Syntactic Structure of Spatial Expressions
in the 'Late-Byzantine Prose Alexander Romance' *

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0. Introduction

The spatial expression in the Greek language has diachronically undergone conspicuous changes. Compared with the abundant morphological variants during the long periods, however, its syntactic structure is fairly stable. Most standard syntactic patterns of the spatial expression in Ancient / Koine Greek (henceforth: AG/KG) are PREP+N[1] as in (1) or ADV+ GEN as in (2).

(1) ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς   'on the earth'

(2) ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου   'in front of the altar'

On the other hand, Standard Modern Greek (henceforth: SMG) normally expresses spatial concepts by the pattern PREP+N as (3) or, when necessity occurs to indicate an object' s location more precisely, by ADV+PREP+N as (4). Clitic pronouns, however, can directly follow the adverb in the form of the genitive, as (5).

(3) στη γη   'on the earth'

(4) μπροστά στο θυσιαστήριο   'in front of the altar'

(5) μπροστά του   'in front of it'

Thus, the standard syntactic structure of the Greek spatial expressions amounts to the four types: PREP+N, ADV+GEN, ADV+PREP+N, ADV+CLIT. Nevertheless, some medieval texts provide instances which cannot be categorized into any of the above. For example, the *Late-Byzantine prose Alexander Romance* (henceforce:*Late-Byz.*[2]), which has been handed down through several manuscripts in the 16th and 17th centuries[3], includes an idiosyncratic pattern of the spatial expression as follows.

(6) απανωθεόν την φλόγαν επέτοντο   F[4] 46,4

'they were flying over the fire[5] '

(7) ἔμπροσθεν ἔναν λύκον πολλά πρόβατα φεύγουν K352,17-8

'many sheep run away in front of a wolf'

The syntactic pattern exemplified in (6-7), ADV+ACC, cannot be accepted by AG/KG nor by SMG[6].

The present study intends to examine this pattern so as to demonstrate that the pattern in question is not necessarily scribal errors or abbreviated forms for graphic convenience in *Late-Byz.* but can belong to the substandard paradigm in the late- and post-Byzantine periods. In section 1., firstly, we scrutinize examples in the four MSS. of *Late-Byz.* (FEVK)[7]. In section 2, the results from 1 are compared with those of two other versions. One of them is dated in the earlier period and the other is an early Modern Greek version, i.e. Pseudo-Kallisthenes ε and *Phyllada*. In section 3, we conduct a preliminary and random examination of some other vernacular texts in the late- and post-Byzantine periods. In section 4, the data collected in the previous sections are analyzed in order to clarify how the pattern in question is connected to the diachronic development of Greek. Finally, section 5 attempts to interpret the results from the view of general linguistics.

Owing to convenience, I will introduce some terms for each spatial concept[8]: *Superior* ('on / over'), *Inferior* ('under'), *Anterior* ('in front of'), *Posterior* ('behind'), *Interior* ('inside'), *Exterior* ('outside'), *Proximate* ('near'), *Medial* ('between / among'), *Circumferential* ('around'), *Ulterior* ('beyond') and *Citerior-Anterior* ('opposite'). The examples for the spatial concepts will be examined in the order that they are listed above. Since the main subject in this study is the syntactic structure, the examples which are better categorized as metaphorical rather than spatial will be analyzed as well, insofar as they are concerned with the syntactic pattern ADV+ACC.

1. Examples in *Late-Byz.*
1.1. *Superior*
Late-Byz., as well as the other Byzantine vernacular texts, possesses various lexical forms to represent each spatial concept.

Firstly, the concept *Superior* is expressed by numerous lexical variations as shown in Table 1 which is added at the end of this study. However, it should be noted that the accusative does not co-occur with all these forms, but only some adverbs such as απάνωθεν, απανώθεον, επάνωθεν (only in K) and καταπάνω. In other words, the occurrence of ADV+ACC is motivated not semantically but lexically. (8-10) are typical examples, which clearly indicates that the accusative nouns in ADV+ACC are not governed by the verbs but the adverbs (for whole examples, see Tables 2.1-2.2).

απάνωθεν

(8) ἦλθεν αετός μέγας απάνωθεν την τένταν του βασιλέως. E12,3

'A big eagle came flying over the emperor' s tent.'

απανώθεον[9]

(9) απανωκλίβανον, οπού βάνουν απανωθεόν τα άρματα, F49,13

'surcoat, which they wear over the armor'

ϲπάνωθϲν

(10) ἔπϵϲϵν ϲπάνωθϵν το κάϲτρο. K354,30-1

'He rushed on the castle.'

καταπάνω

(11) ἔρχονταν καταπάνω τον βαϲιλέα των Αιγύπτων. E3,1

'They charged at the king of the Egyptians.'

Tables 2.1-2.2 indicates that the pattern ADV+ ACC is systematically observed in απανώθϲον and καταπάνω, though, in some cases, it exchanges with ADV+GEN or ADV+ PREP. The stability of the governed cases varies with the version. For example, απανώθϲον in F consistently takes the accusative, while E and V sometimes attempt to replace the accusative with the standard patterns[10].

