

On the encoding of ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT in the Greek diachrony*

Abstract

This article focuses on the Greek ALLATIVE preposition *eis*, and in particular on the semantic extension from the ALLATIVE to the RECIPIENT. Based on diachronic data, it is argued that the emergence of the ALLATIVE–RECIPIENT polysemy is not directly connected to the loss of the dative case, as often implied. Under the theoretical framework provided by cognitive linguistic studies, the mechanism which underlies this polysemy of *eis* is investigated. Furthermore, it is shown that in the course of time, Greek does not follow one single pattern with regard to the encoding of these two senses. Finally, the article continues the debate about the extension pathways that may give rise to the RECIPIENT.

Keywords

Allative, recipient, Greek, loss of dative, metaphor, semantic change.

1 Introduction

This paper discusses a particular case of semantic change that took place in the ALLATIVE¹ preposition *eis*² ('to') in the history of Greek. Although there are numerous changes in the meaning of *eis*, I confine myself to describing the extension from its concrete ALLATIVE sense to the more abstract RECIPIENT sense, because this particular extension leads to a polysemy pattern that is widely attested in the languages of the world. As such, it would be intriguing to investigate the driving forces behind the emergence of the ALLATIVE–RECIPIENT polysemy. Central aim of this paper is to show that it is by no means coincidental the fact that in the course of the Greek language history the preposition *eis* comes to host both ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT. It will be shown that RECIPIENT is linked to the spatial sense by

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1 According to the conventions followed in this paper, I use SMALL CAPS to indicate the preposition senses and the semantic roles that prepositions encode.

2 The Ionic dialect uses the allomorph *es*. Medieval Greek shows a parallel form 's (from the form *se* followed by aphæresis).

means of metaphor. Moreover, based on the examination of the written sources of the Greek diachrony this paper argues that the emergence of the ALLATIVE–RECIPIENT polysemy is not directly connected to the loss of the dative case, as often assumed. Finally, since the directionality of the developmental path from ALLATIVE to RECIPIENT is controversial, this study will try to contribute to the ongoing discussion on that issue.

The methodology employed is qualitative and draws on data that have been extracted from a diachronic corpus constructed by myself. These data cover five different stages of Greek, spanning the time from 8th c. BC to 16th c. AD (i.e., from Homeric to late Medieval Greek) and have been collected from primary sources and from the searchable electronic corpus TLG (<http://www.tlg.uci.edu>; last accessed November 2010). Moreover, dictionaries and grammars, which cover the whole history of Greek, were used as a supplementary source of data. Note that the examples given here do not provide an exhaustive list, but they are certainly representative of the phenomenon under investigation.

Before proceeding to the analysis, a few terminological and theoretical remarks should be made. To begin with, following Rice & Kabata (2007: 452), I use the term ALLATIVE to “refer to some overt morpheme [...], which is associated semantically with the marking of spatial goals, directions, or destinations”. The RECIPIENT, on the other hand, is understood as the participant that receives an object within his/ her sphere of control as a result of the act of ‘giving’ (see Newman 1996, Kittilä 2005: 274; see also Luraghi 2003: 39).

Since the focus of the paper is primarily on prepositions, one clarification is due. Consistently with the main postulates in Cognitive Grammar, prepositions are considered here as relational linguistic predications, which profile interconnections among entities (Langacker 1987: 214–215). In their spatial sense, prepositions serve to locate one entity (the trajector) with reference to another entity which is often ‘old’ in the situation of discourse (the landmark). This distinction between the trajector and the landmark is also preserved for the description of abstract relations; for the event of ‘giving’ however, which contains the RECIPIENT, I will use the labels that are employed in the typological-functional literature, i.e. AGENT, THEME and RECIPIENT, in order to avoid confusion.³ Hence, in (1) *the teacher* is the trajector and *the school* is the landmark, whereas in (2) *the teacher* is the AGENT, *the book* is the THEME and *the student* is the RECIPIENT:

- (1) *The teacher is going to the school.*
- (2) *The teacher gave the book to the student.*

Let us consider two examples from Homer:

- (3) *phēugōmen sùn nēusi philēn es patrída gaian*
 flee:1PL.SBJV with ship:DAT.PL.F dear:ACC.SG.F to native:ACC.SG.F land:ACC.SG.F
 ‘let us flee with our ships to our dear native land.’ (*Il.* 2.140 / 8th BC)

³ Compare for example Newman (1996: 41), where the AGENT is labeled as trajector and both the THEME and the RECIPIENT are labeled as landmarks.

- (4) *dōron* *toi* *kai* *egó*, *téknon* *phíle*, *toûto* *dídōmi*
 gift:ACC.SG.N 2SG.DAT and 1SG.NOM child:VOC.SG.N dear:VOC.SG.N DEM.ACC.SG.N give:1SG
 ‘I too give you this gift, dear child.’ (*Od.* 15.124 / 8th BC)

In example (3), the figure in the relational profile, that is the trajector, is the grammatical subject of the verb *phéúgōmen* which is the entity that undergoes motion, and the participant that receives secondary focus is *patrída gaían* which is the goal of motion. The preposition *es* designates a complex atemporal relation, which comprises a series of configurations that collectively describe the trajector’s spatial path (see Langacker 1992: 290–291; for the spatial configuration of *eis*, see Horrocks 1981: 216–220, Luraghi 2003: 107 ff., Skopeteas 2003). Example (4) contains an AGENT (*egó*) in the nominative, a THEME (*dōron*) in the accusative and a RECIPIENT (*toi*) in the dative.

