Pusch’s COG that contained the énonciatif *que* in subordinate clauses, Pusch does not indicate whether the usage of *que* occurred as part of the triple *que* construction (i.e., if the sentence with the énonciatif *que* in the subordinate clause also contained the énonciatif *que* in the main clause and *que* as the subordinator). To adequately analyze the likelihood of the triple *que* construction to appear in the data, it is first necessary to discuss the participants’ usage of *que* in the main clause and as a subordinator in the sentences elicited containing subordinate clauses.

All participants, with one exception, used the énonciatif *que* in the affirmative main clauses of the elicited sentences containing subordinate clauses; note that negated main clauses did not contain an énonciatif before the matrix verb, consistent with the expected énonciatif behavior. The exception was participant 3 who used the énonciatif *e* or the énonciatif *que* in the main clause that contained the matrix verb ‘to think’ (see (81b,c)); this participant did however only use *que* in the main clause containing the matrix verb ‘to wait’, as evident in (81a).

- (81) a. *Que demori qu'eth dejunar Ø sia prèst.*
 ENC wait.PRES.1SG COMP ART.DEF.M lunch be.PRES.SUBJ.3SG ready
 'I'm waiting for lunch to be ready.'
- b. *Que'm/E'm soi pensat que Joan Ø cromparia eth present.*
 ENC 1SG.OBJ be.PRES.1SG think.PART COMP buy.COND.3SG ART.DEF.M gift
 'I thought that Joan would buy the gift.'
- c. *E'm pensi que Joan Ø cromparà eth present.*
 ENC 1SG.SUB think.PRES.1SG COMP buy.FUT.3SG ART.DEF.M gift
 'I think that Joan will buy the gift.'

The finding that the énonciatif *que* was used before the finite verb form of the matrix verb *pensar* conflicts with Pusch's (2000b) data from his COG. As stated in Chapter 2, §2.9, Pusch (2000b: 628) found that the finite verb form of *pensar* 'to think' (specifically, he cites the first person present tense conjugation: *pensi*) did not contain an énonciatif in 45% of cases where the verb appeared in a main clause. Pusch (2000b) attributes this finding to an analogical process in the language, whereby the absence of the énonciatif in parenthetical phrases inserted in the discourse, which include forms of the verbs *pensar* 'to think' or *saber* 'to know' (e.g., the phrase 'you know'), became extended to main clause contexts. However, nearly all participants used the énonciatif *que* before the finite verb form of *pensar* in the main clause; specifically, my data pertains to the énonciatif usage with *pensi*, the same finite verb form cited by Pusch, since the elicited sentence contained the first person present tense verb conjugation of *pensar* in the main clause.

Just as the majority of participants used the énonciatif *que* before the matrix verb, the majority of participants did not delete the subordinator *que*; recall that the subordinator can be deleted in Gascon (see Chapter 2, §2.3.3 for details). Regarding the first sentence elicited (*J'attends que le déjeuner soit prêt*), all participants used the subordinator *que*, with the exception of participants 34 and 51. Participant 34 said the sentence with or without the subordinator, but participant 51 only said the sentence without the subordinator (note that both participants did not allow the triple *que* construction and therefore only allowed *que* in the subordinate clause if the subordinator was deleted): *Qu'atèndi que lo vrespe e sia prèst/Qu'atèndi lo vrespe que sia prèst* (participant 34); *Qu'esperi l'esdejuar que sia prèst* (participant 51). For the elicited sentences *J'ai pensé que Pierre achèterait le cadeau* and *Je pense que Pierre achètera le cadeau*, the subordinator was deleted only by participants 13, 32, 35, 45, and 51. Participant 23 also mentioned the deletion of the subordinator as an alternate construction, but since he included the subordinator in the majority of his responses, his usage without the subordinator is not included in the percentages presented in Table 25 of the énonciatif occurrence in subordinate clauses without the subordinator.

Even though the sentence containing the negated matrix verb 'to think' precludes the triple *que* construction since the énonciatif *que* is not present in the main clause, a minority of participants did not use *que* as a subordinator in this context. These participants are among those who did not use the subordinator *que* in the other elicited sentences: participants 32, 35, and 51. Interestingly, participant 32 said that he only allowed *que* in the subordinate clause if the subordinator was deleted, thus showing a dislike for even two *que* in a sentence: he said that the sentence *Non pensi pas lo Jan que cromparà lo present* is preferable to *Non pensi pas que lo Jan*

que cromparà lo present, which he said sounds too heavy. Still, participant 32's preferred construction, which was his first response to the elicited sentence *Je ne pense pas que Jan achetera le cadeau*, contained the subordinator *que* and the énonciatif *e* in the subordinate clause: *Non pensi pas que lo Jan e cromparà lo present*.¹²⁷ Participants 35 and 51 both allowed the construction containing *que* as the subordinator and the énonciatif *e* in the subordinate clause or that with no subordinator and the énonciatif *que* in the subordinate clause: *N'èi pas pensat que Jan e cromparé lo present* or *N'èi pas pensat Jan que cromparé lo present*.

Given that most participants used *que* in the main clause and *que* as the subordinator, the triple *que* construction was very likely to appear in my data: if participants used *que* in the subordinate clause, the triple *que* construction would automatically occur for the majority of participants. In contrast to Séguy's ALG map 2506 (reproduced in Map 7c in Appendix A) which shows the usage of triple *que* to be extremely rare, I found its usage to be quite widespread. This finding does not necessarily indicate a language change from Séguy's study in the 1970s until today, as I found the usage of triple *que* among the vast majority of the native Gascon speakers surveyed (of the 23 native Gascon speakers surveyed, 19 used the triple *que* construction), thus indicating more variation in the language than is found in prior studies. Since I encountered speaker variation from one village to another, it is likely that the triple *que* construction may not have been used among the speakers surveyed by Séguy.

A pattern in the usage of the triple *que* construction only emerges once the sociolinguistic variables are considered. Without such a sociolinguistic analysis, it would seem as though the participants are equally divided concerning their acceptability of the triple *que* construction: out of the 56 responses, 24 allowed this construction; 24 did not; 7 said that while this construction is possible and acceptable, they do not use it; and 1 said that this construction is not possible, yet used it in his Gascon response to the French elicited sentence *J'ai pensé que Pierre achèterait le cadeau* (Gascon: *Que m'èi pensat que lo Pierre que crompère lo present*.¹²⁸). Upon considering the sociolinguistic factors, the following tendency emerges: the vast majority of native Gascon speakers used the triple *que* construction, while the usage of triple *que* was more disfavored by those speakers familiar with Gascon normative grammars. For instance, of the four native Gascon speakers who disfavored the triple *que* construction, three of them were familiar with Gascon grammars (one is a former Gascon teacher, another is associated with Occitan activism and writes many Gascon grammars himself, and the third works for Ràdio País and informed me that he tries to use the more normative forms of the language). Moreover, participant 23, a Gascon relearner, said that the triple *que* construction sounds too heavy: "c'est trop lourd, c'est moins joli". Similarly, participant 17, a Gascon relearner and teacher in a Calandreta, said that she avoids using the triple *que* construction since it sounds too repetitive:

On n'est pas obligé [use an énonciatif in the subordinate clause of the sentence *Que pensi que lo Peire cromparà lo present*]. En règle, en général, on va utiliser le *que* devant un verbe. Mais après, quand il y a beaucoup de *que*, on va une tendance à essayer d'éliminer quelques uns pour pas que ça fasse trop *que, que*,

¹²⁷ Note that this participant, along with others, placed the definite article *lo* before the proper name.

¹²⁸ Participant 32 used the verb conjugation in the subordinate clause (*crompère*) particular to Gascon, not found in French or other Occitan languages, termed *le future de passé*. This tense has also been termed "passé du subjonctif" and "imparfait du futur". It is often used in subordinate clauses in which the said tense expresses a future occurrence in relation to the matrix verb conjugated in the past tense (Birabent & Salles-Loustau 1989: 100-101).

que.¹²⁹ (participant 17)

Even though the triple *que* construction seems to not be considered a normative usage, it is difficult to discern which particle in subordinate clauses is considered the more normative Gascon form among second language learners or relearners, as I encountered a large degree of variability in the choice of the énonciatif (or no énonciatif for that matter) in subordinate clauses. For instance, of those speakers familiar with Gascon normative forms, there were some who considered the énonciatif *e* in subordinate clauses as the Gascon normative form, while others informed me that they had never encountered this usage of the énonciatif *e* and were only familiar with its usage in questions. Participant 1, a Gascon second language learner, and participant 9, a Gascon relearner and teacher who had very limited exposure to Gascon when she was young, had only known of the usage of *e* in questions and had never encountered its usage in subordinate clauses.

On the other hand are those who indicated that the énonciatif *e* in subordinate clauses is the more normative form. Participant 30 said that while he would write the énonciatif *e* in subordinate clauses following the matrix verb ‘to think’, he would use no énonciatif orally in this context.¹³⁰ Moreover, participant 41, who used the énonciatif *e* in subordinate clauses, informed me that the absence of any énonciatif in subordinate clauses is not a proper grammatical construction and compared its usage to the French construction *J’aime pas* (as compared to French *Je n’aime pas*) with deletion of the first negative morpheme. According to participant 41, the énonciatif *e* in subordinate clauses is “la bonne forme” ‘the good form’. When I asked this participant if he based this norm on Gascon grammars, he said yes. This finding illustrates how normative grammars can indeed influence the form of a language, as participant 41, who works as a reporter at Ràdio País, informed me that he tries to use the more grammatical constructions of Gascon when he speaks on the radio.

Another interesting finding is that participant 18, a Gascon teacher who teaches the language in collège as an LV₂/LV₃, uses the énonciatif *e* in subordinate clauses in her own speech, yet informed me that she does not teach this contextual usage of the énonciatif since it is too complicated for her students; she only teaches her students that the énonciatif *e* occurs in questions. Therefore, there is much variation in the teaching and usage of the énonciatif in subordinate clauses. Still, the finding that all speakers aged 30 and younger used *e* or no énonciatif in subordinate clauses leads one to conclude that the triple *que* construction will most likely not occur among the vast majority of future Gascon speakers.

Future Gascon speakers will also most likely not have a semantic/pragmatic contrast in the choice of the énonciatif in subordinate clauses, as a contrast was encountered among only two participants out of 54 for whom subordinate clauses were elicited: participant 15 had a contrast between the usage of *que* versus no énonciatif in the subordinate clause, while participant 49 had a contrast between the usage of *que* versus *e* in the subordinate clause. Although the overall pragmatic contrast for both speakers is consistent with that previously described in the literature, participant 15 attributes a pragmatic function to the énonciatif *que* that

¹²⁹ ‘You don’t have to [use an énonciatif in the subordinate clause of the sentence *Que pensi que lo Peire cromparà lo present*]. As a general rule, you use *que* before a verb. But when there are a lot of *que*, there’s a tendency to try to eliminate some of them so you don’t have too many *que*, as in *que, que, que*.’

¹³⁰ For instance, in response to the French sentences *J’ai pensé que Pierre achèterait le cadeau* and *Je pense que Pierre achètera le cadeau*, participant 30 used no énonciatif in the subordinate clause (*Qu’èi pensat que Pèir cromparé lo present/Que pensi que Pèir cromparà lo present*), but said that in writing he would use *e*.

has previously been described for the énonciatif *e*. Recall that Field (1985) describes the usage of the énonciatif *que* in a complement clause as serving to assert/emphasize the sentence, thus indicating the speaker's certainty of his/her assertion, while the énonciatif *e* conveys the speaker's uncertainty and doubt towards his/her assertion; this account corresponds to various semantic theories proposed for the énonciatifs, whereby *que* is a marker of certainty/reinforcement and *e* is a marker of uncertainty.

Contrary to this semantic contrast discussed in prior literature, participant 15 used *que* in the subordinate clause to indicate the speaker's uncertainty, while no énonciatif was used to reinforce the speaker's assertion and reflect the speaker's certainty. Participant 15 initially responded to the French sentence *Je pense que Pierre achètera le cadeau* 'I think that Pierre will buy the gift' using no énonciatif in the subordinate clause, as illustrated in (82).¹³¹

(82) *Que pensi que Pèir Ø comparà lo present.*

I then asked him if he could utter the sentence *Que pensi que Pèir que cromparà lo present*, which contained *que* in the subordinate clause and immediately triggered the following pragmatic function linked to the choice of the énonciatif used in the subordinate clause: *que* in the subordinate clause conveys that the speaker is not sure whether or not Pierre will actually buy the gift and invites the interlocutor to disagree with him/her, while no énonciatif indicates the speaker's certainty that Pierre will in fact buy the gift.

Alors, c'est plus interrogatif [sentence with *que* in the subordinate clause: *Que pensi que Pèir que cromparà lo present*]. On n'est pas sûr. Quand on met le *que* devant là, cette forme, on s'interroge sur le fait qu'on sait pas si Pierre ou non achètera le cadeau. Quand on met le *que* là, on sait pas trop juste. *Que pensi*, mais on pense, mais on s'oblige à penser, mais on n'est pas sûr du résultat. On n'est pas tout à fait certain qu'il l'achètera... C'est plus interrogatif [sentence with *que* in the subordinate clause: *Que pensi que Pèir que cromparà lo present*]. On se persuade de la chose, mais on donne la possibilité à l'auditeur de dire que non, Pierre achètera pas le cadeau. La personne à qui l'on parle peut dire le contraire. C'est une invitation à la personne qu'on en face à répondre. C'est notre interrogation, c'est notre questionnement. C'est une interrogation à l'autre pour connaître son avis. Ça l'ouvre la porte pour donner son avis sur la question.¹³²
(participant 15)

¹³¹ For this participant, I did not have time to elicit the additional subordinate clauses governed by the affirmative or negative form of the matrix verb *pensar* 'to think'; I therefore only elicited this specific sentence (*Je pense que Pierre achètera le cadeau*).

¹³² 'Well, it's more interrogative [sentence with *que* in the subordinate clause: *Que pensi que Pèir que cromparà lo present*]. You're not sure. When you place *que* before this form [the finite verb in the subordinate clause], you're questioning the fact since you don't know whether or not Pierre will buy the gift. When you put *que* there, you don't really know. *Que pensi*, you think it, but you're not obligated to think it, you're not sure of the results. You're not certain that he'll buy it... It's more interrogative [sentence with *que* in the subordinate clause: *Que pensi que Pèir que cromparà lo present*]. We're convinced of it [that Pierre will buy the gift], but we're giving the possibility to the hearer to reply no, Pierre will not buy the gift. The person to whom we're speaking [the interlocutor] can say the opposite. It's an invitation to the interlocutor to respond. The speaker is questioning his/her statement. It's a question to the other person to gather his/her opinion on the subject. It opens the door to the interlocutor to give his/her opinion on the subject.'

While his account quoted above links the pragmatic function of doubt or uncertainty to the énonciatif *que* in the subordinate clause, no énonciatif in the subordinate clause is used to reinforce the speaker's certainty: "On entend que c'est quasiment sûr. Si vous dites *Pensi que Pèir cromparà lo present*, on entend là une personne qui est sûre" (participant 15).¹³³

I also asked this participant if he could say the sentence using the énonciatif *e* in the subordinate clause (*Que pensi que Pèir e cromparà lo present*) and he said that there is no need for the énonciatif *e* in this context, as he uses this énonciatif for emphatic purposes to place focus on the verb and, according to him, the focus was already on the verb in the subordinate clause.

Ça [*Que pensi que Pèir e cromparà lo present*] ne se dit pas trop. On peut le dire, mais bon, c'est pas, ça fait un peu, non, ça se dit pas. Il y a aucun intérêt de mettre le *e* parce qu'on entend quand même le mot 'acheter' très bien. Quand on ajoute le *e*, c'est souvent, c'est pour insister sur l'expression. Puisque là, cette construction de phrase, le mot 'acheter' c'est quasiment le mot le plus important, donc on l'allonge pas.¹³⁴ (participant 15)

In summary, the finding that participant 15 used the énonciatif *que* to indicate the speaker's uncertainty challenges all of the previously proposed semantic theories of the énonciatifs. This finding shows that there is more variation in the énonciatif system than previously described and reflects how speakers must have adopted different énonciatif forms for different semantic/pragmatic functions.

Participant 49 was the other participant who had a semantic/pragmatic contrast based upon the choice of the énonciatif in the subordinate clause. Unlike participant 15, participant 49's contrast resembled that previously described in the literature, where the énonciatif *que* indicates certainty and *e* uncertainty. (83), which contains *que* in the subordinate clause, represents participant 49's initial response to the French sentence *Je pense que Jan achètera le cadeau* 'I think that Jan will buy the gift'.

(83) *Que pensi que Jan qu'ac cromparà lo present.*

Note that this participant used the third person neuter direct object pronoun *ac* before the verb in the subordinate clause. When I asked this participant if he could say the sentence *Que pensi que Jan e cromparà lo present*, which contained the énonciatif *e* in the subordinate clause, and if there was a semantic difference between this sentence and that cited above in (83) containing the énonciatif *que* in the subordinate clause, he said yes and provided the following description:

Il me semble si on dit *e*, là la différence entre *e* et *que*, c'est la rapidité de l'action. Dans ma tête si je dis, je pense *Que pensi que Jan e cromparà lo*

¹³³ 'You hear that it's almost certain. If you say *Pensi que Pèir cromparà lo present*, you're hearing a speaker who is sure.' Note that participant 15 did not use the énonciatif *que* in the main clause for this sentence; sometimes this participant did not use the énonciatif *que* in the main clause. Through the course of the elicitation, he described *que* as having an emphatic function when occurring in an affirmative main clause in certain contexts; see discussion in §5.2.8.

¹³⁴ 'That [*Que pensi que Pèir e cromparà lo present*] isn't said much. You can say it, but it's not, it's used a little, no, it's not said. There's no reason to put *e* because one hears the word "acheter" ['to buy'] very well. When you add *e*, it's often to emphasize the statement. Since, in this context, the word "acheter" ['to buy'] is practically the most important word, there's no reason to emphasize it.'

present, il le fera un jour. Si je dis *Que pensi que Jan que cromparà lo present*, je suis sûr qu'il le fera assez vite.¹³⁵ (participant 49)

As evident in his quotation cited above, this participant has a different mental image for the action depending upon whether *que* versus *e* occurs in the subordinate clause.

This pragmatic contrast was also encountered during the elicitation of the sentence *Je n'ai pas pensé que Jan achèterait le cadeau* 'I didn't think that Jan would buy the gift'. Unlike his response to the previous sentence cited in (83) that contains *que* in the subordinate clause, his response to this sentence, cited in (84), has no énonciatif in the subordinate clause.

(84) *Ne'm soi pas pensat que Jan Ø cromparé lo present.*
 NEG 1SG.SUB be.PRES.1SG NEG think.PART COMP buy.COND.3SG ART.DEF.M gift

When I asked participant 49 if he could say this sentence with the énonciatif *que* or *e* in the subordinate clause (*Ne'm soi pas pensat que Jan que/e cromparé lo present*), he described the following pragmatic difference: *que* reinforces the speaker's statement and indicates the speaker's certainty that the event will happen (or in this case, that the event expressed in the subordinate clause will not happen since the main clause contains the negated matrix verb 'to think'), while *e* indicates the speaker's uncertainty that the event will happen.

Ne'm soi pas pensat que Jan que cromparé lo present. Quand je dis le *que*, j'imagine la personne en train de faire la chose. Si je dis *Ne'm soi pas pensat que Jan e cromparé lo present*, avec le *e* c'est moins sûr. *Que* c'est la mise de l'action tout de suite. Je suis sûr ça se fait.¹³⁶ (participant 49)

As pragmatic contrasts are often difficult for speakers to elucidate since they operate on a speaker's subconscious level, this participant had trouble describing the difference and said, "C'est très dur d'expliquer" ['It's really difficult to explain'].

It is important to mention that the semantic/pragmatic contrast found in subordinate clauses for participant 49 was not consistent. Although he indicated a pragmatic contrast for the sentences *Je pense que Jan achètera le cadeau* and *Je n'ai pas pensé que Jan achèterait le cadeau*, he did not have a contrast based on the choice of the énonciatif in the subordinate clause for the following elicited sentences: *J'ai pensé que Jan achèterait le cadeau* and *Je ne pense pas que Jan achètera le cadeau*. He initially responded to both of these sentences using no énonciatif in the subordinate clause (*Qu'èi pensat que Jan Ø cromparé lo present*; *Ne pensi pas que Jan Ø cromparà lo present*) and he said there was not a semantic difference when I uttered these sentences using the énonciatif *que* in the subordinate clauses (*Qu'èi pensat que Jan que cromparé lo present*; *Ne pensi pas que Jan que cromparà lo present*). It is likely that the speaker's responses are not consistent due to constraints in the elicitation methodology, rather

¹³⁵ 'It seems to me that if you use *e*, in this context the difference between *e* and *que* concerns the rapidity of the action. In my head, if I say *Que pensi que Jan e cromparà lo present* 'I think that Jan will buy the gift', he will do it one day. If I say *Que pensi que Jan que cromparà lo present*, I am certain that he will do it pretty soon.'

¹³⁶ '*Ne'm soi pas pensat que Jan que cromparé lo present* 'I didn't think that Jan would buy the gift'. When I use *que*, I'm envisioning the person in the middle of doing something. If I say *Ne'm soi pas pensat que Jan e cromparé lo present* with *e*, this statement is less certain. *Que* conveys that the action will happen right away. I am sure that the event will happen.'

than reflecting the speaker's inconsistency, since these sentences were elicited one after the other and he found the pragmatic contrasts difficult to describe.

Sociolinguistic factors do not seem to account for the semantic/pragmatic contrast found among these two participants. Both speakers are from different regions within Béarn (participant 15 is from Montaner and participant 49 is from Momas). While participant 49 is a native Gascon speaker, participant 15 is a Gascon relearner who had heard Béarnais around him while growing up, but did not speak the language until he was 20-21 years old (he taught himself the language by speaking to older people in his village). Although participant 15 is not a native Gascon speaker, he said that he feels a closer connection to the Béarnais language than to French and more easily expresses himself in Béarnais than French. A commonality shared by both participants is that they interact with native Gascon speakers on a daily basis because both work within the agricultural industry where the language is more alive. Still, this factor cannot predict whether or not a speaker will have a semantic contrast based upon the choice of the *énonciatif* in subordinate clauses, as other native Gascon speakers I recorded in Béarn who work within the agricultural sector did not have this semantic contrast. This finding further illustrates the high degree of variation in the language.

Although sociolinguistic factors cannot predict the occurrence of the semantic/pragmatic contrast linked to the choice of the *énonciatif* in subordinate clauses, they can predict the absence of this contrast: all Gascon second language learners, teachers, and younger speakers (aged 30 and younger) did not have this semantic contrast, leading one to conclude that this pragmatic function of the *énonciatif* system will not be used by future generations of Gascon speakers. For instance, participant 15 remarked how these semantic subtleties in the language aren't found among many younger Gascon speakers:

On ne leur apprend pas parce que c'est trop compliqué. Même souvent les enseignants, les enseignants qui ont appris souvent la langue dans les écoles comprennent pas. Ils sont dans le système, comme le système français essaie de simplifier la langue. Avec une écriture standard, donc ça donne un parler standard. Ça nous manque un peu.¹³⁷ (participant 15)

Consistent with the finding that only a minority of participants had a semantic/pragmatic contrast based on the choice of the *énonciatif* in subordinate clauses, only four participants (participants 22, 44, 46, 54) used a different *énonciatif* in the subordinate clause following the matrix verb 'to think' versus the negated version of the same matrix verb. Participant 23 could also be included among those who may have a loose semantic contrast between the *énonciatif que* and *e*, as he said that the *énonciatif que* did not sound good in the context following the negated matrix verb 'to think', but was allowable following the same affirmative matrix verb provided that the subordinator was deleted (this participant disfavored the triple *que* construction). Based on the prior semantic proposals of the *énonciatifs*, one would expect a different *énonciatif* distribution between these two clauses since a subordinate clause following the negated matrix verb 'to think' indicates the speaker's uncertainty as to whether the event in the subordinate clause will occur (the *énonciatif e* is expected in this context), while a

¹³⁷ 'They [younger Gascon speakers] don't learn it [the semantic nuances in the language] because it's too complicated. Even the teachers who often learned the language in school don't understand it. They are in the system and the French system tries to simplify the language. A standardized writing system leads to a standardized oral language. The language is lacking a little.'

subordinate clause following the affirmative matrix verb ‘to think’ indicates that the speaker believes that the event will happen and thus indicates certainty on behalf of the speaker (the énonciatif *que* is expected).

Even though these four participants did not allow the énonciatif *que* in the subordinate clause following the negated matrix verb ‘to think’, but did allow it with the affirmative version of the same matrix verb, all did not indicate that there was a semantic/pragmatic contrast based upon the choice of the énonciatif in the subordinate clause. Therefore, their usage could indicate a remnant of a former semantic contrast on the subconscious level of which participants are not even aware. Moreover, of the four participants who used a different énonciatif in these clauses, the results from two of them (participants 44 and 46) point to perhaps a remnant of a semantic contrast that had once existed between the énonciatif *que* and *e*. Participant 44 informed me that he preferred *que* over *e* or no énonciatif in the subordinate clause following the matrix verb ‘to think’, but did not allow *que* in the subordinate clause following the negated matrix verb. Likewise, participant 46 used *que* consistently in the subordinate clause following the matrix verb ‘to think’, yet only allowed *e* in the clause following the negated verb. Both participants 44 and 46 are native Gascon speakers from Laruns in the Vallée d’Ossau. However, one cannot conclude that this finding is predictable based on region since participant 52, who is the father of participant 44 and is a native Gascon speaker from Laruns, allowed *que* or *e* in the subordinate clause following the affirmative or negated matrix verb ‘to think’, thus illustrating the high degree of speaker variation.

Participant 54’s dislike of *que* in the subordinate clause following the negated matrix verb ‘to think’ does not point to a remnant of a former semantic contrast between *que* versus *e* since this participant said that he does not allow *que* in the subordinate clause following the negated matrix verb ‘to think’ since *que* cannot occur within a negative sentence. His preference for *e* following this negated matrix verb thus indicates a grammatical rule rather than a semantic property: “Dans le négatif, on met pas le *que*” [‘in negation, you don’t have *que*’]. Participant 54 is a native Gascon speaker familiar with the normative grammatical structure of Gascon, as he is a former Gascon teacher. This property of normative Gascon, whereby the énonciatif is absent in negative clauses, is addressed in §5.2.7.

In conclusion, the variation in the énonciatif usage in subordinate clauses found among the majority of participants does not reflect a certain semantic/pragmatic function associated with a particular énonciatif. Only a small minority of participants chose a particular énonciatif (or no énonciatif for that matter) to express his/her certainty over whether the event expressed in the subordinate clause would take place or not. This finding, coupled with the data results presented thus far, suggests that the semantic/pragmatic function of the énonciatifs as presented in prior literature is not held by the vast majority of Gascon speakers.

5.2.6 Usage of *be* and *ja*

The énonciatif *be*, typically described as occurring in exclamations, was elicited via the following French sentence: *Tu chantes vraiment bien!* ‘You sing really well!’. In order to not receive a word-by-word translation from French to Gascon, I requested participants to provide a Gascon sentence that would express an exclamation that someone sang really well. The Gascon response provided by the majority of participants, where the underscore represents the placement of the énonciatif, is:

(85) ___ *cantas* *plan!*
sing.PRES.2SG well

Speakers informed me that the French equivalent sentence to the Gascon sentence with the énonciatif *be* (i.e., *Be cantas plan*) is more accurately *Qu'est-ce que tu chantes bien!* instead of *Tu chantes vraiment bien!*. However, I did not change the original elicited French sentence to remain consistent in my methodology and because this elicited sentence did not affect the results. I informed speakers that I was eliciting an exclamation and I asked those speakers who did not automatically respond with the énonciatif *be* if they could use it in this context and, if so, if it expressed the same meaning as their original sentence without this énonciatif.

I was unable to elicit the énonciatif *ja* via a specific sentence and therefore asked participants if they had this particle by producing it and its variant pronunciations. I also provided it in a sentence, such as *J'ac sabi* 'I know it', where *ja* is used for emphasis. For those participants who used the particle *ja*, the majority pronounced it [ja]: only six participants pronounced it [ʒa] (participants 3, 33, 44, 46, 48, 52). While these six participants are not all from the same region, all participants from the Vallée d'Ossau (participants 44, 46, 52) pronounced this particle as [ʒa] and only used it in sentence-final position.¹³⁸

During the course of elicitation, I realized that some speakers allowed the particles *be* and *ja* in sentence-final position to mark insistence in addition to sentence-initial position (or rather initial position before the finite verb), with many speakers only allowing the particle *ja* in sentence-final position. Recall from Chapter 2 that the majority of literature, especially grammars, does not discuss the usage of these particles in sentence-final position. For this reason, I decided to investigate the usage of *be* and *ja* in initial and final position, a distribution which was determined for the majority of participants. The preverbal contextual usage of *be* was elicited for nearly all participants, with results obtained for 56 in total; its usage in sentence-final position was investigated for 46 participants. The usage of *ja* in both preverbal and sentence-final position was obtained for 51 participants; note that data for one participant in the preverbal context could not be determined. See Table 4 in Appendix C for details, where the columns marked "*be* usage" and "*ja* usage" refer to whether or not speakers used these particles at all and the columns labeled "*be* initial", "*be* final", "*ja* initial", and "*ja* final" indicate the speakers' usage of each particle before the finite verb and/or in sentence-final position.¹³⁹

In comparing the participants' usage of the énonciatif *be* with that of *ja*, a pattern emerges whereby more participants used the particle *be* than *ja*. Also, of those speakers who used both particles, more speakers used *be* before the finite verb than in sentence-final position, while the opposite holds true for the énonciatif *ja*. Of the 56 participants for whom the usage of *be* was determined, 52 used this particle, 51 (98%) of whom used it before the finite verb. While the determination of the usage of *be* before the finite verb was carried out among all 56 participants, the sentence-final usage of *be* was determined for 46 in total. Of these 46 participants, 44 used the particle *be*, with slightly less than half of them (45%: 20/44) using it in sentence-final position (this percentage includes one participant who used the form *ben* rather

¹³⁸ The other three participants with the [ʒa] pronunciation are from the following regions: participant 3 is from Cassagnabère-Tournas in Comminges, participant 33 is from Saint-Mont in Gers, and participant 48 is from the village Lee-Athas in the Vallée d'Aspe in Béarn. Note that participant 38 is the only participant from the Vallée d'Ossau who did not use the particle *ja* at all.

¹³⁹ Table 4 in Appendix C contains data from participants 2 and 29. Even though they are among those for whom no sentences were directly elicited, information was obtained in reference to their usage of the énonciatif *be*.

than *be* in sentence-final position; note that this speaker did use the form *be* in verb-initial position). In contrast, of the 51 participants in total for whom the usage of *ja* was determined, 30 participants (59%) used this particle, 7 of whom used it before the finite verb (23%), while 29 used it in sentence-final position (97%). To further illustrate this marked difference, only one participant (no. 10) allowed the particle *be* to solely occupy sentence-final position (she did not allow *be* to occur before the finite verb), in contrast to 23 participants who used *ja* in sentence-final position only (they did not use *ja* before the finite verb).

The overall preference for *be* over *ja* is not predictable by a specific sociolinguistic factor. For instance, it is not predictable by the participants' age. For the age group 35 years of age and younger: of the 23 speakers surveyed for the usage of *ja*, 9 (25%) did not use *ja*, while of the 25 speakers surveyed for the usage of *be*, only 2 (6%) did not use *be*. For the age group 36-65 years of age: of the 18 speakers surveyed for the usage of *ja*, 7 (39%) did not use *ja*, while only 1 speaker did not use *be* out of the 19 speakers surveyed within this age range. Finally, for those speakers aged 66 and over, 5 out of 10 speakers surveyed did not use *ja*, while only 1 speaker out of 12 surveyed did not use *be*.

This preference also occurred among both native and non-native Gascon speakers. Of the native Gascon speakers surveyed for *be*, only one participant, no. 14 from the village Mansan in Bigorre, said that she had never heard of *be*; note that I did not elicit the usage of *be* in sentence-final position for this participant. This speaker did not use *be* before the finite verb; she responded to the elicited exclamatory sentence with the énonciatif *que: Que cantas de plan* (note this participant's use of the partitive *de* before the adverb). I asked her if she could say *Be cantas plan* or *Be cantas de plan* and she said that she has never heard of this usage. The only other native speaker who did not use *be* before the finite verb was participant 10, a native Gascon speaker from Saint-Arroman in Gers; however, unlike participant 14 who did not use *be* at all, participant 10 did use *be* in sentence-final position for insistence: "pour accentuer". Interestingly, participant 10 used no énonciatif in the elicitation of the exclamatory sentence; she responded with *Cantas vraiment bien* and *Cantas réellement bien* (note that she used the French words *vraiment bien* and *réellement bien* in her Gascon response). I asked her if she could say *Be cantas bien* or *Be cantas plan* and she responded that the sentence *Cantas bien, be* was possible, where *be* occupied sentence-final position. For this participant, the use of the énonciatif *que* in exclamations emphasized the sentence further: she said that *Que cantas bien, be* is more emphatic than the sentence *Cantas bien, be*.

In contrast to only one native speaker who did not use the particle *be* at all (i.e., before the verb or in sentence-final position), slightly less than half of the native Gascon speakers surveyed as to their usage of *ja* (35%: 7/20) indicated that they did not use this particle at all. As for the non-native Gascon speakers, 35 were surveyed for their usage of *be*, 31 of whom (89%) used this particle, while 31 were surveyed for their usage of *ja*, 17 of whom (55%) did not use this particle at all. The greater usage of *be*, as opposed to *ja*, is therefore not predictable by the speakers' native language. Since both native and non-native Gascon speakers did not use the particle *ja*, the finding that this particle did not occur among many non-native speakers does not imply that the language has changed significantly due to lack in Gascon transmission.

Although this greater usage of *be* as compared to *ja* is not predictable by any sociolinguistic factors, the qualitative data does indicate a tendency for non-native speakers to be more aware of the usage of *be*, as opposed to *ja*, since *be* is discussed in more normative grammars, and for older native speakers to use *be* and *ja* more often than younger speakers. When considering the sociolinguistic situation of the language, it is not surprising that I found

more Gascon second language learners and relearners to not use or ever hear of the particle *ja* as compared to *be*; refer back to Table 11 in Chapter 2, which reflects how more normative grammars include *be*, as opposed to *ja*, within the énonciatif system. Of the 36 Gascon second language learners and relearners surveyed, 14 did not use *ja*, 4 of whom (participants 1, 4, 53, 55) had never heard of this particle, while only 3 of these 36 participants did not use *be*, 2 of whom (participants 1 and 2) informed me that they had never heard of this énonciatif. Participant 1, who had never heard of *be*, used either *que* or no énonciatif in the elicited exclamatory sentence. Participant 1 said that *que* is not obligatory as an énonciatif in exclamations or interrogatives (recall that this speaker used no énonciatif in questions) and she had the following Gascon responses to the elicited French exclamatory sentence *Tu chantes vraiment bien!*: *Que cantas pro plan* or *Cantas pro plan*, where *pro* is an intensifier.

Mais avec les exclamations, les interrogations, c'est [referring to the énonciatif *que*] pas obligatoire, mais moi je sais pour les interrogations il faut pas le mettre le *que* ; pour les exclamations je sais pas. Je pense que c'est pareil, mais je suis pas sûre.¹⁴⁰ (participant 1)

The qualitative data, coupled with the sociolinguistic situation of the language, indicates that the particles *be* and *ja* may not be used in the future, as non-native Gascon speakers and younger generations of Gascon speakers are less likely to use these particles. Most speakers who informed me that they use the particles *be* and *ja* rarely were either Gascon second language learners or relearners. 13 speakers indicated that they use the énonciatif *be* rarely, the majority of whom were non-native speakers under 35 years of age. For instance, participants 11, 42, 44, 45, and 51 (2 of whom are Gascon instructors; note that participant 44 is a native Gascon speaker) informed me that it is more natural for them to use *que* rather than *be* in exclamations. In particular, participants 44 and 51 use *que* more in oral speech and consider *be* the more literary or normative usage. Participant 45, a Gascon relearner who transmitted the language to his children, informed me that his three children aged 9, 13, and 19 hardly ever use the énonciatif *be* and use *que* where it would be expected to appear. Moreover, participants 20 and 21, both Gascon relearners, said that their usage of *be* before the finite verb is limited to certain expressions; both participants actually provided the same example reproduced in (86).

(86) *Be n' as popat lèit de sauma!*
 ENC PRTT have.PRES.2SG suck.PART milk of female.donkey
 'You're so stupid!' (lit. 'You were nursed by a jenny/female donkey')

Likewise, the majority of participants who informed me that they used the particle *ja* rarely were non-native speakers. For instance, participants 26 and 35, Gascon second language learners, said that they probably do not use *ja* often since they are second language learners; in particular, participant 35 said that he is not even sure how this particle would be specifically used. Participants 11 and 18, Gascon relearners and instructors, said that while they had encountered the usage of *ja* in grammars, they have never heard it used by others, nor do they use it themselves. Moreover, the students at the Collège Calandreta in Pau, participants 57-60, informed me that older speakers tend to use *be* and *ja* more often than younger speakers.

¹⁴⁰ 'But with exclamations, interrogatives, it [*que*] isn't obligatory, but I know for interrogatives, it isn't necessary to put the *que*; for exclamations, I don't know. I think that it's the same, but I'm not sure.'

Furthermore, an observation I encountered during my recording of participants 31 and 32 (aged 75 and 80) who were both recorded together indicates how the usage of *ja* occurs more often among native speakers from certain regions. Participant 31 is a Gascon relearner from Orthez, while participant 32 is a Gascon native speaker from a nearby village Balansun located ~8 km east of Orthez. During the elicitation of *ja*, participant 31 was surprised to hear that participant 32 used *ja* very often in his speech, as participant 31 did not use this particle often at all and said that it doesn't come naturally to him.

As for the semantic/pragmatic function associated with these particles, I uncovered even more semantic functions of the énonciatif *be* than have been described in prior literature. Still, the vast majority of participants did use *be* as expected: an exclamative particle adding more force or emotion to an utterance, with many describing *be* in the elicited sentence as conveying surprise that the person sang well and admiration/praise towards the interlocutor.¹⁴¹ Some examples of the semantic descriptions for *be* before the finite verb follow (note that its semantic usage in sentence-final position is different and conveys insistence).

Be cantas de plan c'est une admiration, tandis que *Que cantas de plan* c'est une affirmation...*Be cantas de plan* c'est quand on félicite quelqu'un 'Tu chantes bien!'.¹⁴² (participant 6)

Par exemple, on arrive dans une salle. On dit, *B'i a monde*. C'est-à-dire *qu'i a monde* ça veut dire il y a beaucoup du monde. *B'i a monde*, je crois que la meilleure façon de le traduire en français c'est 'Qu'est-ce qu'il y a du monde!'. C'est vraiment très fort comme exclamatif.¹⁴³ (participant 19)

Que cantas plan c'est une contestation en faite. Et si je dis *Be cantas plan* ça veut dire que 'Qu'est-ce que tu chantes bien!'. 'Tu chantes bien' je vais dire *Que cantas plan*, mais si je dis 'Qu'est-ce que tu chantes bien!', *Be cantas plan*.¹⁴⁴ (participant 48)

Pour moi, la différence, c'est si je dis *Que cantas plan*, c'est je reconnais que tu chantes bien. *Be cantas plan*, c'est plus fort. Pour moi, c'est 'Putain, qu'est-ce que tu chantes bien!'. Le *be* c'est 'putain' souvent...À ma fille, je lui dis *B'es beròja*, je dis 'Que tu es belle !'. Je dis pas *Qu'es beròja*. Je dis *Qu'es beròja*, c'est tu es jolie à l'oeil des autres. *B'es beròja*, tu es plus jolie que les autres.¹⁴⁵ (participant 49)

¹⁴¹ It is worth noting that participant 3 used the énonciatif *e* for exclamations and said that *be* is rarely used in his village. In response to the elicited exclamatory sentence, he uttered *E cantas plan!*, which contained the énonciatif *e*. However, he did say that *be* is preferable to *e* in other contexts to add emphasis, such as in the sentence *Be soi content* 'I am very happy'.

