

Paradigmatic relations across morphology and syntax: Particle verbs in two Walser German varieties

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Outline of the paper

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Particles as weird morphemes

- What is a particle?
 - "A particle is an accented element which is formally (and, often, semantically) related to a preposition, which does not assign case to a complement and which displays various syntactic and semantic symptoms of what may informally be called a close relationship with a verb, but **without displaying the phonological unity with it typical of affixes**" (Dehé et al. 2002: 3, emphasis mine).
- Three layers of particles
 - spatial particles
 - *walk through, pull a thread out, throw a ball down, nail a sign on*
 - aspectual particles
 - *chew up the meat, read the book through*
 - *fight battles on, eat salad on, sing songs along, read the text along, type the essay away, chew the food away*
 - others
 - *tell/slag/tick someone off, sleep off a sickness, exercise off three kilos*

Prefix and Particle verbs in German

- Prefix verbs:

- *laden* 'to load' / *beladen* 'to load', *tragen* 'to bear' / *vertragen* 'to bear'
 - *Guido belädt den Wagen mit Heu.* 'Guido loads the car with hay'.
 - *Guido hat den Wagen mit Heu beladen.* 'Guido has loaded the car with hay'.
 - *Guido versucht, den Wagen mit Heu zu beladen.* 'Guido tries to load the car with hay'.

- Particle verbs

- *aufladen* 'to load up', *auftragen* 'to put on'
- Syntactic separation:
 - *Guido lädt den Wagen auf.* 'Guido loads up the car'.
 - *Guido *auflädt den Wagen.* / *Julia erzählt, dass Guido den Wagen auflädt.*
- Morphological separation:
 - *Guido hat den Wagen aufgeladen.* 'Guido has loaded up the car'.
 - *Guido versucht, den Wagen aufzuladen.* 'Guido tries to load up the car'.
 - *Guido hat den Wagen *geaufladen / *aufladen.*
 - *Guido versucht, den Wagen *zu aufladen.*

The West-Germanic Connection

- With the remarkable exception of English, West-Germanic languages have particle verbs displaying separation (Berg 2014):
 - North Frisian
 - *Hi **mååget** et jåcht **üt**.* 'He switches the light off'.
 - *Ik wal, dåt dü et jåcht **üt-måågest**.* 'I want that you the light off-switch'.
 - Afrikaans
 - *Hy **skakel** die lig **af**.*
 - *Ek wil dat jy die lig **af-skakel**.*
 - Dutch
 - *Hij **doet** het licht **uit**.*
 - *Ik wil dat je het licht **uit-doet**.*
 - German
 - *Er **macht** das Licht **aus**.*
 - *Ich möchte, dass du das Licht **aus-machst**.*
 - Luxembourgish
 - *Dir **maacht** d'Maschinn **aus**.* 'You switch the car off'.
 - *Dir braucht e Schlëssel fir d'Dier **op-ze-maachen**.* 'You need a key off-to-turn the door'.

Particle verbs as phrasal verbs?

- On the other hand, the particle verbs displaying separation correspond to the so-called phrasal verbs found in the rest of the Germanic family (Dehé 2015):
 - English
 - *He **turned off** the light.* / *Mary is sure that you **turned off** the light.*
 - Norwegian
 - *John **sparka ut** hunden.* 'John kicked out the dog'.
 - Icelandic
 - *Þeir hafa **sent upp** peningana.* 'They have sent up money'.
 - Faroese
 - *Hann **gjørði upp** snørið.* 'He wound up the fishing line'.
 - Swedish
 - *Simon **kastade ut** soporna.* 'Simon threw out the garbage.'
 - Danish
 - *Han **knugede** sine hænder **sammen**.* 'He clasped his hands.'

Three correlations for particle and phrasal verbs

- Correlation 1: PartV $\nsubseteq$ PhrasV

- If there are particle verbs, no phrasal verbs are found!

