THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE GENITIVE AND DATIVE USED WITH TO DENOTE SUPERPOSTION

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The Difference Between the Genitive and Dative Used with to Denote Superpostion by Lewis Leaming Forman

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"Vix quidquam tam lubricum est in syntaxi linguarum, quam hi loci, qui sunt de praepositionibus et de coniunctionibus." These words of G. Hermann, though written many years ago (1831), must be recognized, however regretfully, as still true by any one who has attempted to answer even some less important question in prepositional usage. Classification he finds difficult, at times impossible, and the opinious of authorities widely divergent.

On the general theory of prepositions, it is true, Delbrück announced in 1879 the following consensus of judgment: "Ueber die ursprüngliche Anwendung dieser Präpositionen (ἀνά, ἐπί, παρά, περί, πρός, πρό, έν, έκ, ξύν) ist man jetzt zu einer übereinstimmenden Meinung gelangt. Man nimmt allgemein an, dass die Präpositionen ursprünglich wie alle Wörter Freiwörter (sog. Adverbia) waren, und dann Begleitwörter wurden, und zwar von Anfang an in grösster Ausdehnung verbale Begleitwörter, dagegen Anfangs seltener und erst im Laufe der Zeit häufiger werdend nominale Begleitwörter. In der ältesten Zeit war es die wesentliche Aufgabe der Präpositionen, die Richtung der im Verbum ausgedrückten Handlung näher zu bestimmen, die Beziehung der Handlung aber auf einen Gegenstand drückte der Casus allein aus, ohne Beihülfe der Präpositionen." So essentially say Kühner, Curtius, Whitney and others before this date, and so Paul, Brugmann, Vogrinz and others since. But it is only upon this general theory that a consensus can be obtained-so general indeed that it must ignore the question of the ultimate origin of

¹ Opuscula, vol. V, p. 50, quoted by Sobolewski, De Praefositionum Usu Aristophanee.

Syntaktische Forschungen, IV 126.

³ Grammatik der griech. Sproche (1870), II, 2428, 3 and 4.

^{*} Exlanterungen (1875), p. 176.

Language and the Study of Lang. (1877), p. 276.

^{*} Principien der Spruehgeschiehte (1886), p. 316.

Griechische Grammatik (Müller's Handbuch, 11, 1890), §195.

Grammatik des homerischen Dialektes (1889), p. 206.

prepositions, i. c. whether or not they contain the stems of Begriffswörter; whereas, if one enters into particulars even so slightly as to ask for a definition of the difference between the true and the "improper" preps., or what preps., if any, go with the true gen, case, he will obtain a great diversity of answers. Curtius, for instance, finds that the gen, depends upon avri, mob, δω, ὑπέρ "und vielen andern—gerade in der Weise wie von unserm Angesichts, laut, kraft." Delbrück takes issue with him, though admitting the Curtius-construction as a probability for deri and a possibility for &id, because they may belong to the class of "unechten, d. h. aus Nominalstämmen gebildeten Präpositionen." Vogrinz, Gram, des homerischen Dialektes, takes the gen, to be adnominal with ἀρτί (p. 211), διά (p. 214), κατά sometimes (p. 215), ὑπέρ (p. 216), παρά "schwer zu entscheiden" (p. 222), πρός "allem Anschein nach" (p. 223). Delbrück now says: "Der echte Genitiv findet sich bei αντί, ὑπέρ, διά, ἐπί, ποτί, ἀνά, ἀμφί, περί, μετά. Bei ἀντί, ὑπέρ und åd dürste es der alte adnominale Genitiv sein, welcher uns bei den unechten Präp, begegnet." It will be observed that as these lists are not co-extensive, the slipperiness of which Hermann complains is still present.

For the purposes of the present essay, however, these larger questions need not be taken up and the general theory as above presented may be subscribed to. We proceed therefore to the proper subject of the essay—the difference between the gen. and dat. used with ini to express superposition, or, to take a concrete case,

What is the Attic Greek prose for 'with his hat on his head'? Is it έπλ τῆς κεφαλῆς, or έπλ τῆς κεφαλῆ? Or if either, is there any shade of difference in the meaning?

For the translation of so simple a phrase, one might expect

^{&#}x27;See Grassmann, Ursprung der Präfositionen, Kuhn's Zeitschrift, XXIII (1877), p. 559. He maintains (p. 563): "Keine ächte Präposition ist aus einem Begriffswort entsprungen," as also: "Keine ächte Präp. ist als Casus zu fassen." See on the contrary for παρό, Osthoff, Morph. Unters. IV 283, Anm., "der alte Instrumental," and for περι and ivi, Brugmann, Gr. Gram., §194 (locat.). So too diá (bai), πρό, and others have been reckoned among the preps. "in quibus terminatio alicuius nominis latet, ex quo genetivus pendeat," J. A. Heilmann, De Genetivi Graeci maxima Homerici usu (1873), p. 25, note 2,

Erläuterungen, p. 177.

