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Syntactic accounts of the satellite-framed vs. verb-framed typology. A case study in XIV cent. Venetan

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List of abbreviations

1/2/3: first/second/third person

ABL: ablative

ACC: accusative

ADJ: adjective

CAUS: causative

CDMC: complex directed motion construction

CLT: clitic

COL: change of location

COND: conditional

COS: change of state

DAT: dative

DC: declarative

EPP: extended projection principle

F: feminine

FUT: future

GER: gerund

GND: ground

IMP: imperative

INF: infinitive

IPFV: imperfective

LOC: locative

NEG: negation

NOM: nominative

OBJ: object

P: particle

PF: phonological form

PhV: phrasal verb

PL: plural

PRED: predicative

PST: past

PTCP: participle

REFL: reflexive

RL: Romance language

SAT: satellite

SBJ: subject

SBJV: subjunctive

SG: singular

TEL: telic

TOP: topic

VPC: verb particle construction

UOC: unselected object construction

Introduction

Talmy's (1985) well known article on the lexicalization patterns of semantic structures in the different languages of the world led to the macro-distinction between *satellite-framed* and *verb-framed* (henceforth s-framed and v-framed) languages. Since then, the scientific debate has been struggling to find proper criteria for an acceptable applicability of the Talmian typology to the different, and not always clearly, classifiable linguistic data from the various languages and the various constructions of an individual language. In fact, not only is the s-framed vs. v-framed distinction based on semantic values in addition to morphological ones, but also the different interpretations of linguistic structures can be fickle in dependence of the theoretical background adopted. As we will see, Talmy's (1985) distinction argues for the possibility of two main lexicalization patterns for various semantic values including aspect, causation, Aktionsart and, most of all, motion. The linguistic expression of motion is by far the most debated and peculiar aspect characterising the Talmian typology. However, in this dissertation it will be clear that not all the semantic categories explored by Talmy (e.g. Cause, Aspect/Aktionsart, Motion) must be treated separately: in fact, as it was firstly pointed out by Aske (1989), the type of motion constructions classified by Talmy (1985) seem to be sensitive to a resultative (actional) value; moreover, Cause will be shown to be one of the possible co-events of a motion event according to Talmy (1985).

According to Talmy (2000), Romance languages pertain to the v-framed pattern, meaning that in these languages the core information about an event of transition must be encoded in the verbal root while any other additional element can be joined to the expression as a stand-alone structure next to the main predication. What makes this remark peculiar is the fact that Latin, as it was shown by Acedo-Matellán (2010), is instead an s-framed language, in which part of the core information about the predication of a transition event can be encoded into elements – namely satellites – which incorporate to, but don't conflate with, the radical element realising the verb. Despite the prospection of a

diachronic typological shift, occurred during the passage from Latin to Romance, it appeared for many authors (Talmy (2000) included) that some exceptions to this trend had to be made in order to explain the frequent usage of satellite-like elements in the northern Italian domain (but not only, as Masini (2006) pointed out) for the expression of directed motion constructions. These analyses have contributed to the effect of reducing the Talmian typology to a sort of a loose trend into which languages can optionally conform. The neo-constructionist approach adopted by Mateu & Rigau (2010), Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013, 2015), Mateu (2017) shows that such analyses can be avoided by considering the Verb-Particle Constructions (hence VPCs) of Italian as a type of v-framed construction and assuming the Talmian typology as a syntactic parameter. Acedo-Matellán and Mateu analyse a list of constructions that only an s-framed environment is supposed to license. Given this, the chance for a language to allow such constructions becomes an indicator of its v-framed or s-framed status. In this dissertation, the Talmian typology as defined by Talmy (1985) will be firstly introduced; secondly, the conclusions to which different theoretical frameworks (namely *constructionism* and *neo-constructionism*) have led will be analysed. Afterwards, an observation will be proposed that, if assumed, has the advantage of relating the constructions in Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013) as multiple outputs of a single syntactic operation. Finally, an analysis of the expression of motion in the XIV cent. Venetan from the *Atti del podestà di Lio Mazor* (hereinafter referred to as *Lio Mazor*) will be made: such analysis is particularly interesting considering the Northern Italian dialects hypothesis (Simone, 1997) for the development of VPCs in Italian. Surprisingly, despite the high presence of VPCs in today's Venetan, which made Simone wondering about the role of northern dialects in the emergence of Italian VPCs, the XIV cent. Venetan of *Lio Mazor* shows very few of these constructions and makes use of synthetic forms (as standard Italian does) instead. This, combined with the absence of non-transparent Ph(rasal) V(erb)s (another typical construction in today's Venetan, cf. Benincà & Poletto, 2006), made the ancient Venetan, for some aspects, appear as more v-framed than it does today.

The exposition is structured as follows. In Chapter 1, a general summary regarding the classification of languages made by Talmy (1985) is provided. In Chapter 2, the constructionist (cf. Goldberg, 1995, 2006; Fillmore & Kay, 1999; Croft, 2001) and neo-constructionist (in the sense of Marantz, 1997, 2013; Borer, 1994, 2005b; Pylkännen, 2008;

Ramchand, 2008 among others) approaches to the Talmian typology are presented. In particular, the two frameworks will be shown to offer different analyses of the Italian VPCs, with the constructionist framework presenting them as an s-framed construction and the neo-constructionist framework considering them as a particular v-framed construction. As stated above, the crucial point in the proposals of Acedo-Matellán and Mateu is to provide a list of structures that are supposed to be possible only in an s-framed language: these structures will be resumed in Chapter 3, where an observation will be made which will lead us to consider them as the multiple reflection of a single syntactic movement. Finally, Chapter 4 presents an analysis of the expression of motion in the XIV cent. Venetan of *Lio Mazor*. The analysis will be led within the neo-constructionist approach previously exposed. Finally, some open challenges for future research are presented.

This dissertation assumes a generative grammar perspective in the analysis of an ancient language that, through the centuries, has undergone a number of structural changes. This, as already pointed out in Acedo-Matellán (2010) for Latin, involves that only positive evidence of linguistic data conveyed by manuscripts can be explored; on the contrary, there is no access to the competence of native speakers for specific grammaticality judgements. In addition, this implies that only little part of the language diversity is available to our analysis. Also the fact that written texts tend to undergo a standardization, however moderate, must be considered. Finally, linguistic data offered by ancient texts could have undergone interpolations by the copyists: attention was paid to the philological reliability of the consulted texts by using critical editions. In particular, the *Atti del podestà di Lio Mazor* (Elsheikh, 1999), the *Il libro di messer Tristano («Tristano Veneto»)* (Donadello, 1994) and the OVI (Opera del Vocabolario Italiano) database were consulted.

Chapter 1

The Talmian classification of languages

Talmy (1985) moves from the consideration that meaning and surface expression can be treated separately, and that meaning can assume various expressions when encoded in a language. By holding a selected surface expression (e.g. 'verb', 'satellite', 'adposition', etc.), the way of encoding meaning components into the linguistic structure can be analysed. This allows to compare different surface expressions that realizes a same meaning, as well as different meanings encoded in a same surface expression, both within a language and cross-linguistically.

1.1 Cause

The first exemplification made by Talmy concerns the linguistic codification of Cause and takes the verbs *kill* and *make appear* as examples: these two predications share the same semantic notion of an Agent acting on a Patient, but while *kill* expresses such relation on its own, *appear* needs a grammatical device (*make*) in order to do the same; in fact, the verb *appear* alone would express a Patient acting on its own, thus lacking the causative meaning provided by *make*. In this sense, the following equivalence is drawn out by Talmy (1985):

(1) usage of   usage of

L(exical morph.)$_2$ = L(exical morph.)$_1$ in construction with G(rammatical morph.)

Kill   *appear*   *make*

As pointed out in (1), the causative value for a lexical morpheme like *appear* can be modelled through the adjunction of a grammatical morpheme (*make*) thus making the verb express a semantic structure that is analogous to that of *kill* in specifying an event that takes as Agent an entity different from the one undergoing the event itself.

Talmy explores various types of causative meaning that can be expressed in a verb, e.g. by distinguishing intentional Agents from unintentional ones (called *authors*): remaining on *kill*, the same equivalence in (1) can be made if compared with *die*, that selects an autonomous Undergoer of the event and needs *make* in order to acquire the same causative meaning as *kill*. Furthermore, *kill* can either express an intentional or unintentional causation of the event, that is not possible in *murder*, which only encodes an intentional causative meaning.

By using *die*, *kill* and *murder*, Talmy exemplifies many different types of causative expression[1]:

   a. Autonomous event (not causative) which takes place spontaneously, i.e. without a previous causing event:

(2) He died/*killed/*murdered yesterday.

   b. Resulting-event caused by another event:

(3) He died/*killed/*murdered from a car hitting him.

   c. Event caused by an animated, unintentional Agent:

(4) She unintentionally *died/killed/*murdered him.

   d. Event caused by an animated, intentional Agent:

(5) She *died/killed/murdered him in order to get rid of him.

   e. Event caused by an intentional Agent induced by a thing, event or another Agent:

(6) She *died/*killed/*murdered him (i.e.: 'She induced him to kill [others]).

---

[1] (1) to (6) are taken from Talmy (1985: 81).

As shown in (6), nor *die* nor *kill* or *murder* can lexicalize the type of causation expressed in *e*. In such case, which in English is not only limited to expressions regarding death, a grammatical device similar to that in (1), namely the structure *to have V*, is used in order to shift the default type of causation expressed by the verb:

(7) She had him *die/kill/murder people.

This is not enough, though, to license such a reading for *die*, since this verb, as previously shown, does not entail a causative reading by itself. For this to happen, a further shift would be needed to convey an inducive-agentive value for *die*; this can happen with the grammatical device in (1). In fact, if one would like to push the capabilities of grammatical devices close to their compositional limits, a sentence like (8) should be attended in order to license a reading like (7) for the verb die:

(8) She had him make people die.

Another way of encoding causative meaning in surface expressions is by using satellites, i.e.:

> *"certain immediate constituents of a verb root other than inflections, auxiliaries, or nominal arguments [that] relate to the verb root as periphery (or modifiers) to a head. A verb root together with its satellites forms a constituent in its own right, the 'verb-complex' […]. In some cases, elements that are encountered acting as satellites to a verb root […] belong to particular recognizable grammatical categories; therefore, it seems better to consider the satellite role not as a grammatical category in its own right but as a new kind of grammatical relation."*[2]

The usage of satellites realizing a causative meaning is found by Talmy in Atsugewi (Hokan language of northern California), where specific satellites (more than 26,

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[2] Talmy (1985: 102).

according to Talmy) are used in the form of verbal prefixes to denote different Agents causing the event expressed by the verbal root, e.g.[3]:

(9)

  ca- : "from the wind blowing on P(atient)"

  uh- : "from the weight of a substance bearing down on P(atient)"

  miw- : "from heat/fire acting on P(atient)"

  cu- : "from a linear object acting axially on P(atient)"

As pointed out by Talmy, such meanings cannot be encoded by satellites in English, were a *by*-clause or a *from*-clause structure (depending on the agentive (10) or non-agentive (11) value of the verb complex) is needed:

(10)   I burst the sack by poking a long thin object endwise into it.

(11)   The sack burst from a long thin object poking endwise into it.

1.2 Aspect

As with cause, also the aspectual values of verb roots can be modified by making them interact with other grammatical elements. According to Talmy, each verb root has an intrinsic aspectual meaning that can be included among the following[4]:
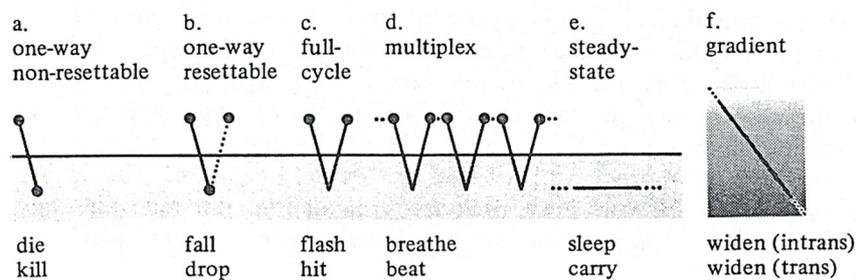
The specific meaning encoded by a single verb root can be inferred by various grammatical tests, e.g.[5]:

1. verify the compatibility of *one-way* verbs with iterative expressions in order to distinguish *non-resettable* verbs by *resettable* ones:

(12)   He fell 3 times.

(13)   *He died 3 times.

2. distinguish between *one-way resettable* verbs and *full-cycle* verbs by testing their fitting in sentences like:

(14)   He fell and then got up.

(15)   *The beacon flashed and then went off.

3. distinguish between *steady-state* and *gradient* verbs by testing their compatibility with adverbs of augmentation:

(16)   The river progressively widened.

(17)   *She progressively slept.

Regarding English, alteration of the intrinsic aspectual value of a verb root can take place both with grammatical devices, namely the type of structures seen in (1), or with satellites. As an example, one could shift the *full-cycle* value of a verb like *flash* to a *multiplex* value by applying the structure *keep V-ing*: here, the verb *keep* interacts with the aspectual meaning of *flash* yielding a *multiplex* interpretation of the event:

(18)   The beacon flashed. $\Longrightarrow$ The beacon kept flashing.
           Full-cycle   Multiplex

However, many English satellites providing aspectual alteration of verb roots are also found by Talmy, among which[6]:

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[5] (12) to (18) are taken from Talmy (1985).
[6] Taken from Talmy (1985: 114, 115).

17

over : V again

(19) When it got to the end, the record automatically started over from the beginning.

up : V all the way into a different denatured state

(20) The dog chewed the mat up in 20 minutes.

on$_1$: continue V-ing without stopping

(21) The dog chewed the mat on for 10 minutes.

on$_2$: go ahead and V against opposition

(22) He was asked to stay on the other side of the door but, adamant, he barged on in.

off : V in sequence/progressively

(23) I read/checked off the names on the list.

In some cases, there is not a strict correspondence between a satellite and the type of aspectual modification that it conveys to the verb root (cf. *on*), i.e. a satellite can provide the verb complex with different aspectual values depending on the specific verb root involved in the construction. Taking *flash* again as an example, one might expect that a sentence like:

(24) The beacon flashed on.

could provide an aspectual meaning similar to that of *keep flashing*, but this is not the case with this verb root; rather, the verb complex *flash on* seems to enhance the abruptness of the event encoded in V, meaning 'to V suddenly'. In such cases, it is not clear whether the satellite has to be treated as the identical surface expression of two homophone morphemes conveying different aspectual values, or rather as a same aspectual modifier that provides different aspectual values depending on the verb root it combines with.

Further examples of aspect-related satellites are provided by Talmy[7] for Russian, where a bigger set of aspectual meanings can be encoded in satellites compared to English:

*po*₁- : V for a while

(25)   Xočets' a poletat' na samolete.

    'I'd like to fly for a while on a plane.'

*po*₂- : V as one complete act

(26)   On yeyo poceloval.

    'He kissed her [gave a kiss].'

*pere*₁- : V every now and then

(27)   Perepada' ut doždi.

    'Rains fall (It rains) every now and then.'

*pere*₂-/*pro*- : complete the process of V-ing

(28)   Pivo perebrodilo.

    'The beer has finished fermenting.'

za- : start V-ing

(29)   Kapli dožd' a zapadali odna za drugoy.

    'Drops of rain began to fall one after another.'

raz-/-*s'a* : burst out V-ing

(30)   Ona rasplakalas.

    'She burst out crying.'

na-/-*s'a* : V to satiation

(31)   On nayels'a.

    'He ate his fill.'

---

[7] Talmy (1985: 115, 116).

s- : V and de-V as one complete cycle [only with motion verbs]

(32) Ya sletal v odin mig na počtu.

  'I there-and-back-flew in one moment to post-office.'

As one may notice, also in Russian cases can be found of satellites providing different aspectual values depending on the verb root they are binding with (cf. *po-*, *pere-*).

Aspect and cause often combine together in the lexicalization patterns of verb roots, realising trends within a language as regards the predominant way of codifying aspectual-causative values inside a specific semantic domain. This is analysed in Talmy (1985) by considering the semantic domain of "state", where the following aspect-causative types are found:

(33)

  1. being in a state (stative);
  2. entering into a state (inchoative);
  3. putting into a state (agentive).

Talmy takes as example the verbs of "postures", i.e. verbs expressing "postures or orientations that are assumed by the human body or by objects treated as comparable to the body"[8]. By analysing verbs of postures in different languages, a pattern can be noted throughout each language, that tends to conform to one of the three aspect-causative types listed above. Regarding English, an inventory of verbs of posture that mostly encodes a stative aspectual-causative value is shown:

(34) She lay there all during the program.

Conversely, Japanese tends to lexicalize the inchoative "entering into a state" type in verbs of postures:

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[8] Talmy (1985: 86).

(35) Boku wa tatta.

       I   TOP arose

  'I stood up.'

Finally, Spanish is taken as example to show verbs of the third (agentive) type:

(36) Acosté   el niño.

      I laid down the child

  'I laid the child down.'

As for aspect and cause considered individually, also for verbs of postures some grammatical devices are available in order to shift the default aspectual-causative value of verb roots to the other two types of values available (cf. (33)). Here, while some languages (e.g. English) are shown to take satellites as modifiers, some others (e.g. Japanese, Spanish) only make use of grammatical devices of the type in (1), namely structures (e.g. functional verbs, reflexive pronouns) acting on the verb without showing a satellite-like behaviour.

According to Talmy (1985), an English verb of posture (stative type) can be shifted to the inchoative type by the structure V + SAT (cf. (37)) and to the agentive type by the structure V + CAUS + SAT (cf. (38)):

(37)   She lay down there when the program began.

(38)   He laid her down there when the program began.[9]

A Japanese verb of posture (inchoative type) can be shifted to the stative type by the structure 'be' + V + PST-PTCP (cf. (39)) and to the agentive type by the structure V+ CAUS (cf. (40)):

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[9] As one may notice, in (38) no specific morpheme can be found in the structure conveying a CAUS value; here, I assume that the CAUS value is realised by a change in the argument structure of the verb itself, that licenses an Agent + Patient θ-role assignment and induces a shift from an unaccusative to a transitive structure. (34) to (38) are taken from Talmy (1985).

(39) Boku wa   tatte   ita.
      I   TOP having-arisen was

  'I was standing.'

(40) Hon   o   tateta.
      book OBJ AGENTED-to-arise

  ' I stood the book up.'

Finally, a Spanish verb of posture (agentive type) can be shifted to the stative type by the structure 'be' + V + PST-PTCP (cf. (41)) and to the inchoative type by the structure V + REFL (cf. (42)):

(41) Estaba acostado.
      I was   laid down

  'I lay (there).'

(42) Me   acosté.
      myself I laid down

  'I lay down.'

Further ways of shifting through the types of aspectual-causative values seen in (33) can be found, both across languages and within a language. As an example, consider the 'position' verb *hid*, which can take the stative, inchoative and agentive value alike without assuming any grammatical device[10]:

(43) He hid in the attic for an hour.   (stative type)
(44) He hid in the attic when the sheriff arrived.   (inchoative type)
(45) I hid him in the attic when the sheriff arrived.   (agentive type)

or the state verb *freeze*, that by default lexicalizes both the inchoative or agentive type and needs to assume the 'be' + V + PST-PTCP form in order to express a stative value:

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[10] Examples from Talmy (1985: 89).

(46)   The water froze.   (inchoative type)

(47)   I froze the water.   (agentive type)

(48)   The water was frozen.   (stative type)

A more in-depth analysis of these phenomena is performed in Talmy (1985); here it is enough to show how meaning-in-form processes can be altered by different strategies in various semantic domains, and particularly how satellites constitute a strategy for such alterations only limited to some languages. Recognizing "satellite-equipped" from "non-satellite-equipped" languages will become a primary distinction when dealing with the semantic domain of motion.

1.3 Motion

The semantics of motion is what mainly characterises the investigation on lexicalization patterns carried out by Talmy. Firstly, because an analysis of the elements typically involved in a motion event is here provided[11], allowing an adequate semantic decomposition of such complex events; secondly, because it is in this domain that languages mostly seem to conform to different patterns of lexicalization, giving rise to a typological categorization.

Concerning the former aspect, two basic actants are expected by Talmy to take part in the semantics of motion events: the Figure, that is "a moving or *conceptually movable* [italic by Talmy] object whose path or site is at issue", and the Ground, that is "a reference-frame, or a reference-point stationary within a reference-frame, with respect to which the Figure's path or site is characterized"[12]. In Talmy's terms, both events containing movement and events containing stationary location are broadly analysed as motion events, since they equally express the position of an object (the Figure) in reference to a spatial frame or to another object (the Ground); consider the following:

(49)   The ball is under the bed.

(50)   The ball rolled under the bed.

---

[11] Cf. especially Talmy (1975a, 1975b) for a fuller analysis of the linguistic system of motion.
[12] Talmy (1985: 61).

Although (49) depicts a stationary location, while (50) expresses a movement, in either (49) and (50) the subject of predication ("the ball") is identified as a Figure whose site (or landing site) is defined with reference to a Ground ("under the bed").

In addition, four other semantic components are supposed to take part in the representation of a motion event according to Talmy: Motion, Path, Manner and Cause. Motion "refers to the presence *per se* [italic by Talmy] in the event of motion or location"; Path identifies "the course followed or site occupied by the Figure object with respect to the Ground object"[13]. Together with Figure and Ground, Motion and Path constitute the semantic skeleton of any motion event encoded in languages. The latter two components, namely Manner (indicating the way in which motion is performed) and Cause (indicating what generates motion), take a secondary role, since they can be analysed as expressing external events associated with the main event of motion. Languages can shape the expression of motion events by conveying the semantic components seen above through many surface expressions. Let us first see the kinds of lexicalization that can occur involving a verb root. According to Talmy, various semantic components of Motion can be lexicalized in the verb root both within a language and cross-linguistically. The first pattern to be analysed is the manner-conflating one. Both with events of location (cf. (51)) and with events of motion (cf. (52)), verb roots in English can be shown to express the Manner component in the predication, e.g.[14]:

(51) The lamp stood/lay/leaned on the table.   (be$_{LOCATED}$ + Manner)

(52) The rock slid/rolled/bounced down the hill.   (move + Manner)

The Manner conflation of sentences like (51), (52) becomes clear when comparing them to their unconflated counterparts, i.e. sentences where the Motion component of the event is encoded in the verb root while Manner comes as a separate adjunct:

(53) The lamp was-located on the table, lying there.

(54) The rock moved down the hill, rolling [the while].

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[13] Talmy (1985).

[14] (51) to (62) are taken from Talmy (1985).

Together with Manner, there can be cases of Cause conflation. Even if Manner and Cause conflation are treated quite separately in Talmy (1985)[15], one can assume both structures to involve a similar originating dynamic, i.e. the conflation in the verb root of an element expressing a co-event to the main motion event. In fact, the distinction between Manner conflation and Cause conflation is quite absent in the subsequent studies based on the Talmian typology, where cases of Cause conflation are treated as Manner conflations. Examples of Cause-conflating verb roots are provided:

(55)   The napkin blew off the table.

(56)   I chopped/sawed the tree down to the ground at the base.

As for Manner, also for Cause an unconflated counterpart is available, where the Cause element is evidenced through its de-location on an adjunct structure:

(57)   The napkin moved off the table, from [the wind] blowing on it.

(58)   I moved the tree down to the ground, by chopping on it at the base.

Examples (53), (54), (57) and (58) also show the fact that Manner and Cause components of motion events can be treated as separated co-events to the main event of motion: their stand-alone nature is in fact detected by them being able to license an autonomous linguistic predication in the form of an adjunct sentence to the main sentence: this means that their expression is in any case conflated in a verb root, be it the main verb (Manner/Cause conflation) or a separate verb joined through a subordinate clause.

An important intuition is made in Talmy (1985) when observing cases of "extensions of the Motion conflation pattern" and particularly regarding "Motion compounded with mental-event notions [...] and metaphoric extensions of Motion"[16]. These are either cases where the main verb root doesn't lexicalize a sub-component of a motion event, and yet licences a "mental-event" concept of motion:

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[15] But only to a certain extent, since Talmy himself refers to "Manner/Cause conflation" cases next to "Path conflation" and "Figure conflation" cases.

[16] Talmy (1985: 66).

(59)   She wore a green dress to the party.

‘She went to the party, wearing a green dress.’

and cases where a metaphoric movement takes place in an event that doesn't *per se* include any movement:

(60)   He chocked to death on a bone.

‘He ‘moved’ to death, from chocking on a bone’.

(61)   I baked a cake out of fresh ingredients.

‘I made [moved into existence] a cake out of fresh ingredients, by baking them.’

(62)   The shirt flapped dry in the wind.

‘The shirt became dry [moved to dryness], from flapping in the wind.’

These observations will take a primary role when assumed inside a neo-constructionist framework of generative syntax, in which light will be shed to their resultative semantic component allowing them to become significant indicators for the s-framed or v-framed parametric status of a language (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.2).

Next to Manner/Cause conflation, cases of Path conflation into the verb root are analysed. As reported by Talmy, Semitic, Polynesian and Romance languages typically conform to the Path conflation pattern in the expression of motion events. In these languages, the Path component is lexicalized in the main verb root, while Manner/Cause are either omitted or expressed in an independent constituent. Examples from Spanish are offered in Talmy (1985: 69):

(63)   La botella entró   a la cueva (flotando).

the bottle moved-in to the cave (floating)

‘The bottle floated into the cave.’

(64) La botella salió   de   la cueva (flotando).

       the bottle moved-out from the cave (floating)

   'The bottle floated out of the cave.'

(65) La botella pasó   por la piedra (flotando).

        the bottle moved-by past the rock (floating)

    'The bottle floated past the rock.'

(66) El globo subió   por   la chimenea (flotando).

       the balloon moved-up through the chimney (floating)

    'The balloon floated up the chimney.'

According to Talmy, languages with a predominant Path conflation pattern typically own many verbs expressing motion through various paths. The existence of a correlation between a bigger number of path verbs and v-framed languages (i.e. languages with Path conflation) as well as a bigger number of manner verbs and s-framed languages (i.e. languages with Manner conflation and satellite-expressing path) has been explored in the subsequent years. Slobin (1997, 2003, 2004, 2006) argues that s-framed languages have a bigger class of manner-of-motion verbs compared to v-framed languages; Özçalışkan (2004: 85) claims that the number of path verbs in a language is not influenced by language typology since, unlike for Manner, there's a (physical) limited way of expressing Path. According to Matsumoto (2003), number of Path verbs and Manner verbs is only to some extent related to the typological nature of the language considered. Finally, Verkerk (2014) argues that a correlation exists between v-framed languages and a bigger set of Path verbs compared to s-framed languages, in parallel to what Slobin has claimed for Manner conflating verbs in s-framed languages. The hypothesis in Verkerk (2014) is sustained by two main reasons: firstly, many languages show a complex pattern of Path verbs for different types of reference points of the movement, e.g.[17]:

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[17] Examples in (67) and (68) are taken from Verkerk (2014).

(67)

Jahai (Malay):

- rkruk   'to move along the main river'
- piris   'to move across the flow'
- dey   'to move upstream on a tributary'
- hɔc   'to move downstream on a tributary'

Secondly, within a language, there can be some Path verbs that specify different semantic nuances of a same path, e.g.:

(68)

Spanish for *leave*:

- apartarse
- distanciarse
- ladearse
- largarse
- marcharse
- partir
- pirarse

By analysing the linguistic encoding of motion events in three different literary works translated into 20 (s-framed and v-framed) Indo-European languages, Verkerk (2014) demonstrated that a correlation does exist between amount of Path verbs and v-framed typology: in particular, while there are some Path verbs that appear in almost all the 20 languages analysed, there also are some others that only appear in v-framed languages, thus confirming what in Talmy (1985) only came as an intuition.

