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Marking Definiteness Multiply: Evidence from Two Varieties of Greek

Περίληψη

Θέμα της μελέτης μας είναι οι πολυοριστικές δομές σε δύο νεοελληνικές ποικιλίες, την πρότυπη ελληνική (ΠΕ) και την καππαδοκική διάλεκτο (ΚΕ). Παρά την επιφανειακή ομοιότητα, οι δομές αυτές διαφέρουν ως προς τις συντακτικές και σημασιολογικές τους ιδιότητες. Για την ΠΕ υιοθετούμε την ανάλυση των Lekakou & Szendrői (2007· 2009· 2012· 2013), σύμφωνα με την οποία οι πολυοριστικές δομές είναι ένα είδος ονοματικής επεξήγησης, με την ιδιαιτερότητα ότι περιέχουν δομή ονοματικής απαλοιφής (noun ellipsis). Στην ΚΕ, η υποχρεωτική φύση του φαινομένου μάς οδηγεί στην πρόταση ότι πρόκειται για ένα είδος μορφοσυντακτικής συμφωνίας. Συγκεκριμένα, τα άρθρα που συνοδεύουν το επίθετο είναι δείκτες ονοματικής συμφωνίας ως προς την οριστικότητα και προκύπτουν μετα-συντακτικά, στο θεωρητικό πλαίσιο της Κατανεμημένης Μορφολογίας. Υποστηρίζουμε ότι μια ενιαία ανάλυση της οριστικότητας στις δύο ποικιλίες είναι εφικτή, εφόσον δεχτούμε ότι σημασιολογική οριστικότητα δεν εκφράζει κανένα από τα εκπεφρασμένα άρθρα, αλλά ένας φωνολογικά κενός τελεστής.

1. Introduction

The topic of our paper is the multiple occurrence of definite determiners in two varieties of Greek, Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and Cappadocian Greek (CG). In both CG and SMG, the phenomenon, known as *determiner spreading* (DS) or *polydefiniteness*, occurs in contexts of attributive adjectival modification, as in [1].[1]

[1]	a.	*to*	omorfo	*to*	koritsi	(SMG)
		the	pretty	the	girl	
	b.	*du*	omurfu	*du*	kuritʃ	(CG)
		the	pretty	the	girl	
		'the pretty girl'				

DS involves the double, or multiple morphosyntactic occurrence of the definite article, although the construction as a whole is semantically monodefinite. In other words, DS represents a clear mismatch between morphosyntax, on the one hand, and semantics, on the other.

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, we give an overview of the properties of DS in SMG and of the close appositive analysis endorsed. In Section 3, we

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[1] All data in this paper are given in broad phonetic transcription.

present the data from CG, and argue that DS in this variety does not rely on close apposition, but on morphosyntactic agreement in terms of definiteness. In Section 4, we address the question of where semantic definiteness is located in CG and SMG, and Section 5 concludes.

We should clarify at the outset that our CG data represent the variety originating in the village of Misti (*Misiotika*). In the literature, Cappadocian Greek refers to a cluster of Modern Greek varieties, i.e. those spoken until the 1920s by the Greek Orthodox communities of twenty villages located in the rural areas between the cities of Nevşehir, Kayseri and Niğde in inner Asia Minor, present-day central Turkey (see Map 1). After the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in accordance with the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, CG speakers were relocated in Greece, mainly in rural areas in the north of the country. Mistiotika is the only CG variety that is still spoken natively to date (within Greece).

Map 1: Greek speaking communities in inner Asia Minor in the early 20th century (Karatsareas 2011; the Cappadocian-speaking area is enclosed in the box)

2. DS in SMG[2]

2.1 The data

In SMG, *polydefinite constructions* differ from *monadic definites*, that is, constructions in which the definite article appears only once (terms due to Kolliakou 2004),

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[2] SMG makes a morphological distinction between three genders (masculine, feminine, neuter), two numbers (singular, plural) and three cases (nominative, accusative, genitive). These distinctions are encoded on the noun, the adjective and the determiner, regardless of DS. For ease of exposition, gender, number and case are only indicated on the determiner whenever relevant.

in a number of respects (see Alexiadou & Wilder 1998; Kolliakou 2004; Campos & Stavrou 2004). First, polydefinites display freedom in the order between adjective and noun (see [2]).

