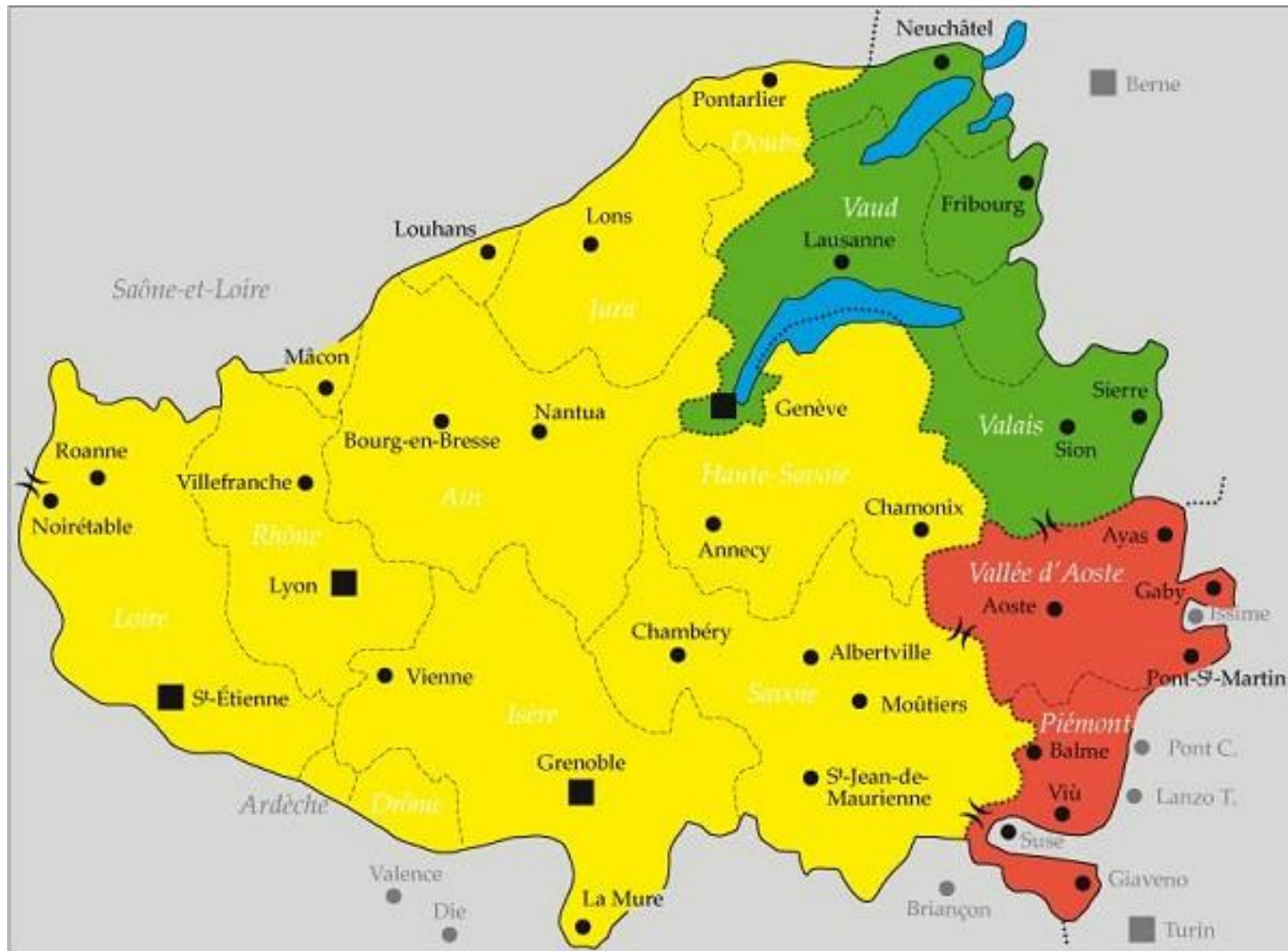

Subject and object pronouns in valdotan Francoprovençal

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Francoprovençal – geographical distribution



Francoprovençal in Aosta Valley

▶ Official languages:

- ▶ French: administrative language from 16th cent. → Fascist period, official again after the war
- ▶ Italian: official language since the Fascist period
- ▶ Actually: 2 official languages (ascendancy of Italian, French taught at school, bilingual region)

▶ Francoprovençal:

- ▶ Significant differences (each village has its own dialect)
- ▶ No normalisation
- ▶ No written tradition
- ▶ Location area in which Francoprovençal is a living language

Aosta Valley

- ▶ **2 main areas:**
 - ▶ High Valley: influence of French
 - ▶ Low Valley: very pronounced lexical variability, borders with Piedmont
- ▶ **Division based on the lexical and phonological differences**
- ▶ **Syntactically invalid division:**
 - ▶ Each dialect has its own pronominal system (Diémoz, 2007)
 - ▶ Common point: 2sg pronoun obligatory in all dialects
- ▶ **Mutual understanding**
- ▶ **Francoprovençal from the village of Fenis**