More noteworthy is that the adverbs which can be followed by the accusative are more complicated from the morphological viewpoint than those which never co-occur with the accusative. Namely, the adverbs followed by the accusative are derived with a prefix or suffix (e.g. απάνωθϵν < από+άνω+ θϵν, απανώθϵον < από+άνω+θϵν, ϵπάνωθϵν < ϵπί+άνω+θϵν, καταπάνω < κατά+από+ανώ), while those which do not accept the accusative are equipped at most with one affix (e.g. άνωθϵν < άνω+θϵν, απάνω < από+άνω).

When a pronoun follows the adverbs, it always appears in the form of the clitic genitive. Therefore, the pattern ADV+ACC is involved only with the noun.

1.2. *Inferior*

Among the lexical variations of *Inferior*, examples of ADV+ACC are provided by αποκάτω / -ου and υποκάτω (only in K)[11]. (See Tables 1&2.3 .)

(12) αποκάτου τα ξύλα ϲκϵίτοντα άνθρωποι, αποκάτου τα φύλλα...ϵξϵβαιναν βρύϲϵϲ

F80,3 'There were men lying under the trees and fountains were gushing out under the leaves.' It should be noted that, in this spatial concept too, the accusative exchanges with the genitive, ϵιϲ and clitics. The version which shows the most conspicuous inclination towards the standard pattern is E, in which ADV+ACC is observed only in three cases (E49,27;125,11[12];128,2).

The data of *Inferior* reinforces the observation of *Superior* in that the accusative tends to be governed by the adverb with a suffix such as αποκάτου (< από+κάτου) or υποκάτω (<υπο+κάτω), while such an adverb without a suffix as κάτω is always followed by the preposition (see Table 1).

1.3. *Anterior*

The adverbs of *Anterior* which co-occur with the accusative are as follows (See Tables 1&2.4):
ϵμπρόϲ[13]

(13) επήρε το κοντάριν του και εξέβη εμπρός τον Πώρον E101,1 (ομπρός F)

    'he took his spear and came out in the presence of Poros'

έμπροσθεν

(14) έκοψαν το κεφάλι του δραγουμάνου έμπροσθεν τον αποκρισιάρην V46,7-8

    'they cut the interpreter' s head in front of the delegate'

ομπρός

(15) έστειλεν ομπρός τους λέοντας τέσσαρες χιλιάδες αμάθητα βουβάλια και αγελάδια.

    V80,28-81,1 'he sent four thousand untamed oxen and cows in front of the lions.'

MS. F has here too the larger tendency towards ADV+ACC than E. However, more noteworthy is the preference for the accusative pattern in MSS. V and K. In some cases (V46,8; K352,17; V80,28; K374,22), they select ADV+ACC, though the standard patterns are used in MSS. F and E.

1.4. Other Spatial Concepts

Examples of the accusative pattern are provided by only a few of the other spatial concepts in *Late-Byz*. To put it concretely, the adverbs of *Posterior* ("behind")[14], *Interior* ("inside"), *Exterior* ("outside") and *Proximate* ("near")[15] are followed by the genitive, preposition εις or clitic pronouns but not by the accusative. However, some adverbs which substantiate such concepts as *Medial* ("between / among"), *Circumferential* ("around"), *Ulterior* ("beyond") and *Citerior-Anterior* ("opposite") are found to co-occur with the accusative.

Medial

(16) ήτον Βουκέφαλον και με {αυτία τα} κέρατα ανάμεσα τα αυτία μια πήχα. F18,1

    'Bukefalos with the horns, one cubit between the ears.'

Circumferential

(17) τον Ωκεανόν ποταμόν, οπού τρέχει ολόγυρα τον κόσμον όλον. E121,2

    'the Okeanos river, which runs around the whole world.'

(18) έβαλεν βίγλες ολόγυρα το φουσάτον. F39,3

    'He positioned guards around the army. '

Ulterior

(19) ηύρεν τον Αντίοχον...αντίπερα το ποτάμι. K362,13-14

    'They found Antiochos...beyond the river. '

Citerior-Anterior

(20) ουδέν πρέπει εσύ να στέκεσαι αντίκρυς τον βασιλέα. E94,2

    'you should not stand opposite the king.'

Let us summarize the findings in this section:

(A) MSS. F, E, V and K all include the pattern ADV+ACC. However, not all of the spatial concepts

are realized by this pattern but only some of them: *Superior, Inferior, Anterior, Medial, Circum-ferential, Ulterior* and *Citerior-Anterior*. Besides, the occurrence of ADV+ACC is not motivated semantically but lexically in that only certain adverbs for each spatial concept accept the accusative pattern.

(B) The adverbs with affixes (e.g. απο-, υπο-, -θεν, -θεον) tend to be followed by the accusative. In contrast, the adverbs without suffixes do not govern the accusative. An exception is *Anterior*, in which the accusative co-occurs with the simple adverbs from the morphological viewpoint like εμπρός, ομπρός as well as ἐμπροσθεν.

(C) Pronouns can follow the adverbs only in the form of the clitic genitive[6].

(D) The preference for ADV+ACC varies with the MSS. Among the four, MS. E has the greatest tendency to replace the accusative pattern with the standard ones[17].

2. Earlier and Later Versions of *Alexander Romance*

This section investigates whether the pattern ADV+ACC is so widely used that it is found also in the earlier and later versions of the *prose Alexander romance*. If so, the pattern is to a high degree connected with the diachronic development of Greek.

Pseudo-Kallisthenes ε, an earlier version dated from the 7th- 8th centuries[18], is basically written in AG/KG[19]. Therefore, the syntactic structure in this text are AG/KG types, i.e. ADV+GEN and PREP+N.

