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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*¹ 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

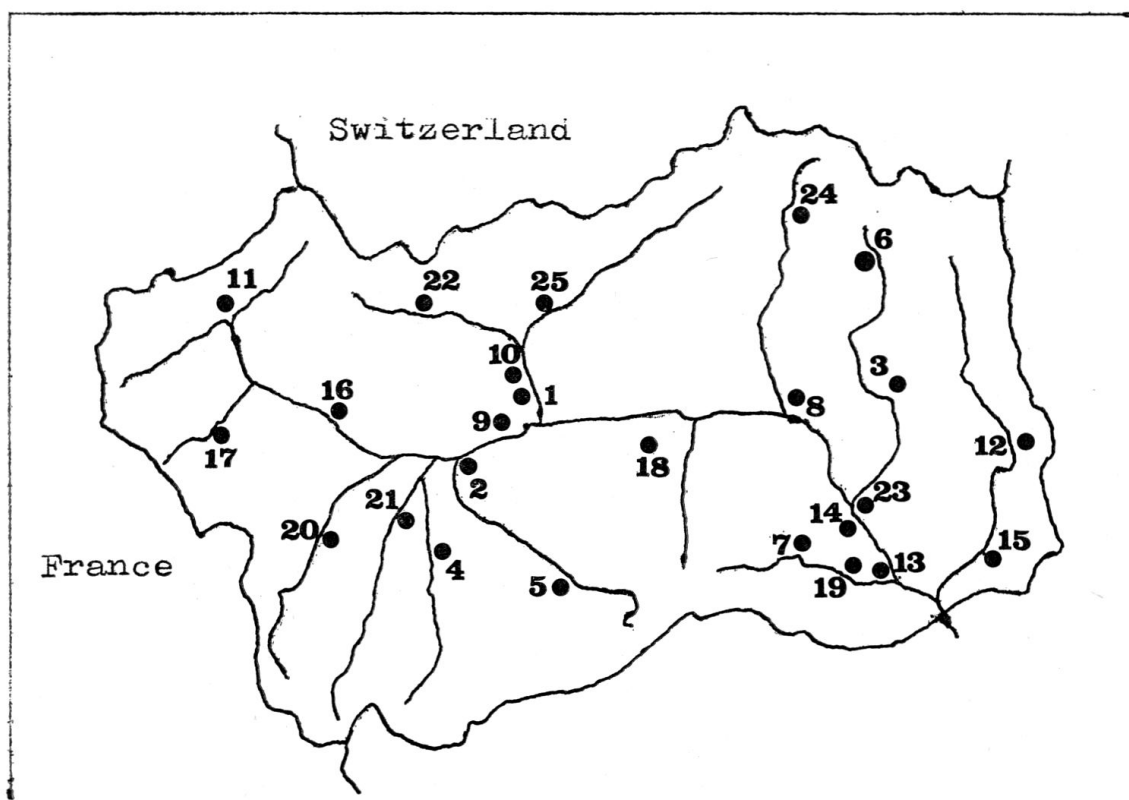


FIG. 1.

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 ẽ teẽrteã lõ</i> | 12ii. <i>ẽy teẽrteõ lũ</i> |
| 2i. <i>n ı teẽrteã lõ</i> | 13. <i>d ẽ teẽrteã lõ</i> |
| 2ii. <i>dʒ ẽ byẽ teẽrteã lõ</i> | 14. <i>ẽ tsẽrtsã lõ</i> |
| 3. <i>l ẽ teẽrteã lõ</i> | 15. <i>y ẽ teẽrteã lõ</i> |
| 4. <i>ʒ ẽy teẽrteã lõ</i> | 16. <i>dʒ ı teẽrtsã lõ</i> |
| 5. <i>dẽ lỹ teẽrtsã lõ</i> | 17. <i>l ẽ teẽrteã</i> |
| 6. <i>l ẽ teẽrteã lõ</i> | 18. <i>dʒ ẽ ẽrtsã lõ</i> |
| 7i. <i>ʒ ẽ teẽrteã lõ</i> | 19. <i>ʒ ẽ sẽrteã lõ</i> |
| 7ii. <i>ʒ ẽlẽ ẽẽrteã lõ</i> | 20. <i>ʒẽ l ı teẽrteã</i> |
| 8. <i>l ẽ teẽrteẽ</i> | 22. <i>n ẽ tsẽrtteã lõ</i> |
| 9. <i>dʒẽ l ẽ byẽ teẽrteã</i> | 23. <i>dj ẽ teẽrteã lõ</i> |
| 10. <i>n ẽ teẽrteã lõ</i> | 24. <i>dʒœ l ẽ tsẽrtsẽ</i> |
| 11. <i>djẽ l ı teẽrteã</i> | 25. <i>nẽ l ẽ teẽrtsũ</i> |
| 12i. <i>ẽ teẽrteõ lõ</i> | |

