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The Use of Syntax of the Traditional Galician Songbook of the Nineteenth Century in the Cultured Variety of Modern Galician

≈ Abstract

The language of the traditional Galician songbook of the nineteenth century can be characterised as reflecting a popular and colloquial variety of the language, this due to the way in which these anonymous literary texts were generated and transmitted throughout the Modern Age. However, within this markedly popular register fine examples of grammatical constructions and other usages which can be found, while wholly genuine and legitimate in terms of their place in the language, have been relegated to secondary status or indeed have fallen into disuse in Galicia due to the influence of Castilian Spanish, yet continue to be fully current in other countries where Galician-Portuguese is spoken today. This study will explore how the syntax of the songbook can serve to improve and enrich the current linguistic praxis of Galician, especially of its cultured variety. To this end, I will focus on a number of morphosyntactic phenomena that are normally taken to be idiosyncratic of the Galician-Portuguese linguistic system with respect to other Romance languages, including the inflected infinitive, the future subjunctive, the obligatory modal periphrasis *ter de* + infinitive, and the direct object (DO) with the feature [+ human] without the preposition *a*. Finally, I will turn our attention to certain verbal constructions with a notably popular flavour which lend the language an accented air of grammatical authenticity.

Keywords:

Galician traditional songbook; Galician grammar; syntax; standard Galician; popular Galician

≈ Resumen

La lengua del cancionero tradicional gallego del siglo XIX se caracteriza por corresponder a una variedad popular y coloquial, teniendo en cuenta cómo se generó y cómo se transmitió ese conjunto de textos de literatura anónima a lo largo de la Edad Moderna. Sin embargo, dentro de ese registro marcadamente familiar, existen valiosos ejemplos de usos y de construcciones gramaticales genuinas que han sido invisibilizadas o que prácticamente han caído en desuso en Galicia por la influencia del castellano, pero que a día de hoy continúan gozando de plena vigencia en otros países de expresión gallego-portuguesa. El objetivo de este trabajo es reflexionar sobre cómo la sintaxis del cancionero es capaz de mejorar la praxis lingüística actual del gallego, especialmente de su variedad culta. Para tal propósito, nos centraremos en algunos aspectos morfosintácticos que normalmente son considerados idiosincráticos del sistema lingüístico gallego-portugués respecto de otros idiomas románicos, como es el caso del infinitivo flexionado, del futuro de subjuntivo, de la perífrasis modal obligativa *ter de* + infinitivo y del objeto directo (OD) con el rasgo [+ humano] sin la preposición *a*. Por último, también concedemos atención a ciertas regencias verbales de marcado sabor popular que dotan a la expresión de un acentuado carácter de autenticidad gramatical.

Keywords:

cancionero tradicional gallego; gramática gallega; sintaxis; gallego estándar; gallego popular

The compilation of traditional Galician literature began in the eighteenth century, thanks to the work of figures such as Martín Sarmiento (1695–1772) and Juan Sobreira (1745–1805). But it would be in the following century, and especially in the age known as the “Rexurdimento” [Resurgence],² that work aimed at collecting this cultural and linguistic legacy would be developed with greatest rigour, due to the founding of the society “El Folk-Lore Gallego” in Corunna, 1884, chaired by Emilia Pardo Bazán, among other factors. Thus it was that folklorists and scholars – such as José Casal Lois (1845–1912), José López de la Vega (1825–1888), José Pérez Ballesteros (1833–1918), Juan Antonio Saco Arce (1835–1881) and Marcial Valladares Núñez (1821–1903), among others – dedicated themselves to collecting texts of anonymous origins, these mostly lyrical in nature, although they also collected sayings, romances and narratives.

In the twentieth century, despite the irregular pulse of historical events (the fascist uprising and the Civil War, Franco’s dictatorship, the establishment of a parliamentary monarchy within the framework of a bourgeois democracy, the development of the state of autonomies, etc.), the work of collecting traditional Galician literature continued, although the cultural and sociolinguistic coordinates were no longer the same. The advent of radio, television and performances by popular choirs and musical groups led to some linguistic features of the songs being altered in certain ways, and also those songs being performed in other countries (Lorenzo Fernández 1973, 9–10). To all this, the powerful influence of Spanish in the oral language must be added, an influx that is indeed felt in the anonymous songs with the presence of lexically and grammatically foreign elements. Therefore, for the aims of the present study, texts from the nineteenth century were the principal focus of attention, although some eighteenth-century samples, as well as several of those collected by Sampedro Folgar (CMG) between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were also considered. Since we work fundamentally with nineteenth-century texts, the complete songbook of Schubarth and Santamarina (1984–1995) has not been taken into account as it presents a greater influence of Spanish.

