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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

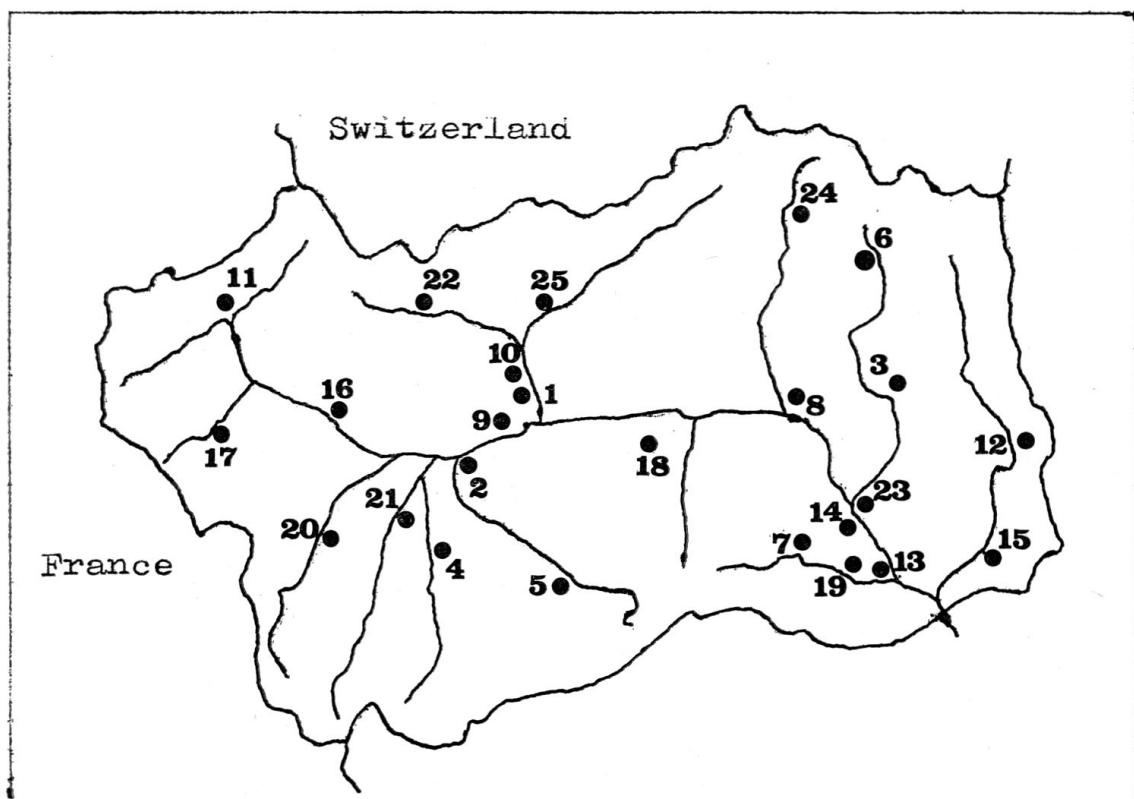


FIG. 1.

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 *n̄* 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 Excenex 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 Valtournanche f. 75 y.; 25 Valpelline f. 65 y.

A. « je l'ai cherché »

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>l ē tēṛteā lō</i> | 12ii. <i>ēy tēṛteō lū</i> |
| 2i. <i>n i tēṛteā lō</i> | 13. <i>d ē tēṛteā lō</i> |
| 2ii. <i>dž ē byē tēṛteā lō</i> | 14. <i>ē tsērtsa lō</i> |
| 3. <i>l ē tēṛteā lō</i> | 15. <i>y ē tēṛteā lō</i> |
| 4. <i>z ēy tēṛteā lō</i> | 16. <i>dž i tēṛtsa lō</i> |
| 5. <i>dē lēy tēṛtsa lō</i> | 17. <i>l ē tēṛteā</i> |
| 6. <i>l ē tēṛteā lō</i> | 18. <i>dž ē ērtsa lō</i> |
| 7i. <i>z ē teēṛteā lō</i> | 19. <i>z ē sērtēa lō</i> |
| 7ii. <i>z ētē eēṛteā lō</i> | 20. <i>zē l i tēṛteā</i> |
| 8. <i>l ē tēṛteē</i> | 22. <i>n ē tsērtteā lō</i> |
| 9. <i>džē l ē byē tēṛteā</i> | 23. <i>dj ē tēṛteā lō</i> |
| 10. <i>n ē tēṛteā lō</i> | 24. <i>džō l ē tsērtse</i> |
| 11. <i>djē l i tēṛteā</i> | 25. <i>nē l ē tēṛtsū</i> |
| 12i. <i>ē tēṛteō lō</i> | |

