

# Pronominal postposition in Valdôtain

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## PRONOMINAL POSTPOSITION IN VALDÔTAIN

Evidence concerning the Valdôtain past participle constructions with postposed object pronouns was examined in a previous paper published in the *Revue de Linguistique Romane*<sup>1</sup> which discussed the history of the infiltration of this feature from Piedmontese. The new material presented below was collected in August 1966, and is the result of inquiries at twenty-five localities in the Aosta valley, with a questionnaire of which only those items relevant to the syntax of object pronouns are here considered. The aim is to give a fuller picture than has hitherto been available of the geographical distribution of pronominal postposition in the Valdôtain dialects.

The localities in question are marked on the accompanying map (fig. 1), the key to which gives the name of the locality corresponding to each number, and the sex and approximate age of the informant. In all cases informants had been born and brought up in the locality indicated, and in all but five cases were still living there. These five informants all lived within twelve kilometres of their place of birth. In three instances replies for the same locality were obtained from two informants of different ages, indicated by (i) and (ii) in the key.

In the majority of interviews a French questionnaire was used, but where the letters 'It' appear in the key an Italian questionnaire was used. All replies were elicited by direct question, i. e. the informant was asked to supply the dialect translation of a given (French or Italian) phrase. At the beginning of the inquiry, the same informant was interviewed both with the French questionnaire and also, several days later, with the Italian version, in order to check for evidence that the choice of language in which questions were presented affected the syntax of the informant's replies. This did not appear to be the case. At the conclusion of the inquiry, all material was re-examined for any positive or negative

1. *RLiR*, t. XXXI, Nos. 121-122 (1967), p. 180-189.

features which could be regarded as characteristic of replies obtained either with the French or with the Italian questionnaire. No such feature was detected.

Interviews with informants were tape-recorded in all cases, except, in part, at La Salle, and for one of the informants at Gaby (12ii). The lists A to N give a transcript of the relevant parts of informants replies. The

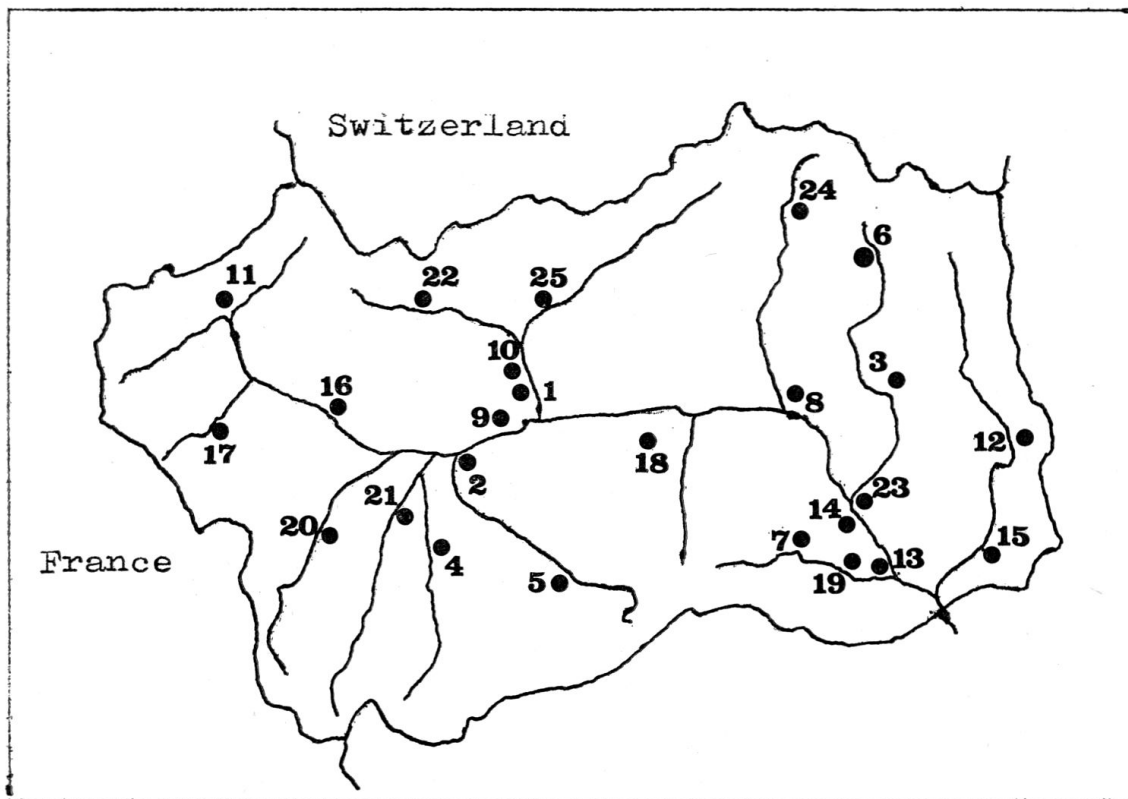


FIG. 1.

