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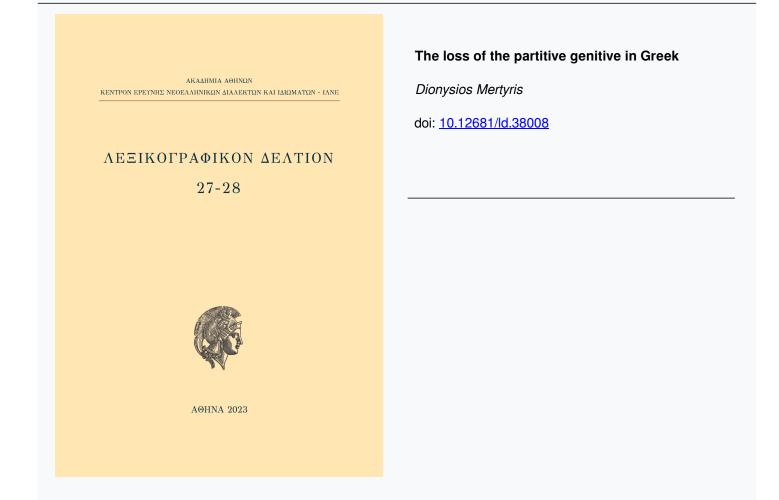
Lexicographic Bulletin

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ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΑ

THE LOSS OF THE PARTITIVE GENITIVE IN GREEK

Dionysios Mertyris
Academy of Athens

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΉ

Η γενική στην Αρχαία Ελληνική διέθετε τρεις σημασίες, καθώς εκτός από τις κτητικές και μεριστικές (διαιρετικές) λειτουργίες που κληρονόμησε από την Πρωτο-Ινδο-Ευρωπαϊκή γενική, μπορούσε να έχει και αφαιρετική σημασία, την οποία απέκτησε λόγω της απώλειας της αφαιρετικής πτώσης πριν από τον 8ο αι. π.Χ. Ωστόσο, η γενική της Νέας Ελληνικής έχει χάσει τόσο τη μεριστική όσο και την αφαιρετική χρήση της, με την κτήση να είναι η μόνη αρχαία σημασία που έχει διατηρηθεί. Αυτές οι αλλαγές εντάσσονται στην ευρύτερη αναδόμηση του αρχαίου πτωτικού συστήματος στο πλαίσιο της σταδιακής υποχώρησης των σημασιολογικών χρήσεων των πλάγιων πτώσεων εξαιτίας της εκτεταμένης χρήσης των προθετικών φράσεων και άλλων αναλυτικών δομών. Έτσι, το παρόν άρθρο επιχειρεί να ανιχνεύσει την πορεία της απώλειας των μεριστικών λειτουργιών της γενικής στην Ελληνική και να εντοπίσει τους παράγοντες που οδήγησαν σε αυτήν.

Keywords: partitive, pseudo-partitive, diachronic change, morphosyntactic change, Greek

1. Introduction

Due to the fact that Greek is a language with a long documented history, it offers a unique opportunity for the general study of diachronic change and the variation in the marking of partitive constructions in particular. As the Greek case system has undergone several changes through its diachrony, but has not been

completely lost like in other European languages (e.g. Romance), the examination of the diachrony of its partitive constructions is extremely interesting. Table 1 summarizes the major changes in the diachrony of the Greek case system:

Table 1: The diachrony of the Greek case system[1]

Proto-Indo-European	NOM	ACC	DAT	LOC	INS	ABL	GEN (+possessive / +partitive)
Ancient Greek	NOM	ACC	DAT				GEN (+possessive/ +partitive/ +ablative)
Medieval – Modern Greek A	NOM	ACC (+dative)					GEN (+possessive/ -partitive/ -ablative)
Medieval/ Modern Greek B	NOM	ACC	GEN (+possessive/ + dative/ -partitive/ -ablative)				

As the Ancient Greek genitive had inherited its possessive and partitive functions from the Proto-Indo-European genitive and the ablatival functions from the Proto-Indo-European ablative, it covered a wide range of usages that were based on the cognitive metaphors 'parts are possessions' and 'wholes are origins' (cf. Nikiforidou 1991).

More specifically, Conti & Luraghi (2014) have identified the following usages of the partitive genitive in Ancient Greek: i) adnominal complement, ii) second argument, iii) subject, iv) third argument, and v) adverbial adjunct. In contrast, the Modern Greek genitive cannot express any of these functions mostly due to the fact that the accusative became both the exclusive prepositional and direct object case[2], as can be seen in Table 2:

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[1] The vocative is not listed here, as it is not considered a true case (Blake 1994: 9). Conventional periodization is as follows: **Ancient Greek** = 8th c. BC – 4th c. AD, **Late Medieval/ Modern A** = North-Eastern Medieval and Modern Greek incl. Asia Minor 11th c. AD-today, **Late Medieval/ Modern B** = South-Western Medieval and Modern Greek incl. Standard Modern Greek 11th c. – today.

[2] The influence of archaistic Katharevousa has led to the reintroduction of structures that allow the use of the genitive in these syntactic domains in higher registers, e.g. λόγω της οικονομίας *lóγo tis ikonomías* 'because of the economy'/ προηγείται του αντιπάλου *proiγíte tu andipálu* 's/he is ahead of the opponent'.

Table 2: Partitive constructions in the diachrony of Greek

construction	ANCIENT GREEK	MODERN GREEK
adnominal partitive	genitive πολλοὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν *polloì tɔ̂:n strate:gɔ̂:n*[3] 'many of the generals'	από *apó* 'from' + acc. πολλοί απ' τους στρατη-γούς *polí apó tus stratiɣús* 'many of the generals'
adnominal pseudo-partitive	genitive ποτήριον οἴνου *poté:rion oínu:* 'cup of wine'	juxtaposition ποτήρι κρασί *potíri* (N/A) *krasí* (N/A) 'glass of wine'
adverbal second argument	genitive πίνω τοῦ οἴνου *pínɔ: tû: oínu:* 'I drink of the wine	από *apó* 'from' or acc. πίνω (από) το κρασί *píno (apo) to krasí* 'I drink (of) the wine'
adverbal third argument	genitive γεμίζω τὸ ποτήριον οἴνου *gemídzɔ: tò poté:rion oínu:* 'I fill the cup with wine'	accusative or με *me* 'with' γεμίζω το ποτήρι (με) κρασί *ɣemízo to potíri (me) krasí* 'I fill the glass with wine'
subject	genitive (sporadic use) ἦλθον τῶν στρατηγῶν *ê:lthon tɔ̂:n strate:gɔ̂:n* 'some of the generals came'	strictly nominative ήρθαν μερικοί από τους στρατηγούς *írθan merikí apó tus stratiɣús* 'some of the generals came'
adjectival complement	genitive ποτήριον πλῆρες οἴνου *poté:rion plê:res oínu:* 'cup full of wine'	accusative or με *me* 'with' ποτήρι γεμάτο (με) κρασί *potíri ɣemáto (me) krasí* 'glass full of wine'
adpositional complement	genitive δι' ὁμίλου *di' homílu:* 'through the crowd'	accusative μέσα από το πλήθος *mésa apó to plíθos* 'through the crowd'
adverbial (time)	genitive νυκτός *nyktós* 'at (some part of) night'	accusative of time τη νύχτα *ti níxta* 'at night'
adverbial (space)	genitive (limited use) Ἄργους ἦν *Árgu:s ê:n* 'he was in (some area of) Argos'	σε *se* "in/ to" ήταν στο Άργος *ítan sto Áɣos* 'he was in Argos'

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[3] All examples are transcribed phonologically in the IPA unless there is use of brackets ([...]), which indicate a phonetic transcription. The transcription of examples from Hellenistic Greek (323 BC - 4th c. AD) is based on Horrocks (2010). Stress accent is marked by the acute.

