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**THE ACQUISITION OF THE CHINESE DIRECTIONAL COMPLEMENT
BY ITALIAN-SPEAKING LEARNERS**

An acquisition error analysis

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前言

本文研究的重点是意大利汉语学习者对汉语趋向补语的习得问题。关于趋向补语的理论分析将由实验方法来补充。本文通过由不同任务组成的调查问卷，分析意大利学生使用汉语趋向补语的能力，目的是确定学习趋向补语的困难及原因。汉语趋向补语是汉语句法中一个广受关注的话题。它与汉语的语言类型学有关：语言学家 Leonard Talmy 称汉语是一种 *satellite-framed languages*。汉语补语的结构对意大利学生来说是一个学习障碍，因为必须遵守严格的顺序。意大利语属于与汉语相反的语言组，它实际上是一种 *verb-framed languages*。这两种语言类别的特点将在后面解释。

有很多研究都把趋向补语作为研究对象。然而，这些研究大多基于从母语不是意大利语的学生样本中收集的数据。在这一领域，只有 Romagnoli 和 Luzi (2012) 的研究专注于意大利学生。

因此，本文重点讨论意大利学生的汉语趋向补语的习得和学习。习得，是指那种取决于广泛接触语言和直接交流经验的潜意识过程，而学习则是指对语言形式的有意识研究。

该研究报告由四章组成。在第一章中，本文解释了 Leonard Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000a, 2000b, 2012) 的语言两分法理论：*satellite-framed languages* 和 *verb-framed languages*。第一组的语言在被称为 "satellites" 的句子元素上编码运动的方向。而第二组的语言则是在动词上编码运动方向。在相关研究的帮助下 (Slobin 2004, 2006, Lamarre 2007, Li 2018)，本文将说明这一理论对于更好地理解汉语趋向补语的构建具有根本意义。以往研究也将帮助我们解释作为本研究对象的中文趋向补语的结构，并理解中文和意大利语在表达运动事件方面的差异。这两种语言的不同之处在于，它们属于两种不同的语言类别。

第二章将集中讨论汉语的趋向补语。根据 Peyraube(2006, 2009)的研究，本文将介绍其从古汉语到当代汉语的历时性演变。分析主要基于国际手册，如 Li and Thompson (1989), Liu Yuehua (1998), Yip Po-Ching (2003), Teng Wen-Hua (2011), Ross and Ma (2014) 以及 Abbiati (1998) 的意大利手册。我们将特别关注补语结构中的成分顺序。我们将继续这一章，提到使用补语的抽象意义的可能性，以及在可能补语的结构中使用某些方向词的一些含义。在本章的最后，我们将简要分析意大利语中运动表达的演变。

第三章和第四章是研究的核心部分。在第三章中，我们首先将说明采用的方法以及参与我们分析的学生样本。然后，我们还将介绍问卷的结构，并分析分配的五个任务的原因和目标。每个任务的目的是考察意大利学生学习汉语趋向补语的一个具体方面。一般来说，所有的任务都与补语的语法有关。最后，我们将介绍研究的结果。

在第四章中，我们将集中讨论通过问卷调查搜集到的意大利学生在使用汉语趋向补语时出现的错误。我们将讨论这些数据并分析造成错误的原因。我们还将尝试就如何向意大利学生教授趋向补语提出建议。

研究的主要部分是调查问卷中的练习。有五种不同类型的练习，旨在为学生提供不同的刺激。这五个练习的难度不断增加，第一个是最简单的，而第五个是最难的。这使得学生在第一次练习时不会感到无聊或气馁。我们按照 Wu (2011) 和 Romagnoli & Luzzi (2012) 的研究来组织练习。词汇很简单，主要是为了让所有学生能够理解练习中的句子。

调查问卷首先是一个练习，要求学生在 1（完全不能接受）到 5（完全可以接受）的范围内指出句子的可接受程度。第二部分是一个重新安排单词顺序的练习。第三部分是填充练习，学生们参照《Frog where are you?》(Mayer 1998) 的文字和图片，完成文中的句子。第四和第五个部分非常相似。在第四部分中，学生必须在括号内用动词和名词造句。在第五部分中，他们必须使用括号中的动词和名词来组织请求。不同的是，在最后一个练习中，我们明确表示要尽可能地使用“来”和“去”。在此基础上，再对数据进行分析和比较。

INTRODUCTION

The Chinese directional complement (*qūxiàng bǔyǔ* 趋向补语) is a topic of great interest in Chinese syntax. Chinese is a satellite-framed language, which encode the Path of motion event into satellites. The structure of the complement is an obstacle for students because of the rigid order of constituents that must be respected. In this study, we analyse the data collected from a sample of Italian students. Italian belongs to the opposite linguistic group to Chinese; it is in fact a verb-framed language. Italian students therefore have to switch to a language pattern totally different from their own when using the Chinese directional complement.

There are many studies that have the directional complement as their research object. However, most of these studies are based on data collected from samples of students with L1 other than Italian, in this field exclusively the study by Romagnoli & Luzi (2012) focuses on Italian students. In light of this study, it is our intention to analyse all the peculiarities of the complement that create difficulties for students. This will be done through the administration of a questionnaire consisting of five different tasks that students will have to complete using all their knowledge of the complement.

This paper therefore focuses on FL/L2 language acquisition and learning. By acquisition, we refer to that subconscious process that depends on extensive exposure to language and direct experience of communication, whereas learning refers to a conscious study of linguistic forms. We will also focus on the concept of interlanguage, i.e. that incomplete phase of a language that a learner develops when learning a new language but has not yet acquired it. Interlanguage usually has certain characteristics of the mother tongue. Here we add that our interlingual glosses follow the 'Leipzig Glossing Rules', and our MOD (modifier) gloss relating to *de* 的 refers to its function as a marker of modification.

At the beginning of the first chapter, we explain Leonard Talmy's (1985, 1991, 2000a, 2000b, 2012) theory of the bipartition of languages into verb-framed languages and satellite-framed languages. With the help of similar studies (Slobin 2004, 2006, Lamarre 2007, Li 2018), we will show how this theory is fundamental to a better understanding of the construction of the Chinese directional complement. The research of the well-known linguist will also help us to explain the structure of the Chinese complement that is the subject of this study and to understand the differences in the expression of motion events between Chinese and Italian, languages that, as we have said, belong to different types. We will also dwell on the analysis of the nature of the macro-event, a theory elaborated by Talmy. This concept too will help us make the structure of the complement clearer. We will conclude the chapter with an analysis of the linguistic peculiarities of Chinese, English and Italian from the perspective of the description of motion events.

The second chapter will focus on the Chinese directional complement. In the light of Peyraube's (2006, 2009) studies, we will present its diachronic evolution, from archaic

to contemporary Chinese. We will continue with an analysis of the complement based on traditional international grammars and textbooks, such as Li and Thompson (1989), Liu Yuehua (1998), Yip Po-Ching (2003), Teng Wen-Hua (2011), Ross and Ma (2014) and the Italian grammar by Abbiati (1998). We will focus in particular on the importance of understanding the order of constituents in the structure of the complement, and on the constituents themselves that can be added to verbs that form the basis of the directional complement, such as the aspectual particle *-le* 了, Object NP, Place-Np and *ba* 把 to anticipate the object. We will continue the chapter by mentioning the possibility of using the abstract meanings of the complement and on some implications of using certain directionals in potential structures. We will conclude the chapter with a brief analysis of the evolution of expressions of motion in Italian, with a contrastive eye on the first section of the chapter.

The third and fourth chapters represent the heart of the research. In Chapter three, first of all, we will illustrate the methodology adopted and, specifically, the questionnaire proposed to the students. We will first present the sample of students who took part in our analysis. Then, we will present the structure of the questionnaire and analyse the reasons and objectives of the five tasks assigned. Each task aims to examine a specific aspect of the construction. All tasks in general are related to the syntax of the complement. Finally, we will present the results of the research.

In the fourth chapter we will focus on the results of the questionnaire carried out to analyse the errors that Italian-speaking students make in using the Chinese directional complement. We will discuss the data and analyse the mistakes trying to discuss the possible causes of them. We will try to outline considerations on teaching the complement to Italian students. The study will end with some final considerations, which, however, cannot and will not be conclusive.

CHAPTER 1:

How Languages Encode Motion Events

The main topic of our research is the Chinese Directional Complement, the grammatical structure through which Chinese speakers describe motion events. We chose this complement because it causes many difficulties for Chinese L2 learners. More specifically, our aim is to understand how difficult this complement is for Italian students to acquire, and we also want to understand the causes of this problem. The directional complement is directly related to motion events situations, in which an entity moves in space from one point to another. Motion events constitute a particularly fertile field of investigation to analyse the characteristic ways in which languages lexicalise concepts, in other words, how they 'pack' semantic material into words. This way of encoding reality by a language determines its lexical typology (Lehrer, 1992). The studies of Leonard Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000a, 2000b, 2012) are the most influential contribution to this field of study. We will first present Leonard Talmy's theory of the classification of languages into verb-framed languages and satellite-framed languages. Then, with the help of similar studies, we will show how this theory is fundamental to a better understanding of the Chinese Directional Complement. Studies on the lexical typology of languages will also help us explain the structure of the complement and understand the differences in the expression of motion events between Chinese and Italian.

The several studies on the ways of expressing motion events have shown how languages differ significantly from each other in their focus on the manner and the path in a motion event. Speakers of different languages encode the connection between space and language differently. From a cognitive linguistic framework, we can say the conceptualization of motion events is bounded to the specific cognitive features formed in the speakers' mind through the use of their mother tongues. Linguistic coding strategies of motion events are a relevant area of investigation in the field of typology of languages as well as in the field of first and second language acquisition.

All languages seem to express some basic cognitive constraints of experience on spatial constructions, but at the same time allow speakers to choose among different components of spatial references and often among different linguistic encoding strategies (Iacobini, 2012). It is important to realise that the way one's language interprets reality is not the only one. It is equally interesting to know that even within the same language there can be different strategies for encoding reality (as we will see with the lexicalisation of motion events in Italian). This is the first step to opening oneself up to language learning in an optimal way and to start looking at the world not only through one's eyes, but also with languages. In this way, we hope that it will also be easier to understand the way of thinking of cultures other than our own, because language is the mirror of culture, opening up to it means opening up to the world.

1. Verb Framed and Satellite Framed Languages

As mentioned before, the way in which semantic components are encoded, which is intertwined with the syntax of the sentence, is not the same for all languages. Different languages encode reality differently and motion events are a clear case study embodying this peculiarity of languages. Indeed, according to Talmy, “in the case of the Motion situation in particular, it was found that different languages characteristically employ different meaning-form mappings and can be placed into a typological classification on this basis” (Talmy, 2000b:11). This difference between languages underlies the classification proposed by Talmy (1985, 1990, 2000) that includes verb-framed languages (hereafter V-languages) and satellite-framed languages (hereafter S-languages). Talmy places the focus of his research on a particular semantic element, concentrating on the Path component. Indeed, the V-languages includes those languages that lexicalize Path directly into the main verb and give information about the Manner of motion with constituents external to the verb, such as adverbs. On the other hand, languages belonging to the S-languages group encode Path using satellites, which can be an affix or a word, while Manner is lexicalised onto the main verb (that would be a manner verb). The importance of the Path lies in its nature as a 'linking' element, since within a motion event it defines the type of relationship between Figure and Ground. In addition to Talmy, Slobin (1994, 2004, 2006) also analysed the characteristics of these groups, stating that “V-languages tend to use path verbs with subordinate manner expressions and S-languages tend to use manner verbs with associated path forms”¹ (Slobin, 2004:11). To better clarify the characteristics of these language groups, let us take two examples: English and Spanish are traditionally considered prototypical representatives of the satellite-framed (2) and verb-framed (1) linguistic types².

(1) *La botella sal-ió flot-ando de la cueva.* (Talmy, 2000b:224)

the bottle exit- PST.PTCP-SG.M float-GER from the cave

‘The bottle floated out the cave.’

(2) The napkin blew off the table. (Talmy, 1985:63)

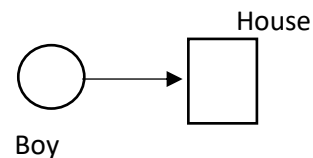
¹ It should be specified that regard to the domain of motion, some verbs conflate path and manner: An example of such a verb in the frog story is Turkish *tırmanmak* ‘climb’. Unlike English climb, which is neutral with regard to path (one can “climb down from a tree” or “climb out on a branch,” for example), the Turkish verb is used only for upward motion in a grasping manner (Slobin, 2004).

² Languages of the Germanic group are considered S-languages, whereas those of the Romance group are considered V-languages.

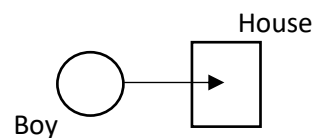
As we can see, Spanish needs a gerundive form (*flotando*) to express what English does with the main verb (floated). *Salió* ('exited') is a path verb, and its meaning corresponds to that of the English satellite *out*. Once again, we can see in the example (2) that English uses a manner verb (*to blow*) as main verb.

Regarding the domain of manner, S-languages show relatively greater focus on manner, not only in quantitative but also in qualitative terms. Analysing the ways of describing the images contained in the well-known storybook "*Frog, where are you*" (Mayer, 1969), Slobin (2004) clarified that manner verbs are not used in the descriptions of V-language speakers: "It appears that V-languages only license the use of a manner verb as a main verb in a path expression if no boundary-crossing is predicated" (Slobin, 2004:7). What we have mentioned is the concept of "boundary-crossing constraint", so called by Slobin and Hoiting (1994) referring to the role of telicity in V-languages description of motion events. This notion refers to when a movement involves crossing a conceptual boundary. "When the Path involves crossing a boundary, Manner verbs tend not to be used in V-framed languages. If no boundary-crossing takes place, the use of a Manner verb as the main verb in a Path expression is allowed" (Alonso, 2013:741). In the following examples, we can see the difference between a no boundary-crossing event (3) and a boundary-crossing event (4):

(3) *El niño corr-ió hasta la casa.*
 the boy run- PST.PTCP-SG.M to the house
 'The boy ran up to the house.'



(4) *El niño entr-ó en la casa corr-iendo.*
 the boy enter-PST.PTCP-SG.M in the house run-GER
 'The boy ran into the house.'



In (3) Spanish (V-language) allows the use of a manner verb (*corrió*), because in going from point A to point B, no border is crossed along the path. In this case, the path of motion is described by a preposition (*hasta*) that does not have to describe any entry or

exit movement, which as we can see from the example (4) are verbs indicating the crossing of a boundary. Indeed, in that case, Spanish needs a path verb such as *entró* ('entered'), and the manner of how the subject enters in the house is again described by a gerundive form (*corriendo*).

The most salient feature of V-languages is the preference to mark a change of state with a verb, rather than with some other devices. As far as motion events are concerned, changes of state are boundary-crossing events (entering, leaving, crossing). In order to add manner to such events, some kind of subordinate construction is required. However, manner verbs are also used when the manner of action needs to be emphasised, perhaps because it is unnatural or strange to occur, as we can see in the following Italian (V-language) sentence:

(5) *Il cliente è entra-t-o nel negozio cammina-ndo.*

the costumer be.PRS.3S enter-PST.PTCP-SG.M into shop walk-GER

'The costumer walked into the shop.'

While *entrato* ('entered') is the main verb, *camminando* ('walking') is a gerundive that denotes the manner of action. This is a peculiar sentence for an Italian who would only use the verb *entrare* ('enter') since the action of walking is an obvious action, that is normally left unexpressed. In this case, the speaker emphasizes the manner because, for example, the person he sees entering is one who recently broke his leg and has not walked since the accident. After a long time, s/he sees him walking and is surprised by this. In English it seems clear to us that we do not need this particular situation to allow us to use the verb *to walk in*; as a S-framed language, English encodes the manner into the main verb (*to walk*) and the path in the satellite (*in*). We will explore this aspect in more details in the following paragraphs and clarify the peculiarity of some English verbs that have characteristics similar to V-languages path verbs, such as *to enter*.

Going on, let us understand more specifically what a satellite is. A satellite can be an affix or a free word, and according to Talmy (1985) satellites do not constitute a grammatical category in their own right, but they should be analysed more as a new type of grammatical relation.

It is the grammatical category of any constituent other than a noun-phrase or prepositional-phrase complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root. It relates to the verb root as a dependent to a head. The satellite, which can be either a bound affix or a free word, is thus intended to encompass all of the following grammatical forms, which traditionally have been largely treated independently of each other: English verb particles, German separable and inseparable verb prefixes, Latin or Russian verb prefixes, Chinese verb complements, Lahu nonhead "versatile

verbs” (see Matisoff 1973), Caddo incorporated nouns, and Atsugewi polysynthetic affixes around the verb root (Talmy 2000b: 102).

We can therefore understand that satellites are used in both V-languages and S-languages, the difference between the two is the use made of them. Languages can map the core schema of an event into the verb, thus being able to be defined as verb-framed having a framing verb, or onto the satellite, thus defined satellite-framed having a framing satellite. S-framed languages map the supporting event into the main verb, while V-framed languages map it onto a satellite or into an adjunct. It is clear now that the importance of the type of relationship that satellites have with the verb is marked by the position of the core schema (in the verb or satellite position) in the syntactic structure of a macro-event. We will see in the following sections what is meant by core schema and supporting event, for now it is enough for us to know that the core schema is “what weighs most” within the description of a motion event, this is the reason why the element of the sentence on which it is lexicalised is undoubtedly a crucial element in the process of encoding reality.

1.1 Slobin's revised theory

Slobin's theory, which modifies Talmy's by adding a language category, is based on the analysis of Chinese, more precisely of the directional complement. We will analyse the Chinese directional complement later, but let us take a simple example to understand Slobin's hypothesis:

(6) 他跑了出来。

Tā pǎo-le-chu-lai

He run-PFV-out-hither

‘He ran out.’

While *pǎo* (‘to run’) is the main verb, by which the Chinese encodes the manner, *chu* and *lai*³ are both satellites, each of the three verbs can stand alone in a clause and the Chinese does not give us any kind of clue as to the different function of these words in the sentence. According to Slobin in the category of serial-verb languages it is not always evident which verb in a series, if any, is the main verb (Slobin, 2006). The point of his theory is in fact the inability, according to Slobin, to understand whether one of the elements of these compounds (such as the Chinese directional complement) is the main

³ In the neutral tone when it functions as a directional complement.

verb and therefore, according to the researcher, the elements in the structure all have the same “weight”. So, what he states is the impossibility of defining satellite an element that is a verb in itself. For this reason, he proposed to add another class to Talmy's bipartite language division:

Table 1: Slobin's language classification

<i>Language type</i>	<i>Preferred means of expression</i>	<i>Typical construction type</i>	<i>Examples</i>
<i>Verb-framed</i>	path expressed by finite verb, with subordinate manner expression	verb _{PATH} + subordinate verb _{MANNER}	Romance, Semitic, Turkic, Basque, Japanese, Korean
<i>Satellite-framed</i>	path expressed by non-verb element associated with verb	verb _{MANNER} + satellite _{PATH}	Germanic, Slavic, Finno-Ugric
<i>Equipollently-framed</i>	path and manner expressed by equivalent grammatical form	serial verb: verb _{MANNER} + verb _{PATH}	Niger-Congo, HmongMien, Sino-Tibetan, Tai-Kadai, Mon-Khmer, Austronesian
		bipartite verb: [manner + path] _{VERB}	Algonquian, Athabaskan, Hokan, Klamath-Takelman
		generic coverb _{MANNER} + coverb _{PATH} verb _{GENERIC}	Jaminjungan

(Slobin, 2006:64)

Slobin has showed that examining manner of movement is probably more useful for classifying languages along a line of manner salience than assigning them to one or another of Talmy's typological categories (Peyraube, 2006). Equipollently-framed languages category includes serial-verb languages, such-as Chinese ⁴, in which

⁴ On the other hand, Talmy argues that Chinese “is a strongly satellite-framed language, regularly using its satellites to specify Path, aspect, state change, some action correlation, and much realization” (Talmy 2000b: 272)

'equipollent' elements express both Manner and Path; so as far as the Chinese language is concerned, directionals are verbal and not particle elements, and the co-event⁵ verb and the directional verb have equivalent morphosyntactic weight (Lamarre, 2007). The problem raised by Slobin (2004, 2006) is important to understand how the results of language classification depend primarily on the researcher's point of view; thus, the contribution made is crucial to ensure that no element of a language is overlooked.

The object of our research is Chinese, and although we recognize the importance of Slobin's review, we agree with Talmy's dichotomy and the classification of Chinese as a satellite-framed language. In fact, according to Lamarre's research (2007) we can see that Chinese directionals originate from the grammaticalization of path verbs and they form a different category. Through phonetic⁶, morphologic, syntactic, and semantic evidence Lamarre points out a decategorialization of path verbs when they follow manner or cause verbs. Using the word 'decategorialization', Lamarre (2007:13) means "they lose much of their 'verbiness', and of their autonomy", and so "they are thus entitled to hold the status of 'satellite' that Talmy gave them in 1985: they do behave like English verb particles, and in spite of their verbal features, when they appear in a VD construction⁷". We know well that words in Chinese take on a specific grammatical function based on their position in the sentence and the verb elements that Slobin calls "equipollent", lose their verbal function, are placed after the main verb (co-event verb) and inserted into the directional complement slots (we will explain these elements in the following sections). Indeed, Fong (2016) argued that in the motion-directional construction only the first verb is the main verb, while the others are complements. As a result, in this view the three components of the structure are not "equipollent", hence Chinese actually is a S-Language. Fong pointed out that "force" and "significance" (used by Slobin to clarify the concept of "equipollent verbs") are vague concepts and difficult to measure. Therefore, he believes that there is a subordination relationship between the constituents of the complement, this idea is clarified in the conclusions of the study:

We have examined the motion-directional construction in terms of a Constructional-cognitive approach, arguing that the motion verb is a catenative verb and that the entire motion-directional construction involves subordination within it. Furthermore, we have suggested that in Chinese a complex event requires a complex verb and observed that the satellite provides the temporal and aspectual meaning (Fong, 2016: 257).

⁵ In Talmy (2000a) the supporting event (Talmy 1991) is called co-event as we can see in the following citation: "a 'macro-event', that consists of a 'framing event' and a 'Co-event', as well as the relation that the latter bears to the former" (Talmy, 2000a:400). We will explain the macro-event maintaining the expression "supporting event" because it seemed to us more suitable in that context, to evidence function of "completion" that this type of event has.

