> 10 JAHRE
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Symmetries, asymmetries and factors that trigger them in descriptions of motion in space: Evidence from the diachrony of Greek

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## Introduction

## Goal of motion

Figure (Moving entity)

http://www.gettyimages.com/ detail/video/man-walking-towards-solo-tree-in-barren-landscape-stock-video-footage/168610561

## Introduction

## Source of motion

Figure (Moving entity) Ground (Location)

Path: Source


http:/ /www.gettyimages.com/ search/ more-like-
this/168610561?sort=best\&excludenudity=true\&family=creative

## Introduction

- The starting point (the Source) and the ending point (the Goal) do not constitute an equal pair of concepts
(see, among others, Ikegami, 1979; 1987; Landau \& Zukowski, 2003; Stefanowitsch
\& Rohde, 2004; Lakusta \& Landau, 2005; Papafragou, 2010; Georgakopoulos, 2018; Georgakopoulos \& Sioupi 2015).
- Labels:
- 'Source-Goal asymmetry'
- 'Goal bias'
- 'Goal-over-Source bias/ principle'
- 'Goal-over-Source-predominance'


Figure 1. A route that contains all components of the path schema
(1.1) Anna flew from Athens though Geneva to London yesterday (1.2) Anna flew from Athens to London yesterday
(1.3) Anna flew to London yesterday
(1.4) Anna flew from Athens yesterday

## Introduction



Medial

Goal

Figure 1. A route that contains all components of the path schema
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## Introduction



Source

Medial

Goal

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## Introduction



Source

Medial

Goal

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## Introduction

- A clear preference for the endpoint of motion is reported:
- Goals are often mentioned as being the unmarked member of the contrasting pair Source-Goal.
(Ikegami, 1987; Fillmore, 1997; Taylor, 1995: 128)
- For example, Goal markers are more often phonetically zero than Source markers (Stolz et al., 2014)
- Goals are often mentioned as having more prominent syntactic status than Sources (i.e. being arguments, rather than adjuncts). (Nam, 2004)
- This preference for the Goal has been attributed to a perceptual bias favoring the endpoint over the starting point. (Regier \& Zheng, 2007)


## Introduction

## Against linguistic Goal-bias

- Gehrke (2008)-contra Nam (2004)-argues that the Goal-bias is only cognitive and does not result in semantic or syntactic asymmetries between Goals and Sources.
- In Polish, the linguistic encoding of the "Putting" (i.e. Goaloriented) events and "Taking" (i.e. Source-oriented) events balances between symmetry and asymmetry. (Kopecka 2012; see also Petersen 2012)


## Research questions

## Broad question

Does Ancient Greek exhibit symmetry or asymmetry in the representation of the Source and the Goal in motion events?

## Specific questions

$\mathrm{Q}_{1}$ : Does the asymmetry depend on the lexical semantics of the verb?
(Sections: corpus analyses I, II, III)

Q2: Is there an imbalance in the directionality of change of Source and Goal markers?

Q2a: How do Source and Goal markers interact with Place markers
Q2b: Is this relation symmetrical or asymmetrical wrt directionality of change
(Section: Diachronic mergers of Goal - Place / Source - Place)

## Frame Semantics

- The basic assumption is that lexical units evoke a frame and profile some aspect(s) of this frame
(Fillmore, 1985: 224; Boas, 2001; Geeraerts \& Cuyckens, 2007: 4; Fillmore \& Baker, 2009)
(2.1.) Jo moved past Dad into the hall
(https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frame/Motion.xml)
Source-profiled
(2.2.) We departed from New York on Friday
(https:// framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Departing


## Theoretical framework

## Frame Semantics

- The basic assumption is that lexical units evoke a frame and profile some aspect(s) of this frame
(Fillmore, 1985: 224; Boas, 2001; Geeraerts \& Cuyckens, 2007: 4; Fillmore \& Baker, 2009)


## Medial-profiled

(2.3.) As the train crossed the bridge, the entire span collapsed, sending eleven railcars and one locomotive into the creek below
(http://goo.gl/0oPftx)
Goal-profiled
(2.4.) Some students arrived at the school on Sunday
(https:// /ramenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/ frameIndex.xml?frame=Arriving
Statement: the frame semantics of a motion verb influences the distribution of Path expressions

