On the difference between Italian and Germanic spatial particles

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Outline

Lexical Inventory of Italian particles, according to Iacobini & Masini (2006):

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...but are they really all particles?

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(2)
a. The complement to P is a Ground.
b. The specifier of P is a Figure.
c. P with a Figure only (and no Ground) is a particle.
d. P with a Ground is a preposition.
e. A particle may undergo Particle Shift, a preposition may not.

the following are able introduce a Figure only:

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the following cannot:

(4) **addosso** ‘on’, **insieme** ‘together (with)’, **incontro** ‘towards’, **appresso** ‘by’, **contro** ‘against’

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(5) a. *il cane corre dietro alla gallina*
the dog runs behind DAT-the hen
'the dog runs after the hen'

b. *il cane* **le** *corre dietro*
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(6) a. *il commissario mette il dossier davanti all' agente*
the commissioner puts the report in_front DAT-the agent
'the commissioner puts the report in front of the agent'

b. *il commissario* **gli** *mette il dossier davanti*
the commissioner him.CL.DAT puts the report in_front
'the commissioner puts the report in front of him'

the structure(s) at stake:

(7) a. $[\ \mathrm{DP}_{figure}\ \ldots\ \mathrm{CL}_{ground}\mathrm{V}\ \mathrm{P}\ \ldots\ ]$

b. $[\ \ldots\ \mathrm{CL}_{ground}\mathrm{V}\ \{\mathrm{P}\}\ \mathrm{DP}_{figure}\ \{\mathrm{P}\}\ \ldots\ ]$

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In this talk: focus on particles (for Ps realizing Ground as clitic, see Quaglia (forthcoming))

Outline

Standard Italian has been shown to feature Particle Verb Constructions (PVCs) (Schwarze 1985; Simone 1996; Iacobini & Masini 2006): an uncommon encoding of spatial meanings within Romance

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According to Talmy's (1985, 1991) typology of motion events:

- Romance: "verb-framed" languages
- Germanic, Slavic: "satellite-framed"

Some scholars (e.g. Iacobini & Masini 2006) argue that Italian qualifies as a mixed type between verb-framed Romance and satellite-framed Germanic.

In these analyses, a crucial piece of evidence is that Italian PVCs display systematic similarities to Germanic PVCs.

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...we are going to examine these in turn

directed motion constructions with satellites

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(8) *il ladro saltò dentro* *(Italian)*
the thief jumped inside
'the thief jumped in'

(9) *Mary jumped in* (*English*)

(10) *Maria sprang hinein* *(German)*
M. jumped *h*-in
'Mary jumped in'

(11) *Han hoppade in* *(Swedish)*
he jumped in.DIR
'He jumped in'

directed motion constructions with satellites

As Mateu & Rigau (2010) demonstrate, however, Italian and Germanic languages deeply differ in the licensing of directed motion constructions with particle-like satellites:

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allowed in both Germanic and Italian with so-called "*put*-verbs"[1]:

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allowed only in Germanic with "*swim*-verbs"[1], not in Italian:

(13) for Italian: *ballare* 'to dance', *camminare* 'to walk', *galoppare* 'to gallop',

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directed motion constructions with satellites

Unlike Germanic *swim*-verbs, Italian ones cannot yield directed motion constructions when combined with P-satellites:

(14) *Lucia balla dentro* *(Italian)*
L. dances inside
'Lucia dances (while being) inside//*Lucia dances in'

(15) Lucy dances in (*English*)

(16) *Luzia tanzt hinein* *(German)*
L. dances *h*-in
'Luzia dances in//*Luzia dances (while being) inside'

(17) *Lucia dansar in* *(Swedish)*
L. dansar in.DIR
'Lucia dances in//*Lucia dances (while being) inside'

directed motion constructions with satellites

This restriction can be easily explained appealing to the purely locative nature of Italian (and Romance) satellites.

