

The geolinguistic background of Iberian Romance dialect syntax: Insights from the ALPI's materials

Ernestina Carrilho

Centro de Linguística & DLGR

Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa



CLUL

FCT Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia
MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO E CIÊNCIA

Xulio Sousa

Instituto da Lingua Galega

Universidade de Santiago de Compostela



Goals of the presentation

- Study on morphosyntactic geovariation in Western Ibero-Romance varieties through the ALPI's materials
- Contribution of traditional linguistic geography for current research in dialect syntax in the Iberian Romance area

Overview

1. Syntax and geolinguistics
2. The *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (ALPI):
Syntax in the ALPI questionnaire
3. Selection of topics from Western Iberian syntactic
variation
4. The ALPI data
5. Concluding remarks

Syntax and geolinguistics

Reasons

- Syntactic variation was not a central concern in the linguistic circles within which the first geolinguistic studies came into being
- Traditional linguistic geography underestimated the degree to which syntactic structures play a part in the construction of linguistic spaces
- Difficult to pinpoint pertinent syntactic differences between geolinguistic varieties within the same family
- Methodology in dialect studies

Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica (ALPI)



ATLAS LINGÜÍSTICO DE LA PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA

I
FONÉTICA. I

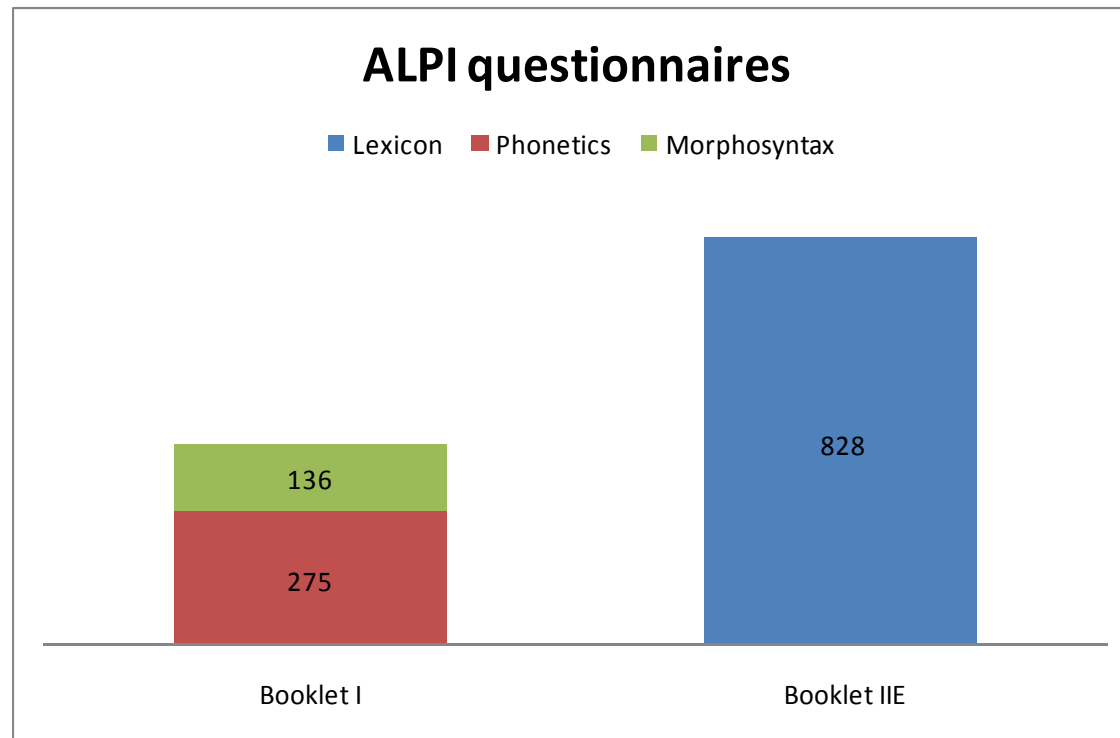


CONSEJO SUPERIOR DE INVESTIGACIONES CIENTÍFICAS
MADRID · 1962

Syntax in the ALPI questionnaire

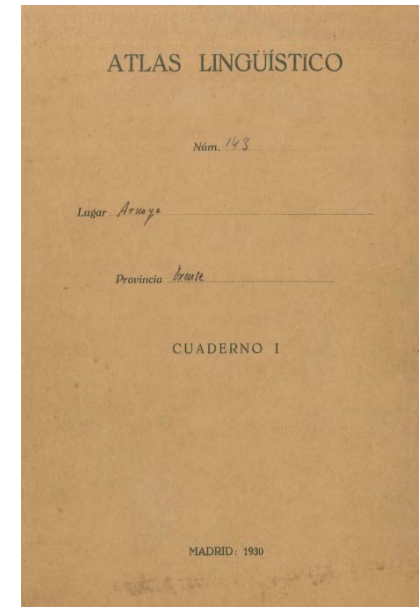
- Questionnaire
 - Booklet I (411): phonetics, morphology and syntax
 - Booklet IIE (828): lexicon
- Tomás Navarro Tomás (1975):
 - “the same section [Booklet I] includes morphological and syntactic items that appear to be apt for formulation as questions. The results proved the usefulness of adopting this innovation”.