notation used is that of the *A.L.F.*, with the following modifications : (i) indications of stress are omitted, (ii) no differences between varieties of *a* or of *r* are noted, (iii) the symbol  $\tilde{n}$  is employed to denote a velarized nasal. Informants were never requested to repeat their replies, and the transcript given is thus that of a single utterance. Occasional lacunae in the material indicate either that the question was inadvertently omitted, or that because of hesitation, indistinct articulation, or for some other reason, some doubt attaches to the validity of the informant's reply.

Key to Fig. 1 : 1 Arpuilles m. 50 y. (It.); 2 Aymavilles (i) f. 50 y. (ii) f. 70 y.; 3 Brusson f. 45 y.; 4 Bois de Clin m. 25 y.; 5 Cogne f. 65 y.; 6 Champoluc f. 50 y.; 7 Champorcher (i) m. 70 y. (It.) (ii) f. 35 y. (It.); 8 Châtillon m. 25 y. (It.); 9 Chezallet m. 65 y.; 10 Exce-nex f. 40 y. (It.); 11 Entrèves m. 65 y.; 12 Gaby (i) m. 40 y. (It.) (ii) m. 60 y.; 13 Hône f. 60 y.; 14 Issogne f. 20 y.; 15 Lillianes f. 35 y.; 16 La Salle m. 20 y.; 17 La Thuile m. 60 y.; 18 Plout (V. di S. Marcel) f. 45 y. (It.); 19 Pont Bozet m. 60 y.; 20 Prariond m. 50 y.; 21 Rhêmes-St-Georges m. 60 y.; 22 St. Oyen f. 20 y.; 23 Verrès m. 50 y.; 24 Val-tournanche f. 75 y.; 25 Valpelline f. 65 y.

## A. « je l'ai cherché »

- |                                   |                               |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>l ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i>         | 12ii. <i>ɛ̃y teërteð lö</i>   |
| 2i. <i>n i teërteä lö</i>         | 13. <i>d ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i>    |
| 2ii. <i>dʒ ɛ̃ byɛ̃ teërteä lö</i> | 14. <i>ɛ̃ tsɛ̃rtsä lö</i>     |
| 3. <i>l ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i>         | 15. <i>y ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i>    |
| 4. <i>ʒ ɛ̃y teërteä lö</i>        | 16. <i>dʒ i teërtsä lö</i>    |
| 5. <i>dɛ̃ lɛ̃y teërtsä lö</i>     | 17. <i>l ɛ̃ teërteä</i>       |
| 6. <i>l ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i>         | 18. <i>dʒ ɛ̃ ɛ̃rtsä lö</i>    |
| 7i. <i>ʒ ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i>        | 19. <i>ʒ ɛ̃ sɛ̃rteä lö</i>    |
| 7ii. <i>ʒ ɛ̃tɛ̃ ɛ̃rteä lö</i>     | 20. <i>ʒɛ̃ l i teërteä</i>    |
| 8. <i>l ɛ̃ teërteɛ̃</i>           | 22. <i>n ɛ̃ tsɛ̃rteä lö</i>   |
| 9. <i>dʒɛ̃ l ɛ̃ byɛ̃ teërteä</i>  | 23. <i>dʒ ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i>   |
| 10. <i>n ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i>        | 24. <i>dʒɛ̃ l ɛ̃ tsɛ̃rtsé</i> |
| 11. <i>dʒɛ̃ l i teërteä</i>       | 25. <i>nɛ̃ l ɛ̃ teërtsü</i>   |
| 12i. <i>ɛ̃ teërteð lö</i>         |                               |

## B. « je ne l'ai pas trouvé » (\* = « je n'ai trouvé personne »)

- |                                |                                 |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>n ɛ̃ pä trövvö lö</i>    | 8. <i>l ɛ̃ pö trövvö</i>        |
| 2i. <i>n i pä trövvö lö</i>    | 9. <i>n ɛ̃ pä kăpö lö</i>       |
| 2ii. <i>n ɛ̃ pä tröwä lö</i>   | 10. <i>n ɛ̃ pä trövä lö</i>     |
| 3. <i>l ɛ̃ pä tröwä lö</i>     | 11. <i>dʒɛ̃ l i pä trövvö</i>   |
| 4. <i>ʒ ɛ̃ pö trövvö lö</i>    | 12i. <i>l ɛ̃ pä trövvö lö</i>   |
| 5. <i>dɛ̃ l ɛ̃ pä trövä lö</i> | 12ii. <i>l ɛ̃y pö trüvvö lö</i> |
| 6. <i>l ɛ̃ pä tröwö</i>        | 13. <i>dʒ ɛ̃ pö trö lö</i>      |
| 7i. <i>ʒ ɛ̃ pä trövvö lö</i>   | 14. <i>ɛ̃ pö trövvö lö</i>      |
| 7ii. <i>n ɛ̃ pä trövä lö</i>   | 15. <i>y ɛ̃y pä trövä lö</i>    |

