INTRODUCTION

Why is the diachrony of spatial items so special? Why did it attract so much attention in the last centuries? It seems that, as we said in the previous sections, spatial words – which are by the way often best described in functional rather than geometric terms – can take on all kinds of meanings. Of course, semantic and pragmatic extensions are not restricted to spatial words: evolutions from TIME to various logical meanings such as CAUSE, CONSEQUENCE, CONCESSION are very frequent indeed (Dancygier & Sweetser 2000, Marchello-Nizia 2007, 2009). Besides, as we will see in section VI.1, spatial markers have various possible origins. However, the frequency and variety of semantic extensions having a spatial starting point is quite overwhelming, be they temporal (VI.2) or abstract (VI.3).

VI.1. ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF SPATIAL MARKERS

VI.1.1 ADNOMINALS

We deal here with relational markers, spatial nouns, and adpositions, to the exclusion of toponyms and verbs. Deictics are dealt with in section VI.1.2. Our goal is to give an account of their origin –what type of word, with what meaning?– and some possible outcomes: what do adpositions or deictics become if they grammaticalize further?

VI.1.1.1 ORIGIN of adnominals

Svorou (1993, sample of 55 languages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body parts</th>
<th>FRONT</th>
<th>Chest, waist</th>
<th>BETWEEN, MIDDLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eye, face, forehead, mouth, head, breast, chest</td>
<td>BACK / UNDER</td>
<td>Eye, face</td>
<td>TO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back, buttocks, anus, loins</td>
<td>SIDE</td>
<td>In hand</td>
<td>FROM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flank, ribs, abdomen, heart, ear</td>
<td>EDGE</td>
<td>Heart, body</td>
<td>NEAR, BESIDE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth, forehead</td>
<td>INSIDE</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>TOP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart, stomach, blood, mouth, neck</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Heine’s survey (1989, on a sample of 125 African languages), body parts are by far the most frequent source of relational markers, especially for FRONT and BACK. The association of ‘head’ words with ON is pervasive (other lexical sources, like ‘shoulder’, are marginal).
Some languages seem to rely exclusively on body parts for the purpose of lexicalizing spatial relations (e.g. Western Nilotic languages of the Nilo-Saharan family; Heine 1989: 98).

The importance of the body for spatial words in language was also noted by Cifuentes Honrubia (1989: 34), Lyons (1977), Cassirer (1972: 124)…: the human body with its parts is the referential system to which all spatial distinctions are brought back.

An example of noun > adposition grammaticalization following this trend is Ewe megbé ‘behind, after, mentally retarded’ (Heine et al. 1991: 172-3): OBJECT/PERSON ‘back of body’ (possessive marker, NP) > OBJECT ‘back part’ (possessive marker optional, NP) > OBJECT/SPACE ‘place behind’ (possessive marker optional, NP/AdvP) > OBJECT/TIME (id.) > SPACE (possessive marker absent, AdvP) > TIME (id.) (and further semantic evolution > QUALITY ‘retarded’, possessive marker absent, AdjP). Since constructions associated with OBJECT and SPACE are sometimes identical (cf. the optionality of the possessive marker), megbé may refer in the same sentence to a part or a region:

(1) dzra x-á fé megbé qó.
Prepare house-DEF POSS back ready
‘Prepare the back wall of / the place behind the house.’ (Heine et al. 1991: 162)

Body parts involve two models: an anthropomorphic one (by far dominant) and a zoomorphic one, which is typically based on a quadruped’s body, as is apparent from the fact that its mapping from body parts to regions follows a characteristic pattern: back (not ‘head’) > UP / TOP, head > FRONT, buttocks, anus > BACK, belly > DOWN / BOTTOM. According to Heine, the zoomorphic model is characteristic of pastoralist societies (1989: 91-2) and is never exclusive of the anthropomorphic model. However, Svorou observes that the zoomorphic model is also found in non pastoralist societies (for ex. in the Mixtec culture, cf. Brugman 1983).

Environmental landmarks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sky, heaven</th>
<th>TOP</th>
<th>Further bank</th>
<th>OPPOSITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ground, earth, soil</td>
<td>BOTTOM, UNDER</td>
<td>Dam</td>
<td>ACROSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shore, land, house, hole</td>
<td>INSIDE</td>
<td>Shore, coastline</td>
<td>ALONG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Track, trail, footprint</td>
<td>BACK</td>
<td>Riverside</td>
<td>SIDE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doorway, field</td>
<td>OUTSIDE, FRONT</td>
<td>Canyon</td>
<td>MEDIAL (VIA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road</td>
<td>VIA, THROUGH, TOWARDS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB: the ‘landmark’ quality of footprint may seem less obvious.

1 The term zoomorphic was suggested by Haspelmath.
An example of noun > adposition chain following these lines is Zulu *phezulu kwaz‘on, on/at the top of’ in e.g. *Inkomishi iphezu kwafula ‘The cup is on the table’, which comes from the noun *izulu ‘sky’ (Taylor 1996: 287, 304).

Heine (1989) notes that UNDER is frequently expressed with words meaning ‘ground’, ‘earth’ or ‘soil’ and exemplifies a rather exceptional case where the landmark model constitutes the major source of lexicalization of a relational concept. The landmark model is also an important lexical source for ON, although to a lesser extent than for UNDER (with words meaning ‘sky’, ‘heaven’ etc.). For ex., Bantu languages typically exhibit the ff pattern:

ON < ‘sky’
UNDER < ‘soil / earth / ground’
IN < ‘belly / stomach’
FRONT < ‘eye / face / forehead / breast’
BACK < ‘back’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>AT</th>
<th>Pass</th>
<th>VIA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Be at, sit, live</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See, take, go, come</td>
<td>ALLATIVE</td>
<td>Fall</td>
<td>DOWN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exit, leave, go</td>
<td>ABLATIVE</td>
<td>Rise, climb</td>
<td>UP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Enter</td>
<td>INTERIOR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Co-verbs” of serial verb constructions are a major source of adpositions. They may evolve into adpositions along the following stages:

Serial-verb

> co-verb (the co-verb can still be found in its predicate function)
> adposition (where this function has been lost).

In Ewe, the criterion for distinguishing prepositions and the verbs they have evolved from is their non occurrence with the habitual suffix -na (Ameka & Essegbey 2006).

Peyraube (2006) argues that a handful of Chinese directional verbs function as “grammatical elements” (prepositions) of “directional constructions”. They disallow any conjunction between V1 and V2 (for ex. *paojin ‘run-enter’ i.e. ‘run in’ or *paochulai ‘run+exit+come’ i.e. ‘run out (this way)’). These verbs form a closed set (shang ‘go up’ > ‘up, on’; xia ‘go down’ > ‘down’; jin ‘enter’ > ‘in’; chu ‘exit’ > ‘out’; qi ‘rise’ > ‘up’; hui ‘return’ > ‘back’; guo ‘pass’ > ‘over’). Two other verbs can function as directionals (lai ‘come’ > ‘hither’; gu ‘go, thither’):

(2) ʃi-ɕi xu ʃi mɔtoɔ}s ×xing.
     fly-exit one owl
‘An owl flies out.’ [ɕi ‘exit’ > ‘out’]

In European languages, spatial (simple and complex) adpositions are commonly based on the anthropomorphic and environmental model, as well as on verbs:

- anthropomorphic: English *in front of*, Old French *lez* ‘to the side of’ (< Latin *latus* ‘flank’), Catalan *a la vora de* ‘near’ (< Latin *os, oris* ‘mouth’), German *im Herzen + G* ‘in the heart of’, etc.
- environmental: Italian *fuori* ‘outside’ (< Latin *foris* ‘door’), tramite ‘through’ (< Latin *trames* ‘path’), Catalan *damunt* ‘above’ (< Latin *mons* ‘mountain’), etc.
VI.1.1.2 FROM LEXEMES TO ADPOSITIONS AND BEYOND
Semantic evolution of noun-based spatial markers
Svorou (1993: 90):

Ex.: English front: 13th century: ‘forehead’ (< Latin frons); 14th: extended to intrinsic parts of objects, for ex. buildings; 17th: in the front of: location adjacent to (in contact with) intrinsic part; 18th century: location near the front part of an object. > in front of (phonological and morphological reduction as a result of grammaticalization).

