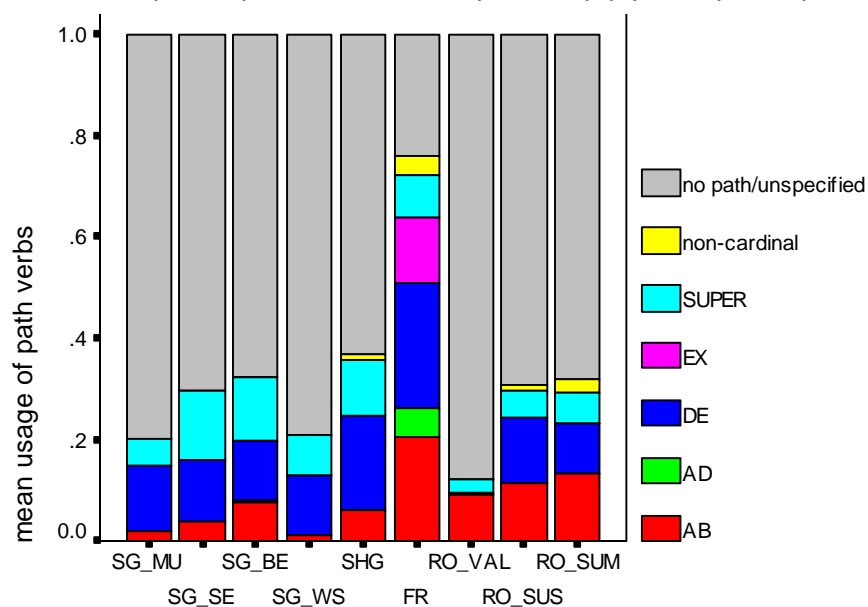
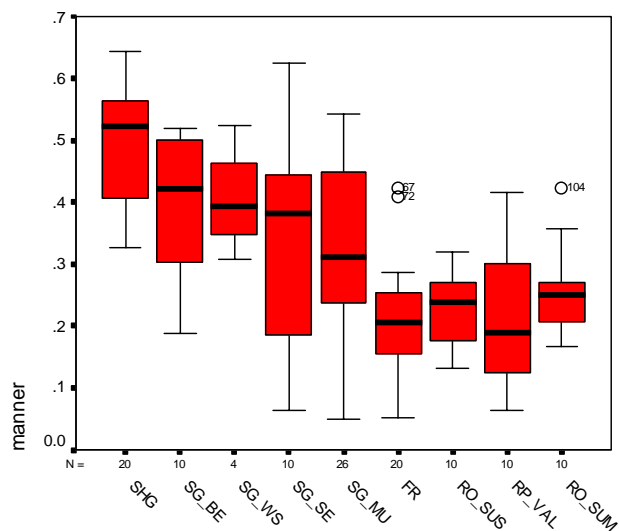


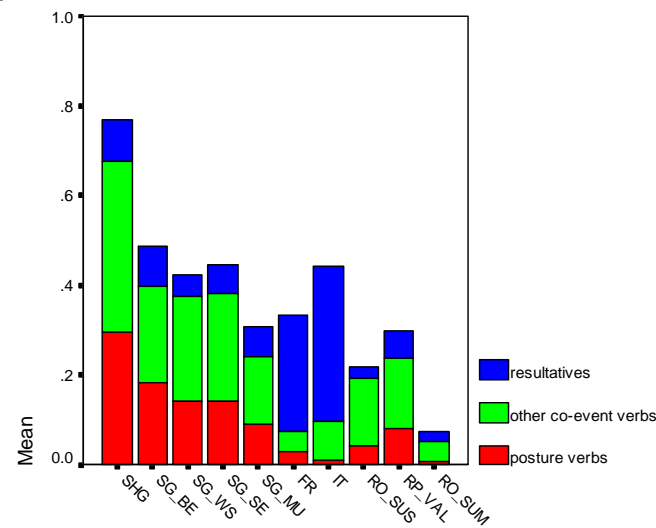
A) Path Verbs (Means; cf. Berthele 2006, 2004 a,b,c, 2005, 2007, 2008)



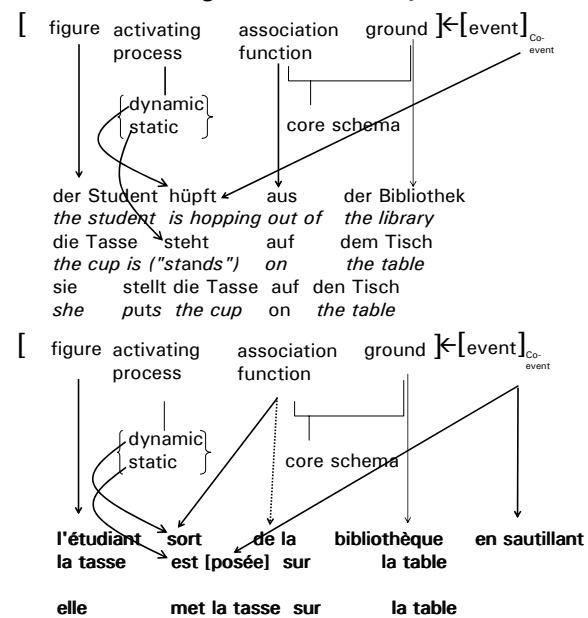
B) Manner of Motion in the Verb Slot



C) Manner of Position – Means



D) Event Integration (cf. Talmy 2000)



E) Satellite- and Verb-framed Languages: Definition

Languages that characteristically map the core schema into the verb will be said [...] to be verb-framed languages. Included among such languages are Romance, Semitic, [...]. On the other hand, languages that characteristically map the core schema onto the satellite will be said to [...] be satellite-framed languages. Talmy 2000: 222

F) SAT- and V-framed languages: Consequences

As a consequence of these differences, it seems—at least in our data—that English and German narrations are characterized by a great deal of dynamic path and manner description, while Spanish, Hebrew, and Turkish narrations are less elaborated in this regard, but are often more elaborated in description of locations of protagonists and objects and of endstates of motion.

Berman/Slobin 1994: 119

G) Research Questions

- Do the ‚canonical‘ typological expectations apply to varieties?
- Are there any significant differences between standard languages and dialects?
- What is the typological status of Romansh?
- [How do bilinguals cope with two different systems?]
- [Contact phenomena in the data from varieties along the border between Romance and Germanic?]