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

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>n ẽ pã trõvõ lõ</i> | 8. <i>l ẽ põ trõvõ</i> |
| 2i. <i>n ı pã trõvõ lõ</i> | 9. <i>n ẽ pã kãpõ lõ</i> |
| 2ii. <i>n ẽ pã trõwã lõ</i> | 10. <i>n ẽ pã trõvã lõ</i> |
| 3. <i>l ẽ pã trõwã lõ</i> | 11. <i>djẽ l ı pã trõvõ</i> |
| 4. <i>ʒ ẽ põ trõvõ lõ</i> | 12i. <i>l ẽ pã trõvõ lõ</i> |
| 5. <i>dẽ l ẽ pã trõvã lõ</i> | 12ii. <i>l ẽy põ trũvõ lũ</i> |
| 6. <i>l ẽ pã trõwõ</i> | 13. <i>dʒ ẽ põ trõ lõ</i> |
| 7i. <i>ʒ ẽ pã trõvõ lõ</i> | 14. <i>ẽ põ trõvõ lõ</i> |
| 7ii. <i>n ẽ pã trõvã lõ</i> | 15. <i>y ẽy pã trõvã lõ</i> |

16. *dʒ i pǒ trǒvǒ lǒ*
 17. *l ẽ pǎ trǒvǎ*
 18. *dʒ ẽ pǒ trǒvǒ lǒ*
 19. *ʒ i pǒ trǒvǒ lǒ*
 20. *ʒ ẽ l i pǎ trǒvǎ lǒ*

21. *ʒ ẽ pǒ trǒvǒ ɲã**
 22. *n ẽ pǎ trǒvǒ lǒ*
 23. *dʒ ẽ pǎ trǒvǎ lǒ*
 24. *l ẽ pǒ trǒvǒ*
 25. *n ẽ l ẽ pǎ trǒvǎ*

C. « (mon frère) l'a vu »

1. *l ǎ yǔ lǒ*
 2i. *l ǎ vǔ*
 2ii. *l ǎ vǔ lǒ*
 3. *ĩ l ǎ vǔ lǒ*
 4. *l ǎ vǔ lǒ*
 5. *l ǎ vǔ lǒ*
 6. *ũ l ǎ vyǔ lǒ*
 7i. *ǎ vǔ lǒ*
 7ii. *l ǎ vyǎ lǒ*
 8. *ĩ l ǎ vǔ*
 9. *l ǎ vǔ lǒ*
 10. *l ǎ yǔ*
 11. *l ǎ yǔ*
 12i. *ẽ l ǎ vyǎ lǒ*

- 12ii. *l ǎ vyǎ*
 13. *y ǎ vǔ lǒ*
 14. *ĩ ǎ vyǔ lǒ*
 15. *ǎ vǔ lǒ*
 16. *l ǎ vǔ lǒ*
 17. *l ǎ yǔ*
 18. *ĩ ǎ vǔ lǒ*
 19. *y ǎ vǔ lǒ*
 20. *l ǎ vǔ lǒ*
 21. *l ǎ vǔ*
 22. *l ǎ yǔ*
 23. *ĩ ǎ vyǎ lǒ*
 24. *ẽ l ǎ vǔ*
 25. *l ǎ vǔ*

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

1. *n i yǔ lǐ*
 2i. *dʒ ẽ vǔ lǐ*
 2ii. *dʒ ẽ l ẽ vǔ lǐ*
 3. *l ẽ vǔ yǐ*
 4. *ʒ ẽ n lǐ**
 5. *d ẽ l ẽ ʒ ẽ vǔ*
 6. *y ẽ vǔ lǐ*
 7i. *ʒ ẽ vǔ k*
 7ii. *l ẽ j ẽ it vyǎ n ẽ*
 8. *l ẽ ʒ ẽ vǔ*
 9. *dʒ ẽ l ẽ ʒ i vǔ*
 10. *n ẽ yǔ lǐ*
 11. *l ẽ ʒ ẽ yǔ*
 12i. *ẽ vyǎ lǐ*

