

Motion Verbs in Italian and the Manner/Direction Complementarity

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Abstract

This paper presents an empirical analysis of Italian directed motion verbs and manner of motion verbs; the research is based on a lexical resource of 234 verbs subdivided into six classes. Directed motion verbs are analysed according to their argument structure and to the type of path PP they take: both source and goal PPs, only source PPs or only goal PPs. Furthermore, I have highlighted how the morphological, distributional and semantic properties of these verbs have an impact on their argument structure.

Manner of motion verbs are analysed according to their unaccusative/unergative structure and on the semantic components they entail: only Manner or Manner and Direction. Analysis of the data shows that the semantics of both types of motion verbs depends in many cases on the distributional context in which they occur. As a result, it is not always an easy task to generalize the semantic components the verbs lexicalize. The Italian data also show that, contrary to the hypothesis proposed by Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2010) and Levin & Rappaport Hovav (2013) on the opposition between manner and direction, a subset of Italian motion verbs encodes both manner and direction. Moreover, the Italian lexicon shows an abundance of manner of motion verbs that can resort to a *satellite-framed* strategy, suggesting that the clearcut opposition between *satellite-framed* and *verb-framed* languages claimed in Talmy (1985) boils down to a tendency.

Keywords: Directed motion verbs, Manner of motion verbs, Directed manner of motion verbs, Source PP, Goal PP.

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to show that the lexicon of Italian motion verbs includes not only directed motion verbs (*andare* ‘go’) and manner of motion verbs (*camminare* ‘walk’), but

also manner of motion verbs that entail direction, that is, directed manner of motion verbs (*ruzzolare* ‘tumble’). Examination of the data shows that the opposition between manner and direction hypothesised in Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2010) and Levin & Rappaport Hovav (2013) does not hold in Italian, whereas it totally supports Goldberg (2010) and Beavers & Koontz-Garboden (2012, 2017) who argue that a subset of manner of motion verbs also encode direction.

The analysis I present is based on a taxonomy of Italian motion verbs that I constructed on the basis of a lexical resource of about 234 verbs subdivided into six classes. I adopted the principles and criteria of the Lexicon-grammar (LG) methodology, developed by Maurice Gross since the early 1970s. The aim of LG consists in the construction of taxonomies of syntactic and semantic classes of predicative lexical items (Gross 1975, Boons 1987).

In particular, I have examined directed motion verbs like *entrare* ‘enter, go in’, *tornare* ‘go back’, *uscire* ‘go out’ on the basis of their elementary structure, i.e. determining the type and number of argumental PPs they take. The data show also that the semantics encoded in directed motion verbs is in many cases dependent on the distributional context in which they occur, which means it is not always possible to generalize the semantics characterizing motion verbs.

As regards manner of motion verbs, I have investigated: (a) unergative verbs like *vagabondare* ‘wander’ and *nuotare* ‘swim’, which do not entail the direction component (although the latter can express direction by means of a PP headed by a complex preposition); (b) verbs like *correre* ‘run’, which only entail manner when unergative (auxiliary HAVE) but entail manner and direction when unaccusative (auxiliary BE); (c) unaccusative-only verbs like *capitombolare* ‘tumble’, *scappare* ‘escape, run’, which entail manner and direction. In analysing them, I have taken into account not only their unergative and/or unaccusative argument structure but also their aspectual properties when needed.

Throughout the analysis I also consider those syntactic and semantic properties that highlight differences even among verbs within the same class, which depends on their distributional context and on the semantic information the verbs encode. Moreover, the morphological structure of some verbs may impact the type of arguments they take.

The data on which my research is based is drawn mainly from Italian dictionaries (Devoto-Oli, De Mauro, Zingarelli, Treccani online) and from the Italian Web Corpus 2020 accessible through the application Sketch Engine (www.sketchengine.eu). The 234 verbs I collected and analysed is a significant sample of motion verbs although it is not intended to be exhaustive. The taxonomy includes some motion verbs that show both an intransitive (pronominal) and a caused motion construction. (Note 1) The acceptability judgments on sentences are mine and, in the event of any doubts I searched the Italian Web Corpus.

This article is structured as follows. In Section 2, I will present the typological distinction between *satellite-framed* and *verb-framed* languages made by Talmy (1975, 1985, 2000), the hypothesis advanced by Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2010) and Levin & Rappaport Hovav (2013) about the complementarity of Manner and Result and the counterarguments advanced

by Goldberg (2010) and Beavers & Koontz-Garboden (2012, 2017). In Section 3, I present the classification of directed motion verbs which fall into three classes according to their definitional elementary structure, thus taking both source and goal PPs, only source PPs or only goal PPs (Note 2). I will also point out that although verbs included in the same class share the elementary structure, they may display semantic differences due to the distributional context within which they occur. In Section 4, I present the classification of manner of motion verbs, which fall into three main classes according to the unergative and/or unaccusative structure they show and according to the manner and direction components they entail. Section 5 draws some conclusions, while the Appendix includes the Lexicon-grammar tables of each class. (Note 3)

In the literature, path verbs and directed motion verbs (or directional verbs of motion) often refer to the same object of analysis (Note 4). I will adopt the term ‘directed motion verbs’, as in Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2010) and Levin & Rappaport Hovav (2013). However, I will often use either Direction or Path in accordance with the terminology adopted by the authors I cite throughout the paper.

2. Background

Talmy (1975, 1985, 2000) defines a motion event as being formed of the components Figure, Motion, Ground and Path, that is, an entity moving with respect to a reference point along a Path. He also states that a Motion event can conflate with a semantic component that conveys information about manner, i.e., a co-event, as in the sentence *The rock bounced down the hill* and *I ran my way down the stairs* (Talmy 1985: 28). Furthermore, Talmy proposes a typological distinction between *satellite-framed* (s-framed) languages (Germanic languages as well as Japanese and Korean) and *verb-framed* (v-framed) languages (Romance and Chinese). In s-framed languages verbs conflate Manner and Motion while a satellite element (particle, prefix) (Note 5) encodes Path information within a single clause, as in (1). In v-framed languages, on the other hand, verbs conflate Motion and Path, while Manner is expressed in a subordinate clause as in (2)-(4). Therefore, sentence (5) does not encode any Path information in Italian, since the PP *nella grotta* ‘in the cave’ is an adjunct that denotes the location (and not the goal) of the event. The same happens in Spanish (3) and French (4). The English sentence (6) - the counterpart of (2) - is grammatical in English but its use is less frequent than (1). Since the encoding of Manner outside the main clause imposes greater processing demands, speakers of s-framed language show infrequent use of sentences like (4), while speakers of v-framed languages tend to leave out Manner from their description of Motion (Slobin 1991; Özçalışkan & Slobin 1999, 2003, Madlener-Charpentier & Liste Lamas 2022):

1. The bottle floated into the cave
2. La bottiglia entrò nella grotta galleggiando
The bottle enter.PST.3SG in.the cave float.GER
‘The bottle entered the cave floating’

3. La botella entrò a la cueva flotando
4. La bouteille est entré dans la grotte en flottant
5. La bottiglia galleggiò nella grotta
The bottle float.PST.3SG in.the cave
'The bottle floated into the cave'
6. The bottle entered the cave floating

According to Talmy's typology, s-framed and v-framed languages show distinct lexicalization patterns of motion: the lexicons of the former are rich in manner of motion verbs and particle verbs, while the lexicons of the latter have few such verbs. Higginbotham (2009:118) refers to s-framed languages as 'give up', 'come in' languages and to v-framed languages as 'resign', 'exit' languages.

Nonetheless, numerous studies have raised objections to Talmy's binary distinction, such as Slobin (2004), Zlatev & Yangklang (2004), Fábregas (2007), Beavers *et al.* (2010), Filipovic & Ibarretxe (2015) and Levin & Rappaport Hovav (2019), among others. Moreover, it has been pointed out that, among Romance languages, Italian is not a typical v-framed language since it shows s-framed constructions (Schwarze 1985; Simone 1997; Iacobini & Masini 2006, 2007; Iacobini & Vergaro 2012). Folli (2008: 198) states that "the crucial thing for Talmy is that languages like English prefer to express the path and the goal of motion in prepositional phrases or verbal particles. This is contrary to what happens in Italian, where the broad use of verbs like *enter*, *exit* to express the goal of motion is an indication of the *verb-framed* nature of this language". For example, the counterpart of the Italian construction *Gianni è entrato nella stanza* (lit. Gianni-is-entered-in.the-room) in English would be *Gianni came into the room* rather than *Gianni entered the room*. However, Folli (2008: 198) suggests considering Talmy's distinction as a tendency rather than a binary distinction and shows that Italian can resort to a *satellite-framed* strategy to express the goal of motion.

Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2010:7) affirm that even though Talmy does not state it explicitly, motion verbs fall into either directed motion verbs (*arrive*, *ascend*, *enter*) or manner of motion verbs (*amble*, *dance*, *jog*, *run*); the authors develop the notions of scalar and nonscalar change which are claimed to be in complementary distribution (see also McClure 1994, Rappaport Hovav 2008). According to Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2010: 9), a root can only lexicalize either direction or manner. Directed motion verbs are verbs of scalar change since "the points constituting the scale in the motion domain are a set of contiguous locations which together form a path. [...]. In order for the lexicalized path to constitute a scale, its points must be ordered". Verbs like *ascend*, *descend*, *fall* and *rise* fully lexicalize direction of motion (with or against the direction of gravity). Furthermore, for verbs like *arrive* and *enter* the points on the path are ordered as closer to the reference object, while for verbs like *leave* and *exit* the points on the path are ordered as further away from the reference object. Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2010: 9-10, 12) claim that directed motion verbs fall into two classes: those associated with two-point scales such as *arrive* are true achievements and the

transition from one value to the other is conceptualized as instantaneous (Beavers 2008). Those associated with multiple-point scales are named ‘degree achievements’ or ‘gradual change’ verbs. Verbs like *advance*, *descend*, *fall*, *recede* and *rise* all describe the gradual traversal of a path. Multiple-point scales can be subdivided into verbs that lexicalize a bounded path (closed scales), such as *come* and *return*, and those that lexicalize an unbounded path (open scales), such as *descend* and *rise*. (Note 6)

On the other hand, manner of motion verbs lexicalize nonscalar change. Verbs like *run* and *walk* involve two different and specific patterns of movement of legs and specify a sequence of changes, although “collectively these changes do not represent a change in the values of a single attribute, nor is any one element in the sequence of changes privileged as being the necessary starting point of motion”. Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2010) claim that scalar verbs (directed motion) and nonscalar verbs (manner of motion) are in complementary distribution. (Note 7)

Goldberg (2010) argues against this opposition since this generalization is not exceptionless and she points out that “*scale* as in *She scaled the mountain* implies moving upward in a particular (full-bodied) manner. The ski term, to *schuss* means to ski straight downhill (directed change of location) intentionally and very fast (manner)”. Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2010: 16-17) claim that “when a manner has a conventionally associated result, the result may get lexicalized in some uses of the verb, but only if the manner component drops out. Thus, with *climb* in precisely those uses in which the upward motion is lexicalized, such as *The plane climbed to 9000 feet*, the clambering manner is absent, as shown by the wider range of permitted subjects”.

Beavers & Koontz-Garboden (2012, 2017) argue that there is no opposition between manner of motion verbs and path verbs and demonstrate – through a detailed analysis of the verb *climb* - that a subset of manner of motion verbs entails a scalar change and argue against the clear-cut division between path and manner verbs. The debate on the opposition between manner and result verbs is still ongoing.