Recent studies have reported that there is a crosslinguistic tendency for ALLATIVE markers to exhibit a wide spectrum of functions, with RECIPIENT being a frequent candidate for sharing the same form with the ALLATIVE (see Blansitt 1988, Heine & Kuteva 2002, Kilroe 1994, Lehmann 1985: 31, Rice & Kabata 2007, among others). This tendency is reflected to the fact that a number of languages exhibit ALLATIVE-RECIPIENT polysemy. A textbook example of this tendency is the English preposition *to*, which serves, inter alia, for the expression of the ALLATIVE, e.g. (5), the ADDRESSEE, e.g. (6), the PURPOSE, e.g. (7) and the RECIPIENT, e.g. (8):

- (5) ALLATIVE *Mary is going to the airport.*
 (6) ADDRESSEE *She told the secret to her uncle.*
 (7) PURPOSE *The lifeguard ran to the rescue of the child.*
 (8) RECIPIENT *Bill gave the pencil to Anna.*

The crucial examples for the purposes of this article are (5) and (8). Note, however, that not all languages exhibit ALLATIVE-RECIPIENT polysemy. Languages differ from one another as to how they express the two senses. In some languages, ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT receive the same marking, while in other languages different markers are used. Finally, other languages use a mixed pattern, a combination of the above strategies, i.e. both similar and different marking. It will be shown that in the course of Greek history, Greek does not follow one single pattern.

The article is structured as follows: In section 2, the emergence of the ALLATIVE-RECIPIENT polysemy is presented. It is shown that Greek follows two different patterns regarding the distinction between the two senses. Further, based on the examination of the diachronic data, it is argued that the emergence of *eis* in the RECIPIENT function does not correlate with the loss of the dative case form. Section 3 discusses the linkage between the two senses, which is shown to be motivated by metaphor. Section 4 describes the developmental pathway from ALLATIVE to RECIPIENT and claims that RECIPIENT arises out of ALLATIVE

without the mediation of an intermediate sense. Finally, section 5 summarizes the most important findings of this study.

2 Encoding the ALLATIVE and the RECIPIENT in the Greek diachrony (and typological implications)

Languages differ with respect to the pattern they use in order to mark the distinction between ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT. Some languages use different marking for the expression of the two senses (language type A). For example, German distinguishes between ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT. The ALLATIVE semantic role is encoded by means of prepositions, whereas the RECIPIENT receives the dative case marking. Consider examples (9) and (10), whereby the preposition *nach* is used to express the goal of motion and the dative case to mark the indirect object.

(9) *Wir fahren nach Athen.*
We travel:3SG to Athens
'We are traveling to Athens.'

(10) *Er gab mir das Buch.*
he give:PST.3SG 1SG.DAT ART.ACC.SG.N book:ACC.SG.N
'He gave me the book.'

Other languages encode the two senses by means of two different strategies: according to the first strategy, one marker is used for the two senses expressing the ALLATIVE–RECIPIENT polysemy, but simultaneously the language has one more additional means for the encoding of either the RECIPIENT or the ALLATIVE. This mixed language type gives two categories, whereby:

(a) ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT receive the same marking, while simultaneously there is one additional means for the RECIPIENT (language type B);

(b) ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT receive the same marking, while simultaneously there is one additional means for the ALLATIVE (language type C).

Language type B is exemplified by Middle English⁴ (1066–1476 c. AD). In Middle English, the ALLATIVE was encoded by means of the preposition *to* and the RECIPIENT was expressed through two different means: a synthetic one (i.e. the dative case) and an analytic one

4 Note that Modern English follows the same pattern:

- (i) *I gave you the letter* (RECIPIENT)
- (ii) *I gave the letter to you* (RECIPIENT)
- (iii) *I went to the station* (ALLATIVE).

(i.e. the prepositional phrase containing the preposition *to*). This mixed pattern was the result of a diachronic development: In Old English, the RECIPIENT was expressed only by the dative case. However, the loss of the accusative–dative distinction had an effect on the encoding of this semantic role and another option developed: the PP with the preposition *to*. Note that *to* had a very specific spatial meaning in Old English and only later became an indirect object marker. At first, only few instances of the analytic expression are attested, but in the course of the Middle English period it becomes a highly productive alternative to the dative case (see Fischer 1992: 379, Fischer & van der Wurff 2006: 166, van Gelderen 2006: 56). In short, together with the old strategy for the encoding of the RECIPIENT (see 11), Middle English uses also the *to*-phrase (see 12), which during the Old English period was primarily used for adverbial functions (see 13):⁵

(11) **Old English**

Uton smeagan nu georne þæt we sume wæstmas godra weorca Gode agyfan
 Let-us wish now eagerly that we some fruits of-good works to-God may-give
 ‘Let us sincerely hope that we may give some fruits of our good works to God.’
 (*Ælf. Homil.* 3.182; from Traugott 1992: 175)

