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Associated motion in Western Sicilian: a preliminary account

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Sicilian motion constructions



Variety of Monreale (province of Palermo, fieldwork from N. De Pasquale, 2020)

C1: INFINITIVAL CONSTRUCTION

(1) *Idda mischina u* ^{V1} **iu** *a* ^{V2} **bbiriri**
she poor.F.SG him go.PST.3SG to see.INF
'She, poor thing, went and saw him'

C2: DOUBLY INFLECTED CONSTRUCTION

(2) *lu a tia ti* ^{V1} **vegnu** *a* ^{V2} **bbunciu** *comu na becca*
I to you to_you come.1SG to blow_up.1SG like a goat.F.SG
'I am coming to slap you (lit. to blow you up) like a goat'

C3: GRAMMATICALIZED VA-

(3) ^{V1} **Va-ttrova** *tutti cosi puliti*
^{V2} **GO-find.3sg** all.F.PL thing(F).PL clean.F.PL
'She goes there and finds everything clean'

Associated motion (AM)

New comparative concept, new field of research in typology

Broad definition (Guillaume 2016, Guillaume & Koch 2021):

- **verbal grammatical category** separate from tense, aspect, mood and direction
- whose function is to **associate, in different ways, different kinds of translational motion to a verb event**

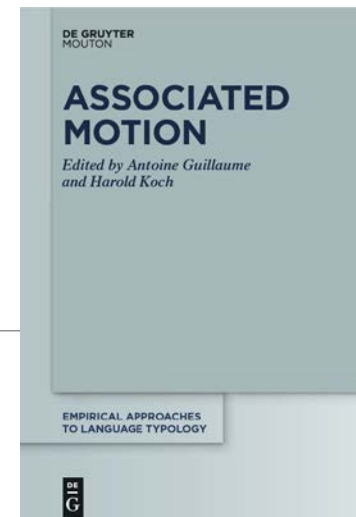
Kaytetye (Arandic, Australia, Koch 1984)

Atne nte athe-yene-ne.
shit you:ERG excrete-go.and-IMP
'You go and shit.' (Koch 1984:27)

Atye kwathe-yenye-wethe
I:ERG drink-come.and-PURP
'I'll come and drink.' (Koch 1984:27)

Cavineña (Takanan, Bolivia, Guillaume 2000, 2006...)

<i>ba-</i>	'see O'
<i>ba-ti-</i>	' <u>go and see</u> O'
<i>ba-na-</i>	' <u>come and see</u> O'
<i>ba-aje-</i>	'see O <u>while going</u> '
<i>ba-be-</i>	'see O <u>while coming</u> '
<i>ba-kena-</i>	'see O <u>and go</u> '
<i>ba-dadi-</i>	'see O <u>while O is moving away</u> '
<i>ba-tsa-</i>	'see O <u>while O is approaching</u> '
etc.	



Associated motion (AM)

Geographical distribution of AM (Ross 2021– and see chapters Guillaume & Koch 2021):

- Survey of morphological AM in a balanced sample of 325 languages worldwide
- Morphological AM in **one-fourth (26%) of the surveyed languages**
- Absent from Europe

