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Complex spatial prepositions from Latin to Castilian

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> Praepositio enim nec adverbio iungitur nec praepositioni. (Servius, *Comm. in Vergilii Aeneidem* VII, 289) 'For a preposition does not combine with an adverb or a preposition.'

Abstract

From among the various processes that form prepositions in the history from Latin to Castilian, the investigation concentrates on the formation of prepositional adverbs like Spanish *delante (de)* 'in front (of)'. There are two mechanisms for their formation:

a) An adverb or a preposition is preceded by a superordinate simple local preposition which initially specifies a local relation, but ends up as a reinforcing expansion of its base.

b) An adverb is converted into a preposition by a following functional preposition which serves as a relationalizer.

Initially, both combinations have a regular semantosyntactic structure. Contrary to the verdict by ancient grammarians, construction #a is even necessary when the prepositional adverb designates a spatial region and a local relation to it is to be specified, in addition. Construction #b replaces the Classical Latin case government.

In case #a, the syntactic structure is often destroyed by univerbation, and the resulting reinforced preposition is lexicalized. In case #b, the alternation between adverb and relationalized preposition is regular and bidirectional, so that the combination of adverb and relationalizer is normally not univerbated. The exception *desde* is given some attention.

As a result, the formation of prepositions of this structure is, at the outset, not a matter of word formation, and such complex prepositions are therefore not compound prepositions, but instead lexicalized univerbations.

Introduction

The aim of this contribution is to supply a set of analytic concepts which enable us to provide a precise grammatical analysis of complex prepositions emerging in the history from Latin to Castilian and to understand the mechanisms of their formation throughout the diachrony. It will become evident that although a grammatical analysis of the constructions in question is possible and necessary, it is not sufficient to account for all the historical processes involved. In particular, discourse-related processes such as univerbation and semantic attrition go against grammatical structure, but are an essential facet of the constant reinforcement and renewal of the prepositions examined.

1 Basic concepts

1.1 Case relators

A **case relator**[1] is a grammatical[2] expression R with a governing argument position G and a modifying argument position M. It takes a noun phrase C as a complement in G and forms with it a syntagma P which bears a modificative relation enabled by M to a superordinate term S. This is visualized by Diagram 1.

Diagram 1   Construction of a case relator

S	*unit modified*
↓	
/M/	*modifying slot*
R	*case relator*
/G/	*governing slot* P *case-related dependent*
↓	
C	*NP*
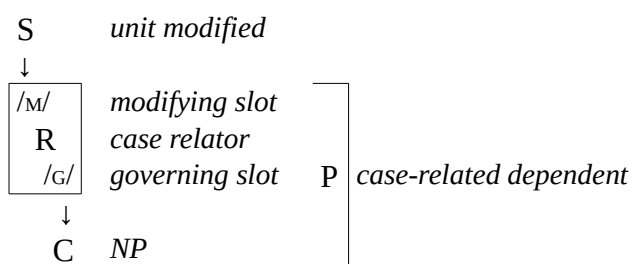
If R is a free form, it is an **adposition**, and P is an **adpositional phrase**. If R is an affix, it is a **case marker**, and P is a **cased NP**. The syntagma P is capable of modifying S, whether or not S actually governs it.[3] As a modifier, its distribution is that of an adverbial. The present treatment focuses on such constructions, disregarding cases in which S and R form a constituent, as in preverbation (s. Hagège 2010:62-67).[4] Again, C may be a naked or a cased NP. In the latter case, R normally governs C's case, although certain Latin exceptions will be noted in §2.

In the simplest case, R is a monomorphemic formative. E1 illustrates this basic construction; Diagram 2 visualizes its structure on the model of Diagram 1.

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[1] A complete conceptual framework for relators is defined in Lehmann & Stolz 1992, §2.

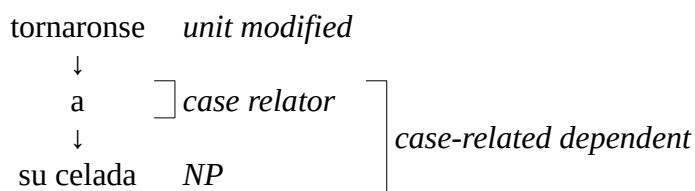[2] 'grammatical' in the sense of 'functional' as discussed below

[3] Should S contain an argument position governing P, this government overrides the modificative relation contributed by R.

[4] The definition excludes these from the concept 'case relator', which seems appropriate since case is a nominal category.

E1   tornaronse <u>a</u> su celada (*Libro de los buenos proverbios que dijeron los filósofos y sabios antiguos* [1250], §5)[5]

CASTILIAN   'they turned back to their ambush'

Diagram 2   Construction with simple case relator

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tornaronse    unit modified
    ↓
    a        ⌐ case relator  ⌐
    ↓                         │ case-related dependent
su celada     NP            ⌐
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This paper will be concerned with the question of how elements filling the position of R in Diagram 1 are formed in the history from Latin to Castilian.

Traditionally, primary adpositions are distinguished from secondary adpositions. At a given synchronic stage, the former are those which have no – synchronically or diachronically – transparent structure, while the latter are those whose formation is – again synchronically or diachronically – transparent. They are called secondary because they are presumably more recent. Given the diachronic criterion in the distinction, some Spanish prepositions such as *desde* 'since' and *para* 'for' would count as secondary (see §6.3 for their formation), although they are monomorphemic from a synchronic point of view. In the following, adpositions will instead be classified by their morphological complexity, assessed in a synchronic perspective. The degrees of morphological complexity of an adposition are, at the same time, degrees of its grammaticalization. Diagram 3 (cf. Fagard & De Mulder 2007:10) distinguishes four such degrees.

Diagram 3   Grammaticalization of adpositions

1		2		3		4
adpositional locution	>	complex adposition	>	simple adposition	>	functional adposition
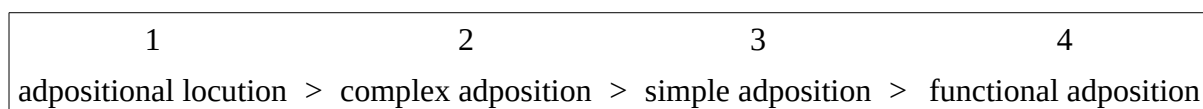
For the sake of the present treatment, a **complex adposition** is one consisting of more than one word,[6] while a **simple adposition** consists of one word. **Functional adpositions** – although called this because of their purely grammatical function[7] – are always monomorphemic (as are many simple adpositions, too). The distinction between stages 1 and 2 will not be at stake here. The focus of this paper is on the passage from stage 2 to 3. Further grammaticalization of elements of position 4 leads to case affixes.

Late Latin and the Romance languages have lots of complex prepositions.[8] Many of them are renewals of simple prepositions of earlier Latin. For instance, while the monomorphemic simple preposition *ante* was sufficient in Classical Latin to signify 'before', its modern Span-

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[5] Corpus examples are provided with a bracketed year indicating the known or assumed production date of the text. All Spanish texts are quoted according to the online *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (*CORDE*) of the Real Academia Española, with occasional emendations.

[6] Hagège 2010, 38f restricts the term *complex adposition* to combinations of an adposition with a case affix on the complement; cf. fn. 16.

[7] The term 'functional preposition', used l.c. and occasionally found in the literature, is here used although, of course, every element of the language system is functional. The thing meant – prepositions like Spanish *de* 'of' and *a* 'to' – is also called 'grammatical (as opposed to lexical) preposition' or 'abstract (as opposed to concrete) preposition'.

[8] Hofmann & Szantyr 1965, §160 still serves as a useful survey of the Latin material.

ish equivalent *delante de* consists etymologically of four morphs, *de+l+ante+de* (cf. fn. 27), all of which started out as words. These formations have been called 'compound prepositions' in traditional grammar and have essentially been presented as agglomerations of series of prepositions and adverbs. Even in contemporary linguistics (e.g. in Hagège 2010, ch. 3.3.2), they are considered compound prepositions. However, nobody has yet formulated rules of compounding in Latin and the Romance languages that could produce such monsters. Here an alternative approach will be taken, applying a syntactic analysis to such formations. This is not without its problems, either, since doctrines like the one formulated in the motto are not completely without force (cf. Hagège 2010:39f).