H) Motion Events: Hypotheses

- Romansh is a Romance language and should thus be verb-framed
- path verbs (e.g. *uscire*): Romance (verb-framed) > Germanic (sat-framed)
- manner verbs (e.g. *to jump*): Germanic > Romance
- verb repertoires in general: Germanic > Romance
- path descriptions: Germanic > Romance

I) Motion Events: Data & Informants (Berthele 2008; 2006; 2004a,b,c)

variety	label	„Frog Story“ narratives		
French (Standard Swiss)	FR	20	} Romansh	} Romance
Sursilvan	RO_SUS	10		
Vallader Ladin	RO_VAL	10		
Surmiran	RO_SUM	10		
Standard High German	SHG	20	} German(ic)	
Muotathal Swiss German	SG_MU	26		
Berne Swiss German	SG_BE	10		
Sense Swiss German	SG_SE	10		
Wallis Swiss German	SG_WS	4		

J) Path Verbs

- la grenouille sort du bocal (FR)
the frog exits the jar
- el è do cun glas e tot or da fanestra (RO_SUS)
he is fallen with glass and all out-of window
- er steigt auf den Stein (SHG)
and he ascends onto the rock
- der Jakobli ghiid hinde ufs füdlen abbe (SG_MU)
the Jakob-DIM falls back onto-the bottom down

K) Verb Sister Slot

- der Junge klettert auf den Baum
the boy climbs up-on the:ACC tree
- igl tscherv scappa giu
the deer escapes down
- ed intant il ruos-ch es gnü oura our dal vas
and meanwhile the frog has come out out of-the jar
- e Gionin reiva si sin in grond pégn
and Gionin climbs up onto a big rock
- er isch appem Baum appe ghiit
he is from-the:DAT tree down fallen
- er hed en inne Teich appe grüert
he has him into-the:ACC pond down thrown
- la cozza ei sulla meisa giu
the tablecloth is over the table down

L) Manner Verbs

- il saute sur la ruche (FR)
he jumps onto the beehive
- il court comme un fou dans la forêt
he runs like a fool into the wood
- so schlich er sich leise aus seinem Terrarium (SHG)
so crept he REFL silently out-of his:DAT terrarium
- dass de guggler da so umeschwirrt (SG_MU)
that the cuckoo there around-whirs
- ma oha, cò saglia or ena tschuetta (RO_SUS)
but whoops, here jumps out an owl

M) Conclusions Motion Events

- Only French is a well-behaved verb-framed language
- Considerable differences across 'German,
- High percentages of generic V in some dialects (*sein* + directional construction; cf. Berthele 2007)
- Romansh is a satellite-framed language...
- ...due to contact and/or bilingualism with Swiss German (cf. Bernini 2005)?
- or: alternative Romance patterns: Mair 1984; Schwarze 1985:
- "Tornando alla tipologia di Talmy, è ovvio che l'italiano, anche se ha una serie di verbi di localizzazione tipicamente 'romanzi', non è un tipo puro."
- Suggestion: Talmy's 'fused' typology: overall claims about manner&motion&verbs&verb-sisters -> obsolete
- cf. also Spreafico (in press) for Italian varieties

- de chittel isch amene haggä ufghänkt
- la s-chala pozza vi da la paraid
- die Insekten kleben an der Mauer
- der Haken steckt in der Wand
- das Segelboot schwimmt im Wasser
- der Zaun geht um das Haus herum

P) Conclusions Static Relations

- SHG is the only really manner-salient language
- significant differences within German[ic]
- some Romansh and Swiss German varieties express relatively little posture/co-event concepts
- FR/IT prefer the resultative construal; Romansh looks very much like Swiss German – contact?
- ...diachronic analysis needed
- convergence due to other factors?

N) Static Relations: Data & Informants

BowPed: 71 line drawings with static relations

variety	label	„BowPed“	picture descriptions	
French (Standard Swiss)	FR	13	Romance	
Italian (Standard, Ticino)	IT	6		
Sursilvan	RO_SUS	8		Romansh
Vallader Ladin	RO_VAL	4		
Surmiran	RO_SUM	7		
Standard High German	SHG	6		German(ic)
Muotathal Swiss German	SG_MU	23		
Berne Swiss German	SG_BE	10		
Sense Swiss German	SG_SE	3		
Wallis Swiss German	SG_WS	4		

O) „Manner of Position“ – Posture Verbs, Resultatives, Other Verbs

- il tubo giace a terra
- la suga penda sur il blic
- la cordelette gît sur le tronc
(vs. le chien est couché dans sa niche)
- der Schlauch liegt auf dem Baumstumpf
- dr schluch hanged über de baumwürz
- la giacca è appesa al guardaroba
- la giacca es pichada vi dal crötsch
- le veston est suspendu à un crochet

Q) Results (Overview)

	variable	varieties	sociolinguistic factors		
			'size' of the speech community	informant's proximity to literacy	age/gender
motion	path verbs	FR>**all German and Romansh varieties; SHG>**RO_VAL; SHG>*SG_MU	** (+)	* (yes>no)	n.s.
	manner verbs	SHG>**SG_MU, FR, Romansh; SG_BE>*FR	* (+)	n.s.	n.s.
	TTR	SG_BE, SHG, FR >** RO_VAL	** (+)	** (yes>no)	n.s.
	complex path predicates	FR<** (all German and Romansh varieties); SG_MU>**SHG, Romansh	** (-)	n.s.	n.s.
	N ground elements/VP	SHG>**SG_MU	* (+)	** (yes>no)	n.s.
	0 ground VPs	---	** (-)	** (yes<no)	n.s.
static	bare verbs	FR>**SHG, SG_MU	* (+)	n.s.	n.s.
	co-event verbs	SHG>**SG_MU, FR, IT, Romansh; SG_BE>*FR, RO_SUM	** (+)	** (yes>no)	n.s.
	TTR	SHG, FR, IT>**RO_SUM	** (+)	* (yes>no)	n.s.
	complex place predicates	SG_MU>** (all other varieties)	** (-)	n.s.	n.s.

