

The path from satellite-framed Indo-European to verb-framed Romance: A lexical-syntactic account

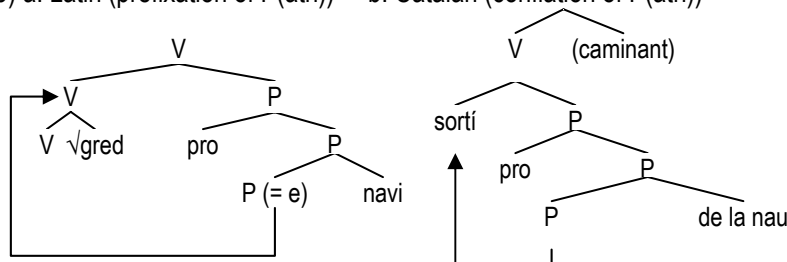
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We provide a syntactic account of the change in argument structure properties which accompanies the shift from *s(atellite)-framed* Indo-European to *v(erb)-framed* Romance, to use Talmy's (1985, 1991, 2000) by now well-known typological terms. According to Talmy's descriptive typology, most of Indo-European languages (Romance being an exception) typically encode the Path of motion in a "satellite" associated with the verb, such as a particle or a prefix (cf. *float out*, Lat. *eno*, 'swim out'). In contrast, Romance languages show a preference for the lexicalization of Path of motion in the verb (cf. Cat. *sortir flotant* 'go+out floating'). From a diachronic perspective, three important stages can be distinguished in the abovementioned change (Brugmann 1911, Meillet 1937, Pinault 1995, Vincent 1999): i) the s-framed nature of early Indo-European was characterized by the syntactic independence of the preverb wrt the verb (cf. some examples in (1) through (3)); ii) the s-framed nature of (Classical) Latin was characterized by the affixal dependence (i.e., prefixation) of the preverb to the verb (cf. (4)), even in the cases where the satellite showed up as a preposition also (cf. (5)); iii) the v-framed nature of most Romance is characterized by the lexical conflation of the early preverb into the verb (NB: concerning the exceptional character of Italian, see Iacobini & Masini (2006) and Mateu (2008) for two different accounts). In particular, here we concentrate on the shift from predominantly s-framed Latin to predominantly v-framed Catalan and French, going through Old Catalan and Old French, which still manifest non-trivial s-framing traits (Bartra & Mateu 2005; Kopecka 2006; Acedo-Matellán 2006; Stolova 2007, i.a.); thereby we highlight the idea that the mentioned typology is applicable to constructions rather than to whole languages (cf. Mateu 2002, 2008).

The bulk of our paper is devoted to showing that certain argument structure patterns, which are typically present in the s-framed stages of Indo-European and typically absent from v-framed Romance (cf. the complex path of motion construction in (6), the aspectual prefixation in (7) or the unselected object construction in (8)) can receive a unified lexical-syntactic explanation (Hale & Keyser 2002). Indeed, a relevant question is what has changed from Latin to Romance which makes constructions like those in (6), (7) or (8) to be impossible in, for instance, Modern Catalan? Following Mateu's (2008) I-syntactic analysis of Germanic preverbs, our proposal is that these constructions involve a complex lexical-syntactic structure (as exemplified in (9a)) where the phonological matrix of the relevant null verb has been saturated by an independent root, the P(ath) being able to remain as a satellite (for a syntactic view of so-called "Manner conflation", cf. also McIntyre 2004; Zubizarreta & Oh 2007). By contrast, in Romance the Path element (e.g., *P* in (9b)) is typically conflated into the main verb, saturating its null phonological matrix: i.e., in Cat. (9b) *sortir*, 'exit', what corresponds to *V* and what to *P* cannot be distinguished any longer (hence their 'verb-framed nature'). As a result, no independent root can be used in order to saturate the phonological matrix of the main verb since it has already been saturated by that of *P*. We can then explain the fact, conforming to Talmy's observations, that the 'manner component' is typically expressed as an adjunct in v-framed Romance (e.g., cf. (10a)) but as a main verb in s-framed Latin (e.g., cf. (10b)).