- 12ii. *ẽ y vyǎ lǐ*
 13. *ʒ ẽ vǔ lǐ**
 14. *ẽ vǔ lǐ*
 15. *y ẽ vǔ lǐ*
 16. *dʒ ẽ l ẽ ʒ ẽ vǔ*
 17. *j ẽ vǔ*
 18. *dʒ ẽ vǔ lǐ*
 19. *ʒ i vǔ lǐ*
 20. *ʒ ẽ l ẽ ʒ i vǔ*
 21. *ʒ ẽ l ẽ ʒ ẽ vǔ lǐ*
 22. *n ẽ yǔ lǐ*
 23. *j ẽ vǔ lǐ**
 24. *ʒ ẽ l ẽ ʒ ẽ vǔ*
 25. *n ẽ l ẽ ʒ ẽ vǔ*

E. « (c'était lui) qui me l'a dit »

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>kĩ l ă dăet</i> | 13. <i>kĩ ă dĩ mẽ lỏ</i> |
| 2i. <i>kyă l ă dă mẽ lỏ</i> | 14. <i>kĩ ă dă mẽ lỏ</i> |
| 2ii. <i>kĩ mẽ l ă dă lỏ</i> | 15. <i>k ă dă mỏ</i> |
| 3. <i>l ă dă mẽ lỏ</i> | 16. <i>kĩ ă m ă dă lỏ</i> |
| 4. <i>kĩ m ă dă lỏ</i> | 17. <i>kĩ m l ă dăet</i> |
| 5. <i>kĩ mẽ l ă dă</i> | 18. <i>kĩ ă dă mẽ lỏ</i> |
| 6. <i>kỏ mẽ l ă dăet</i> | 19. <i>kĩ ă dĩ mẽ lỏ</i> |
| 7ii. <i>kẻ yă dă mẽ lỏ</i> | 20. <i>kĩ mẽ l ă dăetẻ</i> |
| 8. <i>kĩ mẽ l ă dă</i> | 21. <i>kẻ lỏ m ă dă</i> |
| 9. <i>kĩ mẽ l ă dă</i> | 22. <i>kĩ m ă dăetẻ lỏ</i> |
| 10. <i>kĩ m ă dăetẻ</i> | 23. <i>kĩ ă dă mẽ lỏ</i> |
| 11. <i>kẻ mả l ă dă</i> | 24. <i>kĩ mẽ l ă dă</i> |
| 12i. <i>kẻ mẽ l ă dĩt</i> | 25. <i>kĩ mả l ă dăetẻ</i> |
| 12ii. <i>kẻ mẽ l ă dĩt</i> | |

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

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>n ẻ prỏmẻtủ lả lẻr</i> | 12ii. <i>ăvỏvỏ prỏmẻtẻ lẻ*</i> |
| 2i. <i>n ỉ prỏmẻtủ lẻ lẻy</i> | 13. <i>z ẻ prỏmẻtẻ lỏ</i> |
| 2ii. <i>jẻ l ẻ prỏmẻtủ lẻ</i> | 14. <i>z ẻ prỏmẻtẻ lỏ</i> |
| 3. <i>ỉ l ẻ prẻmỉẻ lỏ</i> | 15. <i>y ẻ prỏmẻtủ yỏ</i> |
| 4. <i>z ẻ prỏmẻtủ lẻ lẻ</i> | 16. <i>dz ỉ prỏmẻtủ lảy</i> |
| 5. <i>dẻ lẻ ăvủ prỏmỉ*</i> | 17. <i>zẻ lỏ lỉ ẻ prẻmỉ</i> |
| 6. <i>jẻ l ẻ prỏmỉ</i> | 18. <i>dẻ prỏmẻtủ lẻ lỏ</i> |
| 7i. <i>z ẻ prẻmẻtủ lỏ lẻr</i> | 20. <i>j ỉ prẻmẻtủ lảy</i> |
| 7ii. <i>z ỉẻ prỏmẻtỏn yẻ lỏ</i> | 21. <i>zẻ lỉ ẻ prỏmẻtủ lảy</i> |
| 8. <i>ỉ l ẻ prẻmẻtủ ă lỏ</i> | 22. <i>n ẻ prẻmẻtủ lỏ</i> |
| 9. <i>dz ỉẻ lẻr prỏmỉ</i> | 23. <i>dj ẻy prỏmẻtẻẻẻ lỏ</i> |
| 10. <i>n ẻ prỏmẻtủ lẻ lẻr</i> | 24. <i>dẻẻ lẻẻẻ ẻ prỏmỉ</i> |
| 11. <i>lẻy ăyẻ prẻmẻtủ*</i> | 25. <i>n ỉ prỏmẻtẻ lẻy</i> |
| 12i. <i>l ă prỏmẻtẻẻẻ mẽ lẻ lửr**</i> | |