R) Size of the Variety as a Factor

- small varieties...
- ... tend to be entrenched usages of the language of proximity (conceptionally oral) vs. distance (written; cf. Koch/Oesterreicher 1985)
- might be closer to Givón's pragmatic mode (rather than the syntactic mode; 1979: 229)
- they often lack (formal) literacy (SG, ROM)
- absence of standard-language 'purification',
- linguistic corollaries of (conceptional) orality:
- low type-token ratios in the lexicon (-> small nonstandard varieties in our sample)
- passepartout words (*come, go, be*)
- redundancy (-> pleonastic expression of path/place in ROM and SG)

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raphael.berthele@unifr.ch
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On the Typology of the
Expression of Motion and
Posture in Varieties of
Germanic and Romance



Raphael BERTHELE
Université de Fribourg

Varieties

Standard High German(SHG)

Basel	177 900	363 767
Genève	158 900	373 627
Bern	142 100	300 634
Lausanne	127 100	256 378
Winterthur	85 000	106 861
St. Gallen	73 700	123 893
Luzern	61 700	157 983
Biel	53 000	83 135

über 50 000 Einwohner

Diglossia/
Bilingualism; i.e.:
all speakers'
L1 = dialect

Minority language,
all speakers
are multilinguals
Romansh +
Swiss German + ..