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

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>n ē pā trōvō lō</i> | 8. <i>l ē pō trōvō</i> |
| 2i. <i>n i pā trōvō lō</i> | 9. <i>n ē pā kāpō lō</i> |
| 2ii. <i>n ē pā trōwā lō</i> | 10. <i>n ē pā trōvā lō</i> |
| 3. <i>l ē pā trōwā lō</i> | 11. <i>djē l i pā trōvō</i> |
| 4. <i>z ē pō trōvō lō</i> | 12i. <i>l ē pā trōvō lō</i> |
| 5. <i>dē l ē pā trōvā lō</i> | 12ii. <i>l ēy pō trōvō lū</i> |
| 6. <i>l ē pā trōwō</i> | 13. <i>dž ē pō trō lō</i> |
| 7i. <i>z ē pā trōvō lō</i> | 14. <i>ē pō trōvō lō</i> |
| 7ii. <i>n ē pā trōvā lō</i> | 15. <i>y ēy pā trōvā lō</i> |

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 16. <i>dž i pō trōwō lō</i> | 21. <i>z ē pō trōvō nyā*</i> |
| 17. <i>l ē pā trōvā</i> | 22. <i>n ē pā trōvō lō</i> |
| 18. <i>dž ē pō trōvō lō</i> | 23. <i>dj ē pā trōvā lō</i> |
| 19. <i>z i pō trōvō lō</i> | 24. <i>l ē pō trōvō</i> |
| 20. <i>zē l i pā trōwā lō</i> | 25. <i>nē l ē pā trūvū</i> |

C. « (mon frère) l'a vu »

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. <i>l ā yū lō</i> | 12ii. <i>l ā vyā</i> |
| 2i. <i>l ā vū</i> | 13. <i>y ā vi lō</i> |
| 2ii. <i>l ā vū lō</i> | 14. <i>i ā vyū lō</i> |
| 3. <i>i l ā vū lō</i> | 15. <i>ā vū lō</i> |
| 4. <i>l ā vū lō</i> | 16. <i>l ā vū lō</i> |
| 5. <i>l ā vū lō</i> | 17. <i>l ā yū</i> |
| 6. <i>ū l ā vyū lō</i> | 18. <i>i ā vū lō</i> |
| 7i. <i>ā vū lō</i> | 19. <i>y ā vū lō</i> |
| 7ii. <i>l ātē vyālō</i> | 20. <i>l ā vū lō</i> |
| 8. <i>i l ā vū</i> | 21. <i>l ā vū</i> |
| 9. <i>l ā vū lō</i> | 22. <i>l ā yū</i> |
| 10. <i>l ā yū</i> | 23. <i>i ā vyā lō</i> |
| 11. <i>l ā yū</i> | 24. <i>ē l ā vū</i> |
| 12i. <i>ē l ā vyā lō</i> | 25. <i>l ā vū</i> |

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

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>n ī yū li</i> | 12ii. <i>ēy vyā lē</i> |
| 2i. <i>dž ē vū lē</i> | 13. <i>z ē vi lō*</i> |
| 2ii. <i>džē l ē vū lē</i> | 14. <i>ē vū lē</i> |
| 3. <i>l ē vū yē</i> | 15. <i>y ē vū lē</i> |
| 4. <i>z ē ū lō*</i> | 16. <i>džē lēz ē vū</i> |
| 5. <i>dē lēz ē vū</i> | 17. <i>j ē vū</i> |
| 6. <i>y ē vū li</i> | 18. <i>dž ē vū lē</i> |
| 7i. <i>z ē vūk</i> | 19. <i>z ī vi lē</i> |
| 7ii. <i>lēj it vyānē</i> | 20. <i>zālēz ī vū</i> |
| 8. <i>lēz ē vū</i> | 21. <i>zē lēz ē vū lē</i> |
| 9. <i>džē lēz ī vū</i> | 22. <i>n ē yū lē</i> |
| 10. <i>n ē yū lē</i> | 23. <i>j ē vū lō*</i> |
| 11. <i>lēz ē yū</i> | 24. <i>zālēz ē vū</i> |
| 12i. <i>ē vyā lē</i> | 25. <i>nālēz ē vū</i> |