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

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>lủ ỉl ă pả vẻndủ lẻ</i> | 2ii. <i>nỏz ă pả vẻndủ</i> |
| 2i. <i>l ă pả vẻndủ nỏ lẻ</i> | 3. <i>l ă pả vẻndủ yẻ*</i> |

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 4. nǒ lǝz ă pǎ vëndũ | 13. iy ă pǎ vëndĩ nǒ lǝ*** |
| 5. ỉ nè nũz ă pǎ vëndũb | 14. ỉy ă pǎ vëndũ nǒ lǝ |
| 6. ỉl ă pǎ vëndũ lǝ* | 15. ă pǎ vëndũ lǝ |
| 7i. lũ ă pǎ vëndũ lǝ | 16. nǒ lǝz ă pǎ mǝy vëndũ |
| 7ii. lũ yǎt pǎ vëndũ nũs lǝ | 17. nǒz ă pǎ vëndũ |
| 8. lǝ nè lǝz ă pǎ vëndũ | 18. lũ ỉy ă pǎ vëndũ nǒ lǝ |
| 9. ỉ nǒz ă pǎ vëndũ lǝ | 20. nè lǝz ă pǎ vëndũ |
| 10. lũ m ă pǎ vëndũ mǝ** | 22. l ă pǎ vëndũ nǒ lǝ |
| 11. nǒ lǝz ă pǎ vëndũ | 23. iy ă pǎ vëndũ mǝ lǝ** |
| 12i. ăl nǝ l y ă pǎ vëndǝy | 24. ỉ nǝ lǝz ă pǎ vëndũ |
| 12ii. l ă pǎ vëndǝy lǝ | 25. ỉ nǒz ă pǎ vëndĩb |

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

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. l ă pǎ rǝkǝnũ mǝ | 12ii. l ă pǎ kǝnyǝsǝy mǝ |
| 2i. m ă pǎ rǝkǝnũ | 13. ỉy ă pǎ rǝkǝnũsũ mǝ |
| 2ii. m ă pǎ kǝnũ | 14. y ă pǎ kǝnũsǎ mǝ |
| 3. l ă pǎ rǝkǝnũ mǝ | 15. ă pǎ rǝkǝnũsũ mǝ |
| 4. m ă pǎ rǝkǝnũ | 16. m ă pǎ kǝnũ |
| 5. m ă pǎ rǝkǝnũ | 17. m ă pǎ rǝkǝnũ |
| 6. m ă pǎ rǝkǝnũǝũ mǝ | 18. a pǎ kǝnũ mǝ |
| 7i. ỉl ă pǎ rǝkǝnũsũy lǝ* | 19. y ă pǎ rǝkǝnũsũ mǝ |
| 7ii. iy ă pǎ kǝnũsũy mǝ | 20. m ă pǎ rǝkǝnũ |
| 8. ǝlĩ m ă pǎ rǝkǝnũsũ | 21. m ă pǎ kǝnũ |
| 9. ỉl ă pǎ rǝkǝnũ mǝ | 22. m ă pǎ rǝkǝnũ |
| 10. l ă pǎ kǝnũ mǝ | 23. iy ă pǎ rǝkǝnũ mǝ |
| 11. ǝl m ă pǎ rǝkũwĩnũ | 24. m ă pǎ rǝkǝnũ |
| 12i. m ă pǎ kǝnũsǝy mǝ | 25. m ă pǎ rǝkǝnũ |