Muotathal dialect
SG_MU

Berne dialect
SG_BE

Vallader Ladin

Sense dialect
SG_SE

Sursilvan

French

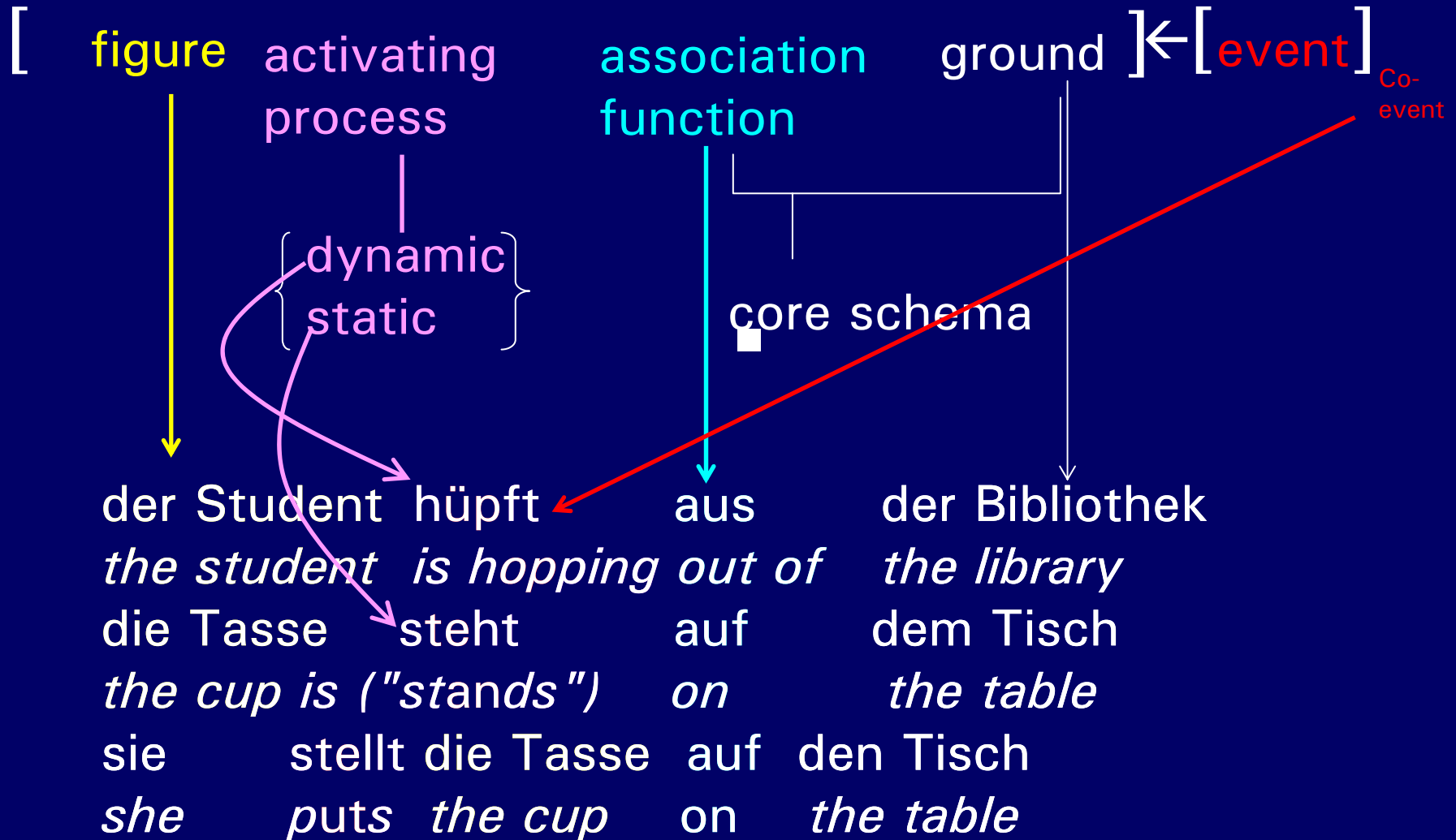
Surmiran

Wallis dialect
SG_WS

Italian
IT

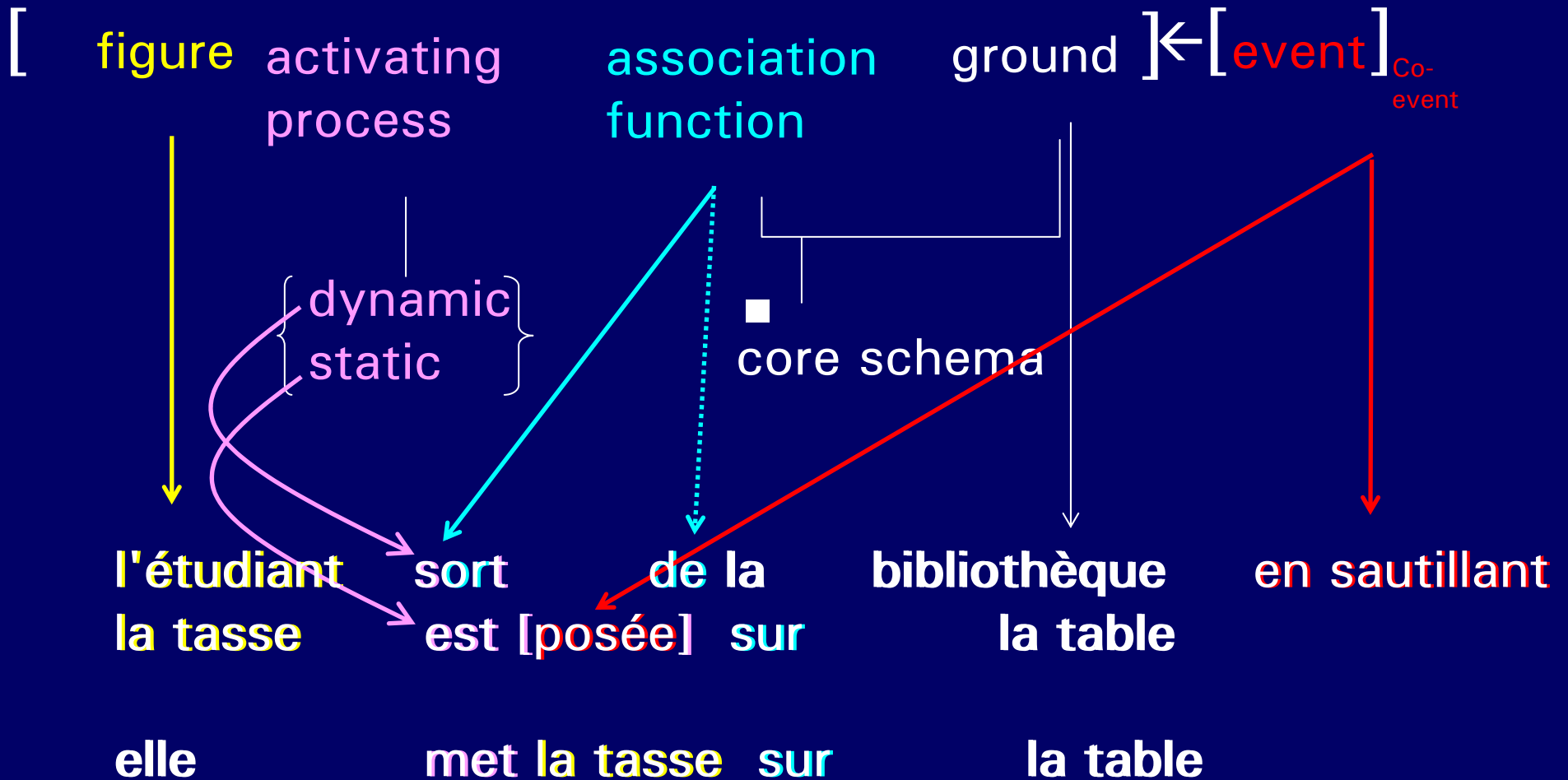
Terminological Framework: Event Integration (Talmy 2000)

HO-D



Event Integration II

HO-D



SAT- and V-Languages

HO-E

Languages that characteristically map the core schema into the verb will be said to have a framing verb and to be verb-framed languages. Included among such languages are Romance, Semitic, [...].

On the other hand, languages that characteristically map the core schema onto the satellite will be said to have a framing satellite and to be satellite-framed languages.

Talmy 2000: 222

SAT- and V-Languages

HO-F

–As a consequence of these differences, it seems—at least in our data—that English and German narrations are characterized by a great deal of **dynamic path and manner description**, while Spanish, Hebrew, and Turkish narrations are less elaborated in this regard, but are often more elaborated in description of **locations of protagonists and objects and of endstates of motion**.

Berman/Slobin 1994: 119

–Talmy (2000) and Lemmens (2002) postulate similar patterns for static relations

–Berthele (2006, 2005, 2004a, b, c) only partially confirms the ‚standard‘ claims, and

–proposes a variationist analysis and revision of the typology

Research Questions

HO-G

- Do the ‚canonical‘ typological expectations apply to varieties within ‚languages‘?
- Are there any significant differences between standard languages and dialects?
- What is the typological status of Romansh?
- [How do bilinguals cope with two different systems?]
- [Contact phenomena in the data from varieties along the border between Romance and Germanic?]

Motion Events



Hypotheses – Motion Events HO-H

- Romansh is a Romance language and ,should' thus be **verb-framed**
- path verbs (e.g. *uscire*): Romance (verb-framed) > Germanic (satellite-framed)
- manner verbs (e.g. *to jump*):
Germanic > Romance
- verb repertoires in general: Germanic > Romance
- path descriptions: Germanic > Romance

Data & Informants

HO-I

<u>variety</u>	<u>label</u>	<u>„Frog Story“ narratives</u>	
French (Standard Swiss)	FR	20	
Sursilvan	RO_SUS	10	Romansh
Vallader Ladin	RO_VAL	10	
Surmiran	RO_SUM	10	
Standard High German	SHG	20	
Muotathal Swiss German	SG_MU	26	German(ic)
Berne Swiss German	SG_BE	10	
Sense Swiss German	SG_SE	10	
Wallis Swiss German	SG_WS	4	

Path Verbs

HO-J

la grenouille sort du bocal (FR)

the frog exits the jar

el è do cun glas e tot or da fanestra (RO_SUS)

he is fallen with glass and all out-of window

und er steigt auf den Stein (SHG)

