

## 5 Semantics

The previous sections on syntactic issues are replete with anticipatory references to this section which is dedicated to the semantic side of Maltese IIs. We repeatedly emphasised that the differential behaviour of many members of BLOMP 2.0 is explicable most often with reference to their polysemy. We will test and modify this hypothesis below.<sup>1</sup> As function words, Maltese IIs are synsemantic elements in the sense that the appropriate reading of their possible meanings depends largely on the constructional context, i.e. the words with which a given II is syntagmatically related determine how the II is interpreted semantically. The synsemantic nature of the IIs does not require the IIs to be completely desemantised. In point of fact, some IIs display a relatively strong basic meaning component of their own whereas others seem to be almost devoid of proper semantic features. We know from the historical review<sup>2</sup> that the semantic domains of Maltese IIs are widely understudied. Panzavecchia (1843) is an early exception. Saari (2003: 238–248) highlights only a small selection of semantic issues whereas Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 139–173) provide a rich catalogue of functions fulfilled by Maltese IIs. It is our task now to complement the received knowledge and systematise the findings. This is achieved by way of looking at the data twice from two different points of view, namely first from the onomasiological perspective which takes the functions as its point of reference<sup>3</sup> and then from the semasiological perspective which departs from the concrete IIs (Lehmann 2004: 149–154).<sup>4</sup> Section 5.1 largely follows the lines laid out in Hagège (2010) and Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) whereas in Section 5.2 the results of the previous section will be systematised according to a modified taxonomy. Section 5.3 will integrate the findings into the model of the canonical II.

### 5.1 Domains

Hagège (2010: 261–262) proposes a semantic system for adpositions in general. This system is divided into two major domains. There is the class of core meanings which is differentiated from the large class of non-core meanings with the latter being subdivided into spatio-temporal meanings (static vs non-static) and

---

<sup>1</sup> In Section 5.2.1.4.4 for spatio-temporal meanings and in Section 5.2.2.1 for all other meaning categories.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sections 1.4.1–1.4.2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.

non-spatio-temporal meanings. We adapt Hagège’s system in Table 5.1 since we use it for orientation in our subsequent account of the situation in Maltese. Wherever we diverge from this system we will mention and explain our decision to do so. A number of issues arise especially in connection with Hagège’s terminology which is reproduced in Table 5.1 but is not consistently adhered to in the subsequent sections. The cells marked out in grey in Table 5.1 contain subdivisions of the COMPARATIVE of equality and the COMPARATIVE of inequality.

**Table 5.1:** Semantic system of adpositions according to Hagège (2010: 261–262).

core meanings	non-core meanings				
	spatio-temporal				non-spatio-temporal
	spatial	temporal	spatial	temporal	
AGENTIVE	INESSIVE	INESSIVE	ILLATIVE		PROPRIETIVE
PATIENTIVE	APUDESSIVE		ALLATIVE		EXCLUSIVE
ATTRIBUTIVE	ADESSIVE		TERMINATIVE	TERMINATIVE	EXCEPTIVE
POSSESSIVE	ABESSIVE	ABESSIVE	ABLATIVE		COMITATIVE
	OBESSIVE		OBVERSIVE		INSTRUMENTIVE
	SURESSIVE		SURLATIVE		MEDIATIVE
	SUPERESSIVE		SUPERVERSIVE		MOTIVATIVE
	SUBESSIVE		SUBLATIVE		CONCESSIVE
	PREESSIVE		PREESSIVE		PRELATIVE
	POSTESSIVE	POSTESSIVE	POSTLATIVE		ASSIMILATIVE
	CIRCUMESSIVE		CIRCUMLATIVE		INEQUALITY
	MEDIOESSIVE		MEDIOLATIVE		ESSIVE/ TRANSLATIVE/ MUTATIVE
			INTERLATIVE		PURPOSIVE
			PERLATIVE	PERLATIVE	ADVERSATIVE
PROLATIVE			PERTENTIVE		
SECUTIVE			ROBORATIVE		
			ADNUMERATIVE		
	ADDITIVE				
		SUBSTITUTIVE			
		HYPOTHETICAL			

According to Hagège’s own count, there are fifty-one distinct functions. This number increases to fifty-nine if we take account of the distinction of spatial and temporal subcategories as well as those of the COMPARATIVE function. With fifty-nine

functions the distinctions seem to map rather closely upon the sixty IIs in BLOMP 2.0. However, we will see that one-to-one relations of function and form are not necessarily the rule. On the contrary, one-to-many as well as many-to-one relations abound in the system under scrutiny. The functions will be discussed as far as possible in the order and with the labels introduced by Hagège (2010), i.e., we start with the so-called core meanings,<sup>5</sup> continue with spatio-temporal relations,<sup>6</sup> and conclude the survey with a review of non-spatio-temporal relations.<sup>7</sup>

A word of caution is in order at this point. Since our main reference (i.e. Hagège 2010) does not reveal explicitly which model of semantic roles is adhered to, we cannot always be sure whether we interpret the category labels correctly. Things are made worse by the frequent absence of empirical data supporting some of Hagège's distinctions. What is more, it is occasionally also necessary that we adjust some of the categories stipulated by Hagège either because their scope is too wide or too narrow semantically. As far as it is possible, we follow Hagège's sometimes rather doubtful practice of using Latinate labels for the meaning categories which implies that, because of problems with the solutions proposed in our reference, we are forced to coin labels of our own either because those introduced by Hagège are inappropriate or because Hagège does not account for a given category, in the first place. In numerous cases, we make use of a terminological mix by way of employing the LDS-based terms of the reference grammar (or new descriptive labels built on the same pattern) side by side with those proposed by Hagège (2010). These terminological solutions are not meant to be permanent. Its ad-hoc character calls for a thorough revision in a dedicated follow-up study. In Section 5.1, we limit the invention of category labels to those instances in which a member of BLOMP 2.0 needs no other  $\Pi$  to express a meaning. For  $\Pi$ - $\Pi$  combinations with  $\Pi_1$  expressing directionality and  $\Pi_2$  expressing configuration, we refrain from creating distinctive category labels (apart from compounds involving already established terms). The expression of directionality is most often the task of ( $\Pi 21$ ) *ghal* 'for', ( $\Pi 41$ ) *minn* 'from', and ( $\Pi 51$ ) *sa* 'till'. These IIs are presented separately in the sections on the directional, the TERMINATIVE, the ELATIVE, and the ABLATIVE.<sup>8</sup> Wherever these IIs combine with other IIs to form a directionality-configuration pair the resulting combination is discussed in the appropriate section on the dynamic spatio-temporal category of a given configuration. In most of these cases, no Latinate label is used. Special treatment is also reserved for the SECUTIVE, PERLATIVE, PROLATIVE and

---

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.1.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.3.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Sections 5.1.2.2.2, 5.1.2.2.6, 5.1.2.2.7, and 5.1.2.2.8, respectively.

related categories.<sup>9</sup> In what follows wherever we talk about categories the term refers to meanings and/or functions of IIs without determining in any way how far a given construction has advanced in the process of grammaticalization.

### 5.1.1 The core

The core meanings cover those relations which display a particularly high degree of abstraction. Put differently, they belong to the proper grammatical domain and are strongly desemanticised (Hagège 2010: 283). This includes syntactic functions such as subject and object. Hagège (2010: 260) assumes that with core participants adpositions “are only rarely used as markers” cross-linguistically. As will transpire from our argumentation,<sup>10</sup> Maltese offers examples of IIs being used for exactly these functions. It is clear that in these cases, a particularly high degree of grammaticalization can be assumed.

#### 5.1.1.1 AGENTIVE

For the AGENTIVE function, Hagège (2010: 261) claims that there is no English II which could illustrate this function. We assume that the AGENTIVE function applies if a participant acts as agent in a given situation. This agent need not correspond to the subject. If we accept that passive agents are participants with AGENTIVE function, then Maltese is a case in point. Possibly, Hagège (2010) classifies passive agents as instances of the INSTRUMENTIVE category.<sup>11</sup>

Maltese has two formally distinct passive constructions. There is the construction which involves a verb which inflects for the reflexive-passive by way of prefixing and/or infixing a dedicated marker as in ACT *qal* ‘say’ → PASS *n(t)qal* ‘be said’. The second option requires the presence of a passive participle and, if used predicatively, that of the passive auxiliary *gie* ‘come’ (for the dynamic passive) or *kien* ‘be’ (for the stative passive) as in (*il-vittma gie/kien marbut (mas-sodda)* ‘(the victim was (being)) tied (to the bed)’ with ACT *rabat* ‘tie’ → PART *marbut*. In both cases, it is possible to express the agent overtly as complement in a *minn*-PP (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 212–216). Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 146) make a distinction between animate passive agents which require (II41) *minn* ‘from’ and inanimate passive agents for which (II7) *bi* ‘with’ is the appropriate choice. We disagree with this rule on two accounts. First, inanimate passive agents marked by

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20 on Path.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. below Sections 5.1.1.1–5.1.1.2.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.3.5.

(II7) *bi* ‘with’ can better be classified as cases of the INSTRUMENTIVE<sup>12</sup> and, second, examples like (5.1a) and (5.1c) show that inanimate nouns are not excluded from *minn*-PPs which express passive agents. In (5.1b), the employment of the participle in an attributive passive construction is illustrated.

(5.1) Passive agent

(a) [Camilleri 2021: 55]

*Quddiem dik il-purcijsjoni mnikkta ta' vetturi*  
 in\_front\_of DEM:F:DIST DEF-procession PART:sadden:F of vehicle:PL  
*suwed Gallo qabbad sigarett u nhakem [minn malinkonija*  
 black.PL Gallo light cigarette and REFL:rule [from melancholy  
*liema bhalha]*<sub>pp</sub>.  
*which like:3SG.F*

‘In front of this sorrowful procession of black cars, Gallo lit a cigarette and was dominated [by an unequalled melancholy].’

(b) [DeBono 2001: 81]

*nies u vetturi migbuda [minn zwiemel]*<sub>pp</sub> *kienu*  
 people and vehicle:PL PART:pull:PL [from horse.PL] be:3PL.PFV  
*jidhru għaddejjin*  
 3.IPFV:appear:PL pass:PART:PL

‘[. . .] people and vehicles pulled [by horses] were seen passing by [. . .].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news5687]

*In-Nepal reġa' ntlaqat [minn terremot iehor qawwi]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 DEF-Nepal return REFL:hit [from earthquake other strong]

‘Nepal was hit again [by another strong earthquake] [. . .].’

Natural forces as in (5.1c) and physico-mental states as in (5.1a) can take on the role of passive agent. AGENTIVE is thus a category which embraces different semantic roles which can be subsumed under the meta-role actor. Maltese fits into the general picture. Many languages across the globe employ markers which otherwise function as expressions of ABLATIVE relations to encode the passive agent – and IIs meaning ‘from’ are especially prominent among the known examples (Kuteva et al. 2019: 34–36).

### 5.1.1.2 PATIENTIVE

Like in the case of the AGENTIVE, Hagège (2010: 261) claims that no English II serves as marker of the PATIENTIVE function. Our interpretation of the term PATIENTIVE links it to the semantic role of patient (which perhaps needs to be extended such

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.3.5.

that it covers further semantic roles in the domain of the Undergoer). In Maltese, the object-marking (II29) *lil* ‘to’ is responsible for the expression of the PATIENTIVE function. However, as we know already from the previous discussion,<sup>13</sup> the situation is not absolutely straightforward since the use of (II29) *lil* ‘to’ is dependent on animacy and definiteness. DOM applies in the sense that only animate (and preferably definite) direct objects require the presence of this II. Furthermore, (II29) *lil* ‘to’ is also the marker of the DATIVE relation as shown below.<sup>14</sup> In (5.2), we give two examples of the use of (II29) *lil* ‘to’ with an action verb in the (a)-sentence and a perception verb in the (b)-sentence.

(5.2) PATIENTIVE I

(a) [Attard 2019: 186]

*libbsu*                      [*lil-mara*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 dress.CAUS:3PL.PFV    [*to:DEF-woman*]  
 ‘[. . .] they dressed [the woman].’

(b) [Attard 2019: 148]

*Fil-bogħod*      *stajt*              *nara*              [*lil missieri*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 in:DEF-distance   can:1SG.PFV   1SG.IPFV:see   [*to father:1SG*]  
 ‘In the distance, I could see [my father] [. . .].’

Above we have argued that (II7) *bi* ‘with’ is the other II which comes closest to object-marking without however fully meeting our necessary criteria for being a bona fide object marker (Stolz/Stroh/Urdze 2006: 292–293).<sup>15</sup> (II7) *bi* ‘with’ introduces the patient of a huge (but still undetermined) number of originally intransitive verbs which in this way undergo valency enhancement. Very frequently it is difficult, even next to impossible to tell these cases apart from adverbial usages of the instrumental or other brands. If we apply as wide as possible an interpretation of the term PATIENTIVE, it is possible to take it to embrace many kinds of undergoer-like relations. Under this condition, what we find is that (II7) *bi* ‘with’ occurs frequently as a PATIENTIVE marker with verbs of perception, speaking, or expression of physico-mental reactions. In (5.3), three different verbs of perception – *induna* ‘perceive’, *ntebaħ* ‘be aware’, and *ittenda* ‘notice’ – combine with a *bi*-PP to allow for the perceived entity to be mentioned.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Section 4.3.1.

<sup>14</sup> To be discussed in Section 5.1.1.3.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3.1.

## (5.3) PATIENTIVE II

## (a) [Cauchi 1997: 10]

*Kif jista' jkun ma nindunax*  
 how 3SG.M.IPFV:can 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT NEG 1SG.IPFV:perceive:NEG  
 [b' qargħa ħamra li tkun qrib tiegħi]<sub>pp</sub>  
 [with pumpkin red that 3SG.F.IPFV:be.FUT near of:1SG]  
 'How could it be that I won't notice [a red pumpkin in my vicinity]?'

## (b) [Bartolo/Vella 2009: 9]

*lanqas biss kienet intebħet [biħ]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 not\_even only be:3SG.F.PFV be\_aware:3SG.F.PFV [with:3SG.M]  
 '[. . .] and she even had not been aware [of him].'

## (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature78]

*U billi dik il-laqgħa kienet għoġbitu,*  
 and since DEM:F:DIST DEF-meeting be:3SG.F.PFV please:3SG.F.PFV:3SG.M  
*komplu jgħidlu biex jurih li kien*  
 continue 3SG.IPFV:say:IO:3SG.M to 3SG.IPFV:show:3SG.M that be  
*ittenda [bil-biċċa]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 notice [with:DEF-piece]  
 "And since that meeting has pleased him," he continued to tell him to show  
 him that he had noticed [the fact].'

This parallel behaviour of different verbs with similar semantics is striking. Since all of them are compatible with (II7) *bi* 'with' when it comes to mentioning the perceived entity, one may assume that there is a conceptual link which facilitates associating perception events with the II under inspection. That IIs with a basic meaning equivalent to English *with* come to be employed as PATIENTIVE markers seems to be infrequent cross-linguistically since the second edition of the *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization* (Kuteva et al. 2019) does not mention any cases of this kind. That (II29) *lil* 'to' serves as PATIENTIVE marker is however plausible since in cross-linguistic perspective, the grammaticalization of ALLATIVE markers to patient markers is attested frequently (Kuteva et al. 2019: 50).

## 5.1.1.3 DATIVE ("Attributive")

Hagège (2010: 283–284) goes to some length to explain his terminological choice for the label of this core meaning. He discards DATIVE as a term because of its association with certain grammatical (i.e. morphological) case categories. However, to our mind, attributive is not the best solution either because the term evokes something completely different, namely a marker of attribution in the sense of a linker

between head and modifier like in the case of attributive adjectives accompanying a noun in the NP. Therefore, we discard Hagège's term by way of reverting to DATIVE. Another more substantial point of disagreement is connected to Hagège's (2010: 283–284) decision to subsume the BENEFACTIVE under attributive. In our opinion, the notions have to be separated. We understand the DATIVE as the semantic role which applies to recipients in situations of transfer be it of concrete objects or reified other concepts. BENEFACTIVE/MALEFACTIVE however refers to situations in which something is done to the benefit or to the detriment of a participant. This is why we add a section on the BENEFACTIVE and another one for the MALEFACTIVE to complement Hagège's system.<sup>16</sup> The English II illustrating the attributive is *to* (Hagège 2010: 261).

There is again only one candidate in BLOMP 2.0 that can be accepted as fulfilling the DATIVE function, viz. (II29) *lil* 'to' – the same II which is employed for the PATIENTIVE function discussed in the previous section. The syntactic properties of this II have been investigated above.<sup>17</sup> We know therefore that by no means does every instance of (II29) *lil* 'to' count as a DATIVE. In (5.4), typical examples of the DATIVE usage of this II are provided.

(5.4) DATIVE

(a) [Attard 2019: 127–128]

*Imbagħad għidt [lil Whitfield]<sub>pp</sub> li fil-korp*  
 then say:1SG.PFV [to Whitfield] that in:DEF-corps  
*għandna pulizija Eritrean*  
 have:1PL police Eritrean  
 'Then I told [Whitfield] that we have an Eritrean policeman in the force [ . . . ]'

(b) [Camilleri 2021: 202]

*fit-tieni ittra ta' San Pawl mibgħuta [lil-Korintin]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 in:DEF-second letter of Saint Paul part:send:F [to:DEF-Corinthian:PL]  
*għandna nizzu ħajr [lil Alla]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 have:1PL 1.IPFV:render:PL gratitude [to God]  
 '[ . . . ] in Saint Paul's second letter, sent [to the Corinthians], we have to show gratitude [towards God] [ . . . ]'

The *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization* tells us that ALLATIVES and BENEFACTIVES are the most prominent source concepts for the grammaticalization of DATIVES ("recipient" in the terminology of the *World Lexicon*). IIs with the meaning 'to'

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Sections 5.1.3.17–5.1.3.18.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Section 4.3.1.



are abundantly represented in the database Kuteva et al. (2019: 52–53) draw on. Maltese thus behaves like many other languages in different parts of the world. What is remarkable about the Maltese case is that the grammaticalization of (II29) *lil* ‘to’ has progressed so far that the original ALLATIVE meaning of the II is obsolete now and has to be fulfilled by other IIs.<sup>18</sup>

#### 5.1.1.4 POSSESSIVE

The POSSESSIVE relation is again one for which Hagège (2010: 284) refuses to use established terms like genitive, etc. His decision to label the relation under inspection POSSESSIVE is unproblematic so that we can keep it for the purpose of this investigation. The POSSESSIVE in this sense covers adnominal genitival attributes. Hagège (2010: 261) claims the English *s*-genitive and its near synonym *of* are good representatives of the POSSESSIVE relation although the English *s*-clitic does not fulfil our criteria of II-hood. Going by Hagège’s (2010: 261) own words, POSSESSIVE is an umbrella term for a variety of relations not all of which are properly POSSESSIVE. Other POSSESSIVE relations not covered by POSSESSIVE are discussed under the heading PROPRIETIVE further below.<sup>19</sup>

If we think back to Section 4.2.2., it is clear that the established POSSESSIVE II can only be (II55) *ta’* ‘of’ (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 111–113). Since the use of this II has been abundantly illustrated throughout the foregoing sections, we give only one additional pair of examples of NP-internal (II55) *ta’* ‘of’ in (5.5). The (a)-sentence is representative of adnominal possession of the prototypical kind (i.e. with an animate possessor) whereas the (b)-sentence reflects a part-whole relationship of two inanimate concepts (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 152).

#### (5.5) POSSESSIVE

##### (a) [Cauchi 1997: 21]

*Għajnejh waqgħu fuq il-kappell [ta’ Mastru Gerefex]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 eye:PL:3SG.M fall:3PL.PFV on DEF-hat [of Mastru Gerefex]  
 ‘His gaze caught the hat [of Mastru Gerefex] [ . . . ]’

##### (b) [DeBono 2001: 63]

*dan gie jħabbat fuq il-bieb [ta’ kamritha]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEM:M:PROX come 3SG.M.IPFV:knock on DEF-door [of room:POSS:3SG.F]  
 ‘[ . . . ] he came to knock on the door [of her room].’

<sup>18</sup> As discussed in Section 5.1.2.2.6.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.3.1.

In the above, we have encountered cases of two IIs serving one core meaning and one II being used for two different core meanings according to Hagège's system. Maltese employs IIs also for those relations which supposedly have no prepositional expression in English again according to Hagège. We have also seen that animacy and definiteness are crucial factors determining the use of some of the IIs. Do these patterns also hold outside the domain of core meanings? The following two sections are meant to provide an answer to this question.

### 5.1.2 Spatio-temporal relations

In the Maltese reference grammar (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 155–173) spatio-temporal relations are illustrated in much detail. Hagège (2010: 285) argues that

[t]he spatial domain is the richest in [adpositions], in practically all languages having more than one, two, or three [adpositions]. The inessive, illative, and the ablative are often considered as the three fundamental spatial meanings, and this triad is sometimes enriched with a fourth member, the perlativ [ . . . ].

The quoted author provides a by far more fine-grained catalogue of spatial relations accompanied by a considerably smaller set of temporal distinctions. His INESSIVE, ILLATIVE, ABLATIVE, and PERLATIVE largely correspond to Place, Goal, Source, and Path in the LDS grammar format (and beyond). As mentioned above, except for situations in which misunderstanding might arise, we use both terminologies side by side in the subsequent sections. Note that Hagège (2010: 291) also claims that

in languages with both case affixes and [adpositions], spatial *directions*, such as “into”, “out of”, “across”, etc. will often be expressed by bound morphemes, while spatial *dimensions*, such as “inside”, “above”, “in front of”, “beside”, will tend to be expressed by independent morphemes like [adpositions] [original italics].

If we replace “directions” with “directionality” and “dimension” with “configuration”, we have the equivalent of the situation found in Maltese with the sole differences that no case morphology is made use of. Both directionality and configuration need IIs to be made explicit. This necessity will come to the fore below where dynamic spatio-temporal relations are at issue.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2 and its subdivisions.

### 5.1.2.1 Static relations

The distinction of static vs dynamic spatial relations is neutralised for Place and Goal for most of the IIs in this domain. This is the reason why some IIs are featured not only in this section but also in Section 5.1.2.2 dedicated to dynamic relations. Hagège's (2010: 286) terminologically infelicitous category of “abessive” is redefined and given the new label EXTRAESSIVE.<sup>21</sup> What is more, there are further (potential) candidates for the status of static spatial relation which are missing from Hagège's system, but which need to be discussed in the wider context of Path.<sup>22</sup>

#### 5.1.2.1.1 INESSIVE

Hagège (2020: 261) distinguishes between a properly spatial INESSIVE (associated with English *in* and *within*) and a temporal INESSIVE (for which English *in*, *on*, *at*, and *as of* are given as examples). We first look at the spatial INESSIVE.

##### 5.1.2.1.1.1 Spatial INESSIVE

It seems that Hagège presupposes that the spatial INESSIVE applies in situations where the Figure is located inside a container. As transpires from the examples in (5.6), there is competition between several Maltese IIs in the domain of the spatial INESSIVE.

(5.6) Spatial INESSIVE I

(a) [Abela 2016: 101]

*Qalli li jien ħalliela baxxa u qafilni [fl-istalla]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 say:10:1SG that 1SG thief:F low:F and lock:1SG [in:DEF-stable]  
*għal ġimgha*  
 for week

‘He said that I was a lowly thief and he locked me up [in the stable] for a week.’

(b) [Camilleri 2013: 168]

*Kien diġà sthajjel il-katavru tiegħu stess ħiereġ*  
 be already imagine DEF-corpse of:3SG.M self exit.PART  
*imgeżwer [ġo borża taż-żibel]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 PART:wrap\_up [in bag of:DEF-rubbish]

‘He imagined already his own body appearing wrapped up [in a rubbish sack].’

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.17.

<sup>22</sup> Their description is thus relegated to Section 5.1.2.2.20, i.e., the paragraphs addressing them are integrated into the section dedicated to dynamic relations.

- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic379]

*hemm drawwa li kunċert mużikali imqar jekk [ġewwa*  
 EXIST custom that concert musical even if [inside  
*nitfa' ta' pabb]pp jispiċċa bl-innu nazzjonali*  
*a little of pub] 3SG.M.IPFV:end with:DEF-hymn national*  
 '[. . .] there is the custom that a concert even [in a small pub] terminates with  
 the national anthem.'

In all of these cases, the Figure is located inside a container. In (5.6a), the ego is locked up in a stable, in (5.6b) the body of the speaker is imagined to be wrapped up in a rubbish sack, and in (5.6c) the concert takes place inside a small pub. We can thus assume that in these contexts the three IIs are largely synonymous (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 157–158). As Stolz/Levkovich/Vorholt (2023) show, this synonymy also holds for constructions with a place name as Ground. We already have addressed the *Ø-fi* alternation.<sup>23</sup> Owing to the equivalence of (II15) *fi* 'in', (II18) *ġewwa* 'inside', and (II19) *go* 'in' as markers of the spatial INESSIVE, the binary alternation can be extended to cover all replacements of (II15) *fi* 'in'. In (5.7), this possibility is illustrated with constructions that involve a toponymic Ground (in this case a settlement name).

- (5.7) Spatial INESSIVE II

- (a) [Debono 2001: 106]

*Bhal [f' Bombay]pp daqsxejn ta' karrozella wasslithom*  
 like [in Bombay] a little of small\_coach arrive.CAUS:3SG.F.PFV:3PL  
*fuq il-moll tal-port*  
 on DEF-pier of:DEF-port  
 'Like [in Bombay] a small carriage took them to the pier of the harbour.'

- (b) [DeBono 2001: 98]

*L-S.S. Osiris għamel waqfa qasira ta' ftit sigħat [go*  
 DEF-S.S. Osiris make stop short:F of little hour:PL [in  
*Aden]pp*  
*Aden]*  
 'The S.S. Osiris made a stop of a few hours [in Aden] [. . .].'

- (c) [DeBono 2001: 5]

*Matul id-difża u l-assedju tal-Fortizza l-Ħamra*  
 during DEF-defence and DEF-siege of:DEF-fortress DEF-red:F

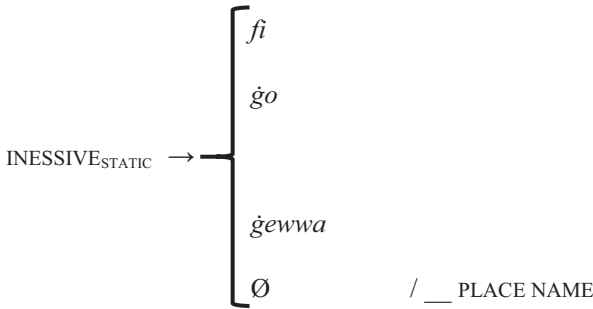
<sup>23</sup> Cf. Section 4.3.3.2.

[*ġewwa Dehli*]<sub>pp</sub> kien ġie ferut gravi ġo saqajh  
 [inside Dehli] be come wound:PART grave in leg:PL:3SG.M  
 ‘During the defence and siege of the Red Fort [in Dehli] he had been wounded seriously in his legs.’

(d) [Žahra 2008: 62]

Dik il-ħabta [Ø *iz-Żejtun*]<sub>x</sub> kellna ġhadd kbir  
 DEM:F:DIST DEF-time [Ø DEF-*Żejtun*] have.PAST:1PL number big  
 ta’ parrukiera  
 of hairdresser:PL  
 ‘At that time, we had a huge number of hairdressers [in *Żejtun*] [. . .].’

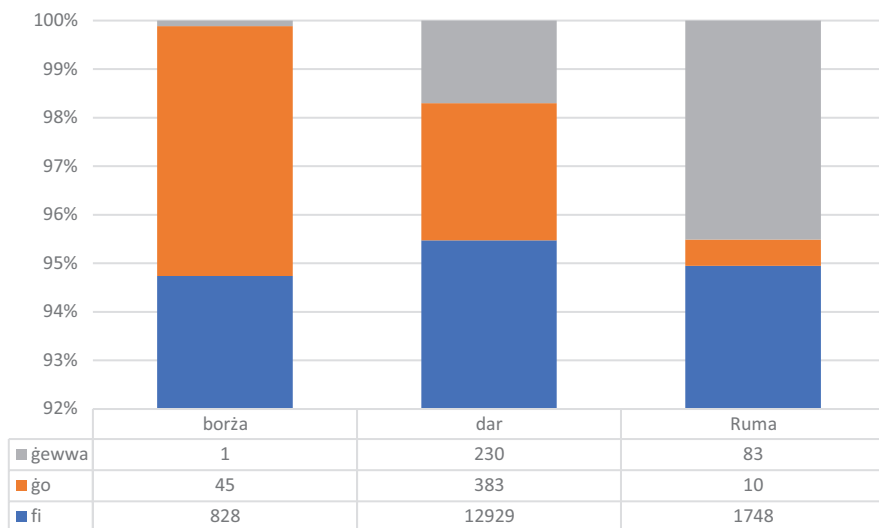
Since Ø is possible only in combination with place names (and so-called toponouns), the following rule emerges (cf. Figure 5.1).



**Figure 5.1:** Multiple possibilities to express the static INESSIVE<sub>SPATIAL</sub>.

The synonymy does not mean that the three competing IIs fulfil the INESSIVE function equally often. Anticipating the insights of the section on the ILLATIVE,<sup>24</sup> we look at the competition of the above IIs independently of the static-dynamic opposition. We have tested the quantitative differences in the Korpus Malti 3.0 with the common nouns (*il-)**borża* ‘(the) bag’, (*id-)**dar* ‘(the) house’, and the place name *Ruma* ‘Rome’. Figure 5.2 leaves no margin for doubt because (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ is responsible for about 95% of all hits of each of the three Grounds. In contrast, (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ and (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’ divide the remaining 5% differently between them. Zero-marking is excluded from this frequency count.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.1.

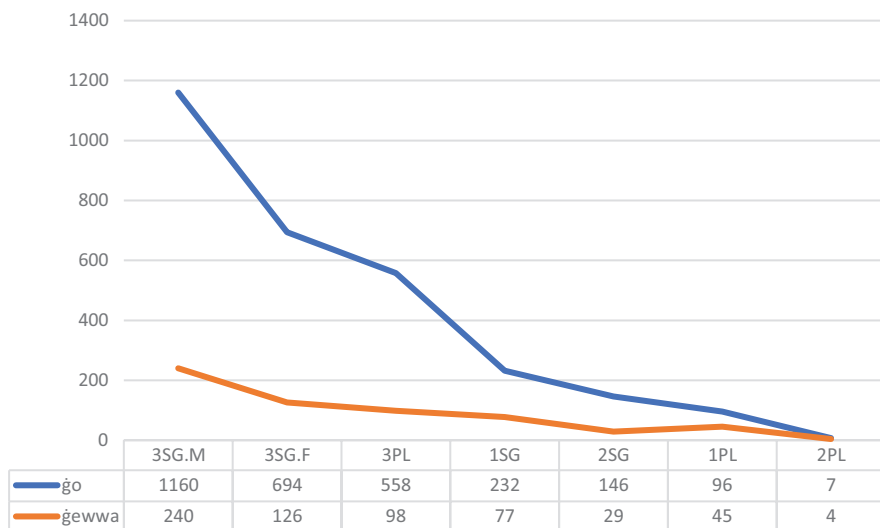


**Figure 5.2:** Frequency of INESSIVE PIs with selected Grounds (Korpus Malti 3.0).

The topic of a previous section was locative government with pronominal complements.<sup>25</sup> Both (Π18) *gewwa* ‘inside’ and (Π19) *go* ‘in’ cannot directly take a pronominal complement but need (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ as host of the pronominal affix. Figure 5.3 reveals the result of the search we conducted in the Korpus Malti 3.0 to determine how many tokens of locative government can be found for the two competing INESSIVE PIs.

Clearly, (Π19) *go* ‘in’ is attested much more frequently than (Π18) *gewwa* ‘inside’ although the differences diminish visibly from left to right. Since (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ directly takes pronominal complements its frequency is considerably higher than that of its competitors. This means that (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ is the prototypical marker of the static INESSIVE whereas (Π18) *gewwa* ‘inside’ and (Π19) *go* ‘in’ are possible but relatively marginal replacements thereof. The latter Π is stronger than (Π18) *gewwa* ‘inside’ in the context of locative government. However, between the two PIs, (Π18) *gewwa* ‘inside’ stands out as the number one choice for combinations with place names as shown in Figure 5.4. To avoid skewing, the frequency of *fi*-PPs is not featured in Figure 5.4. The absolute numbers are given in brackets behind the Grounds mentioned in the next sentence. We have chosen the names of three

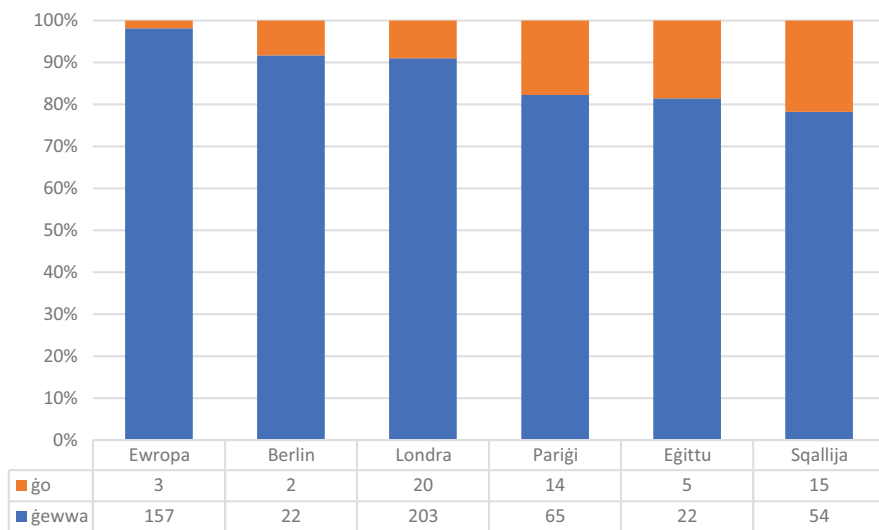
<sup>25</sup> Cf. Section 4.1.2.2.2.1.2.



**Figure 5.3:** Frequencies of LOCATIVE government of (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ and (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’ per person (Korpus Malti 3.0).

international capital cities – *Berlin* ‘Berlin’ (*f’Berlin* ‘in Berlin’ = 428 matches), *Londra* ‘London’ (*f’Londra* ‘in London’ = 2,598 matches), *Parigi* ‘Paris’ (*f’Parigi* ‘in Paris’ = 1,122 matches) – a country name – *l-Eġittu* ‘Egypt’ (*fl-Eġittu* ‘in Egypt’ = 1,457 matches) –, the name of a continent – *l-Ewropa* ‘Europe’ (*fl-Ewropa* ‘in Europe’ = 17,428 matches) –, and an island name – *Sqallija* ‘Sicily’ (*fi Sqallija* ‘in Sicily’ = 1,552 matches). Both IIs under closer scrutiny are attested with each of the toponyms. As the absolute numbers given in the brackets show, the *fi*-PPs are overwhelmingly more numerous with each of the toponyms.

However, the share claimed by (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ ranges from 78% to 98% whereas that of (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’ is as small as 22% to 2%. A look back at Figure 4.16 and the accompanying discussion further underlines the fact that (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ is particularly prone to combine with proper names. Thus, of this pair of IIs, (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ is clearly the preferred option for PPs which involve a place name as complement. The differences observed above notwithstanding, all three IIs – (Π15) *fi* ‘in’, (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’, and (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’ – are markers of the spatial INESSIVE (and ILLATIVE, cf. below).



**Figure 5.4:** Tokens of (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ and (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’ in combination with place names (Korpus Malti 3.0).

#### 5.1.2.1.2 Temporal INESSIVE

According to the logic of the metaphor-based approach to grammaticalization the more abstract concepts of TIME are made cognitively accessible by way of employing concepts of SPACE for their expression (Heine/Claudi/Hünemeyer 1991: 48). On account of this axiom, we expect to find IIs featured in the previous section to surface again here and now when we talk about the temporal INESSIVE. It therefore comes as no surprise that Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 169–171) provide many examples of temporal INESSIVES which involve (Π15) *fi* ‘in’. Interestingly, the above synonyms of this Π, i.e. (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’, and (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’, are absent from the empirical pieces of evidence. Their exclusion can be taken to mean that the synonymy between (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ and (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’, (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’ is only partial because it is restricted to the spatial domain to the exclusion of the temporal domain.

In (5.8), we present a selection of examples which illustrate the use of (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ as head of pps which serve as temporal adverbial adjuncts.

#### (5.8) Temporal INESSIVE

##### (a) Year – [Monsarrat 2018]

*Iċ-Ċittadella kienet assedjata [fi-1551]<sub>pp</sub> mit-Torok*  
 DEF-citadel be:3SG.F.PFV besiege:PART:F [in:DEF-1551] from:DEF-Turk.PL  
 ‘The citadel came under siege from the Turks [in 1551] [. . .].’



- (b) Date – [Žahra 2008: 15]  
*L-ewwel tarbija tagħhom twieldet [fid-9 ta' Jannar*  
 DEF-first infant of:3PL be\_born:3SG.F.PFV [in:DEF-9 of January  
1887]<sub>pp</sub>  
1887]  
 'Their first child was born [on 9 January 1887] [. . .].'
- (c) Time of day (and generic expression) [Ellul Mercer 1986: 24]  
*Ilbieraħ is-Sibt [f' xi l-ħdax ta' fil-ghodu]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 yesterday DEF-Saturday [in some DEF-eleven of in:DEF-morning]  
*mort infittex wiehed li [fiż-żmien]<sub>pp</sub> kien joqgħod*  
 go:1SG.PFV 1SG.IPFV:seek one that [in:DEF-time] be 3SG.M.IPFV:stay  
*wara s-Suq tal-Belt.*  
 after DEF-wall of:DEF-Valletta  
 'Yesterday, Saturday, [at about eleven o'clock in the morning] I went looking  
 for someone who [at the time] lived outside the walls of Valletta.'
- (d) [Gauci 1994: 127]  
*l-Ingliżi jgħibu d-draw [fil-81 minuta]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-English:PL 3.IPFV:bring:PL DEF-draw [in:DEF-81 minute]  
 '[. . .] the English tie the score [in the 81<sup>st</sup> minute] [. . .].'
- (e) Season – [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl6206]  
*għandkom titolbu skuża lil dawn in-nies li*  
 have.IPFV:2PL 2.IPFV:ask:PL excuse to DEM:PL:PROX DEF-people that  
*llum itertru bil-bard [f' xitwa bħal din]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 today 3.IPFV:shiver:PL with:DEF-cold [in winter like DEM:F:PROX]  
 '[. . .] you must apologise to those people who shiver from the cold [in a winter  
like this] [. . .].'
- (f) Month – [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1442]  
*Il-kor Ghawdx i Fjur Assisi twieled [f' Frar tal-1999]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-choir Gozitan Fjur Assisi be\_born [in February of:DEF-1999]  
 'The Gozitan choir Fjur Assisi was born [in February 1999].'
- (g) Festival – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature19]  
*[Fil-Milied]<sub>pp</sub> kienu ġew Malta u damu*  
 [in:DEF-Christmas] be:3PL.PFV come:3PL.PFV Malta and last:3PL.PFV  
*tlitt ijiem sħaħ*  
 three day.PL full.PL  
 '[At Christmas] the had come to Malta and stayed for three full days.'

It results from the above examples that (II15) *fi* ‘in’ is compatible with time expressions of diverse kinds. It is licit to locate events in a certain year, on a certain day, at a certain hour, at a certain minute, in a given season, in months, or at a certain festival. In (5.8c), *fil-ghodu* (currently written <*filghodu*> without hyphen) ‘in the morning’ is shaded grey. In contrast to Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 169) who analyse this expression as a normal PP, we assume that we are facing a lexicalised univertation since insertions of further elements are no longer admissible. This observation also holds for *filghaxija* ‘in the evening’. In analogy, we assume that *bil-lejl* ‘at/by night’ is an unanalysable one-word time expression in contemporary Maltese so that Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander’s (1997: 169) idea that (II15) *fi* ‘in’ and (II7) *bi* ‘with’ are used with periods of the day “as the case may be” has to be taken with a grain of salt. In point of fact, *bil-lejl* ‘at/by night’ forms a unit which does not allow for the modification of *lejl* ‘night’ by further attributes whereas this is unproblematic for a PP like *fil-lejl* ‘on the night’ as shown in (5.9) where the adjective *hiemed* ‘still, (very) silent’ modifies the complement of (II15) *fi* ‘in’.

(5.9) *Bil-lejl* vs *fil-lejl*

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture3265]

*Dakinhar*    [*bil-lejl*]<sub>ADV</sub>    *fl-istess*    *pjazza*    *se*    *jkunu*  
 on\_that\_day    [at\_night]    in:DEF-same    square    FUT    3.IPFV:be.FUT:PL  
*armati*    *screens*    *kbar*  
 set\_up:PART:PL    screen:PL    big.PL

‘On that day [at night], on the same square, big screens will be set up [ . . . ].’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature20]

*Instema’*    *grillu*    *hemm*    *barra*    [*fil-lejl*]    [*hiemed*]<sub>PP</sub>  
 REFL:hear    cricket    there    outside    [in:DEF-night]    [silent]

‘A field cricket was heard out there [in the silent night] [ . . . ].’

On account of this and similar cases, we count out (II7) *bi* ‘with’ as a competitor of (II15) *fi* ‘in’ in the domain of the temporal INESSIVE. This domain is however divided in two since to express that a given event takes place on a given day of the week zero-marking is the preferred option. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 169) argue that for days of the week “[e]ither the name of the day is used on its own, without a preposition, or the noun **nhar** ‘day’ precedes it optionally” [original boldface]. The absence of the II is illustrated in (5.10).

- (5.10) [Ellul Mercer 1986: 25]

[Ø]    *Nhar*    *it-Tlieta*    *li*    [*ghadda*]<sub>ADV</sub>    *fil-hdax*    *ta’*  
 [Ø]    day    def-third    that    [pass]    in:DEF-eleven    of

*fil-ghodu kont qed inkellmu qrib l-iskola*  
 in:DEF-morning be:1SG.PFV PROG 1SG.IPFV:speak:3SG.M near DEF-school  
 ‘[Last Tuesday] at eleven in the morning I was talking to him near the school.’

The division of labour between *fi*-PPs and naked adverbials is reminiscent of (though by no means identical with) the *fi*-Ø alternation discussed in connection with the spatial INESSIVE in the foregoing section.

#### 5.1.2.1.2 APUDESSIVE

Hagège (2010: 291) describes the APUDESSIVE as “a special type of *inessive* [which] refer[s] to a place in which someone lives or goes as a home” [original italics]. In the same paragraph Hagège (2010: 291) admits to an inconsistency since he has lumped together a number of semantically diverse roles under the cover-term attributive whereas he chooses to keep several types of INESSIVES terminologically distinct. We disagree with the lumping together but accept his decision to treat the APUDESSIVE as a category distinct from the INESSIVE. According to the same author, the APUDESSIVE is cross-linguistically relatively common since it is attested in almost a third of Hagège’s sample (Hagège 2010: 292). With reference to Maltese, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 156) claim that “[f]or general location in association with a person, the preposition **ghand** is used” [original boldface]. What can be concluded on the basis of these two short quotes is that the complement of the Maltese APUDESSIVE marker (II22) *ghand* ‘at s.o.’s place’ is a human noun or a pronominal affix with human reference.

A typical example which fits the above description is given in (5.11a) where the frequent visits of the protagonist at her sister’s place are mentioned. Roberto’s mother is thus temporarily located at Rose’s place. In the (b)- and (c)-sentences however, the complement of (II22) *ghand* ‘at s.o.’s place’ is not a person in the usual sense of the term.

(5.11) APUDESSIVE

(a) [Bartolo/Vella 2009: 110]

*omm Roberto kwazi dejjem [ghand oħtha Rose]<sub>PP</sub>*  
 mother Roberto almost always [at\_s.o.’s\_place sister:3SG.F Rose]  
*tkun*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:be.FUT  
 ‘[. . .] Roberto’s mother would almost always be [at her sister Rose’s place].’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1464]

*Din il-mara għamlet b' total ta' 416-il siegħa*  
 DEM:F:PROX DEF-woman make:3SG.F.PFV with total of 416 hour  
 [għand il-hanut tat-tattoos tal-ħabib tagħha]<sub>pp</sub>  
 [at s.o.'s place DEF-shop of:DEF-tattoo:PL of:DEF-friend of:3SG.F]  
 'This woman spent altogether 416 hours [at the tattoo shop of her friend]  
 [...].'

- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture2055]

*L-annimali li jinsabu [għand l-SPCA]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-animal:PL that 3.IPFV:REFL.find:PL [at s.o.'s place DEF-SPCA]  
*ġew abbandunati jew ittiedu hemm*  
 come:3PL.PFV abandon:PART:PL or REFL:take:3PL.PFV there  
*mis-sidien tagħhom*  
 from:DEF-owner:PL of:3PL  
 'The animals that are [at the SPCA] were abandoned or taken there by their  
 owners [...].'

There is ample evidence that the restriction of the APUDESSIVE to combinations with Grounds that refer to human individuals does no longer hold for (Π22) *għand* 'at s.o.'s place', at least not in the strict interpretation thereof. In (5.11b), the Ground is a tattoo shop owned by a friend of the woman that is talked about. It might be argued that there is a modicum of associative animacy left because the friend is identified by name in the omitted part of the sentence. Yet, syntactically, neither the human noun *ħabib* 'friend' nor the personal name of the friend is directly governed by (Π22) *għand* 'at s.o.'s place'. In (5.11c), (Π22) *għand* 'at s.o.'s place' forms a PP with the complement SPCA – the abbreviation of (*Malta*) *Society for the Protection and Care of Animals*. This is the name of an institution on whose premises the abandoned animals temporarily live. The institution as such is of course inanimate. However, it is run by humans and it is a legal entity represented by humans. The notion of place is involved in all of the above cases. The human owner of the place, however, need not be mentioned within the construction itself. This means that the close bond between (Π22) *għand* 'at s.o.'s place' and the feature [human] of its complement has been weakened although the diachronic development that led to the present state still needs to be established in a dedicated follow-up study.

It is important to understand that the separation of the APUDESSIVE from the INESSIVE makes sense especially because (Π22) *għand* 'at s.o.'s place' and (Π15) *fī* 'in' cannot replace each other as can be gathered from the minimal pair in (5.12).

## (5.12) Minimal pair

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news79864]

*Id-determinazzjoni [f' Borg]<sub>pp</sub> qatt ma naqset tul*  
 DEF-determination [in Borg] ever NEG decrease:3SG.F.PFV during  
*ħajjitha u fil-karriera*  
 life:POSS:3SG.F and in:DEF-career

‘The determination [in Borg] never diminished during her life and career.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news110904]

*wiehed minn dawn l-ħhasafar li nstabu*  
 one from DEM.PL:PROX DEF-bird.PL that REFL.find:3PL.PFV  
*[ħhand Borg]<sub>pp</sub> kien ħhadu kif ġie bbalzmat*  
 [at\_s.o.'s\_place Borg] be still:3SG.M as come embalm:PART

‘[. . .] one of the birds found [at Borg's place] had only just been embalmed.’

The PPs in the two examples have their complement in common, viz. the family name *Borg*. If the Figure is (metaphorically or other) located inside of the person identified by this name, only (Π15) *fī* ‘in’ is licit as head of the PP. (Π15) *fī* ‘in’ is ruled out, however, when reference is made to someone’s place or personal sphere outside of their physical body. As far as we can tell, in cases like (5.12a), the use of the usual replacements of (Π15) *fī* ‘in’ is blocked.

## 5.1.2.1.3 ADESSIVE

The ADESSIVE in Hagège’s (2010: 261) system poses a number of problems. The problems come to the fore when we look at the English translations suggested in our reference. There, we find the English IIs *at*, *by*, *beside*, and *near*. Once again, we take issue with subsuming all the meanings associated with these IIs under one and the same category label. There are good reasons to separate the IIs from each other. A clear distinction should be made between general location (= ADESSIVE *tout court*) and specific location. In the case of the notion under review, the STATIC PROXIMATE relation represents the specific location. It makes a difference whether there is contact between Figure and Ground or not. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 157) systematically take account of the PROPINQUUS<sup>26</sup> relation to which we will return below.<sup>27</sup> In this section, we address the ADESSIVE as a basic kind of general location.

<sup>26</sup> For reasons which will be made clear in Section 5.1.2.2.20.1, we introduce the term *propinquus* (< Latin *propinquus* ‘near’) at this point to reserve the established term *proximate* (< Latin *proximus* ‘the nearest, very near’) for a related but nevertheless distinct category.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.4.

Aquilina (1999: 130) emphasises that in contexts other than that of the APU-DESSIVE, English *at* as expression of a spatial relation is not translated by a  $\Pi$  but requires the use of the ersatz-copula *qiegħed*. Similarly, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 155) claim that “[f]or general location in a place which is fairly predictable from the context, no preposition is used.” The authors refer to examples like (5.13a) and (5.13c). We contrast the absence of a  $\Pi$  with the use of ( $\Pi$ 15) *fi* ‘in’ in (5.13b).

(5.13) ADESSIVE

(a) (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 49)

*Ommu* (*qiegħda*) [ $\emptyset$  *l-knisja*]<sub>x</sub>  
 mother:3SG.M (stay.PART:F) [ $\emptyset$  DEF-church]  
 ‘His mother is [**at** church].’ [O.T.]

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news121685]

*Se nibqgħu niftakru fik kull meta*  
 FUT 1.IPFV:remain:PL 1.IPFV:remember:PL in:2SG each when  
*nkunu qegħdin [fil-Knisja ta’ San Franġisk]*<sub>PP</sub>  
 1.IPFV:be.FUT:PL stay:PART:PL [**in**:DEF-church of St. Francis]  
 ‘We will keep remembering you every time we are [**in** St. Francis’ Church].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl10116]

*hawnhekk m’ aħniex qegħdin [ $\emptyset$  il-Knisja]<sub>x</sub> imma*  
 here NEG 1PL:NEG stay:PART:PL [ $\emptyset$  DEF-church] but  
*qegħdin [ $\emptyset$  il-Parlament]<sub>x</sub>*  
 stay:PART:PL [ $\emptyset$  DEF-parliament]  
 ‘[. . .] here we are not [**at** church] but [**in** parliament].’

Note the (optional) use of the morphologically adequate form of *qiegħed* in all cases. These sentences lead us back once again to the *fi*- $\emptyset$  alternation as addressed above.<sup>28</sup> In (5.13a), the spatial situation locates the Figure at an unidentified church without determining whether the mother is inside the church building or not. *Il-knisja* ‘the church’ probably refers to the institution and not to a concrete named church as such. In the case of (5.13b), there can be no doubt that the Figure is envisaged to be inside the church. Zero-marking of the ADESSIVE in (5.13a) is fine because the exact location of the Figure remains unspecified. Example (5.13c) is extracted from a parliamentary speech. The speaker and his audience are definitely inside the parliament as a building but both *il-Knisja* ‘the Church’ and *il-Parlament* ‘the parliament’ trigger zero-marking because the NPs are labels for the institutions and not for the

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Sections 4.3.3.2 and 5.1.2.1.1.1.

concrete locations. Zero-marking applies if the spatial situation is abstract or highly generic. If these conditions are not met, IIs have to be used. What this also means is that the *INESSIVE* is already an instance of a specific location. We conclude that the *ADESSIVE* is usually zero-marked in Maltese.

#### 5.1.2.1.4 PROPINQUUS

Under the section heading “s” in Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 157) we read that for the static *PROPINQUUS* Maltese employs

**fejn** (or **hdejn**, but for some speakers the two expressions are not in free variation: the latter tends to be regarded as a dialectal form; and less frequently **qrib** and **vicin**) [original boldface]

In addition, (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ and (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ must be mentioned. The former is translated as ‘next’ and ‘beside’ by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 162–163). The same authors classify both IIs as expressing a lateral position of the Figure in relation to the Ground. Aquilina (1987: 126) gives ‘facing’ and ‘opposite’ as primary meanings of (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ adding that “[s]ometimes used in the sense of ‘near, close by’.” (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ is registered with the meaning ‘close to’, and ‘beside’ in the second volume of the dictionary (Aquilina 1991: 767). In this section, both (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ and (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ are included exclusively with their *PROPINQUUS* functions.

There are thus six contestants, namely (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’, (II14) *fejn* ‘near’, (II23) *hdejn* ‘beside’, (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’, (II48) *qrib* ‘near’, and (II58) *vicin* ‘near’. Given that all six of the IIs are (partial) synonyms, we are facing a many-to-one relation with a single function being fulfilled by four different IIs. However, the brackets in the above quote caution us in the sense that (II23) *hdejn* ‘beside’ is marked as dialectal. The frequency count revealed in Table 3.27 does not exactly reflect the assumed differences in the quote. With 20,100 hits in the Korpus Malti 3.0 (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ is the most frequent of the four options. (II23) *hdejn* ‘beside’ follows suit with 20,073 matches. The token frequency drops to 8,878 for (II58) *vicin* ‘near’ whereas (II14) *fejn* ‘near’ is somewhere in the middle with 5,305 tokens. At the bottom, we find (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ with 2,791 matches and (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ with 2,632 matches. Based on these frequencies, the order in which the IIs are presented in the quote needs to be revised as has the inventory of *PROPINQUUS* IIs. If we exclusively go by the token frequency (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ and (II23) *hdejn* ‘beside’ are the preferred options, (II58) *vicin* ‘near’ and (II14) *fejn* ‘near’ occupy middle positions but (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ and (II32)

*maġenb* ‘close to’ are already special cases at the margins. The relatively high frequency of (Π23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ does not support the hypothesis that its use is stigmatised as a dialectal feature. The reshuffled order may be an effect of the skewed representation of genres in the Korpus Malti 3.0. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) base their statements on their native-speaker intuition and mostly rely on introspection (a licit methodology which however precludes the possibility of exactly quantifying the actual use of a given item across speakers and situations).

If we abstract away from the quantitative differences between the six Πs, what remains to be clarified is the problem of the semantic relation which holds between them. In the quote in the foregoing paragraph, free variation is mentioned although with the proviso that this possibility is probably barred for (Π23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ on account of its supposed dialectal character. Is it the case that – dialectal or not – the four Πs can replace each other in every possible context? We try to answer this question in several steps by way of testing whether the six Πs under inspection are compatible to comparable degrees with different kinds of Grounds. Sentences like (5.14) with two coordinated PPs each of which has PROPINQUUS function lend credibility to the free-variation hypothesis.

(5.14) PROPINQUUS I [Korpus Malti 3.0; *parl1238*]

*L-uniku ħanut tal-kafe kien [qrib il-Knisja]<sub>pp</sub> u*  
 DEF-unique shop of:DEF-coffee be [**near** DEF-church] and  
*[viċin l-iskola]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 [**near** DEF-school]

‘The only café was [**near** the church] and [(**near**) the school] [. . .].’

Both (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’ and (Π58) *viċin* ‘near’ express the same, namely the location of the café in the vicinity of the Ground. The one Π may replace the other and vice versa. However, can it be that certain Grounds are more likely to choose (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’ while others opt more often for (Π58) *viċin* ‘near’ (or (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ or (Π14) *fejn* ‘near’ or (Π23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ or (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’)? This possibility calls for being looked into.

For a start, we provide examples of (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’, (Π14) *fejn* ‘near’, (Π23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’, (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’, (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’, and (Π58) *viċin* ‘near’ combining with *is-sodda* ‘the bed’ as representative of the class of inanimate concrete common nouns (cf. (5.15)).



(5.15) PROPINQUUS II (inanimate Ground – common noun)

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news78344]

*Ghidli x' hemm isbaħ milli ssib ktieb*  
 say:10:1SG what there beautiful.CMPR from:that 2SG.IPFV:find book  
*jistenniek fuq il-komodina [biswit is-sodda tiegħek]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:wait:2SG on DEF-cupboard [facing DEF-bed of:2SG]  
 ‘Tell me what is nicer than finding a book waiting for you on the cupboard  
 [next to your bed]?’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature76]

*La Valette kellu ljun ikkatnat [fejn is-sodda]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 La Valette have.PFV:3SG.M lion chain:PART [near DEF-bed]  
 ‘La Valette had a lion chained [near the bed] [. .].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature18]

*Oħti kienet [hdejn is-sodda tar-Re]<sub>pp</sub> tibki*  
 sister:1SG be:3SG.F.PFV [beside DEF-bed of:DEF-king] 3SG.F.IPFV:cry  
*u lili lanqas biss għarfitni*  
 and to:1SG not\_even only recognise:3SG.F.PFV:1SG  
 ‘My sister cried [beside the king’s bed] and did not even recognise me.’

(d) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature32]

*[Maġenb is-sodda]<sub>pp</sub> kien hemm komodina ċkejna*  
 [close\_to DEF-bed] be there cupboard small:F  
 ‘[Close to the bed] there was a small cupboard [. .].’

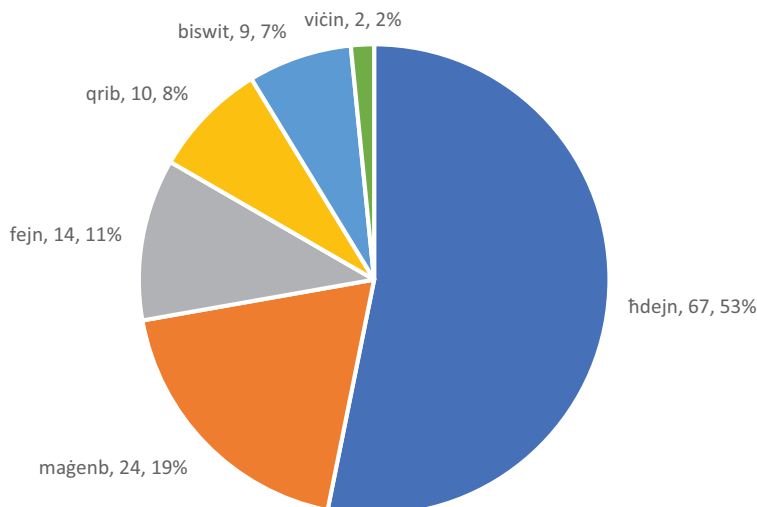
(e) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news46235]

*Meta l-pulizija marru fuq il-post il-kadavru tal-mara*  
 when DEF-police go:3PL.PFV on DEF-place DEF-corpse of:DEF-woman  
*nstab fl-art wiċċu 'l fuq [qrib is-sodda]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 REFL:find in:DEF-ground face:3SG.M upwards [near DEF-bed]  
 ‘When the police went to the place, the woman’s body lay on its back on the  
 floor [near the bed].’

(f) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news216150]

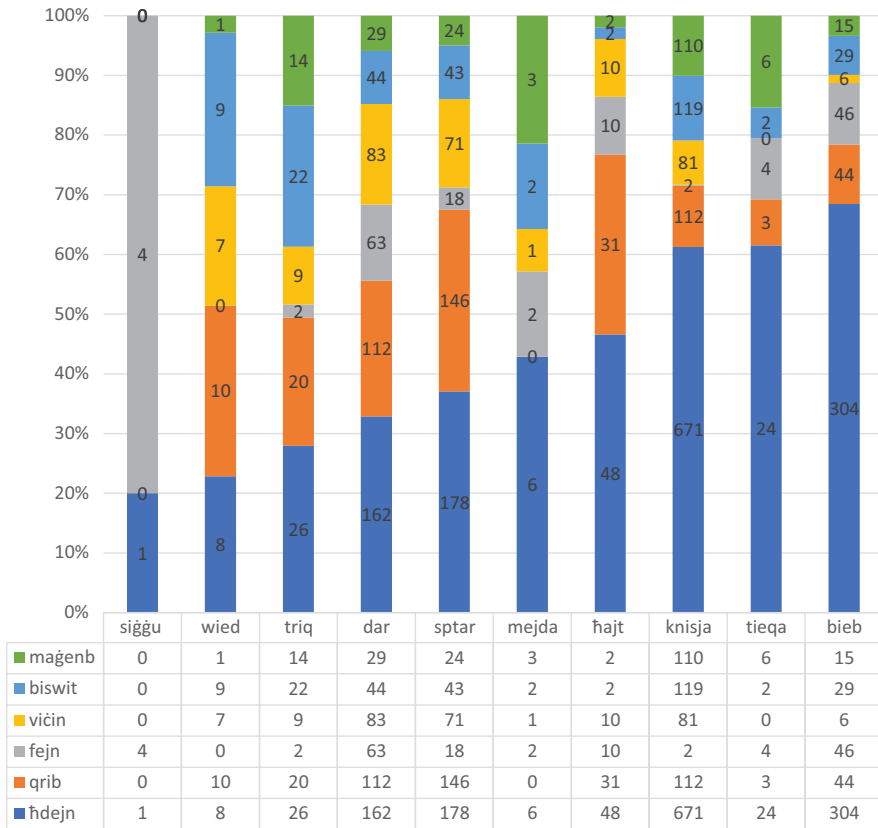
*Intqal ukoll li meta nstab il-katavru ta' Winehouse*  
 REFL:say also that when REFL:find DEF-corpse of Winehouse  
*kien hemm anki żewġ fliexken tal-vodka vojta*  
 be there also two bottle.PL of:DEF-vodka empty:F  
*fl-art [viċin is-sodda tagħha]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 in:DEF-ground [near DEF-bed of:3SG.F]  
 ‘It was said also that when Winehouse’s body was found there were also two  
 empty bottles of vodka on the floor [near her bed].’

Superficially, the data seem to speak in favour of free variation because each of the IIs is licit as head of a PP which involves *is-sodda* ‘the bed’ as complement. On closer inspection, we notice that the filler of the head slot in the frame [II<sub>PROPINQUUS</sub> *is-sodda*]<sub>PP</sub> is most often (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ as shown in Figure 5.5.



**Figure 5.5:** Fillers of the head slot in [II<sub>PROPINQUUS</sub> *is-sodda*]<sub>PP</sub> (Korpus Malti 3.0).

With 53% of all tokens of [II<sub>PROPINQUUS</sub> *is-sodda*]<sub>PP</sub> in the Korpus Malti 3.0 (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ ousts all other contestants none of which has a share bigger than 19%. To determine whether this discrepancy is incidental we take account of the frequency with which the six IIs are attested in combinations with ten other concrete common nouns in complement function in a static relation of Place, namely in alphabetical order *bieb* ‘door’, *dar* ‘house’, *ħajt* ‘wall’, *knisja* ‘church’, *mejda* ‘table’, *siġġu* ‘chair’, *sptar* ‘hospital’, *tieqa* ‘window’, *triq* ‘street’, and *wied* ‘valley’ (all of which occur in the singular hosting the definiteness marker). The results of our search in the Korpus Malti 3.0 are revealed in Figure 5.6. The cases are ordered from left to right according to the increasing share of (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’. Only in two cases are there other IIs whose shares are bigger than that of (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’. A possible extrapolation on the basis of the shares featured in Figure 5.5 assumes that (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ is the preferred option with most common nouns. This hypothesis is at least partly borne out by the empirical facts.



**Figure 5.6:** Fillers of the head slot in  $[\Pi_{\text{PROPINQUUS DEF-N}_{\text{COMMON}}}]_{\text{PP}}$  (Korpus Malti 3.0).

The columns reflect a continuum which covers a range of variations. The variation notwithstanding, there are only two nouns which pick a  $\Pi$  other than ( $\Pi$ 23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ as their major partner. With three nouns, ( $\Pi$ 23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ is responsible for more than 50% of the tokens. Except in one case, no other  $\Pi$  combines with a given noun in more than half of the tokens., ( $\Pi$ 23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ is the only  $\Pi$  which is attested with each of the ten nouns. The hierarchy which results from the above frequency count (= (a)) and how it diverges from the order according to the overall frequency (= (b)) is disclosed in Figure 5.7.

- (a) (Π23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ > (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’ > (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ > (Π58) *viċin* ‘near’ > (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ > (Π14) *fejn* ‘near’
- (b) (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’ > (Π23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ > (Π58) *viċin* ‘near’ > (Π14) *fejn* ‘near’ > (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ > (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’

**Figure 5.7:** Mismatch between ranking orders.

How can the disagreement between the orders (a) and (b) in Figure 5.7 be explained? Given that the test conducted above suffices to assume that it reflects the behaviour of the six IIs with concrete common nouns as complements, a possible explanation for the change of ranks in (b) can be sought in combinations with complements other than concrete common nouns.

There is indeed evidence from place names that supports the idea that the different IIs tend to associate more with a particular class of nouns than with others. Several of the above ten concrete common nouns frequently form the initial part of a complex place name. This is shown in (5.16) with street names whose initial element is *triq* ‘street’ without definiteness marker.

(5.16) PROPINQUUS III (place names)

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news21341]

*Transport Malta tavża wkoll li l-parkeġġ*  
 Transport Malta 3SG.F.IPFV:give\_notice also that DEF-car\_park  
 [*biswit Triq Vincenzo Dimech fil-Floriana*]<sub>pp</sub> se  
 [*facing Triq Vincenzo Dimech in:DEF-Floriana*] FUT  
*jingħalaq għal 24 siegħa*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:close for 24 hour  
 ‘Transport Malta also gives notice that the car-park [**near Triq Vincenzo Dimech in Floriana**] will be closed for 24 hours.’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl2746]

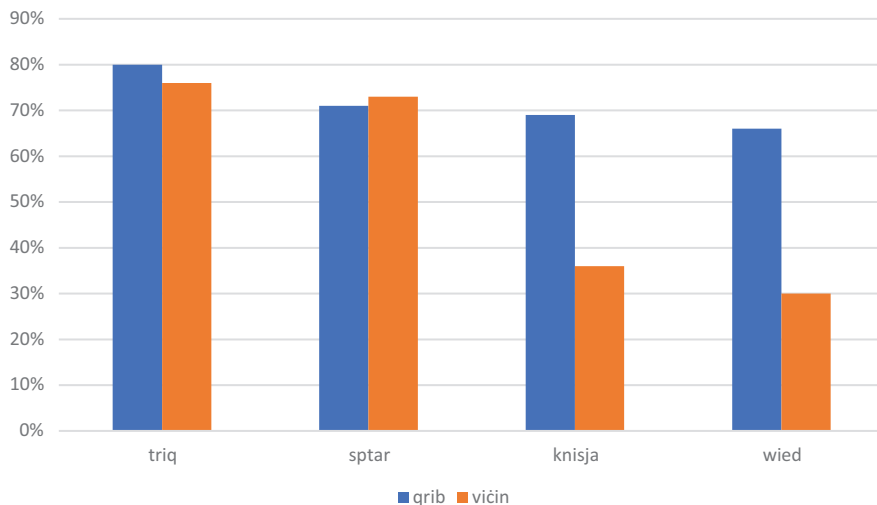
*għalfejn ma ttiehdu l-ebda passi mid-Dipartiment*  
 why NEG REFL:take:3PL.PFV DEF-no step:PL from:DEF-department  
*tas-Saħħa biex titneħħa mizbla illegali li hemm*  
 of:DEF-health to 3SG.F.IPFV:REFL:remove dunghill illegal that there  
*f’ kantuniera [fejn Triq San Ġwakkin]*<sub>pp</sub> u [Ø *Triq is-Sebħ*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 in corner [**near Triq San Ġwakkin**] and [Ø *Triq is-Sebħ*]  
*fil-lokalita’ ta’ Hal Qormi*  
 in:DEF-locality of Hal Qormi  
 ‘[. . .] why have no steps been taken by the Health Department to remove an illegal dunghill that is there on a corner [**near Triq San Ġwakkin**] and [*Triq is-Sebħ*] in the village of Hal Qormi?’

- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news89710]  
*tinsab fil-Marsa eżatt [hdejn Triq Aldo Moro]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:REFL:find in:DEF-Marsa exact [beside Triq Aldo Moro]  
 ‘[. . .] it is found exactly [beside Triq Aldo Moro].’
- (d) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news171499]  
*Din tinvolvi twessiegħ tal-kanal eżistenti li*  
 DEM:F:PROX 3SG.F.IPFV:involve widening of:DEF-canal existing that  
*jinsab [maġenb Triq it-Torba ġewwa Albert Town]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:find [close\_to Triq it-Torba inside Albert Town]  
 ‘This involves the widening of the existing canal that is located [close to Triq it-Torba in Albert Town].’
- (e) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news126652]  
*Anton Agius kien joqgħod f’ dar [qrib Triq Ghajn Qajjed]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 Anton Agizs be 3SG.M.IPFV:stay in house [near Triq Ghajn Qajjed]  
 ‘Anton Agius lived in a house [near Triq Ghajn Qajjed].’
- (f) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news206904]  
*Il-każ huwa dwar xogħol li sar [viċin Triq San Rokku]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-case 3SG.M about work that become [near Triq San Rokku]  
 ‘The case was about work that was done [near Triq San Rokku] [. . .].’

We see that the six IIs are compatible with street names as complements. The same holds for other types of place names. However, it is particularly noteworthy how important place names are for (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ and (II58) *viċin* ‘near’. In Figure 5.8, the share of place names in *qrib*-PPs and *viċin*-PPs is calculated for place names with initial *triq* ‘street’, *wied* ‘valley’, *knisja* ‘church’, and *sptar* ‘hospital’. Note that in the cases of *triq* and *wied* the absolute numbers exceed those given for the same nouns when used as common nouns in Figure 5.6 whereas those for *knisja* and *sptar* are included already in the count in Figure 5.6. The reason for this difference is the absence of the definiteness marker on street and valley names.

Especially (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ is prone to combine with place names of the indicated kind since in each of the four cases more than two-thirds of all *qrib*-PPs contain a place name as complement.

This tendency must be checked against further contexts involving place names before we can generalise the findings. To this end, we look at settlement names like *Londra* ‘London’ in (5.17). The sentences resemble each other semantically insofar as all of them express that the Figure is located in the vicinity of London. Neither (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ nor (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ yields any matches for combinations with this settlement name.



**Figure 5.8:** Share of place-name Grounds with (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’ and (Π58) *vicin* ‘near’.

(5.17) PROPINQUUS IV (settlement name)

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic376]

*L-Osservatorju Rjali ta' Greenwich [hdejn Londra]<sub>pp</sub> hija*  
 DEF-observatory royal of Greenwich [beside London] 3SG.F  
*l-punt definit bħala l-Meridjan Prim*  
 point define:PART as DEF-meridian prime

‘The Royal Observatory of Greenwich [**near** London] is the point that is defined as the prime meridian.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news70146]

*Huwa zied jgħid li l-aktar li jinħassu*  
 3SG.M add 3SG.M.IPFV:say that DEF-more that 3.IPFV:REFL:feel:PL  
*l-effetti tan-nixfa huma fl-inħawi [qrib Londra]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-effect:PL of:DEF-draught 3PL in:DEF-side.PL [**near** London]

‘He further said that the effects of the draught are felt the most in the areas [**near** London].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture2625]

*Dawn il-vetturi li jesgħu zewġ persuni*  
 DEM.PL.PROX DEF-vehicle:PL that 3.IPFV:contain:PL two person:PL  
*se jkunu qed joperaw fuq toroq*  
 FUT 3.IPFV:be.FUT:PL PROG 3.IPFV:operate:PL on street.PL

*iddisinjati*      *apposta*      *fir-raħal*      *ta' Milton Keynes li*  
 design:PART:PL on\_purpose in:DEF-village of Milton Keynes that  
*jinsab*                      [*viċin Londra*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL.find [**near** London]

‘These vehicles which sit two persons will be operating on purposely designed streets in the village of Milton Keynes which is located [**near** London].’

The absence of any examples which involve (Π14) *fejn* ‘near’ taking *Londra* as complement is no surprise since the three other IIs are attested each only once with this place name, meaning: the above examples in (5.17) are all hapaxes. It is therefore necessary to considerably extend the list of settlement names to determine whether there are any preferences or incompatibilities. For this purpose, we have chosen five settlement names from the Maltese islands and five names of major cities from outside Malta. The results (based on a search of the Korpus Malti 3.0) are shown in Table 5.2. The settlement names referring to geo-objects on Malta or Gozo are highlighted with grey shading.

**Table 5.2:** Πs with PROPINQUUS meaning in combination with settlement names.

place name	Π						sum
	(Π14) <i>fejn</i>	(Π32)	(Π8)	(Π23) <i>ħdejn</i>	(Π48)	(Π58)	
	‘near’	<i>maġenb</i> ‘close to’	<i>biswit</i> ‘facing’	‘beside’	<i>qrib</i> ‘near’	<i>viċin</i> ‘near’	
<i>Ruma</i>	0	0	0	0	8	6	14
<i>Parigi</i>	0	0	0	2	7	0	9
<i>Mosta</i>	0	0	1	1	2	4	8
<i>Berlin</i>	0	0	0	1	3	0	4
<i>Nadur</i>	0	0	0	0	3	1	4
<i>New York</i>	0	0	0	0	2	2	4
<i>Sydney</i>	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
<i>Hal Luqa</i>	0	0	1	1	1	1	4
<i>Naxxar</i>	0	0	0	1	1	1	3
<i>Qrendi</i>	0	0	0	1	1	1	3
total	0	0	2	7	32	16	57

There is no evidence of (Π14) *fejn* ‘near’ or (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ governing any of the ten different settlement names. Thus, the first impression that arose in connection with the examples in (5.17) finds corroboration because (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ is attested only twice and its exact reading (‘facing’ vs ‘near to’) remains doubtful in

these cases. These three IIs are clearly no option for expressing proximity of Figure and Ground provided the latter is a settlement name. In contrast, (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ is the only II that occurs with each of the place names whereas (II58) *viċin* ‘near’ and (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ combine with seven and six settlement names, respectively. (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ always displays a token frequency that exceeds that of (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’. Summarily, (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ is responsible for 56% of all tokens registered in Table 5.2. (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ is attested twice as frequently as (II58) *viċin* ‘near’ whose tokens, in turn, outnumber those of (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ by a ratio of 2.3-to-one. (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ is 3.5 times more frequent than (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’. We read these results as follows. (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ and (II58) *viċin* ‘near’ are especially fit when it comes to express that the Figure is situated in the vicinity of a major geo-object such as urban agglomerations – a context from which (II14) *fejn* ‘near’ and (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ seem to be excluded and where (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ is only a minor option while (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ is attested only marginally. This finding is corroborated by the turnout of another search of the Korpus Malti 3.0. This time we have looked at island names as shown in Table 5.3. (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’, (II14) *fejn* ‘near’, and (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ are absent from Table 5.3 because they do not occur in combination with any of the island names. Their frequency is thus nil.

**Table 5.3:** IIs with PROPINQUUS meaning in combination with island names.

island name	II			sum
	(II23) <i>ħdejn</i> ‘beside’	(II48) <i>qrib</i> ‘near’	(II58) <i>viċin</i> ‘near’	
<i>Sqallija</i> ‘Sicily’	0	6	5	11
<i>Ċipru</i> ‘Cyprus’	3	0	0	3
<i>Kreta</i> ‘Crete’	1	1	0	2
<i>Pantellerija</i> ‘Pantelleria’	0	1	0	1
<i>Sardinja</i> ‘Sardinia’	0	1	0	1
total	4	9	5	18

The small absolute numbers notwithstanding, Table 5.3 largely replicates the picture painted in Table 5.2. Half of the tokens go to the credit of (II48) *qrib* ‘near’. The second best is (II58) *viċin* ‘near’ with about half as many tokens. (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ is attested almost equally often but comes only on rank #3. As in the previous test, (II14) *fejn* ‘near’ and (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ fail to produce a single token. The same holds for (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’. On this basis, we postulate a scale of preferences according to which the core of the functional domain of (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ and (II58) *viċin* ‘near’ is the PROPINQUUS in relation to place names. (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’



is compatible with place names but to a lesser degree whereas (II14) *fejn* ‘near’, (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’, and (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ are practically excluded from PPS in which the names of major geo-objects constitute the complement. The six IIs serve to express the PROPINQUUS but behave differently in terms of their combinatory potential.

#### 5.1.2.1.5 OBESSIVE

Hagège (2010: 286) distinguishes between the “obessive” which applies when the Figure is “in front of a place” and the “preessive” which assumes that the Figure is “before [. . .] a place or person(s)”. The English IIs which represent the two spatial meanings are *in front of* and *opposite* in the case of the OBESSIVE and *before* in the case of the PREESSIVE. In the absence of further explanations as to the conceptual basis of the distinction of OBESSIVE and PREESSIVE we shortcut a potentially lengthy discussion by way of taking Hagège’s division of categories for granted.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the term OBESSIVE glosses over a further distinction into two subcategories. It depends on the perspective that is used to verbalise a given spatial situation as either one of the Figure being in front of the Ground or opposite the Ground. In the former case, the Figure metaphorically blocks the view of the observer who looks in the direction of the Ground. In contrast, the situation is construed from the perspective of the Ground when the Figure is said to be situated opposite the Ground. Since Maltese makes use of two different IIs to encode the different viewpoints, we opt for splitting Hagège’s OBESSIVE in two, namely the proper OBESSIVE (< Latin *ob* ‘opposite’) and the FRONTALIS (< Latin *frons* ‘front’). The OBESSIVE requires the employment of either (II12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’ whereas the FRONTALIS is expressed by (II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ or (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’. The FRONTALIS is discussed in the subsequent section. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 166) label the OBESSIVE descriptively as “[c]iterior-anterior” whereas the FRONTALIS is termed simply “anterior” (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 159).

Since the morphosyntactic properties of (II12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’ have been scrutinised in some detail before on the basis of several sentential examples,<sup>30</sup> it suffices at this point to provide only one additional example from the Korpus Malti 3.0.

<sup>29</sup> The PREESSIVE is thus relegated to Section 5.1.2.1.10.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. in Section 4.1.2.2.1.2.1.

(5.18) OBESSIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic29]

*Anton Buttigieg ixejjer lill-bastiment minn fuq is-swar*  
 Anton Buttigieg wave to:DEF-ship from on DEF-wall.PL  
*tal-belt Valletta [faċċata tal-Port il-Kbir]<sub>PP</sub>*  
 of:DEF-city Valletta [opposite of:DEF-harbour DEF-big]  
 ‘[. . .] Anton Buttigieg waved to the ship from the city walls of Valletta [oppo-  
 site the Grand Harbour].’

The situation is depicted as if seen from the ship that is moving within the Grand Harbour. The observer is aboard the ship and watches Anton Buttigieg waving on the city walls. The city walls obstruct the observer’s gaze in the sense that s/he cannot see everything that is beyond the obstacle. The Grand Harbour is the Ground and Valletta’s city walls have the function of the Figure. This is different in the case of the FRONTALIS.

#### 5.1.2.1.6 FRONTALIS

Saari (2002) has dedicated a separate article on aspects of the grammar and the functions of (Π49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’. In this section, we focus on the differences between FRONTALIS and OBESSIVE. This discussion also involves (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’. As in (5.18), the PP of interest for the discussion contains *il-Port il-Kbir* ‘the Grand Harbour’ as Ground in (5.19), too.

(5.19) FRONTALIS

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl8367]

*Safejn naf jien kellu jsir*  
 as\_far\_as 1SG.IPFV:know 1SG have.PFV:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:become  
*impact assessment fuq dawn id-dumping sites li hemm*  
 impact assessment on DEM:PL:PROX DEF-dumping\_site:PL that there  
*fil-baħar li waħda minnhom tinstab eżattament*  
 in:DEF-sea that one:F from:3PL 3SG.F.IPFV:REFL:find exactly  
*[quddiem il-Port il-Kbir]<sub>PP</sub>*  
*[in front of of:DEF-harbour DEF-big]*  
 ‘As far as I know, an impact assessment had to take place on these dumping  
 sites in the sea one of which is located exactly [in front of the Grand Har-  
 bour].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news84867]

*Iż-żgħażaġh* *bdew* *iħallu* *d-djar* *u*  
 DEF-young\_man.PL begin:3PL.PFV 3.IPFV:leave:PL DEF-house.PL and  
*t-toroq* *fejn* *kienu* *jgħixu* *l-ġenituri* *tagħhom*  
 DEF-street.PL where be.3PL.PFV 3.IPFV:live:PL DEF-parent:PL of:3PL  
*biex* *isibu* *post* *f' ċentri* *[biswit il-Port*  
 to 3.IPFV:find:PL place in center:PL [facing DEF-harbour  
*il-Kbir]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 DEF-big]

‘The young men began to leave the houses and the streets where their parents lived to find a place in centres [facing the Grand harbour].’

This time, however, the observer looks towards the Ground from the perspective of the Figure – the dumping sites in the sea – that happens to be located outside the Grand Harbour between observer and Ground, in a manner of speaking. If (II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ and (II12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’ switch places in (5.18) and (5.19a) the result might still be grammatically acceptable but the situation would invoke different interpretations as to where the (virtual) observer is located relative to Figure and Ground. The situation is not as clear in the case of (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’. In (5.15a), it is beyond doubt that this II is used in its PROPINQUUS meaning. In (5.16a), the PROPINQUUS meaning seems to make more sense but it cannot be excluded that the intended meaning is that of the FRONTALIS. Very much the same uncertainty arises with regards to (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ in (5.19b). In this sentence the possibility that the II expresses the PROPINQUUS cannot be ruled out completely. The residential centres are located in the vicinity of the Grand Harbour. At the same time, they are also facing the Grand Harbour since at least some of them are located on the waterfront. If the latter interpretation is correct, the situation is again construed such that the observer’s gaze is directed from the Grand Harbour towards the residential centres.

#### 5.1.2.1.7 SURESSIVE

The SURESSIVE applies in situations where the Figure can be said to be on the Ground (Hagège 2010: 286). This description corresponds to the category of superior-contact for whose expression (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ is put to service (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 160). There is no empty space between Figure and Ground. A typical case illustrating the SURESSIVE function of (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ is given in (5.20).

## (5.20) SURESSIVE I – [Abela 2016: 94]

*Teresa ħarset lejn it-tifla [fuq id-deckchair]<sub>PP</sub>*  
 Teresa look:3SG.F.PFV towards DEF-child:F [on DEF-deckchair]  
 ‘Teresa looked towards the girl [on the deckchair].’

The Figure (*it-tifla* ‘the girl’) touches the Ground (*id-deckchair* ‘the deckchair’) rather than hovering above it. Superficially, the story seems to end right here. However, this conclusion is wrong.

In point of fact, (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ does not monopolise the expression of the SURESSIVE since (II15) *fi* ‘in’ is frequently used with the same function. This is visible from (5.21) where a *fi*-PP is contrasted with *fuq*-PPs.

## (5.21) SURESSIVE II

## (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture3548]

*xi ħadd sab il-kartiera [fl-art]<sub>PP</sub>*  
 some someone find DEF-purse [in:DEF-ground]  
 ‘[. . .] someone found the purse [on the ground] [. . .].’

## (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic454]

*Huwa stimat li [fuq l-art]<sub>PP</sub> jgħixu*  
 3SG.M estimate:PART that [on DEF-ground] 3.IPFV:live:PL  
 6,327,152,352 *persuna*  
 6,327,152,352 person  
 ‘It is estimated that 6,327,152,352 human beings live [on Earth].’

## (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic413]

*L-Ammirall Horatio Nelson ddecieda li kien hemm bżonn*  
 DEF-admiral Horatio Nelson decide that be there need  
*imblokk totali navali u [fuq l-art]<sub>PP</sub> wkoll*  
 blockade total naval and [on DEF-ground] also  
 ‘Admiral Horatio Nelson decided that a full blockade, naval as well as [on land], was needed.’

The choice of II disambiguates readings of the polysemous noun *art* ‘ground’. If it is used in its basic meaning, (II15) *fi* ‘in’ is appropriate to describe a situation in which the Figure (here: the purse) is located on and has contact with the Ground as in (5.21a). (II15) *fi* ‘in’ is inadmissible in the contexts involved in the (b)-sentence and the (c)-sentence. Only (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ can be used if *art* refers to the Earth as in (5.21b). Similarly, (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ is the only option when reference is made to phenomena located on land (as opposed to seaborne phenomena).

In (5.22), we find another case of disambiguation but of a different kind.

## (5.22) SURESSIVE III

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl6025]

*Imma bħal fil-każ tat-Titanic dawk li huma*  
 but like in:DEF-case of:DEF-Titanic DEM:PL:DIST that 3PL

*[fil-gverta ta' isfel]<sub>pp</sub> qed jegħrqu*

*[in:DEF-deck of below] PROG 3.IPFV:sink:PL*

'But like in the case of the Titanic, those who are [**on the lower deck**] are drowning.'

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature32]

*[Fuq il-gverta tal-Ġinglija]<sub>pp</sub> kien hemm diġà hafna iġsma*

*[on DEF-deck of:DEF-Ġinglija] be there already many body.PL*

*mejta*

*dead:PL*

'[**On the deck of the Ġinglija**] there were already many dead bodies [. . .].'

The noun *gverta* 'blanket; deck' triggers the use of (II15) *fi* 'in' if the ship has multiple decks and the situation is located on one of the lower decks which are conceived of as containers and thus license the use of the INESSIVE II. If the Figure is on the upper deck (in the open) the Ground is treated like a surface on which the Figure is located. This, in turn, justifies the use of the SURESSIVE (II17) *fuq* 'on'.

As comes to the fore in (5.23) (like in (5.21)) body parts as Grounds do not necessarily require the use of (II17) *fuq* 'on'. The body-part term *wiċċ* 'face' is also used in the sense of 'surface'. With this meaning, it may either combine with (II15) *fi* 'in' as in the (a)-sentence or with (II17) *fuq* 'on' as in the (b)-sentence.

## (5.23) SURESSIVE IV

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature75]

*deher il-katavru ta' Matthew [f' wiċċ il-baħar]<sub>pp</sub>*

*appear DEF-corpse of Matthew [in face DEF-sea]*

'[. . .] Matthew's corpse appeared [**on the surface of the sea**] [. . .].'

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news67228]

*Ix-xemx tleqq dehbiena [fuq wiċċ il-baħar]<sub>pp</sub>*

*DEF-sun 3SG.F.IPFV:shine golden:F [on face DEF-sea]*

'The sun shines golden [**above the surface of the sea**] [. . .].'

The spatial situation is clearly that of a SURESSIVE in (5.23a) but the II that expresses this notion is (II15) *fi* 'in' which otherwise is responsible for the INESSIVE. This II is chosen because there is contact between the Figure and the Ground. Example

(5.23b) does not necessarily invite the SURESSIVE interpretation although it does not exclude the SURESSIVE either (if the reflection of the sunlight on the surface of the water is referred to). (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ is also the Π to express the SUPERESSIVE which applies in situations in which the Figure is above the Ground, i.e. Figure and Ground are not touching each other.<sup>31</sup> Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 161) have a further distinction involving (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’, namely that of location on a surface (which is covered by (5.23b) above).

The final aspect to be touched upon in connection with the SURESSIVE is the distinction of horizontal surfaces as Ground vs vertical surfaces as Ground. In the above, we have addressed the former. In (5.24), the common noun *ħajt* ‘wall’ represents the class of vertically extended Grounds.

(5.24) SURESSIVE V

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature32]

*Ħares fil-mera li kien hemm [fil-ħajt]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 look in:DEF-mirror that be there [in:DEF-wall]  
 ‘He looked in the mirror that was there [on the wall].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature59]

*Għaddew għaxar minuti skont l-arloġġ [fuq il-ħajt]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 pass:3PL.PFV ten minute:PL according to DEF:clock [on DEF-wall]  
 ‘Ten minutes passed according to the clock [on the wall].’

The alternation between the two Πs has two possible explanations. On the one hand, in the (a)-sentence the Figure might be integrated into the structure of the Ground and thus understood as being inside the wall. This would explain why (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ is used in lieu of (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’. (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ is the correct choice for the (b)-sentence if the clock is hanging on the wall (suspended on a nail, for instance). The second explanation, on the other hand, is that (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ is optionally eligible in situations which involve Grounds which cover a large extension of space – with large being a matter of variable subjective interpretation.

What the case of the SURESSIVE suggests is that the distribution of Maltese Πs over contexts calls for an in-depth analysis which explores the phenomena in much more detail than can be done in this study. This statement finds corroboration in many of the subsequent sections.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.7.

### 5.1.2.1.8 SUPERESSIVE

The SUPERESSIVE relation applies if there is no contact between Figure and Ground with the former occupying a vertically elevated position above the ground (Hagège 2010: 286). Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 160) use the label “superior at rest” to characterise this spatial relation. Like in the case of the SURESSIVE discussed in the foregoing section, (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ functions as marker of the SUPERESSIVE as shown in (5.25).

(5.25) SUPERESSIVE [Korpus Malti 3.0; news179517]

*l-Pulizija Ingliża xejnet kumplott ta’ terroristi*  
 DEF-police English:F nullify:3SG.F.PFV conspiracy of terrorist:PL  
*biex jisplodu ajruplani [fuq il-Baħar Atlantiku]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 to 3.IPFV:explode:PL aeroplane:PL [on DEF-sea Atlantic]  
 ‘[. . .] the English police destroyed a conspiracy of terrorists to explode aero-  
 planes [**above** the Atlantic].’

There seems to be no competing II when it comes to expressing the SUPERESSIVE.

### 5.1.2.1.9 SUBESSIVE

In Hagège’s (2010) system, no distinction is made as to situations in which (a) Figure and Ground are in contact with each other while the Figure is situated under the Ground and (b) the Figure is located somewhere below the Ground without contact. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 161–162) claim that the same II is used to express inferior without contact and inferior with contact, namely (II56) *taħt* ‘under’. A typical example is given in (5.26).

(5.26) SUBESSIVE – [Bartolo/Vella 2009: 244]

*Estella setgħet tisimghu jqarmec u*  
 Estella can:3SG.F.PFV 3SG.F.IPFV:hear:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:crunch and  
*jitfarfar [taħt saqajha]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:shake\_off\_dust [**under** foot:PL:3SG.F]  
 ‘Estella heard [the rusty stairs] crunch and giving off dust [**under** her feet]  
 [. . .].’

As far as we can see, (II56) *taħt* ‘under’ has the monopoly for expressing the SUBESSIVE.

## 5.1.2.1.10 PREESSIVE

## 5.1.2.1.10.1 PREESSIVE – spatial

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 159) assume a category anterior which seems to cover the FRONTALIS and the spatial PREESSIVE. The latter is described by Hagège (2010: 286) as applying to situations in which the Figure is placed before the Ground. This configuration is not easily told apart from the FRONTALIS usage of (II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ as mentioned above.<sup>32</sup> There is however evidence that (II46) *qabel* ‘before’ can be used to express differences between ranks in a hierarchy which in turn can be interpreted as a succession of different segments of space as in (5.27a). A proper spatial context is illustrated in (5.27b) where the place where the accident happened is situated in space relative to a street that serves as Ground.

(5.27) PREESSIVE spatial

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news106530]

*L-erba' timijiet [qabel Malta]<sub>pp</sub> huma Latvja Palestina*

DEF-four team:PL [before Malta] 3PL Latvia Palestine

*Singapore u El Salvador*

Singapore and El Salvador

‘The four teams [above Malta] are Latvia, Palestine, Singapore, and El Salvador [...].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news116898]

*L-aċċident seħħ [ftit qabel it-triq li tagħti*

DEF-accident happen [little before DEF-street that 3SG.F.IPFV:give

*għal Għargħur]<sub>pp</sub>*

for Għargħur]

‘The accident happened [shortly before the street that leads to Għargħur] [...].’

The close conceptual ties with the temporal PREESSIVE are obvious: what comes before X in space is also there prior to X in time. Contact does not seem to be a parameter for further distinctions in the domain of the spatial PREESSIVE.

32 Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.6.



### 5.1.2.1.10.2 PREESSIVE – temporal

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 172) mention that “[t]he preposition **qabel** ‘before’ precedes the temporal expression with respect to which anteriority is calculated” [original boldface]. This means that (II46) *qabel* ‘before’ serves as marker of all kinds of PREESSIVES, be they spatial or temporal. The temporal PREESSIVE is documented in (5.28).

(5.28) PREESSIVE temporal – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature25]

*Kienet l-Iżrael [qabel il-Gwerra tas-Sitt Ijiem]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 be:3SG.F.PFV DEF-Israel [**before** DEF-war of:DEF-six day.PL]  
 ‘She was in Israel [**before** the Six Day War].’

In this function, (II46) *qabel* ‘before’ is the only option for speakers of Maltese.

### 5.1.2.1.11 POSTESSIVE

#### 5.1.2.1.11.1 POSTESSIVE – spatial

The domains of the two POSTESSIVES – spatial and temporal – form the logical equivalent of those of the two PREESSIVES since the former focus on the opposite relation which can be expressed in English by *behind* and *after*, respectively (Hagège 2010: 286). Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 159) use the label “posterior at rest” for the spatial POSTESSIVE. In Maltese, the appropriate choice for expressing this relation is (II60) *wara* ‘after’. Its typical use is illustrated in (5.29).

(5.29) POSTESSIVE spatial [Bartolo/Vella 2009: 244]

*Id-dawl ta’ barra li kienu hallew [warajhom]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-light of outside that be:3PL.PFV leave:3PL.PFV [**after:3PL**]  
*meta qabdu neżlin fil-bir bilkemm kien qed*  
 when catch:3PL.PFV descend.PART.PL in:DEF-well hardly be PROG  
*jasal sa fejn kienu huma*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:arrive till near be:3PL.PFV 3PL  
 ‘The external light they left [**behind them**] when they began to descend into the well hardly reached as far as where they were [. . .].’

Except for (II60) *wara* ‘after’, no other II is involved in the expression of the spatial POSTESSIVE. As in the case of the spatial PREESSIVE, it is irrelevant whether Figure and Ground are in contact with each other or not.

### 5.1.2.1.11.2 POSTESSIVE – temporal

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 172) mention (II60) *wara* ‘after’ as the only option for the expression of the TEMPORAL POSTESSIVE (= “general posterior” according to their terminology). The sentence in (5.30) shows the typical employment of this II within a temporal adverbial.

(5.30) POSTESSIVE temporal – [Ellul Mercer 1986: 60]

*[wara gurnata oħra li ma ninsewhiex kif  
[after day other:F that NEG 1.IPFV:forget:PL:3SG.F:NEG like  
ġieb u laħaq]<sub>pp</sub> issa li waqgħet ftit tal-ħemda  
bring and reach] now that fall:3SG.F.PFV little of:DEF-calm  
ninsab waħdi  
1SG.IPFV:REFL:find one:1SG  
‘[. . .] [after another day that we won’t forget easily] now that it became  
somewhat calmer I find myself to be alone [. . .].’*

Once again, there is no other Maltese II competing with (II60) *wara* ‘after’ in this domain. For the next three relations, Hagège (2010) does not distinguish between spatial and temporal categories. Similarly, the possibility of contact and its absence plays no role in these categories.

### 5.1.2.1.12 CIRCUMESSIVE – spatial and temporal

According to Hagège (2010: 286), the CIRCUMESSIVE covers situations in which the Figure is “around [. . .] a place or person(s).” The term Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 166) use for configurations of this kind is “circumferential at rest”. The authors of the Maltese reference grammar only mention (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ as marker. A genuine spatial context for the use of this II is featured in (5.31).

(5.31) CIRCUMESSIVE spatial – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic12]

*fil-kampanja [madwar Sao Paulo]<sub>pp</sub> aktar minn 80  
in:DEF-countryside [around Sao Paulo] more from 80  
fil-mija tan-nies kienu immigrati Taljani  
in:DEF-hundred of:DEF-people be:3PL.PFV immigrant:PL Italian:PL  
‘[. . .] in the country [around Sao Paulo], more than 80% of the people were  
Italian immigrants [. . .].’*

Example (5.32) suggests that the CIRCUMESSIVE is not always necessarily spatial in the strict sense of the term.

(5.32) CIRCUMESSIVE temporal – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news145048]

*nfissru ruhna dwar l-infiq li jsir*  
 1.IPFV:explain:PL self:1PL about DEF-spending that 3SG.M.IPFV:become  
*f' dawn il-jiem [madwar il-Milied]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 in DEM:PL:PROX DEF-day.PL [around DEF-Christmas]  
 '[. . .] we explain ourselves as to the expenditure that happens during these  
 days [around Christmas] [. . .].'

It is clear that the basically spatial II is used metonymically to refer to a period of time that starts before Christmas and ends thereafter so that the Ground is sandwiched between the two subperiods in which commercial activities are to be expected. However, the metonymy that is at work here is not so much different from other cases of metonymy like those of (II46) *qabel* 'before' and (II60) *wara* 'after' discussed above.<sup>33</sup> We therefore split the CIRCUMESSIVE into a spatial and a temporal category both of which, however, involve the same II, namely (II31) *madwar* 'around'. We add that when (II31) *madwar* 'around' is used temporarily more often than not it conveys a sense of vagueness or uncertainty.<sup>34</sup>

#### 5.1.2.1.13 MEDIOESSIVE I

For the MEDIOESSIVE and the INTERESSIVE, Hagège (2010: 287) assumes that the governed term of the II may refer to either things or people whereas places are ruled out as complements of the same II. The MEDIOESSIVE is said to apply if the Figure is situated "among [. . .] people or things located in a place" (Hagège 2010: 286). Interestingly, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) make no mention of the appropriate (II16) *fost* 'amongst' (Saari 2003: 137–138)<sup>35</sup> and (II47) *qalb* 'amidst'. The peculiarities of the former in the morphological domain and its government properties have been discussed already.<sup>36</sup> The complement of this II must either be a genuine plural or a collective (which is singular morphologically). The complement of (II16) *fost* 'amongst' may be animate or inanimate. An example of the latter possibility is given in (5.33a). In (5.33b), an example of the largely synonymous (II47) *qalb* 'amidst' is presented.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Sections 5.1.2.1.10 and 5.1.2.1.11.

<sup>34</sup> We will address this issue again in Section 5.2.

<sup>35</sup> In contrast, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 165–166) provide examples for *f' nofs* 'in (the) middle' as representative of the "medial at rest". *F' nofs* 'in (the) middle' is employed if the Ground comprises three or more entities. Since *f' nofs* 'in (the) middle' does not meet the definition of the canonical II we skip discussing it in this study.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Sections 3.1.2.3.1.2 (iii) and 4.1.1.2.2.1 (x).

## (5.33) MEDIOESSIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic12]

Hubert Opperman li *[fost karigi oħra]<sub>pp</sub>* okkupa

Hubert Opperman that *[amongst commitment:PL other:F]* occupy

*dik ta' ministru għall-immigrazzjoni*

DEM:F:DIST of minister for:DEF-immigration

‘Hubert Opperman who *[among other commitments]* fulfilled that of minister for immigration.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature78]

Farrugia li kien *[qalb il-folla]<sub>pp</sub>* ma *ħadha* xejn

Farrugia that be *[amidst DEF-crowd]* NEG take:3SG.F nothing

*bi kbira*

with big:F

‘Farrugia who was *[in the crowd]* took it lightly [. . .].’

Were it not for the isolated temporal expression *fost il-gimgha* ‘on weekdays’ (cf. (5.34)) which is attested 420 times in the Korpus Malti 3.0 and *jum fost l-oħrajn* ‘one day, once upon a time’ (Aquilina 1987: 358), (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ could be registered as a II that is semantically restricted to spatial relations (just as (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’).

## (5.34) MEDIOESSIVE – fossilised expression [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture2096]

*It-tfajliet jahbtu l-aktar [fost il-gimgha]<sub>pp</sub>* u

DEF-girl:PL 3.IPFV:turn\_up:PL DEF-more *[amongst DEF-week]* and

*l-guvintur fil-weekends*

DEF-young\_man:PL in:DEF-weekend:PL

‘The girls show up the most *[on weekdays]* and the boys on the weekends.’

Twenty-two hits go to the credit of the idiom *ħalla X bħall-Erbgha fost il-gimgha* ‘leave X in the lurch’ (Aquilina 1991: 1169) which literally translates as ‘leave X like Wednesday in the week’. We assume that these cases are remnants of an erstwhile more widespread use of (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ also in temporal contexts. This possibility is no longer productive. Therefore, we classify (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ as spatial II. As transpires from the next subsection, this II is not the only choice for expressing MEDIOESSIVE functions.

## 5.1.2.1.14 INTERESSIVE – spatial and temporal / MEDIOESSIVE II

Hagège (2010: 286) mentions English *between* as a good representative of a II that fulfils the function of INTERESSIVE. The Figure is located in the space between two

entities which together constitute the discontinuous Ground. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 165) speak of the category “medial at rest with” two Ground elements. (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ is the sole candidate for the expression of this configuration in Maltese. Like (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’, (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ displays morphological and morphosyntactic idiosyncrasies.<sup>37</sup> These special traits are relevant also for the semantic interpretation of the constructions.

In this section, we note that the INTERESSIVE – like the CIRCUMESSIVE – can be spatial as in (5.35a) or temporal as in (5.35b).

(5.35) INTERESSIVE

(a) spatial – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news191851]

*Il-fatt li l-ħames bastimenti nstabu f' fond*  
 DEF-fact that DEF-five vessel:PL REFL:find:3PL.PFV in depth  
*ta' 100 metru qrib ħafna ta' xulxin qrib il-gżira ta'*  
 of 100 meter near very of each\_other near DEF-island of  
*Ventotene nofs triq [bejn Ruma u Napli]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 Ventotene half street [between Rome and Naples]  
*jindika l-valur storiku li kellha*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:indicate DEF-value historical that have.PFV:3SG.F  
*din il-gżira fi żmien l-imperu Ruman*  
 DEM:F:PROX DEF-island in time DEF-empire Roman  
 ‘The fact that the five vessels were found very close to each other at a depth of 100 meters near the island of Ventotene half the way [between Rome and Naples] shows the historical value the island had in the time of the Roman Empire.’

(b) temporal – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic8]

*Nina Zita ħadmet fuq bazi volontarja mal-Koperattiva*  
 Nina Zita work:3SG.F.PFV on basis voluntary with:DEF-cooperative  
*Kummerċ Gust [bejn Settembru 2006 u Ġunju 2007]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 commerce just [between September 2006 and June 2007]  
 ‘Nina Zita worked on a voluntary basis with the Cooperative Fair Trade [between September 2006 and June 2007].’

On the same grounds as in the previous cases of a division into a spatial and a temporal relation of the same category, we postulate the distinction between the spatial and the TEMPORAL INTERESSIVE. Like in the majority of the other cases of this

37 Cf. Sections 3.1.2.3.1.2 (ii) and 4.1.1.2.2.1 (iii).

kind of split, the same II is used for both functions. In this case, we are alluding to (II4) *bejn* ‘between’.

On the basis of the distinction of medial location with relation to two Ground elements, on the one hand, and more than two Ground elements, on the other hand, proposed by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 165) and – implicitly – also by Hagège (2010: 286), one might assume that (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ is reserved for configurations which involve two Ground elements whereas (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ is required if more than two Ground elements are present in a spatial situation. On closer inspection, we notice that it is true that (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ can only be used if the Figure is located in a more extended group of Ground elements. It is equally true that more often than not the use of (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ implies that the Figure is placed in the space between two Ground elements. However, as examples like (5.36) suggest, (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ can also be used in spatial situations which must be classified as MEDIOESSIVE because the Ground elements are more numerous than a pair of such elements.

(5.36) MEDIOESSIVE spatial II – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic12]

*il-Maltin ta' Toronto kienu jghoddu biss xi*  
 DEF-Maltese:PL of Toronto be:3PL.PFV 3.IPFV:count:PL only some  
*mitejn persuna maqsumin [bejn erbatax-il familja]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 hundred:DU person PART:divide:PL [between fourteen family]  
*li [bejniethom]<sub>pp</sub> kellhom seba' u ghoxrin tifel u tifla*  
 that [between:3PL] have.PFV:3PL twenty-seven boy and girl  
 '[...] the Maltese of Toronto numbered only some two hundred persons distributed [over fourteen families] which [between them] had twenty-seven male and female children [...].'

There are two *bejn*-PPs which do not conform to the pattern that is believed to be crucial for the INTERESSIVE. The Ground is the same for both *bejn*-PPs, namely the fourteen Maltese families. In the first situation, the Figure consists of some two hundred persons and in the second situation, the Figure counts twenty-seven children. These absolute numbers do not meet the criteria of a prototypical INTERESSIVE. To the contrary, the *bejn*-PPs in (5.36) resemble the MEDIOESSIVE as sketched in the previous section. The Figure is distributed and its component parts are scattered across the space defined by the different Ground elements. Outside of those cases where (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ occurs in a coordinative construction with two complements, this II conveys the meaning

of the MEDIOESSIVE provided its complement refers to a group of entities larger than two.<sup>38</sup>

### 5.1.2.1.15 EXTRAESSIVE

Hagège (2010: 286) introduces the category ABESSIVE for a spatial situation in which the Figure is “at the starting point of a move.” The English IIs illustrating this meaning are *out of* (Hagège 2010: 261) and *outside of* (Hagège 2010: 287). We have difficulties to handle the notion of starting of a move. To our mind, what is more important than the possibility that a motion event starts from where the Figure is located is where the Figure is located, namely (somewhere) outside the Ground. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 158) identify (II3) *barra* ‘outside’ for this function. We add (II44) *oltre* ‘beyond’ to the short list of EXTRAESSIVE IIs whose usage is illustrated in (5.37).

(5.37) EXTRAESSIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti; culture1336]

*Matul il-perjodu li kien [barra minn Malta]<sub>pp</sub> huwa*  
 during DEF-period that be [outside from Malta] 3SG.M  
*gie nnominat ukoll għall-Premju tal-Volontarjat*  
 come nominat:PART also for:DEF-award of:DEF-voluntary\_service  
 ‘During the time he was [outside Malta], he was also nominated for the Award of the Voluntary Service.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; european222]

*ma jikkawżawx danni lill-ambjent ta’ Stati*  
 NEG 3.IPFV:cause:PL:NEG damage:PL to:DEF-environment of State:PL  
*oħrajn jew ta’ żoni [oltre l-limiti tal-ġurisdizzjoni*  
 other:PL or of zone:PL [beyond DEF-limit:PL of:DEF-jurisdiction  
*nazzjonali]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 national]  
 ‘[. . .] they do not cause damage to the environment of other states or zones [beyond the limits of the national jurisdiction].’

<sup>38</sup> Dixon (2021: 345) discusses similar phenomena with reference to the English II *between* for which he assumes that it “always indicates a relation between two things.” It does not seem to be possible to apply his analysis to the Maltese facts since the examples cannot be understood as a succession of binary relations between two Grounds.

In both the (a)-sentence and the (b)-sentence the Figure is situated outside the Ground without any motion event being involved. The relation is static. In (5.37a), the protagonist is nominated for an award in Malta while he is away from the island. In (5.37b) the damage should not happen in territories which are outside the national jurisdiction of a member-state of the E.U. Whether it makes sense to distinguish sub-types of the EXTRAESSIVE (viz. one which implies that the Figure is outside the Ground = (II3) *barra* ‘outside’ and one that suggests that the Figure is located beyond a given limit = (II44) *oltre* ‘beyond’) needs to be determined in a dedicated follow-up study. For the purpose of this study, it is sufficient to state that the INESSIVE has an adequate counterpart in Maltese, namely the EXTRAESSIVE.

### 5.1.2.2 Dynamic relations

There is a remarkable asymmetry in Hagège’s (2010: 285–287) catalogue of spatial relations expressed by adpositions. We have reviewed and sometimes modified his inventory of static spatial meanings in the foregoing section. As to the dynamic relations, however, it is striking that the only representative of a relation that focuses on the Source in a spatial situation is the ABLATIVE. All other non-static categories are clearly limited to instances of motion (in)to or towards a Ground, meaning: they reflect Goal-oriented processes. In contrast, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) consistently distinguish rest at, motion to, motion from, and motion past a given Ground. In light of the data presented by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997), we consider Hagège’s taxonomy to be insufficient. Accordingly, in what follows, we will complement this taxonomy by repeatedly filling the gaps, especially in connection with Source and Path.<sup>39</sup> It is additionally noteworthy that the distinction of spatial and temporal meanings with some of the static categories does not apply to the corresponding dynamic relations whereas the distinction is relevant (according to Hagège 2010) with dynamic relations that have no equivalent in the static domain.

What additionally needs to be kept in mind is the leitmotif of Section 4.1.3, i.e., the binary combination of IIs one of which expresses configuration and the other directionality. II-II combinations of this kind abound wherever the dynamic relations of Goal and Source are involved. Moreover, Goal is frequently

---

<sup>39</sup> We reserve Section 5.1.2.2.20 for the discussion of motion past whereas Goal and Source relations are treated one by one in the subsequent sections.



not made explicit so that the II that serves the purpose of expressing the static meaning suffices to also express Goal. We assume that in these cases directionality is subject to zero-marking. These facts render the account of the dynamic meanings more demanding than it was the case with the corresponding static relations.

#### 5.1.2.2.1 ILLATIVE

The ILLATIVE is the Goal-oriented equivalent of the static INESSIVE.<sup>40</sup> According to Hagège's (2010: 286) wording, the ILLATIVE applies if the Figure moves to a place. However, the English IIs illustrating the ILLATIVE are *to* and *into* (Hagège 2010: 261, 287). To our mind, the term ILLATIVE is suggestive of a spatial situation in which the Figure moves into a container-like Ground whereas motion to a Ground without entering into it seems to be conceptually different from the ILLATIVE. The latter situation is perhaps better subsumed under the label allative.<sup>41</sup> In what follows in this section, we focus on evidence for situations in which the Figure (at least potentially) enters the Ground.

In contrast to the static counterpart, the ILLATIVE displays only marginal evidence of temporal usage as shown in (5.38).<sup>42</sup>

(5.38) ILLATIVE – temporal [Korpus Malti 3.0; par117]

*Hawnhekk morna [fi zmien Byzantium]<sub>pp</sub>*

here go:1PL.PFV [in time Byzantium]

'At this point we have gone (back) [to the Byzantine era].'

We are in doubt about the status of examples of this kind. The issue requires an in-depth study of its own. For the time being, we therefore do not propose the existence of a distinct temporal ILLATIVE.

Except for the absence of hard evidence for the existence of a temporal ILLATIVE, the empirical facts illustrating the ILLATIVE closely resemble those discussed in connection with the spatial INESSIVE.<sup>43</sup> In (5.39), we encounter familiar patterns.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.1.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.5.

<sup>42</sup> But cf. Section 5.1.2.2.7 on the TERMINATIVE.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.1.1.

## (5.39) ILLATIVE

(a) [Casha 1999: 41]

*Fl-ahħar jiem ta' ħajjitha kienu ħaduha*  
 in:DEF-last day.PL of life:POSS:3SG.F be:3PL.PFV take:3PL.PFV:3SG.F

[Ø *l-isptar*]<sub>x</sub>

[Ø DEF-hospital]

'On the last days of her life, they had taken her [to the hospital].'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature15]

*Mort [f' ristorante li suppost isajjar*  
 go:1SG.PFV [in restaurant that suppose:PART 3SG.M.IPFV:cook

*ikel Malti]*<sub>pp</sub>

food Maltese]

'I went [(in)to a restaurant that supposedly cooked Maltese food] [. . .].'

(c) [Camilleri 2013: 63]

*Pogġietha bl-akbar galbu [ġo kontenitur*  
 put:3SG.F.PFV:3SG.F with:DEF-big.CMPR good\_manners [in container

*tal-istainless steel]*<sub>pp</sub>

of:DEF-stainless steel]

'She put it with the best of manners [into a container of stainless steel].'

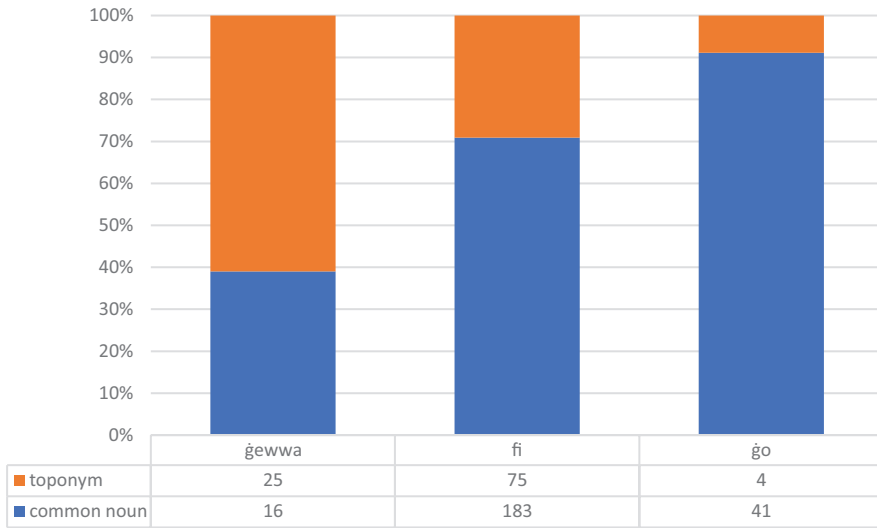
(d) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl10108]

*Snin ilu kont mort [ġewwa l-Kenya]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 year.PL ago:3SG.M be:1SG.PFV go:1SG.PFV [inside DEF-Kenia]

'Years ago, I had gone [to Kenia] [. . .].'

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 156) assume that "[c]ertain verbs of motion, followed by the place nominal (without a preposition) express motion to a place, including arrival at the place." The general motion verb *mar* 'go' is one of those verbs which frequently take bare NPs when these NPs refer to the destination of the motion event (Stolz/Lestrade/Stolz 2014: 267). For motion into the Ground, they postulate the functional equivalence of the three IIs (II15) *fi* 'in', (II18) *ġewwa* 'inside', and (II19) *ġo* 'in'. The four options are covered by the sentences (a) to (c) in (5.39). As to (5.39a), we assume that the Figure was not only taken to the hospital but into it. Nevertheless, the construction without II is not as explicit as the overt PPs about where exactly the Figure winds up in relation to the Ground.

It is interesting to see that the three IIs behave differently in terms of how readily they are used with toponyms as complements in constructions whose motion verb is *mar* 'go'. In Figure 5.9, we compare the results of a search of the Korpus Malti 3.0 for constructions with the perfective forms of *mar* 'go' with the above three IIs. For (II15) *fi* 'in', only unreduced full forms without cliticization are taken account of.



**Figure 5.9:** Complement types with *mar* +  $\Pi$  to express the ILLATIVE (Korpus Malti 3.0).

The higher absolute number of *fi*-PPs with a toponymic complement notwithstanding, it is evident that taking a toponym as complement is typical for (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ whereas combinations of this kind are exceptional in the case of (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’. In light of the discussion in connection with the data presented in Figures 5.2 and 5.4 in the section on the spatial INESSIVE,<sup>44</sup> these results are expected. (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ displays a strong predilection for combinations with toponyms. In contrast, (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’ seems to avoid combinations of this kind as far as possible.

#### 5.1.2.2.2 ELATIVE

If it is correct that the notions of INESSIVE and ILLATIVE require the Figure to be inside a container at some point in the spatial situation, it is surprising to see that there is no mention of a category that covers situations in which the Figure exits the Ground. In Hagège’s (2010: 261 and 286–287) system of spatio-temporal meanings, there is the ABLATIVE whose English translation *from* is however suggestive of motion from a place (Hagège 2010: 286) in lieu of an event in the course of which the Figure emerges from inside the Ground.<sup>45</sup> Borg/Azzopardi-

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.1.1.

