

“Romanes eunt domus”: where you can go with Latin morphology. Variation in motion expression between system and usage

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1. Introduction

The title of this paper alludes to a famous scene in the film *Monty Python's Life of Brian* in which Brian daubs an anti-Roman slogan (*Romanes eunt domus*) on the walls of Governor Pontius Pilate's palace in Jerusalem (cf. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IIAdHEwiAy8>). The centurion who catches him corrects Brian's sloppy grammar, and orders him to write out a hundred times the correct form *Romani ite domum* (better would be *redite domum*) on the palace walls. The comical dialogue of the forced lesson reveals the richness of morphological resources available for the encoding of motion expression in Classical Latin.

In this paper, besides outlining the way Classical Latin encodes motion events, we will show that, although Latin displays at the system level a wide array of linguistic resources characterizing Satellite-Framed languages, the actual usage of the strategies employed in motion encoding significantly differs from what is expected in a typical Satellite-Framed language.

These findings, resulting from a detailed corpus-based analysis, lead us to formulate a remark and a hypothesis:

- (i) an investigation limited to the resources offered by the morphological and the lexical system is not sufficient to provide a proper typological classification of a language, since the resources available at the system level may be not consistently employed in actual usage. As a consequence, typologies of languages as a whole are generalizations that can be useful only at a very broad level of classification; a fine-grained typological classification should primarily refer to the actual usage of constructions employed to encode event types (cf. Croft et al. 2010; Verkerk 2014, 2015; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2015);
- (ii) the preferred ways in which Latin encodes dislocational motion (e.g. simple Path, relative scarcity of manner verbs) allow us to hypothesize a possible way of typological change in preferred motion encoding from Satellite- to Verb-Framed strategies (as occurred in the transition from Latin to the Romance languages).

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 summarizes the basic tenets of the classification of motion expressions we used to evaluate the linguistic strategies deployed by Classical Latin. In Section 3 we briefly present our corpus and methodology of data analysis. In Section 4 the most important morphological means Latin makes available for motion encoding are listed. Section 5 reports the results of our corpus-based analysis on the preferred strategies of motion encoding in Latin. In the conclusions, we put forward some methodological considerations and we refer to the usage preferences in Latin motion encoding which may have favoured the emergence of Verb-Framed strategies in the passage to the Romance languages.

2. The linguistic classification of motion encoding

In this section, we briefly illustrate some key concepts of the typological classification of motion event lexicalization patterns upon which there is general consensus among scholars, and which have been used here to assess the linguistic strategies deployed by Classical Latin in the encoding of motion events.

Space and Motion are basic concepts in human cognition: therefore, in the last decades, they have been widely studied in cognitive linguistics and, above all, in linguistic typology. These notions, highly represented in every human language, can be easily used for large-scale comparison in a cross-linguistic perspective. In this work, we will focus on dislocational expression.

A motion event can be decomposed into four major components: Figure, Manner, Path, and Ground. In the expression *Brian walked into the room*, *Brian* refers to the Figure, *walked* to the Manner of motion, *into* to the Path, and *the room* to the Ground component. Among these, the most important component is Path, because motion essentially consists in a change of location, cf. also Bohnemeyer (2003), Grinevald (2011). As a consequence, the defining criterion for the categorization of a language is the identification of the linguistic element encoding the Path (e.g. the main verb or an element different from the verb). According to Talmy’s (2000) macro-typology, which divides languages into two groups, Ancient Greek, Latin, Slavic and Germanic languages are classified as Satellite-Framed because they typically express Path outside the verb root, in elements called “satellites” (e.g., adverbs, prefixes, post-verbal particles, etc.), and the Manner of motion in the verb (e.g. Latin *ad-curro*, *ex-curro*, *per-curro* vs. English *run in/out/across*, etc.). Verb-Framed languages lexicalize the Path component in the verb, whereas Manner is optionally expressed as an adjunct (as in Spanish *entrar corriendo* ‘enter running’). Romance languages, Hebrew, Turkish are classified in this group.

The linguistic resources each language makes available for the lexicalization of motion are highly intertwined with speakers’ attention to different aspects of a same motion event (cf. Slobin 2006). Satellite-Framed languages allow speakers to describe both Manner and Path frequently and in detail. As a consequence, Satellite-Framed languages are characterised by a rich and expressive Manner of motion verb lexicon, and by the possibility to attach more than one Path segment to a single verb. On the other hand, Verb-Framed languages hardly describe Manner unless it is discursively important (as a consequence, Manner of motion verb lexicon is limited and general), and at most one Path element is added to the verb. Instances of Path complexity in Satellite-Framed languages are listed in the examples from (1) to (3).

