

Zeitschrift: Revue de linguistique romane
Herausgeber: Société de Linguistique Romane
Band: 33 (1969)
Heft: 129-130

Artikel: Pronominal postposition in Valdôtain
Autor: Harris, Roy
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-399446>

Nutzungsbedingungen

Die ETH-Bibliothek ist die Anbieterin der digitalisierten Zeitschriften auf E-Periodica. Sie besitzt keine Urheberrechte an den Zeitschriften und ist nicht verantwortlich für deren Inhalte. Die Rechte liegen in der Regel bei den Herausgebern beziehungsweise den externen Rechteinhabern. Das Veröffentlichen von Bildern in Print- und Online-Publikationen sowie auf Social Media-Kanälen oder Webseiten ist nur mit vorheriger Genehmigung der Rechteinhaber erlaubt. [Mehr erfahren](#)

Conditions d'utilisation

L'ETH Library est le fournisseur des revues numérisées. Elle ne détient aucun droit d'auteur sur les revues et n'est pas responsable de leur contenu. En règle générale, les droits sont détenus par les éditeurs ou les détenteurs de droits externes. La reproduction d'images dans des publications imprimées ou en ligne ainsi que sur des canaux de médias sociaux ou des sites web n'est autorisée qu'avec l'accord préalable des détenteurs des droits. [En savoir plus](#)

Terms of use

The ETH Library is the provider of the digitised journals. It does not own any copyrights to the journals and is not responsible for their content. The rights usually lie with the publishers or the external rights holders. Publishing images in print and online publications, as well as on social media channels or websites, is only permitted with the prior consent of the rights holders. [Find out more](#)

Download PDF: 13.03.2026

ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, E-Periodica, <https://www.e-periodica.ch>