Many studies have been carried out on Italian motion verbs: Cardini (2008) and Iacobini & Vergaro (2012) examine mainly manner of motion verbs, Iacobini & Masini (2006) claim that there are phrasal verbs in the Italian lexicon, Romagnoli (2017) investigates the acquisition of motion events in Chinese and Italian as L2, while Cominetti & Panuzzi (2020) focus on manner and result, taking into account Chinese, English and Italian. Folli (2001, 2008), and Folli & Ramchand (2005) examine the syntactic behaviour of manner of motion verbs that take the auxiliary HAVE and manner of motion verbs that can take both auxiliaries HAVE and BE. Cennamo & Lenci (2019) carry out a corpus-based investigation of verbs of motions in Italian subdivided into three classes. Verbs that lexicalize the direction and/or the result of motion (*arrivare* ‘arrive’, *partire* ‘depart’, *scendere* ‘descend, go down’, *scivolare* ‘slip, slide’) and that select the auxiliary BE in compound tenses. Manner of motion verbs (*correre* ‘run’, *rotolare* ‘roll’) that select HAVE in compound tenses; when selecting BE these verbs undergo aspectual reclassification and exhibit a path/result PP. Manner of motion verbs that do not get reclassification and take the auxiliary HAVE (*camminare* ‘walk’,

nuotare ‘swim’).

3. Directed Motion Verbs

The Source – Path – Goal schema, which Lakoff (1987: 275) describes as one of the kinaesthetic image schema, represents directed motion verbs from a cognitive point of view, i.e., “when we move there is a place we start from and a place we wind up at, a sequence of contiguous locations connecting the initial and the final places, and a direction” (see also Walinski 2020). However, not all directed motion verbs assert and express both source and goal in the surface structure. Verbs like *arrivare* ‘arrive’ and *partire* ‘leave, depart’ can take both source and goal PPs in (7)-(8), although these verbs are described in the literature as focusing on the goal and on the source, respectively: *arrive* is bounded at the upper end, while *depart* is bounded at the lower end (Rappaport Hovav 2014):

7. Gianni arrivò a Roma da Londra
 Gianni arrive.PST.3SG at Rome from London

‘Gianni arrived in Rome from London’

8. Gianni partì da Roma per Londra
 Gianni depart.PST.3SG from Rome for London

‘Gianni left Rome for London’

On the other hand, verbs like *uscire* ‘leave, go out, exit’ can take and express only a source PP, while *entrare* ‘enter, go in’ surfaces only a goal PP; in these cases, the goal and the source PPs are only implied and cannot be asserted:

9. Gianni uscì (di casa + dal cinema)
 Gianni exit.PST.3SG (of house + from.the cinema)

‘Gianni went out (of the house + of the cinema)’

10. Gianni entrò (nell’ aula + a casa)
 Gianni enter.PST.3SG (in.the classroom + at home)

‘Gianni came (into the classroom + home)’

Unlike English, the prepositions that introduce path PPs in Italian are ambiguous since they are also used to indicate locative PPs (Zwarts 2005; Beavers *et al.* 2010). For example, the preposition *da* ‘from’ can head a PP that refers to source (*uscire dal cinema* ‘go out from the cinema’), to goal (*andare da Gianni* ‘go to Gianni’s’), to location (*vivere da Gianni* ‘live at Gianni’s’) and also to a passage (*entrare/uscire dalla finestra* ‘enter/exit through the window’). In the same way, the prepositions *a* ‘at, to’, *in* ‘in, into’, *su* ‘on, onto, over’ can head goal PPs as well as locative PPs.

I have subdivided directed motion verbs into three main classes on the basis of their elementary sentence structure. However, each class contains a heterogeneous set of verbs

whose behaviour has been further analysed by taking into account morphological, distributional, semantic and syntactic properties. The main properties are formalized in the Lexicon-grammar tables I have constructed for each class (see the Appendix).

3.1 Class 1: Source and Goal PPs

This class contains a rich variety of verbs that do not behave uniformly, as they show semantic differences due to the distributional context in which the verbs occur. Besides the achievement verb *arrivare* ‘arrive’, the deictic verbs *andare* ‘go’ and *venire* ‘come’ and non-deictic verbs as *salire* ‘ascend, go up’ and *scendere* ‘descend, go down’, most of them occur with bounded path PPs as in (7)-(8) and with unbounded path PPs in (11)-(15), even in the case of *arrivare* ‘arrive’ in (11), although this verb is regarded as a punctual achievement verb. This is due to the presence of the preposition *verso* ‘towards’ that heads the PP expressing the intentional goal; I name it a *towards*-PP:

11. I rifugiati arrivano verso l’ Europa dall’ Africa
 The refugees arrive.PRS.3SG towards the Europe from.the Africa
 ‘The refugees arrive in Europe from Africa’
12. I ragazzi vanno dalla chiesa di San Jacopo verso Piazza Santa Croce
 The guys go.PRS.3PL from.thechurch of San Jacopo towards Piazza Santa Croce
 ‘The guys go from the church of San Jacopo towards Piazza Santa Croce’
13. Gianni veniva dalla piazza verso casa nostra
 Gianni come.PST.3SG from.the square towards home ours
 ‘Gianni was coming from the square towards our house’
14. Gianni salì dal Circo Massimo verso il Quirinale
 Gianni ascend.PST.3SG from.the Circus Maximus towards the Quirinale
 ‘Gianni went up from the Circus Maximus towards the Quirinale’
15. Gianni scese dalla montagna verso valle
 Gianni ascend.PST.3SG from.the mountain towards valley
 ‘Gianni came down from the mountain to the valley’

Directed motion verbs that take both source and goal PPs may also take a source PP and a *towards*-PP in most cases. In this regard, Martin *et al.* (2021) analyse English and German and claim, following Zwarts (2005), that goal/endpoint PPs do not entail *towards*-PP, given the acceptability of (16). Both types of PP “are on the same scale, with *to/zu*-PPs being the stronger alternative (despite not entailing *towards*-PPs)” as sentence (17) shows (Martin *et al.* 2021, example (ii), fn. 6):

16. Ziggy is driving to Berlin, although right now he's not driving towards Berlin

17. Hans didn't only go TOWARDS the police station, he went TO the police station

Source and goal PPs can be inverted or omitted as in (18)-(19) with respect to (7)-(8), although some verbs need linguistic or extra-linguistic context to be accepted with no PPs, as in the case of *andare* 'go' in (20) with respect to (20a):

18. Gianni arrivò (da Londra) (a Roma)

Gianni arrive.PST.3SG (from London) (at Rome)

'Gianni arrived from London in Rome'

19. Gianni partì (per Londra) (da Roma)

Gianni depart.PST.3SG (for London) (from Rome)

'Gianni departed for London from Rome'

20. I ragazzi andarono (da Londra) a Roma

The guys go.PST.3PL (from London) at Rome

'The guys went from London to Rome'

20a. ?I ragazzi andarono

The guys go.PST.3PL

'The guys went'

In the literature directed motion verbs like *salire* 'ascend, climb' and *scendere* 'descend, climb down' are considered to be upward/downward verbs. Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2010) affirm that these verbs refer to a displacement along a vertical axis and require motion that resists the pull of gravity or is in the direction of the pull of gravity or, as in (21)-(22): (Note 8)

21. Il ragazzo salì sulla scogliera direttamente dal mare

The guy ascend.PST.3SG on.the cliff directly from.the sea

'The guy climbed the cliff directly from the sea'

22. Il ragazzo scese dalla scogliera direttamente a mare

The guy descend.PST.3SG from.the cliff directly to sea

'The guy climbed down the cliff directly to the sea'

However, the Italian data show that the semantics these verbs encode depends on their distributional context and this has an impact on their argument structure. For example, the verbs *salire* 'ascend, go up' and *scendere* 'descend, go down' can also occur with means of transportation, where the vertical direction can be equal almost to zero in the case of (23)-(24)

or higher in (25)-(26), depending on the means of transport. Unlike (21)-(22), the source PP in (23) and (25) and the goal PP in (24) and (26) are implied, as they are not always easily (or frequently) expressed:

23. Gianni sal ì in macchina

Gianni ascend.PST.3SG in car

‘Gianni got in the car’

24. Gianni scese dalla macchina

Gianni descend.PST.3SG from.the car

‘Gianni got out of the car’

25. Gianni sal ì (a cavallo + in carrozza)

Gianni ascend.PST.3SG (at horse + in carriage)

‘Gianni got (on the horse + into the carriage)’

26. Gianni scese (da cavallo + dalla carrozza)

Gianni descend.PST.3SG (from horse + from.the carriage)

‘Gianni got off the (horse + carriage)’

Furthermore, *salire* ‘ascend, go up’ and *scendere* ‘descend, go down’ refer to northward/southward direction in (27)-(28); in this case the ‘motion that resists or is in the direction of the pull of gravity’ is not a component that distinguishes these verbs, nor is the vertical axis:

27. Gianni sal ì da Roma a Milano per vedere la famiglia

Gianni go-up.PST.3SG from Rome at Milan for see the family

‘Gianni went up from Rome to Milan to see the family’

28. Gianni scese da Milano a Roma per salutare la famiglia

Gianni go-down.PST.3SG from Milan at Rome for see the family

‘Gianni went down from Milan to Rome to see the family’

In (29) the verb *scendere* ‘go down, descend’ does not necessarily refer to the downward direction since this sentence is also appropriate for someone who lives on the ground floor:

29. Mara è scesa a prendere il latte

Mara be.PRS.3SG descend.PTCP at get the milk

‘Mara went to get the milk’

Likewise, the verb *scendere* ‘go down, descend’ in (30)-(32) does not refer to a downward

direction when used in constructions that belong to the language of sport:

30. Casey Stoner scese in pista

Casey Stoner descend.PST.3SG in track

‘Casey Stoner went down onto the track’

31. Ibrahimović scese in campo

Ibrahimović descend.PST.3SG in field

‘Ibrahimović took the field’

32. Le ginnaste scesero in pedana

The gymnast descend.PST.3SG in floor

‘The gymnasts took the floor’

The data show that *salire* ‘ascend, go up’ and *scendere* ‘descend, go down’ occur in various constructions whose semantics does not necessarily entail a (clearcut) vertical dimension, and this depends on the type of noun and on the preposition heading the PP. For example, if the preposition *in* ‘in’ is substituted with *su* ‘on, onto’ in (30)-(32) the sentences entail downward direction.

Class 1 also includes verbs that incorporate a noun root referring to a vehicle as in the case of *imbarcarsi* ‘embark’ and *sbarcare* ‘disembark’ both derived from the noun *barca* ‘boat’. These verbs refer to the disembarkation and embarkation (depending on the type of prefix), respectively from/onto boats, ships and any kind of aircraft. They may occur with a source and a goal PP, respectively, where the N is a toponym as in (33)-(34) or refers to a specific boat/aircraft as in (35)-(36) (Note 9):

33. I rivoluzionari sbarcarono a Cuba dal Messico

The revolutionaries disembark.PST.3PL at Cuba from.the Mexico

‘Revolutionaries disembarked in Cuba from Mexico’

34. I rivoluzionari si imbarcarono in Messico per Cuba

The revolutionaries si embark.PST.3PL in Mexico for Cuba

‘Revolutionaries embarked from Mexico to Cuba’

35. I due uomini si imbarcarono sul volo 703 della British Airways
per New York

The two men si embark.PST.3PL on.the flight 703 of.the British Airways
for New York

‘The two men boarded British Airways flight 703 for New York’

36. I padri pellegrini sbarcarono dalla famosa Mayflower a New Plymouth

The fathers pilgrims disembark.PST.3PL from.the famous Mayflower at New Plymouth

‘The Pilgrim Fathers disembarked from the famous Mayflower in New Plymouth’

Likewise, the verbs *atterrare* ‘land’, *espatriare* ‘expatriate’, *rimpatriare* ‘repatriate’ in (37)-(39) incorporate a root noun that refers to source or goal depending on the type of prefix. However, a further source and goal PP can be overtly expressed only if the PP is more specific with respect to the base noun *terra* ‘ground’ or *patria* ‘homeland’:

37. (L’ aereo + Gianni) atterrò a Roma da Londra

(The plane + Gianni) land.PST.3SG at Rome from London

‘(The plane + Gianni) landed in Rome from London’

38. Gianni espatriò da Varsavia a Parigi

Gianni expatriate.PST.3SG from Warsaw to Paris

‘Gianni expatriated from Warsaw to Paris’