- (1) English (from Slobin 2005)

He ran out of the house, across the field, into the forest.

- (2) Polish (from Fortis and Vittrant 2011)

chłopiec wy-biegł z morza na plażę
 boy(M).NOM out-ran from sea(N).GEN to beach(F).ACC
 ‘The boy ran out from the sea to the beach’

- (3) Jakalte’k Popti (from Craig 1993)

sirnih-ay-toy sb’a naj sat pahaw b’et wichen
 threw-down-away REFL.3SG PRON.3SG in.front cliff into gully
 ‘He threw himself away over the cliff into the gully’

According to Slobin (1996), the main distinction to be made with respect to Path complexity is between minus-ground and plus-ground expressions. The former are cases where the verb is alone (English *to slip*, Latin *labor*) or with a satellite (English *slip down*, Latin *delabor*), and the latter are those containing one (or more) extra Path element(s) (English *he slips down from the cliff*; Latin *summo delabor Olympo* ‘I descend from the top of Olympus’ Ovid *Metamorphoses* I.212).

The situation where the typological differences between Satellite- and Verb-Framed languages are most noticeable is the linguistic encoding of boundary-crossing. Boundary-crossing occurs when there is an explicit change of spatial configuration, as in *Brian ran out of the cage into the arena*. Manner verbs tend to be blocked in Verb-Framed languages in such situations (due to the lack of dedicated satellites or other available means to express the crossing of a boundary), and a verb encoding Path is used instead (cf. Aske 1989; Filipović 2007). In the expression of non-boundary-crossing, Manner of motion verbs can be used in both Verb- and Satellite-Framed languages. Verb-Framed languages may use verbs with definite end-states or origin in the encoding of motion events (e.g. Italian *Corsero verso casa* ‘(they) ran towards the house’; French *Le poisson a nagé vers la rive* ‘The fish swam towards the river bank’), but this happens less often than in Satellite-Framed languages.

3. Corpus and methodology

Our analysis is based on a systematic scrutiny of two texts of different kinds belonging to two authors of the Golden Age: Caesar’s account written in prose of the Gallic Wars (published in 58-49 BC) *De bello gallico* and Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, an early imperial poem in dactylic hexameters (published in 8 AC).

From these works, we extracted the contexts describing dislocational events and excluded all metaphorical uses of motion verbs and all senses of particles and prepositions not related to the direction of motion.

The linguistic encoding of motion events has been classified and analyzed by means of a coding grid developed starting from Fortis and Vittrant’s (2011) proposal of typology of constructions. Our grid combines both morpho-syntactic and semantic information and allows intra- and cross-linguistic data comparability (for an in-depth description of the grid cf. Iacobini, Corona, Buoniconto and De Rosa 2016; some works issued by using this methodological tool are Corona 2015; De Pasquale 2015; Iacobini et al. in press). We have identified four main *loci* for Path encoding, corresponding to two grammatical categories (Noun and Verb) and two functional categories (Adverbial and Adnominal). We analyzed the lexical features of the verbs (i.e. basic motion verbs: *eo* ‘to go’; verbs denoting caused motion: *duco* ‘to lead’; Manner verbs: *curro* ‘to run’, *vagor* ‘to roam’; Path verbs, within which we have distinguished source-oriented *linquo* ‘to leave’ from goal-oriented *venio* ‘to arrive’), as well as the semantics and the distribution of the spatial prefixes, the role of the prepositional phrases in conveying directional meaning, and more in general the way in which spatial information is distributed in the sentence.

4. Latin as a “classical” Satellite-Framed language

At the system level (i.e., at the level of morphological and lexical means the language makes available) Latin can be considered a typical Satellite-Framed language (cf. Corona 2015; Iacobini and Corona 2016). In the next three sections (4.1-4.3) we will briefly show the linguistic resources available (at the system level) in the Latin language for the expression of

the three main conceptual components that can be associated with Path: spatial orientation, deictic anchoring, and boundary-crossing encoding.