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

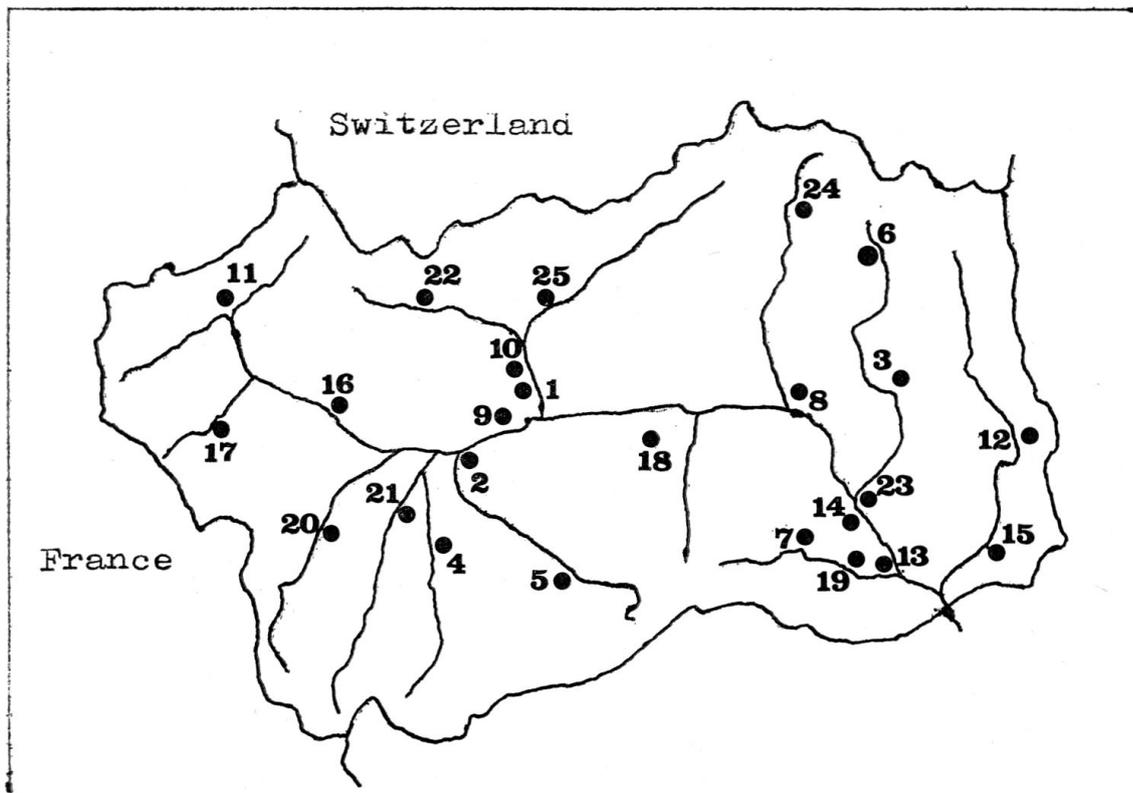


FIG. 1.

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 \tilde{n} 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 Exce-nex 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 Val-tournanche f. 75 y.; 25 Valpelline f. 65 y.

A. « je l'ai cherché »

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>l ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i> | 12ii. <i>ɛ̃y teërteð lö</i> |
| 2i. <i>n i teërteä lö</i> | 13. <i>d ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i> |
| 2ii. <i>dʒ ɛ̃ byɛ̃ teërteä lö</i> | 14. <i>ɛ̃ tsɛ̃rtsä lö</i> |
| 3. <i>l ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i> | 15. <i>y ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i> |
| 4. <i>ʒ ɛ̃y teërteä lö</i> | 16. <i>dʒ i teërtsä lö</i> |
| 5. <i>dɛ̃ lɛ̃y teërtsä lö</i> | 17. <i>l ɛ̃ teërteä</i> |
| 6. <i>l ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i> | 18. <i>dʒ ɛ̃ ɛ̃rtsä lö</i> |
| 7i. <i>ʒ ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i> | 19. <i>ʒ ɛ̃ sɛ̃rteä lö</i> |
| 7ii. <i>ʒ ɛ̃tɛ̃ ɛ̃rteä lö</i> | 20. <i>ʒɛ̃ l i teërteä</i> |
| 8. <i>l ɛ̃ teërteɛ̃</i> | 22. <i>n ɛ̃ tsɛ̃rteä lö</i> |
| 9. <i>dʒɛ̃ l ɛ̃ byɛ̃ teërteä</i> | 23. <i>dʒ ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i> |
| 10. <i>n ɛ̃ teërteä lö</i> | 24. <i>dʒɛ̃ l ɛ̃ tsɛ̃rtsɛ̃</i> |
| 11. <i>dʒɛ̃ l i teërteä</i> | 25. <i>nɛ̃ l ɛ̃ teërtsü</i> |
| 12i. <i>ɛ̃ teërteð lö</i> | |

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

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>n ɛ̃ pä trövö lö</i> | 8. <i>l ɛ̃ pö trövö</i> |
| 2i. <i>n i pä trövö lö</i> | 9. <i>n ɛ̃ pä kăpö lö</i> |
| 2ii. <i>n ɛ̃ pä trövā lö</i> | 10. <i>n ɛ̃ pä trövä lö</i> |
| 3. <i>l ɛ̃ pä trövā lö</i> | 11. <i>dʒɛ̃ l i pä trövö</i> |
| 4. <i>ʒ ɛ̃ pö trövö lö</i> | 12i. <i>l ɛ̃ pä trövö lö</i> |
| 5. <i>dɛ̃ l ɛ̃ pä trövā lö</i> | 12ii. <i>l ɛ̃y pö trövö lö</i> |
| 6. <i>l ɛ̃ pä trövö</i> | 13. <i>dʒ ɛ̃ pö trö lö</i> |
| 7i. <i>ʒ ɛ̃ pä trövö lö</i> | 14. <i>ɛ̃ pö trövö lö</i> |
| 7ii. <i>n ɛ̃ pä trövā lö</i> | 15. <i>y ɛ̃y pä trövā lö</i> |