There is also a methodological problem. Late Latin texts abound in complex prepositions which find no continuation in Romance prepositions.[9] For instance, we find *erga in* 'towards', *per ex* 'by', *absque sine* 'without' (ap. Löfstedt 1959:169f) and many similar more or less ingenious innovations. It has to be born in mind that most of those texts were written by people who had a very limited command of Latin and only knew that in writing, one had to express oneself in a pretentious way. For a linguistic analysis of the formation of complex prepositions in the history of Latin and Romance, it is not necessary to account for each and every occurrence found in the documents. We will here concentrate on one pattern which emerges as productive once the classical variety of Latin is left behind.

1.2   Local relations

A physical object occupies a spot in space. It generates **spatial regions** on and around itself. Those that are based on its three dimensions are **dimensional regions**: top vs. bottom, front vs. back, right vs. left side. Those that are based on the topological structure generated by the object are **topological regions**: inside vs. outside [± contact], proximity [± contact] vs. distance (s. Lehmann 1992). Even the dimensional spatial regions are not only physical parts of the object. Instead, they are projections from those physical sides into the adjacent space. For instance, the front of a church is not only its façade, but the space projected from the façade in the direction away from the center of the physical object.

A **place** is a two- or three-dimensional sector of space which can serve as a landmark (= reference point) for the positioning of some other object. Some physical objects are primarily conceptualized as places. Any other physical object can function as a landmark and, thus, be treated as a place (Hagège 2010:83-91). Spatial regions are places *par excellence*.

A **local relation** is a relation between a physical object to be localized and a landmark. It is either a relation of rest, which is called essive, or a relation of motion, called lative. Various lative relations can be distinguished in theory and in languages.[10] Latin and Romance only code in their grammar three lative relations: motion towards the landmark is the allative relation, motion away is the ablative relation and motion past or through the landmark is the perlative relation.[11] The core of the subparadigm of the lative relations is the opposition between marked ablative and unmarked allative relation.

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[9] A rather comprehensive enumeration is in Hamp 1888:367.

[10] However, the set of 16 lative relations enumerated in Hagège 2010:261, 285f results from a combination of local relations with spatial regions.

[11] Other established terms for the four local relations are location, direction, source and path (Luraghi 2010:21). Some languages possess, in addition, a case relator for the retrolative relation, which in European languages is coded in verbs such as *fetch*.

Given the meronymic relation between the spatial region and the landmark, either one may be construed as the relatum of a local relation (C of Diagram 1). In the English *we passed <u>in</u> front of the church*, the spatial region is the relatum of the local relation; in the Italian *passammo di fronte <u>alla</u> chiesa*, lit. 'frontwards at the church', it is the church. In languages reflecting the former conception, a syntagmatic combination of the expressions coding the local relation and the spatial region is commonly produced, as in E2a.

E2   a.   Ecce sunt anni quinquaginta et supra que <u>de trans</u> Pado hic me conlocaui *(Codici diplomatici Longobard*i n° 19 [715], p. 74)

L<small>ATIN</small>   'Look it is fifty and more years that I have moved here from beyond the Po'

    b.   Quinquaginta anni sunt quod <u>de</u> Lueana [i.e. Lucana] ciuitate hic me collocaui (o.c. p. 76)

          'It is fifty years that I moved here from the town of Lucca'

As evidenced in the motto of the present text, ancient Latin grammarians declared a combination of two prepositions as in E2a ungrammatical (more such quotations in Hamp 1888:323f). A comparison between #a and #b, however, reveals that the two prepositions differ in function: The ablative relation extends to a place. The latter may (#a) or may not (#b) be based on a spatial region of the landmark. In structural terms: a simple local preposition like *de* can govern a noun phrase (#b) or an adverbial (#a; cf. Norberg 1944:79 and Hagège 2010:59-61). Proof of this is that the adverbial may, indeed, be represented by a mere adverb, as in E3. Here, again, *de* codes the local relation, while *intus* codes the spatial region.

E3   omnia haec mala <u>de intus</u> procedunt *(*Itala [~300], Codex Corbeiensis II, *Mark* 7, 23)

L<small>ATIN</small>   'all these evils come from inside'

Given the semantic and structural adjacency of the local relator and the formative coding the spatial region, there is a tendency to merge the two functions into one morpheme, typically an adposition. For instance, the Latin preposition *ex* 'out of' codes, at the same time, the interior of the landmark and the ablative relation with respect to it. On the other hand, since spatial regions are *per se* places, given some spatial situation consisting in rest or motion with respect to a spatial region of some landmark, there is often no necessity to specify the local relation to this spatial region by a local relator. For instance, the Latin preposition *ad* 'at' codes lateral contact with a landmark. It combines indistinctly with verbs of rest and of motion, with no intervening case relator marking the local relation. Both the fact that there must be one such relation and its essive or lative nature are gathered from the meaning of the verb and the spatial region named.

1.3   Prepositional adverbs

Adpositions have a subtype which will be focused on in what follows, called adpositional adverb. Since in Latin and Romance, adpositions are prepositions, the traditional term **prepositional adverb** serves us best here.[12] Latin *circa* 'around, near' is a typical example of

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[12] The term has denoted this concept at least since Delbrück's comparative syntax of Indo-European languages (1897); cf. also Hagège 2010:53. In German linguistics of German, the term *Präpositional-adverb* denotes something different, viz. an adverb formed in a regular way by univerbation of a construction of a preposition taking an inanimate pronominal complement which latter, however, is typically coded as one of the adverbs *da* 'there' and *wo* 'where' and precedes the preposition, as in *damit* 'with it'. An alternate and better term for this form class is *Pronominaladverb* 'pronominal

this class. Since its meaning is based on a spatial region, thus a relational concept, it presupposes a landmark which the superordinate referent or situation is close to. There are two alternative constructions corresponding to this meaning: Either the landmark is expressed, as in E4. Then it takes the form of complement C of Diagram 1 with which the prepositional adverb forms a prepositional phrase. Semantically, C fills the argument position of the case relator.

E4   <u>circa</u> frontem intentae uenae mouentur (Cels. *Med*. [~30] 2, 2, 3)
Latin   'around the forehead, the veins move tensed'

Or else the landmark is not expressed. Then the semantic argument position is filled by a referent which is either given in the context, as in E5, or is in the speech situation, in which case *circa* means 'near the speaker', as in E10 below.

E5   ea quae <u>circa</u> sunt (Cels. *Med*. [~30] 5, 28, 14e)
Latin   'that which is around [the carcinoma]'

In other words, a prepositional adverb is a preposition with an optional complement. Most of the local prepositions of Latin and Castilian are, in fact, prepositional adverbs. From a structural point of view, the prepositional construction is more complex than the adverbial construction, so the latter might appear to be basic, and the former, an optional extension. On the other hand, the concept designated is, at any rate, relational in all uses. From a semantic point of view, having to look for the relatum outside the construction is a complication. We will therefore refrain from discussing the question of the systematic priority of prepositional and adverbial use of a prepositional adverb.

2   Prehistory of Romance prepositions

In order to understand the role of prepositions in the grammar of Romance languages, it is profitable to consider their diachronic background. Latin had inherited from Proto-Indo-European a suffixal case system. It had not, however, inherited any relevant set of postpositions or strategies to productively form these.[13] As a result, there was nothing to feed the case system (by grammaticalization), so it was doomed to disappear one day (Lehmann 1985).

This regards, specifically, the local cases. Latin had inherited local cases for the essive, allative and ablative relation, although these were already on the decline at the beginning of the documented history. The perlative relation was always coded by adpositions. The lative relations are marked against the essive relation; and among the lative relations, the ablative is marked as against the allative (Bourdin 1997). A subset of spatial prepositions comprising *in* 'in', *sub* 'under' and *super* 'above' combines with one case for the essive and another case for the allative relation. There is, for such prepositions, no case to combine with for the ablative relation. This must be coded by an additional ablative preposition, as will be seen in §6.1.2 (s. also Luraghi 2010:39-41).

Latin had inherited a large set of prepositions, most of which were monomorphemic and therefore provided no model for the analogical formation of more prepositions. The majority stems from Indo-European adverbs which secondarily acquired government. As a result, the language possesses three classes of words which function as adverbs and/or prepositions:

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adverb'.

[13] The set of denominal Classical Latin postpositions comprises *causa* 'because of' and *gratia* 'in favor of'. Neither of them ever made it into the colloquial variety.