Syntax in the ALPI questionnaire



The ALPI questions

- Items (Booklet I)
 - 252 to 262
 - 277 to 282
 - 310 to 411
 - + 10 (Notes on phonetic orientation)
- Examples
 - 252. *Cada uno debe pagar sus deudas*
(Each person should pay his debts)
 - 280. *A ninguna le agrada ponerse ropa de otra*
(No woman likes to put on another woman's clothes)
 - 320. *Trajeron la harina al horno*
(They brought the flour to the oven)
 - A.3. *Lo sacó del pozo (Notas de orientación fonética)*
(He removed it from the well)



The ALPI questions

The method

- Editors (vol. I 1962)

- “The common language of each Hispanic linguistic domain was employed in the interviews, and wherever possible the informant’s own dialect. All questions were asked indirectly, even the phrases for the study of morphology and syntax.”

- Manuel Sanchis Guarner (1953)

- “All items were asked indirectly, even for phrases for the study of morphology and syntax, which were sometimes awkward to elicit”.

Selected topics

Morphosyntactic variation in Western Iberian

- Clitic complement personal pronouns
 - position (enclisis / proclisis)
 - case (accusative / dative complement alternation)
 - number syncretism (SG / PL in datives)
- Gerund syntactic distribution
 - gerund vs. infinitive in complements of perceptual verb

➤ Selected ALPI questions:
Q. 352, Q.354, Q. 357, Q.363

The collocation of clitic object pronouns (I)

Variation in different syntactic contexts

- non-dependent declarative affirmative clause

pt. *A Maria viu-me no mercado*

glc. *María viume no mercado*

enclisis

ast. *María vime en mercáu*

sp. *María me vio en el mercado*

proclisis

‘Mary saw me in the market’

- **ALPI** Q. 354 – Me pidieron que les ayudase
Q. 352 – Al padre le vieron llorando
Q. 363 – La desuncen para no cansarla

The collocation of clitic object pronouns (II)

Variation in different syntactic contexts

- infinitival clause after preposition

pt. *Temos tempo para o fazer / para fazê-lo*

glc. *Temos tempo para o facer / para facelo*

ast. *Tenemos tiempo pa faelo*

sp. *Tenemos tiempo para hacerlo*

‘We have time to do it’

proclisis /enclisis

enclisis

- **ALPI** Q. 357 – *Tráete los candiles para echarles aceite*
Q. 363 – *La desuncen para no cansarla*

The collocation of clitic object pronouns (II')

Variation in different syntactic contexts

Additionally:

- ALPI Q. 363 – *La desuncen para **no** cansarla*
- interpolation (in proclitic data)
cf. pt. ... *para **nã**o a cansar / para a **nã**o cansar*

Pronominal case

Accusative / Dative alternation

- complement alternation
cf. verb *ajudar/axudar/ayudar* 'to help'

pt. <i>Ajudo-<u>o</u> no seu trabalho</i>	ACC
glc. <i>Axúdo<u>o</u> no seu traballo</i>	ACC
ast. <i>Ayúdo-<u>y</u> en el so trabayu</i>	DAT
sp. <i><u>Le</u> ayudo en su trabajo</i>	DAT

'I help him in his work'
- **ALPI** Q. 354 – *Me pidieron que les ayudase*

Number syncretism in dative pronoun

PERSON	DATIVE FORM
1SG	pt. <i>me</i> , gl. <i>me</i> , ast. <i>me</i> , sp. <i>me</i>
2SG	pt. <i>te</i> , gl. <i>che</i> , ast. <i>te</i> , sp. <i>te</i>
3SG	pt. <i>lhe</i>, gl. <i>lle</i>, ast. <i>-y</i>, sp. <i>le</i> ←
1PL	pt. <i>nos</i> , gl. <i>nos</i> , ast. <i>nos</i> , sp. <i>nos</i>
2PL	pt. <i>vos</i> , gl. <i>vos</i> , ast. <i>vos</i> , sp. <i>os</i>
3PL	pt. <i>lhes</i>, gl. <i>lles</i>, ast. <i>-yos</i>, sp. <i>les</i> ←