Based on what is presented in Table 2, this paper aims to trace the origins of this change and identify the causes that led to the loss of the partitive functions of the Greek genitive. The only usages that will not be discussed in this paper are: i) partitive subjects, due to the fact that these were already rare and sporadic in Ancient Greek (cf. Seržant 2012a; Conti & Luraghi 2014); and ii) adpositional complements, since the accusative became the exclusive prepositional case by the end of the early Medieval Greek period (5th-10th c. AD), which is a change that does not only involve the loss of the partitive functions of the case, but also (and perhaps more importantly) of the ablatival ones.

The paper will be organized as follows. The introduction provides the theoretical background of the paper and its methodology. The following sections treat the loss of the partitive genitive in the syntactic domains of adnominal complements (Section 2), adverbal (second and third) and adjectival complements (Section 3) and adverbial adjuncts (Section 5).

1.1. Case, genitives and partitives

This paper adopts the definition of case given by Blake (1994: 1): "a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads". Consequently, the genitive is a very common case crosslinguistically, mostly used as an adnominal complement denoting possession. The cognitive interplay between possessors and recipients can occasionally lead to the association of genitives with dative constructions, as can be seen in the languages of the Balkan Sprachbund.

As regards partitive constructions, it was hinted earlier that the partitive meaning of Ancient Greek (and most likely Proto-Indo-European) is based on the cognitive metaphor 'parts are possessions'. The term 'true partitive' refers to structures that involve partitive constructions as selections of subsets out of supersets (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 527) that are usually expressed by numerals and quantifiers, e.g. *three of these apples/ a few of these apples*. As will also be discussed in Section 3, the main difference between true and pseudo-partitives lies in the fact that the former refer to a known and specific superset.

1.2. Methodology

Part of the diachronic and dialectal data in this paper were included in Mertyris (2014). Diachronic data from the previous stages of Greek have been collected from the electronic corpora of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (Classical, Hellenistic and Medieval Greek texts) and the *Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri* (non-literary papyri of the late Hellenistic Greek period). The data from Modern Greek dialects come from dialectal studies, grammatical descriptions and collections of narratives.

As noted earlier, the major advantage of the Greek language in diachronic studies is its long documented history, but that does not come without its problems. More specifically, the relative absence of the vernacular language due to the use of archaistic Greek in the literary texts of late Hellenistic (1st c. AD - 4th c. AD) and early Medieval Greek (5th c. - 11th c. AD) is extremely problematic, as the changes that shaped the medieval and the modern language have not been documented in sufficient detail. Thus, on the one hand the major source for these intermediate stages is the late Hellenistic documentary papyri of Egypt, which nevertheless exhibit the disadvantage that they too imitate archaistic patterns and that some of them might have been written by second language speakers, and as such some constructions may not reflect the actual spoken language of the time. On the other hand, the vernacular Medieval and early Modern texts (12th-18th c. AD) are of limited use for the study of partitive constructions in Greek, as the changes shown in Table 2 had already taken place and the intermediate stages are not represented apart from exceptions or clear instances of archaistic influence. This methodological impediment is the reason why this study does not include quantitative data.

2. Adnominal true partitives in Greek

The Ancient Greek genitive was essentially the exclusive marker of adnominal partitives, as alternative strategies were quite rare. Structures that could have provided the source of its replacement by prepositional phrases can be traced in constructions that were already in use in Ancient Greek. For instance, the following example exhibits the use of an elative prepositional phrase (ἐκ *ek* 'out of' + genitive) that depends on the verb rather than on the NP (cf. Bortone 2010: 143):

(1) ἐκ πολέων πίσυρας συναείρεται ἵππους
     ek   *poléɔːn*   *písuras*
     out.of   many:GEN.pl.m   four:ACC.pl.m
     sunaeíretai   *híppoːs*
     take:3sg.MID   horse:ACC.pl.m
     'he takes four horses out of many'   Hom.*Il.* 15.680

Such structures could potentially lead to a reanalysis that would associate the prepositional phrase with the object instead of the verb: [ADJUNCT ἐκ πολέων] [VP συναείρεται] [NP πίσυρας ἵππους] → [VP συναείρεται] [NP πίσυρας ἵππους] [PART ἐκ πολέων].

The first actual attestations of prepositional phrases replacing the plain genitive come from the Classical period. For instance, in Thucydides the ablative ἀπό *apó* 'from' (+genitive) is used in three structures with the subset ὀλίγος *olígos* 'little/ few (pl.)' and the superset πολύς *polús* 'much/ many (pl.)':

(2) ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπενόστησαν
     olígoi   *apò*   *pollɔ̂ːn*   *ep'*   *oíkuː*
     few:NOM.pl.m   from   many:GEN.pl   to home:GEN.sg
         apenóstɛːsan
         return:3pl.PST.PFV
     'few of many returned home'   Th. 7.87.6

These structures are extremely rare, as can be seen by both the low number of attestations and the fact that they occur with specific subsets and supersets. While the ablative and elative prepositions governing the genitive had not been fully grammaticalized as partitive markers at the time, it can be inferred that their use was essentially an attempt to reinforce the partitive meaning of the structure (cf. Bortone 2010: 143), as in some contexts the high polysemy of the plain genitive might have been opaque.

In post-Classical Greek, the use of these structures increases, cf. Mayser (1934: 348-352) on the replacement of the bare partitive genitive by ἀπό *apó*/ ἐκ *ek* in documentary papyri. Table 3 shows the occurrence of ἀπό *apó* 'from' and ἐκ *ek* 'out of' with the quantifier πολύς *polýs* 'much/ many' in the *Septuagint* (3rd-2nd c. BC) and the *New Testament* (1st c. AD):

Table 3: Bare genitive vs. ἀπό *apó* / ἐκ *ek* with πολύς *polýs*

	πολύς *polýs* + genitive	πολύς *polýs* + ἀπό *apó* / ἐκ *ek* (+gen.)
Thucydides (5th c. BC)	100%	0%
Septuagint (3rd-2nd c. BC)	70%	30%
New Testament (1st c. AD)	66%	34%

It is safe to assume that this tendency to replace the plain genitive with an ablative/ elative prepositional phrase reached its peak in the early Medieval Greek period (5th-10th c. AD), during which the plain genitive was no longer able to mark partitive functions. What is more, during that period the accusative became the exclusive prepositional case, as the loss of the ablative and partitive functions of the genitive could not support its use as a prepositional complement instead of the more unmarked and frequent accusative.

