From satellite-framed Latin to verb-framed Romance:

A syntactic approach*

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1. Introduction

In this paper we deal with the relation between two grammatical changes from Latin to Romance. As is well-known, the element expressing directionality –the *Path*– underwent a morphological change: while the Path was typically affixed onto the verb in Latin (e.g., see [1a]), it is typically conflated into —that is, morphologically undistinguishable from— the verb in Romance (e.g., see the Catalan translation of [1a] in [1b]).

(1) a. *E-iecit* *ex urbe* *C. Marium.*

out-cast.PRF.3S out city.ABL C. Marius.ACC

'He cast C. Marius out of the city.'

(Cic. *Cat*. 3, 24)[1]

b. *Tragué* *Màrius de la ciutat.*

cast.out.3PRF Marius of the city

However, what has gone largely unnoticed is that the morphological change exemplified in (1) is related to syntactic changes like the one illustrated in (2), where it can be seen that

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while Latin allowed for unselected objects, Romance (e.g., Catalan) does not any more: in (2a) the object *putamina* is not selected by the simplex intransitive verb *tussire* 'to cough', but is possible by virtue of the presence of the directional prefix *ex-* 'out'. By contrast, as exemplified in the Catalan example of (2b), Romance does not feature unselected objects. Accordingly, a natural translation of the unselected object construction of (2a) is given in (2c): *les closques* 'the shells' is the direct object of a directional verb *treure* 'put out', whereas the Latin intransitive verb *tussire* is translated via the adjunct *d'un estossec* 'with a cough'.

(2) a. [*Serpentes*] *putamina* *(*ex-*)*tussiunt.*
snake.NOM.PL shell.ACC.PL out-cough.3PL
'Snakes cough the egg shells out.'
(Plin. *Nat*. 10, 197)

b. **Les serps tussen les closques*(*fora*).
the snakes cough.PL the shells out

c. *Les serps treuen les closques d'=un estossec.*
the snakes put.out.PL the shells of=a cough
'Snakes throw out the egg shells with a cough.'

The main goal of the present paper is to show that argument structure changes like the one exemplified in (2) are determined by the change in the morphological properties of the Path exposed in (1). This we will carry out through the adoption of Talmy's (1991, 2000) typological perspective on the structure of events as interpreted through the theory of l-syntax developed by Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002, i.a.).

Our paper is structured as follows. In Section 2 we introduce Talmy's (1991, 2000) typology of the expression of events, structured mainly on two classes of languages: satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages; we also expose our account of it in syntactic terms. In Section 3 we show that Latin belongs to the class of s-framed languages, through the examination of some argument structure patterns in this language, and we will contrast Latin with v-framed Romance. In Section 4 we deal with some residues of s-framedness in Old Romance and also with a class of predicates which, seeming s-framed at first glance, can be argued to involve a v-framed strategy when our syntactic approach is applied to them. All in all, these facts lead us to propose that the change from the old s-framed system to the new v-framed one was gradual. We provide overall conclusions in Section 6.

2. Talmy's typology and l-syntax

2.1. *The distinction between satellite- and verb-framed languages*

In this section we provide a syntactic explanation of Talmy's (1991, 2000) well-known descriptive typology of *s*(*atellite*)-*framed* vs. *v*(*erb*)-*framed* languages. Before doing so, it will be useful to introduce some relevant background on his typological work. Consider some paradigmatic examples of his typology in (3): English can typically be taken as an example of s-framed language, whereas Catalan can typically be regarded as an example of v-framed language. To put it in Talmy's (1985) terms, (3a) involves conflation of Motion with Manner, or alternatively, in Talmy's (1991) terms, (3a) involves conflation of MOVE with $[\text{EVENT}]_{\text{SUPPORTING}}$. By contrast, the corresponding counterpart of (3a) in a Romance language like Catalan (see [3b]) typically involves a different lexicalization pattern, i.e. conflation of Motion with Path, the Manner component (or the Co-event) being expressed as an adjunct.

(3) a. *The bottle floated into the cave*.

b. *La botella entrà a la cova flotant*.

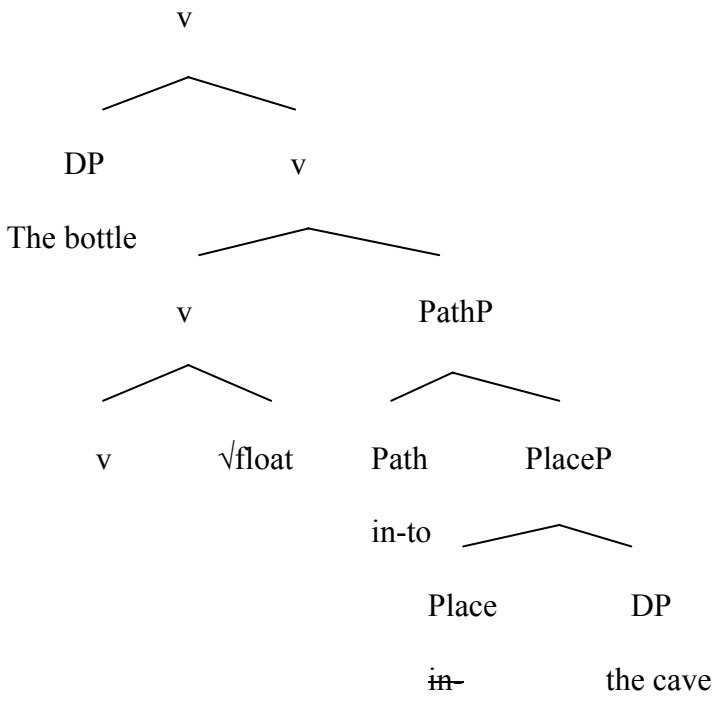
the bottle entered PREP the cave floating

'The bottle entered the cave floating.'

2.2. *Conflation processes: a syntactic approach*

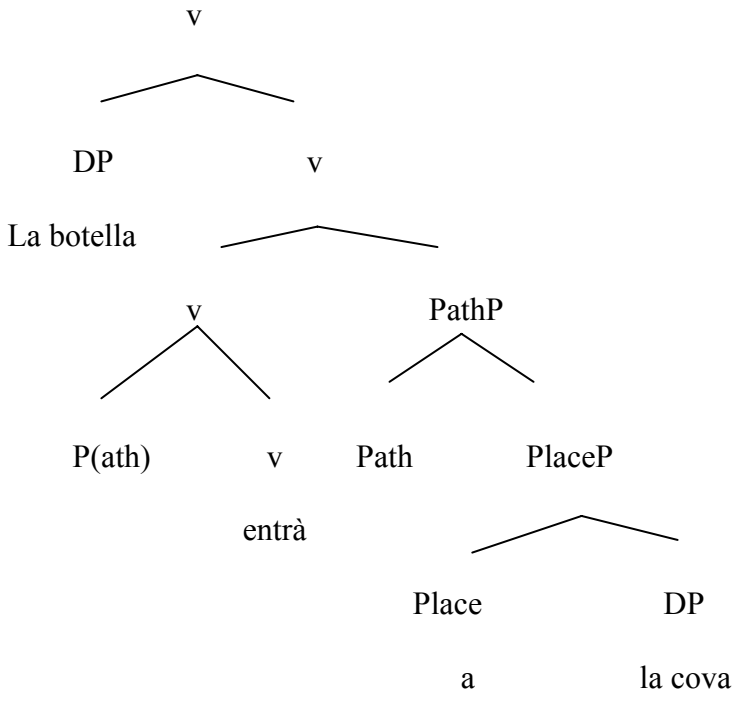
The 's-framedness' of Germanic languages like English is to be related to the fact that, for example, the satellite directional element *into* in (3a) is not conflated with the verb, this null verb being then allowed to be conflated with the so-called {"Manner constituent"/ $[\text{EVENT}]_{\text{SUPPORTING}}$}. To put it in syntactic terms, the non-conflating (i.e. "satellite") nature of *into* allows the phonologically null unaccusative verb to be merged with the root √*float*: see (4) for the Manner conflation pattern, which involves a syntactic compounding of a manner root with a phonologically null event (e.g., GO); cf. Mateu & Rigau (2002, 2009), McIntyre (2004), Zubizarreta & Oh (2007), Mateu (2008), i.a.

