

9. Variation in the Gallo-Romance left periphery: V2, complementizers, and the Gascon enunciative system
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9.1. Introduction

In his overview of langue d'oïl varieties, Smith (2016:310) perceptively notes that '[k]ey to a diachronic understanding of two major aspects of contemporary French syntax – inversion and the use of subject clitics – is the role played by the “verb-second” (V2) constraint at earlier stages of the language.’ This V2 constraint consists in an operation which moves the finite verb to the vacant C(omplementizer) position, with concomitant fronting of a pragmatically-salient focus / theme constituent to an operator position to its immediate left (for a recent overview and references, see Wolfe 2018c). This regularly results in so-called verb-subject inversion whenever constituent-fronting does not target the subject (1a), and also explains the emergence of subject clitics from weakened forms of erstwhile tonic subject pronouns: the latter, despite the positive setting of the null-subject parameter, exceptionally surface in the operator position as a last resort mechanism to satisfy the second-position requirement of the verb inthetic clauses and utterances consisting of a simple verb. Witness the use of overt expletives (1b).¹

- old French (13th c.) : *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César, Eneas* (<https://tvof.ac.uk>)
- (1) a [CP [la] fu [TP il ~~fu~~ noiés ~~la~~]] (§608,2)
 there be.PST.IND.3SG he drown.PTCP.NOM.MSG
 ‘he drowned there’
- b [CP [il] lor avint [TP ~~lor~~ avint une grans mescheance]] (§608, 2)
 it them.DAT=happen.PST.IND.3SG a great misfortune
 ‘a great misfortune befell them’

Thus, although the syntax of modern French is no longer V2, the persistence, at least in higher registers, of inversion in certain non-veridical polarity contexts (2a) and the rise of subject clitics, with concomitant reversal in the null-subject parameter such that today all finite clauses must contain an overt pronominal / lexical preverbal subject (2b), are manifestly the residue and reinterpretation of an original V2 rule.

- modern French
- (2) a [CP [Que] lui as- [TP tu as dit ~~que~~?]]
 what him.DAT=have.PRS.IND.2SG you said
- b [TP Elle / Marie /**pro mange.]
 she Marie pro eat.PRS.IND.3SG

The diachronic path and facts sketched here for French, although broadly true of other Gallo-Romance varieties including Occitan, northern Italian dialects, Friulian, and Francoprovençal (see §2.2), do not however hold for (central) Gascon varieties. Although medieval Occitan varieties, including Gascon (cf. Joseph 1992:486-90), have been argued to be V2 (Vance, Donaldson, and Steiner 2009; Donaldson 2015; 2016; Wolfe 2018a,b; Salvesen, this volume), regularly licensing inversion structures such as (3a) as in old French, medieval Gascon differs from the latter in freely licensing apparent V1 structures (see 3b) concealing a phonologically null pronominal (shift/default) topic in the initial operator position (cf. Wolfe 2018b:§2.2.5).

¹ In what follows free translations are only provided where the intended meaning cannot otherwise be inferred from the glosses.

old Gascon (11th c.): Fors de Béarn

- (3) a [CP [aqueste carta] pausam [TPnos totz très pausam aqueste carta sober
this charter place.PRS.IND.1PL we all three on
l' autar de Santa-Fee]] (XXVI, 42)
the altar of holy-faith
'we all three place this charter on the altar of Holy Faith'
b [CP [pro_{Top}] Judyà [TPla cort judya a Morlaas que [...]]] (XVIII, 30)
judge.PST.IND.3SG the court to Morlaàs that
'The court in Morlaàs judged that...'

Given the availability of V1 structures such as (3b) in apparent violation of the superficial PF-driven V2 requirement otherwise active in old French, the last resort mechanism of pronominal insertion never arose in Gascon which remains a null-subject language displaying neither subject clitics (4b) nor French-style inversion (4a).

modern Gascon

- (4) a E tu [CP [que] [TP l' as (**tu) dit?]] (Palay 1927:9)
and you what him.DAT=have.PRS.IND.2SG you say.PTCP
b Tu / pro que minyos. (Bonaparte 1878:3)
you pro que eat.PRS.IND.2SG
'You are eating.'

This suggests that changes in medieval V2 syntax were not uniform across Gallo-Romance, but involve at least two possible outcomes as exemplified by the contrasting behaviour of modern French and Gascon in (2) and (4). These differences in the availability of inversion (viz. V-to-C movement) and subject clitics, the latter an instantiation of a broader structural requirement (viz. EPP feature on T) that all finite clauses realize a dedicated preverbal subject position, are argued below to follow from changes in the V2 constraint singled out by Smith. In particular, I will demonstrate that whereas modern French and other Gallo-Romance varieties exhibit, at best, residual effects of an original V2 syntax (§2.2), modern (central) Gascon can be argued, at a certain level of abstraction, to continue a fully active V2 syntax (§3). In the passage from medieval to modern Gascon, this V2 syntax has undergone a radical change in its formal realization such that it is no longer satisfied through the Move option raising the finite verb to the C position, but through the Merge option directly lexicalizing the latter position with a so-called 'enunciative' particle such as *que* in (4b).

9.2. Strong / weak C dimension

9.2.1 Medieval Gallo-Romance: strong C

I adopt here the traditional intuition that clauses are nominal, as evidenced by the fact that in embedded contexts they are headed in Romance by complementizers which continue original D elements (cf. Latin relativizer / interrogative paradigms in QU- > [k]-, SEI > SI > *si/se* 'if' from proto-IE *[so] 'this/that'). Indeed, according to Manzini and Savoia (2003; 2011) C (complementizer) is merely a descriptive label for a particular set of occurrences of the nominal D(eterminer) that binds a propositional variable with sentential content restricted by the (embedded) sentence (cf. also Poletto and Sanfelici 2018). On this view, we expect parallels in the distribution and development of articles and complementizers.² One such case

² On the parallels of (in)definiteness and (ir)realis marking in the Romance nominal and clausal domains, see Ledgeway (2015).

is the strong/weak D parameter for nominals of Guardiano and Longobardi (2005), which I assume can be extended to the clausal domain through a parallel strong / weak dimension of parametric variation for the C head which, if strong, must be associated with (a) V(-feature) overtly in the syntax. From this perspective, most modern Romance varieties qualify as weak C languages, inasmuch as there is no systematic association in the syntax between V and [+declarative] root C, as witness the ungrammaticality of auxiliary-subject inversion in modern French declarative contexts:

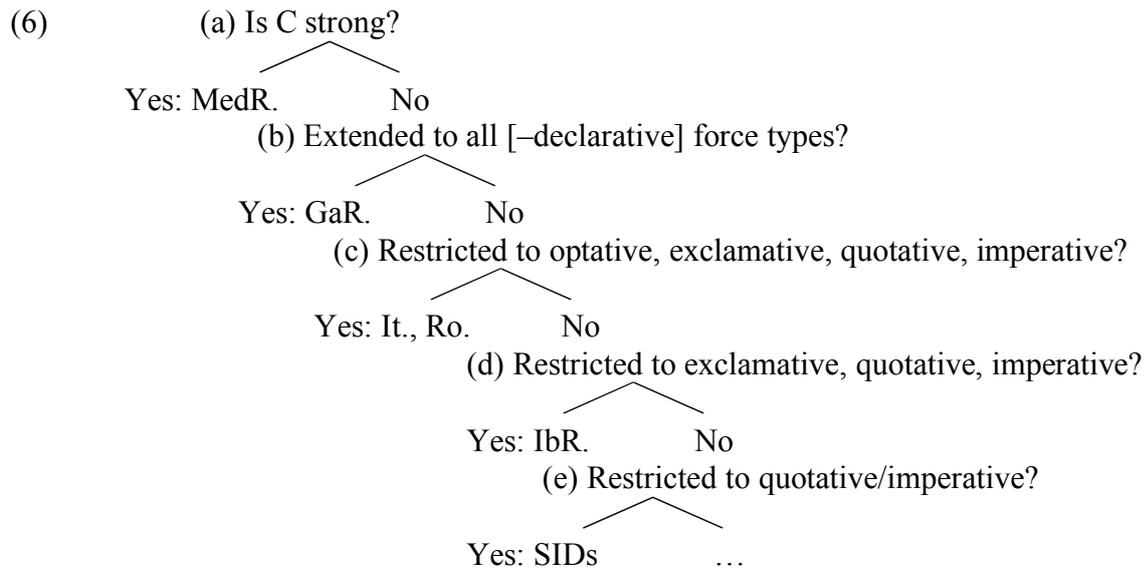
- (5) [_{CP} (**Avait-) [_{TP} Elle avait trop bu.]] (Fr.)
 have.PST.IPFV.3SG she had.PST.IPFV.3SG too.much drink.PTCP

As observed in (1) and (3), by contrast, the medieval Romance languages, as well as some modern Ladin varieties (Salvi 2000; Kaiser 2002; Poletto 2002; Benincà 2013; Casalicchio and Cognola 2015), are arguably strong C languages, in that root C (as well as some embedded cases in so-called ‘bridge’ contexts) is characterized by a V2 constraint which imposes generalized V-to-C movement on the finite verb and fronting of a (covert) constituent to the operator position. This latter operation can be viewed as a generalized EPP effect (cf. Holmberg 2015) if we assume that when C is strong (i.e., bears an uninterpretable V-feature) it also comes with a corresponding uninterpretable edge-feature satisfied by constituent-fronting.