4.1 Spatial orientation

Spatial orientation, i.e. the oriented line covered by a moving Figure, is normally explicitly expressed through specifically dedicated linguistic means and is conditioned by the frame of reference the speakers of each language prefer to use.

The notion of frame of reference was introduced by Levinson (1996, 2003) in relation to the coordinate system that languages adopt to identify the location of an object. Levinson and his collaborators (cf. Brown and Levinson 2000; Levinson and Wilkins 2006) distinguish three main frames of reference: the relative, the intrinsic, and the absolute. Each frame of reference in a language can be associated with distinct linguistic expressions. In the intrinsic frame the location of an object is defined in relation to specific properties of the Ground; in the relative frame the axes of the human body of the perceiver are the main point of reference for the location of an object; in the absolute frame the location of an object is defined in relation to arbitrary fixed bearings (for instance, cardinal directions), or to bearings considered salient by a community of speakers, such as seacoast, upriver/downriver, uphill/downhill, human settlements.

Latin preferentially adopts the relative frame of reference. Spatial orientation can be expressed by a rich system of prefixes and prepositions (and also, albeit marginally, by spatial cases governed by the verb). In Table 1, we provide a schematic inventory of the main means deployed by Latin to encode spatial orientation on both the vertical and the horizontal axes.

Case (assigned by the preposition or by the prefixed verb)	HORIZONTAL AXIS		VERTICAL AXIS	
	Prefix	Preposition	Prefix	Preposition
ACCUSATIVE	<i>ante-</i>	<i>ante</i>		
	<i>post-</i>	<i>post</i>	<i>in-</i>	
	<i>inter-</i>	<i>inter</i>		
	<i>praeter-</i>	<i>praeter</i>	<i>e(x)-/de-</i>	<i>de</i>
ABLATIVE	<i>prae-</i>	<i>prae</i>		
	<i>pro-</i>	<i>pro</i>		
	<i>re(d)-</i>			
	<i>retro-</i>	<i>retro</i>		
ACCUSATIVE/ABLATIVE			<i>sub-</i>	<i>sub</i>
			<i>super-</i>	<i>super</i>
			<i>subter-</i>	<i>subter</i>
	Other: <i>dextra / dexter, -tera, -terum</i> ‘right’ <i>sinistra / sinister, -tera, -terum</i> ‘left’ <i>longe / procul</i> ‘far / from afar’ <i>propre</i> ‘close / closely’ <i>porro</i> ‘before’		Other: <i>insuper</i> ‘upwards’/ <i>desuper</i> ‘from above’ <i>subtus</i> ‘below, downwards’	

Table 1. Main means for spatial orientation encoding in Latin.

4.2 Deictic anchoring

Spatial deixis can be defined as the lexicalized information of the position of the speaker / scene, in which “scene” refers to the location where narrative attention is focused (cf. Lyons 1981: 170). In Classical Latin – as in most of the languages in which deictic anchoring is expressed – there is a distinction between ‘venitive’ and ‘andative’ deixis (i.e. ‘towards the speaker’ and ‘in the opposite direction to the speaker’). The most common way to express deixis is by the adverbs *obviam* ‘in the way (of)’, *adversus* ‘facing, opposite, against’, *contra* ‘in front of, on the other side, against’ (Cuzzolin 2010). Deixis can also be expressed by morphological means through adverbs derived from deictic demonstrative pronouns, cf. Table 2.

Demonstrative	GOAL		SOURCE		MEDIAN Segment	
HIC, HAEC, HOC	<i>huc</i>	towards here	<i>hinc</i>	from here	<i>hac</i>	through here
ILLE, ILLA, ILLUD	<i>illuc</i>	towards there	<i>illinc</i>	from there	<i>illac</i>	through there
ISTE, ISTA, ISTUD	<i>istuc</i>	towards there (2 nd person oriented)	<i>istinc</i>	from there (2 nd person oriented)	<i>istac</i>	through there (2 nd person oriented)

Table 2. Latin deictic demonstrative adverbs.

Differently from the Romance languages, the lexical opposition between the Latin verbs *eo* ‘to go’ and *venio* ‘to come’ is related to actionality, rather than to the spatial relationship between the speaker and the source of motion. *Venio* indicates a movement culminating in the reaching of a goal, that is to say, entailing an arrival. On the other hand, *ire* indicates a neuter movement, from both a deictic and a goal-reaching point of view (cf. Ricca 1993).