⁶ See footnote number 3.

⁷ A VD construction is a [Co-event verb + Path verb] structure, typical of the Chinese directional complements.

Finally, in Talmy (2012), the author lists some features that can make us consider a verb as the main one. To underline this point there are some general but specific features of main verbs that lead to the finding that equipollent framing appears to be a much rarer phenomenon than previously claimed. The expanded set of criteria for main verb status used to solve the major problem claimed, which is “that the cited languages did not clearly or uniquely assign either main verb status or satellite status to the constituent expressing Path” (Talmy, 2012:136), is composed of these factors (Talmy, 2012:139):

1. Morphology: it can be inflected for tense, aspect, mood, negation, person, gender, number, etc.
2. Syntax: it functions as a head with other constituent: particles for place, time, negation etc; adverbs; subject or object nominal.
3. Cooccurrence patterns: it must appear in the sentence across most of the patterns the sentence may exhibit.
4. Class size: it is open-class or has more morpheme members.
5. Phonology: its morpheme members have a greater average phonological length. Its morpheme members vary over a greater range of phonological length. Its morpheme members include phonemes ranging over a greater portion of the phonemic inventory of the language.
6. Semantics: the meanings of its member morphemes tend to have more substantive content, greater specificity. The meanings of its member morphemes range over a greater variety of concepts. It seems to contribute the criterial component of “actuation” to the proposition that the whole sentence represents.

If we apply these concepts to the Chinese directional complement, we find that the first verb of the compound does in fact seem to embody all these characteristics. Notice the following sentence:

(7) 他跑上宿舍去因为他忘了他的手机。(Constructed example)

Tā pǎo-shàng sùshè qu yīnwèi tā wàng-le tā de shǒujī

He run-up dormitory thither because he forget-PFV he MOD mobile phone

‘He ran up to the dormitory because he had forgotten his mobile phone.’

Pǎo is the first verb of the directional construction *pǎo-shàng-qu*. Looking at the features listed above, it is the only verb of the three that can be modified with a negation (8) or with an adverb (9).

(8) 即使他忘记了手机，他也没有跑回宿舍去。(Constructed example)

Jíshǐ tā wàngjì-le shǒujī, tā yě méiyǒu pǎo-huí sùshè qu

Even if he forget-PFV mobile phone, he still did not run-back dormitory thither

‘Even if he forgot his mobile phone, he didn't run back to the dormitory.’

(9) 他慢慢跑上宿舍去因为道路是湿的。(Constructed example)

Tā màn man pǎo-shàng sùshè qu yīnwèi dàolù shì shī de.

He slowly run-up dormitory thither because street is wet MOD

‘He ran slowly up to the dormitory because the road was wet.’

Moreover, it can be replaced by any verb, it is part of an open class, contrary to the two that follow it which are part of closed classes, as we will see in the next chapter. Considering the characteristics outlined by Talmy that can be associated with the directional complement⁸, we can agree with the researcher in being able to understand which is the main verb in a construct like this.

2. The Nature of the Macro-Event

To achieve a more accurate comprehension of the structure of motion events, we must introduce the concept of macro-events. This concept was defined by Talmy in his studies that led him to the linguistic classification we have already discussed. The well-known linguist (Talmy, 1985) addressing the systematic relations in language between meaning and surface expression, defined this relationship not always as pairing each meaning uniquely with one surface expression: actually, a set of semantic elements can be expressed by a single surface element, or a single semantic element by a combination of surface elements. In his study on lexicalization, Talmy included the case where a morpheme is tied to a set of meaning components that build the morpheme's meaning. It is necessary to understand this type of relationship if we want to understand Talmy's dichotomy of V-languages and S-languages. Furthermore, a fundamental question for the classification of languages proposed by Talmy is the concept of macro-event.

⁸ Some of these characteristics cannot be associated with Chinese verbs such as changes in number, time, and gender, this is because Chinese is an isolating language.

According to Talmy (1991:481) “an event can vary over a range of structural complexity”, that means that we can distinguish different types of events based on inner complexity, such as simplex event, complex event, and coordinate event. A simplex event is an event can be expressed as a single clause and cannot be further subdivided; a complex event instead can be divided into a main event and a subordinate event; lastly, a coordinate event is composed of two events and can be expressed by two sentences and a coordinating conjunction.

Continuing with his analysis, Talmy argues that a macro-event is a conceptual “conflation” of a complex event. With the term “conflation”, Talmy refers to the process of reconceptualization of a complex event represented by a mult clause syntactic structure into a simplex one represented by a single clause. Then, he “analyzes five types of macro-events expressed in such structurally simpler forms and based on which he proposes his two-way typology” (Li, 2018:587). The five types of macro-events are:

- a. Motion event: the ball rolled in.
- b. Event of temporal contouring: they talked on.
- c. Event of state change: the candle blew out.
- d. Event of action correlating: she sang along.
- e. Event of realization: the police hunted the fugitive down. (Talmy, 2000b:214)

Thus, when we encode a macro-event as a conceptual conflation of complex event, we cognitively divide the whole event in a main event and a supporting event (the subordinate event). They are both simplex events, linked by an S-relation (supportive relation) (Talmy, 1991). The main event is considered as the framing event because it delineates the domain schematization, one of the five we mentioned earlier. “Thus, the framing event provides for the whole macro-event the overarching conceptual framework or reference frame within which the other included activities are conceived of as taking place” (Talmy 1991:483). In addition to the main event there is the supporting event, that completes the main event by providing motivations, causes and elaborates the event by expanding it. The general relationship that the supporting event brings to the framing events is called S-relation (supportive relation). This relationship is specified as one of a number of specific relationships that include Cause and Manner (for motion events) among the most common ones.

In order to continue to highlight the key elements of Talmy’s research, we need to list the four structural elements of the main event:

1. Figural entity.

2. Ground elements.
3. Activating Process.
4. Relating Function, which places the figural entity in association with the ground elements.

The main event⁹ structure is crucially outlined by the core schema. What constitutes the schematic core of a framing event is the relating function alone or the relating function and the ground elements. To link these conceptual elements with practical application, we apply them in the description of motion events, that will be our research object. A motion event is a domain-schematizing event, and it is composed of a set of internal semantic components, that correspond to the four structural elements of the main event:

- Motion: the displacement per se among all the other components;
- Path: the course followed, or the site occupied by the Figure object with respect to the Ground object;
- Figure: the moving or movable entity, a physical object;
- Ground: the reference object, which is the location.

In addition, there are two external components: Manner of the movement and Cause, for which the displacement of the Figure occurs (Talmy, 1985, 1991, 2000). We can place the elements in the following combinations:

1. Figural entity - **Figure**
2. Ground elements - **Ground**
3. Activating Process - **Motion**
4. Relating Function – **Path**

We will further elaborate on the components of Motion events in the following section.

⁹ Which can be defined as a framing event because of its role of providing the overall conceptual framework for the whole macro event.

2.1 Motion Events as an Expression Of Verb Framed and Satellite Framed Typology

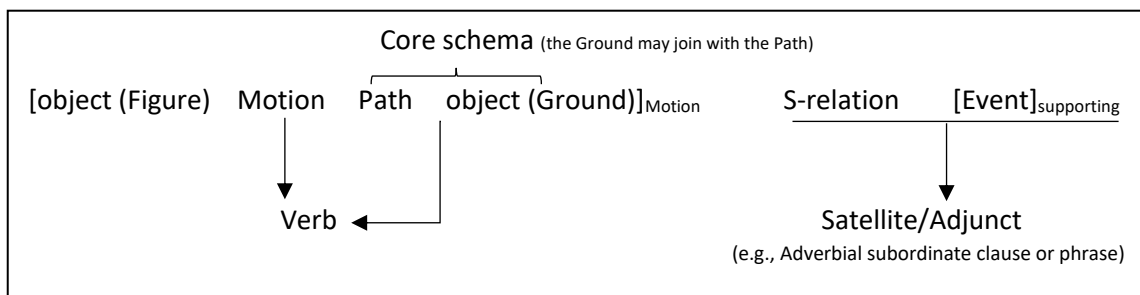
As we have previously mentioned, one of the domain-schematizing events (that would be the main event or framing event.) of a macro-event is the motion event. The core schema of a motion event is the Path (or the combination of Path and Ground) and if we defined S-framed as those languages that map the core-schema onto satellites, then S-framed languages map the Path of a motion event onto satellites, while the V-framed languages map the Path of a motion event onto satellites, while the V-framed languages map the Path of a motion event onto the verb of motion. Thus, S-framed languages have what Talmy called “framing satellite” and a “supporting verb” on which they map the supporting event, while V-Languages have a “framing verb” and they map the supporting event onto the satellite or an adjunct, such as a gerundive-type constituent or an adpositional phrase (Talmy, 1991). However, we must make one thing clear: while in certain languages, such as English, the core-schema is generally Path, this is not always the case, as it can also be the combination of Path and Ground together. Using the terminology for general constituents of a macro-event, it can be the combination of the Relating Function and the Ground Elements, as in the following sentence:

(10) He drove her home. (Talmy, 1991:489)

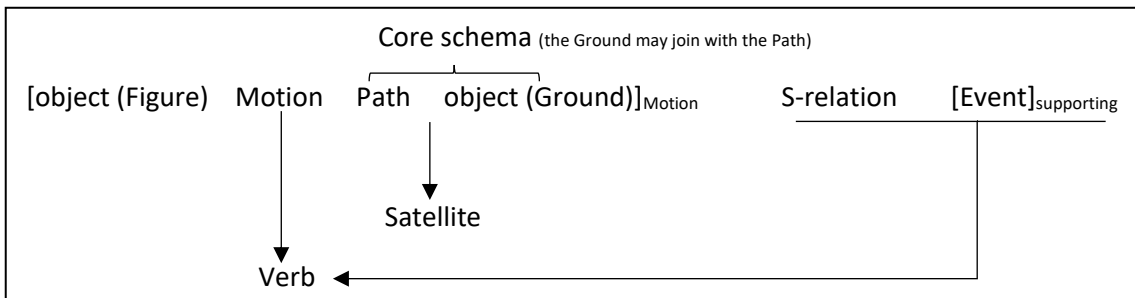
In this case, the concept ‘to the home of entity’ include both elements of Path and Ground, and it is entirely mapped onto the satellite *home*.

Describing a motion event, in addition to the core schema of the main event, it should be also outlined what type of S-relation characterizes the event itself, which is a Manner or Cause relation. This structure can be summarized through Talmy’s own analysis: “In my analysis, the general form of such a structure consists of a basic ‘Motion event’ - that is, an event of motion or location - together with a ‘Co-event’ that relates to it as its Manner or Cause, all within a larger ‘Motion situation.’” (Talmy 2000a:8). Finally, here is what the syntactic structure of a macro-event looks like (inspired by Talmy 1991:485):

VERB FRAMED LANGUAGES:



SATELLITE FRAMED LANGUAGES:



If we take Italian and Chinese patterns, it is easy to understand these two different structures:

(11) *Poiché ave-v-a appena inizia-to a piovere, papà è entra-t-o in casa corre-ndo.* (Constructed example)
 since have-IPFV.PAST-3S just start-PST.PTCP to rain, dad be.PRS.3S enter-PST.PTCP-SG.M into house run-GER
 ‘Since it had just started raining, dad ran into the house.’

Here the speaker encodes into the main verb “è entrato” (‘came in’) the Path of motion and so the core schema, while the Manner is expressed through the use of a gerundive such as “correndo” (‘running’), by which the Italian speaker could express the supporting event.

(12) 由于刚开始下雨，爸爸就跑进屋子来了。(Constructed example)
Yóuyú gāng kāishǐ xià yǔ, bàba jiù pǎo-jìn wūzi lai-le
 Since just start to rain, dad just run-enter house hither-PFV
 ‘Since it had just started raining, dad ran into the house.’

In this sentence the main verb is “pǎo” (‘to run’), a manner verb on which the supporting event is encoded. Chinese needs the satellite “jìn” (‘to come in’) to express the Path, and consequently the core schema. As mentioned before, the last element “lai”, is also a satellite, precisely a deictic that communicates that the movement is towards the speaker.

3. English – Chinese – Italian Contrastive Analysis

Let us apply these concepts to the languages we mention in this research: English, Chinese and Italian. Three different types of languages with their own peculiarities. English and Italian are both Indo-European languages. English belongs to the Germanic group, while Italian belongs to the Romance group. On the contrary, Chinese is a Sino-Tibetan language and belongs to the Sinitic group. However, following Talmy's dichotomy, Chinese and English seem to be S-languages, Italian instead is a V-languages, but each of them has exceptions that we will mention.

3.1 English

English is an S-language, so it uses satellites to encode Path in a motion event and the main verbs express both the fact of the motion and its manner or cause at the same time. Here some path satellites in English (Talmy, 2000b:104):

I ran <i>in</i>	He ran <i>across</i>	It flew <i>up</i>
I ran <i>out</i>	He ran <i>along</i>	It flew <i>down</i>
I climbed <i>on</i>	He ran <i>through</i>	I went <i>above</i>
I stepped <i>off</i>	He ran <i>past/by</i>	I went <i>below</i>

We can analyse the following sentence in this way:

(13) The ball rolled down the slope. (Constructed example)

In this sentence the verb *rolled* uses the satellite *down* to express Path, while the Manner of motion is encoded into the verb, that is the main verb. Speakers of a S-language, therefore, are inclined to give more information about the object's movement along its path. English speakers generally choose manner verbs as the main verb and provide much more manner information without adding any secondary manner elements because the sentence is already complete.

14_a) He ran across the field. (Constructed example)

14_b) He crossed the field running. (Constructed example)

As we can see, we could change the sentence keeping a correct grammatical structure in the example 14_b, but we would not follow the most natural structure for a native, through which we encode the direction with a satellite linked to a verb that immediately gives information about the manner of the movement. English speakers have a wide range of manner verbs, and the reason is that English, as a S-language, has a vocabulary of manner verb definitely bigger than V-languages vocabulary. We can easily list several English motion verbs whose salience is on the manner: *run, walk, roll, bounce, tiptoe, swagger, strut, jog, saunter, amble, sway, limp* etc. Using all the verbs in this list (and all the others English motion “manner” verbs) a speaker has already provided all the information about manner and adverbs or gerundive construction that V-languages use to encode manner are useless. Path is then conflated into satellites.

However, we must stress the fact that English has also several verbs which naturally include Path, with a totally different semantics than the verbs previously dealt with, such as: *to exit, to enter, to return, to rise* etc. “These verbs (and the sentence pattern they call for) are not the most characteristic of English. In fact, the majority are not original English forms but rather borrowings from Romance” (Talmy, 1985:72). In fact, if we want to make a translation match, these verbs (15, 16) have direct equivalents in Italian, while manner verbs (17, 18) generally need more Italian elements added to be translated:

(15) He **entered** the building. (Constructed example)

*‘Lui **entrò** nell’edificio.’*

(16) She **returns** home. (Constructed example)

*‘Lei **torna** a casa.’*

(17) The bottle **floated into** the sewer. (Constructed example)

*‘La bottiglia **entrò** nella fogna **galleggiando**.’*

(18) He **tiptoed out** of the office. (Constructed example)

*‘È **uscito** dall’ufficio **in punta di piedi**.’*

The reason these Latin-derived verbs are present in English is that, unlike the other German languages, English was heavily influenced by French and Latin. Indeed, “the Middle English period (c.1150–c.1500) in which they are borrowed is marked by

extensive bi- or even trilingualism among the literate population, involving English, (Anglo-)French, and Latin” (Huber, 2017:3).

3.2 Chinese

Chinese is a S-language and uses its satellites extensively to specify Path, aspect, change of state and often result. In the second chapter we will discuss in greater detail the characteristics of the Chinese language from the perspective of motion events; in this section we will only introduce the main aspects of Chinese as a S-language. We have stated that we agree with Talmy's theory while being aware of the ambiguity highlighted by the third category of equipollently-framed languages provided by Slobin's research. This ambiguity arises from the lack of inflection in Chinese and thus from the absence of morphological clues indicating the function of a word in a sentence. Indeed, Chinese is defined as the “textbook example of an isolating language, with little or no inflectional morphology” (Arcodia, Basciano, 2021:150). Words have invariable forms and syntactic relations are marked by the order of the components in the sentence and by the use of grammatical particles, rather than by affixes and morphological word changes. As an example, the so-called chain (or serial) verb construction, in which “verbs are often seen strung together in a series of two or three to form the predicate of a sentence” (Yip & Rimmington, 2003), are made of “bare” verbs. Unlike English, which has verb forms such as infinitives, participles or gerunds that morphologically indicate the subordination relationships of verbs, Chinese only uses verb order to indicate this relationship. We like to look at the Chinese language as a slots structure, in which according to the position occupied by a word in the sentence, it takes on a specific grammatical function, different from what it would have if it were in another collocation. This is the syntactic criteria for the identification of word classes, and it is based on the distribution of words in the sentence: “in the absence of morphosyntactic clues, the only criteria which we may apply to distinguish parts of speech in Chinese are syntactic” (Arcodia, Basciano, 2021:275). To make an example let us take the word 计划 *jìhuà*, it means ‘plan/to plan’ in sentences like:

(19) 我觉得这是一个深思熟虑的计划。 (Constructed example)

Wǒ juéde zhè shì yī-gè shēnsīshúlǜ de jìhuà

I think this is one-CLF thoughtful consideration MOD plan

‘I think it is a well-thought-out plan.’

(20) 计划好了再动手干。 (Pleco Chinese Dictionary)

Jìhuà hǎo-le zài dòngshǒu gàn

Map.out done-PFV then start work

'Map it out before you start.'

What differentiates sentence 19 from 20 is the different grammatical function of the word *jìhuà*. In the first one it is a noun, while in the second one it is a verb, and there are no formal changes that allow us to grasp this difference. What changes is the position in the sentence of its constituents and obviously the context. It is useful for us to consider the grammatical connection that words have with each other in Chinese sentences. In this way, it seems more intuitive to us to connect to the analysis of the directional complement in the next chapter. The concept of 'slots' also allows us to understand how the Chinese directional complement, through which a Chinese speaker lexicalises an event of motion, is not definable as a compound, rather it would be better to define it as a subordinate construction (Fong, 2015). The entire structure then defines a complex event, describing its motion and direction. Furthermore, let us recall that if we refer to the grammatical concept of compound, it has characteristics such as inseparability, the prohibition of internal modification or displacement of a part of it (Fong, 2020), and the Chinese directional complement does not have these characteristics.

So far speaking of Chinese referring to the category of S-languages, we have only considered self-initiated motion event. The reason is that most studies on V-languages and S-languages focus on these types of motion events and overlook caused motion events. Caused motion events are defined as motion events where the movement of figure is caused by the action of another agent (Chen, Guo, 2008). However, we will discuss these in the second chapter since they are also lexicalised by Chinese speakers through the directional complement.

3.3 Italian

Italian as all Romance languages is a V-language. As mentioned before, English speakers tend to use much more manner verbs, while Italian speakers are generally inclined to use path verbs as main verbs in the description of motion event. "The considerable use of path verbs made by Italian speakers has an inhibiting effect on the overall amount of manner information they deliver in their expression of motion events" (Cardini, 2012:168). This occurs because the core schema (Path) is conflated with a motion verb. It follows that Italian, compared to English, has far fewer manner verbs and, more importantly, employs them less. Italian speakers make an extensive use of path verbs describing a motion event and these verbs such as *salire*, *scendere*, *entrare* e *uscire* ('to go up', 'to go down', 'to go in', 'to go out'), directly encode the path of movement and leave out the indication of the manner. As mentioned before, the manner element is often expressed using gerundive constructions (*entra dentro correndo*, 'he runs in') or

with a 'manner complement' (*lui sale di corsa*, 'he runs up'). The Italian 'manner complement' is similarly to English manner adverbs such as *slowly*, *quickly*, *carefully* etc. Obviously, English does not use these adverbs to indicate manner since they encode it into the main verb in a motion event structure. If manner can be extracted from the context the speaker considers it quite obvious, in this case it is generally not specified and left unexpressed.

Moreover, we want to highlight what Cardini (2012) argued about the presumably restricted inventory of prepositions available to V-languages to handle the encoding of goal-directed motion events.

[...] it appears that the scarce use of manner verbs made by V-language speakers in changes of location (relative to that made by S-language speakers) may be ultimately ascribed to limited inventory of directional prepositions in their languages. This constraint can be overridden when some appropriate locative preposition is used in conjunction with a manner verb that has a clear directional meaning. In this case, the otherwise missing element of directionality is provided by the verb, and the use of a satellite-framing pattern becomes possible. Furthermore, speakers can also rely on pragmatic clues to feel confident that their audience will understand their motion sentence as depicting a change of location and not a motion activity (Cardini, 2012:178).

As revealed by the research data, on the one hand motion events with no change of location seem to raise fewer grammaticality problems (21), on the other hand motion events with change of location associated with "appropriate locative preposition" "may sound ambiguous in that it is not clear whether they are meant to express a change of location or a motion activity" (22) (Cardini, 2012:198). However, this research confirmed the existence of grammatical constraints in the Italian language that limit speakers' use of manner verbs in descriptions of motion events.

(21) *I due ragazz-in-i cor-sero lungo la riva del fiume.*

(Cardini, 2012:197)

the two boy-DIM-PL.M run-PST.PTCP.3PL along the shore of river

'The two little boys ran along the river shore.'

(22) *Il gatto sta cammina-ndo fuori dalla stanza.* (Cardini, 2012:187)

the cat is be-PRS.3S walk-GER out from room

'The cat is walking out of/outside the room.'