(21) ὑποκάτωθεν οὖν τῶν δένδρων ὑπὸ τὰ φύλλα οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀνέκειντο. ε 31,1 (cf. (12))

On the other hand, *Phyllada*, a descendent of *Late-Byz.* in the 18th century[20], has substituted ADV+PREP (22) or ADV+GEN (23) for ADV+ACC. (See the extreme right column in Table 2).

(22) ἔβαλεν ομπρός εις τους λέοντας τέσσαρες χιλιάδες βουβάλια και βόιδια αμάθητα. Φ201, cf. (15)

(23) επετούσαν άνωθεν της φωτίας, Φ77, cf. (6)

As concerns its lexical characteristics[21], *Phyllada* prefers more archaic words. Therefore, it has replaced vernacular forms in *Late-Byz.* such as απανώθεον, απάνου, αποκάτω/-του with AG/KG types such as άνωθεν, επάνω, υποκάτω.

Thus, the comparative examination of ε and *Phyllada* with *Late-Byz.* illustrates that the pattern ADV+ACC cannot date back to the earlier version from the 7th-8th centuries and that it has not been transmitted to the later version of the 18th century neither, except a few cases of *Circumferential* (see Table 2.5).

3. Other Byzantine Vernacular Texts

In this section, we will enlarge the examination to some other texts in Byzantine vernacular Greek in

order to demonstrate whether the pattern ADV+ACC prevails in more than one prose work and whether it can be connected to the main diachronic drift of the Greek language.

Many texts of Byzantine vernacular literature do not know this pattern. For example, *Ptochoprodomika*, Byzantine Cavalier romances (*Kallimachos and Chrysorroi* and the other four pieces), satirical poems (*Poulologos, Porikologos*) do not provide a clear example of ADV+ACC. Therefore, the pattern never can be regarded as standard in the late-Byzantine periods.

However, my random examination has found a small number of instances. Firstly, we shall cite examples from prose texts.

(24) ας μαζωχτούν τα νερά από κατωθιό τον ουρανό.   Πεντ.[22]Genesis,1.9
    'Let the water gather under the heavens.'

(25) διότι εποίησεν τον εαυτόν του αποκάτω σκεπασίαν ετέρου.   Ασσιζ.[23]153.22
    'because he put himself under another person' s protection.'

(26) απετάγει απανωθίο την φωλίαν του   Καρτάν. Π. Ν. Διαθ.[24]f.56v
    '(The pelican) flies over his nest'

(27) εποίησαν γέφυραν επάνω αυτόν   Εκ. χρ.[25]73.10
    'they built a bridge over it (= the Danube)'

(28) όταν είναι απάνωθεν τους τοίχους ξένος   Βακτ. αρχ.[26]154
    'when someone is over [beyond?] the walls'

(29) ουδέν εποίησεν εκείνην την δώραν ένπροστεν ετεσαύτους μάρτυρας.   Ασσιζ. 390.28
    '(the deceased) did not make the donation in the presence of those witnesses.'

In addition, ADV+ACC is found in several verse texts as well.

(30) σύσελλον τον επέταξεν οπρός [sic] τον πεθερόν του.   Αχιλ. Ο.[27]675
    'He threw him down with the saddle in front of his father-in-law. '

(31) φέρνουν τον ρήγαν τον φρικτόν ομπρός τον βασιλέα   Βελισ. Ν.[28]297
    'They brought the dreadful king in front of the emperor'

(32) Και μετά ταύτα ώρισεν εμπρός τους κεφαλάδες   Χρον. Μορ. Ρ[29]3342
    'And then he gave orders in front of the commanders'

(33) ρούχον εφόρει κόκκινον, μόνον ομπρός το στήθος
    να σκέπεται το σώμαν του μέχρι και των γονάτων.   Λόγ. παρηγ. L[30]53-4
    'he wore red clothes, only in front of his chest
    it covering his body until his knees.'

(34) ως ράχνη γαρ εφάνησαν ομπρός Ισμαηλίτας.   Αργυρ. Βαρν. K[31]81
    'they appeared in front of Ismailis like a spider. '

(35) Εις το παλάτι εμπήκανε, 'ς του γενεράλε φτάνουν,
    το θέλημα, οπού 'χανε ομπρός εκείνο βγάνουν.   Τζάνε, Κρ. πολ.[32]537.13-4

'They entered the palace, arrive at the general,

expressed their wish in front of him.'

(36) Εκεί ανεβοκατέβαινε αντίπερα του Αφράτη,   Αρμούρ.[33]31

(αντίπερα τον Αφράτην Cod. P)

'Then he went up and down the length of the Euphrates;'

(37) κατέβημαν χαρζανιστοί ανάμεσα τον κάμπον   Διγ. Ε.[34]509

'we came down, whipping our horses, into the plain'

(38) Βουνόπουλον τους έδειξεν ανάμεσα τον κάπον,   Αχιλ. Ο. 237

'He showed them a small mountain in the plain,'

As shown from these examples, ADV+ACC is observed both in verse and prose texts in the late- and post- Byzantine periods ranging from the 15th century to the 17th century[35]. Nevertheless, the status of the pattern can never be regarded as stable, since it exchanges with the standard patterns in each text and besides tends to be replaced by them in the other MSS.