(12) **Middle English**

saynt germayn hit hedde al yeve to pouren
 Saint Germain it had all given to poor
 ‘Saint Germain had given it all to [the] poor.’
 (*Ayen. Inw* 190: 8; from Fischer 1992: 220)

(13) **Middle English**

Pis gære for þe king Stephne ofer sæ to Normandi
 this year went the king Stephen over sea to Normandy
 ‘In this year King Stephen went over the sea to Normandy.’
 (*PC*, 1137; from van Gelderen 2006: 126)

An example of a type C language could be Homeric Greek as well as Classical Greek. In these two stages of Greek, the ALLATIVE was marked by the construction <*eis* + accusative> and the RECIPIENT was marked by the dative. Interestingly, during the same time span the dative case not only marked the RECIPIENT, but also under certain circumstances could denote the goal of motion (see Luraghi 2003: 66, Skopeteas 2008: 59–60, Bortone 2010: 46), as in (14):

5 Example (13) is from Middle English, but this usage was also available during the previous diachronic stage.

- (14) *haimatóessa dè kheír pedíōi pése*
 bloody:NOM.SG.F PTCL hand:NOM.SG.F ground:DAT.SG.N fall:AOR.3SG
 ‘So the hand all bloody fell to the ground.’ (Il. 5.84 / 8th BC)

Although this combination of marking points to a type C language, according to the approach adopted in this paper which is restricted only to dominant marking strategies, Homeric and Classical Greek should not be included in type C. The reason why this type is excluded is that dative as an alternative for the expression of the ALLATIVE represents a very limited proportion of the total ALLATIVES attested in these two stages.

Finally, in a fourth language type, ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT receive the same marking (language type D). Languages like Maori follow this pattern; Maori uses the preposition *ki* for both semantic roles.

- (15) *E haere ana mātou ki Ngāruawāhia*
 TA go TA 1PL.EXCLM to Ngāruawāhia
 ‘We are going to Ngāruawāhia.’ (from Harlow 2006: 157)

- (16) *Homai ki a mātou toou Waka*
 give to PERS.ART 1PL.EXCLM 2SG.GEN Canoe
 ‘Give us your canoe.’ (from Bauer 1993: 87)

The four language types with regard to the encoding of ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT are summarized in tab. 1:

	ALLATIVE	RECIPIENT
Language type a	x	y
Language type b	x	x y
Language type c	x y	y
Language type d	x	x

Tab. 1 | Four language types with regard to the encoding of ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT.

As this table suggests, there are two genuine language types and two mixed types. A cross-linguistic survey would be of interest, given the lack of any relevant description; such a survey would indicate which languages exhibit which polysemy pattern and would reveal the prevailing situation cross-linguistically.

In the following, it is shown that in the course of the history of the language, Greek follows two different patterns regarding the distinction between the ALLATIVE and the RECIPIENT. In the time span between the oldest documents of Greek (8th c. BC) and the end of Medieval Greek (15th c. AD), that is, for more than two millennia, Greek belongs to language type A, and then shifts to language type B.

The development is rather complex and can be sketched as follows: From Homeric Greek to the first centuries of the Hellenistic-Roman Koine (2nd–1st c. BC) RECIPIENT and ALLATIVE bear different marking: the RECIPIENT is expressed through the dative case and the ALLATIVE through the preposition *eis* with the accusative case. Consider the following examples from three different periods (Homeric, Classical and Hellenistic Roman respectively).

- (17a) *sùn kheirì phílēn es patríd' hikésthai*
 with hand:DAT.SG.F dear:ACC.SG.F to land:ACC.SG.F come:AOR.INF.MID
 'To come with a fuller hand to my dear native land.' (*Od.* 11.359 / 8th BC)
- (17b) *tòn Aríona légousi [...] epithumêsai plôσαι es Italiēn te kai Sikeliēn*
 ART.ACC.SG.M Arion:ACC.SG.M say:3SG wish:AOR.INF sail:AOR.INF to Italy:ACC.SG.F both and Sicily:ACC.SG.F
 'They say that this Arion [...] wished to sail to Italy and Sicily.' (*Herod.* 1.24.1 / 5th BC)
- (17c) *ho Mários eis tòn kámpon kath' hēméran badízōn ...*
 ART.NOM.SG.M Marios:NOM.SG to ART.ACC.SG.M valley:ACC.SG.M every day:ACC.SG.F
 walk:PTCP.PRS.NOM.SG
 'Marios by walking to the valley every day ...' (*Diod. Libr.* 37.29.1 / 1st BC)
- (18a) *Pándaros hōi kai tóxon Apóllōn autòs édōken*
 Pandaros:NOM.SG.M DEM.DAT.SG.M and bow:ACC.SG.N Apollo:NOM.SG.M REFL.NOM.SG.M
 give:AOR.3SG
 'Pandarus, to whom Apollo himself gave the bow.' (*Il.* 2.827 / 8th BC)
- (18b) *soi ōn egō anti autōn gérea toiáde dídōmi*
 DAT.2SG then NOM.1SG instead DEM.GEN.PL privilege:ACC.PL.N such:ACC.PL.N give:1SG
 'Then, in return for these I give you those privileges.' (*Herod.* 7.29 / 5th BC)
- (18c) *pentakósia mèn tálanta didóasin autōi dōreán hoi basileis*
 five.hundred PTCL talent(scale):ACC.PL.N give:3PL DEM.DAT.SG.M donation:ACC.SG.F
 ART.NOM.PL.M King:NOM.PL.M
 'The Kings gave him five hundred talents by means of donation.'
 (*Diod. Libr.* 18.58.1/1st BC)

