Satellite-framed vs. verb-framed typology: a comparison between English and Italian through Angie Thomas' "The Hate U Give"

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Riassunto in Italiano

La presente dissertazione tratta la classificazione tipologica delle lingue satellite-framed a verb-framed, introdotta da Leonard Talmy (1985), le quali differiscono nel modo di lessicalizzare gli elementi semantico-cognitivi.

Nel primo capitolo, infatti, viene introdotto l'argomento, spiegando le nozioni di evento; conceptual conflation; macroevento, per poi passare in rassegna le cinque tipologie di macroevento oggetto di studio di Talmy (1991).

Nello specifico, secondo Talmy un evento è una parte del continuum della realtà che viene isolata e resa discreta cognitivamente dal parlante. Gli eventi possono essere semplici o complessi, coordinati o subordinati tra di loro. Tuttavia, spesso accade che due eventi semplici che costituiscono un evento complesso, nel momento in cui vengono lessicalizzati, possano confluiscano tra di loro formando un unico macroevento secondo un processo chiamato "conceptual conflation". Dei due eventi fusi, il principale che dà luogo alla conceptual conflation, viene definito framing event, perché è in grado di imporre uno schema per la lessicalizzazione dei vari elementi semantico-cognitivi di cui ogni macroevento è costituito.

Talmy (1991) individua cinque tipi di macroevento, distinti tra di loro dal tipo di framing event (i.e. eventi di moto, cambio di stato, contorno temporale, correlazione di azione, realizzazione), ma che hanno in comune gli elementi semantico-cognitivi: Figure; Ground; relating function. Figure e Ground possono essere oggetti, azioni o stati posti in un sistema di riferimento e collegati fra di loro attraverso una cosidetta relating function, la quale viene concettualizzata in maniera differente a seconda del tipo di macroevento preso in considerazione. Tuttavia, poichè questi elementi sono studiati per la prima volta in relazione agli eventi di moto, spesso la relating function è anche chiamata semplicemente Path. La relating function (talvolta insieme al Ground) costituisce il core-schema, il quale può essere lessicalizzato a seconda della lingua in

uso, nella radice verbale o in un altro morfema o parola (satellite) al di fuori di esso. Nel primo caso la lingua viene definita verb-framed (e.g. lingue romanze, lingue semitiche, Giapponese) nel secondo viene definita satellite-framed (e.g. lingue germaniche, lingue ugrofinniche, Cinese). In quest'ultimo caso, poiché oltre al processo proprio del framing event, solo un altro elemento può essere lessicalizzato nella radice verbale, le lingue satellite-framed hanno la possibilità di lessicalizzare il contenuto dell'evento subordinato (detto S-relation) nella radice verbale. Al contrario, le lingue verb-framed sono costrette a lessicalizzare l'S-relation in un circostanziale.

Nel secondo capitolo si analizzano le conseguenze sintattiche dei suddetti due diversi schemi di lessicalizzazione dei macroeventi e sono esposte alcune ipotesi inerenti alla differenza tra lingue satellite-framed e verb-framed.

In merito alla sintassi, Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013) individuano quattro tipi di costruzioni, che sono possibili e produttive per le lingue satellite-framed, ma rare, se non impossibili, per le lingue verb-framed. Queste sono: la Unselected Object Construction (UOC), la Complex Direct Motion Construction (CDMC), la Locative Alternation e le costruzioni con satelliti aspettuali. In particolare, l'UOC permette a un verbo di selezionare un oggetto diretto non previsto dalla sua struttura argomentale. La CDMC permette a verbi di moto atelici di selezionare un ResP. La Locative alternation è la possibilità di esprimere un certo evento con due costruzioni alternative: la prima prevede una UOC, la seconda una costruzione transitiva con un circostanziale. In ultimo, sono possibili costruzioni che prevedono l'utilizzo di satelliti che mutano l'aspetto del verbo.

Per quanto riguarda la differenza tra lingue satellite-framed e verb-framed, Folli (2002) ipotizza che questa sia dovuta alla mancanza di preposizioni puramente direzionali nella lingue verb-framed. Al contrario, Per Real Puigdollers (2010) il problema non è lessicale ma sintattico: le preposizioni nelle lingue satellite-framed possono essere interpretate di volta in volta come locative o direzionali in base alla presenza o assenza di teste funzionali nella loro proiezione sintattica; diversamente, nelle lingue verb-framed l'ambiguità nell'interpretazione dei PP è risolta solo dalla semantica del verbo. Anche Harley (2005) e Folli e Harley (2020) forniscono una spiegazione sintattica, però riconducono questa differenza alla struttura argomentale dei verbi. In Harley (2005), si

ipotizza che le lingue verb-framed non possano adoperare un processo definito "manner incorporation" che permette la lessicalizzazione del Manner nella radice del verbo. Folli & Harley (2020), invece, ipotizzano che i meccanismi alla base della lessicalizzazione del Manner nella radice verbale siano diversi per le due tipologie di lingue: nelle lingue satellite-framed, il manner viene lessicalizzato attraverso e-merge consentendo a un complemento indiretto di occupare uno spazio nella struttura argomentale del verbo; nelle lingue verb-framed, la lessicalizzazione del Manner avviene attraverso i-merge a partire da un argomento già presente nella struttura.

Nel terzo capitolo, infine, attraverso il romanzo "The hate u give" di Angie Thomas e della sua traduzione italiana, analizzo e commento alcuni estratti in Inglese e i relativi in Italiano.

Partendo da una definizione sintattica di satellite, propongo una struttura argomentale dei verbi utilizzati in costruzioni satellite-framed degli eventi di moto, cambio di stato e realizzazione, sintetizzando e semplificando i lavori di Acedo-Matellan e Mateu (2013) e Folli e Harley (2020). Successivamente, valuto lo stato argomentale di morfemi e sintagmi fuori dalla radice verbale, per determinare se essi siano satelliti o meno. Analogamente, procedo alla valutazione di esempi di eventi di correlazione d'azioni, mettendo in discussione lo stato di costruzione satellite-framed degli eventi di concerto. In ultimo, valuto l'uso, seppur sporadico, di satelliti aspettuali in Inglese e delle alternative verb-framed offerte dall' Inglese afro-americano vernacolare.

Chapter 1

Intruduction

This dissertation deals with Leonard Talmy's typological classification of satellite-framed and verb-framed languages. The raison d'être of such classification is to be found in the lexicalization patterns adopted by languages when dealing with utterances that express events of motion, change of state, temporal contouring, action correlating and realization.

On a cognitive-semantic level, all these utterances consist of several elements; based on how such elements appear on the surface, languages can be classified either into verb-framed languages (e.g. Romance, Semitic, Japanese) or into satellite-framed languages (e.g. Germanic, Finno-Ugric, Chinese).

1.1 Events

In order to better explain how these patterns work, it is useful to present Talmy's definition of event. An event is the result of a cognitive process called "conceptual partitioning" through which "the human mind can extend a boundary around a portion of what would otherwise be a continuum", so that it creates a single entity that features "some portion of quality domain in correlation with some portion of time" (Talmy 1991).

There are two types of events: simplex and complex events. A simplex event cannot be further partitioned, whilst complex events consist of many simplex events that are classified hierarchically into three types matching the classification of clauses into main, coordinate and subordinate.

However, under certain circumstances, some complex events can also be conceptualized as simplex events. This reconceptualization is called 'conceptual conflation' and it occurs whenever the main head of a complex event is perceived as being closely and

logically linked with the other events. In (1) there are two alternative conceptualization of the same complex event.

(1)   a. The aerial toppled because I did something to it.   Talmy (1991: 482)
        b. I toppled the aerial.

A specific type of conceptual conflation results in what is defined a macro event. A limited number of complex events can conflate into a macro event. These are the one mentioned at the very beginning of this text, namely: motion events, temporal contouring events, change of state events, action correlating events and realization events. Cross-linguistically, the occurrence of such conflation seems to be highly frequent.

These complex events are characterized by their main heads' capability of imposing a framework over the other cognitive-semantic elements. Therefore, they are referred to as "framing event". The framework consists of an activating process (e.g. motion, change of state) that involves an object the "Figure", transiting respectively to a reference point, the "Ground". These are linked by a relating function. Also the subordinate event must be of a certain class and it must be linked to the main event through an "S-relation".

The relating function, either with or without the ground (this depends on both the framing event and the language taken into account), represents the "core schema", whose lexicalization patterns is the discriminant of the Talmian typology. Although both patterns can be present, a language is said to be verb-framed if it conflates the core-schema prevalently into the verb root, or satellite-framed if it conflates the core-schema prevalently into a satellite.

Talmy (1985) gives the following definition for a satellite: "satellites are certain immediate constituents of a verb root other than inflections, auxiliaries, or nominal arguments. They relate to the verb root as a periphery (or modifiers) to a head. A verb root together with its satellites form a constituent in its own right, the verb complex". Nevertheless, it is not entirely determined what constituents can be considered satellites,

as there are constituents, such as french pronominal clitics, that are also closely related to the verb root but they are not given this status (Talmy 1985).

