

Panel “Dialect and Standard in Romance. Convergence, Divergence and Stability”

*ICLaVE 9*

Universidad de Malaga • June 2017

**REGIONAL VARIETIES AND STANDARD  
IN EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE:  
ISSUES FROM THE ANGLE OF SYNTACTIC VARIATION**

Ernestina Carrilho & Sandra Pereira

about

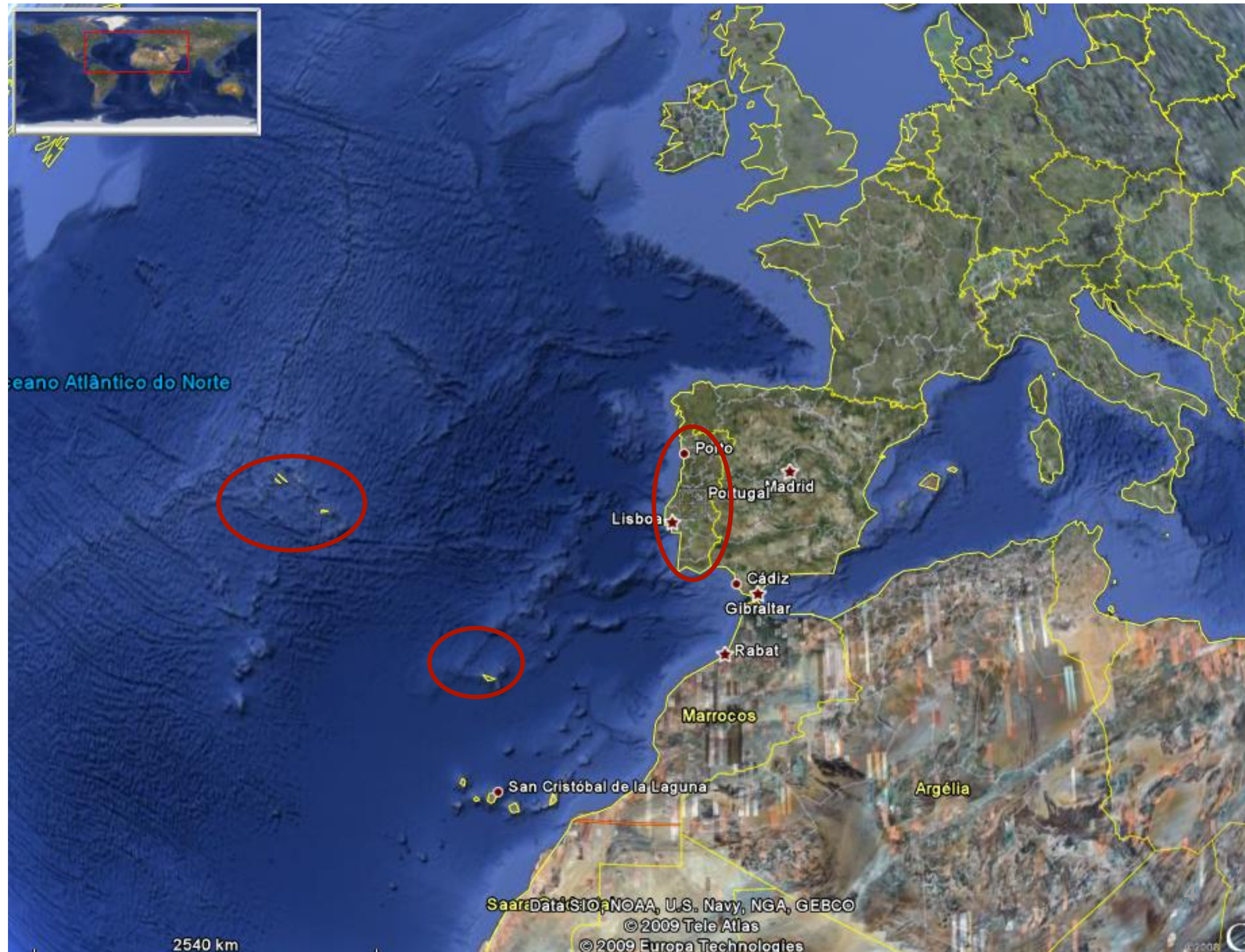
- morphosyntactic variation and the interplay of language change in the Westernmost Iberian Peninsula, with a particular focus on European Portuguese
  - the areal expression of “syntactic variants”
  - relevance in the regional linguistic *continuum* and relationship with the standard
  - parallel to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



## OUTLINE

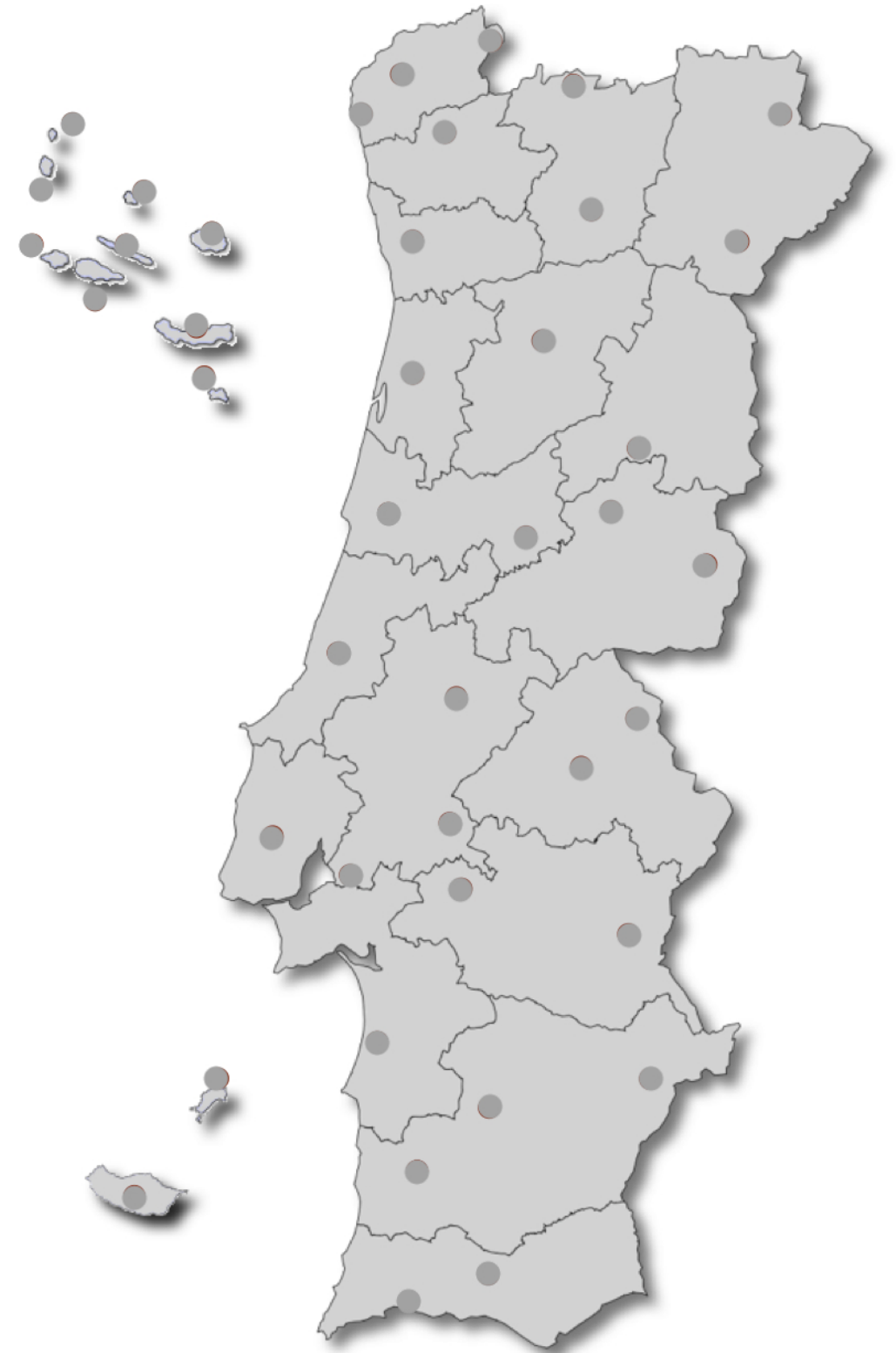
- linguistic “uniformity” in the Portuguese territory - historical context
- Portuguese dialects and morphosyntactic variation
  - the spatial expression of some morphosyntactic variants
  - connection with dialectal borders
- Portuguese regional varieties and the standard variety

# Linguistic “uniformity” in the Westernmost Iberian Peninsula



# Linguistic “uniformity” in the Portuguese territory

Portuguese  
(< Galician-Portuguese)



