The Expressions of the *Interior* in Byzantine Vernacular Greek*

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0. Introduction

One of the remarkable characteristics of Modern Greek is that most of the spatial concepts are normally expressed by means of an adverb construed with a prepositional phrase. For example, the position of an object located *within* a container or the motion of an object *into/out of* it is expressed by the adverb μέσα followed by the prepositions σε/από.

The purpose of this paper is to descriptively clarify to what degree the complex preposition had been developed in the late Byzantine period, in which most of the Modern Greek linguistic innovations appeared. As a case study, this paper deals with the spatial concept and its linguistic realisations mentioned above, i.e. the location or the motion of an object which is concerned with the inside region of a reference object. Henceforth, we shall term this spatial concept *Interior* [1].

This paper has been divided into three parts. Section 1 gives three viewpoints for analysis: morphological, syntactic and semantic. Parallel to each point, a brief sketch of Modern Greek is shown. In section 2, after introducing the corpus concisely, we examine the data in accordance with the three viewpoints. In section 3, a conclusion is given based on the results in the previous section.

Part of the examples analysed in this paper might be better seen as temporal rather than spatial. I have drawn no definite line of demarcation between them, since it is not always easy to distinguish one from the other.

1. Three Viewpoints of Analysis

The occurrence of the complex prepositions can be observed much earlier than the late Byzantine period. For instance, John Malalas, a writer of the sixth century, is known for having preferred using adverbs construed with prepositional phrases (cf. Rüger, 1895:22f.). Rüger cites from Malalas' *Chronicle* a number of examples such as ἔσω ἐν. Therefore, it is expected that the later period which produced a number of vernacular texts would exhibit a marked increase of examples. To determine the degree of the development of the complex preposition, however, it is necessary to examine the data exhaustively and analytically. A few sporadic cases would not be sufficient to give a reliable answer

to the question. This paper exhaustively analyses every example in the corpus. The data will also be examined analytically from three viewpoints. We shall here summarise the three viewpoints : morphological, syntactic and semantic. In addition, the examples on Standard Modern Greek (henceforth: SMG) are briefly given based on each point.

1.1. Morphological Viewpoint

From this viewpoint, we examine the variants of spatial adverbs which can be selected to represent the *Interior*.

SMG does not use the adverbs, such as ἔσω or ἔνδον, which were representative forms of the *Interior* in Ancient Greek (henceforth: AG). Instead, its only standard form is μέσα, which was derived from the neuter accusative plural of μέσος "middle" [2].

1.2. Syntactic Viewpoint

In order to determine the degree of development of the compound category like the complex preposition, it is necessary to investigate the kind of syntactic pattern each spatial adverb indicates.

The syntactic features of the SMG *Interior* are basically the same as those of the other spatial adverbs. To put it concretely,

(a) They can occur without governing a (pro)noun.

(b) When they co-occur with a (pro)noun, the latter must stand in the genitive and not in the accusative.

(c) They can co-occur with the prepositional phrase headed by σε or από.

Naturally, (c) is a criterion crucial for recognising the complex preposition. Which preposition between σε and από is selected depends on the adverb. The adverb in question, μέσα, can co-occur with both of them.

1.3. Semantic Viewpoint

The semantic viewpoint concentrates on analysing what morpho-syntactic device represents the spatial concept. It may be reasonable to subcategorise the *Interior* as well as the other spatial concepts into four main types, i.e. *location, motion towards a reference object, motion from it* and *motion past it* [3]. In this paper, we shall call them *Locative, Allative, Ablative* and *Perlative,* respectively.

As far as the SMG system to express each concept is concerned, two features should be noticed.

Firstly, SMG does not differentiate the *Allative* from the *Locative.*

(1) Μπαίνω / Είμαι μέσα.   ' I enter/am in.'

This basic principle can be applied not only to the adverbial expression but also to the complex preposition.

