

# PROMISCUOUS APO-PHRASES IN GREVENA GREEK

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# Main claims

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- We investigate ***apo*-phrases** introducing nominal arguments in **Grevena Greek (GG)**

(1) Ta ruxa ap ta pedia  
the clothes apo the children  
'The children's clothes'

[Thavoris 1980]

- We argue that *apo*-phrases exhibit a **morpho-syntactic strategy of introducing nominal arguments** distinct from inflected genitives in SMG, and akin to Romance *de/ di*-phrases.
- We analyse *apo*-phrases in GG as **free genitives** in the sense of Longobardi&Silvestri (2013)

# Outline

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- The **dialect** of Grevena
- Introducing **nominal arguments**
- Semantic and semantic **properties** of *apo*-phrases in GG
- **Comparison** with other prepositional nominal arguments and inflected genitives in SMG
- **Analysis**
- **Conclusions**

# The Dialect of Grevena (Grevena Greek)

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- Usually considered as part of a bigger group comprising the **Kozani/Grevena area**. (Thavoris 1993, Ntinis 2012 a.o.)
  - ▣ Areas of **Grevena, Kozani, Siatista, Tsotili and Velvento** (Thavoris 1993)
  - ▣ And most of the **villages around these areas**  
(some of them with special characteristics, e.g. the villages of Mavranei Philipei in the Grevena prefecture (Ntinis 2012, more in a bit))
- In the literature it is found as **Kozani Dialect** (Condoravdi and Kiparksy 2002).
- In this paper, we mainly present **data from the Grevena variety**, so we refer to it as **Grevena Greek**

# The Dialect of Grevena (Grevena Greek)

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- From a more general perspective, the dialect of Grevena is a **Northern Greek dialect** (Papadopoulos 1921, Ntinis 2012)
- Thus, it shares a number of **characteristics** with Northern Greek dialects
- In what follows, we give a **brief description** of the dialect.
- Note that this description is mostly (or wholly) relevant to the **whole Kozani/Grevena dialect** and not only Grevena Greek

# Grevena Greek: Phonetics/Phonology

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## □ Typical **Northern Greek dialect**

- Mid vowels /e o/ (unstressed) are raised (/i u/) and unstressed high vowels (/i u/) are deleted
  - Deletion of /i/ in word final position leaves a trace of its co-articulation with the preceding consonant (this is not attested in Mavranei and Philipei villages of Grevena)
  - Deletion of /i/ may produce consonantal clusters that get then simplified: [vi'astike] > ['vjastki] > /'vjaski/. In other cases an epenthetic consonant is added to help pronunciation: [mi'sos] > ['msos] > ['mpsos]
- Palatization of /s z ts dz/ before /i/: [cera'sça] > [cira'sça] > [cira'ʃa]

# Grevena Greek: Morphosyntax (1)

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- **Accusative** is used for the expression of the **indirect object**.

(2) Mi lei xazamares  
me.cl-acc say.3sg nonsense  
'He speaks nonsense to me'

(3) Ipa t mana m  
said.1sg the.acc mother.acc my.gen

- **Weak object pronouns** appear **proclitic** to the lexical verb rather than the auxiliary (Condoravdi and Kiparky 2002; Ntinis 2012)

(4) Ixan ts vaps  
had them painted  
'They had painted them'

# Grevena Greek: Morphosyntax (2)

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- **Clitics** get more quirky
  - ▣ In cases of **clitic clusters** with auxiliaries, direct object appears proclitic to the auxiliary while the indirect proclitic to the participle.

(5) S            ixa        tu            pi  
          you.cl-acc had.1sg it.cl-acc said

'I had told you this'

(Christodoulou 2015)

- ▣ There are some examples, where the **lexical V** instead of the auxiliary is **inflected** for person/number.

(6) Ixa tu dosumi lifta  
          had him.cl-acc given.1pl money.acc

'We had given him money'

(Christodoulou 2015)

# Grevena Greek: Promiscuous PPs (1)

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- There is a tendency to **replace inflected genitive phrases with *apo*-phrases** to express **possessives**.

(Thavoris 1980, Ntinis 2012)

(7) Tu samar' ap tu gumar'  
the.nom saddle.nom apo the.acc donkey.acc  
'The donkey's saddle'

(Thavoris 1980)

(8) Ta ruxa ap ta pedia  
the clothes apo the children  
'The children's clothes'

(Thavoris 1980)

# Grevena Greek: Promiscuous PPs (2)

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- **Previous literature** only considered **possessives**.
- Phenomenon extends to **all nominal arguments**.

