Directed Manner of Motion in North Sámi

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1 Outline

(1) On the face of it, North(ern) Sámi (Sami, Saami) is “satellite-framed” (in the sense of Talmy 1985)

(2) Son and Svenonius (2008) on distribution of DMM: lexicalization of semantic functors

(3) But there are some striking differences compared to English
   a. Illative for COS locations
   b. Locative for sources

(4) Analysis: NS is using different functors
   a. Illative is a low-attached locative, hence modifies a resultant subevent
   b. Locative attaches higher, but not as high as in English, hence can locate an inceptive subevent

(5) So there are at least two ways of being “satellite-framed”

2 North Sámi Directed Manner of Motion

2.1 Illative Case and Directional Postpositions

(6) Illative case
   a. Joavnu viegai skuvlii.
      \textit{John ran school.ILL}
      ‘John ran to the school’
   b. Mánna gahčai jōhkii.
      \textit{child fell river.ILL}
      ‘The child fell into the river’

(7) Six cases, including a predicative Essive with no plural form and counting a nearly fully syncretized Genitive/Accusative as one
Directional forms of postpositions

a. Joavnnu viegai dievá ala
   John ran hill.ACG onto
   ‘John ran onto the hill’

b. Biila vujii viesu duohkái.
   car drove house.ACG behind.TO
   ‘The car drove [to] behind the house’

Postpositions show two or three forms (exx. from Svonni 2009:88–89)

at to along/via

duohken duohkái duoge ‘behind, up to’

vuolde vuollái vuole ‘under’

bálddas báldii bádda ‘alongside’

bealde beallái beale ‘beside’

guoras gurrii guora ‘by, near’

gasskas gaskii gaskka ‘between’

fárus fárrui fáru ‘with’

alde ala ‘on’

siste sisa ‘in’

majis maunjái ‘behind’

ovddas ovdii ‘in front of’

luhtte lusa ‘at the house of, by’

sajis sadjái ‘instead of’

A small taste of the rich demonstrative system, which shows the same six cases

Distal (sg) Proximal (sg)

near medium distant speaker hearer

Nom dat duot dot dát diet

Acg dan duon don dán dien

Ill dasa duosa dosa dása diesa

Loc das duos dos dási dies

Com dainna duonna donna dánna dienna

Ess danin duonin donin dánin dienin

Perspicuous absence of Source forms: Locative (‘at’ in the postpositional table) is used

2.2 Elastic verbs

Verbs of bodily motion

a. Márjá dánsii latnjií.
   Mary danced room.ILL
'Mary danced into the room.'
b. Juvva skeavkñ bi lanjii.
   *John pitter-pattered room.ILL*
   'John pitter-pattered into the room.' (walk with small or light steps)
c. Son leaba-st-i buoheccivisi.
   s/he sprawl-DIM-PAST sick.house.ILL
   '(S)he turned up unwelcomely at the hospital'

(13) Verbs of physical appearance
a. Dat skolppu-i lávddi ala.
   *s/he go.with.clothes.in.disarray-PAST stage onto*
   '(S)he went onto the stage with his/her clothing in disarray'
b. Son lurffu-h-ii skuvlii.
   *s/he be.with.unkempt.hair-CAUS-PAST school.ILL*
   '(S)he went to school with unkempt hair'
c. Son ramssi-h-ii skuvlii.
   *s/he be.with.ragged.clothes-CAUS-PAST school.ILL*
   '(S)he went to school with ragged clothes'

