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7 The role of spatial prepositions in the Greek lexicon of garments*

The Greeks have no word for “space”. This is no accident, for they do not experience the spatial according to *extensio*, but instead according to place (*topos*) as *chora*, which means neither place, nor space, but what is taken up and occupied by what stands there.

Heidegger, *Introduction to Metaphysics*¹

Abstract: Ancient Greek expressions belonging to the vestimentary domain are typically verbs and nouns prefixed by locative prepositionals. This paper analyses the role of spatial prepositions in the Greek lexicon of garments, i.e., the cluster of words in Greek pertaining to ‘dressing’ and ‘dress’ prefixed by the spatial affixes *amphi-* ‘on both sides’, *ana-* ‘up, upon’, *apo-* ‘away from’, *en-* ‘in’, *ek-* ‘away from, out off’, *epi-* ‘upon’, *peri-* ‘(all) around’, and *hypo-* ‘under’. The aim is to show that the particular usage of spatial prepositions within this terminological field reveals a particular “spatiality” of the clothed body, and more specifically, that the Greeks understood the clothed body in terms of a particular image schematic structure that divided the body into a number of regions.

Keywords: Greek vestimentary terminology, locative prepositions, image schema, construal of the clothed body, conceptualization of space, conceptual metaphor

7.1 Introduction

How do speakers of ancient Greek conceptualize ‘dressing’ and ‘dress’? Ancient Greek expressions belonging to the vestimentary domain are typically verbs and nouns prefixed by locatives (e.g., *endúō* ‘to put on’ for clothes, lit. to ‘to go in’, *amphibállō* lit. to ‘to put around’, *énduma* ‘garment’, lit. ‘that which is entered’, *epíblēma* lit.

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¹ Heidegger, 2000: 50.2. The AG nouns for space and place are *khōra*, *khōros* (cf. verb *khor(e)ō* combining the notions of moving and space) and *topos* (cf. the compound verb *topothet(e)ō* ‘assigning place’) whereas the notion of infinite space was represented by *kenon* ‘void’, literally, ‘that which has been empty’ or *apeiron* ‘that which has never been experienced’. On the concepts of space and place in AG, see Patricios, 1971; Cornford 1976; Keimpe 1994 and Barker et al., 2016.

‘that which is put on’), and multi-word constructions arising from *tnesis* (e.g., *Od.* 16. 457 *ligrà heímata hésse perì khroí* ‘she put squalid clothes around his body/skin’).² Consider the following Homeric description of Agamemnon getting dressed after waking up from a treacherous dream:

- (1) *malakòn d’ éndune khitôna*
kalòn nēgáteon, perì dè méga bálleto phâros·
possì d’ hupò liparoîsin edésato kalà pédila,
amphì d’ ár’ ómoisín báleto xíphos arguróēlon. (*Hom. Il.* 2.42–45)
 ‘He (sc. Agamemnon) put on his soft tunic,
 fine and brand new, put around him his great cloak,
 and beneath his bright feet he bound his beautiful sandals
 and cast his sword with nails of silver by his shoulders’.

Agamemnon dresses in a *chiton* (*éndune khitôna*), casts his wide long cloak around his body (*perì bálleto phâros*), binds his sandals (*pédila*) to his feet down below (*hupò edésato*), and hangs his sword on his back (*ómoisín amphì báleto*) (cf. Abrahams, 1908: 1–38; Bennett, 1997). The description could not be more accurate in terms of identifying the relative position of Agamemnon’s accoutrements in relation to his body. This account of Agamemnon’s attire reflects a specific conceptualization of the spatial relations between Agamemnon’s dress and body. Let us take a closer look at Agamemnon’s actions as described by verbs compounded with locative prepositions:

- (2) *én-dune khitôna.* (*Hom. Il.* 2.42)
 in-go:IPFV.3SG *chiton*:ACC.M.SG
 ‘He put on a chiton’.
- (3) *peridè méga bálleto phâros.* (*Hom. Il.* 2.43)
 around large put:IPFV.3SG overgarment
 ‘He put on a large overgarment’
- (4) *possì d’ hupò edésato pédila.* (*Hom. Il.* 2.44)
 foot:DAT.PL under bind:PFV.SG sandals
 ‘He wore sandals on his feet’.

² On *tnesis* in IE syntax see Boley, 2004; on *tnesis* in Homer, see Hajnal, 2004. On the term *tnesis* see Bortone, 2010: 135, n. 50. In Homer prepositional elements have an adverbial position. In classical Greek prefixes merged with the verb and prepositions govern nouns, see Smyth, 1956, paragraph 1638. Luraghi, 2003: 76 uses the term “particles” to solve the problem of assigning these words to the category of preposition or preverb.

Agamemnon's body is conceptualized as an entity contained within his *khitōn*, and surrounded by a more loosely fitting second layer of cloth, his *pharos*. This spatial conceptualization of the relationship between his torso and his clothes is complemented by the sandals he is strapping onto his feet, which are conceptualized as something bound at a lower level from the one that is contained in his *khitōn* and enveloped in his *pharos*. Lastly, his sword is conceptualized as a thing placed on either side of each of his shoulders, i.e., in between them.

This paper discusses Greek's vocabulary cluster of garments prefixed by the following locative prepositions: *amphi-* 'on both sides', *ana-* 'up, upon', *apo-* 'away from', *en-* 'in', *ek-* 'away from, out off', *epi-* 'upon', *peri-* '(all) around', and *hupo-* 'under'. Previous research on the semantics of locative prepositions has shown that more abstract domains are construed through the domain of space, e.g., *ek-* denotes a spatial source, a spatial or a temporal origin, and cause (Luraghi, 2003: 106), *epi-* extends its meaning from the spatial domain to that of purpose (Luraghi, 2003: 213).³ This paper aims to show that the vocabulary cluster examined here displays a semantic structure which enables linguistic mappings that highlight the spatiality of the (clothed) body, more specifically that:

1. the Greeks imagined the (clothed) body in terms of an image schematic structuring which divided it into a number of regions or registers (see sections 2 and 3 of the present paper);
2. second, in terms of a body-centric, two-dimensional, bounded view of body and space motivated by the conceptual metaphor: 'DRESSING IS (BEING IN/ GOING INTO) A LOCATION' (see section 4).

This close examination of the role of locative compounds in the vocabulary of dressing seeks to contribute to a fuller understanding of how the Ancient Greeks conceptualized dress through space and body through dress, in more specific terms, how they conceptualized the act of dressing in connection to their motor and perceptual experiences. The specificities of the materiality of Greek garments as physical objects from the point of view of the experiencer are, I argue, co-constitutive parameters in the process of forming spatial conceptions. Insight into how the Greeks conceptualized the clothed body will thus benefit greatly from acknowledging agentially enacted and materially conditioned aspects of Ancient Greek dress.

³ For a concise list of references on the polysemy of prepositions, see Short, 2013a: 378, n. 1; Wackernagel, 2009: 589–711; on the adverb-preposition continuum in Greek see Seiler, 1999. On a cognitive approach to the semantics of Greek prepositions see Luraghi, 2003; 2004; Bortone, 2010. On the spatial concepts and spatial grammar of Greek, see Nikitina & Spano, 2013.

