

Dative Genitives in Modern Greek MWEs

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This work is about:

The constraints on the alternations within MWEs between:

- free genitive NPs and dative genitives
- σε (to) /από (from)-PPs and dative genitives

Why this research?

- For a sounder representation of the properties of MWEs for lexicographic and parsing purposes
- For corroborating the research on the phenomenon of the Dative Genitive and its relation to the syntactic mechanisms of expressing events

Our working definition of a MWE

A MWE is an identifiable set of words that:

- are subject to specific **morphosyntactic constraints**
- its semantics is not derived directly from its parts; instead it is **idiosyncratic**.

Our working definition of Dative Genitive (DG) (1)

- A preverbal resumptive pronoun (1) that has the function of an applicative or of an argument of a verb such as δίνω (give) or παίρνω (take).

1) Του διέρρηξαν το σπίτι και **του** πήραν τα κλειδιά του αυτοκινήτου

DG.3RD break_in-V.3PL the house-ACC and **DG.3RD** took-V.3PL the keys-ACC the car-GEN

“They broke into his house and stole the car keys”

Our working definition of Dative Genitive (DG) (2)

- Clitic doubling is possible (2) *but* a full NP can not be used on its own in preverbal position (3)

2) Του Γιάννη **του** διέρρηξαν το σπίτι...

3) **Του Γιάννη** διέρρηξαν το σπίτι...
(acceptable only as a strongly emphatic statement of possession)

Previous Work (1)

Tzartzanos (1946) (general language):

- a dative genitive exists in Modern Greek
- realized pre- or post- verbally (2,3)
- realized by full NP or clitic pronoun form

1. Η Μαρία ράβει ένα ρούχο του παιδιού της.

The Maria-NOM makes-V.3SG a garment-ACC the child-GEN POSS.3rd

2. Η Μαρία ράβει **του παιδιού της** ένα ρούχο.

The Maria-NOM makes-V.3SG **the child-DG** POSS.3rd a garment.ACC

3. Η Μαρία **του** ράβει ένα ρούχο.

The Maria-NOM **DG.3RD** makes-V.3SG a garment- ACC

“Maria is making a garment for her child.”

Previous Work (1)

- functions as the ancient dative case in both ‘give’ verbs (4,5) and in constructions such as (6).

4. τίς σοι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν (Matthew 21:23 V-AIA-3S)

“Ποιος σου ἔδωσε τὴν ἐξουσία”

5. Καὶ προσέφερον αὐτῷ παιδία ἵνα αὐτῶν ἄψηται (Mark 10:13)

“καὶ τοῦ ἔφεραν κοντὰ τοῦ παιδιὰ γιὰ νὰ τὰ ἀγγίξει”

6. ὅτι παιδίον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν (Is.9:5)

”γιατί μας γεννήθηκε ἓνα αγόρι”

Previous Work (2)

Fotopoulou (1993) (in MWEs):

- ✓ Studies full NPs that
 - are in the genitive case and are attached to a fixed N (χάνω τα ίχνη κτ)
 - are the objects of a P that is attached to a fixed N (βάζω λόγια σε κτ)
 - the possible alternations of these NPs with se-PPs, DGs or possessive pronouns
- ✓ She concludes that:
 - se-NPs alternate with DGs but not with possessives
 - genitive NPs
 - may alternate with DGs & possessives but not with se-PPs if they are attached to body parts
 - otherwise they do not alternate with DGs or se-PPs but only with possessives.
 - there are some intermediary cases that alternate with all possible alternants (DG σπάω τον τσαμπουκά κάποιου/σε-NP)

Previous Work (2)

- ✓ Fotopoulou (1993) offers an extensive description of the phenomena under scrutiny. However, the approach:
 - leaves out cases of pronominal possessives (τρώνει τα νύχια της) and does not explain their behavior with respect to the DG alternation
 - does not set constraints on the ‘P-NP to DG’ alternation
 - by restricting the approach to body parts it enforces metaphorical interpretations:
 - βρίσκω το κουμπί NP-GEN-anim,
 - ανάβω τα λαμπάκια NP-GEN-animκουμπί (button) /λαμπάκια (light bulbs) have to be reconstructed as body parts)

Our dataset

- About 200 Modern Greek Free Subject Verb MWEs drawn from a corpus of 1200 MG verb MWEs (Samaridi, 2014).