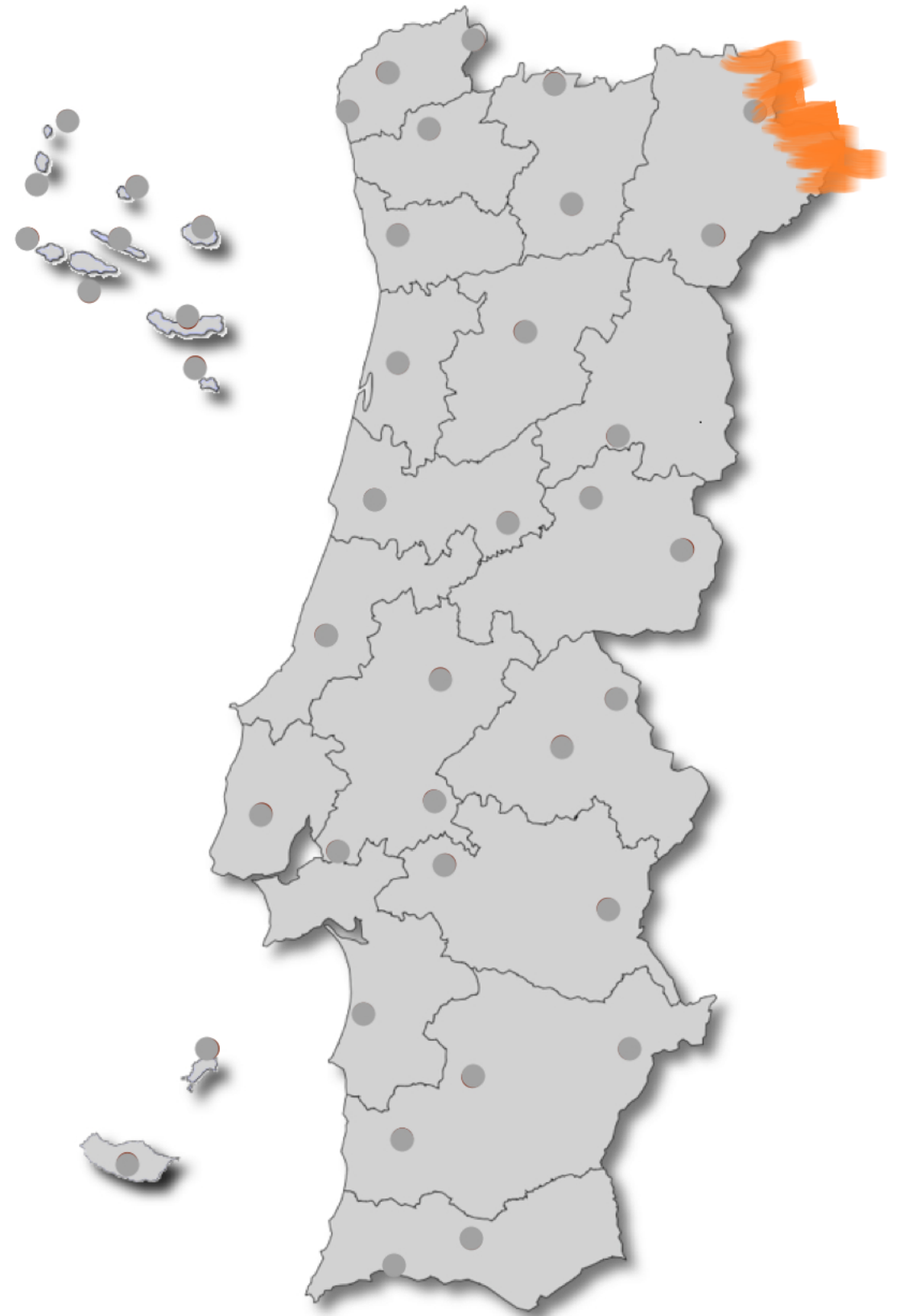
# Linguistic “uniformity” in the Portuguese territory

Portuguese  
(< Galician-Portuguese)

Mirandese

(< Astur-Leonese)