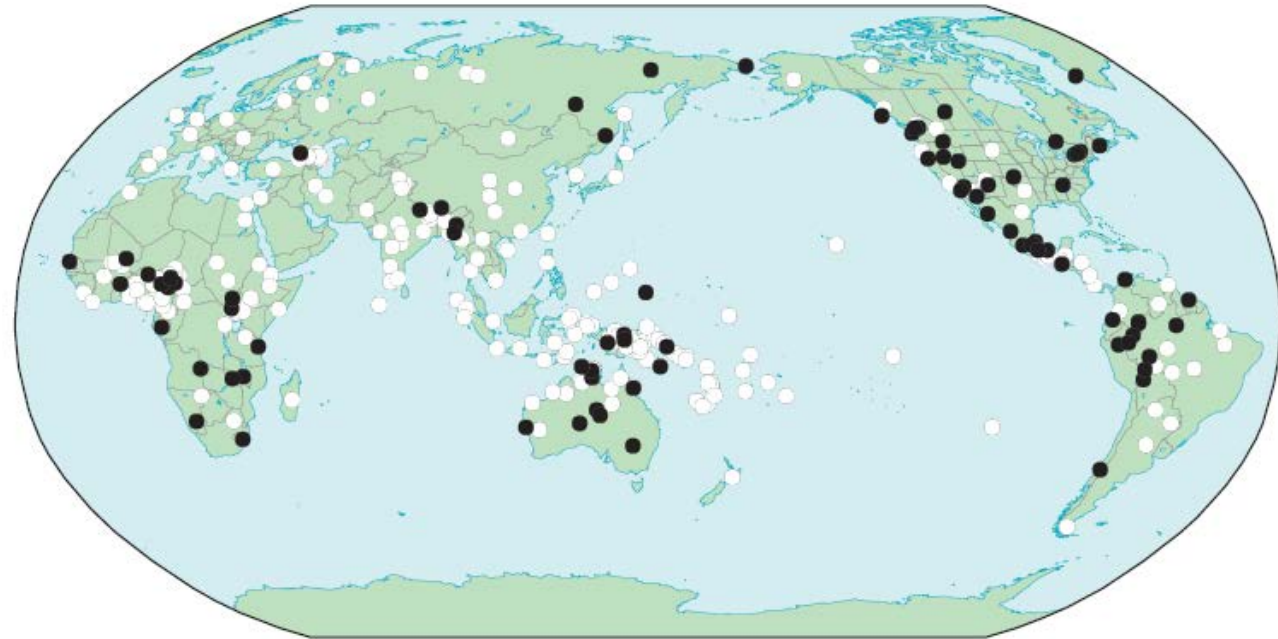
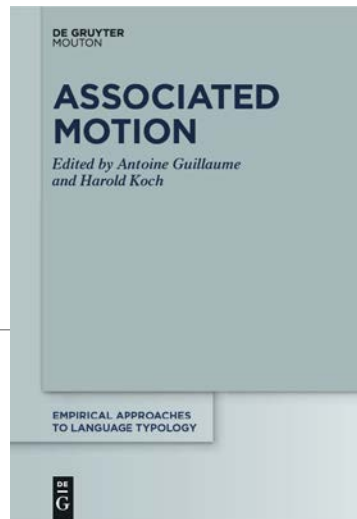


Figure 1: 83 (26%) of 325 languages with AM (black).

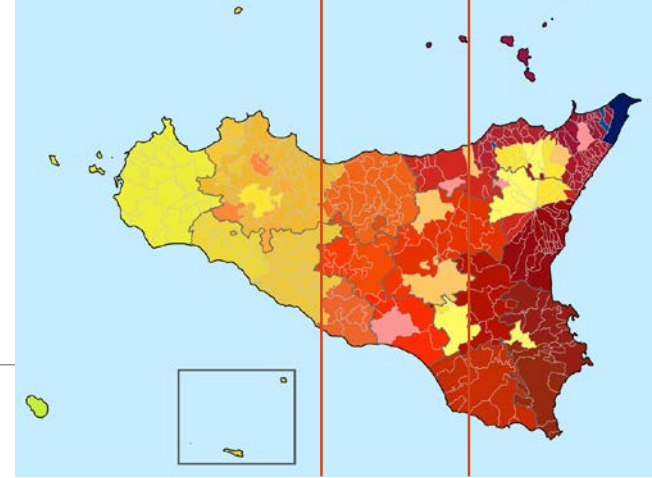


Sicilian



- About **5 million speakers** (*Ethnologue* 2002: 4700000)
- Debate about the status of **language or dialect** → different opinions
- After the unification of Italy (1861), local varieties (especially southern, among which Sicilian) were partially replaced by Italian → higher **prestige**
- Situation of **diglossia**: high vs. low varieties, and hybrid varieties « italiani regionali »
- **Social stigma** («L'indialetto ha la faccia scura. Giudizi e pregiudizi linguistici dei bambini italiani» 'The dialect has a dark face. Linguistic judgments and prejudices of Italian children', Ruffino 2006)

Sicilian



Current classification → Giorgio Piccitto (1959)