The value of all these texts is especially notable today in that they provide interesting information in terms of culture, ethnography, toponyms, etc. There are songs that refer to specific times in history, such as the following, which reflects the drama of American emigration in the nineteenth century in the place names that figure in it: “Mariñeiro d’agua doce / e tamén d’agua salada, / lévame a *Porto Rico* / e de *Porto Rico* á *Habana*” [Sailor of sweet water / and also of salt water, / take me to Puerto Rico / and from Puerto Rico to Havana] (Sánchez Rei 2018, 33–8). At other times, traditional poetry allows us to see the shadow of events from previous periods, and even from different cultures. Thus, Cabanillas (1976, 203) collects a song that includes a reference to Anne Boleyn (1501–1536), the second wife of the English king Henry VIII (1491–1547): “Andái para diante, nenas, / non fagás caso de maulas / nin de *anabolenas*” [Walk ahead, girls, / don’t bother about *maules* / or about *anabolenas*].

Finally, the traditional songbook also provides us directly with linguistic information, and this will be the focus of our interest here. Indeed, the value of anonymous songs as a source of dialectal, grammatical and lexical knowledge has been considered by various authors. Nunes (1975, I, XII), for example, discussing the

Portuguese songbook of Leite de Vasconcellos, notes that in those compositions the philologist will find vast amounts of material for studies on the linguistic characteristics of various Portuguese regions. And more recently Mariño Paz (2017, 99) explores how anonymous literature is a highly recommended source for the study of rural varieties of Galician in the last two hundred years.

Objectives and methodology

The present study will look specifically at the linguistic characteristics of the traditional songbook and aims to serve as a point of discussion regarding certain grammatical features. It might bear in mind that these features are, in fact, idiosyncratic elements of the Galician-Portuguese linguistic space, maintained in Portugal and Brazil (and in different Portuguese official language countries), but that in Galicia, due to contact with Spanish, an abnormal situation arises in terms of their usage and/or demise. Along with this general objective are more specific ones. Thus, the objectives of this work will:

- a) Valorise anonymous literature as a source of information and linguistic acquisition.
- b) Underline certain features present in traditional texts as a means of improving the oral and written language of Galician, always as a means of coming closer to the Galician-Portuguese linguistic tradition.
- c) Recover genuine grammatical features of the Galician language that today are side-lined or rendered of secondary importance in normal language usage.

As for methodological issues, a non-exhaustive but representative survey was undertaken of certain syntactic issues documented in the main songbooks of the nineteenth century. The examples provided are shown with the original spelling of the publisher or collector, these often not coinciding with the modern standard (original á = modern *a*; or. *d’unha* = mod. *dunha*; or. *n-o* = mod. *no*; or. *óllos* = mod. *ollos*; or. *pol-o* - *po-lo* = mod. *polo*; etc.).

Aspects of syntax in traditional songs

The type of language in the anonymous songbook

If the language documented in traditional Galician songs had to be defined, the term “popular” would certainly be used, in that it embraces a broad semantic space, one that can be confirmed in the following aspects. From a diastatic perspective, the people who produced texts of this type were from markedly popular social strata, coming largely from the rural world. Such social groups represented, at the end of the nineteenth century, a notably high percentage of the population, with some studies claiming that they constituted 80–90% of the society of Galicia (Calo Lourido et al. 1997, 303). From a diaphasic point of view, the moments at which these texts were created or transmitted were informal, especially when the sorts of events in which they arose are considered: various forms of collective work in which songs would be sung, or which would habitually end with the singing of songs.

Moreover, the transmission of these songs, both by the agents who made it possible, and also through the situations in which such transmission developed, did not reflect any aesthetic

aspirations associated with a standard variety (itself non-existent at the time) or with international literary currents. Rather, it was oriented according to specific themes emanating directly from these people's way of life, by a particular socio-cultural functionality that characterises such poetic-musical manifestations – one which today is wholly in crisis due to the predominance of urban life – and by popular expressivity, acquired and maintained from generation to generation and enriched by a dense colouring of dialectal linguistic elements; at the time when all these songs were generated, no model of Galician existed that was anything other than fundamentally popular, because the social groups that spoke it were themselves popular, and the people who produced and transmitted these verses were equally popular; also popular were most of the situations in which Galician was used. Hence, the language transmitted by the traditional songbook allows for the attestation of phenomena today considered colloquial or vulgar (*escrebir, pidir, pra, millor*), the documentation of features which relate to variation which is today considered dialectal (*a irmán, o irmao, mañán, dicer and decer*), and the identification of examples of erosion caused by the influence of Spanish (*adiós, calle, naide, oste*) (Sánchez Rei 2016).