E. « (c'était lui) qui me l'a dit »

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>kī l ā dāt</i> | 13. <i>kī ā dī mē lō</i> |
| 2i. <i>kyă l ā dă̄ mē lō</i> | 14. <i>kī ā dă̄ mē lō</i> |
| 2ii. <i>kī mē l ā dă̄ lō</i> | 15. <i>k ā dă̄ mō</i> |
| 3. <i>l ā dă̄ mē lō</i> | 16. <i>kī ā m ā dă̄ lō</i> |
| 4. <i>kī m ā dă̄ lō</i> | 17. <i>kī m l ā dāt</i> |
| 5. <i>kī mē l ā dă̄</i> | 18. <i>kī ā dă̄ mē lō</i> |
| 6. <i>kō mē l ā dāt</i> | 19. <i>kī ā di mē lō</i> |
| 7ii. <i>kĕ yă dă̄ mē lō</i> | 20. <i>kī mē l ā dă̄tē</i> |
| 8. <i>kī mē l ā dă̄</i> | 21. <i>kĕ lō m ā dă̄</i> |
| 9. <i>kī mē l ā dă̄</i> | 22. <i>kī m ā dă̄tē lō</i> |
| 10. <i>kī m ā dă̄tē</i> | 23. <i>kī ā dă̄ mē lō</i> |
| 11. <i>kĕ mă l ā dă̄</i> | 24. <i>kī mē l ā dă̄</i> |
| 12i. <i>kĕ mē l ā dīt</i> | 25. <i>kī mă l ā dă̄tē</i> |
| 12ii. <i>kĕ mē l ā dīt</i> | |

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

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>n ē prōmētū lă lär</i> | 12ii. <i>ăvōvō prōmētă̄ lē*</i> |
| 2i. <i>n ī prōmētū lē lĕy</i> | 13. <i>z ē prōmētē lō</i> |
| 2ii. <i>jē l ē prōmētū lē</i> | 14. <i>z ē prōmētē lō</i> |
| 3. <i>i l ē prēmīyē lō</i> | 15. <i>y ē prōmētū yō</i> |
| 4. <i>z ē prōmētū lē lē</i> | 16. <i>dz i prōmētū lăy</i> |
| 5. <i>dē lă̄ ăvū prōnī*</i> | 17. <i>zē lō lī ē prēmī</i> |
| 6. <i>jē l ē prōmī</i> | 18. <i>dzē prōmētū lē lō</i> |
| 7i. <i>z ē prēmētū lō lär</i> | 20. <i>j ī prēmētū lăy</i> |
| 7ii. <i>z ītē p̄rōmētōn yē lō</i> | 21. <i>zē lī ē prōmētū lăy</i> |
| 8. <i>i l ē prēmētū ā lō</i> | 22. <i>n ē prēmētū lō</i> |
| 9. <i>dz īe lă̄r prōmī</i> | 23. <i>dj ēy prōmētēyē lō</i> |
| 10. <i>n ē prōmētū lē lär</i> | 24. <i>dză̄ lă̄z ē prōmī</i> |
| 11. <i>lĕy ăyă̄ prēmētū*</i> | 25. <i>n ī prōmētī lēy</i> |
| 12i. <i>l ā̄ prōmāetă̄y mē lē lür**</i> | |

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

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>lū il ā pă vĕndū lē</i> | 2ii. <i>nōz ā pă vĕndū</i> |
| 2i. <i>l ā pă vădū nō lē</i> | 3. <i>l ā pă vĕndū yē*</i> |