In (17a), (17b) and (17c) the preposition *eis* denotes motion toward a natural landmark, while in (18a), (18b) and (18c) the AGENT transfers a thing (the THEME) to the RECIPIENT. The RECIPIENT in all the above instances is in dative, which is the typical case for the encoding of this semantic role (see Blake ²2001: 142 ff., Newman 1996: 82 ff.), and the verb used to describe the event of transfer is the prototypical ditransitive verb, that is *dídōmi* ('give') (see Blansitt 1988, Newman 1996).

In Classical Greek, there are examples that seem to diverge from this general pattern. Luraghi (2003: 112–114, 2010) reports that in this period *eis* with the accusative extends to events of abstract transfer, as exemplified in (19):

- (19) *ou àn aiskhúnoio eis toùs Hállēnas sautòn*
 NEG PTCL be.ashamed:OPT.PRS.MP.2SG to ART.ACC.PL Greek:ACC.PL REFL.ACC.2SG
sophistèn parékhōn
 sophist:ACC.SG.M present:PTCP.PRS.NOM.SG
 'Would you not be ashamed to present yourself before the Greeks as a sophist?'
 (Pl. *Prt.* 312a / 5th BC; from Luraghi 2003: 113)

According to Luraghi, however, this structure is not equivalent to dative. Moreover, the fact that *eis* with the accusative does not occur with the prototypical ditransitive *dídōmi* indicates that the PP cannot alternate with the dative case (cf. Luraghi 2010). Indeed, the examination of the texts in the TLG corpus showed that this function is unattested for *eis* both in Classical Greek and in early Hellenistic-Roman period. On the other hand, the private inscriptions and papyri, mainly of the latter period, contain a few instances of *dídōmi* with the construction <*eis* + accusative>, as shown in example (20).

- (20) *égrapsa soi hó deî dothênai eis hékaston*
 write:AOR.1SG DAT.2SG ACC.SG.N must give:AOR.INF.PASS to each.one:ACC.SG
 'I wrote you what should be given to each one.'
 (Petrie Papyri II / 3rd BC; from Mayser 1934: 356)

In (20) the ditransitive verb *dothênai* describes the event of transfer of a thing (*hó*) to an animate entity (*hékaston*). That means that the complement of the preposition *eis* is a recipient. Thus, the construction <*eis* + accusative> could be considered as an alternative means for the expression of the RECIPIENT instead of the dative case. Based on the rarity of the attested examples, one cannot argue that the PP is a productive alternative means for the RECIPIENT.

To sum up, during the first stage, i.e. from the Homeric poems to the 2nd–1st c. BC, Greek clearly makes use of different markers to express ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT, and thus patterns with languages like German (see tab. 2).

	Dative	<eis + accusative>
ALLATIVE	-	+
RECIPIENT	+	-

Tab. 2 | Stage A: ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT receive different marking.

In the Hellenistic-Roman, Greek experiences the beginning of a process which was not completed till the end of the Early Medieval period (10th c. AD): the decline of its inflectional system which finally resulted in the loss of dative (see Humbert 1930). At the Hellenistic-Roman era (3rd c. BC–4th c. AD), the dative is still in use, but one can observe the spread of prepositional expressions at the expense of this case in the adverbial functions. It is worth noting that among the functions of the dative case, BENEFICIARY, RECIPIENT and ADDRESSEE were the most resistant to this tendency (cf. Horrocks ²2010: 180, 185, Humbert 1930: 161ff). During this stage (from the 1st c. BC), there is also a tendency to replace datives with bare accusatives (cf. Jannaris 1897: 341–342). Horrocks (²2010: 116) underlines that:

The often ‘goal-orientated’ sense of the indirect object (cf. ‘give to/send to’ etc.), together with the use of two accusatives rather than an accusative and a dative with verbs like ‘teach’, encouraged such overlaps between the dative and the accusative [...].

As far as this specific period is concerned, <eis + accusative> is only sporadically attested and it cannot be argued that this construction is a typical way to express RECIPIENT. In New Testament, for example, there is only one instance of <eis + accusative> in this semantic role.

(21) *allà tò theòn tò kai dónta*
 but ART.ACC.SG.M God:ACC.SG.M ART.ACC.SG.M and give:PTCP.AOR.ACC.SG
tò pneûma autoû tò hágion eis humâs
 ART.ACC.SG.N spirit:ACC.SG.N POSS.GEN.SG.M ART.ACC.SG.N holy:ACC.SG.N to PERS.ACC.2PL
 ‘but God who gives his holy spirit to you.’ (*Thessal.* 1, 4⁸)

Furthermore, the dative was also gradually replaced by the genitive case in the function of the RECIPIENT (and of the indirect object in general). Notably, the three different expressions of the RECIPIENT (i.e. dative, accusative and genitive) co-occur for a considerable period of time, i.e. approximately for a millennium. The detailed investigation of these alternative extensions is beyond the scope of this paper. What is of interest here is that the pattern Greek follows with respect to the way ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT are encoded does not change. Only the number of the means for the marking of the RECIPIENT changes (tab. 3).