and he ascends onto the rock

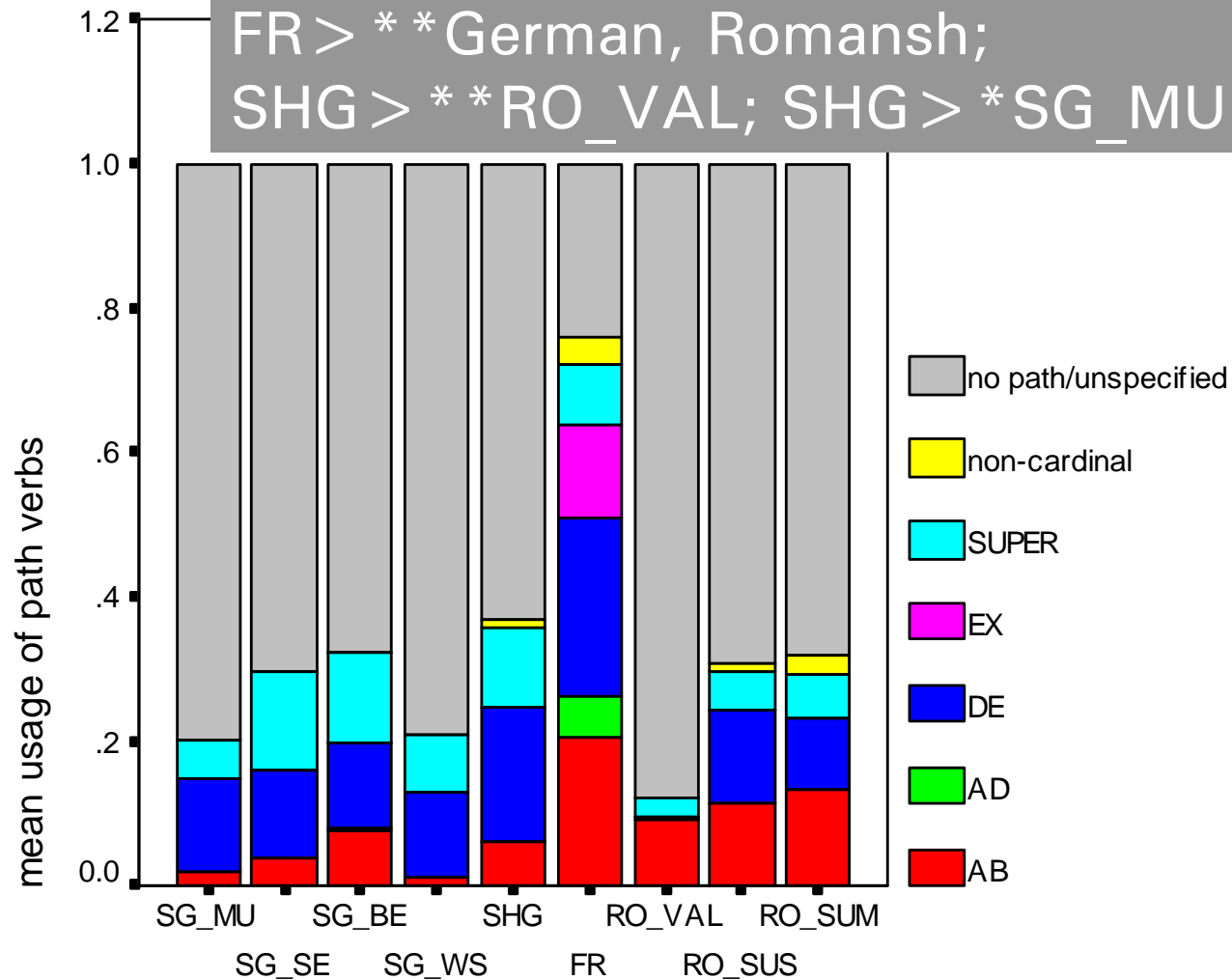
der Jakobli ghiid hinde ufs füdlen abbe (SG_MU)

the Jakob-DIM falls back onto-the bottom down

Path Verbs

HO-A

significant differences across groups:
FR > ** German, Romansh;
SHG > ** RO_VAL; SHG > * SG_MU



Wälchli 2001: AD: F go to G; IN: F go into G;
SUPER: F go onto G; AB: F come from G;
EX: F come out of G; DE: F come down from G

"dynamic path" in SAT-languages HO-K

der Junge klettert **auf** den Baum
the boy climbs up-on the:ACC tree

igl tscherv scappa **giu**
the deer escapes down

simple

complex

pleonastic

ed intant il ruos-ch es gnü **oura our** dal vas
and meanwhile the frog has come out out of-the jar

e Gionin reiva **si sin** in grond pégn
and Gionin climbs up onto a big rock

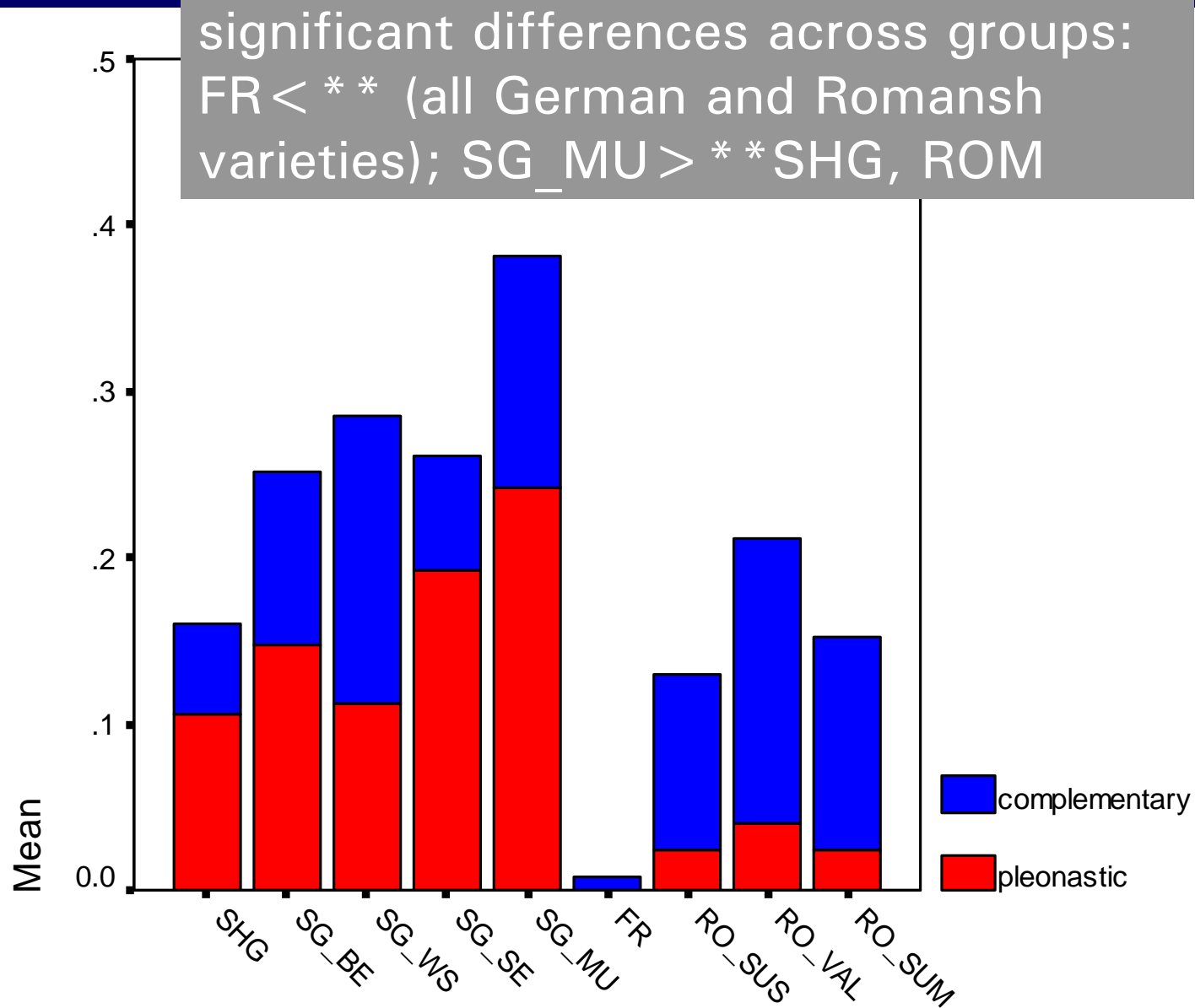
er isch **appem** Baum **appe** ghiit
he is from-the:DAT tree down fallen