4.3 Boundary crossing

Boundary-crossing (called Conformation in Talmy’s 2000 terminology) is the conceptual category that refers to the linguistic encoding of the events where there are one or more boundaries to be crossed on the way of the moving Figure.

As shown by Slobin’s works (cf. Slobin 2004 amongst others), the crossing of a boundary has cognitive and linguistic salience in the encoding of motion events: the languages which belong to the Satellite-Framed type generally encode this category by items in functional opposition (English *in* vs. *into*: *I run in the park* vs. *I run into the park*), in contrast with Verb-Framed languages (Italian *in*: *Corro nel parco*) which lack dedicated linguistic items.

Grammatical descriptions of Classical Latin identify a functional opposition – linked to the boundary-crossing category – expressed by prefixes and prepositions taking either the accusative or the ablative in the encoding of Source and Goal.

In Goal expression, the preposition *ad* + accusative encodes no-final contact or spatial coincidence between Figure and Ground. Motion ending with the Figure contained in the Ground is expressed by *in* + accusative, as illustrated in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Goal encoding in Latin.

Other means for the encoding of Goal attested in our corpus are: i) simple dative with verbs indicating approach such as *adpropinquo* ‘to come near, approach’ (*muro oppidi portisque adpropinquarent* ‘They approached the wall and the doors of the city’, Caesar, *De bello gallico* VII.47.3); ii) simple accusative in crystallized uses, such as transitive verbs (*invado* ‘to invade’); or iii) verbs made transitive by their prefix (*Scythiam septemque triones horrifer invasit Boreas* ‘The horrible Boreas invaded the Scythia and the Northern region’, Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.64-65).

Latin can further articulate Source depending on the initial position of the Figure with reference to the Ground. In this respect, the Figure can be contained within the Ground, stand in a relation of contact with the Ground, or be in generic proximity to the Ground. The spatial meanings of such relations are respectively named *elative*, *delative* and *ablative*, from the Latin prepositions and homonymous prefixes *ex*, *de* and *ab*, which govern the ablative case.

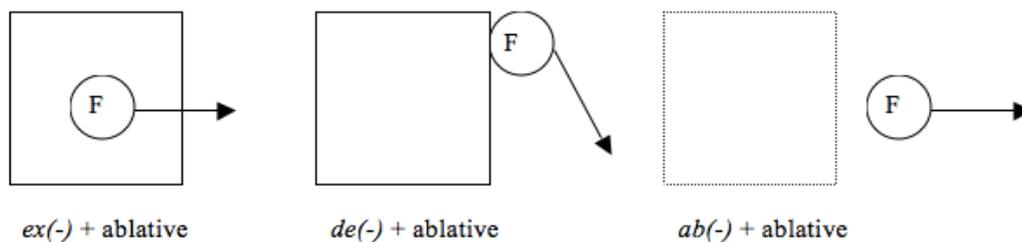


Figure 2. Source encoding in Latin.

Other types of source encoding attested in our corpus are: i) bare ablative in its original spatial value ‘motion away from a place’ (*canis fluit unda capillis* ‘water (lit. wave) streams from his grey hair’, Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.266); ii) accusative with transitive verbs indicating abandonment (*ubi deseruit madidos septemfluus agros Nilus* ‘where the seven-steamed Nile left the wet fields’, Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.422).

As an interim conclusion of this section, we can confirm that, at the system level, Classical Latin can be classified according to Talmy’s (2000) typology as a Satellite-Framed language. The prefixed verbs listed in Table 3 can be considered as another piece of evidence of the typological classification of Latin, since they show the rich array of spatial prefixes applied to a Manner of motion verb (*curro* ‘to run’) taken from the dictionary entries of the Oxford Latin Dictionary.

However, as we will see in the next section, our corpus-based analysis shows that, differently from a typical Satellite-Framed language, Latin tends to express simple Path and to blur the encoding of boundary crossing. Moreover, spatial prefixation of Manner verbs is much more limited than expected.