- German

- **Guido **lädt auf** den Wagen **aus**.* / **Guido **lädt** den Wagen **auf aus**.*
int. 'Guido unloads up the car'
- *Ich zuckte mit meinen Schultern und **kam** ziemlich leicht **auf das Pferd herauf**.*
'I shrugged my shoulders und landed quite easily exactly on the horse'.

- Dutch (van Marle 2002)

- *Hij duwde de boot af.* 'He pushed off the boat'.
- *Hij duwde het kind eraf.* 'He pushed off the child (from there)'.

- Correlation 2: PhrasV $\nsubseteq$ PrefV

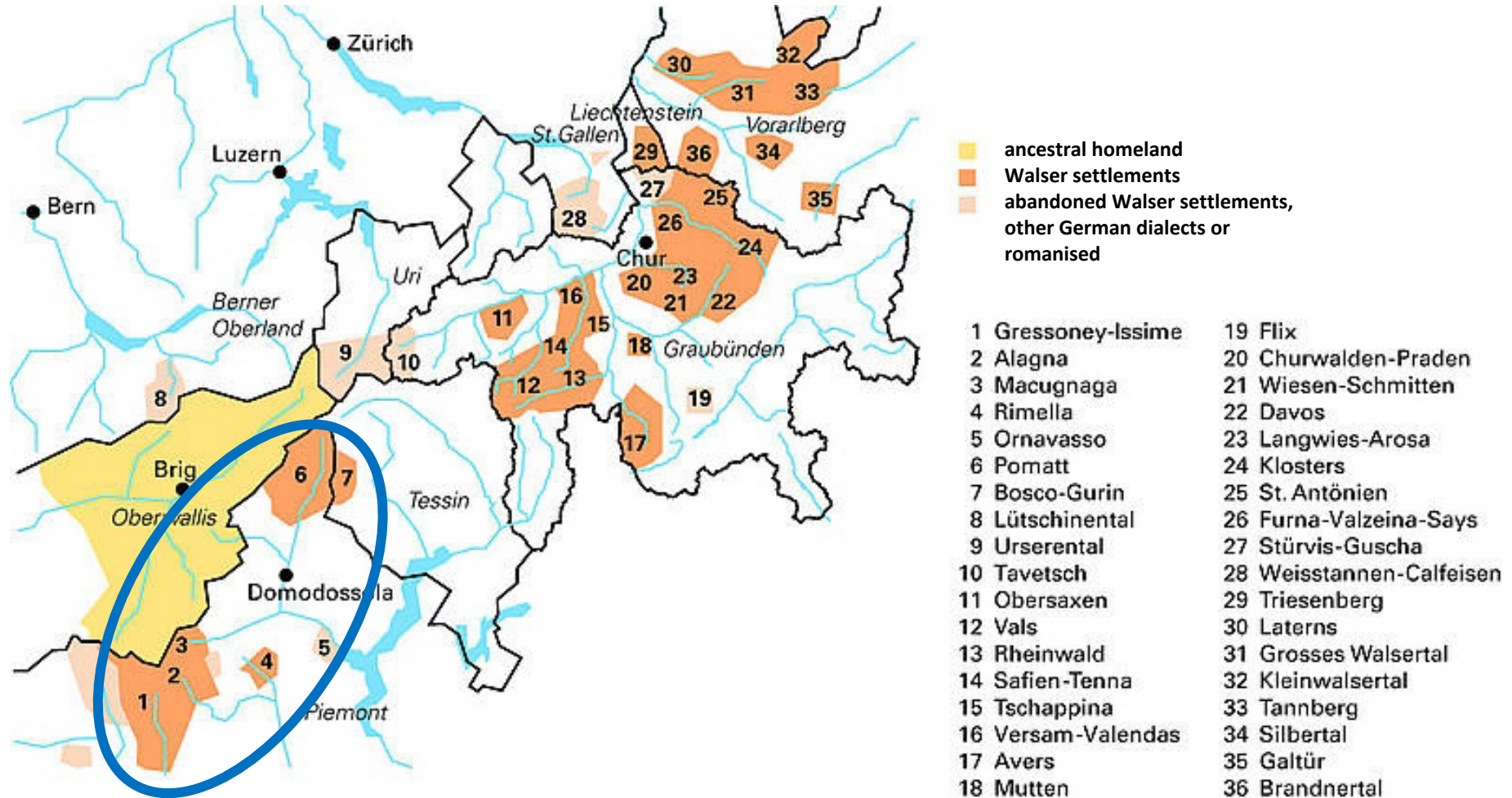
- If there are phrasal verbs, no or weakly productive verbal prefixation is found!
 - **English:** "[M]any of these particles lost their productivity, so that only *out-*, *over-* and *under-* have remained productive in Modern English ... the OE prefix and preparticle system was an easy victim both for the Romance invasion of the lexicon and the rise of postparticle (phrasal) verbs in ME". (Kastovsky 1992: 376, 377).
 - **Swedish:** "Some verbs are formed with unstressed prefixes *be-* and *för-*, which nowadays are only weakly productive" (Teleman 2005: 1610).
 - **Norwegian:** "In everyday spoken Norwegian the separable form is most common" (Strandskogen et al. 1994: 35).
 - *Arbeiderne ble opp-sagt uten forvarsel.* 'The workers were off-fired without warning'.
 - *Arbeiderne ble sagt opp på dagen.* 'The workers were fired off there and then'.
 - **Faroese:** "[I]nseparable compounds ... are generally Danish loans, and it is not possible to have the verb in an uncompounded form (for example *avheinta* 'fetch', but not **heinta av* 'fetch')" (Petersen et al. 2009: 175). "In the majority of cases the adverb is separated from the verb, except that before the past participle it usually appears as a prefix" (Lockwood 1977: 143)
 - **Danish:** "Generally speaking, the separated form is typically used in the spoken and informal written language, whereas the compounded form is found in more formal contexts such as official reports, documents, religious language, etc. ... " (Lundskær-Nielsen et al. 2015: 368, 619)