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 16. <i>dʒ i pǒ trǒvǒ lõ</i> | 21. <i>ʒ ẽ pǒ trǒvǒ ɲã*</i> |
| 17. <i>l ẽ pǎ trǒvǎ</i> | 22. <i>n ẽ pǎ trǒvǒ lõ</i> |
| 18. <i>dʒ ẽ pǒ trǒvǒ lõ</i> | 23. <i>dj ẽ pǎ trǒvǎ lõ</i> |
| 19. <i>ʒ i pǒ trǒvǒ lõ</i> | 24. <i>l ẽ pǒ trǒvǒ</i> |
| 20. <i>ʒ ẽ l i pǎ trǒvǎ lõ</i> | 25. <i>n ẽ l ẽ pǎ trǒvǔ</i> |

C. « (mon frère) l'a vu »

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. <i>l ǎ yǔ lõ</i> | 12ii. <i>l ǎ vyǎ</i> |
| 2i. <i>l ǎ vǔ</i> | 13. <i>y ǎ vǐ lõ</i> |
| 2ii. <i>l ǎ vǔ lõ</i> | 14. <i>i ǎ vyǔ lõ</i> |
| 3. <i>i l ǎ vǔ lõ</i> | 15. <i>ǎ vǔ lõ</i> |
| 4. <i>l ǎ vǔ lõ</i> | 16. <i>l ǎ vǔ lõ</i> |
| 5. <i>l ǎ vǔ lõ</i> | 17. <i>l ǎ yǔ</i> |
| 6. <i>ǔ l ǎ vyǔ lõ</i> | 18. <i>i ǎ vǔ lõ</i> |
| 7i. <i>ǎ vǔ lõ</i> | 19. <i>y ǎ vǔ lõ</i> |
| 7ii. <i>l ǎtɛ vyǎ lõ</i> | 20. <i>l ǎ vǔ lõ</i> |
| 8. <i>i l ǎ vǔ</i> | 21. <i>l ǎ vǔ</i> |
| 9. <i>l ǎ vǔ lõ</i> | 22. <i>l ǎ yǔ</i> |
| 10. <i>l ǎ yǔ</i> | 23. <i>i ǎ vyǎ lõ</i> |
| 11. <i>l ǎ yǔ</i> | 24. <i>ẽ l ǎ vǔ</i> |
| 12i. <i>ẽ l ǎ vyǎ lõ</i> | 25. <i>l ǎ vǔ</i> |

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

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. <i>n i yǔ lǐ</i> | 12ii. <i>ẽy vyǎ lõ</i> |
| 2i. <i>dʒ ẽ vǔ lõ</i> | 13. <i>ʒ ẽ vǐ lõ*</i> |
| 2ii. <i>dʒ ẽ l ẽ vǔ lõ</i> | 14. <i>ẽ vǔ lõ</i> |
| 3. <i>l ẽ vǔ yẽ</i> | 15. <i>y ẽ vǔ lõ</i> |
| 4. <i>ʒ ẽ ǔ lõ*</i> | 16. <i>dʒ ẽ l ẽʒ ẽ vǔ</i> |
| 5. <i>d ẽ l ẽʒ ẽ vǔ</i> | 17. <i>j ẽ vǔ</i> |
| 6. <i>y ẽ vǔ lǐ</i> | 18. <i>dʒ ẽ vǔ lõ</i> |
| 7i. <i>ʒ ẽ vǔk</i> | 19. <i>ʒ i vǐ lõ</i> |
| 7ii. <i>l ẽj ɪt vyǎnɛ</i> | 20. <i>ʒ ẽ l ẽʒ i vǔ</i> |
| 8. <i>l ẽʒ ẽ vǔ</i> | 21. <i>ʒ ẽ l ẽʒ ẽ vǔ lõ</i> |
| 9. <i>dʒ ẽ l ẽʒ i vǔ</i> | 22. <i>n ẽ yǔ lõ</i> |
| 10. <i>n ẽ yǔ lõ</i> | 23. <i>j ẽ vǔ lõ*</i> |
| 11. <i>l ẽʒ ẽ yǔ</i> | 24. <i>ʒ ẽ l ẽʒ ẽ vǔ</i> |
| 12i. <i>ẽ vyǎ lõ</i> | 25. <i>n ẽ l ẽʒ ẽ vǔ</i> |

