10 JAHRE EXZELLENZCLUSTER TOPOI NEUE PERSPEKTIVEN AUF DIE ALTE WELT 19 APRIL 2018

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

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Goal of motion

(Talmy 2000)

Figure (Moving entity)

Ground (Location)

Path: Goal



Source of motion

(Talmy 2000)

Path: Source

Figure (Moving entity)

Ground (Location)



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

• 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'

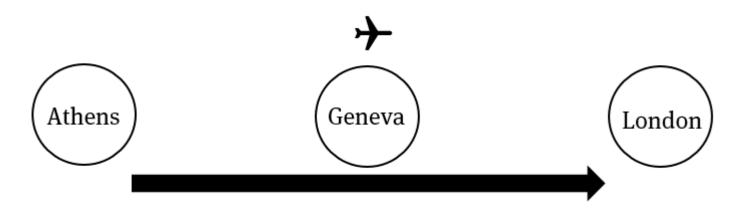


Figure 1. A route that contains all components of the path schema

- (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

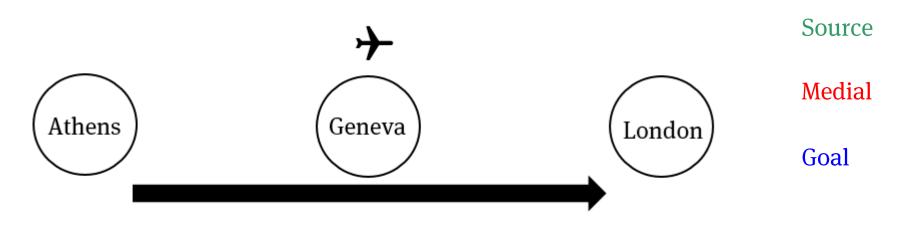


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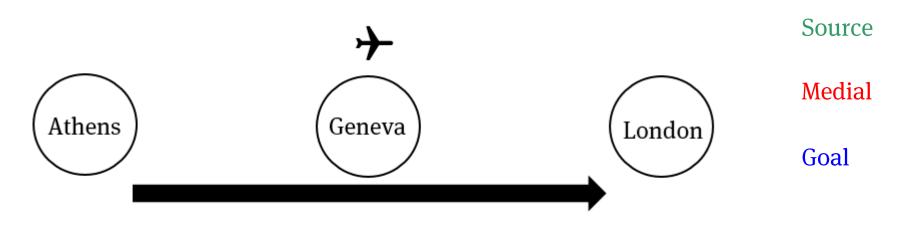


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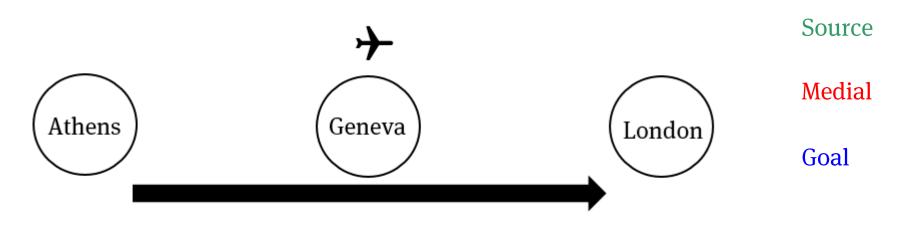


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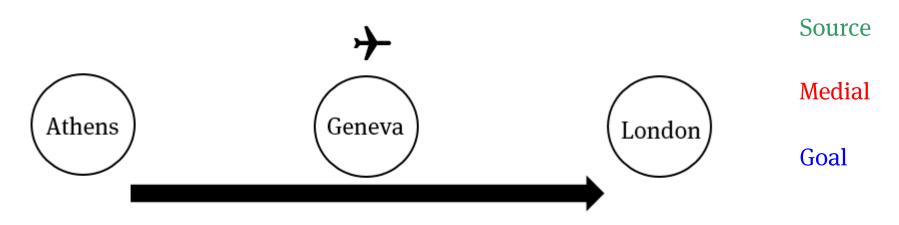


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- A clear preference for the endpoint of motion is reported:
 - Goals are often mentioned as being the unmarked member of the contrasting pair Source-Goal.