(1) one class of words which function only as adverbs, including *foris* 'outside (essive), from outside', *foras* 'outside (allative)'[14] and many others;

(2) another class which only functions as prepositions, including a subset which survives in Romance as simple prepositions, notably *ad, contra, cum, de, in, inter, per ~ pro, sine, sub, versus*, and another subset whose use as words is limited to latinity, viz. *ab, apud, cis, ex, erga, ob, penes, prae, praeter, prope, propter*;[15]

(3) and a third class, the prepositional adverbs, which include *ante* 'before', *circa ~ circum* 'around, near', *extra* 'without', *intra* 'within', *post* 'after', *super ~ supra* 'above', *ultra* 'beyond' and many others (cf. Ricca 2010:177-181).

As will be seen in subsequent sections, class #3 will remain most productive throughout the history of the language up to the end of the middle ages.

3 Preposition and case government

In the simplest case, the complement C of a case relator as shown in Diagram 1 is a naked NP, as in E1. However, case relators are continually replaced and renewed in all languages. Since the Latin case suffixes could not be renewed, they were replaced by prepositions. Now the structural side of a spatial relation may be complex, so that it is coded by more than one formative. This is especially true of newly formed relators: they may be composed of a formative representing the semantic core of R and other formatives which merely indicate the dependency structure, materializing, so to speak, /M/ and /G/ of Diagram 1. This also applies when the system of case relators is renewed by prepositions which are superimposed on an existent system of case suffixes: The prepositions combine syntagmatically with case suffixes, the former providing the semantic core, the latter the structural link for the complex case relator. As a result, a case relator X governs its complement C via another case relator Y.[16] The governed constituent YC is then a cased NP (Vincent 2017, § 5.3), as in E6.

E6   ut inprovidum <u>ad</u> insidi<u>as</u> praeda perduceret. (Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni* [1st cent. AD] 8, 1, 4, 7)

Latin   'that the booty would lead the imprudent into the ambush.'

Whenever the case suffix in such a combination does not vary, the preposition governs the case, as in E6. In such a constellation, the case becomes redundant. While the case system is reduced, verbs no longer govern cases and instead prepositions. From the language stage of Cicero's letters [1st cent. BC], case government is increasingly replaced by prepositional government (s. Pinkster 1990 for details).

As mentioned in §2, there is, from Proto-Indo-European times, a small set of spatial prepositions which, depending on the essive vs. allative relation, combine with either the ablative or the accusative case on C. As the case system falls into disuse, this distinction gets lost, and the two cases are found *promiscue* with many other prepositions, too. The same applies to adverbs which may replace a prepositional phrase in its function as local complement or adjunct. Some Latin adverbs code the distinction between rest and motion by what earlier was

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[14] These two are used as prepositions from the Vulgate [390] onwards.

[15] *Ab* is confused with *ad*, on the one hand, and with *ex*, on the other, in Middle Latin texts.

[16] This configuration of a preposition and a case affix is considered a word in much of French structuralism and still in Hagège 2010:38. This analysis is not adopted here, since considering *ad ... -as* a word in *ad insidias* makes it impossible to consider *insidias* a word, which latter is more in consonance with linguistic tradition and common-sense.

a case ending (cf. §6.1.1). However, grammarians complain, for instance in E7, that this distinction is not observed.

E7   fiunt soloecismi … ut … *intro sum* pro *intus sum*, et *foris exeo* pro *foras*.
            (Donatus, *Ars grammatica* [353], De Soloecismo)
LATIN   'solecisms are made like 'I am into' instead of 'I am inside', and 'I go outside'
            instead of 'out'.'

To be sure, Latin or Proto-Romance speakers of the fourth century cannot be expected to associate any function with such submorphemic units as *-o, -us, -is* and *-as*. What matters is that they apparently do not expect a local relation to be coded by a preposition or adverb designating a spatial region. They have legitimate inherited models of spatial adverbs which are compatible with any local relation, like *intus* 'on the inside, to the inside, from within' and *peregre* '(from) abroad, i.e. in/to/from foreign countries'.

The thing to be kept in mind here is the following: A local relation – specifically, rest vs. allative, ablative and perlative motion – between a verb and a nominal or adverbial constituent designating the landmark may be coded on the verb or on the dependent (or on both). Latin had inherited from Proto-Indo-European a pronounced preference for dependent marking. However, in the case of the local relations in question, this principle is not easily maintained in a consistent way, since the features in question are mostly part of the lexical meaning of the verb, anyway. This leads, on the one hand, to double coding both as a feature of the meaning of the verb and by some case relator associated with the dependent. On the other hand, given major stability of the lexical meaning, additional coding by a case relator may be perceived as superfluous.[17]

At the same time, whenever there is no superordinate verb to convey the local relation, there is a need for more autonomous prepositions and adverbs which identify the local relation. These will be reviewed in the next sections.

4   Formation of adpositions

Among the various processes of forming new lexemes, univerbation may first be distinguished from word-formation and, in particular, from compounding:

- **Compounding** is a process of word formation, thus of the language system. It forms a stem by combination of two stems. The underlying rules are oriented towards the target category and sensitive to properties of the component stems, whose combination follows a pattern. Compounds do not originate in syntactic constructions (but may bear paradigmatic relations to them). Examples: Engl. *northeast,* Spanish *lavaplatos* 'dish washer'.

- **Univerbation** is a process happening in discourse.[18] It welds two word forms that are adjacent in discourse into one word (form), which thus joins the system. Their union is independent from grammatical structure, i.e. it respects neither the categories of the com-

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[17] This was the standpoint of the grammarian Pompeius [5th cent.] (Keil V 248): Quando [*intus et foris*] significent 'in loco', quando 'de loco', noli de ipsis intellegere – ambigua enim sunt et incerta; sed collige de verbis coniunctis. 'When *intus* and *foris* mean 'at a place' and when they mean 'from a place' don't expect to understand from themselves – for they are ambiguous and uncertain; instead gather it from the verbs they combine with.'

[18] Thus, not a process of word-formation. Opfermann 2016:11 subsumes univerbation under word-formation, adducing "passive, non-intentional" as its distinctive characteristics. The work offers a philological analysis of several Latin-Romance examples of univerbation. Bybee (2010, ch. 3) only knows the more general concept of 'chunking'.

ponents nor the syntagmatic relation – if any – between them, but is entirely based on their syntagmatic semantic relatedness and regular adjacency in discourse. Therefore, univerbation presupposes a syntactic construction (but disregards its structure). Examples: Engl. *nonetheless*, Spanish *encima* (< *en cima*) 'on top'.

The distinctive criterion here is the *locus* where the process happens. Word formation, including compounding, applies the system; univerbation changes it. This entails subordinate differences, specifically the kinds of units affected.

Univerbation is a phase of **coalescence** (Haspelmath 2011). Coalescence happens both in grammaticalization and in lexicalization. In grammaticalization, a formative undergoing it agglutinates to a host, yielding a word form belonging to some morphological category coded by the formative. In lexicalization, two units join into one lexeme, which then may or may not be grammaticalized as a whole [Lehmann 2002]). This latter is the case of complex adpositions.

The set of simple case relators may be expanded by the formation of complex adpositions.[19] The two processes of compounding and univerbation also apply to adpositions:

(1) Compounding creates new adpositions from relational elements according to categorial patterns at the level of the stem, as may be the case of the denominal adpositions mentioned below. The traditional application of the term 'compound preposition' to formations such as Late Latin *abante* '(from) in front' implies that they are indeed the product of rules of word formation.

(2) Rules of syntax create phrases deploying relational elements, and the resulting sequences are then univerbated and lexicalized as adpositions. While the syntactic construction is compositional, univerbation may disregard and destroy it.

In either case, the question is what these relational elements can be. Apart from deadverbial adpositions, which will be our main object of discussion further below, adpositions may be of denominal or deverbal origin. **Denominal adpositions** are based on semantically relational nouns, typically denoting spatial regions like top and front, but also abstract concepts such as cause and consequence. *Fronte* in E8 is a typical example. The relational noun governs the landmark C of Diagram 1, typically via a genitive case relator, *de* in E8. This nominal group is, in turn, adjoined to its dependency controller S by another case relator, typically one of local function like *in*, which adds the functionality of /M/ to the construction. The combination of this local relator with the relational noun and the genitive relator then has the total relationality of R.