7.2 The image schematic construal of the clothed body

Cognitive semantics recognizes that culture is the basis of lexical meaning and embodied experience through interaction with objects.⁴ One of its central tenets is that grammatical structures do not form an autonomous level of representation, but instead represent embodied conceptual content (Langacker, 1986: 4; 2008: 31). As language speakers and users, we make meaning through, and with the help of, the body. Embodied knowledge does not happen *in abstracto*. In embodied construction grammar making meaning of linguistic utterances is linked to embodied performance and simulation (Bergen, 2012: 233–246; Bergen & Chang, 2013: 135): e.g., the embodied knowledge, performance and simulation of how to wear a garment – tie a scarf, wrap in a sari, or wear a tie – emerge through interaction with objects, require a combination of sensory, cultural, and social knowledge, and rely partly on the performativity of the objects. As Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 102) succinctly put it: “What we understand the world to be like is determined by many things: our sensory organs, our ability to move and to manipulate objects, the detailed structure of our brain, our culture and our interactions in our environment, at the very least.”⁵ To quote Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 19) once more: “What is important is not just that we have bodies and that thought is somehow embodied. What is important is that the peculiar nature of our bodies shapes our very possibilities for conceptualization and categorization”.

Conceptualization serves as a cover term for categorization (the grouping of entities by the “embodied mind” based on common characteristics), as well as schematization (the cognitive representation of a whole by means of selected aspects) (see Rosch, 1978; Sharifian, 2011; Talmy, 1983). Embodied cognition is closely related to the development of image schemas, which Mandler & Págan Cánovas (2014: 1) define as an umbrella term for a) spatial primitives, i.e., the first conceptual building blocks formed in infancy, b) the simple spatial stories built from them, and c) the schematic integrations that use the first two in order to build concepts that include non-spatial elements, e.g., force and emotion. Image schemas are recurring and readily retrieved mental images, sometimes iconic, that generalize and abstract embodied or social experiences and perceptions of similarly structured objects and events. They consist in simple elements and relations between these elements (Johnson, 1987: 28).

4 As Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007: 45 write, “conceptualization is central for linguistic structure – and conceptualization goes further than mere reference. It involves imagery in the broadest sense of the word: ways of making sense, of imposing meaning. Also, the conceptualizations that are expressed in the language have an experiential basis, that is, they link up with the way in which human beings experience reality, both culturally and physiologically.”

5 On the role of cultural knowledge in the way people make, and extend meaning see Langacker, 1994; 2014. Cognitive models can emerge from cultural patterns, e.g., for metaphors of time and alimentary metaphors in Latin and Roman culture see Short, 2013b; 2016. On the role of culture in conceptualization see Palmer, 1996; Sharifian et al., 2008.

Linguistic evidence suggests that two main types of image schemas recur and structure the experience of dress and getting or being dressed in ancient Greek: PATH and CONTAINMENT.⁶ The PATH schema, as illustrated in Figure 1, enables spatial conceptualization of the elements of two points in space (the source and the goal) and the motion directed from a source along a path, i.e., a number of contiguous locations connecting the source to the goal (destination).⁷

Figure 1: SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image-schema.

Figure 2: CONTAINER schema.

The CONTAINER schema (one possible version is illustrated in Figure 2) instead consists of three structural elements: a contained space (i.e., a fully or partly enclosed area, a partly or fully accessible area) which enables a spatial division of space into ‘locations in’ (i.e., accessed by means of a point of entry) and ‘locations out’ (accessed by means of a point of exit). The CONTAINER schema enables a conceptualization of the body as contained within the boundary of clothes: space is divided into in-regions and out-regions, clothes mark the external boundary of the inner region and the liminal point of contact between the inner and the outer region. According to Mandler, English *in* is mapped to the image schemas of CONTAINER, ENTER and EXIT, and *on* is mapped to the image schema of support, e.g., (*ap*)*ek-duō*, see Figures 3.1 and 3.2 (cf. Cuyckens, Dirven

⁶ The list of image-schemas is open-ended. For a short list see Oakley, 2007; Langacker, 2008: 32, note 6.

⁷ Johnson, 1993: 166 considered the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema to be fundamental to human thought.

& Taylor, 2003: 409). The SUPPORT schema enables a conceptualization of the body as a surface upon which clothes are placed (*epi-/ anaballō*), see Figure 4.

Figure 3.1: ENTER schema, 1 ‘in’ or ‘into’.

Figure 3.2: EXIT schema, 2 ‘out’ or ‘out of’.

Figure 4: SUPPORT image schema, ‘on’/ ‘(up)on’.

By means of these image schemas DRESS is mapped to SPACE and the CLOTHED BODY is imagined and structured in terms of SPACE as follows:

- as a torso that enters, or is located inside a piece of handwoven cloth with multiple attaches, so that the cloth or the act of placing the cloth around one's (own) body or another's body landmark the interior space bounded by the cloth;
- as a torso surrounded by the handwoven garment, loosely hanging or draping supported by (parts of) the body without being attached, or with a single point of attachment;
- the head and feet are imagined as located in higher or lower regions or spatial registers in relation to the torso and, by consequence, so are various types of headgear and footgear.

Cognitive semantics describes the meanings of spatial prepositions in terms of image schemas and their “transformations”, especially figure/ground construal (Talmy, 1978; Langacker, 1987: 231). According to Langacker prepositions profile relationships between a dynamic moving trajector (TR), which receives conceptual focus, and a reference object or landmark (LM) (see Langacker, 1986; 2009: 9–13). The preverbs associated with locative prepositions in the vocabulary cluster of dressing foreground a spatial relation between a foregrounded trajector (the entity that is located) and a landmark (the entity in the background, in relation to which the trajectory is located). The trajector and the landmark may be uniplex (one object) or multiplex (many objects) (Talmy, 2000: 177–254).

Greek prepositions are grouped into proper, i.e., those that can be preverbs, and improper ones, i.e., those that cannot become preverbs). In the Greek vocabulary cluster of dressing, spatial prepositions become preverbs and can be separated from the stem, especially in Homeric Greek (Pinault, 1995: 40). The vocabulary of dressing under study here is comprised of a set of compounds⁸ normally prefixed by one of the following locative prepositions or preverbs: *amphi-* ‘on either/both side of’, of’, *ana-* ‘upon’, *en-* ‘in’, *epi-* ‘upon’, *peri-* ‘a(ll)round’, *apo-* ‘away from’, *ek-* ‘away from’, or *hupo-* ‘under’. The prepositional or preverbal constituents combine with one of the following verbs: *bállō* ‘to put’, ‘to place’, ‘to cast’, *dúō* ‘to enter’, literally ‘to sink’, ‘to plunge in’, *ékhō/ ískhō* ‘to have’, *hénnumi* ‘to dress’ (of which only *hénnumi* has a dress-related sense in its simple form). The pairing of the prepositional and verbal

⁸ The analysis of the morphological complexity and the word formation patterns of the garb word cluster under study is outside the scope of this paper. Having said that, these noun and verb compounds with a prepositional modifier are compositional, endocentric, attributive, right-headed. For a typology of compounds see Scalise & Bisetto, 2011: 46.

constituents is dependent upon constraining factors placed by the image schemas on the construal of the dressed body.⁹

The Ancient Greek vestimentary vocabulary conceptualizes the different regions related to dress and accessories in a two-dimensional space as relational pairs of regions. The prepositional prefixes or preverbs define relationships within different regions of the space (*chôros* or *chôra*) occupied by the dressed body. They indicate a conceptualization of the clothed body structured according to a series of spatial binaries as follows:

A) IN/OUT REGIONS¹⁰

- IN: *en-* compounds with *dúō*, such as *endúō*, literally ‘to dress in’; the deverbial nouns *énduma*, *endútēs* denoting ‘garment, article of clothing’, *embás* lit. ‘a step-in shoe’, and its diminutive form *embádion*, which denote a type of footwear that is imagined as entered by the foot.¹¹
- OUT: *ek-* compounds with *dúō*, such as *ekdúō* ‘to strip of’, ‘to undress’;¹² *apo-* compounds with *dúō*, such as *apodúō* ‘to strip of’, ‘to undress’; the deverbial noun is *apódusis* ‘stripping off’, ‘undressing’.