pt. *lhe ...*

- **ALPI** Q. 357 – *Tráete los candiles para echarles aceite*

Syntactic distribution of gerunds

Variation in complement of perceptual verb

- gerund vs. *a* + infinitive

pt. *Viram-no a chorar*

PREP INF

glc. *Vírono chorando*

ast. *Viéronlu llorando*

GER

sp. *Le vieron llorando*

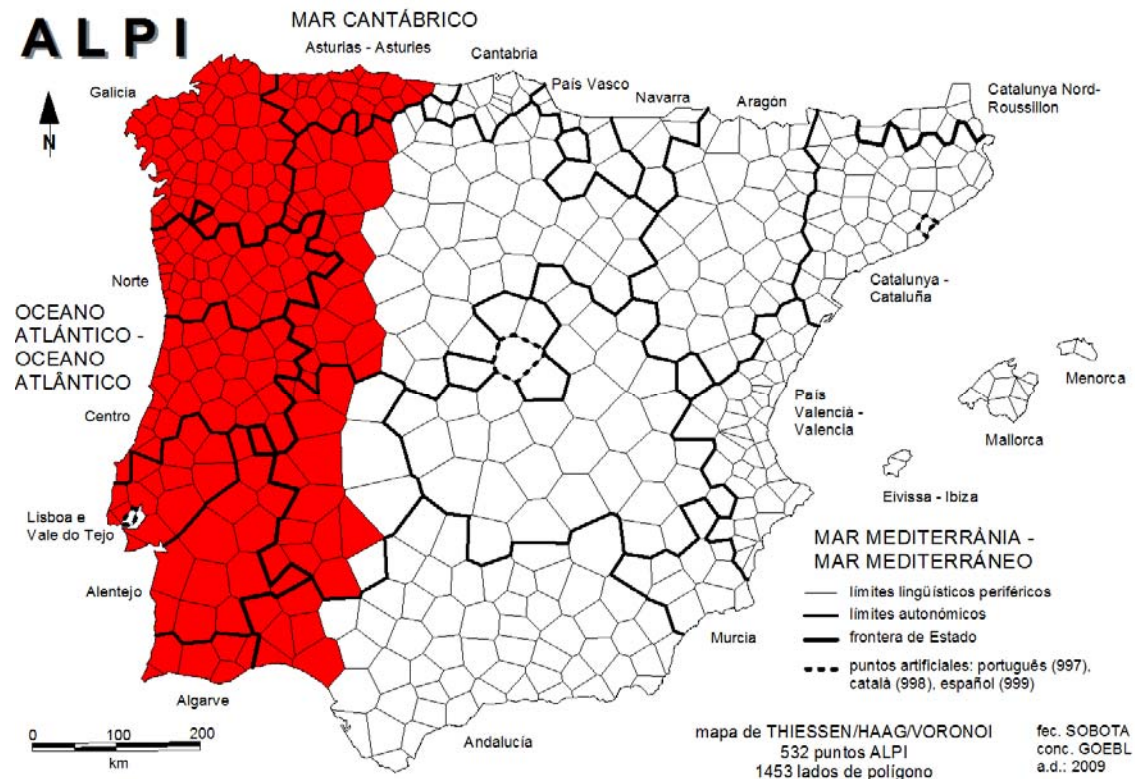
‘They saw him crying’

- **ALPI** Q. 352 – *Al padre le vieron llorando*

The ALPI's data

- Investigated areas: 230 localities

Western Ibero-Romance varieties: (PT) 200-292, (GL) 100-151, (AS + SP) 300-377 and 517-522

