PART IV

Diachrony and case

The coding of spatial relations with human landmarks

From Latin to Romance

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The paper discusses the coding of location and direction with respect to human entities, and analyzes the change undergone by the Latin coding system with its outcomes in the Romance languages. Latin features different coding strategies depending on whether location and direction relate to the interior of a landmark or to its vicinity; the former were used with inanimate landmarks, while the latter could be used with both inanimate and animate (human) ones. Most Romance languages do not continue this opposition. As a consequence, coding strategies for space expressions with human landmarks across the Romance languages display different patterns, which are described and discussed in the paper.

1. Introduction

In this paper, I discuss the coding of two spatial relations, (static) location and direction, with respect to human entities, and analyze the change undergone by the Latin coding system with its outcomes in the Romance languages. In these two types of relation, a certain entity, conventionally called trajector, is located in space with reference to another entity, called landmark.[1] The trajector may be static, as in location expressions:

(1) *Mary is at school.*

or it may move along a trajectory, as in direction expressions:

(2) *Mary goes to school.*

1. Other possible terms for trajector and landmark are figure and ground; see e.g. Taylor (1993) for the use of this terminology, typical of cognitive grammar, in the description of prepositions.

The landmark, which must provide a reference point, is typically static, as in (1) and (2). Normally, the landmark of a location expression provides not only the reference point, but also the physical space for the localization of the trajector: thus, in (1) we understand that the trajector (*Mary*) is not simply located somewhere relative to the landmark (*school*), but that it occupies a portion of the space in which the landmark is located. In other words, there is a partial coincidence in space of the trajector with the landmark.[2] Note that in English this coincidence may be focused on, when the notion of containment is profiled, by using prepositions such as *inside* or *into*, which indicate that the landmark is conceived of as a container for the trajector: this, however, does not necessarily happen in all cases in which the landmark can be understood as a container on account of its physical shape. A bound space can be construed as a container, but this is not necessarily the case.[3]

Human beings are not typical landmarks of local expressions. This is due to various reasons. First, human beings are highly mobile entities, and as such they are not good reference points.[4] In addition, under normal circumstances human beings cannot be conceived of as coincident in space with other entities, as more common landmarks of spatial relations do; thus, one can say of a certain trajector that it is located *in* a typical spatial landmark, such as a geographical location, but not that it is located *in* a human being, except for special entities (internal body organs, emotions). Obviously, this is also true of several types of inanimate landmarks; however, inanimate landmarks often tolerate some ambiguity. This is shown by English *at*, which, depending on the shape of the inanimate landmark, can be understood as implying some coincidence in space (as in (1)), or not, as in (3):

(3) *Mary was waiting at the door.*

Thus, in English, we find a partial overlap of *in* and *at* in location expressions. In particular, *at* overlaps with *in* when (a) the trajector is located inside the space occupied by the landmark (i.e. there is spatial coincidence), but (b) containment is not especially focused. An example is constituted by city names; one can indicate location by using *at* or *in*, and the type of relation between the trajector and the landmark is basically the same, the choice

2. This is only partly true for direction expressions; see below, Section 2.1.

3. See Tyler & Evans (2003: 178–179) on different construal operations required by *in*, *at* and *on* for the same landmark.

4. See Creissels & Mounole (this volume) and Comrie (1986) on peculiarities of nouns with human referents.

being conditioned by other contextual and lexical factors. Possibly on account of this potential ambiguity, even though *at* in (3) is not understood as implying containment or coincidence, one cannot use it for location with human referents in English,[5] in much the same way as one cannot use *in*. As I will show in Section 2.1, this is not true for the corresponding Latin prepositions *in* and *ad*.

Languages deal with human landmarks in different ways, and, as we will see, even a small number of closely related languages displays a wide range of variation. The reason for choosing the Romance languages does not only lie in the variety of different patterns found, but also in possible description of varying patterns of change from Latin to modern varieties, which provide evidence for several different diachronic developments.[6]

Indeed, the range of variation is much wider than what I can describe in this paper, and a note on methodology is in order here. As I will show in the course of the paper, while some Romance languages have a dedicated preposition for human landmarks in local expressions, others do not, and acceptability judgments for other prepositions vary significantly among speakers. For this reason, I used both questionnaires, and a parallel corpus consisting of translations of the Gospels. Unfortunately, this type of parallel corpus is not completely without problems, given the literary character of the language employed: thus, some doubts could be resolved only through further discussion with the informants. Such an in depth inquiry of the data cannot always be accomplished, among other things because in some cases dialectal variation also has reflexes on the topic of this research. Thus, the present description is limited to Italian, French, standard and colloquial Spanish (European and Latin American), European Portuguese, and Romanian with some additional remarks on vernacular Spanish, Catalan, and Brazilian Portuguese. As I will show, a more detailed description of non-standard Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese varieties would be worth pursuing.

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5. That is, one cannot say *Mary is at the teacher*. *Mary is at the teacher's* is possible, but note that one has to explicitly indicate, by means of the genitive *teacher's*, that the trajector and the landmark do not coincide in space (in the last example, the trajector is located within the landmark's habitual location, not in contact with the landmark). See below for further comments.

6. Inquiry into the diachronic processes that led to the outcomes attested in the different Romance languages would be worth pursuing in detail, but it goes much beyond the scope of the present article. For this reason, I will limit myself to the comparison of the Latin state of affairs with those of the Romance languages. Some details about the diachrony of specific prepositions are only provided for Italian, based on Luraghi (2009b).

In the description of the coding of spatial relations with inanimate landmarks, I have kept distinct two types of landmark:

a. Prototypical locations, such as city names and the word for 'home';[7]
b. Other nouns that indicate entities which are often found in local expressions, such as nouns like 'school' or nouns denoting regions of space, but are less prototypical.