- Correlation 3: PartV $\supset$ OV

- If a language displays OV-environments, particle verbs are found; if a language displays only VO-environments, phrasal verbs are found (cf. Dehé 2015 for a short discussion):
 - West-Germanic
 - North-Germanic, English

VO, OV	North-Frisian, Dutch, Afrikaans, Luxembourgish, Yiddish, German
VO	English, Icelandic, Faroese, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish

The Walser area



Bohnenberger (1913), Zürrer (1982, 1999),
Dal Negro (2004)

- The Alpine Minority projects in Turin:

- DiWaC (2015-2017)
- ArchiWals (2017-2020)
- CLiMAIp (2020-2023)
 - www.climalp.org
- Walser German
 - Aosta Valley:
 - Gressoney / Greschoney
 - Issime / Eischeme
 - Piedmont:
 - Formazza / Pomatt
 - Rimella / Remmalju
 - Alagna / Im Lande
- Galloromance
 - Occitan
 - Francoprovençal



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- The **CLiMAIp Archive** consists of two components (Gaeta et al. 2019, in press):
 - A dictionary which for Walser German basically results from the digitalization of the dictionaries.
 - A corpus which is coindexed with the dictionary and is meant to enrich it with a large amount of fresh entries.
 - Gressoney: *Greschòneytitsch Wörterbuch* (1998)
 - ca. 12140 lemmas / 76240 tokens / 482 texts
 - Issime: *D'Éischemtöitschu Wörterbuch* (1998):
 - ca. 5700 lemmas / 7900 tokens / 46 texts
 - Rimella: *Ts Remmaljertittschu* (2005) – Rimella
 - ca. 3800 lemmas / 10410 tokens / 182 texts
 - Formazza: *Pumattertietsch Werterbuech* (1993) –
 - ca. 6780 lemmas
 - Alagna: *Dizionario* by P. Giordani (1891)
 - ca. 4500 lemmas

Gressoney and Issime

- Aosta Valley, Lys Valley (French as co-official language)
 - Gressoney:
 - Border minority (Grenzminderheit) with Switzerland
 - Long German-speaking tradition (German / Italian as H-Code)
 - Issime:
 - Surrounded by Romance communities
 - Strict connection with Francophony (French as H-Code)
 - The territorial continuity between the communities (which are 7 km distant) is interrupted by the Francoprovençal community of Gaby.