(9) Fotografies ap ts pethamen' ts dimarxei  
pictures apo the dead the mayors  
'pictures *depicting* the dead mayors'

(10) i perjrafi ap tun dhimarxu  
the description apo the mayor  
'the description of the mayor'  
'the description by the mayor'

# Grevena Greek: Promiscuous PPs (3)

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- With one **possible exception**: *apo*-phrases are avoided in the case of **proper names**, for which speakers tend to use **inflected genitives**.

(11) ??Ta ruxa ap t Manol  
the clothes apo the Manolis  
'Manolis' clothes'

# Note on data collection

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- Collection of data was done using **structured questionnaires**
- Individuals were asked to judge the **grammaticality** of various syntactic constructions and **felicity** in context
  - ▣ In case of gradience, the subjects were asked to rate grammaticality on a **scale from 0-6** (0 a perfectly bad and 6 a perfectly good sentence respectively)
- **5 individuals** (males and females) aged from 22-34 were interviewed (some of them with high school education but most of them with university education). All of them were **born and raised in Grevena** to at least one parent born and raised also in Grevena (or a village in the prefecture)
  - ▣ These individuals are **bilingual (attrited) speakers of SMG and GG**
  - ▣ Non-attrited monolingual GG are quite rare to get. Furthermore, the questionnaire questions had cases where understanding would be quite difficult for older people. Comparison with data from other sources (e.g. texts by the Kozani dialect speakers) show a match with our findings
  - ▣ The next **fieldwork** trip is however planned to target monolingual GG speakers

# An example from the questionnaire put into context

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Context: Back in 1995 when we had the big earthquake that we had these people from the prefecture that were checking the houses and classified them according to the level of damage incurred. Now, imagine that I examine all the houses of the employees myself. After the examination I say to you:

(12) Ta spitia ap ton ipalilo tadi itan intaks  
the house apo the.acc employee.acc x were ok

(13) Ta spitia ap merikus/i ipalil' itan intaks  
The houses apo some employees were fine

(14) Spitia ap ipalil' vrethkan akatalila  
houses from employees were.found unsuitable

# No mere suppletion! (1)

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- The use of PPs head by *apo* as **genitive substitutes** is not uncommon among **Greek dialects**.
  - ▣ **Suppletive forms** filling paradigmatic gaps, e.g. in the dialect of **Kavakli (Eastern Rumelia)**
  - ▣ **Roumloukiotika (Imathia)**: inflected (prenominal) **genitives restricted to bisyllabic nouns** in the singular, extensive use of *apo*-phrases or other singulars, exclusive use of ***apo*-prases for all plural genitives**.
  - ▣ **Italiot (Calabria) Greek** (Katsoyannou 1996): **Ps** are common with **nouns, esp. loanwords, not assimilated to any Greek declensional classes** (e.g. *an du gurpi* 'of-the fox' <volpe) – but see also below

# No mere suppletion! (2)

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- In all these cases, **use of PPs** seems to be **morphologically conditioned**.
- On the contrary, **GG features *apo*-phrases in *all* contexts** in which a morphological genitive is allowed (if available at all). [With the **possible exception of common names**, to which we return later.]
- Moreover, we show that the **semantic and syntactic properties** of *apo*-phrases are **different from inflected genitives**.

# Nominal arguments: preliminaries (1)

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- **Meaning of possessives** involves three elements:
  - the **possessor**, an individual,
  - the **possessee**, a second individual,
  - a **Relation** between them  
(sometimes called 'Possession Relation', but not necessarily literal possession).

- (15) a. the sister of John                      *postnominal possessive*  
      b. John's sister                              *prenominal possessive*

- With relational nouns the relation is supplied **lexically**

- (16) a. the sister of John                      INHERENT  
      b. John's sister

# Nominal arguments: preliminaries (2)

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- If not, a number of **regular relational information** (QUALIA).

## (17) John's book

'the book owned by John'	CONTROL
'the book brought by John'	SOURCE
'the book written by John'	AUTHOR

## (18) John's leg

'the leg that is part of John'	PART-OF
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- The relation can be supplied **pragmatically/ contextually**

(19) Context: Helen and Mary are sisters. They are both sick and have visited a clinic. John is examining Helen and Bill is examining Mary.

John's sister is perfectly healthy.

# Nominal arguments: preliminaries (3)

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- With **deverbal nominals** (and argument supporting nouns more generally) the relation specifies **event participants**.