- |                                |                             |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 16. <i>dʒ i pǒ trǒwǒ lǒ</i>    | 21. <i>ʒ ǎ pǒ trǒwǒ ɲã*</i> |
| 17. <i>l ǎ pǎ trǒvǎ</i>        | 22. <i>n ǎ pǎ trǒvǒ lǒ</i>  |
| 18. <i>dʒ ǎ pǒ trǒvǒ lǒ</i>    | 23. <i>dj ǎ pǎ trǒvǎ lǒ</i> |
| 19. <i>ʒ i pǒ trǒvǒ lǒ</i>     | 24. <i>l ǎ pǒ trǒvǒ</i>     |
| 20. <i>ʒ ǎ l i pǎ trǒwǎ lǒ</i> | 25. <i>n ǎ l ǎ pǎ trǒvǒ</i> |

## C. « (mon frère) l'a vu »

- |                          |                       |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. <i>l ǎ yǔ lǒ</i>      | 12ii. <i>l ǎ vyǎ</i>  |
| 2i. <i>l ǎ vǔ</i>        | 13. <i>y ǎ vǐ lǒ</i>  |
| 2ii. <i>l ǎ vǔ lǒ</i>    | 14. <i>i ǎ vyǔ lǒ</i> |
| 3. <i>i l ǎ vǔ lǒ</i>    | 15. <i>ǎ vǔ lǒ</i>    |
| 4. <i>l ǎ vǔ lǒ</i>      | 16. <i>l ǎ vǔ lǒ</i>  |
| 5. <i>l ǎ vǔ lǒ</i>      | 17. <i>l ǎ yǔ</i>     |
| 6. <i>ǔ l ǎ vyǔ lǒ</i>   | 18. <i>i ǎ vǔ lǒ</i>  |
| 7i. <i>ǎ vǔ lǒ</i>       | 19. <i>y ǎ vǔ lǒ</i>  |
| 7ii. <i>l ǎ vyǎ lǒ</i>   | 20. <i>l ǎ vǔ lǒ</i>  |
| 8. <i>i l ǎ vǔ</i>       | 21. <i>l ǎ vǔ</i>     |
| 9. <i>l ǎ vǔ lǒ</i>      | 22. <i>l ǎ yǔ</i>     |
| 10. <i>l ǎ yǔ</i>        | 23. <i>i ǎ vyǎ lǒ</i> |
| 11. <i>l ǎ yǔ</i>        | 24. <i>ǎ l ǎ vǔ</i>   |
| 12i. <i>ǎ l ǎ vyǎ lǒ</i> | 25. <i>l ǎ vǔ</i>     |

## D. « je les ai vus » (\* = « je l'ai vu »)

- |                            |                           |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>n i yǔ lǐ</i>        | 12ii. <i>ǎ vyǎ lǎ</i>     |
| 2i. <i>dʒ ǎ vǔ lǎ</i>      | 13. <i>ʒ ǎ vǐ lǒ*</i>     |
| 2ii. <i>dʒ ǎ l ǎ vǔ lǎ</i> | 14. <i>ǎ vǔ lǎ</i>        |
| 3. <i>l ǎ vǔ yǎ</i>        | 15. <i>y ǎ vǔ lǎ</i>      |
| 4. <i>ʒ ǎ n lǒ*</i>        | 16. <i>dʒ ǎ lǎ ǎ vǔ</i>   |
| 5. <i>d ǎ lǎ ǎ vǔ</i>      | 17. <i>j ǎ vǔ</i>         |
| 6. <i>y ǎ vǔ lǐ</i>        | 18. <i>dʒ ǎ vǔ lǎ</i>     |
| 7i. <i>ʒ ǎ vǔk</i>         | 19. <i>ʒ i vǐ lǎ</i>      |
| 7ii. <i>lǎ j ǎ vyǎ n ǎ</i> | 20. <i>ʒ ǎ lǎ ǎ i vǔ</i>  |
| 8. <i>lǎ ǎ vǔ</i>          | 21. <i>ʒ ǎ lǎ ǎ vǔ lǎ</i> |
| 9. <i>dʒ ǎ lǎ ǎ i vǔ</i>   | 22. <i>n ǎ yǔ lǎ</i>      |
| 10. <i>n ǎ yǔ lǎ</i>       | 23. <i>j ǎ vǔ lǒ*</i>     |
| 11. <i>lǎ ǎ yǔ</i>         | 24. <i>ʒ ǎ lǎ ǎ vǔ</i>    |
| 12i. <i>ǎ vyǎ lǎ</i>       | 25. <i>n ǎ lǎ ǎ vǔ</i>    |