Lastly, a clarification of the term 'conflation' as used in Talmy (1985) which has a different definition from the one given above that concerns events. Here, it refers to the lexicalization of two or more meanings into the same verb root. For example, a verb like *die* involves only a patient, therefore, in order to convey the meaning of an agent acting on a patient we need the verb *kill* which has the equivalent usage of *make die.* In this construct, *make* carries the grammatical function of the agent-to-patient relation (G), whereas *die* is the actual lexical morpheme (L). As a logical consequence, *kill* incorporates both. Below, a formula that represents such relationship:

(2)   usage of   =   usage of   Talmy (1985: 60)

        L_2 L_1 + G

        (e.g. L_2 = kill, L_1 = appear, G = make)

This formula can be extended to represent verbs like *break* that can be used both in a causative (L_2) and non-causative (L_1) way. In this case a verb is said to have usage range:

(3)   usage range of = usage of + usage of   Talmy (1985: 60)

            L_3 L_2 L_1

1.2 Figure and Ground

Before analyzing each framing event in depth, a justification of the existence of two of its elements, Figure and Ground, is needed. This is provided by Talmy (2000).

Figure (F) and Ground (G) are cognitive-semantic categories borrowed from Gestalt Psychology that represent concepts (either objects or events) that are related to each other. The latter serves as an anchor for the former. For instance, here are Figure and Ground in a motion event:

(4)   The pen (F) fell off the table (G)   Talmy (2000: 311)

In addition to it, in order to conceptualize a motion event, one must have a reference frame, so that it is clear what is moving or being stationary and what has being taken as a reference point.

Figure and Ground are not assigned merely by the word order, as a symmetric sentence like (5a) and its inverse (5b) might suggest.

(5)   a. John (F) is near Harry (G)   Talmy (2000: 315)
        b. Harry (F) is near John (G)

As a matter of fact, if we take into account a sentence like (6a) and we rephrase it, the result sounds rather unnatural (6b). This denotes that Figure and Ground have generally specific semantic properties. The Figure is generally a more movable, smaller object whose position in the reference frame is relatively unknown and it has a greater relevance. Conversely, the Ground is bigger, more permanently located, more expected to the observer, therefore, more backgrounded in speech (Talmy 2000).

(6)   a. The bike (F) is near the house (G)   Talmy (2000: 315)
        b. ?The house (F) is near the bike (G)

The notion of Figure and Ground can be also extended to nonphysical situations (7) and to complex sentences, for example those that involve temporal events (8). In the latter case, the inverse sentence is not odd, however, it acquires a slightly different meaning[1] but different nonetheless.

(7)   a. My sister (F) resembles Madonna (G)   Talmy (2000: 318)
        b. ?Madonna (F) resembles my sister (G)

(8)   a. [He exploded (F)] after [he touched the bottom (G)]   Talmy (2000: 321)
        b. [He touched the bottom (F)] before [He exploded (G)]

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[1]   Talmy (2000) states that such sentence sounds comical

1.3 Motion events

Given that this typology emerged in view of the study of utterances of motion (Talmy 1985), it seems convenient to begin with this very case.

Every motion event consists of a physical moving object (F), another physical object or features of a physical object that act as a reference point for the figure (G), a path or a site occupied by the Figure relatively to the Ground, the Path (P) which is the relating function of a motion event. Lastly, the condition of being moving or located, the Motion (M). In addition to this, The S-relation in motion events are usually Manner and Cause. In a satellite-framed language these elements appear on the surface conflated together with the act of motion into the verb root. For instance, In an agentive sentence such as (9),

(9)   The rock slid down the hill   Talmy (1985: 62)

the rock is the Figure, *the hill* is the Ground, Motion and Manner conflated in the verb root *slide*, and path is lexicalized in a satellite of the verb: *down*. The same sentence could be expressed, albeit unnaturally, without Motion/Manner conflation:

(10)   The rock moved down the hill, sliding.   Talmy (1985: 63)

The same pattern occurs in agentive sentences like (11) and in sentences that conflate Motion and Cause both agentive (12) and non-agentive (13).

(11)   I bounced the keg into the storeroom   Talmy (1985: 64)
        (move+Manner) agentive

(12)   I kicked the keg into the storeroom   Talmy (1985: 64)
        (move+Cause) agentive

(13)   The napkin blew off the table   Talmy (1985: 64)
        (move+Cause) non-agentive

Another instance of the laconic capability of this pattern is the conflation of motion with mental event notions.

(14) I read comics all the way to New York.   Talmy (1985: 66)

Some English verbs (e.g. to float, to kick) have a double meaning resulting form the lexicalization of two different concept: one is, alternatively Cause or Manner, the other one the concept of Motion along with the former. This can be synthetically described with the following formula:

(15) $VERB_2 = (move + VERB_1)$ Talmy (1985)

It is possible to demonstrate this pattern comparing two verbs like *to float* and *to lay*. The former carries a double meaning and it can be used for both the idea of an object being afloat and of an object moving while being afloat, whereas the latter cannot be used to say something is moving while being horizontal. For such an utterance verbs like *to slide*, *to glide* or *to drift* are required.

As far as verb-framed languages are concerned, another possible type of conflation into the verb root involves Path and Motion. Though present in English, instances of this type of conflation are verbs borrowed from Romance languages (e.g. enter, exit, ascend) where this pattern is the most prevalent. Here is an example of such conflation in Spanish:

(16) La botella entró a la cueva (flotando)   Talmy (1985: 69)
       The bottle moved into the cave (floating).

An English speaker would more naturally rephrase the translation of (16) conflating Manner and Motion into the verb *float*. Conversely, in Spanish Manner can only be expressed by an adverbial or a gerundive constituent that would often sound awkward.

Similarly to Motion+Manner/Cause in English, Path + Motion pattern in Spanish is present both in agentive (17) and non-agentive sentences.

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(17)   Agentive   Talmy (1985: 70)

      Metì el barrel a la bodega rodandolo

      I moved in the keg to the storeroom rolling it

In Talmy (1985) another kind of conflation pattern that involves verb roots is Motion+Figure. Even though it is scarcely present in English (instances are the verbs *to spit* and *to rain*) Motion + Figure conflation is a characteristic of Atsugewi, a polysynthetic language of northern California that features plenty of verb roots that conflate the meaning of specific kind of objects with Motion.

(18)   -staq = for running icky material to move/be located   Talmy (1985: 74)

        -w-uh-staq-ik

     Literal: 'Runny icky material is located on the ground from its own weight

      acting on it

     Instantiated: 'Guts are lying on the ground'

Aside from this feature, Atsugewi is classified as a satellite-framed language, since it employs satellites to lexicalize the core-schema. However, differently from English, in Atsugewi the core-schema for a motion event mostly consists of Path + Ground, whereas in English it consists of the sole Path, except for few instances (19). Furthermore, the Path usually appears on the surface in combination with a preposition (20a). Nevertheless, satellites and preposition must not be confused. The latter drops when the ground constituent is omitted (20b), moreover, prepositions such as *from, at, toward* are never used as satellite, likewise, *together, apart* and *forth* are satellites that can never function as prepositions.

(19)   a. She drove home (to her in the suburbs)   Talmy (1985: 107)

     b. The gate swung shut (across the entryway)

(20)   a. I ran out of the house   Talmy (1985: 103)

     b. (After rifling through the house,) I ran out

In conclusion, here are other possible but rare conflation patterns in motion events that involve both satellites and verb roots: Those are Motion+Path+Ground present in English in agentive sentences like (21), Motion + Figure + Path (22), Manner satellites Naz Pearce (23) Cause satellites in Atsugewi like *-uh* (18) that means 'from gravity acting on Patient'

(21)   a. I boxed the apples   Talmy (1985: 76)
        b. I shelved the book

(22)   She powder her nose   Talmy (1985: 76)

(23)   Hi-quqú-láhsa-e   -quqú = galloping   Talmy (1985: 110)
        He galloped uphill

1.4 Temporal contouring events

Temporal contouring events are macro events whose main head is the distribution in time of an action (aspect). Although aspect is a verb category, Talmy (1991) places it in the same class of Path, as it is often treated differently in languages, in a way that parallels motion events. In English, the core-schema consists of both the Ground (the temporal contour itself) and the relating function (the direction of association). Nevertheless, it is possible to rephrase a sentence like (24a), in order to show the resemblance with motion events' framework. In (24b), *to* acts as the Path and *completion* as the Ground.

(24)   a. I finished writing the letter.   Talmy (1991: 492)
        b. I wrote the letter to completion

Similarly to other languages, in English some verbs have an intrinsic aspect given by its semantics. The intrinsic aspect of these verbs can be modified in temporal contouring events.