Western Sicilian	Eastern Sicilian	
Palermitano (Monrealese) Trapanese Central-western Agrigentino	Central	Eastern
	Varieties of the Madonie Nisseno-ennese Eastern Agrigentino	Varieties of the South East Varieties of the North East Catanese-siracusano Messinese



Nevertheless strong **diatopic variation**

Linguistic continuum → Sicilian= abstraction

Variety of Monreale

- Western Sicilian
- 39000 inhabitants
- About 10 km away from Palermo
- Nevertheless strong phonetic and lexical differences



'Handsome'
Monreale: *beddu* 
Palermo: *bieddu* 

Data

- ❖ fieldwork (October – December 2020)
- ❖ 3,5 hours
- ❖ spontaneous speech
- ❖ daily, family conversation
- ❖ transcribed with ELAN
- ❖ 91 utterances containing the constructions under analysis (out of 800 utterances in total)

Speakers



Speaker	Sex	Age
Lina	Female	85
Ina	Female	69
Graziana	Female	62
Andrea	Male	57
Cinzia	Female	56
Noemi	Female	33



Three motion constructions

C1: INFINITIVAL CONSTRUCTION										
(1)	<i>Idda</i>	<i>mischina</i>	<i>u</i>	iu	<i>a</i>	bbiriri				
	she	poor.F.SG	him	go.PST.3SG	to	see.INF				
	'She, poor thing, went and saw him'									
C2: DOUBLY INFLECTED CONSTRUCTION										
(2)	<i>lu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>tia</i>	<i>ti</i>	vegnu	<i>a</i>	bbunciu	<i>comu</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>becca</i>
	I	to	you	to_you	come.1SG	to	blow_up.1SG	like	a	goat.F.SG
	'I am coming to slap you (lit. to blow you up) like a goat'									
C3: GRAMMATICALIZED VA-										
(3)	Va-ttrova	<i>tutti</i>	<i>cosi</i>	<i>puliti</i>						
	go-find.3sg	all.F.PL	thing(F).PL	clean.F.PL						
	'She goes there and finds everything clean'									

COMMON FEATURES:

- V1= deictic motion element
- V2= any verb (primarily non-motion verbs)
- Meaning: spatial displacement of the subject argument temporally preceding the non-motion event

Parameters

C1: INFINITIVAL CONSTRUCTION										
(1)	<i>Idda</i>	<i>mischina</i>	<i>u</i>	iu	<i>a</i>	bbiriri				
	she	poor.F.SG	him	go.PST.3SG	to	see.INF				
	'She, poor thing, went and saw him'									
C2: DOUBLY INFLECTED CONSTRUCTION										
(2)	<i>lu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>tia</i>	<i>ti</i>	vegnu	<i>a</i>	bbunciu	<i>comu</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>becca</i>
	I	to	you	to_you	come.1SG	to	blow_up.1SG	like	a	goat.F.SG
	'I am coming to slap you (lit. to blow you up) like a goat'									
C3: GRAMMATICALIZED VA-										
(3)	Va-ttrova	<i>tutti</i>	<i>cosi</i>	<i>puliti</i>						
	go-find.3sg	all.F.PL	thing(F).PL	clean.F.PL						
	'She goes there and finds everything clean'									

DIFFERENT FEATURES:

- Mono-/biclausality
- Productivity and morphological constraints (full vs. defective paradigm)
- Presence/absence of the *a* linking element (and gemination of V2 initial consonant)

Infinitival construction

- Well attested in Romance
- 4 V1 attested in the literature, but only two included in the corpus:
 - ❖ spontaneous motion verbs *iri* 'go', *veniri* 'come', *passari* 'pass'
 - ❖ caused motion verb *mannari* 'send'
- Bi-clausal → several tests
 - ❖ insertion of material between the two verbs (clitic or adjunct)
 - ❖ negation
 - ❖ cliticisation or extraction of the object of V2
- Fully productive → non-defective paradigm
- Preposition *a*

Infinitival construction

Biclausal: insertion of syntactic material

4) Iddi si nni **vinianu** nna stati a stari dda
they REFL from_there **come**.IMPF3PL in_the summer(F).SG to stay.INF there

‘In summer they used to come and stay there’

5) Mentre idda va dda rintra a ppigghiari a pinnula
while she go.3SG there inside to take.INF to pill(F).SG

‘While she goes in the other room to take her pill’

Infinitival construction

Productive: non defective paradigm

6) Cinzia, ma unni i **isti** a **ccogghiri?**
Cinzia but where them **go.PST.2SG** **to** **gather.INF**
'Cinzia, where did you go and gather them?'