Interestingly, after a period of fluctuation of usage between the two bare cases for the marking of this semantic role, some varieties of Greek chose the accusative and some other the genitive. According to Lendari & Manolessou (2003: 402), the regularization of the choice between the two variants seems to have taken place around the 15th c. AD.

The crucial development of the diachronic change of the type discussed here can be witnessed in texts of the 16th c. AD⁸ and relates to the systematic occurrence of the PP in the RECIPIENT function. For example, in *Thesaurus* by Damascenus Studites there are many clear examples of such usage (see 24 and 25).

(24) *édōken eis tòn kalógeron*
 give:AOR.3SG to ART.ACC.SG monk:ACC.SG
 ‘He gave to the monk.’ (Damascenus, 21.441/ 16th AD)

(25) *álla dè édōkan eis toùs ptōchoús*
 but PTCL give:AOR.3PL to ART.ACC.PL poor:ACC.PL
 ‘And they gave other things to the poor.’ (Damascenus, 20.744/ 16th AD)

In the above examples the two full NPs (*tòn kalógeron* and *toùs ptōchoús*) are construed as endpoints of a transaction. These entities receive something transferred to their domain of possession. In the same text one can find RECIPIENT appearing in the accusative (see 26) and less frequently in the genitive (see 27).⁹

(26) *édōké ton kai éksē chiliádas phlōría*
 give:AOR.3SG CL.ACC.SG and six thousand:ACC.PL coin:ACC.PL
 ‘And he gave him six thousand in coins.’ (Damascenus, 3.408/ 16th AD)

(27) *nà mè tou didoun trophén*
 SBJV.PTCL NEG CL.GEN.SG give:3PL food:ACC.SG
 ‘Not to give him food.’ (Damascenus, 25.701/ 16th AD)

At this stage, Greek patterns with languages like Middle and Modern English, whereby ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT receive the same marking and there is one additional means for the RECIPIENT (language type B).

8 One might consult more (other than TLG’s) textual sources from 15th c. AD in order to date more precisely the beginning of the phenomenon.

9 Notably, the dative is also used to express the RECIPIENT.

	Genitive/ Accusative	<eis + accusative>
ALLATIVE	-	+
RECIPIENT	+	+

Tab. 5 | Stage D: mixed pattern.

It is worth mentioning that, according to the account presented here, the loss of the dative does not seem to correlate with the emergence of the PP in the RECIPIENT function. This is in opposition with the assumption often made in the literature that there is a direct association between the loss of the dative and the emergence of the RECIPIENT function of *eis* (cf. Bortone 2010: 216, Hewson & Bubenik 2006: 78, Horrocks ²2010: 284). The empirical evidence in favor of the non-direct association is the fact that the disappearance of the dative occurs at least five centuries earlier before the systematic occurrence of the <*eis* + accusative> for the expression of RECIPIENT. Although the loss of the dative had an effect on the marking of this semantic role (see the discussion above), there is no evidence suggesting that this loss was crucial for the emergence of the ALLATIVE–RECIPIENT polysemy. Further research could determine the possible functional factors that underlie this extension. For example, one may assume that the analytic construction has a tendency to appear more often when it is distant from the verb or when RECIPIENT is a noun rather a pronoun. However, it is beyond the scope of this paper to investigate these hypotheses in detail. Apart from various functional factors, there may have been other factors that facilitated the connection between ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT. The linkage relies on the common semantic features the two senses share. As already mentioned, ALLATIVE is associated with the marking of spatial goals. Similarly, RECIPIENT is construed as the goal of an action. The key notion here is the notion of motion. In the next section, the exact sort of similarity will be investigated in order to discover what ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT have in common.

3 The metaphor RECIPIENTS ARE GOALS

In this section, the sort of similarity that exists between the goal of motion and the RECIPIENT is examined. In particular, I investigate the role of metaphor in motivating the use of a spatial goal preposition to express an abstract sense, i.e. the RECIPIENT. In doing so, I try to show that the extension from the ALLATIVE to the RECIPIENT is motivated. Moreover, I seek for the experiential basis of the metaphor at issue, the determination of which is crucial for the comprehension of the metaphor (see Lakoff & Johnson ²2003: 20). Last but not least, independent evidence is presented which shows that the use of the ALLATIVE marker for the encoding of the RECIPIENT is not arbitrary.

I start by presenting few examples from Modern Greek:¹⁰

(28) *ja pjon proorízete to yráma*
 for who:ACC.SG.M be_destined:PRS.MP.3SG ART.NOM.SG.N letter:NOM.SG.N
 ‘To whom the letter is destined?’

(29) *se pjon pijéni to déma*
 to who:ACC.SG.M go:PRS.3SG ART.NOM.SG.N parcel:NOM.SG.N
 ‘To whom does the parcel go?’

(30) *ta peχníδja éftasan sta pedjá*
 ART.NOM.PL.N toy:NOM.PL.N arrive:AOR.3PL to.the:ACC.PL.N child:ACC.PL.N
 Lit. ‘The toys arrived at the children.’