Finally, let's raise another issue about the grammar of the Italian language. What we want to explore is the concept developed by Simone (1997) of “*verbi sintagmatici*” or “verb-particle constructions” (Iacobini, Masini 2006). Which type of verb are they? Firstly, the word “*verbi sintagmatici*” is a loan word from the English “phrasal verbs” and they have some feature in common with phrasal verbs: they have a strong cohesion and coherence and thus cannot be reduced to merely sums of constituents and are placed in a middle area between morphology and lexicon. Simone (1997:52) gives us an open list in which we find some verb forms of this type. Here are some of them:

<i>Andare avanti</i> (lit. ‘go - ahead’)	<i>Mettere giù</i> (lit. ‘put - down’)
<i>Buttare via</i> (lit. ‘throw - away’)	<i>Passare sopra</i> (lit. ‘pass - over’)
<i>Correre incontro</i> (lit. ‘run - towards’)	<i>Saltare su</i> (lit. ‘jump - up’)
<i>Entrare dentro</i> (lit. ‘enter - inside’)	<i>Venire via</i> (lit. ‘come - away’)
<i>Portare avanti</i> (lit. ‘bring - ahead’)	<i>Uscire fuori</i> (lit. ‘go - out’) ¹⁰

These verbs, which Simone refers to by the abbreviation “VS”, are mostly motion verbs and statives. As with English phrasal verbs, VS also have semantics that are not always compositional: in fact, in some cases, the meaning of the whole is not inferred from that of its components. VS have a figurative meaning in these cases, similar to what occurs in some Chinese directional complements that we will see in chapter two:

(23) <i>Non sono</i>	<i>riusci-t-o</i>	<i>a completare</i>	<i>neanche un compito</i>
<i>e mi</i>	<i>sono</i>	<i>butta-t-o</i>	<i>giù.</i> (Constructed example)
not	be-PRS.3SG	be able to-PST.PTCP-SG.M	to complete-INF even one task
and	PRO.1SG	be-PRS.3SG	throw- PST.PTCP-SG.M down
‘I couldn't complete a single task and I became demoralised.’			

Besides, in his study, Simone believes that VS can be treated as a grammatical class in their own right, indeed they have some differences with ‘normal’ verbs, such as: VS

¹⁰ Italian VS seem to use prepositions to lexicalise different semantic areas: there are cases like ‘andare via’ where there is a satellite that seems to lexicalise the path, on the other hand we have cases like ‘buttare via’ where it seems that the satellite expresses the result, and ‘buttare giù’ where the meaning is figurative. Here we have put examples covering a little bit of all fields to highlight the anomalous characteristic of Italian language.

cannot be nominalized, while Italian verbs can be easily nominalized, and the semantic issues pointed out above. Without going into too much detail, Simone's analysis of these verbs seems to suggest a considerable resemblance to English phrasal verbs, even in their use as verbs of motion. All prepositions that as a second element complete the VS specify in a greater way the direction information already provided by the main verb. We obviously cannot then associate VS with the framed satellite pattern of English, because in an S-language there is always a need to have manner encoded into the verb and path encoded onto the satellite, VS do not have these features. Cardini's (2012) research on prepositions, on motion events that include a change of place and motion events that do not, and Simone's (1997) and Iacobini & Masini's (2006) research on so-called "verbi sintagmatici", help us better understand the verb framed pattern of Italian motion event structure, despite a few special circumstances that the two experts studied. These structures turn out to be an anomaly within the Romance group and what we want to point out here is that there are several lexicalisation strategies in Italian (as well as in other languages). All these anomalies and characteristics are important to understand how the native language (which in the case of our research will be Italian) influences the learning of the second language (Chinese in our case).

CHAPTER 2:

The Chinese Directional Complement

In this chapter we will introduce the structure of the Chinese Directional Complement, its diachronic development, and its contemporary use. Taking different grammars (Abbiati, 1998; Chao, 2011; Li & Thompson, 1989; Yip, Rimmington, 2003; Romagnoli, 2016) as references, we will highlight the general characteristics of the complement and also some more particular features. To conclude, we will provide an overview of how the Italian language has also gone through a typological shift and become a language with different characteristics from Latin.

1. The Diachronic Development

Chinese has not always been a satellite-framed language, the way Chinese speakers encode motion events has changed over time. We can see the development of the Chinese directional complement in the diachronic analysis conducted by Peyraube (2006, 2009) and Li (1997). As we will see in more detail in the following section, verbs of motion underwent a gradual process of grammaticalization that led to the development of the directional complement as used in contemporary Chinese.

1.2 Contemporary Features

In the next paragraph we outline the structure of the Chinese directional complement, but here we can make a quick introduction to better understand the endpoint of its historical development. The directional complement might seem to be one of those structures in Chinese that are called serial verb constructions. As we explained in the previous chapter, this type of construction is a syntactic phenomenon in which two or more verbs are joined in a single clause without a marker of coordination or subordination, typical of languages of the Sino-Tibetan family to which Chinese belongs. We will see that at its fullest extent it consists of three verbs in a row. Any verb expressing movement can be used as the first verb in this structure, including the verbs that Li and Thompson (1989) refer to as those verbs that allow a postverbal locative phrase: verbs of displacement, verbs of posture, verbs of appearing and verbs of placement. In contrast, the second and third verbs are verbs belonging to closed classes and have specific functions that they have acquired over time from their ancient use as main verbs. So, since we have previously discussed it, we can say that although it might appear as such, it is not a serial verb construction. It is important to remember that verbs in the second and third position, since they are used within the directional complement, have totally lost their verbal function, and they have become function words. We will

look at examples later, for now it is enough for us to have understood how only the first of the three verbs used within the construct (or two if we are talking about a simple structure) is the main verb. The Verb + Direction Complement construction expresses a single sentence and not several sentences as the case of the Old Chinese. “This means of course that Chinese has not always been a S-language. I would like to show that it has undergone a typological shift from a V-language to a satellite frame-language” (Peyraube, 2009:179).

1.3 From Archaic Chinese to the Tang-Song times

Talmy also assumes that Archaic Chinese must have been a V-language, which conflates path with motion in the main verb, leaving the manner to be conveyed by something like a gerundial phrase (Li, 1997). In Archaic Chinese (11th - 2nd c. BC) The “NP (Noun Phrase)-subject + Verb + Directional Verb” (NP-subject + V + Vd) structure developed. V and Vd expresses two different actions and are two separate lexical units, as in the following example:

(24) 孔子趋出（荀子） (Peyraube, 2009:179)

kǒngzǐ qū chū (Xunzi, 3rd c. BC)

Kongzi hurry up go out

‘Kongzi hurried up (and) went out.’

(25) 子路趋而出（荀子） (Peyraube, 2009:179)

zìlù qū ér chū (Xunzi)

Zilu hurry up and go out

‘Zilu hurried up and went out.’

Chu is not a directional verb, but a verb of movement, as we can see we are dealing with two different actions, indeed we can add a conjunction between the verbs (16).

From the 1st to the 6th c. AD (Late Han to Six Dynasties period) we can observe a change in the word order: the NP-subject could be put after the Vd in order to emphasize it. Moreover, another construction developed: V + *lai* 来/ *qu* 去+ LP (Locative Phrase) or V + LP + *lai* 来/ *qu* 去. In these structures, we can still distinguish two distinct actions; indeed, there are examples where a coordinating conjunction can still be inserted between the two verbs. In the Wei-Jin-Nan-Bei-Chao period (3rd - 6th c. AD) the NP patient-object is placed between the two verbs in the following structure: NP1 + Vt +

NP2 + *lai* / *qu*. The NP patient-object may also be moved before the NP subject-agent as in (26):

(26) 舍中财物，贼尽持去 (百喻经) (Peyraube, 2009:181-182)

shě zhōng cáiwù, zéi jǐn chí-qù (bǎi yù jīng, end of 5th c.)

House within belongings, thief all hold-thither

'A thief has robbed all (our) belongings in the house.'

In this example *qu* has totally lost its lexical meaning and has acquired the meaning of 'to go' (instead of 'to leave'). The process of grammaticalization is complete.

"Beginning in the Late Medieval period, the simple directional complement construction that hesitantly appeared during the Early Medieval period consolidates and becomes quite widespread" (Peyraube, 2009:183). Thus, *lai* and *qu* are no longer full lexical verbs, but they constitute the directional complement. The possibility of the main verb to hold a subject-patient is the proof of the full development of the directional complement:

(27) 米送来 (大唐求法巡礼行记) (Peyraube, 2009:183)

mǐ sòng-lái (dà táng qiúfǎ xúnlǐ xíng jì, mid-9 th c.)

rice send-hither

'Rice has been sent in.'

At this point the transition to an S-language type was basically complete, so much so that during the Five Dynasties period the complex the structure of the complement also appeared, then the shift was totally achieved:

(28) 师便打出去 (祖堂集) (Peyraube, 2009:184)

shī biàn dǎ-chū-qù (zǔ táng jí, 10th c.)

master then hit-out-hither

'The Master hit (it).'

2. Chinese Directional Complement

The Chinese Directional Complement (DC) can consist of one or two verbs of motion, indicating the direction of the action expressed by the main verb: in the first case we refer to simple directional complements, in the second to complex directional complements. There are two deictic verbs which, used in the complement, describe the “the orientation of the motion with respect to the speaker” (Chen, Ai, 2009:154):

qù 去 (lit. ‘to go’; ‘thither’)

lái 来 (lit. ‘to come’; ‘hither’)

The former indicates a movement away from the speaker, while the latter expresses approaching, this because the point of view described by the directional complement is always the speaker’s view. Verbs describing direction are more numerous, nevertheless they constitute a closed class:

shàng 上 ‘to go up’

chū 出 ‘to go out’

qǐ 起 ‘to get up’

xià 下 ‘to go down’

huí 回 ‘to return’

kāi 开 ‘to open’

jìn 进 ‘to enter’

guò 过 ‘to pass’

When only one of the verbs listed above is placed after the manner verb, we can refer to a simple structure, while if we have the combination of the verbs of movement with one of the two deictics, that is a complex structure. This categorization can be summarized in the following way:

Simple Directional Complement:

(29) 放进背包里。 (*fàng* 放: manner verb, *jìn* 进: DC1) (Constructed example)

fàng-jìn bēibāo lǐ

Put-into backpack inside

‘Put in the backpack.’

(30) 我们刚刚出去了。 (*chū* 出: manner verb, *qu* 去: DC2) (Constructed example)

wǒmen gānggāng chū-qu-le

We just go out-thither-PFV

‘We just went out.’

Complex Directional Complement:

(31) 大家站起来。 (*zhàn* 站: manner verb, *qǐ* 起: DC1, *lái* 来: DC2) (Constructed example)

Dàjiā zhàn-qǐ-lái

Everybody stand-up-hither

‘Everybody stand up.’

(32) 他跑下去。 (*pǎo* 跑: manner verb, *xià* 下: DC1, *qu* 去: DC2) (Constructed example)

tā pǎo-xià-qu

He run-down-thither

‘He runs down.’

To summarise, taking the grammar of Yip & Rimmington (2003), Chao (2011) and Abbiati (1998) as references, the possible combinations of DC1 and DC2 in the complex structure are the following:

Table 2: The Combination of DCs in the Complex Structure¹¹

上来 <i>Shanglai</i> 'to come up'	下来 <i>Xialai</i> 'to come down'	进来 <i>Jinlai</i> 'to come in'	出来 <i>Chulai</i> 'to come out'	过来 <i>Guolai</i> 'to come over'	回来 <i>Huilai</i> 'to come back'	起来 <i>Qilai</i> 'to rise, to get up'
上去 <i>Shangqu</i> 'to go up'	下去 <i>Xiaqu</i> 'to go down'	进去 <i>Jinchi</i> 'to go in'	出去 <i>Chuqu</i> 'to go out'	过去 <i>Guoqu</i> 'to go over'	回去 <i>Huiqu</i> 'to go back'	* ¹²

We have defined the components of the directional complement as verbs and not as particles or prepositions. In fact, these verbs taken individually are autonomous verbs: they can hold a sentence and be its main verb. Postposed to the main verb and placed within the directional complement structure, however, they lose their verbal function. This grammatical shift is also indicated by the change that takes place at the phonological level: the original tone of verbs becomes neutral when they are “satellitised”. In Chinese, tone neutralisation is an aspect frequently associated with grammaticalization phenomena such as this (Lamarre, 2007). Let us see the syntactic difference in the following two sentences of the verb *shàng* 上:

(33) 他上楼了。(Constructed example)

tā shàng lóu le

He go up floor PFV

'He went upstairs.'

(34) 他跑上了。(Constructed example)

Tā pǎo-shang le

He run-up PFV

'He ran up.'

In (33) *shàng* is the main verb, means 'to go up', and it is linked to the object that follows it: *lóu* 'floor'. In the second example, *shang* has lost his tone and has become a function

¹¹ Yip & Rimmington (2003) add the compound 开来 and 开去 while both Chao (2011) and Abbiati (1998) do not add these compounds to the list.

¹² The form *qiqū* 起去 is no longer used. Chao (2011) indicates that this form is still used in some dialects.

word within the directional complement, an element (satellite) on which the direction of a bottom-up movement is lexicalised, while *pǎo* is the main verb and describe the manner of movement (running). The constituents of the complement are embedded in a rigid and ordered structure. This aspect is fundamental to understand the reason behind the arrangement of the elements in the directional complement structure. The main verb (manner verb) "authorises" the subsequent verb indicating direction, which in turn, in a complex directional complement, "authorises" the verb indicating direction. An order other than this is wrong. If we use the sentence 34 again, the inversion of the two verbs (*tā shàng pǎo* 他上跑) generates an ungrammatical sentence. Therefore, if the structure of the directional complement has a strict hierarchical order, its components, once placed in the slots to which they belong, cannot have the same force and prominence as they have when used individually. In addition, the order of the verbs is structured along a temporal sequence. The constituents and the events they describe create a relationship between them, governed by the order of what we have called 'slots', i.e., the position of the words within the structure of the complement. To be clearer let us take as an example the verb + complement *pǎo shàng* 跑上. The order of the structure of the directional complement demands that *shàng* occupies the place after *pǎo* and only there can it be inserted (it never goes before), this also for a practical temporal issue: the action of 'going up' cannot take place without the action of running having taken place first¹³. To sum up, after the main verb (a manner verb) there can be a verb indicating path, one indicating the deictic motion or both and this order cannot be changed for the reasons we have seen above.

2.1 The Structure of Chinese Directional Complement: The Influence of NP

We can work out the classification of simple and complex directional complements following these criteria: "The syntactic complexity of DCs is reflected in two dimensions of variation: that of number of constituents and associated word order and that of DC type" (Wu, 2011:421). In the present study, we use the same classification of Wu (2011) and Romagnoli & Luzi (2012), which includes the addition of the nominal phrase (NP) indicating either the direct object or place.

Table 3: The Six Types of DC Constructions

¹³ Unless we want to point out that someone first started climbing and then started running, but in that case the syntax would change considerably, and two sentences would be created.

	Type	Example
1	Simple DC	他走到了。 ¹⁴ <i>Tā zǒu dao le</i> He walk to PFV ‘He arrived.’
2	Complex DC	他走进来了。 <i>Tā zǒu-jin-lai-le</i> He walk-into-hither-PFV ‘He walked in.’
3	Simple DC with Object NP	他搬出了一张大桌子。 <i>tā bān-chu le yī zhāng dà zhuōzi</i> He move-out PFV one-CLF large table ‘He moved out a large table.’
4	Simple DC with Place NP	他走回宿舍了。 <i>tā zǒu-hui sùshè le</i> He walk-back dormitory PFV ‘He walked back to the dormitory.’
5	Complex DC with Object NP	他搬出一张大桌子来了。 <i>tā bān-chu yī zhāng dà zhuōzi lai le</i> He move-out one-CLF large table hither PFV ‘He moved out a large table.’ / 他搬出来了一张大桌子。 <i>tā bān-chu -lai-le yī zhāng dà zhuōzi</i> He move-out-hither-PFV one CLF large table ‘He moved out a large table.’

¹⁴ Wu (2011) includes *dao* 到 among the directionals. We did not include it because we referred to other grammars, whereas for the table we referred to his study and that of Romagnoli & Luzi (2012). *Dao* is generally considered a resultative, indicating the outcome of an action. Yip & Rimmington (2003) also define it as an “indicator of destination”.

6	Complex DC with Place Np	他走回宿舍来了。 <i>tā zǒu-hui sùshè lai le</i> He walk-back dormitory hither PFV ‘He walked back to the dormitory.’
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In the above table the complements are not only divided according to simple or complex structure, but also according to the presence or absence of the nominal phrase (NP), indicating either an object or a place. The type of NP affects word order, particularly if it denotes Place, since in this case the NP must be placed before the deictic DC, otherwise the NP may be placed in a more flexible way: after or before the deictic DC. In a complex structure, such as type 5 of the table 3, the Object NP can even be placed between the Verb and DC1, but also at the end of the sentence, after DC1 and the deictic DC. Wu (2011) also specifies other classification criteria with some restrictions on the use of the complement:

The other classificatory criterion is whether there is only one DC (simple) or two DCs (complex) in the utterance. This is mostly a matter of choice, but with certain restrictions. The first restriction is that when a DC is complex, the second DC is always the hither/thither path denoting the figure’s deictic path or movement from the perspective of the speaker: *lai* “moving toward the speaker” or *qu* “moving away from the speaker.” The second restriction is that, although using a simple or complex DC type is mostly a matter of choice, there are occasions when it becomes a matter of grammaticality. Specifically, when the DC utterance is plain (i.e., without an Object or Place NP), it becomes necessary to encode the deictic path through the second DC for the utterance to be grammatical. (Wu, 2011:422)

In that way, when there is no NP, the omission of *lai* or *qu* would produce a non-target-like form (Wu, 2014). This is the reason why Slobin (2004) through the observation of the frequent use of deictic paths in Chinese, pointed out that deictic seems to be more strongly connected to the path perceptions of Chinese speakers. Of course, it should be borne in mind that speakers of S-languages, such as Chinese, tend to explicate the manner of movement more frequently than speakers of V-languages. Indeed, we can assume that the importance of deictics seems to be related to the absence of the NP (Object or Place), but the focus of motion remains on the manner always encoded into the main verb.

As we have seen, the elements we can find in Chinese directional complement are many and they complicate its syntax, which is what poses the most difficulties for L2 learners. In addition to the features we have just highlighted, we must also mention the

connection with the 把 *ba*¹⁵ structure. In a sentence where both the Object NP and the complex directional complement are found, the latter is often combined with the *ba* structure to emphasise the influence of the subject on the object. Consequently, the syntactic complexity of the directional complement is due to two factors: the number of constituents and the word order. The structure becomes complicated to be ordered when various elements of the sentence have to fit with the Directional Complement. In particular, a greater difficulty is encountered when in a Complex Directional Complement both type of NP must be inserted objects, i.e., both the Place NP and the Object NP (which in these cases is anticipated by the particle *ba*):

(35) 我把桌子搬出房间去了。(Constructed example)

wǒ ba zhuōzi bān-chu fángjiān qu-le

I BA table move-out room thither-PFV

‘I moved the table out of the room.’

In this sentence there are *zhuōzi* as Object NP and *fángjiān* as Place NP. The particle *ba* anticipates the object of the verb, so that the order of the complement can be respected by inserting the locative object between DC1 (*chu*) and the Deictic DC (*qu*).

2.1.1 The Structure of Chinese Directional Complement: The Influence of Aspectual Particle *-le* 了

Concerning word order, the presence of the object within the structure of the directional complement is not the only element we have to consider. The position of the aspectual particle *-le* 了 also follows specific rules. When the verb has no object then the particle either follows the main verb (36) or the entire structure (37):

(36) 你的书，我带了来。(Constructed example)

Nǐ de shū, wǒ dài-le-lai

You MOD book, I bring-PFV-hither

‘Your book, I brought it.’

¹⁵ Through this particle it is shown how the agent acts on the patient and how the action performed has real repercussions on it. In this case the active meaning of a sentence is emphasised more strongly. The verb indicates an actual transfer of action from the agent to the patient and it is usually followed by another element, in our case it is followed by the directional complement.

(37) 你的书，我带来了。(Constructed example)

Nǐ de shū, wǒ dài-lai-le

You MOD book, I bring-hither-PFV

‘Your book, I brought it.’

If there is an object in the sentence, as we saw in the previous section, there are two alternatives: either it is a direct object (Object NP) or it is a locative object (Place NP). In the case where a direct object is involved, we have two patterns (Teng, 2011) that we can follow to locate the particle *le*: after the main verb (38) or after the last verb of the complement (39). So, *-le* precedes the object in both cases:

(38) 他就给我拿了一杯水来。(Teng, 2011:121)

tā jiù gěi wǒ ná-le yī bēi shuǐ lai

He immediately to me take-PFV one CLF water hither

‘He immediately brought me a glass of water.’

(39) 他就给我拿来了一杯水。(Teng, 2011:121)

tā jiù gěi wǒ ná-lai-le yī bēi shuǐ.

He immediately to me take-hither-PFV one CLF water

‘He immediately brought me a glass of water.’

In the other case, if there is a locative object in the sentence, the particle *le* follows the last verb of the construction, thus either after DC1 (40) or after the deictic DC (41).

(40) 我把新桌子带到了房间里。(Constructed example)

wǒ bǎ xīn zhuōzi dài-dào-le fángjiān lǐ

I BA new table bring-to-PFV room inside

‘I brought the new table into the room.’

(41) 他什么时候飞到北京去了？(Constructed example)

tā shénmeshíhòu fēi dào běijīng qù le
he when fly to Beijing thither PFV
'When did he fly to Beijing?'

2.2 The Chinese Directional Complement: The Abstract Meaning

As we have explained so far, the function of the Chinese Directional Complement is to describe the direction of an event of motion expressed by the main verb. In all other contexts where the complement does not fulfil its basic function, it can be understood by referring to an extension of its meaning. Indeed, Chinese Directional Complements can also be employed figuratively, expressing concepts that cannot be deduced from the semantic juxtaposition of its constituents. We start from the concept that languages are the instrument through which human beings encode reality, a kind of bridge between the external world and the internal world. In this context metaphor is a fundamental tool of our cognition that we need to make sense of the reality around us. Hence, the figurative and metaphorical use of language allows us to make sense of the reality in which we live, so metaphors are a fundamental tool of our cognition that we use much more than we realise. As Mannoni argues: "Our abstract thinking is metaphorical in nature. We cannot but resort to metaphors whenever we talk about abstract concepts, such as emotions, morality, and, notably, legal concepts" (Mannoni, 2021:1376). The conception we have of the world is determined by structures linked to the subjectivity of our perception, this explains the necessity and facility of human beings to use figurative language. This premise allows us to understand how the meaning is internally complex, subjective, and open-ended. The use we find in the Chinese directional complement refers precisely to this notion: a linguistic form can be used to refer to one or more concepts belonging to different conceptual spheres. The connection between the different conceptual spheres is perceived by the speaker and the non-arbitrariness of these connections can be seen in the existence of similar extensions of meaning that appear independently in different languages (Lichtenberk, 1991). Indeed, as has been demonstrated, the "extensions of motion/directional Chinese verbs are not random but cognitively motivated through human conceptualization" (Yin, 2011:125). In verbs of movement, and thus in the use of the Chinese Directional Complement, extensions from the spatial to the temporal domain and from the concrete to the abstract domain have been found. Movement in the real world is a basic human concept and an organising scheme for a number of more abstract expressions (Yin, 2011).