4. *nō lēz ā pō vēndū*
 5. *ī nē nūz ā pā vēndūb*
 6. *īl ā pā vēndū lē**
 7i. *lū ā pā vēndū lē*
 7ii. *lūy yāt pā vēndū nūs lē*
 8. *lē nē lēz ā pā vēndū*
 9. *ī nōz ā pā vēndū lō*
 10. *lūvī m ā pā vēndū mē***
 11. *nō lēz ā pā vēndū*
 12i. *āl nā ly ā pā vēndāy*
 12ii. *l ā pō vēndāy lē*

13. *īy ā pō vēndī nō lō****
 14. *īy ā pō vēndū nō lē*
 15. *ā pā vēndū lē*
 16. *nō lēz ā pō mēy vēndū*
 17. *nōz ā pā vēndū*
 18. *lū īy ā pō vēndū nō lē*
 20. *nē lēz ā pā vēndū*
 22. *l ā pā vēndū nō lē*
 23. *īy ā pā vēndū mē lē***
 24. *ī nā lēz ā pō vēndū*
 25. *ī nōz ā pā vēndīb*

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

1. *l ā pā rekōnū mē*
 2i. *m ā pā rēkōnū*
 2ii. *m ā pā kōnū*
 3. *l ā pā rekōnū mē*
 4. *m ā pō rekōnū*
 5. *m ā pā rekōnū*
 6. *m ā pā rekōnūēū mē*
 7i. *il ā pā rekōnōsūy lō**
 7ii. *īy ā pā kōnūsūy mē*
 8. *ēlī m ā pō rekōnūsū*
 9. *il ā pā rekōnū mē*
 10. *l ā pā kōnū mē*
 11. *ēl m ā pā rekōnū*
 12i. *m ā pā kōnūsāy mē*

- 12ii. *l ā pō kōnyēsāy mē*
 13. *īy ā pō rekōnūsū mē*
 14. *y ā pā kōnūsā mē*
 15. *ā pā rekōnūsū mē*
 16. *m ā pō kōnū*
 17. *m ā pā rekōnū*
 18. *a pō kōnū mē*
 19. *y ā pō rekōnūsū mē*
 20. *m ā pā rekōnū*
 21. *m ā pō kōnū*
 22. *m ā pā rekōnū*
 23. *īy ā pā rekōnū mē*
 24. *m ā pō rekōnū*
 25. *m ā pā rekōnū*

I. « ils ne m'ont pas vu(e) »

1. *lār l ā pā ū mē*
 2i. *m ā pā vū*
 2ii. *m ā pō vū*
 3. *l ā pā vū mē*
 4. *m ā pō vūb*
 5. *ī nē m ē pā vū*
 6. *ī m ā pā vyā mē*
 7i. *lār i ā pā vyū mē*

- 7ii. *lār y ā pā vyā mē*
 8. *lār ī m ā pō vū*
 9. *ī m ā pā vū*
 10. *lār l ā pā yū mē*
 11. *ē m ā pā nāka yū*
 12i. *lār m ā pā vyāy*
 12ii. *m ān pō vyā mē*
 14. *īy ā pō vyū mē*

- | | |
|---|---|
| 15. <i>i</i> y ā <i>p</i> ā <i>v</i> ū <i>m</i> ē | 20. <i>l</i> ārē <i>m</i> ā <i>p</i> ā <i>v</i> ū |
| 16. <i>m</i> ā <i>p</i> ō <i>v</i> ū | 21. <i>i</i> <i>m</i> ā <i>p</i> ō <i>m</i> āy |
| 17. ē <i>m</i> ū <i>p</i> ā <i>ū</i> <i>m</i> ē | 22. <i>i</i> <i>m</i> ā <i>p</i> ā <i>y</i> ū |
| 18. <i>l</i> ār <i>i</i> ā <i>p</i> ō <i>v</i> ū <i>m</i> ē | 23. <i>i</i> y ā <i>p</i> ā <i>v</i> yāē <i>m</i> ē |
| 19. <i>i</i> y ā <i>p</i> ō <i>v</i> ū <i>m</i> ē | 25. <i>i</i> <i>m</i> ā <i>p</i> ā <i>v</i> ū |