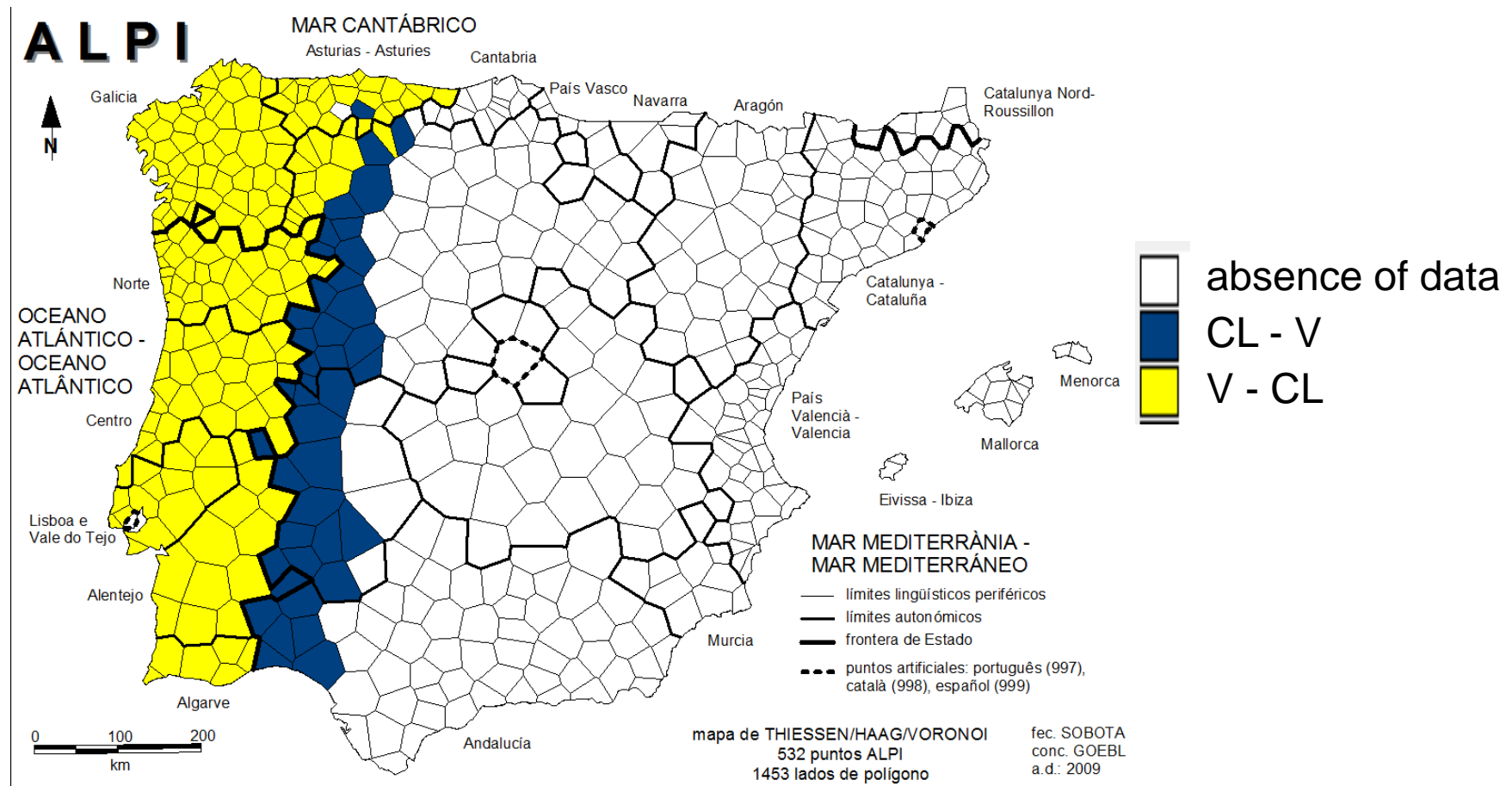


The ALPI's data

Nb.	Question	Topic	Map
352	<i>Al padre le vieron <u>llorando</u></i> 'The father they saw him crying'	Gerund distribution	6
354	<i><u>Me</u> pidieron que <u>les</u> ayudase</i> 'They asked me to help them'	Clitic position (non-dep. decl.)	1
		Case alternation	4
357	<i>Tráete los candiles para echar<u>les</u> aceite</i> 'Bring the lamps to put oil in them'	Clitic position (prep. infin.)	2
		Dative number syn.	5
363	<i>La desuncen para no cansar<u>la</u></i> 'They unyoke it so that it is not tired'	Clitic position (+interpol.)	3