## Data and Methodology

| Diachronic <br> Stage | Date | Author | Work | Subcorpus | Words |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A | $8^{\text {th }}$ B.C. | Homer | Odyssey, Iliad | Epic poetry | 198,977 |
| B | $5^{\text {th }}$ B.C. | Euripides | Medea, Hippolytus, <br> Andromache, Hecuba, Electra, <br> Heracles, Iphigenia in Tauris, <br> Phoenissae, Orestes, Bacchae, <br> Iphigenia in Aulis | Tragedy | 96,047 |
|  |  | $5^{\text {th }}$ B.C. | Herodotus | The Histories | History |
|  | $5^{\text {th }}$ B.C. | Thucydides | History | History | 154,947 |
|  | $5^{\text {th }}$-4 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ B.C. | Aristophanes | Acharnians, Knights, Clouds, <br> Wasps, Peace, Birds, Lysistrata, <br> Thesmophoriazusae, Frogs, <br> Ecclesiazusae, Plutus | Comedy | 94,658 |
|  |  |  |  | 725,000 |  |

Table 1. The corpus constructed for the current study

## Data and Methodology

| Verb | Stage | Author (or text) | Total N <br> tokens | N valid tokens <br> for the analysis |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| eîmi, érkhomai ('to go, to <br> come') | A | Iliad | 520 | 150 |
| baínō ('to walk') | A | Odyssey | 173 | 136 |
| pléó ('to navigate') | B | Thucydides; <br> Herodotus | 309 | 150 |
| aphíkomai/ <br> ap(h)iknéomai ('reach') | B | Thucydides; <br> Herodotus | 708 | 150 |
| hikánō ('reach') | A | Iliad | 126 | 117 |
| pheúgō ('to flee, take <br> flight, escape') | A \& B | all authors | 478 | 460 |
| apérkhomai ('go away, <br> depart') | A \& B | all authors | 151 | 140 |

Table 2. Motion verbs per text and diachronic stage used in the corpus analyses

## Data and Methodology

| Verb |
| :--- |
| eîmi, érkhomai ('to go, to <br> come') |
| baínō ('to walk') |
| pléō ('to navigate') |
| aphíkomai/ <br> ap(h)iknéomai ('reach') |
| hikánō ('reach') |
| pheúgō ('to flee, take <br> flight, escape') |
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## Data and Methodology

| Verb |
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| Verb |
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| eîmi, érkhomai ('to go, to <br> come') |
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| aphíkomai/ <br> ap(h)iknéomai ('reach') |
| hikánō ('reach') |
| pheúgō ('to flee, take <br> flight, escape') <br> apérkhomai ('go away, <br> depart') |

Neutral verbs wrt directionality

Manner verbs

## Data and Methodology

| Verb |
| :--- |
| eîmi, érkhomai ('to go, to <br> come') |
| baínō ('to walk') |
| pléō ('to navigate') |
| aphíkomai/ <br> ap(h)iknéomai ('reach') |
| hikánō ('reach') |
| pheúgō ('to flee, take <br> flight, escape') |
| apérkhomai ('go away, <br> depart') |

Neutral verbs wrt directionality

Manner verbs

Goal-oriented verbs

## Data and Methodology

| Verb |
| :--- |
| eîmi, érkhomai ('to go, to <br> come') |
| baínō ('to walk') |
| pléō ('to navigate') |
| aphíkomai/ <br> ap(h)iknéomai ('reach') |
| hikánō ('reach') |
| pheúgō ('to flee, take <br> flight, escape') |
| apérkhomai ('go away, <br> depart') |

Neutral verbs wrt directionality

Manner verbs

Goal-oriented verbs

Source-oriented verbs

## Data and Methodology

## Coding

The data were hand-coded for the component of the path that is expressed (if any):

- Source
- Goal
- Source and Goal
- None of the above (e.g. Medial, zero complement, nonliteral complement, etc.)


