

Linguistica sine finibus

Estudis dedicats a Montserrat Batllori Dillet

Elisabeth Gibert-Sotelo, Isabel Pujol Payet,
Assumpció Rost Bagudanch, Teresa de Jesús Tro Morató
(eds.)

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ESTUDIS DEDICATS A MONTSERRAT BATLLORI DILLET



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TRUE AND APPARENT SATELLITE-FRAMED ROMANCE

ROMANSH AND NORTHERN
ITALIAN VARIETIES

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Mots clau

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Abstract

Northern Italian Romance and Romansh varieties exhibit particle-verb constructions, which has been interpreted as a sign that they are both satellite-framed languages (Talmy 2000). However, only in Romansh is the particle truly obligatory for the sense of directionality to be preserved, as in Germanic. Other evidence further suggests the satellite-framed nature of Romansh varieties. In the rest of Romance, the verb can encode directionality on its own. Contact with Germanic may have induced a reanalysis of the particle in Romansh so that it became the encoder of directionality.

Resum

Les varietats romàniques del nord d'Itàlia i certes varietats del romanx presenten construccions de verb amb partícula, la qual cosa ha fet pensar que es tracta de llengües d'emmarcament en el satèl·lit (Talmy 2000). Tanmateix, només en romanx la partícula és realment obligatòria perquè es preservi el sentit de direccionalitat, com en germànic. Altres fets suggereixen la naturalesa d'emmarcament en el satèl·lit de les varietats romanxes. A la resta de varietats romàniques, el verb pot codificar la direccionalitat per si mateix. El contacte amb el germànic podria haver induït una reanàlisi de la partícula en romanx perquè esdevingués el codificador de la direccionalitat.

1. INTRODUCTION

Complex predicates of removal like ‘wash away’ or ‘remove by washing’, exhibit a type of crosslinguistic variation that can be amenable to Talmy’s (2000) well-known typology, even in closely related languages like Latin and Catalan:

- (1) a. [Aqua] maculas vestium #(e-)lui.
liquid.ABL stains.ACC clothes.GEN out-wash.INF.PASS
‘That with this liquid the stains of clothes are washed out.’
(Classical Latin; Plin. nat. 20, 72)
- b. Diuen que aquest líquid renta les tasques de la roba.
say.3PL that this liquid washes the stains of the clothes

In Latin the element encoding directionality, namely, the removal of the stains, is non-verbal, a *satellite*: the prefix *e-* ‘out’. In Catalan, directionality can be expressed directly in the verb *rentar* ‘wash, wash away’. Latin is s(atellite)-framed and Catalan is v(erb)-framed.

This basically empirical contribution, honouring Montse Batllori and her work on linguistic variation, scrutinizes the expression of complex events of removal and other types of complex change of state events in the varieties of Rhaeto-Romance (RR, from now on) spoken in Switzerland, namely, Romansh varieties. I compare them with the geographically close varieties of northern Italian Romance (NIR, from now on). Concurring with authors like Mateu and Rigau (2010) that NIR is only apparently s-framed, I show that Romansh, by contrast, does show the signs of true s-framedness. As in previous studies on particle-verb constructions in RR, I suggest that this behaviour of Romansh is due to contact with s-framed Germanic, but unlike previous studies I show that this is not a lexical trait, but a syntactic trait distinguishing Romansh from NIR.

Section 1 presents NIR as apparently s-framed. Section 2 shows how some varieties of Romansh are truly s-framed. Section 3 provides a formal

analysis of the distinction between v-framed NIR and Italian, on the one hand, and s-framed Romansh, on the other. Section 4 speculates on the role of language contact in the development of s-framedness in Romansh. Section 5 concludes.

