Language-internal evidence for resisting contact-induced change in Gascon and Languedocien

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Perception and (historical) sound change

- Sound change can arise via the re-interpretation of secondary phonetic cues as being part of the primary signal (Ohala, 1989; 2003)
- E.g. Nasal assimilation *souvent* 'often' (exercise in *F603* with Barbara Vance, Fall 2022) Latin: *sobende* \rightarrow Proto-French: [sovend] \rightarrow [sovend] \rightarrow Old French: [sovant] \rightarrow Middle French: [suva]
- Some sound changes have yet to be explained via knowledge of synchronic phonetic data
 - The loss of the palatal lateral has been documented in the history of French (Ayres-Bennett, 1996; Lodge, 2004), but phonetic explanations have not been proposed
- \circ Aim: Explore possible explanations for loss of / Λ /, specifically in Occitan
 - Current change in progress
 - Data from Catalan and Spanish have shown loss of /ʎ/ with inconclusive results (Colantoni, 2004; Mooney & Hawkey, 2019)

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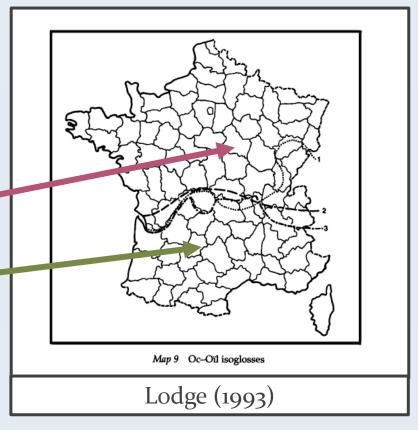
- History and development
- $\circ\,$ Gascon vs. Languedocien
- \circ / κ / in Gascon and Languedocien
- Research questions
- \circ Methodology
- o Results
- Discussion
- Conclusion

History and development

History G vs. L / Λ / RQs Corpus Methods Results Disc. French and Occitan followed the same patterns of sound change until around the Gallo-Romance period (ca. 5th century A.D.; Lodge, 1993)

> Langue d'oïl – Langue d'oc –

- Occitan's phonemic inventory retains phonemes that were eventually lost in French (e.g. $/\Lambda$ / and $/\beta$ /)
- Takeaway: Information about the phonological development of French and evidence of changes in progress for phonemes retained in modern Occitan can inform each other



Gascon vs. Languedocien

History G vs. L /λ/ RQs Corpus Methods Results Disc.

- Gascon (Mooney & Hawkey, 2019)
 - Appears to be sensitive to contact induced change from French
- Languedocien (Bec, 1973)
 - More conservative in retaining Occitan phonological features than other dialects

Given that both dialects have been in intense long-term contact with French (see Lodge, 1993) and are low in prestige (Valdman, 1983)...

What may account for Languedocien's apparent resistance to change when, like Gascon, it is in intense contact with French?

► /ʎ/ in Gascon and Languedocien

- History G vs. L /// RQs Corpus Methods
- Methods Results Disc. Conc.

- /λ/ is retained in modern Occitan (Müller, 2011) in positions where it was lost during the development of modern French (Lodge, 2004)
- Gascon (Mooney & Hawkey, 2019)
 - \circ / Λ / often realized with an accompanying glide-like segment:[Λ j]
 - \circ / Λ / sometimes realized word-medially and word-finally as [j], like in French
- o Languedocien (Bec, 1973; Oliviéri and Sauzet, 2016)
 - \circ / Λ / depalatalizes to [1] word finally

Does word position influence whether a palatal lateral segment is produced?

Research question #1

History G vs. L /ʎ/ RQs Corpus Methods Results Disc.

Conc.

Does $/\Lambda$ / seem to be associated more with the glide-like element or the lateral element depending on the dialect?

(a) Gascon speakers will associate /λ/ with neither the glidelike element, nor the lateral element Tokens of [λj] do not have longer [j] segments in Gascon (Mooney & Hawkey, 2019)

(b) Languedocien speakers will associate it more with the lateral element

/λ/ depalatalizes to [l] word finally in Languedocien, and it is generally more conservative than other Occitan dialects in retaining phonological features (Bec, 1973)

Research question #2

History G vs. L /λ/ RQs Corpus Methods Results Disc.

Are some word positions more likely to retain palatal lateral segments, [ʎ][ʎj], depending on the dialect?