## E. « (c'était lui) qui me l'a dit »

- |                             |                            |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>kĩ l ă dăet</i>       | 13. <i>kĩ ă di mē lõ</i>   |
| 2i. <i>kyă l ă dă mē lõ</i> | 14. <i>kĩ ă dă mē lõ</i>   |
| 2ii. <i>kĩ mē l ă dă lõ</i> | 15. <i>k ă dă mō</i>       |
| 3. <i>l ă dă mē lõ</i>      | 16. <i>kĩ ă m ă dă lõ</i>  |
| 4. <i>kĩ m ă dă lõ</i>      | 17. <i>kĩ m l ă dăet</i>   |
| 5. <i>kĩ mē l ă dă</i>      | 18. <i>kĩ ă dă mē lõ</i>   |
| 6. <i>kō mē l ă dăet</i>    | 19. <i>kĩ ă di mē lõ</i>   |
| 7ii. <i>kě yă dă mē lõ</i>  | 20. <i>kĩ mē l ă dăetē</i> |
| 8. <i>kĩ mē l ă dă</i>      | 21. <i>kě lõ m ă dă</i>    |
| 9. <i>kĩ mē l ă dă</i>      | 22. <i>kĩ m ă dăetē lõ</i> |
| 10. <i>kĩ m ă dăetē</i>     | 23. <i>kĩ ă dă mē lõ</i>   |
| 11. <i>kē mă l ă dă</i>     | 24. <i>kĩ mē l ă dă</i>    |
| 12i. <i>kě mē l ă dīt</i>   | 25. <i>kĩ mă l ă dăetē</i> |
| 12ii. <i>kě mē l ă dīt</i>  |                            |

## F. « je le leur ai promis » (\* = « je leur avais... » \*\* = « ils me l'ont... »)

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>n ẽ prômētũ lă lăer</i>          | 12ii. <i>ăvôvô prômētă lă*</i>  |
| 2i. <i>n ı̇ prômētũ lē lēy</i>         | 13. <i>z ẽ prômētĩe lõ</i>      |
| 2ii. <i>jē l ẽ prômētũ lē</i>          | 14. <i>z ẽ prômētĩe lõ</i>      |
| 3. <i>ı̇ l ẽ prēmĩyē lõ</i>            | 15. <i>y ẽ prômētũ yō</i>       |
| 4. <i>z ẽ prômētũ lē lē</i>            | 16. <i>dz ı̇ prômētũ lăy</i>    |
| 5. <i>dē lă ăvũ prômĩ*</i>             | 17. <i>zē lõ lı̇ ẽ prēmĩ</i>    |
| 6. <i>jē l ẽ prômĩ</i>                 | 18. <i>dzē prômētũ lē lõ</i>    |
| 7i. <i>z ẽ prēmētũ lõ lăer</i>         | 20. <i>j ı̇ prēmētũ lăy</i>     |
| 7ii. <i>z ıtē prômētōn yē lõ</i>       | 21. <i>zē lı̇ ẽ prômētũ lăy</i> |
| 8. <i>ı̇ l ẽ prēmētũ ă lõ</i>          | 22. <i>n ẽ prēmētũ lõ</i>       |
| 9. <i>dz ı̇ lăer prômĩ</i>             | 23. <i>dj ẽy prômētăyē lõ</i>   |
| 10. <i>n ẽ prômētũ lē lăer</i>         | 24. <i>dză lăz ẽ prômĩ</i>      |
| 11. <i>lēy ăyă prômētũ*</i>            | 25. <i>n ı̇ prômētĩ lēy</i>     |
| 12i. <i>l ă prômăetăy mē lē lăir**</i> |                                 |

## G. « il ne nous les a pas vendus » (\* = « ils... ont... » \*\* = « il ne me... » \*\*\* = « il ne nous l'a pas... »)

- |                               |                            |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>lũ ıl ă pă vëndũ lē</i> | 2ii. <i>nōz ă pă vëndũ</i> |
| 2i. <i>l ă pă vădũ nō lē</i>  | 3. <i>l ă pă vëndũ yē*</i> |