er hed en **inne** Teich **appe** grüert
he has him into-the:ACC pond down thrown

complementary

la cozza ei **sulla** meisa **giu**
the tablecloth is over the table down

Complex Path Arguments



Manner Verbs

HO-L

il saute sur la ruche (FR)

he jumps onto the beehive

il court comme un fou dans la forêt

he runs like a fool into the wood

so schlich er sich leise aus seinem Terrarium (SHG)

so crept he REFL silently out-of his:DAT terrarium

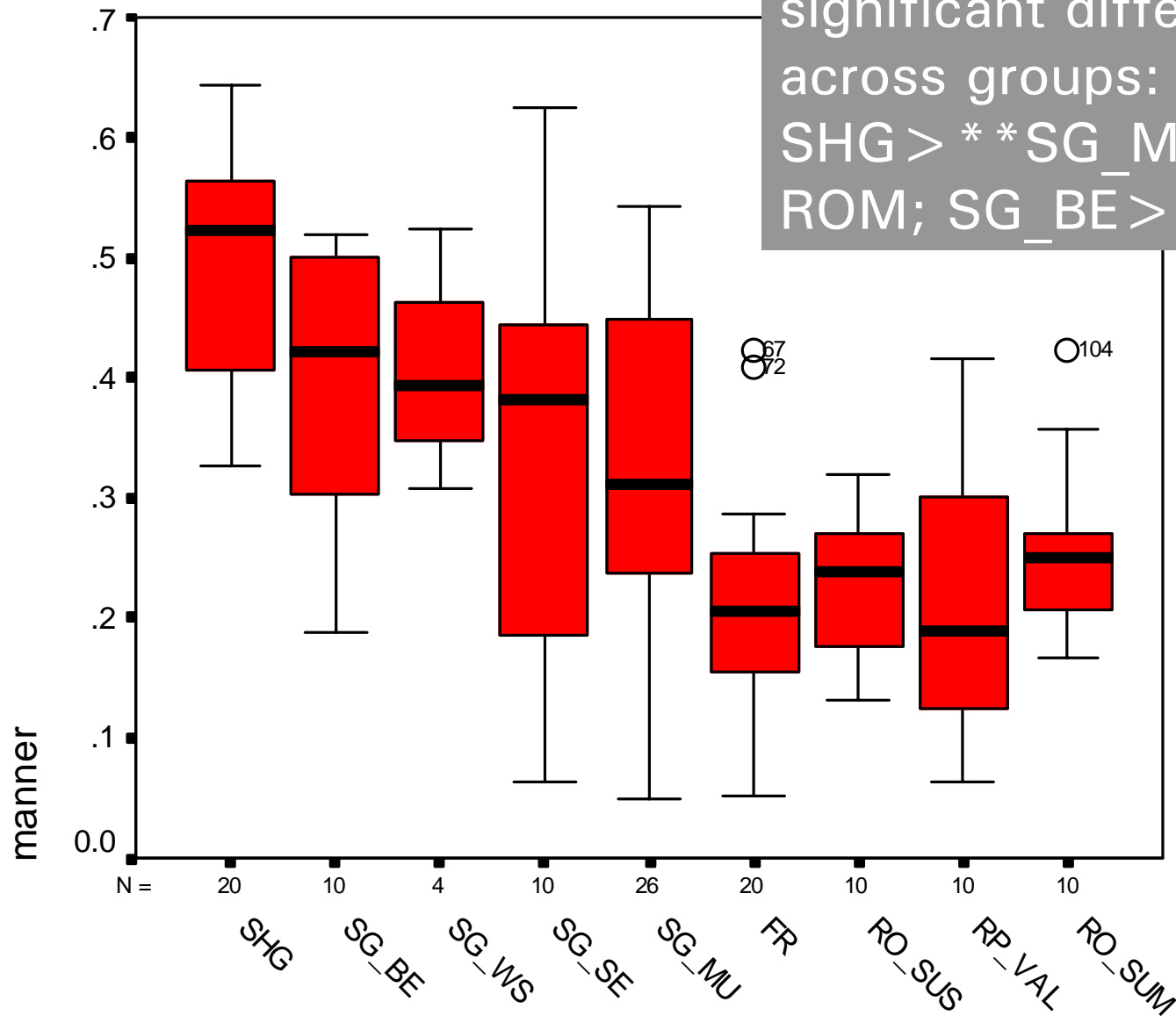
dass de gugger da so umeschwirrt (SG_MU)

that the cuckoo there around-whirs

ma oha, cò saglia or ena tschuetta (RO_SUS)

but whoops, here jumps out an owl

Manner of Motion in the Verb Slot HO-B



significant differences
across groups:
SHG > ** SG_MU, FR,
ROM; SG_BE > * FR

Conclusions – Motion Domain HO-M

- Only French is a well-behaved verb-framed language
- Considerable differences across 'German,
- High percentages of generic V in some dialects (*sein* + directional construction; cf. Berthele 2007)
- Romansh is a satellite-framed language...
- ...due to contact and/or bilingualism with Swiss German (cf. Bernini 2005)?
- or: alternative Romance patterns: Mair 1984; Schwarze 1985:
- "Tornando alla tipologia di Talmy, è ovvio che l'italiano, anche se ha una serie di verbi di localizzazione tipicamente 'romanzi', non è un tipo puro."
- Suggestion: Talmy's 'fused' typology: overall claims about manner&motion&verbs&verb-sisters -> obsolete
- cf. also Spreafico (in press) for Italian varieties

