Expressions of "Route" in Modern Greek*

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1. INTRODUCTION

While discussing spatial expressions in English, Jackendoff (1983:161-187) classifies spatial concepts into 'PLACE' and 'PATH'. According to his classification, 'PATH' has a more varied structure than 'PLACE', since it can be further divided into three subcategories (p.165), that is:

a. Bounded path ("from", "to")
b. Direction ("toward", "away from")
c. Route ("to pass by", "to pass along")

This small study deals with the third category, 'route' and its linguistic realisations in Modern Greek (henceforth: MG). Jackendoff (p.165) defines 'route' as the class in which "the reference object or place is related to some point in the interior of the path." In MG, this concept is most commonly expressed by means of the verb περνάω. However, this verb is idiosyncratic in that it co-occurs with the preposition από for expressing the place in which motion is performed. In spite of its original meaning, από is reasonably regarded as denoting a 'route' rather than a 'starting point', from the synchronic viewpoint. This can be illustrated by an example such as (1), which includes two από.

The second από indicates a 'starting point', while the first denotes a 'route'.

(1) περασάω : μέρος από το οποίο μπορεί κανείς να περάσει για να πάει από ένα χώρο σε άλλο.

"pass: a place through which one may pass so as to go from one place to another." (4)

On the other hand, περνάω can co-occur also in the two other collocation patterns:

περνάω + preposition σε + accusative noun of place
In this paper, we will analyse semantic differences implied in these three collocations of \( \pi \epsilon \rho \nu \omega \). The discussion consists of two parts. In the first part, an attempt is made to find what kind of semantic criterion differentiates one collocation from another. The second part examines more complicated cases, that is, the collocations of \( \pi \epsilon \rho \nu \omega \) which include local adverbs determining an object's position in space more specifically.

2. \( \Pi \epsilon \pi \nu \omega \) AND THE THREE PATTERNS OF COLLOCATION

As shown in the previous section, \( \pi \epsilon \rho \nu \omega \) admits the three collocation patterns. (X: accusative noun of place):

(A) \( \pi \epsilon \rho \nu \omega + \sigma \epsilon + X \)
(B) \( \pi \epsilon \rho \nu \omega + \alpha \pi \dot{o} + X \)
(C) \( \pi \epsilon \rho \nu \omega + X^{\prime} \)

Since it is reasonably expected that the basic meanings of the prepositions themselves can be applied to the semantic differences in collocations (A-B), we shall begin from examining the two prepositions, \( \sigma \epsilon \) and \( \alpha \pi \dot{o} \). When co-occurring with verbs of motion, they are generally regarded as possessing the basic meanings as follows \(^{60} \):

\( \alpha \pi \dot{o} \):
(i) starting point of motion
(ii) passing point of motion (= route)

\( \sigma \epsilon \):
(i) goal of motion
(ii) place within which motion is performed

Examples (2-3) will be helpful to examine whether the same semantic criteria of \( \sigma \epsilon \) can be applied to its collocations with \( \pi \epsilon \rho \nu \omega \).

(2) \( \Gamma \ \Pi \alpha \nu \nu \nu \ \pi \epsilon \rho \sigma \sigma \varepsilon \ o \tau \mu \sigma \ o \ \pi \epsilon \nu \alpha \nu \pi \nu \nu \). 
"Yiannis crossed over to the opposite pavement."

(3) \( \Pi \rho \sigma \nu \sigma \ o \ \alpha \nu \nu \nu \ o \ \pi \nu \alpha \nu \). 
"He inserted the small flower into the lapel (= buttonhole)."

Between the two basic meanings of \( \sigma \epsilon \), (i) is clearly observed in (2-3). Each noun in the prepositional
phrase indicates a 'goal' of motion, while a 'route', which connects a 'goal' with a 'starting point', is not explicitly expressed.

It is the internal aspectual structure of περνάω that excludes the interpretation (ii) in the collocation 'περνάω + στο + accusative'. Περνάω is reasonably regarded as possessing in its semantic aspectual properties a certain point of time at which the motion described by the verb is completed. The situations referred by this verb are usually punctual. Verbs of such an aspectual feature have been classified as 'telic verbs' in opposition to 'atelic verbs' by semanticists. Discussing how to differentiate telic verbs from atelic ones, Comrie (1976:45) cites a test for the classification:

"Si quelqu'un jouait, et tout en jouant a été interrompu, est-ce qu'il a joué?" "Oui, il a joué."