Though, this cannot be interpreted as a complete deficiency of the system. Just bounded directional Ps are absent, unbounded ones can be found[2]:

(18) *Marco nuota incontro ad Andrea* *(Italian)*
M. swims towards DAT Andrea
'Marco swims towards Andrea'

(19) *Aldo cammina verso il bosco* *(Italian)*
A. walks towards the wood
'Aldo walks towards the wood'

[2]these P-items qualify as prepositions, and not as particles

Ground Promotion

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(20) a. *Ingrid smeert henna in haar haar*
I. smears henna in her hair
'Ingrid smears henna in her hair'

b. *Ingrid smeert haar haar in (met henna)*
I. smears her hair in with henna
'Ingrid greases her hair (with henna)' (Dutch; Svenonius (2003:437))

(21) a. *sie malt grüne Farbe an den Schrank*
she paints green colour on the.ACC closet
'she spreads green colour onto the closet'

b. *sie malt den Schrank (mit grüner Farbe) an*
she paints the.ACC closet with green colour on
'she paints the closet with green colour' (*German; Stiebels (1996:105), revised*)

Ground Promotion

similar structures are totally excluded in Italian: the Object-DP is always interpreted as the Figure

(22) a. *ha buttato il sacco giù dalla finestra*
has thrown the bag down from-the window
'(he/she) threw the bag down the window'

b. *ha buttato giù la finestra*
has thrown down the window
'(he/she) threw down the window'

(23) a. *ho messo la chiave dentro al cassetto*
have-1SG put the key inside DAT-the drawer
'I put the key in the drawer'

b. *ho messo dentro il cassetto*
have-1SG put inside drawer
'I put in the drawer'

Ground Promotion

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(24) a. *sie schwimmt an die Wendeboje* *(German)*
she swims on the turning.buoy
'she swims to the turning buoy'

b. *sie schwimmt die Wendeboje an*
she swims the turning.buoy on
'she swims towards the turning buoy'

Ground Promotion

some interesting aspects of this alternation:

- switch from preposition to particle syntax (as usual in Ground Promotion)
- directional, bounded reading (24-a) vs. directional, unbounded reading (24-b)
- (perhaps the only) very productive Ground Promotion in Contemporary German[3]

[3] according to Stiebels (1996:162-3), five verb classes may show up in the structure in (24-b): Vs of saying, seeing, expressing emotions, transmission of visual/acoustic signals, and agentive motion verbs. Here, we just consider the last class

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- the only Italian directional prepositions (*incontro* and *verso* 'towards') denote exactly the same sort of unbounded Path (recall (18), (19))

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...is this perhaps a window on the diversity between Italian and Germanic?

Outline

The analysis of the phenomena at stake will be given in the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG) (Bresnan 1982; 2001).

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LFG is a constraint-based, generative (but non-derivational) theory of grammar where different pieces of grammatical information pertain to different levels of a complex architecture:

- c(onstituent)-structure is a representation of phrase-structural relations
- a(rgument)-structure contains syntactically relevant lexical information about the predicate's arguments
- f(unctional)-structure is a representation of grammatical features and deep syntactic dependencies (e.g. Grammatical Functions)
- s(emantic)-structure prepares syntactic information for a model-theoretic semantic computation

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...in what follows, an example of the mapping from c- to f-structure (ϕ projection) is given