² Synt. Forsch. IV 134.

Vergleichende Syntax der indegermanischen Sprachen (1893), p. 763.

clear rules and distinctions laid down even in the elementary books. The question is not one of origins. No matter what its derivation, affinities or ultimate meaning, $i\pi i$ is certainly the proper preposition, while the case of the substantive should be settled by an examination of the remains of Greek literature; and, if both cases prove to be allowed, the difference between them, if worth anything, should appear at the same time. Only in this last matter need one feel drawn beyond the Greek in search of the Indo-Germanic basis of distinction.

Yet simple as the question seems, scholars are much at variance about it. Stated in general terms the question is:

- 1) Does Attic Greek prose employ ênî with both genitive and dative to express concrete superposition of one body upon another?
- 2) If so, what is the difference, if any, between the two forms of expression?

The answers of the following authorities I quote at some length, that their text may be at hand for reference.

- 1) Kühner, Grammatik der griech. Sprache (1870), II, §438: "έπί mit dem Dativ, 1) räumlich zur Angabe des Verweilens nicht nur, wie beim Gen., anf, sondern, und zwar häufiger, in erweiterter Bedeutung an od, bei einem Orte od. Gegenstande." He then quotes among other instances of auf Xen. An. VII 4, 4 οἱ θρᾶκες τὰς άλωπεκίδας ἐπὶ τῶς κεφαλῶς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῦς ώσὶ καὶ ξειρῶς (Oberkleider) μέχρι τῶν παδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν, remarking "ἐπί c. dat. rein räumlich, aber ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων, insofern die Pferde als thätig gedacht werden; so Plat. Conv. 212e ἐπὶ τῆ κεφαλῆ ἔχων τὰς ταινίας, aber kurz vorher ταινίας ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς."
- 2) Krüger, Griechische Grammatik (1875), §68, 41, 1: "Bei ἐπί mit dem Gen. wird eine mehr zufällige, freiere Verbindung gedacht; bei ἐπί mit dem Dat. schwebt mehr der Begriff der Zugehörigkeit vor."
- 3) Rutherford, Babrius (1883), p. 7: "The correct Attic usage is very simple, the best writers of prose and comedy limiting ἐπί c. gen. to position or motion upon an object or surface, and ἐπί c. dat. to position or motion at or near. Thus a floating body is ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ, a city ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ. A wounded man may be carried home ἐπὶ θυρῶν, a beggar sits ἐπὶ θέροις. In tragedy this distinction is not observed, and ἐπί c. dat. is also used to convey the sense which prose writers confine to the genitive. In Thucydides the prose usage has not yet become absolute, and although several

deviations from the rule, such as δεάτων ἐπὶ ὁμάξη κατακομίζειν (4, 67), admit of easy correction, yet the undoubted dat. in 2, 80 τοῦς ὁπλίτας ἐπὶ νασεὶ πέμπωναι, 4, το ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ ῥῆστοί εἰστο ἀμένεσθαι, proves that such emendation is as uncalled for in the immature Attic of Thucydides as it would be in Herod, or Xen. The Ionic and poetic laxity also crops up in the Symposium, where Plato allows himself a poet's license, and in the same paragraph (212e) are found the poetical ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχων τὰς ταινίας, and the prosaic ταινίας ἔχωντα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. In no writer, however, is the genuine prose signification of ἔπὶ c. dat. ever accredited to ἐπὶ c. gen.,¹ although the meaning 'in the direction of' sometimes brings ἐπὶ close to that of 'near.'"