B) ALL-ROUND (SURROUNDING)/ ON EITHER SIDE OF

- ALL-ROUND (SURROUNDING): *peri-* compounds with *hénnumi*, *bállō*, and their deverbial nouns, such as *periénnumi* literally ‘to wear all round’, *peribállō* lit. ‘to place all around’, ‘to wear’, *periblēma* ‘wrap’, ‘outer garment’, *peribolaia* ‘clothes’, *peribolē* ‘garment’, literally ‘that which is placed around’.
- ON EITHER SIDE OF: *amphi-* compounds with *ékhō*, *bállō*, and *hénnumi*, such as *ampékhō*, *amphibállō*, *amphiénnumi*, which denote ‘to wear’, literally, ‘to put on either side or on both sides of’ and their respective deverbial nouns which denote ‘garment’, literally ‘that which is placed on either side or on both sides of’: *ampekhonē*, *amphiblēma*, *amphíesis*.

⁹ From the IE root *Fes-* (**ues*) come the Homeric verb *hénnumi* ‘to clothe’, the Homeric noun *heanós* ‘garment’, the nouns *himátion*, *esthēs*, *ésthēma* and *heíma* - all denoting ‘garment’. The PIE root is **wes-m̥-* according to Sihler, 1995: 72. The Latin verb *vestire* ‘to clothe’, from which French *vêtir* and English *to wear* are also etymologically linked. For *hénnumi* see Beekes, 1988 and Chantraine, 2009. From the IE root *dy-* come *endúō*, *-omai*. The simple verb form and the *ek-* compound are first attested in Homer, the noun *dūma* is first attested in POxy. 929.8, 15 (2nd/3rd cE) and the deverbial noun *énduma* appears quite late also. *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum* 3.10.3.3 *allà skhísai tò énduma* *toû naoû* ‘but tear the dress of the temple’ (2nd c. BCE/3 cE).

¹⁰ Cf. Beekes’, 1988 note on *dyō* relating the Greek verb to the Sanskrit verb *upā-du-* ‘to put on’.

¹¹ This shoe name has been translated as ‘felt-shoe or slipper’ (*LSJ*), ‘boot’ in Cleland, Davies & Llewellyn-Jones, 2007 and ‘slipper or sandal; (later) ankle boot’, see Montanari, 2015 s.v.

¹² Cf. Modern Greek (MG) *gdúnō* ‘to strip’.

C) UP/DOWN REGIONS

- UP: *ana-* compounds with *bállō*, such as *anabállō* ‘to wear’, ‘to put on’, literally ‘to throw up (on)’, and the deverbals *anabolé* i.e., ‘that which is literally thrown’¹³ or laid up(on) the shoulders’, *anaboládion*, a diminutive of *anabolé*; *epi-* compounds with *bállō*, such as *epiblēma*, *epibolé* (it is also involved in the compound noun *ephestris* denoting ‘garment’ or a specific type of outer garment); *ana-* compounds with *dēnō*, such as *anadēnō* ‘to bind round the head’, e.g., a crown (it is also involved in the compound noun *anádēma* or *ándēma* ‘that which is bound (up) round the head’).
- DOWN: *hupo-* compounds with *dūō* denote ‘to wear an undergarment’ (the deverbals *apóduma* ‘undergarment’); *hupo-* prefixing *dé(n)ō* denotes ‘to tie, fasten, bind (a shoe) under’, which can be glossed as ‘to put on shoes’; the deverbals *hupódēma* ‘shoe’, literally ‘that which is tied under’.

From an onomasiological point of view, these locative prepositional compounds belong to the higher rank of the taxonomy of dress. They denote the generic class ‘garments’ and ‘shoes’,¹⁴ not the ‘kind-of garment/shoe’ level of cognitive categories (e.g., *chiton*, *peplos*, for garments and *árbulla*, *kóthoroi*, for footwear). The data surveyed for this study span the Greek language from the time of Homer until late antiquity and include evidence from all types of textual sources. A diachronic survey of this vocabulary goes beyond the scope of the present paper. It is worth noting, however, that some of these lexical items have been attested throughout almost three millennia and are still in use in Modern Greek.¹⁵ Table 1 gives an overview of the locative prepositional compounds categorized according to their first and second constituents and word classes.

¹³ ‘Throw’ is a literal translation of AG *bállō*. The same conceptualization in the MG expression colloquial expression *bázō/ rikhnō káti (e)pánō mou* literally ‘to put/throw something on me’, i.e., ‘to put something on’ (for garments).

¹⁴ The basic level model was developed for the categorization of folk taxonomies of natural kinds and was applied to clothes by Geeraerts, 2010: 200–202.

¹⁵ Modern Greek (MG) is a textbook case of *diglossia*, i.e., a term in sociolinguistics used for linguistic communities who use two distinct varieties of the same language. The learned variety inherited a great part of the lexicon from ancient Greek (AG). Here follows a list of some of those in use today by the speakers of (the learned variety of) Modern Greek. AG *amphiesis* MG *amphiesē* ‘dress’, ‘attire’; AG *apodutéria* MG *apodutéria* ‘changing room’; AG *énduma* MG *énduma* ‘garment’; AG/ MG *lōpodútēs* ‘thief’, ‘one who enters another person’s *lōpē* (outer garment)’; AG/ MG *peribállō* ‘place x around y’, ‘surround’, AG/ MG *peribolé* ‘dress’, ‘attire’; AG *hupódēma* MG *upódēma* ‘shoe’. However not semantically transparent to the speaker of Modern Greek, some members of this cluster, and their dress-related senses, are well established and not marginal in the vocabulary of MG. These words belong to the active everyday Modern Greek vocabulary and their constituents are semantically transparent or semi-transparent, with the exception of the first constituent of *lōpodútēs*, *lōpē*, not used in Modern Greek; the deverbals *dútēs* < *dūō*, denotes ‘diver’ in Modern Greek, cf. AG *lōpodútēs* ‘a thief of clothes’, lit. ‘one who dives into another person’s clothes’, thus leaving no room for their rightful owner. The English equivalent is ‘pickpocket’, see Langacker, 2008: 197, fig. 7.9.