I. « ils ne m'ont pas vu(e) »

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. lǝr l ă pǎ ũ mǝ | 7ii. lǝr y ă pǎ vyǝ mǝ |
| 2i. m ă pǎ vũ | 8. lũr ỉ m ă pǎ vũ |
| 2ii. m ă pǎ vũ | 9. ỉ m ă pǎ vũ |
| 3. l ă pǎ vũ mǝ | 10. lǝr l ă pǎ yũ mǝ |
| 4. m ă pǎ vũb | 11. ǝ m ă pǎ nǝka yũ |
| 5. ỉ nè m ă pǎ vũ | 12i. lǝ m ă pǎ vyǝy |
| 6. ỉ m ă pǎ vyǝ mǝ | 12ii. m ă n pǎ vyǝ mǝ |
| 7i. lǝr ỉ ă pǎ vyũ mǝ | 14. ỉy ă pǎ vyũ mǝ |

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 15. <i>īy ā pā vū mē</i> | 20. <i>læ̀rè m ā pā vū</i> |
| 16. <i>m ā pō vū</i> | 21. <i>ī m ā pō mǎy</i> |
| 17. <i>ē m ō pā ū mē</i> | 22. <i>ī m ā pā yū</i> |
| 18. <i>læ̀r ī ā pō vū mē</i> | 23. <i>īy ā pā vyǎ mē</i> |
| 19. <i>īy ā pō vū mē</i> | 25. <i>ī m ā pā vū</i> |

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

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>lū il ā ūbliā*</i> | 12ii. <i>āvē ūbyǎ mē***</i> |
| 2i. <i>l āyēt ōbliā nō</i> | 13. <i>īy ān ūbyō nō**</i> |
| 2ii. <i>nōz āyā ōbliā</i> | 14. <i>īy ā dimēntikō nō</i> |
| 3. <i>il āū ibiā nō</i> | 15. <i>y āvāvō sǎpāsā nō</i> |
| 4. <i>nōz āt ælō*</i> | 16. <i>nōz āyē ūbliā</i> |
| 5. <i>ī nūz āvey ūbiō</i> | 17. <i>ē nōz āvō ūbliā</i> |
| 6. <i>ū nōz ā æbyā nō</i> | 18. <i>lū ī āvē ūbliā nō</i> |
| 7i. <i>lū ē dimēntikā nō</i> | 19. <i>ī ān ūbyū nō**</i> |
| 7ii. <i>lū āvēvā ūbliā nō</i> | 20. <i>nōz āyēt ōbliā</i> |
| 8. <i>læ̀ ī n āv ūbli</i> | 22. <i>nōz āvēt ōbliō</i> |
| 9. <i>ī nōz āyā ōbliā nō</i> | 23. <i>īy ā pā rēkōrdā mē*</i> |
| 10. <i>lū ī l āyēv ūbliā nō</i> | 24. <i>ī nōz ā ūblō*</i> |
| 11. <i>ē nūz ā ūbliā*</i> | 25. <i>ī nōz ā ūbliā</i> |
| 12i. <i>āl n ōvōvō ōbyō nō</i> | |

K. « je me suis foulé (le poignet) »

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>n ī gātū</i> | 12ii. <i>ēy tōrdzǎy</i> |
| 2i. <i>n ī gātō</i> | 13. <i>z ē débēlō mē</i> |
| 2ii. <i>dzē mē sī fētē dē mā</i> | 14. <i>ē dātārnū mē</i> |
| 3. <i>il ēy zlōgā mē</i> | 16. <i>dzē mē sī fā dē mō</i> |
| 4. <i>mē sī ntōrdū</i> | 17. <i>zē mē ēē dēvēnāy</i> |
| 5. <i>dē mē sē hrōtū</i> | 18. <i>dz ē fōrsā</i> |
| 6. <i>mē sōw ēntōrdzū</i> | 19. <i>z ē fē mē dē mā</i> |
| 7i. <i>z ē dāvē</i> | 20. <i>mē sī fā dē mā</i> |
| 7ii. <i>z īte dābēlā mē</i> | 21. <i>mē sī rōndōy</i> |
| 8. <i>sē mē dēlōy</i> | 22. <i>n ē gātō</i> |
| 9. <i>dzē mē sī dēbwēlō</i> | 23. <i>z ē fē mē mā</i> |
| 10. <i>n ē gātō</i> | 24. <i>mē sī dēvlōyēlō</i> |
| 11. <i>mē sī fā dē mā</i> | 25. <i>nē sē dēbwēlāy</i> |
| 12i. <i>mē sēy dārlōdjō</i> | |

