

Satellite-framed patterns in Belgo-Romance dialects: a typological and geolinguistic study

This talk focuses on Walloon typological patterns expressing the SORTIR (TO GO OUT) displacement from an onomasiological perspective. Specifically, I determine the geolinguistic extension of [verb+satellite] constructions in Romance Belgium and the way they encode Path, one of the components of a motion event (Sarda 2019, Talmy 2000). In addition, I focus on the fine semantic determination of these morpholexical types and their contextual use from a contrastive areological analysis.

The widely commented Talmian typology (Talmy 2000) contrasts *verb-framed* (VF) and *satellite-framed* (SF) languages, the former encoding Path in a verbal root (e.g. fr. *je sors de la voiture*), the latter in a satellite (en. *I get out of the car*). Romance languages are commonly associated with the first type, but many studies have recently shown that the expression of motion in a particular language cannot be reduced to one type (VF or SF) (regarding Modern French in synchrony, see Kopecka 2006: 83-91). Diachronic studies have revealed a decline of SF patterns in the transition from Old French to Modern French (Fagard 2019, Kopecka 2013, Marchello-Nizia *et al.* 2020), but such constructions are still observed in Gallo- and Belgo-Romance dialects (Buridant 2019: 813, Remacle 1956: 184 ff.), as highlighted through the proposed case study.

To conduct this analysis, I first edit and map the data related to the notion of SORTIR according to the methodological principles at work in the *Atlas linguistique de la Wallonie* (Baiwir 2014). The data consist in the linguistic forms collected for five questions¹ (Q) of the French-Walloon translational questionnaire which is at the root of the dialectal survey undertaken by J. Haust in more than 300 localities of Wallonia (ALW1: 10-15). Second, I identify three types of dialectal patterns collected in Romance Belgium. The answers presented in Table 1 were obtained in three localities for Q785 “*Il faut qu’il soit bien malade pour ne pas sortir* [He must be very sick not to go out]” and illustrate these three patterns. Regarding the SF [v+satellite] type, the most common constructions combine a motion verb (‘mucier’, ‘aller’, ‘venir’, ‘brochier’) and the particle ‘fors’ (FEW3, 700b *fōras*). These can be compared to Old French constructions *issir fors*, *aller fors*, *jeter fors*, etc. (Buridant 2019, Fagard 2019). I also identify two other groups functioning as satellites: ‘à l’huis’ and ‘à l’air’ which combine with ‘aller’, ‘mucier’ and ‘venir’. Third, an areological and contrastive analysis reveals that SF [v+satellite] constructions are observed only in the extended Liège area and present variable extension depending on the survey question (for instance, see Figure 1 for the contrastive observation of Q785 et Q1962). These constructions compete with the SF [satellite+v] type ‘(s’)en aller’.

Pattern	Data collected for Q785 (survey locality)	Morpholexical type
VF	<i>I fôt ki fuche bin malade po n’ nin sôrti</i> (Namur)	‘sortir’
SF [satellite+verb]	<i>É fât k’ seüye bin malâde po n’ nin ‘nn’alé</i> (Huy)	‘en aller’
SF [verb+satellite]	<i>I fât ki seüye bé malâde po n’ né moussi foû</i> (Verviers)	‘mucier fors’

Table 1 : examples of the three patterns

The superposition of the data shows that the saliency of the *source location* implied by the displacement SORTIR (Sarda 2019) in the linguistic context partly explains the variable extension of the [v+satellite] pattern. It reaches its maximum extension when the source is syntactically present (e.g. Q1162 “*Il sort d’ici* [He gets out of here]”) or suggested in the survey question (e.g. Q785), i.e. when the motion event referred to is specifically ‘to get out of...’.

¹ Q595 “J’ai voulu sortir [I wanted to go out]” (346 tokens); Q611 “Je sortirai vers cinq heures [I’ll be out around five o’clock]” (332 tokens); Q785 “Il faut qu’il soit bien malade pour ne pas sortir [He must be very sick not to go out]” (340 tokens); Q1162 “Il sort d’ici. Il part justement [He gets out of here. He’s just leaving]” (316 tokens); Q1962 “Sans cela, je ne sortirai pas [Without it, I won’t go out]” (343 tokens).