In this context, the figurative use of the Chinese Directional Complement, specifies details of the action or state described by the main verb or the details of the outcome. We will not go into details touching even more concepts of Cognitive Linguistics because the subject of our research does not include figurative uses, however it is important to emphasise this peculiarity in order to recognise it and distinguish it from the literal use of the complement. To give even a minimum of clarity to the concepts already expressed,

we add a table in which we have combined various contents taken from Yip & Rimmington (2003), Teng (2011) and Romagnoli & Wang (2016)¹⁶ grammar books, which indicates many figurative uses of various directional complements:

Table 4: Types of DC Figurative Use

Complement	Meaning	Example
起来	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Beginning and continuation of the action or state (inchoative aspect) - The outcome of the action or state - Limitation to a sphere defined by the directing verb - Regaining memory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 听了他的话，他们笑了起来。 - 我想起来了，这个人十年前是我的学生。 - 这种电脑用起来很方便。 - 她突然想起这件事来。
下	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Detachment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 衣服都淋透了，快脱下吧。
下去	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Continuation (from the present) - Disappearing from view 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 我还要在中国学习下去。 - 病人吞下一粒药丸去。
下来	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Continuation (from the past) - Successful outcome 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 文章写的是古代流传下来的故事。 - 这篇课文他背下来了。

¹⁶ We chose these three grammars because together they included the most frequently used abstract meanings also indicated in the other grammars listed in the bibliography at the end of the paper. Generally speaking, we can say that each grammar adds or subtracts some figurative usage compared to other works. For example, taking as reference *An Explanation of Directional Complements in Chinese* by Liu Yuehua (1998), we can see how the author adds to the figurative uses of *qilai* that of introducing the perspective of the interlocutor, in compounds such as *kànqilai* 看起来 and *xiàngqilai* 想起来.

	- Settling down or coming to a halt	- 火车慢慢停下来 了。
上	- Beginning - Successful outcome	- 他爱上了我表妹。 - 小王买上了房子。
上来	- Capacity	- 那个问题他回答上 来了。
上去	- Increase	- 这两个建议都加上 去。
出来	- Appearance - Coming into view - Recognition	- 他的意见都说出来 了。 - 他从口袋里拿出两 镑钱来。 - 我听出你的声音来 了。
过来	- Return to an earlier state - Regaining consciousness	- 他刚刚醒过来。 - 醉汉最后醒了过 来。
过去	- Losing consciousness	- 那个坏消息使他昏 了过去。

The metaphorical use of language is not based on arbitrary choices, this is why it is possible to group and analyse the different extensions of meanings of directional compounds. Metaphors have a starting point and an end point, i.e., through a connection they unify two different semantic spheres. A concept that Mannoni (2021: 1377, 1378) clarifies clearly in this extract:

The Ancient Greek term for metaphor, *metaphorá* (μεταφορά), comes from the word *metaphérō* (μεταφέρω), meaning 'I carry'. Indeed, in metaphors there is one source domain (SD) which is mapped (i.e., carried, so to say) onto a target domain (TD). The SD is physical, concrete, and bodily related, while the TD is abstract and less physical and less bodily experienced.

We have analysed the figurative use of the Chinese directional complement; in the next section we will continue by highlighting another particular use of a few directional elements.

2.3 The Chinese Directional Complement: Special Uses in Potential Structures

Some directional verbs have special implications because they can be included in the structure of the potential complement. They obviously have nothing to do with their directional connotation, neither concrete nor abstract. These words are just words commonly used as potential complements (Teng, 2011). To avoid misunderstandings, in this small section we will list them with the aim of highlighting their potential use and differentiating it from the directional use we have already discussed. These words are the following¹⁷:

下 *xià*: signals the capacity to contain what is indicated. For example, whether a room can accommodate a certain number of persons or with the verbs of eating or drinking, if the stomach can still hold food or drink. It is a capacity indicator:

(42) 旅馆前边地方大，停得下六七十辆汽车。(Abbiati, 1998:322)

Lǚguǎn qiánbian dìfāng dà, tíng-dé-xià liù-qī-shí liàng qìchē

Hotel in front of place plenty, park-POT-capability six-seven-ten CLF cars

‘There is plenty of space in front of the hotel to park sixty/seventy cars.’

起 *qǐ*: indicates the financial capacity to support something:

(43) 咱们住得起五星级的饭店吗？(Teng, 2011:145)

Zánmen zhù-dé-qǐ wǔ xīng jí de fàndiàn ma?

We stay-POT-financial capacity five star level MOD hotel Q?

‘Can we afford a five-star hotel?’

¹⁷ We have only included words that could be confused with the directional complement. Other words that have special implications in this context are *liǎo* 了 (specifies the feasibility of an action) and *dòng* 动 (indicates the physical possibility of performing an action).

开 *kāi*: specifies the capacity of a flat area:

(44) 这张桌子十个人哪儿坐得开呀。 (Abbiati, 1998:323)

Zhè zhāng zhuōzi shí gè rén nǎ'èr zuò-dé-kāi ya

This CLF table ten CLF people where sit-POT-capacity PRT

'How can ten people sit at this table.'

过来 *guòlái*: indicates the possibility of completing the action carefully and accurately:

(45) 人太多，我恐怕照顾不过来。 (Abbiati, 1998:323)

rén tài duō, wǒ kǒngpà zhàogù-bù-guòlái

people too many, I be afraid of look after-IMPOT-possibility

'I am afraid that there are too many people for me to look after.'

3. The evolution of expression of motion in Italian

Referring to the diachronic analysis we provided in the previous section, like Chinese, Italian has also undergone a shift in language type. In fact, "Latin is traditionally described as a Satellite-Framed language, in which Path is typically expressed by a preverb and / or a prepositional phrase, while the verb root often expresses manner of motion" (Iacobini, Fragrant, 2011:157). Recently, some relevant directional coding phenomena in the transition from Late Latin to the early stages of the Romance varieties have been brought to light: the impoverishment of verbal prefixing, the reinterpretation of manner verbs into directional verbs, and the progressive loss of the possibility of distinguishing between stative and directional meanings in prepositional syntagmas (Iacobini, Corona, 2016:87). Moreover, from a diachronic point of view, Iacobini (2012) observed that a large number of Latin prefixed verbs expressing direct motion have not only been lost over time in the Romance languages, but have also been partially replaced by lexemes that conflate the Path component in the verb root.

It is now clear that modern Italian is a V-languages, that lexicalise the Path in the verb root and encode the Manner in adjuncts. However, we have seen how Italian is an anomaly within the V-languages category and one reason is the presence of so-called "*verbi sintagmatici*", that involve satellites being added to both Locative and Manner verbs to specify or reinforce locative information. Iacobini & Masini (2006) argue that "the passage from the Latin SOV to the Italian SVO word also order helped to reanalyse

the locative relators in post-verbal position (especially when the landmark is not expressed) as modifiers of the verbal head” (Iacobini, Masini, 2006:10):

Latin: *ascendere* / Italian: *andare su*

Latin: *descendere* / Italian: *andare giù*

But the main reason of the development of a manifest locative marking technique (VS) is the morphosemantic “bleaching” of Latin movement verbs. These Latin verbs were prefixed and the loss of productivity of verbal prefixation in the domain of spatiality also contributed to the shift from S-language to V-language constructions. Another reason for the appearance of VS in Italian may have been the influence of Germanic languages, especially in the dialects of northern Italy. But from a theoretical point of view, Iacobini and Masini (2006) exclude this option. First of all because one needs to understand how similar Italian VS actually are with German complex verbs with separable preverbs. Moreover, “syntactic calques from German are a rare occurrence in Romance languages and they mainly concern the literary register rather than the colloquial one” (Iacobini, Masini, 2006:11). To mention another reason, a distinction must be made between structures that arise in the language and whose use becomes systematic over the years, and specific expressions that are isolated and whose meaning can only be elaborated by reference to the original language. Lastly, the studies cited above consider that VS originate in the Italian language and also derive from the transition from Latin to Italian, considered by the Talmyan taxonomy as a V-language.

CHAPTER 3:

The Acquisition Of The Chinese Directional Complement By Italian Learners

In this section, the research carried out on Italian learners of Chinese FL will be presented. The methodologies adopted, the goals of the research, the instruments and the sample of students analysed will therefore be illustrated.

1. Research Questions, Participants and Tasks

Before presenting the tasks produced and submitted to the students, let us introduce the context of the research. First, we had to clarify what the purpose of our research should be, which elements we wanted to analyse and which we would ignore. To do so, we have outlined the objectives and aims of our analysis.

1.1 The Aims of The Research and The Object of The Analysis

The aim of the research is to understand the errors that Italian students make when using the Chinese directional complement. Most researches have Asian learners or learners with English L1 as their sample, only Romagnoli and Luzi (2012) carried out an analysis in this field conducted on Italian learners. Therefore, our investigation aim is to complement the aforementioned study by analysing the errors made by Italian learners. In the following paragraphs, we will describe the questionnaire that we have submitted to the students. Because an analysis of the Chinese directional complement can range over many research objects, before creating the questionnaire, we outlined the points on which the research was to focus.

Based on personal experience and existing studies, we focused on the structure and characteristics of the directional complement that most often induce learners to make mistakes: the choice of manner verbs, the order of constituents and the use of deictics. The first point is connected to the different typologies of Italian and Chinese: as Italian is a V-language, it has less manner verbs and this difference could create an obstacle for the student who has to switch between different language patterns. About the order of constituents, which is the main issue of our research, we previously saw the rigid structure of the Chinese directional complement, and we also observed how the addition of other elements (the *ba* 把, NP types and the aspectual particle *-le* 了) complicates this structure even more. Finally, once we had outlined the objects of analysis, we proceeded to formulate the research questions:

1. Do Italian learners of FL/L2 Chinese and Chinese native speakers differ quantitatively in the use of Chinese directional complements?
2. Are L1 Italian learners across different proficiency levels able to use the correct word order of Chinese directional complements?
3. What qualitative differences can be observed in the use of different types of directional complements? Do the different types of directionals have the same degree of difficulty?
4. How Italian learners' competence in using the Chinese directional complement is related to their Chinese language proficiency?
5. What factors play a role and constitute a source of difficulty in the acquisition of Chinese directional complement for L1 Italian learners?

Regarding the first question, we will try to understand whether native Chinese speakers tend to use the Chinese directional complement more or less frequently than Italian learners. As For the second question, we want to identify the difficulties Italian learners have in understanding word order in the structure of the Chinese directional complement and whether there are differences between learners with different proficiency levels. For the third question, we will focus on the number of errors committed for each type of directional complement described in Table 3 and then cross-reference the data. In the fourth question, we will compare the data of students divided in groups according to their level of proficiency in Chinese. For the last question, we will try to identify the causes of the errors and how L1 influences the competence in the use of the Chinese directional complement. What interests us is to understand whether the characteristics of Italian (few manner verbs, use of gerundive constructions and adverbs, lack of sensitivity in describing all components of a motion event) influence the semantic and, in particular, the syntactic choices in “building” the Chinese directional complement structure.

1.2 Participants

Our research has a total of 42 participants. Of these, 33 constitute the sample of learners to be analysed, while 9 native Chinese speakers constitute the control group. The average age of the participants in the control group is 31 years: the oldest subject is 54 years old, the youngest 23 years old. The cities of origin are Guangzhou (Guangdong), Changchun (Jilin), Beijing, Jinan (Shandong) and Chongqing (Sichuan). One participant has indicated only the province of origin: Jiangsu. 2 participants have not indicated the city. 2 of them are attending a Master's degree course, 4 are attending a PhD course, and 3 have completed their studies.

There are 33 students in the experimental group: of these, 9 are attending a Bachelor's degree course, 21 are attending a Master's degree course, 1 a PhD course and 2 have completed their studies. The average age in the sample of Italian students is 24 years: the oldest subject is 30 years old, the youngest 20 years old. To the question “how long have you been studying Mandarin Chinese?”, 6 students replied that they have been studying Chinese for 3 years, 4 have been studying it for 4 years, 14 for 5 years, while 9 specified that they have been studying Chinese for more than 5 years. 6 of them have never been to China, 7 have been in China for 3 to 6 months, 2 from 6 months to 1 year, 2 students have been there 2 years, one has been in China 3 years, while only one has been in China for more than 5 years.

At the beginning of the questionnaire, the information on data processing was included, as required by Art. 13 of Regulation 2016/679: this stated the purposes and methods of processing the collected data, the storage periods, the recipients, the rights of the participants and the contact details of the research subjects. It was guaranteed that the data collected would be used confidentially, preserving the privacy of the individuals involved.

In order to analyse the data obtained in a more reliable manner, the HSK Chinese language proficiency test (*Hànyǔ shuǐpíng kǎoshì* 汉语水平考试) was used as a criterion to divide the participants into different levels and observe their knowledge of the Chinese directional complement. 14 students did not indicate their level, 1 indicated an HSK3 level, 9 an HSK4 level, 5 an HSK5 and 4 an HSK6. Therefore, to answer to the fourth research question, it was preferred to divide the subjects according to their HSK level, rather than according to their age or length of Chinese study. Indeed, of the various options, language certification is the most reliable criterion (Thomas 2006). Finally, we would like to point out that the fact that we have only one participant with HSK level 3 makes the comparison very insignificant, which is why we decided to merge it with the averages and percentages of the HSK4 group, which is intermediate level anyway.

1.3 The structure of the questionnaire

Participants were asked to fill in a questionnaire divided into two parts: the first includes personal questions, such as age, nationality, mother tongue, languages spoken, course of study attended and questions on Chinese language study, while the second part includes the experimental language tasks. During the realisation of the questionnaire tasks, an attempt was made to diversify the types of exercises and the stimuli, so that the data obtained could return different points of view. With this in mind, exercise types were chosen to make the questionnaire as easy and quick as possible to complete, in order to avoid participants answering randomly and superficially due to fatigue. Furthermore, as this questionnaire does not aim to assess lexical competence, we used very simple vocabulary so that everyone could understand the sentences presented. To

set the tasks, we relied on the research questions previously mentioned as guidelines and each exercise was created on the basis of three factors:

1. On which aspect of the directional complement should every exercise focus?
2. How do we analyse the aspects of the complement on which we have decided to focus? Then, how do we structure the exercise in order to examine that specific aspect?
3. What mistakes could students make?

Having outlined the reasons for each task, we proceeded to create them. We chose a gradual approach: the difficulty increases with each exercise, with the first exercises being more passive and the last ones requiring more activity by the students. In fact, thanks to the first two tasks, learners have a more cushioned impact with the questionnaire and are not discouraged from the start; in addition, they are different stimuli for data collection. All the sentences that constitute the tasks were created by us and we structured them following the guidelines of Wu (2011) and Romagnoli & Luzi's (2012) studies. We created the sentences according to the stimulus to be given and the aim of the exercise, trying to include all the elements of the directional construction and to gradually make the object of the task more explicit by the end of the questionnaire. At the same time, we made the exercises less and less guided from the first to the last by varying the stimuli. Given these premises, we will now present all the tasks.

1.3.1 First Task: Acceptability Judgment Test

The first exercise is the one that requires the least active effort from the student, in order to facilitate the beginning of the questionnaire. The purpose is to assess the acceptability of the submitted sentences: learners are asked to express their opinion choosing one of the available values each of which corresponds to a different degree of acceptability:

1. "Totally unacceptable"
2. "Unacceptable"
3. "Neutral"
4. "Acceptable"

5. “Totally acceptable”

The first task helps us to understand the general competence in the use of directionals. It does not include the Object-NP but only the Place-NP. In addition, in three out of five sentences we inserted the aspectual particle *-le*. In the first two sentences we placed it in the right slot, but in the last one (46) it is the element that makes the sentence unacceptable, because it does not follow the last verb. The aim is to understand whether students can choose the right order of the directional complement by inserting these first two elements into it.

(46) 经理走了进办公室去。(View Appendix A)

Jīnglǐ zǒu-le-jin bànòngshì qu

The manager walk-PFV-inside office thither

“The manager walked into the office.”

1.3.2 Second Task: Words Reordering Test

In this task, learners are asked to reorder the elements of three sentences. The second exercise allows us to have a more specific focus on the order of the elements, but without asking for free productions. This task provides a more guided stimulus than the first exercise, but not as much as the following tasks. The aim is to identify whether the students have understood the order of all the elements we included in the sentences. In fact, in addition to the subject, verb and directional complement in this task we included the Object-NP (47) and in the last sentence also the structure with *ba* must be considered by the students.

(47) 抱 小狗 了 起 男孩 (View Appendix A)

bào xiǎogǒu le qi nánhái

hold puppy PFV up boy

Correct answer: 男孩抱起了小狗

nánhái bào qi-le xiǎogǒu

boy hold up-PFV puppy

“The boy picked up puppy.”

1.3.3 Third Task: Fill the Blanks

This exercise is a controlled composition based on the wordless book *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer, 1969), mainly used to test how speakers of different L1 express motion events (see 1.1). The purpose of this task is to identify the extent to which students tend to use directionals even if it is not explicitly requested; therefore, what we want to analyse is their natural inclination (Wu, 2011) to use this construction. Since no explicit guidance is given on the grammatical structure to be used, students are not guided in the use of the directional complement. We decided to give a fairly rich glossary, choosing the translations that we felt would be most helpful to the students in understanding the whole text. Translation should not be a difficulty in the exercise, because it would shift the focus to the vocabulary and not the syntax of the complement, so the reading should be as fluent as possible. Due to the setting of Google Forms, we could not insert the images referred to under each sentence. The only solution was to insert the most important images, which resume the motion actions, all at the end of the text. This certainly made the compilation more complicated.

1.3.4 Fourth and Fifth Tasks: Context-Guided Written Test

The fourth and fifth tasks are similar. They encapsulate all the complications there may be in the production of directionals (addition of the Object-NP, the Place-NP, the aspectual particle *-le* and the construction with *ba*). The fourth exercise is designed as follows: the students will see four sentences in sequence describing different types of physical movement. Each sentence is accompanied by a short explanation that creates the context of the motion situation. When answering the questions, they have to pretend to be A in each situation. Their task is to describe B's movement from A's perspective and complete the sentences in Chinese. Students must use the verb in brackets and, if they are present, the nouns as well.

The fifth task is designed to test the learners' ability to use all the types of DCs and their ability to use the right deictic. Like the previous task, this one also has four questions to answer. The answers are made in the form of a request, to prompt the use of the deictic DCs *lai* or *qu*. The form of request is suggested by the presence of the verb *qing* 请 at the beginning of the blank space (Romagnoli & Luzi, 2012). Furthermore, in this exercise we explicitly ask participants to use *lai* and *qu*, whereas in the previous one we do not, so as to understand the difficulties in using the two deictics. Each sentence appears as follows:

(48) You live on the sixth floor. You wait for your food to be delivered, the delivery man rings, and you tell him to bring it up. What would you say?

(we have translated the instructions because the questionnaire is in Italian)

请_____ (食物, 送, 六楼)

请把食物送上六楼来。 (View Appendix A)

qǐng bǎ shíwù sòng-shàng liù lóu lái

Please BA food deliver-up six floor hither

“Please bring the food up to the sixth floor.”

2. Research Results

First, we will present the results of the control group, then we will report the results of the students.

2.1 Control Group Results

In this section we will report the results obtained from the language sample of the control group, the nine Chinese native speakers we described above. This investigation will make it possible to establish which sentences cannot be considered acceptable in the Chinese language because they contain errors. Subsequently, these will serve as a reference point in the analysis of the mistakes made by Italian students.

Table 5: First Task: Control Group Results

Sentence	Average	Number of answers "1"	Number of answers "2"	Number of answers "3"	Number of answers "4"	Number of answers "5"
1. 爸爸不在, 他出去买东西了	4,8				1	8
2. 上课了, 大家都进来教室吧	3	1	2	2	3	1
3. 老师走进办公室	4	1		2	1	5
4. 妈妈从饭馆跑去出了	2,2	6			1	2
5. 经理走了进办公室去	1	8	1			

As it can be deduced by looking at the averages obtained, sentences 4 and 5 will be considered incorrect. Although sentence 2 is grammatically incorrect because the Place-NP always precedes the Deictic DCs, nevertheless native speakers answered with an average score of “3”: four of them (44%) considered it as acceptable. Below there is the table of the second task:

Table 6: Second Task: Control Group Results

Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3
你先上楼去找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我去帮助妈妈把东西拿上
我先上楼去找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我去帮助妈妈把东西拿上
你先上楼去找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我去帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
你先上楼去找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
你先上楼去找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
你先上楼去找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
你先去楼上找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
你先去楼上找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
你先去楼上找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去

In the first sentence of the exercise, native speakers rearranged the words in two different ways, constructing two sentences, but only one includes the Chinese directional complement: *nǐ xiān shàng lóu qù zhǎo tā* 你先上楼去找他. The sentence *nǐ xiān qù lóu shàng zhǎo tā* 你先去楼上找他 is obviously not wrong, but within it there is no directional complement. In the second sentence, all 8 participants chose the same order, which we will therefore consider as correct. For the last sentence, the third answer has two verbs *qù* 去. The participant added an extra word, but the directional is correct, so we consider the answer as valid. In the other two combinations the verb *qù* is used as a deictic in the last answers and we will take those as correct in order to compare them with the students' answers.

Table 7: Third Task: Control Group Results

1 st Blank	2 nd Blank	3 rd Blank	4 th Blank	5 th Blank
跳出去	跌出 跌出	探出 探出	掉下来 掉下来	飞出来 飞出来了

跳出去	跌出	探出	掉下来	飞出来了
跳出去	跌出	探出	掉了	飞了出来
跳出去	跌出	探出	掉	飞了出来
跳出去	跌出	探出	掉	飞走了
跳出去了	跌出了	探出	掉	飞走了
跳出	跌到	探出	掉	飞走了
跳走	跌出	探过	掉	飞
跳下来				

Taking the native speakers' choices in consideration, we will consider the following directional constructs as correct when evaluating the answers of the group of learners: *tiào chuqu* 跳出去, *diē chu* 跌出, *tàn chu* 探出, *diào xialai* 掉下来, *fēi chulai* 飞出来.