(25)   a. die   one-way, non resettable   Talmy (1985: 77)

        b. fall   one way, resettable

        c. flash   full-cycle.

        d. breathe   multiplex

        e. sleep   steady state

The core schema can be lexicalized in a main verb as in (26) or in satellite (27). Although English has both these possibilities, as a satellite-framed language, it is prone to lexicalize the core-schema in satellites. Again, the occurrence of conflation in the verb root mostly involves borrowings from Romance languages, although there are a few native verbs that serves this purpose like *keep* (26) that is used to turn full-cycle verbs into multiplex verbs.

(26)   The beacon kept flashing   Talmy (1985: 78)

(27)   a. He worked on into the night.   Talmy (1985: 115)

        b. The record started over from the beginning

With regard to satellite that express aspect, Talmy (1985) states that these not only indicate time distribution but, to a certain extent, they may also indicate manner, intention and quantity. Furthermore, In Talmy (1985) the satellite *along* is listed among those that pertain aspect, whereas in Talmy (1991) it belongs to action correlating. In Talmy (1985), the lexicalization possibilities of both aspect and causation are outlined. Specifically, those verbs that refer to states are classified in three main aspect-causative categories: stative (being in a state) inchoative (entering into a state) and agentive (putting into a state). Both Cross-linguistically and within a language, several patterns occur in lexicalizing such categories. In English, the semantic field of posture appears to adopt consistently the same patterns (28). So does it in Spanish (29) and in German (30).

(28) STATIVE: V   Talmy (1985: 86)

She lay there all during the

program

INCHOATIVE: V + SAT

She lay down there when the

program began

AGENTIVE: V + CAUSE + SAT

She laid her down there when the

program began

(29) STATIVE   'be' + V + PP   Talmy (1985: 87)
      INCHOATIVE   V + REFL
      AGENTIVE   V

(30) STATIVE   V   Talmy (1985: 88)
      INCHOATIVE   V + CAUS + REFL
      AGENTIVE   V + CAUS

Differently, other patterns are adopted for verbs like *freeze* (31), which lexicalized inchoative and agentive types into the verb root, but not stative which requires *be* + past participle. *Hide* on the other hand can be use for all three types (32). There are not instances for verb roots that can be use for stative and agentive.

(31)   a. The water was frozen   Talmy (1985: 89)
        b. The water froze
        c. I froze the water

(32)   a. He hid in the attic for an hour   Talmy (1985: 89)
        b. He hid in the attic when the sheriff arrived
        c. I hid him in the attic when the sheriff arrived

1.5 Change of state events

Even though Talmy (1991) mentions several ways one can conceptualize change of state events, he suggests that the most prevalent is the one that establishes the object affected as the figural entity, whereas the property whom the Figure transits to is the Ground. Again, in English the core-schema is mostly formed by the relating function and the Ground. The S-relation possibilities have the same range as the events of motion. Usually, Manner is associated with non-agentive sentences and Cause to agentive ones Below, a comparison between English (s-framed) and Spanish (v-framed) in an agentive sentence.

(33)   a. I burned him to death.   Talmy (1991: 497)
        b. Io maté con fuego/quemandolo

The notion of 'out of existence' is brought by the satellite *out* (34), but if the change of state occur progressively, satellites like *up* (35) and *away* (36) serve this purpose. The former indicates a quick progress, the latter a rather slow transformation.

(34)   The candle blew out   Talmy (1991: 499)

(35)   Jane has bought up beach-front property in the country   Talmy (1991:501)

(36)   The leaves withered away.   Talmy (1991:499)

English acts as verb-framed language, for change of state events that express "into one's possession, since it requires verbs such as *get, obtain, win,* whereas german uses the satellite *er-* that means.

(37)   a. We obtained oil by drilling   Talmy (1991: 498)
        b. Wir haben Öl erbohrt
        (we drilled oil INTO OUR POSSESSION)

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The satellite *er-* is also used in combination with verbs such as *drücken, schießen, schlagen* to convey the meaning of ending someone's life with said action. That leads to believe that er_1 and er_2 are two different lexicalization, since the hypothesis of only one satellite with a completive meaning is disproved by the verb *erdrücken* which does not mean squeezing something/someone to a point of completion but it can only mean squeezing someone to death (Talmy 1991).

1.6 Action correlating events

As far as action correlating and realization events are concerned, a parallelism with motion events is less intuitive. In action correlating events, an agent puts an activity in correlation with some agency's activity. The figural entity is the agent's activity whereas the agency's activity acts as the Ground, and the correlation is the Path. Talmy (1991) outlines five types of action correlating events: 'concert', 'accompaniment', 'imitation', 'surpassment' and 'demonstration'. In all but the last one, the activities correlated are the same or belong to the same category. When the action correlation events express concert, in English it is used the satellite *together* (*with*) as in (38) that conveys the meaning of both agent and agency taking the initiative jointly in the same activity. In acts of accompaniment the satellite used in English is *along with* (39) and it conveys the meaning of the agency already engaged in its activity and the agent following it.

(38)   I played the melody together with him   Talmy (1991: 506)

(39)   I played the melody along with him   Talmy (1991: 507)

In concert and accompaniment, an animate agency (40) is not required and the activity don't have to be the same (41)

(40)   I play along with the phonograph   Talmy (1991: 506)

(41)   Mary sang along with John   Talmy (1991: 506)

       (john plays an instrument)

Since English has borrowings from romance languages it is possible to show a lexicalization of an accompaniment act with a verb-framed pattern (42)

(42)   I accompanied him when we played the melody   Talmy (1991: 507)

Regarding 'imitation', English doesn't have a monomorphemic satellite to express the correlation and can only use a structure like V + in imitation of + NP. Conversely, German uses the prefix *nach-* to convey such correlation. Differently from the first two cases, 'imitation' implies that the agent's activity is lagging behind the agency's.

(43)   a. Ich habe ihm the Melodie nachgespielt   Talmy (1991: 507)

       b. I played the melody in imitation of him

In verb-framed languages, the imitation of the activity is conveyed by the verb root, the kind of activity is specified in the adjunct. In Spanish it is possible to further specify whether the activity is the same or different.

(44)   a. Yo lo seguia cuando tocamos la melodia.   Talmy (1991: 507)

       I followed him when we played the melody

       (SAME ACTIVITY)

       b. Yo lo seguia tocando la melodia.

       I followed him (by) playing the melody

       (DIFFERENT ACTIVITY)

In English, surpassment is conveyed by the prefix *out-* and it expresses a superior quality of the activity performed by the gent compared to the agency's. Again, in

Spanish the activity is lexicalized with an adjunct but no distinction regarding the activity of the agency can be inferred, since in both cases the adjunct is a gerundive.

(45)   a. I outplayed him   Talmy (1991: 508)
        b. Yo lo superé tocando la melodia.

Lastly, 'demonstration' diverges from the other cases, since the activities correlated are completely different. The correlation occurs because they are somehow complementing each other. Agent's activity functions as a demonstration for the observer. English treats this case as a verb-framed language, whereas German employs the prefix *vor-*

(46)   a. I showed him how to play the melody   Talmy (1991: 509)
        b. Ich have ihm die Melodie vorgespielt.

1.7 Realization events

Talmy (1991) acknowledges two types of realization: fulfillment and confirmation. In such macro event the figural entity could be (depending on the type) an intention of the agent or the implicature of fulfillment of an intention of the agent. The figure is 'moved' towards its fulfillment or its confirmation. Below, four English sentences (extracted from Talmy (1991) in which the main verbs incrementally give information regarding the outcome of an action. Consequently, the satellite has a different function in each sentence.

(47)   I kick the hubcap flat   Talmy (1991: 509)
        V = action;
        sat = state change resulting from the action

Here, the satellite provides the main verb with the result of the successfully performed action.

(48)   The police hunted the fugitive down in 5 days   Talmy (1991: 509)

        V = action + intention;

        sat = fulfillment of the intention

The main verb *hunt* conveys only the intention of the police to catch the fugitive, the satellite *down* indicates the fulfillment of such action. Without the satellite, the action is either failed or ongoing.

(49)   I wash the shirt clean   Talmy (1991: 509)

        V = action + intention + implicature of fulfillment;

        sat = confirmation of the implicature

The verb 'wash' alone implies the agent's intention of cleaning the shirt and the potential fulfillment of their intention. Comparing *wash* to the verb *soak* and the verb complex *wash clean*, it is possible to notice the gradually augmentation in meaning. *soak* implies making something wet, *wash* making something wet in order to clean it, in *wash clean* the satellite *clean* confirms incontrovertibly the implicature of fulfillment. The confirmation case is described by Talmy as a particular kind of change of state event that involves epistemology rather than ontology. In fact, the information regarding the result of the action that the speaker conveys to their interlocutor changes from presumptive to certain.