L. « je me suis coupé (le doigt) »

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>mě sī kōpō</i> | 12ii. <i>ě_y tālō mē</i> |
| 2i. <i>mě sī kōpō</i> | 13. <i>z ẽ tāyā</i> |
| 2ii. <i>j ẽ kōpě_y</i> | 14. <i>ẽ tāyā mē</i> |
| 3. <i>l ẽ tāyā</i> | 15. <i>yẽ tāyā</i> |
| 4. <i>zẽ mē ẽi kōpō</i> | 16. <i>dzẽ mē sī kōpō</i> |
| 5. <i>dẽ mē sě_y kōpā</i> | 17. <i>mē sī kōpō</i> |
| 6. <i>mē sō tāyā mē</i> | 18. <i>dz ẽ kōpō mē</i> |
| 7i. <i>z ẽ tālyā</i> | 19. <i>z ẽ tālā mē</i> |
| 7ii. <i>z itē tālyā mē</i> | 20. <i>zẽ mē sī kōpā</i> |
| 8. <i>zẽ mē sī kōpō</i> | 21. <i>zẽ mē sī kōpō</i> |
| 9. <i>sī kōpō</i> | 22. <i>mē sē kōpō</i> |
| 10. <i>sī kōpāy</i> | 23. <i>dj ẽ tāyā</i> |
| 11. <i>mē ẽi kōpō</i> | 24. <i>dzẽ mē sī kōpō</i> |
| 12i. <i>mē sē tālā</i> | 25. <i>mē sã kōpāy</i> |

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

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>ně sēn trōmpō</i> | 12ii. <i>mē sě_y ẽzbālō*</i> |
| 2i. <i>nō nō sēn trōmpō</i> | 13. <i>n_y ẽzbālā sē</i> |
| 2ii. <i>nō nō sēn trōmpō</i> | 14. <i>ẽn zbālō sē</i> |
| 3. <i>l ẽn trōmpā nō</i> | 15. <i>yẽn ẽzbālā nō</i> |
| 4. <i>nō nō sē zbālā</i> | 16. <i>nōz ẽsě_y trōmpō</i> |
| 5. <i>nō nō sēn trōpō</i> | 17. <i>nō nō sēn trōpā</i> |
| 6. <i>nō sēn trōmpā nō</i> | 18. <i>nō ẽn zbālyā nō</i> |
| 7i. <i>n ẽn zbālyā ẽ</i> | 19. <i>n ẽn ẽzbālō sē</i> |
| 7ii. <i>n ẽn zbālyā sē</i> | 20. <i>dzẽ mē sī trōmpā*</i> |
| 8. <i>nō nō sēn zbālẽ</i> | 21. <i>nō sēn trōmpō</i> |
| 9. <i>nō sēn trōmpō nō</i> | 22. <i>nō sēn zbālā</i> |
| 10. <i>sī zbālyāy*</i> | 23. <i>dj ẽyn trōmpā mē*</i> |
| 11. <i>nō sēn trōmpō</i> | 24. <i>nō nō sēn trōpō</i> |
| 12i. <i>nō sē ẽzbālā nō</i> | 25. <i>nō nō sēn trōmpō</i> |

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

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>sī lěwō*</i> | 3. <i>l in lěvā nō</i> |
| 2i. <i>nō nō sēn lěvēyē</i> | 5. <i>nō nō sēn lěvā</i> |
| 2ii. <i>sē lěvēy*</i> | 6. <i>nō sēn lěvā</i> |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 7i. $\text{z} \check{\text{e}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{a}} \text{ m}^*$ | 16. $\text{n} \check{\text{o}} \check{\text{e}} \text{s} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{y}} \check{\text{e}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{o}}$ |
| 7ii. $\text{n} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{n}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{a}} \text{ s} \check{\text{e}}$ | 17. $\text{n} \check{\text{o}} \text{ s} \check{\text{e}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{a}}$ |
| 8. $\text{n} \check{\text{o}} \text{ n} \check{\text{o}} \text{ s} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{n}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{o}}$ | 18. $\check{\text{e}} \check{\text{n}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{o}} \text{ n} \check{\text{o}}$ |
| 9. $\text{n} \check{\text{o}} \text{ s} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{n}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{o}} \text{ n} \check{\text{o}}$ | 19. $\text{n} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{n}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{a}} \text{ s} \check{\text{e}}$ |
| 10. $\text{s} \check{\text{i}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{a}} \text{y}^*$ | 20. $\text{m} \check{\text{e}} \text{ s} \check{\text{i}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{a}}^*$ |
| 11. $\text{s} \check{\text{i}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{o}}^*$ | 21. $\text{n} \check{\text{o}} \text{ s} \check{\text{y}} \check{\text{e}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{o}}$ |
| 12ii. $\text{m} \check{\text{e}} \text{ s} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{y}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{o}}^*$ | 22. $\text{s} \check{\text{e}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{o}}$ |
| 13. $\text{n} \check{\text{e}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{o}}$ | 23. $\text{s} \check{\text{e}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{a}} \text{ m} \check{\text{e}}^*$ |
| 14. $\check{\text{e}} \check{\text{n}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{o}} \text{ s} \check{\text{e}}$ | 24. $\text{n} \check{\text{o}} \text{ s} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{n}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{o}}$ |
| 15. $\check{\text{e}} \check{\text{n}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{a}} \text{ n} \check{\text{o}}$ | 25. $\text{n} \check{\text{o}} \text{ s} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{n}} \text{ l} \check{\text{e}} \check{\text{v}} \check{\text{o}}$ |