E8   una vinea <u>in fronte de</u> Rodmella (Sometimiento del monasterio de San Clemente de Rivarredonda a San Millán [1037])

Latin   'a vineyard opposite Rodmella'

E8 features the latinized counterpart of the Castilian complex preposition *en frente de* 'in front of, opposite', the latter attested only since 1400. This strategy, highly productive in many languages all over the globe, plays a very minor role in Latin (two examples in Väänänen 1967, §202), since Latin lacks relational nouns designating spatial regions (Lehmann 1998). It has become productive more recently in the Romance languages.

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[19] It is worth noting that only such a dynamic view on the composition of a word class can do justice to its heterogeneity and its functioning in synchrony and diachrony. Kailuweit 2001:34-46 provides a report on various structuralist (incl. generativist) approaches to prepositions contradicting each other by including and excluding subclasses of prepositions which differ in their degree of complexity and grammaticalization. At the same time, structuralism is not incompatible with the appropriate conception of prepositions as a class between lexicon and grammar, witness Rubio 1966:165-171.

Deverbal adpositions are mostly based on non-finite verb forms, since these are made to modify the main predicate or one of its dependents. The underlying verb is typically bivalent, so its complement becomes the landmark. If it is monovalent, its subject may form the complement in an absolute construction, as in E9.

E9   habeat medietatem praefatae haereditatis, <u>excepto</u> solare et horto. (Concilium
          legionense [1170])
Latin   'he may have half of the afore-mentioned inheritance, except the plot and the
          garden'

Formation of adpositions based on non-finite verbs is common in many languages and is found to some extent in European languages (Kortmann & König 1992), but is used only exceptionally in Latin and not much more in the Romance languages.[20] There are also very few examples of Romance adpositions based on finite verb forms like Span. *hace* 'ago', *pese* 'despite'. All the rest are based on adverbs and prepositions.

The following description pursues the hypothesis that Latin-Romance complex prepositions based on adverbs and prepositions are due not to compounding, but to univerbation. This implies nothing for the denominal and deverbal adpositions mentioned before. On the contrary, there are liable to exist rules of word formation for denominal adpositions in Romance.

5   Formation of prepositional adverbs

5.1   Optional complements

As noted in §2, Latin has subclasses of case relators which function exclusively as prepositions and exclusively as adverbs, resp. However, in Latin as in Romance, it is the prepositional adverb which has a key position both in the syntax of prepositions and in their formation. In a language which possesses a productive class of adpositional adverbs, the question of the diachronic priority of the adverbial or the adpositional use of a new prepositional adverb does not apply. As soon as a semantically relational lexeme is recruited to code a relation towards some landmark, the alternative of expressing or not expressing this landmark (§1.3) is available. For many prepositional adverbs in the Latin-Romance history, the earliest record of prepositional use and the earliest record of adverbial use are only a few decades apart and in either order, which allows the inference that they became available simultaneously.

This close connection between adverbs and prepositions survives in the Romance languages to this day. Taking up examples E4 and E5, we observe that the adverbial and prepositional uses of Castilian *cerca* continue seamlessly the double use in Latin. E10 shows adverbial use, E11 continues the Latin prepositional use with loss of case government.

E10   <u>cerca</u> viene el plazo (*Cantar de Mío Cid* [1140], tirada 11)
Castilian   'the date is coming near'

E11   lidiamos <u>cerca</u> Valencia (o.c., tirada 143)
Castilian   'we fought near Valencia'

E12   bien <u>cerca de</u>l agua, a todos sos varones mandó fazer una cárcava (o.c., tirada 27)
Castilian   'very close to the water he commanded all his men to make a moat'

---

[20] Typologically equally common, but in principle unavailable to Latin and Romance, is the grammaticalization of coverbs to adpositions (Hagège 2010, ch. 3.4.4.1, Lehmann 2015, ch. 3.4.1.7).

E12 displays a new feature: the adverb is combined with a complement by means of a case relator. This will be analyzed in §5.2.

Outside the classical variety of Latin, there is a tendency to homogenize the class of case relators. One strategy is to use pure adverbs also as prepositions. Thus, what in Classical Latin is the adverb *intro* 'inside' is used as a preposition in E13.

E13   et statim ingreditur <u>intro</u> spelunca et <u>de intro</u> cancellos primum dicet orationem
           (*Itin.* [384] 24, 2)
LATIN   'and at once he steps into the cave and from behind the grill he first says a prayer'

Although case government by prepositions obviously does not work any more at the stage of the language represented by E13, the erstwhile adverb combines directly with its nominal complement. The same happens with some other words which in Classical Latin are adverbs and are used as direct prepositions in Late Latin, including *intus, subtus, simul, palam, retro, foras, foris* (Hamp 1888:325). This strategy, however, is soon to come to an end.

5.2   Relationalization

The much more productive alternative is to combine an adverb X with a functional preposition Y whose task it is to code the dependency of the complement, as shown in Diagram 4.

Diagram 4   Relationalization

[X$_{Adv}$ Y$_{Fnctl.Prep}$]$_{Prep}$

Y provides the complex case relator with the functionality of /G/ of Diagram 1. It will be called a **relationalizer**. In E14, *de* does this service for *foris*.

E14   qui voluerit stare in suo horto, et sua almunia <u>foris de</u> illa alcudina (*Pactos entre
           Alfonso el Batallador y los moros de Tudela* [1115], §3)
LATIN   'he who wants to stay in his garden and his cottage outside the borough'

Just like case government is diachronically replaced by prepositional government where it is determined by verbs, so it is replaced where the governing item is a preposition. One may say that *acerca* en E27 below takes a complement marked by *de* just like *circa* in E4 takes a complement marked by the accusative.

A preposition taking its complement directly, as *ante* in E15, will be called a **direct preposition**. A preposition taking its complement by means of a relationalizer, like *ante* in E16, will be called a **relationalized preposition**. The power of relationalization may also be seen in the phenomenon that erstwhile direct prepositions start being relationalized, as if they were basically adverbs. *Ante* 'before, in front' remains in use as a direct preposition from the earliest Castilian documents, as in E15. At the same time, it is treated as an adverb, involving intercalation of *de* in a prepositional construction, as in E16.[21]

E15   alia terra que dicunt la Toua <u>ante</u> el molino de don Didago (*Carta de donación*
           [1127], §29)
CASTILIAN 'another lot called la Tova, in front of the mill of Don Diego'

E16   que <u>ante de</u> la mala fecta lo conpró (*Fueros de Medinaceli* [1129], §35)
CASTILIAN 'that he bought it before the evil dead'

---

[21] Since 1102, the variant *antes de* 'before' is documented, which is to replace *ante de*.

Other examples include the Latin prepositions *trans* 'beyond' and *ex* 'out of'. In their expanded forms *detras* and *deex*, they take the relationalizer *de* in Castilian; and *tras* 'in back' is also used as an adverb. The conversion of direct prepositions into relationalized prepositions testifies to the productivity of the pattern of Diagram 4.

The set of functional prepositions used as relationalizers is very small, essentially comprising Late Latin *de* 'of', *ad* 'at' and *con* 'with'. Their use varies somewhat among the Romance languages. In Ibero-Romance, it is mostly *de*, as will be seen in the bulk of the examples of §6.1.3. Thus, the same case relator is chosen which replaces the Latin genitive, as if the prepositional adverb were denominal in origin. For instance, the adverb *ante* in E16 is constructed like the combination of preposition and relational noun *in fronte* of E8. A two-level principle appears to be at work here. First, complex prepositions govern their complement not directly, but by means of a functional preposition which serves as a relationalizer. Second, the relationalizer *de*, which is motivated for denominal prepositions, is generalized over non-functional prepositions of whatever origin.

This paradigmatic relationship between $[X]_{Adv}$ and $[X\ de]_{Prep}$ is attested at least since the 11th century and in the sequel becomes the most regular pattern for the formation of complex prepositions. In other words, most Castilian prepositional adverbs are relationalized by *de*. Putting and omitting the relationalizer switches between the categories of preposition and adverb. This is a syntactically regular relationship, and components adjacent in one of the two cases – viz. the prepositional adverb and the relationalizer – are therefore not prone to univerbation. The one exception to this will be analyzed in §6.3. In general, however, it is not clear that a combination like *detrás de* is a lexical unit (as assumed in Lehmann 2002, §3.2.1). The more appropriate analysis is probably that *detrás* governs its complement in the genitive, i.e. via the functional preposition *de* (as in Fagard & De Mulder 2007:11).