¹⁴² *Be cantas de plan* is an admiration, while *Que cantas de plan* is an affirmation...*Be cantas de plan* is when you want to congratulate someone that you sing well.'

¹⁴³ 'For example, you enter a room. You say, *B'i a monde*. *Qu'i a monde* means there are a lot of people. *B'i a monde*, I think the best way to translate it in French is *Qu'est-ce qu'il y a du monde!* 'Wow, there are a lot of people here!'. It's really much stronger as an exclamative.'

¹⁴⁴ '*Que cantas plan* is a statement. If I say *Be cantas plan*, it means 'Wow, you sing great!'. To convey 'You sing well', I will say *Que cantas plan*, but to convey 'Wow, you sing great!', it's *Be cantas plan*.'

¹⁴⁵ 'For me, the difference is that if I say *Que cantas plan*, I'm conveying that you sing well. *Be cantas plan* is stronger. For me, it's like 'Goddamn, wow, you sing well!'. *Be* is often like *putain* [*putain* is a French expletive

These accounts show how even though all use *be* to add an exclamative force over the utterance, the exact semantic usage of *be* slightly varies across speakers. Moreover, there was one participant, no. 15, who used *be* in a completely different manner from what has been described in the literature; this usage of *be* is presented in §5.2.9.4. Data from participants 34 and 38 revealed an additional evidential function to *be*; one could argue this evidential function is linked to its previously described semantic function to remove doubt from the interlocutor, as someone stating that s/he actually witnessed an event is therefore removing any doubt held by the interlocutor. While participant 34 had an evidential function to *be* in addition to its traditionally described exclamatory function, participant 38 did not use *be* as an exclamatory particle.

Participant 34 responded to the elicited French sentence *Tu chantes vraiment bien!* with *be* without any prompting and uttered the following two sentences, one with the énonciatif *que* and the other with *be*: *Que cantas hèra plan/Be cantas hèra plan* (*hèra* is an intensifier). The evidential function of *be* was revealed during my elicitation of the particle *ja*. Participant 34 informed me that he only uses *ja* in sentence-final position, and provided the following phrase reproduced in (87).

- (87) *Que son vinguts, ja.*
 ENC be.PRES.3PL come.PART
 ‘They really came.’ (his French translation provided: *Ils sont vraiment venus.*)

I then asked him if there was a semantic difference between the sentences *Que son vinguts, ja* and *Be son vinguts* and he said that while the first sentence with *ja* is used more for insistence, the second sentence with *be* is used to remove doubt from the interlocutor; *be* is used to state that the speaker actually witnessed the event:

Alors, *Que son vinguts, ja*, je vais l’affirmer, c’est définitif. *Be son vinguts* c’est pour prendre témoins, je vais prendre témoins à quelqu’un qui me semble dire le contraire.¹⁴⁶ (participant 34)

Since participant 34 is a Gascon relearner and instructor, I had asked him if he had obtained these semantic functions of the particles from grammars and he said no; he said that they must derive from hearing the language around him as a child from his mother’s side of the family, as he said that he has always had certain instincts about the language (this participant is from Lalongue located in northeastern Béarn).

Participant 38 responded to the elicited exclamatory sentence *Tu chantes vraiment bien!* without *be*, uttering the following two sentences, where *òc* means ‘yes’: *Que cantas plan, òc* and *Que cantas hèra plan, òc*. I had to prompt this speaker’s usage of *be* and asked if he could say *Be cantas plan*. Participant 38 said yes, but that it’s not an exclamation (“sans exclamation”) and conveys that you are observing that the person sings well: “*Be cantas plan* ça veut dire ‘Tu chantes bien, j’observe que tu chantes bien’. Autrement, si vraiment je m’exclame: *Que cantas plan, òc.*”¹⁴⁷ Participant 38 is a native speaker who grew up in Sévignacq-Meyracq in the Vallée

similar to English ‘goddamn’]...I say to my daughter *B’es beròja*, which means ‘Wow, you are beautiful!’. I don’t say *Qu’es beròja*. In saying *Qu’es beròja*, it means that people think you are pretty. *B’es beròja* means that you are prettier than others.’

¹⁴⁶ ‘For *Que son vinguts, ja*, I am affirming the sentence, it’s definite. For the sentence *Be son vinguts*, I am stating that I witnessed the event to someone whom I believe is saying the opposite.’

d'Ossau. Once again, these results shows how certain pragmatic functions of the particles differ among speakers.

Since one of the participants, no. 48, was a native Gascon speaker from the Vallée d'Aspe, I compared her usage of the énonciatifs with the results obtained from Schärli's (1985) study cited in Chapter 2, §2.5 that was conducted among nine speakers from the Vallée d'Aspe. Recall that Schärli provided speakers multiple choice responses, all expressing the same Gascon exclamatory sentence and differing only in the use of the énonciatif, and asked speakers to choose the sentence that they would utter. He found that none of the speakers chose the multiple choice response containing the énonciatif *ja* before the finite verb and found more speakers to prefer the response with the énonciatif *que* over *be*, leading him to conclude that the énonciatif *be* was infrequently used in this region and that *ja* was not used at all.

Data from participant 48, a native Gascon speaker from the village Lees-Athas in the *quartier* (neighborhood) named Anitch in the Vallée d'Aspe, does not support Schärli's conclusion. This participant used the énonciatif *be* and said that it conveys much more exclamatory value and emotion than the énonciatif *que*:

Que cantas plan c'est une contestation en faite. Et si je dis *Be cantas plan* ça veut dire que 'Qu'est-ce que tu chantes bien!'. 'Tu chantes bien' je vais dire *Que cantas plan*, mais si je dis 'Qu'est-ce que tu chantes bien!', *Be cantas plan*.¹⁴⁸
(participant 48)

Although this participant did not use the énonciatif *ja* before the finite verb, which is consistent with Schärli's findings, she did however use this particle in sentence-final position to convey insistence; she said that it is used in a somewhat argumentative manner towards the interlocutor. Therefore, it is not the case that the Vallée d'Aspe does not use the particle *ja*. Rather, this particle seems to only occupy sentence-final position. Participant 48 also allowed the usage of *be* in sentence-final position and said that *ja* is more insistent than *be*. She compared the sentence *Qu'ac sabi, be* with *Qu'ac sabi, ja* 'I know it': she said that *ja* is more argumentative in nature than *be* and that *ja* conveys to the interlocutor that you want to change topics and don't want to hear anymore about the subject.

This argumentative usage of *ja* was shared by other participants, such as participant 41, a native Gascon speaker from Arnos (a village nearby to Pau), who allowed *ja* before the finite verb and in sentence-final position. Participant 41 said that if *ja* is added to the end of a sentence in which *ja* is already present before the finite verb, it has a more argumentative function and strongly conveys to the interlocutor that the speaker wishes to move onto a different topic of conversation:

Si je le dis [*J'ac sabi, ja*], c'est que j'en ai vraiment marre, ça va, quoi, on va parler d'autre chose... Si je te dis *J'ac sabi*, bon ça va, je le sais. Mais *J'ac sabi, ja* ça commence à [speaker didn't finish thought here] ça va, on veut changer le

¹⁴⁷ '*Be cantas plan* means 'You sing well, I'm observing that you sing well'. Otherwise, if I really want to say an exclamation, I would say *Que cantas plan, òc*.'

¹⁴⁸ '*Que cantas plan* is a statement. If I say *Be cantas plan*, it means 'Wow, you sing great!'. To convey 'You sing well', I will say *Que cantas plan*, but to convey 'Wow, you sing great!', it's *Be cantas plan*.'

and he said no; he informed me that he can use either *ne...pas* or just *pas* for negation. Participant 21 is not from the same region as participant 3; participant 21 is a Gascon relearner who described his Gascon dialect as from the Lannemezan area where his paternal grandmother originates: “Je parle comme ma grand-mère paternelle et elle parle son parler de l’Escaladiou [in the *commune* of Mauvezin, which is ~10 km from Lannemezan].”¹⁵¹ Both participants 3 and 21 are Gascon relearners who sought to learn the specific Gascon dialect of their family members, are students majoring in Occitan at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, and participate in the IEO 65 *collectage* project (refer back to Chapter 1, §1.5.6 for further details) and therefore have recorded native Gascon speakers in their villages to archive this information. The finding that both of these non-native Gascon speakers sought to use a negative construction that is not found in normative grammars, but is instead specific to the native Gascon speech of people from their region, illustrates how language variations can indeed be maintained among non-native Gascon speakers.

I was unable to naturally elicit the usage of *que* with negation, even with the elicitation of the more emphatic sentence *Tu ne chantes pas vraiment bien*. To determine speakers’ usage of *que* with negation, I asked speakers whether or not they could say the sentence *Que ne/non cantas pas plan*, which contained the énonciatif *que* with the negative morpheme. If the speakers said yes, I then asked them if the sentence was more emphatic with *que* and if there was a semantic difference between the sentence *Que ne/non cantas pas plan* and *Ne/non cantas pas plan*. As no participants used *que* to reinforce negation without prompting, the following constructions are some examples of the responses provided during my elicitation of the emphatic sentence *Tu ne chantes pas vraiment bien* ‘You really don’t sing well!’: an intensifier was added before *plan* ‘well’, such as *tròp* ‘too’, *briga* ‘not at all’, *hèra* ‘very’, or *vertadèrament* ‘really’ (e.g., *Que cantas tròp/briga/hèra/vertadèrament plan*); the sentence was changed from negative to positive translating to ‘You sing badly’ and the énonciatifs *que* or *be* occurred, as in *Que cantas mau* or *Be cantas mau*; the particle *e* was added after the sentence, as in *Ne cantas pas plan, e*.

The grammaticality of *que* plus the negative construction *ne/non...pas* was determined for the majority of research participants (85%: 51/60). Of those 51 people surveyed, 90% (46/51) did not allow the énonciatif *que* with negation, while 10% (5/51) did; see the column labeled “*que ne/non...pas*” in Table 5 in Appendix C for details. This minority usage of *que* with negation corresponds with Pusch’s COG, where less than 5% of all negative main clauses appeared with *que*, and Séguy’s ALG map 2392 (refer to Map 7c in Appendix A), which shows an extremely limited usage of *que* in negative clauses. It is worth noting that while participants 22 and 23 said that they do not use the construction *que ne/non...pas*, they have heard others use this construction (since they do not use the construction themselves, they are included within the 90% of people who reported to not use *que* with negation). Although participant 22 did not have any semantic difference between *que ne/non...pas* versus *ne/non...pas*, participant 23 said that when he’s heard the construction *que ne/non...pas* among native speakers, it is used to reinforce the negation.

Interestingly, participant 30 did not allow the construction *que ne/non...pas*, but did inform me that he can add the énonciatif *be* before the negative morpheme for emphasis: *Be ne cantas pas plan*. Also worth noting is participant 19’s comment that even though he does not allow the construction *que ne/non...pas*, he does sometimes use the phrase *Que non* ‘No!’ in

¹⁵¹ ‘I speak [Gascon] like that of my paternal grandmother whose dialect is from l’Escaladiou [located in the *commune* of Mauvezin, which is ~10 km from Lannemezan].’

isolation similar to the emphatic affirmation *Que òc* ‘Yes!’; he said his usage of *que non* in isolation is rare. This example of *que non*, however, is not an instance of the énonciatif and instead resembles the emphatic usage of *que* found in other Romance languages that had been argued to be the diachronic source of the énonciatif (see Chapter 3, §3.2.1.2).

Out of the five participants who allowed *que* with negation, only two indicated that *que* was used to reinforce the negation (participants 3 and 51); the other participants said that there was no semantic difference between negation with or without *que*. Participant 3, who uses only the second morpheme *pas* for negation, uses either the first negative morpheme *non*, or *que* plus the first negative morpheme, to emphasize a negation, where *que ne/non...pas* is more emphatic than *ne/non...pas*. (89) is an example participant 3 provided that illustrates how *non* is added to the sentence to emphasize the command and express the speaker’s anger.

(89) *Non hès pas aquò!*
 NEG do.PRES.2SG NEG that
 ‘Don’t do that!’

I asked participant 3 if the sentence *Que non cantas pas plan* was more emphatic than *Non cantas pas plan* and he said yes: “Oui, moi il me semble plus fort.”¹⁵² However, he said that *Que non cantas pas plan* is used less often than *Non cantas pas plan* in his village for an emphatic negation. I also asked this participant if he could say the sentence *Que cantas pas plan*, using the énonciatif *que* with only the second negative morpheme; while he said that this sentence was possible, its usage is rare and conveys the same semantic meaning as *Cantas pas plan*, and thus does not function to reinforce the negation.

As for participant 51, he said that the sentence *Que non cantas pas plan* did not seem very natural to him in isolation, but informed me that he does use *que* with negation as part of a larger context for emphasis and provided the example reproduced in (90). Participant 51, a Gascon relearner, is from the village Bougarber located 17 km north of Pau in Béarn and began to really speak Gascon when he was 20 years old at the Université de Pau where he enrolled in Occitan courses; he described his Gascon dialect as that of central Béarn and not necessarily that specific to his village.

(90) *Tu, qu’ es tostemps a cantar, que’m hartas,*
 2SG.SUB ENC be.PRES.2SG all.the.time to sing.INF ENC 1SG.OBJ have.enough.PRES.2SG

que ne cantas pas plan.
 ENC NEG sing.PRES.2SG NEG well
 ‘You, you’ve been singing the whole time, it’s really unbearable, you really don’t sing well at all.’

The data results, coupled with the reactions obtained from speakers regarding the grammaticality of the sentence *Que ne/non cantas pas plan*, allow me to conclude that future generations of Gascon speakers, particularly those learning Gascon in school, will not use the énonciatif *que* with negation. During the direct elicitation of the sentence *Que ne/non cantas pas plan*, the majority of Gascon speakers, and in particular Gascon instructors, indicated that the usage of *que* with negation is considered ungrammatical and impossible. Although the following

¹⁵² ‘Yes, it seems stronger to me.’

chapter (specifically §6.2) discusses how Gascon instructors have noted their students extending the usage of the énonciatif *que* to negative clauses, these instructors consider this usage of the énonciatif to be grammatically incorrect and correct their students when they use such a construction. It is therefore possible that the young students in the Gascon immersion programs (i.e., the Calandretas and bilingual programs) who currently use *que* with negation will exclude the énonciatif from this context once they mature, are more exposed to Gascon normative forms, and become more aware of their language usage.

While eliciting the grammaticality of the sentence *Que ne/non cantas pas plan*, some speakers began to provide me with a grammatical lesson, stating that the énonciatif *que* cannot be used in negation; when I informed such participants that some native speakers do in fact allow *que* with negation, some were very surprised. For instance, when I asked participant 16 if she could say *Que ne cantas pas plan*, she said no because *que* is only used as an énonciatif: “*Que*, c’est ne que pour l’énonciatif.”¹⁵³ Likewise, participant 54 said that negation excludes the énonciatif *que*: “La négation va exclure le *que*.” While participant 17 said that she has heard of *que* with negation in oral speech, she herself does not use this construction since it is ungrammatical:

C’est aucune différence [responding to my question if there was a semantic difference between *Que ne cantas pas plan* versus *Ne cantas pas plan*], c’est juste que le *que ne* c’est vraiment à l’orale. A l’écrit, on ne peut pas le mettre. C’est pas correct grammaticalement. Donc on ne va pas le mettre à l’écrit. Par contre, à l’orale, oui, ça peut arriver de l’entendre. Moi, je l’utilise pas.¹⁵⁴ (participant 17)

According to participant 18, *que* with the first part of negation *ne/non* is impossible since you cannot have more than one énonciatif in a sentence; however, she said that she has heard of the construction *que...pas*, even though she herself doesn’t use it:

Grammaticalement, c’est [*que* with negation] incorrect et dans la pratique, non. A la limite, ça pourrait passer *Que cantas pas plan*, mais pas le *que* et le *ne*, ça c’est impossible. Grammaticalement, c’est impossible. *Que* et *ne*, les deux sont impossibles, c’est deux énonciatifs. Voilà, on ne peut pas avoir deux énonciatifs. Moi, j’ai jamais entendu [*que* with the negative morpheme *ne/non*].¹⁵⁵ (participant 18)

The grammaticality of the construction *que* with only the second negative morpheme *pas* was not determined for most participants (this construction was elicited among only 8 participants, as I initially had not sought to investigate this; refer to the column labeled “*que...pas*” in Table 5 in Appendix C for details). Nevertheless, it seems as though this

¹⁵³ ‘*Que* is only used as an énonciatif.’

¹⁵⁴ ‘There’s no difference [responding to my question if there was a semantic difference between *Que ne cantas pas plan* versus *Ne cantas pas plan*], it’s just that *que ne* only occurs in oral speech. In writing, you can’t use it. It’s not grammatically correct. So, you’re not going to use it in writing. However, in oral speech, it’s possible to hear it. As for me, I don’t use it [*que* with negation].’

¹⁵⁵ ‘Grammatically, it’s [*que* with negation] incorrect and in practice, no [the participant is referring to how she does not use *que* with negation]. On the border, *Que cantas pas plan* does occur, but not *que* with *ne*; as for that, it’s impossible. Grammatically, it’s impossible. *Que* and *ne*, the two are not possible, it’s two énonciatifs. Therefore, you can’t have two énonciatifs. As for me, I never heard that [*que* with the negative morpheme *ne/non*].’

construction, although disfavored, is preferable to the construction *que ne/non...pas*. Like participant 18, participant 21 said that while he does not use the construction *que...pas*, he has heard of this construction, but not *que ne/non...pas*. Participant 21 informed me that he had heard his paternal grandmother utter the sentence in (91) that contains the construction *que...pas*.

- (91) *Aquesta que's va pas debanar ena pelha.*
 DEM.F.SG ENC REFL go.PRES.3SG NEG unwind.INF in.the skirt
 'That girl can't cross her legs in that skirt' (lit. 'That girl can't unwind herself in that skirt')

Still, other speakers informed me that the énonciatif *que* was not possible with ANY part of negation, thus excluding its occurrence with only the second negative morpheme *pas*. For instance, participant 33 said that *que* with any part of negation is a horrible grammatical error: "une erreur grammaticale affreuse". Likewise, participants 1, 12, 16, 20, 34, 41, and 54 said that *que* occurs in affirmative clauses only and that negation therefore excludes *que*.

Just as I had not initially sought to determine the grammaticality of the *que...pas* construction, I also had not sought to investigate the grammaticality of negation using only the second negative morpheme *pas*; this context was only determined for half of the research participants (29 to be exact; see the column labeled "...pas" in Table 5 in Appendix C for details). This usage of only the second negative morpheme was spontaneously provided by some participants and I thereafter asked subsequent participants if they used this construction.¹⁵⁶ The grammaticality of this construction is roughly split: 55% (16/29) allowed the sentence *Cantas pas plan*, while 45% (13/29) did not. This finding does not seem predictable by any sociolinguistic factors. According to participants 15 and 51, the first part of negation *ne* is often deleted in rapid speech. Also worth noting is my observation of the specific phrase *Sabi pas* 'I don't know' without the first negative morpheme throughout my time spent in Béarn. I even heard this phrase uttered by French speakers in the region (both older and younger) who did not know Gascon to my knowledge; for instance, while on a bus in Pau, I overheard a teenage girl speaking in French on her cell phone and she occasionally uttered the Gascon phrase *sabi pas* during the entire conversation in French.

A completely unexpected semantic, or more accurately pragmatic, contrast encountered among a minority of the research participants concerned the usage of both parts of negation (*ne/non...pas*) versus only the second part of negation (...*pas*). Among a total of 29 participants for whom the grammaticality of negative sentences containing only the second negative morpheme (*Cantas pas plan*) was determined, only 6 indicated a semantic contrast between *ne...pas* versus just *pas*. Participants 47, 49, and 57-60 all described the following same semantic/pragmatic contrast: negation with both morphemes (*ne...pas*) functioned as a nicer way of negating the sentence so as not to insult or offend the interlocutor, while negation with only the second morpheme *pas* was a more direct and matter of fact way of negating the sentence and did not function in any way to maintain a rapport with the interlocutor.

These participants informed me that *Ne cantas pas plan* was a nicer way of telling the

¹⁵⁶ This context was indirectly elicited among participants 3, 15, and 21: during my elicitation of the French sentence *Tu ne chantes pas (vraiment) bien*, these participants informed me that they do not always use the first part of negation and can have only the second negative morpheme. There were 26 participants for whom I directly determined the grammaticality of the Gascon sentence *Cantas pas plan*: participants 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 33, 34, 35, 39, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60.

interlocutor that s/he doesn't sing well and implied that the person can perhaps improve his/her singing, while *Cantas pas plan* with only the second negative morpheme was more direct and conveyed to the interlocutor in an unkind manner that s/he does not sing well at all. Their semantic descriptions are quoted below:

Ne cantas pas plan ça veut dire que tu pourrais peut-être t'améliorer. Il y a une petite nuance, là. L'autre, *Cantas pas plan*, c'est direct, c'est définitif. *Cantas pas plan*, c'est catégorique pour dire que tu ne chantes pas bien.¹⁵⁷ (participant 47)

Ne cantas pas plan c'est plus doux. *Ne cantas pas plan*, ça veut dire tu chantes pas bien. *Cantas pas plan* c'est tu chantes pas bien, c'est plus stricte. Je ne sais pas si c'est comme ça, mais moi dans ma tête, c'est ça.¹⁵⁸ (participant 49)

C'est plus méchant, *Cantas pas plan* [as opposed to *Ne cantas pas plan*]. C'est [*Cantas pas plan*] plus quand on fait une remarque désagréable.¹⁵⁹
(2 of the participants from participants 57-60: 1st quotation is from the male, the other is from one of the females; it was too difficult to identify which female said this, as participants 57-60 are on the same recording)

This semantic/pragmatic contrast has not been discussed in any of the prior literature on the énonciatifs. Birabent & Salles-Loustau (1989) remark that there is a contrast between *ne...pas* versus the first negative morpheme *ne/non*: they find that the second negative morpheme *pas* can be omitted in certain contexts, such as orders or requests and expressions with doubt (refer back to Chapter 2, §2.8). However, no grammars or linguistic studies for that matter have mentioned a semantic contrast between *ne...pas* versus only the second negative morpheme *pas*.

The only shared sociolinguistic variable held among these participants is that all are from the Béarn region, yet this factor alone does not predict this semantic occurrence since the participants are from different regions within Béarn and the vast majority of other speakers from Béarn did not have this semantic contrast. For instance, the fact that the brother of participant 49, participant 23, did not have this semantic contrast exemplifies the high degree of speaker variability. Age and native language are also not predictors: participants 47 and 49 are native Gascon speakers (aged 66 and 33), while participants 57-60 (aged 14-15) consist of Gascon native speakers and relearners. Recall that participants 57-60 are students from the Collège Calandreta in Pau and have attended Calandretas upon entering school and thus have all had exposure to Gascon from a very young age.

Although the construction with only the second negative morpheme is possible for some participants, the finding that the vast majority responded to the elicited negative sentence with both negative morphemes illustrates that *ne/non...pas* is the most common form. In addition to

¹⁵⁷ '*Ne cantas pas plan* conveys that you could perhaps improve yourself. There's a slight nuance. The other [sentence], *Cantas pas plan*, is direct, it's definitive. *Cantas pas plan* is a definitive way of saying that you don't sing well.'

¹⁵⁸ '*Ne cantas pas plan* is nicer. *Ne cantas pas plan* conveys that you don't sing well. *Cantas pas plan* conveys that you don't sing well, but it's more matter of fact. I don't know if it's really like this for other speakers, but for me in my head, this is the meaning I have.'

¹⁵⁹ 'It's meaner, *Cantas pas plan* [as opposed to *Ne cantas pas plan*].' 'It's [*Cantas pas plan*] more often said when you want to say something unpleasant.'

being the form uttered by the majority of participants, negation with both negative morphemes (*ne/non...pas*) is considered the normative Gascon usage. For instance, participant 26, a Gascon second language learner, informed me that while he sometimes utters the sentence *Cantas pas plan*, he tries to avoid this construction since it is ungrammatical. This participant told me that he consciously makes an effort to use the énonciatifs in his speech and thus tries to use the *ne...pas* construction as opposed to using only the second negative morpheme *pas*. He said that to delete one of the particles before the finite verb, including the negative morpheme *ne*, would be viewed as speaking more like a Languedocien speaker or as a Gascon speaker influenced by French, thus illustrating how the énonciatifs are an important characteristic feature of the language.

5.2.8 Environments in which the énonciatifs (excluding the negative morpheme) are expected to not occur

To determine if the énonciatif was absent in the following expected contexts that were outlined in Chapter 2, §2.9, I elicited the French sentences that are provided in parentheses: subordinate clauses where the finite verb immediately follows the subordinator (French elicited sentences: *Je vois une fille qui porte la robe rouge* ‘I see a girl who’s wearing the red dress’ and *Quand je finis mon travaille, je suis fatigué* ‘When I finish my work, I am tired’); sentences where wh-questions immediately precede the finite verb (French elicited sentence *D’où viens-tu?* ‘Where are you from?’); before non-finite verbs (French elicited phrase *En travaillant toute la journée* ‘While working all day’); and before verbs in the imperative mood (French elicited sentence *Mangez!* ‘Eat!’). I also elicited the following contexts in which some studies have noted the absence of the énonciatif: before the finite verb form of *caler* ‘to be necessary’ when it is used as an impersonal expression (French elicited sentence *Il faut que j’y aille* ‘It’s necessary that I go there’) and before a reflexive verb conjugated in the third person (French elicited sentence *Il s’est cassé la jambe* ‘He broke his leg’).

Regarding the first context where the subordinator immediately precedes the finite verb, all of the 57 participants for whom this context was elicited did not utter any énonciatif before the subordinate verb with only one exception.¹⁶⁰ (92) contains the prototypical Gascon responses to the two French elicited sentences: (92a) denotes the response for *Je vois une fille qui porte la robe rouge* ‘I see a girl who’s wearing the red dress’ and (92b) indicates that for *Quand je finis mon travaille, je suis fatigué* ‘When I finish my work, I am tired’. Note that Ø indicates the absence of the énonciatif and that some common variants found across many participants are indicated, such as the relativizer *qui* or *que* and the first person singular present tense verb conjugation for ‘see’, *vedi* or *vei*.

- (92) a. *Que vedi/vei ua hilha qui/que*
ENC see.PRES.1SG ART.DEF.F girl REL
- Ø *pòrta la rauba roja.*
wear.PRES.3SG ART.DEF.F dress red.F
 ‘I see a girl who’s wearing the red dress.’

¹⁶⁰ Note that although this context was not elicited for participant 2, and this participant is therefore not included among the 57 participants cited, her natural, non-elicited data contained instances in which no énonciatif occurred before the subordinate finite verb when it was immediately preceded by the subordinator.

b. *Quan Ø acabi lo men tribalh,*
 when finish.PRES.1SG ART.DEF.M POSS.M work

que soi fatigat/fatigada.
 ENC be.PRES.1SG tired.M/tired.F

‘When I finish my work, I am tired.’

The one exception is participant 1: although she did not utter any énonciatif after the relativizer for the sentence elicited in (92a), she did have the énonciatif *que* between the temporal subordinator *quan* ‘when’ and the finite verb for the sentence elicited in (92b), as she uttered the sentence in (93). Some additional differences between her response in (93) and the prototypical Gascon response in (92b) include her use of the following: the French word for ‘work’ *travaille* instead of the Gascon correlate *tribalh*, the verb *finir* ‘to finish’ instead of *acabar* of the same meaning, and the conjugation of the subordinate verb in the past, as opposed to present, tense.

(93) *Quan qu’èi finit aqueth travaille, que soi fatigada.*
 when ENC have.PRES.1SG finish.PART this work ENC be.PRES.1SG tired.F
 ‘When I finished this work, I am tired.’

It is important to mention that this participant’s conjugation of the subordinate verb in the past tense does not impact the findings, as the auxiliary verb is finite following the subordinator, causing no énonciatif expected to appear in this context. Moreover, other participants who conjugated the subordinate verb in the past tense did not use any énonciatif in this context.

The vast majority of participants also did not use any énonciatif before the finite verb when it was immediately preceded by an interrogative pronoun. This context was elicited for 54 participants (i.e., all 57 participants for whom sentences were elicited with the exception of participants 4, 5, and 9). (94) is the prototypical Gascon response to the French elicited sentence.

(94) *D’on vienes?*
 from where come.PRES.2SG
 ‘Where are you from?’

All participants for whom this sentence was elicited with the exception of participant 26 did not use any énonciatif before the finite verb. I do not have any conclusion regarding the response of participant 26 which was *D’on e vienes?* because this same participant did not use any particle between the interrogative pronoun and finite verb when I elicited an additional sentence with another interrogative pronoun. Following the elicitation of *D’où viens-tu?*, where I distinctly heard *e* between the interrogative pronoun and finite verb, I asked this participant to provide the Gascon equivalent for the French sentence *Qu’est-ce que tu achètes?* ‘What are you buying?’ to determine if he used *e* between a different interrogative pronoun and finite verb. His response in (95) indicates that he did not insert *e* in this sentence; note that neither instance of *que* in his response seems to be an énonciatif since the first *qué* is the interrogative pronoun and the second *que* is the complementizer since the sentence literally states ‘What are they that you are buying?’.

- (95) *Qué son que crompas?*
 what be.PRES.3PL COMP buy.PRES.2SG
 ‘What are you buying?’

Although the data results for nearly all participants reflected the expected outcome where no énonciatif occurred between the interrogative pronoun and finite verb, a finding which I did not expect to encounter concerned the usage of a particle BEFORE the interrogative pronoun, which occurred among participants 3, 31, 32, and 49. Participant 3 used the particle *je* [je] consistently before interrogative pronouns, a finding not previously encountered in the literature (for discussion, see §5.2.9.3). Participants 31, 32, and 49 used the particle *e* before the interrogative pronoun, uttering the following: *E d'on vienes?*. Participants 31 and 32 revealed that there is a semantic nuance between the usage of *e* versus nothing before interrogative pronouns (see §5.2.9.2). While participant 49 also used *e* before the interrogative pronoun *d'on* ‘from where’, he did not attribute a semantic function to this particle and did not use *e* before other interrogative pronouns, as did participants 31 and 32. Just as I elicited the additional question containing a different interrogative pronoun with participant 26, I asked participant 49 how he would say *Qu'est-ce que tu achètes?* in Gascon to determine if he used *e* before another interrogative pronoun. His response in (96) indicates an absence of *e* before the interrogative pronoun *qué* ‘what’.

- (96) *Qué vòs crompar?*
 what want.PRES.2SG buy.INF
 ‘What do you want to buy?’

To determine if the énonciatif occurred before non-finite verbs, I elicited the French phrase *En travaillant toute la journée* ‘While working all day’, which contains a gerund. All participants’ Gascon responses contained either the gerund (*en tribalhant*) or the infinitive form (*en tribalhar*) of the verb; since both of these verb forms are non-finite, the variants do not impact the findings. This context was elicited among the same 54 participants as the preceding context. All of those surveyed did not utter any énonciatif before the non-finite verb.

The imperative mood was elicited among the same 54 participants as well. However, unlike the previous contexts, I had trouble obtaining a response from some participants during the elicitation of the command. Still, the results pertain to the vast majority surveyed, as I could not obtain a response for this elicited context from only three participants (participants 6, 7, and 8). All 51 participants did not utter any énonciatif in this context: *Minjatz!* was the corresponding Gascon form to the elicited French sentence *Mangez!*.

The same 54 participants were surveyed as to their usage of the énonciatif in impersonal expressions (i.e., before the finite verb form of *caler* ‘to be necessary’) and before reflexive verbs conjugated in the third person. While I was able to obtain responses across all 54 participants for the reflexive verb context, all participants did not use a finite verb form of *caler* in their Gascon responses to the French elicited sentence that contained the impersonal expression *il faut que*. Participants 7, 8, 19, and 46 are those who did not use a form of the verb *caler* in their Gascon response and thus used a different construction. Therefore, the énonciatif usage in impersonal expressions containing a finite verb form of *caler* was determined for 50

Data obtained from the elicited sentence containing a third person reflexive verb form does not support Field's (1985) observation that the *énonciatif* is sometimes absent before reflexive verbs conjugated in the third person. To determine the *énonciatif* usage in this context and accurately test Field's account, I elicited the French equivalent to the Gascon sentence cited by Field (1985: 85), reproduced in (44) in Chapter 2, §2.9. The French sentence *Il s'est cassé la jambe* 'He broke his leg' was elicited among 54 participants, all of whom used the *énonciatif que* before the finite verb. (98) contains the prototypical Gascon response. Two sentences are listed since some participants used the finite verb form of the auxiliary verb *aver* 'to have' (98a), while others used the form of the auxiliary verb *estar* 'to be' (98b). Of the 54 people surveyed, 36 (67%) used the auxiliary verb *aver* and 18 (33%) used the auxiliary verb *estar*. Since this study's focus is on the *énonciatif* usage, this auxiliary distribution will not be analyzed further.¹⁶⁴

- (98) a. *Que s' a copat la cama.*
 ENC REFL have.PRES.3SG break.PART ART.DEF.F leg
- b. *Que s' ei copat la cama.*
 ENC REFL be.PRES.3SG break.PART ART.DEF.F leg

Even though this contextual usage of the *énonciatif* conflicts with Field's description, the *énonciatif* behavior presented in this section does correlate with that found in the majority of the literature, as all or nearly all participants did not use the *énonciatif* in contexts where it was expected to not occur.

5.2.9 Other particles (possibly *énonciatifs*) and functions of previously described *énonciatifs* not encountered in the literature

5.2.9.1 Variant of *que*

Jean-Paul Latrubesse, a native Gascon speaker and President of the Ostau Bearnés, informed me that the Vallée de Barétous within Béarn has the form *que + de* for the *énonciatif*. He informed me of this via e-mail based on his interactions with speakers from this region who say the sentence *Que d'ei arribat* instead of *Qu'ei arribat* meaning 'I arrived'. This variant has previously not been mentioned in the literature. I was unfortunately unable to record a native Gascon speaker from this region to verify this usage firsthand.

5.2.9.2 Usage of *e* before interrogative pronouns

While eliciting sentences with participants 31 and 32, who were recorded together, the *énonciatif e* occurred in the following unexpected context: before interrogative pronouns. This contextual usage was previously mentioned in §5.2.8 and is elaborated here. Both participants are from adjacent areas within Béarn: participant 31 is from Orthez and participant 32 is from the village Balansun located ~8 km east of Orthez. In the elicitation of the French sentence *D'où viens-tu?*, participant 31 was the first to respond and uttered the Gascon question represented in

¹⁶⁴ Those participants with the auxiliary verb *aver*: 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55. Those with the auxiliary verb *estar*: 1, 11, 16, 17, 21, 22, 26, 27, 33, 42, 43, 44, 46, 49, 57, 58, 59, 60.

(99), to which participant 32 agreed.

(99) *E d'on vienes, tu?*
from where come.PRES.2SG 2SG.SUB

According to participant 31, the sentence in (99) can occur with or without *e* (one can say *D'on vienes, tu?* or *E d'on vienes, tu?*). The difference between the two questions lies in the semantic/pragmatic domain, as participant 31 said that the énonciatif *e* makes the question warmer and conveys the speaker's interest in the interlocutor's response.

C'est plus chaleureux de dire *E d'on vienes, tu?* que *D'on vienes, tu?*. *D'on vienes, tu?*, il n'y a pas de saveur, il n'y a pas de sentiment derrière. Il y a beaucoup plus d'intérêt quand tu dis *E d'on vienes, tu?*.¹⁶⁵ (participant 31)

It is the function of the énonciatif *e* rather than the addition of the personal pronoun *tu* at the end of the sentence, which is added for insistence, that provides this semantic/pragmatic dimension to the question. Participant 32 stated that the question could be said without the personal pronoun at the end of the sentence and that *e* conveys the speaker's curiosity and sincere interest in the question: "Ça [the usage of *e* before interrogative pronouns] marque une insistance sur la curiosité."¹⁶⁶

To verify that this usage of *e* was not limited to the interrogative pronoun *d'on*, I elicited the following two additional questions, each containing different interrogative pronouns: *Qu'est-ce que tu achètes?* 'What are you buying?' and *Comment vas-tu?* 'How are you?'. The two sentences in (100) reflect their immediate Gascon responses to both elicited sentences (note that the *qué* in (100a) is the interrogative pronoun and not the homophonous énonciatif *que*).

- (100) a. *Qué çò qui crompas?*
what DEM COMP buy.PRES.2SG
'What are you buying'
- b. *E quin vas?*
how go.PRES.2SG
'How are you?'

Since their response in (100a) did not contain the énonciatif *e* before the interrogative pronoun, I asked both participants if they could say the sentence *E qué çò qui crompas?*, to which they both responded yes and informed me that it would depend on the context and to whom you're speaking. Consistent with both participants' semantic/pragmatic description of *e* in (99), they said that a speaker would use *e* in (100a-b) to convey his/her interest in the question and thus his/her interest in the interlocutor's response. Based on this semantic/pragmatic description, one can naturally assume that a speaker would most likely use *e* before interrogative pronouns when asking questions to people whom s/he knows and likes, as the speaker would be more apt to care about those responses.

¹⁶⁵ 'It's warmer to say *E d'on vienes, tu?* than to say *D'on vienes, tu?*. *D'on vienes, tu?*, there's no feeling, there's no feeling behind it. You are conveying a lot of interest when you say *E d'on vienes, tu?*'

¹⁶⁶ 'It [the usage of *e* before interrogative pronouns] strongly indicates the speaker's curiosity.'

These participants' usage of *e* versus no particle before the interrogative pronoun in this context resembles the semantic contrast between the Basque particles *al* and *ote* in questions, as outlined in Chapter 4, §4.1.5 and illustrated in (63). Recall that *ote* was used to convey the speaker's interest in the question, while *al* purely functioned to seek information and therefore did not convey the speaker's emotions.

Interestingly, these participants did not indicate a semantic contrast between the énonciatif *e* versus *que* in questions as discussed in prior literature. When I elicited the interrogative context presented in §5.2.2, which contained a question without an interrogative pronoun (*Est-ce que tu chantes souvent?/Chantes-tu souvent?* 'Do you sing often?'), both participants did not have a semantic contrast based on the choice of the énonciatif. They informed me that they preferred the énonciatif *e* in this context (they preferred the question *E cantas sovent?*) even though they did not find the usage of *que* ungrammatical in questions; in fact, they said that they have heard other Gascon speakers use *que* in questions. To determine whether they had a semantic/pragmatic contrast based on the choice of the énonciatif in this question, I specifically asked them if there was a difference in meaning between the questions *E cantas sovent?* and *Que cantas sovent?*, to which they both responded no. The elicitation of the question *As-tu de l'argent?* produced similar results. Both participants responded with either no énonciatif or *que* (recall that *e* is precluded from this context due to the vowel-initial finite verb): *As sos?* or *Qu'as sos?*.

5.2.9.3 Particle *je* [je] before interrogative pronouns

Only one participant (no. 3) used a particle pronounced [je] before interrogative pronouns. Although this particle does not occur before the finite verb and therefore cannot be deemed an énonciatif on purely syntactic grounds, it is worth mentioning nonetheless since it reveals yet another usage of a particle not mentioned in grammars or linguistic studies to my knowledge. This particle was encountered during the elicitation of the question *D'où viens-tu?* 'Where are you from?', as this participant's response, reproduced in (101), contained *je* before the interrogative pronoun.

(101) *Je d'on vengues?*
 from where come.PRES.2SG

After hearing this unexpected outcome, I elicited additional questions with different interrogative pronouns to determine if the speaker continued to use the particle *je* in such contexts. Participant 3 used the particle *je* before all interrogative pronouns. Some examples of his responses are in (102); note once again that *qué* is the interrogative pronoun 'what' and not the énonciatif.