39. Gianni rimpatriò dal fronte italiano a Vienna

Gianni repatriate.PST.3SG from.the front Italian at Vienna

‘Gianni repatriated from the Italian front to Vienna’ (Note 10)

The intransitive pronominal verb *avvicinarsi* ‘move close’ incorporates the adverb *vicino* ‘close’ and denotes direction from a source PP to an area CLOSE to a goal PP as in (40), while the verb *dirigersi* ‘head’ in (41) does not necessarily entail that the endpoint was reached. However, both verbs occur with a PP headed by the proposition *a* ‘to’, though this is generally associated to goal PPs:

40. Gli spacciatori si avvicinarono dal quartiere universitario alla zona del centro città

The drug dealers SI approach PST.3PL from.the district university to.the area of.the center city

‘The drug dealers approached the downtown area from the university district’

41. I ragazzi si diressero da Londra a Liverpool

The guys SI head.PST.3PL from London at Liverpool

‘The boys headed/made their way from London to Liverpool’

A corpus search has shown that the verb *accedere* ‘access’ very frequently occurs with a goal PP and a *through*-PP, while the source PP is left out as in (42). *Through*-PPs refer to crossing

a boundary (see Ibarretxe 2015 for Basque, Stosic 2007 for French) and are headed by *attraverso* ‘through’ or *da* ‘from’; the latter should be avoided if the source PP is already present, as in (43):

42. Noi accedemmo al terrazzo da una scala a chiocciola

We access.PST.1PL at.the terrace by a staircase at snail

‘We accessed the terrace from a spiral staircase’

43. Attraverso il giardino è possibile accedere da Palazzo Pitti a Villa Bardini

Through the garden be.PRS.3SG possible access.INF from Palazzo Pitti at Villa Bardini

‘Through the garden it is possible to access Villa Bardini from Palazzo Pitti’

Class 1 includes about 56 directed motion verbs that in most cases take the auxiliary BE in compound tenses. However, the verbs *traslocare* ‘move’ and *viaggiare* ‘travel’ only take HAVE, while some verbs may take both auxiliaries, as in the case of *approdare* ‘arrive, land’, *emigrare* ‘migrate’, *atterrare* ‘land’, *decollare* ‘take off’, *espatriare* ‘expatriate’, *sfollare* ‘disperse, get away’. It is worth pointing out that a search in the SketchEngine Italian Web Corpus 2020 shows a more frequent use of the auxiliary BE. For example, *approdare* ‘arrive, land’ shows only 322 occurrences with HAVE and 30,688 occurrences with BE. The verb *emigrare* ‘migrate’ shows 10,000 occurrences with BE and 261 occurrences with HAVE, while *decollare* ‘take off’ shows 6,781 occurrences with BE and 277 occurrences with HAVE. The result data confirms Sorace (2000) who states that Italian activity and manner of motion predicates select HAVE more consistently, while change of state and change of location predicates select BE more consistently.

3.2 Classes 2 and 3: Goal PP or Source PP

Class 2 includes 15 verbs that can only take a goal PP like *entrare* ‘enter, go in’, *montare* ‘mount’, *allunare* ‘land on the moon’, *ammarrare* ‘land on water’, i.e., they are bounded at the upper end. The result verb *entrare* ‘enter, go in’ occurs very frequently also with a *through*-PP which refers to crossing a boundary or a passage, as in (44) (see also example (43)). Furthermore, the corpus shows that the verb *entrare* ‘enter, go in’ can occur with both source and goal PPs only in constructions belonging to the language of football as in (45):

44. Gianni entrò in casa (dalla + attraverso) la finestra

Gianni enter.PST.3SG in house (from.the + through) the window

‘Gianni entered the house through the window’

45. [Zaniolo] è entrato in campo dalla panchina al posto di Rashica (sky.it)

[Zaniolo] be.PRS.3SG enter.PTCP in field from.the.bench at.the place of Rashica

‘Zaniolo came on as a substitute in Rashica’s place’

The verb *montare* ‘mount’ occurs with a goal PP where the noun refers to a means of transportation; in this case the preposition that heads the PP is selected by the noun. This verb shows similarities with *salire* ‘ascend, go up’ in examples (23) and (25):

46. Gianni montò (a cavallo + in macchina + sul bus)

Gianni mount.PST.3SG (at horse + in car + on.the bus)

‘Gianni got (on horseback + into the car + on the bus)’

The verbs *allunare* ‘land on the moon’ and *ammarare* ‘land on water’ in (47)-(48) incorporate the nouns *luna* ‘moon’ and *mare* ‘sea’, respectively; they denote (via a prefix) an endpoint; however, they can occur with a further goal PP only if this identifies the base noun more precisely (see Alonge 1994: 31, Vietri 2021). The verbs *allunare* ‘land on the moon’ and *ammarare* ‘land on water’ can take either the auxiliary HAVE or BE in compound tenses. A Corpus search shows that the auxiliary BE is much more frequent than HAVE (35 occurrences show HAVE, 130 occurrences show BE), both types of compound tenses can occur with or without the goal PP (see Schwarze 1996, Sorace 2000):

47. Il LEM allunò sul nostro satellite nel 1969

The LEM land.PST.3SG on.the our satellite in.the 1969

‘The LEM landed on our satellite in 1969’

Il lander doveva allunare sul Sinus Iridum

The lander have.IMP.3SG land.INF on.the Sinus Iridum

‘The lander was to land on the Sinus Iridum’

48. L’ aereo ammarò nell’ Hudson

The plane land.PST.3SG in.the Hudson

‘The plane landed in the Hudson’

Class 3 includes 7 verbs such as *evadere* ‘escape’, *uscire* ‘leave, go out, exit’, *provenire* ‘come from’, *smontare* ‘dismount’, *allontanarsi* ‘move away’, *rincasare* ‘return home’ that occur with a source PP. Each of them shows properties that highlight semantic and syntactic differences. The verb *evadere* ‘escape’ in (49) combines with a restricted number of nouns which denote ‘confinement and control’. On the other hand, the verb *uscire* ‘leave, go out, exit’ in (50) does not show such semantic and distributional restrictions; it can also take a PP headed by the preposition *di* ‘of’ with the nouns *casa* ‘home’, *carcere/prigione* ‘prison, jail’.

It is worth mentioning that a construction like *uscire di prigione* ‘get out of jail’ entails motion but mainly indicates ‘to be released (after serving a sentence)’:

49. Gianni evase dal (carcere + riformatorio)

Gianni escape.PST.3SG from.the (prison + reformatory)

‘Gianni escaped from (prison + reformatory)’

50. Gianni uscì (di casa + dall’ ufficio)

Gianni get-out.PST.3SG (of house + from.the office)

‘Gianni left (the office + home)’

The verb *smontare* ‘dismount’ (of which *montare* ‘mount’ in Class 2 is the antonym) only occurs with PPs whose noun refers to a means of transport as in (51). The verb *provenire* ‘come from’ in (52) mostly co-occurs with a means of transport in subject position:

51. Gianni smontò (da cavallo + dall’ auto + dal tram)

Gianni dismount.PST.3SG (from horse + from.the car + from.the tram)

‘Gianni got (off his horse + out of the car + off the tram)’

52. (Il treno + l’ aereo) proveniva da Roma

(The train + the flight) come.IMP.3SG from Rome

‘The (train + flight) came from Rome’

The intransitive pronominal verb *allontanarsi* ‘move away’ in (53) incorporates the adverb *lontano* ‘away’ and it is the antonym of *avvicinarsi* ‘move close’, which incorporates the adverb *vicino* ‘close’ (see Class 1). The verb *rincasare* ‘return home’ in (54) incorporates the noun *casa* ‘home’ that (via a prefix) denotes an endpoint. Besides the source PP, it can also occur with a goal PP only if this identifies the base noun more precisely, as in (55):

53. Gianni si allontanò dall’ ufficio

Gianni si walk-away.PST.3SG from.the office

‘Gianni left the office’

54. Il ragazzo non rincasò da scuola

The guy not come-home.PST.3SG from school

‘The guy didn’t come home from school’

55. Lui rincasò (*a casa + a Roma + nella sua casa di
campagna (da Londra)

He come-home.PST.3SG (*at home + at Rome + in.the his house of
country (from London)

‘He went back (home + to Rome + to his country house)’

In most cases the source PP can be omitted as in (56), except for the verb *provenire* ‘come from’ in (57):

56. Gianni smontò

Gianni dismount.PST.3SG

‘Gianni dismounted’

57. *Il treno proveniva

The train come-from.PST.3SG

‘*The train came from’

A few directed motion verbs are cross-listed since they may occur with either a goal PP or a source PP, but not with both of them in the same elementary sentence. In this case I have listed them in both classes 2 and 3. For instance, the verb *ritirarsi* ‘go back, get out, withdraw’ occurs with a goal PP in (58), and a source PP in (59)-(60), and it encodes distinct paths, depending on the type of noun in the PP: in (59) a source PP occurs, while in (60) the verb encodes a backward motion (‘back away, withdraw’). However, this verb cannot occur with both a source and a goal PP in the same sentence; in fact (61) is not accepted:

58. Lei si ritirò in albergo a tarda ora

She SI come-back.PST.3SG in hotel at late hour

‘She went back to the hotel at a late hour’

59. I diplomatici si ritirarono dalla sala

The diplomats SI get-out.PST.3SG of.the hall

‘The diplomats retired from the hall’

60. I soldati si ritirarono dal fronte

The soldiers SI back-away.PST.3SG from.the front

‘The soldiers withdrew from the front’

61. *I diplomatici si ritirarono dalla sala nelle loro camere

The diplomats SI go-out.PST.3SG from.the room in.the their rooms

‘The diplomats retired from the hall to their room’

The verb *uscire* ‘leave, go out, exit’ in (62) is the prototypical source PP verb; however, it can also occur with a goal PP as in (63) only if the noun in the PP denotes an ‘extended location’ (see Folli 2008: 209), but it cannot occur with both a source and a goal PP in the same sentence; in fact (64) is not accepted. The data show that the meaning of motion verbs is determined by the noun and the preposition heading the PP with which they combine: (Note 11)

62. Mara usc ì (da + di) casa
 Mara get-out PST.3SG (from + of) home
 ‘Mara left home’
63. Mara usc ì (sul pianerottolo + in giardino)
 Mara go-out.PST.3SG (on.the landing + in garden)
 ‘Mara went out (onto the landing + into the garden)’
64. ?*Mara usc ì da casa in giardino
 Mara go-out.PST.3SG from home in garden
 ‘Mara went out of the house and into the garden’

4. Manner of Motion Verbs

Folli (2001, 2008) and Folli & Ramchand (2005) state that Italian manner of motion verbs split into two classes: verbs that allow a goal of motion reading with simple prepositions (*in* ‘in’, *a* ‘at’, *sotto* ‘under’), such as *correre* ‘run’ in (65), and verbs that do not, such as *camminare* ‘walk’) in (67). Verbs of the first type are ambiguous since they can be unaccusative (auxiliary BE) as in (65) or unergative (auxiliary HAVE) as in (66). When unaccusative, they can combine with an argumental PP and receive a directed motion interpretation as in (65); when unergative, they express an activity and the PP is an adjunct which denotes the location of the motion event, as in (66). Moreover, goal of motion verbs are telic and compatible with the adverb ‘in X time’. On the other hand, verbs like *camminare* in (67) only have an unergative structure (auxiliary HAVE):

65. Gianni è corso in ufficio (in pochi minuti + *per mezz’ora)
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG run.PTCP in office (in few minutes + *for half hour)
 ‘Gianni ran to the office (in a few minutes + *for half an hour)’
66. Gianni ha corso nel parco (*in pochi minuti+ per mezz’ora)
 Gianni have.PRS.3SG run.PTCP in.the park (*in few minutes + for half hour)
 ‘Gianni ran in the park (*in a few minutes + for half an hour)’
67. Gianni (ha + *è) camminato al parco (*in pochi minuti + per mezz’ora)
 Gianni (have.PRS.3SG + *be.PRS.3SG) walk.PTCP at.the park (*in few minutes + for half hour)
 ‘Gianni walked to the park (in a few minutes)/Gianni walked in the park (for half an hour)’

In Section 2, I presented the debate on manner and direction complementarity, with reference

mainly to Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2010) and Levin & Rappaport Hovav (2013), who hypothesise this opposition, and Goldberg (2010) and Beavers & Koontz-Garboden (2012, 2017), who argue against it. In accordance with Goldberg (2010) and Beavers & Koontz-Garboden (2012, 2017), I will show that the Italian lexicon includes a subset of motion verbs that entail both manner and direction (see also Iacobini & Vergaro 2010). Therefore, I have subdivided manner of motion verbs into three classes on the basis of their unaccusative and/or unergative structure and their entailing only manner or both manner and direction.