6 Superordinate prepositions

6.1 Prepositional adverb from simple preposition plus prepositional adverb

6.1.1 Semantosyntactic motivation

Spatial adverbs like Latin *supra* 'above', *extra* 'outside' etc. involve a spatial region. In Proto-Indo-European and Early Latin, a spatial adverb was like a cased NP in incorporating, in addition, a superordinate local relation. Thus, *foras* is, etymologically, a combination of *for-* 'region outside' with an allative suffix; so it means 'out(wards)' (s. §3). This, however, does not work any longer in Late Latin and Romance. These languages code the local relation towards the spatial region either in the lexical meaning of the verb or by a local relator, viz. a simple local preposition. They consequently add such a local relator in front of adverbs which never coded any local relation, like *intus* and *peregre*.

Throughout Latin-Romance history, prepositional adverbs are again and again reinforced. The most productive pattern is the combination of an initial simple preposition X with an existent prepositional adverb Y, as shown in Diagram 5 and illustrated by Latin *desuper* 'from above'.

Diagram 5   Reinforcement of prepositional adverb

[$X_{Smpl.Prep.}$ $Y_{Prep.Adv.}$]$_{Prep.Adv.}$

The preposition taking the position of X in the pattern will be called **superordinate preposition**. The combination, however, is not a morphological process. Initially, this construction is motivated in the way described in §1.2. Accordingly, if there is a complement C, the phrase has the syntactic structure shown in Diagram 6.

Diagram 6　Superordinate prepositional construction

[X$_{Smpl.Prep}$ [Y$_{Prep.Adv.}$ C$_{NP}$]$_{PrepP}$]$_{PrepP}$

The meaning of the construction is, consequently: 'in the local relation X to the spatial region Y of landmark C'. For instance in E17, the meaning of the prepositional phrase may be circumscribed by 'from (X) the region in front of (Y) his eyes (C)'.

E17　　　　hunc <u>ab ante</u> oculis parentis rapuerunt nymphae in gurgite (Gruter, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani*, 717, 9 [undated])

LATIN　　　'this [child] was robbed before his father's eyes by nymphs in a whirlpool'

However, this semantic function is most often lost in the further course of things. The syntactic boundary between X and Y is dropped – Fagard 2006, §3.2.3 assumes reanalysis here –, the sequence XY is univerbated, and the result is a mere formal reinforcement of Y. This will be illustrated in some detail for the preposition *ante* 'before', which may serve as a specimen of many other spatial prepositions.

6.1.2　Latin

From the beginning of its history, there is in Latin a small set of items of the structure shown in Diagram 5, including forms like *incircum* 'around', *insuper* 'on top' and combinations with the idiosyncratic prepositional adverb *usque* 'all the way to/from a spatial or temporal limit', which caused much headache to ancient grammarians. By far the majority of this type of complex preposition are formed in Vulgar and Late Latin.[22] The prepositional adverb *ante* is found preceded by *ab*, *ad*, *de*, *ex*, *in* and *sub* as superordinate prepositions (Hamp 1888:335). E18 illustrates *in ante* 'forward' as a local adverb, E19 (several centuries later) illustrates its use as a temporal adverb 'onwards'. The preposition *ab ante* 'from the front of', already seen in E17, is shown by E20. The ancient grammarians insist that specification of the local relation by such an additional preposition is not only ungrammatical, but – in the latter example – superfluous, too.[23]

E18　　　　quantum denuo <u>in ante</u> ibant, tantum denuo retro revertebantur (*Itin.* [384] 7, 3)

LATIN　　　'as much as they went forward again, so much they returned back again' (Harrington 1997:32)

E19　　　　Et ideo ab odie <u>in ante</u> firmamus perpetualiter nostra supra nominata offertione (Cartulario de San Millán [1045])

LATIN　　　'And therefore we grant from today onwards for ever our above-mentioned offer'

E20　　　　et absconderunt se Adam et mulier eius <u>abante</u> faciem domini dei (*Itala* [~300], *Gen.* 3, 8)

LATIN　　　'and Adam and his wife hid from the face of the Lord God'

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[22]　Hamp 1888 offers a rather complete list.

[23]　*Placidi Glossae*, p. 6: *Ante me fugit* dicimus, non *abante*. 'We say "he flees before me", not "from before [me]"'.

Initially, this construction is motivated in the way described in §6.1.1. This explains why the set of items functioning as superordinate preposition in the pattern essentially reduces to *ab*, *de*, *ad*, *in* and occasionally *per*: these are the prepositions which signify local relations. Further, as *de* gradually ousts *ab* and *ex* (Luraghi 2010:36, Adams 2013:609), it becomes the most frequent superordinate preposition in this construction. The semantosyntactic motivation is also visible in temporal prepositions, as in E19 and E21.

E21   de post cuius morte fili superstites numero V et nepotes X tenfrsi [i.e. teneri] sunt
           (CIL 8, 9162 [188])
LATIN   'since whose death five children and ten tender grandchildren are left'

The initial motivation, however, is frequently lost in the course of the lexicalization of these complex prepositions. For instance, a grammarian observes that "those who speak badly" say things like E22,

E22   depost illum ambulat (Pompeius, *In artem Donati* [~500], Keil V 273, 25)
LATIN   'she walks after him'

where *de* is indeed misplaced from an etymological point of view. Similarly, in the meaning of E23, no ablative relation is discernible, and *de* does nothing but reinforce the prepositional adverb *ante*.

E23   ubi missa facta fuerit de ante Cruce (*Itin.* [384] 37, 8)
LATIN   'when the mass was completed before the Cross' (Harrington 1997:29)

The same holds for the adverbial use of such complex formations, as shown by E24.

E24   stulti, nonne qui fecit quod de foris est, etiam id quod de intus est fecit? (Vulgate
           [390] *Luke* 11, 40)
LATIN   'ye fools, did not he who made which is without, make that which is within, too?'

In cases like E24, the ablative preposition is a faithful rendering of the Greek original, which has *tò éksōthen* (DEF:ACC.N.SG without:ABL) and *tò ésōthen* (DEF:ACC.N.SG within:ABL). The pattern, however, is already productive at the time (cf. E3). There are a number of forces in the diachrony of Latin grammar to conspire to the effect that an ablative expression loses the ablative semantic feature so that a mere essive relation remains (Luraghi 2010:26f). Therefore, the superposed preposition soon ends up in a mere reinforcement of the basic prepositional adverb.

After univerbation, the structural appearance of the erstwhile superordinate preposition is that of a prefix. And indeed, from Hamp 1888:327-330 to Fagard 2006, §3.2.3, analysts have applied the terms 'prefix' and 'prefixation' to the formations here under analysis. Vincent (2017 and 2019) regards the superordinate preposition as a particle and assumes its compounding with the full preposition. It is, however, important to put this into diachronic perspective, as also noted by Fagard l.c. The genesis of the construction is no process of prefixation – thus, no process of word formation. The historical evidence of the original constructions leaves no doubt that these complex prepositions originate in the univerbation of adjacent sequences in erstwhile syntactic constructions. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that, at a subsequent point in diachrony, a set of univerbations of the same structure constituted a model for the formation of further complex prepositions. It is, however, not clear that such an assumption is actually needed for the complex prepositions under review.

6.1.3 Castilian

The superposition of a simple local preposition on a basic prepositional adverb is very productive in Castilian from the beginning of the documented history. In this respect, there is in medieval northern Iberia perfect continuity between the grammar of documents composed in Latin and of documents composed in Old Castilian. Comparing the example series of E25 – E27 below with E10 – E12 above, we observe that the prepositional adverb has been reinforced by the superordinate allative preposition *a*. E25 and E26 illustrate adverbial use, the difference between them being that the landmark is in the context in the case of E25, where a hillock is mentioned in the preceding sentence, while it is the speech situation in E26.

E25   acerca corre Salón (*Cantar de Mío Cid* [1140] p. 135, §26)
CASTILIAN   'nearby flows the Jalón river'

E26   el plazo viene acerca (o.c. p. 122)
CASTILIAN   'the date is coming near'

The adverbial construction is thus, identical to the Latin one. In E27, *acerca* is combined with the relationalizer *de* (s. Diagram 4) in order to take a complement. In this prepositional construction, the only difference from Latin is that the dependency relation of the complement is signalled by a preposition instead of a case suffix or – in Late and Vulgar Latin – nothing.

