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3 The embodied basis of discourse and pragmatic markers in Greek and Latin

Abstract: This paper deals with the pragmaticalization of some verbs of movement and exchange in Latin and Greek. The verbs under scrutiny instantiate two image schemas, MOVEMENT ACROSS SPACE and EXCHANGE OF OBJECTS, both of which constitute basic sensorimotor experiences that are at the root of many grammaticalization processes. Little attention has been paid to pragmatic developments, however, and even less has been paid to ancient languages. This paper tries to fill this gap, by exploring how pragmatic meanings emerged as embodied outcomes licensed by the semantics of their sources and through recurrent pathways of metaphorical extension.

Keywords: verbs of movement, verbs of exchange, embodiment, discourse markers, pragmatic markers, pragmaticalization, inter-subjectification, Latin, Greek, metaphorical extension

3.1 Introduction

In this paper, I explore the pragmatic expansion undergone by some verbs of movement and exchange in Greek and Latin, and show that this development can be better understood in the light of a process of embodiment triggered by metaphorical extensions. In both languages, some verbs expressing the general meanings of 'go' and 'lead', on the one hand, and 'bring' and 'take', on the other, give rise to fixed forms derived from imperatives inflected in the second-person singular, which develop meta-textual (i.e., discursive) and socio-interactional (i.e., pragmatic) functions. The forms to be discussed are:

> Greek *íthi* 'come on!', (2nd pers. sg. imp. of *eîmi* 'I go')
> Greek *áge* 'come on!' (2nd pers. sg. imp. of *ágō* 'I lead, move on')
> Latin *age* 'come on!' (2nd pers. sg. imp. of *ago* 'I lead, move on')
> Greek *phére* 'come on!' (2nd pers. sg. imp. of *phérō* 'I carry, I bring')
> Latin *em* 'see there, come on!' (2nd pers. sg. imp. of *emo* 'I buy, I take')

The meanings of all these verbs derive from one of two image schemas, namely MOVEMENT ACROSS SPACE or EXCHANGE OF OBJECTS, both of which constitute sensorimotor experiences which are basic to human life and cultural practice, respectively. The term "image schema" denotes an expression of the embodied construal of experience, a basic pattern which is deeply grounded in a variety of embodied situations (Clausner & Croft, 1999; Johnson, 1987: 29; Lakoff, 1987: 459–

461): in this case, the typical movements performed by the human body across space and the basic event of exchanging objects. These schemas are built directly on our bodily-based interaction with the world ('going', 'taking', 'giving'), and thus capture the phenomenological basis crucial to our elementary experience of the environment in which we live. Image schemas of MOVEMENT ACROSS SPACE and EXCHANGE OF OBJECTS have long been recognized as greatly contributing to the grammar and the lexicon of the world's languages, including through metaphorical extension (see Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca, 1994: 5, 55–57; Heine & Kuteva, 2002).[1]

Less attention has been paid to their pragmatic developments, however. Once co-opted at the level of pragmatics, the forms listed above no longer act semantically or syntactically as verbs and, partially bleached of their original semantic content, develop several discursive and interactional meanings. To mention a typical and clear case, frozen imperatives of motion verbs can be used to strengthen the illocutionary force. In (1)–(3), *íthi*, *áge*, and *age*, all expressing a pragmatic meaning similar to English *come on!*, serve the same interactional purpose, that of encouraging the addressee to perform the action encoded by the juxtaposed imperative.

(1) **íthi**   dè̄   parístasthon   parà   tō
     go:IMP.2SG now stand:IMP.M/P.DU beside the:ACC.DU
     plástigg' (Ar. *Ran.* 1378)
     balance.pan:ACC.DU
     '**Come on**, stand beside the balance pans!'

(2) **áge**   támnete. (Hom. *Od.* 3.332)
     lead:IMP.2SG cut:IMP.2PL
     '**Come on**, cut!'

(3) **age**   igitur intro   abite. (Plaut. *Mil.* 929)
     lead:IMP.2SG then   inside go:IMP.2PL
     '**Come on**, then, go inside!'

Frozen imperatives formed out of verbs of exchange *phére* and Latin *em*, on the other hand, acquire a number of related meta-textual functions as discourse management tools, which can be strategically used by the speaker to "handle" linguistic "objects" from an informational and discursive perspective. In (4) from Greek, *phére* introduces a question which realizes a topic-shift after two exclamations: the speaker opens his interrogative sentence with *phére*, implicitly asking the hearer to 'carry on' this new communicative move. In English, a possible translation is the adversative conjunction

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1 See further Newman, 1996 on exchange verbs and Nicolle, 2007 on motion verbs.

but, which expresses the idea of thematic discontinuity and presents the interlocutor with a new topic he is asked to 'bring' with him.

(4) ***phére***   *poû*   *tòn*
     bring:IMP.2SG   where   the:ACC.M.SG
     ándra   *toûton*   *exeurḗsomen;* (Ar. *Eq*. 144–45)
     man:ACC.M.SG   this:ACC.M.SG   find:FUT.1PL
     '**But** where can this man be found?'

In the pragmatic development of Latin *em*, the force dynamics of the EXCHANGE event frame is even clearer. Example (5) shows how a speech act can be metaphorically perceived as embodied in terms of an exchanged object. Lyconides's assertion that Phaedria is giving birth is conceptualized as a *concrete entity* being transferred, to which the girl calls her mother's attention. In this case, *em* functions as a marker that invites the interlocutor to 'take' the speech act she is uttering, thus behaving as a meta-textual device to shed light on a specific portion of the communicative *exchange*.

(5) PHAEDRIA   *perii mea nutrix obsecro te uterum dolet Iuno Lucina, tuam fidem.*
     LYCONIDES   ***em,***   *mater*   *mea*
                   take:IMP.2SG   mother:VOC.F.SG   my:VOC.F.SG
                   tibi   *rem*   *potiorem*
                   you:DAT.SG   fact:ACC.F.SG   convincing:ACC.F.SG
                   verbo: *clamat,*   *parturit.* (Plaut. *Aul*. 691–93)
                   word:ABL.N.SG   cry:PRS.3SG   give.birth:PRS.3SG
     'PHAEDRIA   I die, my nurse; my pangs are coming on! I entreat you for your protection, Juno Lucina!
     LYCONIDES   **Look**, my mother, facts are more convincing than words; she's crying out, she's in the pangs of labor!'