Particle verbs in Gressoney

- Titsch: a well-behaved adept of the West-Germanic Connection
 - Large number of particle verbs productively formed in correspondence to those found in the other West-Germanic languages
 - *a-, ab-, an-, drab-, drug-, dròber-, dòrch-, en-, fòrt-, hénder-, noa-, òm-, us-, vorbi-, vorwetz-, zròck-**goa*** ‘to go ...’
 - *a-, ab-, derzue-, dré-, dérlecke, embré-, néder-, òber-, ònder-, uf-, usenand-, us-, vor-, zéeme-**lecke*** ‘to put ...’
 - *ab-, dezu-, dra-, embré, lòs, noa-, òber-, uf-, us-, zròck-, zue-**loa*** ‘to let ...’
 - *a-, ab-, amuf-, an-, dervo-, dra-, én-, mét-, noa-, uf-, us-, vorwerz-, wéder-, zue-**machò*** ‘to make ...’
 - *a-, é-, néder-, noa-, uf-, us-, vor-, wéder-, zéeme-, zue-**schloa*** ‘to strike ...’
 - *ab-, aus-, é-, òm-, ònder-, uf-, zue-**schribe*** ‘to write ...’
 - *ab-, amuf-, an-, dré-, drus-, emuf-, én-, énger-, hénder-, noa-, òber-, òm-, uf-, us-, vor-, vorwertz-, zéeme-, zròck-**zie*** ‘to pull ...’

Particle verbs in Gressoney

- Large series of deverbal abstracts formed on particle verbs:
 - **Suff. -òng:** *ab-fier-òng, ab-rächn-òng, ab-schoalt-ung, ab-stamm-òng, ab-teil-òng, ab-trätt-òng, ab-zal-òng, an-zal-òng, a-streng-òng, fort-setz-òng, mét-teil-òng, òber-schemm-òng, òber-setz-òng, òm-gäb-òng, ònder-stétz-òng, ònder-suech-òng, ònder-teil-òng, uf-bewar-òng, uf-reg-òng, uf-stell-òng, uf-zeichn-òng, us-stell-òng, us-teil-òng, us-zal-òng*
 - **Conversion:** *ab-fall, ab-louf, ab-stamm, a-chlag, an-teil, an-trag, òm-setz, uf-setz, us-louf, us-red, us-wis, zue-fall, zue-setz*
 - **Suff. -etò:** *uf-rum-etò*
 - **Apophony:** *ab-dròck, ab-fell, ab-schlag, ab-schnétt, ab-trétt, ab-zòg, a-fang, a-frag, an-trétt, a-schlòss, dòrch-schlag, dòrch-schnétt, dòrch-zòg, è-floss, én-dròck, òber-flòss, ònder-schlag, uf-schleg, uf-zòg, us-dròck, us-flòg, us-gang, us-chnétt, vor-spròng, zue-gang*
- Robust lexical support for particle verbs

Particle verbs in Gressoney

- Morphological separation
 - *Em Broacho hät z'ustra Wierch an Schtos **noagloat***
'In June the external work has slightly ceased (lit. after.left).'
 - *Wenn z'wasser hät gsottet hämmò de gmalne kaffé **drégleit***
'when the water was boiling, we put inside (lit. inside.put) the grinded coffee'.
 - *Wenn hämmo met dem Metzker de Tag **abgmacht**,*
'when one has arranged (lit. off.made) the day with the butcher'
 - *de chéneèg hein désche buessbruch **métgmacht***
'the kings have contributed (lit. with.made) to this devotional practice'
 - *Gwenléch hämmò détz fleisch schò em tag vorher **òbergleit***
'Usually, one has put over (lit. over.put) this meat already one day in advance'.
 - *De pfoahér hät alz **ufgschrébet** fer z'chònno détz wonder bezigò*
'The priest has transcribed (lit. up.written) everything in order to witness this wonder'.
- Morphological cohesion
 - *Déz jubiläum hät noch es moal **ònderstréchet***
'The anniversary has emphasized (lit. under.painted) it once more'.