But, along with all these phenomena, there are also abundant grammatical features marked by their idiomatic authenticity, as I will show in the following sections. In this sense, many syntactic questions could be raised here to illustrate and confirm this indigenous kind of grammatical originality as reflected in traditional Galician poetry. The very frequent cases of the clitic occurring with infinitives and gerunds might be considered, for instance (“Miña nai por *me* casar / prometeume bois e vacas” [My mother, if I married, / has promised me oxen and cows], BT 25; “Marica, teu pai querendo / e tua nai non *cho* privando” [Marica, if your father wants, / and if your mother doesn't forbid it], CPG I 168), in the well-documented issue of pronominal interpolation (“Trigo que ll'a *palla* doura / logo está par'o fouciño” [Wheat when straw browns / is soon ready for the sickle], BT 44; “Miña terra, miña terra, / terra donde m'eu criei” [My native land, oh my native land, / land where I was raised], CMG 134), or in the order of the adverb *máis* + NP (“Mociño qu'estás na porta, / espera *máis un pouquiño*” [Ladeen there by the door, / wait a while longer], CPG III 161; “Tocadora de pandeiro, / dalle *máis unha pancada*” [Tambourine player, / give it another beat], CMG 101). However, due to page restrictions, I will focus here solely on a number of equally representative linguistic features, those which directly affect the verb or which are closely related to it.

The inflected infinitive

I turn first to the inflected infinitive (II), one of the most idiosyncratic features of the Galician-Portuguese linguistic system when compared to other Romance languages, and present since the earliest texts: “homees bonos pra *teeren* iusticia na uilla. & pra *daren* a mín este meu dereyto” [good men to bring justice to the town and to give me this right that is mine], from the year 1232 (Souto Cabo 2008, 53); “Se a leixaren *integraren* ille de octra qui li plaza” [If they let her, give her another of her choosing], from 1213–1216 (Souto Cabo 2008, 264). The works that inaugurate the Galician grammatical tradition, published in the second half of the nineteenth century, include the II, although not always in the same terms, and Saco Arce (1868, 184) himself indicated that it provides clarity and concision in a clause, making it, in his view, an enormously expressive resource. Álvarez Giménez (1909, 56), by turn, provided an indirect account of its enormous productivity

in Galician of those years, in that he criticised its use in the Spanish spoken by inhabitants of Galicia when, sometimes in an unorthodox way, they spoke Spanish. Currently, the presence of II in oral Galician has diminished considerably. One of the most recurrent causes noted for this is the influence of Spanish (Gondar 1978, 137–9), a language in which the form does not occur. Modern specialised works illustrate its use by means of citing obligatory cases (Hermida Gullás 2004, 113–5; Freixeiro Mato 2006, 397–8; see also Carballo Calero 1979, 321–5; Costa Casas et al. 1988, 210–2; Álvarez et al. 1993, 393–8; Álvarez and Xove 2002, 307–10); and indeed some of these correspond to constructions in which the II is governed by a preposition or prepositional phrase, and to those in which the II has a subject expressed in the text. The traditional songbook does indeed document examples of such uses: “Chamácheme branca fror / por te *burlares* de mín” [You called me a white flower / to mock me] (CO 216); “Dices que por *séres* rico / que t'hei traer pol-a mao” [You say that, because you are rich, / I should hold you by the hand] (CO 222); “Disme que non *tés* cruz / Pra *rezares* o rosario” [You say you don't have a cross / to say the rosary with] (LPG 124); “por non *perdérel*-o tempo / cólle a roca e ven fiando” [to make use of the time, / grab your rock and come spinning] (CPG I 150); “teño unha silla de vidro / para *sentárense* os guapos” [I have a glass chair / for the handsome lads to sit on] (CPG II 7).