Despite English being a language that typically shows Manner conflation, a list of Path incorporating verbs is provided by Talmy, e.g.:

(69)

- enter
- exit

- pass
- descend
- return
- circle
- cross
- separate
- join

However, these verbs crucially originate from Romance borrowings, where the Path conflating type is prevailing.

The third major pattern for the lexicalization of Motion into the verb root found by Talmy is the one conflating Figure. In this pattern, a "whole series of surface verbs that express various kinds of objects or materials as moving or located"[18] is typically found. Few examples of this pattern are provided by English, where verbs like (to) *rain* or (to) *spit* can be used[19]:

(70) It rained in through the bedroom window.

(71) I spat into the cuspidor.

In (70), the verb (to) *rain* directly encodes the Figure of the movement, i.e. rain itself, that moves from outside to inside the bedroom; the same process happens in (71), where the Figure of the movement (spit) is lexicalized by the verb root (to) *spit*[20].

In Atsugewi, a systematic use of Figure conflating motion verbs can be found:

(72)

-lup- : for a small shiny spherical object (e.g. a round candy, an eyeball, a hailstone) to move/be-located;

-caq- : for a slimy lumpish object (e.g. a toad, a cow dropping) to move/be-located;

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[18] Talmy (1985: 72).
[19] (70) to (72) are taken from Talmy (1985: 73).
[20] Interestingly, (to) *rain* and (to) *spit* involve two different argument structures, the latter conveying an external Agent θ-role which is absent in the former.

-*swal*- : for a limp linear object suspended by one end (e.g. a shirt on a clothesline, a hanging dead rabbit, a flaccid penis) to move/be-located;

-*qput*- : for loose dry dirt to move/be-located.

Finally, according to Talmy, there seems to be no language with a predominant Ground conflation pattern for the expression of Motion events, although some sporadic cases of this structure are found in American English (e.g. *emplane/deplane*, with the verb root -*plane*; (to) *house*, i.e. "move with respect to a house"; (to) *liquid*, i.e. "move with respect to liquid"[21]). It is likely that an inchoative meaning has to be involved in these structures, otherwise an induced (agentive) action can be conveyed (cf. (to) *pocket*). However, examples from Romance will show that this structure could not be as rare as it was predicted by Talmy (cf. section 2.2.5).

The three patterns of Path conflation, Manner conflation and Figure conflation shown above might be ordered in a frequency hierarchy, with the Path conflation as the most recurring pattern throughout languages of the world (included Romance, Semitic, Polynesian, Nez Perce, Caddo). Manner conflation follows (with languages like Indo-European except Romance, Chinese), while Figure conflation is the least represented pattern (found in Atsugewi, Navajo).

Like for the verb root, there are different types of conflation regarding satellites (in languages that are provided with them). The most recurring conflation pattern for satellites is the path-conflating one. This is the main type of conflation in English, Russian, Latin, Classical Greek and, more generally, in Indo-European languages (Romance excluded, where Path is typically conflated into the verb root). Some of the examples provided by Talmy (1985) from English (73), Russian (74) and Chinese (75) are here reported:

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[21] Talmy (1985: 75).

(73)

English:

in : I ran in.

out : I ran out.

on : I got on.

off : I got off.

over : She came over.

up : It flew up.

down : It flew down.

above : I went above.

below : I went below.

(74)

Russian:

v- : 'into'

vy- : 'out of'

na- : 'onto'

s- : 'off of'

pere- : 'across'

pod- : '(to) under'

(75)

Chinese:

qù : 'thither'

lái : 'hither'

shàng : 'up'

xià : 'down'

jìn : 'in'

chū : 'out'

dào : 'all the way (to)'

dǎo : 'atopple'

guò : 'across/past'

A second type of conflation pattern involving satellites is the one conflating Ground together with Path. This seems to be a rare pattern, that nonetheless is shown in some Amerindian languages. Atsugewi is among them[22]:

(76)

Atsugewi:

-cis : 'into a fire'

-wam : 'down into a gravitic container'

-wamm : 'into an areal enclosure'

-ikn : 'over the rim into a volume enclosure'

-ikc : 'into a passageway so as to cause blockage'

A third, rare type of conflation pattern involving satellites is the manner-conflating one. This type of conflation can be found in Nez Perce, an Amerindian language of North America that typically conflates Path into the verb root (as Romance does). As previously shown, usually in a path-conflating pattern into the verb root the Manner is optionally expressed by an independent constituent. In Nez Perce, though, Manner can be directly adjoined to the verb root as a prefix, e.g.[23]:

(77)

Nez Perce:

wat- : 'wading'

siwi- : 'swimming-on-surface'

wis- : 'travelling with one's belongings'

kipi- : 'tracking'

til- : 'on the warpath/to fight'

qisim- : 'in anger'

ceptukte- : 'crawling'

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[22] (76) is taken from Talmy (1985: 108).

[23] (77) is taken from Talmy (1985: 111). Although Talmy defines those in (77) as "prefixes", it would be interesting to know whether they can also be lexicalized as nouns or verbs, given their complex semantic content. In that case, an incorporation *à la* Baker (1988) could be claimed to be involved.

wu·l- : '(animal) walking / (human) riding (animal at a walk)'

quqù- : '(animal) galloping / (human) galloping (on animal)'

1.4 Salience

A major distinction between languages that use satellites in the expression of motion events (s-framed languages) and languages that don't use satellites (v-framed languages) in this domain is drawn by the notion of *salience*. With this term Talmy designates "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. […] A semantic element is back-grounded by expression in the main verb root or in any closed-class element (including a satellite […]). Elsewhere it is foregrounded" [24]. According to Talmy, this seems to be a universal principle[25]. For example, the difference between the following sentences[26]:

(78)   Last year I went to Hawaii by plane.

(79)   Last year I flew to Hawaii.

is that even if both (78) and (79) convey a same core information, in (78) the fact of having reached the destination by using a plane is central (since this particular Manner of Motion is here encoded in a constituent outside the verb complex), while it makes part of the background of attention in (79), where Manner is conflated in the verb root[27]. Given this, a comparison can be made between s-framed languages and v-framed languages in relation to the amount of information that can be expressed in the background of attention. In fact, while an s-framed language can express many components of a linguistic predication in a backgrounded way by using more satellites at once, this is not the case for v-framed languages, where only the verb root is available for this purpose: the other components must then be expressed through independent constituents, i.e. in a foregrounded

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[24] Talmy (1985: 122).

[25] While this certainly occurs with Manner, the same prediction becomes fickler when considering Path. This is probably due to the fact that, the Path being a core component of a motion event, it cannot undergo de-location into an adjunct external to the main predication.

[26] (78) to (84) are taken from Talmy (1985: 122, 123).

[27] The fact that in (78) the Manner of motion is prominent in the predication should not be surprising, considered that it is common for languages to realize focus through syntactic de-location.

way. As an example, Talmy compares English and Spanish for the expression of a motion event like (80):

(80)   The man ran back down into the cellar.

In (80) three Path components (back - down - into) and Manner are expressed in the background of attention through three different satellites and the verb root. This would not be possible in Spanish, where satellites cannot be used as a surface expression. In this language, the only verb root is available to license a Path component, while Manner can be added as a stand-alone constituent (therefore, in the foreground of attention). As a result, there should be produced as many different sentences as any single Path component to be expressed:

(81)   El hombre volvìo   a-l   sótano corriendo.
        the man   went back to-the cellar running
       'The man returned to the cellar at a run.'

(82)   El hombre bajó   a-l   sótano corriendo.
        the man   descended to-the cellar running
       'The man descended to the cellar at a run.'

(83)   El hombre entró   a-l   sótano corriendo.
        the man   went in to-the cellar running
       'The man entered the cellar at a run.'

Alternatively, a sentence with a Manner-conflating verb root and no Path components can be used:

(84)   El hombre corrió a-l   sótano.
        the man   ran   to-the cellar
       'The man ran to the cellar.'

1.5 Valence

Dealing with verbs that assign more than one θ-role, a major or minor degree of attention in the linguistic predication is achieved by an argument depending on its case assignment. In particular, it is typical for a subject to be perceived as more "focused" with respect to the other arguments. In order to obtain different argument focalizations while keeping the verb root unchanged, grammatical devices or satellites can be used by languages. An example can be made with the verb *pour*: this verb typically refers to a Figure (SBJ) that undergoes a movement (whose Path is expressed through a satellite) in reference to a (prepositional) Ground, as in (85)[28].

(85)   Water poured into the tub.

However, the same verb when occurring with an adjective like *full* undergoes a valence change that promote Ground as subject:

(86)   The tub poured full of water.

The "Ground as subject" version depicted in (86) is further analysed by Talmy as a strategy to express a meaning (i.e. pouring of water *to all points of the inside* of the tub) that would be otherwise unavailable, cf.:

(87)   *Water poured all into the tub.

This is not the case when expressing the meaning "*to all points on the surface*" of GND, where a "Figure as subject" is maintained:

(88)   Water poured all over the table.

Basing on *valence*[29], then, Talmy argues that, in English, for a "filled surface" expression a Figure-above-Ground hierarchy is required, while for a "filled interior" expression

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[28] (85) to (88) are taken from Talmy (1985: 117, 118).
[29] Not to be confused with the traditional meaning indicating "number of distinct element types occurring in association with a verb": in Talmy (1985) *valence* is used to indicate "the particular surface case

a Ground-above-Figure hierarchy is required. A different way of exploring this phenom-enon is offered in the neo-constructionist framework adopted by Mateu (2017), where this so-called *Locative alternation* undergoes a syntactic analysis (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.2.3).

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assignment(s) that a verb exhibits, given a fixed number of certain types of elements in association with it." (Talmy (1985: 96).

Chapter 2

Motion and resultativity

2.1 A constructionist approach to Italian VPCs

As stated in the Introduction, for some authors (Talmy (2000) included) a distinction should be made within the pan-Romance v-framed assumption when dealing with Italian Verb-Particle Constructions (VPCs). This claim is taken up by works which, adopting a constructionist approach, argue that Italian VPCs should be treated as a type of s-framed structure, making Italian differ from the v-framed pattern expected in Romance languages.

Constructionist theories date back to works like Goldberg (1995, 2006), Fillmore & Kay (1999), Croft (2001). According to these theories, linguistic constructions are analysed as lexical primitives originated by the crystallization of recurring sound-meaning pairs[30]. Goldberg (1995: 4) explains that "a distinct construction is defined to exist if one or more of its properties are not strictly predictable from knowledge of other constructions existing in the grammar: [...] C is a construction iff$_{def}$ C is a form-meaning pair <F_i, S_i> such that some aspect of F_i or some aspect of S_i is not strictly predictable from C's component parts or from other previously established constructions"[31]. As a result, variation in the domain of motion expression is analysed in terms of presence or absence of the constructions taken under consideration with respect to the language being investigated. This perspective is assumed by Masini (2006), Iacobini & Masini (2007), Iacobini (2009) among others. In particular, dealing with Italian VPCs both in a synchronic and in a diachronic perspective, Masini (2006) claims that a typological anomaly (in the sense of the Talmian typology) has to be assumed for Italian.

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[30] In a Saussurean sense, cf. Acedo-Matellán (2010).
[31] In Acedo-Matellán (2010), footnote 28.

In Iacobini & Masini (2007: 156), VPCs are described as "complex predicates formed by a verbal base and a modifying post-verbal particle". These constructions are commonly characterizing the expression of motion events in Germanic languages, where an s-framed pattern is adopted. In fact, according to Masini (2006), VPCs are not as common in Romance languages, and this is precisely what would make Italian VPCs an anomaly within the Romance family.

According to Iacobini & Masini (2007), three semantic types of VPCs are found in Italian:

(1)
- locative VPCs;
- idiomatic VPCs;
- aspectual/actional VPCs (typically realising telicity/duration).

Locative VPCs are the most frequent type. Some examples of these constructions are:

(2)
- andare / correre +:
  ('go'/'run')
  - dietro ('behind')
     (*to chase*)
  - avanti ('forth')
  - via ('away')
  - indietro ('back')
  - giù ('down')
  - su ('up')
  - contro ('against')
  - dentro ('inside')
  - fuori ('outside')
- rotolare giù ('to roll down')
- strisciare via ('to crawl away')
- trascinare via ('to drag away')
- raschiare via ('to scrape away')
- sfregare via ('to rub away')
- lavare via ('to wash away')
- portare via ('to take away')
- passare sopra ('to pass on')
- saltare sopra ('to jump on')
- saltare dentro ('to jump in')
- tirare su ('to pull on')
- tirare fuori ('to pull out')
- lanciare fuori ('to throw out')
- portare fuori ('to take out')

As one may notice, in complex predicates like those in (2) the directionality (i.e. Path) component of the motion event seems to be encoded in a satellite, while the verb root either expresses (pure) Motion (e.g. *andare*, *venire*) or Manner (e.g. *lanciare*, *tirare*, *saltare*, *trascinare* etc.). Idiomatic VPCs would have originated from locative VPCs whose compositional status underwent a semantic bleaching: this, according to Iacobini & Masini (2007), would further testify the primary locative function performed by these structures, besides their high frequency of usage in Italian and their achieved lexical status. Some examples of idiomatic VPCs taken from Iacobini & Masini (2007) are:

(3)

- mettere dentro   ('to imprison')
- fare fuori   ('to kill')
- buttare giù   ('to swallow'; 'to write down'; 'to weaken'; 'to get down')

Finally, aspectual/actional VPCs are analysed as typically realising telic or durative values. A partial overlap is found between the aspectual/telic VPC type and the locative VPC type, since some atelic Manner verbs within the latter type acquire a telic value when inserted in a V + SAT structure[32]:

(4)

- tirare ('to pull'; atelic)   tirare fuori ('to take out'; telic)
- andare ('to go'; atelic)   andare via ('to go away'; telic)
- saltare ('to jump'; atelic)   saltare giù ('to jump down'; telic)

In some cases, a change in the argument structure of the verb is reported in Iacobini & Masini (2007)[33] and Iacobini (2012) when a telic value is acquired by the VPC, cf.:

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[32] (4) is taken from Iacobini & Masini (2007).
[33] Cf. Iacobini & Masini (2007: 158 and footnote 24) and Iacobini (2012: 376).

(5)

    volare:

    "L' uccello ha volato per due ore."

    The bird has flown for two hours

    "L' uccello è volato via."

    The bird is flown away

In (5), an unergative verb like *volare* (that θ-selects an Agent) acquires an unaccusative structure (i.e. it θ-selects a Theme) when combined with the (telic) particle *via*. This change is marked by the auxiliary verb. A number of cases like the one in (5) are present in Italian according to Iacobini & Masini (2007); however, these authors fail in providing a structural reason for such alternation, since they only detect "a connection between un-accusativity and telicity"[34]. In Chapter 3, a syntactic account will be advanced for the alternation depicted in (5).

    As for the syntactic behaviour of Italian VPCs, morphosyntactic cohesion is shown between the verb root and the satellite element. In particular, according to Masini (2006), the following properties are present[35]:

(6)

    - resistance to insertion: only clitic elements or light constituent (e.g. adverbial) can be inserted between the verb root and the satellite, e.g.[36]:

        "Luca ha lavato via la macchia."

        Luca has washed away the spot

        "Luca ha lavato subito via la macchia."

        Luca has washed immediately away the spot

        "*Luca ha lavato la macchia via."

        Luca has washed the spot away

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[34] Iacobini & Masini (2007), footnote 24.
[35] Examples in (6) are taken from Masini (2006).
[36] Cf. also Cordin (2011) for a similar observation.

- resistance to left-dislocation and topicalization: the resistance increases with the bleaching of the compositional meaning of the VPC, so that idiomatic VPCs are more resistant than locative VPCs:

  "È   entrato dentro."
  He_is entered inside

  "??È dentro che è   entrato."
   It is inside that he_is entered

  "Abbiamo messo su il   caffè."
   We_have   put on the coffee

  "*È   su che abbiamo messo il caffè."
   It is on that we_have   put the coffee

- resistance to coordination: the VPC behaves as a single constituent when trying to coordinate more satellites to a verb root, e.g.:
  "*La polizia ha messo dentro i delinquenti e   via   il bottino."
   The police has   put inside the criminals   and away the loot

- nominalization: no "heavy" lexical constituent can be inserted in a nominal infinitive VPC, e.g.:
  "Gianni è corso via   subito   dopo la partita."
   Gianni is run away immediately after the match

  "*Il   correre di Gianni via   subito   dopo la partita."
   The running of Gianni away immediately after the match

Concerning the diachronic development of Italian VPCs, four hypotheses have been considered in the literature according to Masini (2006):

(7)

- the Germanic hypothesis;

- the Northern Italian dialects hypothesis;

- the diamesic hypothesis;

- the typological-structural hypothesis.

The Germanic hypothesis dates back to works like Meyer-Lübke (1899), Löfstedt (1961), Rohlfs (1969) and, more recently, Plangg (1980), Gsell (1982). According to these authors, VPCs are the result of an influence operated by Germanic languages to Italian. In fact, Rohlfs (1969) noted how Italian VPCs progressively decrease from Northern Italian to Central Italian. Further elements in favour of this theory, reported by Iacobini & Masini (2007), are: the fact that VPCs were not frequent in Latin, where prefixed verbs were the most common strategy to create motion constructions or aspectual/actional alteration of verb roots (cf. Bertocci, in press); the fact that VPCs are rare in Romance languages, except for Italian; the fact that VPCs are frequently used in Rhaeto-Romance and Ladin, which are languages spoken through some valleys of the Alps close to Germanophone lands.

The Northern Italian dialects hypothesis was advanced in Simone (1997). This hypothesis argues that the development of Italian VPCs is due to an influence dictated on the language by Northern Italian dialects, where these structures are a common linguistic strategy[37]. The problem with this hypothesis is that it leaves unanswered the question about the origin of these structures, one of the possible answers being the Germanic hypothesis already reported. It seems then that the first two hypotheses described above are not mutually exclusive, but rather can be assumed as depicting two different phases of the same phenomenon.

According to the diamesic hypothesis advanced in Jansen (2004), Italian VPCs originated by a process of integration to the standard level of language of features that were typical of the colloquial, spoken level. As reported by Masini (2006), arguments in favour of this hypothesis argued by Jansen (2004) are the fact that VPCs involve highly recurring

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[37] Cf. Vicario (1997) for a study of these "analytical verbs" in Friulan, where this structure is the only one available to express locative meanings, and Schwarze (1985) for the claim that analytical forms (i.e. VPCs) would be more likely to be accepted than synthetic forms by Northern Italian speakers.

and generic words (easy to be computed and typical in colloquial, spoken language) and the fact that particles are usually small in length and provided with "cognitive pregnancy"[38]. According to Jansen (2004), then, Italian VPCs are a rather new structure in Italian, appeared when, by the second half of the 20th century, Italian people started to properly speak Italian. Again, this hypothesis does not necessarily disagree with the previous, but rather integrates them.

Finally, the typological-structural hypothesis is presented. This hypothesis, advanced in Masini (2006), Iacobini & Masini (2007), Iacobini (2009), analyses Italian VPCs as an original development of the Italian language occurred within the passage from Vulgar Latin to Italian. In particular, the following considerations are made: firstly, the passage from Latin to Italian entailed the passage from an SOV structure to an SVO structure, with the consequential shift from a prevalent Modifier-Head order (shown by the productivity of prefixed verbs in Latin) to a Head-Modifier order (displayed by VPCs). Secondly, the passage from Latin to Italian saw the emergence of prepositions to signal syntactic values previously marked by cases. The weakening in the usage of verbal prefixes, together with the replacement of morpho-phonological realization of cases with functional prepositions, led to a tendency toward analycity and ultimately fostered the production of VPCs. Thirdly, as argued by Dufresne, Dupuis & Tremblay (2003)[39] for Old French (but the analysis can be extended to Italian), it is more likely for the particles displayed by VPCs to be a common Indo-European heritage shared by Latin and German, rather than the result of an isolated influence dictated by German to Old Romance languages. In the fourth place, the fact that VPCs constitute a pervasive phenomenon for the expression of motion in the Italian language suggests itself an endemic origin for this structure. This hypothesis is supported by the data collected in Masini (2006): by analysing the *opera omnia* of Dante Alighieri, both a locative and a Path-intensifier usage (i.e. expression of Path through the verb root and the particle at the same time, e.g. *salire su* 'to climb up') of verb particles emerges. As for the *Divine Commedy* is concerned, a meaningful distribution of VPCs through the three *cantiche* is found, with 57 occurrences in *Inferno*, 70 occurrences in *Purgatorio* and only 28 occurrences in *Paradiso*. In particular, it is the gap between *Paradiso* on one side and *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* on the other

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[38] Reported by Masini (2006).
[39] Reported by Masini (2006).

to be relevant, since these results would confirm the perception of VPCs as a less formal strategy compared to prefixed verbs (cf. below for the same claim in Iacobini, 2009). In the fifth place, as argued by Tekavčić (1972) and Vicario (1997), the loss of productivity underwent by the prefixed-verb forms of Latin during the passage to Italian contributed to the development of VPCs, cf.[40]:

(8)

in + iacere (inicere)	> buttare dentro ('throw in')
ex + iacere (eiecere)	> buttare fuori ('throw out')
sub + iacere (subicere)	> buttare sotto ('throw under')
de + iacere (deicere)	> buttare giù ('throw down')

Some plausible reasons for the loss of productivity of Latin prefixed verbs is provided by Iacobini (2009): firstly, all the locative values that can be expressed via verbal prefixes can also be expressed by post-verbal particles, but not the converse; secondly, while there are no cases of recursive prefixation in Italian, post-verbal particles can occur together with prefixed verbs, allowing the creation of new verb complex; finally, VPCs are perceived as less formal than prefixed verbs. According to Iacobini (2009), the spread of VPCs and the emergence of v-framed structures are two by-products of a crisis occurred in the expression of motion events during Late Latin. Next to the loss of productivity of verb prefixation, a symptom of this crisis was the merging of boundaries between prefixes and verb roots. Another symptom was the loss of distinction between locative and directional values, that were typically encoded by different cases or different particles (i.e. prepositions, adverbs) in Classical Latin, cf.[41]:

(9)

- *in* + ABL > location
- *in* + ACC > direction

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[40] (8) is taken from Tekavčić (1972).
[41] Examples in (9) are taken from Iacobini (2009: 36).

-	*apud*	> 'at'		-	*ad*	> 'to'
-	*illic*	> 'at that place'		-	*illuc*	> 'to that place'
-	*foris*	> 'on the outside'		-	*foras*	> 'to the outside'
-	*intus*	> 'on the inside'		-	*intro*	> 'to the inside'

Iacobini (2009: 37) also reports some cases of VPCs in Latin, both within the Archaic and the Classical stages of the language, although confined to less formal registers:

(10)

Plautus:	*effugi foras*
Cicero:	*retro regredi*
Lucretius:	*retro reverti*; *foras exire*; *ire foras*
Horace:	*ire foras*
Petronius:	*foras exire*

However, VPCs in Latin became more frequent from the 4th century AD on, when they extended to more various registers; according to Iacobini (2009: 37), "the growing presence of PhVs[42] is fully consistent with the new typological features gradually coming to the fore in the passage from late Latin to RLs[43]". Furtherly, Iacobini (2009) argues that VPCs were quite common in Archaic Latin, while "the classical period was not in favour of expressing directed motion by means of post-verbal particles"[44]. Finally, during Late Latin VPCs emerged again. This process resembles the dynamics occurred to VPCs during Renaissance humanism, when a restauration of the Latinate prefixed forms was boosted at the written level of language, and it is consistent with the hypothesis according to which VPCs are typically perceived as an informal linguistic strategy.

An important thing to notice is that while the first three hypotheses described in (7) are not mutually exclusive, but rather complement each other, the typological-structural hypothesis is not fully compatible with the Germanic hypothesis and the Northern Italian dialects hypothesis, since it advances a different proposal regarding the origin of Italian VPCs. Some counterarguments to the Germanic hypothesis are provided by Iacobini &

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[42] 'Phrasal Verbs', i.e. VPCs.
[43] 'Romance Languages'.
[44] Iacobini (2009: 36).

Masini (2007) and Iacobini (2009): firstly, the fact that Italian VPCs partially resemble Germanic verbs with separable prefixes does not constitute a proof for the existence of a relationship between the two phenomena; secondly, syntactic calques from German are quite rare in Italian, and usually limited to the literary register: furthermore, a distinction should be made between isolated lexical loans and the systematic recurrence of a certain structure; thirdly, however rare, cases of VPCs do exist in Romance languages that do not have (nor historically had) a direct exposition to German (e.g. Spanish, Romanian). Given this, enough arguments seem to be present in order to consider the typological-structural hypothesis as a more effective way of explaining the origin of Italian VPCs; however, this does not necessarily exclude that an influence by German may have taken place, but only as a catalyzer for a phenomenon that was already in progress[45]. According to Iacobini & Masini (2007), Italian VPCs should then be treated as an internal development of the language. In particular, after a censorious period during the Renaissance humanism, this structure would have reappeared in the following centuries thanks, presumably, to an influence from both German and Italian dialects.

2.2 A neo-constructionist approach to the Talmian typology

As it was shown in the previous section, the constructionist approach assumed by Masini (2006), Iacobini & Masini (2007), Iacobini (2009), but see also Iacobini (2012) and Iacobini & Corona (2016), led to an analysis of Italian VPCs as an anomalous case of s-framedness in a language that is supposed to be v-framed. In fact, the reasons advanced for this phenomenon (cf. the typological-structural hypothesis) essentially focus on its diachronic development, but fail to give a proper explanation regarding the possibility for this construction to cohabit with a typically v-framed environment. This is due to the fact that, within a constructionist framework, no parametric assumptions are taken to be responsible for linguistic variation, that "boils down to the existence or non-existence of a given construction in the lexicon of a given language"[46].

A different analysis is offered by the neo-constructionist (also known as 'constructivist') approach. This framework, developed in such works as Marantz (1997, 2013), Borer (1994, 2005b), Pylkännen (2008), Ramchand (2008) among others, assumes the idea that

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[45] Cf. Iacobini & Masini (2007: 165).
[46] Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2015: 102).

linguistic constructions are not lexical primitives, but rather the result of the combination of functional elements that takes place in syntax; accordingly, the lexical structure of the predicate can be decomposed through different syntactical layers. This view moves from Hale & Keyser (1993, 1998, 2002)'s assumption of argument structure as the syntactic projection of a given lexical item (the so-called l(exical)-syntax theory, cf. section 2.2.4), but goes beyond it by relating the properties of argument structure to the functional structure (i.e. a hierarchical structure embodying bundles of abstract features) rather than to lexical items. The advantage in assuming a neo-constructionist framework to the Talmian typology is that a parametric analysis of the phenomenon can be performed, by relating the cross-linguistic variation observed in Talmy (1985, 2000) to different realizations of a same syntactic structure. In particular, when referring to parameters, specifications on the properties of functional categories (cf. Borer 1984) are intended within this framework. A syntactic interpretation of Talmy (1991, 2000)'s distinction between s-framed and v-framed languages can be made, since this distinction ultimately deals with transition events (namely events whose Undergoer experiences a change, either of state or location): in fact, these events imply the codification of a resultative value, and this codification is assumed to take place within the functional structures of syntax.

Two neo-constructionist traditions are mainly assumed here: Distributed Morphology and Nanosyntax. Both these traditions deal with cross-linguistic variation, although yielding different perspectives. Distributed Morphology (cf. Halle & Marantz, 1993 and Marantz, 1997 among others) interprets words and sentences as the result of a late insertion of phonological units to bundles of functional features encoded in syntax. According to this tradition, it is only at the PF[47] level of the linguistic derivation that cross-linguistic variation takes place. In particular, cross-linguistic variation reduces to parameters specifying the availability, for a functional head, to be lexicalized through some and not other PF operations (cf. Acedo-Matellán's account described below for an exemplification). Nanosyntax (cf. Folli & Ramchand, 2005; Son, 2007; Son & Svenonius, 2008; Ramchand, 2008 among others), like Distributed Morphology, assumes that a distinction has to be made between syntactic (abstract) operations and their phonological realization. Contrary to Distributed Morphology, within the Nanosyntax tradition "it is the

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[47] I.e. 'phonological form', meaning the level of representation where syntactic features are associated with vocabulary items.