(a) More likely to remain word-initially in Gascon [j] is attested word-medially and word-finally in Gascon (Mooney & Hawkey, 2019)

(b) Likely to remain word-initially and word-medially in Languedocien

/*\lambda*/ depalatalizes to [1] word finally in Languedocien (Bec, 1973; Oliviéri and Sauzet, 2016)

OcOr: a Corpus of Occitan Oral Narratives

History G vs. L

/ \ \

RQs

Methods

Results

Disc.

Conc.

• Three types of narratives:

- Written and traditional
- Oral and traditional
- Oral and contemporary

• Target: Oral and contemporary

- 12 recordings of storytellers at a festival in Toulouse
 - Anywhere from ~6 to ~19 minutes in length
 - Average length of ~11 minutes
 - About 2 hours and 16 minutes in total

• 4 speakers

- 2 Gascon speakers (1 man, 1 woman)
- 2 Languedocien speakers (1 man, 1 woman)
- All speak both French and Occitan

October 8, 2018 Open Access
OcOr : a Corpus of Occitan Oral Narratives
Marianne Vergez-Couret; Janice Carruthers
Contact person(s)
Marianne Vergez-Couret
Researcher(s)
Janice Carruthers

Methodology - extraction

History G vs. L /ʎ/ RQs Corpus Methods Results Disc.

1.

Transcriptions provided in OcOr Corpus (Vergez-Couret & Carruthers, 2018)

2. Found all instances of $/\Lambda/$

Used automated methods

181 tokens

Methodology - coding

History G vs. L /λ/ RQs Corpus Method

Results Disc. Conc. Dialect Gascon Languedocien

Position

Final Medial Initial

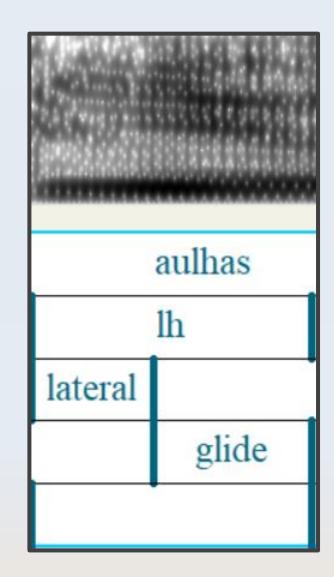
Variant

[λ j]

[j]

[1]

Duration lateral and glide segments in [ʎj]



Methodology - statistical analysis #1

History G vs. L /ʎ/ RQs Corpus Methods Results Disc. Conc. Does $/\Lambda$ seem to be associated more with a glidelike element or the lateral element depending on the dialect?

Mixed-effects linear regression

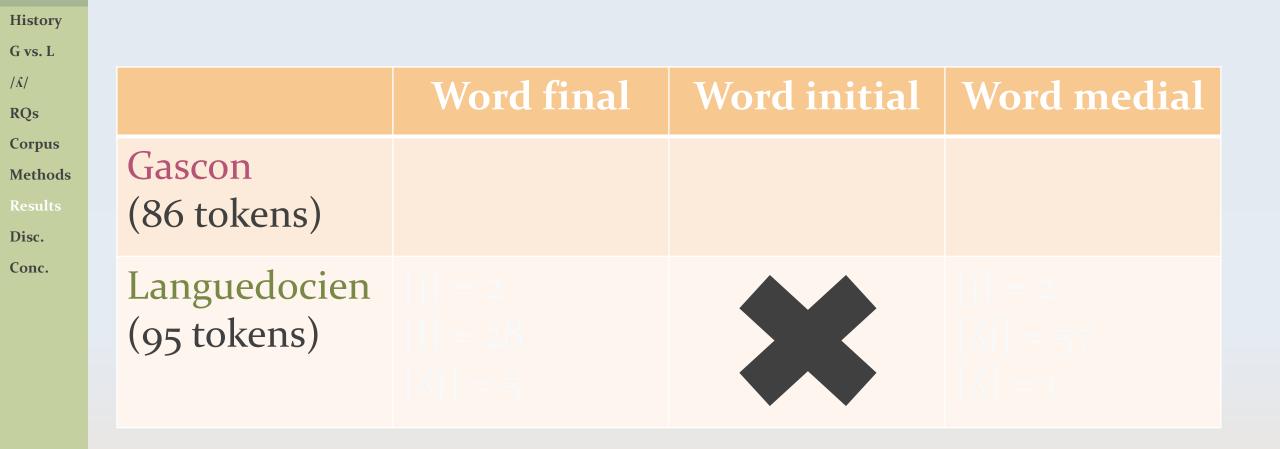
Dependent: Duration in tokens of [ʎj] <u>Factors</u>: (1) Segment, (2) Dialect, (3) Interaction between Segment and Dialect <u>Random intercepts</u>: Speaker & Word