(4) Manner conflation



In contrast, as can be seen in (5), the conflating nature of the Path element in Catalan yields a directional verb *entrar* 'enter', the adjunct *flotant* 'floating' being merged outside the main argument structure. Furthermore, as can be inferred from the English translation of the Catalan example in (3b), a similar analysis holds for the Romance pattern involved in *enter the cave floating* (cf. the Germanic pattern: *float into the cave*). Accordingly, the Path lexicalization pattern is also found in (the Romance lexicon of) English.

(5) Path conflation



Given (5), it is then the case that v-framed languages are expected to lack complex resultative(-like) constructions like those ones exemplified in (6), which can be identified by two important features: on the one hand, the verb does not encode nor involve Path but *pure* Manner (see Mateu & Rigau 2009)[2] and, on the other, the telic PartP/PP is not an adjunct (see Aske 1989, Mateu 2005, and Gehrke 2008, i.a.). Accordingly, all the examples in (6) involve the Manner conflation pattern, whereby they all involve a syntactic compounding of a manner root with a phonologically null event (i.e., GO in [6a-b] and CAUSE in [6c-g]).

(6) a. *John danced into the room.*

b. *John danced away.*

c. *John danced the puppet across the stage.*

d. *John danced the night away.*

e. *John danced his debts off.*

f. *John danced his feet sore.*

g. *John danced his way into a wonderful world.*

3. Latin as an s-framed language

In this section, basing on Acedo-Matellán (2006a, in preparation) we will show that Latin is an s-framed language, that is, a language where the Path component, as described above, is morphophonologically realised as an element different from the verb. Crucially, this fact leaves the possibility for the verb to encode another component of the event, namely manner, through the adjunction of an independent root onto it, yielding the pattern of manner conflation shown above. We next show constructions which arguably involve that pattern: Unselected Object Constructions, Complex Directed Motion Constructions, Locative Alternation constructions and, finally, constructions involving aspectual satellites.

3.1. *Unselected Object Constructions*

U(nselected) O(bject) C(onstruction)s are constructions whose verb, when taken out of the construction, would not either license or theta-select the object, to use GB terminology. In (7) through (14) there are Latin examples illustrating these two possibilities:

(7) [*Serpentes*] *putamina* *(*ex-*)*tussiunt.*

snake.NOM.PL shell.ACC.PL out-cough.3PL

'Snakes cough the egg shells out.'

(Plin. *Nat*. 10, 197)

(8) *Omne caseum cum melle* *(*ab-*)*usus eris.*

all.ACC.N.SG cheese(N)ACC.SG with honey.ABL off-use.FUT.2SG

'Till you have use up all the cheese with honey.'

(Cat. *Agr*. 76, 4)

(9) *Neque enim omnia emebat aut* *(*e-*)*blandiebatur.*

nor in.fact everything.ACC.N.PL buy.IPFV.3SG or out-flatter.IPFV.3SG

'Nor did he acquire his object in all cases by money or flattery.'

(Liv. 27, 31, 7)

(10) *(*E-*)*dormi crapulam, inquam*.

out-sleep.IPV.2SG intoxication.ACC.SG say.PRS.1SG

'Sleep off that intoxication, I said.'

(Cic. *Phil*. 2, 30)

(11) *Veniebat* [...] *ut sudorem illic* #(*ab-*)*lueret*.

come.IPFV.3SG that sweat.ACC there off-wash.IPFV.SBJV.3SG

'He used to go there to wash his sweat off.'

(Sen. *Epist*, 86, 11)

(12) *Purpureas=que notas filis #(in-)texuit*

purple.ACC.F.PL=and motif(F)ACC.PL yarn(N)DAT.PL in-weave.PRF.3SG

albis.

white.DAT.N.PL

'And she wove purple motifs into white yarns'

(Ov. *Met*. 6, 577)

(13) *Haec libertus ut #(e-)bibat* [...] *custodis*?

this.ACC.N.PL freedman.NOM that out-drink.SBJV.3SG guard.PRS.2SG

'Are you guarding these possessions for your freedman to guzzle them all up?'

(Hor. *Sat*. 2, 3, 122)

(14) [*Acta*] *quae ille in aes #(in-)cidit.*

act(N)ACC.PL which.ACC.N.PL that.NOM.M.SG in brass.ACC in-cut.3SG

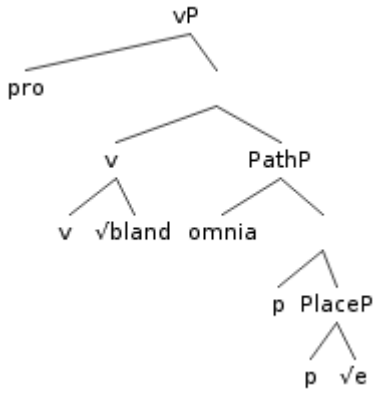
'The deeds which he engraved on brass.'

(Cic. *Phil*. 1, 16)

Of the UOCs just presented, the ones in (7) through (10) feature otherwise intransitive verbs: *utor* 'use' (*utor* takes ablative, not accusative), *tussio* 'cough', *blandior* 'flatter' (*blandior* takes dative) and *dormio* 'sleep'; the rest of examples feature transitive verbs, although they do not seem to theta-select their objects: in (11) the sweat, *sudorem*, is not washed, but washed off; in (12) the verb *texo* 'weave' would not select *purpureas notas* 'purple motifs', if it did not bear a prefix; in (13) the verb *bibo* 'drink', in combination with the prefix *ex-*, appears with an object which does not refer to a drinkable entity; finally, in (14) the accusative *acta* 'deeds', is not selected by simple *caedo* 'cut', but it is possible with the prefixed verb *incido* 'cut into', 'engrave'.

We assume a small clause approach to UOCs (Hoekstra 1988, Mateu 2001, Kratzer 2004), where the licenser of the construction, which in the Latin examples above is the prefix, and the object form a small clause sustaining a subject-predicate relationship, the only theta-relationship affecting the object of the UOC. Here, furthermore, we take that licensing predicate to be a PathP, the structure argued to be responsible for the semantics of transition. This is exemplified in (15) through an analysis of the UOC in (9):

(15) *Omnia eblandiebatur.*



In the analysis of (15) the prefix starts its life as a root merged within PlaceP and then it moves by conflation up to a phonologically null Path; from there it gets prefixed onto the verb *blandiebatur*, which is the result, itself, of a *manner conflation* process involving the root √*bland* and the light verb v. It is crucial to observe that we propose that Path gets *prefixed onto*, not *conflated into* the verb: the Path is an element morphologically independent from the verb, as is the case in s-framed languages. In fact, UOCs are attested in these languages, as shown by the examples in (16) through (18):

(16) *The police sirened the porsche* *(*to a stop*).

(Clark and Clark 1979: 803)

(17) *Er* *(*ver-*)*gärtnerte* *sein* *gesamtes* *Vermögen.*

he *ver*-garden.PST.3SG his.ACC.N.SG whole.ACC.N.SG fortune(N)ACC.SG

'In gardening, he used up all his fortune.'

(German; Stiebels 1998: 285)

(18) *Ona**(*is-*)*pisala* *svoju* *ručku.*

she out-write.PST.3SG her.ACC pen.ACC

'She has made her pen to run out of ink through writing.'

