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

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)
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

ALPI questionnaires

- Lexicon
- Phonetics
- Morphosyntax

Booklet I: Lexicon 136, Phonetics 275
Booklet IIE: Lexicon 828
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)
  o “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)
  o “All items were asked indirectly, even for phrases for the study of morphology and syntax, which were sometimes awkward to elicit”.
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
  ast. María viome en mercáu
  sp. María **me** vio en el mercado
  ‘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’

- **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 não a cansar / para a não cansar*
Pronominal case

Accusative / Dative alternation

• complement alternation
cf. verb ajudar/axudar/ayudar ‘to help’

pt. *Ajudo-o* no seu trabalho  **ACC**
glc. *Axúdoo* no seu traballo  **ACC**
ast. *Ayúdo-y* en el so trabayu  **DAT**
sp. *Le* ayudo en su trabajo  **DAT**

‘I help him in his work’

➢ ALPI  Q. 354 – *Me pidieron que les ayudase*
Number syncretism in dative pronoun

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

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*  
  glc. Vírono *chorando*  
  ast. Viéronlu *llorando*  
  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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nb.</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Map</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>352</td>
<td><em>Al padre le vieron llorando</em> ‘The father they saw him crying’</td>
<td>Gerund distribution</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>354</td>
<td><em>Me pidieron que les ayudase</em> ‘They asked me to help them’</td>
<td>Clitic position (non-dep. decl.)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Case alternation</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>357</td>
<td><em>Tráete los candiles para echarles aceite</em> ‘Bring the lamps to put oil in them’</td>
<td>Clitic position (prep. infin.)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dative number syn.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363</td>
<td><em>La desuncen para no cansarla</em> ‘They unyoke it so that it is not tired’</td>
<td>Clitic position (+interpol.)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Enclisis / proclisis to the inflected V form in non-dependent declarative affirmative

Q. 354 Me pidieron que les ayudase (position)
• 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)
Q. 354 Me pidieron que les ayudase (Acc. or Dat.)
Q. 357 Tráete los candiles para echar les aceite (le-s, lle-s, lhe-s/le, lle, lhe)
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
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

Xulio Sousa
Instituto da Língua Galega
Universidade de Santiago de Compostela