(2) Μπαίνω / Είμαι **μέσα στο** δωμάτιο. ' I enter/am in the room.'

Secondly, the distinction between the *Allative-Locative* and the *Ablative* is made by the selection between the *Allative-Locative* preposition σε and the *Ablative* preposition από.

(3) Μπαίνω **μέσα στο** δωμάτιο. ' I enter the room.'

(4) Βγαίνω **μέσα από** το δωμάτιο. ' I go out of the room.'

The *Perlative* expression is usually made by the verb περνώ, which co-occurs with the *Ablative* preposition από [4]. Therefore, the *Perlative* has a feature in common with the *Ablative* in respect to the selection of the preposition.

2. *Interior* in Byzantine Vernacular Greek

2.1. Corpus

In order to clarify the characteristics of the *Interior* expression in Byzantine or Medieval Vernacular Greek, we will analyse twenty-six representative Vernacular texts dating between the 12th -15th centuries [5]. These texts, shown in Table 1 below, have been divided into three on the chronological basis so that we can find possible diachronic change [6]. However, the division should not be regarded as absolute, since we deal with the anonymous texts.

2.2. Analysis

We shall now start to examine in order the *Interior* expression of Byzantine Vernacular Greek from the three viewpoints.

2.2.1. Morphological Viewpoint

Table 1 below indicates the adverbs for the *Interior* and their total frequency in our corpus. In it, two points should be noticed as remarkable characteristics of Vernacular Greek.

(a) The corpus includes two medieval forms which are not found in AG nor SMG, that is, απέσω and απέσωθεν [7].

(b) A diachronic shift of the adverbs through the period enables the texts to be divided, though loosely, into two groups.

The first group includes most of the 12th century texts and some of the 14th century texts. They are characterised by the frequent use of the archaic types (έσω, έσωθεν, εντός, ένδον, ένδοθεν) along with the medieval types (απέσω and μέσα). Among the 14th c. texts, most of the *Cavalier romances* (*Kallimachos, Belthandros, Libistros* and *Florios*) belong to this group. Even the *Chronicle of the Morea*, which is famous for an abundance of Modern Greek innovations, is not ignorant of such forms as έσω or εντός.

Most of the rest of the 14th century texts form the second group. In these texts, the archaic types

Table 1 : Frequency of the Examples of the *Interior*

	ἔσω	ἔσωθεν	εντός	ἔνδον	ἔνδοθεν	απέσω	απέσωθεν	μέσα	απομέσα
12th c.									
Διγ. G	2	5	4	4(1)	3	4(3)	1		
Διγ. E						19(16)	1	5(3)	
Προδρ.	1	1		2	1	5(1)	1	1	
Γλυκά	1					1(1)			
14th c.									
Χρ.Μορ. H	2(2)		4			68(49)		15(11)	
Χρ.Μορ. P	16(12)	1	5			56(40)		7(6)	
Καλ.	2	1	4	1	1	4(2)		3(2)	
Βέλθ.	5(1)	1			1	11(5)		4(3)	
Λίβ. N	4	2(2)				38(19)		15(13)	
Φλώρ.	5(2)	5(1)	1	3		2(1)		10(7)	1
Ιμπ.			1			8(7)		15(15)	
Αχιλ. N		6(1)	2(2)			10(4)		9(5)	
Αχιλ. L		1				13(9)		17(9)	
Αχιλ. O				1		10(5)		3(1)	
Βελ. N						2(2)		7(5)	
Απολλών.	3(3)					5(4)		14(11)	1
Πουλ.						6(6)			
Διήγ.Παιδ.			2			2(1)		9(5)	
15th c.									
Χρ.Τόκκ.						42(31)	2	50(31)	2
Συν.Γαδ.						2(2)		2(2)	
Θησ.		2(2)				12(9)		10(6)	
Αλεξ. F						51(21)		2(1)	
Αλεξ. E						43(13)		6(3)	