(Russian; Spencer and Zaretskaya 1998: 17)

On the contrary, as expected, UOCs are not possible in v-framed languages like Romance (Mateu 2001). The reason is that the Path being conflated into the verb, there is no room for any other root to get conflated into it, and the pattern of manner conflation characteristic of UOCs does not obtain. For instance, (19) and (20) below show that a literal rendition into Catalan of the prefixed predicates involved in the examples of (9) and (13) is impossible:

(19) **Adular* *tot* (*fora*).

flatter.INF everything out

(20) **Beure* (*fora*) *aquests béns.*

drink.INF out these possessions

3.2. *Complex directed motion constructions*

Other constructions which are typical of s-framed languages are C(omplex) D(irected) M(otion) C(onstruction)s: i.e., constructions which involve a telic predicate expressing a goal of motion and, simultaneously, the manner in which that motion takes place. The Latin examples in (21) through (25) illustrate:

(21) *Simulatque e navi e-gressus est dedit.*

as.soon.as out ship.ABL out-walk.PRF.3SG give.PFV.3SG

'As soon as he walked out of the ship, he handed it over.'

(Cic. *Verr*. 2, 2, 19)

(22) *Repente ex omnibus partibus ad pabulatores ad-volaverunt.*

suddenly out all.ABL.F.PL quarter(F)ABL.PL at forager.ACC.PL at-fly.PRF.3PL

'Suddenly, they flew upon the foragers from all quarters.'

(Caes. *Gall*. 5, 17, 2)

(23) *Qui ubi ad-equitauit portis* [...] *vallum intravit.*

who.NOM.M.SG when at-ride.PRF.3SG door.DAT.PL wall.ACC enter.PRF.3SG

'As soon as he rode up to the doors, he entered the camp.'

(Liv. 22, 42, 5)

(24) *Navigant diebus XL ad primum emporium Indiae.*

sail.PRS.3PL day.ABL.PL 40 at first.ACC.N.SG emporium(N)ACC.SG India.GEN

'They sail up to the first emporium in India in 40 days.'

(Plin. *Nat*. 6, 104, 1)

(25) *Repente omnes* [...] *in Palatium cucurrerunt.*

suddenly all.NOM.PL in palace.ACC run.PRF.3PL

'On a sudden everybody hastened to the Palace.'

(Suet. 8, 2)

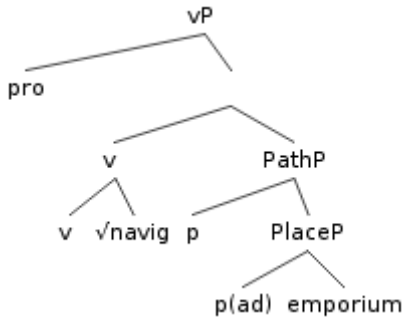
In these examples the manner of motion is encoded within the verb, as *gredior* 'walk', in (21) or *equito* 'ride', in (23), while the goal is expressed as an independent element, either a prefix —in (21), (22) and (23)— or a PP —in (24) and (25). These predicates feature an element

signalling the telic character of the predicate: a complementiser like *simulatque* in (21) or *ubi* in (23), or an adverbial like *repente* 'suddenly' in (22) and (25), or *diebus XL* 'in forty days', in (24). This means, in the present framework, that the element expressing goal, either a prefix or a PP, is inside the VP, since in the absence of such an element the simplex motion verbs *gredior*, *volo*, *equito*, *navigo* and *curro* yield atelic activity predicates. This is illustrated in (26) by simplex *navigo*, which licenses the durative adverbial *per aliquot dies* 'for some days':

(26) *Per aliquot dies totidem=que noctes* [...] *navigat*.
for some day.ACC.PL same.number.of=and night.ACC.PL sail.PRS.3SG
'He sails for some days and the same number of nights.'
(*Hist. Apoll*. rec. B, 11)

Thus, we propose the analysis in (27) for a predicate such as the one in (24)

(27) *Navigant ad emporium.*



In the analysis of (27), the preposition *ad* is first merged as Place, since it characterises the final location of movement; from Place it conflates up into Path to provide it with phonological material. In cases like (21), where this element appears as a prefix, there is an

additional affixation operation from Path position onto the verb. In any case, Path is not conflated into the verb. This is what permits an independent root, in this case √*navig*, to adjoin to and conflate into the null light verb. As a result, the overt expression in (24) shows a motion verb expressing manner and a PP expressing goal. This pattern is typical of s-framed languages, like the ones illustrated in (28) through (30):

(28) *On pri-exal v Moskvu za den.*
he to-drove.PRF in Moscow.ACC in day
'He arrived in Moscow in a day.'
(Russian; Gehrke 2008: 185)

(29) *Dat Jan in twee uur naar Groningen is gewandeld.*
that Jan in two hour to Groningen is walked
'That Jan has walked to Groningen in two hours.'
(Dutch; Zubizarreta and Oh 2007: 42)

(30) *Jon syklet til byen på en time.*
Jon biked into town in one hour
'Jon biked into town in an hour.'
(Norwegian; Tungseth 2003: 475)

In v-framed languages like Romance, telic CDMCs are not possible, since the Path component is conflated into v, which is no longer available for an independent manner root to conflate into it. This is shown in (31) through a Catalan literal rendition of (23). The natural expression in Catalan involves the use of a path verb and an adjunct expressing manner, as shown in (32):

(31) **Tan bon punt* *cavalcà* *a* *les portes.*
as.soon.as rode.PRF.3SG at the doors

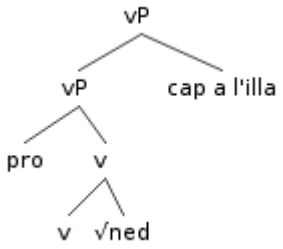
(32) *Tan bon punt* *arribà* *a* *les portes* *cavalcant.*
as.soon.as arrive.PRF.3SG at the doors riding

Other constructions expressing directed motion and manner are possible in v-framed languages, namely, those whose predicates are atelic:

(33) *Nedaren* *cap a* *l'illa* *durant/* **en mitja* *hora.*
swim.PFV.3PL towards the=island for in half.F.SG hour.F.SG
'They swam towards the island for half an hour.'

In these cases, however, we contend that the PP expressing goal is not within VP, but adjoined to it, while the verb heads an unergative predicate of atelic nature:

(34) *Nedaren cap a l'illa*.



Italian can be said to feature prima facie exceptions to the Romance v-framed pattern, since a few manner of motion verbs in this language, like *correre* 'run', *saltare* 'jump' or *volare* 'fly', appear to allow telic CDMCs. However, the majority of manner of motion verbs, like *camminare* 'walk', *ballare* 'dance', *nuotare* 'swim', *galleggiare* 'float', etc., do not. The two

classes of verbs are also different with respect to the choice of auxiliary for the perfect tenses: while verbs of the former class select *essere* 'be' in telic CDMCs, verbs of the latter class do not, as shown in (35). For two similar accounts of the contrast between *correre*-verbs and *camminare*-verbs, see Folli and Ramchand (2005) and Mateu and Rigau (2009); see also our footnote 2.

(35) a. *Gianni è corso alla stanza* (*cf. Gianni ha corso* [**alla stanza*])
Gianni is run to.the room
'Gianni ran to the room.'

b. **Gianni è camminato alla casa.* (*cf. Gianni ha camminato* [**alla casa*])
Gianni is walked to.the house
'Gianni walked to the house.'

3.3. *Locative alternation*

The locative alternation is the possibility some verbs display of heading two different predicates, one expressing change of location —the C(hange) O(f) L(ocation) alternant— and the other one expressing change of state —the C(hange) O(f) S(tate) alternant. The verb *spray*, in the next example, is used in both ways, respectively shown in (36a) and (36b):

(36) a. *Sue sprayed paint onto the wall*.

b. *Sue sprayed the wall with paint*.