9.2.2 Modern Gallo-Romance: weak C

Above we have seen (cf. 5) that modern Gallo-Romance varieties should be considered weak C languages, as further highlighted by the fact that the EPP is checked on T rather than C in these varieties which obligatorily project and lexicalize a dedicated preverbal subject position (cf. 2b). Nonetheless, C may still probe V (and hence license V-to-C movement) under particular marked conditions, as variously reflected in (simple / complex) verb-subject inversion, enclisis of object clitics, and the complementary distribution of subjunctive verb forms and complementizers (cf. Ronjat 1913:§142; Poletto and Tortora 2016:779-81). Following Rizzi and Roberts (1989) and Rizzi (1990b), this more constrained type of V-to-C movement can be considered a synchronic residue of generalized V2 movement from the medieval period – as indirectly supported by its greater productivity in French, for instance, in higher and hence more archaicizing registers – which is today licensed only in a restricted number of non-veridical polarity contexts tied to specific types of illocutionary force, including values variously labelled in the traditional literature as interrogative, optative, (ex)hortative or jussive, hypothetical, concessive, disjunctive, exclamative, imperatival, and quotative.

Thus, while generalized V2 movement, triggered by a semantically uninterpretable V-feature in declarative contexts, has been systematically lost in weak C varieties, V-to-C movement is exceptionally retained just in those contexts where movement plays a role in interpretation (and hence associated with a semantically interpretable V-feature) licensing the observed non-veridical polarity values (cf. Munaro 2004; Manzini and Savoia 2005:398f.). Nonetheless, the distribution of such semantically-driven V-to-C movement is not uniform across Romance displaying different and often unpredictable degrees of productivity and attrition. Conflating some of the traditional labels above, I distinguish here between interrogative, optative (subsuming (ex)hortative, jussive, hypothetical, concessive), exclamative, quotative, and imperatival illocutionary forces (for an overview, see Cruschina and Ledgeway 2016:568-71; Giurgea and Remberger 2016), the precise distribution of which can be tentatively modelled, at least for Romance, in terms of the microparametric choices presented in the hierarchy in (6).



The positive setting for option (6a) isolates languages with a strong C, hence endowed with a semantically uninterpretable V-feature which indiscriminately probes all finite verbs, a situation which we have seen obtains in medieval Romance V2 varieties with generalized V-to-C movement (cf. examples 1,3). The negative setting, by contrast, broadly identifies most modern Romance varieties where the relevant parametric setting for C is weak, hence variably endowed with a semantically interpretable V-feature such that V-to-C movement represents a marked option limited to one or more [-declarative] clause types. Among this group we can identify through the positive specification for option (6b) those more liberal Gallo-Romance varieties such as French and especially north(east)ern Italian dialects (cf. Poletto 2000:chs 3,5; Manzini and Savoia 2005,I:384-87; Munaro 2010; Benincà, Parry, and Pescarini 2016:200) which continue to license V-to-C movement across all marked clause types:

- French
- (7) a Vient-il?
 come.PRS.IND.3SG=he
- b Puisse-t-elle réussir!
 may.PRS.SBJV.3SG=she succeed.INF
- c Est-elle jolie!
 be.PRS.IND.3SG=she pretty
- d «Oui», répondit-elle
 yes reply.PST.IND.3SG=she
- e Demande-le-lui!
 ask.IMP.2SG=it=him.DAT

However, some of these cases of V-to-C movement are not particularly productive even in higher registers (arguably lexicalized in many cases, cf. Fr. *Vive / **Meure le roi!* ‘live/die.PRS.SBJV.3SG the king!’), and are often subject to additional restrictions related to verb class, mood, and grammatical person (cf. also Biberauer and Roberts 2012; 2017). For example, V-to-C movement in French interrogatives (but not generally in northern Italian dialects) is more readily licensed by functional rather than lexical predicates (cf. *je suis* ‘I be.PRS.IND.1SG’ (< *être*) or ‘I follow.PRS.IND.1SG’ (< *suivre*) ⇒ *suis-je?* ‘be/**follow.PRS.IND.1SG=I?’) and by 2nd/3rd-person rather than 1st-person subjects (cf. *prends-tu/prend-il?* ‘take.PRS.IND.3/2SG=you/he?’ vs ***prends-je?* ‘take.PRS.IND.1SG=I?’).

Similarly, the distribution of V-to-C movement in French optatives is increasingly limited to a handful of principally functional predicates (viz. *être* ‘be’, *avoir* ‘have’, *devoir* ‘must’, *pouvoir* ‘can’, *vouloir* ‘want’, and *venir* ‘come’), and occurs above all in the third person, e.g., *M’eût-il encouragé...* ‘me=have.IPFV.SBJV.3SG=he encouraged (= Had he encouraged me)’, *Voulût-il le faire...* ‘want.IPFV.SBJV.3SG=he it=do.INF (= Even if he wanted to do so)’, *Vienne le printemps et tout semblera plus souriant* ‘come.PRS.SBJV.3SG the spring and everything seem.FUT.3SG more jolly’. We witness in such behaviours often well-advanced and ongoing morphosyntactic and lexical restrictions on a once fully productive movement operation which in lower registers is now predominantly replaced, with the exception of quotatives and positive true imperatives, by the Merge option with lexicalization of the C-head with a relevant modal particle and concomitant impossibility of inversion and enclisis of object clitics.³

French

- (8) a [CP Est-ce qu’ [TP il mange?]]
 Q he=eat.PRS.IND.3SG
 ‘Is he eating?’
- b [CP Que [TP cela ne se répète pas!]]
 that.OPT that NEG self=repeat.PRS.SBJV.3SG NEG
 ‘May that not happen again!’
- c [CP S’ [TP il m’ eût / avait encouragé...]]
 if he me=have.IPFV.SBJV/IND.3SG encourage.PTCP
 ‘If (only) he had encouraged me...’
- d [CP ((Qu’est-)ce) qu’ [TP elle est jolie !]]
 (what)that.EXCL she be.PRS.IND.3SG pretty
 ‘How pretty she is!’

This weakening of the Move option is even more evident in those varieties singled out by the positive specifications of options (6c) and (6d) such as Italian / Romanian, and Ibero-Romance, respectively, which have both lost semantically-driven V-to-C movement with polar interrogatives,⁴ but continue to display it with (some types of) exclamatives and imperatives, though differing with respect to the availability of such movement in optatives, e.g., Ro *Arză-l focul!*⁵ ‘burn.SBJV.3=him fire.DEF’ vs *i** (Que) le queme el fuego!* ‘that him=burn.PRS.SBJV.3SG the fire’. In these varieties, too, non-declarative illocutionary force is in many cases more readily licensed through the Merge option with lexicalization of C by various C-heads (cf. Ledgeway 2012:175f.; Corr 2017) such as Sardinian interrogative *a*, Portuguese / Spanish optative *oxalá* / *ojalá*. Finally, option (7e) identifies those varieties such as southern Italian dialects in which V-to-C movement shows the most restrictive distribution,

³ The increasing diachronic restriction of inversion to functional predicates in French reflects a progressive loss of V-(to-T)-to-C movement (manifested in the growing infelicity of inversion with lexical predicates), with verb movement now increasingly limited to T-to-C movement (hence the greater acceptability of inversion with functional predicates). Significantly, this also explains the observed greater propensity of inversion with verbs in the subjunctive, including lexical predicates since, as shown in Ledgeway (2009), Ledgeway and Lombardi (2014) and Schifano (2018), Romance irrealis verb forms typically raise to the highest available position within the T-domain. By the same token, the near total loss of inversion in southern Italian dialects (with the exception of quotatives and positive imperatives) discussed in the text can be explained by the independent observation that finite verbs typically raise to a very low position within the sentential core (the lower adverb space in Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005; 2014; Ledgeway 2009; 2012; Schifano 2015; 2018) and hence are not available for T-to-C movement (cf. discussion of inversion in the history of English in Biberauer and Roberts 2012; 2017).

⁴ In the highest literary and archaicizing styles V-to-C movement is still occasionally found in polar interrogatives involving marked irrealis modal interpretations (Poletto 2000:156; Giurgea and Remberger 2016:§53.3.1.2).

⁵ Cf. also the archaic morphology in the subjunctive form *arză* (cf. modRo. *ardă*).

having all but disappeared from the grammar with the exception of quotatives and positive true imperatives,⁶ where V-to-C movement proves most resilient across Romance,⁷ e.g., Cal. *Chi vò scattà!* ‘that.OPT want.PRS.IND.3SG explode.INF (= May he keel over!)’ vs «*Mannamillu!*», *dicia Ciccio* ‘send.IMP.2SG=me=it!, say.PST.IPFV.IND.3SG Ciccio’.