The future subjunctive

From a different perspective, I note that the songbook provides a great many examples of constructions with the future subjunctive (FS), a tense also documented in the oldest Galician-Portuguese texts: “Tota mulier de fresno que *acharen* cum marido alieno queimena por aleiuosa [...]. Toto omine de fresno qui *filan* moler a forcia fazan del justizia” [Any woman from Freixo who is found with another woman's husband must be burned for treachery [...]. Any man from Freixo who takes a girl by force must be brought to justice], from the year 1152 (Souto Cabo 2008, 38). It continued to be used quite normally in Galicia until at least the end of the nineteenth century, when, according to various studies (Rábade Castinheira 1986, 481–2; 1989, 830; Mariño Paz 2003, 253), its use began to fade very possibly due to the influence of Spanish, a language that had already eliminated the form as a functionally valid verbal tense. Indeed, Saco Arce (1868, 177) referred to the FS, comparing it with Spanish usage, and considering that in Galician it was employed “with predilection”.

Currently, FS is found in Galician in refrains and in certain set phrases, but not in the popular oral language. The verbal tenses that supplanted it were, depending on the type of clause, the present indicative (“Se despois *tiveres* fame, xa comerás” > “*Se despois *tes* fame, xa comerás” [If you're hungry afterwards, you can eat then]) and the present subjunctive (“Quen *tiver* fame, que coma” > “*Quen *teña* fame, que coma” [If you're hungry, eat]). In the rest of the Lusophone world, the FS continued to be used normally to express certain significant oppositions (“Se *bebes*, non conduzas” [real, habitual action] ≠ “Se *beberes*, non conduzas” [single future action, perhaps possible, but not certain] [If you drink, don't drive]).

In the case of modern Galician, given its functionality and symbolism as an example of high-quality, educated linguistic practice, attempts are currently underway to restore its use, at least in the cultured language, where several prescriptive uses have been noted in certain types of non-autonomous clauses

(Freixeiro Mato 2006, 368–9; 2013, 324; see also Costa Casas et al. 1988, 202; Álvarez et al. 1993, 381–2; Hermida Gulías 2004, 110). The traditional songbook provides abundant samples of most of these types of clauses, as will be shown below:

a) Conditioning clauses: “Se *pasares* pol-a Lama, / Pol-a beiriña do adro” [If you pass through A Lama, / by the side of the churchyard] (LPG 58); “Se mal *dixeren* de ti, / Non te botes a pensar” [If someone speaks badly about you, / don’t think about it] (LPG 64); “Se te *casares*, miniña, / Cásate c’un carpinteiro” [If you marry, lass, / marry a carpenter] (LPG 101); “Se te *morderen* as pulgas / Dalles c’un coyo n-os dentes” [If you get bitten by fleas, / smack them in the teeth with a stone] (LPG 125).

b) Circumstantial temporal clauses: “Cando *viñer*, serás miña” [When I come back, you will be mine] (LPG 78); “Manoél, vai n-ó estudio / dareillo cando *viñere*” [Manoel is at school, / I will give it to him when he comes] (CO 140); “Heicho de dar que cho teño [...] / Nena cando *fores* miña” [I will give it to you, because I have it to give [...] / lass, when you are mine] (INZ 39); “deitate na miña cama / irguete cando *quixeres*” [lie down my bed, / get up when you wish] (BT 76); “Mentras no mundo *viver*, / Outro amor non hei de tere” [As long as I am alive in this world, / I will not have another love] (LPG 80).

c) Circumstantial locative clauses: “Onde *vires* moito fume / non te vayas á quentar” [Where you see a lot of smoke, / don’t try to warm yourself] (CPG I 78); “Veña por onde *quixere*: / Tóca, pandeiriño, toca” [Wherever it’s coming from: / play, little tambourine, play] (INZ 60); “Que m’había levar n-os brazos / Onde *houber* divirtición” [(He said) he would carry me / wherever there was gaiety to be had] (LPG 97).

d) Relative clauses: “á ti non che digo nada / fái o que che *parecer*” [I’m not saying anything, / do whatever you want] (CPG II 2); “Axudádeme á cantar / axúdeme o que *quixer*” [Help me to sing, / help me, whoever you may be] (CPG II 70); “Cante quen *tiver* amores, / qu’os meus vansem’acabando” [Let you sing if you have love in your life, / my own loves are coming to an end] (CMG 133); “Quen me *quixer*, que me busque, / Que a miña casa ten porta” [If you love me look for me, / my house has a door] (LPG 127).