- |                             |                            |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 4. nõ læz ä pö vëndü        | 13. iy ä pö vëndi nõ lõ*** |
| 5. i nè nüz ä pä vëndü      | 14. iy ä pö vëndü nõ læ    |
| 6. il ā pä vëndü læ*        | 15. ä pä vëndü læ          |
| 7i. lū ä pä vëndü læ        | 16. nõ læz ä pö mēy vëndü  |
| 7ii. lū yät pä vëndü nūs læ | 17. nõz ä pä vëndü         |
| 8. læ nè læz ä pä vëndü     | 18. lū iy ä pö vëndü nõ læ |
| 9. i nõz ä pä vëndü lõ      | 20. nè læz ä pä vëndü      |
| 10. lwi m ä pä vëndü mē**   | 22. l ä pä vëndü nõ læ     |
| 11. nõ læz ä pä vëndü       | 23. iy ä pä vëndü mē læ**  |
| 12i. äl næ ly ä pä vëndäy   | 24. i næ læz ä pö vëndü    |
| 12ii. l ä pö vëndäy læ      | 25. i nõz ä pä vëndi       |

H. « elle ne m'a pas reconnu(e) » (\* = « ... ne l'a pas ... »)

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. l ä pä rekönü mē       | 12ii. l ä pö kõnyēsäy mē |
| 2i. m ä pä räkkönü        | 13. iy ä pö rekönüsü mē  |
| 2ii. m ä pä könü          | 14. y ä pä könüsä mē     |
| 3. l ä pä rekönü mē       | 15. ä pä rekönüsü mē     |
| 4. m ä pö rekönü          | 16. m ä pö könü          |
| 5. m ä pä rekönü          | 17. m ä pä rekönü        |
| 6. m ä pä rekönüēü mē     | 18. a pö könü mē         |
| 7i. il ä pä rekönösüy lõ* | 19. y ä pö rekönüsü mē   |
| 7ii. iy ä pä könüsüy mē   | 20. m ä pä rekönü        |
| 8. ěli m ä pö rekönüsü    | 21. m ä pö könü          |
| 9. il ä pä rekönü mē      | 22. m ä pä rekönü        |
| 10. l ä pä könü mē        | 23. iy ä pä rekönü mē    |
| 11. ěl m ä pä rekwinü     | 24. m ä pö rekönü        |
| 12i. m ä pä könüsäy mē    | 25. m ä pä rekönü        |

I. « ils ne m'ont pas vu(e) »

- |                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. lær l ā pä ü mē    | 7ii. lær y ā pä vyä mē |
| 2i. m ā pä vü         | 8. lūr i m ā pö vü     |
| 2ii. m ā pö vü        | 9. i m ā pä vü         |
| 3. l ā pä vü mē       | 10. lær l ā pä yü mē   |
| 4. m ā pö vü          | 11. ě m ö pä näka yü   |
| 5. i nè m ē pä vü     | 12i. læ m ā pä vyäy    |
| 6. i m ā pä vyä mē    | 12ii. m añ pö vyä mē   |
| 7i. lær i ā pä vyü mē | 14. iy ā pö vyü mē     |

- |                              |                            |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 15. <i>īy ā pã vü mē</i>     | 20. <i>læ̀rè m ā pã vü</i> |
| 16. <i>m ā pō vü</i>         | 21. <i>ī m ā pō mǎy</i>    |
| 17. <i>ě m ō pã ü mē</i>     | 22. <i>ī m ā pã yü</i>     |
| 18. <i>læ̀r ī ā pō vü mē</i> | 23. <i>īy ā pã vyǎ mē</i>  |
| 19. <i>īy ā pō vü mē</i>     | 25. <i>ī m ā pã vü</i>     |

J. « il nous avait oubliés » (\* = « il a ... » \*\* = « ils ont ... » \*\*\* = « il m'avait ... »)

- |                                |                                |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>lū il ā ūbliā*</i>       | 12ii. <i>ävè ūbyǎ mē***</i>    |
| 2i. <i>l äyět öbliä nõ</i>     | 13. <i>īy än ūbyö nõ**</i>     |
| 2ii. <i>nõz äyǎ öbliä</i>      | 14. <i>īy ä dimëntikö nõ</i>   |
| 3. <i>il āü ibiä nõ</i>        | 15. <i>y ävǎvö säpäsä nõ</i>   |
| 4. <i>nõz ät ätö*</i>          | 16. <i>nõz äyě ūbliä</i>       |
| 5. <i>ī nūz ävey ūbiö</i>      | 17. <i>ě nõz ävö ūbliä</i>     |
| 6. <i>ü nõz ä äbyä nõ</i>      | 18. <i>lū ī ävè ūbliä nõ</i>   |
| 7i. <i>lū ě dimëntikā nõ</i>   | 19. <i>ī än ūbyü nõ**</i>      |
| 7ii. <i>lūi ävèvä ūbliä nõ</i> | 20. <i>nõz äyět öbliä</i>      |
| 8. <i>lǎ ī n äv ūbli</i>       | 22. <i>nõz ävèt öbliö</i>      |
| 9. <i>ī nõz äyǎ öbliä nõ</i>   | 23. <i>īy ä pã rekòrdä mē*</i> |
| 10. <i>lūi l äyèv ūbliä nõ</i> | 24. <i>ī nõz ä ūbli*</i>       |
| 11. <i>ě nūz ä ūbliä*</i>      | 25. <i>ī nõz ä ūbliä</i>       |
| 12i. <i>äl n övövö öbyö nõ</i> |                                |