9.3. The Gascon enunciative system

In an area south of the Garonne running east to west through the departments of southern central-western Ariège, southwestern Haute-Garonne, Hautes-Pyrénées, and Pyrénées-Atlantiques and stretching north through the Landes and the western and central areas of Gers with occasional incursions into southwestern Gironde and southwestern Lot-et-Garot,⁸ as well as to a lesser extent in the Val D’Aran in northern Spain (Pusch 2000b:627; Marcus 2010:36; *pace* Rohlfs 1970:206), the relevant Gascon varieties display a system of so-called enunciative particles marking different types of illocutionary force in both main and embedded clauses.⁹ By way of illustration, consider the French-Gascon root contrasts in Table 1:¹⁰

Table 1: Gascon enunciative C-system

		French		Gascon	
	Move		Merge	Move	Merge
DECL	–		–	–	Que cantas. <i>que</i> sing.PRS.IND.2SG
INT	Chantes-tu? sing.PRS.IND.2SG=you	Est-ce que tu chantes? Q you sing.PRS.IND.2SG		–	E cantas? <i>e</i> sing.PRS.IND.2SG
OPT	Puisse-t-il chanter! may.PRS.SBJV.3SG=he sing.INF	Qu’il chante! that.OPT he sing.PRS.SBJV.3SG		–	E cantèsse! <i>e</i> sing.IPFV.SBJV.3SG
EXCL	Est-il bête! be.PRS.IND.3SG=he silly	((Qu’est(-)ce) qu’il est bête! (what)that.EXCL he be.PRS.IND.3SG silly		–	B’ei plan pèc! <i>be</i> be.PRS.IND.3SG very silly
QUOT	«...», répondit la fille «...», reply.PST.IND.3SG the girl		–	–	«...», e responou la maynade «...», <i>e</i> reply.PST. IND.3SG the girl
IMP	Porte-le-moi! bring.IMP.2SG=it=me		–	Pòrta-m-ac! bring.IMP.2SG=me=it	–

⁶ Although the licensing of V-to-C movement in Romance appears to follow the implicational scale interrogative > optative > exclamative > quotative/imperative formalized in (6), there is little, if any, evidence for a particular ordering of the latter two clause types. However, there are some Romance varieties which, though robustly preserving V-to-C movement in imperatives, are reported to show a more relaxed behaviour with quotatives suggesting an order quotative > imperative. Relevant cases include Brazilian Portuguese where, unlike European Portuguese, quotative inversion proves optional (Kato and Martins 2016; Lobo and Martins 2017:36), and, within Gallo-Romance, the Occitan dialect of Périgord (Miremont 1976:88).

⁷ For Romance quotatives see Ambar (1992), Vanelli (1995), Maldonado (1999), Suñer (2000), Bonami and Godard (2008), Matos (2013), Pană Dindelegan (2013:121), Lobo and Martins (2017:36), and for imperatives Rivero (1994), Graffi (1996), Zanuttini (1997).

⁸ Cf. Ronjat (1913:80), Rohlfs (1970:206), Darrigrand (1974:32), Marcus (2010:35f.), Floricic (2012:3). See also, for instance, *ALF* maps 10A, 23, 24, 27, 28, 32, 34, 84, 91, 92, 136, 462.

⁹ All Gascon examples either come from my own personal examination of a number of Gascon texts (plays, prose) and grammars or are those reported in the vast literature on the topic. In what follows all examples will simply be referred to as Gascon without any further differentiation, unless finer diatopic distinctions prove relevant.

¹⁰ Cf. Lespy (1858:223-25, 258f.), Ronjat (1913:80-85, 142f., 231), Bouzet (1963:26f.; 1975:66-68), Rohlfs (1970:205-11), Darrigrand and Grosclaude (1971:3), Darrigrand (1974:32, 56, 84), Joseph (1992:481-83), Pusch (2000a:189), Morin (2005:60f.; 2006:3f.; 2008:138-40), Fossat (2006:161f.), Karenova (2006:4; 2008:48f.), Marcus (2010:31f.), Joly (2013:247f.), Puyau (2013:135f.), Giurgea and Remberger (2016:863f., 872).

Apart from positive imperatives which display V-to-C movement in both varieties,¹¹ there are striking differences between French and Gascon in the formal licensing of different clause types and, especially, in the licensing of declaratives, the least marked of sentential types. As the unmarked clause type, declaratives in modern French are not formally marked in the C-system, with subject and finite verb occurring within the sentential core as the default option, namely [_{CP} [_{IP} *Tu chantes*]]. By contrast, Gascon displays differential marking of declaratives through lexicalization of the C-head with the erstwhile finite complementizer *que* ‘that’. In particular, it should be noted that *que* is not optional, but obligatorily introduces all finite verbs in all person, temporal, aspectual, and modal specifications such that its omission in root declaratives, except when negated (see §3.1.1), invariably results in ungrammaticality.¹² Although crosslinguistically explicit typing of declarative force represents a very rare option (cf. Lyons 1968:307; Bybee 1985:147; Cinque 1999:130; Franco 2013), recourse to *que* in this context is unsurprising since it represents the default, unmarked complementizer in (Gallo-)Romance.

In non-declarative root clauses, Gascon also lexicalizes the C-head with one of two other clause-typing particles: *be* and *e*.¹³ While the former, the typical marker of total exclamatives (Fossat 2006), represents the grammaticalization of the adverb BENE > *be(n)* ‘well, indeed’,¹⁴ the latter is most commonly, though not uncontroversially (cf. Pusch 2001), claimed to continue the coordinator ET ‘and’ (Lafont 1964; Rohlf s 1970:210 n.375), a conclusion not immediately reconcilable with its synchronic uses in typing polar interrogatives, optatives, and quotatives.¹⁵ Thus, here I adopt the view that, at least synchronically, *e* constitutes a reduced form of the irrealis/interrogative complementizer *se / si* ‘if’, a conclusion readily compatible with the observed non-veridical root uses of *e* and, as we shall see in §3.3, its

¹¹ The robustness of V-to-C movement with positive imperatives is argued in Ledgeway (in press) to follow from the widespread idea that imperatival clauses do not project the full array of functional projections associated with the T-domain, as reflected crosslinguistically in the absence of any inflectional marking or, at the very least, very minimal inflectional marking on second-person imperatives (Bybee 1985:173; Floricic 2008:10; Ledgeway 2014). Theoretically, the observed inflectional impoverishment of the imperative can be interpreted in terms of the mechanisms of feature transmission and inheritance (Chomsky 2007; 2008): whereas phi-features that originate on C° are usually ‘transferred’ down to T° in root declaratives, in the absence of T° in imperatives these same features fail to be passed down such that the imperatival verb is forced to raise to C° to license its inflectional features.

¹² Cf. De Grateloup ([1734]1887:16), Lespy (1858:223), Cénac-Moncaut (1863:131), Bonaparte (1878:1), Ronjat (1913:80), Camproux (1958:388-90), Bouzet (1963:26; 1975:66), Rohlf s (1970:205), Darrigrand and Grosclaude (1971:3), Darrigrand (1974:32), Pusch (1999:113; 2000a:192; 2000b:627), Marcus (2010:31), Joly (2013:248), Puyau (2013:136), Suïls Subirà and Ribes (2015:550).

¹³ Although explicitly excluded by some studies (e.g. Pusch 2002:112), other studies (Rohlf s 1970:209; Bouzet 1975:68; Karenova 2006:3; Marcus 2010:32, 50-52; Joly 2013:247; Puyau 2013:128, 130) report an additional enunciative particle *ja(ya) / je(ye)* (< IAM ‘now; already’) which, possibly in accordance with diatopic variation, is used to reinforce an assertion (i.a; cf. modal uses of IbR. preverbal *ya / já / ja*) or mark an exclamative (i.b):

- (i) a Ya la bés. (Rohlf s 1970:209)
 ya her=see.PRS.IND.2SG
 ‘You can indeed/certainly see her.’
 b Lous chins já sou au lhey! (Karenova 2006:3)
 the kids *já* be.PRS.IND.3PL to.the bed
 ‘What, the kids are in bed!’

¹⁴ The manner adverb ‘well’ in Gascon is *pla(n)* < PLENU(M) ‘full’. Note furthermore that grammaticalized forms of BENE functioning as left-peripheral or high sentential modal / polarity particles / adverbs are not uncommon in Romance (cf. Belletti 1994; Hernanz 2007; 2010; Cognola and Schifano 2018).

¹⁵ Both *be* and *e*, as well as *que*, also exhibit related extensions of these basic functions, as detailed in the literature. Unless immediately relevant, we will limit our attention in what follows to these fundamental values and functions of the three particles.

distribution in non-asserted embedded contexts such as subjunctive and ‘central’ adverbial clauses. Furthermore, in some dialects, and especially those from the southeast of the region (e.g. Couserans; cf. points 695, 607 (Haute Pyrénées) and 782 (Ariège) of *ALF* map 575), interrogative *e* is often replaced and / or alternates with the form *se / si*,¹⁶ e.g. *(s)e benguerats?* ‘*(s)e* come.FUT.2PL (= will you come)?’.¹⁷ Similarly, in optatives *e* is also reported to alternate with *se/si* (Marcus 2010:53f., 132; Joly 213:249), exactly along the lines of the optative use of Fr. *si* ‘if’ witnessed in (9c). Quotative *e*, presumably an evidential marker (cf. Pusch 2002:114; cf. Cinque 1999:85f.), is also widely reported (cf. Bouzet 1975:67; Marcus 2010:53f., 130f.; Puyau 2013:115) to alternate with forms variously spelt as *se / si / ce / ci / çò / ça*, e.g. << *Say t’aci* >> *e / se / si / ce digou lou pay* ‘<<Come here! >> *e / se / si / ce* said the father’ (Joly 2013:247), forms which can all be straightforwardly derived from an original *si* ‘if’ given the notable diatopic variation in the realization of final unstressed vowels across the region (viz. [se / si / sə / se / sa]).

In these non-veridical contexts, Gascon therefore differs from (formal registers of) French in that the relevant illocutionary force cannot be licensed on the C-head, even in quotatives, through the Move option (viz. V-to-C movement), but, only through the Merge option. Superficially, we might therefore be tempted to interpret the Gascon facts on par with the Merge option observed in interrogatives, optatives, and exclamatives in less formal registers of French. If this were the case, then the Gascon data would not prove particularly spectacular. However, I am claiming here that, unlike modern French, modern Gascon is a V2 language such that the distribution and licensing of *be* and *e* (*se / si*), as we shall see in detail below, is quite different from that of Fr. *est-ce que*, *que*, and *((qu’est-)ce)que*. Just consider, for example, that whereas the latter are followed by a pronominal/lexical subject, this is excluded with *be* and *e* (*se / si*) which must immediately precede the finite verb and any complement clitics (cf. 11). Furthermore, interrogative *e* (*se / si*) is incompatible with *wh*-interrogatives and is found in both root and embedded polar interrogatives, whereas Fr. interrogative *est-ce que* is compatible with *wh*-interrogatives but is excluded from embedded contexts.

