



## Agency and agentive prepositions in Late Latin

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### 1. OUTLINE

- OBJECT
  - prepositional phrases (PP) denoting the Agent in Late Latin passive constructions (up to 4<sup>th</sup> cent.)
  - part of a wider project from (Early) Latin to Romance
  - interest in prepositions which:
    - introduce agentive or agentive-like participants in Latin (*ab, per*)
    - will develop an agentive meaning in Romance languages (*per, de*)
- THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
  - Cognitive Grammar (LANGACKER 1991; LURAGHI 2003, inter al.)
  - Functional approach to Transitivity (HOPPER & THOMPSON 1980)
- MAIN ASSUMPTIONS AND CLAIMS
  - the agentive meaning is metaphorically/metonymically derived from the basic spatial semantics of the prepositions
  - although the agentive value of *ab* is stable throughout the history of Latin, *per* and *de* express causal or agentive-like roles which foreshadow the Romance developments

### 2. THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

#### 2.1. Agency and transitivity

- Agent is a semantic role corresponding to the initiator of a prototypical transitive event
  - it receives a non-marked encoding as grammatical subject in nominative-accusative languages (as *Caesar* in *Caesar destroyed the town*)
- Schematic representation of a transitive event (Canonical Event Model):
  - “an event occurring within a setting and a viewer (V) observing it from an external vantage point” (LANGACKER 1991: 285-6):

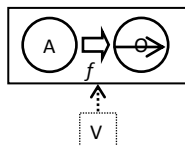


Fig. 1. CEM (LANGACKER 1991: 285; adapted)

- V's external vantage point → epistemic neutrality (i.e. the event is conceived as objective)
  - minimal action chain (single event) in which one discrete object transfers energy (*f*) to another through forceful physical contact
  - action-chain head is characterized as A, and the tail as a patient (O) which undergoes a resultant change of state (indicated by the arrow within O)
  - cause-effect relation, whose temporal sequence is represented as an oriented (asymmetric) spatial relation, with a start-point (A), a path (*f*), and an end-point (O)
- Prototypical transitive event (HOPPER & THOMPSON 1980)
- *transitivity is a scalar notion* → the effectiveness (the intensity) of the transitive transfer depends on the degree to which the different aspects of the event are actually realized
  - *transitivity is a multi-factorial notion* → interaction of different syntactic and semantic properties concerning both the participants and the event

	HIGH	LOW
PARTICIPANTS	2 or more participants, A and O	1 participant
KINESIS	Action	Non-action
ASPECT	Telic	Atelic
PUNCTUALITY	Punctual	Non-punctual
VOLITIONALITY	Volitional	Non-volitional
AFFIRMATION	Affirmative	Negative
MODE	Realis	Irrealis
AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
AFFECTEDNESS OF O	O totally affected	O not affected
INDIVIDUATION OF O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

Tab. 1. Multi-factorial Transitivity (HOPPER & THOMPSON 1980: 252)

a) A (Agent)

- is high in POTENCY → the human participant who intentionally initiates and actually performs (controls) the event (LAKOFF 1977; KLAIMAN 1991, inter al.)
- prototypical features of Agency (scalar values):
  - ANIMACY → referents' ontological feature → natural taxonomy:  
human beings > animate entities > natural forces > emotions > non-animate entities
  - INTENTIONALITY < Animacy
  - CONTROL does not imply Animacy → natural forces, emotions, and diseases exert a non-intentional control on human beings, and moreover cannot be controlled by



another participant (i.e. they cannot be assigned an instrumental role: *the earthquake destroyed the town*, see LURAGHI 1995; DELANCEY 1984)