E27   estavan acerca de ellos (*Libro de los buenos proverbios que dijeron los filósofos y sabios antiguos* [1250], §5)
CASTILIAN   'they stood close to them'

If the combination of the superordinate preposition, the basic prepositional adverb and the structural case relator were formed by rules of syntax, then the highest syntactic boundary would be after the superordinate preposition, as indicated in Diagram 6; and *de* would form a constituent with the dependent NP. Instead, the superordinate preposition is univerbated with the basic prepositional adverb and lexicalized as *acerca*.

We now throw a glance at the productivity of formations composed of a superordinate preposition and a prepositional adverb. The Latin prepositional adverb *ante* will again serve as a specimen to represent the set of local prepositions. We saw in E15f that *ante* keeps being used as such in Castilian. On its way to modern Castilian, it acquires a causal sense, 'in view of'. However, already in Late Latin, it was reinforced by superordinate prepositions, as seen in §6.1.2. Of those various formations, only *abante*, *deante* and *inante* survive in Castilian.

As was seen in E20f, *abante* is a Latin formation. It soon acquires a variant *avante*, which is conserved with the meaning 'before' in Italian and French. In Castilian, *abante* initially survives as a minor orthographic variant of *avante*. The latter appears, with the meaning 'hereafter', in a Latin notarial text of 943. In the following centuries, the two variants are used as an adverb with varying senses, as 'in front', 'forward', 'hereafter' and 'above (in the text)'. A text of 1380-85 appears to contain the only occurrence of the preposition *avante de* 'in front of'. The adverb *avante* is used to this day with the meaning 'forward'.

Avante is reinforced by the superordinate preposition *de* to yield the prepositional adverb *devant* 'before, in front (of)'.[24] Both the adverb (E28) and the preposition (E29) can be reinforced by an additional superordinate preposition.

E28   de un año in devant vendat sua casa (Fuero de Carcastillo [1129], §1)
CASTILIAN   'one year ahead may he sell his house'

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[24] It also appears in the compound *devandicho* 'above-mentioned' (Colección Diplomática del Monasterio de Carrizo [1283]).

E29 dent fidiatore cum testimonias <u>per devant</u> rege, & <u>devant</u> alcaldes (o.c. §3)

Castilian 'let them provide a guarantor with witnesses in front of the king and before the mayors'

Two tokens of an expanded variant *adevant* of the adverb are documented, with the meanings 'to the front' [1129] and 'hereafter' [1396]. There are also isolated examples of the relationalized preposition *devant de*. After 1600, *devant* is no longer used in Castilian.

The preposition *de ante* is found in Latin texts of Castile from 913 on. It appears as an adverb in Castilian texts from 1250 on.[25] Occasionally, it is also used with ablative sense, as in E30.

E30 fuxo Caím <u>de ante</u> la faz de Dios (Alfonso X, *General Estoria* [1275], §XII)

Castilian 'Cain fled from god's face'

The semantosyntactic context is the same of E20 (cf. also fn. 13), so that *avante* might be expected. However, by the time of the document of E30, *avante* had forfeited all of its ablative force; so a different superordinate preposition was necessary. Nevertheless, both the preposition and the adverb *de ante* become obsolete by 1600.

The Latin adverb *in ante* seen in E18 is continued by Castil. *enante*[26] 'before' (E31), which is also used as a preposition (E32) and a conjunction.

E31 en dia de Sancti Michael o el domingo <u>enante</u>. (*Fuero de Cáceres* [1234-1275], §451)

Castilian 'on St. Michael's day or the preceding Sunday.'

E32 que las desuelen <u>enante de</u> la tela (Abraham de Toledo, *Libro de los animales que cazan* [1250], folio 32 r)

Castilian 'that they flay them in front of the membrane'

Unexpanded occurrences of *enante* end in 1509. It is reinforced by superordinate *de* to yield *denante*. This must have happened before Romance writing, because *denante* is documented as a preposition (E33) as early as 950, and several decades later as an adverb (E34).

E33 ke <u>denante</u> ela sua face gaudioso segamus (*Glosas Emilianenses* [950], folio 72 r)

Castilian 'that we keep [living] in joy in front of his face'

E34 plus <u>denante</u> in ripa una serna (Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla [1027], p. 106)

Latin 'further on the river bank, a field'

After this time, *denante* is only used as an adverb, also as the opposite of *después* 'afterwards'. The (relatively) unexpanded form appears last in literary texts of the 19th century. From then on, only the expanded form *en denante* 'a moment ago' is used, which itself is very rare.

The rarity of *denante* and of its reinforcement is due to the upcoming of the (probably dissimilative) phonological variant *delante*,[27] which continually gains ground against its source. Mere *delante* is first documented as an adverb in a Late Latin text (E35), and later as a preposition, both direct and relationalized (E36):

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[25] It is also used as an attribute, like *día de ante* 'day before'.

[26] It also survives in Italian *innante > innanzi*.

[27] Theoretically, one might consider an etymology *de illo ante 'from the front' (cf. French *au-dessus* 'above' < *à le dessus*). However, it would presuppose a substantivization of the prepositional adverb which has no parallel in the formation of Castilian prepositional adverbs.

E35 ut nullus homo vivens ingrediatur de Pumar <u>delante</u>, (*Fueros y privilegios de Santa María del Puerto* [1042], §11)

LATIN 'that no living man shall enter from Pumar onward,'

E36 <u>delante</u> su mugier e <u>de</u> sus fijas querié tener las armas (*Cantar de Mío Cid* [1140], n° 86)

CASTILIAN 'in front of his wife and his daughters did he want to hold the tournament'

The expansion *ad delante* 'further on' is attested even earlier than its base, in a Latin notarial document of 913. The further expansion *en adelante* 'hereafter' comes later, as shown by E37.

E37 et quantum habetis ibi laborato, <u>ẽ adelante</u> poteritis ibi examplare, & laborare, (*Fuero de Carcastillo en Navarra* [1129], §2)

LATIN 'and whatever you have cultivated there, you may extend and cultivate there,'

Another early expansion is *en delante*, attested as an adverb in Alfonso X's *Fuero Real* [1251-55] and practically only used in the formula *de X en delante* 'from X onwards'. As a relationalized preposition, it is extremely rare and first found in a letter [1315] of the *Documentos de la catedral de León*. Apart from a few isolated latecomers, *en delante* falls into disuse at the beginning of the 17th century.

   Por delante is found as an adverb from 1264 on, as a direct preposition in a story from 1300-1325, and as a relationalized preposition in the *Crónica del rey don Pedro* [1400] by Pero López de Ayala. Both adverbial and prepositional uses are highly frequent to this day.

Diagram 7   Timeline of prepositions based on ante

0	250	500	750	1000	1250	1500	1750	2000
ante								
	in ante							
			denante					
								en denante
				delante				
				adelante				
					en adelante			
					en delante			
					por delante			
		ab ante						
					devant			
					adevant			
			de ante					

Diagram 7 presents the Latin-Castilian prepositions based on *ante* on a single timeline. The development may be summarized as follows:

- Of the complex prepositions formed in antiquity, three (*de ante, in ante, ab ante*) survive into Old Castilian.

- In the period preceding the first Castilian documents, one of these (*enante*) was twice expanded by a superordinate preposition (*denante, adelante*).

- There is a flood of further expansions roughly from 1100 on, i.e. when Castilian started being regularly used in writing.

- Some of the intermediate products fall into disuse after a few centuries; and with one exception, no new expanded preposition based on *ante* is formed after 1300.

The other spatial prepositional adverbs are just a little less productive than *ante*. From Latin *post* 'after', we get *in post, de post > de pues, de ex post > después* and *por después*. Once the

Latin preposition *trans* 'beyond' is recategorized as a prepositional adverb, we get *ad trans > atrás, de trans > detrás* and *por detrás*. The story of these and many other complex prepositions is largely analogous to the story of our specimen *ante*.

From all of this, one may conclude that the vigor of the strategy of forming new prepositional adverbs by univerbation essentially came to an end with the middle age. It seems probable that, since then, denominal and deverbal prepositions have been taking over.

6.2   Adverb from simple preposition plus adverb

6.2.1 Informative and redundant combinations

At a general level, the formation of adverbs and prepositions by combination with a superordinate preposition is the same process analyzed in §6.1 for prepositional adverbs. §§6.2f only serve to show that this process does, indeed, apply to the other two subclasses of case relators mentioned in §2. As seen in §1.2, a preposition may combine with a nominal complement, as in E38, or an adverbial complement, as in E39.