- (102) a. *Je qué hès?*
 what do.PRES.2SG
 'What are you doing?'
 b. *J'on partes?*
 where leave.PRES.2SG
 'Where are you going?'

- c. *Je qu'a hêt?*
 what have.PRES.3SG do.PART
 'What did he do?'
- d. *Je coma vas?*
 how go.PRES.2SG
 'How are you?'

Since this participant knew the writing system of Gascon, I asked him how he would write this particle.¹⁶⁷ He informed me that he did not know how to represent this particle in writing, as he had never encountered it in any Gascon grammars. To further define this particle's usage, I asked participant 3 if he used [je] in additional contexts. He informed me that he had only encountered the usage of this particle in sentence-initial contexts where it preceded interrogative pronouns. This speaker's sociolinguistic information was previously mentioned in this chapter, but is repeated here. He is from the village Cassagnabère-Tournas in Comminges. Even though he is a Gascon relearner, his speech is consistent with that spoken from his village since he heard Gascon from a young age from family members and sought to learn the specific variety of Gascon spoken in his village. Moreover, he works for the IEO 65 *collectage* project and therefore regularly meets with and records native Gascon speakers from his region.

5.2.9.4 Sarcastic usage of *be*

As already mentioned in §5.2.6, the énonciatif *be* has been described as an exclamatory particle that adds emphasis, indicates surprise, or removes doubt from the interlocutor; all participants used *be* in this manner with the exception of one participant (no. 15). While eliciting the exclamatory sentence *Tu chantes vraiment bien!* with participant 15, a different semantic usage of *be* was uncovered. This speaker's initial response to the elicited exclamatory sentence did not contain *be*; he uttered *Ço qui cantas hèra plan*, whose literal translation is 'That which you sing really well'. To determine whether the speaker used the énonciatif *be*, I asked him if he could utter the sentence *Be cantas plan* in his natural Gascon speech. This sentence immediately evoked an unexpected reaction from him, as he laughed and said that this sentence with *be* would be used to mock the interlocutor. According to this participant, the speaker uses *be* in this context to state that the person sings well, while believing that s/he in fact does not.

On peut aussi le dire, *Be cantas plan*, oui [in response to my question if he could say that sentence], c'est pour se moquer un peu. C'est pour se moquer des gens un peu. Quand on utilise cette forme, c'est pour dire à la personne qu'elle chante bien, mais en pensant qu'elles font le contraire. C'est une façon de dire 'Tu ne chantes pas aussi bien que ça'. On se moque beaucoup en béarnais. On flatte souvent les gens en béarnais. C'est connu on flatte des gens, on leur fait croire qu'on pense d'eux ce qu'on pense pas. C'est un amusement.¹⁶⁸ (participant 15)

¹⁶⁷ Participant 3 ranked his Gascon written fluency as 3-4. He is a Gascon relearner: he had always heard the language spoken by older members of his family, but did not actually begin learning Gascon until the age of 10-11 during the 6^e grade level in collège where he enrolled in Occitan as an LV₂/LV₃; he is a current student at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail majoring in Occitan.

¹⁶⁸ 'You can also say *Be cantas plan*, yes [in response to my question if he could say that sentence], but it's to mock someone a bit. It's used to mock people a bit. When you use this form, you're telling the person that s/he sings well,

Instead of using *be* to express an exclamation, participant 15 uses the énonciatif *que*, which reflects how this speaker's semantic function of *be* does not correlate with that described in prior studies. I specifically asked this participant how he would convey in Gascon that a person sang really, really well and his responses in (103) contained the énonciatif *que*.

- (103) a. **Que** *cantas* *hèra plan*.
 ENC sing.PRES.2SG very well
- b. **Que** *trobi* *que* *cantas* *hèra plan*.
 ENC find.PRES.1SG COMP sing.PRES.2SG very well

Participant 15 informed me that the sentence in (103b) is stronger than that in (103a): he said that Béarnais often adds the phrase *Que trobi que...* 'I think that...' to really emphasize a following statement. It is worth mentioning that this speaker is from Montaner in Béarn, as it would be interesting to pursue further research in this region, especially since this same participant was among the minority who had a semantic contrast based upon the usage of the énonciatif in subordinate clauses (see §5.2.5: participant 15 had a semantic contrast between the usage of *que* versus no énonciatif in subordinate clauses).

5.2.9.5 Particle *mam*

This particle was only mentioned by participant 33. While determining this participant's usage of *ja*, she informed me that the particle *mam* [mam] exists in Gers, in addition to *ja* (pronounced [ʒa] in her region) and *be*. According to this participant from Saint-Mont, *mam* is used for emphasis in sentence-initial or final position and is combined with *ja* (*ja* can occur alone without *mam* for emphasis in her region). Although she informed me that she and her family do not use this particle, she has heard it uttered by many speakers throughout Gers, including those from her village. This particle does not seem to be an énonciatif since one of the examples she provided, (104a), maintains *que* before the finite verb. Further research is needed to define this particle's usage and determine if the particle *mam* alone can mark insistence, or if it must always be combined with *ja* (all of the examples provided by this participant combine *mam* with *ja*). This finding provides yet another example of the high degree of speaker variation in Gascon and the urgent need to record speakers throughout all of Gascony before this data becomes lost.

To illustrate the usage of *mam* plus *ja*, participant 33 provided the Gascon sentences reproduced in (104), along with their shared French translation: "*Le temps est beau, mais on sent qu'il y a des nuages qu'il va pleuvoir*" 'The weather is nice, but you can tell from the clouds that it's going to rain'. Note that (104a) contains the énonciatif *que*, but (104b) does not.

- (104) a. **Mam ja**, *que va* *plàver*.
 ENC go.PRES.3SG rain.INF
 'It's going to rain'
- b. *Va plàver*, **mam ja**.

while thinking the opposite. It's a way of saying 'You don't sing as well as that'. We mock each other a lot in Béarnais. We often flatter people in Béarnais, it's known that we flatter people, we make them believe that what we think of them isn't actually what we are thinking. It's fun.'

This participant informed me that the usage of *mam ja* is so prevalent in Gers that she has heard Gascon speakers use it while speaking French. She provided the following example in (105).

(105) *Mam ja aujourd'hui il va faire beau.*
'It's going to be nice out today.'

This occurrence is similar to that of other Gascon particles that appear throughout French conversations. During time spent in Béarn and Bigorre, I observed French speakers, regardless of whether or not they spoke Gascon, use the phrase *e be* [e be] as a discourse marker in entire conversations held in French; *e be* is similar in function to French *eh bien*, which roughly translates to English 'oh well'.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, as mentioned in §5.2.7, I observed the usage of the Gascon phrase *sabi pas* 'I don't know' in Béarn by people speaking French.

5.3 Conclusion

To return to the quotation cited at the beginning of this chapter, the results from my data show that there is a high degree of speaker variation in Gascon: the énonciatif usage was not consistent across all speakers for the majority of contexts elicited, and additional particles and semantic functions of previously described énonciatifs were uncovered. This variation poses problems for the previously proposed theoretical semantic accounts of the énonciatif system. For instance, participant 15 used the énonciatif *que* to convey uncertainty (a property formerly attributed to the énonciatif *e*) and used *be*, a supposed exclamatory particle, to convey sarcasm. The data also reflects how some énonciatifs contained more than one semantic/pragmatic function. Recall how participant 34, who used *be* as an exclamatory emphatic particle, revealed an additional evidential function to this particle in certain contexts. Although a loose overarching semantic/pragmatic function to the system can be posited (e.g., the énonciatifs convey certain semantic/pragmatic features for some speakers, such as evidentiality, emphasis, or maintaining rapport with the interlocutor), a theory that associates a specific semantic/pragmatic function to a particular énonciatif cannot be posited for the language as a whole, as it is not consistent across speakers.

The most striking finding in my opinion was that the semantic/pragmatic function formerly linked to the behavior of the énonciatif *que* versus *e* in questions and subordinate clauses was found among an extremely small number of participants, thus indicating that this property of the énonciatif system will most likely not remain in the language. This is particularly interesting when considering the diachronic proposal addressed in Chapter 4 for how this system arose. I argue that it was the semantic/pragmatic foundation of the Basque system that drove Basque speakers to gradually adopt a similar system upon shifting to Latin (as previously mentioned, the terms Basque and Latin encompass various stages of each of the respective languages throughout time, such that reference to Latin for example includes the Romance vernacular that became Gascon), for linguistic features that operate on the pragmatic domain, conveying speaker intentions, are those most likely to be transferred. Therefore, the same linguistic property that once triggered the creation of this system is also that which will no longer remain in Gascon.

¹⁶⁹ The usage of *e be* is not an instance of the Gascon énonciatifs being transferred to French since *e be* does not occupy the position before the finite verb.

This diachronic account is strengthened by the variation presented in this chapter. Although it is possible that the variation encountered could reflect a more recent system that evolved in the 17th-18th centuries as previously argued, it is more likely that the variability represents different speakers' adoptions of various Latin morphemes to fill the Basque particle slots, especially since certain pragmatic/semantic functions of the particles find their correlate in Basque, such as the evidential function to *be* and the usage of *e* to convey the speaker's interest in the question. As argued in Chapter 4, if the system was a more recent development in the language not influenced from the Basque substrate, the motivation for speakers to develop such a system of preverbal particles with underlying semantic/pragmatic functions would not be accounted for.

The finding that many speakers did not attribute specific pragmatic functions to the énonciatifs is most likely an outcome of desemanticization associated with attrition. Given the significant time depth of this system's evolution, it is impossible to know at what stage in the language certain speakers lost particular semantic/pragmatic features associated with specific particles. For instance, regions with more extended Basque contact over time may have retained certain pragmatic features more so than areas with less Basque contact, as there remain some bilingual communities of Basque and Gascon in France. Another possibility is that this loss in the system's pragmatic functions is an outcome of language marginalization resulting from increased influence from the majority language, French.

Because of the uncertainty regarding the time frame of the system's initial development and subsequent loss in pragmatic functions, I am using the term *attrition* as defined by Thomason (2003: 704): "the overall simplification and reduction of a language's linguistic structures, without concomitant complication elsewhere in the system". I am not using the more restrictive definition by Myers-Scotton (2002: 179) who defines attrition as "a phenomenon of individuals, referring to what happens to an individual's production of a language (usually an L₁), and [original emphasis] the state of any loss at a point in time". Myers-Scotton contrasts attrition with language shift, which "generally refers to a community phenomenon and a result arising from gradual loss of a language (usually an L₁) over time" (Myers-Scotton 2002: 179).

The more restrictive definition of attrition does not apply to the present situation, as many linguistic changes in Gascon are gradual and thus do not necessarily correspond to language change occurring within an individual's lifetime. The énonciatif system has not only been influenced from language contact in the more distant past, but has most likely undergone changes due to increased influence from the majority language, French, which has led to Gascon's endangered status (see Chapter 7 for further details). This more recent language shift from Gascon to French remains a gradual process, as it is not the case that Gascon speakers simply abandoned Gascon to speak French, as many Gascon speakers are bilingual in French and Gascon. For instance, many native Gascon speakers whom I interviewed did not transmit Gascon to their children and therefore spoke only French to their children, but continued to speak in Gascon with their spouse, family members, and/or members of their village.

Even though much of the variation encountered in the énonciatif usage was not predictable by sociolinguistic factors, as it occurred among both native and non-native speakers from different age groups and regions, certain tendencies did emerge once the sociolinguistic information and qualitative data obtained from each speaker were considered. Since newer generations of Gascon speakers are formed more in school than through familial transmission, what is considered normative Gascon will most likely have an impact on speakers' usage of the énonciatifs, as the data presented in this chapter indicates that this language change is already in

progress. For instance, the emphatic function formerly associated with the énonciatif *que* when occurring with negation (a property currently held by a minority of Gascon speakers) will probably disappear in the future, as this usage is considered ungrammatical and negation is taught and presented in grammars as excluding the énonciatifs. Moreover, it is very likely that the semantic/pragmatic function of the énonciatif system will not remain in the language, as normative grammars do not discuss many of these pragmatic functions and pragmatic features are extremely difficult to teach. Even though Gascon second language learners and relearners had the exclamatory function associated with the particle *be*, this énonciatif will probably remain in limited contexts, as many younger speakers, second language learners, and relearners informed me that they rarely use *be*.

Nonetheless, the finding that some non-native speakers, such as participant 3, used non-normative Gascon forms and functions of the énonciatifs not described in the literature reflects the dedication held by speakers to learn the specific variety of Gascon spoken by their relatives and thus the great importance of archiving this linguistic data. Therefore, hope is not lost: variations in the language and even some of Gascon's pragmatic/semantic underpinnings can indeed be retained, which is why there is truly a pressing need to record native speakers throughout all of Gascony to gather this information.

Still, I predict that the énonciatifs that have a more limited usage and that are not taught by many instructors, such as *se* and *ja*, will most likely either not be used in the language or be used by a minority of speakers. I also predict that certain énonciatifs considered to have normative uses will remain in the language. For instance, it is likely that the énonciatif *e*, which is considered the normative form for questions, will remain in Gascon as an interrogative particle; at the very least, it will remain as such in written forms of Gascon, as this chapter discussed how some speakers who did not use *e* in questions orally did in fact use it in formal written contexts, as opposed to informal contexts like text messaging. However, I would not be surprised if the majority of future speakers were to use *que* instead of *e* in questions in oral speech, as many speakers already allow *que* in questions. This would represent an instance of context generalization, whereby *que* is extended to contexts where the énonciatif *e* previously occurred. Heine & Kuteva (2005: 253) discuss how context generalization, entailing desemanticization, is a common outcome of attrition:

It has the effect that one linguistic structure S_1 is generalized at the expense of another structure S_2 , with the effect that the contrast between the two is neutralized: S_1 comes to be used in contexts previously reserved for S_2 . Context generalization entails desemanticization, i.e. loss in semantic specificity in that, as a result of its use in new contexts, S_1 tends to acquire a more general meaning, combining the semantics of both S_1 and S_2 .

What is interesting, however, is that even if the énonciatif *e* remains in questions, the data indicates that its usage will be considered a syntactic property of the language (i.e., a particle that is obligatory before the finite verb) and will be unassociated with its former semantic/pragmatic function to convey uncertainty, from which its appearance in questions probably derives.

As is further addressed in the following chapter, the only certainty as to the future of the énonciatif system is that the énonciatif *que* will remain in the language, as it is the énonciatif with the least variability, appearing before finite verbs in main affirmative declarative clauses among all participants. It is important to specify that the usage of *que* will remain in main

clauses, as opposed to subordinate clauses, as many younger speakers used no *énonciatif* in subordinate clauses where the syntactic condition was met for the *énonciatif* to occur. The maintenance of the *énonciatif que* is truly a testament to the language maintenance efforts of the region, as the *énonciatif* is unique to the majority language, French, and to Gascon's fellow Occitan languages. I firmly believe that without the teaching of this linguistic feature and its usage in grammars and texts, the *énonciatif* would no longer remain in Gascon, as loss in morphosyntactic features is a common outcome of attrition. If the *énonciatif* were not taught in schools where many students have had no prior exposure to Gascon, newer generations of speakers would have no reason to place a particle before the finite verb.

The fact that Gascon second language learners use the *énonciatif* has important implications for other endangered language communities: it shows how linguistic specificities of minority/endangered languages can indeed be retained by communities who work hard to maintain their language in spite of the encroaching majority language(s). Provided that there is more political and economic support to sustain and enlarge the already existing language maintenance programs in Gascony, I can without a doubt predict that the survival of Gascon will entail the survival of the *énonciatif* system, and at the very least the survival of the *énonciatif que*.

Chapter 6

Future of the énonciatif system

This chapter shows that the énonciatif system (at the very least the énonciatif *que*) will remain in the language, as it is expanding in geographic scope and is used by younger generations of speakers. My interviews with Occitan instructors and observations of schools in Gascony reveal that the énonciatif system is not only used and taught in those regions in which it is expected to occur, but that it is spreading to regions that had previously before not had it. This finding contradicts Moreux's (2004) claim, for which no direct evidence is provided, that the Occitan movement does not seek to teach and transmit Gascon-specific linguistic features (refer back to Chapter 1, §1.4.3 for details on Occitan). According to Moreux (2004: 42), "the first steps toward an Occitanization (in fact, usually a Languedocianization) of Gascon" equate to the following (note that the "declarative" *que* mentioned in the quotation below refers to the Gascon énonciatif):

...a tendency to eliminate specifically *Gascon* characteristics (asyllabic pronouns, "declarative" *que*); replacement of "Gallicisms," even old ones such as *boeture* ("voiture"/ 'car'), now *voature*, by borrowings from Languedocien, or Catalan, or even by the creation of words from Latin. Gascon Occitanists recommend therefore *veitura*, *quasèrn*, *pagina*, *gredon* instead of *voature*, *caie* ("cahier"/ 'notebook'), *page*, *creioû* ("crayon"/ 'pencil'). This trend can only be reinforced by the arrival of Occitan teachers trained at the University of Pau where professors of various origin place the accent on "interdialectality" (these being "dialects of *Occitan*"). Furthermore, in primary schools, teachers, rarely active native speakers, are trained at a school in Béziers where Gascon students are a minority and where the teachers do not particularly like *Gascon* specificities.¹⁷⁰ [original emphasis throughout] (Moreux 2004: 42)

The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that the énonciatif system is not endangered as a direct result of the Occitan movement's preservation of this distinctive linguistic feature, causing the énonciatif to become a characteristic of normative or standardized Gascon. In addition to the finding that Gascon/Occitan instructors use and teach the énonciatif system, most Gascon written materials contain the énonciatifs and thus non-native Gascon speakers studying the language via grammars or written works will learn them. Even though the Gascon/Occitan instructors whom I interviewed teach the énonciatifs *que*, *e*, and *be* for the most part, many informed me that their students use *que* most often and extend its usage to questions (where *e* would occur), exclamations (where *be* would occur), and even to negations (where no énonciatif would occur). Therefore, the data presented in this chapter strengthens the following conclusion drawn in the previous chapter: the only énonciatif that is certain to survive in the language is the énonciatif *que*.

¹⁷⁰ Moreux (2004) does not provide any further description of this school in Béziers. I'm assuming that it refers to the institution named APRENE that is based in Béziers and trains those teachers wishing to teach Occitan in the Calandretas.

The prediction that the énonciatif will be transmitted to future generations of Gascon speakers is further supported by my finding that younger Gascon speakers use the énonciatifs in text messages, a linguistic medium that naturally lends itself to the deletion of words, the shortening of expressions, or abbreviations, which allow the sender to type the messages faster on the small keypad to send to the recipient(s). The maintenance of the énonciatif in text messages not only illustrates its usage by younger generations of speakers, but how such speakers view it as an obligatory feature of the language. This finding is further discussed in this chapter, along with additional evidence that reveals the énonciatif to be a salient linguistic feature of Gascon that will remain in the language for years to come.

6.1 Participants recorded in the Gironde département

Since this chapter includes data obtained in the Gironde département, Table 26 outlines the additional participants recorded from this region whose participant number continues from the last participant (no. 60) listed in the previous chapter. Consistent with the other participants listed in Table 24 in Chapter 5, §5.1.1, all of the Gascon speakers recorded in the Gironde département ranked their Gascon oral fluency as equivalent or nearly equivalent to that of French: 4 or between 3 and 4. While some of the participants presented in the previous chapter did not know how to write Gascon, all participants recorded in the Gironde département ranked their Gascon written fluency as 4 or between 3 and 4 since all either formerly taught or currently teach Gascon in the Gironde département.

TABLE 26. Participants recorded in the Gironde département

Participant #	Sex	Age	Native language	Gascon dialect region	Gascon/Occitan Teacher (T)
61	F	35	Catalan	Béarnais	T
62	M	50	French, Gascon	Gironde/Landes ("gascon moyen")	former T
63	M	49	French	Gironde	T
64	M	60	French	Landes/"gascon standard, scolaire"	T
65	M	28	French	Gironde	former T
66	F	39	French	Gironde	T

As Table 26 shows, participant 62 is the only native Gascon speaker. French is also his native language, as his parents transmitted French to him. He is considered a native Gascon speaker since he acquired Gascon as a native language from both his maternal and paternal grandparents with whom he spoke Gascon from a young age. For this reason, when I asked him to identify his native language, which is termed *langue maternelle* in French, he identified Gascon as his "langue grand-maternelle", as opposed to French, which he classified as his "langue maternelle". Since his maternal and paternal grandparents are native Gascon speakers who originate from different Gascon regions (i.e., Gironde and Landes) and thus speak different Gascon dialects, I included both regions within the classification of participant 62's Gascon dialect. His maternal grandparents are from Saint-Martin-d'Oney in Landes and moved to Bordeaux following WWII. His paternal grandparents are from the same locale as where this participant was born and raised: La Brède, located 20 km southwest of Bordeaux. Without any prompting on my behalf, he mentioned how his maternal grandparents from Landes would use the énonciatif *que*, whereas his paternal grandparents from the Gironde region would hardly ever

utter this particle before the finite verb. I also included the term “gascon moyen” to describe this speaker’s Gascon dialect since he referred to his dialect as such: he said that his variety of Gascon does not match a specific dialect and that he will adapt his speech depending on the person to whom he is speaking.

The remaining participants consist of Gascon second language learners or relearners. Participants 61 and 65 are Gascon second language learners, as they did not have any prior exposure to Gascon before learning it in their early adulthood. Participants 63, 64, and 66 are Gascon relearners: all had heard the language from family members while growing up, but did not begin speaking Gascon until later in life by either enrolling in courses and/or reading grammars.

Participant 61 was born and raised in Bordeaux, but never knew of Occitan or Gascon until she moved to Béarn at the age of 21. This participant’s initial ignorance of the language is not surprising, as I found that many French inhabitants, including those within the Occitan region, are completely unaware of Occitan/Gascon; this issue is further addressed in the following chapter. Participant 61 first overheard Gascon and met Occitan activists while protesting the construction of a highway in the Vallée d’Aspe, located in Béarn. She informed me that she immediately understood Gascon since her native language is Catalan (her family is originally from Catalonia and she did not learn French until entering school at the age of 4-5 years old). She thereafter became involved in the Occitan community and wished to teach Gascon in a Calandreta, which is when she began to formally learn the language by reading books and grammars. Although participant 61 teaches Gascon in the Gironde region, she classified her Gascon dialect as Béarnais for the following two reasons: (1) her primary exposure to the language was during the time she lived in Béarn; (2) she taught herself the language by reading Gascon grammars and texts, which are primarily based on the Béarnais dialect.

Like participant 61, participant 65 was born and raised in Bordeaux and is a Gascon second language learner. However, unlike participant 61 who has no familial ties to Gascony, participant 65 does. Still, he was completely unaware that his family ever spoke another language until he happened to enroll in Occitan during his second year of high school (1^{ère} class) where his teacher taught Languedocien. Upon learning that another language was spoken in the area where his maternal side of the family was from (i.e., the Haute-Garonne département), he asked some of his uncles if they spoke Occitan, to which they responded no, as they had called their language “patois”. However, when he spoke Languedocien to his uncles, he realized that they did speak this language since they understood him and responded; participant 65 said that his uncles knew some words, but could not produce complex phrases.

Since his first exposure to Occitan was the Languedocien variety, he did not begin learning Gascon until he was an undergraduate at the Université de Bordeaux where he was taught a standardized version of the language containing the énonciatifs (this standardized form of Gascon is further addressed in §6.3). He changed his variety of Gascon to match that of natives in the Gironde département after recording native Gascon speakers from this area; these recordings were conducted for a research project as a master’s student at the Université de Montpellier. He thereafter made a conscious decision to match his Gascon speech to that of natives from the Gironde region and therefore classified his Gascon dialect as “Girondin”, which refers to the variety of Gascon spoken in the northern part of Gascony within the Gironde département. He informed me that he tries to not use the énonciatifs since they are not a feature of Girondin. Since the Gascon spoken in the Gironde region contains less Gascon-specific features than the Gascon spoken in the Pyrenees, participant 65 termed his Gascon speech

“Gascon light” (note that he used the English word “light” in his terminology even though this term is not contained in his following quotation): “C’est un gascon qui est assez léger, qui a moins de particularités qu’a un gascon de la montagne. C’est un gascon qui est assez facilement inter-compréhensible.”¹⁷¹

Like participant 65, the Gascon dialect region of participants 63 and 66 is classified as “Gironde”: all sought to speak the specific variety of this area where they originate and termed their Gascon dialect as Girondin. Participant 63 who was raised in La Teste (located 60 km southwest of Bordeaux) learned Languedocien prior to Gascon: when he was 14 years old, he bought the Languedocien grammar *L’occitan lèu e plan* by Gaston Bazalgues and thereafter began speaking the language with people in his region to improve his pronunciation. Since he often spoke with his paternal grandfather who was a native Gascon speaker, he began teaching himself Gascon after Languedocien. Although participant 63 classified his dialect of Gascon as being from the Gironde region, when I asked him what dialect of Gascon he teaches, he referred to it as “occitan OGM”, where “OGM” is an acronym used for agriculture products that stands for *Organisme Génétiquement Modifié* ‘Genetically Modified Organism’. He extended the usage of this term to describe his variety of Gascon since he modifies his speech to make it more comprehensible to other Occitan speakers. Note that he also referred to his Gascon as “occitan gascon moyen”, which is similar to the description used by participant 62.

Participant 66, who was born and raised in Bordeaux, was exposed to Gascon from a young age from her maternal grandparents who were originally from Bègles, located just 5 km south of Bordeaux. Her maternal grandfather’s Gascon dialect was from the Gironde region, while her maternal grandmother’s dialect was from Gers, as her maternal grandmother was transmitted Gascon by her father who was originally from Gers.¹⁷² Only the Gironde region is listed in Table 26 to describe participant 66’s Gascon dialect since she informed me that she had more Gascon exposure from her maternal grandfather than from her maternal grandmother, and she did not really begin learning the language until she enrolled in Occitan courses as a student at the Université de Bordeaux when she was 18 years old. Although her grandparents had transmitted the Gascon culture to her, including songs and traditions, while she was young, she had limited exposure to the language, for her maternal grandparents spoke French as their everyday language. In fact, the first time that she had ever realized that her grandparents had spoken Occitan/Gascon was when she was an undergraduate (see Chapter 7, §7.1.2 for details). Before that time, she had never considered what non-French tongue her grandparents were speaking.

Similar to participant 66, participant 64, who was born and raised in Bordeaux, did not discover Occitan until he was a student at the Université de Bordeaux even though he grew up hearing Gascon from his maternal and parental grandparents who were native Gascon speakers from Dax in Landes (his mother was also a native Gascon speaker from this region, but she had never transmitted Gascon to him). I classified his Gascon dialect using the terms “Landes” and

¹⁷¹ ‘It’s [Gascon specific to the Gironde département] a Gascon which is very light, which has less distinctive features than the Gascon spoken in the mountains. It’s a Gascon variety that is much more easily intercomprehensible.’

¹⁷² Although not particularly relevant to this study, it is worth noting that the maternal grandmother of participant 66 spoke both Gascon and Basque as native languages: her father spoke Gascon and her mother spoke Basque. Participant 66 thus had exposure to both Basque and Gascon from her maternal grandmother while growing up. While she can now presently speak Gascon fluently after learning the language in her early adulthood, and is currently a Gascon/Occitan teacher, she had never learned Basque. She said that until she had enrolled in Gascon/Occitan courses at the Université de Bordeaux, she had never distinguished Gascon from Basque.

“gascon standard, scolaire” since he explained that his pronunciation sometimes varies between that of Landes and the more standardized form. He informed me that he used to speak the Gascon variety of his grandparents from Landes when he began teaching Occitan, but now speaks a form of Gascon which he termed “gascon standard, scolaire”. For instance, he mentioned how he used to have the accent classified as *gascon noir* specific to Landes (Chapter 4, §4.3.2 mentioned how this variety of Gascon has a different vowel system; this is also noted in Appendix B), but has since changed it to match what is considered the norm. As an example, he said that he used to say the word *hemna* ‘woman’ as [hœmna], corresponding to the *gascon noir* pronunciation, but now pronounces it as [hemna].

6.2 Gascon teaching: Observations of schools and interviews with instructors

This section presents information obtained from my observations of schools and interviews with both present and former Occitan (Gascon) instructors. Table 24 in the previous chapter (Chapter 5, §5.1.1) identified those participants in Bigorre and Béarn who currently are or previously were Occitan instructors. For further details concerning the Gascon teaching establishments that I observed, see Chapter 1, §1.5.5; Table 10 in §1.5.5.1 specifies the primary and secondary schools observed.

6.2.1 Areas within the énonciatif zone

Based on my observations of schools and interviews with Gascon instructors in regions where the énonciatifs are expected to occur (i.e., the Hautes-Pyrénées and Pyrénées-Atlantiques départements), the énonciatif system was consistently taught by instructors and used by students in both oral and written language. The énonciatif *que* for example occurred systematically before finite verbs in main affirmative declarative clauses. While I was able to ask instructors what specific énonciatifs were taught for those who taught Occitan as a foreign language (LV₂/LV₃), this information was more difficult to obtain from those instructors in schools where Occitan is taught via immersion (i.e., the Calandretas and bilingual French-Occitan programs) since students in these schools acquire the language naturally. Given that I elicited Gascon data with all instructors whom I recorded, I was able to determine which énonciatifs would be heard by the students; this data was included within the analysis presented in the previous chapter (note that I elicited data with all instructors, not just with those who taught in the Calandretas or bilingual programs).

The énonciatifs taught by the majority of instructors interviewed include *que*, *e*, and *be*, which occur in the following contexts: *que* is taught in main affirmative declarative clauses (it does not occur in negations), *e* is in questions (for the most part, its usage in subordinate clauses is not taught), and *be* is in exclamations. While the majority of instructors surveyed teach primary or secondary education, one (participant 33) is an Occitan professor at the Université de Pau. Participant 33 informed me that she teaches *que*, *e*, and *be* as énonciatifs in the contexts as just outlined above, with the exception that this instructor also teaches *e* as appearing in subordinate clauses. This finding is interesting since her natural Gascon data had no énonciatif in subordinate clauses (refer to Table 3 in Appendix C for details).

Many instructors informed me that their students extend the usage of the énonciatif *que* to questions and exclamatory sentences, suggesting that the only énonciatif that is certain to remain in the language is *que*. According to participant 24, an instructor at the Calandreta Paulina in

Pau, *que* is the most used énonciatif: “Le *que* c’est le plus utilisé.” Participants 9, 11, 16, 18, and 24¹⁷³ said that their students rarely use *be* and often use *que* (instead of *e*) in questions. These same teachers also informed me that their students often extend the usage of *que* to negations, which is quite interesting since all of them consider the usage of *que* in negative sentences ungrammatical. While participant 11 corrects his students when they use *que* with negation, he does not correct his students if they use *que* instead of *e* in questions since he explained to me that *que* does often appear in questions in everyday language.

Je corrige systématiquement au moins, j’essaie le plus possible parce qu’on peut avoir des fautes. Notamment ce matin j’avais une petite [participant 11 teaches students aged 5-8 years old] qui m’a dit, elle a voulu me dire *que Non soi pas malauda* ‘Je ne suis pas malade’, et elle m’a dit *Que non soi pas malauda*. Je lui dis, « Attention parce qu’on ne peut pas dire *que* quand on emploie *non* et *pas*. » Donc, je corrige.¹⁷⁴ (participant 11)

Moreover, participants 9 and 16 remarked how their students extend the usage of *que* to other contexts, such as questions and negations, even though they themselves teach *e* in questions and no énonciatif in negative sentences:

Le *que* c’est vraiment naturel. Par contre, pour eux [the students], c’est moins facile la négation. Parce que justement le *que*, ils l’utilisent souvent dans la négation. Ils disent *Que n’i arribi pas* au lieu de *N’i arribi pas* [‘I’m not going there’] ou des choses comme ça. Par contre, en occitan [she is referring to Gascon, but calls it Occitan], le *que*, ils l’utilisent tout le temps. Même dans les questions, les phrases interrogatives, ils ont tendance à utiliser le *que*.¹⁷⁵ (participant 9)

Oui, *que*, ils l’utilisent très facilement. Ils l’entendent tout le temps. Après quand il faut utiliser *be*, *e*, c’est on le travaille parce que c’est moins naturel que de dire *que* au début de chaque phrase. Eux, par exemple, les petits vont dire *Que soi pas content* au lieu de *Non* ou *Ne soi pas content* [‘I am not happy’]. C’est vrai que naturellement le *que* ils l’utilisent beaucoup.¹⁷⁶ (participant 16)

¹⁷³ Participant 9 and 11 both teach at the Ecole Jacques Prévert in Rabastens-de-Bigorre (participant 9 teaches 8-11 year olds, while participant 11 teaches 5-8 year olds). Participant 16 is a teacher at the Calandreta deu País Tarbes in Laloubère (located just 4 km south of Tarbes) and participant 18 is the only Gascon teacher at the Collège Victor Hugo in Tarbes. Participant 24 teaches at the Calandreta Paulina in Pau.

¹⁷⁴ ‘I systematically correct, at least I try to as much as possible, since errors do occur. Namely, this morning I had a young student [participant 11 teaches students aged 5-8 years old] who told me, she wanted to tell me that *Non soi pas malauda* ‘I’m not sick’, and she said to me *Que non soi pas malauda*. So I said to her, “Watch out because you can’t say *que* when you use *non* and *pas*.” Thus, I do correct.’

¹⁷⁵ ‘The *que* is really natural. However, negation is more difficult for them [the students] since they often use *que* in negation. They say *Que n’i arribi pas* instead of *N’i arribi pas* [‘I’m not going there’] or things like that. However, in Occitan [she is referring to Gascon, but calls it Occitan], they use *que* all the time. Even in questions, interrogative sentences, they have a tendency to use the *que*.’

¹⁷⁶ ‘Yes, the students use [the énonciatif] *que* very easily. They hear it all the time. When it’s necessary to use *be* or *e*, they need to work on that more since it’s less natural than saying *que* at the beginning of each sentence. For example, the younger students say *Que soi pas content* instead of *Non* or *Ne soi pas content* [‘I am not happy’]. It’s true that the students use *que* a lot.’

It is worth noting that participant 18, who said that her current students at the collège in Tarbes use the énonciatif *que* in contexts where *e* or *be* would be expected, did find that the majority of students at her prior teaching appointment at a collège in Bagnères-de-Bigorre used the énonciatif *be* in exclamations and *e* in questions. She attributed this to the fact that the majority of her students in Bagnères-de-Bigorre had previously been enrolled in Calandretas, unlike her current students in Tarbes who for the most part have never before learned the language.

In conclusion, the énonciatifs are indeed used by Occitan instructors, taught to students, and therefore will be used by future generations of speakers, as I observed their systematic usage in schools throughout Béarn and Bigorre. For instance, participant 18 informed me that one of her colleagues in the school who teaches Spanish had complained to her since her Gascon students in his classes kept using *que* before the verbs in Spanish.

Moi, j’essaie d’accentuer sur toutes les particularités du gascon. Donc, ce qu’on a vu ce matin [during my observation of the participant’s classes] : le *que* ; le *h* initial ; les articles qui sont particuliers sur tout l’arc pyrénéen quand c’est un collège qui est proche, disons de la zone où se utilise cet article, à Tarbes un peu moins, mais l’an dernier à Bagnères-de-Bigorre, j’ai accentué beaucoup sur le *eth/era*. Mais le *que*, oui, ça le *que* je suis intransigeante sur ça parce que c’est une des premiers bases qui permet de différencier le gascon des autres dialectes. Donc, ça passe assez bien. Dès la sixième, déjà, on fait comprendre que le *que* et le verbe, ça se fonctionne ensemble. Et donc, d’ailleurs, l’autre jour, un collègue d’espagnol qui m’a dit qu’il se plaignait justement parce qu’en espagnol les élèves que j’avais en occitan moi qu’il avait en espagnol mettaient *que* devant le verbe. Il me dit tu leur as bien fait comprendre le sens parce qu’il me dit que j’ai des *que* partout devant le verbe. C’est vrai que j’ai accentué beaucoup sur ça parce que c’est, à mon avis, une des principales particularités du gascon et qui est important de retenir, de faire savoir.¹⁷⁷ (participant 18)

The quote above not only reflects the prominence given to the instruction of the Gascon énonciatif, but also reflects how many Occitan instructors alter their own Gascon dialect to match that specific to the school’s locale: participant 18 had previously taught in a collège in Bagnères-de-Bigorre that used the Pyrenean definite articles *eth/era* and now uses *lo/la* since she teaches in Tarbes. Other instructors, such as participant 29, changed their usage of the definite article depending on the region in which they had taught. I particularly noted that participant 11 puts forth great effort to teach his students the Gascon dialect specific to the school’s locale in Rabastens-de-Bigorre. This instructor is a Gascon relearner who speaks the Gascon dialect of

¹⁷⁷ ‘I try to emphasize all the specificities of Gascon. So, as you saw this morning [during my observation of the participant’s classes], the *que*, initial *h*, articles which are specific to the Pyrenees when I teach in a collège that is within the zone that uses these articles. In Tarbes it’s used less, but last year in Bagnères-de-Bigorre, I emphasized the article *eth/era* a lot. But the *que*, yes, I am unyielding regarding its usage because it’s one of the main features that separates Gascon from all of the other [Occitan] dialects. So, it [the teaching of the énonciatifs] goes pretty well. From the 6^e grade level on, the students are made to understand that *que* and the verb function together. The other day, a colleague who teaches Spanish told me, well he was actually complaining, because the students from my Occitan classes that he has in his Spanish classes were placing *que* before the verb. He tells me that it would be good to have my students understand the usage [of *que*] because he tells me “I’m getting *que* everywhere before the verb”. I do indeed emphasize [*que*] a lot because it’s my opinion that it’s one of the main specificities of Gascon that’s important to retain and know.’

both his paternal grandfather from Béarn (specifically, the village Ponson-Dubat) and his father from Betpouey in Bigorre (note that Betpouey in Bigorre is located within the mountains, while the school's locale is in the plains). For instance, he said that if a dictionary contains multiple entries for a word, he will ask those students whose grandparents are native Gascon speakers from the region to ask their grandparents for the correct lexical item. These findings thus oppose Moreux's conclusion that the Occitan movement seeks to eliminate Gascon specificities.

6.2.2 Areas outside the énonciatif zone

One of the most interesting findings in my research concerns an expansion in the geographical distribution of the énonciatif. Instead of finding the isogloss of the énonciatif *que*, as presented in Séguy's ALG, to be narrowed due to increased French influence, one instead finds that it is widening: the énonciatif is spreading to regions that had never before used this system. This finding not only reflects language change in progress, but illustrates one of the positive effects of language maintenance, while at the same time exemplifying a negative outcome of language endangerment; namely, loss in language variation.

6.2.2.1 Northern portion of the Haute-Garonne département

As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, §1.5.3, I was not able to observe primary or secondary schools where Occitan is taught in Toulouse since they teach Languedocien rather than Gascon. However, I did observe Gascon teaching in Occitan classes at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail and an adult Occitan course offered by IEO 31 taught in Fonsorbes, located ~20 km southwest of Toulouse. Since Toulouse is situated on the Garonne River, Gascony's natural border, both locales fall outside the énonciatif zone.

As a student at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, the instructor and course material emphasized the usage of the énonciatif system. For instance, there were fellow students in the class learning Languedocien and while the Languedocien students would utter phrases using no énonciatif, myself and the other students learning Gascon would speak using the énonciatif *que* before finite verbs and would be corrected if we did not use this particle.