2. NORTHERN ITALIAN ROMANCE AS APPARENTLY SATELLITE-FRAMED

Several authors have suggested that the varieties of Romance spoken in northern Italy and eastern Switzerland, encompassing RR, are s-framed: Iacobini and Masini (2006) for Italian, Berthele (2006) and Iacobini (2012) for RR, among others. Specifically, it has been observed that these varieties of Romance, by contrast with other varieties of Central, Western, and Eastern Romance, make a wide use of verb-particle combinations, a *prima facie* characteristic of s-framed languages (Talmy 2000):¹

- (2) venire giù; lavarevia; mettere sotto
 come down wash away put under 'to run over'
 (Italian; Iacobini and Masini 2006:156)

- (3) sentarse zò; nar via; rampegarse su
 sit down go away climb up
 (Trentino; Iacobini 2015:647)

- (4) I ga magnà fora tuto.
 they have eaten out everything
 'They ate up everything.'
 (Venetan dialects; Benincà and Poletto 2006:10)

- (5) lavè jö; damanè dô; taié ia
 wash away ask after 'check' cut off
 (RR: Ladin of Val Badia; Mair 1984:41)

- (6) far oura; trar aint; quintar sü
 do out draw in count up
 'open' 'put on' 'tell, narrate'
 (RR: Vallader Romansh; Andry 1993:2)

¹ See also similar constructions in Friulian RR (Vicario 1997), the Appennine dialects (Begioni 2003), Bergamasque (Bernini 2012), and the varieties of RR spoken in the Surselva and Val Badia (Buchli 2014). See also lists of particle verbs in different Romansh varieties in Ebnetter (1994).

Facts such as the above have been levelled against Talmy's classification of Romance as uniformly involving a v-framed system, particularly with respect to Italian, as can be gathered from the following excerpts by different scholars:

[V] and P are not to be considered separate constituents, but rather parts of a unique verbal construction where the V functions as the head and the P as a modifier, or 'satellite' [...]. (Masini 2005:156-157)

[It] is evident that Italian does not conform to Talmy's generalization, since it behaves more like English than Spanish. Of course, this does not mean that Italian lacks verbal roots incorporating Path. Rather, it means that this is not the privileged way of realizing Path in present-day Italian. Indeed, Italian displays a hybrid (and to a certain extent redundant) system of motion verbs. (Iacobini and Masini 2006:163)

Italian would at the same time be (together with English, German, Dutch, Russian...) in the category of satellite-framed languages. (Simone 2008:23; my translation: VA)

Some minor varieties which use post-verbal particles as the principal means of expressing direction of motion (especially northeastern dialects of Italy and Rhaeto-Romance languages) can be classified unequivocally as Satellite-framed. With regard to major standard Romance languages, current Italian displays a larger number of features that are typical of the Satellite-framed type than either Spanish or French. (Iacobini 2012:367)

Mateu and Rigau (2010) dispute the claim that the availability of particle-verb constructions is a problem for the classification of Italian in particular, or Romance in general, as v-framed in the sense of Talmy. Specifically, these authors have pointed out that the verb-particle combinations licensed in Romance involve verbs that already encode directionality or result, like It. *correre* 'run', contrasting with non-directional verbs like *danzare* 'dance':²

2 Iacobini (2015:642) does acknowledge a difference between particle verbs in Germanic and Romance:

Unlike Germanic languages, the most frequently employed verbs in Romance PVs [Particle Verbs; my clarification: VA] are generic verbs of motion, verbs of putting and removing, and path verbs. The manner of motion verbs that preferentially occur in Romance PVs expressing displacement or boundary-crossing events are those «that are not readily conceived of as activities, but, rather, as 'instantaneous' acts» [...], i.e. verbs that either encode a rapid, often sudden movement (e.g., 'to jump'), or verbs which express an orientation: e.g., removal from a reference point (e.g., It. *sbucare* 'to come out suddenly, pop out', *scappare* 'to escape') or movement toward a goal (e.g., It. *irrompere* 'to burst into', *scagliarsi* 'to lunge', *tuffarsi* 'to dive').

- (7) Gianni é corso/*danzato via.
 Gianni is run/danced away
 ‘Gianni ran/danced away.’

(Italian; Mateu and Rigau 2010:243)

As pointed out by Mateu and Rigau (2010), the fact that the verb encodes directionality independently from the particle explains why the particle is omissible in certain particle-verb combinations expressing removal in varieties of Italian Romance, without the sense of removal disappearing, as shown in the next Italian examples from Masini (2005:149):

- (8) a. Luca ha lavato via la macchia.
 Luca has washed away the stain
 b. Luca ha lavato la macchia subito.
 Luca has washed the stain immediately
 ‘Luca washed away the stain immediately.’