3 Analysis of Verb-framed and Satellite-framed Patterns in Terms of Lexicalization

3.1 Different Inventories of Functional and Light Elements


(15) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proc</th>
<th>Dir</th>
<th>Path</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>DP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>-ey</td>
<td>cip</td>
<td>cf. (17a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>'house'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Malayalam</td>
<td>natann-</td>
<td>-ekk</td>
<td>-il</td>
<td>office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'walk'</td>
<td>'to'</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>'office'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>dance</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>the curtain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(16) 

```
proc
  procP
  proc
    dance
      Dir
        PathP
          over
            Path
              PlaceP
                to
                  Place
                    KP
                      behind
                        the curtain
        PathP
          PlaceP
            KP
              office
                -il
                  -ekkØ
```
a. Mary-ka cip-ey (ttwi-e) tul-e-ka-(a)ss-ta.  
   Mary-NOM house-LOC run-LINKER in-LINKER-go-PAST-DC  
   ‘Mary ran into the house’ (Lit. ‘Mary went into the house running’) Korean

b. Mary office-il-ekko {națann-u/oot-i}.  
   Mary office-LOC-DIR walk-PAST/run-PAST  
   ‘Mary walked/ran to the office’

c. kuṭṭi paalatt-inte aṭiy-il-ekko nrittam vaccu-konṭa *(poy-i).  
   child bridge-GEN under-LOC-DIR dance keep-INSTR go-PAST  
   ‘The child went under the bridge dancing’ Malayalam

d. John danced into the kitchen.

(18) Syntax-Semantics
a. Place: Function from Individuals to Regions (contiguous sets of points in space)

b. Path: Function from Regions to Paths (contiguous sequences of regions)

c. Directional: Function from Paths to Events which are ‘measured’ by the path (scalar)

d. Process: Eventuality description, can be combined with a Directional or Resultative by the ‘leads to’ relation (Ramchand 2008b), or may have a different kind of complement

(19) Semantics for a path expression
a. $[	ext{Path}_{Goal}] = \lambda P \lambda p \exists l [\text{culminate}(p,l) \land P(l)]$

b. $[[\text{Path into the house}]] = \lambda p \exists l.\text{culminate}(p,l) \land \text{in}(l,\text{the-house})$

(20) Semantics for directed motion use of path descriptions
a. $[	ext{Dir}] = \lambda P \lambda e \exists p [\text{trace}(e,p) \land P(p)]$

b. $[[\text{Dir into the house}]] = \lambda e \exists p.\text{trace}(e,p) \land \text{culminate}(p,l) \land \text{in}(l,\text{the-house})$

(21) Directional semantics
a. $[[\text{PROC}]] = \lambda e.\text{proc}(e)$
   $[[\text{PROC run }]] = \lambda e.\text{proc.} \text{characterized.by.} \text{running}(e) = \text{‘run} (e)’$

b. $[[\text{run into the house}]] = \lambda e \exists e'.p.\text{run}(e) \land \text{leads-to}(e,e') \land \text{trace}(e',p) \land \text{culminate}(p,l) \land \text{in}(l,\text{the-house})$

(22) Lexical specifications: walk ⟨init,proc,dir⟩; dance ⟨init,proc⟩; roll ⟨proc⟩

3.2 Resultatives

(23) North Sámi resultatives
a. ... go bárdni boahtá oadnujuide, de galgá nieida boahtit ovddal  
   when boy comes courting.PL.ILL so should girl come forward  
   ‘... when a boy comes courting, a girl should come forward...’
   ja luoitit irggi hearggi louvos,  
   and release boyfriend.ACG driving.reindeer.ACG loose  
   ‘...and set the suitor’s driving reindeer loose, ...’
   ja de lea meerka ahle áigu váldit.  
   and that is sign that wants take  
   ‘...and that is a sign that she would have him’
   (Johan Turi, Muitalus sámiid birra, 1910)
b. Son váccii ráiggil gápmagiid.
    s/he walked hole.ABL shoes.ACG
    ‘(S)he walked his/her shoes holey’
c. Áhčči dagai fatnasá beare oanehažza-n.
    father made boat.ACC too.much short-ESS
    ‘Father made the boat too short’ (from a greater length)

(24) Son and Svenonius (2008): Resultatives involve lexicalization of a span PROC-
    res-Pred (see also Ramchand and Svenonius 2002), no entailments that a lan-
    guage with DMM should have resultatives or vice-versa