Among the unresolved issues on motion verbs, Zlatev *et al.* (2010: 3) cite ‘manner’ and raises the question of the information ‘manner’ includes. The authors pose questions such as “Does this include information pertaining to the vehicle of motion (e.g. fly vs. ride), the speed (e.g. stroll vs. run), the body parts (e.g. hop vs. climb), the medium (sink vs. fall) or all of them?”. I will adopt the definition of ‘manner’ provided in Cardini (2008) and Slobin (2008), while referring the reader to the cited authors for a detailed discussion on the topic. Among the types of information manner includes, I will consider, for example, body movements (*correre* ‘run’), vehicles (*sciare* ‘ski’), aspects of motion such as *speed* (*sfrecciare* ‘whiz, dart’), *force* (*irrompere* ‘burst in’), *effort* (*arrancare* ‘limp’); more importantly manner verbs can entail a combination of these.

4.1 Class 4: Unergative vs Unaccusative Verbs

Folli (2001) and Folli & Hurley (2020: 74) argue that in Italian the verb *correre* ‘run’ and *volare* ‘fly’ are manner of motion verbs in (68) and (70), while in sentences (69) and (71) they are ‘apparent’ manner verbs, i.e., they are not manner verbs at all since they lexicalize only the Path component. Moreover, the verbal root in (69) communicates that Gianni ‘travelled rapidly’ along the path, not that he actually ran using his legs as in (68). Likewise, the verbal root in sentence (71) communicates that Gianni ‘went home speedily’, not that he got a plane as in (70). Folli & Hurley’s (2020) hypothesis - albeit from a syntactic perspective - is close to that of Levin & Rappaport Hovav (2013), who claim that in some cases (e.g., *climb*) verbs drop the manner component. Similarly, Cennamo & Lenci (2019) state that verbs like *correre* ‘run’ and *volare* ‘fly’ allow aspectual reclassification:

68. Gianni ha corso al parco
 Gianni have.PRS.3SG run.PTCP at.the park
 ‘Gianni ran in the park’

69. Gianni è corso al supermercato
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG run.PTCP at.the supermarket
 ‘Gianni ran to the supermarket’

70. Gianni ha volato sul Concorde molte volte
 Gianni have.PRS.3SG fly.PTCP on.the Concorde many times
 ‘Gianni has flown on Concorde many times’

71. Gianni è volato a casa
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG fly.PTCP at home
 ‘Gianni flew home’

According to Folli & Hurley (2020) *correre* ‘run’ and *volare* ‘fly’ are manner verbs when they communicate ‘run with legs’ and ‘get a flight’, while they are Path verbs when they communicate ‘to go somewhere speedily’. However, the claims that Folli and Hurley make are not completely founded since what *correre* ‘run’ and *volare* ‘fly’ communicate depends on the discourse context. The reading the authors associate to (69) and (71), that is ‘go somewhere speedily’ is certainly true, but it is not the only one these verbs can entail. For example, *correre* ‘run’ in (72) presumably communicates that Gianni ‘ran using legs’, while *volare* ‘fly’ in (73) communicates that he actually got on a plane to get home. Therefore, in both cases, manner and direction conflate (see also Zubizarreta (2007:320); furthermore, *speed* is certainly a dimension of manner related to motion:

72. Gianni è corso a casa dal lavoro preoccupato perché la
 mamma non rispondeva alle sue telefonate, arrivò senza fiato
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG run.PTCP at home from.the.work worried because the
 mum not answer.IMP.3SG at.the his phone calls, arrive.PST.3SG without breath
 ‘Gianni ran home from work worried because his mum didn't answer his phone calls; he arrived breathless’

73. Dopo essere approdato in Australia, [lui]volò a casa sua in
 California
 After be.INF land.PTCP in Australia, [he]fly.PST.3SG at home his in
 California
 ‘After landing in Australia, he flew home to California’

It is also worth noting that the (unergative) manner of motion verb *volare* ‘fly’ in (74) can communicate only the speediness of the activity, with no reference to real flying:

74. Le Ferrari oggi hanno volato sulla pista ungherese
 The Ferraris today have.PRS.3PL fly.PTCP over.the track Hungarian
 ‘The Ferraris flew round the Hungarian track today’

A close examination of the list of *correre*-type verbs mentioned in Folli & Ramchand (2005) shows that verbs like *rotolare* ‘roll’, *saltare* ‘jump’, *scivolare* ‘slide, slip’ do not raise any doubts on the manner component they entail when unaccusative. For example, in both sentences (75)-(76) the verb *rotolare* ‘roll’ communicates the manner in which the ball moves, that is, it turns over on itself. However, *rotolare* ‘roll’ in (75) shows an ergative structure (auxiliary HAVE) and is atelic, while in (76) the same verb shows an unaccusative structure (auxiliary BE), is telic and also communicates the direction the ball follows

(examples (75)-(76) corresponds to (27)-(28) in Folli & Ramchand 2005):

75. La palla ha rotolato sotto il tavolo (per un minuto + *in un minuto)

The ball have.PRS.3SG roll.PTCP under the table (for one minute + *in one minute)

‘The ball rolled under the table (for one minute/*in one minute)’

76. La palla è rotolata sotto il tavolo (*per un minuto + in un minuto)

The ball be.PRS.3SG roll.PTCP under the table (*for one minute + in one minute)

‘The ball rolled under the table (*for one minute + in one minute)’

Furthermore, the verb *rotolare* ‘roll’, depending on the context, may also indicate a downward direction:

77. La valanga è rotolata a valle

Thea valanche be.PRS.3SG roll.PTCP at valley

‘The avalanche rolled down the slope’

Likewise, the verb *saltare* ‘jump’ is a manner of motion verb in (78) while it entails manner and direction in (79)-(80): both sentences share the meaning that the Agent ‘moves quickly into the air’. The difference is that Gianni can also jump in one place in (78), while in (79)-(80) the Agent moves from one place to another, either downward or upward. Therefore, *saltare* ‘jump’ can encode only manner, as in (78), or manner and direction, as in (79)-(80):

78. Gianni ha saltato (per casa) tutto il pomeriggio

Gianni have.PRS.3SG jump.PTCP (for house) all the afternoon

‘Gianni jumped (around the house) all afternoon’

79. Gianni è saltato da un ponte sul tetto di un treno

Gianni be.PRS.3SG jump.PTCP from a bridge on.the roof of a train

‘Gianni jumped from a bridge onto the roof of a train’

80. Il gatto è saltato dalla sedia sul tavolo

The cat be.PRS.3SG jump.PTCP from.the chair on.the table

‘The cat jumped from the chair onto the table’

Furthermore, the verb *saltare* ‘jump’, when occurring with means of transport, entails speediness with or without jumping, depending on the height of the means of transport, as in (81); this verb can also occur in transitive constructions such as (82) where it communicates

that Mara jumped over an obstacle.

81. Mara è saltata (in bici + a cavallo + sul treno + in auto)

Mara be.PRS.3SG jump.PTCP (in bike+ at horse + on.the train + in car)

‘Mara jumped (on her bike + on her horse + on the train + into the car)’

82. Mara ha saltato (la siepe + il muretto)

Mara have.PRS.3SG jump.PTCP (the hedge + the wall)

‘Maria jumped the (hedge + the wall)’

The verb *scivolare* ‘slip, slide, glide’ shows some semantic differences depending on the context in which it occurs. First, in sentences (83)-(85) *scivolare* ‘slip, skid’ refers to a loss of balance, with or without falling, on a presumably smooth surface. Secondly, this verb is a non-agentive verb (like *rimbalzare* ‘bounce’, *rotolare* ‘roll’, see Zubizarreta (2007: 319)) that takes the auxiliary BE in (83)-(84), regardless of the presence of a path PP (Cowper 1991). However, if the sentence is clearly durative as in (85) the verb *scivolare* ‘slip, skid’ may take HAVE (Note 12). It is worth mentioning that a corpus search shows a very low frequency of HAVE: about 150 occurrences while there are 19,296 occurrences with BE:

83. Gianni è scivolato dal tetto ricoperto di neve su un terrazzino

Gianni be.PRS.3SG slip.PTCP from.the roof covered of snow on a terrace

‘Gianni slipped from the snow-covered roof onto a small terrace’

84. Gianni è scivolato sul pavimento bagnato

Gianni be.PRS.3SG slip.PTCP on.the floor wet

‘Gianni slipped on the wet floor’

85. La moto ha scivolato sulla strada bagnata per parecchi metri

The bike have.PRS.3SG skid.PTCP on.the road wet for several meters

‘The bike skidded on the wet road for several meters’

On the other hand, the verb *scivolare* ‘slide, glide’ in (86)-(87) only takes HAVE and does not entail any loss of balance, on the contrary it communicates that the entity ‘moves smoothly over a surface’, where the surface can be even as in (86)-(87) or rough as in (88):

86. La slitta ha scivolato sulla neve per mezz’ ora

The sled have.PRS.3SG slide.PTCP over.the snow for half hour

‘The sled slid over the snow for half an hour’

87. I pattinatori hanno scivolato sul ghiaccio con mille piroette
 The skaters have.PRS.3PL glide.PTCP on.the ice with thousand pirouettes
 ‘The skaters glided over the ice with a thousand pirouettes’

88. La barca ha scivolato sulle onde
 The boat have.PRS.3SG glide.PTCP on.the waves
 ‘The boat glided over the waves’

Therefore, I consider this to be a case of polisemy and I distinguish three uses of *scivolare*. In (83) *scivolare* ‘slip, skid’ (lose balance and (optionally) fall) entails manner and direction, while in (84)-(85) it entails only manner; in both cases it can take the auxiliary BE. On the other hand, *scivolare* ‘slide, glide’ (move smoothly over a surface) in (86)-(88) can only be a manner verb and takes the auxiliary HAVE.

Among the verbs not included in Folli’s typology that show unergative and unaccusative structures the verb *sfrecciare* ‘dash, whiz, dart’ communicates speediness (when flying, driving, running, etc.) either in (89) or in (90) and, as in the previous cases, it is a manner of motion verb in (89), while it entails manner and direction in (90): (Note 13)

89. La Lamborghini squadra corse ha sfrecciato sul circuito di Silverstone
 TheLamborghini racing team have.PRS.3SG whiz.PTCP on.the circuit of Silverstone
 ‘The Lamborghini racing team whizzed around the Silverstone circuit’

90. Prima di arrivare in Toscana, lui è sfrecciato da Milano a Verona
 Before of arrive.INF in Tuscany, he be.PRS.3SG dash.PTCP from Milan to Verona
 ‘Before arriving in Tuscany, he dashed from Milan to Verona’

Furthermore, *sfrecciare* ‘dash, dart, whiz’ (as well as *filare* ‘run, speed’) can combine with the particle *via* ‘off’, giving rise to verb-particle constructions as in (91): in this case Italian shows an s-framed strategy, where the verb entails manner, and the particle entails direction (Iacobini & Masini 2006).