K. « je me suis foulé (le poignet) »

- |                                  |                               |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>n ī gätü</i>               | 12ii. <i>ěy tòrdzǎy</i>       |
| 2i. <i>n ī gätö</i>              | 13. <i>z ě debelö mè</i>      |
| 2ii. <i>dzè mè sī fète de mū</i> | 14. <i>ě dätärnü mè</i>       |
| 3. <i>il ěy zlogǎ mē</i>         | 16. <i>dzè mè sī fǎ de mö</i> |
| 4. <i>mē sī ntördü</i>           | 17. <i>zè mè eě devënäy</i>   |
| 5. <i>dè mè sé hrötü</i>         | 18. <i>dz ě fòrsǎ</i>         |
| 6. <i>mē sōw èntòrdzū.</i>       | 19. <i>z ě fě mè de mū</i>    |
| 7i. <i>z ě dävčè</i>             | 20. <i>mē sī fǎ de mǎ</i>     |
| 7ii. <i>z ite dǎbèlä mē</i>      | 21. <i>mē sī rōndöy</i>       |
| 8. <i>sě mē dëlōiy</i>           | 22. <i>n ě gätö</i>           |
| 9. <i>dzè mè sī dëbwèlö</i>      | 23. <i>z ě fě mē mǎ</i>       |
| 10. <i>n ě gätö</i>              | 24. <i>mē sī dëvlöyèlö</i>    |
| 11. <i>mē sī fǎ de mǎ</i>        | 25. <i>nē sē dëbwèläy</i>     |
| 12i. <i>mē sěy dǎrlödjò</i>      |                               |



## L. « je me suis coupé (le doigt) »

- |                          |                           |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>mě si kǒpǒ</i>     | 12ii. <i>ěy tǎlǒ mě</i>   |
| 2i. <i>mě si kǒpǒ</i>    | 13. <i>z ě tǎyǎ</i>       |
| 2ii. <i>j ě kǒpěy</i>    | 14. <i>ě tǎyǎ mě</i>      |
| 3. <i>l ě tǎyǎ</i>       | 15. <i>yě tǎyǎ</i>        |
| 4. <i>zě mě ěi kǒpǒ</i>  | 16. <i>dzě mě si kǒpǒ</i> |
| 5. <i>dě mě sěy kǒpǎ</i> | 17. <i>mě si kǒpǒ</i>     |
| 6. <i>mě sǒ tǎyǎ mě</i>  | 18. <i>dz ě kǒpǒ mě</i>   |
| 7i. <i>z ě tǎlyǎ</i>     | 19. <i>z ě tǎlǎ mě</i>    |
| 7ii. <i>z ě tǎlyǎ mě</i> | 20. <i>zě mě si kǒpǎ</i>  |
| 8. <i>zě mě si kǒpǒ</i>  | 21. <i>zě mě si kǒpǒ</i>  |
| 9. <i>si kǒpǒ</i>        | 22. <i>mě sě kǒpǒ</i>     |
| 10. <i>si kǒpǎy</i>      | 23. <i>dj ě tǎyǎ</i>      |
| 11. <i>mě ěi kǒpǒ</i>    | 24. <i>dzě mě si kǒpǒ</i> |
| 12i. <i>mě sě tǎlǎ</i>   | 25. <i>mě sǎ kǒpǎy</i>    |