These examples by no means exhaust the possible discussion of the multifaceted functional spectrum covered by these markers, but they sufficiently demonstrate the fact that these markers developed a number of procedural functions. These functions can be interpreted as embodied outcomes licensed by the semantics of their sources through recurrent figurative mappings. The main aim of this paper is thus to investigate how new embodied meanings emerge and develop in Greek and Latin, and along what pathways of metaphorical interpretation. My approach is based on both the methods and theoretical underpinnings of image schema theory, which maintains that systematic processes of functional enrichment largely depend on humanly embodied imaginative mechanisms. According to this approach, networks of functional expansions can be accounted for in terms of bodily- and experience-based image schemas, frequently activated and constrained by metaphorical extension. Thus, after illustrating the basic image schemas of MOVEMENT ACROSS SPACE and

EXCHANGE OF OBJECTS, I show how they fostered the emergence of abstract discursive and pragmatic meanings. Comparative evidence then shows that the same embodied processes detectable in Greek and Latin are present also in many modern languages. I conclude with a summary of my findings and their implications for an embodied-based account of pragmaticalization processes in Latin.

3.2 Discourse markers, pragmatic markers, and pragmaticalization

Before turning to the data, some terminological observations are in order. In the philologically-oriented literature and in reference grammars, *íthi*, *áge*, *age*, *phére* and *em* are usually regarded as interjections expressing the current emotional state of the speaker (see Barbini, 1966; Hofmann, 1936: § 45; Hofmann & Szantyr, 1972, II: 289, 339, 471 for Latin markers; Biraud, 2010; Labiano Ilundain, 2000; Lepre, 2000; Schwyzer & Debrunner, 1950 II: 601 for Greek markers). In these (often pre-theoretical) approaches, however, the label "interjection" does not say anything about the functional nature of these pragmaticalized verbs, which are cursorily mentioned in terms of highly routinized items, semantically opaque in meaning and difficult to classify. In this paper, I refer to such terms instead as Discourse markers or Pragmatic markers (henceforth DM and PM, respectively), depending on their specific function. But in order to be able to fully exploit the insight of this terminological distinction, we need a clear understanding of what exactly DM and PM mean.

In much current pragmatics literature, the two notions of DM and PM are often used in a confusing way: either DM or PM are used indifferently as overarching terms whose functional boundaries are highly blurred, or one is seen as a subclass of the other (e.g., Hansen, 2006, who claims that DM is a hyponym of PM). Different authors have adopted either term as an interchangeable umbrella notion to refer to all those elements which acquired some procedural value, be it *meta-textual* or *interactional*. It is beyond the scope of this paper to attempt to exhaustively survey all the classifications suggested in the literature. However, a clear distinction will be made between DMs, i.e., elements oriented toward discourse or text organization, discourse management, and discourse interpretation (such as English *then* and *well*), and PMs, i.e., elements which are (inter-)subjective in nature and point toward social relationships, personal attitudes, and identity negotiation, among other things (as the English politeness marker *please* and the softener of the speaker's commitment *I think*). This distinction is functional in essence, since it rests on the fact that these two classes perform different types of what Ghezzi (2014) calls "macrofunctions": namely, textual cohesion and coherence, social cohesion, and personal stance. This classification is represented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Macrofunctions, Discourse markers and Pragmatic markers (from Ghezzi, 2014: 14).

MACROFUNCTION	FOCUS ON	MARKERS INVOLVED
TEXTUAL COHESION AND COHERENCE	Discourse structure and the act of speaking: markers index the relationship between the propositional content of utterances and texts	**Discourse markers**
SOCIAL COHESION	The social act of speaking: markers index the relationship between the interlocutors	**Pragmatic markers**
PERSONAL STANCE	The speaker: markers index the speaker's stance toward the discourse, her interlocutor, the context of interaction	**Pragmatic markers**

The second point that needs to be clarified is that in this study I use the term "pragmaticalization" to refer to the process of functional enrichment undergone by the frozen imperatives under scrutiny. In my view, the development of discursive and pragmatic values constitutes a different kind of linguistic change from "grammaticalization". Traugott (2010: 272), for one, stated that grammaticalization is primarily conceived of as "a change in form, and grammar is typically conceptualized as syntax, morphology and phonology", thereby leaving out of the discussion the process of meta-textual or interactional expansion characterizing the emergence of discursive and pragmatic values. The motivation behind this exclusion basically rests on the fact that DMs and PMs do not conform to the classical grammaticalization criteria cross-linguistically: viz., that different functions foster the acquisition of different properties and, consequently, that the relevant parameters that can be applied in order to describe their status can vary drastically (see Diewald, 2011; Kaltenböck, Heine & Kuteva, 2011; Traugott, 2010, among others). These observations also hold for the imperatives at issue here. A recent paper by Zakowski (2018) offers a detailed analysis of the structural behavior of the Greek markers *íthi*, *áge*, and *phére* and compares it with grammaticalization parameters, showing that they do not fully adhere to them. Similar observations about Latin markers are provided by Unceta Gómez (2017), who focuses on *em*, and by Fedriani & Ghezzi (2014), who look at *age* and *em*; see further Molinelli (2010) on the pragmaticalization of *rogo* and *quaeso*.

The only typical features of grammaticalization shown by the verbs under scrutiny are fossilization, decategorialization, and (inter-)subjectification. Examples (1)–(4) above show that these verbs, ossified in the second-person singular, can co-occur with imperatives inflected in other numbers.[2] In (1), for instance, *íthi* co-occurs with the dual imperative *parístasthon* '(the two of you) stand beside!'. Similarly,

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2 *Numerusindifferenz*: Hofmann & Szantyr, 1972, II: 289.

age in (3) has scope over plural *abite* 'go inside!'.[3] Therefore, while developing new pragmatic functions, these verbs underwent decategorialization, since they lost their morphosyntactic inflexional properties. This presumably happened at an early stage both in Greek and in Latin, given that we have occurrences as early as in Homer and in Plautus, respectively. Interestingly, such intertwined processes of fossilization and decategorialization had already been noticed by the Latin grammarian Servius, who, while commenting on the use of *age* in Vergil, describes *age* as a hortatory adverb which can be associated with plural verbs:

(6) *age non est modus verbum imperanti, sed hortantis adverbium, adeo ut plerumque* '*age* come:,MPG.2SG *facite* do:IMP.2PL' *dicamus et* **singularem numerum copulemus plurali**. (Serv. in Aen. 2.707)
'*Age* is not a form of the imperative mood, but an exhortative adverb, so that we commonly say "come on, do (it)" and we connect the singular [of the frozen adverb] with the plural [of the main verb it modifies]'.

Parallel to this process of morphological reduction, these elements show a clear increase in (inter)subjectification, since they come to encode the speaker's perspective and his attitude towards the interlocutor. However, besides fossilization, decategorialization, and subjectification, these items show characteristics which are inconsistent with the classical grammaticalization criteria. For one, they develop an increase rather than a reduction in scope, projecting their functional value over the whole speech act and not only over a lexeme or phrase (something which is very typical in pragmaticalization). Moreover, they are not involved in processes of paradigmaticization and obligatorification; rather, these elements undergo functional expansion in terms of pragmatic strengthening and increase in informativeness (see below). The question thus arises as to what driving force triggered this process of pragmaticalization.