Thus, in late medieval vernacular texts the Modern Greek structure of ἀπό *apó* + accusative has been solidified (cf. Holton et al. 2019: 1965 & 1993):

(3) εἷς   ἀπὸ   τοὺς   τρεῖς   μας
     is   *apó* *tus*   *tris*   *mas*
     one:NOM from the:ACC.pl.m three:ACC.pl 1pl:GEN
     'one of the three of us'   *Dig*. E 1217

The early establishment of the structure is also confirmed by the fact that partitive genitive relics[4] do not exist in dialectal and Common Modern Greek apart from vestiges in superlative structures and when a pronominal clitic is the superset, e.g.:

(4) ο καλύτερος άνθρωπος του κόσμου/ στον κόσμο
     o kalíteros ánθropos
     the:NOM better:NOM   human:NOM
     tu   kósmu   /   ston   kósmo
     the:GEN world:GEN / in.the:ACC world:ACC
     'the best person of the world/ in the world'
                                    Common Modern Greek

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[4] Note that in Modern Greek (dialectal and common), the syncretic (i.e. morphologically accusative, cf. Mertyris [2014]) pronominal genitive plural can only be used when the subset and the superset are identical, cf. οι δυο σας *i ðió sas* 'the two of you (=both of you)' vs. δύο από εσάς *ðío apó esás* 'two of you'.

In Pontic Greek the genitive plural όλων *ólon* (<AG gen.pl ὅλων *hólōn* <ὅλος *hólos* 'whole') has been grammaticalized as a superlative marker:

(5) όλων το μικρόν το χαλίν
ólon   *to*   *mikrón* *to*   *xalín*
whole:GEN.pl the   small   the   carpet
'the smallest carpet (lit. the small carpet of all)'

<div align="right">Parcharidis (1951: 102)</div>

Finally, the influence of the archaistic Katharevousa, which was the official language of the Greek state from 1830 till 1976, has reintroduced quantity nouns and fractions that may employ a partitive genitive in mostly higher registers of Standard Modern Greek, while the periphrastic construction can also be used:

(6) a. ένας μικρός αριθμός των φοιτητών / από τους φοιτητές
énas mikrós ariθmós ton fititón (GEN)/
énas mikrós ariθmós apó tus fitités (από *apó* +ACC)
'a small number of the students'

b. το ένα τρίτο των ψηφοφόρων / από τους ψηφοφόρους
to éna tríto ton psifofóron (GEN)
to éna tríto apó tus psifofórus (από *apó* +ACC)
'one third of the voters'

3. Adnominal pseudo-partitives in Greek

As mentioned in Section 2, the main difference between true partitive and pseudo-partitive constructions lies in the fact that the former involve a definite superset, whereas the latter refer to an abstract superset, usually the type of entity quantified by a nominal quantifier. As regards the diachrony of Greek, it is of great interest that in Ancient Greek both constructions were marked by the same strategy, i.e. the genitive, but in later periods of the language their marking became distinct, which is the case in a few other languages; for instance, in Finnish the elative marks true partitive constructions, whereas the partitive marks pseudo-partitive constructions (Rutkowski 2007). According to Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2009), five main types of adnominal pseudo-partitives can be identified: i) container, e.g. *a cup of wine*; ii) measure, e.g. *two litres of water*; iii) part, e.g. *a piece of snow*; iv) form, e.g. *a pile of books*; and v) quantum, e.g. *a pinch of salt*.

Alexiadou & Stavrou (2020: 724) adopt a slightly different classification[5]: i) classifier nouns, e.g. *a swarm of bees*; ii) cardinal nouns, e.g. *a dozen of bottles*; iii) quantifier nouns, e.g. *a number of people*; iv) measure/ unit nouns, e.g. *two litres of milk*; v) partitive nouns, e.g. *a piece of cake*; vi) container nouns, e.g. *a glass of wine*; vii) group (collective) nouns, e.g. *a team of players*; and viii) consistive nouns, e.g. *a bunch of books*.

Starting with the marking of pseudo-partitive structures in Ancient Greek, not only was the genitive the exclusive strategy used, but also there is no attestation of alternative structures in Archaic and Classical Greek:

(7) a. κύπελλα οἴνου   **CONTAINER**
       kúpella   oíno:
       cup:N/A.pl   wine:GEN.sg
       'cups of wine'   Hom.*Il.* 4.345-6

    b. δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα   **MEASURE**
       déka dè   khrusoîo   tálanta
       ten   ptc gold:GEN.sg   talent:N/A.pl
       'ten talents of gold'   Hom.*Il.* 9.122

    c. τὰ δὲ ἀέρος τμήματα   **PART**
       tà`     de`   aéros   tmé:mata
       the:N/A.pl   ptc   air:GEN.sg   piece:N/A.pl
       'the fractions of air'   Pl.*Ti.* 56e

    d. σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου   **FORM**
       sɔ:ròn   mégan   síto:
       heap:ACC.sg   big:ACC.sg   grain:GEN.sg
       'a great heap of food'   Hdt. 1.22.1

    e. μίνθης δεσμίδα   **QUANTUM**
       mínthɛ:s   desmída
       mint:GEN.sg   bundle:ACC.sg
       'a bundle of mint'   Hp. *Mul. i-iii* 78.123

Apart from those five types, the AG pseudo-partitive genitive was also used with numerical nouns similarly to Finnic and Balto-

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[5] It should be noted that Alexiadou & Stavrou (2020: 719 & 729) also include relations of duration as pseudo-partitives (e.g. *a journey of three hours*), but such structures in fact constitute non-anchoring possessive relations (cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2005).

Slavic languages; however, unlike these languages in which the use of partitive constructions occurs with numbers higher than five, in AG the genitive could be used with numerical nouns of nominal origin denoting numbers higher than a thousand both in cardinal and nominal use, e.g. μυριάς *myriás* "a group of ten thousand", χιλιάς *khiliás* "millenary":

(8) εἴκοσι μυριάδες Αἰγυπτίων
     eíkosi   muriádes   Aiguptíɔ:n
     twenty   ten-thousand:NOM.pl.f Egyptian:GEN.pl.m
     'two hundred thousand Egyptians'   Hdt. 2.30.7

The only attestation of the use of juxtapositions in Classical Greek with these numerical nouns comes from the dubious tragedy *Rhesus* that is conventionally attributed to Euripides:

(9) μυριάδας τε πόλεις ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκένωσεν
     myriádas   te   póle:s
     ten.thousand.ACC.pl.f   and   city:N/A.pl.f
     andrɔ̂:n   agathɔ̂:n   ekénɔ:sen
     man:GEN.pl.m   good:GEN.pl.m   empty:3sg.PST
     'and he emptied countless cities of their brave heroes'
                                        Eur. *Rh.* 913

As this is the only attestation of such a structure in Classical Greek, it is a sign that the text is of post-Classical origin and might not have been entirely produced in the Classical period (cf. Manousakis & Stamatatos 2018). Regardless of the exact date of the example above, similar structures appear more frequently in Hellenistic Greek:

(10) a. πεντακόσιαι χιλιάδες ἄνδρες
       pentakósie   khiliádes   ándres
       500:NOM.pl.f   millenary:NOM.pl.f   man:NOM.pl.m
       'five hundred thousand men'   *2Ch.* 13.17.3

       b. δώδεκα χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι
        dodeka   khiliádes   esphragismény
       twelve millenary:NOM.pl.f seal:MP.PTCP.NOM.pl.m
       'twelve thousands of sealed men'   *Apoc.* 7.8