(un)availability of a given lexical item or its size what yields cross-linguistic variation"[48]. According to Nanosyntax, lexical items can represent whole chunks of the syntactic structure. Since cross-linguistic variation depends on the availability of lexical items and not on the properties of the functional structure, the concept of parameter in the sense of Borer (1984) cannot be assumed in this tradition[49].

A first refinement of the Talmian typology can be found in Aske (1989), that notes how the unavailability for v-framed languages to express motion events with a Manner conflation[50] into the main verb root is only confined to telic motion events. In fact, a Manner conflation can also be expected in v-framed languages as long as no goal of motion is implied by the linguistic predication, cf. [51]:

(11)

    a. "La botella flotó   hacia   la cueva."   (Spanish)
         The bottle floated towards the cave

    b. "*La botella flotó a   la cueva."
         The bottle floated to the cave

This observation is assumed by Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013), according to which (11a) shows an unergative VP of atelic nature, while the PP ('hacia la cueva') is externally adjoined to the structure (i.e. it is not part of the VP). Further evidences for this assumption, according to Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013), can be acquired from Italian, where an auxiliary alternation is shown between goal of motion expressions and atelic motion expressions. In fact, while goal of motion expressions in the past tense select the auxiliary *essere* 'be', atelic motion expressions select the auxiliary *avere* ('have'), which is associated with unergatives:

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[48] Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2015: 103).
[49] Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2015).
[50] Talmy (1972: 257) defines *conflation* as "any syntactic process - whether a long derivation involving many deletions and insertions, or just a single lexical insertion - whereby a more complex construction turns into a simpler one". However, in the neo-constructionist approach adopted in Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013) and following, *conflation* refers to External Merge ("a single lexical insertion" in Talmy, 1972) and comes as distinct from *incorporation*, where an Internal Merge and a subsequent head-movement is performed. Cf. Haugen (2009) for a formal distinction between *conflation* and *incorporation*.
[51] (11) is taken from Aske (1989: 3), through Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2015).

(12)

    "Gianni   ha / *è nuotato verso   la spiaggia."   (Italian)

     Gianni has / *is swum towards the beach

This -TEL / +TEL alternation was already shown by Iacobini & Masini (2007)[52] while analysing aspectual shifts of Italian verb roots recurring with a satellite. According to Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013), this fact is related to the unergative structure of Manner verbs occurring with atelic directional PPs.

Within the Distributed Morphology framework, Acedo-Matellán (2010) interprets the s-framed vs. v-framed typology as a parametric difference associated to the relational head Path (which is taken to be responsible for transition). In particular, "the Path head in verb-framed languages is specified as forming one and the same morph with the eventive head", whereas "in satellite-framed languages there is no such morphological requirement on the Path"[53]. The following summary is provided by Acedo-Matellán (2010), regarding the internal architecture of the VP as for the Talmian components is concerned:

(13)

Components in Talmy's proposal		An interpretation within the present model
Motion	Move	v taking as complement a PathP
	Beat	v taking as complement a PlaceP
Figure		Spec-Place
Ground		Compl-Place
Path		p taking as complement a pP
Subcomponents of Path	Vector	---
	Conformation	√ adjoined to Place
	Deictic	Compl-Place
---		Place: p taking as complement a √ or a DP
Co-event		√ adjoined to v

(Acedo-Matellán 2010)

[52] Cf. (5), section 2.1.

[53] Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2015: 104, 105). According to Acedo-Matellán (2010), the fusion between the Path head and the eventive head in v-framed languages occurs before Vocabulary Insertion, thus "yielding one and the same node for phonological realisation".

In Acedo-Matellán (2010), PlaceP is the projection where the relation between the Figure and the Ground is instantiated, with the Figure being inserted in the Specifier of PlaceP and the Ground being inserted in the complement of PlaceP. PathP takes as its complement PlaceP, transforming the predication established there between the Figure and the Ground "into a final state/location"[54].

The VP's internal structure assumed by Acedo-Matellán (2010) follows[55]:

(14)
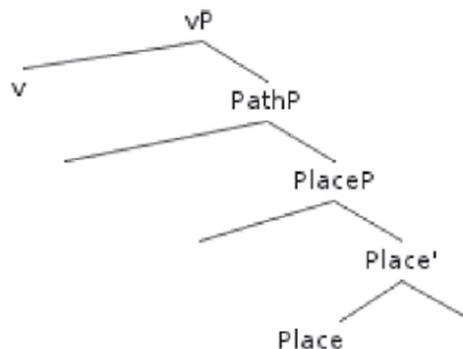
By assuming that s-framed languages can realize the Path component as an element different from the verb root, the possibility for a Manner component to be associated with the eventive head arises. Within this framework, Acedo-Matellán (2010), Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013) and Mateu (2017) provide a list of constructions involving Manner conflation that, as such, only an s-framed language is supposed to license. Unselected Object Constructions ('UOCs'), Complex Directed Motion Constructions ('CDMCs') and Locative alternation constructions will be analysed in the following sections. Subsequently, a different evaluation of Italian VPCs and Romance prefixed verbs will be shown within a neo-constructionist framework.

2.2.1 Unselected Object Constructions

Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013) defines UOCs as "constructions whose verb, when taken out of the construction, would not either license or theta-select the object". Some examples from Latin of both categories follow[56]:

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[54] Acedo-Matellán (2010).
[55] Adapted from Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013).
[56] Taken from Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013).

(15)

    a.   "[Serpentes] putamina ex-tussiunt. / *tussiunt.

        Snakes   shells   out-cough

                                              (Plin. *Nat*. 10, 197)

    b.   "Neque enim   omnia   emebat   aut eblandiebatur. / *blandiebatur.

        Nor   in fact   everything   he_bought   or   out-flattered

                                              (Liv. 27, 31, 7)

    c.   "E-dormi / *Dormi crapulam,   inquam."

        Out-sleep   intoxication   I_say

                                            (Cic. *Phil*. 2, 30)

(16)

    a.   "Veniebat   ut   sudorem illic   ab-lueret. / #lueret.

        he_came   that   sweat there   he_off-washed

                                            (Sen. *Epist*. 86, 11)

    b.   "Haec   libertus   ut   e-bibat / #bibat [...] custodis?"

        these [possessions] freedman that out-drinks   you guard

                                          (Hor. *Sat*. 2, 3, 122)

    c.   "[Acta] quae ille in   aes in-cidit / #cecidit."

        Deeds which that in brass in-cut

                                            (Cic. *Phil*. 1, 16)

In (15), examples from the former type of UOC (i.e. intransitive verbs licensing an object when occurring within this construction) are shown. In (15a), a verb like *tussio* ('to cough'), that usually shows an unergative structure, acquires a transitive structure by selecting the object *putamina* ('shells'); the same happens for *blandior* ('flatter') in (15b),

that usually takes dative, and for *dormio* ('sleep') in (15c), that also usually shows an unergative structure.

In (16), examples from the latter type of UOC (i.e. transitive verbs with atypical θ-selection for the object when occurring within this construction) are shown. In (16a) a verb like *luō* ('wash'), that typically displays as object the element that undergoes the event of being washed, here θ-selects as object the element that is removed from the typical object of *luō* by washing (i.e. in (16a) the sweat is not being washed, but removed by washing). In (16b), a verb like *bibo* ('drink') θ-selects as object an element ('possessions') that clearly cannot be drunk. In (16c) a verb like *caedo* ('cut'), in combination with the prefix *in-*, θ-selects as object *Acta* ('deeds') instead of its typical object, which is the element being cut (*aes*, in (16c)). To explain these constructions, Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013) assumes a small clause approach that leads to consider the prefix as the true licenser of the construction. In particular, the object would be θ-selected by the prefix within a small clause (PathP) complement of the eventive head. PathP is assumed as the licensing predicate since this projection is responsible for the semantics of transition, a value that is encoded in UOCs. The analysis of (15b) as provided by Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013: 236) is here reproduced:

(17)
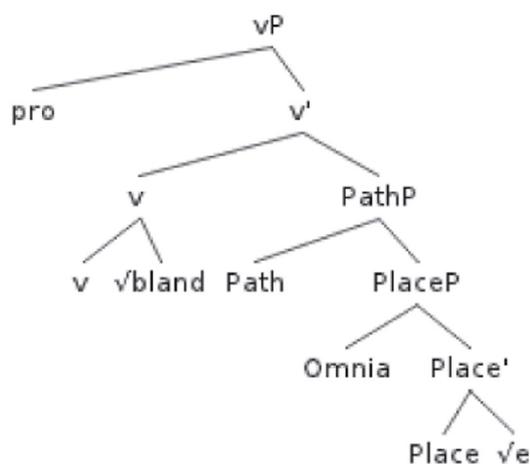
As one may notice, the object *Omnia* starts from the position of SpecPlaceP, where it is merged within a small clause with the prefix √e. Subsequently, √e moves to Path°, acquiring a transition (resultative) value. As a result, the eventive light head v° can be

saturated with a Manner verb root √bland, since there is no need for the verb root to fulfill the Path° requirements already met by √e. The crucial point in this analysis is that, according to the parameter previously assumed (i.e. the mandatory conflation of Path with the eventive head in the v-framed pattern), no UOC with Manner conflation can be expected in v-framed languages, where the transition event must be encoded in the main verb while the Manner co-event can be optionally adjoined to the structure:

(18)

    "Omnia   e-blandiebatur."   (Latin)
     everything he_out-flattered

    "Aconseguir-ho   tot   mitjançant adulació."   (Catalan)
     he_attain   everything through flattery

However, examples of the latter type of UOCs (e.g. those depicted in (16)) can be found in v-framed languages (e.g. Japanese, Italian, Catalan, Spanish, Modern Greek). In particular, according to Mateu (2012), this type of UOCs is consistent with the so-called *Weak resultative constructions* described in Washio (1997). Washio distinguishes two types of resultative constructions involving a V + ADJ structure and calls them *Strong resultatives* and *Weak resultatives* respectively. In particular, according to Washio (1997), in strong resultatives "the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the adjective are fully independent of each other"[57], so that "it cannot be predicted from the mere semantics of the verb what kind of state the patient comes to be in as the result of the action named by the verb"[58]. Examples from English provided in Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2015) are here reported:

(19)

    "John danced his feet sore."
    "John hammered the metal flat."

---

[57] Washio (1997: 7).
[58] Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2015: 111).

Strikingly, strong resultatives can be associated to those UOCs that imply the passage from an intransitive verb to a transitive verb. Cf. examples from Washio (1997: 20):

(20)

    a.   "They ran the soles of their shoes *(threadbare)."

    b.   "The planes flew the ozone layer *(thin)."

    c.   "I danced myself *(tired)."

In fact, moving from this consideration, Mateu (2012) argues for the possibility of drawing a comparison between adjectival strong resultatives as those analysed in Washio (1997) and prepositional-like resultatives (VPCs included) as those exemplified in (15) and in the following[59]:

(21)

    a.   "John danced the night *(away)."

    b.   "John worked his debts *(off)."

Assuming Washio (1997)'s account for strong vs. weak resultatives, one can understand why UOCs like those in (16) can be found in v-framed languages: the reason is the fact that in Washio's weak resultatives the resultative value is shared between the verb root and the adjective, so, to put it into Acedo-Matellán's terms, a Path to v movement takes place. Examples of v-framed weak resultative constructions follow[60]:

(22)

    a.   "Gianni ha lavato   via   la macchia."   (Italian)

          Gianni has washed away   the   stain

    b.   "Gianni   ha raschiato via   la vernice."

          Gianni has scraped away   the   paint

---

[59] (21) is taken from Mateu (2017).
[60] (22 a, b) are taken from Mateu (2012); (22 c, d) are taken from Washio (1997); (22 e, f) are taken from Mateu (2017).

c. "John-ga kabe-o aoku nut-ta."   (Japanese)

    John   wall   blue painted

d. "John-wa pankizi-o usuku nobasi-ta."

    John   dough   thin   roll-out

e. "Jannis barrió las migas   del   suelo."   (Spanish)

    Jannis swept the crumbs from_the floor

f. "O Jannis skoupise ta pesmena fila   apo to patoma." (Modern Greek)

    the Jannis   swept the   fallen   leaves from the floor

An analysis of the strong resultative construction in (21b) and of the weak resultative construction in (22a) as provided by Mateu (2012) is here reproduced:

(23)
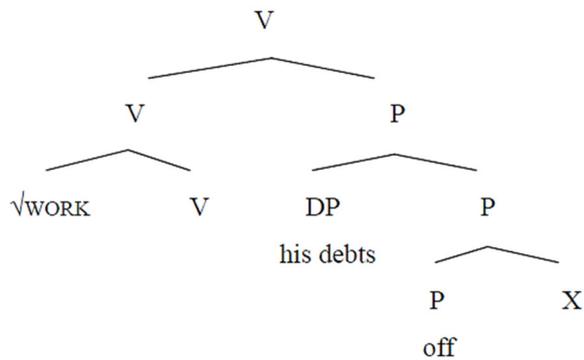
(24)
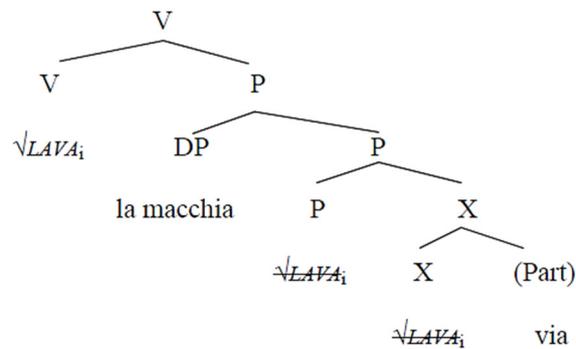
In the strong resultative structure (strong P(article)-verb UOC) the verb root is directly conflated into the eventive head, since Path° can be saturated by the resultative prepositional element *off*. On the contrary, in the weak resultative structure (weak P-verb UOC) the verb root is firstly merged as complement of PP and then moves to the eventive head, providing a resultative value[61]. One thing to notice, however, is that in Italian cases of UOCs with an (usually) intransitive verb licensing an object seem to be found, despite Italian being a v-framed language: in Chapter 3 I will try to account for this phenomenon, which I analyse as a by-product of a principle involving the Figure of telic transition events.

2.2.2 Complex directed motion constructions

CDMCs are described in Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013: 237) as "constructions which involve a telic predicate expressing a goal of motion and, simultaneously, the manner in which that motion takes place". Some examples of CDMCs provided by Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013) for Latin are:

(25)

    a. "Simulatque e navi e-gressus est   dedit."
       as_soon_as out ship he_out-walked he_gave_[it]

                                      (Cic. *Verr*. 2, 2, 19)

    b. "Repente ex omnibus partibus ad pabulatores ad-volaverunt."
       suddenly from all   quarters at foragers   they_at.flew

                                        (Caes. *Gall*. 5, 17, 2)

    c. "Qui ubi ad-equitavit portis [...] vallum intravit."
       who when at-rode   to_doors   wall he_entered

                                        (Liv. 22, 42, 5)

---

[61] A movement to the null P head is supposed for the root since this element ultimately undergoes a head-to-head movement to the null causative head v.

d. "Navigant   diebus XL ad primum emporium Indiae."

they_sail for_days 40 at   first   emporium of_India

(Plin. *Nat*. 6, 104, 1)

In (25), sentences expressing a telic goal of motion while encoding the Manner compo-
nent in the main verb root are shown. The resultative value of the predication is either
encoded as a prefix (cf. 25a, 25b, 25c) or as a PP (cf. 25d). Like UOCs, CDMCs are
possible only in an s-framed pattern since these constructions are formed by the saturation
of the transition head Path° with an element independent from the verb (i.e. an element
that does not undergo conflation with the eventive head). For this reason, the main verb
can be conflated with a Manner root. The structure of (25d) as provided by Acedo-
Matellán & Mateu (2013: 239) is here reproduced[62]:

(26)
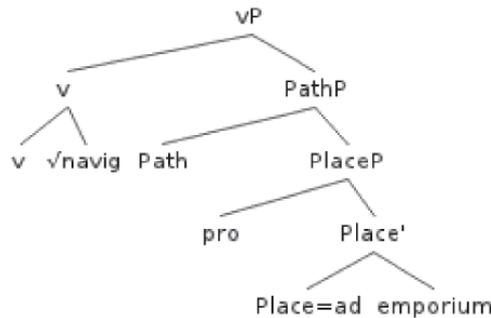
In (26), *ad* is firstly merged in Place° where it conveys information regarding the final
destination (i.e. the Ground, in Talmian terms) for the motion event. From here, *ad* moves
to Path° in order to provide phonological substantiation to the resultative value of the
motion event. This movement prevents the verb root conflated into the eventive head
having to show an intrinsic resultative value, since this value has already been provided
by the preposition *ad*. For this reason, a verb root expressing pure Manner (i.e. without a
resultative component) can be conflated into v°. Such construction cannot be licensed in
v-framed languages, where a mandatory conflation of Path into v° is required. Assuming
this analysis, the alternation between telic and atelic motion constructions shown in Aske
(1989) for v-framed languages can be explained: a Manner conflation into the main verb

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[62] In (26) a *pro* is inserted in the Specifier of Place since the Figure element (which happens to be the subject
of the predication) is implicit in the sentence.

root can be shown in a v-framed language as long as no goal of motion is encoded in the syntactic structure. If that was the case, no chance for v° to lexicalize other than the transition (resultative) component would have been given, ending in CDMCs being ungrammatical (cf. (11)).

2.2.3 Locative alternation

As reported by Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013: 241), Locative alternation is "the possibility some verbs display of heading two different predicates, one expressing change of location – the C(hange) O(f) L(ocation) alternant – and the other one expressing change of state – the C(hange) O(f) S(tate) alternant", cf.[63]:

(27)

    a. "Sue sprayed paint onto the wall."   Change Of Location (COL)

    b. "Sue sprayed the wall with paint."   Change Of State (COS)

A correlation exists between locative alternation and s-framedness, according to Mateu (2002). In particular, a more frequent usage of the locative alternation is reported for s-framed languages if compared to v-framed languages. In Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013), this correlation is explained by assuming an s-framed pattern for the COL alternant, where a prepositional PathP (cf. 'onto the wall' in (27a)) and a Manner conflation into the eventive head is found. As for the COS alternant, according to Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013) an s-framed pattern is assumed only in those cases where a prefix "with a meaning of complete affectedness"[64] is present, cf. *per-* in[65]:

(28)

    "Caput   aqua   frigida perfundere."   (Latin)

     head   with_water cold   through_pour

---

[63] (27) is taken from Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013: 241).
[64] Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013: 248).
[65] (28) is taken from Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013).

A different analysis is assumed in Mateu (2017), where cases of locative alternation in v-framed languages (cf. (29)) are analysed[66]:

(29)

    "En Ramon carregà els rocs al carro."   (Catalan)

     det. Ramon loaded the stones at_the cart

    "En Ramon carregà el carro de rocs."

    d et. Ramon loaded the cart of stones

According to Mateu (2017), the alternation in (29) is possible for a v-framed language like Catalan since the verb root *carrega* ('load') is intrinsically resultative, i.e. it is merged into the structure in the position of Path° and then moves to the eventive head v°:

(30)

    "En Ramon carregà els rocs al carro."

    [$_{vP}$ v [$_{ResultP}$ DP$_{THEME}$ [$_{Result'}$ √X PP$_{LOCATION}$]]]   √X = √CARREGA 'load'

    "En Ramon carregà el carro de rocs."

    [$_{vP}$ v [$_{ResultP}$ DP$_{LOCATION}$ [$_{Result'}$ √X PP$_{THEME}$]]]

Assuming this analysis, both COL and COS alternants can be licensed in a v-framed language, provided that no Manner conflation in v° takes place. On the contrary, an alternation like the one in (31) is expected to be ruled out in a v-framed language since a Manner conflation into the eventive head (e.g. *sew*) with a prepositional PathP (e.g. *up*) is involved in the COS variant[67]:

(31)

    "Gertrude sewed buttons on the dress."

    "Gertrude sewed up the entire dress with buttons."

---

[66] (29) and the analyses in (30) are taken from Mateu (2017).
[67] (31) is taken from Mateu (2017).

2.2.4 An l-syntax analysis of the Italian VPCs

As it was shown in section 2.1, a constructionist approach to Italian VPCs led to analyse these constructions as an exception to the Talmian typology. In response to this claim, Mateu & Rigau (2010) offers a different analysis of the phenomenon within a l(exical)-syntax framework. The l-syntax theory of Hale & Keyser (1993, 1998, 2002) conceives argument structure as the projection headed by a lexical item that enters into two possible relations with its arguments, namely a head-complement relation and a head-specifier relation. This theory is particularly prone to sketch out the structure of unergative verbs and location/locatum verbs. According to l-syntax theory, unergative verbs are the result of a merging operation between a phonologically null verbal head and, typically, a noun or an adjective[68]:

(32)

   "John danced."
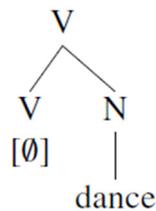
Location and locatum verbs (e.g. *to shelve / to saddle* respectively) instead are created by the copying of a noun (e.g. *shelf / saddle*) into a phonologically null prepositional head, and by a further copy operation from the prepositional head into an empty verbal head:

---

[68] (32) to (39) are taken from Mateu & Rigau (2010).

(33)

"John shelved the book."

"John saddled the horse."

```
              V
          ┌────────────┐
          V            P
         [Ø]      ┌─────────┐
                 DP         P
                  │      ┌──────┐
          the {book/horse} P    N
                          │      │
                    [Ø]{shelf/saddle}
```
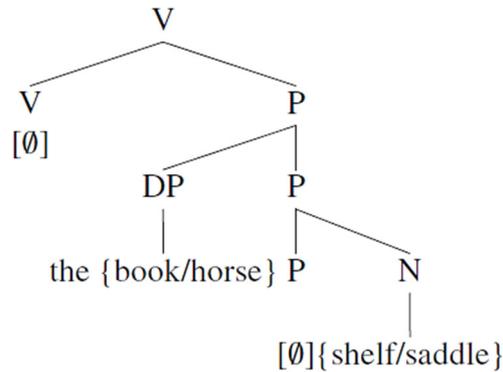
The problem with this theory, though, is that it seems unable to explain cognate complements, i.e. those cases where a different complement co-appears in the structure next to the one moved into the verbal head, e.g.:

(34)

"John danced a polka."

"John shelved the books on the windowsill."

Haugen (2009)'s solution to the problem, adopting a late insertion account, is that even after a movement operation has applied "it is possible to spell-out two different roots [...] for the purpose of expressing identical abstract syntactic features. [...] The Projection Principle is not violated because the lower copy remains coindexed with the upper copy, and no features are ever deleted"[69]. Haugen (2009) distinguishes between Incorporation and Conflation by conceiving Incorporation "as a head-movement (as in Baker 1988; Hale & Keyser 1993) [...] instantiated through the syntactic operation of Copy [with the] denominal verb [...] formed via *Copying* the relevant set of features of the nominal complement into the null verb" and Conflation as "formed via *Compounding* [i.e. Merge] a

---

[69] Mateu & Rigau (2010: 251).

nominal root with the null verb"[70]. Assuming Haugen (2009)'s distinction, a case of incorporation is also involved in (35), where the root $\sqrt{polka}$ can be inserted in a position previously occupied by $\sqrt{dance}$ after $\sqrt{dance}$ underwent incorporation into the verbal head:

(35)

    "John danced a polka."

The tree diagram for (35):

- V
  - V: $[\alpha,\beta,\ldots n]_i$ / $\sqrt{DANCE}$
  - DP
    - D
    - N: $[\alpha,\beta,\ldots n]_i$ / $\sqrt{POLKA}$
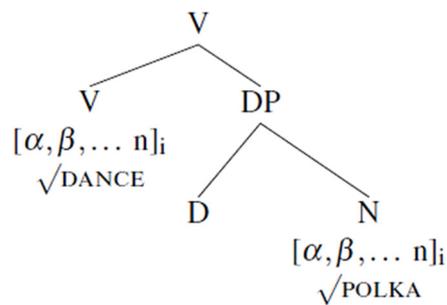
The interesting fact about cognate complements like those in (34) is that, according to Hale & Keyser (2000), a parallel can be drawn between those structures and v + P structures like *heat up*, *cool down*, *widen out*, where a cognate preposition appears in the prepositional head already occupied by the trace of the incorporating noun[71]:

(36)

The tree diagram for (36):

- V
  - V: heat$_i$
  - V
    - DP
    - V
      - V
      - P
        - P: up$_i$
        - A

---
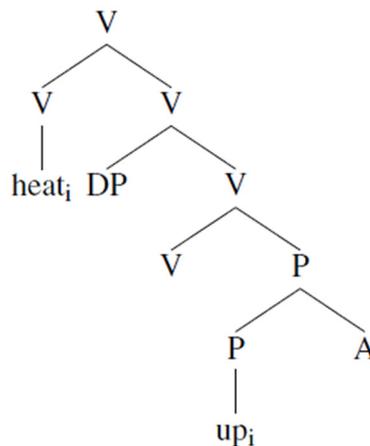
[70] Haugen (2009: 260) through Mateu & Rigau (2010: 252).
[71] (36) is taken from Mateu & Rigau (2010: 253).

In fact, the same situation holds for Italian (and Romance) VPCs according to Mateu & Rigau (2010): as reported by these authors, VPCs in Romance languages are indeed possible but only to the extension that a Path-incorporating verb root is involved in the construction. Assuming this perspective, the alleged anomaly of Italian VPCs with respect to the Talmian typology as claimed by constructionist works seems not to exist. Mateu & Rigau (2010)'s claim is that "Romance languages (Italian included) consistently obey the Talmian generalization that non-directional manner verbs do not coappear with non-adjunct paths in Romance"[72]. Cases of VPCs like that in (37) are then analysed as involving a Path/Result value within the verb root, with a particle further specifying this value being inserted into the structure as a cognate-P(reposition):

(37)

"Gianni è corso via."

   Gianni is run away

Moreover, the cognate-P insertion in (37) can be licensed precisely because the particle expresses the same syntactic features (i.e. Path/Result) of the verb root. This analysis further explains why, in Italian, no telic constructions like those in (38) can be licensed, the reason being a lack of resultative value for the verb roots involved:

(38)

"John danced the night away."

"John outdanced Mary."

"John worked the night away."

"John outworked Mary".

On the contrary, constructions like that in (39) are possible in Italian since these verbal roots can realize a resultative value[73]:

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[72] Mateu & Rigau (2010: 241).
[73] Cf. Folli & Ramchand (2005) for a classification of Italian manner of motion verbs regarding their [+/-Result] feature.

(39)

"Gianni è corso via."

Gianni is run away
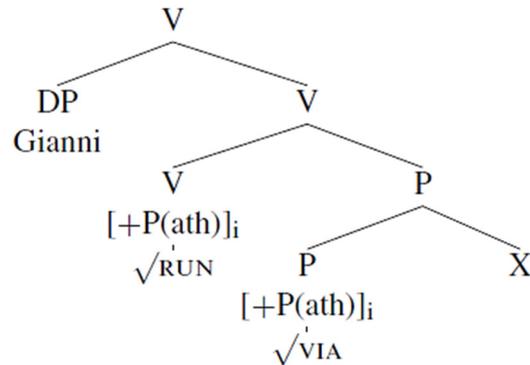
2.2.5 Romance prefixed verbs of change of state/location

Another construction typical of Romance languages that has been claimed to involve an s-framed pattern (cf. Kopecka (2006)[74]) is the one regarding prefixed verbs of change of state/location, cf.[75]:

(40)

a. "Aquest xampú   m'ha   a-llisat   els cabells." (Catalan)

    this   shampoo to_me_has at-smoothed the   hair

b. "L'Elna   ha en-sellat   el cavall."

   the_Elna has in-saddled the horse

c. "El vent   del   vespre ha   es-boirat el dia."

   the wind of_the evening has out-fogged the day

According to Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013: 258), in these verbs "the prefix they are provided with furnishes further information on the final state or location involved in the event and codified by the root". For this reason, this structure has been analysed as an s-

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[74] Reported by Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013).
[75] (40) is taken from Acedo-Matellán (2006b: 44) through Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013: 257).

framed construction by some authors. However, as shown by Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013), it is not the case for this analysis to be assumed, since a v-framed pattern for this structure can be detected at a closer look. In particular, the v-framed pattern emerges when considering the nature of the element encoded in the verb, that is not a Manner component but rather a Ground component. By assuming this analysis, a structure like that in (41)[76] can be drawn:

(41)

    "Aquest xampú m'ha allisat els cabells."