3.3 Image schemas of MOVEMENT and EXCHANGE and their meta-phorical extensions in the pragmatic domain

As briefly stated above, typological studies have widely shown that verbs of motion and exchange are grammaticalized in a large number of the world's languages,

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3 Note that lack of agreement resulting from decategorialization and pragmatic crystallization characterizes equifunctional markers in a number of modern languages as well, such as French *tiens*take.IMP.2SG *ça*, vousyou.2PL, lit. 'take this, you'; *allez*go.IMP.2PL, *rentre*get.IMP.2SG *dans la voiture*, lit. 'go, get in the car' and Italian forms *dai*give.IMP.2SG, *venite*come.IMP.2PL, lit. 'give, come'; *andate*go.IMP.2PL, *va'*go.IMP.2SG, lit. 'go, go', Fedriani & Ghezzi, 2014: 119.

developing a variety of different functions such as case affixes and tense, aspect and mood markers. Recent studies have also highlighted less typical values acquired by motion verbs along a number of lesser-known grammaticalization pathways (see Devos & van der Wal, 2014; Lord, Yap & Iwasaki, 2002; von Wandenfels, 2012). I focus on the polysemy activated by metaphorical extensions involving the basic sensorimotor experiences of MOVEMENT and EXCHANGE, to assess why and in what terms they constitute excellent candidates "feeding" our figurative understanding of more abstract domains, such as that of giving orders and other interpersonal functions, like communication of intentions or encouragement in doing something.

Consider, first, the MOVEMENT schema. In their *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*, Heine & Kuteva (2002: 159–160) mention a path of semantic change concerning verbs of going that can develop into what they call "hortative" imperative markers. The example they provide to account for this semantic development is the verb *gɔ* 'go' in Baka, which, probably starting from constructions of the type 'go and do something' (cf. 7a), evolved into a pragmatic marker with a clear directive meaning (7b):

(7) Baka (Niger-Congo; after Heine & Kuteva 2002: 160)
    a. ***gɔ̀***   *-ɛ*   *na*   *ja*   *ndɔ̀!*
    go.IMP -INF   take   banana
    'Go and fetch bananas!'
    b. ***gɔ̀***   *ja*   *ndɔ̀!*
    go   take   bananas
    'Fetch bananas!'

The motivation for this development has been convincingly proved by Mauri & Sansò (2014: 175), who argue that, when receiving orders, the addressee typically needs to move away from the actual location where the speaker gives his command as a "preliminary action necessary to bring about the desired SoA [State of Affair]". A case in point is the so-called *go get* construction. This construction is constituted by a verb of movement asyndetically juxtaposed with the main verb, giving rise to what is frequently called a "(quasi-)serial verb construction". An English example is (8), and a French example is (9): they show that the source of this construction is to be looked for in complex sequences of actions.

(8)   *Let's **go find** the paragraph marker.* (Nicolle, 2007: 49)

(9)   ***Va voir** Marie! Autrement elle se fâchera.* (Rossari, 2006: 305)
    'Go see Mary! Or she will be angry'.

The same development may also be at the root of the semantic change that occurred in Greek and Latin. In Latin, there are diachronically co-existing and partially ambiguous constructions featuring *age*, such as (10a), where *age* implies a movement in space

which is necessary to completing the command, but also (10b), where no change of location is required, and (10c), where *age* is fully pragmaticalized, compatible with persons other than the 2nd-singular, and juxtaposed with the imperative with the aim of strengthening its illocutionary force. It may thus be hypothesized that the pathway of semantic bleaching, on the one hand, and pragmatic strengthening, on the other, occurred along the lines described by (10a–c). In (10c), Latin *age* even modifies a verb of movement which points to the actual dislocation that should be performed (*eamus*), showing that the marker is fully desemanticized. Since the pragmaticalization of *age* is already completed in early Latin, however, we do not have clear evidence to argue for this specific development along the lines of the *go get* construction and its role remains largely hypothetical.

(10) a. *ergo* ***age***   *et*   *iratae*
       then   lead:IMP.2SG and   angry:DAT.F.SG
       medicamina   *fortia*   ***praebe***. (Ov. *Ars* 2.489)
       medicine:ACC.N.PL powerful:ACC.N.PL bring:IMP.2SG
       'Come on then, and bring powerful medicines for an angry woman!'
    b. *immo* ***age***   *et*   *a*   *prima*
       nay   lead:IMP.2SG and   from first:ABL.F.SG
       dic,   *hospes*,   *origine*   *nobis*
       tell:IMP.2SG guest:VOC.M.SG beginning:ABL.F.SG   we:DAT
       insidias. (Verg. *Aen.* 1.753)
       treachery:ACC.F.PL
       'Nay come on and tell us, my guest, from the first beginning the treachery!'
    c. ***age***   ***eamus***,   *mea*
       lead:IMP.2SG go:SBJV.PRS.1PL my:VOC.F.SG
       gnata,   *ad*   *matrem*   *tuam*. (Plaut. *Rud.* 1179)
       daughter:VOC.F.SG to   mother:ACC.F.SG your:ACC.F.SG
       'Come on, let's go, my daughter, to your mother!'

According to Spitzer ([1922] 2007: 87), who commented on the similar development of Italian *va'* 'come on!' (literally 'go!'), the insertion of a motion verb in coordination with an imperative serves to encourage the interlocutor by setting him in motion and thus predisposing him to the imminent effort. In this way, the event is construed as more complex, since the action is split into two distinct segments ('go' AND 'do something' *vs.* 'do something').[4] This subjective construal of the event, where the

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4 "The action appears as more complex: one dwells on the action for longer (*go and do something* vs. *do something*) [L'azione appare più complessa: ci si sofferma più a lungo sull'azione (*va e fa' qualcosa* vs. *fa' qualcosa*)]", Spitzer, [1922] 2007: 87.

motion segment is added by the speaker to confer pragmatic strength and emotional load, has been gradually incorporated into the asyndetic construction (cf. 10c).[5]

This process of incorporating the speaker's subjective perspective has probably been enhanced by the collusion of three crucial features of the MOVEMENT image schema, namely its deictic component, its dynamic semantics, and its telicity. This is especially true in the case of verbs instantiating the MOVEMENT image schema, which presuppose a change of location oriented toward a goal, as in our case. Let us discuss them in some detail.