<i>adcurro</i>	‘to run or hurry to or up to’
<i>antecurro</i>	‘to run in front of’
<i>circumcurro</i>	‘to run or extend round’
<i>concurro</i>	‘to assemble at a run or in haste, hurry together’
<i>decurro</i>	‘to run down, hurry down’
<i>discurro</i>	‘to run off in several directions’
<i>excurro</i>	‘to run or rush out’
<i>incurro</i>	‘to rush or charge (at), make an attack (on) ’
<i>intercurro</i>	‘to run or hasten (from one place to another) ’
<i>introcurro</i>	‘to run or speed inside’
<i>occurro</i>	‘to run or hurry to meet’
<i>percurro</i>	‘to run, move quickly over or through’
<i>praecurro</i>	‘to run in front of others’
<i>procurro</i>	‘to run forward or ahead’
<i>recurro</i>	‘to run or hurry back’
<i>succurro</i>	‘to run or move quickly (under) ’
<i>supercurro</i>	‘to come up (to a person) at a run’
<i>transcurro</i>	‘to travel rapidly, hurry, run, etc., across (from one place to another) ’

Table 3. Prefixed verb with *curro* ‘to run’ (from the entries of the Oxford Latin Dictionary).

5. Latin as a “non-classical” Satellite-Framed language

Until very recently, we knew very little about motion expression in Classical Latin, as more attention was paid to Late Latin. The literature on the subject is very limited in number and quite recent: cf. Baldi (2006); Ferrari and Mosca (2010); Meini and McGillivray (2010); Brucale and Mocciano (2011); Brucale, Iacobini and Mocciano (2011); Corona (2015); Iacobini and Corona (2016); and the strongly theoretical committed analysis by Acedo Matellán (2010).

With respect to boundary-crossing encoding, our analysis shows an asymmetric behaviour of Goal and Source. We found a quite systematic use of *in* when the Figure performs a boundary-crossing movement entailing an actual entrance, as in (4) and (5), while *ad* is used to describe a generic arrival (6).

- (4) Caesar, *De bello gallico* VI.37.2
in castra in-rumpere conantur
 into camp(N.PL).ACC into-burst:PRS.INF begin(DEP):PRS.3PL
 ‘They begin to burst into the camp’
- (5) Caesar, *De bello gallico* VII.53.3
exercitum in castra re-duxit
 army(M).SG.ACC in camp(N.PL).ACC back-bring:PFV.3SG
 ‘[Caesar] brought back the army in the camp’
- (6) Caesar, *De bello gallico* V.22.2
cum ad castra venissent
 when to camp(N.PL).ACC arrive:SBJV.PPFV.3PL
 ‘When they arrived at the camp’

The same functional opposition does not hold for Source expression. The distinction on the basis of the relative vs. ablative value is blurred, with the consequence of an overlap, and an overgeneralization of Source elements. As the example in (7) shows, boundary-crossing at starting points of motion events can be encoded in the adnominal locus not only by the expected preposition *ex* but also by *de*, even in those cases in which the Ground (*pars sepulta*) is characterized by boundaries that are crossed by the Figure (*scorpius*).

- (7) Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV.370
de parte sepulta scorpius ex-ibit
 from part(F).SG.ABL hidden:PTCP.PRF.F.SG.ABL scorpion(M).SG.NOM out-go:FUT.3SG
 ‘From the inner a scorpion will exit’

The functional overlap of prepositions expressing Source is even more evident in examples like the one in (8), where the departure from a place which cannot be conceived as a container (*tumulus*) is expressed by the preposition *ex*. Similar cases of the use of prepositions in Ancient Greek have been explained as a result of the so-called “Weakening of the Container Metaphor” (cf. Luraghi 2003: 315), a metaphor implying that the Ground corresponds to a space physically delimited by boundaries and that the Figure initially or finally coincides with a portion of said Ground.

- (8) Caesar, *De bello gallico* II.27.4
ex tumulo tela in nostros conicerent
 from hill(M).SG.ABL dart(N).PL.ACC against POSS.F.1PL.ACC throw:SBJV.IPFV.3PL
 ‘From the hill they threw darts against our soldiers’

In our corpus, we have also noticed the reverse phenomenon, that could be called extension or “Strengthening of the Container Metaphor”: in examples like the one in (9) the Source (*Menapii*) and the Goal (*nostri* ‘our army’) are expressed respectively by the prepositions *ex* and *in* (instead of the expected *ab* and *ad*) implying that populations and armies seem to be considered as containers, since they are perceived as homogeneous entities within which a Figure can be metaphorically included.