- b) Transitive event
  - is an action (rather than a continuous activity, e.g. ‘to look at’, or a state, e.g. ‘to love’) → the verb is an active DO-predicate, e.g. ‘to drink up’, ‘to kill’, ‘to open’ etc. (see VENDLER 1967; VAN VALIN & LA POLLA 1997)
  - the action lacks internal complexity, i.e. it is punctual
  - the action is conceived as realis (i.e. epistemically neutral → V’s external vantage point)
  - the action is conceived as completed (telicity) → actually transferred on O: *I drank up the milk* (rather than *I am drinking milk, I drink milk every day*)
  - the action is directly (physically) transferred on O → non-mediated by a third participant
- c) O (Object)
  - is high in AFFECTEDNESS → it undergoes a change of state
- d) Both participants (A, O)
  - high in INDIVIDUATION:
    - clearly distinct from one another
    - clearly distinct from their own background
    - linguistic parameters defining individuation:
      - 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> (speech-act participants) > 3<sup>rd</sup>; singular > plural; personal pronoun > proper N > animate N > inanimate N; concrete > abstract; numerable > non-numerable (mass); referential/definite > non-referential (e.g. *someone* killed the king)
  - *transitivity is a pragmatic notion* reflecting strategies of *grounding* → the speaker can ‘graduate’ the parameters of transitivity, foregrounding or backgrounding specific aspects of a transitive event (HOPPER & THOMPSON 1980)

### 2.1.2 Pragmatics of the event and defocusing of the Agent

- linguistic constructions reflect the speaker’s pragmatic choice, displaying the defining properties of transitivity to various degrees:
  - *prototypically*, the initiator of the transitive event is encoded as an unmarked grammatical subject
  - the significance of the agentive potency can be however variously defocused, irrespective of the inherent semantics of the participant



A) Mediation of the action (Split Agency)

- presence of an Intermediary (I), acting on behalf of a primary A, thus mediating the actual realization of the event:
  - a) Caesar conquered the city *through the army*
- weakening of A's degree of Potency and agentic responsibility (*Split Agency*, Luraghi 1995)
  - i. intentionality → primary A (*Caesar*)
  - ii. control → I (*the army*)
- Intermediary can be focused, i.e. represented as the actual initiator and encoded as a grammatical subject → A defocused (prepositional phrase):
  - b) The army conquered the city (*on behalf of Caesar*)
- a) and b) represent the same conceptual scene with different degree of 'resolution':

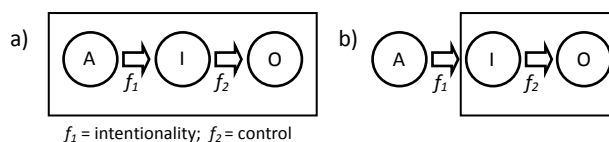


Fig. 2. Split Agency

B) Passive and defocusing of A

- Passive constructions reflect strategies of A defocusing (SHIBATANI 1985)
  - c) Caesar conquered the city → non-marked representation of transitivity
  - d) The city was conquered (by Caesar) → defocusing of A / focusing of O
- A remains implied as the background of the event → Origin of the event

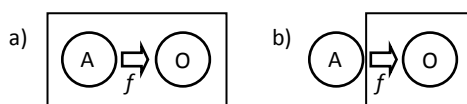


Fig. 3. Defocusing of A (passive) (LANGACKER 1991: 333; adapted)

- Different degrees of defocusing:
  - [-] absence of grammatical encoding < [+] prepositional encoding (< [+] generic subject)



## 2.2. Agentive prepositions in Cognitive Grammar

- Prepositions express a basic spatial meaning, i.e. the location (AR, atemporal relation) of a foregrounded entity (TR, trajector) with respect to a reference point (LM, landmark), encoded by the nominal following the preposition (LANGACKER 1991: 215, 340):

[Cesare<sub>TR</sub> (arrives<sub>EVENT</sub>)] [[*from*]<sub>AR1</sub> [Rome]<sub>LM1</sub>] [[*to*]<sub>AR2</sub> [the city]<sub>LM2</sub>]

- LM can correspond to different position along a complex oriented configuration, with a start-point (Origin), a path, and an end-point (Goal):