    \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
    \text{PROC} & \text{res} & \text{Pred} \\
    \text{Spanish} & \text{hacer} & \text{peligroso} & \text{cf. (25)} \\
    & \text{‘make’} & \text{‘dangerous’} \\
    \text{Japanese} & \text{nobasu} & \text{usu} & \text{cf. (26)} \\
    & \text{‘spread’} & \text{‘thin’} \\
    \text{English} & \text{wipe} & \varnothing & \text{clean} & \text{cf. (27)} \\
    \end{array} \]

(25) a. La lluvia hizo peligroso el camino.
    \textit{the rain} \quad \textit{made dangerous the road}
    ‘The rain made the road dangerous’
b. Juan volvió loca a María.
    \textit{Juan turned crazy k Maria}
    ‘Juan drove Maria crazy’


a. Taro-ga pan kiji-o usu-ku nobashita.
    \textit{Taro-NOM bread dough-ACC thin-KU spread.PAST}
    ‘Taro spread the dough thin’
    \textit{Taro-NOM metal-ACC thin-KU pound.PAST}
    ‘Taro pounded the metal thin’

(27) John pounded the metal flat.

4 How North Sámi is Not Like English

4.1 Basic Uses of the Illative

(28) a. Boade dal vissui!
    \textit{come now house.ILL}
    ‘Now come into the house!’
b. Mánná gahčai johkii.
    \textit{child fell river.ILL}
    ‘The child fell into the river’
c. Joavnna viegäi skuvlii. \(=\)(6a))
    \textit{John run school.ILL}
    ‘John ran to the school’

(29) Compare directional postpositions
(30) Recipient, benefactive
a. Mun attán dutnje girjjí goadis
   I give.1SG you.SG.ILL book.ACG tent.LOC
   ‘I am giving you a book in the tent’
b. Rabas munnje uvssa.
   open me.ILL door
   ‘Open the door for me’
c. Čájet áhčáí maid!
   show.IMP.2SG father.ILL also
   ‘Show it to father too!’
d. Dutnje leat odda sabehat.
   you.SG.ILL be.PRES.3PL new skis.NOM
   ‘For you there is a new pair of skis’

(31) Passive agent, causee
   I.NOM bite-PASS-1SG dog.ILL
   ‘I was bitten by the dog’
b. Áhčči daga-h-ii niibbi rávdáí.
   father.NOM make-CAUS-PAST knife.ACG smith.ILL
   ‘Father had the smith make a knife’

4.2 Illative for Locations of Changes of State

(32) See Fong (1997) for discussion of a similar phenomenon in Finnish; Svenonius (to appear) for North Sámi

(33) Change of status of location
a. Nieida bissánii Romssii.
   girl remained Tromsö.ILL
   ‘The girl remained in Tromsø’
b. Biila bissánii Šuosjávrri ja Jergol gaskii.
   car.NOM stopped Sjuosjávrri and Jergol between.ILL
   ‘The car broke down between Sjuosjávrri and Jergol’

(34) Change of status of location, deliberate
a. Biergasiiddis son gudii gaféstohipui.
   baggage.POSS he.NOM stored café.ILL
   ‘He stored his baggage at the café’
b. Gosa don čihket dan?
   where.ILL you.SG.NOM hid.PAST.2SG it.ACG
   ‘Where did you hide it?’