Particle verbs in Gressoney

- Syntactic separation
 - *un em Samstag **latz noa***
'and on Sunday relax (lit. leave-it after)'.
 - *Wenn d'nässe wéreder z'heissé, **leck** bròt òn chésch **dré**, sotte erkoaltetsch*
'if the soup were too hot, put bread and cheese inside, so that it gets cold'.
 - *Gmachte os Ahore on enna hohle far d'Melch **dre z'lecce***
'Made out of maple and inside a cavity to put inside (lit. inside=to=put) the milk'.
 - *eschmo notte zäm Sägä kannet, ou fer darnoa ... an Tischtagn **abzmacho***
'we went anyway to the Vesper also in order to arrange (lit. off=to=make) thereafter an exchange of a workday'.
 - *Hie allz **ufzschribe**, was Eigen én dschim 90-jerége läbtag hät toat weré schier ònmégléch*
'To transcribe (lit. up=to=write) all that Eigen did in his 90th birthday would be surely impossible'.
 - *sinn nunég kanget kät d'wéerchene fer **wéder z'machò** d'gmein beliechtòn*
'Recently, the works were undertaken to repair (lit. again=to=make) the common illumination'.

Particle verbs in Gressoney

- However, syntactic cohesion also occurs:
 - *détz fescht heiber noch kät zit **z'métmacho***
'we had still time to celebrate (lit. to=with.make) this feast'
 - *fer en par denge **z'òberlecke***
'in order to put on (lit. to=over.put) a couple of things'
 - *etté auch géere khät **z'abschribe** diné erénnerònge*
'I would have liked to transcribe (lit. to=off.write) your memories'
 - *fer diene ganze Orts-Noamna **z'noagoa** un **z'ufschribe***
'in order to reconstruct (lit. to=after.go) and take note (lit. to=up.write) of your whole placenames'

Particle verbs in Gressoney

- Preservation of the sentence bracket typical of the West-Germanic syntax:
 - Parable of the prodigal son (Schott 1842):
 - *so [luɛft dʃîɲɛdwègɛ ds-maf-chalb tɛdɛ]*_{VP}
so leave.2SG his.way DET-mast-calf kill.INF
'To his honor you make slaughter the fat calf'
 - Parable of the prodigal son (Antonietti 2010)
 - *Ón fer nid schtéerbe, [hätter gras ón wórtze kásset]*_{VP}
and for not die.INF has.3SG.M grass and roots eaten
'and he has eaten grass and roots to survive'
- Within the bracket the OV-order is found.

Particle and Phrasal Verbs in Issime

- Töitschu: an outsider within West-Germanic?
 - Few cases of particle verbs
 - *ab-, hinner-, ous-, um-schloan* 'to strike ...'; *am-, im-, ous-, unner-brechen* 'to break ...'; *ab-, uber-, um-, wider-zin* 'to pull ...'; *hinner-, um-chieren* 'to turn ...'; *a-, unner-lécken* 'to put ...'
 - Large series of phrasal verbs corresponding to the Titsch particle verbs:
 - *lécken* *a / dri / drum / i / nidder / ouf / ous / vür / zu / zseeme* 'to put ...'
 - *loan* *ambi / ab / hinner / i / noa / ous / uber* 'to let ...'
 - *schloan* *ab / dra / dri / nidder / ous / zseeme* 'to strike ...'
 - *zin* *a / ab / dri / hinner / i / ouf / ous / zseeme / zu* 'to pull ...'
 - Few deverbal abstracts formed on particle verbs:
 - Conversion: *anvanh* (cf. *voan a* 'to begin'), *ouswaks*
 - Apophony: *abpruch*, *ousganh*, *vürtritt*
 - Suff. -e: *ambéisse*