Notes

* The number indicates the total frequency of each form.
* The parentheses indicate the examples in which a spatial adverb co-occurs with a prepositional phrase. Note that the number is included in each total frequency.
* The orthographical variants are ignored in counting. E.g., απέσω includes ἀπέσω and ἀπ᾽ ἔσω, while απομέσα has ἀπομέσα and ἀπὸ μέσα.
* The variants in the apparatus criticus in each edition are not counted.
* No examples are found in *Σπανέας*, *Πωρικ.*, and *Οψαρ.*

have almost gone out of use in the presence of απέσω and μέσα. The representative of this group may be *Achilleid* (Cod.O.), *Tale of Belisarius* (Cod.N.) or *Imperios*. The 15th century texts also belong to the second group, since the two adverbs have occupied the exclusive position for the *Interior* expression.

Now we shall return to examination of the "modernness" of the morphological characteristics. Although a fairly great number of examples of μέσα begin to appear from the 14th century, απέσω is more prevailing than μέσα throughout the period. It is only in a few texts like *Florios* or *Imperios* that μέσα is clearly preferred. In the other texts, μέσα is no more than an equivalent competitor to απέσω. The popularity of απέσω is so intense that even in the latest text in the corpus, the *Late Byzantine Prose Alexander Romance*, μέσα forms still a small minority compared with απέσω.

The observations from the morphological point can be summarised as follows: although the SMG form μέσα is considerably used, it has not surpassed the greatest competitor απέσω in the late Byzantine period [8].

2.2.2. Syntactic Viewpoint

This section discusses the syntactic patterns which the spatial adverbs can form. Naturally, the emphasis of the investigation should be put on the possibility that the adverbs can co-occur with the prepositional phrases.

The number within the parenthesis in Table 1 indicates the total frequency of the adverbs construed with the prepositional phrases. It is obviously shown that throughout the period the two main medieval forms απέσω and μέσα can co-occur with the prepositions. Interestingly, even the archaic forms are used with the prepositional phrase so that they form a hybrid pattern (e.g. ένδον εις, Διγ.G.ΙΙ266).

The prepositions utilised in this syntactic pattern are εις (or its SMG offspring σε) and εκ (or its more modern equivalents από/απέ) [9].

Thus, the syntactic side of the *Interior* can be regarded as sufficiently equipped with the SMG characteristics.

2.2.3. Semantic Viewpoint

Based on what was discussed in Section 1.3., the examination from the semantic viewpoint should be carried out from two phases as to what morpho-syntactic device makes:

(a) the semantic distinction between the *Allative* and the *Locative*,

(b) the semantic distinction between the *Allative-Locative* and the *Ablative*.

As for the *Perlative*, we will suspend judgement because of the lack of examples in the corpus.

2.2.3.1. Distinction between the *Allative* and the *Locative*

The two semantic functions, the *Allative* and the *Locative*, are found to be expressed by the identical adverb μέσα or απέσω.

(5) τον είδεν ο Καλλίμαχος όταν εισήλθεν **μέσα.**   Καλ. 275

' Kallimachos saw it when he entered.' (*Allative*)

(6) και η κόρη **μέσα** εκάθεντον, έλεγεν μοιρολόγιν,   Αχιλ.Ν. 1055

' And she sat inside uttering a lamentation.' (*Locative*)

(7) και η κόρη τότε εγροίκησεν ότι εσέβηκεν **απέσω.** Αχιλ.Ν. 1235

' And then she noticed that he had entered.' (*Allative*)

(8) εκείσε **απέσω** αππλίκεψεν μισίρ Ντζεφρές ατός του·   Χρ.Μορ.Η. 2062

' Sir Geoffroy himself took quarters there.' (*Locative*)

The more archaic adverbs are also used upon the same principle, though they seem to have lost the *Allative-Locative* distinction in AG [10].