## Corpus analysis I:

## Verbs neutral wrt directionality (eîmi, érkhomai)

$\boldsymbol{H}_{\boldsymbol{o}}$ : When the neutral verbs eîmi and érkhomai are used, the distribution of Goal paths equals the distribution of Source paths.

| héndeka | $d^{\prime}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| eleven | PTC |


| émata | thumòn | etérpeto |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| day:ACC.PL.N | spirit:ACC.SG.M | delight:IMPF.M/P.3SG |


| hoîsi | phíloisin | elthò̀n | ek | Lé́mnoio |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| REL.DAT.PL | friend:DAT.PL.M | come:PTCP.AOR.NOM.SG.M | ELAT | Lemnos:GEN |

'For eleven days' space had he joy amid his friends, having come forth from Lemnos' (Homer, Iliad 21.44-45)

## Corpus analysis I:

## Verbs neutral wrt directionality (eîmi, érkhomai)

$\boldsymbol{H}_{\boldsymbol{o}}$ : When the neutral verbs eîmi and érkhomai are used, the distribution of Goal paths equals the distribution of Source paths.

| elthóntes | $d^{\prime}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| come:PTCP.AOR.NOM.PL.M | PTC |


| es | dôma |
| :--- | :--- |
| ALL | house:ACC.SG.N |

Diòs
ALL house:ACC.SG.N Zeus:GEN

| nephelēgerétao | ksestêis | aithoúsēisin | enízanon |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| cloud_gatherer:GEN.SG.M | shaped:DAT.PL.F | collonade:DAT.PL.F | sit_down:IMPF.3SG |

'And having come to the house of Zeus they sate them down within the polished colonnades' (Homer, Iliad 20.10-11)

## Corpus analysis I:

## Verbs neutral wrt directionality (eîmi, érkhomai)

$\boldsymbol{H}_{\boldsymbol{o}}$ : When the neutral verbs eîmi and érkhomai are used, the distribution of Goal paths equals the distribution of Source paths.
$H_{1}$ : When the neutral verbs eîmi and érkhomai are used, Goal paths prevail in terms of frequency over Source paths.
(cf. Stefanowitsch and Rohde 2004 for English)

## Corpus analysis I:

## Verbs neutral wrt directionality (eîmi, érkhomai)

| Type of expression | $\mathbf{N}(\%)$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Goal <br> Source | $67(44,7 \%)$ |
| Source + Goal | $11(7,3 \%)$ |
| Other (Medial, zero, non- <br> literal, etc.) | $1(0,7 \%)$ |
| TOTAL |  |

Table 4. Frequencies for the type of expressions occurring with the verbs eîmi and érkhomai

## Corpus analysis II:

## Manner verbs (baínō, pléō)

$H_{2}$ : Due to the Goal bias, verbs that encode the manner of motion will choose more frequently Goal paths rather than Source paths.
(cf. Stefanowitsch and Rohde 2004 for English)
(5) bê pròs dôma Diòs
walk:AOR.3sG towards house:ACc.SG.N Zeus:GEN
'he went to the house of Zeus' (Homer, Iliad 5.398)
(6)

| bêe | dè | $k^{\prime 2 t}$ | Idaión | oréón |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| walk:AOR.3SG | PTC | down | Ida:GEN.PL | mountain:GEN.PL.N |

'But went down from the hills of Ida' (Homer, Iliad 15.237)

## Corpus analysis II:

## Manner verbs (baínō, pléō)

|  | Goal | Source | Source + <br> Goal | Other (Medial, <br> zero, non-literal, <br> etc.) | ToTAL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{M}_{1}:$ baínō | $50(36.8 \%)$ | $6(4.4 \%)$ | $1(0.7 \%)$ | $79(58.1 \%)$ | $136(100 \%)$ |
| $\mathrm{M}_{2}:$ pléō | $76(46.7 \%)$ | $13(8.7 \%)$ | $2(1.3 \%)$ | $65(43.3 \%)$ | $150(100 \%)$ |

Table 5. Frequency distribution of the expressions occurring with baínō and pléo

## Corpus analysis III:

## Directional verbs

$\boldsymbol{H}_{3}$ : The specific frame a motion verb belongs to has an effect on the choice of the locative argument. Goal-profiled verbs will preferably occur with Goal paths and Source-profiled verbs with Source paths
(cf. Stefanowitsch and Rohde 2004 for English)