Firstly, the existence of a goal to be reached presupposes a specific deictic perspective profiled by the speaker and implies a given orientation in space, thus providing a contextual connection of the speaker and of the interlocutor(s) with the image schema which is actualized in conversation ("deictic anchoring", Radden, 1996: 431). Importantly, all the verbs analyzed here imply a deictic orientation corresponding to motion away from the speaker, i.e., from the *origo*, and this point is crucial to our understanding of the subsequent pragmatic development. Indeed, these verbs move the deictic center outwards and perfectly fit the schema suggested by Bourdin (2003) for capturing the functional expansion of 'go' verbs, namely <DIRECTED MOTION + OTHERNESS>, in contrast with 'come' verbs, described as <DIRECTED MOTION + IDENTITY>.[6] 'Otherness', in our case, could be understood in terms of an inter-subjective, interactional meaning acquired by these PMs, which are typically addressed to the interlocutor (i.e., the 'other'), who becomes the abstract endpoint of the motion.

Moreover, in some communicative contexts the presence of a deictic frame featuring a spatial orientation away from the *origo* probably played a role in fostering the incorporation of the subjective deictic perspective within the image schema. This point is clearly made by Nicolle (2007: 58): "When a deictic movement verb is coordinated or juxtaposed to another verb, the result is a subjectified construal of both the action of moving and the other event. As frequency of use diminishes the force of the deictic movement verb, the perspective of the conceptualizer becomes incorporated into the description of the event described by the main verb, whilst less prominence is given to the act of physical movement". This is precisely what is likely to have happened with *íthi*, *áge*, and *age*, which, once pragmaticalized, were bleached of their semantic component pointing to movement in space away from the *origo*, expressing on the other hand the speaker's other-directed (i.e., inter-subjective) attitude. In other words, the speaker's point of view became integrated within the

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5 This is what Hofmann & Szantyr, 1972 II: 471 refer to as the "asyndetic juxtaposition of the imperative [asyndetische Nebeneinanderstellung der Imperative]".

6 See further Mauri & Sansò, 2014 for an extensive discussion about the semantic divergence of 'go' and 'come' verbs and its consequences in different grammaticalization pathways. See also Bourdin, 2008.

construction, which was then oriented towards otherness thanks to the "moving away" semantics. The verb expressing the preliminary movement requested by the speaker to perform his command underwent a process of highly inter-subjective embodiment, being reinterpreted as a pragmatic marker with directive value in imperative constructions.

The second trait contributing to the pragmaticalization of these verbs is their inherent dynamic semantics. Greek *ágō* and Latin *ago* include a kinetic and causative meaning that could have enhanced their pragmaticalization in hortative contexts, by realizing the metaphorical implicature MOVE, LEAD (IN SPACE) → DRIVE, PUSH (SOMEBODY INTO ACTION) (Fedriani & Ghezzi, 2014: 121). This dynamic causative feature may have rendered these verbs privileged candidates to be reanalyzed in directive contexts, in which they were frequently coordinated (or juxtaposed) with imperatives. The original fully lexicalized request to 'move on', 'go', 'set in motion' to accomplish an order was therefore gradually reanalyzed as an exhortative, directive PM to drive the interlocutor into action. The metaphor at work in the embodiment process of the sensorimotor experience constituting the MOVEMENT IN SPACE schema is the metaphorical extension MOTION → ACTION. Crucially, both the MOVEMENT schema and its metaphorical extension share the semantic component of CHANGE (OF LOCATION and OF A STATE OF AFFAIRS, respectively). This is another semantic trait which may have played a role in this pragmatic development, since the primary function of imperative constructions is that of *changing* the current situation.

Thirdly, *eîmi*, *ágō*, and *ago* are all telic since they presuppose an endpoint in their semantics. Now, it has long been noted that telicity is linked with purpose, the latter being a key semantic ingredient of agentive motion verbs such as those investigated here (see, e.g., Bourdin, 2008: 48). In addition, both the PURPOSE and the CHANGE components, which are conceptually deeply interconnected, intrinsically rely on the concept of futurity, since both purposes and changes require time to be accomplished and are projected towards the future (see again Bourdin, 2008: 49–50). This last point is worth stressing, since it is entirely in keeping with the fact that *íthi*, *áge*, and *age* are pragmaticalized within imperative contexts, which by definition represent a future and virtual situation that, at the time of utterance, is yet to be actualized.

Figure 1 contains a diagrammatic summary of the multiple layers of the embodiment processes that presumably take place in the metaphorical extension MOTION → ACTION, which is at the root of the pragmatic development of the Greek and Latin verbs of movement considered.

Let us now turn to the EXCHANGE schema. The two items at issue in this case are Greek *phére* ('come on', 2nd pers.sg.imp of *phérō* 'I carry, I bring') and Latin *em* ('see there!, come on', 2nd pers.sg.imp of *emo* 'I take, I buy'). The verbs from which these markers originated share a number of constitutive entailments which render them highly prone to develop discursive functions.
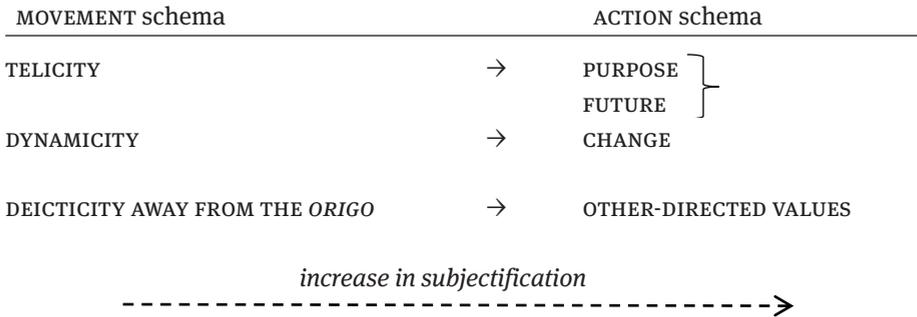
MOVEMENT schema		ACTION schema
TELICITY	→	PURPOSE
		FUTURE
DYNAMICITY	→	CHANGE
DEICTICITY AWAY FROM THE *ORIGO*	→	OTHER-DIRECTED VALUES

increase in subjectification

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Figure 1: Semantic components of motion verbs fostering the 'MOTION → ACTION' metaphorical extension.

Firstly, both verbs imply an exchange of objects, therefore a *negotiation* in which the focus is placed on the item exchanged. In view of this semantic feature, both the imperatives of *phérō* and *emo* are ideal candidates to accommodate the so-called "conduit metaphor" (Reddy, 1979), according to which IDEAS ARE OBJECTS and, more precisely, speech exchange is seen as manipulation of objects in terms of "linguistically packaged ideas" (Sweetser, 1987: 451). It is likely that the activation of the conduit metaphor enhanced the process of pragmaticalization of *phére* and *em* as discourse management tools to handle and exchange linguistic objects in communicative negotiations. Evidence for the metaphorical reading of mental experiences in terms of images drawn from physical experiences is richly provided by Short (2012), who demonstrates how the 'THOUGHTS ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS' mapping systematically fed the Roman representation of mental phenomena and a variety of understandings of the mind (see further Short, 2013, especially pp. 142–145, for the application of the conduit metaphor to the semantics of "mistakenness" in Greek and Latin). Similar evidence for the vitality of the conduit metaphor in the domain of communication in Greek is offered by Luraghi (2003: 112–133, 289–290).