The periphrasis *ter de + infinitive*

Turning now to the periphrastic verbal conjugation, I might mention the obligatory modal construction *ter de + infinitive*. In current speech, it has been almost entirely replaced by *ter que + infinitive*, a formula usually felt to be synonymous. From the point of view of register, *ter de + infinitive* tends to be found nowadays in texts with a certain degree of formality, but not in those of a colloquial or popular nature. However, in the anonymous songs, characterised, as previously mentioned, by a markedly popular type of language, it appears with a very notable frequency: “Aquí me *teño de estar* / por dar gusto á meus señores” [I have to be here / to please my masters] (CPG II 70); “eiqué *teño de durmir*” [Here I have my loves, / here I have to sleep] (CO 120); “Mangas e vestidos / *teño de poñer*” [I have to wear /

shirt sleeves and dresses] (CPG I 100); “Qu’estas son as mazarocas / qu’hoxe *teño de fiar*” [these are the spindles / I have to spin today] (INZ 62); “*temos d’ir á romaría* / c’os nosos cestos colgados” [We have to go to the pilgrimage / with our baskets hanging] (CPG II 229).

The Direct Object [+ human] and the absence of the preposition *a*

The verb, as the axis of linguistic predication (Dik 1989, 68–9), maintains certain formal relations with its arguments (subject plus those complements syntactically and semantically required by it). Among these, so-called indirect or prepositional transitivity is found in broad areas of scientific and academic expression, in particular the presence of the preposition *a* with the direct object (DO) with the feature [+ human], which is one of the most interesting issues, having inspired various approaches (Lopez Martinez 1993; Cidrás Escáneo 1998; Cidrás Escáneo 2006, among others). As a general rule, and leaving aside certain exceptions, it can be said that the DO in Galician does not need the marker *a*, an idea already seen in Saco Arce (1868, 186) precisely at the time when many of the traditional texts I am dealing with here were compiled. This is in keeping with many closely related languages, such as Catalan or French, at least in their standard varieties. In Galician, then, the preposition is not even required to introduce arguments of a personal DO (“*Vin o teu pai na rúa*” [I saw your father in the street] even if they are represented by a noun phrase (NP) by means of a proper noun (“*Vin Luís na rúa*” / “*Vin o Luís na rúa*” [I saw Luís in the street])). However, in current orality the presence of the preposition has become very common (“**Vin ao teu pai na rúa*” [lit. *I saw to you father in the street]), especially in the case of proper nouns (“**Vin a Luís na rúa*” / “**Vin ao Luís na rúa*” [lit. *I saw to Luís in the street]), which often seems to be due to contact with Spanish.

In an attempt to see how the occurrence of DO [+ human] in the traditional songbook is recorded in terms of the presence / absence of *a*, I will again turn to illustrative examples of its use in the Galician-Portuguese tradition. Among these I find several ways to make the NP explicit with a DO function:

a) A NP consisting of several elements (nucleus and adjacent material), which is by far the most frequently found form: “a conversa d’unha moza / tres días mantén *un home*” [A young one’s talk / feeds a man for three days] (BT 28); “dalle por confesar *as mozas* / co-as vellas non s’entende” [he prefers to confess the young women, / he doesn’t get on with the auld ones] (CO 264); “Dinme que non teño rendas / para manter *o meu home*” [They say I have no money / to keep my husband] (CPG, III, 158); “dixenche por varias veces / que non queria *outra muller*” [I told you over and over / that I didn’t want another] (CO 142); “doull’ó Demo un asubio / para chamar *as rapazas*” [the devil gave him a whistle / to call the girls] (CO 255); “enganei *unha meniña* / cunha moeda de prata” [I deceived a girl / with a silver coin] (CMG 104); “líbrame *o meu quiridiño* / d’o aire de certa araña” [save my love / from the air of a certain spider] (CPG, II 247); “para quitar *unha monxa* / do convento de Belvís” [to take a nun out / of the convent of Belvís] (CPG II 198); “si queredes ser honradas / botád’os *canteiros* fora” [if you want to be honest, / get rid of the stonemasons] (CPG III 64).

b) A NP formed by a pronoun in a nuclear function: “¡quixéchem’á min, Xuana, / queres ensiguida outro!” [Rightly you must have loved me, Xuana, / you so quickly love another] (CPG II 1); “Por querer unha deixei / outra que me estaba amando” [For the love of one / I left another that loved me] (CPG II 278); “non sei si toparéis outro / d’a condición qu’eu era” [I don’t know if you’ll find another man / of my standing] (CO 210).