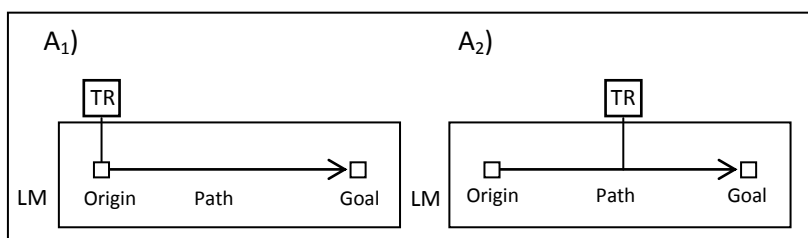


Fig. 4. Atemporal relations between TR and LM

- non-spatial (abstract) meanings are metaphorically derived, through a projection (*mapping*) of the basic values onto abstract domains of the human experience
- the agentive value derives from the projection onto the directional configuration of CEM (Fig. 1) → A is the Origin of a state of affairs

### 2.2.1. Prepositions and Agent defocusing





- Passive defocusing of A gives rise to different representations of the transitive event, among which:
  - A is completely defocused (e.g. *the city was conquered*);
  - A is backgrounded (PP), but the agentive preposition recovers its basic role (Fig. 4, A<sub>1</sub>):
    - the change of state undergone by the foregrounded O has its origin in A, i.e. AN AGENT IS AN ORIGIN (LURAGHI 2003: 100);
    - spatial Origin is the basic meaning of the agentive prepositions in a vast number of Indo-European languages (Lat. *ab*; Anc. Gr. *ek*, *apò*; Rum. *de*; It. *da*; Germ. *von*; Anc. Engl. *fram* / *from*, etc.);
  - A is backgrounded and the agentive preposition does not fully recover its basic role (Fig. 4, A<sub>2</sub>):



- there is a Path through which O undergoes a change of state (whose origin is virtually obscure);
- Path corresponds to the extended Location linking Origin to Goal (the oriented arrow in Fig. 4);
- Path metaphorically corresponds to the transfer of force from A to O;
- Path (or Channel) is the basic meaning of Intermediary → INTERMEDIARY IS A CHANNEL THROUGH WHICH A ACTS ON O (LURAGHI 2003: 179);
- Origin and Intermediary occupy contiguous, although different positions within the causal chain of the event (see also CROFT 1991; 184 ff.; LURAGHI 2010: 66 ff.);
- they rank differently along the same scale of agentive responsibility: an Intermediary controls the event but does not intentionally initiate it, hence it expresses a reduced degree of Agency;
- this is apparent when an Intermediary implies or coexists with a primary A (see 2.1.2.: Caesar conquered the city *through the army*)
- this metaphor has been extended to As *stricto sensu* in various Indo-European languages (see Anc. It. *per*; Port. e Sp. *por*; Fr. *par*; Germ. *durch*) → the low pragmatic significance of A in passive constructions is also signalled at a lexical level.

### 3. DATA

- *ab, de, per* are variously involved in the domain of Causation
  - they introduce LMs which have a more or less decisive part in bringing about a certain state of affairs, i.e. Intermediary, Instrument, Means, Cause, Reason, etc. (see LURAGHI 2003; 2010: 44)
  - they express causal roles occupying ‘antecedent’ (< Origin) or ‘concomitant’ (< Path) positions along the causal chain (CROFT 1991: 183 ff.; LURAGHI 2010: 66 ff.):

SOURCE DOMAIN: <i>SPACE</i>	SOURCE (SPATIAL ORIGIN)	LOCATION (PATH)	DIRECTION (GOAL)
			
TARGET DOMAIN: <i>CAUSATION</i>	ANTECEDENT ROLES Agent, Cause, Reason	CONCOMITANT ROLES Instrument, Means, Manner	SUBSEQUENT ROLES Purpose, Beneficiary

Tab. 2. Causal chain of the event (adapted from LURAGHI 2010: 68)

- (other Latin prepositions are involved in the domain of causation, although they are not associated with the expression of Agency, thus they will not be discussed here)



### 3.1. ORIGIN (*AB, DE*)

#### ▪ Schematic configuration

- Spatial Origin → the point in the space from which an entity (TR) moves away or detaches;
- the notion of Origin can be further articulated depending on the initial position of the TR relative to the LM (LURAGHI 2010a: 32):