The above distinction between what is more and less prototypical is not intended to capture any universal generalization, but it is empirically grounded on language specific data which are relevant for this paper. Indeed, as I will show in Section 2.1, landmarks in (a) require special marking in Latin. I have focused on two semantic roles, (static) location and direction, because they are coded in the same way in a number of Romance languages, such as Italian and French; in Latin, these two semantic roles were only partly coded differently. On the other hand, I have not considered source, because it consistently displays a specific coding, which is always different from the coding of either location or direction, both in Latin and in the Romance languages (with the partial exception of Italian, see Section 3.1).

The paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, I describe the coding of location and direction with both human and non-human landmarks in Latin, and provide a brief summary of the major developments found in the Romance languages. In Section 3, I discuss languages in which a dedicated marker for spatial relations with human landmarks emerges from the grammaticalization of the word for 'house'. Section 4 is devoted to languages in which spatial relations with human landmarks involve a preposition or adverb whose meaning is 'on the side' or 'where'. In Section 5, I describe different extensions of comitative markers to location and/or direction with human landmarks. Section 6 contains a survey of varieties in which the same marker is used for spatial relations involving both human and non-human landmarks. Finally, Section 7 contains the conclusions.

2. Latin

2.1 Location and direction in Latin

In Latin, location and direction with inanimate landmarks are coded through the preposition *in* with either the ablative (location) or the accusative (direction). This preposition does not only indicate that a portion of the landmark coincides with a portion

7. Across languages, these types of landmark often require differential marking too, as remarked in Creissels & Mounole (this volume).

of the space occupied by the trajector, but also that the landmark is conceived of as a container for the trajector. In other words, PPs with *in* rely on the container metaphor. Thus, the analysis presented in Vandeloise (1994) regarding French *dans* and English *in* also applies to Latin *in* (see Luraghi 2010). In example (4):

(4) Latin (Caes. Gal. 2.1)

cum esset Caesar in citeriore Gallia
while was Caesar in Hither.ABL Gaul.ABL
'While Caesar was in Hither Gaul (…)'

In indicates that the landmark (*citeriore Gallia*) functions as a container for the trajector (*Caesar*), and that the trajector occupies a portion of space included into the landmark (that is, the trajectory partly coincides in space with the landmark).[8] Similarly, in example (5):

(5) Latin (Caes. Civ. 1.6.3)

Faustus Sulla pro praetor in Mauretaniam mittatur
Faustus Sylla in.place propretor in Mauretania.ACC be.sent
'(…) that Faustus Sylla should be sent as propretor into Mauritania.'

In indicates that the trajector (*Faustus Sylla*) moves along a trajectory that ends inside the landmark (*Mauretania*), and that eventually the trajector will occupy a portion of space occupied by the landmark.

Prototypical landmarks (city names, names of small islands, and the word 'home') require less morphological coding, and occur in the same type of expressions without prepositions (or, depending on the inflectional class, they may display a special locative case in location expressions):[9]

(6) Latin (Pl. Pseud. 339)

si ego emortuos sim, Athenis te sit
if I dead would.be Athens.ABL than.you would.be
nemo nequior
nobody worse

'If I'm dead, there will be no one worse than yourself in Athens.'

8. On this implication of location markers that rely on the container metaphor, see Cuyckens (1993); Luraghi (2003: 84–86).

9. On the distribution of lexically restricted locative, ablative locative, and allative accusative see Luraghi (2009a; 2010).

(7) (Liv. 3.33.5)

his	*proximi*	*habiti*	*legati*	*tres*	*qui*
to.them	next	were.placed	commissioners	three	who

Athenas	*ierant*
Athens.ACC	had.gone

'Next to them were placed the three commissioners who had gone to Athens.'

When human landmarks are involved, coincidence of the trajector and the landmark in space is obviously impossible. The difference between inanimate and animate landmarks is shown in Figures 1a and 1b:

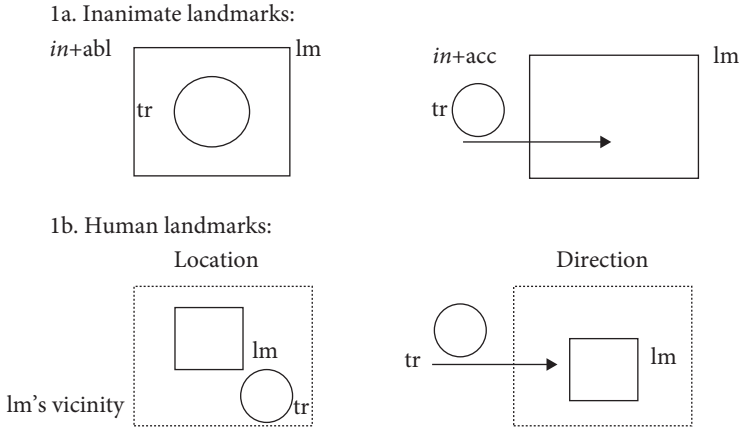

Figure 1. Location and direction

The difference described in Figures 1a and 1b is more relevant for location than for direction. Indeed, direction is prospective: a trajector moving toward a landmark may not reach it. For this reason, languages often code direction in different ways in case that the trajectory is profiled (and the landmark is not necessarily reached) and in the case that the endpoint of the trajectory is profiled. Thus, in English we find *to* and *into*; the difference in profiling is shown in Figures 2a and 2b:

(8) *I went to town.*
(9) *I went into town.*

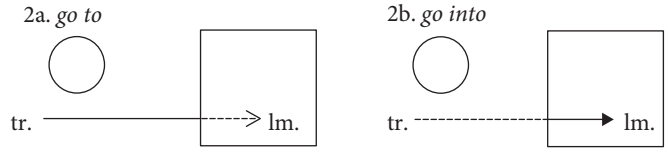

Figure 2. Trajectory vs. endpoint coding

In English, (8) is typically seen as describing the same event as (9). Remarkably, in Latin we find a different state of affairs. Two prepositions are commonly used in direction expressions: one is *in* with the accusative, as in example (5), which, in very much the same way as *in* with the ablative, indicates that the landmark is conceived of as a container for the trajector, thus implying that the trajector moves along a trajectory which ends in the interior of the landmark. The other preposition is *ad*, which indicates that the interior of the landmark is not reached by the trajectory, and that the trajectory does not result in final contact or spatial coincidence of the trajector with the landmark, as in (10). Note that *ad* (which always takes the accusative case)[10] can also be used in location expressions, and indicates that a trajector is located by a landmark, but not inside it, as in (11):

(10) (Caes. Gal. 1.31.2)
sese *omnes* *flentes* *Caesari* *ad* *pedes* *proiecerunt*
themselves all weeping to.Caesar at feet threw
'They all threw themselves in tears at Caesar's feet.'

(11) (Caes. Gal. 1.31.12)
proelium *factum.sit* *ad* *Magetobrigam*
battle happened at Magetobriga
'There was a battle by (the village of) Magetobriga.'

With human landmarks, *ad* regularly occurs in direction expressions, as shown in (12). In location expressions, instead, another preposition is commonly found, *apud*, which means '(near)by'. Interestingly, this preposition normally implies that the trajector is not simply located in the vicinity of the landmark, but in the landmark's habitual location. In other words, it is the equivalent of English 'at one's place', as shown in (13):[11]

(12) (Caes. Gal. 1.11.4)
Allobroges *fuga* *se* *ad* *Caesarem* *recipiunt*
Allobroges flight themselves to Caesar betake
'The Allobroges betake themselves in flight to Caesar.'

(13) (Catull. 13.1)
cenabis *bene,* *mi* *Fabulle,* *apud* *me*
you.will.dine well my Fabullus by me
'You will dine well at my place, my Fabullus.'

10. On the distribution of cases with prepositions in Latin, see Luraghi (1989; 2010).

11. A frequent non-spatial meaning of *apud* refers to an author's text, e.g. *apud Caesar* 'in Caesar's works', or to something typical of a group of human beings, e.g. *apud Gallos* 'among the Gauls', i.e. 'It is customary among the Gauls (…)'.

2.2 From Latin to Romance

The Romance languages variously continue the Latin prepositions *in* and *ad* (on reflexes of *apud* see below), but the distinction between spatial coincidence (*in*) vs. non-coincidence (*apud*/*ad*) no longer holds, for various reasons. In general, prepositions that correspond to Latin *in* occur with a landmark viewed as a container (as shown by Vandeloise (1994) for French),[12] but this is no longer the common way of indicating location or direction. For the sake of the present discussion, one can single out essentially two developments:

a. Prepositions deriving from *ad* may indicate coincidence in space, and often extend to expressions in which *in* would have been used in Latin. This happens for example in Italian and French, where the distribution of *in* (It.)/*dans* (Fr.) and *a* (It.)/*à* (Fr.) is lexically determined;
b. a new opposition is created between reflexes on *in*, only used for location, and reflexes of *ad*, only used for direction: this is the case of Spanish and Portuguese, in which the notion of spatial coincidence has lost part of its relevance on account of this new opposition.

In the next sections, I will show how these two developments affected the coding of spatial relations with human landmarks, and how different languages responded to the need of replacing the Latin opposition, which had been lost.

3. Grammaticalization of the word for 'home'

As I have already remarked with reference to Latin *apud*, in location expressions with human landmarks the area in the vicinity of the landmark tends to be interpreted as the landmark's habitual location, often as a person's home. This tendency is a consequence of the fact that, as remarked in Section 1, human landmarks are highly mobile entities: in this respect, a human being's habitual location provides a better landmark for spatial reference than the human being himself. Note further that our knowledge and beliefs regarding human beings include the fact that humans typically have a habitual space of their own (home, working place, etc.). These peculiarities of human landmarks have

12. In most Romance languages, prepositions which semantically correspond to Latin *in* are also etymologically connected with it (as e.g. Italian *in* or Spanish *en*); a notable exception is French, in which the meaning of Latin *in* is expressed by two different preposition, the etymologically related *en* and the newly created preposition *dans* (< Lat. *de* + *intus* '(from) inside', cf. It. and Sp. *dentro* 'inside'). While the former has dropped most spatial uses, *dans* is mainly used for spatial relation. Thus, for the purposes of this paper, I will only consider *dans*.

a direct reflex in the grammaticalization of the word for 'home', Late Latin *casa*, which took place to varying extents in several Romance languages. The best known example of this development is French.

In French, the Latin preposition *in* was substituted by *dans* in space expressions. The preposition *à*, which derives from *ad*, no longer implies, as it did in Latin, that a trajector does not occupy a portion of the space occupied by the landmark. Thus, the difference between (14) and (15) is simply a difference in profiling. Consider:

(14) *je suis dans l' école*
I am in the school
'I am inside the school.'

(15) *je suis à l' école*
I am at the school
'I am at school.'

With *dans* location in the interior of the landmark is focused on, even though the relation between landmark and trajector is basically the same in both examples (in much the same way as in the case of English *in* vs. *at* discussed in Section 1).

With human landmarks, *chez* is used both for location and for motion, as in (16); in addition, *de chez* is used in source expressions, as in (17):

(16) *je suis/vais chez mes parents*
I am/go at/to my parents
'I am at/am going to my parents(').'

(17) *je viens de chez mes parents*
I come from at my parents
'I am coming from my parents(' place).'