Table 1: Ancient Greek compound dress terms with locative prepositions (by first and second constituents).

dress		undress				
amphi-	en-	peri-	epi-	+ amphi-	ana-	apo-
				+ en-		ek-
bat- 'place'	amphibállō	peribállō	epibállō		anabállō	
	amphiblēma	periblēma	epiblēma		anabolē	
ekh- 'have'	ambékhō				anaboládion	
	ambékhonos					apambískhō
Fes- 'wear'	amphiénnumi			epamphiénnumi		apamphiénnumi
du- 'enter'	amphíesma					
		endūō				apodūō
		énduma		ependútēs	apekdūō	
		éndusis			apodutērion	ekdútēs
		endutēr				ekdutērion
		endutérios				
		endútēs				
		endutós				

7.3 Spatialities of the clothed body in ancient Greek

7.3.1 The clothed body in and out-of-bounds: *en-*, *ek-*, *apo-* compounds

As shown in the previous section, ancient Greek uses space to conceptualize the clothed body, clothes marking the boundary between an interior (body) and an exterior (world). *En* is a preposition that never takes the dative. *Eis* is the directional equivalent of *en* in some Greek dialects and in the literary sources, except for a limited number of cases in Homer. Preverbal *en-* encodes containment.¹⁶ In the image schema that constitutes the meaning of *endúō* the contained (bounded) region is salient, whereas *ekdúō* profiles the path from a region of origin to a region of destination. *Endúō* implies location within a bounded area and profiles trajectories within a bounded landmark, which are underspecified or non-transparent for trajectory movement.

Greek *en-* and English *in* are roughly equivalent in terms of the fact that they primarily profile containment (see Vandeloise, 1994 for the spatial sense of ‘in’). *En* denotes a location viewed as a bounded area with contents (see Horrocks, 1981: 198; Talmy, 2000: 177–254). The knowledge of the contents does not necessitate visual contact with the interior of the location. The enclosed object has a relatively fixed position. The enclosed object can be fully enclosed or there can be an entry point in the enclosure left open after the enclosed object has found itself inside. *En-* also conveys the meaning of ‘being in’, especially in the form of *eis-* thus fluctuating between a fixed ‘(with)in’ and a directional ‘into’ meaning. It may conceptualize stillness within the bounded area (Figure 5) or motion towards a point in the bounded area, and thus a combination of the container schema and the source-path-goal schema discussed in the previous sections (Figure 6).

Both *ek-* and *apo-* describe a trajectory away from a source in a SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema. Greek *ek* is elative (it supports an outward motion from the interior of location) or ablative (i.e., supports a motion away from a source); *apó* is ablative (Luraghi, 2003: 95). *Ekdúō* supports an elative meaning of exiting a contained area or an ablative meaning of exiting an area (Figure 7), whereas *apodúō* supports an ablative meaning emphasizing the separation from the source (Figure 8).

¹⁶ On prepositions of containment with items of clothing see Tyler & Evans, 2003: 182. On the use of the CONTAINER schema in Homer, see Luraghi, 2004.

Figure 5: CONTAINMENT schema: *enduō* (locative).

Figure 6: ENTER schema: *enduō* (with *en-* fluctuating between the inessive and illative semantic roles).

Figure 7: EXIT schema: *ekduō* (elative).

Figure 8: SEPARATION schema: *apoduō* (ablative).

(5) and (6) illustrate the different conceptualization of dressing in ancient Greek and English. The (fictive or imaginary) motion described by the Greek verb is directed towards the landmark, which is an item of clothing, whereas in the English translation the clothing item is the trajector and the body is imagined as the supporting surface.

- (5) *stolèn kalèn en-éduse*. (Xen. Cyr. 1.3.3)
 stole:ACC.SG nice in-go:PFV.3SG
 ‘He put on a nice-looking stole’.

- (6) *esthêta thaumastèn leptôtēti kai baphaïs en-dedukós*.
 (Plut. Ages. 12.2).
esthês:ACC.SG remarkable finess:DAT.SG and color:DAT.SG in-go:PTCP.M
 ‘He had (put) on an *esthês* remarkable in fineness and color’.

(7) and (8) are illustrations of how *en-dúō* (*en-dú-omai*) licences the motion of the moving entity (*lógos* ‘word’ and *phthóngos* ‘voice’ in 3; *psukhê* in 4) towards the landmark (*ôta* ‘ears’ in 7, *sôma* in 8) and the moving entity is the *lógos* of the speaker:

- (7) *ho lógos te kai ho phthóngos parà tou légontos en-dúetai*
 the *lógos* and the voice of the speaker in-go:PRS.3SG
eis tà ôta. (Pl. Menex. 235bc)
 into the ears.
 ‘The words and the voice of the speaker enter the ears’.

- (8) *hōsper endekhómenon katà toûs Puthagorikoûs múthous tèn tukhoûsan psukhèn eis tò tukhòn en-dúesthai sôma*. (Arist. An. 407b21–3)
 into any in-go:INF body:ACC.N
 ‘As though it were possible, as in the Pythagorean stories, that any soul could enter any body’.

In (7) and (8) the landmark is a container with an inside and an outside region. The motion event has an inward direction. In (9), the moving entity tracing the trajectory towards this region is Agamemnon’s body.

- (9) *én-dune perì stēthessi khitôna*. (Hom. Il. 10.21)
 in-go:IPFV.3SG around breast:DAT.PL chiton:ACC.SG
 ‘HE PUT ON A CHITON’.

Endúō can be used both for the action of dressing in garments and in a warrior’s armour.

In (10) and (11) *thōrax* ‘cuirass’ and *knēmís* ‘greave’ illustrate the metonymic relation (motivated by virtue of their placement in contiguity) to the homonymous part of a warrior’s body they cover and protect. The cuirass often came with a linen

lining (*linothōrax*). The cuirass was considered *énduma* ‘dress’ by the ancient Greeks. Example (12) is one of the earliest attestations of the verb *endúō*.

- (10) *tòn linoûn thōraka, hōs epikhōrios ên autoîs, en-dúesthai.*
(Xen. Cyr. 6.4.2.3)
‘the linen cuirass which local was they:DAT.PL in-go:INF.MID.PRS
‘To wear the linen cuirass, which was particular to them’.

- (11) *ho dè thōraka en-dúetai, ho dè knēmīdas ê krános*
one thorax:ACC in-go:PRS.3SG another greaves or helmet
ê zōstēra peritithetai. (Arist. [Mund.] 339b.5)
or belt around-put:PRS.3SG
‘Another dresses in a thorax, another one puts on greaves or a helmet or a belt’.

- (12) *en teúkhessin édunon.* (Hom. Il. 23.132)
in armor:PL.DAT GO:PFV.PL
‘They put on their armor, lit. they got into their armor’.

THE VERB *dunō* often takes an expression of direction in the accusative or the preposition *eis* followed by the accusative. In (13), as Luraghi (2003: 84) notes, the dative profiling the end of the movement “seems particularly appropriate for describing the position of the bodies in the armors.”

When prefixed by *eis-* (which corresponds to English *to* or *into*) *dúō* emphasizes the endpoint of the motion expression by prepositional phrase *eis* + accusative, and does not support a body landmark:¹⁷

- (13) *eis-dūs (toikhōrúkhos) gár pote . . . eis tēn oikían.* (Ar. Plut. 205)
into-go.PTCP into the house
‘When (a burglar) broke into the house’.

Stripping off (*ekdúō*, *apekdúō*, *apodúō*) and dressing (*endúō*) differ in terms of directional information and viewpoint. Consider the following instantiations of the EXIT schema: in (14) through (17), the body is conceptualized as ‘exiting’ the the garment, which is conceptualized as an enclosure containing the body. In (18) the garment (*heímata*) is the source point, or point of departure for the body which moves away from the garment.

¹⁷ Another difference between *eis-* and *en-* is that the former supports actual motion, whereas the latter supports fictive motion, which is static and with no inherent directionality, but with the conception of actual spatial motion applied to it. On fictive versus actual motion see Langacker, 2008: 529.