Table 8: Fourth Task: Control Group Results

Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3	Sentence 4
站起来回答了	回了办公室	出了超市	松鼠向我跑来
站起来了	走进办公室	出了超市	松鼠向我跑来了
站了起来	走进办公室去了	走出超市	松鼠向我跑了过来
他站起来了	他走进办公室	他走出超市	松鼠跑下来
他站起来了	他走进办公室	他走出超市	松鼠跑下来了
他站起来	他走进办公室	他走了出来	松鼠跑向我
他站起来	他走进办公室	他走出超市来了	松鼠跑了过来
他站起来	他走进办公室了	他从超市走出来	松鼠跑过来
他站起来	他走进办公室来了	他从超市出来了	松鼠朝我跑过来

Also in this task, the sentences we will consider to make comparisons with the students' answers are those that appear most frequently and with the most complete directional complement. For the first sentence *tā zhàn qǐlái (le)* 他站起来(了) it's the common answer. In the second situation, *zǒu jìn bàngōngshì (qu-le)* 走进办公室(去-了) is the most frequently used sentence with all the elements of the directional complement. In the third question the most commonly used combination is *zǒuchū chāoshì (lái)* 走出超市(来), but we will also take as valid the students' answers in which they use the preposition *cóng* 从, like the last two answers of native speakers. The last question is

the one with slightly different answers. The answers differ from each other because some of them involve the use of the proposition xiàng 向; but generally, the more frequently used structure is *pǎo (xia) lai (le)* 跑(下)来(了), and we will consider it valid for our analysis.

Table 9: Fifth Task: Control Group Results

Sentence 1	Sentence 2
请把食物送到六楼来	请把盒子放在架子上
请把食物送到六楼	请把盒子放回架子
请把食物送到六楼来	请把盒子放回架子上
请把食物送到六楼来	请把盒子放回架子上
请把食物送到六楼	请把盒子放到架子上
请把食物送到六楼	请把盒子放到架子上
请把食物送到六楼	请把盒子放到架子上去
请把食物送来六楼	请把盒子放到架子上去
请把食物送上六楼	请把盒子靠着架子放回
Sentence 3	Sentence 4
请把这些东西拿给他	请把衣服放进箱子里
请把东西拿给他	请把衣服放进箱子里
请把东西拿给他	请把衣服放进箱子
请把东西拿给	请把衣服放进箱子
请帮我把东西拿到他家去	请把衣服都放进箱子
请把他东西带回家	请把衣服放在箱子里
请替我帮拿一下东西	请把所有的衣服整理在箱子里
请帮他把东西拿到他家去	请把衣服放到箱子里去
请让他把东西带去给你	请把衣服放到箱子里去

For the first sentence of this task, we expected this answer: *qǐng bǎ shíwù sòng shàng liù lóu (lai)* 请把食物送上六楼(来), but only one native speaker answered in this way, the most common answer is with *dào* 到 as a complement. We will not consider the learners' answers with *dào* as incorrect, but since in this work we have not included *dào* among the directionals, we will not take those answers as valid for our analysis. This will apply to this sentence and the others to follow. In the second situation the more complete answer that we will consider is: *qǐng bǎ hézi fàng huì jiàzi shang* 请把盒子放回架子上. For the third question, there is some confusion in the answers, suppose our question was not very clear for native Chinese speakers. We expected this answer: *qǐng*

nǐ bāng tā bǎ dōngxī dōu ná shàngqù 请你帮他把东西都拿上去. We will analyse this question well by comparing it to the students' answers, to whom perhaps the Italian text was clearer. In the last question, the most common use of directional complement is the following: *qǐng bǎ yīfú fàng jìn xiāngzi (lǐ)* 请把衣服放进箱子(里).

2.2 Results From The Learners' Group

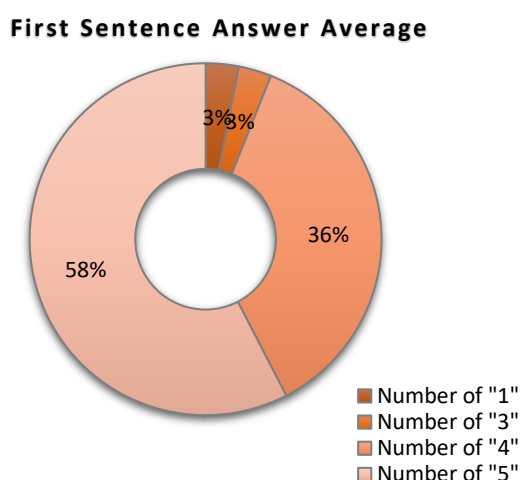
Having reported the answers of the Chinese native speakers, we now show those of the Italian students. 33 learners participated in this research, one with an HSK3, nine with an HSK4, five with an HSK5 and four with an HSK6. We repeat that since only one student indicated an HSK3 level, his answers will be counted in the averages and percentages of students with an HSK4.

In the next chapter, we will discuss the following data, cross-referencing the data of the students and native speakers' groups.

2.2.1 First Task: Learners' Group Results

For the first task, we will report the students' answers sentence by sentence, highlighting not only the averages of the answers, but also grouping them according to the students' proficiency levels. The learners answered the first question with an average of 4.5:

Chart 1: First Task - First Sentence: Learners' Group Results

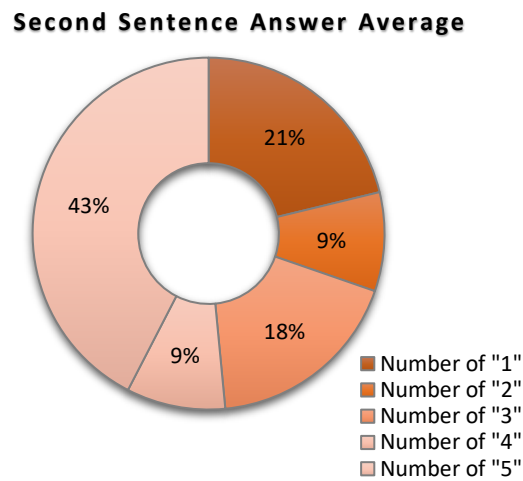


The results averages split according to the students' level of competence are as follows:

- No HSK level indicated: 4,5
- HSK3/HSK4: 4,5
- HSK5: 5
- HSK6: 4,5

In the second question the average answer is 3.6:

Chart 2: First Task - Second Sentence: Learners' Group Results



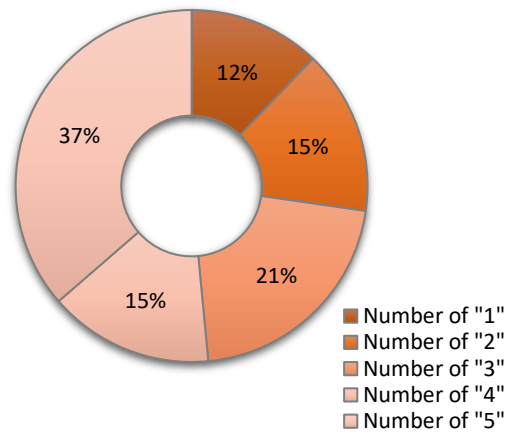
The results averages split according to the students' level of competence are as follows:

- No HSK level indicated: 3,5
- HSK3/HSK4: 3,8
- HSK5: 4,8
- HSK6: 2,2

In the third question, the average student answer is 3.5:

Chart 3: First Task - Third Sentence: Learners' Group Results

Third Sentence Answer Average



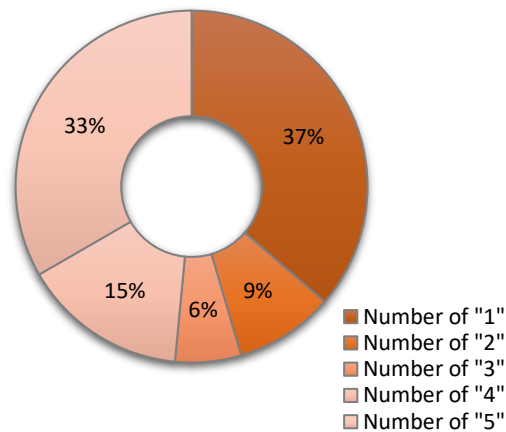
The results averages split according to the students' level of competence are as follows:

- No HSK level indicated: 3,8
- HSK3/HSK4: 3,5
- HSK5: 2
- HSK6: 3,5

The learners answered the fourth question with an average of 3,2:

Chart 4: First Task - Fourth Sentence: Learners' Group Results

Fourth Sentence Answer Average



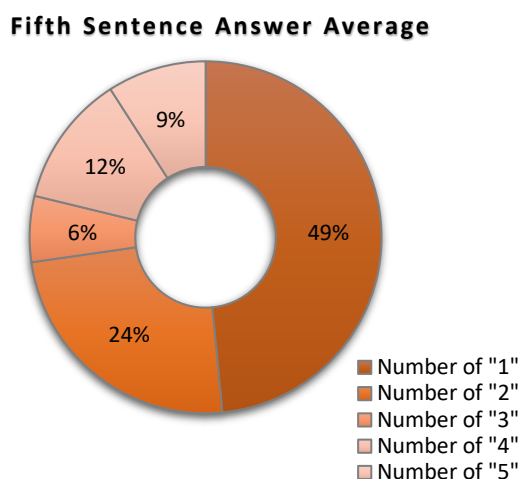
The results averages split according to the students' level of competence are as follows:

- No HSK level indicated: 3
- HSK3/HSK4: 3
- HSK5: 2,6

- HSK6: 2,7

The average of the answers to question 5 is 2.3:

Chart 5: First Task - Fifth Sentence: Learners' Group Results



The results averages split according to the students' level of competence are as follows:

- No HSK level indicated: 2,3
- HSK3/HSK4: 2
- HSK5: 1,4
- HSK6: 1,2

2.2.2 Second Task: Learners' Group Results

For this exercise, we will indicate the various sentences constructed by the students, report both the right answers, so sentences with words rearranged in such a way as to create directional complements, as well as sentences with words rearranged without creating a directional complement, and also sentences with words rearranged incorrectly and not grammatically acceptable. We report the answers in tables by dividing them into the levels indicated by the students, starting with the answers of who did not indicate the proficiency level.

Table 10: Second Task: Learners' Group Results

STUDENTS WITH NO HSK LEVEL INDICATED		
Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3
他先去上楼找你	男孩抱起了小狗	我去帮助妈妈把东西拿上
你先上楼去找他	男孩起抱了小狗	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
他先去找你上楼	男孩抱起了小狗	我把妈妈帮助拿东西上去
你先去上楼找他	小狗跑起了男孩	我去帮助妈妈把东西拿上
他先去楼上去找你	男孩抱起小狗了	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
你先上楼去找他	男孩抱起小狗了	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
你先上楼去找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
你先去楼上找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
他先去数上找你	男孩抱起了小狗	我把东西拿上帮助妈妈
你先去上楼找他	男孩起抱了小狗	我把东西帮助妈妈拿上
他先上楼去找你	孩子抱起了小狗	我帮助妈妈把东西拿去上
你先上楼去找他	男孩起抱了小狗	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
先他上楼去找你	男孩起抱小狗了	我把妈妈帮助上去拿东西
你先上楼去找他	男孩抱起小狗了	我帮助妈吗把东西拿上去

HSK3		
Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3
他先上楼去找你	男孩抱起小狗了	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去

HSK4		
Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3
你先上楼去找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
你先去上楼找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我去帮助妈妈把东西拿上
你先上楼去找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我去帮助妈妈把东西拿上
他先上楼去找你	男孩抱起了小狗	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
他先去上楼找你	小狗抱走了男孩	我上拿东西去帮助妈妈
你先去上楼找她	男孩起抱了小狗了	我去帮助把妈妈拿上东西
你先去上楼找他	男孩把小狗起了	我去帮助妈妈把东西拿上
你先去楼上找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
你先去楼上找他	男孩抱起小狗了	我去帮助妈妈把东西拿上

HSK5		
Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3

你先上楼去找他	小狗抱起男孩了	我去帮助妈妈把东西拿上
你先上楼去找他	男孩抱起了小狗	我去帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
你先上楼去找他	男孩抱小狗起了	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
你先去楼上找他	男孩抱起小狗	我去帮助妈妈把东西拿上
你先上楼去找她	男孩抱起小狗了	我去帮助妈妈把东西拿上

HSK6		
Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3
他先上楼去找你	男孩抱起了小狗	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
他去楼上找你	男孩包小狗抱小狗起了	我去帮助妈妈把东西拿上
你先上楼去找他	男孩抱小狗起了	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去
你先上楼去找他	男孩抱起小狗了	我帮助妈妈把东西拿上去

2.2.3 Third Task: Learners' Group Results

The third task is the “fill the blanks” exercise. Here too, we report the students' results according to their level of proficiency. In the next chapter, the data will be discussed and the answers to this task will tell us whether Italian learners tend to use the Chinese directional complement more or less often than native speakers.

Table 11: Third Task: Learners' Group Results

STUDENTS WITH NO HSK LEVEL INDICATED				
Blank 1	Blank 2	Blank 3	Blank 4	Blank 5
跳出	跌下	探起	掉下	飞出
跳下去	跌下去	探出来	掉下去	飞去
跳出去	跌下去	探出来	掉下来	飞出去
跳出去了	跌去	探	掉下	飞出来
跳出	跌下	探出	掉下	飞出
跳出	跌出	探上	掉下来	飞起来
跳出去了	跌下去了	探出来	掉下去了	飞起来了
跳出去	跌下	探出	掉下	飞出
跳来	跌去	探出	掉出	飞上
跳出去了	跌下	探上	掉下去	飞出去
跳出	跌下	探出来	掉下	飞出

跳出了	跌下去了	探出	掉下	飞起来
跳下	跌进	探出	掉地上	飞走了
跳起	跌出	探出	掉下	飞去

HSK3				
Blank 1	Blank 2	Blank 3	Blank 4	Blank 5
跳下去	跌下去	探去来	掉下去	飞去

HSK4				
Blank 1	Blank 2	Blank 3	Blank 4	Blank 5
跳出来	掉下来	探出来	掉下来	飞出来
跳出	跌下	探出	掉下	飞来
跳出去	跌下	探出	掉下去	起
跳下来	跌出	探起	掉下来	飞走了
跳	跌下	探	掉	飞了
跳过	跌了	探上	掉下	飞出
跳出	跌进去	跳出	掉	飞出
跳出去	跌出	探出	掉下来	飞过去
跳出去	//	探出	掉下来	飞出来

HSK5				
Blank 1	Blank 2	Blank 3	Blank 4	Blank 5
跳出	跌下	探起	掉下	飞出去
条走	跌到	探出	掉下来	飞出来
跳下去	跌下去	探起	掉下去	飞起来
跳走了	跌到	探出	掉下	飞出
跳出去了	跌出了	探出	掉下来	飞出来了

HSK6				
Blank 1	Blank 2	Blank 3	Blank 4	Blank 5
跳进去了	跌出去了	探出	掉下来	飞走出
跳起	跌下	探来	掉下	飞走
跳出去	跌下去	探	掉下来	飞出去了
跳出去	跌到	探出	掉下	飞出来了

2.2.4 Fourth Task: Learners' Group Results

The fourth task is the first of the last two production exercises. The students were guided by the explanation of the context and the words (verbs and nouns) in brackets, with these elements they had to construct the most suitable (and grammatically correct) sentence describing the situation. We will present the data in the same way as for the previous exercises.

Table 12: Fourth Task: Learners' Group Results

STUDENTS WITH NO HSK LEVEL INDICATED			
Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3	Sentence 4
他站上	他走进办公室	他出来超市	松鼠跑下来
他站起	他走办公室进去	他出超市来	松鼠跑下来
他上来站	他进去办公室走了	他出来超市走了	松鼠下来跑了
他站起来去	他走进办公室	他出来超市	松鼠跑来
站起来	走进办公室了	从超市出来了	松鼠从树上跑下来了
站起来	走进办公室	走出超市	松鼠跑下来
他站起来了	他走进办公室去	他从超市走出来	松鼠向我跑来
他站起来	他走进办公室去	他出超市来	松鼠抛下来
他站起来去	他走办公室去	他从超市出来	松鼠跑来
他站起来去	他走进办公室去	他出超市来	松鼠跑起来
站起来去	走进办公室去	走出超市来	松鼠跑来
他站起来去	他走进办公室去	他出超市来	松鼠跑来我
他站起来	他走进办公室	他出去超市	松鼠跑下
他站起来	他走办公室去	他出来超市	松鼠跑我来

HSK3			
Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3	Sentence 4
他站起	他走办公室进去	他出超市来	松鼠跑下来

HSK4			
Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3	Sentence 4
我的朋友站了起来	我的朋友走了办公室去	我的朋友从超市出来了	松鼠向我跑来

他站上了	他走进办公室去	他出超市来	松鼠跑过来
他站起来了	他走进办公室去了	他从办公室出来了	松鼠向我跑来了
他站起来了	他走办公室去	他从超市出去	松鼠跑来
他上起来	他走去办公室	他出去超市	松鼠跑来向我
她站起来	她走去办公室	她出来超市	松鼠跑来
他从椅子上站起来回答老师问题	在办公室外聊天儿完，他走进办公室	我在超市外面等他，现在在他去超市	我在一个树下，一个松鼠向我跑来
站起来	走进办公室来	走出超市来	松鼠跑过来
他站起来	他走进办公室去	他从超市里出来了	松鼠跑下来了

HSK5			
Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3	Sentence 4
他站起来了	他走进去办公室了	他从超市出来了	松鼠抱过来
站起来了	走进办公室去了	从超市里出来了	松鼠跑下来了
站起来	走进办公室去	出超市来	松鼠跑过来
他站起来了	他走进办公室了	他从超市里出来了	他跑下来了
他站起来	他走进办公室去	他出超市来	松鼠跑下来

HSK6			
Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3	Sentence 4
他站起来了	他走进办公室去了	他走出超市来了	松鼠跑下树来了
他站上来	他走去办公室	他出来超市	松鼠跑来
他站起来	//	他从超市出来	松鼠跑过来
站起来	走进办公	从超市出来/ 出超市来	跑过来

2.2.5 Fifth Task: Learners' Group Results

The last task is similar to the previous one. Here we will focus a little more on seeing if there are any differences from the other exercises in the use of *qu* and *lai*. In this task it was explicitly asked to use deictics when necessary. We now report the answers (in form of requests) produced by the students.

Table 13: Fifth Task: Learners' Group Results

STUDENTS WITH NO HSK LEVEL INDICATED			
Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3	Sentence 4
请把食物送上六楼	请把那个盒子放架子上	请帮助他把东西拿上他家	请把你的衣服都放进箱子
请您把食物送六楼上来	请您把盒子放架子上去	请您把他东西拿上去	请您把衣服放箱子内去
请你送六楼来食物	请你把盒子放上去架子上	请你帮忙他拿上楼东西去	请你把衣服都放进箱子
请你把食物送来六楼	请你把盒子放架子上	请你帮助 C 把东西拿去	请你把衣服都放在箱子里
先生，请您把食物送到六楼	请你把盒子放在架子上	请你把他的东子拿上去	请把你的衣服放进箱子里去
请把食物送六楼来	请把盒子放在架子上	请他的东西拿他家	请把衣服放在箱子里
请你在六楼送来我食物	请你把盒子放架子去	请你帮助他把东西拿上去	请你把衣服放在箱子里
请你把食物送上六楼来	请你把盒子放在架子上	请你帮助他把东西拿上去	请你把衣服放进箱子里
请你把送食物六数来	请你把盒子放架子上	请你帮助他把东西拿在他哪儿	请你把衣服都放箱子里
你把食物送上六楼来	你把盒子放在架子上	你帮助他把东西拿上	你把所有的衣服都放在箱子里
请你在六楼上送来食物	请你在架子上放盒子	请你帮助他把东西拿上	请你在箱子里放衣服
请食物送上六楼来	请盒子放上架子去	请把东西拿上去	请把衣服放进箱子
你送来食物六楼	你放盒子架子上	你帮助他去拿东西	把都有衣服放进你的箱子
请你把食物送来六楼	请你把盒子放架子上	请帮助 C 把东西拿去他这儿	请你把衣服放在箱子里

HSK3			
Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3	Sentence 4
请你把食物送六楼上来	请你把盒子放架子上去	请你把他东西拿上去	请你把衣服放箱子内去

HSK4			
Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3	Sentence 4
你能把食物送到六楼给我吗？	你能把盒子放在架子上吗？	你能把她的东西拿到她家吗？	你能把所有的衣服都放在箱子里吗？
请你把食物送六楼来	请你把盒子放在架子上	请你把这些东西拿到他家	请你把衣服放在箱子里

请你把食物送给我六楼	请你累一把盒子放在架子上	请你可以帮助他把那些东西搬他家上去	请你把衣服放在箱子里
请您把食物送上六楼	请你把盒子放在架子上	请你帮助他东西拿上去	请你把衣服放在箱子里
请你带来食物到六楼	请你把盒子放在架子上	请你拿东西去他那儿	请你把衣服放在箱子里
请您送来食物在六楼	请你放盒子架子上	请帮助她拿上东西	请把衣服放进箱子
请把食物送到六楼	请把盒子放在架子上	请帮忙他把东西拿家	请把所有衣服放在李箱里
请你把食物送到六楼	请你把盒子放在架子上	请你把这些东西为我拿上去	请你把衣服放在箱子里
请把食物送上六楼来	请把盒子放在架子上	请帮助他东西拿上去	请把衣服放进箱子里

HSK5			
Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3	Sentence 4
请把食物送来六楼	请把盒子放在架子上	请帮助他东西拿过去	请把所有的衣服放在箱子里
请你把食物送到六楼来	请你把盒子放回去	请你把衣服放箱子里去	//
请把食物送过来	请把盒子放架子上	请帮助他东西拿上去	请把所有的衣服放在箱子里
请把食物送到六楼来	请把盒子放在架子上	请你帮他东西拿上去	请你把所有的衣服放在箱子里
请你把食物送到六楼来	请把盒子放回架子上	请你帮他东西拿到家里去	请你把所有的衣服放进箱子里

HSK6			
Sentence 1	Sentence 2	Sentence 3	Sentence 4
请你把食物送上六楼来	请你把盒子放回架子上去	请你帮助他东西拿上去了	请你把衣服都放进箱子里去
请你出六楼上来送我食物	请你把盒子放架子上	请你帮助他东西拿他家上去	请你把衣服放
请你把食物送来六楼	请你把盒子放回架子上	请你拿东西送到C家	请你把衣服放在箱子里
请您把食物送到六楼来	请你把盒子放在架子上面去	请你帮下他东西拿上去	请你把所有的衣服都放在箱子里面

We reported all the data collected through the questionnaire tasks. In the next chapter we will discuss the learners' data and compare them with native speakers' data. It is worth mentioning that we will not focus on grammatical and/or lexical errors that do not result from the use of the directional complement. The purpose of our work is to

analyse errors, in particular syntactic errors (word order), in the use of the Chinese directional complement in relation to the research questions. All other errors found in the students' answers will not be analysed.