In the context of our discussion, the conduit metaphor can be enriched with additional details that realize the specific sub-metaphor VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS TRANSFER OF OBJECTS. This sub-metaphor stresses that linguistic ideas, as objects, can be metaphorically exchanged between the participants of a communicative transaction, and therefore be given or taken. If we consider the case of English, we see that one can, for example, *give a talk*, *give a lecture*, *give an idea*, *send a message* or *take advice*, *get an idea*. More precisely, speaking implies an other-directed activity and can be metaphorically construed as an act of giving; the reception of a message, by contrast, is a self-oriented action which fits the 'take' semantics (see Newman, 1996: 244). That the communication of messages is seen as an act of physically giving something is witnessed, for example, by the etymology behind communicative actions such as *propose* (< *pro-ponere* 'put forward'), *promise* (*pro-mittere* 'send forward'), and *suggest* (*sub-gerere* 'drive under') (Sweetser, 1987: 451). By contrast,

the image of receiving a message as taking an object is very clear if we think of our brain as something that can receive stimuli and messages, thereby fostering the related metaphor 'TAKE (→ TAKE WITH THE MIND) → CONSIDER, UNDERSTAND' (cf. the English expression *I got it* and the etymological derivation of *comprehension* from Latin *comprehendere* 'to seize': Sweetser, 1990: 20; see also Short, 2012: 117).

Secondly, both *phérō* and *emo* are deictic and telic in essence, since they feature a specific orientation and imply an endpoint in their eventive frame (see Newman, 1996: 57–58). These semantic entailments trigger similar metaphorical extensions to those observed with regard to verbs of motion. On the one hand, their telic nature, presupposing an endpoint, is easily metaphorically reanalyzed in terms of purposive and directive meanings; on the other, their deictic component facilitates the embodiment of the speaker's subjective perspective within the new pragmatic functions.

Crucially, however, *phérō* and *emo* fundamentally diverge in terms of their deictic orientation, and their discrepancies turn out to be crucial in triggering different discursive values once the imperatives have been pragmaticalized. The first difference concerns their deicticity. Whereas *phérō* is basically oriented outwards, towards an endpoint which does not coincide with the speaker, *emo* is clearly centripetal. If we follow Bourdin's (2003) distinction between motion oriented towards "otherness" (like 'go' verbs) and motion towards "identity" (like 'come' verbs), the same distinguishing criterion can be applied to exchange verbs. In this perspective, *phérō* accommodates the centrifugal frame <EXCHANGE + OTHERNESS>, while *emo* can be better described as centripetal: <EXCHANGE + IDENTITY>. This allows us to note the second discrepancy, namely, that *phérō* does not fit the prototypical semantics of exchange *tout court*, because it describes a transportation of objects rather than a mere exchange. By definition, transportation requires movement in space to transfer an object from a source to a goal. Therefore, the resulting semantics of *phérō* is more complex than that of *emo*, which is a static verb only implying the acquisition of goods by offering something of equal or greater value. Considering the multi-layered semantics of *phérō*, we may thus rearrange its description as <MOTION + EXCHANGE>, which results in a centrifugal delivery: <TRANSFER + OTHERNESS>.

3.4 The embodied pragmaticalization of *íthi, áge, age, phére* and *em*

In what follows, I survey the main pragmatic and discursive values developed by the imperatives *íthi*, áge, *age*, *phére* and *em* through a process of embodiment, actualized along the lines of the metaphorical extensions described above. My corpus is composed of Aristophanes' comedies for Greek and Plautus' comedies for Latin.

3.4.1 *Íthi, áge*, and *age* as pragmatic markers

Coherently with the pathway of metaphorical extension MOTION → ACTION, *íthi, áge*, and *age* develop addressee-oriented values in terms of PMs. Their typical context of occurrence is in asyndetic juxtaposition with an imperative expressing a command. In this case, *íthi, áge*, and *age* strengthen the illocutionary force of the order expressed by the imperative they have scope over, thus functioning as PMs which impose a subjective force on the speech act, metaphorically *pushing* the interlocutor into action, as exemplified in (11 a–c):

(11) a. ***íthi***   *nun*   ***káleson***   *autḗn*. (Ar. *Lys*. 861)
   go:IMP.2SG now   call.out:IMP.AOR.2SG she:ACC
   '**Come on** now, **call** her **out**!'
 b. ***áge***   *dè̄*   *takhéōs toutì*
   go:IMP.2SG PTC   quickly this:ACC.N.SG
   xunárpason. (Ar. *Nub*. 774)
   snap.up:IMP.AOR.2SG
   '**Come on** then, quickly **snap up** this one!'
 c. ***age***   ***accipe***   *hoc*   *sis*. (Plaut. *Pers*. 691)
   lead:IMP.2SG   take:IMP.2SG   this:ACC.N.SG please
   '**Come on**, take this please!'

A less frequent, but still well attested context of use is the co-occurrence of *íthi, áge*, and *age* with a first person plural subjunctive which also includes the speaker within the action or state she wishes to bring about. In this case, the pragmatic markers at issue have a slightly different value, that of an inclusive exhortation, comparable with the English expression *come on, let's go!*

(12) a. ***íthi***   *nun,*   ***apodômen***   *tḗnde tḕn Theōrían hanúsante têi*
   go:IMP.2SG then   hurry.up:SBJV.1PL
   boulêi. (Ar. *Pax* 871)
   'Then **come on**, **let's hurry up** and give Holiday here to the Council!'
 b. ***áge***   *nun*   ***íōmen***. (Ar. *Pax* 851)
   go:IMP.2SG then   go:SBJV.1PL
   '**Come on** then, **let's go**!'
 c. ***age***   ***decumbamus***   *sis,*   *pater*. (Plaut. *As*. 828)
   lead:IMP.2SG recline:SBJV.1PL   please father:VOC.M.SG
   '**Come on**, **let's recline**, father, if you please!'