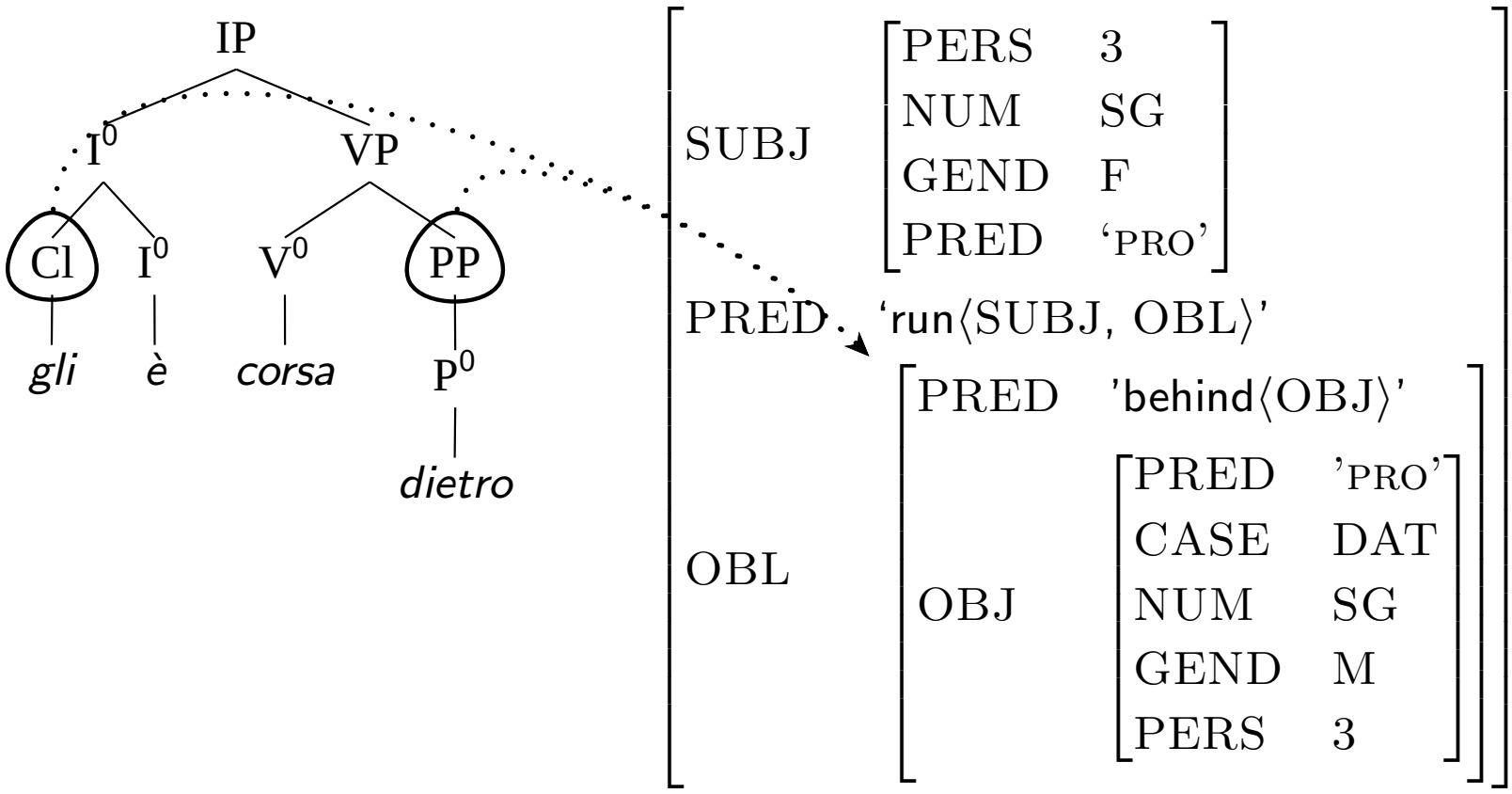

Figure: c- to f-structure mapping for *gli è corsa dietro* ‘she ran after him’

Outline

Part (I):
bounded directional satellites with both *put*-verbs (Italian, Germanic) and *swim*-verbs (only Germanic) are optional arguments:

- they are added to the initial verb a-structure via a lexical rule that targets motion verbs (cf. Needham & Toivonen (2011))
- at a-structure, they are "Directions", whereas at f-structure, they are OBLs

...why the Direction-augmenting lexical rule applies to Germanic *swim*-verbs, but not to Italian ones?