9.3.1 Strong C: Merge vs Move

The traditional interpretation noted above (cf. examples 1,3) of satisfying the V2 requirement on strong C in terms of V-to-C movement represents just one of two possible licensing mechanisms made available by the grammar: alongside the more marked Move option, the system also makes available the less costly Merge option whereby the ‘strong’ uninterpretable V-feature requirement on C can be satisfied by direct lexical insertion of a suitable head (cf. Roberts’ (2004) claims about PF-realization of C-Fin in V2 contexts).¹⁸ Ledgeway (2008) shows that in some medieval Romance varieties this latter option is realized by *si / si* (< SIC ‘thus’) insertion, as illustrated by the old Neapolitan near minimal pair in (9a-b) exemplifying

¹⁶ See Ronjat (1913:226), Field (1985), Pusch (2000a:198), Fossat (2006:161), Marcus (2010:52f., 127, 130f.), Puyau (2013:49, 65), Rigau and Suïls (2010:154f.), Joly (2013:247, 249), Suïls Subirà and Ribes (2015:553f.).

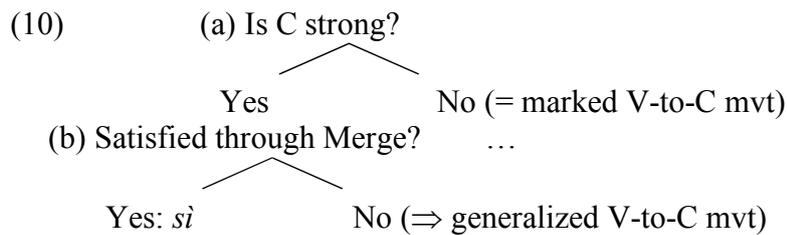
¹⁷ Note that before vowels non-veridical *e* is regularly elided (Lespy 1858:258; Bouzet 1963:28; 1975:67; Rohlf 1970:210 n.376; Marcus 2010:§2.4), e.g., *Etz anatas tà la hèsta?* lit. ‘be.PRS.IND.2PL go.PTCP.FPL to the party?’ (Darrigrand 1974:115).

¹⁸ Cf. the parallel use of expletive articles in the nominal domain in conjunction with proper names as an alternative to N-to-D raising to satisfy the strong D requirement (Ledgeway 2015:§2), e.g., Gsc. [DP *la* [NP *Yane*]] ‘the Jeanne’ vs Fr. [DP *Jeanne* [NP *Jeanne*]] ‘Jeanne’. Note that, although base-generation (viz. first Merge) is generally agreed to be prove less costly than movement, this does not imply that Gascon-type V2 systems are necessarily more frequent cross-linguistically than classic V2 systems involving verb raising – or, for that matter, that expletive articles should prove more frequent than N-to-D raising –, inasmuch as the two strategies never actually compete. The base-generation Merge option will only arise in those languages whose lexicon includes a relevant functional item (e.g., C-particle, expletive article) and then only in those particular derivations whose lexical array happens to contain the relevant lexical item.

the competing Move and Merge options, respectively:

- old Neapolitan: 14th c. *Libro de la destructione de Troya*
- (9) a [CP [sì fuorti cuolpi]li donava [TP ~~li donava sì fuorti cuolpi~~]] (66.12)
 such strong blows him.DAT=give.PST.IPFV.3SG
- b [CP [spissi cuolpi mortali] sì [TPle dava ~~spissi cuolpi mortali~~]] (133.66)
 many blows mortal sì him.DAT=give.PST.IPFV.3SG
 ‘He struck him with such strong blows / many mortal blows’

Thus, a positive specification for (6a) above actually leads to the two further parametric choices under (10b).



Given the proposed parallel between clausal and nominal structures according to which C is nothing more than a descriptive label for a subset of occurrences of D, I assume that, when strong, C must be associated with an N- / V-feature overtly in the syntax, a requirement which, in accordance with the variation formalized in (10b), can be met by either the Merge or Move options. If saturated by a V-feature this gives rise to the Move option which we have seen uniformly characterizes medieval Romance (cf. 9a), including old Gascon (cf. 3a-b), whereas the Merge option obtains whenever strong C is satisfied by an N-feature, witness its lexicalization by *sì* (cf. 9b). Following initial ideas proposed in Ledgeway (2012:167f.; 2015:§3.2), I argue that this same Merge option identified for medieval Romance *sì* also characterizes modern (central) Gascon which must also be considered a strong C (and hence V2) language since, although it does not display the Move option (namely, generalized V-to-C movement), it does obligatorily lexicalize [+declarative] root (and embedded) C with the so-called enunciative particle *que* ‘that’ alongside non-veridical values on C through the other enunciative particles *e* (*se/si*) and *be* (cf. Table 1).¹⁹ Significantly, just as in medieval Romance, the strong specification of modern Gascon C predicts that the EPP edge-feature also appears on C, rather than on T. As (11) shows, this prediction is indeed borne out for Gascon where preverbal subjects are always left-peripheral and can never occur between *que* and the finite verb (Pusch 1999:144; Morin 2006:25) since T lacks the relevant EPP feature.

- (11) [CP [Lou roument] que [TP(**lou roument) madura.]] (Bouzet 1963:26)
 the wheat *que* the wheat ripen.PRS.IND.3SG
 ‘The wheat is ripening.’

The evidence from examples such as (11) leads us to conclude that modern Gascon, unlike modern French, is not an EPP-language in that T fails to project a preverbal subject position. Rather, subjects, just like all other constituents, are restricted to occurring in their base position within the sentential core, unless they receive particular pragmatic salience, in which case they are fronted to the left periphery. This explains why, in contrast to all other Gallo-Romance varieties, Gascon is reported to license

¹⁹ Benincà (2017), by contrast, sees the functions of Gascon *que* as a residue of a former V2 constraint.

VSO (Bouzet 1963:35f.), witness examples such as (12a-b) where the postverbal lexical/pronominal subject, which immediately follows the lexical verb (raised to the T-domain) and immediately precedes the direct object, must occupy SpecvP. This conclusion is all the more compelling in (12a) where the *v*-VP-internal position of the subject is highlighted by its occurrence to the immediate right of the participle, and not just the finite verb.

- (12) a Qu' a hèyt tou pay ua bestiessa.
 que have.PRS.IND.3SG do.PTCP your father a stupidity
 b Que haram nous ço qui coumbienga.
 que do.FUT.1PL we that which suit.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 'We'll do what's best.'

The absence of a T-related preverbal subject position in Gascon is entirely consistent with the proposed V2 nature of the language, as independently maintained for other V2 languages such as late Latin (Ledgeway 2017:186f.), medieval Romance (Ledgeway 2007:§2.2.6; 2008:452f.), and Germanic (cf. Haider 1993; Roberts and Roussou 2002:145; Biberauer 2003; 2004; Biberauer and Roberts 2005). Whereas in non-V2 languages like modern French and Italian (cf. Cardinaletti 1997; 2004) the dedicated preverbal subject position licenses, although not exclusively, both thematic and rhematic subjects, in a V2 language like Gascon these same pragmatic functions are typically licensed by fronting of the subject to a specifier position within the C-space. It follows that there would be very little motivation, empirical or theoretical, for a T-related preverbal subject position in a V2 language like Gascon, hence the absence of the order *que*+Subject+V_{Finite}.

From a diachronic perspective, the relevant parametric change in the history of Gascon involves therefore, not a loss of V2 (viz. a change from strong to weak C, with concomitant change in the EPP) as happened in other Gallo-Romance varieties, but a change in the formal realization and satisfaction of strong C manifested in a shift from the Move option in favour of the less costly Merge option formalized under (10b). Indeed, although it has been claimed that the current system of enunciative particles and, in particular, *que* is the result of a relatively recent grammaticalization process not robustly attested, according to different sources, until between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (Ronjat 1937; Lafont 1967:352; Hetzron 1977; Bouzet 1933; Darrigrand 1974:32; Wüest 1985:287; Pusch 2002), others have convincingly argued that the enunciative system represents the outcome of an original Basque sub-/adstrate influence. As such, it goes back at least as far as the medieval period (Bouzet 1932; 1933; 1951; Grosclaude 1986; Haase 1994; Marcus 2010:ch.3; cf. also Bourciez 1946:384; Ravier and Curesente 2005:254; Lafitte 2019:4-7), with attestations from as early as the twelfth century (13), although not systematically represented in early texts where it was frequently suppressed under prescriptive pressures (Joseph 1992; cf. also Bouzet 1933:33f.; Grosclaude 1979:7; 1986:7).

- (13) E deant que i auie en pengs MDCC solis. (1179-92,
 and before *que* there= have.PST.IPFV.3SG in mortgage 1700 coins
 Laloubère)
 'And before there was a mortgage payment of 1700 sous.'