E. « (c'était lui) qui me l'a dit »

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>kĩ l ă dăet</i> | 13. <i>kĩ ă dĩ mẽ lỏ</i> |
| 2i. <i>kyă l ă dă mẽ lỏ</i> | 14. <i>kĩ ă dă mẽ lỏ</i> |
| 2ii. <i>kĩ mẽ l ă dă lỏ</i> | 15. <i>k ă dă mỏ</i> |
| 3. <i>l ă dă mẽ lỏ</i> | 16. <i>kĩ ă m ă dă lỏ</i> |
| 4. <i>kĩ m ă dă lỏ</i> | 17. <i>kĩ m l ă dăet</i> |
| 5. <i>kĩ mẽ l ă dă</i> | 18. <i>kĩ ă dă mẽ lỏ</i> |
| 6. <i>kỏ mẽ l ă dăet</i> | 19. <i>kĩ ă dĩ mẽ lỏ</i> |
| 7ii. <i>kẻ yă dă mẽ lỏ</i> | 20. <i>kĩ mẽ l ă dăetẻ</i> |
| 8. <i>kĩ mẽ l ă dă</i> | 21. <i>kẻ lỏ m ă dă</i> |
| 9. <i>kĩ mẽ l ă dă</i> | 22. <i>kĩ m ă dăetẻ lỏ</i> |
| 10. <i>kĩ m ă dăetẻ</i> | 23. <i>kĩ ă dă mẽ lỏ</i> |
| 11. <i>kẻ mả l ă dă</i> | 24. <i>kĩ mẽ l ă dă</i> |
| 12i. <i>kẻ mẽ l ă dĩt</i> | 25. <i>kĩ mả l ă dăetẻ</i> |
| 12ii. <i>kẻ mẽ l ă dĩt</i> | |

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

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>n ẻ prỏmẻtủ lả lẻr</i> | 12ii. <i>ăvỏvỏ prỏmẻtẻ lẻ*</i> |
| 2i. <i>n ỉ prỏmẻtủ lẻ lẻy</i> | 13. <i>z ẻ prỏmẻtẻ lỏ</i> |
| 2ii. <i>je l ẻ prỏmẻtủ lẻ</i> | 14. <i>z ẻ prỏmẻtẻ lỏ</i> |
| 3. <i>ỉ l ẻ prẻmỉyẻ lỏ</i> | 15. <i>y ẻ prỏmẻtủ yỏ</i> |
| 4. <i>z ẻ prỏmẻtủ lẻ lẻ</i> | 16. <i>dz ỉ prỏmẻtủ lảy</i> |
| 5. <i>dẻ lẻ ăvủ prỏmỉ*</i> | 17. <i>zẻ lỏ lỉ ẻ prẻmỉ</i> |
| 6. <i>je l ẻ prỏmỉ</i> | 18. <i>dẻ prỏmẻtủ lẻ lỏ</i> |
| 7i. <i>z ẻ prẻmẻtủ lỏ lẻr</i> | 20. <i>j ỉ prẻmẻtủ lảy</i> |
| 7ii. <i>z ỉtẻ prỏmẻtỏn yẻ lỏ</i> | 21. <i>zẻ lỉ ẻ prỏmẻtủ lảy</i> |
| 8. <i>ỉ l ẻ prẻmẻtủ ă lỏ</i> | 22. <i>n ẻ prẻmẻtủ lỏ</i> |
| 9. <i>dz ỉẻ lẻr prỏmỉ</i> | 23. <i>dj ẻy prỏmẻtẻyẻ lỏ</i> |
| 10. <i>n ẻ prỏmẻtủ lẻ lẻr</i> | 24. <i>dẻ ẻ lẻz ẻ prỏmỉ</i> |
| 11. <i>lẻy ăyẻ prẻmẻtủ*</i> | 25. <i>n ỉ prỏmẻtẻ lẻy</i> |
| 12i. <i>l ă prỏmẻtẻyẻ mẽ lẻ lửr**</i> | |