(9) εισήλθεν **ένδον** συν αυτοίς και πάλιν υπεκρύβη.   Προδρ.Ι. 222

' She entered with them and hid herself again.' (*Allative*)

(10) ηύρα την παράξενον κόρην...**ένδον** του πύργου,   Φλώρ. 1717-8

' I found the extraordinary girl...within the tower.' (*Locative*)

(11) και το να σώσουσιν πλησίον, **έσω** μηδέν σεβούσιν·   Χρ.Μορ.Ρ. 6982

' When they get close to it, they will not go into it,'

(12) εις την δεξιάν του την μερίαν <να> ένι ο αδελφός του,

κι αυτόν να θέσουσιν ζερβά, και ο πατήρ του **έσω.**   Χρ.Μορ.Ρ. 7793-4

' (In the church) his brother to lie to the right of him, he to be on the left, and his father in between.' (*Locative*)

Moreover, even the cases in which the adverbs co-occur with the preposition εις do not distinguish the *Allative* from the *Locative*.

(13) υπάν και αποσώνουσιν **μέσα εις** το παλάτιν.   Ιμπ. 860

' They go and arrive into the castle.' (*Allative*)

(14) Πέντε ημέρες είχασιν **μέσα εις** τα καράβια   Φλώρ. 1274

' They passed five days inside the ships.' (*Locative*)

(15) Επήρεν τους, επήγασιν **απέσω εις** το κάστρον   Αχιλ.Ο. 617

' He took them and entered the castle. ' (*Allative*)

(16) ότι είχεν πράγμαν άπειρον **απέσω εις** το καράβιν,   Πουλ. 550

' That he had innumerable things inside the ship.' (*Locative*)

Likewise, the more archaic forms co-occurring with εις can represent both the *Allative* and the *Locative* [11].

(17) εισήλθε μόνος μετ'αυτής **ένδον εις** το κουβούκλιν,　　　Διγ.G.II266

' He went in with her alone into the chamber.' (*Allative*)

(18) **Έσω εις** κοφίνια βάλλουσι τα ρόδα των ανθέων,　　　Φλώρ. 1592

' They put the roses into a basket. ' (*Allative*)

(19) **έσω στον** τόπον των Σκορτών κείται και αφεντεύει.　　　Χρ.Μορ.P. 8275

' It lies within the land of Skorta and it commanded it.' (*Locative*)

These examples lead us to the conclusion that the various adverbs for the *Interior* can function as both the *Allative* and the *Locative*, whether construed with the preposition εις or not. To put it in other words, the distinction between the two semantic functions is not controlled by the adverb or preposition but entirely by the verb.

2.2.3.2. Distinction between the *Allative-Locative* and the *Ablative*

Let us now proceed to examine the way in which to differentiate the *Ablative* from the *Allative-Locative*. The examination should be conducted on the adverbs and those construed with the prepositions in this order, just as in the previous case.

The corpus includes various forms with affixes such as -θεν and απο-. They were originally used to indicate the *Ablative*, though some of them had already lost or had begun to lose the original meaning in AG[12]. Most of the affixed forms in our corpus cannot themselves represent the *Ablative* but are always found in the *Allative* or the *Locative*. For example, ένδοθεν in (20) and έσωθεν in (21) should be interpreted as the *Allative*.

(20) Ει δε γε και εσέβηκα **ένδοθεν** του τρικλίνου,　　　Βέλθ. 433

' Even though I entered the hall,'

(21) και **εις** εν κοφίνιον **έσωθεν** τον Φλώριον σεβάζει　Φλώρ. 1594

' And he sets to hide Florios in a basket.'

That απέσω functions as the *Allative-Locative* was illustrated in the previous section (see (7), (8), (15), (16)). In other words, απέσω cannot carry the *Ablative* meaning by itself.

Can we say the same about απέσωθεν? Example (22), taken from the *Ptochoprodromika,* might seem to represent the *Ablative*.