    'This shampoo has smoothed my hair.'
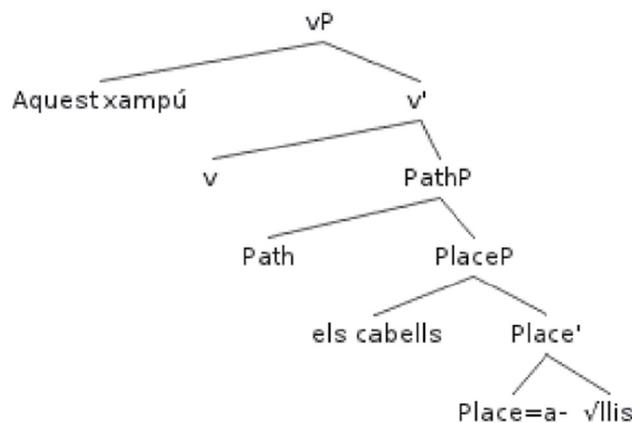
In (41), no Manner conflation into the eventive head takes place, since the verbal root is firstly merged as the complement of Place (i.e. in the Ground position), then moves up to Path° and finally moves into v°. To put it into Talmy's terms, no conflation of a co-event takes place into the verbal head, since v° lexicalizes a core component of the telic motion event (i.e. the Ground). The root √*llis* is considered as Ground since it provides information on the final state of the Figure *els cabells* ('hair').

    As one may notice, though, the root *sella* in (40b) resembles more a Figure than a Ground, since the sentence "Elna has saddled the horse" could roughly be paraphrased as "Elna put a saddle on the horse". However, as stated by Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013)[77], a distinction between "*conceptual* scenes" and "*linguistic* representations" has

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[76] (41) is taken from Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013: 259).
[77] Footnote 16.

to be made in this situation. In particular, by assuming a Hale & Keyser (2002)'s theory of argument structure (cf. section 2.2.4), the complement nature of the element *saddle* (which is a locatum element) becomes clear, leading to a paraphrase of (40b) as "Elna provided the horse with a saddle" rather than "Elna put a saddle on the horse".

2.2.6 A nanosyntactic analysis of resultative structures

A different analysis of the relation between directed motion and resultatives has been advanced by such works as Son (2007) and Son & Svenonius (2008) within a nanosyntactic framework based on Borer (2005a, b), Ramchand (2008), Fábregas (2007) and lectures by Starke in Tromsø (during 2005-6). Son & Svenonius (2008) argues against a macro-parametric approach to the Talmian typology as it was put forth by Snyder (1995, 2001) and Beck & Snyder (2001). According to Snyder (2001), the possibility for a language to allow CDMCs and resultative constructions (e.g. adjectival resultatives like those analysed in section 2.2.1) depends on the following "Compounding Parameter"[78]:

(42)

"The grammar {disallows*, allows} formation of endocentric compounds during the syntactic derivation [*unmarked value]."

Given this parameter, a language that has the unmarked setting should not license either CDMCs and resultatives, while a language with the marked setting should allow both. As pointed out by Son & Svenonius (2008), though, there are many languages in which the prediction made by Snyder is not met, i.e. a direct relation between CDMCs and resultatives seems not to hold. For example, Indonesian/Javanese, Hebrew and Malayalam happen to allow CDMCs and disallow adjectival resultatives, cf.[79]:

(43)

    a.   "Mary ngelap mejo *(sampek) resik."   (Javanese)

         Mary wipe table   until   clean

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[78] (42) is taken from Snyder (2001: 328) through Son & Svenonius (2008: 389).
[79] (43) and (44) are taken from Son & Svenonius (2008).

  b. Tika {mlaku/mlayu/mbrangkang} ning ngisor jembatan.

    Tika   walk/run/crawl   LOC bottom bridge

In (43a), a resultative adjective can be used as long as the adverb *sampek* ('until') is present (cf. (11) for an interesting analogy with Romance atelic manner of motion constructions), meaning that pure adjectival resultatives are not allowed in this language. Nevertheless, CDMCs are possible in Javanese, as depicted in (43b).

  Korean and Japanese, on the contrary, disallow CDMCs whilst allowing adjectival resultatives, cf.:

(44)

  a. "Yenghi-ka sikthak-ul kkaykkusha-key twutulki-ess-ta." (Korean)

    Yenghi-NOM table-ACC clean-PRED   wiped-PST-DC

  b. "Mary-ka cip-ey (ttwi-e) tul-e-ka-(a)ss-ta."

    Mary-NOM house-LOC run-LINKER in-LINKER-go-PST-DC

To account for the variation exemplified through (43) and (44), Son & Svenonius (2008) adopts a syntactic representation of the semantic components involved in resultative constructions similar to that developed in Ramchand (2008), here reproduced from Son & Svenonius (2008: 393) in exemplification of the following sentence:

(45) "The rooster crowed the chicken awake."

67
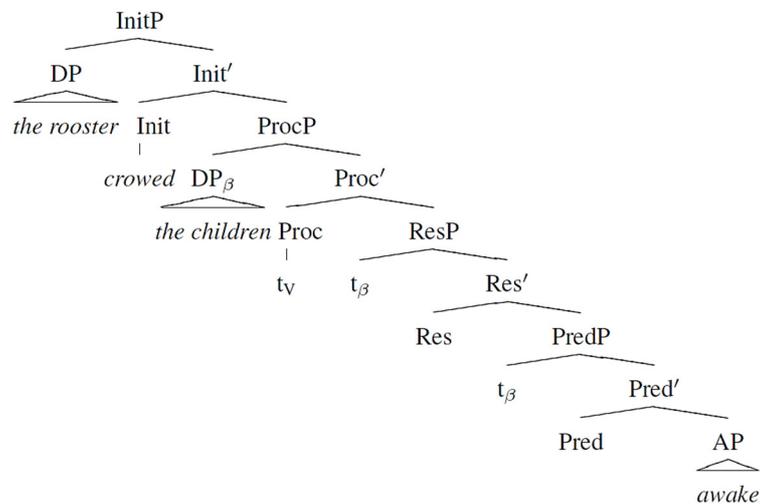
In Ramchand (2008)'s framework, the *InitP* projection (for 'initiation') represents "the outer causational projection that is responsible for introducing the external argument [...]. The *InitP* exists when the verb expresses a causational or initiational state that leads to the process". The *procP* projection (for 'process') represents "the dynamic process [...] and it is present in every dynamic verb [...] regardless of whether we are dealing with a process that is extended (i.e. consisting of an indefinite number of transitions) or the limiting case of representing only single minimal transition such as that found with 'achievement' verbs [...]. It licenses the entity undergoing change". The *resP* (for 'result') "only exists when there is a result state explicitly expressed by the lexical predicate [...] and licenses the entity that comes to hold the result state"[80].

According to Son & Svenonius (2008), "each node in the functional structure must be licensed by the insertion of an appropriate vocabulary item", but crucially "a single vocabulary item or morpheme may 'span' more than one functional head"[81]. By assuming such theoretical framework, Son & Svenonius (2008) argues for a characterization of the cross-linguistic variation shown in (43) and (44) in terms of a language availability of vocabulary items to license Res and Pred, cf.[82]:

(46)

	PROC	RES	PRED	A
Spanish		*hacer*		*peligroso*
		'make'		'dangerous'
	PROC	RES	PRED	A
Japanese	*nobasu*		*-ku*	*usu*
	'spread'			'thin'
	PROC	RES	PRED	A
Korean	*twutul*		*-key*	*yalp*
	'pound'			'thin'
	PROC	RES	PRED	A
English	*pound*		∅	*flat*

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[80] Ramchand (2008: 46, 47).
[81] Son & Svenonius (2008: 393).
[82] (46) to (48) are taken from Son & Svenonius (2008).

Mutatis mutandis, the same account is assumed to analyse the cross-linguistic variation as for the CDMCs is concerned, the only thing changed being the syntactic projections involved by the construction:

(47)

	PROC	DIR	PATH	PLACE	DP
Korean		*ka*		*-ey*	*cip*
		'go'		LOC	'house'
	PROC	DIR	PATH	PLACE	DP
Malayalam	*naṭann-*		*-ekkə*	*-il*	*office*
	'walk'		'to'	LOC	'office'
	PROC	DIR	PATH	PLACE	DP
English	*dance*	∅	*to*	*behind*	*the curtain*

In particular, by positing a ResP + PredP projection for adjectival resultatives and a Dir(ectional)P + PathP projection for the CDMCs, Son & Svenonius (2008) accounts for those cross-linguistic variations that otherwise it could be more difficult to catch by following a macro-parametric approach, e.g. the fact that some but not other adjectival resultatives can be licensed in v-framed languages (cf. (48)) and the fact that some but not other telic motion constructions with manner of motion verbs can be licensed in v-framed languages (cf. (49)):

(48)

  "Taro-ga   pan   kiji-o usu-ku nobashita."   (Japanese)
   Taro   bread dough   thin   spreaded

  "*Taro-ga kinzoku-o usu-ku   tataita."
    Taro   metal   thin   pounded

(49)

"Gianni è corso a casa."   (Italian)
 Gianni is run at home

"*Gianni è danzato a casa."

Gianni is danced at home

To sum up, a micro-parametric approach to the cross-linguistic variation within the Talmian typology is adopted inside the Nanosyntax framework followed by Son & Svenonius (2008). This analysis turns out to be an alternative to the Snyder (2001) macro-parametric approach, to the l-syntax approach followed by Mateu & Rigau (2010) and to the Distributed Morphology framework assumed by Acedo-Matellán (2010), Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013) and following works. However, as pointed out by Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2015), the cross-linguistic variation shown in Son & Svenonius (2008) "turns out not to be problematic for Talmy's typology once the qualification is made that Japanese only allows a certain type of resultative construction, namely, Washio's (1997) weak resultative, disallowing the strong type". This can be successfully analysed by assuming Haugen (2009)'s distinction between conflation and incorporation, by which the v-framed behaviour of Japanese (and Romance) weak resultative construc-tions can be accounted for[83].

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[83] Cf. the analysis described in 2.2.4.

Chapter 3

A "Figure-to-VP" hypothesis

In this chapter I will try to assume a new perspective in considering the constructions analysed in Acedo-Matellán (2010), Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013) and Mateu (2017): particularly, I will be dealing with UOCs, CDMCs and Locative alternation.

According to Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013), these structures can be claimed to involve an s-framed pattern that makes them unavailable for a v-framed language. However, regarding the UOCs, an internal distinction emerged in subsequent works. In particular, those UOCs whose status can be compared to strong adjectival resultatives (in the sense of Washio, 1997) are considered as s-framed constructions, while those that can be compared to Washio's weak adjectival resultatives can also be licensed in a v-framed pattern, since they can involve a Path incorporation, rather than a Manner conflation, into the eventive head[84]:

(1)

      a. "Gianni ha raschiato via   la vernice."   (Italian)
         Gianni has scraped away the paint

      b. "*Gianni ha lavorato   via   i suoi debiti."
         Gianni has worked away the his debts

(2)

      a. "John scraped the paint off."
      b. "John worked his debts off."

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[84] (1a) and (2b) are taken from Mateu (2012) and Mateu (2017) respectively.

According to Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013), the *unselected object* displayed by the verb in these constructions is due to the fact that, structurally, the object is licensed by the prefix/satellite element rather than by the verb itself (cf. section 2.2.1). What remained unnoticed, in my opinion, is that the element licensed by the satellite precisely becomes the *object* of the verb: I claim this object to be the Figure of a telic motion event, which can either be a real motion event, as in (2a), or a metaphoric motion event[85], as in (2b). The motion event in (2a) consists in the asportation of a Figure (i.e. the *paint*) from a tacit Ground that can be resumed by the context: in this sense, I claim (2a) to predicate a motion event. In (2b), no real motion event can be affirmed to take place; however, drawing on Svenonius (2010)'s decomposition of complex PPs (cf. below), I argue that a null TO is present in the linguistic structure, saturating the Path (transitional) head and keeping *off* inside PlaceP, as the element expressing the Ground component. In these terms, (2b) could be roughly paraphrased as "John made his debts go to off, by working", where the metaphoric motion event can be inferred.

   Svenonius (2010)'s analysis of spatial prepositions provides a fine-grained structure for the PlaceP projection. This analysis can explain such complex PPs as that in (3), whose structure, as provided in Svenonius (2010), is here reproduced:

(3) "ten meters behind the house"
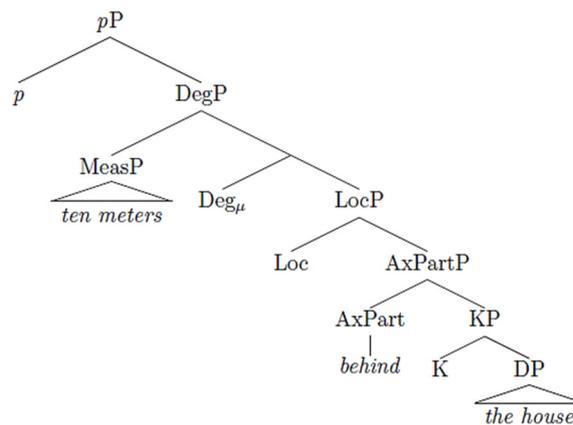
According to Svenonius (2010), pP is the projection that "introduces a Figure [...]. This *p* is the natural locus of relational notions of containment, attachment, and support which

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are commonly expressed by prepositions such as *in* and *on* [...]. In a path-denoting prepositional phrase, *p* is dominated by [...] the projection called Path [...]". DegP is defined as licensing "a function from vector spaces", which are the output of the Loc projection, "to the regions of space that the vectors pick out": in (3), DegP takes a MeasP ('measure phrase') in its Specifier (i.e. *ten meters*). AxPartP "is a function from eigenplaces", i.e. the space occupied by the Ground, in the sense of Wunderlich (1991)[86], "to subparts of them". For example, the words *front* and *top*, when occurring in expressions like *in front of*, *on top of*, are realising an AxPart according to Svenonius (2010). Finally, KP "is a function from a Ground DP to a region": the Ground element is introduced as the complement of KP. Svenonius (2010) argues that particles like *off* (cf. (2)) can either be inserted inside the PlaceP (in that case, "they are adjoined at the *p* level"), when occurring in locative PPs, or outside the PlaceP, when occurring in directional PPs. In the latter case, they are inserted in a distinct projection called DirP ('directional phrase'), which takes PathP as its complement. Such distinction allows Svenonius (2010) to explain sequences of particles like that in (4), where the presence of a null TO (realising Path) is assumed[87]:

(4) "The boat drifted away (to) off beyond the city limits."

In (4), *away* is inserted at the level of DirP, while *off* is inserted at the level of pP (i.e. inside the PlaceP). According to Svenonius (2010), "particles cannot typically be the sole element in a locative PP", meaning that the Ground is overtly specified in this type of PP:

(5) "What a high fence! I wonder what is over *(it)."

However, "there are idiosyncratic, stative meanings associated with most of the particles", where the Ground can be omitted, e.g.:

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[86] Reported by Svenonius (2010).
[87] (4) to (6) are taken from Svenonius (2010).

(6)

She's off	(*off shift*; *mistaken*)
He's up	(*awake*)
He's down	(*depressed*; *prone*; *lying on the ground*)
She's in/out	(*of house*)
We're away	(*from home*)
We're on	(*performing*)
She's over	(*visiting me*)
It's off	(*electric appliance or motor*; *spoiled*; *cancelled*)
It's on	(*motor or electric*)
It's up/down	(*position*)
It's in	(*fashionable*)
It's away	(*launched*)
It's over	(*ended*)

Going back to our analysis, the meaning *cancelled* for *off*, I think, seems to be present in (2): this would support the intuition that *off*, in (2), stays within PlaceP, rather than moving to PathP[88]. In other words, in (2) *off* is merely specifying the end-point of the process, not the telic transition performed by the process, this latter value being realised by a null TO. With regard to this, I argue that particles with omitted Ground as those in (6) are representing the Ground itself, i.e. they are joined as the complement of PlaceP, with a null preposition expressing 'location' in the Place head: accordingly, for example, a predication like *It's off* could be paraphrased as 'It's (at) off". This hypothesis finds some support in Svenonius (1996), where particles occurring without an overt Ground are interpreted as internalizing the Ground complement and acquiring its nominal feature[89], and

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[88] DirP, in the sense of Svenonius, 2010.

[89] Although in Svenonius (1996: 67) this is argued in order to explain cases like:
    (1) a. "Judith threw the TV out the window."
        b. "*Judith threw out the TV the window."
    (2) a. "Judith threw the TV out."
        b. "Judith threw out the TV."
where the acquisition of a nominal feature (i.e. that of *window*) by the particle in (2) let it satisfy the EPP of the small clause PredP (composed of *the TV* (Figure), *out* and *the window* (Ground)), allowing a construction like (2b):
    Judith [VP throw [PredP out$_p$-Pred [PP the TV t$_p$]]]
In this analysis, the particle moves to the Pred head; however, according to Svenonius (1996), further evidence for a preposition to acquire a nominal feature is offered by those cases where the PP becomes the

in Cordin (2011), according to which the particle, in cases of doubling[90] like *levarse su* ('to stand up'), *sentarse zo* ('to sit down') in Trentino dialects, "acts to mark the position of a verb of motion's internal argument [and] is required not to express directionality, which is already inherent to the verb"[91].

One important consequence of such assumption is related to the analysis of Italian VPCs (cf. Chapter 2), which came as s-framed structures according to the constructionist framework of Masini (2006), Iacobini & Masini (2007) and following. In fact, a different rebuttal of this hypothesis can be provided in parallel to that in Mateu & Rigau (2010): by assuming the bare particle of VPCs to express a tacit Ground, and not the path (or resultative value), the v-framedness of such constructions emerges. This analysis deviates from Mateu & Rigau's one only by the fact that it doesn't appeal to Haugen (2009) in order to explain the presence of a telic particle together with a telic verb root, since the particle is assumed as only expressing the locative value of the Ground.

Overall, my analysis accords with the assumption of a nanosyntactic framework similar to that in Son & Svenonius (2008): in particular, v-framed languages cannot insert atelic verb roots in the eventive head of a telic predication because vocabulary items saturating Path autonomously are unavailable. In fact, according to this assumption, a v-framed language cannot license a structure like that in (2b) because it lacks a morpheme like the English *to*, which can saturate the Path head alone (cf. (1b)). On the contrary, a structure like (2a) can also be licensed by a v-framed language (cf. (1a)), since the Path head is conflated with the telic verb root, which then moves to the eventive head. However, as I will subsequently show, a Path-to-v assumption as that in Acedo-Matellán (2010) can be assumed either. In fact, I will assume a structure like that in Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013), i.e. VP – PathP – PlaceP, in my analysis, since such syntactic decomposition is enough detailed for my purposes.

One crucial advantage of an analysis *à la* Svenonius (2010) is that of highlighting the "metaphoric extension of motion" already noted in Talmy (1985: 67), which I argue to be present in (2). This allows to consider both predications of telic motion events and predications of resultative events as implying one and the same structure, i.e. a Figure-Ground

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subject of the sentence, satisfying the EPP of TP: cf. "In a minute is when I'll do it.". Crucially, in this case a movement to a Specifier is performed.

[90] "Doubling leads to constructions containing an element which seems to be semantically superfluous." (Cordin, 2011: 212).

[91] Cordin (2011: 205).

configuration, that takes place beneath the VP, in the PlaceP projection. I refer to the notions of Figure and Ground in a slightly different way than Talmy (1985)'s: in particular, I refer to the Figure as the entity that undergoes a transition event, whose end-point is defined as Ground. Given this, I suggest UOCs, CDMCs and COLs locative alternations to be the outputs of a single syntactic operation, which I assume to respond to the following principle:

(7)

Given an initial Figure-Ground configuration, the Figure moves to the Specifier of the eventive head.

The Figure-Ground configuration (according to which, following Acedo-Matellán (2010), the Figure initially occupies SpecPlaceP and the Ground occupies the complement of PlaceP[92]) is considered to be the starting point for the predication of a telic event of transition. A stative relation between the Figure element and the Ground element is hold by the Place head, which can be realised by a prepositional element. The reason for the Figure to undergo a movement to the VP (which is the projection of the eventive head v) is that the Figure must become the Undergoer of a telic event which has to be predicated, and events are predicated by the eventive head. Given this, the Figure moves to the VP in order to fulfill its need for predication by entering a Spec-head agreement with the eventive head. I assume the eventive head to consist of abstract features, which only at a later point of the derivation are saturated via the insertion of a vocabulary item. In that phase, the difference between s-framed languages and v-framed languages arises: since I assume a Figure-Ground configuration to take place only for telic events of transition, the Path head must always be realised; in fact, it is in the Path head that the resultative value is encoded. In an s-framed language, the Path head can be saturated by an independent morpheme (namely, a satellite): as a result, a -TEL root can be conflated into v. In a v-framed language, either there are no independent morphemes available to saturate Path (Son & Svenonius (2008)'s core hypothesis) or a mandatory Path-to-v movement must be fulfilled (Acedo-Matellán (2010) and following's hypothesis): whatever be the case, a

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[92] Assuming Svenonius (2010), one should say that the Figure occupies the Specifier of pP and the Ground occupies the complement of KP. However, no relevant differences are present once the consideration is made that pP – KP are parts of a "split PlaceP" in Svenonius (2010).

+TEL root realises the eventive head. I advance (7) to be a universal principle: in particular, the prediction can be made that, in the predication of a resultative event, the Figure of the event is the subject of the predication (i.e. it undergoes NOM-case assignment) if an external Agent is absent; on the contrary, if an external Agent is present, the Figure becomes the object of the predication (i.e. it undergoes ACC-case assignment)[93].

One interesting point in assuming the principle in (7) and a late-insertion hypothesis of vocabulary items is that a structural reason for the unselected object in UOCs (of both strong P-verb and weak P-verb types) is furnished: the "unselected object" effect arises precisely because this object is a Figure, i.e. it is joined to the structure at a previous stage of the linguistic derivation than the insertion of a vocabulary item for the eventive head, and has to undergo a movement to the Specifier of the eventive head. In such hypothesis, it is the Figure element moved into the Specifier of VP to elicit a phonological saturation of the eventive head, rather than a lexical eventive head (i.e. an eventive head that underwent merging with a verb root) to project its canonical arguments into the syntactic structure of the VP. As a result, an intransitive verb root undergoes transitivization (strong P-verb UOCs, cf. (8)) and a transitive verb root undergoes an untypical θ-selection for the object (weak P-verb UOCs, cf. (9)), and this would precisely happen because the principle in (7) must be fulfilled prior to the selection of the lexical verbal root:

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[93] Similar observations were already pointed out in Talmy (2000: 334): "Sentences like these [exemplifying the Figure-Ground relationship] evidence a possible universal property: in their basic expression, the Figure has syntactic precedence over the Ground. For nominals in a single clause, this precedence consists of expression along a case hierarchy. In a nonagentive clause, the Figure is subject and the Ground is (oblique) object. In an agentive clause, where the Agent is subject, the Figure is direct object and the Ground is oblique object".
As one may notice, then, the principle in (7) seems nothing more than a translation into structural terms of a "universal property" already noted by Talmy at the surface level of syntax.

(8) "John danced the night away."   (Strong P-verb UOC)

```
                      VP
                    /    \
             the night    V'
                        /    \
                      v       PathP
                    /   \     /    \
                √dance   v  the nightᵢ  Path'
                              /      \
                          Path°      PlaceP
                          (to)       /    \
                               the nightᵢ  Place'
                                          /    \
                                     Place°    away
```
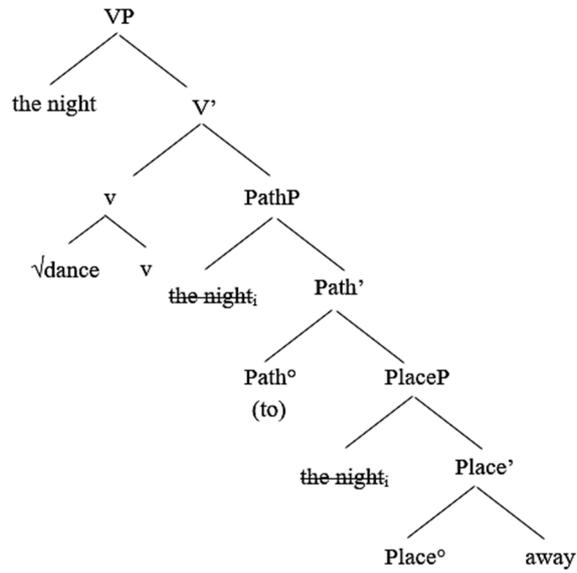
(9) "Luca   lava   via   la   macchia."   (Weak P-verb UOC)

   Luca washes away the   stain

```
                      VP
                    /    \
            la macchiaᵢ    V'
                        /    \
                      v       PathP
                    /   \     /     \
                √lavaₜ   v  la macchiaᵢ   Path'
                                      /       \
                                √lavaₜ  Path°   PlaceP
                                             /     \
                                      la macchiaᵢ   Place'
                                                   /    \
                                              Place°    via
```
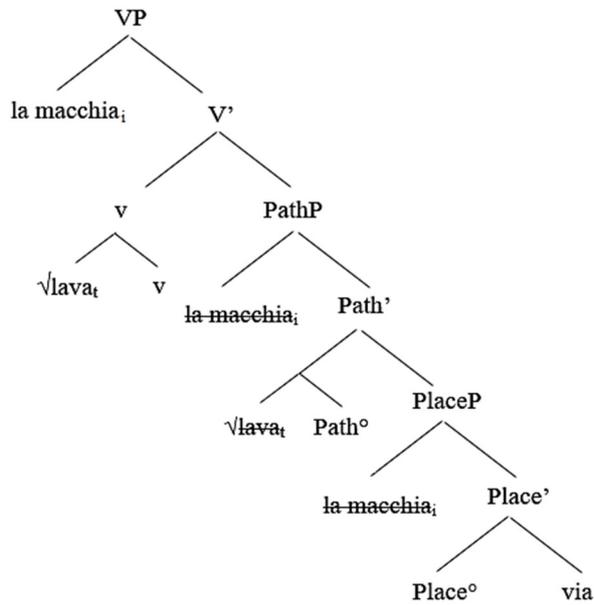
One important thing to notice is that cases of valency augmentation of the UOC type (cf. section 2.2.1) are also found in Italian[94], provided that direction-denoting verbal roots are selected (i.e. roots that are first merged into the Path head), cf.:

(10)

    a. "[...] oppure la piscio fuori."   (Italian)
        otherwise it-OBJ I_piss out.

    b. "[...] quando espirò tossì fuori del sangue."
        when he_expired he_coughed out some blood

    c. "Il romanzo che il vento soffia via"
        the novel-OBJ that the wind-SBJ blows away

    d. "Calandrino, non potendo l'amaritudine sostenere, la sputò fuori"
        Calandrino, NEG can-GER the_bitterness$_i$ tolerate, it-OBJ$_i$ spat out

These cases can be explained by assuming the principle in (7). In particular, the mandatory movement underwent by the Figure (realised as the clitic pronoun *la* in (10a), as *sangue* ('blood') in (10b), as *romanzo* ('novel') in (10c) and as *amaritudine* ('bitterness') in (10d)) to the Specifier of the eventive head triggers the effect of a valency augmentation once a (usually) unergative verbal root (c.f. *tossire* 'cough', *pisciare* 'piss', *soffiare* 'blow', *sputare* 'spit') is adjoined. Now, the crucial fact with these constructions is that the Unselected object effect arises not only in occurrence with a particle (cf. (10)), but also with PP Grounds in the absence of a particle, cf.:

(11)

    a. "[...] poi lo soffiò sul viso della ragazza"
        then it-OBJ she_blew on _the face of_the girl

---

[94] Examples (10a, b) and (11a, b) come from a Google search; example (10c) is the title of a novel (by M. Bernardi); example (10d) comes from Boccaccio, *Decameron, VI*.

  b. "[...] poi te   lo   sputo in faccia"

       then you-DAT it-OBJ spit   in face

This, in my opinion, crucially shows that particles in P-verb motion constructions can be assumed as barely conveying the Ground component of the telic event: accordingly, even in the absence of a particle an Unselected object can arise, as long as a Figure-Ground configuration is established inside PlaceP.