(35) Change of status of location, unintentional
a. Mun lean láhppán iežan fáhcaid várái.
   I am.1SG lost refl mitten.PL.ACG mountain.ILL
   ‘I have lost my mittens in the mountains’

b. Mun vajálduhtten govvidanaparáhta hotellii.
   I forgot camera hotel.ILL
   ‘I forgot my camera at the hotel’

(36) Change of state
   a. Mánná nohkai láhttái.
      child slept floor.ILL
      ‘The child fell asleep on the floor’
   b. Dat heavvanii etnu.
      PN drowned river.ILL
      ‘S/he drowned in the river’

(37) Caused change of state
   a. Vuovdái godde dan guovžža.
      woods.ILL killed the.ACG bear.ACG
      ‘S/he killed the bear in the woods’
   b. Gárdái njuvve ollu bohccuid.
      corral.ILL slaughtered many reindeer.PL.ACG
      ‘They slaughtered many reindeer in the corral’

4.3 Additional Uses of the Illative

(38) Construction
   a. Máhtte ráhkadii dálu dievá la.
      Mattis built farm hill onto
      ‘Mattis built the farm on a hill’
   b. Min gillái lea huksjeuvvon odda girku.
      us.PL.ACG village.ILL is erected new church
      ‘In our village a new church has been erected’

(39) Growth and precipitation
   a. Šaddet-go deike eppelat?
      grow-Q here.ILL apples
      ‘Do apples grow here?’
   b. Romsii lea muohttán hirbmadit dán dálvvi.
      Tromsø.ILL is snowed frightful this winter.ACG
      ‘It has snowed very much in Tromsø this winter’

(40) Acquiring scalar properties
   a. Gea, mo lea buorrá-n-an deike dát luodda
      look how is good-INCH-PTCPL here.ILL this road.NOM
      ‘Look how good the road has become here’
   b. Áddjá buohccáí dasa.
      grandfather.NOM became.sick there.ILL
      ‘Grandfather became sick there’
4.4 Basic Uses of the Locative

(41) Locations of individuals with positionals and ‘reside’ verbs
   a. Mun orun Kárášjogas.
      I live Karasjok.LOC
      ‘I live in Karasjok’
   b. Mánná čohkká stuolus.
      child sits chair.LOC
      ‘The child is sitting on the chair’
   c. Mánná veallá láhtitis.
      child lies floor.LOC
      ‘The child is lying on the floor’
   d. Dat čohkká-jit beavddis.
      they sit-3PL table.LOC
      ‘They’re sitting at the table’

(42) Location of activities and events
   a. Joavnna viega-d-ii vieus.
      Jon run-CONT-PAST house.LOC
      ‘Jon ran around in the house’
   b. Mun čálán mášiinnain Romssas
      I write.1SG machine.COM Tromsø.LOC
      ‘I am writing on a typewriter in Tromsø’
   c. Njuvččat ochet suittiid jávrrin.
      swan.PL look.for.PL thaw.hole.PL.ACC lake.PL.LOC
      ‘Swans look for thawed holes in lakes’
   d. Mun oidnen Bireha busses.
      I saw.1SG Biret.ACG bus.LOC

(43) Possession
   Máhtes leat odda sabehat.
   Mattis.LOC be.PRES.3PL new skis.NOM
   ‘Mattis has new skis’

4.5 Locative for Sources

(44) Source of motion (Svenonius 2009)
   a. Goas don vulget Romssas?
      when you travelled Tromsø.LOC
      ‘When did you leave Tromsø?’
   b. Mun boadán vieus.
      I come.1SG house.LOC
      ‘I am coming out of the house’
   c. Suovva ihtá goadis.
      smoke appears tent.LOC
      ‘There is smoke coming from the tent’
   d. Sáhpán njuik-ii girjji duóhken.
      mouse jump-PAST book behind
      ‘The mouse jumped from behind the book’ (Source)
(45) Origin of transfer of possession Svonni (2009:28)
a. Mii oastit biepmu gávppis.
\[
\text{we.PL buy meat.ACC store.LOC}
\]
`We buy meat at/from the store`
b. Son oačuí mus odda gahpira.
\[
\text{s/he got me.LOC new hat.ACC}
\]
`S/he got a new hat from me`
c. Soames lea suoládan mus biilla.
\[
\text{somebody is stolen me.LOC car}
\]
`Somebody has stolen my car’ (“somebody has stolen the car from me”)