Similar evolution reconstructed for Swahili mbele ‘front’ (< mu- locative class prefix + *-bele ‘breast’, still found in the animal body part noun kiwele ‘udder’; Heine 1989: 101-2)

> relational part of object:
(3) mbele ya gari lake ni nyeusi.
front of car his is black
‘The front part of his car is dirty.’

> adjacent location:
(4) taa ziko mbele ya gari.
lamps are front of car
‘The lights are on the front part of the car.’

> location in the region of the relational part:
(5) gari liko mbele.
car is front
‘The car is in front.’

A similar example (Breast>Front) is found e.g. in Medieval Italian: a rimpetto di “(lit.) at the breast of” > “in front of, opposite”.

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Part VI – Diachrony.

- verbs: French vers ‘towards’ (< Latin vero ‘turn’), après ‘after’ (< Latin pressum ‘squeezed, pressed’), Occitan & Catalan tocant (a) ‘near’ (< Late Latin *toccare ‘hit’), Latin secundum ‘along’ (on sequor ‘follow’), sursum ‘above’ < subvorsum ‘upside down’ on subvertere ‘upend’.

However, the zoomorphic model is, to my knowledge, not attested.

Other grammaticalization chains are possible, e.g. Adjective > adverb > adposition: bassius ‘lower’ > Iberian Romance bassiu(m) > Sp. bajo, debajo and Port. baixo, debaixo ‘under, below’. Lat. inferā / superā parte > infra / supra.
Semantically, the grammaticalization of a body-part into an adposition entails a process of schematization, as demonstrated by Svorou; this is the case for instance of à côté de “to the side of”, which initially designated the sides and now simply means that an object is near another one, with no notion of front/back.

**Grammaticalization and categorial evolution of noun-based spatial markers**

The evolution from lexical items to adpositions and beyond could be described as follows (following Lehmann 1985: 311):  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>free construction (0)</th>
<th>fixed construction (1)</th>
<th>simple morpheme (2)</th>
<th>grammatical morpheme (3)</th>
<th>ø (4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Hoffmann (2005) adds the possibility of **grammaticalization by analogy**, for complex adpositions, on the basis of an existing construction. He shows that, in English, complex adpositions can develop according to two very different patterns, ‘normal’ grammaticalization, i.e. a slow process involving all typical features of grammaticalization, or grammaticalization by analogy, which goes much faster, and is not characterized all grammaticalization features, especially frequency (ibid: 140 sqq.).

Svorou (1993: 101) & Heine (1989: 109) argue that the evolution of noun-based spatial markers goes through a branching path. Adpositions may either issue from adverbs or from nominal genitival constructions:

According to Svorou (1993):
- Adpositional constructions derive from genitive constructions if they have the forms: (Prep GEN N) or (Prep-GEN N) or (N GEN PostP).
- Adpositional constructions derive from adverbial constructions if they have the forms: (Prep N-GEN) or (Prep N) or (N-GEN PostP) or (N PostP) (Svorou 1993: 104).

Thus, in Latin, most of the recently coined prepositions come from adverbia! uses of nouns, generally in genitive constructions such as [Adv (= inflected noun) + [NP,GEN]] such as causā + genitive ‘because of’. The complement sometimes takes another case; cōram ‘openly, in public’ for instance is followed by a noun in the dative as in cōram generō meō ‘in the presence of my son-in-law’ (Meillet 1948: 521-7). The evolution from genitive construction to adposition can be illustrated with Spanish encima de la mesa > encima la mesa (both attested), from Latin cyma ‘bud of cabbage’ (< Greek kûma ‘swollen thing’). Cf. also Lat. ripa ‘bank’ > Sp. adv. arriba > complex prep. arriba de ‘above’.

The evolution that leads from genitive constructions to adpositions sometimes goes in the reverse direction. In Italian, the prep. sotto ‘under’ can be integrated into a genitive construction (al di sotto del livello del terreno ‘under the ground level’, il di sotto ‘the part below, the underside’).
Region vs Part: Nouns used as spatial nouns frequently lose some referential markers, and apparently more so when they refer to regions rather than to parts (cf. English ‘in front of’, with no determiner, vs ‘at the front of’; in Chamus, the noun *n-kořiŋŋ* ‘back’ loses its gender prefix *n-* when used as a locative adverb ‘behind’; Heine 1989: 105; already noticed by Talmy 1983 and others).

Cf. also Ameka (2007: 1072) who claims that Likpe *asú̂* ‘surface’ is more grammaticalized than *kafó* ‘inside’ on the ground that *asú̂* is juxtaposed to the Ground nominal, whereas *kafó* still occurs with an optional possessive linker. Finally, *áko* ‘vicinity’ which obligatorily occurs with a possessive linker would be even less grammaticalized.

(6) *ló ɔ̠-pʊn̥əsú̂.*
   LOC CM-table surface
   ‘on the table.’

(7) *lí ɔ̠-lɔ̠tsyi* (eto) *kafó.*
   LOC CM-pot POSS inside
   ‘in the pot.’

Grammaticalization and reanalysis: In languages with overt case, Lehmann (2002: 69) claims that “relational nouns” (in part, spatial nouns) evolve to adpositions via a reanalysis which separates the relational noun from its “possessor”:

[[NP-GEN N<sub>rel</sub> -CASE] > [[NP-GEN] Adposition-CASE]]

Once this reanalysis has occurred, “the removal of the syntactic boundary between the relational noun and the case marker clears the way for their subsequent coalescence” (Lehmann 2002: 70). This coalescence indicates that the noun incorporates a topological relation (cf. *in-steάd*, Ger. *infolge* ‘as a consequence of’).

Alternatively, relational nouns may lose their case. Constructions like the following in Japanese clear the way for the above reanalysis. The relational nouns bear no case:

(8) *ginkoo wa taisikan no mukoo / mae / yoko / temae / migi (ni) desu.*
   bank TOP embassy GEN yonder.part / front / side / this.side / right.side D COP

The counterpart to coalescence is in this case the loss of the top. adp. (German *zum Trotz* > *trotz* ‘despite’).

BEYOND ADPOSITIONAL USES

Adpositions can develop many different uses in the course of their grammaticalization. Since these uses are not spatial, we will not deal with them extensively, but give instead a list of possible outcomes.

They can be used as relational preverbs, bound to the verbal head. Craig and Hale (1988; cf. Imbert & Grinevald 2008) propose that some postpositions of Chibchan Maya had evolved (and are still evolving) to relational preverbs in circumstances where the postposition has lost its argument through zero anaphora and has been stranded. A case in point is *ka* ‘from’:

(9) *naing taata ka na-ngalbi-u*
   my father from I-run-PAST
   ‘I ran away from my father.’