c) A NP represented by a personal proper noun: “Algún día quixen Pepa / agora quero Marica” [I loved Pepa, / now I love Marica] (CPG I 160); “Estimaba de levar / Marica de par de min” [I would like to have / Marica by my side] (CPG I 82); “levo Pepa n-as entrañas, / Maria n-ó corazón” [I have Pepa in my gut, / Maria in my heart] (CO 119); “Pepe quero, Pepe estimo, / Pepe teño na memoria” [I love Pepe, I respect Pepe, / I carry Pepe in my memory] (BT 81); “que têdes Santa Lucía / n-a entrad d’ó lugar” [you’ll find Saint St Lucia / at the entrance of to the town] (CO 158).

Prepositional regimes of a popular nature

In the context of the relations between verbs and their arguments, transitive links usually provide examples of divergent uses relating to the presence / absence of prepositional markers and how they introduce elements of action required by the verbal predicate. In many cases, these are stylistic preferences generally accepted in the standard language, in which a DO and a Prepositional Complement (CP) occur (“Preciso estudar para o exame” / Preciso de estudar para o exame” [I need to study for the exam]), in which tendencies of use in the European and Brazilian varieties can be detected (Vilela 2002, 326–7).

At other times, however, the choice between a DO and a PC reflects issues not only of greater expressivity, but also of register. In such circumstances, the presence of the prepositional marker is usually perceived as indicative of a more informal variety, often criticised from prescriptivist perspectives when discussing the undue increase of prepositions in arguments (Peres and Moia 1995, 127–52). Of interest to this work are those constructions in which the argument, whether DO or PC, is an infinitive; the preposition mainly used in these cases is *de*, and two kinds of syntactic-semantic behaviour can be found in the songbook:

a) Use of a PC without semantic alteration. Structures exist in which no change in meaning is seen, these commonly identified as vulgarisms or popularisms. This occurs frequently with verbs like *desexar*, *dar* or *adoitar*, among others: “Deseara de te ver / Trinta días cada mes” [I would like to see you / thirty days a month] (LPG 74); “outros millores que tí / deseaban de saber” [Others better than you / would like to know] (CO 307); “Quen me dera de saber / Onde a rula ten o niño” [I wish I knew / where the turtle dove has its nest] (LPG 152); “quên me dera de saber / si ó teu cariño era certo” [I wish I knew / if your love was true] (CO 123); “Tarde ves e non m’espanto / Que x’adoitas de tardar” [You come late and I’m not surprised, / you use to come late] (LPG 86). Occasionally, the use of the preposition, both with and without the infinitive, can be found in the same

song, the prepositional marker occurring with an infinitive and not so with the DO expressed by a NP: “Deseas de ser casada, / Deseas boa conseira” [You wish to be married, / you wish for weariness] (LPG 108).

b) Uses of CC with semantic alteration. At other times, however, the use of a prepositional marker to introduce the argument is capable of modifying the meaning of the verb or of increasing a new nuance of meaning (Bechara 2002, 419). As in the examples in the preceding paragraph, normative grammar does not recommend such structures, which seem to blur the boundaries between what is advisable and inadvisable, especially in terms of these semantic nuances. Let us consider some examples. The verb *estimar* (“to estimate”, “to consider”) accompanied by the preposition *de* seems to capture the meaning *gostar de* (“to like”) or *querer* (“to love”): “Estimaba de te ver / trinta días cada mes” [I would like to see you / thirty days a month] (CPG II 10). *Ordenar*, by turn, appears to lose the value of “to give orders” or “to organise” and to acquire that of “decide” or “to arrange”; “O crego e mais a criada / ordenaron de cocer” [The priest and the maid / decided to cook] (BT 27); “ordenaron de merenda[r] / para ir ó San Andrés” [They decided to have a snack / before going to St Andrew shrine] (CMG 109); “tí, ordena de pagar / ou de deixar a chaqueta” [Pay up / or leave your jacket] (CPG I 95). At the same time, there are examples in which the presence of the preposition is capable of both providing new values and also maintaining the general semantics of the verb; *coidar* is such a case and is sometimes still equivalent to “pensar” or “achar” (“to think”): “Coidas d’enganar as nenas / De noite po-lo escuro” [You think about deceiving girls / in the dark of the night] (LPG 107); “A morena vende viño / cuidando de branquear” [The dark-haired girl sells wine / in the hope that she’ll turn white] (CO 205); in other cases, however, it acquires nuances that bring it closer to “tentar” (“to tempt”), “ter tino” (“to have tact”) or “tartar” (“to tottry”), among others: “compráramos un Santiaguíño / coida de comprarmo grande” [buy me a lobster, will you, / a big one if you can] (CPG I 197).