By analysing UOCs as involving a metaphoric event of motion, the same structure can be assumed for both strong P-verb UOCs and CDMCs. In CDMCs, a verb root expressing a co-event to the main event of motion is conflated into the eventive head. This means, as already pointed out in Acedo-Matellán (2010) and Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013), that the Figure of a CDMC is not licensed by the activity expressed by the eventive head, but rather by the PathP projection and its complement PlaceP, and in particular by the prepositional head in Place°. However, what is not properly emphasized in my opinion is that a relation between the Figure and the eventive head must take place in order for the telic event to be predicated. This mandatory 'Figure-v' relation is the same that creates the "unselected object" effect in UOCs.

Another important advantage of assuming a "Figure-to-VP" hypothesis, I think, is that it can provide a structural account for the unergative/unaccusative alternation of Italian manner verbs entering a telic motion predication. This alternation, already illustrated in Chapter 2[95] and here reproduced in (12), is a well-known phenomenon in the literature[96]:

(12)

  a. "L' uccello ha volato per due ore."   (Italian)

       The   bird   has flown for two hours

---

[95] Cf. examples (5) and (12) of Chapter 2.
[96] Cf. Iacobini & Masini (2007: 158), Iacobini (2012: 376) and Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013: 241), mentioned in Chapter 2; in addition, cf. Sorace (2000, 2004), Bentley & Eythórsson (2004), Bentley (2006), Cennamo & Sorace (2007) among others.

    b. "L' uccello è volato via."

       The bird   is flown away

By assuming the principle in (7), the unaccusative structure acquired by the verb when occurring in a telic motion construction can be explained as a Burzio effect. A verb like *volare* ('to fly') usually θ-selects an Agent, and this is confirmed by its unergativity in (12a). However, in (12b) an untypical θ-selection for the verb takes place: in particular, a Theme is selected instead of an Agent. I claim this phenomenon to be one and the same with that detected in Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2015) for weak P-verb UOCs. Namely, an untypical θ-selection takes place because the object, being a Figure, is not projected by the verb root, but it moves to the Specifier of the eventive head from an inner PlaceP. As a consequence, only at a later time a relation between the Figure and the verb root is established. Given this, the difference between weak P-verb UOCs like that in (9) and the unaccusativity of a verb like *volare* in a telic motion predication like that in (12b) boils down to the fact that, in a telic motion predication, an external agent is absent: for this reason, the Figure must move to the Specifier of TP in order to become the syntactic subject of the sentence, fulfilling the EPP; hence, the verb acquires an unaccusative structure. This analysis is fully consistent with the neo-constructionist approach assumed: in particular, according to Marantz (2013: 162), "verbs are not unaccusative; rather, there are unaccusative structures, ones in which the sole complement to a verbal head or the subject of a small clause complement to a verbal head appear in a construction in which no external argument is projected". In (13), the structure of (12b) is given; the analogy with (9) is clear:

(13)

    "L' uccello è volato via."   (Italian)

    The bird   is flown away
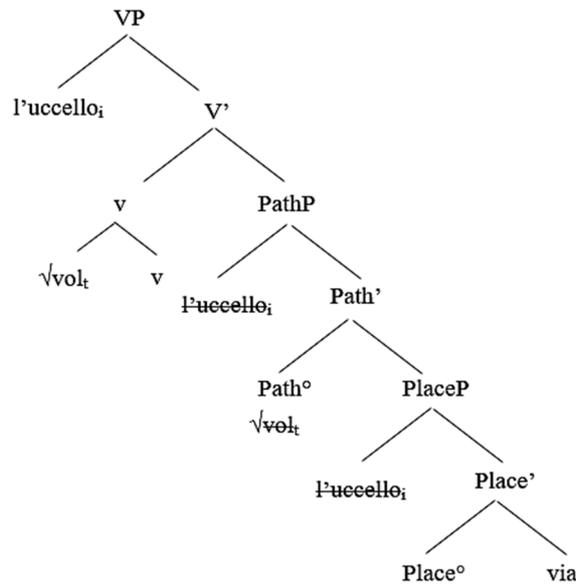
Accordingly, also the canonical unaccusativity displayed by verbs of pure Motion (i.e. not involving Manner, e.g. *go*, *come*, *enter*, *exit*, etc.) can be provided with a structural account, relating the phenomenon to the properties of the functional structure involving a Figure-Ground configuration, and in particular to the principle in (7). Such analysis has the advantage of giving an account to all those cases, included verbs of pure Motion, where the typical argument structure of the verbal root is changed, e.g.[97]:

(14)

        a. "John walks (every day)."

        b. "John walks his dog (every day)."

        c. "John walked his way to a slimmer self (this year)."

        d. "John walked his shoes ragged."

---

[97] (14) is taken from Marantz (2013).

(15)

    a. "Esco il cane."   (Italian)

       I_exit the dog

    b. "Scendi   le valigie."

       you_descend the suitcases

In particular, it's enough to add an external argument to the structure (i.e. an Agent) in order to avoid the Figure to undergo a movement to TP and satisfy the EPP: in this way the Figure becomes the object of the sentence, as depicted in (14) and (15). Cases like (15) are ruled-out by the normative grammar of standard Italian: this is because a *grammatical device* (in the sense of Talmy, cf. Chapter 1) is prescribed in these cases in order to assign a causative value to verbs like *uscire* ('to exit') or *scendere* ('to descend'), namely the *fare V* ('make V') structure:

(16)

    c. "Faccio uscire il cane."   (Italian)

       I_make   exit the dog

    d. "Fai scendere le valigie."

       you_make descend the suitcases

However, the fact that sentences like those in (15) can be licensed in an informal, regional Italian confirms that a functional structure for these constructions is available in syntax.

One possible counter-argument to the principle in (7) is provided by the analysis of the Locative alternation performed in Mateu (2017), as described in section 2.2.3. According to this analysis, both COL and COS alternants consist of a res(ultative)P licensing a Figure-Ground relation (called Theme-Location relation in Mateu, 2017). Given such hypothesis, the COS alternant appears as violating the principle in (7), since the Ground (Location) element ultimately moves to the Specifier of the eventive head instead of the Figure (Theme) element (cf. the analysis in (30), Chapter 2). However, drawing on the

principle in (7) I argue for a different analysis of the COS alternant. In particular, I assume this alternant not to involve a Figure-Ground configuration; rather, the argument structure of this construction is directly licensed by the verb root, at the VP level of the functional structure. This is consistent with the structure of atelic motion events like (12a), in which the default θ-selection of the verb root takes place. On the contrary, a parallel can be drawn between COL alternants, weak resultatives like (9) and telic motion events like (12b). In fact, I argue that the difference between COL alternants and weak resultatives boils down to the presence or absence of an overt Ground element, with this element being represented by a particle in the latter type of constructions. Moreover, in all the three constructions the element that undergoes the telic event is not selected by the verbal root, but joined at an inner level of the functional structure (PlaceP), where it enters a Figure-Ground configuration. Given this, and assuming the principle in (7), an account for the untypical θ-selection displayed in all the constructions analysed is given, cf. (17) compared to (18):

(17)

    a.   Weak P-verb resultative:

"Gianni ha raschiato via   la vernice."   (Italian)

  Gianni has scraped away the paint

    b.   COL alternant:

"Luca carica le macchine sul   camion."

  Luca loads the   cars   on_the truck

    c.   Telic motion event:

"L'aereo   è volato a New York."

The plane is flown to New York

(18) l

    a.   Atelic activity:

   "Gianni ha raschiato il legno (dalla vernice)."   (Italian)

    Gianni has scraped the wood by_the paint

b. COS alternant:

"Luca carica il camion (con le macchine)."

Luca loads the truck   with the cars

c. Atelic motion event:

"L'aereo   ha volato (per due ore)."

The plane has flown for two hours

The difference between (17a) and (18a) is that only in (18a) the default argument structure of the verb root *raschiare* ('to scrape') is realised, i.e. a structure involving an atelic event. In (18a) *raschiare* expresses an activity event, which is the only event of the predication, while in (17a) *raschiare* primarily expresses a resultative value of asportation (which is the core event of the predication, and licenses the Figure *vernice*), while only secondarily (i.e. non structurally) it conveys a manner value (which is the co-event of the predication, and the typical lexical meaning of the verb root *raschiare*). The same dynamic occurs in the Locative alternation depicted in (17b) and (18b) and in the telic/atelic motion event alternation depicted in (17c) and (18c). In particular, the difference between (17c) and (18c) is that only in (18c) the typical structure of the verbal root *volare* ('to fly'), i.e. an unergative structure with an Agent performing an atelic activity, emerges. On the contrary, in (17c) a mandatory specifier-head agreement between the eventive head and the Figure of the telic event must be fulfilled, ending in an unaccusative shift of the verb *volare*.

Two major consequences are involved by this analysis: firstly, what comes as Figure in (17a, b, c) is not a Figure anymore in (18a, b, c): rather, it is an adjunct external to the VP. Accordingly, for instance, the sentences in (18a) and (18b) are well-formed also without the Figure element: this doesn't mean that a physical movement of *vernice* or *macchine* in (17a, b) does not take place; rather, it means that those which are conceptual Figures (in the Talmian sense) in (18a, b) are not structural Figures in the sense of (7): even if they undergo a movement, that movement is not linguistically encoded as a telic motion event. The second consequence is that a mandatory resultative reading is expected

in the COL alternant, while this is not the case for the COS alternant. One could verify this prediction by testing the compatibility of Locative alternations in occurrence with such aspectual modifiers as:

(19)

    COL:

"He loads the stones on the truck in 10 minutes / *for 10 minutes."

    COS:

"He loads the truck with the stones in 10 minutes / for 10 minutes."

As expected, what seems to emerge in (19) is that the COL alternant does not license an atelic reading. However, things are trickier than it seems at a first glance. In fact, the telic value seems to be sensitive to both the bounded/unbounded nature of the verb root and to the bounded/unbounded nature of the Figure element, as it can be seen in the following examples:

(20)

    COL:

        a. "He loads <u>the</u> stones on the truck in 10 minutes / *for 10 minutes."
        b. "He loads stones on the truck for 10 minutes / *in 10 minutes."

    COS:

        c. "He loads the truck with <u>the</u> stones in 10 minutes / for 10 minutes."
        d. "He loads the truck with stones in 10 minutes / for 10 minutes."

In (20a, b) two versions of the COL alternant are provided: in (20a) the Figure is expressed by a DP (i.e. it is quantificationally bounded), while in (20b) the Figure is realised as a bare plural (i.e. it is unbounded). As shown, the (un)boundedness of the Figure is relevant to the telic/atelic interpretation of the whole COL structure. In particular, only with a bounded Figure a telic interpretation arises; on the contrary, an atelic interpretation is given with an unbounded Figure. I cannot provide here a proper account for this

phenomenon, which could probably be somehow related to the internal structure of the DP[98]. What is significant to the discussion is that the (un)bounded nature of the Figure is not relevant when inserted in a COS alternant. Rather, the (un)bounded nature of the verb root seems to arise in this context: since *caricare* ('to load') can either license a meaning of atelic activity and a meaning of accomplishment, both a telic and an atelic interpretation of the COS structure can be licensed, as depicted in (20c, d). The crucial difference between the COL alternant and the COS alternant, then, is the fact that only in the COS alternant the (un)bounded nature of the verb root is significant for the telic/atelic interpretation of the structure. On the contrary, in the COL alternant the telic/atelic value seems to be related only to the (un)bounded nature of the Figure. This, I think, further proves that two completely different structures are involved by the COL and the COS alternants: in particular, the (un)bounded nature of the Figure does not influence the telic/atelic reading of the COS alternant because there is no structural Figure in this construction (the element interpreted as a Figure being an adjunct). At the same time, the (a)telic nature of the verb root does not influence the telic/atelic reading of the COL alternant since, in this alternant, the verb root is subjugated to predicating a telic event of transition, which only at a second time is specified to take place in the form (i.e. Manner) expressed by the lexical meaning of the verbal root.

Further evidence regarding the second complement of COS variants being an adjunct external to the VP comes from Marantz (2007), where alternants like (21) are analysed[99]:

(21)

    a. "cram food into the freezer"

    b. "cram the freezer with food"

    c. "*They crammed food yesterday"

    d. "They crammed the freezer"

As one may notice, (21d) can occur without the PP *with food*, while (21c) cannot occur without the PP *into the freezer*. Marantz (2007) demonstrates the adjunct-status of *with*

---

[98] However, one thing to notice is that (20b) is a COL structure with an atelic reading: according to the previous analysis, this should not be possible. Given this, it is likely that only bounded elements can be licensed as Figures (in the sense applied in (7)); certainly, further research is needed.

[99] (21) and (22) are taken from Marantz (2007).

food in the COS variant (20b) by using the *re-* prefixation test. The *re-* prefix "targets the inner event of a vP and won't co-occur with small clauses. Thus re- prefixation brings out the adverbial interpretation of an apparent second complement when such an interpretation is available"[100]. For example, a sentence like:

(22)

    "re-cram the freezer with meat"

does not mean to re-cram with meat a freezer that was already crammed with meat; rather, it means to re-cram with meat a freezer that could have been crammed with anything else, say, ice-cream. *re-* prefix has scope on the event internal to the VP, and crucially *with meat* is not included within this domain.

The analysis of Latin COS alternants with prefix marker offered in Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013) can represent another counter-argument to the principle in (7). In this case, a structure like[101]:

(23)

    "Albentique   umeros   in-duxit amictu."   (Latin)

    white-ABL_and shoulders-ACC in-led   cloak-ABL

    'And he covered his shoulders with a white cloak.'

is analysed as involving a COS alternant with the same structure of a COL alternant, although lacking a Figure. In particular, the absence of the Figure triggers the movement of the Ground, which undergoes ACC case-assignment by the verb root instead of ABL case-assignment by the Place head. The structure of (23) as provided in Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013: 248) is here reproduced:

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[100] Marantz (2007).
[101] (23) is taken from Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013).

(24)

```
                        vP
                   /         \
               pro            v'
                          /        \
                        v            PathP
                     /    \        /       \
                    v    √duc   Path        PlaceP
                                          /        \
                                     Place(=in)    umer-
```

This analysis is not compatible with (7) for two reasons. Firstly, it allows a telic configuration involving a Ground in the absence of a Figure. This is not possible according to (7), since I assume that a Ground is always defined with respect to a Figure. Secondly, a COS alternant with the same structure of a COL alternant is introduced: this is not consistent with the conclusions previously discussed, according to which two different structures are involved in the Locative alternation. What I argue, consistently with my previous hypothesis, is that what in Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013: 247) are conceived as COS variants "with the same basic structure as the COL variants" actually have the same exact structure of the COL variants: accordingly, a sentence like (23) could roughly be paraphrased as "He made the shoulders undergo a transition to the state of being covered", where *the shoulders* are the Figure of a transition event. In particular, in (25) I interpret *umeros* ('shoulders') as Figure because the element *umeros* is the Undergoer of the process of being covered:

(25)

```
                   VP
               /        \
         umeros_i        V'
                      /       \
                     v          PathP
                  /    \       /      \
              in_t-√duc  v  umeros_i    Path'
                                      /       \
                                   Path°        PlaceP
                                    in_t       /      \
                                          umeros_i     Place'
                                                    /       \
                                                 Place°
                                                  in_t
```

One more possible counter-argument to the principle in (7) regards the Figure conflating motion verbs displayed in Talmy (1985) for languages such as Atsugewi and Navajo[102]. The problem with these constructions is that they seem to involve the conflation of the Figure within the verb root; however, the syntactic derivation of these structures is not clear: in fact, what in Talmy (1985) is defined as "Figure" is not expressing a direct relationship with the concrete, referential Figure of the event; rather, it is a morpheme encoding the Motion component and some specifications of the Figure element, while the real Figure is expressed by a stand-alone NP separated from the verbal complex. This doesn't mean, though, that a compulsory NP specification for the Figure (or for the Ground) must take place: in fact, the polysynthetic nature of Atsugewi allows these complex verbs to appear also without NPs further specifying the exact nature of the elements taking part to the event of motion; for this reason, these structures are called 'sentential-verbs" in Talmy (1972). However, in the absence of a given context, NPs specifying the Figure and the Ground are necessary in order to fully understand the event being predicated. Cf., for example, a sentential-verb of Atsugewi like[103]:

(26)

"ẇoqʰputícta"   /'-w-uh-qput-ičt-ᵃ/   (Atsugewi)

locative suffix: -ičt 'into liquid'

instrumental prefix: uh- 'from "gravity" (an object's own weight) acting on it'

inflectional affix-set: '-w- -ᵃ '3SG SBJ (factual mood)'

Figure conflating verb root: -qput- 'for loose dry dirt to move/be-located'

A construction like (26), in the absence of a context, can only be interpreted as something like:

(27) "Dirt-like material in free-fall is moved into liquid."

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[102] Cf. (72) in section 1.3 for an exemplification of Figure conflating verb roots in Atsugewi as provided in Talmy (1985).

[103] (26) is taken from Talmy (1972).

Of course, this is not a satisfactory predication, unless a context is given. For example, this sentential-verb could be suitable for expressing the equivalent of the English:

(28)

    "The soot fell into the creek."

However, in order to properly do so, NPs specifying the Figure and the Ground are needed, since the bare verbal structure, however complex, wouldn't be able to specify more than a general framework of the event[104]. In fact, if the following NPs are provided:

(29)

    "niq̇ap"

     soot

    "cumi:y"

    the creek

the proper equivalent of the English (28) can be realised[105]:

(30)

    "ẇoqʰputíċta cᵊ niˀᵊq̇ápʰ cᵊ ċum·é·yiˀ"   /'-w-uh-qput-iċt-ᵃ c niq̇ap c cumi:y -iˀ/

According to Talmy (1972), a sentential-verb construction alone, as (26), can be used to refer to specific complex situations like (28). In fact, "the sentential-verb node functions grammatically as a verb beside the external prepositional and pair of nominals [elements], [...] whereas it functions grammatically as a sentence over the root and satellites"[106]. However, it is clear that for a sentential-verb construction to function as a sentence the context of the situation must be previously assumed, since the sentential-verb's semantics does not contain itself the whole information involved by a predication like (28). Given this,

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[104] Limited to the semantic information provided by the affixes and by the verb root, as depicted in (27).
[105] (30) is taken from Talmy (1972). As stated in Talmy (1972), the *c* element is a marker usually preceding noun phrases in Atsugewi.
[106] Talmy (1972: 70).

in my opinion, Atsugewi's predications of motion events should be analysed in their most complete structure, as it is in (30), besides analysing them in their bare sentential-verb structure, as in Talmy (1985), before concluding that a Figure conflation into the verb root is performed. In fact, by assuming (30), one could conclude that the same principle (7) has been applied in Atsugewi: in particular, the Figure element *niq̓ap* ('soot') is the subject of a structure in which an external Agent is lacking. Moreover, in (30) a morpheme indicating Path was added to the NP expressing the Ground:

(31)

    "-i^ʔ"

     to

This fact, in my opinion, further proves that syntactic operations also take place at an external level than the sentential-verb's one: by analysing this external level, the principle in (7) seems to be respected. However, further research is needed, in my opinion, in order to analyse the processes involved in the formation of sentential-verb structures from a functional point of view. For example, how can the inflectional affix-set *'-w- -ᵃ* in (26) convey information about the Figure being the subject of the predication, given that the Figure in (26) has been treated as a verbal root? One could rather assume, from a neo-constructionist point of view, that a phonologically null eventive head signalling the transition process involved by the event is underlying, while several affixes incorporating into it and behaving like sort of "affixual" pronouns give rise to the concrete predication. Such hypothesis would be further proved by the fact that a Figure conflating verb root like *-qput-* can express either a "move" or a "be-located" meaning according to Talmy (1985): given such situation, one could advance that the motion component is provided by a different, unrealised morpheme.

Chapter 4

The syntax of motion in XIV cent. Venetan

In this chapter, data regarding the expression of motion collected from the *Atti del podestà di Lio Mazor* (hence *Lio Mazor*) are presented and discussed. The reason why Venetan was chosen for the analysis is that, among the Romance languages of the Italian domain, nowadays it is one of the most inclined to realize verb-particle constructions: in fact, constructions like Italian VPCs (cf. section 2.1) are the main, if not only, structure employed in the expression of directed motion. In addition, idiomatic VPCs (structures whose meaning cannot be reconstructed from the meaning of its components) are also frequent. This type of VPCs, called *Non-transparent Ph(rasal)V(erb)s* in Benincà & Poletto (2006), seems to involve the same particles displayed in motion VPCs; however, in this structure the particle "does not retain its original 'locative / directional' meaning"[107], and forms a sort of unique lexical entity with the verbal root, also displaying resistance to isolation[108]:

(1)

    a. "El se ga magnà FORA I SCHEI."   (Venetan)

       He himself has eaten out the money

       'He spent/squandered all his money.'

    b. "*FORA I SCHEI el se ga magnà."

       Out the money he himself has eaten

    c. "I SCHEI el se ga magnà FORA."

       The money he himself has eaten out

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[107] Benincà & Poletto (2006: 13).
[108] (1) is taken from Benincà & Poletto (2006).

Benincà & Poletto (2006) hypothesizes that this latter type of VPCs is an original construction of Venetan transferred to Italian by the action of bilingual speakers, who extended its usage to the more informal context of Italian. Given this, and assuming, together with Masini (2006), that *Non-transparent PhVs* originated from locative VPCs whose components underwent a semantic bleaching[109], one could conclude that Venetan displays an advanced stage of usage of verb-particle constructions. This, together with the assumption of Latin as an s-framed language[110], led to the question whether Venetan, particularly at the ancient stages of the language (which were more closed to Latin), could be considered as involving s-framed structures: this is not a trivial hypothesis, since traces of s-framedness were found by Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013) in Old Catalan and by Burnett & Troberg (2014) in Old French. In order to verify this hypothesis, the XIV cent. language of *Lio Mazor* was analysed. In particular, constructions expressing motion events were taken into account, since this semantic category can be claimed to be the most characteristic regarding the Talmian typology.

The analysis was based on a critical edition[111] of a manuscript now conserved in the 'Archivio di Stato di Venezia, fondo Podestà di Torcello'. This manuscript dates back to the second decade of the XIV century and consists in a collection of 'podestarile'[112] acts reporting testimonies of people involved in judicial cases, mostly between 1312 and 1314 AD. Linguistically speaking, the advantage of using this text is that no literary influence is supposed to be present: except for the introduction of the testimonies, where a formulary sentence in Latin can sometimes occur, in the main body of the text the direct testimonies provided by the witnesses are reported. This should give us linguistic data that, if cannot be assumed to represent with no doubts authentic speech, surely are closed to it[113]. Another advantage, for the purposes of this analysis, consists in the fact that humble, presumably uneducated people took part in the trials: accordingly, one could suppose that only (or mostly) a quite spontaneous, informal speech was used by the witnesses. In some

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[109] Cf. section 2.1.
[110] Acedo-Matellán (2010).
[111] Elsheikh (1999).
[112] The *podestà* was a sort of civil governor in the Republic of Venice.
[113] However, caution is necessary: firstly, the precise conditions in which the text was edited are uncertain. Secondly, this text is sometimes linguistically heterogeneous, since frequent (and not always reasoned) morpho-phonological alternants are present that distinguish it from the coeval Venetian).

cases, dealing with particular constructions whose analysis required a wider spectrum of data than the one offered by the only *Lio Mazor*, also *Il libro di messer Tristano* (hence *Tristano Veneto*) and the O(pera) del V(ocabolario) I(taliano) (hence OVI) database were consulted. The *Tristano Veneto* consists in a translation into Venetan, made in Venice between the XIV and the XV cent., of the French *Roman de Tristan*. Unfortunately, all the advantages offered by the linguistic data of *Lio Mazor* are not available in the *Tristano Veneto*: firstly, being a translation from ancient French, influences from the original language could have occurred; secondly, being a literary work, one could expect that not always the language adopted was close to the spontaneous, everyday language of Venetan people. However, this text is advantageous in offering a huge amount of data, due to its extensive length. As for the *Lio Mazor*, also for the *Tristano Veneto* a critical edition was consulted[114].

Concerning *Lio Mazor*, a total of 210 verbal complexes involving motion events were found, out of a text composed of about eleven thousand words[115]. Both telic and atelic motion events were taken into consideration, bearing in mind the important distinction made in Aske (1989)[116] regarding telicity values in motion events when dealing with the Talmian typology.

Generally, expressions of motion events do not exhibit a substantially different pattern than today's Venetan regarding the criteria for the selection of the verb root: only one case (with three occurrences) of a telic motion event with a verb entailing a quite strong manner component was found, cf.:

(2) "Voga   via!"

    Row-IMP-2SG away

    'Row away!'

                                        (c. 20r, 22; c. 21r, 18; c. 21r, 19[117])

However, a verb like *vogare* ('to row') in this structure can be claimed to license a resultative reading, by fulfilling the +TEL requirement of this construction and providing

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[114] Donadello, 1994.
[115] Cf. Appendix for a list of these structures.
[116] Cf. section 2.2.
[117] c(arta, 'folium'); r(ecto); v(erso).

the Path component to the predication. Accordingly, I propose the following structure for (2), where also an analysis of *via* ('away') as providing the Ground element[118] is assumed:

(3)

```
                        VP
                       /  \
                    pro_i   V'
                           /  \
                          v    PathP
                         / \   /    \
                     √vog_t  v pro_i  Path'
                                     /    \
                                  Path°    PlaceP
                                  √vog_t  /     \
                                      pro_i    Place'
                                              /     \
                                          Place°    via
```
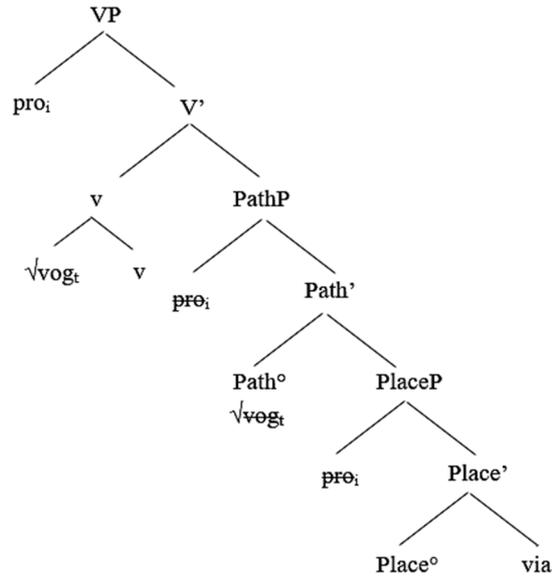
Nonetheless, the fact that *vogare* can be perceived as involving a strong Manner component could be proved by considering that, mostly, this root is found with an unergative structure in *Lio Mazor*, expressing an atelic motion event:

(4)

"[...] e   vogà   entra(n)bi verso   la pu(n)ta del canal."
    And row-PST-3PL   both   towards   the tip   of_the canal
'And they both rowed towards the end of the canal.'