- (9) Caesar, *De bello gallico* VI.9.1
Caesar postquam ex Menapiis
 Caesar(M).NOM after out.from Menapi(M.PL).ABL
in Treveros venit
 into Treveri(M.PL).ACC arrive:PFV.3SG
 ‘Caesar, after he arrived from the Menapii[’s] to the Treveri[’s territories]’

Perhaps more compelling for an in-depth analysis of the preferred strategies of motion encoding employed in Latin are the data concerning the expression of complex Path and Manner of motion. It is worth recalling that the accumulation of Ground expressions around a Manner verb is a key characteristic of Satellite-Framed languages.

The most striking data arising from our analysis concern: i) the relative scarcity of Manner of motion verbs with respect to the typological expectations (cf. (10)-(24)); and ii) the almost complete lack of complex Path expression (cf. (25)-(28)).

Latin directional prefixes are equally distributed between Manner and other motion verbs with regard to the number of both types and tokens (if not overbalanced towards directional verbs). The cases in which a prefix is the only element used to add directional meaning to a Manner base (cf. (10)) are few in number.

- (10) Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV.739
scinditur *in* *geminas* *partes*
 split:PRS.3SG.PASS into dual:F.PL.ACC branch(F).PL.ACC
circum-fluus *amnis*
 around-flowing river(M).NOM.SG
 ‘The river, flowing around, splits into two branches’

Even in the cases in which a Manner verb is available in the Latin lexicon, oftentimes this is not used if Manner is easily inferable from other elements in the clause: the verbs *navigo* ‘to sail’ and *fluo* ‘to flow’ might have been used in the examples in (11) and (12) instead of *transeo* and *eo*.

- (11) Caesar, *De bello gallico* III.11.2
si (...) ***navibus*** *flumen* ***trans-ire*** *conentur*
 if ship(M).PL.ABL river(N).SG.ACC through-go:PRS.INF try(DEP):SBJV.PRS.3PL
 ‘if they had tried to cross the river’
- (12) Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.111
flumina *lactis* *iam* ***flumina***
 river(N).PL.NOM milk(N).SG.GEN by.now river(N).PL.NOM
nectaris ***ibant***
 nectar(N).SG.GEN go:IMPFV.3PL
 ‘By now, rivers of milk and nectar flowed’

As shown by Brucale, Iacobini and Mocciaro (2011), from which the following examples are taken, the cases in which the prefix is highly meaningful in Path expression are represented not by Manner verbs but by the set of verbs derived from *eo* ‘to go’, in which the very general meaning of the verbal base probably constitutes the reason for the prefix to play such a crucial role (13). Besides expressing direction, the prefix can also modify the argument structure of the base verb, for example licensing a direct object as in (14).

- (13) Phaedrus, *Fabulae* 4.23.7
red-ire *in* *patriam*
 back-go:PRS.INF into homeland(F)C.F.SG
voluit *cursu* *pelagio*
 want:PRS.3SG way(M).SG.ABL of.the.sea:M.SG. ABL
 ‘Homewards by shipping he wants to return’
- (14) Tacitus, *Germania* 21.1
proximam *domum* *non invitati* ***ad-eunt***
 nearest:ACC.F.SG.SUP house(F).SG.ACC not invite:PTCP.PRF.M.PL.ABL to-go:PRS.3SG
 ‘and without invitation they go to the next house’

Other examples of the combination of directional prefixes with the verb *eo* taken from our corpus are provided in (15) and (16).

- (15) Caesar, *De bello gallico*, I.33.3
in *provinciam* ***ex-irent***
 into province(F).SG.ACC out-go: SBJV.IPFV.3PL
 ‘going forth into the province’

(16) Caesar, *De bello gallico*, II.27.3

ascendere altissimas ripas sub-ire
 ascend:PRS.INF highest:ACC.F.PL.SUP bank(F).PL.ACC up-go:PRS.INF
iniquissimum locum
 disadvantageous:ACC.M.SG.SUP place(M).SG.ACC
 ‘ascending the highest banks, and coming up to a very disadvantageous place’

Moreover, a prefixed Manner base easily fades or loses its Manner meaning, as in the case of the verbs derived from *gradior* ‘walk’, as shown by the examples (17)-(19), taken from the Packard Humanities Institute 5 corpus. In (17) the unprefix verb *gradior* is used in its original meaning (as can be noticed from the contrast with other Manner verbs), while in (18) and (19), prefixes convey a directional meaning (*e-*, *in-*) and the Manner value of the base verbs ‘to walk’ and ‘to fly’ is lost. This situation could suggest that, in contrast with prototypical Satellite-Framed languages, Manner information is not so salient in Latin motion events, and can be easily blurred by a more prominent directional meaning.