Quite clearly, the influence of regular cardinal numerals, which function like adjectives, i.e. agreeing adnominal modifiers, was the driving force behind these structures, e.g.:

(11) a. Classical Greek
    χίλιαι γυναῖκες *khíliai* (NOM) *gynaîkes* (NOM)
    'a thousand women' vs.
    χιλιάδες γυναικῶν *khiliádes* (NOM) *gynaikɔ̂:n* (GEN)
    'thousands of women'

    b. Hellenistic Greek
        χίλιαι γυναῖκες *xílie* (NOM) *ɣynékes* (NOM)
        'a thousand women' vs.
        χιλιάδες γυναῖκες *xiliáðes* (NOM) *ɣynékes* (NOM)
        'thousands of women'

As regards the other types, their attestation with juxtapositions is quite rare even during the late Hellenistic period (1st c. AD - 4th c. AD), as in the following papyrological example:

(12) λίτρας δύο πορφύριον
    lítras   *ðýo*   *porfýrion*
    litre:ACC.pl   two   purple.dye:N/A.sg
    'two litres of purple dye'   *SB* 14.12080, 5-6 (4th c. AD)

These structures do not appear regularly until late medieval sources (cf. Holton et al. 2019: 2019-2020):

(13) a. λίτρας κερίν τρεις
        lítras   *kerín*   *tris*
        litre:ACC.pl.f wax:N/A.sg.n   three:N/A.pl.f
        'three litres of wax'
            document from S. Italy, 1086 AD (Minas 1994: 175)

    b. καυκίν κρασίν
        kafkín   *krasín*
        cup:ACC.sg   wine:ACC.sg
        'a cup of wine'   *Ptoch.* 4.136 (12th c.)

    c. κομμάτια θύνναν
        komátia   *θínan*
        piece:ACC.pl   tuna:ACC.sg
        'pieces of tuna'   *Ptoch.* 4.115 (12th c.)

    d. πεπέριν φούκταν μίαν
        pepérin   *fúktan*   *mían*
        pepper:ACC.sg   handful:ACC.sg one:ACC.sg
        'a handful of pepper'   *Ptoch.* 4.212 (12th c.)

Furthermore, the almost complete lack of pseudo-partitive geni-
tive relics in modern dialects implies that the genitive must have
lost its ability to mark these relations in most varieties by the late
Medieval period (11th-15th c. AD). The only modern dialect that
exhibits such vestiges with specific types of pseudo-partitives is
Cappadocian, which was spoken in Asia Minor before the Greece-
Turkey exchange of populations in the 1920s.

(14) ένα χτηνιού αγέλ'
      éna   *xtiniú*   *aɣél*
      one:N/A.sg cattle:GEN.sg./pl   herd:N/A.sg
      'a herd of cattle'   Cappadocia (Dawkins 1916: 456)

As in Turkish pseudo-partitives are marked with juxtapositions
(Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2009), this example most likely does not
reflect influence from language contact, but vestiges of an archaic
construction.

Finally, it is worth noting that all types of pseudo-partitives
apart from conventionalized measure may alternate with prepo-
sitional phrases (Mertyris 2014: 60):

(15) a. μια κούπα (*από) (με) κρασί
         miá   *kúpa*   *(*apó) (me)*   *krasí*
         one:N/A.sg cup:N/A.sg from   with wine:N/A.sg
         'a cup of wine'   **CONTAINER**[6]

      b. δύο λίτρα (*από) νερό
         ðío   *lítra*   *(*apó)*   *neró*
         two   litre:N/A.pl   from   water:N/A.sg
         'two litres of water'   **MEASURE**

      c. κομμάτι (από) χαρτί
         komáti   *(apó)*   *xartí*
         piece:N/A.sg   from   paper:N/A.sg

---

[6] As the supersets of pseudo-partitives in Modern Greek tend to be feminine and
neuter nouns which always have identical nom. and acc.sg forms (apart from di-
alects with final /n/ retention, which distinguish the nom. from the acc.sg of fem-
inines as in Ancient Greek, cf. Cypriot αρφή *arfí* nom.sg # αρφήν *arfín* acc.sg)
the use of masculine supersets in the nom. seems to be awkward; this issue needs
further investigation. Consider this ex. from Common Modern Greek:
?μια γαβάθα χυλός είναι στο τραπέζι 'a bowl of porridge is on the table'
mia   *ɣaváθa*   *xilós*   *íne*   *sto*   *trapézi*
a:NOM.sg bowl:NOM.sg porridge.NOM:sg be:3sg at.the   table:N/A.sg

'a piece of paper'   **PART**

d. σωρός (από) βιβλία
sorós (apó)   vivlía
pile:NOM.sg   from   book:N/A.pl
'a pile of books'   **FORM**

e. τσιμπιά (από) αλάτι
  tsimbiá   (apó)   aláti
  pinch:N/A.sg from   salt:N/A.sg
  'a pinch of salt'   **QUANTUM**

While prepositional phrases are not as frequent as juxtapositions, they may indicate that the loss of the adnominal pseudo-partitive genitive could have followed two paths instead of one. However, similarly to juxtapositions, they are attested sporadically in Hellenistic and early Medieval Greek, e.g. σωροὺς ἀπὸ λίθων *sorús apó líthon* 'piles of stones' (Polyaenus, *Excerpta* 56.10; 2nd c. BC).

4. Adverbal and adjectival use of the partitive in Greek

4.1. The partitive genitive as a second argument

The use of the partitive genitive as a direct object in AG could occur with verbs that exclusively govern the genitive and verbs that could alternate between the genitive and other cases. The former type mostly involves verbs of low transitivity that do not cause a change of state (Conti & Luraghi 2014: 452). The major subtypes of this diverse group of verbs can be presented as follows (cf. Smyth 1916: 230):

(16)   a. Participation:
        ποτοῦ κοινωνεῖν 'to share their drink'
        potû: koinɔ:nê:n
        drink:GEN.sg share:INF   X.*Mem.* 2.6.22

    b. Beginning, ending:
       τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἤρχετο
       tû: lógu: dè   ɛ́:rkheto
       the:GEN.sg speech:GEN.sg ptc start:3sg.MP.PAST
       'he began the speech'   X.*An.* 3.2.8

    c. Senses
       οἴνου γεύεσθαι 'to taste wine'
       oínu: geúesthai

wine:GEN.sg   taste:MP.INF   Pl. *Lg*. 674b

d. Succeeding, failing, trying, aiming at, reaching for:
   τιμῶν καλλίστων τυγχάνουσι
   timɔ̂:n   *kallístɔ:n*   *tynkhánu:si*
   honor:GEN.pl best:GEN.pl   chance.upon:3sg
   'they enjoy (lit. chance upon) the highest honours'
                           X.*Mem*. 3.12.4

e. Desire, enjoyment:
   τούτου ἐπιθυμεῖ 'he desires this'
   tú:tu: *epithymê:*
   this:GEN.sg   desire:3sg   Pl.*Phlb*. 35b

f. Taking care of:
   φείδεο τῶν νεῶν 'spare the ships'   Hdt. 8.68A.1
   pheídeo   *tɔ̂:n*   *neɔ̂:n*
   spare:2sg.IMP the:GEN.pl   ship:GEN.pl

g. Being full:
   αἱ δὲ λήκυθοι μύρου γέμουσι
   hai   *dè*   *lέ:kythoi*   *mýru:*   *gému:si*
   the   ptc   jug:NOM.pl unction:GEN be.full:3pl
   'the jugs are full of unction'   Ar. *Pl*. 811-812