CHAPTER 4:

Discussion of the Research Results

In this chapter the results of the research will be analysed and discussed, taking into consideration the aims presented in the previous chapter (see chapter 3, section 1.1). On the basis of the errors identified in the questionnaire, the most problematic aspects that the 33 Italian learners showed in relation to the acquisition of the Chinese directional complement will be explained. These data will be compared both with the data of the control group (native Chinese speakers) and with each other, taking into consideration the level of language proficiency indicated by the learners.

1. Data Discussion: Comparison

For each of the five questionnaire tasks, we will compare the data from the control group and the learners' group. Then, we will divide the students' error percentages among the different HSK levels.

1.1 First Task: Data Comparison

In the acceptability judgment test the first and the third sentence are considered acceptable. The students' data on the first sentence are similar, even across the different proficiency levels, with an average of "4.5" (totally acceptable). Learners recognised the correct construction of the directional complement and the correct order of the elements.

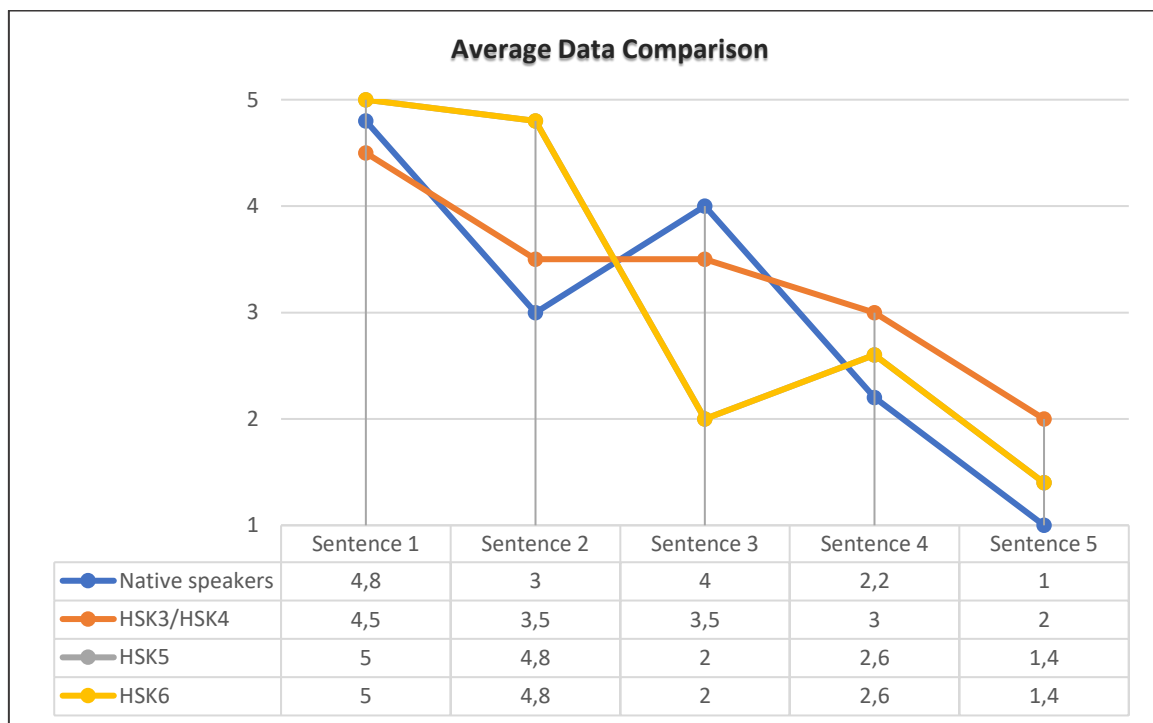
Regarding the third sentence, the native speakers recognised it as acceptable, with an answer average of "4" (acceptable), while the students group answered the question with an average of "3,5". Although the average of the students' answers does not seem so far from that of the control group, we should remember that acceptability values range from 1 to 5, so a gap of 0.5 may be larger than it seems. Overall, the students' average was "3.5" for HSK3/HSK4 and HSK6, while students with an HSK5 answered with an average of only "2". Sentence 3 may not be complete due to an intentional omission of the deictics, but the order of the other elements of the sentence is correct. We can therefore assume that the incorrect answers stem from a non-recognition of the directional complement consisting of the combination of two verbs: *zǒu jìn* 走进.

In the second sentence we inserted the locative object after the deictic. The rule is that the locative object must always precede the deictic, but the control group considered the sentence not totally unacceptable (the average response was "3"). The students

answered with an average of “3.6”, the best average answer was “2,2” of HSK6 level, that probably recognized the wrong order of the elements.

The fourth and the fifth sentences are unacceptable. Learners with higher levels of proficiency all recognised the incorrect position of the modal particle *-le* in the last sentence. Whereas the fourth sentence was not considered totally unacceptable, with average answers of “3” from students with HSK3/HSK4 and “2.6” from those with HSK5 and HSK6. Many learners with an HSK4 did not understand the inversion we made of the DCs *chu* 出 and *qu* 去 (which must always be placed last). The task has clearly had positive results overall.

Chart 6: First Task – Data Comparison



1.2 Second Task: Data Comparison

The second task involved reordering the words of three sentences. We will analyse the students' answers according to the three parameters:

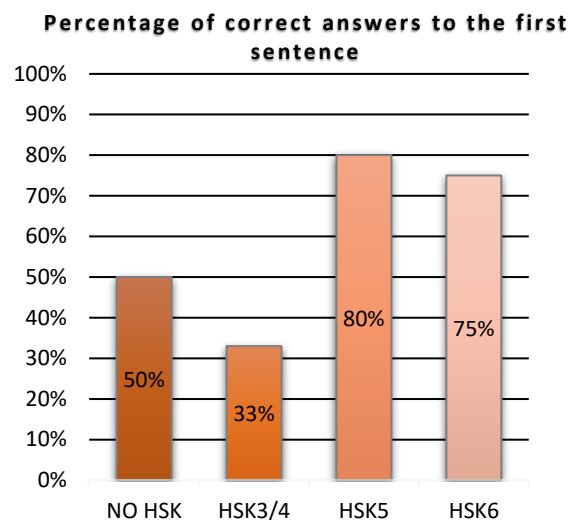
1. Correct: when the word order is correct, and the use of the directional complement is also valid.

2. Null: when the chosen word order is correct, but the directional complement is not used.

3. Wrong: when the word order is completely wrong.

Let's analyse the data of the first sentence

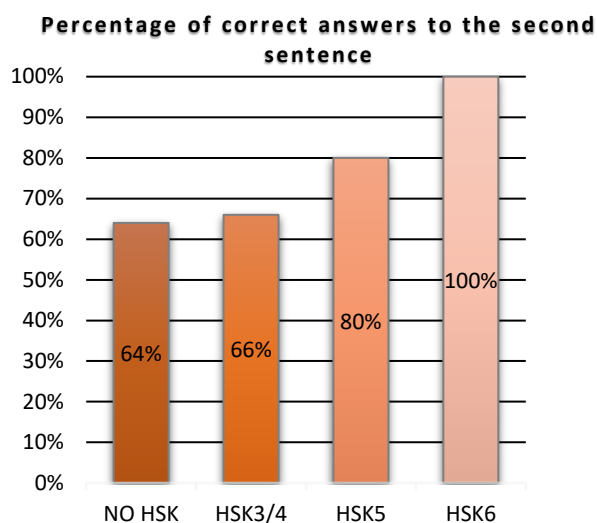
Chart 7: Second Task – First Sentence: Correct Answer Comparison



As we can see apart for HSK level 4, in general students used the correct order of the elements to construct the directional complement. We must specify that almost 50% of the sentences of the students with HSK3/HSK4 were considered null, but not wrong. As well as some of the native speakers, these students rearranged the sentence in the following way: *nǐ xiān qù lóu shàng zhǎo tā* 你先去楼上找他. In this case they used the verb *qù* 去 as main verb and not as an element of the directional complement, and *shàng* 上 instead of a verb becomes a locative. We repeat that this sentence is not grammatically wrong, but students did not produce a sentence with the Chinese directional complement in it like: *nǐ xiān shàng lóu qù zhǎo tā* 你先上楼去找她. Wrong answers could result from not understanding the functions of *shàng* and *qù* in the sentence. Remember that since there are no morphological markers indicating the function of a word, if students do not recognise the words' functions in the sentence, it is very likely that they will use the wrong order of the elements.

Going on to the second sentence, we have very few null responses resulting from an inversion of the patient and the agent, so although the directional complement is well constructed the sentence does not make sense. We could not count these answers as right.

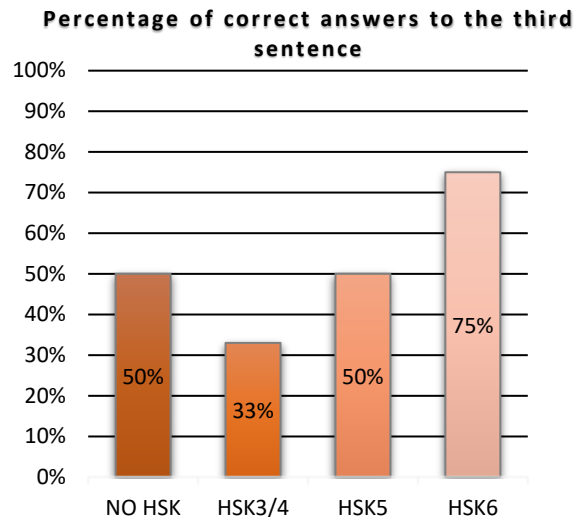
Chart 8: Second Task – Second Sentence: Correct Answer Comparison



This sentence created fewer problems for the students, in fact we have higher percentages of correct answers. However, some learners with HSK4 and others who did not indicate the level inverted the order of the verbs 抱 *bào* and 起 *qǐ*. *Qǐ* must go after because it indicates the path (it is the satellite), whereas *bào* is the verb that indicates the manner of movement. This is quite a serious mistake, because there were not many elements in the sentence, so the students should have recognised the verb that has to go first. With regard to the correct answers, we would like to point out that some students answered by inserting the Object-NP between the verb and DC1, which leads us to deduce that they have acquired the rules of object positioning in the sentence with the directionals.

The last sentence is apparently the most difficult one for the students as there are more elements, including *bǎ* 把. The errors here are of various types: many inserted the wrong object after *bǎ*, others got the order of the elements of the directional complement completely wrong or completely reversed the order of the words in the sentence. The null answers, on the other hand, are the same as those produced by native speakers: they used *qù* 去 as a verb instead of as a directional: *wǒ qù bāngzhù mā mǎ bǎ dōngxī ná shàng* 我去帮助妈妈把东西拿上, the sentence is not obviously ungrammatical, but the directional complement is not complete, they missed the deictic.

Chart 9: Second Task – Third Sentence: Correct Answer Comparison



As we have already mentioned, the larger number of elements created some difficulties, the wrong answers resulted from incorrect word order. The *ba* created some confusion in the placement of all the elements and the order of the complement was also affected. One person got the order right with *ba*, but reversed path and deictic elements by putting *qu* first: *wǒ bāngzhù māma bǎ dōngxi ná qu shàng* 我帮助妈妈把东西拿去上.

In general, in this exercise we started to see the first difficulties of the students, which, as we predicted, are related to the number of elements to be inserted in the sentence. The order was wrong when the structure Verb of manner + DC1 (closed class) + Deictic DCs (*lai/qu*) was not respected. We will analyse these issues even more in detail in task 4 and 5.

1.3 Third Task: Data Comparison

In this task, students had to fill in the blanks with the verb in brackets. They had no indication of what other element they should add. We left the students free to decide, most of them still used the Chinese directional complement in their answers. In some answers, learners did not use the complement, but inserted the resultative *zǒu* 走. Since this is a solution that also appears in the data of native speakers, we considered these answers as correct, linguistically acceptable, but we did not count them among the valid ones. Finally, in some answers the students placed only the verb, or the verb together with the aspectual particle *-le* 了. These answers were considered incorrect.

The three parameters used to analyse the data of this task are slightly different from those used for the previous task:

1. Correct: when the directional complement is composed of all its elements and the order is correct.

2. Valid: when there is omission of the deictic or incorrect use of the deictic. In this task we are more interested in understanding whether the students are able to use the right DC1 (the one on which Chinese speakers encode the path of movement). The use of the deictic was not explicitly requested, so even if they got it wrong, the answer is considered valid. Obviously, we will mark the incorrect use of the deictic.

3. Wrong: when students omit the DC1 or enter the wrong one in their answers. Answers without the directional complement are also considered wrong.

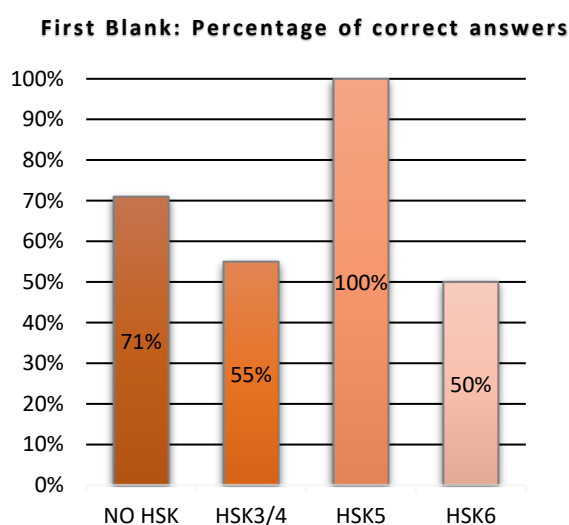
Let us analyse the students' data starting with the first blank to be filled in and see the percentage of correct answers.

Blank 1: 从开着的窗户_____了 (跳 *tiào*, saltare) (see Appendix A)

“Correct” answers: 跳出去 (了)

“Valid” answers: 跳出 (了)

Chart 10: Third Task – First Blank: Correct Answer Comparison



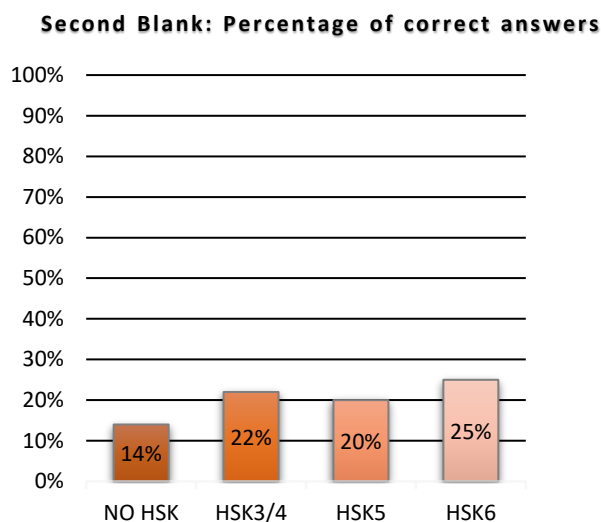
Two students with an HSK5 answered using *tiào zǒu* 跳走. We did not count these two answers in the percentage, but we reiterate that, based on the answers of the native speakers, the sentence is grammatically acceptable. In several answer students used *xia* 下 instead of *chu* 出. We can assume that the choice was dictated by a mistaken focus: instead of giving importance to the movement of the frog exiting the jar, they perhaps gave more importance to the final phase of the frog's movement, which at the apex of its leap descends as it exits the jar.

Blank 2: 小狗头朝下就_____了窗外 (跌 *diē*, *cadere*) (see Appendix A)

“Correct” answers: 跌出 (了)

“Valid” answers: 跌出去 (了) – a clarification must be made here. Immediately after the space to fill there is the Place-NP, which is the window (*chuāngwài* 窗外). Inserting a complex directional complement would then put the deictic before the Place-NP, which would make the order wrong since the locative object must always go before the deictic. However, taken without context the order is correct (path and deictic have not been inverted), plus we found in the first exercise that an anticipation of the deictic over the Place-NP does not make the sentence totally unacceptable to native speakers (see chapter 4, section 1.1).

Chart 11: Third Task – Second Blank: Correct Answer Comparison



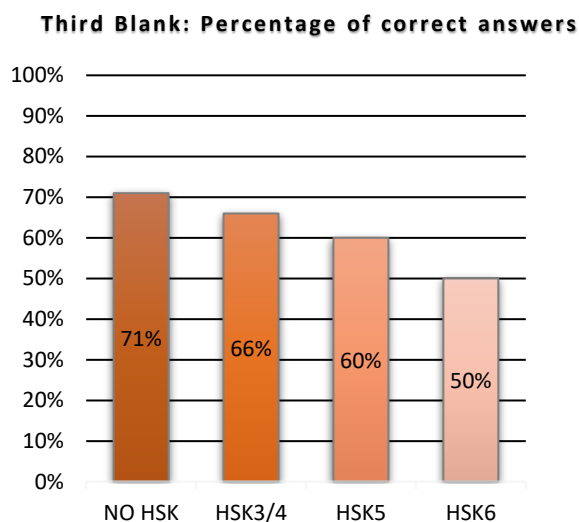
This blank created a lot of difficulties for the students. Many responded by filling it with the directional *xia* 下 instead of *chu* 出. They probably did not notice that Place-NP (*chuāngwài* 窗外) was present after the space. The students therefore chose the directional they thought most appropriate for the verb *diē* 跌, however they did not consider the context created by the Place-NP in the sentence, which placed more importance on the outgoing rather than the descending movement. Probably because Italian tends not to give too much information about the path of the movement, Italian learners are not clear which section of the movement to emphasise (whether *out* or *down* as in this blank, but also *up* or *out* as we can see in the next blank).

Blank 3: 一只土拨鼠_____头来 (探 *tàn*, *spuntare fuori*) (see Appendix A)

“Correct” answers: 探出 (了)

“Valid” answers: 探出来 – some students added the deictic *lai*. Although the addition of this deictic is wrong here because there is already *lai* after the blank, we do not consider the wrong use of the deictic in this task, as we previously explained. The DC1 and the order of the elements are right, so we consider the answer as “valid”.

Chart 12: Third Task – Third Blank: Correct Answer Comparison



Students' answers are mostly correct. Some have more focus on the rising movement and added *shang* 上 or *qi* 起. This opens up the discussion on students' difficulty in choosing whether to use *shang* or *qi*, but we will see this more in the next exercise.

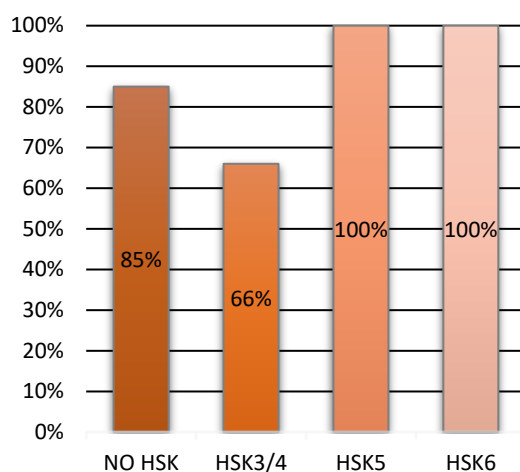
Blank 4: 蜂窝_____了 (掉 *diào*, *staccarsi e cadere*) (see Appendix A)

“Correct” answers: 掉下来

“Valid” answers: 掉下/掉下去 - also in this case we consider the answer with the wrong deictic as “valid”. A specific analysis on deictics will be made in the last two tasks.

Chart 13: Third Task – Fourth Blank: Correct Answer Comparison

Fourth Blank: Percentage of correct answers



Most of the students answered correctly. The directional movement (downward) is strongly linked to the meaning of the main verb (to fall) and the students did not find it difficult to understand which DC1 to use.

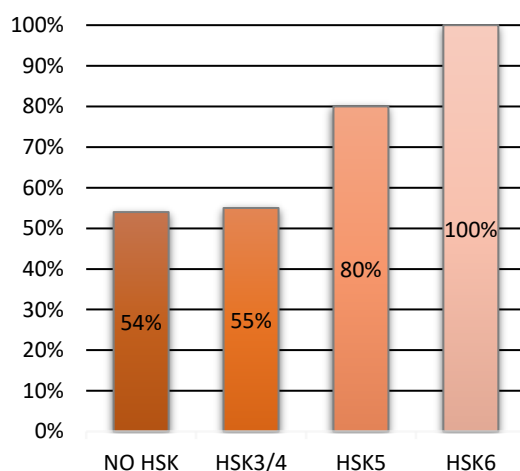
Blank 5: 里边的蜜蜂全都_____ (飞 *fēi*, volare) (see Appendix A)

“Correct” answers: 飞了出来

“Valid” answers: 飞出/飞出去

Chart 14: Third Task – Fifth Blank: Correct Answer Comparison

Fifth Blank: Percentage of correct answers



Three learners (two with an HSK6) filled this blank using the resultative *zǒu* 走. The use of *fēizou* (-le) 飞走(了) in this case is acceptable and some native speakers have also

responded in this way. Many mistakes have been made because the students have chosen directional like *fēiqilai* 飞起来 and *fēishang* 飞上, we suppose, in order to emphasize the upward movement of the plane.

1.4 Fourth Task: Data Comparison

In the fourth task, students were asked to produce a sentence using verbs and nouns in brackets. Learners had to describe a motion event from a specific perspective highlighted in the task. The use of deictics is not explicitly required, but implicitly having a perspective from which to start, students should have chosen which deictics to use. In the next exercise the use of deictics is explicitly requested, we will see if there are differences in the results depending on the different types of input. In this task, the use of the wrong deictic will be considered an error. The order of the elements included in the structure of the directional complement, the use and choice of directionals (DC1), and the use and choice of deictics will be evaluated. The sentences will therefore be analysed according to the following parameters:

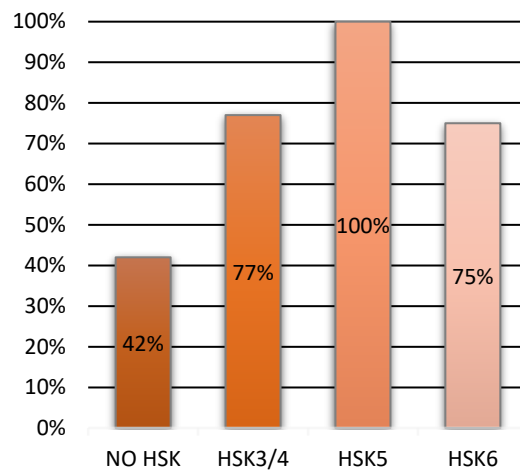
1. Correct: when the directional complement is composed of all its elements and the order is correct.
2. Valid: when a learner omits the deictic in a sentence, only in the case the deictic is also omitted in the control group data. In addition, a sentence will still be considered valid when there are structures that native speakers have used in combination with the directional complement, such as the use of the preposition *cóng* 从 in the third sentence.
3. Wrong: when there is a wrong choice of DC1 and/or Deictics or the elements are placed in the wrong order. Answers without the directional complement are also considered wrong.