- (14) *malakòn d' ék-dune khitôna*. (Hom. *Od.* 1.437)
 soft outside of-go:IPFV.3SG chiton:ACC.SG
 'And he took off his soft *chiton*'.
- (15) *ek-dùs khlaînan*. (Hom. *Od.* 14.460)
 out of-go:PTCP chlaina:ACC.SG
 'After taking off the *chlaina*'.
- (16) *tèn exōmíd' ek-duómeth'*. (Ar. *Lys.* 662)
 the exomis:ACC.SG out of-go:IMP.1PL
 'Let us cast off the one-shoulder garment'.
- (17) *e-gdûsai me hò periebeblémên himátion*. (P. Lille 242 = P. Enteux. 83 [221 BCE])
 out of-strip:PFV.SG me which around-put:IPFV.SG himation
 'Stripped off me the *himation* I had wrapped myself with'.
- (18) *egô se labôn apò mèn phíla heímata*
 I you:ACC take:PTCP away from your own clothes:ACC.N.PL
dúsō. (Hom. *Il.* 2.261–62)
 go:FUT.1SG
 'I will strip you of your own clothes'.

7.3.2 'Around' vs. 'on either side of': *peri-* and *amphi-* compounds

Clothes are not solid and straight containers. Ancient Greek dress consisted of multiple layers of loose fitting cloth that was draped round the body. The shoulder area was focal in order to keep the cloth in place. AROUNDNESS configures the area round the body without distinguishing between the right and left poles, even though the right side was clearly more marked than the left one: outer clothes were usually worn fixed with a brooch or pin on the right shoulder, so as to permit free use of the right hand.¹⁸

Amphi- and *peri-* imply a source, and a continuous or discontinuous path. *Amphi-* and *peri-* are equivalent to 'around'. By its etymology 'around' evokes primarily a circular path. *Amphi-* and *peri-* can support an arc trajectory and contact between LM and TR. The main preposition in Greek referring to a region around an object is

¹⁸ The prepositional compound *exōmís* (*ek* + *ōmos* 'shoulder') denotes a garment worn mostly by people who worked manually and slaves. It covered only the left shoulder, was fastened over it by means of a brooch, while leaving the right side of the body bare. On the *exomis* in Call. 192, see Papadopoulos, 2016b: 217–221.

peri, equivalent to the English *about*. It denotes ‘along the perimeter of’, also more generically “everywhere or somewhere within the region around” (Bortone, 2010: 166). By virtue of its etymology, *amphi*- is identified with embodied duality, i.e., the duality of organs in the human body (two eyes, ears, nostrils, lungs etc.) and the ‘either-or’ or ‘both’ metaphorical extension.¹⁹

A prototypical scene or proto-scene is a distinct and discrete highly abstracted spatio-geometric mental representation. It differs from an image schema in that the latter is an iconic mental representation across many similar or recurring spatial scenes.²⁰ Figure 9 illustrates the proto-scenes of *amphi*- and *peri*- compounds.

Figure 9: *Amphi*- ‘on either side of’/ ‘in between’ vs. *peri*- ‘around’.

On the left of Figure 9, the garment attached hangs loosely from the shoulders down to the side of the body. The left shoulder is covered, the right shoulder is free and thus affords full use of the right hand. The protoscene of *amphi*- compounds supports a discontinuous trajectory profiling the sides of the body. On the right, the outer garment hangs down from the shoulders and covers the body all round. The protoscene of *peri*- compounds supports a continuous trajectory around the landmark.

¹⁹ According to Beekes, 1988: 94, “this old adverb is originally a word for ‘face’”.

²⁰ Compare this with the diagrammatic representation of the proto-scenes of *amphi* and *peri* in Bortone, 2010: 161. See definition of prototypical scene in Evans & Green, 2006: 346.

Terracotta statuette of a standing female figure recalling the so-called Tanagraian women. Dressed in a chiton and himation. c. 200 B.C.E. Object number: 56.AD.11. Dimensions: H. 26.7 cm (10 1/2 in. Credit line: Getty J. Paul. 1965 *The Joys of Collecting*. New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., p. 66.

Statuette of a Standing Woman. A himation draping over her left shoulder envelops her body. From Canosa, South Italy, 325 - 200 B.C.E. Object number: 81.AD.158 The J.P. Getty Museum. Dimensions: 23.5 × 7.3 cm (9 1/4 × 2 7/8 in.). Credit line: Gift of Robert Blaugrund, The J. P. Getty Museum

Ampékhō (< *amphi-* + *ékē-ō/-omai* = ‘around’ + ‘have’) denotes ‘to wear’ and is complemented by a noun profiling the torso or the head:

- (19) *peri-elíxanta hò amp-ékhetai perì tèn kheîra*. (Xen. Cyn. 6.175)
all around-wrap:PTCP which on-either-side-have:IND.SG all around the arm
‘Wrapping the outer garment he was wearing round his arm’.

- (20) *tò tēs gunaikòs d’ amp-ékhei khitónion*; (Ar. Eccl. 375)
the woman.GEN.SG on-either-side-have:3SG chitonion
‘Are you wearing your wife’s chitonion?’

- (21) *kunē prósōpa Thessalís nin ampékhei*. (Soph. OC. 313–314)
hat Thessalian around-have:3SG
‘She wears a Thessalian hat on her head’.

Amphiénnumi (< *amphi* + *hennumi* = ‘around’ + ‘dress’), as opposed to the simple form *hénnumi*, in the following examples refers to wrapping the body with wrap-around type of dress. An additional layer of cloth was often taken to be a sign of riches.

- (22) *aphiennusthai hōste éxō mèn mēdèn mállon Kallíou toútou toû plousiōtátou rhigōûn*. (Xen. Sym. 4.37)
‘Have on enough clothes so that when I am out I do not tremble from the cold any more than my very wealthy friend here, Callias’.

- (23) *out’ amphiennuntai pleiō è dúnantai phérein*. (Xen. Cyr. 8.2.21.8)
‘They do not put on more clothes that they can carry’.

The compound nouns *ampekhónē*, *ampekhónion*, and *ampékhonon*, which appear in temple inventories listing the dedicatory garments to the gods denote different types of outer garments (e.g., IG II² 1514, mid. 4th c. BCE from Attica). They are also used with the general meaning of ‘garment’:

- (24) *all’ou mèn thruptikós ge oudè alazonikòs ên out’ ampekhónēi, outh’ hupodései outē tēi állēi diaitēi*. (Xen. Mem. 1.2.5.1)
‘He (Socrates) was not self-indulgent and pretentiousness in the fashion of clothes or shoes or in the rest of his ways’.

- (25) *kai kourás ge kai ampekhónas kai hupodéseis kai hólon tòn toû sóματος skhēmátismòn*. (Pl. Symp. 4.25b4)²¹

21 On the dress-related sense of schema and denominal verb *skhēmatízō* see Papadopoulou, 2016a.

‘The haircut and the garment and the footwear and the overall external appearance’.