By contrast, in the case of Germanic particle verbs if the particle is dropped the interpretation changes substantially. In the case of constructions of removal, the removal sense is lost:

- (9) John washed the stain ??(away). (Mateu and Rigau 2010:262)
- (10) Die Flecken *(aus)-waschen. (German)
 the stains out-wash.INF
 ‘Wash the stains away.’

The claim that the particle in Romance is merely reinforcing the directionality already expressed in the verb is further supported by the fact that these verb-particle combinations, as the ones in (12) from Piedmont Italian, do not admit unselected objects of the kind shown in (11):

- (11) John worked his debts *(off). (Mateu 2012:265)
- (12) a. *Luigi ha lavorato via i debiti.
 Luigi has worked away the debts
 b. *Hanno tagliato giù l’impiccho.
 they have cut.PTCP down the=hanged man
 c. *Maria aveva dormito/ballato via le sue preoccupazioni.
 Maria had slept/danced away her worries

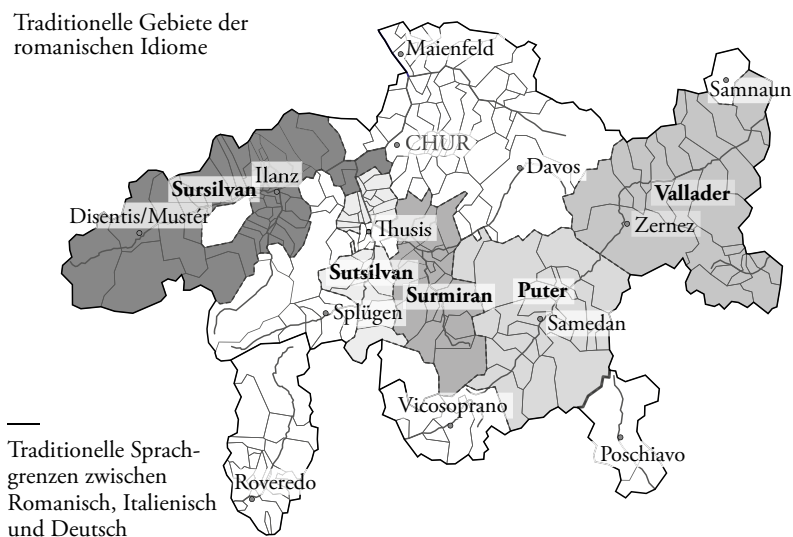
Thus, it seems that the particle in the above Italian examples is only apparently encoding directionality, i.e., it is only apparently a satellite in Talmy’s terms (pace Masini 2005). Concentrating on predicates of removal like *lavare via* ‘wash away’, these Italian predicates turn out to

be more similar to those found in other Romance languages than those found in *s*-framed German (10) or English, in that in the latter the particle is obligatory for the removal sense to be preserved. The difference between Italian (8a) and, for instance, Catalan (1b) lies in the fact that in Catalan no particle at all is used.

3. TRUE SATELLITE-FRAMEDNESS IN ROMANSH VARIETIES

I concur with Mateu and Rigau's (2010) observations that NIR varieties, at least those referred to by Masini (2005), among others, are only apparently *s*-framed. However, I claim that some geographically close varieties of Romance, to wit, the RR varieties spoken in Switzerland, do behave like *s*-framed, according to their tests. I present observations based on a battery of grammaticality judgments elicited from 4 different native speakers of the Surselvan (Laax), Vallader (Zuoz), and Puter (Schlarigna, Samedan) dialects of Romansh, that is, Swiss RR, represented on the next Romansh dialectal map of the canton of Grisons:

Figure 1. Geographical distribution of the 5 official varieties (Schriftsidiome) of Romansh in the canton of Grisons, in South East Switzerland



Source: BFS, ThemaKart, Neuchâtel, 2005 (Furer 2005:22)

Let us begin by examining predicates of manner of removal, namely, the Romansh correspondences of *wash away*, *scrape off*, and *scratch off*. In these varieties the particle seems compulsory for the removal sense to be maintained:

- (13) a. Lavar *(ora) ils tacs. (Surselvan)
wash out the stains
- b. La chamischa eira plain maclas
the shirt was full stains
ma Victoria las ho lavedas *(our). (Vallader)
but Victoria them has wash.PTCP.F.PL out
'The shirt was full of stains but Victoria has washed them out.'
- c. La chamischa (d')eira plaina da maclas
the shirt was full.F of stains
ma Selina las ho lavedas *?(our).³ (Puter)
but Selina them has wash.PTCP.F.PL out
'The shirt was full of stains but Selina has washed them out.'
- (14) a. Sgarar *(naven/giu) la vernisch. (Surselvan)
scrape away/down the paint
- b. Selina ho cumpro üna chadregia antica e Gian
Selina has buy.PTCP an chair old and Gian
ho sgratto *(davent/giò) la vernisch. (Vallader/Puter)
has scrape.PTCP away/down the paint
'Selina has bought an old chair and Gian has scraped away the paint.'
- (15) a. Sgarar *(naven/giu) l'etichetta. (Surselvan)
scratch away/down the=label
'Scratch away the label.'
- b. Ad eira üna etiquetta sül cudesch
there was a label on.the book
ma Gian l'ho raspeda *(davent/giò). (Vallader/Puter)
but Gian it=has scratch.PTCP.F away/down
'There was a label on the book but Gian has scratched it away.'

The obligatoriness of the particle in the above predicates reveals that the verb, in these varieties, does not encode directionality for this type of event.

Other facts point to the *s*-framed nature of RR, at least in the varieties of Romansh examined here. For instance, surface-contact verbs such as the

3 I use a slash to represent divergent grammaticality judgements.

equivalent to *rub* can be construed with directional particles in transitive constructions expressing illative motion, as in English:

- (16) a. Gion metta si crema sils mauns e fruscha en ella. (Surselvan)
 Gion puts on cream on the hands and rubs in 3SG.ACC.F
 ‘Gion puts cream on his hands and rubs it in.’
- b. Gian s’ho mis ün pô crema süls mauns
 Gion REFL=has put.PTCP a little cream on the hands
 e l’ho sfruscheda aint. (Vallader/Puter)
 and it=has rub.PTCP.F in
 ‘Gion has put a little cream on his hands and has rubbed it in.’

Languages like Catalan (17) and also the variety of Italian spoken in Piedmont (18) completely forbid these complex illative constructions:

- (17) *En Joan s’ha posat una mica de crema sobre les mans
 the Joan REFL=has put.PTCP a little cream on the hands
 i se l’ha fregada en-dins. (Catalan)
 and REFL it=has rub.PTCP.F in-inside
- (18) *Gianni si è meso un po di crema sulle mani
 Gianni REFL is put.PTCP a little cream on the hands
 e l’ha fregata dentro. (Piedmont Italian)
 and it=has rub.PTCP.F inside

All Romansh informants allow a great variety of manner of motion verbs in directed motion constructions based both on particles —see (19) and (20)— and PPs —(21) and (22). All of the following sentences, except (19e), were deemed fully grammatical by at least one speaker:

- (19) *Romansh (Surs.); directed motion constructions with manner verbs and particles*
- a. Maria cuora viadora.
 Maria runs thither.out
 ‘Maria runs out (there).’
- b. La tschitta sgola neuaden.
 The butterfly flies hither.in
 ‘The butterfly flies in (here).’
- c. ✓/*Gian se-noda naven.
 Gian REFL-swims away
 ‘Gian swims away.’
- d. Il bal se-rucla neuaden.
 the ball REFL-rolls hither.in
 ‘The ball rolls in (here).’

- e. */?Maria salta salta
 Maria dances thither.in'
 'Maria dances in.'
- f. ✓/*Gion camina naven.
 Gion walks away

(20) *Romansh (Vall./Put.); directed motion constructions with manner verbs and particles*

- a. Victoria es currida (in)our.
 Victoria is run.PTCP.F (in)out
 'Victoria has run out.'
- b. La chüralla es svuleda (in)aint.
 the butterfly is fly.PTCP.F (in)inside
 'The butterfly has flown in.'
- c. ✓/*Victoria es suteda (in)aint.
 Victoria is dance.PTCP.F (in)inside
 'Victoria has danced in.'
- d. Selina es chaminada (in)giò.
 Selina is walk.PTCP.F (in)down
 'Selina has walked down.'
- e. Victoria es nudeda davent/(in)aint.
 Victoria is swim.PTCP.F away/(in)inside
 'Victoria has swum away/in.'
- f. La serp es serpageda/struzcheda davent.
 the snake is crawl.PTCP.F away
 'The snake has crawled away.'
- g. La balla es rudleda (in)our.
 the ball is roll.PTCP.F (in)out
 'The ball has rolled out.'