The fact that almost all the examples in the verse texts involve ο-/εμπρός makes the legitimacy of the examples ADV+ACC doubtful, so that many editors, regarding them as 'haplological writings' of /-ς +σ-/, insert the preposition σ- or 'ς behind the adverbs[36]. However, the examples of ADV+ ACC are in some degree supported as authentic by the systematic investigation in this study. It has been demonstrated that accusative nouns can also follow some adverbs which do not end in -ς both in the prose texts (απανώθεον, καταπάνου, έμπροσθεν) and the verse texts (αντίπερα, ανάμεσα). The examples with these adverbs distinctly exclude the possibility of the 'haplological writings' and lead to assumption that the pattern in question was prevailing as substandard.

Therefore, it is not impossible to assume that, even if examples (30-35) in the verse texts can be interpreted as abbreviated forms for graphic convenience, the substandard status of the pattern ADV+ ACC stimulated the usage of 'haplological writings'.

4. Analysis from the Diachronic Viewpoint

The pattern ADV+ACC is not accepted in AG/KG nor SMG. Neither is it regarded as standard in Byzantine Greek. Nevertheless, the fact that the pattern is observed in more than one manuscript of *Late-Byz.* and certain texts in Byzantine Vernacular Greek and the fact that some kinds of adverbs systematically accept the pattern hinder it from being ascribed to scribal errors. The pattern rather seems to reveal a sustandard rule of the grammar of the spoken language during the periods. Naturally, it is impossible to identify chronological and geographical extension of it before completing an exhaustive research on other late- and post- Byzantine vernacular texts. Here we shall define ourselves to sum up the results obtained from this small research: ADV+ACC is observed mainly in the 16th century prose texts and more sporadically in the 15th and 17th century texts. Among these

are texts which originate in Constantinople (Modern Greek translation of *Pentateuch*), Cyprus (*Assizes*) and Kerkyra (Kartanos).

The pattern ADV+ACC is consistent with the diachronic tendency of Greek which has enlarged the semantic domain of the accusative since AG/KG. Discussing striking changes in the process of the formation of SMG, Hatzidakis (1892:220-226) deals with the enlargement of the semantic domain of the accusative. The change, he points, is related to the fact that many verbs and prepositions in AG/KG governing the genitive or dative came to co-occur only with the accusative. Although he refers to only simple prepositions like ἀπό, ἐκ, μετά, σύν, ὑπέρ and ἀντί, our examination has shown that such adverbs as απανώθεον, ἀνῶθεν, αποκάτω, ομπρός tended to partake in this diachronic drift.

What is characteristic of Greek is that the pattern ADV+ACC has not been transmitted to SMG. First of all, such an adverb as απανώθεον itself does not belong to the vocabulary of SMG. More interestingly, there are some dialects which use the adverbs examined in this study, but the pattern ADV+ACC is not known to the dialects. *IA* does not provide an example of the accusative co-occurring with "απάνωθεν" and "αποκάτω". Neither does it provide any example of the accusative pattern of "αποκάτωθεν", "αποκατωθεό", "αποπάνωθεν" and "αποπανωθεό" in spite of the suffixes with which they are equipped.

5. Analysis from the General Linguistic Viewpoint

So far, such forms as απανώθεον, αποκάτω or ολόγυρα have been termed as adverbs. One may consider, however, that they can be better categorized as prepositions, since they govern accusative nouns. In this section, we shall discuss the grammatical category of these forms.

It is generally accepted that the syntactic difference between adverbs and prepositions is in the transitivity, namely whether they govern a (pro)noun or not. The division in SMG can be schematized as follows[37]:

Adverb	Preposition
(1a) can appear without governing (pro)nouns	(1b) never appears without governing (pro)nouns
(2a) governs genitive nouns	(2b) governs accusative nouns
(3a) governs clitic pronouns	(3b) never governs clitic pronouns

Such forms as απανώθεον or αποκάτω in *Late-Byz.* belong to the prepositional category in that they often govern accusative nouns (2b) and that they never appear without governing nouns (1b). Nevertheless, they also possess adverbial features, since in some cases they govern genitive nouns (2a) and clitic pronouns (3a) as well. This ambiguous status of the forms can be well explained if we consider that spatial prepositions tend to be diachronically derived from spatial adverbs and that the

one category cannot be discretely distinguished from the other.

The diachronical derivation of spatial prepositions from corresponding adverbs is interlinguistically observed. Svorou (1986, 1994) argues that unidirectionality controls the development of spatial expressions which shifts from more lexical status (i.e. noun) and, passing through more grammatical ones (i.e. adverb, adposition, affix), reaches the most highly grammatical status in which the spatial morpheme is completely fused with the host noun[38]. This development is schematized as follows (Svorou, 1994:101):
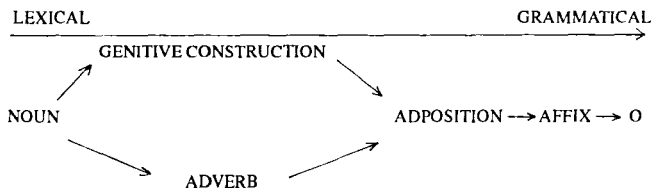
The Greek morphs analyzed as adverbs in this study are positioned somewhere between ADVERB and ADPOSITION in this scheme. Therefore, strictly speaking, they cannot be regarded as typical prepositions nor adverbs.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC: Accusative noun, ADV: Adverb, AG: Ancient Greek, CLIT: Clitic pronoun, GEN: Genitive noun, KG: Koine Greek, N: Noun, PP: Prepositional phrase, PREP: Preposition, SMG: Standard Modern Greek.