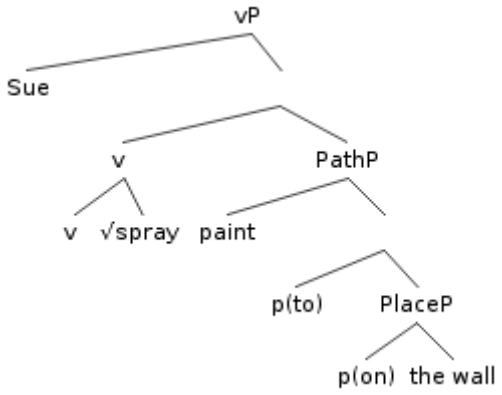
Much as the locative alternation has been widely discussed in the literature, it has not so often been observed that it constitutes a locus for cross-linguistic variation akin to the one involved in CDMCs and UOCs (Mateu 2002): English, for instance, is much more permissive to this

phenomenon than Romance. In fact, the example of locative alternation in (36) is impossible in Catalan, the only use of *ruixar* 'spray', being the COS alternant in (37b):

(37) a. **Ruixar pintura sobre la paret.*
spray.INF paint on the wall
b. *Ruixar la paret de pintura.*
spray.INF the wall of paint

According to Mateu (2002), there is a correlation between the productivity of the locative alternation and the s-/v-framed distinction: in s-framed languages like German or English there are more cases of locative alternation than in v-framed languages like Catalan or Spanish. This correlation could be explained if the COL alternant in s-framed languages is analysed as in (38): the PP *onto the wall* is a PathP and the verb *spray* is a light verb, v, with a manner root adjoined onto it:

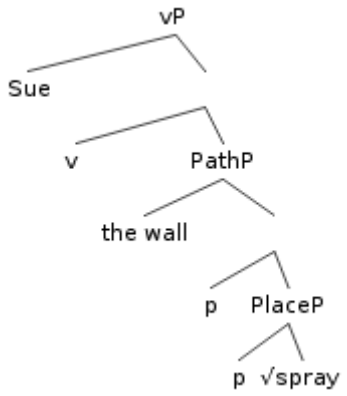
(38) *Sue sprayed paint onto the wall.*



Following the localist hypothesis (Gruber 1965; Jackendoff 1983), according to which changes of state are construed as changes of location, we claim that the COS variant also

involves a PathP (i.e., the wall changes to the state of being sprayed), but it contrasts with the COL variant in not featuring the manner conflation pattern which has been shown above; it is, thus, a v-framed construction. Another crucial difference is that the specifier of PathP, referring to the entity undergoing the change of state is *the wall* in the COS alternant:

(39) *Sue sprayed the wall* (*with paint*).



In conformity with our hypothesis that Latin is an s-framed language and that the productivity of the locative alternation is sensitive to this typological distinction, the prediction emerges that in Latin that productivity should be similar to the one obtaining in s-framed languages like Germanic or Slavic, and higher than in Romance languages like Catalan. For example, the verbs in (40) through (42) only allow the COS variant (exemplified by the b-sentences) in Catalan:[3]

(40) *Farcio* 'stuff'

a. *In os* *farciri* *pannos* *imperavit.*
in mouth.ACC stuff.INF.PASS rag.ACC.PL order.PFV.3SG
'He ordered to stuff the rags into his mouth.'
(Sen. *Dial*. 3-4-5, 3, 19, 4)

b. *Medios parietes farcire fractis caementis.*

central.ACC.M.PL wall(M)ACC.PL stuff.INF broken.ABL.N.PL quarry-stone(N)ABL.PL

'To stuff the central part of a wall with fragments of quarry-stones.'

(Plin. *Nat*. 36, 172, 5)

(41) *Lino* 'smear'

a. *Medicamina* [...] *ut* [...] *lini per corpora possint.*

makeup.NOM.PL that smear.INF.PASS through body.ACC.PL can.SBJV.3PL

'Such a makeup as may be smeared on the body.'

(Ov. *Medic*. 81)

b. *Vipereo spicula felle linunt.*

of.viper.ABL.N.SG arrow(N)ACC.PL bile(N)ABL.SG smear.PRS.3PL

'They smear all their arrows with viper bile.'

(Ov. *Pont*. 1, 2, 16)

(42) *Stipo* 'cram'

a. *Asses* [...] *in aliqua cella stipabant.*

coin.ACC.PL in some.ABL.F.SG room(F)ABL.SG cram.IPFV.3PL

'They used to cram the coins in some room.'

(Varro, *Ling*. 5, 36)

b. *Senatum stiparit armatis.*

senate.ACC cram.PRF.SBJV.3SG armed.ABL.M.PL

'(That) he had crammed the senate with armed men.'

(Cic. *Phil*. 3, 30)

The examples just shown conform to the English pattern of (36) in that the verb of neither alternant (*farcio*, *lino*, *stipo*) shows any special morphological mark. However, we do find

alternations in Latin, analogous to alternations in other languages, where some alternant or both is signalled with some morphological mark. Thus, for instance, according to Lemaire (1983) (and confirmed in Gaffiot [1934]), the prefixed verb *adfundo* in (43a), 'throw onto', which is found in COL expressions, is not found in COS alternants, where the verb *fundo* needs another prefix, namely *per* 'through', 'in all the extension of', as shown in (43b):

(43) a. *Ad* [...] *radices* *amphoram* [...] *amurcae* [...] *ad-fundi.*
at root.ACC.PL amphora.ACC oil.residue.GEN at-throw.INF.PASS
'For an amphora of oil residue to be thrown at the roots.'
(Plin. *Nat*. 17, 263, 3)

b. *Caput* *tamen* *aqua* *frigida* *per-fundere.*
head.ACC nonetheless water(F)ABL.SG cold.ABL.F.SG through-throw.INF
'Wash the head, nonetheless, with cold water.'
(Cels. 1, 4)

This prefix of completive meaning is, in fact, found in other different predicates, like the one in (44):

(44) *Ausculta* *porro,* *dum* *hoc* [...] *per-lego.*
listen.IPV.2SG forth until this.ACC.N.SG through-read.1SG
'Keep listening until I have read this over.'
(Plaut. *Bacch*. 1005)

The pattern of (43) is analogous to the one we find in Hungarian, another s-framed language (Snyder 2001). Ackerman (1992: 59) shows that COL variants in Hungarian are typically

marked with a directional element (*ra-* 'on', in [45a]), and COS variants with a grammaticalised element endowed with perfective (*meg-*, in [45b]) or resultative (*tele-*, in [45c]) meaning:

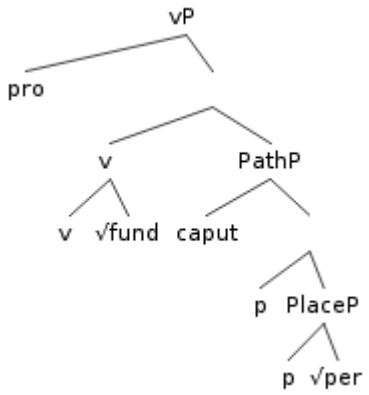
(45) a. *A paraszt (rá-)rakta a szénát a szekérre.*
the peasant on-load.PST.3SG the hay.ACC the cart.SUBLAT
'The peasant loaded the hay onto the cart.'

b. *A cparaszt meg-rakta a szekeret (szénával).*
the peasant PFV-load.PST.3SG the cart.ACC hay.INS
'The peasant loaded the cart with hay.'

c. *A paraszt tele-rakta a szekeret (szénával).*
the peasant RES-load.PST.3SG the cart.ACC hay.INS
'The peasant loaded the cart with hay.'

Importantly, Ackerman (1992) shows that neither *meg-* nor *tele-* may appear in a COL pattern, in a way parallel to Latin *perfundere*. We hypothesise that the Latin and Hungarian prefixed COS alternants represented by Latin *perfundere* in (43b) or by Hungarian *megrakta* and *telerakta* in (45b) and (45c), respectively, are s-framed constructions, with the prefix initially merged as a predicative piece indicating complete affection, and the root being conflated with a manner root. Thus, the analysis of (43b) would be as shown in (46):

(46) *Caput* (*aqua frigida*) *perfundere*.