(21) *Romansh (Surs.); directed motion constructions with manner verbs and PPs*

- a. Gion cuora egl iert.
 Gion runs in.the garden
 'Gion runs into the garden.'
- b. La tschitta sgola egl iert.
 the butterfly flies in.the garden
 'The butterfly flies into the garden.'
- c. ✓/*La tschitta sgola si la flur.
 the butterfly flies on the flower
 'The butterfly flies onto the flower.'
- d. ✓/*Gion salta egl iert.
 Gion dances in.the garden
 'Gion dances into the garden.'

- e. Gion camina egl iert.
Gion walks in.the garden
'Gion walks into the garden.'
- f. ✓/*Gion se-noda ella tauna.
Gian REFL-swims in.the cave
'Gian swims into the cave.'
- g. Il bal rolla ella combra.
the ball rolls in.the room
'The ball rolls into the room.'
- (22) *Romansh (Vall./Put.); directed motion constructions with manner verbs and PPs*
- a. Gian es currieu i'l curtin.
Gian is run.PTCP.M in=the garden
'Gian has run into the garden.'
- b. La chüralla es svuleda i'l curtin.
the butterfly is fly.PTCP.F in=the garden
'The butterfly has flown into the garden.'
- c. La chüralla es svuleda sün la flur.
the butterfly is fly.PTCP.F on the flower
'The butterfly has flown onto the flower.'
- d. ✓/*Victoria es suteda i'l curtin.
Victoria is dance.PTCP.F in=the garden
'Victoria has danced into the garden.'
- e. Victoria es chaminada i'l curtin.
Victoria is walk.PTCP.F in=the garden
'Victoria has walked into the garden.'
- f. Gian es nudo aint illa grotta.
Gian is swim.PTCP.M inside in.the cave
'Gian has swum into the cave.'
- g. La serp s'es serpageda aint illa stauza.
the snake REFL=is crawl.PTCP.F inside in.the room
'The snake has crawled into the room.'
- h. Il chavagl es galoppo i'l curtin.
the horse is gallop.PTCP.M in=the garden
'The horse has galloped into the garden.'

Importantly, in Italian, pure manner of motion verbs like *danzare* 'dance', *camminare* 'walk', *galoppare* 'gallop', and *nuotare* 'swim' are utterly out in constructions of the kind illustrated in (19)-(22) (Folli and Ramchand 2005:97).

As expected from an s-framed system, simple monomorphemic verbs encoding path are largely non-existent in Romansh varieties, which sport a simple verb and a particle instead:

Table 1. Expression of some simple path predicates in 3 Romansh varieties

	‘go in’	‘go out’	‘go down’	‘go up’	‘take away’
Surselvan	ir en (entrar)	ir giuado/o	ir giu	ir si	prender naven
Vallader	ir aint	ir oura	ir ingiò	ir insü	tour davent
Puter	ir aint (%entrar)	ir oura (%sortir)	ir ingiò	ir insü (%sagrir)	piglier davent

When it comes to verb-particle constructions involving unselected objects, cross-speaker and cross-dialectal variation is greater. Speakers of Surselvan do accept at least a subset of them:

(23) *Romansh (Surs.); verb-particle constructions with unselected objects*

- a. Luvrar ora la pasta.
work out the pasta
‘Knead up the pasta.’
- b. Se-luvrar en. (Cf. German *sich ein-arbeiten*)
REFL-work in
«To learn the ropes.»
- c. ✓/*Se-luvrar giu. (Cf. German *sich über-arbeiten*)
REFL-work down
‘To overwork.’
- d. ✓/*Beiber/Magliar/Fimar naven ils problems.
drink/eat/smoke away the problems
- e. ✓/*Luvrar naven ils deivets.
work away the debts
- f. ✓/*Durmir/saltar ora/naven ils quitaus.
sleep/dance out/away the worries