When the complement is omitted, e.g. in case of zero anaphora, the postposition is cliticized to the verb:
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(10) Ø ka-na-ngalbi-u

(him) from-I-run-PAST

‘I ran away from (him).’

They argue that, at a more advanced stage of grammaticalization, the postposition would remain in preverbal position in spite of the fact that its argument is overt, as is the case for *yu* ‘with’:

(11) naing taata ngabang yu-i-siik-I nguu-ki

my father silkgrass with-he-come-TNS house-in

‘My father brings (< come+with) the silkgrass (PATIENT) in the house.’

Such “incorporated relational preverbs” (as they call them) correspond to applicative constructions in other languages.

Nichols (1986) labels this process “headward migration” and gives examples in Chechen and Abkhaz (but she argues that migration can be triggered even if the adposition’s argument is overt; cf. also Lehmann 2002: 91\(^2\)).

Imbert (2009) claims that Homeric Greek exhibits the same pattern: there are relational preverbs whose argument takes the same case as the corresponding preposition (*kata* ‘down’ is analyzed as a directional satellite, not as a relational preverb: it does not govern an argument):

(12) toì méga teîkhos huper-kat-ebe:san homílo:i

DEM.NOM.PL great.ACC wall.ACC over-down-walk.AOR.3PL throng.DAT

‘(The Troyans) who had got down over the great wall in their multitude.’ [the prep. *huper* takes an ACC]

“Incorporated relational preverbs” no longer command the same case as their prepositional counterpart. They represent a more advanced stage of grammaticalization:

(13) táphron d’ ek-dia-bántes orukén

ditch.ACC LNK out-through-walk.PART.AOR.3PL digged:ACC

‘So they walked through and out (from) the digged ditch.’ [the prep. *ek* commands the GEN]

There is thus a cline of grammaticalization, from “cliticized preverbs” to “incorporated relational preverbs”.

Other possible outcomes include articles, in particular Genitive > Partitive particle (Romance *di, de*), more rarely Genitive > Indefinite marker (French *des*, cf. Carlier 2007).

Adpositions, in combination with verbs or clauses, can develop uses as conjunctions or aspectual markers, for instance locative adposition > progressive marker (Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991). Such evolutions are attested in Abkhaz (Bybee et al. 1994: 130), in many African languages, and also in European languages: see English *to* + infinitive, *a-* in He’s *a-coming* (though the origin of this construction is not that clear, cf. Bybee et al. 1994: 132), the complementizer uses of *for* (Van Gelderen 2010: 135) and *but* (Brinton 1996: 60)... Romance has its share, see French *de* + infinitive, *en* + gerund, Romanian *a* + infinitive.

Postpositions can grammaticalize in case endings: examples can be found in Albanian, Ancient Greek (*-de*), etc. The status of given morphemes is sometimes hard to determine, cf. Spencer (2008:49): “Hungarian nouns don’t have a true case system. Rather, nouns bear inflectional markers which have the functions of adpositions in other languages, and which differ from the true postpositions of Hungarian only in relatively low-level morphological properties (…). The cases, in other words, are

\(^2\) Lehmann (2002: 92) makes the further suggestion that preverbs with cross-referencing indices may evolve to agreement markers, on the basis of a comparison between Swahili noun class prefixes and Abkhaz preverbs.
better thought of as ‘fused postpositions’”. The question is then: do the Hungarian case endings represent an intermediate phase between postposition and ‘real’ case endings, in diachrony, or something else? (see Part IV-Adpositions). Other examples: Portuguese para > Sri Lankan Portuguese p’ used as a dative marker (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 230), and of course Latin ad. It seems that even prepositions can develop uses as case affixes (Wilhelm 2008).

One use of adpositions that could be termed transitivizer is found for instance in Spanish and Portuguese de: Sp. bajo / tras ‘under / behind’, formerly used transitively, now take the transitivizer de used with adverbs (ex. bajo de la mesa ‘under the table’, patterned after debajo de). Fagard (2006: 117) suggests that in Spanish and Portuguese this adverbialization of prepositions reflects a progressive division of labor between the former preposition (ex. bajo or tras), which contributes the lexical meaning of the compound, and a functional preposition, whose role is grammatical (the fact that bajo is less and less transitive seems to go against the direction of grammaticalization posited by Svorou; however, this path could be cyclic: Adj > Complex Adp > Adp/Adv > Complex Adp…).

We will illustrate just one more outcome of adpositions, as ‘direct’ object markers (i.e. differential object marking). It is the case of Romanian pe, Spanish, Portuguese, Sardinian, (Southern) Italian a, (Southern) French à, cf. Mardale (2008: 450):

(14) L-am întâlnit *(pe) Ion. (Romanian)

him-have.PST.1SG meet.PST.GER.M to John

‘I met John.’

(15) Vi *(a) Juan. (Spanish)

see.PST.1SG to John

‘I saw John’

(16) An furatu *(a) Ercole. (Sardinian)

have.PRES.3PL steal.GER.PST.M to hercules

‘They have stolen Hercules.’

VI.1.2. DEIXIS

VI.1.2.1. ORIGINS OF DEICTICS

ADVERBS

As noted by Diessel (1999), deictic adverbs do not seem to result from processes of grammaticalization. They mostly correspond to unanalyzable or only very partially analyzable forms. Think of Romance ici, là, qui, qua, aqui… (formed on the roots hic, iste, ille + ecce, i.e. deictics, demonstratives or presentatives…), of Germanic hier, her, here, there, thither, etc. (which can be traced back to PIE roots which are either demonstratives or deictics), of Slavic tu, tam, ovde, onde, etc. A constant feature of deictic elements seems to be their frequent reinforcement with spatial affixes: French là → ilà, ci → ici, Latin hic, etc. In Late Latin, the trend is respected, with iste, ille reinforced by ecce “here” (Marchello-Nizia 2006: 108):

(17) eccillum video

here-he.M.A.SG see.PRES.1SG

“There he is, I see him.” (Plautus, Mercator 434)

(18) ecce ista fundamenta quae videtis

here this.N.A.PL foundation.A.PL which.F.N.PL see.PRES.2PL

“These foundations which you see here…”
The trend for deictic verbs is to originate in verbs indicating Aktionsart (Ricca 1993, chapter 5). According to Ricca, in Classical Latin the situation is as follows:

- in Plautus and Terence (3rd-2nd c. B.C.), *ire ‘go’* is deictically neutral (ex. *ite foras ‘go out [where I am]*). There is however an inkling of deixis, as *ire* is not used with *huc ‘hither’. *Ire* is often found in contexts where ongoing motion is described, and more often atelic motion, with telic motion expressed by prefixed forms (*abire, adire*).

- *venire* is sometimes used to mean ‘arrive’: Nisi eo ad mercatum *venio*, damnum maxumumst (lit. ‘if I don’t arrive there for the fair, it is a very big loss’); *venire* seems to appear essentially in telic contexts.

The evolution towards a deictic use of *ire/venire* is perceptible in Donat’s comment (4th c.): “unde is [ap. Terence] modo *venis* significat” (‘where are you going from simply means are you coming’). A comitative use of *venire* also emerges: in the Vulgate (4th-5th c.): *Venerunt (Gr. ἐλθοῦ) autem mecum sex fratres isti* (‘these six brothers also came with me’).

The range of application of deictic verbs tends to vary over time. It generally expands, as in:

- **Gothic:** in Wulfila’s Bible (4th c.), *gaggan* is almost always a translation of the imperfective *ἔρχοµαι* (‘I go’). *Qiman* is goal-oriented (requires a preposition with the dative, not the accusative; cf. German *im / *ins Haus ankommen*): it focuses on the arrival, or has a static meaning ‘to be there, to have arrived’.