A less frequent speech act in which these pragmaticalized verbs occur is that of questions, and this usage is only attested with *áge* and *age*. In this case, these markers oscillate towards the discursive domain, since they serve to encourage the addressee

to *proceed* with a communicative move or to take the floor, thus functioning as turn-yielding devices. Since they invite the interlocutor to *go on in discourse*, they could be better categorized as DMs in such rarer and less prototypical contexts. I suggest that a more fine-grained sub-metaphor stemming from the general MOTION → ACTION mapping is at work here, whereby the domain of COMMUNICATIVE SPACE (i.e., a text or discourse) is conceptualized as physical space. Coherently, the order is that of proceeding in a more specific type of action, namely a COMMUNICATIVE ACTION. This is evident in (13a) from Greek, where *áge* prefacing a question serves to trigger a quick answer on the side of the interlocutor, and in (13b) from Latin, where Antipho asks his daughter Pamphila what is, in her opinion, the preferable type of woman to marry after her mother's death, and stresses the urgency of his question by encouraging Pamphila to give an answer.

(13) a. **_áge_**   *dề*   *tí*   *khrề̀*   *drân;* (Ar. *Av.* 809)
        go:IMP.2SG PTC what be.necessary:IMPS do:INF.PRS
        '**Come on**, what's on the agenda?'
    b. **_age_**   *tu*   *altera utra*   *sit*
        lead:IMP.2SG you:NOM.SG other:NOM.F.SG be:SBJV.3SG
        condicio   *pensior,*
        match:NOM.F.SG preferable:NOM.F.SG.COMP
        virginemne an viduam habere? (Plaut. *St.* 118)
        '**Come on**, you other one, which match is preferable, having a virgin or a widow?'

The least frequent context of use in which, again, only *áge* and *age* occur, is that of positive answers followed by promises or statements with which the speaker guarantees the interlocutor the felicitous development of a given action. In such contexts, the process of functional extension underlying the use of pragmaticalized verbs of movement is probably to be found in a metaphorical invitation to "move on" with the planned action without stopping on account of a situational or conversational obstacle. In (14), *age* functions as a marker of agreement used by the speaker to encourage the interlocutor to "proceed" with his action or discourse, thus removing an impediment to its smooth development:

(14) LEO.*placide ergo unum quidquid rogita, adquiescam non vides me ex*
    cursura anhelitum etiam ducere?
    LIB. **_age_**   **_age_**,   *mansero*
        lead:IMP.2SG   lead:IMP.2SG   wait:FUT.PRF.1SG
    tuo   *arbitratu,*   *vel adeo usque dum peris.* (Plaut. *As.* 326–328)
    your:ABL.M.SG wish:ABL.M.SG
    'LEONIDA Then ask me each question gently, so that I can calm down. Can't you see that I'm still out of breath from running?
    LIBANUS **All right**, **all right**, I'll wait just as you wish, or even until you die'.

Detailed frequencies describing the contexts of occurrence of *íthi*, *áge*, and *age* in the selected corpus are provided in Table 2, in which the statistics for *íthi* and *áge* are taken from a recent study by Zakowski (2018). As mentioned above, these markers mainly occur in directive speech acts, where they modify an imperative expressing a command: this function is realized in 93% of cases for *íthi*, 69% for *áge* and 89% for *age*. This context greatly outranks the others both in Greek and Latin and this holds for all the markers considered. In general, next come inclusive exhortations in the first person plural subjunctive, which are in any case a kind of command; questions and answers constitute the rarest utterance types (the latter ratio is however inverted for *áge*).

Table 2: Frequencies of occurrence of íthi, áge, and *age* in different speech acts in Aristophanes and Plautus.

	íthi	*áge*	*age*
COMMANDS	42	38	98
INCLUSIVE EXHORTATIONS	3	4	7
QUESTIONS	–	12	3
ANSWERS (STATEMENTS, PROMISES)	–	2	2
TOTAL	45	56	110

The data show that the most frequent contexts, i.e., the directive contexts (whether they are syntactically realized and whether they include the speaker or not) correlate with the basic pragmatic function of *íthi*, *áge* and *age*. Secondary patterns such as questions and answers are more marked, since they are not attested with *íthi* and are much less frequent. The use of *áge* and *age* in these contexts strays quite far from the core meaning of these markers, acquiring instead more discourse-oriented values.

Interestingly, typological data can be interpreted as providing support for the proposed embodiment-driven development. Indeed, this pragmaticalization process is not isolated, but attested across many languages: verbs of motion frequently acquire comparable pragmatic functions of illocutionary strengthening in directive contexts, both in Indo-European languages (15 a–f) and non-Indo-European ones (cf. 7b above, from Baka, a Niger-Congo language, and Mauri & Sansò 2014 for more cross-linguistic data).

(15) a. English (Andersen, 2001: 256)
      *'**Come on** look at her yeah'*.
  b. French (Sierra Soriano, 2006: 75)
      ***Allez**, on s'en va!*
      '**Come on**, let's go!'
      ***Allons**, ne soyez pas triste!*
      '**Come on**, don't be sad!'

    c. Italian (Fedriani & Ghezzi, 2014: 123)

       *Ok **vai** riattacca **vai** sentiamo chi c'è pronto?*

       'Ok, **go ahead**, hang up, **go ahead**, let's listen, who's there, hello?'

    d. Spanish

       ***Anda** no hagas tonterías* (Tanghe, 2016: 22)

       '**Come on**, don't be foolish!'

       ***Venga**, haga su pregunta* (Tanghe, 2016: 22)

       '**Come on**, ask your question!'

       ***Vamos**, esto es el colmo!* (Sierra Soriano, 2006: 81)

       '**Come on**, this is the last straw!'

    e. Mexican Spanish (Company Company, 2006: 113–114)

       ***Ándale!** – exclama Héctor –, qué buena onda, ya llegaron las reinas.*

       '**Andale**! – Hector exclaims – cool, the babes have arrived'.

    f. Modern Greek (Nikiforidou, Marmaridou & Mikros, 2014: 660)

       *ti sta leo tora afta, **ela** pjes to frappe su.*

       'What am I telling you all this for, **come on** drink your coffee'.

It is worth noting that in modern Greek we find *ela* (2nd pers. sg. imp. of *erxome* 'come'), whose functions can in some cases be compared with those displayed by ancient Greek *áge* (as in 15f). This process of functional substitution suggests a renewal which can be described in terms of a "pragmatic cycle" (cf. Ghezzi & Molinelli, 2016; see also Hansen, 2014), and testifies to the productivity of the embodiment-based process of semantic and pragmatic extension illustrated in this section, not only at a cross-linguistic level, but also within an intra-linguistic diachronic perspective.

3.4.2 *Phére* and *em* as discourse markers (and the specific status of *phére*)

As pointed out in the previous section, *phére* and *em* entail different deictic orientations: centrifugal and centripetal, respectively. Due to this basic divergence, these markers developed different functions and therefore require a separate account. Let us start with *em*, whose development is in some way simpler, since its original lexical meaning has less semantic entailments (i.e., only EXCHANGE) compared to *phére* (MOTION + EXCHANGE). The functional enrichment of the imperative *em* stems from its presentative value in deictic contexts ('take!'). Such original lexical meaning fostered a metaphorical reinterpretation of *em* as a focus marker ('here you are!, look at that!, lo and behold!'), used by the speaker to call the interlocutor's attention to an object from a specific (more subjective) perspective.