(20) a. the investigation *of* Bill                    THEME  
      b. the investigation *by* Bill                    AGENT  
      c. *Mary's* investigation *of* Bill    AGENT THEME

(21) a. the picture *of* Bill                    THEME  
      b. the picture *by* Bill                    AGENT  
      c. *Mary's* picture *of* Bill                    AGENT THEME

# Morpho-syntactic variation

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- **Great variation** in formal realization (Longobardi&Silvestri 2013)
  - **Prepositions** (e.g. English *of*, Romance *de/ di*)
  - Postpositions (e.g. Basque, Hindi)
  - **Inflectional genitives** (e.g. Standard Modern Greek)
  - Phrase-final affixes (e.g. Saxon genitive)
  - Word-final affixes (e.g. German *-s*)
  - Zero-realization (e.g. Hebrew construct states)
  - $\phi$ -feature concord with N (e.g. Romance possessive pronouns)
  
- We **compare** Grevena *apo*-phrases with
  - postnominal prepositional strategies
  - SMG inflectional genitives

# Outline

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- *apo* in GG vs *apo* in SMG (and English *by*-phrases)
- *apo* in GG vs postnominal *of* in English
- *apo* in GG vs postnominal *de/ di* in Romance
- *apo* in GG vs inflected genitives in SMG
- GG: two systems in competition.
- Analysis
- Conclusions and the locus of variation

# *apo* in GG vs *apo* in SMG (1)

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- ***apo*-phrases in SMG** seem to **lexicalize** the possession relation to that of **SOURCE** (and perhaps PART-OF).

- (22) to vivlio *apo* ton Jani SMG  
the book apo the John  
'the book brought by John' SOURCE  
'#the book owned by John' #CONTROL  
'#the book assigned to John' #PRAGM  
'#the book written by John' #AUTHOR
- (23) a. to podhi *apo* tin karekla PART-OF  
the leg apo the chair  
b. ?to podhi *apo* ton Jani (unless severed)  
the leg apo the John

## *apo* in GG vs *apo* in SMG (2)

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- With deverbal nominals the relation can only be that of **SOURCE/AGENT**.

(24) i perigrafi *apo* ton Jani SMG

the description *apo* the John

'the description by John'

AGENT

'#the description of John'

#THEME

# *apo* in GG vs *apo* in SMG (3)

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- ***apo*-phrases in GG** support the full range of relations.

(25)	tu vivliu <i>ap</i> tun dhimarxu	GG
	the book <i>apo</i> the mayor	
	'the book brought by the mayor'	SOURCE
	'the book owned by the mayor'	CONTROL
	'the book assigned to the mayor'	PRAGM
	'the book written by the mayor'	AUTHOR
(26)	a. tu pod <i>ap</i> t karekla	PART-OF
	the leg <i>apo</i> the chair	
	b. tu pod <i>ap</i> tun dhimarxu	
	the leg <i>apo</i> the mayor	

# *apo* in GG vs *apo* in SMG (4)

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- With deverbal nominals *apo*-phrases can introduce **any event participant**.

(27) i perigrafi ap tun dhimarxu GG  
the description apo the mayor

'the description by the mayor' AGENT

'the description of the mayor' THEME

- **Conclusion:**

The distribution of *apo*-phrases in GG is a superset of the distribution of *apo*-phrases in SMG.

# *apo* in GG vs *of* in English (1)

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- ***apo*-phrases in English** can only support lexical relations.
- They are mostly available with **relational nouns**.

(28) the sister *of* the mayor INHERENT

(29) the corner *of* the table PART-OF

(30) \*the book *of* the mayor

## *apo* in GG vs *of* in English (2)

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- With deverbal nominals the relation can only be that of **THEME/PATIENT**.

(31)	the description <i>of</i> John	<i>English</i>
	'#the description by John'	#AGENT
	'the description of John'	THEME

- As we saw, *apo*-phrases in GG show no such restrictions.
- **Conclusion:**  
The distribution of *apo*-phrases in GG is a superset of the distribution of *of*-phrases in English.

# *apo* in GG vs *de/ di* in Romance (1)

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- ***de/ di*-phrases** support the full range of relations.