Luraghi (2003: 256) explains that very early in its history *amphi*- extended its meaning from ‘either side’ or ‘both sides’ to ‘all sides’. In this respect, the spatial construal of *amphi*- compounds overlaps with that of *peri*- compounds. *Peri* unlike *amphi* denotes the completion of path at the starting point and does not necessitate a circular path.²² Its proto-scene supports a non-circular ‘perimeter’. In *Od.* 2.93–95 Penelope’s web (*histós*) is described as *leptós* (fine) and *perímetros* (with a long perimeter). Both are signs of the high quality of the woven textile. Even though weaving to shape was also possible, woven textiles had rectangular selvages (Granger-Taylor, 1982). *Perímetros* and *perímetron* denote ‘(any) (fitting) outline’, e.g., the perimeter of the earth (Ptol. *Geog.* 1.2.7.15): *Peri*- compounds profile a unidirectional path around a bounded landmark.²³ *Amphiénnumi* and *amphibállō* can support uniplex and multiplex trajectories: there is no difference in conceptualization between (26), (27), (28), and (29).

(26) *amphì dé min phâros kalòn bálon ēdè khitôna.* (Hom. *Il.* 24.588)
 on either side overgarment nice put and chiton
 ‘He put around him a nice mantle and chiton’.

(27) *amphì dè heímata hếssan epếrata.* (Hom. *Od.* 8.366)
 ‘And they clothed her in lovely garments’.

(28) *heímata d’ amphiếsaimi posín th’ hupodếmata doiên.* (Hom. *Od.* 18.361)
 ‘I would clothe you with garments and give you sandals to wear’.

(29) *perì d’ ámbrota heímata hếsson.* (Hom. *Il.* 16.67)
 ‘And clothed him with immortal garb’.

Constructions with *amphibállō* profile the clothed body only when there is explicit reference to clothes and thus the action denotes ‘to put on *x*’ (where *x* is an object denoting ‘clothes’ or a type of dress), as in examples (30) and (31). In (32) the compound *amphibállō* profiles an area on either side of Jocasta’s breast:

²² *Amphi* was no longer used at the time of the New Testament. It survives in Modern Greek as the first constituent in compounds. *Peri* survives in the diachrony of Greek and is used as a free morpheme and in compounds in the learned variety of MG.

²³ The first constituent in *peri*- compounds does not necessarily imply a round trajectory as straightforwardly as in the English expression all round. The path can be semantically determined by the second constituent, e.g., as in *perístulos*, *perístulon* denoting a colonnade.

(30) *dòs dè rhákos amphi-balésthai*. (*Od.* 6.178)

give rag:SG on either side-put.INF
'Give me rags to put around me'.

(31) *phárea tád' amphi-bállomen*. (*Eur. El.* 1230)

robes these on either side-put
'I am putting on these robes'.

(32) *amphíballo ma-/ stòn olénaisi matéros*. (*Eur. Phoen.* 306–307)

'Put the hands on either side of your mother's breast'.

The compound noun *períblēma* (< *peri* + *b(a)l-* = 'all around' + 'put') reifies the process of wrapping *x* round *y*, where *x* is cloth and *y* is a body part. It appears in inscriptions (Samos 133 IG XII, 6 *períblēma línou rhákinon*) and papyri (PCairo Zen. 1.59092 *períblēma linoûn pepluménon* 'one linen wrap'). Persian luxury garments (*períblēmata*) are mentioned in Democr. *Eph.* 1. *Peribolaion* is a multipurpose cloth used as cover for the dead (*E. HF* 549), for the feet (*Plut. Arat.* 43), and for the bed (*Gal.* 18.1.103).

(33) *Tarantînon peribolaion*. (ID 104(24bis) Delos (IG XI and ID)

'A Tarantine wrap'.

Períblēmata, the plural form of the garb term *períblēma*, denotes a festival of Lyttos, a polis in Crete, which may also have celebrated rites of passages. Details concerning these rituals were celebrated are now known. The term packs the concepts of what must have been the central ritual, which was connected to a garment, with ancient Greek conceptualizations of space, time, and ritual. Its conceptualization can be compared to those of *endumátia* (a plural diminutive of *énduma* denotes a festival taking place in Argos and involving the investiture of Hera)²⁴ and *ekdúsia*, a festival taking place in Phaistos, Crete. Those who took part were of an age-group *hoi ekduómenoi* (those who were stripped). The *ekduómenoi* had to take off an assumed adolescent or female garb. The festival celebrated the rite of passage to manhood from adolescence. All three prepositional compound nouns blend the spatiality of clothes with a spatio-temporal event of ritualistic significance.

²⁴ Scheid & Svenbro, 1995: 31; Wilamowitz's view that this festival could be identified with the Bath of Pallas is refuted by McKay, 1962: 81–82.

7.3.3 Dress and the vertical axis

The VERTICALITY schema distinguishes between high(er)-regions and low(er)-regions. *Ana-* implies a source in a region lower than the goal, hence an upward path, whereas *epi-* implies a downward motion, and additional surface contact at one or more points. The vertical axis enables a binary trajector up or down. Eye-level and frontness construct a vertical axis along which headwear is conceptualized as placed ‘up’, e.g., *anadé(n)ō* ‘fasten’, and footwear as placed ‘down’ or ‘under’ (e.g. *hupodé(n)ō*, *hupodēma*):

- (34) *khitônás te linoús epaúsanto phoroûntes kai khrusôn tettigōn enérsei krōbúlon anadoúmenoi tôn en tēi kephalēi trikhôn* (Thuc. 1.6.3)
 ‘(The Athenians) stopped wearing linen chitons and binding their hair up in a *krobylos* with gold cicadas’.

An example of a top-down construal profiling downward motion is the compound verb *hupodénō* ‘to wear shoes, lit. to tie under’. It is not to be confused with *hupóduma*, lit. ‘the cloth worn under another garment’ (e.g., IG V,1 1390 from Messenia, of 92/ 91 BCE). Yet its construal as a synonym of *embás* is possible as is shown in (35) (see Vaio, 1971):

- (35) BDELYCLEON *áge nun, hupo-lúou* *tàs katarátous* *embádas*,
 under-untie the wretched shoes
tasdì d’ anúsas *hupó-duthi* *tàs Lakōnikás*.
 under-go the Laconian
 PHILOCLEON *egō gār àn tlaíēn* *hupo-dúsasthaí pote*
 under-go
ekhthrōn par’ andrōn dusmenē kattúmata; (Ar. *Vesp.* 1157–1160)
 ‘BDELYCLEON Take off then these wretched slippers
 and put on these here quick, the Laconian ones.
 PHILOCLEON I wouldn’t bear it,
 if I ever had to wear shoes made by our enemies’.

Like *epibállō* ‘to put on an outer garment’ and *epiblēma* ‘outer garment’, *hupodúō* ‘wear an undergarment’ and *hupóduma* ‘wear an undergarment’ conceptualize an intrinsic vertical orientation of the body in space.

The prepositional prefixes of the garb vocabulary canvassed here are translated into English equivalents. Table 2 compares and contrasts the semantic coverage of English and Greek prepositions specifying locations whose LM lies along the horizontal axis and whose trajector lies along the vertical axis. The thick line visually marks ground zero. The higher regions are occupied by ABOVE (*ana-*) and OVER (*epi-*), while the lower regions are represented by a single region represented by *hupo-*,

which merges the regions occupied by UNDER and BELOW in English. The relative spatial locations of ABOVE or OVER coincides with that of *ana-* (literally ‘up and over’) and of *epi-* (literally ‘down(ward) on’).

Table 2: Spatial regions along the vertical axis in English and ancient Greek (adapted from Evans, 2007: 49).