recognized as  
official (minority) language  
since 1999



# Regional variation within the Portuguese territory

## Northern dialects

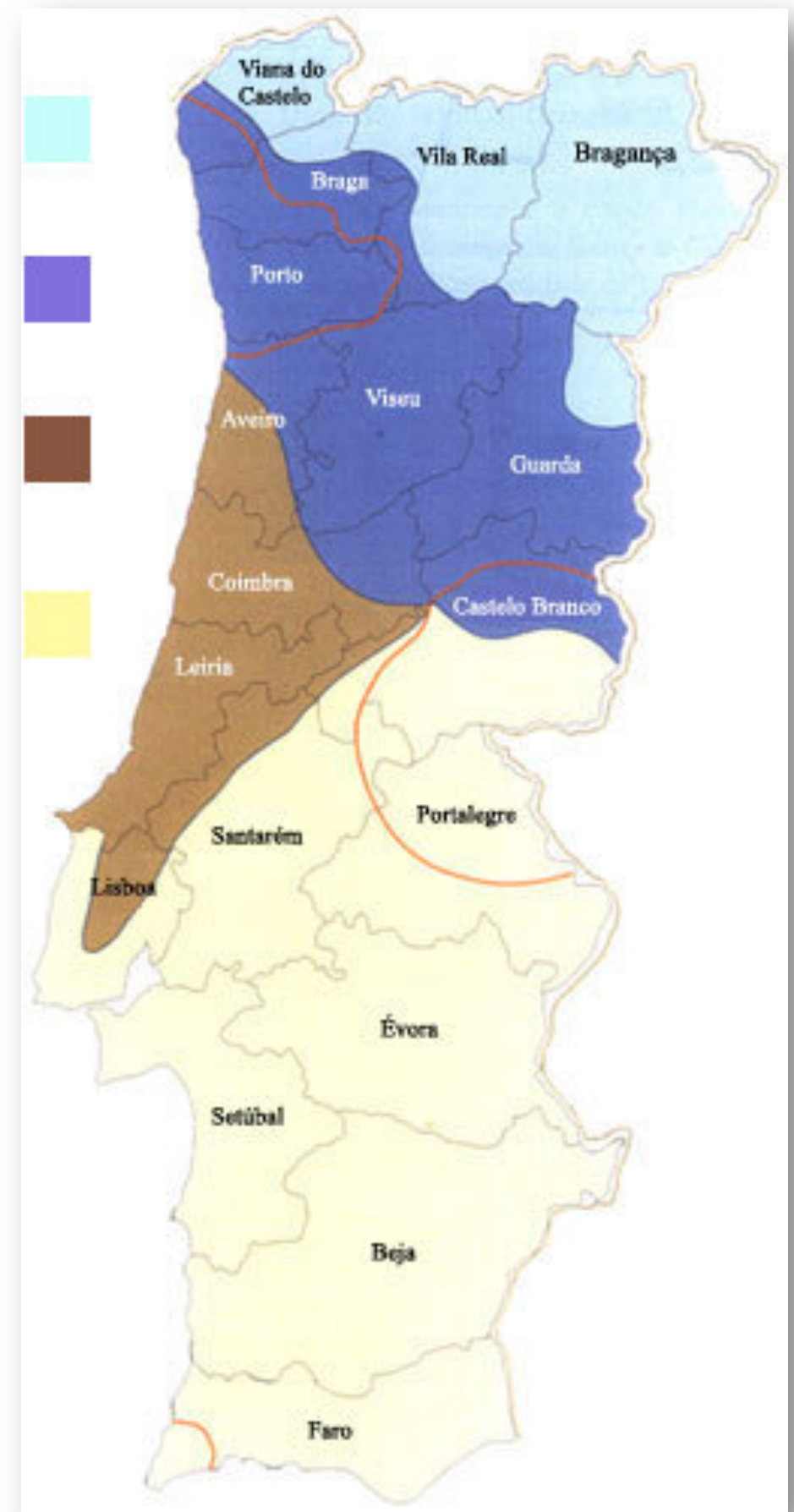
Northern Minho, Trás-os-Montes

Southern Minho, Douro Litoral and Beiras

## Central-Southern dialects

Littoral Central

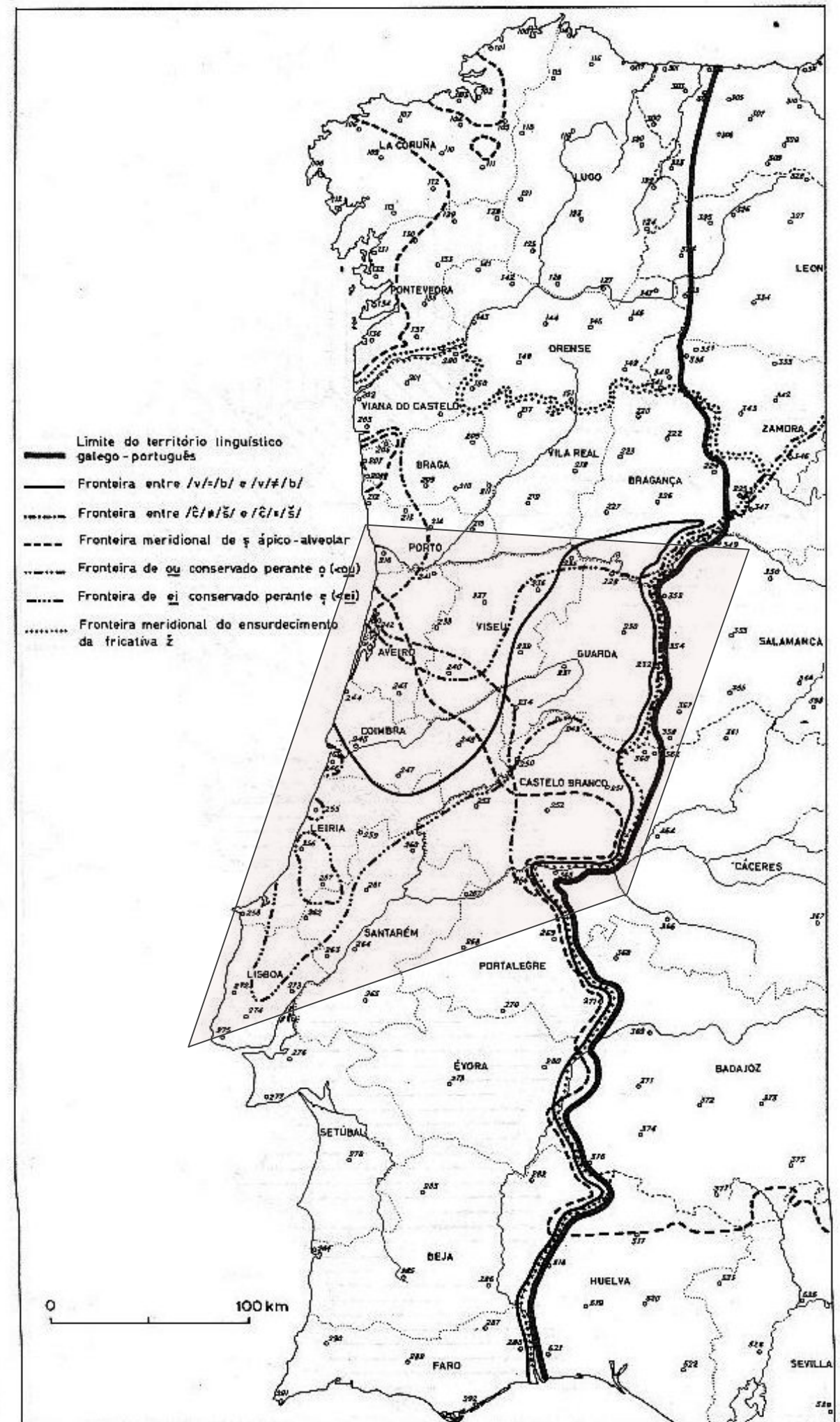
Central inland and Southern



(adapted from Cintra 1971,  
Segura and Saramago 2001, in

<http://cvc.instituto-camoes.pt/conhecer/bases-tematicas/historia-da-lingua-portuguesa.html>)

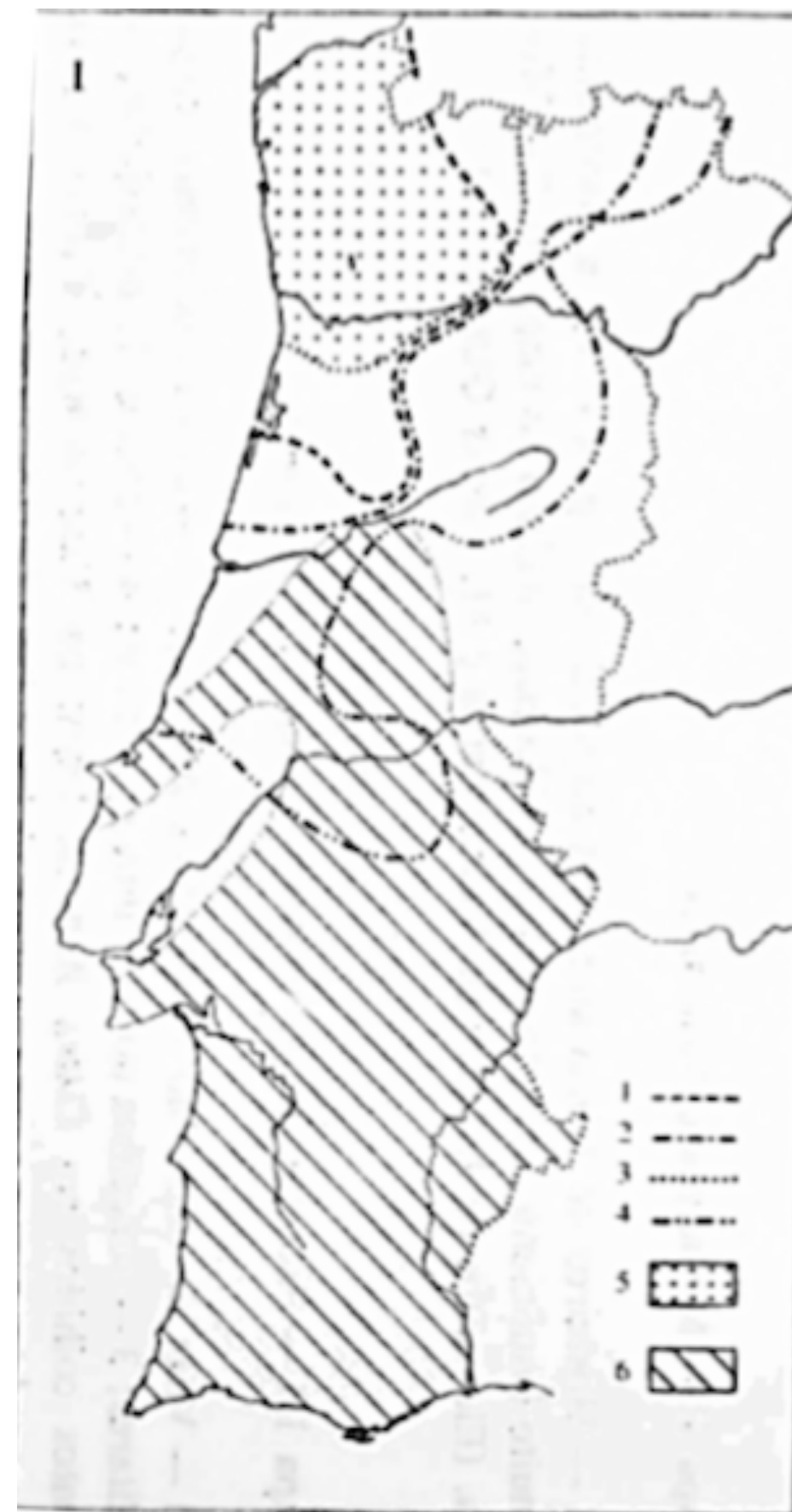
as defined by  
phonetic isoglosses



In Cintra (1971)



**and some lexical areas**



adapted  
from Cintra (1962)

# Historical opposition

(Cintra 1962, a.o.)