(22) εταύριζεν **απέσωθεν**, εγώ δε πάλιν έξω　　　Προδρ.I. 186

'She pulled (the broomstick) from inside and so did I from outside,' [13]

Then, is it possible to accept the *Ablative* interpretation if more than one affix is attached as in (22) (i.e. απ-έσω-θεν)? However, in examples (23) and (24) below, the *Allative* function of the same adverb is shown in the former, while the *Locative* meaning is found in the latter.

(23) και η κεφαλή του εχώθηκεν **απέσωθεν** της βάλτης. Διγ.E. 1138

' His head sunk into the marsh.'

(24) ἤνπερ ἔχεις **ἀπέσωθεν** ἐμφάνισον ἀγάπην· Διγ.G. IV548

' Show forth the affection which you have within.'

Therefore, none of the affixed forms cited above give a perspicuous interpretation of the *Ablative*. The only exception to this may be the case of ἀπομέσα. Four examples of it have been found in the corpus.

(25) ἐτάχθην πάλιν εἰς τον Θεόν, αν ἐγβῃς **ἀπό μέσα,** Απολλών. 754

' He swore by God that if you come out from inside... '

Unlike the other derivative forms analysed above, ἀπομέσα can produce the *Ablative* interpretation. In fact, it should not be regarded as an exception, if it is considered from the SMG point of view. In SMG, the *Ablative* preposition ἀπό precedes the adverb if the complex preposition occurs without any governed noun or co-occurs with the genitive clitic pronoun (βγαίνω **μέσα ἀπό** το δωμάτιο but βγαίνω **ἀπό μέσα/ ἀπό μέσα** του.). This rule applies well to the other examples of ἀπομέσα which occur without a governed noun (ἐσκασαν **ἀπό μέσά**, Χρ.Τόκκ. 1878; ἐπολέμησαν...η χώρα **ἀπό μέσα,** ib. 2050; ἀπό μέσα στοριστά λαζούριν, Φλώρ. 1348).

The second question is how the *Ablative* is expressed by the adverb which is construed with the preposition. The investigation of the corpus has clarified that the *Ablative* preposition ἀπο/ἀπέ (or ἐκ) is always needed so as to represent the *Ablative*, just as in SMG [14]. We will show some examples with different adverbs:

(26) ἐκβαίνει δράκων φοβερός **ἔσωθεν ἐκ** του δάσους, Καλ. 1284

' A dreadful dragon comes out of the forest.'

(27) λέων ἐξέβη φοβερός **ἀπέσω ἀπέ** το καλάμιν, Αχιλ.Ο. 691

' A dreadful lion came out of the reed.'

(28) Εξέβην ο Ιμπέριος **μέσα ἐκ** το καράβιν Ιμπ. 652

' Imperios came out of the ship.'

The points discussed in this section can be summarised in this way: the semantic distinction between the *Allative-Locative* and the *Ablative* is made only with the support of the prepositions just as in SMG.

2.2.3.3. Problematic Cases

Before proceeding to the conclusion, a few examples from *the Chronicle of the Tocco* will be discussed. They are worth mentioning not only because they do not fall into the pattern analysed above but also their deviation gives the possibility that the *Interior* expression would be directed towards a new stage of the semantic development. The pattern in question is that the *Ablative* preposition ἀπό or ἐκ appears in the cases which seem to represent the *Locative* or the *Allative*. See (29-31):

(29) να περπατούν, να διακονούν από τους τζακαράδες

απέσω απέ τα Ιωάννινα, όλοι με δοκανίκια.   Χρ.Τόκκ. 3207-8

' (You could see) all of them, supported by sticks, begging alms even from shoemakers inside Ioannina. '[15]

(30) από τα αμπέλια μέσα, / ομοίως και εκ τα χωράφια πολλά εκαταλύσαν. Χρ.Τόκκ. 370-1

' They destroyed much within the vineyards, likewise in the fields. '[16]