## M. « nous nous sommes trompés » (\* = « je me suis... »)

- |                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. <i>ně sěn trǒmpǒ</i>      | 12ii. <i>mě sěy ězbǎlǒ*</i>  |
| 2i. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn trǒmpǒ</i>  | 13. <i>n y ězbǎlǎ sě</i>     |
| 2ii. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn trǒmpǒ</i> | 14. <i>ěn zǎbǎlǒ sě</i>      |
| 3. <i>l ěn trǒmpǎ nǒ</i>     | 15. <i>yěn ězbǎlǎ nǒ</i>     |
| 4. <i>nǒ nǒ sě zǎbǎlǎ</i>    | 16. <i>nǒz ěsěy trǒmpǒ</i>   |
| 5. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn trǒpǒ</i>    | 17. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn trǒpǎ</i>   |
| 6. <i>nǒ sěn trǒmpǎ nǒ</i>   | 18. <i>nǒ ěn zǎbǎlyǎ nǒ</i>  |
| 7i. <i>n ěn zǎbǎlyǎ ě</i>    | 19. <i>n ěn ězbǎlǒ sě</i>    |
| 7ii. <i>n ěn zǎbǎlyǎ sě</i>  | 20. <i>dzě mě si trǒmpǎ*</i> |
| 8. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn zǎbǎlě</i>   | 21. <i>nǒ sěn trǒmpǒ</i>     |
| 9. <i>nǒ sěn trǒmpǒ nǒ</i>   | 22. <i>nǒ sěn zǎbǎlǎ</i>     |
| 10. <i>si zǎbǎlyǎy*</i>      | 23. <i>dj ěyn trǒmpǎ mě*</i> |
| 11. <i>nǒ sěn trǒmpǒ</i>     | 24. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn trǒpǒ</i>   |
| 12i. <i>nǒ sě ězbǎlǎ nǒ</i>  | 25. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn trǒmpǒ</i>  |

## N. « nous nous sommes levés » (\* = « je me suis... »)

- |                             |                          |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>si lěwǒ*</i>          | 3. <i>l ěn lěvǎ nǒ</i>   |
| 2i. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn lěvěyě</i> | 5. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn lěva</i> |
| 2ii. <i>sě lěvěy*</i>       | 6. <i>nǒ sěn lěvǎ</i>    |

- |                           |                         |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 7i. <i>z ě lěvã m*</i>    | 16. <i>nŏ ěšěyē lěŏ</i> |
| 7ii. <i>n ěn lěvã sē</i>  | 17. <i>nŏ sē lěvã</i>   |
| 8. <i>nŏ nŏ sēn lěvŏ</i>  | 18. <i>ēn lěvŏ nŏ</i>   |
| 9. <i>nŏ sēn lěvŏ nŏ</i>  | 19. <i>n ěn lěvã sē</i> |
| 10. <i>sĭ lěvã*</i>       | 20. <i>mē sĭ lěvã*</i>  |
| 11. <i>sĭ lěvŏ*</i>       | 21. <i>nŏ syē lěŏ</i>   |
| 12ii. <i>mě sěy lěvŏ*</i> | 22. <i>sē lěvŏ</i>      |
| 13. <i>n ě lěvŏ</i>       | 23. <i>sě lěvã mē*</i>  |
| 14. <i>ēn lěvŏ sē</i>     | 24. <i>nŏ sēn lěvŏ</i>  |
| 15. <i>ēn lěvã nŏ</i>     | 25. <i>nŏ sēn lěvŏ</i>  |

The replies divide into three groups in respect of their acceptance of pronominal postposition. Significantly for the linguistic geography of the region, these three groups correspond to the areas marked on the map below (fig. 2) : Group 1 — localities where postposition of object