E38   Inter eos dies … in comitium producebantur, (Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* [170] 20, 1, 47)

LATIN   'During these days … they were led to the assembly square,'

E39   Interibi hic miles forte Athenas advenit, (Pl. *Mil.* [-200] 104)

LATIN   'In the meantime this soldier happened to arrive in Athens,'

Just like those based on prepositional adverbs, combinations such as *interibi* of E39 are unproductive in literary Latin. Most of them differ from this example in being pleonastic: words like *abhinc* 'from here' and *deinde* 'thence' combine an ablative preposition with an ablative adverb, *inibi* 'just there' combines an essive preposition with an essive adverb. Both the informative and the pleonastic subtype become ever more productive in the following centuries. E40 is an example of the former.

E40   Sicque ex tunc uetitum est sacerdotibus conjungia sortire. (*Crónica rotense* [880])

LATIN   'And thus, since that time, it has been forbidden for priests to take wives.'

Again as with prepositional adverbs, what starts out as the specification of a local relation ends up as a mere reinforcement. Thus, on its first occurrence in the literature (E41), *a foris* means 'from outside'. However, no ablative force is involved in E42.

E41   in ulcus penetrat omnis iniuria a foris (Plin. *nat. hist.* [77] 17, 90, 227)

LATIN   'every misdemeanour applied from outside penetrates into an abscess'

E42   et bituminabis eam ab intus et a foris (Itala [~300] *Gen.* 6, 14)

LATIN   'you will caulk it [the ark] inside and out' (Harrington 1997:28)

The same holds for combinations with superordinate *de*. In E43, #a shows *de foris* in ablative sense, #b shows it in essive sense, and #c even shows it in allative sense.

E43   a.   si quis de foris venerit (Jre. Reg. Pach. 146)

LATIN   'if anybody came from outside' (Harrington 1997:29)

     b.   sed sicut sum de foris, ita sum deintus (*Vitae Patr.* 3, 92)

          'but as I am outside, so I am within' (Harrington 1997:29)

c. lumen autem <u>de foris</u> non affertur, sed de spelunca interiori eicitur (*Itin.* [384] 24, 4)

'the light is not brought outdoors, but is emitted from inside the cave'

The same generic series of events repeats itself in Castilian. E44 shows the meaningful combination of an adverb designating a spatial region with a superordinate case relator. At the same time, it provides evidence of asemantic variation of the case relator (*ad ~ in*). Again, no ablative force is visible in E45.

E44   intra corsseras de Nagara, scilicet de arenales <u>ad intus</u>, ... et de valle antiquo <u>insursum</u>, et de illa cruce de Sancta Eugenia <u>in intus</u>, (*Fuero de Nájera* [1020-1076], §1)

CASTILIAN   'within the borders of Nájera, i.e., from the sandy areas inwards … and from the ancient valley upwards, and from the cross of St. Eugenia inwards'

E45   nisi laborare tantum in illo azore de illo castello <u>de foris</u> (o.c. §2)

CASTILIAN   'except to work only in the wall of that castle at the outside [i.e. at the outer side of the wall]'

6.2.2   The attrition of the ablative

The great majority of examples of a superordinate preposition ending up in a mere reinforcement involve ablative prepositions. The essive and allative relations to prepositional and adverbial phrases have less need to be renewed or reinforced, because they are generally inherent in the superordinate verb. It is the ablative relation which requires separate expression.[28] In Old and Classical Latin, this is afforded by the preposition *ab*. As mentioned in §6.1.3, where it appears in Castilian, it lacks any ablative meaning. From Vulgar Latin on, *ab* (like *ex*) is replaced by *de*. On the one hand, this preposition has, in the past two millenia, become a semantically empty case marker which just mediates dependency of a nominal expression from anything unable to directly govern it, losing by consequence its original ablative force. On the other hand, the language possesses no other local relator to signal an ablative relation. *De* is used again and again to provide its immediate dependent with an ablative relation, and it again and again loses this function and becomes a mere submorphemic part of its dependent, now its host (Adams 2013, ch. XXIII).[29] This treadmill already started in Old Latin, witness adverbs like *deorsum* 'down(wards)'. In Romance, it is particularly evident in the locative interrogative pro-adverb. Latin *ubi* 'where' gives Old Castilian *o*, as in E46.

E46   las eglesias <u>o</u> yazen sus cuerpos (Alfonso X, *Siete partidas* I [1256])

CASTILIAN   'the churches where their corpses lie'

This is reinforced by superordinate *de*, yielding *do*. This word, however, is not attested in the corpus to signal an ablative relation. Instead, all of its occurrences (first in a document of 1130) involve an essive relation, as in E47 and E54.

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[28] S. Luraghi 2010:21-23 on valency dependency of local relations in Latin.

[29] According to Norberg 1946:84-87, development of essive use of *de* in compound adverbs originates, by the model of *desuper*, in locutions where the localized entity acts from above, but does not move downwards. *De* would thus repeat the development from ablative to essive that *ab* had undergone a few centuries earlier, in *a tergo* 'in back' etc.

E47   aquella [celada] <u>do</u> antes estavan (*Libro de los buenos proverbios que dijeron los filósofos y sabios antiguos* [1250], §5)
Castilian   'that ambush where they were before'

While *do* falls into disuse, the proform meaning 'whence' is renewed by *onde*, which continues Latin *unde*. It appears with this meaning in E48.

E48   sodes de los de Vanigómez, <u>onde</u> salién condes de prez e de valor, (*Cantar de Mío Cid* [1140], tirada 149)
Castilian   'you are from the family of Vani-Gómez, from where originate counts of honor and value,'

However, already in the same text, *onde* is used in essive sense:

E49   Salúdavos mio Cid allá <u>onde</u> elle está; (o.c., tirada 83)
Castilian   'My Cid greets you from where he is [lit.: there where he is];'

Still in Old Castilian, *onde* is reinforced by *de* to force the ablative meaning. The new interrogative adverb appears in E50.

E50   aquella çibdat <u>dont</u> era Anchos (*Libro de los buenos proverbios que dijeron los filósofos y sabios antiguos* [1250], §5)
Castilian   'that town from where Anchos was'

But to no avail: at the same time, we find the first evidence of *donde* being used in essive sense, as in E51.

E51   ha de dar vía por <u>donde</u> usen e vayan (*Libro de los doce sabios o Tratado de la nobleza y lealtad* [1237], §16)
Castilian   'he has to make way where they may graze and walk'

Still at the same time, the first occurrences of *de donde* 'from where' are attested, as in E52.

E52   tomando asi del fuero biejo como del nueuo, <u>de donde</u> mejor se pudo enformar, (*Crónica de Sahagún* [1255], §12)
Castilian   'thus taking both from the old and from the new jurisdiction, from where he could best inform himself'

This is, then, a series of four renewals and reinforcements of a local adverb within one century. Astonishingly, the situation appears to have remained stable since that time.

6.3   Preposition from simple preposition plus preposition

The preceding sections have shown that the combination of a preposition coding a local relation with a (prepositional) adverb coding a spatial region is rather regular. What is indeed very rare is the combination of two prepositions. The reason is obviously that, on the one hand, items designating spatial regions are not mere prepositions, but (prepositional) adverbs, and on the other hand, that there is no semantosyntactic basis for the direct combination of two items that merely indicate local relations.

The Latin-Castilian history provides three exceptions to this generalization.[30] One of them, Castilian *para* 'to', based on Late Latin *per/pro ad* 'through to', is a case of its own not

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[30] Hamp 1888:325f enumerates a set of prepositions formed by combining a simple preposition with *versus* '-wards'. However, all of these products can alternatively be analyzed as recategorizations of past participles of verba composita of *vertere* 'turn'.

to be treated here.[31] The other two will be briefly reviewed. They are combinations of the Latin prepositions *trans* 'beyond' and *ex* 'out of' with a preceding superordinate preposition, and they prove the rule. Both of these prepositions belong to the kind of morpheme mentioned in §1.2 whose meaning combines a local relation with a spatial region. *Trans C* means 'in an essive or allative relation to the region on the yonder side of C'; *ex C* means 'in an ablative relation to the interior of C'. Thus, they might as well be prepositional adverbs.

A late example of the combination of *trans* with superordinate *de* was already given as E2a. A much earlier example is E53.

E53　　　　secutae sunt eum turbae multae de Galilaea ... et <u>de trans</u> Iordanem. (Vulgate [390] *Mt.* 4, 25)

Latin　　　'large crowds from Galilee ... and from the region across the Jordan followed him.'