13<sup>th</sup> century

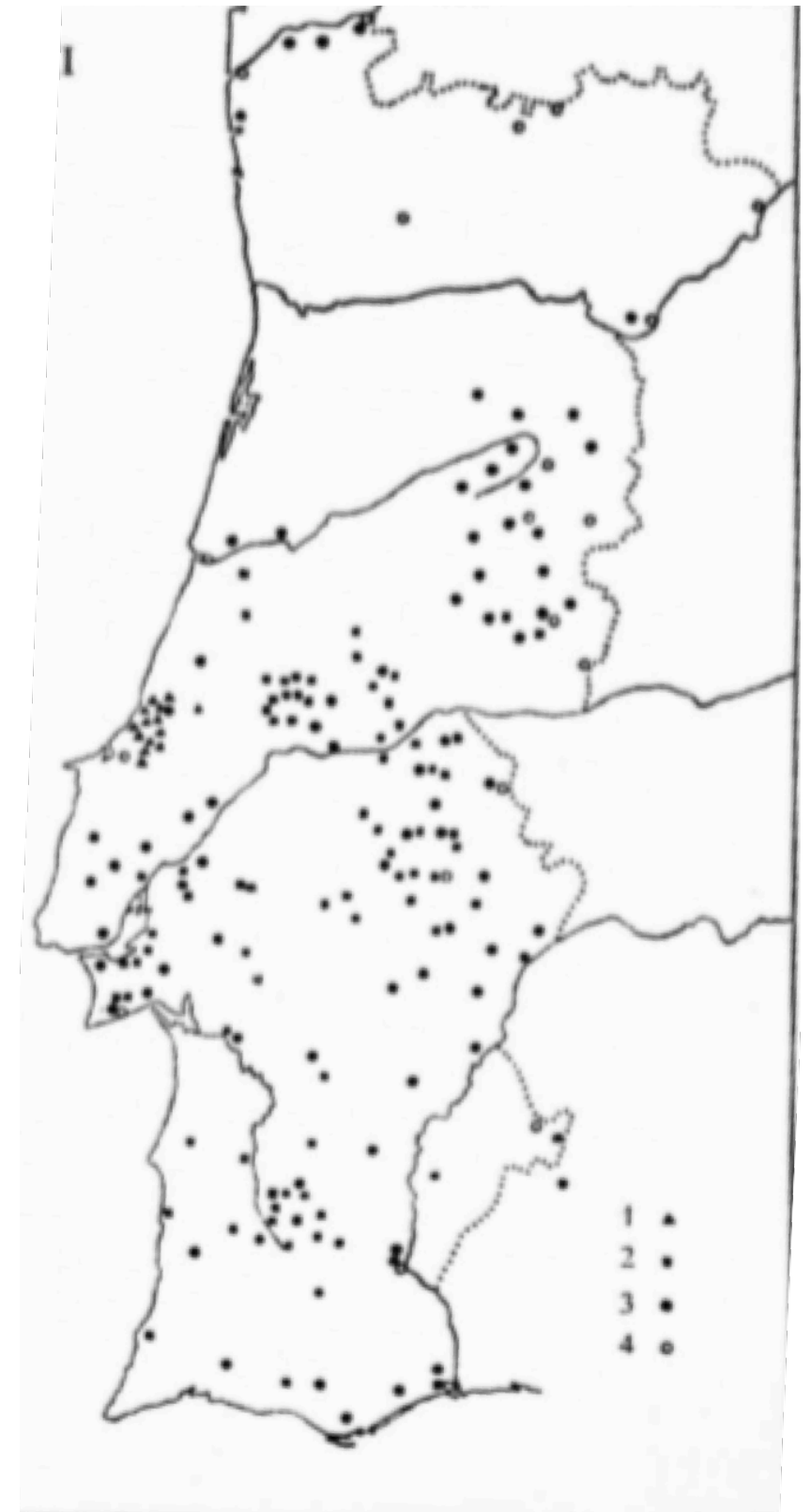
Monasteries in the Northern territory,

Moorish quarters in the South



# Settlement in the south (monasteries, military religious orders), 12th-13th centuries

(maps from Cintra 1962)



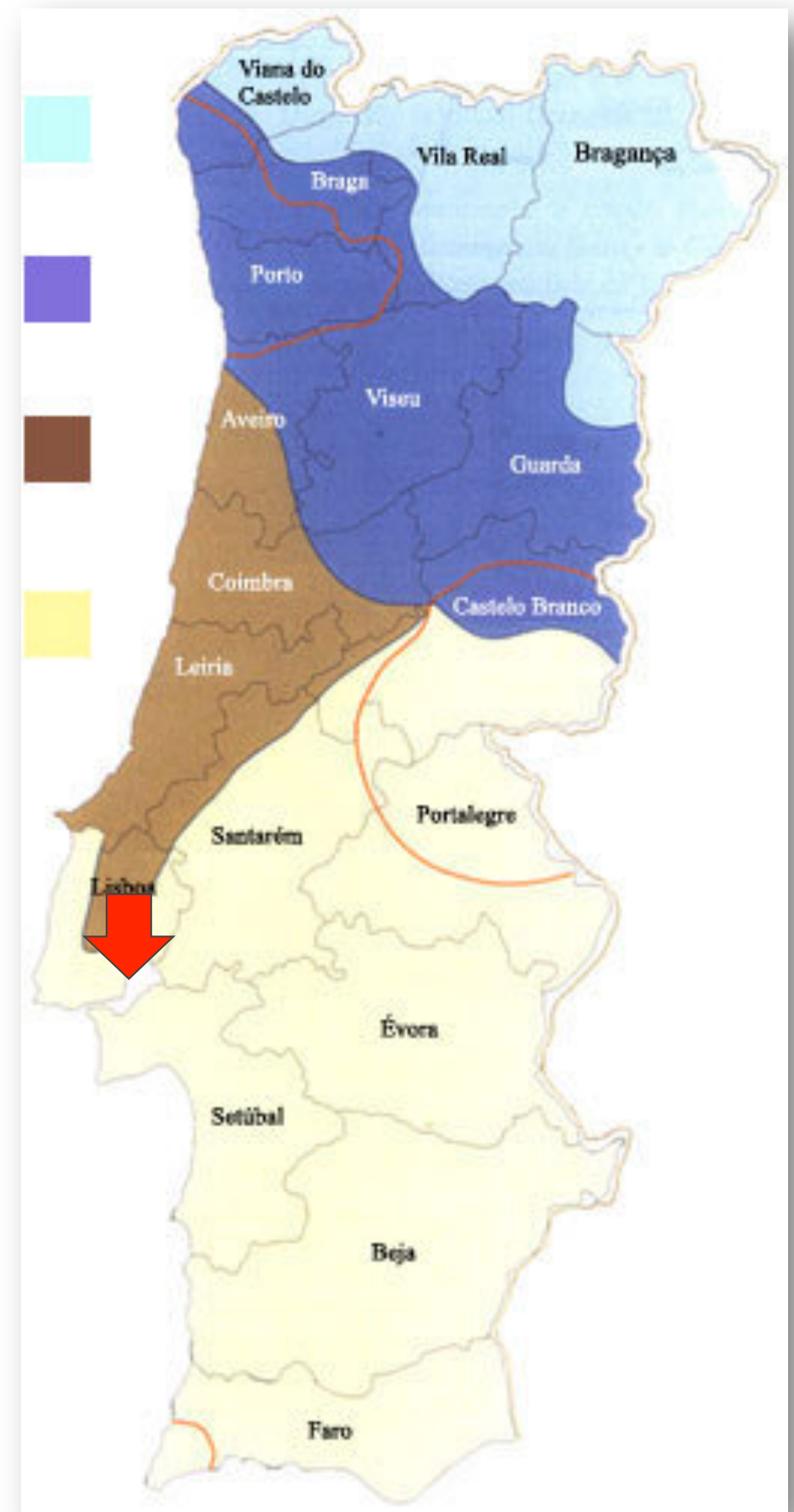
# Regional variation within the Portuguese territory

## Northern dialects

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

## Central-Southern dialects

Littoral Central  
Central inland and Southern



(adapted from Cintra 1971,  
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# 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

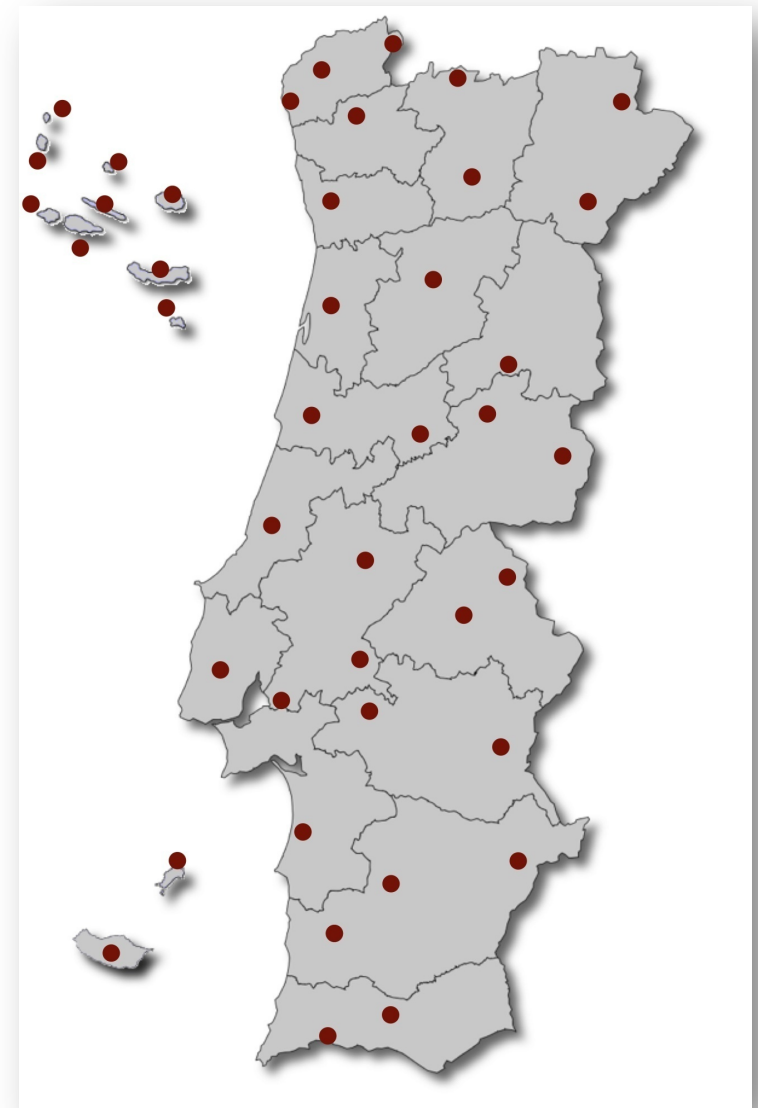
# Data from CORDIAL-SIN

## *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:  
[www.clul.ulisboa.pt/en/11-resources/314-cordial-sin-corpus-2](http://www.clul.ulisboa.pt/en/11-resources/314-cordial-sin-corpus-2)