They include:

1. Full genitive NPs dependent on a fixed nominal (58 MWEs in our dataset).
2. Possessive pronouns dependent on fixed nominal bound by the subject or the object (64 in our dataset).
3. Only Dative Genitives (15 in our dataset)
4. σε-/από-free NPs dependent on fixed noun (65 in our dataset)

Free genitive NPs vs DG in MG MWEs (Semantic features)

Free genitive NPs

- i. denote both animate and inanimate entities
- ii. can be bound by either subject or object

Dative Genitives

- i. always denote an animate entity
- ii. are never bound by subject or object

Free genitive NPs vs DG in MG MWEs (Phrasal features)

Free genitive NPs

Instantiated as:

- A full NP
- A postnominal weak pronoun

→ Always dependent on nominals.

Dative Genitives

Instantiated as:

- Always a weak pronoun
- Always preverbal

→ Always dependent on verbs

Free genitive NPs and Dative Genitives in Modern Greek MWEs (1)

They alternate but NOT freely:

Ανεβάζουν το ηθικό του κόσμου. / **Του** ανεβάζουν το ηθικό.
Raise-3.PL the morale-ACC the people-GEN. / **DG.3RD** ...
“They are psyching the people up”

Η Ελένη τρώει τα νύχια της. / ***Της** η Ελένη τρώει τα νύχια.
The Helen-NOM eat-3.SG the nails-ACC POSS.3rd. / ***DG.3RD** ...
“Helen is worried”

Έφαγαν την σκόνη του Διαμαντίδη / ***Του** έφαγαν την σκόνη
ate-3.PL the dust-ACC *the Diamantidis-* GEN / ***DG.3RD** ...
“They lagged behind Diamantidis”

Free genitive NPs and Dative Genitives in Modern Greek MWEs (2)

They co-exist when they refer to two different entities:

Η Μαρία_i **ΤΟΥ** έδειξε τα δόντια της_i.
The Maria-NOM DG.3RD shown-3.SG the teeth-ACC POSS.3RD.

“Maria threatened him”

1. When a free genitive NP can alternate with a free Dative Genitive(1)?

A free DG may replace a free genitive NP iff:

1. There are no binding phenomena
2. NP denotes an animate directly affected by the situation denoted by the MWE

No binding phenomena

Pronoun **necessarily** bound by subject - a constraint on the structure of the MWE:

Η Ελένη τρώει τα νύχια της.

The Eleni-NOM eats-3.SG the nails-ACC POSS.3RD

“Eleni is very anxious”

***Της** η Ελένη τρώει τα νύχια

DG.3RD the Eleni-NOM eats-3.SG the nails-ACC.

Pronoun **necessarily** bound by object - a constraint on the structure of the MWE :

Βάζω τον Γιώργο_i στη θέση του_i.

put-1.SG the George-ACC to-the position POSS.3RD

“I put George in his place”

***Του_i** βάζω τον Γιώργο_i στη θέση.

DG.3RD put1.SG the George-ACC to-the position-ACC.

Necessary binding as a strong component of MWE identity

- **PRO_j έβγαλε τα συκώτια του_k** → possessive genitive and subject do not co-refer, *idiomatic-compositional meaning*, causative, DG: **του_j PRO_k έβγαλε τα συκώτια**
- **PRO_j έβγαλε τα συκώτια του_j** → possessive genitive and subject co-refer, *idiomatic meaning*, non-causative, no DG: ***του_j PRO_j έβγαλε τα συκώτια**

The idiomatic meaning is preserved in causative-inchoative alternation that returns a MWE with a fixed subject and co-reference is ruled out:

- πτήση με αερόστατο: **κουνούσε σαν εκκρεμές το άτιμο, μου βγήκαν τα συκώτια!** → *idiomatic meaning*, non-causative, DG

More on binding: Accidental Binding

no constraint on the structure of the MWE

Κουράστηκα να βγάλω αυτές τις ιδέες από το μυαλό του Κώστα.
Tired to get_out these the ideas-ACC from-PREP the mind-ACC the Costas-GEN.