(16) ***em***   *tibi*   *pateram,*   *eccam.* (Plaut. *Am.* 211)

    take:IMP.2SG you:DAT goblet:ACC.F.SG here.it.is

    '**Take** the goblet (for you); here it is'.

(17) *sequere:*   **em**   *tibi*   *hominem,*
    follow:IMP.2SG take:IMP.2SG you:DAT man:ACC.M.SG
    adi   *atque*   *adloquere*. (Plaut. *Capt*. 540)
    go:IMP.2SG   and   address:IMP.2SG
    'Follow me. **Here's** your man. Go and address him'.

This highly context-dependent focalizing function, in which *em* works as a deictically-rooted DM highlighting an element of the current communicative situation, constitutes the point of departure for further discursive values. First, we have some contexts featuring a shift of its focalizing function from the concrete state of affairs where the communication takes place, indexing concrete objects (e.g., 16 and 17), to the textual domain, i.e., the abstract exchange in which ideas and speech acts are metaphorically perceived as objects being transferred. At this more abstract level, *em* functions as a discourse management tool which serves to highlight portions of discourse, giving them particular communicative salience. By prefacing a speech act with *em*, the speaker overtly invites the interlocutor to 'take (with the mind)', that is, to 'consider' attentively the focalized content: in (18), for example, the order *habeto gratiam*; in (19), the answer *is argentum huc remisit*.

(18) **em**   *huic*   *habeto*   *gratiam*. (Plaut. *Most*. 1180)
    take:IMP.2SG this:DAT.M.SG have:IMP.FUT.2SG regard:ACC.F.SG
    '**There**, be grateful to this chap'.

(19) LIB. *quid tum postea?*
    LEO. **em**   *ergo*   *is*   *argentum*   *huc*
    take:IMP.2SG then he:NOM   money:ACC.N.SG here
    remisit. (Plaut. *As*. 335–336)
    send.back:PRF.3SG
    'LIBANUS What next?
    LEONIDA **Well**: then, he sent money back here'.

Lastly, building on the focalizing function just described, *em* further developed as an agreement marker. This pathway of functional enrichment can be understood in terms of an increase in subjectification assumed by the focus marker, which in some contexts also expresses the additional feature of positive focalization projected by the speaker on the communicative "object" exchanged. In these cases, *em* signals a favorable reception of the content or of the point of view given by the interlocutor. This is especially clear in (20), where *em* is reinforced by the compliment *sapis sane* (but also *optumest* immediately before), and in (21), where the speaker receives a command (*si tu iubes*) and accepts its content (*ibitur tecum*).

(20) LYS. *servos sum tuos.*
    OL. *optumest.*
    LYS. *opsecro te Olympisce mi mi pater mi patrone.*
    OL. **em**   *sapis*   *sane.* (Plaut. *Cas*. 738–39)
       take:IMP.2SG taste:PRS.2SG sound:ADV
    'LYSIDAMUS I am your slave.
    OLYMPIO That's very good.
    LYSIDAMUS My dear little Olympio, my father, my patron, I do beg of you.
    OLYMPIO **Well**, you certainly are of sound mind'.

(21) *si*   *tu*   *iubes,*   ***em,***   *ibitur* (Plaut. *Cas*. 758)
    if   you:NOM   tell:PRS.2SG   take:IMP.2SG   go:FUT.PASS.3SG
    te=cum.
    you=with
    'If you tell me, **well**, I'll go with you'.

In view of a lexical meaning that points to a negotiation between two persons, *em* developed clear discourse management functions, acting in terms of (1) a deictic presentative marker, (2) a focalizer, and (3) an agreement marker. All these specific values can be subsumed under the functional domain of a typical DM. The detailed frequencies with which *em* occurs across the different functions in the Plautine corpus, and a detailed discussion, can be found in Unceta Gómez (2017), who shows that the contexts in which *em* functions as a deictic focus markers correspond to 39% of cases, whereas *em* as a discursive focalizer, as a marker of agreement and with some other related discourse-management strategies occurs in 45% of cases.[7] These frequencies testify to the degree of pragmaticalization acquired by *em* already at an early stage of Latin.

Let us now consider the pragmaticalization of *phére*, whose status and functions are crucial to a full understanding of the potential of an embodiment-based approach to semantic and pragmatic change. Indeed, I suggest that the double-layered semantics of *phére*, participating both in the MOTION and the EXCHANGE image schemas, is at the root of two parallel but distinct pathways of metaphorical development. First, the semantic component of MOTION made *phére* an ideal candidate to function as a pragmatic marker in directive contexts, where it has scope over imperatives and, more frequently, over hortative subjunctives, strengthening their illocutionary force (cf. 22 and 23). The centrifugal orientation ('to carry away from the *origo*') probably enhanced this pragmatic, action-oriented meaning and rendered *phére* essentially synonymic with *íthi*, *áge*, and *age* in inclusive exhortations.

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7 In the cases left, *em* is used with its original lexical sense or as a routinized exclamation.

(22) ***phére***   *nun*   ***phráson***   *moi,*
     bring:IMP.2SG   now   tell:IMP.AOR.2SG   I:DAT
     taût' aréskei sphôin; (Ar. *Eccl.* 710)
     '**Come on**, **tell** me, does the plan meet with your approval?'

(23) ***phére***   *tò*   *ésthos*
     bring:IMP.2SG   the:ACC.N.SG   cloak:ACC.N.SG
     ambalṓmetha. (Ar. *Lys.* 1096)
     put.back.on:SBVJ.AOR.M/P.1PL
     '**Come on**, **let's put** our cloak **back on**!'

The second metaphorical pathway is activated by the EXCHANGE image schema, which fostered the functional expansion of *phére* also at the level of discourse management and discourse organization, i.e., in terms of a DM. The original semantics of 'bring' is clearly centrifugal and addressee-oriented, and it turned out to be crucial for the development of turn-yielding values ('bring your contribution, your communicative turn, or your answer, to the exchange'). In (24), *phére* precedes a question, therefore signaling from the outset the communicative intention of the speaker that the addressee should take the floor and give an answer. Such an intention is also made explicit in (25), where the question is followed by the command *deîxon* ('show me!').

(24) *ḕ n oûn huph' humôn prôton apólōmai kakôs,*
     phére,   *pôs*   *ep'*   *ekeínēn*   *tḕn*
     bring:IMP.2SG   how   to   that:ACC.F.SG   the:ACC.F.SG
     kalḕn   *aphíxomai;*
     pretty:ACC.F.SG   get:FUT.M/P.1SG (Ar. *Eccl.* 1080)
     'So **tell me**, if I'm miserably done in by you two, how will I get to that pretty girl?'