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

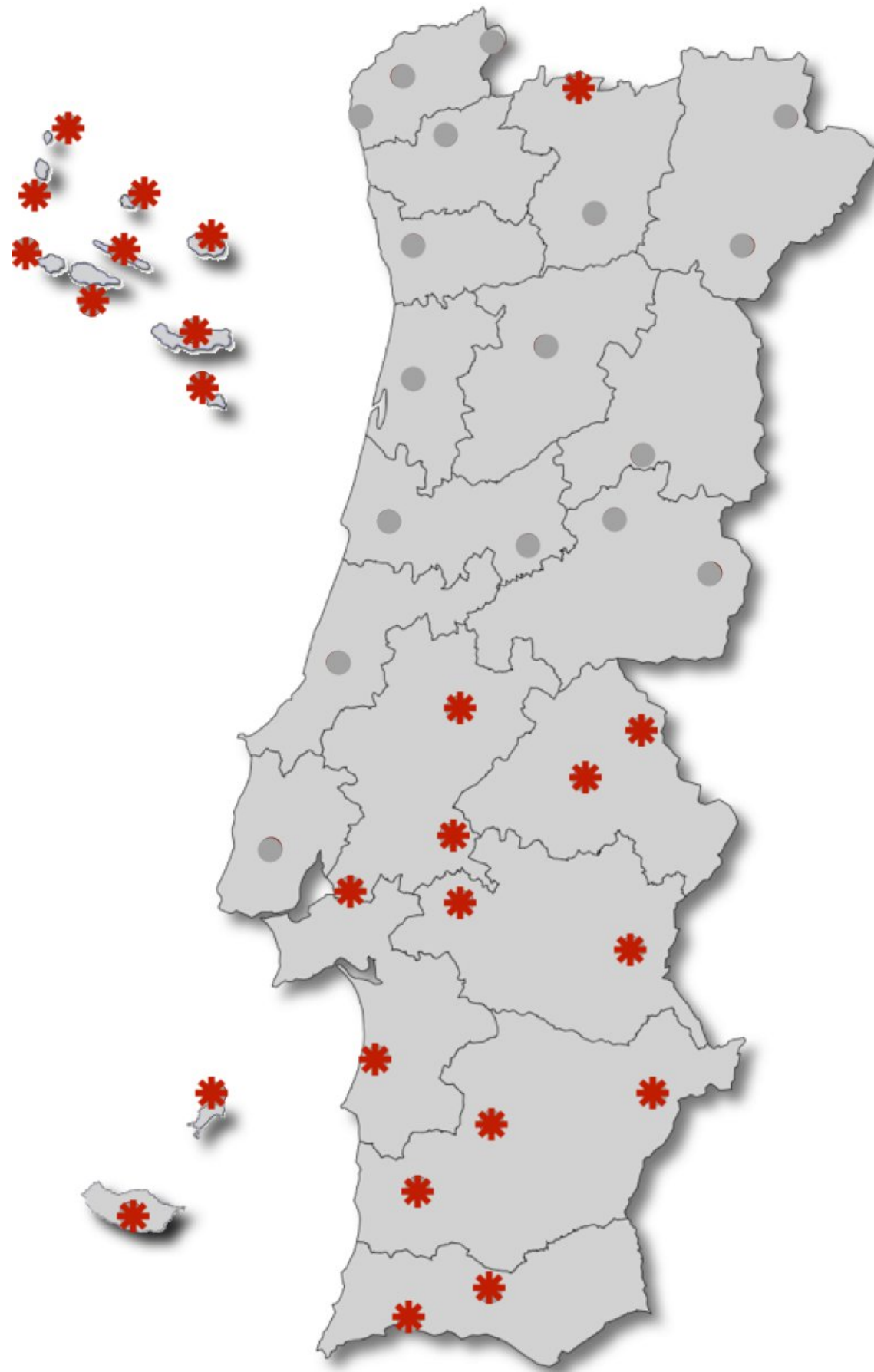
(2) Essa pessoa estava **varrendo** (LUZ08)  
that person was.3SG sweep.GER

‘That person was sweeping’

(2’) Essa pessoa estava **a varrer**  
that personwas.3SG a.ASP sweep.INF



Areal distribution of EP non-standard construction:  
**aspectual *estar* + GERUND**



(in CORDIAL-SIN)



## Areal distribution of **inflected gerunds**

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

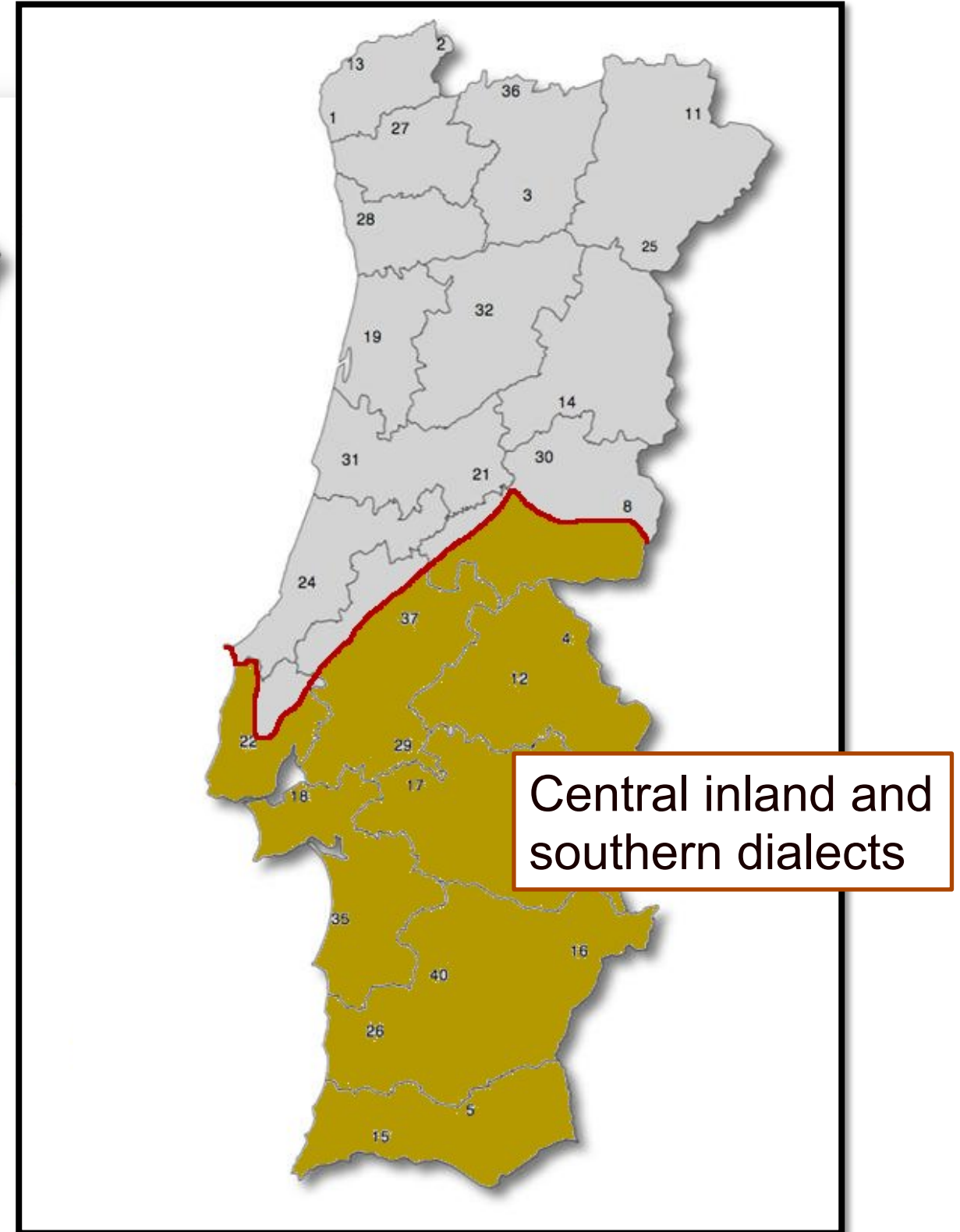
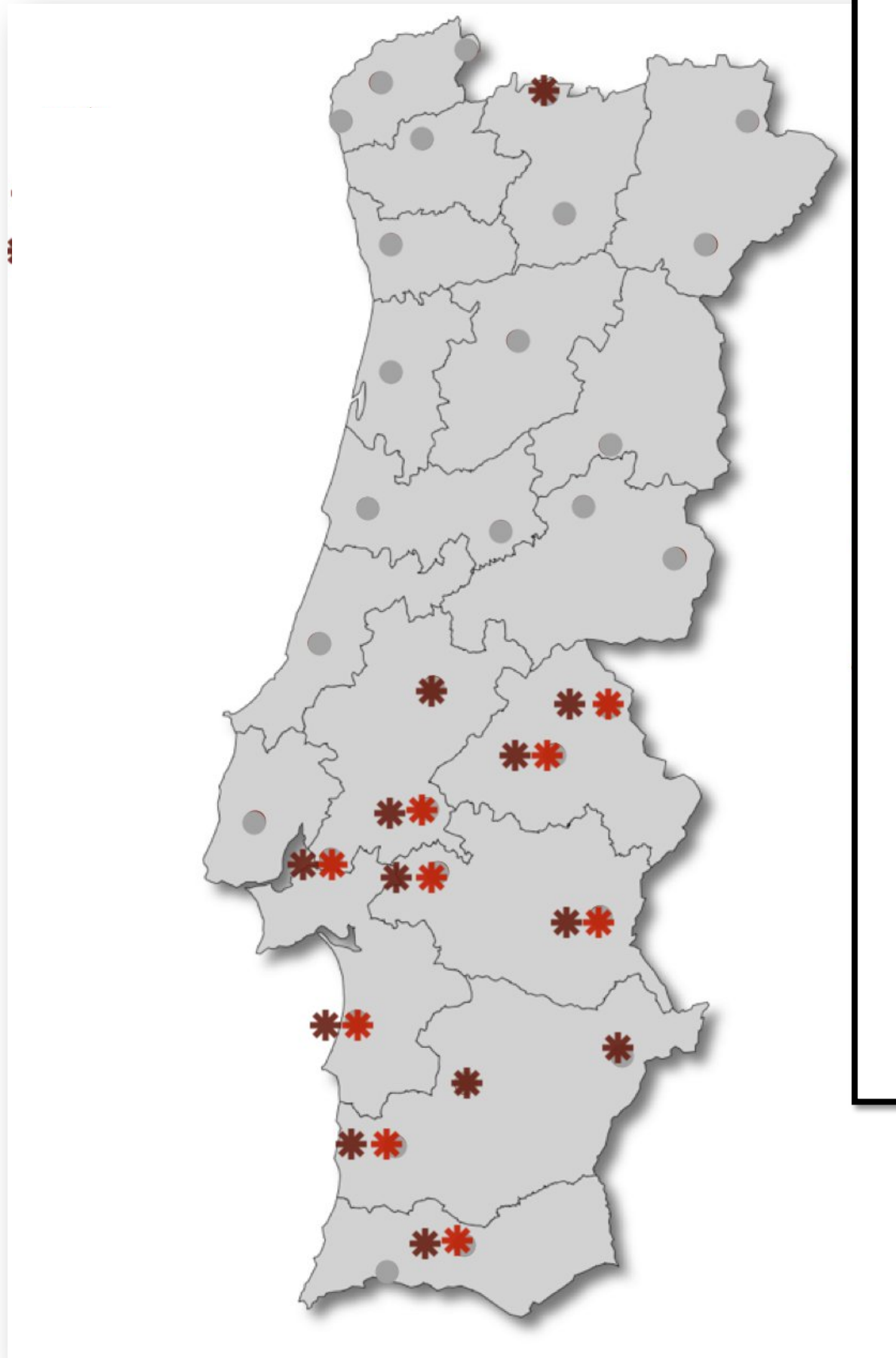
(3) Em eles **tendem** a outra, já não querem aquela.  
in they have<sub>GER.3PL</sub> the other.one anymore not want that.one  
'when they have the other one, they don't want that one anymore'  
(LVR05)