Turning to the latter type, Conti & Luraghi (2014) identify two main subtypes of AG verbs that govern a genitive of partitive meaning that may alternate with other cases, the second of which can be split into two further subtypes, as can be summarised in the table below:

Table 4: Conti & Luraghi's (2014) classification of alternating genitive second arguments in AG

TYPE 1: Non-motivated alternation between the genitive and other cases	• The genitive has a partitive origin, but not a synchronic partitive meaning • These verbs are low in transitivity • The genitive may alternate with other cases without a clear difference in meaning, e.g.: GEN ⟶ ACC μνήσεσθαι … Φιλοκτήταο ⟶ Τυδέα δ' οὐ μέμνημαι *mnέ:sesthai … Philoktέ:tao* ⟶ *Tudéa d' ou mémnε:mai* 'to remember Philoctetes' ⟶ 'I don't remember Tydeus' Hom.*Il.* 2.724-5 ⟶ Hom. *Il.* 6.222 GEN ⟶ DAT τεταρπώμεσθα γόοιο ⟶ φιλότητι τραπείομεν *tetarpɔ́:mestha góoio* ⟶ *philótε:ti trapeíomen* 'we have taken our fill of lamenting' Hom.*Il.* 23.10 ⟶ 'we enjoy love' Hom. *Il.* 3.441
TYPE 2: Semantically-motivated alternation of the genitive with the accusative	**Subtype I**: The genitive indicates low transitivity, while the accusative involves high transitivity and change of state (cf. Riaño Rufilanchas 2014: 531-532), e.g.: GEN ⟶ ACC παιδὸς ὀρέξατο ⟶ ὀρεξάμενος χρόα *paidòs oréksato* ⟶ *oreksámenos khróa* 'reaching (not touching) the boy' Hom.*Il.* 6.466 ⟶ 'reaching (and touching) the flesh' Hom.*Il.* 23.805
	Subtype II: Both the genitive and the accusative involve a change of state[7]; when the genitive is used only a part of the referent undergoes a change of stage and when the accusative is used, there is total affectedness[8]: GEN ⟶ ACC ὄφρα πίοι οἴνοιο ⟶ πῖνέ τε οἶνον *óphra píoi oínoio* ⟶ *pî̄né te oînon* 'in order to drink some wine' Hom. *Od.* 22.11 ⟶ 'drink the wine!' Hom. *Od.* 15.391

[7] For the alternation between genitive and accusative with consumption verbs, see Napoli (2010).
[8] The same construction can also be used with plural count nouns referring to an unspecified individual, e.g. Ἀδρήστοιο δ' ἔγημε θυγατρῶν *Adrέ:stoio d' égε:me thugatrɔ̂n* 'he married (one) of the daughters of Adrastos' Hom.*Il.* 14.121.

In Type 1, Conti & Luraghi (2014: 449-450) have also included this construction, which has a genitive instead of the regular use of the accusative with λαμβάνω *lambánɔ:* 'take': λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς *laboméne: tɔ̂:n go:nátɔ:n* (GEN) *tô: andròs* 'she laid hold of the man's knees' Hdt. 1.112.1. However, this construction, traditionally called 'genitive of contact' (cf. Donaldson 1862: 483-484), indicates the starting point of the action of the verb, which is very typical of the ablatival meaning of the AG genitive, and as such it is not related to the partitive meaning of the case. In the previous example the action of the middle participle does not take place on 'some part of the knees', which would be quite bizarre due to the knees being a small part of the human body that would be difficult to be conceived as having various parts[9]. This can be best shown by the use of the active forms of λαμβάνω *lambánɔ:* either with the accusative of the part seized and a possessive genitive or with an accusative of a person and an ablatival genitive: Hom.*Il.* 24.265 λαβὲ γούνατα Πηλεΐωνος *labè gó:nata Pε:leíɔ:nos* 'clasp the knees of the son of Peleus' vs. Hom.*Od.* 6.142 γούνων ... λαβὼν ... κούρην *gó:nɔ:n labɔ́:n kó:rε:n* 'clasping the maid by the knees'.

As regards the transition from the ancient partitive constructions in Table 4 to the modern ones, when the alternation was not semantically motivated and the genitive did not have a synchronic partitive meaning, the shift to the accusative was an easier process in post-Classical Greek (cf. Hatzidakis 1905: 468). Eventually, the accusative, being the unmarked direct object case, began to replace the genitive, even when it was the obligatory second argument:

(17) μηδὲ βελόνης ἔναμμα ἐπιθυμήσῃς
      miðé   velónis énamma   epiθymísis
      not-even needle:GEN.sg thread:N/A.sg   desire:PFV.2sg
      'covet not a needle's thread'   Clem.Al., *Strom.* 5.14.119

In terms of expressing partial affectedness, as the plain genitive started to lose its partitive meaning, the use of ablative/ elative prepositions as a reinforcement can be observed in Hellenistic

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[9] The Modern Greek equivalent with the mediopassive form of πιάνω *piáno* 'grip' clearly shows the ablatival origin of the construction: πιάστηκε από τα γόνατα του άντρα της *piástike apó ta gónata tu ándra tis* 'she latched herself onto (lit. from) the knees of her man'.

Greek. Thus, the accusative became the exclusive prepositional case, as mentioned earlier, and the partitive meaning of the genitive was entirely lost (cf. Bortone 2010: 179):

(18)   a. ἔπιεν ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου
       épien   ek   tu   óínu
       drink:PST.3sg   out.of   the:GEN.sg   wine:GEN.sg
       'he drank from the wine'   *Ge.* 9.21

       b. νὰ πιῇ ἐκ τὸ νερόν
          na   pií   ek   to   nerón
          CMP   drink:PFV.3sg   from   the:ACC.sg   water:ACC.sg
          'to drink from the water'   Chumnos, *Kosmog.* 1235

       c. ἤπιε ἀπό το κρασί
          ípie   apó   to   krasí
          drink:PST.3sg   from   the:ACC.sg   wine:ACC.sg
          's/he drank from the wine'   Common Modern Greek

Thus, it is safe to assume that by the end of the early Medieval period the accusative had become the exclusive direct object case. Nevertheless, there are a few partitive genitive second argument relics in southern insular varieties of Modern Greek that are more conservative with regard to the use of the genitive, as it also marks indirect objects after the loss of the dative (c, 10th c. AD). The following examples demonstrate that the maintenance of these relics occurs with roughly the same types of low transitivity verbs that governed partitive genitive second arguments in AG (examples [16a-g]), i.e. desire, sense and memory verbs:

(19)   a. ρέεται τ' αππιδκιού
          [*réete   t   appiðcú*]
          yearn:MP.3sg   the:GEN.sg   pear:GEN.sg
          s/he yearns for the pear' Cyprus (Menardos 1896: 444)

       b. μεν εγγίζεις του γλυκού
          men   engízis   tu   ylikú
          NEG   touch:2sg   the:GEN.sg   sweet:GEN.sg
          'don't touch the dessert' Cyprus (Menardos 1896: 443)

       c. του καλοκαιριού μυρίζει
          tu   kalokeriú   mirízi
          the:GEN.sg   summer:GEN.sg   smell:3sg
          'it smells like summer' Andros, Cyclades (Voyatzidis 1956: 173)

d. αν ήκουε ο Χριστός των κουρουνών

an íkue   o   Xristós   ton   kurunón
if heard:3sg   the   Christ:NOM   the crows:GEN.pl
'if Christ listened to the crows'

Santorini, Cyclades (Petalas 1876: 91)

e. εθθυμήθηκά του

eθθimíθiká   tu
remember:MP.PST.3sg   3sg:GEN.m
'I remembered him'

Chalki, Dodecanese (Tsopanakis 1949: 62)

4.2. The partitive genitive as a third argument

According to Conti & Luraghi (2014), there are two groups of verbs that take the genitive as a third argument: i) legal action verbs, and ii) verbs of filling and commercial transaction:

(20) a. ἢν … Λακεδαιμονίους … τῆς ἐξαπάτης τιμωρησώμεθα
    ɛ̂:n … Lakedaimoníu:s … tɛ̂:s eksapátɛ:s timɔ:rɛ:sɔ́:metha
    if Spartan:ACC.pl ...the trick:GEN   punish:SBJV.1pl
    'If we punish the Spartans for their trick' X.*An.* 7.1.25

    b. καλάμης πλήσαντες πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον
    kalámɛ:s plɛ́:santes pâ:n   tò   ploîon
    reed:GEN fill:PTCP.PST.NOM.pl all:ACC the.ACC   boat:ACC
    'after filling the whole boat with reeds' Hdt. 1.194.2

However, this analysis is not entirely accurate with regard to legal action verbs. More specifically, the genitive with these verbs is the same that is used with verbs of emotion denoting admiration, jealousy etc, e.g. D. 19.67 (4th c. BC) Φίλιππον εὐδαιμονίσας τῆς τύχης *Phílippon eudaimonísas tɛ̂:s týkhɛ:s* (GEN) 'praising Philip for his good fortune' (cf. Anagnostopoulou et al. [fortchoming]). Quite clearly, this is a genitive of cause and as such it is related to the ablatival meaning of the genitive, as Nikiforidou (1991) has shown through the cognitive metaphor "causes are origins". As to the verbs of commercial transaction, the genitive is traditionally known as 'genitive of price and value':

(21) a. τήν … ὥραν ἐὰν … τις ἀργυρίου πωλῇ τῷ βουλομένῳ
    tέ:n hɔ:́ran   eàn   tis   argyríu:
    the:ACC.sg beauty:ACC.sg   if someone coin:GEN.sg
        pɔ:lɛ̂:   tɔ̂:i   bu:lménɔ:i

sell:SBJ.3sg   the:DAT.sg want:PTCP.DAT.sg

'if someone sells their beauty for money to whomever
wants it'   X. *Mem.* 1.6.13

b. εἴπερ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῖ λόγου

eíper gàr   hε:mâ:s aksioî   lógu:

if   ptc   1pl:ACC think.worthy   value:GEN.sg

'For if my wife holds me in any regard'

                           E.*Med.* 962-3

As can be seen in (21a), the verb πωλέω *pɔ:léɔ:* 'sell' is construed with an indirect and a direct object, which means that the genitive of price and value is not always a true argument of the verb and could be regarded as an optional adjunct instead. In contrast, as can be seen in (21b), with verbs like αξιόω *aksióɔ:* 'think someone to be worthy of something' the genitive of value plays a more integral role and is not merely an adjunct. Even though this verb is not used with the same meaning in Modern Greek, the shift to prepositional phrases and the plain accusative instead of the genitive can be observed in Medieval and early Modern Greek texts:

(22) a. εἰς μεγάλην τιμὴν τὸν ἀξίωσε

        is meɣálin   timín   ton   aksíose

        in big:ACC.sg honour:ACC.sg   3sg:ACC honour:PST.3sg

        'he honoured him with great honours'

                      Historia Alexandri Magni φ 269

      b. πόνους ἄξωσές με

        pónus   áksosés   me

        pain:ACC.pl honour:PST.2sg 1sg:ACC

        'you deemed me deserving of pain'

                      Chortatsis, *Panoria* B 444

Similarly to the genitive of price and value, the genitive of penalty is also closer to the function of an optional adjunct than to that of a proper argument. The replacement of this genitive by a prepositional phrase took place in post-Classical Greek (21b):

(23) a. ἐάν ... ὄφλωσι θανάτου δίκην

       eàn ... óphlɔ:si thanátu: díkε:n

      if be.cast:3pl death:GEN.sg suit:ACC.sg

      'if they have all been condemned on a capital charge'

                    Pl.*Lg.* 9.856d

b. καταδικασθεὶς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ
katadikasthís *epí* *thanáto*
condemn:PASS.PTCP.NOM.sg on death:DAT.sg
'condemned to death' D.S. 3.5.2

Turning to verbs of filling, even though the partitive genitive is the main strategy to express the locatum, as shown in (20b), the use of the instrumental dative is also attested in tragic poets:

(24) δακρύοισι γὰρ Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἔπλησε
dakrýoisi *gàr* *Helláda* *pâ:san* *éplɛ:se*
tear:DAT.pl ptc Greece:ACC all:ACC.sg fill:PST.3sg
'she filled all of Greece with tears' E.*Or.* 1363

While this structure is reminiscent of the Modern Greek use of με *me* 'with' with *fill* verbs, its limited use in Ancient Greek indicates that the latter might not be a direct descendant of the former. In fact, the use of the instrumental preposition μετά *metá* (+genitive) is not attested until late Hellenistic Greek (25a). The modern structure appears in late medieval texts after the phonological simplification of the preposition and the shift to the accusative, after it had become the exclusive prepositional case in late Medieval Greek (25b and c):

(25) a. γέμισον ... τὰς τρυπὰς μετ' ὄξους
gémison ... *tas* *trypás* *met'* *óksus*
fill:IMP.2sg ... the:ACC.pl hole:ACC.pl with vinegar:GEN.sg
'fill the holes ... with vinegar' Ps.-Galen 29 14.542

b. γεμίζει ἀσκὶν μὲ τὸ νερόν
gemízi *askín* *me* *to* *nerón*
fill:3sg bag:ACC.sg with the:ACC.sg water:ACC.sg
'he fills a bag with water' Chumnos, *Kosmog.* 1224

c. γεμίζει το παγούρι (με) νερό
gemízi *to* *paɣúri* *(me)* *neró*
fill:3sg the:ACC.sg flask:ACC.sg (with) water:ACC.sg
's/he fills a flask with water' Common Modern Greek

Some early signs of reinforcing the partitive meaning of the genitive with an ablative/ elative preposition are also attested in Hellenistic Greek, but this use did not survive for long:

(26) ἐγέμισεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς
      eɣémisen   aftón   ek   tu   pyrós
      fill:PST.3sg 3sg:ACC   out.of the:GEN.sg fire:GEN.sg
      'they filled it (=the censer) with fire'   *Apoc.* 8.5