7) Ogni duminica ci **emu** a **mmanciarri**
every Sunday(f)sg there **go.1PL** **to** **eat.INF**
'Every Sunday we go eat there' (adapted by De Pasquale)

8) A **viniti** a **ppigghiari** vuautri
her **come.2PL** **to** **pick.INF** you
'You come and pick her up' (adapted by De Pasquale)

Doubly inflected construction

- Two inflected verbs connected by the linking element *a*
- 4 V1 attested in the literature, but only two included in the corpus and elicited:
 - ❖ spontaneous motion verbs *iri* 'go', *veniri* 'come', *passari* 'pass'
 - ❖ caused motion verb *mannari* 'send'
- Sicilian and other southern Italian dialects (Southern Apulian, Southern Calabrian, cf. Rohlfs 1969)
- Serialization (Cruschina 2013; Accattoli & Todaro 2017) or pseudocoordination (Di Caro 2015; Ross 2016)
- Monoclausal
- Non-fully productive → defective paradigm (only certain persons/numbers and only present indicative or imperative)

Doubly inflected construction

9) lu a ttia ti **vegnu** a **bbunciu** comu na becca
I to you to_you **come.1SG** to **blow_up.1SG** like a goat
'I am coming to blow you up like a bagpipe'

10) Poi ci **veni** a **mmancia** all' una
then there **come.3SG** to **eat.3SG** at one
'Then he comes and eats there at one o' clock'

Imperative construction

- Absence of the α linking element
- Absence of phonosyntactic gemination
- A different path of grammaticalisation (cf. Mocciaro 2019, directive *iri*)

11) **Va** **pigghia**-mi sti cosi nn' a zia Elena
 go.IMP.2SG **take**.IMP.2SG-me these thing(F).PL at DET.F.SG aunt(F).SG Elena
 'Go take me those things at aunt Elena's'

12)	Eh, va	talia -lu
	eh go .IMP.2SG	watch .IMP.2SG-him
	'Go watch him'	

Doubly inflected construction

Monoclausal: clitic climbing

- 13) **A** **veni** **a** **ppigghia** **e** **a** **veni** **a** **llassa** **so** **patri**
Her **come.3sg** **to** **take.3sg** and her **come.3sg** **to** **leave.3sg** her father(M)SG

'Her father comes and takes her and then he comes and leaves her'

- 14) ***Veni** **a** **a** **ppigghia** **e** **veni** **a** **a** **llassa** **so** **patri**
come.3sg **to** her **take.3sg** and **come.3sg** **to** her **leave.3sg** her father

'Her father comes and takes her and then he comes and leaves her' (created by De Pasquale)

Doubly inflected construction

Mannari

- 15) Ti **mannu** **a** **ddicu** na cosa
to_you **send.1SG** **to** **say.1SG** one thing
'I send someone to tell you something'
- 16) M' i **manni** **a** **ppigghi** sti cosi?
to_me them **send.2SG** **to** **take.2SG** these thing(F).PL
'Can you send someone take these things for me?'

Doubly inflected construction

Non-fully productive: defective paradigm (*N pattern*, Maiden 2004):

- Three persons singular + third person plural of the present indicative
- Two persons singular and plural of the present imperative
- However the paradigm is not defective in all Sicilian varieties (e.g. Modica)

17) *Poi ci **vinemu** a **mmanciamu** all' una
then there **come.1PL** to **eat.1PL** at one
'Then we come and eat there at one o' clock' (created by De Pasquale)

18) *Poi ci **viniti** a **mmanciati** all' una
then there **come.2PL** to **eat.2PL** at one
'Then you come and eat there at one o' clock' (created by De Pasquale)

Doubly inflected construction

Non-fully productive: defective paradigm (*N pattern*, Maiden 2004):