On this view, the exceptional retention of V2 in Gascon finds a straightforward contact-induced explanation: following centuries of close contact with Basque, which is independently known to present similar typing and polarity particles (cf. affirmative / emphatic declarative *ba(i)*, polar interrogative *al*, dubitative / evaluative *ote*, and evidential /

reportative *omen / bide*),²⁰ the medieval (Gallo-)Romance V2 constraint was reinforced, but at the same time also aligned with the Basque model leading to a shift from the Move to the Merge options in satisfaction of the strong C setting.²¹

9.3.1.1 Sentential negation

Further proof of the role of Basque in the emergence of the Gascon enunciative system comes from the observation that declarative *que* and the non-veridical C-particles generally prove incompatible with sentential negation,²² witness the absence of *que* in (13):

- (13) Ne 've parli pas, Sénher. (Darrigrand 1974:41)
 NEG=you speak.PRS.IND.1SG NEG sir

This incompatibility finds a striking, and I would argue not coincidental, parallel in Basque where the (emphatic) declarative particle *ba(i)* also proves incompatible with negator *ez* (Laka 1990:103-06).²³ In her classic analysis of such facts, Laka (1990) proposes that the Basque affirmative and negative particles *ba(i)* and *ez* spell out opposite values of a left-peripheral polarity projection (ΣP), hence their complementary distribution. It is tempting therefore to see in the complementary distribution of Gascon *que* and (NON>) *nou(n)/non/ne* a contact-induced replication of a Basque model, such that two variants of the unmarked declarative C-particle must be recognised: *que* [+affirmative] and *nou* [-affirmative]. Indeed, many traditional descriptions and analyses of Gascon enunciatives (e.g., Bouzet 1932; 1933; 1975:66; Wüest 1985; Marcus 2010:32f., 54f.) explicitly include *nou* among the members of the system. Assuming this to be correct, I take *que* and *nou* to be the affirmative and non-affirmative lexicalizations of the default spell-out of the declarative C-head (cf. Suïls Subirà and Ribes 2015:550), a conclusion which immediately explains their incompatibility in (13) in line with an original Basque pattern.

This conclusion also has significant repercussions for our understanding of Gascon negation. Unlike other Romance reflexes of the preverbal negator NON which are standardly taken to lexicalize a head within the T-domain, I am claiming that that Gascon *nou* is a C-head. This difference explains why, in contrast to neighbouring Occitan and (spoken) *langue d'oïl* varieties where negation has now generally reached Stage III of Jespersens' Cycle following loss of preverbal NON (e.g. Fr. *ne...pas* > *pas*; cf. Smith 2016:309f.), Gascon apparently continues Stage II in the cycle with obligatory retention of *nou* in conjunction with *pas* (Darrigrand 1974:4; Puyau 2013:33; Sauzet and Oliviéri 2016:346f.). In the former case loss of NON represents a reversal in the relationship between the head (e.g. *ne*) and specifier (e.g. *pas*) of a T-related NegP (Poletto 2016:836f.), whereas in Gascon *nou* is not part of a NegP in conjunction with a postverbal *pas*. Rather, it is a non-affirmative marker of declarative sentence mood, an obligatory element of the C-system not readily susceptible to attrition which therefore falls outside of Jespersen's Cycle. Consequently, on the surface

²⁰ See, among others, de Rijk (1969), Ortiz de Urbina (1989), Laka (1990), Elordieta (2001), Haddican (2004).

²¹ Note that this contact-induced explanation relates to the parametric shift from Move to Merge in the satisfaction of the V2 constraint, but has nothing to say about the individual grammaticalization processes underlying the individual enunciative particles. Indeed, the analysis developed in Floricic (2012) and this volume that declarative *que* represents the reanalysis of an original cleft *es que...* 'it.is that...' as a predicate focus construction (cf. also Pusch 1999), as witnessed by its continuation to the present day in some Gascon varieties (cf. also Rohlf's 1970:206 n.366), provides a highly plausible account.

²² Ronjat (1913:80), Bouzet (1963:26), Pusch (1999:113), Morin (2006:12, 45f.), Karenova (2008:48), Marcus (2010:43, §5.2.7), Floricic (2012:10f.), Puyau (2013:32), Suïls Subirà and Ribes (2015:550).

²³ Floricic (2012; this volume) argues that incompatibility of *que* with negation represents a residual effect of the former predicate focus construction from which it originates, inasmuch as focus marking of predication frequently clashes with negation crosslinguistically.

Gascon negation appears to be at stage II (14a), but underlying it is at stage III (14b) just like its Occitan neighbours and spoken French (14c):

- (14) a Ne souy pas bàscou. (Puyau 2013:33)
 b [CP Ne [TP souy pas bàscou.]]
 c [CP [TP je suis pas basque.]] (Fr.)
 NEG I be.PRS.IND.1SG NEG Basque

Another interesting consequence of this analysis is the observation that in certain marked contexts *que* and *nou* can co-occur (cf. Bouzet 1963:26; Field 1985:83; Rohlf's 1970:208; Fossat 2006:161; González i Planas 2009:90 fn.8; Marcus 2010:43; Floricic 2012:5; Puyau 2013:33):

- (15) Que ne bouy d' aquét(h) bî! (Puyau 2013:33)
 DECL NEG want.PRS.IND.1SG of that wine
 'But I don't want any of that wine!'

As the English translation of (15) indicates, whenever *que* co-occurs with *nou*, and only in that order, the negator receives a strong presuppositional interpretation serving to deny a previous assertion, e.g. as a response to 'Here you are, have some of this wine'. Crucially, as (15) illustrates, in these cases postverbal *pas* is not realized (Bouzet 1963:26; Puyau 2013:32), a fact which I take to indicate that *nou* in such examples is not the non-affirmative declarative C-head (that position is already filled by *que*), but realizes SpecNegP, the position otherwise lexicalized by *pas*.²⁴ From SpecNegP *nou* then cliticizes to the finite verb raised to the highest position of the T-domain (cf. Cinque 1999:124), transparently giving rise to the order *que+nou+V* and the observed emphatic declarative interpretation.²⁵

9.3.2 Root clauses

Following Cinque's (1999:84-86) claims about the fine structure of the sentential core, I assume that the highest portion of the T-domain includes projections specialized for speech act mood (declarative, interrogative, optative, exclamative, imperative) and evidential mood (quotative) which, for expositional convenience, I conflate here into a single projection MoodP.²⁶ As part of a clause-typing operation, this projection must, in turn, enter into a checking relation with the Force-Fin system where the sentence mood of the T-domain can be formally licensed in a local relation with the C-domain.²⁷ With these assumptions in mind, I propose that non-veridical polar (viz. [-declarative]) clause types involve the generation of a relevant null operator in SpecMoodP which raises to SpecCP where it enters into a Spec-Head relation with C^o. This feature-checking operation is spelt out at PF in the lexicalization of the

²⁴ This also explains the observed presuppositional reading of *nou* in such contexts if, with Cinque (1999:121, 220 fn.38), we take SpecNegP2 to be the position in which presuppositional negators are licensed (cf. also Garzonio and Poletto 2010).

²⁵ In some dialects the co-occurrence of *que* and *nou* does not knock out *pas* (Field 1985; Pusch 2000a; Marcus 2010:43), suggesting that in these varieties *nou* can lexicalize the head of NegP, and not its specifier.

²⁶ Although not considered here, MoodP can also be assumed to subsume Cinque's (1999:84f.) evaluative mood, thereby also accounting for *ya / ye / ja / je* mentioned in fn.13.

²⁷ Though not explored further here, the C-domain can be further assumed to interface with a higher speech act domain (cf. Speas and Tenny 2003) where the basic sentence moods are formally licensed in a layered Speech Act Phrase that configurationally encodes the P(ragmatic)-roles speaker, hearer, and utterance content (cf. also Giorgi's (2010) claims about the encoding of speaker in C). Such an account would offer an elegant explanation, for example, of the restriction of interrogative *que* to just the speaker in some Piedmontese Occitan varieties analysed by Benincà (2014; 2017).

C-head with one of the various enunciative particles in accordance with the particular interpretable features of the modal operator, as sketched in (16a-b).

- (16) a [CP-Force-Fin [Spec Op_i] [C' C_i (= (s)e, si, be, ço/ça) [MoodP [Spec Op_i]...]]
 b [ForceP Force_i *Top [FinP [Spec Op_i] [Fin' Fin_i (= (s)e, si, be, ço / ça) [MoodP [Spec Op_i]...]]]]

On this view, the overt lexicalization of the C-head, a morphophonological reflex of the Spec-Head relation, can be understood to spell out and make visible the content of the modal illocutionary force associated with the null operator raised to SpecCP. In accordance with Giorgi and Pianesi's (1996) Feature Scattering Hypothesis, in the absence of left-peripheral topic constituents the C-head instantiates a syncretic realization of the Force-Fin system, viz. C_{Fin-Force} (cf. 16a), whereas in the presence of left-peripheral topics the features of the Force-Fin system are scattered such that they head their own projections (cf. 16b). In both cases the modal force of the clause is invariably checked against Fin, a head traditionally associated with licensing modal properties of the clause, as well as against Force, the locus of sentential force in Rizzi (1997; cf. also Munaro 2010), with which Fin is either bundled into a single head or by which Fin is bound within the C-domain (cf. fn.28). The result is invariably a V2 structure involving the obligatory lexicalization of the C-head and movement of a null modal operator to its associated Specifier position.

Turning now to declarative root clauses, I assume these do not involve a modal operator, in that declarative is the unmarked sentence mood which obtains whenever SpecCP is not targeted by a specific modal operator, yielding a default value spelt out on the C-head with the lexicalization of the erstwhile unmarked complementizer *que* 'that' or its non-affirmative variant *nou*:

- (17) [CP-Force-Fin [Spec _____] [C' C (= *que/nou*) [MoodP...]]]