Moreover, the course book compiled by this university that was provided to the students reflects the importance given to the instruction of the Gascon énonciatif system. Included was the map of the énonciatif distribution found in Grosclaude & Narioo's work (1998: 13), which is reproduced in Map 7b in Appendix A. Just above this map that clearly shows Toulouse outside of the énonciatif geographic zone, the course book states that all sentences will appear with an énonciatif for pedagogical purposes:

ATENCION ! Une des particularités du gascon est l'utilisation, dans toutes les phrases, d'une particule appelée « énonciative », placée devant le verbe conjugué. Le domaine gascon, de ce point de vue, est partagé en trois. Une partie utilise la particule (en gros, dans les trois quarts sud), une autre l'ignore totalement (en gros, dans le quart nord, le long de la Garonne), une autre y recourt occasionnellement (quelques zones entre les deux). Dans ce cours, pour des raisons pédagogiques, toutes les phrases sont formées avec une particule

énonciative.¹⁷⁸ (*Cors de lenga occitana*: 18)

The énonciatifs presented in this course book, as outlined in Table 11 in Chapter 2, included *que*, *e*, *be*, and *ja*, where *que* was used in main affirmative declarative clauses, *e* was limited to questions only (its usage in subordinate clauses was not described), *be* occurred in exclamations, and *ja* was used for insistence. Note that the usage of *be* and *ja* was only mentioned before the finite verb and was not presented in the course material or by the teacher as occurring in sentence-final position.

Unlike the course at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail where the énonciatifs were taught, the instructor of the adult course that I observed in Fonsorbes did not teach these particles since he explained that the énonciatifs are not a feature of the Gascon spoken in the Toulouse area, and thus some of his students who had entered the class with prior Gascon exposure had never before used the énonciatifs when speaking Gascon. Of interest is that the instructor himself does speak Gascon using the énonciatifs: he is a second language learner of Gascon whose family is from the Languedocien region and told me that he had learned the énonciatifs by studying Gascon in various grammars, such as Grosclaude's (1977) work.¹⁷⁹

Since one of the students in the class was originally from the Bigorre region and used the énonciatif *que* before the finite verb, the other students in the class from the Toulouse region remarked on this particle. The adult course consisted of four students, one aged in his late 20s (hereafter referred to as “the younger student”), who works to promote Occitan at the Maison de l'Occitanie in Toulouse, and the others were aged in their 60s originally from the Toulouse area. The teacher was discussing how to tell time in Gascon and the younger student uttered the sentence in (106) with the énonciatif *que*, which immediately provoked reactions from some of the other students.

(106) *Que son dètz oras manca lo quart.*
ENC be.PRES.3PL ten hours minus ART.DEF.M quarter
'It's 9:45.'

After hearing this sentence, an older couple in the class asked why *que* was used. The instructor explained that this student was from a Gascon area that uses it. The older couple then joked around with the younger student in a friendly manner stating how people from his region, Bigorre, speak differently from those in the Toulouse area.

6.2.2.2 Gironde département

Based on prior studies of the énonciatif geographical distribution, the locales of the teaching establishments that I visited in the Gironde département fall outside the énonciatif zone. As previously outlined in Table 10 in Chapter 1, I observed the following schools in the Gironde département: (1) Calandreta de la Dauna in Pessac, (2) Collège Paul Esquinance in La Réole, and (3) Lycée Jean Moulin in Langon. Each of these schools contained only one Occitan instructor

¹⁷⁸ ‘Attention! One of Gascon’s particularities is the usage in all sentences of a particle termed “énonciative” placed before the conjugated verb. The Gascon domain from this point of view is divided into 3 parts. One part uses the particle (mainly in ¾ of the south), another totally ignores it (mainly in the northern area and along the Garonne River), another occasionally uses it (some zones between the two). In this class, for pedagogical reasons, all sentences are formed with an énonciatif.’

¹⁷⁹ This instructor is not among the participants recorded.

whom I interviewed. In addition, I interviewed an Occitan professor at the Université de Bordeaux (Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux 3) to determine if Occitan students are taught the énonciatifs at this university, as many Occitan students there eventually become Occitan teachers and therefore directly impact the future usage of the language.

Séguy's ALG map 2390 (Map 7c in Appendix A) indicates that all of the schools which I observed are located in regions where the énonciatif *que* is not expected to occur, and Ronjat (1937: 536) specifically states that *que* is not used in Langon and Bordeaux ("inusité à Langon et à Bordeaux"). When referring to Map 7c in Appendix A, the only locale labeled is Pessac, a southern suburb of Bordeaux that falls clearly outside the énonciatif zone. To locate La Réole and Langon, readers should use Blaignac as a point of reference: La Réole is just north (~6 km) of Blaignac and Langon is slightly west (~28 km) of Blaignac.

The énonciatif system is indeed expanding to the Gironde region: half of the current instructors I interviewed enforce the énonciatif usage and half do not and instead teach the dialect specific to the region. The finding that a subset of instructors teaches the énonciatifs indicates language change already in progress. The current instructors who teach the énonciatifs are participants 61, the teacher at the Calandreta in Pessac, and 64, an Occitan professor at the Université de Bordeaux.

As mentioned in §6.1, participant 61 speaks the Gascon dialect of Béarnais and therefore systematically uses the énonciatif. I conducted the same sentence elicitation with this participant as those conducted with the previous participants outlined in Chapter 5. She used the énonciatifs *que*, *e*, *se*, *be*, and *ja*. In the sentence elicitation, she consistently used *que* before the finite verb in main affirmative declarative clauses; *e* in questions (she did not allow *que* in questions at all: "Dans une question, il n'y a pas de *que*"¹⁸⁰); *e* or no énonciatif in subordinate clauses where the subordinate verb was separated from the subordinator (she did not allow *que* in the subordinate clause and thus disfavored the triple *que* construction); *se* in quotative clauses; *be* only before verbs (not in sentence-final position), where it was used as an exclamatory particle; and *ja*, pronounced [ʒa], only in sentence-final position for insistence (note that she said that she uses *ja* very rarely). As for negation, she used the *ne...pas* construction and did not allow *que* with negation or the use of only the second negative morpheme (i.e., the sentences **Que ne cantas pas plan* and **Cantas pas plan* were not acceptable). Like the prior participants, she did not have any semantic contrast between the usage of *e* versus *que* versus no énonciatif in subordinate clauses and did not use any énonciatif in the contexts where it was expected to not appear (i.e., before non-finite verbs, before finite verbs immediately preceded by interrogative pronouns or subordinators, and before verbs in the imperative mood).

I observed all of her classes at the Calandreta and the students consistently used the énonciatif. For instance, at the beginning of class, the students were seated in a circle and described what they did in the morning. Each time a student finished telling his/her story, the student indicated that it was the next student's turn by saying *Que pasi la paraula a ____* 'I'm passing the word to ____', where the underscore indicates the following student's name. The photos below (Figures 5a-c) taken at the Calandreta de la Dauna further illustrate the children's systematic learning and usage of the énonciatif system, in particular *que* before finite verbs:

¹⁸⁰ 'In a question, there's no *que*.'

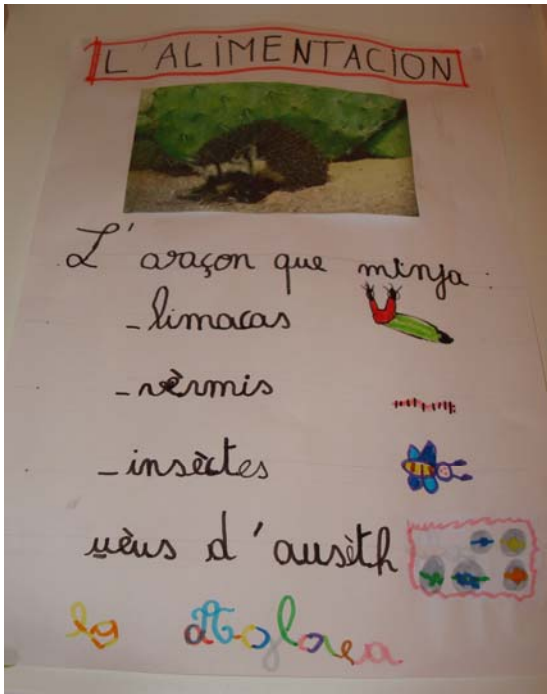


FIGURE 5a. Illustrative student usage of the énonciatif at the Calandreta de la Dauna in Pessac

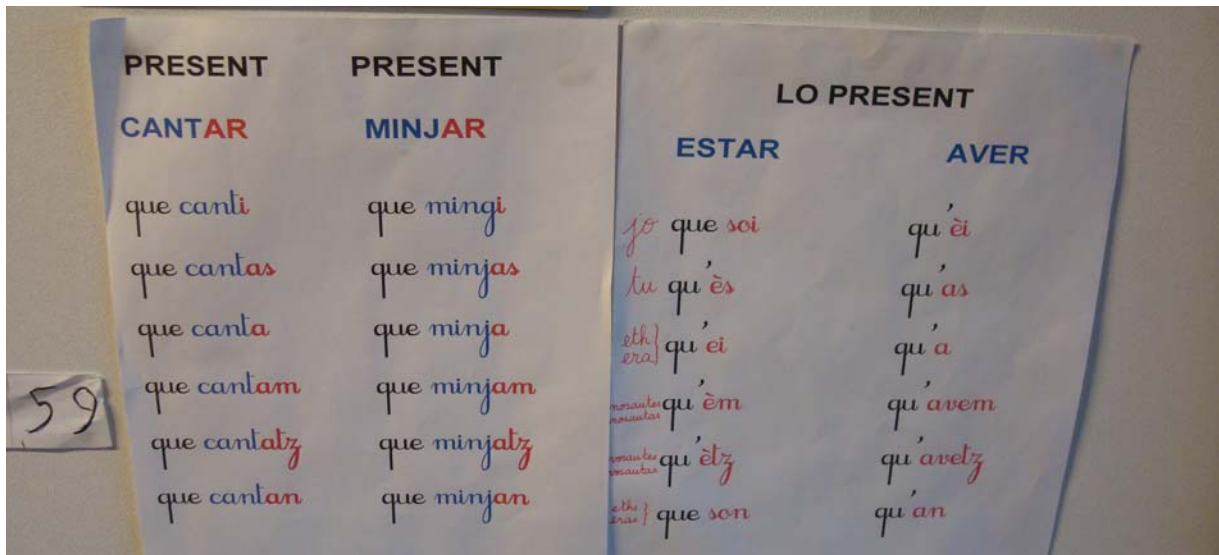


FIGURE 5b. Example of a verb conjugation chart at the Calandreta de la Dauna in Pessac

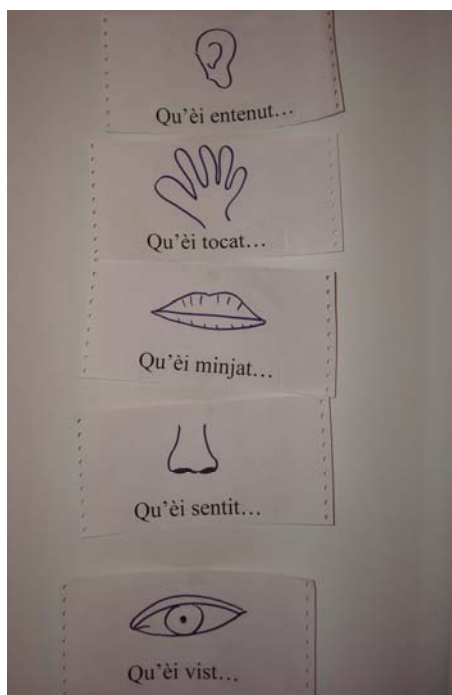


FIGURE 5c. Example of the systematic usage of the énonciatif *que* at the Calandreta de la Dauna in Pessac

Figure 5a is a student's drawing that exemplifies his/her usage of the énonciatif *que* before the finite verb *minja* 'eat.PRES.3SG'. This figure's translation reads 'Diet. The raccoon eats: snails, worms, insects, bird eggs.' Figures 5b and 5c further demonstrate the systematic usage of the énonciatif *que*: Figure 5b shows how *que* appears within verb conjugation charts and Figure 5c exemplifies the systematic usage of *que* in a sign of the five senses. In Figure 5c, the énonciatif is found before the finite auxiliary verb *èi* 'have.PRES.1SG', which is followed by a past participle; from top to bottom, the sign translates to 'I heard, I touched, I ate, I smelled, I saw'.

Just as the énonciatifs are taught and used in Pessac, they are also taught at the Université de Bordeaux. Participant 64, an Occitan professor there, informed me that the reason why he teaches the énonciatifs at the Université de Bordeaux, even though it is located in a region outside the énonciatif zone, is that the énonciatif system is a feature of standardized Gascon and is a unique feature of the language distinguishing Gascon from the other Occitan languages: "C'est [the énonciatif system] une espèce du marque de gasconité qui différencie un petit peu le gascon des autres dialectes [of Occitan]."¹⁸¹ Since the university was on strike during my visit, I was unable to observe his classes.

Nonetheless, I did ask him what énonciatifs he teaches to his students, which included *que*, *e*, and *be*. He teaches the énonciatif *e* as appearing only in questions and does not use it in subordinate clauses. I asked him if the reason why he chooses to not teach the énonciatif *e* in subordinate clauses was because (1) this grammatical context is too complicated to learn or (2) this énonciatif usage is not found throughout many regions of Gascony. Recall from the previous chapter, §5.2.5, that participant 18 does not teach the énonciatif *e* in subordinate clauses, even though she uses this énonciatif herself in this context, since she had said that it

¹⁸¹ 'It's [the énonciatif system] a mark of being Gascon which differentiates Gascon a bit from the other dialects [of Occitan].'

would be too complicated for her students to learn. Unlike participant 18, participant 64 said that the second reason shaped his choice: he said that the usage of the énonciatif *e* in subordinate clauses is limited to the Béarn region and he therefore doesn't teach the particle in this context. It is important to note that in the sentence elicitation he consistently used no énonciatif in subordinate clauses where the finite verb was separated from the subordinator and thus his natural Gascon speech contains no énonciatif in this environment.

As for the énonciatif *be*, participant 64 uses it before finite verbs as an exclamatory particle and in sentence-final position for insistence; he teaches both functions to his students. Like the majority of participants whose énonciatif usage was analyzed in the prior chapter, participant 64 does not use the particle *ja* in his natural Gascon speech and thus does not teach it to his students. Finally, regarding his usage of negation, he teaches his students the construction with both negative morphemes (*ne...pas*), even though he uses only the second negative morpheme *pas* in his natural Gascon speech; note that his natural Gascon response to the French elicited sentence *Tu ne chantes pas bien* was *Cantas pas plan*. Moreover, like the majority of the prior participants surveyed, he does not allow *que* with any part of negation: **Que cantas pas plan*, **Que ne cantas pas plan*. The fact that the énonciatif system is taught at this university located outside the énonciatif zone not only reflects its geographical expansion, but also its future usage, as many Occitan students trained at this university, like those trained at the Université de Pau and also at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, become future Occitan teachers. Therefore, the énonciatif system is taught at all universities where Gascon is offered.

Unlike participants 61 and 64, participants 63 and 66 who teach in Langon and La Réole aim to teach their students the specific dialect of the Gironde region and therefore do not enforce a systematic usage of the énonciatif. However, they did tell me that they inform their students about the énonciatif system, as they often encounter its usage in texts or other pedagogical materials. While observing participant 63's classes, I introduced myself to the students in Gascon and used the énonciatif in my speech. The teacher pointed out to the students that I was speaking using the énonciatifs and he termed my variety of Gascon as "Gascon typique" ['typical Gascon'] since it resembled the normative form of the language. Just as the instructors informed me, their students did not use the énonciatif *que* before finite verbs. For instance, two such examples where students did not use an énonciatif before finite verbs in main affirmative declarative clauses are the following, where Ø illustrates the absence of the énonciatif: (1) a student was explaining a story about a fire and said Ø *Es un huec...* 'It's a fire'; (2) another student who was explaining characters in a story uttered *Los personatges Ø son...* 'The characters are...'. It is worth mentioning that this usage was not just limited to oral language, as the énonciatif did not appear in writing on the blackboard either.

These instructors (participants 63 and 66) who do not teach a systematic usage of the énonciatif to their students do not themselves use the énonciatif *que* in a systematic manner in their natural Gascon speech. Unlike all participants surveyed in the prior chapter, their natural Gascon response to the basic declarative sentence *Je chante* did not contain an énonciatif, as they uttered *Canti*. However, these participants did use *que* in other contexts before finite verbs and also used the énonciatif *e* in questions and *be* in exclamations. To illustrate this unsystematic usage, participant 66 contained the énonciatif *que* in the main clause in response to the French elicited sentence *Quand tu me visiteras, je serai contente* 'When you visit me, I'll be happy' (Gascon response: *Quan me visitas, que serèi contenta*), but used no énonciatif in the following similar context (i.e., before a matrix finite verb following a temporal subordinate clause): in response to the French sentence *Quand ma fille partira, je serai triste* 'When my daughter will

leave, I'll be sad', she uttered *Quan la mea hilha se'n anga, Ø serèi triste*. I will not analyze this data any further since I did not record any native Gascon speakers from the Gironde area. Without analyzing the Gascon speech from natives of the Gironde region who have not been exposed to Gascon normative forms (most native speakers uninfluenced by normative Gascon are those who do not know how to write the language and are not language activists), I cannot accurately determine if the participants' unsystematic usage of the énonciatif reflects a regional characteristic of the Gascon speech in Gironde or if it is due to their exposure to either normative Gascon containing the énonciatif or to other dialects of Gascon that contain the énonciatif. I cannot assume that the regional dialect of Gironde matches that described in prior literature, as the data results presented in Chapter 5 revealed that there is much more variation in the énonciatif usage than the literature presents.

Similar to participants 63 and 66, participants 62 and 65, who are both former Occitan (Gascon) instructors, had taught the Gascon dialect specific to the Gironde region and thus did not instruct their students to use the énonciatif *que* before finite verbs in a systematic manner. However, they did inform their students about the énonciatifs. For instance, like participants 63 and 66, participant 65 said that he had told his students about the énonciatifs, as many of the pedagogical materials for Gascon are based on the standardized form of the language spoken in Béarn; this topic is further addressed in §6.3. Participant 62 used to teach Gascon in collège and lycée from 1984-1993 in schools in the Gironde region where Occitan was offered as an LV₂/LV₃. Participant 65 had taught Gascon for two years: one year was at the Calandreta de la Dauna in Pessac and the other year was at a collège located in the southern part of the Gironde département where Occitan was offered as an LV₂/LV₃.

When analyzing the Gascon elicited data obtained from participants 62 and 65, neither used the énonciatif *que* systematically. For instance, even though participant 65 responded to the French elicited sentence *Je chante* with the énonciatif *que* (*Que canti*), he did not use the énonciatif in the majority of main affirmative clauses elicited, as participant 65's Gascon responses to the following French elicited sentences did not contain any énonciatif before the finite verb in the main clause: *J'attends que le déjeuner soit prêt* 'I'm waiting for lunch to be ready' (Gascon response: *Ø Espèri que lo dinna sia prêt*; note that the *que* in this sentence is the subordinator); *Quand tu me visiteras, je serai content* 'When you visit me, I'll be happy' (Gascon response: *Quan me vieneràs veder, Ø serèi content*); *Je pense que Jan achetera le cadeau* 'I think that Jan will buy the gift' (Gascon response: *Ø Pensi que Jan cromparà lo present*; the *que* is the subordinator).

To illustrate participant 62's unsystematic usage of the énonciatif, the énonciatif *que* occurred in the main affirmative clauses in (107), but not those in (108). Unlike participant 65, participant 62 responded to the French elicited sentence *Je chante* using no énonciatif (*Ø Canti*). It is possible that this speaker's variable usage of the énonciatif is due to his exposure to different Gascon dialects: as previously mentioned in §6.1, participant 62's maternal grandparents are native Gascon speakers from Landes, while his paternal grandparents are native Gascon speakers from Gironde.

(107) a. *Lo dròllet que tot lo monde coneishèva*
 ART.DEF.M child REL all ART.DEF.M world know.IMPF.3SG

que s'es mort.
 ENC REFL be.PRES.3SG die.PART
 'The child that everyone knew died.'

(French elicited sentence *L'enfant que tout le monde connaissait est mort*)

- b. *Que cau qu'ani.*
ENC be.necessary.PRES.3SG COMP go.PRES.SUBJ.1SG
'It's necessary that I go.'
(French elicited sentence *Il faut que j'y aille*)

- (108) a. *Quan me visitas, Ø serèi content.*
when 1SG.OBJ visit.PRES.2SG be.FUT.1SG happy
'When you'll come see me, I'll be happy.'
(French elicited sentence *Quand tu me visiteras, je serai content*)

- b. *Ø S'es copat de la cama.*
REFL be.PRES.3SG break.PART of ART.DEF.F leg
'He broke his leg.'
(French elicited sentence *Il s'est cassé la jambe.*)

In spite of the fact that some teachers in the Gironde region do not teach the énonciatifs in a systematic manner, the finding that others do shows that the énonciatif geographic zone is expanding. As stated in the beginning of this section, this finding illustrates a positive outcome of language maintenance programs, while at the same time exemplifying a negative outcome of language endangerment. The fact that the énonciatif is expanding in usage shows how the regional variations of Gascon are in danger of disappearing, thus reflecting how important it is to record speakers before this data becomes lost.

6.3 Énonciatif as a feature of normative/standardized Gascon

The fact that the énonciatif has expanded in geographic scope exemplifies an instance of language maintenance driven change, as it results from the fact that the language maintenance efforts and Occitan activism are primarily centered in Béarn, thus causing Béarnais, which contains a systematic usage of the énonciatif, to become the “standardized” form of Gascon and the form of the language appearing in Gascon grammars, dictionaries, and pedagogical materials. The word *standardized* is indicated in quotes since there is no official standardized form of the language.

As stated in the quotation below, the language is more present in Béarn since it is home to many Occitan organizations. For instance, the following were founded there: Ràdio País, the Calandretas, the Gascon publishers Vistedit and Per Noste, and the organization CAP'ÒC that creates Occitan pedagogical materials.

En Béarn, la langue [Gascon] est quand même beaucoup plus présente qu'en Bigorre ou dans le Gers. Le Béarn, même sur l'ensemble occitan même les languedociens et tous le disent s'il y en a un endroit encore où la langue est bien présente c'est ici en Béarn. En Béarn beaucoup de choses sont parties d'ici. La première Calandreta elle était créée à Pau, la première radio occitane elle était créée à Pau, le journal *La Setmana* il était créée à Pau. Enfin, beaucoup de choses au niveau de la réhabilitation de la langue sont parties d'ici. Et après ils sont développés en Languedoc, ailleurs etcetera. Mais énormément de choses sont

parties d'ici.¹⁸² (participant 27)

Although I am using the term Béarnais to denote the normative form of Gascon, it is important to recall from the previous chapter that this term does not have a strict point of reference, as there are many variations of the language spoken within Béarn. I thus concur with participant 27's following statement:

Ça veut rien dire le dialecte béarnais. Quand on va en Vallée d'Aspe, ils vont employer *eth* et *era*. Dans la plaine, on va pas l'employer. Par contre, eux ils vont l'employer comme des gens en montagne en Bigorre. Donc ils ont plus de similitude avec les gens de la montagne en Bigorre qu'avec les gens de la plaine en Béarn. Pourtant ils sont également Béarn. Donc, le béarnais n'a pas d'identité linguistique spécifique au Béarn.¹⁸³ (participant 27)

Nonetheless, a common feature throughout the dialect termed Béarnais concerns its systematic usage of the énonciatif *que* before finite verbs in main affirmative declarative clauses: all participants recorded in both this region and Bigorre responded to the French sentence *Je chante* with *Que canti*.

The following accounts by Occitan teachers indicate that Béarnais is indeed the variety of Gascon that is considered the normative form.

Moi, j'utilise le référentiel qui utilise les maîtres d'écoles en Béarn parce qu'eux ils ont beaucoup plus de nombre en faite. Nous on [in Bigorre] est trois sections bilingues, trois écoles où on peut apprendre le gascon, eux ils sont neuf si je me trompe pas, plus neuf Calandrètes [Calandretas]. Donc ça fait beaucoup plus de monde, donc il y a beaucoup plus de maîtres et beaucoup plus de gens qui travaille là dessus et l'unité sociale est beaucoup plus, la langue est beaucoup plus utilisée aussi peut-être dans des activités culturelles qui sont pas forcément scolaires et donc dans la société. Et ensuite, ils ont un référentiel depuis quelques années et moi je l'ai trouvé sur l'Internet, je l'ai téléchargé, pour me donner des points de référence.¹⁸⁴ (participant 11)

¹⁸² 'In Béarn, the language [Gascon] is much more present than in Bigorre or Gers. Béarn, [it is said] even among the entire Occitan region and even among the Languedocien speakers that if there's a place where the language still remains very present, it's here, in Béarn. In Béarn, many things were started here. The first Calandreta was created in Pau, the first Occitan radio was created in Pau, the newspaper *La Setmana* was created in Pau. A lot of things to rehabilitate the language began here. And afterwards they were developed in Languedoc and elsewhere. But an enormous amount of things started here.'

¹⁸³ 'The dialect Béarnais doesn't mean anything. When you go to the Vallée d'Aspe, they use [the definite articles] *eth* and *era*. In the plain, they don't use them. On the other hand, those from the Vallée d'Aspe use the articles in the same manner as those from the mountains in Bigorre. So these speakers share more features in common with those from the mountains in Bigorre than with those from the plains in Béarn. Nevertheless, these speakers are still in Béarn. So Béarnais doesn't have a specific linguistic identity within the region of Béarn.'

¹⁸⁴ 'I use the system of reference that the heads of schools in Béarn use because they [those who teach Gascon in Béarn] are larger in number in fact. We [in Bigorre] have 3 bilingual sections, 3 schools where one can learn Gascon, while they [those in Béarn] have 9 [bilingual sections] if I'm not mistaken, in addition to 9 Calandretas. Thus, there are more people there and thus more teachers and people who work on it [Gascon] and the social integration [in reference to Gascon] is stronger there, the language [Gascon] is more used as well for instance in cultural activities which are not necessarily school-based and therefore it is used more in society in general. Also,

Il y a une tendance de la normalisation du gascon sur le béarnais. En Béarn il y a une grande socialisation de la langue. Il y a une tradition déjà de langue écrite qui restait jusqu'au 17^e siècle, jusqu'à ce que le Béarn soit attaché à la France.¹⁸⁵ (participant 66)

Moreover, recall how participant 64, a professor at the Université de Bordeaux, had changed his Gascon dialect specific to Landes to match the more normative form of the language and had decided to teach the énonciatifs since they are considered a feature of standardized Gascon.

The teaching of this standardized form of the language is further evidenced by former Occitan students of the Université de Bordeaux who came to realize that the variety of Gascon that they were being taught did not match the speech of native Gascon speakers from the Gironde region. Instead, the Gascon they were learning was a standardized form of the language that included a systematic usage of the énonciatifs. For participant 65, a Gascon second language learner, this realization arose while recording native Gascon speakers from the Gironde region; he thereafter decided to change his Gascon speech to match that of the native speakers. For participant 66, a Gascon relearner from Gironde who began speaking Occitan as a student at the Université de Bordeaux, the realization occurred during interactions with her grandfather, a native Gascon speaker from Gironde, with whom she would practice speaking Gascon. She noticed that her grandfather spoke differently from her and would use different forms of the language (e.g., lexical items and verb conjugations), which led her to conclude that the Gascon that she was learning at the university located in Bordeaux was different from the variety used by native speakers in the university's locale, and that the variety of Gascon spoken in the Gironde département was not perceived as standardized Gascon.

Since the majority of written materials are in Béarnais, this Gascon dialect that employs the énonciatif in a systematic manner has become the standardized form of the language. For instance, participant 61, a Gascon second language learner from the Gironde département, informed me that she speaks Béarnais since she had taught herself the language by readings texts and grammars, the majority of which are based on this dialect.

Moi, je parle un gascon béarnais parce que j'ai lit beaucoup de livres de béarnais. Il y a très peu de livres écrits en girondin ou en nord-landais. Il y a beaucoup plus d'écrivains béarnais et livres de conjugaisons de grammaires, souvent on était de béarnais. Et donc moi quand j'ai commencé à vouloir la transmettre aux enfants, il a fallu que j'apprends sur des livres et les livres qui existaient, c'était des livres de béarnais et donc j'ai appris le béarnais.¹⁸⁶ (participant 61)

The énonciatif therefore appears in the vast majority of Gascon written works, as particularly evidenced by the fact that the Editor in Chief of the Occitan publisher Vistedit informed me that he uses the énonciatifs *que*, *e*, and *be* in his publications (note that the usage of *e* is limited to

they [the instructors in Béarn] have had a system of reference/teaching guide for some years that I found on the Internet and downloaded to provide me with some guidelines.'

¹⁸⁵ 'There's a tendency to standardize Gascon based on Béarnais. In Béarn, Gascon is a greater part of society. There's already a written tradition that remained until the 17th century when Béarn became a part of France.'

¹⁸⁶ 'I speak Béarnais because I read a lot of Béarnais books. There are very few books written in Girondin or in Nord-Landais. There are much more Béarnais writers and grammar books that are often of the Béarnais dialect. And so when I began to want to transmit the language to children, I needed to study it and the books that existed were Béarnais books and so I learned Béarnais.'

questions and thus does not occur in subordinate clauses). This publisher is responsible for the Occitan weekly newspaper *La Setmana*, the magazine *Plumalhon*, and the *Papagai* series of Gascon children's books. For example, in the 2008 *Papagai* book *Las aventuras de Catarina e Peiròt: Lo tesaur amagat*, the énonciatif *que* appears before finite verbs in contexts where it is expected to occur, as illustrated in (109); this excerpt is located on page 4 of the text.

- (109) *Catarina e Peiròt que son en vacanças sus un batèu.*
 and ENC be.PRES.3PL on vacation on ART.INDEF.M boat
 'Catarina and Peiròt are on vacation on a boat.'

Note that the Languedocien version of this story by the same publisher does not contain the énonciatif: *Catarina e Peiròt son en vacanças sus un batèl*. I encountered additional Gascon children's books that contain the énonciatif. For instance, in the Gascon version of the children's story *Pairbon*,¹⁸⁷ there is a systematic usage of *que* before finite verbs where an énonciatif is expected to occur. Two such illustrative examples are found in (110); note that no énonciatif appears before the finite verb *son* in (110b) since it is immediately preceded by the interrogative pronoun *on* 'where'.

- (110) a. *Daubuns an pairbons qui s'apèran Ramon, Gaston*
 some have.PRES.3PL grandfathers REL REFL call.PRES.3PL
o Capdeton...Lo men que s'apèra Pairbon.
 or DEF.ART.M POSS.1SG ENC REFL call.PRES.3SG
 'Some of us have grandfathers who are named Ramon, Gaston or
 Capdeton...Mine is named Pairbon.'
- b. *Mes on son donc las dents de Pairbon?*
 But where be.PRES.3PL then ART.DEF.F.PL teeth of
Que son cadudas,...
 ENC be.PRES.3PL fall.out.PART
 'But where are Pairbon's teeth? They fell out...'

In consideration of this information, I find it slightly ironic that the organization Institut Béarnais & Gascon, which fears that Béarnais is not going to survive and that the Occitan movement will cause all of the Occitan dialects to resemble Languedocien, exists. If anything, my research indicates that out of all of the Gascon dialects, Béarnais is the one in least danger of dying. Thus, if Gascon remains spoken, I predict that most speakers will speak a variety closest to Béarnais. The varieties of Gascon that are at much greater risk are those spoken in regions with much less language maintenance efforts, such as Gironde, Gers, and Landes.

This loss in language variation is one of the negative side-effects of language standardization. It is essential that the larger Occitan community and all Gascon speakers and instructors understand and respect Gascon's variations, as I did meet a limited number of speakers who informed me that their Gascon-specific dialect was not respected by others. For instance, participant 66 informed me that one of her Occitan instructors at the Université de

¹⁸⁷ This story is by Philippe Jalbert and was translated to Gascon by Patric Guilhemjoan. It was published in 2003 by Petit à Petit.

Bordeaux told her that her dialect of Gascon, which corresponded to that of her grandfather from Gironde, was not correct. As a current Occitan teacher, participant 66 said that she respects all varieties of Gascon. Moreover, participant 46, who used to teach Gascon and was involved with the Occitan movement, now supports the Institut Béarnais & Gascon since he had felt that his manner of speaking Gascon was not respected within the Occitan community, even though he is a native Gascon speaker. While training at the institute in Béziers to become an instructor in the Calandretas, he said that he was told to change certain features of his speech to make it more intercomprehensible. For instance, he informed me that the majority of people at the institute who were non-native Gascon speakers termed his vocabulary an “ultra-localisme”. Nonetheless, I want to make it clear that the vast majority of Occitan activists whom I encountered did respect Gascon’s variations, especially since numerous teachers informed me that they altered their Gascon-specific dialect to match that of the school’s locale.

6.4 Enonciatif as an integral feature of the language

6.4.1 Accommodation

“Accommodation in the strictest sense may be defined as the act of modifying an utterance in some way in deference to the addressee” (Adams 2003: 295). Certain Gascon speakers informed me that they do NOT delete the énonciatifs when speaking to other non-Gascon Occitan speakers (i.e., speakers of Occitan languages other than Gascon, such as Languedocien or Provençal) even though they in fact DO alter other aspects of the language, such as replacing regional lexical items with terms whose usage is more widespread throughout the Occitan domain, in order to make Gascon more comprehensible to interlocutors.

Participants 12, 19, 28, and 29 said that while they do change their lexicon and other specific features of the language to accommodate other speakers, they do not remove the Gascon énonciatif. The énonciatif for participant 12 acts as a marker of Gascon identity; when conversing with non-Gascon Occitan speakers, participant 12 purposely maintains the énonciatif to assert himself as a Gascon speaker: “On garde le *que*, oui. Moi, je garde le *que* parce qu’ils [non-Gascon Occitan speakers] sont habitués. Ils savent que « Ah, tu es de Gascogne, tu dis *que*, *que dides que* ».”¹⁸⁸ Participant 12 does not however attach the same prominence to other linguistic features, as he does alter his usage of the Gascon definite article and certain vocabulary terms to accommodate interlocutors. For instance, he said that he will change his natural Gascon usage of the definite article *lo/la* to the Pyrenean form *eth/era* when speaking to either Gascon speakers who use this article or Catalan speakers (Catalan uses the masculine definite article *el*, which he said is closer to the Gascon form *eth* than to *lo*):

Oui, justement, l’article c’est un bon exemple [I had asked this speaker if he changes his usage of the definite article depending on the person to whom he is speaking]. Si je parle avec un languedocien ou un provençal, je vais pas employer *eth* et *era*. Par contre, si je parle avec un catalan, je vais l’employer parce qu’eux, ils disent pas *eths* pour dire ‘les’ par exemple, ils disent pas *los*, ils disent *els*. Si tu dis *eths*, il [the Catalan speaker] va comprendre, si tu commences à dire *lo* ou *la*, *els/eths* c’est très proche. C’est l’article pyrénéen [that’s closer to the

¹⁸⁸ ‘I keep the *que*, yes. I keep the *que* because they [non-Gascon Occitan speakers] are used to it. When they hear it, they know that “Oh, you’re from Gascony, you say *que*, *que dides que* [‘you say *que*’].’

corresponding Catalan form of the definite article].¹⁸⁹ (participant 12)

Similarly, when I asked participant 19 if he retains the *énonciatif* when speaking to non-Gascon Occitan speakers, he immediately said yes and that he would not know how to speak Gascon without it: “Ça [not using the *énonciatif*] je sais pas faire autrement.”¹⁹⁰ Like participant 12, this speaker will alter other aspects of the language to accommodate the interlocutor, but will maintain the Gascon *énonciatif* irrespective of the interlocutor’s Occitan variety. For instance, participant 19 informed me that he naturally uses the Gascon Pyrenean definite articles *eth/era* in his speech, but will use the more common forms *lo/la* that are more comprehensible throughout the larger Gascon and Occitan domain depending on the interlocutor. This speaker said that he will even change his form of the definite article when speaking to his own children (he has three children aged 20, 18, and 14), which is quite interesting since he had transmitted Gascon to them as a native language. His two younger children had attended the Calandreta deu País Tarbes where they had learned the definite articles *lo/la*, as this definite article is used in the school’s locale, Laloubère. As a result, he informed me that he and his two youngest children have a tendency to use the definite articles *lo/la* and *eth/era* interchangeably when speaking together. Participant 19 will also alter his vocabulary to accommodate the interlocutor. When I had asked him if he could provide an example, he had said that the word *tàrias* ‘money’, which he uttered during the elicitation of the French question *As-tu de l’argent?* ‘Do you have money?’ (his Gascon response was *As tàrias?*), is a term specific to his Gascon region in Bigorre.¹⁹¹ For this reason, he had said that he would use the word *moneda* when speaking to someone from Toulouse since this lexical item of the same meaning is more common throughout the Occitan domain.

Likewise, participants 28 and 29, who were recorded together, both said that they will not remove the *énonciatif* when speaking to non-Gascon Occitan speakers, but will change their vocabulary or usage of the definite article to accommodate interlocutors.

On ne peut pas faire autrement qu’utiliser les *énonciatifs e, be, ou que*. Sinon, on ne peut pas parler [Gascon]. Nous, on ne sait pas parler sans les *énonciatifs*.¹⁹²
(participant 28)

¹⁸⁹ ‘Yes, exactly, the article is a good example [I had asked this speaker if he changes his usage of the definite article depending on the person to whom he is speaking]. If I’m speaking with a Languedocien or Provençal speaker, I don’t use *eth* and *era*. However, if I’m speaking with a Catalan speaker, I do use them since, although Catalan doesn’t use *eths* for ‘they’ for example and they don’t use *los* either, they do say *els*. If you say *eths*, a Catalan speaker will understand you. If you begin by saying *lo* or *la*, *els/eths* is very close. It’s the Pyrenean article [that’s closer to the corresponding Catalan form of the definite article].’

¹⁹⁰ ‘That [not using the *énonciatif*] I don’t know how to do.’

¹⁹¹ Participant 19 classified his Gascon dialect as that of Bagnères-de-Bigorre, as his speech resembles that of his grandparents who were from a rural village located between Tournay and Bagnères-de-Bigorre. Participant 19 is a Gascon relearner: although he had heard Gascon while growing up from his grandparents and had always understood the language, he did not really begin learning and speaking the language until he was 15 years old when his family moved from Paris to Bigorre, his father’s birthplace (note that participant 19 was born and raised in Paris and had visited his grandparents in Bigorre from a young age). At the age of 15, he taught himself the language by speaking to his grandparents and other members of his family and by reading grammars. Since his grandparents did not know how to write Gascon, he taught himself how to write Gascon solely by reading grammars and texts.

¹⁹² ‘You have to use the *énonciatifs e, be, or que*. Otherwise, you can’t speak [Gascon]. It’s not possible for us to speak without using the *énonciatifs*.’

On ne peut pas parler gascon sans les [the énonciatifs] utiliser ici [in Béarn] parce que c'est ce qu'on entend aussi quand les gens parlent.¹⁹³ (participant 29)

Both participants said that the language sounds better to them with the énonciatifs present. They even mentioned how, even though they can perfectly understand Gascon speakers who do not use the énonciatifs, the language just does not sound right without them. For instance, participant 29 remarked how the Gascon uttered in Bordeaux without the énonciatifs does not sound pleasant to her and in fact bothers her a bit.

Unlike the participants discussed who maintain the énonciatif irrespective of the interlocutor's Occitan speech, participants 43 and 51 said that they choose to not use the énonciatif when speaking to non-Gascon Occitan speakers to make their speech more comprehensible. Participant 43, a Gascon second language learner whose parents speak Provençal, will eliminate the énonciatifs when speaking Occitan with his parents; note that when he speaks with his parents in Occitan (as opposed to French), he will speak in Gascon and his parents will speak in Provençal. This speaker's parents did not transmit Provençal to him and his native language is French. Moreover, his parents are not native Provençal speakers; they became Occitan activists in their 20s in Marseille and thus learned Provençal. Participant 43 began learning Gascon as an undergraduate at the Université de Pau (he majored in history, but enrolled in some Occitan courses). Due to his exposure to the language in Béarn, he is now currently a language activist and is employed at *Ràdio País*. Participant 43 said that his decision to not use the énonciatifs when speaking to non-Gascon Occitan speakers is not really a conscious one: when he is around speakers who do not use the énonciatifs, he said that he tends to eliminate these particles in his speech. On the same token, he said that he will always use the énonciatif when speaking with fellow Gascon speakers who have the énonciatif system. Likewise, participant 51, a Gascon relearner, said that he will remove the énonciatif when speaking with other non-Gascon Occitan speakers, and will also change the Gascon-specific [h] pronunciation to its more widespread correlate sound, [f].