(32)	il libro <b>di Gianni</b>	<i>Italian</i>
	the book di John	
	'the book owned by John'	CONTROL
	'the book brought by John'	SOURCE
	'the book assigned to John'	PRAGM
	'the book written by John'	AUTHOR
(33)	a. la gamba <b>del tavolo</b>	PART-OF
	the leg di-the table	
	b. la gamba <b>di Gianni</b>	
	the leg of John	

# *apo* in GG vs *de/ di* in Romance (2)

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- With deverbal nominals *de/ di*-phrases can introduce **any event participant**.

(34)	la	descrizione	di Gianni	<i>Italian</i>
	the	description	di John	
		'the description by John'		AGENT
		'the description of John'		THEME

- **Conclusion:**

The distribution of *apo*-phrases in GG is identical to the distribution of *de/ di*-phrases in Romance.

# apo in GG vs inflected genitives (1)

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- **Inflected genitives** support the full range of relations.

(35)	to	vivlio	tu	Jani	SMG
		the book	the.G	John.G	
		'the book owned by John'			CONTROL
		'the book brought by John'			SOURCE
		'the book assigned to John'			PRAGM
		'the book written by John'			AUTHOR
(36)	a. to	podhi	tis	kareklas	PART-OF
		the leg	the.G	chair.G	
	b. to	podhi	tu	Jani	
		the leg	the.G	John.G	

# apo in GG vs inflected genitives (2)

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- With deverbal nominals inflected genitives can introduce **any event participant**.

(37)	i	perigrafi	tu	Jani	SMG
		the description	the.G	John.G	
		'the description by John'			AGENT
		'the description of John'			THEME

- **Importantly**, our **speakers of GG do accept inflected genitives** and they exhibit **identical distribution** as in SMG.
- More on this in a bit...

# *apo*<sub>GG</sub> / *de* / *di* vs. inflected genitives

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- A **syntactic** difference: inflected genitives are **not iterable**, at least in process nominals.

(38) \*i polimini dierevnisi tu atiximatos tu Jani  
the lengthy investigation the.G accident.G the.G John.G  
'John's lengthy investigation of the accident'

- *apo*<sub>GG</sub> / *de* / *di*-phrases are **iterable** and **ambiguous**.

(39) i perjrafi ap tun dhimarxu ap ta pidja GG  
the description apo the mayor apo the children

(40) la descrizione del sindaco dei ragazzi Italian  
'the mayor's description of the children'  
'(?)the children's description of the mayor'

# Two systems in GG (1)

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- As before, our **GG informants** treat inflected genitives as in SMG, i.e. they are **not iterable**.

(41) \*i polimini dierevnisi tu atiximatos tu Jani GG  
the lengthy investigation the.G accident.G the.G John.G  
'John's lengthy investigation of the accident'

- Further **evidence**, that
  - *apo<sub>GG</sub>*-phrases are **not just a different morphological realization of the genitive**, but a different construction with independent syntax.
  - Inflected genitives in GG are an **independent device to introduce nominal arguments** available in the grammar of our speakers.

# Analysis (1)

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- GG *apo*-phrases have all the defining **properties** of **free genitives in Longobardi&Silvestri (2013)**.
  - ▣ **adpositional**, with a unique adposition ('uniqueness')
  - ▣ freely **iterable**
  - ▣ **no ordering effects** between two (or more) PPs, though subject to strict thematic **hierarchical effects** with respect to higher genitive/possessive expressions (e.g. possessive pronouns)

# Analysis (2)

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- **Three distinct syntactic positions** hosting nominal arguments. (Longobardi&Silvestri 2013)

(42) [ D... [ **GenS** [ (A\*) [ N **GenO** [<sub>NP</sub> t<sub>N</sub>... (**free-GEN**)

- **GenS** is a unique prenominal and pre-adjectival functional projection, instantiated by, e.g., the Saxon genitive or, in Greek, the possessive pronoun/clitic attaching to the pseudo-adjective *dikos* (or other, possibly emphatically raised, As)

(43) i diki mu tholi fotografia tu topiu  
the own my blurry picture the.G landscape.G  
'my own blurry picture of the landscape'

- **GenO** is unique, non-iterable, functional position lower than all adjectival projections. N moves over GenO. Instantiated in Greek by SMG (and GG) inflected genitives.

# Analysis (3)

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(42) [ D... [ **GenS** [ (A\*) [ N **GenO** [<sub>NP</sub> t<sub>N</sub> ... (**free-GEN**)

- Free-Genitives instantiate the thematic positions of the noun.
- i.e. there can be as many free-Genitives as there are roles.
- All three GENs can introduce **all types of relations**.\*
- **Different GENs**, if available, **can co-occur**.