Moving on the analysis of data, we start from the first sentence results:

Sentence 1 “Correct” answers: 他站起来(了)

Chart 15: Fourth Task – Sentence 1: Correct Answer Comparison

Sentence 1: Percentage of correct answers



Many students used the verb *shang* 上 rather than *qi* 起, creating the construct *zhàn shang(lai)* 站上(来). The verb *qi* is easily confused with *shang*, as both indicate an upward movement and to a learner the difference may seem minimal. A native Chinese speaker, on the other hand, is very sensitive to the different use of these two verbs, which differ in two aspects. According to Wu (2011), the difference between the two is that *shang* emphasises the place where the figure making the movement will be located, whereas *qi* emphasises the place of origin from which the moving object comes from. Despite the similar meaning, the focus of the two verbs is different. The second difference is that *qi* is only linked to *lai* and never to *qu*, whereas after *shang* we can insert both. A typical example of this combination is the phrase *zhàn qilai* 站起来 "to stand up"; the phrase *zhàn qiqu* 站起去, which could be translated in the same way, is not accepted. Thus, the verbs *qi* ("to get up") and *lai* ("to come") in dictionaries are reported together and analysed as a compound, this also because, apart from its use as a directional, the compound¹⁸ can be the main verb in a sentence such as: *ta qilái le* 他起来了 "he got up". So, in this case, the description of the movement of a person who starts from a sitting position and stands up should be coded in Chinese with the sentence *zhàn qilái le* 站起来了 for the reasons discussed above.

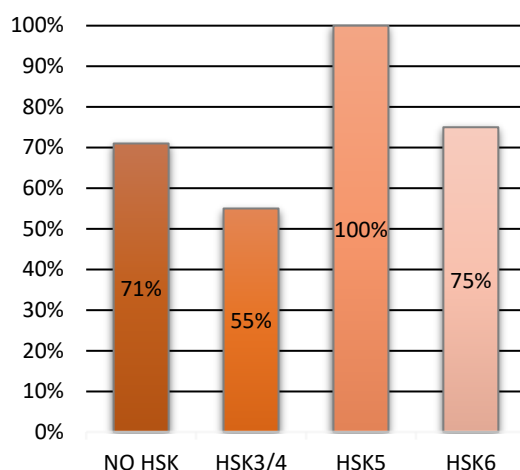
Sentence 2 "Correct" answers: 走进办公室去(了)

"Valid" answers: 走进办公室(了)

Chart 16: Fourth Task – Sentence 2: Correct Answer Comparison

¹⁸ Term used in linguistics to indicate a word consisting of the juxtaposition of two or more different words.

Sentence 2: Percentage of correct answers



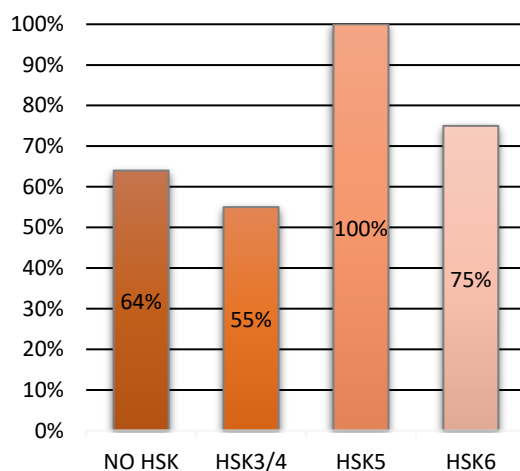
Some errors in this sentence are due to the anticipation of the locative before DC1, thus immediately after the regent verb (*zǒu* 走). Other students made the mistake of omitting DC1 (*jìn* 进). Other students have made the wrong choice of Deictic, they have used *lái* instead of *qu*, when the movement is actually away from the indicated perspective. The most serious mistake in this case was to omit DC1 and to insert after *zǒu* the deictic *qu*, bringing it before even the Place-NP (*tā zǒu qu bànɡōnɡshì* 他走去办公室), which as we have already pointed out should be placed before the deictic.

Sentence 3 “Correct” answers: 出超市来(了)

“Valid” answers: 从超市出来(了); 走出超市(来)(了)

Chart 17: Fourth Task – Sentence 3: Correct Answer Comparison

Sentence 3: Percentage of correct answers

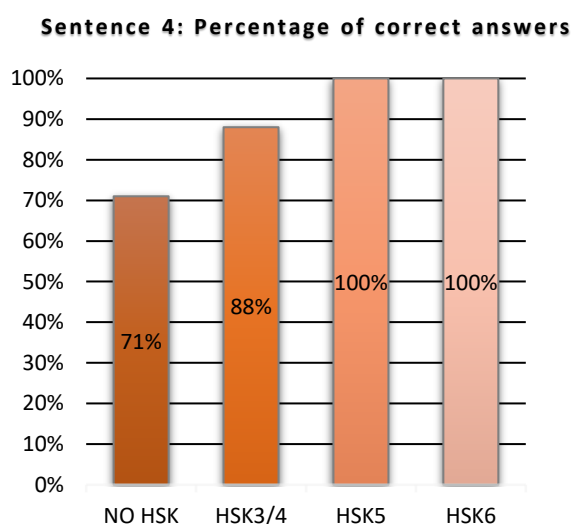


In general, learners produced correct and acceptable sentences. However, even in this sentence some students chose the wrong deictic by using *qu* even though the movement is towards the speaker. Many students produced this sentence: *tā chūlai chāoshì* 他出来超市, the error here is that Place-NP (*chāoshì* 超市) does not precede the sense of movement, so the deictic. Thus, the order of the elements created some difficulties.

Sentence 4 “Correct” answers: 松鼠跑下来 (了)

“Valid” answers: 松鼠向我跑来 (了); 松鼠跑过来 (了)

Chart 18: Fourth Task – Sentence 4: Correct Answer Comparison



In producing this sentence, some learners got the order of the elements of the directional complement wrong. In fact, they placed the main verb (*pǎo* 跑) after the deictic: *sōngshǔ xiàlai pǎole* 松鼠下来跑了. However, apart from this mistake (or others like inserting the directional *qi* instead of *xia*) this is the sentence that created the least problems for the students who also used forms such as the combination DC1 + Deictic DC *guolai* 过来 or with the preposition *xiàng* 向, also used by native speakers.

1.5 Fifth Task: Data Comparison

In this task also students must produce a sentence using verbs and nouns in brackets. Students are not asked to describe a motion event, but must produce requests based on the context provided. The use of deictics is explicitly required, so in this exercise, the use of the wrong deictic will be considered an error. The order of the elements included

in the structure of the directional complement, the use and choice of directionals (DC1), and the use and choice of deictics will be evaluated. This type of production is less restricted than the previous task, indeed several different forms were used both by native speakers and learners. Structures used by the control group (such as the use of *dao* 到 and *zai* 在) will be considered grammatically correct, but will not be counted in the percentages of correct answers. We will analyse each sentence to discuss the learners' choices. The parameters to analyse sentences of this task are the same of the previous one:

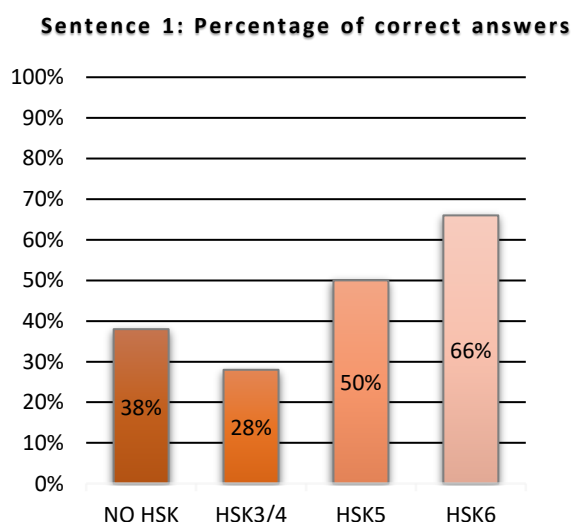
1. Correct: when the directional complement is composed of all its elements and the order is correct.
2. Valid: when a learner omits the deictic in a sentence, only in the case the deictic is also omitted in the control group data.
3. Wrong: when there is a wrong choice of DC1 and/or Deictics or the elements are placed in the wrong order. Answers without the directional complement are also considered wrong.

Let us analyse the first sentences produced by the learners:

Sentence 1 “Correct” answers: 请把食物送上六楼来

“Valid” answers: 请把食物送上六楼; 请你把食物送来六楼 (Place-NP placed after the deictic, order used by the control group)

Chart 19: Fifth Task – Sentence 1: Correct Answer Comparison

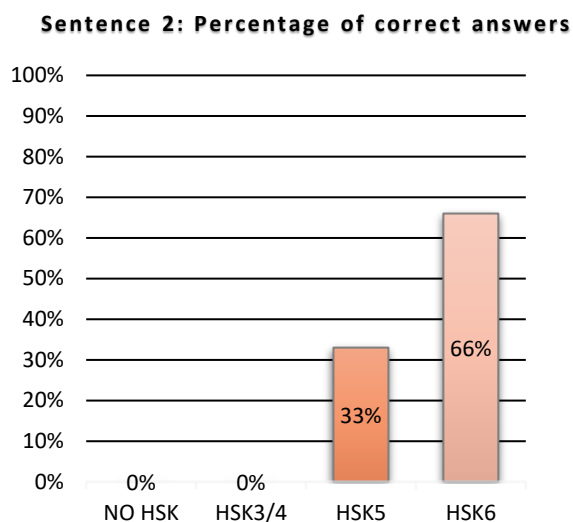


Seven students used the resultative *dao* 到 (HSK5 students are those who used *dao* most: 3 of them used it). Other students omitted the deictic (*lai* 来) or the DC1 (*shang* 上). One student chose the wrong directional complement in the answer: *qǐng bǎ shíwù sòng guolai* 请把食物送过来. In some answers, learners placed the Place-NP before the DC1, as in this case: *qǐng nín bǎ shíwù sòng liù lóu shanglai* 请您把食物送六楼上来. Some students used a totally wrong word order, so we can assume it is true that the addition of elements to be placed in a sentence, makes the production more complicated for learners. We want to highlight that some students did not use the *ba* structure and this choice created a lot of confusion in managing all the elements afterwards.

Sentence 2 “Correct” answers: 请把盒子放回架子上

“Valid” answers: 请把盒子放回架子上去; 请把盒子放回架子

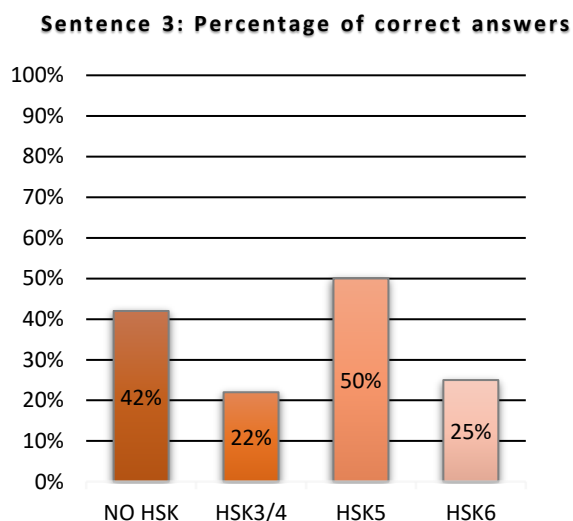
Chart 20: Fifth Task – Sentence 2: Correct Answer Comparison



As we can see the percentages are very low, but this is because several students used *zai* 在 as a complement: *qǐng nǐ bǎ hézi fàngzai jiàzi shang* 请你把盒子放在架子上. Thirteen learners preferred to use this structure rather than a directional complement. While only one native speaker used *zai*, on the other hand some of them used *dao* 到, instead of the directional *hui* 回. A lot of students did not insert the DC1, they only used the main verb before the Place-NP, thus in this case learners did not use any verbal complement. Others placed Place-NP after the deictic and in this case, we can't consider this answer as “valid” because there are no data in the control group with this specific of word order.

Sentence 3 “Correct” answers: 请你帮他把东西拿上去; 请你把他东西拿上去

Chart 21: Fifth Task – Sentence 3: Correct Answer Comparison

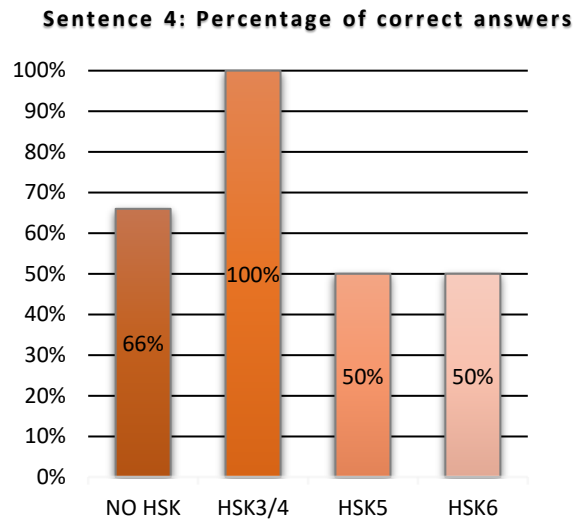


For this sentence we are not able to compare the students’ answers with the control group data, because we assume that native speaker did not clearly understand the context of this sentence. On the other hand, some students answered with the correct request, so we believe that learners had less difficulties to realize what the request should have been. Anyway, basing on our expected answer we are able to make some considerations. Some students did not choose to use the *ba* structure which then caused the placing of the Object-Np directly after the Place-NP. Managing the order of the elements in this sentence was complicated for the students, and some of them did not use the directional complement at all. Moreover, one student used the wrong directional: *qǐng bāngzhù tā bǎ dōngxī ná guoqu* 请帮助他东西拿过去. Again, in some cases students placed the Place-NP before the DC1, so immediately after the main verb, even one student with HSK6 did this mistake. So, we will take this in consideration for the next section, where we discuss the data.

Sentence 4 “Correct” answers: 请你把衣服放进箱子里

“Valid” answers: 请你把衣服放进箱子; 请你把衣服放进箱子里去

Chart 22: Fifth Task – Sentence 4: Correct Answer Comparison



This sentence produced less mistakes than the others. In these answers we did not count the 17 sentences that include *zai* 在 as a complement: *qǐng nǐ bǎ yīfú fàngzai xiāngzi lǐ* 请你把衣服放在箱子里. Italian students are much more familiar with such a structure than with the directional complement. Basically, for this request, mistakes were made because of an omission of the DC1 (*jin* 进) as in the following example: *qǐng nǐ bǎ yīfú dōu fàng xiāngzi lǐ* 请你把衣服都放箱子里.

After that we compared the data of the students with those of the control group, we are able to discuss these percentages in order to try to find the causes of the errors. Starting from the research questions that we have previously explained, we will elaborate our analysis in the next section.

1.6 Overall Percentages

To give a final and overall view of the students' data, we conclude our analysis of the data by reporting the percentages of all correct answers sorted by tasks and then the percentages of the students' overall right answers. The data from the first task are not included because there is not strictly one right and one wrong answer, there are values in the middle which would throw the proportions of the overall percentages out of balance. The first exercise helped us both as an introduction to the questionnaire (it was the easiest and quickest exercise) and for the comparison of the data with the group of native speakers we had previously carried out. We now present the percentages of the correct answers for each task:

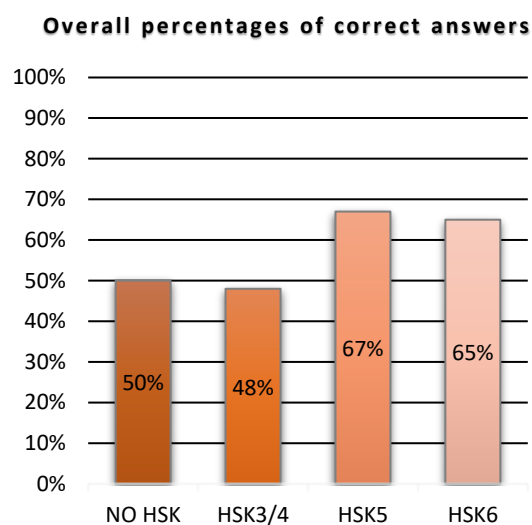
Table 14: Percentages of Correct Answers

	NO HSK	HSK 3/4	HSK 5	HSK 6	TOTAL
TASK 2	55%	43%	43%	83%	63%
TASK 3	59%	53%	53%	65%	62%
TASK 4	62%	68%	68%	81%	78%
TASK 5	36,5%	37,5%	37,5%	52%	43%

As we can see from the percentages, the students answered the first three exercises quite well, in particular the third one which has an average of almost 80% correct answers, while the last task, in which the learners were asked to produce requests, was more difficult.

Besides, we report the percentages of all correct answers divided by the level of proficiency indicated by the students. Please note that we have merged the percentages of the student with an HSK3 level with those of the students with an HSK4:

Chart 23: Overall Percentages of Correct Answers



The percentages improve slightly for the higher proficiency levels, but there are no substantial differences. We need these percentages to discuss the data and answer the research questions in the next section.

2. Data Discussion: Causes of the Errors and Research Questions

In this section, we will analyse the errors and percentages reported in the previous section with a view to finding the causes that lead students to make mistakes. We know that L1 influences the acquisition of language structures other than our mother tongue. In our case this language structure is the Chinese directional complement through which native speakers encode motion events. In fact, Wu (2014:30) argues that “predispositions for spatial organization or event construal established during L1 development play an important role during L2 acquisition of path expressions”. First of all, however, we must make a premise regarding the control group. The answers given by the native speakers show a predominant tendency to lexicalise all the components when the syntax allows, as demonstrated by the answers to the different tasks. Chinese speakers have generally always given answers by coding the manner of movement (main verb), path (DC1) and direction of moving away or forward the speaker perspective.

2.1 Causes of the Errors

Mistakes are a fundamental part of learning and analysing them has enabled, and still enables, the teaching and learning process to be improved and enriched. Examining how an error is made allows us to understand how the learner acquires the FL/L2 and how s/he puts into practice what s/he has learnt. However, understanding the causes that led to making a mistake is not always straightforward, as in many cases multiple factors come into play. Let’s try to find out the causes of the most common mistakes made by Italian learners in our research. First of all, we would like to repeat that we will not analyse errors beyond the directional complement. Thus, incorrectly used *ba* 把 structures, omission of aspectual marks and wrong lexical choices will not be analysed in this paper. We will analyse lexical errors within the structure of the Chinese directional complement, but above all the correct syntax of the complement. We have found seven most common errors that we will analyse:

1. Directional *shang* 上 instead of *qi* 起;
2. Deictic *qu* 去 instead of *lai* 来;
3. Inversion of the main verb and the DC1
4. Omission of DC1, so the path is not encoded in the sentence;
5. Incorrect movement phase highlighted, hence wrong DC1;
6. Place-NP placed after the deictic, at the end of the sentence;
7. Place-NP placed between main verb and DC1;

2.1.1 Directional *shang* 上 instead of *qi* 起 and the Deictic *qu* 去 instead of *lai* 来

In the first sentence of the fourth task, students are expected to produce this sentence to describe the upward movement of B: *tā zhàn qǐlái le* 他站起来了. As Wu indicates (2014) “the Chinese morpheme 上 *shàng* conceptually highlights the region where the moving figure will be located after moving, while 起 *qǐ* highlights the original region where the moving figure came from”. Thus, if the movement has a profiled objective, the use of *shang* is correct, whereas if we want to emphasise the starting position in relation to the position reached after the movement, we must use *qi*. Five students, including one with an HSK6, answered using the directional *shang*. This is probably because considering that in Italian there is no tendency to describe the path of the movement, this difference does not exist. Wu (2011) observed that learners often overlook this distinction between the two DCs. The percentage of improper use of the two DCs was more marked at the intermediate level of proficiency, thus indicating that the process required for learning the specification between *shang* and *qi* presented significant difficulties for learners. A learner has to incorporate within her/his coding processes this difference to which Chinese speakers are very sensitive.

In the construction of this sentence, we can also find another mistake often made by learners: the incorrect use of the deictics *qu* and *lai*. We can find this error also in sentence like the third of the fourth task, describing a movement of coming out of a supermarket. Although the point of view is from outside the supermarket and therefore the movement of B is taking place towards the indicated perspective, some students used *qu* rather than *lai*. In Italian the hither/thither perspective is omitted or inferred from the context. In the production of the Chinese directional complement, an Italian speaker must modify her/his habit of not encoding this element of the movement, adapting to an unfamiliar pattern, in which instead the deictic path must be emphasised. Indeed, as mentioned before (see chapter 2, section 2.1), the omission of the deictic DC will produce a sentence in which not all dimensions of movement are described.

2.1.2 Inversion of the main verb and the DC1 and omission of the DC1

In the second sentence of the second task five students inverted the order of the elements placing the DC1 (*qi* 起) before the main verb (*bào* 抱). This is a particularly serious error, because as we pointed out in the second chapter (see section 2), verbs that can express the path of movement, which thus act as satellites and are the second element of the complement, constitute a closed class. On the contrary, Chinese emphasises the manner of the action with the main verb. As we have already mentioned, manner is explicated more frequently than in Italian and therefore native speakers have a strong sensitivity in the choice of these verbs. On the other hand, Italian learners do not follow this pattern when describing motion events in their mother tongue.

