

DOUBLING PHENOMENA IN OCCITAN

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At least three classes of facts in Occitan deserve examination within a survey of doubling:

- clitic pronoun doubling
- complementizer doubling
- negation doubling

The study of such rather heterogeneous facts will first allow some methodological consideration concerning data in Occitan. I wish to advocate the recourse to a combination of oral and written source, as well as to spontaneous and elicited data.

Starting from a broad definition of doubling, we do not expect all the data under scrutiny to fall under the same lines of analysis.

Occitan clitic pronoun doubling typically appears in contexts where enclisis and proclisis (via climbing) are equally possible, (1) & (2). Clitic pronoun doubling or complementizer doubling (3), it will be argued, belong to phonology and their analysis raises fundamental questions concerning linearity or the lexical format or morpheme.

1. *Clitic pronoun doubling : climbing and enclisis*
 - a) **Lo** vòli estripar-**lo**. (Alibèrt *Gramatica* p.289)
3pers.-m.-sg-acc want+1pers.-sg. to-gut#**3pers.-m.-sg-acc**
I want to kill him. (lit. to gut him)
 - b) Se degús non **li** sap esplicar-**li** ma lengo ! (Augièr Galhard *Òbras* 59.30)
if no one NEG 3prs-sg-dat explain+INF#3pers-sg.dat my language
If no one can explain my language to her.
2. *Clitic pronoun doubling unattested pattern: climbing and proclisis*
 - a) ***Lo** vòli l'estripar. (Alibèrt *Gramatica* p 289)
3pers.-m.-sg-acc want+1pers.-sg. **3pers.-m.-sg-acc**#to-gut+inf.
3. *Complementizer doubling*
 - a) Eisseuple vos ai donat **que** aissi cum eu o ai vos faith, **que** [qu'e PS] vos o fazat.
Sant Joan XIII. 15 (11th century Wunderli p.5)
Vos a i donat exemple que aital coma ieu vos ai fach a vosautres que tanben vosautres o fagatz.
Exemplum enim dedi vobis, ut quemadmodum ego feci vobis, ita et vos faciatis.
For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you.
 - b) E vòli **que**, quand ieu morisca, **Qu'**el me souna la romanisca. (A.Galhard 16th c.)
and (I) want that when I die that he for-me plays the *romanisca*
And I want him to play the romanisca (a type of danse music) for me when I die.
 - c) Los anhèls l'òm los tond un mes davant, **per que** quand mòntan a la montanha **per que** la lana siàgue pus lònga. (Cevenas Lengadocian, 1974)
(as for) The lambs, one shear them one month before, in order that when they move up into the mountains, (in order that) their wool should be longer.

On the other hand, negation doubling, as manifested in Lengadocian at least, simply appears not to be a case of doubling at all. Rather it suggests that a double negation system (as the one of standard French) may diachronically evolve into a diffuse negative system (as in colloquial French, where many items allow negative interpretation when used alone) or into a situation where only one item (in most of cases *pas*) inherits the function of a negation. This new

negative postverbal term replaces the (preverbal) Romance successor of NON, and systematically combines with polarity items.

4. *Lengadocian Occitan negation (basic pattern)*

- a) Los òmes s'ocupavan **pas** dels manhacs. (Cevenas Lengadocian, 1974)
the men pr.ref.#care-imperfect-3pl NEG of-the silkworms
Men didn't care about silkworms
- b) Comprenes **pas**. Non, soi **pas** un voluntari! (Joan Bodon *La grava sul camin*)
understand+2sg NEG. No, be+1sg. NEG a volunteer
You don't understand. No, I'm not a volunteer.

5. *Lengadocian Occitan negation (pseudodoubling)*

- a) Parla **pas**.
speaks not
He doesn't speak
- b) Parla **pas jamai**.
speak not (n)ever
He never speaks.
- c) **Degús** parla **pas**.
no(/any)body speaks not
Nobody speaks.
- d) **Degús** ditz **pas jamai res enluòc**.
no(/any)body says not (n)ever no(/any)thing no(/any)where
Nobody ever says anything anywhere.

If the cooccurrence of *pas* with other « negative » words (polarity items in fact) in Central Lengadocian Occitan doesn't qualify as doubling, the partial survival of the preverbal negation may more accurately fall under this definition. In North Western Lengadocian (6), we do seem to find systems where the appearance of the first element of a negative complex « (ne) ... *pas* » is limited to phonologically and/or morphologically restricted contexts. This would not be incoherent with a general analysis along which doubling, as far as any semantic effects are excluded by definition, would turn out to be phonological in essence.

6. *North Western Lengadocian Occitan (Perigord) double negation (ALLOc 24-33)*

- a) Zo sabèm **pas**.
it we-know NEG
We don't know.
- b) N'a **pas** pogut far (aquel trabalh).
NEG he-has NEG been-able to-do (this work)
He couldn't do this work.