<sup>45</sup> It is not at all unlikely that Hagège (2010) had this in mind when he defined the EXTRAESSIVE statically as discussed in Section 5.1.2.1.15.

Alexander (1997: 158) on the other hand, offer two options for the expression of interior motion both of which contain (II41) *minn* ‘from’. Examples are provided in (5.40).

(5.40) ELATIVE

(a) [Abela 2016: 11]

*ħargət*                      *zewġ* *skutelli* [*mill-armarju*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 exit.CAUS:3SG.F.PFV two bowl:PL [**from:DEF-cupboard**]  
 ‘[. . .] she took two bowls [**out of the cupboard**].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news82068]

*nitfarrku*                      *bħal* *tazza* *tal-kristall*      *li*      *taqa’*  
 1.IPFV:REFL:crumble:PL like glass of:DEF-crystal that 3SG.F.IPFV:fall  
 [*minn ġo armarju*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 [**from in cupboard**]  
 ‘[. . .] we will be smashed to pieces like a crystal glass that falls [**out of a cupboard**].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature32]

[*minn ġewwa armarju wiesa’ mdendel mal-ħajt*]<sub>pp</sub>      *ġab*  
 [**from inside cupboard wide PART:hang with:DEF-wall**] bring  
*dik*      *li*      *skont*      *hu*      *kienet*      *iċ-ċavetta*  
 DEM:F:DIST that according\_to 3SG.M be:3SG.F.PFV DEF-key  
 ‘[. . .] [**out of a large cupboard hanging on the wall**] he brought what accord-  
 ing to him was the key [. . .].’

In (5.40a), we are facing a case of unexpressed configuration. The directionality marker (II41) *minn* ‘from’ suffices to express the ELATIVE. The combination of (II41) *minn* ‘from’ and (II15) *fi* ‘in’ is generally blocked. There can be no doubt that the Figure (= the two bowls) was inside the Ground (= the cupboard) prior to the protagonist fetching the objects to move them elsewhere. Similarly, the Figure is removed from inside the Ground to a location outside the Ground in (5.40b–c), but in both cases, the configuration is made explicit.

In combination with the directionality marker which remains the same for all instances of the ELATIVE (II18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ and (II19) *ġo* ‘in’ form typical II-II combinations. As we will have ample opportunity to notice throughout the subsequent sections, this pattern holds for numerous combinations in the sense that (II41) *minn* ‘from’ serves as the directionality marker for motion from a Ground for many kinds of configurations. It is unnecessary to attach distinctive names to each of these combinations. Separate labels are reserved only for those cases in which (II41) *minn* ‘from’ fulfils a given function without an additional configura-

tion marker. In contrast, all II-II combinations which involve (II41) *minn* ‘from’ as directionality marker of Source are registered under *motus ex loco* in the synopsis. Examples of the combinations are given at the appropriate place in the course of the discussion of the individual dynamic meanings.

#### 5.1.2.2.3 APUDLATIVE

Another striking fact about Hagège’s (2010) proposed system of adpositional meanings is the absence of dynamic meanings in connection with a Ground that refers to somebody’s place. This absence is especially remarkable since the author postulates the static category APUDESSIVE.<sup>46</sup> Interestingly, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 156) do not broach this issue either.

Given that Place-Goal syncretism applies generally in Maltese, motion to somebody’s place is expected to be expressed by the same II as the APUDESSIVE, namely (II22) *għand* ‘at s.o.’s place’. This is usually the case as shown in (5.41) where the APUDLATIVE takes the same II as the APUDESSIVE.

(5.41) APUDLATIVE – [Casha 1999: 24]

Kevin u Romina marru [għand wiehed li  
 Kevin and Romina go:3PL.PFV [at s.o.’s place one that  
 kien jinnegozja fi statwetti]<sub>PP</sub>  
 be 3SG.M.IPFV:trade in statuette:PL]  
 ‘Kevin and Romina went [to someone who was trading in statuettes] [. . .].’

We assume that the use of (II22) *għand* ‘at s.o.’s place’ without preceding directionality marker implies that the Figure actually reaches the Goal. Spatial situations in which arrival at the Ground is only an option but not a necessity are discussed separately below.<sup>47</sup>

#### 5.1.2.2.4 APUDABLATIVE

If the Figure can be at or go to someone’s place, it can also be removed from there. Thus, it makes sense to postulate a meaning that we label APUDABLATIVE which expresses motion away from someone’s place. In point of fact, Maltese boasts a distinct II for the APUDABLATIVE which is (II38) *mingħand* ‘from s.o.’. This category is not subsumed under *motus ex loco* because the univerbation of (II41) *minn* ‘from’ and (II22) *għand* ‘at s.o.’s place’ has become fixed. As comes to the fore in example

<sup>46</sup> As discussed in Section 5.1.2.1.2.

<sup>47</sup> In Section 5.1.2.2.6.

(5.42), reference to a concrete place owned or inhabited by someone is not a prerequisite for the use of this II.

(5.42) APUDABLATIVE – [Camilleri 2013: 54]

*kienu xtrawha bir-ribass [minghand armla*  
*be:3PL.PFV buy:3PL.PFV:3SG.F with:DEF-discount [from\_s.o. widow*  
*Skoččiza]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*Scottish:F]*  
 ‘[. . .] they had bought it at a reduced price [**from** a Scottish widow] [. . .].’

Like in the cases of the APUDESSIVE and the APUDLATIVE, (II38) *minghand* ‘from s.o.’ takes a complement that ranges high on the animacy hierarchy. The complement can either be definite or indefinite. Where (II22) *ghand* ‘at s.o.’s place’ mostly invokes genuine spatial situations, (II38) *minghand* ‘from s.o.’ is frequently used in contexts where the wording *from s.o.’s place* fails to capture the situation appropriately. (II38) *minghand* ‘from s.o.’ presupposes a human (or highly animate) Source which comprises the personal sphere but excludes the body as physiological object. Examples like (5.43) suggest that (II38) *minghand* ‘from s.o.’ that the spatial relation of Source is metonymically applied to describe a situation of information transfer.

(5.43) APUDABLATIVE – [Bartolo/Vella 2009: 175]

*Haġa wahda biss irrid inkun naf*  
*thing one:F only 1SG.IPFV:want 1SG.IPFV:be.FUT 1SG.IPFV:know*  
*[minghandek]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[from\_s.o.:2SG]*  
 ‘I only want to know one thing [**from** you] [. . .].’

We come back to phenomena of this kind in the section on the ABLATIVE.<sup>48</sup>

#### 5.1.2.2.5 (“Allative” >) PROPINQUETATIVE

With the ALLATIVE, we enter another territory that has been charted by Hagège (2010) in a peculiar way which calls for being commented upon. According to Hagège (2010: 286), the ALLATIVE requires that the Figure “move[s] towards a position in contiguity with [the Ground].” The crucial point in this definition is the notion of contiguity. The Figure is contiguous to the Ground if the distance between the two is minimal. Put differently, the ALLATIVE fits the description of a dynamic spatial situation in which the Figure has reached the Ground (without entering into it).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.8.

This leaves us with the question of how situations are classified in which the Figure moves in the direction of the Ground without necessarily arriving at the destination. Hagège (2010) does not seem to take account of the latter possibility. We reserve the following section for its discussion. Note that Hagège (2010: 261) translates the ALLATIVE into English as *towards* whereas elsewhere no translation is provided (Hagège 2010: 287).

Going by Hagège's above definition of the ALLATIVE, we realise that what he describes is the Goal-oriented equivalent of the PROPINQUUS.<sup>49</sup> To emphasise this relationship, we have coined the term PROPINQUELATIVE. Accordingly, we expect to find some of the IIs presented in connection with the static meaning to be involved also in the expression of the PROPINQUELATIVE. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 157) argue that motion to within the domain of the PROPINQUUS is expressed by (II48) *qrib* 'near' and (II58) *vicin* 'near' with both taking (II55) *ta* 'of' as a linker if the Ground is animate. Moreover, animate Goals frequently require the use of (II32) *maġenb* 'close to'. In contrast, (II14) *fejn* 'near' and (II23) *hdejn* 'beside' which are options for expressing the static PROPINQUUS are not mentioned as markers of the PROPINQUELATIVE. In the next paragraph, we will learn that there are no restrictions which preclude any of the PROPINQUUS IIs from being used in PROPINQUELATIVE function, too.

In (5.44), it is shown that all of the above-mentioned IIs are licit options as markers of configuration in constructions with a PROPINQUELATIVE interpretation. Recall that directionality is usually left unexpressed if the situation is one of motion to the Ground.

(5.44) PROPINQUELATIVE

- (a) (II14) *fejn* 'near' – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature75]  
*Imbagħad reġa' mar [fejn il-ħbieb tiegħu]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 then do\_again go [near DEF-friend.PL of:3SG.M]  
 'Then he went again [close to his friends] [. . .].'
- (b) (II23) *hdejn* 'beside' – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature24]  
*kien telaq minn hdejn il-kompjuter u mar [hdejn*  
*be leave from beside DEF-computer and go [beside*  
*kugġinuh]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*cousin:M:3SG.M]*  
 '[. . .] he left the computer and went [close to his cousin].'

<sup>49</sup> Discussed in Section 5.1.2.1.4.

- (c) (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature78]  
*beda riesaq bil-mod lejha sakemm wasal*  
 begin approach.PART with:DEF-manner towards:3SG.F until arrive  
 [*maġenb il-bank tal-ġebel*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 [close\_to DEF-bench of:DEF-stone]  
 ‘[. . .] he began to slowly approach her until he arrived [close to the stone bench] [. . .].’
- (d) (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news139118]  
*Louis Deguara mar [qrib il-bieb]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 Louis Deguara go [near DEF-door]  
 ‘[. . .] Louis Deguara went [near the door] [. . .].’
- (e) (II58) *viċin* ‘near’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news18894]  
*il-kaptan dawwar ir-rotta għal Sqallija u mar [viċin*  
 DEF-captain turn:CAUS DEF-course for Sicily and go [near  
*il-Port ta’ Pozzallo]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 DEF-port of Pozzallo]  
 ‘[. . .] the captain changed the course towards Sicily and went [near the port of Pozzallo].’

The motion verbs *mar* ‘go’ and *wasal* ‘arrive’ are eligible for combinations with each of the competing IIs. Neither (II14) *fejn* ‘near’ nor (II23) *hdejn* ‘beside’ is barred from PROPINQUELATIVE constructions where we also find evidence for the use of (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ although none of these IIs is registered as marker of (PROPINQUUS) motion to in the Maltese reference grammar.

Since it is necessary to modify the picture painted by the authors of said reference grammar, it might also be the case that the postulated dependence of the use of (II55) *ta’* ‘of’ in highly animate contexts needs to be revised. In (5.45), we demonstrate that (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ and (II58) *viċin* ‘near’ do not have exclusive rights when it comes to combining with animate complements.

(5.45) PROPINQUELATIVE – animate Ground I

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature77]  
*Ma kienx għadu bin Lippu wasal [fejn Ġużeppi]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 NEG be:NEG still:3SG.M son Lippu arrive [near Ġużeppi]  
*meta dan għajjat Sibnieha ’l Ineż għadha ħajja*  
 when DEM:M:PROX shout find:1PL.PFV:3SG.F to Ineż still:3SG.F alive:F  
 ‘Lippu’s son had just arrived [near Ġużeppi] when the latter shouted: ‘We found Ineż; she is still alive!’.”



- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news106999]  
*beda miexi sakemm wasal [ħdejn Ellul li kien qiegħed*  
 begin go.PART until arrive [**beside** Ellul that be stay.PART  
*ħdejn il-karozza]*<sub>pp</sub>  
*beside DEF-car]*  
 ‘[. . .] he began to walk until he arrived [**beside** Ellul who was standing  
 beside the car].’
- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature21]  
*Riku qam u mar [maġenb Marku]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 Riku rise and go [**close\_to** Marku]  
 ‘Riku rose up and went [**close to** Marku] [. . .].’

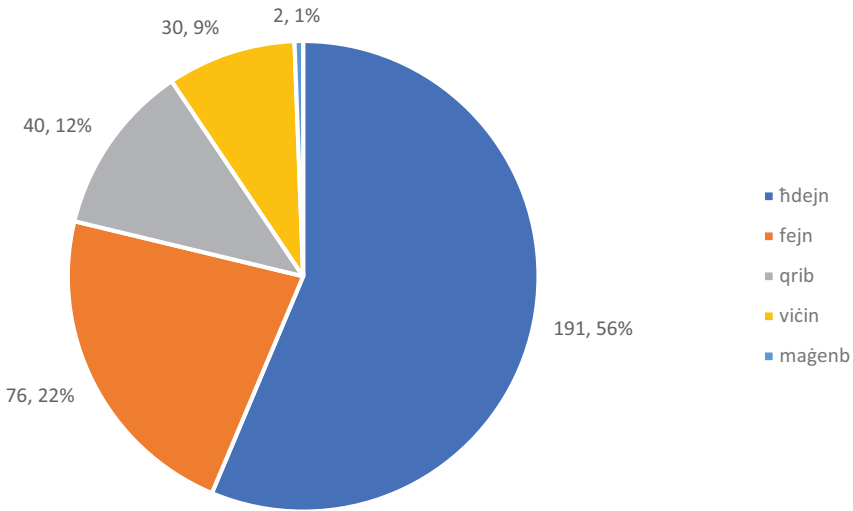
To guarantee a high degree of animacy we have picked examples which involve a personal name as complement. In accordance with what we have learned already,<sup>50</sup> (Π14) *fejn* ‘near’, (Π23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’, and (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ are compatible with all kinds of (in)definite complements including proper names. Animacy is therefore no criterion to separate these three IIs from (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’ and (Π58) *viċin* ‘near’.

In Figure 5.10, we reveal the token frequencies of the five IIs under review for combinations with the perfective forms of the motion verb *mar* ‘go’ in the Korpus Malti 3.0. There are 339 matches altogether more than half of which go to the credit of (Π23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ whereas (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ is only marginally attested in the context we searched for. The second best is (Π14) *fejn* ‘near’ which occurs between 1.9 and 2.5 times more often than (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’ and (Π58) *viċin* ‘near’. It is therefore clear that the latter two IIs are not privileged when it comes to expressing the ALLATIVE meaning.

What we also know already is that (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’ and (Π58) *viċin* ‘near’, to some extent, are subject to variation in the domain of government.<sup>51</sup> It is no longer necessary to illustrate the behaviour of these IIs when they take pronominal complements. More importantly, the examples in (5.46)–(5.47) show that (Π55) *ta* ‘of’ may function as a linker even if the complement is an inanimate common noun.

<sup>50</sup> In Section 4.1.1.2.2.1 (ix), (xv), and (xxi).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Sections 4.1.2.2.1.2.1 (ix) and (xi) and 4.1.2.2.2.2.1 (iv).



**Figure 5.10:** Hits for *mar* ‘go’ (perfective) combining with (Π14) *fejn* ‘near’, (Π23) *hdejn* ‘beside’, (Π32) *magenb*, (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’, and (Π58) *viċin* ‘near’ in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

(5.46) (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’ + (Π55) *ta’* ‘of’

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature11]

*Bruno ressaq is-siġġu [aktar qrib ta’ Simone]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 Bruno approach:CAUS DEF-chair [more near of Simone]  
 ‘Bruno moved the chair [closer to Simone].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature20]

*seta’ jirkeb l-ewwel karozza tal-linja li*  
 can 3SG.M.IPFV:get\_on DEF-first car of:DEF-line that  
*tiehdu [qrib tad-dar]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:take:3SG.M [near of:DEF-house]  
 ‘[. . .] he could get on the first bus that takes him [close to the house] [. . .].’

(5.47) (Π58) *viċin* ‘near’ + (Π55) *ta’* ‘of’

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1674]

*dawn il-kanzunetti nkitbu bil-għan li*  
 DEM:PL:PROX song:DIM:PL REFL:write:3PL.PFV with:DEF-goal that  
*jqarreb aktar nies [viċin ta’ Ġesù]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:bring\_near:CAUS more people [near of Jesus]  
 ‘[. . .] these songs were written with the aim of bringing more people [close to Jesus].’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature24]

*Estella* *nizlet* *kokka* *u* *ressqet*  
 Estella descend:3SG.F.PFV squatting and approach.CAUS:3SG.F.PFV  
*idejha* *t-tnejn* [*viċin* *tal-ħamrija* *xotta*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 hand:PL:3SG.F DEF-two [*near* *of:DEF-red soil* *dry:F*]  
 ‘Estelle squatted down and brought her two hands [*close to the dry soil*].’

It seems that the use of (II55) *ta* ‘of’ is triggered regularly when either (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ and (II58) *viċin* ‘near’ takes an animate complement. However, the linking II is also admissible if the complement is inanimate. This latter option is chosen less frequently as opposed to nominative government. In sum, animacy plays a role but fails to absolutely determine the behaviour of the IIs.

#### 5.1.2.2.6 DIRECTIONAL (including: “apuddirectional”)

This section deals with a rather intricate situation. The domain of the DIRECTIONAL poses a number of problems not all of which can be solved in this study. It is worthwhile repeating that Hagège (2010) does not mention the category under scrutiny. However, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 156) claim that “[t]he preposition **lejn** is used for the expression of a certain direction” [original boldface]. We argue that (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ is not the only Maltese II that is adequate for the description of a spatial situation in which the Figure moves in the direction of the Ground but whether the Goal is reached is either irrelevant or the motion event is never carried through, in the first place. In a way, the DIRECTIONAL presupposes that the Figure has started to move without implying that the Figure winds up close to the Ground. The second candidate for the DIRECTIONAL function is (II21) *għal* ‘for’.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup> As to the potential third candidate for the directional function, the 228 hits for (II57) *versu* ‘towards’ in the Korpus Malti 3.0 clearly show that this II is hardly ever employed in properly spatial contexts. The two matches which feature spatial (II57) *versu* ‘towards’ are found in one and the same sentence, namely in (5.i):

- (5.i) [Korpus Malti 3.0; opinion1568]

*minflok* *erġajt* *tlajt* *Triq d’Odessa* [*versu*  
 instead\_of do\_again:1SG.PFV ascend:1SG.PFV Rue d’Odessa [*towards*  
*l-Boulevard Edgar-Quinet*]<sub>pp</sub> *kont* *qieghed* *ninžilha* *’l isfel*  
 DEF-Boulevard Edgar Quinet be:1SG.PFV PROG 1SG.IPFV:descend:3SG.F to down  
*[versu l-Boulevard Montparnasse]*<sub>pp</sub>  
*[towards DEF-Boulevard Montparnasse]*  
 ‘[. . .] instead of going again up Rue d’Odessa [*towards* Boulevard Edgar Quinet], I walked down [*towards* Boulevard Montparnasse].’

In (5.48), we present examples of DIRECTIONAL (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’. In the (a)-sentence, the utterance of the direct speech happens while the children are on their way home. Their arrival there is of no significance to the situation described in the sentence. The (b)-sentence is similar insofar as the notary walks to his study and continues to talk on his way there – and the statements he makes while walking are important not his reaching the study. The (c)-sentence shows that (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ may also be used when the Ground is reached by the Figure before the Figure returns to the starting point of the to-and-fro motion event. The three sample sentences are taken from one and the same literary text.

(5.48) DIRECTIONAL I – (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’

(a) [Casha 1999: 29–30]

*Jien m' għedtlekx li kollu għal xejn*  
 1SG NEG say:1SG.PFV:IO:2SG:NEG that all:3SG.M for nothing  
*qaltlu Romina darba waħda huma u sejin*  
 say:3SG.F.PFV:IO:3SG.M Romina time one:F 3PL and go.PART:PL  
*lura [lejn id-dar]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 back [towards DEF-house]

“Haven’t I told you that everything is in vain?”, Romina said to him while they were on their way back [home] [. . .].’

(b) [Casha 1999: 30]

*Tajjeb tajjeb kompla n-nutar u beda miexi [lejn*  
 good good continue DEF-notary and begin go.PART [towards  
*il-kamra fejn kellu l-istudju]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-room where have.PFV:3SG.M DEF-study]

“Well, well!”, the notary continued to say and began walking [toward the room where he had his study].’

(c) [Casha 1999: 40]

*Tereža kienet ġa qamet u marret*  
 Tereža be:3SG.F.PFV already rise:3SG.F.PFV and go:3SG.F.PFV  
*[lejn il-kċina minn fejn ġiet lura ftit*  
 [towards DEF-kitchen from where come:3SG.F.PFV back little

---

The vast majority of the occurrences of (II57) *versu* ‘towards’ belong in different semantic categories outside the spatio-temporal domain. The functions of this II will therefore be discussed in Section 5.1.3.13

tal-ħin      wara<sub>pp</sub>

of:DEF-time   after]

‘Tereža had risen already and gone [**towards** the kitchen from where she returned shortly after] [. .].’

In (5.48c), the character Tereža enters the kitchen to fetch a plate from there. (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ can be understood as being neutral as to the successful completion of the motion event.

In (5.49), it is shown how (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ fulfils APUDDIRECTIONAL functions with animate complements in Maltese. In the (a)-sentence, the focus is on the early phase of Little Red Riding Hood’s walk towards her grandmother’s place. What is important is that she starts her journey – not that she gets near her destination. In contrast, the (b)-sentence describes a situation in which the Figure actually reaches the Goal since in the sentence following the example the armed person fires several shots at the victim, i.e., the shooter must have come close to Pietru Borg’s home.

(5.49) DIRECTIONAL II – (Π21) *għal* ‘for’

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news149411]

*Little Red Riding Hood qabdet il-qoffa u telqet*

Little Red Riding Hood grab:3SG.F.PFV DEF-basket and leave:3SG.F.PFV

**[għal għand in-nanna]**<sub>pp</sub>

**[for at s.o.’s place DEF-grandmother]**

‘Little Red Riding Hood took the basket and left **[for her grandmother’s place]**.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news131868]

*Huwa mar id-dar tiegħu u minn hemmhekk ġab*

3SG.M go DEF-house of:3SG.M and from there bring

senter u mar **[għal Pietru Borg fir-residenza tiegħu]**<sub>pp</sub>

rifle and go **[for Pietru Borg in:DEF-residence of:3SG.M]**

‘He went to his home and brought a gun from there and went **[to Pietru Borg in his residence]**.’

Superficially, the two examples in (5.49) pose a problem because (Π22) *għand* ‘at s.o.’s place’ – the expected II in the domain of the APUDLATIVE – is attested only in (5.49a) whereas it is absent from (5.49b) although, in the latter sentence, the complement is a personal name and thus a typical trigger for (Π22) *għand* ‘at s.o.’s place’. On closer inspection, the case turns out to be a non-issue. It is more logical

to consider *mar għal X* as a translation of English *go for X* ‘attack X’. Accordingly, (5.49b) is no example of the DIRECTIONAL at all.

Section 4.1.3 has familiarised us with the fact that the II-II combination *għal għand* is attested frequently enough to require further scrutiny. The question arises whether it makes sense to postulate an APUDDIRECTIONAL, i.e. a meaning category which captures spatial situations in which the Figure moves towards the personal sphere of an animate being that functions as Ground with the Ground being either reached or not. We are cautious not to open Pandora’s box by postulating too many distinct categories so that the semantic system of Maltese IIs becomes unrecognisable. However, if the structural facts support the existence of the APUDDIRECTIONAL they should be taken seriously. A first argument in favour of the APUDDIRECTIONAL is the impossibility of combining (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ and (II22) *għand* ‘at s.o.’s place’. There is no evidence of \**lejn għand* in either of our corpora. It is however possible for (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ to take an animate complement as shown in (5.50).

(5.50) (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ + animate complement

(a) [Bartolo/Vella 2009: 75]

*ix-xiħ kien qed ihares fiss [lejhom]<sub>pp</sub> forsi*  
 DEF-old be PROG 3SG.M.IPFV:look fixed [towards:3PL] perhaps  
*l-iktar [lejn Estella]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-more [towards Estella]

‘The old man was looking steadily [at them], perhaps the most [at Estella] [. . .].’

(b) [Bartolo/Vella 2009: 31]

*Estella daret [lejn Tommy]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 Estella turn:3SG.F.PFV [towards Tommy]

‘Estella turned [towards Tommy] [. . .].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; *news81407*]

*ħareġ mill-karozza u mar [lejn l-aggressuri li*  
 exit from:DEF-car and go [towards DEF-aggressor:PL that  
*kienu għadhom fil-karozza]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*be:3PL.PFV still:3PL in:DEF-car]*

‘[. . .] he got out of the car and went [towards the attackers who were still in the car].’

Examples (5.50a) and (5.50b), (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ is governed by two verbs – *hares* ‘look’ and *dar* ‘turn’ – whose cooccurrence with the II is frequently attested in the Korpus Malti 3.0. The situation described in connection with the perception event in (5.50a) cannot be classified as spatial unless directing one’s gaze towards an entity

is counted as a metonymical motion. In (5.50b), motion is involved as the agent changes her position to face Tommy. The spatial nature of the situation described in the (c)-sentence, however, is uncontroversial since the Figure moves physically in the direction of the aggressors. In none of these cases would (Π22) *ghand* ‘at s.o.’s place’ be appropriate because in (5.50) it is always the physical body of the human participants that is the Goal of the action. If (Π22) *ghand* ‘at s.o.’s place’ had been used additionally, the meaning would change from physical body to a person’s personal sphere – a notion that cannot be expressed by way of using (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’. It should not go unmentioned that of the ninety-four instances of *mar lejn* in the Korpus Malti 3.0, only two (= 2%) feature an animate Ground. In the bulk of the cases, the complement of (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ is a place name. On account of the ungrammaticality of the cooccurrence of (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ and (Π22) *ghand* ‘at s.o.’s place’ and given that in cases where directionality is not marked overtly it can be assumed that the Figure reaches the Ground, the only way to leave it open whether the animate Ground is reached is by way of using the Π-Π combination *ghal ghand*. On this basis, one could be led to assume that Maltese boasts a distinct APUDDIRECTIONAL. However, the combination *ghal ghand* reflects a more general pattern according to which (Π21) *ghal* ‘for’ serves as directionality marker for a long list of other Maltese IIs only one of which will be talked about in the next paragraph. All other instances involving the directionality marker (Π21) *ghal* ‘for’ will be discussed for each configuration separately.

In (5.51), two further patterns of DIRECTIONAL (Π21) *ghal* ‘for’ are presented. In these cases, the complement is inanimate. In (5.51a–b), we have further instances of (Π21) *ghal* ‘for’ functioning as directionality marker – this time with (Π19) *go* ‘in’ and (Π18) *gewwa* ‘inside’ as markers of the configuration. Both (Π19) *go* ‘in’ and (Π18) *gewwa* ‘inside’ alone are fine for the expression of either INESSIVE or ILLATIVE. Together with (Π21) *ghal* ‘for’ however, they signal that the intended destination of the motion has not been rewerence.

(5.51) DIRECTIONAL II

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature20]

*Il-vann kien diġà reġa’ beda miexi [ghal*  
 DEF-van be already do\_again begin go.PART [for  
*gol-main road]<sub>pp</sub> meta dan l-anzjan donnu qam*  
*in:DEF-main road]* when DEM:M:PROX DEF-senior seem:3SG.M rise  
*mir-raqda*  
 from:DEF-sleep

‘The van had already begun again to drive [into the main road] when this senior seemed to wake up from sleep [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news111887]

*Kien b' dawn is-sentimenti li soqt [għal*  
*be with DEM:PL:PROX DEF-feeling:PL that drive:1SG.PFV [for*  
*ġewwa l-parkeġġ]pp nhar it-3 ta' Frar*  
*inside DEF-car park] day DEF-3 of February*  
 'It was with these feelings that I drove [**towards the car-park**] on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February.'

In the (a)-sentence the Figure is about to enter the main road which represents the Ground. However, the motion event is not concluded, meaning the van is still in the process of moving into the main road. This fact motivates the use of (Π21) *għal* 'for' which, as mentioned above, signals that the Goal has not been reached yet. Without (Π21) *għal* 'for' the interpretation of the spatial situation would suggest that the van has already entered the main road. Similarly, in (5.51b), the focus is on the beginning of the protagonist's drive towards the car-park which he will eventually enter into (as explained in sentences following the example in the original text). Thus, in the early phase of the journey, the event of entering into the Ground is only a possibility not a fact since on the way to the intended destination the Figure could be made not to continue the journey.

In (5.52), (Π21) *għal* 'for' takes a place name as its complement.

(5.52) DIRECTIONAL general – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature77]

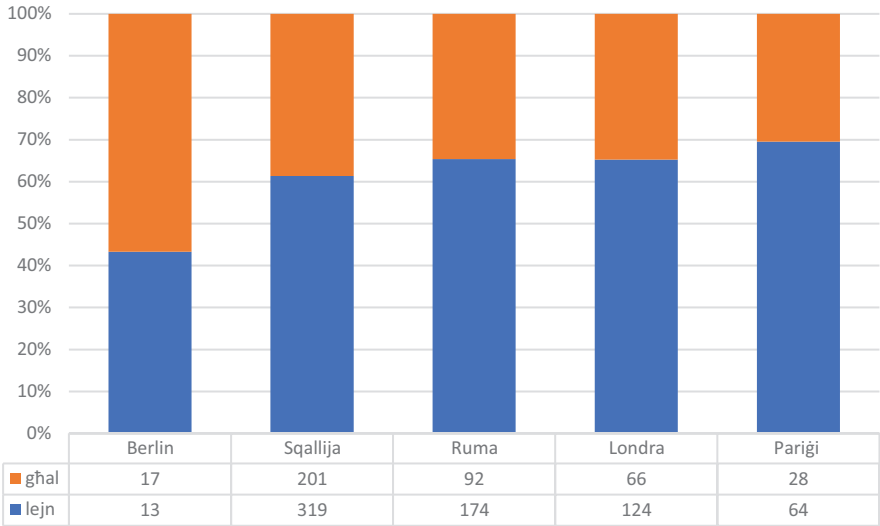
*Minn hawn immur Katanja ghax triq ohra ma*  
*from here 1SG.IPFV:go Catania because street other:F NEG*  
*ghandix nitma f' Alla li nkun nista'*  
*have:1SG:NEG 1SG.IPFV:hope in God that 1SG.IPFV:be.FUT 1SG.IPFV:can*  
*minn hemm nibqa' tiela' [għal Venezia fejn*  
*from there 1SG.IPFV:remain ascend.PART [for Venice where*  
*irrid immur ngħix]pp*  
*want go 1SG.IPFV:live]*  
 'From here I go to Catania because I have no other choice; I hope to God that I will be able to continue to go up from there [**to Venice where I want to go and live**].'

In this sentence, the employment of (Π21) *għal* 'for' indicates that on the one hand, the distance from Catania in the extreme south of Italy to Venice in the northeast of the same country is great and the final destination might not be reached in the



end. On the other hand, the final relative clause in (5.52) suggests that the speaker intends to enter Venice because she has planned to settle down there.

Both (II21) *għal* ‘for’ and (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ can be used for the expression of the DIRECTIONAL. Their competition calls for a separate study at a later point in time. In this section, we make do with checking the occurrences of the above IIs with five place names, namely the island *Sqallija* ‘Sicily’ and the four capital cities *Berlin* ‘Berlin’, *Londra* ‘London’, *Parigi* ‘Paris’, and *Ruma* ‘Rome’ in the Korpus Malti 3.0. The results are disclosed in Figure 5.11.



**Figure 5.11:** Competition of (II21) *għal* ‘for’ and (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ with selected place names in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

In four out of five cases, (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ produces more matches than its competitor. Only in the case of *Berlin* ‘Berlin’, it is the other way around. However, *Berlin* ‘Berlin’ counts the lowest number of occurrences, namely only thirty, whereas the last but one place namely *Parigi* ‘Paris’ is attested ninety-two times, i.e. three times as often as *Berlin* ‘Berlin’. We conclude that for the DIRECTIONAL (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ is the preferred option. In contrast, for combinations with (II22) *għand* ‘at s.o.’s place’, (II21) *għal* ‘for’ is the only option. It is also worth noting that the two IIs behave differently in combination with certain verbs. The Korpus Malti 3.0 provides evidence of a draw between the competitors in the case of *daret* ‘she turned’ +  $\Pi_{\text{DIRECTIONAL}}$ . (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ is attested twenty-nine times as opposed to twenty-eight occurrences of (II21) *għal* ‘for’. If we take account of *telaq* ‘he left’ +  $\Pi_{\text{DIRECTIONAL}}$ , the picture changes since (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ fills the  $\Pi$ -slot 325 times

whereas (II21) *għal* ‘for’ yields only 130 hits. The combination *ħares* ‘he looked’ +  $\Pi_{\text{DIRECTIONAL}}$  (which fails the criteria of a genuinely spatial situation) is the exclusive monopoly of (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’. This  $\Pi$  accounts for all of the 678 occurrences of the pattern. How these discrepancies can be interpreted is a matter that we cannot go into further in this study.

#### 5.1.2.2.7 TERMINATIVE

Hagège (2010: 293) only illustrates non-spatial uses of the TERMINATIVE which otherwise is equated with English *down to* and *as far as* (Hagège 2010: 261) and *up to* (Hagège 2010: 287). The TERMINATIVE belongs to those dynamic categories which lack a static counterpart (Hagège 2010: 287). According to Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 156), “[t]he preposition **sa** expresses direction up to a particular point” [original boldface]. In point of fact, there is no other Maltese  $\Pi$  which competes with (II51) *sa* ‘till’ in the domain of the TERMINATIVE.

##### 5.1.2.2.7.1 TERMINATIVE – spatial

The spatial TERMINATIVE applies if the Figure moves exactly as far as the Ground so that the movement comes to an end at the Goal. A typical example is given in (5.53) where the Figure walks a certain distance to an Indian takeaway where he intends to order food. Thus, he has no intention of walking past the restaurant. The Salaam Namaste is his destination.

(5.53) TERMINATIVE – spatial [Camilleri 2013: 72]

*mexa l-erba’ mitt metru [sas-Salaam Namaste]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 walk DEF-four hundred metre [**till**:DEF-Salaam Namaste]  
 ‘[. . .] he walked the 400 metres [**up to** the Salaam Namaste].’

The domain of the TERMINATIVE is not limited to cases like (5.53) where the  $\Pi$  directly governs the Ground NP. As a matter of fact, (II51) *sa* ‘till’ behaves like the DIRECTIONAL (II21) *għal* ‘for’ insofar as it can express directionality in combination with IIs which are otherwise responsible for the INESSIVE or the ILLATIVE as shown in (5.54).

(5.54) (II51) *sa* ‘till’ +  $\Pi_{\text{ILLATIVE/INESSIVE}}$

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news207117]

*L-ibbuljar jista’ ma jkunx biss*  
 DEF-bullying 3SG.M.IPFV:can NEG 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT:NEG only  
*dak fiżiku izda jista’ jkun ukoll*  
 DEM:M:DIST physical but 3SG.M.IPFV:can 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT also

*verballi emozzjonali u anke minn fuq l-internet fejn*  
 verbal emotional and even from on DEF-internet where  
*l-ibbuljar jasal [sa ġo d-dar tal-vittma]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-bullying 3SG.M.IPFV:arrive [till in DEF-house of:DEF-victim]  
 ‘The bullying cannot only be physical but it can also be verbal, emotional  
 and even via the internet where the bullying arrives [in the victim’s house].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature78]

*deherlu li kliemu ma kienx jista’*  
 appear:IO:3SG.M that word.COLL:3SG.M NEG be:NEG 3SG.M.IPFV:can  
*jasal [sa ġewwa s-sala]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:arrive [till inside hall]  
 ‘[. . .] it seemed to him that his words could not carry [as far as inside the  
 hall].’

The difference between the DIRECTIONAL as characterised in the foregoing section and the TERMINATIVE is that the former is insensitive to the motion event’s termination. In contrast, the use of (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ is crucially associated with the Figure arriving at the Ground no matter that the negative polarity in (5.54b) suggests that the Figure (= *kliemu* ‘his words’) does not reach the Ground (= (*i*)s-sala ‘the hall’).

The parallels between the DIRECTIONAL and the TERMINATIVE go further. In Table 5.4, we see that (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ combines freely with each of those Πs which are otherwise employed to express the PROPINQUUS or the PROPINQUELATIVE.<sup>53</sup> All examples are from the Korpus Malti 3.0.

**Table 5.4:** (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ as directionality marker with PROPINQUUS Πs.

source	example / translation	configuration
news105455	<i>dakinhar li seħħ l-aċċident, mar [sa fejn il-Bajja ta’ Spinola]<sub>pp</sub> biex jixtri l-ħut lill-mara</i> ‘[. . .] on the day the accident happened he went [as far as near Spinola Bay] to buy fish for his wife.’	(Π14) <i>fejn</i> ‘near’
news49537	<i>għen lil martu taħsel il-ħwejjeġ u wara mar [sa hdejn s-ħabu]<sub>pp</sub> l-klabb tal boċċi</i> ‘[. . .] he helped his wife with the washing and then went [to his friends] at the bocchia club.’	(Π23) <i>hdejn</i> ‘beside’
literature79	<i>iwassluhom [sa maġenb il-kaless]<sub>pp</sub> u telqu flimkien għall-Belt</i> ‘[. . .] they brought him [as far as the coach] and left together for Valletta [. . .].’	(Π32) <i>maġenb</i> ‘close to’

<sup>53</sup> As discussed in Sections 5.1.2.1.4 and 5.1.2.2.5, respectively.

Table 5.4 (continued)

source	example / translation	configuration
news147538	<i>huwa rnexxielu jasal [sa qrib Malta]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] he succeeded to get <b>as far as close to</b> Malta.’	(Π48) <i>qrib</i> ‘near’
parl9611	<i>ħadt sehem f’ mixja li mill-Għammieri wasslet [sa viċin il-knisja ta’ San Bastjan f’ Ħal Qormi]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] I took part in a walk that led us from Għammieri <b>as far as close to</b> the church of San Bastjan in Ħal Qormi.’	(Π58) <i>viċin</i> ‘near’

In Table 5.4, the use of (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ as indicator of directionality implies that the Figure arrives close to the Ground. If (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ had been replaced with (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ this reading would not be coerced.

There are also very infrequent examples of (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ combining with (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ conveying a TERMINATIVE meaning as is the case in (5.55).

- (5.55) (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ + (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic306]  
*L-Opossum sufi ta’ Derby [. . .] huwa mammiferu marsupjal*  
 DEF-opossum woolly of Derby 3SG.M mammifer marsupial  
*tal-familja Didelphidae [. . .] nativ tal-kontinenti*  
 of:DEF-family Didelphidae native of:DEF-continent:PL  
*Amerikani b’ firxa minn Nofs in-nhar tal-Messiku*  
 American:PL with spread from South of:DEF-Mexico  
*[sa fit-Tramuntana ta’ l-Ekwador]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[till in:DEF-North of DEF-Ecuador]*  
 ‘The woolly opossum of Derby [. . .] is a mammifer marsupial of the family Didelphidae [. . .] native of the Americas with a diffusion from southern Mexico **into the north of Ecuador**.’

Even if *sa-fi* combinations are relatively uncommon according to the data gathered from the Korpus Malti 3.0, the findings support the hypothesis that the TERMINATIVE marker (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ is largely compatible with most of the IIs that serve the purpose of expressing configuration.

Accordingly, it cannot surprise us to find that like (Π21) *għal* ‘for’, (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ too can combine with (Π22) *għand* ‘at s.o.’s place’ as illustrated in (5.56).

(5.56) TERMINATIVE – spatial [Korpus Malti 3.0; news66688]

*Duminku ħaseb li marret [sa għand ommha]<sub>PP</sub>*  
 Duminku think that go:3SG.F.PFV [till at s.o.'s place mother:3SG.F]  
 '[. . .] Duminku thought that she went [to her mother's] [. . .].'

Duminku's wife never arrived at her mother's place. Nevertheless, (II51) *sa* 'till' is used and not (II21) *għal* 'for' probably because Duminku thought that she arrived at her destination, meaning: the situation is described from Duminku's vantage point. We assume that (II51) *sa* 'till' is optional in contexts like that in (5.55) because (II22) *għand* 'at s.o.'s place' alone is compatible with an APUDLATIVE meaning. What motivates the employment of (II51) *sa* 'till' is the long duration of the wife's absence in the sense that (II51) *sa* 'till' suggests that the distance between Duminku's home and the place where his mother-in-law lives is so great that it takes time to travel between the two locations.

#### 5.1.2.2.7.2 TERMINATIVE – temporal

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 171) mention two temporal contexts in which (II51) *sa* 'till' can be used, namely "duration up to a point which may be in the past" or "in the future". The Korpus Malti 3.0 hosts many examples of (II51) *sa* 'till' taking a temporal expression as its complement as shown in (5.57). There are examples for different calendaric and other temporal categories which suggest that there are no limits to the compatibility of this II with all kinds of temporal expressions.

(5.57) TERMINATIVE – temporal

(a) time of day – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news162983]

*baqgħet sejra [sa nofs il-lejl nieqes ħames*  
 remain:3SG.F.PFV go.PART:F [till half DEF-night lack.PART five  
*minuti]<sub>PP</sub>*  
*minute:PL]*

'[. . .] she went on [till five minutes to midnight].'

(b) day of the week – [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1939]

*Il-ġbid tal-film mistenni jibda min-nhar*  
 DEF-pulling of:DEF-film PART:expect 3SG.M.IPFV:begin from:DEF-day  
*it-Tnejn li ġej u jibqa' għaddej*  
 DEF-Monday that come.PART and 3SG.M.IPFV:remain pass:PART  
*[sat-Tnejn 10 ta' Novembru 2014]<sub>PP</sub>*  
*[till:DEF-Monday 10 of November 2014]*

'The shooting of the expected movie starts next Monday and keeps going [till Monday, 10 November 2014].'

- (c) month – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news2112]  
*Dan it-test issa jista' jiġi*  
 DEM:M:PROX DEF-test now 3SG.M.IPFV:can 3SG.M.IPFV:come  
*pospost [sa Mejjun li ġej]pp*  
 postpone:PART [till May that come.PART]  
 'This test can now be postponed [till next May].'
- (d) season – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic13]  
*Din hi pjanta li tagħmel il-fjuri tagħha*  
 DEM:F:PROX 3SG.F plant that 3SG.F.IPFV:make DEF-blossom:PL of:3SG.F  
*fir-rebbiegħa u tibqa' sejra [sas-sajf]pp*  
 in:DEF-spring and 3SG.F.IPFV:remain go.PART:F [till:DEF-summer]  
*issebbaħ il-post fejn tkun bl-ilwien*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:beautify DEF-place where 3SG.F.IPFV:be.FUT with:DEF-colour:PL  
*tal-fjuri tagħha*  
 of:DEF-blossom:PL of:3SG.F  
 'This is a plant that grows its blossoms in spring and [till summer] goes on to beautify the place where it is with the colours of its blossoms.'
- (e) year – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news5684]  
*Cameron ikun jista' jmexxi*  
 Cameron 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT 3SG.M.IPFV:can 3SG.M.IPFV:go:CAUS  
*[sas-sena d-dieħla]pp*  
 [till:DEF-year DEF-enter.PART:F]  
 '[. . .] Cameron will be able to lead [till the coming year].'

Section 5.1.2.1.1.2 has revealed that the *INESSIVE* markers (II18) *ġewwa* 'inside' and (II19) *go* 'in' are excluded from the domain of the temporal *INESSIVE*. Their absence from that of the temporal *TERMINATIVE* is only to be expected. However, there is marginal evidence of II-II combinations involving (II51) *sa* 'till' for directionality and (II15) *fi* 'in' for configuration. One of these rare cases is (5.58).

- (5.58) (II51) *sa* 'till' + (II15) *fi* 'in' – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news47036]  
*Oħrajn haġu bit-teorija li din is-sena*  
 other:PL exit:3PL.PFV with:DEF-theory that DEM:F:PROX DEF-year  
*għandna [sa f' Frar]pp bix-xemx*  
 have.IPFV:1PL [till in February] with:DEF-sun  
 'Others put forward the theory that this year we will have sun [till in February].'

Instances of temporally employed *sa-fi* combinations are by no means more numerous than their spatial equivalents illustrated in (5.55). What these combinations

express is that the Figure moves into the Ground but comes to a stop somewhere inside the Ground. Used without configuration marker, (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ indicates that the Ground is reached but not necessarily entered into.

#### 5.1.2.2.8 ABLATIVE

Under this rubric, we treat the category that Hagège (2010: 286–287) calls ABLATIVE and which presupposes that the Figure “move[s] from” the Ground. It is not entirely clear to us how this category relates to the ADESSIVE and ALLATIVE in Hagège’s system. If a motion event starts near the Ground but not necessarily within the Ground, the category could alternatively be labelled PROXIABLATIVE. We keep Hagège’s term but include the PROPINQUUS categories in this section. Our source does not postulate a separate temporal ABLATIVE. On account of other cases of the spatial-temporal distinction, however, we speak also about the spatial ABLATIVE in separate subsections <sup>54</sup>

##### 5.1.2.2.8.1 ABLATIVE – spatial

In general, motion from is expressed by (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 156). As we know already,<sup>55</sup> this Π is also responsible for the ELATIVE. It is not always easy to tell ELATIVE and ABLATIVE apart. As to (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ in (5.59), it may be argued that the Figure has not been inside a container-like Ground before he moved away from it.

(5.59) ABLATIVE spatial – [Attard 2019: 294]

*Spicća qam [minn postu]<sub>pp</sub> u ħaffef telaq ’il barra*  
 finish rise [from place:3SG.M] and hurry leave to outside  
 ‘He finally rose [from his place] and hurriedly went outside.’

Yet, it is clear that the Figure was not only in the vicinity of the Ground but Figure and Ground must have been in contact prior to the motion event. This is why examples of this kind do not fit the description of a PROXIABLATIVE.

This description would be fine in cases where (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ serves as directionality marker in combination with most of those Πs which otherwise express the static PROPINQUUS as shown in (5.60). These cases will be registered under *motus ex loco*.

<sup>54</sup> In Section 5.1.2.2.8.1 first and then we continue with the temporal ABLATIVE in Section 5.1.2.2.8.2.

<sup>55</sup> From Section 5.1.2.2.2.

## (5.60) (PROPINQUE)ABLATIVE

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news146799]

*Qal li wara li Bone telaq [minn fejn ir-razzett]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 say that after that Bone leave [from near DEF-farmhouse]  
*hu beda jsegwih bil-karozza*

3SG.M begin 3SG.M.IPFV:follow:3SG.M with:DEF-car

‘He said that after Bone departed [from the vicinity of the farmhouse] he began to follow him in the car.’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature35]

*kulhadd telaq [minn hdejn il-bieb]<sub>pp</sub> u mar*  
 everybody leave [from beside DEF-door] and go  
*jilghab band’ oħra*

3SG.M.IPFV:play side other:F

‘[. . .] everybody moved away [from the vicinity of the door] and went to play elsewhere.’

- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news162787]

*il-vetturi kollha li jitolqu mill-ajruport*  
 DEF-vehicle:PL all:3SG.F that 3.IPFV:leave:PL from:DEF-airport  
*se jkollhom jghaddu mill-parkeġġ*  
 FUT 3.IPFV:have.FUT:3PL 3.IPFV:pass:PL from:DEF-parking\_space  
*tal-kowċis u joħorġu [minn qrib il-Mc Donald’s]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 of:DEF-coach:PL and 3.IPFV:exit:PL [from near DEF-McDonald’s]  
*fid-direzzjoni lejn il-mina ta’ Hal Kirkop*  
 in:DEF-direction towards DEF-tunnel of Hal Kirkop

‘[. . .] all the cars which depart from the airport will have to pass through the parking space of the busses and exit [close to the McDonald’s] in the direction of the tunnel of Hal Kirkop.’

- (d) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news145398]

*Inġhad li dawn it-tiri kienu sparati*  
 REFL:say that DEM:PL:PROX DEF-shot:PL be:3PL.PFV fire:PART:PL  
*[minn viċin l-ajruport]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 [from near DEF-airport]

‘It is said that these shots were fired [from near the airport].’

In the reference grammar of Maltese, only the combinations *minn fejn* and *minn maġenb* are mentioned with regard to motion from a PROPINQUOUS Ground (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 157). As far as *minn maġenb* is concerned, we have



found evidence of this combination exclusively with Path meanings<sup>56, 57</sup>. The distinction between ABLATIVE and PERLATIVE functions of (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ is frequently blurred. Example (5.60c) is ambiguous and might alternatively be interpreted as a situation in which the Figure passes near the Ground in lieu of exiting from it.

#### 5.1.2.2.8.2 ABLATIVE – temporal

Posterior duration in the past and future requires the presence of (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 172). This Π freely combines with all kinds of temporal expressions to mark the temporal ABLATIVE. The endpoint of the period need not be made explicit (as in (5.61a)) or can be expressed e.g. by a *sa*-PP (as in (5.61b)).

(5.61) ABLATIVE temporal

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news118257]

*tibda topera żewġ titjiriet kuljum lejn*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:begin 3SG.F.IPFV:operate two flight:PL everyday towards  
 Shanghai [*minn Frar 2008*]<sub>PP</sub>  
 Shanghai [*from February 2008*]  
 ‘[. . .] it [= the airline] will begin to carry out two daily flights to Shanghai  
 [*from February 2008 (onwards)*].’

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.

<sup>57</sup> In the Korpus Malti 3.0, one comes across examples like (5.ii) which superficially seem to invite an ABLATIVE interpretation but can be shown to mean something different.

(5.ii) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature59]

*Bdew jispontaw nies minn karożzi warajhom [minn*  
 begin:3PL.PFV 3.IPFV:sprout:PL people from car:PL after:3PL [*from*  
 [*Ø maġenbhom*]<sub>PP</sub> minn kullimkien  
 [*Ø close\_to:3PL*] from everywhere

‘People began to pop up from cars behind them, [*from [Ø on their side]*], from everywhere.’

In (5.ii), the second *minn*-PP provides an example of EQUI-N-deletion, i.e. the noun *karożzi* ‘cars’ is not repeated after its first occurrence. The zero sign indicates the position it would have had it not been deleted. According to this analysis *maġenbhom* ‘close to them’ is NP-internal and modifies the omitted noun. There is thus no instance of a Π-II combination in the first place.

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news128008]

*Tliet xhur itiru malajr daqs kemm*  
 three month.PL 3.IPFV:fly:PL quickly equal\_to how\_much  
*it-tliet xhur [mis-sajf]<sub>pp</sub> [sal- Milied]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-three month.PL [from:DEF-summer] [till:DEF-Christmas]  
*ghaddew b' leħħa ta' berqa*  
 pass:3PL.PFV with flash of lightning  
 'Three months are over quickly just as the three months [from the summer]  
 [till Christmas] passed like a flash of lightning.'

As these and further examples strongly suggest there is no reason to pass tacitly over the existence of temporal meanings associated with the ABLATIVE.

#### 5.1.2.2.9 Motion (to and from) opposite the Ground

Beginning with this section, the presentation of the spatio-temporal meanings follows a different pattern. Since Hagège (2010) only offers terms for the Goal-oriented motion events, the need arises to create distinctive terms for the Source-oriented motion events. As our prior attempts in the foregoing sections show, the new terms are often unwieldy – and some of them distort the Latin language to such a degree that it seems to be better to revert to descriptive paraphrases in lieu of coining one-word terms. We seize the opportunity to organise the sections to come along the following lines. For each configuration, we first present evidence of motion to the Ground. Motion to the Ground will be divided into three subsections, namely a section looking at the use of the bare single  $\Pi$  followed by a section on the DIRECTIONAL and another on the TERMINATIVE. There will also be a separate section on motion from the Ground to round off the phenomenology of a given configuration.

##### 5.1.2.2.9.1 OBVERSIVE

Hagège (2010: 286) circumscribes the OBVERSIVE as applying to situations in which the Figure “moves[s] to a position in front of [a place]”. According to the ideas expressed in connection with the distinction of the OBVERSIVE and the FRONTALIS,<sup>58</sup> we differentiate between the OBVERSIVE tout court which involves a Figure which moves to a position facing or opposite the Ground and the dynamic FRONTALIS where the motion event carries the Figure to a position which is in front of the Ground. The distinguishing factor is the perspective: the position of the Figure opposite the Ground applies if the situation is looked at from the point of view of the Ground

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Sections 5.1.2.1.5 and 5.1.2.1.6.

(or that of an observer who ideally is placed behind the Ground) whereas being in front of a Ground means that the situation is interpreted from the point of view of the Figure (or an observer who ideally is situated behind the Figure). Motion in front of the Ground is the topic of a later section.<sup>59</sup> In this section, however, we focus on spatial situations involving motion to and from opposite a Ground.

#### 5.1.2.2.9.1.1 Bare OBVERSIVE

Like in the case of the static OBESSIVE, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 162 and 167) do not classify (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ and (II12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’ the same. In their view, only the latter expresses the notion of moving to a position opposite the Ground whereas (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ is mentioned under the rubric of motion to a lateral position relative to a Ground. No example for this particular usage of (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ is given in the reference grammar. In our interpretation, the above two IIs are largely synonymous and serve the purpose of identifying the configuration – in this case the opposite side of the Ground. Directionality needs not be made explicit as shown in (5.62).

(5.62) Bare OBVERSIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature33]

*Mar [biswit il-knisja]<sub>pp</sub>*

*go [facing DEF-church]*

‘He went [opposite the church].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news131958]

*Id-diżel ħareġ minn scammel li gratlu*

DEF-diesel exit from scammel that happen:3SG.F.PFV:IO:3SG.M

*l-ħsara kif wasal [faċċata tal-pompa tal-petrol]*

DEF-damage how arrive [opposite of:DEF-pump of:DEF-petrol]

*fid-direzzjoni ta’ Raħal Ġdid]<sub>pp</sub>*

in:DEF-direction of Raħal Ġdid]

‘The diesel came out of a scammel that was damaged when it arrived [opposite site the petrol pump in the direction of Raħal Ġdid].’

Not much needs to be said in terms of explanation since the bare OBVERSIVE reflects the general pattern of zero-marking of directionality in Goal-oriented constructions. Constructions in which directionality is made explicit in combination with either (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ or (II12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’ are very infrequent in the

59 Namely Section 5.1.2.2.10.

Korpus Malti 3.0. Some of the cases we present in the next two subsections are hapaxes while others belong to a handful of similar cases.

#### 5.1.2.2.9.1.2 DIRECTIONAL OBVERSIVE

In contrast to the bare OBVERSIVE, overtly marked DIRECTIONAL OBVERSIVE *s* are attested only in small numbers. It is therefore no surprise that no mention is made of them in Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997). The examples in (5.63) almost exhaust our harvest that results from a search in the Korpus Malti 3.0. Note that we have been unable to identify examples of (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ being used as directional-ity marker. There is evidence exclusively of (II21) *għal* ‘for’ being employed in this function.

(5.63) DIRECTIONAL OBVERSIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0.; literature77]

*mexa mbagħad mat-triq [għal biswit id-dar ta' Lippu]<sub>PP</sub>*  
 walk then with:DEF-street [for facing DEF-house of Lippu]  
 ‘[. . .] he then walked along the street [to opposite Lippu’s house].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl177]

*Nissuġġerixxi [. . .] li tinfetaħ triq ġdida min-naħa*  
 1SG.IPFV:suggest that 3SG.F.IPFV:REFL:open street new:F from:DEF-side  
*tal-Mina tas-Sultan jġigifieri min-naħa ta' Bormla*  
 of:DEF-tunnel of:DEF-king that\_is from:DEF-side of Bormla  
*[għal faċċata ta' Lourdes]<sub>PP</sub> minn wara Triq Santa Duminka*  
*[to opposite of Lourdes] from after Triq Santa Duminka*  
 ‘I suggest [. . .] that a new street is opened from the side of the King’s Tunnel, that is from the Bormla side [to opposite Lourdes] from behind Triq Santa Duminka.’

In both sentences in (5.63) a Figure moves or is moved metaphorically to a position which is situated opposite the Ground. In the (a)-sentence it is the subject referent that walks towards Lippu’s house and stops opposite the Goal. In the (b)-sentence a new street is envisaged to be built from the city of Bormla to an endpoint which is located opposite the church named after Lourdes.

#### 5.1.2.2.9.1.3 TERMINATIVE OBVERSIVE

The TERMINATIVE OBVERSIVE is as infrequent as its directional equivalent. The examples in (5.64) cover already a good part of the entire turnout of hits found in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

## (5.64) TERMINATIVE OBVERSIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature77]

*il-gharajjes telgħu flimkien [sa biswit l-altar*  
 DEF-bride\_and\_groom ascend:3PL.PFV together [till facing DEF-altar  
*il-kbir]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-big]

‘[. . .] bride and groom together ascended [**to opposite** the main altar].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl3759]

*bejn Ottubru 2000 u Ġunju 2001 tlestiet*  
 between October 2000 and June 2001 REFL:get\_ready:3SG.F.PFV  
*it-tieni faži minn fejn it-Torri [sa faċċata*  
 DEF-second phase from near DEF-tower [till opposite  
*tal-Kunvent tal-Karmnu]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 of:DEF-Convent of:DEF-Karmnu]

‘[. . .] between October 2000 and June 2001, the second phase was finished from near the Tower [**to opposite** the Convent of Karmnu].’

The differences between the DIRECTIONAL OBVERSIVE and the TERMINATIVE OBVERSIVE are subtle. The DIRECTIONAL emphasises the process which is characteristic of the motion event whereas the TERMINATIVE highlights the endpoint of the very same process.

## 5.1.2.2.9.2 Motion from opposite the Ground

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 162 and 167) mention the II-II combinations *minn biswit* and *minn faċċata* for the expression of motion from although in the former case, it is motion from a lateral position with respect to the Ground. Like in the previous cases, motion from opposite a given Ground is rarely encountered in the Korpus Malti 3.0. We provide two examples in (5.65) under the proviso that in (5.65a) it remains unclear to us where exactly the water exits from the farms. It cannot be excluded that motion from a lateral position is the intended reading.

## (5.65) Motion from opposite the Ground

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl3111]

*Mhux l-ewwel darba meta tagħmel ix-xita*  
 NEG:3SG.M:NEG DEF-first time when 3SG.F.IPFV:make DEF-rain  
*li l-ilma tax-xita li jkun hiereġ*  
 that DEF-water of:DEF-rain that 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT exit.PART

[*minn biswit il-farms*]<sub>pp</sub>    *ikun*                      *fih*            *riħa*    *qawwiġa*  
 [from facing DEF-farm:PL] 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT in:3SG.M smell strong  
*ta' awrina u ta' ħmieġ*  
 of urine and of dirt

'It is not the first time that when it rains the rainwater that would come out [(from) opposite the farms] has a strong odour of urine and dirt.'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news152940]

*qegħdin imorru jistennew biex jaqbdu tal-linja*  
 PROG:PL 3.IPFV:go:PL 3.IPFV:wait:PL to 3.IPFV:grab:PL of:DEF-line  
 [*minn faċċata tal-Università*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 [from opposite of:DEF-university]

'[. . .] they are going to wait and catch a bus [from opposite the university].'

According to Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 167), the linking (II55) *ta'* 'of' is absent from the PPs which express motion from with the configuration represented by (II12) *faċċata* 'opposite' – a topic we have addressed already above.<sup>60</sup> There is variation as to the presence and absence of (II55) *ta'* 'of' in contexts like that illustrated by (5.65b).

#### 5.1.2.2.10 Motion in front of the Ground

We are now in the domain of the *FRONTALIS*, i.e. the front region of the Ground as viewed from the Figure's perspective (or that of an observer behind the back of the Figure). Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 159) mention (II49) *quddiem* 'in front of' as the appropriate II for expressing configuration in connection to the front region.

##### 5.1.2.2.10.1 Goal-oriented motion

###### 5.1.2.2.10.1.1 Bare configuration

As can be expected on the basis of the information obtained hitherto, motion to the front region does not require the presence of a II which marks directionality. Given that a fitting motion verb is involved, (II49) *quddiem* 'in front of' alone suffices to convey the meaning of the Goal-directed *FRONTALIS* as shown in (5.66).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Section 4.1.2.2.1.2.1 (ii).

(5.66) Goal-directed FRONTALIS – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature33]

*Għalhekk reġa' niżel isfel bix-xlief*  
 for\_this\_reason do\_again descend down with:DEF-fishing\_line  
*f' idu u mar [quddiem il-mera]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 in hand:3SG.M and go [in front of DEF-mirror]  
 'For this reason, he went down again with the fishing line in his hand and went [in front of the mirror].'

The cooccurrence of bare (Π49) *quddiem* 'in front of' after the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular masculine perfective *mar* 'go' is attested 325 times in the Korpus Malti 3.0 whereas there is no evidence of this motion verb to form part of constructions of the DIRECTIONAL FRONTALIS or the TERMINATIVE FRONTALIS.

#### 5.1.2.2.10.1.2 DIRECTIONAL FRONTALIS

The possibility of (Π49) *quddiem* 'in front of' combining with the directionality markers (Π21) *għal* 'for' and (Π28) *lejn* 'towards' is ignored in the oft-cited reference grammar. In the Korpus Malti 3.0, the combination of the two Πs (Π21) *għal* 'for' and (Π49) *quddiem* 'in front of' yields 554 hits. However, many of these hits involve adverbial *quddiem* and thus do not count as instances of the Π. In addition, in these combinations, (Π21) *għal* 'for' is frequently used in its PURPOSE meaning so that no spatial situation is described, in the first place. This means that properly spatial instances of *għal quddiem* are not as numerous as the above absolute numbers might suggest. The combination of (Π28) *lejn* 'towards' and (Π49) *quddiem* 'in front of' is comparatively infrequent. The adverbial usages are the most numerous also for this combination. Only three instances can count as PPs according to the definition of the canonical Π.

Bona fide examples of genuine spatial situations are given in (5.67) with the (a)-sentence documenting the use of (Π21) *għal* 'for' whereas the (b)-sentence features (Π28) *lejn* 'towards'.

(5.67) DIRECTIONAL FRONTALIS

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature21]

*Marku qabeż minn fuq il-blata [għal quddiem Mikiel]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 Marku jump from on DEF-rock [for in front of Mikiel]  
 'Marku jumped down from the rock [in front of Mikiel].'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news151711]

Wiehed jissuġgerixxi wkoll li l-pedestrian crossings  
 one 3SG.M.IPFV:suggest also that DEF-pedestrian\_crossing:PL  
 eżistenti jitressqu [lejn quddiem  
 exist:PART:PL 3.IPFV:REFL:approach:CAUS:PL **towards in front of**  
 il-bieb principali taż-żewġ lukandi kbar]<sub>pp</sub>  
 DEF-door principal of:DEF-two hotel:PL big:PL]  
 ‘Someone also suggests that the extant pedestrian crossings are moved  
 closer [**towards the main entrance of the two hotels**] [. . .].’

#### 5.1.2.2.10.1.3 TERMINATIVE FRONTALIS

Like in the previous case, the possibility of (II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ combining with the directionality marker (II51) *sa* ‘till’ to express the TERMINATIVE FRONTALIS is no topic in the reference grammar. There is however evidence of the II-II combination. We have found 187 matches for the combination in the Korpus Malti 3.0. In contrast to the DIRECTIONAL FRONTALIS, the bulk of these cases can be classified as spatial.

A typical example is given in (5.68). Note that the complement involved in the PP of interest is the same as in (5.67).

(5.68) TERMINATIVE FRONTALIS – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature43]

Kull tlett ijiem Jason kien qed iqum mis-sodda  
 each three day.PL Jason be PROG 3SG.M.IPFV:rise from:DEF-bed  
 u jimxi [sa quddiem il-mera]<sub>pp</sub> jitlob  
 and 3SG.M.IPFV:walk [**till in front of DEF-mirror**] 3SG.M.IPFV:pray  
 ‘l Alla  
 to God  
 ‘Every third day Jason rose from the bed and walked [**up to the mirror**] to pray to God.’

We assume that the use of (II51) *sa* ‘till’ is optional since the bare configuration marker in combination with a motion verb like *mexa* ‘walk’ could achieve the same.

#### 5.1.2.2.10.2 Motion away from the front region

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 159) state that (II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ must be preceded by (II41) *minn* ‘from’ if motion from the front region is the intended meaning of the PP. With 2,733 matches in the Korpus Malti 3.0, the II-II combination *minn quddiem* is by far more frequent than the DIRECTIONAL and the TERMINATIVE FRONTALIS taken together. What is more, the vast majority of the hits yielded



by *minn quddiem* receive a spatial interpretation (excluding cases of adverbial *quddiem*).

In (5.69) we provide an example in which the Figure (= the file) is removed from its prior position in front of the protagonist.

(5.69) Motion away from the front region – [Attard 2019: 83]

*Jieħu* *l-fajl* *tiegħu* *f' idu* *[minn*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:take:3SG.M DEF-file of:3SG.M in hand:3SG.M *[from*  
*quddiemu]*<sub>pp</sub> *u* *jiftħu*  
*in front of*:3SG.M] and 3SG.M.IPFV:open:3SG.M  
 ‘He takes his file in his hand [*from in front of him*] and opens it.’

No alternative ways of expressing motion away from the front region are reported in the descriptive linguistic literature on Maltese.

#### 5.1.2.2.11 Motion onto and down from the Ground

SURLATIVE is Hagège’s (2010: 286) term for the meaning of a II that is used in a spatial situation in which the Figure moves to a position on the Ground. The English translation provided by the same author varies from *onto*, *above*, *over* to *on* (Hagège 2010: 261 and 287). How English *above* fits the description of the motion event is not clear to us.

##### 5.1.2.2.11.1 Motion onto the Ground

###### 5.1.2.2.11.1.1 Bare SURLATIVE

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 160) argue that (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ can be used without further directionality marker to indicate motion to a position on the Ground (which involves contact between Figure and Ground). The same II is used for the SURESSIVE.<sup>61</sup> It reflects the usual pattern of distribution according to which if configuration is made explicit directionality need not be expressed overtly too.

This is exactly the case in (5.70) where the Figure goes onto the bridge with suicidal intentions. There is no overt marking of directionality.

(5.70) bare SURLATIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1106]

*Kevin Berthia* *spjega* *li* *f' dik* *il-ġurnata* *fl-2005*  
 Kevin Berthia explain that in DEM:F:DIST DEF-day in:DEF-2005

<sup>61</sup> As shown in Section 5.1.2.1.7.

*hu mar [fuq dak il-pont]<sub>pp</sub> għall-ewwel darba*  
 3SG.M go [on DEM:M:DIST DEF-bridge] for:DEF-first time  
*biex itemm ħajtu*  
 to 3SG.M.IPFV:end life:3SG.M  
 ‘Kevin Berthia explained that on this day in 2005 he went [onto that bridge]  
 for the first time to end his life.’

Many instances of *mar fuq* in the Korpus Malti 3.0 reflect the idiomatic meaning ‘attack’ and thus cannot be accepted as instances of spatial (II17) *fuq* ‘on’. However, even after removing cases of this kind from the turnout, there remain several hundreds of properly spatial usages of *mar fuq*.

#### 5.1.2.2.11.1.2 DIRECTIONAL SURLATIVE

Nevertheless, it is possible to make directionality explicit also in combination with (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ although this option is not mentioned in the relevant literature on Maltese. For this purpose, (II21) *għal* ‘for’ combines with (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ as shown in (5.71a). Example (5.71b) is the only piece of evidence of (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ being used as directionality marker for the DIRECTIONAL SURLATIVE.

#### (5.71) DIRECTIONAL SURLATIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; european2419]

*jservi biex jidderiegi l-fluwidu*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:serve to 3SG.M.IPFV:direct DEF-liquid  
*tal-windscreenwasher [għal fuq il-windscreen]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 of:DEF-windscreenwasher [for on DEF-windscreen]  
 ‘[. . .] it serves to direct the liquid of the windscreenwasher [onto the wind-  
 screen].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; european4032]

*il-linja [. . .] tgħaddi għan-nofsinhar tal-gżira ta’ Öland*  
 DEF-line 3SG.F.IPFV:pass for:DEF-south of:DEF-island of Öland  
*[lejn fuq il-kosta tal-lvant]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 [towards on DEF-coast of: DEF-east]  
 ‘[. . .] the line [. . .] passes to the south of the island of Öland [onto the eastern  
 coast] [. . .].’

It is very likely that neither the use of (II21) *għal* ‘for’ nor especially that of (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ is compulsory in contexts of this kind either.

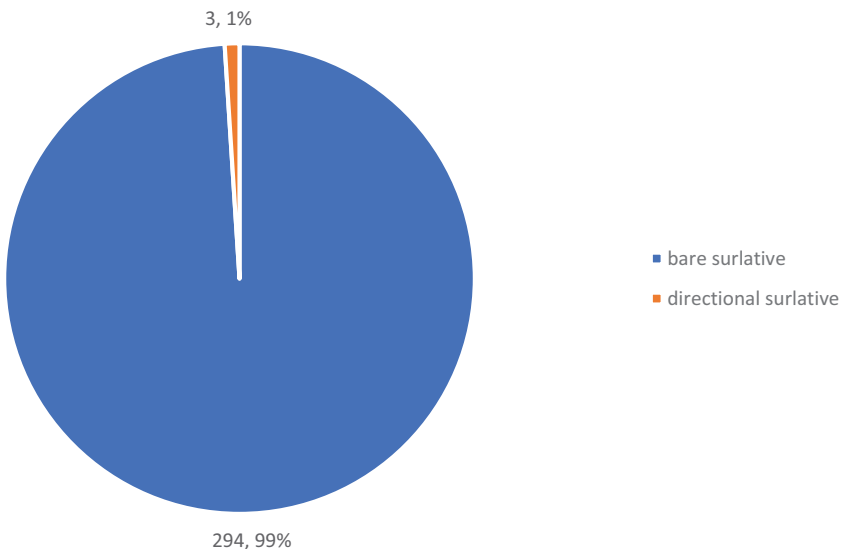
### 5.1.2.2.11.1.3 TERMINATIVE SURLATIVE

The same seems to be true when we look at the combination of (II51) *sa* ‘till’ and (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ to express the TERMINATIVE SURLATIVE which is also absent from other descriptions of Maltese IIs. The presence of (II51) *sa* ‘till’ in (5.72) is a case in point.

(5.72) TERMINATIVE SURLATIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature32]

*telghu*                    [*sa fuq il-bejt*]<sub>PP</sub>    *biex jaraw*                    *it-temp*  
 climb:3SG.PFV    [*till on DEF-roof*]    to    3.IPFV:see:PL    DEF-weather  
*kif inhu*  
 how    3SG.M  
 ‘[. . .] they climbed [*up onto the roof*] to see how the weather was.’

The TERMINATIVE marker (II51) *sa* ‘till’ is clearly only a minority option when the motion verb *tela* ‘climb’ is involved. Figure 5.12 reveals that the bare SURLATIVE is almost ten times as frequent as the DIRECTIONAL SURLATIVE in combination with this verb.



**Figure 5.12:** Bare vs DIRECTIONAL SURLATIVE with *telghu* ‘they climbed’ in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

The quantitative discrepancy is striking although the results need to be refined in the future since we have only taken account of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural perfective of the motion verb.

#### 5.1.2.2.11.2 Motion down from the Ground (DELATIVE)

For Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 161), the only way to express motion down from a Ground is by combining the directionality marker (II41) *minn* ‘from’ with (II17) *fuq* ‘on’. This combination conforms to the familiar pattern of using II-II combinations involving (II41) *minn* ‘from’ as II<sub>1</sub> when it comes to expressing motion from.

In (5.73), the motion event is to be understood metonymically since the signal does not physically move from its source position to a place located below it.

- (5.73) DELATIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic12]  
*[Minn fuq it-turretta tal-Palazz]<sub>PP</sub> ħareġ sinjal*  
*[from on DEF-tower:DIM of:DEF-palace] exit signal*  
 ‘[From (on) the little tower of the Palace], there came a signal [. . .].’

In the Korpus Malti 3.0, there are 25,744 tokens of the DELATIVE, meaning: we are not facing a marginal combination. The DELATIVE is relatively frequent – more frequent than the DIRECTIONAL and TERMINATIVE SURLATIVE added up.

#### 5.1.2.2.12 Motion to and from the superior region (without contact)

Hagège’s (2010: 261 and 268–269) SUPERVERSIVE applies if the Figure moves to a position above the Ground. The English IIs fulfilling this function as proposed by the same author are *above* and *over*.

##### 5.1.2.2.12.1 Motion to above the Ground

###### 5.1.2.2.12.1.1 Bare SUPERVERSIVE

Based on the knowledge acquired so far, we expect that the usual pattern repeats itself in the sense that (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ can be used to form the bare SUPERVERSIVE in analogy to the bare SURLATIVE.<sup>62</sup> However, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 160) depict the situation differently. The configuration marker suffices to also express the SURLATIVE relation, but for the SUPERVERSIVE the authors assume that motion to requires the use of ‘*il fuq* ‘upwards’. However, their example (792) does not involve

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.11.1.1.

a proper PP; ‘*il fuq* ‘upwards’ is used adverbially.<sup>63</sup> What we are looking for is a PP headed by (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ involving a (pro)nominal complement.

In contrast to the numerous bare SUPERESIVES, bare SUPERVERSIVES are hard to find in the Korpus Malti 3.0. One of the infrequent examples is (5.74) where the Figure (= the sun) rises over the Ground (= the island of Gozo) to take in a position above the Ground without touching it.

- (5.74) Bare SUPERVERSIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news166658]  
*x-xemx bdiet tiela’ [fuq Ġhawdex]<sub>PP</sub>*  
 DEF-SUN begin:3SG.F.PFV climb.PART [on Gozo]  
 ‘[. . .] the sun began to rise [over Gozo].’

Given that the bare SUPERVERSIVE is a relatively minor option, does this imply that the DIRECTIONAL SUPERVERSIVE is a relative major option?

#### 5.1.2.2.12.1.2 DIRECTIONAL SUPERVERSIVE

The problems multiply as soon as we take account of the DIRECTIONAL SUPERVERSIVE. What we expect to find is evidence for the SUPERVERSIVE function of the II-II combination *ġhal fuq*. This combination is registered by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 161) but in connection with motion (on)to a surface with (II21) *ġhal* ‘for’ being optional. Since the bare SUPERVERSIVE is not a common phenomenon, the question arises as to why motion to a position above the Ground is so rarely expressed. One might assume that flying events which would typically result in motion to a position above the Ground are not as common as events which involve the positioning of a Figure on a surface with contact.

We cannot answer this question in this study. What we can say nevertheless is that there is the occasional example of the DIRECTIONAL SUPERVERSIVE which involves (II21) *ġhal* ‘for’ as shown in (5.75a). The absence of the directionality marker in a similar context is illustrated in (5.75b). The competitor of (II21) *ġhal* ‘for’, i.e. (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’, is never attested as directionality marker for the DIRECTIONAL SUPERVERSIVE.

<sup>63</sup> The original example is reproduced in (5.iii):

- (5.iii) (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 160)  
*Minhabba s-šhab l-aġruplan tela’ iżjed ’il fuq*  
 on\_account\_of DEF-cloud.PL DEF-plane climb more to on  
 ‘Because of the clouds, the plane climbed up higher.’ [O.T.]

The adverbial modifies the motion verb but takes no complement of its own. Thus, this example does not belong to the same category as other examples from the same reference grammar which represent bona fide PPs.

## (5.75) DIRECTIONAL SUPERVERSIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature80]

*jittajru* [*għal fuq Lascaris*]<sub>pp</sub>

3.IPFV:REFL:fly:PL [for on Lascaris]

‘[. . .] they are flown [to above Lascaris].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news117204]

*seba’ ajruplani kienu qegħdin jittajru* [*fuq*

seven plane:PL be:3PL.PFV PROG:PL 3.IPFV:REFL:fly:PL [on

*il-Port ta’ Marsamxett*]<sub>pp</sub>

DEF-port of Marsamxett]

‘[. . .] seven planes were being flown [over the Port of Marsamxett] [. . .].’

Sentence (5.75b) is ambiguous. One interpretation is that of the bare SUPERVERSIVE, it is the planes were being flown to a position above the bastions beneath Upper Barracca named *Laskri* or *Lascaris* (Aquilina 1991: 732) or we are facing the SUPERESSIVE in the sense that the planes circle over the Ground with their circling remaining stable in a location.

## 5.1.2.2.12.1.3 TERMINATIVE SUPERVERSIVE

It is equally difficult to find more than a dozen examples of the TERMINATIVE SUPERVERSIVE scattered over the Korpus Malti 3.0. This is mainly due to the fact that the binary combination *sa fuq* is frequently used like ‘*il fuq* ‘upwards’, namely adverbially. As results from (5.76) however, it is by no means impossible to combine (II51) *sa* ‘till’ and (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ for the purpose of expressing that a Figure moves to a position above the Ground. In (5.76), the Figure is the cloud of volcanic ash that is envisaged to move as far as the sky above Malta.

## (5.76) TERMINATIVE SUPERVERSIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl9351]

*Jista’ l-Ministru jgħid x’ effett jista’*

3SG.M.IPFV:can DEF-minister 3SG.M.IPFV:say what effect 3SG.M.IPFV:can

*jkollha l-ishaba tal-volcanic ash fuq il-gżejjer*

3SG.M.IPFV:have.FUT:3SG.F DEF-cloud of:DEF-volcanic\_ash on DEF-island.PL

*u l-poplu Malti jekk din tasal* [*sa*

and DEF-people Maltese if DEM:F:PROX 3SG.F.IPFV:arrive [till

*fuq Malta*]<sub>pp</sub>

on Malta]

‘Can the minister say what effect the cloud of volcanic ash might have on the islands and the Maltese people if it arrives [above Malta]?’

### 5.1.2.2.12.2 Motion from above the Ground (SUPRADELATIVE)

For motion from a position above the Ground, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 160) provide an example which involves the expected directionality marker (II41) *minn* ‘from’ which forms the binary II-II *minn fuq* together with the configuration marker (II17) *fuq* ‘on’. In the Korpus Malti 3.0, the token frequency of this combination is high. However, the SUPRADELATIVE is responsible only for a small amount of the total turnout.

Example (5.77) is taken from the on-going discussion about Maltese orthography. There is the letter <ċ> which involves a diacritic dot over the basic letter. The dot and the basic letter are not in contact with each other so that an observer could interpret the position of the dot as being above the basic letter.

(5.77) SUPRADELATIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic340]

*Allura għaliex ma nahħux it-tikka [minn fuq iċ-Ċ]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 so why NEG 1.IPFV:remove:PL DEF-dot [from on DEF-Ċ]  
*u nħaffu l-kitba tal-Malti*  
 and 1.IPFV:make\_light:PL DEF-writing of:DEF-Maltese  
 ‘So, why don’t we remove the dot [from above the Ċ] and make the writing of Maltese easier?’

The removal of the dot from the complex grapheme illustrates the metonymical motion of the dot as Figure from the basic letter as Ground.

### 5.1.2.2.13 Motion to and from under the Ground

As emphasised in the foregoing presentation of motion to and from above the Ground, the search for examples in the Korpus Malti 3.0 has not yielded a rich turnout. This is different with the opposite region. If we look for proof of spatial situations whose Goal or Source is located beneath the Ground, the Korpus Malti 3.0 is noticeably less parsimonious in terms of hits and matches. This difference between two regions or configurations is worthwhile investigating further but not in this purely descriptive study of Maltese IIs.

#### 5.1.2.2.13.1 Motion under the Ground

##### 5.1.2.2.13.1.1 Bare SUBLATIVE

Hagège (2010: 286) speaks of the SUBLATIVE in situations where the Figure moves to a position under the Ground. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 161–162) distinguish motion to an inferior position without contact between Figure and

Ground from a motion event at whose endpoint the Figure winds up under the Ground with which it is in contact. Only in the latter case do they present an example which involves a combination of genuine IIs. When there is no contact between Figure and Ground, however, the adverbial *'l isfel* 'downwards' without complement is employed.<sup>64</sup> The adverbial is outside the scope of this study because it does not represent the canonical II. This criterion is met however by (II56) *taħt* 'under' which is the candidate of Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 161–162) for expressing configuration with reference to the inferior region of the Ground.

As results from (5.78), it is not too difficult to find evidence of (II56) *taħt* 'under' being used for the bare SUBLATIVE in situations where there is no contact between Figure and Ground.

- (5.78) Bare SUBLATIVE (without contact) – [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl4493]  
*laġhabha ta' Sherlock Holmes mar [taħt xi pont*  
 play:3SG.F of Sherlock Holmes go [**under** some bridge  
*f' San Ġiljan]*<sub>pp</sub> *jagħmel l-investigazzjonijiet ma'*  
*in San Ġiljan]* 3SG.M.IPFV:do DEF-investigation:PL with  
*din il-persuna kriminali magħrufa*  
 DEM:F:PROX DEF-person criminal PART:recognise:F  
 '[. . .] he played Sherlock Holmes, he went [**under a bridge in San Ġiljan**] to  
 conduct investigations with this known criminal person.'

The person whose actions are described in (5.78) moves to a position under a bridge. The position under the bridge does not mean that Figure and Ground are in contact with each other.

Contact between Figure and Ground applies in (5.79) where the handle of a broom is introduced beneath the sheets so that it can be assumed that both objects touch each other.

<sup>64</sup> The original example given by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 161) is reproduced in (5.iv).

- (5.iv) *Aqbeż 'l isfel minn din il-quċċata*  
 jump.IMP **to down** from DEM:F:PROX DEF-summit  
 'Throw yourself **down** from this summit.' [O.T.]

If we think back to what the authors assume with reference to the bare SUPERVERSIVE (cf. Section 5.1.2.2.12.1.1), one might get the impression that the absence of an explicit Ground-NP is equated with the absence of contact between Figure and Ground.



- (5.79) Bare SUBLATIVE (with contact) – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature14]  
*taħt is-sodda kont inżomm manku ta' xkupa*  
 under DEF-bed be:1SG.PFV 1SG.IPFV:keep handle of broom  
*li kont indaħħal [taħt il-liżar]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 that be:1SG.PFV 1SG.IPFV:enter:CAUS [**under** DEF-sheet]  
 '[. . .] I kept the handle of a broom under the bed which I pushed [**under**  
the sheet].'

On the basis of examples like (5.78)–(5.79), we hypothesise that there is no formal distinction in the  $\Pi$ -domain between the contactless SUBLATIVE and the SUBLATIVE which involves contact between Figure and Ground.

#### 5.1.2.2.13.1.2 DIRECTIONAL SUBLATIVE

Besides the bare SUBLATIVE there is also the directional SUBLATIVE which presupposes the presence of (II21) *għal* 'for' as directionality marker. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 162) acknowledge this possibility as an option for motion to an inferior position with contact between Figure and Ground whereas for the contactless situation, they again mention only adverbials, namely '*l isfel* and *għal isfel* 'downwards'. Like in the case of the bare SUBLATIVE, there is evidence for the use of the  $\Pi$ - $\Pi$  combination *għal taħt* not only for situations without contact but also for situations with contact. The  $\Pi$ - $\Pi$  combination *lejn taħt* is attested too but in only very small numbers.

In (5.80a), the animals are moved to a position under the branches of the tree without touching the tree. In (5.80b), the person named Erkole gets under the wheels of a car, i.e., he is injured by the impact of the wheels which must have been in physical contact with Erkole's body. In (5.80c), we add one of the infrequent examples of (II28) *lejn* 'towards' functioning as directionality marker in combination with (II56) *taħt* 'under'. Like in the case of (5.78), we assume that (5.80c) involves no contact between Figure and Ground.

- (5.80) DIRECTIONAL SUBLATIVE

- (a) without contact – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature21]  
*B' idu l-leminija beda jkaxkarhom wieħed*  
 with hand:3SG.M DEF-right:F begin 3SG.M.IPFV:drag:3PL one  
*wieħed [għal taħt dik il-ħarruba]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 one [**for** **under** DEM:F:DIST DEF-carob tree]  
 'He began to drag them with one by one [**under** the carob tree].'

- (b) with contact – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature7]

*U baqa' jidwi f' widnejhom l-ghajjat u*  
 and remain 3SG.M.IPFV:echo in ear:PL:3PL DEF-shouting and  
*l-inbih ta' Erkole minuti qabel ma ġera [ghal*  
 DEF-barking of Erkole minute:PL before that run [for  
*taħt ir-roti tal-karozza]<sub>pp</sub>*  
under DEF-wheel:PL of:DEF-car]

‘And Erkole’s shouting and barking minutes before he ran under the wheels of the car] kept echoing in their ears.’

- (c) without contact – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news200102]

*Williams u żewġt irġiel oħrajn kienu niżlin*  
 Williams and two man.PL other:PL be:3PL.PFV descend.PART:PL  
*minn Għawdex u fejn il-Mistra kienet bdiet*  
 from Gozo and near DEF-Mistra be:3SG.F.PFV begin:3SG.F.PFV  
*glieda bl-Ingliż isuq [lejn taħt il-pont*  
 fight with:DEF-English 3SG.M.IPFV:drive [towards under DEF-bridge  
*tal-Mistra]<sub>pp</sub> u kien hemm li Williams spiċċa aggreċit*  
of:DEF-Mistra] and be there that Williams finish attack:PART  
 ‘Williams and two other men came down from Gouo and near Mistra a fight  
 began with the Englishman driving under the bridge of Mistra] and it was  
 there that Williams was finally attacked.’

The supposed distinction of SUBLATIVES with and without contact does not play any role in the domain under scrutiny.

### 5.1.2.2.13.1.3 TERMINATIVE SUBLATIVE

We encounter a similar situation when we look at the TERMINATIVE SUBLATIVE. It almost goes without saying that directionality is expressed by (II51) *sa* ‘till’. In combination with the configuration marker (II56) *taħt* ‘under’ it is compatible with spatial situations in which there is either a spatial gap between Figure and the Ground or the two touch each other. The former situation is illustrated in (5.81a) whereas the TERMINATIVE SUBLATIVE with contact is exemplified in (5.81b).

- (5.81) TERMINATIVE SUBLATIVE

- (a) without contact – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature32]

*Pass wara pass waslu [sa taħt it-torri]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 step after step arrive:3PL.PFV [till under DEF-tower]  
 ‘Step by step they arrived under the tower] [. . .].’

- (b) with contact – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature19]

*Lonzu kellu qalziet twil imxammar [sa taħt  
Lonzu have.PFV:3SG.M trouser:PL long PART:fold\_back [till under  
irkopptejh]<sub>pp</sub>  
knee:PL:3SG.M]*

‘Lonzu had long trousers rolled up [to under his knees].’

We interpret the two spatial situations as follows. In (5.81a), the Figure moves as far as the Ground which extends vertically so that the Figure winds up in a position under it (= at the foot of the tower) without necessarily touching it. This is different for (5.81b) since the trouser legs are certainly in contact with Lonzu’s knees since he wears these trousers. Thus, also in the case of the TERMINATIVE SUBLATIVE, contact between Figure and Ground is no criterion for formal distinctions.

#### 5.1.2.2.13.2 Motion from under the Ground (SUBELATIVE)

For motion from under the Ground with contact, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 162) do not provide an example but register the II-II combination *minn taħt* which involves the expected directionality marker (II41) *minn* ‘from’. They also mention it in the context of motion from under the Ground without contact (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 161).

The pair of examples in (5.82) confirms that the SUBELATIVE is insensitive to the distinction of situations with and without contact, too.

- (5.82) SUBELATIVE

- (a) without contact – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature21]

*Imbagħad tahom l-aħħar tislina u hareġ [minn taħt  
then give:3PL DEF-last greeting and exit [from under  
dik is-siġra]<sub>pp</sub>  
DEM:F:DIST DEF-tree]*

‘Then he gave them a last farewell and went off [from under that tree] [. .].’

- (b) with contact – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature5]

*Qam hareġ [minn taħt il-friex]<sub>pp</sub> u beda  
rise exit [from under DEF-coverlet.PL] and begin  
jdur mal-kamra*

3SG.M.IPFV:turn with:DEF-room

‘He rose, came out [from under the coverlets] and started to walk about the room [. .].’

The (a)-sentence describes a spatial situation in which the Figure leaves a position under (the branches of) a tree. At no point is there any indication of the Figure being in contact with the Ground. What we see in the (b)-sentence is a different situation because the one who exits from under the coverlets must have been in physical contact with them before.

#### 5.1.2.2.14 Motion to and from a position before the Ground

##### 5.1.2.2.14.1 Problems in the spatial domain

In Hagège's (2010: 286) system there is the PRELATIVE which is said to apply in a spatial situation in which the Figure moves into a position before the Ground. English *before* is the  $\Pi$  which is used to illustrate this category. The section on the PREESSIVE – the static equivalent of the PRELATIVE – reveals that ( $\Pi$ 46) *qabel* 'before' can be used spatially and temporally to indicate that the Figure is located before the Ground either in space or in time.<sup>65</sup> Since we know from many other cases that the static  $\Pi$  can also be used without directionality marker in Goal-oriented contexts, we expect the same to hold also for ( $\Pi$ 46) *qabel* 'before'. However, we have been unable to identify uncontroversial cases of the SPATIAL PRELATIVE being expressed by ( $\Pi$ 46) *qabel* 'before' alone. Exactly the same can be said as to the  $\Pi$ - $\Pi$  combinations *ġhal qabel*, *sa qabel*, and *minn qabel* none of which is attested with a spatial meaning in the Korpus Malti 3.0.<sup>66</sup> There is an abundance of hits but these matches usually invoke a temporal (or PURPOSIVE) reading. We, therefore, assume that ( $\Pi$ 46) *qabel* 'before' deviates from the general pattern insofar as it is excluded from the expression of properly spatial meanings with the feature [+dynamic]. In accordance with Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 159), we postulate that the expression of motion to or from a position before the Ground is the responsibility of ( $\Pi$ 49) *quddiem* 'in front of', i.e. there is neutralisation of the FRONTALIS and the SPATIAL PRELATIVE / PREABLATIVE.<sup>67</sup>

##### 5.1.2.2.14.2 Temporal meanings

In stark contrast to the absence of dynamically employed ( $\Pi$ 46) *qabel* 'before' in the spatial domain, there is ample evidence of the same  $\Pi$  being used for temporal meanings.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.10.

<sup>66</sup> But cf. Sections 5.1.2.2.20.2 and 5.1.2.2.20.3 on the PERLATIVE and the PROLATIVE.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.10.1.

### 5.1.2.2.14.2.1 Goal-oriented meanings

#### 5.1.2.2.14.2.1.1 Bare PRELATIVE

Examples of the bare PRELATIVE with temporal function are difficult to identify. It is doubtful that cases like those in (5.83) are good representatives of a probably only theoretically possible category.

(5.83) Bare PRELATIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news132432]

*Il-gowl deċiżiv wasal [qabel il-mistrieħ]<sub>pp</sub>*

DEF-goal decisive arrive [before DEF-rest]

‘The decisive goal cam [before the half time break] [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news74341]

*L-Arcisqof wasal tard imma xorta wasal [qabel*

DEF-archbishop arrive late but sort arrive [before

*l-Isqof]<sub>pp</sub>*

DEF-bishop]

‘The archbishop arrived late but he still arrived [before the bishop] [. . .].’

What the two examples show is that the Figure – the goal in (5.83a) and the archbishop in (5.83b) – arrived on the scene before it was time for the Ground – the half-time break in (5.83a) and the (arrival of) the bishop in (5.83b) – to take over.

#### 5.1.2.2.14.2.1.2 DIRECTIONAL PRELATIVE

The combination of the directionality marker (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ and the configuration marker (Π46) *qabel* ‘before’ yields relatively common cases of the DIRECTIONAL PRELATIVE. This Π-Π combination occurs most frequently as adverbial adjunct of the motion verb *mar* ‘go’ in combination with the adverb *lura* ‘back’ as shown in (5.84a).<sup>68</sup> (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ as directionality marker in combination with (Π46) *qabel* ‘before’ is attested only four times in the Korpus Malti 3.0. Note that the adverb *lura* ‘back’ shows up also in (5.84b).

<sup>68</sup> We present this longish sentence without shortening it in order to show that the entire context of the bracketed part of the example is indicative of a temporal situation.

## (5.84) DIRECTIONAL PRELATIVE – temporal

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture3418]

*Dan l-ark li hu l-aktar wiehed antik fost*  
 DEM:M:PROX DEF-arch that 3SG.M DEF-more one old amongst  
*dawk li għadhom jintramaw fil-Festi*  
 DEM:PL:DIST that still:3PL 3.IPFV:REFL:set\_up:PL in:DEF-feast:PL  
*Maltin imur lura [għal qabel l-1844]<sub>pp</sub> bl-ewwel*  
 Maltese:PL 3SG.M.IPFV:go back [for before DEF-1844] with:DEF-first  
*referenza għalih instabet fl-Osservatore Maltese ta'*  
 reference for:3SG.M REFL:find:3SG.F.PFV in:DEF-Osservatore\_Maltese of  
*dik is-sena*  
 DEM:F:DIST DEF-year

‘This arch which is the oldest amongst those which are still used in the Maltese feasts goes back [to before 1844] with the first reference to it found in the Osservatore Maltese of that year.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news166058]

*Tonio Fenech jaqaw iridna mmorru lura*  
 Tonio Fenech perhaps 3SG.M.IPFV:want:1PL 1.IPFV:go:PL back  
*[lejn qabel l-1971]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 [towards before DEF-1971]

‘[. . .] perhaps Tonio Fenech wants us to go back [to before 1971] [. . .].’

These are typical examples insofar as they reflect the retrospective orientation. The Figure is taken back in time to a *terminus ante quem* which in (5.84a) is the year 1844 in which the arch was mentioned for the first time in print – but this first mention is taken to mean that the arch existed already prior to the quoted edition of the Osservatore Maltese. It is clear that the motion events described by *għal qabel* are abstract and often only imagined processes because time travelling is still not feasible in real life. In (5.84b), the Figure is the group of Maltese parliamentarians who the politician mentioned by name is suspected to take back to the early days of independent Malta.

## 5.1.2.2.14.2.1.3 TERMINATIVE PRELATIVE

The combination of the directionality marker (II51) *sa* ‘till’ and the configuration marker (II46) *qabel* ‘before’ seems to be largely synonymous with that of (II21) *għal* ‘for’ and (II46) *qabel* ‘before’ presented in the previous section. There may be subtle meaning differences which however are difficult to pinpoint. An example

like (5.85) might differ from examples like (5.84) in the sense that the TERMINATIVE PRELATIVE determines the exact period of time which one has to go back to whereas the DIRECTIONAL PRELATIVE is more flexible as to the interpretation of the exact position on the time arrow the Figure has to wind up in.

- (5.85) TERMINATIVE PERLATIVE temporal – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news60012]  
*l-istorja tiegħu tmur lura [sa qabel l-Aragonizi]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-story of:3SG.M 3SG.F.IPFV:go back [till before DEF-Aragonese:PL]  
 ‘[. . .] its story goes back [as far as before the Aragonese] [. . .].’

It remains a task for future studies to investigate the functional similarities and dissimilarities of the II-II combinations featured in this and the foregoing section.

#### 5.1.2.2.14.2.2 Source-oriented meaning

In (5.86), we provide an example of a temporal situation that involves a Figure (= the construction work) that started its journey through time before May 1987. This date represents the Ground.

- (5.86) PREABLATIVE Temporal – [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl28]  
*Ix-xogħol fuq il-ground tal-Hamrun ilu sejjer*  
 DEF-work on DEF-ground of:DEF-Hamrun last:3SG.M go.PART  
*[minn qabel Mejju 1987]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[from before May 1987]*  
 ‘The work on the grounds of Hamrun has been going on [since before May 1987] [. . .].’

Like in practically all examples from the temporal domain, it is impossible to speak of a motion event unless we allow for metonymy and metaphor to come into play.

#### 5.1.2.2.15 Motion to and from behind the Ground

In analogy to what was said above,<sup>69</sup> the BEFORE-BEHIND axis displays a remarkable asymmetry. If the focus is on the region before the Ground, genuinely spatial concepts are underrepresented or even completely absent from the Maltese system. Being in or moving to a position before the Ground is predominantly associated

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Sections 5.1.2.1.10 and 5.1.2.1.11.

with temporality. In contrast, being in or moving to a position behind the Ground is open to a spatial as well as to a temporal interpretation.

### 5.1.2.2.15.1 Spatial meanings

#### 5.1.2.2.15.1.1 Motion to behind the Ground

Hagège (2010: 261 and 287) mentions the three English PIs *behind*, *after*, and *beyond* for illustration of the POSTLATIVE. We assume that *after* is more typical of the TEMPORAL POSTLATIVE whereas *beyond* evokes the notion of the EXTRALATIVE.<sup>70</sup> The POSTLATIVE applies if the Figure moves to a position behind the Ground. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 159) refer to (Π60) *wara* ‘after’ as obligatory marker of configuration to which the optional marker of directionality (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ may be added.

#### 5.1.2.2.15.1.1.1 Bare POSTLATIVE – spatial

The bare spatial POSTLATIVE is frequently attested in the Korpus Malti 3.0. In (5.87), the protagonist Jason can be equated conceptually with the Figure. Jason moves to a position behind the chapel which, in turn, serves as Ground in the spatial situation. At the end of the motion event, the Figure is located at the backside of the Ground without physical contact between the two participants.<sup>71</sup>

(5.87) Bare PROLATIVE spatial – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature24]

*Jason mar [wara l-kappella]<sub>pp</sub> u ntefa' bilqieghda*  
*Jason go [after DEF-chapel] and REFL:throw sitting*  
*mal-art*  
 with:DEF-ground  
 ‘Jason went [**behind** the chapel] and sat down on the ground [. . .].’

Directionality remains unexpressed. The bare POSTLATIVE fits into the general picture of Goal-oriented constructions which do not make directionality explicit provided the verbal predicate is a motion verb.

<sup>70</sup> The EXTRALATIVE will be discussed in Section 5.1.2.2.19.

<sup>71</sup> The distinction of WITH CONTACT VS WITHOUT CONTACT does not seem to play any role in the domain of the POSTLATIVE.



### 5.1.2.2.15.1.1.2 DIRECTIONAL POSTLATIVE – spatial

As mentioned by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 159), motion to a posterior position can be expressed also by the Π-Π combination *għal wara*. The presentation of this option is such that the bare POSTLATIVE and the DIRECTIONAL POSTLATIVE seem to be fully synonymous. This means that the directionality marker could be added to (5.87) just like it could be removed from (5.88a) without altering the meaning of the constructions. In the (b)-sentence, we add one of the rare examples of (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ replacing (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ as directionality marker for the spatial PROLATIVE.

(5.88) DIRECTIONAL PROLATIVE spatial

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news161055]

*PC Vassallo reġa' rikeb il-mutur u mar [għal wara*

*PC Vassallo do\_again mount DEF-bike and go [for after*

*l-vann]<sub>PP</sub>*

*DEF-van]*

‘PC Vassallo got on his motorbike again and went [**behind** the van] [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news111040]

*dawn iż-żewġ persuni ħarbu [lejn*

*DEM:PL:PROX DEF-two person:PL run\_away:3PL.PFV [towards*

*wara l-Knisja]<sub>PP</sub>*

*after DEF-church]*

‘[. . .] these two persons fled [**behind** the church].’

It cannot be decided whether the presence/absence of the directionality has a bearing on the interpretation of the spatial situation. As argued in previous sections, it might be the case that (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ highlights the process of the motion event whereas the bare POSTLATIVE puts special emphasis on the Goal of the motion event. We assume that a similar explanation is also possible for the use of (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’.

### 5.1.2.2.15.1.1.3 TERMINATIVE POSTLATIVE – spatial

The terminus of the motion event is certainly the focus of constructions which involve (Π51) *sa* ‘till’. The TERMINATIVE POSTLATIVE is expressed by way of combining this directionality marker with (Π60) *wara* ‘after’ as can be gathered from (5.89).

- (5.89) TERMINATIVE POSTLATIVE spatial – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature54]  
*imma ġriet warajh<sup>72</sup> mad-dar kollha*  
 but run:3SG.F.PFV after:3SG.M with:DEF-house all:3SG.F  
*mill-intrata [sa wara l-bieb tal-bejt]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 from:DEF-entrance [till after DEF-door of:DEF-roof]  
 ‘[. . .] but she ran after him through the entire house from the entrance [as far as the door to the roof].’

In Maltese, the use of (II60) *wara* ‘after’ with Grounds like *bieb* ‘door’ often receives an interpretation that is different from that expected for a BEHIND relation (but cf. (5.90)). The Figure is located behind a door when the Figure is on the outside of the place to which the door gives access (indirectly claimed by Aquilina 1987: 117). The appropriate English II would thus be *in front of (the door)*. Independent of this inverse organisation on the BEFORE-BEHIND axis, the facts are clear for (5.89) because the Figure (= the anonymous female agent) follows the male participant through the house to stop eventually at the door to the roof. The directionality marker (II51) *sa* ‘till’ tells us that the motion event comes to an end at exactly this place. If (II21) *għal* ‘for’ had replaced (II51) *sa* ‘till’ in (5.89), it would be possible that the Figure never reached the door but moved only in its direction.

### 5.1.2.2.15.1.2 Source-oriented meanings – spatial

In line with what we have learned so far about the expression of motion from any kind of configuration, it is no surprise to find that (II41) *minn* ‘from’ combines with (II60) *wara* ‘after’ to express the POSTABLATIVE (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 159). This II-II combination is featured in (5.90).

- (5.90) POSTABLATIVE spatial – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature32]  
*Najàr tfaċċa [minn wara l-bieb]<sub>pp</sub> u ħares ’l fuq*  
 Najàr REFL:emerge [from after DEF-door] and look to on  
*lejn is-sema*  
 towards DEF-sky  
 ‘Najàr emerged [from behind the door] and looked upwards to the sky [. . .].’

<sup>72</sup> This instance of (II60) *wara* ‘after’ counts as an example of Hagège’s (2010: 261) meaning category with the label SECUTIVE. This category will be looked into in Section 5.1.2.2.20.1.

Note that in this example it makes sense to locate the Figure's point of departure behind the Ground since Najār seems to go outside to look at the sky. Unfortunately, it is not possible to verify this hypothesis because the text from which (5.90) has been extracted offers no further clues as to where Najār was when the motion event started.

### 5.1.2.2.15.2 Temporal meanings

As transpires from the subsequent sections, there is a temporal equivalent for each of the spatial meanings in the domain of the POSTLATIVE and the POSTABLATIVE.

#### 5.1.2.2.15.2.1 Goal-oriented meanings – temporal

##### 5.1.2.2.15.2.1.1 Bare POSTLATIVE – temporal

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 172) do not specifically refer to dynamic relations in the domain of the posterior. The bare TEMPORAL POSTLATIVE is illustrated in (5.91).

- (5.91) Bare POSTLATIVE temporal – [Korpus Malti 3.0; sport2919]  
*Il-ftehim ma' Ecclestone wasal [wara lagħha ma'*  
 DEF-agreement with Ecclestone arrive [after meeting with  
*dawk imsejħa timijiet żgħar]<sub>PP</sub>*  
 DEM:PL:DIST PART:call:PL team:PL small.PL]  
 'The agreement with Ecclestone came [after a meeting with the so-called  
 minor teams].'

Once more, we are in the realm of metonymy and metaphor since the Figure is abstract (= the agreement) and speaking of its arrival is of course an example of figurative speech. The Ground is the meeting that took place prior to the establishment of the agreement. This meeting happened at a certain point in time after which the negotiators came to an agreement. The POSTLATIVE is thus temporal.

##### 5.1.2.2.15.2.1.2 DIRECTIONAL POSTLATIVE – temporal

The use of (Π21) *għal* 'for' as directionality marker in (5.92) is interesting for two reasons. On the one hand, without the directionality marker, the primary interpretation of the sentence would be that the extension of the deadline will be made public after the mentioned date. On the other hand, the Π-Π combination *għal wara* is translated by the English Π *beyond* and thus constitutes an instance of the

EXTRALATIVE.<sup>73</sup> In the Korpus Malti 3.0, there is no evidence of (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ as directionality marker for the TEMPORAL POSTLATIVE.

(5.92) DIRECTIONAL POSTLATIVE temporal – [Korpus Malti 3.0; european8167]

*L-iskadenza*                      *b' dankollu*      *m'*      *għandhiex*  
 DEF-term\_of\_payment nevertheless NEG have.IPFV:3SG.F:NEG  
*tkun*                      *estiza*                      [*għal* *wara* *il-31* *ta'* *Diċembru*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:be.FUT extend.PART:F [for after DEF-31 of December  
*2001*]<sub>PP</sub>  
 2001]

‘The term of payment however must not be extended [beyond the 31<sup>st</sup> of December, 2001].’

One may say that the Figure (= the term of payment) cannot be postponed until after the date indicated in (5.92), i.e., it is excluded that the Figure is shifted to a phase that follows the Ground.

#### 5.1.2.2.15.2.1.3 TERMINATIVE POSTLATIVE – temporal

The TERMINATIVE POSTLATIVE fixes the endpoint of a process at a time after a given date. To this end, the directionality marker (II51) *sa* ‘till’ combines with the configuration marker (II60) *wara* ‘after’ according to the by now familiar pattern. In (5.93), *il-Milied* ‘Christmas’ fulfils the function of Ground. The process of waiting takes so much time that it will end only after Christmas.

(5.93) TERMINATIVE POSTLATIVE temporal – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature35]

*Irid*                      *jistenna*                      *almenu* [*sa* *wara* *l-Milied*]<sub>PP</sub>  
 3SG.M.IPFV:need 3SG.M.IPFV:wait at\_least [till after DEF-Christmas]  
 ‘He must wait at least [until after Christmas].’

In a way, this construction with two IIs resembles the previous one insofar as the process is conceptualised as exceeding a certain limit and thus as going beyond the line represented by the Ground.<sup>74</sup> We will take up this issue again below.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Addressed in Section 5.1.2.2.19.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.15.2.1.2.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.19.

### 5.1.2.2.15.2.2 Source-oriented meanings – temporal

Syntactically, (5.94) is an intriguing example of the TEMPORAL POSTABLATIVE. The unsurprising fact about the TEMPORAL POSTABLATIVE is that directionality is expressed in the usual way in the sense that motion from a temporal Source is indicated by (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ in combination with (Π60) *wara* ‘after’. What needs to be explained specifically however is the clausal composition of the example at hand.

(5.94) POSTABLATIVE temporal – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news30941]

*llum it-tim ta' 22 ciklist tal-Actavis LifeCycle wasal*  
 today DEF-team of 22 cyclist of:DEF-Actavis\_LifeCycle arrive  
[minn wara ghaxart ijiem jaqdfu r-roti  
[from after ten day.PL 3.IPFV:row:PL DEF-wheel:PL  
fil-Ġappun]<sub>PP</sub>  
in:DEF-Japan]

[. . .] today the team of twenty-two cyclists of Actavis LifeCycle arrived  
[after ten days of rotating the wheels in Japan].'

Superficially, the sentence looks to consist of several clauses so that one might suspect some kind of subordination to apply. If *jaqdfu* ‘they row’ was the predicate nucleus of a temporal clause, *minn wara* would not count as a Π-Π combination but as a complex conjunction introducing a subordinate clause. However, the usual subordinator *li* ‘that’ is absent from (5.94). The absence of the subordinator precludes the interpretation of *minn wara* as conjunctive. Furthermore, *jaqdfu r-roti fil-Ġappun* ‘they turn the wheels in Japan’ is a relative clause that modifies *ghaxart ijiem* ‘ten days’, i.e., the relative clause is inside the NP which constitutes the complement of (*minn*) *wara*. The temporal situation involves a Figure – the cyclists – whose return happens after their sojourn of ten days in Japan is finished. Accordingly, the point of departure of the motion event is the period after the end of the bicycle ride.

### 5.1.2.2.16 Motion to and from around the Ground

At this point, we enter a heterogeneous domain populated by a multitude of meaning categories à la Hagège (2010) which pose a variety of analytical and conceptual problems. Some of these problems are probably caused by the schematic character of Hagège’s (2010: 287) own taxonomy. NO TEMPORAL CIRCUMLATIVE is postulated.

### 5.1.2.2.16.1 Goal-oriented motion

#### 5.1.2.2.16.1.1 There is no bare CIRCUMLATIVE

In contrast to Hagège (2010: 286) who assumes that the CIRCUMLATIVE applies in situations where the Figure moves into a position that surrounds the Ground, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 166) skip motion to in connection with the circumferential configuration. This gap in their inventory of spatial notions is worth noting. Why this is so comes to the fore when we look at (5.95) and try to analyse the example afterwards. The  $\Pi$  of interest is the same as in the case of the CIRCUMESSIVE, namely ( $\Pi$ 31) *madwar* ‘around’.<sup>76</sup>

(5.95) Bare CIRCUMLATIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature24]

*kellha tqum minn bilqieghda u timxi*  
 have.PFV:3SG.F 3SG.F.IPFV:rise from sitting and 3SG.F.IPFV:walk  
*b’ pass mgħaġġel [madwar il-mejda]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 with step PART:hurry [around DEF-table]  
 ‘[. . .] she had to stand up and walk hurriedly [around the table].’

The spatial situation described in (5.95) involves a motion event which leads the Figure from her sitting position (presumably at the table) around the Ground. However, at no point in the process does the Figure occupy a position that can be characterised as surrounding the Ground. Rather, the table as Ground serves as an extended path along which the Figure moves to reach the destination. In this sense, (5.95) fails to instantiate the bare CIRCUMLATIVE but should better be treated under the heading of PERLATIVE or SECUTIVE – meaning categories which are discussed below.<sup>77</sup>

In point of fact, our search of the Korpus Malti 3.0 confirms Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 166) at least for what concerns the absence of tangible evidence of the existence of the bare CIRCUMLATIVE. The absence of this category does not however mean that there is no way to express motion to a circumferential position.

#### 5.1.2.2.16.1.2 DIRECTIONAL CIRCUMLATIVE

It is generally difficult to find uncontroversial evidence of spatial situations in the Korpus Malti 3.0 that describe a prototypical motion event with the Figure changing place to occupy a position to encircle the Ground. Those cases which come closest to

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.12.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.

this pattern involve the expected directionality marker (II21) *għal* ‘for’ in combination with (II31) *madwar* ‘around’.

Of the two examples presented in (5.96) only the II-II combination *għal madwar* in the (a)-sentence takes a complement whose referent can be said to be surrounded by the Figure (= the dark stripe). The situation is dynamic only if we allow for a metonymical/metaphorical reading since the observer’s gaze moves from the animal’s nose via its eyes towards the region beneath the ears. In contrast, the (b)-sentence describes a bona fide motion event because the blood is pumped through the body. However, the blood does not really surround the body but rather reaches all internal parts thereof in the course of a blood cycle. It is therefore doubtful to classify (5.96b) as a good illustration of the DIRECTIONAL CIRCUMLATIVE. Since the blood travels across the body, the same PP could also be interpreted as an instance of the PERLATIVE.<sup>78</sup> Properly spatial cases of (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ combining with (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ are absent from our corpus.

(5.96) DIRECTIONAL CIRCUMLATIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic311]

*strixxa skura minn fuq l-imnieher [għal madwar l-għajnejn]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 stripe dark:F from on DEF-nose [for around DEF-eye:PL]  
*sa taħt il-widnejn taġġmel wiċċ dan il-marsupjal*  
 till under DEF-ear:PL 3SG.F.IPFV:make face DEM:M:PROX DEF-marsupial  
*jidher kwazi iswed*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:appear almost black  
 ‘[...] a dark stripe from the nose [around the eyes] to below the ears makes the face of this marsupial appear almost black.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic248]

*id-demm jiġi ippompjat b’ saħħa bizzżej*  
 DEF-blood 3SG.M.IPFV:come pump:PART with strenght enough  
*minn ġewwa l-qalb [għal madwar il-ġisem u l-pulmuni]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 from inside DEF-heart [for around DEF-body and DEF-lung:PL]  
 ‘[...] the blood is pumped with sufficient force from inside the heart [around the body and the lungs].’

What we learn from these examples is that motion to a position around the Ground is not a very common spatial situation. Moreover, (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ when used in directional constructions seems to invite other interpretations which are not properly circumferential but rather PERLATIVE.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.2.

### 5.1.2.2.16.1.3 TERMINATIVE CIRCUMLATIVE

The TERMINATIVE CIRCUMLATIVE involves the usual directional marker (II51) *sa* ‘till’ that combines with the configuration marker (II31) *madwar* ‘around’. As in the previous cases of Goal-oriented CIRCUMLATIVES, convincing examples of this II-II combination are scarce when they are used to capture the change of position of a Figure such that at the endpoint of the motion event it encircles the Ground.

In (5.97) one of the very few cases from the Korpus Malti 3.0 that realise this pattern is presented.

(5.97) TERMINATIVE CIRCUMLATIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl256]

<i>Jista’</i>	<i>l-Ministru</i>	<i>jgħid</i>	<i>meta</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>tigi</i>
3SG.M.IPFV:can	DEF-minister	3SG.M.IPFV:say	when	FUT	3SG.F.IPFV:come
<i>asfaltata</i>	<i>Marsa Road</i>	<i>Qormi minn taħt il-pont</i>			
asphalt:PART:F	Marsa Road	Qormi from under	DEF-bridge		
<i>[sa madwar ir-roundabout]<sub>pp</sub></i>					
<i>[till around DEF-roundabout]</i>					

‘Can the minister say when Marsa Road in Qormi will be asphalted from under the bridge **[to around the roundabout]**?’

The situation is again less than straightforward. In this particular case, the identity of the Figure poses problems. To our mind, the Figure is the road (work) that is conceived as moving along the Marsa Road from the bridge to the roundabout with the latter being surrounded by the asphalted road in the end. Metonymically, the asphalted road moves into a position that encircles the centre of the roundabout. There remain conceptual problems because the road itself forms part of the roundabout and thus cannot properly encircle it. No matter how this and related problems can be solved, we conclude that there is indeed a TERMINATIVE CIRCUMLATIVE in Maltese.

### 5.1.2.2.16.2 Motion from around the Ground

We are not telling the reader anything new when we say that the CIRCUMABLATIVE is expressed by way of combining the directionality marker (II41) *minn* ‘from’ with the configuration marker (II31) *madwar* ‘around’. Another hardly surprising fact about the CIRCUMABLATIVE is the possibility of interpreting the configuration marker in at least two different ways.

This possibility is visible in the pair of examples given in (5.98).



(5.98) CIRCUMABLATIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature40]

*qed tneżża' l-karta tal-fidda pulit pulit*

PROG 3SG.F.IPFV:take\_off DEF-paper of:DEF-silver neat neat

*[minn madwar għonq flixkun ohxon]<sub>pp</sub>**[from around neck bottle thick]*‘[. . .] she is very neatly taking off the silver paper **[from around the neck of a thick bottle]** [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic376]

*l-bżonnijiet tal-ekonomija li kienet qegħda*

DEF-need:PL of:DEF-economy that be:3SG.F.PFV PROG:F

*tirkupra ġabet aktar nies [minn madwar*3SG.F.IPFV:recover bring:3SG.F.PFV more people **[from around***il-Commonwealth]<sub>pp</sub>**DEF-Commonwealth]*‘[. . .] the needs of the economy that was recovering brought more people **[from all over the Commonwealth]** [. . .].’