Moreover, another problem with the DC1 is when learners omitted it. We can find many answers with this type of mistake in gap 2 of the third exercise and in sentence 2 and 4 of the last task. In sentence 2 eleven students answered producing this request: *qǐng bǎ*

hézi fàng jiàzi shang 请把盒子放架子上. As we can see after the main verb *fàng*, students placed the Place-NP, omitting the DC1 (*huí* 回). In sentence 4 six learners made this mistake and also in that case the main verb is *fàng*. So, the selection of the second verb of the compound was problematic due to the indication of the locative object, for which the native speaker participants used *ìn* 进 ('to come into') in sentence 4 and *huí* ('to go back') in sentence 2, while the Italian ones used *zài* ('to be at'). Thirteen students answered with *zài* in the sentence 2 (39%) and seventeen in sentence 4 (51%). The extensive use of *zài* by Italian learners can be seen in all levels of proficiency. Romagnoli and Luzi also found the broad use of *zài* by Italian learners and they observed “the overuse of *zài* allows students to be generic but correct, avoiding a detailed description of the motion event” (Romagnoli & Luzi, 2012:32). The sequence of the verbs *fàng* and *zài* is very close to the Italian construction *mettere* ('to put') + adverb of place, so students probably perceive this solution as closer to their mother tongue and acquire it earlier than the other combinations.

2.1.3 Incorrect movement phase highlighted

In some cases, the students chose the wrong directional. Compared to native speakers, other paths had more salience for students, as in gap 2 of task 3. What happens in the text at that point is that the little dog, in order to look for the frog, leans out and falls out of the window. This stimulus marks a notable difference between the two groups: native speakers followed the movement verb (*diē* 跌, 'to fall') with the directional *chu* 出. For learners, on the other hand, the downward direction expressed by *xia* 下 'to go down' is more salient (54% answered with *xia*), whether or not followed by the deictic. However, in this case they produced an agrammatical phrase given the presence of the locative object (*chuāngwài* 窗外). Furthermore, students could get a clue as to the type of directional to be used by referring to the locative object: *wài* precisely indicates the transition from inside to outside of the little dog's movement.

There are others example of this type of mistake. In sentence 3 of the fifth task, one student placed *shang* after the verb *fàng*, rather than *hui*. Or another one, in sentence four of the same task produced this sentence: *qǐng bāngzhù tā bǎ dōngxī ná guoqu* 请帮助他把东西拿过去. This student used *guo* rather than *shang*. We can assume that since Italian is a language that does not tend to describe all the phases of the movement, an Italian student, having to adapt to the pattern of Chinese, is clear that he has to explicate the path of movement, but is not always clear which path of the movement has to be specified. In this case the complete comprehension of the verb-direction concordance, and the awareness of the Place-NP play a crucial role.

2.1.4 Wrong Place-NP Position and Double Object Sentence Order

Another very common difficulty was found in learners' answers: what the position of the Place-NP should be. This is not always clear, especially when both Object-NP and Place-NP are present in a sentence. In chapter 2 (see 2.1) we have clarified the correct position of the Place-NP in the word order of the Chinese directional complement, that is: V + DC1 + Place-NP + Deictic DC. However, we have found two cases, shown by the answers of native speakers, that allow a change in this order, putting the Place-NP after the deictic. We can see this in sentence 2 of the first task, where native did not consider this sentence incorrect: *shàngkèle, dàjiā dōu jìnlai jiàoshì ba* 上课了，大家都进来教室吧. Also, in the first sentence of task four, where one of them produced this request: *qǐng bǎ shíwù sònglái liù lóu* 请把食物送来六楼. When we have analysed the students' data, we have not considered this order to be incorrect in these two specific cases, but for the other cases in which students used a wrong order we have not rated them as acceptable. Indeed, we found this error in other cases, such as in blank 2 in the third task. One learner with an HSK6 inserted this answer: *diē chuqule* 跌出去了. This student probably did not recognise the Place-NP *chuāngwài* 窗外 that follows the blank so the deictic *qu* should not be placed there. Other cases are in sentence 2 in the last task and in sentence 3 in the fourth task. In this last case eight learners (80% of errors) placed *lai* (or *qu*, even getting the deictic wrong) before the locative object *chāoshì* 超市.

Moreover, the Place-NP created other problems for students who, in sentence 2 of the fourth task and in sentence 1 of the last task, inserted it immediately after the main verb, before DC1. In the last exercise two students produced this request: *qǐng nǐ bǎ shíwù sòng liù lóu shànglái* 请你把食物送六楼上来.

As we can see, these errors result from sentences in which both locative and direct objects are present. Probably the inclusion of the two elements together creates a greater difficulty for students who are forced to use the structure with *ba*. In this case the correct order is: Subject – *Ba* – Object-NP – Verb – DC1 – Place-NP – Deictic (-*le*). 1 of the FL/L2, makes continuous use of the linguistic structures available in her/his native language making mistakes.

2.1.4.1 The Problem of Place-NP after the Deictic DCs

In this section, we would like to make a brief observation on the issue of Place-NP placed after the deictic. As we have seen, we considered the order of the following sentence as correct, with the Place-NP inserted at the end of the sentence after the deictic: *qǐng bǎ shíwù sòng lái liù lóu* 请把食物送来六楼. Although the grammatical rule is that the locative object must be placed between DC1 and Deictic DC, nevertheless we considered this sentence correct because one of the native speakers used it, but being only one we are aware that this data is not really significant. Furthermore, given the limited number of native speakers who participated in the research, the fact that in other sentences produced by native speakers this order does not appear may simply be a coincidence (and it is strange that two syntactically equivalent structures are treated differently). We

found this problem also in the sentence 2 of the first task: *shàngkèle, dàjiā dōu jìnlái jiàoshì ba* 上课了，大家都进来教室吧。 Native speakers answered with an average of “3”, which is usually considered a neutral response; that number tell us that the speakers are uncertain. For reasons of time and also because of the limited number of participants, we cannot go into this point in depth, but we can cast doubt for future researches. It might be interesting to analyse how flexible the order Place-NP + Deictic DC is and how acceptable the inversion of the two elements is.

2.2 Research Questions and Teaching Considerations

In chapter 3 (see section 1.1) we have outlined our research questions, in this section we will discuss our data trying to answer them. Firstly, we asked whether Italian FL/L2 Chinese learners and native Chinese speakers differ quantitatively in their use of Chinese directional complements. The third exercise should have helped us to understand this. We can see that to fill in the blanks of task number 3, students almost always used directionals, only 7% of the answers do not include the use of the directional complement. With regard to the answers of native speakers, on the other hand, the directional complement is not used in almost 18% of the cases. These are both relatively low percentages, but we can say that Italian learners tend to use the directional complement quite frequently to describe motion events in Chinese. This finding is confirmed because even in subsequent tasks there are few cases in which Italian students did not use the directional complement (we have excluded from this analysis the last task in which the use of *lai* and *qu* is explicitly requested, so learners were guided to use the directional complement)

Then, we examined whether Italian L1 learners, at different levels of proficiency, are able to use the correct word order of Chinese directional complements. Here the percentage changes, in total 11% (excluded from this percentage are task 1, where no production is required, and task 3 because, apart from the verb, there are no other elements to insert in the blanks and the syntax was relatively simple) of the total answers to the student questionnaire have a problem in the order of the elements. The strict syntax of the directional complement thus created quite a few problems for Italian students. More specifically, in Task 2, 15% of the students used the wrong order of the elements, and in Tasks 4 and 5, 10%.

With the third research question, we wanted to know whether there are qualitative differences that can be observed in the use of different types of directional complements, and thus whether different types of directional complements have the same degree of difficulty. Actually, we have already answered this question. If we consider the types of the directional complement given in Table 3, by analysing the data, we have already seen that when the direct object or the locative object must be added to a complex directional complement (V + DC1 + Deictic DC), the rules for placing these elements in their proper 'slot' must be considered. This problem increases when both

objects are to be used in the sentence together with the complex directional complement. In this case the structure with the *ba* to anticipate the object becomes necessary in order to use the correct structure of the directional complement and add the Place-NP without also having to consider the Object-NP, that will be anticipated before the main verb. However, the students in the last task had some difficulties in managing these elements all together. We can therefore say that there is a difference in the level of difficulty between the various types of directionals. The order of the simple directional complement was wrong in very few cases, while the complex directional complement with the addition of the Object-NP and the Place-NP created more problems to Italian learners.

Moving on, we wanted to understand how Italian learners' proficiency in the use of the Chinese directional complement is related to their knowledge of the Chinese language. We could observe that especially in the last two production exercises, the percentage of errors was not that much different between the different proficiency levels. In general, we can say that there were instances when the percentages of correct answers by students with HSK5 and HSK6 were higher than those with lower levels or those who had not indicated their proficiency level. However, we believe that much depends on the student's background. The ability in the use of directional complements is not strictly related to the level of language proficiency, rather it depends on factors such as the distance of time since studying the complement, the level of quantity and quality of exposure to the structure, and also specific proficiency. In this case, we agree with the results of Romagnoli & Luzi's (2012:32) work, they have argued that "proficiency does not affect the use of DC and its correctness: figures are very close, demonstrating that once they have acquired the linguistic structure they tend to use it with the same frequency and the same appropriateness". In this case, both our research and that of Romagnoli & Luzi (2012) differ from the analysis conducted by Wu (2011), who instead in the conclusions of his study argues that "the results of this study have shown that learners' performance in DCs was positively related to their overall Chinese proficiency, with advanced learners consistently outperforming intermediate learners" (Wu, 2011:443). This aspect could be explored in future research, comparing the data of Italian and foreign students. Furthermore, despite the differences in language proficiency levels, there was also no variation in the use of different type of directional complements (see Table 3). And again, our data compared with Romagnoli & Luzi's study are similar, because also in our research "Complex DC constructions prevail over simple counterparts" (Romagnoli & Luzi, 2012:33). The reason could be that students learn *lai* and *qu* earlier than the directional complement and thus have more confidence in using them.

Finally, based on the last research question, we tried to understand what factors play a role and constitute a source of difficulty in the acquisition of Chinese directional complement for L1 Italian learners. We believe that the data showed that the typological differences between Italian and Chinese have a certain influence on acquisition. Italian speakers tend to make little use of manner verbs to describe a motion event, so in the process of adapting to the language pattern of Chinese, an Italian learner struggles to

change this habit. The attention Chinese speakers have in choosing the verb of manner is not easily achievable and Italian learners are not so sensitive to this choice. What also plays an important role is the tendency of Chinese, an s-framed language, to lexicalise every aspect of movement. We know by now that manner is encoded on the main verb, path on the directional and deixis with *qu* or *lai*. This way of 'breaking up' the phases of a motion event and describing them one by one, is a stretch for the Italian student, who in formulating the same type of sentence in his mother tongue goes through a cognitive process that leads her/him to provide much less information and, above all, to a total omission of the deixis. Indeed, data have showed that when Italian learners have to use the Chinese directional complement, they face some difficulties in choosing the correct word order. Several mistakes come from the omission of one element of the structure (usually DC1 or Deictic DC), or from the inversion of two elements. The distance between the two linguistic patterns of Italian and Chinese causes not only an obstacle in understanding the correct order that there must be in the directional complement structure, but also a difficulty for Italian learners to become aware of the need to make the phases of movement explicit with specific elements. Thus, the complex and rigid syntax of the Chinese directional complement is perhaps the element that most complicates the acquisition process for Italian learners.

The learners' mistakes seem to suggest that the semantic characteristics and syntactic restrictions of this class of verbs should be made explicit in teaching, also by supplementing the description with authentic multimodal material in order to analyse these forms and acquire them by associating them with specific contexts of use. We believe that it is crucial for a better understanding of the Chinese directional complement to return periodically to the more difficult aspects of the complement. The aim should be to reinforce those structures familiarising students with all types of directional complements (Romagnoli & Luzi, 2012). There should be a greater focus on the complex directional complement, linking it with the possible Object-NP and Place-NP that can be included in the structure of the whole sentence. We believe that exercises on the use of the Chinese directional complement based on motion events in context are the most effective in facilitating its acquisition and learning. Using the physical space of the classroom could also be useful, for example by asking students to describe the action the teacher or classmates perform (such as leaving the room, sitting down, standing up, placing books on the table, etc.).

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this thesis was observing the problems in the acquisition of the Chinese directional complement, *quxiangbuyu* 趋向补语, by Italian students. With this aim in mind, a questionnaire was formulated in electronic form, then submitted, on the basis of voluntary participation, to the students. There were 42 research participants in total: 9 native Chinese speakers constituted the control group and the remaining 33 constituted the sample linguistic sample under examination. The latter were divided into four groups according to their HSK level: first and second intermediate level (HSK3-HSK4), first advanced level (HSK5) and second advanced level (HSK6).

Through the analysis of the reported data, it was possible to compare the results of the control and student groups. By analysing the differences in the use of the directional complement between the two groups, it was possible to understand the main difficulties Italian learners have when they have to use the complement to describe motion events. It was observed that the syntax of the Chinese directional complement is what creates the most problems for students, in particular the fundamental role of the presence of Object-NP and Place-NP. An attempt was then made to understand the causes of the errors identified in the questionnaire. In this regard errors stemmed from L1 interference. Finally, the data were analysed by considering the research questions.

It should be stressed that the results obtained have limitations. First of all, due to the short time frame, it was not possible to collect a larger language sample. The number of participants we collected is enough to provide preliminary conclusions, but not enough for conclusive theories. Another important limitation concerns the adoption of the HSK test as a tool for dividing the participants into groups, since this, like all standardised tests of FL/L2 competence, does not reflect the actual competence of the learner at the time of the research. Despite these limitations, the research aims to be a starting point for further studies and improvements in the field of teaching modern Chinese as FL/L2 to Italian learners. Considering the limitations of our research, an error analysis could be carried out in the future on a larger sample of learners. The data collected in this research cannot aspire to provide generalisable conclusions. Generally, our data have indicated that in the interlanguage of Italian learners, movement is frequently expressed through the three components of manner, path, and deixis, thus being close to the forms of the target language.

This analysis led us into the world of Chinese directionals, a world that is still largely unclear and has led to theories on which scholars are still not agreed upon, primarily Talmy's linguistic duality. In light of the small sample of data observed, it would seem reasonable to consider Talmy's taxonomy applicable. Natural languages are objects of study on which many theories often seem to overlap or conflict. Our intention has been to use syntactic analysis by combining it with semantic investigation not only of the main verb with its directional complement, but also of the context and thus of the sentence as a whole. To sum up, the general sense of a sentence allows us to understand certain

nuances of meaning of the structure under investigation that help us understand the choices that speakers make when using the Chinese directional complement.

APPENDIX

Questionnaire submitted to students:

Questionario informativo:

Età:

Nazionalità:

Luogo di nascita:

Lingua/e madre/i:

Quali altre lingue conosci?

- Nessuna
- _____

In quale corso di studi sei attualmente iscritto/a?

- Corso di Laurea Triennale
- Corso di Laurea Magistrale
- Corso di Dottorato di Ricerca
- Ho già terminato gli studi

Altro: _____

Da quanto tempo studi il cinese mandarino?

- 1 anno
- 2 anni
- 3 anni
- 4 anni
- 5 anni

- Più di 5 anni

Hai mai trascorso lunghi periodi (almeno 3 mesi) in un Paese sinofono?

- No
- Da 3 a 6 mesi
- Da 6 mesi a un anno
- Più di un anno
- 2 anni
- 3 anni
- 4 anni
- 5 anni
- Più di 5 anni

Qual era lo scopo della tua permanenza in un Paese sinofono?

- Studio della lingua cinese
- Lavoro
- Lavoro e studio della lingua cinese
- Viaggio di piacere
- Altro: _____

Sei in possesso di una certificazione linguistica di lingua cinese HSK?

- No
- HSK1
- HSK2
- HSK3
- HSK4
- HSK5
- HSK6

Attenzione: per tutta la durata del questionario, non sarà possibile consultare dizionari e/o materiali didattici di lingua cinese

Esercizio 1:

Di seguito verranno presentate cinque frasi. Per ogni frase, indica il grado di accettabilità su una scala da 1 (totalmente inaccettabile) a 5 (totalmente accettabile).

1. 爸爸不在，他出去买东西了。
2. 上课了，大家都进来教室吧。
3. 老师走进办公室。
4. 妈妈从饭馆跑去出了。
5. 经理走了进办公室去。

Esercizio 2:

Riordina gli elementi delle seguenti frasi:

1. 你 上 先 他 楼 去 找

1. _____

2. 抱 小狗 了 起 男孩

2. _____

3. 我 去 帮助 妈妈 东西 把 上 拿

3. _____

Esercizio 3:

Il brano riportato è stato scritto sulla base della storia illustrata *Rana, dove sei?* (Mayer, 1969). Il testo presenta cinque spazi vuoti da riempire. Per completare la storia, fai riferimento alle immagini e utilizza i verbi indicati tra parentesi per riempire gli spazi vuoti. Il primo spazio è stato riempito a titolo di esempio.

从前有个男孩，他养了一只狗和一只宠物青蛙。他把青蛙养在一个大罐子里。一天晚上，男孩和小狗睡着了，青蛙**爬出了**罐子(爬)，从开着的窗户_____了(**跳 tiào, saltare**)。

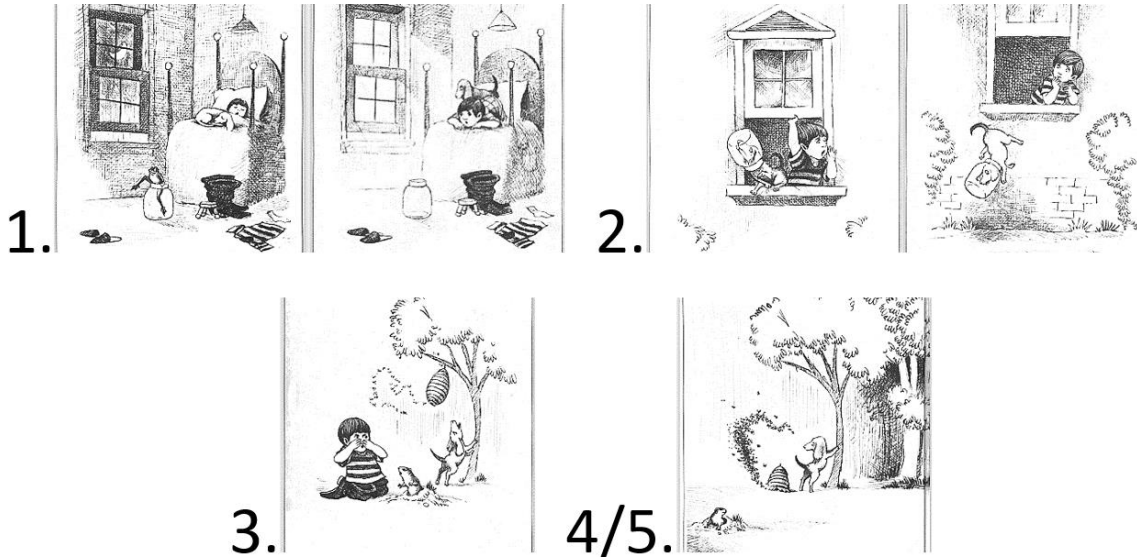
养 *yǎng* = allevare (avere e crescere un animale) 宠物 *chǒngwù* = animale domestico
 青蛙 *qīngwā* = rana 罐子 *guànzǐ* = vaso, barattolo

男孩朝窗外大喊：小青蛙，你在哪儿？小狗的头卡在罐子里，但它也靠着窗户朝外寻找。罐子太沉了，小狗头朝下就_____了窗外(**跌 diē, cadere**)。

朝 *cháo* = rivolgersi verso (朝窗外 *cháo chuāngwài* = fuori dalla finestra)
 大喊 *dà hǎn* = urlare 卡 *kǎ* = incastrarsi 靠 *kào* = sporgersi
 寻找 *xúnzhǎo* = cercare 沉 *chén* = pesante 头朝下 *tóu cháo xià* = a testa in giù

一只土拨鼠_____头来(**探 tàn, spuntare fuori**)咬了小男孩的鼻子。这时候小狗在跟蜜蜂纠缠，它跳到树边朝着蜜蜂大叫。蜂窝_____了(**掉 diào, staccarsi e cadere**)，里边的蜜蜂全都_____了(**飞 fēi, volare**)。

土拨鼠 *tǔ bō shǔ* = marmotta 咬 *yǎo* = mordere 鼻子 *bízi* = naso
 蜜蜂 *mìfēng* = ape 纠缠 *jiūchán* = azzufarsi 蜂窝 *fēngwō* = alveare



Esercizio 4:

Avrai quattro frasi precedute da una breve descrizione. Quando rispondi alle domande, fai finta di essere A in ogni situazione. Il tuo compito è descrivere il movimento di B dalla prospettiva di A e completare le frasi in cinese. Utilizza i verbi tra parentesi e, se sono presenti, ricordati di usare anche i nomi indicati.

Esempio: B abita sopra di te. B scende al tuo piano. Sei A descrivi il movimento di B:

他下楼来_____ (下)

1. Sei in classe e il tuo compagno B viene chiamato dalla professoressa ad alzarsi per rispondere alla domanda. B da seduto si alza. Sei A descrivi il movimento di B:

_____ (站)

2. Hai chiacchierato con B fuori dall'ufficio, ora B entra dentro l'ufficio. Sei A descrivi il movimento di B:

_____ (走, 办公室)

3. Sei fuori dal supermercato e aspetti che B esca. B esce dal supermercato. Sei A descrivi il movimento di B.

_____ (出, 超市)

4. Sei sotto un albero e uno scoiattolo B è sui rami. Lo scoiattolo corre verso di te. Sei A descrivi il movimento di B.

_____ (松鼠 sōngshǔ =
scoiattolo, 跑)

Esercizio 5:

Avrai quattro frasi precedute da una breve descrizione. Per elaborare la tua frase inizia con 请 (per favore...) e usa i verbi indicati. Se sono presenti nomi tra parentesi, ricorda di usarli. Cerca di usare il 来 o 去 nelle tue frasi quando il contesto lo consente.

0. Hai fame, ma sei lontano dalla cucina. Chiedi a B se può portarti una mela. Cosa diresti?

请你带来一个苹果 (带, 苹果)

1. Abiti al sesto piano. Aspetti il cibo a domicilio, il fattorino suona e gli chiedi di portarlo su. Cosa diresti?

请_____ (食物, 送, 六楼)

2. B prende una scatola per capire cosa c'è dentro. Chiedi a B di riappoggiare la scatola sullo scaffale. Cosa diresti?

请_____ (盒子, 放, 架子)

3. C ti chiede di aiutarlo a portare a casa sua alcune cose, ma tu devi tornare a casa. Sei per strada e incontri B. Chiedi a B di aiutare C (他) a portare le cose su da lui. Cosa diresti?

请_____ (东西, 拿)

4. Chiedi a B di infilare tutti i vestiti in valigia. Cosa diresti?

请_____ (衣服, 放, 箱子)

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