Methodology - statistical analysis #2

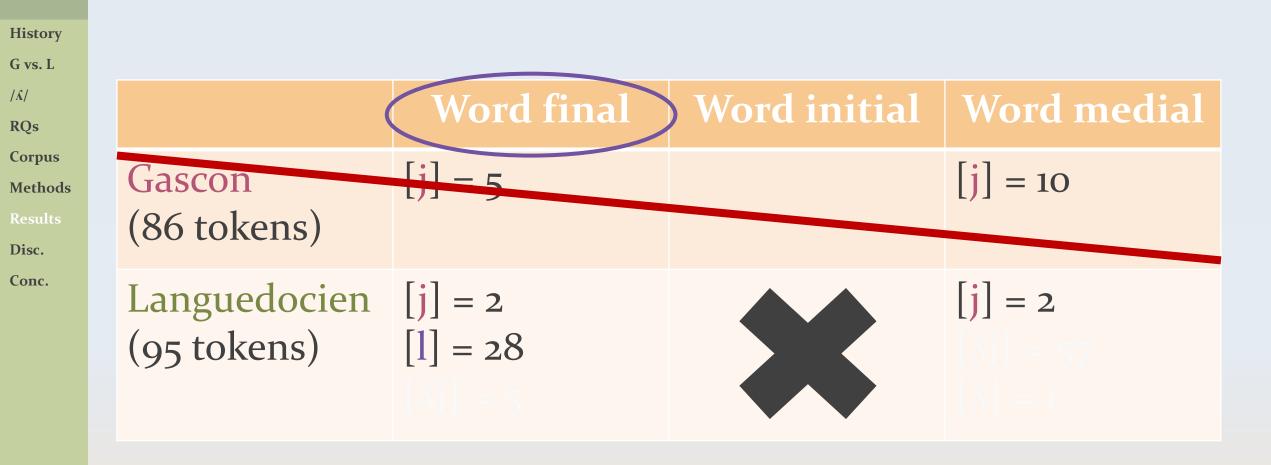
History G vs. L /λ/ RQs Corpus Methods Results Disc. Are some word positions more likely to retain palatal lateral segments, [ʎ][ʎj], depending on the dialect?

Mixed-effects logistic regression

Dependent: Presence of palatal lateral <u>Factors</u>: (1) Position, (2) Dialect, (3) Interaction between Position and Dialect <u>Random intercepts</u>: Speaker & Word



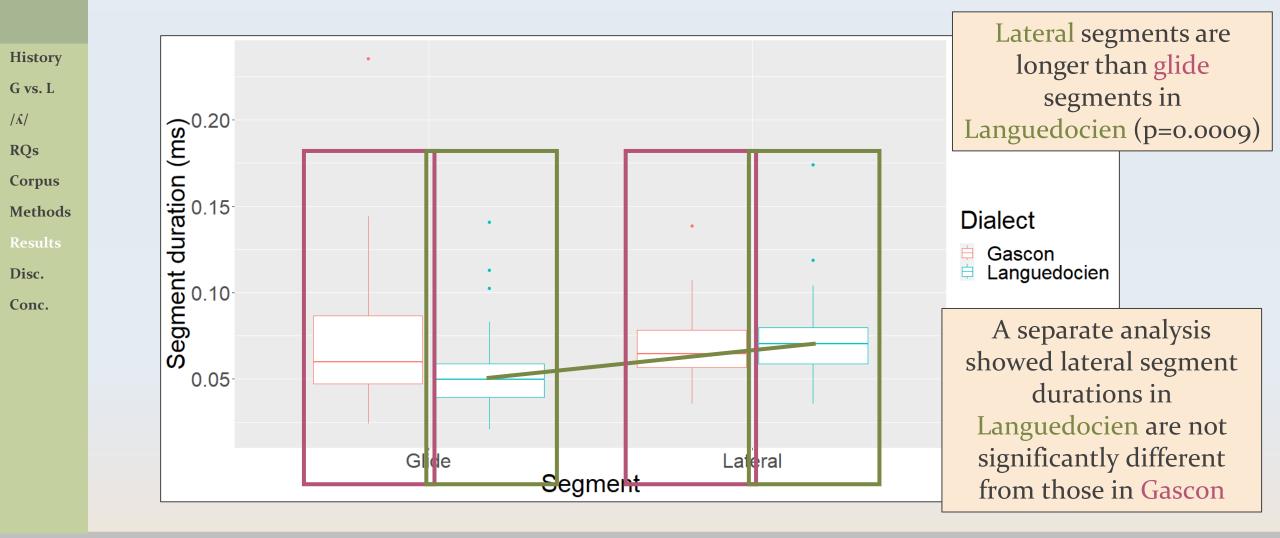
History				
G vs. L				
/ʎ/		Word final	Word initial	Word medial
RQs		WOIG IIIGI	WOR IIItiui	Word media
Corpus	C	[:] _		[:]
Methods	Gascon	$\lfloor j \rfloor = 5$		[j] = 10
Results	(86 tokens)			
Disc.	(OU tokens)			
Conc.	Languedocien (95 tokens)	[j] = 2 [1] = 28 [4] = 5		[j] = 2 [Λ] = 57 [Λ] = 1

