

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 ⁽¹⁾:

- a. Bounded path ("from", "to") ⁽²⁾
- 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 ⁽³⁾. 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) *περασά :* 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

περνώ + accusative noun of place

In this paper, we will analyse semantic differences implied in these three collocations of περνώ. 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 περνώ which include local adverbs determining an object's position in space more specifically.

2. ΠΕΡΝΩ AND THE THREE PATTERNS OF COLLOCATION

As shown in the previous section, περνώ admits the three collocation patterns. (X: accusative noun of place):

(A) περνώ + σε + X

(B) περνώ + από + X

(C) περνώ + X⁽⁵⁾

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, σε and από. When co-occurring with verbs of motion, they are generally regarded as possessing the basic meanings as follows ⁽⁶⁾:

από : (i) starting point of motion

(ii) passing point of motion (= route)

σε : (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 σε can be applied to its collocations with περνώ.

(2) Ο Γιάννης πέρασε στο απέναντι πεζοδρόμιο.

"Yiannis crossed over to the opposite pavement."

(3) Πέρασε το ανθάκι στο πέτο.

"He inserted the small flower into the lapel (= buttonhole)."

Between the two basic meanings of σε, (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 *περνώ* that excludes the interpretation (ii) in the collocation '*περνώ* + *σε* + accusative'. *Περνώ* 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⁽⁷⁾. 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.⁽⁸⁾

The verb *περνώ* does not pass this test, with whichever collocation it may co-occur : "Εάν κάποιος περνούσε σ/από/θ την έρημο αλλά σταμάτησε, αυτός πέρασε σ/από/θ 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, *περνώ* must be classified as a telic verb.

The internal aspectual property of this kind is not compatible with 'motion within a place' represented by *σε*, 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 *περπατώ* ("walk") are even obligatory not to possess such a point. In this reason, *σε*-phrase co-occurring with *τρέχω* admits the interpretation not only of (i) but also of (ii), while '*περπατώ* + *σε*-phrase' even excludes the interpretation (i) as shown in (4-5)⁽⁹⁾.

(4) Έτρεξε στο Παρίσι.

"He ran *to Paris*" or "He ran *within Paris*."

(5) Περπάτησε στο Παρίσι.

"He walked *within Paris*."

It needs a closer observation to describe the semantic difference between the patterns 'περνώ + από + X' and 'περνώ + X', 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 + X

- (6) να προσέχουμε όταν περνάμε από σκοτεινούς δρόμους.
"we must be careful when we walk *along dark streets*."
- (7) Ο άνεμος...περνούσε από τρύπες;
"The wind...was blowing *through holes*,"
- (8) άνοιξε στις σανίδες της πόρτας μια τρύπα απ' όπου πέρασε το γαντοφορεμένο 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*."
- (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 χώρα μας και έφυγαν,
"the hoopoes flew *over our country* and went away,"

περνώ + X

- (13) πέρασα το δρόμο
"I crossed *the street*."
- (14) ήταν αδύνατο να περάσουμε μόνοι μας την έρημο.
"It was impossible for us to cross *the desert* on our own."
- (15) βοηθά τους δυο άντρες να περάσουν τη θάλασσα.
"He helps the two men to cross *the sea*."
- (16) θα είχαμε καταφέρει να περάσουμε τα σύνορα και να μπούμε στη Σαουδική Αραβία,
"We would have managed to cross *the border* so as to enter Saudi Arabia,"
- (17) προσπαθούν να περάσουν ένα ποτάμι,
"They attempt to cross *a river*,"
- (18) πέρασα τον ελιώνα και μπήκα μες στο βασίλειο,

"I crossed *the olive grove* and entered the kingdom,"

(19) πέρασε την γέφυρα

"He crossed *the bridge*."

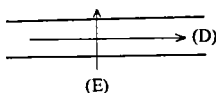
(20) ο ύποπτος πέρασε επιτέλους τη διάβαση

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

(21) Περνά τις χώρες της Ανατολής και φτάνει ως τα σύνορα της 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 'περνάω + από', indicates 'motion along the street' as (D). On the other hand, example (13) with 'περνάω το δρόμο' represents 'motion across the street' as (E).



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 από, 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 περνάω without από, 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 'περνάω + X' might explain such temporal usages as (22-23), in which the nouns collocating with περνάω 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 περνάω 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 'περνῶ + 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 'περνῶ + X'. Besides, temporal usages are usually found in the pattern 'περνῶ + X', even if the temporal duration denoted by X is not hard but favorable to the experiencer as in (24) :

(24) Πέρασα ωραία τις διακοπές μου στην Ιταλία.

"I enjoyed *my holidays* in Italy."

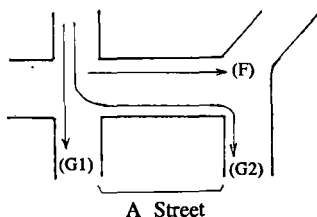
These observations suggest that the semantic properties of the nouns are not very relevant to semantic difference between 'περνῶ + από + X' and 'περνῶ + X'.

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 "περνῶ την ἔρημο (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 "περνῶ 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 "περνῶ 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, "περνῶ 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 την οδό Α", which is figured by (F). On the contrary, someone moving towards a further destination can be expressed by "πέρασε από την οδό 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, 'περνώ από + X (12)' and 'περνώ + X (21)'. Thus, the difference between 'motion along' and 'motion across' does not necessarily correspond to that between 'περνώ + από + X' and 'περνώ + 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:

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

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

The semantic criterion of περνώ + 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)θα είχαμε καταφέρει 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 ελιώνα και μπήκα μες στο βασίλειο,
"I crossed the olive grove *and entered the kingdom*," (=18)

(27)Περνά τις χώρες της Ανατολής και φτάνει ως τα σύνορα της 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 περνώ 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 ⁽¹⁰⁾ that theoretical conjecture cannot immediately find a solution.