Static Relations: Copula, Posture, Result

Data & Informants

HO-N

BowPed: 71 line drawings with static relations

<u>variety</u>	<u>label</u>	<u>„BowPed“ picture descriptions</u>		
French (Standard Swiss)	FR	13	Romance	
Italian (Standard, Ticino)	IT	6		
Sursilvan	RO_SUS	8		Romansh
Vallader Ladin	RO_VAL	4		
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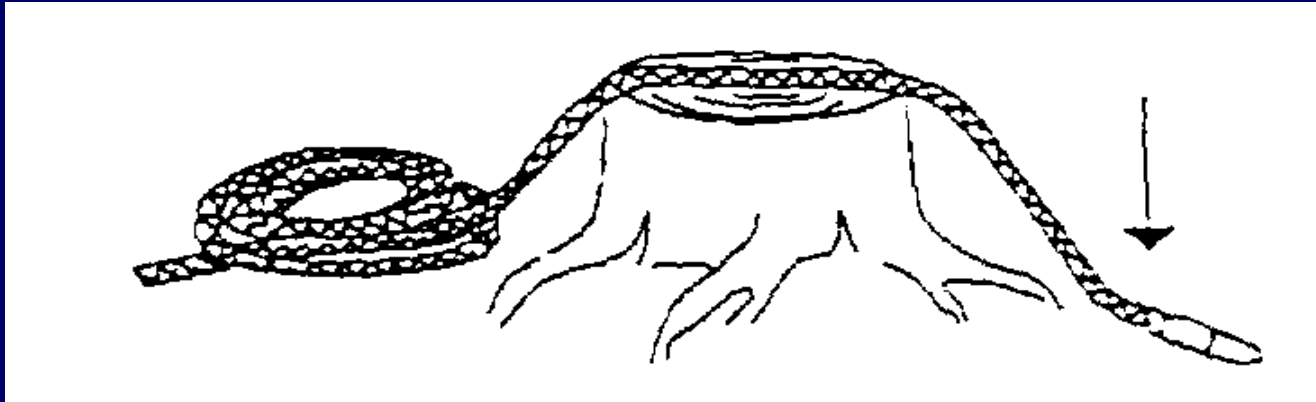
Typological Expectations

- according to Talmy (2000: 63): mappings in dynamic and static domain are analogous
- i.e. satellite-framed languages map "manner of position" onto the verb slot
- problem: no "core-schema" verbs in Romance (verbs meaning 'to be on', 'to be in', etc.)

„Manner of Position“:

HO-0

Posture Verbs (sit, stand, lie, hang)

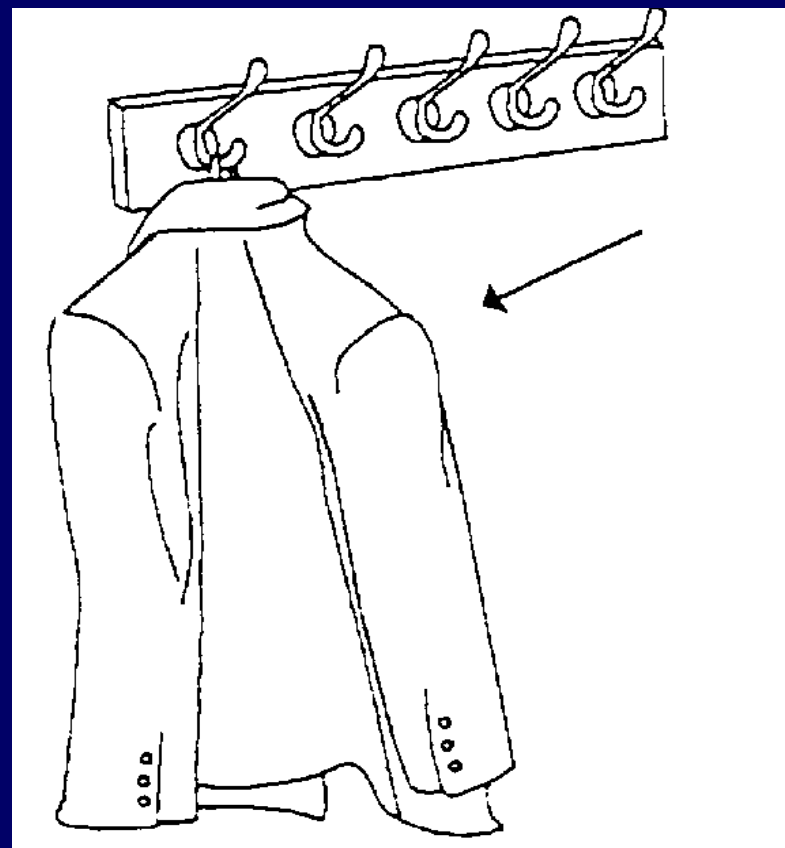


- il tubo giace a terra
- la suga penda sur il blic
- la cordelette gît sur le tronc
(vs. le chien est couché dans sa niche)
- der Schlauch liegt auf dem Baumstumpf
- dr schluch hanged über de baumwurz

Co-event Verbs (Resultative Constructions)