The interpretation of these grammaticalised prefixes as predicates is also Mulder's (1992: 179-180) claim for COS variants headed by *be*-verbs in Dutch as in (47b). That *be*- is to be analysed as a predicate is suggested by the fact that it can be shown to be in complementary distribution with adjectives like *vol* 'full' when used as resultative predicates, as shown in (47d). (47a) represents the COL alternant and (47c) is an adjectival resultative construction semantically near to the *be*-alternant in (47b):

(47) a. *Hij hangt foto's op de muur.*
he hangs photos on the wall
'He hangs photos on the wall.'

b. *Hij be-hangt de muur met foto's.*
he be-hangs the wall with photos

c. *Hij hangt de muur vol me foto's.*
He hangs the wall full with photos

d. **Hij be-hangt de muur vol me foto's.*
he be-hangs the wall full with photos

Note that the analysis in (46) resembles the one proposed by Mulder (1992) for COS alternants, as shown in (48):

(48) hij hangt [$_{SC}$ de muur {*be-*/*vol*}]

Yet a last type of alternation that we find in Latin is the one where both alternants are marked with a directional prefix, as illustrated in (49):

(49) a. *Ulceri* *medicamentum* [...] *<u>in</u>-ducatur*.
ulcer(N)DAT.SG medicament.ABL.N.SG in-lead.PRS.SBJV.PASS.3SG
'The medicament be smeared into the ulcer.'
(Cels. 7, 7)

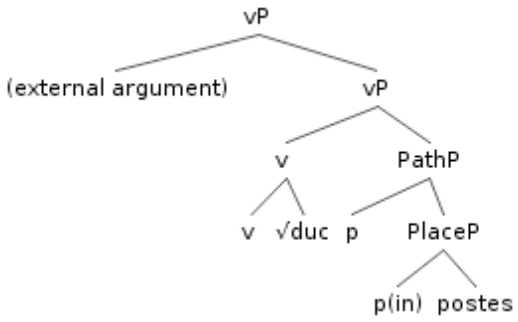
b. *Postes* [...] *sunt* *<u>in</u>-ducti* *pice.*
door-post.NOM.PL be.PRS.3PL in-lead.PTCP.PST.NOM.M.PL pitch.ABL.SG
'The door-posts have been smeared with pitch.'
(Plaut. *Most*. 827)

Our hypothesis is that the COS variants, such as the one in (49b), are s-framed constructions with the same structure as the COL alternants: the prefix in these constructions also signals the Path as realised independently from the verb. The difference, however is that these constructions lack a Figure. They would be akin to the English constructions in (50), provided by McIntyre (2004), who claims that their objects are conceptual Grounds:[4]

(50) *Wipe the table off* (= *wipe dust off the table*), *pour the bucket out* (= *pour water out of the bucket*), *squeeze the orange out*, *pump the cellar out*, *run someone through*
(McIntyre 2004: 538)

We propose the following structure for the predicate in (49b):

(51) *Postes sunt inducti* (*pice*).



Drawing on Svenonius's (2003) and Mateu's (2008) analyses of equivalent predicates in English and German, respectively, we propose that the Ground (*postes*), generated in the complement of Place, ends up being the accusative object, as it cannot get case from Place (*in*-); thus, these predicates can be claimed to involve a kind of Burzio effect, where the absence of the argument that would occupy the specifier/subject position of the inner SC-like PP (i.e., the Figure) is related to the incapability of Place to assign case to the Ground.

To sum up, the s-framed pattern is also at work in the locative alternation, always in COL variants and sometimes in COS alternants —in particular, in those marked with either a directional or a grammaticalised prefix. This is further evidence of the preferably s-framed nature of Latin in contrast to its daughter languages.

3.5. *Aspectual satellites*

Satellites as defined by Talmy (2000) may not only convey spatial notions, but also aspectual ones. According to this linguist, the typological distinction between s- and v-framed languages can also be drawn with respect to the expression of aspect: s-framed languages are allowed to realise aspect in the satellite, while v-framed languages can only realise it in the verb. This contrast is shown in (52) and (53) with English and Catalan as sample languages:

(52) *She played* (**her guitar*) *on*

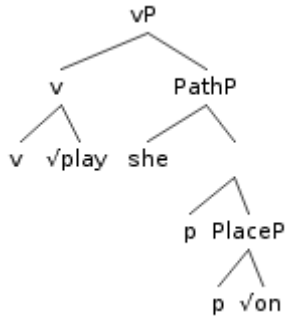
(McIntyre 2004: 529)

(53) *Ella continuà tocant* (*la guitarra*)

she kept playing the guitar

In (52) the satellite *on* expresses continuous aspect, while in (53) it is the verb *continuar* 'keep', which expresses that aspectual notion. In Catalan, there is no other way to express continuous aspect other than using an aspectual verb. It is also worth noting that, as pointed out by McIntyre (2004), *on* makes the verb *atransitive*, that is, unable to link an argument (*her guitar*, in this case). This interference of the particle *on* with the argument structure of the predicate suggests that it should be located low in the structure, within the vP, as shown in (54) (cf. *She went on playing*):

(54) *She played on*.



On seems to be semantically quite similar to the Latin independent particle *porro* 'forth', exemplified in (55) and (56):

(55) *Quid* *fit* *deinde?* *porro* *loquere*.
what.NOM.N.SG be.done.PRS.3SG then forth talk.IPV.2SG
'What happened afterwards? Talk on.'
(Plaut. *Amph*. 1119)

(56) *Ausculta* *porro*.
listen.IPV.2SG forth
'Keep listening.'
(Plaut. *Bacch*. 1005)

However, *porro*, unlike English aspectual *on*, does not seem to interfere with the argument structure of the predicate. Thus, for instance, a verb like *ausculto* may appear as intransitive, as in (56), or as transitive, as in (57), independently of the fact that *porro* is present in both predicates:

(57) *Porro* *etiam* *ausculta* *pugnam*.
forth even listen.IPV.2SG fight.ACC
'Keep listening and learn about the dirty trick.'
(Plaut. *Bacch*. 273)

In this section we will not concentrate on this non-trivial difference between English *on* and Latin *porro*, acknowledging that it deserves a more profound analysis, and we will limit ourselves to showing how aspect is encoded in satellites in Latin.

The other satellites with an aspectual nature we find in Latin are prefixes. They may bear ingressive aspect, that is, they may indicate the beginning of an event, as the prefix *ad-* in (58):[5]

(58) *Ac-cidunt* *arbores,* *tantum* *ut* *summa* *species*
at-cut.3PL tree.ACC.PL only that highest.NOM.F.SG appearance(F)NOM.SG
earum *stantium* *relinquatur*.
this.GEN.F.PL stand.PTCP.PRS.GEN.F.PL remain.PRS.SBJV.3SG
'They hew into the trees just to leave the appearance, on top, that they are upright.'
(Caes. *Gall*. 6, 27, 4)

Ad- seems quite similar in meaning to the German satellite particle *an-* in the prefixed verbs of (59), taken from McIntyre (2002: 104):

(59) *anbraten* ‘roast partly’, *anbrennen* ‘burn partly’, *anknabbern* ‘nibble partly’, *ankratzen* ‘scratch lightly’, *andiskutieren* ‘begin discussing’, *antrocknen* ‘dry partly’, *ansägen* ‘cut partly with a saw’.

Importantly, neither *ad-* nor *an-* induce changes in argument structure properties, as opposed to English progressive *on*. This could mean that the Latin and the German prefixes are to be treated in a different way.