In the first place, the collocation 'περνώ + 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) ⁽¹¹⁾.

(28)*πάνω την γέφυρα.

"over/on the bridge"

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

(29)*πέρασε πάνω την γέφυρα.

"passed over/on the bridge"

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

(30) Ένα σμήνος πουλιών πέρασε πάνω από το δάσος.

"A flock of birds flew *over the wood*."

(31) Δυο ταξιδιώτες πέρασαν κάτω από τους γκρεμούς.

"Two travellers walked by *under the cliffs*."

(32) Ένα ασθενοφόρο πέρασε μπροστά από το σπίτι μου

"An ambulance went by *in front of my house*."

(33) Κάποιος πέρασε πίσω από το δέντρο.

"Someone went by *behind the tree*."

(34) περνούσε πάντα μέσ' απ' χωράφια.

"he always walked *across the fields*."

(35) περνά ένας νεαρός βασιλιάς 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 περνώ. Μπροστά can be followed by both prepositions with a fine

semantic difference, though it prefers *από* when co-existing with *περνώ*.

More problematic cases, however, are provided by *πάνω*, because, from the theoretical viewpoint, we have here two semantic criteria which clash, that is :

(H)the verb *περνώ* co-occurs with *από*-phrase which designates a 'passage'.

(I)the adverb *πάνω* co-occurs with *σε* when the situation involves 'contact'. (While it co-occurs with *από*, when 'contact' is not involved.)

A situation without 'contact', as in (30), would cause no problem in selecting the prepositions, because *από* 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 *από*, (I) supports *σε* because of 'contact' involved in the situation ⁽¹²⁾.

A questionnaire completed by ten informants ⁽¹³⁾ shows that *από* is preferred as in (36-37):

(36)Το φίδι περνάει / πέρασε *πάνω από* το πεσμένο δέντρο.

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

(37)Πολλές καμήλες περνάνε / πέρασαν *πάνω από* την γέφυρα.

"Many camels cross / crossed the bridge."

Some informants accept *σε* as well as *από*. However, they point out the difference between the two collocations as follows: "*περνάει πάνω σε*" 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 "*περνάει πάνω από*", it does not have the implication that they leave the bridge.

The distinction between *σε* and *από* is more clearly observed with the verb in the aorist. While "*πέρασε πάνω από το πεσμένο δέντρο*" in (36) implies that "the snake" is not on the tree any longer, "*πέρασε πάνω στο πεσμένο δέντρο*" means that it is still situated on it.

This explanation suggests that the *σε*-phrase, if co-occurring with "*περνώ πάνω*", is interpreted as a 'goal' of motion in a similar way to "*περνώ σε*" which has been discussed in section 2 ⁽¹⁴⁾. 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 *περνώ* is involved. (i.e. *Περνώ πάνω από το δάσος / περνώ πάνω από την γέφυρα.*)

4. CONCLUSION

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

The second collocation '*περνώ* + *από* + 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 '*περνώ* + 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 '*περνώ* + adverb + accusative noun' is excluded by a syntactic constraint. Between the other two collocations, '*περνώ* + adverb + *από* + accusative noun' is preferred. The same pattern is used even to '*πάνω* (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 '*περνώ* + adverb + *σε* + accusative' is not impossible, this pattern tends 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 *Υπερλεξικό της νεοελληνικής γλώσσας* (Εκδ. 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 Γιάννη* in a sentence "*πέρασε τον Γιάννη από την γέφυρα.*" does not designate a place. Therefore, sentences of this type should rather be categorised as '*περνώ* + *από* + X', since the point of analysis here is the spatial concepts and their linguistic realisations.

(6)Each basic meaning is correctly described by the authoritative grammars, for example :

από : (i) starting point of motion

αφετηρία (Τζάρτζανος, 1989 : 183)

Its [= από] prime meanings are 'from' (of place or time), 'out of' (of place),
(Mackridge , 1985 : 209)

από : (ii) passing point of motion (= route)

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

(Τζάρτζανος, 1989 : 186-7)

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

σε : (i) goal of motion

α') απλή κατεύθυνσι, β') σκόπημη κατεύθυνσι, γ') το τέρμα μιας κινήσεως ή μια
ενέργιας ή εκτάσεως (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 από 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. ἐποίησαν γέφυραν ἐπάνω αὐτόν (= τον ποταμόν).

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

(12)Joseph & Philippaki-Warburton (1987:143) gives " ((a)pano +) se + ACC [= accusative noun]" as an expression for the motion at issue.

(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.

e.g.: Πάνω στο γιοφύρι περνούσαν κι άλλες καμήλες, φορτωμένες...

[Στου Λάτς/ηφράγκου P. Mackridge (ed.) p. 55.]

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現代ギリシャ語における「通過」表現【要約】

橋 孝司

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 $\pi\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{o}$ 「～を通る」であり、その通過場所は前置詞 $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$ + 対格名詞によって表示される。しかし、この動詞は、前置詞 $\sigma\epsilon$ + 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、これら三つの結合価タイプが $\pi\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{o}$ 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 $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$ 又は $\sigma\epsilon$ + 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、 $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$ + 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に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価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。 $\pi\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{o}$ + 空間の副詞（ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ 「上に」、 $\mu\pi\rho\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 「前に」等）という結合パターンに後続し得るのは、 $\sigma\epsilon$ + 対格名詞と $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$ + 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（ $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$ を支持）と「接触」という意味条件（ $\sigma\epsilon$ を支持）とが衝突するが、実際には前者が優先され、 $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$ が選択される。