Italian causative active accomplishments and locational PPs in RRG framework

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The analysis focuses on Italian causative accomplishment constructions involving the motion of all the event participants through space from one location to another. See examples in (1), taken from the Italian Web corpus (itTenTen) available through the Sketch Engine corpus manager:

(1)

    a. *Gli agenti hanno accompagnato la donna presso gli uffici della caserma*.
       'The agents accompanied the woman at the police offices.'

    b. *La polizia ha pressato la folla sull'altro lato della strada*.
       'The police shoved the crowd to the other side of the street.'

    c. *L'automobilista che ha trasportato i ragazzi fino al porto barese*.
       'The driver who transported the boys to the port of Bari.'

Examples above illustrate constructions belonging to different lexical fields: accompany, pushing, and transporting verbs, respectively (Levin 1993, 2000; Ibáñez Moreno/Ortigosa Pastor 2004; Levin/Rappaport-Hovav 2005; Goldberg 2010). All of them share the same basic schematic construction "to cause someone to move", and a basic background frame that presupposes a previous different place from which all the participants move. The verbs *accompagnare* 'to accompany', *pressare* 'to press', and *trasportare* 'carry' in (1) predicate a change along a certain dimension or scale (of one of the arguments), but not the ending of the action. To complete the measuring-out semantics for these verbs, it is required to add to the meaning of non-delimited activity a sense of translative motion (a linear path or distance) plus a locational terminus (cf. Tenny 1995; Jackendoff 1996). At an abstract level, each construction includes the specification of temporal boundedness through some potential measuring-

scale associatable with an indirect object (locative) that imposes a result condition on a (dynamic) component of the event denoted by the verb. Indeed, the syntactic configuration [NP–V–NP–locational PP] profiles a telic state of affairs that goes from the original point of all participants to the endpoint.

The data are examined within the functional theoretical framework proposed by the model of Role and Reference Grammar [RRG] (Van Valin 2005). RRG recognizes bounded activities in (1) as a distinct Aktionsart category, labeling them "(active) accomplishments" (Van Valin 2005; 2018). The bounded (telic) causative actions are incremental processes which are 'measured out' by the incremental path that is simultaneously ('∧') the distance covered (the PROCess component) by both the Actor and Undergoer. The role of the locational PP is to characterize the termination and result state of both the Macroroles.

We will show how RRG can be useful for describing and analyzing the semantic (from logical structures to decompositional frames) and syntactic structures of such Italian constructions, in order to capture the ambiguities of these constructional schemata through the mapping of semantic relations onto the syntactic ones (and vice versa). The analysis results instantiate a particular type of clause linkage constructions in which the locational PP and the verb jointly trigger a nuclear juncture containing a predicating elements (cf. Riccio 2018).

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