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

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>l</i> ū <i>il</i> ā <i>ubliā</i> * | 12ii. <i>āv</i> ē <i>ub</i> yāē <i>m</i> ē*** |
| 2i. <i>l</i> āyēt <i>obliā</i> <i>n</i> ō | 13. <i>i</i> y <i>ān</i> <i>ub</i> yō <i>n</i> ō** |
| 2ii. <i>n</i> ōz <i>āy</i> ā <i>obliā</i> | 14. <i>i</i> y ā <i>dīmēntik</i> ō <i>n</i> ō |
| 3. <i>il</i> <i>āu</i> <i>ibia</i> <i>n</i> ō | 15. <i>y</i> <i>āvāv</i> ō <i>s</i> āpāsā <i>n</i> ō |
| 4. <i>n</i> ōz <i>āt</i> <i>āt</i> ō* | 16. <i>n</i> ōz <i>āy</i> ē <i>ubliā</i> |
| 5. <i>i</i> <i>n</i> ūz <i>āve</i> <i>ub</i> io | 17. ē <i>n</i> ōz <i>āv</i> ō <i>ubliā</i> |
| 6. <i>ū</i> <i>n</i> ōz <i>ā</i> <i>ēbyā</i> <i>n</i> ō | 18. <i>l</i> ū <i>i</i> <i>āv</i> ē <i>ubliā</i> <i>n</i> ō |
| 7i. <i>l</i> ū ē <i>dīmēntikā</i> <i>n</i> ō | 19. <i>i</i> <i>ān</i> <i>ub</i> yū <i>n</i> ō** |
| 7ii. <i>l</i> ū <i>āv</i> ēvā <i>ubliā</i> <i>n</i> ō | 20. <i>n</i> ōz <i>āy</i> ēt <i>obliā</i> |
| 8. <i>l</i> āē <i>i</i> <i>n</i> <i>āv</i> <i>ubliū</i> | 22. <i>n</i> ōz <i>āv</i> ēt <i>obliō</i> |
| 9. <i>i</i> <i>n</i> ōz <i>āy</i> ā <i>obliā</i> <i>n</i> ō | 23. <i>i</i> y ā <i>p</i> ā <i>rēkōrdā</i> <i>m</i> ē* |
| 10. <i>l</i> ū <i>l</i> <i>āy</i> ēv <i>ubliā</i> <i>n</i> ō | 24. <i>i</i> <i>n</i> ōz <i>ā</i> <i>ub</i> lo* |
| 11. ē <i>n</i> ūz <i>ā</i> <i>ubliā</i> * | 25. <i>i</i> <i>n</i> ōz <i>ā</i> <i>ubliā</i> |
| 12i. <i>āl</i> <i>n</i> <i>ōvōvō</i> <i>ob</i> yō <i>n</i> ō | |

K. « je me suis foulé (le poignet) »

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>n</i> ī <i>g</i> ātū | 12ii. ēy <i>t</i> ōrdzāy |
| 2i. <i>n</i> ī <i>g</i> ātō | 13. z ē <i>dēbelō</i> <i>m</i> ē |
| 2ii. <i>d</i> zē <i>m</i> ē <i>s</i> ī <i>f</i> ētē <i>d</i> ē <i>m</i> ū | 14. ē <i>d</i> ātārnū <i>m</i> ē |
| 3. <i>il</i> ēy <i>z</i> lōgā <i>m</i> ē | 16. <i>d</i> zē <i>m</i> ē <i>s</i> ī <i>f</i> ā <i>d</i> ē <i>m</i> ō |
| 4. <i>m</i> ē <i>s</i> ī <i>nt</i> ōrdū | 17. zē <i>m</i> ē <i>e</i> ē <i>d</i> ēvēnāy |
| 5. <i>d</i> ē <i>m</i> ē <i>s</i> ē <i>hr</i> ōtū | 18. <i>d</i> z ē <i>f</i> ōrsā |
| 6. <i>m</i> ē <i>s</i> ōw <i>ēntōrdz</i> ū. | 19. z ē <i>f</i> ē <i>m</i> ē <i>d</i> ē <i>m</i> ū |
| 7i. z ē <i>d</i> āvāē | 20. <i>m</i> ē <i>s</i> ī <i>f</i> ā <i>d</i> ē <i>m</i> ā |
| 7ii. z ītē <i>d</i> ābēlā <i>m</i> ē | 21. <i>m</i> ē <i>s</i> ī <i>r</i> ōndāy |
| 8. sē <i>m</i> ē <i>d</i> ēlōy | 22. <i>n</i> ē <i>g</i> ātō |
| 9. <i>d</i> zē <i>m</i> ē <i>s</i> ī <i>d</i> ēbwēlō | 23. z ē <i>f</i> ē <i>m</i> ē <i>m</i> ā |
| 10. <i>n</i> ē <i>g</i> ātō | 24. <i>m</i> ē <i>s</i> ī <i>d</i> ēvlōyēlō |
| 11. <i>m</i> ē <i>s</i> ī <i>f</i> ā <i>d</i> ē <i>m</i> ā | 25. <i>n</i> ē <i>s</i> ē <i>d</i> ēbwēlāy |
| 12i. <i>m</i> ē <i>s</i> ēy <i>d</i> ārlōdjō | |