## Corpus analysis III:

## Directional verbs

$H_{3}$ : The specific frame a motion verb belongs to has an effect on the choice of the locative argument. Goal-profiled verbs will preferably occur with Goal paths and Source-profiled verbs with Source paths

| apikómenoi | dè | hoûtoi |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| arrive:PTCP.AOR.NOM.PL.M | PTC | DEM.NOM.PL.M |

(8)

hōs | Xérxēs |
| :--- |
| when |
| Xerxes |

Helládos
Hellas:GEN.SG.F
‘When Xerxes fled from Hellas' (Herodotus, 9.82.1)

## Corpus analysis III:

## Directional verbs

|  | Goal | Source | Source + <br> Goal | Other (Medial, zero, nonliteral, etc.) | TOTAL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\overline{\mathrm{G}_{1}}$ : aphíkomai/ ap(h)iknéomai | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 91 \\ & (60.7 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 7 \\ (4.7 \%) \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 4 \\ (2.66 \%) \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 48 \\ & (32 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 150 \\ & (100 \%) \end{aligned}$ |
| $\mathrm{G}_{2}$ : hikánō | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 97 \\ (82.9 \%) \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & (0.85 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2 \\ & (1.7 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 17 \\ & (14.52 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 117 \\ & (100 \%) \end{aligned}$ |
| $\mathrm{S}_{1}$ : pheúgō | $\begin{aligned} & 59 \\ & (12.8 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 37 \\ & (8 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l} 7 \\ (1.5 \%) \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 357 \\ (77.6 \%) \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l} 460 \\ (100 \%) \end{array}$ |
| $S_{2}$ :apérkhomai | $\begin{array}{\|l} 28 \\ (20 \%) \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l} 13 \\ (9.28 \%) \end{array}$ | $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 2 \\ & (1.4 \%) \end{aligned}\right.$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 97 \\ (69.3 \%) \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l} 140 \\ (100 \%) \end{array}$ |

Table 6. Frequencies for expressions occurring with the directional verbs

## Corpus analysis III:

## Directional verbs

|  | Goal | Source | Source + Goal | Other (Medial, zero, nonliteral, etc.) | TOTAL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{G}_{1}$ : aphíkomai/ ap(h)iknéomai | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 91 \\ (60.7 \%) \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline 7 \\ (4.7 \%) \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 4 \\ (2.66 \%) \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 48 \\ & (32 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline 150 \\ (100 \%) \end{array}$ |
| $\mathrm{G}_{2}$ : hikánō | $\begin{aligned} & 97 \\ & (82.9 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & (0.85 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2 \\ & (1.7 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 17 \\ & (14.52 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 117 \\ & (100 \%) \end{aligned}$ |
| $\mathrm{S}_{1}$ : pheúgō | $\begin{aligned} & 59 \\ & (12.8 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 37 \\ & (8 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 7 \\ & (1.5 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 357 \\ (77.6 \%) \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 460 \\ & (100 \%) \end{aligned}$ |
| $S_{2}$ :apérkhomai | $\begin{array}{\|l} 28 \\ (20 \%) \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 13 \\ & (9.28 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2 \\ & (1.4 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 97 \\ & (69.3 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 140 \\ & (100 \%) \end{aligned}$ |

Table 6. Frequencies for expressions occurring with the directional verbs

## Corpus analysis III:

## Directional verbs

|  | Goal | Source | Source + <br> Goal | Other (Medial, <br> zero, non- <br> literal, etc.) | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{G}_{1}:$ aphíkomai/ <br> ap(h)iknéomai | 91 <br> $(60.7 \%)$ | 7 <br> $(4.7 \%)$ | 4 <br> $(2.66 \%)$ | 48 <br> $(32 \%)$ | 150 <br> $(100 \%)$ |
| $\mathrm{G}_{2}:$ hikánō | 97 <br> $(82.9 \%)$ | 1 <br> $(0.85 \%)$ | 2 <br> $(1.7 \%)$ | 17 <br> $(14.52 \%)$ | 117 <br> $(100 \%)$ |
| $\mathrm{S}_{1}:$ pheúgō | 59 <br> $(12.8 \%)$ | 37 <br> $(8 \%)$ <br> $\mathrm{S}_{2}:$ apérkhomai | 7 <br> 28 <br> $(20 \%)$ | $13 \%)$ <br> $(9.28 \%)$ | 357 <br> $(77.6 \%)$ |