Particle and Phrasal Verbs in Issime

- Morphological separation
 - *z'schloss hentsch vill vérti **widergmachut** zu zéit*
'The have restored (lit. again.made) the castle several times at that time'
- Morphological cohesion
 - *Darwil das ds Gglogghous het **widerschloage***
'While the bell house was ringing again (again.struck)'
- Syntactic separation
 - *Voggaltini hen gloan **ab z'sinhen** un sëin kanhen sühien z'Nescht*
'The little birds ceased to sing (lit. off=to=sing) and went to look for the nest'.
- Syntactic cohesion (?)
 - *d'chilhu Sent Joapuk ... meruturut **z'dêcha goa** lugun*
'the church of St. Joapuk deserves to be visited (lit. to=there go visit)'.

Particle and Phrasal Verbs in Issime

- However, phrasal verbs are normally found instead of syntactic separation, where the particles immediately follow the verbs:
 - *un d'Schat llëis llëis **müntrut ouf** wider den Groat*
and DET=shade slow slow climbs up against DET mountain
'and the shade slowly climbs up towards the mountain'.
 - *Mi dunght a söiri **z'goan hinner** a Stul Joar*
1PS.OBL seems a little to=go back a chair years
'It seems to me to go backwards for a number of years'.
 - *z bruat hescht **gleit** i sua*
DET bread have.2SG put.PST.PTCP in so
'you have put the bread inside in this way'
 - *le industrie sén **gcheen** ous in d'iestun zéiti*
DET industries are come.PST.PTCP out in DET=first times
'The industries had sprung up in the first times'.
 - *d'fammullju Quart ischt **gstuarben** ous*
DET=family Quart is died.PST.PTCP out
'the Quart family has already died out'.

Particle and Phrasal Verbs in Issime

- In contrast to Titsch, in Töitschu the sentence bracket typical of West-Germanic is largely lost, and accordingly the verbal complex cannot be interlaid by any NP:
 - Parable of the prodigal son (Schott 1842):
 - *unn du [hèf tüəd]_{VP} s'-vèiʒt chalb*
and you have.2SG killed DET-fat calf
'And you slaughtered the fat calf'.
 - Parable of the prodigal son (Antonietti 2010):
 - *Un vür nöit schtearbe, [hets kesse]_{VP} weidi un wurtzi*
and for not die.INF has.3SG.M eaten grass and roots
'And he ate grass and roots to survive'.

Contact is the answer (?!)

- The surrounding Romance varieties have VO-order and largely display phrasal verbs (Iacobini 2015, Gaeta & Angster 2020, Bernini 2021):

German	Titsch	Töitschu	Piedmontese	Italian	
<i>einlegen</i>	<i>élecke</i>	<i>lécken dri</i>	<i>büté 'ndrinta</i>	<i>mettere dentro</i>	(‘to put inside’)
<i>niederlegen</i>	<i>embrélecke</i>	–	<i>büté giü</i>	<i>mettere giù</i>	(‘to put down’)
<i>auflegen</i>	<i>uflecke</i>	<i>lécken ouf</i>	<i>büté sü</i>	<i>mettere su</i>	(‘to put up’)
<i>auslegen</i>	<i>uslecke</i>	<i>lécken ous</i>	<i>büté fora</i>	<i>metter fuori</i>	(‘to put out’)
<i>vorlegen</i>	<i>vorlecke</i>	<i>lécken vür</i>	–	–	(‘to put forward’)
<i>zulegen</i>	<i>zuelecke</i>	<i>lécken zu</i>	–	–	(‘to put to’)
<i>zusammenlegen</i>	<i>zéemelecke</i>	<i>lécken zseeme</i>	<i>büté 'nsema</i>	<i>mettere insieme</i>	(‘to put together’)

Contact is the answer (?!)