Furthermore, our proposal provides an account of some lexical facts involved in the shift from Latin to Romance. We concentrate on the much attended phenomenon of verbal prefixes in Romance (Di Sciullo 1996ff., Kopecka 2006, Acedo-Matellán 2008, i.a.). Interestingly, it has been pointed out that Romance verbal prefixes like those in (11) do encode Path, as a counterexample to Talmy's typology. In fact, we show that this type of prefixed verb corresponds to a "weak" s-framed pattern, in the sense that the Path-encoding prefix selects a bare nominal root (e.g. $\sqrt{\text{prison}}$ in Fr. *emprisonner*), whereas in the Latin pattern of (6), it selects a full-fledged DP (*navi*). This change in the selectional properties of the prefix, which should be understood within the abovementioned typological shift, converges with Crocco Galèas & Iacobini's (1993) observation that in Latin this type of prefixed verbs, either denominal –(12a)– or deadjectival –(12b), although traceable back to Archaic Latin, appears to get momentum in the later stages and greatly generalises in Romance. In addition, we observe that the deverbal type of (13), although pan-Romantic, sums up to but a strikingly few verbs, which we suggest to treat as reanalyses of Latin verbs whose prefix could still select full DPs. Last, we relate the productivity of aspectual verbal prefixation in Old French (Dufresne et al. 2001; 2003) and Old Catalan (Bartra & Mateu 2005) and its loss in their modern stages to the change from a predominantly s-framed pattern to a predominantly v-framed pattern (e.g., cf. Old Fr. *s'apenser*, 'start thinking' vs. Modern Fr. *comencer à penser*, *se mettre à penser*).

- (1) *kuwat-war-an para: U:L pesti*
 why-quotative-him over-not-you give.2s
 'Why didn't you hand him over?' (Hittite; *apud* Kimball et al. 2008)
- (2) *Úd usriyā jānitā yó jajāna*
 out cow.ACC.P creator.NOM REL create.3S.PERF
 'Who as creator created forth the cows' (Vedic; *RV* 3.1.12c; *apud* Vincent 1999:1119)
- (3) *eks ára dé toi épeita theoi phrénas ólesan autoí*
 out so already certainly thereupon god.NOM.P senses.ACC.P destroy.3P.AOR themselves.NOM.P
 'So you see the gods themselves thereupon destroyed away his senses' (Homeric Greek; *//* 12.234; *apud* Vincent 1999:1119)
- (4) *Ipse omnes copias castris e-duxit*
 himself all.ACC.P troop.ACC.P camp.ABL out-lead.PERF.3S
 'He himself led all the troops out of the camp' (Caes. *Gall.* 4, 13, 6)
- (5) *E-iecit ex urbe C. Marium*
 out-cast.3S.PERF out city.ABL C.Marius.ACC
 'He cast C. Marius out of the city' (Cic. *Cat.* 3, 24)
- (6) *E navi e-gressus est*
 out ship.ABL out-walk.PERF.3S
 'He walked out of the ship' (Cic. *Verr.* 2, 2, 19)
- (7) *Vasa [...] aperta sint dum musteus fructus de-fervescat*
 pot.NOM.P open be.SBJV.3P until sweet.NOM fruit.NOM from-ferment.SBJV.3S
 'The pots are to remain open until the sweet fruit has stopped fermenting' (Colum. 9, 15)
- (8) *E-dormi crapulam, inquam*
 out-sleep.IPV.2S hangover.ACC say.1S
 'Sleep off that hangover, I said' (Cic. *Phil.* 2, 30)
- (9) a. Latin (prefixation of P(ath)) b. Catalan (conflation of P(ath))



- (10) a. *Tan bon punt hagué arribat a les portes a cavall, va entrar al campament* (Catalan)
 as_soon_as had arrived to the doors to horse he_entered to=the camp
 'As soon as he arrived at the doors on horseback, he entered the camp'
- b. *Qui ubi ad-equitavit portis, [...] vallum intravit*
 who.NOM when to-ride.PERF.3S door.ABL.P wall.ACC enter.PERF.3S
 'As soon as he rode up to the doors, he entered the camp' (Liv. 22, 42, 5)
- (11) French: *emprisonner*, 'imprison' (*em-*, 'in'; *prison*), *écrémer*, 'skim (milk)' (*é-*, 'out'; *crème*, 'cream')
- (12) a. *inretio*, 'put into a net' (*in*, 'in'; *rete*, 'net'); *evallo*, 'put out of a wall' (*e(x)*, 'out'; *vallum*, 'wall')
- b. *adlevio*, 'lighten' (*ad*, 'to'; *levis*, 'light'); *ingurdo*, 'fatten' (*in*, 'in'; *gurdus*, 'fat')
- (13) It. *accrescere*, 'make grow' (< *ad*, 'to'; *cresco*, 'grow'); Fr. *endormir*, 'fall asleep' (< *en*, 'in'; *dormio*, 'sleep'); Cat. *ajeure*, 'make lie down' (< *ad*, 'to'; *iaceo*, 'lie'); Rom. *așeza*, 'make sit down' (< *ad*, 'to'; *sedeo*, 'sit')

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