(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)

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

Q₁: 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?

Q_{2a}: How do Source and Goal markers interact with Place markers Q_{2b}: Is this relation symmetrical or asymmetrical wrt directionality of change

(Section: Diachronic mergers of Goal—Place / Source—Place)

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)

(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

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(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://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Arriving

Statement: the frame semantics of a motion verb influences the distribution of Path expressions

Diachronic Stage	Date	Author	Work	Subcorpus	Words
A	8 th B.C.	Homer	Odyssey, Iliad	Epic poetry	198,977
В	5 th B.C.	Euripides	Medea, Hippolytus, Andromache, Hecuba, Electra, Heracles, Iphigenia in Tauris, Phoenissae, Orestes, Bacchae, Iphigenia in Aulis	Tragedy	96,047
	5 th B.C.	Herodotus	The Histories	History	184,947
	5 th B.C.	Thucydides	History	History	150,173
	5 th -4 th B.C.	Aristophanes	Acharnians, Knights, Clouds, Wasps, Peace, Birds, Lysistrata, Thesmophoriazusae, Frogs, Ecclesiazusae, Plutus	Comedy	94,658 725,000

Table 1. The corpus constructed for the current study

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

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

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

Table 3. Categorization of Motion verbs

Verb

eîmi, érkhomai ('to go, to come')

baínō ('to walk')

pléō ('to navigate')

aphíkomai/ ap(h)iknéomai ('reach')

hikánō ('reach')

pheúgō ('to flee, take flight, escape')

apérkhomai ('go away, depart')