A possible source of the Medieval and Modern structures in (25b) and (25c) with two accusatives for both arguments could be sought in the use of other "location-locatum" verbs, such as 'load something onto something' (Levin 1993; Anagnostopoulou et al. [forthcoming]). More specifically, the next example shows the use of two accusatives, one of which is a cognate object, and it is identical to the structure of the Modern Greek φορτώνω *fortóno* 'load', which may also govern two accusatives[10]:

(27) φορτίζετε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φορτία δυσβάστακτα
      fortízete   tus   anθrópus   fortía ðysvástakta
      load:2pl   the:ACC.pl human:ACC.pl burden:ACC.pl unbeara-
            ble:ACC.pl
      'you load men with unbearable burdens'   *Ev.Luc.* 11.46

Such structures could have given rise to the Modern Greek syntax of fill verbs:

(28) a. πάντα τὰ κτήνη γεμίζι (=γέμιζε) βάκανον
         pánta tà   ktíni   ɣémize vákanon
         all:ACC.pl the beast:ACC.pl   fill:IMP cabbage:ACC.sg
         'fill (=feed) all the beasts (=herd) with cabbage'
                                    P.Fay. 117, l. 13-14 (108 AD)
      b. γεμίσαι καμήλους ἄρτους
         ɣemíse   kamílus   ártus
         fill:INF.PFV   camel:ACC.pl   bread:ACC.pl
         'to fill (=load) camels with bread'
                                    Acts of Philip 93 (4th c. AD)

In turn, the interplay between these structures and adnominal pseudo-partitives could have led to the establishment of the loss of the partitive genitive in either syntactic environment, as can be seen in the following constructed examples ([29a] in Classical Greek and [29b] in late Hellenistic Greek):

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[10] E.g. Με φόρτωσες ευθύνες/ενοχές *me fórtoses efθínes/enoxés* 'You loaded me with responsibilities/guilt'.

(29) a. γεμίζω τὸ ποτήριον οἴνου/   πίνω ποτήριον οἴνου
     gemídzɔ: *tò*   *potέ:rion*   *oínu:*
     fill:1sg the:ACC   cup:ACC wine:GEN
     pínɔ: *potέ:rion*   *oínu:*
     drink:1sg   cup:ACC   wine:GEN

    b. γεμίζω τὸ ποτήριον οἶνον /   πίνω ποτήριον οἶνον
     gemízo *to potírion*   *ýnon / píno*   *potírion ýnon*
     fill:1sg the:ACC   cup:ACC   wine:ACC /
     drink:1sg   cup:ACC   wine:ACC
     'I fill the cup with wine   / I drink a cup of wine'

4.3. The partitive genitive as an adjectival complement

The use of the partitive genitive as an adjectival complement is discussed here, as it involves *full* adjectives, which are closely related to the *fill* verbs discussed previously:

(30) ποταμόν ... πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων
     potamòn ...   *plέ:rε:*   *d'*   *ikhthΰɔ:n*
     river:ACC.sg...   full:ACC.sg   ptc   fish:GEN.pl
     'river ... full of fish'   X. *An.* 1.4.9

Similarly to *fill* verbs, in tragic poets there is an infrequent use of the instrumental dative instead of the partitive genitive:

(31) Ἕλλησι βαρβάροις θ' ὁμοῦ πλήρεις ... πόλεις
     Hέllε:si   *barbárois*   *t'*   *homû:*
     Greek:DAT.pl   barbarian:DAT.pl   and   together
     plέ:re:s   *...*   *pόle:s*
     full:ACC.pl   city:ACC.pl
     'cities full of Greeks and barbarians together' E.*Ba.* 19

The Modern Greek use of the accusative as a complement of the adjective *γemátos* 'full' is unique, as there is no other adjective that has a similar syntax, since most Modern Greek adjectives take prepositional phrases as complements, e.g. ἕτοιμος για *étimos γiá* 'ready for'. Thus, it is likely that the adjective originated from the participle γέμων *gémɔ:n* of the verb γέμω *gémɔ:* 'be full' and that at some point during the early Medieval Greek period it shifted to the morphologically simpler suffix -άτος *-átos*, which had been borrowed from vulgar and late Latin *-atus*. After the shift of *fill* verbs to the accusative had been completed, the same

pattern was applied both to the indeclinable gerund that the ancient participles evolved into (31a) and the newly formed adjective (31b and 31c):

(32) a. χαρτὶν τοὺς θρήνους γέμοντα
      xartín   *tus*   *θrínus*   *yémonda*
      paper:ACC.sg the:ACC.pl laments:ACC   be.full:GER
      'letter full of laments'   *Dig*. E 227 (p. 12th c.)

      b. χαρτοσάκκουλα γεμάτα τὰ χαρτία
         xartosákula   *yemáta*   *ta*   *xartía*
         paperbag:ACC.pl full:ACC.pl the   paper:ACC.pl
         'paperbags full of papers'   *Ptoch*. 3.96 (p. 12th c.)

      c. σακούλες γεμάτες χαρτιά
         sakúles   *yemátes*   *xartiá*
         bag:N/A.pl   full:N/A.pl   paper:N/A.pl
         'bags full of paper'   Common Modern Greek

5. Adverbial use of the partitive genitive in Greek

As noted in Section 1, the use of the partitive genitive to indicate parts of an area in which the action of the verb takes place was already very limited in Archaic and Classical Greek:

(33) ἐπετάχυνον τῆς ὁδοῦ τοὺς σχολαίτερον προϊόντας
      epetákhynon   *tê:s*   *hodû:*   *tù:s*
      hastened.on:3pl   the:GEN.sg   road:GEN.sg the:ACC.pl
        proióntas   *skholaíteron*
        advance:PTCP.ACC.pl   more.slowly
      'they hastened those that went the slowest on the road'
                                                              Th. 4.47.3

A similar construction can be found in the partitive equivalent of the accusative of respect, e.g. τὸν δάκτυλον ἀλγεῖ *tòn dáktulon algê:* 'he has a pain in his finger' Pl. *R.* 462d (cf. Hahn 1954; Romagno 2017). More specifically, the genitive in the following example indicates a part of the noun with respect to which the action of the verb takes place (cf. Seržant 2012b):

(34) κατεάγη τῆς κεφαλῆς
      kateáge: *tê:s*   *kephalê:s*
      shatter:PASS.PST.PFV.3sg the:GEN.sg   head:GEN.sg
      'he wounded his head'   Ar. *V.* 1428

Despite the rarity of spatial partitive genitives in AG, a bizarre spatial use of the genitive has surprisingly survived in Medieval Greek and some southern dialects of Modern Greek that are more conservative with regard to the use of the genitive, as mentioned earlier (cf. Favis 1948):

(35) a. ὑπάγουν τῆς στερέας
      ipáɣun   tis   steréas
      go:3pl   the:GEN.sg   land:GEN.sg
      'they go by land'   *Chronicle of Morea* H 4235 (14th c.)

      b. μπαίνω του χωρκού
      [béno   tu   xorkú]
      enter:1sg   the:GEN.sg   village:GEN.sg
      'I enter the village'   Cyprus (Menardos 1896: 446)

      c. πήγαινα του ποταμιού
      píɣena   tu   potamiú
      go:PST.1sg   the:GEN.sg   river:GEN.sg
      'I was going along the river'
                        Konitsa, Epirus (Rebelis 1953: 74)