From the previous point, we can deduce specific semantic properties of these constructions which particularly highlight the extraction of the moving entity (*Figure* in Talmy 2000) out of the source location. In the Liège area, the satellite specifies the meaning of a relatively neutral motion verb such as 'aller' 'to go' or even completely reverses the semantics of a verb like 'mucier' 'to go into' (FEW6/3, 193b **mukyare*). The study thus shows the contribution of a fine-grained analysis of the linguistic contexts formed by the survey questions. Lastly, from a typological point of view, I claim that Belgo-Romance dialects employ several strategies to encode Path. In particular, the speakers of the Liège area can select among different constructions depending on the specific displacement they want to express and the part of the movement they want to highlight.

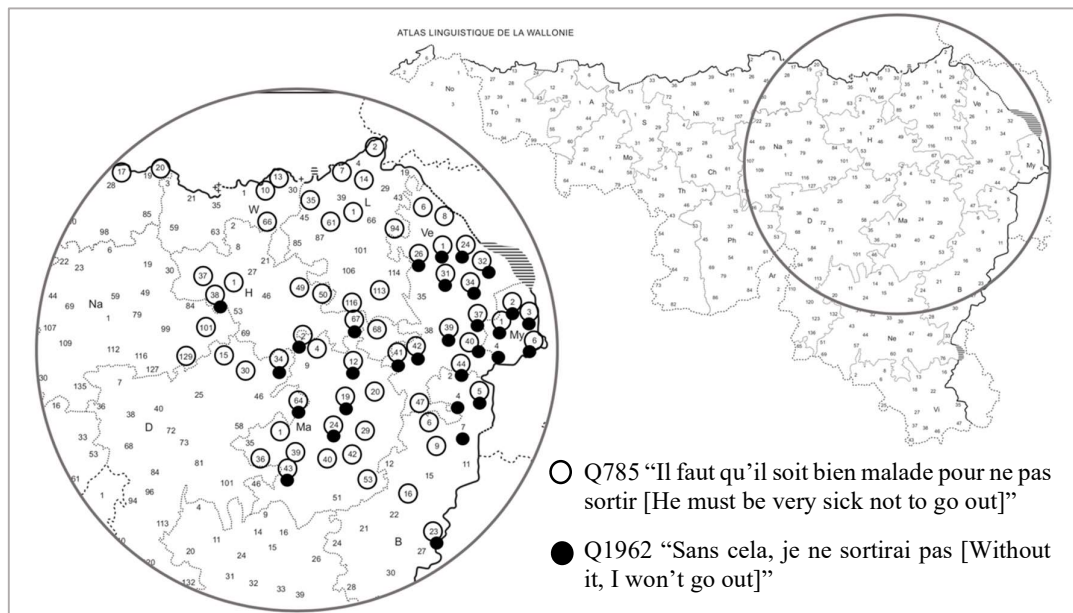


Figure 1 : SF [v+satellite] constructions in the Liège area (Q785 & 1962)

References

- ALW = Remacle, L. et al. (1953-). *Atlas linguistique de la Wallonie. Tableau géographique des parlers de la Belgique romane*. 10 vol. Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne/Université de Liège.
- Baiwir, E. (2014). Les niveaux d'analyse dans la microstructure de l'*Atlas linguistique de la Wallonie*. *Estudis Romànics* 36, pp. 395-403.
- Buridant, C. (2019). *Grammaire du français médiéval (XI^e-XIV^e siècles)*. Strasbourg: Société de Linguistique Romane/ELiPhi.
- Fagard, B. (2019). From *il s'envole hors* to *il sort du nid*. A typological change in French motion expressions. In M. Aurnague & D. Stosic (eds.), *The semantics of dynamic space in French* (pp. 109-138). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- FEW = Wartburg, W. von et al. (1946-2003). *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 25 vol. Basel: Zbinden, etc.
- Kopecka, A. (2006). The semantic structure of motion verbs in French: Typological perspectives. In M. Hickmann & S. Robert (eds.), *Space in languages: linguistic system and cognitive categories* (pp. 83-101). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Kopecka, A. (2013). Describing motion events in Old and Modern French. Discourse effects of a typological change. In J. Goschler & A. Stefanowitsch, *Variation and change in the encoding of motion events* (pp. 163-183). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Marchello-Nizia, C., Combettes, B., Prévost, S. & Scheer, T. (eds.) (2020). *Grande grammaire historique du français*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.
- Remacle, L. (1956). *Syntaxe du parler wallon de La Gleize. Tome 2. Verbes – Adverbes – Prépositions*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Sarda, L. (2019). French motion verbs: Insights into the status of locative PPs. In M. Aurnague & D. Stosic (eds.), *The semantics of dynamic space in French* (pp. 67-108). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Talmy, L. (2000). *Toward a cognitive semantics* (vol. 2). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.