Neutral verbs wrt directionality

Table 3. Categorization of Motion verbs

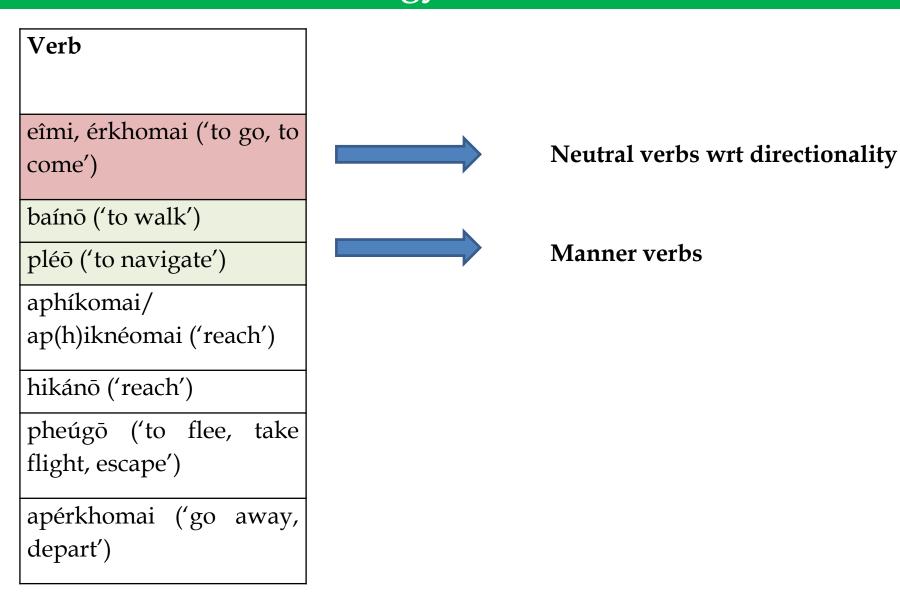


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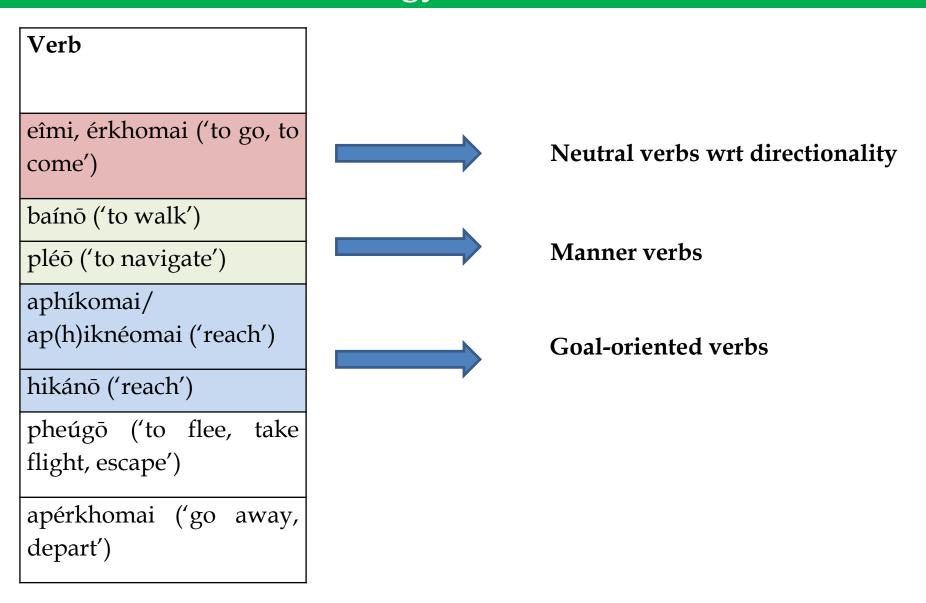


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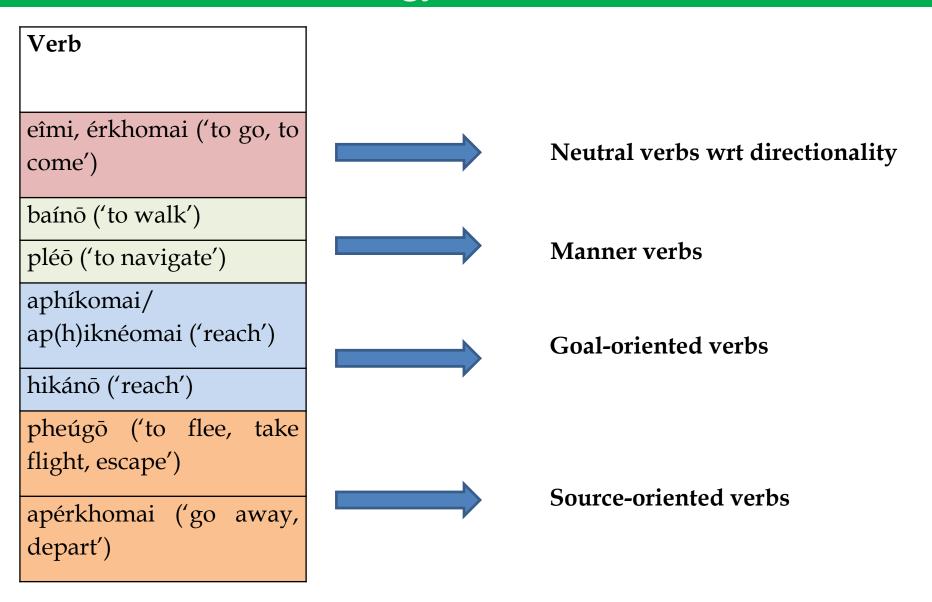


Table 3. Categorization of Motion verbs

Coding

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

- Source
- o Goal
- Source and Goal
- **None of the above** (e.g. *Medial, zero complement, non-literal complement, etc.*)



Verbs neutral wrt directionality (eîmi, érkhomai)

 H_o : When the neutral verbs $e\hat{\imath}mi$ and $\acute{e}rkhomai$ are used, the distribution of Goal paths equals the distribution of Source paths.

(3) héndeka d' émata thumòn etérpeto eleven PTC day:ACC.PL.N spirit:ACC.SG.M delight:IMPF.M/P.3SG

hoîsi phíloisin elthồn ek Lémnoio
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)



Verbs neutral wrt directionality (eîmi, érkhomai)

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(4) *elthóntes d' es dôma Diòs* come:PTCP.AOR.NOM.PL.M PTC 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)



Verbs neutral wrt directionality (eîmi, érkhomai)

 H_o : When the neutral verbs $e\hat{\imath}mi$ and $\acute{e}rkhomai$ are used, the distribution of Goal paths equals the distribution of Source paths.