While participants 43 and 51 naturally have the énonciatif in their speech and will remove it to accommodate others, participant 65, whose Gascon dialect from Gironde does not have the énonciatif, will systematically use the énonciatif in his speech when conversing with Gascon speakers within the énonciatif zone, such as Béarnais speakers. It is important to mention that I did encounter other speakers, such as participants 41 and 55, who said that they do not change their way of speaking Gascon to accommodate others, and thus maintain their specific Gascon dialect when speaking with either non-Gascon Occitan speakers or Gascon speakers from different regions. Still, the finding that some Gascon speakers will retain the énonciatif in their speech irrespective of the interlocutor, but will alter other Gascon-specific linguistic features to make their speech more comprehensible to others, reveals that the énonciatif is a prominent, obligatory linguistic feature of the language, which the following section exemplifies further.

6.4.2 Text messaging

The usage of the énonciatifs in text messages (termed *SMS* in French) is reflective of their essential syntactic function, especially since text messaging is a linguistic medium that is

¹⁹³ 'You can't speak Gascon without them [the énonciatifs] here [in Béarn] because it's what you hear as well when the people speak.'

conducive to deleting certain words to make the messages shorter. Participant 2 sometimes uses the abbreviation <qu> for the énonciatif *que* where the final letter is deleted (otherwise, she writes the word in full), and participant 3 shortens the word even further and uses just the first letter, <q>, when writing text messages in Gascon. The abbreviation <ke>, based on the phonetics of this particle, was more common, occurring among participants 12, 44, 51, and 57-60. Other participants (i.e., nos. 4, 43, 53 and 55) do not use abbreviations at all when writing text messages and therefore write all their words in full, informing me that they write the énonciatif *que* as <que>.

Since the énonciatif *e*, which is typically found in questions, is a very short particle, I was curious to determine whether speakers would choose to delete this particle when writing a Gascon question in a text message format. Most participants told me that they would not delete this particle at all, or, if they did, they would replace it with another énonciatif. Recall from the previous chapter (§5.2.2) that participant 3 who uses the énonciatif *se* in questions in oral speech changes this particle to *e* when writing text messages since this particle is shorter: “C’est [the énonciatif *e*] plus court.” The fact that this speaker does not delete the énonciatif, but replaces it with a shorter form, shows that it is an obligatory feature of the language. Unlike participant 3 who chooses to use a shorter written form of the énonciatif that does not match his oral speech, participants 44 and 51 actually choose a longer written form of the énonciatif that matches their oral speech when writing text messages. Participants 44 and 51 write the énonciatif *que*, which they abbreviate <ke>, when writing questions in text messages since they use this énonciatif more often than *e* in their oral speech.

When I asked participant 51 if he could ever just write a question in a text message without an énonciatif, such as *Cantas sovent?* ‘Do you sing often?’, he immediately replied that he cannot: “Je peux pas”. He also said that to remove the énonciatif <ke> before the finite verb in text messages would be weird. Likewise, participant 12 informed me that he always includes the énonciatif *que* (abbreviated <ke>) before finite verbs and the énonciatif *e*, which he uses in questions, in text messages: “Je le garde l’énonciatif [in text messages], oui je le garde.”¹⁹⁴ However, participants 57-60 told me that they do occasionally omit the énonciatif in text messages. They said that they can write for instance *Parli* ‘I am speaking’ or *Vas?* ‘Are you going?’ in text messages as opposed to the following corresponding forms with the énonciatifs: *Que parli* (or the abbreviated text messaging form *ke parli*) and *E vas?*. These participants mentioned how text messages without the énonciatif would not appear strange to them since the énonciatif is not found in other Occitan languages; nonetheless, they did inform me that they do employ the énonciatif in text messages most of the time. The usage of the énonciatifs in text messages illustrates their importance in the language and how this linguistic feature unique to Gascon is likely to remain in the language, as it is used by younger generations of speakers.

6.5 Implications

The findings presented in this chapter have illustrated that the Occitan movement does not seek to eliminate Gascon specificities, as Moreux puts forth. For instance, participant 12, an Occitan activist, clearly states how he believes in retaining Gascon’s distinctive characteristics:

Moi je suis profondément occitan et je parle l’occitan de son dialecte gascon. Et le dialecte gascon c’est très important pour moi. Oui, occitan de Gascogne. Il faut

¹⁹⁴ ‘I keep the énonciatif [in text messages], yes I keep it.’

surtout pas une langue uniforme en Occitanie. Il faut que le gascon garde ses particularités.¹⁹⁵ (participant 12)

Even though the future of the énonciatif system ultimately remains uncertain, as much of it depends on the usage of these particles by future Occitan teachers, for younger generations of Gascon speakers are more likely to acquire Gascon from the educational system than from familial transmission (see Chapter 7, §7.1.2), the current findings indicate that the énonciatif system, and in particular the énonciatif *que*, is not endangered and has become a feature of standardized Gascon, thus spreading to regions in which it had before not been used. As the previous chapter concluded, the aspects of the énonciatif system that are endangered are its semantic/pragmatic base and its regional variations. For this reason, it is essential that recordings of native speakers be made, especially when considering how participant 65, who learned a standardized version of Gascon, decided to change his dialect after recording native Gascon speakers from the Gironde département. Therefore, there will likely be future generations of Gascon speakers who will wish to learn the dialect that matches that spoken either by their family members or by others in the region in which they currently live. The following chapter, which discusses the sociolinguistic status of the language, demonstrates this pressing need to record native speakers, as the vast majority of them will no longer be living in 20-30 years.

¹⁹⁵ ‘As for me, I am deeply Occitan and I speak the Gascon dialect of Occitan. And the Gascon dialect is very important to me. Yes, Occitan of Gascony. It is especially important to not have a uniform language in Occitanie [the entire Occitan region]. It’s necessary that Gascon keep its distinctive features.’

Chapter 7

Overall sociolinguistic situation of Gascon: Hope for the future

Like languages, certain species are endangered, yet the latter are better protected than the former in France. A Gascon speaker whom I met in Béarn reported that the bears in the Pyrenees are more protected than the Pyrenean people's native language and culture. While the French government forbids the killing of this endangered species, it is allowing the Gascon language and culture to suffer a slow language death with each passing speaker, as it still does not enact policies nor offer enough political and economic support that would ensure the survival of not only Gascon, but of all the other Occitan languages and minority languages of France. Since 1999, France has still only signed and not ratified the *Charte européenne des langues régionales ou minoritaires* and French remains the only "langue de la République".

I do not attempt in any way to condense the sociolinguistic situation of Gascon to a chapter-length study, as this topic warrants a much longer and deeper investigation. The goal of this chapter is to present an overview based primarily on my fieldwork experience. As an unbiased observer who interviewed various Gascon speakers in different regions and participated in the Gascon/Occitan community, I am in a position to objectively reflect on the overall current status of the language and its future. Provided that there is greater political and economic support for Gascon and the larger Occitan community to further develop and expand the currently existing language maintenance projects, I am very hopeful concerning Gascon's future.

7.1 Endangered status of Gascon

7.1.1 Number of speakers

When studying an endangered language, a question often posed by linguists is: How many speakers are there? I dislike this question for the following two reasons: (1) The exact number of speakers of any speech community is often difficult to ascertain; (2) It does not necessarily reflect the larger sociolinguistic situation of the language. For instance, if I were to respond to this question for Gascon, some could believe Gascon to not be endangered and therefore not in dire need of political and economic support to further language maintenance projects, which is anything but the truth.

When I first arrived in Gascony, my initial perception was that Gascon was not an endangered language since I was comparing it to the situation of many U.S. indigenous languages where there can be less than 100 or even 5 speakers. As a graduate student at UC Berkeley, I was exposed to the sociolinguistic situation of various indigenous languages, as this institution has a strong history and dedication towards their preservation, in particular those native to California. Upon my arrival in Toulouse in September, I noticed the bilingual French-Occitan street signs in the city and participated in various events of the Festival Occitània where Gascon was widely present. For instance, the director of IEO 31, Jean-Paul Becvort, projected Gascon in a microphone while standing on an outside stage at la Place du Capitole, Toulouse's main square. These observations, coupled by my realization that there was an Occitan department at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, made me wonder if Gascon should even be considered endangered.

This thought began to dissipate as I left Toulouse, a city rich in Occitan events, and traveled to other Gascon regions, especially the Gironde region, where the presence of Occitan was scarce. I especially became aware of the endangered status of Gascon during my interviews with many of the older native Gascon speakers who did not transmit the language to their children (and by consequence their future grandchildren), thus ending the cycle of Gascon familial transmission. I soon realized that although there are presently native Gascon speakers remaining, the vast majority of them will not be here in 20-30 years, as most are aged 70 and older at present, which has the potential to push Gascon to a level of extreme endangerment like many indigenous language communities in the U.S. and elsewhere throughout the globe. It is for this reason that the number of speakers should not be considered as the sole information source when analyzing a language's sociolinguistic status.

Although the exact number of Gascon speakers is not truly known, the Ethnologue cites nearly two million Occitan speakers. A recent sociolinguistic survey (*Enquête sociolinguistique: Chiffres et données clés*) conducted in 2008 via the telephone among 6,002 people from the Aquitaine administrative region found that only 9% of those surveyed considered themselves able to speak Occitan (or whatever term they used to refer to the regional language, such as patois) without difficulty (i.e., they could fully express themselves in Occitan and could hold a conversation in the language) and 22% said that they could speak Occitan, but with difficulty. There was a higher percentage of passive speakers, as 44% claimed to know and understand at least some elements of Occitan. The results of this survey reflect a notable decrease in the number of Occitan speakers, for the 1997 survey of 1,212 people in the Aquitaine administrative region revealed that 12% of respondents were reported to speak Occitan without difficulty, thus demonstrating a 3% decrease in the number of speakers in only a ten year time frame. This finding is very significant when considering the already small percentage of those who reported themselves to speak Occitan without difficulty.

This percentage will dramatically decrease in the coming years with the significant rise in mortality rates correlated with the advanced aging of native speakers: 63% of the 9% who responded that they could speak Occitan without difficulty were 60 years of age and older and 24% of this 9% were 45-59 years old. Moreover, Moreux (2004: 32) cites surveys conducted on Béarnais competence from the mid-1990s that reveal age as a factor: 50% of Béarnais speakers who regularly used the language were over 64 years old, while only 7% of such speakers were 15-24 years old.

When comparing these results with those obtained from the 1864 survey conducted by the then Minister of Public Education, Victor Duruy, it becomes evident that the number of Occitan speakers has drastically declined. The 1864 survey found that the vast majority of the Occitan population did not speak French: more than 90% in the regions of Ariège (Gascon-speaking), Aveyron (Languedocien-speaking), Gers (Gascon-speaking), and Var (Provençal-speaking); 75-90% in the regions of Aude (Languedocien-speaking) and Tarn (Languedocien-speaking); and 60-75% in some areas of Haute-Garonne (Languedocien and Gascon-speaking) and Hérault (Languedocien-speaking) (Aries et al. 2000: 32). Moreover, Blanchet & Schiffman (2004: 17) mention how the last generation of monolingual Occitan citizens who do not speak French at all (those born before 1914) is rapidly disappearing; note that I did not encounter any monolingual Gascon speakers. When considering the time-depth of languages, the Occitan languages have shifted from majority to minority languages in less than one hundred years, showing how quickly a language can become endangered.

7.1.2 Fishman's GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale)

GIDS, an acronym of Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, is what Fishman (1991) terms his graded typology for the threatened status of languages. The scale comprises eight stages, where the language's threatened status increases numerically. Since the main goal for these languages is to reverse their linguistic situation by improving their social, political, and economic mobility, languages at the extreme end of endangerment (e.g., stages 8 and 7) have slightly different goals than those that have already surpassed stage 4, where the language is already present within the larger educational system. These stages, along with their respective goals, are outlined in Table 27; note that Fishman uses the term Xish to refer to the minority language and Yish the majority language.

GIDS Level	Description
8	Most users of Xish are older speakers who are isolated from the larger community (i.e., live in rural isolated areas or even in old-age homes in more urban locations) Goal: Xish needs to be documented and recorded, so that it can be taught to others
7	Most users of Xish are part of the larger community, but are beyond child-bearing age Goal: Xish needs to be used by younger speakers
6	Xish is used within all three generations of a family, but is confined to informal, spoken interaction, whereas Yish is used for more formal situations Goal: Demographic concentration of Xish and intergenerational family transmission
5	Xish literacy in home, school, and community Goal: Xish literacy to improve Xish social and political mobility
4	Xish in lower education that meets requirements of compulsory education laws Goal: Educate Xish children to expose them to the Xish cultural reward system and expand Xish to Yish domain
	Type 4a schools: Schools teaching Xish are not entirely funded from general tax funds; more completely under Xish control than 4b schools
	Type 4b schools: Schools teaching Xish are entirely funded from general tax funds
3	Users of Xish in lower work sphere that involves the interaction between Xmen and Ymen Goal: Expand Xish to wider Yish community
2	Xish in lower governmental services and mass media Goal: Recognition of Xish in regional policies
1	Xish in higher level governmental services, education, and mass media, but without political independence Goal: Recognition of Xish as a co-language of its region

Roux-Châteaureynaud's sociolinguistic study of Occitan in the Aquitaine administrative region finds GIDS too general a scale to apply to Occitan (Roux-Châteaureynaud 2007: 382). Although Occitan is taught in schools (stage 4) and is somewhat present in the media (level 2), albeit limited (see §7.4.3 for further details), Roux-Châteaureynaud places Occitan between levels 6 and 7 on GIDS and specifies that Occitan has not really surpassed level 6, as Gascon intergenerational familial transmission is severely lacking. Moreover, the children who do speak Occitan are likely to discontinue using the language since a demographically concentrated community of Occitan speakers does not exist that would allow them to communicate in Occitan at home, in school, and within the larger society.

Le GIDS, bien qu'instrument remarquable pour évaluer l'état d'une langue, peut paraître un peu trop général dans certains cas. L'occitan a dépassé sur certains

plans le niveau 7, mais n’a pas su atteindre pleinement le niveau 6: la société occitane, en Aquitaine, n’a plus de cellule linguistique de base capable de restaurer une transmission intergénérationnelle mais bien qu’il existe des écoles immersives associatives telles que *Calandreta*, ou un journal hebdomadaire en occitan *La setmana*.¹⁹⁶ [original emphasis throughout] (Roux-Châteaurenaud 2007: 378)

Tables 28a-b outline Roux-Châteaurenaud’s application of GIDS to the usage of Occitan in Aquitaine (a.r.): Table 28a contains my summary and English translation of her original table in French, which is reproduced in Table 28b.

TABLE 28a. Summary and English translation of Roux-Châteaurenaud’s (2007: 372) table that applies GIDS to the usage of Occitan in Aquitaine (a.r.)	
GIDS Level	Occitan
1. Government operates at the highest national level in education, the professional sphere, and mass media	No presence of Occitan at this level
2. Local/regional media and governmental services	Column in the newspaper <i>Sud-Ouest</i> , some limited shows on France 3, weekly Occitan newspaper <i>La Setmana</i>
3. Local/regional professional sphere sometimes involving Xmen and Ymen	None or very rare presence of Occitan at this level
4a. Public schools for Xish children offering instruction in Xish, but substantially with Yish under the control of courses and teaching staff	Initiation [she is referring to the <i>Caminaires</i> who visit public schools; see Chapter 1, §1.5.5.1 for details], Occitan as an LV ₂ /LV ₃
4b. Schools (satisfy compulsory education) that are substantially under the control of Xish in the courses and teaching staff	<i>Calandreta</i>
5. Schools for the acquisition of Xish literacy among both young and older populations that do not replace compulsory education	Night courses without overall structure
6. Demographic concentration of intergenerational (home-family-neighboring community) transmission of the native language	No community life
7. Cultural interaction of Xish namely among the older generations in the community	Some native speakers participate at this level
8. Reconstruction of Xish and Xish acquisition among adults	Occitan is retained in various ways, but there are not many oral archives even though native speakers remain

¹⁹⁶ ‘GIDS, even though it’s an outstanding tool to evaluate a language’s status, can be a bit too general in certain cases. Occitan has surpassed level 7 in some ways, but has not fully reached level 6: Occitan society in Aquitaine no longer has a linguistic base capable of restoring intergenerational transmission even though immersion schools like the *Calandretas* exist or the weekly Occitan newspaper *La Setmana*.’

TABLE 28b. Original table reproduced from Roux-Châteaureynaud (2007: 372)

Niveaux sur le GIDS	Occitan
1. Les opérations du gouvernement au plus haut niveau national dans l'Éducation, sphère professionnelle, et les mass-médias.	Aucune présence de l'occitan à ce niveau
2. Les services de mass-médias locaux/régionaux et gouvernementaux	Chronique dans <i>Sud-Ouest</i> , quelques reportages sur FR3, depuis janv. 2006 journal, hebdomadaire de 7 min. en occitan et sous-titré le dimanche à 19H15 présence très succincte Hebdomadaire occitan <i>La setmana</i>
3. La sphère locale/régionale professionnelle à la fois parmi les Xmen et les Ymen (hors voisinage)	Aucune ou très rare présence de l'occitan à ce niveau
4a. Écoles publiques pour les enfants Xish offrant une instruction en Xish mais substantiellement avec un contrôle du cursus et du personnel enseignant Yish	Initiation, LV1, LV2, LV3
4b. Écoles (à la place d'une éducation obligatoire) substantiellement sous le contrôle Xish du cursus et du personnel enseignant	<i>Calandreta</i>
5. Écoles pour l'acquisition de l'alphabétisation pour les jeunes et les plus âgés et pas à la place de l'éducation obligatoire	Cours du soir, sans structure globale
6. La concentration démographique intergénérationnelle (maison-famille-voisinage) base de la transmission de la langue maternelle	Pas de vie communautaire
7. Interaction culturelle en Xish impliquant principalement la vieille génération, basée sur la communauté	Participation de locuteurs naturels à quelques stages
8. Reconstruction de Xish et acquisition par les adultes de Xish	L'occitan est sauvegardé de diverses façons, mais peu d'archives sonores et il y a encore des locuteurs naturels

Although Fishman states that stage 6, intergenerational familial transmission, is the most important stage to attain, the Occitan community is unfortunately not able to achieve this stage without jumping over this step and reaching the subsequent stages. According to Fishman (1991: 94), “without this stage [stage 6] safely under Xish control the more advanced stages have nothing firm to build upon”:

One cannot jump across or dispense with stage 6 [original emphasis]. That has been tried several times and, uniformly, it has resulted in less success and more wasted resources than RLS [reversing language shift efforts] can afford. Without an intimate and sheltered harbor at stage 6 an RLS movement tends toward peripheralization from personal and emotional bonds and faces the danger of prematurely tilting at dragons (the schools, the media, the economy) rather than squarely addressing the immediate locus of the intergenerational transmission of Xish. (Fishman 1991: 95)

The cycle of Gascon familial transmission has already been broken, as the vast majority of native Gascon speakers did not transmit the language to their children. Therefore, stage 6 for Occitan has no hope of being attained without achieving the later stages of GIDS, such as increasing linguistic awareness through education and the media. If people are not made aware that the

Gascon language and culture exist, there will be no hope for younger generations to become future speakers or language activists.

Many French inhabitants, including those who live in the Occitan region, remain unaware of the existence of Gascon or Occitan, a topic that is further addressed in §7.4.1. This ignorance was even held by those who had heard the language from family members while growing up. Many Gascon relearners informed me that, prior to enrolling in language courses by accident (i.e., some enrolled in Occitan as an LV₂/LV₃ without knowing what Occitan was since they were not interested in the other languages offered), they were completely unaware of Gascon/Occitan: despite hearing the language during their youth, they had never considered what it was that their family members were speaking and had never realized that it was a language that had a name until later in life. The following excerpts represent just a small subset of the Gascon relearners I had met who first became aware of the language through school and who thereafter became language activists.

Quand j'étais en cours d'occitan [when this participant was in lycée, he had to enroll in a third language and his choice was Occitan or German and he didn't wish to learn German], j'avais un livre. Ma mère a été chercher le livre avant la rentrée. Et donc j'ai eu un livre et j'ai pris le livre ...je vois ce bouquin, ce petit livre-là et je dis, « Putain, mais c'est ça, l'occitan ? » Parce que je savais pas que c'était mon occitan, je croyais que c'était le portugais. Il fallait une langue, mais je voulais pas l'allemand, mais je savais pas que c'était l'occitan. Je regarde ça, je dis « Mais merde, alors c'est quoi ça ? » On dirait ce que j'ai entendu à la maison, on dirait que c'était la langue de mon grand-père. Et puis, aux petits dessins en le livre, il y avait des gars avec des bérets ou des trucs que je savais, que je connaissais. Je regarde le livre et puis je comprenais qu'est-ce qu'il y avait dedans. Pas tout parce que c'était écrit et je savais pas lire trop l'occitan. Et je me suis dit, « Mais merde, alors, c'est quoi ce truc ? » Et c'est là quand j'ai commencé à être conscient comme on avait toujours caché que mon grand-père il parlait une langue. Ce qu'il parlait, les histoires qu'il racontait, ou quand tous les gens qui venaient le voir il parlait, que c'était une langue. C'était caché. Et comment je pouvais l'apprendre encore. Et après j'étais bon élève.¹⁹⁷ (participant 20)

C'était vraiment le pur hasard [enrolling in Occitan in lycée]. Il fallait que je me l'installais en fait à des études économiques et sociales et mon niveau en math

¹⁹⁷ 'When I was enrolled in an Occitan course [when this participant was in lycée, he had to enroll in a third language and his choice was Occitan or German and he didn't wish to learn German], I had a book. My mother went to get the book before the start of the school year. So I had a book and I took the book...I see this small book and I say, "What the hell is Occitan?" Because I didn't know that it was my Occitan, I thought it was Portuguese. I needed to enroll in a language, but I didn't want German, but didn't know what Occitan was. I'm looking at it [the book] and say, "But wait, what is this?" The book talked about what I heard growing up, that it was the language of my grandfather. And then, the small drawings in the book showed men with their berets or other items that I knew. While looking at the book, I began to understand what was inside. Not everything since it was written and I didn't know how to read much of Occitan. And so I said to myself, "But wait, so what is this thing?" And that's when I began to become aware [of Occitan] since I had never known that my grandfather spoke a language. What he had spoken, the stories he had told, and what he had spoken when the people [from the village] came to see him, it was a language. It had been hidden. And I certainly was able to learn it again. And after that, I became a great student.'

était insuffisant, donc j'ai du me rediriger vers les études littéraires et j'ai du choisir une option et voilà... Ça était occitan parce que je pouvais commencer à partir de la première [class level]. À cette âge-là je ne connaissais ni l'existence de l'occitan et je n'avais absolument aucune notion de langue occitane.¹⁹⁸ (participant 65)

Je l'ai appris [Gascon/Occitan] à l'université et c'est là où je me suis rendue compte de ce qu'ils appelaient occitan à l'université c'était ce qu'on parlait chez moi. Parce qu'un jour j'ai demandé à mon grand-père qui faisait de la calligraphie, il écrivait comme autrefois avec le plume et tout ça, et je lui ai demandé de m'écrire un petit texte des Troubadours et lui, il l'a compris du premier coup le texte. Il n'y a pas eu besoin d'une traduction. Moi, j'ai besoin de traduire et lui, c'est là que j'ai compris que sa langue à lui c'était de l'occitan parce que lui, le texte, il me l'a traduit comme ça sans rien. Il comprenait tout quoi. Voilà et moi, j'avais besoin de mon dictionnaire, de voir qu'est-ce que ça veut le dire et lui c'était naturel. Et pourtant c'était un texte de Jaufré Rudel, d'un Troubadour gascon si on peut dire, et c'était quand même un texte du Moyen Âge, donc de 800 ans avant quoi. Mais, comme ça. Alors que mon grand-père il n'avait pas fait beaucoup d'études, il parlait pas beaucoup de langues; enfin il parlait occitan naturellement, mais pas, il n'avait pas fait les études de langues du tout du tout.¹⁹⁹ (participant 66)

Given that I met numerous people who, upon discovering Gascon/Occitan through school, have since become language activists who have either already transmitted Gascon to their children or plan to if they have children in the future, the achievement of the later stages of GIDS has the potential to create new Gascon speakers who in turn will begin the cycle of Gascon familial transmission. Another reason why achieving stage 6 prior to the subsequent stages of GIDS is not a feasible option for the Occitan community is that many speakers, some of whom are even Gascon and Occitan activists, chose to not transmit the language to their children since they did not see its value, as Occitan is not part of the society at large. Therefore, if Occitan were more present in society (e.g., bilingual signage and increased Occitan media), people would not only become more aware of this language, but would also view it as economically viable.

¹⁹⁸ 'It was truly by accident [enrolling in Occitan in lycée]. I was preparing myself for economic and social studies and since my level in math wasn't adequate, I had to change paths and switch my focus to literature and therefore had to choose an option [an LV₃]...It was Occitan since I could begin it starting in my 1^{ère} grade level of high school. At that age though I wasn't even aware that Occitan existed and had absolutely no idea about the Occitan language.'

¹⁹⁹ 'I learned it [Gascon/Occitan] at the university, which was when I realized that what was termed Occitan at the university referred to what people spoke while I was growing up. Because one day I asked my grandfather who did calligraphy, he could write like they did in the past with the feather and everything, and I asked him to write a small text from the Troubadours for me and right away he understood the text. He didn't need a translation like I did. It was then that I understood that his language was Occitan since he translated the text without needing anything. He understood everything. I needed my dictionary to figure out what the text was saying, while it came naturally to him. And even more incredible was that it was a text by Jaufré Rudel, a Gascon Troubadour [poet] from the Middle Ages and thus was written 800 years earlier. But it happened just like that. My grandfather didn't pursue any advanced studies and didn't speak many languages – well, he spoke Occitan naturally, but it's not as if he had studied languages or anything like that at all.'

Even though the Gascon community cannot immediately achieve stage 6, I do agree with Fishman that intergenerational familial transmission is crucial to language maintenance and survival. Many Gascon relearners informed me that they continue to speak in French with certain relatives who speak Gascon since it is difficult to change the linguistic medium of communication with someone, thus illustrating the importance of establishing Gascon as the primary language used within the family.

C'est très dur quand on habitue à parler avec quelqu'un dans une langue à changer leur rapport. Autant que je me suis habitué à parler occitan avec des gens, ça sera rare qu'il y a des moments quand je parlais français avec eux. Autant que depuis tout petit on a habitué à parler français avec quelqu'un, par exemple mon frère, c'est très, très dur [to speak to him in Gascon].²⁰⁰
(participant 23)

7.2 How Gascon became endangered

Even though Gascon has had a long history of marginalization in the face of French since the 16th century, with the repression of France's minority languages increasing following the French Revolution, Gascon was still transmitted by the vast majority of the population in the 19th century, as the 1864 survey cited in §7.1.1 showed. My interviews with speakers from different generations indicate that most native speakers who represent the last generation of their family to speak Gascon are currently aged over 60. Therefore, the language declined in familial transmission with generations born following WWI and WWII. However, the society seems to have undergone a dramatic shift even in rural areas by the 1960s: the limited native Gascon speakers aged in their 40s-50s informed me that, although their family had transmitted Gascon to them, their community was primarily French-speaking during their youth and they were among the minority of those in their age range to speak Gascon. In contrast, the older native speakers described Gascon as being the majority language in rural areas when they were growing up. For instance, participant 36, an 84-year-old native Gascon speaker from Viven in Béarn, said that, before entering school at the age of 5, she was under the impression that Gascon was the official language: "On a toujours cru que c'était [Gascon] une langue officielle." This speaker, like most, broke the cycle of Gascon transmission since the language was forbidden in school, even though both she and her husband spoke to each other in Gascon and continued to do so even after their children were born; the school system's forbiddance of the language is addressed further in this section.

Parce que c'était interdit à l'école [in response as to why she didn't transmit the language to her children]. Donc on nous l'a parlé français automatiquement [in school]...Et les filles [participant has three daughters now aged 59 (twins) and 54 years old], on leur parlait français même mes beaux-parents leur parlaient français. C'était comme ça. Le béarnais c'était de côté. C'est pour ça qu'aussi

²⁰⁰ 'It's very difficult when you're used to speaking to someone in one language to change it. Just as I am used to speaking Occitan with some people and it would be rare to speak French with them, since I was little I got used to speaking French with certain people, such as my brother, and it's really, really difficult [to speak to him in Gascon].'

elles n'ont pas l'accent que j'ai moi parce qu'elles ont toujours parlé français.²⁰¹
(participant 36)

It is important to mention that this linguistic shift was not limited to an intergenerational gap in familial transmission, as it occurred even among siblings within the same immediate family. Participant 47, a 66-year-old native Gascon speaker, is one of six siblings and is the fourth born; while he and his older siblings are native Gascon speakers, his two younger siblings are not, as he informed me that the schoolteacher visited his parents' home by the time the fifth child was born and told his parents to no longer transmit Gascon to their children. Therefore, participant 47 always spoke and still continues to speak in Gascon with his older siblings, but always spoke and continues to speak in French with his two younger siblings. Moreover, participant 54, an 80-year-old native Gascon speaker, still speaks in Gascon with his younger brother who is 78 years old, but has always spoken French with his younger sister who is 66 years old. By the time his sister was born in 1943, his parents stopped transmitting Gascon.

The societal repercussions following both World Wars undoubtedly affected the usage of the language: Field (1981: 52) mentions how WWI caused many Occitan inhabitants to leave their isolated communities and become participants in the national military and Posner (1997) states that the industrial development following World War II caused the agricultural sector of France to decline, resulting in an exodus from the rural Occitan areas to the cities. Nonetheless, my interviews with speakers indicate that it was the school system's forbiddance of Gascon (then deemed patois) that is the true culprit behind the end of Gascon familial transmission.

As stated in Chapter 1, one of my goals in conducting fieldwork was to understand how Gascon became endangered. When interviewing speakers who chose to not transmit the language to their children, I specifically asked them why they made this decision in an attempt to better understand the mechanism of language loss. The vast majority replied with a simple response: "l'école". The French school system's forbiddance of Gascon had a deep and lasting impact on the mentality of speakers since school was associated with social mobility; if the language was forbidden in school, young, impressionable students surmised that this language must not be useful in the larger society, causing Gascon to be viewed as an impediment to social and economic mobility, especially since the language was demeaned in both the school and the larger society. For instance, participant 15 described how teachers not only demeaned the language, but the students' parents' way of life:

Les instituteurs non seulement nous diminuait notre langue, mais nous diminuait aussi notre état de paysan. Si on travaille pas bien à l'école, ils nous disaient « Plus tard on va regarder les cochons, regarder les oies. » Ça veut dire vous ferez le travail de vos parents. Donc ça nous a restés, ça. Quand on est petit, ça marque sérieusement.²⁰² (participant 15)

²⁰¹ 'Because it [Gascon] was forbidden in school [in response as to why she didn't transmit the language to her children]. So they spoke French to us automatically [in school]. And our daughters [this participant has three daughters now aged 59 (twins) and 54 years old], we spoke to them in French and even my in-laws spoke to them in French. It was like that. Béarnais was something put to the side. It's also why they don't have the accent that I have since they always spoke French.'

²⁰² 'The teachers not only demeaned our language, but also our way of life. If we didn't do well in school, they told us, "Later you'll be watching the pigs and the geese." In other words, that you'll be doing work like your parents. That remained with us. When you're little, that has a significant impact.'

Gascon speakers' exposure to their language being forbidden in school, in addition to being mocked and demeaned by the society at large, resulted in what numerous speakers deemed as *un blocage*, a psychological barrier preventing speakers to transmit Gascon to future generations in an attempt to ensure a better future for their children.

On voit qu'il y a un blocage quoi de certaines générations. Donc moi avec mon père, j'arrive un petit peu à parler en occitan. Voilà, mais très vite il passe au français. Donc ma mère, elle me dit quelques phrases [in Gascon], mais pas beaucoup.²⁰³ (participant 13)

Avec leur grand-père, oui. Avec la grand-mère, non. [participant 19's response regarding his children's usage of Gascon with their grandparents who are native Gascon speakers; participant 19 transmitted Gascon as a native language to his children]. Quelquefois c'est eux [participant 19's children] qui parle gascon, mais elle [participant 19's mother-in-law, his children's maternal grandmother, who is 75 years old] non. Il y a un blocage. Il y a beaucoup de ce blocage chez des gens qui parlent gascon tous les jours. Souvent ce blocage par rapport aux enfants.²⁰⁴ (participant 19)

Some, but not all, Gascon speakers were punished in school for speaking patois. The well known punishment associated with the usage of patois in school is *la pratique du signal*, as discussed in Chapter 1, §1.4.4. Participant 24 recounted to me how his grandfather experienced this punishment in school, even though his grandmother did not:

Il y avait un sabot, une chaussure en bois, que l'enseignant donnait au premier qu'il entendait parler en béarnais et il lui donnait le sabot et l'autre, il prenait le sabot, et il devait écouter quand il entendait un autre parlait béarnais, il lui donnait le sabot. Et le dernier le soir qu'avait le sabot il était puni. Donc ça mon grand-père me le racontait.²⁰⁵ (participant 24)

This punishment however was not experienced by the majority of those whom I interviewed, which indicates how the type of punishment varied depending on the school and schoolteacher. For instance, some participants informed me that they were deprived of recess, kept after school, or hit on the hand if they spoke Gascon.

²⁰³ 'You see there is a blockage [to speak Gascon] held among people from certain generations. With my father, I'm beginning to speak to him a bit in Occitan, but he switches back to using French very quickly. As for my mother, she says some sentences to me [in Gascon], but not a lot.'

²⁰⁴ 'With their grandfather, yes. With their grandmother, no. [participant 19's response regarding his children's usage of Gascon with their grandparents who are native Gascon speakers; participant 19 transmitted Gascon as a native language to his children]. Sometimes they [participant 19's children] speak Gascon, but she [participant 19's mother-in-law, his children's maternal grandmother, who is 75 years old] doesn't. There is a blockage. There's a lot of this blockage for people who speak Gascon everyday. This blockage is often in relation to children.'

²⁰⁵ 'There was a clog, a wooden shoe, that the teacher gave to the first student he heard speak in Béarnais and he gave him/her the shoe and this student then took the shoe and he had to listen because when he heard another student speak Béarnais, he gave this student the shoe. And the last student in the evening that had the shoe was punished. That was what my grandfather told me.'

On était privé de récréation si on parlait patois à l'école. C'est tout, oui.²⁰⁶
(participant 8)

Quand les autres partaient le soir, il fallait rester une heure de plus.²⁰⁷
(participant 15)

La maîtresse de l'école, elle n'était pas béarnaise non plus. Elle avait horreur parce qu'elle le comprenait pas [the language the students were speaking, which was Gascon]. Elle n'aimait pas, elle avait horreur, je vous dis elle n'aimait pas du tout. Donc, elle était d'autant plus sévère parce que, entre nous, si on parlait patois, elle arrivait avec une baguette pour nous taper dessus parce que c'était interdit. Parce qu'elle non plus le comprenait pas et alors elle était agacée, elle était ennuyée.²⁰⁸ (participant 36)

L'institutrice, si on employait un mot béarnais, elle nous disait de mettre les doigts comme ça [he laid his hand out on the table] et avec la règle, elle nous tapait dessus parce qu'il fallait pas parler béarnais.²⁰⁹ (participant 47)

Participant 32 told me an interesting anecdote, quoted below, whereby his schoolteacher's punishment proved unsuccessful and ineffective. His teacher forced those who spoke Gascon to wear a dunce cap and return home with it on. The students came to view this practice as a game and strove to receive this hat. It is important to mention that this speaker informed me that students were also hit on the hand for speaking Gascon at his school.

Quand quelqu'un qui avait fait des bêtises, qui avait employé un mot béarnais à la place d'un mot français dans une dictée ou choses comme ça, il y avait le bonnet d'âne avec de longues oreilles et puis un chapeau. Les oreilles étaient rouges, le chapeau était jaune. On mettait le bonnet d'âne et on partait avec ça à la maison. Mais, en faite, pour nous, c'était devenu un jeu, un jouet à celui qui l'attraperai le bonnet d'âne. Elle [the teacher] avait arrêté parce qu'elle s'est rendu compte quand même [that the students weren't taking it seriously].²¹⁰
(participant 32)

Although it may seem as though those who were punished for speaking patois at school suffered a deeper psychological impact than those who were not, this does not seem to be the

²⁰⁶ 'We were deprived of recreation if we spoke patois at school.'

²⁰⁷ 'When the other students left [school], we had to stay an hour longer [for speaking Gascon in school].'

²⁰⁸ 'The schoolteacher wasn't Béarnais. She loathed it because she didn't understand it [the language the students were speaking, which was Gascon]. She didn't like it, she loathed it, I'm telling you that she didn't like it at all. So, she was all the more strict because if we spoke patois with each other, she came at us with a stick to hit us on the top [of our hand] because it [patois] was forbidden. Since she didn't understand it, she was irritated, she was annoyed.'

²⁰⁹ 'If we said any Béarnais word, the teacher told us to put our fingers out like this [he laid his hand out on the table] and she hit the top of our fingers with the ruler because we weren't allowed to speak Béarnais.'

²¹⁰ 'When someone made a mistake, who used a Béarnais word instead of a French word while reading aloud in class or something like that, there was a dunce cap that had long ear flaps and a hat. The ear flaps were red, the hat was yellow. A student put the dunce cap on and then [after school was over] returned home with it on. But, actually, for us, this practice became a game, a toy for the person who got the dunce cap. She [the teacher] had to stop it because she realized this [that the students weren't taking it seriously].'

case. Those who were not punished in school for speaking patois still chose not to transmit the language to their children since the usage of Gascon remained forbidden in school and thus was secondary, if not virtually nonexistent, in comparison to French. For instance, participant 5, who did not transmit Gascon to his children and who was not punished at his school for speaking Gascon, described how he would never dare speak in Gascon to a girl at a dance because he would be laughed at:

C'était un peu mal vu de parler gascon. Ça faisait à rire... C'est pour ça que beaucoup de jeunes ne l'ont plus parlé et ils n'auraient pas osé parler par exemple dans les bals à une fille en occitan parce que la fille se serait moquée d'eux. C'était mauvais, c'était mal vu. Les filles n'auraient pas dansé avec quelqu'un qui parlait occitan.²¹¹ (participant 5)

Similarly, participant 40, who was not punished for speaking Gascon in school and did not transmit the language to his children, had thought that patois was an insignificant language only used by farmers:

À l'école, il fallait pas parler patois, mais on ne vous expliquait pas, on pensait que le patois c'était un peu autre langue, c'était un peu la langue des paysans.²¹² (participant 40)

Moreover, participant 14, who was not punished for speaking Gascon at school, chose to not transmit the language to her children since she explained to me that she wanted her children to succeed in life and thought that Gascon would be of no value to them. She, like other speakers cited below, expressed regret for not transmitting the language to her children, thus breaking the cycle of familial transmission.

C'est notre faute [lack in Gascon transmission]. C'était pour l'école. On veut qu'ils arrivent, qu'ils ne sont pas plus bêtes que les autres. On voyait que cette langue [Gascon] à eux, ça n'a pas leur servi grandes choses.²¹³ (participant 14)

Ce que je regrette, je ne peux pas trouver un interlocuteur.²¹⁴ (participant 40)

À cause de l'école [why participant and participant's parents didn't transmit Gascon to participant's children] et malheureusement c'était tombé... en général, c'était comme ça, que ça se passait. Malheureusement, il y en a beaucoup maintenant, ils regrettent... C'est dommage qu'on est abandonné cette langue.²¹⁵ (participant 47)

²¹¹ 'It was viewed a bit badly to speak Gascon. It made people laugh... It's the reason why a lot of young people no longer spoke it and they wouldn't dare speak Occitan to a girl for example at dances because the girl would make fun of them. It was bad, it was badly viewed. The girls wouldn't have danced with someone who spoke Occitan.'

