Subject and object pronouns in valdotan Francoprovençal

Workshop in Romance Dialectology
November 1st, 2017
Laure Ermacora
Université de Genève
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 Italien, 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
Subject pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical verbs (to hear)</th>
<th>To be</th>
<th>To have</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1sg</strong></td>
<td>(dz) akuktɔ</td>
<td>(dzə) ʔi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2sg</strong></td>
<td>ty akukte</td>
<td>t i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3sg</strong></td>
<td>iwp akukte</td>
<td>l ʔet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1pl</strong></td>
<td>(nɔ) akuktən</td>
<td>(nɔ) ʔɛn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2pl</strong></td>
<td>(nɔ) akuktode</td>
<td>v ʔite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3pl</strong></td>
<td>(iwp) akuktuŋ</td>
<td>(iwp) ʔɔŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical verbs (to hear)</th>
<th>To be</th>
<th>To have</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg (dz) akukτɔ</td>
<td>(dzɔ) ʔi</td>
<td>n  i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg ty akuktɛ</td>
<td>t  i</td>
<td>t  o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg iω akuktɛ</td>
<td>ʔt  et</td>
<td>η  at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl (nɔ) akuktɛn</td>
<td>(nɔ) ʔɛn</td>
<td>n  ɛn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl (vɔ) akuktɔde</td>
<td>v  itɛ</td>
<td>v  ɛj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl (iɔ) akuktʊŋ</td>
<td>(iɔ) ʔɔŋ</td>
<td>η  āŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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

- [iɰ] → same pronoun as the 3sg pronoun of lexical verbs
- Obligatory with atmospheric predicates
- Optional in iɰ fo (il faut, it is necessary)
- Not allowed with ðe m b l e (il semble, it seems)
- Not allowed with s e d e j (si deve, must be)
Subject pronouns

To have:

When used as a lexical verb:

(1) iw n a tkej
he of.it has three

When used as an auxiliary:

(2) w a avywp n en tkej
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) w a po vyk lo sön fkeje
he has NEG seen the his brother

(4) iw vej po lô sön fkeje
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) [topela
      you have done it (fem.)

(2)  pó a èŋkuntəlo
     he has met him
Subject pronouns

Subordinate sentences

- 1sg pronoun preferentially not used
- Other persons: preferentially used

Reflexive verbs

- 1sg: not allowed
- Other persons: obligatory

To remember:

\begin{align*}
(*d\text{z}\text{e}) \text{ m} \text{e} & \text{ k} \text{e} \text{k} \text{o} \text{l} \text{d} \text{c} \\
ty & \text{ t} \text{e} \text{ k} \text{e} \text{k} \text{o} \text{l} \text{d} \text{e} \\
iw & \text{ s} \text{e} \text{ k} \text{e} \text{k} \text{o} \text{l} \text{d} \text{e} \\
\text{ n} \text{c} & \text{ n} \text{c} \text{ k} \text{e} \text{k} \text{o} \text{l} \text{d} \text{e} \text{n} \\
v \text{ c} & \text{ v} \text{ c} \text{ k} \text{e} \text{k} \text{o} \text{l} \text{d} \text{o} \text{d} \text{e} \\
iw & \text{ s} \text{e} \text{ k} \text{e} \text{k} \text{o} \text{l} \text{d} \text{u} \text{n} \text{ h} \\
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(*d\text{z}\text{e}) \text{ m} \text{e} & \text{ p} \text{e} \text{n} \text{o} \\
ty & \text{ t} \text{e} \text{ p} \text{e} \text{n} \text{e} \\
iw & \text{ s} \text{e} \text{ p} \text{e} \text{n} \text{e} \\
\text{ n} \text{c} & \text{ n} \text{c} \text{ p} \text{i} \text{n} \text{e} \text{n} \\
v \text{ c} & \text{ v} \text{ c} \text{ p} \text{i} \text{n} \text{o} \text{d} \text{e} \\
iw & \text{ s} \text{e} \text{ p} \text{e} \text{n} \text{u} \text{n} \text{ h} \\
\end{align*}
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) pwik ti pɛnɗɛ
   I can INT. take

(2) ty puk ti alɛ
   you can INT. go

(3) (*iuŋ) puk ti atsɔete
   he can INT. buy

(4) (*nɔ) puŋɛnti pɛnɗɛ
   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 dzø vu
   where I go

2. pelke vo alode en vøla vwεj
   why you(2pl.) go in city today
Interrogative sentences

- **Who-questions:**

  1. \[\text{kwik puk faə ʔə} \]
     
     *who can do that*
     
     → the pronoun is not allowed

  2. \[\text{kwik ɰ a fə lə} \]
     