Significantly, the differing structural representations of [-declarative] and [+declarative] clauses in (16)-(17) make some non-trivial predictions about the nature and distribution of constituents that can surface in the left periphery, replicating surface V2 effects similar to those observed in Germanic and medieval Romance. In particular, the derivation of [-declarative] clauses in (16) leads us to expect a 'bottleneck effect' (Haegeman 1996; Roberts 2004; Cardinaletti 2010), since raising of the relevant null modal operator to SpecCP_{(Force-)Fin} precludes under Rizzi's (1990a) Relativized Minimality any further movement through that same position, thereby limiting movement to the left periphery to one constituent. It follows that in [-declarative] clauses the only overt constituents that can occur before the C-particles are those which are base-generated in the left-periphery, namely frame and theme elements (henceforth underlined; cf. Anagnostopoulou 1997; Wiltschko 1997; Frey 2004), but not those which are moved to the focus field (henceforth in small caps; cf. Poletto 2002). Direct evidence for this bottleneck effect comes from examples like those in (18)-(20).

- (18) a E cerques? (Lespy 1858:258)
 Q search.PRS.IND.2SG
 b QUOAN (**e) boulét(s) biéne? (Puyau 2013:65)
 when Q want.PRS.IND.2PL come.INF
 c Maria e parla gascon? (Morin 2006:26)
 Maria Q speal.PRS.IND.3SG Gascon

- (19) a B' aimas donc lo vin! (Darrigrand and Grosclaude 1971:3)
 EXCL love.PRS.IND.2SG so the wine

- b QUIN HAT (**b') ei cadut sus l' ostau! (Darrigrand 1974:119)
 which fate EXCL be.PRS.IND.3SG fall.PTCP on the house
 'What a fatality fell upon the house!'
- c Maria be canta plan! (Morin 2006:27)
 Maria EXCL sing.PRS.IND.3SG well
 'Doesn't Maria sing well!'
- (20) a E podossi aver un setmanèr Occitan! (Darrigrand 1974:238)
 OPT can.PST.SBJV.1SG have.INF a weekly Occitan
 'If only I could have an Occitan weekly newspaper!'
- b Lo Diable se t' en carrega! (Darrigrand 1974:168)
 the devil OPT you=therefrom=remove.PST.SBJV.3SG
 'May the devil carry you away!'

The (a)-examples in (18)-(20) demonstrate the raising of a null interrogative, exclamative, and optative modal operator to SpecCP, the content of which is spelt out on the C-head through lexicalization of the appropriate C-particle. By contrast, the (b)-examples in (18)-(19) involve raising of an overt *wh*-operator to SpecCP, in which case the relevant C-particle is now excluded since its presence would involve a checking operation with a null modal operator whose presence would inhibit *wh*-movement. In short, sentential mood is spelt out just once in the C-system, either on the C-head when SpecCP hosts a null modal operator or directly through an overt *wh*-operator raised to SpecCP,²⁸ correctly predicting the restriction of the C-particles *e/be* to total interrogatives/exclamatives (Bouzet 1963:27; 1975:67; Rohlf 1970:210; Darrigrand 1974:84; Pusch 2001:385; Marcus 2010:38, 48; Rigau and Suïls 2010:154f.; Joly 213:249) and their complementary distribution with overt *wh*-phrases (Karenova 2006:4; Marcus 2010:§5.2.8; Rigau and Suïls 2010:155; Puyau 2013:65). It follows that the only elements which can precede C-particles are those which avoid the bottleneck effect through base-generation in the left periphery such as the topical subjects in the (c)-examples in (18)-(20).²⁹

A similar explanation applies to apparent counterexamples such as those involving the overt *wh*-operator 'why' (21a-b) which has been argued by Rizzi (2001a) to be first-merged above the Focus space (in SpecIntP), as well as examples of D-linked *wh*-phrases (Pesetsky 1987; 2000) such as (22a-b) where the lexical restriction licenses a referential reading reflected in their base-generation within the theme space (Grohmann 1998; 2003; Rizzi 2001b).

- (21) a Perqué lo bohon e viu devath terra? (Darrigrand 1974:90)
 why the mole Q live.PRS.IND.3SG under earth
- b Enta qué e bos aquère moundéde? (Puyau 2013:81)
 for what Q want.PRS.IND.2SG that money

²⁸ In polar root (and embedded) interrogatives in the south-eastern Gascon varieties studied by Rigau and Suïls (2010), the C_{Fin}-particle *e* can also be doubled by a higher C-particle *se* 'if' in Int^o whenever the left periphery hosts an intervening topic, e.g. (*Sabes*) *se Joan e poirà vier?* '(Do you know) *se* Joan *e* will come?' (Rigau and Suïls 2010:160). As predicted, this same higher interrogative C-particle *se*, unlike the lower C-particle *e*, can also precede *wh*-phrases in partial root (and embedded) questions: (*Demana-les*) *se D'A ON vien aqueras gojatas?* '(Ask them) *se* from where do those girls come?' (Rigau and Suïls 2010:155).

²⁹ We can include here also the fronted quote in quotative inversion if we assume that the quote is base-generated in the Topic Field of the left periphery co-indexed with a null quotative operator raised from MoodP to SpecCP which binds the null complement of the parenthetical verb (for various ideas along these lines, see discussion in Matos 2013).

- (22) a A quina pena e 'u cau condemnar? (Darrigrand
to which punishment Q him=be.necessary.PRS.IND.3SG condemn.INF
1974:90)
b Des(em)puch quoa(n)t de téms e demourat(s) aci? (Puyau 2013:67)
since how.much of time Q live.PRS.IND.2PL here

By contrast, in declarative clauses the analysis outlined in (17) predicts that no such bottleneck effect should ever arise, since SpecCP remains available for focus-movement. Consequently, in declaratives we find immediately before *que* (and *nou*) all types of elements, irrespective of their grammatical function, that are argued to target the Focus field under movement, including bare quantifiers and indefinites (23a-b), information and mirative foci (23c-e), and contrastive foci (23f-h):³⁰

- (23) a TOUT que-m hè grand oumprère. (Lespy 1876:97)
all *que*=self=do.PRS.IND.3SG great shade
'I'm eclipsed by everything.'
b QUAUQU'U que truca à la porte. (J.Hustach, de Camelat 1933:110)
someone *que* knock.PRS.IND.3SG at the door
c UA SÈRP que l' a hissat. (Darrigrand 1974:177)
a snake *que* him=have.PRS.IND.3SG bite.PTCP
d QUITES qu' èm! (de Camelat n.d.:42)
quits.MPL *que* be.PRS.IND.1PL
e EN DUASORAS que l' aura empipautit! (Darrigrand 1974:103)
in two hours *que* it=have.FUT.3SG soil.PTCP
'in two hours he'll have soiled it all!'
f PAGA IMPOS que cau! (Puyau 2013:85)
pay.INF taxes *que* be.necessary.PRS.IND.3SG
'Taxes have to be paid!'
g YOU TABÉ que-b bieni cerca. (de Camelat n.d.:14)
I also *que*=you.PL come.PRS.IND.1SG search.INF
h MEY PLA QU' ARRES que sabou tourneya lou petit counde en
more well than nobody *que* knew.PST.IND.3SG turn.INF the small tale in
prose. (M. de Camelat 1933:87)
prose
'Better than anybody else he could turn short stories into prose.'

Naturally, in declaratives all sorts of theme constituent can also occur before *que* (and *nou*), including null (24a) and overt (24b) referential subjects, complements (24c-d), contrastive subjects (24e), phrasal (24f) and clausal (24g) adverbials, and scene-setters (24h). Furthermore, these can combine among themselves (25a-b) and, in turn, with focalized constituents in the order Theme-Focus (25c-e).

- (24) a Que'm mingi tot lo pan (Darrigrand 1974:25)
que=me eat.PRS.IND.1SG all the bread
b Lous due amics, eths, que plouraben (J.Hustach, de Camelat 1933:110)
the two friends they *que* cry.PST.IPFV.3PL

³⁰ Examples (23a-c,g) in which *que* is immediately preceded by an informationally or contrastively focused subject invalidate the claims of González i Planas (2009:87-89) that preverbal subjects in Gascon can only be (aboutness) topics, with informationally focused subjects obligatorily occurring in postverbal position and contrastively focused subjects in a fronted cleft structure.

