REGIONAL VARIETIES AND STANDARD

IN EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE:

ISSUES FROM THE ANGLE OF SYNTACTIC VARIATION

Ernestina Carrilho & Sandra Pereira
about

- morphosyntactic variation and the interplay of language change in the Westernmost Iberian Peninsula, with a particular focus on European Portuguese
  - the areal expression of “syntactic variants”
  - relevance in the regional linguistic continuum and relationship with the standard
  - parallel to variation in other grammatical areas
  - factors for their (co-)occurrence in the regional continuum
OUTLINE

- linguistic “uniformity” in the Portuguese territory - historical context

- Portuguese dialects and morphosyntactic variation
  - the spatial expression of some morphosyntactic variants
  - connection with dialectal borders

- Portuguese regional varieties and the standard variety
Linguistic “uniformity” in the Westernmost Iberian Peninsula
Linguistic “uniformity” in the Portuguese territory

Portuguese
(< Galician-Portuguese)
Linguistic “uniformity” in the Portuguese territory

Portuguese
(< Galician-Portuguese)

Mirandese
(< Astur-Leonese)
recognized as
official (minority) language
since 1999
Regional variation within the Portuguese territory

Northern dialects
- Northern Minho, Trás-os-Montes
- Southern Minho, Douro Litoral and Beiras

Central-Southern dialects
- Littoral Central
- Central inland and Southern

as defined by phonetic isoglosses

In Cintra (1971)
and some lexical areas

adapted from Cintra (1962)
Historical opposition
(Cintra 1962, a.o.)

13\textsuperscript{th} century
Monasteries in the Northern territory,
Moorish quarters in the South
Settlement in the south (monasteries, military religious orders), 12th-13th centuries

(maps from Cintra 1962)
Regional variation within the Portuguese territory

Northern dialects
- Northern Minho, Trás-os-Montes
- Southern Minho, Douro Litoral and Beiras

Central-Southern dialects
- Litoral Central
- Central inland and Southern

MORPHOSYNTACTIC VARIATION

Non-standard:
i. aspectual *estar* ‘to be, to stay’ + gerund
ii. inflected gerunds
iii. prenominal possessives without an article
~
iv. clitic interpolation
~
v. syntactic types of causative construction
Data from CORDIAL-SIN

Syntax-oriented Corpus of Portuguese Dialects

- 600,000 words
- 70 hours
- 42 locations

Informants: aged, rural
- low instruction
- born and raised in place of interview

Oral interviews within the scope of several linguistic atlases
(Dialectal Sound Archive at Centre of Linguistics, ULisboa)

Annotated corpus of European Portuguese dialects downloadable at:

(Carrilho & Pereira 2009, 2013; Lobo 2008; Magro 2006; Pereira 2012, 2016; Gonçalves, Carrilho & Pereira 2016)
Areal distribution of aspectual *estar* + GERUND

- **Standard EP:** *estar* + A + INF

  (1) Estão **ardendo** (PAL36)  
      are.3PL burn.GER  
      ‘They are burning’

  (1’) Estão **a arder**  
      are.3PL a.ASP fix.INF

(2) Essa pessoa **estava varrendo** (LUZ08)  
    that person was.3SG sweep.GER  
    ‘That person was sweeping’

(2’) Essa pessoa **estava a varrer**  
    that person was.3SG a.ASP sweep.INF
Areal distribution of EP non-standard construction:

aspectual \textit{estar} + GERUND

(in CORDIAL-SIN)
Areal distribution of inflected gerunds

• Gerund adverbial clauses display subject agreement in some EP dialects (Lobo 2001, 2008)

(3) Em eles tendem a outra, já não querem aquela.  
    ‘when they have the other one, they don’t want that one anymore’  
    (LVR05)

(3’) Tendo eles a outra, …  
    [standard EP]
Areal distribution of EP non-standard construction: inflected gerunds

(adapted from Lobo 2008)
Areal distribution of EP non-standard constructions: dialectal areas

Central inland and southern dialects
Areal distribution of absence of article before prenominal possessives

• Crosslinguistic and language internal, diachronic and syncronic variation w.r.t. the presence of articles before prenominal possessives


(4) a. **os meus livros**
   the.PL my.PL books
b. **mis libros** (Sp.)
   my.PL books
c. **mes livres** (Fr.)
   my.PL books

(5) a. **o meu pai**
   the.SG my.SG father
b. **meu pai**
   my.SG father
Areal distribution of absence of article before prenominal possessives

• possessives preceding kinship nouns:

(6) E minha tia lia aqueles livros. (GRJ06)
   and my.FEM.SG aunt read those books
   ‘And my aunt read those books.’

(6’) E a minha tia lia aqueles livros.
   and the.FEM.SG my.FEM.SG aunt read those books

(7) Olha, fala com teu avô [...](CTL18)
   look talk with your.SG grandfather
   ‘Look, talk to your grand-father.’

(7’) Olha, fala com o teu avô
   look, talk with the.SG your.SG grandfather
Areal distribution of absence of article before prenominal possessives

(in CORDIAL-SIN, before kinship names)
Areal distribution of absence of article before prenominal possessives (in CORDIAL-SIN, before kinship names)
• non-adjacency between a proclitic pronoun and the verb
the negation operator não can disrupt proclitic-verb sequences (cf. Martins 1994; Magro 2007, 2010).

(8) O rapaz disse que lhe não telefonou
the boy sayPST.3SG that himCL.DAT notphonePST.3SG
The boy said that he didn’t call him.
Areal distribution of interpolation

Interpolation in CORDIAL-SIN (Magro 2007: 88)
Areal distribution of interpolation

% Interpolation in CORDIAL-SIN (Magro 2007: 89)
Areal distribution of interpolation

Class of interpolated element:
A- pron, adv, neg
B- pron, adv
C- pron, neg
D- neg
E- adv, neg

(Magro 2007: 89)
Causative Constructions

• **Inflected Infinitive (Inf. Inf.)**

(9) A Maria mandou **os filhos** lerem o livro.
A Maria mandou **eles** lerem o livro.
Mary made the children.NOM read.3PL the book

• **Exceptional Case Marking (ECM)**

(10) A Maria mandou **os filhos** ler o livro.
A Maria mandou-**os** ler o livro.
Mary made the children.ACUS read the book
Causative Constructions

- *Faire-Inf (FI)*

(11) A Maria mandou ler o livro **aos filhos**.
    Mary made read the book to.the children.DAT
    A Maria mandou-**lhes** ler o livro.

(11’) A Maria mandou dormir **o filho**.
    Mary made sleep the son.**acus**
Causative Constructions

Ambiguous cases
• Inf. Inf. ≈ ECM
(12) A Maria mandou o filho ler o livro. [NP= Nom/Acus]

• ECM ≈ FI
(13) A Maria mandou -o dormir. [verbs with one argument]

Mary made him ACUS sleep
## Causative constructions: divergence/convergence among dialectal EP

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Areal distribution of causative constructions

Faire-Inf

(in Pereira 2012)
Areal distribution of causative constructions

Ambiguidade entre Inf. Flexionado e ECM:

ECM: 🟢

Inf. Inf. 🟠

(in Pereira 2012)
• CONCLUSION AND REFERENCES