     *who he has done it*
     
     → the pronoun is obligatory, because of the auxiliary
Subject reduplication

**Full DP: optional pronoun**

(1) lɔ vavɔŋ (iŋ) peke ɔŋ pɔma
the uncle he eats an apple

**Proper nouns: pronoun “partially” used**

(2) dʒina (*iŋ) vɛŋ pwe ðɔɛvɔ lɔ tal
Gina she comes FUT “in the evening” (→ “not sure”)
→ the pronoun is not allowed

(3) dʒina *(iŋ) vɛŋ pwe pʃtɔl
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)  ny ṳ (*iŋi) ju k  fa ᵇ  ṭɛ ṳ
    nobody  he  wants  do  that

_Subject reduplication with strong pronoun:

(2)  mɛ  (*dzə)  lɔ  fi jɔ
    me  I  it  do
    → the pronoun is optional

(3)  mɛ  (*dzə)  pw ik  lɔ  fa ᵇ
    me  I  can  it  do
    → the pronoun is not allowed

I have to get more data with others modal verbs.
### Subject pronoun + object pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subject Pronoun</th>
<th>Object Pronoun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Future Tense</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(*dzɔ) tɛ lɔ baɔɔ pwe dɔɛnɔ lɔ tal</td>
<td>I you it give</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>“in the evening”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td><em>(ty)/</em>(iwi) ʌy lɔ baɔɛ pwe dɔɛnɔ lɔ tal</td>
<td>you.SG /he him it give</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>“in the evening”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(*nɔ) ʌy lɔ baɔɛn pwe dɔɛnɔ lɔ tal</td>
<td>we him it give</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>“in the evening”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(*νɔ) ʌy lɔ baɔdɛ pwe dɔɛnɔ lɔ tal</td>
<td>you.PL him it give</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>“in the evening”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(*iwi) ʌy lɔ baɔuŋ pwe dɔɛnɔ lɔ tal</td>
<td>they him it give</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>“in the evening”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

➤ 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) (*dze) tε ɬ ɓaŋč
  l you it give
→ 2 object pronouns ➔ the subject pronoun is not allowed

(2) (dze) tɛ ɓaŋč ɬɕ
  l you give that
→ 1 object pronoun ➔ the subject pronoun is allowed
## Object pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Strong pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>mε</td>
<td>mε</td>
<td>mε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>tε</td>
<td>tε</td>
<td>t₀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg(_{masc.})</td>
<td>l₀</td>
<td>ʎy</td>
<td>ʎy k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg(_{fem.})</td>
<td>l₀</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ʎ₀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>n₀</td>
<td>n₀</td>
<td>n₀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>v₀</td>
<td>v₀</td>
<td>v₀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>lε</td>
<td>ʎy</td>
<td>løl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Object pronouns

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

(1) ty fe la polènita
    you do the polenta

(2) ty la fe
    you it do

(3) to fe la polènita
    you have done the polenta

(4) to fe la
    you have done it

(5) (dzə) pwik prènde la vatsa
    I can take the cow

(6) (dzə) pwik la prènde
    I can it take

(7) *(dzə) la pwik prènde
Object pronouns

This variety of Francoprovençal allows “clitic clusters”:

(1) ty baxe lo sikola ip miŋnu
    you give the chocolate to.the kids

(2) ty ny lo baxe
    you them it give

(3) t o baxo lo sikola ip miŋnu
    you have given the chocolate to.the kids

(4) t o baxo ny lo
    you have given them it
Object pronouns

Partitive pronoun:

(1) ɰ a tʁeʃ vatsɛ
    he has three cows

(2) iɰ n a tʁeʃ
    he of.it has three

(3) ɰ a anvũŋ nɛn tʁeʃ
    he has had of.it three

(4) n i vʌŋ nɛn tʁeʃ
    I have seen of.it three

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

(5) ?i dža aлежɔ
    am already gone
    = I have already been there

(6) džɔ 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) b aʎa  mɛ  lɔ
    give.2sg  me  it

(2) b aʎa  ʎy  lɔ
    give.2sg  him  it

(3) b aʎɛn  ʎy  lɔ
    give.1pl  him  it

(4) b aʎodɛ  mɛ  ʔɔ
    give.2pl  me  that
Past participle position

(1) ɨ̃w ɂęj ʔővęn ḳə sõn fręje
    he sees often the his brother

(2) ɨ̃w ɬ̃ vęj ʔővęn
    he him sees often

(3) ɭ a ʔővęn ęŋkunctəʊ ḳə pręje
    he has often met the priest

(4) ɭ a ęŋkunctəʊ ḳə ʔővęn
    he has met him often

(5) ɭ a po ęŋkunctəʊ ʔővęn ḳə pręje
    he has NEG met often the priest

(6) ɭ a po vυwp ḳə ʔővęn
    he has NEG seen him often

(7) n i po bạːa ɭy ḳy ɲ̃n
    I have NEG given him nothing

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