- c Ço que vedi que'm platz. (Darrigrand 1974:72)
that which see.PRS.IND.1SG *que*=me please.PRS.IND.3SG
- d Aus mainatages que los va parlar Maria (Morin 2008:141)
to.the children *que* them.DAT=go.PRS.IND.3SG speak.INF Maria
- e La Yane que-m bôu e you que la bouy (M. de Camelat 1916:2)
the Jeanne *que*=me want.PRS.IND.3SG and I *que* her=want.PRS.IND.1SG
- f Labéts que m' en as mandade tau marcat toute soule. (Palay 1927:3)
then *que* me=thence=have.PRS.IND.2SG send.PTCP to.the market all alone
- g Se demoras tròp au só que't vas usclar. (Darrigrand 1974:102)
if stay.PRS.IND.2SG too.much to.the sun *que*=you go.PRS.IND.2SG burn.INF
- h Un dia en se passejant tot plentiu au ras d' un broishagar, que a day in self= stroll.GER all plaintive at.the edge of a undergrowth *que* trobè lo bohon. (Darrigrand 1974:82)
find.PST.IND.3SG the mole
'One day walking mournfully through the undergrowth he came across the mole.'
- (25) a A la fin de la partida los jogaors que's son hèits ahupar. (Darriagrndan 1974:112)
at the end of the match the players *que*=self be.PRS.IND.3PL make.PTCP.MPL boo.INF
- b Joan lo Pèc, bèth còp on sa mair èra tau marcat, que Jean the silly once where his mother be.PST.IPFV.3PL to.the market *que* 's cope ua bèra tranche de jambon (Darrigrand 1974:100)
self=cut.PRS.IND.3SG a nice slice of ham
- c Aquéste, QUAUQU'U que là-m pagara! (de Camelat n.d.:9)
this someone *que* it=me=pay.FUT.3SG
- d L' artiste DEYA que sabè béde coume cau (De Caillabère 1965:13)
the artist already *que* knew.PST.IPFV.3SG see.INF as be.necessary.PRS.IND.3SG
- e Per u bèt dilus d' estiéu, U AMIC MIE qu' ère partit d' Arguilès (Y.Bourdète, de Camelat 1933:58)
by a nice Monday of summer a friend my *que* be.PST.IPFV.3SG left from Argelès

9.3.3 Embedded clauses

The facts outlined above for Gascon root clauses also carry over, albeit with some minor modifications, to embedded clauses, where C must also be considered strong yielding a symmetrical V2 syntax. Given that quotative (*s)e / si / ço / ça* and exclamative *be* are independently excluded from embedded contexts (on the absence of total embedded exclamatives, see Bosque 2017:45), the number of C-particles in embedded contexts is reduced to two: declarative *que / nou* and non-veridical *e*. The former introduces both propositional complements (generally requiring an indicative verb) and those adverbial clauses (e.g., causal, result, non-restrictive relatives) which, since the seminal work of Hooper

and Thompson (1973), have been described in the literature as assertive, whereas the latter introduces irrealis complements (typically containing a subjunctive verb) and adverbial clauses (e.g. temporal, purpose, conditional, restrictive relatives) whose propositional content is presupposed (cf. Pusch 2000a:198; 2000b:628; 2002:111; 2007:99f.; Marcus 2010:68). While assertive complement and adverbial clauses are known to display main clause phenomena, non-assertive clauses do not, a distinction which Haegeman derives from their respective ‘peripheral’ and ‘central’ integration within the matrix domain:³¹ in contrast to ‘central’ clauses which modify the matrix predicate and are structurally integrated into the matrix speech act by merging with the matrix clause before the completion of TP, ‘peripheral’ clauses display independent illocutionary force merging with the matrix clause after the completion of CP. Following a long tradition, Haegeman further argues that, in terms of their internal syntax, ‘central’ clauses are derived by movement of a TP-internal null temporal/modal operator to the C-domain, unlike ‘peripheral’ clauses whose derivation does not involve any such movement. Extending the analysis of [–declarative] root clauses above (cf. 16a-b), I therefore assume a derivation of embedded ‘central’ clauses along the lines of (26a-b).

- (26) a ...[CP-Force-Fin [Spec Op_i] [C' C_i (= WHEN, SINCE, WHILE, IF...)] [MoodP [Spec Op_i]...]]
 b ...[ForceP [Force' Force_i (= WHEN, SINCE, WHILE, IF...)] [TopP *Top [FinP [Spec Op_i] [Fin' Fin_i (= e) [MoodP [Spec Op_i]...]]]]]

In (26) a null temporal/modal operator base-generated in MoodP is raised to SpecCP where it enters into a Spec-Head relation with C°, a checking operation spelt out at PF in the lexicalization of the C-head as WHEN, SINCE, WHILE, IF, etc in accordance with the temporal/modal features of the raised null operator. Relevant Gascon examples from Bouzet (1963:27) are given in (27a-b) where, in the absence of left-peripheral topicalized constituents, the C-head involves a syncretic instantiation of the Force-Fin system (cf. 26a).

- (27) a Coan tribalhaba aquiu Yanto
 when work.PST.IPFV.3SG there Jeannot
 b Si hasè l' amic tout ço qui ditz
 if do.PST.IPFV.3SG the friend all that that say.PRS.IND.3SG

When left-peripheral topics are present (28a-b), the features of the Force-Fin system are necessarily scattered each heading their own projection (cf. 26b), with Force° lexicalized by the relevant temporal/modal adverbial (WHEN, SINCE, WHILE, IF) and Fin° by the non-veridical C-particle *e*. I assume that the adverbial is first licensed in C-Fin° as a reflex of the Spec-Head checking relation with the null operator, before raising to Force° where it is spelt out at PF, with Fin° lexicalized by the non-veridical C-particle *e* in accordance with our previous observation that sentential mood is spelt out at least once in the C_{Fin}-system, either on C-Fin° when SpecCP hosts a null modal operator or directly through an overt *wh*-operator raised to SpecCP.³²

³¹ See Haegeman (2003; 2007; 2009; 2010a,b; 2012a,b; 2013; 2014), Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010), Danckaert and Haegeman (2012).

³² As also noted above (fn.17) in relation to root clauses, *e* is elided before vowels, though underlying still present.

- Bouzet (1963:28)
 (i) a Que l' u de nous e se-n ane.
 b Que l' u de nous Ø ane t' aciu.
que the one of us *e* self=thence= go.PRS.IND.3SG to there

- (28) a Coan Yantot e tribalhaba aquiu
 when Jeannot *e* work.PST.IPFV.3SG there
 b Si l' amic e hasè tout ço qui ditz
 if the friend *e* do.PST.IPFV.3SG all that that say.PRS.IND.3SG

This analysis can be straightforwardly extended to restrictive relative clauses which are also assumed to involve movement of a null *wh*-operator, as well as subjunctive complement clauses where the licensing of subjunctive mood – presumably coinciding with the marked value of Cinque's (1999:88) Mood_{irrealis} conflated here with MoodP – has been argued by Manzini (1996) to involve the presence of a relevant operator in SpecCP. Once again, in the absence of left-peripheral topics the Force-Fin system is realized syncretically, with C^o spelt out at PF as *que* / *qui* 'that' once checked against the null operator in SpecCP (29a-b).³³ However, when topics are hosted in the left-periphery, Force^o and Fin^o are scattered and spelt out at PF as *que* / *qui* and *e*, respectively (30a-b). Following examples from Bouzet (1963:27)

- (29) a Entenes ço qui-t ditz tou may?
 understand.PRS.IND.2SG that that=you say.PRS.IND.3SG your mother
 b Que cau que se-n ane l' u de
que be.necessary.PRS.IND.3SG that self=thence=go.PRS.SBJV.3SG the one of
 nous-autis
 we-others
- (30) a Entenes ço qui tou may e-t ditz?
 understand.PRS.IND.2SG that that your mother *e*=you say.PRS.IND.3SG
 b Que cau que l' u de nous-autis e se-n
que be.necessary.PRS.IND.3SG that the one of we-others *e* self=thence=
 ane.
 go.PRS.SBJV.3SG

Consequently, this analysis provides a principled explanation for the traditional observation that the enunciative particle *e* surfaces in a subset of adverbial clauses and subjunctive complements whenever the subordinator and the verb are not strictly adjacent.³⁴

Our corpus also includes a fair number of 'central' clauses in which *e* is replaced by *que* as in (ii):

- (ii) Que bouleri, petit Jesus, que la may qu' y biencousse tabéy (P-D. Lafore,
que want.COND.1SG small Jesus that the mother *que* =there come.PST.SBJV.3SG also
 de Camelat 1933:49)

Although others have noted this tendency (Pusch 1999:115; 2000a:193f., 203f. n.13; 2002:107; Marcus 2010:§5.2.5), albeit without any explanation, a closer examination of the relevant examples reveals that the overwhelming majority involve the non-veridical C-particle before a vowel-initial verb or proclitic adjoined to the verb as in (ii). This suggests the existence of an morphophonological rule before vowels yielding either elision (*e* > Ø) or reinforcement (*e* > *que* + *e* > *qu'*) of the non-veridical particle.

³³ Cf. variation in the realization of the non-veridical C-particle *se/si* in §3. At a certain level of abstraction, lexicalization of syncretic Force-Fin by *que* / *qui* can be transparently analysed as an amalgam of Force *qu-* 'that' and non-veridical Fin *e*, namely *qu-+e* > *que/-i*, which are visible in the scattered realizations (cf. 30a-b).
³⁴ Cf. Lespy (1858:259), Ronjat (1913:84), Bouzet (1963:27; 1975:67), Lafont (1964:41), Rohlf's (1970:210f.), Darrigrand and Grosclaude (1971:3), Darrigrand (1974:84, 239), Pusch (2000a:192f.; 2000b:628; 2001:385-91; 2007:99f.), Morin (2005:65; 2006:37f.), Karenova (2006:3f.; 2008:50), Marcus (2010:39-42, 68; §5.2.5), Floricic (2012:5f.), Joly (2013:249, 253), Suils Subirà and Ribes (2015:552).

In our analysis, *e* surfaces precisely in these ‘central’ embedded clause types, and only these, since their derivation alone involves movement of a null operator from TP to CP, the content of which is spelt out by the non-veridical C-particle *e* lexicalized in C-Fin.

Turning now to ‘peripheral’ clauses, given their resemblance to root clauses I extend to these the analysis of root declaratives in (16b), according to which they do not involve raising of a temporal/modal operator:

- (31) a ...[CP-Force-Fin [Spec_____] [C' C (= *que/nou*) [MoodP...]]]
 b ...[ForceP [Force' Force (= *que*) [Top/FocP *Top/Foc [FinP [Spec_____] [Fin' Fin (= *que/nou*) [MoodP...]]]]]]