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

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>lủ ỉl ă pả vẻndủ lẻ</i> | 2ii. <i>nỏz ă pả vẻndủ</i> |
| 2i. <i>l ă pả vẻndủ nỏ lẻ</i> | 3. <i>l ă pả vẻndủ yẻ*</i> |

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 4. nõ læz ä pö vëndü | 13. iy ä pö vëndi nõ lõ*** |
| 5. i nè nüz ä pä vëndü | 14. iy ä pö vëndü nõ læ |
| 6. il ā pä vëndü læ* | 15. ä pä vëndü læ |
| 7i. lū ä pä vëndü læ | 16. nõ læz ä pö mẽy vëndü |
| 7ii. lū yät pä vëndü nūs læ | 17. nõz ä pä vëndü |
| 8. læ nè læz ä pä vëndü | 18. lū iy ä pö vëndü nõ læ |
| 9. i nõz ä pä vëndü lõ | 20. nè læz ä pä vëndü |
| 10. lwi m ä pä vëndü mẽ** | 22. l ä pä vëndü nõ læ |
| 11. nõ læz ä pä vëndü | 23. iy ä pä vëndü mẽ læ** |
| 12i. äl næ ly ä pä vëndäy | 24. i næ læz ä pö vëndü |
| 12ii. l ä pö vëndäy læ | 25. i nõz ä pä vëndi |

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

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. l ä pä rekönü mẽ | 12ii. l ä pö kõnyësäy mẽ |
| 2i. m ä pä räköñü | 13. iy ä pö rekönüsü mẽ |
| 2ii. m ä pä köñü | 14. y ä pä köñüsä mẽ |
| 3. l ä pä rekönü mẽ | 15. ä pä rekönüsü mẽ |
| 4. m ä pö rekönü | 16. m ä pö köñü |
| 5. m ä pä rekönü | 17. m ä pä rekönü |
| 6. m ä pä rekönüeü mẽ | 18. a pö köñü mẽ |
| 7i. il ä pä rekönösüy lõ* | 19. y ä pö rekönüsü mẽ |
| 7ii. iy ä pä köñüsüy mẽ | 20. m ä pä rekönü |
| 8. ëli m ä pö rekönüsü | 21. m ä pö köñü |
| 9. il ä pä rekönü mẽ | 22. m ä pä rekönü |
| 10. l ä pä köñü mẽ | 23. iy ä pä rekönü mẽ |
| 11. ël m ä pä rekwinü | 24. m ä pö rekönü |
| 12i. m ä pä köñüsäy mẽ | 25. m ä pä rekönü |

I. « ils ne m'ont pas vu(e) »

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. lær l ā pä ü mẽ | 7ii. lær y ā pä vyä mẽ |
| 2i. m ā pä vü | 8. lūr i m ā pö vü |
| 2ii. m ā pö vü | 9. i m ā pä vü |
| 3. l ā pä vü mẽ | 10. lær l ā pä yü mẽ |
| 4. m ā pö vü | 11. ë m ö pä näka yü |
| 5. i nè m ē pä vü | 12i. læ m ā pä vyäy |
| 6. i m ā pä vyä mẽ | 12ii. m añ pö vyä mẽ |
| 7i. lær i ā pä vyü mẽ | 14. iy ā pö vyü mẽ |