HO-O

Litvinov/Nedjalkov 1988

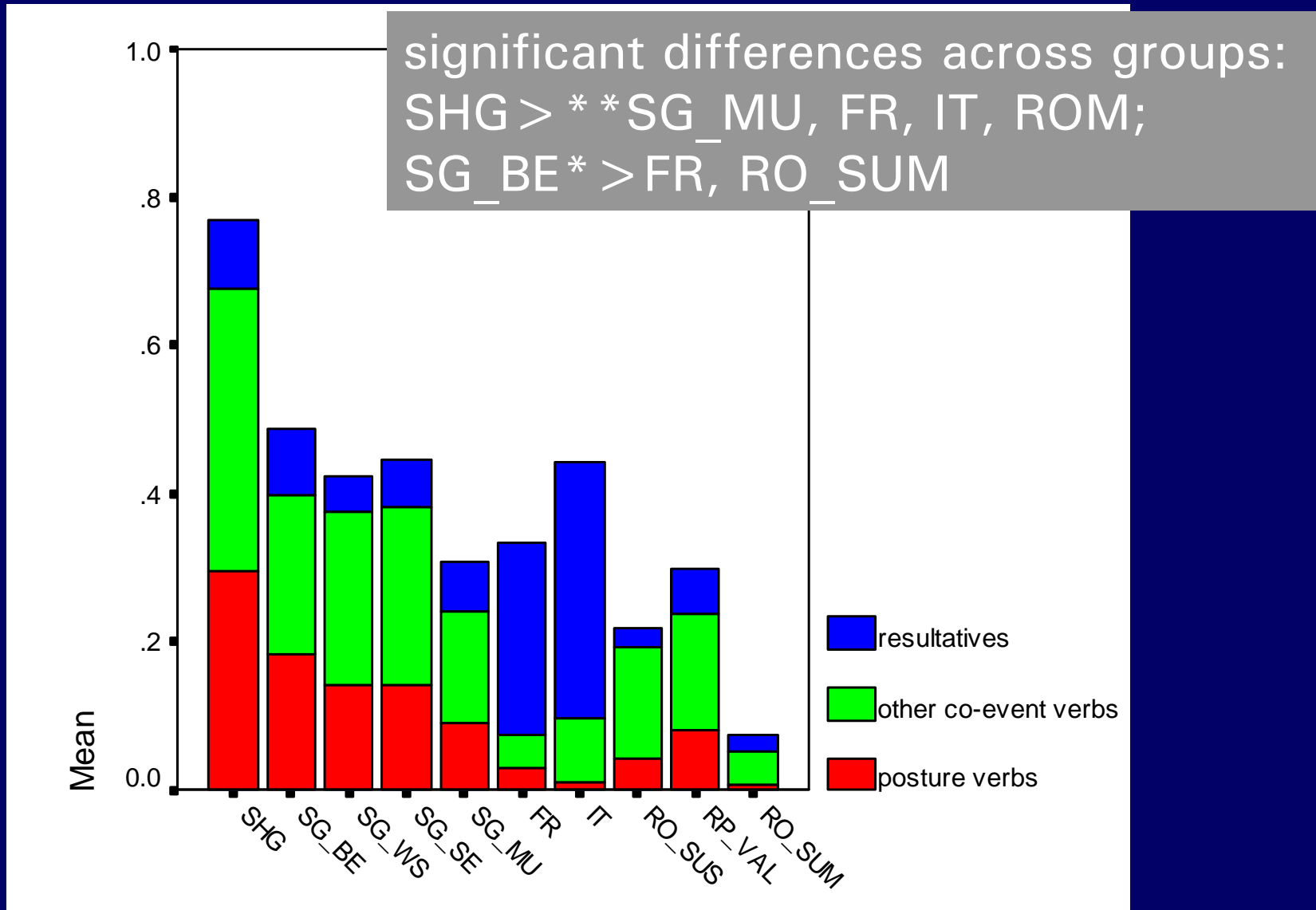


- la giacca è appesa al guardaroba
- le veston est suspendu à un crochet
- la giacca es pichada vi dal crötsch
- de chittel isch amene haggä ufghänkt

Other Co-Event Verbs HO-O

- la s-chala pozza vi da la paraid
- die Insekten kleben an der Mauer
- der Haken steckt in der Wand
- das Segelboot schwimmt im Wasser
- der Zaun geht um das Haus herum

3 Types of Co-Event Integration HO-C



Conclusions: Posture Verbs HO-P

- SHG is the only really manner-salient language
- significant differences within German[ic]
- some Romansh and Swiss German varieties express relatively little posture/co-event concepts
- FR/IT prefer the resultative construal; Romansh looks very much like Swiss German – contact?
- ...diachronic analysis needed
- convergence due to other factors?

Results – Overview _{HO-Q}			sociolinguistic factors		
	variable	varieties	'size' of the speech community	informant's proximity to literacy	age/gender
motion		FR>**all German and Romansh varieties; SHG>**RO_VAL; SHG>*SG_MU	** (+)	* (yes>no)	n.s.
		SHG>**SG_MU, FR, Romansh; SG_BE>*FR	* (+)	n.s.	n.s.
	TTR	SG_BE, SHG, FR >** RO_VAL	** (+)	** (yes>no)	n.s.
		FR<** (all German and Romansh varieties); SG_MU>**SHG,	** (-)	n.s.	n.s.
	N ground elements/VP	SHG>**SG_MU	* (+)	** (yes>no)	n.s.
	0 ground VPs	---	** (-)	** (yes<no)	n.s.
	bare verbs	FR>**SHG, SG_MU	* (+)	n.s.	n.s.
static		SHG>**SG_MU, FR, IT, Romansh; SG_BE*>FR, RO_SUM	** (+)	** (yes>no)	n.s.
	TTR	SHG, FR, IT>**RO_SUM	** (+)	* (yes>no)	n.s.
	complex place predicates	SG_MU>** (all other varieties)	** (-)	n.s.	n.s.

Size of the Variety as an External Factor?

HO-R

small varieties...

- ... tend to be entrenched usages of the language of proximity (conceptionally oral) vs. distance (written; cf. Koch/Oesterreicher 1985)
- might be closer to Givón's pragmatic mode (rather than the syntactic mode; 1979: 229)
- they often lack (formal) literacy (SG, ROM)
- absence of standard-language 'purification',
linguistic corollaries of (conceptional) orality:
- low type-token ratios in the lexicon (-> small nonstandard varieties in our sample)
- passepartout words (*come, go, be*)
- redundancy (-> pleonastic expression of path/place in ROM and SG)
- [...]

Conclusions

- groupings based on genetic affiliation problematic for predictions within spatial language typology
- categories such as "German", "Italian" or - worse - "Romance": inappropriate for an empirically adequate, usage-based typology of spatial expressions
-
- manner/co-event and motion/displacement: not necessarily a single domain with systematic co-variation
- it is difficult to factor out language contact and similar language culture ("Sprachbund"-phenomena?)
- pragmatic and sociolinguistic ecology of varieties and their impact on orality/literacy as a factor?