- Gressoney stands in a similar contact environment.
- The crucial difference between Titsch and Töitschu is the preservation of the lexical series of particle verbs including the deverbal abstracts.
- In fact, while the system of particle verbs in Titsch is still robust, a rampant increase of the VO-order is observed:
 - Parable of the prodigal son (Schott 1842):
 - *so [luɛft dʃîɲɛdwègɛ ds-maf-chalb tɛdɛ]_{VP}*
so leave.2SG his.way DET-mast-calf kill.INF
'To his honor you make slaughter the fat calf'
 - Parable of the prodigal son (Antonietti 2010):
 - *[tiet emprenne]_{VP} z fir ón [tiet tɛte]_{VP} z schénschta fón de chalber*
do.2PL light.INF DET fire and do.2PL kill.INF DET beautiful.SUP of DET calves
'Let's light a fire and slaughter the most beautiful calf'.

Contact is the answer (?!)

- Furthermore, the loss of the OV-order is also found in concomitance with the occurrence of particle verbs in other contact environments.
 - Lusérn Cimbrian, a Bavarian island of North-Eastern Italy (Geyer et al. 2014):
 - *Astomar berast nã-khent ... pinn auto*
wenn.1PS.OBL were.2SG after-come.PSTPTCP with.DET car
'If you had followed me by car'
 - *Vorgestarn hãnnë bokhennt in pua boda [hat gekhoaft]_{VP} zboa redar*
before.yesterday have.1SG met.PST.PTCP DET young where.3SG has bought.PST.PTCP two bikes
'The day before yesterday I met the young who bought two bikes'
- On the other hand, in a close village phrasal verbs are found along VO-order:
 - Ljetzan Cimbrian (Geyer et al. 2014):
 - *Mo du hetas-pi kangat na' ... pitar machina*
wenn you had.2SG-1SG.OBL gone after with.DET car
'If you had followed me by car'
 - *Vorgeistar han-i buket iz puablja bo ... [hat gekoaft]_{VP} tzoa*
biciclete
before.yesterday have.1SG met.PST.PTCP DET young.DIM where has bought.PST.PTCP two bikes
'The day before yesterday I met the young who bought two bikes'

Conclusion

- Contact varieties essentially enrich the picture of particle and phrasal verbs found throughout the Germanic family.
- This is even more interesting because the Germanic islands found in Italy stand in contact with Romance varieties displaying VO-order and phrasal verbs.
- The occurrence of particle and phrasal verbs is in perfect accordance with the three correlations observed in the rest of the Germanic family.
- In particular, in spite of the rampant increase of the VO-order the preservation of the particle verbs in Gressoney following the West-Germanic Connection is strongly supported by the occurrence of large lexical series of derivatives.

	Gressoney	Issime	Ljetzan	Lusern
Corr 1: PartV $\underline{\vee}$ PhrasV	✓ PartV, *PhrasV	✓ PhrasV, *PartV	✓ PhrasV, *PartV	✓ PartV, *PhrasV
Corr 2: PhrasV $\underline{\vee}$ PrefV	✓ PrefV	✓ *PrefV	✓ *PrefV	✓ PrefV
Corr 3: PartV $\supset$ OV	✓ OV	✓ VO	✓ VO	😞 VO

Conclusion

- The partial exception of Lusérn Cimbrian portrays a changing situation in which younger speakers prefer the phrasal verb over the particle verb (Bidese et al. 2016):
 - *Di arbatar hã **augemacht** di maur.* ‘The workers have built up the wall’.
 - *Di arbatar hã **gemacht au** di maur.*
- This seems to be related to the neutralization of Corr 3 which requires the particle verbs to be tied to the occurrence of the OV-order, while the VO-order is related to phrasal verbs and forces the harmonization of the other two correlations.

	Gressoney	Issime	Ljetzan	Lusern
Corr 1: PartV $\sqsubseteq$ PhrasV	✓ PartV, *PhrasV	✓ PhrasV, *PartV	✓ PhrasV, *PartV	✓ PhrasV, *PartV
Corr 2: PhrasV $\sqsubseteq$ PrefV	✓ PrefV	✓ *PrefV	✓ *PrefV	✓ *PrefV
Corr 3: PartV $\supset$ OV	✓ OV	✓ VO	✓ VO	😊 VO





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Many thanks!
Tank vél mòal!
Gottsches erganhs!



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