- **Old and Middle English:** the immediate imperative is formed with *gan*: *ga hider ‘come hither’; Lazare, *veni foras* is translated as ‘Lazarus gá ut’. In the 14th c., in Wyclif’s Bible, the translation becomes “Lazarus, come thou forth”. Shakespeare generally uses *come with hither / here*, but go with a comitative (go with me).

- **Old High German:** *gân / gên* are used with the immediate imperative: *Tristan, gâ her und küsse mich* “Tristan, come here and kiss me” (c. 1200). In the 16th C., *gehen / kommen* are both found in this context: *geh bald herein / kombt doch herein ‘come on inside’ (also in comitative contexts); cf. ‘Southern’ German *geh her ‘come here’*.

However, the deictic range can also suffer restrictions, cf. Spanish *venir* which was used in the 16th c. for the movement towards You, and cannot be used that way nowadays.

### VI.1.2.2. FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS OF DEICTICS

**From adverb to demonstrative and pronoun**

The use of spatial deictics to reinforce demonstratives has been seen in section V. We here illustrate the use of spatial deictic adverbs as pronouns, either with demonstratives or alone. In Louisiana French, *ces-là “those-there”* is used as a pronoun:

(19) *Mes parents ils sont presque tous morts.*

my.PL parent.PL he.PL.S be.PRES.3PL almost all.PL dead.M.PL

*Ces-là qui restent y en a plus un qui veut me voir*” (Balfa Brothers, *Je suis Orphelin*)

“*My relatives are almost all dead. Of those left not one wants to see me.*” (Balfa Brothers, *Je suis Orphelin*)
Another (live) example of Louisiana French:

(20) les les le pont ça se cachait en-dessous et là
  the.PL the.PL the.SG bridge it REFL hide.PST.3SG under and there

ça se tiendait et là ça levait le pont en là
it REFL hold.PST.3SG and there it raise.PST.3SG the.SG bridge up

et là ça ça ça sautait tchiou dans l’eau
and there it it it jump.PST.3SG pfiou in the.SG-water

“They would hide under the bridge and then hang on to it until it was all the way up, and then they would dive into the water.”

‘Field work’ in New Orleans…

The use of a deictic adverb as a pronoun is also possible. For instance, it can be found (though rarely) in Spanish, in contexts such as:

(21) aquí (= éste) me ha dicho la verdad
  here that_guy I.O have.PST.3SG say.PST.GER the.F truth

“That guy told me the truth.”
or:

(22) acá (= nosotros) cenamos tarde
  to-here we.S eat.PRES.1PL late

“We eat late.” (Carbonero Cano 1979: 93)

Of course, since the expression of pronominal subjects is not obligatory in Spanish, a detailed analysis is needed to prove that aquí and acá are really used as pronouns here.

The use of demonstratives as pronouns can be found in South Estonian and regionally in Finnish (Pajusalu 2006: 242-3); “According to accessibility hierarchy proposed in Gundel, Hedberg, Zacharski 1993, demonstratives point to referents that are activated but not in focus. Demonstratives have more referential power than third person pronouns as they are able to place the non-focused referent in focus.” (ibid.: 247); this would explain the pragmatic use of demonstratives as 3rd person pronouns, and their following grammaticalization in such pronouns.

The case of so-called ‘4th person’ pronouns is also to be considered for pronominal uses of Estonian distal deictic too (Pajusalu 2006: 252).
Demonstratives can also yield complementizers: temporal or causal conjunctions, or relatives (Heine & Kuteva 2002:171 sqq.; we give here a few of their examples): English *that*, German *da* ‘there’ / ‘since (causal)’, Albanian *ke* ‘here’, adverb > conjunction marking a causal clause (Buchholz et al. 1993: 221), Lingala *áwa* ‘here’, locative adverb > temporal conjunction ‘while, when’ > causal conjunction ‘since, because’ (van Everbroeck 1958: 83), ‘here’ > relative (Tok Pisin PE, Tondano).

**VERBAL DEIXIS**

Deictic verbs can also grammaticalize into various types of markers. We will not deal extensively with verbs here, but simply note in passing the use of deictic *come* verbs as consecutive, hortative, continuous or venitive markers, and, in various constructions, ablative, near past (*come from*) or future (*come to*) markers (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 68 sqq.). The use of *come* as a passive marker is attested in Italian (*viene detto* ‘it comes said’ “it is said”). When venitive verbs are used to express the future, this might be on account of the time-in-motion-towards-the-observer metaphor (Fleischman 1982b). However, according to Ricca, this metaphor is superfluous, because V is goal-oriented, hence oriented towards the future. *Itive* verbs can also express the future, on account of a volitive/intentional meaning.
VI.2 SPACE AND TIME

Pütz (1996: xix) “One of the major domains that have been conceptualized in terms of space is time, which is even commonly referred to as ‘temporal space’.”

INTRODUCTION

Space seems to be generally accepted as a source for the expression and even conceptualization of time. Typological studies have shown that there is indeed a general tendency to use the same words for both domains, with evidence in most cases that these words originally had ‘spatial’ meaning (e.g. Haspelmath 1997). Space/time interdependence is recognized even at the neurobiological level, with ‘spatial’ neurons used to retrieve temporal information (Jakubowicz Batóreo 2000: 238), cf. Imbert (1983: 190) “There are in the visual system neurons which are activated specifically by an element which moves at a certain speed in space. These neurons are, in a way, time detectors”.

Note, however, that according to Brøndal (1950), space and time are so much interwoven that it is actually impossible to distinguish between the two (and thus, to say that there is such a thing as Space > Time transfer…). Besides, time is, in the terms of Jackendoff (1985), a unidimensional pseudo-space; we may well conceive of time as a line just like Newton (1687) in his Principia mathematica, “although the space we live in is 3-dimensional and we perceive it as such” (Ašić 2008: 24-25). For this reason, the projection of space onto time implies either a conflation of three dimensions into one, or the choice of one axis. The typical axes we can define for human beings – sagittal, vertical, lateral – are thus in theory available for temporal projections. We shall see below, however, that the main axis involved in temporal uses is the sagittal axis. The vertical axis is rarely used, though it is found, for instance in Chinese and Austronesian languages (ibid: 25), while the lateral axis seems (almost) excluded for temporal projections.

VI.2.1. THE FRONT / BACK AXIS AND ANTERIORITY / POSTERIORITY

This axis is the main source of lexicalization of temporal anteriority and posteriority. Haspelmath suggests that “the reason why speakers of human languages so consistently choose the frontal axis for expressing sequential location is of course that the passing of time is conceived of in the same way as movement through space” (1997: 22; cf. also Potier 1962, Traugott 1975).

This explains why the time-as-space metaphor of Clark (1973: 50) is built exclusively along this axis: “Time can be viewed as a highway consisting of a succession of discrete events. We humans are seen in one of two ways with respect to this highway: either (1) we are moving along it, with future time ahead of us and the past behind us; or (2) the highway is moving past us from front to back. These two metaphors might be called the moving ego and moving time metaphors, respectively.”

Moving time: future events are coming, cf. noon crept up on us, Friday arrived before we knew, time flew by etc. The moving time metaphor is the source for the equation frontward = pastward and backward = futureward (John left before noon, ahead of noon: noon has a front and moves toward ego).