- Germanic owns both directional and locative Ps: with the former, the rule successfully applies even if there is no BECOME-operator available in the verb lexical semantics (i.e., *swim*-verbs)
- Italian Ps are only locative (except for *incontro* and *verso*): accordingly, the rule successfully applies just if a BECOME-operator is available in the verb lexical semantics (i.e., *put*-verbs, but not *swim*-verbs)

the mapping from a-structure to f-structure is obtained through the principles of Lexical Mapping Theory (LMT) (cf. Bresnan (2001:307-311)):

- both θ-roles and GFs are decomposed by means of binary features: [$\pm$r(estricted)] and [$\pm$o(bjective)]
- every θ-role at a-structure is lexically underspecified, making it possible to have a linking space (i.e., θ-roles can be possibly linked to more than one GF)
- θ-roles are ordered from link to right according to which are higher w.r.t. a Thematic Hierarchy
- standard Mapping Principles (e.g. sensitive to what the highest θ-role is) determine full specification of features (constraining the choice space to one GF)

Bounded directional satellites with *put*-verbs:

(25) *il ladro saltò dentro* 'the thief jumped in'

saltare	⟨	*th*		⟩	(initial)
		th	*dir*		**Direction-augmentation Rule**
		[−r]	**[−o]**		**Intrinsic Classification**
		SUBJ	OBL_θ		**Mapping Principles**

(26) *Maria sprang hinein/Maria jumped in/Han hoppade in*

springen/spring/hoppa	⟨	*th*		⟩	(initial)
		th	*dir*		**Direction-augmentation Rule**
		[−r]	**[−o]**		**Intrinsic Classification**
		SUBJ	OBL_θ		**Mapping Principles**

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- in the initial a-structure, there is just a *Theme*, which gets [−r(estricted)] (the syntactic underspecification of patientlike θ-roles)
- the lexical rule introduces a *Direction*, which gets [−o(bjective)] (the syntactic underspecification of θ-roles that are neither Agents nor patientlike)
- according to standard Mapping Principles of LMT, if the highest θ-role is not [−o], then the θ-role marked as [−r] is linked to SUBJ, the other to the lowest possible GF, in this case, OBL_{θ}

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$\longrightarrow$ the similarity between Italian and Germanic within this type of construction is correctly captured

Bounded directional satellites with *swim*-verbs (just Germanic):

(27) *Luzia tanzt hinein/Lucy dances in/Lucia dansade in*

tanzen/dance/dansa	⟨	*ag*		⟩	(initial)
		ag	*dir*		**Direction-augmentation Rule**
		[−o]	**[−o]**		**Intrinsic Classification**
		SUBJ	OBL_θ		**Mapping Principles**

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- in the initial a-structure, there is just an *Agent*, which gets [−o(bjective)] (the syntactic underspecification for Agents)
- the lexical rule introduces a *Direction*, which gets [−o(bjective)], too (as before)
- according to standard Mapping Principles of LMT, the highest θ-role marked as [−o] is linked to SUBJ, the other to the lowest possible GF, in this case, OBL_{θ}

Unbounded directional satellites with *swim*-verbs (Italian, too):

(28) *Marco nuota incontro ad Andrea* 'Marco swims towards Andrea'

nuotare	⟨	*ag*		⟩	(initial)
		ag	*dir*		**Direction-augmentation Rule**
		[−o]	**[−o]**		**Intrinsic Classification**
		SUBJ	OBL_θ		**Mapping Principles**

The linking goes as for Germanic *swim*-verbs with bounded directional satellites. Though, there is a difference in boundedness: Italian satellites that are directional are unbounded, Germanic can be both bounded and unbounded (with the exception of German, cf. later)

Part (II):

- Ground Promotion phenomena are syntactic Applicatives
- Grounds are *Location* θ-roles at a-structure, but OBJs at f-structure
- for the particle acts here as an applicative morpheme, the internal argument of a predicate hierarchically subordinate to the matrix predicate (P) is realized as a direct argument of the matrix predicate (V)