Map 1 – Clitic position I

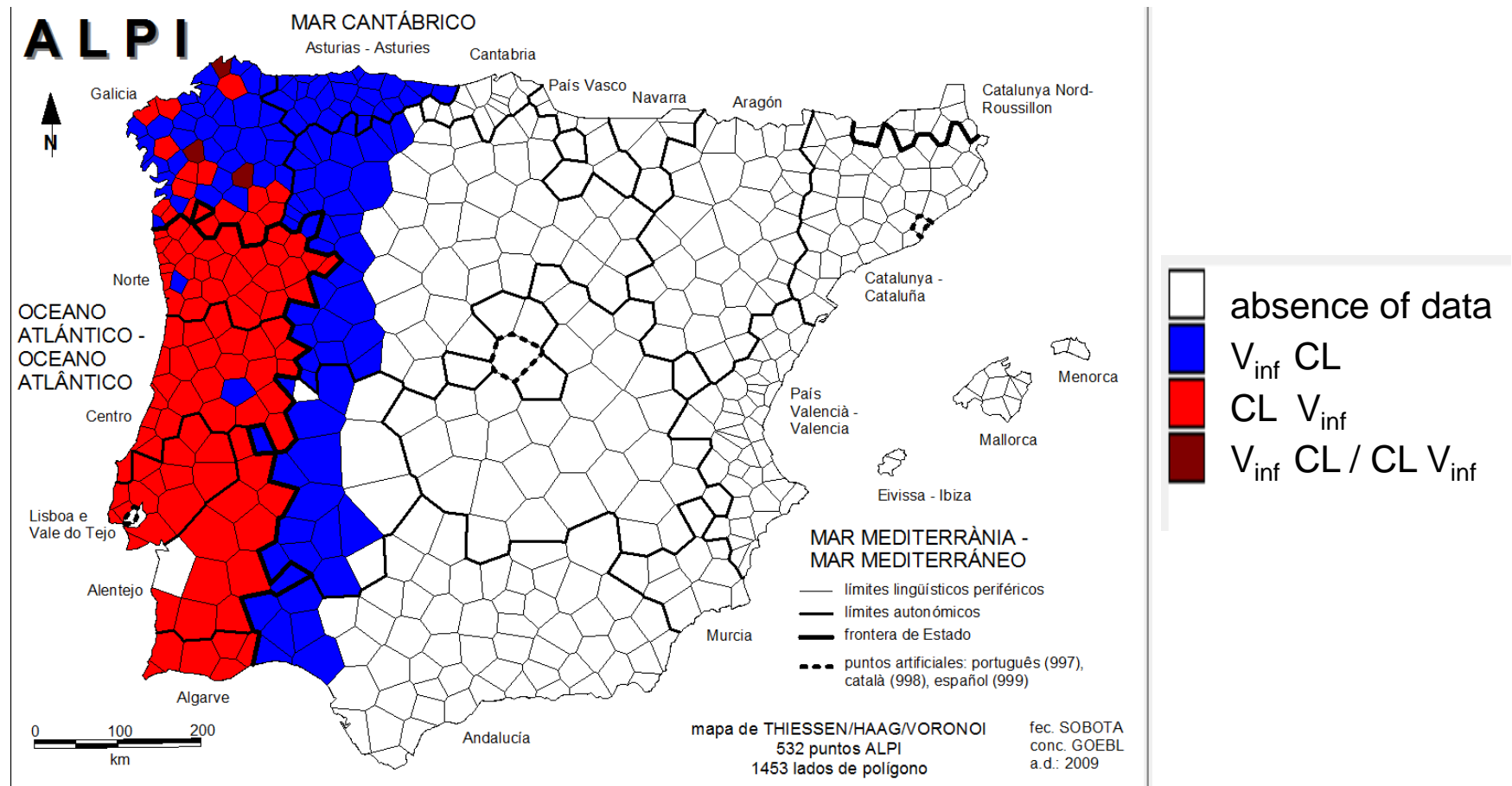
- Enclisis / proclisis to the inflected V form in non-dependent declarative affirmative



Q. 354 Me pidieron que les ayudase (position)

Map 2 – Clitic position II

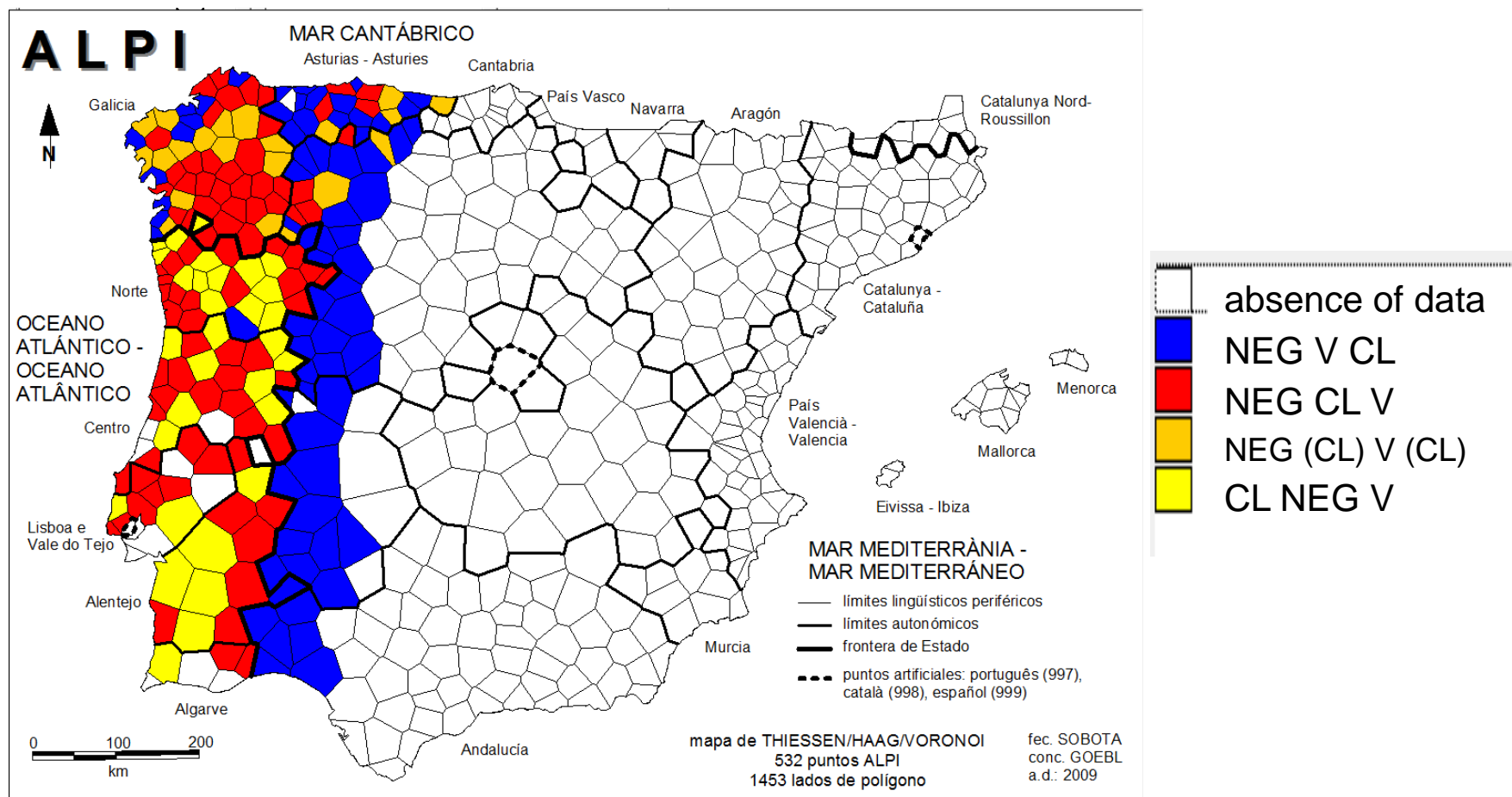
- Enclisis/proclisis to the infinitive (prepositional)