Moving ego: front = future, back = past (trouble lies ahead, the worst of it is behind us).

[It is unclear whether before reflects the moving time metaphor rather than the moving ego metaphor: what lies ahead of a moving ego comes first]
cf. Boroditsky & Ramscar (2002): people were asked to 1. imagine themselves moving toward an object or 2. to imagine an object moving toward them, then asked to answer the question “Next Wednesday’s meeting has been moved forward two days. What day is the meeting now that it has been rescheduled?” 1. → Friday / 2. → Monday. Besides, Matlock, Ramscar & Bodoritsky (2004) found similar results with fictive motion (i.e. people are asked 1. to draw ‘The road runs along the coast’ or 2. to draw ‘The road is next to the coast’).

In both cases, at any rate, the Future is in front, the Past in back (! behind has various possible interpretations, though, see below the tandem model).

• Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 41-5), who apparently ignore Clark (1973), claim that the front / back structure of time is compatible with two “metaphors” (= two “conceptualizations”), one in which time moves toward us (the following weeks, in the weeks ahead of us) and one in which time is stationary and we move through it (we are approaching the end of the year). Lakoff & Johnson do differentiate anteriority (preceding / following) from static orientation with respect to an Observer (the weeks ahead of / behind us) but assign both to the Moving Time metaphor (although following week means that what comes ‘behind the present’ (looking forward) is future and behind us means that what is ‘behind me’ (still looking forward) is past).

Lakoff & Johnson also point out that both metaphors are coherent insofar as they confer the same front / back organization to temporal sequences.

• Lakoff & Johnson (1999): the space-to-time mapping involves 3 “metaphors”, and this time, they distinguish Time Orientation from Moving Time:

  Time Orientation (static, present is where we are, future is ahead, past is behind).
  Moving Observer (now is what we are moving by, we move towards the future, the past is what we moved past).
  Moving Time (the present is moving by us, the future is moving towards us, the past has moved by us).

Numerous examples of lexicalization of before / after by means of front / back markers (Haspelmath 1997: 57 & 61, modified):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages with identical spatial and temporal sequential adpositions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘before’ = ‘in front’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
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<td>Albanian</td>
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<td>Hungarian</td>
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<td>Lezgian</td>
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<td>Hebrew</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maltese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now, what is the “metaphor” involved in the lexicalization of temporal anteriority?

Regarding the lexicalization of ANTERIOR / POSTERIOR, Haspelmath observes that the Moving Observer metaphor and the Moving Time metaphor make the same prediction for future situations: what lies ahead comes earlier, whether the Observer is moving or Time is moving. He argues, however, that past situations are a different matter: in the Moving Observer model, an Observer looking back at past situations would find the most recently encountered situations in front, and remote situations behind. But there seems to be no language in which in front means earlier for future times but later for past times (and vice versa for behind). Haspelmath concludes that it is the Moving Time metaphor that is responsible for the use of front / behind as markers of anteriority / posteriority.

It might be objected that the whole point of the Moving Observer metaphor was that it was patterned after motion in space: a Figure which moves through space encounters first what lies ahead and later what lies behind. A Figure “turning back” to look at past situations would reverse the front / back order and this is impossible because past situations are by definition already sequentially ordered along the front / back axis.

Therefore, the Moving Time metaphor makes exactly the same mapping as the Moving Observer metaphor. Since they both map front to early and back to late, they are both possible explanations for the lexicalization of before and after.
To make things clearer, let us distinguish the spatial model which is at the root of the conceptualization of anteriority / posteriority, and, on the other hand, metaphors like *Christmas is approaching* (Moving Time) or *we are approaching Christmas* (Moving Observer).

The Moving Observer and Moving Time metaphors both map to the Relative Mirror Model. The Relative Mirror Model underlies the mapping of *front* to *early* and *behind* to *late*.

\[
\begin{array}{c|cc}
O & \text{early} & \text{late} \\
\hline
T & \text{ahead} & \text{behind} \\
\end{array}
\]

**Relative Mirror Model**

\[o(\text{server}) > T(\text{ime})\]

The Relative Mirror Model underlies the lexicalization of anteriority / posteriority and is independent from the fact that an observer, a Figure or a Reference time are metaphorically pictured in a sentence as moving or static. In *Easter will come before Christmas, Easter is pictured as moving (Moving Time metaphor)* but this does not mean that *before* reflects the Moving Time metaphor too (as Lakoff & Johnson would have it, 1999: 143):

\[
\begin{array}{c|cc}
O & \text{early} & \text{late} \\
\hline
T & \text{ahead} & \text{behind} \\
\end{array}
\]

Note that *previous / next* date things with respect to the time when they were created (or positioned somewhere) or according to the time when an observer encountered them. In both cases, we are in the Relative Mirror Model (*previous* means ‘early’). Suppose you are on internet: *previous* means ‘created first’:

\[
\begin{array}{c|cc}
\text{previous} & \text{early} & \text{late} \\
\hline
\text{page 3} & \text{page 1} \\
\text{You are on page 2} & \\
\end{array}
\]

**Preexisting Relative Mirror Model**

Another kind of Relative Model is the temporal counterpart of the in-tandem perspective: Hill (1978) notes that Hausa speakers structure time along the in-tandem perspective adopted for spatial relations:

\[
\begin{array}{c|cc}
O & \text{early} & \text{late} \\
\hline
T & \text{behind} & \text{ahead} \\
\end{array}
\]

**Relative In-Tandem Model**

The time further away from the *hic et nunc* is ‘ahead’, while the time at its back (hence earlier) is ‘behind’. Since behind means earlier, the day before yesterday is described as in the ‘back of yesterday’.

In relation to the front / back axis, Radden (2004) mentions yet another system which assumes an egocentric position of the observer and a centrifugal time flow away from Ego and toward both the past and the future (Raden calls this model the *egocentric perspective*):
Cf. French, which views the third generation from Ego as behind the second: *arrière-petit-fils / arrière-grand-mère* (back-grandson / back-grandmother); cf. also *devant* ‘in front’ which could, in Old French, refer to the past (23) or the future (24): (23) (*…*) *si com lo moinent li mesage qui devant i orent esté* ‘(he rides straight towards the city) following the messengers who have already gone *ahead*/before’ (*Enéas* 705, in Sävborg 1941: 239) (24) *Et cil qui après moi venront, Ca devant grant preu i avront.* ‘And those who will follow me will find *there*/in the future a great profit’ (Tobler-Lommatzch, ibid.: 240; in Sävborg 1941).

The Intrinsic Model corresponds to the Time Orientation metaphor of Lakoff & Johnson and underlies the use of the front / back axis in sentences like *there are problems ahead* and *that’s all behind us now* (cf. also Givón 1973 and Traugott 1975, who speak of “tense deixis”).

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**Prospective Intrinsic Model**

---

Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 141) observe that in Aymara the reverse mapping obtains: the past is in front and the future behind. According to them, the explanation for this mapping lies in “the experience of being able to see the results of what you have just done in front of you”. Cf. also Dahl (1995: 198) on Malagasy: “In Madagascar what occurs in the past is expressed by notions such as *taloha* or *teo aloha* (before, in front), while present events are denoted by *izao*, which is demonstrative: “this”. Future events are designated by *aoriana, any aoriana* (after, behind), or *any afara* (last).” Heine & Kuteva also mention Chinese (2002: 142):

(25) *qian san nian.*

front three years

‘The last three years.’