(29) *sie malt grüne Farbe an den Schrank* (**default, no applicative**)

malen	⟨	*ag*	*th*	*loc*	⟩	
		[−o]	[−r]	[−o]		**Intrinsic Classification**
		SUBJ	OBJ	OBL_θ		**Mapping Principles**

what happens when the particle acts as an applicative marker? It forces a *Location* (i.e. the Ground-argument of P) to be encoded as a patientlike θ-role, i.e. to get [−r]:

an-malen	⟨	*ag*	*th*	loc_{appl}	⟩	
		[−o]	[−r]	**[−r]**		* ⟶ **violation of AOP**

Though, there is a violation of the Asymmetrical Object Principle (AOP), which states that there may be no more than one θ-role marked as [−(r)] per a-structure[4].
Subsequently, two options are available:

- Option (I): the Theme gets suppressed
- Option (II): the Location gets suppressed

[4]The AOP applies to German (and most other European languages), but it does not apply e.g. to Kichaga, a Bantu language (cf. Bresnan (2001:307-311))

Option (I):

(30) *sie malt den Schrank (mit grüner Farbe) an*

an-malen ⟨	*ag*	*th*	loc_{appl} ⟩
	[−o]	Ø	**[−r]**
	SUBJ	(ADJ)	OBJ

option (I) : suppression of Theme

Mapping Principles

Option (II):

(31) *sie malt grüne Farbe an* (Stiebels:(1996:106))

an-malen	⟨	*ag*	*th*	loc_{appl}	⟩
		[−o]	[−r]	Ø	
		SUBJ	OBJ	(ADJ)	

option (II) : suppression of Location

Mapping Principles

The alternation in (24-a)-(24-b), repeated here as (32-a)-(32-b):

(32) a. *sie schwimmt an die Wendeboje* *(German)*
she swims on the turning.buoy
'she swims to the turning buoy'

b. *sie schwimmt die Wendeboje an*
she swims the turning.buoy on
'she swims towards the turning buoy'

can be thus analyzed as an alternation between an a-structure targeted by the *Direction*-augmentation lexical rule ((32-a)) and an a-structure targeted by Applicativization ((32-b))

(33) *sie schwimmt an die Wendeboje*

schwimmen	⟨	*ag*		⟩	(initial)
		ag	*dir*		**Direction-augmentation Rule**
		[−o]	**[−o]**		**Intrinsic Classification**
		SUBJ	OBL_θ		**Mapping Principles**

(34) *sie schwimmt die Wendeboje an*

an-schwimmen ⟨	*ag*	loc_{appl} ⟩	
	[−o]	**[−r]**	**Applicativization**
	SUBJ	OBJ	**Mapping Principles**

(34) *sie schwimmt die Wendeboje an*

an-schwimmen	⟨	*ag*	loc_{appl}	⟩	
		[−o]	**[−r]**		**Applicativization**
		SUBJ	OBJ		**Mapping Principles**

⟶ notably, here no θ-role needs to be suppressed: Agent is linked to SUBJ, applied Location to OBJ

In some sense, the (already pointed out in the literature) diversity between Germanic and Romance, i.e. the {possibility vs. impossibility} to realize resultative (or bounded) predications in the syntax has its peak in the comparison between German and Italian:

In some sense, the (already pointed out in the literature) diversity between Germanic and Romance, i.e. the {possibility vs. impossibility} to realize resultative (or bounded) predications in the syntax has its peak in the comparison between German and Italian:

- German only allows augmented Direction-OBLs that are bounded (perhaps Ps endowed with a CHANGE-operator (Wunderlich 1991), or the dowtian BECOME)
- unbounded ones must be licensed in other ways, i.e. through (syntactic) Applicatives

- Italian only allows augmented Direction-OBLs that are unbounded
- bounded ones are not possible: the system has to resort to other strategies (*Lucia è entrata ballando*, 'Lucia entered (while) dancing')