Κουράστηκα να **του** βγάλω από το μυαλό αυτές τις ιδέες.
Tired-1SG to **DG.3RD** get_out-1SG from-PREP the mind-ACC these the ideas-ACC.

Θα τις βγάλω αυτές τις ιδέες από το μυαλό μου.
PTFUT PN get_out-1SG these the ideas-ACC from-PREP the mind-ACC POSS.1ST.

*Θα **μου** τις βγάλω αυτές τις ιδέες από το μυαλό.
PTFUT **DG.1ST** PN get_out-1SG these the ideas-ACC from-PREP the mind-ACC.

- ★ Inability to alternate in the presence of binding phenomena seems to be due to **more general properties of MG resumptive pronouns** that can not be bound by a co-argument.

While binding phenomena in a MWE may be

- necessary, that is part of the MWE's fixed structure
- accidental, that is a random requirement of discourse

the mechanism that blocks the DG alternation is derived from general properties of the language

When a free genitive NP can alternate with a free Dative Genitive (2)?

A free DG may replace a free genitive NP iff:

- ~~1. There are no binding phenomena~~
2. NP denotes an animate directly affected by the situation denoted by the MWE

When a free genitive NP can alternate with a free Dative Genitive?

The genitive NP denotes a **person directly affected in the situation** denoted by the MWE:

Η αγωνία τρώει τα σωθικά της Ελένης' entails that Eleni (+anim) suffers under the situation denoted by the expression (that has no compositional semantics)

Η αγωνία τρώει τα σωθικά της Ελένης. /
the agony-NOM eats the guts-ACC the Helen-GEN
“Agony eats at Eleni/Agony eats at her”

Η αγωνία της τρώει τα σωθικά.
the agony-NOM **DG.3RD** eats the guts

MWE entails that the subject of the expression was affected by the event denoted while the entity denoted by the free genitive NP is not necessarily affected.

Έφαγαν την σκόνη του Διαμαντίδη.
ate-3.PL the dust-ACC the Diamantidis-GEN
“They lagged behind Diamantidis”.

***Του** έφαγαν την σκόνη.
DG.3RD ate-3.PL the dust-ACC

When a free genitive NP can alternate with a free Dative Genitive?

This approach is more general than Fotopoulou (1993) that only talks about body parts and enforces metaphorical interpretations:

Η συμπεριφορά μου της ανάβει τα λαμπάκια.
The behavior-NOM POSS.1st **DG.3rd** switch_on.V.3SG the lights-ACC
“My behavior made her furious”

Ο υπουργός άναψε τα λαμπάκια του δημάρχου.
The minister-NOM switched_on.V.3SG the lights-ACC the mayor-GEN
“The minister made the mayor furious”

2. MWEs with a free DG as part of the fixed MWE syntax (2).

A free DG is part of **fossilised syntax** of the MWE and does **not** alternate with a free genitive NP

✧ Idiomatic meaning/compositional meaning

Το συμβάν **ΤΟΥ** έκοψε τα πόδια.
The event-NOM DG-3RD cut-3SG the legs-ACC.

✧ Only compositional meaning

*Το συμβάν έκοψε τα πόδια **του Νίκου/του**
The event-NOM cut-3.SG the legs-ACC the Nikos-GEN POSS.3RD

3. Dative Genitives alternating with σε/από-PPs (1)

- σε (to)/από (from)-PP alternates with DG **iff** the NP of the PP denotes an **animate**.