---

**Retrospective Intrinsic Model**
The Intrinsic Model can be shifted to a Reference Time distinct from the Observer’s time. In *let’s move the meeting ahead a week* when *move ahead* means ‘future relative to the date previously set’ i.e. ‘postpone’ (ap. Lakoff & Johnson 1999; in this case, the Prospective Intrinsic Model):

VI.2.2. OTHER AXES

VI.2.2.1 THE UP / DOWN AXIS

In Mandarin, besides the front / back axis, the up / down axis is commonly used for conceptualizing time: *hànyuè* (up.month) means ‘last month’ and *xiàyuè* (down.month) means ‘next month’ (Radden 2004). Earlier events are *shàng* ‘up’ and later events are *xià* ‘down’. This conceptualization might reflect a “River Model”, in which later situations are viewed as being down from a viewpoint situated up. Cf. also in English, *this tradition has been passed down from generation to generation*. English also exemplifies a rival Upsurge Model, in which earlier situations are down and ‘come up’: *The new year is coming up*. Lastly, *what’s up? or that’s up in the future*, where *up* is future may be associated with yet another metaphor which binds up potentiality and suspension (*that’s up in the air*; Radden 2004).

Hawaiian *a’e* ‘up, sideways, obliquely, to and fro’ and *iho* ‘down’ are both used to indicate the (near) future:

(27) ‘O *wai hou a’e?*

NOM who new up

‘Who’s next?’ (cf. English who’s up?) (William Cook 1996; example from the *Hawaiian dictionary*, Pukui & Elbert, 1986)

---

1 Namely, *qián* ‘in front, before’ and *hòu* ‘behind, after’.
2 According to Traugott (1975), this mapping merely reflects the fact that canonical locations in space are assigned to canonical locations in time (i.e. *up* is mapped to *early* because both are “unmarked”).
They can also be used to refer to the (near) past:

(28) *Ua hana iho nei ‘o ia i ke kope.*

‘He just made the coffee.’

However, the existence of a [vertical space > time] mapping is not clear, since these particles simply indicate proximity (or, in Elbert & Pukui’s terms, ‘visible space’), in (structural) opposition with *aku* ‘away from the speaker’, which in its temporal uses always indicate distance, i.e. distant future and distant past (William Cook 1996: 457-458). An element confirming this proximal vs distal account of the space > time projection for directional particles is the fact that, in Maori, a language close to Hawaiian, similar particles also indicate degrees of temporal remoteness, but “do not appear to be specialized, however, in terms of whether they indicate futurity or pastness” (William Cook 1996: 463). However, in Rarotongan, there is a future vs past specialization, with *io* (cognate of *iho*) meaning “hitherto, just now, lately” (ibid., quoting Savage, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language of Rarotonga*, 1980).

In European languages, we have already given a few indications as to the possible temporal extensions of ‘above’ and ‘below’. A few others will illustrate the fact that the semantics seem quite complex. For instance, very close words can have opposed temporal outcomes; the same root can thus be transposed in both past and future: Latin *supra* ‘above’ > ‘before’ (*supra hanc memoriam* ‘before our time’; Fagard 2006: 238) is based on Latin *super* ‘above’, which has a very different temporal meaning: ‘during, after (+ ABL.)’. Besides, the temporal meaning ‘before’ expressed by *supra* ‘above’ can also be found for Italian *fra* (< *infra* ‘under’) or *sotto* ‘below’ (*sotto Natale* ‘before Christmas’) and French *sous* ‘under’ (*fra due mesi / sous deux mois* ‘in two months’)… Finally, adpositions meaning *above* or *on* can also yield very different temporal meanings:

- English *upon*: “Once upon a time…” / “I suffered greatly in my mind, for a reason connected with my time of life. I was just *upon eleven*” (Robertson Davies, *The Deptford Trilogy*, 1970); English *on*: *on* the spur of the moment;
- German *über*: dass ich über einige Wochen mich ausserhalb der Politik halten werde “[I hereby announce] that I will stay away from politics for a few weeks” (News, 1st channel, August 23rd 2010);
- French *sur* ‘around, after’ (*sur les huit heures* ‘at around 8’, *sur le coup* ‘at the moment’);
- Italian *su* ‘at round, for around’ (*vediamoci sul mezzogiorno* ‘let us see each other around noon’; *ho lavorato sulle tre ore* ‘I have worked for around three hours’).

VI.2.2.2 THE “LATERAL” AXIS

It seems that *on the left of Sunday* is universally inappropriate. A possible exception: Traugott (1975) mentions that ‘left’ and ‘right’ can express approximate time in Chinese. At any rate, it is clearly rare, and Haspelmath (1997) found no instance of SPACE > TIME extensions along the lateral axis. This weak metaphorization of the lateral axis is not only found in the temporal, but also in the metatextual domain (Nöth 1996: 605).

In Romance, none of the prepositions / adverbs referring to the lateral axis (for ex. in OF *jouste, lez, coste* etc. which all code laterality) gave rise to temporal markers (Fagard 2010). The only exception is French Creole *koté*. However, it is not really a counter-example, because it first became a general marker of proximity, losing the laterality feature. The extension is thus not “to the side of” > “around” but “to the side of” > “near” > “around (temporal)”:

In some French-based Creoles, *kot(é)* (< *côté* ‘side’ or < *du côté de, à côté de* ‘from/on/at the side of’) has lost its lateral meaning. For instance, in Seychelles Creole, *kot* is highly polysemous, meaning “at the house/home of, to, in towards, at the side of”:
19

(29) i al kot lerua
    he go to king
“he goes to the king’s place”

(30) i ti ariv kot kasopul
    he PST arrive to house hen
“He came up to the hen-house” (both examples from Corne 1977: 126).

Same thing in Louisiana French:
(31) Li kouri kote TULANE, NEW ORLEANS
he run to Tulane New Orleans
“She went to Tulane (University), in New Orleans.”

(32) To hal li kote derik
    you haul it to derrick
“You haul it to the derrick.”
(both examples from Klingler 2003: 360).

This might explain why there are instances of Creole kot(é) with a temporal meaning (of approximation, like English around). Note however that the existence of other adpositions meaning “in front” and “behind” can bring the speaker to restrict the use of côté to the sides, when the landmark has sides.

VI.2.2.3 OTHER SPACE > TIME METAPHORS

FROM / TO
These markers often evolve into anterior-durative (‘until’) and posterior-durative markers (‘since’) (Haspelmath’s terms, 1997). Cf. German ab (ab nächster Woche gilt der neue Tarif ‘the new fare will apply starting next week’) and bis (< bei zu).

According to Haspelmath (1997: 67), this evolution rests on two semantic shifts: (1) from / to are used to describe spatial extents (the highway goes all the way to the Artic Sea), by a mental operation that Langacker has characterized as “subjectification”. (2) situations in time are conceptualized as occupying a temporal extent and are scanned from their earliest part to their latest part (Moving Observer metaphor).

Perhaps we could just say that motion is spatio-temporal and therefore that localizing a Figure at a point is equivalent to localizing it at a time:

(33) I wasn’t able to sleep during the trip because some people kept making phone calls from Paris to Lyon / from 2 to 4.

Anterior-durative and posterior-durative functions are also lexicalized from N with a spatio-temporal meaning like begin / leave / start / end / limit / goal. Cf. English till < Old Norse til (< til ‘goal’), Tagalog hangang sa ‘up to’ (< hanggan ‘limit’) (Haspelmath ibid).

OUT OF
Adpositions with the meaning of spatial exteriority (‘out of’) seem not to develop temporal senses.