(3') **Tendo** eles a outra, ... [standard EP]  
have<sub>GER</sub> they the other.one





# Areal distribution of EP non-standard constructions: **dialectal areas**



Areal distribution of  
**absence of article before prenominal possessives**

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

(EP: Mattos e Silva 1989, Miguel 2002, Castro 2006, Rinke 2010, a.o.)

- (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

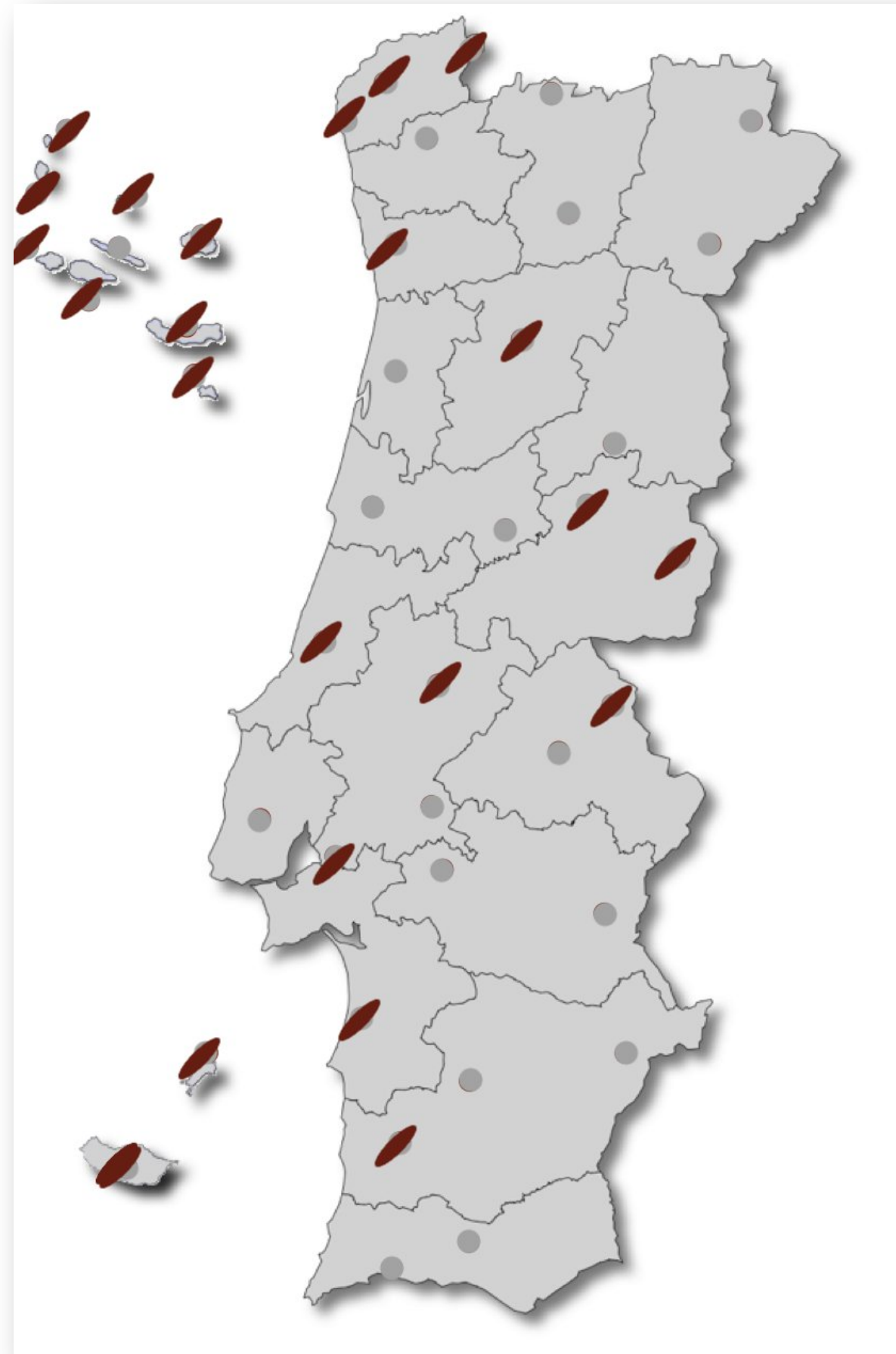
(7) Olha, fala com **teu** **avô** [...](CTL18)  
looktalk withyour.SGgrandfather  
'Look, talk to your grand-father.'

(7') Olha, fala com **o** **teu** **avô**  
look, talkwiththe.SG your.SGgrandfather



Areal distribution of

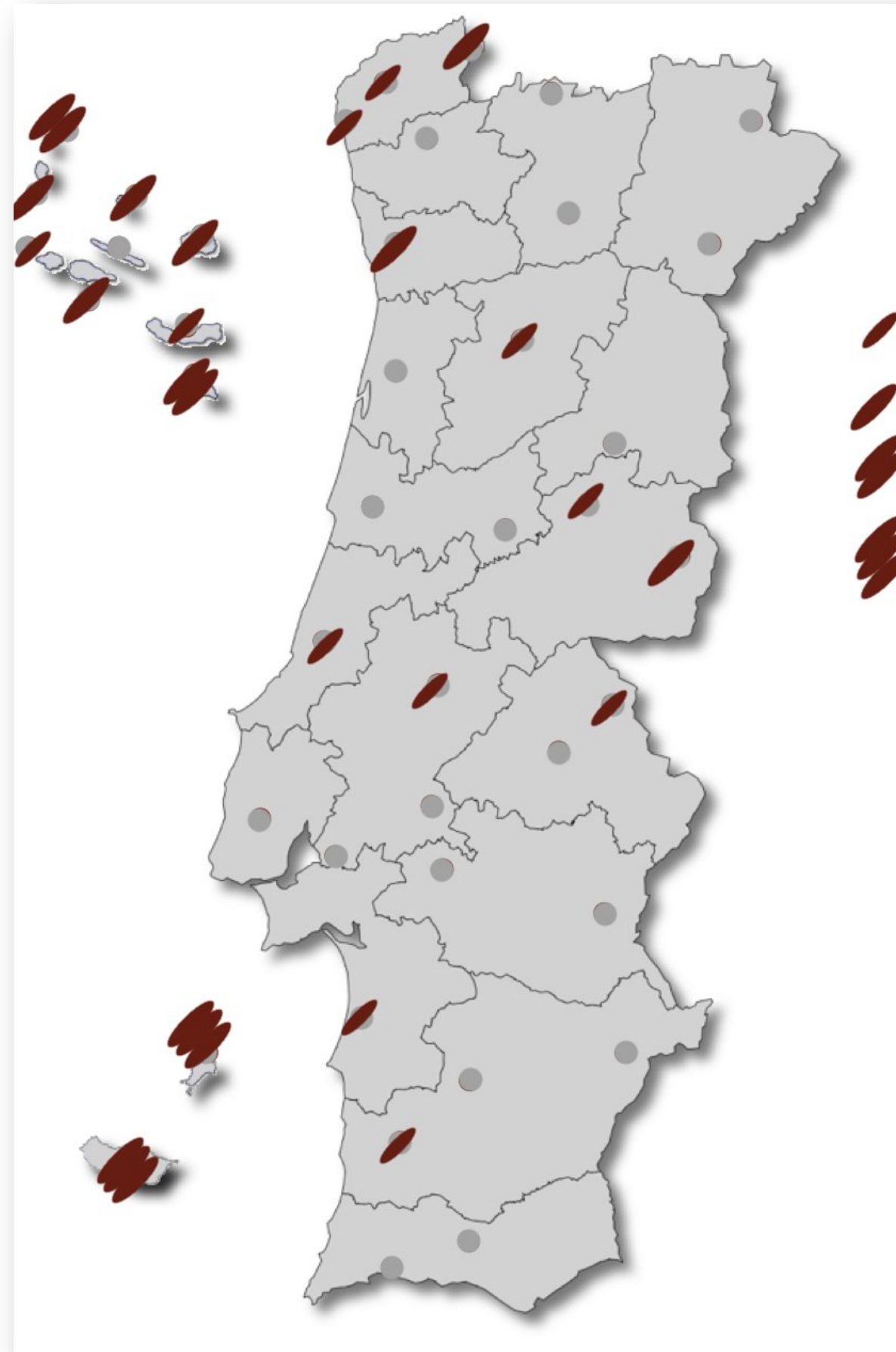
# absence of article before prenominal possessives