Prefixes may also express egressive aspect, that is, the end of the event, as the prefix *de*-in (60):

(60) *Dum* *musteus* *fructus* *de-fervescat*.
until sweet.NOM.M.SG fruit(M)NOM.SG down-boil.PRS.SBJV.3SG
‘Until the sweet fruit has stopped fermenting.’
(Colum. 9, 15)

Talmy (2000: 122) provides a prefixed predicate in Russian unsurprisingly similar to the Latin example involving *de-* in (60); it is shown in (61):

(61) *Pivo* *pere-brodilo*.
beer *pere*-fermented
‘The beer has finished fermenting.’

Another aspectual notion we find conveyed by a prefix is perfective aspect; the prefix *per-* induces perfective aspect, as shown in (62):

(62) *Ausculta* *porro,* *dum* *hoc* [...] *per-lego.*

listen.IPV.2SG forth until this.ACC.N.SG through-read.1SG

'Keep listening until I have read this over.'

(Plaut. *Bacch*. 1005)

Thus, *per-* could be compared to particles *through* or *over* in English.

Finally, prefixes may express reciprocation. An example of this possibility is in (63):

(63) *Cum* *risi,* *ad-rides*.

when smile.PRF.1SG at-smile.2SG

'When I smiled, you smiled back.'

(Ov. *Met*. 3, 455)

This use of *ad-* is similar to the one shown by English *back*, as the translation shows.

To conclude, the expression of aspect seems to be sensitive to the s-/v-framed distinction, s-framed languages being allowed to express aspect in the shape of a satellite. The existence of aspectual satellites, the wide availability of the locative alternation, the existence of UOCs and the possibility of manner of motion verbs to appear in telic motion predicates are proofs that Latin is an s-framed language, as initially suggested by Talmy (1985: 103). Crucially, what all these patterns have in common is the expression of the element conveying change (the Path) as morphophonologically independent from the verb, although it is usually prefixed onto it, and the expression of the manner component in the verb.

4. The path from s-framed Latin to v-framed Romance

Contrasting with Latin, in modern Romance, particularly in modern Catalan, the Path component is typically no further distinguishable from the verb. This morphophonological change brought about important consequences in the domain of argument structure in the new system, specifically the unavailability of the manner conflation pattern we introduced in Section 2: since the null verb v ends up hosting, by conflation, the phonological matrix coming from Path, it can no longer accept a manner root adjoined onto it, as we suggested may happen in s-framed constructions. In this section we will concentrate on two phenomena involved in the lexicon of Romance which illustrate the change from the old s-framed system into the new v-framed system. We will show, first, how the older stages of Romance still present an s-framed pattern with manner conflation; this will be illustrated through data from Old Catalan and Old French. Second, we will concentrate on a class of predicates which have been claimed to represent an s-framed pattern, namely the group of Romance prefixed verbs of change of state/location. We will take pains to show that these predicates are in reality v-framed constructions, but ones where the Place component is specified by the prefix. Both phenomena illustrate the gradual change from Latin to Romance within the domain of argument structure.

4.1. *Latin s-framedness in Early Romance: Old Catalan and Old French*

Residues of the s-framed system involving the manner conflation mechanism are traceable in Old Romance. Here we will pay attention, first, to the role of verbal prefixes as aspectual markers in Old French, and second, to the status of verbal prefixes as Path encoders in motion predicates in Old Catalan.

Verbal prefixes in Old Romance seem to have an aspectual value, and to be able to change the aspectual properties of the predicate. In this way, they behave like Latin and other s-framed languages seen above, in that aspect is expressed through a satellite. This has been shown for 10th–13th century French by Dufresne et al. (2000, 2001, 2003). In (64), for instance, we find prefix *a-* with an inchoative meaning, which turns the activity *penser* 'think', into the achievement *s'apenser* 'realise':

(64) *Lors* *s'=a-pensa* *Eve qu'=ele n'=avoi* *huche*.
then REFL=at-think.PRF.3SG Eve that=she not=have.IPFV.3SG coffer
'Then Eve realised that she didn't have any coffer.'
(*Queste du Graal*, 116, in Dufresne et al. [2001: 41])

On the other hand, in (65) we find *a-* (in its older variant *ad-*) with a completive meaning, similar to the one shown by *con-* in (66):

(65) *Ad-emplir* *voeill* *vostre* *cumandement*.
at-fill.INF want.PRS.1SG your command
'I want to carry out your orders'
(*Roland*, XXII, 30, in Dufresne et al. [2003: 37])

(66) *Et* *con-pissa* *toz* *mes loviaus*.
and with-urinate.PRF.3SG all.PL my.PL wolf_cub.PL
'And he urinated on all my wolf cubs.'
(*Le roman de Renart*, Branche I, v. 37, in Dufresne et al. [2003: 37])

Moreover, according to Dufresne et al. (2003), Old French possessed satellite particles, both with spatial and aspectual meaning. An example of the latter type is *avant*, illustrated in (67), which is strikingly parallel to Latin *porro* seen above:

(67) *Parler* *avant.*
talk.INF forth
'Talk on.'
(Dufresne et al. 2003: 53)

The second residue of s-framedness in Old Romance that we will look at is the existence, in Old Catalan, of CDMCs showing a manner conflation, as the ones seen above for Latin and other s-framed languages. They involve a manner of motion verb and a prefix expressing directionality, and they contrast with their unprefixed counterparts in that the latter convey mere activity and not goal-oriented motion. This contrast can be shown in examples (68) and (69), excerpted from Bartra and Mateu (2005: 93–102):

(68) *Córrer* 'run' vs. *acórrer* 'run to'
a. *Con vens* *axi* *corren* (...)?
howcome.2SG thus run.GER
'Why do you come up running?'
b. *Venen* *per* *a-córrer* *a* *les* *Celles.*
come.3PL for to-run.INF to the.F.PL Celles
'They come to run to the Celles.'

(69) *Caminar* ‘walk’ vs. *acaminar* ‘walk to’

a. *Caminar ab calor* [...] *per a quisvulla és danós*.
walk.INF with heat for to anybody is harmful
‘To walk in the heat is harmful for anybody.’

b. *Pot hom a-caminar sens peccat a guanyar perdonances*.
can.3SG man to-walk.INF without sin to gain forgiveness.PL
‘One can go without sins to obtain forgiveness.’

On the other hand, a proof that the manner conflation pattern is effectively found in Old Catalan is provided by verbs which may either appear as unergative or unaccusative, as hallmarked by the choice of auxiliary verb in the perfect tenses, much as happens in Dutch and German: *ésser* ‘be’ for the unaccusative variant, as in (70a) and *haver* ‘have’, for the unergative variant, as in (70b). Observe, importantly, that both examples are taken from the same work.

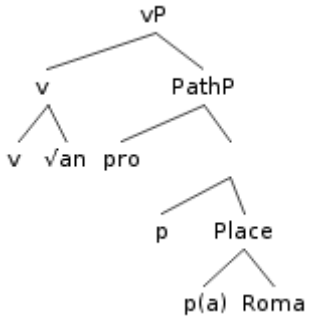
(70) Old Catalan *anar* ‘go, march’

a. A Roma *era anat.*
to Rome be.IPFV.3SG march.PTCP.PST.M.SG
‘He had gone to Rome.’
(*Vides*: 98)

b. *Co* [...] *agés ja anat per III dies*.
when have.IPFV.SBJV.3SG already march.PST.PART.M.SG for 3 day.PL
‘And when he had already marched for three days.’
(*Vides:* 292)

Variable behaviour verbs involve, in their unaccusative use, a CDMC, as the ones seen above for Latin, English or Russian, since they express a transition plus a manner of motion. Thus, in (70a) the verb *anar* is the result of adjoining a manner root to a light verb v, which takes as its complement a PathP including the PP *a Roma*. This analysis is shown in (71):

(71) *A Roma era anat*.