The occurrence of *chez* always implies that the trajector is not only near the landmark, but that it is located in the space at which the landmark is habitually located. Thus, for example, one can say (18):

(18) *Jean est resté chez ses parents après qu' ils*
John is remained at his parents after that they
sont sortis pour aller au cinéma
are gone.out for go to + the cinema
'John remained at his parents' after they left and went to the movies.'

In direction expressions, *chez* also indicates motion toward the habitual location of the landmark, as shown by occurrences such as (19):

(19) *je suis allé chez mon oncle, mais il n' était pas là*
I am gone to my uncle but he not was not there
'I went to my uncle('s place), but he wasn't there.'

Thus, a sentence like *Viens chez moi!* can only mean 'Come to my place!', unless special dialectal features allow a different interpretation,[13] and a sentence such as (20) is unacceptable for most speakers:

(20) ??*Jean a été /est allé chez le policier qui*
John has been /is gone at/to the policeman who
se tenait de l' autre côté de la rue
himself held at the other side of the road
'John was with/went to the policeman standing on the other side of the road.'

In order to express the meaning of the English translation of (20), one could use *vers* 'toward' (only in the variant with motion verb), but this preposition is not commonly used in the colloquial register. In colloquial French, one would use rather a periphrasis, such as *il a été/est allé le voir* 'he was/went to see him'.[14]

In the Gospels, the verbs *aller* 'go' and *venir* 'come' often take the preposition *à* even with human landmarks, as a translation of Latin *ad*. This is a common translation in the other Romance languages as well, even though reflexes of *ad* do not commonly occur in the spoken language with such verbs, and it reflects an older usage of these prepositions. Thus, in (21), a passage that I chose specifically because it cannot be interpreted as referring to the landmark's habitual location and thus is more problematic, all Romance languages have prepositions that derive from *ad*:[15]

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13. In Alsatian French, *chez* is commonly also employed as *to* in direction expressions with human landmarks, and it does not necessarily indicate motion toward the landmark's habitual location, but simply toward the landmarks. This is due to influence of German, where *zu* indicates direction with human landmarks, similarly to English *to*.

14. Note that *chez* has also taken up non-spatial meanings of Latin *apud* mentioned in footnote 9. Etymologically, Latin *apud* is reflected in French, as well as in a number of other Romance languages, such as Catalan, in the comitative preposition *avec* 'with' (< Lat. **apud hoque*), Catalan *amb*, which has replaced Latin *cum* reflected in the majority of Romance languages (It. *con*, Sp. *con*, Pt. *com* Rom. *cu*).

15. Versions of the Bible used for this example are *La Bible en français courant* (French, 1997; other four recent versions have the same translation; they include: *Traduction œcuménique de la Bible* (1975–1976), *La Bible dite la Colombe* (1978), *La Bible Parole de Vie* (2000), *La Nouvelle Bible Segond* (2002)); C.E.I. (Italian, 2008 revision of the 1971 original translation. In addition I also checked three revised versions of two Protestant translations: the 1990 revision of G. Luzzi (1925) and two revised versions of the 1607 G. Diodati translation, one published in 1991 in Italy and the other in 1994 by the Geneva Bible Society. Only this last one conforms to the Modern Standard Italian usage and translates "Lasciate che i bambini vengano *da* me"); *Nueva Versión Internacional* (Spanish 1979; among other recent versions, *La Biblia de las Américas* (1986) and the last revision of the Reina Valera of 1995 also have *vengan a mi*,

(21) (Mark 10:14)

Sinite parvulos venire ad me!	(Latin)
Let children come to me	
Laissez les enfants venir à moi!	(French)
Lasciate che i bambini vengano a me!	(Italian)
Dejen que los niños vengan a mi!	(Spanish)
Deixem as crianças vir a mim!	(Portguese)
Lăsați copilașii să vină la mine!	(Romanian)
'Let the little children come to me!'	

As we will see below, only the Romanian translation contains the preposition commonly used in the spoken language. All other translations, even though they are 20th century revised and updated versions, display a usage of prepositions which was possible at older stages of the languages (typically, these prepositions are used as in (21) in Medieval texts), but not today.

Grammaticalized forms of the word 'home' also occur in some other Romance varieties. In Catalan, the form *ca* is used to indicate a human being's habitual location, but its possible occurrence is restricted to expressions such as ***ca*** *la Maria* 'at Mary's', typically in restaurant names (cf. French *Chez Marie*). Some European Spanish vernacular varieties also display grammaticalized forms of the word for 'home', as shown in examples (22) and (23) (Toledan dialect):

(22) *Juan está enfermo, irá en cal médico*
John is ill he.will.go in *ca* + the doctor
'John is ill, he will go to the doctor.'

(23) *¿Dónde está Juan? En cal médico*
where is John in *ca* + the doctor
'Where is John? At the doctor's.'

Remarkably, *cal* (*ca* 'home' + *l* definite article) has not yet gone as far as French *chez* in the grammaticalization process, as shown by the fact that it is preceded by the preposition *en* 'in'. Note further that *en* in (21) is also used for direction, contrary to what we find in standard Spanish, in which *en* only indicates location (see Sections 5 and 6).

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while the *Traducción en lenguaje actual* published in 2000 has the verb *acercarse* 'come close' also with *a*: *se acerquen a mi*); *Nova Tradução na Linguagem de Hoje* (Portuguese, 2000; other recent versions have similar translations as far as the preposition is concerned; they include *Almeida Revista e Corrigida* (1995) and *Nova Versão Internacional* (2001)); and ⟨http://www.bibliaromana.com⟩ (Romanian, no version information).