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF DIFFERENT AXES

maybe the greater (/more universal) importance of the sagittal axis can be explained by Fillmore’s remark (1982: 37) that the left/right axis is “essentially egocentric (in that we recognize the distinction in the first instance in our own bodies)”, the front/back axis “anthropocentric (in that we first learn to deal with it in terms of the bodies of the humans in our environment)”, and the up/down axis “founded on relations existing in the environment independently of ourselves.”
VI.2.3. TEMPORAL DISTANCE AND PROXIMITY

VI.2.3.1. The front / back axis
Haspelmath (1997) observes that markers of anteriority and posteriority (‘before’ and ‘after’) derived from spatial markers are often recruited for expressing distance in the past or in the future (‘one month ago’, ‘in one month’). German vor is a case in point: vor einem Monat ‘one month ago’.
According to Haspelmath, this conflation rests on two distinct patterns. In the case of ‘ago’, the first pattern is one in which ‘X time units ago’ is rendered as ‘X time units before (this time)’, for ex. in Turkish:
(34) bun-dan on dört yıl önce.
    this-ABL ten four year before
‘fourteen years ago’ (lit. ‘fourteen years before this’)
The other pattern is exemplified by languages where ‘X time units ago’ is expressed by a construction meaning ‘before X time units’. By implicature, this construction is interpreted as meaning ‘immediately before X time units’, and in some cases the implicature has become part of the meaning of the distance marker: cf. German: *Das Tiananmen-Massaker war vor fünf Jahren, genau gesagt schon 1989. [the implicature cannot be canceled, and is part of the meaning of vor in this construction]

VI.2.3.2. The concept of inclusion and temporal distance
In a number of languages, IN expresses distance in the future (Haspelmath 1997: 90):
(35) Je reviendrai dans deux heures.
    I come_back.FUT.1SG in two hour.PL
‘I will come back in two hours.’
Finnish
(36) palaa-n kahde-ssa tunni-ssa.
    return.1SG two-INESS hours-INESS
Imbabura Quechua
(37) ishKay uras-pi tigramu-sha/
    two hours-in return-FUT.1SG
‘I will return in two hours.’
Sardinian
(38) App’a ghirare in tres dies
    have.1sg-to return in three day.PL
“I will return in three days” (Jones 1993: 194)
According to Haspelmath, the DISTANCE-FUTURE issues from contexts which establish a bridge between bounded duration and distance in the future:
(39) Bob will make 77 cookies within one hour (duration, but also means that Bob will have made 77 cookies in one hour, i.e. close to a DISTANCE-FUTURE sense).
(40) The bomb will explode within an hour (since it can explode only once, it may explode in one hour and not before)

(41) We will work within a month (takes on an inceptive reading: we will start working in a month).

Note that this pragmatic extension from interiority to distance-future is found also for inside:

(42) And inside a week the aunt came, and we haven’t seen hide nor hair of them since. (Roberston Davies, The Deptford Trilogy, 1970: 103)

It may be added that there would be no point for a speaker to locate a punctual event in two hours if the speaker intended to leave any time before the two-hour delay has elapsed (say, in one hour). A pragmatic principle seems to be at play here: do not provide a piece of information more precise than is necessary.

However, the ‘distance-future’ meaning of adpositions which have a spatial meaning of interiority is only one possible extension. In some language, adpositions meaning ‘in, inside’ develop a meaning in which they indicate the duration of a process. This is the case of English in, French en, etc.; also, of Polish w (Kochańska 1996: 497):

(43) Przed zebraniem Piotr (zawsze) w 10 minut porządkował
before meeting.I Peter.N always in 10 minute.G.PL IMP.sort.PST.M swoje notatki
his.A.M.PL note.A.PL
‘Before a meeting Piotr (always) sorted out his notes in 10 minutes.’

This ‘duration’ meaning might even be considered the starting-point of the ‘distance-future’ meaning.

VI.2.3.3 Temporal proximity

Around
The use of adpositions with a proximal spatial meaning for the expression of temporal proximity is quite frequent: English around, etc. An example can be found in Louisiana French otour “around”:

(44) Ka mounn se fini rantre tou rekòt, antour,
when people be finish bring_in all harvest around

sept— otour oktob, ALL RIGHT.
Sept— around October all right

“When people finished bringing in the harvest, around Sept- around October. All right.” (Klingler 2003: 357)
Boroditsky (2001) reasons that if language influences thinking, Mandarin subjects should think of time as structured on a vertical axis more than English subjects do. Her experimental design is as follows:

1st task: subjects view a picture showing two objects and must verify a statement on the spatial relation that holds between these objects. The display is either vertically or horizontally oriented:

Two primes used in Boroditsky (2001): subjects had to answer ‘true’ or ‘false’.

These stimuli are intended to prime the mental representation of, resp., the horizontal and the vertical axis.

2nd task: subjects must verify statements like “March comes before / earlier than April”. Response time is the dependent variable.

The results show that for all speakers responses are fastest when the prime is horizontal. However, when answering questions phrased in purely temporal earlier / later terms, Mandarin speakers were faster after vertical primes than after horizontal primes. Further, this vertical bias was stronger for subjects who had started learning English later in life.

Conclusion (ibid.: 20): “It appears that acquiring abstract concepts requires experience with language and that the eventual form of these concepts is largely shaped by the language experience.”

VI.2.5. DEICTICS FROM SPACE TO TIME

Temporal uses are found for different types of deictics in many languages; examples abound, for instance in Estonian (Pajusalu 2006: 251), Romance, Slavic, Germanic languages, etc. (a few examples below). The axis on which these mappings take place seems hard to determine. Besides, this does not mean that all deictics can have temporal uses. One obvious generalization is the use of proximals to mean ‘now’ and distals for distant past or future; however, even this does not seem to be universal, since Polish **tu** (proximal, ‘here’) can be used for (probably not distant) past or future events, while **tam** (distal, ‘over there’) does not seem to have temporal uses.

Temporal uses: Botha (1996:220) **hier** ‘here’ “is very often used to refer to time”; id. hierdie and daardie (ibid: 221)

(45) *Ek het hulle tot hier toe (= nou) grootgemaak.*

I.SUBJ have.PRES.1SG they up_to here_to grow.PAST

‘I have raised them up to here (= now).’

The space > time mappings are also attested for deictics; there seems to be a (very logical) general correspondence between proximals and present (now/already), distals and past or future:
CONCLUSION – EXCEPTIONS TO THE SPACE > TIME TRANSFER

At issue here is whether lexicalization always proceeds from space to time, and never goes in the reverse direction.

According to Haspelmath (1997: 142) French depuis may furnish a counterexample: Lat. postea / *postius > puis ‘after’ > depuis + mention of a temporal final boundary (14th century), both in a POSTERIOR-DURATIVE sense (‘since his death’) and DISTANCE-POSTERIOR sense (‘since three days ago’), with more and more occurrences of DISTANCE-POSTERIOR uses and, concomitantly, occurrences with mention of a spatial final boundary depuis l’estable jusques à la rue ‘from the stable up to the street’; Fagard 2006: 356) > enumerative use (‘from X to Y’) > fictive motion (modern French: il a tout vu depuis sa fenêtre ‘he saw everything from his window’). This evolution appears to have been triggered by the prefixing of de- to puis, and de has a spatial meaning. Further, according to Fagard (2006), the fact that the first uses of depuis were temporal and spatial goes against the view that the spatial sense of depuis would have evolved from its temporal meaning. Finally, puis did evolve a spatial sense, but this evolution seems to have been consecutive to the “spatialization” of depuis, and would be, therefore, a side-effect.