(31) και όλοι εκατέφυγαν απέσω εκ τα κάστρη   Χρ.Τόκκ. 966

' and they all took refuge into the castles '

In (29), the phrase headed by απέσω απέ seems to depict the place in which the action is performed, with whichever verb it may be construed. The *Locative* interpretation will not be affected even if it is governed by the noun phrase τους τζακαράδες. Likewise in (30), if the coordinate phrase από...μέσα...και...εκ... is possibly interpreted as collocated with the verb, the 'vineyards' and 'fields' indicate the places in which the action 'destroy' took place. Example (31) may be more problematic in interpreting the directionality of the motion. Although the semantic pattern of the *Interior* discussed above expects that the 'castles' indicate starting points of the motion 'take refuge', the editor's translation ('e quindi tutti fuggivano nelle fortezze') suggests that the 'castles' are more goals than starting points. One example similar to (29) is found in *Achilleid* (Cod.N).

(32) ολόγυρα τριγύριζε απέσω απέ το τείχος   Αχιλ.Ν. 1239

' He walked around within the wall.'

If the interpretation of these examples is justified, we need to accept that the last stage of Byzantine Vernacular Greek shows a new direction for the semantic development of the *Interior*. The direction can be summarised as follows: the preposition από begins to weaken the basic function of the *Ablative* and to function as the *Locative* or even the *Allative*. In other words, the *Ablative* preposition begins to be directly construed with the adverb instead of being governed by the verb. The development of this type, however, may not be strange to the Greek language if remember that the SMG από in the complex preposition also undergoes the similar semantic change. For instance, μπροστά από or πάνω από is not necessarily related to the concept of a starting point.

We admit that this question needs further consideration based on more data. Therefore, we will here leave it unanswered.

3. Conclusion

The analytical examination from the three viewpoints has clarified the heterogeneous characteristics of the medieval *Interior* expression. The syntactic and semantic viewpoints obviously indicate that the *Interior* expression in the Byzantine Vernacular texts had reached a stage at which it could be reasonably regarded as controlled by the same principle as found in SMG. On the other hand, the

morphological viewpoint reveals the medieval characteristics of the *Interior* in that throughout the period the medieval form απέσω is more prevailing than the SMG μέσα.

NOTES

1) This term has been taken from Joseph & Philippaki-Warburton (1987:142), which is based on Comrie & Smith (1977:31) . As for the working definition of this concept, see Svorou (1994:235).

2) See Γεωργακάς (1940:136-7). His etymology has been accepted by Ανδριώτης (1983:205). However, Καψωμένος (1941:119ff.) attempts to derive μέσα from ἔσω.

3) E.g. Comrie & Smith (1977:31f.), Jackendoff (1983: 165).

4) Cf. Tachibana (1993).

5) Texts analysed, abbreviations and editions used are as follows:

Αλεξ. E & F: Late-Byzantine Prose Alexander Romance, cod. E, F (ed. Lolos, 1983 & Konstantinopoulos, 1983)

Απολλών. : Tale of Apollonius of Tyre (ed. Janssen, 1954)

Αχιλ. L N O: Achilleid, cod. L, N (ed. Hesseling, 1919); cod.O (ed. Smith, 1990)

Βελ. N : Tale of Belisarius, cod. N (ed. Follieri, 1970)

Βέλθ. : Belthandros and Chrysantza (ed. Κριαράς, 1955)

Γλυκά : Michael Glykas' demotic poem (ed. Τσολάκης, 1959)

Διγ. E: Digenis Akritis, cod. E (ed. Αλεξίου, 1985)

Διγ. G: Digenis Akritis, cod. G (ed. Mavrogordato, 1956)

Διήγ. Παιδ. : Paidiophrastos Tale about Quadrupeds (ed. Tsiuni, 1972)

Θησ. : Theseid (ed. Follieri, 1959)