 H_1 : When the neutral verbs $e\hat{\imath}mi$ and $\acute{e}rkhomai$ are used, Goal paths prevail in terms of frequency over Source paths.

(cf. Stefanowitsch and Rohde 2004 for English)



Verbs neutral wrt directionality (eîmi, érkhomai)

Type of expression	N (%)
Goal	67 (44,7%)
Source	67 (44,7%) 11 (7,3%)
Source + Goal	1 (0,7%)
Other (Medial, zero, non-literal, etc.)	71 (47,3%)
Total	150 (100%)

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



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) bê dè kat' Idaíōn oréōn walk:AOR.3SG PTC down Ida:GEN.PL mountain:GEN.PL.N

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



Manner verbs (baínō, pléō)

	Goal	Source	Source + Goal	Other (Medial, zero, non-literal, etc.)	TOTAL
M ₁ : baínō	50 (36.8%)	6 (4.4%)	1 (0.7%)	79 (58.1%)	136 (100%)
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 pléō



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

(cf. Stefanowitsch and Rohde 2004 for English)



Directional verbs

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(7) apikómenoi dè hoûtoi es Phốkaian arrive:PTCP.AOR.NOM.PL.M PTC DEM.NOM.PL.M to Phocaea:ACC.SG.F

'These, after **coming to Phocaea**...' (Herodotus, 1.152.3)

(8) hōs Xérxēs pheúgōn ek tês when Xerxes:NOM flee:PTCP.PRS.NOM.SG.M ELAT ART.GEN.SG.F

Helládos

Hellas:GEN.SG.F

'When Xerxes **fled from Hellas**' (Herodotus, 9.82.1)



	Goal	Source	Source + Goal	Other (Medial, zero, non-literal, etc.)	TOTAL
G ₁ : aphíkomai/	91	7	4	48	150
ap(h)iknéomai	(60.7%)	(4.7%)	(2.66%)	(32%)	(100%)
G ₂ : hikánō	97 (82.9%)	1 (0.85%)	2 (1.7%)	17 (14.52%)	117 (100%)
S ₁ : pheúgō	59 (12.8%)	37 (8%)	7 (1.5%)	357 (77.6%)	460 (100%)
S ₂ :apérkhomai	28 (20%)	13 (9.28%)	2 (1.4%)	97 (69.3%)	140 (100%)

Table 6. Frequencies for expressions occurring with the directional verbs



	Goal	Source	Source + Goal	Other (Medial, zero, non-literal, etc.)	TOTAL
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Table 7. Frequencies for incongruent combinations



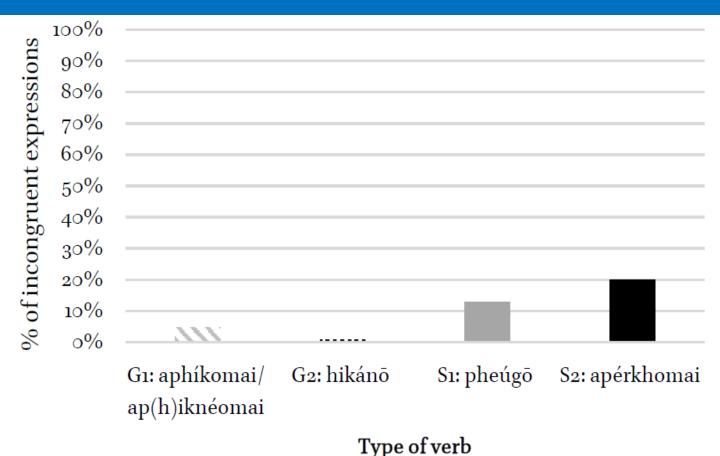


Figure 2. Directional verbs in their occurrence with incongruent expressions

$$G_1$$
 + Pathsource – S_1 + Pathsource – S_2 + Pathsource – S_2 + Pathsource – S_2 + Pathsource – S_3 + Pathsource – S_4 +