The (a)-sentence is a bona fide illustration of the CIRCUMABLATIVE. The Figure (= the silver paper) is removed from around the Ground (= the bottleneck). What once was in a position encircling the Ground is now somewhere else. The (b)-sentence is difficult to accommodate with the notion of circumference. The people who migrated to the UK had not surrounded the Commonwealth before they started their journey to Great Britain. They used to live scattered over different places within the Commonwealth. Accordingly, the association with English *across* is stronger than that with English *around*. Once again, we have a piece of evidence that points towards the PERLATIVE as a potential functional domain of (*minn*) *madwar*.<sup>79</sup>

### 5.1.2.2.17 Motion to and from amongst the Ground

#### 5.1.2.2.17.1 Goal-oriented motion

According to Hagège (2010: 286) the MEDIOLATIVE is the label for a meaning category of a Π that is used to express that the Figure moves into a position amongst “things or persons” (Hagège 2010: 287) which constitutes the Ground. As mentioned in connection with the MEDIOESSIVE,<sup>80</sup> Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 165) do not reg-

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.2.

<sup>80</sup> In Section 5.1.2.1.13.

ister (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’ at all. However, this Π is critical for the expression of the MEDIOLATIVE. As we will see below,<sup>81</sup> there is also an overlap of the MEDIOABLATIVE and the INTERABLATIVE which can be connected to the distinction of MEDIOESSIVE I and MEDIOESSIVE II.<sup>82</sup> Our search for evidence of the TERMINATIVE MEDIOLATIVE yielded not a single hit for the combination \**sa fost* and only a very doubtful one for *’sa qalb*. This is why no subsection is dedicated to this absent category.

#### 5.1.2.2.17.1.1 Bare MEDIOLATIVE

The bare MEDIOLATIVE requires only the presence of the configuration marker (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’ whereas directionality is subject to zero-marking. This pattern is in line with the bulk of the previously mentioned cases of bare LATIVES.

In (5.99), the Ground is the ethnic group of the Macuxi in Brazil. The president of Brazil pays a visit to the Macuxi so that the spatial situation involves a Figure (= the visitor) that changes its position by way of moving to the Ground which in turn is formed by a group of people amongst whom the Figure winds up at the end of the motion event.

(5.99) Bare MEDIOLATIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news142309]

*Milux*                      *Lula mar [fost*                      *l-Indios*                      *Macuxi]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 NEG:ago:3SG.M:NEG *Lula go [amongst* *DEF-Indio:PL* *Macuxi*  
*biex jagħtihom*                      *lura l-art*                      *ta’ Raposa Serra do Sol*  
 to 3SG.M.IPFV:give:3PL back DEF-land of Raposa Serra do Sul  
 ‘Not long ago, Lula went [**amongst** the Macuxi Indios] to return the territory of Raposa Serra do Sol to them.’

#### 5.1.2.2.17.1.2 DIRECTIONAL MEDIOLATIVE

Besides the bare MEDIOLATIVE, there is also the DIRECTIONAL MEDIOLATIVE which conforms to patterns which are already familiar to us from a plethora of other cases of directional constructions for LATIVES. The directionality marker is as usual (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ which combines with the configuration marker (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’ as shown in (5.100a) and with the configuration marker (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ in (5.100b).

<sup>81</sup> In Section 5.1.2.2.17.2.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Sections 5.1.2.1.13–5.1.2.1.14.

## (5.100) DIRECTIONAL MEDIOLATIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl713]

*dahlet il-mentalita' minn fuq għal isfel [għal*

enter:3SG.F.PFV DEF-mentality from on for down [for

*fost il-haddiema nfushom]<sub>pp</sub>**amongst DEF-worker:PL self:3PL]*

‘[. . .] the mentality descended from above downwards [amongst the workers themselves] [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature21]

*fimkien imxew aktar 'il għewwa sa tarf l-isqaq minn*

together walk:3PL.PFV more to inside till end DEF-lane from

*fejn kien hemm trejqa dejqa tagħti [għal*

where be there street.DIM narrow:F 3SG.F.IPFV:give [for

*qalb l-għelieqi]<sub>pp</sub>**amidst DEF-field:PL]*

‘[. . .] together they walked further to the end of the lane where there was a narrow alley that lead [into the fields].’

In these examples, the motion event is to be understood metonymically. In the (a)-sentence, what is described is the diffusion of a mentality problem among social groups in Malta. The mentality that emerged on the higher social levels descends downwards on the social scale to eventually reach the working class amongst whose members it takes roots, too. The Figure (= the mentality) travels towards the Ground (= the working class) which is composed of all representatives of the working class. In contrast to (5.99), the endpoint of the event does not consist of an individual surrounded by members of a different group of people but by the spread of a mindset across the members of a group of people. In this way, we are again facing a potential PERLATIVE interpretation. The (b)-sentence depicts the alley to move right into the middle of the fields although it functions only as access to the destination for the people who use the alley.

The employment of (II21) *għal* ‘for’ in lieu of the bare MEDIOLATIVE has probably to do with the focus being on the process of diffusion. Note also that the adverbial *għal isfel* ‘downwards’ that immediately precedes the II-II combination *għal fost* in (5.100) already involves (II21) *għal* ‘for’. The co-presence of a second (II21) *għal* ‘for’ is not blocked by *għal isfel*. It must also be mentioned that the combination *\*lejn fost* is unattested in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

### 5.1.2.2.17.2 Motion from amongst the Ground

Situations in which the Figure moves from a position within a Ground that consists of a group of people or objects may be termed MEDIOABLATIVE. As results from the two examples in (5.101), there are three Maltese IIs that compete for the function of configuration markers, namely (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ (= (a)-sentence), (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ (= (b)-sentence), and (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ (= (c)-sentence). This competition is reminiscent of the distinction of the MEDIOESSIVES I and II made in the appropriate subsections on the static spatial meanings above.<sup>83</sup> It almost goes without saying that the directionality marker for motion from amongst the Ground is the ubiquitous (II41) *minn* ‘from’.

(5.101) MEDIOABLATIVE

(a) [Attard 2019: 82]

*Is-segretarja tal-Brigadier Camilleri magħżula*  
 DEF-secretary of:DEF-Brigadier\_Camilleri PART:choose:F  
*[minn fost ir-rekluti recenti]<sub>pp</sub> kienet imżejna*  
*[from amongst DEF-recruit:PL recent:PL] be:3SG.F.PFV PART:adorn:F*  
*bi gmiel u doni naturali*  
 with beauty and gift:PL natural:PL  
 ‘Brigadier Camilleri’s secretary, chosen **[amongst the recent recruits]**, was adorned with beauty and natural gifts.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature3]

*rnexxielu johroġ [minn qalb dawk*  
 succeed:IO:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:exit **[from amidst DEM:PL:DIST**  
*it-tfal irrabjati]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*DEF-child:PL angry:PART:PL]*  
 ‘[. . .] he succeeded in exiting **[from amidst those angry children]** [. . .].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news116976]

*bħala poplu Malti [. . .] nfittxu dejjem dak li*  
 as people Maltese 1.IPFV:seek:PL always DEM:M:DIST that  
*jgħaqqadna u nnehħu [minn bejnietna]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:unite:1PL and 1.IPFV:take\_off:PL **[from between:PL:1PL]**  
*dak kollu li jifridna*  
 DEM:M:DIST all:3SG.M that 3SG.M.IPFV:separate:1PL  
 ‘[. . .] as Maltese people [. . .] we always seek what unites us and remove **[from amongst us]** all that separates us.’

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Sections 5.1.2.1.13–5.1.2.1.14.

Example (5.101a) provides the most typical context for the use of the  $\Pi$ - $\Pi$  combination *minn fost*. A verb – finite or a passive participle – that belongs to the semantic field of CHOSING, ELECTING, or SELECTING (e.g. *għażel* ‘choose’, *elegġa* ‘elect’, *ħatar* ‘elect’) preferably combines with *minn fost* if the group is mentioned from which the chosen one is taken. However, in (5.101b–c), we notice that the  $\Pi$ - $\Pi$  combinations *minn qalb* and *minn bejn* are also licit. In (5.101b), the group from which the Figure emerges consists of more than two children. In (5.101c), the group is formed by the entire Maltese people, so that ( $\Pi$ 4) *bejn* ‘between’ cannot refer to a spatial situation with just two elements forming the Ground. In cases like (5.101c), ( $\Pi$ 4) *bejn* ‘between’ is a synonym of ( $\Pi$ 16) *fost* ‘amongst’. Interestingly, the situation described in (5.101c) does not involve the removal of a member of the group from the group but that of an abstract concept that causes dissent within the community. Whether this difference between the (a/b)-sentences and the (c)-sentence explains why the one  $\Pi$  is given preference over the other in this but not in that sentence, is a question that we cannot answer in this study but keep in the back of our minds for future investigations.

#### 5.1.2.2.18 Motion to and from between the Ground

The appearance of ( $\Pi$ 4) *bejn* ‘between’ in the domain of the MEDIOABLATIVE forms the bridge to this section which addresses the inter(ab)lative relations for the expression of which ( $\Pi$ 4) *bejn* ‘between’ is the appropriate (and only) candidate.

##### 5.1.2.2.18.1 Goal-oriented motion

Hagège (2010: 286) speaks of the INTERLATIVE when the Figure moves to a position between (presumably two) entities that together constitute the Ground. At the terminus of the motion event, the Figure thus separates the constituents of the Ground from each other. Like in the case of the INTERESSIVE,<sup>84</sup> Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 165) postulate the category “medial” with a Ground-membership of two entities in which case ( $\Pi$ 4) *bejn* ‘between’ is made use of (for larger groups of entities which form the Ground, the authors propose *f’ nofs* ‘in (the) middle’ in lieu of mentioning ( $\Pi$ 16) *fost* ‘amongst’).

##### 5.1.2.2.18.1.1 Bare INTERLATIVE

For motion to the medial position, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 165) exclusively refer to the bare INTERLATIVE. In (5.102), directionality remains unexpressed whereas the configuration marker ( $\Pi$ 4) *bejn* ‘between’ is mandatory.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.14.

- (5.102) Bare INTERLATIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news109423]

*hekk kif l-ajruplan kien wasal [bejn Għawdex u*  
 so how DEF-plane be arrive **[between Gozo and**  
*Sqallija]*<sub>pp</sub> il-pilota informa lill-passiġġieri li se  
Sicily] DEF-pilot inform to:DEF-passenger:pl that FUT  
*jagħmel inżul fl-Ajruport ta' Hal Luqa*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:make descent in:DEF-airport of Hal Luqa  
 ' [...] as soon as the plane had arrived **[between Gozo and Sicily]** the pilot in-  
 formed the passengers that he was going to land at the airport of Hal Luqa.'

The Figure (= the plane) reaches a position between the islands of Gozo and Sicily (= the distributed Ground). The motion verb *wasal* 'arrive' suggests that the motion event is "frozen" at this point of the journey so that no PERLATIVE meaning is invoked.

#### 5.1.2.2.18.1.2 DIRECTIONAL INTERLATIVE

Contrary to Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander's (1997: 156) focus on the bare INTERLATIVE alone, we can state that there is evidence not only of the DIRECTIONAL INTERLATIVE but also of the TERMINATIVE INTERLATIVE with the latter being the topic of the next section. In this section, we touch upon (Π21) *għal* 'for' combining with (Π4) *bejn* 'between' as in (5.103).

- (5.103) DIRECTIONAL INTERLATIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news160212]

*Nghaddi issa [għal bejn il-linji ta' din*  
 1SG.IPFV:pass now **[for between DEF-line:PL of DEM:F:PROX**  
*it-tweġiba]*<sub>pp</sub>  
DEF-answer]  
 'I now move over **[to between the lines of this answer].**'

Like in many previous instances, the motion event is of a metonymical nature. The speaker (in the virtual function of Figure) announces that he is about to turn his attention to another topic, namely what can be read from between the lines of an answer given to a previous question posed in the parliament. The lines serve as the distributed Ground and the Figure metonymically moves to a position between these lines. The use of the Π-II combination *għal bejn* instead of the bare INTERLATIVE is most probably motivated by the verb *għadda* 'pass' that normally requires a directionality marker to be present. (Π28) *lejn* 'towards' never serves as directionality marker for (Π4) *bejn* 'between'.

### 5.1.2.2.18.1.3 TERMINATIVE INTERLATIVE

In (5.104),<sup>85</sup> we present an example of the TERMINATIVE INTERLATIVE. The construction involves (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ in combination with (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ – a combination that meets our expectations when we talk about Maltese TERMINATIVES, in general.

(5.104) TERMINATIVE INTERLATIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature20]

*Ħriġt                      ilsienek                      u                      pinġejt                      linja                      bżieq*  
 exit.CAUS:2SG.PFV   tongue:2SG   and   paint:2SG.PFV   line   saliva  
*dritta                      miż-żokra                      [sa                      bejn                      iż-żewġ                      ħbejżiet*  
 straight:F   from:DEF-navel   [till   between   DEF-two   loaf:DIM:PL  
*gustużi                      ta'                      sidirha]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*nice:PL   of   breast:3SG.F]*

‘You brought out your tongue and painted a straight line of saliva from the navel [as far as between the two lovely loaves of her breast].’

In this situation, the line of saliva represents the Figure. It is not the case that the line changes position. What happens is that the line grows in length until it stops in the cleavage of the anonymous woman. Her two breasts and the gap between them constitute the Ground. The use of (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ is motivated by the author’s wish to emphasise that the motion event is discontinued for good at this point.

### 5.1.2.2.18.2 Motion from between the Ground

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 165) mention the Π-Π combination *minn bejn* as the usual way of expressing motion from the medial position between the two parts of a distributed Ground. This combination is exactly what one would predict on the basis of the knowledge that (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ is used almost always when motion from a Source is expressed.

The example (5.105) is not as straightforward as it might seem superficially.

(5.105) INTERABLATIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news30456]

*Ir-raġel                      ħareġ                      [minn                      bejn                      żewġ                      karozzi                      f'                      din*  
 DEF-man   exit   [from   between   two   car:PL   in   DEM:F:PROX  
*it-triq]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*DEF-street]*

‘The man appeared [from between two cars in this street] [. . .].’

<sup>85</sup> The example stems from a text with slightly erotic touches. We were unable to find any better illustration of the TERMINATIVE INTERLATIVE than this.

The example stems from a report on a street accident. A man (= the Figure) steps unexpectedly onto the street and is hit by a car. The Figure emerges from a Ground that consists of two cars between which the man had to pass to reach the street. As we will see in the subsequent section, *minn bejn* is also used for the PERLATIVE. This potential ambiguity notwithstanding, we assume that (5.105) is a good example of the INTERABLATIVE because the motion verb *ħareġ* ‘exit’ focuses on the whereabouts of the Figure immediately before the man appears on the street. How he came to be between the two cars is irrelevant to the motion event. Otherwise, the motion verb *għadda* ‘pass’ could have been chosen to convey the idea that the man’s movement began before he passed between the two cars.

#### 5.1.2.2.19 Motion to and from outside the Ground

The EXTRAESSIVE is an addition to Hagège’s taxonomy.<sup>86</sup> The same holds for the dynamic equivalent of the EXTRAESSIVE – the EXTRALATIVE – which is subsumed under Hagège’s (2010: 261) notion of POSTLATIVE.<sup>87</sup>

##### 5.1.2.2.19.1 Motion to outside the Ground

###### 5.1.2.2.19.1.1 Bare EXTRALATIVE

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 158) mention a number of options for expressing motion to the exterior but in their list of three (= (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’, (II51) *sa* ‘till’, and (II29) *lil* ‘to’), there is no mention of the bare EXTRALATIVE. It is worth noting that the EXTRALATIVE is the only category for which the IIs in the above brackets are mentioned as directionality markers in the reference grammar. We have found ample evidence of the configuration marker (II3) *barra* ‘outside’ (either with NOMINATIVE government or ABLATIVE government) in combination with a motion verb but in the absence of a directionality marker as shown in (5.106).

(5.106) Bare EXTRALATIVE I

(a) NOMINATIVE government – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news113089]

*Ironikament l-uniku Ingliz li mar [barra l-pajjiż]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 ironically DEF-sole English that go [outside DEF-country]

*ma kienx parti mill-iskwadra ta’ Roy Hodgson*

NEG be:NEG part from:DEF-team of Roy Hodgson

‘Ironically, the only Ennglishman who left [the county] was not part of Roy Hodgson’s team.’

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.15.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.15.



- (b) ABLATIVE government – [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl3583]  
*Niftakru li kien hemm ministru li kien mar*  
 1.IPFV:remember:PL that be there minister that be go  
 [*barra minn Malta*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 [*outside from Malta*]  
 ‘We remember that there was a minister who had left [*Malta*] [. . .].’

It is also possible to use (II44) *oltre* ‘beyond’ for the bare EXTRALATIVE – again either with NOMINATIVE or ABLATIVE government.<sup>88</sup> This variation is captured by the (a)- and (b)-sentences under (5.107).

(5.107) Bare EXTRALATIVE II

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news123648]  
*dan mar [oltre l-kompetenza tagħha]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 DEM:M:PROX go [**beyond** DEF-competence of:3SG.F]  
 ‘[. . .] this went [**beyond** her competence].’
- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news220156]  
*l-Prim Ministru Joseph Muscat mar [oltre mill-mandat]*  
 DEF-prime\_minister Joseph Muscat go [**beyond** from:DEF-mandate  
*tiegħu*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 of:3SG.M]  
 ‘[. . .] the prime minister Joseph Muscat went [**beyond** his mandate] [. . .].’

As far as we can tell on the basis of the data collected from the Korpus Malti 3.0, (II3) *barra* ‘outside’ is preferably used in spatial situations in which there is a concrete motion event involving a Figure that moves physically to the outside of the Ground. In the case of (II44) *oltre* ‘beyond’, however, the hits are predominantly abstract in the sense that an action, opinion, or attitude is depicted as exceeding the legal (or similar) limits imposed on people’s rights.

Another difference between (II3) *barra* ‘outside’ and (II44) *oltre* ‘beyond’ is the impossibility of the latter to combine with a directionality marker. Thus, there is no evidence of a DIRECTIONAL EXTRALATIVE or a TERMINATIVE EXTRALATIVE construction in which (II44) *oltre* ‘beyond’ functions as configuration marker.

#### 5.1.2.2.19.1.2 DIRECTIONAL EXTRALATIVE

There are two ways to form the DIRECTIONAL EXTRALATIVE. The first option is the expected combination of (II21) *għal* ‘for’ with (II3) *barra* ‘outside’ (+/- (II41) *minn*

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Section 4.1.2.2.1.2.2.2 (iii).

‘from’) not mentioned in the reference grammar. Typical examples of this II-II combination are given in (5.108). In (5.108b), we have a ternary combination of IIs because in addition to the presence of the directionality marker and the mandatory configuration marker, there is also ABLATIVE government signalled by (II41) *minn* ‘from’.

(5.108) DIRECTIONAL EXTRALATIVE I

- (a) nominative government – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news145985]

*kollox jitmexxa [ghal barra Bieb il-Belt]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 everything 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:walk.CAUS [for outside gate DEF-city]  
 ‘[. . .] everything is conducted [outside the City Gate].’

- (b) ABLATIVE government – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news132936]

*Il-fattur principali li wassal għal dan*  
 DEF-factor principal that arrive:CAUS for DEM:M:PROX  
*it-tnaqqis kien ammont inqas ta’ posta indirizzata*  
 DEF-reduction be amount less.CMP of mail direct:PART:F  
*[ghal barra minn Malta]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[for outside from Malta]*  
 ‘The main factor which led to this reduction is the smaller amount of mail directed [to (addresses) outside Malta].’

Like in several other cases of directional meanings, there is also evidence of the alternative directionality marker (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ in combination with (II3) *barra* ‘outside’ (+/- (II41) *minn* ‘from’). The examples in (5.109) illustrate this possibility.

(5.109) DIRECTIONAL EXTRALATIVE II

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news164981]

*Mintoff ried litteralment jibni bihom lil Malta*  
 Mintoff need literally 3SG.M.IPFV:build with:3PL to Malta  
*biex tkun magna ta’ produzzjoni li*  
 to 3SG.F.IPFV:be.FUT machine of production that  
*tesporta [lejn barra l-pajjiż]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:export [towards outside DEF-country]  
 ‘Mintoff literally wanted to build up Malta with them so that it would be a machine of production that exports [to (recipients) outside the country].’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news205158]

*Għolew ukoll il-prezzijiet ta’ pakketti mibgħuta*  
 become\_dearer:3PL.PFV also DEF-price:PL of parcel:PL PART:send:PL  
*[lejn barra minn Malta]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[towards outside from Malta]*  
 ‘Also the prices for parcels sent [to (addresses) outside Malta] increased.’

The II-II combination *lejn barra (minn)* is attested only sixteen times in the Korpus Malti 3.0 and thus constitutes a minor option for expressing the DIRECTIONAL EXTRALATIVE. The (b)-sentences in (5.108) and (5.109) contain further examples of II-II-II combinations.

#### 5.1.2.2.19.1.3 TERMINATIVE EXTRALATIVE

In the domain of the TERMINATIVE EXTRALATIVE, we have nothing out of the way to report. Directionality marking is the task of (II51) *sa* ‘till’ whereas configuration is expressed by (II3) *barra* ‘outside’ (+/- (II41) *minn* ‘from’) as shown in (5.110).

(5.110) TERMINATIVE EXTRALATIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news147538]

*il-kaptan irnexxielu jwassal il-vapur*  
 DEF-captain succeed:IO:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:arrive.CAUS DEF-ship  
*tal-merkanzija [sa barra l-Port il-Kbir]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 of:DEF-goods [till outside DEF-harbour DEF-big]  
 ‘[. . .] the captain succeeded in steering the merchantman [out of the Grand Harbour] [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news205282]

*Ma’ l-impatt is-sewwieq baqa’ jsuq [sa barra*  
 with DEF-impact DEF-driver remain 3SG.M.IPFV:drive [till outside  
*minn H’Attard]<sub>pp</sub> u baqa’ sejjer il-Mosta*  
*from H’Attard]* and remain go.PART DEF-Mosta  
 ‘With the impact the driver kept driving [out of H’Attard] and kept going to Mosta.’

In both situations, the Figure – the merchantman in the (a)-sentence and the driver (or the car) in the (b)-sentence – continue their journey after they have reached a temporary position outside the Ground – the Grand Harbour in the (a)-sentence and the village of H’Attard in the (b)-sentence. Being outside the port or the village is an important stage of the entire motion event because in both situations the Figure tries to escape a situation of danger. The danger diminishes as soon as the Figure is outside the Ground.

#### 5.1.2.2.19.2 Motion from beyond the Ground

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 158) state that motion from the exterior is expressed by the combination of (II41) *minn* ‘from’ and (II3) *barra* ‘outside’. This is exactly what we expect on the basis of what we have learned so far about the

expression of Source-relations. In (5.111a), we witness a case of NOMINATIVE government whereas (5.111b) gives evidence of ABLATIVE government which results in a construction with a sequence of three IIs.

(5.111) EXTRAABLATIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news115170]

*festa li fiha jipparteċipaw iż-żebbuġin u*  
 feast that in:3SG.F 3.IPFV:participate:PL DEF-żebbuġi:PL and  
*numru kbir ta' nies li jiġu [minn barra*  
 number big of people that 3.IPFV:come:PL [from outside  
*r-raħal]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-village]

‘[. . .] a feast in which the inhabitants of Żebbuġ participate and a high number of people who come [from outside the village].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic446]

*Persentaġġ kbir tal-plejers tat-tim kienu*  
 percentage big of:DEF-player:PL of:DEF-team be:3PL.PFV  
*jiġu [minn barra mir-Russja]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3.IPFV:come:PL [from outside from:DEF-Russia]

‘A big percentage of the team’s players came [from outside Russia].’

### 5.1.2.2.20 Path

This section is organised differently from the previous ones because according to Hagège’s (2010: 287) dictum “four functions, namely TERMINATIVE, PERLATIVE, PROLATIVE and SECUTIVE, have no static counterpart.” The TERMINATIVE was the topic of Section 5.1.2.2.7 already where it was concluded that (II51) *sa* ‘till’ more often than not serves the purpose of directionality marker in II-II combinations. If this can be said with reference to the TERMINATIVE, one should not lose sight of the possibility that what is labelled PERLATIVE, PROLATIVE, and SECUTIVE might turn out to involve prolific directionality markers, too. Hagège (2010: 291) assumes that

the perlative/prolative [. . .] semantic functions correspond [. . .] to routes that involve the act of passing and directions that involve any phase of motion in a frame of reference. English examples are *through the kitchen*, *past the entrance*, *across/over the roof* for the perlative/prolative. [original italics]

PERLATIVE and PROLATIVE belong to a category within the domain of general location that is potentially compatible with almost every configuration, viz. Path. To explore this possibility, we have to approach the domains of these meaning catego-

ries from a different angle than in the bulk of the previous sections. This deviation from the usual pattern is fully justified on account of the many intricate characteristics of the domain to be explored in what follows. We start by way of deconstructing the SECUTIVE, – a category whose exact relationship to the other Path categories is explained nowhere in Hagège’s (2010) study.

#### 5.1.2.2.20.1 SECUTIVE (including PROXIMATE/PROXI(AB)LATIVE)

The SECUTIVE is illustrated with the English IIs *with*, *along* and the gerund *following* (Hagège 2010: 261). In the chart of functions, Hagège (2010: 287) reduces these options to English *along*. Moreover, Hagège (2010: 286) claims that in a spatial situation that involves the SECUTIVE the Figure “follow[s] a place or person.” Apart from taking issue with the questionable restriction of the animate Ground to human beings,<sup>89</sup> we argue that the motion event of following is categorically different for Grounds that are human or animate as opposed to Grounds that represent locations. If the Ground that is being followed bears the feature [+human] it can be assumed that the Ground is on the move, too. The Ground thus determines the route that the Figure has to take in order to keep following the Ground. This means that both Figure and Ground are changing their positions in the same direction. If the Ground is a “place” however, it is difficult to conceive of the Ground as being in the process of moving. The location is static and remains stable at a given place. Following a “place” cannot be the same process as following a “person”.

What links the different kinds of following events nevertheless, is the virtual trail, i.e. the course of the motion event that is determined either by the animate Ground moving in a given direction ahead of the Figure or the shape and extension of the “place” along which the Figure moves. With reference to the latter scenario, one understands why Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 167–168) dedicate eleven subsections of their catalogue of spatial categories to Grounds that are defined as “long object[s]”. To clarify the issue of whether the following events can be lumped together, we first look at a typical situation that involves a human Figure and a human Ground. In (5.112), it is shown that the fact that a Figure moves in the direction of the likewise moving Ground is normally expressed by (Π60) *wara* ‘after’ in combination with a motion verb like *mexa* ‘walk’.

---

<sup>89</sup> Not only other animate beings such as animals can be followed (on occasion of a hunting party, for instance) but also inanimate objects such as cars, etc. Moreover, the act of following is not limited to situations which involve concrete Grounds since abstract concepts such as ideas can be followed virtually, too.

- (5.112) Following a human Ground – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature7]

*Qam bilwieqfa u mexa [wara l-oħrajn]<sub>PP</sub>*  
 rise standing and walk [after DEF-other:PL]  
 ‘He stood up and followed [the others].’

The use of this  $\Pi$  associates example (5.112) with the SPATIAL POSTLATIVE as described above.<sup>90</sup> The motion event takes place behind the Ground no matter whether the Ground is changing its position or not. In contrast, the situation described in (5.113) which also involves a human Figure and a human Ground both of which are moving in one and the same direction is different from the previous situation

- (5.113) Accompanying a human Ground [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature43]

*Is-surgent dendl it-tabella Out on Duty mal-bieb*  
 DEF-sergeant hang DEF-table Out\_on\_Duty with:DEF-door  
*tal-ghassa u mexa [ma’ Albert]<sub>PP</sub> sa hdejn*  
 of:DEF-police\_station and walk [with Albert] till beside  
*il-latrina*  
 DEF-latrine  
 ‘The sergeant put the sign-board “Out on Duty” on the door of the police station and walked [with Albert] to the public lavatory [. . .].’

It is conceivable that the two characters mentioned in (5.113) are moving alongside each other and that one of them is leading the other to their destination so that the one who is led by the other could be seen as following the other. This interpretation notwithstanding, we interpret the presence of ( $\Pi$ 30) *ma’* ‘with’ as an instance of the COMITATIVE,<sup>91, 92</sup> i.e. a situation of accompaniment that is conceptually very much like genuine spatio-temporal meaning categories but is counted as a member of the set of non-spatio-temporal categories by Hagège (2010: 262). The COMITATIVE interpretation of (5.113) does not mean, however, that ( $\Pi$ 30) *ma’* ‘with’ could generally be filed away like that.

In (5.113), there are two *ma’*-PPs. Besides the PP with COMITATIVE meaning, there is also the properly spatial PP *mal-bieb* ‘on the door’. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 163) classify this usage of ( $\Pi$ 30) *ma’* ‘with’ as a case of motion to create lateral contact with the Ground. Before we go into the problems that are posed by the criterion of contact, we present a selection of examples of ( $\Pi$ 30) *ma’* ‘with’ being used

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.15.1.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.3.4.

<sup>92</sup> The semantic network which links COMITATIVE and other categories expressed by Maltese ( $\Pi$ 30) *ma’* ‘with’ is described in Stolz/Stroh/Urdze (2006: 294–304).

according to Hagège's (2010) above-mentioned idea of a spatial situation in which the Figure "follows a place". A good example to start the discussion with is (5.114).

(5.114) SECUTIVE (Π30) *ma* 'with' – [Camilleri 2013: 133]

*Ma kienx fi ħsiebu jagħmel dawra oħra*  
 NEG be:NEG in thought:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:make turning other:F  
 [*mal-pjazza ta' Raħal Ġdid*]<sub>PP</sub>  
 [with:DEF-square of Raħal Ġdid]

'He did not intend to make another turn [**around** the square of Raħal Ġdid]  
 [ . . . ]'

Inspector Gallo has driven to the centre of Raħal Ġdid searching for suspects of a crime. He has seen enough on the square of the village and in lieu of driving around it again he reverses the car to leave the place (as transpires from the further context). The imagined movement of the car around the square is of interest here because the use of (Π30) *ma* 'with' cannot causally be connected to the fact that there is contact between the Figure and the Ground. What motivates the presence of the Π is the necessity of the car following the path that is determined by the architectural properties of the square. The Figure is required to move along this path to execute the turning.

In our corpus – electronic or other – cases of this kind are abundantly attested. It is necessary therefore to restrict the discussion to a selection of pertinent cases. The seven examples in Table 5.5 are discussed subsequently. Each of the examples is drawn from the Korpus Malti 3.0.

**Table 5.5:** (Π30) *ma* 'with' in SECUTIVE and related functions.

#	source	example / translation
1	literature21	<i>Imbagħad reġghu bdew mexjin [<b>mal-wied</b>]<sub>PP</sub> lejn Tal-Qadi</i> [ . . . ] 'Then they started again to walk [ <b>along/through</b> <u>the valley</u> ] towards Tal-Qadi [ . . . ]'
2	literature20	<i>Imxejtu [<b>max-xatt</b>]<sub>PP</sub> lejn Marsalforn</i> [ . . . ] 'You walked [ <b>along</b> <u>the beach</u> ] towards Marsalforn [ . . . ]'
3	literature74	[ . . . ] <i>baqa' tiela' [<b>mat-triq il-kbira</b>]<sub>PP</sub> u lewa għan-naħa ta' l-imtiehen</i> [ . . . ] '[ . . . ] he kept going up [ <b>along</b> <u>the main street</u> ] and turned to the side of the windmills [ . . . ]'
4	news162350	<i>L-Istati Uniti tal-Amerika bnew hitan [<b>mal-fruntiera li għandhom mal-Messiku</b>]<sub>PP</sub></i> [ . . . ] 'The United States of America built walls [ <b>along</b> <u>the frontier they have with Mexico</u> ] [ . . . ]'
5	academic2	[ . . . ] <i>kien ikolli nitlaq mill-port ta' Lisbona, indur [<b>mal-Cape of Good Hope</b>]<sub>PP</sub> u naqsam il-Baħar Għarbi</i> [ . . . ] '[ . . . ] I would have to leave from the harbour of Lisbon, turn [ <b>around</b> <u>the Cape of Good Hope</u> ] and cross the Arabian Sea [ . . . ]'

Table 5.5 (continued)

#	source	example / translation
6	news108426	<i>Għax biex wieħed imur jixxabbat [mal-Muntanja Everest]<sub>pp</sub> mhux biss irid iħallas il-passaġġ [ . . . ]</i> ‘Because for someone to go climbing [the Mount Everest] he not only needs to pay for the passage [ . . . ].’
7	news89205	<i>Illum dan l-istrument infirex [mal-Afrika kollha]<sub>pp</sub> kif ukoll fi Franza u fir-Renju Unit [ . . . ]</i> . ‘Today this instrument is diffused [all over Africa] and also in France and the United Kingdom [ . . . ].’

The complements of (II30) *ma* ‘with’ in Table 5.5 are horizontally or vertically extended geo-objects along which the Figure moves to reach the Goal. In #1, the Figure walks along a valley to arrive at the destination. In #2, the Figure walks along the beach to reach Marsalforn. In #3, the Ground is the main street along which the Figure walks before turning to the Goal. In #4, the frontier between the USA and Mexico forms the Ground for the construction of walls that cover extended sections of the border. In #5, the route of an imagined voyage leads along the Cape of Good Hope. In #6, the slopes of Mount Everest represent the Ground along which the climbing event takes place. In #7, Africa is the Ground for the continent-wide diffusion of a certain musical instrument. In this last case, the SECUTIVE interpretation is perhaps better replaced by a PERLATIVE interpretation (similarly #1).

It results from the above that (II30) *ma* ‘with’ is indeed a good candidate for the role of SECUTIVE marker – to a minor degree this also holds for (II33) *matul* ‘during’ whose spatial functions will be addressed very briefly below.<sup>93</sup> For (II30) *ma* ‘with’ this function is not registered in the reference grammar where the II is mentioned only in connection with lateral contact including the static category at rest (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 163). Remember that a static counterpart of the SECUTIVE is assumed to be non-existent by Hagège (2010: 291). How is it possible, if at all, to accommodate Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander’s (1997) analysis with Hagège’s (2010) restriction? This question can only be answered by way of assessing the validity of the proposal made by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 163). To achieve this, we have to return to the domain of the static meaning categories. The proper SECUTIVE resurfaces as our topic below.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>93</sup> In Section 5.1.2.2.20.1.4 (ii).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.1.4.



### 5.1.2.2.20.1.1 PROXIMATE

The first point of dissent of ours with regard to what the reference grammar suggests is the lateral position of the Figure in relation to the Ground. In point of fact, it is difficult to interpret the bulk of the occurrences of static (II30) *ma* ‘with’ as referring to a position at the side of the Ground. If we look at cases like (5.115) we notice that the position of the Figure cannot be lateral, in the first place. In the (temporary) absence of a better term, we label this meaning category “lateralis” in inverted commas. A suitable replacement for “lateralis” will be introduced after the discussion of (5.115).

(5.115) “Lateralis” – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature32]

*L-oħrajn intasbu bilqieghda [mal-art]<sub>pp</sub> taħt*  
 DEF-other:PL REFL:find:3PL.PFV sitting [with:DEF-ground] under

*ħoġor it-tieqa daharhom [mal-ħajt]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 sill DEF-window back:3PL [with:DEF-wall]

‘The others were sitting [on the ground] under the window sill, their backs [to the wall].’

Example (5.115) contains two *ma*-PPs none of which lends itself to an interpretation according to which the Figure is located in a lateral position to the Ground. One might argue that *mal-ħajt* ‘at the wall’ fits the description of the lateral positioning of the Figure if the Ground is construed conceptually in such a way that the surface of the wall is identical to a lateral part of the same object that has a vertical and a horizontal dimension. As to *mal-art* ‘on the ground’, there is no vertical dimension. The surface of the ground would have to be interpreted as a lateral part of the Ground. This interpretation is even more hazardous than the previous one.

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 162–163) distinguish two major categories of laterality whose distinction rests on the criterion of contact. If contact between Figure and Ground does not apply, (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ and (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ are said to serve as configuration markers. We have argued against laterality and replaced this criterion with that of proximity.<sup>95</sup> For Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 163), in a lateral spatial situation with contact between Figure and Ground, (II30) *ma* ‘with’ indicates configuration except if Path has to be expressed. To express lateral Path, they assume that the II-II combination *minn maġenb* is employed. The same combination is also one of the two options for expressing PROXIMATE Path (the supposed alternative being *minn biswit*). The necessity of making use of a different configuration marker in the domain of Path – a marker which otherwise serves the

95 Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.4.

same purpose in the domain of the PROPINQUUS circumstantially corroborates our doubts as to the criterial status of laterality.

The category label PROPINQUUS has been introduced above.<sup>96</sup> It covers a multitude of IIs which express that the Figure is situated in the vicinity of the Ground. The distance between Figure and Ground remains undetermined so being near the Ground is a relative notion. In contrast to the PROPINQUUS IIs, (II30) *ma* ‘with’ – at least according to Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 163) – implies that the Figure and the Ground physically touch one another. The distance between the two participants ideally is zero. As we will see in the next paragraph, contact in the narrow interpretation of the term is not a necessary condition. What is important is that the distance between Figure and Ground is minimal as opposed to the distance that applies in the case of the PROPINQUUS. This difference motivates the introduction of the term PROXIMATE which invokes a position of the Figure that is particularly close to the Ground.

To defend the PROXIMATE as a spatial category that is based on the (extreme) closeness of Figure and Ground in space, we provide two examples in (5.116) which involve Figure-Ground pairs for which physical contact is excluded or at least irrelevant.

(5.116) PROXIMATE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; european6248]

*jinżammu kemm jista’ jkun qrib*  
 3.IPFV:REFL:keep:PL how\_much 3SG.M.IPFV:can 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT near  
*[mal-hajt li fih ikunu mwahlin*  
*[with:DEF-wall that in:3SG.M 3.IPFV:be.FUT:PL PART:fix.CAUS:PL*  
*il-bibien]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*DEF-door:PL]*  
 ‘[. . .] they are kept as close as possible [**to** the wall into which the doors are built] [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature10]

*l-irġiel donnhom jinqasmu f’ żewġ kategoriji*  
 DEF-man.PL seem:3PL 3.IPFV:REFL:split:PL in two category:PL  
*dawk miżżewġin u li jkollhom x’*  
 DEM:PL:DIST PART:marry:PL and that 3SG.M.IPFV:have.FUT:3PL what  
*miżżewġin u li allura jorqdu b’ wiċċhom*  
 PART:marry:PL and that then 3.IPFV:sleep:PL with face:3PL

<sup>96</sup> In Section 5.1.2.2.20.1.

[*mal-ħajt*]<sub>PP</sub>

[*with:DEF-wall*]

‘[. . .] the men seem to divide into two categories: those who are married and who have an interest in a woman and those who are unmarried and thus sleep with their faces [*to the wall*].’

In (5.116a), the combination of the adverb *qrib* ‘near’ (cf. (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’) with the PROXIMATE marker (Π30) *ma* ‘with’ is especially telling because their cooccurrence depicts the spatial situation as one in which the location of the Figure (= technical implements to measure the hydro pressure within a ship below deck) is defined as close as possible to the Ground (= the wall in which the doors are integrated) but no mention is made of contact between Figure and Ground. This means that the implements could also be placed somewhere near the wall but not necessarily in or on it. Contact is thus not presupposed. Similarly, in (5.116b), the Figure (= the faces of the bachelors) are turned towards the wall in their sleep but it is not implied that there is physical contact between the face and the wall. However, Figure and Ground are spatially very close to each other. No other object is inserted in the gap between the face and the wall. What is additionally interesting with regards to (5.116a) is the *fi-PP* *fiħ* ‘in it’ whose pronominal complement anaphorically refers back to *il-ħajt* ‘the wall’. The doors are described as being fixed (passive participle *mwahlin* ‘fixed’ ← *wahħal* ‘fix’) in the wall, i.e., they are an integrated part of the entire construction. If, however, the object that is “added” to the wall is not properly integrated into the structure the same verb requires a *ma*’-PP as in (5.117).

(5.117) PROXIMATE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news179564]

*il-programm se jsir kif hemm reklamat*  
 DEF-program FUT 3SG.M.IPFV:become how there advertise:PART  
*ukoll fuq billboard li Silvio Parnis wahħal [mal-ħajt*  
 also on billboard that Silvio Parnis fix [*with:DEF-wall*  
*tal-ħabs ta’ Kordin fil-Pjazza ta’ Raħal Ġdid*]<sub>PP</sub>  
*of:DEF-prison of Kordin in:DEF-square of Raħal Ġdid]*

‘[. . .] the program will be as advertised also on a billboard that Silvia Parnis attached [*to the wall of the prison of Kordin in the square of Raħal Ġdid*].’

The billboard playing the role of Figure is fixed to the prison wall but covers only part of the wall’s surface without being physically integrated into the wall’s body. There is contact between Figure and Ground. However, we argue that it is not so much the contact that triggers the employment of (Π30) *ma* ‘with’ but the fact that Figure and Ground do not fuse.

Even if the Figure is an object that partially enters the Ground but parts of the Figure still protrude from the Ground, (Π30) *ma* ‘with’ is chosen as can be gathered from (5.118).

(5.118) PROXIMATE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature37]

*Meta wasal id-dar wahhal grampun [mal-ħajt]<sub>pp</sub> u*  
 when arrive DEF-house fix hook [with:DEF-wall] and  
*dendel il-mera fejn xtaqet Lugrezja*  
 hang DEF-mirror where want:3SG.F.PFV Lugrezja  
 ‘When he arrived home, he fixed a hook [to the wall] and hung the mirror  
 where Lugrezja wanted it to hang.’

If it is important that Figure and Ground are positioned very close to each other but do not become one, it is clear that as such is not crucial for the employment of the Π under inspection. The hook and the wall remain two separate entities although they are physically interconnected.

In Table 5.6, we provide a selection of nine additional examples of the PROXIMATE. In three examples each, the nouns *saqaf* ‘ceiling’, *swar* ‘bastions’, and *faċċata* ‘façade’ represent the Ground. The examples stem from the Korpus Malti 3.0.

**Table 5.6:** Further examples of PROXIMATE (Π30) *ma* ‘with’.

#	source	example / translation
1	literature21	<i>L-istalaktiti [mas-saqaf]<sub>pp</sub> kienu jleqq</i> ‘The stalactites [on the ceiling] were shining [. . .].’
2	literature43	<i>Għax għalkemm kien hemm tliet fannijiet iduru [mas-saqaf]<sub>pp</sub> kulhadd kien għarqan xrafa.</i> ‘Because, in spite of the existence of three fans ventilating [on the ceiling], everybody was bathed in sweat.’
3	literature20	<i>Il-hoss tax-xita [mas-saqaf tal-karozza]<sub>pp</sub> kien qawwi</i> ‘The sound of the rain [on the car’s hood] was loud [. . .].’
4	news137550	<i>kull fejn thares tara massa ta’ scaffolding [mas-swar]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] everywhere you look you see a lot of scaffolding [on the bastions] [. . .].’
5	news224541	<i>jinkludi wkoll spettaklu ta’ dwal u laser [mas-swar]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] it includes also a light and laser show [on the bastions] [. . .].’
6	parl5166	<i>ma jistax ikun hemm fencing [mas-swar]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] there can be no fencing [on the bastions] [. . .].’
7	literature45	<i>Il-ġibs [mal-faċċata]<sub>pp</sub> kien ilu li tqaxxar kważi kollu</i> ‘The plaster [on the façade] has long since been peeled off almost completely [. . .].’

Table 5.6 (continued)

#	source	example / translation
8	news106502	<i>hemm dar antika li t-tabella [mal-faċċata tagħha]<sub>pp</sub> tixhed li fiha għal bosta snin għex bniedem kbir</i> '[. . .] there is an old house, the plaque [ <b>on its façade</b> ] testifies that for many years an important person lived there [. . .].'
9	news128332	<i>[Mal-faċċata tiegħu]<sub>pp</sub> nsibu żewġ armi tal-Gran Mastru Vilhena u oħra tal-Municipalità ta' Malta</i> '[ <b>On its façade</b> ] there were two coats of arms of the Grand Master Vilhena and another of the municipality of Malta [. . .].'

How is the Figure positioned in relation to the Ground in the nine examples? In #1–#3, the Ground is the ceiling of a room, a cave, or the hood of a car. The stalactites and the fans are hanging from the ceiling to which they are tied either geologically or by screws. These Figures constitute objects that could be removed from the Ground to which they are connected either by (natural) force or by way of using appropriate tools. Example #3 is different in the sense that the sound of the rain falling on the car's hood is not a concrete removable object. It is temporary, nevertheless, because it stops as soon as the rain ceases to fall. We interpret #3 as an instance of the PROXIMATE (i.e. of a static relation) because no action or motion verb is involved. There is a NP that objectifies the sound on the hood. Stalactites and fans are in physical contact with the cave's ceiling and the room's ceiling, respectively. The sound of the falling rain, however, is caused by the raindrops hitting the metal hood of the car. What all three examples #1–#3 have in common is that the Figure consists of several parts which are distributed over the Ground. This also holds for the sound provoked by the falling rain since the raindrops hit the hood at different places. The three Grounds represent extended surfaces.

The six remaining examples also involve Grounds that come in the shape of a sizable surface. There are concrete objects which cover part of this surface, namely the scaffolding in #4, the plaque in #8, and the coats of arms in #9. Similarly, the fencing in #6 would manifest itself in the presence of fences close to the bastions. In #7, it is the material that has been peeling off from the façade that represents the Figure. The last case is #5 where a light and laser show is projected onto the bastions. The Figures – including the plaster on the façade – belong to kinds of removable objects or temporary phenomena. The plaques and coats of arms can be screwed off, the scaffolding can be dismantled, the light show turned off, and the plaster peeled off further, but the Grounds would remain largely unaffected by the removal of the Figures. Except for #6, the examples given in Table 5.6 refer to situations of contact between Figure and Ground – for #3 only metonymically speaking. The fences in #6, however, would be erected close to but certainly not in physical contact with the bastions.

Superficially, this abundance of cases which feature a Figure and a Ground that are in contact attributes a high degree of importance to the criterion [+contact]. The examples in (5.119) counter this claim insofar as there is no physical contact between the two participants of the spatial situation. The Ground in these examples is always *bieb* ‘door’.

(5.119) PROXIMATE I

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1045]

*Id-dhul huwa b' xejn iżda kull min jixtieq*  
 DEF-entrance 3SG.M with nothing but every who 3SG.M.IPFV:wish  
*jista' jagħti donazzjoni [mal-bieb]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:can 3SG.M.IPFV:give donation [with:DEF-door]  
 ‘The admission is for free but everybody who wishes to give a donation  
 can do this [at the door].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature21]

*Iż-żewġ suldati għassa [mal-bieb]<sub>pp</sub> ma kinux*  
 DEF-two soldier:PL sentinel [with:DEF-door] NEG be:3PL.PFV:NEG  
*iċċaqalqu minn posthom*  
 move:3PL.PFV from place:3PL  
 ‘The two soldiers on guard [at the door] had not moved from their places.’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature21]

*Mieġhu kienu dahlu wkoll żewġt irġiel goffi*  
 with:3SG.M be:3PL.PFV enter:3PL.PFV also two man.PL rude:PL  
*li baqgħu lura jistennew [mal-bieb]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 that remain:3PL.PFV back 3.IPFV:wait:PL [with:DEF-door]  
 ‘With him two rude men had entered too who remained in the back wait-  
 ing [at the door].’

(d) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news118443]

*B' din is-sistema qegħdin imorru tajjeb il-ħwienet*  
 with DEM:F:PROX DEF-system PROG:PL 3.IPFV:go:PL good DEF-shop.PL  
*tal-kafè u l-kumpanija privata li ttipprovdi*  
 of:DEF-coffee and DEF-company private:F that 3SG.F.IPFV:provide  
*s-sigurtà [mal-bieb tal-Qorti]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-security [with:DEF-door of:DEF-court]  
 ‘With this system, the cafés and the private company that provides securi-  
 ty [at the door of the court of justice] are doing fine.’

In none of the spatial situations featured in (5.119) does the Figure touch the Ground. The Figure is located in close vicinity of the Ground, but there remains a physical gap between the two participants. In (5.119a), the act of donating happens

at the door but the donor does not necessarily touch the door. In (5.119b), the two soldiers are on guard at the door but are presumably standing some steps away from the door. The two characters mentioned in (5.119c) are certainly close to the door while they are waiting for things to happen but nothing requires them to be in physical contact with the door. Similarly, in (5.119d), the security service is provided at the door to the court of justice but this does not imply that any of the guards touches the door.

We know from previous examples (cf. Table 5.6) that (II30) *ma* ‘with’ is often employed when Figure and Ground touch each other. This also holds in cases in which *bieb* ‘door’ is the complement of this II. If we compare the examples in (5.120) with those in (5.119), we immediately notice that there are potential minimal pairs which result from the differences in the kind of the Figures that are positioned relative to the Ground.

(5.120) PROXIMATE II – contact

(a) [Kopus Malti 3.0; news129287]

*rajt avviz [mal- bieb tal-Knisja]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 see:1SG.PFV notice [with:DEF-door of:DEF-church]  
 ‘[. . .] I saw a notice [on the church door] [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news75658]

*Meta mbagħad mar jagħmel rapport l-għassa*  
 when then go 3SG.M.IPFV:make report DEF-police\_station  
*ta’ Marsalforn kien hemm tabella [mal-bieb tgħid*  
 of Marsalforn be there signboard [with:DEF-door 3SG.F.IPFV:say  
*li fl-għassa ma kien hemm hadd]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*that in:DEF-police station NEG be there nobody]*  
 ‘When he then went to make a report at Marsalforn police station there was a signboard [on the door saying that there was nobody in the police station] [. . .].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature12]

*Bexxaqt il-purtiera u nizzilt in-numru li kien*  
 open\_half DEF-curtain and write\_down:1SG.PFV DEF-number that be  
*hemm fuq l-istiker imwaħħla [mal-bieb]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 there on DEF-sticker PART:fix.CAUS:F [with:DEF-door]  
 ‘I opened the curtain partly and wrote down the number that was there on the sticker fixed [on the door].’

The three examples in (5.120) reflect situations in which the Figure is fixed to the Ground. The function of Figure is fulfilled by a piece of paper (or other material) that is fixed to the door to make an announcement addressed to potential callers.

These notices are relatively small inanimate objects whereas those in (5.119) are human beings – if we allow for the donation being carried out by a human donor and the security service being provided by human guards, who are not fixed physically to the door. The interpretation of the spatial situation, as either involving contact or not, depends on the size of the Figure and animacy. We will find similar phenomena also in the domain of the dynamic relation.

#### 5.1.2.2.20.1.2 PROXILATIVE

The next subsections reveal that the domain of the PROXIMATE resembles those of other spatio-temporal domains discussed previously insofar as there is evidence of the bare PROXILATIVE, the DIRECTIONAL PROXILATIVE, and the TERMINATIVE PROXILATIVE as well as the PROXIABLATIVE. What distinguishes the PROXIMATE domain from those we already are familiar with is the category of the SECUTIVE itself to which we will return below.<sup>97</sup>

##### 5.1.2.2.20.1.2.1 Bare PROXILATIVE

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 163) provide an example of the bare PROXILATIVE which involves an action verb (*wahħal* ‘fix’) whose direct object (*granpun* ‘hook’) is meant to be fixed to the Ground (*ħajt* ‘wall’). Two comparable cases are presented in (5.121).

(5.121) Bare PROXILATIVE I – contact

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature11]

*Mill-bogħod jara 'l Ernest għadu jasal*  
 from:DEF-distance 3SG.M.IPFV:see to Ernest still:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:arrive  
*iserraħ il-basket [mal-ħajt]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:give\_rest DEF-basket [with:DEF-wall]  
 ‘From far he sees Ernest just arriving and resting the basket [against the wall].’

(b) [Vella 2014: 38]

*lil Francesco ġabu ċatt [mal-ħajt]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 to Francesco bring:3PL.PFV flat [with:DEF-wall]  
 ‘[. . .] they brought Francesco flat [to the wall].’

(c) [Vella 2014: 39]

*jissiktawh [mal-bieb]<sub>pp</sub> u jibdew*  
 3.IPFV:tighten:PL:3SG.M [with:DEF-door] and 3.IPFV:begin:PL

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.3.



*ituh* *bil-ponn*  
 3.IPFV:give:PL:3SG.M with:DEF-fist  
 ‘[. . .] they tighten him [**to the door**] and begin to hit him with their fists.’

In the (a)-sentence, the Figure is a basket which is temporarily leaning against the wall. A small object touches the Ground. As to the (b)- and (c)-sentences, the facts are different insofar as the Figure is a human being named Francesco who is bullied by his classmates. The bullies attack Francesco by way of pushing him flat against the wall in (5.121b). In (5.121c), the same victim is immobilised against the door and punched by his enemies. In all three of the examples, the Figures are moved into a position that involves their being in contact with the Ground albeit only temporarily.

The temporary nature of the spatial situation can be overridden by the criterion of contact as shown in (5.122) where the stalactites and stalagmites have developed over time into columns which reach from the ground to the ceiling of the cave and vice versa.

- (5.122) PROXILATIVE II – contact – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news81684]  
*Marku kien sab ruħu quddiem għar kbir mimli ġebliet*  
 Marku be find self:3SG.M in\_front\_of cave big full rock:PL  
*weqfin donnhom shahar imwāħħlin [mal-art]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 stand.PART:PL like:3PL wizard.PL PART:fix:PL [**with:DEF-ground**]  
*sas-saqaf u telghin hoxnin hoxnin sa ma*  
 till:DEF-ceiling and ascend.PART:PL thick:PL thick:PL till that  
*jraqqgħu f' nofs tat-triq u jerġgħu*  
 3.IPFV:grow\_thin:PL in half of:DEF-street and 3.IPFV:do\_again:PL  
*jihxienu meta jaslū [mas-saqaf]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3.IPFV:grow\_thick:PL when 3.ipfv:arrive:pl [**with:DEF-ceiling**]  
 ‘Marku had found himself in front of a big cave full of erect rocks like wizards fixed [**to the ground**] as far as the ceiling and going upwards really thick until they become thinner halfway and get thicker again when they arrive [**at the ceiling**].’

There are two *ma*-PPs but only the one after the motion verb highlighted in grey is of interest for the discussion. The stalagmites and stalactites move only metonymically in the sense that they slowly grow from above and upwards to eventually fuse to yield a column which connects the cave’s ground to the cave’s ceiling. In a way, these natural columns reach both the ground and the ceiling and touch them because they are physically connected to them.

In (5.123), events are reported that involve short (in one case also intermittent) contact between the Figure and the Ground.

(5.123) Bare PROXILATIVE III – contact

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0 literature14]

*Kien waħdu fis-sodda u xi hadd kien qed*  
 be one:3SG.M in:DEF-bed and some someone be PROG  
*iħabbat [mal-bieb tal-kamra]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:knock [with:DEF-door of:DEF-room]  
 ‘He was alone in the bed and someone was knocking [on the door of the room] [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature24]

*Dan qam bilwieqfa f’ daqqa u ħabat rasu*  
 DEM:M:PROX rise standing in stroke and hit head:3SG.M  
*[mas saqaf]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 [with:DEF ceiling]  
 ‘This one rose up suddenly and hit his head [on the ceiling].’

It is clear that the Figure is briefly in contact with the Ground. In (5.123a), the knocking event implies that the agent uses his knuckles to produce sound by way of hitting them against the door. In (5.123b), the presumably hurtful contact between head and door is involuntary and lasts only for some seconds.

From longterm via short-term contacts we move further towards those situations in which Figure and Ground are not in contact although (II30) *ma* ‘with’ is used, nevertheless. The examples in (5.124) involve genuine motion verbs (marked in grey) which specify the kind of movement the Figure carries out to approach the Ground.

(5.124) Bare PROXILATIVE IV – no contact

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature77]

*Minn fejn il-knisja ta’ San Lawrenz telgħu mbagħad*  
 from near DEF-church of San\_Lawrenz ascend:3pl.pfv then  
*[mat-triq]<sub>pp</sub> ‘il ġewwa u waqfu biswit dar fejn*  
 [with:DEF-street] to inside and stop:3PL.PFV facing house where  
*il-vistuż wara li ħares ‘il fuq u [mal-ġenb]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-mourning after that look to on and [with:DEF-side]  
*resaq [mal-bieb]<sub>pp</sub> iħabbat*  
 approach [with:DEF-door] 3SG.M.IPFV:knock

‘From near the church of San Lawrenz they then ascended [along the street] inwards, they stopped opposite a house whose [door] the mourner, after he had looked up and [to the side], approached to knock.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1721]

Meta Al-Amari *mar* [*mat-tieqa*]<sub>pp</sub> *biex jordna burger*  
 when Al-Amari *go* [*with:DEF-window*] to 3SG.M.IPFV:order burger  
*il-haddiema tal-ħanut tal-fast food baqgħu*  
 DEF-worker:PL of:DEF-shop of:DEF-fast\_food remain:3PL.PFV  
*mistgħagħba*  
 PART:wonder:PL

‘When Al-Amari went [to the window] to order a burger, the employees of the fast food restaurant were surprised [. . .].’

The (a)-sentence hosts three *ma*’-PPs which depend on motion verbs. While *telgħu mat-triq* ‘they walked up the street’ instantiates the SECUTIVE and thus belongs to a domain we will address below,<sup>98</sup> *resaq mal-bieb* ‘he approached the door’ is important for what we have to say in this section. The mourner (= Figure) approaches the door (= Ground), meaning: the situation as captured by (5.124a) is such that no contact between Figure and Ground has taken place yet. The entire scene is pictured before the contact can be made in the first place. The PP *mal-bieb* thus does not require the mourner to touch the Ground. Similarly, the Figure in the (b)-sentence walks up to the window via which the fast food is sold. Nothing requires the Figure to touch the window. In both sentences, the Figure moves to a position that is very close to the Ground but there is still some empty space left between the Figure and the Ground. We conclude that (II30) *ma*’ ‘with’ is a configuration marker just as many of the IIs featured in the previous sections. In accordance with these other IIs, (II30) *ma*’ ‘with’ need not be accompanied by a dedicated directionality marker in Goal-oriented constructions. This does not mean, however, that (II30) *ma*’ ‘with’ is exempt from combining with directionality markers.

#### 5.1.2.2.20.1.2.2 DIRECTIONAL PROXILATIVE

It suggests itself that (II30) *ma*’ ‘with’ is not only involved in constructions of the bare PROXILATIVE but behaves like so many other spatially employed Maltese IIs insofar as it combines with the usual directionality marker (II21) *għal* ‘for’ as shown in (5.125).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.1.4.

## (5.125) DIRECTIONAL PROXILATIVE

(a) [Vella 2014: 38]

*Francesco jxejjer idu kwazi [għal ma' wiċċ*  
*Francesco 3SG.M.IPFV:wave hand:3SG.M almost [for with face*  
*Kevin]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*Kevin]*

‘[. . .] Francesco waved his hand almost [into Kevin's face] [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature23]

*Minn hemm Qrempuċu qabeż għal fuq sigġu u mis-sigġu*  
*from there Qrempuċu jump for on chair and from:DEF-chair*  
*[għal mal-purtiera tal-qasab]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[for with:DEF-curtain of:DEF-cane.PL]*

‘From there, Qrempuċu jumped onto a chair and from the chair [towards the reed curtain].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news122147]

*biex jiddefendi ruħu qabad wieħed minnhom minn*  
*to 3SG.M.IPFV:defend self:3SG.M grab one from:3PL from*  
*għonqu u imbottah [għal mal-ħajt taċ-ċella]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*neck:3SG.M and push:3SG.M [for with:DEF-wall of:DEF-cell]*

‘[. . .] to defend himself he grabbed one of them by his neck and pushed him [towards the wall of the cell].’

Except for the (a)-sentence, it remains an open question whether the Figure makes physical contact with the Ground. In (5.125a), Francesco is waving his hands in self-defence in the direction of Kevin's face but does not touch his adversary. In (5.125b), Qrempuċu jumps from the chair in the direction of the reed curtain, but the movement might come to a stop close to the Ground. Similarly, it is clear that the person acts against those who are threatening him by way of attacking one of them violently. However, whether the victim of his attack bumps into the wall or is thrown only in the direction of the wall cannot be determined with certainty. On these grounds, we conclude that the DIRECTIONAL PROXILATIVE applies in situations in which the Figure moves towards a position that is located very close to the Ground (with contact between Figure and Ground being an option).

## 5.1.2.2.20.1.2.3 TERMINATIVE PROXILATIVE

Tangible evidence for the existence of the TERMINATIVE PROXILATIVE is scarce. The directionality marker (II51) *sa* ‘till’ combines hardly ever with the configuration marker (II30) *ma* ‘with’. In the Korpus Malti 3.0, we have come across only a single uncontroversial case which we reproduce in (5.126).

(5.126) TERMINATIVE PROXILATIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news108877]

*Mhux talli n-NATO ma żżarmatx*  
 NEG:3SG.M:NEG because DEF-NATO NEG disarm:3SG.F.PFV:NEG  
*avolja m' hemmx aktar bżonnha talli*  
 even\_though NEG there:NEG more need:3SG.F because  
*kompliet tespandi [sa mal-fruntieri*  
 continue:3SG.F.PFV 3SG.F.IPFV:expand [till with:DEF-frontier:PL  
Russi]<sub>pp</sub>  
Russian:PL]

‘Not only didn’t NATO disarm, even though it was no longer needed, but it also continued to expand [as far as the Russian borders].’

Since we know from recent history that NATO accepted new members from the European East who formerly belonged to the Soviet Union or were counted as allies of the Soviet Union, there can be no doubt that the process of expansion went as far as touching the boundary of the Russian Federation. The spatial situation in (5.126) thus implies contact between the Figure and the Ground.

#### 5.1.2.2.0.1.3 PROXIABLATIVE

As to the expression of motion from a PROXIMATE position, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 163) consider obligatory the use of the directionality marker (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ whereas the configuration marker (Π30) *ma* ‘with’ is treated as optional component of the construction. This is remarkable when we think back to the previously discussed cases of motion from a Ground. The way the reference grammar depicts the situation it seems that the general ABLATIVE without specification of configuration is applicable in the case of the PROXIABLATIVE. This, however, is not the monopoly of the PROXIMATE domain as can be understood from what is said above.<sup>99</sup>

In stark contrast to the TERMINATIVE PROXILATIVE, there is ample evidence of the PROXIABLATIVE. It is necessary to divide the phenomena into two classes according to the degree of animacy of the Ground. In (5.127), we have a look at PROXILATIVE constructions which involve an inanimate Ground.

(5.127) PROXIABLATIVE – inanimate Ground

(a) [Vella 2014: 40]

*Jaqbad il-qmis [minn ma' qaddu]<sub>pp</sub> u*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:grab DEF-shirt [from with hip:3SG.M] and

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.8.1.

*jipprova jgebbidha lejħ*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:try 3SG.M.IPFV:pull:3SG.F towards:3SG.M  
 ‘He grabs the shirt [**from around his hips**] and tries to pull it towards him  
 [. . .].’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1781]

*meta kienu qed inehħu ż-żebgħa [minn*  
 when be:3PL.PFV PROG 3.IPFV:take\_off:PL DEF-paint [**from**  
*mal-ħitan]*<sub>PP</sub> *tfaċċaw diversi graffiti*  
*with:DEF-wall:PL] emerge:3PL.PFV diverse:PL graffito:PL*  
 ‘[. . .] when they were taking off the paint [**from the walls**] there suddenly  
 emerged various graffiti [. . .].’

- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature21]

*Mikiel dar fuq ir-raġel li kien għadu ma ċċaqlaqx*  
 Mikiel turn on DEF-man that be still:3SG.M NEG move:NEG  
*[minn mal-bieb]*<sub>PP</sub>  
*[from with:DEF-door]*  
 ‘Mikiel turned to the man who had not moved [**from the door**], yet.’

The first two examples involve Figures which are moved from a position that was so close to the Ground that there was physical contact. In (5.127a), the shirt that the person following the victim tries to pull towards himself was originally around the victim’s hips. Similarly, the paint that was peeled off in (5.127b) originally covered the walls. Both spatial situations describe how an original Figure-Ground contact is discontinued. As to (5.127c), however, contact is not required because the man Mikiel turns to is at the door but whether or not the man touches the door is neither made explicit nor relevant to the context.

In (5.128), we turn our attention to human complements of (II30) *ma* ‘with’ accompanied by the directionality marker (II41) *minn* ‘from’.

- (5.128) PROXIABLATIVE – human Ground

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture2101]

*iċ-ċiklisti ffurmaw gruppi ta’ ħames persuni biex ma*  
 DEF-cyclist:PL form:3PL.PFV group:PL of five person:PL to NEG  
*jintilfux u ma jinqatawx [minn*  
 3.IPFV:REFL:lose:PL:NEG and NEG 3.IPFV:REFL:cut:PL:NEG [**from**  
*mal-grupp]*<sub>PP</sub>  
*with:DEF-group]*  
 ‘[. . .] the cyclists formed groups of five persons in order not to get lost and  
 not to be cut off [**from the group**].’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; law1028]  
*dak ir-raġel għandu jinqata' [minn*  
 DEM:M:DIST DEF-man have.IPFV:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:cut [from  
*mal-corps tiegħu]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*with:DEF-corps of:3SG.M]*  
 '[. . .] that man has to be removed [from his corps] [. . .].'
- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news110899]  
*Infridt [minn mal-familja]<sub>pp</sub> u ma kelli*  
 REFL:separate:1SG.PFV [from with:DEF-family] and NEG have.PFV:1SG  
*edukazzjoni*  
 education  
 'I was separated [from the family] and had no education [. . .].'
- (d) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature45]  
*issepara [minn mal-mara]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 separate [from with:DEF-woman]  
 '[. . .] he separated [from his wife] [. . .].'
- (e) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature20]  
*Infridtu [minn ma' Roger]<sub>pp</sub> hdejn il-BMW*  
 REFL:separate:2PL.PFV [from with Roger] beside DEF-BMW  
*tiegħu pparkjata fit-telgħa*  
 of:3SG.M park:PART:F in:DEF-slope  
 'You separated [from Roger] near his BMW which was parked on the slope  
 [. . .].'

In none of the examples is it necessary to translate (II30) *ma'* 'with' into English. Directionality suffices. It is questionable how many of the above examples involve contact. As to (5.128e), this criterion is certainly inapplicable since we presume that the Figure was in a position close to Roger before the motion away from the Ground started but standing in the vicinity of a person does not automatically mean that there is physical contact to said person. The cases (5.128a), (5.128b), and (5.128c) are different in the sense that the Figure forms part of a larger group from which it separates. Metonymically, belonging to a group might be interpreted as a relation that involves contact. In point of fact, these examples conceptionally invoke the MEDIOABLATIVE.<sup>100</sup> They will surface again when we discuss the COMITATIVE<sup>101</sup> and the PARTITIVE.<sup>102</sup> The COMITATIVE also plays a role when we take account of (5.128d).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.17.2.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.3.4.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.3.19.

The example refers to a typical scenario of a divorce. The husband separates from his wife. As a married couple husband and wife form a unit which in analogy to the previous three groups might metonymically be taken to involve contact. In our analysis, the presence of (II30) *ma* ‘with’ in contexts like those presented in (5.128) emphasises the especially high degree of closeness between Figure and Ground. It does not, however, require that Figure and Ground touch one another.

#### 5.1.2.2.20.1.4 Back to the SECUTIVE

At this point, it makes sense to return to the SECUTIVE to briefly complement the sketch we have given thereof in the introduction to Section 5.1.2.2.20.1 above. We continue the discussion in connection to (II30) *ma* ‘with’ in (i) and close this section with a sketch of the SECUTIVE properties of (II33) *matul* ‘during’ in (ii).

(i) (II30) *ma* ‘with’: There is a conceptual link between the PROXIMATE and the SECUTIVE. In what follows, we try to explain this connection by way of analysing the examples given in (5.129).

(5.129) SECUTIVE

- (a) with contact – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature20]  
*F’ daqqa giek suspett li jekk tfittex*  
 in stroke come:2SG suspicion that if 2SG.IPFV:search  
*[mal-ħajt]<sub>pp</sub> b’ idejk issib swiċċ*  
*[with:DEF-wall] with hand:PL:2SG 2SG.IPFV:find switch*  
 ‘All of a sudden you suspected that if you searched [on the wall] with your hands you would find a switch.’
- (b) with contact – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature24]  
*Sadanittant il-vann inħass jitkaxkar [mal-ħajt]*  
 meanwhile DEF-van REFL:feel 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:drag [with:DEF-wall]  
*fil-ġenb tat-triq]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*in:DEF-side of:DEF-street]*  
 ‘Meanwhile the van was felt to be dragged [along the wall at the side of the street] [. .].’
- (c) without contact – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature5]  
*fetaħ il-bieb mingħajr hsejjes u beda miexi*  
 open DEF-door without sound.PL and begin walk.PART  
*[mal-ħajt tal-kuritur]<sub>pp</sub> lejn it-taraġ*  
*[with:DEF-wall of:DEF-corridor] towards DEF-stair:PL*  
 ‘[. . .] he opened the door without noise and began walking [along the wall of the corridor] towards the stairs [. .].’



The three spatial situations in (5.129) are dynamic in the sense that they feature motion events. The motion events differ from those of the (bare / DIRECTIONAL / TERMINATIVE) PROXILATIVE and the PROXIABLATIVE insofar as the Figure neither moves towards nor away from the Ground but along the Ground which is a horizontally extended object. There is contact between Figure and Ground in (5.129a) and (5.129b). In the (a)-sentence, the agent searches manually for a switch on the surface of a wall. This activity involves repeated or even permanent contact of the hands with the surface of the wall. The movement of the hands over the wall's surface is thus not semelfactive-punctual but either continuous or iterative. The hands change position but always keep near the wall. In the (b)-sentence, the van (= Figure) moves while scratching the wall's surface. Similar to the previous spatial situation, Figure and Ground are either constantly or repeatedly in contact with each other but at the same time, the Figure changes its position but without moving away from the Ground or approaching it further. In (5.129c), contact between Figure and Ground is not at issue. The agent moves along the wall towards the stairs. Whether or not he touches the wall during the motion event is not made explicit. What is important is that the Figure is close to the Ground while moving. The closeness is the same as in the PROXIMATE domain, namely such that ideally no other object fills the space between Figure and Ground so that contact could optionally be made. The distance between Figure and Ground is very small.

The SECUTIVE belongs to the wider PROXIMATE domain in the sense that its application implies that the small distance between Figure and Ground remains ideally the same throughout the motion event. In (5.130), the agent walks across the roof terrace. We must not dwell on the fact that the person's feet are in contact with the terrace's surface during the process of crossing the terrace.

(5.130) SECUTIVE with contact – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature19]

*Bil-kamera            mdendla            [ma'    spalltu]<sub>pp</sub>            qagħad*  
 with:DEF-camera    PART:hang:F    [with    shoulder:POSS:3SG.M]    PROG  
*jippassiġġa            [mal-bejt            kollu]            u            jtawwal*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:stroll    [with:DEF-roof    all:3SG.M]    and    3SG.M.IPFV:lengthen  
*ghonqu            lejn            ir-razzett            tal-Qerqni*  
 neck:3SG.M    towards    DEF-farm\_house    of:DEF-Qerqni  
 'With the camera hanging [on his shoulder] he is walking [across the entire roof terrace] and stretches his neck towards the farm-house of the Qerqni.'

The first of the two *ma'*-PPs in (5.130) is no concern of ours in this context because it is involved in a spatial situation that can be classified as STATIC PROXIMATE (with

contact). The second *ma*-PP however, is associated with a dynamic spatial situation in which the Figure moves over the surface of the Ground. As in the many previously discussed cases, we assume that the employment of (Π30) *ma* ‘with’ in (5.130) is appropriate not only because Figure and Ground are maximally close to each other but also because the movement is carried out along the Ground.

The Figure may move along the Ground without coming into contact with it, as results from (5.131).

(5.131) SECUTIVE without contact – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature19]

*l-Professur lewa [mal-knisja]<sub>pp</sub> u ma deherx aktar*  
 DEF-professor turn [with:DEF-church] and NEG appear:NEG more  
 ‘[. . .] the professor turned [**around the church**] and was no longer visible  
 [. . .].’

In this example, the Figure moves along the church building to disappear from view behind it. The church represents the Ground along which the motion event is realised. Nowhere is it mentioned that the professor touches the church building’s structure while passing it. The distance between Figure and Ground during the motion event is relatively small, but not small enough to allow us to speak of the professor’s body scratching along the church’s outer walls. In conclusion, it can be assumed that the SECUTIVE is not absolutely without static counterpart since it shares many properties with the PROXIMATE. At the same time, the PROXIMATE-SECUTIVE connection is special because no other spatio-temporal meaning category allows for the use of the Π that expresses the static meaning to be employed also without directionality marker to express movement along a Ground.

(ii) (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ (+ (Π42) *mintul* ‘all along’): The SECUTIVE cannot only be expressed by (Π30) *ma* ‘with’ but also by (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ as shown in (5.132).

(5.132) SECUTIVE – second option [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature26]

*Imbagħad inti sibt il-kamra s-sigrieta kompla*  
 then 2SG find:2SG.PFV DEF-room DEF-secret:F continue  
*t-tfajjel waqt li qam jippassiġġa [matul*  
 DEF-boy.DIM at\_the\_time\_of that rise 3SG.M.IPFV:stroll [**during**  
*il-bejt]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-roof]

“Then you found the secret chamber,” the little boy continued while he rose to stroll [**across the roof terrace**].’

The functional home-ground of (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ is the temporal domain as will come to the fore below.<sup>103</sup> We know already from previous discussions that (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ and its short allomorph *tul* occasionally fulfil spatial tasks, too.<sup>104</sup> This is the case in (5.132) which contains a parallel to the second *ma*-PP in (5.130). Spatially employed (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ occurs infrequently in the Korpus Malti 3.0. Yet, the turnout is sizable enough to require further inspection. In Table 5.7, we present a selection of examples for the use of the long and the short allomorph of (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ in SECUTIVE function. The examples are taken from the Korpus Malti 3.0.

**Table 5.7:** (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ in SECUTIVE function.

#	source	example / translation
1	european10172	<i>is-sonda tista tkun imdeffsa b' mod longitudinali sa l-assi tat-tubu jew [matul il-ġemb tiegħu]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] the probe could be pushed longitudinally as far as the tube’s axis or [along its side].’
2	european10334	<i>l-isfera tiġi mgħoddija [matul il-wiċċ frontali ta’ fuq]<sub>pp</sub>, waqt li jinżamm kuntatt mal-windscreen</i> ‘[. . .] the sphere is moved [along the upper front window] while contact with the windscreen is kept [. . .].’
3	news151726	<i>hi u binha bdew mexjin [matul ix-xatt]<sub>pp</sub> fuq il-bankina</i> ‘[. . .] she and her son started walking [along the beach] on the side pavement.’
4	news83665	<i>nimxi [matul it-triq]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] I walk [along the street] [. . .].’
5	literature70	<i>kien jippassiġġa wahdu [tul it-triq ta’ l-imħażen]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] he strolled alone [along the street of wickedness].’
6	news124732	<i>jħobbu jagħmlu xi passiġġata [tul ix-xatt f’ Wied il-Għajn]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] they love to take a stroll [along the bank of Wied il-Għajn].’
7	literature7	<i>Bdiet timxi [tul il-ħajt kollu]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘She began to walk [along the entire wall] [. . .].’

In Table 5.7, #1–4 feature the long allomorph whereas the short allomorph occurs in examples #5–7. Both allomorphs can be employed for the same purpose. The complement nouns come from a variety of semantic classes. Superficially, it appears to be the case that (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ is a strong competitor of (Π30) *ma* ‘with’ when it comes to expressing the SECUTIVE. Figure 5.13 reveals, however, that there are quantitative differences which speak against an egalitarian distribution of the two Πs. We compare the token frequencies in the Korpus Malti 3.0 for combinations of (Π30) *ma* ‘with’ and (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ with five different nouns in Ground function, namely *ħajt* ‘wall’, *kosta* ‘coast’, *triq* ‘street’, *wied* ‘valley’, and *xatt* ‘beach’.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.2.2.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Sections 1.6.4.2 (ix), 3.2.3, 4.1.1.2.2.1 (xxii), and 4.1.2.2.1.2.1 (vi).

The shares calculated for (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ range from maximally 20.5% to the minimum of 0.1%. In other words, (Π30) *ma* ‘with’ is always the winner. In some cases, the employment of its competitor is absolutely exceptional. On the basis of this selection of Ground-nouns, it is of course not possible to generalise over the two Πs’s relationship. However, there seems to be a slight preference for (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ to combine with Grounds whose referent is particularly extended horizontally. However, with Grounds of this kind, (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ is only the minority option.

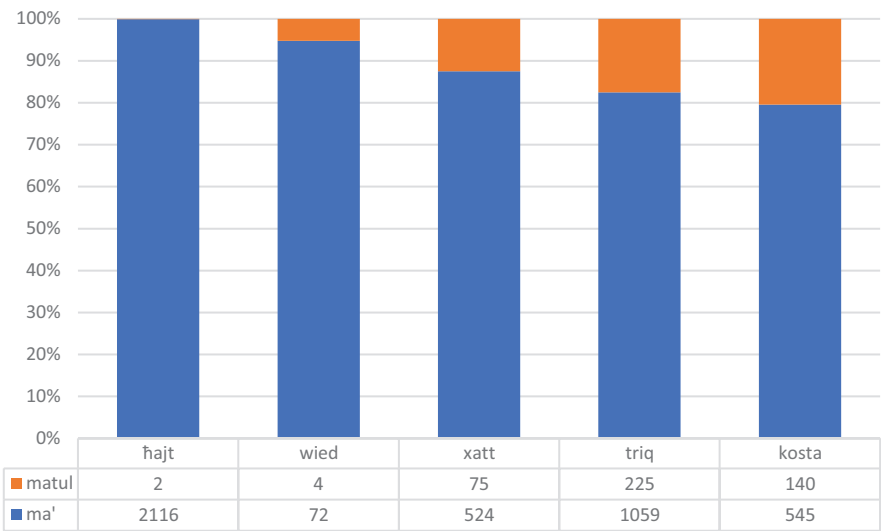


Figure 5.13: Competition of SECUTIVE markers with five selected Ground-nouns.

In (5.133), a striking fact is waiting for us. The Ground *il-Promenade* refers to a geo-object, namely the seaside promenade in Sliema. What is especially remarkable about this example is the fact that the situation is static. There is no motion event during which the Figure changes its position.

- (5.133) (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ – static [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture3261]  
*Il-Hadd filghodu għall-ħabta tal-10.00 [matul*  
DEF-Sunday in\_the\_morning for:DEF-collision of:DEF-10.00 [during  
*il-Promenade]*<sub>pp</sub> *se jkun hemm esibizzjoni ta muturi*  
DEF-Promenade] FUT 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT there exhibition of motor:PL  
‘Sunday morning at 10 o’clock sharp there will be an exhibition of mo-  
tor-bikes [along the Promenade].’

The motorcycle exhibition occupies the full length of the seaside promenade without moving from one place to the other. The Figure is located along the Ground. The static use of (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ disagrees with Hagège’s (2010: 287) above quoted assumption that the SECUTIVE has no static counterpart. As results from the data in Table 5.8, the example (5.133) is by no means an isolated case. The use of (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ in existential and thus static constructions is relatively common. The pattern [Figure (COP) *hemm* [*matul* Ground]<sub>pp</sub>]<sub>EXIST</sub> recurs throughout Table 5.8.

**Table 5.8:** (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ in existential constructions.

#	source	example / translation
1	news131913	<i>jista’ s-Sur Buttigieġ jghidilna kemm minn dawk il-ħwienet li hemm [matul ix-xatt inkluż ħdejn il-playing field in-naħa ta’ Grabieli]<sub>pp</sub> ħalli żgur niftehmu, kellhom l-art tagħhom</i> ‘[. . .] can Mr Buttigieġ tell us so that we surely understand how many of those shops that are there [along the beach including near the playing field on the side of Grabieli] own their land [. . .]?’
2	news154914	<i>Huwa l-ħsieb tal-Armata li ‘l quddiem il-kanuni li hemm [matul r-runway]<sub>pp</sub> jiġu rtirati</i> ‘The army intends to later on withdraw the canons that are there [along the runway].’
3	news82334	<i>Kull meta nmur nimxi fil-walking track li hemm [matul il-mitjar]<sub>pp</sub> nara ħafna ġrieden iktar minn għoxrin ċentimetru twal</i> ‘Every time I go walking on the walking track that is there [along the airfield] I see many rats of more than twenty centimetres of length [. . .].’
4	parl10668	<i>l-ħajt li hemm [matul Triq id-Dwejra f’ San Lawrenz, Għawdex]<sub>pp</sub> jinsab fi stat ħazin ħafna</i> ‘[. . .] the wall that is there [along Triq id-Dwejra in San Lawrenz/Gozo] is in a very bad state [. . .].’
5	parl9642	<i>Jista’ l-Ministru jagħti tagħrif jekk il-masġar taż-żebbuġ li hemm [matul il-bajja tax-Xemxija]<sub>pp</sub> fil-fatt hux kollu amministrat mill-BirdLife?</i> ‘Can the minister give us an explanation as to whether the olive groves that are there [along Xemxija Bay] are in fact all administered by BirdLife?’
6	literature32	<i>F’ xi bnadi [matul il-ħajt]<sub>pp</sub>, kien hemm saħansitra rqaġja’ ta’ demm imċarċar mal-ħajt.</i> ‘In some places [along the wall], there even were patches of blood spilled onto the wall.’

There is a paradox that calls for being explained. Not only is there no slot for spatial situations like those in Table 5.8. in Hagège’s (2010: 261) system of spatio-temporal meaning categories nor do Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) account for the existence of (Π33) *matul* ‘during’, in the first place. The nearest one can get to our paradoxical case is the mention of the exterior of a long object serving as Ground for which Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 167) assume that (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ is

the appropriate II.<sup>105</sup> Their example features a dynamic situation. Static location of a Figure along a horizontally or vertically extended Ground is not covered in the reference grammar. A possible ad-hoc term for this missing category is *EXTENTUS* (< Latin *extentus* ‘extended’) which covers the static *along*-situations.

The postulation of the *STATIC EXTENTUS* helps us to understand the subsequent phenomenon. In the Korpus Malti 3.0, there is evidence of the combination of the directionality marker (II21) *għal* ‘for’ with (II33) *matul* ‘during’. The two examples in (5.134) illustrate this possibility for both of the allomorphs of (II33) *matul* ‘during’.

(5.134) DIRECTIONAL EXTENTOLATIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti; news203281]

*Il-kjoskijiet tas-siment li bħalissa hemm fuq il-ġnub*  
 DEF-kiosk:PL DEF-cement that presently there on DEF-side.PL  
*tad-daħla se jiċċaqilqu [għal tul il-passaġġ*  
 of:DEF-entrance FUT 3.IPFV:move:PL [for during DEF-passage  
*li jwassal għad-daħla]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 that 3SG.M.IPF:arrive.CAUS for:DEF-entrance]

‘The kiosks made of concrete that right now are there on the sides of the entrance will move [to (positions) **along** the passage that leads to the entrance].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic70]

*Popolazjonijiet żgħira oħra tal-liepru tal-ħaxix ta’*  
 population:PL small.PL other:PL of: DEF-hare of:DEF-grass of  
*l-Uganda huma preżenti direttament mit-Tramuntana ta’*  
 DEF-Uganda 3PL present:PL directly from:DEF-north of  
*L-Għadira Victoria [għal matul il-baċir tax-xmara Uganda]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-lake Victoria [for during DEF-shipyard of:DEF-river Uganda]

‘Other small populations of the Uganda bush hare are present from directly north of Lake Victoria [to (**along**) the shipyards of the Uganda river].’

In these examples, (II33) *matul* ‘during’ is responsible for encoding configuration. The connection to motion is established via the directionality marker (II21) *għal* ‘for’. As a matter of fact, the possibility of expressing motion to a position along

<sup>105</sup> The example provided by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 167) is reproduced as (5.v) in this footnote.

(5.v) *Il-linji tat-telefown jgħaddu [maġenb il-kanen ta’ l-ilma]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-line:PL of:DEF-telephone 3.IPFV:pass:PL [close\_to DEF-pipe.PL of DEF-water]  
 ‘The telephone lines are laid [**along** the water pipes].’ [O.T.]

an extended Ground in the shape of a bare EXTENTOLATIVE is blocked. We have no evidence for its existence.

There is no TERMINATIVE EXTENTOLATIVE, i.e. the combination of (II51) *sa* ‘till’ and (II33) *matul* ‘during’ conveying a spatial meaning is not attested in our sources. It is also impossible to prove the existence of an EXTENTOABLATIVE that involves (II33) *matul* ‘during’. Situations in which the Figure that originally occupied a position along an extended Ground is removed from that position are rarely found. In contexts of this kind, (II41) *minn* ‘from’ suffices to express the intended meaning. Combinations of (II41) *minn* ‘from’ with (II33) *matul* ‘during’ seem to invite a PERLATIVE interpretation.<sup>106</sup> The problems posed by (II42) *mintul* ‘all along’ have been exposed above.<sup>107</sup> As example (5.135) suggests, (II42) *mintul* ‘all along’ is another candidate for the function of the EXTENTUS,

(5.135) EXTENTUS – second option – [Korpus Malti 3.0; law865]

*l-immarkar tas-salib għandu jkun*  
 DEF-marking of:DEF-cross have.IPFV:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT  
*[mintul it-tarf]<sub>pp</sub> u għandu jsir b’*  
*[all along DEF-extremity] and have.IPFV:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:become with*  
*żebgħa jew b’ lapas tal-kulur*  
*paint or with pencil of:DEF-colour*  
 ‘[...] the marking with a cross has to be **[all along the extreme end]** and has to be executed with paint or with a coloured pencil.’

Examples of (II42) *mintul* ‘all along’ combining with the directionality markers (II21) *għal* ‘for’ and (II51) *sa* ‘till’ could not be found just as there is no evidence of a bare EXTENTOLATIVE that involves (II42) *mintul* ‘all along’ as configuration marker.

Some of the intricacies of the Path domain and related domains have come to the fore in the previous paragraphs. The picture is much more diversified than one could have predicted on the basis of Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) and Hagège (2010). As we will see already in the next section, this is not the end of the story of Path in Maltese.

#### 5.1.2.2.2.2 PERLATIVE

According to Hagège (2010: 261), the PERLATIVE comes in two varieties, namely the spatial PERLATIVE on the one hand and on the other hand, the TEMPORAL PERLATIVE. The spatial PERLATIVE is addressed first<sup>108</sup> whereas its temporal counterpart is the

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.2.1.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Section 3.1.2.3.1.2.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.2.1.

topic of the next but one section.<sup>109</sup> The discussion reveals that PERLATIVE meanings are not always clearly distinguished *inter alia* from SECUTIVE meanings.

#### 5.1.2.2.20.2.1 SPATIAL PERLATIVE

The SPATIAL PERLATIVE is associated to the English IIs *across*, *through*, and *via* (Hagège 2010: 261). A spatial situation is termed PERLATIVE if the Figure “moves across a place or person” (Hagège 2010: 286). Moving across the Ground is a situation that we have encountered already in (5.130) and (5.132). These examples illustrate (II33) *matul* ‘during’ in SECUTIVE function. PERLATIVE meanings have also been alluded to in the case of the CIRCUMLATIVE and CIRCUMABLATIVE,<sup>110</sup> the MEDIO-LATIVE and MEDIOABLATIVE,<sup>111</sup> and the INTERLATIVE and INTERABLATIVE.<sup>112</sup> There is an extended zone of overlap that calls for an in-depth analysis. For the time being, we focus on the main exponent of the PERLATIVE, viz. (II41) *minn* ‘from’.

As far as we can see, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) do not distinguish the PERLATIVE from the PROLATIVE, i.e. motion through and motion past the Ground are lumped together under the rubric of motion past. This practice is probably based on the fact that Maltese employs the same II for both functions. It is, however, necessary to address PERLATIVE functions and PROLATIVE functions separately as is done in this study. In this section, we focus on the SPATIAL PERLATIVE whose characteristics are presented by way of interpreting the combinability of PERLATIVE (II41) *minn* ‘from’ with different kinds of Grounds.

In (5.136), we provide a typical example of (II41) *minn* ‘from’ in PERLATIVE function. In this example, the Figure (= *ħajta* ‘thread’) passes through the Ground (= *it-tubu* ‘the tube’) to reach its destination.<sup>113</sup>

(5.136) PERLATIVE I – [Korpus Malti 3.0; european3720]

*Għaddi ħajta [mit-tubu]<sub>pp</sub> minn kull waħda mill-erba’*  
 pass.IMP thread [from:DEF-tube] from each one:F from:DEF-four  
*ħolqiet*  
 ring:PL  
 ‘Pass a thread [through the tube] from each of the four rings.’

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.2.2.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.16.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.17.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.18.

<sup>113</sup> In the sections on the PERLATIVE and the PROLATIVE, to avoid semantic ambiguities, we deliberately give preference to examples which involve the motion verb *għadda* ‘pass’ wherever it is attested in combination with the IIs under discussion.



The process that is captured by the PERLATIVE construction requires that the Figure initially occupies a position outside the object through which it then passes to exit at the other end before reaching a potential Goal. This Goal might also be reached by just passing through the object which is equipped with an entrance and an exit. Situations of this kind are well represented in the Korpus Malti 3.0. The selection of examples (taken from the electronic resource) presented in Table 5.9 gives evidence of this.

**Table 5.9:** Examples of PERLATIVE uses of (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ I.

#	source	example / translation
1	news156491	<i>Għaliex taħsbu li aħna ma tistax tinżilna [mil-gerżuma taġġna]<sub>pp</sub> din tal-21 ta' Settembru?</i> ‘Why do you think that we cannot believe this event of 21 <sup>st</sup> September (lit. this event of 21 <sup>st</sup> September cannot go down <b>[through our throat]</b> )?’
2	european6248	<i>Kull pompa tas-sentina bl-enerġija għandha tkun meħtieġa li tippompja l-ilma [mil-pajp prinċipali]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘Each bilge pump with energy must be required to pump the water <b>[through the main pipe]</b> .’
3	news113553	<i>It-tibdilet kienu jinkludu zieda ta' pont dejjaq li jestendi min-naħa għal oħra tal-wisa' tal- bastiment meta jgħaddi [mil-Kanal tal-Panama]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘The changes included the addition of a bridge that extends from one side to the other of the ship's body when it passes <b>[through the Panama Canal]</b> .’
4	opinion3938	<i>U meta kien hemm bżonn jiġi mxammar halli jgħaddi [mix-xmara]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘And when it was necessary he came with his sleeves tucked up to pass <b>[through the river]</b> [ . . . ]’
5	news149831	<i>Issa kollox irid jgħaddi [mil-mina li saret f' Tigné mill-proġett tal-MIDI]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘Now everything must pass <b>[through the tunnel that was realised at Tigné by the project of the MIDI]</b> .’
6	literature24	<i>Beda għaddej [minn passaġġ tal-fidda]<sub>pp</sub> u fuq kull naħa kien hemm filliera siġar tal-fidda bil-frott tal-fidda.</i> ‘He began to pass <b>[through a passage of silver]</b> and on each side there was a row of silver trees with silver fruit.’
7	culture953	<i>Jekk tarah għaddej [mit-triq]<sub>pp</sub>, taħsbu li hu anzjan bħall-oħrajn</i> ‘When you see him passing <b>[through the street]</b> you think that he is an old man like the others.’
8	news132166	<i>meta tipparaguna l-ammont ta' ilma li jkun għaddej [mil-kanna]<sub>pp</sub>, ma' dak li hiereg barra, dan tal-aħħar hu negligibbli</i> ‘[ . . . ] when you compare the amount of water that passes <b>[through the pipe]</b> with that coming out (of it), (then) the latter is negligible.’

In Table 5.9, the Ground is always a relatively narrow passage through which the Figure passes. There is a body-part like the throat in #1, a pipe in #2 and #8, a channel (#4), a tunnel (#5), a passage (#6), and a street (#7). Example #3 is different insofar as the Figure presumably crosses the river from one bank to the other but does not move downriver or upriver. The Figures are also of various kinds, namely

abstract ideas (#1), water (#2 and #8), a ship (#3), persons (#6 and #7), and simply everything (#5). Streets as Grounds show up not only in Table 5.9 #7 but also as complement of (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ in Table 5.7 #4 and Table 5.8 #4 as well as complement of (Π30) *ma* ‘with’ in Table 5.5 #3. What these parallels entail semantically must be explored in future research.

Examples like (5.137) tell us that Grounds of kinds different from those featured in Table 5.9 are equally eligible for PERLATIVE situations.

- (5.137) PERLATIVE II – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news4707]  
*L-Iżlanda ħarġet twissija ġdida wara li reġa’*  
DEF-Iceland exit:3SG.F.PFV warning new:F after that do\_again  
*żbroffa lava [minn xaqq qrib il-vulkan Bardarbunga]<sub>pp</sub>*  
erupt lava [from crack near DEF-volcano Bardarbunga]  
‘Iceland gave out a new warning after lava erupted again [from a crack near the volcano Bardarbunga].’

The lava emerges through a natural opening in the ground. Before the eruption, the lava was beneath the ground, after the eruption the lava covered part of the ground’s surface. Thus, the lava passed through the crack from a position below the crack to wind up in a position above the crack. Spatial situations in which the Figure passes through a natural or artificial opening in an otherwise solid object are commonly found in the Korpus Malti 3.0. Table 5.10 presents only a very small selection of examples which illustrate that many different nouns are candidates for the function of Ground in these situations.

**Table 5.10:** Examples of PERLATIVE uses of (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ II.

#	source	example / translation
1	news186328	<i>ma setax jgħaddi [mil-bieb tal-Qorti]<sub>pp</sub> minħabba l-ħxuna tiegħu</i> ‘[. . .] he could not pass <b>[through the door of the court of justice]</b> on account of his fatness [. . .].’
2	literature20	<i>Ħareġ rasu [mit-tieqa]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘He put his head <b>[through the window]</b> [. . .].’
3	literature24	<i>Imma malli tgħaddi [mid-dahla]<sub>pp</sub> ssib iktar dawl</i> ‘But as soon as you pass <b>[through the entrance]</b> you find more light [. . .].’
4	news89487	<i>Wara tliet kwarti fuq il-karozza tal-linja, il-passiġġieri kienu tnizzlu [mill-ħruġ tal-emergenza]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘After three quarters of an hour on the bus, the passengers were made to descend <b>[via the emergency exit]</b> .’
5	parl4805	<i>t-traffiku minn u għal ġol-iskola qed jgħaddi kollu [mill-exit gate ta’ l-istess skola]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] all the traffic from inside and into the school passes <b>[through the exit gate of the said school]</b> .’

Examples #1–#5 involve Grounds whose referents are doors, entrances, and exits, i.e. artificial openings which facilitate access to and/or departure from a given object. They are made to allow people, animals, vehicles, or other mobile objects to pass through them. The pair of examples in (5.138) shows, however, that the Ground can also be an entity that is not meant to serve as passage for the Figure to pass through.

(5.138) PERLATIVE III – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news61019]

- (a) *Fost il-midrubin f' Ruma kien hemm tifla milquta*  
amongst DEF-PART:wound:PL in Rome be there girl PART:hit:F  
*minn balla li għaddiet [mill-ġisem ta'*  
from bullet that pass:3SG.F.PFV [through:DEF-body of  
*Fr Wasim Sabieh li nqatel waqt l-attakk]<sub>pp</sub>*  
Brother Wasim Sabieh that REFL:kill at the time of DEF-attack]  
'Amongst the injured in Rome there was a girl hit by a bullet that passed  
[through the body of Brother Wasim Sabieh who died during the attack].'
- (b) *l-vittma ntlaqat minn żewġ tiri li wiehed laqatlu*  
DEF-victim REFL:hit from two shot:PL that one hit:IO:3SG.M  
*idu x-xellugija [. . .] waqt li l-ieħor għadda*  
hand:3SG.M DEF-left [. . .] at the time of that DEF-other pass  
*[minn dahru]<sub>pp</sub> u daħal fil-pulmun u ż-żaqq*  
[through back:3SG.M] and enter in:DEF-lung and DEF-belly  
'[. . .] the victim was hit by two shots one of which hit his left hand [. . .]  
while the other passed [through his back] and penetrated the lung and  
the belly.'

In both examples, bullets enter the human body. In the (a)-sentence, the bullet does not remain in the first victim's body but passes through it to hit a second victim. The (b)-sentence reflects a different scenario. In this case, the bullet is said to enter the body via the victim's back and then continues to travel inside the body until it reaches the lung and the belly. The Ground through which the Figure passes is Brother Wasim Sabieh's body in (5.138a) and the anonymous victim's back in (5.138b).

Examples like (5.139) where the Figure passes across the Ground which has the shape of a line (also metonymically) are not particularly frequent in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

- (5.139) PERLATIVE IV – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news222212]

*ċ-ċiklisti damu madwar sitt sigħat biex*  
 DEF-cyclist:PL take\_time:3PL.PFV around six hour:PL to  
*jidhlu [mill-fruntiera tar-Russja]<sub>PP</sub>*  
 3.IPFV:enter:PL [from:DEF-border of:DEF-Russia]

‘[. . .] it took the cyclists about six hours to cross [the frontier of Russia].’

The Russian borderline represents the Ground that the Figure must pass across to reach its destination.

Example (5.140) illustrates the combination of PERLATIVE (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ with a place name to yield a construction that corresponds to an English *via*-PP.

- (5.140) PERLATIVE V – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic12]

*Meta kien sejjer lura lejn Malta huwa reġa’ għadda*  
 when be go.PART back towards Malta 3SG.M do\_again pass  
*[minn Perth fejn reġa’ mar iżur lit-tfal]<sub>PP</sub>*  
 [from Perth where do again go 3SG.M.IPFV:visit to:DEF-child.PL]  
 ‘When he was going back to Malta he again passed [through Perth where he again went to visit the children].’

The city of Perth is only an intermediate stop on the Figure’s journey back to Malta. The traveller thus passes through Perth. He goes to Malta via Perth. The example represents a recurrent pattern in the Korpus Malti 3.0 as the selection of cases in Table 5.11 suggests. The Ground is the name of a city, a village, an island, or a country all of which refer to stops between the point of departure and the destination of the Figure’s itinerary.

**Table 5.11:** Examples of PERLATIVE uses of (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ III.

#	source	example / translation
1	academic236	<i>Fl-1796 Beethoven mar fuq dawra jagħti l-kunċerti li ħaditu minn Vjenna sa Berlin u għadda [minn Dresden, Leipzig, Nuremberg u Praga]<sub>PP</sub></i> . ‘In 1796, Beethoven went on a tour to give concerts that took him from Vienna to Berlin and he passed [through Dresden, Leipzig, Nuremberg, and Prague].’
2	news6695	<i>Il-Korteo, li għadda [minn Ħal Lija, Birkirkara, Fleur-de-Lys, Santa Venera, u l-Ħamrun]<sub>PP</sub>, wasal quddiem il-Konkatedral ta’ San Ġwann</i> . ‘The cortege, that passed [through Ħal Lija, Birkirkara, Fleur-de-Lys, Santa Venera, and Ħamrun], arrived in front of the Co-Cathedral of San Ġwann.’

Table 5.11 (continued)

#	source	example / translation
3	news117296	<i>xi hadd bhali li żar jew għadda [minn Manchester]<sub>pp</sub> qabel nofs is-snin tmenin bil-kemm jemmen il-bidla drastika li jara quddiem għajnejh</i> ‘[. . .] someone who like me visited or passed [through Manchester] before the mid 1980’s hardly believes the drastic change that he sees before his eyes [. . .].’
4	news113878	<i>Il-bastiment segwa vjaġġ twil u għadda [minn Madeira, Rio de Janeiro]<sub>pp</sub>, u wara madwar Cape Horn</i> ‘The ship followed a long voyage and passed [via Madeira, Rio de Janeiro] and afterwards around Cape Horn [. . .].’
5	news22566	<i>I-Papa Franġisku huwa l-ewwel wiehed li vjaġġa lejn ix-Xatt tal-Punent direttament minflok għadda [minn Iżrael]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] Pope Franciscus is the first that travelled directly towards the eastern shore instead of passing [via Israel].’

The frequent occurrence of (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ in combination with Grounds of the types featured in Tables 5.9–5.11 contrasts with the relative scarcity of evidence in support of the same Π being used to express motion across a surface. This means that (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ cannot freely replace (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ in contexts like that featured in (5.132). However, there are examples like (5.141a) and (5.141b) which clearly describe situations in which the Figure moves across a surface, namely the killer’s property in the (a)-sentence and, more specifically, the yard of the same residence in the (b)-sentence. Note that the Figure never had the chance to exit from the Ground – which means that the motion event was aborted before the ideally required endpoint was reached.

(5.141) PERLATIVE VI – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news4195]

- (a) *Dan seħħ hekk kif sid il-garaxx Markus Kaarma*  
 DEM:M:PROX happen so how owner DEF-garage Markus Kaarma  
*spara fuq student Ġermaniż meta dan għadda*  
 shoot on student German when DEM:M:PROX pass  
*[mill-propjetà tiegħu]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[from:DEF-property of:3SG.M]*  
 ‘This happened when Markus Kaarma, the owner of the garage, shot at a German student when he passed [across his property].’
- (b) *Qal li qatt ma kien jahseb li ibnu se*  
 say that ever NEG be 3SG.M.IPFV:think that son:3SG.M FUT  
*jinqatel sempliciment għaliex dan għadda*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:kill simply because DEM:M:PROX pass

[*minn biṭḥa ta' residenza*]<sub>PP</sub>

[*from yard of residence*]

‘He said that he had never thought that his son would be killed simply because he passed [*across the yard of a residence*].’

The two examples refer to the same situation. The victim is shot by the owner of a garage when the victim moves across the yard that belongs to the garage. This means that the victim trespasses by way of physically entering the owner’s property. This is important to note because otherwise the victim would just be passing by the property – a situation that would fall under the rubric of *PROLATIVE* that is hard to tell apart from the *PERLATIVE* on formal grounds as is shown below.<sup>114</sup>

We also find examples of the *PERLATIVE* use of (II41) *minn* ‘from’ with Grounds that refer to geo-objects which cover a huge area. This is the case with the Sahara in (5.142a) as well as the Red Sea and the Mediterranean in (5.142b).

(5.142) *PERLATIVE VII*

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news66786]

*Biex johorġu mill-pajjiż il-biċċa l-kbira minnhom*

to 3.IPFV:exit:PL from:DEF-country DEF-part DEF-big:F from:3PL

*jġhaddu [mid-Deżert Sahara]<sub>PP</sub>*

3.IPFV:pass:PL [*from:DEF-desert Sahara*]

‘To leave the country the majority of them passes [*through the Sahara Desert*].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl455]

*huwa prattikament l-itwal fibre optic cable ta' taht*

3SG.M practically DEF-long.COMP fibre\_optic\_cable of under

*il-baħar fid-dinja li jibda mill-Ġappun,*

DEF-sea in:DEF-world that 3SG.M.IPFV:begin from:DEF-Japan

*jġhaddi [mill-Baħar l-Aħmar]<sub>PP</sub> jġhaddi*

3SG.M.IPFV:pass [*from:DEF-sea DEF-red*] 3SG.M.IPFV:pass

*[mill-Mediterran]<sub>PP</sub> u jibqa' sejjer sa*

[*from:DEF-Mediterranean*] and 3SG.M.IPFV:remain go.PART till

*l-Ingilterra*

DEF-England

‘[. . .] it is practically the longest submarine fibre optic cable in the world that starts from Japan, passes [*through the Red Sea*], passes [*through the Mediterranean*] and keeps going as far as England.’

114 Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.3.

The (a)-sentence reflects a motion event, namely that of mass migration from an African country via the desert towards the Mediterranean. The Figure (= the migrants) actually move across the Ground. The situation is thus dynamic. Dynamicity does not apply in the (b)-sentence since the underwater cable rests on the bottom of the sea where it is immobile. However, the use of the motion verb *ghadda* ‘pass’ tells us that the situation is metonymically interpreted as a motion event with its starting point in Japan and its endpoint in England. To arrive there the cable is conceived of as a Figure that passes through the Red Sea and the Mediterranean – with the two seas functioning as the Ground.

Moreover, (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ is attested in combination with different Π<sub>2</sub>s in constructions which serve to express the PERLATIVE. In this context, (5.143) is particularly interesting since it involves the Π-Π combination *minn matul*.

(5.143) PERLATIVE VIII – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news6695]

*L-Isqof il-ġdid jieħu l-mitra u l-baklu*  
 DEF-bishop DEF-new 3SG.M.IPFV:take DEF-mitre and DEF-pastoral\_staff  
*u jġhaddi [minn matul il-Knisja]<sub>pp</sub> ibierek*  
 and 3SG.M.IPFV:pass [from during DEF-church] 3SG.M.IPFV:bless  
*lil dawk preżenti*  
 to DEM.PL:DIST present:PL  
 ‘The new bishop takes the mitre and the pastoral staff and passes [through  
 the church] blessing those who are present [. . .].’

It seems that neither (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ nor (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ alone suffices to express the PERLATIVE in this case. In the Korpus Malti 3.0, all instances of *mil-knisja* ‘from the church’ identify the church as the Ground in Source function. In contrast, there is no hit for \**matul il-knisja*, in the first place.

There are further Π-Π combinations with (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ as Π<sub>1</sub> that can be classified as instances of the PERLATIVE although some of them appear to be ambiguous semantically. In these cases, the configuration markers are those of the MEDIOESSIVE and INTERESSIVE introduced above.<sup>115</sup> In (5.144), we provide two examples of the PERLATIVE constructions which involve the MEDIOESSIVE markers (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’ and (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’.

<sup>115</sup> In Sections 5.1.2.1.13 and 5.1.2.1.14, respectively.

## (5.144) PERLATIVE IX

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news102164]

*biex ħarab mill-kustodja tal-Pulizija għadda*

to escape from:DEF-custody of:DEF-police pass

*[minn qalb il-ġieġ imkisser tal-antiporta]<sub>pp</sub>**[from amidst DEF-glass PART:break of:DEF-inner door]*‘[. . .] to escape from police custody he passed **[through the broken glass of the inner door]** [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture528]

*Il-quddiesa din is-sena se ssir fil-Bażilika*

DEF-Mass DEM:F:PROX DEF-year FUT 3SG.F.IPFV:become in:DEF-Basilica

*ta’ San Pietru sabiex jiġi evitat li*

of Saint\_Peter in\_order\_to 3SG.M.IPFV:come avoid:PART that

*l-Papa jgħaddi [minn fost ġemgħat kbar]<sub>pp</sub>*DEF-Pope 3SG.M.IPFV:pass **[from amongst crowd:PL big:PL]**‘This year the Mass will take place in the Basilica of Saint Peter to avoid that the Pope passes **[through huge crowds]**.’

The Ground through which the Figure passes is represented by the pieces of broken glass in the (a)-sentence and the huge crowds of people in the (b)-sentence. The Figure has or would have to pass through in order to reach the destination, namely freedom in (5.1144a) and the church in (5.144b). The configuration markers serve to express that the Ground consists of an agglomeration of many elements.

In (5.145), it is the turn of (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ to function as Π<sub>2</sub> in combination with (Π41) *minn* ‘from’. The possibility of (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ to fulfil the task of the INTERESSIVE marker as well as that of the MEDIOESSIVE marker transpires from the comparison of (5.145a) and (5.145b).<sup>116</sup>

## (5.145) PERLATIVE X

(a) [Bartolo/Vella 2009: 100]

*għaddiet [minn bejn il-purtieri li kienu*pass:3SG.F.PFV **[from between DEF-curtain:PL that be:3PL.PFV***jagħtu għall-kċina]<sub>pp</sub>**3.IPFV:give:PL for:DEF-kitchen]*‘[. . .] she passed **[between the curtains that led to the kitchen]**.’

---

116 Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.14.



(b) [Camilleri 2013: 73]

*Għadda [minn bejniethom]<sub>pp</sub> u waqaf go nofshom*  
 pass [from between:3PL] and stop in middle:3PL  
 ‘[He passed between them] and stopped in their middle.’

In the (a)-sentence, the situation captures the movement of the elderly lady who departs from a position in front of the closed curtains that separate her from the destination, viz. the kitchen. To get there she has to open the curtains and pass through the opening between the two halves of the curtain. The Ground consists of two parts. This example differs crucially from the INTERABLATIVE in example (5.105) where the prehistory of the motion of the Figure emerging from the space between two cars parked at the curb is irrelevant and accordingly tacitly passed over. In (5.145a) however, the entire itinerary of the Figure from a position outside the kitchen via the parted curtains into the kitchen is described.

In the (b)-sentence of (5.145) however, the context is as follows. The protagonist encounters a group of Maltese tourists at the foot of the Etna so that (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ receives a MEDIOLATIVE interpretation rather than an INTERLATIVE one since the group is larger than two persons. What is additionally interesting about this example is the fact that strictly speaking the motion event is not fully in line with the ideal form of a PERLATIVE situation because the Figure ceases to move right in the middle of the group of tourists. Thus, the Figure has not passed through but only moved into. Of course, to reach the middle of the group the Figure must have passed at least some of the members of this group. Generalising, it can be concluded that a situation is PERLATIVE even in those cases in which the motion through or across the Ground is not fully carried through. What suffices is the intention of exiting from the Ground at a place which is not identical to that of entering the Ground.

#### 5.1.2.2.20.22 TEMPORAL PERLATIVE

Hagège (2010: 261) offers the English IIs *for*, *during*, and *in* as markers of the TEMPORAL PERLATIVE. In the reference grammar, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 171) mention only (II21) *għal* ‘for’ under the heading duration.<sup>117</sup> They argue that “[d]uration is normally expressed by the preposition **għal** ‘for’ [ . . . ] but with verbs lexicalizing duration [ . . . ] the preposition does not occur [original bold-

<sup>117</sup> The combination of categories such as anterior + duration + past/future and posterior + duration + past/future (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 171–172) are interpreted by us as belonging to the domains of the temporal TERMINATIVE and the temporal ABLATIVE.

face].” This observation holds for cases in which the length of time is measured for which (and therefore during which) a certain state of affairs is valid as in (5.146).

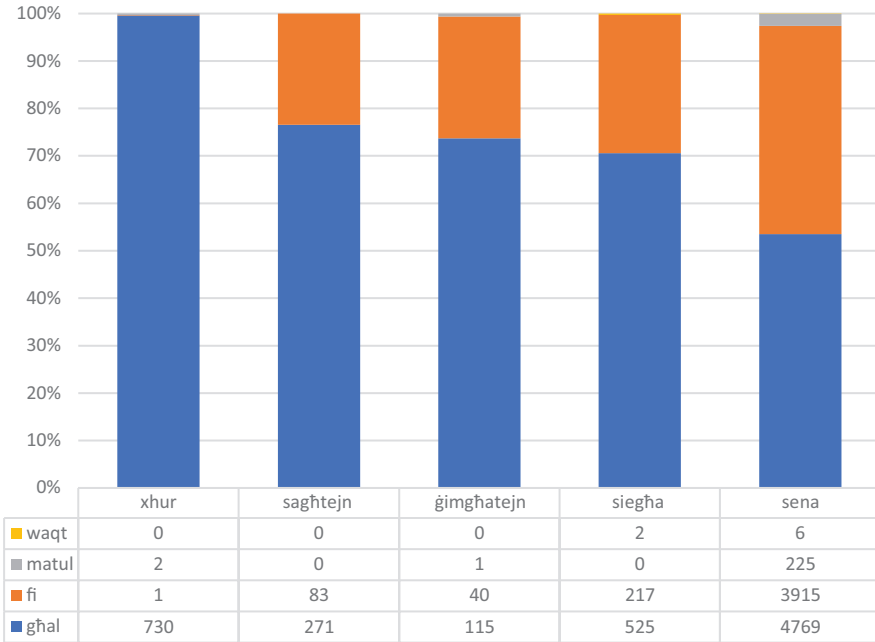
- (5.146) PERLATIVE – temporal I – [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl70]  
*ikollok                      bżonnhom    biss    [għal    nofs    sena]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:have.FUT:2SG    need:3PL    only    [for    half    year]  
 ‘[. . .] you will need them only [for half a year] [. . .].’

The need for the objects in the future is described as temporary. The state of affairs (= being needy of the objects) lasts exactly half a year.

As transpires from (5.147), (II15) *fī* ‘in’ may be used as a translation equivalent of English *within* defining the length of a period of time during which something takes place or has to take place.

- (5.147) PERLATIVE – temporal II
- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture63]  
*[f’    sagħtejn]<sub>pp</sub>    rajt                      lil    Beyonce    Aerosmith    Paul McCartney*  
*[in    hour:DU]    see:1SG.PFV    to    Beyonce    Aerosmith    Paul McCartney*  
*Julia Roberts    Madonna    Metallica    Daft Punk    Pharrell    fost*  
*Julia Roberts    Madonna    Metallica    Daft Punk    Pharrell    amongst*  
*l-oħrajn*  
 DEF-other:PL  
 ‘[Within two hours] I saw Beyonce, Aerosmith, Paul McCartney, Julia Roberts, Madonna, Metallica, Daft Punk, Pharrell, among others.’
- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news161278]  
*Naf                      persuna    li            [f’    sagħtejn]<sub>pp</sub>    qatlet                      aktar*  
 1SG.PFV:know    person    that    [in    hour:DU]    kill:3SG.F.PFV    more  
*minn 70    wurdiena    minn    quddiem    ir-residenza    tagħha*  
*from 70    cockroach    from    in\_front\_of    DEF-residence    of:3SG.F*  
 ‘I know a person who [within two hours] killed more than 70 cockroaches in front of her residence.’

In (5.147a), the speaker reports about the transmission of the Grammy Award on TV – a show of two hours during which the person could see many artists appearing on stage one after the other. In (5.147b), the story of a lady killing numerous cockroaches within just two hours is told. The events – the parading of the artists in the (a)-sentence and the hunt for cockroaches in the (b)-sentence – last for two hours each.