- The MWE requires an animate NP:

Οι μαθητές έβγαλαν γλώσσα **στη** δασκάλα.--*στον πίνακα.
The students-NOM took_out-3.PL tongue-ACC to_the teacher-ACC.ANIM

Οι μαθητές **της** έβγαλαν γλώσσα.
The students-NOM DG.3RD took_out-3.PL tongue-ACC

“The students answered back to the teacher”

3. Dative Genitives alternating with σε/από-PPs (2)

- The MWE requires an animate NP:

Δεν παίρνουν κουβέντα **από** τον υπουργό.--- *από τον αυτόματο τηλεφωνητή
Not-NEG take-3PL word-ACC from-PREP the minister-ACC.ANIM

“They don’t take a word from the minister”

Δεν **του** παίρνουν κουβέντα.
Not DG.3RD take-3PL word-ACC

- The MWE does not require an animate NP:

Δίνεις βάση στο μάθημα
***του** δίνεις βάση

When we encode MWES:

- (1) binding of the possessive pronoun is a lexical property
- (2) meaning of the MWE is a lexical property
- (3) whether the P selects an animate is again a lexical property

Thus, MWEs of cases (2) and (3) have to be marked for the ability to participate to the Dative Genitive alternation because it is not derived from general principles of the language.

Conclusions

In the MWEs DG:

1. Can be part of the fossilized structure of the MWE.
2. Can be the result of an alternation with se/apo- PP or free genitive NP iff:
 - Animate
 - Not bound
 - Directly affected
3. Unlike compositional language DG never introduces an additional participant in the event denoted with the verb MWE.

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Thank you!

Genitive Dative and Possession in MG (NOT in MWEs)1

Genitive Dative gradually replaced Ancient Greek Dative

“... phrases in which a **displacement of genitive relation** was possible contributed to the replacement.

Genitives assigned to **nouns** (genitive possessives) could be considered attached to the **verb** as **datives**” (Tzartzanos, 1946)

Η Μαρία ράβει ένα ρούχο του παιδιού της.
Η Μαρία ράβει του παιδιού της ένα ρούχο.
(examples from Tzartzanos)

***keep in mind ότι εδώ ο Τζάρτζανος περιγράφει μια δοτική με λίγο αλλιώςτικά χαρακτηριστικά από αυτά που της δώσαμε: can be pre and post verbal, not only resumptive pronoun but also full NPs)

Genitive Dative and Possession in MG (NOT in MWEs) 2

Χειρούργησαν το πόδι του.
Του χειρούργησαν το πόδι

Έτρεχε ο ιδρώτας του ποτάμι.
Του έτρεχε ο ιδρώτας ποτάμι. (MWE????)

-Genitive dative introduces an extra argument NOT licensed by the valence (argument structure) of the verb

The extra argument denotes an animate entity

The entity is directly affected

Presumably parallel to the “Ethical Dative” of Ancient Greek

Strong connotations of possession (inalienable possession, body parts)

Thus, POSS alternation allowed

Έδωσα στο Γιάννη το βιβλίο.
Του έδωσα το βιβλίο.

Genitive Dative does not introduce an extra argument.

Alternative expression of a thematic role (goal)

Typically occurring in cases of give/take verbs (much closer to the literal meaning of dative)

some notation of possession still exists

- the Dative possessor has probably developed by metaphorical extension of the goal schema to the possessive domain based on the conceptualization of the goal or endpoint of the situation as the possessor (Heine 1997).¹¹

Thus to/from σε/από PPs alternate with

Examples of Free genitive NPs & Dative Genitives

Free genitive NP

Ο Νίκος_i θέλει τα λεφτά **του_k/του_i**.

The Nick-NOM wants-3.SG the money-ACC **POSS.3RD**

“Nick_j wants his_{k/j} money”.

Dative genitive

Του διέρρηξαν το σπίτι και του πήραν τα κλειδιά του αυτοκινήτου

DG.3RD the house-ACC and DG.3RD took-V.3PL the keys-ACC the car-GEN

“They broke into his house and stole the car keys”

http://www.newsit.com.cy/default.php?pname=Article&art_id=167286&catid=31