Leaving aside the behaviour of certain verbs in regard to variations in the type of arguments, the songbook provides examples of the great structural recursivity that some verbal predicates have. Again, I find preferences of style or register, or even trends that are not always equivalent in Galician, Portuguese and Brazilian speakers (Vilela 2002, 326–7). Perhaps one of the verbs that best exemplifies this productivity in the projection of its linguistic predication is *namorar* (“to fall in love”). It can occur without complements, and in such contexts must be understood in terms of the facultative nature of these absent elements: “non pensei que namorar / costase tanto traballo” [I didn’t think that falling in love / would be such hard work] (CO 133) or “os homes, cando namoran, / non teñen os óllos quedos” [when men fall in love, / their eyes become restless] (CO 95). At the same time, it is also found as a reflexive verb without the complement being made explicit: “Non te namores, miniña, / miniña, non te namores” [Don’t fall in love, / lass, don’t fall in love] (CO 79); “quixerache ver á cara / que ó pano non me namora” [I would like to see your face / ‘tisn’t your headscarf I’m in love with] (CO 127). It is also documented as a reflexive verb with an actant element preceded by

de: “Namoreime de ti, nena, / ó ver que cantabas ben” [I fell in love with you, lass, / when I discovered that you sang well] (PGA I 274); “Namoreime *dunha* Rosa, / piqueime nos seus piquiños” [I fell in love with a Rose, / she pricked me with her little thorns] (PGA I 288); and finally, it is found as a reflexive verb accompanied by an actant introduced by *en*, which seems to be a variant of the previous construction: “Namoreim’en ti, miniña, / Porque che sentín cordura” [I fell in love with you, lass, / because I knew you were sensible] (LPG 75); “Non te namores miniña / *en* pedreiro que bèn canta” [Don’t fall in love, lass, / with a stonemason who sings well] (CO 219); “Para ver a miña dama / *En* qué galán s’*enemora*” [To see what gentleman / my lady falls in love with] (LPG 87) or “Pensas que porque son probe, / *Que* me namoro *en* calquera” [You think, because I’m poor, / that I’ll fall in love with anyone] (LPG 92).

Discussion

In the previous section, some examples of grammatical uses and constructions that characterise the Galician-Portuguese language system were presented, due to its documentation in the traditional Galician songbook. I will now highlight a number of issues that arise directly from these examples.

Productivity

Although reference cannot be made to percentages, given the volume of texts involved, what I should immediately point out here is the huge productivity of the constructions and uses under discussion. Indeed, I can affirm that there is no collection of traditional literature from the nineteenth century that does not contain the use of FS, II or the obligatory modal periphrasis *ter de* + infinitive, and that there is also no compilation which does not contain a considerable number of DOs with the feature [+human] but without a preposition or certain transitive relations of the verb with its complements. As a whole, therefore, such examples can be taken as representative of genuine characteristics of Galician syntax, which leads us to think that they are not isolated phenomena, but rather reliable illustrations of their very productivity. It can be noted that if these structures were documented in texts of a markedly popular type, without the influence of a cultured norm that directly affected their use, then they must have had a relative frequency of use in the language as spoken during this period. Grammarians at the time, as well as some from the first quarter of the twentieth century, were aware of this and did not hesitate to point out several of the syntactic features that have been focused on here in understanding their frequency of occurrence in the oral language of the time and their possible use for the cultured language (Sánchez Rei 2014).

Canonical uses

On somewhat different lines, the idea that the grammatical resources are idiosyncratic elements of Galician grammar is evident if it can be considered that many authors have, since the end of the nineteenth century, made conscious use of them. However, such a willingness to use more authentic traits does not always imply that they enjoy all necessary grammatical adequacy. In Freixeiro Mato et al. (2005) it is noted that in the last years of the nineteenth century, II and FS were sometimes used in ways which shifted away from syntactic acceptability. And during the twentieth century, some writers, who sought to render their literary expression more genuine, sometimes made inappropriate

use of the FS by employing it in temporal correlations with the main verb which were considered far from being grammatically valid, such as its use with the co-preterite or with the post-preterite of the indicative. One of these writers was Ramón Otero Pedrayo, in whose constructions such as the following work can be found: “Por máis que iste mundo, si se *mensurar* co ferrado dos cafetales e do petrolio, non *daba* de abondo para unha rolda de whisky” [Even if it were measured in acres of coffee plantations and oil, this world would not stretch to a round of whiskies]; “Houberan rustrido na Inquisición a todo o que houber metido a crica na Enciclopedia” [They would have burned during the Inquisition anyone who put their nose in the Encyclopaedia] (Sánchez Rei 1999, 104).