²¹² 'In school, we couldn't speak patois, but no-one explained to us what it was, we thought patois was a small other language, it was a small language of the farming community.'

²¹³ 'It's our fault [lack in Gascon transmission]. It was for the school. We want our children to succeed, that they not be less intelligent. We saw that this language [Gascon] didn't do anything for them.'

²¹⁴ 'What I regret is that I cannot find an interlocutor [of Gascon].'

Due to the significant impact that the French school system had on the usage of Gascon, the Occitan movement is trying to reverse this situation by creating schools, such as the Calandretas and bilingual programs, where Gascon is not only used, but valorized, thus embracing multilingualism and diversity in an attempt to reclaim what was once taken away from their community. These, along with other language maintenance projects, are discussed in the following section.

7.3 Success of RLS (Reversing Language Shift) efforts

While I was auditing an Occitan sociolinguistics course at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail titled *Langue occitane et sociolinguistique*, the professor discussed the notion of diglossia and asked the students to describe whether French or Occitan was used in varying situations. Based on the students' responses (there were 10 students present) outlined in Table 29, it would appear as though Occitan is on a nearly equal level to French, as its contextual usage almost completely overlaps with that of French. Even though Occitan is clearly an endangered language that lacks official status, the fact that this contextual overlap exists is purely an outcome of the extreme dedication and hard work that the Occitan community has devoted to not only maintain these languages and cultures, but to attach import to them, with the ultimate goal being to reverse Occitan's sociolinguistic status.

TABLE 29. Students' responses in the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail course: French vs. Occitan usage	
Situations	Language(s) used – students' responses in the Occitan sociolinguistics course
Church	French *The professor mentioned how there is a priest in Toulouse who currently conducts church services in Occitan
University conferences	French, Occitan (the students said that it depends on the subject of the conference)
Family conversations	French, Occitan
Media: TV, radio	primarily French (all the students remarked about how Occitan TV/radio is very limited)
Newspapers	French, Occitan (the students mentioned the Occitan newspaper <i>La Setmana</i>)
Poetry & Literature	French, Occitan

7.3.1 Education

Throughout the course of fieldwork, my thoughts fluctuated between pessimism and optimism towards the future of Gascon. Each time I interviewed an older native speaker who did not transmit the language to his/her children and as a result ended the cycle of familial transmission, I became pessimistic regarding Gascon's future. However, every time I visited a Calandreta or a bilingual program, I left feeling very optimistic towards the language since I observed and interacted with children as young as 3 years old speaking Gascon.

Considering that the usage of Gascon was once forbidden in schools, the current teaching of the language exemplifies the success of RLS efforts. For instance, participant 48, a 62-year-old native Gascon speaker who never transmitted the language to her children, recalled her astonishment the first time she had observed young children who were speaking and learning

²¹⁵ 'Because of school [why participant and participant's parents didn't transmit Gascon to participant's children] and unfortunately it fell out of usage...in general, it was like that, it happened. Unfortunately, there are a lot of people now who regret [not transmitting the language]...It's a shame we abandoned this language.'

Gascon:

Moi, la première fois que j'ai vu les enfants de la Calandreta, c'était un truc inimaginable pour moi de reparler en béarnais et il me comprenait, je le comprenais, un petit de trois ans. Alors, ça, ça a été quelque chose d'inimaginable.²¹⁶ (participant 48)

Moreover, participants 57-60, students at the Collège Calandreta in Pau, reported that older generations of Gascon speakers become pleasantly surprised when they overhear Gascon's usage among younger generations:

Souvent les personnes âgées, de voir des jeunes comme ça parler [Occitan/Gascon], ça leur fait plaisir parce qu'ils voient qu'en faite, finalement, ce n'est pas perdu. On essaie de sauvegarder la langue et que les jeunes sont là pour continuer à le parler et donc ça leur fait plaisir.²¹⁷ (participants 57-60)

Teaching Gascon not only creates younger generations of speakers, which has the potential to create a domino effect whereby these speakers then choose to transmit Gascon to their future children, but also helps to break the *blocage* held by older generations of Gascon speakers. Many younger Gascon relearners whom I interviewed wish to transmit Gascon to their future children and told me that their parents and relatives are now speaking Gascon again because of them.

Comme je l'ai appris au lycée et puis à la fac, j'essaie de le [Gascon] reparler à la maison et donc ils [participant's parents] essaient de me suivre. Comme il [participant's father] voit que j'ai envie de le parler, il se remet à le parler.²¹⁸ (participant 3)

Another example of the positive effects associated with Gascon instruction is that participant 19 informed me that his wife began learning Gascon to help their children, who were enrolled in a Calandreta, with homework. Although his wife had always heard Gascon while growing up, her parents had only spoken French to her; she therefore did not really begin learning the language until she enrolled in a Gascon adult course for one year through the organization *Parlem* (this organization offers Occitan adult courses in the Hautes-Pyrénées département). The excerpt below contains his response to my question regarding when his wife began to speak Gascon:

Quand elle [participant's wife] a du se mettre à faire les devoirs aux enfants qui étaient à la Calandreta. Disons à ce moment-là, elle s'est lancée à parler. Ça était la déclenchement. Elle était au cours [Occitan] d'adultes. La raison c'était que le

²¹⁶ 'The first time I saw the children at the Calandreta, I couldn't believe that I was speaking again in Béarnais to a little three-year-old child and he understood me and I understood him. It was truly unbelievable.'

²¹⁷ 'Older people tend to be happy when they see young people speak it [Occitan/Gascon] because they're actually seeing that the language isn't gone. We're trying to safeguard the language and the older people are happy to see that young people are continuing to speak it.'

²¹⁸ 'Since I learned it [Gascon] in high school and then at the university, I have been trying to speak it at home and thus they're [participant's parents] trying to follow me. Since he [participant's father] sees that I want to speak it, he is beginning to speak it [Gascon] again.'

fils était en Calandreta et il fallait aider à faire ses devoirs. Alors, pour ça, elle était au cours d'adultes.²¹⁹ (participant 19)

Although teaching Gascon is extremely effective, this alone cannot change the language's status, especially since there need to be more schools offering Occitan instruction, which is addressed in §7.4.2. Moreover, there needs to be a greater presence of Occitan in the larger society (i.e., outside of school), as many teachers at the Calandretas and bilingual programs informed me that the vast majority of their students' parents do not speak Gascon and the students tend to speak in French during recess with other students. Nonetheless, one cannot underestimate the importance of Gascon teaching establishments and, in particular, the immersion programs: they teach Gascon to students, some of whom do not even have any familial link to Gascon, at a very young age and are thus expanding the demographic pool of Gascon speakers.

7.3.2 Employment

For certain occupations, proficiency or fluency in Gascon is a prerequisite or incentive, reflecting the language's economic viability. Participant 41, a reporter at Ràdio País, informed me that his father (currently aged in his 70s) chose to not transmit the language to his children since he viewed it as an impediment to social and economic mobility and thus remains surprised that his son earns his living by speaking Occitan. This is a prime example of the success of RLS efforts, as participant 41 now speaks Gascon with his father.

To increase the presence of Occitan in the larger society and promote its economic viability, the Occitan community has very recently (beginning in 2007) published a booklet that lists businesses where Occitan is spoken according to the level of Occitan used (there are three levels, where 3 indicates the greatest usage of Occitan); businesses also hang a plaque outside their establishment indicating to customers that they speak and support Occitan there. The director of IEO National informed me that this booklet currently exists only for the Midi-Pyrénées region, but that IEO wishes to develop it throughout the Occitan domain. The booklet is titled *Annuari del Labèl/Annuaire du Label: Òc per l'occitan* and the levels of Occitan listed in the booklet are reproduced below:²²⁰

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| Niveau 1. | Ici on aime l'occitan : La langue est visible sur un ou plusieurs supports écrits. L'interlocuteur peut aussi comprendre l'occitan. |
| Niveau 2. | Ici on parle occitan : La langue est parlée par au moins une personne au service du client. |
| Niveau 3. | Ici l'occitan est partout : La langue est un outil de travail à l'oral et à l'écrit dans l'entreprise ou l'association et dans ses relations extérieures. |

²¹⁹ 'When she [participant's wife] had to begin helping our kids with homework who were enrolled in the Calandreta. At that moment she began to speak. It was the trigger. She attended an adult [Occitan] course. The reason was that our son was in the Calandreta and needed help with his homework. So, because of that, she attended an adult [Occitan] course.'

²²⁰ An English translation of these Occitan levels follows: 'Level 1. Here we like Occitan: the language is visible on one or many written mediums. The interlocutor can also understand Occitan. Level 2. Here we speak Occitan: the language is spoken by at least one employee. Level 3. Here Occitan is everywhere: the language is a tool for oral and written work in the business or association and in its external affairs.'

This booklet is important since it associates Occitan with business development and acts as an incentive for businesses to hire employees with knowledge of the language.

7.3.3 Media

Occitan on radio and television is more limited than its presence in written media outlets. Occitan television programs are scarce (see §7.4.3 for details) and Occitan is the primary language used for only certain radio stations, such as Ràdio País, la Voix du Béarn, and Radio Occitania. In contrast, there is a very strong presence of Occitan on the Internet, including an Occitania Forum where people, particularly youth, can meet and chat (i.e., write instant messages) online with fellow Occitan speakers. Table 30 on the following page provides just some Internet links to various Occitan and Gascon resources for the reader and is by no means exhaustive. Moreover, as previously mentioned, there is a weekly Occitan newspaper, *La Setmana*, and there are occasional articles written in Gascon that appear in local papers, such as *La République des Pyrénées* in Béarn and *La Nouvelle République des Pyrénées* in Bigorre. Just recently, in 2008, the newspaper *L'Aquitaine* for Aquitaine (a.r.) began publishing an article in both Occitan and Basque since these two minority languages are spoken in this region; note that the author who writes the Occitan version is from the Limousin-speaking area and primarily writes in Limousin, but occasionally writes in Gascon as well.²²¹

The presence of Gascon in the media is effective on numerous levels. It not only creates a greater awareness of the language among younger generations and reinforces its importance and position in the modern world, but allows older speakers to reconnect with their native language. Many older native Gascon speakers who never learned how to write Gascon informed me that they enjoy reading newspaper articles written in Gascon. Moreover, I met some Gascon speakers who learned how to write the language by reading various Gascon written materials, such as grammars, books, and newspapers, thus reflecting their educational value.

²²¹ This information was provided to me by Jérémie Obispo, Chargé de mission langues et cultures régionales of the Conseil Régional d'Aquitaine.

TABLE 30. Various Occitan/Gascon websites organized by subject area	
OCCITAN/GASCON ORGANIZATIONS	
Various IEO offices; listed are those with whom I worked. To locate additional IEO regional and départemental offices, visit the main IEO site, the first link to the left.	http://www.ieo-oc.org/?lang=fr http://www.ieotolosa.free.fr/ http://www.ieo65.com/ http://www.in-oc.org/
l'Ostau Bearnés	http://www.ostaubearnes.fr/
l'Institut Béarnais & Gascon	http://www.biarn-e-gascougne.org/
OCCITAN/GASCON RADIO	
Ràdio País	http://www.radio-pais.com/
la Voix du Béarn	http://www.radio-voixdubearn.info/4.html
Radio Occitania	http://www.radio-occitania.com
OCCITAN TEACHING RESOURCES	
CFP'ÒC	http://www.cfpoc.com/
CAP'ÒC	http://crdp.ac-bordeaux.fr/capoc/
Calandretas	http://c-oc.org/calandreta/mp/
Bilingual French-Occitan teaching materials	http://bilingoc.free.fr/
OCCITAN PUBLISHERS	
Vistedit	http://www.vistedit.com/
Per Noste	http://www.pernoste.com/Modules/Association/Revue.aspx
OCCITAN CLOTHING STORES/MERCHANDISE²²²	
Adishatz	http://www.adishatz.com/
Biarnés Boutique	http://www.bearnculturewear.com/
OCCITAN/GASCON SINGERS, MUSIC & DANCE ORGANIZATIONS²²³	
Ardalh	http://ardalh.net/
Marilis Orionaa	http://www.marilisorionaa.com/
Conservatoire Occitan	www.conservatoire-occitan.org
Menestrèrs Gascons	http://www.menestrersgascons.com/
OTHER RESOURCES	
Occitania Forum	http://occitania.forumactif.com/
Annuari del Labèl: Òc per l'occitan	http://www.occitan-oc.org/

7.3.4 Presence in the larger society

The fact that I met some speakers who did not begin learning Gascon until moving to Béarn and encountering the language there reflects the significant impact of RLS efforts and how more funding is needed to make the language more present in other Gascon regions. For instance, the Carnaval Biarnés held in Pau, like the Festival Occitània held in Toulouse, contained events in both French and Gascon. Moreover, just recently, in September 2009, Toulouse began announcements in both French and Occitan in the subway (*le métro*).

Some Occitan activists said that they purposely speak the language with others in public to increase its presence. Still, many Gascon speakers informed me that most people believe that Gascon is Spanish or another similar Romance language when they overhear it being used, which reflects the general lack of awareness towards Occitan, as is addressed further in §7.4.1.

²²² There is also a clothing store named *Qu'es aquò?* that I encountered in Toulouse. It sold various Occitan merchandise, including T-shirts with Occitan sayings; I was unable to locate a website for this store.

²²³ Other Gascon music groups, some members of which I had met, whose websites are not available as to my knowledge include *Estar* and *Arnape*.

Je m'étais occupé pendant quelques années d'une association ici qui était une association culturelle qui avait un château dans les Hautes-Pyrénées à Mauvezin. Et j'y allais souvent puisqu'on avait de travaux à faire dans ce château. Et un jour, c'était un dimanche, je me retrouve là, je discutais avec un collègue en gascon et il y a deux personnes qui sortent de la boutique, français, et ils nous entendent de parler et alors ils ont pensé qu'on était étranger. Ils disent, « Qu'est-ce qu'ils parlent, cette langue? Ils parlent espagnol ou portugais? »... Quand les gens entendent parler la langue, ils ne disent pas c'est de l'occitan ou c'est du patois ou c'est du béarnais, ils disent c'est de l'espagnol ou c'est du portugais.²²⁴ (participant 35)

7.4 Need for increased awareness, funding, and political support

The observation of the same class cited in §7.3 (the course audited at the Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail titled *Langue occitane et sociolinguistique*) illustrates the inequality that still remains between French and Occitan and how continued work is needed to ensure Occitan's survival. The professor asked the students if they ever think that there will come a time when Occitan will be on an equal level to French. Only four of the ten students responded, all of whom were doubtful about Occitan's future for the following reasons: (1) the majority of people still think Occitan is a dead language; (2) many people leave the Occitan region and move elsewhere; (3) Occitan isn't taught and spoken everywhere; and (4) Occitan isn't used by many people. This section discusses the continued work that is necessary to improve the sociolinguistic status of Gascon, which will thereby help to increase the number of Gascon speakers.

7.4.1 Gascon remains an underrepresented language

Despite the various Gascon/Occitan efforts to preserve and revitalize the language, it is still not in the public consciousness. This became particularly evident upon my trip to Lourdes, a small Pyrenean city that has become a famous tourist destination following visions of the Virgin Mary that a local 14-year-old girl named Bernadette (thereafter deemed Saint Bernadette) witnessed in 1858 in a grotto. According to the story, the Virgin Mary appeared to Bernadette 18 times from February to July and spoke to her during some of the encounters. Even though Bernadette, and by consequence the Virgin Mary, had to have spoken Gascon, as Bernadette was from a modest family and most Gascon speakers at that time who were not members of the elite did not speak French, any tourist to Lourdes would leave completely unaware of this fact, as nowhere is the term Gascon (or even Occitan for that matter) mentioned.

The only traces of Gascon are under the statue of the Virgin Mary contained in the grotto itself that reads *Que Soy Era Immaculada Councepciou* 'I am the immaculate conception', the message spoken to Bernadette during the 16th apparition (see Figure 6a), and the saying *Anat*

²²⁴ 'For some years I worked with a cultural association located in a château in the Hautes-Pyrénées in Mauvezin. I went there often since we had work to do at the château. One day, it was a Sunday when I was there, I was talking with a colleague in Gascon and there were two people, French people, who left the store and overheard us speaking and thought that we were foreigners. They said, "What language are they speaking? Is it Spanish or Portuguese?" ... When people hear others speak the language, they don't say it's Occitan, patois, or Béarnais, they say it's Spanish or Portuguese.'

béouè en a houn et bi laouïa ‘Come and drink at the spring and wash yourself there’ that is present on the exterior wall of the church that was constructed around the grotto for tourist purposes (see Figure 6b). Note that both of these sayings in Gascon are not written in the Occitan script. While there is only one saying that appears under the statue, the sign written in Gascon on the exterior church wall is not unique. The wall contains numerous signs, each written in a different language with the same translation, and no prominence is afforded to the sign written in Gascon (see Figures 6b-c).

Despite these two traces of Gascon at Lourdes, tourists would leave unaware of the language’s presence, as the term Gascon or Occitan is not stated anywhere. Many Occitan activists in Béarn informed me that many people believe that the saying beneath the statue is in Latin and that the vast majority of people, including French inhabitants, are not aware that Bernadette spoke Gascon. Moreover, the tourist book on Lourdes that I purchased entitled *Lourdes: From Vision to Pilgrimage* contains no mention of Gascon and instead refers to the language used by the Virgin Mary as “the local dialect”: “Smiling, the Lady spoke for the first time, and said, in the local dialect, ‘That won’t be necessary...’” (p.7). In the tourist shop, I verified if the French version of this same book contained any mention of Gascon and, as I suspected, it did not.²²⁵



FIGURE 6a. Lourdes: Saying written in Gascon under the Virgin Mary statue

²²⁵ Since I did not purchase the French version, I do not remember the exact terminology that was used, but distinctly remember that it was equivalent to the English translation and therefore was deemed *le dialecte régional/le dialecte local* or something of this sort.



FIGURE 6b. Lourdes: Signs on the exterior church wall in various languages, including Gascon, French, Spanish, and English. The saying in Gascon is shown in the upper right corner: *Anat béouè en a houn et bi laouïa.*



FIGURE 6c. Lourdes: Signs on the exterior church wall in various languages, including Russian and Korean

As previously mentioned in §7.1.2, many people living in the Occitan region remain completely unaware that Occitan or Gascon exists and I met numerous Gascon/Occitan activists who only became aware of the language later in life. The following childhood memory conveyed to me by participant 61, a Gascon second language learner who was born and raised in Bordeaux and first became aware of Occitan while living in Béarn in her twenties, exemplifies the region's ignorance of Occitan: she had thought that trilling one's Rs was a property associated with aging since she had heard numerous older people in the Bordeaux area trill their Rs while speaking French. At a very young age, she surmised that she too would begin trilling her Rs once she became older. It was not until she became aware of Gascon/Occitan that she had realized that the older people in her region had trilled their Rs when speaking French due to their

prior exposure to Gascon.

Moi, j'ai pensé quand j'étais petite. Voyant que dans ma famille on parle catalan et on roule les R depuis toujours; enfin, les enfants comme les adultes comme les plus âgés. Mais ici [Bordeaux] je m'avais vu que des papis, des mamies roulent les R et je me suis demandé si ici les gens déroulaient pas les R en devenant vieux. Donc, j'étais petite et j'ai pensé comme ça. Il m'a aperçu plus tard maintenant que, en faite, c'est parce qu'ils parlaient le gascon quand ils étaient petits et qu'ils avaient appris à rouler les R. Mais j'ai cru oui quand j'étais petite, j'ai cru qu'ici les vieux, en devenant vieux, on fait mettre roulés les R.²²⁶
(participant 61)

Moreover, participant 31 did not realize that he had spoken French using what he had termed “Gasconismes”, i.e., Gascon words adapted to French, until after he had become aware of Gascon as a student at the Université de Bordeaux when he was 18 years old. The first excerpt below recounts when he had first learned of Gascon: his professor took the class to archives, which was where he had first encountered Simin Palay’s Béarnais dictionary. It was at this time that he had realized that he had acquired Spanish easily due to his prior exposure to hearing Gascon spoken among his family members while growing up. The second excerpt illustrates one of his Gasconismes: he used to employ the French word *chariot* to mean ‘wheelbarrow’ (cf. standard French *la brouette* ‘wheelbarrow’) since he had adopted the Gascon word for ‘wheelbarrow’, which is *cariòt*, to French.

J'ai tout découvert parce que je ne savais même pas qu'on écrivait cette langue-là [Gascon], je savais même pas qu'il y avait un dictionnaire. La première fois que j'étais à Bordeaux, étudiant, et notre professeur nous avait amenés aux archives départementales et puis nous montre des livres, d'histoires, et bon, différents livres. Et puis tout d'un coup, un dictionnaire. C'était le dictionnaire de Simin Palay. Mais je savais pas qu'il y avait un dictionnaire, je savais pas que ça s'écrivait, je savais pas. Donc je connaissais rien, mais je l'avais dans l'oreille. Donc ça a été assez facile à réapprendre parce que je suis professeur d'espagnol. Donc il y a de grandes ressemblances entre l'espagnol et le gascon et je me suis toujours demandé pourquoi l'espagnol je l'apprenais facilement. Parce que enfin de compte c'était très, très proche de la langue que j'avais entendue en étant enfant.²²⁷ (participant 31)

²²⁶ ‘I thought this [that people trilled their Rs once they became older] when I was little. My family spoke Catalan and we always trilled our Rs; the kids, the adults, and older members of the family all trilled. But here [in Bordeaux], I saw grandfathers and grandmothers trill their Rs and I asked myself whether people do not trill their Rs once they become older. So, I was little and I thought like that. I realized much later that it’s [trilling the Rs] because they spoke Gascon when they were young and learned to trill their Rs. But when I was little I believed that older people here [in Bordeaux], when becoming older, they began to trill.’

²²⁷ ‘I discovered everything since I didn’t even know that this language [Gascon] was written, I didn’t even know there was a dictionary. The first time I was in Bordeaux, as a [undergraduate] student, our professor took us to the départemental archives and then the professor showed us books, stories, and all different sorts of books. Then, all of a sudden, a dictionary. It was the dictionary by Simin Palay. But [before that] I didn’t know there was a dictionary, I didn’t know it [Gascon] was written. So I didn’t know anything, but I had it in my ear [had a passive knowledge of the language]. So it was very easy to relearn because I was a Spanish teacher. There are many similarities between

Donc moi jusqu'à 18 ans, quand je parlais français, je parlais du *chariot* [to mean 'wheelbarrow'] parce qu'on me disait autour de moi « Va chercher le chariot ». Ils parlaient français, *le chariot*. Alors que le chariot c'est un char grand, c'est pas la brouette. Ça c'est l'exemple du gasconisme.²²⁸ (participant 31)

Gascon and the other Occitan languages not only remain underrepresented, but they are still viewed as being inferior to French and not worthy of the same respect and recognition.

On avait une langue que personne ne donnait comme une langue de culture parce que, les intellectuels oui, mais après le peuple – personne ne le savait qu'il y avait des troubadours, personne ne savait qu'il y avait Mistral a eu le prix Nobel de littérature avec l'occitan, Camelat personne ne le connaissait. Ce qui fait que pour la plupart des gens, c'est une langue pour parler aux animaux; une langue de la campagne avec peu de vocabulaire et pour parler aux animaux.²²⁹ (participant 24)

The prejudice held towards these languages is still very evident today. For instance, I encountered hostility towards the language during an event of IEO 65 held in Castéra-Lou (in the Hautes-Pyrénées) on November 30, 2008 to promote their video entitled *Pelòt*, a Gascon historical figure similar to Robin Hood who stole from the rich to give to the poor. The film contained the story of this figure told by native Gascon speakers in Gascon with French subtitles. The research director of IEO 65, Fabrice Bernissan, spoke in Gascon during the presentation, as the majority of this area's inhabitants understand Gascon even if they do not speak it themselves. There were approximately 85 people at the event. A man aged in his 60s suddenly interrupted Mr. Bernissan in an aggressive manner and said that he was going to leave the event if French was not going to be used. Although this man's motivation to make such a comment was understandable since he did not speak or comprehend Gascon, his protesting attitude was not. This man was very hostile and annoyed that Mr. Bernissan was not speaking French. Mr. Bernissan politely responded to the man's comment, informing him that he was speaking in Occitan (note that the variety he used was Gascon) since the film was bilingual and the majority of people present understood the language. To assuage the man, while still upholding the usage of Occitan, Mr. Bernissan continued to speak in Gascon and followed his comments with a French summary. At the end of the event, I, along with others, commented on what had transpired. I was informed that the man was not originally from the region and had recently moved there from Bordeaux. Many residents informed me that this hostile attitude towards the language is often encountered.

An observation during my school visit to the lycée Jean Moulin in Langon in the Gironde département is worth noting, as it reflects the minority status of the language and how its

Spanish and Gascon and I had always asked myself how I had learned Spanish so easily. I realized it was because it's very, very close to the language that I had already heard during my childhood.'

²²⁸ 'Until I was 18 years old, when I spoke French I used the word *chariot* [to mean 'wheelbarrow'] because everyone said around me "Go get the *chariot*" and they were speaking French. The word *le chariot* [in standard French] refers to a big automobile, not a wheelbarrow. That's an example of a Gasconism.'

²²⁹ 'We had a language that no one viewed as a language of culture because, with the exception of the intellectuals, nobody knew of the Troubadours, no one knew that Mistral received the Nobel Prize in Literature with Occitan, no one knew of Camelat. The outcome is that the majority of people view this language as that used to speak to animals; a language of the countryside with hardly any vocabulary used to speak to animals.'

importance is questioned. While I was waiting to accompany the Occitan instructor to his afternoon classes in the teachers' lounge following lunch (note that there is only one Occitan teacher in the school), I introduced myself to the fellow teachers, informing them that I was writing my dissertation on Gascon and was at the school to observe the Occitan classes. One of the teachers asked me the following rhetorical question: "Tu étudies une langue morte?" ['You're studying a dead language?']. Even though the teacher was joking, it was evident from his remark that he was not entirely kidding, as he was absolutely shocked that an American was even interested in studying Gascon. This and the preceding observation reflect the minority status of Gascon and how much more work is needed to reverse the sociolinguistic situation of the language.

7.4.2 More schools and continuous instruction

In consideration of the general ignorance towards Occitan, it is crucial that its presence be made obligatory within the French education system, even if it is limited to a class lesson as part of a history course. I for instance had never known the existence of Gascon or Occitan throughout all of my schooling in the French language, which included majoring in French and linguistics at Cornell University. It was not until I wished to write an undergraduate senior honors thesis on a non-French language spoken in France that I had discovered Gascon: my undergraduate advisor had asked me if I had ever heard of Gascon and, since I had not, I became immediately interested in studying it. Despite my initial ignorance towards the language, I did not expect to find French inhabitants, particularly those living in Gascony, to be as unaware of Gascon as I, a U.S. resident, once was.

The current presence of Occitan in schools is not sufficient to ensure its survival: there are not many schools where Occitan is offered, Occitan is not an obligatory foreign language in the public schools where it is offered, and there is a lack in the continued learning of Occitan for those who do learn Occitan via immersion at a young age, as the vast majority of Calandretas and bilingual programs are only offered for primary education. Thus, although the Calandretas and bilingual programs are extremely effective in creating new speakers, a problem arises when these students leave elementary school and begin their secondary education in collège and lycée. Given that the teaching of Occitan is not continuous, it is likely that such speakers enrolled in the Calandretas or bilingual programs during their primary education will not continue using the language. For instance, if a student who had been enrolled in a Calandreta or bilingual program decided to continue his/her Occitan usage by enrolling in Occitan as an LV₂/LV₃ in collège or lycée, that student would not have much exposure to the language since it is taught for only 2-3 hours/week; contrast this with the usage of Gascon in the Calandretas or bilingual programs where it is spoken for nearly all or half of the school day. Moreover, it is very likely that this student would be in a class with others who had never before been exposed to Gascon, which could potentially cause the student to drop the course since it would not match his/her proficiency level.

Not only should the current Gascon immersion programs expand to offer secondary education, but they, along with the teaching of Gascon as a foreign language, need to be more widespread. For instance, I interviewed many speakers, such as participant 49, who informed me that they would have enrolled their children in Calandretas or bilingual programs if any existed near to where they lived. Moreover, participant 53, a 20-year-old Gascon relearner, moved from Nogaro in the Gers département to live with her grandmother in Bigorre when she was 17 years

old to enroll in Occitan courses there during her last two years of high school since none were offered in her hometown:

Je suis allée à vivre avec ma grand-mère en Bigorre pour apprendre l'occitan à l'école parce que là où j'ai habité [Nogaro], dans le lycée, il n'y avait pas de l'occitan.²³⁰ (participant 53)

Like these participants, I too had observed the regional variability in the number of schools offering Occitan instruction during my stay in different Gascon areas, which demonstrates the importance of increasing not only the number of schools, but their locales as well. Béarn and Bigorre for instance offered much more Occitan instruction than that found in the Gironde département. While I observed bilingual French-Occitan programs in Bigorre and Béarn, I could not do so in the Gironde département, as no bilingual programs exist in this region. Moreover, the Calandretas I observed in Béarn and Bigorre had significantly more students and instructors than the Calandreta I observed in Gironde, most likely because the Calandretas in Béarn and Bigorre are older. In contrast to the Calandreta in Pessac (in Gironde) that opened in 2002, the Calandreta in Pau (in Béarn) was the very first Calandreta that opened in 1979 and the Calandreta in Laloubère (in Bigorre) opened in 1993. As of the 2008-2009 academic year, the Calandreta observed in Pau had 90 students and 4 instructors and the Calandreta observed in Laloubère had 57 students and 3 instructors. Compare these figures with those of the Calandreta observed in Pessac, which had 17 students and only 1 instructor for the entire school that contained students ranging from 2 to 8 years of age.

The number of schools can only be increased with more funding and support from France's governmental entities, including its national education system. Figure 7 shows a political cartoon that mocks France's irrational fear of its regional languages by illustrating the unthreatening nature of the language immersion schools. This cartoon, which appeared in the newspaper *Sud Ouest* June 22, 2008 and thereafter hung on a corkboard in the lobby of the Maison de l'Occitanie in Toulouse, displays the French Academy and the French Senate pointing a sword to defend France from two innocent small children who represent those who attend the regional language immersion schools, as indicated by the signs (i.e., Calandreta for Occitan, Ikastola for Basque, and Diwan for Breton). The English translation of Figure 7 follows: 'Tremble enemies of France!!! – The French Academy and the Senate are shielding the French people who are being threatened by the ferocious regional languages.'

²³⁰ 'I went to live with my grandmother in Bigorre in order to learn Occitan in school because the high school where I lived [Nogaro] didn't offer Occitan.'

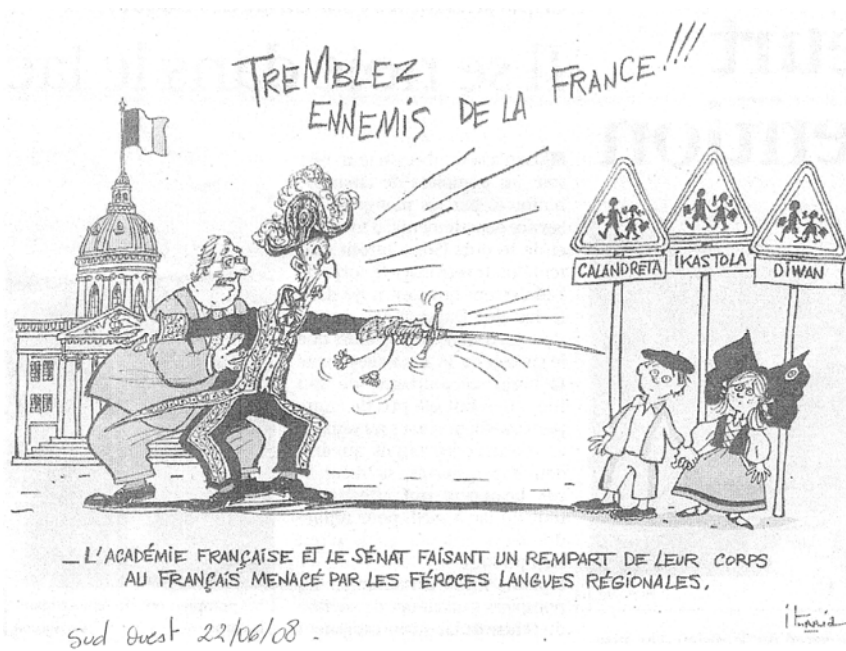


FIGURE 7. Political cartoon showing the French government's disfavor towards France's regional languages

7.4.3 Greater presence in the media and society at large

Schools alone cannot maintain a language; it needs to be present in the larger society, such as through bilingual signage and a greater presence in the media. Some teachers informed me that if the presence of Occitan is solely limited to school, this could potentially cause students to become uninterested in the language, as most young children do not associate school with fun.

Le problème c'est que quand on arrive en fin de cycle scolaire. Ils [Occitan students] savent parler, ils pourraient parler, mais ils parlent pas. L'outil on sait faire, on sait enseigner, on sait rendre une langue, on sait le faire ça, c'est pas le problème. Mais pour faire quoi après? Parce que politiquement, la langue elle est dépréciée, elle est méprisée. Après c'est sûr qu'il n'y a pas de lieux, de vie de la langue. C'est surtout que tant que politiquement il y aura pas une valorisation de la langue, mais vraiment une vraie valorisation, mais ça marchera jamais. Tu veux apprendre à tous les élèves à parler, mais bon ça fera pas des locuteurs, ça fera pas des gens qui parleront.²³¹ (participant 20)

The main media source where the presence of Occitan is truly lacking and where more support is needed by the national government is television. Occitan TV programs appear on France 3, but to a very limited degree. For instance, the Occitan program named *Punt de Vista*:

²³¹ 'The problem comes when school is finished. They [Occitan students] know how to speak and they are able to speak, but they don't. The tool is known, we know how to teach, we know how to recover a language, we know how to do it, that's not the problem. What afterwards? Because politically, the language is looked down upon, scorned. After [school is over], places and life don't exist for the language. As long as there is not a valorization of the language politically, truly a real valorization, it will never work. You want your students to speak it, but that doesn't make speakers, that doesn't make people wish to speak it.'

le Magazine Occitan for Aquitaine (a.r.) occurs for only 7 minutes every Sunday. Moreover, the Midi-Pyrénées region only has a 30 minute Occitan program every Sunday called *Viure al País*.

7.5 Why we should care

A language is more than just sounds, words, and grammar; it is part of a person's identity, culture, and heritage.

Quand j'allais à l'école, on parlait surtout français, mais avec mes grands-parents on continuait quand même à parler le gascon parce que c'était [Gascon] dans nos murs, c'était une habitude. On parlait la langue avec le coeur.²³²

(participant 10)

Je ne suis pas français, je suis occitan. La langue de ma famille, c'est l'occitan. Le français, oui sur ma carte d'identité le français et tout ça, je suis français, mais dans mon coeur, mon coeur n'est pas français, mon coeur est occitan.²³³

(participant 12)

To further illustrate the emotional attachment associated with language, Bernard Dubarry, Chargé des missions (culture occitane et territoire) of the Conseil Général des Hautes-Pyrénées, informed me that, beginning in 2008, the Hautes-Pyrénées département had employees of retirement homes enroll in Occitan courses to learn some Gascon phrases to speak to the residents. According to him, a resident began to cry upon hearing an employee speak in his native tongue. Moreover, participant 14, a 77-year-old native Gascon speaker who worked as a caretaker in a hospital in Tarbes for 30 years starting at the age of 25, said that patients were very happy to discover that she spoke their native language (this speaker is originally from Mansan in Bigorre; she lived in Tarbes for 30 years and then returned to Mansan when she retired, where she currently resides).

Avec les malades, oui [referring to her usage of Gascon at her workplace in a hospital in Tarbes]. Parce qu'il y avait des personnes âgées qui étaient malades et qu'ils étaient contents de trouver quelqu'un qui lui parlaient patois. Il y avait des grand-mères, des grand-pères et alors je leur ai parlé un peu patois, ils étaient contents. Sur les hôpitaux, c'est vrai, on leur parlait patois, ils étaient contents.²³⁴

(participant 14)

Words cannot begin to describe the feeling held by Gascon and Occitan activists towards preserving their language and culture, nor that held by native Gascon speakers I interviewed who broke the cycle of familial transmission and now regret their decision. When I asked speakers

²³² 'When I went to school, we mainly spoke French, but with my grandparents, we still continued to speak Gascon because it was in our walls. It was a habit. We spoke the language with our heart.'

²³³ 'I'm not French, I'm Occitan. The language of my family, it's Occitan. French, sure it's on my ID and everything, I'm French, but in my heart, my heart isn't French. My heart is Occitan.'

²³⁴ 'With the sick patients, yes [referring to her usage of Gascon at her workplace in a hospital in Tarbes]. Since there were older people who were sick, they were happy to find someone who spoke patois. There were grandmothers, grandfathers and so I spoke to them a bit in patois and they were happy. At the hospitals, it's true, we spoke to them in patois and they were happy.'

their thoughts towards the future of Gascon, there were mixed results. Some were hopeful provided there is more political and economic support for the language, while others, which included some language activists, were rather pessimistic. I end this study on a hopeful note, as I do believe that the Occitan movement has come a long way and therefore will continue to grow. However, much work is needed, as Fishman (1991: 98) duly remarks: “The road to RLS is a long and difficult one and most of this road must be paved with self-sacrifice.”

7.6 Project summary

The success of the Occitan language maintenance efforts is exemplified by the fact that the most characteristic feature of the language, the énonciatif system, has survived, in spite of the overwhelming pressure from the majority language, French, and thus gives me hope towards the overall future of the language. This study has shown the subsistence and geographic spread of a linguistic feature that is linked to the region’s distant past. Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrated that the énonciatif system is not a recent development of the language that evolved in the 17th-18th centuries from Gascon’s Latin roots; rather, these chapters provided evidence for the énonciatif as an ancient feature of the language that evolved over centuries as a result of contact between Basque and Latin speakers following Romanization of the region, whereby the original inhabitants of Gascony who spoke Basque or an ancestral form of the language gradually shifted to speaking Latin or the local Romance vernacular.

Chapter 5 illustrated significant variations encountered even among speakers from neighboring locales, thus reflecting the pressing need to record older native speakers before this information becomes lost. Such data is noteworthy to not only linguists, but archaeologists and geneticists to name a few, as the Gascon language has historical ties to its pre-Roman Basque ancestors. This information is also important for synchronic studies of Gascon, as the findings in Chapter 5 shed new light on the prior synchronic descriptions of the énonciatifs that were outlined in Chapter 2. Some speakers used particles that have never been mentioned in the literature and used previously described énonciatifs in new and different ways, which contradicted some of the prior semantic theories that have been posited to account for the énonciatif behavior. Of even more import is the significance that such recordings hold for present and future Gascon speakers who wish to speak the specific dialect of their ancestors.

Interestingly, I found that the semantic/pragmatic function of the énonciatif system is endangered when I believe that it was this function of the particles that initially caused them to become transferred from Basque to Latin. A very small minority of speakers had a semantic/pragmatic contrast based on the choice of the énonciatif. For instance, the vast majority did not have the semantic contrast described for *que* versus *e* in questions and subordinate clauses and, although numerous speakers used the énonciatif *be* as an exclamatory particle, several younger speakers, along with many Gascon relearners and second language learners, said that they use *que* instead of *be* in this context.

Chapters 5 and 6 concluded that the only certain prediction as to the future of the énonciatif system is that the énonciatif *que* will survive. This énonciatif has the least variability, as all speakers used it before the finite verb in main affirmative declarative clauses, it is described in all Gascon grammars, and it is used consistently in Gascon written materials. I also observed its usage and instruction in schools that teach Gascon. Although other énonciatifs, such as *e* and *be*, were also taught, many teachers informed me that their students extend the usage of *que* to contexts where other énonciatifs would appear, a finding that I observed as well.