NOTES

*) This paper is a revision and expansion of an earlier study which has appeared in *Collected Papers dedicated to Professor Mamoru Yoshikawa* (1995).

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1) For the abbreviated grammatical categories, see ABBREVIATIONS in front of NOTES.

2) The term, *Late-Byzantine prose Alexander Romance (Late-Byz.*), has been borrowed from Holton (1974:10). It designates a group of prose texts transmitted by 13 MSS. (Moennig, 1992:41ff.).

3) For the date of the original *Late-Byz.*, see Holton (1974:10). Moennig (1992:29&152) argues that *Late-Byz.* was translated from the medieval Serbian version in the 15th c.

4) The following are the editions used in this study and their abbreviations.

  ε: Trumpf (1974) [quoted by chapters and paragraphs]

  E: Lolos (1983) & Konstantinopulos (1983) [quoted by chapters and paragraphs]

  F: Lolos (1983) & Konstantinopulos (1983) [quoted by chapters and paragraphs]

  K: Μητσάκης (1983) [quoted by pages and lines. Note: not from (1968) !]

  Φ: Βελουδής (1977) [quoted by *Editio Princeps*' pages, given on the margin of Βελουδής' edition]

  V: Mitsakis (1967) [quoted by pages and lines]

5) The English translations have been translated as closely as possible to the original Greek.

6) This pattern is not referred to in authoritative AG/KG grammars such as Schwyzer (1950) or Jannaris (1897). Among the SMG grammars, Χατζιδάκις (1907:458-9) and Thumb (1910:101-2) remark that some modern Greek dialects know the pattern ADV+ACC. (e.g. Icarian dialect, έγκαψεν οπίσω τολ λούρον '(he) bent behind the rock', which corresponds to SMG έκαμψεν όπισθεν του βράχου, οπίσω από τον βράχον). Τζάρτζανος (1946: 90-92) describes the adverbs which accept the accusative, though no spatial adverb is listed except for κοντά in temporal use (cf. note 15).

7) F: Laurentianus Ashburnham 1444, a. 1521

   E: Eton College 163, mid- 16th c.

   V: Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 244, 26r-43v, 16th c.

   K: Athous 3309, Kutlumussiu 236, 159v-191v, 16th c.

These four MSS. are regarded as "erste Gruppe" in that they belong to the older period (16th c.) (Moennig,1987:46ff.). Among them, representatives of *Late-Byz.* are F and E, which keep the whole story of the romance. In contrast, V and K are epitomized versions (Moennig:ib.).

8) These terms have been borrowed from Joseph & Philippaki-Warburton (1987: 141-4).

9) απανωθεον appears with the various accent-positions in the MSS. (απανώθεον, απανωθέον, απανωθεόν). Lolos consistently edits απανωθεόν, though the other two forms are prevailing in the MSS. (Lolos, 1983:38), (cf. Moennig, 1987:42). The present study, following the MSS., selects απανώθεον as a representative form, except in the quotations from the editions.

   Du Cange gives only examples of " απανώθιον"+GEN (απανώθιον του αέρος...απανώθιον των νεφών). *Kriaras* notes that "επάνωθεν" is followed also by the accusative, though no example of the pattern is given. Under the entry "επανωθίο" in *Kriaras* , however, an example is found of the accusative pattern from George Boustronios' *Chronicle of Cyprus* (απανωθίον τους ανθρώπους).

10) The observation that the four MSS. vary in the syntactic structure of the adverbial (or prepositional) phrase of the spatial expression supports the general remark on the language of each text:

   ' F verwendet viele Formen, die zwar äquivalent sind, aber verschiedenen Stadien der Sprachentwicklung oder verschiedenen Kategorien...angehören' (Trumpf, 1967:9). '...die Sprache der Handschrift F eine reinere Volkssprache sei als in den andern Handschriften'(Moennig, 1987:49).

   ' E hat...öfter -ω als -ου in κάτω, πάνω usw. Ferner finden sich etwas mehr reinsprachliche Elemente als in F...ohne daß deswegen der volkstümliche Charakter der Texts in E verloren geht.' (Trumpf, 1967:10f., cf. Moennig, 1987:52).

   ' V führt einige "gelehrte" morphologische Elemente und Wörter ein.'(Moennig, 1987:55).

11) *Kriaras* quotes some examples of "αποκάτω" +ACC from *Late-Byz.* (MS. V) and "αποκατω-θιό" +ACC from the Modern Greek *Pentateuch.* (see note 22).

12) E125,11 includes an interesting example, where both ACC and GEN co-occur within the same adverbial phrase:

   της Ινδίας τα φουσάτα και όλος ο κόσμος αποκάτω την 'Ινδιαν και του ηλίου ετρόμαξαν E125,11 (αποκάτου τον ήλιον ετρόμαξεν F.125,11)

  'The Indian army and all the people under [over?] India and under the sun were struck with terror.'

13) *Kriaras* gives only examples of "εμπρός"+GEN/PREP and "εμπροστά"+PREP.

14) F121,3 has an example of ADV+ACC (κατοπιθεόν τον θάνατον), though in temporal use.