As a matter of fact, it is possible to find other alternations similar to (32-a)-(32-b) in German, where the switch from prepositional to particle syntax triggers a switch from bounded to unbounded interpretation of the Direction added:

(35) a. *sie tanzte gegen die Wand*
she danced against the.ACC wall
'she danced against the wall' (bounded)

b. *sie tanzte der Wand entgegen*
she danced the.DAT wall against
'she danced against the wall' (unbounded)

(36) a. *sie galoppiert hinter das Auto*
she galloped behind the.ACC car
'she galloped (ending up) behind the car' (bounded)

b. *sie galoppiert dem Auto hinterher*
she galloped the.DAT car behind
'she galloped behind the car' (unbounded)

In the previous examples, the applied Location is linked to OBJ_θ, and not to OBJ. This probably follows from the case requirements of *entgegen* and *hinterher*. These lexical items impose Dative case on their Grounds, which forces this to be marked as [+r(estricted)] instead of [−r(estricted)] (cf. Butt (1999) for the role of Case in constraining linking options)

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$\longrightarrow$ One possibility would be to assume that in both the applicative *an*, and *entgegen* and *hinterher*, a CHANGE (or BECOME) operator is not present, or not active – as opposed to prepositional *an*, *gegen* and *hinter*

Accordingly:

- the former and the latter correspond to different lexical entries (whereby an_1 ("prepositional" P)is homophonous to an_2 ("particle" P))
- the former must have a more complex lexical semantics, where something "blocks" the change-of-state operator, yielding an unbounded reading
- the former are P elements that are not able to govern their Grounds directly (i.e. with prepositional syntax), and must hence add them to the verb a-structure for them to be governed by an higher predicate

As regards applicative *an*, we find a piece of evidence for this. There exists a purely aspectual variant of *an* – displaying particle syntax – that combines with telic predicates, yielding the reading that the process has been carried out just in part, not until the end (Stiebels dubs this "Partialmarkierung" (1996:78-82)):

(37) a. *er brät das Schnitzel an*
he roasts the.ACC schnitzel on
'he roasts the schnitzel partially'

b. *er liest den Aufsatz an*
he reads the.ACC essay on
'he reads the essay partially'

c. *sie spielt die Mondscheinsonate an*
she plays the.ACC moonshine_sonata on
'she plays the Moonshine sonata partially'

the idea is that the applicative *an* combines two semantic "building blocks" in its lexical entry[5]:

- the two-place spatial relation of prepositional *an* – endowed with CHANGE (or BECOME) –
- the aspectual information of the "Partialmarkierung"-*an*

$\longrightarrow$ the interaction of these yields an unbounded directional semantics: the change-of-state operator is rendered "inactive" by the aspectual information of partiality

[5] I would like to thank Maribel Romero for this suggestion

Outline

Within this brief inquiry, we could single out some differences between Italian and Germanic spatial particles and P-satellites:

- licensing of directed motion constructions
- licensing of Ground promotion

Furthermore, not every Italian P dubbed "particle" in the literature, is really a particle

The two major differences reduce in some sense to the greater autonomy of Germanic P-satellites to affect the verb's argument structure:

- they are able to license *Direction*-augmentation without relying on the verb's lexical semantics
- they are able to apply their Ground-argument, adding it to the verb's argument structure

one final remark...what about Ground Promotion?

$\longrightarrow$ it serves to holistically "underline" an argument that usually is not "underlined" (its best known "function", or effect)
or perhaps also:
$\longrightarrow$ it is used as a kind of "rescue"-strategy? This seems to be the case for German applicative *an*, *entgegen* and *hinterher*. These lexical items cannot govern their Grounds directly: subsequently, the only strategy to realize them is to "promote" them to verb's arguments[6]

[6] Interestingly, this would draw an interesting cross-theoretical parallelism between LFG and derivational accounts: e.g. Svenonius (2003:436-8) claims that, in Ground promotion phenomena, the Ground-DP is reliant on *v* for Case, for *p* is missing, or defective

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