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

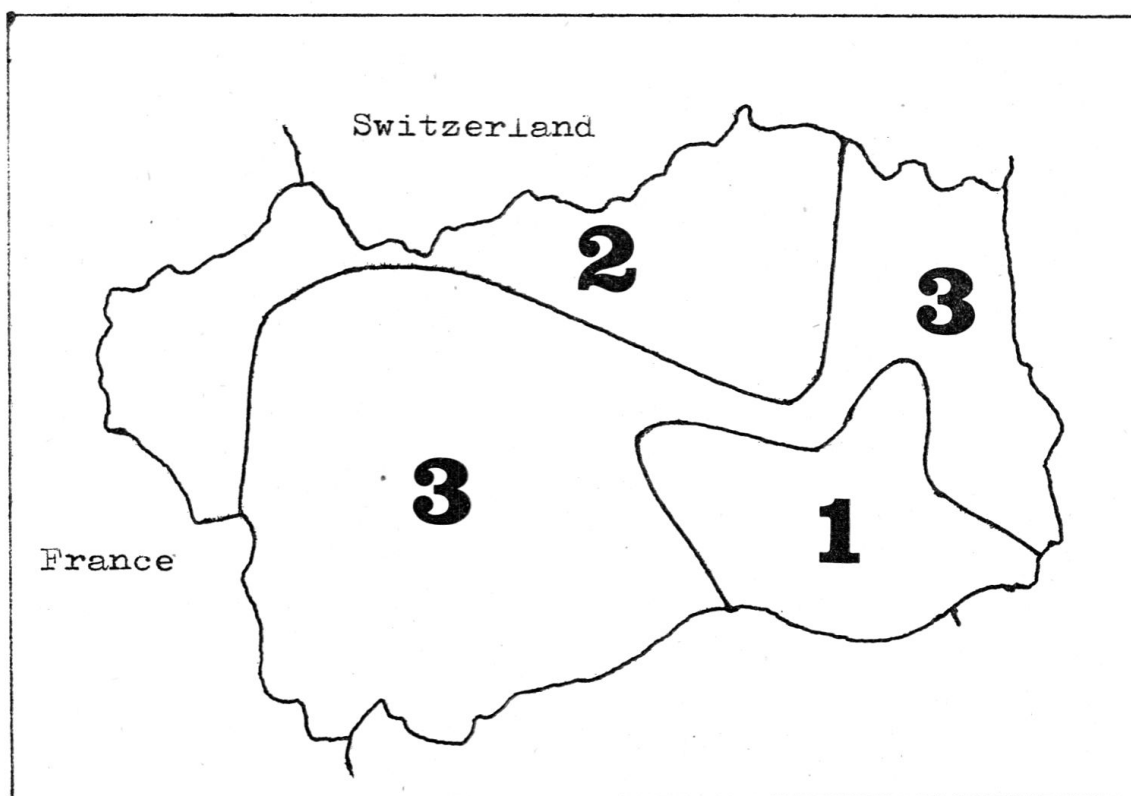


FIG. 2.

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 ¹.

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 ².

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.

pronoun¹) supports the view that it was in this form that postposition first gained acceptance in Valdôtain, later to be supplanted by simple postposition². 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.