4. Adverb/preposition meaning 'on the side', 'where'

4.1 Italian

In much the same way as in French, *a* (< Lat. *ad*) and *in* are no longer distinct in Italian, and both prepositions can indicate that a trajector is located in the interior of the landmark, or at least that there is some coincidence in space between the trajector and the landmark. The distribution of the two prepositions is lexically determined, and partly also depends on regional factors. City names take *a*, as in (24):

(24) *vado/sono a Parigi*
I.go/I.am to/at Paris
'I go to/am in Paris.'

Many other typical landmarks of spatial relations take *in*. Indefinite landmarks with *in* are non-referential, while definite ones are referential, as shown in (25) and (26):

(25) *vado/sono in ufficio*
I.go/I.am in office
'I go to/am at (my) office.'

(26) *vado/sono nell' ufficio*
I.go/I.am in + the office
'I go/am inside the office.'

With human landmarks, the preposition *da* occurs, both in location and in direction expressions, as shown in (27):

(27) *Giovanni è / è andato dal dottore*
John is / is gone to + the doctor
'John is/went to the doctor.'

This preposition may indicate location at or motion toward the habitual location of the landmark, as shown by the possibility of (28), but it does not necessarily do so, as shown in (29):

(28) *Paola è andata dal medico, ma non lo ha trovato*
Paola is gone to + the doctor but not him has found
'Paola went to + the doctor's but didn't find him.'

(29) *Giovanni è andato dal poliziotto che stava*
John is gone to + the policeman that stood
dall' altra parte della strada
at + the other side of + the street
'John went to the policeman who was standing across the street.'

With inanimate landmarks, *da* is also used, but with a completely different meaning: it means, 'from' and indicates source, as in (30):

(30) *i bambini stanno tornando da scuola*
the children stand coming.back from school
'The children are coming back from school.'

This preposition, which is typical of Italian and has no correspondence in any other Romance language, originated from a double preposition in Late Latin, that is *de* + *ab*. Both *de* and *ab* mean 'from' and they were both used in source expressions, even though *ab* was more frequent in local usages in Classical Latin. Later, *ab* was replaced by *de*: indeed, source prepositions of the other Romance languages typically derive from *de*, and Italian *da* preserves the only partial reflex of *ab*. Already in Latin, *ab* could occasionally indicate location on the side of a landmark (thus implying that no portion of space is shared by the trajector and the landmark), especially with nouns denoting regions of space, as in (31):[16]

(31) (Matthew 27:38)
tunc crucifixi sunt cum eo duo latrones unus
then crucified are with him two robbers one
a dextris et unus a sinistris
from right and one from left
'Then there were two robbers crucified with him, one on his right hand and one on the left.'

Cross-linguistically, extension form source to location as shown in (31) is not infrequent: often, source adverbials can be employed in expressions that indicate static location away from a landmark (as in English *to be away from*). A source expression implies that a trajector moves away from a landmark along a trajectory. From the point of view of an observer, the trajector has two salient features; it is moving and it is separated from the landmark. If only the second feature is focused on, source expressions come to have the meaning shown in (30). This semantic extension is represented in Figures 3a and 3b:[17]

16. This usage is also attested in Classical Latin; see Luraghi (2009b; 2010) for more examples and discussion.

17. Reflexes of the extension from source to location with nouns such as 'side' also exist in the other Romance languages, cf. French *Il habite* ***de l'autre côté*** *de la rue* 'He lives on (lit. from) the other side of the street' and example (45) from Portuguese.

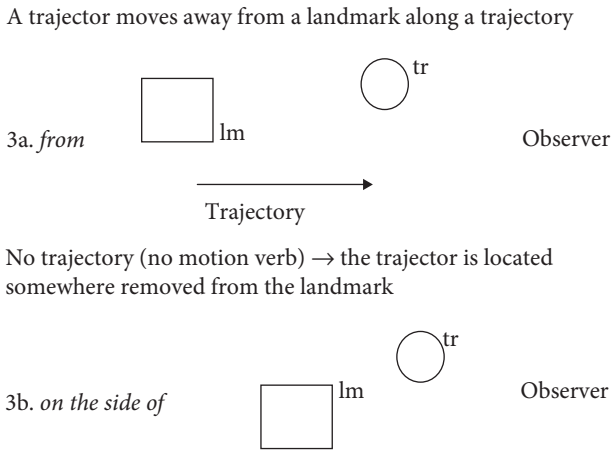

Figure 3. From source to location

In Medieval Italian, *da* could indicate location on the side of an inanimate landmark, and had not yet extended to human landmarks. Indeed, with human landmarks another preposition occurred, *appo*, which directly continued Latin *apud*, as shown in (32), while direction was indicated by *a*, in much the same way as with inanimate landmarks, as shown in (33):

(32) (Boccaccio Decam. 1.3)

Ordinò che colui de' suoi figliuoli appo il quale
he.ordered that the.one of+the his children by which

…fosse questo anello trovato…
were this ring found

'He ordered that the one among his children, at whose place this ring would be found, (…)'

(33) (Dante Inf. 2.117)

E venni a te così com' ella volse.
and I.came to you so as she wished
'And I came to you so as she wished.'

Later, *appo* disappeared, and *da* extended to human landmarks in location expressions; only at a later stage did it also replace *a* in direction expressions with human landmarks.[18] In Modern Italian, with inanimate landmarks location can be coded through *da* only with the words *parte* and *lato* 'side' (that is, with more restrictions than in

18. See Luraghi (2009b) for details and further references on this diachronic development.

Medieval Italian); in general, *da* indicates source with inanimate landmarks. The expression of source with human landmarks is marginal in Italian, as shown in (34):[19]

(34) *vengo da Giovanni /vengo dal parrucchiere*
I.come *da* John /I.come *da* + the hairstylist
'I come to/*from John./I come to/? from the hairstylist.'