: Then "jouer" is atelic.

"Si quelqu'un se noyait, et tout en se noyant a été interrompu, est-ce qu'il s'est noyé?" "Non, il n'est pas noyé." : Then "noyer" is telic.

The verb περνάω does not pass this test, with whichever collocation it may co-occur: "Εάν κάποιος περνούσε συνεπάγωσα την έρημο αλλά ουδεμία, αυτός πέρασε συνεπάγωσα την έρημο;" "Όχι, δεν πέρασε." ("If someone was passing to/across the desert but he stopped, did he pass to/across the desert?" "No, he didn’t."). Consequently, περνάω must be classified as a telic verb.

The internal aspectual property of this kind is not compatible with 'motion within a place' represented by στο, because such motion continues for a certain temporal duration without any goal. This idiosyncratic aspectual structure will be clearer when it is compared with that of other types, namely 'atelic verbs'. As discussed in Κυριακοπούλου (1989: 436), such verbs as τρέχω ("run") do not necessarily presuppose a point of time at which the motion is completed. The motion can be performed without a terminal point. Even if the moving agent stops at a certain point, it can be described that the motion, τρέχω, was performed. Verbs like περπατάω ("walk") are even obligatory not to possess such a point. In this reason, στο-phrase co-occurring with τρέχω admits the interpretation not only of (i) but also of (ii), while 'περπατάω + στο-phrase' even excludes the interpretation (i) as shown in (4-5)

(4) Ἐπρέξε στο Παρίσι. "He ran to Paris" or "He ran within Paris."

(5)Περπατάσε στο Παρίσι. "He walked within Paris."
It needs a closer observation to describe the semantic difference between the patterns 'περνώ + από + Χ' and 'περνώ + Χ', since both the cases fit Jackendoff’s definition of ‘route’ cited above: "the reference object or place is related to some point in the interior of the path." We shall consider some examples of each pattern.

περνώ + από + Χ

(6)να προσέχουμε όταν περνάμε από σκοτεινός δρόμους:
"we must be careful when we walk along dark streets."

(7)Ο άνεμος...περνούσε από τρύπες;
"The wind...was blowing through holes;"

(8)ήνωζε στης σανίδες της πόρτας μια τρύπα απ’ όπου πέρασε το γαντοφόρεμένο χέρι του.
"he bored into the planks of the door a hole, through which he passed his gloved hand."

(9)Το τρένο περνάει απ’ το τούνελ.
"The train is going through the tunnel."

περνώ + Χ

(10)πέρασε από την άλλη άκρη της αίθουσας;
"she walked along the far side of the hall;"

(11)ένα καράβι που πέρασε από το νησί;
"a ship which stopped by the island;"

(12)οι τσαλαπετενοί πέρασαν απ’ τη χείρα μας και έφυγαν,
"the hoopoes flew over our country and went away;"
"I crossed the olive grove and entered the kingdom,"

(19)πέρασε τὴν γέφυρα

"He crossed the bridge."

(20)ο ὑπόπτος πέρασε επιτέλους τὴ διάβαση.

"the suspect at last crossed the (pedestrian) crossing,"

(21)Περνά τὶς χώρες τῆς Ανατολῆς καὶ φτάνει ὡς τα σύνορα τῆς Τουρκίας.

"He crosses the countries of the Orient and reaches the border of Turkey."

Among these, the example which illustrates most clearly the semantic difference between the two collocations is δρόμος ("street"). Example (6), which contains 'περνά + ἀνά', indicates 'motion along the street' as (D). On the other hand, example (13) with 'περνά το δρόμο' represents 'motion across the street' as (E).

(E) → (D)

Provided that the main function of a street is to offer a route passable 'along' it (and not 'across' it ), the above semantic explanation is likely to be applied to the other examples. The nouns following ἀνά, as "hole (7,8)", "tunnel (9)" represent places which possibly permit someone or something which moves to pass through. In contrast, the nouns immediately following περνά without ἀνά, as "desert (14)", "sea (15)", "border (16)" and "river (17)" indicate the places which may present possible obstacles to moving agents and whose natural disposition may not give positive permission to passing.