(in CORDIAL-SIN,  
before kinship  
names)

Areal distribution of

# absence of article before pronominal possessives



- 0 < 20 %
- 20 < 45 %
- 45 < 65
- > 65 %

(in CORDIAL-SIN,  
before kinship  
names)

## Areal distribution of **interpolation**

- 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.



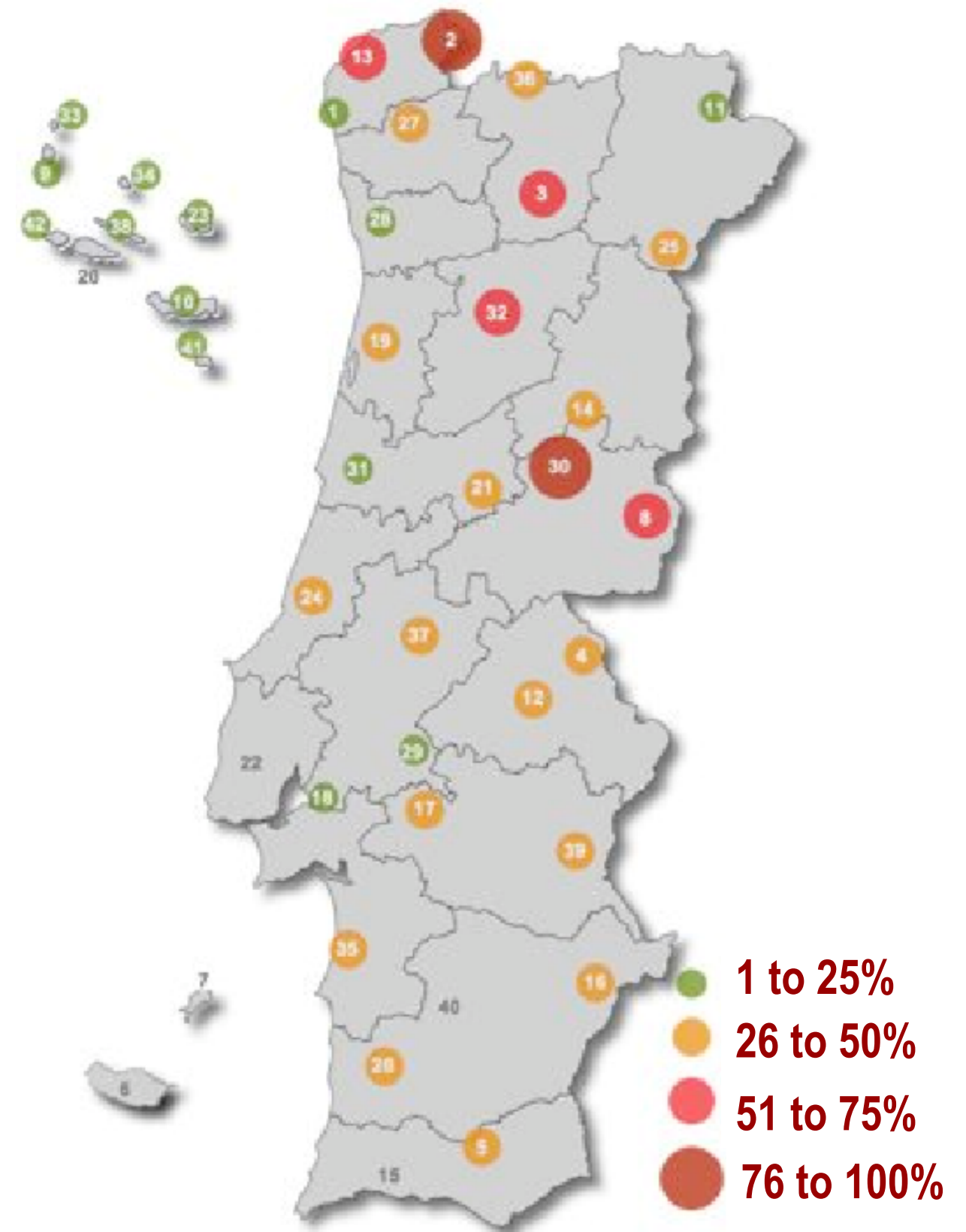
# Areal distribution of interpolation

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

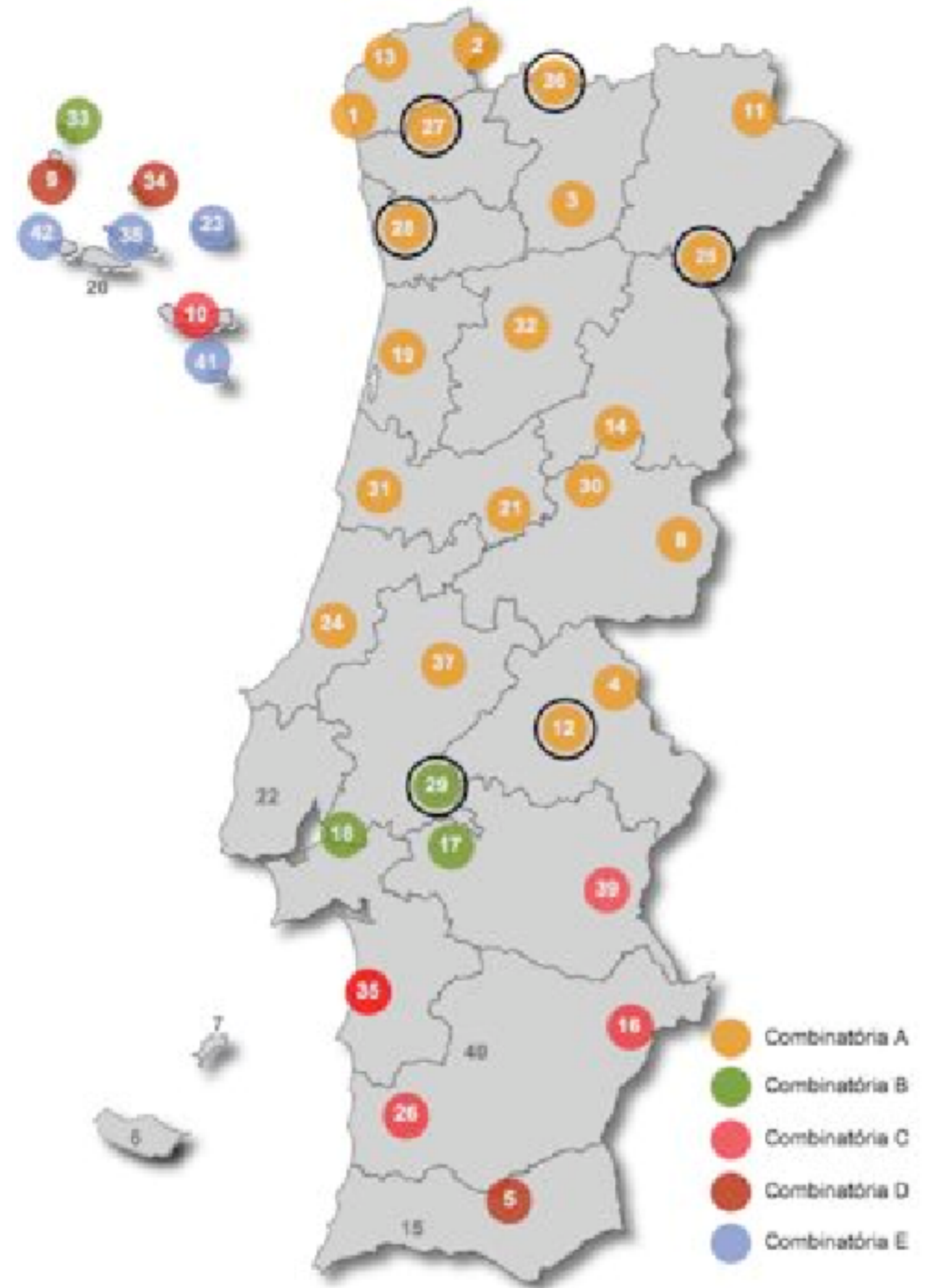
B- pron, adv

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-hes ler o livro.