91. Appena l’ arbitro ha fischiato la fine del primo tempo è sfrecciato via dal campo ed è filato via in moto per fare una consegna
 As-soon-as the referee blow.PST.3SG the end of.the first half be.PRS.3SG dart.PTCP off the field and be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP off in motorbike for make a delivery

‘As soon as the referee blew the whistle for the end of the first half, he darted off the field and went off on his motorbike to make a delivery’

Summarizing, Class 4 includes 16 verbs that according to their unaccusative vs unergative

structure can be considered manner of motion verbs or directed manner of motion verbs. Among them, *correre* ‘run’, *rimbalzare* ‘bounce’, *rotolare* ‘roll’, *saltare* ‘jump’, *saltellare/salterellare* ‘skip’, *scivolare* (slip, skid, slide, glide), *scrosciare* ‘pour’, *sfrecciare* ‘dash, whiz, dart’, *volare* ‘fly’, *zompare* ‘leap’. With respect to Folli’s list (Note 14), I have added a few verbs and excluded *gattonare* ‘crawl on all fours’. As already noted in Zubizarreta (2007: 317), *gattonare* ‘crawl on all fours’ should not be included in this class since it only entails manner as in (92), in fact (93) is not accepted:

92. Il piccolo Luca ha gattonato come una scheggia per mesi
 Thelittle Luca have.PRS.3SG crawl.PTCP like a splinter for months
 ‘Little Luca sped around on all fours for months’

93. *Il piccolo Luca è gattonato fino alla porta
 The little Luca be.PRS.3SG crawl.PTCP up at.the door
 ‘Little Luca crawled up to the door’

It is worth pointing out that the dictionaries I consulted (Treccani, De Mauro, Devoto-Oli, Zingarelli) do not always indicate that both auxiliaries BE and HAVE can be selected in compound tenses. For example, the dictionaries indicate only the auxiliary HAVE for *rotolare* ‘roll’ and *saltellare* ‘skip’. On the other hand, for *rimbalzare* ‘bounce’, *correre* ‘run’, *volare* ‘fly’, *scivolare* ‘slide, slip, glide’, and *saltare* ‘jump’, both auxiliaries are indicated. In order to verify the selection of the auxiliaries, I searched the Web and the Italian Web Corpus 2020 by means of SketchEngine. If an auxiliary is not found either in dictionaries or in corpora, I did not consider it, except in the case of incongruences between synonyms. For example, *saltellare* ‘skip’ and *salterellare* ‘skip’ are synonyms but the former occurs with HAVE and BE in the corpora while the latter does not. This might be due to the fact that *saltellare* ‘skip’ is much more frequent than *salterellare* and this may have an impact on the search results; in fact, a Web search on the infinitive of both verbs returns 159,000 results for *saltellare* ‘skip’ and 9,250 results for *salterellare* ‘skip’. With respect to the auxiliary selection, Zubizarreta (2007: 319) states that some speakers much prefer the unaccusative use for the verbs *rotolare* ‘roll’ and *scivolare* ‘slide, glide, slip’. The Corpus search confirmed Zubizarreta’s claim: 1992 occurrences for unaccusative *rotolare* ‘roll’ and 332 occurrences for unergative *rotolare* ‘roll’, and 19,992 for unaccusative *scivolare* ‘slide, glide, slip’ and 150 occurrences for unergative *scivolare* ‘slide, glide, slip’.

Exceptions

The verbs *filare* ‘run, speed’, and *saettare* ‘dart’ can be manner of motion verbs in (94) or directed manner of motion verbs in (95)-(96). In both cases they take only the auxiliary BE (unlike the previous verbs) and entail speediness:

94. Le auto (filavano + saettavano) sulla pista a 200 all’ora
 The cars (speed.IMP.3PL + dart.IMP.3PL) on.the track at 200 at.the hour
 ‘The cars were (speeding + darting) around the track at 200 per hour’

95. Gianni è filato a casa
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG run.PTCP at home
 ‘Gianni ran home’

96. Unasimpatica donna tipicamente Yankee saettava dalla cucina alla sala
 A nice woman typically Yankee dart.IMP.3SG from.the kitchen at.the hall
 ‘A nice typical Yankee woman darted from the kitchen to the hall’

4.2 Class 5: Unergative Verbs

Class 5 includes 70 manner of motion verbs that select only the auxiliary HAVE in compound tenses and that, unlike English, cannot express direction: *to the park* and *to the shore* are goal PPs in (97)-(98), while *al parco* ‘at the park’ and *nella baia* ‘in the bay’ cannot be goal PPs in (99)-(100), they are adjuncts that denote the location of activity. In fact (97)-(98) are telic and compatible with the adverb ‘in X time’, while (99)-(100) are atelic and compatible with the adverb ‘for X time’. According to Cennamo & Lenci (2019), this verb type does not allow aspectual reclassification:

97. Mara walked to the park in an hour

98. Mara swam to the shore in a few minutes

99. Mara ha camminato al parco per un’ora
 Mara have.PRS.3SG walk.PTCP at.the park for an hour
 ‘Mara walked in the park for an hour’

100. Mara ha nuotato nella baia per alcuni minuti
 Mara have.PRS.3SG swim.PTCP in.the bay for few minutes
 ‘Mara swam in the bay for a few minutes’

It is possible to express a goal PP by means of the compound preposition *fino a* ‘up to, until’ in (101)-(102): the verb encodes manner while the PP headed by *fino a* ‘up to, until’ encodes the goal. (Note 15) In this case, Italian adopts a satellite-framed strategy in order to express the endpoint of the path of motion. In the literature, there is no agreement on telicity as regards manner of motion verbs combining with complex prepositions. Folli & Ramchand (2005:14. es. (35b)) and Folli (2008:213, es. (23a)) state that (101) and (102) are telic:

101. Mara ha camminato fino al parco (in un’ora + *per un’ora)
 Mara have.PRS.3SG walk.PTCP up at.the park (in an hour + *for an hour)
 ‘Mara walked up to the park (in an hour + for an hour)’

102. Gianni ha nuotato fino al porto (in un' ora + *per un'ora) (Note 16)

Gianni have.PRS.3SG swim.PTCP up at.the port (in an hour + *for an hour)

‘Gianni swam up to the port (in an hour + *for an hour)’

However, the analysis I carried out on the data shows that some manner of motion verbs, such as *gironzolare* ‘wander’ and *vagabondare* ‘wander’ in (103)-(104) are atelic, even though Folli & Ramchand (2005) never mention this distinction:

103. Mara ha gironzolato fino al Duomo (*in un' ora + per un'ora)

Mara have.PRS.3SG stroll.PTCP up at.the Duomo (*in an hour + for an hour)

‘Mara strolled up to the Duomo (in an hour + *for an hour)’

104. Mara ha vagabondato fino al parco (*in un' ora + per un' ora)

Mara have.PRS.3SG wander.PTCP up at.the Duomo (*in an hour + for an hour)

‘Mara wandered up to the Duomo (in an hour + *for an hour)’

Unlike Folli & Ramchand (2005) and Folli (2008), a different judgement on telicity is expressed by Aske (1989:7, examples (24a) and (24d)) who analyses Spanish. He claims that when combining with manner of motion verbs “the preposition *hasta*, ‘up to’, ‘until’ [...] contrary to what one might have thought, is not telic and doesn’t ‘predicate’ a final location of the Figure, that is the final location is not asserted, though it certainly may be implied”:

105. Juan caminó hasta la cima (?*en dos horas)

‘Juan walked up to the summit (in two hours)’

106. Juan subió a/hasta la cima en dos horas

‘Juan went to/up-to the top in two hours’

Likewise, Zubizarreta & Oh (2007, examples 544a-c) state that the Italian *fino a* ‘up to, until’, as well as Spanish *hasta* ‘up to, until’ and French *jusqu’à* ‘up to, until’, combining with manner of motion verbs produce atelic readings:

107. Camminer à fino alla scuola (*in trenta minuti)

108. Caminar á hasta la escuela (*ent treinta minutos)

109. Il marchera jusqu’à l’école (*en trente minutes)

‘He will walk up to the school (in thirty minutes)’

Moreover, when analysing Spanish and Italian, Zubizarreta & Oh (2007, examples 475a,

478a-b, 540b) argue that *fino a/hasta* ‘up to, until’ introduce temporal adjuncts in (110)-(111), whereas they introduce a spatial complement in (112). More precisely, only (110)-(111) are the result of a reduction from a complex sentence:

110. Juan caminó hasta (llegar a) Paris (*en treinta días)

Juan walk.PST.3SG until (arrive.INF at) Paris (in thirty days)

‘Juan walked until he arrived in Paris (*in thirty days)’

111. Gianni ha camminato (per un’ ora) fino ad (arrivare) alla spiaggia

Gianni have.PRS.3SG walk.PTCP (for an hour) until at (arrive.INF) at.the beach

‘Gianni walked (for an hour) until he arrived at the beach’

112.*Juan fué hasta llegar a Paris

Juan go.PST.3SG until arrive.INF at Paris

‘*Juan went until he arrived in Paris’

Boons (1987: 21, examples (37a-b)) states that in French *jusqu’à* (until, up to) entails an endpoint when combining with *ramer* ‘row’, whereas it only indicates the end of an activity when combining with *vadrouiller/errer* ‘wander’:

113. Pierre a (vadrouillé+ erré) jusqu’à l’ étang (*en vingt minutes)

Pierre have.PRS.3SG wander.PTCP up to the pond (*in twenty minutes)

‘Pierre wandered up to the pond (*in twenty minutes)’

114. Pierre a ramé jusqu’ au rocher (en vingt minutes)

Pierre have.PRS.3SG row.PTCP up to.the rock (in twenty minutes)

‘Pierre rowed to the rock (in twenty minutes)’

As I have already pointed out for examples (103) and (104), in accordance with Boons (1987) I claim that in Italian *fino a* ‘up to, until’ is bounded/telic when combining with manner of motion verbs like *camminare* ‘walk’, and *nuotare* ‘swim’, but it is unbounded/atelic when combining with manner of motion verbs like *vagabondare* ‘wander’, *gironzolare* ‘wander’. This means that *fino a* ‘up to, until’ encodes direction depending on the type of verb with which it combines.

Manner verbs can also combine with the discontinuous prepositions *da... (fino) a* ‘from... (up) to’ which express the starting point and the endpoint of the path of motion in (115)-(116); in this case, both sentences can be telic or atelic:

115. Mara ha camminato da Via dei Mille (fino) a Piazza
Cavour (in un' ora + per un' ora)

Mara have.PRS.3SG walk.PTCP from Via dei Mille (up) to Piazza
Cavour (in one hour + for one hour)

‘Mara walked from Via dei Mille (up) to Piazza Cavour (in one hour + for one hour)’

116. Mara ha nuotato da Amalfi (fino) a Positano
(in un' ora + per un' ora)

Mara have.PRS.3SG swim.PTCP from Amalfi (up) to Positano
(in one hour + for one hour)

‘Mara swam from Amalfi (up) to Positano (in one hour + for one hour)’

Zubizarreta & Oh (2007: 479, examples (479)-(480)-(481)) affirm that in Spanish (they do not analyse Italian in this case) discontinuous prepositions are unbounded/atelic, although “for some (but not all) speakers, it is easier to get the bounded interpretation”. The authors hypothesize that (117) has an ergative structure and the PP is an outer adjunct, while (118) is a covert transitive: in the latter case, the PP is “the complement of a covert distance-denoting object”, as in (119):

117. Juan caminó un montón de París a/hasta Madrid (*en treinta días)

Juan walk.PST.3SG a lot from Paris at/until Madrid (*in thirty days)

‘Juan walked a lot from Paris to Madrid (*in thirty days)’

118. Juan caminó de París a/hasta Madrid en treinta días

Juan walk.PST.3SG from Paris at/until Madrid in thirty days

‘Juan walked from Madrid (up) to Paris in thirty days’

119. Juan caminó el trecho de París a/hasta Madrid en treinta días

Juan walk.PST.3SG the distance from Paris at/until Madrid in thirty days

‘Juan walked the distance from Paris to Madrid in thirty days.’