4.2 Spanish

In colloquial Spanish *adonde* or *a donde*, in origin formed with the preposition *a* 'to' and the adverb *donde* 'where', can indicate direction with human landmarks. In addition, *donde* can indicate location. There is a tendency to replace *adonde* with *donde* also in direction expressions, which is stronger in a number of South American Spanish varieties,[20] in which one only finds the form *donde* consistently used with human landmarks both for direction and for location. Thus, the distinction that one regularly finds with inanimate landmarks in all Spanish varieties, described in Section 5.1, between *en* = location vs. *a* = direction remains with human landmarks as far as *donde* is opposed to *adonde*, but it has disappeared by now in many spoken (and partly also written, see fn. 20) varieties, as shown in (35) and (36):

(35) *quedate donde él hasta que no llegue María*
stay where he until that not comes Mary
'Stay at his place until Mary comes.'

(36) *anda donde él y le dices que cosa piensas*
go where he and him you.tell what you.think
'Go to him and tell him what you think.'

Clearly, *donde* indicates the space surrounding the precise point where a human landmark is located, but it is not restricted to habitual location, as shown in (37):

(37) *Juan ha ido donde el policía que estaba en*
John has gone where the policeman who stood in

19. An anonymous reviewer wonders whether it is really impossible to express 'I come from John' in Italian: indeed, it is impossible in this form, and the only possibility is to refer to the landmark's habitual space: *Vengo da casa/dall'ufficio di Giovanni* 'I come from John's home/office.' etc. Note however that this makes source expressions non-symmetrical with direction expressions, since *Vengo da Giovanni* 'I come to John' does not necessarily refer to the landmark's habitual space.

20. The examples have been provided by a Peruvian informant. In Peruvian Spanish, *donde* is also used in the same way in the literary language. The extent to which *donde* (or *adonde*) is used with human landmarks may not be the same in all South American varieties in which it occurs; in Peninsular Spanish its usage is limited to colloquial varieties.

el otro lado de la calle
the other side of the street
'John went to the policeman who was standing across the street.'

In certain cases of habitual location other than home, not only *donde* but also the same prepositions (*en* and *a*) which are used with inanimate landmarks can occur with human ones, as in (38), (39) and (40):

(38) *Juan está enfermo, esta noche irá al médico*
John is ill this night will.go to + the doctor
'John is ill, he'll go to the doctor tonight.'

(39) *¿Donde está Juan? Donde el médico*
where is John where the doctor
'Where's John? At the doctor's.'

(40) *María está en el panadero*
Mary is in the baker
'Mary is at the baker's.'

I will discuss such occurrences in more detail in Section 6.

5. Extension of comitative

5.1 The reflexes of *in* and *ad* in Portuguese and Spanish

Comitative prepositions are extended to direction and location with human landmarks especially in European Portuguese and in Spanish. Since patterns of syncretism between comitative and direction and between comitative and location are considerably different, I will describe them separately. Before doing so, I will briefly survey the use of space prepositions with inanimate landmarks, which is similar in the two languages.

In Portuguese and Spanish,[21] location and direction with inanimate landmarks are kept distinct in coding, whereby Portuguese *em* and Spanish *en* (< Latin *in*) only code location, as in (41), while *a* (<Lat. *ad*) codes direction, as in (42). With habitual locations other than home, the same prepositions may also be used with human landmarks, as in (43) and (44):

(41) Portuguese
a. *Paula mora em Paris*
Paula stays in Paris

21. The description in this section reflects standard varieties of European and Brazilian Portuguese, as well as of European and Latin American Spanish.

Spanish

b. *Paula vive en París*
Paula lives in Paris
'Paula lives in Paris.'

(42) Portuguese

a. *Paula foi a Paris*
Paula went to Paris

Spanish

b. *Paula fue a París*
Paula went to Paris
'Paula went to Paris.'

(43) Portuguese

a. *Onde está o João? No médico.*
where is the John in + the doctor

Spanish

b. *¿Dónde está Juan? En el médico.*
where is John in the doctor
'Where's John? At the doctor's.'

(44) Portuguese

a. *o João está doente, vai ao médico esta noite*
the John is ill will.go to + the doctor this night

Spanish

b. *Juan está enfermo, irá al médico esta noche*
John is ill will.go to + the doctor this night
'John is ill, he'll go to the doctor tonight.'

5.2 Direction

In European Portuguese, direction with human landmarks is coded through a special comitative expression *ter com* which literally means 'have/hold with', and is only used for this purpose, both when it indicates motion toward the landmark's habitual location as in (45), and when it does not, as in (46):

(45) *o ano passado fui à Alemanha ter com os* meus amigos
the year past I.went to Germany have with the my friends
'Last year I went to Germany to (visit) my friends.'

(46) *o João foi ter com o polícia que estava*
the John went have with the policeman who he.stood

do *outro* *lado* *da* *rua*
from + the other side of + the street
'John went to the policeman who was standing across the street.'

As shown in Pinto de Lima (ms.), this construction did not exist in Medieval Portuguese, in which, however, the verb *ter* could mean 'stay', 'be'. The construction then originated from reanalysis of an older construction, with the meaning '(go) be with smb'. Grammaticalization of the construction was accomplished only after the 16th century: this explains why it does not occur in Brazilian Portuguese. Note further that *ter com* can only be used with human landmarks and indicate direction, in other words, if one needs to indicate comitative, one would use *com* 'with', and no ambiguity arises between the two roles.

In Spanish the comitative preposition *con* can extend to direction, as shown in (47) and (48):

(47) *vete con él y dile qué piensas*
go with him and tell = him what you.think
'Go to him and tell him what you think.'

(48) *los muchachos han ido con la maestra y*
the children have gone with the teacher and
le han dado el libro
her have given the book
'The children went to the teacher and gave her the book.'