From the above examples, it is evident that we use the vocabulary of spatial goals, destinations, directions (*proorízete, pijeni, eftasan*) to talk about human endpoints of a transfer, i.e. recipients. In other words, we seem to use systematically the vocabulary of a concrete domain (SPACE) to refer to a more abstract domain (SOCIAL). Humans are normally not physical landmarks (literally, not in the technical sense) located at the end of a path along which some entity moves and as such they cannot constitute the target of a movement in an objective way. What happens, instead, is the understanding of one domain (SOCIAL) in terms of another more concrete domain (SPACE). The metaphor at issue that motivates the RECIPIENT sense is the RECIPIENTS ARE GOALS metaphor.

The metaphor RECIPIENTS ARE GOALS is grounded in correlations in human experience. If an object has to be transferred to some other entity, this object must first traverse a spatial path moving toward this entity. This entity, the recipient, will be the endpoint, the goal of the movement. That is, the event of receiving presupposes the prior movement of the object which is going to be received. This recurrent experience provides the experiential basis for the RECIPIENTS ARE GOALS/DESTINATIONS metaphor. In this spirit, Rice & Kabata (2007: 479–480) define RECIPIENTS “as prototypically human endpoints of a physical transaction” (see also Luraghi 2003: 39, Newman 1996: 88). Similarly, Kittilä (2005: 274) describes RECIPIENTS as the animate entities that receive something concrete transferred to their sphere of control or domain of possession. The common denominator of the above definitions is that the RECIPIENT is construed as the goal of an action or an event.

Interestingly, Newman (1996: 90) reports that in some languages (e.g. Iban, an Austronesian language) the ALLATIVE marker used to denote the giving-event is related to a verb meaning ‘go’ or ‘come’. This independent evidence indicates that the two domains (the SPATIAL and the SOCIAL) are closely related. Of course, RECIPIENTS correlate with other concepts too. As a result of these correlations, various languages code RECIPIENTS by means

10 Apparently, similar examples can be found in many languages.

of different strategies. For example, some languages highlight the role of the RECIPIENT as the goal of the event of transfer, as has already been mentioned (e.g. the Japanese ALLATIVE marker *ni* [see Kabata 2000]), while other languages make use of BENEFICIARY morphemes to encode the RECIPIENT (e.g. the BENEFICIARY preposition *nu* in Sumambuq, a dialect of the Austronesian language Murut [see Newman 1996: 96 and the relevant references cited there]). Note however, that some languages exhibit the opposite pattern, i.e. the marker expressing the RECIPIENT is also used for the BENEFICIARY. For example, in Thai the ditransitive verb *hây* ‘give’ is grammaticalized as V2 and this grammaticalized ‘give’ verb is used in a wide range of constructions including recipient and benefactive ones (see Jenny 2010: 382; for other languages, see Creissels 2010: 35–37, Heine & Kuteva 2002: 149–151). This case is not a genuine example of the development from RECIPIENT to BENEFICIARY, but it shows that the BENEFICIARY marker is related to the verb of the event of ‘giving’, which contains the RECIPIENT. It is challenging to trace the diachronic evolution of the ‘give’ verbs in various languages, in order to determine the exact directionality of the extension. If there is evidence that the grammaticalized ‘give’ verb is first extended to RECIPIENT and then from RECIPIENT to BENEFICIARY (in the cases that the marker exhibits RECIPIENT-BENEFICIARY polysemy), this would strengthen the assumption to be made here that none of the two concepts, i.e. recipient and beneficiary, is conceptually more abstract, since both concepts can constitute the source from which the other one could derive. Next section brings into focus this assumption, *inter alia*.

4 From ALLATIVE to RECIPIENT: the developmental pathway

Recent studies in language change suggest that there are two available extension pathways that give rise to the RECIPIENT sense: the first path starts from the ALLATIVE (see Luraghi 2003: 39, Rice & Kabata 2007: 494) and the second from the BENEFICIARY¹¹ (see Heine 1990: 131, Heine *et al.* 1991: 151, Heine & Kuteva 2002: 54). Other studies report both directionalities (Haspelmath 2003: 234, Lehmann 2002: 99). According to Lehmann (2002: 97), the empirical evidence for the binary directionality comes from the fact that across languages there are attested developmental paths that led both from ALLATIVE to RECIPIENT (like the English *to*, which formerly was only an ALLATIVE preposition) and from BENEFICIARY to RECIPIENT (like the Brazilian Portuguese *para* ‘for’, which is also used to encode the semantic role RECIPIENT). In the following, it will be shown that the direction of semantic change as

11 According to Lehmann *et al.* (2000: 93):

The BENEFICIARY is the semantic role of an empathic participant which is favored by a situation, especially by the action of another animate being.

In Classical Greek, *eis* with the accusative denotes the RECIPIENT BENEFICIARY and EVENT CONCRETE BENEFICIARY types of BENEFICIARY (Luraghi 2010; for a typology of BENEFICIARY types, see Kittilä 2005; about the expression of benefaction, see also Zúñiga & Kittilä 2010).

far as the preposition *eis* is concerned does not proceed from BENEFICIARY to RECIPIENT (cf. Luraghi 2010); instead this paper argues that RECIPIENT arises out of ALLATIVE directly without the intervention of an intermediate sense. Thus, two issues are to be addressed: 1) why RECIPIENT emerges from ALLATIVE, and 2) why RECIPIENT does not emerge from BENEFICIARY. It should be underlined that I am not arguing against this directionality in general. The assumption made here is that if a language has an ALLATIVE marker which expresses both the RECIPIENT and the BENEFICIARY, then both senses should have developed independently, their source being the concrete spatial sense.