- Three persons singular + third person plural of the present indicative
- Two persons singular and plural of the present imperative
- However the paradigm is not defective in all Sicilian varieties (e.g. Modica)

19) *Poi ci **vinia** a **mmanciava** all' una
then there **come**.IMPF.3SG **to** **eat**.IMPF.3SG at one
'Then he used to come and eat there at one o' clock' (created by De Pasquale)

Doubly inflected construction

Status of linking element a :

- Latin *ac* 'and';
- Latin *ad* 'to', formal attraction of the infinitival construction:
- a = empty or dummy marker (cf. Aikhenvald 2011: 21 in Accattoli & Todaro 2017)
- absent in the imperative

Grammaticatized *va-*

- V1: invariable prefix GO (phonetic erosion, accentual weakening, syntactic rigidity, morphological decategorization)
- Often interpreted as a reduced variant of C2
- Monoclausal
- Non-fully productive → defective paradigm (identical to C2: only certain persons/numbers and limited to present indicative)
- Gemination of the initial consonant of V2 → possible trace of the presence of the *a* element

Grammaticalized *va-*

Non-fully productive: defective paradigm (identical to C2)

20) U pani l' hai o t' u **va-ccattu?**
DET.M.SG bread(M).SG it have.2SG or to_you it **GO-buy.1SG**
'Do you have the bread or else I'll go buy it for you?'

21) E tu a ruminica un ci **va-mmanci**
and you DET.F.SG Sunday(F).SG not there **GO-eat.2SG**
'And don't you go and eat there on Sundays?'

22) Quinni un ti rici nenti e ti **va-pporta** tutti sti cosi
so not to say.2SG nothing and to_you **GO-take.3SG** all these thing(F).PL
'So she doesn't tell you anything and she goes and brings you all the stuff'

Grammaticatized *va-*

Non-fully productive: defective paradigm

23) E a **va-llassinu** iddi
and her **GO-leave.3PL** them
'And do they go leave her?'

24) Si nni **va-stannu** dda
REFL from_there **GO-stay.3PL** there
'They move there'

Grammaticatized *va-*

Non-fully productive: defective paradigm

C3

25) *U pani l' hai o t' u **va-ccattamu?**
DET.M.SG bread(M).SG it have.2SG or to_you it **GO-buy.1PL**

'Do you have the bread or else we'll go buy it for you?' (created by De Pasquale)

C1

26) U pani l' hai o t' u **emu a accattari**
DET.M.SG bread(M).SG it have.2SG or to_you it **go.1PL to buy.INF**

'Do you have the bread or else we'll go buy it for you?'