(50)   He drowned him   Talmy (1991: 509)

        V = action + intention + fulfillment

        sat = not relevant or usable

In a case like (50) the verb already bears the only possible outcome of the action, therefore no satellite is required. This might not be the case for a language like Mandarin that consistently employs satellite for such events.

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(51)   a. wǒ shā le tā   Talmy (1991: 516)

            I intended to kill him (but not dead)

    b. wǒ shā sǐ le tā

    I killed him

The verb employed by both sentences in (51) is the same (*shā*), but in (51b) the outcome (death) is conveyed by the satellite *sǐ*. In such a language sentences like (51a) can always allow a disclaiming phrase like 'did he die?'. Conversely, Tamil as a v-framed language conveys realization with the finite verb.

(52)   a. Nāṉ avaṉai koṉṟēṉ   Talmy (1991: 517)

               kill(finite)-Past-1s

    I killed him (but he didnt die)

    b. Nāṉ avaṉai koṉṟu-   (vi)*ṭṭeṉ*

               kill(non-finite)-leave(finite)-Past-1s

    I killed him (*but he didn't die)

1.8 Salience

Considering the example in (1), one might notice there is another difference that takes the two sentences apart, beside the odd phrasing of the first one. As a matter of fact, the cause that makes the lamp topple (I did something to it), is somehow more emphasized in (1a) than in (1b). Talmy (1985) define salience as "the degree to which a component of meaning, due to its type of linguistic representation, emerges into the foreground of attention or, on the contrary, forms part of the semantic background where it attracts little direct attention", consequently, in a sentence like (1b), the cause is said to be backgrounded.

With regard to macro events, whether we take into account satellite-framed languages or verb-framed languages, the supporting event is always backgrounded on the surface. However satellite-framed languages appears to have more capability in backgrounding elements.

(53)   The man ran back down into the cellar.   Talmy (1985: 123)

In sentence like (53), we can infer all at once that the man was running, he has already been in the cellar before, the cellar is located on a lower ground compared to the man, and the man is entering the cellar. In Spanish, only one of this elements together with motion can conflate in the main verb, the other must be expressed with an adjunct. Although theoretically possible, no Spanish speaker that intend to speak in a natural manner would use so many adjunct, this will result in four possible options:

(54)   a. El hombre corrió al sótano.   Talmy (1985: 123)
        The man ran to the cellar

        b. El hombre volvió al sótano corriendo
        The man returned to the cellar at a run

        c. El hombre bajó al sótano corriendo
        The men went down to the cellar at a run

        d. El hombre entró al sótano corriendo
        The man went down into the cellar at a run

Chapter 2

Syntax

In this chapter, I outline the syntactic differences of Germanic and Romance Languages in relation to the Talmian typology. However, a few preliminary considerations must be addressed. First of all, the mutual exclusion of Manner and Path when conflating in the verb root. There are number of hypotheses that try to explain such phenomenon, for example, Folli and Harley (2020) suggest that multiple roots can theoretically merge with each other and what prevents this from occur is a morphological constraint which they identify with Embick's (2010) categorization constraint. On the other hand, Slobin (2004) proposes a new type, namely equipollently-framed languages that can conflate both Manner and Path. However, given that I will only focus on Germanic and Romance languages, I will take Manner and Path mutual exclusion for granted.

Moreover Fagard (2017) has demonstrated that some languages show a great deal of inconsistencies with regard to their own type, this is also true for Italian as a result of the influence of Italo-Romance dialects.

Finally, in the next paragraphs, the cognitive-semantic categories of Path and Ground, when translated in syntactic terms, are named differently based on the author that is taken into account. Regardless, Path is always a constituent that contains Ground in its domain.
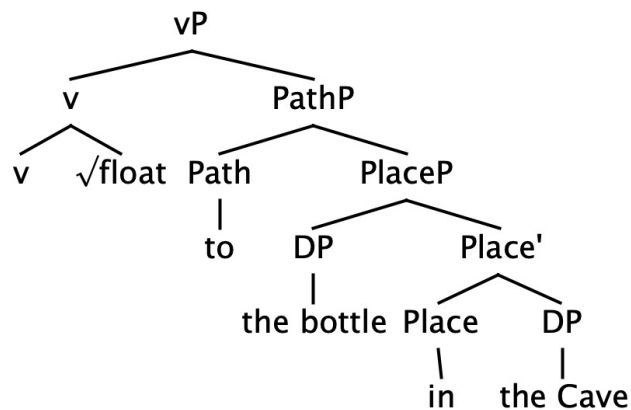
2.1 Satellite-framed constructions

As I mentioned in the first chapter, s-framed languages have a vast range of possibilities given to them by conflating Manner in the main verb. Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013) list four main constructions[2]: Unselected Object construction (UOC), Complex

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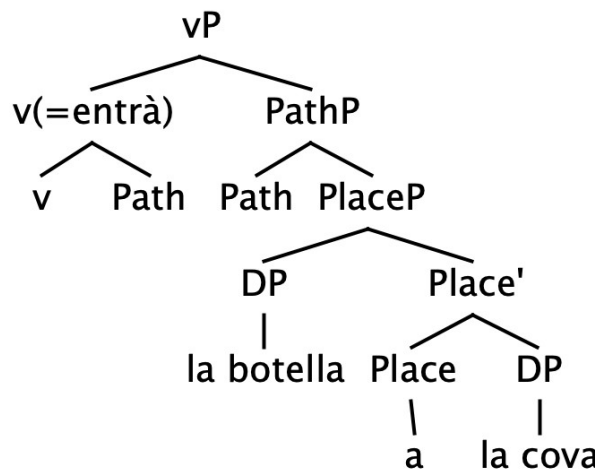2   Their paper concerns Latin as an s-framed language

Direct Motion Construction (CDMC), Locative Alternation Construction, and constructions that involve aspectual satellites.

Below, The argument structure for s-framed (55) and v-framed Languages (56).

(55)   The bootle floated into the cave   Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013: 232)

```
                    vP
               ┌────┴────┐
               v        PathP
            ┌──┴──┐   ┌───┴───┐
            v  √float Path   PlaceP
                      │    ┌───┴───┐
                      to   DP    Place'
                           │   ┌───┴───┐
                       the bottle Place  DP
                                   \      │
                                   in  the Cave
```

(56)   La botella entrà a la cova flotant.   Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013: 232)

```
                    vP
              ┌─────┴─────┐
          v(=entrà)      PathP
          ┌──┴──┐     ┌───┴───┐
          v    Path  Path   PlaceP
                         ┌─────┴─────┐
                         DP        Place'
                         │       ┌───┴───┐
                     la botella Place   DP
                                 \       │
                                 a     la cova
```

With UOC the main verb employs a satellite to select an object that otherwise could not be selected.

(57)   a. Snakes cough the egg shells out   Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013: 234)

        b. Sleep off that intoxication, I said

In (57) *cough* and *sleep* could not select respectively *the egg shells* and *that intoxication* without a satellite. Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013) suggest that the satellite and the unselected object form a small clause.

In CDMCs, telic manner of motion verbs select a goal of motion (58). V-framed languages cannot employ such construction since manner can conflate only with atelic verbs.

However, an apparently[3] similar construction is possible with a manner of motion atelic verb combined with a towards-PP adjunct (59).

(58)   a. They sail up to the first emporium in India in 40 days.

        b. On a sudden everybody hastened to the Palace.

                                    Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013: 238)

(59)   Gianni ha nuotato verso la spiaggia.

                                    Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013: 240)

By Locative Alternation, Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013) mean the possibility for some verbs to have two alternative predicates resulting in two alternative events: Change Of Location (COL) and Change Of State (COS).

(60)   a. Sue sprayed paint onto the wall   COL

        b. Sue sprayed the wall (with paint) COS

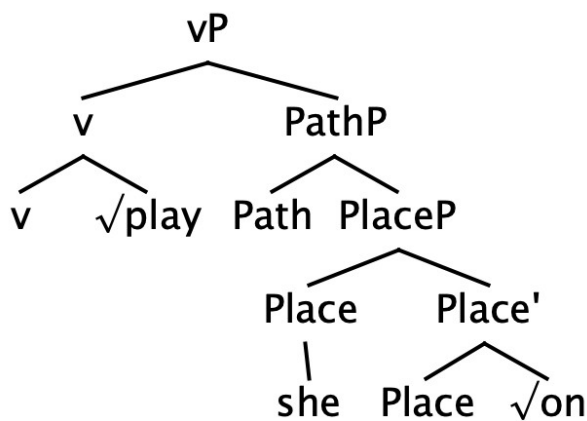   Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013: 243)

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3   Using an adjunct, valence do not change. This can be noticed by the auxiliary employed in past tense

The alternation is forbidden in v-framed languages because only COS is available since it doesn't require manner conflation in v.

With regard to constructions involving aspectual satellites Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013) reprise Talmy's (1985,1991, 2000) work that I have already treated in the first chapter. However, it is worth showing that in the argument structure suggested for these type of constructions, the satellite is merged as complement of PlaceP, which is in line with Talmy's (1991) assertion that in English the core schema for temporal contouring events consist of both Path and Ground.