15) F55,17 has an example of κοντά+ACC (κοντά το ποτάμιν). However, this is a very unusual case, because no other example of κοντά+ACC has been found in my corpus and this example in F corresponds to κοντά εις in E55,17 and K354,31.

16) This has only two exceptions in F93,3 (απάνω τον) and E80,6 (εμπρός τον), see Table 1& 2,4.

17) See note 10.

18) Moennig (1992:26-7).

19) 'daß Mgr. [= *Late-Byz.*] die volkstümliche Überarbeitung einer älteren byzantinischen Rezension (ε) des Ps.-Kallisthenes ist, die noch in einfacher Reinsprache abgefaßt war.' (Trumpf, 1967:4).

20) Although it has been suggested by some scholars that the *editio princeps* was published in 1680 or 1699, the oldest edition accessible to us is 1750' (Moennig, 1992:34-5).

21) The archaic tendency of *Phyllada*'s language is pointed in Trumpf (1967:33f.): ' In der Sprache ist der Übergang von der mittel- zur neugriechischen κοινή vollzogen. Dabei macht sich in den Drucken die Tendenz stärker bemerkenbar, die auch schon einigen Handschriften von Mgr. eigen ist, "gelehrte", reinsprachliche Formen...und Wörter einzuschmuggeln .../ viele mittelgriechische Wörter sind als veraltet ausgeschieden.' For a more comprehensive survey of *Phyllada*'s language, see Banfi (1990).

22) Modern Greek translation of the *Pentateuch* (a. 1547, Constantinople) written in Hebrew letters [ed. Hesseling, 1897].

23) *Assizes*, (c. 14th c.) [ed. Σάθας, 1877].

24) Ioannikios Kartanos, Παλαιά τε και Νέα Διαθήκη. (a. 1536) [ed. Κακουλίδη- Πάνου, 1988].

25) *Ekthesis Chronica*, Cod. D (16th c.) [ed. Lambros, 1902].

26) Βακτηρία αρχιερέων (17th c.) [ed. Μομφερράτος, 1889].

27) *Achilleid*, MS. O (16th c.) [ed. Smith, 1990]. The other two MSS. (L. & N., ed. Hesseling, 1919), which date from approximately the same period as O., have ADV+PREP and ADV+GEN:

σύσελλον τον επέτασεν, εμπρός στον πεθερόν του.   Αχιλ. L. 1179

σύσελλον τον επέταξεν έμπροσθεν του πενθερού του.   Αχιλ. N. 1499

The editor emends the line of N to εμπρός του πενθερού του. Another example of *Anterior* in *Achilleid* is οπρός τον βασιλέαν (MS. O. 682).

28) *Tale of Belisarius*, Cod. N. [ed. Follieri, 1970]. σ- has been inserted between ομπρός and τον in each case (ll. 129, 241, 297) by the editor. The same emendation is found in the critical edition by Bakker & van Gemert (1988), which reconstructs the version χ from the Cod. N. and Cod.V. It should be noted that there is one case (l. 32) where ομπρός στον in the edition corresponds to ομπρός εις τον in MS.

29) *Chronicle of Morea*, MS. P. (16th c.) [ed. Schmitt, 1904]. MS. H. (late 14th c.) has a standard pattern (μετά ταύτα [γαρ] τον ώρισεν ενώπιον των κεφαλάδων).

30) *A Tale of Consolation about Good and Bad Fortune*. MS. L. (15th c.) [ed. Λάπρος, 1906]. The editor inserts 'ς in front of το (=ομπρός 'στο στήθος).

31) George Argyropoulos, *Battle of Varna*. (a. 1461) [ed. Moravcsik, 1935]. AG/KG pattern in MS. C written by Zotikos Paraspondylos (15th c.): ως ράχνη επεφάνησαν εμπρός Ισμαηλίτων C78.

32) Marinos Tzanes Bounialis, *Cretan War*. (17th c.) [ed. Ξηρουχάκης, 1908]. Νενεδάκης' edition (1979:592, l. 12) writes ομπρός σ' εκείνο βγάνου.

33) *The Lay of Armoures* [ed. Αλεξίου (1985)]. The English translations of (36) and (37) have been taken from Ricks (1990).

34) *Digenes Akrites*, MS. E. [ed. Αλεξίου (1985)].

35) Since it is not certain that the examples from *Digenes* E. and *Armoures* derive from their originals, I assign the syntactic pattern observed in (36-37) to the period of the MSS., i.e. the 15th c. (Αλεξίου, 1985: ιστ ' & 159).

36) E.g. Bakker-van Gemert (1988:48) : ' (the copyist of MS. N) γράφει μονό -σ- αντί για δυπλό'. Anyway, the problem does not seem to be solved by the metrical constraint, because MS. N systematically writes εις τον instead of στον, breaking often the meter (Bakker-van Gemert, ib.). Therefore, it is not impossible to consider that the copyist could have inserted εις after ομπρός regardless of the meter, if he had hoped to do so. Also in *Late-Byz*, σε is used

instead of εἰς in only a few exceptional cases, which include one example of *Anterior* (F55,2, see Table 2,4).

37) This categorization is partially based on Emonds (1985:254, quoted in Foskett, 1991:32).

38) More macroscopically, this problem can be interpreted as an example of *Grammaticalization*. (See, Hopper & Traugott, 1993:104).