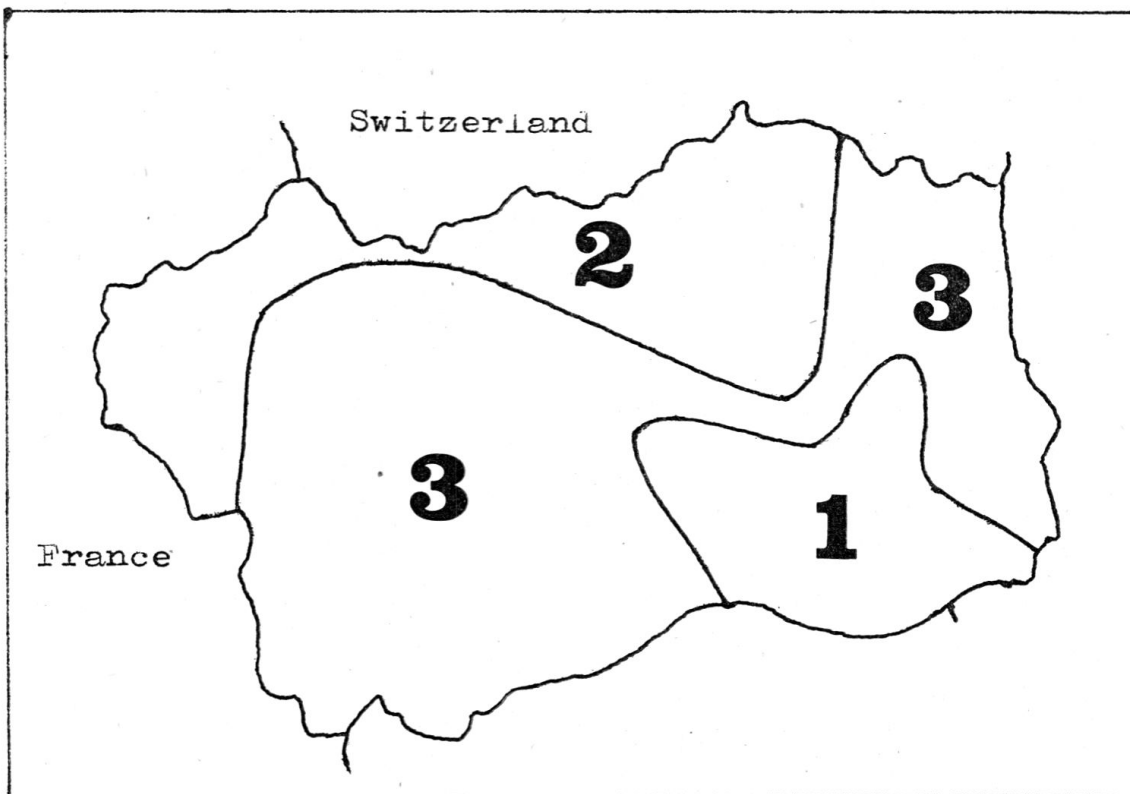


FIG. 2.

pronouns occurs regularly in all the types of construction examined : Brusson, Champorcher, Hône, Issogne, Lillianes, Plout, Pont Bozet and Verrès : Group 2 — localities where the syntax of the constructions investigated regularly shows pre-position of object pronouns in all types : Châtillon, Entrèves, La Thuile, Valtournanche and Valpelline : Group 3 — localities where the syntax of constructions investigated is divided between pre-position and postposition of object pronouns.

The localities of Group 1 occur in the area in closest proximity to the Piedmontese-speaking plain, the localities of Group 2 in the peripheral area furthest from it, while the localities of Group 3 constitute a geographically intermediate area. This distribution accords well with the pattern of Piedmontese infiltration which emerges from the historical evidence <sup>1</sup>.

The replies for Group 3 show two connected features of particular interest. At certain localities in this group (Aymavilles, Bois de Clin, La Salle, St. Oyen) postposition of the object pronoun commonly occurs when the pronoun is third person (singular or plural) but not when the pronoun is first person (singular or plural). In approximately the same area occur the only examples of the curious hybrid construction in which, in the same sentence, the direct object pronoun follows the verb while the indirect object pronoun precedes the verb (2iiE, 4E, 9G, 16E, 22E). But the absence of this type of construction in replies for F makes it seem probable that the person rather than the case of the pronoun is the determining factor. These data suggest (i) that the spread of postpositional constructions has varied with the person of the pronoun involved, and (ii) that the first instances of postposition to gain general acceptance tend to be those involving third person pronouns. On both counts, the conclusions are in accord with those suggested by an examination of earlier data from this area <sup>2</sup>.

Also worthy of note is some slight indication that postposition is not so readily accepted with pronominal or reflexive verbs (K, L, M, N). The replies for Arpuilles, Aymavilles (2i), Champoluc, Gaby and Hône point in this direction.

Finally, the distribution of reduplicated constructions (i. e. pleonastic constructions with both pre-position and postposition of the same object

1. *RLiR*, *loc. cit.*, p. 183.

2. *RLiR*, *loc. cit.*, p. 186-187.

pronoun<sup>1</sup>) supports the view that it was in this form that postposition first gained acceptance in Valdôtain, later to be supplanted by simple postposition<sup>2</sup>. It seems significant, for example, that the replies for La Thuile show regular pre-position of object pronouns, but in the one instance where postposition is admitted (17 I) it occurs in a construction of the reduplicated type. A comparable state of affairs is to be observed in the replies for Cogne, where rather more examples of reduplication are found (5 A, 5 B, perhaps 5 C). It would thus appear that the tendency is for pre-position to yield to reduplication, which is in turn supplanted by simple postposition. Gaby is a locality offering an example of a more advanced stage of development in this process, showing cases of pre-position (12 E, 12 G, 12 I, 12 K, 12 L), reduplication (12 B, 12 H, 12 J) and simple postposition (12 A, 12 D). The absence of constructions of the reduplicated type from replies for the localities of Group 1, where postposition has presumably been longest established, confirms this interpretation of the evidence.

Roy HARRIS.

1. When the subject is third person, and sometimes in other types of case, it is difficult to distinguish between reduplication and simple postposition in view of the widespread tendency in Valdôtain to generalize verb forms of the verb 'to have' with agglutinated initial *l*; cf. *RLiR*, *loc. cit.*, p. 185.

2. *RLiR*, *loc. cit.*, p. 187.