(61)   She played on   Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013: 249)

```
                    vP
                   /  \
                  v    PathP
                 / \   /    \
                v  √play Path PlaceP
                            /    \
                         Place   Place'
                           |     /    \
                          she  Place  √on
```

2.2 Hypotheses concerning Romance languages v-framed structure.

In this section, I present four hypotheses that try to clarify the reason why Romance languages cannot conflate manner of motion in the verb root, preventing them to employ the constructions illustrated earlier.

2.2.1 Lexical deficiency

The first hypothesis (Folli 2002) concerns the supposed lack of pure directional preposition in Romance languages. For example, English conveys goal of motion using the preposition *to*, whereas the preposition *at* has only locative meaning. On the other hand, Italian prepositions have only pure locative meaning and in order to convey goal of motion, they need to be combined with a pure motion verb (e.g. *andare, arrivare*).

The following examples clarifies this hypothesis showing how the same event is expressed in English and in Italian.

(62)   a. The car shuddered at a stop   locative
       b. The car shuddered to a stop   directional

                                                    Folli and Harley (2020: 431)

(63)   a. La macchina ha scricchiolato alla fermata   locative
       b. La macchina è arrivata alla fermata scricchiolando   directional

                                                    Folli and Harley (2020: 431)

In opposition to this hypothesis, the Spanish preposition *a* can only be used as directional and does not work combined with stative verbs

(64)   a. *Juan está a casa   Real Puigdollers (2010: 135)
       b. Juan está en casa

2.2.2 Extended Structural Ambiguity Hypothesis

According to Real Puigdollers (2010), the difference between v-framed languages and s-framed languages lies in the possible structures of PPs that are available for a language.

The ESAH is a revised version of Gehrke's (2007, 2008) Structural Ambiguity Hypothesis, which deals only with the prepositions *in, on, under* and *behind.* Puigdollers extends the hypothesis to every spatial preposition and states that they can have either a locative or a directional meaning, but the context in which these are found, can determines ambiguity.

(65) a. The box stayed/remained in/on/under/behind the table   Locative
      b. *The box stayed/remained into/onto the table

Real Puigdollers (2010: 130)

In this context (65), PPs can only be interpreted as locative, however, if they meet certain conditions they can be also interpreted as directional (66): combining them with a set of certain verbs (e.g. run, walk, roll, jump), as complement of VP and adjacent to the verb.

(66) John run in the room   Real Puigdollers (2010: 131)

(67) a. *In the house John run
      b. *The pool in which John fell is extremely deep

Real Puigdollers (2010: 132)

In Romance languages ambiguity is possible only through the semantic properties of the verb. Hence, the structure of a sentence do not allow any directional readings of locative PPs in any case. Puigdollers leads this back to den Dikken's (2006) projection of spatial PPs. Like VPs and NPs, den Dikken describes PPs' projections as consisting of three layers of function heads:

(68) a. $[_{CP}$ C$^{[FORCE]}$ $[_{DxP}$ Dx$^{[TENSE]}$ $[_{AspP}$ Asp$^{[EVENT]}]$ $[_{PP}$ V…]]]]
      b. $[_{CP}$ C$^{[DEF]}$ $[_{DxP}$ Dx$^{[PERSON]}$ $[_{AspP}$ Asp$^{[NUM]}]$ $[_{PP}$ N…]]]]
      c. $[_{CP}$ C$^{[SPACE]}$ $[_{DxP}$ Dx$^{[SPACE]}$ $[_{AspP}$ Asp$^{[SPACE]}]$ $[_{PP}$ P…]]]]

den Dikken (2006: 100)

In addition to this, spatial PPs are also devided into two components P_{DIR} and P_{LOC}, the former containing the latter. Based on whether P_{DIR} feature a full projection, there could be two types of structures:

(69)   Type I: V [$_{PP}$ PDIR…]   Real Puigdollers (2006: 139)
      a. V [$_{PP}$ P$_{DIR}$ [$_{PP}$ P$_{LOC}$ DP]]
      b. V [$_{PP}$ P$_{DIR}$ [$_{CP}$ C$^{[PLACE]}$…[$_{PP}$ P$_{LOC}$ DP]]]

(70)   Type II: V [$_{CP}$ C$^{[PATH]}$… [$_{PP}$ PDIR…]   Real Puigdollers (2006: 139)
      a. V [$_{CP}$ C$^{[PATH]}$… [$_{PP}$ P$_{DIR}$ [$_{PP}$ P$_{LOC}$ DP]]]
      b. V [$_{CP}$ C$^{[PATH]}$… [$_{PP}$ P$_{DIR}$ [$_{CP}$ C$^{[PLACE]}$… [$_{PP}$ P$_{LOC}$ DP]]]]

In (69) P_{LOC} is forced to move to $P_{DIR,}$ causing incorporation. This results in the unavailability for the spatial PP to move and in the possibility for manner to merges to the head of V. Conversely, a complete P_{DIR} allows topicalization and clefting. In this case, Germanic languages tend to use pure directional prepositions allowing manner incorporation in the main verb, which gives an explanation to the lexical deficiency hypothesis described above.

2.2.3 Syntactic Deficiency

Harley (2005) argues that Romance languages are not able to employ what she calls 'manner incorporation'. In her paper, she names two ways denominal verbs come to be: head movement of a manner root from a small clause to v and manner incorporation. The latter is not available in Romance languages.

(71)   a. Mary made the screen clean   Folli and Harley (2020: 433)
      b. Mary cleaned the screen
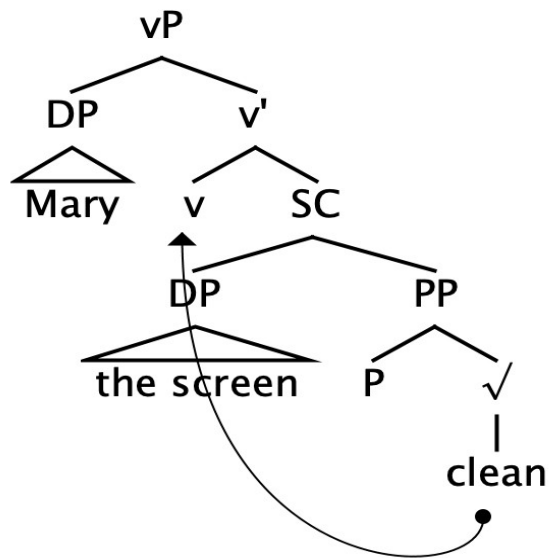
As far as 'manner incorporation' is concerned', Harley does not explain how exactly v acquires the root, she just states that the manner root comes from instrumental phrases that are not argument of vP but adjunct. She graphically represents this process using a thought balloon.

(72)   a. With a hammer, John hit the metal   Harley (2005: 25,26)
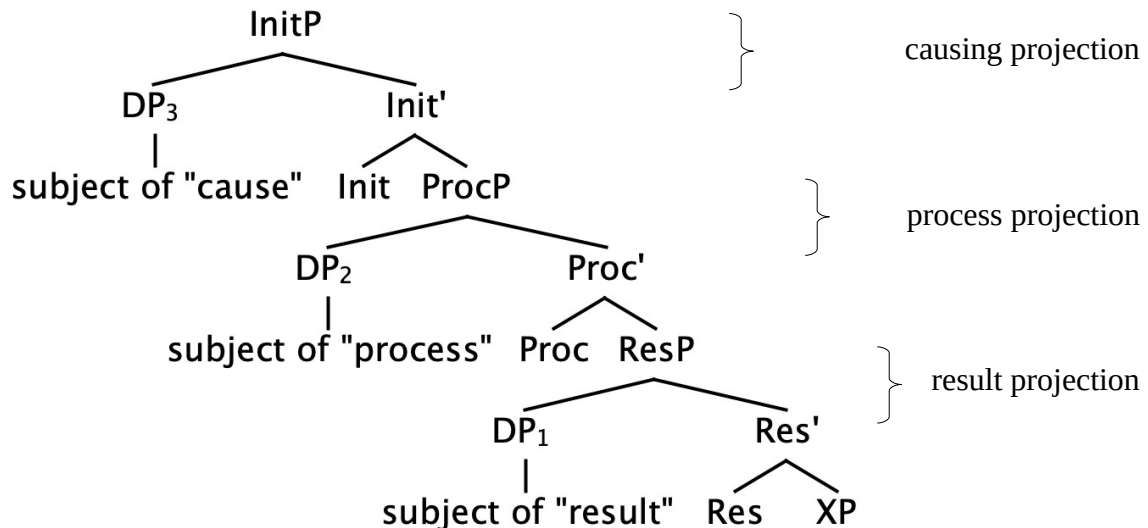   b. John hammered the metal
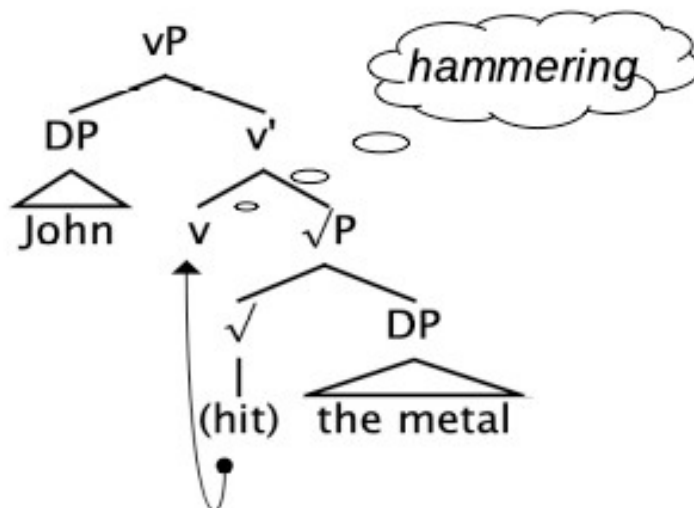
2.2.4 V-framed languages requiring Res-to-v movement