5 Event decomposition

(46) The location of the first phase of a complex event

```
proc
 \_\_\_\_
Loc1 proc
 \_\_\_\_
proc res
 \_\_\_\_
res ... \_\_\_\_
```

(47) The location of the second phase of a complex event

```
proc
 \_\_\_\_
proc res
 \_\_\_\_
Loc2 res
 \_\_\_\_
res ... \_\_\_\_
```

5.1 The Lower Locative (Illative)

(48) If Loc2 spells out as illative case, then illative case can express the location of the second phase of a complex event
(49) a. Joavnnu viegai skuvlii. (= (6a))
   ‘John ran to the school’

b. Dat heavvanii etnu. (= (36b))
   ‘S/he drowned in the river’

(50) Directional semantics for Northern Sámi

  a. \([\text{proc\_viegai}] = \lambda e.\text{run}(e)\)
  b. \([\text{res}] = \lambda e[\text{state}(e)]\)
  c. \([\text{vissui}] = \lambda e\exists l.\text{Loc}(e,l) \& \text{at}(l,\text{the-house})\)
  d. \([\text{viegai\_vissui}] = \lambda e\exists e',l.\text{run}(e) \& \text{leads-to}(e,e') \& \text{state}(e') \& \text{Loc}(e',l) \& \text{at}(l,\text{the-house})\)

(51) Compare North Sámi and English

  \([\text{viegai\_vissui}] = \lambda e\exists s,l.\text{run}(e) \& \text{leads-to}(e,s) \& \text{state}(s) \& \text{Loc}(s,l) \& \text{at}(l,\text{the-house})\)

  \([\text{run\ to the house}] = \lambda e\exists e',p,l.\text{run}(e) \& \text{leads-to}(e,e') \& \text{trace}(e',p) \& \text{culminate}(p,l) \& \text{at}(l,\text{the-house})\)

(52) Dat heavvanii etnu.
   PN drowned river.ILL
   ‘S/he drowned in [“into”] the river’

(53) \([\text{havvanii\_etnu}] = \lambda e\exists s,l.\text{process-of-drowning}(e) \& \text{leads-to}(e,s) \& \text{state-of-being-drowned}(s) \& \text{Loc}(s,l) \& \text{at}(l,\text{the-river})\)

5.2 The higher locative

(54) If Loc1 spells outs as locative case, then locative case can express the location of the first phase of a complex event
The source reading comes from the high attachment site (if the location restricts only the local subevent)

(55) a. Joavnnu viega-d-ii viesus. (=42a))
   *Jon run-CONT-PAST house.LOC
   ‘Jon ran around in the house’

b. Mánná čohkká stuolus. (=41b))
   *child sits chair.LOC
   ‘The child is sitting on the chair’

(56) The source reading comes from the high attachment site (if the location restricts only the local subevent)

(57) a. Mun boadán viesus. (=44b))
   *I come.1SG house.LOC
   ‘I am coming out of the house’

b. Joavnnu viehka-l-i viesus.
   *John run-SUB-PAST house.LOC
   ‘John ran suddenly from the house’

(58) The locative modifies only the upper subevent, not the macroevent including the two

(59) Compare the English locative, with much wider scope: A property of intervals

6 Consequences

6.1 I l l a t i v e s  a n d  R e s u l t s

(60) North Sámi must have a zero lexicalizer for res

(61) Directed motion and resultatives are not fully independent after all

(62) Prediction: Illative results
Mun cápmá-hall-en bealle-hegg-ii.
I beat-PASS-PAST.1SG half-life-ILL
‘I was beaten half to death’ (lit. ‘to half-life’)

(63) a. Áhkku šattai illui.
grandmother.NOM become.PAST.3SG happiness.Ill
‘Grandmother became happy’
b. Áddjá šattai buohcevissui.
grandfather.NOM become.PAST.3SG sick.house.Ill
‘Grandfather was put in the hospital’

(64) Grandfather in (63b) didn’t come to be a hospital, he came to be in a state which was located in a hospital. This suggests that the illative in (63b) can give the location of a ‘result’ state complement to a process.