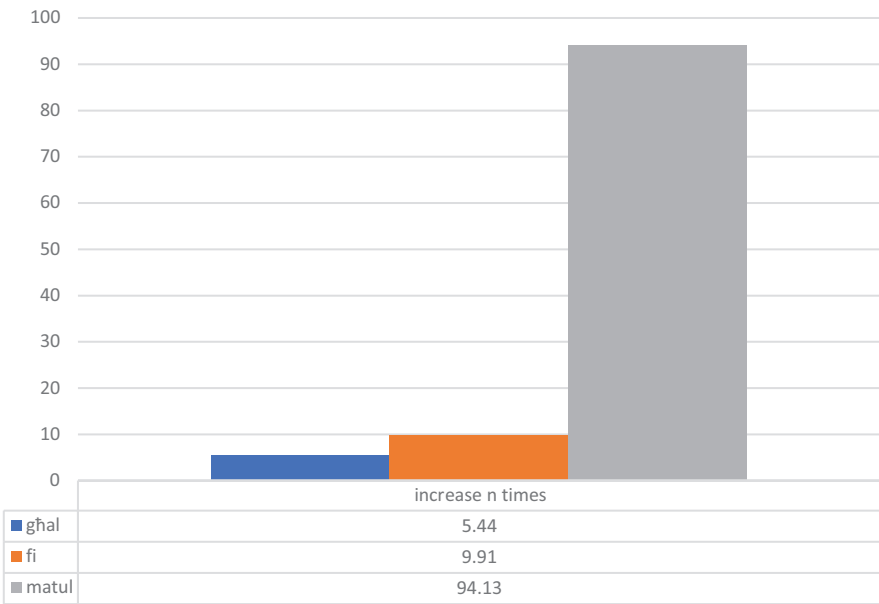


**Figure 5.14:** (Π15) *fi* ‘in’, (Π21) *għal* ‘for’, (Π33) *matul* ‘during’, and (Π59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ competing for the expression of the temporal PERLATIVE.

In point of fact, (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ and (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ are attested by far more frequently than (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ and (Π59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ in certain temporal constructions. This discrepancy comes clearly to the fore in Figure 5.14 where we compare the cooccurrences of the above four Πs with the nouns *siegħa* ‘hour’, *sagħtejn* ‘two hours’, *ġimghatejn* ‘two weeks’, *xhur* ‘months’, and *sena* ‘year’. The quantities refer to the hits in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

The low turnout for (Π59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ has the effect that the share is too small to be visible in Figure 5.14. Only in combination with *sena* ‘year’ does (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ claim a share that is visible to the naked eye in the very same Figure 5.14. However, with only 2.5% of all TEMPORAL PERLATIVEs involving this noun, (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ is only marginally represented in contrast to its contestants. These quantities seem to speak against attributing a major role to (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ or (Π59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ in the domain of the spatial PERLATIVE. The picture changes drastically if, for instance, we replace the indefinite complement *sena* ‘year’ with its definite counterpart *is-sena* ‘the year’. For *fis-sena* the Korpus Malti 3.0 yields 38,803 hits, for *għas-sena* the turnout is 25,951 hits, whereas *matul*

*is-sena* is attested 21,179 times. With only 97 hits, (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ is still at the bottom of the frequency-based hierarchy. However, both (II33) *matul* ‘during’ and (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ display a remarkable increase of tokens which surpasses those of (II15) *fi* ‘in’ and (II21) *ghal* ‘for’ as shown in Figure 5.15. According to the data presented there (II33) *matul* ‘during’ occurs in combination with *is-sena* almost a hundred times as often as with indefinite *sena*. As to (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’, the increase amounts to sixteen times that noted in Figure 5.14. The increase is much smaller with (II15) *fi* ‘in’ and (II21) *ghal* ‘for’. These two IIs also combine more frequently with definite *is-sena* than with indefinite *sena*. However, *fis-sena* is slightly less than ten times more frequent than *f’sena* and *ghas-sena* outnumbers *ghal sena* by a ratio of 5.4-to-one only.



**Figure 5.15:** Increase of token frequencies for (II15) *fi* ‘in’, (II21) *ghal* ‘for’, (II33) *matul* ‘during’, and (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ in combination with *is-sena* ‘the year’.

What is more, the high absolute numbers calculated for *fis-sena* and *ghas-sena* cover a range of meaning categories such as temporal INESSIVE, BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE, etc. so that the properly PERLATIVE usages account only for a part of the total turnout. In the case of *matul is-sena*, however, it is safe to assume that almost all of the tokens represent PERLATIVES. On this basis, we assume that (II33) *matul* ‘during’ is a dedicated marker of the TEMPORAL PERLATIVE. In this sense, (5.148) contains typical representatives of the TEMPORAL PERLATIVE.

## (5.148) PERLATIVE – temporal III

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature5]

*Fra Mudest kellu bosta ħbieb li ltaqa'*  
 Brother Mudest have.PFV:3SG.M many friend.PL that meet  
*magħhom [matul ħajtu fil-kunvent]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 with:3PL [during life:POSS:3SG.M in:DEF-convent]  
 'Brother Mudest had many friends with whom he met [during his life in  
 the convent].'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news138400]

*il-Ħadd ma tistax issir kaċċa u*  
 DEF-Sunday NEG 3SG.F.IPFV:can:NEG 3SG.F.IPFV:become hunt and  
*[matul il-ġranet l-oħrajn]<sub>pp</sub> jistgħu joħroġu*  
 [during DEF:day:PL DEF-other:PL] 3.IPFV:can:PL 3.IPFV:exit:PL  
*għall-kaċċa nofs ta' nhar biss kuljum*  
 for:DEF-hunt half of day only daily  
 '[...] there can be no hunting on a Sunday and [during the other days] they  
 can go out for a hunt only half a day every day [...].'

In the (a) sentence, the extended period of time that Brother Mudest spent in the convent provides the frame for the events (= meetings with friends) to happen. In the (b)-sentence, the role of Ground is played by the days of the week during which hunting is subject to restrictions. Going on a hunting party is the Figure.

In point of fact, (II33) *matul* 'during' is compatible with a wide range of complements to express the TEMPORAL PERLATIVE. Table 5.12 covers only a small segment of the combinatory potential of this II. Like many other tables, Table 5.12 exclusively contains data taken from the Korpus Malti 3.0.

**Table 5.12:** (II33) *matul* 'during' in temporal PERLATIVE constructions.

#	source	example / translation
1	academic109	<i>Sostituzzjoni tista' issir jekk gowler minnhom ikun weġġa' [matul l-ghoti tal-penalties]<sub>pp</sub></i> 'A substitution can be made if one of the gowlers is injured [during the penalty shootout-out].'
2	academic4	<i>[Matul is-sena 2007–2008]<sub>pp</sub> ser jitniedu Schools Materials, sit interattiv fuq l-internet u programm għat-taħriġ ta' l-għalliema '[During the year 2007–2008] there will be announced School Materials, an interactive site on the internet and a program of teacher training.'</i>
3	academic12	<i>Dan is-saċerdot kien twieled il-Birgu u [matul l-Ewwel Gwerra Kbira]<sub>pp</sub> kien serva bħala kappillan militari</i> 'This priest was born in Birgu and [during the 1 <sup>st</sup> Great War] he had served als military chaplain.'

Table 5.12 (continued)

#	source	example / translation
4	academic12	<i>il-kaptan ammetta li [matul l-vjaġġ]<sub>pp</sub> mietu żewġ trabi</i> ‘[. . .] the captain admitted that [during the voyage] two infants died [. . .].’
5	academic13	<i>Is-shana żejda wkoll iddejjagħa u minħabba f’ hekk [matul is-sajf]<sub>pp</sub>, din il-pjanta tmur lura hafna, jekk ma tmutx</i> ‘The excess heat too annoys it and because of that [during the summer] this plant declines a lot, if it does not die.’
6	academic138	<i>Meta Paganini ra l-ewwel abbozzi ta’ dan ix-xogħol biddel il-ħsieb u qal li xtaq idoqq il-ħin kollu [matul is-sinfonija]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘When Paganini saw the first proof of this work he changed his mind and said that he wanted to play all the time [during the symphony].’
7	academic233	<i>L-unika konsolazzjoni kienet ir-rebħa ta’ 4 – 0 kontra ċ-ċittadini rivali Everton [matul it-Tazza Ingliża 1954 – 55]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘The only consolation was the 4–0 victory against the local rival Everton [during the English Football Cup 1954–55].’
8	academic256	<i>Problemi oħra qamu barra l-istadju [matul il-lejl]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘Other problems came up outside the stadium [during the night].’

In (5.149), we provide sentential examples involving (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ which is semantically very close to (II33) *matul* ‘during’.

(5.149) PERLATIVE IV

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic114]  
*omm Buddha mietet [waqt il-ħlas]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 mother Buddha die:3SG.F.PFV [at\_the\_time\_of DEF-childbirth]  
 ‘[. . .] Buddha’s mother died [during childbirth] [. . .].’
- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic399]  
*sbatax-il Malti ġew akkużati bi tradiment*  
 seventeen Maltese come:3PL.PFV accuse:PART:PL with treason  
*kontra Malta [waqt il-gwerra]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 against Malta [at\_the\_time\_of DEF-war]  
 ‘[. . .] seventeen Maltese were accused of treason against Malta [during the war].’
- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture528]  
*[Waqt id-diskors tiegħu]<sub>pp</sub> l-Papa kellu*  
 [at\_the\_time\_of DEF-speech of:3SG.M] DEF-Pope have.PFV:3SG.M  
*jieqaf u jerga jibda diversi*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:stop and 3SG.M.IPFV:do\_again 3SG.M.IPFV:begin diverse:PL  
*drabi minħabba ċ-ċapċip tal-pubbliku*  
 time:PL on\_account\_of DEF-applause of:DEF-public  
 ‘[During his speech], the Pope had to stop and start again several times because of the applause of the auditorium.’

Frequently, it is possible to give (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ a punctual reading. The event happened at some point in time during a certain period but did not extend over the entire period. Readings of this kind are also possible with (II33) *matul* ‘during’. In (5.149a), death occurred at a certain point during childbirth but the process of dying coincided with an extended section of the event. In (5.149b), the supposed traitors have probably collaborated with the enemy not just once but over a longer period during the war. In (5.149c), the interruptions of the Pope’s speech happened repeatedly and thus can be considered to extend the duration of the speech.

In Table 5.13, examples are provided that feature (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ in combination with complements which are either identical with or similar to those mentioned for (II33) *matul* ‘during’ in Table 5.12.

**Table 5.13:** (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ in TEMPORAL PERLATIVE constructions.

#	source	example / translation
1	academic41	[ <i>waqt l-ghoti tal-penalties</i> ] <sub>pp</sub> <i>huwa salva tlieta wara xulxin</i> ‘[. . .] [ <u>during the penalty shoot-out</u> ] he saved three in a row [. . .].’
2	european10925	<i>L-Istati Nordiċi għandhom ikunu integrati malajr kemm jista’ jkun</i> [ <i>waqt is-sena 2000</i> ] <sub>pp</sub> . ‘The Nordic states have to be integrated as quickly as possible [ <u>during the year 2000</u> ].’
3	news168749	<i>L-Imperatur Karl kien inkoronat</i> [ <i>waqt l-Ewwel Gwerra Dinjija</i> ] <sub>pp</sub> <i>u miet fl-eżilju fl-1922</i> ‘[. . .] the emperor Karl was crowned [ <u>during the 1<sup>st</sup> World War</u> ] and died in exile in 1922.’
4	academic12	[ <i>Waqt il-vjaġġ lejn Santos</i> ] <sub>pp</sub> <i>twieldet tarbija</i> ‘[ <u>During the journey towards Santos</u> ] a baby was born [. . .].’
5	parl12758	<i>ż-żjara tal-ministru li se ssir qabel jew</i> [ <i>waqt is-sajf</i> ] <sub>pp</sub> <i>irridu niżviluppawha iktar</i> ‘[. . .] we must develop further the visit of the minister which will take place before or [ <u>during the summer</u> ] [. . .].’
6	culture1069	[ <i>Waqt ir-riċita tal-Angelus</i> ] <sub>pp</sub> <i>il-Papa awgura l-festa t-tajba ad unur it-twelid tal-Madonna anki lill-Knisja Ortodossa</i> . ‘[ <u>During the recital of the Angelus</u> ], the Pope also wishes the Orthodox Church a good feast to the honour of the birth of the Madonna.’
7	academic256	<i>Hu kien magħżul biex ikun referi</i> [ <i>waqt it-Tazza tad-Dinja tal-Futbol 2006 fil-Germanja</i> ] <sub>pp</sub> . ‘He was chosen to be a referee [ <u>during the Football World Cup 2006 in Germany</u> ].’
8	news201836	[ <i>Waqt il-lejl</i> ] <sub>pp</sub> <i>bejn it-Tnejn u t-Tlieta, il-belt ta’ Christchurch, fi New Zealand, kienet mhežża b’terremot</i> ‘[ <u>During the night</u> ] between two and three, the town Christchurch in New Zealand was shaken by an earthquake.’

Thus, (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ and (II33) *matul* ‘during’ display largely the same behaviour. The (potential) omnicompatibility of these two IIs with nouns from diverse semantic domains justifies our decision to give them the status of prototype or default option when it comes to expressing the TEMPORAL PERLATIVE. Whether their prototypicality differs by degrees must be ascertained in a separate study.

### 5.1.2.2.20.3 PROLATIVE

Hagège (2010: 261 and 287) presents English *past* as illustration of the PROLATIVE. In a spatial situation which is classified as PROLATIVE, the Figure is said to “go past a place or person.” As mentioned above, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) do not distinguish terminologically between PERLATIVE and PROLATIVE, but subsume both notions under “motion past”. They add the important information, however, that for the expression of motion past it is common to use a II-II combination with (II41) *minn* ‘from’ as  $\Pi_1$  followed by “another appropriate expression” (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 156). For the individual configurations, however, it does not seem to be mandatory to employ (II41) *minn* ‘from’ as the brackets around this II suggest in the following cases:

- motion past anterior: (*minn*) *quddiem* (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 159),
- motion past posterior: (*minn*) *wara* (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 160),
- motion past superior(-contact): (*minn*) *fuq* (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 160–161 and 167),
- motion past surface: (*minn*) *fuq* (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 161 and 168),
- motion past medial (2): (*minn*) *bejn* (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 165),
- inferior (long object): (*minn*) *taht* (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 168).

In addition, (II41) *minn* ‘from’ is excluded from the expression of motion past with the circumferential; here the configuration marker (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ is self-sufficient (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 166). And finally, in the domain of the interior, (II41) *minn* ‘from’ expresses motion past without any accompanying  $\Pi_2$  (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 158). In all other cases, (II41) *minn* ‘from’ obligatorily combines with a second II – at least according to the reference grammar.

The picture resulting from the above observations about the distribution of the IIs is heterogeneous. In this section, we intend to tidy up things where this is necessary. To this end, we first check whether it is indeed possible to use (II41) *minn* ‘from’ alone to express the PROLATIVE. (5.150) is one of the very few pieces of evidence that support this possibility.

(5.150) Bare PROLATIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news12755]

<i>Attard</i>	<i>xehed</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>meta</i>	<i>ghadda</i>	<i>[mill-post]<sub>pp</sub></i>
Attard	give_evidence	that	when	pass	[from:DEF-place]



*bil-mutur*                      *kien imbezza'*  
 with: DEF-motorcycle    be    PART:fear  
 'Attard gave evidence that when he passed [the place] on the motorcycle he  
 was in fear [. . .].'

The motorcyclist is in fear of dogs but he has to pass in the vicinity of a dog tied to a chain. The *minn*-PP is ambiguous since it invites two competing interpretations. Either the Figure passes the place where the dog is chained to the wall or the Figure's passing across the property guarded by the dog is described. In the former case, we may speak of a PROLATIVE, but in the latter case, we have another example of the PERLATIVE. As a matter of fact, *minn*-PPs following the verb *ghadda* 'pass' are overwhelmingly often PERLATIVE. In stark contrast to the dominance of the PERLATIVE, there is hardly any convincing evidence of the PROLATIVE expressed in this way. The normal shape an indubitable PROLATIVE construction takes is that of combining (II41) *minn* 'from' with a  $\Pi_2$  as in (5.151).

(5.151) PROLATIVE I

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature77]

*Qormi baqa' miexi sa tarf is-sur dar lura*  
 Qormi remain walk.PART till extremity DEF-bastion turn back  
*ghadda [minn biswit id-dar]<sub>pp</sub> u raġa' ra 'l Ineż*  
 pass [from facing DEF-house] and do\_again see to Ineż  
*tistennieh maġenb it-tieqa*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:wait:3SG.M close\_to DEF-window  
 'Qormi kept walking to the end of the bastion, turned back, passed [**oppo-**  
**site the house**] and saw Ineż again waiting for him near the window.'

(b) [Attard 2019: 64]

*L-uffiċjal żagħżuġh kien diġà marbut xhin għaddew*  
 DEF-officer young be already PART:tie when pass:3PL.PFV  
*iż-żewġ hallelin [minn hdejn]<sub>pp</sub> fi triqthom*  
 DEF-two thief:PL [from beside:3SG.M] in street:POSS:3PL  
*lejn il-karozza.*  
 towards DEF-car  
 'The young officer was already tied up when the two thieves passed [him]  
 on their way to the car.'

The  $\Pi_2$  and thus the configuration marker is (II8) *biswit* 'facing' in the (a)-sentence and (II23) *hdejn* 'beside' in the (b)-sentence. The combinations *minn biswit* and *minn hdejn* have occurred under different rubrics before, namely in (5.60b) and (5.65a) when motion away from near and motion away from opposite were under

discussion. The II-II combinations as such are thus ambiguous. They are disambiguated by the context – most notably by the motion verb they depend on. As far as we can judge, only *ghadda* ‘pass’ straightforwardly triggers a PROLATIVE or PERLATIVE interpretation. Which of these two options is the correct one in a given spatial situation can be recognised on account of the  $\Pi_2$ .

From (5.152), we learn that the presence of *ghadda* ‘pass’ with its semantically incorporated Path meaning renders the employment of the directionality marker ( $\Pi_41$ ) *minn* ‘from’ superfluous. We represent the absent directionality marker by  $\emptyset$ .

(5.152) PROLATIVE without directionality marker

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news34256]

*dan l-ilma kien xi ramel u żrar li*  
 DEM:M:PROX DEF-water be some sand and grit.COLL that  
*kienu maħżunin f' sit barra mil-lukanda li*  
 be PART:store:PL in site outside from:DEF-hotel that  
*tkaxkru bil-maltemp u tferra fil-baħar*  
 REFL:drag:3PL.PFV with:DEF-stormy\_weather and REFL:pour in:DEF-sea  
*minn culvert għall-ilma tax-xita li jgħaddi*  
 from culvert for:DEF-water of:DEF-rain that 3SG.M.IPFV:pass

[ $\emptyset$  **biswit** *il-lukanda*]<sub>pp</sub>

[ $\emptyset$  **facing** DEF-hotel]

‘[. . .] this water was some sand and grit that had accumulated in a site outside the hotel that was dragged by the stormy weather and poured into the sea through a rain water culvert that passes [**opposite the hotel**].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl9014]

*kulhadd qiegħed hemmhekk u kulhadd bix-xewqa li*  
 everybody stay.PART there and everybody with:DEF-wish that  
*l-Papa jgħaddi [ $\emptyset$  **hdejh**]<sub>pp</sub> jew ikellmu*  
 DEF-Pope 3SG.M.IPFV:pass [ $\emptyset$  **beside:3SG.M**] or 3SG.M.IPFV:speak:3SG.M

‘[. . .] everybody is there and everybody has the wish that the Pope passes [**near him**] or speaks to him [. . .].’

We cannot detect any semantic differences between the constructions with and without ( $\Pi_41$ ) *minn* ‘from’. There is unconditioned *minn*- $\emptyset$  alternation in the case of the PROLATIVE whereas for the identical II-II combinations with the function of encoding motion from the Ground the omission of ( $\Pi_41$ ) *minn* ‘from’ is ungrammatical. The question arises whether dropping the directionality marker is an option for each of the configurations that are semantically qualified to appear in PROLATIVE situations.

The qualifying criterion is the physical possibility of the Figure passing by the Ground without making any contact with it. On the one hand, this criterion excludes INESSIVE configurations as expressed by (Π15) *fi* ‘in’; (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’, and (Π19) *go* ‘in’ and MEDIOESSIVES like (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’ and (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’. IIs that are responsible for directionality themselves on the other hand, can also be counted out (e.g. (Π21) *għal* ‘for’, (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’, (Π38) *mingħand* ‘from s.o.’, (Π42) *mintul* ‘all along’; (Π43) *mnejn* ‘from near’, and (Π57) *versu* ‘towards’). Moreover, (Π22) *għand* ‘at s.o.’s place’, (Π31) *madwar* ‘around’; (Π33) *matul* ‘during’; (Π44) *oltre* ‘beyond’; and (Π46) *qabel* ‘before’ are not attested in PROLATIVE contexts in the Korpus Malti 3.0. We also know already that combinations of (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ and (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ (yielding the INTERABLATIVE e.g. in (5.105)) are difficult to distinguish from PERLATIVES (as in (5.145)). Similar difficulties arise in connection with other configuration markers that combine with the Π<sub>1</sub> (Π41) *minn* ‘from’.

In what follows, we ask whether the *minn*-Ø alternation documented for (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ and (Π23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ holds also for other configuration markers. For each of the configuration markers, we provide two examples one of which involves a given marker in combination with (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ and the second example without directionality marker. Where one of the options is not attested in our sources, its absence is dutifully registered. In contrast to the previous examples in this section, the absence of the directionality marker is not specifically marked. To guarantee comparability of the examples, only those which involve the motion verb *għadda* ‘pass’ are used. The configuration markers are ticked off in the alphabetical order established for BLOMP 2.0. The examples are accompanied by short interpretations of the spatial situations depicted by them. We assume that where examples come pairwise the optionality of the direction marker has no bearing on the meaning, i.e., PROLATIVE constructions with and without (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ are synonymous.

The point of departure of our review of the PROLATIVE constructions is marked by (Π3) *barra* ‘outside’ in (5.153). Note that the reference grammar does not mention the possibility of leaving out the directionality marker (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 159) as is done however in (5.153b).

(5.153) PROLATIVE with (Π3) *barra* ‘outside’

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl6958]

<i>it-traffiku</i>	<i>kollu</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>kien</i>	<i>jġi</i>	<i>mit-tramuntana</i>	<i>ta’</i>
DEF-traffic	all:3SG.M	that	be	3SG.IPFV:come	from:DEF-north	of
<i>Malta</i>	[. . .]	<i>u</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>s-soltu</i>	<i>jgħaddi</i>	<i>[minn</i>
Malta	and that	DEF-usual_practice	3SG.M.IPFV:pass	<b>[from</b>		
<b><i>barra</i></b>	<i>ħaż-Żebbuġ]<sub>pp</sub></i>	<i>u</i>	<i>minn</i>	<i>Triq l-Imdina</i>	[. . .]	<i>bilfors</i>
<b><i>outside</i></b>	<i>ħaż-Żebbuġ]</i>	and from	Triq l-Imdina	perforce		

*kellu*                      *jigì*                      *devjat*                      *għal go* *Haż-Żebbuġ*  
 have.PFV:3SG.M    3SG.M.IPFV:come    deviate.PART    for    in    Haż-Żebbuġ  
 ‘[. . .] all the traffic that came from the north of Malta [. . .] and that usually  
 passes [**outside** Haż-Żebbuġ] and through Triq l-Imdina [. . .] had forcibly  
 to be diverted into Haż-Żebbuġ [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news53362]

*Fl-64*                      *minuta*                      *xutt*                      *tal-player*                      *Taljan*                      *ta’*                      *Floriana*  
 in:DEF-64    minute    shot    of:DEF-player    Italian    of    Floriana  
*Matteo Piciollo*                      *għadda*                      [**barra**                      *mil-lasti*                      *difizi*  
 Matteo Piciollo    pass                      [**outside**                      *from:DEF-post:PL*                      *defend.PART:PL*  
*mill-goalkeeper*                      *Mosti*]<sub>pp</sub>  
*from:DEF-goalkeeper*                      *Mosta:ADJR*]  
 ‘In the 64<sup>th</sup> minute, a shot by Floriana’s Italian player Matteo Piciollo passed  
 [**outside** the posts defended by Mosta’s goalkeeper].’

In the (a)-sentence, the Figure is the traffic from other parts of Malta that usually passes outside the village of Haż-Żebbuġ (= Ground). Owing to roadworks, the traffic had to be temporarily diverted into (and through) the village. The Figure in the (b)-sentence is the shot (metonymically representing the ball) that went wide. The posts of the goal represent the Ground. What is interesting about (5.153b) is the absence of (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ as directionality marker while, at the same time, (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ follows (Π3) *barra* ‘outside’ as marker of ABLATIVE government.<sup>118</sup>

In (5.154), we encounter the sole case of a Π that encodes configuration but does not tolerate the absence of the directionality marker (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ when it comes to expressing the PROLATIVE. What is more, the Korpus Malti 3.0 gives no evidence of (Π12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’ being used in PROLATIVE situations. This is why we have to adapt an example provided by the reference grammar.

(5.154) PROLATIVE with (Π12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’ – (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 167)

*Għaddiet*                      [*minn*                      *faċċata*                      *tiegħu*]<sub>pp</sub>                      *u*                      *ma*                      *ndunax*  
 pass:3SG.F.PFV    [**from**                      **opposite**                      *of:3SG.M*]                      and    NEG    notice:NEG  
*biha*  
 with:3SG.F  
 ‘She passed [**opposite him**] and he didn’t notice her.’ [O.T.]

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Section 4.1.2.2.1.2.2.2.

The Figure (= the woman = subject of the motion verb) passes somewhere across from the Ground (= the man = subject of the perception verb) but within the Ground's potential field of vision.

The first II from the domain of the PROPINQUUS is (II14) *fejn* 'near'. As is shown in (5.155), this II can be used in PROLATIVE constructions with as well as without (II41) *minn* 'from'. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 157) do not mention the possibility of dropping the directionality marker in this context.

(5.155) PROLATIVE with (II14) *fejn* 'near';

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news112466]

*Hekk kif Bennetti għadda [minn fejn it-tifla]<sub>pp</sub> din*  
 so how Bennetti pass [from near DEF-girl] DEM:F:PROX  
*qamet u marret hdejn Joyce*  
 rise:3SG.F.PFV and go:3SG.F.PFV beside Joyce  
 'As soon as Bennetti passed [near the girl] she rose and went beside Joyce.'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; european3575]

*il-haddiem għandu jkun provdut b'*  
 DEF-worker have.IPFV:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT provide.PART with  
*biżżejjed spazju hieles minn fejn ikun jista'*  
 enough space free from where 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT 3SG.M.IPFV:can  
*jgħaddi [fejn l-istazzjoni tax-xogħol tiegħu]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:pass [near DEF-station of:DEF-work of:3SG.M]  
 '[. . .] the worker has to be provided with enough free space which he may  
 pass through [near his work station].'

In the (a)-sentence, the Figure (= the person bearing the name Bennetti) is described as moving past close to the Ground (= the girl). In the (b)-sentence, the workers (= Figure) are provided with sufficient space to pass close to their work stations (= Ground) on their way elsewhere.

The reference grammar depicts the use of the directionality marker (II41) *minn* 'from' as optional in combination with (II17) *fuq* 'on'. The only example provided by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 161) to illustrate the optional status of (II41) *minn* 'from' is perhaps better classified as a case of the PERLATIVE.<sup>119</sup> In another example, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 160) do not employ brackets around (II41) *minn*

<sup>119</sup> The original example of Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 161) is reproduced here as (5.vi).

(5.vi) *Il-barbier għadda l-mus hafif [(minn) fuq wiċċu]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-barber pass DEF-razor light [(from) on face:3SG.M]  
 'The barber passed the razor lightly [on his face].' [O.T.]

‘from’ although the subtitle of the section suggests that the directional marker’s use is not mandatory. In (5.156), we present two examples in which the Figure passes (high) above the Ground without making physical contact with it.

(5.156) PROLATIVE with (II17) *fuq* ‘on’

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl217]

*l-ajruplan jgħaddi [minn fuq Malta]<sub>pp</sub> mingħajr ma*  
 DEF-aeroplane 3SG.M.IPFV:pass [from on Malta] without that  
*jinżel l-art*

3SG.M.IPFV:descend DEF-ground

‘[. . .] the aeroplane passes [**over** Malta] without landing [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news125470]

*Mixja oħra li għamilt kienet tibda minn*  
 walk other:F that make:1SG.PFV be:3SG.F.PFV 3SG.F.IPFV:begin from  
*Triq il-Brolli f’ Birzebbuġa u għaddejt minn fuq pont li*  
 Triq il-Brolli in Birzebbuġa and pass:1SG.PFV from on bridge that  
*jgħaddi [fuq Wied Hanak]<sub>pp</sub>*

3SG.M.IPFV:pass [on Wied Hanak]

‘Another walk I took started from Triq il-Brolli in Birzebbuġa and I passed over a bridge that passes [**over** Wied Hanak].’

In both cases, the Figure passes across the Ground but at a considerable distance from it so that there is no physical contact between Figure and Ground. The spatial situation therefore is not that of a PERLATIVE, but fits the description of the PROLATIVE.

In (5.157), the configuration marker is (II30) *ma* ‘with’. As mentioned above in connection with the SECUTIVE, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 163) do not register motion past constructions which involve this II.<sup>120</sup> To their mind, (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ must be used as configuration marker (together with (II41) *minn* ‘from’) to express this spatial meaning. However, in the Korpus Malti 3.0, there is evidence supporting the idea that (II30) *ma* ‘with’ too is admissible in PROLATIVE constructions.

We consider (5.vi) to represent a PERLATIVE situation since the Figure (= the knife) touches the Ground (= the face) while moving across it. There is thus contact between Figure and Ground. The PROLATIVE however would require that Figure and Ground remain at a (however small) distance from each other.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.1.4 (i).

(5.157) PROLATIVE with (II30) *ma* ‘with’

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl508]

*tgħaddi* [minn *ma*’ *karozza* *li* *kellha* *l-bieba*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:pass [from with car that have.PFV:3SG.F DEF-door  
*miftuha*]<sub>pp</sub> *ftit* *il* *bogħod* *minnha*  
 PART:open:F] little to distance from:3SG.F

‘[. . .] she passes [a car that had its door open] at a little distance from her.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news166887]

*x-xutt* *tagħha* *għadda* [*ma*’ *sieq* *il-lasti*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 DEF-shot of:3SG.F pass [with foot of:DEF-post:PL]  
 ‘[. . .] her shot passed [by the lower end of the goalpost].’

In both the (a)-sentence and the (b)-sentence, the Figure moves past the Ground at only a little distance but no contact is made between the two participants of the spatial situation. In (5.157a), the car can be considered to be a horizontally extended Ground whereas in (5.157b) the goalpost is too narrow to fit the same description. We assume that the use of (II30) *ma* ‘with’ as configuration marker is motivated by the temporary proximity of Figure and Ground.<sup>121</sup>

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 163) mention the II-II combination *minn maġenb* as one of two options to express motion past in the lateral domain (the other option being *minn biswit* as shown in (5.151a)). The cooccurrence of the configuration marker (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ and the directionality marker (II41) *minn* ‘from’ is documented in (5.158a). The absence of the directionality marker is illustrated in (5.158b) – an option that is not mentioned in the reference grammar.

(5.158) (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl2986]

*hemm* *wied* *u* *hemm* *xmara* *li* *tgħaddi* [*minn*  
 there valley and there river that 3SG.F.IPFV:pass [from  
*maġenb* *dan* *il-post*]<sub>pp</sub>  
*close to* DEM:M:PROX DEF-place]

‘[. . .] there is a valley and there is a river that passes [close to this place]  
 [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl5881]

*xi* *snin* *ilu* *kienu* *saru* *modifikazzjonijet* *meta*  
 some year.PL ago be:3PL.PFV become:3PL.PFV modification:PL when

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.1.1.

*kienet            saret                    it-triq            li            tgħaddi*  
 be:3SG.F.PFV   become:3SG.F.PFV   DEF-street   that   3SG.F.IPFV:pass  
*[maġenb   is-Salini]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[close\_to   DEF-Salini]*  
 '[. . .] some years ago, modifications had been realised when the street was  
 built that passes [**close to** Salini].'

(II48) *qrib* 'near' is another PROPINQUUS II that is partly synonymous with the previous one. The examples in (5.159) prove that the occurrence of PROPINQUUS IIs in PROLATIVE constructions is not the privilege of (II14) *fejn* 'near' as suggested by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 157).

(5.159) PROLATIVE with (II48) *qrib* 'near'

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news150262]

*raw            tifel   tiela'                    wkoll   it-taraġ            mekkanizzat   u*  
 see:3PL.PFV   boy   ascend.PART   also   DEF-stairway   mechanise:PART   and  
*kif   għadda   [minn   **qrib**   l-anzjana]<sub>pp</sub>            din*  
 how   pass   [**from   near**   DEF-elderly\_woman]   DEM:F:PROX  
*tilfet                    il-bilanċ*  
 lose:3SG.F.PFV   DEF-balance  
 '[. . .] they saw a boy who too was ascending the escalator and when he  
 passed [**near** the elderly woman] she lost her balance [. . .].'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news198144]

*Fi   triqtu                    lejn            Malta   il-katamaran   għadda*  
 in   street:POSS:3SG.M   towards   Malta   DEF-catamaran   pass  
*[**qrib**   is-Somalja]<sub>pp</sub>   f'   zona   li   hi   perikoluża   minħabba*  
*[**near**   DEF-Somalia]   in   zone   that   3SG.F   dangerous:F   on\_account\_of*  
*l-pirati                    tal-baħar*  
 DEF-pirate:PL   of:DEF-sea  
 'On its way towards Malta, the catamaran passed [**near** Somalia] in a zone  
 that is dangerous because of the pirates.'

In the (a)-sentence, the Figure (= the boy) passes so close to the Ground (= the elderly lady) that the latter loses her balance (and eventually drops on her back). The distance between the boy and the elderly lady is certainly much smaller than that between the catamaran (= Figure) and Somalia (= Ground) in the (b)-sentence. The coastline of the country extends over hundreds of kilometres whereas the human being put out of balance is like a dot on a small-scale map.

As to motion past in the anterior domain, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 159) treat the directionality marker (II41) *minn* 'from' as optional since the con-



figuration marker (Π49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ alone is sufficient when it comes to expressing the PROLATIVE. This is corroborated by the data found in the Korpus Malti 3.0. Two examples are given in (5.160).

(5.160) PROLATIVE with (Π49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’;

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature24]

*Jason għadda [minn quddiem l-iskola tan-Nadur]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 Jason pass [from in front of DEF-school of:DEF-Nadur]  
*l-iskola li kien jattendi missieru meta kien tifel*  
 DEF-school that be 3SG.M.IPFV:attend father:3SG.M when be boy  
 ‘Jason passed [in front of the school of Nadur], the school that his father attended when he was a boy.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news122175]

*Dan kollu għadda [quddiem għajnejja]<sub>pp</sub> din*  
 DEM:M:PROX all:3SG.M pass [in front of eye:PL:1SG] DEM:F:PROX  
*il-gimgha*  
 DEF-week  
 ‘All this passed [before my eyes] this week.’

In the (a)-sentence, the Figure does not enter the Ground but passes in front of it. There is thus no physical contact between Figure and Ground. In the case of the (b)-sentence, the motion event is imaginary and abstract in the sense that the speaker refers to events that he witnessed during the week. We accept this example as a metonymy.

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 162) provide an example of a ternary combination of IIs that is supposed to express motion past a Ground in the inferior domain with contact between Figure and Ground. The combination of three involves *minn* + *ma*’ + *taħt*.<sup>122</sup> Presumably, the latter functions as configuration marker while the leftmost II is responsible for directionality while (Π30) *ma*’ ‘with’ could fulfil the task of encoding contact. Not only does (Π30) *ma*’ ‘with’ not necessarily signal that there is contact between Figure and Ground,<sup>123</sup> but we have not identified any *minn* + *ma*’ + *taħt* combination in the Korpus Malti 3.0. Since the supposed contact

<sup>122</sup> Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 162) provide the following example:

(5.vii) *Biex seta’ kompla jitla’ kellu jixxabbat*  
 to can continue 3SG.M.IPFV:ascend have.PFV:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:crawl  
*[minn ma’ taħt il-blata]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[from with under DEF-rock]*

‘In order to be able to continue his climb, he had to creep [from under the rock].’ [O.T.]

<sup>123</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.1.1.

between Figure and Ground violates the definition of the PROLATIVE, examples of this kind would have to be classified as instances of the PERLATIVE, in the first place. What we have found instead are examples of the binary II-II combination *minn taht* and (II56) *taht* ‘under’ without directionality marker to express the PROLATIVE as documented in (5.161). Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 168) mention similar cases only in connection with long objects as Grounds.

(5.161) PROLATIVE with (II56) *taht* ‘under’

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news105365]

*Kif Abela għadda [minn taht il-pont]<sub>pp</sub> u ġie*  
 how Abela pass [from under DEF-bridge] and come  
*fid-dawra sab ma' wiċċu t-track*  
 in:DEF-turning find with face:3SG.M DEF-truck  
 ‘When Abela passed [under the bridge] and came to the turning, he found the truck right in front of him.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news105819]

*Dan il-wied sabiħ jgħaddi [taht ġebel*  
 DEM:M:PROX DEF-valley beautiful 3SG.M.IPFV:pass [under stone  
*Ghomor li hu blat għoli fuq il-lemin li*  
*Ghomor that 3SG.M rock high on DEF-right that*  
*għandu l-istess isem tal-Wied]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 have.IPFV:3SG.M DEF-same name of:DEF-valley]  
 ‘This valley is beautiful passing [under the Ghomor stone that is a tall rock on the right that has the same name as the valley].’

In both the (a)-sentence and the (b)-sentence, the motion of the Figure follows a path that leads the Figure past the Ground but Figure and Ground are never in physical contact with each other. In (5.161a), the Figure (= Abela) passes under the Ground (= the bridge) to face a new situation at the exit. In (5.161b), the valley moves metonymically through the landscape passing a tall rock that is placed on a higher level so that it is appropriate to say that the valley passes under or below the rock.

With (II58) *viċin* ‘near’ it is the turn of the last of the PROPINQUUS IIs. Like its synonyms, this II occurs in PROLATIVE constructions which either involve or exclude the directionality marker (II41) *minn* ‘from’. Both possibilities are featured in (5.162).

(5.162) PROLATIVE with (II58) *viċin* ‘near’

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl3925]

*nagħmlu użu mill-gas pipeline li se jgħaddi*  
 1.IPFV:make:PL use from:DEF-gas\_pipeline that FUT 3SG.M.IPFV:pass

[*minn viċin gżiritna*]<sub>pp</sub>

[*from near island:POSS:1PL*]

‘[. . .] we make use of the gas pipeline that will pass [*near our island*].’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; par17302]

*Dan l-ajruplan jgħaddi minn fuq l-Isla u*  
 DEM:M:PROX DEF-aeroplane 3SG.M.IPFV:pass from on DEF-Isla and  
*jgħaddi [viċin tal-bini]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 3SG.M.IPFV:pass [*near DEF-building*]

‘This aeroplane passes over Isla and passes [*near the building*].’

In (5.162a), it is clear that the underwater pipeline (again metonymically) passes near the island of Malta without touching it. Similarly, in (5.162b), the aeroplane does not come in direct contact with the building it flies over. The important point is that during the motion event, the Figure is near the Ground at least temporarily.

The last configuration marker to discuss in this section is (Π60) *wara* ‘after’. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 160) assume that in PROLATIVE constructions expressing motion past in the posterior domain, the directionality marker is optional. This assumption is confirmed by the data we have collected from the Korpus Malti 3.0. Two examples are given in (5.163).

- (5.163) PROLATIVE with (Π60) *wara* ‘after’

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news14746]

*l-vapur tal-Gozo Channel tas-sitta ta’ dalgħodu ha*  
 DEF-ship of:DEF-Gozo\_Channel of:DEF-six of this\_morning take  
*madwar 50 minuta biex wasal minn Ghawdex għal Malta*  
 around 50 minute to arrive from Gozo for Malta  
*meta kellu jgħaddi [minn wara Kemmuna]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 when have.PFV:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:pass [*from behind Comino*]

‘[. . .] this morning’s six o’clock Gozo Channel ferry took about 50 minutes to arrive from Gozo in Malta when it had to pass [*behind Comino*].’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news118304]

*parti mit-triq li tgħaddi [wara t-Technopark*  
 part from:DEF-street that 3SG.F.IPFV:pass [*behind DEF-Technopark*  
*tal-Mosta]*<sub>pp</sub> *inbniet fuq barriera antika*  
 of:DEF-Mosta] REFL:build:3SG.F.PFV on quarry old:F

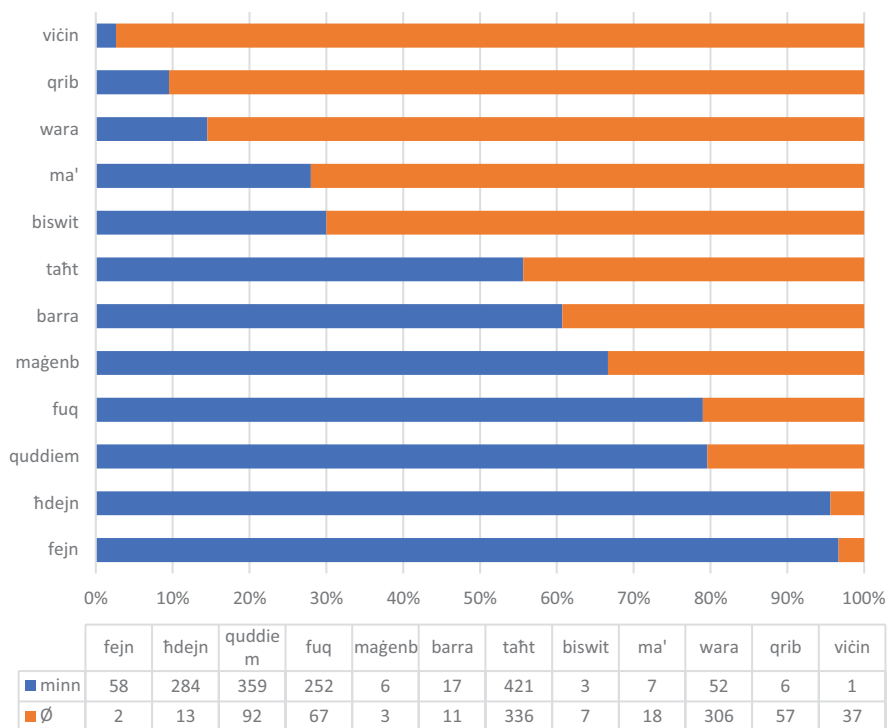
‘[. . .] a part of the street that passes [*behind the Technopark of Mosta*] was built on an old quarry.’

In (5.163a), the Gozo Channel ferry is forced to deviate from its usual route towards its destination. It is delayed because it had to take a detour passing behind Comino. No stop was made on the little island between Gozo and Malta. Comino was passed by. In (5.163b), we have another case of metonymical motion in the sense that the Figure is a street that is said to pass behind the Ground (= the Technopark). There is no direct contact between Figure and Ground.

The above examples prove that except (II12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’, all configuration markers may occur either together with (II41) *minn* ‘from’ or without the directionality marker. In qualitative terms, the different IIs behave the same. The picture changes when we take account of the quantities. In Figure 5.16, we contrast per configuration marker the turnouts and shares of PROLATIVE constructions with and without (II41) *minn* ‘from’. The IIs are ordered top-down according to the increasing share of constructions which involve the directionality marker. Owing to the absence of variation, (II12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’ is not included in the survey. We have exclusively counted PROLATIVE PPs that immediately follow an inflected form of *ghadda* ‘pass’.<sup>124</sup>

The shares of the two options are distributed over the IIs such that a continuum emerges. At the two extremes, (II58) *vicin* ‘near’ (the only Italo-Romance II in Figure 5.16) and (II14) *fejn* ‘near’ attested to the almost exclusive use of the configuration marker alone and of the II-II combination involving (II41) *minn* ‘from’, respectively. Five IIs prefer the *minn*-less construction over the II-II combination, for seven IIs it is exactly the other way around. Interestingly, the two IIs at the top and the two IIs at the bottom belong to the PROPINQUUS domain. Equally interesting is the fact that the antonymic IIs (II60) *wara* ‘after’ and (II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ display different preferences. The same holds for the antonyms (II56) *taħt* ‘under’ and (II17) *fuq* ‘on’. Thus, the label *minn*-Ø alternation glosses over the strikingly individualistic behaviour of the IIs. The PROLATIVE stands out among the categories subsumed under the heading Path insofar as it is the only category that systematically tolerates the absence of the directionality marker. The occasional omission of (II41) *minn* ‘from’ in perlative constructions mentioned in passing by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) could not be confirmed on the basis of the Korpus Malti 3.0. The failure to identify instances of *minn*-dropping in perlative constructions in the electronic resource does not mean that *minn*-less perlatives are generally uncom-

<sup>124</sup> For practicality, only uninflected forms of the IIs are included in the count. Similarly, no case of fusion with the definite article clitic have been taken account of. The frequencies must be taken with a grain of salt because for several IIs it was necessary to extract the PROLATIVE cases from a considerably larger number of other cases (idioms, loan translations from English affecting the meaning of *ghadda* ‘pass’, etc.).



**Figure 5.16:** *minn*-Ø alternation (PROLATIVE) in combination with forms of *ghadda* ‘pass’.

mon also in the spoken register of Maltese. Whether or not this is the case needs to be investigated in a follow-up study.

The discussion of the PROLATIVE marks the endpoint of the presentation not only of the Path categories but also of the spatio-temporal meanings. We will put them into a new order below.<sup>125</sup> Before we get there, however, it is necessary to look beyond the limits of space and time in the next subsection.

### 5.1.3 Beyond space and time

At this point, we enter Hagège’s (2010: 262) non-spatio-temporal domain. As in the foregoing sections, we take Hagège’s taxonomy of meaning categories as our guideline with the proviso that wherever we deem it necessary, the terminology, the order in which the categories are presented, and the number of distinctions will be

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.

modified. The meaning categories we add to Hagège's list are discussed separately in the final subsections of this section. Two meaning categories of Hagège's – the adnumerative<sup>126</sup> and the hypothetical<sup>127</sup> – are skipped because their expressions do not involve members of BLOMP 2.0. We continue with the above practice of comparing Hagège's grid of categories with the information that can be gained from the reference grammar. Most of the subsequent subsections are shorter than the average length of the subsections dedicated to spatio-temporal categories. For each of the meaning categories, we present at least three sentential examples involving different syntactic contexts in order to give the reader an idea of the combinatory potential of a given  $\Pi$ . Wherever it is necessary because of interpretative challenges, the number of examples exceeds the minimum of three. The first four of Hagège's non-spatio-temporal categories – PROPRIETIVE, EXCLUSIVE, ECEPTIVE, and COMITATIVE – “immediately follow one another because they belong to the semantic subdomain “being with/without” (Hagège 2010: 307). They are thus the focus of the first three subsections.<sup>128</sup>

### 5.1.3.1 PROPRIETIVE

Hagège (2010: 262) proposes the English gerund *having* to illustrate the meaning of the PROPRIETIVE. The PROPRIETIVE is termed “ornative” in Stolz/Stroh/Urdze (2006: 288–289) and “circumstance” in Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 149). The different terms notwithstanding, we are facing cases of prepositional attribution<sup>129</sup> in which ( $\Pi$ 7) *bi* ‘with’ heads a PP that ascribes a physico-mental property (permanent or other) to the modified noun or indicates that the latter is equipped with or wears or carries a portable object. The attributive PP may also take abstract nouns as its complement. The modification takes place NP-internally. A selection of examples illustrating the use of PROPRIETIVE ( $\Pi$ 7) *bi* ‘with’ is given in (5.164). Some of the uses will be reconsidered in the section on the COMITATIVE.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>126</sup> The English expression provided by Hagège (2010: 262) for the adnumerative is *in proportion to*. Aquilina (1999: 2440) gives *approporzjon ta'* as Maltese translation equivalent. However, there is no entry for *approporzjon* either in Aquilina (1987, 1991), in E. Serracino-Inglott (1975) or in M. Serracino-Inglott (2003). We have therefore decided not to accept this item as candidate for the status of  $\Pi$ .

<sup>127</sup> Hagège (2010: 262) illustrates the hypothetical with English *in case of*. The corresponding Maltese expression is *f' każ ta'* (Aquilina 1999: 387) – a combination of three syntactic words which fails to meet the criteria of the canonical  $\Pi$  and thus falls outside the scope of this study.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Sections 5.1.3.1–5.1.3.4.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Section 4.2.1.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.3.4.

## (5.164) PROPRIETIVE I

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news14455]

*Keith Schembri staqsieh ta' min hi l-karozza*

Keith Schembri ask:3SG.M of who 3SG.F DEF-car

*[bil-pjanči GM 14]<sub>pp</sub>**[with:DEF-number plate:PL GM 14]*‘[. . .] Keith Schembri asked him whom the car [**with the number plate GM 14**] belonged to.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news21385]

*semmiet numru ta' kazijiet fosthom ta' mara*

hear:CAUS:3SG.F.PFV number of case:PL amongst:3PL of woman

*[bil-kanċer]<sub>pp</sub>**[with:DEF-cancer]*‘[. . .] she mentioned a number of cases among which that of a woman [**with cancer**] [. . .].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; religion205]

*Kellna naqsmu x-xmara [bil-kukkudrillij]<sub>pp</sub>*have.PFV:1PL 1.IPFV:CROSS:PL DEF-river [**with:DEF-crocodile:PL**]‘We had to cross the river [(infested) **with crocodiles**] [. . .].’

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 149) mention (II55) *ta'* ‘of’ as marker in the domain of quality assignment. We have discussed *ta'*-PPs above.<sup>131</sup> As the examples in (5.165) suggest, (II55) *ta'* ‘of’ may indeed function as PROPRIETIVE marker.

## (5.165) PROPRIETIVE II

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news140441]

*Iż-żewġ nisa daħlu f' karozza [ta' kulur blu]<sub>pp</sub>*DEF-two woman.PL enter:3PL.PFV in car [**of colour blue**]‘The two women got into a [**blue**] car [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature7]

*Kienet mara [ta' ftit kliem]<sub>pp</sub>*be:3SG.F.PFV woman [**of little word:COLL**]‘She was a woman [**of few words**] [. . .].’

---

131 Cf. Section 4.2.2.

- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news112085]  
*ż-żoni f' Malta fejn jista' jsir*  
 DEF-zone:PL in Malta where 3SG.M.IPFV:can 3SG.M.IPFV:become  
*bini [ta' għoli medju]<sub>pp</sub> huma San Ġiljan Tas-Sliema Gżira*  
 building [of height medium] 3PL San Ġiljan Tas-Sliema Gżira  
 '[. . .] the zones in Malta where construction [of medium height] can be realised are San Ġiljan, Tas-Sliema, Gżira [. . .].'

What we can state right now as to the competition between the two IIs is that (II7) *bi* 'with' and (II55) *ta'* 'of' do not seem to replace each other freely in any given context. However, example (5.166) features (II7) *bi* 'with' in a context which involves (II55) *ta'* 'of' in (5.165c).

- (5.166) PROPRIETIVE III – [Korpus Malti 3.0; european4806]  
*is-siġar jagħmlu parti minn klassijiet predominanti jew*  
 DEF-tree.PL 3.IPFV:make:PL part from class:PL predominant or  
*dominanti [. . .] jew ta' siġar [b' għoli medju ta' ±20%]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 dominant or of tree.PL [with height medium of ±20%]  
 '[. . .] the trees form part of predominant or dominant classes or of tress [with a medium height of ±20%] [. . .].'

In terms of their token frequency, attributive PPs of the type [*ta' għoli*] are attested 278 times in the Korpus Malti 3.0 where we also find 103 matches for the competitor [*b' għoli*]. To determine how the two IIs divide the PROPRIETIVE domain between each other, a dedicated in-depth study is required.

### 5.1.3.2 EXCLUSIVE

The EXCLUSIVE is in an antonymic relation to the PROPRIETIVE because it indicates that a given entity is lacking a certain property. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 149) speak of “negative circumstance” or “negative quality”. Irrespective of the label, there are two IIs that express the EXCLUSIVE, namely (II9) *bla* ‘without’ and (II36) *mingħajr* ‘without’ whose formal differences have been addressed already.<sup>132</sup> The existence of two IIs with EXCLUSIVE function does not seem to form a parallel to the distribution of the two IIs discussed in connection with the PROPRIETIVE, i.e., there is no way to link either of the two EXCLUSIVE IIs to any of the two PROPRIETIVE IIs in particular. If there are meaning differences or other they are neutralised in the EXCLUSIVE. As in the case of (II7) *bi* ‘with’ and (II55) *ta'* ‘of’, (II9) *bla* ‘without’ and (II36) *mingħajr* ‘without’ are the heads of NP-internal prepositional attributes.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Section 4.1.1.1.



The two EXCLUSIVE IIs are illustrated separately. In (5.167), we provide three examples of (II9) *bla* ‘without’ whereas its synonym (II36) *mingħajr* ‘without’ is featured in (5.168).

(5.167) EXCLUSIVE I

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture2686]

*hu possibbli tara live x' qed jìgri*  
 3SG.M possible 2SG.IPFV:see live what PROG 3SG.M:run  
*fir-rahāl jew belt donnu bħal qisek qed*  
 in:DEF-village or town as\_if:3SG.M like measure:2SG PROG  
*tgħaddi mit-toroq ġo karozza [bla saqaf]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 2SG.IPFV:pass from:DEF-street.PL in car [without ceiling]  
 ‘[. . .] it is possible that you see what is going on in the village or town, as if you consider yourself passing through the streets in a convertible.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news83657]

*Mara [bla xagħar]<sub>pp</sub> li qiegħda tbat*  
 woman [without hair] that PROG:F 3SG.F.IPFV:suffer  
*bil-kanċer iżda ma tgorr xejn*  
 with:DEF-cancer but NEG 3SG.F.IPFV:grumble nothing  
 ‘A woman [without hair] who is suffering from cancer but does not complain at all.’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news50447]

*In-nies baqgħu telgħin mill-istiva qishom*  
 DEF-people remain:3PL.PFV ascend.PART:PL from:DEF-hold measure:3PL  
*xmara [bla tmiem]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 river [without end]  
 ‘The people kept climbing up the hold like an [endless] stream.’

The nouns that are eligible as complements of (II9) *bla* ‘without’ stem from a wide range of semantic classes. The only restriction that applies is already known,<sup>133</sup> namely the impossibility of this II to take definite complements.

In contrast, (II36) *mingħajr* ‘without’ may cooccur with definite and indefinite NPs. In (5.168) we nevertheless give preference to illustrating (II36) *mingħajr* ‘without’ in combinations with indefinite complements.

<sup>133</sup> From Section 4.1.1.1.

## (5.168) EXCLUSIVE II

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news201449]

*Huwa ammetta wkoll li saq karozza [mingħajr numru  
3SG.M admit also that drive car [without number  
ta' registrazzjoni]<sub>pp</sub>  
of registration]*

'He also admitted to driving a car [without number plates].'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news184557]

*Stephanie Butler kienet mara [mingħajr ebda xogħol fiss]<sub>pp</sub>  
Stephanie Butler be:3SG.F.PFV woman [without no work steady]*

'Stephanie Butler was a woman [without a steady job].'

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news162859]

*U wieħed irid jiftakar ukoll li  
and one 3SG.M.IPFV:need 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:remember also that  
għandna sptar [mingħajr teatru principali  
have.IPFV:1PL hospital [without theatre principal  
tal-operazzjoni]<sub>pp</sub>  
of:DEF-operation]*

'And one has to remember too that we have a hospital [without main  
operating theatre] [. . .].'

Except that based on definiteness, there do not seem to be any clear differences as to the combinability of the two EXCLUSIVE IIs with nouns. Both allow for combinations with concrete and abstract nouns, etc. We thus classify (II9) *bla* 'without' (II36) *mingħajr* 'without' as two of a kind. Future in-depth investigations might reveal however that there are subtle meaning nuances which have escaped our notice.

### 5.1.3.3 EXCEPTIVE

For the EXCEPTIVE, Hagège (2010: 262) provides three English examples, namely *except*, *save*, and *bar(ring)*. When the same author discusses the relation of the EXCEPTIVE and EXCLUSIVE to the PROPRIETIVE and the COMITATIVE, he seems to confuse the notions EXCEPTIVE and EXCLUSIVE (Hagège 2020: 307–308). Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 154) only mention (II34) *minbarra* 'except' as representative of the EXCEPTIVE (which they term "exclusive"). There are however, another three largely synonymous EXCEPTIVE IIs, viz. (II1) *apparti* 'apart from', (II20) *għajr* 'except', and (II24) *hliet* 'except'. Two Semitic IIs compete with one Italo-Romance II.

In (5.169)–(5.172), we present two examples for each of the four EXCEPTIVE IIs. At least two of the IIs may also function as ADDITIVE IIs as we will see below.<sup>134</sup> The first example is connected to (II1) *apparti* ‘apart from’. In (5.169a), we have nominative government whereas in (5.169b), the same place name as complement is governed by the same II according to the ABLATIVE pattern.

(5.169) EXCEPTIVE I

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl10770]

*Dehret fl-ewwel paġna ta' ħafna mill-gazzetti*  
 appear:3SG.F.PFV in:DEF-first page of many from:DEF-newspaper:PL  
*ewlenin fid-dinja [apparti Malta]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 first:PL in:DEF-world [apart\_from Malta]  
 ‘It [the article] appeared on the frontpage of many leading newspapers in the world [except in Malta].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news138672]

*Sal-21 ta' April il-linja tal-ajru Emirates mhix*  
 till:DEF-21 of April DEF-line of:DEF-air Emirates NEG:3SG.F.NEG  
*taċċetta passigġieri li jridu jivvjaġġaw*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:accept passenger:PL that 3.IPFV:need:PL 3.IPFV:travel:PL  
*lejn xi destinazzjoni fl-Ewropa [apparti minn*  
 towards some destination in:DEF-Europe [apart\_from from  
*Malta Larnaca Moska Ateni u Istanbul]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*Malta Larnaca Moscow Athens and Istanbul]*  
 ‘Until 21<sup>st</sup> April, the airline Emirates does not accept passengers who want to travel to a destination in Europe [other than Malta, Larnaca, Moscow, Athens, and Istanbul].’

What is said in both sentences is that Malta does not belong to those countries in which certain events take place. In the (a)-sentence, Malta is characterised as the only country worldwide whose leading newspapers fail to feature a certain story. In the (b)-sentence, an airline temporarily refuses to accept passengers going to the vast majority of the European airports. There are exceptions to this rule, namely the airports of Malta, Larnaca, Moscow, Athens, and Istanbul. This means that (II1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ is used in EXCEPTIVE function and not in its ADDITIVE function.

The next candidate to consider is (II20) *għajr* ‘except’. The examples in (5.170) show that this II has EXCEPTIVE function like the foregoing II.

134 Cf. Section 5.1.3.15.

## (5.170) EXCEPTIVE II

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news146046]

*Xi twieġeb għal min jgħid li [għajr*  
 what 2SG.IPFV:answer for who 3SG.M.IPFV:say that [except  
*Malta u l-Filippini]<sub>pp</sub> l-pajjiżi l-oħrajn*  
*Malta and DEF-Philippines] DEF-country:PL DEF-other:PL*  
*tad-dinja daħħlu d-divorzju*  
 of:DEF-world enter.CAUS:3PL.PFV DEF-divorce  
 ‘What do you answer to someone who says that [except Malta and the  
 Philippines] the other countries of the world have introduced divorce?’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news83431]

*Ħadd ma ssogra joħroġ ordni bħal din u*  
 nobody NEG risk 3SG.M.IPFV:exit order like DEM:F:PROX and  
*ħadd ma azzarda jmur minn jeddu [għajr*  
 nobody NEG dare 3SG.M.IPFV:go from right:3SG.M [except  
*il-mara tal-kaptan li telgħet fuq il-vapur*  
 DEF-woman of:DEF-captain who ascend:3SG.PFV on DEF-ship  
*biex iġġib qattus li kellha fil-kabina]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*to 3SG.F.IPFV:bring cat that have.PFV:3SG.F in:DEF-cabin]*  
 ‘Nobody risked to give out an order like this and nobody dared to go on his  
 own free will [except the captain’s wife who got on board the ship to fetch  
 a cat that she had in her cabin].’

In (5.170a), it is assumed that all countries have introduced divorce – except Malta and the Philippines. The wider context of (5.170b) pictures a ship being in danger of exploding. The crew does not dare to enter the lower decks. However, the captain’s wife behaves contrary to reason because she goes to her cabin to fetch a cat from there. Everybody acts the same except her.

The facts are very much the same also for (Π24) *ħlief* ‘except’ as shown in (5.171).

## (5.171) EXCEPTIVE III

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl10444]

*Ir-rapport ikompli jgħid li organizzazzjonijiet*  
 DEF-report 3SG.M.IPFV:continue 3SG.M.IPFV:say that organisation:PL  
*sportive minn pajjiżi membri kollha [ħlief*  
 sportive:PL from country:PL member:PL all:3SG.F [except

*Malta* *u* *l-Litwanja*<sub>pp</sub> *ingabru* *flimkien* *sabiex*  
*Malta* *and* *DEF-Lithuania*] 3.IPFV:REFL:collect:PL together to  
*flimkien jagħmlu proposti għal 12-il proġett Madwar*  
 together 3.IPFV:make:PL proposal:PL for 12 project around  
*l-Ewropa*  
 DEF-Europe

‘The report continues to say that sports organizations from all member countries [**except** Malta and Lithuania] collect their thoughts in order to jointly put forward proposals for twelve projects around Europe.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news167322]

*ħadd ma għandu titolu ta’ din l-art*  
 nobody NEG have.IPFV:3SG.M title of DEM:F:PROX DEF-land  
*[ħlief il-mara u niesha]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 [**except** DEF-woman and people:3SG.F]  
 ‘[. . .] nobody is entitled to this land [**except** the wife and her people].’

In the (a)-sentence, Malta together with Lithuania does not participate in an otherwise pan-E.U. initiative. In the (b)-sentence, it is stated that nobody has the right to own a certain piece of land except the wife (of the deceased) and her family. The EXCEPTIVE meaning of (II24) *ħlief* ‘except’ is beyond doubt.

Finally, there is (II34) *minbarra* ‘except’. In (5.172), the same nouns – *Malta* and *il-mara* ‘the woman’ – as for the previous two EXCEPTIVE IIs are involved as complements.

(5.172) EXCEPTIVE IV

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news107893]

*Simon Busuttil li kieku kien jimmilita fi kwalunkwe*  
 Simon Busuttil who if be 3SG.M.IPFV:militate in whatever  
*pajjiż tal-Punent [minbarra Malta]<sub>pp</sub> kien jisparixxi*  
 country of:DEF-west [**except** Malta] be 3SG.M.IPFV:disappear  
*mix-xena politika l-ghada stess li*  
 from:DEF-scene political:F DEF-tomorrow same that  
*joħroġ b’ dawn it-teoriji perikolużi*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:exit with DEM:PL:PROX DEF-theory:PL dangerous:PL  
 ‘Simon Busuttil who, if he had militated in any western country [**except** Malta] had disappeared from the political scene on the day after he put forward these dangerous theories [. . .].’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl149]  
*qabel ir-Rivoluzzjoni Franciża kull min kien aristokratiku*  
 before DEF-revolution French:F all who be aristocrat  
*[minbarra l-mara]<sub>pp</sub> kien ikollu l-konkubini*  
 [except DEF-woman] be 3SG.M.IPFV.have.FUT:3SG.M DEF-concubine:PL  
 ‘[. . .] before the French Revolution, every aristocrat [except the wife]  
 would have concubines [. . .].’

In (5.172a), Malta is depicted as an exception in the western world since it is the only country that allows political activities like those associated with the name of Simon Busuttil. In (5.172b), the pre-revolutionary custom of French aristocrats to have concubines is described as a commonality from which only the noble women were excluded. In both examples, the EXCEPTIVE function of (II34) *minbarra* ‘except’ is clear. No other interpretation is possible.

What is striking about Hagège’s taxonomy is the absence of the meaning category INCLUSIVE, i.e. the antonym of the EXCEPTIVE does not show up on the list of categories. We dedicate a separate section to the INCLUSIVE.<sup>135</sup>

#### 5.1.3.4 COMITATIVE

The COMITATIVE and its relation to the INSTRUMENTIVE fill a number of pages in Hagège (2010: 309–315). Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 148) mention (II30) *ma* ‘with’ as the sole COMITATIVE II in Maltese. According to Stolz/Stroh/Urdze (2006: 294), this II can certainly be considered to be the principal exponent of the prototypical COMITATIVE, i.e., it is used to describe situations of accompaniment which involve two human participants – the accompanee and the companion. The two participants are invested with (ideally) the same degree of control over the situation. Situations of this type are given in (5.173).

- (5.173) COMITATIVE I  
 (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news216597]  
*Bajada ċaħad kompletament li kien mar [ma’ Camilleri]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 Bajada deny completely that be go [with Camilleri]  
*Rotterdam*  
 Rotterdam  
 ‘[. . .] Bajada denied absolutely that he had gone to Rotterdam [with Camilleri].’

135 Cf. Section 5.1.3.22.

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature20]  
*Kien hemm raġel ieħor Richard li wasal [ma’*  
*be there man other Richard that arrive [with*  
*bintu<sub>pp</sub> ftit warajkom*  
*daughter:POSS:3SG.M little after:2PL*  
 ‘There was another man, Richard, who arrived [**with his daughter**] shortly after you.’
- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature24]  
*Meta Jason tkellem [ma’ missieru<sub>pp</sub> dwar dawn*  
*when Jason speak [with father:3SG.M about DEM:PL:PROX*  
*il-ħsibijiet kollha dan spjegalu li kienet*  
*DEF-thought:PL all:3SG.F DEM:M:PROX explain:IO:3SG.M that be:3SG.F.PFV*  
*ħaġa normali*  
*thing normal*  
 ‘When Jason talked [**with his father**] about all the thoughts, the father explained to him that it was a normal phenomenon [. . .].’

In (5.173a–b), motion events are described in which two human participants are involved. In the wider context of the (a)-sentence, the person named Bajada is suspected of having accompanied another person with Camilleri to Rotterdam. If the suspicion was correct, both Bajada and Camilleri went to the destination as equal partners. Similarly, in the (b)-sentence, Richard and his daughter arrive together, meaning: the use of (Π30) *ma’* ‘with’ implies that there is no asymmetrical control of the situation between the two participants. In the (c)-sentence, motion does not play a role. However, Jason is said to have talked about his thoughts with his father. The conversation between father and son involves both participants as active speakers and passive listeners. There is thus equal control of the situation for both Jason and his father.

However, even if both participants in an accompaniment situation are animate, the control of the situation must not always be mutual. In those cases where the control over the situation is the exclusive privilege of only one of the participants, a different Π has to be employed. This Π is (Π7) *bi* ‘with’. Compare the examples of bona fide COMITATIVES in (5.174) with those in (5.175).

(5.174) COMITATIVE Π

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news8567]  
*Margaret tirrakkonta li kienet thobb ħafna*  
*Margaret 3SG.F.IPFV:narrate that be:3SG.F.PFV 3SG.F.IPFV:love very*

*toħroġ* [*mal-ħbieb*]<sub>pp</sub> *u tilgħab it-tombola*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:exit [**with**:DEF-friend.PL] and 3SG.F.IPFV:play DEF-tombola  
 ‘Margret reports that she loved very much to go out [**with the friends**] and play tombola.’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news8442]

*Qal li iben l-Imnieħru ħareġ mill-karozza u telaq [ma’ Jason]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 say that son l-Imnieħru exit from:DEF-car and leave [**with Jason**]  
 [Jason]

‘He said that Imnieħru’s son got out of the car and left [**with Jason**] [. . .].’

- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news33582]

*kien qieghed joqġhod [mat-tfajla tiegħu]*<sub>pp</sub> *f’ residenza*  
 be PROG 3SG.M.IPFV:stay [**with**:DEF-girl of:3SG.M] in residence  
*f’ Ħaż-Żabbar*  
 in Ħaż-Żabbar

‘[. . .] he lived [**with his girl**] in a flat in Ħaż-Żabbar [. . .].’

- (5.175) COMITATIVE III (asymmetrical control)

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature81]

*Kont qed nara ’l dik il-mara li*  
 be:1SG.PFV PROG 1SG.IPFV:see to DEM:F:DIST DEF-woman that  
*toħroġ [bil-kelb]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 3SG.F.IPFV:exit [**with**:DEF-dog]

‘I saw this woman who came out [**with the dog**] [. . .].’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; religion423]

*mar ħareġ il-karrozza antika tagħhom mill-maħżen u*  
 go exit DEF-car old:F of:3PL from:DEF-warehouse and  
*telaq [b’ Michael passiġġier]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 leave [**with Michael passenger**]

‘[. . .] he went and fetched their old car from the warehouse and left [**with Michael as passenger**].’

- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news74838]

*U dan l-ispace jerga’ jkompli*  
 and DEM:M:PROX DEF-space 3SG.M.IPFV:do again 3SG.M.IPFV:continue  
*jonqos jekk is-sieheb il-ġdid tal-missier jew*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:diminish if DEF-partner DEF-new of:DEF-father or  
*l-omm se jiġi joqġhod [bit-tfal]*  
 DEF-mother FUT 3SG.M.IPFV:come 3SG.M.IPFV:stay [**with**:DEF-child.PL]



*tiegħu*<sub>pp</sub> *fl-istess* *dar* *tagħna*  
 of:3SG.M in:DEF-same house of:1PL

‘And this space will again shrink further if the new partner of the father or the mother comes to live [**with** his children] in our house.’

The six situations described in (5.175) and (5.176) feature situations which involve two animate participants. In (5.175), the appropriate choice as a linker between accompanee and companion is (II30) *ma* ‘with’. This II is chosen because Margret and her friends (= (a)-sentence), Jason and Imnieħru’s son (= (b)-sentence) as well as the anonymous delinquent and his girlfriend (= (c)-sentence) exert the same degree of control over the situation since, ideally, they are free to terminate the accompaniment situation at any time. In contrast, the situations in (5.175) are asymmetrical as to who has control over the event. In (5.175a), the woman goes out to walk the dog with the latter being under her control. In (5.175b), the unnamed person drives away with Michael who as a passenger in the car is not in control of where the driver is going. In (5.175c), the children of the parent’s new partner are dependent on where their parent is going to live and thus have no control over the situation. The lack of control is signalled by the use of (II7) *bi* ‘with’.

In connection to the choice of either (II30) *ma* ‘with’ or (II7) *bi* ‘with’, example (5.176) is instructive.

(5.176) COMITATIVE IV (mixed control) – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature25]

*Imbagħad* *fil-weekend* *johorġu* [*mal-familja*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 then in:DEF-weekend 3.IPFV:exit:PL [**with**:DEF-family]  
 [*bit-tfal*]<sub>pp</sub> *fil-każ* *ta’ Daren* *u* [*mal-ħbieb*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 [**with**:DEF-child.PL] in:DEF-case of Daren and [**with**:DEF-friend.PL]  
*fil-każ* *ta’ Shireen*  
 in:DEF-case of Shireen  
 ‘Then, on the weekend, they go out [**with** the family], [**with** the children] in Daren’s case and [**with** the friends] in Shireen’s case.’

This sentence contains three COMITATIVE PPs. In two cases, (II30) *ma* ‘with’ is made use of whereas (II7) *bi* ‘with’ occurs once. The motivation for the differential use of the IIs is the control exerted by the companion. (II30) *ma* ‘with’ takes nouns as complements which refer to groups of people that consist at least partly of adults, i.e., participants who are able to exert control over the situation. This is not the case with the children who are taken along on an outing by Daren. Accordingly, (II30) *ma* ‘with’ does not fit and is replaced by (II7) *bi* ‘with’.

The companions in (5.176) are treated like inanimate objects that are transported or worn in motion events (= CONJECTIVE). Typical CONJECTIVES as a subcategory of the COMITATIVE are presented in (5.177).

(5.177) COMITATIVE V (CONJECTIVE)

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature43]

*Imbagħad tiġi [bil-ħames liri]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 then 2SG.IPFV:come [with:DEF-five pound:PL]  
 ‘Then you come [with the five pounds].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news59534]

*biex turini l-ferħ tagħha riedet*  
 to 3SG.F.IPFV:show:1SG DEF-joy of:3SG.F want:3SG.F.PFV  
*tiġi [bil-kappell]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:come [with:DEF-hat]  
 ‘[. . .] to show me her joy she wanted to come [with the hat on] [. . .].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl1211]

*qalet li ma rridux il-bucket brigade il-brigata*  
 say:3SG.F.PFV that NEG 1.IPFV:want:PL:NEG DEF-bucket\_brigade DEF-brigade  
*li tiġi [bil-pala]<sub>pp</sub> u [bil-barmil*  
 that 3SG.F.IPFV:come [with:DEF-shovel] and [with:DEF-bucket  
*tar-ramel]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*of:DEF-sand]*  
 ‘[. . .] she said that we do not want the bucket brigade, the brigade that comes [with the shovel] and [(with) the sand bucket].’

The referents of the inanimate nouns that function as complements of (II7) *bi* ‘with’ in (5.177) have no autonomy. They are fully controlled by human participants. The human participant carries the five pounds to the creditor (= (a)-sentence), the lady plans to go to an event wearing the hat (= (b)-sentence), and the fire brigade is described as bringing along shovel and sand bucket (= (c)-sentence). The money, the hat, the shovel, and the sand bucket are unable to move unless a human participant carries them from a to b.

What we have argued in the foregoing paragraphs boils down to the conclusion that the animacy of the companion is not sufficient to determine which of the two IIs is suitable for a given context. The crucial factor is control. By definition, inanimates do not exert control. Nonhuman animates are probably borderline cases as to the exertion of control. In the case of human companions, the degree of control may vary according to the exact power relations between accompanee and companion.

### 5.1.3.5 INSTRUMENTIVE

It is only a small step from the CONFECTIVE variety of the COMITATIVE to the instrumental. The latter category goes by the name of INSTRUMENTIVE in Hagège's (2010: 262) system. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 148) mention (Π7) *bi* 'with' as sole Π with INSTRUMENTIVE function in Maltese. As we will see below, there is also (Π45) *permezz* 'by means of' which claims a segment of the INSTRUMENTIVE domain.

In (5.178), we illustrate the INSTRUMENTIVE use of (Π7) *bi* 'with' with scenes in which an inanimate object serves as tool for the successful realisation of an action by human agents.

(5.178) INSTRUMENTIVE I

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news97966]

*Ciantar kien qed iqaċċat iz-zkuk [b' sega elettrika]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 Ciantar be PROG 3SG.M.IPFV:cut DEF-stem.PL [with saw electric:F]  
 '[. . .] Ciantar was cutting the stems [with an electric saw] [. . .].'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news5679]

*żewġ suspettati ġew arrestati wara li*  
 two suspect:PL come:3PL.PFV arrest:PART:PL after that  
*ħarbu minn fuq il-post [b' karozza tal-pulizija]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 flee:3PL.PFV from on DEF-place [with car of:DEF-police]  
 '[. . .] two suspects were arrested after they had fled from the place [in a police car].'

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news773]

*L-attriċi ta' 69 sena wahħlet pinna [b' labra*  
 DEF-actress of 69 year stuck:3SG.F.PFV pen [with needle  
*tas-sarwan]<sub>pp</sub> mal-libsa ħamra eleganti tagħha*  
 of:DEF-sarwan with:DEF-dress red elegant of:3SG.F  
 'The 69-years-old actress fastened a pen [with a sarwan needle] to her elegant red dress.'

(d) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news141796]

*xi ħadd informa lill-pulizija [b' telefonata*  
 some somebody inform to:DEF-police [with phone call  
*anonima]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 anonymous]  
 '[. . .] somebody informed the police [by means of an anonymous phone call].'

In the (a)-sentence, the actor uses an electric saw to cut the wood. In the (b)-sentence, a police car is used by two suspects to get away from the scene of the crime. In the (c)-sentence, it is the needle that allows the actress to fasten the pen on her

dress. And finally, the (d)-sentence shows that even something that is not tangible can serve as instrument. In this case, an anonymous phone call conveys the information to the police. The saw, the car, the needle, and the phone call are bona fide instruments no matter whether their referents are tangible or not.

As to (II45) *permezz* ‘by means of’, the examples in (5.179) are meant to show that this INSTRUMENTIVE II also allows for combinations with nouns from different semantic domains.

(5.179) INSTRUMENTIVE II

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic1]

[*Permezz tal-mezzi elettronici*]<sub>pp</sub> l-istudenti

[by\_means\_of of:DEF-mean:PL electronic:PL] DEF-student:PL

*ingħataw l-opportunità li jiktbu b' mod*

3.IPFV:REFL:give:PL DEF-opportunity that 3.IPFV:write with manner

*gurnalistik fuq diversi aspetti*

journalistic on diverse:PL aspect:PL

[By means of the electronic tools] the students are given the opportunity to write in the journalistic style about various aspects [ . . . ]’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic12]

*Kien f' dik is-sena li [permezz tad-diplomazija]*<sub>pp</sub>

be in DEM:F:DIST DEF-year that [by\_means\_of of:DEF-diplomacy]

*l-Ingilterra ħafet Ċipru*

DEF-England grab:3SG.F.PFV Cyprus

‘It was in this year that England seized Cyprus [by diplomatic means] [ . . . ]’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic232]

*Patri Messuccio ipprova jwassal l-ilma lejn*

Father Messuccio try 3SG.M.IPFV:arrive.CAUS DEF-water towards

*il-Belt [permezz ta' kanali minn taht l-art]*<sub>pp</sub>

DEF-city [by\_means\_of of canal:PL from under DEF-ground]

‘Father Messuccio tried to bring water to Valletta [by means of subterranean canals].’

(d) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic233]

*din il-logħba spiċċat b' telfa ta' 1–0*

DEM:F:PROX DEF-match end:3SG.F.PFV with defeat of 1-0

*għat-tim Inġliż b' gowl skurjat minn Platini*

for:DEF-team English with goal shoot:PART from Platini

[*permezz ta' penalty*]<sub>pp</sub>

[by\_means\_of of penalty]

[ . . . ] this match ended with a 1-0 defeat for the English team because of a goal scored by Platini [by means of a penalty].’

There are concrete physical objects that serve as instruments for human agents to achieve a goal. This is the case in (5.179c) where the priest is trying to guarantee the water supply for Malta's capital city by way of underground canals. In the other three examples, the instruments are of different kinds. The electronic media (= (a)-sentence) are not as tangible as the underground canals. The same characterisation holds for the penalty in (5.179d) which is an event that can be located in time. Similarly, diplomacy is an abstract political means which in this case serves to secure the possession of Cyprus for England (= (c)-sentence).

Impressionistically, (II45) *permezz* 'by means of' seems to be used predominantly with abstract concepts that function as instruments whereas (II7) *bi* 'with' is stronger in the domain of concrete concepts. However, these supposed preferences do not mean that there is no overlap in the distribution of the two INSTRUMENTIVE IIs. In (5.180), two examples are contrasted with each other in both of which *nar* 'fire' is the instrument.

(5.180) INSTRUMENTIVE III

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl356]

*qed jirreferi għal dak tradizzjonali li*  
 PROG 3SG.M.IPFV:refer for DEM:M:DIST traditional that  
*jaħmi l-ħobż [bin-nar]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:bake DEF-bread [with:DEF-fire]

['. . .] he is referring to the traditional (saying) that bread is baked [with fire].'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news49567]

*Huwa kien infurmah li [permezz ta' telefonata*  
 3SG.M be inform:3SG.M that [by\_means\_of of phone call  
*anonima]<sub>pp</sub> huwa [. . .] kien ġie infurmat li f' qasir*  
 [anonymous:F] 3SG.M be come inform:PART that in short  
*żmien id-dgħajsa ta' Baldacchino kienet se tiġi*  
 time DEF-boat of Baldacchino be:3SG.F.PFV FUT 3SG.F.IPFV:come  
*misruqa jew tiġi distrutta [permezz tan-nar]<sub>pp</sub>.*  
 PART:steal:F or 3SG.F.IPFV:come destroy:PART:F [by\_means\_of of:DEF-fire]  
 'He informed him that he had been informed [via an anonymous phone  
 call] that soon Baldacchino's boat would be stolen or destroyed [by fire].'

It cannot be ruled out completely that the choice of the appropriate INSTRUMENTIVE II is determined to some extent by the resultative state emerging from the action. In the (a)-sentence, fire serves the purpose of baking bread, i.e., we have an affected object at the end of the process. In the (b)-sentence, the second *permezz*-PP names the means that help to destroy an object, i.e., the object suffers a change-of-state,

it is negatively affected. We doubt however that the affected-effected distinction is crucial for the choice of the INSTRUMENTIVE IIs.

The first *permezz*-PP in (5.180b) contrasts with the *bi*-PP in (5.178d). In both cases, an anonymous phone call is depicted as being instrumental for conveying information. This means that the noun *telefonata* is generally compatible with either of the INSTRUMENTIVE IIs. This assumption is corroborated by the identical token frequency of *b'telefonata* and *permezz ta' telefonata* in the Korpus Malti 3.0. Both options are attested 105 times. The situation is similar in the case of *helikopter* 'helicopter' albeit not exactly the same. Before we reveal the absolute numbers, we have a look at another two examples in (5.181).

(5.181) INSTRUMENTIVE IV

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic6]

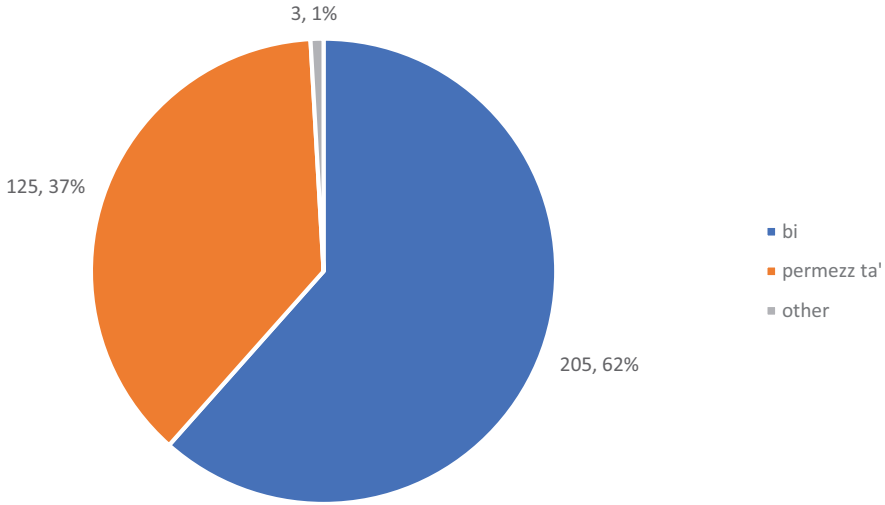
*il-pestiċidi*            *jitferrxu*                            [*permezz*        *ta'* *ħelikopters*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 DEF-pesticide:PL    3.IPFV:REFL:disperse:PL    [by\_means\_of of helicopter:PL]  
 '[...] the pesticides are distributed [by means of helicopters] [...].'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news172610]

*il-midrubra*                            *ttieħdu*                            [*b'*        *ħelikopters*        *militari*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 DEF-PART:wound:PL    REFL:take:3PL.PFV    [with helicopter:PL    military]  
*sa l-isptarijiet*        *f' Iquitos*  
 till DEF-hospital:PL in Iquitos  
 '[...] the wounded were taken [with military helicopters] to the hospitals in Iquitos.'

We assume that the two INSTRUMENTIVE IIs may replace each other freely in the two examples without invoking any meaning differences between the versions. In point of fact, the 333 hits for INSTRUMENTIVE PPs involving the noun *ħelikopter* 'helicopter' in the Korpus Malti 3.0 reflect an interesting distribution as shown in Figure 5.17. If we skip the three cases of other IIs (twice (II15) *fi* 'in' and once (II17) *fuq* 'on') being used for the purpose of expressing the INSTRUMENTIVE relation, we recognise immediately that a solid 62% majority of all tokens goes to the credit of (II7) *bi* 'with', but (II45) *permezz* 'by means of' covers more than a third of all hits. (II45) *permezz* 'by means of' is thus not a negligible option. Since meaning differences do not transpire from the examples, it is possible that style and register are responsible for the distribution of the two INSTRUMENTIVE IIs over the texts.

A domain where (II45) *permezz* 'by means of' ousts its competitor so that the latter is completely absent is the compatibility of the INSTRUMENTIVE II with animate (preferably human) nouns. In (5.182), we present three examples of (II45) *permezz* 'by means of' taking a human noun as complement. The human referent functions as the instrument that has to be used in order to reach a certain goal.



**Figure 5.17:** Frequency of INSTRUMENTIVE Ps in combination with *helikopter* ‘helicopter’ in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

(5.182) INSTRUMENTIVE V

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl8748]

*L-iskop tagħna hu li nqassmuh b' xejn*  
 DEF-scope of:1PL 3SG.M that 1.IPFV:distribute:PL:3SG.M with nothing  
*u [permezz tat-tfal]<sub>pp</sub> nilhqu wkoll lill-kbar*  
 and [by\_means\_of of:DEF.child.PL] 1.IPFV:reach:PL also to:DEF-big.PL  
 ‘It is our goal that we distribute it for free and [via the children] we will reach the adults, too.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news105971]

*nipprovdu għarfien lokali [permezz ta' nies li*  
 1.IPFV:provide:PL knowledge local [by\_means\_of of people that  
*għandhom dik l-esperjenza lokali tant mehtieġa]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 have.IPFV:3PL DEM:F:DIST DEF-experience local so much PART:need:F]  
 ‘[. . .] we provide local knowledge [via people that have this so much need-  
 ed local experience].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news220980]

*Fir-raħal ta' Asif l-edukazzjoni tingħata*  
 in:DEF-village of Asif DEF-education 3SG.F.IPFV:REFL:give  
*[permezz tal-ommijiet żgħażaġh li jedukaw*  
 [by\_means\_of of:DEF-mother:PL young that 3.IPFV:educate:PL

*lil uliedhom*]<sub>pp</sub>  
to *children:3PL*]

'In the village of Asif, education is provided [**via** the young mothers who educate their children].'

The division of labour between the two INSTRUMENTIVE IIs is as follows. There is a huge area of overlap in which both (II7) *bi* 'with' and (II45) *permezz* 'by means of' are equally acceptable. Since the combination of (II7) *bi* 'with' animate/human nouns is strongly associated with the CONFECTIVE and the use of (II30) *ma* 'with' with human nouns is restricted to properly COMITATIVE functions, it is the task of (II45) *permezz* 'by means of' to express the INSTRUMENTIVE relation with humans functioning as instruments. The high degree of animacy of the human nouns would otherwise qualify them as passive agents. Treating them as instruments is an unexpected alternative. It is interesting that an Italo-Romance II takes over this task.

### 5.1.3.6 MOTIVATIVE

The MOTIVATIVE captures situations in which the referent of the complement noun of a given II is the cause of what is predicated in the clause. A possible alternative label for the meaning category could have been causalis. In point of fact, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 151) use the term "cause". Hagège (2010: 262) lists the English IIs *because of*, *for*, and *thanks to* as examples of the MOTIVATIVE. In BLOMP 2.0, there are four MOTIVATIVE IIs, namely (II7) *bi* 'with', (II21) *għal* 'for', (II39) *minhabba* 'on account of', and (II52) *sforz* 'thanks to'.<sup>136</sup> In what follows in this

<sup>136</sup> There is evidence of a potential fifth candidate in this domain, namely (II45) *permezz* 'by means of'. Occasionally, this otherwise INSTRUMENTIVE II seems to be used with a MOTIVATIVE sense as in (5.viii):

(5.viii) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news161809]

*kull mara f' Malta għandha tonora l-emancipazzjoni*  
each woman in Malta have.IPFV:3SG.F 3SG.F.IPFV:honour DEF-emancipation  
*tagħha emancipazzjoni li qiegħda titgawda [permezz ta'*  
of:3SG.F emancipation that PROG:F 3SG.F.IPFV:REFL:enjoy [**by means of** **of**  
*nisa kuraġġużi li jiġġieldu l-mentalità konservattiva ta'*  
*women courageous:PL that 3.IPFV:fight:PL DEF-mentality conservative:F of*  
*żmienhom*]<sub>pp</sub>  
time:3PL]

'Every woman in Malta must honour her emancipation, an emancipation that is being enjoyed [**because of** courageous women who fought the conservative mentality of their times].'

It is clear that the pioneers of women's liberation are not the means for today's women in Malta to enjoy their emancipation. The women who struggled against the conservative mindset of their



section, the use of each of the MOTIVATIVE IIs will be illustrated with three annotated examples. After the discussion of these examples, we try to determine in what way the four IIs divide the functional domain of the MOTIVATIVE between them.

The point of departure for the empirical illustration is marked by (II7) *bi* ‘with’ (cf. (5.183)). The conceptual proximity of the INSTRUMENTIVE and the MOTIVATIVE transpires from several of the examples not only in the case of (II7) *bi* ‘with’. For the purpose of this section and contrary to stylistic aptness, we translate this II as ‘because of’ but keep ‘with’ in the glosses.

(5.183) MOTIVATIVE I

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl4135]  
*dan it-tifel miet [bi traskuraġni]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEM:M:PROX DEF-boy die [with carelessness]  
 ‘[. . .] this boy died [because of carelessness] [. . .].’
- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news108303]  
*Jirriżulta li din it-tfajla mardet*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:result that DEM:F:PROX DEF-girl fall\_ill:3SG.F.PFV  
*[bil-bulimja]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 [with:DEF-bulimia]  
 ‘It results that this girl fell ill [because of bulimia].’
- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news42736]  
*Il-Kunsill feraħ [bil-ftuħ taċ-Ċentru tal-Ilsien*  
 DEF-council rejoice [with:DEF-opening of:DEF-Centre of:DEF-language  
*Malti li sar dan l-aħħar fl-Università ta’*  
*Maltese that become DEM:M:PROX DEF-last in:DEF-university of*  
*Bremen]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 Bremen]  
 ‘The Kunsill rejoices [because of the opening of the Centre of the Maltese Language that took place recently at the University of Bremen].’

In (5.183a), the lack of care is the reason for the boy’s death. Similarly, in (5.183b), bulimia is the reason for the girl’s falling ill. In (5.183c), the opening of the Centre of the Maltese Language is the reason for the Kunsill’s joy. One might argue that what the *bi-pp* adds to the sentence’s meaning is just putting a name to the illness the girl suffered from.

---

times are the reason why there is a certain degree of emancipation in the contemporary society of Malta. Thus, (II45) *permezz* ‘by means of’ does not introduce the instrument but the cause for the situation described in (5.viii). Since cases of this kind are rare in the Korpus Malti 3.0, we refrain from counting (II45) *permezz* ‘by means of’ as one of the genuine MOTIVATIVE IIs.

According to the alphabetical order, the second MOTIVATIVE marker is (Π21) *għal* ‘for’. The three examples of its use are given in (5.184). Throughout these examples, the verb *għamel* ‘do’ is employed because below it will serve as a means to compare the frequencies of the different MOTIVATIVE markers in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

(5.184) MOTIVATIVE II

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news143310]

*Ftit kienu jsemmu li Gvern Laburista*  
 little be:3PL.PFV 3.IPFV:mention:PL that government Labour  
*għamel dan [għal żewġ raġunijiet validi]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 do DEM:M:PROX [for two reason:PL valid:PL]  
 ‘Few have mentioned that the Labour government did this [for two good reasons] [ . . ].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news149882]

*Huwa għamel dan [għal sensiela ta’ mistoqsijiet*  
 3SG.M do DEM:M:PROX [for series of question:PL  
*parlamentari li saru waqt is-seduta*  
*parliamentary that become:3PL.PFV at the time of DEF-sitting*  
*parlamentari tal-bieraħ]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*parliamentary of:DEF-yesterday]*  
 ‘He did this [because of a series of parliamentary questions that were posed during yesterday’s session of parliament].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl2701]

*Jien ngħid li l-ministru għamel dan [għal*  
 1SG 1SG.IPFV:say that DEF-minister do DEM:M:PROX [for  
*konsiderazzjonijiet politiċi]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*consideration:PL political:PL]*  
 ‘I say that the minister did this [because of political considerations] [ . . ].’

The complement nouns of the *għal*-PPs represent the reason for what a given participant has done in the (recent) past. In the (a)-sentence, it is the plural form of *raġuni* ‘reason’ itself that functions as part of the complement. In the (b)-sentence, a number of parliamentary questions impel the anonymous agent to do something. In the (c)-sentence, the motivation for the minister’s action are political considerations.

(Π39) *minhabba* ‘on account of’ is the third MOTIVATIVE II. The examples given in (5.185) involve complement nouns which are semantically close to those used in combination with (Π7) *bi* ‘with’ in (5.183).

## (5.185) MOTIVATIVE III

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news223694]

*t-tabib gie lliberat minn akkużi li r-raġel miet*  
 DEF-doctor come acquit:PART from charge:PL that DEF-man die  
 [*minhabba traskuraġni min-naħa tiegħu*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 [on\_account\_of carelessness from:DEF-side of:3SG.M]

‘[. . .] the doctor was acquitted of the charges that the man died [because of carelessness on his side].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news133144]

*mijiet ta’ tfal sfaw morda mentalment*  
 hundred:PL of child.PL fall:3PL.PFV ill.PL mentally  
 [*minhabba t-trawma li għaddew minnha*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 [on\_account\_of DEF-trauma that pass:3PL.PFV from:3SG.F]

‘[. . .] hundreds of children fell mentally ill [because of the trauma they went through].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news128115]

*beda jgħid li hu mhuwiex jifrah*  
 begin 3SG.M.IPFV:say that 3SG.M NEG:3SG.M:NEG 3SG.M.IPFV:rejoice  
 [*minhabba rebħa Laburista*]<sub>pp</sub> *iżda* [*minhabba rebħa*  
 [on\_account\_of victory Labour] but [on\_account\_of victory  
*fuq il-kaċċa*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 on DEF-hunting]

‘[. . .] he began by saying that he does not rejoice [because of a Labour victory] but [because of a victory over the hunting].’

The three sentences in (5.185) involve four *minhabba*-PPs whose complement nouns identify the reason for the death of a man (= (a)-sentence), the mental illness of children (= (b)-sentence), and the joy of the speaker (= (c)-sentence). The reasons are carelessness on the part of the doctor (= (a)-sentence), the traumatic experiences (= (b)-sentence), and the victory in a vote (= (c)-sentence).

With (II52) *sforz* ‘thanks to’ we come to the fourth and last of the MOTIVATIVE IIs. (5.186) contains three examples of the MOTIVATIVE use of (II52) *sforz* ‘thanks to’.

## (5.186) MOTIVATIVE IV

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic139]

[*Sforz il-biża’ li kellu li r-religjon għad*  
 [thanks\_to DEF-fear that have.PFV:3SG.M that DEF-religion still  
*tispiċċa minn Malta*]<sub>pp</sub> *mbarka ruħu fl-istampa billi*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:end from Malta] embark self:3SG.M in:DEF-press by\_way

*beda jeditja Lehen is-Sewwa*  
 begin 3SG.M.IPFV:edit Lehen is-Sewwa  
 ‘[**Because** of his fear that the religion will sometime come to an end in Malta] he embarked on the press by way of starting to edit Lehen is-Sewwa [ . . . ].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic15]

*il-psikodramm bejn Regnaud minn naħa u Vaubois*  
 DEF-psycho\_drama between Regnaud from side and Vaubois  
*u Ransijat mill-oħra ma setax iħalli lil*  
 and Ransijat from:DEF-other:F NEG can:NEG 3SG.M.IPFV:leave to  
*Vassalli indifferenti u [sforz l-istmellija lejn naħa]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 Vassalli indifferent and [**thanks\_to** DEF-contempt towards side]  
*seta’ jitqarreb lejn l-oħra*  
 can 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:bring\_closer towards DEF-other  
 ‘[ . . . ] the psycho-drama between Regnaud on one side and Vaubois and Ransijat on the other could not leave Vassalli indifferent and [**on account of the contempt for one side**] he could get close to the other [ . . . ].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news103365]

*ir-rata ta’ mortalità fit-tfal żdiedet b’ aktar*  
 DEF-rate of mortality in:DEF-child.PL increase:3SG.F.PFV with more  
*minn 40 % [sforz tan-nuqqas ta’ staff u riżorsi]*  
 from 40% [**thanks\_to** of:DEF-lack of staff and resource:PL  
*għall-kura adekwata]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 for:DEF-care adequate:F]  
 ‘[ . . . ] the mortality rate of children has increased by more than 40% [**because of the lack of staff and resources for the adequate care**].’

In (5.186a), the motivation for the action is the unnamed character’s fear for the future of the Christian faith in Malta. The same role of motivating factor is played by Vassalli’s contempt of one of the two French parties in (5.186b) whereas, in (5.186c), the increase in the mortality rate is said to be caused by a lack of personnel and resources. The *sforz*-PPs contain the NPs which identify the reason for the actions and events described in the clause.

Looking back on the examples given in (5.182) through (5.186), we notice that there are no clear indicators that would allow us to determine on what grounds Maltese native speakers make their choice of the four available MOTIVATIVE IIs. At least superficially, they seem to be fully synonymous with each other. Their supposed synonymy could mean that they are used with comparable frequency in certain contexts. To verify this assumption, we look at the token frequency of the MOTIVATIVE IIs in the context sketched in Figure 5.18.

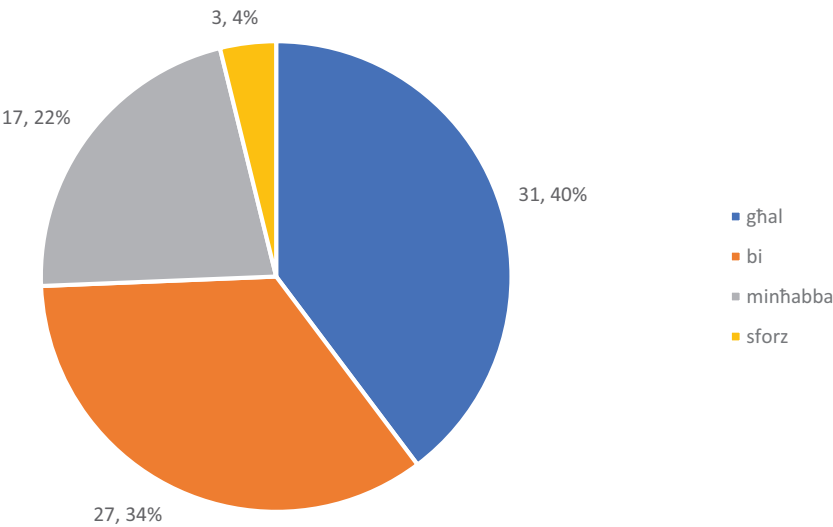
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} g\hbaramel_{3SG,M,PFV} \\ g\hbaramlet_{3SG,F,PFV} \\ g\hbaramlu_{3PL,PFV} \end{array} \right\} + \quad dan_{DEM:M;SG} \quad + \quad \Pi_{MOTIVATIVE}$$

**Figure 5.18:** Contexts for which the frequency of MOTIVATIVE  $\Pi$ s is checked.

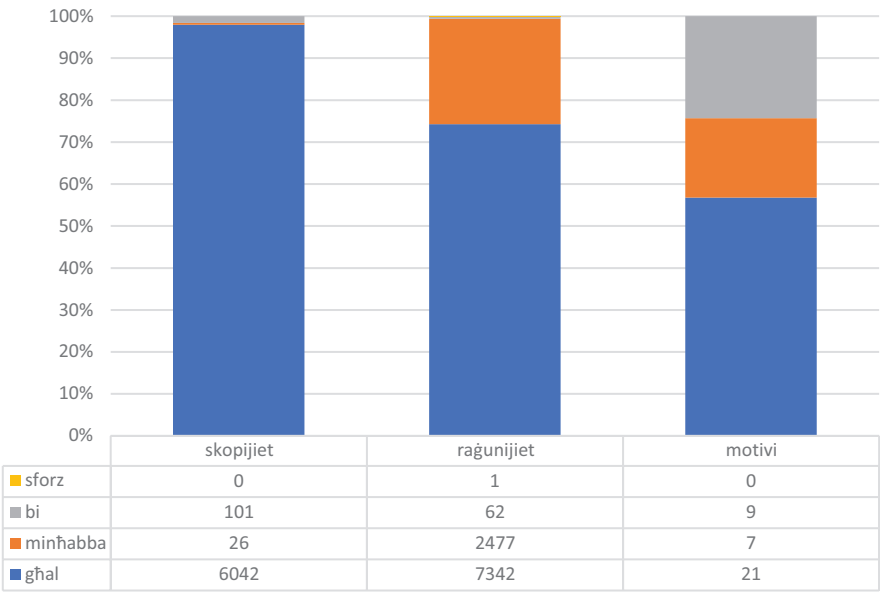
In the leftmost slot, there is the verb *għamel* ‘do’ with its perfective forms in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person of both grammatical genders and numbers. The direct object of the verb is always the demonstrative *dan* ‘this’ which is followed by a PP in which the reason for an action is given. Figure 5.19 reveals how often a given MOTIVATIVE  $\Pi$  fills the rightmost slot in the schema in the Korpus Malti 3.0. What transpires from Figure 5.19 is that each of the MOTIVATIVE  $\Pi$ s is repeatedly attested in the above context. There are, however, quantitative differences. With a turnout of three hits, ( $\Pi$ 52) *sforz* ‘thanks to’ is used only exceptionally in the context under review. Its share is as small as 4% of the 78 tokens reported for all MOTIVATIVE  $\Pi$ s added up. ( $\Pi$ 7) *bi* ‘with’ and ( $\Pi$ 21) *għal* ‘for’ together take the lion’s share with ( $\Pi$ 21) *għal* ‘for’ alone accounting for 40% of all hits. The frequency of ( $\Pi$ 39) *minhabba* ‘on account of’ is much smaller, but with seventeen hits this  $\Pi$  still occurs 5.7 times more frequently than ( $\Pi$ 52) *sforz* ‘thanks to’. There is thus reason to assume that the four  $\Pi$ s are not absolutely equal partners when it comes to expressing the MOTIVATIVE.

This tentative conclusion finds corroboration when we compare the above results with those disclosed in Figure 5.20. Figure 5.20 accounts for the frequency of cooccurrences of the MOTIVATIVE  $\Pi$ s with the nouns *motivi* ‘motives’, *raġunijiet* ‘reasons’, and *skopijiet* ‘purposes’ as indefinite complements.

The results for the complement nouns are ordered from left to right according to the shrinking share of *għal*-PPs. The decrease of the share claimed by ( $\Pi$ 21) *għal* ‘for’ notwithstanding, there can be hardly any doubt that this  $\Pi$  is the numerically strongest of the four options. In each of the combinations, it accounts for more than half of all matches. If *skopijiet* ‘purposes’ is the complement, ( $\Pi$ 21) *għal* ‘for’ is responsible for 99% of all PPs. In contrast, ( $\Pi$ 52) *sforz* ‘thanks to’ is attested just once failing to produce any hit for two of the complement nouns. Neither ( $\Pi$ 7) *bi* ‘with’ nor ( $\Pi$ 39) *minhabba* ‘on account of’ is a serious competitor of ( $\Pi$ 21) *għal* ‘for’ although in combination with *raġunijiet* ‘reasons’, ( $\Pi$ 39) *minhabba* ‘on account of’ yields the sizable turnout of 2,477 matches. We take these quantitative differences to mean that the four MOTIVATIVE  $\Pi$ s are largely synonymous. The preference for ( $\Pi$ 21) *għal* ‘for’ is probably motivated by stylistic factors, the same can be said with regards to the infrequent use of ( $\Pi$ 52) *sforz* ‘thanks to’. It is worth noting that ( $\Pi$ 52) *sforz* ‘thanks to’ is the only Italo-Romance  $\Pi$  in the domain of the MOTIVATIVE.



**Figure 5.19:** Frequency of MOTIVATIVE Πs in the schema of Figure 5.18.



**Figure 5.20:** Token frequency of MOTIVATIVE Π with three different nouns.

### 5.1.3.7 CONCESSIVE

The CONCESSIVE forms a kind of antonym to the MOTIVATIVE insofar as it identifies a reason that could have impeded something happening but was ignored or overcome by those who carried out the action. Hagège (2010: 262) mentions English *despite* as a CONCESSIVE II. In BLOMP 2.0, the sole candidate for this function is (Π40) *minkejja* ‘in spite of’ as illustrated in (5.187). This II is also given in Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 154).

(5.187) CONCESSIVE

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1492]  
*Madankollu din l-anzjana dejjem baqgħet*  
 however DEM:F:PROX DEF-old\_woman always remain:3SG.F:PFV  
*thares 'il quddiem [minkejja l-marda]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.F:IPFV:look to in\_front\_of [in\_spite\_of DEF-illness]  
 ‘However, this elderly woman always kept looking forward [in spite of the illness] [. . .].’
- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news106507]  
*Sfortunament il-prigunier miet [minkejja t-tentattivi*  
 unfortunately DEF-prisoner die [in\_spite\_of DEF-attempt:PL  
*tat-tobba fl-isptar]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 of:DEF-doctor.PL in:DEF-hospital]  
 ‘Unfortunately, the prisoner died [in spite of the doctors’ attempts in the hospital].’
- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic438]  
*[Minkejja l-uġiegh li sofra Battiston]<sub>pp</sub> Schumacher ma*  
*[in\_spite\_of DEF-pain that suffer Battiston] Schumacher NEG*  
*kienx penalizzat*  
 be:NEG penalise:PART  
 ‘[In spite of the pain Battiston suffered], Schumacher was not penalised.’

The three *minkejja*-PPs identify potential reasons for acting or behaving differently. In the (a)-sentence, the elderly woman is optimistic although she suffers from an illness. In the (b)-sentence, the prisoner dies although the doctors tried hard to save his life. In the (c)-sentence, the football player Schumacher escapes being penalised although he injured his opponent seriously. (Π40) *minkejja* ‘in spite of’ fulfils no other tasks besides that of the CONCESSIVE.

### 5.1.3.8 MEDIATIVE

The MEDIATIVE is equated with English *à la* and *in the manner of* by Hagège (2010: 262). These expressions are complex with the first option being borrowed from French. In Section 1.4.1.3, we have excluded *la*, the Maltese equivalent of *à la*, from being included in BLOMP 2.0. The direct Maltese translation of English *in the manner of* is *bil-mod ta'*, i.e., an equally complex phrasal construction that does not conform to the definition of the canonical Maltese II.<sup>137</sup> It is possible though to refer to (II5) *bħal* 'like' as MEDIATIVE II. It is by no means easy to distinguish the MEDIATIVE use of (II5) *bħal* 'like' from its other functions, viz. the EQUATIVE and the ASSIMILATIVE.<sup>138</sup>

In (5.188), three potential instances of the MEDIATIVE are provided. In these examples, we translate the II under scrutiny with English *in the manner of*.

(5.188) MEDIATIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news90891]

*Għamel [bħal Pilatu li ħasel idejh]<sub>pp</sub> u*  
 do [like Pilate that wash hand:PL:3SG.M]<sub>pp</sub> and  
*mingħalih salva l-kuxjenza*  
 in\_s.o.'s\_opinion:3SG.M save DEF-conscience  
 'He acted [in the manner of Pilate who washed his hand] and in his opinion saved his conscience!'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic12]

*Hemm xi Maltin li qed jgħixu [bħall-annimali]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 there some Maltese:PL that PROG 3.IPFV:live:PL [like:DEF-animal:PL]  
 'There are some Maltese who are living [in the manner of animals].'

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl6329]

*Il-kunsinnatarju ufficjali għandu jagħixxi [bħal*  
 DEF-consignee official have.IPFV:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:act [like  
*missier tajjeb]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*father good]*  
 'The consignee has to act [in the manner of a good father].'

Whether it makes sense to postulate this distinct meaning category for Maltese, in the first place, will be discussed in the next section that is dedicated to the COMPARATIVE and its subdivisions.

<sup>137</sup> Given in Section 1.6.1.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Sections 5.1.3.9.1.1–5.1.3.9.1.2.



### 5.1.3.9 COMPARATIVE

The COMPARATIVE domain is divided into two subdomains, namely that of equality as opposed to that of inequality (Hagège 2010: 315–320). We start with the discussion of the former and close this section with a description of the COMPARATIVE of inequality.

#### 5.1.3.9.1 Equality

Hagège (2010: 262) divides the domain of equality in two. There is the EQUATIVE whose English translation equivalent is given as *as*. We assume that the intended meaning is that of absolute equality of the comparee and the standard. In the case of the ASSIMILATIVE, the equivalence is only relative.

##### 5.1.3.9.1.1 EQUATIVE

For the usual reasons, we cannot say much about (II26) *kif* ‘as’ as EQUATIVE II since it is generally doubtful that this is indeed a II, in the first place. No such doubts arise in connection with (II5) *bħal* ‘like’ and (II10) *daqs* ‘equal to’. The former has been featured already in the section dedicated to the MEDIATIVE.<sup>139</sup> The distinction of MEDIATIVE, EQUATIVE, and ASSIMILATIVE uses of (II5) *bħal* ‘like’ constitutes a semantic-conceptual challenge. In the English-Maltese dictionary (Aquilina 1999: 117), (II5) *bħal* ‘like’ is the first translation under the lexicon entry *as*. The cases we mention in (5.189) might easily be registered elsewhere.<sup>140</sup>

(5.189) EQUATIVE I

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news120578]

*Kontra tim tajjeb [bħal Inter li huma organizzati*  
 against team good [like Inter that 3PL organise:PART:PL  
*ħafna]<sub>pp</sub> trid tkun paċenzjuż*  
 very] 2SG.IPFV:want 2SG.IPFV:be.FUT patient

‘Against a team as good [as Inter who are very organised] you must be patient [ . . ].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news87380]

*Il-melħ li jintuża huwa abjad [bħal dak*  
 DEF-salt that 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:use 3SG.M white [like DEM:M:DIST  
*li nużaw fuq il-mejda tal-ikel]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 that 1.IPFV:use:PL on DEF-table of:DEF-food]

‘The salt that is used is as white [as that we use on the dinner table].’

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.3.8.

<sup>140</sup> Namely in Section 5.1.3.8 or Section 5.1.3.9.1.2.

- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl2536]  
*Is-sena l-oħra kienet aħjar u s-sena ta' qabel*  
 DEF-year DEF-other:F be:3SG.F.PFV better and DEF-year of before  
*kienet ħażina [bħal din is-sena]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 be:3SG.F.PFV bad:F [like DEM:F.PROX DEF-year]  
 'The other year was better and the year before was as bad [as this year].'

The standard of comparison is identical with the complement in the *bħal*-NPS. What is expressed by the entire construction is that the comparee displays a certain property to exactly the same degree as the standard. In the (a)-sentence, the football team of Inter Milan defines the standard so that a team that is as good as the standard requires a lot of patience from its contestants. The (b)-sentence is about the whiteness of two sorts of salt. The salt used at the dinner-table of the speaker serves as the standard so that the comparee must have the same degree of whiteness as the salt the speaker is used to. In the (c)-sentence, the quality of three years is compared with the current year functioning as standard. Two years ago, there was a year that was as bad as the current one. The quality of the two years must ideally be the same.

In contrast to the often ambiguous (Π5) *bħal* 'like', (Π10) *daqs* 'equal to' is a bona fide case of an EQUATIVE II. This is illustrated in (5.190).

(5.190) EQUATIVE II

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature23]  
*Kienet iebsa [daqs l-azzar]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 be:3SG.F.PFV hard:F [equal\_to DEF-steel]  
 'It was as hard [as steel] [. . .].'
- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature20]  
*kien hemm ħanut tat-toys Londra jismu*  
 be there shop of:DEF-toy:PL London 3SG.M.IPFV.name:3SG.M  
*Hamleys li kien kbir [daqs il-Belt Valletta kollha]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 Hamleys that be big [equal\_to DEF-city Valletta all:3SG.F]  
 '[. . .] there was a toy shop in London named Hamleys that was as big [as the entire city of Valletta].'
- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature3]  
*meta tikbru tmorru tistudjaw barra u*  
 when 2.IPFV:grow:PL 2.IPFV:go:PL 2.IPFV:study:PL outside and  
*ssiru bravi [daqs]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 2.IPFV:become:PL good:PL [equal\_to:1SG]  
 '[. . .] when you grow up, you will go to study abroad and you will become as good [as me].'

The structural and functional facts are comparable to those mentioned in connection with the examples in (5.189). In (5.190a), (5.190b), and (5.190c), (II10) *daqs* ‘equal to’ introduces the standard to which the comparee is put in relation. This relation is that of absolute equality as to a certain gradable property. The property is hardness in the (a)-sentence, size in the (b)-sentence, and quality in the (c)-sentence. In each of the cases, it is assumed that comparee and standard yield identical degrees. The identity of the degree also holds in the case of (5.190b) where hyperbole is used as a rhetorical means. The London toy shop is certainly not of the same size as the capital city of Malta.

According to Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 261)

where equality involves size or intensity the expression **daqs** ‘size’ is used [. . .]. When a quality or manner is involved, the expression **bħal** ‘like’ is used [original boldface].

Our own examples do not point in the direction of a categorical distinction of this kind. The domains of the two IIs do not seem to be strictly separate from each other. To determine more precisely how the two EQUATIVE IIs are related to each other, an in-depth study is required that also involves native-speaker interviews. This is a task that cannot be fulfilled in the context of our grammar of Maltese IIs. We therefore relegate it to later research projects.

#### 5.1.3.9.1.2 ASSIMILATIVE

The ASSIMILATIVE applies if comparee and standard in a COMPARATIVE construction display similar degrees as to a given property without however reaching full equivalence. For this purpose, Maltese makes use of (II5) *bħal* ‘like’ (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 110–111). The examples in (5.191) have to be taken with some caution. With the repeated proviso that MEDIATIVE, EQUATIVE, and ASSIMILATIVE uses of this II are not always easily distinguished, we can propose three candidates for the ASSIMILATIVE function.

(5.191) ASSIMILATIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; european753]

*huma mibnija minn materjal tajjed li mhux*

3PL PART:build:PL from material good that NEG:3SG.M:NEG

*manjetiku [bħall-azzar]<sub>pp</sub>*

magnetic [like:DEF-steel]

‘[. . .] they are built from good material that is not magnetic [like steel].’

- (b) [Korpus Malti; news90196]  
*Taf li sirt titkellem [bħal*  
 2SG.IPFV:know that become:2SG.PFV 2SG.IPFV:speak [like  
Manwel Cuschieri]<sub>pp</sub>  
Manwel Cushieri]  
 ‘You know that you have begun to speak [like Manwel Cushieri].’
- (c) [Korpus Malti; academic340]  
*Jien nawgura li anka intkom tkunu ottimisti*  
 1SG 1SG.IPFV:wish that also 2PL 2.IPFV:be.FUT:PL optimist:PL  
[bħali]<sub>pp</sub>  
[like:1SG]  
 ‘I hope that you too will be optimistic [like me].’

In the (a)-sentence, we are facing a difficult problem. Some sorts of steel are magnetic while others are not. It remains uncertain what kind of steel the author is referring to. Either the good materials are not as magnetic as ferrite-free steel or differ from ferrite steel because they are not magnetic, unlike the steel. Apart from this ambiguity, one thing is clear, namely that the steel serves as the standard to which the comparee is compared. The quality is that of magnetism. In the (b)-sentence too, we could speak of a problem because it is possible that the intended meaning is that the addressee speaks exactly like or the same as Manwel Cushieri. In this case, the relation would be *EQUATIVE*. It is *ASSIMILATIVE* only if there is just a degree of resemblance between the speech style of the comparee and that of the standard. As to the (c)-sentence, one might argue that there are again two possible readings. Either the addressees are hoped to become as optimistic as the speaker (= *EQUATIVE*) or at least take an optimistic look at things that is partly in line with the speaker’s worldview (= *ASSIMILATIVE*). In the absence of formal criteria that could help to separate the *EQUATIVE* from the *ASSIMILATIVE*, we state that the two meaning categories are neutralised with (II5) *bħal* ‘like’.