A speaker fluent in the 3 varieties and who is a native speaker of Vallader and Puter also accepts them in these latter varieties. However, the native speakers that only know Vallader and Puter largely do not accept them. Importantly, (24e) is accepted by all speakers, but not by my Italian informants from Piedmont and Trentino:

(24) *Romansh (Vall./Put.); verb-particle constructions with unselected objects*

- a. ✓/?/*Luis baiva/mangia/füma davent sieus problems.
Luis drinks/eats/smokes away his problems
- b. ✓/?/*Luis ho lavuro giò sieus debits.
Luis has work.PTCP down his debts
‘Luis has worked away his debts.’

- c. ✓/**Maria ho durmieu davent sieus pissers.*
 Maria has sleep.PTCP away her worries
 ‘Maria has slept her worries away.’
- d. ✓/**Maria ho ballà via seis pissers.*
 Maria has dance.PTCP away her worries
 ‘Maria has danced her worries away.’
- e. *Els haun taglio giò l’impicho.*
 they have cut.PTCP down the=hanged_man
 ‘They have cut down the hanged man.’

Finally, and quite strikingly, the native speaker of Surselvan —but not the rest of the informants— accepts a subset of adjectival resultative constructions with both selected and unselected objects:

(25) *Romansh (Surs.); adjectival resultative constructions*

- a. *Gion petga plat il metal.*
 Gion beats flat the metal
- b. *Gion beiba vit/*vita la butteglia.*
 Gion drinks empty/empty.F the bottle
*Cf. Germ. Gion trinkt die Flasche leer/*leere.*
 Gion drinks the bottle empty/*empty.F

As can be seen in (25b), the result adjective (*vit* ‘empty’) is obligatorily not inflected for agreement with the direct object, exactly as in German.⁴

Importantly, the above resultative constructions are strong, in that the verb does not imply the state encoded in the result adjective. Thus, for instance, in (25b) the drinking does not necessarily entail the resulting emptiness of the bottle. This means that the adjective is really a primary predicate, the verb purely encoding the manner in which the event takes place. As pointed out by Mateu (2012), strong resultative constructions are a hallmark of s-framed languages, and are not found in v-framed languages.

It can be concluded that some varieties of Romansh do behave as s-framed.

4 Surselvan seems to be more solidly s-framed than Vallader/Puter. This might be partly due to the fact that the former has been more intensely in contact with Germanic (Kramer 1981:132, Berthele 2006). Haiman and Benincà (1992:6) and Solèr (1999:95) make a similar remark regarding other aspects of the syntax of Surselvan, intensely germanized and thus set apart from that of other RR varieties.

4. SAME UNDERLYING SYNTAX, DIFFERENT MAPPINGS TO PF

With Acedo-Matellán (2016), I assume that events of change of location/state are sustained by a structure involving a scalar head Path and a head encoding a (final) state/location, Place:

(26) ([_{VoiceP} Ext.Arg. [Voice] [_{vP} Int.Arg. [v [Path [Place

Following ideas in Real-Puigdollers (2013) (see also Acedo-Matellán and Kwapiszewski 2021), I assume that v-framed and s-framed languages are different as regards the ability of the Path and Place heads to head spell-out domains in the mapping to PF. In s-framed languages Path can form a spell-out domain of its own, including Place and independent of *v* (27a). This allows the generation of resultative constructions involving a verb expressing purely manner and a non-verbal directional expression. By contrast, in v-framed languages Path must be part of the spell-out domain of *v*, while Place can form a spell-out domain of its own (27b). This is the pattern corresponding to resultative constructions with a directional/scalar verb and a non-directional expression encoding a final result/state. Finally, both languages allow all three heads to be included in the same spell-out domain, generating a change of state verb (27c):

- (27) a. s-framed: [v]_{S,O domain} – [Path – Place]_{S,O domain}
 b. v-framed: [v – Path]_{S,O domain} – [Place]_{S,O domain}
 c. s-framed/v-framed: [v – Path – Place]_{S,O domain}

Concentrating on the case of predicates of removal, how is the following contrast between Romansh and Italian to be analyzed from the theoretical point of view adopted here?