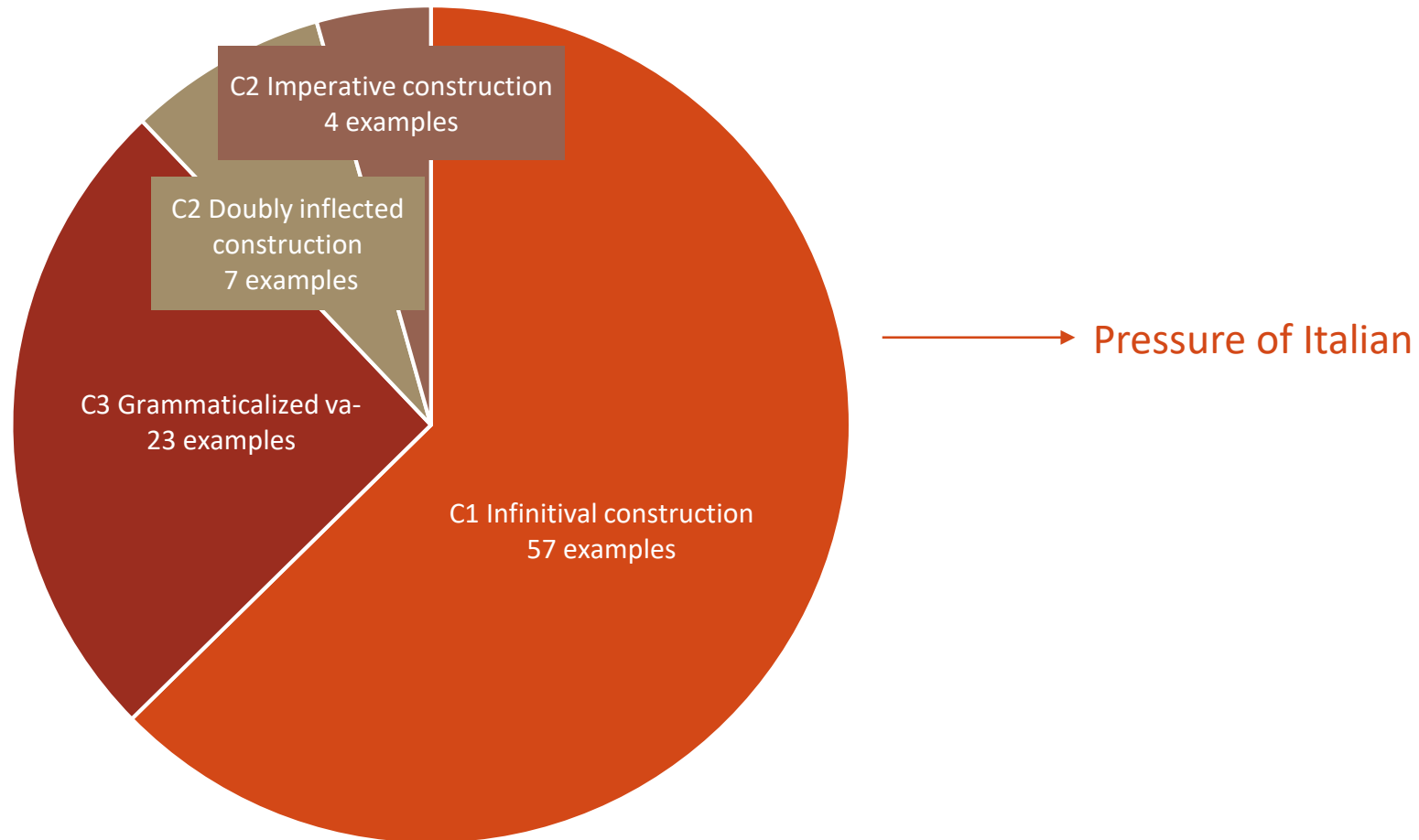
Grammaticatized *va-*

Invariable form, defective paradigm

Present indicative only

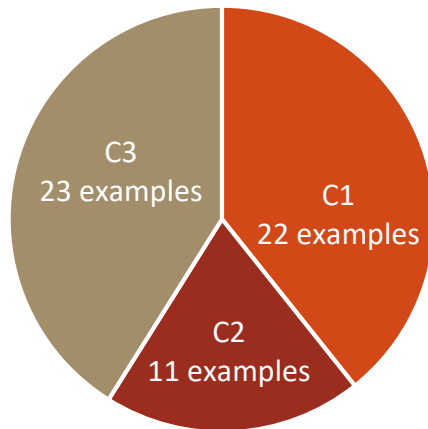
1SG	<i>va-ffazzu</i>	I go and do
2SG	<i>va-ffai</i>	you go and do
3SG	<i>va-ffa</i>	he/she goes and does
1PL	*	*
2PL	*	*
3PL	<i>va-ffannu</i>	they go and do

Frequency and usage (C1 vs. C2 vs. C3)

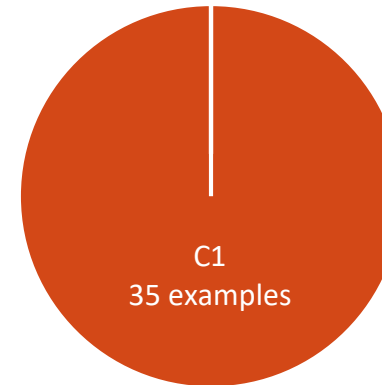


Frequency and usage (present vs. past)