### 5.1.3.9.2 Inequality

In contrast to the categories discussed in the foregoing sections, the *COMPARATIVE* of inequality does not pose any problem. (II41) *minn* ‘from’ is the marker of inequality which precedes the standard in the *COMPARATIVE* construction (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 108). To the left of the II, there is the slot for the synthetic or analytic *COMPARATIVE* of the adjective as shown in (5.192).

## (5.192) Inequality

(a) [Chetcuti 1990: 9]

*Kellha erbatax-il sena tmien snin iċken [minn-i]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 have.PFV:3SG.F fourteen year eight year.PL small.CMPR [from-1SG]  
 ‘She was fourteen years old, eight years younger [than me].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature34]

*l-uniformijiet bojod kienu saru isbaħ*  
 DEF-uniform:PL white.PL be:3PL.PFV become:3PL.PFV beautiful.CMPR  
*[mill-kuluri jgħajtu]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 [from:DEF-colour:PL 3.IPFV:call:PL]  
 ‘[. . .] the white uniforms had become more beautiful [than the bright colours].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; european10139]

*Din l-awtorizzazzjoni provizorja tista’*  
 DEM:F:PROX DEF-authorization provisional:F 3SG.F.IPFV:can  
*tingħata għal perjodu li ma jkun*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:REFL:give for period that NEG 3SG.M.IPFV:be:FUT  
*itwal [minn erba’ snin]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 long.CMPR [from four year.PL]  
 ‘This provisional authorization can be given for a period that is not longer [than four years].’

The COMPARATIVE of inequality is the monopoly of (Π41) *minn* ‘from’. It realises the so-called Source Schema according to Heine’s (1997: 64–65) typology, i.e., the relator that connects comparee and standard is identical to a relator that is used to express the spatial relation of Source.

### 5.1.3.10 ESSIVE/TRANSLATIVE/MUTATIVE

Hagège (2010: 262) subsumes three terminologically distinct meaning categories under an umbrella without name. The ESSIVE, the TRANSLATIVE, and the MUTATIVE cover a variety of concepts one of which is static (= ESSIVE) whereas the other two are dynamic (= TRANSLATIVE and MUTATIVE) (Hagège 2010: 320–325). We doubt that it is fully justified to lump these categories together since at least the distinction of static vs dynamic is grammatically relevant in Maltese because different IIs are used.

For a start, we look at the ESSIVE which applies if a participant in a situation is assigned a certain function or role in a given scenario. It is not implied that a change of state takes place. In situations of this kind, Maltese makes use of two different IIs, namely (Π6) *bħala* ‘as’ and (Π55) *ta’* ‘of’ (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander

1997: 152). We start with comments on (II6) *bħala* ‘as’ whose typical employment is illustrated in (5.193).

(5.193) ESSIVE I

(a) [Korpus Malti; academic10]

*l-idea li t-tkattir ta' l-ekonomija hija s-soluzzjoni*  
 DEF-idea that DEF-growth of DEF-economy 3SG.F DEF-solution  
*għad-diffikultajiet ta' dan il-mudell soċjo-ekonomiku*  
 for:DEF-difficulties of DEM:M:PROX DEF-model socio-economic  
*għandna nagħrfuha [bħala żball kbir strateġiku]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 have.IPFV:1PL 1.IPFV:recognise:PL [as mistake big strategic]  
 ‘[. . .] we must recognise the idea that the growth of the economy is the  
 solution for the difficulties of this socio-economic modell [as a big strategic  
 mistake].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic101]

*r-Rumani originarjmanet ikkunsidraw ix-xitwa*  
 DEF-Roman:PL originally consider:3PL.PFV DEF-winter  
*[bħala staġun mingħajr xhur]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 [as season without month.PL]  
 ‘[. . .] originally the Romans considered the winter (to be) [a season without  
 months].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic113]

*Gary Neville [. . .] hu plejer tal-futbol Ingliz li*  
 Gary Neville 3SG.M player of:DEF-football English that  
*jilgħab [bħala difensur]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:play [as defender]  
 ‘Gary Neville is an English football player who plays [as defender].’

In (5.193a), at the time of utterance, the socio-economic idea of constant growth is exposed as a strategic mistake. This means that it is a mistake at the reference time. Whether and how this insight has come about is irrelevant to the situation. Similarly, in (5.193b), the interpretation of the winter to be a period without distinct months belonged to the early stages of Roman history. Nothing is said about the development which led to this conception of the winter season. At the reference time, the interpretation was valid. In (5.193c), the nowadays somewhat dated characterisation of a former English football professional as defender was valid in the years 1995–2007. As in the previous case of (II6) *bħala* ‘as’, the state of affairs at a given point in time is described. The function of the player during his active career was that of a defender.

However, states are one thing, and another are changes of state. To express that a participant is changing from one state to another, Maltese does not make use of (II6) *bhala* ‘as’ but resorts to (II15) *fi* ‘in’ in combination with change-of-state verbs like those involved in the four examples in (5.194). We do not distinguish the TRANS-LATIVE from the MUTATIVE because we lack sufficient native-speaker input to decide whether the process is voluntary or involuntary. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 152) claim that for the TRANS-LATIVE no II is used.<sup>141</sup>

(5.194) TRANSLATIVE/MUTATIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news135600]

*Wiehed mill-irhula l-aktar pittoreski tal-gżejjer*  
 one from:DEF-village.PL DEF-more picturesque of:DEF-island.PL  
*Maltin se jinbidel [f’ villagġ tal-Milied]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 Maltese.PL FUT 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:change [in village of:DEF-Christmas]  
 ‘One of the most picturesque villages of the Maltese islands will change [into a Christmas village].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news4603]

*minn dejjem kien jaffaxxinah id-deheb u*  
 from always be 3SG.M.IPFV:fascinate:3SG.M DEF-gold and  
*maż-żmien dan l-interess żviluppa [f’ passjoni]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 with:DEF-time DEM:M:PROX DEF-interest develop [in passion]  
 ‘[. . .] gold always fascinated him and with the time this interest developed [into a passion].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news47446]

*Fil-pajjiżi l-oħra kollha ir-Rebbiegħa Għarbija*  
 in:DEF-country:PL DEF-other:PL all:3SG.F DEF-spring Arabic:F  
*daret [f’ ħarifa krudili]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 turn:3SG.F.PFV [in autumn cruel]  
 ‘In all the other countries, the Arabic Spring turned [into a cruel autumn].’

(d) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news83433]

*Trasforma partit [f’ movement]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 transform party [in movement]  
 ‘He transformed a party [into a movement].’

<sup>141</sup> The example for the II-less TRANSLATIVE provided by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 152) is reproduced as (5.ix) in this footnote.

(5.ix) *Innominawh ambaxxatur*  
 nominate:3PL.PFV:3SG.M ambassador  
 ‘They nominated him ambassador.’ [O.T.]

In the (a)-sentence, a Maltese village renowned for its beauty turns into a Christmas village – a characterization that formerly did not hold for the village. In the (b)-sentence, the change of state is a drawn-out process which leads from the initial interest of the anonymous person in gold to the emergence of a real passion for the precious metal. Thus, over time, the erstwhile interest turns into a passion. The (c)-sentence tells us what happened to the positively connoted Arabic Spring that is said to have turned into a cruel autumn. In the (d)-sentence, we have a transitive verb *transforma* ‘transform’. The agent manipulates a political party in such a way that it turns into a movement.

With (II55) *ta* ‘of’, a second ESSIVE II is available to Maltese speakers. It resembles (II6) *bħala* ‘as’ insofar as its domain is restricted to static situations. In (5.195), we provide three examples in which the verb *aġixxi* ‘act’ is involved (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 152) note that ESSIVE (II55) *ta* ‘of’ is used particularly often with *għamel* ‘do’.

(5.195) ESSIVE II

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; european8626]

*Il-Viċi-President għandu jaġixxi [ta’ President*  
 DEF-vice-president have.IPFV:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:act [of president  
*tal-Kumitat jew tal-Panel ta’ Konsulenza]<sub>pp</sub> fin-nuqqas*  
*of:DEF-committee or of:DEF-panel of consultancy] in:DEF-absence*  
*tal-President elett*  
 of:DEF-president elect:PART  
 ‘The vice-president must act [as chairman of the committee or of the advisory panel] in the absence of the president-elect.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl10155]

*Fl-Amerka għandek elezzjoni separata għall-kungress*  
 in:DEF-America have.IPFV:2SG election separate:F for:DEF-congress  
*li mbagħad jaġixxi [ta’ check and balance]<sub>pp</sub> fuq*  
 that then 3SG.M.IPFV:act [of check and balance] on  
*l-eżekuttiv*  
 DEF-executive

‘In America you have a separate election for the congress that then acts [as check and balance] for the executive.’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; sport1618]

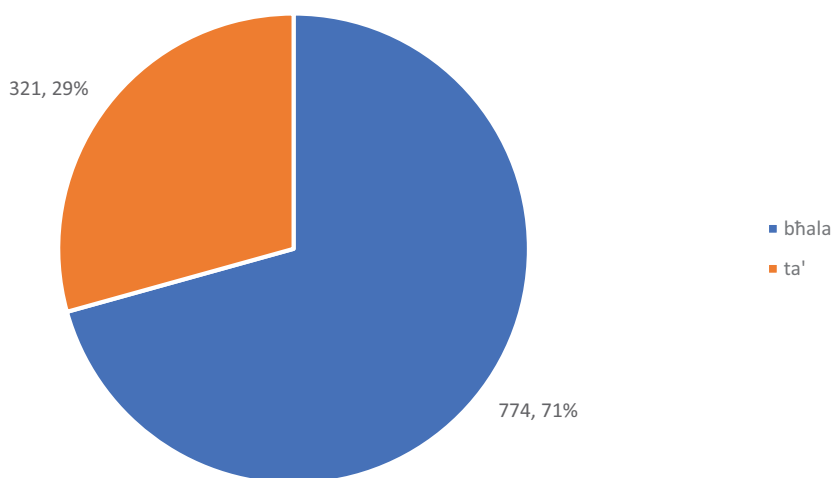
*Anki barra l-logħba tal-futbol kien jaġixxi*  
 also outside DEF-play of:DEF-football be 3SG.M.IPFV:act  
*[ta’ plejer professionali]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[of player professional]*

‘Outside the football game too, he acted [as a professional player].’



The three examples capture situations in which someone has to temporarily take over the function of someone else (= (a)-sentence)) or function as a control mechanism for a political body (= (b)-sentence) or act like a representative of sports also outside the domain of sports (= (c)-sentence).

Since the two ESSIVE IIs are attested in identical contexts, the question arises as to which of them is the default or whether they are on an equal footing, in a manner of speaking. We have counted the occurrences of (II6) *bħala* ‘as’ and (II55) *ta* ‘of’ in the slot to the right of *jaġixxi* ‘he acts’ and *tagixxi* ‘she acts’ in the Korpus Malti 3.0. As is evident from Figure 5.21, the 1,095 hits for ESSIVE IIs do not distribute evenly over (II6) *bħala* ‘as’ and (II55) *ta* ‘of’.



**Figure 5.21:** Competition between two ESSIVE IIs in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

In combination with the two verb forms, (II6) *bħala* ‘as’ is attested 2.4 times as frequently as (II55) *ta* ‘of’. Apart from this quantitative difference, we notice that (II55) *ta* ‘of’ in ESSIVE function never takes a definite complement whereas the combination with a definite NP is unproblematic (albeit infrequent) in the case of (II6) *bħala* ‘as’.<sup>142</sup>

Maltese not only gives evidence of an ESSIVE expressed by (II6) *bħala* ‘as’ whose functional domain is restricted to static situations but also of a TRANSLATIVE/MUTATIVE expressed by (II15) *fi* ‘in’ whose distribution is connected to the presence of change-of-state verbs. The two IIs cannot replace each other.

<sup>142</sup> As shown in Section 4.1.1.2.2.1 (iv).

### 5.1.3.11 PURPOSIVE

Hagège (2010: 262) illustrates the PURPOSIVE with English *for*. The PURPOSIVE is represented by (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ in the Maltese reference grammar (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 151). We discuss a potential second candidate for the PURPOSIVE function below. This second PURPOSIVE Π is (Π57) *versu* ‘towards’.

The PURPOSIVE function of (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ is clearly identifiable in the examples in (5.196).

(5.196) PURPOSIVE I

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic10]  
*jerga’ jittiehed il-kontroll fuq element*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:do\_again 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:take DEF-control on element  
*indispensabbli [għall-ħajja]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 indispensable [for:DEF-life]  
 ‘[. . .] the control over an indispensable element [for life] is taken again [. . .].’
- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic10]  
*Hemm iktar minn 2.4 biljun ruh li m’ għandhomx*  
 there more from 2.4 billion soul that NEG have.IPFV:3PL:NEG  
*aċċess għall-ilma meħtieġ [għall-iġene]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 access for:DEF-water PART:need [for:DEF-hygiene]  
 ‘There are more than 2.4 billion souls who have no access to the necessary water [for hygiene].’
- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic7]  
*jippromwovi l-interessi ta’ l-azjendi l-kbar u*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:promote DEF-interest:PL of DEF-holding:PL DEF-big.PL and  
*jiffaċilita t-tfittxija tagħhom [għall-qliġh]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:facilitate DEF-search of:3PL [for:DEF-gain]  
 ‘[. . .] he promotes the interests of the big holdings and facilitates their search [for gain].’

In the three sentences, the complements of (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ name the purpose for what is predicated in the remainder of the sentence or phrase. In the (a)-sentence, the purpose for which the element is indispensable is life. Hygiene is the purpose for which water is needed in the (b)-sentence whereas the financial gains are what the big holdings are searching for. We gloss over the difficulties that tend to arise when it comes to distinguishing cause from purpose since the latter might also be conceived as a kind of temporally “displaced” cause.

The case of (Π57) *versu* ‘towards’ is by no means straightforward. We have argued against counting this Π among the directional IIs of Maltese because (Π57)

*versu* ‘towards’ is only exceptionally attested in properly spatial contexts.<sup>143</sup> Its use is much more common elsewhere as can be gathered from the examples in (5.197).

(5.197) PURPOSIVE II

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news208695]<sup>144</sup>

*droga kienet inbiegħet minnu stess [versu*  
 drug be:3SG.F.PFV REFL:sell:3SG.F.PFV from:3SG.M self [towards  
*l-prezz ta' madwar € 640]*<sub>pp</sub>  
DEF-price of around € 640]

‘[. . .] a drug was sold by himself [at the price of approximately € 640].’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl11670]

*dan hu r-rispett li dan il-Gvern*  
 DEM:M:PROX 3SG.M DEF-respect that DEM:M:PROX DEF-government  
*għandu [versu l-poplu Malti u Għawdx]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 have.IPFV:3SG.M [towards DEF-people Maltese and Gozitan]

‘[. . .] this is the respect that this government has [for the Maltese and Gozitan people].’

- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl3885]

*Naturalment dan il-gvern iżewweġ*  
 naturally DEM:M:PROX DEF-government 3SG.M.IPFV:marry  
*dan il-principju mal-principju tad-dmirijiet li*  
 DEM:M:PROX DEF-principle with:DEF-principle of:DEF-duty:PL that  
*mara jew raġel għandhom [versu l-familja tagħhom]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 woman or man have.IPFV:3PL [towards DEF-family of:3PL]

‘Naturally, this government links this principle to the principle of the duties that a woman or a man has [towards their family].’

In (5.197a), drugs are sold at a certain price. We assume that the sum of € 640 constitutes the purpose on account of which the drug deal takes place. The two other examples belong to one and the same domain. They involve ethical categories such as respect and duties. The people and the family represent the participants towards which the government or women and men are expected to show respect or fulfil duties. In neither case is there a concrete motion event which would justify classifying the *versu*-PPs as indicating the Goal towards which the Figure moves. If the *versu*-PPs are not spatial, what are they then?

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.6.

<sup>144</sup> In their sections on price and value, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 153–154) mention only construction without IIs.

As the examples in (5.198) suggest, (II21) *għal* ‘for’ may replace (II57) *versu* ‘towards’ in the contexts in which the latter is attested in (5.197).

(5.198) PURPOSIVE III

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1978]

*L-ewwel kopja tal-komiks ta' Superman inxtrat fuq*  
 DEF-first copy of:DEF-comics of Superman REFL:buy:3SG.F.PFV on  
*eBay [għall-prezz ta' € 2.43 miljun]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*eBay [for:DEF-price of € 2,430,000]*

‘The first copy of the Superman comics was bought on eBay **[for the price of € 2,430,000]**.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl420]

*jien għandi kull rispett [għall-poplu Żejtuni]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 1SG have.IPFV:1SG all respect **[for:DEF-people of Żejtun]**

‘I have full respect **[for the people of Żejtun]**.’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news116322]

*Għandu jkun li l-bniedem wara li*  
 have.IPFV:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT that DEF-man after that  
*jmur jaqdi dmiru [għall-familja]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:go 3SG.M.IPFV:serve duty:3SG.M **[for:DEF-family]**  
*ikollu daqsxejn hin biex jagħmel*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:have.FUT:3SG.M a\_bit time to 3SG.M.IPFV:do DEM:M:DIST  
*dak li jhobb*  
 that 3SG.M.IPFV:love

‘Should it be that the man after he goes fulfilling his duty **[for the family]** will have a bit of time to do what he loves to do?’

In (5.198a), (II21) *għal* ‘for’ introduces the price at which the first edition of a comic is bought whereas in (5.197a), it is (II57) *versu* ‘towards’ that heads a functionally equivalent PP. In (5.198b), paying one’s respect to the people of Żejtun is expressed via an *għal*-PP. In contrast, a *versu*-PP is used in (5.197b) to identify the Maltese and Gozitan people as the participants the respect is paid to. In both (c)-sentences, the family is the participant to which someone has to serve their duties. In (5.198a), the head of the PP is (II21) *għal* ‘for’, but in (5.198b), it is (II57) *versu* ‘towards’. We conclude that the two IIs are functionally identical in the domain of the PURPOSIVE. The price, the people, and the family are the purposes for which something is bought or sold, respect is paid, and duties are served. We do not deny that our interpretation stretches the notion of purpose. This means that future studies are required to settle this issue on a better empirical basis and with native-speaker intuition. This

necessity applies also with regards to possible ADVERSATIVE readings of (Π57) *versu* ‘towards’ for which we have not found tangible evidence in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

### 5.1.3.12 ADVERSATIVE

The ADVERSATIVE is equated with English *against* in Hagège (2010: 262). The Maltese reference grammar does not feature this category. It is nevertheless clear that the only bona fide candidate for this meaning category is the Italo-Romance (Π27) *kontra* ‘against’. Examples are provided in (5.199).

(5.199) ADVERSATIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic113]

*Hu rritorna mat-tim Ingliz f' Marzu 2006 f' logħba*  
 3SG.M return with:DEF-team English in March 2006 in play  
*ta' ħbiberija [kontra l-Urugwaj]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 of friendship [against DEF-Uruguay]  
 ‘He returned to the English team in March 2006 in a friendly match [against Uruguay].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic12]

*Fis-South Australia saru dimostrazzjonijiet [kontra*  
 in:DEF-South\_Australia become:3PL.PFV demonstration:PL [against  
*l-immigrazzjoni tal-Maltin]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-immigration of:DEF-Maltese:PL]  
 ‘In South Australia, demonstrations took place [against the immigration of the Maltese].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; european10792]

*l-ebda vaċċinazzjoni ma kienet twettqet*  
 DEF-no vaccination NEG be:3SG.F.PFV REFL:carry\_out:3SG.F.PFV  
*[kontra l-marda ta' l-ilsien u d-dwiefer]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 [against DEF-disease of DEF-tongue and DEF-nail.PL]  
 ‘[. . .] no vaccination was applied [against the foot and mouth disease].’

The *kontra*-PPs host complement NPs which refer to those entities that another participant acts against. In (5.199a), the scenario is that of a friendly football match between England and Uruguay. From the English perspective, England plays against its opponent from South America. In (5.199b), the demonstrations are directed against Maltese immigration to South Australia. The immigration is fought against by the local inhabitants. In (5.199c), the vaccination is meant to have a negative effect on the disease, meaning the disease is the opponent to be fought against.

### 5.1.3.13 PERTENTIVE

As to the PERTENTIVE, Hagège (2010: 262) proposes English *about* and *with respect to* as illustration. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 152) use the term reference for the same meaning category. They mention only (II11) *dwar* ‘about’ as PERTENTIVE marker. There is evidence in the Korpus Malti 3.0 however, that (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ and (II50) *rigward* ‘concerning’ are also used in the same function. In what follows we address all three of these IIs in the context of the PERTENTIVE. No matter which of the IIs is employed, the PP is the head and introduces the topic that is talked, written, or thought about.

We begin with the presentation of examples illustrating the use of (II11) *dwar* ‘about’ in (5.200).

#### (5.200) PERTENTIVE I

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic2]

*Hi mexxiet żewġ diskussjonijiet [dwar il-kummerċ*  
 3SG.F go.CAUS:3SG.F.PFV two discussion:PL [about DEF-trade  
*ġust u l-ikel]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*fair and DEF-food]*

‘She directed two discussions [about fair trade and food] [ . . . ]’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic12]

*izda ma ridux jidhlu fi spejjeż u*  
 but NEG want:3PL.PFV:NEG 3.IPFV:enter:PL in expense.PL and  
*lanqas ma kienu jagħtu informazzjoni soda*  
 neither NEG be:3PL.PFV 3.IPFV:give:PL information firm:F  
*[dwar il-kundizzjonijiet ta’ hajja u xogħol]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[about DEF-condition:PL of life and work]*

‘[ . . . ] but they did not want to go into the expenses and neither gave sound information [about the conditions of life and work].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic254]

*Dan l-artiklu huwa [dwar il-pjaneta Marte]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEM:M:PROX DEF-article 3SG.M [about DEF-planet Mars]

‘This article is [about the planet Mars].’

The examples are uncontroversial. (II11) *dwar* ‘about’ is the head of the PP that tells us what the discussions are about (= (a)-sentence), what the information is about (= (b)-sentence), and what the article is about (= (c)-sentence). As results from the examples in (5.201), the functions that (II11) *dwar* ‘about’ fulfils in (5.200) can easily be expressed by (II17) *fuq* ‘on’.

## (5.201) PERTENTIVE II

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic4]

*kienet membru minn tim li għamel riċerka [fuq**be:3SG.F.PFV member from team that make research [on**il-Kummerċ Ġust fil-Kambodja]<sub>pp</sub>**DEF-trade fair in:DEF-Cambodia]**‘[. . .] she was a member of a team that conducted research [about Fair Trade in Cambodia].’*

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic6]

*jagħtu informazzjoni [fuq il-prodotti]<sub>pp</sub>**3.IPFV:give:PL information [on DEF-product:PL]**‘[. . .] they give information [about the products].’*

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl5532]

*Dan l-artiklu huwa [fuq il-famużi living wills]<sub>pp</sub>**DEM:M:PROX DEF-article 3SG.M [on DEF-famous:PL living wills]**‘This article is [about the famous living wills].’*

What we see is that the *fuq*-PPs occur in similar (and even largely identical) syntactic context as the *dwar*-PPs. In (5.201a), research is conducted about Fair Trade in Cambodia. In (5.201b), information is given about some products. In (5.201c), the topic the article is about is specified in the *fuq*-PP. Thus, (II11) *dwar* ‘about’ and (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ can replace each other in most of the PERTENTIVE constructions.

The functional equivalence of PERTENTIVE IIs extends to (II50) *rigward* ‘concerning’. In (5.202), we find examples which bear close resemblance to those given in (5.200)–(5.201).

## (5.202) PERTENTIVE III

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news196143]

*jergħaw jibdew id-diskussjonijiet [rigward**3.IPFV:do\_again:PL 3.IPFV:begin:PL DEF-discussion:PL [concerning**id-dizarm nukleari]<sub>pp</sub>**DEF-disarmament nuclear]**‘[. . .] the discussions [about the nuclear disarmament] begin again [. . .].’*

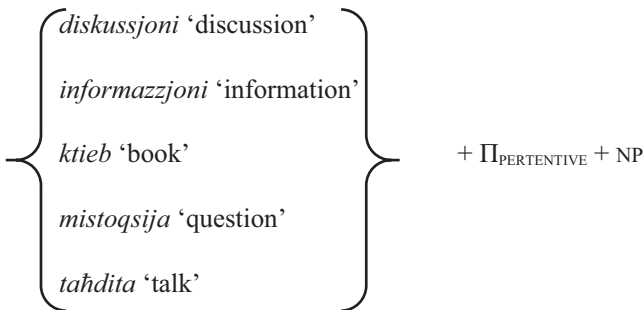
(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; european10449]

*L-industrija issa ipprovdiet informazzjoni**DEF-industry now provide:3SG.F.PFV information**[rigward ċerti sustanzi]<sub>pp</sub>**[concerning certain:PL substance:PL]**‘The industry has now provided information [about certain substances] [. . .].’*

- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl83]  
*It-tieni qasam huwa [rigward il-ġlieda kontra*  
 DEF-second field 3SG.M [concerning DEF-fight against  
*l-korruzzjoni]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-corruption]  
 ‘The second part is [about the fight against corruption] [. . .].’

As in the two previous cases, (II50) *rigward* ‘concerning’ is compatible with *diskussjonijiet* ‘discussions’, *informazzjoni* ‘information’, and *qasam* ‘field’ which can also be used to refer to subdivisions of texts (and thus is comparable to *artiklu* ‘article’ in the previous (c)-sentences). There can be no doubt that (II50) *rigward* ‘concerning’ in (5.202) can be replaced either by (II11) *dwar* ‘about’ or (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ just as (II50) *rigward* ‘concerning’ may fill the slots of the other two PERTENTIVE IIs in (5.200) and (5.201). There is a very high degree of synonymy.

To determine whether the functional equivalence of the three PERTENTIVE IIs means that they are employed with similar token frequencies, we have searched the Korpus Malti 3.0 for attestations of the ternary combinations in Figure 5.22.

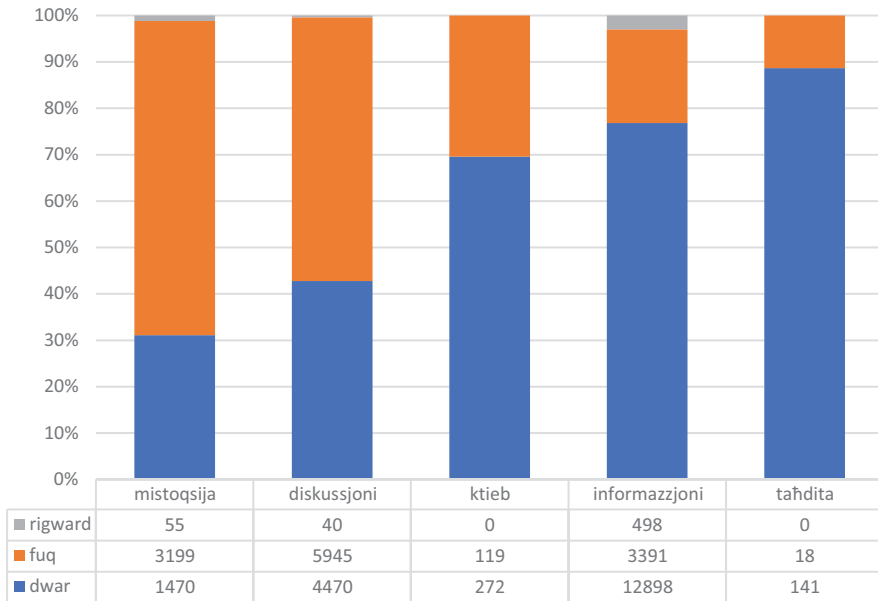


**Figure 5.22:** Contexts for which the frequency of PERTENTIVE IIs is checked.

The turnouts and shares are revealed in Figure 5.23.

What comes to the fore immediately is the relatively infrequent use of (II50) *rigward* ‘concerning’. This II fails to show up in combination with two of the five nouns mentioned in Figure 5.22. Except for the cooccurrence with *informazzjoni* ‘information’, *rigward*-PPs are responsible for only very small shares, namely around 1% or less. Even in the case of *informazzjoni* ‘information’, (II50) *rigward* ‘concerning’ accounts for slightly less than 3% of all PERTENTIVE PPs. The relative infrequency of (II50) *rigward* ‘concerning’ is perhaps explicable in terms of stylistic preferences. The choice of this Italo-Romance II is probably motivated by the speaker’s attempt to render the utterance compatible with the exigences of high-





**Figure 5.23:** Frequency of PERTENTIVE IIs in the schema of Figure 5.22.

style written Maltese. The competition between (II11) *dwar* ‘about’ and (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ is such that (II11) *dwar* ‘about’ is the majority option for three of the nouns whereas two of the nouns clearly prefer (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ over (II11) *dwar* ‘about’. The shares range from 89% – the top result for (II11) *dwar* ‘about’ – to 31% at the opposite end of this II’s frequency count whereas the biggest share for (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ is 68% with 11% at the bottom for the same II. On the basis of these heterogeneous results, it is impossible to pinpoint the decisive factor for the distribution of the two most frequent PERTENTIVE IIs. A dedicated in-depth study is called for to clarify this problem.

#### 5.1.3.14 ROBORATIVE

The ROBORATIVE is illustrated with English *according to*, *depending on*, and *following* (Hagège 2010: 262). This meaning category applies if someone is “speaking to, or depending on, certain considerations” (Hagège 2010: 308). The reference grammar of Maltese keeps silent about the ROBORATIVE.<sup>145</sup> Yet, there is ample evidence of the

<sup>145</sup> Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 47) make mention only of the use of (II53) *skont* ‘according to’ (= <skond>) in combination with (II26) *kif* ‘as’ to form the subordinate conjunction *skond kif* ‘according to’. They further assume that this binary conjunction is reduced to *skond* if it is followed by

existence of two ROBORATIVE IIs, namely (II37) *mingħala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’ and (II53) *skont* ‘according to’.

The special status of (II37) *mingħala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’ has been referred to already.<sup>146</sup> It is the only member of BLOMP 2.0 that only takes suffixed pronominal complements. Accordingly, the examples in (5.203) reflect this pattern without variation.

(5.203) ROBORATIVE I

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature4]

*Matul eżami minnhom [mingħalija]<sub>pp</sub> dak*  
 during exam from:3PL [in\_s.o.’s\_opinion:1SG] DEM:M:DIST  
*tas-Social Aspects bilkemm kont naf x’ jiena*  
 of:DEF-Social\_Aspects hardly be:1SG.PFV 1SG.IPFV:know what 1SG  
*nagħmel*  
 1SG.IPFV:do  
 ‘During one of the exams, [according to me] that of Social Aspects, I hardly knew what I was doing.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news110774]

*Tixtri laptop ta’ ditta tajba [mingħalik]<sub>pp</sub> ġdid*  
 2SG.IPFV:buy laptop of firm good:F [in\_s.o.’s\_opinion:2SG] new  
*u wara sitt xhur jiżviluppa ħsara*  
 and after six month.PL 3SG.M.IPFV:develop damage  
 ‘You buy a laptop from a good firm, [to your mind] new, and after six months it develops a damage.’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature15]

*jekk ministru jirrakkonta dik li [mingħalih]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 if minister 3SG.M.IPFV:tell DEM:F:DIST that [in\_s.o.’s\_opinion:3SG.M]  
*hi ċajta kulhadd jidhaku imma jekk*  
 3SG.F joke everybody 3SG.M.IPFV:laugh:IO:3SG.M but if

a non-finite clause. Their example for the latter phenomenon is however an undisputable instance of a PP as shown in (5.x). We keep the original orthography for <skond>.

(5.x) [Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 47]

*Dejjem imxejna [skond it-tagħlim ta’ missirijetna]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 always walk:1PL.PFV [according to DEF-teaching of father:PL:1PL]  
 ‘We have always acted [according to the teaching of our ancestors].’ [O.T.]

We disagree with the grammarians of Maltese that the *skond*-PP has the status of a (reduced) clause although the analysis is certainly a matter of adherence to one syntactic theory and not to the other.

146 Cf. Section 1.6.4.2 (v).

*nirrakkonta* *čajta* *bis-sens* *jien* *ma* *jidħakli*  
 1SG:tell joke with:DEF-sense 1SG NEG 3SG.M.IPFV:laugh:IO:1SG  
*ħadd*  
 nobody

‘[. . .] if a minister tells what [**to his mind**] is a joke, everybody laughs about it, but if I tell a joke that makes sense nobody laughs about it [. . .].’

In all three of the examples in (5.203), the complement of (II37) *mingħala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’ identifies the participant who thinks that something is the case irrespective of the truth of the opinion. It is only logical that the restriction to pronominal complements and opinions is tantamount to the highest degree of animacy of the admitted complements. They have to be human.

This restriction does not apply to (II53) *skont* ‘according to’ as transpires from (5.204c). (5.204a–b) show that this II allows for lexical NPs to fill the slot of the complement.

(5.204) ROBORATIVE II

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1622]

[*Skont* *Murasi*<sub>pp</sub> *huwa* *ħadem* *l-Indja* *bħala* *skarpan*  
 [according to *Murasi*] 3SG.M work DEF-India as cobbler  
*sal-1957*  
 till:DEF-1957

‘[According to *Murasi*], he worked in India as a shoemaker until 1957.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture2054]

[*Skont* *l-anzjana*<sub>pp</sub> *r-Re* *Federiku II* *huwa*  
 [according to DEF-old woman] DEF-king Frederic II 3SG.M  
*l-bużnannu* *tagħha*  
 DEF-great\_grandfather of:3SG.F

‘[According to the elderly lady], Kind Frederic II is her great grandfather.’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture192]

[*Skont* *il-ġurnal* *Canadian Medical Association*<sub>pp</sub> *hemm*  
 [according to DEF-journal Canadian Medical Association] there  
*numru kbir ta’ mediċini li wieħed assolutament m’*  
 number big of medicine:PL that one absolutely NEG  
*għandux jikkonsma jekk ikun daq*  
 have.IPFV:3SG.M:NEG 3SG.M.IPFV:consume if 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT taste  
*il-grejpfrut*  
 DEF-grapefruit

‘[According to the journal Canadian Medical Association], there is a great number of medicines that one should absolutely not consume if there is the taste of grapefruit.’

In the (a)- and (b)-sentences, a human being is identified as the source of an opinion. This is different in the (c)-sentence where an assumption can be traced back to a journal. The latter possibility is ruled out for (II37) *mingħala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’. In (5.205), it is shown that (II53) *skont* ‘according to’ is free to combine with many kinds of inanimate complements.

(5.205) ROBORATIVE III

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1197]

*l-uffiċjali tal-pulizija kienu sfurzawh*  
 DEF-officer:PL of:DEF-police be:3PL.PFV force:3PL.PFV:3SG.M  
*jagħti x-xhieda [skont il-verżjoni li*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:give DEF-testimony [according to DEF-version that  
*tawh huma]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 give:3PL.PFV:3SG.M 3PL]  
 ‘[. . .] the police officers had forced him to testify [according to the version they gave him].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1785]

*tul il-karriera tagħha hija qatt ma ġiet*  
 during DEF-career of:3SG.F 3SG.F never NEG come:3SG.F.PFV  
*deskritta [skont is-siġhat li taħdem]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 describe:PART:F [according to DEF-hour:PL that 3SG.F.IPFV:work]  
*imma [skont ix-xogħol li tipproduċi]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 but [according to DEF-work that 3SG.F.IPFV:produce]  
 ‘[. . .] during her career, she was never described [according to the hours she worked] but [according to the work she produced].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture2619]

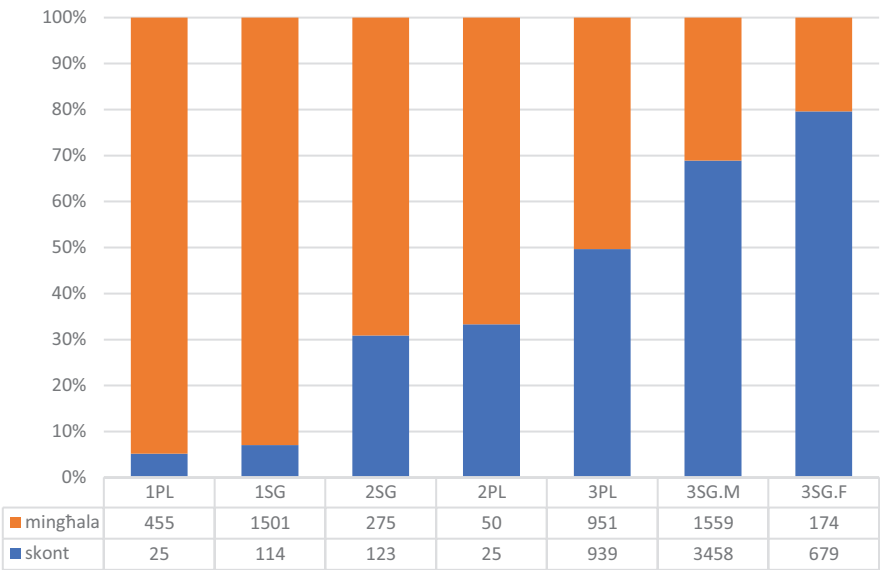
*l-kundizzjonijiet tal-ħaddiema huma*  
 DEF-condition of:DEF-worker:PL 3PL  
*[skont il-liġi industrijali fir-Renju Unit]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 [according to DEF-law industrial in:DEF-United Kingdom]  
 ‘[. . .] the conditions of the workers are [in accordance with the industrial law in the United Kingdom].’

(5.205a) and (5.205c) are comparable to (5.204c) insofar as the *skont*-PP contains a complement that refers to some kind of (written or oral) text. It is to speak of opinions that stem from these texts. The texts serve as a kind of yard-stick against which a state-of-affairs is measured such as the testimony in the (a)-sentence that is supposed to correspond to the version defended by the police. In the (c)-sentence, the conditions under which the workers are doing their jobs are compared to the legal regulations in the UK. Moreover, in the (b)-sentence, there are two *skont*-PPs both of which identify criteria according to which the speaker has been judged by others. It is more than likely that the functional domain of (II53) *skont* ‘according to’ is by far bigger than that of (II37) *minghala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’ not the least because the identification of the origin of a given opinion is only one of the tasks of (II53) *skont* ‘according to’ whereas (II37) *minghala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’ has no other function than exactly this one.

At this point, it makes sense to zoom in on the area of overlap of the two ROBORATIVE IIs. They overlap when the complement is pronominal. We have searched the Korpus Malti 3.0 for ROBORATIVE PPs whose complement is pronominal. In the case of (II53) *skont* ‘according to’, this means that PPs with POSSESSIVE and nominative government have to be taken account of whereas (II37) *minghala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’ only allows for POSSESSIVE government.<sup>147</sup> In Figure 5.24, the number of hits per II and person category is disclosed. There are striking differences. The quantitative relation between the two IIs is not the same for all person categories, but varies considerably. If the complement is a speech-act participant, (II37) *minghala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’ is clearly preferred over (II53) *skont* ‘according to’. This preference is most pronounced in the 1<sup>st</sup> persons of both numbers where (II37) *minghala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’ covers 93%–95% of all ROBORATIVE PPs. For the 2<sup>nd</sup> persons, the predominance of (II37) *minghala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’ is less overwhelming since the shares computed for this II range from 67% to 69%. The turning point is reached when we look at the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural. Both IIs are represented almost evenly since their shares minimally exceed (= (II37) *minghala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’) the 50%-mark or fail to reach it by a very small margin (= (II53) *skont* ‘according to’). The 3<sup>rd</sup> person of both genders in the singular clearly favours (II53) *skont* ‘according to’ with shares of 69% with masculine complements and 80% with feminine complements.

---

147 Cf. Section 4.1.2.2.2.2.2.



**Figure 5.24:** Frequency of (II37) *mingħala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’ vs (II53) *skont* ‘according to’ with pronominal complements (per person).

On this basis, we hypothesise that (II37) *mingħala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’ is pragmatically loaded and thus particularly suited to mark an opinion as that of the speaker(s) and to a lesser degree also that of the hearer(s). (II53) *skont* ‘according to’ seems to lack this pragmatic property. This is why it is the better solution for neutrally reporting the opinion of a non-speech-act participant. The choice of the appropriate ROBORATIVE II is thus partly determined by pragmatic factors. Semantics is also crucial since (II53) *skont* ‘according to’ is admitted to more contexts than (II37) *mingħala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’ is. How exactly the two IIs divide the ROBORATIVE domain between them calls for a separate study in the future.

**5.1.3.15 ADDITIVE**

For Hagège (2010: 262), the best English representatives of the ADDITIVE are *in addition to* and *besides*. As to this meaning category in Maltese, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 155) provide an example that involves (II34) *minbarra* ‘except’. Our work with the Korpus Malti 3.0 has revealed, however, that (II1) *apparti* ‘apart from’, too can be used as ADDITIVE II. This ADDITIVE use of (II1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ is documented in (5.206).

## (5.206) ADDITIVE I

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture3538]

*Ix-xuffier raġel ta' 24 sena issa [apparti akkuża*  
 DEF-driver man of 24 year now [apart\_from accusation  
*ta' sewqan perikoluż]<sub>pp</sub> se jkun akkużat*  
 of driving dangerous] FUT 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT accuse:PART  
*ukoll b' attentat ta' qtil*  
 also with attempt of murder

‘The driver, a man of 24 years, [apart from an accuse of dangerous driving], will now also be accused of attempted murder.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic29]

*[Apparti l-Partit Nazzjonalista]<sub>pp</sub> il-Christian Workers Party*  
 [apart\_from DEF-National Party] DEF-Christian Workers Party  
*in-Nationalist Democratic Party il-Progressive Constitutional Party*  
 DEF-Nationalist Democratic Party DEF-Progressive Constitutional Party  
*u l-Christian Democratic Party kienu kjarament kontra*  
 and DEF-Christian Democratic Party be:3PL.PFV clearly against  
*l-Partit Laburista*  
 DEF-Labour\_Party

‘[Apart from the National Party], the Christian Workers Party, the Nationalist Democratic Party, the Progressive Constitutional Party, and the Christian Democratic Party clearly were against the Labour Party.’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1163]

*[Apparti l-ikel]<sub>pp</sub> se jkun hemm ukoll żfin*  
 [apart\_from DEF-food] FUT 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT there also dancing  
*minn 12-il skola kanzunetti country ma' Marisa D'Amato u*  
 from 12 school song:DIM:PL country with Marisa D'Amato and  
*anke ftit daħk ma' Gable ta' Deċeduti*  
 also little laughing with Gable ta' Deċeduti

‘[Apart from the food], there will also be dancing from twelve schools, country songs with Marisa D'Amato and also some laughing with Gable ta' Deċeduti.’

In these examples, the *apparti-PP* introduces a participant that forms part of a more or less extended list of participants for which the same predication holds. This participant is added to the list – in some cases, it is the other way around insofar as the *apparti-PP* marks the basic entity to which the others are added. In the (a)-sentence, there is already the accusation of dangerous driving to which that of attempted murder is added. In the (b)-sentence, the political position of the National Party is the reference point for the enumeration of four other parties which share the same

views as the Labour Party. In the (c)-sentence, it is said that, on the occasion of a festival, there is not only the usual food on the program of the event but also a number of other highlights. (II1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ is used in the ADDITIVE function when it occurs in lists or enumerations which comprise at least two units.

The same can be said about (II34) *minbarra* ‘except’ in (5.207).

(5.207) ADDITIVE II

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news22008]

[*Minbarra* Malta]<sub>pp</sub> *Ċipru u l-Lussemburgu wkoll*  
[**except** Malta] Cyprus and DEF-Luxembourg also  
*għandhom kwalità eċċellenti ta’ ilma*  
have.IPFV:3PL quality excellent of water  
‘[**Apart from** Malta], Cyprus and Luxembourg too have an excellent water quality.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic17]

[*Minbarra* l-lingwi u l-letteratura]<sub>pp</sub> *studja l-liġi u*  
[**except** DEF-language:PL and DEF-literature] study DEF-law and  
*kien għaref ukoll fit-tmexxija tan-negozju*  
be wise also in:DEF-leadership of:DEF-business  
‘[**Apart from** languages and literature], he studied law and was also knowledgeable in business management.’

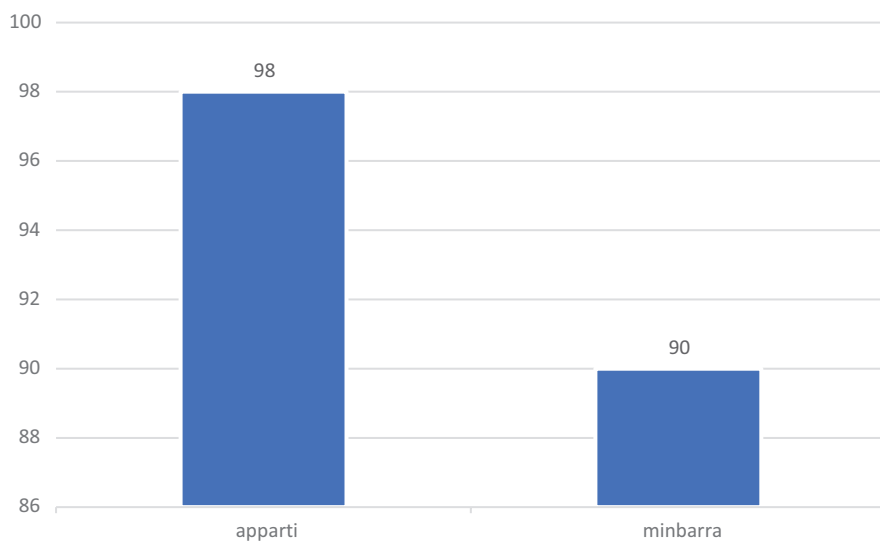
(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1015]

[*minbarra* spejjeż oħra fosthom it-trobbija ta’  
[**except** expense.PL other:PL amongst:3PL DEF-upbringing of  
żewġt itfal]<sub>pp</sub> *għandu € 200 f’ kera kull tliet*  
two child.PL] have.IPFV:3SG.M € 200 in rent each three  
*xhur*  
month.PL  
‘[. . .] [**apart from** other expenses with among them the upbringing of two children], he has € 200 in rent every three months.’

In (5.207a), Malta is shown not to be the only country whose water quality is high. With Cyprus and Luxembourg, Malta forms a list of three. The *minbarra*-PP in (5.207b) introduces two subject matters the anonymous person has studied to which law studies and managerial knowledge are added so that a list of four emerges. The list is shorter in the case of (5.207c) where it is reported that someone complains about the high costs of living enumerating those occasioned by raising two children and the rent. We hypothesise that one may substitute either of the two ADDITIVE IIs for the other in (5.206) and (5.207) since they seem to be full equivalents of each other in this domain.



Both (Π1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ and (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’ have been presented as EXCEPTIVE IIs.<sup>148</sup> However, the EXCEPTIVE function is only a minor option in comparison to the ADDITIVE function of these IIs. Our search in the Korpus Malti 3.0 reveals that of the 1<sup>st</sup> 100 hits of (Π1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ and (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’, the overwhelming majority reflects the ADDITIVE function. According to Figure 5.25, the ADDITIVE function predominates to the extreme in both cases. Only two *apparti*-PPs cannot be classified as ADDITIVE. As to the *minbarra*-PPs, those which fulfil functions other than that of the ADDITIVE yield a turnout of ten hits. Accordingly, ADDITIVE is the preferred or default reading of both (Π1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ and (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’. In contrast to the ADDITIVE function, the EXCEPTIVE function of these IIs is only of marginal relevance. It is also worth noting that ADDITIVE and EXCEPTIVE are antonyms in the sense that the ADDITIVE adds a unit to a list whereas the EXCEPTIVE excludes a unit from a list. These meanings are in conflict with each other. We still ignore how potential ambiguities are resolved by Maltese native speakers. It is clear that the communicative context provides clues for the correct interpretation of (Π1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ and (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’. Yet, this phenomenon needs to be looked into more deeply. This is why only a dedicated follow-up study can answer the questions that arise from the double-faced semantics of the two IIs under scrutiny.



**Figure 5.25:** ADDITIVE (Π1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ and (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’ in the 1<sup>st</sup> 100 tokens.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.3.3.

## 5.1.3.16 SUBSTITUTIVE

The SUBSTITUTIVE is the last meaning category in Hagège's (2010) inventory to be discussed. All subsequent sections feature meaning categories that are absent from this inventory. English *instead of* is Hagège's (2010: 262) representative of the SUBSTITUTIVE. The SUBSTITUTIVE applies in situations where a participant (or event or property) replaces another one. The Maltese equivalent of the SUBSTITUTIVE is expressed by (Π35) *minflok* 'instead of'. The category as such is absent from the reference grammar. This absence does not mean that there is no empirical evidence of its existence. Three pertinent cases are presented in (5.208).

## (5.208) SUBSTITUTIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic6]

*il-konsumaturi li meta jagħzlu prodott tal-Kummerċ*  
 DEF-consumer:PL that when 3.IPFV:choose:PL product of:DEF-Trade  
*Ġust [minflok prodott simili maħdum f' suq*  
 Fair [instead\_of product similar PART:work in market  
*tradizzjonali]<sub>pp</sub> ikunu qed jagħrfu l-poter*  
*traditional]* 3.IPFV:be.FUT:PL PROG 3.IPFV:recognise:PL DEF-power  
*tagħhom fil-qasam tas-suq*  
 of:3PL in:DEF-field of:DEF-market

'[. . .] the consumers who when they choose a Fair-Trade product [**instead of a similar product made on a traditional market**] will recognise their power in the domain of the market [. . .].'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic2009]

*Hemm min jgħid li l-kelma pepè ġejja*  
 there who 3SG.M.IPFV:say that DEF-word pepè come.PART:F  
*mill-fatt li s-Slimizi kienu*  
 from:DEF-fact that DEF-inhabitant\_of\_Sliema:PL be:3PL.PFV  
*jsejjhu lil missierhom papà b' ċertu tghawwiġ ta'*  
 3.IPFV:call:PL to father:3PL papa with certain distortion of  
*l-ilsien [minflok missier pà jew tà]<sub>pp</sub> kif kienu*  
 DEF-tongue [instead\_of missier pà or tà] as be:3PL.PFV  
*jsejjhulu n-nies t' irħula oħra*  
 3.IPFV:call:PL:IO:3SG.M DEF-people of village.PL other:PL

'There are people who say that the word *pepè* comes from the fact that the inhabitants of Sliema called their father *papa* with a certain distortion of the language [**instead of missier, pà or tà**] as the people of other villages called him.'

- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic283]  
*Infatti fl-istess sena Boieldieu gie elett*  
 in\_fact in:DEF-same year Boieldieu come elect.PART  
*[minflok Nicolò Isouard]<sub>pp</sub> biex jimla l-post*  
*[instead\_of Nicolò Isouard] to 3SG.M.IPFV:fill DEF-post*  
*fl-Institut de France*  
 in:DEF-Institut\_de\_France  
 ‘In fact, in the same year, Boieldieu was elected **[instead of Nicolò Isouard]**  
 to fill the position in the Institut de France.’

In the (a)-sentence, the consumer chooses a Fair-Trade product instead of a traditional product. The latter is replaced with the former. In the (b)-sentence, the etymology of the Maltese expression *pepè* ‘dandyism’ (Aquilina 1991: 1047) is explained as originating from the local pronunciation of *papà* ‘dad’ in Sliema. The speakers of Sliema Maltese use *pepè* instead of the elsewhere widespread *missier*, *pà*, or *tà*. The local (Sliema) expression replaces those of other varieties of Maltese. In the (c)-sentence, Boieldieu is elected instead of his competitor. In this sense, the elected candidate replaces the runner-up.

### 5.1.3.17 BENEFACTIVE

Hagège (2010) does not consider the BENEFACTIVE to be a meaning category in its own right. We do not subscribe to this opinion. The BENEFACTIVE is the functional monopoly of (II21) *ghal* ‘for’ according to Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 147–148). However, there is the Italo-Romance (II13) *favur* ‘in favour of’ that also expresses that something is done or happens to the benefit of someone. The use of the latter BENEFACTIVE  $\Pi$  is illustrated in (5.209).

(5.209) BENEFACTIVE I

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic12]  
*L-amministrazzjoni kienet [favur il-pjan]<sub>pp</sub> u*  
 DEF-administration be:3SG.F.PFV **[in\_favour\_of DEF-plan]** and  
*fil-fatt applikaw madwar 440 ruh ghalkemm dawn*  
 in:DEF-fact apply:3PL.PFV around 440 soul although DEM:PL:PROX  
*qatt ma telqu*  
 ever NEG leave:3PL.PFV  
 ‘The administration was **[in favour of the plan]** and in fact about 440 persons applied although they never left.’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic267]  
*Michael Mifsud skorja għal ħames darbiet f' logħba ta'*  
 Michael Mifsud score for five time:PL in play of  
*ħbiberija li Malta lagħbet kontra l-Liechtenstein u*  
 friendship that Malta play:3SG.F.PFV against DEF-Liechtenstein and  
*li spiċċat 7–1 [favur il-Maltin]<sub>pp</sub> l-ikbar*  
 that end:3SG.F.PFV 7–1 [in\_favour\_of DEF-Maltese:PL] DEF-big.CMPR  
*rebħa li Malta qatt għamlet*  
 victory that Malta ever make:3SG.F.PFV  
 'Michael Mifsud scored five times in a friendly match that Malta played  
 against Liechtenstein and that ended 7–1 [for the Maltese] – the biggest  
 victory that Malta ever made.'
- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news10319]  
*Il-Partit Nazzjonalista fl-Oppożizzjoni mistenni jivvota*  
 DEF-National\_Party in:DEF-opposition PART:wait 3SG.M.IPFV:vote  
*[favur il-Baġit]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[in\_favour\_of DEF-budget]*  
 'The National Party in the opposition is expected to vote [for the budget].'

In (5.209a), the position the administration takes in connection to a given plan is characterised as favourable. The behaviour of the administration is thus to the benefit of the plan. The example in (5.209b) tells us that the result of a football match against Liechtenstein was to the benefit of the Maltese national team. And in (5.209c), the vote the National Party is expected to make is to the benefit of the budget. The plan, Malta, and the budget are benefitting from the other participants' behaviour.

In (5.210), the second BENEFACTIVE II is the focus of attention. (II21) *għal* 'for' is the head of PPs whose complement refers to the beneficiary (as is the case with the complements of (II13) *favur* 'in favour of' in the foregoing examples).

(5.210) BENEFACTIVE II

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature24]  
*Xbajtu tibagħtuni taħt l-art naqta'*  
 fed\_up:2PL.PFV 2.IPFV:send:PL:1SG under DEF-ground 1SG.IPFV:cut  
*l-għeruq [għal omni]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-root.PL [for mother:1SG]  
 'Were you fed up with sending me under the ground to cut the roots [for my mother]?''

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news122355]  
*Dak li huwa tajjeb [għal Malta]<sub>pp</sub> mhux dejjem*  
 DEM:M:DIST that 3SG.M good [for Malta] NEG:3SG.M:NEG always  
*jgħodd għal gżiritna*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:count for island:POSS:1PL  
 ‘What is good [for Malta] does not always count for our island.’
- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news173768]  
*l-effetti tal-kafè huma pożittivi mmens*  
 DEF-effect:PL of:DEF-coffee 3PL positive:PL immensely  
*[għal bniedem]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[for human being]*  
 ‘[. . .] the effects of coffee are immensely positive [for a human being] [. . .].’

In the (a)-sentence, the speaker’s mother is the beneficiary of the action of her child. The roots are cut for her. In the (b)-sentence, a representative of the island of Gozo claims that not everything that is to the benefit of Malta is also to the benefit of the smaller sister island. In the (c)-sentence, it is claimed that coffee has effects which are to the benefit of human beings.

Functionally, the two BENEFACTIVE IIs are not absolutely identical. Their differences result mostly from the fact that (II13) *favur* ‘in favour of’ is limited to the BENEFACTIVE meaning category whereas (II21) *għal* ‘for’ is multifunctional so that it occurs in many more contexts than (II13) *favur* ‘in favour of’. Furthermore, (II13) *favur* ‘in favour of’ is semantically more explicit or loaded than (II21) *għal* ‘for’. The former emphasises the BENEFACTIVE relation. In contrast, (II21) *għal* ‘for’ does not seem to highlight the BENEFACTIVE relation to any noticeable degree.<sup>149</sup> We conclude that there are also pragmatic differences between the two IIs.

### 5.1.3.18 MALEFACTIVE

Given that Hagège (2010) does not deem the BENEFACTIVE worth reserving a distinct meaning category, it does not come as a surprise that the author does not mention the MALEFACTIVE either. This category is also absent from the Maltese reference grammar. (II2) *a skapitu* ‘at the expense of’ is the antonym of BENEFACTIVE (II13) *favur* ‘in favour of’ and (II21) *għal* ‘for’. The use of the MALEFACTIVE II is illustrated in (5.211).

149 Cf. Section 5.2.2.3.

## (5.211) MALEFACTIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic344]

*Il-problema ġejja mill-ġhalliema u mill-medja*  
 DEF-problem come.PART:F from:DEF-teacher:PL and from:DEF-media  
*li qed jabbużaw mill-Ingliš [a skapitu*  
 that PROG 3.IPFV:abuse:PL from:DEF-English [at\_the\_expense\_of  
*tal-Malti]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 of:DEF-Maltese]

‘The problem comes from the teachers and the media that are abusing English [at the expense of Maltese].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news112416]

*Mhux aċċettabbli li jkun hawn min*  
 NEG:3SG.M:NEG acceptable that 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT here who  
*jagħmel il-flus [a skapitu tat-tfal*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:make DEF-money [at\_the\_expense\_of of:DEF-child.PL  
*tagħna]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 of:1PL]

‘It is not acceptable that there will be someone here who makes money [at the expense of our children].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news136899]

*Ried jeleva lil Chris Said fl-kariga ta’ ministru*  
 want 3SG.M.IPFV:elevate to Chris Said in:DEF-post of minister  
*[a skapitu ta’ Debono]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 [at\_the\_expense\_of of Debono]

‘He wanted to elevate Chris Said to the post of minister [at the expense of Debono].’

What we see in these examples is that the complement noun of the *a skapitu-pp* identifies the maleficient, i.e., the participant to whose detriment some action is carried out. In the (a)-sentence, teachers and the media are blamed for giving preference to English to the detriment of Maltese. In the (b)-sentence, the children are depicted as the participants who are in danger of being exploited by other persons. The (c)-sentence mentions Debono as the candidate at whose expense someone else is promoted to the rank of minister.

## 5.1.3.19 PARTITIVE

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 152–153) present (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ as the PARTITIVE Π of Maltese. It is used in situations where a subset from a numerically larger group of entities is singled out. This is what happens throughout the examples in (5.212).

## (5.212) PARTITIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic4]

*jitolbuhom jiktbu esej qasir dwar xi wieħed*  
 3.IPFV:ask:PL:3PL 3.IPFV:write:PL essay short about some one

*[minnhom]<sub>pp</sub>*

*[from:3PL]*

‘[. . .] they ask them to write a short essay about one [of them].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic12]

*qatel tnejn [minn nies tiegħu]<sub>pp</sub>*

kill two [from people of:3SG.M]

‘[. . .] he killed two [of his people].’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1572]

*l-akbar dulur li jista’ jkollha*

DEF-big.CMPR pain that 3SG.M.IPFV:can 3SG.M.IPFV:have.FUT:3SG.F

*Marija hu meta xi hadd [minn uliedha]<sub>pp</sub>*

Marija 3SG.M when some someone [from children:3SG.F]

*jdawwar spallejh għall-offerta tagħha*

3SG.M.IPFV:turn.CAUS shoulder:PL:3SG.M for:DEF-offer of:3SG.F

‘[. . .] the biggest pain that Maija could have is that one [of her children] shrugs his shoulders at her offer.’

In (5.212a), the students are asked to write an essay about someone who belongs to their group. The *minn*-PP in (5.212b) tells us that two members of an unnamed criminal’s gang were killed. It can be inferred from the choice of the PARTITIVE that the gang counted more than just two members. The situation in (5.212c) involves a mother who has several children and who lives in fear of one of her children not accepting an offer she is making.

**5.1.3.20 INCLUSIVE**

In Maltese, the INCLUSIVE is expressed by (II25) *inkluz* ‘including’ (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 154). We have argued that (II25) *inkluz* ‘including’ is not a straightforward example of a II and that only the morphologically invariable form of this item can be included in BLOMP 2.0.<sup>150</sup> Accordingly, the examples in (5.213) lack number and gender agreement on the II. The INCLUSIVE applies in situations where we have a group or collective as a participant whose membership is described as also involving further specific participants. The INCLUSIVE is the antonym of the EXCEPTIVE.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. Section 1.6.6 (vi).

## (5.213) INCLUSIVE

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture3791]

*l-istaff tal-Isptar [inkluz l-infermieri]<sub>pp</sub> ta' kuljum*  
 DEF-staff of:DEF-hospital [including DEF-nurse:PL] of every\_day  
*qed jiffaċċjaw pressjoni dejjem tikber*  
 PROG 3.IPFV:face:PL pression always 3SG.F.IPFV:grow  
 '[. . .] the hospital's staff [including the nurses] is daily facing an always  
 growing pressure.'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture3089]

*Fiha qed jieħdu sehem nies ta' kull età*  
 in:3SG.F PROG 3.IPFV:take:PL part people of each age  
*[inkluz tfal]<sub>pp</sub> bil-biċċa kbira minn Birkirkara*  
 [including child:PL] with:DEF-piece big:F from Birkirkara  
 'In it, people of all ages [including children] mostly from Birkirkara  
 take part.'

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; sport1648]

*Kulhadd jgħid li jrid jirbaħ*  
 everyone 3SG.M.IPFV:say that 3SG.M.IPFV:want 3.SG.M.IPFV:win  
*[inkluz jien]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 [including 1SG]  
 'Everybody says that he wants to win, [including me].'

In (5.213a), it is made explicit that the staff of the hospital also includes the nurses. In (5.213b), the group of participants at a festival is described as comprising people of all age groups including children. Finally, (5.213c) is a supposedly universal statement about everybody wanting to win. The speaker reveals that the group referred to as everybody also includes him or her.

## 5.1.3.21 MATERIAL

The final two sections of this part of the chapter on semantics address meaning categories which are probably and tacitly subsumed under the umbrella of the INSTRUMENTIVE in Hagège's (2010) system. In the light of Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander's (1997: 150–151) presentation of three different IIs as markers in the domains of MATERIAL and MANNER, we prefer to treat these categories as distinct from the INSTRUMENTIVE although one of the MATERIAL/MANNER IIs is also employed in the latter function. This applies to (II7) *bi* 'with'. This II competes with (II41) *minn* 'from' and (II55) *ta'* 'of' when it comes to expressing of which MATERIAL a given entity is made.

The case of (II7) *bi* 'with' is illustrated in (5.214). The *bi*-PPs depend on the passive participles of the verbs *ħadem* 'work' and *għamel* 'do'.



## (5.214) MATERIAL I

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news167812]

*L-artista Stephanie Borg qieghda ttella' t-tieni*  
 DEF-artist:F Stephanie Borg PROG.F 3SG.F.IPFV:put\_up DEF-second  
*wirja personali tagħha li tinkludi 22 tpingija*  
 exhibition personal of:3SG.F that 3SG.F.IPFV:include 22 drawing  
*maħdumin [bil-linka]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 PART:work:PL [with:DEF-ink]

'The artist Stephanie Borg is putting up her second personal exhibition that includes 22 drawings made [in ink].'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news86715]

*Installati fuq il-bjut tagħhom dawn l-iskejjel*  
 install.PART:PL on DEF-roof.PL of:3PL DEM:PL:PROX DEF-school.PL  
*bejniethom għandhom ħmistax-il tank maħduma [b'*  
 between:3PL have.IPFV:3PL fifteen tank PART:work [with  
*dan il-materjal]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEM:M:PROX DEF-material]

'Installed on their roofs these schools together have fifteen tanks made [of this material].'

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news67237]

*iduq ix-xarba originali magħmula [bil-cocoa]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:taste DEF-drink original PART:make:F [with:DEF-cocoa]  
 '[. . .] he tastes the original drink made [with cocoa] [. . .].'

Arguably, in these examples, the material can also be interpreted as a kind of instrument that is used to produce something. In the (a)-sentence, the drawings are made in ink. The ink is a kind of second-order tool which needs a first-order tool (the pen) to be put on the drawing canvas. Other second-order tools in this sense are the material used to build the tanks in the (b)-sentence and the cocoa that serves as an ingredient for a drink in the (c)-sentence. What is important here however is the fact that we are not dealing with first-order tools.

The same situation is met in (5.215) where (Π41) *minn* 'from' is the head of the PP in which the material is identified. As in the previous case, the *minn*-PPs depend on passive participles of the verbs *ħadem* 'work' and *għamel* 'do'.

## (5.215) MATERIAL II

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic6]

*jinsabu dejjem iżjed prodotti fil-ħwienet*  
 3.IPFV:REFL:find:PL always more product:PL in:DEF-shop.PL

- magħmula* [minn qoton organiku]<sub>pp</sub>  
 PART:made:PL [from cotton organic]  
 ‘[. . .] ever more products made [of organic cotton] are found in the shops.’
- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture2350]  
*L-iskulturi kollha huma magħmulin [mill-injam*  
 DEF-sculpture:PL all:3SG.F 3PL PART:made:PL [from:DEF-wood  
*ġebel u rħam]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 stone and marble]  
 ‘All the sculptures are made [of wood, stone, and marble].’
- (c) [Korpus malti 3.0; literature39]  
*Għalkemm kienet kbira daqs il-pala ta’ idi*  
 although be:3SG.F.PFV big:F equal\_to DEF-palm of hand:1SG  
*kienet madankollu ħafifa rixa għax kienet*  
 be:3SG.F.PFV however light:F feather because be:3SG.F.PFV  
*mahduma [mill-aluminju]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 PART:make:F [from:DEF-aluminium]  
 ‘Although it was as big as the palm of my hand it was nevertheless light as a feather because it was made [of aluminium].’

In (5.215a), products made of cotton are talked about. In (5.215b), the sculptures are said to be made of wood whereas in (5.215c), the unidentified object is surprisingly light because it is made of aluminium. We assume that (II41) *minn* ‘from’ can replace (II7) *bi* ‘with’ in (5.214) just as the latter II may replace (II41) *minn* ‘from’ in (5.215).

Replacement is not possible with the third II in the domain of MATERIAL. In line with the logic exposed above,<sup>151</sup> (II55) *ta’* ‘of’ heads an attributive PP that requires a noun it modifies. As explained earlier in this study,<sup>152</sup> this noun may be absent under certain conditions. (II55) *ta’* ‘of’ cannot take in the position of either (II7) *bi* ‘with’ or (II41) *minn* ‘from’ in constructions with passive participles, for instance. Similarly, neither (II7) *bi* ‘with’ nor (II41) *minn* ‘from’ are suitable substitutes for (II55) *ta’* ‘of’ in cases like those presented in (5.216).

(5.216) MATERIAL III

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic12]  
*Ħaseb biex jiġi lura lejn Malta fejn ħadem*  
 think to 3SG.M.IPFV:come back towards Malta where work

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Section 4.2.2.

<sup>152</sup> Cf. Section 4.2.2.

*dar [ta' l-injam]<sub>pp</sub> u bagħatha fuq vapur lejn*  
 house [of DEF-wood] and send:3SG.F on ship towards  
*l-Awstralja*  
 DEF-Australia

‘He thought of coming back to Malta where he built a [wooden] house and sent it on a ship to Australia.’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic420]

*Illum il-ġurnata tas-Sliema tilfet ftit*  
 today DEF-day of:DEF-Sliema lose:3SG.F.PFV little  
*mill-karateristika tagħha minħabba li ħafna*  
 from:DEF-characteristics of:3SG.F on\_account\_of that many  
*mid-djar ġew imwaqqa biex*  
 from:DEF-house.PL come:3PL.PFV PART:knock\_down to  
*inbnew appartamenti moderni [tal-konkrit]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 REFL:build:3PL.PFV apartment:PL modern:PL [of:DEF-concrete]

‘Nowadays, Sliema has lost a little of its characteristics because many of the houses were knocked down so that modern apartments [of concrete] were built.’

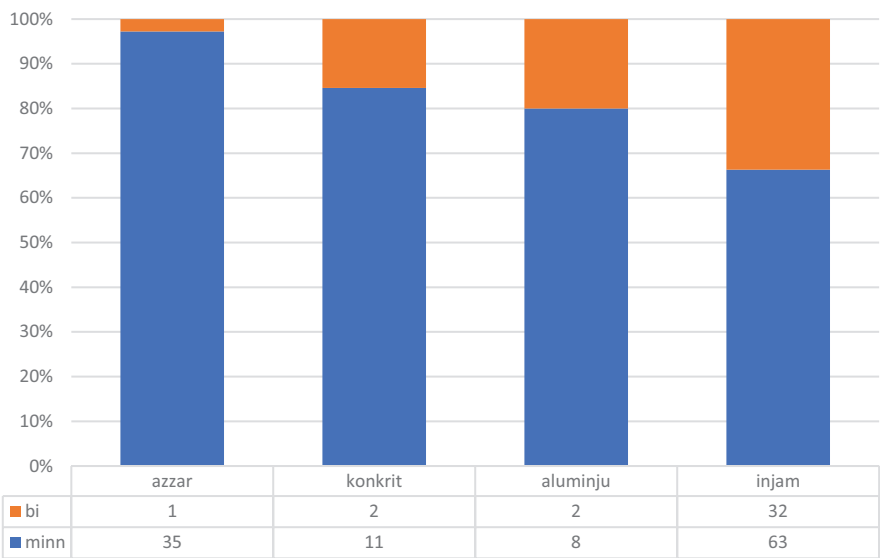
- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl3026]

*Ġeneralment meta jsir dan it-tip ta'*  
 generally when 3SG.M.IPFV:become DEM:M:PROX DEF-type of  
*sajd ikun hemm cable [ta' l-azzar]<sub>pp</sub> imqabbad*  
 fishing 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT there cable [of DEF-steel] PART:connect  
*max-xibka*  
 with:DEF-net

‘Generally, when this kind of fishing takes place there will be a [steel] cable connected to the net.’

As can be expected on the basis of what was exposed in Section 4.2.2., the *ta'*-PPs are always NP-internal attributes. We have a wooden house in the (a)-sentence, apartments made of concrete in the (b)-sentence, and a steel cable in the (c)-sentence. In contrast, the *bi*-PPs and *minn*-PPs may also occur VP-internally. They are also possible as adverbial modifiers of participles. For the passive participle of *ħadem* ‘work’ with the forms SG.M *maħdum* ≠ SG.F *maħdum* ≠ PL *maħdumin*, there are eight combinations with (II7) *bi* ‘with’ as opposed to five hits for (II41) *minn* ‘from’ and the complement noun *injam* ‘wood’ (yielding translation equivalents of English *wooden* or *made of wood*). There are no hits for (II55) *ta'* ‘of’ in this context. On account of the multifunctionality of both (II7) *bi* ‘with’ and (II41) *minn* ‘from’ it is a demanding task to determine which of the two IIs is the first choice when it comes to expressing MATERIAL. Therefore, we restrict the search in the Korpus Malti 3.0 to four nouns

referring to the MATERIAL a given object is made of, namely *aluminju* ‘aluminium’, *azzar* ‘steel’, *injam* ‘wood’, and *konkrit* ‘concrete’. Figure 5.26 shows that the two Πs do not yield identical results since with each of the above four nouns, (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ ousts (Π7) *bi* ‘with’. The shares of the minority option range from minimally 3% to maximally 34%, meaning: (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ is the major option and the default Π in the domain of MATERIAL.



**Figure 5.26:** Competition of (Π7) *bi* ‘with’ and (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ in the domain of MATERIAL.

**5.1.3.22 MANNER**

As to MANNER, Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 151) mention only (Π7) *bi* ‘with’. In point of fact, MANNER adverbials very often come in the shape of a *bi*-PP.<sup>153</sup> The complement in these PPs refers to the manner in which a given action is carried out. We illustrate this pattern with the three examples in (5.217).

(5.217) MANNER

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news12875]

*dejjem għamel mill-ahjar li seta' biex jaqdi*  
always make from:DEF-better that can to 3SG.M.IPFV:serve  
*d-dmirijiet tiegħu għalkemm xi kultant għamel*

<sup>153</sup> As argued in Section 4.3.3.1.

DEF-duty:PL of:3SG.M although some sometimes make  
*dan* [*bi* *tbatija*]<sub>pp</sub>

DEM:M:PROX [*with* *suffering*]

‘[. . .] he always did his best to serve his duties although sometimes he did this [*painfully*].’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture405]

*Clark għamel dan* [*b’* *heffa* *liema* *bħalha*]<sub>pp</sub> *kif*

Clark make DEM:M:PROX [*with* *speed* *which* *like:3SG.F*] as  
*jidher* *fil-vidjow*

3SG.M.IPFV:appear in:DEF-video

‘Clark made this [*with* *uncomparable speed*] as is shown in the video.’

- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news149379]

*Għamel dan* [*b’* *għaqal* *kbir*]<sub>pp</sub> *ħalli jħares*

make DEM:M:PROX [*with* *wisdom* *big*] so\_that 3SG.M.IPFV:protect

*l-interessi ta’ dawk kollha li ħassew li*  
 DEF-interest:PL of DEM:PL:DIST all:3SG.F that feel:3PL.PFV that

*setgħu jibbenefikaw minn dan il-pass*

can:3PL.PFV 3.IPFV:benefit:PL from DEM:M:PROX DEF-step

‘He did this [*very wisely*] so that he protects the interests of all those who feel that they could benefit from this step.’

As we see, the nouns *tbatija* ‘suffering’, *heffa* ‘speed’, and *għaqal* ‘wisdom’ are involved in *bi*-PPs to indicate that something is done painfully (= (a)-sentence), speedily (= (b)-sentence), or wisely (= (c)-sentence). The above examples are by no means isolated cases. In the Korpus Malti 3.0, they yield the following number of hits as MANNER adverbials:

- *bi tbatija* ‘painfully’ = 240 hits
- *b’ heffa* ‘speedily’ = 417 hits
- *b’ għaqal* ‘wisely’ = 946 hits

Given that there ideally is no limit as to the fillers of the complement slot in these *bi*-PPs, one must expect to find MANNER adverbials of this kind all over the texts covered by the Korpus Malti 3.0. MANNER adverbials are one of the strongest factors that make (II7) *bi* ‘with’ a highly frequent II in Maltese.

We have now reached the final paragraph of the catalogue of meaning categories and the IIs used to express them. It is necessary at this point to systematise the many details mentioned in the previous sections. This systematization is the task of Section 5.2.

## 5.2 The semantic network

The subsections of Section 5.1 served the purpose of crosschecking the list of adpositional functions proposed by Hagège (2010) and the services to which the members of BLOMP 2.0 are put in Maltese. We have therefore looked at the semantics of the IIs from the onomasiological perspective, i.e., functions came first and then expressions were allotted to them. However, it is not sufficient to exclusively approach the Maltese IIs from the viewpoint of preestablished categories whose existence is cast doubt upon by Haspelmath (2007b). To avoid misunderstanding we emphasise that Hagège's (2010) catalogue of functions that are cross-linguistically attested for adpositions does not require of a given language that each of the functions is expressed by adpositions. Neither does the catalogue assume that there are (always) one-to-one mappings of II and function. We have seen that for several of Hagège's meaning categories, one and the same Maltese II is employed and at the same time, a given meaning is frequently expressed by more than just one II. The existence of one-to-many as well as many-to-one relations between IIs and functions calls for a second round of relating the content side and the expression side of Maltese IIs – this time from the semasiological perspective. This means that we take the concrete IIs as our point of departure (although with certain deviations from the semasiological ideal as explained below). The goal is to determine the functional domain of each II and to show where the domains border on each other or overlap so that we are eventually able to draw up a semantic map of BLOMP 2.0.

As to the semasiological approach, we apply a compromise in the sense that the IIs are addressed in two steps with each step being semantically based so that an onomasiological element comes into play. In analogy to the practice employed in the previous section, we once more follow Hagège (2010) by way of treating spatio-temporal meaning categories separately from other categories. Accordingly, the first subsection is dedicated to those IIs which are known to (also) fulfil spatial and/or temporal functions.<sup>154</sup> Several of these IIs are not restricted to the spatio-temporal domain. This is why they re-enter the scene again in the second part where we address the non-spatio-temporal meaning categories and those termed core meanings by Hagège (2010).<sup>155</sup> Section 5.2.3 takes up the issue of polysemy which directly takes us to Section 5.2.4 where we present the semantic map alluded to above.

---

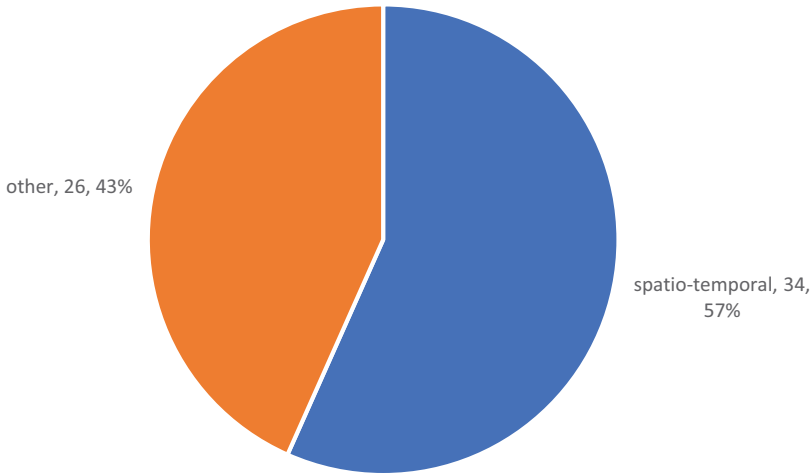
<sup>154</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.2.

### 5.2.1 The semasiology of IIs in the spatio-temporal domain

#### 5.2.1.1 The composition of the spatio-temporal subset of BLOMP 2.0

Maltese IIs with spatio-temporal functions constitute the biggest group within BLOMP 2.0. As shown in Figure 5.27, far more than half of the inventory is covered by spatio-temporal IIs whereas Maltese IIs that do not fulfil any spatio-temporal function claim a smaller share of BLOMP 2.0.



**Figure 5.27:** Shares of IIs with spatio-temporal meanings vs IIs without spatio-temporal meaning.

The absolute numbers are as follows. Of the sixty members of BLOMP 2.0, 34 can be classified as IIs with spatio-temporal functions. In contrast, only 26 IIs have no spatio-temporal function at all. Thirty IIs are bona fide instances of spatio-temporal IIs. They are listed alphabetically in (5.218).

(5.218) Bona fide spatio-temporal IIs included in BLOMP 2.0

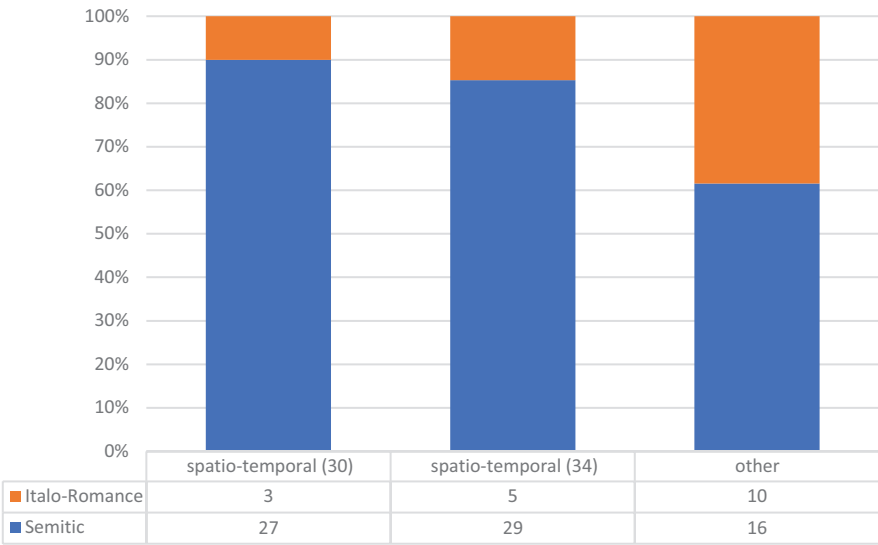
(II3) *barra* ‘outside’; (II4) *bejn* ‘between’; (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’; (II12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’; (II14) *fejn* ‘near’; (II15) *fi* ‘in’; (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’; (II17) *fuq* ‘on’; (II18) *gewwa* ‘inside’; (II19) *go* ‘in’; (II21) *għal* ‘for’; (II22) *għand* ‘at s.o.’s place’; (II23) *hdejn* ‘beside’; (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’; (II30) *ma* ‘with’; (II31) *madwar* ‘around’; (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’; (II33) *matul* ‘during’; (II38) *minghand* ‘from s.o.’; (II41) *minn* ‘from’; (II44) *oltre* ‘beyond’; (II46) *qabel* ‘before’; (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’; (II48) *qrib* ‘near’; (II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’; (II51) *sa* ‘till’; (II56) *taħt* ‘under’; (II58) *viċin* ‘near’; (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’; (II60) *wara* ‘after’

In addition to the above thirty uncontroversial cases, there are a further four Πs whose meaning is associated with the spatial domain but which for one reason or another pose problems so that, in the ensuing discussion, they are referred to only with reservations. The four problematic cases are given in (5.219).

- (5.219) Problematic additions to (5.218)  
(Π42) *mintul* ‘all along’; (Π43) *mnejn* ‘from near’; (Π54) *sotta* ‘under’; (Π57) *versu* ‘towards’

Even if we subtract the controversial cases from the 34 spatio-temporal Πs the remaining thirty types would still represent the majority within BLOMP 2.0 since (Π42) *mintul* ‘all along’, (Π43) *mnejn* ‘from near’, and (Π54) *sotta* ‘under’ display spatial semantics nevertheless – their problem being the lack of attestations – whereas with (Π57) *versu* ‘towards’ only a single additional candidate for the class of Πs without spatio-temporal functions is potentially available.

It is worthwhile taking a look at the language of origin of the Πs in (5.218)–(5.219) as opposed to those which lack spatio-temporal functions. What we see in Figure 5.28 clearly is a discrepancy. The middle column reveals the shares that result from including the cases mentioned in (5.129).

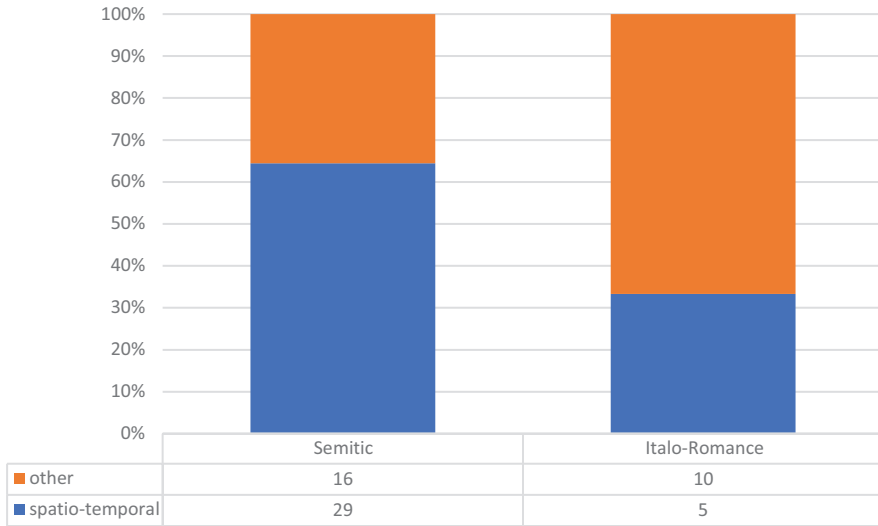


**Figure 5.28:** Shares of Semitic and Italo-Romance Πs within and outside the spatio-temporal domain.



With shares of 10%–15%, Italo-Romance IIs are underrepresented in the spatio-temporal domain. In contrast, they contribute ten types to the 26 non-spatio-temporal IIs which equals a share of 38%. We remind the reader that exactly a quarter of BLOMP 2.0 consists of Italo-Romance IIs.

In Figure 5.29, we look at the same situation from a different vantage point. This time we determine the shares of spatio-temporal and other functions per language of origin.

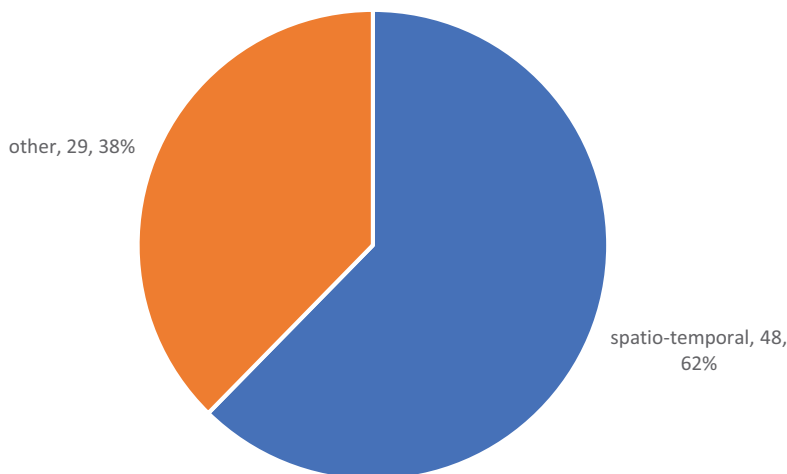


**Figure 5.29:** Shares of spatio-temporal and other functions per language of origin.

Only a minority of the Semitic IIs is barred from spatio-temporal functions. The seventeen cases equal 36% of all Semitic IIs. As to the Italo-Romance IIs, the opposite applies in the sense that 67% of the Italo-Romance IIs fulfil functions other than spatio-temporal ones. Thus, the probability of an Italo-Romance II expressing a non-spatio-temporal meaning is higher than that of a Semitic II doing the same.

As we have learned from the discussion of Hagège's (2010) categories,<sup>156</sup> it is possible to identify 77 meaning categories for Maltese. Of these 77 meaning categories, 48 belong to the spatio-temporal domain. Spatio-temporal meaning categories are thus responsible for the majority of the semantic distinctions in the realm of Maltese IIs as shown in Figure 5.30.

<sup>156</sup> In Section 5.1.



**Figure 5.30:** Shares of spatio-temporal vs other meaning categories.

There are more spatio-temporal meaning categories than there are spatio-temporal IIs. The ratio of meaning categories vs IIs is 1.5-to-one. This means that the probability of a given II to be polysemous is moderately high. The question arises of how the spatio-temporal IIs distribute over the spatio-temporal meaning categories. To answer this question, it is necessary to approach the subject from an angle that differs from that chosen for the presentation in the onomasiological part.

It is clear that Hagège's labelled categories do not provide the best foundation for a semasiological account of the Maltese IIs not the least because certain systematic phenomena cannot properly be captured. The main reason for this failure is Hagège's focus on singleton IIs. The previous discussion has revealed however that many meaning categories require the combination of two IIs in Maltese.<sup>157</sup> These binary combinations generally reflect the pattern DIRECTIONALITY + CONFIGURATION that we introduced above.<sup>158</sup> The differentiation between directionality marking II and configuration marking II is crucial for the internal organisation of the spatio-temporal domain. Moreover, to adequately account for the systematicity of this domain, it is essential to take into consideration also the strategy of zero-marking. We distinguish IIs which are exclusively used as directionality markers from those which are only employed for the expression of configuration. Zero-marking is possible both with directionality and configuration. In Table 5.14, we oppose the minority of four directionality markers and the majority of 25 configuration markers. The

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.

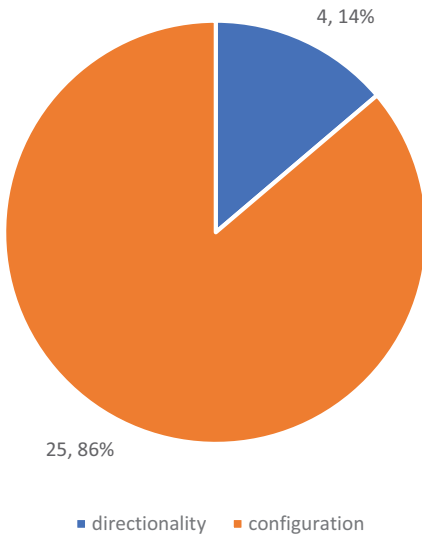
<sup>158</sup> Cf. Section 4.1.3.

problematic cases of (5.219), (Π38) *mingħand* ‘from s.o.’, and zero-marking are not included in Table 5.14 which therefore hosts only 25 instead of 26 configuration markers.

**Table 5.14:** Directionality markers vs configuration markers.

directionality	configuration
(Π21) <i>għal</i> ‘for’	(Π3) <i>barra</i> ‘outside’; (Π4) <i>bejn</i> ‘between’; (Π8) <i>biswit</i> ‘facing’; (Π12) <i>faċċata</i>
(Π28) <i>lejn</i>	‘opposite’; (Π14) <i>fejn</i> ‘near’; (Π15) <i>fi</i> ‘in’; (Π16) <i>fost</i> ‘amongst’; (Π17) <i>fuq</i> ‘on’; (Π18)
‘towards’	<i>għewwa</i> ‘inside’; (Π19) <i>ġo</i> ‘in’; (Π22) <i>għand</i> ‘at s.o.’s place’; (Π23) <i>hdejn</i> ‘beside’;
(Π41) <i>minn</i> ‘from’	(Π30) <i>ma</i> ‘with’; (Π31) <i>madwar</i> ‘around’; (Π32) <i>maġenb</i> ‘close to’; (Π33) <i>matul</i>
(Π51) <i>sa</i> ‘till’	‘during’; (Π44) <i>oltre</i> ‘beyond’; (Π46) <i>qabel</i> ‘before’; (Π47) <i>qalb</i> ‘amidst’; (Π48) <i>qrib</i>
	‘near’; (Π49) <i>quddiem</i> ‘in front of’; (Π56) <i>taħt</i> ‘under’; (Π58) <i>viċin</i> ‘near’; (Π59) <i>waqt</i>
	‘at the time of’; (Π60) <i>wara</i> ‘after’

The overwhelming majority of the Maltese Πs is dedicated to encoding configuration whereas only a small share of the Πs mentioned in (5.218) marks directionality as shown in Figure 5.31.



**Figure 5.31:** Shares of configuration markers and directionality markers.

If we continue to ignore zero-marking, all directionality markers in Table 5.14 bear the feature [dynamic] whereas this applies to no Π under the rubric of configura-

tion since these IIs are insensitive to the distinction of Place and Goal. A special case is (II38) *minghand* ‘from s.o.’ because it combines directionality and configuration in one form. In contrast to the configuration markers, it is excluded from the expression of the spatial relations of Place and Goal but serves to express the Source relation (normally) with human grounds.<sup>159</sup> Historically, we are facing a univerbation of the directionality marker (II41) *minn* ‘from’ and the configuration marker (II22) *ghand* ‘at s.o.’s place’. Similarly, (II43) *mnejn* ‘from near’ can be understood as integrating both directionality (= (II41) *minn* ‘from’) and configuration (= (II14) *fejn* ‘near’) in one no longer analysable form.

The IIs that are registered under directionality in Table 5.14 are Semitic monosyllables. All twelve polysyllables belong to the domain of configuration where we also find the three Italo-Romance IIs mentioned in (5.218). If (II57) *versu* ‘towards’ is accepted as forming part of the class of spatio-temporal IIs it would be the only example of an Italo-Romance IIs expressing directionality because the feature [dynamic] applies. However, (II57) *versu* ‘towards’ does not allow a configuration marker to occupy the slot to its right and thus behaves differently from genuine directionality markers. Figure 5.32 can be read as implication if only (5.218) is taken account of or as preference if (5.219) is taken account of, too. The same holds for Figure 5.33.

DIRECTIONALITY     $\supset$     Semitic + monosyllabic

**Figure 5.32:** Implication/preference with directionality markers.

polysyllabic     $\supset$     CONFIGURATION    /  $\Pi_{\text{spatio-temporal}}$

**Figure 5.33:** Implication/preference with polysyllabic spatio-temporal IIs.

There is no evidence of further structural correlations since both directionality markers and configuration markers can be inflected or not, fuse with the article proclitic or not, cliticise or not, etc.

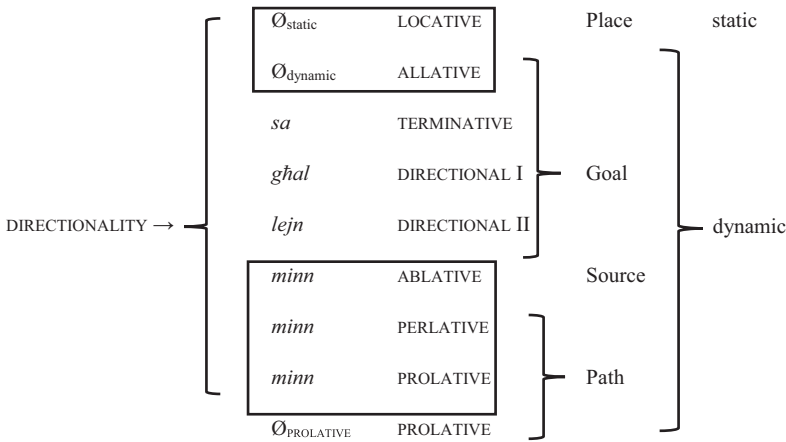
### 5.2.1.2 The division of labour between spatio-temporal IIs: directionality

With a view to systematising further the richness of information provided above,<sup>160</sup> we need to separate the directionality markers from the configuration markers in a first step before we eventually reunite the two classes of spatio-temporal IIs to finalise the semasiological account of the spatio-temporal domain.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.4 – APUDABLATIVE.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.

For a start, we extract the directionality markers from Table 5.14 and add the zero-marker to which we pay more attention below.<sup>161</sup> At this point, it suffices to note that  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$  has to be distinguished from  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$ . In Figure 5.34, reference is made to both  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$  and  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$  with the former being addressed in the immediately ensuing discussion whereas the discussion of  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$  is relegated to a later section.<sup>162</sup> The third variety of zero –  $\emptyset_{\text{PROLATIVE}}$  – will be discussed in connection with Table 5.16 below. The functions fulfilled by the five directionality markers are revealed in Figure 5.34. The terminology employed in Figure 5.34 differs slightly from Hagège's (2010).<sup>163</sup> The boxes contain identical forms with different functions.



**Figure 5.34:** Differentiation of functions in the domain of directionality.

There are four ways of expressing Goal and three to express Path as opposed to a single option for the expression of Source. Motion towards a Ground allows for fine-grained distinctions whereas motion from a Ground is not susceptible to further formal differentiations on the side of the directionality marker. This asymmetry is striking but expected because of ample cross-linguistic evidence thereof (Papafragou 2010).

As explained above,<sup>164</sup> we assume that, for the expression of spatio-temporal meanings, Maltese generally makes use of a constructional schema [DIRECTIONAL-

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.2.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.3.

<sup>163</sup> Henceforth, we use ALLATIVE and ABLATIVE as terms that refer to motion towards and motion from a Ground, respectively. The term LOCATIVE is used for general location at rest.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Section 4.1.3.

ITY CONFIGURATION] COMPLEMENT]<sub>pp</sub> with two separate slots for directionality and configuration (always in this linear order) either of which can be empty (or: filled by zero, cf. below). This means several things, namely that

- (a)  $\emptyset$  is used both for directionality and configuration,
- (b)  $\emptyset$  is used both for static (Place) and dynamic (Goal, Path) spatial relations,
- (c) a directionality marker on its own is sufficient to realise the above schema,
- (d) a configuration marker on its own is sufficient to realise the above schema,
- (e) combinations of  $\emptyset_{\text{DIRECT}}$  and  $\emptyset_{\text{CONFIG}}$  are licit so that spatial adverbials are grammatical also without overt  $\Pi$ ,
- (f) zero as well as ( $\Pi$ 41) *minn* ‘from’ are multifunctional with the latter serving to encode spatial relations in motion events which are not Goal-directed.

In accordance with (a), (c), and (e), the directionality markers presented in Figure 5.34 combine with  $\emptyset_{\text{CONFIG}}$ , i.e., spatial constructions may involve only a directional marker as shown in (5.130). The markers of directionality and configuration are indexed. The  $\emptyset$ -symbol re-emerges for practical reasons to be contextualised in the subsequent section. Note that  $\emptyset_{\text{PROLATIVE}}$  requires the presence of a  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$ . It is therefore not featured in (5.220).

(5.220) Spatial constructions with only a directionality marker

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news211105]

*t-tabib Paul Chetcuti Caruana kien mar* [ $\emptyset_{\text{DIRECT}}$   $\emptyset_{\text{CONFIG}}$ ]  
 DEF-doctor Paul Chetcuti Caruana be go [ $\emptyset$   $\emptyset$ ]  
*l-uffiċċju tiegħu<sub>x</sub> l-bierah filgħaxija*  
 DEF-office of:3SG.M DEF-yesterday in\_the\_evening

‘[. . .] the doctor Paul Chetcuti Caruana had gone [to his office] they previous evening.’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news7645]

*L-incident ġara wara li t-tifel ried imur*  
 DEF-incident happen after that DEF-boy want 3SG.M.IPFV:go  
*[sa<sub>DIRECT</sub>  $\emptyset_{\text{CONFIG}}$  l-kamra l-baxxa]<sub>pp</sub> imma l-ġhalliema ma*  
*[till  $\emptyset$  DEF-room DEF-low:F] but DEF-teacher:F NEG*  
*ħallietux.*

let:3SG.F.PFV:NEG

‘The incident happened after the boy wanted to go [to the toilets] but the teacher did not let him go.’

- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news504]

*dakinhar qalli li ma kellux aptit*  
 on\_that\_day say:10:1SG that NEG have.PFV:3SG.M:NEG appetite

- imur*                    [*għal*<sub>DIRECT</sub>     $\emptyset$ <sub>CONFIG</sub>    *l-għassa*]<sub>PP</sub>  
 3SG.M.IPFV:go    **[for**                     $\emptyset$                     DEF-police station]  
 ‘[. . .] on that day he told me that he did not feel like going **[to the police station]**.’
- (d) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature2]  
*Is-Surġent Mangion*    *kien*    *qed*    *isug*                    [*lejn*<sub>DIRECT</sub>     $\emptyset$ <sub>CONFIG</sub>]  
 DEF-sergeant Mangion    be    PROG    3SG.M.IPFV:drive    **[towards**     $\emptyset$   
*id-dar*]<sub>PP</sub>  
 DEF-house]  
 ‘Sergeant Mangion was driving **[homewards]**.’
- (e) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news14387]  
*x-xufier* [. . .]    *kien*    *għadu*    *kif*    *telaq*    [*minn*<sub>DIRECT</sub>     $\emptyset$ <sub>CONFIG</sub>]  
 DEF-driver    be    still:3SG.M    as    leave    **[from**                     $\emptyset$   
*bus stop*]<sub>PP</sub>    *meta*    *raġel*    *beda*    *jipprova*                    *jwaqqaf*  
*bus stop*]    when    man    begin    3SG.M.IPFV:try    3SG.M.IPFV:CAUS.stop  
*il-karozza*    *tal-linja*    *biex*    *ikun*                    *jista*’  
 DEF-car    of:DEF-line    to    3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT    3SG.M.IPFV:can  
*jirkeb*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:ride  
 ‘[. . .] the driver had just left **[the bus stop]** when a man started trying to stop the bus to ride on it.’
- (f) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature20]  
*Għajnejh*                    *flew*                    *il-karozzi*    *għaddejjin*  
 eye:PL:3SG.M    inspect\_closely:3PL.PFV    DEF-car:PL    pass.PART:PL  
**[mit-triq**                    *quddiem*                    *il-lukanda*    *Preluna*]<sub>PP</sub>    *fid-dlam*  
**[from:DEF-street**    **in front of**    **DEF-hotel**    **Preluna]**    in:DEF-darkness  
 ‘His eyes flashed at the cars passing **[through the road in front of the Hotel Preluna]** in the dark.’
- (g) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news119842]  
*Kull min inzerta*    *għaddej*    [*mix-Xatt*]<sub>PP</sub>                    *kellu*  
 each who happen    pass.PART    **[from:DEF-shore]**    have.PFV:3SG.M  
*joqghod*                    *attent*    *li*    *ma*    *jitkaxkarx*                    *mir-riħ*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:stay    careful    that    NEG    3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:drag    from:DEF-wind  
*qawwi*  
 strong  
 ‘Anyone who happened to stroll **[along the shore]** had to be careful not to be dragged by the strong wind.’

In cases like those in (5.220), i.e., in constructions which involve no phonologically realised configuration marker,  $\emptyset$ <sub>CONFIG</sub> does not specify any particular part of the

Ground. The Grounds in (a)–(d) are certainly meant to be entered into by the Figure whereas in (5.220e), the Figure was temporarily located at the Ground before the motion event started. In (5.220b–d), the Figure never reaches the Ground because no permission was granted or the agent had no intention to go there or something happened to the Figure on its way to the Ground. In the Path constructions (= (f)-sentence and (g)-sentence), the Figure passes through the Ground and is therefore physically inside it (= PERLATIVE) or moves along the Ground and thus remains outside the Ground (= PROLATIVE).

What is important is not so much the fact that the directionality markers need no configuration marker to combine with but the general availability of the directionality marker to combine with configuration markers other than  $\emptyset_{\text{CONFIG}}$ . In point of fact, there are only three IIs with configurational meaning (components) which are never attested in combination with phonologically realised directionality markers, namely the special case (II38) *mingħand* ‘from s.o.’ as well as the Italo-Romance (II44) *oltre* ‘beyond’ and the temporal (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’. The majority of 23 configurational IIs however combine with directionality markers in the Korpus Malti 3.0. In Table 5.15, the combinations of these configuration markers with directionality markers are identified. Grey shading marks unattested combinations. The colour green is used for configurational IIs that combine with all four material directionality markers. The exclamation mark together with yellow shading highlights the position where the special case (II38) *mingħand* ‘from s.o.’ could be placed provided it is interpreted as compositional. The cells in the bottom line tell us how many configuration markers there are and how many of them combine with a given directionality marker. Sentential examples of the attested combinations will be presented and evaluated below.<sup>165</sup>

No phonologically realised directionality marker is attested with all 23 configuration markers. (II41) *minn* ‘from’ ranks at the top with 21 combinations – or 22 if (II38) *mingħand* ‘from s.o.’ is added to the list. (II21) *għal* ‘for’, too displays a similarly high degree of combinability whereas (II51) *sa* ‘till’ co-occurs only with a smaller number of configuration markers and (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ seems to be restricted to a very limited set of combinations. There are only two combinations which are unique to a given directionality marker, namely *minn faċċata*, and *sa fi*. Five configuration markers are combinable with all four directionality markers. These omni-compatible configuration markers are: (II3) *barra* ‘outside’, (II17) *fuq* ‘on’, (II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’, (II56) *taħt* ‘under’, and (II60) *wara* ‘after’.

165 Cf. Section 5.2.1.4.3.



**Table 5.15:** Combinations of directionality markers and configuration markers in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

configuration	directionality			
	(Π41) <i>minn</i> 'from'	(Π21) <i>għal</i> 'for'	(Π51) <i>sa</i> 'till'	(Π28) <i>lejn</i> 'towards'
(Π3) <i>barra</i> 'outside'	yes	yes	yes	yes
(Π4) <i>bejn</i> 'between'	yes	yes	yes	no
(Π8) <i>biswit</i> 'facing'	yes	yes	no	no
(Π12) <i>faċċata</i> 'opposite'	yes	no	no	no
(Π14) <i>fejn</i> 'near'	yes	yes	yes	no
(Π15) <i>fi</i> 'in'	no	no	yes	no
(Π16) <i>fost</i> 'amongst'	yes	yes	no	no
(Π17) <i>fuq</i> 'on'	yes	yes	yes	yes
(Π18) <i>għewwa</i> 'inside'	yes	yes	no	no
(Π19) <i>ġo</i> 'in'	yes	yes	no	no
(Π22) <i>għand</i> 'at s.o.'s place'	!	yes	yes	no
(Π23) <i>hdejn</i> 'beside'	yes	yes	yes	no
(Π30) <i>ma</i> 'with'	yes	yes	yes	no
(Π31) <i>madwar</i> 'around'	yes	yes	yes	no
(Π32) <i>maġenb</i> 'close to'	yes	yes	yes	no
(Π33) <i>matul</i> 'during'	yes	yes	no	no
(Π46) <i>qabel</i> 'before'	yes	yes	no	yes
(Π47) <i>qalb</i> 'amidst'	yes	yes	no	no
(Π48) <i>qrib</i> 'near'	yes	yes	yes	no
(Π49) <i>quddiem</i> 'in front of'	yes	yes	yes	yes
(Π56) <i>taht</i> 'under'	yes	yes	yes	yes
(Π58) <i>vicin</i> 'near'	yes	yes	yes	no
(Π60) <i>wara</i> 'after'	yes	yes	yes	yes
23	21 (22)	21	15	6

In Table 5.15, it is not difficult to recognise the implicational pattern presented in Figure 5.35.

The relatively small number of configurational IIs which are attested in combination with the DIRECTIONAL (Π28) *lejn* 'towards' also allow for combinations with (Π21) *għal* 'for' and (Π41) *minn* 'from'. Since (Π41) *minn* 'from' is multifunctional, it is interesting to see which of its three functions – ABLATIVE, PERLATIVE, PROLATIVE – are attested with which  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$ . We extract the 21 combinations involving (Π41) *minn* 'from' from Table 5.15 to disentangle the three possible functions of this  $\Pi$  in Table 5.16. Except for the orange shading to be explained below the same conventions as in the case of Table 5.15 also apply to Table 5.16.

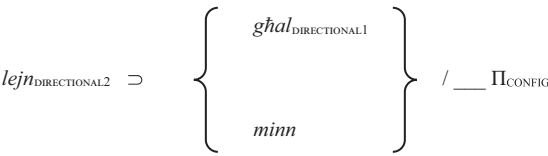


Figure 5.35: Implicational pattern for directionality markers.

Table 5.16: Combinations of *minn*<sub>ABLATIVE</sub>, *minn*<sub>PROLATIVE</sub>, and *minn*<sub>PERLATIVE</sub> and configuration markers in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

configuration	Function of (Π41) <i>minn</i> ‘from’		
	ABLATIVE	PROLATIVE	PERLATIVE
(Π3) <i>barra</i> ‘outside’	yes	yes	no
(Π4) <i>bejn</i> ‘between’	yes	no	yes
(Π8) <i>biswit</i> ‘facing’	yes	yes	no
(Π12) <i>faċċata</i> ‘opposite’	yes	yes	no
(Π14) <i>fejn</i> ‘near’	yes	yes	no
(Π16) <i>fost</i> ‘amongst’	yes	no	yes
(Π17) <i>fuq</i> ‘on’	yes	no	no
(Π18) <i>ġewwa</i> ‘inside’	yes	no	yes
(Π19) <i>ġo</i> ‘in’	yes	no	yes
(Π22) <i>għand</i> ‘at s.o.’s place’	!	no	no
(Π23) <i>hdejn</i> ‘beside’	yes	yes	no
(Π30) <i>ma</i> ‘with’	yes	yes	no
(Π31) <i>madwar</i> ‘around’	yes	yes	no
(Π32) <i>maġenb</i> ‘close to’	yes	yes	no
(Π33) <i>matul</i> ‘during’	no	no	yes
(Π46) <i>qabel</i> ‘before’	yes	no	no
(Π47) <i>qalb</i> ‘amidst’	yes	no	yes
(Π48) <i>qrib</i> ‘near’	yes	yes	no
(Π49) <i>quddiem</i> ‘in front of’	yes	yes	no
(Π56) <i>taħt</i> ‘under’	yes	yes	no
(Π58) <i>viċin</i> ‘near’	yes	yes	no
(Π60) <i>wara</i> ‘after’	yes	yes	no
22	20 (21)	13	6

The three functions of (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ are combinable with configurational Πs to different degrees. The highest number of patterns goes to the credit of *minn*<sub>ABLATIVE</sub> which is involved in nineteen out of twenty-one patterns of combination of (Π41)

*minn* ‘from’. There is a gap for *minn*<sub>ABLATIVE</sub> filled by *minn*<sub>PERLATIVE</sub>. Thirteen combinations are registered for *minn*<sub>PROLATIVE</sub> with none being unique to this function of (II41) *minn* ‘from’. Only six patterns have been identified for *minn*<sub>PERLATIVE</sub> with one pattern being exclusively attested with this function of (II41) *minn* ‘from’. Interestingly, a given configurational  $\Pi$  can combine either with *minn*<sub>PROLATIVE</sub> or *minn*<sub>PERLATIVE</sub> but never with both. The two functions are thus mutually exclusive whereas no restriction of this kind applies in the case of *minn*<sub>ABLATIVE</sub>. A configurational  $\Pi$  is compatible with only one of two possible Path categories. This incompatibility of the two Path categories is put into a simple formula in Figure 5.36.

$$\text{Path}_x \rightarrow \neg \text{Path}_y$$

**Figure 5.36:** Mutual exclusion of Path categories.

In Table 5.16, the middle column hosts eleven of twelve filled cells that are highlighted in orange. This colour indicates that the use of (II41) *minn* ‘from’ is optional. The bare configuration marker alone suffices when the *PROLATIVE* is to be expressed. In contrast, the use of *minn*<sub>ABLATIVE</sub> and *minn*<sub>PERLATIVE</sub> is mandatory or so it seems. This is where the third zero (=  $\emptyset$ <sub>PROLATIVE</sub>) enters the stage. As mentioned above,  $\emptyset$ <sub>PROLATIVE</sub> differs from the other zeroes insofar as it always calls for the presence of a configurational  $\Pi$ . The phenomenon has been illustrated sufficiently already.<sup>166</sup> Further examples are therefore unnecessary in this section. Nevertheless, we will come back to this issue below.<sup>167</sup>

We return to Table 5.15. In fourteen out of fifteen cases, a configurational  $\Pi$  that combines with the *TERMINATIVE* (II51) *sa* ‘till’ also combines with the *DIRECTIONAL*<sub>1</sub> (II21) *ghal* ‘for’. This is a very strong preference (cf. Figure 5.37 where the symbol  $\supset$  has to be read as indicator of a preference).

$$sa_{\text{TERMINATIVE}} \supset ghal_{\text{DIRECTIONAL1}}$$

**Figure 5.37:** Preferred partner of the *TERMINATIVE*.

Another pattern that emerges from Table 5.15 requires that if either (II21) *ghal* ‘for’ or (II41) *minn* ‘from’ is excluded from combining with a given  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$  at least one other directionality marker is also barred from combining with this  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$ .

It is most probably still premature to generalise over the above findings because the gaps in 5.15 may be caused by the insufficient coverage of phenomena in the Korpus Malti 3.0. We speculate that at least some of the supposedly illicit combinations of directionality and configuration markers might turn out to be perhaps

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.3.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.4.4.1.2.

infrequent but nevertheless grammatically acceptable, nevertheless. We register this possibility as one of the many tasks to be addressed in the future.

### 5.2.1.3 Zeroes and what they mean

Hitherto, we have looked at phonologically realised directionality markers. It is now time to face the questions that arise in connection to  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$  and  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$  or  $\emptyset_{\text{DIRECT}}$  and  $\emptyset_{\text{CONFIG}}$  and further distinctions that can be made in connection with zero-marking. These questions are intricate and thus require considerable space to be adequately answered.

Before we go into the details, it is indispensable to clarify what is meant when we refer to zero(es) and employ the symbol  $\emptyset$  with or without index. The *fi*- $\emptyset$  alternation was already in the focus of attention.<sup>168</sup> This phenomenon involves an excellent example of what Stolz/Levkovych (2019) call AOME, i.e., the absence of material exponence. AOME applies if a slot in a constructional frame that could host a phonologically realised marker remains empty. With reference to the *fi*- $\emptyset$  alternation, this means that the position occupied by (II15) *fi* ‘in’ in a given PP can alternatively be left unfilled. Put differently, no material is there to fill the slot. In our parlance, zero is a terminological shortcut making it possible for us to refer to AOME without having to resort to lengthy explanations. Similarly, the  $\emptyset$ -symbol only functions as a handy tool to mark cases of AOME in the examples. Neither the term zero nor the symbol  $\emptyset$  presupposes the existence of an invisible structural entity. The indexes added to  $\emptyset$  seem to suggest that different zeroes can be distinguished and that these zeroes are equipped with different meanings and functions. However, this interpretation is not ours. What we intend the indexes to make explicit is the function/meaning of phonologically realised IIs that are attested in the same slot. We assume that  $\emptyset$  is not a “silent” II. Thus,  $\emptyset$  cannot head a PP which, in turn means, that in the absence of a II there is no PP, in the first place. Accordingly,  $\emptyset$  is no member of BLOMP 2.0. Yet, AOME requires further scrutiny in order to describe the grammar of Maltese IIs properly. In what way  $\emptyset$  is in a paradigmatic relation with IIs is the topic for a dedicated follow-up study that has to situate the phenomena in the wider framework of the research on the linguistic concept of zero(es).

On the basis of what the previous paragraphs have revealed, it suggests itself to ask how many and which configurational IIs allow for dynamic directionality being zero-coded. Is  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$  an option for more or less combinations when compared to the phonologically realised directionality markers? Table 5.17 contains examples of

168 Cf. Section 4.3.3.2.

combinations of  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$  with twenty different configuration markers. All examples stem from the Korpus Malti 3.0.<sup>169</sup>

**Table 5.17:**  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$  in combination with  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$ .