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 15. <i>īy ā pā vū mē</i> | 20. <i>læ̀rè m ā pā vū</i> |
| 16. <i>m ā pō vū</i> | 21. <i>ī m ā pō mǎy</i> |
| 17. <i>ě m ō pā ū mē</i> | 22. <i>ī m ā pā yū</i> |
| 18. <i>læ̀r ī ā pō vū mē</i> | 23. <i>īy ā pā vyǎ mē</i> |
| 19. <i>īy ā pō vū mē</i> | 25. <i>ī m ā pā vū</i> |

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

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>lū il ā ūbliā*</i> | 12ii. <i>āvè ūbyǎ mē***</i> |
| 2i. <i>l āyět ōbliā nō</i> | 13. <i>īy ān ūbyō nō**</i> |
| 2ii. <i>nōz āyā ōbliā</i> | 14. <i>īy ā dimēntikō nō</i> |
| 3. <i>il āū ibiā nō</i> | 15. <i>y āvāvō sǎpāsā nō</i> |
| 4. <i>nōz āt cētō*</i> | 16. <i>nōz āyē ūbliā</i> |
| 5. <i>ī nūz āvey ūbiō</i> | 17. <i>ě nōz āvō ūbliā</i> |
| 6. <i>ū nōz ā cēbyā nō</i> | 18. <i>lū ī āvè ūbliā nō</i> |
| 7i. <i>lū ě dimēntikā nō</i> | 19. <i>ī ān ūbyū nō**</i> |
| 7ii. <i>lūī āvēvā ūbliā nō</i> | 20. <i>nōz āyět ōbliā</i> |
| 8. <i>lǎ ī n āv ūbli</i> | 22. <i>nōz āvēt ōbliō</i> |
| 9. <i>ī nōz āyā ōbliā nō</i> | 23. <i>īy ā pā rēkōrdā mē*</i> |
| 10. <i>lūī l āyēv ūbliā nō</i> | 24. <i>ī nōz ā ūbli*</i> |
| 11. <i>ě nūz ā ūbliā*</i> | 25. <i>ī nōz ā ūbliā</i> |
| 12i. <i>āl n ōvōvō ōbyō nō</i> | |

K. « je me suis foulé (le poignet) »

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>n ī gātū</i> | 12ii. <i>ěy tōrdzǎy</i> |
| 2i. <i>n ī gātō</i> | 13. <i>z ě dēbelō mē</i> |
| 2ii. <i>dzè mē sī fētē dē mā</i> | 14. <i>ě dātārnū mē</i> |
| 3. <i>il ěy zlōgā mē</i> | 16. <i>dzè mē sī fā dē mō</i> |
| 4. <i>mē sī ntōrdū</i> | 17. <i>zè mē ěē dēvēnāy</i> |
| 5. <i>dē mē sē hrōtū</i> | 18. <i>dz ě fōrsā</i> |
| 6. <i>mē sōw ěntōrdzū.</i> | 19. <i>z ě fě mē dē mā</i> |
| 7i. <i>z ě dāvčē</i> | 20. <i>mē sī fā dē mā</i> |
| 7ii. <i>z itē dābēlā mē</i> | 21. <i>mē sī rōndōy</i> |
| 8. <i>sē mē dēlōiy</i> | 22. <i>n ě gātō</i> |
| 9. <i>dzè mē sī dēbwēlō</i> | 23. <i>z ě fě mē mā</i> |
| 10. <i>n ě gātō</i> | 24. <i>mē sī dēvlōyēlō</i> |
| 11. <i>mē sī fā dē mā</i> | 25. <i>nē sē dēbwēlāy</i> |
| 12i. <i>mē sēy dārlōdjō</i> | |