(c. 20r, 23)

(5)

"E così vogà   eli fina a la pu(n)ta del   canal p(re)so ter(r)a"
And so   row-PST-3PL they until at the tip   of_the canal beside   land
'And so they rowed until the end of the canal next to the land.'

(c. 21r, 20)

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[118] Cf. Chapter 3.

(6)

"[...] vogando en pope Michaleto [...] Çulia(n)   vogava   de meço [...]

    row-GER   in stern Michaleto [...] Çulian   row-IPFV-3SG of middle [...]

Pero   vogava   en p(ro)da."

Pero row-IPFV-3SG in   bow

'Michaleto rowing stern-side [...] Çulian rowing in the middle [...] Pero rowed bow-side.'

<div align="right">(c. 22r, 6)</div>

One potentially problematic case was found in the following example:

(7)

"E'   te   darò   1   tal   gautada che   te   fa   borir fora li ogli."

 I   you-DAT give-FUT one such slap-OBJ that you-DAT make *borir* out the eyes

'I will give you such a slap that your eyes will come out of their sockets.'

<div align="right">(c. 1v, 6)</div>

The problem with this occurrence relies on the difficult to infer the correct meaning of *borir*. Doing some researches, a lemma *borir* was found in the *Vocabolario mantovano-italiano* (Cherubini, 1827) associated to the meaning of "removal", especially in the sense of bringing animals out of their den, and with a parallel to the French *bourrer*. By searching the origin of *bourrer*, a possible connection to the XIV cent. French term *burir*, reconnected to the ancient Frankish *burjan 'remove with strength' was found. Unfortunately, no other occurrences of *borir* were found, nor within *Lio Mazor* or the *Tristano Veneto*, and even by consulting the OVI database, which reported the only occurrence in *Lio Mazor*. However, two more occurrences of the term were found by extending the analysis to an online research, particularly in some XVI cent. texts from the area of Belluno edited by Carlo Salvioni[119]:

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[119] Archivio Glottologico Italiano (1902).

(8)

　　 "El scomenzaua　　 à　 sborìr　fora　el　 di."

　　　 It　 start-IPFV-3SG to　 s-*borir* out the day-SBJ

　　 'The day started to peek out.'

(9)

　　 "El scomenzava　　　　　 l'alba　　　 a　 sburir fuora."

　　　 It　　 start-IPFV-3SG　the_dawn-SBJ to　 s-*burir* out

　　 'The dawn started to peek out.'

In (8) and (9), a prefixed version of *borir* is depicted (presumably from *ex-borir*); in addition, the form *burir* is provided in (9): this alternant will be treated as a phonological variant that, perhaps non-trivially, resembles the XIV cent. French *burir*. These are only speculations, since no certain etymological data could be found. However, a meaning of resultativity could be inferred by assuming such reconstruction: for this reason, the *borir fora* (and variants) verbal complex should not be regarded as a Manner-conflating structure (in the sense of Acedo-Matellán & Mateu, 2013), but rather as a v-framed structure with a resultative verb root.

　　One more case of a verb-particle with a potential Manner conflating verb root is the following:

(10)

　　 "[...] che　　 taiava　　　 enter　 1　legno"

　　　　 that cut-IPFV-1SG inside one wood

　　 'Since I was cutting in the inside of a piece of wood.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 (c. 1r, 23)

I would not interpret (10) as expressing a telic event; rather, it seems that an unergative structure is present, with a PP adjunct specifying the locative place of the event. In other words, a possible paraphrasis for (10) could be "[I] was making cuts inside a piece of wood" rather than "[I] was cutting my way (to) the inside of a piece of wood". Nonetheless, even by assuming a telic structure for (10), this would probably not constitute a

problem as for the v-framedness of the construction is concerned, since *taiar* ('to cut')
can be analysed as involving a resultative value that makes it possible for this root to be
found also in Italian weak P-verb structures of the *lavare via* ('to wash away') type, cf.:

(11)

    "Ho   tagliato   il foglio."

    Have-1SG cut-PST-PTCP the sheet

    'I cut the sheet.'

    "Ho   tagliato   via l'immagine   dal   foglio."

    Have-1SG cut-PST-PTCP away the_picture from_the sheet

    'I cut away the picture from the sheet.'

As for verb-particle structures with external Agent, only cases were the telic value can
be assumed to be conveyed by the verb root were found, cf.:

(12)

    "[...] e   çetà-l   via (e)   caçai-lo   via"

       and throw-PST-1SG-it away and drive-PST-1SG-it away

    'And I threw it away and drove it away.'

                                (c. 27v, 22)

(13)

    "(E) così   me-lo   spe(n)s-e'   fora da dos"

     And so   me-DAT-him-OBJ pull-PST-1SG_I out from on

    'And so I pulled him away from me.'

                                  (c. 2v, 10)

(14)

    "[...] (e)   butà(li)   la beriola e l'oveta çó   del cavo"

        and throw-PST-3SG-him-DAT the   cap   and the_coif down of_the head

    'And he threw his cap and his coif off his head.'

                                            (c. 3r, 10)

As one may notice, in all the examples from (12) to (14) verb roots with an intrinsic resultative value are found, namely: *çetàr* ('to throw'), *caçar* ('to move fiercely'), *spenser* ('to pull'), *butàr* ('to throw'). All these roots convey a component of directed motion, that as such can be used in order to license a resultative reading for the event being predicated. Accordingly, a structure like (15) can be assumed:

(15)

    "[...] e çetà-l via"
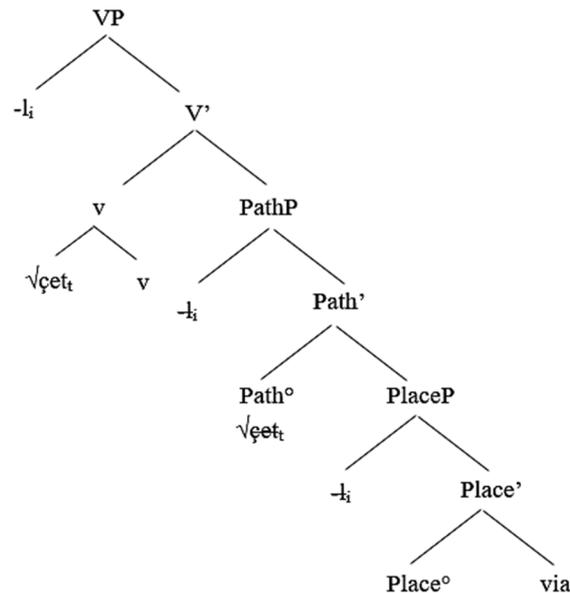
One major difference with respect to contemporary Venetan (and also with respect to Italian, which behaves the same way) regards the resistance to insertion of 'heavy' lexical elements (e.g. DPs) displayed by VPCs: this is a well-known phenomenon in the

literature[120]. For example, according to Iacobini & Masini (2007) a difference can be assumed between structures like[121]:

(16)

    a.   "Luigi ha raspato via la resina."

        'Luigi scraped off the resin.'

    b.   "Luigi ha raschiato via la resina dalla maglietta."

        'Luigi scraped the resin off the t-shirt.'

In particular, in (16a) *via* would provide a meaning of completeness (meaning "succeeding in removing something by V-ing"[122]), while only in (16b) the particle would display its original locative value, since it occurs in combination with *dalla maglietta* and contributes to define the landmark of the event. Accordingly, the difference between:

(17)

    a.   "Luigi ha raschiato la resina via dalla maglietta."

    b.   "*Luigi ha raschiato la resina via."

is explained by the fact that, in (17b), *via* is not conveying a locative value, but an aspectual one, specifying the *telos* of the event. For this reason, it is more closely related to the verb root than in (17a), where it acts as part of a complex PP with *dalla maglietta*: hence, the P-verb construction in (17b) displays resistance to insertion. However, a quite different behaviour is shown by Old Venetan of *Lio Mazor*, cf.:

(18)

    "[...] (e)   çetà   lo   viger   via"

        And throw-PST-3PL the hatchery-OBJ away

    'And they threw away the hatchery.'

                                    (c. 22r, 16)

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[120] Cf. section 2.1, Iacobini & Masini (2007: 181), Mateu & Rigau (2010, footnote 17) among others.
[121] (16) and (17) are taken from Iacobini & Masini (2007).
[122] Iacobini & Masini (2007: 180).

(19)

   "[...] (e)   voidà   lo   pes fora en barcha"

      And empty-PST-3SG the fish-OBJ out in   boat

    'And he emptied out the fish in the boat.'

                                             (c. 21r, 23)

(20)

   "[...] ela   me   pres   la man e   caçà-ge   li de(n)ti entro"

      she me-DAT take-PST-3SG the hand and drive-PST-3SG-there the teeth inside

    'She took my hand and stuck his teeth into it.'

                                           (c. 14r, 9)

(21)

   "[...] l'aveva   fato [...] p(er) tôr   malicia via"

      it-OBJ-have-IPFV-3SG do-PST-PTCP for take-INF malice away

    'He did it to get rid of malice.'

                                          (c. 28r, 11)

In (18) to (21) a DP object is inserted between the verb root and the particle; moreover, (19) and (21) also display a weak P-verb structure, since their verb root take as object the Figure of a telic movement (*lo pes* in (19), *malicia* in (21)) instead of a traditional object, i.e. the element being emptied, *lo viger* ('the hatchery'), in (19) and a concrete element in (21)[123].

    The 'heavy' lexical insertion displayed by the constructions in (18) to (21) is crucial, in my opinion, in showing the original nature of the particles in these constructions, which are originally expressing the Ground of the event (i.e. they are locative) even when occurring in isolation from other PPs furtherly specifying the Ground (as in *via dalla maglietta* in (17a)). In a later period, given the fact that the Ground can be interpreted as the result-denoting point in a telic predication, the particle would have undergone a

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[123] One cannot literally *take malice*, since *malice* is an abstract concept: however, one can *take malice away*, since in this latter construction the structural function of the verbal root is that of *removal* (i.e. it is joined in a resultative structure).

process which led it to be considered as part of the verbal constituent (conveying a telic value) instead of argument of the verb, and ultimately made the resistance to insertion arise. Accordingly, one can expect no resistance to insertion in those cases where the particle is still conveying a barely locative value; on the contrary, resistance to insertion is detected when the particle has acquired a (functional) telic value.

One important thing to notice, regarding (19), is that *en barcha* ('in the boat') should not be considered, in my opinion, as part of a complex PP together with *fora* ('out'), as it could be in *via dalla maglietta* ('off the t-shirt') in (17): this is because, otherwise, two opposite points of view would be assumed in the same PP, one expressing an external place, through *fora*, and one expressing an internal place, through *in*. Rather, *en barcha* could be considered as a PP different from *fora* and coordinated to it, specifying the final location of the telic event of motion in the same measure of *fora*. Accordingly, (19) can be analysed as involving a structure like (16a) rather than (16b), i.e. involving a particle (*fora*) that does not select a prepositional complement further specifying the landmark of the telic event. For (19), also the counter-part without DP insertion between the verb root and the particle is found:

(22)

    "[...] e   vudà-l   fora lo   pes en barcha"

       And empty-PST-3PL_CLT-3PL out the fish-OBJ in boat

    'And they emptied out the fish in the boat.'

<div align="right">(c. 22r, 16)</div>

Another striking difference with respect to contemporary Venetan concerns the lexicalization of the direction of a motion event. Contemporary Venetan is known to express the Path component of a motion event within a particle, giving rise to those VPCs that were also studied in Masini (2006)[124] regarding Italian, cf.:

(23)

    andare su   salire

    ('go up')   ('ascend')

---

[124] Cf. section 2.1.

andare giù	scendere
('go down')	('descend')
andare fuori	uscire
('go outside')	('exit')
andare dentro	entrare
('go inside')	('enter')

As it was shown in Chapter 2, within a constructionist approach Italian VPCs are interpreted as an s-framed structure that constitute an anomaly within the Pan-Romance supposed v-framedness. Accordingly, given that for many authors (cf. Jansen, 2004; Benincà & Poletto, 2006 among others) these constructions are the result of an influence dictated by northern Italian dialects on the sub-standard level of Italian, one could expect that, as it is today, even in the ancient stages of Venetan this was the main structure used to express the direction of motion events. Interestingly, this is not consistent with the data emerged from *Lio Mazor*, where Path-expressing verbal roots (i.e. the strategy also used in contemporary, standard Italian) appear to be the most frequent constructions, cf.:

entrar ('to enter'):

(24)

    "[...] e [Çulia(n)]   voleva   entrar   en barcha"

        And Çulian   want-IPFV-3SG enter-INF in boat

    'And Çulian wanted to get on the boat.'

                                    (c. 19r, 4)

(25)

    "[...] (e)   entrà   en barcha"

       And enter-PST-3PL in boat

    'And they got in the boat.'

                                                   (c. 20r, 13)

(26)

    "[...] entrai   en casa"

     Enter-PST-1SG in house

    'I came inside the house.'

                                                 (c. 27r, 23)

sair ('to ascend'):

(27)

    "[...] nu   saisem   en terra"

       We ascend-PST-1PL in ground

    'We got on the ground.'

                                              (c. 18v, 6)

(28)

    "[...] viti   lo dito Çulia(n)   sair   fora de sua barcha en una marciliana[125]"

    see-PST-1SG the said Çulian ascend-INF out of his boat   in a marciliana

    'I saw Çulian getting out of his boat into a marciliana.'

                                                 (c. 19r, 2)

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[125] Type of medioeval boat.

esir ('to exit')

(29)

    "[...] (e)   esì   tuti III de la barcha"

        And exit-PST-3PL all three of the boat

    'And they all three came out of the boat.'

                                          (c. 20r, 10)

(30)

    "[...] (e)   esì   de fora su la riva"

        And exit-PST-3SG of out on the shore

    'And he came out on the shore.'

                                          (c. 27v, 11)

desmontar ('descend'[126])

(31)

    "[lo dito barber] desmo(n)tà   en ter(r)a"

    the said barber dismount-PST-3SG in ground

    'The said barber went ashore.'

                                          (c. 21r, 30)

Interestingly, (28) displays a complex Ground for the motion event (*fora de sua barcha en una marciliana* 'out of his boat in a marciliana'): as for (19), it seems like two coordinated PPs equally expressing the final location of the motion event, although from two different viewpoints, are present (namely *fora de sua barcha* and *en una marciliana* respectively). For the time being I do not have a more specific proposal for the phenomenon, which surely deserves a more in-depth analysis. Also Path-expressing verbal roots co-occurring with particles were found (e.g. *esir fora* 'exit out'): this, in my opinion, strengthen the idea of the particle as representing the Ground of the movement, rather

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[126] Cf. below for a discussion on the proper meaning of *desmontar*.

than the Path (as it is assumed in such constructionist works as those described in section 2.1). This hypothesis would be further proved by a construction like:

(32)

    "[...] esì-e'   çó   de la porta mia"

    exit-PST-1SG-I down of the door mine

    'I came down out of my door.'

                                      (c. 27v, 16)

where the particle *çó* ('down') can be claimed to represent the Ground of a movement whose Path is expressed by the verb-root *esir* ('exit').

Alternants to (24) - (31) displaying VPCs with generic motion verbs (e.g. *anar* 'go', *venir* 'come') are also present in the text of *Lio Mazor*, but to a far lesser extent, e.g.:

(33)

    "[...] Peri(n)ça [...]   ven   denter"

            Perinça   come-PST-3SG inside

    'Perinça came in.'

                                      (c. 27v, 11)

(34)

    "Ven   de fora!"

    Come-IMP-2SG of outside

    'Come out!'

                                        (c. 17r, 6)

In particular, a total of 14 occurrences for *esir* ('exit'), 10 occurrences for *entrar* ('enter'), 7 occurrences for *sair* ('ascend') and 1 occurrence for *desmontar* ('descend') were found, including those occurrences where also a particle like *fora* was present; on the contrary, only 2 occurrences for *anar/venir fora* ('go/come outside'), 2 occurrences for *anar/venir denter* ('go/come inside'), 0 occurrences for *anar/venir su* ('go/come up') and 4 occurrences for *anar/venir çó* ('go/come down') were found:

Type of movement	Synthetic form	Analytic form
MOVE_{IN}	"he' viti Marco de Robin intrar en la taverna" (c. 8v, 14) 'I saw Marco de Robin going inside the tavern' "e' viti entrar Antoni Padua(n) en la dita casa" (c.15v, 19) 'and I saw Antoni Paduan going inside the said house' "[Çulia(n)] voleva entrar en barcha de Bertuci Schil" (c. 19r, 4) 'Çulian wanted to get inside the boat of Bertuci Schil' "[...] lo dito Pero Capel e Çulia(n) de Cavo d'Istria (e) lo dito Michaleto in-trà en quela barcha" (c. 20r, 8) 'the said Pero Capel and Çulian of Koper and the said Michaleto got in-side that boat' "(e) entrasen en la taverna d'Andrea Dalmatin" (c. 20r, 11) 'and they went inside the tavern of Andrea Dalmatin' "(e) entrà en barcha" (c.20r, 13) 'and they got in the boat' "[...] entrà en la taverna d'Andrea Dal-matin" (c. 21r, 7) 'they went inside the tavern of Andrea Dalmatin.' "[...] lo dito barber entrà en barcha" (c. 21r, 29) 'the said barber got in the boat' "Per d'Esolo […] entrà en lo burclo" (c. 26r, 6) 'Pero of Jesolo got in the barge' "[...] entrai en casa" (c. 27r, 23) 'I went inside the house'	"Peri(n)ça [...] ven denter" (c. 27v, 11) 'Perinça came in' "[...] viti vegnir Marco d(e) Robin là denter" (c. 8v, 23) 'I saw Marco de Robin coming inside there'
MOVE_{OUT}	"[...] el esì fora de sot el portego" (c. 1r, 21) 'he went out under the porch'	"[...] ven fora d(e) sot lo portego" (c. 1v, 20) 'he came out under the porch' "Ven de fora!" (c. 17r, 6) 'Come out!'

	"[...] lo capet(an) esì fora de sot el portego" (c. 1v, 5) 'the captain went out under the porch' "[...] lo capet(an) esì fora de sot el portegal" (c. 2r, 4) 'the captain went out under the porch' "[...] sango me n'esì" (c. 14r, 9) 'blood came out from me' "[...] sì che sango li n'esì" (c. 17r, 8) 'so that blood came out of there' "[...] sango li n'esì" (c. 17r, 14) 'blood came out of there' "[...] esì-e' de fora" (c. 19r, 2) 'I came out' "(e) esì tuti III de la barcha" (c. 20r, 10) 'and they all three came out of the boat' "[...] esìsen fora en ter(r)a" (c. 20v, 36) 'we came out on the ground' "[...] esii fora de barcha" (c. 26v, 8) 'I came out of the boat' "[Peri(n)ça] esì de fora su la riva" (c. 27v, 11) 'Perinça came out on the shore' "[...] esì-e' çó de la porta mia" (c. 27v, 16) 'I came down out of my door' "[...] e' li coma(n)dai […] ch'el m'esis de casa" (c. 28r, 4) 'I ordered him to get out of my house' "[...] e' dis ch'el m'esis de casa" (c.28r, 6) 'I told him to get out of my house'	
MOVE_{UP}	"[...] per voler-me sair en barcha" (c. 3v, 13) 'in order to get on my boat' "[...] nu saisem tuti en tera" (c. 18r, 18) 'we all went ashore'	

	"[...] nu saisem en terra" (c. 18v, 16) 'we went ashore' "[...] viti lo dito Çulia(n) sair fora de sua barcha en una marciliana (e) de la marciliana sair en ter(r)a" (c. 19r, 2) 'I saw the said Çulian climbing out of his boat into a marciliana and from the marciliana getting on the ground' "Çulia(n) […] saì en ter(r)a co la spata en ma(n)" (c. 19r, 13) 'Çulian went ashore with the sword in his hand' "Peri(n)ça saì fora del burclo" (c. 27r, 19) 'Perinça climbed out of the barge' "[Peri(n)ça] vouse-me sair a dos" (c. 27r, 19) 'Perinça wanted to attack me'	
MOVE_{DOWN}*	"[lo dito barber] desmo(n)tà en ter(r)a" (c. 21r, 30) 'the said barber went ashore'	"[...] eo nava c(um) mia barcha çó p(er) lo canalo" (c. 5v, 3) 'I was going down the canal with my boat' "e' nava çó p(er) lo canal en mia bar-cha" (c. 5v, 15) 'I was going down the canal in my boat' "[...] viti andar lo dito Piçol Pare […] çó p(er) lo canal" (c. 6r, 1) 'I saw the said Piçol Pare going down the canal' "[...] e' nava çó p(er) lo canal" (c. 6r, 6) 'I was going down the canal'

As for the MOVE_{DOWN}* sentences is concerned, two facts should be pointed out. Firstly, *desmontàr* rather means 'dismount' than 'descend', and its usage is usually confined to the process of getting out of vehicles or getting down from animals employed for transport purposes: for example, one cannot *dismount from a mountain*, even though the verb displays a clear parasynthetic derivation from *montem* ('mount')! Secondly, the *anar çó* sentences found in *Lio Mazor* are all restricted to the particular process of "moving along a stream of water": accordingly, one could not assume *çó* ('down') in these sentences as

defining a localized Ground with respect to a precise (elevated) point of view[127], but rather as defining an indefinite portion of space within which an atelic activity (e.g. moving with a boat) takes place[128]. For these reasons, the MOVE_DOWN* sentences should be excluded from the analysis in my opinion.

However, enough examples from the MOVE_IN, MOVE_OUT and MOVE_UP sentences are provided in order to conclude that a different way of encoding directed motion events into the linguistic structure was present in the Old Venetan if compared to the contemporary Venetan: although cases of VPCs are present, a preference for synthetic forms in expressing the Path component of a motion event within the verb root is found. These synthetic forms continue Latin verbs: cf. *entrar* (< INTRĀRE), *sair* (< SALĪRE)[129] and, in particular, *esir* (< EXĪRE < EX-ĪRE), which underwent a prefixation process that was typical in Latin[130]. Reasonably, one can conclude that the XIV cent. Venetan of *Lio Mazor* displays the initial phase of transition from the Latinate synthetic/prefixed forms to those verb-particle constructions whose usage is generalized in today's Venetan. The same process occurred to Italian, where VPCs are also found co-existing with synthetic forms in the XIII cent. language of *Dante*[131]. However, in Italian, Latinate synthetic forms were promoted by the literary language, and as a consequence they are still present in today's standard level of the language.

By assuming such conclusion, also the absence of *Non-transparent PhVs* in the XIV cent. Venetan can be explained: in fact, not only this construction was absent from *Lio*

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[127] However, things can be trickier than it could seem at a first glance; cf. these examples with *correre* ('run') (that, contrary to *andare* ('go'), can appear in both unaccusative structures of telic motion events and in unergative structures of atelic (activity) events of motion) occurring with the following modifiers:

    (1) "??È corso verso   casa <u>ma non ci   è arrivato vicino</u>."
          'he_is run towards home but not there is arrived close'

    (2) "Ha   corso verso   casa <u>ma non ci   è arrivato vicino</u>."
          'he_has run towards home but not there is arrived close'

In particular, the doubtful acceptability of (1) would suggest an interpretation of *verso casa* in this context as a Ground PP (of a telic movement) rather than as an external adjunct of an atelic activity, as in (2).

[128] With regard to sentences of the *anar çó* type like those depicted in the table above, one interesting thing to notice is that an unaccusative structure is employed in the expression of what seems an atelic motion event, i.e. a motion event not oriented to the reaching of a particular goal. This fact cannot be claimed to be a problem for the "Figure-to-VP" principle advanced in Chapter 3: in fact, what from that principle derives is that an unaccusative structure should be expected in case of telic events of transitions when an external Agent is missing. On the contrary, no predictions derive from that principle regarding unergative/unaccusative alternations when dealing with atelic events.

[129] With a change in meaning, from *jump* to *ascend*.

[130] Cf. Iacobini (2009).

[131] Cf. Masini (2006).

Mazor, but also by extending the research area to the *Tristano Veneto* and to the OVI database no cases of such construction could be found. The reason for this absence can be explained once the assumption is made that *Non-transparent PhVs* derive from a semantic shift of the particle involved in the verb-particle construction, which turns its locative meaning to an aspectual (terminative) meaning. In particular, the following process could have occurred: firstly, in the expression of directed motion events an alternative structure arises parallel to the synthetic forms directly derived from Latin. This structure, involving a verb-particle construction, is in line with the more general characteristics of Romance languages if compared to Latin, as depicted in Iacobini & Masini (2007)[132]. At a later time, the particle expressing the Ground of the motion event in VPCs could be interpreted, precisely for this reason, as conveying a broader resultative value, which could be applied to events of motion that did not imply the reaching of a precise Ground: for example, this can be the case with the particle *via* ('away') in the following excerpts from the *Tristano Veneto*, where it occurs with a verb root (*partir*, 'leave') that doesn't imply the specification of the arrival location:

(35)

"[...] prendé   le vostre   arme   e   partite   via de chà"

    take-IMP-2PL the your weapons-OBJ and depart-IMP-2PL away of here

'Take your weapons and go away from here.'

(*Trist. Ven.*, 131)

(36)

"Or   monta   et   partite   via apresso questo cavalier"

Now mount-IMP-2SG and depart-IMP-2PL away behind this   knight

'Now get on the horse and go away after this knight.'

(*Trist. Ven.*, 260)

and with the particle *fora* ('out') in the following example from *Lio Mazor*, that seems to convey a resultative value without expressing the Ground component (since no motion events "from the inside to the outside" are expressed by the sentence):

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[132] Cf. Chapter 2, section 2.1.

(37)

    "[...] me-lo   spe(n)s-e'   fora da dos"
        me-DAT_him-OBJ push-PST-1SG_I out from on

                                                      (c. 2v, 10)

Finally, this process could have developed into the *Non-transparent PhVs*, where the terminative aspect detected in Benincà & Poletto (2006) applies in relation to telic events not involving motion (cf. (1)). With regard to sentences of the *anar çó* type like those depicted in the table above, one interesting thing to notice is that an unaccusative structure is employed in the expression of what seems an atelic motion event, i.e. a motion event not oriented to the reaching of a particular goal. This fact cannot be claimed to be a problem for the "Figure-to-VP" principle advanced in Chapter 3: in fact, what from that principle derives is that an unaccusative structure should be expected in case of telic events of transitions when an external Agent is missing. On the contrary, no predictions derive from that principle regarding unergative/unaccusative alternations when dealing with atelic events.

Conclusions and prospects

This final section provides a summary of the proposals presented in this thesis, together with some open challenges.

The main goal of this thesis was that of providing an analysis of the linguistic encoding of motion events in Old Venetan. The purpose of this study basically originates from the typological classification of languages based on the well-known works by Talmy[133]. Two different approaches to the Talmian typology were presented: the constructionist approach and the neo-constructionist approach. The constructionist approach was considered in relation to those Italian constructions, namely VPCs, that, at least superficially, exhibit a pattern of motion encoding that seems to pertain to the s-framed typology, which is a typology that should not characterize Romance languages (classified as v-framed languages, according to Talmy[134]). Constructionist studies of Italian VPCs were particularly useful in providing a diachronic reconstruction for the origin of this phenomenon. On the contrary, their claim on Italian VPCs showing an s-framed structure was rebutted by studies assuming a neo-constructionist approach, where a syntactic, structural analysis is given to the Talmian typology. According to these studies, Italian VPCs should be regarded as v-framed structures, since their verb roots cannot be assumed as involving a bare Manner value: rather, a 'result' feature (which was shown to be determining with regard to the Talmian typology, cf. Aske, 1989) is also checked by the verb root as well as by the particle. In order to prove this assumption, a list of constructions involving Manner conflation into the eventive head were provided (e.g. strong P-verb and adjectival resultatives, CDMCs, etc.). As shown in Chapter 2, both a parametric assumption of the Talmian typology (cf. Acedo-Matellán, 2010, and following) and a micro-parametric approach to language variation (located in the specifications of vocabulary items rather than in parameters involving the functional structure, cf. Son and Svenonius, 2008) were

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[133] Cf. Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000).
[134] Cf. Talmy (2000: 222, vol. 2).

advanced within a neo-constructionist framework. However, regardless of the specific assumption, what remains is that the possibility for a language like Italian to license resultative constructions with the conflation of an atelic root into the eventive head seem to be set to zero.

