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	concepts); 3.4 From domain 2 (human participants) to domain 3 (participants in human activity); 3.5 From domain 2 (human participants) to domain 4,5,6 (inanimate concepts); 3.6 From domain 3 (participants in human activity) to domains 4, 5, 6 (inanimate concepts); 3.7 Summary; 4. Directionalities contra the claim; 4.1 From domain 3 (participants in human activity) to domain 2 (human participants); 4.1.1 Changes likely due to constructional change 4.1.2 Changes likely due to semantic extension4.2 From domains 4,5,6 (inanimate concepts) to domain 2 (human participants); 4.3 From domains 4,5,6 (inanimate concepts) to domain 3 (participants in human activity); 5. Directionalities within domain 2; 6. Result; 7. Discussion; 8. Conclusion; Acknowledgments; References; Plotting diachronic semantic maps; 1. Introduction; 2. Encoding semantic roles: Source and target domains; 2.1 Spatial relations; 2.1.1 Basic spatial relations and the position of path; 2.1.2 A merger without polysemy: Location and source; 2.1.3 Space and time 2.2 Human relations2.2.1 Two maximally distinct metaphors; 2.2.2 Possession: Direction or location?; 2.2.3 Comitative and the domain of spatial relations; 2.2.4 A spatial metaphor or an extension from other human roles?; 2.2.5 Competing metaphors: The case of possessor; 2.2.6 Recipient and beneficiary; 2.2.7 Beneficiaries that are not recipients; 2.2.8 Competing metaphors: Beneficiary; 2.2.9 A Balto- Finnic perspective on the Indo-European dative; 2.2.10 Path as a source for human relations: Intermediary; 2.2.11 Interim summary; 2.3 Non- human relations; 2.3.1 Source domains for instrument 2.3.2 Instrument as a source domain
Sommario/riassunto	This paper targets the phenomenon of non valence-governed datives of affectedness linked to possession. By adopting a constructional approach based on Goldberg (1995) and a revision of Raineri and Evola (2008), I work out a grid that may be adopted for cross-linguistic purposes. By applying this model to German, French and Italian, I show that the latter language, contrary to the two former ones has thoroughly grammaticalized this function. I also propose a tentative account of the grammaticalization paths that may have led to the heterogeneous behavior of the languages under discussion with r