L. « je me suis coupé (le doigt) »

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>mě si kǒpǒ</i> | 12ii. <i>ěy tǎlǒ mě</i> |
| 2i. <i>mě si kǒpǒ</i> | 13. <i>z ě tǎyǎ</i> |
| 2ii. <i>j ě kǒpěy</i> | 14. <i>ě tǎyǎ mě</i> |
| 3. <i>l ě tǎyǎ</i> | 15. <i>yě tǎyǎ</i> |
| 4. <i>zě mě ěi kǒpǒ</i> | 16. <i>dzě mě si kǒpǒ</i> |
| 5. <i>dě mě sěy kǒpǎ</i> | 17. <i>mě si kǒpǒ</i> |
| 6. <i>mě sǒ tǎyǎ mě</i> | 18. <i>dz ě kǒpǒ mě</i> |
| 7i. <i>z ě tǎlyǎ</i> | 19. <i>z ě tǎlǎ mě</i> |
| 7ii. <i>z ě tǎlyǎ mě</i> | 20. <i>zě mě si kǒpǎ</i> |
| 8. <i>zě mě si kǒpǒ</i> | 21. <i>zě mě si kǒpǒ</i> |
| 9. <i>si kǒpǒ</i> | 22. <i>mě sě kǒpǒ</i> |
| 10. <i>si kǒpǎy</i> | 23. <i>dj ě tǎyǎ</i> |
| 11. <i>mě ěi kǒpǒ</i> | 24. <i>dzě mě si kǒpǒ</i> |
| 12i. <i>mě sě tǎlǎ</i> | 25. <i>mě sǎ kǒpǎy</i> |

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

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. <i>ně sěn trǒmpǒ</i> | 12ii. <i>mě sěy ězbǎlǒ*</i> |
| 2i. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn trǒmpǒ</i> | 13. <i>n y ězbǎlǎ sě</i> |
| 2ii. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn trǒmpǒ</i> | 14. <i>ěn zǎbǎlǒ sě</i> |
| 3. <i>l ěn trǒmpǎ nǒ</i> | 15. <i>yěn ězbǎlǎ nǒ</i> |
| 4. <i>nǒ nǒ sě zǎbǎlǎ</i> | 16. <i>nǒz ěsěy trǒmpǒ</i> |
| 5. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn trǒpǒ</i> | 17. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn trǒpǎ</i> |
| 6. <i>nǒ sěn trǒmpǎ nǒ</i> | 18. <i>nǒ ěn zǎbǎlyǎ nǒ</i> |
| 7i. <i>n ěn zǎbǎlyǎ ě</i> | 19. <i>n ěn ězbǎlǒ sě</i> |
| 7ii. <i>n ěn zǎbǎlyǎ sě</i> | 20. <i>dzě mě si trǒmpǎ*</i> |
| 8. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn zǎbǎlě</i> | 21. <i>nǒ sěn trǒmpǒ</i> |
| 9. <i>nǒ sěn trǒmpǒ nǒ</i> | 22. <i>nǒ sěn zǎbǎlǎ</i> |
| 10. <i>si zǎbǎlyǎy*</i> | 23. <i>dj ěyn trǒmpǎ mě*</i> |
| 11. <i>nǒ sěn trǒmpǒ</i> | 24. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn trǒpǒ</i> |
| 12i. <i>nǒ sě ězbǎlǎ nǒ</i> | 25. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn trǒmpǒ</i> |

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

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>si lěwǒ*</i> | 3. <i>l ěn lěvǎ nǒ</i> |
| 2i. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn lěvěyě</i> | 5. <i>nǒ nǒ sěn lěva</i> |
| 2ii. <i>sě lěvěy*</i> | 6. <i>nǒ sěn lěvǎ</i> |