Ιμπ. : Imperios and Margarona (ed. Κριαράς, 1955)

Καλ. : Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe (ed. Κριαράς, 1955)

Λίβ. N : Libistros and Rodamne, cod. N (Database made by King's College London)

Οψαρ. : Opsarologos (ed. Winterwerb, 1992)

Πουλ. : Poulologos (ed. Τσαβαρή, 1987)

Προδρ. : Ptochoprodromika (ed. Eideneier, 1991)

Πωρικ. : Porikologos (ed. Winterwerb, 1992)

Σπανέας : Spaneas, Cod.Vat.Palat.367 (ed. Λάμπρος, 1917)

Συν. Γαδ. : Synaxarion of the Estimable Donkey (ed. Pochert, 1991)

Φλώρ. : Florios and Platziaflora (ed. Κριαράς, 1955)

Χρ.Μορ. H & P : Chronicle of the Morea, cod. H, P (ed. Schmitt, 1904).

Χρ.Τόκκ. : Chronicle of the Tocco (ed. Schirò, 1975).

6) For the date of each text, I principally follow Beck (1971).

7) Sopholces' Lexicon, which deals with the period between the 2nd c. BC - 1100 AD does not refer to απέσω nor απέσωθεν. Trapp's lexicon cites nine examples of απέσω from the texts dating between the 11th -13th c. and two examples of απέσωθεν from the 12th c. text. On the other hand, they are not found in fairly vernacular texts from the earlier periods. For instance, John Malalas' *Chronicle* (6th c.) nor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos' *De Administrando Imperio* (10th c.) do not include an example of them (see Table 2 below). All these suggest that the two adverbs reached the productive stage approximately in the 11th century. That Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* (12th c.) entirely lacks in the above adverbs can be easily explained by her consistently archaic style.

Table 2: Frequency of the Examples of the *Interior* in John Malalas (*Chronicle*), Constantine VII (*De Administrando Imperio*) and Anna Komnene (*Alexiad*)

	ἔσω	ἐσωθεν	εντός	ἔνδον	ἐνδοθεν	απέσω	απέσωθεν	μέσα	απομέσα
John Malalas	9(5)	3(1)		3	2				
Constantine VII		2	2	1	4				
Anna Komnene		1	73	13	8			1	

The parentheses indicate examples of the adverbs which co-occur with prepositional phrases.

Their number is included in each total frequency.

8) Consulting early Modern Greek dictionaries may be helpful to trace roughly the vicissitudes of the forms popular in the late Byzantine period. Du Cange's *Glossarium* (17th c.) refers to απέσω and μέσα, but not απέσωθεν. More interestingly, Somavera's *Thesaurus* (18th c.), though describing in detail μέσα along with έσω and έσωθεν, does not mention the once prosperous type απέσω.

9) Among other patterns are έσω κατά καρδίας (Βελθ. 409) and κατά καρδίας μέσα (Λιβ.Ν. 1198).

10) Schwyzer (1950: 546) morphologically classifies the adverbs for the *Interior* into three groups, ἔνδον, ἐντός and ἔσω. Each of them has been given the meanings, "im Haus", "drinnen", "im Innern", respectively. As for the distinction between the *Allative* and the *Locative*, he only cites some examples of εἴσω from Aeschylus, Aristophanes and Xenophon. Humbert (1982:327) more clearly states that no distinction of the absence/presence of the motion is related with the selection of the adverbs. Blass et al. (1976: 82) notes that in New Testament Greek ἔσω is used for the motion and the location, while ἐντός represents the location.

11) An example of ἔνδον εις for the *Locative* has not been found in the corpus. I regard this absence as accidental, because the total number of the examples of ἔνδον is not large and moreover, because ἔνδον without a preposition can function as the *Locative* (see example 10).