(17) Cicero, *De natura deorum*, II.122.4

alia animalia gradiendo alia serpendo
 some:N.PL.NOM animal(N).PL.NOM walking some:N.PL.NOM crawling
ad pastum accedunt alia volando
 to food(N).SG.ACC approach:PRS.3SG some:N.PL.NOM flying
alia nando
 some:N.PL.NOM swimming
 ‘some animals approach their food by walking, some by crawling, some by flying, some by swimming’

(18) Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria* XII.proem.4

tanta atque ita instructa nave
 such_big:F.SG.ABL and so well_found:F.SG.ABL ship(F).SG.ABL
hoc mare in-gressus
 this:N.ACC.SG sea(N).ACC.SG inside-gone:PTCP.PRF.DEP.NOM.M.SG
 ‘[Cicero] though the ship of such size and so well found in which he entered this sea’

(19) Caesar, *De bello gallico*, III.28.3

subito ex omnibus partibus silvae e-volaverunt
 suddenly out.from all:F.PL.ABL part(F).PL.ABL forest(F).SG.GEN out-rush:PFV.3PL
 ‘[they (sc. the enemies)] suddenly rushed out from all parts of the forest’

As already pointed out by Brucale (2011), not infrequent are those cases where the Manner meaning can be expressed by a verbal item different from the main directional verb. Among the constructions in which Manner is expressed outside the main verb, one of the most frequent is the one exemplified in (20) and (21), in which Manner is expressed in a nominal adjunct.

(20) Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II.772

passu=que incedit inerte
 step(M).SG=and move.forward:PRS.3SG lazy:M.SG.ABL
 ‘he moves forward by lazy steps’

- (21) Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II.772
in mare lassatis decidit alis
 into sea(N).SG.ACC fatigue:PTCP.PRF.F.PL.ABL fall.down:PRS.3SG wing(F).PL.ABL
 ‘(the bird) falls down with his fatigued wings into the sea’

In Classical Latin, there are also attestations of constructions linking a directional verb to the present participle of a Manner verb (*properanti* < *propero* ‘to act with haste, hurry, be quick’; *festinans* < *festino* ‘to act hurriedly, make haste’), which clearly prelude to the Romance construction “main verb + gerund (of Manner verb)” (cf. (22) and (23), from Brucale, Iacobini and Mocciaro 2011).

- (22) Sallust, *de Catilinae coniuratione* 57.3
igitur, [...], castra propere movit ac sub ipsis
 therefore camp(N.PL).ACC immediately move:PRS.3SG and under DEM:F.PL.ABL
radicibus montium consedit, qua illi
 root(F).PL.ABL mountain(M).PL.GEN sit:PFV.3SG where DEM:M.SG.DAT
de-scensus erat in Galliam properanti
 down-rise:M.SG.NOM be:IPFV.3SG Into Gaul(F).SG.ACC hasten:PTCP.PRS.M.SG.DAT
 ‘he immediately broke up the camp, and took his post at the very foot of the hills, at the point where Catiline's descent would be, in his hurried march into Gaul’
- (23) Phaedrus, *Fabulae* 3.19.9
hominem inquit quaero, et ab-iiit
 man(M).SG.ACC say:PRF.3SG look.for:PRS.1SG and away-go:PRF.3SG
festinans domum
 hasten:PTCP.PRS.M.SG.NOM house(F).SG.ACC
 ‘He answered briefly, as he ran, “Fellow, I’m looking for a man.”’

Directional prefixes can also combine with Path verbs, as in (24), where Path is already expressed in the verb root, and the prefix does not add any further directional information.

- (24) Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II.684-5
incustoditae pylios memorantur
 unwatched:F.PL.NOM of.Pylos.M.PL.ACC remind:PRS.3PL.PASS
in agros processisse boves
 into land(M).PL.ACC advance:PFV.INF kine(F).PL.NOM
 ‘his kine, forgotten, strayed away to graze over the plains of Pylos’

Differently from what can be expected from a typical Satellite-Framed language (and despite the available resources), Classical Latin tends to avoid the expression of multiple Path.