However, in Italian the discontinuous prepositions *da... (fino) a* ‘from...(up) to’ can be bounded/telic or unbounded/telic with verbs like *camminare* ‘walk’ and *nuotare* ‘swim’ as in (120), while they are only unbounded/atelic with verbs like *vagabondare* ‘wander’ and *gironzolare* ‘wander’ as in (121). In the case of bounded paths, these prepositions denote the starting point and the endpoint (*da...a* ‘from...to’) and produce a telic reading. In the case of unbounded paths, the discontinuous prepositions delimit an area within which the Agent is moving without any direction and produce an atelic reading. Therefore, discontinuous prepositions show aspectual variability depending on the manner of motion verb with which they combine:

120. Mara ha (camminato + nuotato) da Amalfi a Positano
(in un'ora + per un'ora)

Mara have.PRS.3SG (walk + swim).PTCP from Amalfi to Positano
(in an hour + for an hour)

'Mara (walked + swam) from Amalfi to Positano (in one hour + for one hour)

121. Mara ha (vagabondato+gironzolato) da Via dei Mille a
Piazza Cavour (*in un'ora + per un'ora)

Mara have.PRS.3SG wander.PTCP from Via dei Mille at
Piazza Cavour (*in an hour + for an hour)

'Mara wandered from Via dei Mille to Piazza Cavour (*in an hour + for an hour)'

Summarizing, both discontinuous prepositions like *da...a* 'from...to' and the complex preposition *fino a* 'up to, until' can denote a bounded path or the delimitation of an area. The difference between the two types is that *fino a* 'up to, until' is bounded with verbs like *camminare* 'walk' and unbounded with verbs like *vagabondare* 'wander'. On the other hand, the discontinuous prepositions *da...a* 'from...to' can be bounded/unbounded with verbs like *camminare* 'walk' and only unbounded with verbs like *vagabondare* 'wander'. The data shows that telicity and boundedness depend on complex and discontinuous prepositions and on the type of verb with which they co-occur.

Folli (2008: 205) lists a few verbs belonging to this verb-type: *galleggiare* 'float', *camminare* 'walk', *galoppare* 'gallop', *danzare* 'dance', *nuotare* 'swim', *sciare* 'ski', *passeggiare* 'walk', *vagabondare* 'wander'. However, the taxonomy I have constructed includes more than 70 manner of motion verbs in Class 5, which shows the abundance of manner of motion verbs in Italian (see the Appendix) and also aspectual distinctions among them.

Exceptions

The pronominal verbs *trascinarsi/strascinarsi* 'drag oneself, crawl', *scorrere* 'flow', *aggirarsi* 'hang around', though selecting the auxiliary BE are manner of motion verbs. Unlike *aggirarsi* 'hang around' in (122), the verbs *trascinarsi/strascinarsi* 'drag oneself' and *scorrere* 'flow' in (123)-(125) can combine with the complex preposition *fino a* 'up to, until':

122. I ladri si sono aggirati (nella zona + *fino alla chiesa)

The thieves SI be.PRS.3SG hang-around.PTCP (in.the area + *up to.the church)

'The thieves hung around (in the area + *up to the church)'

123. Mara si è strascicata (per la casa + fino alla cucina)

Mara SI be.PRS.3SG drag-on.PTCP (for the house + up to.the kitchen)

'Maria dragged on (around the house + up to the kitchen)'

124. Il ferito si è trascinato (sul pavimento + fino alla porta)

The wounded man SI be.PRS.3SG crawl.PTCP (on.the floor + up to.the door)

‘The wounded man crawled (on the floor + up to the door)’

125. Le auto scorrono veloci (sull’ autostrada + fino all’ imbocco dell’ autostrada)

The cars flow.PRS.3PL fast (on.the highway + up to.the entrance of.the highway)

‘The cars flow (along the highway + up to the highway entrance)’

The verbs *sfilare* ‘parade’ and *slittare* ‘skid’ are manner of motion verbs only, however they may take HAVE or BE:

126. (Max + il motorino) (ha + è) slittato sull’ asfalto bagnato

(Max + the scooter) (have + be).PRS.3SG skid.PTCP on.the asphalt wet

‘(Max + the scooter) skidded on the wet asphalt’

127. Alcune centinaia di persone (sono sfilate + hanno sfilato) a Tel Aviv

Few hundreds of people (have + be).PRS.3SG parade.PTCP at Tel Aviv

‘A few hundred people paraded in Tel Aviv’

4.3 Class 6: Unaccusative Verbs (Manner and Path)

As already reported in Section 2, Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2010) and Levin & Rappaport Hovav (2013) claim that motion verbs cannot conflate manner and direction, while Beavers & Koontz-Garboden (2012, 2017) show that both components can coexist. As regards Italian, Alonge (1994) and Iacobini & Vergaro (2014: 75) state that motion verbs can encode both manner and direction. In Section 4.1, I have already shown that, in accordance with Beavers & Koontz-Garboden (2012, 2017), manner and direction coexist when verbs like *correre* ‘run’ have an unaccusative structure.

Class 6 includes about 70 verbs that only show an unaccusative structure and select the auxiliary BE in compound tenses. These are verbs like *fiondarsi* ‘rush’, *piombare* ‘burst’, *ruzzolare* ‘tumble’, *sbalzare* ‘leap’, *schizzare* ‘dart’, *scappare* ‘escape, run’, *passare* ‘pass, stop’, *scaraventarsi* ‘rush’, *scapicollarsi* ‘rush down’, among others. I claim they all encode both manner and direction, i.e. they are directed manner of motion verbs.

Both *fiondarsi* ‘rush’ and *piombare* ‘drop in’ (128)-(129) entail direction and manner since they communicate that the event happened rapidly and suddenly; moreover, in (130) the verb *piombare* ‘plummet, drop’ also entails the force with which the nonagentive subject has fallen:

128. Gianni è piombato a casa mia (da Roma)

Gianni SI be.PRS.3SG burst.PTCP at house mine (from Rome)

‘Gianni dropped into my house (from Rome)’

129. Gianni si è fiondato in giardino sentendo quelle urla

Gianni SI be.PRS.3SG rush.PTCP in garden hear.GER those screams

‘Gianni rushed into the garden on hearing those screams’

130. Il vaso è piombato dal tetto sul terrazzo di casa mia

The vase be.PRS.3SG fell.PTCP from.the roof on.the terrace of house my

‘The vase plummeted from the roof onto the terrace of my house’

The verb *ruzzolare* ‘tumble’ in (131) entails manner (Gianni turned over himself) and (downward) direction; the latter is also overtly expressed in (132) by the particle *giù* ‘down’ which very frequently combines with this verb (see Iacobini & Masini 2006): (Note 17)

131. Gianni è ruzzolato da un pendio in un burrone

Gianni be.PRS.3SG tumble-down.PTCP from a slope in a ravine

‘Gianni tumbled down a slope into a ravine’

132. Gianni è ruzzolato giù dalla duna del deserto

Gianni be.PRS.3SG tumble.PTCP down from.the dune of.the desert

‘Gianni tumbled down the sand dune’

This class also includes a verb like *sbalzare* ‘leap’ in (133) which entails (non-volitional) ‘jumping’ due to an external force or event. On the other hand, *schizzare* ‘dart’ encodes moving from one point to another by jumping in (134), while speediness (with or without jumping) is encoded in the context of (135):

133. La ragazza è sbalzata dallo scooter sul parabrezza dell’ auto

The girl be.PRS.3SG leap.PTCP from.the scooter on.the windshield of.the car

‘The girl was thrown off the scooter onto the windshield of the car’ (Note 18)

134. La lepre è schizzata dal cespuglio in mezzo alla strada

The hare be.PRS.3SG dart.PTCP from.the bush in middle at.the road

‘The hare darted from the bush into the middle of the road’

135. Gianni è schizzato in strada

Gianni be.PRS.3SG dart-out.PTCP in street

‘Gianni darted into the street’

The verbs *scappare* ‘escape’ and *passare* ‘pass’ denote distinct events depending on the constructions in which they occur. The unaccusative verb *scappare* ‘escape’ in (136) takes a

source PP and a restricted number of nouns like ‘prison’ which denote ‘confinement and control’ or that the agent perceives this, as in the case of ‘home’. If *scappare* ‘escape’ occurs with toponyms indicating source and goal PPs, then the construction may communicate that the Agent is wanted, as in (137); speediness is not necessarily coded in (136)-(137), rather the constructions communicate a stealthy/furtive action. On the other hand, *scappare* ‘run away’ may entail only speediness without any form of escaping in (138), or it may communicate that Gianni made a brief stop at the reference object, as in (139). The semantics of *scappare* ‘escape, run away’ is strictly dependent on the context:

136. Gianni è scappato (di casa + dal carcere)
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG escape.PTCP (of home + from.the prison)
 ‘Gianni escaped from (home + prison)’

137. Gianni è scappato in Messico/dall’ Italia
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG escape.PTCP in Mexico/from.the Italy
 ‘Gianni escaped to Mexico/from Italy’

138. Gianni è scappato dall’ ufficio/ a casa
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG run.PTCP from.the office/ at home
 ‘Gianni ran home/away from the office’

139. Gianni è scappato a casa del figlio
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG run.PTCP at home of.the son
 ‘Gianni ran to his son’s house’

The verb *passare* ‘pass’ is cross-listed; it is a directed motion verb in (140), however it entails manner and direction in (141) (Note 19); similarly to (139), it communicates that Gianni made a brief stop at the reference object (‘drop in’):

140. Gli invitati sono passati (dal salotto) nella sala da pranzo
 The guests be.PRS.3SG pass.PTCP (from.the living room) in.the dining-room
 ‘The guests passed (from the living room) into the dining room’

141. Gianni è passato al supermarket prima di tornare a casa
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG pass.PTCP at.the supermarket before of go-back at home
 ‘Gianni stopped at the supermarket before going back home’

Class 6 also includes pronominal verbs like *scapicollarsi* ‘run’ in (142) and *scaraventarsi* ‘rush’ in (144) that encode speediness and direction (a goal PP); if co-occurring with the adverb *giù* ‘down’, both verbs indicate a downward direction, as exemplified in (143)-(144):

142. Gianni si è scapicollato a casa

Gianni SI be.PRS.3SG run.PTCP at home

‘Gianni ran home’

143. Gianni si è scapicollato in giardino (giù) per le scale

Gianni SI be.PRS.3SG run.PTCP in garden (down) for the stairs

‘Gianni ran down the stairs into the garden’

144. Gianni si è scaraventato (fuori di casa + giù per le scale)

Gianni SI be.PRS.3SG rush.PTCP (out of house + down for the stairs)

‘Gianni rushed (out of the house + down) the stairs’ (Note 20)

Exceptions

A few achievement verbs denote manner and direction. However, they either select the auxiliary HAVE, although the frequency of compound tenses is very low, such as *prorompere* ‘burst’ and *irrompere* ‘burst’ in (145)-(146), or do not form compound tenses at all, as in the case of *erompere* ‘erupt’ in (147). They are all derived by prefixation from the verb *rompere* ‘break’, a result verb:

145. I soldati proruppero dalle trincee

The soldiers burst.PST.3PL from.the trenches

‘Soldiers burst from the trenches’

146. La folla irruppe nello stadio

The crowd burst.PST.3PL in.the stadium

‘The crowd burst into the stadium’

147. La folla eruppe dai cancelli

The crowd erupt.PST.3PL from.the gates

‘The crowd erupted from the gates’

5. Conclusions

In this paper I have presented a classification of Italian motion verbs based on a dataset of 234 verbs whose morphological, distributional, semantic and syntactic properties I have described. According to the analysis I have carried out, motion verbs include directed motion verbs, manner of motion verbs and directed manner of motion verbs. They all fall into six classes, each of which corresponds to a Lexicon-grammar binary matrix that formalizes the main syntactic and semantic information of each verb.