Moving from such studies, a proposal was advanced in Chapter 3 that would allow to account for different phenomena presented in the literature, e.g. UOCs (both of the strong and weak type), CDMCs, COL variants of the Locative alternation, unergative/unaccusative alternation in Italian. In particular, it was claimed that a mandatory movement to VP of the Figure element (considered as the Undergoer of a resultative event of transition) takes place. The outcomes of this assumption are various: not only COL alternants can be regarded as a type of UOCs, but also the Unselected object effect itself, the unaccusative shift of some unergative verbs of Italian (of the *correre* ('run') type) entering a telic motion construction end up being different by-products of the same mandatory movement of the Figure to the projection of the eventive head. Moreover, a claim was advanced regarding the semantic value of the particle entering a P-verb structure, which is not analysed (at least at the first diachronic phases of the construction) as denoting a Path (directional/resultative) value, but rather as always denoting the final goal (i.e. the Ground) of the event of transition.

By holding these assumptions, an analysis of the XIV cent. Venetan of *Lio Mazor* in reference to the way of expressing motion events and to the typological status (in Talmy's sense) of the language was performed. The analysis moved from the consideration, in the literature, of today's northern Italian dialects as displaying a massive usage of VPCs if compared to standard Italian. In addition, a particular type of VPCs, namely *Non-transparent PhVs* (in Benincà e Poletto, 2006), is widespread in today's Venetan: a strong relation is exhibited between the verbal root and the particle in this structure, such that the meaning of the construction cannot be inferred by the compositional meaning of the verbal root and of the particle alone. Since Latin, from which Venetan derives, has been considered as an s-framed language and, as such, made frequently use of prefixal satellites, the ambition was trying to discover if Old Venetan behaved as an s-framed language more than it seems to do nowadays. Surprisingly, the analysis showed us a language that in many ways resembles today's (v-framed) standard Italian: in particular, a prevalent usage of synthetic (Path-expressing) verb roots was found in comparison to VPCs;

moreover, *Non-transparent PhVs* turned out to be absent from the language, even after extending the analysis to the *Tristano Veneto* and to the OVI database. Resistance to insertion has also been shown to be absent from the language, since cases of DP elements between the verb root and the particle were found. All these phenomena were considered as parts of a complex process, leading the language from the Latinate synthetic forms of motion expression to the P-verb forms of motion expression with a Ground-denoting particle; subsequently, from the P-verb forms of motion expression to P-verb forms of telic events of transition, with a shift in meaning of the particle from a locative value to an aspectual/actional value; finally, from the P-verb forms of telic events of transition to *Non-transparent PhVs*, where the compositional meaning contribution by the verbal root and by the particle cannot be inferred anymore. In particular, Old Venetan of *Lio Mazor* seemed to display the phase of transition from Latinate synthetic forms of motion expression to P-verb constructions, with both combinations of synthetic forms + P (e.g. *esìr fora* 'exit out') and P-verb constructions with non-directional verb roots (e.g. *anar fora*, 'go out'). Accordingly, the absence of resistance to insertion found in Old Venetan VPCs is interpreted by assuming the particles involved as still conveying a strong locative value to the event of transition expressed by the structure. However, rare cases of particles already expressing a telic (not locative) value were also found.

A number of questions is also left open for future research. In the first place, the assumption of a "Figure-to-VP" generalization has been proved, in my opinion, to be advantageous in accounting for a different number of phenomena presented by the literature, e.g. UOCs, CDMCs, COL alternants of the Locative alternation. However, this principle should be furtherly analysed with respect not only to the predictions that from such assumption derive, which could be potentially extended to a wider range of phenomena, but also to the exact conditions under which the principle applies. In the second place, regarding the assumption of a Ground-expressing particle that acquires the nominal features of its complement DP (cf. Chapter 3), further research should be carried out in order to identify potential restrictions for such (DP)-Ground omitting phenomenon, particularly by assuming Svenonius (2010)'s split-PlaceP analysis: are all particles capable of expressing the Ground value by themselves, or are there some constraints on the morphological nature of the particle (e.g. it must be derived, it must license an AxPart component)?

In addition, by analysing the resultative values of COL and COS Locative alternants (cf. (19) and (20), in Chapter 3), it was noticed that the quantificationally (un)boundedness of the Figure element plays a crucial role in licensing a telic or atelic predication in COL alternants. Future research should be done, in my opinion, in order to investigate the extent to which this phenomenon applies in different types of resultative constructions, both within a language and cross-linguistically. One thing that could be supposed is that quantificationally unbounded elements lack the possibility to enter a resultative structure: however, also an investigation on the exact nature of this unboundedness should be performed. A nice starting point could be provided by such works as Krifka (1987) and especially Longobardi (1991, 1994, 2001), where the different interpretations of nominals are analysed and parametrized cross-linguistically.

Further attention is also needed, in my opinion, by those resultative structures where multiple Grounds are (or seem to be) present (cf. (19), (22) and (28), in Chapter 4). In particular, the extent to which different PPs Ground contribute to convey the goal of a motion (or transition) event should be investigated. Is this phenomenon limited to motion events, or does it apply to a wider extent of resultative events of transition? Are these PPs to be treated as coordinated within a same VP, or is it more likely that two parallel predications, each selecting a different Ground, are implied?

Another interesting question is offered by those constructions such as:

(1)

"e' nava çó p(er) lo canal en mia barcha"

'I was going down the canal in my boat'

(c. 5v, 15, *Lio Mazor*)

In Chapter 4, these constructions were analysed as expressing an activity, e.g. that of navigating along a canal, so that an atelic event of motion would be predicated. Accordingly, one should expect an unergative structure, as it is with verbs of the *correre* ('run') type used in atelic motion constructions. Surprisingly, though, also a verb like *correre* ('run') can display unaccusativity when inserted in this structure, cf.:

(2)

    a.   "Lucia è corsa giù per la strada."

         Lucia is run down for the road.

    b.   "Lucia ha corso giù per la strada."

         Lucia has run down for the road

Particularly, the difference between (2a) and (2b) is that in the former sentence a movement directed to the portion of space expressed as "*giù per la strada*" ('down the road') has occurred, while in the latter sentence an activity (i.e. running) has been performed in the portion of space expressed as "*giù per la strada*", where Lucia was already supposed to be. Therefore, an alternative analysis of (1) as implying the expression of a telic motion event should not be discarded. By such assumption, though, the status of the complex PP Ground "*giù per* + DP" should be analysed. Can the "*per* + DP" structure be considered as an adjunct PP, with *giù* ('down') realising alone the Ground of the motion event? Or is "*per* + DP" rather an internal modifier of *giù* ('down'), furtherly specifying the Ground location?

Remaining on the XIV cent. Venetan of *Lio Mazor*, one striking difference with respect to contemporary Venetan is the (supposed) absence of *Non-transparent PhVs*. In Chapter 4, this absence is interpreted by assuming that these constructions originated from a shift in meaning of particles entering VPCs, which lost their original locative (Ground) value to acquire a wider resultative value. If this hypothesis is on the right track, it would be appropriate to investigate at which stage of its diachronic evolution the language came up with these constructions. In parallel to this, also a structural account for the non-compositional meaning of the particle and the verb root should be provided.

Finally, within a constructionist approach accounts were given for the development of VPCs in Italian (cf. section 2.1). Accordingly, though, one may suppose that the same phenomena acted throughout the entire Romance domain, leading to a generalized usage of VPCs. However, it is well-known in the literature that VPCs have grown to a greater extent within the Italian domain. Given this, it should be investigated whether VPCs can be considered as a Pan-Romance phenomenon and, in the case, to what extent: are VPCs used in the whole Romance area? Can their particle be considered as only conveying the

locative (Ground) value of a resultative event, or has it acquired a resultative value itself, as in Italian? Also, the reasons for the particularly strong development of such constructions in the Italian area should be investigated.

Appendix to Chapter 4

Motion events in the XIV cent. Venetan of Lio Mazor

Predications of telic motion events without external Agent

Figure > subject

    (1)
        "(e) [Çulia(n)]   voleva   entrar   en barcha de Bertuci Schil"
        and   Çulian   want-IPFV-3SG enter-INF in   boat of Bertuci Schil

                                                          (c. 19r, 4)

    (2)
        "(e)   andà   a proda"
         and pro go-PST-2SG at bow

                                                       (c. 20r, 17)

    (3)
        "(e) così   cors-e'   là"
        and so   run-pst-1sg_I there

                                                      (c. 16v, 20)

    (4)
        "(e)   entrà   en barcha"
        and pro enter-PST-3PL in   boat

                                                      (c. 20r, 13)

    (5)
        "(e)   entrasen   en la taverna d'Andrea Dalmatin"
        and pro enter-PST-3PL in the tavern of_Andrea Dalmatin

                                                     (c. 20r, 11)

    (6)
        "(e)   esì   tuti III   de la barcha"
        and exit-PST-3PL all three of the boat

                                                      (c. 20r, 10)

    (7)
        "(e)   partì-se   de la dita taverna li   diti Pero, Çulia(n)
        and leave-PST-3PL-REFL of the said tavern the said Pero, Çulian
        (e) Michaleto"
        and Michaleto

                                                      (c. 20r, 12)

(8)

"(e) partì-se   e   andà   a lo molin"
and leave-PST-3PL-REFL and go-PST-3PL at the mill

(c. 20r, 27)

(9)

"(e') corsi   là"
 I   run-PST-1SG there

(c. 27r, 32)

(10)

"[e'] çei-me(n)   a la mia barcha"
 I go-PST-1SG_REFL_CLT-LOC at the my boat

(c. 27r, 16)

(11)

"[lo dito barber] desmo(n)tà   en ter(r)a"
 the said barber dismount-PST-3SG in ground

(c. 21r, 30)

(12)

"[lo dito barber]   ven   a la plaça"
 the said barber come-PST-3SG at the shore

(c. 21r, 30)

(13)

"[nu] çesem   en casa d'Andrea"
  we go-PST-1PL in home of_Andrea

(c. 18r, 18)

(14)

"[nu] çesem   pur en casa d'Andrea"
  we go-PST-1PL also in home of_Andrea

(c. 18v, 7)

(15)

"[Peri(n)ça] esì   de fora su la riva"
  Perinça exit-PST-3SG of out on the shore

(c. 27v, 11)

(16)

"[Peri(n)ça] vouse-me   sair   a dos"
  Perinça want-PST-3SG-me-DAT ascend-INF at on"

(c. 27r, 19)

(17)

"[Pero] ven   a la plaça"
 Pero come-PST-3SG at the shore

(c. 21r, 27)

(18)

"a ste parole ven   Pero d'Esol cora(n)do"
by these words come-PST-3SG Pero d'Esol run-GER

(c. 27v, 25)

(19)

"andà […] ad uno vier   de pes"
go-PST-3PL at one hatchery of fish

(c. 22r, 10)

(20)
"andà   li   soraditi a lo molin"
go-PST-3PL the above_said at the mill
                                          (c. 22r, 16)

(21)
"Andà-ne   de casa!"
go-IMP-2SG_CLT-LOC of home
                                          (c. 13r, 6)

(22)
"Andrea Dalmatin se   çu(n)çè"
  Andrea Dalmatin REFL arrive-PST-3SG
                                          (c. 19r, 14)

(23)
"Can(i)n […]   ven   là da nu"
  Canin   come-PST-3SG there by us
                                          (c. 27v, 15)

(24)
"çem   a Venec(ia)"
go-1PL at Venice
                                          (c. 20r, 43)

(25)
"çem   a Venet(ia)"
go-1PL at Venice
                                          (c. 22r, 27; 22r, 28)

(26)
"çesem   ensenbra via"
go-PST-1PL together away
                                          (c. 3v, 5)

(27)
"ch'el   m'esis   de casa"
that_he me-DAT_exit-SBJV-PST-3SG of home
                                          (c. 28r, 6)

(28)
"clamà   lo dito Pero   che   vegnis   a tera"
call-PST-3SG the said Pero-OBJi that pro-SBJi come-SBJV-PST-3SG at shore
                                          (c. 21r, 27)

(29)
"çonçè   Pero d'Esol"
arrive-PST-3SG Pero d'Esol
                                          (c. 26r, 11)

(30)
"così ne   partisem"
  so CLT-LOC leave-PST-1PL
                                          (c. 13r, 6)

(31)
"Çulia(n) […] saì   en ter(r)a"
  Çulian   ascend-PST-3SG in ground
                                          (c. 19r, 13)

(32)

"de là ne partisem"
from there CLT-LOC leave-PST-1PL

(c. 10v, 5)

(33)

"de là se partì"
from there REFL leave-PST-3PL

(c. 20r, 29; 22r, 6; 22r, 17)

(34)

"de là se partì lo dito […] cu(m) la sua barcha"
from there REFL leave-PST-3SG the said with the his boat

(c. 21r, 8)

(35)

"de'-li p(er) lo vis, sì che sango li n'esì"
give-PST-1SG_him-DAT through the face, so that blood him-DAT CLT-LOC_exit-PST-3SG

(c. 17r, 8)

(36)

"e çe-me(n) a casa d(e) Pero Floca"
and go-PST-1SG_REFL_CLT-LOC at home of Pero Floca

(c. 26r, 8)

(37)

"E çonçè a Lito"
and arrive-PST-3PL at Lito

(c. 20r, 10)

(38)

"E così ge cesem"
and so there-CLT-LOC go-PST-1PL

(c. 13r, 4)

(39)

"e va' a tera!"
and go-IMP-2SG at ground!

(c. 20r, 16)

(40)

"e' çei là"
I go-PST-1SG there

(c. 15v, 20)

(41)

"e' era nà cu(m) Michaleto (e) Pero Capel cu(m) n(ost)ra
I be-IPFV-1SG go-PST-PTCP with Michaleto and Pero Capel with our
barcha a la riva d'Andrea Dalmatin"
boat at the shore of_Andrea Dalmatin

(c. 18r, 14)

(42)

"E' era vegnuta a la staçun"
I be-IPFV-1SG come-PST-PTCP-F at the station

(c. 14r, 1)

(43)
    "e' li   çei   encu(n)tra"
    I them-DAT go-PST-1SG towards
                                            (c. 15v, 10)

(44)
    "e' li   coma(n)dai […] ch'el   m'esis   de casa"
    I him-DAT order-PST-1SG   that_he me-DAT_exit-SBJV-PST-3SG of home
                                       (c. 28r, 4)

(45)
    "e' me ço[n]çei   là"
    I REFL arrive-PST-1SG there
                                       (c. 16v, 10)

(46)
    "e' me partii   anc'eio"
    I REFL leave-PST-1SG also_I
                                       (c. 26r, 8)

(47)
    "e' men   çei   a leto"
    I REFL_CLT-LOC go-PST-1SG at bed
                                      (c. 28r, 12)

(48)
    "e' tornai   a la mia barcha"
    I return-PST-1SG at the my boat
                                       (c. 26v, 6)

(49)
    "el esì   fora de sot   el portego"
    he exit-PST-3SG out of under the porch
                                      (c. 1r, 21)

(50)
    "el me   cors   sora"
    he me-DAT run-PST-3SG over
                                      (c. 2v, 19)

(51)
    "el pan me   cors   a la gola"
    the bread me-DAT run-PST-3SG at the throat
                                      (c. 14r, 20)

(52)
    "el se   partì"
    he REFL leave-PST-3SG
                                   (c. 26v, 8; 28r, 12)

(53)
    "el se   partì   de   la Tor de Plave"
    he REFL leave-PST-3SG from the Tor de Plave
                                    (c. 22r, 2)

(54)
    "el sen   partì"
    he REFL_CLT-LOC leave-PST-3SG
                                   (c. 27r, 8; 28r, 4)

(55)
   "ele   caçè   intra(n)be a tera"
   they-F fall-PST-3PL both   at ground

                    (c. 14v, 10)

(56)
   "eli ge vegnì"
   they there-CLT-LOC come-PST-3PL

                    (c. 20v, 32)

(57)
   "entrà   en la taverna d'Andrea Dalmatin"
   enter-PST-3PL in the tavern of_Andrea Dalmatin

                    (c. 21r, 7)

(58)
   "entrai en casa"
   enter-PST-1SG in house

                    (c. 27r, 23)

(59)
   "era   rivà   a la mia riva"
   be-IPFV-3SG arrive-PST-PTCP at the my shore

                    (c. 3r, 12)

(60)
   "esì-e'   çó   de la porta mia"
   exit-PST-1SG_I down of the door mine

                    (c. 27v, 16)

(61)
   "esì-e' de fora"
   exit-PST-1SG_I of out

                    (c. 19r, 2)

(62)
   "esii fora de barcha"
   exit-PST-1SG out of boat

                    (c. 26v, 8)

(63)
   "esìsen fora en ter(r)a"
   exit-PST-3PL out in ground

                    (c. 20v, 36)

(64)
   "he' men   çei   a casa"
    I REFL_CLT-LOC go-PST-1SG at home

                    (c. 26r, 9)

(65)
   "là   se   çonçè   lo dito Çulia(n) (e) Michaleto (e) Pero Capel
   there REFL arrive-PST-3PL the said Çulian and Michaleto and Pero Capel
   cu(m) sua barcha"
   with their boat

                    (c. 18r, 5)

(66)

    "là   si   vegnì   lo fant del Ros"

    there REFL come-PST-3SG the boy of_the Ros

                                          (c. 12r, 4)

(67)

    "là   si   ven   Albertaço"

    there REFL come-PST-3SG Albertaço

                                          (c. 12r, 5)

(68)

    "levai-e'   de leto"

    raise-PST-1SG_I from bed

                                          (c. 27v, 2)

(69)

    "levai-e'   su   de la barcha"

    raise-PST-1SG_I up from the boat

                                          (c. 26v, 3)

(70)

    "lo barber me   coma(n)dà […] che   çes   a l'alb(er)go"

    the barber me_DAT order-PST-3SG   that go-SBJV_PST-1SG at the_inn

                                    (c. 27r, 21)

(71)

    "lo capet(an) esì   fora de sot   el portego"

    the captain   exit-PST-3SG out of under the porch

                                          (c. 1v, 5)

(72)

    "lo capet(an) esì   fora de sot   el portegal"

    the captain   exit-PST-3SG out of under the porch

                                          (c. 2r, 4)

(73)

    "lo dito barber entrà   en barcha"

    the said barber enter-PST-3SG in boat

                                        (c. 21r, 29)

(74)

    "lo dito Can nava   a la barcha"

    the said Can go-PST-3SG at the boat

                                        (c. 3r, 15)

(75)

    "lo dito Peri(n)ça me   ven   en casa"

    the said Perinça   me-DAT come-PST-3SG in house

                                        (c. 28r, 3)

(76)

    "lo dito Pero Capel (e) lo dito Çulia(n) se   plegà   çó"

    the said Pero Capel and the said Çulian REFL bend-PST-3PL down

                                      (c. 20r, 18)

(77)
 "lo dito Pero Capel e Çulia(n) de Cavo d'Istria (e) lo dito Michaleto
  the said Pero Capel and Çulian of Cavo d'Istria and the said Michaleto
  intrà en quela barcha"
 enter-PST-3PL in that boat

                   (c. 20r, 8)

(78)
 "lo pan   caçè   en tera"
  the bread fall-PST-3SG in ground

                   (c. 14r, 21)

(79)
 "me   partii"
  REFL leave-PST-1SG

                   (c. 27r, 16)

(80)
 "me   partii   da lui"
  REFL leave-PST-1SG from him

                   (c. 26v, 5)

(81)
 "me' cugnà   Pero ve(n)   là"
  my brother-in-law Pero come-PST-3SG there

                   (c. 26v, 3)

(82)
 "Michaleto ven   a la plaça co la barcha"
  Michaleto come-PST-3SG at the shore with the boat

                   (c. 21r, 28)

(83)
 "ne   partisem   de la dita casa"
 CLT-LOC leave-PST-1PL from the said house

                   (c. 3v, 5)

(84)
 "no çem   p(er) Lito, çem   a Venet(ia)!"
 NEG go-1PL for   Lito, go-1PL at Venice

                   (c. 21v, 36)

(85)
 "no me   vegnir sora!"
 NEG me-DAT come-INF over

                   (c. 26v, 18)

(86)
 "nu […] çesem   ultra"
  we   go-PST-1PL further

                   (c. 6r, 21)

(87)
 "nu era(m)   rivati   a la riva de Andrea Dalmatin"
  we be-IPFV-1PL arrive-PST-PTCP-PL at the shore of Andrea Dalmatin
                   (c. 18v, 2)

(88)
 "nu saisem en terra"
 we ascend-PST-1PL in ground
             (c. 18v, 6)

(89)
 "nu saisem tuti en tera"
 we ascend-PST-1PL all in ground
             (c. 18r, 18)

(90)
 "Per d'Esolo […] entrà   en lo burclo"
 Per of_Esolo enter-PST-3SG in the barge
             (c. 26r, 6)

(91)
 "Peri(n)ça […] ven   denter"
 Perinça   come-PST-3SG inside
             (c. 27v, 11)

(92)
 "Peri(n)ça li   çe   encu(n)tra"
 Perinça them-DAT go-PST-3SG towards
             (c. 26v, 17)

(93)
 "Peri(n)ça saì   fora del burclo"
 Perinça ascend-PST-3SG out of_the barge
             (c. 27r, 19)

(94)
 "Peri(n)ça che vegniva"
 Perinça that come-IPFV-3SG
             (c. 26v, 12)

(95)
 "Perinça fo   çunt   là"
 Perinça be-PST-3SG arrive-PST-PTCP there
             (c. 26v, 7)

(96)
 "Pero co li autri ven   a tera"
 Pero with the others come-PST-3SG at ground
             (c. 22r, 20)

(97)
 "Pero ven   en tera"
 Pero come-PST-3SG in ground
             (c. 21r, 27)

(98)
 "qua(n)do tu vegnis d(e) canal Corno"
 when you come-PST-2SG from canal Corno
             (c. 3v, 25)

(99)
 "quel viger li   muçà   de ma(n)"
 that hatchery him-DAT slip-PST-3SG from hand
             (c. 21r, 13)

(100)

   "sango li   n'esì"

   blood them-DAT CLT-LOC_exit-PST-3SG

                                         (c. 17r, 14)

(101)

   "sango me   n'esì"

    blood me-DAT CLT-LOC_exit-PST-3SG

                                         (c. 14r, 9)

(102)

   "se   partì   lo   sorascrito […] de Venet(ia)"

   REFL leave-PST-3SG the above-written   from Venice

                                         (c. 21r, 3)

(103)

   "se   partì   Pero"

   REFL leave-PST-3SG Pero

                                         (c. 26r, 8)

(104)

   "tu no   seres   partì   d(e) canal Corno"

   you NEG be-COND-2SG leave-PST-PTCP from canal Corno

                                         (c. 3v, 26)

(105)

   "Va'   a tera!"

   go-IMP-2SG at ground

                                         (c. 20r, 25)

(106)

   "Vai-tu   a la barcha […]?"

   go-2SG_you at the boat

                                         (c. 22r, 22)

(107)

   "Vegnì   a ter(r)a"

   come-IMP-2PL at ground

                                         (c. 22r, 19)

(108)

   "ven   a Lito a la taverna d'Andrea Dalmatin"

   come-PST-3SG at Lito at the tavern of_Andrea Dalmatin

                                         (c. 22r, 4)

(109)

   "Ven   de fora!"

   come-IMP-2SG of out

                                         (c. 17r, 6)

(110)

   "ven   en tera"

   come-PST-3SG in ground

                                         (c. 3r, 13)

(111)

   "ven   fora d(e) sot   lo portego"

   come-PST-3SG out   of under the porch

                                         (c. 1v, 20)

(112)
 "vene a Lito"
 come-PST-3PL at Lito
                (c. 21r, 6)

(113)
 "viti   lo dito Çulia(n) sair fora de sua barcha en una marciliana
 see-PST-1SG the said Çulian ascend-INF out of his boat in a marciliana
 (e) de la marciliana sair en ter(r)a
 and from the marciliana ascend-INF in ground
                (c. 19r, 2)

(114)
 "vogà   co la barcha a la riva"
 row-PST-3PL with the boat to the shore
                (c. 20v, 35)

(115)
 "Voga   via!"
 row-IMP-2SG away
          (c. 20r, 22; 21r, 18; 21r, 19)

(116)
 "Vu vignarè   così dena(n)ço da li cu(n)seieri"
 you come-FUT-2PL this-way in_front_of the councillors
                (c. 27v, 20)

(117)
 "Peri(n)ça pur me voleva   corer sora"
 Perinça still me-DAT want-IPFV-3SG run-INF over
                (c. 27r, 14)

(118)
 "voio nar a lo molin da Lito"
 want-1SG go-INF at the mill of Lito
                (c. 20r, 5)

Indefinite predications of telic motion events without external Agent

Figure > subject

(119)
 " andar a la barcha"
 PRO go-INF at the boat
                (c. 3r, 8)

(120)
 "p(er) andar a la Tor de Plave"
 to PRO go-INF at the Tor de Plave
                (c. 21r, 25)

(121)
 "e' viti   entrar Antoni Padua(n) en la dita casa"
 I see-PST-1SG enter-INF Antoni Paduan in the said house
                (c. 15v, 19)

(122)
    he' viti   Marco de Robin   intrar   en la taverna"
    I   see-PST-1SG Marco de Robin   enter-INF in the tavern
                                                                        (c. 8v, 14)

(123)
    "na(n)do nu   via"
    go-GER us away
                                                                        (c. 6r, 21)

(124)
    "p(er) casun de   nar   a la Tor de Plave"
    for   reason of PRO go-INF at the Tor de Plave
                                                                        (c. 22r, 18)

(125)
    "p(er)   andar a lo molin"
     to PRO go-INF at the mill
                                                                        (c. 22r, 6)

(126)
    "p(er)   nar   a la Tor de Plave"
     to PRO go-INF at the Tor de Plave
                                                                        (c. 20r, 29)

(127)
    "p(er)   nar   a lo molin"
     to PRO go-INF at the mill
                                                                        (c. 20r, 15)

(128)
    "p(er)   nar   a S(anc)to Andrea"
     to PRO go-INF at Sancto   Andrea
                                                                        (c. 2v, 3)

(129)
    "per   voler   corer sora Gra(n)deçador"
    to PRO want-INF run-INF over Grandeçador
                                                                        (c. 27r, 5)

(130)
    "per   voler   vegnir a casa d'Andrea Dalmatin"
     to PRO want-INF come-INF at home of_Andrea Dalmatin
                                                                        (c. 27r, 17)

(131)
    "   vegna(n)do da Veneç(ia)"
    PRO come-GER from Venice
                                                                        (c. 2v, 7)

(132)
    "viti   vegnir   Marco d(e) Robin là denter"
     see-PST-1SG come-INF Marco de Robin   there inside
                                                                        (c. 8v, 23)

132

Predications of telic motion events with external Agent

Figure > object

(133)
    "(e) caçai-lo   via"
    and drive-PST-1SG_it-CLT-OBJ away
                                            (c. 27v, 22)

(134)
    "(e) mis   lo pes soto lo costra'"
    and put-PST-3PL the fish under the bottom (of the boat)
                                            (c. 20r, 28)