The most frequent pattern of motion event encoding in Classical Latin is the one in which there is a so-called semantic congruence (cf. Borrillo 1998) between the portion of Path encoded in the verbal locus by the prefix and the one encoded in the adnominal locus. The directional information is distributed in the sentence, and prefixes and prepositions in the same clause generally encode the same Ground, either lexically coinciding (25) or (less frequently) differing (27)-(28).

- (25) Caesar, *De bello gallico* II.8.5
suas copias ex castris
 POSS:F.PL.ACC force(F.PL).ACC from.out camp(N.PL).ABL

e-ductas *instruxerant*
 out-bring:PTCP.PRF.F.PL.ACC draw.up:PPFV.3PL
 ‘[the enemies] drew up their forces which they had brought out of the camp’

(26) Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.569-70

Peneos *ab* *imo* *effusus*
 Peneus(N).NOM from bottom.M.SG.ABL out.flow:PTCP.PFV.PASS.M.SG.NO
Pindo
 Pindus(M).ABL
 ‘[the river] Peneus, flowing from the bottom of the Pindus’

(27) Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.608

delapsa=que *ab* *aethere* *summo*
 glide.down:PTCP.PFV.F.SG.NOM=and from heaven(M).SG.ABL topmost:M.SG.ABL
constitit *in* *terris*
 stand.upon:PFV.3SG into earth(F).PL.ABL
 ‘From the dome of heaven she glided down and stood upon the earth’

Our corpus presents some instances of complex Path. In such cases, Source is preferentially encoded by the prefix, while Goal occupies the adnominal locus (and therefore is expressed in a more detailed way). Complex Paths are normally restricted to Grounds that are in contact (i.e., physically or conceptually understood as joined or close together in a spatial continuum), and in which only one boundary-crossing occurs (cf. Bohemeyer 2003; Filipović 2010).

(28) Ovid, *Metamorphoses* III.67

totum *de-scendit* *in* *ilia* *ferrum*
 all.N.SG.NOM down-rise:PRS.3SG into innards(N).PL.ACC sword(N).SG.NOM
 ‘the entire sword descends into the innards’

(29) Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VIII.796-97

sub-vecta *per* *aera* *curru*
 up-carry:PTCP.PFV.F.SG.ABL through air(N).PL.ACC chariot(M).SG.ABL
 ‘carried up through the air by a chariot’

To sum up, although the partial character of our corpus does not allow final generalizations, the examples presented thus far clearly indicate the presence in Latin usage of non-prototypically Satellite-Framed strategies.

The main tendencies displayed by Latin may be summed up in the following points:

- simple Path (no cumulation of satellites);
- encoding of the same portion of Path in the satellite and in the adnominal locus;
- bleaching of directional meaning of some prefixes (re-interpretation as actional markers when associated with Manner verbs);
- non-widespread use of Manner of motion verbs;
- emergence of Manner expression outside the main verb.

6. Conclusions

Even though Latin can be classified as a Satellite-Framed language on the basis of the available morphological means, our corpus analysis has revealed that it does not fall neatly within this typological group if preferred strategies are investigated at the usage level.

Studies addressing the problem of the presence of strategies that do not fit in with one typology are quite recent and, according to Nikitina (2013: 186) “little is known about the specific factors that determine the choice of a strategy in particular cases”.

Our research supports the need to investigate this issue together with the claim that “[t]he study of texts in motion event typology is crucial. Only by considering texts can we explore how encoding is shaped by language use. Particularly important for encoding is frequency of occurrence and frequency of co-occurrence” of spatial elements (Wälchli and Sölling 2013: 110).

At a methodological level, our main result is the neat distinction between system and usage: a rich set of morphological means is not a sufficient condition for assessing the preferred strategies of encoding.

At the descriptive level, we brought new findings on the encoding of motion in Classical Latin.

Finally, we suggest that our findings may shed new light on the possible pathways of typological change. We believe that the limited use of Manner verbs in motion expression, the lack of complexity of Path in dislocational motion encoding, together with the semantic congruence of Path expressed in the prefixed verb and the prepositional phrase we found in Latin may constitute conditions paving the way for the typical expression of dislocation motion in Verb-Framed languages, in which the function of indicating the direction is carried out by the verb, whereas prepositional phrases tend to express neutral meanings with respect to the static / dynamic distinction.

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