(11') A Maria mandou dormir o filho.

Mary made sleep the son.acus

# Causative Constructions

## Ambiguous cases

- **Inf. Inf.  $\cong$  ECM**

(12) A Maria mandou o filho ler o livro.

[NP= Nom/Acus]

- **ECM  $\cong$  FI**

(13) A Maria mandou -o dormir.

[verbs with one argument]

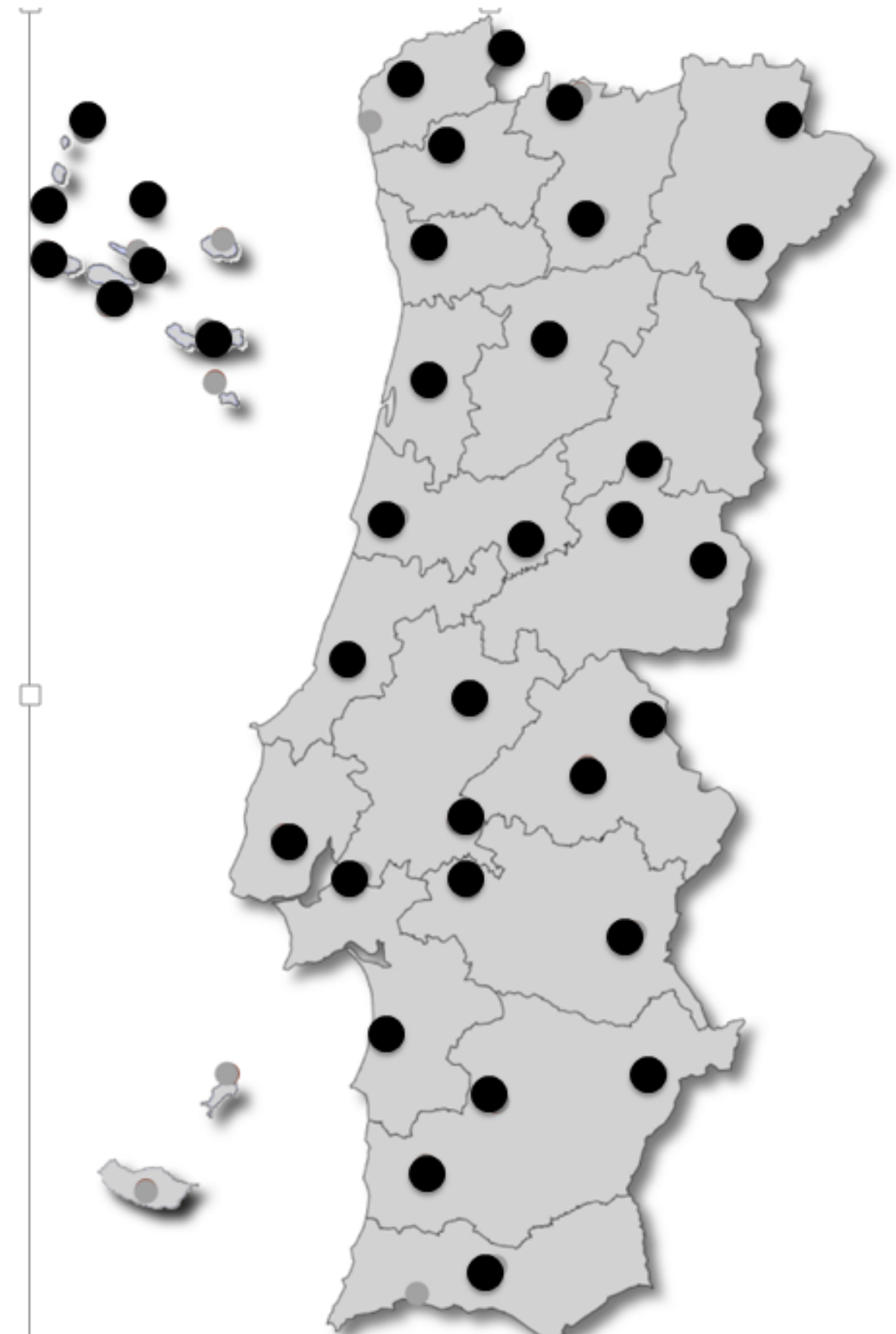
Mary made him. **ACUS** sleep

# Causative constructions: divergence/convergence among dialectal EP

	ECM	Inflected Infinitive	<i>Faire-Infinitif</i>
EP Dialect A	√	√	X
EP Dialect B	X	X	√
Standard EP	√	√	√

# Areal distribution of causative constructions

Faire-Inf ●



(in Pereira 2012)

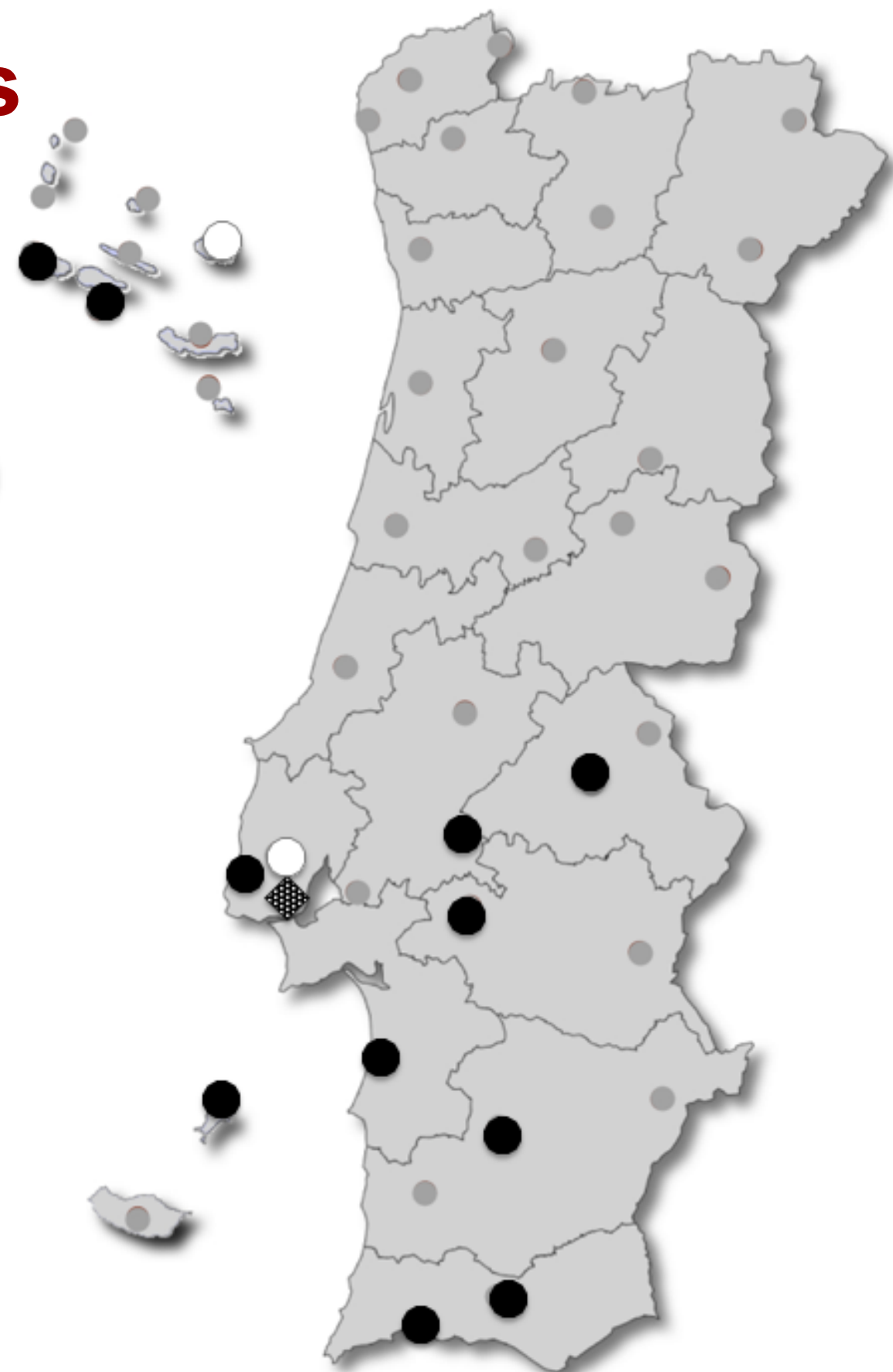


# Areal distribution of causative constructions

Ambiguidade entre Inf. Flexionado e ECM: ●

ECM: ◆

Inf. Inf. ○



(in Pereira 2012)

- CONCLUSION AND REFERENCES