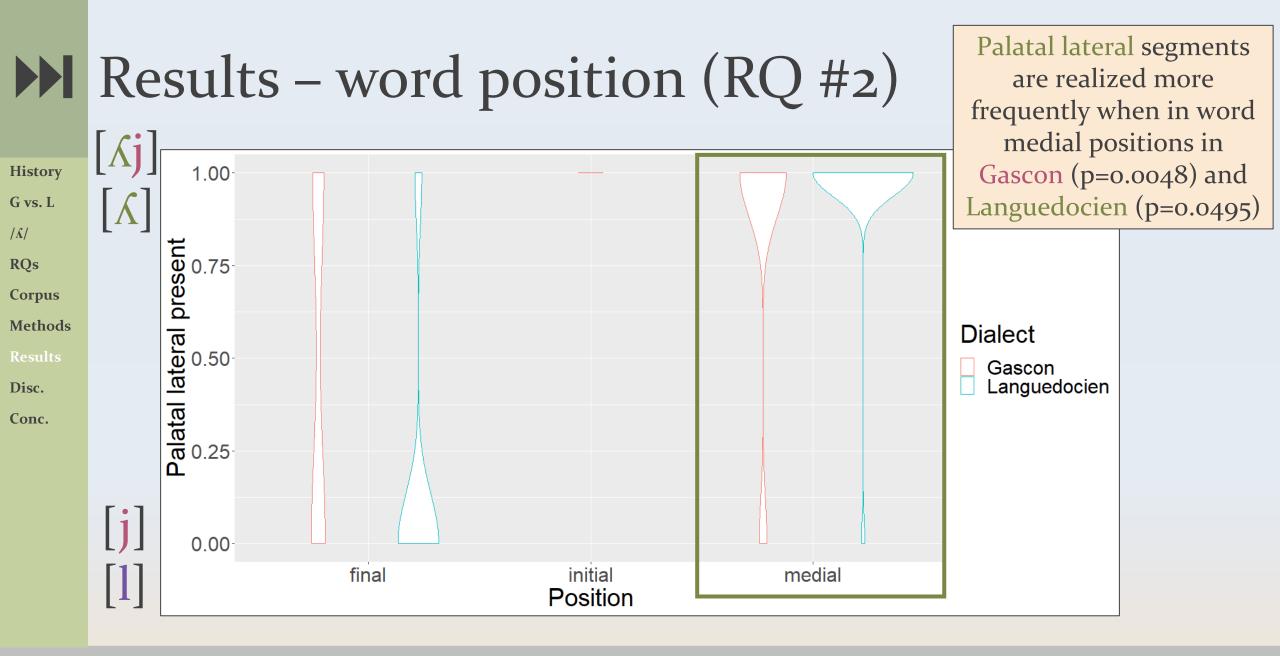


G vs. L				
G VS. L /λ/ RQs		Word final	Word initial	Word medial
Corpus Methods Results Disc.	Gascon (86 tokens)	[j] = 5 $[\Lambda j] = 4$	$\left[\Lambda \mathbf{j}\right] = 8$	[j] = 10 $[\Lambda j] = 59$
Conc.	Languedocien (95 tokens)	[j] = 2 [1] = 28 $[\Lambda j] = 5$		[j] = 2 $[\Lambda j] = 57$ $[\Lambda] = 1$

History

Results – segments in [ʎj] tokens (RQ #1)





Discussion – RQ #1

History G vs. L /ʎ/ RQs Corpus Methods Results Disc.