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Table 1. Syntactic Patterns of *Superior, Inferior* and *Anterior* in *Late-Byz.*

【F,E,V,K:four versions of *Late-Byz*.(see note 4). +∅ :not followed by (pro)noun,(i.e. intransitive use). For the other grammatical categories, see ABBEVIATIONS. The accusative patterns are underlined.】

		+N	+CLIT			+N	+CLIT
Superior				*Anterior*			
άνω	+∅	E		απόπροσθεν	+GEN		F
	+εις	K		ε-/ομπρός	+∅	FEV	
άνωθεν	+GEN	V			+εις	FEK	
απάνω/-ου	+∅	FE	FEVK		+GEN		FEVK
	+εις	FEVK			+ACC	FEVK	E*)
	+GEN		FEVK	έ-/όμπροσθεν	+∅	EV	
	+ACC		F*)		+εις	E	
απάνωθεν	+ACC	K			+GEN	EV	FEVK
απανώθεον	+∅	E			+ACC	VK	
	+εις	EV		κατέμπροσθεν	+GEN		FE
	+GEN	V	F		+ACC	FE	
	+ACC	FEV		ομπροστά	+εις	K	
αποπάνω/-ου	+GEN		FE		+GEN		F
επάνωθεν	+ACC	K		παρέμπροσθεν	+GEN		FE
καταπάνω/-ου	+εις	FEV					
	+GEN	FVK	FEVK				
	+ACC	FE(V)					
Inferior							
αποκάτω/-ου	+∅	FE					
	+εις	FEV					
	+GEN	FEV	FEV				
	+ACC	FEVK					
κάτω/-ου	+∅	FEVK					
	+εις	FEV					
κατωθιόν	+GEN	V					
παρακάτου/παρεκάτω							
	+∅	FEVK					
υποκάτω	+GEN	K	K				
	+ACC	K					

*) The pattern of ADV+clitic accusative is found only in F93,3(απάνω τον) and E80,6(εμπρός τον).

Table 2. Examples of ADV+ACC and their Parallels in *Late-Byz.* and *Phyllada*

[F,E,V,K:four versions of *Late-Byz.* Φ:*Phyllada*(see note 4). -:no parallel
example is found. +¢:not followed by (pro)noun, (i.e. intransitive use).
I omitted the chapter and paragraph numbers of E, which correspond to those
of F.]

1. απανώθεον,α-/επάνωθεν [α.:απανώθεον]

F	E	V/K		Φ	
α.+ACC 12,3	απάνωθεν+ACC	α.+ACC	V27,28	-	
α.+ACC 26,2	α. εις	α.+GEN	V35,27	επάνωθεν+GEN	35
α.+ACC 46,3	α.+ACC	άνωθεν+GEN	V54,6	άνωθεν+GEN	77
α.+ACC 46,4	α.+ACC	α.+ACC	V54,9	άνωθεν+GEN	77
α.+ACC 49,13	εις	α.+GEN	V58,26	απάνω εις	84
-	α.+ACC 49,23	α.+ACC	V60,21	επάνω εις	88
α.+ACC 55,17	α.+ACC	επάνωθεν+ACC	K354,30	απάνω+GEN	124
α.+ACC 57,6	α. εις	απάνωθεν+ACC	K356,22	επάνω+¢	130
α.+ACC 60,1	α.+ACC	απάνου εις	V73,7	επάνω εις	138
α.+ACC 80,16	-			άνωθεν+GEN	184
α.+ACC 108,1	α.+ACC	-		-	
α.+ACC 111,2	α.+ACC	-		-	
α.+ACC 125,3	απάνου εις	-		-	

2. καταπάνου/-ω [κ.:καταπάνου]

F	E	V/K		Φ	
κ.+ACC 3,1*)	καταπάνω+ACC	κ.+GEN	V22,10	κ.+GEN	4
κ.εις 46,2	καταπάνω εις	κ.+CLIT/ACC	V54,2	κατεπάνω+GEN	77
κ.+ACC 78,13	καταπάνω+ACC	-		-	
κ.+ACC 107,1	καταπάνω+CLIT	-		κατεπάνω του	221

*)following van Gemert's collation(1987:24). Cf.edition:καταπάνω.

3. αποκάτου/-ω,υποκάτω [α.:αποκάτου]

F		E		V/K		Φ	
αποκάτω+GEN	31,3	από κάτου εις		α.+ACC	V39,5	υποκάτω εις	42
αποκάτω+ACC	36,2	από κάτω εις		αποκάτω+ACC	V42,28	υποκάτω εις	51
α.+ACC	38,1	από κάτω εις		κοντά εις	V45,16	κοντά εις	57
α.+ACC	39,4	α. εις		αποκάτου+ACC	V46,28	αποκάτω εις	61
-		α.+ACC	49,27	α.+ACC	V61,14	υποκάτω εις	90
				υποκάτω+ACC	K344,8		
α.+ACC	51,3	αποκάτω+GEN		α.+ACC	V65,16	-	
				υποκάτω+ACC	K346,28		
αποκάτω+ACC	66,5	εις		εις	V77.26	-	
από	66,6	εκ		από κάτου+ACC	K364,32	από	155

F	E	V/K	Φ
α.+ACC 66,12	α. εις	-	-
α.+ACC 80,3	αποκάτω εις	-	-
αποκάτω+ACC 88,1	αποκάτω+GEN	α.+GEN V79,28	-
α.+ACC 111,2	αποκάτω εις	-	-
α.+ACC 125,11	αποκάτω+ACC/GEN	-	-
α.+ACC 126,4	-	-	-
α.+ACC 128,2	αποκάτω+ACC	α. εις V86,24	-