In contrast to Moreux (2004) who argued that Occitan teachers do not transmit Gascon specificities, I found that the *énonciatif* was taught in all schools in regions within the *énonciatif* zone and is spreading in geographic scope, as it was taught in some schools outside the zone. Chapter 6 argued that the *énonciatif* is in fact surviving because the Gascon dialects with the strongest language maintenance efforts are those that have a systematic usage of the *énonciatif* system, thus causing this linguistic feature to become a property of standardized or normative Gascon. As a result, the *énonciatif* appears in Gascon grammars and written materials, thereby ensuring its future usage. Chapter 6 also showed that the *énonciatif* is viewed by speakers as a prominent, obligatory feature of the language. Young people use the *énonciatif* in text messages and some Gascon speakers do not delete the *énonciatif* when speaking to non-Gascon Occitan speakers, but do alter other Gascon-specific features like certain lexical items and the Pyrenean definite article.

More importantly, however, this study ultimately demonstrates how hope is not lost for endangered language communities. Gascon has retained a characteristic feature of the language that separates Gascon from not only the majority language, French, but also from its fellow minority Occitan languages and neighboring Romance languages. Even though the semantic base of the system will most likely gradually disappear in the near future, the *énonciatif* syntactic behavior, whereby a particle is placed before the finite verb in main affirmative declarative clauses, will remain stable. Without the teaching of this unique feature and its presence in Gascon grammars, there would be no reason for second language learners without any prior Gascon exposure to use such a morphosyntactic feature foreign to the rest of Romance. RLS efforts indeed produce significant results, which is why it is imperative that more funding and support be provided to the Gascon and larger Occitan community before nearly all of the native speakers are no longer present and Gascon and the other Occitan languages reach a level of extreme endangerment.

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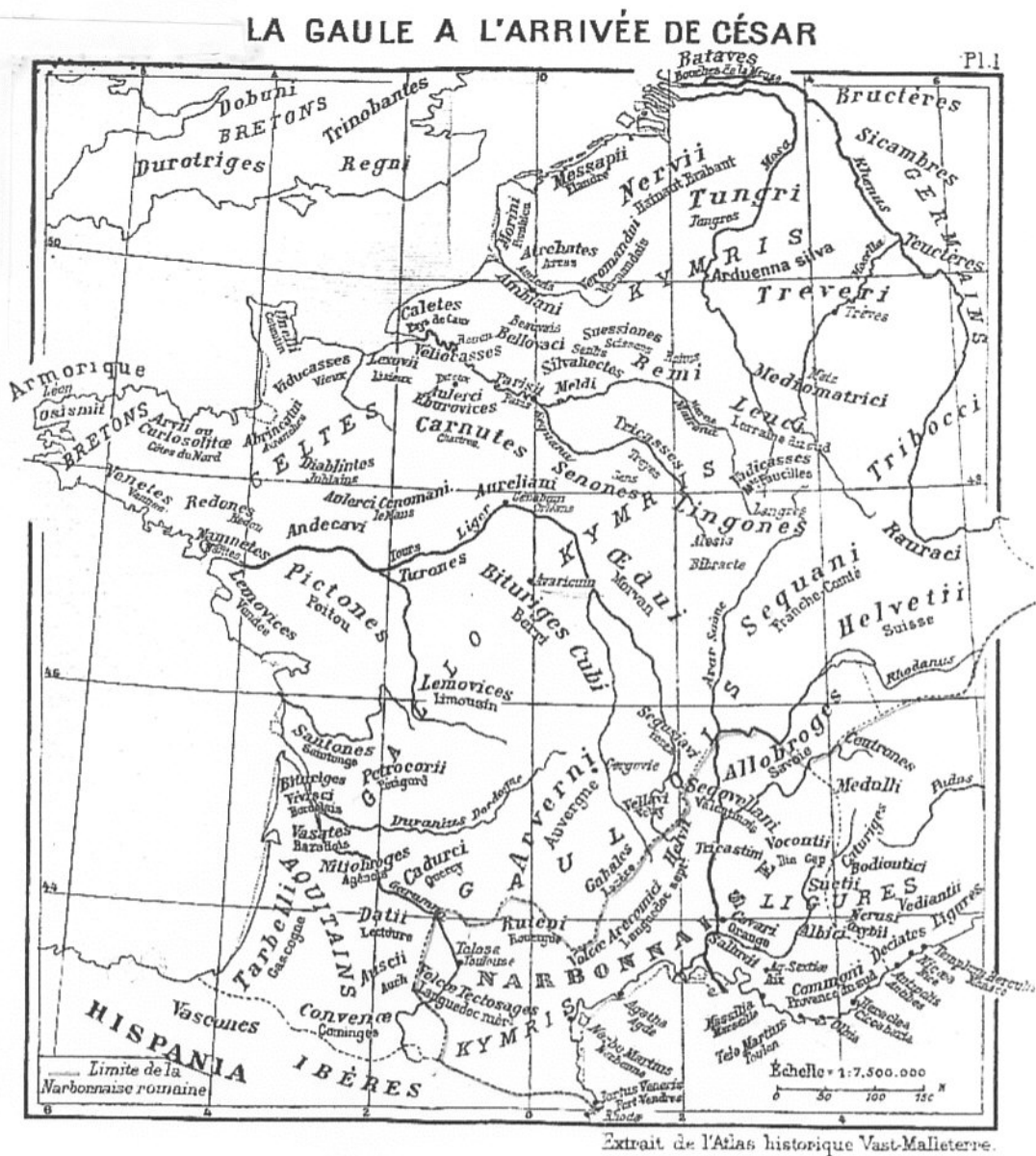
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Appendix A

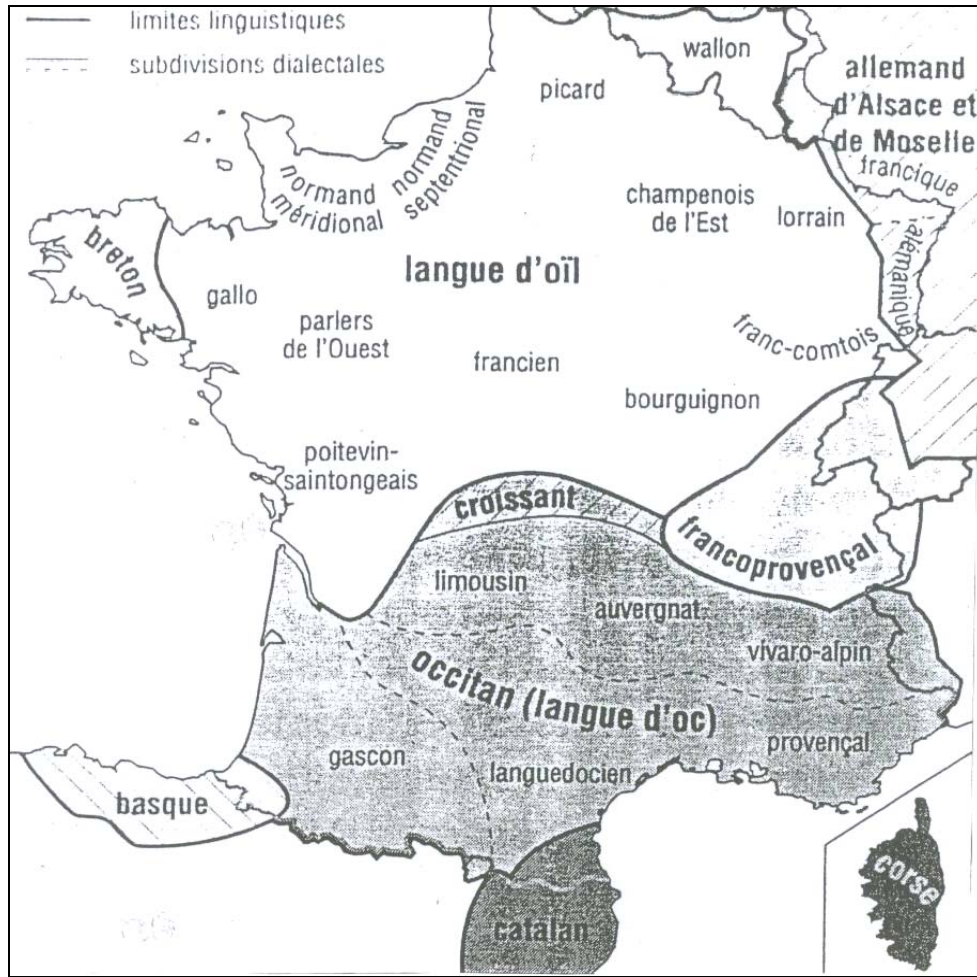
Maps of Gascony and its neighboring regions



MAP 1. Gaul upon the arrival of Julius Caesar

(the boundaries of modern-day Gascony correspond to the area marked as “Aquitains”; the Garonne River bears its ancient name, Garumna)

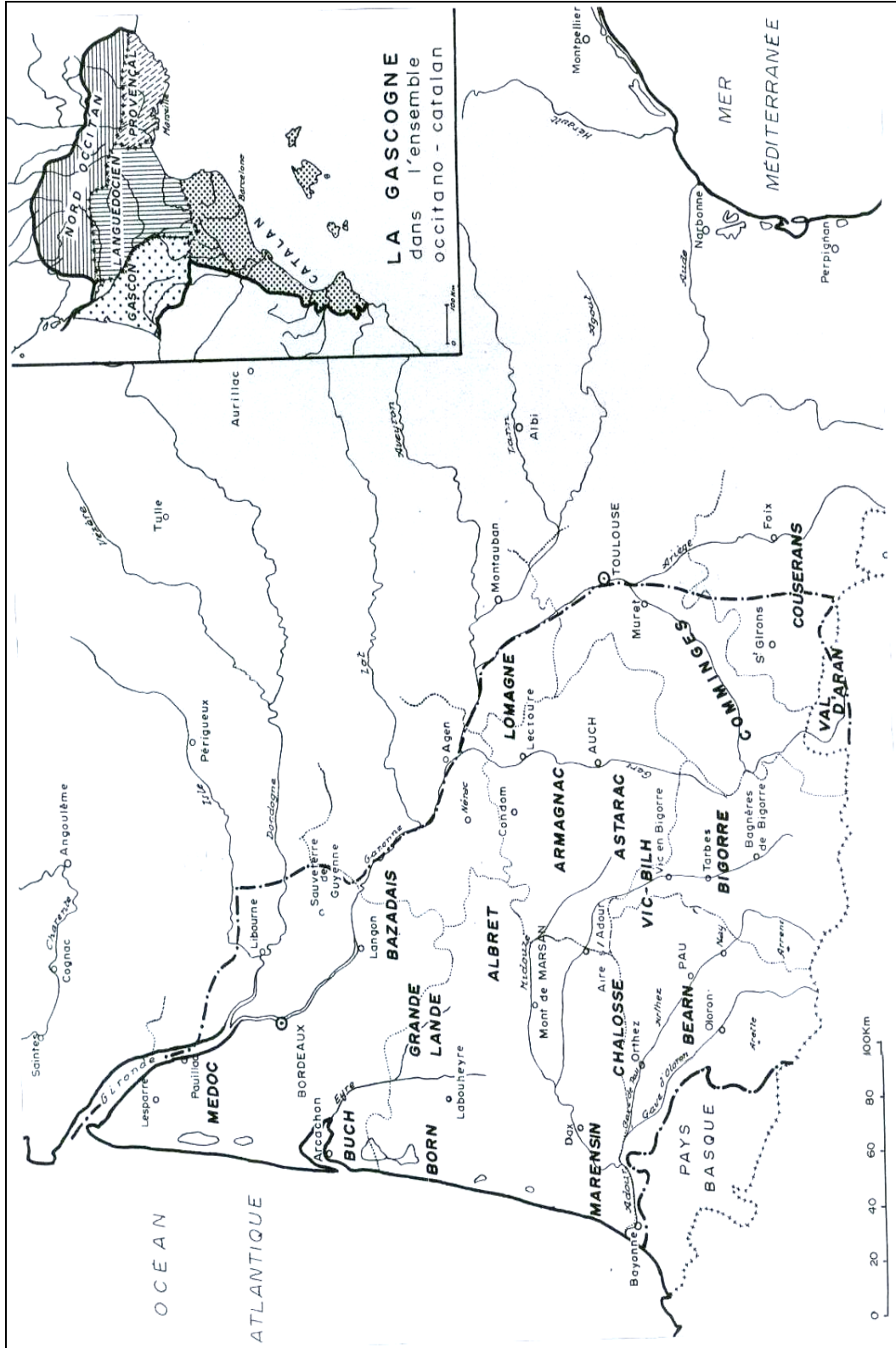
Source: (Constans & Denis 1906)



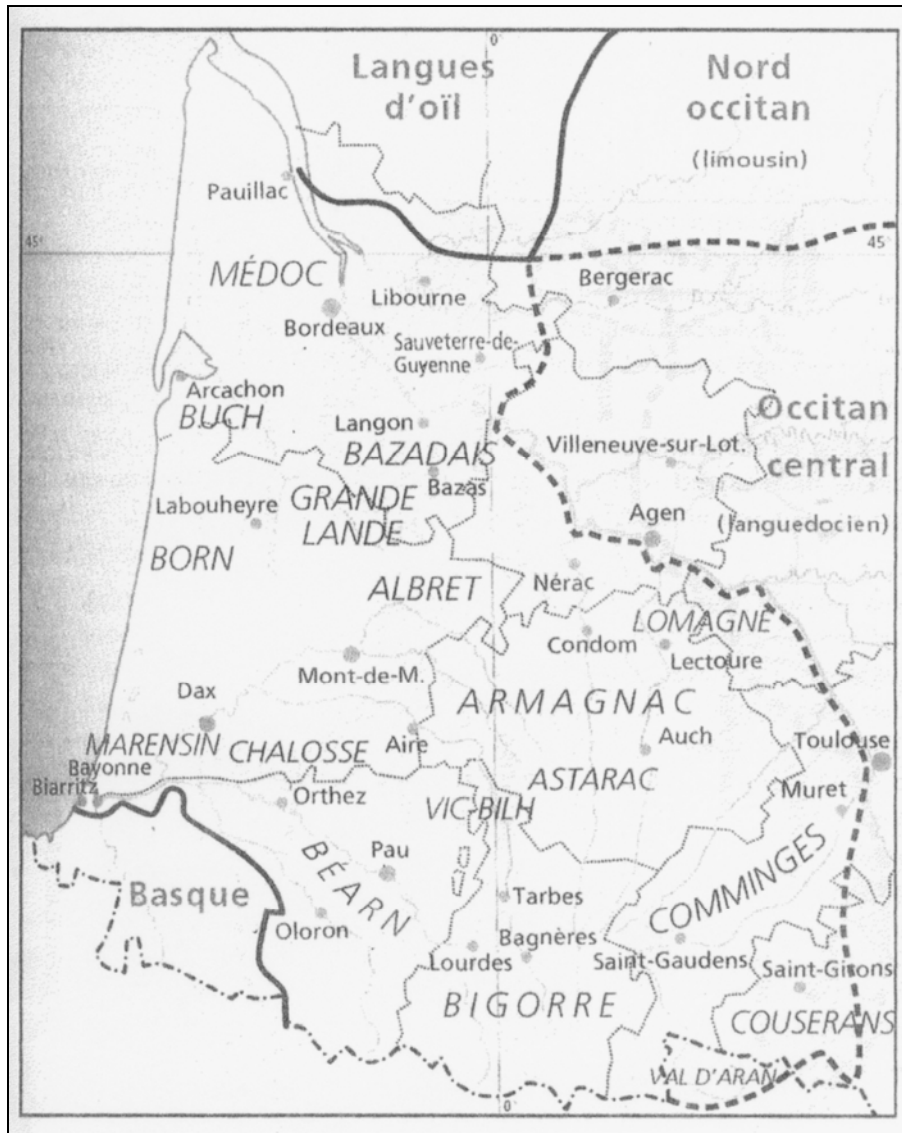
MAP 2. Languages of France

Source: (Sibille 2000: 13)

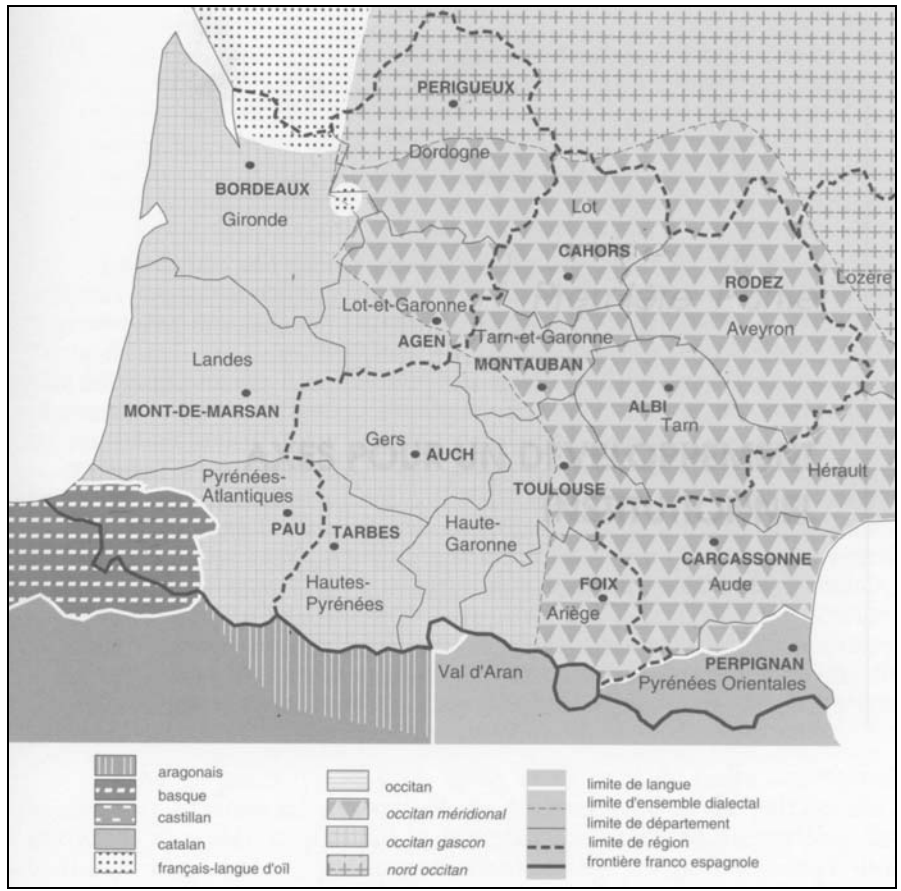
Maps 4a-e. Gascony



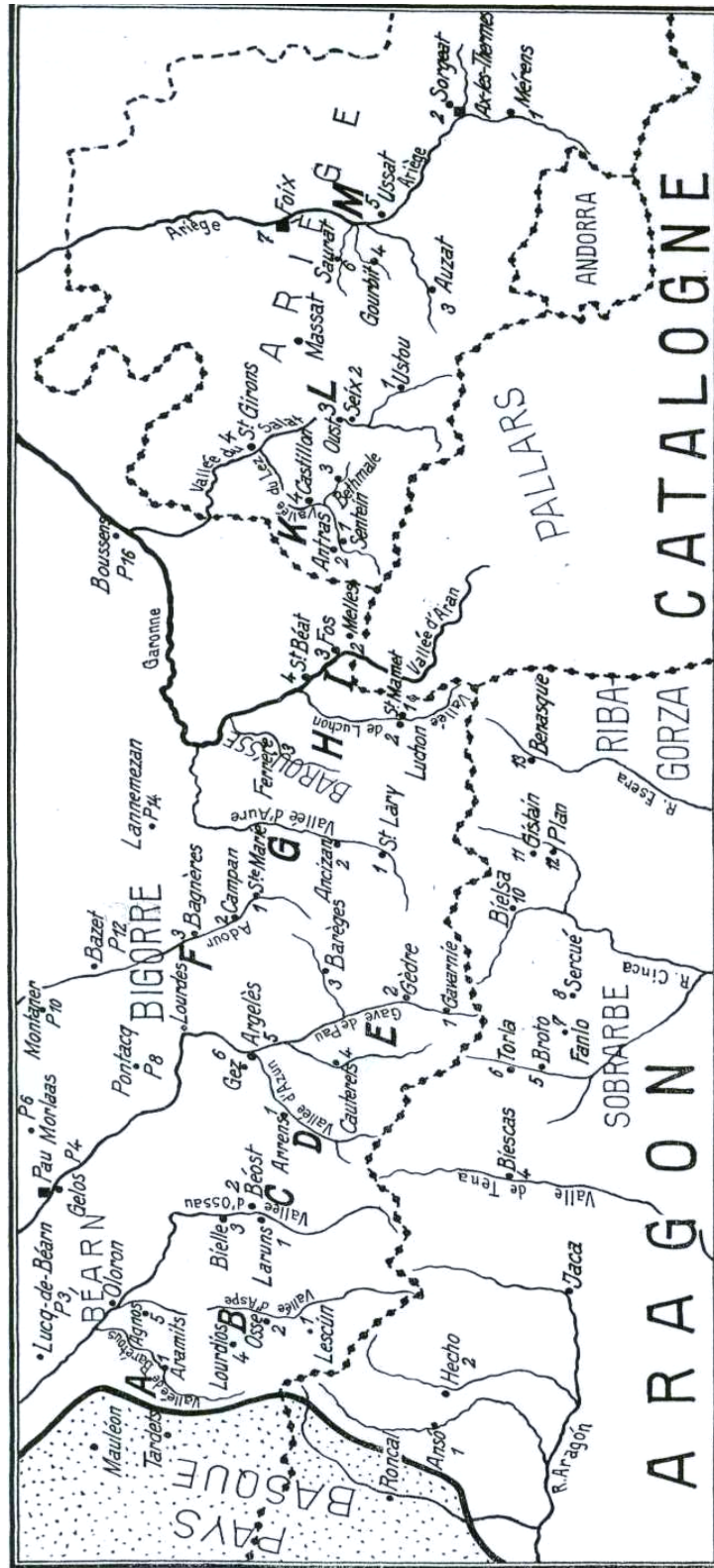
MAP 4a. Gascony
Source: (Darrigrand 1974)



MAP 4b. The (non-administrative) regional subdivisions within Gascony
 Source: (Coyos 2004: 53). Coyos reproduced from this map from Michel Grosclaude's *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille gascons*, édition 2003, Per Noste-Ràdio País, p.35.



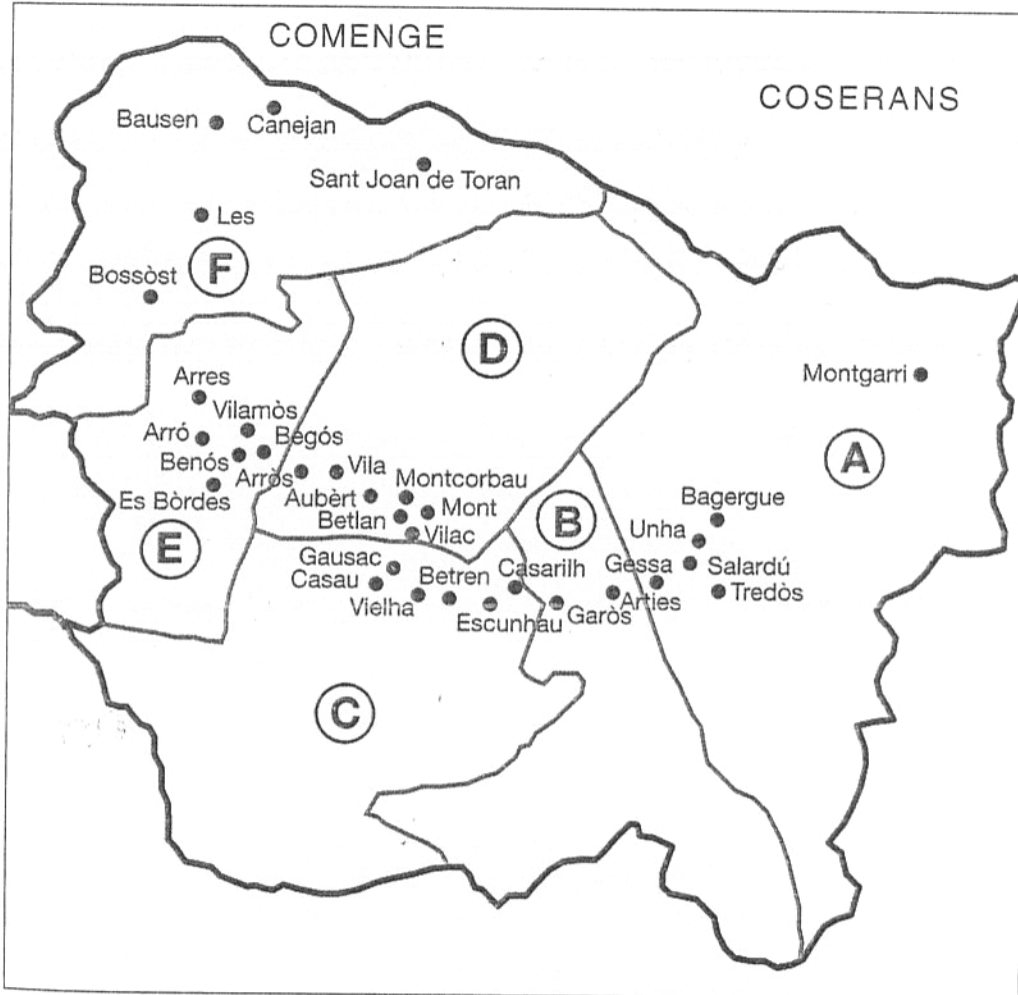
MAP 4c. The boundaries of the départements within Gascony
Source: (Viaut 1996: 29)



MAP 4d. Details the southern Gascon region
 Source: (Rohlfs 1970)

Maps 5a-b. Val d'Aran

Era Val d'Aran



Terçons

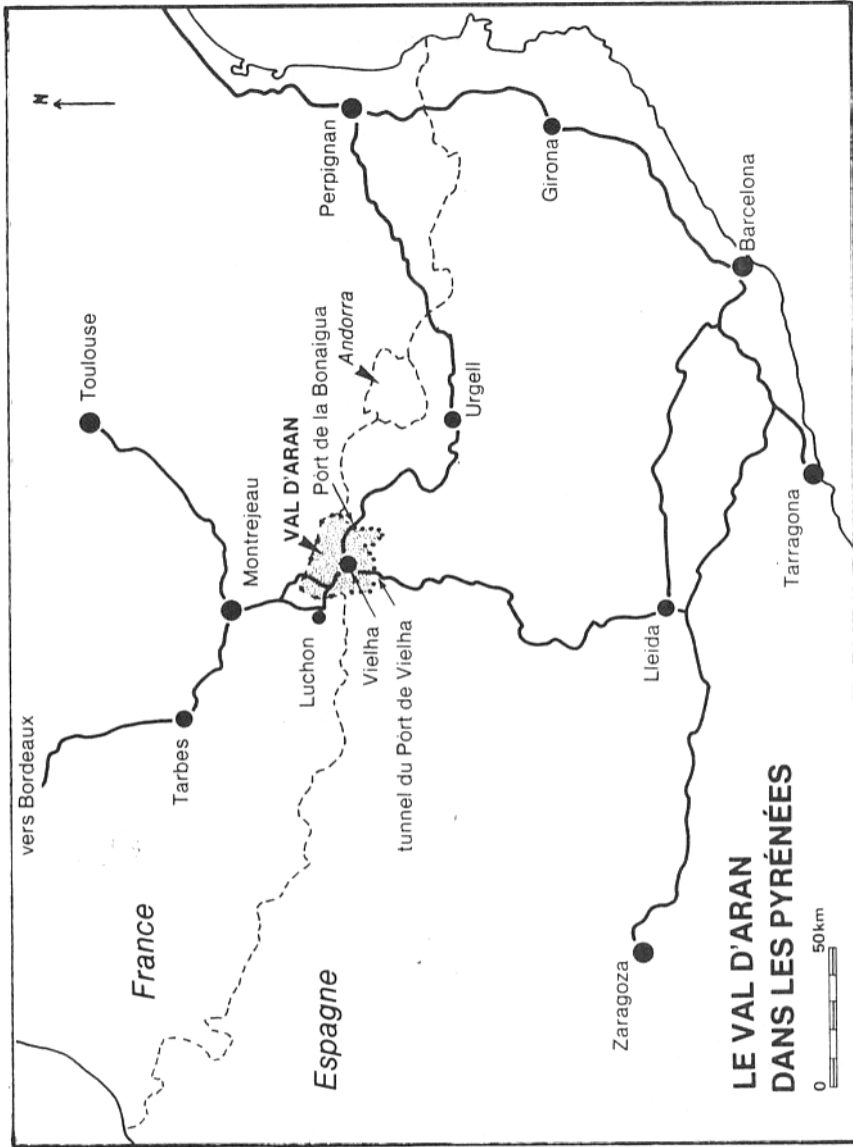
- A Pujòlo
- B Arties e Garòs
- C Castièro
- D Marcatosa
- E Lairissa
- F Es Quate Lòcs

MAP 5a.

Source: (Carrera 2007: 27)

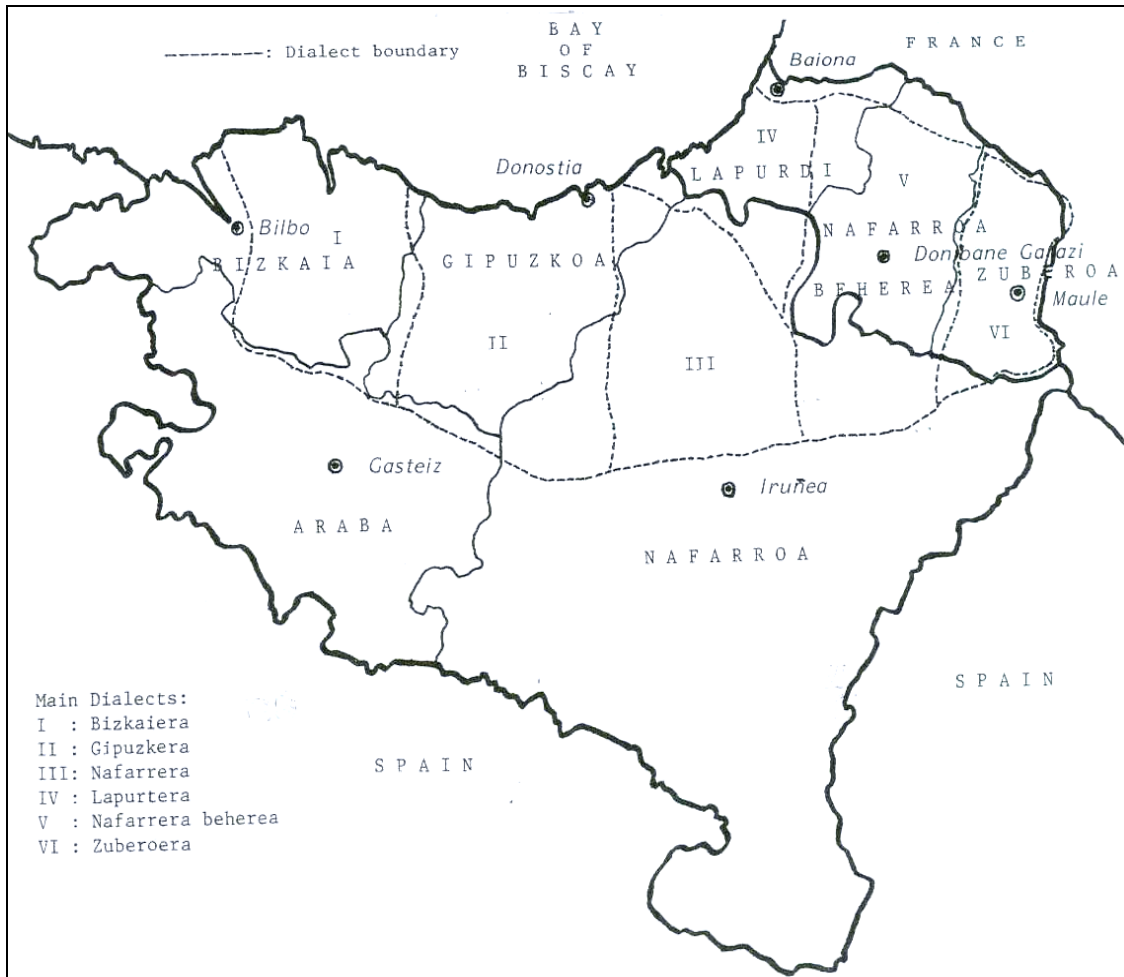
I would like to thank Aitor Carrera for providing me with the following more detailed descriptions of the geographical divisions of Val d'Aran:

- Areas A (Pujòlo) and B (Arties and Garòs) comprise the upper part of the valley
- Areas C (Castièro) and D (Marcatosa) comprise the central part of the valley
- Areas E (Lairissa) and F (Es Quate Lòcs) comprise the lower part of the valley



MAP 5b.
 Source: (Viaut 1987: 22)

Maps 6a-b. Basque region

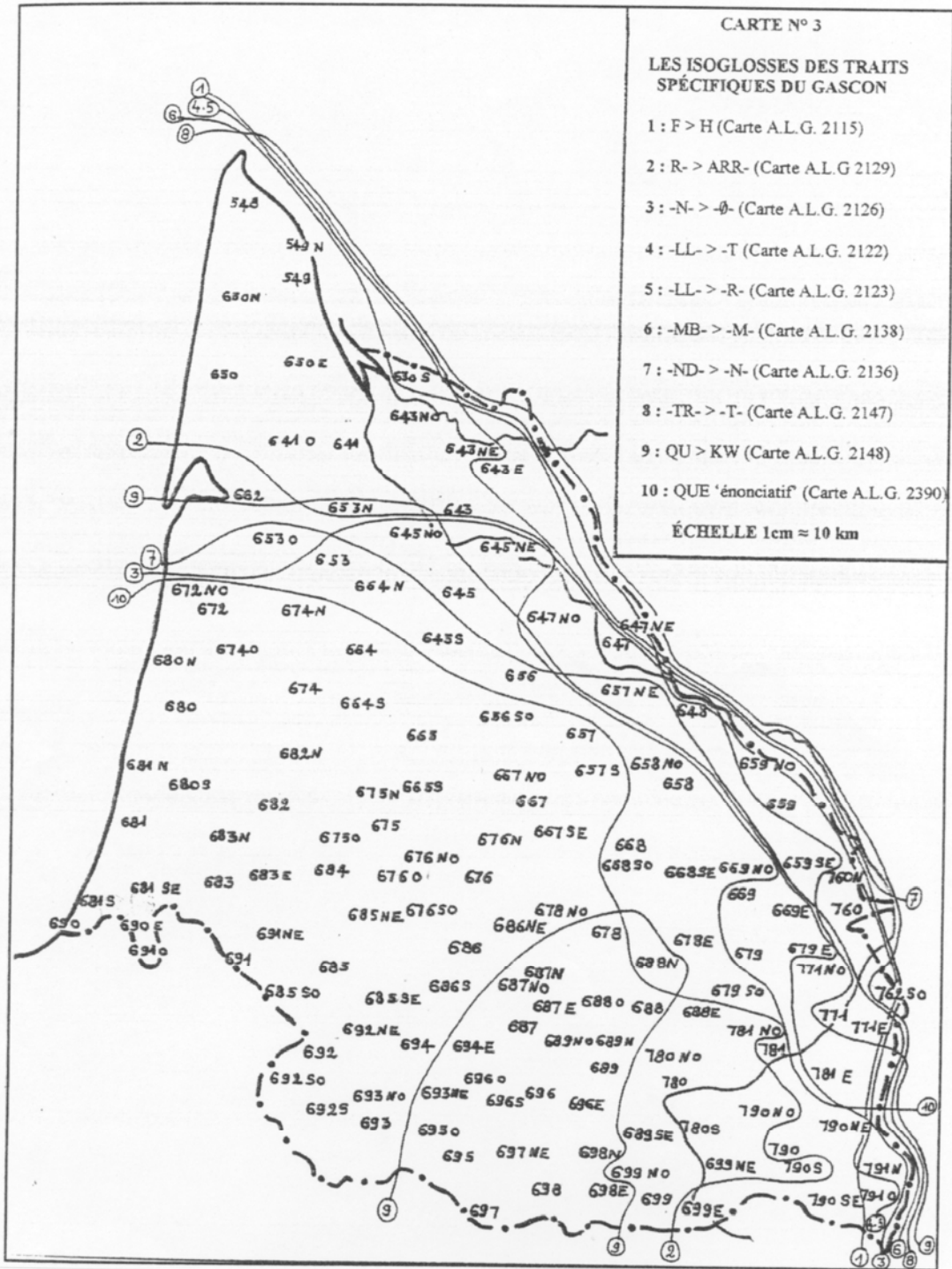


MAP 6a.
 Source: (Saltarelli 1988)

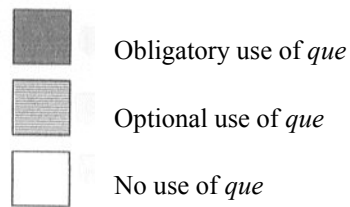


MAP 6b.
Source: (Aulestia & White 1990)

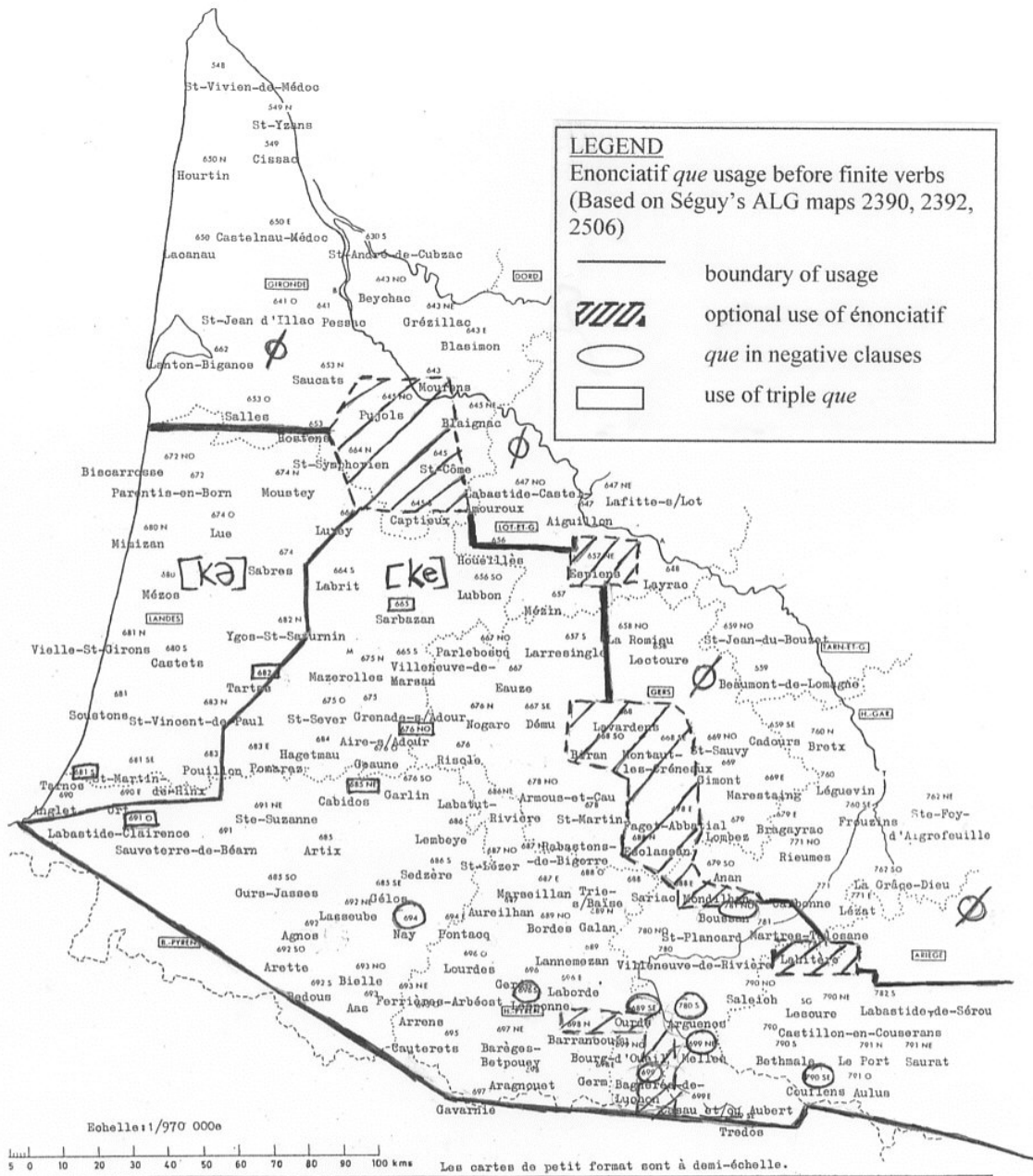
Maps 7a-e. Selected Gascon isoglosses



MAP 7a. Isoglosses of Gascon's unique features, compiled from Séguy's ALG
 Source: (Lartigue 2006: 27)



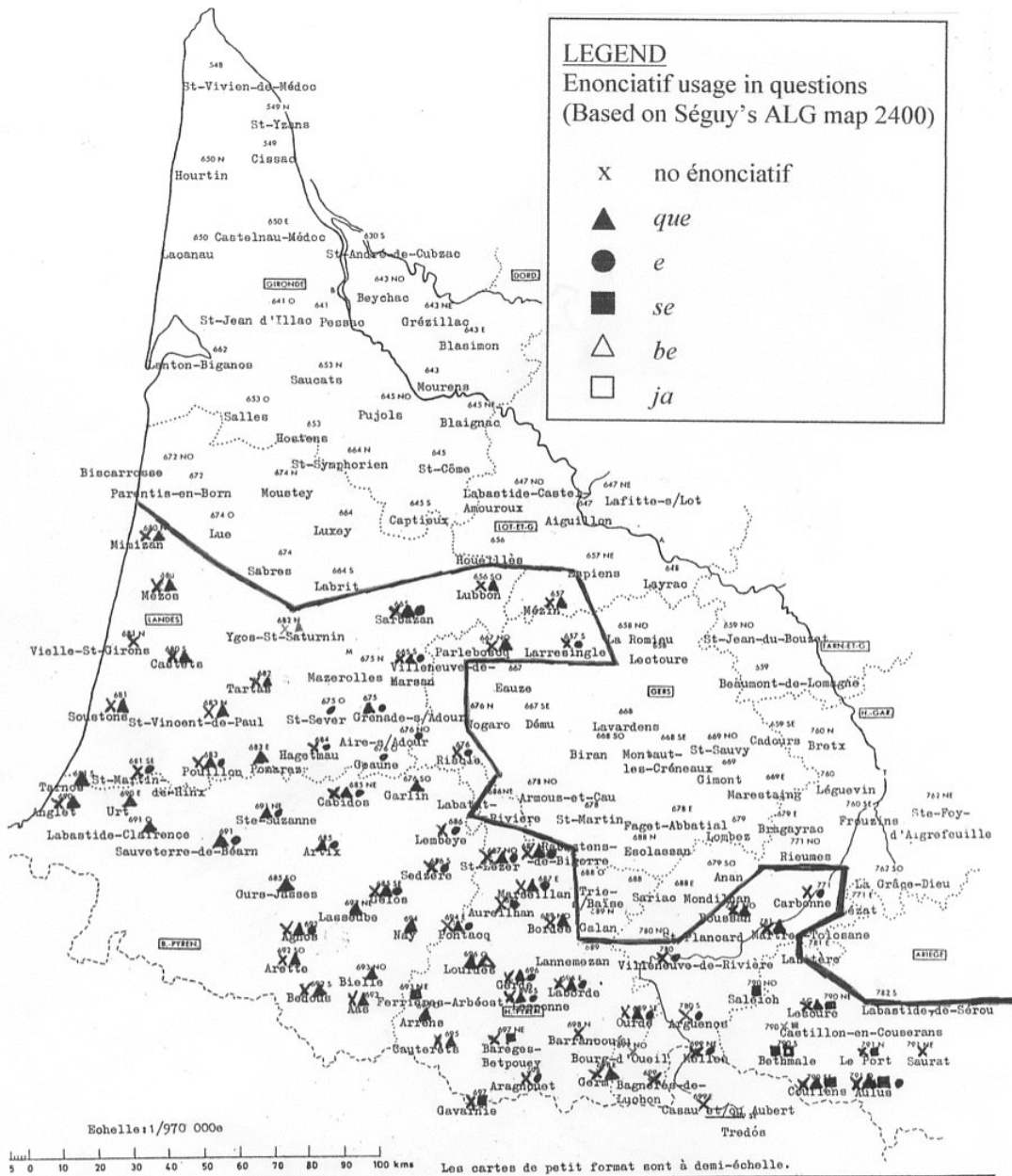
MAP 7b. Distribution of the énonciatif *que* before finite verbs (based on Séguy's ALG)
 Source: (Grosclaude & Narioo 1998: 13). The legend above was translated from the original.