Table 6. Frequencies for expressions occurring with the directional verbs

## Corpus analysis III:

## Directional verbs

|  | Goal | Source | Source + Goal | Other (Medial, zero, nonliteral, etc.) | TOTAL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{G}_{1}$ : aphíkomai/ ap(h)iknéomai | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 91 \\ & (60.7 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 7 \\ & (4.7 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 4 \\ & (2.66 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 48 \\ & (32 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 150 \\ (100 \%) \end{array}$ |
| $\mathrm{G}_{2}$ : hikánō | $\begin{aligned} & 97 \\ & (82.9 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & (0.85 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l} 2 \\ (1.7 \%) \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 17 \\ & (14.52 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l} 117 \\ (100 \%) \end{array}$ |
| $S_{1}$ : pheúgō | $\begin{aligned} & 59 \\ & (12.8 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 37 \\ & (8 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $7$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 357 \\ (77.6 \%) \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 460 \\ & (100 \%) \end{aligned}$ |
| $\mathrm{S}_{2}$ :apérkhomai | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 28 \\ (20 \%) \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 13 \\ & (9.28 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2 \\ & (1.4 \%) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 97 \\ & (69.3 \%) \end{aligned}$ | 140 <br> (100\%) |

Table 7. Frequencies for incongruent combinations

## Corpus analysis III:

## Directional verbs



## Type of verb

Figure 2. Directional verbs in their occurrence with incongruent expressions

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \mathrm{G}_{1}+\text { Pathsource }-\mathrm{S}_{1}+\text { Pathgoal: } \chi^{2}(1)=7.8, \mathrm{p}<.01 \\
& \mathrm{G}_{1}+\text { Pathsource }-\mathrm{S}_{2}+\text { Pathgoal: } \chi^{2}(1)=16.04, \mathrm{p}<.01
\end{aligned}
$$

## Diachronic mergers of Goal-Place / Source - Place

| Category | Markers used in Source contexts | Markers used in Goal contexts |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| < (Proper) <br> Preposition <br> + case> | 1. apó $(\mathrm{ABL})+$ gen. <br> 2. $e k($ elat $)+$ gen. <br> 3. katá (DIR.INFR) + gen. <br> 4. pará (LAT) + gen. <br> 5. hupó ( INFR ) + gen. | 1. $e i s(\mathrm{ALL})+\mathrm{acc}$. <br> 2. prós (pROX) + acc. <br> 3. pará (LAT) + acc. <br> 4. epí(SUPR) + acc. <br> 5. hupó ( INFR ) + acc. <br> 6. katá (DIR.INFR) + acc. <br> 7. epí(SUPR) + gen. |
| <(Improper) <br> Preposition + <br> case> |  | 8. mékhri+ gen. 'up to' <br> 9. ithús + gen. 'straight at' <br> 10. ánta/antíos/lenantíos + gen. 'against' <br> i1. skhedón + gen. 'near' <br> 12. $h \bar{o} s+$ accus. 'up to a person' |
| Cases | 6. genitive | 13. accusative <br> 14. dative |
| Adverbs; <br> Suffixed <br> adverbs, nouns | 7. énthen('thence') <br> 8. hokóthen ('whence') | 15. állose ('elsewhither') <br> 16. entháde ('hither, here') <br> 17. éntha (here, hither') <br> 18. deûro('hither, here') <br> 19. ekeîse ('thither')') <br> 20. eggúthen ('close') <br> 21. hóthi ('where') <br> 22. kátó ('below') <br> 23. mēdamêi ('nowhere') <br> 24. opísō('backwards, back') <br> 25. oikade ('to one's home or country') <br> 26. pálin('backwards, back') <br> 27. pêi ('whither?, where?') <br> 28. poî ('whither?') <br> 29. póse ('whither?') |