Complementarily, the predicate in (70b), whose unergative status is further born evidence to by its licensing the durative adverbial *per III dies*, demonstrates that this verb had not yet assumed the path component it has in modern Catalan or modern Italian (*andare*), and that it should rather be rendered as 'march', or 'walk' as its Latin source *ambulo*, or its Spanish cognate *andar*, both meaning 'walk'. Further evidence of the manner nature of Old Catalan *anar* is furnished by the example in (72), where *anar* is coordinated with a verb clearly expressing manner, *jugar* 'play':

(72) *Tingué* [...] *son* *fill* [...] *fins a* *tant* *que pogué* *anar* *e*
have.PST.3SG her.M.SG son till to much that can.PRF.3SG walk.INF and
jugar.
play.INF
'She kept her son until he could walk and play.'
(A-M: Llull Blanq. 2, 5, in Acedo-Matellán and Mateu [2008])

Finally, the alternation shown in (70) is comparable with the well-known ones displayed by manner of motion verbs in Dutch, as illustrated in (73) through examples by Hoekstra and Mulder (1990: 4):

(73) a. *Jan heft gesprongen*.
Jan has jumped
'Jan has jumped.'
b. *Jan is in de sloot gesprongen*.
Jan is in the ditch jumped
'Jan has jumped in the ditch.'

4.2. *Prefixed verbs in Romance: a special form of v-framedness*

Here we deal with a kind of predicates which have been claimed to involve an s-framed pattern: Romance prefixed verbs of change of state/location. We will show that they lack, however, the manner conflation mechanism typical of s-framed languages, alongside other properties shown by Latin prefixed verbs of the type seen up to now. In fact, we propose (along lines put forth in Mateu & Rigau 2009), that these Romance predicates represent a v-framed strategy where the Place component is semantically and phonologically specified.

The verbs we refer to are represented in all Romance languages that we know of (see Acedo-Matellán [2006a: 2]); here we give a sample of modern Catalan (from Acedo-Matellán [2006b: 44]):

(74) *Aquest xampú m'=ha a-llisat els cabells.*
this shampoo me=has at-smooth.PTCP.PST the.PL hair.PL
'This shampoo has smoothed my hair.'
(Cf. *llis* 'smooth')

(75) *El pas del temps ha a-vinagrat el vi.*
the passof.the time has at-vinegar.PTCP.PST the wine
'Time has made the wine become like vinegar.'
(Cf. *vinagre* 'vinegar')

(76) *L'=Elna ha en-sellat el cavall.*
the=Elna has in-saddle.PTCP.PST the horse
'Elna has saddled the horse.'
(Cf. *sella* 'saddle')

(77) *El vent del vespre ha es-boirat el dia.*
the wind of.the evening has out-fog.PTCP.PST the day
'The evening wind has cleared the day from fog.'
(Cf. *boira* 'fog')

(78) *La infermera ha as-segut el pacient.*
the nurse has at-sit.PTCP.PST the patient
'The nurse has sat the patient down.'
(Cf. *seure* 'sit')

As shown by Acedo-Matellán (2006b), what all these verbs have in common is that the prefix they are provided with furnishes further information on the final state or location involved in the event and codified by the root. Thus, for instance, in (74) the prefix *a-* indicates that the entity represented by *els cabells*, 'the hair', enters the state represented by the root √*llis*, 'smooth', while the prefix *es-* in (77), on the contrary, expresses that the final state involved is that of being free from fog (√*boir*). This specifying ability of the prefix is particularly evident in the case of minimal pairs such as the one illustrated in (79):

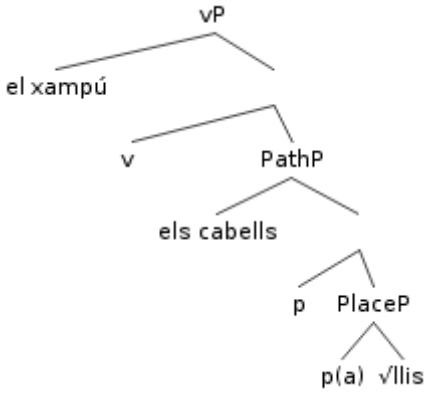
(79) a. *L'=absència de vent ha em-boirat el dia.*
the=absence of wind has in-fog.PTCP.PST the day
'The absence of wind has made the day foggy.'

b. *El vent ha es-boirat el dia.*
the wind has out-fog.PTCP.PST the day
'The wind has freed the day from fog.'

Both verbs in (79) contain the root of the noun *boira* 'fog', but the former presents an *en-* prefix indicating entrance into a state (encoded in the root √boir), while the latter presents an *es-* prefix, indicating exit from the same state. These predicates are at first glance alike to the Latin ones we have examined before, since the prefix is also a specification of a final result (state or location). Accordingly, some authors have analysed them as s-framed constructions (e.g., Kopecka 2006). However, what is special about them is the fact that their verb lexicalises not a Manner component, as is the case with the Latin prefixed predicates we saw in Section 3, but the Ground component, a lexicalisation pattern which Talmy (2000: 60–61) claims to be quite rare among the languages of the world (but see Acedo-Matellán [2006a]

and Kopecka [2006] for qualification). Thus, for instance, *-llis-* in (74), in representing the final state of *els cabells* 'the hair', is the abstract Ground in the event of change of state.[6] The analysis we propose for all these verbs is, therefore, the one in (80):

(80) *Aquest xampú m'ha allisat els cabells*.



As seen in this analysis, the structure we propose for these verbs is non-trivially different from the one in Latin manner conflation predicates we saw in Section 3. In this case the root is a Ground, and is no more adjoined to v as a manner conveyor. PathP, thus, contains no more a full DP in Ground position. As a result, one of the traditionally observed properties of Latin prefixes, namely, the government it may exert onto an independent DP of the predicate (Lehmann 1983), is no longer a fact in the new predicates. In the next Latin example for instance, the prefix *ad-* governs the dative *portis*:

(81) *Qui* *ubi* *(*ad*-)*equitauit* *portis*.
who.NOM.M.SG as_soon_as at-ride.PRF.3SG door.DAT.PL
'As soon as he rode up to the doors.'
(Liv. 22, 42, 5)

The root √*llis* in (80) is first conflated into the phonologically defective matrix of Place, which consists of what is overtly manifested as the prefix (*a*-). This phonological material conflates up into Path and thence into v, as in any other v-framed structure. Thus, Romance prefixed predicates, despite apperances, turn out to be analysable as a kind of v-framed constructions where, unlike simple change of state predicates like *melt*, the result of the event is phonologically and semantically split into a Place component (the prefix) and a Ground component (the verbal root).

Strikingly enough, prefixed Ground-conflating verbs occur already in Classical Latin, as illustrated by the examples from Crocco Galèas and Iacobini (1993: 55–56) in (82), where the related noun or adjective is indicated in brackets:

(82) *(*ex*)*pectoro* 'expectorate' (*pectus* 'breast'), *(*ir*)*retio* 'net' (*rete* 'net'), *(*in*)*unco* 'hook' (*uncus* 'hook'), *(*e*)*limo* 'clean' (*limus* 'mud').