MAP 7c. Distribution of the énonciatif *que* based on ALG maps 2390, 2392, 2506

Source: (Séguy 1973)

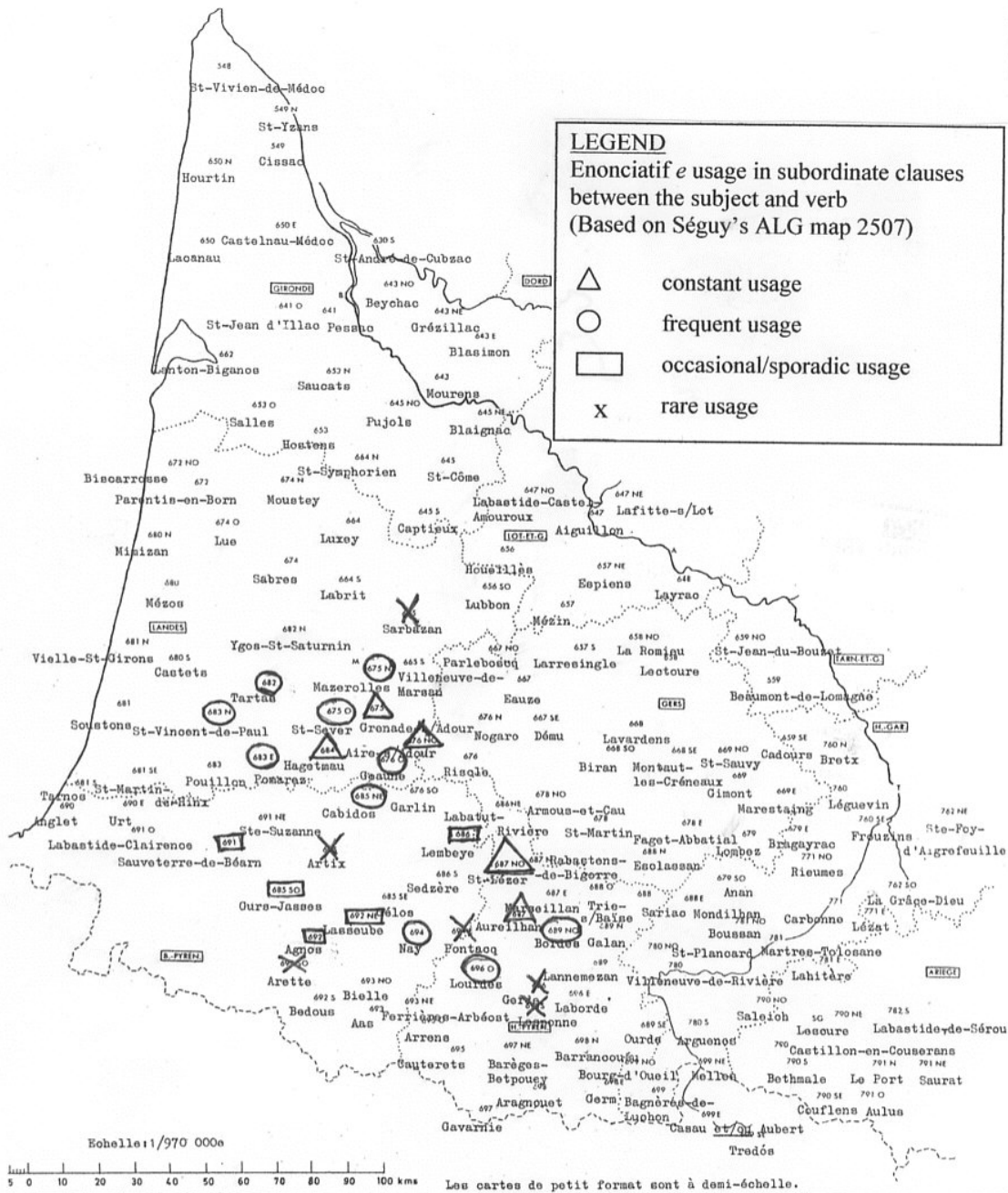
- The dark lines represent the borders of the énonciatif *que* occurring before finite verbs in affirmative clauses (ALG 2390). All regions outside these boundaries (marked with Ø) have no énonciatif. As the legend indicates, the dashed areas with diagonal lines indicate the sporadic appearance of *que*.
- Within these boundaries, the region to the left has the pronunciation [kə], while that to the right has [ke]. Séguy notes the following in his map 2390: *que* does not appear before imperative verbs, it occurs even when there is an expressed subject, and a pronoun can appear between it and the verb.
- The circled areas mark the occurrence of *que* in negative clauses (ALG 2392).
- The squared areas mark the triple use of *que* (ALG 2506): in sentences with subordinate clauses, *que* precedes the verb in the main clause, *que* is the form of the subordinator, and *que* precedes the verb in the subordinate clause.



MAP 7d. Distribution of the énonciatifs in questions based on ALG map 2400

Source: (Séguý 1973)

- The dark line represents the boundary of the areas where an énonciatif appeared in questions; the areas to the right of the line had no énonciatif.
- The legend above shows the symbols with the corresponding particle.



MAP 7e. Usage of the énonciatif *e* in subordinate clauses based on ALG map 2507

Source: (Séguy 1973)

- This data is based on the frequency of the usage of *e* appearing between the subject and verb in subordinate clauses. The subordinate clauses analyzed were conditional clauses introduced by *si* 'if' and temporal clauses introduced by *quan* 'when'.
- Séguy does not define the frequency with more detail than that presented in the legend: his definitions are "constant, fréquent, intermittent, rare".

Appendix B

Gascon phonetic charts and orthographic-phonetic correspondences

I. Gascon Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Labio-velar	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d			tʃ dʃ	k g	
Nasal		m			n		ɲ	ŋ	
Trill					r				
Fricative		β f		ð	s z	ʃ ʒ		ɣ	h
Affricate					ts dz	tʃ dʒ			
Lateral Approximant					l		ʎ		
Glide			w				j		

This chart is adapted from Bianchi & Viaut (1995). The sounds provided are on the phonetic, as opposed to the phonemic, level. Note that there are regional variations: not all of the sounds indicated occur in all regions. The trill is pronounced with more vibrations when it appears as a geminate: <rr>.

II. Gascon Monophthongs

Adapted from Bianchi & Viaut (1995) and Grosclaude & Narioo (1998)

	Front	Central	Back
High	i y		u
Mid-High	e		
Central			
Mid-Low	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

Dialectal Variants

- [ə]: variant for /e/ and /a/ in post-tonic position
- [o]: variant for /a/ in post-tonic position and /ɔ/ in word-final position
- /œ/: the Gascon spoken in Landes termed *gascon negre/gascon noir* has a different vowel distribution and has the following system: [i, y, ɛ, œ, a, ɔ, u]

Note: Unlike French, Gascon does not have contrastive vowel nasalization.

III. Gascon Diphthongs and Triphthongs

Adapted from Birabent & Salles-Loustau (1989) and Guilhemjoan (2006)

Diphthongs		Triphthongs	
With offglide [j]	With offglide [w]	Begin with offglide [j]	Begin with offglide [w]
[ej]	[iw]	[jej]	[wej]
[ɛj]	[ew]	[jew]	[wew]
[aj]	[ɛw]	[jɔw]	[waw]
[uj]	[aw]	[jaw]	
[ɔj]	[ɔw]		
[je]	[we]		
[ju]	[wɛ]		
[jɔ]	[wa]		
[ja]			

IV. Gascon Orthographic-Phonetic Correspondences

Adapted from Bianchi & Viaut (1995), Guilhemjoan (2006), and Flouthard & Housset (2008)¹

VOWELS		
Grapheme	Phonetic Realization	Examples
à	[a]	<i>gràcia</i> ‘grace’ [ˈgrasˈo/ -si]
a	[a] [o], [ə], or [ɔ] in post-tonic position	<i>parlar</i> ‘speak’ [ˈpalɔ/-ə/-ɔ]
è	[ɛ]	<i>pèth</i> ‘skin’ [pɛt]
e	[e]	<i>voler</i> ‘want’ [buˈle]
é	[e]	<i>preséncia</i> ‘presence’ [preˈzɛ̃nsˈiɔ/ -si]
i	[i] [j] in diphthong or triphthong	<i>cavilha</i> ‘ankle’ [kaˈβiɫo/ -ə] <i>mai</i> ‘May’ [maj]
í	[i]	<i>aquí</i> ‘there’ [aˈki]
ï	[i]	<i>païs</i> ‘country’ [ˈpaɪs]
o	[u] [w] before a vowel	<i>poma</i> ‘apple’ [ˈpumɔ/ -ə] <i>Joan</i> ‘John’ [ʒwã]
ó	[u]	<i>urós</i> ‘happy’ [yˈrus]
ò	[ɔ] [o] for some dialects in word-final position	<i>pòrta</i> ‘door’ [ˈpɔrto/ -ə] <i>aquò</i> ‘that’ [aˈko]
u	[y] [w] in diphthong or triphthong	<i>mut</i> ‘silent’ [myt] <i>madur</i> ‘ripe’ [maˈðy] <i>estiu</i> ‘summer’ [esˈtiw]
ú	[y]	<i>luxúria</i> ‘luxury’ [lyˈtsyˈrɔ/ -ri]
ü	[y] [w] in pre-nuclear position after <i>g, q</i> and before <i>è, e</i>	<i>flaüta</i> ‘flute’ [flaˈyto/ -ə] <i>enqüèra</i> ‘still’ [ɛ̃nˈkwɛro/ -ə]

¹ Bianchi & Viaut (1995) do not provide glosses for any of their words cited; the glosses were obtained by researching various Gascon dictionaries contained in the bibliography. Words whose glosses could not be obtained are marked by the following superscript symbol: †.

CONSONANTS		
Grapheme	Phonetic Realization	Examples
<i>b</i>	[b] [β] in intervocalic position [p] in word-final position	<i>bronze</i> ‘bronze’ [ˈbrũnze] <i>acabar</i> ‘complete’ [akaˈβa] <i>dab</i> ‘with’ [ˈdap]
<i>c</i>	[k] before <i>a, ò, o, u</i> [s] before <i>è, e, i</i>	<i>cama</i> ‘leg’ [ˈkamo/ -ə] <i>cèu</i> ‘sky’ [sɛw]
<i>ç</i>	[s] before <i>a, ò, o, u</i>	<i>hauçar</i> ‘raise’ [hawˈsa]
<i>cc</i>	[ts]	<i>accident</i> ‘accident’ [atsiˈðɛn]
<i>ch</i>	[tʃ] or [tʃ] [ʃ] for words borrowed from French	<i>chapar</i> ‘eat’ [tʃ/ tʃa pa] <i>chivau</i> ‘horse’ [ʃiˈβaw]
<i>d</i>	[d] [ð] in intervocalic position [t] in word-final position	<i>dessus</i> ‘on top’ [deˈsys] <i>madur</i> ‘ripe’ [maˈðy] <i>caud</i> ‘hot’ [kawt]
<i>f</i>	[f]	<i>favor</i> ‘favor’ [faˈβu]
<i>g</i>	[g] before <i>a, ò, o, u</i> [j] or [ʒ] in intervocalic position before <i>è, e, i</i> [ɣ] in intervocalic position <u>not</u> before the following: <i>è, e, i</i> [k], [tʃ], or [tʃ] in word-final position	<i>gauta</i> ‘mouth’ [ˈgawto/ -ə] <i>corregir</i> ‘correct’ [kureˈji / -ʒi] <i>amiga</i> ‘friend’ [aˈmiɣo] <i>filològ</i> ‘philologist’ [filuˈlɔk] <i>estug</i> [‡] [esˈtytʃ / -tʃ]
<i>gg</i>	[dʒ] or [dʒ]	<i>suggerir</i> ‘suggest’ [sydʒeˈri] / [sydʒeˈri]
<i>gu</i>	[g] before <i>è, e, i</i> [gw] before <i>a</i> (in general)	<i>guit</i> ‘duck’ [git] <i>guarir</i> ‘to cure’ [gwaˈri]
<i>h</i>	[h]	<i>harga</i> ‘forge’ [ˈharɣo/ -ə]
<i>j</i>	[j] or [ʒ] before <i>a, ò, o, u, e, è</i> [dʒ] or [dʒ] after <i>n</i>	<i>jòc</i> ‘game’ [jɔk] / [ʒɔk] <i>objècte</i> ‘object’ [uˈbjɛkte] / [uˈbʒɛkte] <i>minjar</i> ‘to eat’ [mĩnˈdʒa / -dʒa]
<i>l</i>	[l]	<i>ala</i> ‘wing’ [ˈalo/ -ə]
<i>lh</i>	[ʎ]	<i>miralh</i> ‘mirror’ [miˈraʎ]
<i>m</i>	[m] [n] in word-final position	<i>camp</i> ‘field’ [kãmp] <i>parlam</i> ‘we are speaking’ [parˈlãn]
<i>n</i>	[n] [ɲ], [ɲ] or Ø in word-final position	<i>anar</i> ‘to go’ [aˈna] <i>vin</i> ‘wine’ [bĩn / bĩɲ / bi]
<i>nh</i>	[ɲ]	<i>nhacar</i> ‘to bite’ [ɲaˈka]
<i>nt</i>	[n]	<i>hont</i> ‘fountain’ [hũn]
<i>p</i>	[p]	<i>capèth</i> ‘hat’ [kaˈpet]
<i>qu</i>	[k] [kw] for certain words followed by [a] ²	<i>aquò</i> ‘that’ [aˈko] <i>qualitat</i> ‘quality’ [kaliˈtat] <i>quan</i> ‘when’ [kwan]

² According to Rohlfs (1970: 159), Gascony is the only region of France which has preserved the older pronunciations [kw] (grapheme *qu*) and [gw] (grapheme *gu*) in certain contexts, retained from Germanic influence. [kw] in Gascon only occurs in the following words: *quan* [kwan] ‘when’, *quant* [kwan] ‘how much’, *quau* [kwaw] ‘what, which’, and *quate* [kwate] ‘four’ (Grosclaude 2000: 32). This phonetic archaism is shared with Catalan (Bec 1963): Catalan retains the pronunciations [kw] and [gw] in stressed syllables followed by the vowel [a] (Moll 1952).

Grapheme	Phonetic Realization	Examples
<i>r</i>	[r] Ø in word-final position	<i>pera</i> ‘pear’ [ˈpero/ -ə] <i>remèdi</i> ‘remedy’ [reˈmedi] <i>tèrra</i> ‘land’ [ˈtèro/ -ə] <i>anar</i> ‘to go’ [aˈna]
<i>s</i>	[s] [z] in intervocalic position	<i>sèt</i> ‘seven’ [set] <i>pesar</i> ‘to weigh’ [peˈza]
<i>sh</i>	[ʃ]	<i>shiular</i> ‘to whistle’ [ʃiwˈla]
<i>t</i>	[t]	<i>tocar</i> ‘to touch’ [tuˈka]
<i>tg</i>	[dʲ] or [dʒ] before <i>è, e, i</i>	<i>mainatge</i> ‘child’ [majˈnadʲe] / [majˈnadʒe]
<i>th</i>	[t], [tʰ], or [tʃ] in word-final position	<i>cotèth</i> ‘knife’ [kuˈtɛt] / [kuˈtɛtʰ] / [kuˈtɛtʃ]
<i>tj</i>	[dʲ] or [dʒ] before <i>a, ò, o, u</i>	<i>vilatjòt</i> ‘little village’ [bilaˈdʲot] / [bilaˈdʒot]
<i>tz</i>	[ts] in word-final position [dz] in intervocalic position	<i>putz</i> ‘well’ [pyts] <i>tretze</i> ‘thirteen’ [ˈtredze]
<i>v</i>	[b] [β] or [w] in intervocalic position [p] in word-final position	<i>vaca</i> ‘cow’ [ˈbako/ -ə] <i>cavilha</i> ‘ankle’ [kaˈβiʎo/ -ə] <i>hava</i> ‘bean’ [ˈhawo/ -ə] <i>sèrv</i> ‘serf’ [sɛrp]
<i>x</i>	[ts] in word-internal position [dz] when it occurs after <i>e</i> and before a vowel	<i>luxè</i> ‘luxury’ [ˈlytse] <i>exercici</i> ‘exercise’ [edzerˈsisi]
<i>xc</i>	[ts] or [ks] in word-internal position before <i>è, e, i</i>	<i>excès</i> ‘excess’ [eˈtsɛs] / [eˈksɛs]
<i>xs</i>	[ts] or [ks] in word-internal position	<i>exsudar</i> † [etsyˈda] / [eksyˈda]
<i>z</i>	[z]	<i>zèbre</i> ‘zebra’ [ˈzɛbre]

Appendix C

Tables: Data results from elicitations

LEGEND

∅ = no énonciatif was present before the finite verb in this context

? = data was not able to be determined

X = attempted to elicit the sentence, but the response provided was either not natural or did not correlate with the syntactic environment tested. For instance, in quotative clauses, participant 48 placed the quotative clause before the quotation: this environment does not correspond to the syntactic environment tested where the quotative clause, containing the verb of speaking followed by the owner of the quotation, must follow the quotation.

N/A = participant's data is not relevant to the question

Shaded cells = the sentence was not elicited

Blank cells = no data/response was provided

Y = used the construction elicited/responded yes to the context being questioned

N = did not use the construction elicited/responded no to the context being questioned

N* = participants did not use the construction, but had either heard it used by others or had seen it in grammars

, = participant had more than one response and the comma separates both possible constructions

/ = participant had a variant for one of the morphemes (this is relevant for the context of negation since some participants used *ne* or *non* for the negative morpheme and thus variation existed within a single speaker)

TABLE 1. Enonciatif usage in questions								
Part #	Age	Native lang	Dialect	Question	Semantic diff. ¹	Prefers <i>e</i> vs. <i>que</i>	Prefers <i>que</i> vs. <i>e</i>	Doesn't allow <i>que</i> at all
1	19	French	Bigorre	∅	N/A			Y
2	21	French	Comminges					
3	20	French	Comminges	se	N/A			Y
4	21	French	Bigorre	e, que	N			N
5	59	French	Bigorre	es que	N/A			N/A
6	78	French, Gascon	Bigorre	es que	N/A			N/A
7	80	French, Gascon	Bigorre	que	N/A			N
8	79	French, Gascon	Bigorre	que	N/A			N
9	24	French	Bigorre	e	N/A			N
10	51	French, Gascon	Gers/Bigorre	es que	N/A			N
11	32	French	Béarn	e, que, se	N		Y	N
12	25	French	Bigorre	e	N/A			Y
13	32	French	Béarn	e, que	N	Y		N
14	77	Gascon	Bigorre	que, e	N			N
15	60	French	Béarn	e, que	Y -que vs. e			N
16	33	French	Bigorre	e	N/A			Y
17	27	French	Béarn	∅, e	Y- ∅ vs. e			Y
18	24	French	Comminges	e	N/A			Y
19	57	French	Bigorre	e, que	Y - que vs. e			N
20	40	French	Bigorre	e, que	N		Y	N
21	22	French	Bigorre	e, que	N			N
22	36	French, Gascon	Béarn	e, que	N	Y		N
23	29	French	Béarn	e, se	Y - se vs. e			N/A
24	54	French	Béarn	e	N	Y		N
25	62	French, Gascon	Béarn	e, que	N			N
26	23	French	Béarn	e, que	N	Y		N
27	33	French	Béarn	que, e	N		Y	N
28	48	French	Béarn	e	N			Y
29	49	French	Béarn					
30	57	Spanish	Béarn	e, que	N	Y		N
31	75	French	Béarn	e, que	N	Y		N
32	80	Gascon	Béarn	e, que	N	Y		N
33	45	French	Armagnac	e, que	N	Y		N
34	51	French, Italian	Béarn	e, que	Y - que vs. e			N
35	66	Langue-docien	Béarn	e, que	N	Y		N
36	84	Gascon	Béarn	e, que	?			N
37	85	Gascon	Béarn	e, que	?			N

¹ This column refers to whether participants had a semantic/pragmatic difference in questions based on the choice of the énonciatif.

38	74	Gascon	Béarn	e, que	N			N
39	58	Gascon	Béarn	e, que	Y - que vs. e			N
40	85	French, Gascon	Béarn	e	?			N
41	40	French, Gascon	Béarn	e	N			Y
42	36	French	Béarn	e	N			Y
43	24	French	Béarn	e	N			Y
44	27	French, Gascon	Béarn	e, que	N		Y	N
45	51	French	Béarn	e, que	N	Y		N
46	39	Gascon	Béarn	e	N			Y
47	66	Gascon	Béarn	e	N			Y
48	62	Gascon	Béarn	e, que	N		Y	N
49	33	French, Gascon	Béarn	e	N			Y
50	54	French, Gascon	Béarn	e, que	N	Y		N
51	31	French	Béarn	e, que	N			N
52	70	Gascon	Béarn	e, que	Y - que vs. e			N
53	20	French	Armagnac/ Bigorre	e, Ø	N			Y
54	80	Gascon	Béarn	e	N			Y
55	22	French	Béarn	e, que	N			N
56	54	French	Béarn					
57	15	French	Béarn	all: e, que	all: N			all: N
58	14	French, Gascon	Béarn					
59	14	Gascon	Béarn					
60	14	French	Béarn					

TABLE 2. Enonciatif usage in wishes, dubitative sentences, & quotative clauses following the quotation						
Part #	Age	Native language	Dialect	Wish	Dubitative (peut-être) sentence	Quotative clause
1	19	French	Bigorre	X		Ø
2	21	French	Comminges			
3	20	French	Comminges	se		ça
4	21	French	Bigorre	X		que
5	59	French	Bigorre	Ø		que
6	78	French, Gascon	Bigorre	Ø		se
7	80	French, Gascon	Bigorre	se		X
8	79	French, Gascon	Bigorre	se		X
9	24	French	Bigorre	X		que
10	51	French, Gascon	Gers/Bigorre	Ø		Ø
11	32	French	Béarn	be, si		se
12	25	French	Bigorre			se
13	32	French	Béarn	e		se
14	77	Gascon	Bigorre	que		Ø
15	60	French	Béarn	Ø		e
16	33	French	Bigorre	e		se, Ø
17	27	French	Béarn	e		
18	24	French	Comminges	X		que
19	57	French	Bigorre	e		se
20	40	French	Bigorre	e		se
21	22	French	Bigorre	X		e
22	36	French, Gascon	Béarn	X	que	çò
23	29	French	Béarn	e	que	se
24	54	French	Béarn	e	e	se
25	62	French, Gascon	Béarn	e	e, que	se, Ø
26	23	French	Béarn	Ø	que	se
27	33	French	Béarn	Ø	que	Ø
28	48	French	Béarn	e	e	que
29	49	French	Béarn			
30	57	Spanish	Béarn	Ø	e	se
31	75	French	Béarn	e	que	se, Ø
32	80	Gascon	Béarn	e	e	se
33	45	French	Armagnac	be	que	se
34	51	French, Italian	Béarn	e	que	Ø
35	66	Languedocien	Béarn	e	que	se
36	84	Gascon	Béarn	que, Ø	que	X
37	85	Gascon	Béarn	que, Ø	que	X
38	74	Gascon	Béarn	que	que	X
39	58	Gascon	Béarn	si	que	Ø
40	85	French, Gascon	Béarn	Ø	que	X
41	40	French, Gascon	Béarn	e	que	se
42	36	French	Béarn	e	que	que
43	24	French	Béarn	X	que	se
44	27	French, Gascon	Béarn	be	que	se
45	51	French	Béarn	e	que	se
46	39	Gascon	Béarn	e	que	se

47	66	Gascon	Béarn	e	que	Ø
48	62	Gascon	Béarn	Ø	que	X
49	33	French, Gascon	Béarn	que	que	Ø
50	54	French, Gascon	Béarn	que	e, que	se
51	31	French	Béarn	e	que	se
52	70	Gascon	Béarn	e	que	que
53	20	French	Armagnac/ Bigorre	Ø	que	Ø
54	80	Gascon	Béarn	e	que	se
55	22	French	Béarn	e	e	Ø
56	54	French	Béarn			
57	15	French	Béarn	3: Ø	que, Ø	all: Ø
58	14	French, Gascon	Béarn	1: que		
59	14	Gascon	Béarn			
60	14	French	Béarn			

TABLE 3. Enonciatif usage in subordinate clauses								
Part #	Age	Native lang	Dialect	J'attends que...	J'ai pensé/ je pense que...	Je n'ai pas pensé/ Je ne pense pas que...	Triple <i>que</i>	Semantic diff.: énonciatif in sub clause
1	19	French	Bigorre	que	Ø	Ø	Y	N
2	21	French	Comminges					
3	20	French	Comminges	Ø	Ø	Ø	N	N
4	21	French	Bigorre	Ø	Ø		N	N
5	59	French	Bigorre	Ø	que, Ø		Y	N
6	78	French, Gascon	Bigorre	que	que		Y	N
7	80	French, Gascon	Bigorre	que	X		Y	
8	79	French, Gascon	Bigorre	que	X		Y	
9	24	French	Bigorre	Ø			N	N
10	51	French, Gascon	Gers/ Bigorre	Ø			N	
11	32	French	Béarn	e, Ø	e		N	N
12	25	French	Bigorre	Ø	Ø		N	N
13	32	French	Béarn	e	Ø w/out subordinator		N	N
14	77	Gascon	Bigorre	que	que, Ø		Y	N
15	60	French	Béarn	Ø	Ø, que		Y	Y: que vs. Ø
16	33	French	Bigorre	Ø	Ø		possible	N
17	27	French	Béarn	Ø	Ø		N	N
18	24	French	Comminges	e	e, Ø		N	N
19	57	French	Bigorre	Ø	e, Ø	e	N	N
20	40	French	Bigorre	Ø	que	que	Y	N
21	22	French	Bigorre	e, Ø	e, Ø	e, Ø	N	N
22	36	French, Gascon	Béarn	Ø	que	Ø	Y	N
23	29	French	Béarn	e	e, Ø	e, Ø	N	N
24	54	French	Béarn	Ø	e, Ø	e	N	N
25	62	French, Gascon	Béarn	e	e	e	N	N
26	23	French	Béarn	e	e	e	N	N
27	33	French	Béarn	Ø	Ø	Ø	N	N
28	48	French	Béarn	e	que	que	Y	N
29	49	French	Béarn					
30	57	Spanish	Béarn	e	Ø	Ø	N	N
31	75	French	Béarn	Ø	e	e	N	N
32	80	Gascon	Béarn	e	que	e; que w/out subordinator	N (said triple <i>que</i> not favored; but used	N

							triple <i>que</i> in reply)	
33	45	French	Armagnac	∅	∅	∅	possible	N
34	51	French, Italian	Béarn	e	que, e, ∅	que, e, ∅	Y	N
35	66	Langue- docien	Béarn	e	e, ∅; que w/out subordinator	e, ∅; que w/out subordinator	N	N
36	84	Gascon	Béarn	∅	que	que	Y	N
37	85	Gascon	Béarn	∅	que	que	Y	N
38	74	Gascon	Béarn	∅	que	que	Y	N
39	58	Gascon	Béarn	∅	que	que	Y	N
40	85	French, Gascon	Béarn	que	∅	∅	Y	N
41	40	French, Gascon	Béarn	e	e	e	N	N
42	36	French	Béarn	e	que, e, ∅	que, e, ∅	Y	N
43	24	French	Béarn	∅	∅	∅	N	N
44	27	French, Gascon	Béarn	X	que, e, ∅ (prefers que)	e	Y	N
45	51	French	Béarn	∅	∅ w/ or w/out subordinator, que w/out subordinator	∅	N	N
46	39	Gascon	Béarn	X	que	e	Y	N
47	66	Gascon	Béarn	∅	que	que	Y	N
48	62	Gascon	Béarn	∅	que	que	Y	N
49	33	French, Gascon	Béarn	?	que, e, ∅	que, e, ∅	Y	Y: que vs. e
50	54	French, Gascon	Béarn	e	e	e	possible	N
51	31	French	Béarn	que w/out subordi- nator	e; que w/out subordinator	e; que w/out subordinator	N	N
52	70	Gascon	Béarn	e	que, e	e, que	Y	N
53	20	French	Armagnac/ Bigorre	∅	∅	∅	possible	N
54	80	Gascon	Béarn	e	que, e	e	Y	N
55	22	French	Béarn	∅	e, ∅	e	N	N
56	54	French	Béarn					
57	15	French	Béarn	all: e, ∅	all :e, ∅	all: e, ∅	3: possible 1: no reply	all: N
58	14	French, Gascon	Béarn					
59	14	Gascon	Béarn					
60	14	French	Béarn					

Part #	Age	Native lang	Dialect	<i>be</i> usage	<i>be</i> initial	<i>be</i> final	<i>ja</i> usage	<i>ja</i> initial	<i>ja</i> final
1	19	French	Bigorre	N	N	N	N	N	N
2	21	French	Comminges	N	N	N			
3	20	French	Comminges	Y	Y (rare)	N	Y	Y	Y
4	21	French	Bigorre	Y	Y		N	N	N
5	59	French	Bigorre	X					
6	78	French, Gascon	Bigorre	Y	Y				
7	80	French, Gascon	Bigorre	X					
8	79	French, Gascon	Bigorre	X					
9	24	French	Bigorre	Y	Y				
10	51	French, Gascon	Gers/Bigorre	Y	N	Y	N*	N	N
11	32	French	Béarn	Y	Y (rare)		Y	N*	Y (rare)
12	25	French	Bigorre	Y	Y	Y: form is <i>ben</i>	Y	N	Y
13	32	French	Béarn	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
14	77	Gascon	Bigorre	N	N		N	N	N
15	60	French	Béarn	Y	Y		N	N	N
16	33	French	Bigorre	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y (rare)
17	27	French	Béarn	Y	Y	N	N*	N	N
18	24	French	Comminges	Y	Y		N*	N	N
19	57	French	Bigorre	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20	40	French	Bigorre	Y	Y (rare)	Y	Y	N	Y
21	22	French	Bigorre	Y	Y (rare)	Y	Y	Y (rare)	Y
22	36	French, Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
23	29	French	Béarn	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
24	54	French	Béarn	Y	Y (rare)	Y	N*	N	N
25	62	French, Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y	N	N	N	N*
26	23	French	Béarn	Y	Y (rare)	N	Y	Y (rare)	N
27	33	French	Béarn	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
28	48	French	Béarn	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
29	49	French	Béarn	Y	Y				
30	57	Spanish	Béarn	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y (rare)
31	75	French	Béarn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y (rare)
32	80	Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33	45	French	Armagnac	Y	Y	N*	Y	Y	Y (rare)
34	51	French, Italian	Béarn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N*	Y
35	66	Langue-docien	Béarn	Y	Y	Y	N*	N	N
36	84	Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y	N	N*	N	N
37	85	Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y	N	N*	N	N

38	74	Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
39	58	Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
40	85	French, Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y				
41	40	French, Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y	N*	Y	Y	Y
42	36	French	Béarn	Y	Y (rare)	N	N*	N	N
43	24	French	Béarn	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
44	27	French, Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y (rare)	Y	Y	N	Y
45	51	French	Béarn	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N*
46	39	Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
47	66	Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y (rare)
48	62	Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
49	33	French, Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
50	54	French, Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
51	31	French	Béarn	Y	Y (rare)	Y (rare)	Y	N*	Y
52	70	Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
53	20	French	Armagnac/ Bigorre	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
54	80	Gascon	Béarn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
55	22	French	Béarn	N	N	N	N	N	N
56	54	French	Béarn						
57	15	French	Béarn	all: Y	all: Y (rare)	all: N	all: Y	all: N	all: Y (rare)
58	14	French, Gascon	Béarn						
59	14	Gascon	Béarn						
60	14	French	Béarn						

Table 5. Enonciatif usage in negation							
Part #	Age	Native language	Dialect	Negation	<i>que ne/non...pas</i>	<i>...pas</i>	<i>que...pas</i>
1	19	French	Bigorre	non...pas	N		
2	21	French	Comminges				
3	20	French	Comminges	...pas	Y: emphasis	Y	Y
4	21	French	Bigorre	non...pas			
5	59	French	Bigorre	ne...pas			
6	78	French, Gascon	Bigorre	non...pas	Y		
7	80	French, Gascon	Bigorre	ne...pas			
8	79	French, Gascon	Bigorre	ne...pas			
9	24	French	Bigorre	non...pas	N		
10	51	French, Gascon	Gers/Bigorre	non...pas	N		
11	32	French	Béarn	non...pas	N		
12	25	French	Bigorre	ne...pas	N		
13	32	French	Béarn	ne...pas	N		
14	77	Gascon	Bigorre	ne/non...pas	Y		
15	60	French	Béarn	ne...pas	N	Y	
16	33	French	Bigorre	non...pas	N		
17	27	French	Béarn	ne...pas	N		
18	24	French	Comminges	ne...pas	N		N*
19	57	French	Bigorre	non...pas	N		
20	40	French	Bigorre	ne...pas	N		
21	22	French	Bigorre	non...pas, ...pas	N	Y	N*
22	36	French, Gascon	Béarn	ne...pas	N*		
23	29	French	Béarn	ne...pas	N*	Y	
24	54	French	Béarn	ne...pas	N		N
25	62	French, Gascon	Béarn	ne...pas	N	N	N
26	23	French	Béarn	ne/non...pas	N	Y	
27	33	French	Béarn	ne...pas	N	N	
28	48	French	Béarn	ne...pas	N	N	
29	49	French	Béarn				
30	57	Spanish	Béarn	ne...pas	N		
31	75	French	Béarn	ne...pas	N		
32	80	Gascon	Béarn	non...pas	N		
33	45	French	Armagnac	ne/non...pas	N	Y	N
34	51	French, Italian	Béarn	ne...pas	N	Y	N
35	66	Languedocien	Béarn	ne...pas	N	N	N
36	84	Gascon	Béarn	ne...pas			
37	85	Gascon	Béarn	ne...pas			
38	74	Gascon	Béarn	ne...pas	N		
39	58	Gascon	Béarn	ne...pas	N	N	
40	85	French, Gascon	Béarn	ne...pas	N		
41	40	French, Gascon	Béarn	ne...pas	N		
42	36	French	Béarn	ne...pas	N		
43	24	French	Béarn	ne...pas	N	Y	
44	27	French, Gascon	Béarn	ne...pas	N	N	
45	51	French	Béarn	non...pas	N	N	
46	39	Gascon	Béarn	non...pas	N	N	

47	66	Gascon	Béarn	ne...pas	N	Y	
48	62	Gascon	Béarn	non...pas	N	N	
49	33	French, Gascon	Béarn	ne...pas	N	Y	
50	54	French, Gascon	Béarn	ne...pas	N	N	
51	31	French	Béarn	ne...pas	Y: emphasis	Y	
52	70	Gascon	Béarn	non...pas	N	N	
53	20	French	Armagnac/ Bigorre	ne...pas	N*	Y	
54	80	Gascon	Béarn	ne...pas	N	N	
55	22	French	Béarn	ne...pas	Y	N	
56	54	French	Béarn	ne...pas			
57	15	French	Béarn	all: ne/non...pas	all: N	2: Y 2: ?	
58	14	French, Gascon	Béarn				
59	14	Gascon	Béarn				
60	14	French	Béarn				