It is unclear whether these structures originate directly from the spatial partitive genitive, given the fact that in Classical and Hellenistic Greek such spatial genitives are either extremely rare or completely absent (cf. Soliman 1965). Another possibility is that the occurrence of these constructions in the southern dialects may be related to their use of the genitive as an indirect object after the loss of the dative in early Medieval Greek. Therefore, this is an issue that requires further analysis in a separate study. In contrast, the use of the genitive of time in Classical Greek to indicate that an event took place at an indefinite point in time was not as infrequent:

(36) ᾤχετο ἀπιὼν νυκτὸς
      ɔ́ːĩkheto   apiɔ̀ːn   nyktòs
      depart:PST.3sg   depart:PTCP.NOM.sg   night:GEN.sg
      'he went off at (some point of the) night'   X. *An.* 3.3.5

This function was lost completely and replaced by the accusative of time in Medieval Greek, as in the majority of Modern Greek varieties it does not exist, although it has left some set expressions as relics:

(37) a. του χρόνου
     tu   *xrónu*
     the:GEN.sg   year:GEN.sg
     'next year'   Common Modern Greek

    b. παλαιού καιρού
     paleú   *kerú*
     old:GEN.sg   time:GEN.sg
     'in the past'   Andros, Cyclades (Voyatzidis 1956: 174)

    c. τ'ς στιγμής
     [ts   stiɣmís]
     the:GEN.sg   moment:GEN.sg
     'at once'   Skiathos, Sporades (Rigas 1962: 56)

6. Discussion and conclusions

From a typological perspective, the data presented in this study are quite interesting, as most major strategies that mark partitives and pseudo-partitives in European languages have been used in the diachrony of Greek (cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2009): a) possessive strategy (AG genitive); b) separative strategy (ablatival and elative prepositions ἀπό *apó*/ ἐκ *ek* 'from'); c) juxtapositional strategy; d) accompaniment (comitative με *me* 'with' with containers). A future crosslinguistic study comparing the loss of the partitive functions of the genitive in Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages in Europe would be extremely useful, as according to Seržant (2021: 919): "the original, inherited pattern of Indo-European – the possessive strategy (by means of the genitive case) – is recessive in all branches of this family, albeit to a different degree." In fact, Seržant (ibid.) considers the replacement of partitive genitives by the separative strategy (ablatival prepositions) to be an areal feature of Eurasian languages, i.e. the result of language contact. More specifically, Seržant (2012b: 134; 2021: 719) mentions a few instances of the competition between the partitive genitive or a partitive case and ablatival/ elative constructions in eastern Europe, e.g.: Serbian (genitive vs. the ablatival preposition *od* + GEN); Russian (genitive vs. the ablatival preposition *iz* + GEN); Latvian (genitive vs. the ablatival PP *no* + GEN); Lithuanian (genitive vs. the ablatival preposition *iš* + GEN); Finnish (partitive vs. the elative case).

Furthermore, according to Seržant's (2012b: 133) analysis, the disassociation of the true partitive meaning of the bare genitive and its reinforcement with prepositions can be linked to the need for distinct marking of true partitives and pseudo-partitives, which is also in accordance with Luraghi (2003: 72): "High polysemy was the cause that led to increasing use of prepositions". This perspective can provide an explanation for the early signs of the retreat of the genitive as a true partitive already in Classical Greek (cf. example [2]), as opposed to the relatively infrequent attestation of juxtapositional pseudo-partitives in Hellenistic Greek, as shown earlier. The earlier loss of true partitives compared to pseudo-partitives can be best seen in the following table that summarizes the diachrony of the loss of the partitive genitive based on the data of this study.

	Classical	Hellenistic	Medieval/ Modern
adnominal partitive genitive	rare competition with ἀπό *apó* / ἐκ *ek* (+GEN)	competition with ἀπό *apó* / ἐκ *ek* (+GEN)	complete replacement by ἀπό *apó* (+ACC)
adnominal pseudo-partitive genitive	no competition	use of numerical nouns with juxtapositions → limited competition with juxtapositions	complete replacement by juxtapositions
direct object	i. exclusive use ii. alternating use with ACC (usually to show partial affectedness)	i. competition with ACC ii. competition with ἀπό *apó*/ ἐκ *ek* (+GEN) to show partial affectedness	i. exclusive use of ACC[11] ii. use of ἀπό *apó* (+ACC) to show partial affectedness
locatum of fill verbs	rare competition with INS.DAT	i. limited competition with ACC (influence from *load* verbs) ii. rare competition with μετά *metá* 'with' (+GEN)	complete replacement by ACC or με *me* 'with' (+ACC) and extension of this pattern to *full* adjectives
adjunct (space)	limited use	-	_[12]
adjunct (time)	in alternation with the ACC of time	competition with the ACC of time	relics of set expressions

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[11] Apart from the southern insular dialects mentioned earlier.
[12] Note the structures in (35), however.

Table 5: The course of the loss of the genitive partitive functions

The three main strategies and the more peripheral use of με *me* 'with' which replaced the partitive genitive can be summarized as follows:

partitive genitive → ἀπό/ ἐκ *apó / ek* 'from'	• ablative prepositional phrases were used to reinforce the partitive meaning of the genitive in adnominal true partitive constructions • ablative prepositional phrases were used instead of the partitive genitive as a second argument to indicate that only a part of the referent was affected • ablative prepositional phrases can be used as complements of parts, forms and quanta in pseudo-partitive constructions
partitive genitive → accusative	• the accusative became the exclusive direct object case • the accusative became the exclusive prepositional case • the accusative replaced the genitive as the third argument of *fill* verbs and the complement of *full* adjectives • the accusative replaced the genitive as a temporal adverbial apart from a few relics
partitive genitive → juxtapositions	• juxtapositions replaced the partitive genitive in adnominal pseudo-partitive constructions
partitive genitive → μετά/ με *metá/ me* 'with'	• prepositional phrases with the instrumental Hellenistic Greek μετά *metá*/ late Medieval-Modern Greek με *me* could be used as a third argument of *fill* verbs, a complement of *full* adjectives and as a complement of container pseudo-partitives

Table 6: Main strategies of partitive genitive replacement in Greek

Based on what has been presented in this paper, a few main points can be concluded. The loss of the partitive meaning of the Greek genitive was part of the broader restructuring of the case system, which favored the grammatical use of the cases over their concrete uses (cf. Luraghi 2004: 376). Similar developments took place with the loss of the ablatival genitive and the loss of the non-anchoring possessive functions of the genitive (cf. Mertyris 2014). Thus, the genitive marking was considered to be

unnecessary, non-iconic and non-economic, since the case began to lose its partitive meaning in several syntactic environments gradually and to a varying degree depending on the type of construction and dialectal variation.

ABBREVIATIONS

1 first person	m masculine	pl plural
2 second person	MID middle	PST past
3 third person	MP mediopassive	PTCP participle
ACC accusative	N/A nominative/accusative	
DAT dative		ptc particle
f feminine	n neuter	SBJ subjunctive
GEN genitive	NEG negation	sg singular
INF infinitive	NOM nominative	
	PFV perfective	

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