The Vulgate is a Late Latin text which tries to follow the rules of Classical Latin to the extent feasible. *Trans* is one of the items for which the grammarians' verdict[32] is unreasonable, since it designates a spatial region. It is only logical that, as mentioned at the end of §6.1.3, the Castilian heirs to Latin *trans* function as prepositional adverbs. E53 works as if this were already the case in Late Latin.

At the beginning, Castilian *detrás* conserves the ablative meaning. Once it is a prepositional adverb, it takes its complement via the relationalizer, as in E54.

E54　　　　Et el lobo, que yazía en çelada, saltó en ella <u>detrás de</u> una peña do estava (*Calila e Dimna* [1251], p. 351)

Castilian　'And the wolf, who was lying in an ambush, jumped on her from behind a crag where he was'

As usual, *de* forfeits its ablative function very soon. Moreover, the relationalized preposition becomes available for further expansion by another superordinate preposition, as in E55.

E55　　　　fue para el <u>por detras</u> de los otros, (*Historia troyana en prosa y verso* [1270], p. 264)

Castilian　'he went for/towards him following the others,'

Just as *después* mentioned before, *detrás* now forms a binary paradigm with *delante*. The fate of *detrás* is, to this extent, a case of paradigmaticization.

The case of the Latin preposition *ex* 'out of' is largely parallel. The word is not conserved as such in Romance. Like *trans*, it is combined with the superordinate preposition *de* as if it were a prepositional adverb only designating a spatial region. E56 is close to the original local sense; E57 presents the temporal sense.

E56　　　　invenit unum <u>de ex</u> conservis suis (Itala, Cod. Vindobonensis 1185 [~400], *Mt.* 18, 28)

Latin　　　'he found one of his fellow slaves'

E57　　　　coniugi karissimae vixit cum eo <u>de ex</u> die virginitatis sue (CIL 14, 5210 [Late Latin])

Latin　　　'for his beloved wife who lived with him since her virginity'

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[31] S. Torres Cacoullos & Bauman 2014 and Bauman & Torres Cacoullos 2016, §4 for the origins of *per ad* and *pro ad* and their univerbation into *pora > para*.

[32] The grammarian Maurus Servius Honoratius (*Comm. Donati artem mai.* [~390], Keil IV 440) declares such constructions as *de trans Tiberim venio* 'I am coming from beyond the Tiber' ungrammatical.

In medieval Ibero-Romance Latin, *ex* did not occur without preceding *de* and was already generalized to even more abstract senses, as in E58 (Company Company & Sobrevilla Moreno 2014:1381f mention earlier occurrences of univerbated *deex*).

E58 iuxta limitem vineam de mihi [sic!] Eximino, et <u>de ex</u> alia vinearum multarum ex alios homines, (Monasterio de San Martín de Villariezo, Sale contract [1044])

LATIN '[a lot] beside the border of the vineyard of Msg. Jimeno, and on the second [side bordering on] many vineyards of other people,'

From the first Castilian documents, the combination takes the form of the preposition *des C* 'from C on', which first figures in Latin documents [947] in the fomula *des odie die* 'from today's date'. *Des* as a direct preposition disappears from the texts in the course of the seventeenth century (Company Company & Sobrevilla Moreno 2014:1386). It had been reanalyzed to follow the majority model of the prepositional adverb, so its prepositional use required the relationalizer *de*. The resulting *des de*, first attested in the *Documentos del Monasterio de Santa María de Trianos* [1191], was univerbated, and the fomula *desde oy dia* 'from today on' is already found in a document of 1249.

In contemporary Spanish, *desde* conserves both the local and the temporal sense and is finally becoming the new ablative preposition the language has lacked for more than a thousand years, witness examples like E59f.

E59 agua pura <u>desde</u> una fuente natural (publicity for mineral water in Costa Rica [2016])

SPANISH 'pure water from a natural spring'

E60 <u>desde</u> un ángulo distribucional (Company Company & Sobrevilla Moreno 2014: 1345)

SPANISH 'from a distributional point of view'

A few centuries earlier, these phrases would have contained, and might even today contain, *de* instead of *desde*. This is, thus, an example of grammaticalization.[33] *Desde* is the first and only complex preposition which is univerbated with the relationalizer. This is doubtless due to the fact that this particular preposition has never had adverbial use; in other words, from the day that it switched from direct government to mediate government, it never again occurred without the relationalizer.

Conclusion

A traditional etymological analysis of complex prepositions like Castilian *desde* 'since' does not get beyond a mere juxtaposition[34] of monomorphemic prepositions like *de+ex+de*. A syntactic analysis reveals a hierarchical structure in such formations:

(1) **Expansion**: The combination of an adverbial or prepositional base with a preceding superordinate simple preposition, including *de*, initially specifies the local relation of the base, but ends up as its category-preserving reinforcement.

(2) **Relationalization**: The combination of a base with a following functional preposition like *de* relationalizes the base, converting it into a complex preposition.

Expansions are endocentric and therefore recursive. Relationalization is exocentric and therefore not recursive. Because of its endocentricity, expansion is indifferent as to application

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[33] Klöden 2001:65 observes a parallel development of French *depuis*.

[34] Vänänen 1967:95 does speak of "juxtaposés".

of relationalization. This is the structural condition which, combined with the condition of its semantic neutrality, favors univerbation of expansive formations. On the other hand, adverbial use of a prepositional adverb and use as a relationalized preposition are in a regular syntactic relationship, so the adjacency of the prepositional adverb with the relationalizer does not get fixed and is therefore not prone to univerbation. In fact, *desde* is the only Castilian preposition resulting from univerbation with the relationalizer. This is easily explicable by the fact that it is the only relationalized preposition which does not alternate with an adverb. Moreover, the processes of expansion and relationalization are independent of each other and therefore not ordered synchronically or diachronically. A preposition, an adverb or a prepositional adverb may be expanded at any time, and an adverb may be relationalized at any time.

Almost all of the complex prepositions attested in the Latin and Castilian corpus are written as combinations of separate words before they are univerbated. There is, thus, historical evidence for a diachronic relation between a syntactic construction X Y and a word XY. This is not the diachronic pattern found with true compounds. It is thus clear that the vast majority of so-called compound prepositions in Latin and Castilian are not compounds in the technical sense, but univerbations of earlier syntactic constructions. The univerbation is a symptom of the lexicalization of such syntactic combinations.

The evidence adduced proves that there is unbroken continuity between Late Latin and early Romance in the formation of complex prepositions. More precisely, the wealth of complex prepositions in Late Latin texts is a reflection in writing of the proliferation of this species in early Romance. The prohibition against complex prepositions declared and imposed by classical writers and their grammarians is a self-restraint of the classical variety of Latin. The proliferation of complex prepositions in the colloquial variety shows that there was a strong drift in the language to set up a complete system of case relators in the form of prepositions.

Although the analysis has mainly been concerned with complex prepositions originating in univerbation, there is no doubt that other complex prepositions are formed by compounding. Compound prepositions are prepositions, just as compound nouns are nouns. If we take this seriously, it becomes clear that the linguistic doctrine of adpositions as a closed class is a myth.[35] The wealth and productivity of prepositions in Latin and Romance is absolutely representative of this class in European languages.

The Latin-Romance prepositions illustrate in a perfect way the treadmill of the never-ending reinforcement and renewal of case relators. The formation of adpositions differs from nominal word formation in being practically independent from the world of denotata: there is no external necessity to designate new things. Most of the new adpositions get lexicalized with meanings very close to their bases and, by grammaticalization, converge on a limited set of case relations (s. Hagège 2010, ch. 5). Thus, the formation of adpositions illustrates a powerful principle of linguistic change: there is much variation just for the sake of variation.

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[35] This is noted, among many others, in Fagard & De Mulder 2007:12 and the literature cited there. The doctrine is to be traced back at least to Brøndal 1950:13 and divulgated in Lyons 1986, ch. 9.5.2. In Brøndal 1950, the closed-class nature of prepositions is clearly a postulate, not an empirical generalization. However, it is possible to conceive word classes independently of this criterion and then ascertain empirically their open- or closedness. Note, however, that literally every linguistic class can be enriched by linguistic change. (Thus, Fagard 2006:92 is mistaken in tying the observation of the openness of the class of prepositions to the diachronic perspective.) Consequently, for a linguistic class to be closed does not mean that it cannot be enriched. It means that there are no processes of the linguistic system to enrich it; s. Lehmann 2013, §6.

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