In Folli and Harley (2020) it is argued that v-framed languages are not actually deficient in syntax or lexicon compared to s-framed languages. The model adopted for this analysis is Ramchand's (2008) projection of VP.

(73)   Folli and Harley (2020: 429)

```
              InitP                              ⎤
          ╱        ╲                             ⎬   causing projection
       DP₃          Init'                        ⎦
        │          ╱    ╲
 subject of "cause"  Init   ProcP                ⎤
                        ╱      ╲                  ⎬   process projection
                     DP₂        Proc'            ⎦
                      │        ╱    ╲
          subject of "process"  Proc   ResP      ⎤
                                  ╱      ╲        ⎬   result projection
                               DP₁        Res'   ⎦
                                │        ╱    ╲
                    subject of "result"  Res    XP
```

ResP comprises both Path and Ground, but it can be split in PathP and LocP. This explains both English compound prepositions and Italian apparent manner of motion verbs (e.g. *correre*).

Firstly, the class of carve/sculpt verbs is analyzed, showing that there are three possible constructions: Product/Creation (74a), Material/result (74b), Created Result (74c).

(74)   a. Maria carved a doll.   Folli and Harley (2020: 439)

      Maria ha intagliato una bambola.

   b. Maria carved a piece of wood.

      Maria ha intagliato un pezzo di legno

c. Maria carved a piece of wood into a doll

*Maria ha intagliato un pezzo di legno in una bambola

Only the first two are available in Italian, whereas English can employ them all. This is explained arguing that the class of verb carve/sculpt in Italian requires head movement from Res to v, since, in addition to an unvalued feature uRes, v bares an EPP feature that gives strength to uRes*[4] triggering movement, because feature checking needs to occur in the vicinity of v. The head of Res provides the verb root that m-merges with v. Given these constraints, Italian can only express Product/Creation and Material/Result (75). On the other hand, in a hypothetical Created Result event, Res would be left stranded, therefore, this is not a possibility in Italian.

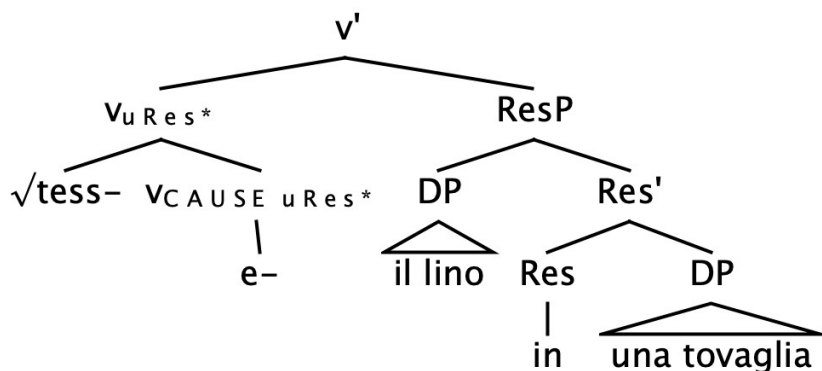(75)   Maria ha tessuto il lino   Folli and Harley (2020: 448)
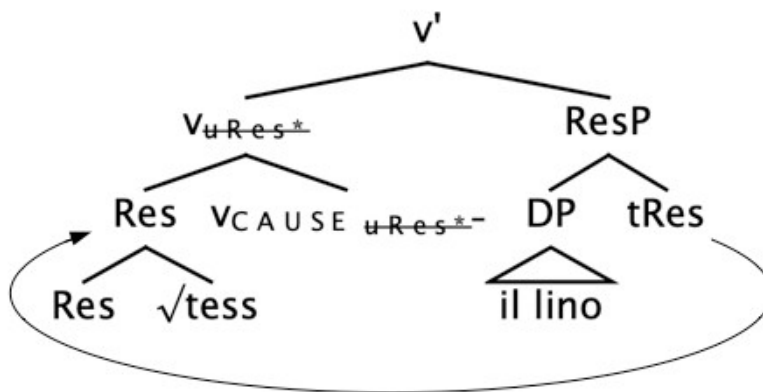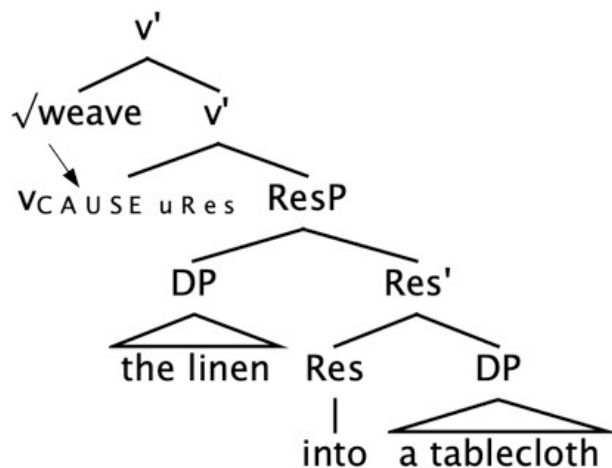

(76)   *Maria ha tessuto il lino in una tovaglia   Folli and Harley (2020: 449)

Such Construction in English is possible, because it employs a different mechanism. Rather than acquiring the manner root via i-Merge from Res, v^1 is linked to $\sqrt{}$ with e-Merge and then it m-merged with it.

(77)   Mary weaved the linen into a tablecloth   Folli and Harley (2020: 452)

The fact that this analysis concerns only carve/sculpt verbs is not trivial. Folli and Harley (2020) argue that the presence (or absence) of additional requirements depends on the specific *flavor* of verb that ends up m-merging with the manner root. For example, If on one hand, v_{CAUSE} and v_{BECOME} c-select a uRes* feature, on the other hand v_{DO} c-select a nominal complement, as a result, the mechanism employed for manner incorporation is the same as the one showed in (77).

Chapter 3

Satellites

In this chapter I will make use of Angie Thomas' The Hate U Give (THUG hereinafter) and its Italian translation, in order to analyze and comment extracts containing macroevents. I will mostly focus on the nature of English satellites but I will also try to find instances of possible Italian satellites.

This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section, I will discuss motion and change of state events and their argument structure, then I will assess the argument status of their satellites. The reason why I treat motion and change of state event together, is the fact that they seem not to differ syntactically and sometimes it is not clear what category a macroevent belongs to, especially when dealing with those events that involve a one-dimensional spatial framework that allows only to possible states.

(79)   She rolls her window down.

As a matter of fact, one could think of motion events as a particular type of a change of state events that involve motion. Unfortunately, I could not find any realization event in THUG, however, since also realization events can be considered a particular type of change of state events (Talmy 1991), any consideration in the first section can be extended to said event.

The second section will deal with action correlating events, and I will focus specifically on concert and accompaniment correlation and their satellites.

Finally, in the third section I will discuss temporal contouring events. Moreover, THUG is partially written in African American Vernacular English (AAVE) a variety of English that partially diverges from it in phonetics (80) and Syntax (81).

(80)   New number, who dis?

(81)   They at my cousin's house

Since AAVE is provided with a few more solutions for expressing aspect compared to English, in third section I will also take into account such variety.

Before proceeding further, I must preface that all the considerations upon the English language are made by an L2 English speaker, therefore, they might not be adequately supported.

3.1 Motion and change of state events.

In chapter 1, I introduced Talmy's (1985) concept of usage range of a verb. Generally, English manner of motion verbs seem to have a wider usage range compared to their Italian counterparts and every usage comes with a different argument structure.

Unselected Object Constructions and Created Result Constructions for change of state events are the result of a ditransitive argument structure. If a verb need a v_{CAUSE} flavor to license a Created Result Construction (Folli and Harley 2020), then I would say that a verb need a v_{SEND} flavor to license an Unselected Object Construction.