This semantic analysis of 'περνά + Χ' might explain such temporal usages as (22-23), in which the nouns collocating with περνά indicate a span of time which is hard and difficult to tide over. The experiencers in these sentences must make efforts to terminate the duration of time.

(22)Η κρίση που περνά το Πατριαρχείο.

"The crisis that Patriarchate is passing through,"

(23)περνάει δύσκολες στιγμές.

"He is going through a difficult time."

However, this explanation depends too much on the semantic properties of the nouns collocating with περνά to be applied to the other examples. For instance, such cases as "the other side of the
hall (10)" or "island (11)" are neutral concerning the type of role they play for a moving agent, though they show the pattern 'περνώ + από + X'. To the contrary, cases like "bridge (19)" or "pedestrian crossing (20)" can be regarded as places which assist a moving agent in passing, although they occur in the collocation 'περνώ + X'. Besides, temporal usages are usually found in the pattern 'περνώ + X', even if the temporal duration denoted by X is not hard but favorable to the experiencer as in (24):

(24)Πέρασα οφαία της διοικοπής μου στην Ιταλία.

"I enjoyed my holidays in Italy."

These observations suggest that the semantic properties of the nouns are not very relevant to semantic difference between 'περνώ + από + X' and 'περνώ + X'.

We shall now reconsider the question in terms of constituents of the motion, especially 'goal' and its relation with the innate aspect of the verb.

Let us take the case of "περνώ την έρημο (go across the desert)". The motion described here is completed immediately at the moment when the moving agent reaches the terminal point of "the desert". On the other hand, the motion depicted in "περνώ από το τούνελ (go through the tunnel)" may be regarded as terminating at the moment when the moving agent arrived at the end of "the tunnel". However, it implies, as a crucial difference from the first case, that the motion continues towards a further, final goal.

We shall examine again the case of δρόμος (or οδός) ("street"). In "περνώ το δρόμο", the motion is accomplished immediately when the moving subject arrives at the end of "the street". (The extra-linguistic, empirical knowledge that someone going across "the street" does not always stop there but continues moving towards a further point is irrelevant to the internal semantic structure of the sentence.). In opposition, "περνώ από το δρόμο" presupposes a further goal which is not explicitly expressed. In other words, the motion continues towards a goal, which does not coincide with any part of "the street".

This explanation suggests that even the direction of motion, which was discussed above, is not crucial to differentiate one from another.
Someone who arrived at the end of "A Street", for example, is appropriately represented by "πέρασε τὴν οδὸ Α", which is figured by (F). On the contrary, someone moving towards a further destination can be expressed by "πέρασε ἀπὸ τὴν οδὸ Α", even if his motion crosses at right angles to "A Street", as (G1 or G2).

The same explanation can be applied to "country", which occurs in both the collocations, 'περνάω ἀπὸ + X (12)' and 'περνάω + X (21)'. Thus, the difference between 'motion along' and 'motion across' does not necessarily correspond to that between 'περνάω + ἀπὸ + X' and 'περνάω + X'. Consequently, Mackridge (1985: 212) rightly points out:

Note that MG often fails to distinguish between 'across' and 'along': motion across and along is normally expressed equally by περνάω.

The semantic criteria proposed above can be formulated as follows:

περνάω + ἀπὸ + X: the goal of the motion does not coincide with any part of X but is located elsewhere.

περνάω + X: the goal of the motion coincides with the end point of X.

The semantic criterion of περνάω + X can be supported by the observation that a sentence with this pattern is sometimes followed by a coordinate sentence which states that the moving agent has already reached a 'goal' or another phase of the motion.