Table 9. List of Sources and Goals accompanying the motion verbs of the study

- Certain markers are found in both Place and Goal contexts

| (9) $\quad$ ek tô̂ | dè | naíeis enthád' ásteōs | hekás |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ELAT ART.GEN.SG.N PTC live:PRS.2SG LOC city:GEN.SG.N afar |  |  |  |
|  | 'Why are you living here, far from the city?' (Euripides, Electra 246) |  |  |


es sphagás
ALL slaughter:ACC.PL.F
'and, saved from there, you have come here to the slaughter.' (Euripides, Helena 778)

## Diachronic mergers of Goal - Place / Source - Place

- Certain markers are found in both Source and Place contexts
teiroménois
oppress:PART.PRS.DAT.PL.M
hetároisin
comrade:DAT.PL.M атипе́теп, ward.off:PRS.INF whence
depart:AOR.3sG Antilochus:NOM.SG
'to ward off the sore-pressed comrades from whom Antilochus was departed' (Homer, Iliad 17.703-704)
(12) énthen gàr ephaíneto pâsa mèn Ídē there PTC appear:IMPF.M/P.3sG all:NOM.SG.F PTC Ida:NOM.SG.F 'for from thence all Ida was plain to see;' (Homer, Iliad 13.13)


## Diachronic mergers of Goal-Place / Source - Place

| Category | Markers used in Source contexts | Markers used in Goal contexts |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| < (Proper) <br> Preposition <br> + case> | 1. apó $(\mathrm{ABL})+$ gen. <br> 2. $e k($ ELAT $)+$ gen. <br> 3. katá (DIR.INFR) + gen. <br> 4. pará (Lat) + gen. <br> 5. hupó ( INFR ) + gen. | 1. eis (ALL) +acc . <br> 2. prós (pROX) + acc. <br> 3. pará (LAT) + acc. <br> 4. epí(SUPR) + acc. <br> 5. hupó ( INFR ) + acc. <br> 6. katá $(\mathrm{DIR.INFR})+\mathrm{acc}$. <br> 7. epí(SUPR) + gen. |
| <(Improper) <br> Preposition + <br> case> |  | 8. mékhri+ gen. 'up to' <br> 9. ithús + gen. 'straight at' <br> 10. ánta/antíos/enantíos + gen. 'against' <br> i1. skhedón + gen. 'near' <br> 12. $h \bar{o} s+$ accus. 'up to a person' |
| Cases | 6. genitive | 13. accusative <br> 14. dative |
| Adverbs; <br> Suffixed <br> adverbs, nouns | 7. énthen('thence') <br> 8. hokóthen ('whence') | 15. állose ('elsewhither') <br> 16. entháde (hither, here') <br> 17. éntha (here, hither') <br> 18. deûro('hither, here') <br> 19. ekeîse ('thither')') <br> 20. eggúthen ('close') <br> 21. hóthi ('where') <br> 22. kátō('below') <br> 23. mēdamêi ('nowhere') <br> 24. opísō ('backwards, back') <br> 25. oikade ('to one's home or country') <br> 26. pálin('backwards, back') <br> 27. pêi ('whither?, where?') <br> 28. poî ('whither?') <br> 29. póse ('whither?') |

Table 9. List of Sources and Goals accompanying the motion verbs of the study

# Diachronic mergers of Goal - Place / Source - Place 

## Goal



Place

Place


Source


Place

Place


## Source

Figure 3. Processes leading to formal identity of expressions (based on the constructed corpus)
> Motion verbs - regardless of the semantic class - display preference for Goals compared to Sources
$\Rightarrow$ the impact of the Goal bias onto the choice of the spatial argument is stronger than the impact of verbal semantics (contra Stefanowitsch and Rohde 2004)
$>$ The factor of semantic incongruence affects the distribution of both locative roles
$>$ The combination of a Source-profiled verb with a Goal path is more frequent than the combination of a Goal-profiled verb with a Source path
$>$ Wrt the directionality of change, both Goal and Source markers can develop a Place meaning, but Place markers can only develop a Goal-not a Source-meaning
$>$ The ancient world (its investigation) offers a new perspective and understanding of the phenomenon of Source-Goal asymmetry.

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