Valle d'Aosta



Subject pronouns

	Lexical verbs (to hear)		To be		To have	
1sg	(dz)	akukto	(dzə)	ʔi	n	i
2sg	ty	akukte	t	i	t	o
3sg	iɥ	akukte	l	εt	ɥ	at
1pl	(no)	akukten	(no)	ʔεn	n	εn
2pl	(vo)	akuktode	v	ite	v	εj
3pl	(iɥ)	akuktuŋ	(iɥ)	ʔõŋ	ɥ	ãŋ

- ▶ Lexical verbs: 2sg+3sg obligatory (the verbal forms are generally homophonic) / the other persons pronouns are optional
- ▶ *To be*: obligatory when there is the elision of the vowel (when the verb begins with a vowel)
- ▶ *To have*: all pronouns are obligatory, there is an elision of the vowel for all persons

Subject pronouns

	Lexical verbs (to hear)	To be	To have
1sg	(dz) akuktɔ	(dzə) ʔi	n i
2sg	ty akukte	t i	t o
3sg	iɥ akukte	l εt	ɥ at
1pl	(nɔ) akukten	(nɔ) ʔεn	n εn
2pl	(vɔ) akuktode	v itε	v εj
3pl	(iɥ) akuktuŋ	(iɥ) ʔõŋ	ɥ ãŋ

► There are 2 “strange” pronouns:

► *To be*: 3sg

► *To have*: 1sg (this is a pronominal form which is known in other francoprovençal varieties in the Aosta Valley)

Subject pronouns - expletive

- ▶ [iɥ] → same pronoun as the 3sg pronoun of lexical verbs
- ▶ Obligatory with atmospheric predicates
- ▶ Optional in iɥ f o (*il faut, it is necessary*)
- ▶ Not allowed with ?ε m b l ε (*il semble, it seems*)
- ▶ Not allowed with s ε d ε j (*si deve, must be*)

Subject pronouns

▶ *To have:*

▶ When used as a lexical verb:

(1) iɯ n a tʁɛj
he of.it has three

▶ When used as an auxiliary:

(2) ɯ a a v y ɯ n ɛ n tʁɛj
he has had of.it three

▶ Post-verbal negation (cf. *pas* in French) → it never appears between the pronoun and the verb/the auxiliary:

(3) ɯ a p o v y k l o s o n f ʁ ɛ j ɛ
he has NEG seen the his brother

(4) iɯ v ɛ j p o l o s o n f ʁ ɛ j ɛ
he sees NEG the his brother

Subject pronouns

- ▶ Object pronouns: enclitics on the past participle → they never appear between the subject pronoun and the auxiliary:

(1) t o f e l a
you have done it(fem.)

(2) ω a ε η k u n τ ω l ω
he has met him

Subject pronouns

Subordinate sentences

- ▶ Isg pronoun preferentially not used
- ▶ Other persons: preferentially used

Reflexive verbs

- ▶ Isg: not allowed
- ▶ Other persons: obligatory

To remember:

(*dzə)	mε	βεκoldo
ty	tε	βεkoldε
iϣ	sε	βεkoldε
no	no	βεkoldεn
vo	vo	βεkoldode
iϣ	sε	βεkolduη

Se coiffer / pettinarsi:

(*dzə)	mε	peno
ty	tε	penε
iϣ	sε	penε
no	no	pinεn
vo	vo	pinode
iϣ	sε	penuη

Interrogative sentences

- ▶ There is no verb-subject inversion, in no situation
- ▶ Yes/no questions:
 - ▶ Preferentially done with the adjunct of a *ti* morpheme after the tensed verb or the auxiliary
 - ▶ We can also form interrogative sentences with the prosody only
 - ▶ The 2sg pronoun is obligatory
 - ▶ The other persons pronouns are not allowed (or strongly preferentially not used):

(1) (*dzə) p w i k t i p ʁ ε n d ε
I can INT. take

(2) t y p u k t i a l e
you can INT. go

(3) (*iɥ) p u k t i a t s œ t e
he can INT. buy

(4) (*nɔ) p u ε n t i p ʁ ε n d ε
we can INT. take

Interrogative sentences

- ▶ With the auxiliaries: same distribution of the subject pronouns as in declarative sentences
- ▶ Indirect interrogative clauses: same distribution of the subject pronouns as in declarative sentences
- ▶ *Wh*-questions:
 - ▶ *Wh*-element is at the beginning of the sentence, then the word order is the same as in declarative sentences
 - ▶ All persons pronouns are obligatory (or strongly preferentially used):

(1) jøj dzə v u
where I go

(2) pɛlkɛ vɔ alodɛ ɛn vøl:a vwɛj
why you(2pl.) go in city today

Interrogative sentences

▶ *Who-questions:*

(1) k w i k p u k f a ə ʔ ə

who can do that

→ the pronoun is not allowed

(2) k w i k ɥ a f e l ə

who he has done it

→ the pronoun is obligatory, because of the auxiliary

Subject reduplication

Full DP: optional pronoun

- (1) lɔ vavõŋ (iɯ) pekε ãŋ pɔma
the uncle he eats an apple

Proper nouns: pronoun “partially” used

- (2) dzina (*iɯ) veŋ pwe døvø lɔ tal
Gina she comes FUT “in the evening” (→ “not sure”)
→ the pronoun is not allowed

- (3) dzina *(iɯ) veŋ pwe py tal
Gina she comes FUT more late (→ “sure”)
→ the pronoun is obligatory

Speaker intuition: the fact that the event will undoubtedly take place has an influence on the pronoun.