(135)
    "[Antolin]   voleva-m   menar   a li cu(n)seger"
     Antolin want-IPFV-3SG_me-OBJ lead-INF at the councillors
                                            (c. 26v, 14)

(136)
    "[e'] çetai   la cervelera (e) la   rodela   en barcha"
     I throw-PST-1SG the helmet   and the round-shield in boat
                                            (c. 26v, 15)

(137)
    "1   tal gautada che   te   fa   borir fora li ogli"
    one such   slap   that you-DAT make-3SG *borir* out the eyes
                                            (c. 1v, 6)

(138)
    "Alb(erta)ço lo   çetà   en tera"
     Albertaço   him-OBJ throw-PST-3SG in ground
                                            (c. 12v, 11)

(139)
    "Antolin Dauto spe(n)çeva   Peri(n)ça cu(n)tra la   riva"
     Antolin Dauto push-IPFV-3SG Perinça   against the shore
                                            (c. 26v, 13)

(140)
    "Antolin spe(n)çeva Can(i)no   cugnà   d(e Pero via   de sora Peri(n)ça"
     Antolin push-IPFV-3SG Canino brother-in-law of Pero away from over Perinça
                                            (c. 27v, 4)

(141)
    "avev'e'   lo me' cortel da ferir en man trato"
    have-IPFV-1SG_I the my knife   to wound in hand take-PST-PTCP
                                            (c. 10v, 7)

(142)
    "butà(li)   la beriola e l'oveta çó   del   cavo"
    throw-PST-1SG_him-DAT the cap   and the_coif down of_the head
                                      (c. 2v, 21; 3r, 10)

(143)
    "Canin çetà   le sue   arme in sua barcha"
     Canin throw-PST-3SG the his weapons in his boat
                                        (c. 27v, 24)

(144)
　　"çetà　　　　lo viger　via"
　　throw-PST-3PL the hatchery away"
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(c. 22r, 16)

(145)
　　"　　çeta-l　　　　　via"
　　throw-PST-1SG_it-OBJ away
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(c. 27v, 22)

(146)
　　"　cetà-li　　　　　la beriola e　l'oveta có　　del　cavo"
　　throw-PST-3SG_him-DAT the　cap　and the_coif down of_the head
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(c. 3r, 19)

(147)
　　"che dies　　a Gra(n)deçador che se　　toles　　　da la finest(r)a"
　　that say-SBJV-3SG to Grandeçador　that REFL remove-SBJV-3SG from the window
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(c. 28r, 16)

(148)
　　"che no　ve　　caço　sto cortel en lo corpo!"
　　 that NEG you-DAT drive-1SG this knife in the body
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(c. 1r, 12)

(149)
　　"Çulia(n) caçà　　　ma(n) ent(r)o [lo viger]"
　　 Çulian　drive-PST-3SG hand　inside the hatchery
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(c. 22r, 10)

(150)
　　"Çulia(n) caçà　　　　man a la lanceta"
　　 Çulian　drive-PST-3SG hand at the chisel
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(c. 22r, 12)

(151)
　　"e così lo　　mise'　　　çó"
　　and　so　it-OBJ put-PST-1SG_I down
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(c. 17r, 13)

(152)
　　"e　　mis-me　　　denter　sì"
　　and put-PST-3PL_me-OBJ inside themselves
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(c. 3v, 7)

(153)
　　"e　tras-la　　　　　a tera"
　　and draw-PST-3SG_her-OBJ at ground
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(c. 14v, 9)

(154)
　　"e　　traso-me　　　　sora　1 cortel da ferir"
　　and draw-PST-3SG_me-DAT over one knife to wound
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(c. 15v, 22)

(155)
　　"e' lo　　tirai　　in dre'"
　　 I him-OBJ pull-PST-1SG in behind
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(c. 27v, 7)

(156)
    "e'   te   menarai   da li cu(n)seieri"
     I you-OBJ lead-FUT-1SG at the councillors

                                                       (c. 27v, 25)

(157)
    "el […] spe(n)se   la po(r)ta enter   p(er)   força"
    he   push-PST-3SG the door   inside through force

                                                      (c. 27r, 6)

(158)
    "el   caçà   ma(n) al   viger"
    he drive-PST-3SG hand at_the hatchery

                                                     (c. 21r, 15)

(159)
    "el   li   vito   en ma(n) la spata né lo spu(n)ton trato"
    he them-DAT see-PST-3SG in hand the sword nor the   spike   take-PST-PTCP
                                                    (c. 19r, 5)

(160)
    "El   no   è   om […] ch'e' no   li   caças   sto cortel
    there NEG be-3SG man   that_I NEG him-DAT drive-SBJV-PST-1SG this knife
    en lo co[r]p"
    in the body

                                                     (c. 1r, 24)

(161)
    "El   no   è   om,   che no   li   caço sto cortel en lo corpo"
    there NEG be-3SG man   that NEG him-DAT drive-1SG this knife in the body
                                               (c. 1v, 8)

(162)
    "ela me   pres   la man e   caçà-ge   li de(n)ti entro"
    she me-DAT take-PST-3SG the hand and drive-PST-3SG_it-DAT the teeth inside
                                                (c. 14r, 9)

(163)
    "eli lo   voleva   p(er) força   menar dena(n)ço da li cu(n)seieri"
    he him-OBJ want-IPFV-3SG through force lead-INF towards   at the councillors
                                                (c. 27r, 31)

(164)
    "Fra(n)cescha me   caçà   man en li caveli"
     Francesca   me-DAT drive-PST-3SG hand in the hair-PL

                                                  (c. 14r, 5)

(165)
    "he' li   tras   la fosina de man"
     I him-DAT take-PST-1SG the spear from hand

                                                  (c. 4r, 36)

(166)
    "he' me-lo   spensi   da dos"
    I me-DAT_it-OBJ push-PST-1SG from on

                                                  (c. 3v, 13)

(167)
   "li   caçai-e'   fora de la taverna"
   them-OBJ drive-PST-1SG_I out of the tavern
                                              (c. 11r, 12)

(168)
   "lo barber […] li   clamà   a tera"
    the barber   them-OBJ call-PST-3SG at ground
                                              (c. 20v, 31)

(169)
   "lo dito Çulia(n)   mis   lo remo de meço çó"
   the said Çulian put-PST-3SG the oar of middle down
                                              (c. 20r, 17)

(170)
   "lo dito Pero e Çulia(n) […] reversà   lo pes en barcha"
   the said Pero and Çulian   pour-PST-3PL the fish in boat
                                              (c. 20r, 26)

(171)
   "Mar(i)a li   çetà   la man a lo col"
   Maria   him-DAT throw-PST-3SG the hand at the neck
                                              (c. 14v, 9)

(172)
   "Maria bra(n)chà   lo   pan en ma(n)"
    Maria grab-PST-3SG the bread in hand
                                                (c. 14v, 7)

(173)
   "Maria p(re)dita   aveva   çetà   mia sor Madalena en tera"
    Maria pre-said have-IPFV-3SG throw-PST-PTCP my sister Madalena in ground
                                              (c. 14v, 3)

(174)
   "Me   savres-tu   menar a casa d(e) Catarina del Tos?"
   me-OBJ know-COND-2SG_you lead-INF at home of   Caterina del Tos
                                              (c. 13r, 3)

(175)
   "me-lo   spe(n)s-e'   fora da dos"
   me-DAT_him-OBJ push-PST-1SG_I out from on
                                              (c. 2v, 10)

(176)
   "menà-me   çó p(er) lo braço"
   beat-PST-3SG_me-OBJ down for the arm
                                              (c. 3v, 16)

(177)
   "Pero dis   ch'el l'aveva   fato […]   p(er) tôr
    Pero say-PST-3SG that_he it-OBJ_have-IPFV-3SG make-PST-PTCP to take-INF
   malicia via
   malice away
                                              (c. 28r, 11)

(178)
   "Pero Floca […] me   mandà   [a] casa"
    Pero Floca   me-OBJ send-PST-3SG at home
                                            (c. 26r, 9)

(179)
   "spata né spo(n)tun trati   en man a li diti Çulia(n) e a Michalet"
    sword nor spike   take-PST-PTCP-PL in hand at the said Çulian and at Michalet
                                            (c. 18r, 11)

(180)
   "Tra've   en dre'"
   draw-IMP-2PL_REFL in back
                                            (c. 27v, 6)

(181)
   "tras   lo   viger in barcha lo dito Çulia(n)"
   draw-pst-3sg the hatchery in boat the said Çulian
                                            (c. 22r, 15)

(182)
   "tras-lo   en la sentina de la mia barcha"
   draw-PST-1SG_him-OBJ in the bilge of the my boat
                                            (c. 4r, 36)

(183)
   "uno de queli caçà   ma(n) a la lanceta"
   one of those drive-pst-3sg hand at the chisel
                                            (c. 20r, 21)

(184)
   "s'el   vito   lo dito Iacom   trar   lo cortel de vagina"
   if_he see-PST-3SG the said Iacom draw-INF the knife from sheath
                                            (c. 1v, 9)

(185)
   "voidà   lo pes fora en barcha"
   empty-PST-3SG the fish out in boat
                                            (c. 21r, 23)

(186)
   "vudà-l   fora lo pes en barcha"
   empty-PST-3PL out the fish in boat
                                            (c. 22r, 16)

Predications of atelic motion events and unergative P-verb constructions

No Figure

(187)
   "che taiava   enter 1 legno"
   that cut-IPFV-1SG inside one wood
                                            (c. 1r, 23)

(188)
  "vogà   eli fina a la pu(n)ta del canal p(re)so ter(r)a"
  row-PST-3PL they until at the   tip   of_the canal beside ground
                                      (c. 21r, 20)

(189)
  "vogà   entra(n)bi verso la pu(n)ta del   canal"
  row-PST-3PL both   towards the tip of_the canal
                                      (c. 20r, 23)

(190)
  "[...] vogando en pope Michaleto [...] Çulia(n)   vogava   de meço [...]
         row-GER in stern Michaleto [...] Çulian   row-IPFV-3SG of middle [...]
  Pero   vogava   en p(ro)da."
  Pero row-IPFV-3SG in   bow
                                      (c. 22r, 6)

Ambiguous cases

(191)
  "[e'] çei-men   fina a la mia barcha"
    I go-PST-1SG_REFL_CLT-LOC until at the my boat
                                      (c. 27r, 25)

(192)
  "[e'] vegnì   dre'   lui"
    I   come-PST-1SG behind him
                                      (c. 26v, 4)

(193)
  "e' nava   çó   p(er) lo canal"
  I go-IPFV-1SG down through the canal
                                      (c. 6r, 6)

(194)
  "e' nava   çó   p(er) lo canal en mia barcha"
  I go-IPFV-1SG down through the canal in my boat
                                      (c. 5v, 15)

(195)
  "e' vegniva   via cu(m) Çanin fina a la riva de Blasi"
  I   come-IPFV-1SG away with Çanin until at the shore of Blasi
                                      (c. 27v, 22)

(196)
  "eo co   le autre barche nava(m)   p(er)   canal"
  I   with the other boats   go-IPFV-1PL through canal
                                      (c. 6r, 19)

(197)
  "eo me çei […] fina a casa de Marco d(e) Robin"
  I REFL go-PST-1SG until at the house of Marco de Robin
                                      (c. 27r, 27)

(198)
    "eo   nava   c(um) mia barcha çó   p(er) lo canalo"
     I go-IPFV-1SG with   my   boat down through the canal

                                                              (c. 5v, 3)

(199)
    "lo dito Çan   nava   verso   la barcha"
    the said Çan go-IPFV-3SG towards the boat

                                                              (c. 3r, 6)

(200)
    "nu vogasem   dre ' fina a la pope de Piçol Pare"
    we row-PST-1PL behind until at the bow of Piçol Pare

                                                           (c. 6r, 13)

(201)
    "vegnì   dre' lo dito Pero fina a lo burclo d(e) Marco Lugari"
    come-PST-1SG behind the said Pero until at the barge of Marco Lugari

                                                           (c. 26v, 5)

(202)
    "viti   andar lo dito Piçol Pare […] çó   p(er)   lo canal"
    see-PST-1SG go-INF the said Piçol Pare   down through the canal

                                                            (c. 6r, 1)

Parasynthetic constructions

(203)
    "le parole   s'engrosà"
    the words REFL_in-big-PST-3PL

                                                     (c. 3r, 14; 15v, 10)

(204)
    "lo legna(m) del co(mun)e che se envolava"
    the timber of the town that REFL in-flight-IPFV-3SG

                                                        (c. 1v, 13)

(205)
    "lo pes   envolà   a Peru(n) Floca"
    the fish in-flight-PST-PTCP to Perun   Floca

                                                        (c. 20r, 3)

(206)
    "pes   envolà   a Pero Floca"
    fish in-flight-PST-PTCP to Pero Floca

                                                  (c. 21r, 2; 22r, 2)

(207)
    "se com(en)çà   engrosar   ste parole"
    REFL start-PST-3PL in-big-INF these words

                                                     (c. 27r, 30)

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Tesi di laurea magistrale in Linguistica - Università degli Studi di Padova

Titolo:

> *Syntactic accounts of the satellite-framed vs. verb-framed typology. A case study in XIV cent. Venetan*

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Abstract:

La tesi si è posta come principale scopo d'indagine la definizione della categoria d'appartenenza del veneto delle origini relativamente alla classificazione tipologica delle lingue in *s(atellite)-framed* e *v(erb)-framed*, nata dagli studi di Talmy (1985, 2000). Questi, analizzando i principali *pattern* di lessicalizzazione di diverse strutture semantiche, ha infatti identificato due macro-tipi alle quali le lingue del mondo sembrano uniformarsi: per alcune lingue è possibile esprimere la componente semantica principale di una predicazione all'interno di un elemento (detto *satellite*) che si accompagna al verbo pur mantenendo una propria indipendenza morfologica e lasciando a questo la possibilità di veicolare una componente semantica secondaria nell'evento; in altre lingue, il principale nucleo semantico della predicazione viene invece obbligatoriamente realizzato nel verbo; in queste lingue, che non dispongono di elementi satellitari, eventuali nuclei semantici secondari possono essere codificati solamente mediante aggiunti. La classificazione tipologica di Talmy ha avuto particolare fortuna nello studio degli eventi di moto (*motion events*): una lingua s-framed come l'inglese permette ad esempio la costruzione[135]:

> (1) The bottle floated into the cave

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[135] (1) e (2) sono tratti da Talmy (1985: 69).

in cui il nucleo semantico principale della predicazione, ovvero il movimento compiuto dalla bottiglia (detta *Figure*) da un generico punto di partenza esterno fino all'interno di una grotta (*Ground*), viene codificato linguisticamente da un satellite (*into*), lasciando così la possibilità al verbo di veicolare una componente semantica secondaria, ovvero il *manner* ($\sqrt{float}$) del movimento. In una lingua v-framed come lo spagnolo, invece, l'espressione dell'evento in (1) subisce una codificazione linguistica diversa, con la realizzazione della principale componente semantica (il movimento) nella radice verbale e la realizzazione del *manner* in un eventuale aggiunto:

        (2) La botela entró a la cueva (flotando)   (spagnolo)

Lo studio dei *pattern* di lessicalizzazione di eventi semanticamente complessi compiuto da Talmy ha riguardato anche categorie come l'aspetto, l'*Aktionsart*, i valori causativi, seppure sia con riferimento allo studio del movimento che la distinzione tipologica talmiana ha avuto maggior fortuna.

Particolare motivo di dibattito è stato tuttavia dato da alcune varietà romanze italiane, le quali mostrano una produzione linguistica riguardo agli eventi di movimento attraverso i cosiddetti verbi sintagmatici: si tratta di costruzioni che fanno uso di un verbo accompagnato da una particella satellitare e che paiono dunque porsi in contraddizione con la prevista appartenenza tipologica delle lingue romanze alla categoria delle lingue v-framed. Ad esempio, considerando la frase:

        (3) Luca va fuori

si nota come vi sia la presenza di un elemento (*fuori*) che pare concorrere assieme al verbo all'espressione del movimento, facendosi carico di veicolare il *path* allo stesso modo di quanto si verifica in una lingua s-framed. Questa costruzione risulta tipica della varietà di italiano regionale settentrionale ed è oggi anche la presunta unica costruzione attestata nelle varietà dialettali venete per l'espressione di un evento di moto. L'osservazione di questo fenomeno era già stata colta dagli studi di Meyer-Lübke (1899) e Rohlfs (1969), che ne spiegavano le ragioni secondo una presupposta influenza dettata dai dialetti germanici alpini. La classificazione tipologica di queste strutture è ancora oggi oggetto di controversia. Da un lato, l'approccio costruzionista seguito da Iacobini (2009, 2012), Masini (2006), Iacobini & Masini (2007) tra gli altri porta ad interpretarle come tipologicamente s-framed, anche se la loro origine sarebbe da ricondursi non tanto all'ipotesi

germanica di cui sopra quanto ad un tentativo di supplire alla perdita di produttività della prefissazione spaziale latina, all'interno del generale processo verso l'analiticità conosciuto nel passaggio alle lingue romanze.

Di diverso avviso Mateu & Rigau (2010), Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013) e lavori seguenti: compiendo uno studio sulle conseguenze sintattiche dell'appartenenza tipologica s-framed, queste analisi arrivano a disconoscere in quanto s-framed tutte le strutture che non si caratterizzino per la codificazione di un puro *manner* nel verbo, ivi inclusi i verbi sintagmatici visti in precedenza[136]. L'approccio seguito da questi studiosi è quello neo-costruzionista: sulla scorta di contributi teorici come Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002), Halle & Marantz (1993), Marantz (1997), in una prospettiva di *Distributed Morphology* e *late-insertion* degli *item* di vocabolario all'interno della struttura sintattica, vengono identificate diverse strutture la cui possibilità di realizzazione sintattica permetterebbe di determinare l'appartenenza di una lingua alla tipologia s-framed. Si tratta di:

1. *Unselected object construction* (*UOC*)

Struttura in cui un verbo inergativo accompagnato da un satellite permette la selezione di un complemento oggetto che nasce come argomento dello stesso elemento satellitare[137]:

(4) Serpentes putamina ex-tussiunt/*tussiunt   (latino)

    'i serpenti espellono le uova tossendo'

2. *Complex directed motion construction* (*CDMC*)

La tipica struttura s-framed, con la codificazione del *path* in un satellite e del *manner* nel verbo:

(5) Ad-equitavit portis

    'raggiunse le porte cavalcando'

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[136] Cfr. Acedo-Matellán&Mateu (2013: 261), in particolare alla nota 19.
[137] Gli esempi da (4) a (7) sono tratti da Acedo-Matellán&Mateu (2013).

3. Locative alternation (*C(hange) O(f) L(ocation) - C(hange) O(f) S(tate)*)

Struttura per cui un verbo, in una lingua s-framed, può assumere come complemento alternativamente il *Ground* (COS) o la *Figure* (COL) del movimento, mentre in una lingua v-framed può assumere solo il *Ground*[138]:

(6) Sue sprayed the wall with paint / Sue sprayed paint onto the wall

(7) Ruixar la paret amb/de pintura / *Ruixar pintura sobre la paret   (catalano)

4. Weak e *strong resultatives*:

Una lingua s-framed permette una costruzione come

(8) John worked his debts off[139]

in cui tra il verbo e l'elemento resultativo (*off*) non c'è alcuna contiguità semantica (*strong resultative*), mentre una lingua v-framed permette solo costruzioni in cui una componente resultativa sia già intrinseca nel verbo (*weak resultative*):

(9) Luca lava via la macchia

A partire da queste analisi, nella mia tesi sviluppo la generalizzazione seguente, basata su considerazioni teoriche supportate dall'osservazione di dati empirici:

(10) Data una configurazione iniziale *Figure-Ground*, la *Figure* sale alla posizione di Specificatore della testa eventiva.

Assumo la configurazione *Figure-Ground* come punto di partenza per ogni predicazione linguistica relativa ad eventi telici di transizione: in queste strutture si deve predicare il movimento (o la posizione) di una *Figure* in relazione a un *Ground*; perché ciò avvenga, la *Figure* deve salire in SpecVP, dove l'evento può essere predicato. Solo a questo punto avviene la selezione dell'*item* di voc. in v°, finora saturato da un *light verb* privo di

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[138] Una revisione di questa asserzione si trova in Mateu (2017), in cui si giustifica l'alternanza del tipo:
     "En Ramon carregà els rocs al carro"/"En Ramon carregà el carro de rocs"   (catalano)
[139] Tratto da Mateu (2017).

sostanza fonologica. In aggiunta a ciò, sulla base di Svenonius (2010)[140], presuppongo per gli *strong resultatives* (cfr. (8)) un *null TO* che renda l'elemento tradizionalmente considerato come resultativo (nel caso di (8), *off*) il semplice *Ground* locativo deittico di un movimento figurato. Grazie a questo principio, riesco a rendere conto in modo unitario dei fenomeni di cui al punto *1.* e *4.*, accomunati dalla "transitivizzazione" di verbi tradizionalmente inergativi:

(11)   *Serpentes putamina ex-tussiunt*

$[_{vP}$ Serpentes $[_{v'}[_{v°}$ ex$_y$-tuss-$][_{VP}$ putamina$_x$ $[_{V'}[_{V°}$ ~~ex$_y$-tuss-~~$][_{resP}$ $[_{res°}$ ~~ex$_y$~~$][_{PlaceP}$ ~~putamina$_x$~~ $[_{Place°}$ ~~ex$_y$~~$]]]]]]]$

(12)   *John worked his debts off*

$[_{vP}$ John $[_{v'}$ $[_{v°}$ work$][_{VP}$ his debts$_x$ $[_{V'}$ $[_{V°}$ work$][_{resP}$ $[_{res°}$ (null TO)$][_{PlaceP}$ ~~debts$_x$~~ $[_{Place'}$ $[$off$]]]]]]]]$

Oltre a ciò, con il principio in (10) posso analizzare, in termini neo-costruzionisti, l'inaccusatività dei verbi di movimento prototipici (es. *andare*, *venire*, *partire* ecc.) e l'alternanza inergativo-inaccusativa di verbi come *volare*, *saltare*, di cui si rende conto nella letteratura da me analizzata[141] senza fornirne ragioni strutturali: in entrambi i casi si ottiene una struttura inaccusativa quando l'elemento *Figure* subisce un movimento telico non imputabile ad un agente esterno: da SpecVP la *Figure* sale infatti a SpecTP per diventare soggetto di frase, da cui l'inaccusatività della struttura per il manifestarsi di un "effetto Burzio". Ancora, sempre basandomi su (10), interpreto le costruzioni *weak resultatives* (cfr. (9)), in cui un verbo sembra selezionare un oggetto atipico in combinazione con un elemento resultativo, come risultato della medesima salita obbligatoria della *Figure* alla posizione di argomento interno del verbo, interpretando l'elemento satellitare come *Ground* di un movimento telico (nel caso di (9), l'asportazione della *Figure* "macchia"):

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[140] Cfr. anche Cinque (2010).
[141] Cfr. Iacobini&Masini (2007: 158), Acedo-Matellán&Mateu (2013: 241).

(13)   *Luca lava via la macchia*

[$_{vP}$ Luca [$_{v'}$ [$_{v°}$ lav-$_y$][$_{VP}$ la macchia$_x$ [$_{V'}$ [$_{V°}$ ~~lav-$_y$~~][$_{resP}$ [$_{res°}$ ~~lav-$_y$~~][$_{PlaceP}$ ~~la macchia$_x$~~ [$_{Place'}$ via]]]]]]]

Riguardo all'alternanza locativa, che sembra contraddire il principio in (10), interpreto la variante COL come unica struttura che coinvolga una configurazione strutturale *Figure-Ground*, mentre la variante COS si riduce a una predicazione di stato in cui la presunta *Figure* è in realtà innestata in struttura come aggiunto:

(14)   *Luca carica le rocce sul camion*

[$_{vP}$ Luca[$_{v'}$ [$_{v°}$ carica$_y$][$_{VP}$ le rocce$_x$ [$_{V'}$ [$_{V°}$ ~~carica$_y$~~][$_{resP}$ [$_{res'}$ [$_{res°}$ ~~carica$_y$~~][$_{PlaceP}$ ~~le rocce$_x$~~ [$_{Place'}$ [$_{Place°}$ su] [$_{DP}$ il camion]]]]]]]]]]

(15)   *Luca carica il camion* (*di rocce*)

[$_{vP}$ Luca [$_{v'}$ [$_{v°}$ carica][$_{VP}$ il camion [$_{V°}$ ~~carica~~]]]]

Infine, un simile quadro teorico rende conto della *CDMC* (punto *2.*), presente in latino ma assente nelle lingue romanze: il valore telico dei prefissi latini[142] sembra essere venuto meno assieme alla prefissazione stessa come strategia morfologica produttiva, lasciando nelle preposizioni spaziali delle lingue romanze un valore puramente locativo. Alla luce di ciò, avanzo che la differenza tra lingue s-framed e lingue v-framed possa essere ricondotta alla dipendenza da un determinato fattore: la disponibilità (o meno) di teste preposizionali con valore di *path* resultativo.

Ho applicato questo orizzonte teorico all'analisi dell'espressione del movimento nel veneto Trecentesco di *Lio Mazor*[143]: dopo una lettura integrale dell'opera e l'isolamento di 210 complessi verbali di movimento (sia da parte di un Tema, sia da parte di un Paziente mosso da un Agente), ho classificato tali strutture in base a fattori quali telicità, inaccusatività/inergatività, *Figure* soggetto/oggetto, collocando i dati all'interno di una tabella *pivot* dotata di filtri corrispondenti ai fattori sopra elencati.

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[142] Cfr. Bertocci (in stampa).
[143] Edizione critica a cura di Mahmoud Salem Elsheikh (1999).

L'analisi ha confermato la predizione in (10). In particolare, in assenza di Agente esterno l'elemento *Figure* compare sempre come soggetto, mentre in presenza di Agente esterno l'elemento *Figure* compare sempre come oggetto.

Una serie di ulteriori elementi è emersa. In particolare, si è riscontrata la netta preferenza della lingua per l'espressione del movimento direzionato attraverso forme sintetiche come *entrar* ('entrare'), *esir* ('uscire'), *sair* ('salire'), assenti nel veneto attuale (che fa uso di verbi sintagmatici del tipo in (3)) e tipiche invece dell'italiano standard. Inoltre, si è riscontrata la possibilità da parte della lingua di operare inserzioni lessicali forti (e.g. un DP oggetto) tra verbo e particella in costruzioni del tipo *çetar via* ('gettare via'), un fenomeno oggi escluso[144]. Infine, si è riscontrata l'assenza di *Non-trasparent Ph(rasal)V(erb)s*[145], anche a seguito di un'estensione dell'analisi al *Tristano veneto*[146] e al database dell'OVI. Considerata la v-framedness di espressioni quali *entrar*, *esir*, *sair*, e considerata l'assenza di *Non transparent PhVs*, è emersa una aderenza da parte della lingua alla tipologia v-framed in misura anche maggiore rispetto al veneto attuale. In particolare, si è avanzata l'ipotesi per la quale PhVs locativi (cf. 3), Phrasal verbs aspettuali (cf. (9)) e *Non transparent PhVs* (cf. nota 10) rappresentino fasi evolutive diverse e consequenziali di un unico fenomeno: l'acquisizione, da parte di un elemento preposizionale dall'originale valore locativo, di valori funzionali (relativi a aspetto/aktionsart) che ne aumentino la coesione strutturale e semantica con il verbo.

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[144] Cf. Masini (2006) in relazione all'italiano.

[145] Nel senso di Benincà&Poletto (2006): complessi verbali in cui l'elemento satellitare (tipicamente una preposizione lessicale) fa costituenza con il verbo e non con il complemento preposizionale, e in cui il significato del complesso verbale non è deducibile dal significato composizionale dei suoi elementi (e.g. "El se ga magnà fora i schei", Benincà&Poletto (2006)).

[146] Edizione Marsilio a cura di Aulo Donadello (1994).