Q. 357 Tráete los candiles para echarles aceite (position)

Map 3 – Clitic position II'

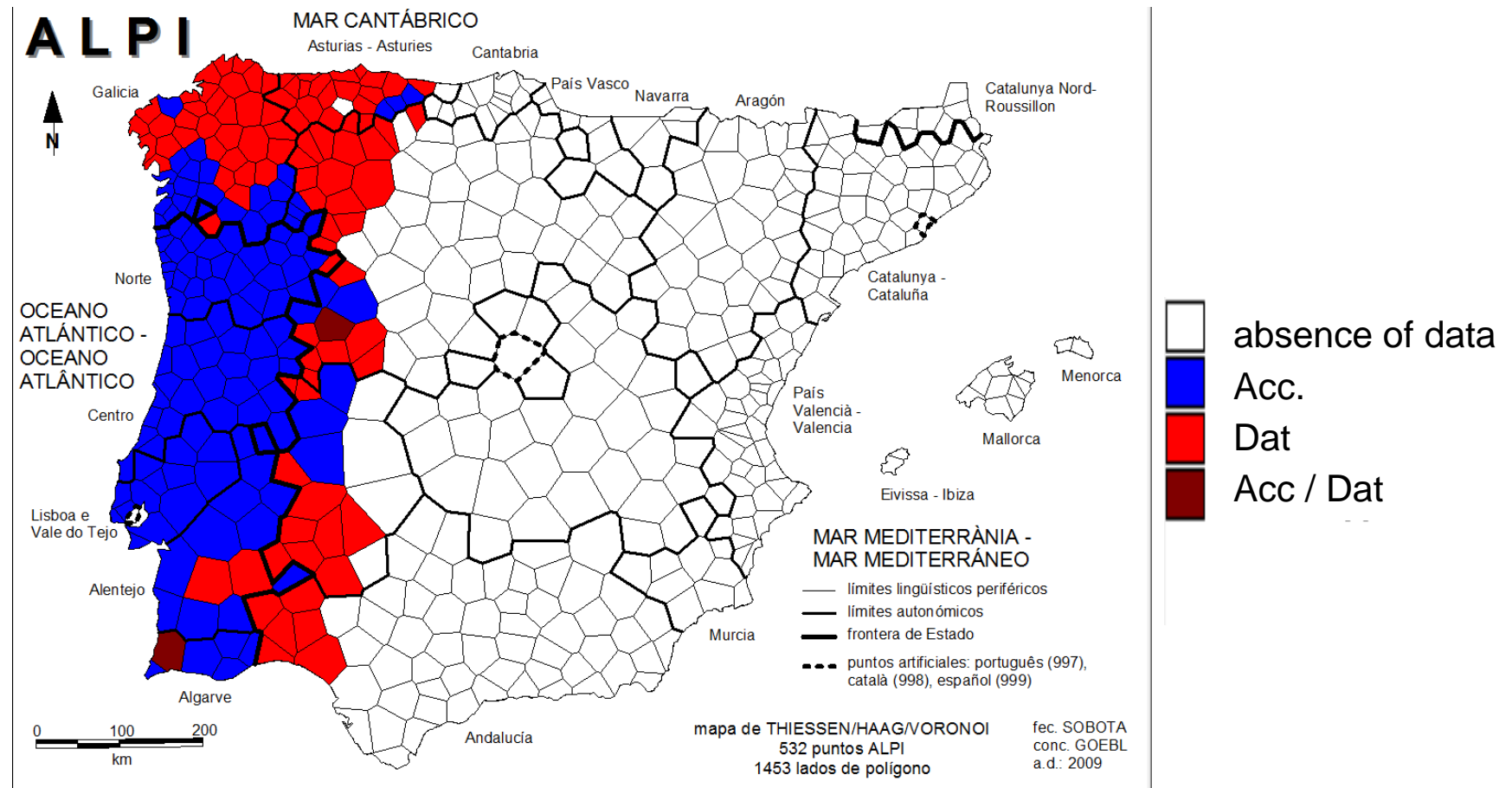
- Enclisis/proclisis to the infinitive (prepositional) + neg. interpolation