(25)αὰ ἐξῆκε ηαταφέρει να περάσουμε τα σύνορα και να μπούμε στη Σαουδική Αραβία
"We would have managed to cross the border so as to enter Saudi Arabia," (=16)

(26)πέρασα τον ελιύνα και μπήκα μες στο βασίλειο
"I crossed the olive grove and entered the kingdom," (=18)

(27)περνά τις χώρες τῆς Ανατολίας και δέσανε ως τα σύνορα τῆς Τουρκίας;
"He crosses the countries of the Orient and reaches the border of Turkey." (=21)

3. LOCAL ADVERBS AND THE PREPOSITIONS ΣΕ AND ΑΠΟ

In this section, we shall extend the examination into more complicated cases than those analysed in section 2. The question here is whether insertion of a local adverb affects the collocations of περνάω with a preposition. In other words, which collocations of the three examined above can co-occur with local adverbs which position an object in space more specifically? The examination must be
empirically conducted because MG local adverbs show so asymmetrical patterns of combination with the prepositions \(^5\)\(^6\) that theoretical conjecture cannot immediately find a solution.

In the first place, the collocation 'νερνά + X' is excluded from co-occurring with local adverbs, because they are under the syntactic constraint which prevents them from forming a syntagmatic unit with an accusative noun as in (28) \(^6\)

\[(28)\] άπο την γέφυρα.
"over/on the bridge"

Consequently, (29) is syntactically not well-formed.

\[(29)\] νερασε ύπα την γέφυρα.
"passed over/on the bridge"

On the other hand, collocation 'νερνά + από' admits very commonly co-occurring with local adverbs as in (30-35).

\[(30)\] ένα σμήνος πουλιών νερασε ύπα από το δάσος:
"A flock of birds flew over the wood."

\[(31)\] δύο ταξιδιώτες νερασαν κάτω από τους γκρεμούς:
"Two travellers walked by under the cliffs."

\[(32)\] ένα ασθενοφόρο νερασε μπροστά από το σπίτι μου
"An ambulance went by in front of my house."

\[(33)\] κάποιος νερασε πάνω από το δέντρο.
"Someone went by behind the tree."

\[(34)\] περνούσε πάντα μέσ’ απ’ χωράφια.
"he always walked across the fields."

\[(35)\] νερνά ένας νεαρός βασιλέας κοντά από το κάστρο.
"a young king goes by near the castle."

(30-35) show that it is the verb rather than the local adverbs which selects the preposition από when these three elements form a syntagmatic unit in a sentence. This is clearly observed in the cases κοντά (35) and μπροστά (32). Although κοντά usually requires σε after verbs of location or motion, it co-occurs with από after νερνά. Μπροστά can be followed by both prepositions with a fine
semantic difference, though it prefers \( \alpha \pi \omicron \) when co-existing with \( \pi \epsilon \rho \nu \omicron \). More problematic cases, however, are provided by \( \pi \acute{a} \nu \omega \), because, from the theoretical viewpoint, we have here two semantic criteria which clash, that is:

(H) the verb \( \pi \epsilon \rho \nu \omicron \) co-occurs with \( \alpha \pi \omicron \)-phrase which designates a 'passage'.
(I) the adverb \( \pi \acute{a} \nu \omega \) co-occurs with \( \alpha \pi \) when the situation involves 'contact'. (While it co-occurs with \( \alpha \pi \omicron \), when 'contact' is not involved.)

A situation without 'contact', as in (30), would cause no problem in selecting the prepositions, because \( \alpha \pi \omicron \) is compatible with both the criteria. On the other hand, it is not so easy to predict immediately an appropriate expression for 'motion passing over an object in contact with it', since here the two criteria are antagonistic. While criterion (H) would nominate \( \alpha \pi \omicron \), (I) supports \( \alpha \pi \omicron \) because of 'contact' involved in the situation.\

A questionnaire completed by ten informants shows that \( \alpha \pi \omicron \) is preferred as in (36-37):

(36) To \( \omicron \delta \epsilon \pi \nu \acute{a} \epsilon \iota \ / \pi \epsilon \rho \alpha \sigma \epsilon \pi \acute{a} \nu \omega \ \alpha \pi \omicron \ \tau \omicron \ \pi \epsilon \sigma \mu \epsilon \nu \nu \ \delta \epsilon \nu \tau \rho \omicron \.

"The snake slides / slid over the fallen tree."

(37) \( \Pi \omicron \lambda \ell \acute{e} \zeta \ \kappa \alpha \omicron \mu \omicron \omicron \zeta \ \pi \nu \acute{a} \epsilon \iota \epsilon \iota \ / \pi \epsilon \rho \alpha \sigma \alpha \nu \ \pi \acute{a} \nu \omega \ \alpha \pi \omicron \ \tau \omicron \ \gamma \epsilon \phi \omicron \omicron \alpha .