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 7i. <i>z ě lěvã m*</i> | 16. <i>nŏ ěšěyē lěŏ</i> |
| 7ii. <i>n ěn lěvã sē</i> | 17. <i>nŏ sē lěvã</i> |
| 8. <i>nŏ nŏ sēn lěvŏ</i> | 18. <i>ēn lěvŏ nŏ</i> |
| 9. <i>nŏ sēn lěvŏ nŏ</i> | 19. <i>n ěn lěvã sē</i> |
| 10. <i>sĭ lěvã*</i> | 20. <i>mē sĭ lěvã*</i> |
| 11. <i>sĭ lěvŏ*</i> | 21. <i>nŏ syē lěŏ</i> |
| 12ii. <i>mě sĕy lěvŏ*</i> | 22. <i>sē lěvŏ</i> |
| 13. <i>n ě lěvŏ</i> | 23. <i>sĕ lěvã mē*</i> |
| 14. <i>ēn lěvŏ sē</i> | 24. <i>nŏ sēn lěvŏ</i> |
| 15. <i>ēn lěvã nŏ</i> | 25. <i>nŏ sēn lěvŏ</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

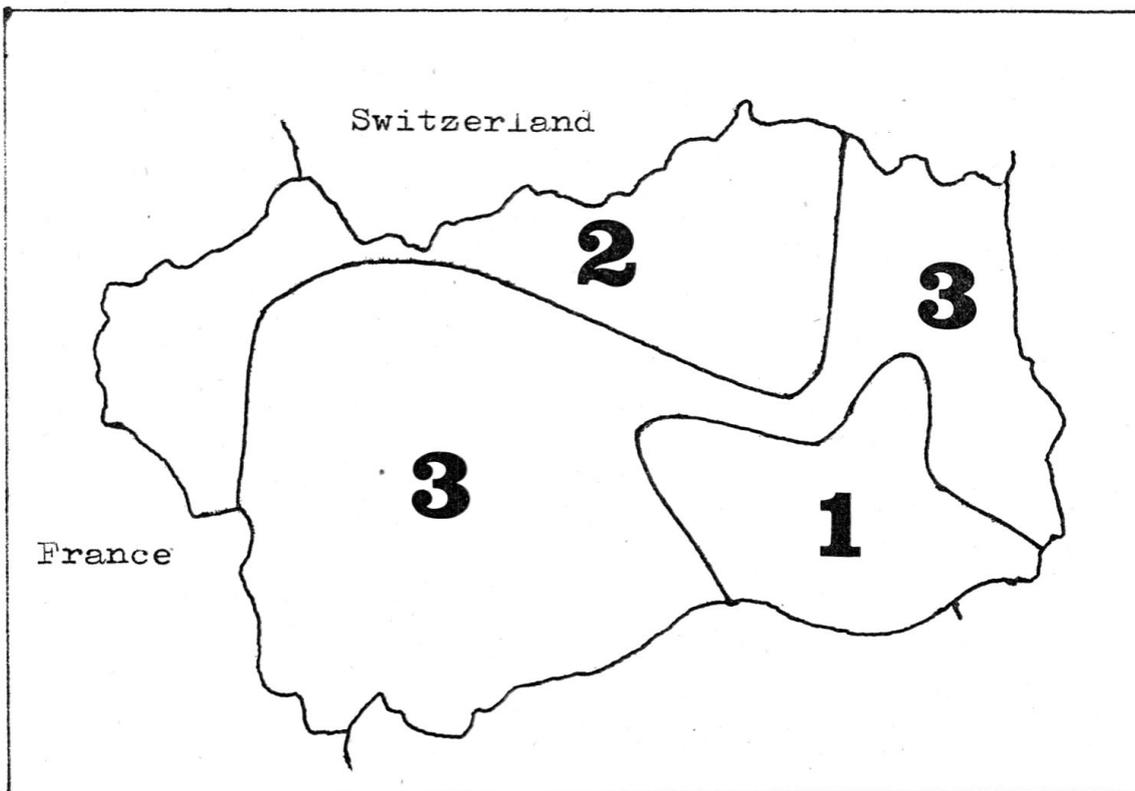


FIG. 2.

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 evidence ¹.

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 area ².

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.

pronoun ¹) supports the view that it was in this form that postposition first gained acceptance in Valdôtain, later to be supplanted by simple postposition ². 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.