#	source	example / translation	$\Pi$
1	parl98	<i>Meta delegazzjoni ministerjali marret [<math>\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}</math> <b>barra minn Malta</b>]<sub>PP</sub>, inżammew minuti dwar ma' min iltaqgħet? 'When a ministerial delegation went [abroad], were minutes kept about who they met?'</i>	(Π3) <i>barra</i> 'outside'
2	news99441	<i>Kif wasal [<math>\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}</math> <b>bejn il-fabbrika Baxter u l-istamperija Union Print fi Triq Valletta</b>]<sub>PP</sub>, Cassar waqaf mal-ġenb u talab għall-għajnuna medika. 'As he arrived [between the Baxter factory and the Union Print printing house in Triq Valletta], Cassar stopped at the side and asked for medical help.'</i>	(Π4) <i>bejn</i> 'between'
3	parl8030	<i>morna [<math>\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}</math> <b>biswit il-lokalità ta' Hal Għaxaq</b>]<sub>PP</sub> '[. . .] we went [next to the locality of Għaxaq].'</i>	(Π8) <i>biswit</i> 'facing'
4	news167434	<i>Kif wasal [<math>\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}</math> <b>faċċata tad-dahla tal-Kumplex Sportiv tal-Marsa</b>]<sub>PP</sub>, Borg tilef il-kontroll tal-karozza 'When he arrived [in front of the entrance of the Marsa Sports Complex], Borg lost control of the car [. . .].'</i>	(Π12) <i>faċċata</i> 'opposite'
5	news82618	<i>Frigt 'il barra bħal leħħa ta' berqa, mort [<math>\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}</math> <b>fejn shabi l-ġurnalisti</b>]<sub>PP</sub> 'I went out like a flash of lightning, I went [to my fellow journalists]'</i>	(Π14) <i>fejn</i> 'near'
6	parl441	<i>l-ballun minflok baqa' fil-ground mar [<math>\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}</math> <b>fost in-nies</b>]<sub>PP</sub> '[. . .] the ball instead of staying in the ground and went [among the people].'</i>	(Π16) <i>fost</i> 'amongst'
7	news159012	<i>saħansitra marret [<math>\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}</math> <b>fuq għolja fejn hasbet biex ittemm hajjitha</b>]<sub>PP</sub> '[. . .] she even went [to a hill where she thought of ending her life].'</i>	(Π17) <i>fuq</i> 'on'
8	parl408	<i>Jien ma kelli l-ebda skruplu ta' kuxjenza li mmur [<math>\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}</math> <b>ġewwa Spanja</b>]<sub>PP</sub> 'I had no qualms about going [to Spain]'</i>	(Π18) <i>ġewwa</i> 'inside'
9	news75089	<i>Se jkolli mmur [<math>\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}</math> <b>ġo dar tal-anzjani</b>]<sub>PP</sub>? 'Will I have to go [into a nursing home]?''</i>	(Π19) <i>ġo</i> 'in'
10	news8027	<i>qassis Ġizwita mar jiġri [<math>\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}</math> <b>għand il-Pulizija</b>]<sub>PP</sub> biex isejjah għall-għajnuna '[. . .] a Jesuit priest ran [to the police] to call for help.'</i>	(Π22) <i>għand</i> 'at s.o.'s place'

<sup>169</sup> For the combinations involving  $\emptyset_{\text{PROLATIVE}}$  we refer the reader to Section 5.1.2.2.20.3.

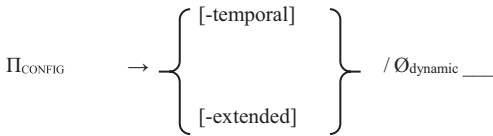
Table 5.17 (continued)

#	source	example / translation	Π
11	news15859	<i>X'hin naslu [Ø<sub>dynamic</sub> hdejn Pjazza Regina]<sub>pp</sub> nilmah stakkament ta' Pulizija.</i> 'When we arrive [ <u>near Pjazza Regina</u> ] I see a detachment of Police.'	(Π23) <i>hdejn</i> 'beside'
12	news148006	<i>Hu telaq minn Tripli fit-22 ta' Marzu u wasal [Ø<sub>dynamic</sub> mal-fruntiera tat-Tuneżija]<sub>pp</sub>, wara li għamel aktar minn ġurnata mixi.</i> 'He left Tripoli on March 22 and arrived [ <u>at the Tunisian border</u> ], after walking for more than a day.'	(Π30) <i>ma</i> 'with'
13	news123309	<i>minnufih niżel minn fuq il-palk u mexa minn qalb id-delegati sakemm wasal [Ø<sub>dynamic</sub> maġenb Abela]<sub>pp</sub>.</i> '[. . .] he immediately got off the stage and walked through the delegates until he got [ <u>to Abela's side</u> ] [. . .].'	(Π32) <i>maġenb</i> 'close to'
14	parl839	<i>Malta hija gżira u allura ma tistax taqbad karozza u tmur [Ø<sub>dynamic</sub> oltre l-fruntiera]<sub>pp</sub> u tasal f'pajjiż ieħor.</i> 'Malta is an island and therefore you cannot take a car and go [ <u>over the border</u> ] and arrive in another country.'	(Π44) <i>oltre</i> 'beyond'
15	parl11983	<i>L-aħħar darba li kont hemm jien inżilt fil-pjazza u mort [Ø<sub>dynamic</sub> qalb il-protestanti]<sub>pp</sub>.</i> 'The last time I was there I went down to the square and went [ <u>amidst the protesters</u> ].'	(Π47) <i>qalb</i> 'amidst'
16	news124234	<i>Il-patrol boat dawret ir-rotta u marret [Ø<sub>dynamic</sub> qrib id-dgħajsa tal-klandestini]<sub>pp</sub>.</i> 'The patrol boat turned the course and went [ <u>close to the boat of the clandestines</u> ].'	(Π48) <i>qrib</i> 'near'
17	news223656	<i>I-akkużata marret [Ø<sub>dynamic</sub> quddiem l-Ambaxxata Russa]<sub>pp</sub> u qalbet il-mutur tiegħu mal-art</i> '[. . .] the accused went [ <u>in front of the Russian Embassy</u> ] and overturned his motorcycle on the ground.'	(Π49) <i>quddiem</i> 'in front of'
18	news79496	<i>Mort [Ø<sub>dynamic</sub> taħt it-tieqa tiegħu]<sub>pp</sub> u qalli xi haġa imma ma fhimtx x'kien.</i> 'I went [ <u>under his window</u> ] and he said something to me but I didn't understand what it was'	(Π56) <i>taħt</i> 'under'
19	news142073	<i>Sussegwentament mar [Ø<sub>dynamic</sub> viċin it-tfajla]<sub>pp</sub> biex jipprova jikkonvinciha tixtri mingħandu d-droga kokaina.</i> 'Next, he went [ <u>near the girl</u> ] to try to convince her to buy the drug cocaine from him'	(Π58) <i>viċin</i> 'near'
20	parl122	<i>I-Ministru Galea mhux se joqgħod imur [Ø<sub>dynamic</sub> wara l-bibien tad-discos]<sub>pp</sub> jara min ikun diehel</i> '[. . .] Minister Galea will not be going [ <u>to the doors of the discos</u> ] to see who is entering.'	(Π60) <i>wara</i> 'after'

Two observations are necessary with regards to restrictions on the combinatory potential of Ø<sub>dynamic</sub> with Π<sub>CONFIG</sub>. Two kinds of combinations are ruled out. First of

all, if the  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$  is used to express or introduce a temporal concept, the use of  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$  is blocked. For  $\Pi$ s which like (II60) *wara* ‘after’ in Table 5.17 #20 can be used either with spatial or temporal meaning, combinations with  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$  are attested only with a spatial reading. Accordingly, (II46) *qabel* ‘before’ and (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ are missing from Table 5.17. Their absence from the list can be explained as follows. If a *qabel*-PP or a *waqt*-PP co-occur with a motion verb they usually do not indicate the Goal of the motion event but situate it in time. The Goal can be a different participant in the spatial situation.

As to (II33) *matul* ‘during’ – a  $\Pi$  with both temporal and spatial meanings, there is no compatibility with  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$  because this  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$  characterises its complement as being extended on one dimension so movement in relation to the Ground is associated with the SECUTIVE as argued above.<sup>170</sup> The dimensional extension in space disqualifies the Ground as Goal for a motion event of the general-location type. A specification is needed, meaning: a phonologically realised directionality marker is called for. The same holds for (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ as  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$ . Probably, (II30) *ma* ‘with’ steps in where neither (II33) *matul* ‘during’ nor (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ combine with  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$ . A schematic rendering of these observations is given in Figure 5.38.



**Figure 5.38:** Exclusion of configurational  $\Pi$ s from combinations with  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$ .

The second observation to be made with regards to the combinations of  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$  and  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$  has to do with the INESSIVE and the ILLATIVE discussed above.<sup>171</sup> What we are going to say about (II15) *fi* ‘in’ also applies to (II18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ and (II19) *ġo* ‘in’ (cf. Table 5.17 #8–9). We argue that (II15) *fi* ‘in’ should be added to the list of configurational  $\Pi$ s that combine with the dynamic zero. Accordingly, Table 5.17 virtually hosts 21 types. In the domain of general location, Maltese displays Place-Goal syncretism. Accordingly, (II15) *fi* ‘in’ may be translated as ‘into’ in the appropriate context. However, it is not entirely compelling to assume a polysemous  $\Pi$ . To make our point, we present (5.221) and subsequently provide an analysis to support our hypothesis.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.1.4 (ii).

<sup>171</sup> In Sections 5.1.2.1.1.1 and 5.1.2.2.1, respectively.

(5.221) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1740]

*l-aktar faċli hu li tmur [Ø<sub>dynamic</sub> fi klinika*  
 DEF-more easy 3SG.M that 2SG.IPFV:go [Ø in clinic  
*barra minn Malta]*<sub>PP</sub>  
*outside from Malta]*  
 ‘[. . .] the easiest for you is to go [to a clinic outside Malta].’

The motion verb *mar* ‘go’ defines the spatial situation as dynamic. Accordingly, the ILLATIVE reading of (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ is activated. This is a possible account of what is the case in (5.221). An alternative interpretation of the same spatial situation, in lieu of postulating the polysemy of (Π15) *fi* ‘in’, assumes that (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ exclusively functions as configuration marker and is thus devoid of meaning components of the directionality kind. Put differently, the contribution of (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ to the constructional meaning is limited to indicating the part of the Ground that is involved in the motion event. In this case, it is the Ground’s interior. Directionality as such need not be made explicit because of the main verb’s semantics. The symbol Ø<sub>dynamic</sub> is but a placeholder whose position could be taken over by phonologically realised directionality markers to replace general location with specified location. In analogy to (Π15) *fi* ‘in’, (Π18) *għewwa* ‘inside’ and (Π19) *għo* ‘in’, too can be classified as purely configurational.

After elaborating on the dynamic variant of the directional zeroes, we now turn our attention to Ø<sub>static</sub> and its properties. Table 5.18 is organised according to the same principles as Table 5.17. This time, however, the number of licit combinations with configurational Πs rises to 24 patterns. The bulk of the examples involve forms of the ersatz-copula *qiegħed* ‘staying’ which is commonly used when being at rest at a given Ground is to be expressed in the imperfective. Other examples involve a personal pronoun in copula function or the perfective form *kien* ‘was’ so that it is guaranteed that the spatial situation is indeed static.

**Table 5.18:** Ø<sub>static</sub> in combination with Π<sub>CONFIG</sub>.

#	source	example / translation	Π
1	news161470	<i>l-imputat reġa’ rċieva telefonata mingħand dan Freddie li kien qiegħed [Ø<sub>static</sub> barra r-restorant]</i> <sub>PP</sub> ‘[. . .] the defendant received a call again from this Freddie who was [outside the restaurant] [. . .].’	(Π3) <i>barra</i> ‘outside’
2	news103613	<i>Ġeografikament, iż-Żejtun qiegħed [Ø<sub>static</sub> bejn tlett portijiet]</i> <sub>PP</sub> ; <i>dawk tal-Marsa, Marsaxlokk u Wied il-Għajn</i> ‘Geographically, Żejtun is [between three ports]: those of Marsa, Marsaxlokk and Wied il-Għajn.’	(Π4) <i>bejn</i> ‘between’



Table 5.18 (continued)

#	source	example / translation	π
3	parl2483	<i>rajt stampat ritratt ta' pulizija b'revolver f'idejh li qiegħed [Ø<sub>static</sub> <b>biswit</b> villa ġewwa H'Attard]<sub>pp</sub></i> '[. . .] I saw a printed photo of a policeman with a revolver in his hand [ <b>opposite</b> a villa in Attard].'	(Π8) <i>biswit</i> 'facing'
4	parl294	<i>F'dan ir-ritratt hemm ukoll Nerik Mizzi li qiegħed [Ø<sub>static</sub> <b>faċċata ta'</b> John Cole]<sub>pp</sub> jisma' bil-paċenzja kollha l-introduzzjoni ta' dan il-Bill</i> 'In this photo there is also Nerik Mizzi who is (standing) [ <b>in front of</b> John Cole] patiently listening to the introduction of this Bill.'	(Π12) <i>faċċata</i> 'opposite'
5	literature40	<i>Ir-raġel qiegħed [Ø<sub>static</sub> <b>fejn it-tifel</b>]<sub>pp</sub> u qed iġhidli li dalwaqt se mmorru għall-ġelat.</i> 'The man is [ <b>near the</b> boy] and is telling him that we will go for ice cream soon.'	(Π14) <i>fejn</i> 'near'
6	news61328	<i>Missier it-tarbija qiegħed [Ø<sub>static</sub> <b>fast il-folla</b>]<sub>pp</sub></i> 'The father of the girl is [ <b>amongst the</b> crowd].'	(Π16) <i>fast</i> 'amongst'
7	literature29	<i>Sthaġlu li kien qiegħed [Ø<sub>static</sub> <b>fuq il-bejt tal-knisja</b>]<sub>pp</sub></i> 'He thought he was [ <b>on the</b> roof of the church].'	(Π17) <i>fuq</i> 'on'
8	parl11516	<i>Riċentement kont qiegħed [Ø<sub>static</sub> <b>ġewwa</b> Brussell]<sub>pp</sub> fil-bini tal-Kummissjoni Ewropea</i> 'I was recently [ <b>in</b> Brussels] at the European Commission building.'	(Π18) <i>ġewwa</i> 'inside'
9	news80884	<i>Kont qiegħed [Ø<sub>static</sub> <b>go spiżerija tal-għażla tiegħek</b>]<sub>pp</sub></i> 'You were [ <b>in a</b> pharmacy of your choice].'	(Π19) <i>go</i> 'in'
10	academic30	<i>Bħalissa però qiegħed [Ø<sub>static</sub> <b>għand ommi</b>]<sub>pp</sub> fejn m'għandix ktieb wieħed fuq dan is-sugġett</i> 'At the moment, however, I am [ <b>at my</b> mother's], where I do not have a single book on this subject.'	(Π22) <i>għand</i> 'at s.o.'s place'
11	literature19	<i>Albert xtaq li dak il-ħin kien qiegħed [Ø<sub>static</sub> <b>hdejn l-għelieqi ta' Kola</b>]<sub>pp</sub></i> 'Albert wished he was [near the fields of Kola] at that time.'	(Π23) <i>hdejn</i> 'beside'
12	news132692	<i>Il-vittma rrakkonta lill-Pulizija kif waqt li kien qiegħed [Ø<sub>static</sub> <b>mal-bar</b>]<sub>pp</sub> hdejh kien hemm erbat irġiel oħrajn</i> 'The victim told the Police how while he was [ <b>at the</b> bar], there were four other men next to him.'	(Π30) <i>ma</i> 'with'
13	parl10228	<i>Anzi jekk se mmur f'restaurant biex niekol ma rridx li jkun hemm l-istorbju għax inkun irrid nikkomunika b'mod tajjeb ma' min qiegħed [Ø<sub>static</sub> <b>madwar il-mejda tiegħi</b>]<sub>pp</sub>!</i> 'On the contrary, if I'm going to go to a restaurant to eat I don't want there to be noise because I want to communicate in a good way with those [ <b>around my</b> table].'	(Π31) <i>madwar</i> 'around'

Table 5.18 (continued)

#	source	example / translation	П
14	parl444	<i>t-triq qieghda</i> [ $\emptyset_{static}$ <b>matul</b> <i>il-kosta</i> ] <sub>pp</sub> '[. . .] the road is [ <b>along the coast</b> ].'	(П33) <i>matul</i> 'during'
15	parl10928	<i>Mela ejjew ngħidu li Edwin jirrifjutaha, u jien, li qieghed</i> [ $\emptyset_{static}$ <b>maġenbu</b> ] <sub>pp</sub> , <i>niġi second best u jien naċċettaha</i> . 'So, let's say that Edwin rejects it, and I, who am [ <b>next to him</b> ], come second best and I accept it.'	(П32) <i>maġenb</i> 'close to'
16	parl235	<i>il-mizuri li se jittieħdu huma</i> [ $\emptyset_{static}$ <b>oltre</b> <i>l-iskop tal-liġi li qed nitkellmu dwarha hawn</i> ] <sub>pp</sub> '[. . .] the measures that will be taken are [ <b>beyond the scope of the law we are talking about here</b> ].'	(П44) <i>oltre</i> 'beyond'
17	parl8723	<i>Huwa veru li pajjiżna qieghed</i> [ $\emptyset_{static}$ <b>qabel l-Italja</b> ] <sub>pp</sub> 'It is true that our country is [ <b>ahead of Italy</b> ].'	(П46) <i>qabel</i> 'before'
18	news81684	<i>Kien qieghed</i> [ $\emptyset_{static}$ <b>qalb siġar</b> ] <sub>pp</sub> u [ $\emptyset_{static}$ <b>qalb ħitan għoljin</b> ] <sub>pp</sub> 'He was (standing) [ <b>among trees</b> ] and [ <b>(among) high walls</b> ].'	(П47) <i>qalb</i> 'amidst'
19	news133327	<i>Il-container qieghed</i> [ $\emptyset_{static}$ <b>qrib il-Knisja</b> ] <sub>pp</sub> <i>fejn hemm ukoll il-palk</i> 'The container is [ <b>close to the Church</b> ] where there is also the stage.'	(П48) <i>qrib</i> 'near'
20	literature35	<i>Kien qieghed</i> [ $\emptyset_{static}$ <b>quddiem it-tieqa l-kbira</b> ] <sub>pp</sub> <i>b'ħafna xemx diehla ġo fiha</i> 'He was standing [ <b>in front of the big window</b> ] with lots of sun coming in.'	(П49) <i>quddiem</i> 'in front of'
21	parl1374	<i>l-area fejn hemm dak il-bini fi stat dilapidat – li qieghed</i> [ $\emptyset_{static}$ <b>taħt il-Forti Sant' Anġlu</b> ] <sub>pp</sub> <i>u li kellu jkun parti mill-iżvilupp – f'daqqa waħda inqatgħet barra</i> '[. . .] the area where that dilapidated building – which is [ <b>under Fort Sant' Anġlu</b> ] and which was supposed to be part of the development – was suddenly cut off.'	(П56) <i>taħt</i> 'under'
22	news178166	<i>Il-villaġġ ta' Namache qieghed</i> [ $\emptyset_{static}$ <b>viċin il-kamp bażi tal-muntanja Everest</b> ] <sub>pp</sub> 'The village of Namache is [close to the base camp of Mount Everest].'	(П58) <i>viċin</i> 'near'
23	news21034	<i>it-tielet darba kien</i> [ $\emptyset_{static}$ <b>waqt tiegħ</b> ] <sub>pp</sub> '[. . .] the third time was [ <b>during a wedding</b> ] [. . .].'	(П59) <i>waqt</i> 'at the time of'
24	parl8825	<i>Dan għallimni li meta inti tkun qieghed</i> [ $\emptyset_{static}$ <b>wara mikrofonu</b> ] <sub>pp</sub> u [ $\emptyset_{static}$ <b>wara sett ta' cameras</b> ] <sub>pp</sub> <i>tkun qieghed hemmhekk biex twassal messagġ lin-nies</i> . 'This taught me that when you are [ <b>behind a microphone</b> ] and [ <b>(behind) a set of cameras</b> ] you are there to deliver a message to people.'	(П60) <i>wara</i> 'after'

The bigger turnout for combinations of  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$  and  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$  in contrast to those of  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$  and  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$  finds its explanation in the possibility of the static zero co-occurring with temporal IIs like (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ in Table 5.18 #23. Combinations of this kind are licit because the period of time covered by the complement noun serves as metaphorical container for the Figure. Moreover,  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$  is also compatible with IIs which introduce a Ground that is extended on a given dimension (be it spatially or in terms of time) as shown e.g. by (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ in Table 5.18 #13. The restriction presented in Figure 5.38 thus does not hold for  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$ . Sentence #13 in Table 5.18 is of further interest. The combination of  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$  and (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ is licit because the Figure is distributed in the sense that it consists of a group of people whose members are placed at (= around) the table. With reference to the absence of (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ from Table 5.17, we emphasise that we have not found any example of a distributed Figure moving to a Ground so that the different members of the group wind up in a position encircling the Ground. To settle this issue, native speaker judgements are required. Collecting these judgements is a task for a follow-up study.

For the sake of comprehensiveness, we address once more the problems raised by (II15) *fi* ‘in’. As argued in connection with (5.221), we assume that (II15) *fi* ‘in’ is purely configurational also in static spatial situations like that depicted in (5.222). The conclusions we draw with regards to (II15) *fi* ‘in’ also hold for (II18) *gewwa* ‘inside’ and (II19) *go* ‘in’ – two IIs that are featured already in Table 5.18 #8 and #9, respectively.

(5.222) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl2387]

*Dr Mario Grixti li jahdem fil-qasam tal-Onkologija*  
 Dr Mario Grixti that 3SG.M.IPFV:work in:DEF-field of:DEF-oncology  
*gie mneħħi mill-Isptar Boffa biex illum qieghed*  
 come PART:take\_off from:DEF-Hospital\_Boffa to today stay.PART  
 [ $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$  *fil-klinika tal-Gżira*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 [ $\emptyset$  in:DEF-clinic of:DEF- Gżira]

‘Dr. Mario Grixti who works in the field of Oncology was removed from Boffa Hospital so that today he is [in the Gżira clinic].’

It is assumed that (II15) *fi* ‘in’ is insensitive to the distinction dynamic vs static. The predicate kernel is responsible for providing the necessary information for the adequate interpretation of the utterance. Since *qieghed* ‘staying’ bears the feature [+static] the entire predication is static and so is the spatial situation. The semantic contribution of the  $\Pi$  boils down to identifying the part of the Ground that is affected. This is the interior of the clinic. The presence of  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$  in the bracketed part of (5.222) is motivated in the same way as the presence of  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$  in the bracketed

part of (5.221), i.e.,  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$  marks the slot, where semantically more specific phonologically realised directionality markers are placed. We may now add (II15) *fi* ‘in’ to the list of combinations in Table 5.18. The number of admissible combinations of  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$  with  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$  amounts to 25. This means that the static zero is not subject to any restrictions when it comes to combining with configurational IIs. In contrast, the dynamic zero is a licit partner only for 21 configurational IIs.

To conclude this excursus on zeroes, we state that  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$  occurs in constructions that express general location at rest – a notion for which we employ the unspecific term *locative* in what follows. The zeroes as a grammarian’s construct are helpful when it comes to determining the functional load of Maltese IIs in the spatio-temporal domain. The zeroes do not only make it easier for us to separate directionality markers from configuration markers but they also call for a revision of the hypothesis that those spatial IIs of Maltese which do not encode Source are generally instances of Place-Goal syncretism. If, however, IIs like (II15) *fi* ‘in’ are basically configurational, they cannot display Place-Goal syncretism because these notions are relevant only for IIs that function as directionality markers. Where AOME applies, directionality is not made explicit. This is where the zeroes enter the scene as purely technical means to help visualise the absence of dedicated markers. On the basis of this conclusion, we can now proceed to the class of configurational IIs.

#### 5.2.1.4 The division of labour between spatio-temporal IIs: configurationality

The right column of Table 5.14 hosts the 25 configurational IIs we have identified for the spatio-temporal domain in Maltese. Figure 5.31 tells us that configurational IIs outnumber directionality-marking IIs by a ratio of 4-to-1. It is thus normal for a Maltese spatio-temporal II to serve configurational purposes whereas it is far less normal that a spatio-temporal II expresses directionality. Accordingly, the configurational function can be considered to be a feature of the canonical II in our object language.<sup>172</sup>

We divide the class of configurational IIs into two subclasses, namely those with only a single spatio-temporal function and those with multiple spatio-temporal functions. To this end, we first tidy up the previous results.<sup>173</sup> This action is taken because the classification (not only) of the spatio-temporal IIs according to Hagège’s (2010) meaning categories is by no means the best way to reconstruct the systematicity of the Maltese II-system. The number of distinctions can be considerably reduced if we separate directionality from configuration. An important factor that contributes to this reduction is treating  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$ ,  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$ , and  $\emptyset_{\text{PROLATIVE}}$  as directionality markers. In this way, the configurational IIs are stripped of their putative function

<sup>172</sup> Cf. Section 5.3.

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.

of co-encoding Place and Goal. Accordingly, a given  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$  is no longer the marker of a X-ESSIVE, X-LATIVE, X-VERSIVE, but is exclusively responsible for identifying the part of the Ground that is involved in the spatial situation. The labels X-ESSIVE, X-LATIVE, X-VERSIVE are appropriate only for the binary package of directionality and configuration markers, no matter whether slots are left empty. This is a radical reorganisation of our approach to the matter at hand. It has serious repercussions in the terminological domain. Moreover, spatio-temporal  $\Pi$ s that<sup>174</sup> might give the impression of being multifunctional become monofunctional under the configuration analysis because there is no need any more to differentiate between static and dynamic readings of the  $\Pi$ . In point of fact, polysemy in the spatio-temporal domain can be shown to be the minor option as opposed to the predominant monofunctionality of configurational  $\Pi$ s. To ensure that the previous results can be easily related to those of this section we will constantly cross-reference the phenomena we discuss subsequently. Those parameters (e.g. the distinction of with vs without contact) which are not integrated into the general matrix of the spatio-temporal categories will be touched upon separately.<sup>175</sup>

#### 5.2.1.4.1 Monofunctional configurational $\Pi$ s

As sketched in the previous paragraph, for configurational  $\Pi$ s the dynamic-static distinction is irrelevant. The  $\Pi$  can be used both in constructions which express rest at a Ground (Place) or motion towards a Ground (Goal). By way of example, we mention ( $\Pi$ 12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’ which is mentioned in connection with the meaning categories OBESSIVE, DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub>, TERMINATIVE (spatial), and OBVERSIVE.<sup>176</sup> None of these meanings is, however, conveyed by ( $\Pi$ 12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’ alone. The directionality associated with these meaning categories is the exclusive responsibility of the directionality marker. The function of ( $\Pi$ 12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’ is the identification of the part of the Ground or its surroundings that is relevant to the spatial situation. In this case, it is the opposite side of the Ground, i.e., a region that does not form a proper part of the Ground but is oriented towards it. On these grounds, it makes more sense to use the Latin-derived label OPPOSITUM ‘opposite’ for the function fulfilled by ( $\Pi$ 12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’.

With a view to make our point as clear as possible, we illustrate the configurational function of the  $\Pi$ s presented in this and the subsequent section with ( $\Pi$ 56) *taħt* ‘under’ – a  $\Pi$  that is mentioned in the sections on the SUBESSIVE and the SUBLA-

<sup>174</sup> Going by Section 5.1.2.

<sup>175</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.4.4.

<sup>176</sup> In Sections 5.1.2.1.5, 5.1.2.2.6, 5.1.2.2.7.1, and 5.1.2.2.9.1.

TIVE.<sup>177</sup> In analogy to what we have argued in connection with (II12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’ in the foregoing paragraph, we assume that (II56) *taħt* ‘under’ is the marker neither of the SUBESSIVE nor the SUBLATIVE but is responsible for identifying the bottom part of the Ground. To prove that this is indeed the case, we refer to the examples in (5.223).

(5.223) (II56) *taħt* ‘under’ as  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic13] – LOCATIVE

[ $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$  **taħt** *il-weraq*]<sub>pp</sub> u maz-zkuk ikun  
 [ $\emptyset$  **under** DEF-leaf.COLL] and with:DEF-stem.PL 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT  
*hemm għadd ta’ insetti*  
 there number of insect:PL  
 ‘[Under the leaves] and on the stems there will be a number of insects [ . . . ]’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture2948] – ALLATIVE

*Ċippa li tiddaħhal* [ $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$  **taħt** *il-ġilda*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 chip that 3SG.F.IPFV:enter:CAUS [ $\emptyset$  **under** DEF-skin]  
*bdiet tiehu post il-cards li jintużaw*  
 begin:3SG.F.PFV 3SG.F.IPFV:take post DEF-card:PL that 3.IPFV:REFL:USE:PL  
*biex impjegati jidhlu fl-uffiċju*  
 to employee:PL 3.IPFV:enter:PL in:DEF-office  
 ‘A chip that is inserted [under the skin] has started to replace the cards that are used for employees to enter the office.’

(c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature21] – DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub>

*resqu* [*għal taħt il-harrub*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 approach:3PL.PFV [for under DEF-locust.COLL]  
 ‘[ . . . ] they moved [under the locusts] [ . . . ]’

(d) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news152022] – DIRECTIONAL<sub>2</sub>

*Kemm l-Avukat [ . . . ] u kemm l-Ispettur [ . . . ]*  
 how\_much DEF-lawyer and how-much DEF-inspector  
*resqu* [*lejn taħt il-bank tal-Magistrat*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 approach:3PL.PFV [towards under DEF-bench of:DEF-magistrate]  
 ‘Both the Lawyer [ . . . ] and the Inspector [ . . . ] approached [the Magistrate’s bench] [ . . . ]’

(e) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature71] – TERMINATIVE

*jibqa’ sejjer bil-ghawm* [*sa taħt il-gholja*]  
 3SG.M.IPFV:remain go.PART with:DEF-swimming [till under DEF-hill]

177 Cf. Sections 5.1.2.1.9 and 5.1.2.2.13.1.

ta' Sciberras<sub>pp</sub>

of Sciberras]

‘[. . .] he keeps swimming [as far as Mount Sciberras] [. . .].’

- (f) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic13] – ABLATIVE

*Infakkar* *li* *għalkemm* *il-kompost* *li* *ngibu*  
 1SG.IPFV:remind that although DEF-compost that 1.IPFV:get:PL  
**[minn taħt il-ħarrub]**<sub>pp</sub> *huwa tajjeb għall-pjanti*  
**[from under DEF-locust.COLL]** 3SG.M good for:DEF-plant:PL  
*mhux tajjeb għall-azalea*  
 NEG:3SG.M:NEG good for:DEF-azalea

‘I remind you that although the compost we get **[from under the locusts]** is good for the plants, it is not good for the azalea [. . .].’

- (g) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature7] – PERLATIVE

*kien zamm in-nifs biex għadda [minn taħt il-ħarruba]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 be hold DEF-breath to pass **[from under DEF-locust]**  
 ‘[. . .] he had held his breath to pass **[under the locust]** [. . .].’

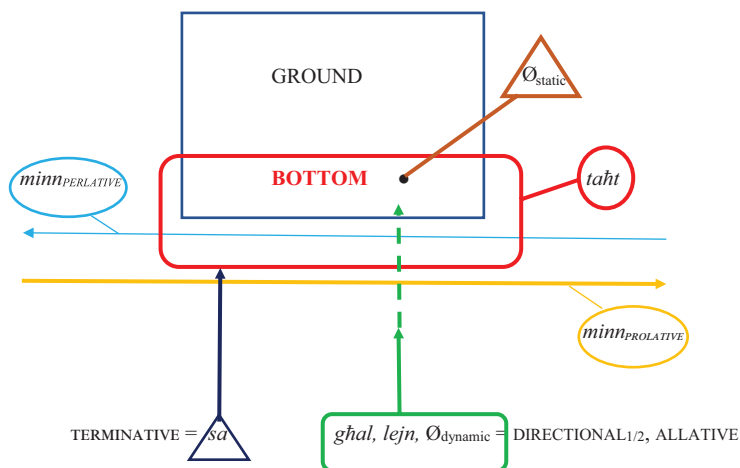
- (h) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature39] – PROLATIVE

*kien jinxi bil-mod [minn taħt il-ħajt]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 be 3SG.M.IPFV:walk with:DEF-manner **[from under DEF-wall]**  
*bla ma jsellem lil ħadd*  
 without that 3SG.M.IPFV:greet to someone  
 ‘[. . .] he walked slowly **[along the wall]** without greeting anyone [. . .].’

As results from (5.223), (II56) *taħt* ‘under’ is attested in combination with each directionality marker, be it overt or covert. In (5.223a), the combination with  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$  serves to locate the insects under the leaves. In (5.223b), the combination with  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$  serves to identify the endpoint of the motion event to be under the skin of the employee. (II56) *taħt* ‘under’ is preceded by (II21) *għal* ‘for’ in (5.223c) to mark the Goal of the motion event which is located under the locust trees. Similarly, (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ functions as directionality marker in (5.223d) whereas the configuration marker (II56) *taħt* ‘under’ indicates that the magistrate’s bench is placed on an elevated level so that the Figure moving there winds up in front of the bench on a lower level. The Figure is thus metonymically under the Ground. In (5.223e), Toni Bajjada – a national hero from Malta’s distant past – swims as far as Mount Sciberras, i.e. the Figure (= the swimmer) moves through the water until he arrives under the highest elevation of the Sciberras Peninsula. Directionality is encoded by (II51) *sa* ‘till’, the position below the hill is indicated by (II56) *taħt* ‘under’. In (5.223f), the compost was originally placed under the trees from where it was removed. (II41) *minn* ‘from’ encodes the ABLATIVE whereas (II56) *taħt* ‘under’ identifies the part of the Ground relative to

which the Figure was found before the motion event started. In (5.223g), the Figure had to pass under the trees. Directionality is encoded by *minn<sub>PERLATIVE</sub>*. In (5.223h), directionality is encoded by *minn<sub>PROLATIVE</sub>*. The Figure moves along the Ground (wall) which is described as towering over the Figure as (II56) *taht* ‘under’ is used. In all of these examples, the Ground occupies a position such that its vertical extension exceeds that of the Figure. The Figure is thus closer to the bottom of the Ground than it is to the top of the Ground. The bottom part of the Ground is identified by (II56) *taht* ‘under’. This is the sole function of this  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$ . It is in no way involved in the expression of directionality. At the same time, no directionality marker can take over the function of (II56) *taht* ‘under’.

What we have argued in connection with the uses to which (II56) *taht* ‘under’ is put in (5.223) can be visualised schematically in Figure 5.39.



**Figure 5.39:** Schema of the semantics of combinations of (II56) *taht* ‘under’ with directionality markers.

The black dot locates the Figure somewhere in the bottom region when (II56) *taht* ‘under’ is preceded by  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$ , i.e., the locative is realised. The bottom region extends over the physical bottom of the Ground and its immediate neighbourhood beyond the boundaries of the Ground. The bottom is referred to by the  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$  which remains constant whereas the directionality markers vary in correlation to the spatial situation. No other task is fulfilled by (II56) *taht* ‘under’. It is therefore fully justified to introduce the label INFERIOR ‘low(er)’ for this  $\Pi$ .



What we have shown for (Π56) *taħt* ‘under’ also holds for the other configurational Πs, namely that they are solely responsible for identifying a given part of the Ground and the region associated with this part. Given that this assumption is water-tight, the following catalogue of monofunctional spatio-temporal Πs can be drawn up. In Table 5.19, Πs with identical functions are placed next to each other.

**Table 5.19:** Labels for monofunctional configurational Πs.

Π <sub>CONFIG</sub>	label	previous mention(s) under
(Π14) <i>fejn</i> ‘near’	PROPINQUUS	PROPINQUUS, POXILATIVE
(Π23) <i>ħdejn</i> ‘beside’	PROPINQUUS	PROPINQUUS, POXILATIVE
(Π32) <i>maġenb</i> ‘close to’	PROPINQUUS	PROPINQUUS, POXILATIVE
(Π48) <i>qrib</i> ‘near’	PROPINQUUS	PROPINQUUS, POXILATIVE
(Π58) <i>vicin</i> ‘near’	PROPINQUUS	PROPINQUUS, POXILATIVE
(Π18) <i>ġewwa</i> ‘inside’	INTERIOR	INESSIVE (spatial), ILLATIVE
(Π19) <i>ġo</i> ‘in’	INTERIOR	INESSIVE (spatial), ILLATIVE
(Π16) <i>fost</i> ‘amongst’	MEDIAL <sub>1</sub>	MEDIOESSIVE, MEDIOLATIVE
(Π47) <i>qalb</i> ‘amidst’	MEDIAL <sub>1</sub>	MEDIOESSIVE
(Π3) <i>barra</i> ‘outside’	EXTERIOR	EXTRAESSIVE
(Π44) <i>oltre</i> ‘beyond’	ULTERIOR	EXTRAESSIVE
(Π12) <i>faċċata</i> ‘opposite’	OPPOSITUM	OBESSIVE, DIRECTIONAL <sub>1</sub> , TERMINATIVE (spatial), OBVERSIVE
(Π49) <i>quddiem</i> ‘in front of’	FRONS	FRONTALIS, FRONTIVERSIVE, PRELATIVE (spatial)
(Π46) <i>qabel</i> ‘before’	ANTERIOR	PREESSIVE (spatial/temporal), PRELATIVE
(Π60) <i>wara</i> ‘after’	POSTERIOR	POSTESSIVE (spatial/temporal), POSTLATIVE (spatial/temporal)
(Π59) <i>waqt</i> ‘at the time of’	LONGITUDO <sub>1</sub>	PERLATIVE (temporal)
(Π17) <i>fuoq</i> ‘on’	SUPERIOR	SURESSIVE, SUPERESSIVE
(Π56) <i>taħt</i> ‘under’	INFERIOR	SUBESSIVE, SUBLATIVE
(Π22) <i>ġhand</i> ‘at s.o.’s place’	DOMI/DOMUM	APUDESSIVE, APUDLATIVE

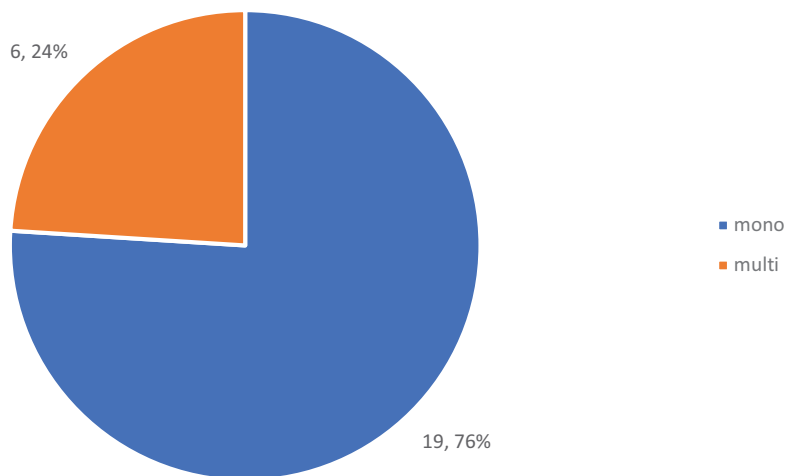
Most of the labels in the middle column bear resemblance to those used by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997). In the column on the right-hand side, the terms of the spatial relations are mentioned in association with which a given Π<sub>CONFIG</sub> has previously been mentioned.<sup>178</sup> With FRONS ‘front’ we introduce another Latinate label. The same holds for LONGITUDO ‘length (spatial/temporal)’. The label DOMI/DOMUM is based on the residual LOCATIVE and the directional ACCUSATIVE of Latin *domus* ‘house’ meaning ‘at home’ and ‘homewards’, respectively. For monofunc-

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.

tional configurational IIs, it is a relatively straightforward thing to create a label for their functions. In the subsequent subsection, we will see whether multifunctional configurational IIs are as easily labelled as their monofunctional partners in BLOMP 2.0.

#### 5.2.1.4.2 Multifunctional configurational IIs

As Figure 5.40 shows multifunctional IIs constitute a minority in the domain of the configurational IIs.



**Figure 5.40:** Shares of monofunctional and multifunctional configurational IIs

No Italo-Romance II counts among the multifunctional configurational IIs so it is possible to put forward the implicational patterns in Figures 5.41–5.42.

Italo-Romance → monofunctional / configuration

**Figure 5.41:** Italo-Romance origin implies monofunctionality.

multifunctional → Semitic / configuration

**Figure 5.42:** Multifunctionality implies Semitic origin.

A glimpse at Table 5.15 additionally tells us that none of the multifunctional configuration IIs gives evidence of the *DIRECTIONAL*<sub>2</sub>, i.e., no cases of (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ combining with any of the IIs listed in Table 5.20 are attested. This is the basis for

the implicational patterns in Figures 5.43–5.44. The motivation for the restriction imposed on the combinability of (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ is not clear to us at the moment.

multifunctional  $\rightarrow \neg\text{directional}_2$

**Figure 5.43:** Multifunctionality excludes  $\text{directional}_2$ .

$\text{directional}_2 \rightarrow \text{monofunctional}$

**Figure 5.44:**  $\text{Directional}_2$  implies monofunctionality.

As we will see shortly, multifunctionality is a kind of terminological hyperbole because all attested patterns of configurational IIs fulfilling more than just one function are binary, i.e., there are always two functions involved. The two functions are not always closely related to each other conceptually. No multifunctional configurational II is attested with each of the directionality markers as comes to the fore in Table 5.15. Some of the multifunctional IIs fulfil functions which are absent from those registered for the monofunctional IIs and thus call for coining extra-labels for them, cf. Table 5.20.

**Table 5.20:** Labels for multifunctional configurational IIs.

Π <sub>CONFIG</sub>	label <sub>1</sub>	label <sub>2</sub>	previous mention(s) under
(Π8) <i>biswit</i> ‘facing’	PROPINQUUS	FRONS	PROPINQUUS, FRONTALIS, DIRECTIONAL <sub>1</sub> , TERMINATIVE (spatial), OBLVERSE
(Π31) <i>madwar</i> ‘around’	PROPINQUUS	CIRCUM	PROPINQUUS, CIRCUMESSIVE (spatial/temporal)
(Π30) <i>ma</i> ‘with’	PROPINQUUS	SEQUENS	PROXIMATE, SECUTIVE
(Π15) <i>fi</i> ‘in’	INTERIOR	SUPERIOR	INESSIVE (spatial/temporal), ILLATIVE, SURESSIVE
(Π4) <i>bejn</i> ‘between’	MEDIAL <sub>1</sub>	MEDIAL <sub>2</sub>	MEDIOESSIVE, INTERESSIVE (spatial/temporal), INTERLATIVE
(Π33) <i>matul</i> ‘during’	LONGITUDO <sub>1</sub>	LONGITUDO <sub>2</sub>	EXTENTUS, PERLATIVE (temporal)

There are two middle columns. The cells host the labels for each of the categories which are expressed by the II. The order from left to right is not hierarchical. The two IIs at the bottom of Table 5.20 display identical labels with distinctive indexes. MEDIAL<sub>1</sub> applies in situations in which the Figure is situated in a distributed Ground whereas MEDIAL<sub>2</sub> refers to a situation in which the Figure fills the otherwise empty space between two entities. We speak of LONGITUDO<sub>1</sub> if the Ground is a temporal concept. The label LONGITUDO<sub>2</sub> is employed if the Ground is spatial. It is worth





noting that the shared feature *PROPINQUUS* yields a class of eight IIs composed of five monofunctional and three multifunctional IIs. The share of *PROPINQUUS*-IIs is as big as 32% of all configurational IIs. No other function comes close to this share.

The synopsis of the observations made in this and the previous section is given in Table 5.21. An X and yellow shading are indicative of the association of a given function with a given configurational II. It strikes the eye that the vast majority of the cells are empty. No row hosts more than two Xs. Only six out of seventeen functions are fulfilled by two or more configurational IIs. *CIRCUM*, *SEQUENS*, *MEDIAL*<sub>2</sub>, and *LONGITUDO*<sub>2</sub> are only attested with multifunctional IIs. The latter two only occur with IIs that also attest to *MEDIAL*<sub>1</sub> and *LONGITUDO*<sub>1</sub>, respectively.

The knowledge we have gained separately in connection with directional and configurational IIs provides us with a picture of the individual components of the II-II combinations. What is needed at this point is determining how the two components interact. This is why, in the next subsection, we elaborate on the surveys of combinations of directionality and configuration markers given in Tables 5.15 and 5.16.

#### 5.2.1.4.3 $\Pi_{\text{DIRECT}} + \Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$

The presentation of the empirical facts is divided in two. We start with the phonologically realised Goal-oriented (II21) *ghal* ‘for’, (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’, and (II51) *sa* ‘till’ and their combinations with configurational IIs because no multifunctional aspects have to be taken account of.<sup>179</sup> This is different in the case of (II41) *minn* ‘from’ because of the three possible readings of this II whose discussion will therefore conclude the presentation of II-II combinations.<sup>180</sup>

##### 5.2.1.4.3.1 Goal

The three Goal-oriented directional markers are presented in the order of the decreasing number of combinations with configuration markers. Thus, the first candidate to be looked at is (II21) *ghal* ‘for’. Sentential examples for the 21 attested combinations of this II with configurational IIs are given in Table 5.22.

<sup>179</sup> In Section 5.2.1.4.3.1.

<sup>180</sup> In the separate Section 5.2.1.4.3.2.

**Table 5.22:** Combinations of (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ with configurational Πs.

#	source	example / translation	Π <sub>CONFIG</sub>
1	news184006	<i>kienu jgħaddu l-flus mid-droga [għal barra l-Kolombja]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] they transferred drug money [outside of Colombia] [. . .].’	(Π3) <i>barra</i> ‘outside’
2	news191851	<i>Dan l-aħħar il-kumpanija sabet ħames bastimenti anti-ki mgħarrqa f’ qiegħ il-baħar li jmorru lura [għal bejn l-ewwel seklu Qabel Kristu u l-ħames seklu Wara Kris-tu]<sub>pp</sub></i> . ‘Recently the company found five ancient sunk-en ships at the bottom of the sea dating back [to between the first century BC and the fifth century AD].’	(Π4) <i>bejn</i> ‘between’
3	literature77	<i>Mal-biki u l-ghajjat tat-tifla n-nies tad-dar kollha għrew [għal fejn il-marid]<sub>pp</sub></i> . ‘With the girl’s cries and screams, all the people of the house rushed [to the sick man].’	(Π14) <i>fejn</i> ‘near’
4	news41571	<i>se tpoġġi lil Malta mill-inqas [għal fost l-aqwa fl-Unjoni Ewropea]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] it will put Malta at least [among the best in the European Union].’	(Π16) <i>fost</i> ‘amongst’
5	culture3662	<i>L-iskorpjun l-ewwel niżel fuq spallet persuna li min-naħa tagħha xejritha direttament [għal fuq il-mara]<sub>pp</sub></i> . ‘The scorpion first landed on the shoulders of a person who in turn threw it directly [onto the woman].’	(Π17) <i>fuq</i> ‘on’
6	news115665	<i>Kif resqu lejna dawwarnihom u sforzajnihom [għal ġewwa l-isqaq]<sub>pp</sub></i> . ‘As they approached us we made them turn around and forced them [into the alley].’	(Π18) <i>ġewwa</i> ‘inside’
7	european10051	<i>jibqa sejjer [għal ġol-Brazil Amazonjan]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] it keeps going [into Amazonian Brazil] [. . .].’	(Π19) <i>ġo</i> ‘in’
8	news75221	<i>xi laneċ ta’ salvataġġ telqu minn Ragusa [għal biswit il-vapur]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] some rescue boats left from Ragusa [for near the ship].’	(Π8) <i>biswit</i> ‘facing’
9	literature10	<i>Għamlit xenata nobis, ippakkjat sorra ħwejjeg, u reġgħet telqet [għal għand ommha]<sub>pp</sub></i> . ‘She made a real scene for him, packed some clothes, and left again [for her mother].’	(Π22) <i>għand</i> ‘at s.o.’s place’
10	literature32	<i>Sadanittant Xon kien mexa [għal ħdejn bużnannuh]<sub>pp</sub></i> . ‘Meanwhile Xon had gone [to his great-grandfather’s side] [. . .].’	(Π23) <i>ħdejn</i> ‘beside’
11	literature35	<i>Imma tant beda jithattek biex jilqa’ d-daqqiet li s-siġġu nqaleb bih b’kollox [għal mal-art]<sub>pp</sub></i> . ‘But he began to struggle so much to receive the blows that the chair was completely overturned [on the floor].’	(Π30) <i>ma</i> ‘with’

Table 5.22 (continued)

#	source	example / translation	$\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$
12	news117404	<i>Servizz ċirkolari b'xejn se jiĥaddem mir-Razzett tal-Fbiberija għal dawk b'diżabbiltà u għax-xjuħ minn Triq l-Ordinanza [għal madwar il-Belt]<sub>pp</sub>. 'A free circular service will be operated from the Friendship Farm for the disabled and the elderly from Triq l-Ordinanza [to all around Valletta].'</i>	(Π31) <i>madwar</i> 'around'
13	news81231	<i>Il-ħorża fl-aħħar iċċaqalqet sewwa u ġġenbet imgerrba [għal maġenb il-vann]<sub>pp</sub>. 'The bag finally just moved and was rolled [to the side of the van].'</i>	(Π32) <i>maġenb</i> 'close to'
14	news192898	<i>Il-unions minn naha tagħhom ħarġu ordni li l-protesti jiġu estiżi [għal matul il-jumejn li ġejjin]<sub>pp</sub>. 'The unions for their part issued an order that the protests be extended [over the next two days].'</i>	(Π33) <i>matul</i> 'during'
15	news107340	<i>Il-kaz imur lura [għal qabel l-Elezzjoni Ġenerali li għaddiet]<sub>pp</sub>. 'The case goes back [to before the last General Election] [. . .].'</i>	(Π46) <i>qabel</i> 'before'
16	news150357	<i>Minn hemm hu ħarab [għal qalb il-fabbriki]<sub>pp</sub> bil-Pulizija jiġru warajh fejn dahal f'għalqa biex jipprova jistahba qalb il-ħaxix. 'From there he fled [among the factories] with the Police chasing him where he entered a field to try to hide among the grass.'</i>	(Π47) <i>qalb</i> 'amidst'
17	news75280	<i>kellha d-dmir biss tikkoordina s-salavataġġ f'wisa' ta' baħar li twassal minn hdejn Lampedusa [għal qrib il-qżira ta' Kreta]<sub>pp</sub>. '[. . .] it only had the duty to coordinate the rescue in a width of sea that reaches from near Lampedusa [to near the island of Crete].'</i>	(Π48) <i>qrib</i> 'near'
18	news22138	<i>Il-gwardja tal-unur u l-banda tal-Korp tal-Pulizija jitiqlu minn Pjazza San Gorġ [għal quddiem il-binja l-ġdida tal-Parlament]<sub>pp</sub>. 'The guard of honor and the band of the Police Force leave from St. George Square [for the new Parliament building] [. . .].'</i>	(Π49) <i>quddiem</i> 'in front of'
19	literature74	<i>telaq ġirja waħda [għal taħt il-kastell]<sub>pp</sub>. '[. . .] he left running [to under the castle] [. . .].'</i>	(Π56) <i>taħt</i> 'under'
20	parl469	<i>Mela kollox huwa miexi [għal viċin l-elezzjoni]<sub>pp</sub>. 'So everything is moving [closer to the election] [. . .].'</i>	(Π58) <i>viċin</i> 'near'
21	literature77	<i>tnajn jibqgħu sejr in [għal wara l-knisja]<sub>pp</sub>. '[. . .] two keep going [to the back of the church] [. . .].'</i>	(Π60) <i>wara</i> 'after'



Inspected in isolation, the data in Table 5.22 do not tell us much beyond the fact that (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ is a prolific directionality marker that allows for a plethora of combinations with configurational Πs. (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ is combinable with 87% of all configuration markers. This observation becomes more interesting when we compare the behaviour of (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ with that of the other two Goal-oriented directional Πs. In terms of the number of types of combinations with configurational Πs, (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ is second best. The fifteen attested combinatory patterns are illustrated in Table 5.23.

**Table 5.23:** Combinations of (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ with configurational Πs.

#	source	example / translation	Π <sub>CONFIG</sub>
1	literature20	<i>filgħodu l-vann wassalna bħas-soltu [sa barra l-grada tal-iskola]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] in the morning the van brought us as usual <b>[up to the school gate]</b> .’	(Π13) <i>barra</i> ‘outside’
2	news86594	<i>Fuħħar li nstab fihom jagħtu x’jifhem li l-oqbra jmorru lura [sa bejn is-sena 3,000 QK u l-2,500 QK]<sub>pp</sub></i> . ‘Pottery found in them suggests that the tombs date back <b>[to between 3,000 BC and 2,500 BC]</b> .’	(Π14) <i>bejn</i> ‘between’
3	literature21	<i>Jigru kemm jifilhu, baqgħu sejin bla nifs [sa fejn il-ġnien]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘Running as hard as they could, they breathlessly kept going <b>[as far as the garden]</b> [ . . . ].’	(Π14) <i>fejn</i> ‘near’
4	news57416	<i>Hija fidi li tidhol [sa fil-qiegħnett tar-realtà umana taqħna]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘It is a faith that penetrates <b>[to the bottom of our human reality]</b> [ . . . ].’	(Π15) <i>fi</i> ‘in’
5	literature32	<i>telgħu [sa fuq il-bejt]<sub>pp</sub> biex jaraw it- temp kif inhu</i> ‘they went <b>[up to the roof]</b> to see how the weather was’	(Π17) <i>fuq</i> ‘on’
6	european6816	<i>Il-bejjiegħ għandu jwassal [sa għand il-konsumatur]<sub>pp</sub> oġġetti li huma f’konformità mal-kuntratt ta’ bejgħ</i> . ‘The seller must deliver <b>[to the consumer]</b> goods that comply with the sales contract.’	(Π22) <i>għand</i> ‘at s.o.’s place’
7	literature24	<i>Kaxkar mejda tqila tal-fidda sewda [sa hdejn il-ħajt]<sub>pp</sub> biex jitla’ fuqha</i> . ‘He dragged a heavy black silver table <b>[up to the wall]</b> for him to climb onto.’	(Π23) <i>hdejn</i> ‘beside’
8	news108877	<i>Mhux talli n-NATO ma żżarmatx, avolja m’hemmx aktar bżonnha, talli kompliet tespandi [sa mal-fruntieri Russi]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘Not because NATO has not been dismantled, even though it is no longer needed, because it has continued to expand <b>[up to the Russian borders]</b> .’	(Π30) <i>ma</i> ‘with’

Table 5.23 (continued)

#	source	example / translation	$\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$
9	parl256	<i>Jista' l-ministru jghid meta se tiġi asfaltata Marsa Road, Qormi minn taht il- pont [sa madwar ir-roundabout magħrufa ta' ħdejn l-erba' qaddisin]<sub>pp</sub></i> 'Can the minister tell when Marsa Road, Qormi will be asphalted from under the bridge <b>[to around the known roundabout near the four saints]</b> [ . . . ]?'	(Π31) <i>madwar</i> 'around'
10	parl853	<i>Jista' l-Viċi Prim Ministru jpoġġi fuq il-mejda tal- Kamra kopja tal-pjanta ta' kif inhuwa maħsub illi jsir żvilupp fl-area [sa maġenb id-dar ta' l-anzjani fl-Imsida]<sub>pp</sub></i> 'Can the Deputy Prime Minister put on the table of the House a copy of the plan of how it is intended that a development is realised in the area <b>[up to the old people's home in Msida]</b> [ . . . ]?'	(Π32) <i>maġenb</i> 'close to'
11	news116434	<i>Sophie se tibda l-ġirja minn quddiem il-Lukanda Suncrest tul ix-xatt kollu [sa qrib il-Kappella ta' San Pawl]<sub>pp</sub> u lura minn fejn bdiet.</i> 'Sophie will start the run from in front of the Suncrest Hotel along the entire waterfront <b>[to near the Chapel of St. Paul]</b> and back from where she started.'	(Π48) <i>qrib</i> 'near'
12	literature73	<i>ħareġ mill-Imdina u baqa' sejjer [sa quddiem il-Kunvent]<sub>pp</sub></i> '[ . . . ] he came out of Mdina and kept going <b>[as far as in front of the Convent]</b> [ . . . ].'	(Π49) <i>quddiem</i> 'in front of'
13	news138629	<i>Spjega li sa mijiet ta' snin ilu l-baħar kien jidhol [sa taħt il-Victoria Lines]<sub>pp</sub>, u sal-1560 il-baħar kien għadu jidhol sa ħdejn il-Kappella ta' San Pawl Milqi f'Burmarrad.</i> 'He explained that until hundreds of years ago the sea reached <b>[as far as the Victoria Lines]</b> , and until 1560 the sea was still reached as far as the Chapel of San Paul Milqi in Burmarrad.'	(Π56) <i>taħt</i> 'under'
14	parl375	<i>madwar 6,000 ħamiema tal-ġiri ittiegħdu fuq barkun [sa viċin il-Port ta' Reggio Calabria]<sub>pp</sub>, minn fejn kellu jintelaq</i> '[ . . . ] around 6,000 racing pigeons were taken on a barge <b>[to near the Port of Reggio Calabria]</b> from where they were to be released.'	(Π58) <i>viċin</i> 'near'
15	news114805	<i>tibqa' sejjer, maltemp jew mhux, shana jew bard, [sa wara l-iskrivanija tiegħek f'Tas-Sliema]<sub>pp</sub></i> '[ . . . ] you keep going, stormy weather or not, hot or cold, <b>[behind your desk in Tas-Sliema]</b> [ . . . ].'	(Π60) <i>wara</i> 'after'

(Π51) *sa* ‘till’ is attested in combination with 65% of the configurational IIs. This means that its combinatory potential is considerably smaller than that of (Π21) *għal* ‘for’. The latter is excluded from combining with (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ – a combination that is unique to (Π51) *sa* ‘till’. In contrast, there are six configurational IIs which are incompatible with the TERMINATIVE marker but combine with (Π21) *għal* ‘for’, namely (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’, (Π18) *għewwa* ‘inside’, (Π19) *go* ‘in’, (Π33) *matul* ‘during’, (Π46) *qabel* ‘before’; and (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ (cf. the preference rule in Figure 5.37). This half a dozen impossible partners of (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ comprises four IIs that are linked to each other conceptually. This is self-explanatory in the paired cases of, on the one hand, (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’ and (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ and, on the other hand, (Π18) *għewwa* ‘inside’ and (Π19) *go* ‘in’. The first mentioned pair of IIs introduces a Ground that is distributed in the sense that the Figure has to enter the space that is occupied by a group of entities that constitute the Ground. Since the marker of the DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub>, (Π21) *għal* ‘for’, marks motion towards the Goal with the possibility of the Figure winding up at or in the Ground, it is a good choice for combinations with (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’ and (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ whereas (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ invokes the idea that the Figure never enters the Ground because the motion stops at the outer boundary of the Ground. Similarly, (Π18) *għewwa* ‘inside’ and (Π19) *go* ‘in’ as configuration markers are employed for spatial situations in which the Figure at the end of the motion event occupies a position inside the Ground. The position inside the Ground is not normally associated with the TERMINATIVE marker. In connection to this argument, example #4 in Table 5.23 poses a problem because it involves (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ and (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ and thus violates the restriction against using the TERMINATIVE in situations that feature the Figure inside the Ground. This *sa-fi* combination is a hapax in the Korpus Malti 3.0. On a basis this small, it is impossible to put forward any argument that makes sense. Further research is needed to determine whether *sa-fi* combinations are more common in Maltese and whether this requires a modification of the above restriction.

Why (Π51) *sa* ‘till’ fails to combine with either (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ or (Π46) *qabel* ‘before’ cannot be explained with absolute certainty. First of all, neither of the two configurational IIs is a frequent partner of (Π21) *għal* ‘for’. Second, both configuration markers introduce temporal concepts as complements. The TERMINATIVE is not generally incompatible with temporal concepts. However, temporality is the trait shared by (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ and (Π46) *qabel* ‘before’. As in the previous case, further research on this matter is called for before any robust conclusions can be drawn.

The smallest number of combinations with configuration IIs goes to the credit of the directional<sub>2</sub>, (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’, for which only six patterns are registered. These six patterns are illustrated in Table 5.24.

**Table 5.24:** Combinations of (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ with configurational Πs.

#	source	example / translation	Π <sub>CONFIG</sub>
1	news10451	<i>Filfatt, 3,881, minn total ta’ kwazi 30,000 [ . . . ] kienu turisti li marru fuq destinazzjoni [lejn barra mill-Ewropa]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘In fact, 3,881, out of a total of almost 30,000 thousand were tourists who went to a destination [outside of Europe] [ . . . ].’	(Π13) <i>barra</i> ‘outside’
2	european4032	<i>wara li tgħaddi għan-nofsinhar tal-gżira ta’ Öland [lejn fuq il-kosta tal-lvant]<sub>pp</sub></i> fuq 56° 30’ latitudni tat-tramuntana, imbagħad f’direzzjoni tal-punent matul il-kosta tal- Polonja ‘[ . . . ] after passing south of the island of Öland [to the east coast] at 56° 30’ north latitude, then in a westerly direction along the coast of Poland [ . . . ].’	(Π17) <i>fuq</i> ‘on’
3	news93216	<i>noqgħod inħares lura [lejn qabel l-aħħar elezzjoni ġenerali]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘I look back [to before the last general election] [ . . . ].’	(Π46) <i>qabel</i> ‘before’
4	news151952	<i>imxew tul Triq ir-Repubblika, daru [lejn quddiem il-Kon-Kattidral ta’ San Ġwann]<sub>pp</sub></i> u komplew lejn Kastilja ‘[ . . . ] they walked along Triq ir-Repubblika, turned [to the front of the Co-Cathedral of San Ġwann] and continued towards Castile [ . . . ].’	(Π49) <i>quddiem</i> ‘in front of’
5	news159372	<i>Jew ma waddbuh xejn iżda ġarrewh [lejn taħt is-sur wara d-depot]<sub>pp</sub></i> biex jgħidu li sabuh hemmhekk wara li qabeż? ‘Or they didn’t throw him at all but they carried him [to the wall behind the depot] to say they found him there after he jumped?’	(Π56) <i>taħt</i> ‘under’
6	news111040	<i>X’hin ġara hekk, dawn iż-żewġ persuni ħarbu [lejn wara l-Knisja]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘When that happened, these two people fled [behind the Church] [ . . . ].’	(Π60) <i>wara</i> ‘after’

Combinations with (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ are possible only for 26% of the configurational Πs. From Figure 5.35, we know already that if a given Π<sub>CONFIG</sub> combines with (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ it also always allows for combining with (Π21) *għal* ‘for’, i.e., DIRECTIONAL<sub>2</sub> presupposes DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub>. This implication raises the question of whether the coexistence of DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub> and DIRECTIONAL<sub>2</sub> is a case of synonymy or of subtle meaning differences between the two directionals. The configurational Πs that go together with (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ can be ordered as follows: (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ and (Π56) *taħt* ‘under’ are antonyms representing opposing spatial concepts on the vertical dimension, (Π49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ and (Π60) *wara* ‘after’ form a comparable pair of concepts on the horizontal dimension to which (Π46) *qabel* ‘before’ might be added as antonym for the temporal readings of (Π60) *wara* ‘after’. (Π13) *barra* ‘outside’ cannot be categorised with any of these antonymic pairs. It is

worth noting that (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ is excluded from five of the combinations attested for (Π21) *ghal* ‘for’ but not for (Π51) *sa* ‘till’, viz. (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’, (Π18) *gewwa* ‘inside’, (Π19) *go* ‘in’, (Π33) *matul* ‘during’, and (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’. This parallel between the TERMINATIVE and the DIRECTIONAL<sub>2</sub> seems to speak in favour of a meaning difference between the directionals. Where DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub> does not exclude the possibility of the Figure entering the Ground, this scenario is less likely in the case of DIRECTIONAL<sub>2</sub>, meaning: (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ most probably is a pure directional in the sense that it only indicates that a motion is Goal-oriented without implying that the Goal is reached by the Figure. We will address this issue again within the wider context of the spatio-temporal meaning categories.<sup>181</sup>

#### 5.2.1.4.3.2 Source and Path

In this section, we try to separate the three meaning categories covered by (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ from each other. In analogy to the previous section, we first give a look at the meaning of this Π which is that of the ABLATIVE. Table 5.25 contains examples of the twenty attested combinations with configurational Πs. For the usual reasons, no example of (Π38) *minghand* ‘from s.o.’ is included in Table 5.25.

**Table 5.25:** Combinations of *minn*<sub>ABLATIVE</sub> with configurational Πs.

#	source	example / translation	Π <sub>CONFIG</sub>
1	academic281	<i>wara li nfiltra min-nofs tal-grawnd hu ghamel xutt [minn barra l-kaxxa]<sub>pp</sub> li ma ta l-ebda çans lil Mark Schwarzer biex isalvah</i> ‘[. . .] after infiltrating from the middle of the field he made a shot [from outside the box] that didn’t give Mark Schwarzer any chance to save it [. . .].’	(Π3) <i>barra</i> ‘outside’
2	literature45	<i>Waqgħet [minn bejn il-paġni tal-ktieb]<sub>pp</sub> biċċa karta li nizlet mal-art b’toqol</i> . ‘A piece of paper fell [from between the pages of the book] and landed heavily on the floor.’	(Π4) <i>bejn</i> ‘between’
3	parl2485	<i>tnehhew il-bandli [minn biswit iċ-ċimiterju ta’ Ħal Qormi]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] the swings have been removed [from next to the Qormi cemetery] [. . .].’	(Π8) <i>biswit</i> ‘facing’

<sup>181</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.4.4.

Table 5.25 (continued)

#	source	example / translation	Π <sub>CONFIG</sub>
4	parl1504	<i>dan l-uffiċjal tant għandu arja li issa wasal biex anke qala' l-bus-stop sign [minn faċċata tat-triq tiegħu]<sub>pp</sub> biex ikun jista' jipparkja l-van personali tiegħu</i> '[. . .] this officer so full of himself that now he even removed the bus-stop sign [from across his street] so he could park his personal van [. . .].'	(Π12) <i>faċċata</i> 'opposite'
5	literature77	<i>Qam [minn fejn il-mejda]<sub>pp</sub> malli qara li Inez ma kenitx maqtula</i> 'He got up [from the table] as soon as he read that Inez had not been killed [. . .].'	(Π14) <i>fejn</i> 'near'
6	news109009	<i>Schulz hu persuna li telgħet [minn fost il-haddiema]<sub>pp</sub></i> 'Schulz is a person who rose [from among the workers] [. . .].'	(Π16) <i>fost</i> 'amongst'
7	academic12	<i>F'Lulju 1913 sitt Maltin niżlu Seattle fl-Istati Uniti [minn fuq il-vapur Dunblane]<sub>pp</sub></i> 'In July 1913 six Maltese got off [from the ship Dunblane] in Seattle in the United States [. . .].'	(Π17) <i>fuq</i> 'on'
8	literature77	<i>ħareġ għalhekk [minn ġewwa l-ġnien]<sub>pp</sub> u mar lejn ir-raħal biex jara</i> '[. . .] so he came [out of the garden] and went to the village to see [. . .].'	(Π18) <i>ġewwa</i> 'inside'
9	european4335	<i>jkunu mibgħuta bil-vapur [minn ġol-portijiet Kanadiżi]<sub>pp</sub></i> '[. . .] they will be sent via ship [from the Canadian ports].'	(Π19) <i>ġo</i> 'in'
10	culture1469	<i>Il-maratona se tibda fl-10 am [minn hdejn il-Knisja ta' San Ġirgor iż-Żejtun]<sub>pp</sub> u se tghaddi minn tlett lokalitajiet</i> 'The marathon will start at 10 am [from the Church of St. Gregory in Żejtun] and will pass through three localities [. . .].'	(Π23) <i>hdejn</i> 'beside'
11	culture1781	<i>meta kienu qed inehħu ż-żebgħa [minn mal-ħitan]<sub>pp</sub> tfaċċaw diversi graffiti</i> '[. . .] when they were removing the paint [from the walls] several graffiti appeared [. . .].'	(Π30) <i>ma</i> 'with'
12	news51585	<i>ovvjament nitbiegħdu [minn madwar il-mejda]<sub>pp</sub></i> '[. . .] obviously we move away [from the table] [. . .].'	(Π31) <i>madwar</i> 'around'
13	literature7	<i>Klaus ġabar mazz karti [minn maġenb il-munzell trab]<sub>pp</sub></i> 'Klaus gathered a pack of cards [from beside the pile of dust] [. . .].'	(Π32) <i>maġenb</i> 'close to'
14	news109642	<i>Gvern Laburista [minn qabel il-kampanja elettorali]<sub>pp</sub> saħaq li gvern ġdid se jkun wieħed meritokratiku</i> 'A Labor government [from before the election campaign] stressed that the new government will be a meritocratic one [. . .].'	(Π46) <i>qabel</i> 'before'

Table 5.25 (continued)

#	source	example / translation	Π <sub>CONFIG</sub>
15	literature21	<i>Ftit tal-hin wara tfaċċa Xandru [minn qalb is-siġar]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘A little later, Xandru appeared [ <b>from among the trees</b> ] [. . .].’	(Π47) <i>qalb</i> ‘amidst’
16	news124234	<i>hija ġejja lura [minn qrib Lampedusa]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] she is coming back [ <b>from near Lampedusa</b> ] [. . .].’	(Π48) <i>qrib</i> ‘near’
17	culture2338	<i>l-ħbieb l-oħra wkoll ħarbu [minn quddiem is-salib]<sub>pp</sub> u ħallew lil Ġesù waħdu</i> . ‘[. . .] the other friends also fled [ <b>from the cross</b> ] and left Jesus alone.’	(Π49) <i>quddiem</i> ‘in front of’
18	literature29	<i>Kellha troffa xagħar ħamrani ħierġa [minn taħt il-maktur]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘She had a tuft of red hair coming out [ <b>from under the headscarf</b> ] [. . .].’	(Π56) <i>taħt</i> ‘under’
19	news72525	<i>Nisimghu tir iehor ġej [minn viċin il-Kon-Kattidral ta’ San Ġwann]<sub>pp</sub></i> . ‘We hear another shot coming [ <b>from near the Co-Cathedral of San Ġwann</b> ].’	(Π58) <i>viċin</i> ‘near’
20	literature16	<i>Meta ttawwalt [minn wara l-purtieri tat-tieqa]<sub>pp</sub> lmaħt kuntistabbli fuq il-bankina faċċata tad-dar</i> . ‘When I peeked out [ <b>from behind the window curtains</b> ] I saw a constable on the sidewalk in front of the house.’	(Π60) <i>wara</i> ‘after’

There are altogether 22 configurational IIs that combine with (Π41) *minn* ‘from’. *Minn*<sub>ABLATIVE</sub> is attested with twenty (= 91%) or, if (Π38) *mingħand* ‘from s.o.’ is counted in, 21 configurational IIs (= 95%). Like in the case of (Π21) *għal* ‘for’, these shares and absolute numbers become meaningful only when they are compared to the shares and absolute numbers calculated for other categories.

The second most frequent meaning of (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ is the PROLATIVE. *Minn*<sub>PROLATIVE</sub> is attested with thirteen different configurational IIs (= 59%) as shown in Table 5.26.

Table 5.26: Combinations of *minn*<sub>PROLATIVE</sub> with configurational Πs.

#	source	example / translation	Π <sub>CONFIG</sub>
1	parl1765	<i>ninterċettaw lil kulmin ikun għaddej [minn barra l-ibħra territorjali taġġna]<sub>pp</sub> għal skopijiet ta’ traffikar ta’ droga</i> ‘[. . .] we intercept anyone passing [ <b>outside our territorial waters</b> ] for drug trafficking purposes [. . .].’	(Π3) <i>barra</i> ‘outside’

Table 5.26 (continued)

#	source	example / translation	$\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$
2	news152058	<i>Il-vetturi kollha meta jghaddu [minn biswit il-Kappella tal-Ħġeġeġ]<sub>pp</sub> u jiġbdu lejn Dawriet il-Gzejjer ma jistghux iduru lejn Plajjiet Bognor</i> 'All vehicles when they pass [ <b>next to the Kappella tal-Ħġeġeġ</b> ] and pull towards Dawriet il-Gzejjer cannot turn towards Bognor Beaches.'	(Π18) <i>biswit</i> 'facing'
3	(Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 167)	= (5.154)	(Π12) <i>faċċata</i> 'opposite'
4	literature40	<i>Ipparkja fit-tarf tat-triq u kien għoddu wasal quddiemu meta għadda [minn fejn il-vann tal-pastizzi]<sub>pp</sub>.</i> 'He parked at the end of the road and was about to get in front of him when he passed [ <b>the pastry van</b> ].'	(Π14) <i>fejn</i> 'near'
5	literature80	<i>Għadda [minn hdejn il-bieb tal-kamra tiegħi]<sub>pp</sub></i> 'He passed [ <b>by the door of my room</b> ] [. . .].'	(Π23) <i>hdejn</i> 'beside'
6	literature34	<i>ma jidhrux fid-dlam tal-platea mixgħula biss bid-dawl jizzerzaq [minn mal-palk]<sub>pp</sub>.</i> '[. . .] they do not appear in the darkness of the stage lit only by the light sliding [ <b>across the stage</b> ].'	(Π30) <i>ma</i> 'with'
7	news152258	<i>jonqos it-traffiku li jghaddi [minn madwar il-piazza]<sub>pp</sub> fi kwalunkwe hin tal-ġurnata</i> '[. . .] he reduces the traffic that passes [ <b>around the square</b> ] at any time of the day [. . .].'	(Π31) <i>madwar</i> 'around'
8	news15453	<i>Din it-triq tghaddi [minn maġenb il-park nazzjonali]<sub>pp</sub></i> 'This road passes [ <b>next to the national park</b> ] [. . .].'	(Π32) <i>maġenb</i> 'close to'
9	news150647	<i>n-nies li jkunu għaddejjin [minn qrib it-Tokk]<sub>pp</sub> jiegfu jaraw x'qed jiġri.</i> '[. . .] the people who are passing [ <b>near the Tokk</b> ] stop to see what is happening.'	(Π48) <i>qrib</i> 'near'
10	culture3141	<i>Bniedem adult jiġrilu l-istess meta jghaddi [minn quddiem post fejn jinżammu l-klieb bla dar]<sub>pp</sub></i> 'The same thing happens to a grown man when he passes [ <b>in front of a place where homeless dogs are kept</b> ].'	(Π49) <i>quddiem</i> 'in front of'
11	literature59	<i>qabad iressaq siequ bil-mod [minn taħt il-mejda]<sub>pp</sub> sakemm messha ma' tagħha</i> '[. . .] he began to move his foot slowly [ <b>under the table</b> ] until it touched hers.'	(Π56) <i>taħt</i> 'under'



Table 5.26 (continued)

#	source	example / translation	$\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$
12	news55851	<i>jispjega l-avventura mhux tas-soltu li s-sajjieda esperjenzaw, bix- xark jghaddi għal numru ta' drabi [minn viċin hafna tad-dgħajsa]<sub>pp</sub>. '[. . .] it explains the unusual adventure the fishermen experienced, with the shark passing a number of times [very close to the boat].'</i>	( $\Pi 58$ ) <i>viċin</i> 'near'
13	literature20	<i>Minn bejnhom dehret it-triq li tgħaddi [minn wara l-iskola]<sub>pp</sub> 'From between them the road was visible that passes [behind the school].'</i>	( $\Pi 60$ ) <i>wara</i> 'after'

Each  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$  that is attested to combine with  $\text{minn}_{\text{PROLATIVE}}$  is also attested in combination with  $\text{minn}_{\text{ABLATIVE}}$ . There is thus often a need for disambiguation. This task is the responsibility of the verb and/or the wider context. What is interesting when we compare Tables 5.25 and 5.26 are not so much the thirteen configurational  $\Pi$ s that are compatible both with  $\text{minn}_{\text{ABLATIVE}}$  and  $\text{minn}_{\text{PROLATIVE}}$ , but the set of seven configurational  $\Pi$ s that allow for combining with  $\text{minn}_{\text{ABLATIVE}}$  but not with  $\text{minn}_{\text{PROLATIVE}}$ . They are interesting because with ( $\Pi 16$ ) *fost* 'amongst', ( $\Pi 18$ ) *għewwa* 'inside', ( $\Pi 19$ ) *għo* 'in', ( $\Pi 46$ ) *qabel* 'before', and ( $\Pi 47$ ) *qalb* 'amidst', five correspond to configurational  $\Pi$ s that are excluded from combinations with ( $\Pi 51$ ) *sa* 'till' and ( $\Pi 28$ ) *lejn* 'towards' as shown in the foregoing section. Conceptually, the  $\text{PROLATIVE}$  does not allow for the Figure to be inside the Ground at any point of the motion event. Therefore, configurations such as  $\text{MEDIAL}_{1/2}$  and  $\text{INTERIOR}$  do not lend themselves to combinations with  $\text{minn}_{\text{PROLATIVE}}$ . This explanation can be extended also to the failure of ( $\Pi 4$ ) *bejn* 'between' to combine with  $\text{minn}_{\text{PROLATIVE}}$ . The absence of examples of ( $\Pi 17$ ) *fuq* 'on' in combination with  $\text{minn}_{\text{PROLATIVE}}$  can probably be attributed to the inadequate size of our corpus. Nothing conceptual seems to stand in the way of combining ( $\Pi 17$ ) *fuq* 'on' with  $\text{minn}_{\text{PROLATIVE}}$ , not the least because #11 in Table 5.26 proves that ( $\Pi 56$ ) *taħt* 'under', the antonym of ( $\Pi 17$ ) *fuq* 'on', has no problems as to combining with  $\text{minn}_{\text{PROLATIVE}}$ . Whether the temporality of ( $\Pi 46$ ) *qabel* 'before' is an obstacle to a combination with  $\text{minn}_{\text{PROLATIVE}}$  needs to be investigated in the future.

The third and last meaning of ( $\Pi 41$ ) *minn* 'from' is the  $\text{PERLATIVE}$ . We have found evidence in the Korpus Malti 3.0 of only six (= 27%) different patterns of combinations with configurational  $\Pi$ s. These combinations are illustrated in Table 5.27.

**Table 5.27:** Combinations of *minn*<sub>PERLATIVE</sub> with configurational IIs.

#	source	example / translation	Π <sub>CONFIG</sub>
1	literature21	<i>Id-dawl tax-xemx diehel [minn bejn il-frieghi tas-siġar]<sub>PP</sub></i> ‘The sunlight comes in [through the branches of the trees].’	(Π14) <i>bejn</i> ‘between’
2	news119355	<i>Il-kontingent mhux se jghaddi [minn fost il-pubbliku]<sub>PP</sub> iżda se johroġ mill-gates tas-sigurtà ta’ l-MIA.</i> ‘The contingent will not pass [through the public] but will exit through the security gates of the MIA.’	(Π16) <i>fost</i> ‘amongst’
3	european197	<i>kien użati għall-operazzjoni ta’ ġarr in transitu fit-triq [minn ġewwa l-Awstrija]<sub>PP</sub></i> ‘[. . .] they were used for the transit operation on the way [through Austria] [. . .].’	(Π18) <i>ġewwa</i> ‘inside’
4	european197	<i>għamlu operazzjonijiet ta’ transitu [minn ġol-Awstrija]<sub>PP</sub></i> ‘[. . .] they carried out transit operations [through Austria] [. . .].’	(Π19) <i>ġo</i> ‘in’
5	news6695	= (5.143)	(Π33) <i>matul</i> ‘during’
6	culture559	<i>Qabel ma tibda l-udjenza, il-Papa mistenni jgħaddi bil-Popemobil [minn qalb il-pellegrini]<sub>PP</sub></i> ‘Before the audience begins, the Pope is expected to pass in the Popemobil [through the (crowd of) pilgrims] [. . .].’	(Π47) <i>qalb</i> ‘amidst’

It is hardly surprising that *minn*<sub>PERLATIVE</sub> is possible with configurational IIs that do not combine with *minn*<sub>PROLATIVE</sub>. On the conceptual level, the PERLATIVE requires the Figure to move through or across the Ground so that it is temporarily contained in the Ground. This possibility is categorically ruled out for the prolative. This also holds for (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ provided the configuration is connected to a temporal concept. The distribution of *minn*<sub>PERLATIVE</sub> and *minn*<sub>PROLATIVE</sub> over the combinations with configurational IIs is thus complementary. In a given context, only one of the meanings is the correct choice. On account of the mutual exclusion of PROLATIVE and PERLATIVE, one might doubt that it makes sense to distinguish the meanings terminologically, in the first place. Would it not be more adequate to lump prolative and PERLATIVE together under the umbrella of Path? The subsequent section will give an answer to this and further questions that arise from synonymy and polysemy of the IIs under scrutiny.

#### 5.2.1.4.4 Polysemy vs synonymy in the spatio-temporal domain

In this section, we scrutinise in some detail form-function relationships of the one-to-many kind (= polysemy) and the many-to-one kind (= synonymy) attested with the spatio-temporal segment of BLOMP 2.0. The first subsection is dedicated to pol-

polysemy<sup>182</sup> while synonymy is treated afterwards.<sup>183</sup> The discussion of these semantic phenomena provides an opportunity for us to also look into the possibility of certain semantic parameters determining the choice of  $\Pi$ . We provide schemas that are meant to capture the internal organisation of the two main components of the spatio-temporal domain.<sup>184</sup>

#### 5.2.1.4.4.1 Polysemy

Thanks to the strict differentiation of directionality and configuration markers and also thanks to the introduction of the distinction  $\emptyset_{\text{static}}$  vs  $\emptyset_{\text{dynamic}}$ , it has been shown above that polysemy is not as common across the spatio-temporal domain as it might have appeared to be the case on superficial inspection. In connection with this problem, we have addressed zeroes and their meanings.<sup>185</sup> Multifunctionality among configurational  $\Pi$ s was in the focus of attention<sup>186</sup> whereas the potential polysemy of ( $\Pi$ 41) *minn* ‘from’ was the topic of another section.<sup>187</sup> It is the latter two issues we will raise again in the subsequent paragraphs.

##### 5.2.1.4.4.1.1 Configurational $\Pi$ s

Table 5.20 features the six configurational  $\Pi$ s that are reported to fulfil two functions. Three of these  $\Pi$ s are used for the expression of PROPINQUUS, namely ( $\Pi$ 8) *biswit* ‘facing’, ( $\Pi$ 31) *madwar* ‘around’, and ( $\Pi$ 30) *ma* ‘with’. They differ only as to the second function for which they are recruited. It is this second function that renders it difficult for the analyst to speak of full synonymy in the case of these three  $\Pi$ s. Their potential synonymy will be explored subsequently.<sup>188</sup> In this section however, we aim at clarifying whether the pairings of the functions PROPINQUUS-FRONS, PROPINQUUS-CIRCUM, and PROPINQUUS-SEQUENS instantiate polysemy or can be explained differently.

What can be said in reference to ( $\Pi$ 8) *biswit* ‘facing’ is that FRONS is a possible (though perhaps frequent) reading of PROPINQUUS no matter what the English translation equivalent of the lexicon form of this  $\Pi$  suggests. In spatial situations whose description involves ( $\Pi$ 8) *biswit* ‘facing’, the position the Figure can occupy is not restricted to that in front of the Ground. In the Korpus Malti 3.0, the bulk of

<sup>182</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.4.4.1.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.4.4.2.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.4.4.3.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.3.

<sup>186</sup> In Section 5.2.1.4.2.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.4.3.2.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.4.4.2.

the hits for (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ is semantically ambiguous insofar as the II serves to locate the Figure near the Ground with the Ground’s front being an option for the placement of the Figure. This situation comes clearly to the fore when we compare the (a)- sentence and the (b)-sentence in (5.224).

(5.224) PROPINQUUS-FRONS

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news118966]

*Huwa nstab mejjet [biswit il-vettura tiegħu]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M REFL:find dead [facing DEF-vehicle of:3SG.M]  
 ‘He was found dead [next to his vehicle].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news128991]

*Is-sewwieq waqaf preċiż [biswit il-karozza tal-bank]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-driver stop exact [facing DEF-car of:DEF-bank]  
 ‘The driver stopped exactly [in front of the bank car].’

Two different translations of (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ are used in (5.224). As to the (a)-sentence, only English *next to* makes sense since in the immediately preceding context in the news report the victim is located on the sidewalk, i.e., the dead body is not at the front end of the car. For the (b)-sentence, the most obvious choice for translating (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ is English *in front of* since the driver’s car comes to a stop such that the car of the bank cannot move from its position. It is therefore logical to assume that the driver’s car stops at the bonnet of the car of the bank. Alternatively, even in the (b)-sentence, (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ could mean that the driver’s car stops next to the bank’s car – close enough to stop the latter from driving off.

As shown in (5.225), the dedicated FRONS marker (II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ is semantically much more explicit than (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ when the intended meaning is that the Figure is in front of the Ground.

(5.225) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news184510]

*huwa kelli jieqaf minnufih meta ftit*  
 3SG.M have.PFV:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:stop immediately when little  
*metri [quddiem il-karozza tiegħu]<sub>pp</sub> ra xi ħaġa kbira*  
 meter:PL [in front of DEF-car of:3SG.M] see some thing big:F  
*taqa’*

3SG.F.IPFV:fall

‘[. . .] he had to stop abruptly when he saw something big falling a few meters [in front of his car] [. . .].’

The scenario is probably like this. The driver looked through the windscreen of his car when something fell down on the road in front of the car. This must have

happened at the car's bonnet. There is no doubt that this is a case of FRONS. In contrast, (5.224b) may also be interpreted such that the Figure is not at the front of the Ground. On account of this ambiguity, we conclude that the main function of (Π8) *biswit* 'facing' is the coding of PROPINQUUS with FRONS being a context-induced reading of PROPINQUUS. Whether other readings of PROPINQUUS are possible with (Π8) *biswit* 'facing' (such as POSTERIOR) can best be determined with the help of native speakers and is thus a question that needs to be addressed in the future.

(Π8) *biswit* 'facing' has been shown not to be multifunctional, in the first place, because the two supposedly distinct meanings of this Π turn out to be of different kinds. The higher-level meaning is that of PROPINQUUS whereas FRONS is a secondary interpretation of PROPINQUUS according to the context. Mutatis mutandis, this explanation also holds for PROPINQUUS-CIRCUM as associated with (Π31) *madwar* 'around'. In analogy to the examples given for ambiguous (Π8) *biswit* 'facing' in (5.224), we provide two examples of (Π31) *madwar* 'around' in (5.226).

(5.226) PROPINQUUS-CIRCUM

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature34]

*l-art* [madwar *il-karozza*]<sub>pp</sub> *kienet tinkesa*  
 DEF-ground [around DEF-car] be:3SG.F.PFV 3SG.F.IPFV:REFL:COVER  
*biċċiet tas-sigaretti*  
 piece:PL of:DEF-cigarette  
 '[. . .] the ground [around the car] was covered with cigarette butts.'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture2450]

*l-bniedem jista' jsalva wkoll billi*  
 DEF-man 3SG.M.IPFV:can 3SG.M.IPFV:save also by\_way\_of  
*joħloq kolonji fl-ispazju [madwar il-pjaneta*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:create colony:PL in:DEF-space [around DEF-planet  
*tagħna]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 of:1PL]  
 '[. . .] man can also save (humankind) by way of founding colonies in the space [around our planet].'

Proximity is a relative notion. The interpretation depends to some extent on the size of the Ground. Compared to the Earth mentioned in the (b)-sentence, the car mentioned in the (a)-sentence is very small. Accordingly, the distance between the car and the ground surrounding it is small, too. The space around the Earth, however, is theoretically unlimited and the human colonies in space might be located very far from the planet. How near the Figure is to the Ground is largely irrelevant for the

use of (II31) *madwar* ‘around’. This II is chosen not because of Figure and Ground being close to each other but because we have a distributed Figure whose constituent parts occupy different positions which ideally encircle the Ground – whether nearby it or far away from it. The position of a distributed Figure around a Ground frequently means that the Figure is located in the vicinity of the Ground. PROPINQUUS is thus a secondary reading of CIRCUM. This means that like (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’, (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ does not attest to multifunctionality.

How is the pair PROPINQUUS-SEQUENS to be analysed? The functions to which (II30) *ma* ‘with’ is put in Maltese have extensively been discussed.<sup>189</sup> The examples in (5.227) help us to find out whether we are facing a genuine case of polysemy.

(5.227) PROPINQUUS-SEQUENS

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature43]

*bdew jibnu ruxxmata flettijiet kull fejn*  
begin:3PL.PFV 3.IPFV:build:PL large\_quantity flat:PL each where  
*akkwistaw biċċa art tmiss [mat-triq]<sub>pp</sub>*  
acquire:3PL.PFV piece ground 3SG.F.IPFV:touch [with:DEF-street]  
‘[. . .] they began building flats wherever they bought patches of land bordering [on the street].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature77]

*mexa mbagħad [mat-triq]<sub>pp</sub> għal biswit id-dar ta’ Lippu*  
walk then [with:DEF-street] for facing DEF-house of Lippu  
‘[. . .] he then walked [along the street] to opposite Lippu’s house [. . .].’

On the basis of examples like those in (5.227), we assume that (II30) *ma* ‘with’ is basically a marker of the PROPINQUUS provided the Ground is a spatio-temporal entity that is extended on at least one dimension. This is a requirement that is met by *triq* ‘street’ in both (5.227a) and (5.227b). SEQUENS is not a basic meaning of (II30) *ma* ‘with’ but a reading of PROPINQUUS in accordance with the semantics of the predicate kernel. As argued above already,<sup>190</sup> a Figure that moves along an extended Ground is metonymically close to it. A Figure that is near an extended Ground covers part of the Ground’s extension. Thus, even in the case of (II30) *ma* ‘with’, there is no reason to defend multifunctionality because one meaning is derived from the other according to the context in which the PP occurs.

<sup>189</sup> In Section 5.1.2.2.20.1 and its subdivisions.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.1.4 (i).

The situation is not much different in the case of (II15) *fī* ‘in’. This II is registered in Table 5.20 as exhibiting polysemy with INTERIOR-SUPERIOR. In (5.228), we contrast the (a)-sentence as bona fide example of INTERIOR with the (b)-sentence for which a SUPERIOR-reading seems to be the best solution.

(5.228) INTERIOR- SUPERIOR

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature1]

*Poggiet iċ-crieket u l-brazzuletti [fīl-kaxxa żgħira]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 put:3SG.F.PFV DEF-ring:PL and DEF-bracelet:PL [in:DEF-box small:F]  
 ‘She put the rings and bracelets [into the little box] [. . .].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news54925]

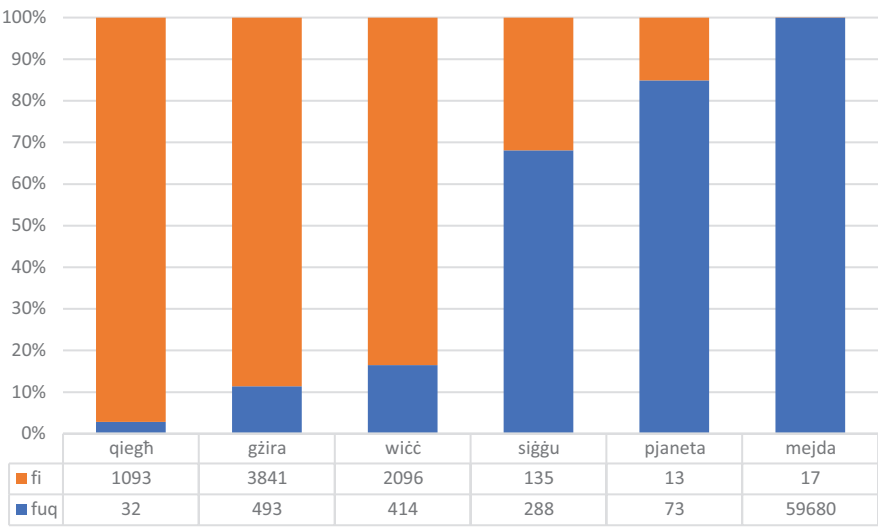
*Ferrex ftiit icing sugar minn ġo passatur fin [fīl-wiċċ tal-kejk]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 spread.IMP little icing\_sugar from in sieve fine [in:DEF-face  
 of:DEF-cake]  
 ‘Spread a little icing sugar through a fine sieve [on the surface of the cake].’

Since there is a distinct  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$  that is dedicated to the expression of SUPERIOR this category cannot be downgraded to the rank of a reading. The II we are alluding to is (II17) *fuq* ‘on’. A context similar to that in (5.228b) is given in (5.229) where (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ is used instead of (II15) *fī* ‘in’.

(5.229) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news186628]

*Itfa’ naqra ġobon Parmeġjan [fuq il-wiċċ]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 throw.IMP a\_bit cheese Parmesan [on DEF-face]  
 ‘Sprinkle a bit of Parmesan cheese [on top].’

As is clearly visible from Figure 5.45, (II15) *fī* ‘in’ is the primary option not only when it comes to expressing SUPERIOR in combination with *il-wiċċ* ‘the face’ as complement but also in combination with *il-qieġh* ‘the bottom’ and *il-ġżira* ‘the island’. In the Korpus Malti 3.0, (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ takes these complements between five and thirty-four times less frequently than its competitor (II15) *fī* ‘in’. However, other complement nouns such as *is-siġġu* ‘the chair’, *il-pjaneta* ‘the planet’, and *il-mejda* ‘the table’ give evidence of a strong preference for (II17) *fuq* ‘on’. With these complements, (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ is attested from two to 3,510 times more often than (II15) *fī* ‘in’.



**Figure 5.45:** Competition between (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ and (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ in combination with six different complements (Korpus Malti 3.0).

The referents of the complement nouns mentioned in Figure 5.45 can be conceived of as objects with a relatively huge surface that functions as Ground in the spatial situation. The Figure is placed on(to) the surface. No clear picture emerges from Figure 5.45. Some surfaces display a preference for (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ and others for (Π15) *fi* ‘in’. The shares of the two contestants are always separated by a huge gap. This differential distribution over complement nouns calls for a dedicated in-depth study that must be conducted separately in the future. For the time being, we tentatively conclude that (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ attests to polysemy and that this Π can express SUPERIOR provided the Ground is a sizable horizontal surface. The criterion SURFACE will return in the section on synonymy below.

A subsection was dedicated to a sketch of the functional overlap between (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ (otherwise associated with the INTERESSIVE) and the MEDIOESSIVE markers (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’ and (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’.<sup>191</sup> Since both the INTERESSIVE and the MEDIOESSIVE situate the Figure in a position in the middle of a distributed Ground that may consist of two or more entities, the configurations MEDIAL<sub>1</sub> – MEDIAL<sub>2</sub> are distinguished. The examples in (5.230) reflect this distinction.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.14.



(5.230) MEDIAL<sub>1</sub> – MEDIAL<sub>2</sub>

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic376]

*L-Art            principali   tinsab                            [bejn            il-latitudni*  
 DEF-ground   principal   3SG.F.IPFV:REFL:find   **[between   DEF-latitude**  
*ta' 49° u            ta' 59° N]*<sub>pp</sub>  
*of 49° and   of 59° N]*

‘The mainland is located **[between latitudes 49° and 59° N]**.’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature59]

*lanqas       kien   laħaq   wasal   nofs   triq   jimbotta*  
 not\_even   be   reach   arrive   half   street   3SG.M.IPFV:push  
*[bejn            in-nies]*<sub>pp</sub>   u            jipprova            jikkonċentra            fuq  
**[between   DEF-people]**   and   3SG.M.IPFV:try   3SG.M.IPFV:concentrate   on  
*x'       qed   jagħmel            imbeżża'   li       jinsa                            li       ma*  
 what   PROG   3SG.M.IPFV:do   PART:fear   that   3SG.M.IPFV:forget   that   NEG  
*bediex       jaqta'                            qalbu*  
 begin:NEG   3SG.M.IPFV:cut   heart:3SG.M

‘[. . .] he hadn’t even reached halfway, pushing **[between the people]** and trying to concentrate on what he was doing, afraid that he would forget, that he didn’t start to give up.’

Conceptually, being located between two entities or amongst a larger group of entities are two situations that are related to each other. However, neither the INTERESSIVE nor the MEDIOESSIVE can be claimed to represent but a reading of the one or the other. This results from the impossibility of replacing (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ with either (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’ or (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ when the intended meaning is that of the INTERESSIVE, i.e., when MEDIAL<sub>2</sub> applies. In contrast, (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ is a licit replacement of (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’ and (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ in situations that can be labelled MEDIOESSIVE. The MEDIAL<sub>1</sub> constitutes the zone of competition of the three IIs. This competition will concern us again.<sup>192</sup> What is important in the context of polysemy is the fact that in the case of (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’, the distinction of MEDIAL<sub>1</sub> vs MEDIAL<sub>2</sub> has repercussions on the expression side because MEDIAL<sub>1</sub> triggers a construction that differs structurally from that triggered by MEDIAL<sub>2</sub>. All IIs expressing MEDIAL<sub>1</sub> – be it (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’, (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’, or (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ – take a complement that is plural or collective. All entities that make up the distributed Ground are representatives of the same ontological category. The constructions used for the MEDIAL<sub>2</sub> involve two distinct identifiable entities that together form the distributed Ground but do not have to belong to the same onto-

<sup>192</sup> In Section 5.2.1.4.4.2 on synonymy.

logical class. This is a characteristic of (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ in INTERESSIVE function. The complements can be singular. More often than not, the MEDIAL<sub>2</sub> goes along with the overt coordination of the two complements. There are thus functional as well as formal reasons for considering (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ a genuine case of polysemy.

The last case to be inspected in this section is (II33) *matul* ‘during’ and its employment for LONGITUDO<sub>1</sub> and LONGITUDO<sub>2</sub>. In (5.231), the two contexts in which this II is used are illustrated again.

(5.231) LONGITUDO<sub>1</sub> – LONGITUDO<sub>2</sub>

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news86289]

*Dawn it-tabelli jinsabu fil-passaġġ riservat*  
 DEM:PL:PROX DEF-sign:PL 3.IPFV:REFL:find:PL in:DEF-passage reserve:PART  
*għaċ-ċiklisti [matul il-kosta ta’ Wied il-Għajn]<sub>PP</sub>*  
 for:DEF-cyclist:PL [during DEF-coast of Wied il-Għajn]  
 ‘These signs are found in the passage reserved for cyclists [along the coast of Wied il- Għajn].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature3]

*Kien jidher ċar li xi ħadd kien daħal*  
 be 3SG.M.IPFV:be\_visible clear that some someone be enter  
*fl-iskola [matul il-weekend]<sub>PP</sub> imma ħadd ma kien*  
 in:DEF-school [during DEF-weekend] but someone NEG be  
*jaf min*  
 know who  
 ‘It was clear that someone had entered the school [during the weekend], but no one knew who.’

As is known from the previous discussion,<sup>193</sup> LONGITUDO<sub>1</sub> and LONGITUDO<sub>2</sub> reflect the distinction of spatial (= (a)-sentence) and temporal (= (b)-sentence) uses of (II33) *matul* ‘during’. In both cases, the referent of the complement noun is conceived of as an entity that is extended on a dimension – an extension that can be interpreted as length. The Ground in (5.231a) stretches as far as the topographic object reaches. In (5.231b), the break-in happened in a period of time that spans over a weekend. There is no compelling reason to assume that *matul*<sub>SPATIAL</sub> and *matul*<sub>TEMPORAL</sub> are categorically distinct to classify this as a case of polysemy. What can be done instead is interpreting the one as a special reading of the other. Given the conceptual primacy of space over time (Heine/Claudi/Hünemeyer 1991), we assume that *matul*<sub>TEMPORAL</sub> is a metonymical reading of *matul*<sub>SPATIAL</sub>. Thus, (II33) *matul* ‘during’ is not involved in polysemy.

193 Cf. Section 5.2.1.4.2.

#### 5.2.1.4.4.1.2 Treble *minn*

Three earlier subsections contain information about the ABLATIVE, the PERLATIVE, and the PROLATIVE all of which are expressed by (Π41) *minn* ‘from’.<sup>194</sup> The question was asked whether it makes sense to distinguish the PERLATIVE from the PROLATIVE since the distribution of the two meanings over combinations with configurational IIs is complementary.<sup>195</sup> An economic alternative account would subsume both meanings under the general category Path. The complementary distribution is a strong argument in favour of the alternative analysis. However, there is a formal property of the PROLATIVE that suggests that treating PERLATIVE and PROLATIVE as two distinct functions is at least as compelling a solution as lumping all Path categories together. The formal difference between *minn*<sub>PERLATIVE</sub> and *minn*<sub>PROLATIVE</sub> has been mentioned already in the discussion of the data presented in Table 5.16. As with *minn*<sub>ABLATIVE</sub> (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ can never be omitted from a PERLATIVE construction (but cf. below). In contrast to this mandatory use of the Π, (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ is optional in PROLATIVE constructions.

In what follows we skip the ABLATIVE use of (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ because it poses no analytical problems. In contrast, the PERLATIVE and PROLATIVE uses of the same Π do. In (5.232), we provide two further examples of the verb *ghadda* ‘pass’ combined with a *minn*-PP whose interpretation is context-dependent.

#### (5.232) PERLATIVE-PROLATIVE I

##### (a) PERLATIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news6697]

*Minn hemmhekk beda l-korteo lejn*  
 from there begin DEF-funeral\_procession towards  
*il-Belt Valletta li ghadda [minn diversi rhula]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-city Valletta that pass [from diverse:PL village.PL]  
 ‘From there the funeral procession started towards Valletta that passed  
 [through several villages] [...]’

##### (b) PROLATIVE – [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl217]

*Nixtieq niġbed l-attenzjoni tal-Ministru li*  
 1SG.IPFV:want 1SG.IPFV:draw DEF-attention of:DEF-minister that  
*quddiem fejn kien il-Comet il-Furjana fil-lane ta’*  
 in\_front\_of where be DEF-Comet DEF-Floriana in:DEF-lane of  
*barra hemm hofra kbira li kuljum ikolli*  
 outside there hole big:F that every\_day 3SG.M.IPFV:have.FUT:1SG

<sup>194</sup> Cf. Sections 5.1.2.2.8, 5.1.2.2.20.2 and 5.1.2.2.20.3.

<sup>195</sup> In the final paragraph of Section 5.2.1.4.3.2.

*nghaddi* [mill-*ġenb*]<sub>PP</sub> *biex* *nevitaha*  
 1SG.IPFV:pass [from:DEF-side] to 1SG.IPFV:avoid:3SG.F  
 'I'd like to draw the minister's attention [to the fact] that in front of the Comet, in Floriana, there is a big hole in the outer lane that I will have to [pass by sideways] to avoid it.'

As to the (a)-sentence, it is unlikely that the funeral cortege passes the villages by. On the contrary, there is independent evidence of the march passing through the village streets since this is what happens traditionally in Malta. This is different in the case of the (b)-sentence. The speaker does not want his car to be damaged by way of passing through the big hole in the street. This is why he drives along the side of the hole. Admittedly, examples of the latter kind are definitely rare in the Korpus Malti 3.0. PERLATIVES abound whereas PROLATIVES without additional configuration marker are attested only infrequently.

The different behaviour of PERLATIVE and PROLATIVE comes to the fore when combinations with configurational IIs are looked at. In (5.233), we see that *minn*<sub>PROLATIVE</sub> can either be absent or present if the motion verb *ghadda* 'pass' is used together with the  $\Pi_{\text{config}}$  (II49) *quddiem* 'in front of'.

(5.233) PROLATIVE without and with (II41) *minn* 'from'

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news130490]

*qabel* *ma* *bdew* *it-tigrija* *ħadu* *sehem* *fi* *sfilata*  
 before that begin:3PL.PFV DEF-race take:3PL.PFV part in parade  
*fejn* *ghaddew* [Ø *quddiem* *il-pubbliku* *preżenti*]<sub>PP</sub>  
 where PASS:3PL.PFV [Ø in\_front\_of DEF-public present]  
*rekbin* *fuq* *żwiemel*  
 ride.PART:PL on horse.PL

'[. . .] before they started the race they took part in a parade where they passed [in front of the present public] riding on horses [. . .].'

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news169292]

*It-tiri* *fuq* *il-Każin* *Nazzjonalista* [. . .] *kienu* *sparati*  
 DEF-shot:PL on DEF-club nationalist be:3PL.PFV shot:PART:PL  
*minn* *karozza* *li* *ghaddiet* [*minn* *quddiem* *il-Każin*]<sub>PP</sub>.  
 from car that pass:3SG.F.PFV [from in\_front\_of DEF-club]  
 'The shots on the Nationalist Club [. . .] were fired from a car that passed [in front of the Club].'

It does not seem to matter whether (II41) *minn* 'from' is there or not since the combination of motion verb and configuration marker only allows for a PROLATIVE

interpretation. The configuration expressed by (Π49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ is incompatible with a PERLATIVE reading. As claimed repeatedly above, *minn*<sub>PERLATIVE</sub> is not normally omitted from combinations with configuration markers so that we assume it to be mandatory. However, there is marginal (and perhaps also doubtful) evidence of dropped *minn*<sub>PERLATIVE</sub> too in the Korpus Malti 3.0 as the examples in (5.234) show.

(5.234) PERLATIVE without and with (Π41) *minn* ‘from’

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl12197]

*Jista’ l-Ministru jghin biex tinbidel*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:can DEF-minister 3SG.M.IPFV:help to 3SG.F.IPFV:REFL:change  
*ir-rotta 136 minn kif inhi bħalissa u tibia*  
 DEF-route\_136 from how 3SG.F presently and 3SG.F.IPFV:start  
*tghaddi [minn ġewwa il-Mosta]<sub>pp</sub> wara li titlaq*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:pass [from inside DEF-Mosta] after that 3SG.F.IPFV:leave  
*mill-Għargħur qabel ma tinzel Birkirkara*  
 from:DEF-Għargħur before that 3SG.F.IPFV:descend Birkirkara  
 ‘Can the minister help to change [the] route [of bus line] 136 from what it is  
 now so that it starts to go [through Mosta] after it leaves Għargħur before  
 it goes down to Birkirkara?’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl10052]

*Ninsab infurmat li r-residenti tal-Kappara*  
 1SG.IPFV:REFL:find inform:PART that DEF-resident:PL of:DEF-Kappara  
*se jkollhom rotta ċirkulari bin-numru 123*  
 FUT 3SG.M.IPFV:have.FUT:3PL route circular with:DEF-number\_123  
*li titlaq mill-Park & Ride ta’ Pembroke*  
 that 3SG.F.IPFV:leave from:DEF-Park\_&\_Ride of Pembroke  
*tghaddi [Ø ġewwa l-Kappara]<sub>pp</sub> tibqa’ sejra*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:pass [Ø inside DEF-Kappara] 3SG.F.IPFV:remain go.PART:F  
*lejn l-Isptar Mater Dei u terġa’ lura*  
 towards DEF-Hospital Mater Dei and 3SG.F.IPFV:do\_again back  
*lejn il-Park & Ride ta’ Pembroke*  
 towards DEF-Park\_&\_Ride of Pembroke  
 ‘I am informed that the residents of Kappara will have a circular bus ser-  
 vice with the number 123 that starts from the Park & Ride in Pembroke,  
 passes [through Kappara], keeps going towards the Mater Dei Hospital and  
 returns back to the Park & Ride in Pembroke.’

Both examples are situated in the context of parliamentary debates about the new system of public transportation in Malta. In most cases, the situation that involves a route passing through a village is described by the combination of the directionality

marker (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ and the configuration marker (Π18) *gewwa* ‘inside’. The former is absent which is clearly exceptional. Its absence is certainly by far less frequent than in the case of *minn*<sub>PROLATIVE</sub>. If the different behaviour of *minn*<sub>PERLATIVE</sub> and *minn*<sub>PROLATIVE</sub> turns out not to be as categorical as originally suggested by us, there is still the possibility that the two directionality markers are prone to being omitted to noticeably different degrees.

In sum, the situation is not entirely clear and thus calls for further in-depth investigations. For the time being, we assume that it is possible to distinguish between *minn*<sub>PERLATIVE</sub> and *minn*<sub>PROLATIVE</sub> with the proviso that future research might reveal that there is only *minn*<sub>path</sub> with two context-dependent readings.

#### 5.2.1.4.4.2 Synonymy

This section is dedicated to the discussion of potential cases of synonymy as featured in Table 5.21 for configuration markers and separately for directionality markers.<sup>196</sup> The latter are addressed first<sup>197</sup> whereas the more numerous cases of supposed or real synonymy in the domain of configuration are discussed afterwards.<sup>198</sup>

##### 5.2.1.4.4.2.1 Synonymy of directionality markers

According to the schema presented in Figure 5.34, (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ and (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ are functionally very close to each other as markers of DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub> and DIRECTIONAL<sub>2</sub>. Superficially, the examples in (5.235) seem to support the idea of full synonymy between the two Πs.

(5.235) DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub> = DIRECTIONAL<sub>2</sub> – #1

(a) (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news126071]<sup>199</sup>

<i>Dak</i>	<i>it-traffiku</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>jkun</i>	<i>ġej</i>	<i>minn</i>
DEM:M:DIST	DEF-traffic	that	3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT	come.PART	from
<i>Triq Rudolfu</i>	<i>biex imur</i>		<i>[għal Triq il-Katidral]</i> <sub>pp</sub>		
Triq Rudolfu	to	3SG.M.IPFV:go	[for Triq il-Katidral]		
<i>jgħaddi</i>	<i>Triq l-Annunzjata</i>	<i>Triq San Publiju</i>	<i>Triq San Pietru</i>		
3SG.M.IPFV:pass	Triq l-Annunzjata	Triq San Publiju	Triq San Pietru		

<sup>196</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.2.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.4.4.2.1.

<sup>198</sup> In the six subsections of Section 5.2.1.4.4.2.2.

<sup>199</sup> Note that we interpret the use of *jgħaddi* ‘s/he passes’ in combination with the bare street names as PROLATIVE constructions as the motion event involves a Figure (the traffic) that moves along a horizontally extended Ground (the street(s)).

*u jidħol fi Triq il-Katidral*

and 3SG.M.IPFV:enter in Triq il-Katidral

‘This traffic that will be coming from Triq Rudolfu to go [**towards** Triq il-Katidral] passes through Triq l-Annunzjata, Triq San Publiju, Triq San Pietru and enters Triq il-Katidral.’

- (b) (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news192722]

*il-grupp ta’ partitarji Laburisti mar [lejn Triq il-Kbira*

DEF-group of partisan:PL Labour go [**towards** Triq il-Kbira

*f’ Birkirkara]*<sub>pp</sub>

*in Birkirkara]*

‘[. . .] the group of Labour partisans went [**towards** Triq il-Kbira in Birkirkara] [. . .].’

In both sentences, the predicate nucleus is the motion verb *mar* ‘go’ which is indicative of motion Goal-directed motion. The Ground is represented by a street name in (a) as well as in (b). The motion is telic in the sense that the Figure eventually reaches the Ground. In (5.235a), (II21) *għal* ‘for’ is employed to link the verb to the street name whereas it is (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ that is chosen for the same task in (5.235b). We assume that in these sentences the two IIs may replace each other without causing semantic changes.

However, the interchangeability of the two directionality markers does not apply blindly. It seems to be licit only if the Ground is a concrete physical entity such as the toponymically identified settlements in (5.236).

- (5.236) DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub> = DIRECTIONAL<sub>2</sub> – #2

- (a) (II21) *għal* ‘for’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news83254]

*Minn Port Said l-HMS Cricket telqet [għal Lixandra]*<sub>pp</sub>

from Port Said DEF-HMS Cricket leave:3SG.F.PFV [**for** Alexandria]

*minn fejn imbagħad kellha titlaq [għal*

from where then have.PFV:3SG.F 3SG.F.IPFV:leave [**for**

Derna fil-Libja]<sub>pp</sub>

*Derna in:DEF-Libya]*

‘From Port Said HMS Cricket left [**for** Alexandria] from where she then had to leave [**for** Derna in Libya] [. . .].’

- (b) (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news119253]

*mar għand il-parrukkier biex jaqta’ xagħru*

go at\_s.o.’s\_place DEF-hairdresser to 3SG.M.IPFV:cut hair:3SG.M

*qabel jitlaq [lejn Ruma]*<sub>pp</sub>

before 3SG.M.IPFV:leave [**towards** Rome]

‘[. . .] he went to the hairdresser to cut his hair before leaving [**for** Rome].’

If, however, the Ground belongs to a different ontological class, the possibility of replacing one *II* with the other diminishes drastically. In (5.237) for instance, we find (II21) *għal* ‘for’ being used twice with indefinite complements which represent the Ground of a motion event. The Ground is not a proper place but an event, namely an interview and a debate.

- (5.237) DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub> with abstract Ground – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news33986]  
*Jiena mort [għal intervista]<sub>pp</sub> ma mortx [għal*  
 1SG go:1SG.PFV [for interview] NEG go:1SG.PFV:NEG [for  
*dibattitu]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*debate]*  
 ‘I went [to an interview], I did not go [to a debate].’

In cases of this kind, the replacement of (II21) *għal* ‘for’ with (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ is subject to restrictions. In the Korpus Malti 3.0, there is no evidence of the latter taking *intervista* ‘interview’ as a definite or indefinite complement when the predicate nucleus is *mar* ‘go’. We only find it occasionally in combination with *ħares* ‘look’ as in (5.238a). The complement *dibattitu* ‘debate’ on the other hand, is attested in *lejn*-PPs which depend on *mar* ‘go’ but only if the metonymy applies, i.e., the motion event is abstract as in (5.238b).

- (5.238) DIRECTIONAL<sub>2</sub> with different Grounds
- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl4709]  
*nahseb li tkun xi ħaġa logika li ma*  
 1SG.IPFV:think that 3SG.F.IPFV:be.FUT some thing logical:F that NEG  
*tharisx biss [lejn l-intervista]<sub>pp</sub> imma*  
 2SG.IPFV:look:NEG only [towards DEF-interview] but  
*thares ukoll [lejn it-track record]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 2SG.IPFV:look also [towards DEF-track record]  
 ‘[. . .] I think that it will be logical that you do not only look [at the interview] but that you also look [at the track record] [. . .].’
- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news83872]  
*Meta smajt bil-ħatra ta’ Dr Tonio Portuguese bħala*  
 when hear:1SG.PFV with:DEF-bet of Dr Tonio Portuguese as  
*Ċermen tal-Bord tad-Diretturi tal-PBS ħsiebi*  
 chairman of:DEF-Board of:DEF-director:PL of:DEF-PBS thought:1SG  
*dlonk mar [lejn id-dibattitu li kien sar qabel*  
 suddenly go [towards DEF-debate that be become before  
*l-elezzjoni tal-1987]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-election:PL of:DEF-1987]



‘When I heard of the bet of Dr Tonio Portuguese as chairman of the Board of Directors of the PBS my thoughts suddenly went [to the debate that had taken place before the elections of 1987] [. . .].’

According to Aquilina (1987: 507), *ħares* ‘look’ normally requires (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ to introduce the participant that is looked at. In this context, the use of (II21) *għal* ‘for’ is not permitted.<sup>200</sup> There are thus no examples of this II in constructions as that given in the (a)-sentence. As to the (b)-sentence, we have only one piece of evidence of (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ being used in a construction that expresses a metonymical motion event involving the verb *mar* ‘go’. In this case, the speaker’s thoughts are described as going back in his memory to an earlier event that resembles the one that the speaker is currently witnessing. (II21) *għal* ‘for’ occurs twelve times as often as linker between *mar* ‘go’ and *dibattitu* ‘debate’ – and in each of these cases the debate is an event that takes place at a venue to which the Figure has to go in order to participate in the debate. Neither metonymy nor metaphor can be made responsible for the use of this II.