ABOVE	<i>ana-</i>
OVER	<i>epi-</i>
UNDER	<i>hupo-</i>
BELOW	

The construal of the human body along three axes of human anatomy consists in front-back, right-left, up-down localizations. *Epi-* compounds construe contact of the trajector to the outer-upper surface of the landmark (moving), profiling of source, e.g., *epibállō*; contact of the trajector to the outer-upper surface of the landmark (moving), profiling of destination, e.g., *anabállō*; the front back axis is activated in *ana-* compounds, e.g., *anabolé* (that which is thrown up and over the shoulder, mantle), *anaboládion* ‘mantle’.

The compound verb *anabállō* profiles the upward motion along the top/down axis. Its senses include the spatial sense of dress, the spatial non-dress related sense.²⁵ *Anabállō* (*anō* + *bal-* = ‘upwards’ + ‘put’) means ‘put on’ and *anabolé* denotes a type of outer garment.²⁶

(36) *tēndī dē khlaīnan anabaloû*. (Ar. *Vesp.* 1131–1132)
‘And throw on you this *chlaina*’.

(37) *brakheías anabolàs phoroûsin*. (Pl. *Prot.* 343)
‘They wear short throws’.

(38) *epibaloûsa tougkuklon*. (Ar. *Eccl.* 537)
‘As soon as you put on the *enkyklon*’.

(39) *dià tí . . . oukh hoi tà pleîsta tôn himatiōn epi-ballómenoi hidroûsin*; (Arist. [Pr.] 870b5)
‘Why . . . do the people who put the most clothes on not sweat the most?’

²⁵ Cf. the metaphorical extension (SPACE → TIME) ‘to put off, postpone’ of *anabállō* and *anabolé* ‘postponement’ (Thuc. 2.42.4).

²⁶ Cf. the dress term *abōlla* etymologically derived from the Greek < *ambolē* < *anabolé*. See Liddell & Scott, 1996 s.v. and Lewis & Short, 1996 s.v. *abolla*. The English equivalent for *anabolé* is ‘throw’ (a kind of outer garment).

The compound dress term *epíblēma*, which appears in temple inventories listing the dedicatory garments to the god (e.g., IG³ 403 line 61, 416/5 BCE from Attica), means ‘outer garment’.

7.4 The conceptual metaphor ‘DRESS(ING) IS (BEING IN/GOING IN/COMING OUT OF) A LOCATION’

As shown in the previous sections, space and the vocabulary of dressing examined here are inextricably linked. In (40), the exit from an enclosed area is conceptualized by means of the compound *ekdúo* + genitive of a noun denoting a location. In (41), *ekdúo* + accusative of the garment name construes undressing in precisely the same locational terms.

(40) *ek-dùs* *megároio*. (Hom. *Od.* 22.334)
 out of-go:PTCP great hall:DAT.SG
 ‘Exit the great hall’.

(41) *ek-dùs* *khlaînan*. (Hom. *Od.* 14.460)
 out of-go:PTCP chlaina:ACC.SG

In (42), ‘clothes’ and ‘walls’ are conceived as external boundaries containing the body of basically equal status. According to Plutarch, the inquisitive person can not only strip others of their himatia and chitons, but can also remove the walls of the buildings they live in. Both are imagined not only as containing but also as blocking the eye in such a way that the contents of the bounded area remain invisible to those outside:

(42) *ho dè poluprágmōn ou tà himátia tôn pélas oudè toùs khitōnas, allà toùs toíkhous apamphiénnusi*. (Plut. *Mor.* 516F8)
 ‘Not only does the busybody strip off the himatia and chitons of those near, but also their very walls’.

The following examples will further show that ancient Greek construed dress as a locating device by virtue of the following conceptual metaphors:

‘DRESS IS A LOCATION IN SPACE’
 ‘DRESSING IS FIXING A LOCATION IN SPACE’

These are instantiations of ancient Greek conceptualizations of dressing and clothing as a space which contained, enclosed and surrounded the body in the same way as other physical boundaries such as the walls of the *oikos* or of the *polis*. The morpho-semantic symmetry between the masculine and neuter compound nouns

endutós and *endutón* denoting 'garment' (literally 'that which *x* can be inside of')²⁷ and *ádutos* ~ *áduton*, *ábatos* ~ *ábaton* 'not to be entered or accessed', 'off limits', 'innermost sanctuary', denoting a space that is not to be entered, is a case in point. The asymmetry in stress is a minor morpho-phonological variation, which, however, may be considered as marking the semantic difference between an actual location and the clothing item that is metaphorically construed as a location.

Table 3:

DESS-RELATED MEANING	SPATIAL MEANING	
<i>en-du-</i>	<i>a-du-</i>	<i>a-ba-</i>
<i>endutós</i>	<i>ádutos</i>	<i>ábatos</i>
<i>endutón</i>	<i>áduton</i>	<i>ábaton</i>

Further evidence is provided by the dress and non-dress related senses of the following members of the dressing vocabulary cluster: *peribolē*, *períblēma*, *peribállō*, *amphiblēstron*, *anabolē*, *peribolē* and *períblēma* denote both an enclosure and a garment (cf. IG XII.6 line 18, 346/5 BCE from Samos). They support these mappings of the space enveloping the body which is defined as enclosed by a physical boundary imagined as consisting in a variety of materials, such as woven cloth or stone.

- (43) *peribolà lithōn kai hierōn Poseidānos*. (IG IX 1, 690, Kerkyra, 182 BCE)
'Stone enclosure and sanctuary of Poseidon'

Peribállō (< *peri* 'around' + *ballō* 'put', i.e. 'to put on a garment') conveys dress-related meanings as well as non-dress-related meanings:

- (44) *kai tines kai teikhē perieballonto hōs plousiōteroi heautōn gignómenoi*. (Thuc. 1.8.3.4)

'Some surrounded themselves with walls as they had now become richer'.

- (45) *hótan dē kósmon peribálēsthe sōmasin*, / *hēxō pròs humās*. (Eur. *Heracl.* 334–335)
'As soon as you put on clothes, I will come back to you'.

- (46) *doraīsi thērōn sōma peribalōn emōn*. (Eur. *Cyc.* 330)
'When I put wild beasts' skins around my body'.

²⁷ Aesch. *Eum.* 1029 *phoinikobáptois endutois esthémasi* 'in purple-dyed garments'.

In (47), the body is spatially construed as surrounded by walls that form an external boundary. In (48) the rags of the shipwrecked are construed as hanging from either side of the body:

(47) *amphíblēstra gār toíkhōn horḗs/ hupsēlá*. (Eur. *IA* 97)

‘You see that the surrounding walls are high’.

(48) *kai mēn tát’ amphíblēstra sómatos rhákē
xummarturései nautikōn ereipíōn*. (Eur. *Hel.* 1079)

‘These rags hanging from either side of my body
will surely tell you that I have been in a shipwreck’.

The compound verb *anabállō* and its derivatives can have a spatial non-dress related sense and a spatial dress related sense describing the upward motion of dress along the vertical axis. Compare

(49) *ek dè toû orúgmatos anébalon antì teíkhous tòn khoûn*. (Thuc. 4.90)

‘From the trench they piled up the earth in lieu of walls’.

and

(50) *anabolē* *khómatos*. (BGU. 2.362, 215–216 C.E)
upward-put:F.SG of earth
‘Mound of earth’.

(51) *anabolē diōrúgōn*. (BGU 2.513, 178 C.E)
‘Mound of earth due to canal digging’.