Diachronic mergers of Goal—Place / Source—Place



Category	Markers used in Source contexts	Markers used in Goal contexts
<(Proper) Preposition + case>	 apό (ABL) + gen. ek (ELAT) + gen. katá (DIR.INFR) + gen. pará (LAT) + gen. hupό (INFR) + gen. 	 eis(ALL) + acc. prós(PROX) + acc. pará(LAT) + acc. epí(SUPR) + acc. hupó(INFR) + acc. katá(DIR.INFR) + acc. epí(SUPR) + gen.
<(Improper) Preposition + case>		8. mékhri + gen. 'up to' 9. ithús + gen. 'straight at' 10. ánta/antíos/enantíos + gen. 'against' 11. skhedón + gen. 'near' 12. hōs + accus. 'up to a person'
Cases	6. genitive	13. accusative 14. dative
Adverbs; Suffixed adverbs, nouns	7. énthen ('thence') 8. hokóthen ('whence')	15. állose ('elsewhither') 16. entháde ('hither, here') 17. éntha ('here, hither') 18. deûro ('hither, here') 19. ekeîse ('thither')') 20. eggúthen ('close') 21. hóthi ('where') 22. kátō ('below') 23. mēdamêi ('nowhere') 24. opísō ('backwards, back') 25. oíkade ('to one's home or country') 26. pálin ('backwards, back') 27. pêi ('whither?, where?') 28. poî ('whither?')

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

Diachronic mergers of Goal – Place / Source – Place

Certain markers are found in both Place and Goal contexts

(9) ek toû 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)

(10) sōtheìs d' ekeíthen **enthád' êlthes**SAVE:PTCP.AOR.PASS.NOM.SG PTC LOC LOC come:AOR.2SG

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

(11) teiroménois hetároisin amunémen, **énthen** oppress:PART.PRS.DAT.PL.M comrade:DAT.PL.M ward.off:PRS.INF whence

apêlthen Antílokhos 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) Preposition + case>	 apó (ABL) + gen. ek (ELAT) + gen. katá (DIR.INFR) + gen. pará (LAT) + gen. hupó (INFR) + gen. 	 eis (ALL) + acc. prós (PROX) + acc. pará (LAT) + acc. epí (SUPR) + acc. hupó (INFR) + acc. katá (DIR.INFR) + acc. epí (SUPR) + gen.
<(Improper) Preposition + case>		8. <i>mékhri</i> + gen. 'up to' 9. <i>ithús</i> + gen. 'straight at' 10. <i>ánta/antíos/enantíos</i> + gen. 'against' 11. <i>skhedón</i> + gen. 'near' 12. <i>hōs</i> + accus. 'up to a person'
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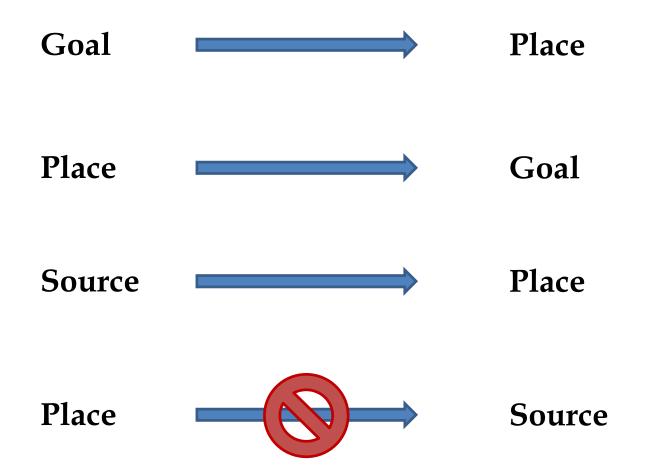


Figure 3. Processes leading to formal identity of expressions (based on the constructed corpus)

Conclusion



- ➤ Motion verbs regardless of the semantic class display preference for Goals compared to Sources
 - ⇒ 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

Conclusion



- ➤ 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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