(44) i diki mu<sub>GenS</sub> fotografia tu dhimarxu<sub>GenO</sub> SMG  
the own my picture the.G mayor.G

\*The odd one out are *of*-phrases in English, which are subject to further restrictions.

# Analysis (4)

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- When more than one GEN are present, interpretation is restricted by the following **strict hierarchy**:

**P > S > O**

**O: object theta-roles** in event nominals (themes/patients) and picture-nominals

**S: agent** arguments in event nominals and AUTHORS

**P: possessors** and all other possible relations (including pragmatic ones)

# Analysis (4)

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- Hierarchy predicts **range of possible interpretations.**

(45) i diki **mu**<sub>GenS</sub> fotografia **tu** **dhimarxu**<sub>GenO</sub>  
the own my picture the.G mayor.G

<b>POSS</b>	<b>AUTHOR/ THEME</b>
<b>AUTHOR</b>	<b>THEME</b>
<b>*THEME</b>	<b>POSS/ AUTHOR</b>
<b>*AUTHOR</b>	<b>POSS</b>

- **Grevena Greek** also respects the hierarchy.

(46) I diki **m**<sub>GenS</sub> fotografia **ap** **tun** **dhimarxu**<sub>FreeGen</sub>  
the own my picture apo the mayor

# Analysis (5)

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- Examples with **SMG apo** confirm that those are **not free-Genitives**.
  - ▣ If we were dealing with a co-occurrence of GenO and free-Gen, hierarchy predicts the **unavailable interpretation** in which *apo* introduces a **THEME**.
  - ▣ Instead, it **obligatorily** introduces **SOURCE/ AUTHOR**.

(47) *SMG*

i perigrafi tu dhimarxu apo ta pedja

the description the.G mayor.G apo the children

'the children's description of the mayor'

'\*the mayor's description of the children'

# Analysis (6)

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- Crucially, the **judgment extends to Grevena Greek**.
  - ▣ Even though we know that ***apo*-phrases in GG can be free-Genitives**, the hierarchy appears to be violated.
  - ▣ i.e., although our speakers employ a system in which inflected genitives can introduce an AGENT, and one in which *apo*<sub>GG</sub>-phrases can introduce a THEME, and the result would respect the hierarchy, when both are used the result is **unambiguous** (in any order of arguments); *apo* is used to introduce SOURCE as in SMG.

(48) GG  
i perigrافي tu dhimarxu ap ta pidja  
the description the.G mayor.G apo the children  
'the children's description of the mayor'  
'\*the mayor's description of the children'

# Analysis (7)

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- The two systems are truly **independent**.
  - ▣ The moment an inflected genitive is present speakers employ an SMG system.
  - ▣ Speakers either employ a **SMG system**, where **GenS** and **GenO** are available, or
  - ▣ a **GG system**, where **GenS** and **free-Gen** are available.

# Diachronic trends (1)

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- In written data documenting the **variety of Kozani**, proper names are the *only* category of referential expressions that seems to resist *apo*-phrases (data from Christodoulou 2015).

(49) ki sta kiramidia ap tu bakalku t Manol  
and on.the tiles apo the grocery-shop the.G Manolis.G  
'and on the tiles of the grocery-shop of Manolis'

- Evidence from the hierarchy shows that inflected genitives of proper names are **treated as GenO**.

## Diachronic trends (2)

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- It is likely that the dynamics of the system might have been such that, unaffected by SMG, **apo-phrases** would be the **prevalent exponence of all genitive arguments**, while GenO would be on its way out and restricted to one class of nouns, i.e. proper names.
- This **pattern** exactly (prepositional genitives coupled with a residual GenO for a limited number of noun classes) is **found in the Romance variety of Verbicaro** (S. Italy, see Silvestri 2013). So, the whole trend in GG might parallel the history (and the loss) of the genitive case in e.g. Italian.
- Possibly also similar to Calabria Greek (Katsoyannou 1996), although the pattern is not clear to us.

# Conclusions

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- Grevena Greek employs **two strategies** to introduce nominal arguments.
- The two strategies correspond to two **different structures**, as argued for on the basis of both **semantic and syntactic evidence**.
- **apo-phrases** in Grevena Greek manifest **free genitives** in the sense of Longobardi&Silvestri (2013).
- The pattern in GG is reminiscent of the development of **diachronic trends** in Romance languages.
- This process seems to be hindered in GG by the **influence of SMG**.

# Thank you!

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