To determine whether there is a pattern according to which DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub> and DIRECTIONAL<sub>2</sub> differ in terms of their distribution, we look at eight different nouns that serve as complement in DIRECTIONAL PPs and which refer to events and/or places where certain events take place, namely *audition* ‘audition’, *intervista* ‘interview’, *konferenza* ‘conference’, *lezzjoni* ‘lecture’, *meeting* ‘meeting’, *party* ‘party’, *tournament* ‘tournament’, and *training camp* ‘training camp’ (five of which are recent loans from English). We have searched the Korpus Malti 3.0 for cooccurrences of these nouns (with and without definiteness proclitic) and forms of the verb *mar* ‘go’. The results are telling as becomes immediately clear when we look at Figure 5.46. In seven out of eight cases, the results show that (II21) *għal* ‘for’ is preferred over (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ with the latter being excluded from combinations with five of the complement nouns. With each of the three remaining complement nouns, (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ is attested only once. *Tournament* ‘tournament’ is the only noun that combines equally infrequently with both of the IIs. In all other cases, (II21) *għal* ‘for’ is attested several times peaking at thirty-six attested combinations

<sup>200</sup> The rare occasions in which (II21) *għal* ‘for’ is attested in combination with *ħares* ‘look’ trigger a different reading of the verb, namely as translation equivalent of English *keep*, *save* as in (5.xi).

(5.xi) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl6802]  
*Il-Polonja per eżempju wkoll ipposponew id-data tagħhom u*  
 DEF-Poland for example also postpone:3PL.PFV DEF-date of:3PL and  
*ħarsu [għal data aktar ’il quddiem]*<sub>PP</sub>  
 look:3PL.PFV [for date more to in front of]  
 ‘Poland for instance, postponed its date too and saved it [for a later date].’

with *konferenza* ‘conference’. On the basis of these frequencies, we conclude that (II21) *għal* ‘for’ is the preferred option when concrete movement to an event has to be expressed whereas (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ is given preference when the motion event is abstract or metonymic.



**Figure 5.46:** Competition of DIRECTIONAL I + II with eight complement nouns (verb: *mar* ‘go’) in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

Accordingly, we further assume that DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub> and DIRECTIONAL<sub>2</sub> are only partially synonymous. The domains of (II21) *għal* ‘for’ and (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ overlap only to a certain extent. The issue is not straightforward as results from the brief discussion of two further areas of competition of (II21) *għal* ‘for’ and (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’. In (5.239), examples of these IIs are presented where they depend on the higher PP *fi triqtu* ‘on his way’.

(5.239) DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub> = DIRECTIONAL<sub>2</sub> – #3

(a) (II21) *għal* ‘for’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news77696]

*Il-pilota ta’ ajruplan tar-Royal Air Maroc mexxa*

DEF-pilot of aeroplane of:DEF-Royal\_Air\_Maroc go.CAUS

*l-ajruplan inkwistjoni direttament għal għol-Muntanji Atlas*

DEF-aeroplane in\_question directly for in:DEF-Mountain:PL\_Atlas

*ftit wara li kien tela’ minn Agadir fi triqtu*

little after that be ascend from Agadir in street:POSS:3SG.M

[*għal* *Casablanca*]<sub>pp</sub>

[*for* *Casablanca*]

‘The pilot of the aeroplane of Royal Air Maroc directed the said aeroplane directly into the Atlas Mountains shortly after he had left from Agadir on his way [*to Casablanca*].’

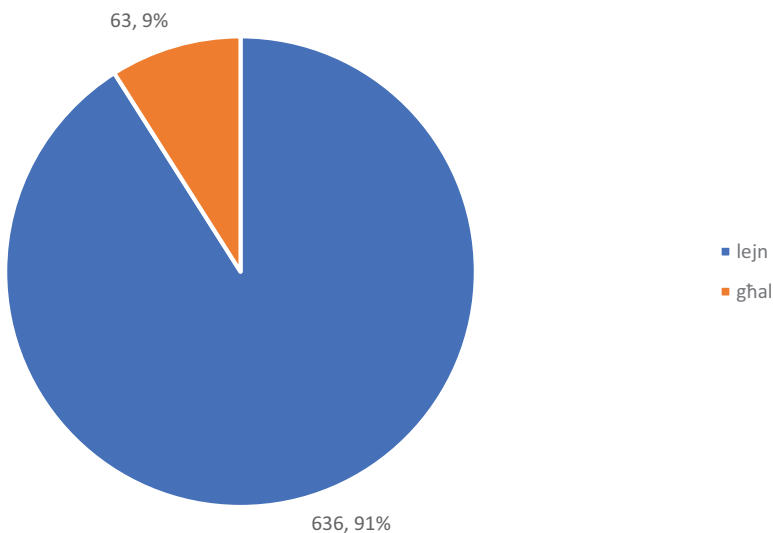
- (b) (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news13404]

*L-ajruplan kien inħataf fi-23 ta’ Novembru 1985 ftit*  
 DEF-aeroplane be REFL:snatch in:DEF-23 of November 1985 little  
*wara li telaq minn Ateni fi triqtu [lejn*  
 after that leave from Athens in street:POSS:3SG.M [*towards*  
*il-Kajr]*<sub>pp</sub>

*DEF-Cairo*

‘The aeroplane was captured on 23 November 1985 shortly after it left Athens on its way [*to Cairo*].’

Both competitors are admitted to the same construction with no apparent meaning difference. However, there is a pronounced preference for (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ that comes to the fore in Figure 5.47. The token frequencies reported there are those of (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ and (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ following *fi triqtu* ‘on his way’. We have not taken account of the construction involving a possessor other than the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular masculine.



**Figure 5.47:** Token frequencies of DIRECTIONAL I + II in combination with *fi triqtu* ‘on his way’ in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

(II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ is attested ten times as often as (II21) *għal* ‘for’ in this context. It can be considered the default option when it comes to expressing directionality in association with a planned route.

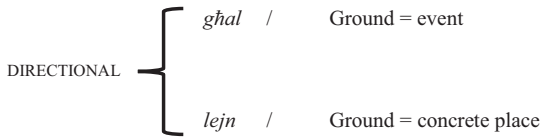
The second case to comment upon shortly is connected to the verb *resaq* ‘approach’.<sup>201</sup> Aquilina (1991: 1207) clearly distinguishes *resaq* + *lejn*-PP from *resaq* + *għal*-PP. In the former case, (tentative) motion towards a concrete or abstract Goal whereas (II21) *għal* ‘for’ is exclusively used in constructions that refer to examinations or similar events. Examples are given in (5.240).

(5.240) DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub> ≠ DIRECTIONAL<sub>2</sub>

- (a) (II21) *għal* ‘for’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl7924]  
*Jista’ l-Ministru jgħid kemm-il persuna*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:can DEF-minister 3SG.M.IPFV:say how\_many person  
*resqet [għal eżami tas-sewqan]<sub>PP</sub> kategorija b’*  
 approach:3SG.F.PFV [for exam of:DEF-driving] category with  
*kategorija xahar b’ xahar din is-sena*  
 category month with month DEM:F:PROX DEF-year  
 ‘Can the minister say how many persons sat [for the driving exam] category by category, month by month this year?’
- (b) (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature29]  
*Nizlet it-taraġ bla ħoss u resqet*  
 descend:3SG.F.PFV DEF-stairs without sound and approach:3SG.F.PFV  
*[lejn il-presejju]<sub>PP</sub> bil-lajma*  
 [towards DEF-Christmas crib] with:DEF-slowness  
 ‘She went down the stairs without a sound and went slowly close [to the Christmas crib].’

We take (5.240a) as a further piece of evidence for the predilection of (II21) *għal* ‘for’ to take complement nouns which refer to events. In contrast, (5.240b) involves (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’ as head of a PP that identifies the Ground towards which the Figure moves. The data that we have looked at so far are suggestive of different functional preferences of the two directionals. In Figure 5.48, these preferences are characterised as physical places and events. We emphasise that we are talking about more or less strong preferences and not about strictly disjunct functional subdomains.

<sup>201</sup> Cf. also Section 5.2.1.4.4.2.2.1.



**Figure 5.48:** Different preferences of the two DIRECTIONALS.

The supposed synonymy of (Π21) *ghal* ‘for’ and (Π28) *lejn* ‘towards’ is only partial. The exact nature of the relation between the two DIRECTIONALS can be determined only in the course of a dedicated in-depth study which is beyond the goals of our own project.

#### 5.2.1.4.4.2.2 Synonymy of configuration markers

In the previous section, we have shown that the extent of the synonymy of DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub> and DIRECTIONAL<sub>2</sub> is limited. It is time now to put synonymy to the test also with configuration markers. In previous sections, we have learned already that there indeed are contexts in which different IIs compete with each other to express PROPINQUUS, INTERIOR, MEDIAL<sub>1</sub>, FRONS, LONGITUDO<sub>1</sub>, or SUPERIOR. The guiding question for the subsequent section is however, whether this functional equivalence is punctual or covers the entire range of contexts in which the individual IIs are attested.

##### 5.2.1.4.4.2.2.1 PROPINQUUS

There are eight IIs for which physical closeness to the Ground is registered as main or secondary feature, namely (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’, (Π14) *fejn* ‘near’, (Π23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’, (Π30) *ma* ‘with’, (Π31) *madwar* ‘around’, (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’, (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’, and (Π58) *viċin* ‘near’. If we go beyond the basic fact that the above IIs convey the idea that the distance between Figure and Ground is relatively small, the behaviour of the IIs is too heterogeneous to define them as a set of full synonyms. That homogeneity does not apply can be shown inter alia by way of determining which member of the group of eight is compatible with what kind of complement (in terms of the complement’s semantics).

For a start, we search the Korpus Malti 3.0 for instances of Π<sub>PROPINQUUS</sub> + (*il-*) *ġenb* ‘(the) side’ in order to see whether the lateral position of the Figure relative to the Ground plays any role in the choice of Π. The examples in (5.241) prove that only five out of eight PROPINQUUS IIs are compatible with the complement noun *ġenb* ‘side’.

(5.241) PROPINQUUS IIs in combination with (*il-)*ġenb ‘(the) side’

- (a) (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; european2998]  
*id-dispożizzjonijiet li jeżistu kienu inadegwati*  
 DEF-disposition:PL that 3.IPFV:exist:PL be:3PL.PFV inadequate:PL  
*fir-rigward tal-kamp ta’ vizjoni fiż-żona*  
 in:DEF-regard of:DEF-field of vision in:DEF-zone  
*[biswit il-ġenb ta’ l-istruttura tal-kabina faċċata tas-sewwieq]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[facing DEF-side of DEF-structure of:DEF-cabin opposite of:DEF-driver]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 ‘[. . .] the extant dispositions were inadequate as to the field of vision in the zone [**near** the side of the cabin’s structure opposite the diver].’
- (b) (II14) *fejn* ‘near’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news165677]  
*il-vann ukoll soffra daqqiet kbar [fejn il-ġenb tan-naħa*  
 DEF-van also suffer stroke:PL big.PL [**near** DEF-side of:DEF-side  
*tas-sewwieq]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*of:DEF-driver]*  
 ‘[. . .] the van too suffered heavy blows [**near** the driver’s side] [. . .].’
- (c) (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news78120]  
*spikka fost oħrajn is-Sindku ta’ Ħal Safi Pietru Pawl Busuttill*  
 stand\_out among other.PL DEF-mayor of Ħal Safi Pietru Pawl Busuttill  
*li mar [ħdejn il-ġenb]<sub>pp</sub> bil-ħgieġ tal-karożza u bi*  
 that go [**beside** DEF-side] with:DEF-glass of:DEF-car and with  
*ffjura f’ idu beda jibki*  
 flower in hand:3SG.M begin 3SG.M.IPFV:weep  
 ‘[. . .] among others the mayor of Ħal Safi, Pietru Pawl Busuttill, stood out who went [**near** the side] with the glass of the car and a flower in his hands began to weep [. . .].’
- (d) (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; european8062]  
*Għall-vetturi li jkollhom kapacità li ma*  
 for:DEF-vehicle:PL that 3SG.M.IPFV:have.FUT:3PL capacity that NEG  
*teċċedix 22 passiġġier fil-każ ta’ sedili*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:exceed:NEG 22 passenger in:DEF-case of seat:PL  
*[maġenb il-ġenb tal-vettura]<sub>pp</sub> l-ispażju disponibbli*  
*[close to DEF-side of:DEF-vehicle] DEF-space available*  
*m’ għandux jinkludi fil-parti ta’ fuq*  
 NEG have:3SG.M:NEG 3SG.M.IPFV:include in:DEF-part of above  
*tiegħu zona triangolari 20 mm wiesa bi 100 mm għolja*  
 of:3SG.M zone triangular 20 mm wide:F with 100 mm high:F  
 ‘For the vehicles whose capacity does not exceed 22 passengers, in the case of seats [**close to** the side of the vehicle], the available space must not include in its upper part a triangular zone 22 mm wide and 100 mm high.’

- (e) (Π30) *ma* ‘with’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature21]  
 [Mal-*ġenb*      *tas-sodda*]<sub>PP</sub>    *kien*    *hemm*    *bħal*    *komodina*    *maħduma*  
 [with:DEF-side    of:DEF-bed]    be    there    like    cupboard    PART:make:F  
*raffa*  
 rough:F  
 ‘[At the side of the bed] there was something like a bedside cupboard with  
 a rough surface [. . .].’

It is especially remarkable that in the (d)-sentence, (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ takes *ġenb* ‘side’ as complement although the Π itself comprises this noun as one of its two components. This means that (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ is no longer transparent as to its internal makeup to the Maltese speakers. As to the (e)-sentence, it remains doubtful whether the use of (Π30) *ma* ‘with’ implies that Figure and Ground are two pieces of furniture that are placed in such a way that they touch each other. Discounting this uncertainty for the time being, what can be said about the different Πs in (5.241) is that they are probably interchangeable in constructions that involve the above complement noun. Lateral position of the Figure can be expressed by each of them. It must be strongly emphasised, however, that cases of this kind are generally infrequent in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

The absentees from (5.241) are also interesting. The absence of (Π31) *madwar* ‘around’ is largely self-explanatory since this Π typically requires a complement noun whose referent is an object that can be surrounded or circled by a Figure. This is not the case with *ġenb* ‘side’ because a side always forms part of a larger entity and thus can neither be surrounded nor circled in isolation from the larger unit. More striking is the absence of (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’ and (Π58) *viċin* ‘near’ because, superficially, their meaning seems to be rather neutral so that one would expect them to be compatible also with *ġenb* ‘side’ in analogy to the other Πs in (5.241). This noun is also a body-part term which may be translated as *flank* or *hip* in English (Aquilina 1987: 386). Its partial synonym *naħa* ‘side’ however, does not directly associate with a given part of the body (Aquilina 1991: 882). The former lexeme is clearly referring to the lateral part of an entity whereas the latter is not specialised for indicating the lateral part of a given object. Accordingly, the three Πs which never show up in combination with *ġenb* ‘side’ are attested (albeit infrequently) with *naħa* ‘side’ in the Korpus Malti 3.0 as the examples in (5.242) confirm.

(5.242) PROPINQUOUS Πs combining with *naħa* ‘side’ I

- (a) (Π31) *madwar* ‘around’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1782]  
*Bit-tluq*                      *mix-xatt*                      *ta’*    *tas-Sliema*    *id-dgħajsa*  
 with:DEF-departure    from:DEF-beach    of    Sliema            DEF-boat

*imbagħad tbaħħar [madwar in-naħa t' isfel ta'*  
 then 3SG.F.IPFV:navigate [around DEF-side of down of  
Malta]<sub>pp</sub>  
Malta]

'With the departure from the beach of Sliema the boat then navigates  
 [around the southern part of Malta] [. . .]'

- (b) (II48) *qrib* 'near' – [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl224]

*għadd kbir ta' residenti li jabitaw u/jew qegħdin*  
 number big of resident:PL that 3.IPFV:inhabit:PL and/or PROG:PL  
*jibnu [qrib in-naħa taċ-Ċimiterju ta' Haż Żabbar]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 3.IPFV:build:PL [near DEF-side of:DEF-cemetery of Haż Żabbar]  
*qegħdin joġġezzjonaw għal estensjoni ta' l-istess Ċimiterju*  
 PROG:PL 3.IPFV:object:PL for extension of DEF-same cemetery  
 '[. . .] numerous residents who live and /or are constructing houses [near the  
 cemetery of Haż Żabbar] are objecting against the extension of said cemetery.'

- (c) (II58) *viċin* 'near' – [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl325]<sup>202</sup>

*B' referenza għad-domanda tiegħi numru 21699 biex*  
 with reference for:DEF-question of:1SG number 21699 to  
*fix-Xatt tal-Kalkara l-parti [viċin in-naħa tal-bandli*  
 in:DEF-shore of:DEF-Kalkara DEF-part [near DEF-side of:DEF-swing:PL  
*fejn kien beda xogħol]*<sub>pp</sub> *biex parti mill-baħar tiġi*  
 where be begin work] to part from:DEF-sea 3SG.F.IPFV:come  
*reklamata għal xi raġuni f'tit ġimghat wara li*  
 claim:PART:F for some reason little week:PL after that  
*nbeda ix-xogħol twaqqaf kollox jista'*  
 REFL:begin DEF-work REFL.CAUS.stop everything 3SG.M.IPFV  
*l-Ministru jgħidli meta ħa jerga'*  
 DEF-minister 3SG.M.IPFV:say:IO:1SG when FUT 3SG.M.IPFV:do\_again  
*jitkompla dan ix-xogħol*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:complete DEM:M:PROX DEF-work

'Referring to my question number 21699 because on the shore of Kalkara in  
 the part [near the swings where work had started] so that part of the Sea is  
 claimed for some reason, a few weeks after the work began it was stopped  
 altogether, can the minister tell me when this work will be completed?'

<sup>202</sup> On account of the first subordinate clause introduced by the PURPOSE conjunction *biex* '(in order) to', this sentence poses problems making it difficult to parse it correctly. Independent of the correctness of our analysis, the *viċin*-PP remains unaffected by any modifications that might be necessary.



The choice of (Π31) *madwar* ‘around’ for describing the situation in the (a)-sentence makes sense because the Figure executes a circular motion to navigate along the southern coastline of the island. Since the purpose of the journey is touristic, the boat always stays close to the shore so that it is correct to associate the Figure-Ground relation with the PROPINQUUS although expressing the PROPINQUUS is not the main task of the Π. Since the PROPINQUUS is only a secondary feature of (Π31) *madwar* ‘around’, it cannot replace (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’ nor (Π58) *vicin* ‘near’ in the (b)-sentence and (c)-sentence, respectively. In contrast, the latter two Πs are freely interchangeable in (5.242a–b). Note that in these examples, the translation of *in-naħa* ‘the side’ seems to be superfluous.

In the Korpus Malti 3.0; (Π23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ and (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ are not attested in combination with *in-naħa* ‘the side’, whereas the remaining three PROPINQUUS Πs are as results from (5.243).

(5.243) PROPINQUUS Πs combining with *naħa* ‘side’ Π

(a) (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl4760]

*L-istess f' Ħal-Luqa [biswit in-naħa ta' Ħal Farruġ*  
 DEF-same in Ħal-Luqa [facing DEF-side of Ħal Farruġ  
*fejn hemm industrial estate]<sub>pp</sub> nsibu kull kwalità ta'*  
*where there industrial estate] 1.IPFV:find:PL all quality of*  
*tniġġiz inkluz noise pollution*  
 pollution including noise pollution

‘The same in Ħal-Luqa [**near** Ħal Farruġ where there is an industrial estate], we find every kind of pollution including noise pollution.’

(b) (Π14) *fejn* ‘near’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news181625]

*huwa qabad taxi għall-ajruport ta' Katanja minn fejn mar*  
 3SG.M seize taxi for:DEF-airport of Catania from where go  
*[fejn in-naħa tal-parkeġġ tal-karozzi]<sub>pp</sub>*  
**[near DEF-side of:DEF-parking lot of:DEF-car:PL]**

‘[. . .] he took a taxi to the airport of Catania from where he went [**near the car park**] [. . .].’

(c) (Π30) *ma* ‘with’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news12033]

*hemm ordni tal-MEPA stess li ħadd ma jista'*  
 there order of:DEF-MEPA self that nobody NEG 3SG.M.IPFV:can  
*joqghod bil-karavan jew bit-tind*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:stay with:DEF-caravan or with:DEF-tent.PL

**[man-naħa tal-kosta]<sub>pp</sub> b' mod permanenti**  
**[with:DEF-side of:DEF-coast] with fashion permanent**

‘[. . .] there is an order by the MEPA itself that nobody can stay permanently with a caravan or tents [**near on coast**].’

Except (5.243b), the examples pose again analytical problems. What is clear nevertheless is that, like in the previous cases, there is no necessity for translating *in-naħa* ‘the side’. As to (5.243a), the question arises whether (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ must be interpreted as PROPINQUUS in the first place. A likely alternative is to interpret the spatial situation such that the Figure (= the effects of pollution) is looking at the Ground (= the village of Ħal Farruġ). The distance between Figure and Ground may be small, but more importantly, the Figure is located in a certain position relative to the Ground. In (5.243b), (II14) *fejn* ‘near’ conveys the meaning that the Figure is located in the vicinity of the Ground – but not necessarily in a lateral position to the latter. In (5.243c), the employment of (II30) *ma* ‘with’ is probably motivated by the fact that the Figure (= people with caravans and/or tents) live very close to the shore so that the distance between Figure and Ground can be understood as minimal with the two participants almost touching each other. At the same time, the coastline is itself a horizontally extended Ground. This is why (II30) *ma* ‘with’ is chosen over any of the other IIs which would not invite the reading that the situation extends over a longer stretch of the coast.<sup>203</sup>

What we learn from the above is that the IIs under review in this section display overlapping distributions without, however, yielding absolutely identical patterns. The synonymy between them is restricted to certain contexts outside of which the IIs tend to behave individually (though to different degrees). Not every II that expresses the PROPINQUUS either primarily or secondarily can replace every other PROPINQUUS II in every context although (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ and (II58) *viċin* ‘near’ come very close to full interchangeability. To determine where replacements are possible and where they are blocked a fine-grained in-depth study of the phenomena is called for. This desirable research project has to be postponed until after the completion of this monograph.

#### 5.2.1.4.4.2.2 INTERIOR

The situation in the domain of the INTERIOR resembles the one we mentioned for (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ and (II58) *viċin* ‘near’ in the foregoing paragraph. (II15) *fī* ‘in’, (II18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’, and (II19) *ġo* ‘in’ may replace each other in many contexts but not everywhere. The degree of functional equivalence is high nevertheless. To determine the extent of the correspondence between the three INTERIOR IIs, we proceed as follows. We identify the first ten common nouns with which the IIs are attested in the Korpus Malti 3.0. These common nouns are disclosed in Table 5.28. The cells that host common nouns that recur in several columns are marked out in distinctive

<sup>203</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.1.1.

colours. Then, the frequencies of the co-occurrences of the IIs with these common nouns are determined to see whether there are preferences and/or restrictions.

**Table 5.28:** INTERIOR IIs and the first ten common nouns attested as complements in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

#	(Π15) <i>fi</i> ‘in’	(Π18) <i>ġewwa</i> ‘inside’	(Π19) <i>ġo</i> ‘in’
1	<i>żmien</i> ‘time’	<i>klassi</i> ‘class’	<i>forum</i> ‘forum’
2	<i>ħdan</i> ‘bosoms’	<i>pajjiż</i> ‘country’	<i>sptar</i> ‘hospital’
3	<i>shab</i> ‘partners; clouds’	<i>post</i> ‘place’	<i>dar</i> ‘house’
4	<i>tmiem</i> ‘end’	<i>dar</i> ‘house’	<i>pajjiż</i> ‘country’
5	<i>kliem</i> ‘words’	<i>call centre</i> ‘call centre’	<i>morsa</i> ‘screw-vice’
6	<i>kriżi</i> ‘crisis’	<i>ħanut</i> ‘shop’	<i>belt</i> ‘city’
7	<i>banda</i> ‘side’	<i>ġisem</i> ‘body’	<i>skola</i> ‘school’
8	<i>flett</i> ‘flat’	<i>marsupju</i> ‘marsupial’	<i>ġnien</i> ‘garden’
9	<i>skola</i> ‘school’	<i>arlogġ</i> ‘watch’	<i>istitut</i> ‘institute’
10	<i>proċess</i> ‘process’	<i>ċentru</i> ‘centre’	<i>familja</i> ‘family’

There are twenty-seven different common nouns (types). Three nouns are attested among the ten first complements of two different INTERIOR IIs, all other types occur only once in Table 5.28. The twenty-seven types are taken as input for the next step. We search the Korpus Malti 3.0 for attestations of each of the three INTERIOR IIs with each of the complement nouns. For each of the nouns, the definite and indefinite singular and plural are taken account of.<sup>204</sup> Only those constructions are counted

<sup>204</sup> We have excluded pronominally possessed complement nouns from the frequency count. We assume that the inclusion of complement nouns hosting the possessor suffix would not have changed the general picture much. Examples (5.xii)–(5.xiv) involve the possessed noun *daru* ‘his house’ which is attested 749 times in *fi*-PPs, sixty-six times in combination with (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’ whereas it is the complement of (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ forty-nine times. This quantitative distribution over INTERIOR IIs resembles that of *dar* ‘house’ without possessor suffix.

- (5.xii) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1054]  
*Joe Bonello laqgħana [f' daru]<sub>PP</sub> u kellimna dwar ix-xorti*  
 Joe Bonello receive:1PL [in house:3SG.M] and speak:1PL.PFV about DEF-luck  
*kbira li kellu*  
 big:F that have.PFV:3SG.M  
 ‘Joe Bonello welcomed us [in his home] and we talked about the good fortune he had [ . . . ]’
- (5.xiii) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news181102]  
*Il-ġisem mejjet tal-kantant tal-band mettallika Quiet Riot Kenvin DuBrow*  
 DEF-body dead of:DEF-singer of:DEF-band metallic:F Quiet Riot Kenvin DuBrow

in which the  $\Pi_{\text{INTERIOR}}$  and its complement noun are direct syntagmatic neighbours. The token frequencies are revealed in Table 5.29. Cells that host a zero are additionally highlighted in grey. Hapaxes are identified by yellow shading of the cell. The complement nouns are ordered top-down according to the decreasing overall frequency.

**Table 5.29:** Co-occurrences of INTERIOR  $\Pi$ s with complement nouns as of Table 5.28 in the Korpus Malti 3.0 (tokens).

noun	( $\Pi 15$ ) <i>fj</i> ‘in’	( $\Pi 18$ ) <i>ġewwa</i> ‘inside’	( $\Pi 19$ ) <i>ġo</i> ‘in’
<i>pajjiż</i> ‘country’	51347	228	190
<i>żmien</i> ‘time’	48457	0	0
<i>ħdan</i> ‘bosoms’	29723	1	16
<i>sptar</i> ‘hospital’	27449	1745	150
<i>skola</i> ‘school’	27374	172	121
<i>post</i> ‘place’	26091	100	192
<i>dar</i> ‘house’	20509	356	643
<i>belt</i> ‘city’	13874	638	149
<i>tmiem</i> ‘end’	10922	0	0
<i>ċentru</i> ‘centre’	10338	124	68
<i>proċess</i> ‘process’	8716	0	1
<i>kliem</i> ‘words’	6666	0	1
<i>familja</i> ‘family’	5042	32	142
<i>klassi</i> ‘class’	4996	20	39
<i>ħanut</i> ‘shop’	3873	37	136
<i>istitut</i> ‘institute’	2523	26	21
<i>ġnien</i> ‘garden’	1987	40	15
<i>kriżi</i> ‘crisis’	1927	0	0
<i>ġisem</i> ‘body’	634	11	23

- instab [*ġewwa* *daru* *f’* *Las Vegas*]<sub>pp</sub> *nhar* *il-Ħadd* *li* *għadda*  
 REFL.find [inside house:3SG.M in Las Vegas] day DEF-Sunday that pass  
 ‘The dead body of the singer of the metal band Quiet Riot, Kenvin DuBrow, was found [in his house in Las Vegas] last Sunday.’
- (5.xiv) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic112]  
*Il-Knisja* *xorta* *ġieghelitu* *jibqa’* *maqful*  
 DEF-Church no\_matter compel:3SG.F.PFV:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:remain PART:lock\_up  
*[ġo* *daru*]<sub>pp</sub> *sakemm* *miet*  
 [in house:3SG.M] until die  
 ‘The Church nevertheless compelled him to stay locked up [in his house] until he died.’

Table 5.29 (continued)

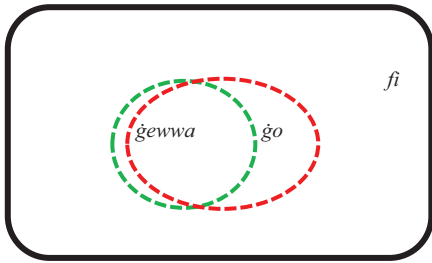
noun	(Π15) <i>fī</i> ‘in’	(Π18) <i>ġewwa</i> ‘inside’	(Π19) <i>ġo</i> ‘in’
<i>forum</i> ‘forum’	409	2	4
<i>shab</i> ‘partners; clouds’	370	2	9
<i>banda</i> ‘side’	298	1	0
<i>morsa</i> ‘screw-vice’	275	1	6
<i>call centre</i> ‘call centre’	91	1	0
<i>arlogġ</i> ‘watch’	65	1	0
<i>flett</i> ‘flat’	24	1	1
<i>marsupju</i> ‘marsupial’	1	1	0

On account of the well-known high frequency of (Π15) *fī* ‘in’,<sup>205</sup> it is no surprise to see that this Π outnumbers the INTERIOR Πs in all but one of the cases. The complement *marsupju* ‘marsupial’ is exceptional since (Π15) *fī* ‘in’ and (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ yield identical minimal turnouts. In 26 out of 27 cases, however, (Π15) *fī* ‘in’ boasts token frequencies which neither (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ nor (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’ can compete with. Moreover, (Π15) *fī* ‘in’ is attested with each of the complement nouns whereas (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ fails to show up in combination with five complement nouns while the number of gaps in the *ġo*-column amounts to seven. Furthermore, for seven other complement nouns (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ is attested only once as head of the PP. (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’ produces three hapaxes. We observe also that if a given combination is either unattested or attested only once with (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’, it also has zero frequency or is a hapax in the case of (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’. What additionally strikes the eye is the fact that if either (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ or (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’ boasts a frequency of  $n \geq 20$  the other counts at least ten attestations (but usually more). These two INTERIOR Πs do not behave quantitatively as one. However, there are striking parallels which are indicative of the close semantic and functional relation between (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ and (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’.

The two INTERIOR Πs (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ and (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’ display relatively high token frequencies when they combine with complement nouns whose referents are prototypical Grounds in the sense that their referents are three-dimensional container-like physical entities such as *sptar* ‘hospital’, *skola* ‘school’, *post* ‘place’, *dar* ‘house’, and *belt* ‘city’ (although it still needs to be ascertained whether the first two types refer to concrete buildings or to abstract institutions). At the same time, (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ and (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’ are excluded from or only exceptionally attested in contexts where the complement noun represents a temporal or

<sup>205</sup> Cf. Table 3.27.

abstract concept, an event, or a process. We conclude from this that (II18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ and (II19) *ġo* ‘in’ are semantically confined to the expression of properly spatial configurations whereas the domain of (II15) *fi* ‘in’ reaches far beyond the purely spatial situations. This difference is captured by the diagram in Figure 5.49.



**Figure 5.49:** Inclusion of functional domains (INTERIOR IIs).

(II15) *fi* ‘in’ has many non-spatial functions to fulfil whereas (II18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ and (II19) *ġo* ‘in’ only fulfil spatial functions. INTERIOR is thus only one among a plethora of meanings that can be expressed by (II15) *fi* ‘in’. In contrast, INTERIOR is the primary and possibly only meaning that can be expressed by either (II18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ or (II19) *ġo* ‘in’.

#### 5.2.1.4.4.2.2.3 MEDIAL<sub>1</sub>

The topic of this section has been addressed three times already.<sup>206</sup> It is worthwhile looking at the facts again but from a different angle. The IIs that are under discussion in what follows are (II4) *bejn* ‘between’, (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’, and (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’. The examples in (5.244) show once again that there is a zone where the functional domains of these IIs overlap.

(5.244) MEDIAL<sub>1</sub> expressed in three different ways

- (a) (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news66133]  
*Dan qed johloq ħafna tensjoni [bejn*  
 DEM.M.PROX PROG 3SG.M.IPFV:create much tension [between  
*in-nies tal-post]*<sub>pp</sub>  
 DEF-people of:DEF-place  
 ‘This is creating a lot of tension [amongst the local people].’

<sup>206</sup> In Sections 5.1.2.1.13, 5.1.2.1.14, and 5.1.2.2.17.

- (b) (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1352]  
*Dan jista’ jkun rizultat tal-eċitament*  
 DEM.M.PROX 3SG.M.IPFV:can 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT result of:DEF-excitement  
*li qam [fost in-nies]<sub>pp</sub> meta skoprew*  
 that rise [amongst DEF-people] when discover:3PL.PFV  
*dan il-fatt*  
 DEM:M.PROX DEF-fact  
 ‘This can be the result of the excitement that emerged [**amongst the people**] when they discovered this fact.’
- (c) (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news128235]  
*Hawn min jghid li l-mexxejja tal-Hamas*  
 here who 3SG.M.IPFV:say that DEF-leader.PL of:DEF-Hamas  
*joqogħdu [qalb in-nies]<sub>pp</sub> biex jekk Izrael*  
 3.IPFV:stay:PL [amidst DEF-people] to if Israel  
*jattakkahom imutu n-nies innocenti magħhom*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:attack:3PL 3.IPFV:die:PL DEF-people innocent with:3PL  
 ‘Here are those who say that the leaders of Hamas live [**amidst the people**] so that in case Israel attacks them innocent people die together with them.’

It is clear that in all three sentences in (5.244), the complement *in-nies* ‘the people’ refers to a group of human beings of undetermined size for which it is nevertheless clear that it is made up of more than two individuals. The various Figures – the tension in the (a)-sentence, the excitement in the (b)-sentence, and the leaders of Hamas in the (c)-sentence – are located metaphorically or physically on the inside of a distributed Ground. In cases of this kind, all three IIs express the MEDIAL<sub>1</sub>. We assume that it is possible to indiscriminately use (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’, (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’, and (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ in each of the three sentences.

Yet, (5.245a–b) suggest that the possibility of replacing the one II with any of the others and vice versa is limited.

(5.245) Coordinated IIs

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news41169]  
*Neħtiegu solidarjetà [fost Ø]<sub>pp</sub> u [bejn*  
 1.IPFV:need:PL solidarity [amongst Ø] and [between  
*il-ġnus tagħna]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-people.PL of:1PL]  
 ‘We need solidarity [**amongst**] and [**between our peoples**].’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; european6768]  
*jistabbilixxi relazzjonijiet [bejn Ø]<sub>pp</sub> u [fost*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:establish relation:PL [between Ø] and [amongst  
*il-ġirien]<sub>pp</sub> li huma tajbin u durabbli u*  
DEF-neighbour:PL that 3PL good:PL and durable and  
*mal-Komunitàinternazzjonali*  
 with:DEF-community international  
 ‘[. . .] it establishes relations which are good and durable [between] and  
 [amongst the neighbours] and with the international community.’

In both the (a)-sentence and the (b)-sentence (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ and (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ are coordinated (in two different orders) sharing the same complement. We have no evidence of (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ being involved in coordinative constructions of this kind. We take the coordination to mean that (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ and (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ do not exactly mean the same. In point of fact, (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ is used if the relation between two participants (individuals or groups of entities) is focused upon. (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ however, is the better choice when the intended meaning is that of group-internal relationships. This semantic difference comes nicely to the fore under coordination because if both II were full synonyms one of them would be sufficient to convey the message.

Even in cases like those in (5.246) where superficially no semantic distinction is apparent, (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ refers to a configuration of participants that is different from those referred to by (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ and (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’.

(5.246) Hidden nuances

- (a) (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic404]  
*Il-perspettivi ta’ konflitt jaqblu li hemm*  
 DEF-perspective:PL of conflict 3.IPFV:agree:PL that there  
*differenza ta’ interessi [bejn il-gruppi f’ soċjetà]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 difference of interest:PL [between DEF-group:PL in society]  
 ‘The conflict-based perspectives agree that there is a difference of interests  
 [between the groups in society].’
- (b) (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic3]  
*jheggu l-iskambju ta’ informazzjoni [fost*  
 3.IPFV:kindle:PL DEF-exchange of information [amongst  
*il-gruppi ta’ artiġġjani differenti]<sub>pp</sub>*  
DEF-group:PL of artisan:PL different]  
 ‘[. . .] they encourage the exchange of information [amongst the different  
 groups of artisans].’



- (c) (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news177524]  
*l-preżenza ta’ l-Iran fit-Tazza tad-Dinja qed*  
 DEF-presence of DEF-Iran in:DEF-Cup of:DEF-World PROG  
*toħloq kontroversja [qalb il-gruppi Lhud*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:create controversy [amidst DEF-group:PL Jewish  
*fil-Ġermanja*<sub>pp</sub>  
in:DEF-Germany]  
 ‘[. . .] Iran’s presence in the World Cup is creating a controversy [amongst  
 Jewish groups in Germany].’

In each of the relevant PPs in (5.246), the complement noun is *il-gruppi* ‘the groups’. Superficially, the parallels between the three IIs seem to be strong enough to assume that replacing the one with the other in any of the sentences would not trigger a meaning change. However, to our mind, this assumption can be disproved easily. If (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ is replaced by either (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’ or (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ in the (a)-sentence, the situation described would no longer regard the differences between societal groups but shift the focus to the differences within these groups. Likewise, the use of (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ in the (b)-sentence and the (c)-sentence would result in a different interpretation. This is so because, by default, (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ invokes a scenario with exactly two participants whose interrelation is strictly binary. This also applies to (5.246a) because the example is taken from a paragraph in which the classical Marxist dichotomy of a society divided into two – capitalists and proletarians – is summarised. Thus, in this sociological conception, there are only two groups. In contrast, both in the (b)-sentence and the (c)-sentence, it can safely be assumed that the number of groups is bigger than just two. If this is the case, the use of (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ in these sentences is blocked. Furthermore, there are two possible interpretations in connection with the *fost*-PP and the *qalb*-PP in (5.246a-b), namely either the exchange of information and the controversy take place within each of the mentioned groups or in the interaction between the various groups. In the latter case, we repeat, (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ is no option since there are many groups which are involved in the situations.

We now turn our attention back to coordination. What is the case semantically when a MEDIAL<sub>1</sub> Π has scope over several coordinated complement nouns? A first idea in relation to this question takes shape when we look at the examples in (5.247) where we find three instances of [Π<sub>medial1</sub> NP *u* Ø NP]<sub>pp</sub>, i.e., there is EQUI-II-deletion. For purely expository reasons, we use only one pair of square brackets for the entire coordinated structure which otherwise could also be represented as [Π<sub>medial1</sub> NP]<sub>pp</sub> *u* [Ø NP]<sub>pp</sub>.

(5.247) EQUI-II-deletion with MEDIAL<sub>1</sub>

(a) (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic12]

*is-saċerdot kien il-ħolqa ewlenija [bejn il-grupp etniku*

DEF-priest be DEF-link principal:F [between DEF-group ethnic

*Malti u Ø l-awtoritajiet Awstraljani]<sub>pp</sub>*

*Maltese and Ø DEF-authority:PL Australian:PL]*

‘[. . .] the priest was the principal link [between the Maltese ethnic group and the Australian authorities].’

(b) (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic40]

*[Fost il-lingwi u Ø kulturi oħra li studja*

*[amongst DEF-language:PL and Ø culture:PL other that study*

*Sapir]<sub>pp</sub> ngħoddu il-Wishram Chinook Navajo Nootka*

*Sapir] 1.IPFV:count:PL DEF-Wishram Chinook Navajo Nootka*

*Paiute Takelma u Yana*

*Paiute Takelma and Yana*

‘[Amongst the other languages and cultures that Sapir studied] we count Wishram Chinook, Navajo, Nootka, Paiute, Takelma and Yana.’

(c) (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature20]

*Iżda għall-aħħar ftit metri kellna nidhlu*

but for:DEF-last little meter:PL have.PFV:1PL 1.IPFV:enter:PL

*[qalb il-ħaxix u Ø l-ħurrieq li tela’ sa qaddna*

*[amidst DEF-grass and Ø DEF-nettle that rise till waist:1PL*

*imxarrab għasra bin-nida]<sub>pp</sub>*

*PART:wet drench with:DEF-dew]*

‘But for the last few meters we had to walk [amidst the grass and the nettles which rose up to our waist, drenched with dew].’

The situations described in (5.247a–c) differ in the following way. In the (a)-sentence, the coordinated complements of (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ identify the two parties that are involved in the relationship. It is this binary relation that is expressed by the II. Neither in the (b)-sentence nor in the (c)-sentence is there a binary relation. The scientific interests of Sapir are the topic of (5.247b). (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ does not determine the relation between languages and cultures but its use implies that there is an undetermined sizable number of languages and an equally undetermined number of cultures that were of interest to Sapir. The list of glossonyms which also stand for the cultures associated with the ethnic groups comprises half a dozen items so that also with regards to the languages and cultures no binary relation applies. In (5.247c), (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ does not express that there is a relation between the grass and the nettles but that there was so much vegetation that the Figure had to move through a lot of grass and through a lot of nettles. Meaning:

(Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ serves to separately characterise the density of grass as well as that of nettles as considerable.

The differences remain the same even if EQUI-Π-deletion does not apply as in (5.248) where the Π is repeated with each conjunct so that the structure [Π<sub>MEDIALX</sub> NP]<sub>PP</sub> *u* [Π<sub>MEDIALX</sub> NP]<sub>PP</sub> emerges.

(5.248) Coordinated PPs with overt second MEDIAL<sub>1</sub> Π

(a) (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature72]

[*Bejn* *Ras il-Wardija*]<sub>PP</sub> *u* [*bejn* *il-Madliena*]<sub>PP</sub> *hemm*  
 [between *Ras il-Wardija*] and [between DEF-Madliena] *there*  
*irdum ħurrieqi fejn qalb dak il-blat kbir*  
 cliff nettle\_infested where amidst DEM:M:DIST DEF-rock.COLL big  
*li jagħti għall-baħar jinsabu ħafna għerien*  
 that 3SG.M.IPFV:give for:DEF-sea 3.IPFV:REFL:find:PL many cave:PL  
 ‘[Between *Ras il-Wardija*] and [*Madliena*], there is a nettle-infested cliff  
 where amidst those big rocks that look out on the sea, many caves are  
 found.’

(b) (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; european7369]

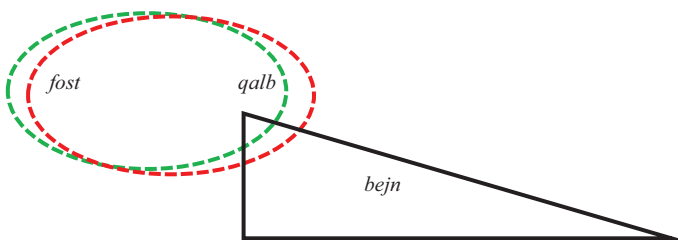
*dawn jistgħu jvarjaw [fost l-ispeċi]<sub>PP</sub>*  
 DEM:PL:PROX 3.IPFV:CAN:PL 3.IPFV:vary:PL [amongst DEF-species:PL]  
*[fost it-tessuti]<sub>PP</sub> u [fost il-punti ġenetiċi*  
 [amongst DEF-fabric:PL] and [amongst DEF-point:PL genetic:PL  
*ta’ konkluzjoni]<sub>PP</sub>*  
*of conclusion]*  
 ‘[. . .] these can vary [amongst the species], [amongst the fabrics], and  
 [amongst the conclusive genetic points].’

(c) (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news81684]

*Imbagħad in<t>ebaħ li minflok miexi lejn*  
 then <REFL>become\_aware that instead\_of walk.PART towards  
*fejn il-blat jinferaq u*  
 where DEF-rock.COLL 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:separate and  
*jitbaxxa biex isib ruħu [qalb*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:bend\_down to 3SG.M.IPFV:find self:3SG.M [amidst  
*in-nies]<sub>PP</sub> u [qalb il-karozzi]<sub>PP</sub> kien sab ruħu*  
 DEF-people] and [amidst DEF-car:PL] *be find self:3SG.M*  
*diehel u diehel aktar ‘il ġewwa*  
 enter.PART and enter.PART more to inside  
 ‘Then he realised that in lieu of walking to the rocks separating and lower-  
 ing himself down to be [amidst the people] and [amidst the cars] he had  
 been going ever more towards the inside.’

In (5.248a), (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ occurs twice.<sup>207</sup> The double occurrence of the II is correlative in the sense that it overtly marks the two participants between which a given relation is established. In the case of the (a)-sentence, the two *bejn*-PPs identify the two extreme points of the stretch of the coast that hosts the nettle-infested cliff. This is a peculiarity of (II4) *bejn* ‘between’. The multiple occurrences of (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ and (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ in the (b)-sentence and the (c)-sentence, respectively, do not have the same effect as in the case of (II4) *bejn* ‘between’. Each instance of (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ and each instance of (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ has but local scope, meaning: neither of the IIs establishes a relation between the different complements with which it combines. What the II does is convey the meaning that the Figure is located (perhaps only metaphorically) within a distributed Ground identified by the complement noun. Put differently, in (5.247c), the Figure is depicted as being amidst people on the one hand, and amidst cars on the other hand. The coordination of the two *qalb*-PPs does not express that the Figure might find itself amidst a distributed Ground that is constituted by people and cars alike. We concede that whoever reads a sentence like (5.247c) might picture the situation in their minds such that the Figure is surrounded by people and cars at the same time. We argue however that this is a secondary interpretation of the entire situation whereas the two *qalb*-PPs are semantically as well as syntactically independent of each other. Note that this is completely different with (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ because in cases like that in the (a)-sentence both *bejn*-PPs are interdependent.

In Figure 5.50, we try to schematise the relationship that holds between the three IIs we have discussed in this section.



**Figure 5.50:** Inclusion and overlap of functional domains (MEDIAL<sub>1</sub> IIs).

The diagram shows that synonymy is relatively strong for (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ and (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ so that it is hard to find any context where one could not replace the other freely. (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ and (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ represent MEDIAL<sub>1</sub> par excellence. In contrast, (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ only exceptionally expresses the same

<sup>207</sup> The phenomenon was mentioned already in Section 4.1.4.

category. The functional overlap with (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’ and (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ is thus comparatively small. The proper domain of (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’ lies outside that of the MEDIAL<sub>1</sub>. It is the MEDIAL<sub>2</sub> whose expression is the uncontested monopoly of (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’.

#### 5.2.1.4.4.2.2.4 FRONS

The PROPINQUUS properties of (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ were discussed above.<sup>208</sup> In this section, it is the possible synonymy with (Π49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ that is of interest to us. Both Πs are associated with FRONS as comes to the fore in the examples presented under (5.249).

(5.249) Competition within the domain of FRONS

(a) (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; european3027]

*Kumitat ta' Kuntatt [ . . . ] għandu jiġi*  
committee of contact have.IPFV:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:come  
*stabbilit [biswit il-Kummissjoni]<sub>pp</sub>*  
establish:PART [facing DEF-Commission]

‘A contact committee [ . . . ] has to be established [before the Commission].’

(b) (Π49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news180434]

*Ir-risoluzzjoni issa tkun ipprezentata*  
DEF-resolution now 3SG.F.IPFV:be.FUT present:PART:F  
[quddiem il-Kummissjoni u Ø l-Kunsill Ewropew]<sub>pp</sub>  
[in\_front\_of DEF-Commission and Ø DEF-Council European]  
*biex tkun ikkunsidrata waqt it-tehid*  
to 3SG.F.IPFV:be.FUT consider:PART:F at\_the\_time\_of DEF-taking  
*tad-deċiżjonijiet*  
of:DEF-decision:PL

‘The resolution will now be presented [before the Commission and the European Council] so that it will be considered during the decision-making.’

Above we mentioned the possibility that the choice of appropriate Π might depend on the perspective.<sup>209</sup> Is the Figure looking in the direction of the Ground or is it the other way around? It seems that (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ is chosen when the observer’s gaze is directed from the location of the Figure towards the Ground whereas (Π49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ allows for construing the spatial situation from the point of view of the Ground.

<sup>208</sup> The phenomenon was mentioned already in Section 4.1.4.

<sup>209</sup> Cf. Sections 5.1.2.15 and 5.1.2.16.

The Figure-Ground perspective is less important if (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ is given a PROPINQUUS interpretation implying a lateral position of the Figure relative to the Ground. In (5.250a), the *biswit*-PP refers to a spatial situation that is not in line with the one expressed by the *quddiem*-PP in the (b)-sentence.

(5.250) (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ ≠ (II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ I

(a) (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news144184]

*Biex wettqu din is-serqa il-ħallelin*  
 to implement:3PL.PFV DEM.F.PROX DEF-robbery DEF-thief:PL  
*dahlu minn residenza [biswit il-ħanut ta’*  
 enter:3PL.PFV from residence [facing DEF-shop of  
*Sterling Jewellers]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*Sterling Jewellers]*

‘To carry out this robbery, the thieves entered from a house [next to the shop of Sterling Jewellers].’

(b) (II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news128964]

*Joseph Zammit kellu jistenna lil shabu*  
 Joseph Zammit have.PFV:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:wait to comrade:3SG.M  
*[quddiem il-ħanut Downtown]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[in front of DEF-shop Downtown]*

‘[. . .] Joseph Zammit had to wait for his accomplice [in front of the shop Downtown] [. . .].’

As to the spatial situation in (5.250a), it is clear that the thieves must have entered the jewellers’ shop not from the opposite side of the street but through an empty building next door to the shop because they could access the latter by breaking down a wall separating the empty house from the shop. Thus, the Figure is located at the side of the Ground and not in front of it. This is different in the (b)-sentence since the named delinquent waited for his partner-in-crime not somewhere near the shop but exactly in front of it. The two IIs cannot replace each other in (5.250a–b) unless a change of meaning is intended.

Similarly, in (5.251), (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ and (II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ locate the Figure differently in relation to the Ground.

(5.251) (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ ≠ (II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ II

(a) (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news169952]

*Il-każ sehħ għall-ħabta tad-0930 am meta l-mara*  
 DEF-case happen for:DEF-hit of:DEF-0930 a.m. when DEF-woman  
*kienet għadha kemm dahħlet il-karozza*  
 be:3SG.F.PFV still:3SG.F how\_much enter.CAUS:3SG.F.PFV DEF-car

*tagħha fil-garaxx [biswit id-dar tagħha]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 of:3SG.F in:DEF-garage [**facing** DEF-house of:3SG.F]

‘The case happened at exactly 9.30 a.m. when the woman was still driving her car in the garage **[next to her house]**.’

- (b) (Π49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news97745]

*qatel lill-Avukat Grech f' garaxx [quddiem il-blokka ta'*  
 kill to:DEF-lawyer Grech in garage **[in front of** DEF-block of  
*appartamenti f' Marsalforn]<sub>pp</sub> fejn kien joqghod*  
 apartment:PL in Marsalforn] where be 3SG.M.IPFV:stay

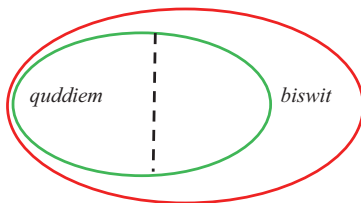
*il-vittma u familta*

DEF-victim and family:POSS:3SG.M

‘[... ] he killed the lawyer Grech in a garage **[in front of an apartment block in Marsalforn]** where the victim lived with his family.’

In (5.251a), the garage is placed at the side of the woman’s house. It is not detached from the house standing on the other side of the street. This however is exactly the position of the garage in (5.251b) where it is the site of a crime. The garage is placed in front of the Ground and not on its side. The choice of Π is thus motivated by the different positions of the Figure in relation to the Ground. We have informally searched the Korpus Malti 3.0 for *biswit*-PPs and *quddiem*-PPs which contain *id-dar* ‘the house’ as complement. There were 548 hits for *quddiem id-dar* ‘in front of the house’ all of which are bona fide instances of FRONS. *Biswit id-dar* yielded forty-four matches forty of which can be understood as reflecting a situation in which the Figure is placed in front of the Ground (‘facing the house’). In four cases, however, the Figure is located laterally on one of the sides of the house (‘next to the house’). Interestingly, in these cases, the Figure is always a garage that is an extension of an individual’s house.

It is therefore not possible to classify (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ and (Π49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ as full synonyms. Figure 5.51 is meant to schematise the relationship of the two Πs.



**Figure 5.51:** Inclusion of functional domains (FRONS Πs).

The red circle circumscribes the functional domain of (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ which happens to be larger than that of (Π49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’ that is totally included in the former.

The interrupted vertical line within the space surrounded by the green circle indicates that the choice of II reflects the different perspectives of Figure and Ground.

#### 5.2.1.4.4.2.2.5 LONGITUDO<sub>1</sub>

With LONGITUDO<sub>1</sub> we enter the temporal domain where (II33) *matul* ‘during’ and (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ are in competition with each other. How they are inter-related semantically is difficult to determine. In principle, both IIs can be used in identical or at least similar contexts. In (5.252), we show this for situations in which the entire extension over time of a given event is expressed.

(5.252) (II33) *matul* ‘during’ = (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ I

- (a) (II33) *matul* ‘during’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic426]  
*l-LTU Arena ta’ Düsseldorf[. . .] Weserstadion ta’ Bremen[. . .]*  
 DEF-LTU Arena of Düsseldorf Weserstadion of Bremen  
*u Borussia-Park ta’ Mönchengladbach[. . .] ma*  
 and Borussia-Park of Mönchengladbach NEG  
*ntużawx ukoll [matul il-kampjonat]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 REFL:use:3PL.PFV:NEG also [**during** DEF-championship]  
 ‘[. . .] the LTU Arena in Düsseldorf, the Weserstadion in Bremen, and the Borussia-Park in Mönchengladbach were not used too [**during the Championship**].’
- (b) (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic171]  
*Fl-2003 Kaká kien il-captain tat-tim Brażiljan*  
 in:DEF-2003 Kaká be DEF-captain of:DEF-team Brazilian  
*[waqt il-kampjonat tal-Gold Cup]<sub>pp</sub>*  
**[at the time of DEF-championship of:DEF-Gold Cup]**  
 ‘In 2003, Kaká was the captain of the Brazilia team [**during the Gold Cup Championship**].’

The two sentences describe situations in which the Figure played a given role during the entire period covered by a sports event. In (5.252a), the football stadiums of several German cities are not used for the matches that took place during the championship. This means that their exclusion from the list of venues was valid for the entire tournament. Similarly, the footballer Kaká served as captain of the Brazilian team for the entire duration of the Gold Cup Championship in 2003 (= (b)-sentence)). Thus, the temporal Figure-Ground relation to which the two IIs refer spans over an extended period of time.



In (5.253), the meaning of both (II33) *matul* ‘during’ and (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ is different because the Figure is present in the situation only for part of the time during the event that serves as Ground.

(5.253) (II33) *matul* ‘during’ = (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ II

(a) (II33) *matul* ‘during’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news139056]

[**Matul** *il-kunċert*]<sub>pp</sub> *indaqqet ukoll kompożizzjoni*  
 [during DEF-concert] REFL:play:3SG.F.PFV also composition  
*originali mill-kompożitur / pjanist Malti Norman Cristina*  
 original from:DEF-composer / pianist Maltese Norman Cristina  
 ‘[During the concert], also an original composition was performed by the Maltese composer / pianist Norman Cristina.’

(b) (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news176894]

*Il-mużiċisti l-oħra li se jakkumpanjaw lil*  
 DEF-musician:PL DEF-other:PL that FUT 3.IPFV:accompany:PL to  
*Julie u Ludwig huma Joe Vella (kuntrabaxx) Jes Baldacchino*  
 Julie and Ludwig 3PL Joe Vella (bass) Jes Baldacchino  
*(drums) u Ivan Spiteri Lucas (saxophone) li [waqt*  
 (drums) and Ivan Spiteri Lucas (saxophone) that [at\_the\_time\_of  
*il-kunċert]*<sub>pp</sub> *ħa jkanta wkoll xi kanzunetti*  
 DEF-CONCERT] FUT 3SG.M.IPFV:sing also some song:PL  
*mir-repertorju tiegħu*  
 from:DEF-repertoire of:3SG.M  
 ‘The other musicians who will accompany Julie and Ludwig are Joe Vella (bass), Jes Baldacchino (drums) and Ivan Spiteri Lucas (saxophone) who will also sing some songs from his repertoire [during the concert].’

In (5.253a-b), the concert defines the time frame for the activities of the musicians. The activities that are explicitly mentioned in the examples form part of the concert’s program but do not exhaust the program. This means that the performance of an original composition (= (a)-sentence) and of songs from Ivan Spieri Lee’s own repertoire (= (b)-sentence) cover only a small part of the entire concert. In this case and in stark contrast to the previous one, (II33) *matul* ‘during’ and (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ display a punctual reading.

In the temporal domain, (II33) *matul* ‘during’ is a possible replacement of (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ and vice versa. These IIs differ, however, when we look beyond the boundaries of the temporal domain because outside the time-related concepts only (II33) *matul* ‘during’ is admitted (to express LONGITUDO<sub>2</sub>). Where (II33) *matul*

‘during’ allows for being employed in temporal as well as in spatial contexts,<sup>210</sup> (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ is banned from the latter. To our mind, we are facing a situation of total inclusion of the functional domain of (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ within the more extended functional domain of (II33) *matul* ‘during’ as shown in Figure 5.52.

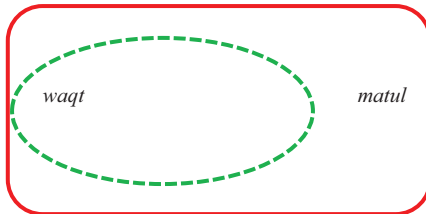


Figure 5.52: Inclusion of functional domains (LONGITUDO<sub>1</sub> Πs).

Accordingly, the semantic relation between the two IIs does not fit the description of full synonymy. Figure 5.52 is suggestive of partial synonymy instead.

#### 5.2.1.4.4.2.2.6 SUPERIOR

The final pair of potentially synonymous IIs comprises (II15) *fi* ‘in’ and (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ as markers of SUPERIOR. The choice of the appropriate II seems to depend (albeit not strictly) upon the physical properties of the referent of the Ground noun. Both IIs are fine with *muntanja* ‘mountain’ as shown in (5.254).

(5.254) (II15) *fi* ‘in’ = (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ I

(a) (II15) *fi* ‘in’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news3811]

*Ajruplan partikolari Boeing 727 li kien intilef lura*  
 aeroplane particular Boeing 727 that be REFL:lose back  
*fl-1985 kien instab fl-2006 [f’ muntanja fil-Bolivja]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 in:DEF-1985 be REFL:find in:DEF-2006 [in mountain in:DEF-Bolivia]  
 ‘A particular Boeing 727 that got lost back in 1985 was found in 2006 [on a mountain in Bolivia].’

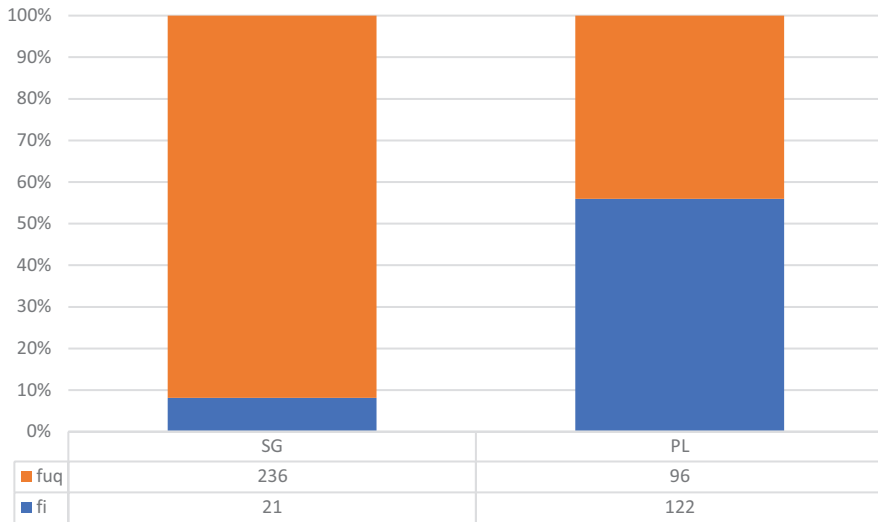
(b) (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news3508]

*sajjetta partikolari laqtet uħud mis-swaba’*  
 lightning particular hit:3SG.F.PFV some.PL from:DEF-finger.PL  
*tal-id il-leminija tal-Istatwa Ġesu Kristu li*  
 of:DEF-hand DEF-right:F of:DEF-statue Jesus Christ that

<sup>210</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.1.4 (ii).

*tinsab*                      [*fuq* *il-muntanja* *Corcovado* *f'* *Rio de Janiero*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:REFL:find   [on DEF-mountain Corcovado in Rio de Janeiro  
*fil-Brazil*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 in:DEF-Brazil]  
 '[. . .] an individual lightning hit some of the fingers of the right hand of the  
 statue of Jesus Christ that stands [on the Corcovado Hill in Rio de Janeiro  
 in Brazil].'

The complement noun was specifically chosen for the comparison of the behaviour of the two IIs because it refers to a vertically extended geo-object whose uppermost surface is prototypically seen as a pointed peak. Accordingly, it might be hypothesised that (II17) *fuq* 'on' is preferred over (II15) *fi* 'in'. This hypothesis is corroborated in the singular (= *muntanja* 'mountain'). In the plural (= *muntanji* 'mountains'), however, (II15) *fi* 'in' outnumbers (II17) *fuq* 'on' as results from Figure 5.53. The token count is based on a search of the Korpus Malti 3.0.



**Figure 5.53:** Hits for (II15) *fi* 'in' and (II17) *fuq* 'on' combining with *muntanja* 'mountain' in SG and PL (Korpus Malti 3.0).

We interpret this number-based difference between (II15) *fi* 'in' and (II17) *fuq* 'on' as follows. In the singular, the degree of individualisation of the geo-object is high and thus allows for precisely locating the Figure relative to the Ground. That is why the semantically more specialised (II17) *fuq* 'on' is made use of much more frequently than (II15) *fi* 'in'. In the plural, the complement noun does no longer refer to a single

geo-object but to a group of similar objects (sometimes forming a mountain range). The location of the Figure can no longer be determined with reference to an individual mountain but with reference to several mountains which taken together cover an extended stretch of land so that the vertical position of the Figure is less important than its horizontal position within the area constituted by the group of mountains.

To put this interpretation to the test, we have run another search in the Korpus Malti 3.0, this time with the complement noun *quċċata* ‘top; summit’. Our expectation was to find a distribution of the IIs that resembles the one we showed in Figure 5.53. First of all, (5.255) proves that both (II15) *fi* ‘in’ and (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ are licit with *quċċata* ‘top; summit’.

(5.255) (II15) *fi* ‘in’ = (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ II

(a) (II15) *fi* ‘in’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature59]

*Għal xi ħin baqa’ fejn kien [fi-quċċata tal-gholja]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 for some time remain where be [in:DEF-top of:DEF-hill]  
*isegwi tahtu l-bqija tal-kuncert ta’ Hendrix*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:follow under:3SG.M DEF-rest of:DEF-concert of Hendrix  
 ‘For some time, he remained where he was, [on top of the hill], following  
 the rest of Hendrix’s concert below him.’

(b) (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news130073]

*qal li jittama li jara l-bandiera Maltija*  
 say that 3SG.M.IPFV:hope that 3SG.M.IPFV:see DEF-flag Maltese:F  
*tperper [fuq il-quċċata tal-Everest]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.F.IPFV:flap [on DEF-top of:DEF-Everest]  
 ‘[. . .] he said that he hopes to see the Maltese flag flying [on the top of the  
 Everest].’

The first interesting observation to be made in connection to the complement noun *quċċata* ‘top; summit’ is that there is only one single match for its plural form *quċċati* ‘tops; summits’ in a PP headed by (II15) *fi* ‘in’ whereas no combination with (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ could be found. We give the single hit for a *fi*-PP containing *quċċati* in (5.256) because it is a telling example whose relevance will become clear in the next paragraph.

(5.256) On top of the list I – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news204055]

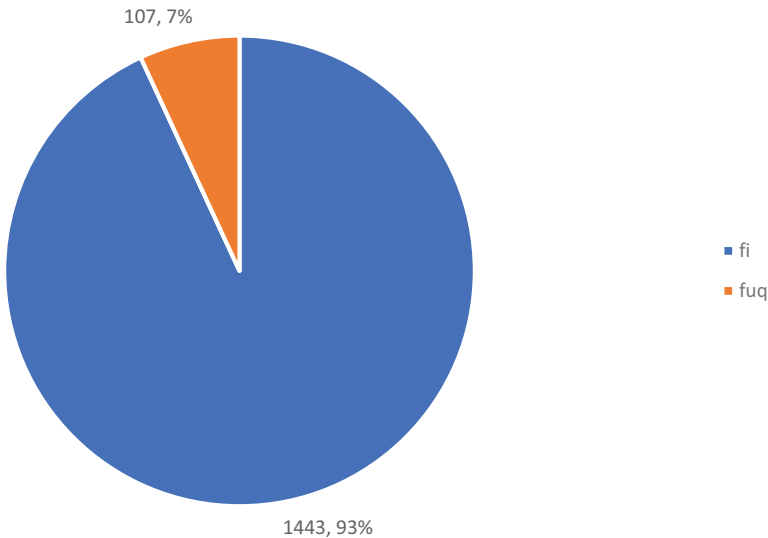
*dawn iż-żewġ gruppi għandhom ukoll numri ta’*  
 DEM:PL:PROX DEF-two group:PL have.IPFV:3PL also number:PL of  
*suċċessi li telghu [fi-quċċati tal-klassifiċi]*  
 success:PL that ascend:3PL.PFV [in:DEF-top:PL of:DEF-classification:PL]

*tal-mużika*<sub>pp</sub>

of:DEF-music]

‘[. . .] these two groups also have a number of successes that made it [to the top of the music charts].’

Example (5.256) features *quċċati* ‘tops; summits’ which is metonymically used in the sense that it does not refer to the highest peaks of hills, mountains, or other geo-objects but to the top rank in a hierarchy (here: the music charts). Metonymy and metaphor are most probably responsible for the unexpected discrepancy of the token frequencies given in Figure 5.54.



**Figure 5.54:** Token frequencies of (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ and (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ cooccurring with *quċċata* ‘top; summit’ in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

In Figure 5.54, there is only a small niche for (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ whereas the lion’s share of the tokens goes to (Π15) *fi* ‘in’. There is a reason for this enormous difference between the two shares. To understand this better, we first have to filter out a host of cases for different reasons. For what we are going to argue all those constructions are irrelevant in which *quċċata* is not followed by a genitival attribute or an apposition. In the Korpus Malti 3.0, this is the case for 476 hits reported for the *pp* *fil-quċċata* whereas thirty-two matches of *fuq il-quċċata* are counted out on the basis of the same criterion. This means that between 30% (= *fuq*) and 33% (= *fi*) of the hits given in Figure 5.54 are invalid for the next step we are going to take. We are left with 967 hits for *fil-quċċata*

*ta(X)* as opposed to seventy-five cases of *fuq il-quċċata ta(X)* with *X* functioning as variable for all morphonological changes that (II55) *ta* ‘of’ can be subject to.

We seize the opportunity offered by example (5.256) to determine whether or not the complement *klassifika* ‘classification’ yields any significant results when we compare *fuq*-PPs with *fi*-PPs. In point of fact, there are 477 hits for *fil-quċċata tal-klassifika* ‘at the top of the class(ification)’, i.e., 49% of the 967 relevant hits of *fil-quċċata ta(X)* involve this complement noun. In contrast, there is only one example (= slightly more than 1%) of *fuq il-quċċata ta(X)* where *klassifika* ‘classification’ takes in the position of *X* as shown in (5.257).

- (5.257) On top of the list II – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news63780]  
*Kull darba li jkollhom ċans jagħmlu*  
 each time that 3SG.M.IPFV:have.FUT:3PL chance 3.IPFV:make:PL  
*l-marka tagħhom [fuq il-quċċata tal-klassifika]<sub>pp</sub> huma*  
 DEF-mark of:3PL [on DEF-top of:DEF-classification] 3PL  
*jonqsu milli jagħmlu dan*  
 3.IPFV:miss:PL from:that 3.IPFV:make:PL DEM:M:PROX  
 ‘Every time they have the chance to make their mark [at the top of the league] they fail to do that.’

The single attestation of *klassifika* ‘classification’ in combination with *fuq il-quċċata ta(X)* notwithstanding, it is predominantly the task of *fil-quċċata ta(X)* to express that the Figure is placed at or moves towards the top of a hierarchy. In point of fact, there is a plethora of other complement nouns that are either partial synonyms of *klassifika* ‘classification’ or belong to the same semantic domain as *klassifika* ‘classification’ that appear in combination with *fil-quċċata ta(X)*. Table 5.30 contains only a small selection of typical examples embracing a variety of list-like organised hierarchies which include inter alia several sports leagues (mostly football) from different countries. The examples are ordered alphabetically according to the initial letter of the complement noun.

**Table 5.30:** Selection of recurrent complement nouns combining with *fil-quċċata ta(X)*.

source	example / translation	complement
news178350	<i>r-Russja poġġiet is-sigurtà tal-enerġija [fil-quċċata tal-aġenda tal-laqgħa tal-G8]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘Russia put the security of the energy [ <u>on top of the agenda of the G8 meeting</u> ] [. . .].’	<i>aġenda</i> ‘agenda’
news52350	<i>Dortmund huma biss punt wara Bayern Munich [fil-quċċata tal-Bundesliga]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘Dortmund is only one point behind Bayern München [ <u>at the top of the Bundesliga</u> ].’	<i>Bundesliga</i> ‘German Federal League’

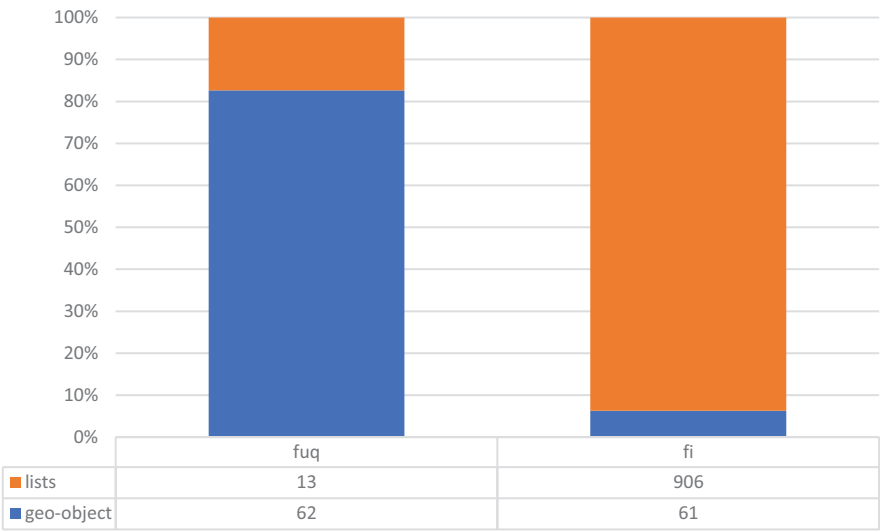
Table 5.30 (continued)

source	example / translation	complement
culture659	<i>it-tim Malti rebaħ lil-Lussemburgu 6–0 u b' hekk it-tim Malti spiċċa [fil-quċċata tal-grupp tiegħu]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘The Maltese team beat Luxembourg 6–0 and thus the Maltese team wound up [ <b>at the top of its group</b> ].’	<i>grupp</i> ‘group’
news135707	<i>Qormi jkunu jridu jżommu posthom [fil-quċċata tal-kampjonat]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] Qormi will want to keep their position [ <b>at the top of the championship</b> ].’	<i>kampjonat</i> ‘championship’
culture1654	<i>L-isem ta' Noah qabeż lill-ismijiet Michael u Jacob li kienu dejjem [fil-quċċata tal-lista tal-iktar ismijiet popolari]<sub>pp</sub></i> mill-1960 sal-2013. ‘The name Noah overtook the names Michael and Jacob that always were [ <b>at the top of the most popular names</b> ] from 1960 to 2013.’	<i>lista</i> ‘list’
news149574	<i>issa ilhom tmien partiti ma jtiflu biex jinsabu wkoll [fil-quċċata tan-North American Soccer League]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] they now haven’t lost the last eight matches so that they are also [ <b>at the top of the NSL</b> ].’	<i>North American Soccer League</i> ‘NSL’
news162488	<i>issa Federer reġa’ tela’ [fil-quċċata tar-rankings mondjali]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] Federer now ascended again [ <b>to the top of the world rankings</b> ].’	<i>ranking</i> ‘ranking’
news86042	<i>B’ din ir-rebħa [. . .] Tarxien qabżu [fil-quċċata tar-Relegation Pool]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘With this victory [. . .] Tarxien jumped [ <b>to the top of the Relegation Pool</b> ].’	<i>Relegation Pool</i> ‘relegation pool’
news120738	<i>b’ dawn ir-riżultati t-tim ta’ Ruma jinsab [fil-quċċata tas-Serie B]<sub>pp</sub></i> ‘[. . .] with these results the team of Rome finds itself [ <b>at the top of Serie B</b> ].’	<i>Serie B</i> ‘Italian Division’
news103860	<i>Tarxien Rainbows telgħu waħedhom [fil-quċċata tat-Tieni Diviżjoni]<sub>pp</sub></i> b’ rebħa ta’ 5–0 fuq Vittoriosa Stars ‘With 5–0 victory over Vittoriosa Stars, Tarxien Rainbows climbed alone [ <b>to the top of the Second Division</b> ].’	<i>Tieni Diviżjoni</i> ‘Maltese Second Division’

Cases of these kinds are responsible for the vast majority of hits for *fil-quċċata ta(X)* whereas they are infrequent in the case of *fuq il-quċċata ta(X)*. The differences between the two options come to the fore in Figure 5.55.

On the one hand, it is true that *fil-quċċata ta(X)* and *fuq il-quċċata ta(X)* are compatible with complement nouns of both classes, i.e., geo-objects (= all kinds of physical objects in space) are fine and hierarchies as well. However, the two options are not randomly made use of. In the case of *fil-quċċata ta(X)*, there is a solid 94% majority of the tokens involving a complement noun that belongs to the class of hierarchically ordered lists. In contrast, *fuq il-quċċata ta(X)* prefers combinations with nouns referring to geo-objects – a preference that accounts for 83% of all instances. This means that (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ displays a stronger inclination towards proper spatial situations whereas (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ is leaning towards metonymical interpretations of space.

In (5.258), two examples of the above IIs are given in which the relevant spatial situation involves a Ground that can be conceived of as an extended surface. Note



**Figure 5.55:** Token frequencies of *fil-quċċata ta(X)* / *fuq il-quċċata ta(X)* with complements of two different classes (Korpus Malti 3.0).

that the sentences are almost identical. They are taken from E.U. regulations with regard to certain aspects of cheese-making. The complement noun is *wiċċ* ‘(sur)face’.

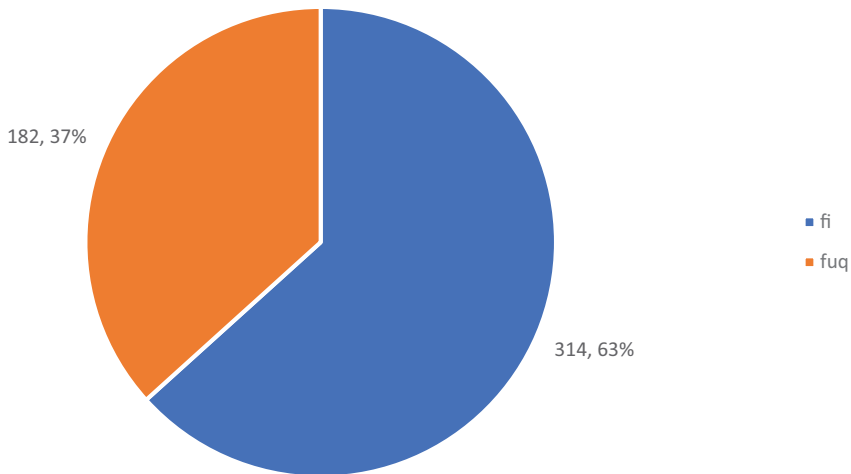
- (5.258) (II15) *fi* ‘in’ = (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ III
- (a) (II15) *fi* ‘in’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; european2555]
- Ġobon artab u matur huwa kkurat jew immaturat b’*  
cheese soft and ripe 3SG.M cure:PART or ripen:PART with  
*aġenti kuranti bijoloġiċi bħal moffa ħmira u organiżmi*  
agent:PL curing biological:PL like mould yeast and organism:PL  
*oħra li jkunu jiffurmaw qoxra prominenti*  
other:PL that 3.IPFV:be.FUT:PL 3.IPFV:form:PL peel prominent  
*[fi-wiċċ tal-ġobon]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[in:DEF-face of:DEF-cheese]*  
‘Soft and ripe cheese is taken care of or ripened with biological curative agents like mould, yeast, and other organisms that will form a prominent layer [on the surface of the cheese].’
- (b) (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; european2615]
- Ġobon artab u matur huwa kkurat jew immaturat*  
cheese soft and ripe 3SG.M care:PART or ripen:PART  
*permezz ta’ aġenti ta’ kura bijoloġika bħall-moffa*  
by\_means\_of of agent:PL of cure biological:F like:DEF-mould



*ħmira u organiżmi oħra li jiffurmaw*  
 yeast and organism:PL other:PL that 3.IPFV:be.FUT:PL  
*qoxra [fuq il-wiċċ tal-ġobon]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3.IPFV:form:PLpeel [in DEF-face of:DEF-cheese]

‘Soft and ripe cheese is taken care of or ripened with agents of biological curing like the mould, yeast, and other organisms that will form a layer **[on the surface of the cheese]**.’

These examples suggest again that the two IIs are functionally equivalent. What the examples do not tell us is whether they are preferred for expressing certain concepts or not. To clarify this issue, we proceed in analogy to what we have done above in connection to *quċcata* ‘top; summit’. First, we determine how often we find evidence of *fil-wiċċ ta(X)* ‘on the surface of X’ and *fuq il-wiċċ ta(X)* ‘on the surface of X’ in the Korpus Malti 3.0. Afterwards, we will see which nouns are attested as X. Figure 5.56 reveals that *fil-wiċċ ta(X)* is the majority solution.



**Figure 5.56:** Frequencies and shares of *fil-wiċċ ta(X)* vs *fuq il-wiċċ ta(X)* in the Korpus Malti 3.0.

In contrast to the previous case, the search that involves *wiċċ* ‘(sur)face’ does not yield results that point towards principled differences between the two options if we discount the expected quantitative predominance of the construction with (II15) *fi* ‘in’. It is also hardly of relevance whether the Ground is a human face or a surface of some other kind. In (5.259), two examples are provided that show that both options are possible if *wiċċ* ‘(sur)face’ refers to the body part of a living being.

(5.259) (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ = (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ III

(a) (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news83437]

*Hemm hu l-White Rocks monument ħaj tad-daħq*  
there 3SG.M DEF-White Rocks monument alive of:DEF:laughter

*[fil-wiċċ ta’ Gonzi PN]<sub>pp</sub>*

*[in:DEF-face of Gonzi PN]*

‘There is the White Rocks – a living monument of the smile **[on the face of PN Gonzi]**.’

(b) (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news196202]

*Sal-icken dettall imnaqqax f’ din il-vara*

till:DEF-small.CMPR detail PART:sculpt in DEM:F:PROX DEF-statue

*b’ paċenzja kbira ir-riżultat finali huwa wieħed impressjonanti*

with patience big:F DEF-result final 3SG.M one impressive

*bit-tbatija evidenti [fuq il-wiċċ ta’ Kristu]<sub>pp</sub>*

with-DEF-suffering evident **[on DEF-face of Christ]**

‘Sculpted in this statue with great patience till the smallest detail, the final result is an impressive one, with the suffering evident **[on the face of Christ]**.’

The body part *wiċċ* ‘(sur)face’ is attested six times with *fuq il-wiċċ ta(X)* and seventeen times with *fil-wiċċ ta(X)* corresponding to shares of 3% and 5%, respectively. None of the options is particularly frequent. It is also hardly possible to consider one of them to be the default when it comes to expressing location on somebody’s face. It does not seem to make a difference whether (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ or (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ is used with this complement noun. This conclusion cannot be generalised over all possible contexts.

As a matter of fact, (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ and (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ cannot replace each other everywhere. Consider the examples in (5.260).

(5.260) (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ ≠ (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’

(a) (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature19]

*Qalu li raw qisu qamar [fis-sema]<sub>pp</sub>*

say:3PL.PFV that see:3PL.PFV measure:3SG.M moon **[in:DEF-sky]**

*tond tond ileqq b’ dawl ħadrani*

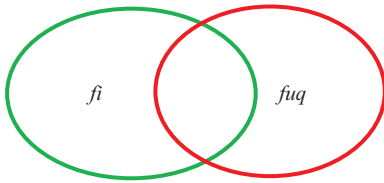
round round 3SG.M.IPFV:shine with light greenish

‘They said that they saw something like a moon **[in the sky]** really round shining with greenish light.’

- (b) (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature59]  
*anke l-qamar [fuq rashom]<sub>pp</sub> kellu jnehhi*  
 also DEF-moon [on head:3PL] have.PFV:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:remove  
*l-kappell u japplawdi*  
 DEF-hat and 3SG.M.IPFV:applaud  
 ‘[...] also the moon [**above** their head] had to take off the hat and applaud  
 [...]’

(Π15) *fi* ‘in’ and (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ are often interchangeable if Figure and Ground are in contact with each other. However, this possibility is blocked when the Figure is described as being detached from the Ground. In this case, (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ is interpreted as the translation equivalent of English *above* as in (5.260b). It is impossible to put (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ in the slot of (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’. Similarly, (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ is not replaceable in (5.260a) although the Ground (= the sky) could be understood as an extended surface on which the Figure is located.

In conclusion, the relation between the two Πs is again one of partial overlap of their domains. Both (Π15) *fi* ‘in’ and (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’ claim larger territories great parts of which are outside the reach of the competing Π. This is what Figure 5.57 is meant to tell us.



**Figure 5.57:** Overlap of functional domains (SUPERIOR Πs).

We emphasise once again that a lot still needs to be done before we can declare this and the previous cases closed. We have only scratched the surface, in a manner of speaking. The exact spell out of the interrelationship between the Πs requires much more research that we cannot afford to conduct within the framework of this study.

#### 5.2.1.4.4.3 The internal organisation of the spatio-temporal domain

On the basis of the previous discussion, we conclude that polysemy and synonymy are only relatively weakly represented in the spatio-temporal domain. As to the latter phenomenon, we argue that the best candidates for the status of (full) synonyms are listed in (5.261).

## (5.261) Synonymous spatial IIs

- a. (II14) *fejn* ‘near’ = (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ = (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ (PROPINQUUS),
- b. (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ = (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ (MEDIAL<sub>1</sub>),
- c. (II18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ = (II19) *ġo* ‘in’ (INTERIOR),
- d. (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ = (II58) *viċin* ‘near’ (PROPINQUUS).

For the binary relations (b)–(d), we are confident that the IIs that form a given pair are indeed largely synonymous. In the case of the triple chain in (a) however, further investigations are called for to determine whether the functional equivalence is as assumed by us. The necessity of further research holds for practically all our sketches of the semantics of Maltese IIs. It would be too repetitive to keep emphasising this fact time and again in what follows. We therefore refrain from drawing the reader’s attention again to the hypothetical nature of our conclusions (not only in this section).

#### 5.2.1.4.4.3.1 Spatial vs temporal

We briefly review the different parameters which are mentioned in Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) as to their relevance in the system of spatio-temporal IIs in Maltese. For a start, we address the distinction of spatial vs temporal. The evidence we have proves the obvious in the sense that the vast majority of the IIs evaluated throughout the semantics section fall under the rubric of exclusively or predominantly spatial IIs the only case of a purely temporal II being (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’. This temporal II is excluded from the expression of spatial relations. It was shown above that (II46) *qabel* ‘before’ may be used to indicate a position of the Figure in a hierarchy on a rank that is higher than that occupied by the Ground.<sup>211</sup> This is a metonymical and thus secondary use of (II46) *qabel* ‘before’. One might therefore claim that (II46) *qabel* ‘before’ basically is a temporal II that tolerates spatial readings, too. The case of (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ is similar although this time it is a basically spatial II that allows for being used with a temporal meaning.<sup>212</sup> Further Maltese spatial IIs that allow for being also employed in temporal contexts are (II4) *bejn* ‘between’, (II15) *fī* ‘in’, (II21) *għal* ‘for’, (II33) *matul* ‘during’, (II41) *minn* ‘from’, (II51) *sa* ‘till’, and (II60) *wara* ‘after’. Temporal meanings are never expressed by the IIs in (5.262).

<sup>211</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.10.1.

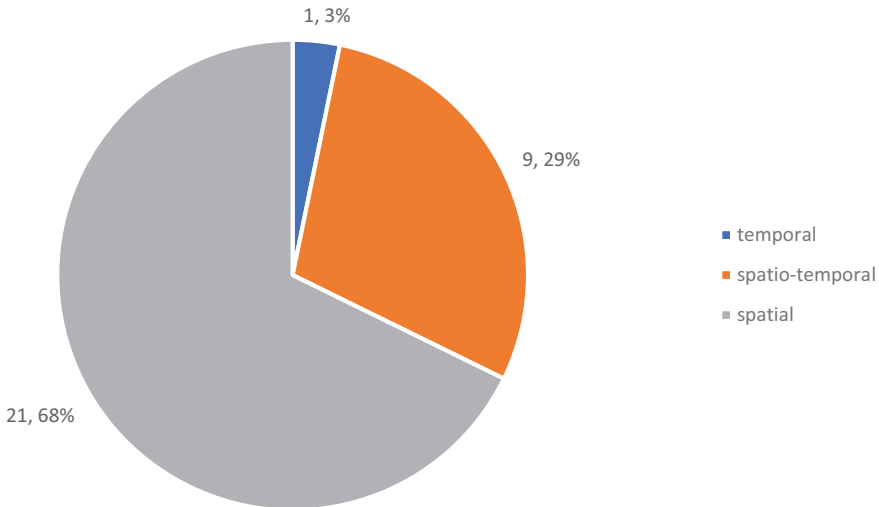
<sup>212</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.12.

## (5.262) Spatial IIs without temporal usages

(II3) *barra* ‘outside’; (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’; (II12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’; (II14) *fejn* ‘near’; (II17) *fuq* ‘on’; (II18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’; (II19) *ġo* ‘in’; (II22) *għand* ‘at s.o.’s place’; (II23) *hdejn* ‘beside’; (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’; (II30) *ma* ‘with’; (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’; (II38) *mingħand* ‘from s.o.’; (II44) *oltre* ‘beyond’; (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’; (II48) *qrib* ‘near’; (II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’; (II56) *taħt* ‘under’; (II57) *versu* ‘towards’; (II58) *vicin* ‘near’.

An additional case needs to be mentioned, namely (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’. Except for one frequent idiomatic expression,<sup>213</sup> (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ is never used in temporal contexts. We, therefore, lean towards including this II in the class of those IIs which only serve spatial purposes.

In Figure 5.58, we reveal the distribution over three categories of the 31 IIs that have been taken into account for the purposes of Section 5.2. The categories are (a) exclusively temporal, (b) mixed spatio-temporal, and (c) exclusively spatial IIs.



**Figure 5.58:** Shares of temporal, spatio-temporal, and spatial IIs (types).

The prominence of exclusively spatial IIs is clearly visible. Interestingly, without exception, the four Italo-Romance IIs belong to the class of exclusively spatial IIs. Those IIs which (also) have temporal functions are Semitic.

<sup>213</sup> Discussed in Section 5.1.2.1.13.

### 5.2.1.4.4.3.2 With(out) contact

The second criterion to be looked at is that of contact between Figure and Ground. This criterion is irrelevant with regard to the temporal dimension. It is exclusively relevant for spatial relations. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 160–164) distinguish between SUPERIOR VS SUPERIOR-CONTACT, INFERIOR VS INFERIOR-CONTACT, LATERAL VS LATERAL-CONTACT, CITERIOR VS CITERIOR-CONTACT, and ULTERIOR VS ULTERIOR-CONTACT. The latter two pairs of distinctions are skipped in what follows because the means used for their expression violate the definition of the canonical  $\Pi$ .<sup>214</sup>

The only  $\Pi$  within BLOMP 2.0 that can express contact on its own is ( $\Pi$ 30) *ma* ‘with’. It is mentioned by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 163) as marker of LATERAL-CONTACT (with the notable exception of Path). That ( $\Pi$ 30) *ma* ‘with’ serves as  $\Pi_2$  in certain  $\Pi$ - $\Pi$  combinations to indicate that Figure and Ground touch each other was remarked upon already.<sup>215</sup> This possibility is acknowledged by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 162–163) only for INFERIOR-CONTACT MOTION PAST (= *minn ma’ taħt*) and LATERAL-CONTACT MOTION FROM (= *minn (ma’)*). In our corpus, there is evidence of further combinations<sup>216</sup>.<sup>217</sup> More importantly, the presence of a dedicated

<sup>214</sup> As exposed in Section 1.6.1.

<sup>215</sup> Cf. Section 4.1.3.1.

<sup>216</sup> As exposed in Section 4.1.3.1.

<sup>217</sup> There are doubtful cases supposedly involving ( $\Pi$ 30) *ma* ‘with’ as  $\Pi_1$  but which might be better filed under *ma*’-PPs with a multiword complement. Compare (5.xv)–(5.xvi).

(5.xv) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic13]

*Dan l-insett nagħrfuh għaliex jehel*  
DEM.M.PROX DEF-insect 1.IPFV:recognise:PL:3SG.M because 3SG.M.IPFV:get\_stuck

*[ma’ taħt il-weraq]<sub>pp</sub> u [maz-zkuk]<sub>pp</sub>*

*[with under DEF-leaves.COLL] and [with:DEF-stem.PL]*

‘We recognise this insect because it gets stuck **[under the foliage]** and **[on the stems]**.’

(5.xvi) [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic13]

*naraw bħal imħar kannella mqabbad [maz-zokk]<sub>pp</sub> jew*  
1.IPFV:see:PL like limpet brown PART:CAUS.catch **[with:DEF-stem]** or

*imwaħħal [ma’ taħt tal-weraq]<sub>pp</sub>*

PART:CAUS.stick **[with under of:DEF-leaves.COLL]**

‘[. . .] we see something like brown limpets fixed **[onto the stem]** or stuck **[on the underside of the leaves]**.’

Examples (5.xv)–(5.xvi) are taken from one and the same academic text. There are two *ma*’-PPs per sentence. Those PPs whose complement is a form of *zokk* ‘stem’ make do with one  $\Pi$  to express contact with a vertically extended Ground. In these cases, ( $\Pi$ 30) *ma* ‘with’ is self-sufficient, in a manner of speaking. This is different in those cases where the complement is *weraq* ‘leaves; foliage’. The Figure is not directly visible to the eye since the insects live on the underside of the leaves. The status of ( $\Pi$ 56) *taħt* ‘under’ seems to differ between (5.xv) and (5.xvi). In example (5.xv),

marker of contact does not seem to be obligatory. For the vast majority of the spatial IIs, no special construction is needed to express contact. Therefore, it is logical to conclude that this parameter is of limited importance for the system under scrutiny. Whether Figure and Ground are in physical contact or not is relevant only in connection with Path.<sup>218</sup>

### 5.2.1.4.4.3.3 Surface

Surface is a separate spatial category in the reference grammar (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 161). According to this source, the surface marker is always the same, namely (II17) *fuq* ‘on’. As we have seen above,<sup>219</sup> the situation is not as straightforward because there is also (II15) *fi* ‘in’ that can be used to express location of a Figure on a surface. The competition between (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ and (II15) *fi* ‘in’ comes to the fore especially when the spatial situation is static as is the case in (5.263).

(5.263) (II15) *fi* ‘in’ = (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ IV

(a) (II15) *fi* ‘in’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature24]

*il-flixkun kien [fl-ixkaffa f' postu]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-bottle be [in:DEF-shelf in place:3SG.M]

‘[. . .] the bottle was [on the shelf at its place].’

(b) (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature45]

*Il-ktieb kien għadu jistenna għalxejn*  
 DEF-book be still:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:wait uselessly  
*jgħbor it-trab [fuq l-ixkaffa]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:collect DEF-dust [on DEF-shelf]

‘The book was still uselessly collecting dust [on the shelf] [. . .].’

*Xkaffa* ‘shelf’ is also the complement in Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander’s (1997: 161) example for SURFACE AT REST. Depending on the actual build of the shelf, it can be conceived of as either an object with a surface or as a container-like object. In the vast majority of the hits for *xkaffa* ‘shelf’ as complement in a PP that locates a Figure at rest on the shelf, the Korpus Malti 3.0 gives evidence of the use of (II17) *fuq* ‘on’

it is possible to speak of a II-II combination whose second II governs its complement according to the nominative pattern. In (5.xvi), the presence of (II55) *ta* ‘of’ defines the government pattern as genitival. In light of idioms like *minn taht it-taht* ‘stealthily’, one might regard the second PP in (5.xvi) as residually related to a (hypothetical) noun \**taht* ‘underside’. Problems of this kind can only be solved within the framework of a study that analyses Maltese IIs from the vantage point of grammaticalization theory.

<sup>218</sup> As shown in Section 5.1.2.2.20.

<sup>219</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.4.4.2.2.6.

with (II15) *fi* ‘in’ occurring only infrequently. The replacement of (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ with (II15) *fi* ‘in’ is blocked if dynamic spatial relations are overtly expressed by a directionality marker. Since both (II21) *għal* ‘for’ (DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub>) and (II41) *minn* ‘from’ (PROLATIVE) are optional according to Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 160–161), the configuration marker (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ can express motion to and motion past on its own. Or more precisely: no formal distinction needs to be made between Place, Goal, and Path – and, what is more, the distinctions surface vs other Ground and contact vs no contact are (partially) neutralised, too. Three examples capturing part of this situation are provided in (5.264).

(5.264) Neutralisation

- (a) DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub> (+ ABLATIVE) – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news131022]  
*kienu qegħdin itellgħu lill-anzjan*  
 be PROG:PL 3.IPFV:ascend.CAUS:PL to:DEF-senior  
*[minn fuq is-siġġu tar-roti]<sub>pp</sub> [għal fuq is-sodda]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[from on DEF-seat of:DEF-wheel:PL] [for on DEF-bed]*  
 ‘[. . .] they were lifting the elderly man **[from the wheelchair]** **[onto the bed]**.’
- (b) Motion to without directional marker – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature32]  
*Wara ftit reġa’ daħal ġewwa u poġġa [fuq is-sodda]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 after little do\_again enter inside and sit **[on DEF-bed]**  
 ‘After a short while he came back in and sat down **[on the bed]**.’
- (c) At rest / no contact marker – [Korpus malti 3.0; literature43]  
*Kienet qieghda [fuq is-sodda]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 be:3SG.F.PFV stay:PART:F **[on DEF-bed]**  
*b’ għajnejha miftuħa*  
 with eye:PL:3SG.F PART:open:PL  
 ‘She was staying **[on the bed]** with her eyes open.’

Example (5.264a) contains a *minn*-PP and a *għal*-PP where (II41) *minn* ‘from’ and (II21) *għal* ‘for’ precede (II17) *fuq* ‘on’. The first PP represents the spatial relation of Source which implies that the directionality marker can never be dropped whereas the use of the configuration marker is by no means compulsory. The second PP is an instance of DIRECTIONAL<sub>1</sub> whose directionality marker is optional. Proof of the optionality can be found in (5.264b). Since the Place relation in (5.264c) is zero-marked, too, the disambiguation of the *fuq*-PP rests entirely on the verb and contextual information. Accordingly, contact only plays a very minor role in giving structure to the system of Maltese IIs. The criterion can be activated if necessary but its overt expression is not compulsory. Contact will enter the scene again in the subsequent section.



#### 5.2.1.4.4.3.4 Laterality

For Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 162–163), coding the lateral position of a Figure relative to the Ground is the task of (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ and (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ if contact does not apply. If LATERAL-CONTACT is the case, (Π30) *ma* ‘with’ comes into play. It is said to be optional in constructions which refer to a spatial relation of Source (whereas the directionality marker is mandatory). For Path, (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ is said to combine with (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’. Above we discussed the interrelation of (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ and (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ with other PROPINQUUS IIs.<sup>220</sup> We also know that (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ (but not (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’) may fulfil the function of FRONTALIS marker.<sup>221</sup> It is thus clear that extensionally, (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ and (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ have different meanings although their zone of overlap is huge.

In (5.265), there is a *minn-maġenb* combination which, taken in isolation, is ambiguous.

- (5.265) Lateral with or without contact? – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news3651]  
*L-asterojde 2000 EM 26 ġhaddiet [minn maġenb id-dinja]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-asteroid 2000 EM 26 pass:3SG.F.PFV [from close to DEF-world]  
*bla problemi hekk kif kien skedat*  
 without problem:PL so how be schedule:PART  
 ‘The asteroid 2000 EM 26 passed [close by the Earth] without problems as scheduled.’

Were it not for the *bla*-PP to the right of the closing square bracket, one would not know whether the asteroid scratches the Earth on its voyage in space. Of course, world knowledge tells us that no such contact has taken place in reality. However, the fact remains, that the combination of (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ and (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ leaves it to the recipient of the message to find the correct interpretation. The information conveyed by (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ is that Figure and Ground were not too distant from each other when the former passed by the latter. Since the Earth is conceived of as a globe, there is no way to tell whether the asteroid passed the Earth laterally, frontally, above it, beneath it, or behind it. Laterality can be determined only in those cases where the Ground has a referent whose structure allows us to identify and distinguish different sides thereof.

We argue that laterality – like contact – is not as important a criterion in Maltese as the category grid of the LDS-format used by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander

<sup>220</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.4.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.6.

(1997) suggests. As mentioned already,<sup>222</sup> the reference grammar concedes that both (Π8) *biswit* ‘facing’ and (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ can be used as synonyms of (Π14) *fejn* ‘near’, (Π23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’, (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’, and (Π58) *viċin* ‘near’. At this point, it is worthwhile to reopen the case of the semantic equivalence of these Πs once again. To this end, we divide the group of Πs of interest into two subsets. Examples of the members of the first subset are given in (5.266).

(5.266) Three options – one meaning

(a) (Π14) *fejn* ‘near’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature35]

*Georgie taħrab tiġri u tasal*  
 Georgie 3SG.F.IPFV:escape 3SG.F.IPFV:run and 3SG.F.IPFV:arrive  
 [*fejn ix-xmara*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 [*near DEF-river*]

‘Georgie runs away and arrives [*near the river*].’

(b) (Π23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature81]

*Għalqet il-pitazz u ħaditni magħha*  
 close:3SG.F.PFV DEF-copybook and take:3SG.F.PFV:1SG with:3SG.F  
 [*ħdejn ix-xmara*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 [*beside DEF-river*]

‘She closed the copybook and took me with her [*to (the vicinity of) the river*].’

(c) (Π48) *qrib* ‘near’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news5663]

*kien qed jikkampja mal-familja tiegħu*  
 be PROG 3SG.M.IPFV:camp with:DEF-family of:3SG.M  
 [*qrib ix-xmara Eildon f’ Victoria*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 [*near DEF-river Eildon in Victoria*]

‘[. . .] he was camping with his family [*near the river Eildon in Victoria*].’

(d) (Π58) *viċin* ‘near’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news57756]

*se jsir festival bil-logħob tan-nar*  
 FUT 3SG.M.IPFV:become festival with:def-playing of:DEF-fire  
 [*viċin ix-xmara ta’ Hudson*]<sub>pp</sub>  
 [*near DEF-river of Hudson*]

‘[. . .] a festival with fireworks will take place [*near the river Hudson*].’

The Ground is represented by the common noun *xmara* ‘river’. In the four sentences, the Figure is located in or moved to the vicinity of the river. Since the geo-ob-

222 Cf. Section 5.1.2.1.4.

ject extends horizontally with a left bank and a right bank defining the sides of the object, the above Figures are always put in a lateral position relative to the Ground. This laterality also applies in (5.267) where a further three IIs are involved.

(5.267) Three options – one meaning

- (a) (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news58652]  
*Il-lukanda tiegħi kienet [biswit ix-xmara Nil]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 DEF-hotel of:1SG be:3SG.F.PFV [facing DEF-river Nile]  
 ‘My hotel was [looking on the river Nile].’
- (b) (II30) *ma* ‘with’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news181991]  
*Minn hawn noħorġu nagħmlu mixja*  
 from here 1.IPFV:exit:PL 1.IPFV:make:PL stroll  
*[max-xmara Tiber]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[with:DEF-river Tiber]*  
 ‘From here we go out for a stroll [along the river Tiber].’
- (c) (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news183872]  
*din il-koppja kienu qegħdin passiġata*  
 DEM.F.PROX DEF-couple be:3PL.PFV PROG:PL stroll  
*[maġenb ix-xmara Jinshi]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[close to DEF-river Jinshi]*  
 ‘[. . .] this couple was on a stroll [beside the river Jinshi] [. . .].’

First of all, the spatial situations in (5.266) and (5.267) have in common that the Figure is close to one side of the Ground. This means that laterality applies no matter whether Georgie arrives at the river (= (5.266a)), the speaker is taken down to the river (= (5.266b)), the family camps near the river (= (5.266c)), the fireworks take place near the river (= (5.266d)), the hotel is facing the Nile (= (5.267a)), the protagonists take a walk along the Tiber (= (5.267b)), or along the Jinshi (= (5.267c)). There is, however, a difference insofar as the examples (5.266c–d) and (5.267a) reflect a static spatial relation. The Figure is (at least temporarily) immobile and so small that its relation to the Ground can be termed punctual. The punctual relation holds also for (5.266a–b) because the motion event has its endpoint at the river, i.e., the river is the Goal. In contrast, the examples in (5.267b–c) capture motion events which involve a Figure that moves along one side of the Ground so that the Figure–Ground relation holds for a longer stretch of the total length of the river. These situations invoke the notion of PROLATIVE.

We argue that laterality is especially relevant for spatial situations that involve a Ground that prominently extends on one dimension. This observation guides us directly to the next section where long objects are in the focus of interest.

5.2.1.4.4.3.5 Long object

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 167–168) have separate sections for Grounds that refer to long objects for the following categories: INTERIOR, EXTERIOR, SUPERIOR, SUPERIOR-CONTACT, SURFACE, INFERIOR, INFERIOR-CONTACT, INTERIOR, SUPERIOR, SUPERIOR-CONTACT, and SURFACE-CONTACT.<sup>223</sup> Two things are remarkable about this long list. We start from the back because in this way lengthy discussions of irrelevant cases can be avoided. The shared marker of INTERIOR (LONG OBJECT), SUPERIOR (LONG OBJECT), SUPERIOR-CONTACT (LONG OBJECT), and SURFACE-CONTACT (LONG OBJECT) is not a II, but the fully-fledged transitive verb *qasam* ‘break’ that is also used as translation equivalent of English *cross* (*a road, etc.*). Since this verb belongs to a different word class from IIs displaying a completely different syntactic behaviour, *qasam* ‘break’ does not meet the criteria defined for the canonical II. This is why we stroke INTERIOR (LONG OBJECT), SUPERIOR (LONG OBJECT), SUPERIOR-CONTACT (LONG OBJECT), and SURFACE-CONTACT (LONG OBJECT) from the list of items we need to discuss further.

The second fact of interest with the long-object criterion comes to surface when we inspect the markers that are used to express certain configurations with Grounds whose referents fall into the class of long objects and compare them to the markers that are used with objects of different sizes. Table 5.31 contains the necessary information. Identically filled cells are marked out in identical colours.

**Table 5.31:** Markers for configurations with unspecified and long-object Grounds.

configuration	Ground	
	unspecified	long
INTERIOR	<i>minn</i>	<i>minn</i>
EXTERIOR	<i>minn barra</i>	<i>magenb</i>
SUPERIOR	<i>minn fuq</i>	<i>minn fuq</i>
SUPERIOR-CONTACT	<i>minn fuq</i>	<i>(minn) fuq</i>
SURFACE	<i>minn fuq</i>	<i>(minn) fuq</i>
INFERIOR	<i>minn taħt</i>	<i>(minn) taħt</i>
INFERIOR-CONTACT	<i>minn taħt(?)</i>	<i>minn taħt</i>

<sup>223</sup> In the source, the label SURFACE (LONG OBJECT) is used twice (Sections 2.1.1.5.24a and 2.1.1.5.29a in the reference grammar). We have corrected the second mention of the label to SURFACE-CONTACT (LONG OBJECT) because the exponent used in this case is identical to the one used for the expression of SUPERIOR-CONTACT (LONG OBJECT).

There is an abundance of cells filled either by *minn*<sub>PERLATIVE</sub> or *minn*<sub>PROLATIVE</sub>. These and similar cases have been extensively discussed repeatedly already – along with the possibility of omitting (II41) *minn* ‘from’ in certain contexts.<sup>224</sup> We do not intend to take up these issues again in this section. It should not go unmentioned, however, that the colour code reveals that in Table 5.31, several potential distinctions are neutralised (and we count the optional absence of (II41) *minn* ‘from’ as distinctive). For INFERIOR, SUPERIOR, and INFERIOR-CONTACT, the distinction between unspecified objects and long objects is irrelevant because the same marker is used for both object types. At the same time, in the column of unspecified Grounds, SUPERIOR, SUPERIOR-CONTACT, and SURFACE are expressed identically as are INFERIOR and INFERIOR-CONTACT. In the column of long objects, identical expression holds for SUPERIOR-CONTACT and SURFACE. This leaves us with only three distinct expressions, i.e., those which are unique to a given cell, namely (according to the specifications given in the reference grammar) *minn barra* (EXTERIOR MOTION FROM / unspecified object),<sup>225</sup> *maġenb* (EXTERIOR long object), and (*minn*) *taħt* (INFERIOR long object). In what follows, we focus on the role which (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ is assigned to in Table 5.31.

To make our point, we deviate from the usual practice applied in the previous sections where relatively short examples sufficed to support the arguments we wanted to make. In (5.268), we present a longish passage from a parliamentary speech which contains a number of interesting PPs (marked out in boldface) to which we will refer back subsequently. The verbs on which some of these PPs depend are underlined. We refrain from glossing the lengthy example since the marked parts thereof will be discussed separately in the next paragraph where their internal structure is explained, too.

(5.268) Waterways – [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl3213]

*Sal-lum il-pożizzjoni hi li l-ilma jasal **ħdejn il-ground ta' Burmarrad** – izda issa minflok **mill-wiċċ tat-triq** se jkun għaddej **minn ġol-pajpijiet** – imma sfortunatament imbagħad **minn ħdejn il-ground sa ħdejn Kennedy Grove**, **matul il-wied** għandna problema kbira li akkumulat **matul is-snin**, fejn dawk li kienu l-passaġġi ta' l-ilma antiki spiċċaw – hemmhekk il-bużnanniet kellhom il-kanen ta' l-ilma jgħaddu **minn ġor-raba'** – u allura hemm il-probabbilta' li bħalma ġara kull darba li għamlet ix-xita, meta l-ilma jasal **ħdejn il-ground tal-football ta' Burmarrad** jerga' jiżbokka fl-inħawi tar-raba' għax l-ilma m' għandux **minn fejn jgħaddi** u allura jerga' jkollna għarar fir-raba' ta' dawk l-inħawi.*

<sup>224</sup> Cf. Sections 5.1.2.2.20.2.1, 5.1.2.2.20.3, and 5.2.1.4.4.1.2.

<sup>225</sup> Cf. Section 3.2.1.

‘Until today the situation is such that the water arrives **near the Burmarrad football pitch** – but now, in lieu of **across the surface of the street**, it will pass **through the pipes** – but unfortunately then **from near the football ground to near Kennedy Grove** we have a big problem **along the valley** that has accumulated **over the years** where what used to be the old passages of the water came to an end – where the great-grandfathers had the water-pipes passing **through the fields** – and thus there is the probability that like each time it rained, when the water arrives **at the Burmarrad football ground** it again flows into the fields because the water has **nowhere** to pass **through** and thus will we again have floods in the fields of these areas.’

In (5.268), ten PPs are highlighted. Which connection do they have to the long-object criterion? The following list shows that the long-object criterion needs to be revised.

- *jasal hdejn il-ground ta’ Burmarrad* ‘it arrives near the Burmarrad (football) ground’ – the Figure (= the water) runs as far as close to the Ground that is a rectangular object with two long and two shorter sides. Neither the width nor the length is of any importance for the choice of the PROPINQUUS II;
- *jasal hdejn il-ground tal-football ta’ Burmarrad* ‘it arrives near the Burmarrad football ground’ – the previous description is valid also for this example;
- *minn hdejn il-ground* ‘from near the (football) ground’ – this is the starting point whence the problematic terrain stretches out till the endpoint to be mentioned next; the spatial situation involves an ABLATIVE use of (II41) *minn* ‘from’; the size of the Ground on any of the three dimensions is of no avail for the choice of the configuration marker because what counts is the proximity of the Figure to the Ground;
- *sa hdejn Kennedy Grove* ‘until near Kennedy Grove’ – this is the endpoint of the problematic terrain; the combination of (II51) *sa* ‘till’ and (II23) *hdejn* ‘beside’ forms a parallel to that of (II41) *minn* ‘from’ and (II23) *hdejn* ‘beside’ in the previous PP; the properties of the Ground are irrelevant for the choice of the configuration marker;
- *mill-wičc tat-triq* ‘across the street’s surface’ – originally the water flowed above the ground across the street which can be understood as a long object, meaning: we are facing a PERLATIVE or PROLATIVE use of (II41) *minn* ‘from’; according to Table 5.31, this could either be an instance of motion within an object of unspecified size or within a long object;
- *ghaddej minn ġol-pajpijet* ‘passing through the pipes’ – the pipes are bona fide examples of long objects; as in the foregoing case, we are witnessing the use of *minn*<sub>PERLATIVE</sub> with the water moving on the inside of the long object; according to the reference grammar, “**minn** followed by **ġo/ġewwa** [original boldface]” (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 158) is used (only?) for motion from the

interior of an object (=ELATIVE); our example however, describes a situation in which the water runs through the pipes, i.e., on their inside; note that the combination of (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ and (Π19) *go* ‘in’ is absent from Table 5.31;

- *jghaddu minn gor-raba* ‘they pass through the fields’ – since the fields constitute a referent whose flanks are long; this case resembles the previous one except that (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ and (Π19) *go* ‘in’ combine to depict the spatial situation as one that affects the interior of the Ground although in real life the water passes through the fields in the open air;
- *minn fejn jghaddi* ‘where it passes through’ – the object through which the water can pass is unidentifiable (because it is absent, in the first place), so that one cannot be sure about the applicability of the long-object criterion; it is clear however, that (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ functions as PERLATIVE;
- *matul il-wied* ‘along the valley’ – the valley is a good candidate for a long object; the problems (= Figure) arise at different points along the valley (whether inside or outside of it cannot be determined); one might ask why (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ does not appear in Table 5.31;
- *akkumulat matul is-snin* ‘it accumulated over the years’ – the PP forms a temporal adverbial and is thus not included in the ensuing discussion, although metonymically speaking, a succession of many years might be taken to represent a long object, too.

The gist of the data in (5.268) is as follows. The putative paradigm in Table 5.31 fails to cover the entire range of phenomena that are connected to the criterion of long objects. On the one hand, there are gaps in the inventory. On the other hand, the fact that an object that represents the Ground in a spatial situation happens to be long does not automatically trigger the use of a given Π or combination of Πs. This is a fact that calls for being elaborated upon further.

In partial repetition of what was said already in connection with laterality,<sup>226</sup> we first present two examples that demonstrate that the length of the object serving as Ground need not dictate what Π the speaker has to use. In (5.269) and (5.270), the Ground is represented by the common noun *wied* ‘valley’. In the majority of the examples in (5.269)–(5.270), the Figure is represented by expressions that refer to types of streets/roads. The reason for this choice of Figure will be disclosed below.

---

226 Cf. Section 5.2.1.4.4.3.4.

## (5.269) Long Figures combining with long Grounds I

(a) (II48) *qrib* ‘near’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl1659]

*Din it-triq għadha qatt ma ġiet*  
 DEM:F:PROX DEF-street still:3SG.F never NEG come:3SG.F.PFV  
*livellata tinsab [qrib il-wied]<sub>pp</sub> u tista’*  
 level:PART:F 3SG.F.IPFV:REFL:find [near DEF-valley] and 2SG.IPFV:can  
*tahseb x’ jgħaddi ta’ l-ilma minn<sub>HA</sub>*  
 2SG.IPFV:think what 3SG.M.IPFV:pass of DEF-water from:3SG.F  
 ‘This street has never been levelled, it is situated [near the valley] and you  
 can imagine how much water passes over it [ . . ].’

(b) (II58) *viċin* ‘near’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl15444]

*din it-triq hija [viċin il-wied]<sub>pp</sub> u kemm-il darba*  
 DEM:F:PROX DEF-street 3SG.F [near DEF-valley] and how\_many time  
*sofriet minn problemi ta’ l-għargħar*  
 suffer:SG.F.PFV from problem:PL of DEF-flood  
 ‘[ . . ] this street is [near the valley] and how many times has it suffered  
 from problems of flooding.’

We assume that the Ground is indeed long. The valley seasonally may turn into a torrent because of the rain that pours down over an extended period of time on the island. The masses of water that are too much for the valley to transport to the sea create problems for everything that is built on the slopes of the valleys or near them because the slopes temporarily turn into river banks. The rising water floods nearby streets causing damages, etc. Interestingly, the streets mentioned in (5.269) are on the exterior of a long object but the expected (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ is not used to express the relation between Figure and Ground although this is what Table 5.31 requires to happen. Accordingly, the length of the object in Ground function cannot be decisive alone for the choice of the appropriate II.

The LDS-format does not make explicit which participant in a spatial situation is the long object, but it can be inferred from the context in the reference grammar that it is the Ground that counts. We argue that it is not enough for the Ground to have a longish referent. We assume that both Figure and Ground need to be taken account of. In (5.269), the streets are long objects just like the valley is a long object. In (5.270), the combination of a Figure and a Ground both of which fulfil the criterion of being long objects affects the choice of II without however privileging any II in particular.