- 4) Sobolewski, De Praepositionum Usu Aristephaneo (Moscow, 1890), p. 161: "Sed omnino genetivum multo usitatiorem dativo in quotidiano Atticorum sermone fuisse vel inde clarissime apparet, quod Aristoph, hoc usu ἐπὶ iungit dativo in senariis 11-ies, in alio genere versuum 13-ies (quo annumeravi etiam Vesp. 1293, ubi Aristoph, tragicos imitatur), genetivo autem in senariis 48-ies, in aliis numeris 14-ies." In a footnote he adds: "Errat igitur Rutherfordius, qui hunc dativi usum a comicis omnino abiudicat (Babrius, p. 7)." On the difference between gen, and dat., p. 160: "Quaerenti mihi, quid inter utramque constructionem interesset, sensus quidem discrimen esse nullum visum est," citing Eq. 783 by the side of 754, and Vesp. 1040 as compared with Lys. 575, 732, Eccl. 909.
- 5). Gildersleeve, American Journal of Philology, XI, p. 372, reviewing Sobolewski's book: "Under ini c. gen. Sobolewski rejects Krüger's distinction between ini c. gen. and ini c. dat in a local sense, a distinction which, it is true, might well be reversed theoretically as well as practically, for we should expect the natural position to be expressed by ini c. gen., the unnatural by the dat. Fixity of position is in fact often denoted by ini c. gen. (see my Justin Martyr, Apol. I 26, 15), and it is not impossible that there may be some such feeling as we have in regard to ini c. gen. and ini c. dat. In refutation of Krüger, Sobolewski points triumphantly to Eq. 783 compared with 754, but he might have claimed here, not mere indifference, but, if one must refine, reversal. It would be easy to make Demos wriggle in the one

^{&#}x27;Sec, however, to take the word Mr. Rutherford himself has chosen, Lycurg. κατά Λεωκράτους έ40 όραν ό' ἡν ἐπὶ μὲν τών θυρών γυναϊκας ἐλευθέρας περιφόβους κτλ.

passage and sit quiet in his 'fixed normal position' in the other. At any rate, the gen, is much more common in Attic daily speech than the dat., as Sobolewski shows, though, as he also notes, Rutherford is wrong in denying in c. dat. in this sense to Attic (Babrius, p. 7)."

6). Transferring the question to Homeric Greek (Monro, Homeric Gram., §200): "The gen, with êπê is used in nearly the same sense as the dat., but usually with less definitely local force; in particular—1) with words expressing the great divisions of space, espec. when a contrast is involved (land and sea, etc.); as êπê χέρσου, êπ' ἡπείρου, êπ' ἀγροῦ; Od. 12, 27 ἡ ἀλὸς ἡ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλγήσετε—2) where the local relation is a familiar one; as ἐπὶ νηός, ἐπ' ἀπήνης, ἐψ' ἔππων, ἐπὶ θράνου, ἐπ' οὐδοῦ, ἐπὶ πέργου, ἐπ' ἀγκῶνυς, ἐπὶ μελίης (ἐρεισθείς). Thus ἐπὶ νηνοί means on or beside ships, ἐπὶ νηῶν on board ships." (But for the Greeks before Troy was ἐπὶ νηῶν a more familiar location than ἐπὶ νηνοί?)

Further quotation is needless to prove variety of opinion. Mr. Rutherford is perhaps alone in denying to Attic Greek prose the use of the dat, in the sense of superposition. This point is naturally the first to be taken up, and could perhaps be determined by an appeal simply to Att. Greek prose. But it will be better to present at the same time and in historic order the whole material of the question.

The following lists

- t) include only concrete substantial things, admitting abstractions, metaphors or other unrealities only when they vividly suggest their originals, e. g. Soph. Ant. 189-90 (speaking of the πόλις) ταύτης ἔπι πλέοντες; Ar. Av. 39-40 οί μἐν γὰρ οδιν τέττεγες ἐ. τῶν κραδῶν ἄδονσι, 'Αθηναῖοι δ' ἀεὶ ἐ. τῶν δικῶν ἄδονσι; Xen. An. II 5, 23 of the wearing of the tiara ἐ. τῷ κεφαλῷ and also ἐ. τῷ καρδἰα.
- 2) exclude on the contrary concrete objects where evidently the meaning is not purely local, e. g. Z 423-24 πάντας γὰρ κατέπεφνε βουσὶ ἐπ' αἰλιπόδεσσι (cf. vv. 209, 221); Xen. Cyr. V

¹ may, however, quote Kuemmell, De Praepositionis in Usu Thueydideo (1875), p. 30: "Structuris Genetivi et Dativi collatis demonstrabo saepe fere mihil interesse Genetivus an Dativus sit usurpatus." He then compares I 13, 5 with I 56, 2, έ, τοῦ ἰσθωῦ and έ, τῷ ἰσθμῶ; II 93, 4 with VIII 106, 4 ἀκρωτηρίων and ·φ; IV 118, 4 with 105, 2 έ, τῆς αἰτῶν μένειν and ἐ, τοῖς ἐαντοῦ . . . μένειν; IV 100, 4 with VIII 69 t, ἐπ' αἰτοῦ (sc. τειχανς) and ἐ, τείχει; III 102, 4 (and IV 101, 3) with II 80, 2 (and IV 10, 3) νεῶν and νονεῖ.