(52) *kai gār táphros ên perì autò eureîa anabeblēménē kai skólopes epì tēs anabolēs*.
(Xen. *An.* 5.2.5.4)
‘There was a trench around it, wide, with mounds of earth, and palisades upon the mounds’

where *anabolē* means ‘mound of earth that has been piled up’, with the quite different sense of

(53) *toút’ anabaleîs tò Krētikón*. (Eup. 311)
‘You will put on this Cretan cloak’.

7.5 Conclusion: Towards a spatial grammar of the clothed body

Taking Bierwisch's (1997) question "How much space gets into language?" as a starting point, this paper looked at the locative prepositions underpinning much of ancient Greek's vocabulary of 'dressing' in order to demonstrate that this vocabulary reflects the bodily experience of being dressed as a spatially defined one. The linguistic evidence provided has shown a) that the language of space and the language of dress intersect in the ancient Greek garb vocabulary cluster of locative prepositions and b) that in the Greek mindset dress provides a mode of fixed spatial references, i.e., that the spatial construals pertaining to dress in ancient Greek contain mappings of clothes as containers surrounding the body fully or partially, specifying or underspecifying contact and/or support. Close examination of the dress-related vocabulary cluster showed that Greek conceptualizes the acts of dressing the body spatially mainly as a) containment or entry within a bounded area (by means of *en-* compounds), b) exit by means of *ek-* and *apo-* compounds), c) aroundness (by means of *amphi-* and *peri-* compounds), d) contact with supporting surface (*epi-* compounds), and e) location up or down on the vertical axis (*epi-*, *ana-*, *hupo-* compounds).

Ancient Greek conceptualization of clothing as a locating device and a receptacle, an entity that contains or surrounds the body, was arguably motivated both by the way clothes were 'constructed' and made, and by the experience of dressing in these clothes: the prototypical conceptualization of the act of dressing in the Greek culture, which was to put on an inner garment through an opening for the head, and to drape cloth around the body as an outer garment.²⁸ Ancient Greek clothes did not outline and reshape the body the way modern Western clothing does. Ancient Greek clothing was put on over the head or placed around the body. It consisted of lengths of handwoven draped fabric which wrapped the body and was fastened by pins, thus hanging from the shoulders down. The embodied language of dress revealed the presence of image schemas conceptualizing the cloth as an entity containing, bounding, surrounding, not defining the contour of the body. It is no news to historians of ancient Greek dress that Greek clothing consisted of lengths of fabric, mostly wool or linen, usually rectangular in shape (Cleland, Davies & Llewellyn, 2007: 39).²⁹ Outfits were not tight-fitting, so as to render the contour of the body. Inner garments were shaped, folded and altered by belting at the waist or chest. The first layer of garments, the peplos and the chiton, were termed *endúmata*. Outer garments, i.e., *periblēmata* or *epiblēmata* came in a variety of shapes and lengths and were fixed by brooches for activities that required free use of the arms (Lee, 2015: 97). The most common styles of outer outfits were: the simple wrap-around type of garment, the open-front type of garment,

²⁸ Cleland, Davies & Llewellyn-Jones, 2007: 36 s.v. 'cloaks'.

²⁹ Cleland, Davies & Llewellyn-Jones, 2007: 39, s.v. 'construction of clothes'; for a succinct introduction to studies of ancient Greek dress, see Lee, 2015: 10–19.

the fixed-by-means-of-a-brooch type of garment. The fabric was placed around the body, wrapping or surrounding it. It was fixed by brooches, not tied. It was draped, not tailored and required little or no stitching. While ancient Greek dress consisted in layering pieces of cloth one on top of the other (e.g., a himation over a chiton), standard footwear consisted in a piece of leather secured to the sole of the feet with laces which pulled the top together when tied.

This paper has shown what aspects of the Greek language about clothes map dressing as a sub-category of spatial entities, that can surround the body and that mark a visible boundary that demarcates an area enclosed by it. Due to their spatial construal, afforded by the locative prefixes, the Greek garment vocabulary construed dressing as situating the body as a spatial entity. Clothing the body is a universally human characteristic, but there is cultural and linguistic variation in experiencing and expressing it, as Melissa Bowerman (1989) was the first to note. Some languages distinguish between containment and surface contact, others between support and tight and loose fit. English uses *put on* for clothing items (e.g., a hat, a shirt, a coat, shoes); Korean and Estonian include the body part concerned in words for donning clothes.³⁰ The use of prepositions in order to conceptualize dress is not specific to Greek: e.g., English *put on* and Danish *tager på* also construe wearing through prepositional locative constructions. English conceptualizes dress as containment, as is evidenced by the construction “to dress in *x*”, where *x* denotes a type of garment. English, too, conceptualizes the body as a surface on which the fabric can be placed, i.e., ‘to put *x* on’.

Whereas lexicographic categorization of linguistic items often implies a box or file-like storage, cognitive semantic analysis can help tease apart elements that would otherwise go unnoticed. Embodied cognition and image-schema theory can help explain how the Greek language conveyed meaning through situated body practices. What the analysis of the ancient Greek garment vocabulary cluster has shown is that spatial location, evoked through the prepositional affixes, was “good to think with”: it illustrates, in the most immediate way, the extricate connections and analogies between corporeal experience, image-schematic structuring of interactions between self and world, linguistic constructions and cognitive patterns. The extent to which the speakers using these prepositional constructions were aware of the spatial meaning of the components is quite difficult to determine. One can assume that their ability to analyze these constructions into the compositionality of their semantic components was on a par with that of any natural language speaker of any linguistic community.

Dress is a culturally defined and culture-specific element and one of the major “things” the ancient Greeks got entangled with. This investigation of the Greek garment vocabulary cluster demonstrated that entanglement with the materiality of dress shaped the spatial mindset of the Greeks, enriched their concepts of space,

30 Bowerman, 1996: 166–167; Bittner & Ruhlig, 2013: 24.

and stocked their inventory of cognitive metaphorical mappings. In the mind of the ancient Greeks, lived space was a set of physical boundaries. Ancient Greek dress was conceptualized as a "thing-in-place", marginally differing from any other space-occupying material entity that was conceptualized as containing, or surrounding the body. Clothing the body was understood as assigning place within lived space. The Greek view of dress as a location is perfectly compatible with the ancient commonsensical view of space as finite, bounded, and segmented into performatively and socially experienced – and thus, meaningful – chunks.³¹ Space and place were experienced as relativistic but not discontinuous, and were conceptualized by means of visible boundaries. Clothes were conceptualized as framing the space around human bodies, thus capturing the territoriality of the human body.

Contemporary approaches to ancient Greek dress bring into relief the inherent difficulty to substantiate definite pairings between iconography and garment terminology and typology. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that no complete garments, only small, often mineralized, fragments, survive. Research has to rely primarily on the rich textual and iconographical evidence, which on occasion may reflect artistic or poetic license (Lee, 2015: 89). What is more, the iconography of divine, heroic and other types of nudity, placed this concept at the centre of modern concepts about dress in the ancient Greek world thus creating a somewhat erroneous picture about aspects of dress in everyday life (Bonfante, 1989; Gherchanoc, 2008; Lee, 2015: 172–197). Nudity was, of course, an integral part of male social identity, but, most importantly, it was the clothing that defined the location of the body within Greek social and cultural space.

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³¹ Luraghi, 2004: 8, "Cities are consistently conceived as containers and occur with all three prepositions *en*, *ek*, and *eis*"; cf. Cornford, 1976.

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