L. « je me suis coupé (le doigt) »

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>mē sī kōpō</i> | 12ii. <i>ĕy tālō mē</i> |
| 2i. <i>mē sī kōpō</i> | 13. <i>z ē tāyā</i> |
| 2ii. <i>j ē kōpēy</i> | 14. <i>ĕ tāyā mē</i> |
| 3. <i>l ē tāyā</i> | 15. <i>y ē tāyā</i> |
| 4. <i>zē mē eī kōpō</i> | 16. <i>dzē mē sī kōpō</i> |
| 5. <i>dē mē sēy kōpā</i> | 17. <i>mē sī kōpō</i> |
| 6. <i>mē sō tāyā mē</i> | 18. <i>dz ē kōpō mē</i> |
| 7i. <i>z ē tālyā</i> | 19. <i>z ē tālā mē</i> |
| 7ii. <i>z itē tālyā mē</i> | 20. <i>zē mē sī kōpā</i> |
| 8. <i>zē mē sī kōpō</i> | 21. <i>zē mē sī kōpō</i> |
| 9. <i>sī kōpō</i> | 22. <i>mē sē kōpō</i> |
| 10. <i>sī kōpāy</i> | 23. <i>dj ē tāyā</i> |
| 11. <i>mē eī kōpō</i> | 24. <i>dzē mē sī kōpō</i> |
| 12i. <i>mē sē tālā</i> | 25. <i>mē sē kōpāy</i> |

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

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. <i>nē sēn trōmpō</i> | 12ii. <i>mē sēy ēzbālō*</i> |
| 2i. <i>nō nō sēn trōmpō</i> | 13. <i>n y ēzbālā sē</i> |
| 2ii. <i>nō nō sēn trōmpō</i> | 14. <i>ēn zbaļō sē</i> |
| 3. <i>l ēn trōmpā nō</i> | 15. <i>yēn ēzbālā nō</i> |
| 4. <i>nō nō sē zbaļā</i> | 16. <i>nōz ēsēyē 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 ēn zbaļyā nō</i> |
| 7i. <i>n ēn zbaļyā ēē</i> | 19. <i>n ēn ēzbālō sē</i> |
| 7ii. <i>n ēn zbaļyā sē</i> | 20. <i>dzē mē sī trōmpa*</i> |
| 8. <i>nō nō sēn zbaļē</i> | 21. <i>nō sēn trōmpō</i> |
| 9. <i>nō sēn trōmpō nō</i> | 22. <i>nō sēn zbaļā</i> |
| 10. <i>sī zbaļyāy*</i> | 23. <i>dj ēyn trōmpā mē*</i> |
| 11. <i>nō sēn trōmpō</i> | 24. <i>nō nō sēn trōpō</i> |
| 12i. <i>nō sē ēzbālā nō</i> | 25. <i>nō nō sēn trōmpō</i> |

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

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>sī lēwō*</i> | 3. <i>l īn lēvā nō</i> |
| 2i. <i>nō nō sēn lēvēyē</i> | 5. <i>nō nō sēn lēva</i> |
| 2ii. <i>sē lēvēy*</i> | 6. <i>nō sēn lēvā</i> |