(25) ***phére,***   *poû;*   ***deîxon***. (Ar. *Clouds* 324)
     bring:IMP.2SG   where   show:IMP.AOR.2SG
     '**Tell me**, where? Show me!'

These are the two principal lines of pragmatic enrichment along which *phére* developed, and it is readily apparent that the ambivalent semantic nature of this marker directly determined its alternative status as DM and PM. Further detail of secondary and rarer uses is beyond the scope of this article; the interested reader may refer to Zakowski (2018), who also provides a quantitative description of the contexts of occurrence of this marker. It is given here as Table 3, with some minor adaptations.

Table 3: Frequencies of occurrence of *phére* in different Speech Acts in Aristophanes.

	phére
COMMANDS	6
INCLUSIVE EXHORTATIONS	53
QUESTIONS	24
TOTAL	**83**

As with the pragmaticalization of motion verbs, the functional expansion of exchange verbs is not an isolated phenomenon. Similar mechanisms of metaphorical development are attested in different languages. I limit myself to just a few examples from the Romance languages.

(26) Medieval French (Oppermann Marseaux, 2008: 14)
***Tenez**, ma dame:/ je vous promet par ma foy et par m'ame/ que . . .*
'**Look**, my lady: I promise to you by my faith and by my love that . .'.

(27) Spanish (Company Company, 2006: 388)
*¡Y **dale**! ¿Pero no ves tú lo que cuesta mantener una familia?*
'And **dale**! Don't you see how expensive it is to maintain a family?'

(28) Spanish (Unceta Gómez, 2017)
*¿Te apetece ir al cine? **Toma**, pues claro.*
'Do you fancy going to the cinema? **But** of course!'

(29) Italian (Fedriani & Ghezzi, 2014: 130)
*allora/<**dai**/ siamo d'accordo >//*
'Then, **all right**, we have an agreement'.

3.5 Conclusions

In this paper, I have focused on some Greek and Latin "frozen" imperatives whose meaning is based on metaphorical interpretation of the MOTION IN SPACE and EXCHANGE OF OBJECTS image schemas. The existence of these ossified verbs has long been noted in philological literature, and valuable observations, especially on the morpho-syntactic status of these items, have also been made in recent theoretically-grounded studies. However, an adequate understanding of their formal crystallization and their functional enrichment as DMs and PMs is only possible by identifying the conceptual and metaphorical bases of this process of semantic and pragmatic change. The cognitivist approach taken here helps to explain not only why these specific classes of verbs underwent this process of pragmaticalization, i.e., what lexical

features contained in their original semantics rendered them likely to undertake this process of pragmaticalization, but also along which pathways of semanto-pragmatic development this process was actualized, and which metaphorical extensions fed them; and, importantly, why some verbs acquired action-oriented values and became PMs whereas others developed discourse-related functions, thus functioning as DMs. This last point is of utmost importance and shows how the perspective of embodiment has the clear advantage of interpreting functional, abstract, and fine-grained differences as deriving directly from the lexical sources involved and, more precisely, from the body-based interactions with the environment they denote.

*Ph*ére is a particularly interesting case in point here: its functions demonstrate that this verb, given an ambivalent nature that participates in both the MOVEMENT and EXCHANGE image schemas, developed both along the lines of a PM, oriented toward action due to its MOVEMENT semantics, and a DM, in view of the EXCHANGE semantic component included in its meaning. Its dual status is represented in Figure 2, which summarizes the findings of this study and represents the functions discussed arranged along a continuum of embodied-based pragmatic development.
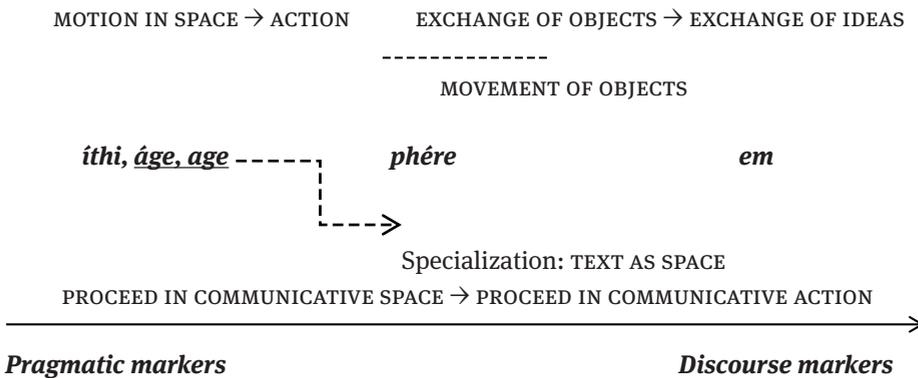
MOTION IN SPACE → ACTION   EXCHANGE OF OBJECTS → EXCHANGE OF IDEAS

MOVEMENT OF OBJECTS

íthi, <u>áge, age</u> - - - - - ┐   ***phére***   ***em***
                              ┆
                    └ - - - ⇢

Specialization: TEXT AS SPACE

PROCEED IN COMMUNICATIVE SPACE → PROCEED IN COMMUNICATIVE ACTION

⟶

Pragmatic markers   *Discourse markers*

Figure 2: The functional space of *íthi*, *áge*, *age*, *phére*, and *em*.

Figure 2 illustrates the functional space across which *íthi, áge, age, phére*, and *em* developed their pragmatic and/or discursive functions and suggests two considerations. Firstly, the majority of the elements considered are multifunctional in essence. *Áge* and *age* mostly behave as PMs, but can also function as DMs in particular contexts through the elaboration of a semantically specific sub-metaphor ('proceed in a text, i.e., in performing a discursive action'). *Phére* works both at a pragmatic and at a discourse organization level due to its complex semantics of TRANSFER. This is no surprise considering that multifunctionality is one of the constitutive features of DMs and PMs both cross-linguistically and language-internally. Secondly, the same function can in some cases be performed by different markers: this suggests that

the functional space is arranged along a continuum with overlapping areas, within which, in view of metaphorical extensions, clusters of semantically compatible elements co-exist (as in the case of *áge* and *age* oscillation towards the discursive level due to the instantiation of the 'TEXT-AS-SPACE' metaphor). To manage and modulate actions and texts, Greek and Latin speakers thus probably resorted to co-occurring, partially overlapping strategies available in their mental "pragmatic grammar", whose organization was not random but shaped by their conceptualization of basic sensorimotor and cultural experiences. This organization has parallels in other ancient and modern languages and points to the existence of presumably universal principles of semantic and pragmatic change.

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