In the examples above, *ir con* does not mean 'go with', 'go get together with', but 'go to'. Extension of comitative to direction may vary depending on the specific variety; (49) is from a Mexican informant:

(49) *Maria llevó a los niños al /con el doctor*
Mary took OBJ the children to + the /with the doctor
'Mary took the children to the doctor.'[22]

The extension form comitative to direction is made possible by changing focus in the relation profiled by the comitative preposition. A comitative expression with a motion verb normally indicates that two entities (commonly, two human beings), move together along a trajectory, as in Figure 4a. When comitative extends to direction, the landmark is viewed as being positioned at the end of the trajectory, and the comitative

22. Apparently, (49) indicates a real difference between the two varieties, since, according to a Spanish informant, if the human landmark can be located inside a closed location (as in the case of a doctor's office) only comitative reading is possible.

relation only holds after the trajector has finished moving along the trajectory, as shown in Figure 4b:

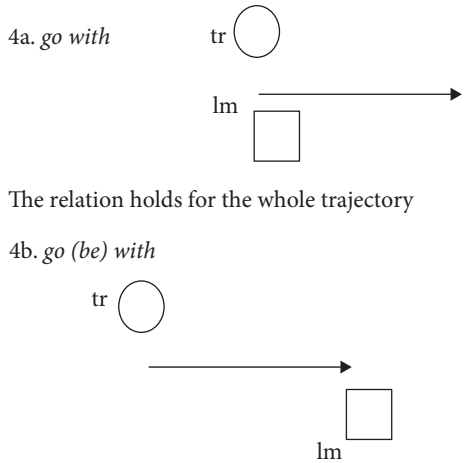

Figure 4. From comitative to direction

This extension in Spanish is not obligatory in the case of *ir con*, which in some occurrences indicates a real comitative, as in (50):[23]

(50) *¿Te gustaría venir conmigo?*
you.OBL would.like come with + me
'Would you like to come with me?'

In addition, in Spanish the preposition *a* may still be used to indicate direction with human landmarks. Acceptability judgments vary depending on the context and on the individual speaker. Thus, in (51):

(51) *Juan ha ido al policía que estaba al*
John has gone to + the policeman who he.stood to + the
otro lado de la calle ?? (y le ha dicho que…)
other side of the street (and him has told that…)
'John went to the policeman who was standing across the street (and told him that…)'

23. Note that judgments vary among speakers as to the type of context which may trigger comitative or direction meaning. Thus the following sentence was given by an informant as the appropriate translation for direction, but it was rejected by a second informant: *El niño fue con el profesor [y le dijo (…)]* 'The child went to/with the teacher [and told him (…)]'.

European informants accept the extended version, while they tend not to accept the sentence in isolation.[24]

5.3 Location

In the case of location, potential use of comitative prepositions is based on an inference: if someone is located near another person, normally a comitative relation also holds.[25] Thus, in the absence of a dedicated preposition for location 'in the vicinity of a human landmark' (such as Italian *da*, Spanish *donde* and, to a slightly more limited extent, French *chez*), comitative prepositions are used in Spanish and Portuguese:

(52) Spanish

Juan estuvo con el policía que estaba al
John was with the policeman who stood to + the
otro lado de la calle y le pidió que le ayudara
other side of the street and him asked that him helped
'John was with/by the policeman who was standing on the other side of the road and asked him for help.'

(53) Portuguese

fica com ele até a Maria chegar
stay with him until the Mary come
'Stay with him/at his place until Mary comes.'

---

24. Note however that a Chilean informant finds this sentence unacceptable in any case, since he only accepts *a* in direction expressions with human landmarks in the case that motion is directed toward the landmark's habitual location.

25. Stolz et al. (2006: 140) remark that "Comitative is sometimes understood as being based on a concept which comprises two entities which are co-present in the same space." Such a conceptualization provides a connection between location and comitative. Even though synchronically syncretism of comitative and locative is relatively infrequent, as pointed out by Stolz et al. (2006: 140–147, 361), there is evidence for derivation of comitative markers from location markers, as shown for example in a number of Romance languages, such as French and Catalan (see above, footnote 14), or in Ancient Greek, see Luraghi (2001) and (2005). Remarkably, all these developments involve prepositions which were especially frequent with human landmarks before extending to comitative: the extension for comitative to location described in this section attests to the contrary development.

Note, however, that locative usage of *con* and *com* is limited to occurrences in which both comitative and locative are acceptable. Thus, (54) may have a locative meaning, while (55) cannot:

(54) *Pablo vive con mi hermana*
Paul lives with my sister
'Paul lives with my sister/at my sister's place.'

(55) *Pablo durmió con mi hermana*
Paul slept with my sister
'Pablo slept with my sister/?? at my sister's place.'

It is remarkable that verbs that trigger the locative interpretation are all verbs that require some location expression, such as 'be', 'live', 'abide'. This explains why (56) is possible (even though it has not the same meaning as (55)), whereas (57) is not, unless another location is indicated:

(56) a. *pablo durmió y mi hermana durmió*
paul slept and my sister slept
'Paul slept and my sister slept.'

b. *Pablo y mi hermana durmieron*
Paul and my sister slept
'Paul and my sister slept.'

(57) ??*Pablo vive y mi hermana vive* ??*Pablo y mi*
Paul lives and my sister lives Paul and my
hermana viven (OK: *en Paris*)
sister live in Paris
'Paul lives and my sister lives/Paul and my sister live (in Paris).'