Directed motion verbs subdivide into three classes on the basis of their elementary structure,

for which I have taken into account the type of argument they select: both source and goal PPs (*andare* ‘go’), only source PPs (*uscire* ‘leave, go out, exit’) and only goal PPs (*entrare* ‘enter, go in’). On the other hand, manner of motion and directed motion verbs subdivide into three classes on the basis of their unergative/unaccusative structure and the semantic component/s they entail. Verbs like *correre* ‘run’ are ambiguous, i.e. they can be considered manner of motion verbs or directed motion verbs. Verbs like *camminare* ‘walk’ have only an unergative structure and entail only manner. Verbs like *scappare* ‘escape, run’ have only an unaccusative structure and entail manner and direction. I have also shown that some verbs entail different types of ‘manner’ depending on the linguistic context in which they occur (*scappare* ‘escape vs *scappare* ‘drop in’)

The analysis of the data on Italian manner of motion verbs contributes to the debate on the hypothesis advanced by Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2010) and Levin & Rappaport Hovav (2013) on the opposition between manner and direction. This study provides evidence in favour of the hypothesis of Goldberg (2010) and Beavers & Koontz-Garboden (2012, 2017) who argue against the polar opposition of manner and direction. However, further research on motion verbs in Romance needs to be conducted in order to verify furtherly the (non-)opposition between manner and direction. In addition, the availability of more data on motion verbs would highlight differences and similarities in Romance.

The data I provide also show that the Italian lexicon is rich in manner of motion verbs which amount to more than 150 verbs, half of which entail manner and direction. I have also shown that the semantics of motion verbs is strictly dependent on the distributional context. For example, verbs like *scendere* ‘descend’ and *salire* ‘ascend’ occur in various constructions whose semantics differ from going upward/downward, and this depends on the type of noun and the preposition heading the PP. Therefore, it is not always possible to identify the generic semantic component that characterizes motion verbs.

The data I provide also show a decreasing number of directed motion verbs when passing from verbs that can take source and goal PPs to verbs that only take goal PPs and those that take only source PPs. This means that Italian shows the prominence of verbs that correspond to the Source-Path-Goal schema and the paucity of verbs that can assert either Goal or Source:

Source-Goal (56 verbs) > Goal (15 verbs) > Source (7 verbs)

Levinson (2009) points out that “spatial cognition is central to human thinking, and spatial language is thus an important area of study, as it may reveal fundamental properties of human thought”. I have collected 234 Italian motion verbs in this research which, together with the 500 caused motion verbs I described in Vietri (2020), show that a very high number of verbs in the lexicon refer to motion.

In order to gain a broader perspective on motion, further research needs to be carried out on noun predicates that express motion. For example, the support/light verb constructions (148a)-(150a) formed of the support/light verb *fare* ‘make’ and the nouns *rientro* ‘return’, *scappata* ‘pop out (verb)’, *giro* ‘stroll’ are paraphrastically equivalent to (148b)-(150b). On

the other hand, the support/light verb construction (151a) in which the noun *salto* ‘jump’ (derived from *saltare* ‘jump’) occurs communicates that Gianni went to the office for a brief stop and it is not paraphrastically equivalent to (151b); in the latter case, the verb *saltare* ‘jump’ does not encode the same meaning:

148 a. Gianni fece rientro a casa

Gianni make.PST.3SG return at home

‘Gianni returned home’

b. Gianni rientrò a casa

Gianni return.PST.3SG at home

‘Gianni returned home’

149 a. Gianni fece una scappata al market a prendere il latte

Gianni make.PST.3SG a quick trip at.the market at get the milk

‘Gianni popped out to the market to get some milk’

b. Gianni è scappato al market a prendere il latte

Gianni be.PRS.3SG run-away.PTCP at.the market at get the milk

‘Gianni popped out to the market to get some milk’

150 a. Gianni fece un giro per la città

Gianni make.PST.3SG a tour for the city

‘Gianni went for a stroll around the city’

b. Gianni ha girato per la città

Gianni have.PRS.3SG go-around.PTCP for the city

‘Gianni strolled around the city’

151 a. Mara fece un salto in ufficio per ritirare dei documenti

Mara make.PST.3SG a jump in office for pick-up of.the papers

‘Mara popped into the office to pick up some papers’

b. *Mara saltò in ufficio per ritirare dei documenti

Mara jump.PST.3SG in office for pick-up of.the papers

‘Mara popped into the office to pick up some papers’

The comparison between motion nouns in support/light verb constructions and motion verb constructions will clarify differences and similarities in their semantic and syntactic properties.

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Appendix

Class 1 through Class 6 are represented by means of a binary matrix where each row corresponds to a verb and each column refers to a property. If a verb accepts a property, a '+' sign is placed at the intersection of the corresponding row and column. If a verb has more than one usage it is cross-listed. The auxiliaries *avere* 'have' and *essere* 'be' are abbreviated as A (*avere*) and E (*essere*), respectively. I keep trace of caused motion constructions in the table, even though the intransitive and transitive constructions are not necessarily related to one another:

	Auxiliary	Nonagentive Subject	Noun Root	Adverb Root	More specific PP	Means of Transport	Downward	Upward	Southward/Northward	Language of sports	Circular	Caused motion verb
Class 1 (56 verb uses) (Source and Goal PPs)												
accedere 'access'	E											
affiorare 'surface'	E	+										
affluire 'flow'	E											
andare 'go'	E											
andarsene 'go away'	E											
approdare 'land'	AE											
arrivare 'arrive'	E											
ascendere 'ascend'	E							+				
atterrare 'land'	AE		+		+							
avanzare 'advance'	E											
avviarsi 'set off'	E											
avvicinarsi 'approach'	E			+								+
colare 'drip'	E	+					+					+
confluire 'merge'	AE	+										
decollare 'take off'	AE											
defluire 'flow out'	E											
dilagare 'spread, flood'	AE											
dirigersi 'head'	E											
discendere 'descend'	E						+					
effluire 'flow out'	E											
emergere 'emerge'	E											
emigrare 'emigrate'	AE											
espatriare 'expatriate'	AE		+									+
fluire 'flow'	E											
fuoriuscire 'fall out of'	E											
giungere 'arrive'	E											
imbarcarsi 'embark'	E		+		+							+
immettersi 'enter'	E											+
immigrare 'immigrate'	E											
migrare 'migrate'	E											
muovere 'move'	AE											
partire 'leave, depart'	E											
passare 'move'	E											
portarsi 'run, go'	E											
procedere 'proceed forward'	E											
proseguire 'proceed forward'	A											
retrocedere 'go backwards'	E											
rientrare 'return'	E		+									
rifluire 'flow'	AE											
rimpatriare 'repatriate'	E				+							+
ripartire 'leave'	E											
ritornare 'return'	E											
ruotare 'rotate'	A										+	
salire 'get in, ascend, climb/come up'	E					+		+	+			

Class 1 (56 verb uses) (Source and Goal PPs)	Auxiliary	Nonagentive Subject	Noun Root	Adverb Root	More specific PP	Means of Transport	Downward	Upward	Southward/Northward	Language of sports	Circular	Caused motion verb
sbarcare 'disembark'	E		+		+							+
sboccare 'end up'	E											
scaturire 'spring'	E	+										
scendere 'descend, go/climb down'	E					+	+		+	+		
scolare 'drip'	E	+					+					
sfollare 'displace'	EA*											
tornare 'return'	E											
tornarsene 'return'	E											
traslocare 'move'	A											
trasmigrare 'emigrate'	EA											
venire 'come'	E											
viaggiare 'travel'	A											

*the auxiliary HAVE (A) is rare

Class 2 (15 verb uses) (Goal PP)	Auxiliary	Noun root	Other Class
accostarsi 'approach'	E		
allunare 'land on the moon'	AE*	+	
ammarrare 'land on water'	AE*	+	
apparire 'appear'	E		
appropinquarsi 'approach'	E		
approssimarsi 'approach'	E		
arenarsi 'strand, run aground'	E		
arrestarsi 'stop'	E		
entrare 'enter'	E		
fermarsi 'stop'	E		
immergersi 'plunge'	E		
montare 'get on, mount'	E		
ritirarsi 'retire, return home'	E		C3
scantonare 'move away'	A		
uscire 'leave, go out, exit'	E		C3

*the auxiliary BE (E) is not commonly used

Class 3 (7 verb uses) (Source PP)	Auxiliary	Adverb Root	Noun Root	Caused motion	Cross-listed
allontanarsi 'move away'	E	+		+	
evadere 'escape'	E				
provenire 'come from'	E				
rincasare 'return home'	E		+		
ritirarsi 'withdraw, exit'	E				C2
smontare 'dismount'	E				
uscire 'exit, go out'	E				C2

	Auxiliary	Manner	Manner and Direction
Class 4 (16 verb uses)			
balzellare 'skip, jump'	AE	+	+
correre 'run'	AE	+	+
filare 'run, speed'	E	+	+
guizzare 'dart'	*AE	+	+
planare 'glide, plane'	AE*	+	+
rimbalzare 'bounce'	AE	+	+
rotolare 'roll'	AE	+	+
saettare 'dart'	E	+	+
saltare 'jump'	AE	+	+
saltellare 'skip, jump'	AE*	+	+
salterellare 'skip, jump'	AE	+	+
scivolare 'slip, skid'	AE	+	+
scrosciare 'pour down'	AE	+	+
sfrecciare 'whiz'	AE	+	+
volare 'fly'	AE	+	+
zompare 'leap'	AE	+	+

*the auxiliary BE or HAVE is not signalled in dictionaries but it is found in corpora

	Auxiliary	Fino a/Da ...a = Telic	Fino a/Da ...a = Atelic	Caused motion verb
Class 5 (70 verb uses)				
ancheggiare 'sway'	A		+	
arrancare 'trudge, plod'	A		+	
ballare 'dance'	A	+	+	
barcollare 'stagger'	A		+	
bighellonare 'loiter'	A		+	
brancicare 'gropo'	A		+	
brancolare 'gropo'	A		+	
camminare 'walk'	A	+	+	
caracollare 'prance'	A	+	+	
cavalcare 'ride'	A	+	+	
ciabattare 'slip'	A		+	
ciondolare 'dangle'	A		+	
claudicare 'limp'	A		+	
danzare 'dance'	A	+	+	
deambulare 'walk'	A	+	+	
errare 'roam, wander'	A		+	
galoppare 'gallop'	A	+	+	
galleggiare 'float'	A	+	+	
gattinare 'creep, crawl on all fours'	A		+	
girare 'wander'	A			
girellare 'hang around'	A		+	
girandolare 'hang around'	A		+	
gironzolare 'hang around'	A		+	
girovagare 'wander'	A		+	

	Auxiliary	Fino a/Da ...a = Telec	Fino a/Da ...a = Atelec	Caused motion verb
Class 5 (70 verb uses)				
incedere 'walk (solemnly)'	A	+	+	
marciare su 'march'	A	+	+	
navigare 'navigate'	A	+	+	
nuotare 'swim'	A	+	+	
ondeggiare 'sway one's hips'	A		+	
pagaiare 'paddle'	A	+	+	
passeggiare 'walk, stroll'	A	+	+	
pattinare 'skate'	A	+	+	
pedalare 'pedal'	A	+	+	
peregrinare 'roam, wander'	A		+	
piroettare 'pirouette'	A		+	
remare 'row'	A	+	+	
ronzare 'hang/hover around'	A		+	
salterellare 'skip'	A		+	
salticchiare 'skip'	A		+	
sbarellare 'stumble, studder'	A		+	
scalpicciare 'shuffle, patter'	A		+	
scarpinare 'trek'	A		+	
scarrozzare 'drive around'	A		+	+
schettinare 'skate'	A	+	+	
sciare 'ski'	A	+	+	
scivolare 'slide, glide'	A	+	+	
scorrazzare 'rush about'	A		+	
sculettare 'sashay'	A		+	
serpeggiare 'meander'	A		+	
sfarfallare 'flit about, flutter'	A		+	
sgambare 'stride'	A	+	+	
sgambettare 'toddle'	A		+	
slittare 'slip, skid'	A	+	+	
sorvolare 'fly over'	A		+	+
sprintare 'sprint'	A		+	
strisciare 'crawl, slither'	A		+	
tacchettare 'walk clinging one's heels'	A		+	
traballare 'totter'	A		+	
trottare 'trot'	A	+	+	
trotterellare 'trot, toddle'	A	+	+	
vacillare 'sway'	A		+	
vagabondare 'wander'	A		+	
vagare 'roam'	A		+	
veleggiare 'sail'	A	+	+	
vogare 'row'	A	+	+	
volteggiare 'whirl'	A		+	
zampettare 'scamper, scurry'	A		+	
zigzagare 'meander'	A	+	+	
zoccolare 'walk in clogs'	A		+	
zoppicare 'limp'	A		+	