Subject reduplication

Nobody: the pronoun is not allowed

(1) n y n (*iɥ) j u k f a ε ʔ ε n
nobody he wants do that

Subject reduplication with strong pronoun:

(2) m ε (d z ə) l ɔ f i j ɔ
me I it do

→ the pronoun is optional

(3) m ε (*d z ə) p w i k l ɔ f a ε
me I can it do

→ the pronoun is not allowed

I have to get more data with others modal verbs.

Subject pronoun + object pronoun

- (1) (*dzə) tɛ lɔ baλɔ pwe dœvø lɔ tal
I you it give FUT “in the evening”
- (2) *(ty)/*(iɰ) λy lɔ baλɛ pwe dœvø lɔ tal
you.SG /he him it give FUT “in the evening”
- (3) (*nɔ) λy lɔ baλɛn pwe dœvø lɔ tal
we him it give FUT “in the evening”
- (4) (*vɔ) λy lɔ baλodɛ pwe dœvø lɔ tal
you.PL him it give FUT “in the evening”
- (5) (*iɰ) λy lɔ baλuŋ pwe dœvø lɔ tal
they him it give FUT “in the evening”

→ The subject pronoun is obligatory with 2sg and 3sg, but it is not allowed with the other persons when there is 2 object pronouns

Subject pronoun + object pronoun

(1) (*dzə) tɛ lɔ baʎɔ
I you it give

→ 2 object pronouns → the subject pronoun is not allowed

(2) (dzə) tɛ baʎɔ ʔɔ
I you give that

→ 1 object pronoun → the subject pronoun is allowed

Object pronouns

	Accusative	Dative	Strong pronouns
1sg	m ε	m ε	m ε
2sg	t ε	t ε	t ø
3sg _{masc.}	l ɔ	ʎ y	ʎ y k
3sg _{fem.}	l a	–	ʎ ø
1pl	n ɔ	n ɔ	n ɔ
2pl	v ɔ	v ɔ	v ɔ
3pl	l ε	ʎ y	l ø l

Object pronouns

Proclitics with tensed and infinitive lexical verbs, but enclitics on the past participle

(1) t y f e l a p o l e n t a
you do the polenta

(2) t y l a f e
you it do

(3) t o f e l a p o l e n t a
you have done the polenta

(4) t o f e l a
you have done it

(5) (dzə) p w i k p ʁ e n d e l a v a t s a
I can take the cow

(6) (dzə) p w i k l a p ʁ e n d e
I can it take

(7) * (dzə) l a p w i k p ʁ e n d e

Object pronouns

This variety of Francoprovençal allows “clitic clusters”:

(1) t y baʎε lɔ sikɔla iɥ miɲnu
you give the chocolate to.the kids

(2) t y ʎy lɔ baʎε
you them it give

(3) t o baʎo lɔ sikɔla iɥ miɲnu
you have given the chocolate to.the kids

(4) t o baʎo ʎy lɔ
you have given them it

Object pronouns

Partitive pronoun:

- (1) ω a tʰɛj vatʂɛ
he has three cows
- (2) $i\omega$ n a tʰɛj
he of.it has three
- (3) ω a avy ω nɛn tʰɛj
he has had of.it three
- (4) n i vy ω nɛn tʰɛj
I have seen of.it three

The **locative pronoun** doesn't exist (I have to get more data):

- (5) ʔi dza alɛjə
am already gone
= I have already been there
- (6) dzə vu a
I go now
= I am going there now

Object pronouns - imperative

The pronoun order is always the same:
dative pronoun – accusative pronoun

- (1) βαλα με ιο
give.2sg me it
- (2) βαλα λυ ιο
give.2sg him it
- (3) βαλεν λυ ιο
give.1pl him it
- (4) βαλοδε με ρο
give.2pl me that

Past participle position

- (1) iɥ vej ʔovɛn lɔ sɔn frɛjə
he sees often the his brother
- (2) iɥ lɔ vej ʔovɛn
he him sees often
- (3) ɥ a ʔovɛn ɛŋkuntɔ lɔ pɛje
he has often met the priest
- (4) ɥ a ɛŋkuntɔ lɔ ʔovɛn
he has met him often
- (5) ɥ a po ɛŋkuntɔ ʔovɛn lɔ pɛje
he has NEG met often the priest
- (6) ɥ a po vyɥ lɔ ʔovɛn
he has NEG seen him often
- (7) n i po baʎa ʎy ɲy n
I have NEG given him nothing

Comparing (3) and (5), the negation seems to make the past participle moving higher.