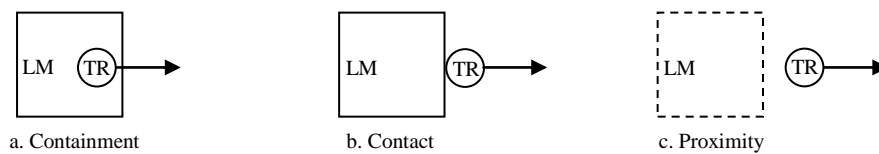


Fig. 5 Origins

- different configurations are associated with different prepositions
  - a) *ex* ‘from the interior of a LM’ (cf. Anc. Gr. *ek*)
    - excluded from the agentive or agentive-like participation
  - b) *de* ‘(separation) from an initial contact’
    - expresses human causal roles which foreshadow the Romance agentive development (see ERNOUT & MEILLET 1959 [2001]: 164-165; see also GUILLEMIN 1921; VÄÄNÄNEN 1956, inter al.)
  - c) *ab* ‘(departure) from’ («des environs, du voisinage d’un endroit», ERNOUT & MEILLET 1959 [2001]: 1)
    - stably associated with Agency throughout the history of Latin
- high degree of functional overlap among Origin prepositions since Early Latin (see ERNOUT & MEILLET 1959 [2001]: 1; HOFFMANN & SZANTYR 1965: 102).

#### 3.1.1. *AB*

- Sensitivity to (the natural scale of) Animacy (LURAGHI 1986; HETTRICH 1990)
  - Indo-European languages treat prototypical (animate) and non-prototypical (inanimate) As in passive constructions on the basis of two patterns:
- a) Animate and inanimate agents are encoded through the same morphology
  - Instrumental case (Indo-Iranian, Slavonic) → which also encodes Instruments
  - specific marker for passive (Greek, Germanic)
    - Examples from Greek (LURAGHI 2003: 240):

ei	mèn	gàr	hupò	odóntos	toi	eîpe	teleutésein
if	PTC	PTC	under	teeth:GEN	2SG.DAT	say.AOR.3SG	die.INF.FUT



me, [...] nûn dè hupò aichmês  
2SG.ACC now PTC under spear:GEN.F  
*if it said I should be killed by teeth, ... but no, it was by a spear* (Hdt. *Hist.* 1.39)

b) Animate As have a special marker, whereas inanimate As take the instrumental case (Latin, Armenian, Tokarian, Lithuanian) → Latin (examples from LURAGHI 1986)

- *ab* + ablative → human LMs / natural forces;
- bare ablative → non-human LMs

1) fit deinde senatus consultum ut ad bellum Parthicum legio una **a Cn. Pompeio** altera **a G. Caesare** mitteretur

*then there was a decision made by the senate, that one legion should be sent into the Parthian war by Gn. Pompeius, another one by G. Caesar* (Caesar, *de Bello Gallico*, 8,54,1)

2) **luxu** atque **desidia** civitas disrupta est

*the city was ruined by luxury and laziness* (Sallustius, *de Catilinae coniuratione*, 53.5)

3) vinci **a voluptate**

*to be overwhelmed by pleasure* (Cicero, *de Officiis* 1.68)

▪ Stability throughout the history of Latin

- with human/animate LMs, both individuated and generic (as in 4 to 7)

4) Petronius, *Satyrica*, 7.5.1:

Execratus itaque aniculae insidias operui caput et per medium lupanar fugere coepi in alteram partem, cum ecce in ipso aditu occurrit mihi aequae lassus ac moriens Ascyrtos; putares **ab eadem anicula esse deductum**.  
*After cursing the wiles of the little old hag, I covered my head and commenced to run through the middle of the night-house to the exit opposite, when, lo and behold! whom should I meet on the very threshold but Ascyrtos himself, as tired as I was, and almost dead; you would have thought that he had been brought by the self-same little old hag!*

5) Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 4.32.3:

Interea Psyche cum sua sibi perspicua pulchritudine nullum decoris sui fructum percipit. **Spectatur ab omnibus, laudatur ab omnibus**, nec quisquam, non rex non regius nec de plebe saltem cupiens eius nuptiarum petitor accedit

*In the meanwhile, beautiful as she was, Psyche was not benefiting from her grace. Everyone admired her, praised her, yet not a single king nor prince nor peasant came to ask her in marriage.*

6) Itinerarium Egeriae, XXV.7:

Dicitur ergo ibi unus psalmus, fit oratio, benedicuntur **ab episcopo** primum catechumini, item fideles  
*A psalm is said, the oration made, and first catechumens then the believers are blessed by the bishop*





7) *Itala, Matth., IV.1:*

Tunc Iesus ductus est in desertum **ab spiritu**, ut temptaretur **a diabolo**  
*Then Jesus was led up by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil*

- with natural forces (as in 8 and 9)

8) *Itala, Matth., XIV.24:*

Navicula autem iam in medio mari iactabatur **a fluctibus**: erat enim illis ventus contraries  
*But the boat was now in the middle of the sea, distressed by the waves, for the wind was contrary*

9) *Itala, Lucas, IX.32:*

Petrus vero et qui cum illo erant, gravati sunt **a somno**  
*Peter and the other people with him were overpowered by the sleep*

- (rarely) with non-animate LMS

10) *Vitruvius, de Architectura, 2.9.6:*

Et primum abies aeris habens plurimum et ignis minimumque umoris et terreni, levioribus rerum natura e potestatibus comparata non est ponderosa. itaque rigore naturali contenta non cito flectitur **ab onere**, sed directa permanet in contignatione.  
*And first, the fir has most air and fire and least moisture and earth. Being thus furnished with the lighter powers of nature, it is not weighed down. It is held together by a natural stiffness, and is not quickly bent by a load, but remains straight in the flooring.*

11) *Mulomedicina Chironis, I.XXI:*

Si quod iumentum **ab onere** percussum nervos praeciderit, simili ratione curabis, sicut in prioribus pedibus demonstravi  
*Should a horse, burdened by a load, breaks its nerves, you will cure it by the same way I have previously described*

### 3.2. DE

- Human Origin < spatial meaning 'away from (the inside of)'  
  - already in Early Latin (MOCCIARO & BRUCALE forth.)
  - overlap with the other prepositions denoting Origin, as in 12) and 13) with transitive verbs meaning 'to buy'

12) *Plautus, Rudens 81:*

adulescens huc iam adveniet [...] qui illam *mercatust de lenone* virginem  
*soon you will see arriving the young man who bought the maiden from the pimp*

13) *Plautus, Captivi 453:*

rem meam constabilivi, quom illos *emi de praeda a quaestoribus*  
*it was the making of me, when I bought those two from the commissioners*



- strong association with verbs expressing a low degree of transitivity

a) *mereo* ‘to deserve’

14) Plautus, *Aulularia* 222:

nam **de te** neque re neque verbis merui

*why, I never said or did a thing to you to deserve being treated so*

15) Petronius, *Satyrica*, 132.10.1:

hoc **de te** merui, ut me in caelo positum ad inferos traheres?

*did I deserve to be lifted up to heaven and then dragged down to hell by you?*

→ low degree of transitivity: the subject is an Undergoer, who is subjected (‘deserves’) to something (TR) ‘done’ to his direct benefit by an active Origin (LM) → i.e. TR is metaphorically contained in the LM, and acts on the subject

→ *mereo* realizes a configuration in which the only active movement implied concerns the Origin, while the subject undergoes an effect:

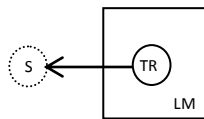


Fig. 6. Non-active subject

b) later development not attested in Early Latin

→ active constructions with inactive verbs as ‘to have/receive (from)’, i.e. ‘lexical passives’ (LANGACKER 1991: 331)

→ non-active subject / the active Origin is the initiator of the implied event of ‘giving’:

(‘A gives O to B’ →) B has O from A

→ in my corpus, especially in contexts denoting ‘birth’ (i.e. physical origin, non-action: *habere filium de aliqua*) → active, albeit non-agentive, Origin (active provenance of the event)

16) Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 10.28.01:

**Habebat** filiam paruulam **de marito**, quem nuper necauerat

*She had a little daughter from her husband, which she had recently killed*

17) Itala, *Matth.* I.18:

Christi autem generatio sic erat: Cum esset desponsata mater eius Maria Ioseph antequam convenirent inventa est **in utero habens de Spiritu Sancto**

*Now the birth of Jesus Christ was like this; for after his mother, Mary, was engaged to Joseph, before they came together, she was found pregnant by the Holy Spirit*



→ an active participation of the LM introduced by *de* can also be inferred in the case of *gigno* ‘to give birth to’, as in 18)

- this use is not attested in Early Latin
- it coexists, however, with other prepositions denoting Origin, namely *ex* (19)
- *ab* still remain the agentive preposition in passive contexts (as *ab hominibus* in 20)

18) *Itala, Matth.I.2:*

Iudas autem genuit Phares et Zara **de Thamar**

*Judah became the father of Perez and Zerah by Tamar*

19) *Itala, Matth.I.6:*

David autem genuit Solomonem **ex ea**, quae fuit Uriae

*David became the father of Salomon from/by the woman previously belonging to Uriah*

20) *Itala, Matth. XIX.12:*

Sunt enim spadones, qui *de matris utero* sic nati sunt, et sunt spadones, qui facti sunt **ab hominibus**. Et sunt spadones, qui se ipsos castraverunt propter regnum caelorum

*For there are eunuchs who were born that way from their mother's womb, and there are eunuchs who were made eunuchs by men; and there are eunuchs who made themselves eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake*

### 3.3. INTERMEDIATION (*PER*)

#### ▪ Schematic configuration

- ‘*PER* relation’ → Extended Location (Path) consisting in an oriented multiplicity of contiguous points occupied by the TR through or across the LM (e.g. Engl. *through*, Fr. *à travers*, Germ. *durch*, etc. cf. TAYLOR 1993; DIRVEN 1993; and the traditional reconstructions, e.g. POKORNY 1959: 810; ERNOUT & MEILLET 1959 [2001]: 497):

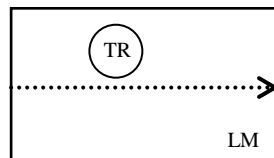


Fig. 7 ‘*PER*-relation’

- Animate landmarks → along the causal chain *per* + accusative expresses concomitant roles (→ antecedent roles)

#### A) From Early Latin to Classical Latin

- Intermediary → already attested in Early Latin (sporadically) (BRUCALE & MOCCIARO 2011)



- metaphorical mapping → the path through which an event is realized (see 2.2.1)

21) Plautus, *Miles gloriosus* 1225:

Per epistulam aut **per nuntium** quasi regem adiri eum aiunt  
*they say that he is usually reached, like a king, through letters or messengers*

- human Intermediaries precede concrete Instruments (and human Instruments)

22) Ovidius, *Ars Amatoria* 2.382:

Violataque iura marita est Barbara **per natos** Phasias ultra **suos**  
*[...] Her marriage violated, savage Medea avenged herself through her children*

23) Vitruvius, *de Architectura* 5.12.1.10:

turresque ex utraque parte conlocandae, ex quibus catenae traduci **per machinas** possint  
*and then erect a tower on each side, wherefrom chains may be suspended across by means of machinery*

- *Per se* → not attested in Early Latin (BRUCALE & MOCCIARO 2011b)

a) Intransitive verbs

→ subject: non-active participant (Undergoer)

→ internal causation (LEVIN & RAPPAPORT HOVAV 1995: 89-98), e.g. *ardo, concido*, etc.

24) Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 10.8.6.4:

nullo enim modo posse video stare istum diutius quin ipse **per se** etiam languentibus nobis concidat  
*for I see that Caesar can in no way maintain his position much longer without causing his own fall, even if we are backward*

b) Transitive verbs

→ subject: active participant (Actor)

→ external causation (LEVIN & RAPPAPORT HOVAV 1995), e.g. *accendo*

→ PP emphasizes that the grammatical subject *actually* plays an agentive-like role

→ frequent presence of *ipse* 'self'

25) Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* 9.11.4:

**Ipse per se** amor [...] animos in cupiditatem formae [...] accendit  
*Love itself per se kindles the soul with desire for the beautiful object*

26) Livius, *ab Urbe condita* 35.16.9.1:

[...] ii populi non **per se**, non **per alium quemquam foedus** mutauerit  
*these communities have neither changed the pact by themselves nor by the initiative of others*



## B) Intermediary in Post-Classical and Late Latin

- already in Classical Latin *per* + accusative sometimes seems to represent the highest role in the causal chain, i.e. it lacks the necessary implication of a primary Agent (→ agentive reading):

27) Sallustius, *de Coniuratione Catilinae* 29.3.1:

ea potestas **per senatum** more Romano magistrati maxuma permittitur  
*the power, which according to Roman usage is thus conferred upon a magistrate by the Senate, is supreme*

28) Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris* 17:

**Per hos** longo tempore strenuissime constat omnia bella confecta  
*It is well known that for a long time the weight of all the wars was supported by them*

- the implication of a primary Agency is however still present in Late Latin, and especially in religious texts *per* + accusative frequently expresses the human participant (typically a prophet) which actually reports or realizes the Christian God's will:

29) *Itala, Matth., I.22:*

quod dictum est a **Domino per Esaiam prophetam** dicentem  
*which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying...*

30) *Itala, Matth., XXVI.24:*

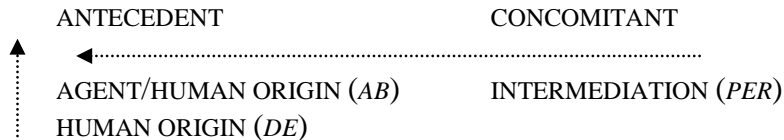
Vae autem homini illi, **per quem** filius hominis traditur  
*but woe to that man through whom the Son of Man is betrayed!*

## 4. (TOWARDS A) CONCLUSION

- Passive agents are strongly associated with *ab* throughout the history of Latin;
- *de* and *per* are involved in the domain of Causation already in Early Latin and, moreover, *de* and *ab* frequently overlap in denoting (spatial and) non-spatial Origins;
- the causal roles conveyed by *de* and *per* motivate the further extension to the expression of Agency in Romance languages;
- nevertheless, as long as *ab* clearly maintains an agentive value, *de* and *per* do not further extend their semantic values, thus not acquiring an agentive reading;
- the progressive extension of *de* towards new functional domains (e.g. genitive, see GUILLEMIN 1921; ATZORI 1939; VÄÄNÄNEN 1956), as well as the weakening of the ablative preposition *ab* starting from Medieval Latin (7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> cent.) are well-known phenomena, also testified by the presence of multi-prepositional sequences in Late texts (e.g. *de ab odiernum diae; de ab hac die*, see LÖFSTEDT 1959 [1980]: 242; AEBISCHER 1951; SVENNING: 1951);



- the extension of *de* to the expression of Agency occurs within a functional domain (Causation) in which *it is already involved*, and represents in fact a metonymical shift from non-agentive Origin to Agentive Origin in passive contexts (see also LURAGHI 2010):



- analogously, the value of intermediation expressed by *per* + accusative will metonymically shift to a higher (initial), although contiguous position in the causal chain;
- these developments will produce an overall reorganization of the semantic networks of the prepositions in question, which do not perfectly overlap in fact with the semantics expressed by the corresponding Latin prepositions. Nevertheless, we are now dealing with new Romance languages which need to be investigated in more details in another time and place.

## TEXTUAL SOURCES

PHI5 = Packard Humanities Institut (1991): CD-ROM 5.3: *Latin authors and Bible versions*  
PERSEUS UNDER PHILOLOGIC. Latin texts & Translations, <http://perseus.uchicago.edu/latin.html>  
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