Conc.

Does $/\Lambda$ seem to be associated more with the glide-like element or the lateral element depending on the dialect?

- Gascon does not associate tokens of [ʎj] with the glide-like element or the lateral element
 - No significant difference between the duration of lateral segments and glide-like segments
 - Consistent with the results of (Mooney & Hawkey, 2019)
- \circ Languedocien associates tokens of [Λj] with the lateral element
 - Lateral segments are longer than glide-like segments
 - May reflect that for Languedocien speakers the lateral feature is more closely associated with $/\Lambda/$

\blacktriangleright / Λ / "protected" from change

- History G vs. L /λ/ RQs Corpus Methods Results Disc. Conc.
- Longer durations of /λ/ in tokens of [λj] may reflect that speakers associate the lateral element as the primary signal
 - Thereby "protecting" it from being associated with any other signal, related to the glide-like element or otherwise
 - Languedocien is also known to be more conservative in its retention of Occitan phonological features (Bec, 1973)
 - Could be that ideologies exist around the maintenance of this "standard" and that these ideologies prevent such changes from occurring

Discussion – RQ #2

History G vs. L /ʎ/ RQs Corpus Methods

- Results Disc.
- Conc.

Are some word positions more likely to retain palatal lateral segments, [ʎ][ʎj], depending on the dialect?

• Both Gascon and Languedocien retain the palatal lateral word-medially

- Results show that lateral segments are realized more frequently when in word-medial positions
- o Additionally...
 - Gascon never deleted the lateral segment word-initially, and only 14.5% of word-medial tokens were [j]
 - In Languedocien, 85.7% of word-final tokens did not contain a palatal lateral

• So...

Change seems to occur mostly word-finally

History G vs. L /ʎ/ RQs Corpus Methods Results

Conc.

- Already attested that /λ/ depalatalizes to [1] word finally in Languedocien (Bec, 1973; Oliviéri and Sauzet, 2016)
- o [j] also occurs word-finally in Gascon (Mooney & Hawkey, 2019)
- Given that Mooney & Hawkey (2019) propose /λ/ is being lost in Gascon due to contact with French...

How did French lose it in the first place?

Implications for French sound change

- History G vs. L /λ/ RQs Corpus Methods Results Disc. Conc.
- French had palatal laterals in intervocalic and word-final positions which all changed to [j] by the beginning of the 19th century (Ayres-Bennett, 1996)
 Word-initial palatal laterals were never formed (Foley, 1979)
- /λ/ realized as [λ] & [j] throughout the 17th and 18th centuries (Lodge, 2004)
 Let's look at an example of a word in modern French [j] is word-final in a position where there was historically /λ/ : œil 'eye'

CL	SL	GR	PF	OF	MidF	ModF
oculum	əklə	υολο	ωεγε	wελ	œλ	<i>g</i> ej

- Development of liaison and enchainment (Rickard, 1989)
- *Mon œil est bleu* 'my eye is blue' \rightarrow [œʎ.jɛ] \rightarrow lenition/deletion of coda
 - Change would then spread to word-medial positions

Conclusion

History G vs. L

- /ʎ/
- RQs
- Corpus
- Methods
- Results
- Disc.
- Conc.

- Evidence from phonetic changes in progress can inform us about historical sound change (see Ohala, 2003)
 - My data suggest Languedocien speakers may resist contact induced change in that lateral segments are likely the primary signal
 - Additionally, palatal lateral loss seems to be most prominent word finally
 - Offered a possible analysis of how this could have occurred in the history of French

• Limitations and future work

- Conduct a larger level study with more speakers and more tokens
- Run a study to determine attitudes towards Languedocien vs Gascon
- Explore whether this change seems to be above or below the level of conscious for speakers

Mercés!

Thanks to Dr. Barbara Vance for a great semester in her course *History of the French Language* in Fall 2022, and to Dr. Liz Hebbard for encouraging and enabling my research on varieties of modern Occitan (and for being just as excited about palatal laterals as I am during Old Occitan reading group)

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M Appendix

- Six varieties of modern Occitan (all endangered)
 - Focus: Gascon and Languedocien (Languedoc)
 - o Limousin, Auvergnat, Provençal, and Vivaro-Alpin
- Around 600,000 fluent speakers while up to
 1.6 million are occasional speakers (*Minority Rights Group International*)
- Historical seat of Occitan's cultural, political, and linguistic influence was at Toulouse (Lodge, 1993)