"Many camels cross / crossed the bridge."

Some informants accept \( \alpha \pi \omicron \) as well as \( \alpha \pi \omicron \). However, they point out the difference between the two collocations as follows: "\( \pi \nu \acute{a} \epsilon \iota \epsilon \iota \ \pi \acute{a} \nu \omicron \ \alpha \pi \omicron \)" implies that "the snake" or "the camels" are proceeding towards the bridge. Some of "the camels" may already be standing or lingering on the bridge. Nevertheless, unlike "\( \pi \nu \acute{a} \epsilon \iota \epsilon \iota \ \pi \acute{a} \nu \omega \ \alpha \pi \omicron \)", it does not have the implication that they leave the bridge.

The distinction between \( \alpha \pi \omicron \) and \( \alpha \pi \omicron \) is more clearly observed with the verb in the aorist. While "\( \pi \epsilon \rho \alpha \sigma \epsilon \pi \acute{a} \nu \omega \ \alpha \pi \omicron \ \tau \omicron \ \pi \epsilon \sigma \mu \epsilon \nu \nu \ \delta \epsilon \nu \tau \rho \omicron \)" in (36) implies that "the snake" is not on the tree any longer, "\( \pi \epsilon \rho \alpha \sigma \ \pi \acute{a} \nu \omega \ \tau \omicron \ \pi \epsilon \sigma \mu \epsilon \nu \nu \ \delta \epsilon \nu \tau \rho \omicron \)" means that it is still situated on it.

This explanation suggests that the \( \alpha \pi \omicron \)-phrase, if co-occurring with "\( \pi \epsilon \rho \nu \ \pi \acute{a} \nu \omicron \)", is interpreted as a 'goal' of motion in a similar way to "\( \pi \epsilon \rho \nu \ \alpha \pi \omicron \)" which has been discussed in section 2. Thus, between the two criteria, (H) predominates over (I). Consequently, the difference between the positions 'above and in contact' and 'above and not in contact' is neutralised when the verb \( \pi \epsilon \rho \nu \omicron \) is involved. (i.e. \( \Pi \epsilon \rho \nu \空间 \ \alpha \pi \omicron \ \tau \omicron \ \delta \alpha \omicron \sigma \zeta \ \iota \pi \epsilon \rho \nu \ \pi \acute{a} \nu \omega \ \alpha \pi \omicron \ \tau \omicron \ \gamma \epsilon \phi \omicron \omicron \alpha . \))
4. CONCLUSION

We have examined three collocation patterns of περνα, which is most commonly used for expressing a 'route'. The prepositional phrase in 'περνα + ας + accusative noun' designates a 'goal' of motion. This interpretation of the preposition ας from its two meanings is selected by the internal aspectual structure of the verb.

The second collocation 'περνα + απο + accusative noun' implies further continuance of motion beyond the end point of the place denoted by the noun, towards a final goal.

In the third pattern 'περνα + accusative noun', the motion is completed immediately at the end point of the place designated by the noun.

Insertion of a spatial adverb makes it possible to represent motion in space more specifically. In this case, the collocation 'περνα + adverb + accusative noun' is excluded by a syntactic constraint. Between the other two collocations, 'περνα + adverb + απο + accusative noun' is preferred. The same pattern is used even to τανω (motion above) regardless as to whether 'contact' is involved in the situation. It can be said that the collocation of the verb has priority over that of the spatial adverbs. Although 'περνα + adverb + ας + accusative' is not impossible, this pattern tend to be interpreted as a 'goal' rather than a 'place within which motion is carried out'.

NOTES

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(1)In the parentheses are shown linguistic realisations of each concept.

(2)The concept 'bounded path' and its expressions in MG have been analysed in Tachibana (forthcoming).

(3)The phenomenon that an ablative preposition means also a 'route' can be observed in some Balkan languages and their neighbouring ones. See Boretzky (1969/70).

(4)Cited from ιπερλεξικο της νεοελληνικής γλώσσας (EK7. Παγουλάτου).

The other examples in this paper have been collected from newspapers, magazines, novels and questionnaires by the author.