I will start by presenting Heine’s (1990) model of ALLATIVE case functions which was based on two African languages, Ik and Kanuri. An updated version of this model is shown in fig. 1:

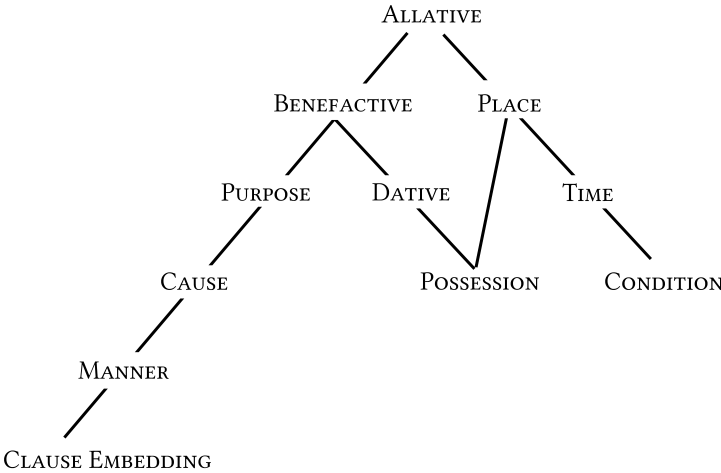


Fig. 1 | The functions of the ALLATIVE case marker in Ik and Kanuri (functions that are not in bold letters are confined to Ik) [from Heine *et al.* 1991: 151].

According to the above unidirectional model, the shift proceeds from the more concrete senses at the top to the more abstract senses at the bottom. In the given case, the most concrete sense is the spatial one, i.e. the ALLATIVE. Every node which lies under this sense is meant to be more abstract, that is more grammaticalized (in terms of Heine *et al.* 1991). In general, every sense that lies under a superimposed sense is considered more grammaticalized. Thus, DATIVE (RECIPIENT in our terms) is more grammaticalized than both the BENEFACTIVE and the ALLATIVE, but less grammaticalized than POSSESSION. What we observe from Heine’s model is that, while the priority and the prototypical status of the ALLATIVE sense are predicted, the directionality presupposes that between ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT an intermediate node should intervene, BENEFACTIVE.

At this juncture, I will establish reasons to believe that ALLATIVE and RECIPIENT are directly connected. The direct link between the two senses is supported by the findings of Rice & Kabata's (2007) typological study; in their survey of 44 genetically and areally diverse languages, they report that an ALLATIVE marker undergoing grammaticalization tend to extend directly to RECIPIENT. In their language sample, the most prevalent sense within the social domain, which comprises the RECIPIENT, the BENEFICIARY and the ADDRESSEE, is the RECIPIENT sense. For them, the criterion of predominance within a given domain is a decisive factor in order to determine the sense that serves as a 'seed' for the other senses (Rice & Kabata 2007: 479–480). However, their model is not without problems; the authors treat BENEFICIARY as derivative of RECIPIENT rather than the other way round. The data from Ancient Greek constitute counterevidence to this proposal, since the two senses emerge in the reverse order in the Greek diachrony. It is true that as regards the preposition *eis*, extension to BENEFICIARY precedes extension to RECIPIENT (see Luraghi 2003: 39, 2010). Obviously, a sense cannot derive from a sense that has emerged later. On the other hand, of course, one should avoid committing the fallacy, which would result from the reasoning that since a sense₁ is attested earlier than a sense₂, then sense₂ is derived from sense₁. That is, it would constitute a fallacious reasoning to hypothesize that RECIPIENT is derived from BENEFICIARY with the only indication being that the RECIPIENT is found later in texts than the BENEFICIARY. The problem with the path proposed by Rice & Kabata is solved if one assumes an independent development for the two senses.

The idea of the direct connection between the two senses is further strengthened by the fact that ALLATIVE markers in various languages do not necessarily encode both the BENEFICIARY and the RECIPIENT. For example, the English preposition *to* denotes only the latter (see example 7) and not the former. This means that RECIPIENT cannot have been derived from BENEFICIARY. This aspect is captured by Haspelmath's (2003: 213) analysis. Haspelmath gives the following representation of the multifunctionality of ALLATIVE markers using a semantic map¹² (see fig. 2).

12 According to Haspelmath (2003: 213), "a semantic map is a geometrical representation of functions in 'conceptual/semantic space' that are linked by connecting lines and thus constitute a network". For methodology on building semantic maps see also Croft 2001. Note that Croft (e.g. ²2003: 133–142) distinguishes between *semantic map* and *conceptual space*. For Croft, the primal aim of a semantic map is to describe and schematize the semantic contiguity of the functions of a particular marker/construction in a given language (a semantic map is language-specific). On the other hand, "conceptual space is a structured representation of functional structures and their relationships to each other" (a conceptual space is language-universal) (Croft 2001: 92). In this work, I do not distinguish between semantic maps and conceptual spaces.