However, this is not at all what is reflected in the language of the nineteenth century songbook, at least as regards the II and FS. In all the cases where these forms are found in traditional songs, the construction with the FS always retains the temporal correlation with the main verb, which is obligatorily in the present (indicative, subjunctive or imperative) and in the future, or constitutes a paraphrasis that expresses these values, as described above. In terms of other syntactic questions, such as the absence of the preposition *a* with the DO, examples of structures that violate Galician syntax are also found (“Chamácheme cachorriño; / mais eu non mordo á ninguén [You called me a puppy, but I wouldn’t bite anyone], CPG III 14; “picarán á meu hirmán / qu’anda por terras alleas” [My brother will get bitten, / he’s away in a foreign land], CPG III 37), but canonical uses can also be found in which such unnecessary case marking is absent. Therefore, if such forms are in use today, the examples found in the Galician songbook of the nineteenth century of these same syntactic phenomena aptly illustrate that they are indeed authentic grammatical structures, produced under a less powerful influence of Spanish and, subsequently, are closer to the traditional constructions of the Galician-Portuguese linguistic system.

Towards a model of cultured language

Finally, although considerable progress has been made in defining a standard variety for Galician, especially in spelling and morphological issues, and also, to a lesser extent, in phonetic and lexical aspects, there are still gaps that are characterised by a tendency away from (or even the possibility of) prescriptivity. I might recall in this sense that the *Normas* currently in force (RAG and ILG 2012) are indeed indications of spelling and morphology, and that other spheres of linguistic reflection, such as syntax, do not enjoy normative equivalents. This does not mean, however, that certain structures outside the grammatical idiosyncrasy of the language should not to be challenged (“*Me tratas ben” [lit. *You me treat well] instead of “Trátasme ben” [You treat me well]); indeed, in syntax a certain freedom is permitted in constructions, as long as these do not run contrary to historical usage; thus, the latest revisions of the standard rules (RAG and ILG 2012) recommend the use of the FS.

The traditional Galician songbook stands as an excellent illustration of how certain linguistic phenomena can be used for a cultured variety of the language. It also serves as a convincing argument for dismantling the elitist preconception that standard rules should remain under the stewardship of linguists, university faculty, and writers. There is nothing less elitist, from a grammatical point of view, than to resort to the popular language in which women and men sang more than a century ago, in order to improve the

current syntactic uses of Galician. There is nothing further removed from elitism than reclaiming the way of speaking of the social groups of rural and fishing communities, to be used in a current model of cultured language.

Conclusion

The linguistic characteristics of the traditional Galician songbook, and particularly the material collected in the nineteenth century, means that it is very much a popular and dialectal variety. This is due to the contexts in which these songs were generated and to the people who acted as creators or transmitters, mostly members of the least favoured social groups of the population. In addition to their literary and cultural value, the merit of such compositions, as seen from the present day, is also that they can provide us with valuable cultural, ethnographic and historical information on the way of life of the Galician people in those days.

The songbook is also able to provide us with syntactic features that are characteristic of the Galician-Portuguese linguistic space, but which are currently in crisis within the Galician territory due to the influence of Spanish. Thus, the attestation of the inflected infinitive, the documentation of the obligatory modal paraphrasis *ter de + infinitive*, the use of the future subjunctive, the use of the DO with the feature [+ human] without the preposition *a* or any verbal requirements of a markedly popular flavour (sometimes with significant changes) provide examples of a syntax which is more genuine and closer to the Galician-Portuguese tradition. These elements, in our view, can be taken as a means of enhancing the cultured variety of modern-day Galician and in fact they are already used in some sectors, since, as well as exemplifying syntactic elements of greater idiomatic authenticity, they also serve to bring the language closer to other national varieties of Galician-Portuguese and to curb in some way the disturbing influence of Spanish syntax on Galician.

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Notes

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El aprovechamiento de la sintaxis del cancionero tradicional gallego decimonónico para la variedad culta del gallego moderno

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