(65) Similarly for the illative in (62)

(66) So an illative DP (or a directional PP) can be the location of a result state, in North Sámi. This works for changes of state like dying and falling asleep as well.

(67) If the North Sámi illative is really a locative, adjoining to resP, why can’t English locatives adjoin to resP? Because they employ a functional head which attaches higher up and do not directly give locations of subevents or states.

(68) If the North Sámi illative is a location of a subevent, why can’t it give the location of an event of running? Because it is specialized to give the location of the kind of subevent expressed by resP.

6.2 Aktionsart

(69) Sensitivity to Aktionsart (unlike English locatives and directionals)

a. Joavnna viega-d-ii viesus. (=42a))
   Jon run-CONT-PAST house.LOC
   ‘Jon ran around in the house’
b. Joavnna viegai vissui.
   John run house.Ill
   ‘John ran to the house’
c. Joavnnu viehka-l-i viesus.
   John run-SUB-PAST house.LOC
   ‘John ran suddenly from the house’

(70) Verbs of appearance need an additional verbal component to combine with a directional expression, cf. (13b)–(13c)

a. Son lodnjá. (< lotnji, n.)
   s/he nice.even.pleats.V.PRES nice.even.pleats
   ‘(S)he has nice, evenly falling pleats’
b. Son lodjná-h-ii budehiid beldui.
   s/he nice.even.pleats.in.clothes.V-CAUS-PAST potatoes.ACG field.Ill
   ‘(S)he went to the potato field with nice, evenly falling pleats’
6.3 Storing and Forgetting

(71)  a. Mun vajáldhutten govidanappärátta hotellii.

    I forgot camera hotel.'I forgot my camera at the hotel'

b. Biergasiiddis son gudii gaféstohpui.

    baggage.he.nom stored café.'He stored his baggage at the café'

(72)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VP} & \\
& \text{V} \quad \text{RP} \\
& \quad \text{gudii} \quad \text{RP} \quad \text{PP}_{\text{ILL}} \\
& \quad \text{'stored'} \quad \text{R} \quad \text{gaféstohpui} \\
& \quad \text{R} \quad \text{ café.'ILL'}
\end{align*}
\]

(73)  \[
[gudii gaféstohpui] = \lambda e \exists s, l. \text{process-of-storing}(e) \land \text{state-of-being-stored}(s) \land \text{leads-to}(e,s) \land \text{Loc}(s,l) \land \text{at}(l, \text{the-café})
\]

(74)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{AspP} & \\
& \text{AspP} \quad \text{PP}_{\text{LOC}} \\
& \quad \text{Asp} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{at the hotel} \\
& \quad \text{V} \quad \text{RP} \\
& \quad \text{forgot} \quad \text{R}
\end{align*}
\]

(75)  \[
[forgot \text{ at the hotel}] = \lambda t \exists e, s, l. \text{Asp}(t,e) \land \text{process-of-forgetting}(e) \land \text{state-of-being-forgotten}(s) \land \text{leads-to}(e,s) \land \text{Loc}(t,l) \land \text{at}(l, \text{the-hotel})
\]

(76)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VP} & \\
& \text{V} \quad \text{RP} \\
& \quad \text{stored} \quad \text{R} \quad \text{PlaceP} \\
& \quad \text{at the café}
\end{align*}
\]

(77)  \[
[\text{stored at the café}] = \lambda e \exists s, l. \text{process-of-storing}(e) \land \text{state-of-being-stored}(s) \land \text{leads-to}(e,s) \land \text{Loc}(s,l) \land \text{at}(l, \text{the-café})
\]

References


Svenonius, Peter. 2009. Location and source in North Sámi. Ms. CASTL, University of Tromsø.