4. ο-/εμπρός,έμπροσθεν,κατέμπροσθεν 〖ο.:ομπρός, κ.:κατέμπροσθεν〗

F	E	V/K	Φ
κοντά εις 17,1	κοντά εις	έμπροσθεν+ACC V30,5-6	-
κ.+CLIT 38,5	κ.+CLIT	έμπροσθεν+ACC V46,8	έμπροσθεν+GEN 59
κ.+ACC 40,3	κ.+ACC	ομπρός+ACC V49,1	-
ο.+ACC 47,2	εμπρός+¢	έμπροσθεν+GEN V54,21	-
ο.+ACC 54,11	εμπρός εις	ο. +ACC K352,8	-
ο.+ACC 54,11	εμπρός εις	ο. +ACC K352,10	από 117
ο. σε 55,2	εμπρός εις	έμπροσθεν+ACC K352,17	-
εις 55,15	εις	ο.+ACC K354,19	εις 123
		εις V71,13	
ο.+¢ 80,6	εμπρός+ACC(τον)	-	-
ο. εις 93,1	εμπρός εις	ο. +ACC V80,28	ο. εις 201
		ο. εις K370,23	
ο.+ACC 101,1	εμπρός+ACC	ο. +ACC V81,27*)	εις 211
		ο. +ACC K374,20-1	
ο. εις 102,1	εμπρός εις	ο. +ACC K374,22	εις 211
ο. εις 123,2	εμπρός+ACC	-	ο. εις 269

*)following Hunger's collation(1968:300). Cf.edtion:εμπρός.

5. ολόγυρα,τρι-/τρογύρου 〖ο:ολόγυρα,τ:τριγύρου〗

F	E	V/K	Φ
ο.+ACC 39,3	τ.+ACC	-	ο.+¢ 60
ο.+ACC 45,4	ο.+ACC	ο.+ACC V53,24	ο.+GEN 76
τ.+ACC 47,1	τ.+ACC47,4(sic)	τ.+ACC V54,16?	-
-	ο. εις 49,23	τ.+ACC V60,17	ο.+ACC 88
τ.+ACC 53,1	τ.+ACC	-	ο.+ACC 105
ο.+ACC 53,9	-	ο.+ACC K349,12	ο.+ACC 110
ο.+ACC 53,10	-	ο.+ACC K349,13	-
τ.+ACC 55,17	-	τρογύρου+ACC K354,28	ο.+ACC 124
ο.+ACC 80,16	ο.+ACC	-	-
ο.+ACC 84,2	ο.+ACC	-	-
ο.+ACC 97,1	ο.+ACC?	-	ο. εις 207
ο.+ACC 107,2	ο.+GEN	-	ο.+¢ 222
ο.+ACC 121,1	ο.+ACC	-	-

『後期ビザンツ版アレクサンドロス物語』における空間表現の統語構造

橘 孝司

　ギリシャ語における空間表現は、古代から現代にいたる変遷の中で、多くの語彙的異形を有しているが、その統語構造は比較的安定している。すなわち、古代語では、前置詞＋名詞ないし副詞＋属格名詞、現代語では、前置詞＋対格名詞、副詞＋前置詞＋対格名詞、副詞＋接辞代名詞が許されるに過ぎない。ところが、ビザンツ末期（ないしポスト・ビザンツ期）のテキスト中には、これら以外のパタンが観察される。例えば、『後期ビザンツ版アレクサンドロス物語』（以下『後期ビザンツ版』）には、副詞＋対格名詞の例が見いだされる。本稿の中心課題は、このパタンがどの程度の安定性を持ち、どの程度の空間的・時間的広がりを有していたのかを明らかにする点にある。

　まず第一節では、『後期ビザンツ版』の代表的な二つの版及び二つの簡約版を網羅的に調査し、「上方」「下方」「前方」「中間」「周囲」などの空間概念を示す副詞のうちのあるものが、問題の対格パターンを体系的に受け入れることを明らかにする。

　第二節では、年代上『後期ビザンツ版』に先行し、その基となった『偽カリステネスε版（7-8世紀）』及び後代の『現代ギリシャ語版（18世紀）』との対照が行われる。その結果、この二つの作品中では標準的パタンが副詞＋対格名詞に対応しており、後者のパタンはビザンツ後期の現象であることが示される。

　第三節では、他のビザンツ後期の民衆語テキストが調査され、韻文・散文からの散発的な例が提示される。すなわち、問題のパタンは、少数派ではあるが、準標準的な位置を占めていたと考えられる。

　第四節では、ギリシャ語の通史内での問題のパタンの持つ意味が検討される。対格形の意味領域の拡大は、従来より指摘されており、多くの自動詞や斜格支配の前置詞が対格を支配するようになった点に明瞭に観察される。本稿で考察した、副詞の属格支配から対格支配への移行もこの通時的変遷の一端として解釈することが可能である。

　最後に第五節では、一般言語学的見地からの解釈が示される。副詞から前置詞への移行は、「文法化」の過程として汎言語的に見られるものである。問題のパタンは、この過程上で、ある副詞グループが前置詞へと統語上の特性を変化させる際に現れたものと考えられる。