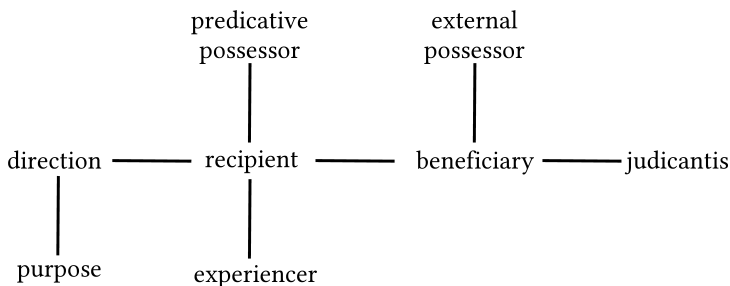


Fig. 2 | A semantic map of typical dative functions (without directionality) [adapted from Haspelmath 2003: 234].

This map predicts that the change from ALLATIVE (DIRECTION in Haspelmath’s map) to RECIPIENT does not presuppose the change from ALLATIVE to BENEFICIARY. This finding suggests that a marker encoding the RECIPIENT is not necessarily predetermined to encode the BENEFICIARY as well. However, Haspelmath’s map is falsified, because it makes predictions that can be rejected by the data. In formulating his semantic map model, Haspelmath claims that:

[F]or every sub-chain of three functions “function₁ – function₂ – function₃” (where function₃ is not linked directly to function₁), the claim is made that if a language has a multifunctional gram with the functions “function₁” and “function₃,” then that gram also has “function₂” (Haspelmath 2003: 232).

But since in both Homeric and Classical Greek *eis* denotes the ALLATIVE (function₁ in Haspelmath’s terms) and the BENEFICIARY (function₃), and not the RECIPIENT (function₂), it appears that the Greek data do not satisfy the above prerequisite. *Eis* follows a pattern that cannot be accommodated by the posited map. The gap in the map is presumably triggered by a factor that has nothing to do with the semantic relation between the RECIPIENT and the BENEFICIARY. The problem is solved if one assumes an independent evolution of the two senses.

To wrap up, based on the above observations, I claim that the shift from ALLATIVE to RECIPIENT can happen without the mediation of an intermediate sense. It would be redundant to assume that there are two rules of the following kind in order to describe the directionality:

- (a) If an ALLATIVE marker expresses in a language the RECIPIENT but not the BENEFICIARY, then the RECIPIENT emerges from the ALLATIVE.
- (b) If an ALLATIVE marker expresses in a language the RECIPIENT and the BENEFICIARY, then the RECIPIENT emerges from the BENEFICIARY.

Instead, it would be more accurate to assume one rule:

- (c) Whether an ALLATIVE marker expresses in a language the RECIPIENT alone or both the RECIPIENT and the BENEFICIARY, the RECIPIENT emerges from the ALLATIVE.

This hypothesis contradicts the aforementioned directionalities in that it predicts one common source for both RECIPIENT and BENEFICIARY. It further implies that neither RECIPIENT is more abstract than BENEFICIARY nor BENEFICIARY is more abstract than RECIPIENT. Certainly, further typological and diachronic research should be done to give empirical support to this conjecture.

5 Conclusions

This paper focused on the diachronic analysis of the Greek ALLATIVE preposition *eis* and, in particular, on the semantic extension from the ALLATIVE to the RECIPIENT. It was shown that in the course of Greek history, this language does not follow one single pattern with regard to the encoding of the two scenes. Between Homeric Greek (8th c. BC) and the end of Medieval Greek (15th c. AD), it belongs to the first language type of our typology (although significant changes took place within this first pattern), and then shifts to language type B. This means that at different stages Greek is similar to different languages. Furthermore, on the basis of the examined data, I claimed that the emergence of ALLATIVE–RECIPIENT polysemy was not affected by the loss of the dative case form. This claim is against studies on Ancient Greek that account for the emergence of the RECIPIENT function of *eis* in terms of a repair (i.e., replacement) strategy that is triggered by the loss of the dative. A more thorough investigation on the basis of a more extensive corpus, which will comprise both literary and non-literary texts mainly of the Medieval period, is definitely called for in order to determine the factors that underlie this extension (other than those discussed in the present paper). Finally, the analysis shed some light on some puzzling aspects of the developmental pathway that the ALLATIVE marker follows. Together with the typological evidence from previous cross-linguistic studies, the diachronic data were helpful in the debate whether RECIPIENT emerged directly from ALLATIVE or indirectly with the mediation of a second sense. It is argued that the former view seemed more plausible: RECIPIENT emerged directly from ALLATIVE following a developmental path that can be accounted for via metaphor. The proposed directionality and the mechanism at issue are in line with the widely accepted idea within the framework of cognitive linguistics that the prototypical meaning of prepositions is spatial and the other meanings are derived from this meaning through such cognitive mechanisms as metaphor and metonymy.

Abbreviations of ancient authors

Ælf	Aelfric
Diod.	Diodorus Siculus
Herod.	Herodotus
Pl.	Plato

Abbreviation of ancient works

Ayen.Inw	<i>Ayenbite of Inwit</i>
Homil.	Homilies
Il	Iliad
Libr.	Library
Od.	Odyssey
Prt.	Protagoras
Thessal.	Thessalonians
PC	Peterborough Chronicle

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