According to Crocco Galèas and Iacobini (1993), however, these verbs increase in number in the later stages of the language, that is, from the third century AD on, and generalise greatly in Romance. This increase is to be interpreted, in our opinion, as a signal of the typological change which transformed Latin into its daughter languages: the systemic s-framed > v-framed change reinforced the *irretio* type illustrated in 0, since the prefixes, losing their original locative value, were desemantised into mere markers of change of state or location. As argued by Acedo-Matellán (2006a), the semantic weakening of Latin spatial prefixes into Romance change of state prefixes is related to a change in the nature of the object which appears in Ground position: when the prefix is semantically strong, a full DP appears in that position; when it is semantically weak, it is a root what appears as Ground. Thus, the

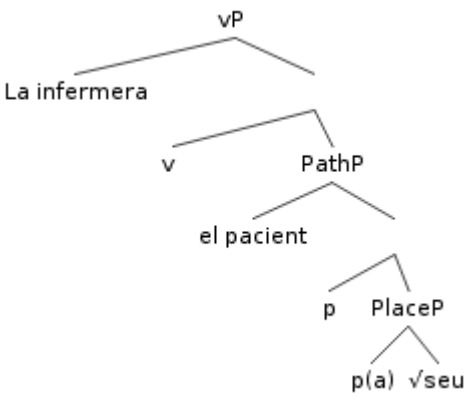
phonological and semantic bleaching of Latin prefixes, which is also related to the typological shift from an s-framed system into a v-framed system, led to the creation of a new type of v-framed predicates where the Place component is semantically and phonologically specified.

Last, we deal with a group of prefixed Ground-conflating verbs which are often referred to as deverbal, because they seem to be derived from a verb. An example is *asseure* 'sit someone down', exemplified in (83):

(83) *La infermera ha as-segut el pacient.*
the nurse has at-sit.PTCP.PST the patient
'The nurse has sat the patient down.'
(Cf. *seure* 'sit')

As is the case with the denominal and deadjectival Ground-conflating verbs we saw above, verbs such as *asseure* head change-of-state predicates where the object represents the entity undergoing the change of state/location and the subject is a causative agent. This leads us to propose an analysis of *asseure*-predicates as the one in (84):

(84) *La infermera ha assegut el pacient*.

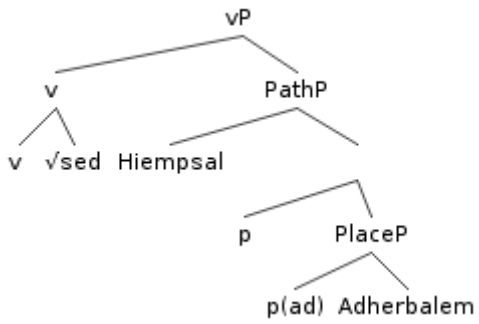


Interestingly, the Latin cognates of these verbs show a strikingly different syntax, as gathered from the next example of *adsideo* 'sit next to':

(85) *Hiempsal* *dextra* *Adherbalem* *ad-sedit.*
Hiempsal.NOM to_the_right Adherbal.ACC at-sit.PRF.3SG
'Hiempsal sat down beside Adherbal, on his right.'
(Sal. *Jug*. 11, 3)

In (85) the subject *Hiempsal* represents the person sitting down, while the accusative *Adherbalem* is the Ground of the sitting event. This locative relation is expressed through the preverb *ad-* 'at'. (85) involves the familiar manner conflation pattern of s-framed languages, as displayed in (86):

(86) *Hiempsal Adherbalem adsedit*.



In (86), the root √*sed* is adjoined to the light verb v, indicating manner. The preposition *ad*, which is first merged as Place, taking the full DP *Adherbalem* as complement, conflates up into Path above and gets prefixed onto the verb from this position.

Our hypothesis is that the change from an s-framed system into a v-framed one made it impossible for predicates such as *adsideo* in (85) to keep being analysed as manner conflation structures. As a result, the root was reanalysed as being located in Ground position, selected by the already impoverished prefix, yielding the *asseure*-pattern of (83). That *asseure*-verbs are reanalyses of old manner conflation structures is suggested by the fact that, as pointed out by Acedo-Matellán (2006a), these verbs are remarkably scarce in Romance languages. In Catalan, for instance, only the following five are found:

(87) *acréixer* 'increase' (cf. *créixer* 'grow up'), *adormir* 'bring to sleep' (cf. *dormir* 'sleep'), *ajeure* 'lie someone down' (cf. *jeure* 'lie'), *apujar* 'bring up' (cf. *pujar* 'go up'), *asseure* 'sit someone down' (cf. *seure* 'sit').

In conclusion, the change from an s- to a v-framed system took place in a rather stepwise fashion, as the evidence considered in this section shows: the older stages of Romance admitted s-framed patterns with manner conflation which are lost in the modern languages (Dufresne et al. 2000, 2001, 2003; Bartra and Mateu 2005). On the other hand, the prefixed v-framed pattern of Ground conflation represented by Romance verbs like *allisar*, while being possible in Latin, constitutes a hallmark of the new system, since the prefixes, losing their adpositional nature as satellites, were reused as change-of-state specifiers. The gradual change we have tried to illustrate is in conformity with the fact that, at least as far as the Talmian typology is concerned, typological groups do not seem to be monolithical classes. In short, "typologies leak", and the typological change from s-framed Latin to v-framed Romance illustrates the diachronic expression of that principle.

5. Conclusions

In this final section we summarize some relevant conclusions worth being drawn from the present paper. We have argued that Talmy's descriptive insight that the motion verb may generally encode (pure) Manner and Path but not simultaneously can be understood as a *syntactic* constraint (Mateu 2002). Furthermore, Latin has been shown to be an s-framed language, on the basis of the availability of constructions where the Path is realised independently from the verb: Unselected Object Constructions, Telic Complex Directed Motion Constructions, Locative Alternation Constructions involving manner conflation and constructions involving aspectual satellites (Acedo-Matellán, in preparation). In contrast, modern Romance, particularly modern Catalan, has been shown to be a v-framed language, in that the Path is typically conflated into the verb and the manner conflation pattern involved in the abovementioned Latin constructions, is not available. Finally, the change from the Latin s-framed system to the Romance v-framed system has been characterised through two phenomena. On the one hand, the oldest stages of Romance did allow the manner conflation mechanism and, most of all, the expression of the Path as a satellite in a much more productive way than the modern stages (Dufresne et al. 2000, 2001, 2003; Bartra and Mateu 2005; Acedo-Matellán and Mateu 2008). On the other hand, we have concentrated on the change from Latin DP-selecting prefixes to Romance root-selecting ones, and we have related it to the change from a predominantly manner-conflation system to a ground-conflation system (Acedo-Matellán 2006a).

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[1] If not otherwise indicated, the Latin examples have been extracted from the Latin language corpus of the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina*, in its (2002) edition (*BTL2*). The references of the works excerpted are also the ones provided in the *Bibliotheca*.

[2] When dealing with apparent counterexamples to Talmy's typology, Mateu & Rigau (2009) show that Italian examples like the one in (ia) do not involve the Talmian Co-event pattern depicted in (4), which they argue holds only for *pure* manner verbs in path constructions. As

emphasized by Mateu & Rigau (2009), in Italian the list of verbs that enter into the verb-particle construction or, more generally, into telic path of motion constructions is limited to verbs encoding or involving Path: otherwise, they are excluded (see [ib]). In striking contrast to that, such a restriction does not hold in Germanic (e.g., see [6a-b]).

(i) a. *Gianni è corso {via/alla stanza}*

Gianni is run.PTCP.M.SG away/to the room

'Gianni ran away/to the room.'

b. **Gianni è ballato {via/alla stanza}*

Gianni is dance.PTCP.M.SG away/to the room

'Gianni danced away/to the room.'

[3] For more examples, see Lemaire (1983).

[4] See also Levin and Sells (2007) for relevant observations about the semantic constraints on these Figure-less predicates.

[5] For an extensive semantic description of Latin prefixes, in particular with respect to their aspectual value, see García Hernández (1980).

[6] At first glance *sella* in (76) is a Figure, rather than a Ground, since it ends up placed onto the horse. An important qualification to be made here is that we are dealing not with *conceptual* scenes, but rather with *linguistic* representations. Linguistically speaking, *sella* occupies the Ground position (the complement of Place): as pointed out by Hale & Keyser (2002), an appropriate linguistic paraphrase of *She saddled the horse* would roughly be *She provided the horse with a saddle* rather than *She put a saddle on the horse*. See their work for further discussion on the l-syntax of locatum verbs.