Present

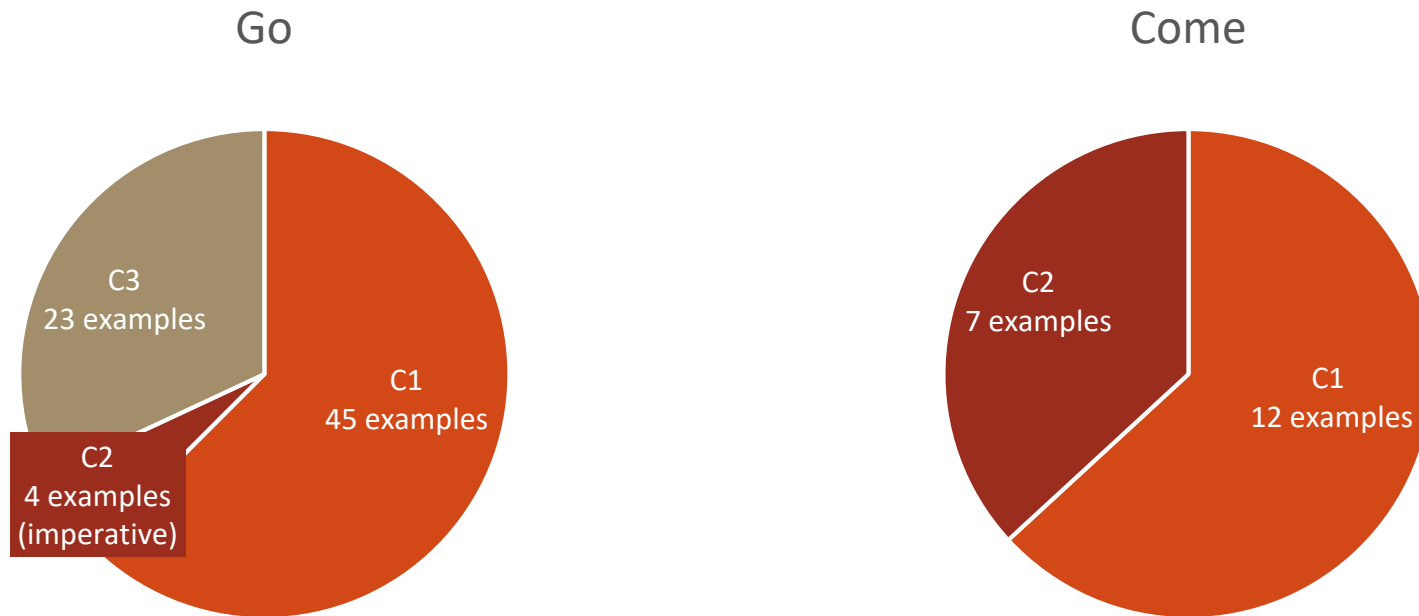


Past



Towards a possible complementary distribution
(C1 → past; C2 and C3 → present)

Frequency and usage (go vs. come)



Towards a possible complementary distribution
(Go → C1 and C3; come → C2)

Summary of the features

	C1 infinitival construction	C2 doubly-inflected construction		C3 grammaticalized <i>va-</i>
		indicative present	imperative	
Monoclausality	-	+	+	+
Productivity	+	-	-	-
“Presence” of <i>a</i> and gemination	+	+	-	+

Conclusions (I):

Contribution to Sicilian linguistics:

- New data on motion constructions (variety of Monreale)
- Corpus of natural spontaneous data (usage/text-based approach)
- Hypotheses about discourse use (complementary distribution patterns)

Conclusions (II):

Contribution to Linguistic Typology:

- Link with the comparative concept of AM
- Claim that the GO prefix in C3 represents a well-grammaticalized marker of associated motion
- First explicit identification of grammatical AM in Sicilian, and in doing so, in a language from Europe

Conclusions (III):

Venues for further research:

- Exploration of the semantics and discourse use of the motion constructions, in particular the one with the GO prefix in a typological AM perspective (prior itive...)
- Exploration of similarities and differences with other Sicilian varieties (of note: some Eastern Sicilian dialects have fully productive / non-defective C2 and C3)
- Integration of Sicilian data for the typology of AM (synchronic and diachronic)

Thank you very much for your attention!

Online discussion during the conference:
Wednesday 1st September at 11.20 am



Monreale, *Castelluccio*

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