## (5.270) Long Figures combining with long Grounds II

(a) (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news123901]

*t-trejqa li hemm [biswit il-wied]<sub>pp</sub> hija taht*  
 DEF-street.DIM that there [facing DEF-valley] 3SG.F under



- ir-responsabilità* *tal-Gvern* *Ċentrali*  
 DEF-responsibility of:DEF-government central  
 ‘[. . .] the small road that is there [**near the valley**] is the responsibility of the central government [. . .].’
- (b) (Π23) *hdejn* ‘beside’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news79702]  
*Meta nġhaddi [minn hdejn il-wied]<sub>pp</sub> ir-riħa tinten*  
 when 1SG.IPFV:pass [from beside DEF-valley] DEF-odour 3SG.F.IPFV:stink  
*tal-ħmieġ tal-klieb tispikka*  
 of:DEF-dirt of:DEF-dog.PL 3SG.F.IPFV:stand\_out  
 ‘When I pass [**near the valley**] the malodour of the dogs’ dirt stands out [. . .].’
- (c) (Π30) *ma* ‘with’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature21]  
*Imbagħad reġġhu bdew mexjin*  
 then do\_again:3PL.PFV begin:3PL.PFV walk:PART:PL  
*[mal-wied]<sub>pp</sub> lejn Tal-Qadi*  
 [with: DEF-valley] towards Tal-Qadi  
 ‘Then the began again to walk [**along the valley**] towards Tal-Qadi.’
- (d) (Π32) *maġenb* ‘close to’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news138247]  
*mit-triq ta’ [maġenb il-wied]<sub>pp</sub> kien għaddej ħafna traffiku*  
 from:DEF-street of [close\_to DEF-valley] be pass:PART many traffic  
 ‘[. . .] through the street [**close to the valley**] a lot of traffic was passing [. . .].’
- (e) (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature23]  
*Izda l-Pitirross kien jieħu gost jilgħab*  
 but DEF-robin be 3SG.M.IPFV:take pleasure 3SG.M.IPFV:play  
*magħhom u f’ tebqa t’ għajn rikkeb tnejn*  
 with:3PL and in one\_of\_a\_pair of eye ride.CAUS two  
*minn<sub>hom</sub> fuq dahru u rħielha jtir bihom*  
 from:3PL on back:3SG.M and let\_go:IO.3SG.F 3SG.M.IPFV:fly with:3PL  
*[matul il-wied]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 [during DEF-valley]  
 ‘But the robin had fun playing with them and in a twinkling of an eye he lifted them onto his back and went off flying with them [**along the valley**].’
- (f) (Π41) *minn* ‘from’ – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature20]  
*Quddiemkom it-triq li tgħaddi sserrep*  
 in\_front\_of:2PL DEF-street that 3SG.F.IPFV:pass 3SG.F.IPFV:meander  
*[mil il-wied]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 [from:DEF-valley]  
 ‘In front of you is the road that meanders [**through the valley**] [. . .].’

There are six different ways of expressing that the Figure and the Ground form a parallel at least for an extended stretch of space. In (5.270a), the road is said to be

small but it runs parallel to the valley for part of the latter's length. In (5.270b–c), the protagonists walk along or through the valley, i.e., their stroll covers part of the length of the valley. Example (5.270d) can be compared to (5.270a) provided the street is seen as the Figure whose length and that of the valley coincide at least partly. In (5.270d), the bird takes two other characters of a fairy story on a flight along the valley, i.e., their itinerary is identical with part of the length of the valley. And finally, in (5.270f), the road is depicted as meandering through the valley. Once again, the length of the Figure is partly identical to that of the Ground. To our mind, it is this parallel between the Figure's extension and the Ground's extension that allows the Maltese speakers to select from a set of IIs that trigger associations with length. The examples in (5.269) clearly show that this is not a must. IIs that are associated with proximity rather than length may also be chosen. It is also possible (though less likely) that the parallel between the Figure and the Ground in (5.269) is too insignificant to invoke the notion of length. In this case, the streets would not run alongside the valley but punctually come close to one slope of the valley. This reasoning remains speculative. Whether or not arguments of this kind can be upheld can only be determined interactively, i.e., in collaboration with Maltese native speakers.

There is also an urgent need to investigate the possibility that it makes a difference whether the long object is prominently extended horizontally (as is the case in all examples hitherto discussed) or vertically. As far as we can tell at the moment, the wealth of possible markers reported above diminishes considerably when the longest side of the Ground can be defined as its height. A typical example is *arblu* 'mast'. In (5.271), we provide an example of this noun in Ground function.

(5.271) Length replaced by height – [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture971]

*kulhadd jipprova xortih jitla'*  
everybody 3SG.M.IPFV:try luck:3SG.M 3SG.M.IPFV:ascend

[*m' arblu mimli xaħam*]<sub>pp</sub>

[*with mast full grease*]

['...] everybody tries his luck by way of climbing up [*a mast full of grease*].'

Whenever the Ground noun refers to an object that extends vertically like *lasta* 'pole', *kolonna* 'column', *pilastru* 'pillar', etc. the II of choice is always (II30) *ma* 'with'. If the mast happens to lie on the ground, however, (II30) *ma* 'with' is replaced with (II33) *matul* 'during' as in (5.182).

(5.172) Back to length – [Korpus Malti 3.0; literature39]

*Fit-tarf kien ikollu bandiera u*  
in:DEF-end be 3SG.M.IPFV:have.FUT:3SG.M flag and

*l-kompetituri*      *kienu*      *jridu*      *jigru*      *wiehed*  
 DEF-competitor:PL   be:3PL.PFV   3.IPFV:want:PL   3.IPFV:run:PL   one  
*wiehed*   *minn*   *fuq*   *il-barkun*      [*matul*   *l-arblu*]<sub>pp</sub>   *sal-bandiera*  
 one      from   on   DEF-pontoon      [*during*   *DEF-mast*]   till:DEF-flag  
 ‘At the end, there would be a flag and the competitors needed to run one by  
 one from the pontoon’s deck [*over the mast*] to the flag.’

(5.271)–(5.272) are taken from descriptions of funny games. In both games, a mast is an important prop. In (5.271), the mast is erected vertically so that people have to climb it in order to fulfil their task. The situation in (5.272) is different insofar as the mast lies on the deck of the pontoon from which it protrudes out onto the sea. The participants in the game have to walk to the end of the mast to reach a flag. The choice of II is most probably motivated by the position of the mast and its natural orientation. (II30) *ma* ‘with’ seems to make more sense with the latter. Thus, (II30) *ma* ‘with’ would cause misunderstanding in a context like the one in (5.272). In both cases, Figure and Ground are physically in touch with each other because the competitors’ hands and/or feet automatically touch the mast during the game. We do not know yet how exactly the parallel position or movement of Figure and Ground without contact is expressed in Maltese when there is an extended overlap in length.

The remaining uncertainties notwithstanding, it can be concluded that Table 5.31 tells only part of the story. There are many more options for expressing certain relations than the table has on offer. The fragmentary character of Table 5.31 and the open questions raised in this section underline the necessity of further in-depth work in this domain.

#### 5.2.1.4.4.3.6 Animacy

The last parameter that we comment upon is animacy. We keep the discussion as short as possible. There is no need to go further into the uncontroversial cases of (II22) *ghand* ‘at s.o.’s place’ and (II38) *minghand* ‘from s.o.’ since their complement must be [+human] (under personification also [+animate] with further possibilities for metonymy as e.g. the literary work of an author functioning as indirectly animate Ground).<sup>227</sup> It remains to be determined to what extent the degree of animacy of the Ground (or perhaps also of the Figure) influences the choice of II in spatial situations.

It is also clear that the purely temporal (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ does not tolerate an animate Ground. In contrast, the temporal (II46) *qabel* ‘before’ is compat-

<sup>227</sup> Examples of this restriction were given already in Sections 5.1.2.1.2, 5.1.2.2.3 and 5.1.2.2.4.

ible with animate Grounds. Independent of its being read as spatial or temporal  $\Pi$ , ( $\Pi$ 33) *matul* ‘during’ does not seem to take animate Grounds. Animacy is no obstacle for either ( $\Pi$ 18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’ or ( $\Pi$ 19) *ġo* ‘in’ to combine with a complement noun although most of the time ( $\Pi$ 15) *fi* ‘in’ is intercalated because there is a strong tendency towards locative government. In point of fact, the bulk of the spatial  $\Pi$ s may take inanimate complements as well as animate complements. There are only gradual differences affecting the frequency of the combinations. These differences can be drastic at times. However, we leave this topic for consideration in follow-up studies that apply a much more sophisticated quantitative methodology. Animacy is relevant for the choice of  $\Pi$  only in a small minority of cases.

#### 5.2.1.4.4.3.7 Excursus: a $\Pi$ that sometimes isn’t a $\Pi$

At this point, it is in order to come back shortly to an issue that was raised above already.<sup>228</sup> With reference to ( $\Pi$ 31) *madwar* ‘around’, we are uncertain as to its  $\Pi$ -status when used in combination with countable concepts like in (5.273) no matter to which ontological class they belong.

(5.273) Adverb or  $\Pi$ ? – [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic1]

*Dawn l-attivitajiet jiffukaw fuq suġġett speċifiku*  
 DEM:PL:PROX DEF-activity:PL 3.IPFV:focus:PL on subject specific  
*huma żviluppati b’ mod adattat għal età*  
 3PL develop:PART:PL with manner suitable for age  
*partikolari u jistgħu isiru fi żmien xahar*  
 particular and 3.IPFV:can:PL 3.IPFV:become:PL in time month  
*b’ madwar sagħtejn xogħol fil-ġimgħa*  
 with around hour:DU work in:DEF-week  
 ‘These activities focus on a specific subject, they are developed in a suitable manner for a particular age and they can be realised within a month with about two hours work per week.’

In examples of this kind, ( $\Pi$ 31) *madwar* ‘around’ serves the purpose of characterizing a proposed quantity as being approximate. The  $\Pi$  adds vagueness to the statement. In this function, ( $\Pi$ 31) *madwar* ‘around’ is in a paradigmatic relationship with adverbials like *eżatt* ‘exact(ly)’ in (5.274).

<sup>228</sup> In Section 4.1.1.2.2.1 (xx) (and Section 4.1.2.2.1.2.1 (v) in passing).

- (5.274) Adverb – [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture3139]

*Eżatt 600 sena wara s-Serb Slobodan Milosević ħabat*  
**exactly 600 year** after DEF-Serbian Slobodan Milosević strike  
*ghall-Kosovo u wettaq massakru*  
 for:DEF-Kosovo and implement massacre  
 ‘**Exactly 600 years** later, the Serbian Slobodan Milosević attacked the Kosovo and committed a massacre.’

When used in contexts of this kind, (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ resembles (*in*)*cirka* ‘approximately’ – a candidate we have cancelled from the list of Maltese Πs<sup>229</sup> because it does not fit the description of the canonical Π as given in Figure 1.5. Where (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ precedes a quantitative expression, it does not link the latter to an external head nor does it function as the head of a PP. What it does instead is modify the quantity adverbially. According to this criterion, (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ is no longer a Π in (5.273) and similar cases. It keeps its status as Π in those contexts where a CIRCUMESSIVE spatial or temporal relation is expressed. This status also holds in many cases in which (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ is followed by a numerically quantified complement as in (5.275).

- (5.275) (II31)
- madwar*
- ‘around’ as Π – [Korpus Malti 3.0; news174314]

*Il-Mexxej Laburista ddawwar [madwar it-tmien*  
 DEF-leader labour REFL.CAUS.turn\_around [**around** DEF-eight  
*sulari]<sub>pp</sub> minn fejn illum qed topera l-kumpanija*  
floor:PL] from where today PROG 3SG.F.IPFV:operate DEF-company  
*tal-media tal-PN*  
 of:DEF-media of:DEF-PN  
 ‘The leader of the Labour Party was shown [**around the eight floors**] from where today the media company of the PN operates.’

This is not an estimation of the approximate number of storeys the party leader is made to inspect. He is shown around on all eight storeys of the building. Thus, (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ does not modify the numeral but connects the complement to the preceding verb. This time, (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ is a bona fide Π and not an adverb. The presence of the definiteness marker is an additional sign for this status because definite quantified nouns are incompatible with approximation. Since the definiteness marker is not always involved in the contexts in which (II31) *madwar* ‘around’ occurs, it is by no means easy to decide whether it is used prepositionally or adverbially.

<sup>229</sup> As early as Section 1.4.1.5.

ally. What can be said nevertheless is that there is no general restriction that excludes the possibility of ( $\Pi$ 31) *madwar* ‘around’ governing a quantified complement.

#### 5.2.1.4.4.3.8 Wrap-up

This section contains the recapitulation of the many details we have provided above in order to systematise the findings. Except in the case of LONGITUDO, we have not found evidence for potential differences between spatial and temporal functions of configurational IIs. Beyond this category, this distinction does not seem to be exploited to any noticeable degree in Maltese. Similarly, we have seen that the parameter of contact between Figure and Ground is relevant only in a niche within the system. In most of the cases, [ $\pm$ contact] seems to be irrelevant for the choice of  $\Pi_{\text{CONFIG}}$ . The distinction between PROPINQUUS and PROXIMATE has been introduced.<sup>230</sup> For the purpose of simplification, we have chosen to ignore this distinction at this point to facilitate the systematisation of the IIs’ semantics. The variable distance between Figure and Ground is only marginally relevant on the same grounds as the distinction between with and without contact. Furthermore, we have only limited evidence for laterality being relevant for the formal expression of the relation between Figure and Ground. We do not claim that on closer inspection, these criteria might turn out to be by far more important than assumed in this study. However, our database does not suggest that this is the case. We therefore propose to look into this matter under the linguistic microscope in future research.

On account of the above survey of configuration markers and directionality markers, it can be concluded that the Maltese system is relatively clearly structured in the spatio-temporal domain since there is a transparent division of labour between IIs which encode directionality and those which encode configuration. Multifunctionality is attested in both sub-classes of IIs but this phenomenon is restricted to a relatively small number of IIs and functions. In addition to the idea that the canonical Maltese  $\Pi$  is configurational, it can be assumed that in the domain of spatio-temporal meaning categories, the canonical Maltese  $\Pi$  is monofunctional.<sup>231</sup>

Figure 5.59 sums up what we have learned about the systematicity of the directionality markers. It hardly needs to be mentioned that the schema is an idealisation that glosses over a number of details whose relevance for the overall picture of the grammar of Maltese IIs has yet to be determined.

There is no equivalent tree structure for the configurational IIs. Therefore, we have to outline this part of the system without relying on a diagram. For each possible configuration, there is at least a dedicated  $\Pi$ . The Figure can be inside or at the

<sup>230</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.2.2.20.1.1.

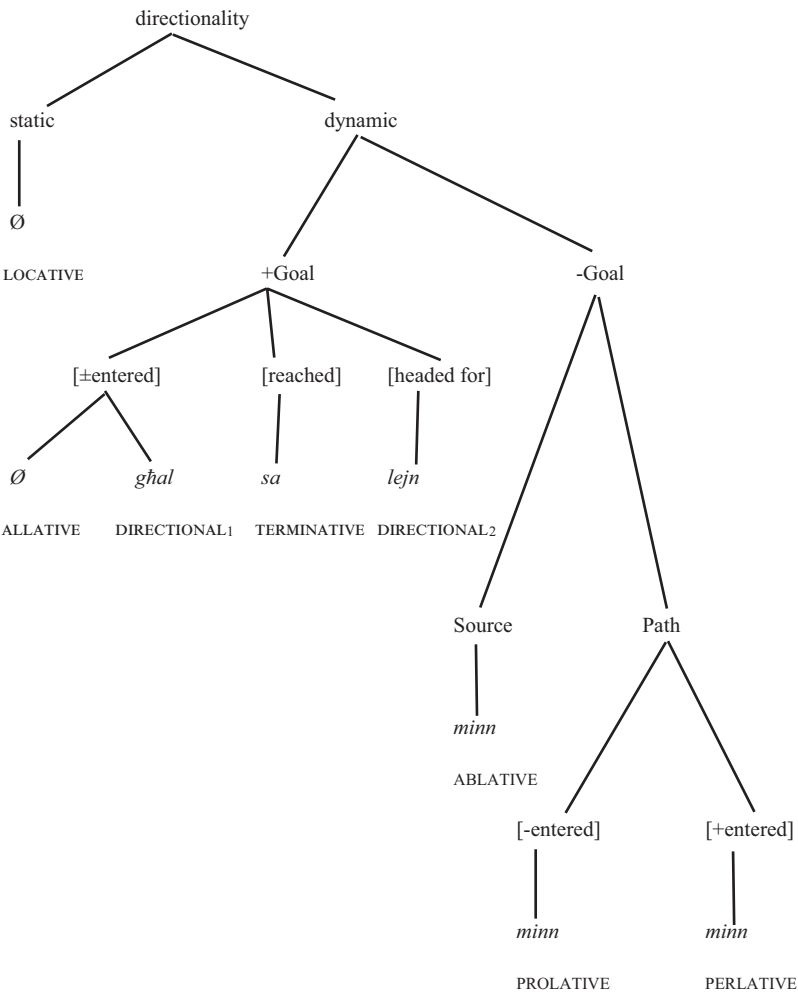
<sup>231</sup> We come back to this issue in Section 5.3.

Ground ((II15) *fi* ‘in’, (II18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’, (II19) *ġo* ‘in’; (II22) *għand* ‘at s.o.’s place’). The Ground may consist of a multitude ( $n > 2$ ) of parts of a kind so that the Figure can be placed in the midst of these components ((II16) *fost* ‘amongst’, (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’). If there are only two components which constitute a distributed Ground (that does not have to consist of parts which belong to the same ontological class) the Figure may occupy a position in between the two parts ((II4) *bejn* ‘between’). The bulk of the configurational IIs is fit to encode spatial situations in which the Figure is outside the Ground either with or without ((II3) *barra* ‘outside’, (II44) *oltre* ‘beyond’) contact between the participants. The Figure may be placed at the front ((II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’) or back ((II60) *wara* ‘after’) of the Ground. It may be on top or above ((II17) *fuq* ‘on’) the Ground, at the bottom or below ((II56) *taħt* ‘under’) the Ground. What we notice in any case is the high number of PROPINQUUS IIs for which it is difficult to pinpoint clearcut semantic differences. The Figure may be placed in the vicinity ((II14) *fejn* ‘near’, (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’, (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’, (II48) *qrib* ‘near’, (II58) *vicin* ‘near’) of the Ground either being detached from it or in contact with it ((II30) *ma* ‘with’). The Figure can be described as being located opposite the Ground ((II8) *biswit* ‘facing’, (II12) *faċċata* ‘opposite’). A Figure that is a long object or moving along a Path can be pictured as extending over a stretch of space parallel to the Ground ((II33) *matul* ‘during’). The Figure may also surround the Ground ((II31) *madwar* ‘around’).

To close the discussion of the spatio-temporal component of the system of Maltese IIs, we state that apart from the usual uncertainties on the micro-level, the systematicity of the functional network of the IIs is clearly visible. Directional and configurational IIs interact systematically to cover all possible spatial situations. Polysemy and synonymy are relatively restricted phenomena. How important certain parameters like laterality are for the internal organisation of the II-system cannot be determined in this study. As of now, it seems that their importance is severely limited. However, this impression is probably only an effect of our reliance on corpus data and the written register. This proviso holds of course also for our subsequent account of the semasiology of Maltese IIs in the non-spatio-temporal domain.

### 5.2.2 The semasiology of IIs outside the spatio-temporal domain

The structure of this section is not an exact replica of the organisation of the foregoing section because of the multitude of different semantic relations that characterise the non-spatio-temporal domain. Besides the absence of the typical division of labour found with spatio-temporal IIs, we also notice that the prominent role played by zero-marking in the expression of spatial relations has no direct equivalent in connection with the categories this section is meant to address from the



**Figure 5.59:** The system of directionality markers.

semasiological point of view. There obviously is no need to address phenomena which are not attested in the non-spatio-temporal domain. It therefore makes sense to only discuss polysemy, synonymy, and antonymy.<sup>232</sup> However, before we take this step it is in order to call in mind a number of important insights about non-spatio-temporal Πs we have gained already at the beginning of this section. Given that

<sup>232</sup> In Sections 5.2.2.1, 5.2.2.2, and 5.2.2.3, respectively.



the non-spatio-temporal domain is intriguingly heterogeneous internally, we can offer only preliminary results.<sup>233</sup>

In point of fact, we already know many facts about the non-spatio-temporal IIs. Figure 5.27 shows that they constitute the minority within BLOMP 2.0 where they account for 43% of the inventory. The twenty-six non-spatio-temporal IIs are listed alphabetically in (5.276). In accordance with our general practice, (II26) *kif* ‘as’ will not be discussed further. We emphasise that if we use the term non-spatio-temporal II, we only refer to those IIs that are not also featured in the spatio-temporal domain.<sup>234</sup>

(5.276) Non-spatio-temporal IIs in BLOMP 2.0

(II1) *apparti* ‘apart from’; (II2) *a skapitu* ‘at the expense of’; (II5) *bħal* ‘like’; (II6) *bħala* ‘as’; (II7) *bi* ‘with’; (II9) *bla* ‘without’; (II10) *daqs* ‘equal to’; (II11) *dwar* ‘about’; (II13) *favur* ‘in favour of’; (II20) *għajr* ‘except’; (II24) *ħlief* ‘except’; (II25) *inkluz* ‘including’; (II26) *kif* ‘as’; (II27) *kontra* ‘against’; (II29) *lil* ‘to’; (II34) *minbarra* ‘except’; (II35) *minflok* ‘instead of’; (II36) *mingħajr* ‘without’; (II37) *mingħala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’; (II39) *minħabba* ‘on account of’; (II40) *minkejja* ‘in spite of’; (II45) *permezz* ‘by means of’; (II50) *rigward* ‘concerning’; (II52) *sforz* ‘thanks to’; (II53) *skont* ‘according to’; (II55) *ta* ‘of’

Thanks to the information conveyed by Figures 5.28–5.29 we further know that Italo-Romance IIs are underrepresented in the spatio-temporal domain where they account for maximally 15% of all cases whereas their share rises to 38% if we look at the non-spatio-temporal cases. The relation between Italo-Romance origin and non-spatio-temporal meaning comes to the fore even more strongly when we consider that 67% of all Italo-Romance IIs fulfil non-spatio-temporal functions. In the case of the Semitic IIs, the percentage is considerably lower, namely only 36%.

The special position of the Italo-Romance IIs must be remembered when we evaluate the findings.<sup>235</sup> Furthermore, we will face several cases of IIs that were treated as members of the spatio-temporal subset of BLOMP 2.0 above but that are also employed for non-spatio-temporal functions.<sup>236</sup> In this way, they compete with genuinely non-spatio-temporal IIs. The reverse case is also attested though less frequently. Maltese IIs that feel at home on both sides of the dividing line between spatio-temporal and non-spatio-temporal domains are of particular interest for the discussion of polysemy and synonymy. The same holds for those IIs that are

<sup>233</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.2.4.

<sup>234</sup> The latter will be investigated separately in Section 5.2.3.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.2.4.

<sup>236</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.3.

employed in the domain of the core meanings but have a second (and perhaps a third) stronghold in the non-spatio-temporal domain. In contrast to the multifunctional spatio-temporal IIs that also express non-spatio-temporal meanings, the IIs from the core domain are always counted in when we speak about multifunctionality of non-spatio-temporal IIs. In this and the subsequent subsections we exclusively take account of IIs that are excluded from the spatio-temporal domain.

### 5.2.2.1 Polysemy in the non-spatio-temporal domain

As the foregoing sections amply show, the semantics of IIs is a slippery terrain. We are fully aware of the necessity to gloss over many meaning-related aspects of the Maltese IIs since accounting for all of the semantic nuances would not only require native-speaker knowledge and intuition but also demand ample time to write a separate dissertation on this subject that cannot be exhaustively treated in a summary section. As an incentive for others to take up this issue in the format of a dedicated in-depth study, we make the daring move of putting forward several hypotheses based on a rather coarse-grained semantic analysis that can be proved wrong in the future.

This section is divided into two subsections. In the first one monofunctionality is addressed<sup>237</sup> and the second is dedicated to multifunctionality.<sup>238</sup> It cannot be counted out completely that future research will reveal that, on the micro level, polysemy is much more common than the following paragraphs suggest.

#### 5.2.2.1.1 Monofunctional non-spatio-temporal IIs

First of all, in analogy to what we have stated above with reference to configurational markers,<sup>239</sup> we assume that there are monofunctional non-spatio-temporal IIs. If we look close enough at BLOMP 2.0 we recognise that the vast majority of the non-spatio-temporal IIs forms part of the group of monofunctional IIs. As results from the list in (5.277), twenty of the non-spatio-temporal IIs are characterised by monofunctionality. This leaves not more than half a dozen non-spatio-temporal IIs that fall under the rubric of polysemy. Note that for the time being, we conceive of the latter group as being comprised of only those IIs that have not been mentioned in connection with spatio-temporal meanings already. In Section 5.2.3, for reasons to be explained there, it will be necessary to deviate from this practice.

---

<sup>237</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.2.1.1.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.2.1.2.

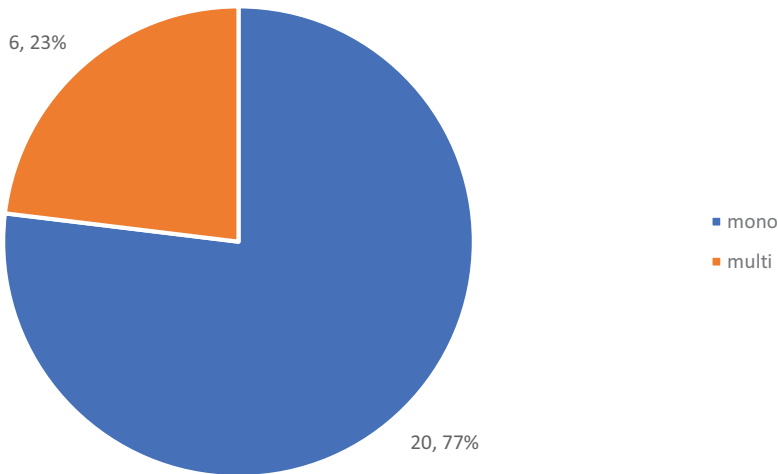
<sup>239</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.4.1.

## (5.277) Monofunctional non-spatio-temporal IIs in BLOMP 2.0

(Π2) *a skapitu* ‘at the expense of’; (Π6) *bħala* ‘as’; (Π9) *bla* ‘without’; (Π10) *daqs* ‘equal to’; (Π11) *dwar* ‘about’; (Π13) *favur* ‘in favour of’; (Π20) *ghajr* ‘except’; (Π24) *ħlief* ‘except’; (Π25) *inkluz* ‘including’; (Π26) *kif* ‘as’; (Π27) *kontra* ‘against’; (Π35) *minflok* ‘instead of’; (Π36) *mingħajr* ‘without’; (Π37) *mingħala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’; (Π39) *minħabba* ‘on account of’; (Π40) *minkejja* ‘in spite of’; (Π45) *permezz* ‘by means of’; (Π50) *rigward* ‘concerning’; (Π52) *sforz* ‘thanks to’; (Π53) *skont* ‘according to’

Eight of the twenty IIs are monosyllabic, i.e., monosyllabicity is characteristic for 40% of the monofunctional non-spatio-temporal IIs. Five of the IIs in (5.277) involve the initial element *min(n)*-. On the formal side, there is thus, no property which is shared by all of the monofunctional non-spatio-temporal IIs.

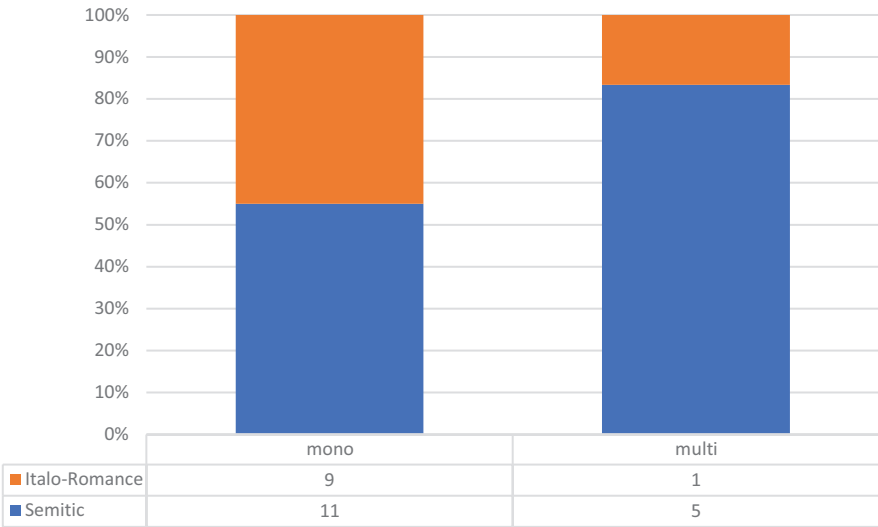
Figure 5.60 captures the disproportion between the shares of the minority of multifunctional non-spatio-temporal IIs and the majority of monofunctional non-spatio-temporal IIs.



**Figure 5.60:** Shares of multifunctional vs monofunctional IIs in the non-spatio-temporal domain.

Even more striking is the particularly big share of Italo-Romance IIs within the monofunctional subset of non-spatio-temporal IIs. With nine out of twenty such IIs, the Italo-Romance component is as large as 45% as opposed to the small share of 17% that Italo-Romance IIs claim in the group of multifunctional non-spatio-temporal IIs as shown in Figure 5.61. The situation is reminiscent of the implicational pattern presented in Figure 5.41 where the Italo-Romance origin of a configuration

marker correlates monolaterally with monofunctionality. In the non-spatio-temporal domain, too, the Italo-Romance preference for monofunctionality is pronounced as can be gathered from Figure 5.62. The shares differ considerably between Semitic and Italo-Romance IIs. Only 10% of the latter are polysemous whereas the share of polysemous non-spatio-temporal IIs equals 25% in the Semitic component. As to monofunctionality, 90% of all Italo-Romance non-spatio-temporal IIs fulfil this criterion – but only 69% of the Semitic non-spatio-temporal IIs do the same.



**Figure 5.61:** Shares of Italo-Romance / Semitic IIs in the monofunctional and multifunctional subset, respectively.

Semantically, the IIs in (5.277), as expected, do not form a homogeneous set. There are all kinds of meaning categories represented in the list of monofunctional IIs. Several meaning categories are fully included in (5.277) in the sense that all of the IIs that serve to express these meanings are registered as monofunctional. Those cases which involve more than one II are two, viz. EXCLUSIVE (= (II9) *bla* ‘without’, (II36) *mingħajr* ‘without’), and PERTENTIVE which is represented by (II11) *dwar* ‘about’ and (II50) *rigward* ‘concerning’ in (5.277). Other meaning categories either have only a single representative or are divided between monofunctional and multifunctional IIs. The discussion of the latter cases is reserved for later.

In sum, monofunctionality is generally preferred in the non-spatio-temporal domain. Yet, this preference is much stronger with Italo-Romance IIs than it is with Semitic IIs. Accordingly, we postulate the two-layered preference rule in Figure 5.63 where the double arrow >> indicates that the tendency is particularly strong.

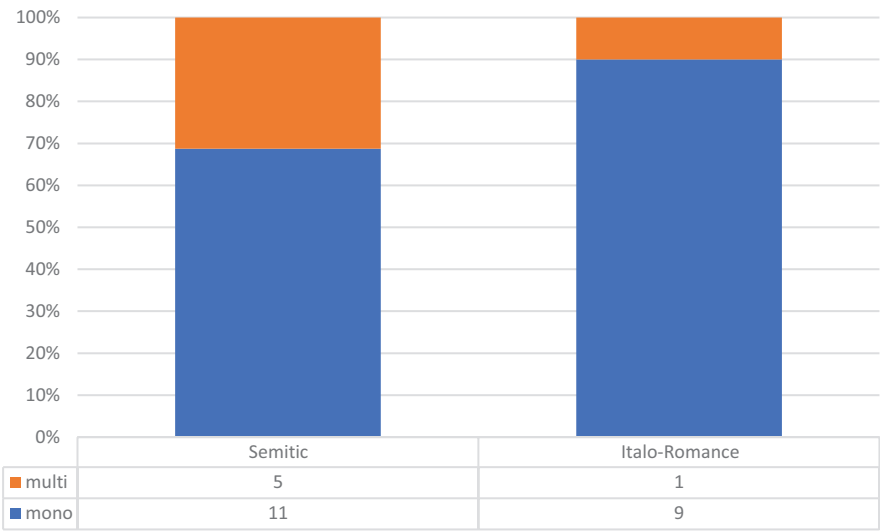


Figure 5.62: Monofunctional / multifunctional PIs across language of origin.

monofunctional > multifunctional / non-spatio-temporal

monofunctional >> multifunctional / non-spatio-temporal<sub>Italo-Romance</sub>

Figure 5.63: Unmarked monofunctionality.

At this point, we can close the discussion of monofunctionality and turn our attention to multifunctionality or polysemy *tout court*.

5.2.2.1.2 Multifunctional non-spatio-temporal PIs

The multifunctional non-spatio-temporal meaning categories pose a number of problems because there is no straightforward way to separate them from the spatio-temporal ones and those of the core. In (5.278), we enumerate the six PIs that remain after subtracting the above monofunctional non-spatio-temporal PIs. The inventory as such does not tell us the whole story of the non-spatio-temporal meaning categories.

- (5.278) Multifunctional non-spatio-temporal PIs in BLOMP 2.0  
(Π1) *apparti* ‘apart from’; (Π5) *bħal* ‘like’; (Π7) *bi* ‘with’; (Π29) *lil* ‘to’; (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’; (Π55) *ta* ‘of’

Two of the IIs in (5.278) represent the meaning category EXCEPTIVE (= (II1) *apparti* ‘apart from’, (II34) *minbarra* ‘except’)<sup>240</sup> whereas two other members of this category count among the monofunctional IIs (= (II20) *ghajr* ‘except’; (II24) *hlief* ‘except’). Thus, it is impossible to generalise about the monofunctionality / multifunctionality of EXCEPTIVE IIs. This is the same for COMPARATIVE since only (II5) *bhal* ‘like’ is multifunctional whereas other IIs involved with this meaning category are registered as monofunctional. Furthermore, we have encountered (II7) *bi* ‘with’ in many diverse functions already most of which might be subsumable under the umbrella of the INSTRUMENTIVE.<sup>241</sup> Last but not least, (5.278) hosts two IIs from the core domain, namely (II29) *lil* ‘to’ and (II55) *ta* ‘of’. The former expresses the PATIENTIVE and the DATIVE while the latter is responsible for the POSSESSIVE.<sup>242</sup>

It is unnecessary to provide examples of the employment of the above IIs for said purposes. It suffices to determine their distribution across the different meaning categories by way of referring back to the examples given elsewhere in this study. The polysemic patterns we were able to determine in our database are exposed in (5.279). They are ordered top-down according to the decreasing number of meaning categories in which a given II is involved. Identical meaning categories that are associated with several IIs are highlighted in colour.

(5.279) Polysemic patterns

(II7) *bi* ‘with’ – PATIENTIVE (5.3), PROPRIETIVE (5.164), COMITATIVE (5.175), INSTRUMENTIVE (5.178), MOTIVATIVE (5.183), MATERIAL (5.214), and MANNER (5.217)

(II55) *ta* ‘of’ – POSSESSIVE (5.5), ESSIVE (5.195), and MATERIAL (5.216)

(II5) *bhal* ‘like’ – MEDIATIVE (5.188), COMPARATIVE (equality) (5.189), ASSIMILATIVE (5.191)

(II1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ – EXCEPTIVE (5.169) and ADDITIVE (5.205)

(II34) *minbarra* ‘except’ – EXCEPTIVE (5.172) and ADDITIVE (5.207)

(II29) *lil* ‘to’ – PATIENTIVE (5.2) and DATIVE (5.4)

For a II to be multifunctional, the required minimum is its use in two different meaning categories. Three of six IIs exceed this minimum – with (II7) *bi* ‘with’ and (II55) *ta* ‘of’ rank high on the frequency hierarchy in Table 3.27. Their high token frequency correlates with their particularly heavy functional load. It is worth noting that (II29) *lil* ‘to’ and (II5) *bhal* ‘like’, too, are close to the top of the same

<sup>240</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.3.3.

<sup>241</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.3.5.

<sup>242</sup> The basic information on these core IIs are provided in Sections 5.1.1–5.1.1.4.

hierarchy. High frequency and monosyllabicity often associate with each other in BLOMP 2.0 as Figure 2.30 and its evaluation have shown.<sup>243</sup> Monosyllabicity holds for 67% of the multifunctional non-spatio-temporal IIs, i.e., this criterion is much stronger than it is in the case of the monofunctional IIs.

In contrast, the polysyllables (II34) *minbarra* ‘except’ and (II1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ occupy ranks 37 and 42, respectively. This means that polysemy in the non-spatio-temporal cannot be explained sweepingly by way of invoking a frequency effect. It is additionally interesting that the three highly frequent IIs count at least one core meaning among the meanings they express.

No meaning is expressed by more than two of the above IIs. (II34) *minbarra* ‘except’ and (II1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ display identical patterns of polysemy. Except for this pair of IIs, there is no proof of implications which bind categories of a given polysemy pattern to each other. This identity is important for the semantic map we will draw.<sup>244</sup> Only (II5) *bħal* ‘like’ is a multifunctional non-spatio-temporal II that displays a polysemy pattern all of whose members are unique to this II. The conceptual closeness of the meanings expressed by (II5) *bħal* ‘like’ will be of interest again below.<sup>245</sup> Eleven meaning categories are monopolised in the sense that they occur in the polysemic pattern of only one of the IIs. With a chain of seven meaning categories, the polysemy pattern of (II7) *bi* ‘with’ ousts every other pattern in (5.189). Superficially, (II7) *bi* ‘with’ might look like an all-purpose II. This impression is wrong, of course, since there are many meaning categories also in the non-spatiotemporal domain where (II7) *bi* ‘with’ has no responsibility for any function.

We conclude that multifunctionality is relatively weakly developed among non-spatio-temporal IIs. One II stands out because of the number of meanings it is used for, namely (II7) *bi* ‘with’. For the bulk of the non-spatio-temporal IIs, monofunctionality is the rule. Multifunctionality is a minority option that privileges a small subset of the IIs under review. The next subsection will tell us whether similar conclusions can be drawn with regard to synonymy.

### 5.2.2.2 Synonymy in the non-spatio-temporal domain

In analogy to the previous subsection, this subsection is based on the inventory of non-spatio-temporal IIs given in (5.186). Synonymic patterns that involve IIs from outside the non-spatio-temporal will be inspected more closely below.<sup>246</sup> In this section, however, only their non-spatio-temporal members will be paid attention.

---

<sup>243</sup> Cf. Section 2.3.

<sup>244</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.4.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.4.

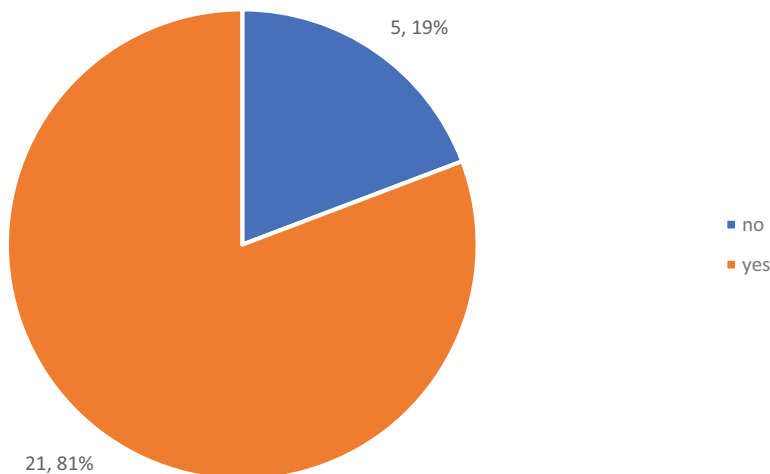
<sup>246</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.3.

There are five non-spatio-temporal IIs that are never involved in synonymy. They are listed in (5.280) together with the meaning category they express and the reference to the section in which the meaning category has been scrutinised.

(5.280) Non-spatio-temporal IIs without synonymy

MALEFACTIVE (II2) *a skapitu* ‘at the expense of’ (Section 5.1.3.18); INCLUSIVE (II25) *inkluz* ‘including’ (Section 5.1.3.20); ADVERSATIVE (II27) *kontra* ‘against’ (Section 5.1.3.12); SUBSTITUTIVE (II35) *minflok* ‘instead of’ (Section 5.1.3.16); CONCESSIVE (II40) *minkejja* ‘in spite of’ (Section 5.1.3.7)

From Figure 5.64, we learn that the absence of synonymy is relatively uncommon in the domain of non-spatio-temporal meaning categories. Not even a fifth of these IIs is exempt from synonymy.



**Figure 5.64:** Shares of non-spatio-temporal  $\Pi$  with and without synonymy.

It further strikes the eye that four out of five IIs in (5.280) are Italo-Romance IIs, i.e., 80% of the non-spatio-temporal IIs that escape synonymy are borrowings from Italo-Romance. In contrast, with six types, Italo-Romance IIs that attest to synonymy cover only 29% of the  $\Pi$  mentioned in (5.281) – all of which are involved in synonymic relations with one or several other IIs on the same list.

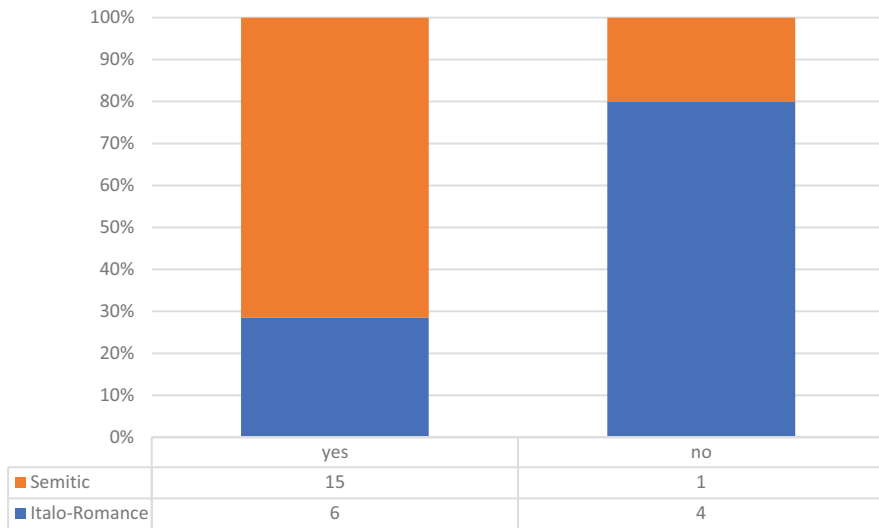
(5.281) Non-spatio-temporal IIs with synonymy

(II1) *apparti* ‘apart from’; (II5) *bħal* ‘like’; (II6) *bħala* ‘as’; (II7) *bi* ‘with’; (II9) *bla* ‘without’; (II10) *daqs* ‘equal to’; (II11) *dwar* ‘about’; (II13) *favur*



‘in favour of’; (Π20) *ghajr* ‘except’; (Π24) *ħlief* ‘except’; (Π26) *kif* ‘as’; (Π29) *lil* ‘to’; (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’; (Π36) *mingħajr* ‘without’; (Π37) *mingħala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’; (Π39) *minħabba* ‘on account of’; (Π45) *permezz* ‘by means of’; (Π50) *rigward* ‘concerning’; (Π52) *sforz* ‘thanks to’; (Π53) *skont* ‘according to’; (Π55) *ta* ‘of’

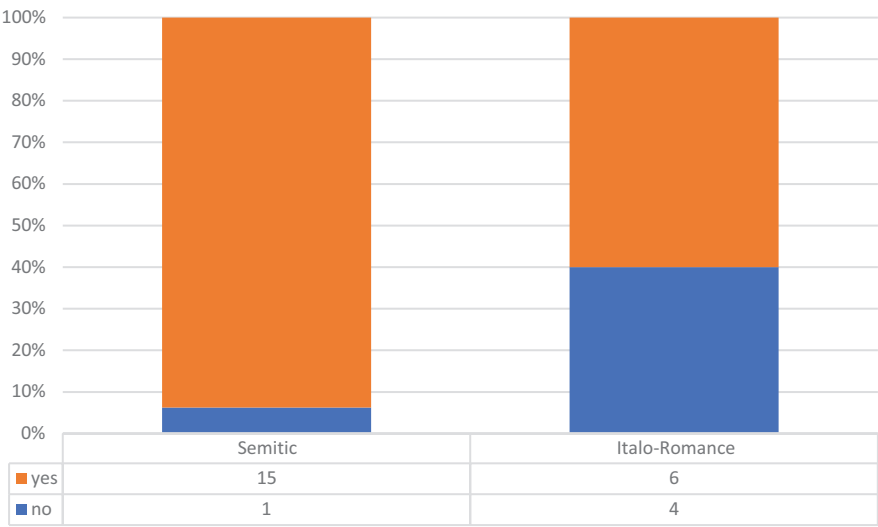
Figures 5.65–5.66 help to better visualise the disproportion between the two languages of origin.



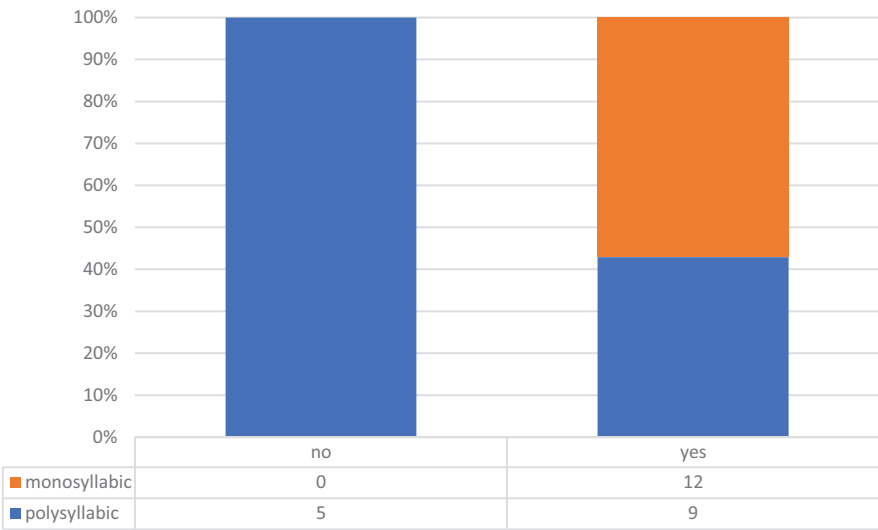
**Figure 5.65:** Shares of Semitic / Italo-Romance IIs in the domains of non-spatio-temporal IIs with / without synonymy.

According to Figure 5.65, the absence of synonymy is preferably associated with the Italo-Romance origin of a given II. This is but a recapitulation of what we have stated earlier in this section. Figure 5.66, however, clearly shows that Semitic non-spatio-temporal IIs almost without exception are involved in synonymy. Even for Italo-Romance non-spatio-temporal IIs, the absence of synonymy is the minority option. Yet, this minority covers 40% of the Italo-Romance IIs in this domain. Being exempt from synonymy is thus more normal for Italo-Romance IIs than it is for Semitic IIs.

On the parameter of syllabicity, (5.280) and (5.281) also yield different results. All those IIs that are excluded from synonymy are polysyllabic. In the case of the IIs that are involved in synonymy, monosyllabic IIs outnumber polysyllabic IIs by twelve to nine. This means that 57% of the IIs mentioned in (5.281) consist only of one syllable. For convenience, Figure 5.67 presents these results in the format of a diagram.



**Figure 5.66:** Shares of non-spatio-temporal Ns with / without synonymy across Semitic / Italo-Romance Ns.



**Figure 5.67:** Syllabicity and synonymy I.

In Figure 5.68, we change the vantage point in order to ask whether there is a bilateral correlation between syllabicity and synonymy in the non-spatio-tempo-

ral domain. One may guess from the information conveyed by Figure 5.67 that the answer is yes.

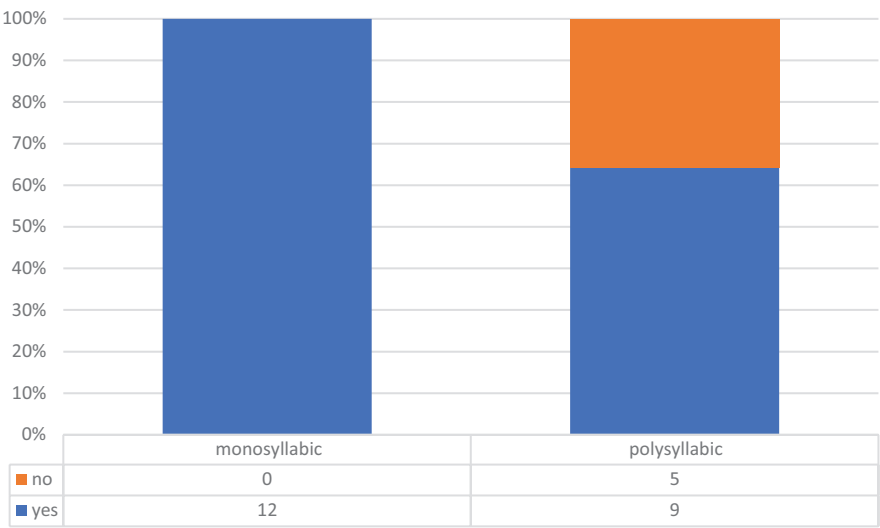


Figure 5.68: Syllabicity and synonymy II.

Monosyllabicity is strictly limited to non-spatio-temporal IIs with synonymy. At the same time, the lack of synonymy requires that monosyllabicity applies. These observations form the basis for two more implicational patterns given in Figures 5.69–5.70.

$\Sigma \quad \supset \quad \text{synonymy} \quad / \quad \Pi_{\text{non-spatio-temporal}}$

Figure 5.69: Monosyllabicity implies synonymy.

$\text{synonymy} \quad \supset \quad \Sigma\Sigma(\Sigma) \quad / \quad \Pi_{\text{non-spatio-temporal}}$

Figure 5.70: Absence of synonymy implies polysyllabicity.

From (5.280), we know already that certain meaning categories are excluded from synonymy. The majority of the non-spatio-temporal meaning categories allow for synonymy to apply. To address this issue in more detail, it is necessary to provide a survey of the combinations of non-spatio-temporal IIs in synonymic patterns. This is the task of Table 5.32. Only those cases of synonymy are taken account of which involve two or more non-spatio-temporal IIs. The contribution of spatio-temporal

IIs to polysemy and synonymy will be looked at more closely below.<sup>247</sup> In Table 5.32, the non-spatio-temporal meaning categories are identified by bracketed numbers. The number code is spelled out below. For reasons of space, the IIs are given without their ID and English translation. Colour additionally highlights those cells which host the numbers.

It is immediately clear that the vast majority of the cells in Table 5.32 remain empty, i.e., many logically possible synonymic pairings are not realised. Moreover, what the discussion of the data has revealed are the difficulties that arise when one tries to determine whether full or partial synonymy applies.<sup>248</sup> Even the Korpus Malti 3.0 is far from large enough to allow us to settle this question satisfactorily. It is more than likely that the cells marked out in Table 5.32 frequently refer to cases of partial synonymy and only to a minor degree to full synonyms. The EXCLUSIVE is a good example since we are familiar with the fact that (II36) *mingħajr* ‘without’ takes all kinds of complements whereas its synonym (II9) *bla* ‘without’ combines only with indefinite complements.<sup>249</sup> We cannot rule out the possibility that our analysis glosses over a division of labour and very subtle semantic distinctions according to which there is a niche in the domain of a meaning category that is the uncontested territory of only one of the supposed synonyms (e.g. the TRANSLATIVE expressed by (II15) *fī* ‘in’ in (5.194)) so that in this case doubts arise as to the suitability of the term synonymy, in the first place. It is this uncertainty that should trigger follow-up studies conducted by semanticists who are familiar with Maltese.

To better interpret Table 5.32, we extract all cases of synonymy from the table and list them in (5.282). The meaning categories are ordered according to the succession of subsections in Section 5.1.3. The bracketed numbers are identical to the final number used in the title of the subsection. Certain numbers do not appear in (5.282) either because the meaning category does not attest to synonymy (e.g. [16] SUBSTITUTIVE) or one of two IIs is a spatio-temporal II (e.g. [4] COMITATIVE), or because the meaning category is exclusively expressed by otherwise spatio-temporal IIs (e.g. [11] PURPOSIVE). Different colours are used to highlight those IIs which are involved in several synonymic patterns. Spatio-temporal IIs that are involved in spatio-temporal categories are added in square brackets with added boldface.

---

<sup>247</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.3.

<sup>248</sup> Throughout Section 5.1.3.

<sup>249</sup> Cf. Section 4.1.1.1.



## (5.282) Synonymic patterns

- [2] EXCLUSIVE: (Π9) *bla* ‘without’ + (Π36) *mingħajr* ‘without’
- [3] EXCEPTIVE: (Π11) *apparti* ‘apart from’ + (Π20) *ghajr* ‘except’ + (Π24) *ħlief* ‘except’ + (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’
- [5] INSTRUMENTIVE: (Π17) *bi* ‘with’ + (Π45) *permezz* ‘by means of’
- [6] MOTIVATIVE: (Π17) *bi* ‘with’ + (Π39) *minħabba* ‘on account of’ + (Π52) *sforz* ‘thanks to’ [+ (Π21) *għal* ‘for’]
- [9] EQUATIVE: (Π5) *bħal* ‘like’ + (Π10) *daqs* ‘equal to’
- [10] ESSIVE: (Π6) *bħala* ‘as’ + (Π55) *ta* ‘of’
- [13] PERTENTIVE: (Π11) *dwar* ‘about’ + (Π50) *rigward* ‘concerning’ [+ (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’]
- [14] ROBORATIVE: (Π37) *mingħala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’ + (Π53) *skont* ‘according to’
- [15] ADDITIVE: (Π11) *apparti* ‘apart from’ + (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’
- [21] MATERIAL: (Π17) *bi* ‘with’ + (Π55) *ta* ‘of’ [+ (Π41) *minn* ‘from’]

Except (Π29) *lil* ‘to’, all multifunctional non-spatio-temporal Πs (as of (5.279)) are also subject to synonymy. This fact is hardly surprising since polysemy of a Π increases the chances that it competes with another Π in one of the meaning categories it expresses. On the same account, it can be expected that multifunctional Πs like (Π7) *bi* ‘with’, (Π55) *ta* ‘of’, (Π11) *apparti* ‘apart from’, and (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’ occur more than just once in (5.282). (Π7) *bi* ‘with’ – the record holder in the domain of polysemy – also counts the highest number of synonymic relations in (5.282). We conclude that being polysemous is a favourable condition for being synonymous, too. It should not go unmentioned that thirteen of the non-spatio-temporal Πs in (5.279) are monofunctional and form a 76% majority of the altogether eighteen synonymic Πs featured in (5.279).

Six of the ten synonymic patterns involve pairs of non-spatio-temporal Πs, viz. [2], [5], [9], [10], [14], and [15]. Pattern [3] is the only example of an extended synonymic chain involving only non-spatio-temporal Π. In the case of the ternary synonymic chains [6], [13], and [21], one of the Πs belongs to the spatio-temporal domain.<sup>250</sup>

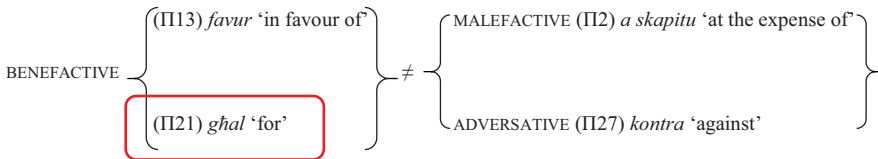
### 5.2.2.3 Antonymy in the non-spatio-temporal domain

The third phenomenon that needs to be addressed in the non-spatio-temporal domain is antonymy. Antonymy is irrelevant for the core meanings. As to its role in the spatio-temporal domain, one might argue that the distinctions of [static]

<sup>250</sup> We return to these cases in Section 5.2.3.

vs [dynamic] and [ALLATIVE] vs [ABLATIVE] can be understood as constituting antonymic pairs. However, in our opinion, the home ground of antonymy is with non-spatio-temporal categories. Since antonymy as such has not been discussed before in this study, we add sentential examples for each of the IIs involved. The examples are taken from the Korpus Malti 3.0. Our comments on these examples are meant to show that the situation in the realm of antonymy is much more intricate than the simplifying view of two opposing members of an antonymic relation suggests.

This conviction of ours notwithstanding, there are only three antonymic patterns in the non-spatio-temporal domain involving twelve different non-spatio-temporal IIs (plus a spatio-temporal one). We face one-to-many and many-to-many relationships. The latter kind supposedly applies in the first configuration presented in Figure 5.71. As will come to the fore shortly, this impression does not stand the test. In Figure 5.71, the red box singles out the spatio-temporal II (Π21) *għal* ‘for’ whose intrusion into the non-spatio-temporal domain will be discussed again below.<sup>251</sup> In this section, we anticipate part of this discussion by way of giving an example of the BENEFACTIVE use of this II in (5.283b) while the putative synonym (Π13) *favur* ‘in favour of’ is featured in (5.283a).



**Figure 5.71:** Antonymy BENEFACTIVE VS MALEFACTIVE / ADVERSATIVE (preliminary version).

The opposition in Figure 5.71 is termed preliminary for a reason. In the paragraphs below, it is shown why the diagram needs to be modified.

There are two IIs on each side of the antonymic relation. Several questions arise from this confrontation of two BENEFACTIVE IIs and two MALEFACTIVE IIs one of which is labelled ADVERSATIVE. One might want to know whether the two IIs with identical labels are indeed full synonyms of each other. Are the equations in Figure 5.72 tenable?

- |   |   |                                |
|---|---|--------------------------------|
| (a) (Π13) <i>favur</i> ‘in favour of’         | = | (Π21) <i>għal</i> ‘for’?       |
| (b) (Π2) <i>a skapitu</i> ‘at the expense of’ | = | (Π27) <i>kontra</i> ‘against’? |

**Figure 5.72:** Two potential equations.

<sup>251</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.3.

We claim that the equation (a) in Figure 5.72 is incorrect insofar as the domains of the two IIs overlap only partly. (II21) *għal* ‘for’ claims the much bigger domain which ranges over a number of meaning categories that cannot be expressed by (II13) *favur* ‘in favour of’.<sup>252</sup> As to the BENEFACTIVE, (II21) *għal* ‘for’ is by no means as dedicated to this category as is (II13) *favur* ‘in favour of’ as can be seen from a comparison of the examples in (5.283).

(5.283) BENEFACTIVE (+ NEGATIVE BENEFACTIVE?)

(a) (II13) *favur* ‘in favour of’ [Korpus Malti 3.0; news214152]

*din hij a wegħda oħra li qed iwettaq*  
 DEM.F.PROX 3SG.F promise other:F that PROG 3SG.M.IPFV:realise  
*Gvern Nazzjonalista [favur il-Maltin li*  
 government nationalist [in\_favour\_of DEF-Maltese:PL that  
*jgħixu barra minn Malta]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3.IPFV:live:PL outside from Malta]

‘[. . .] this is another promise that a Nationalist government is realizing [in favour of the Maltese who are living outside Malta].’

(b) (II21) *għal* ‘for’ [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture3018]

*Il-forum se jkun ukoll opportunità tajba*  
 DEF-forum FUT 3SG.M.IPFV:be.FUT also opportunity good:F  
*[għall-Maltin]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 [for:DEF-Maltese:PL]

‘The forum will also be a good opportunity [for the Maltese].’

(c) (II21) *għal* ‘for’ [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic12]

*Izda aħbar kerha [għall-Maltin]<sub>pp</sub> kienet it-telfa*  
 but news ugly:F [for:DEF-Maltese:PL] be:3SG.F.PFV DEF-loss  
*mhix mistennija ta’ Dun Guliermu Bonett*  
 NEG:3SG.F:NEG PART:expect:F of Dun Guliermu Bonett

‘But bad news [for the Maltese] was the unexpected loss of Dun Guliermu Bonett.’

The examples given in (5.283) refer back to what we have said in connection to the BENEFACTIVE above.<sup>253</sup> In the subsequent paragraph, we argue along the same lines but emphasise the fact that (II21) *għal* ‘for’ is not a fully-blown BENEFACTIVE II.

Ideally, a BENEFACTIVE situation involves a BENEFACTOR who does something (= BENEFACTUM) to the benefit of another participant (= BENEFICIARY). This configura-

<sup>252</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.3.

<sup>253</sup> In Sections 5.1.1.3 and 5.1.3.17.



tion applies in both the (a)-sentence and the (b)-sentence. In (5.283a), the Nationalist government plays the **BENEFACTOR**'s part. It acts in such a way that the **BENEFICIARY** (= the ex-pat Maltese) takes advantage of the government's activities. The **BENEFACTUM** is the promise (or more precisely: its realisation). Similarly, the Maltese function as **BENEFICIARY** in (5.283b) where the good opportunity can be understood as the **BENEFACTUM** and the forum as the (metonymical) **BENEFACTOR**. What happens is to the benefit of the Maltese. In contrast, it is difficult to speak of a benefit for the Maltese in the situation described by (5.283c). In point of fact, neither the demise of Dun Gulierrmu Bonett nor the bad news thereof are good candidates for the roles of **BENEFACTOR** and **BENEFACTUM**, respectively, because the death of the cleric has detrimental effects on the Maltese community. Thus, the Maltese cannot be **BENEFICIARIES** in the strict sense of the term. What we learn from these examples is that the use of (Π13) *favur* 'in favour of' implies that something is done to the benefit of somebody. This Π is genuinely **BENEFACTIVE**. In the case of (Π21) *għal* 'for', it is appropriate to assume neutrality as to the opposition of **BENEFACTIVE** vs **MALEFACTIVE** because the use of this Π is always possible no matter whether the event is to the benefit or to the detriment of a participant. (Π21) *għal* 'for' does not distinguish positive from negative effects. It simply introduces the participant who undergoes the effect of an action that is carried out by a different participant. It is therefore necessary to reformulate the (a)-equation of Figure 5.72. The reformulation is given in Figure 5.73.

$$(\Pi 13) \text{ } f\acute{a}vur \text{ 'in favour of'} \quad = \quad (\Pi 21) \text{ } g\acute{h}al \text{ 'for'} / \text{BENEFACTIVE}$$

**Figure 5.73:** Conditioned overlap I.

The two IIs are semantically synonymous solely under the condition that the intended meaning is **BENEFACTIVE**. If this criterion is not fulfilled, the equation of (Π13) *favur* 'in favour of' and (Π21) *għal* 'for' does not hold any more. The true **BENEFACTIVE** Π is (Π13) *favur* 'in favour of'.

Do we need to tidy up the situation also on the other side of the above antonymic opposition? Discounting syntactic constraints, which regulate the distribution of the two representatives of the **MALEFACTIVE** when conceived of as an umbrella, we are inclined to accept the equation (b) in Figure 5.72 on purely semantic grounds since both IIs are used in situations where a **MALEFACTOR** commits a **MALEFACTUM** to the detriment of a **MALEFICIARY** as shown in (5.284).

## (5.284) MALEFACTIVE

- (a) (II2) *a skapitu* ‘at the expense of’ [Korpus Malti 3.0; news105086]  
*Għax hemm min jibża’ li ċertu employers qed*  
 because there who 3SG.M.IPFV:fear that certain employers PROG  
*jabbużaw minnhom [à skapitu tal-Maltin u*  
 3.IPFV:abuse:PL from:3PL [at\_the\_expense\_of of:DEF-Maltese:PL and  
*l-Għawdxin*<sub>pp</sub>  
DEF-Gozitan:PL]  
 ‘Because there are people who fear that certain employers are abusing  
 them [at the expense of the Maltese and the Gozitans].’
- (b) (II27) *kontra* ‘against’ [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic12]  
*Anzi r-restrizzjonijiet [kontra l-Maltin]<sub>pp</sub> kienu aghar*  
 even DEF-restriccion:PL [against DEF-Maltese:PL] be:3PL.PFV bad.CMPR  
*minn hekk*  
 from so  
 ‘The restrictions [against the Maltese] were even worse than that.’

The situations described in (5.284a) and (5.284b) are both to the detriment of the Maltese (and in one case the Gozitans, too). The MALEFICIARY is thus identified. The MALEFACTOR is made explicit only in the (a)-sentence where the employers are suspected of illegally employing foreign workers at low wages. This practice is the MALEFACTUM. The MALEFACTOR is absent from the (b)-sentence but can be retrieved from the context. The US Congress is made responsible for imposing restrictions on the immigration of Maltese migrants in the 1920’s. The restrictions are the MALEFACTUM. Formally, ADVERSATIVE<sup>254</sup> and MALEFACTIVE<sup>255</sup> are distinct but conceptually they belong to the same domain. In the absence of a better term, we use the label MALEFACTIVE also as cover term for the two subcategories.

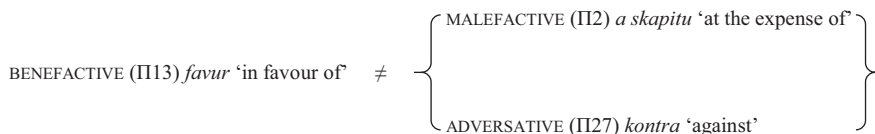
Since (II21) *għal* ‘for’ is no longer considered a genuine BENEFACTIVE II, it is no longer required to ask whether there are two strictly separate binary antonymic relations involving only one of the BENEFACTIVE IIs and one of the MALEFACTIVE IIs to the exclusion of the other IIs mentioned in Figure 5.71. Figure 5.74 presents the updated version of Figure 5.72.

The antonymy is asymmetric in the sense that there are no equal numbers on the different sides of the opposition. We have a one-to-many relation in Figure 5.74.

Next in line is the antonymic opposition of INSTRUMENTIVE and EXCLUSIVE featured in Figure 5.75. As in the previous case, things are not as simple as that since

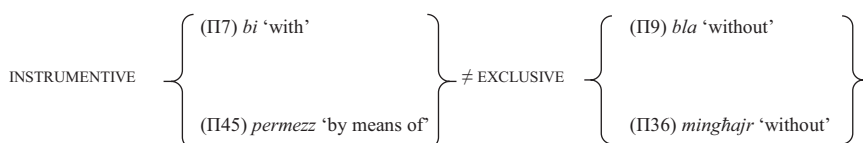
254 Cf. Section 5.1.3.12.

255 Cf. Section 5.1.3.18.



**Figure 5.74:** Antonymy BENEFACTIVE VS MALEFACTIVE / ADVERSATIVE (final version).

only two of the four Πs included in the diagram are bona fide cases of synonymy. The schematic representation of the antonymic relations in Figure 5.75 needs to undergo modification as will result from the ensuing discussion. It is therefore characterised as preliminary.



**Figure 5.75:** Antonymy INSTRUMENTIVE VS EXCLUSIVE (preliminary version).

Like in the case of (Π21) *għal* 'for' and (Π13) *favur* 'in favour of', the pair of INSTRUMENTIVE Πs constituted by (Π7) *bi* 'with' and (Π45) *permezz* 'by means of' fails to fit the description of full synonymy. On the one hand, there is the multi-purpose (Π7) *bi* 'with' for which INSTRUMENTIVE is only a segment within its extended functional domain. On the other hand, there is (Π45) *permezz* 'by means of' for which INSTRUMENTIVE is coextensive with its functional domain. This means that the domain of (Π45) *permezz* 'by means of' is fully included in the much wider domain of (Π7) *bi* 'with'. The situation is reminiscent of that captured by Figure 5.73 for the BENEFACTIVE as can be gathered from a comparison of Figure 5.73 with 5.76.

(Π45) *permezz* 'by means of' = (Π7) *bi* 'with' / INSTRUMENTIVE

**Figure 5.76:** Conditioned overlap Π.

Figure 5.76 tells us that (Π45) *permezz* 'by means of' and (Π7) *bi* 'with' can replace each other only in genuinely INSTRUMENTIVE contexts and nowhere else. The conditioned overlap of the two Πs is illustrated by the examples in (5.285). Further details on the interrelationship of (Π45) *permezz* 'by means of' and (Π7) *bi* 'with' have been provided already above.<sup>256</sup>

<sup>256</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.3.5.

## (5.285) INSTRUMENTIVE

- (a) (II7)
- bi*
- ‘with’ [Korpus Malti 3.0; european10025]

*L-istatuti jistgħu jippermettu li voti mibgħuta*  
 DEF-statute:PL 3.IPFV:can:PL 3.IPFV:permit:PL that vote:PL PART:send:PL  
*[bil-posta]<sub>pp</sub> u [b’ mezz i elettronici]<sub>pp</sub>*  
*[with:DEF-mail] and [with means:PL electronic:PL]*  
 ‘The statutes may allow for votes being submitted **[by mail]** and **[via elec-**  
**tronic channels]** [ . . . ].’

- (b) (II45)
- permezz*
- ‘by means of’ [Korpus Malti 3.0; european10177]

*Dik l-informazzjoni għandha ukoll issir*  
 DEM:F:DIST DEF-information have:3SG.F also 3SG.F.IPFV:become  
*pubblika [permezz ta’ mezz i elettronici]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 public:F **[by means of of means:PL electronic:PL]**  
 ‘That information must also become public **[by means of electronic**  
**channels]**.’

The semantic equivalence of the two EXCLUSIVE IIs is not at issue since it has already been established. We only add the examples in (5.286)–(5.287) to pose the question of whether any of the EXCLUSIVE IIs may pick out only one of the INSTRUMENTIVE IIs to form an antonymic pair, and vice versa.

(5.286) EXCLUSIVE – (II9) *bla* ‘without’

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; opinion877]

*Il-kunsill hu limitat kemm-il triq jista’*  
 DEF-council 3SG.M limit:PART how\_many street 3SG.M.IPFV:can  
*jagħmel [bla għajnuna mill-Gvern Ċentrali]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:make **[without help from:DEF-government central]**  
 ‘The council is limited as to what it can do **[without help from the central**  
**government]**.’

- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; parl5748]

*Però jidher li issa dan il-kumitat*  
 but 3SG.M.IPFV:appear that now DEM:M:PROX DEF-committee  
*spiċċa [bla mezz i finanzjarji]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 wind\_up **[without means:PL financial:PL]**  
 ‘However, it seems now that this committee has ended **[without financial**  
**means]**.’

(5.287) EXCLUSIVE – (II36) *mingħajr* ‘without’

(a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news118684]

*Kien proġett personali li bdejt xi snin ilu*  
 be project personal that begin:1SG.PFV some year.PL ago  
*u li ma kien qatt jirnexxieli*  
 and that NEG be ever 3SG.M.IPFV:succeed:10:1SG  
*nagħmlu [mingħajr l-ghajjnuna ta' Michel]<sub>pp</sub>*

1SG.IPFV:make:3SG.M [without DEF-help of Michel]

‘It was a personal project that I began some years ago and that I would never have succeeded in carrying out [without Michel’s help].’

(b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news63110]

*huwa kważi impossibbli li timmagina l-hajja*  
 3SG.M almost impossible that 2SG.IPFV:imagine DEF-life  
*tal-familja umana [mingħajr il-mezzi*

of:DEF-family human:F [without DEF-means:PL

*tal-komunikazzjoni soċjali]<sub>pp</sub>*

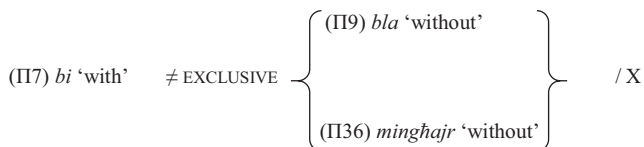
of:DEF-communication social]

‘[. . .] it is almost impossible to imagine the life of a human family [without the social media].’

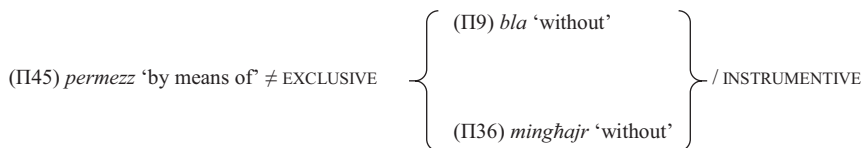
The two (a)-sentences illustrate how the EXCLUSIVE IIs serve to signal that an abstract instrument that is necessary for the successful completion of an activity is (imagined to be) absent in a given situation. In this function, both (II9) *bla* ‘without’ and (II36) *mingħajr* ‘without’ form a conceptual contrast to the INSTRUMENTIVE meanings expressed by (II45) *permezz* ‘by means of’ and (II7) *bi* ‘with’. In the (b)-sentences however, neither of the EXCLUSIVE IIs is the antonym of (II45) *permezz* ‘by means of’ because the situation described does not involve a participant (present or absent) that functions as instrument. The *bla*-PP in (5.286b), as well as the *mingħajr*-PP in (5.287b), introduce a temporary property of one of the participants in the situation. In the case of (5.286b) we are facing a resultative: being without financial means is the state the committee finds itself in at the end of a process. In the case of (5.287b), we are facing an attributive PP that modifies *familja umana* ‘human family’. This imagined family is characterised as not being equipped with social media. In both these cases, the EXCLUSIVE IIs are in an antonymic relation with (II7) *bi* ‘with’ outside of the INSTRUMENTIVE part of its functional domain. Like (II7) *bi* ‘with’, (II9) *bla* ‘without’ and (II36) *mingħajr* ‘without’ distribute over a wide range of contexts among which stating the absence of an instrument is only one.

On account of the limited parallels of the distribution profiles of the above IIs, a revision of Figure 5.75 is called for. The revision results in the division of the orig-

inal antonymic pattern into two separate patterns featured in Figures 5.77–5.78. (Π9) *bla* ‘without’



**Figure 5.77:** Antonymy (Π7) *bi* ‘with’ vs EXCLUSIVE.

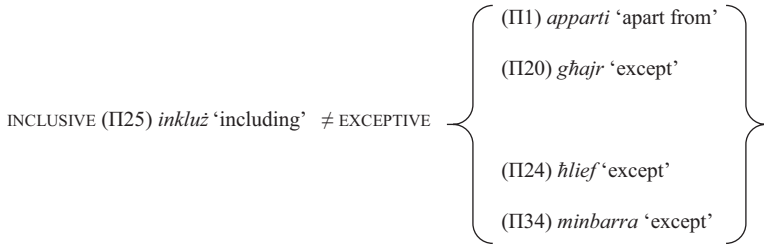


**Figure 5.78:** Antonymy (Π45) *permezz* ‘by means of’ vs EXCLUSIVE.

According to Figure 5.77, (Π7) *bi* ‘with’ is in opposition to either the one or the other EXCLUSIVE Π in a variety of contexts. This multitude of contexts is represented by X in the formula. The INSTRUMENTIVE is but one of the possible realisations of X. Figure 5.78 suggests that a relation of the antonymic kind exists for (Π45) *permezz* ‘by means of’ and the EXCLUSIVE Πs only where the context can be characterised as INSTRUMENTIVE.

The story is about to repeat itself, in a manner of speaking. What on superficial inspection looks more or less like a straightforward relation between meaning categories or between their representatives turns out to be an intricate crisscrossing of several relations that cannot easily be put in a watertight order. This characterisation also holds for the final case to be looked into in this section. In Figure 5.79, the preliminary version of the antonymic relation between the INCLUSIVE on one side and the EXCEPTIVE on the other side is presented. It is again a one-to-many relation, or so it seems. As will turn out in the course of the critical evaluation, the formula cannot remain as is but needs to be thoroughly worked over.

To base our argumentation on firm ground, we start with the uncontroversial component of the antonymic pattern, namely with (Π25) *inkluz* ‘including’ in (5.288).



**Figure 5.79:** Antonymy INCLUSIVE VS EXCEPTIVE (preliminary version).

- (5.288) INCLUSIVE (II25) *inkluz* ‘including’ [Korpus Malti 3.0; news42530]  
*Fl-imġhoddi l-iskart kollu [inkluz l-ikel]<sub>pp</sub> kien*  
 in:DEF-past DEF-waste all:3SG.M [including DEF-food] be  
*jintrema f’ mizbla*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:throw\_away in dump  
 ‘In the past, all the waste, [including food], was thrown into a dump.’

The complement of (II25) *inkluz* ‘including’, the definite noun *l-ikel* ‘the food’, is described as forming part of the list of objects that together constitute the referents of the mass-noun *l-iskart* ‘the waste’. The other items that belong to the category of waste are not specified. (5.288) describes a situation of inclusion whereas the examples in (5.289) do the opposite by way of identifying a participant who is not part of the group of other participants that are talked about.

- (5.289) EXCEPTIVE
- (a) (II1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic6]  
*Bħala parti mill-proġett tal-Gospel House se*  
 as part from:DEF-project of:DEF-Gospel House FUT  
*jinfetaħ centru ta’ taħriġ [apparti l-kamra*  
 3SG.M.IPFV:REFL:open center of training [apart from DEF-room  
*tal-hjata u dik tal-qtuġħ tad-drapp]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 of:DEF-sewing and DEM:F:DIST of:DEF-cutting of:DEF-cloth]  
 ‘As part of the Gospel House project a training centre will be opened  
 [except the room for sewing and that for cutting of the cloth].’
- (b) (II34) *minbarra* ‘except’ [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic113]  
*Fl-1996 kien il-plejer l-iktar żagħżuġ li ppartecipa*  
 in:DEF-1996 be DEF-player DEF-more young that participate  
*fil-Kampjonati Ewropej 1996 fejn lagħab*  
 in:DEF-Championship:PL European:PL 1996 where play

- fil-partiti kollha [minbarra s-semi-finali]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 in:DEF-match:PL all:3SG.F [except DEF-semi-final:PL]  
*minhabba skwalifikazzjoni*  
 on\_account\_of disqualification  
 ‘In 1996 he was the youngest player that participated in the European Championships 1996 where he played in all matches [except the semi-finals] because of a disqualification.’
- (c) (II20) *għajr* ‘except’ [Korpus Malti 3.0; european10386]  
*Dawn jikkoncernaw dħul mill-pajjiżi terzi*  
 DEM:PL:PROX 3.IPFV:concern:PL entrance from:DEF-country:PL third:PL  
*kollha fi Stat Membru [għajr l-Irlanda]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 all:3SG.F in state member [except DEF-Ireland]  
 ‘Those concern income from all third countries in a member state [except Ireland].’
- (d) (II24) *hlief* ‘except’ [Korpus Malti 3.0; academic413]  
*habtu għal Ghawdex u kaxkru l-Ghawdxin kollha*  
 collide:3PL.PFV for Gozo and drag:3PL.PFV DEF-Goitan:PL all:3SG.F  
*[hlief ix-xjuħ u l-morda]<sub>pp</sub>*  
 [except DEF-old.PL and DEF-sick.PL]  
 ‘[. . .] they attacked Gozo and dragged all the Gozitans with them [except the old and the sick].’

In (5.289a), certain rooms are excluded from those parts of the training centre that are said to be going to be opened. In (5.289b), the semi-finals of the championship are identified as those matches that do not belong to the matches in which the young player made an appearance during the championships. In (5.289c), Ireland is mentioned as the only E.U. member state in which the regulations do not apply. And finally, in (5.289d), the entire population is taken captive by the pirates except the elderly and sick. These are clear instances of exclusion that form a contrast to the inclusion expressed by (II25) *inkluz* ‘including’ in (5.288). Accordingly, one might conclude that INCLUSIVE (II25) *inkluz* ‘including’ boasts four synonymous EXCEPTIVE antonyms.

However, the situation is once more not what you see. In connection to polysemy and synonymy of non-spatio-temporal IIs,<sup>257</sup> we have repeatedly mentioned that (II1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ and (II34) *minbarra* ‘except’ do not only serve the purpose of expressing the EXCEPTIVE but may also be used to express the ADDITIVE. Compare the examples in (5.290) with (5.289a-b).

257 Cf. Sections 5.2.2.1.2 and 5.2.2.2.



(5.290) ADDITIVE

(a) (Π1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ [Korpus Malti 3.0; news140570]

[**Apparti** *l-ikel*<sub>pp</sub> *li kien jinkludi wkoll*  
**[apart from DEF-food]** that be 3SG.M.IPFV:include also  
*dak mhux tradizzjonali Malti kien hemm*  
 DEM:M:DIST NEG:3SG.M:NEG traditional Maltese be there  
*ghadd ta' wirjiet agrikoli*  
 number of show:PL agricultural

‘[**Besides the food**] that included also non-traditional Maltese items there was a number of agricultural exhibits.’

(b) (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’ [Korpus Malti 3.0; news134258]

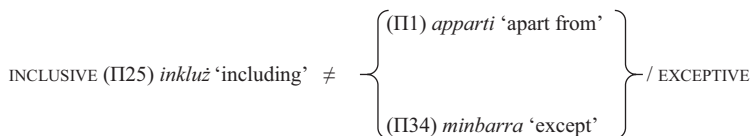
[**Minbarra** *l-ikel*<sub>pp</sub> *il-bakterja tista' tinstab*  
**[except DEF-food]** DEF-bacterium 3SG.F.IPFV:can 3SG.F.IPFV:REFL:find  
*ukoll fl-ilma il-ħamrija u ħmieġ tal-annimali*  
 also in:DEF-water DEF-soil and excrement of:DEF-animal:PL

[**Beside food**] the bacterium can be found also in water, soil, and animal excrements.’

In (5.290a), (Π1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ does not exclude the food from the list of attractions of the event but instead, the use of this Π implies that the food forms part of a larger group of items that count as assets of the event. Similarly, in (5.290b), (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’ is not used in its EXCEPTIVE function. It serves to convey the ADDITIVE meaning according to which food is only one item on a list of habitats in which the bacterium can be found. In other words, (Π1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ and (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’ are ambiguous since they may receive an EXCEPTIVE or an ADDITIVE interpretation. In the latter case, their meaning is not too far from that of INCLUSIVE (Π25) *inkluz* ‘including’. At the same time, when (Π1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ and (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’ express the ADDITIVE they can be considered to function as antonyms of EXCEPTIVE (Π20) *ghajr* ‘except’ and (Π24) *ħlief* ‘except’.<sup>258</sup>

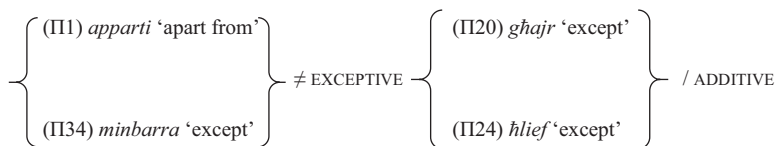
On the basis of the ambiguity of (Π1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ and (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’, Figure 5.79 must be refined. To this end, it is necessary to divide it in two. For each of the functions of the ambiguous Πs, a different scenario emerges. In Figure 5.80, it is shown that (Π1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ and (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’ are opposed to (Π25) *inkluz* ‘including’ only in those contexts where (Π1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ and (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’ unambiguously indicate that a given participant is excluded from a given set of items.

258 Cf. Sections 5.1.3.3 and 5.1.3.15.



**Figure 5.80:** Antonymy INCLUSIVE VS EXCEPTIVE (for ambiguous  $\Pi$ s).

If, however, the ambiguous  $\Pi$ s are analysed as ADDITIVE  $\Pi$ s, their antonymic counterparts are ( $\Pi 20$ ) *ghajr* 'except' and ( $\Pi 24$ ) *hlief* 'except' as transpires from Figure 5.81.



**Figure 5.81:** Antonymy ADDITIVE VS EXCEPTIVE (for ambiguous  $\Pi$ s).

We do not claim that the ADDITIVE  $\Pi$ s are full synonyms of the INCLUSIVE  $\Pi$ . ADDITIVE and INCLUSIVE look at situations from different perspectives. In the case of the ADDITIVE, the list of items that form a bigger unit is opened with the participant mentioned in the ADDITIVE PP. This participant is the basic element from which the extension of the set is developed. The INCLUSIVE functions differently. Normally, the participant involved in the INCLUSIVE PP is mentioned only after a set of participants is introduced into the discourse. The INCLUSIVE PP often comes as a kind of after-thought. There is a conceptual link between ADDITIVE and INCLUSIVE since both of these meaning categories single out one member of a set without cancelling it from the set. The cancelling function is proper to the EXCEPTIVE, though. The ambiguity of ( $\Pi 1$ ) *apparti* 'apart from' and ( $\Pi 34$ ) *minbarra* 'except' is suggestive of another conceptual link – this time between diametrically opposed meanings, namely those of the ADDITIVE and the EXCEPTIVE to which we turn our attention again below.<sup>259</sup>

#### 5.2.2.4 Preliminary conclusions on the non-spatio-temporal domain

In this section, we can be very brief since our analysis of the semasiology of  $\Pi$ s within the non-spatio-temporal domain of necessity remains superficial and more often than not also inconclusive. What we have argued so far does not give answers to questions, but mostly raises questions that call for being answered in future research. The principal shortcoming of the previous sections is caused by

<sup>259</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.4.

our limited ability to make decisions as to the semantics of the non-spatio-temporal IIs on the micro-level of their distribution over contexts. This inability can only be overcome if there is access to native-speaker intuition. We have made this point repeatedly already in this study, but it is worthwhile repeating it again, especially in connection to semantic matters.

In compensation for the lack of detail, we have sketched some of the most important macro-level aspects of this component of BLOMP 2.0. It has turned out that neither polysemy nor synonymy is particularly common across the non-spatio-temporal IIs, although this conclusion has to be taken with a grain of salt, too, since in-depth studies on the micro-level might reveal that both multifunctionality and (partial) semantic equivalence is more common than our results seem to suggest. On the basis of our own findings, we hypothesise that

- (a) when polysemy applies, the II in question normally expresses primarily only one of the meanings for which it can be employed whereas all other meanings are but secondary options for the same II;
- (b) when synonymy applies, it is normally partial synonymy that is realised while fully convincing examples of full synonymy are infrequent and at times also doubtful;
- (c) it is typical of Maltese non-spatio-temporal IIs to be monofunctional and without a competitor in the same meaning category;
- (d) Italo-Romance IIs and Semitic IIs display different preferences, especially with regard to polysemy.

The third phenomenon that was scrutinised in the foregoing sections is antonymy. Only a selection of antonymic relations was reviewed.<sup>260</sup> The examples given served to show that the semantic intricacies are such that many supposedly clear cases become problematic if investigated intensively. The complexity of the situation in the domain of antonymy crucially depends on the interaction with the two aforementioned phenomena, namely polysemy and synonymy. It seems that the usual configuration is that of a one-to-many relation. It is a relatively common constellation that the domains of the IIs overlap only partially in the sense that two supposed synonyms on one side of the antonymic relation turn out to share only part of their range of meanings or the meaning range of the one is fully included in the much more extended meaning range of the other. Accordingly, the IIs on the opposite side of the relation may be antonymic to different degrees with their partners in the opposition.

---

<sup>260</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.2.3.

The little we can say about polysemy, synonymy, and antonymy of non-spatio-temporal IIs leaves no place for doubt. There is an urgent need for a dedicated in-depth study of the semantics of Maltese IIs. Many issues that must be addressed in this study-to-be have been raised here for the first time. We consider this to be the one achievement of this section.

### 5.2.3 Polysemy across domains

Throughout the foregoing treatment of the semantics of Maltese IIs, we had occasion time and again to allude to IIs whose semantic profile covers meaning categories which belong to different domains, i.e., they cross the borders between core, spatio-temporal, and non-spatio-temporal meaning categories. This section has the task of determining in what way these IIs can be characterised. Do they have certain properties that render them especially fit for being employed for the expression of meanings that, superficially, are remote from each other? Or is there something about the co-expressed categories that binds them together? In this section, we will look at some general formal aspects of the IIs under scrutiny.<sup>261</sup> As is known from the previous discussion, polysemy often goes along with synonymy. This is also the case when polysemy stretches over several semantic domains.

We have encountered some pertinent cases already. An example of a II that is associated with core meaning categories and takes over also functions from the non-spatio-temporal domain is (II55) *ta* ‘of’ that is not only used for the expression of the POSSESSIVE<sup>262</sup> but also for those of ESSIVE and MATERIAL (cf. (5.282) [10] + [21]). In (5.282), further polysemic patterns are mentioned in which spatio-temporal IIs are involved, namely (II21) *għal* ‘for’ employed for the MOTIVATIVE (= (5.282) [6]) and for the BENEFACTIVE (= Figure 5.71), (II17) *fuq* ‘on’ for the PERTENTIVE (= (5.282) [13]), and (II41) *minn* ‘from’ for MATERIAL (= (5.282) [21]). The previous discussion has revealed that the BENEFACTIVE use of (II21) *għal* ‘for’ is not primary.<sup>263</sup> This II can be interpreted as BENEFACTIVE only because its relatively neutral and unspecific relational meaning allows (II21) *għal* ‘for’ to occur in many different contexts one of which the BENEFACTIVE happens to be. It is likely that this incidental fit applies also in other situations of polysemy and synonymy. Under this proviso, we take the daring step to identify those members of BLOMP 2.0 that are made use of for the

<sup>261</sup> The question that relates to the content side of the IIs is in the focus of interest of Section 5.2.4.

<sup>262</sup> Cf. Section 5.1.1.4.

<sup>263</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.2.3.

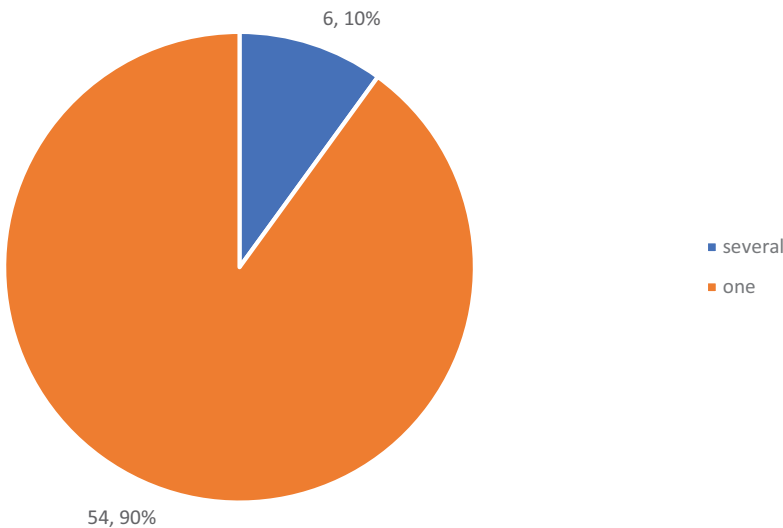
expression of meaning categories in at least two different domains according to Hagège's (2010) model.

The seven  $\Pi$ s that fulfil the criterion of occurring in several semantic domains are presented in (5.291). They are ordered top-down according to the decreasing number of meaning categories that form part of the polysemic chain. Meaning categories whose label is given in red belong to the core domain. Those in green identify meaning categories from the spatio-temporal domain. No special colour is used for the non-spatio-temporal categories.

(5.291) Polysemic  $\Pi$ s across domains

- (a) ( $\Pi$ 41) *minn* 'from' – **AGENTIVE**, **ABLATIVE**, **PERLATIVE**, **PROLATIVE**, COMPARATIVE (INEQUALITY), PARTITIVE, MATERIAL
- (b) ( $\Pi$ 21) *għal* 'for' – **DIRECTIONAL**, MOTIVATIVE, PURPOSIVE, BENEFACTIVE
- (c) ( $\Pi$ 15) *fī* 'in' – **INTERIOR**, **SUPERIOR**, TRANSLATIVE
- (d) ( $\Pi$ 30) *ma* 'with' – **PROPINQUUS**, **SEQUENS**, COMITATIVE
- (e) ( $\Pi$ 55) *ta* 'of' – **POSSESSIVE**, ESSIVE, MATERIAL
- (f) ( $\Pi$ 17) *fuq* 'on' – **SUPERIOR**, PERTENTIVE

This group of six represents 10% of BLOMP 2.0. This means that the vast majority of the Maltese  $\Pi$ s is semantically specified for only one domain. The unequal relation of the two subsets of BLOMP 2.0 comes nicely to the fore in Figure 5.82.



**Figure 5.82:** Shares of  $\Pi$ s used in several dimensions vs  $\Pi$ s used in one dimension.

Several further characteristics hold for the entire half dozen of IIs in (5.291). First of all, we notice that there is not a single Italo-Romance  $\Pi$  among them. Crossing the border between domains is thus a privilege of Semitic IIs. Accordingly, we can postulate the implicational pattern in Figure 5.83.

$$\Pi \rightarrow \text{Semitic} \quad / \text{dimension}_x + \text{dimension}_y$$

**Figure 5.83:** Multidimensional  $\Pi$ s are Semitic.

Moreover, each of the six multidimensional  $\Pi$ s consists of only one syllable with either CV or CVC structure. The use of a given  $\Pi$  in several domains correlates with this  $\Pi$ 's monosyllabicity. This observation can be used as the basis for the next implicational pattern in Figure 5.84.

$$\Pi \rightarrow \Sigma \quad / \text{dimension}_x + \text{dimension}_y$$

**Figure 5.84:** Multidimensional  $\Pi$ s are monosyllabic.

Monosyllabicity invokes high frequency. If we go by the data exposed in Table 3.27, we recognise immediately that the six  $\Pi$ s in (5.291) occupy positions between the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> rank of the frequency-based hierarchy, i.e., each of them forms part of the set of high-frequency  $\Pi$ s. We may therefore add a third implicational pattern in Figure 5.85.

$$\Pi \rightarrow \text{highly frequent} \quad / \text{dimension}_x + \text{dimension}_y$$

**Figure 5.85:** Multidimensional  $\Pi$ s are highly frequent.

Another noteworthy fact about (5.291) is that the list features only one  $\Pi$  that is attested in all three domains. Position (5.291a) tells us that ( $\Pi$ 41) *minn* 'from' expresses seven different meaning categories one of which belongs to the core dimension, three each to the spatio-temporal domain and the non-spatio-temporal domain. No other  $\Pi$  counts as many meaning categories as ( $\Pi$ 41) *minn* 'from' does. Furthermore, ( $\Pi$ 55) *ta* 'of' is the only other  $\Pi$  whose polysemic profile involves a core category. At the same time, ( $\Pi$ 55) *ta* 'of' is the only  $\Pi$  in (5.291) that is not represented in the spatio-temporal domain. The sole domain that is mentioned in each polysemic profile is that of the non-spatio-temporal meaning categories. There is only one meaning category that occurs twice in (5.291), namely SUPERIOR which forms part of the polysemic patterns of ( $\Pi$ 15) *fī* 'in' and ( $\Pi$ 17) *fuq* 'on'. All other meaning categories are attested only once.

Figures 5.83–5.85 give us insights into properties that are shared by all of the IIs in (5.291). What the figures as such do not make clear is the causality that links the different properties to each other: Monosyllabicity can be ruled out as the trigger for high frequency and/or polysemy across several domains. What about the possibility that high frequency is a necessary condition for polysemy to arise? Or is it the other way around in the sense that being employed for a variety of different meaning categories epiphenomenally increases the frequency of a II? If frequency fails to explain polysemy, one might want to claim that the meaning categories themselves are responsible for their co-expression by one and the same II. The next section is dedicated to determining whether co-expression and synonymy are semantically motivated in the domain of the Maltese IIs.

#### 5.2.4 Towards the semantic map of Maltese IIs

Given the preliminary character of our above semantic analyses, it does not make sense to attempt to provide a fully-blown semantic map for BLOMP 2.0 in its entirety. This is a task that can be envisaged for the future. Here and now, we focus on those IIs that are involved in polysemy and/or synonymy. This means that monofunctional IIs that lack a competitor in the domain of the meaning category they express are counted out from the ensuing discussion. To be admitted to the discussion, a II has to be multifunctional or it must be involved in a synonymic pattern. Polysemy and synonymy are equally favoured or avoided by spatio-temporal IIs and IIs from the other two domains. The differences between the domains are relatively small. This is visible in Figure 5.86.

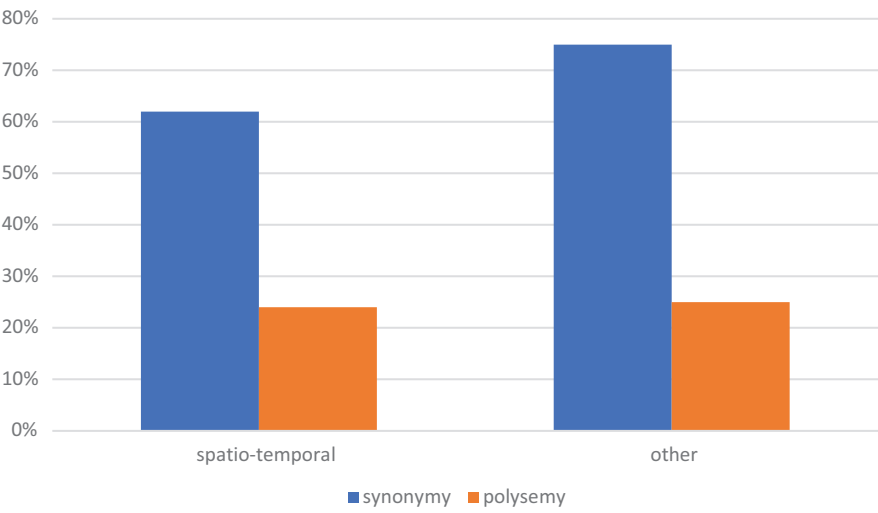
The shares exclusively refer to cases of polysemy and synonymy that apply within a given semantic domain. We still have to establish what polysemy and synonymy across domains look like.

To this end, we proceed as follows. Each II's distribution over meaning categories is individually assessed. To this end, the presentation is divided in two. First,<sup>264</sup> we pay attention to those IIs whose distribution is limited to one of the three domains (core meanings, spatio-temporal meanings, non-spatio-temporal meanings). Then,<sup>265</sup> it is the turn of the IIs which are attested in more than one of these domains. The presentation of the individual IIs within these two sections starts from the binary patterns and continues stepwise along the increasing number

---

<sup>264</sup> In Section 5.2.4.1.

<sup>265</sup> In Section 5.2.4.2.

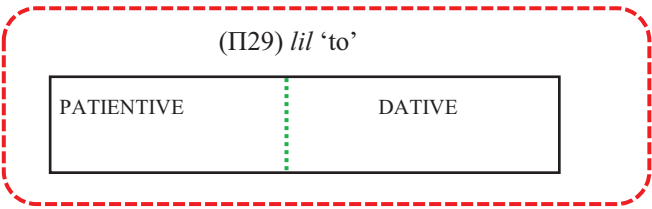


**Figure 5.86:** Polysemy vs synonymy within domains (compared).

of meaning categories towards the maximum size of a synonymic/polysemic pattern.<sup>266</sup>

**5.2.4.1 IIs limited to one domain**

In the core domain, there is only (Π29) *lil* ‘to’ that is attested as exponent of two different meaning categories within the same domain. As shown above,<sup>267</sup> this II marks the PATIENTIVE as well as the DATIVE. In Hagège’s (2010) taxonomy, these two meaning categories are immediate neighbours as schematised in Figure 5.87. Similar schemas will be used for all of the IIs discussed in this and the following section.



**Figure 5.87:** The distribution of (Π29) *lil* ‘to’ over meaning categories.

<sup>266</sup> A short summary is given in Section 5.2.4.3.

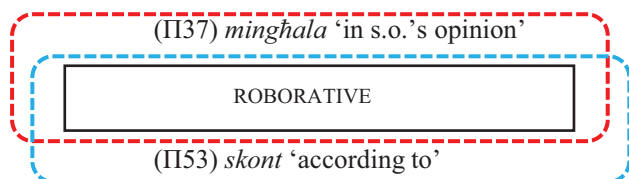
<sup>267</sup> Cf. Sections 5.1.1.2–5.1.1.3.



The red dashed line surrounds the functional domain of the  $\Pi$  under discussion. The labels of the meaning categories that form part of the  $\Pi$ 's functional domain are given in rectangular boxes. If these categories are directly adjacent in the semantic space as conceived by Hagège (2010), their labels share a box that is further divided by a green dotted line. If adjacency does not apply, the labels occupy separate boxes. Under adjacency, the neighbourhood relation reflects conceptual similarity so that the employment of one and the same  $\Pi$  for two interrelated categories is unsurprising.

In the case of *PATIENTIVE* and *DATIVE*, it may be argued that these meaning categories are close to each other since they both relate to the semantic macro-role of undergoer. The participants that are characterised as *PATIENTIVE* or *DATIVE* are affected by the action undertaken by the actor. Their degree of affectedness is not identical, but, independent of the differences between *PATIENTIVE* and *DATIVE*, it can be assumed that these labels refer to categories that presuppose a degree of affectedness that surpasses that of all other semantic roles subsumed under the macro-role undergoer.

We enter the non-spatio-temporal domain. The *ROBORATIVE* is expressed by either (II37) *minghala* 'in s.o.'s opinion' or (II53) *skont* 'according to'. We argued above that the domain of the former is fully included in the domain of the latter.<sup>268</sup> For the present purpose, it suffices that the two  $\Pi$ s are in some kind of synonymic relation. In contrast to polysemous (II29) *lil* 'to', we observe a combination of two monofunctional  $\Pi$ s that share the same meaning category as shown in Figure 5.88.



**Figure 5.88:** The distribution of (II37) *minghala* 'in s.o.'s opinion' and (II53) *skont* 'according to' over meaning categories.

The picture does not change if we take account of the *EXCLUSIVE* and its two exponents (II9) *bla* 'without' and (II36) *minghajn* 'without' whose properties have been referred to repeatedly in previous sections. The synonymy of (II9) *bla* 'without' and (II36) *minghajn* 'without' is beyond doubt. Accordingly, Figure 5.89 is a look-alike of Figure 5.88 with the sole difference being the new labels.

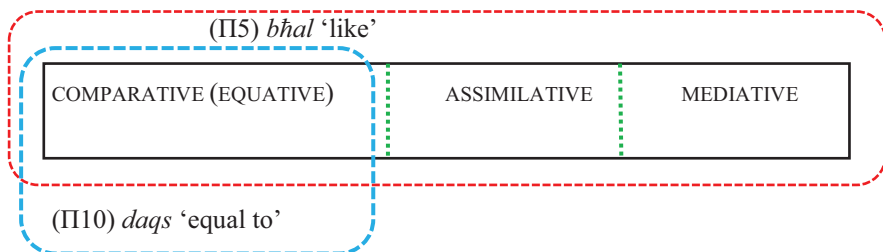
<sup>268</sup> In Section 5.1.3.14.



**Figure 5.89:** The distribution of (Π9) *bla* ‘without’ and (Π36) *minghajr* ‘without’ over meaning categories.

As will transpire from the presentation of further Πs, the complexity of the diagrams increases parallel to the number of synonyms and members of a polysemic chain.

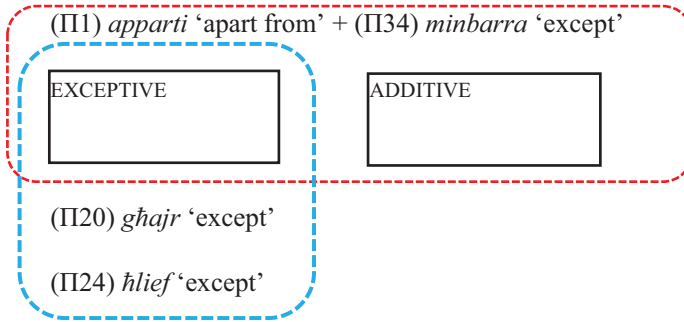
A case in point is the network of the meaning categories ASSIMILATIVE, COMPARATIVE (EQUATIVE), and MEDIATIVE. (Π5) *bħal* ‘like’ covers all three of these meanings whereas (Π10) *daqs* ‘equal to’ expresses only the COMPARATIVE (EQUATIVE). Meaning: a multifunctional Π combines with a monofunctional Π to shape a segment of the semantic map. The three meaning categories are direct neighbours in Hagège’s (2010) taxonomy.<sup>269</sup> We can thus safely assume that the meaning categories are conceptually linked to each other. The question remains how exactly they should be ordered in conceptual space. Figure 5.90 reflects our interpretation for which the partial synonymy of (Π5) *bħal* ‘like’ and (Π10) *daqs* ‘equal to’ is the most important factor.



**Figure 5.90:** The distribution of (Π5) *bħal* ‘like’ and (Π10) *daqs* ‘equal to’ over meaning categories.

The by now familiar connection of ADDITIVE and EXCEPTIVE through the polysemy of (Π1) *apparti* ‘apart from’ and (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’ forms the background of the next scenario where also monofunctional (Π20) *ghajr* ‘except’ and (Π24) *ħlief* ‘except’ play their part. In Figure 5.91, two synonymous Πs yield identical polysemic patterns.

<sup>269</sup> They are the topic of Sections 5.1.3.8–5.1.3.9.1.2.



**Figure 5.91:** The distribution of ((Π1) *apparti* ‘apart from’, (Π20) *ghajr* ‘except’, (Π24) *hlief* ‘except’, and (Π34) *minbarra* ‘except’ over meaning categories.

The two meaning categories are found at different ends of Hagège’s (2010) taxonomy, i.e., a conceptual link between them is not immediately evident. We have highlighted this problem above.<sup>270</sup> The discussion accompanying Figures 5.80–5.81 makes it clear that this issue cannot be clarified without further in-depth research dedicated to it.

The next cases only remotely resemble the previous ones insofar as they involve relatively limited polysemic patterns. What renders them different from (Π29) *lil* ‘to’, (Π37) *mingħala* ‘in s.o.’s opinion’, (Π53) *skont* ‘according to’, (Π9) *bla* ‘without’, (Π36) *mingħajr* ‘without’, (Π5) *bħal* ‘like’, and (Π10) *daqs* ‘equal to’ is not only their location within the spatio-temporal domain but also the fact that they display a combination of polysemy and synonymy. On account of this combination, the schemas cannot be as simple as the ones in Figures 5.87–5.89. Several graphic renderings of the polysemic and synonymic relations that are characteristic for certain Πs and meaning categories have already been presented above.<sup>271</sup> The relevant figures depict the different situations in accordance with the detailed analysis of the distribution of the Πs that are involved in expressing a given meaning category. In what follows, new diagrams are proposed that cover the same situations but gloss over details to better capture the general picture in a way that allows comparison between the profiles of several Πs.

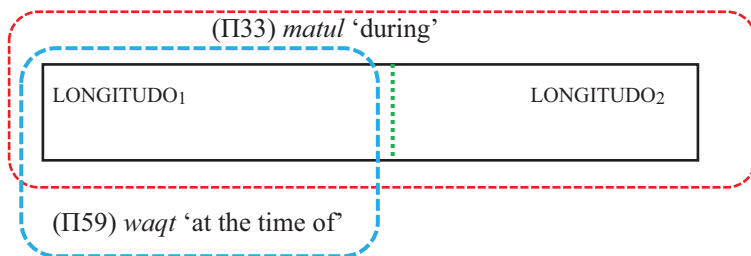
The first Πs to be jointly looked at are (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ and (Π59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’.<sup>272</sup> Both (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ and (Π59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ express LONGITUDO<sub>1</sub> but only (Π33) *matul* ‘during’ is also responsible for the expression

<sup>270</sup> In Sections 5.1.3.2 and 5.1.3.15.

<sup>271</sup> Cf. Sections 5.2.1.4.4.1–5.2.1.4.4.2.

<sup>272</sup> The synonymic relation between these Πs was addressed in Section 5.2.1.4.4.2.2.5 and schematically presented in Figure 5.52.

of LONGITUDO<sub>2</sub>. As in the previous case, a multifunctional  $\Pi$  goes together with a monofunctional  $\Pi$ . The conceptual bond between LONGITUDO<sub>1</sub> and LONGITUDO<sub>2</sub> is evident since we have extension along a stretch of time in one case and along a stretch of space in the other. The metonymical/metaphorical bridge between time and space is well-known from grammaticalization research. Figure 5.92 gives us an idea of how the partially synonymous  $\Pi$ s are ordered in conceptual space relative to the meaning categories.



**Figure 5.92:** The distribution of (II33) *matul* ‘during’ and (II59) *waqt* ‘at the time of’ over meaning categories.

The next segment of the semantic network comprises (II4) *bejn* ‘between’, (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’, and (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’. We have learned above that the three  $\Pi$ s display profiles that are not fully identical.<sup>273</sup> From the synopsis in Table 5.20, it is known that (II4) *bejn* ‘between’ covers the meaning categories of MEDIAL<sub>1</sub> and MEDIAL<sub>2</sub>. This means that a multifunctional  $\Pi$  interacts with two monofunctional ones. As argued at length above,<sup>274</sup> the two meaning categories are conceptually closely related – their closeness being reflected by their adjacency in Hagège’s (2010) taxonomy. (II16) *fost* ‘amongst’ and (II47) *qalb* ‘amidst’, however, are restricted to the expression of MEDIAL<sub>1</sub>. This situation is captured in Figure 5.93.

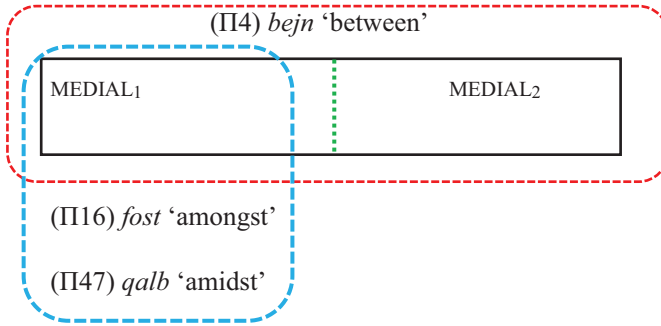
To continue with the topic at hand we have to look beyond the boundaries of the individual semantic domains in the next section.

#### 5.2.4.2 $\Pi$ s attested in several domains

Crossing the border between domains causes the complexity of the networks to rise considerably. For a start, we look at the least complex case first in which the meaning categories INTERIOR and SUPERIOR from the spatio-temporal domain and TRANSLATIVE and PERTENTIVE from the non-spatio-temporal domain are involved.

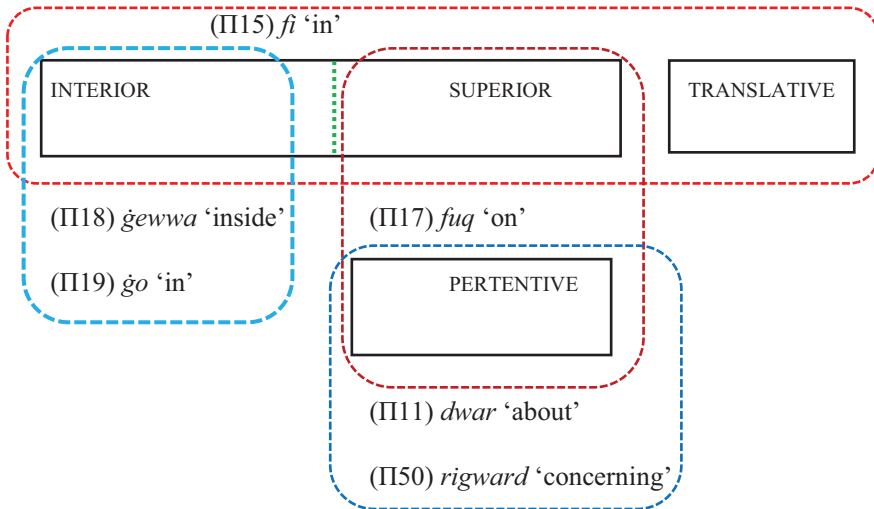
<sup>273</sup> Cf. Section 5.2.1.4.4.2.2.3 and Figure 5.50.

<sup>274</sup> In Sections 5.1.2.1.13–5.1.2.1.14 and in connection to (5.230).



**Figure 5.93:** The distribution of (Π4) *bejn* ‘between’, (Π16) *fost* ‘amongst’, and (Π47) *qalb* ‘amidst’ over meaning categories.

Their involvement means that the profiles of no less than six Πs have to be situated relative to each other in conceptual space. These Πs are: (Π11) *dwar* ‘about’, (Π15) *fi* ‘in’, (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’, (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’, (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’, and (Π50) *rigward* ‘concerning’. The meaning categories they represent are not all direct neighbours. There are thus mediated relationships as results from Figure 5.94.



**Figure 5.94:** The distribution of (Π11) *dwar* ‘about’, (Π15) *fi* ‘in’, (Π17) *fuq* ‘on’, (Π18) *ġewwa* ‘inside’, (Π19) *ġo* ‘in’, and (Π50) *rigward* ‘concerning’ over meaning categories.

We see that two polysemic patterns and three synonymic patterns render the network complex. Neither the INTERIOR nor the TRANSLATIVE is directly connected to the PERTENTIVE. However, they are all connected to the SUPERIOR and thus indirectly

connected between them. The conceptual side of this link is an aspect that needs to be looked into in-depth in a separate study.

The final network is the most extended since it embraces fifteen meaning categories which are represented by eighteen different IIs, viz. (II6) *bħala* ‘as’, (II7) *bi* ‘with’, (II8) *biswit* ‘facing’, (II14) *fejn* ‘near’, (II21) *għal* ‘for’, (II23) *ħdejn* ‘beside’, (II28) *lejn* ‘towards’, (II30) *ma* ‘with’, (II31) *madwar* ‘around’, (II32) *maġenb* ‘close to’, (II39) *minħabba* ‘on account of’, (II41) *minn* ‘from’, (II45) *permezz* ‘by means of’, (II48) *qrib* ‘near’, (II49) *quddiem* ‘in front of’, (II52) *sforz* ‘thanks to’, (II55) *ta* ‘of’, and (II58) *vicin* ‘near’. The network covers exactly 30% of BLOMP 2.0. The previous case has shown that the meaning categories involved in a complex network may not necessarily form a conceptual neighbourhood. This observation holds to an even higher degree for the network we are about to sketch in this paragraph.

Figure 5.95 is replete with indirect relations between meaning categories whose link is always a polysemous II mostly with a synonymous II that is involved in yet another polysemous pattern. Given the intricacy of the network, we must stipulate a point of departure from where the further relations are developed step by step. The starting point of our choice is the *PROPINQUUS* on account of the particularly high number of synonyms this meaning category comprises. For expository reasons, Figure 5.95 deviates slightly from the principles applied for designing the previous figures in this section.

The network in Figure 5.95 is not self-explanatory because *DIRECTIONAL*, *PARTITIVE* and *FRONS* for instance, do not invite the observer to assume that these meaning categories are naturally associated with each other. For lack of time and space, we relegate the detailed interpretation of this jigsaw puzzle to future research. Nevertheless, Figure 5.95 might serve as a preliminary basis for the future semantic map of Maltese IIs. To create this map, it is necessary not only to find a way to connect the different smaller and bigger semantic networks presented in this section but also to account for the IIs that neither participate in polysemy nor synonymy and therefore are not featured here.

### 5.3 Semantics and the canonical II

To close the semantics chapter of this study, the semantic component of the canonical II is characterised as follows. According to the usual practice that was applied to define the properties of the canonical II in phonology, morphology, and syntax, we largely follow the quantitative principle that accepts the most frequently attested phenomenon as canonical. There are three canonical properties in the semantic domain as disclosed in (5.292).



a configurational function (cf. Table 5.15) and combines with all directionality markers (cf. (5.233)). It does not express any other meaning (cf. Table 5.19). It fails, however, to fulfil criterion (5.292d) since it is the sole  $\Pi$  to express the meaning category for which it is employed. Thus, this  $\Pi$  conforms only to some of the requirements of the canon on several other levels of grammar. Where exactly (II56) *taħt* ‘under’ stands as to its degree of canonicity is a question that will be answered together with others in the conclusions in Section 6.