(82)   a. Momma returns with a big bowl, shoveling ice cream into her mouth.

         b. Mamma torna con una ciotola enorme e comincia a rimpinzarsi di gelato.

(83)   a. You don't blow no candles out till i say something.

         b. Non puoi spegnere le candele se prima non ho detto qualcosa.

(84)   a. I lower myself into the desk in front of Hailey.

         b. Prendo posto sul banco di fronte a Hailey.

However, there is a problem that must be addressed: only the direct object of such constructions can be used as subject in their passive form (85a) unless we slightly adjust the sentence as in (86) with *out of.*

(85)   a. Her hair has been combed into a ponytail.

         b. I capelli raccolti in una coda di cavallo.

(86)   A ponytail has been combed out of her hair.

When it comes to Complex Direct Motion Construction, verbs adopt a bivalent intransitive argument structure:

(87) a. Light from the kitchen stretches into the hallway.

     b. La luce della cucina si allunga in corridoio.

Change of state events that has Path and Ground conflated together (88) are also included in this type of construction, as they parallel Complex Direct Motion Constructions in which the satellite is anaphoric (89).

(88)   a. Kenya pops her Hot Cheetos open.

         b. Kenya apre il sacchetto di hot cheetos.

(89)   a. we schreech off.

         b. Partiamo con un stridio di gomme.

From a superficial observation, it appears that any English manner of motion verb can be employed to make such constructions through zero-derivation. Still, there are some exceptions: for example in (90) the verb *disappear* cannot select a direct object.

(90)   a. She disappears into the crowd.

         b. Si allontana e scompare nella folla.

         c. *She disappears her way into the crowd

Assuming that these possibilities are the result of zero-derivation, it is not clear why some verbs are more "malleable" than others. Moreover in (91) the verb *sign* seems to

31

have undergone a further process, since in its basic transitive form its direct object would be some kind of document, whereas in (90) is a person that semantically is more similar to a beneficiary rather than a patient. In the Italian translation this construction is still not possible but the semantic relation is more clear since a final clause is employed.

(91)   a. Go sign Sekani out

        b. va a firmare per far uscire sekani

Established that the minimum requirement for a morpheme or a word to be considered a Satellite is to be contained within the argument structure of its verb, now I will assess the argument status of these phrases. Starting with motion events, I will then extends the same reasoning to change of state events.

According to Luven (2014), there are four types of place PPs: Locative, Goal, Path, Ambiguous, the last one comprises co-initial and transitory PPs that can be interpreted either as a goal or as a path. The argument status of a place PP is then correlated to the modification of the telicity of the verb caused by the place PP itself.

Since Locative PPs and Ambiguous PPs path reading co-initial (i.e. *from*) never modifies the telicity of a verb, they are considered adjuncts. In (92) and (93) *drum* and *echo* are atelic verbs and they do not become telic when combined respectively with *on* and *from.*

(92)   a.[5] I drummed my fingers on my knee   for 10 minutes

        b. * I drummed my fingers on my knee   in 10 minutes

        c. I drummed my fingers   for 10 minutes

(93)   a. Music echoed from the backyard   for 10 minutes

        b. *Music echoed from the backyard   in 10 minutes

        c. Music echoed   for 10 minutes

---

5   In the extracts from (91) to (94), verbs are originally in present tense. Here I opted for the past simple for the sake of the test.

On the other hand, Goal PPs (e.g. *to, into, onto*) and ambiguous goal-reading co-initial PP (i.e. *out of*) are in fact arguments.

(94)   a. He maneuvered the Impala to the side of the street   in 10 minutes
        b. *He maneuvered the Impala to the side of the street   for 10 minutes
        c. He maneuvered the Impala   for 10 minutes

(95)   a. Mr Lewis limped out[6] Daddy's office in 30 seconds
        b. *Mr Lewis limped out Daddy's office for 30 seconds
        c. Mr Lewis limped for 30 seconds

Problems arise with prepositions like *toward* and *through*. The former is a Path PP and it passes some argumenthood tests (i.e. Core Participants test, Iterativity test with the same class, Verb Specificity test, Adjunct Island) even though it never modifies the telicity of a verb (Luven 2014). The latter can also be interpreted as a path reading ambiguous PP which are not considered argument (Luven 2014).

(96)   a. Darkness crawls toward them
        b. Il buio avanza verso di loro
        c. Il buio striscia verso di loro

(97)   a. I squeeze through sweaty bodies
        b. Mi faccio largo tra i corpi sudati
        c. Mi schiaccio attraverso i corpi sudati

In the examples above, the Italian translation is not so faithful, were we to translate it as literal as possible (96c) (97c), the structure of the sentences would match the English one at least on the surface. Why then are those considered satellite-framed constructions in English but not in Italian? As far as Path PPs are concerned, in line with Talmy (1985) and Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013), I do not regard them as satellite. On the

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6   Colloquial for *out of.*

other hand, since the association of *through* to the category of satellites is a matter of interpretation, I report extract (97) again with an extended context.

(97bis) I squeeze through sweaty bodies and follow Kenya, her curls bouncing past her shoulders. A haze lingers over the room, smelling like weed, and music rattles the floor.

Given this context, I am more inclined to give a path reading to *through sweaty bodies,* hence adjunct status, since it is not suggested that the subject has a goal outside the crowd of sweaty bodies and emphasis lies on the action moving among said bodies. This interpretation could be extended to the Italian translation (97b), especially because the translator employs the preposition *tra* which has locative meaning.

Conversely, the examples (98) and (99) are immediately interpretable: the former has path reading, the latter goal reading.

(98)　a. Grass grows up through the cracks in the sidewalk.
　　　　b. L'erba cresce indisturbata tra le crepe dell'asfalto.

(99)　a. I saw the bullets rip through him.
　　　　b. Io ho visto i proiettili trapassarlo da parte a parte.

However, it remains uncertain whether the italian preposition *attraverso* could be interpreted as goal-reading in some context, especially because it shares a common property with English satellites, namely the possibility of being used as an anaphoric adverb.[7]

With regard to other prepositions and adverbs, we can apply the same reasoning.

(100)　a. Chris runs up and elbows him aside.
　　　　b. Chris gli si fa sotto e lo allontana allargando il gomito.

7　*Verso* could be used as an anaphoric adverb in colloquial speech e.g. *andare verso.*

(101) a. Some kids race past on bikes and scooters.

b. Un gruppetto di ragazzini su biciclette e motorini mi sfreccia accanto.

(102) a. A red river flowing down the street.

b. Un fiume rosso scorreva in strada.

(103) a. At least five police cars speed by.

b. Ci sfrecciano accanto almeno cinque auto di pattuglia.

In (100) *aside* functions as a Goal, hence it is a satellite of the complex verb *to elbow aside*. In (101) and (103) *past* and *by* are place PPs that are not taken into account by Luven (2014). They can be interpreted as either a Locative PP or a transitory goal-reading PP. However, we can infer from the context that they must be interpreted as goal. As a matter of fact, they are anaphoric adverbs. (101) could be rephrased as *some kids race past me on bikes and scooters,* in order to make the goal reading overt. Moreover, when they are used as anaphoric adverbs, they seem to license only the goal reading and they cannot be topicalized.

(104) a. The ball sails past the hoop.   Ambiguous

b. The ball sails past   Goal readings

c. *Past, the ball sails

d. Past the hoop, the ball sails   Locative

Similarly, Path+Ground words in change of state events behave the same way, therefore, they must be rightfully considered satellites:

(105) a. My door creaks open

b. la porta della camera si sposta cigolando

(106) a. the door slams shut

b. La porta d'ingresso si richiude sbattendo

(107) a. All hell breaks loose

        b. e si scatena l'inferno

(108) a. I jolt awake

        b. Mi sveglio di soprassalto

In Italian this kind of change of state events do not presents any ambiguous constituent, as the S-relation is clearly lexicalized in an adjunct, although there is a clear trace of Latin's past satellite-framedness in (107). Similarly, the English spatial adverb *away* and its Italian analog *via* conflate Path and Ground together.

(109) a. As if that'll wipe the nightmare away.

        b. Come se potessi strofinare via l'incubo.

(110) a. As she jogs away.

        b. Mentre lei corricchiava via.

However, *via* seems not to work as good in Complex Direct Motion Constructions as in Unselected Object Constructions since verbs like *nuotare* in their perfect form do not sound natural. Moreover, *via* cannot be combined with every verb, in (111) and (112), the translator does not use *via,* which in the previous example was considered the most natural solution.

(111) a. Cars speed away outside

        b. Fuori le macchina partono a razzo

        c. *Fuori le macchine accelerano via

(112) a. DeVante backs away

        b. DeVante indietreggia

        c. ?DeVante indietreggia via

I hypothesize that this is due to the fact that *accelerare* does not conflate Manner but the Ground of a state of change event, and since *via* comprises both Path and Ground, it would have been redundant. Similarly, *indietreggiare* that conflates Path, would conflict with the Path component of *via.*

3.2 Action correlating events

With regard to action correlating events, I will focus on concert and accompaniment correlation, since prefixes like *out-* in surpassment correlation are doubtlessly satellites.