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 7 i. <i>z ē lēvā m*</i> | 16. <i>nō ēsēyē lēō</i> |
| 7 ii. <i>n ēn lēvā sē</i> | 17. <i>nō sē lēvā</i> |
| 8. <i>nō nō sēn lēvō</i> | 18. <i>ēn lēvō nō</i> |
| 9. <i>nō sēn lēvō nō</i> | 19. <i>n ēn lēvū sē</i> |
| 10. <i>sī lēvāy*</i> | 20. <i>mē sī lēvā*</i> |
| 11. <i>sī lēvō*</i> | 21. <i>nō syē lēō</i> |
| 12 ii. <i>mē sēy lēvō*</i> | 22. <i>sē lēvō</i> |
| 13. <i>n ē lēvō</i> | 23. <i>sē lēvā mē*</i> |
| 14. <i>ēn lēvō sē</i> | 24. <i>nō sēn lēvō</i> |
| 15. <i>ēn lēvā nō</i> | 25. <i>nō sēn lēvō</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

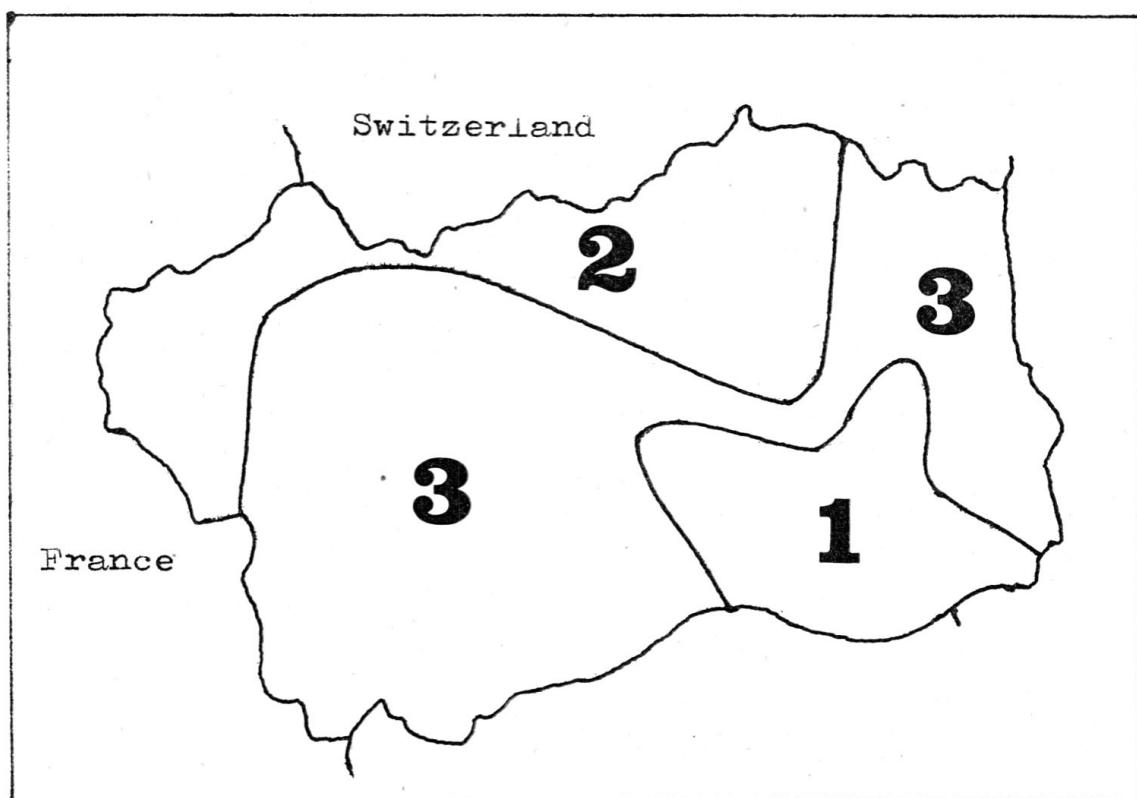


FIG. 2.

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 evidence¹.

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 area².

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.