- (28) a. Dumenic lava *(oura) las maclas.
 Dumenic washes out the stains
 ‘Wash the stains away.’

(RR: Vallader Romansh)

- b. Gianni ha lavato (via) la macchia.
 Gianni has washed away the stain
 ‘Gianni has washed the stain away.’

(Italian; Mateu and Rigau 2010)

For Romansh it is evident that the analysis ought to be along the lines of one accounting for the same pattern in German or English, namely, as in (27a): the particle *oura* ‘out’ corresponds to PathP, which forms a

spell-out domain including Place and being independent of the spell-out domain headed by *v*. In particular, the particle *oura* ‘out’ is merged as a Ground, that is, in the position of Compl-Place. I take Path and Place to be phonologically null in this case. The verbal root *LAV* ‘wash’ is a Vocabulary Item inserted into *v* (see Acedo-Matellán and Real-Puigdollers 2014). Thus, it is associated purely with the eventuality, regardless of directionality (it identifies the manner Co-event, in Talmy’s 2000 terms):

- (29) [_{VoiceP} *Dumenic* [Voice [_{vP} [_{DP} *las maclas*] [_v [_{PathP} Path [_{PlaceP} Place *oura*]]]]]]]
 ⏟
LAV

The fact that the particle *oura* corresponds to the portion of the structure sustaining the interpretation of directionality (PathP), and not merely a result location explains why in the absence of the particle the verb cannot license the removal sense.

Italian (and NIR varieties), on the other hand, present the pattern in (27b):

- (30) [_{VoiceP} *Gianni* [Voice [_{vP} [_{DP} *la macchia*] [_v [_{PathP} Path [_{PlaceP} Place *via*]]]]]]]
 ⏟
LAV

In this case Path belongs to the same spell-out domain as *v* and the root *LAV* is inserted into a collapsed *v*+Path node. The particle *via* is merged as Compl-Place, as in Romansh, but it does not license the directionality component of the event, which is expressed by the verb, interpreted as ‘(re)move by washing’. The construction featuring no particle and yet licensing the removal sense would involve a null element merged as Compl-Place. I think that these varieties may license a null element precisely because the verb already involves directionality and the implicature that the figure disappears as the result of the motion event is a straightforward one to infer:

- (31) [_{VoiceP} *Gianni* [Voice [_{vP} [_{DP} *la macchia*] [_v [_{PathP} Path [_{PlaceP} Place \emptyset]]]]]]]
 ⏟
LAV

The difference between the varieties accepting the particle, like Italian, and those, like Catalan or Spanish, that do not use them is not syntactic, but has to do with their lexical repertory. In fact, for some removal

predicates the position of PlaceP can readily be occupied by a PP even in particle-less languages like Spanish:

- (32) Berta barrió las migas bajo la alfombra. [Spanish]
 Berta swept.3SG the crumbs under the carpet
 ‘Berta swept the crumbs under the carpet.’
 $[_{\text{VoiceP}} \text{Berta} [_{\text{Voice}} [_{\text{VP}} [_{\text{DP}} \text{las migas}] [v [_{\text{PathP}} \text{Path} [_{\text{PlaceP}} \text{Place} = \text{bajo} [_{\text{DP}} \text{la alfombra}]]]]]]]]]$
) ()
BARR

Finally, it is worth pointing out that both s-framed languages like English and v-framed languages like Italian allow *v*, Path, and Place to be part of the same spell-out domain, giving rise to a change of state verb (pattern in 27c). In this case, although a final result is entailed, it is certainly different from that involved in the removal interpretation:

- (33) a. Sue washed the clothes.
 b. Gianni ha lavato i vestiti. [Italian]
 $[_{\text{VoiceP}} \text{Sue! Gianni} [_{\text{Voice}} [_{\text{VP}} [_{\text{DP}} \text{the clothes/i vestiti}] [v [_{\text{PathP}} \text{Path} [_{\text{PlaceP}} \text{Place}]]]]]]]$
) ()
WASH/LAV

5. THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE CONTACT

The availability of verb-particle constructions in RR has been explained by many authors as the result of language contact with Germanic varieties (Bühler 1896, Heller 1976, Kramer 1981, Pfister 1998), although a subset of scholars point out that the phenomenon is of Romance heritage (Jaberg 1939, Gsell 1982, Andry 1993, 1999, Iacobini 2015) and that contact with Germanic may have merely made it more robust.⁵ Crucially, to my knowledge, all authors treat verb-particle combinations as a lexical feature, and none of them has pointed out, as I have here, the traits that bring these constructions closer to Germanic than to other varieties like NIR, specifically the non-optional status of the particle.⁶ The contrast

5 See Spiess (1986), who considers that Romance and Germanic varieties are just making a free use of their lexical resources in expressing spatial notions, and so that the concomitances are a matter of coincidence.

6 See also Kramer (1981) and Treffers-Daller (2012) for the use of particle verbs in Brussels French as a result of contact with the local variety of Dutch.

seen in this respect between NIR, also exhibiting particle verbs, and RR suggests that contact really must have played an important role in the development of s-framed particle verbs in the latter.

As pointed out by Liver (1999), although the Latin spoken in the province of Rhaetia (the current canton of Grisons) was in contact with Germanic since the 4th c. AD, it is not until the 8th c. that a German variety becomes a superstratum, with the germanization of the native Romance-speaking upper class. Moreover, it is not until the 15th c. that German establishes itself as the majority language in the capital, Chur (see also Kuen 1978, Schmid 1993, Haiman and Benincà 1992:7ff, Rash 2002:120ff). Hence, it seems that more than preserving the s-framed nature of Latin, contact with German actually induced a change from a v-framed system to an s-framed one.

How did the change take place? Let us concentrate on the predicates of manner of removal examined in previous sections. I hypothesize that at some stage verbs like *lavar* ‘wash’ could be used either alone or with a particle like *our(a)* ‘out’, which, as pointed out above, was already part of the lexical repertory of Romansh. The difference between the two possibilities consists, as has been shown, in the use or lack of use of the particle in the spell-out domain headed by Place, so as to reinforce (or not) the removal sense of the predicate. The extension of Romansh-German bilingualism induced the coexistence of two grammars, a v-framed one in which the particle was optional and an s-framed one in which it was obligatory. In this latter case the particle corresponds to PathP and is therefore crucial for the directionality/removal sense to be licensed. Given the optionality of the particle in Romance, in actual language use, and provided the pressure from German, which came to be the A language from the 15th c. on, the particle ended up being used systematically in directional expressions. At some point a generation of speakers of Romansh did not have any evidence for the optionality of the particle, and, consequently, applied the default option of mapping the verbal root to *v* and the particle to the Path-Place portion of the configuration. Thus, they reanalyzed Path as heading its own spell-out domain, with the particle still merged at Compl-Place.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The varieties of Romance spoken in the area encompassing eastern Switzerland (RR) and northern Italy (NIR) show a trait traditionally ascribed to s-framed languages, namely, the existence of particle verbs, including those expressing removal. However, an important syntactic difference distinguishes Swiss RR varieties from the other varieties in this group: in the former the particle is obligatory for the directional, and specifically removal, sense of the verb to be preserved. Other evidence has been brought to bear on the s-framed nature of these Romansh varieties.

The difference between true s-framed Romansh and v-framed NIR has to do with how the same underlying configuration is mapped to PF. In Romansh, the directional/scalar head *Path*, together with *Place*, forms a spell-out domain that is different from that headed by *v*. The particle corresponds to the *Path-Place* stretch and is thus crucial for the expression of directionality, while the verb encodes a non-directional eventuality. In NIR, *Path* does not head a spell-out domain of its own, and is included in that of *v*. The verb, thus, encodes directionality by itself and the particle, corresponding to *PlaceP*, expresses a final location/state.

The s-framed nature of Romansh varieties and their extremely close and centuries-long contact with Germanic varieties in Switzerland cannot be a coincidence. Differently from previous approaches, the similarity between Romansh and Germanic particle verbs has been shown to be syntactic, in that the particle is obligatory, unlike in NIR. Assuming that Proto-Romance was uniformly v-framed, I have hypothesized that at a certain point in the history of Romansh a generation of speakers did not have any evidence for the optional status of the particle and reanalyzed it as corresponding to the spell-out domain headed by *Path*.

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