12) The suffix -θεν began to lose the *Ablative* sense in AG. Schwyzer (1950: 546) cites three *Allative* examples of ἔνδοθεν/ἔσωθεν from Homer, Herodotus and Thucydides. In New Testament Greek, ἔσωθεν is used as the *Locative* and the *Allative* (Blass et al., 1976: 82-83).

13) The editor's translation is: " von innen zieht sie kräftig an, ich wiederum von außen." (Eideneier, 1991: 182).

14) The first definition of ἀπέσω in Κριαράς' lexicon is "ἀπομέσα προς τα ἔξω" ('from inside towards outside"). That this meaning is brought forth by the *Ablative* prepositions ἀπό/ἐκ co-occurring with the adverbs, rather than the adverbs themselves, is clear from the observation in this paper. Besides, two examples cited in Κριαράς include the *Ablative* preposition ἀπό. As for ἀπέσωθεν, the same lexicon correctly interprets it as "προς τα μέσα" and "μέσα" without referring to any *Ablative* meaning. Trapp's lexicon also gives the definitions of the *Allative-Locative* ("innerhalb", "drinnen").

15) The editor's translation is: " elemosinare perfino dai calzolai entro Gianina, tutti appoggiati ai bastoni " (Schirò, 1975:459).

16) The editor's translation is: " in mezzo ai vigneti e similmente nei campi distrussero molte cose. " (Schirò, 1975:247).

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ビザンツ民衆ギリシャ語における「内部」表現

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　12 世紀から 15 世紀にかけて盛んに生み出されたビザンツ民衆ギリシャ語のテキスト群は、現代ギリシャ語の特徴を多く含んでいる点で、ギリシャ語の史的発展の研究にとって貴重な資料である。本稿は、現代ギリシャ語に特徴的な現象である複合前置詞（＝副詞＋前置詞）のうち、「内部」概念を表現する形態に焦点を当て、これがビザンツ民衆ギリシャ語テキストでは、どの程度の成立をみているのかを考察する。考察は、形態論的、統語論的、意味論的という三つの観点から分析的になされる。

　1)形態論的観点からは、「内部」表現にはどのような副詞が使用されるのかが調査される。現代標準語では、ほとんど唯一の形態として副詞 μέσα が用いられる。ビザンツ民衆語では、その時期に応じて通時的変遷が観察される。すなわち前半期には中世語独自の απέσω と現代語に伝わる μέσα、さらにこれらと並んで古典語伝来の様々な副詞が用いられるのに対し、後半期には απέσω と μέσα の二本立てになる。しかし、いずれの場合にも、若干のテキストをのぞいては、απέσω の方が μέσα よりも使用頻度が高い。

　2)統語論的観点からは、各副詞がいかなる統語的特徴を示すのか、すなわち、どのような要素と共起し得るのかが調査される。現代語 μέσα は前置詞 σε 及び από と共起し得る。ビザンツ民衆語では、全時期を通じて、副詞は前置詞 εἰς（またはこれに由来する現代語形 σε）と από（またはこれと類似の意味を持つ古風な εκ）との共起例が多数観察される。

　3)意味論的観点からは、基本的な空間概念である「存在」「接近」「分離」「通過」と「内部」概念との組み合わせの表現が、どのような形態によって実現されるのかが記述される。現代語では、基準となる対象の「内部の存在」「内部への接近」は副詞 μέσα＋前置詞 σε によって、「内部からの分離」「内部の通過」は副詞 μέσα＋前置詞 από によって表現される。ビザンツ民衆語でも同様に、「内部の存在」「内部への接近」は種々の副詞と前置詞 εἰς（または σε）との結合により、「内部からの分離」は前置詞 από（または εκ）との結合により表現される。（「内部の通過」は明確な例が見出されない。）

　以上の結果を、ビザンツ民衆語における複合前置詞の成立の度合いという点からまとめるならば、統語論的・意味論的には十分に現代語的特徴を備えているが、形態論的すなわち使用される副詞の形態という点では、中世語的特徴を示している。