6. Generalization of the same marker

In Romanian, Latin *ad* is reflected in a new preposition, *la* (< *illac ad*), while *in* continues as *în*. Semantically, the two prepositions do not continue the Latin distinction between exterior/interior location, similarly to Italian and French. However, contrary to what happened in Italian and French, the disappearance of this opposition does not prevent direction and location with human landmarks from being coded in the same way as with inanimate landmarks, when *la* is used. The preposition *la* is commonly used with both human and inanimate landmarks, even in cases in which the trajector is located inside the landmark; *în* is limited to inanimate landmarks, and the distribution of *în* and *la* is lexically conditioned (an example of *în* is given in (64)). As

compared to Latin, *la* occurs in contexts where *ad* was used, including with human landmarks, as shown in examples (62)–(65), and it has extended to some of the contexts in which *in* occurred, as shown in examples (58)–(61):

(58) *Paula a plecat la Paris*
Paula has gone to Paris
'Paula went to Paris.'

(59) *Paula locuieşte la Paris*
Paula lives in Paris
'Paula lives in Paris.'

(60) *copiii merg la şcoală*
children = the go to school = the
'The children are going to school.'

(61) *copiii sunt la şcoală*
children = the are to school = the
'The children are at school.'

(62) *dute la el şi spunei ce gîndeşti*
go = you to him and tell = him what think
'Go to him and tell him what you think.'

(63) *rămîi la el pînă ajunge Maria*
stay at him until comes Mary
'Stay at his place until Mary comes.'

(64) *cînd eram în Germania stăteam la prietenii mei*
when I.was in Germany I.stayed at friends = the my
'When I was in Germany I stayed with my friends/at my friends' place.'

In practice, Romanian is partly similar to Italian and French, in extending *la*, which is the reflex of Latin *ad*, to contexts in which the trajector and the landmark partially coincide in space, but it is distinct from the other two languages, because it allows *la* to occur with human landmarks. A reason for this might lie in the fact that the reflexes of *ad* in Italian and French (that is, *a*/*à*) typically indicate the indirect object. Since indirect objects are mostly recipients, and recipients are typically human, the degree of polysemy of *a* with human referents might be too high if it also indicated spatial relations.[26]

26. Languages vary as to whether they express direction with human landmarks with the same marker which encodes the indirect object or with a different marker. In any case, polysemy of direction and indirect object is well attested, as indicated by various authors (see e.g. Blansitt 1988), and it can appear in various configurations, including: human direction = inanimate direction = recipient (Turkish), human direction = recipient ≠ inanimate direction (Korean),

Indeed, *la* does not code the indirect object in Romanian. The indirect object is coded through the dative/genitive case instead; pronouns and articles are inflected, as shown in example (65):

(65) Italian

a. *la maestra dà il libro ai bambini*
the teacher gives the book to+the children

French

b. *la maîtresse donne le livre aux enfants*
the teacher gives the book to+the children

Romanian

c. *învățătoarea dă copiilor cartea*
teacher=the gives children=the.DAT book=the
'The teacher gives the children the book.'

However, as noted above, at least in the case of direction, *a* and *à* were still used with human landmarks in Medieval Italian and Medieval French, in spite of the fact that they had already extended to indirect object (see above, Section 2.2 and example (21); the extension had already started in Late Latin). Indeed, syncretism of direction with human landmarks and indirect object/recipient is not at all infrequent, and it occurs, for example in English, as well as in numerous other languages (Kittilä & Luraghi 2009). Thus, no conclusion can be reached without an in-depth investigation of the historical development in the various languages.

7. Summary and conclusion

In this paper, I have reviewed the various ways in which location and direction relative to human landmarks are coded in Latin and in a number of Romance languages. I have argued that, among peculiarities of human landmarks, one that has special reflexes in these languages is constituted by the fact that a human landmark cannot normally be conceived as being (partly) coincident in space with a trajector. In Latin, prepositions commonly found in location and direction expressions were *in* with the ablative (location) or the accusative (direction), which indicate spatial coincidence of the trajector and the landmark, and *apud* (mostly location) and *ad* (mostly direction), which indicate that there is no spatial coincidence between the trajector and the landmark,

animate direction ≠ recipient = inanimate direction (Finnish, the Romance languages except for Romanian), animate direction = inanimate direction ≠ recipient (Romanian), and animate direction ≠ inanimate direction ≠ recipient (Basque); see Kittilä & Luraghi (2009).

and were commonly used with human landmarks. In the Romance languages, we find reflexes of *in* and *ad*, but the above opposition no longer holds. Thus, location and direction with human landmarks need to be coded differently. The Romance languages display a wide array of different patterns; in some of them, variation is especially wide among varieties and individual speakers.

Note that the data analyzed in this paper show that the reflexes of Latin *in* (as well as its French equivalent *dans*) all indicate a partial coincidence of the trajector with the landmark. Apparently, there is no difference in this respect between Italian and French on one hand, and Spanish and Portuguese on the other hand. However, it might be expected that a difference exists. Indeed, as I have remarked above, in Spanish and Portuguese a new opposition between reflexes of *in* and of *ad* has emerged, whereby the former indicate location, while the latter indicates direction. Thus, it might be that the feature of spatial coincidence has lost part of its relevance, and that the meaning of the preposition has become more generic. I have not gone deeper into this issue; however, I would like to mention that this sort of semantic bleaching has apparently occurred in substandard Brazilian Portuguese, in which it is possible to use *em* with human landmarks. However, it is unclear whether this extension is connected with the opposition between *em* and *a* based on location vs. direction: in fact, *em* encodes both location and direction in substandard varieties, as shown in (66):[27]

(66) Brazilian Portuguese
vou/estou na Camila
I.go/I.am in + the Camilla
'I go to/am by Camilla.'

This is only one of the numerous issues that remain open, and that would deserve to be pursued further, both synchronically and diachronically.

Abbreviations

ABL ablative
ACC accusative
OBL oblique
OBJ object
DAT dative

27. It must be remarked that reflexes of Latin in are apparently used for direction in substandard varieties of both Portuguese and Spanish, as shown in examples (21) and (22).

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