Generally speaking, temporal uses of spatial adpositions do not seem excluded, as we can see with such examples as turn right 100 meters after the church. However, they are restricted to specific contexts and do not seem to become lexicalized meanings.
Temporal relations are of course far from being the only relations conceptualized and lexicalized in spatial terms. Heine and Kuteva (2002) provide a wealth of data on other domains for which lexicalization has drawn on the resources of spatial markers; we saw a few examples as we went along, in sections I through V. The explanation, for locationists, is that spatial expressions are more basic from a grammatical and semantic point of view, than non-spatial expressions (Lyons 1972, 1980), i.e. we use spatial figures to conceive of abstract notions – all events and states of conceptual structure being organized along a very limited set of principles generally having their origin in the conceptualization of space (Gruber 1976, Jackendoff 1985: 209).

Both the fact that spatial words are not to be understood as geometric or even topological (cf. Part IV.3 ‘The semantics of adpositions…’) and the fact that they lead to non-spatial uses, be these temporal or notional (“people regularly use motion language to describe all sorts of things which have little or nothing to do with physical movement”, Matlock, Ramsar & Boroditsky 2004: 45), thus seem to be a factor of man’s perceptual apparatus.

There is overwhelming evidence for these transfers. What is more, there is not only typological evidence – i.e. sometimes ‘reconstructed’ evidence – but also diachronic (‘hard’) evidence that these transfers really do go from space to time and other meanings. How can we be so sure of that? By looking at the evolution of languages which have a long history, for instance Romance (Germanic, Slavic, and of course Chinese would do as well or better, but let us stick to Romance for now). Though it is not always possible to retrace the first steps of the space > time change (e.g. French après, Fagard 2004), Romance adpositions illustrate various semantic chains which have been claimed to exist more or less universally:

- Italian da, Romanian de: ablative/origin > cause > agent (cf. German von);
- Romance à/a: goal > effect > patient;
- Romance par/per/por: path > instrument/means (Andersen 1971);
- French par/vers, Italian presso: location > existence/possession (Lyons 1972), because the existence or possession of something can be claimed only once we situate it in space & time – this also explains the existential use of deictics (Carbonero Cano 1979: 96);
- Romance in/en: from space to ‘states’, cf. the claim that “the use of in, at and on to encode a ‘state’ meaning [as in we are in love/shock/pain, at war/variance... on alert/best behaviour...] is motivated, deriving from historically earlier, and synchronically, perhaps, more primary ‘spatial’ senses” (Evans 2010b: 216).

There are different possible meanings at the root of a same notional meaning; besides, a notional meaning can stem both from spatial and notional meanings. For instance, European languages generally “rely on the companion metaphor (…) and use prepositions that correspond to English with” for the encoding of instrument, whereas outside Europe “the use of the same case or preposition to denote instrument and location is frequent”, meaning that the container schema is used for the encoding of instrument (Luraghi 2004: 26).

The reverse path, i.e. from notional uses to spatial uses, seems at least very exceptional. There is very little evidence for adpositions (see Dendale & De Mulder 1998 for a few possible examples), and it seems rare even for other word classes. An example would be French quitter, English leave, but it is quite clear that these verbs are not prototypically spatial verbs.
ABSTRACT MEANINGS OF DEICTICS

If we accept the idea that there is an initial stage in which deictics are ‘purely spatial’, we can agree with Senft (1997:8-9): “The more the (…) formations assume discourse functions – i.e., the more they refer not to points in concrete space but to items previously mentioned in the linguistic context – the more they lose their potential for pointing to those things which are truly ‘up there’ or ‘down there’.” A sure thing is that deictics can have many non-spatial uses. They can for instance, as said above, come to have possessive or existential uses, as hier/daar in Afrikaans (Botha 1996: 218):

(51) Daar is Olifante (in Afrika).
there be.PRES.3SG elephants in Africa
‘There are elephants [= elephants exist] (in Africa).’

There is also a possible extension from spatial to social deixis, cf. Cook’s (1996) hypothesis that “a Japanese honorific form is an indicator of distance”, with -masu having an encoded meaning as distance marker:

(52) Dooshite soo yatte gatan gatan suru n desu ka?
why so do rattle rattle do NOM COP INT
‘Why are you shaking the table?’

(53) Tatehiza ikemasen
erect knee no good
‘Don’t draw up your knees.’

“The use of masu [desu = copula form of masu, -masen = negative form of masu] in example (2) does not index politeness. It can be explained by the analysis that the masu form indexes distance between the speaker and the addressee.” The author analyzes this as psychological distance, considering after Haiman (1983:800) that “physical distance is an obvious metaphor for social distance” (Cook 1996: 6).

Anaphoric and ‘textual’ uses of deictics are widely attested, cf. Slavic tu/tut..., French là, … Sardinian (in)ibe, for instance, “refers back to some place which has been mentioned in preceding discourse” (Jones 1993: 195).

Temporal and causal uses are also attested (see above German da).

Clark (1974) notes that come can express movement towards a normal state (in good part) while go tends to express movement towards an abnormal state: go mad / come true; go blind / come back to one’s senses. However, there are numerous counter-examples: go better, go fine / come to grief, come expensive etc. (Ricca 1993).

A possible counter-example to the spatial > notional trend is noted by Marchello-Nizia (2006), who shows how deixis changed from personal in Latin to subjective in Old French and finally spatial in Middle French.
CONCLUSION

The question of ‘spatial’ universals in language

The multiple links between space and language which Jean-Michel and I have discussed in these two weeks can thus receive various interpretations. It remains to be seen whether they are the result of the fact that language structures space or whether, as claimed e.g. by Casati & Varzi (1995:188), the structure of space is itself reflected in language. Hickmann (2007: 207)\(^5\) describes as follows the two main positions found in the literature:

“This debate presently opposes different approaches that disagree with respect to the role they attribute to language in structuring human cognition. As a semiotic system it is a major tool mediating our cognitive processes and structuring children’s inferences about the world during cognitive development (Gentner 2003; Vygotsky 1962). In addition, language-specific properties affect our linguistic and non-linguistic representations throughout development (e.g., Bowerman 1996a, 1996b; Bowerman & Choi 2001, 2003; Levinson 1996, 1997, 2003; Slobin 1996, 2003, 2006). In contrast, although other views might acknowledge the possible role of language on some aspects of our linguistic behaviors, they argue that language has no significant impact on our non-linguistic cognition (e.g., Clark 2003; Munnich & Landau 2003).”

Does the child construct its spatial categories independently of language (Piaget), whether these are the result of innate capacities (Spelke 2003) or of “an active and precocious process of perception” (Lécuyer et al. 2007, Mandler 1988, 1992)? Or does this process reflect, even in infants, the “particular properties of their language” (Bowerman, Choi, Slobin)?

The explorations we proposed into spatial language, its variation across languages and semantic domains only highlight the absence of a simple answer to these questions. One thing seems certain: answers will not come from a single scientific field, and one needs to combine data from psychology, psycholinguistics, diachrony, typology and yet other fields, in order to achieve a better understanding of the relation between language and space.

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\(^5\) “All languages provide means of expressing location and motion. (...) However, languages also show striking variation in this domain. For example, they vary in the extent to which they lexicalize or grammaticalize different types of information concerning changes of location. (...) This variability has begun to cast doubts on the existence of some previously postulated universals, raising some fundamental questions concerning the relation between language and thought (cf. Hickmann 2003a, for a review).” (Ibid: 206-207).