(113) a. "Why you always lying?" Kenya and the girl sing together.
　　　 b. "Why you always lying?" cantano kenya e l'altra.

(114) a. We rode the waves of grief together.
　　　 b. Avavamo cavalcato insieme le onde del dolore.

(115) a. We lough together
　　　 b. Ridiamo

(116) a. Some nineties R&B songs play on the radio, and Momma sings along under her breath
　　　 b. La radio sta trasmettendo R&B anni novanta, e la mamma canticchia sottovoce

(117) a. Tupac blasting through the subwoofers… Daddy glances at me as he raps along
　　　 b. Tupac che rimbomba dai subwoofer… Papà mi guarda seguendo la canzone

It is possible to notice that the respective satellites for concert and accompaniment events behave in different ways.

Together could be placed anywhere, although the sentence would result as marked. For example, (114) could be rephrased in the following way:

(118)   We rode together the waves of grief.

Conversely, *along* can only be placed adjacent to the right of the verb, showing a more intimate connection with it.

With regard to aktionsart, *together* can be used with any type of verb (120), conveying the same meaning, whereas *along* is preferably used with activity verbs. Nevertheless, when combined with an achievement verb, it modifies its telicity and duration (121).

(119)   a. We were in third grade together.
        b. Eravamo compagne in terza elementare.

(120)   a. I prop myself up on my elbows and nod along.
        b. Mi sollevo sui gomiti e faccio ballonzolare la testa a tempo.

Furthermore, *along* seems to occupy the spot in the argument structure of the direct object when it is combine with a transitive verb (121).

(121)   a. The choir sings upbeat songs... Momma sings along and waves her hands.
        b. Il coro inneggia alla gioia.. Mi madre canta e agita le mani.
        c. ?The choir sings upbeat songs… Momma sings upbeat songs along and waves her hands

This is could be due to the fact that semantically in (121c) the direct object conflicts with the Agency's activity and it seems s if *Momma* is singing different *upbeat songs*. However, this sentence could be still grammatical, but in this case, *along* must be interpretable as an aspectual satellite.

Differently, *along with* + NP sometimes seems to be able to function like *together*. As a matter of fact, the context surrounding extract (122) do not clarify whether the Agency's activity started before the Agent's or if they both started at the same time, nevertheless, the last option seems the most natural interpretation. Thus, *along with* + NP is similar to

transitory place PPs as they are both ambiguous. (122) can be interpreted as either a concert or an accompaniment event. Moreover, if (122) is a concert correlation event, *along with* could also be interpreted as having a wider scope that refers to *jump* too.

(122)   a. We head for the dance floor and jump and fist-pump along with the rest of them.
        b. Scendiamo in pista e saltelliamo e alziamo i pugni al cielo insieme a tutti gli altri.

In the example below, *along with* is used with a stative verb and could be easily replaced by *together with,* without changing the meaning.

(123)   a. Ms. Ofrah is already in the conference room along with some people who work at the DA's office.
        b. April Ofrah è già seduta al tavolo, insieme ad alcuni membri della procura.

In conclusion, I would say that *together* (with) and *along with* in concert events are not satellite since they do not seem to bear a strong connection to the verb, therefore I would exclude concert correlation events from satellite-framed constructions, whereas I would include accompaniment correlation events.
As far as Italian is concerned, concert events are translated with *insieme* (*a*), which can be omitted in the translation when there is a plural subject. Conversely, in order to translate accompaniment events, the verb *seguire* is employed. Nevertheless, I found a case of an accompaniment event where *insieme a* is used (125). However, the translator added *poi* in order to signal that the Agent's action started after the Agency's, resulting in an "out of phase concert event" rather than a proper accompaniment event.

(124)   a. Chris raps... I rap along with him
        b. Chris comincia a rappare... Poi rappo insieme a lui

3.3 Temporal contouring events

Differently from other macroevents, in English temporal contouring events are preferably expressed through verb-framed constructions or adverbials. In the extracts below, the Italian translation parallels the original version except for (125), (128) and (129), nevertheless, the translator could have used *finire di* and *finire per* obtaining an equally natural sounding result.

(125)   a. She took me to a game after she finished tutoring me

        b. dopo le lezioni mi ha portato a una partita.

(126)   a. Until you give us a reason to think otherwise, we'll keep protesting

        b. E finché non ci darete motivo di cambiare idea, continueremo a protestare

(127)   a. But the key is to keep doing it rightful.

        b. Ma il segreto è continuare a fare la cosa giusta.

(128)   a. They wanted us to do family stuff, but we ended up doing our own thing the entire time.

        b. Loro avrebbero voluto che stessimo sempre insieme, ma alla fine abbiamo fatto I comodi nostri.

(129)   a. Maya came but ended up asking her parents to come get her that night

        b. Maya venne, ma alla fine chiamò i suoi e si fece riportare a casa

(130)   a. She just saw one of her best friends die

        b. Ha appena visto il suo migliore amico morire

(131)   a. Ms. Tammy takes the recliner that Ms. Rosalie usually sits in

        b. Tammy prende posto sulla poltrona reclinabile che di solito è riservata a sua madre

Among the aspect satellites listed by Talmy (1985), *up* is the only extensively used in THUG. This satellite is employed to convey completion especially with change of state verbs. Indeed, this satellite could be conceptualized either as an anaphoric adverb for *up to completion* conflating both Path and Ground or as just a Path satellite with Ground conflated in the verb root. This type of construction appear to be employed especially when there is less emphasis on agentivity.[8]

(132)   a. I wish this hoodie could swallow me up somehow.
          b. Vorrei tanto scomparire del tutto dentro questo cappuccio.

(133)   a. the smoker heats up the whole building.
          b. l'affimuicatore riscalda l'intero palazzo.

(134)   a. Momma tenses up and pull me closer.
          b. mamma si irrigidisce e mi stringe a se.

(135)   a. They're better warmed up in the microwave.
          b. Sono più buoni riscaldati nel microonde.

The aspectual meaning of *up* is often opaque and used for intensive "meaning" For this reason, it appears to be redundant and it is rarely translated in Italian.

(136)   a. "Uh, baby," says Daddy, "I was finishing up"
          b. "Ehm, tesoro, stavo concludendo" dice papà.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, AAVE has further solutions for expressing aspect. Firstly, AAVE can employ the particle *be* to express habitual or durative aspect (Labov 1998). Three properties separate this particle from the usual English auxiliary *be*: it cannot be affixed with negation but it requires *do*-support, it cannot be used for tag questions, and it cannot be inverted. For this reason, it is also

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8   Another possible way is using the suffix *-en* as in *straighten, thicken.*

called *non-finite be* (Labov 1998).When used in a past context, *non-finite be* generally corresponds to habitual *would*. However, there is not an analog of *non-finite be* in SE (or Italian) for a context like (137).

(137)   a. Don't be calling her by her name like you grown.

   b. Non la chiami per nome come se fossi un uomo fatto e finito.

Secondly, AAVE is provided with the perfect particle *done.* This particle is mostly employed in place of *have* for present perfect and it is also used for completive aspect which in SE would be expressed with the satellite *up.* Finally it can also convey intensive meaning even in combination with verbs that can hardly accept completion (e.g *win*) (Labov 1998).

(138)   a. Boy, it's good to see where the Lord done brought you.

   b. Ragazzo, è bello vedere dove ti ha condotto il Signore.

These are not the sole aspectual particles available in AAVE, they are just the only particles I spotted on THUG. For the sake of completeness, I present two further options. Firstly, *be* and *done* can also be combined to form *be done* which conveys completion and future location that in SE would be translated in *by the time that* + future perfect (Labov 1998). Finally, the particle *been* + preterit is used for non recent perfective and it has three semantic components: it refers to a condition true in the past, said condition has been true for a long time, and it is still true (Labov 1998).

3.4 Conclusion

Even though a more precise definition of satellite is needed, we can safely say that most of the morphemes and words that are regarded as satellites in English are indeed argument of their verb complexes. Among those that are not satellites, *together* (*with*) in concert events is the one that shows no ambiguity and it seems that it cannot be a satellite in any context. Conversely, Italian has a few words that seem to have properties that are similar to English satellites. However they do not ultimately change telicity of

their verbs. For this reason, I would say that Folli's (2002) lexical deficiency hypothesis can only partially explain Italian verb-framedness. The satellite-like functioning of the Italian word *via,* which works better with UOCs rather than CDMCs, can be maybe explained by the fact that in UOCs the theta role of the Subject does not have to change, whereas in CDMCs it should turn into patient. Therefore, I would say that English Place PPs not only change telicity of their verbs, but they also somehow trigger a change in the theta roles of the argument structure.

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