When the embedded left periphery does not host topics or foci (cf. 31a), Force-Fin are bundled together in a syncretic head which, in the absence of an operator, receives a default interpretation spelt out as *que*, a lexicalization of the C-head which felicitously coincides with both that of the declarative complementizer/subordinator (viz. Force) and the declarative enunciative particle (viz. Fin).³⁵

- (32) N' i pois pas anar pr'amor que soi carcat de
 NEG there=can.PRS.IND.1SG NEG go.INF because that be.PRS.IND.1SG charged of
 coientas. (Darrigrand 1974:237)
 commitments
 ‘I can’t go because I’m busy.’

When, however, the embedded Topic-Focus spaces are activated (cf. 31b), Force and Fin head independent projections both spelt out as *que*:

- (33) permou que lous cepayres que soun matiès
 because that the mushroom.foragers *que* be.PRS.IND.3PL early.risers
 (O.Coustet, de Camelat 1933:117)

It is important to note that examples such as (33) should not be confused with cases of Romance recomplementation in which, under specific structural conditions, complementizers can simultaneously lexicalize more than one head of the C-domain.³⁶ First, Gascon structures such as (33) are obligatory, not optional as with Romance recomplementation, whenever the Topic-Focus spaces are activated. Second, the lower occurrence of *que* in examples such as (33) is not a complementizer but, rather, a C-particle marking the sentence mood of the clause as part of a system of enunciative particles not found outside of Gascon. Indeed, the particle status of the lower *que* is also shown by examples (34a-b).

- (34) a Que m' a dit Yantot de que-t
que me=have.PRS.IND.3SG say.PTCP Jeannot of that=you
 maridabes (Bouzet 1963:35)
 marry.PST.IPFV.2SG
 b Per'mor que m' avisi de que despuish hèra, un fenomèn

³⁵ In negative clauses (cf. i) where the form of Force (*que*) and Fin (*nou/non/ne*) do not coincide, the head cannot be lexicalized syncretically and Force and Fin head their own projections:

(i) Que soi segur que ne son pas maduras las arhagas. (Morin 2006:47)
que be.PRS.IND.1SG sure that NEG be.PRS.IND.3PL NEG ripe the strawberries

³⁶ For an overview and relevant bibliography, see Ledgeway (2012:165-68) and Villa-García (2015).

because that me=realize.PRS.IND.3SG of that since much a phenomén
 centralista e centralizador que torna com um simptòma.
 centralist and centralizing *que* return.PRS.IND.3SG as a symptom
 (S.Javaloyès, <https://ljascon.wordpress.com/2015/04/23/lenga-de-doman/>)

On a par with many Ibero-Romance varieties, Gascon displays the phenomenon of *dequeísmo* (Bouzet 1963:58f.; 1975:78f.; Joly 2013:256f.; Puyau 2013:124f.), whereby the embedded finite complementizer *que* can be pleonastically preceded by the preposition *de* ‘of’ (34a). However, as (34b) illustrates, while the higher occurrence of *que* can be preceded by *de* in accordance with its complementizer status, the lower occurrence, the so-called enunciative particle, cannot.

Another piece of evidence that points in the same direction is the behaviour of negation. As already noted in §3.1.1, unlike the complementizer *que* (cf. (i) in fn.35), the root C-particle *que* is generally incompatible with negator *nou* since both represent different (viz. ±affirmative) instantiations of the same [+declarative] C-head. Therefore as predicted, in embedded contexts the lower *que* cannot occur with negation (**...*que*+XP+*que*+*nou*), since it is not a complementizer and must be substituted by *nou*:

- (35) permou que l’ aryént qui nou s’ emplegue _____ pas tau bé de touts,
 because that the money that NEG self=employ.PRS.IND.3SG NEG so well of all
 aus noustes oelhs nou pot pas da mey de balou (S.Palay,
 to.the our eyes NEG can.PRS.IND.3SG NEG give.INF more of value
 de Camelat 1933:74)

Significantly, the differing structural representations of [–declarative] and [+declarative] clauses in (26) and (31) once again make some non-trivial predictions about the nature and distribution of constituents that can be fronted to the left periphery.³⁷ In accordance with the bottleneck effect introduced in §3.2, the only constituents that can occur before the non-veridical *e* particle are those first-merged above the Focus Field, witness the left-peripheral topicalizations in (36):

- (36) a coum las campanes e dingouleyaben lous lous arrepics (de Camelat 1933:67)
 as the bells *e* rang.PST.IPFV.3PL the their chimes
 b Si lou maridatje e-s’ coupe (Palay 1927 :3)
 if the marriage *e*=self cut.PRS.IND.3SG
 ‘If the marriage is called off’
 c Qu’ atèndi que lou dinna e sie près. (Joly 2013:249)
que wait.PRS.IND.1SG that the dinner *e* be.PRS.SBJV.3SG ready

By contrast, in ‘peripheral’ clauses whose derivation does not involve the movement of a null operator, both foci (37a) and theme elements (37b) may legitimately (co-)occur (37c-d) before *que/nou*.

- (37) a que sèmbre [...] que TOUTS que poudèrem sènsè pènes
que seem.PRS.IND.3SG that all that can.COND.1PL without difficulties
 debisa parié (de Camelat 1933:107)
 speak.INF equally

³⁷ As the discussion below shows, there is no evidence to support the claim of González i Planas (2009) that in embedded contexts preverbal subjects preceding *que* and *e* can only be aboutness and familiar, topics, respectively, nor for the concomitant implication that focused subjects are invariably excluded before *que*.

- ‘it seems [...] that we can all speak equally without problems’
- b Sapiat d’abord que l’ oustau de Casadbath qu’ ey ue de
 know.SBJV.2PL first that the house of Casadbath *que* be.PRS.IND.3SG one of
 las mey bielhes cases (F.Mascarux, de Camelat 1933:94)
 the more old houses
- c dab l’ ahide que lhèu CAUQU’U que l’ embitère (Bouzet 1963:63)
 with the hope that perhaps someone *que* him=invite.COND.3SG
- d Que crési qu’ aquère neyt las aurelhes qu’ous
que believe.PRS.IND.1SG that that night the shepherds *que*=them
 deoun turla (F.Mascaroux, de Camelat 1933:101)
 must.PRS.IND.3PL drink.INF

Observe, finally, how given our proposed analysis of the Gascon embedded enunciative system in terms of a strong C requirement, we are led to conclude that Gascon is characterized by a symmetrical V2 syntax. ‘Central’ clauses (cf. examples 27-30,36) formally qualify as examples of embedded V2 structures, since they invariably involve both lexicalization of the (syncretic) $C_{(Force-)}Fin$ head and raising of a null modal/temporal operator to its associated specifier in satisfaction of an edge feature (viz. full V2). ‘Peripheral’ clauses, by contrast, only present the first, and arguably most crucial, of these two ingredients of the V2 constraint (viz. partial V2) since, while (syncretic) $C_{(Force-)}Fin$ is invariably lexicalized, operator movement to $SpecCP_{(Force-)}Fin$ in satisfaction of an edge feature is conditioned by the particular information structure of the utterance (cf. examples 37a,c).³⁸ There thus emerges a major difference in the distribution of embedded V2 in medieval Romance (old Sardinian excepted) and modern Gascon: while in the former embedded V2 is restricted to ‘peripheral’ clauses (so-called bridge contexts) but excluded from ‘central’ clauses, in the latter embedded V2 is systematic in both ‘peripheral’ clauses (partial / full V2) and ‘central’ clauses (full V2).

9.4. Summary and conclusion

Exploiting parallels between nominal and clausal structures, I have argued that the strong / weak D dimension of parametric variation for nominals can be extended to clauses, such that V2 syntax can be reinterpreted as the reflex of a strong C setting. On this view, we observe in the history of most Gallo-Romance varieties a parametric shift from strong to weak C manifested in the loss of generalized V-to-C movement and the concomitant reassignment of the EPP edge-feature from CP to TP, as witnessed in the emergence of a dedicated preverbal subject position and reversal in the null-subject parameter. Thus, while generalized V2 movement triggered by a semantically uninterpretable V-feature in declarative contexts has been systematically lost, V-to-C movement manifested in verb-subject inversion and pronominal enclisis is residually retained just in those contexts where movement plays a role in interpretation (and is hence associated with a semantically interpretable V-feature) licensing a series of non-veridical polarity values.

Within this scenario, I have shown that Gascon represents a major exception having uniquely retained its medieval V2 syntax and, indeed, further extended it to embedded contexts. In particular, in the passage from medieval to modern Gascon, the grammar has witnessed a radical change in the formal realization of the strong C head requirement (while the accompanying EPP edge-feature remains unchanged) such that strong C is no longer satisfied through the Move option raising the finite verb to the C position, but through the Merge option directly lexicalizing the latter position with a so-called ‘enunciative’ particle (cf. V2 satisfaction in Brythonic Celtic argued by Roberts 2004, as well as the Late Merge

³⁸ Cf. the analysis of embedded VSO in old Sardinian in Lombardi (2007) and Wolfe (2012; 2015a,b; 2018c:§§3.1-2).

Principle developed in van Gelderen 2004). This development represents the result of intensive contact with Basque, a language independently known to present similar preverbal particles, highlighting how the medieval Gallo-Romance V2 constraint was exceptionally reinforced in this area, but at the same time aligned with a Basque model triggering a shift from the Move to the Merge options in satisfaction of strong C and the emergence of an elaborate system of C-particles.³⁹

³⁹ In contrast to Gascon, (some of) the Basque preverbal particles are argued to be phrasal and hence target a C-related operator position within a particular type of partial V2 syntax (see Haddican and Eldorieta 2013).