	Auxiliary	Source-Goal	Source	Goal	ProCompl	Caused Motion
Class 6 (70 verb uses)						
accorrere 'rush'	E	+	+	+		
addentrarsi 'go into'	E			+		+
appartarsi 'seclude oneself'	E			+		
arrampicarsi 'climb'	E	+	+	+		
avventarsi 'pounce'	E	+		+		+
avventurarsi 'venture'	E	+		+		
balzare 'pounce'	E	+	+	+		
battersela 'leave'	E		+	+	+	
cacciarsi 'get into'	E			+		+
cadere 'fall'	E	+	+	+		
calare 'descend'	E	+	+	+		
calarsi 'lower oneself'	E	+	+	+		
capitombolare 'tumble'	E	+	+	+		
cascare 'fall'	E	+	+	+		
catapultarsi 'catapult'	E	+	+	+		+
crollare 'collapse'	E	+	+	+		
dileguarsi 'scram'	E		+	+		
erompere 'erupt'	-	+	+	+		
ficcarsi 'get into'	E			+		+
filarsela 'get away'	E	+	+	+	+	
finire 'end up'	E	+		+		
fiondarsi 'rush'	E	+	+	+		+
fuggire 'run away'	E	+	+	+		
imboscarsi 'sneak off'	E			+		+
incamminarsi 'walk'	E	+		+		
inerpicarsi 'clamber, scramble'	E	+		+		
infilarsi 'sneak'	E	+		+		
inoltrarsi 'venture'	E	+		+		
insinuarsi 'sneak in, insinuate'	E	+	+	+		+
introdursi 'sneak in'	E			+		+
intrufolarsi 'sneak in'	E			+		+
irrompere 'burst in'	A	+	+	+		
lanciarsi 'leap, throw oneself'	E	+	+	+		+
muoversi 'move'	E	+	+	+		
paracadutarsi 'parachute'	E	+	+	+		+
passare 'go (brief stop)'	E			+		
penetrare 'enter (furtively)'	E	+	+	+		
piombare 'show up, turn up'	E	+	+	+		
precipitare 'fall, plummet'	E	+	+	+		
precipitarsi 'rush, hurry'	E	+	+	+		
prorompere 'burst into'	A	+	+	+		
rifugiarsi 'take refuge'	E			+		
riparare 'shelter'	E			+		
riversarsi 'pour around'	E	+		+		+
rovesciarsi 'pour around'	E	+	+	+		+
rovinare 'collapse'	E	+	+	+		
ruzzolare 'tumble down'	E	+	+	+		
salpare 'sail'	E	+	+	+		
sbalzare 'leap'	E	+	+	+		+
sbolognarsela 'sneak off'	E	+	+	+	+	
sbucare 'come out (suddenly)'	E	+	+	+		
scapicollarsi 'rush down'	E	+		+		
scappare 'run away'	E	+	+	+		

	Auxiliary	Source-Goal	Source	Goal	ProCompl	Caused Motion
Class 6 (70 verb uses)						
scappare 'escape'	E		+	+		
scaraventarsi 'throw'	E	+	+	+		+
scattare 'snap'	E	+	+	+		
schizzare 'dart, bolt'	E	+	+	+		
sgattaiolare 'sneak off'	AE	+	+	+		
sgusciare 'sneak off'	E	+	+	+		
slanciarsi 'leap, launch oneself'	E	+	+	+		
sopraggiungere 'arrive'	E	+	+	+		
sopravvenire 'arrive'	E	+	+	+		
spingersi 'push oneself to'	E			+		
sprofondare 'collapse'	E	+		+		
spuntare 'appear'	E	+	+	+		
squagliarsela* 'slip away'	E	+	+	+	+	
stramazzare 'collapse'	E			+		
svignarsela* 'slip away'	E	+	+	+	+	
tombolare 'tumble'	E	+	+	+		
tuffarsi 'dive'	E	+	+	+		

*some speakers do not accept the co-occurrence of source and goal PPs

Notes

Note 1. The two forms are not necessarily related one to the other. For example, the intransitive pronominal verb *cacciarsi* (*cacciarsi in una stradina poco frequentata* 'go down a little frequented street') is morphologically related to the transitive *cacciare* (*cacciare il prigioniero in cella* 'put/kick the prisoner into the cell'), but the two forms do not share any meaning components and therefore the derivation by reflexivization is not applicable. I described the transitive/intransitive alternation as regards caused motion verbs in Vietri (2020).

Note 2. I will not take into account those transitive motion verbs that can be bounded at the upper end (*raggiungere la città* 'reach the city') and the lower end (*evacuare lo stadio* 'evacuate the stadium') or unbounded (*costeggiare la Sicilia* 'coast Sicily'). I have not included verbs that encode a change of body posture (*inginocchiarsi* 'kneel down').

Note 3. This study presents a broader and partly revised analysis of motion verbs compared to Vietri (2019). In this study I constructed an extensive taxonomy of Italian motion verbs. Furthermore, I took into account two theoretical hypotheses on the opposition between manner and direction.

Note 4. Consequently, the terms Direction and Path are often used in the literature to refer to the same concept, i.e. the spatial orientation with which the Figure moves in relation to a reference object.

Note 5. Levin (1993: 267) suggests also including directional phrases.

Note 6. As regards the bounded/unbounded notion, I will consider Zlatev *et al.* (2010: 7): “in expressions of *bounded motion*, X (the Figure) will depart from Source, or pass through a mid-point (Via), or reach a Goal [...] In *unbounded motion*, nothing of the sort is implied and in principle – though not practically – the motion can go on indefinitely”.

Note 7. The distinction between scalar and nonscalar change also regards change of state verbs; the authors set up a broad generalization that opposes manner and result verbs. I will not discuss the topic any further in this study.

Note 8. Levin & Rappaport Hovav (2013: 14) argue that the upward direction is not lexicalized in *She climbed the tree* but arises from the context.

Note 9. These verbs are related to the caused motion transitive verbs *sbarcare* ‘disembark’ in (i) and *imbarcare* ‘embark’ in (ii). However, the intransitive constructions (33)-(34) are not necessarily derived one from the other since the events described in (33)-(34) are not necessarily caused by an Agent. The correlation is present only if the direct object of *sbarcare* ‘disembark’ is a concrete noun like *merce* ‘cargo’:

(i) Il capitan ò sbarc ò (la merce + i passeggeri) sulla spiaggia

The captain disembark.PST.3SG (the cargo + the passengers) on.the beach

‘The captain disembarked the (cargo + passengers) on the beach’

(ii) Il capitan ò imbarc ò (la merce + i passeggeri) a Singapore

The captain embark.PST.3SG (the cargo + the passengers) at Singapore

‘The captain embarked the (cargo + passengers) in Singapore’

Note 10. The verbs *espatriare* ‘expatriate’ and *rimpatriare* ‘repatriate’ in (38)-(39) can also be transitive caused motion verbs. As also pointed out in the endnote (9), the two constructions are not necessarily related to one another:

(iii) Il ministro (espatri ò + rimpatri ò) i profughi dall’ Italia
ai loro paesi di origine

The minister (expatriate + repatriate).PST.3SG the refugees from.the Italy
at.the their countries of origin

‘The minister expatriated/repatriated the refugees from Italy to their countries of origin’

Note 11. The verbs *entrare* ‘enter’, *uscire* ‘exit’, *scendere* ‘descend’ also show a caused motion construction in variants of Italian (see Busso & Romagno 2022).

Note 12. As pointed out in Treccani Grammatica.

Note 13. Dictionaries do not indicate the auxiliary HAVE for the verb *sfrecciare* ‘whiz, dart’. However, this verb form is very frequently found in texts, as in the following example drawn from Marco Damilano, *Eutanasia di un potere*, 2012, Laterza:

(iv) Tutti i politici [...]hanno sfrecciato e sfrecciano sulla Serravalle

All the politicians [...]have.PRS.3PL whiz. PTCP and whiz.PRS.3PL on.the Serravalle

‘All the politicians [...] have whizzed and are whizzing along the Serravalle highway’

Note 14. Folli (2008: 205) lists the following verbs: *correre* ‘run’, *rotolare* ‘roll’, *rimbalzare* ‘bounce’, *scivolare* ‘glide, slide’, *gattonare* ‘crawl on all four’, *saltare* ‘jump’, *volare* ‘fly’, *saltellare* ‘skip’.

Note 15. The *until*-marker is not a goal-marker per se, since it expresses general delimitation (see Beavers et al. 2010). In many languages (Italian included) it denotes various types of boundaries: temporal (*fino alle 15:00* ‘until 3 pm’), spatial (*dal pavimento fino al soffitto* ‘from floor to ceiling’), numerical (*l’ascensore regge fino a 300 kg* ‘the lift bears up to 300 kilos’) and propositional (*Rimasi lì fino al decollo dell’aereo* ‘I stayed there until the plane took off’).

Note 16. However, *fino a* ‘up to, until’ does not necessarily entail that the agent has overcome the external limit of a location and, in fact it may negate it. Therefore, *fino a* ‘up to, until’ denotes a Path without necessarily entailing a change of location. On the other hand, the compound preposition *fin dentro* ‘inside’ in (vi) entails a change of location (see also Folli 2008):

(v) Lei ha camminato fino al parco, ma non è entrata

She have.PRS.3SG walk.PTCP up at park, but not be.PRS.3SG enter.PTCP

‘She walked up to the park, but she did not enter’

(vi) #Lei ha nuotato fino dentro il porto, ma non è entrata

She have.PRS.3SG swim.PTCP up inside the port, but not be.PRS.3SG enter.PTCP

‘She swam inside the port, but she did not enter it’

Note 17. The verb *ruzzolare* ‘tumble’ also displays two transitive constructions like (vii) and (viii). The former has a meaning close to (131) but is ‘uncommon’ according to the Devoto-Oli dictionary. The latter is a causative construction where the Agent causes the motion of an object:

(vii) Paolo ruzzolò le scale

Paolo tumble-down.PST.3SG the stair

‘Paolo tumbled down the stair’

(viii) Paolo ruzzolò un barile

Paolo roll.PST.3SG a barrel

‘Paolo rolled the barrel’

Note 18. The verb *sbalzare* ‘hurl’ has also a caused motion construction where the external

force is the Causer of this motion event:

(ix) L' esplosione sbalzò Maria contro il muro

The explosion hurl.PST.3SG Maria against the wall

'The explosion hurled Maria against the wall'

Note 19. The verb *passare* 'cross' also show a transitive construction:

(x) La nave ha passato lo stretto

The ship have.PRS.3SG cross.PTCP the strait

'The ship crossed the strait'

Note 20. The pronominal verb *scaraventarsi* 'rush' is not necessarily related to the caused motion verb *scaraventare* 'throw away', since the event described in (144) encodes that Gianni went out very speedily, while the caused motion construction (xi) encodes that Paolo used 'force'; therefore, the derivation of the pronominal verb by reflexivazation is not plausible:

(xi) Paolo ha scaraventato Gianni fuori di casa

Paolo have.PRS.3SG throw.PTCP Gianni out of house

'Paolo threw Gianni out of the house'

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