Q. 363 La desuncen para no cansarla (position)

Map 4 – Pronominal case alternation

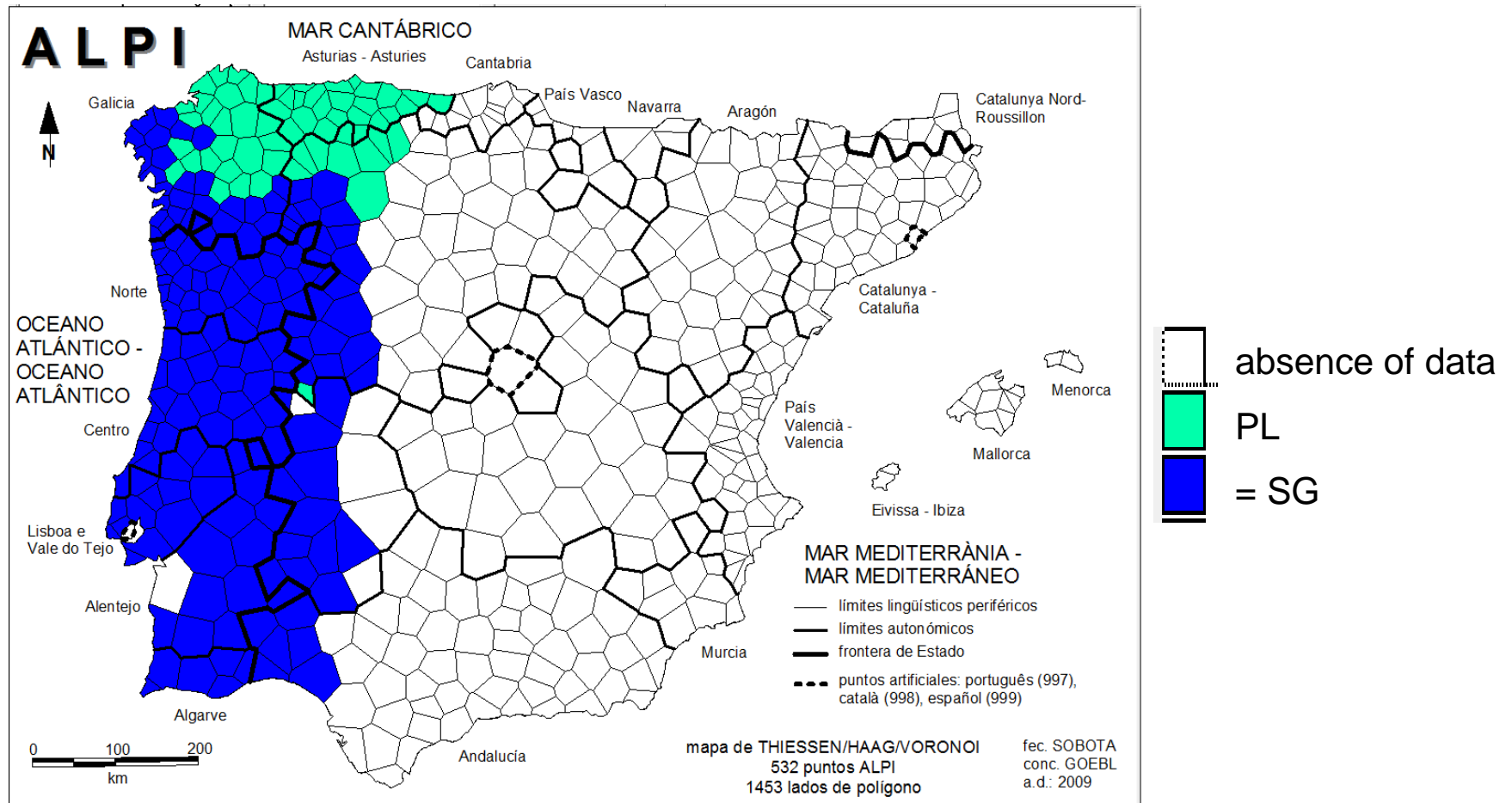
- Acusative / dative complements (v. *ayudar*)