(5)Note that X is a noun denoting a place in which motion is carried out. Such an accusative noun as τον Γάλλη in a sentence "πέρασε τον Γάλλη από την γέφυρα." does not designate a place. Therefore, sentences of this type should rather be categorised as 'περνα + απο + X', since the point of analysis here is the spatial concepts and their linguistic realisations.
Each basic meaning is correctly described by the authoritative grammars, for example:

**aπό:** (i) starting point of motion

αφτιά (Τζάρτζανος, 1989: 183)

Its [= aπό] prime meanings are 'from' (of place or time), 'out of' (of place),

(Mackridge, 1985: 209)

**aπό:** (ii) passing point of motion (= route)

δια μέσου, πλησίον και παραλλήλως...κανονικά με το ρήμα περιν

(Τζάρτζανος, 1989: 186-7)

its [= aπό] other important spatial sense is 'through' or 'past' (Mackridge, 1985:209)

**σε:** (i) goal of motion

α ') απλή κατεύθυνση, β ') σκόπιμη κατεύθυνση, γ ') το τέρμα μιας κινήσεως ή μια ενέργειας ή οκτάσεως (Τζάρτζανος, 1989: 210-211)

progress towards a point in place or time (Mackridge,1985:206)

**σε:** (ii) place within which motion is performed

περιοχή (τόπο ή θέση), εντός της οποίας βρίσκεται ή συμβαίνει κάτι

(Τζάρτζανος, 1989: 211)

position in place or time (Mackridge,1985:206)

More comprehensive description of aπό is found in Άμαντος (1918).

(7) The opposition of telic / atelic verbs has been studied since Aristotle. Dahl (1981: 80) has listed various terminology applied to approximately the same concepts.

(8) Originally proposed in H.G.Klein’s Tempus, Aspekt, Aktionsart (Tübingen). A test given by Comrie himself is: “if a sentence referring to this situation in a form with imperfective meaning ... implies the sentence referring to the same situation in a form with perfect meaning... , then the situation is atelic; otherwise it is telic” (p.44).

(9) Based on the discussion and examples of Κυριακοπούλου (1989:436).

(10) See Tachibana (forthcoming).

(11) Note that this constraint is valid for MG. Interestingly, some texts in the late and post Byzantine periods provide us with the pattern 'spatial adverbs + accusative noun'.

   e.g. επιστρέψαν γέφυραν επάνω αυτών ( = τον ποταμόν).

   [Ecthesis Chronica. Sp.P.Lambros (ed.) p.73.]


(13) The survey was conducted at Athens, Oxford and Almyros (Thessaly).

(14) It seems that some examples found in Κοσμάς Πολίτης’ novel can be interpreted in this way.
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現代ギリシャ語における「通過」表現【要約】

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現代ギリシャ語では、ある場所の通過を表現するのに最もよく用いられる動詞はπερνά '〜を通る' であり、その通過場所は前置詞αιό + 対格名詞によって表現される。しかし、この動詞は、前置詞αι + 対格名詞や前置詞なしの対格名詞とも結合し得る。本稿の第一部では、これら三つの結合形タイプがπερνάと共起する場合、どのような意味論差異を示すのかという問題が検討される。前置詞αι又はαι + 対格名詞の場合は、それぞれの前置詞の基本義が動詞句全体の意味解釈に適用され、対格名詞のみの場合は、αιό + 対格名詞の意味と類似しているけれども、通過点と動作の終了点との関係が異なっている点が示される。

第二部では、通過場所をより細かく規定して表現する場合（基準点の「上部」の移動、「前部」の移動等）、先に検討した三つの結合形のうちどれが許され、どのような意味的差異が含まれているのかが分析される。περνά + 空間の副詞（πάω 「上に」、μπροστά「前に」等）という結合パターンに後続し得るのは、αι + 対格名詞とαιό + 対格名詞であり、（前置詞なしの対格名詞は統語上の制約により、受け入れられない）、両者の意味差異は、両前置詞の基本義の差異に平行している。さらに複雑な、「基準点上部に接触した移動（例えば、「橋の上を通る」）といった状況の表現では、「通過点」という意味条件（αιόを支持）と「接触」という意味条件（αιを支持）とが衝突するが、実際には前者が優先され、αιόが選択される。

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