Q. 354 Me pidieron que les ayudase (Acc. or Dat.)

Map 5 – Number syncretism in dative clitic

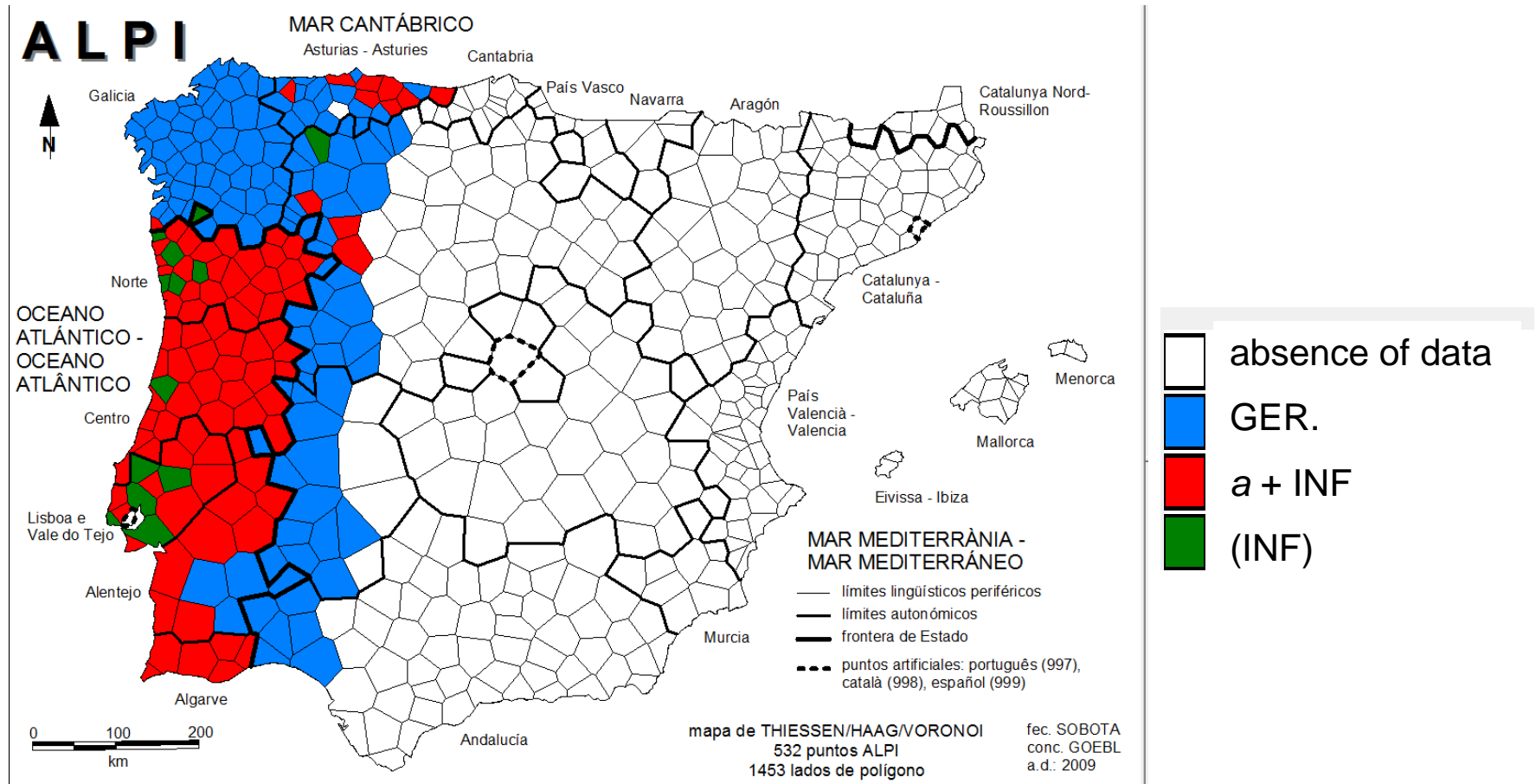
- 3rd person plural



Q. 357 Tráete los candiles para echarles aceite (le-s, lle-s, lhe-s/le, lle, lhe)

Map 6 – Gerund distribution

- In complement of perceptual verb



Q. 352 *Al padre le vieron **llorando*** (Gerund or a + infinitive)

General remarks

- Relevance of ALPI's questions for current issues in syntactic variation
- Geolinguistic patterns in ALPI's morphosyntactic data
- Importance for comparative syntactic surveys
- Importance for dialect studies

Conclusion

- Empirically, we carried out a geolinguistic study of aspects of morphosyntactic variation in Western Iberian varieties through the ALPI's materials
- The results of this study show that traditional linguistic geography may also provide an important contribution to current dialect syntax studies
- The ALPI data provide an invaluable and unique glimpse into the syntax of Romance varieties all across the Iberian Peninsula in the first part of the twentieth century

Thank you Danke

The geolinguistic background of Iberian Romance dialect syntax: Insights from the ALPI's materials

Ernestina Carrilho

Centro de Linguística & DLGR

Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa



FCT Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia
MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO E CIÊNCIA

Xulio Sousa

Instituto da Lingua Galega

Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