[2] a. to   omorfo   to   koritsi
        the   pretty   the   girl
    b. to   koritsi   to   omorfo
        the   girl   the   pretty
        'the pretty girl'

By contrast, in monadic definites the adjective can only appear prenominally as in [3].

[3] a. i   asimeɲa   pena
        the   silver   pen
        'the silver pen'
    b. *i   pena   asimeɲa
        the   pen   silver

In cases in which more than one adjectives are present in polydefinites, they all feature their own determiner, and all possible word orders are available (Alexiadou & Wilder 1998; Lekakou & Szendrői 2007; 2012; Panagiotidis & Marinis 2011; contra Campos & Stavrou 2004):[3]

[4] a. to   meɣalo   to   petrino   to   spiti
        the   big   the   stone   the   house
    b. to petrino to meɣalo to spiti
    c. to meɣalo to spiti to petrino
    d. to petrino to spiti to meɣalo
    e. to spiti to meɣalo to petrino
    f. to spiti to petrino to meɣalo
        'the big stone house'

Secondly, there are restrictions on which adjectives can appear in DS: only those that can be interpreted intersectively and restrictively are allowed. Adjectives that receive a non-restrictive ([5]) or non-intersective interpretation ([6]) cannot appear in DS.

[5]   iðame   tis   ðilitirioðis   (#tis)   kobres
        saw.ıPL   the   poisonous   the   cobras
        'We saw the poisonous cobras'   (Kolliakou 2004, 216–17)

[6]   o   proin   (*o)   proθipurɣos
        the   former   the   prime_minister
        'the former prime minister'

Finally, 'spreading' only occurs with the definite article: there are thus no poly*in*definites, as shown in [7].

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[3] The options in [4] do not exhaust the possibilities. For instance, polydefinites in SMG can contain as one of their subparts a monadic definite, which itself can contain two adjectives, as in *to kocino poðilato to cenurjo* (the red bicycle the new (one)). See the cited literature for discussion of this and other options within DS contexts in SMG.

[7] a. *mɲa   asimeɲa   mɲa   pena
         a   silver   a   pen
     b. *mɲa   pena   mɲa   asimeɲa
         a   pen   a   silver

2.2 An analysis in terms of close apposition

In a series of articles, Lekakou & Szendrői (2007; 2009; 2012; 2014) (henceforth L & S) have argued that SMG polydefinites are very similar to *nominal close appositives* (cf. Stavrou 1995; Kolliakou 2004; Panagiotidis & Marinis 2011), as in [8]:

[8] a. o   aetos   to   puli
         the.M   eagle(M)   the.N   bird(N)
         'the eagle that is a bird'
     b. to   puli   o   aetos
         the.N   bird(N)   the.M   eagle(M)
         'the bird that is an eagle'

Nominal close appositives share all of the aforementioned properties of polydefinites. First, they too exhibit word order freedom with respect to the relative positioning of their constituents, as [8] shows. Second, in close appositives too, one subpart restricts the interpretation of the other. An example of this is given in [9].

[9] sinandisa   ton   a⁽ⁿ⁾doniu   to   filoloɣo   oçi   ton   a⁽ⁿ⁾doniu   to
     met.1SG   the   Antoniou   the   philologist   not   the   Antoniou   the
     maθimatiko
     mathematician
     'I met Antoniou the philologist, not Antoniou the mathematician'

Finally, close appositives also obligatorily involve definite DPs and cannot feature indefinite DPs:

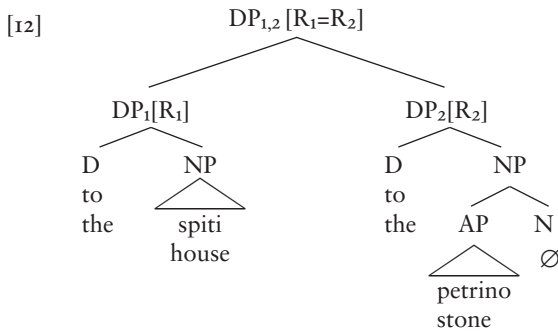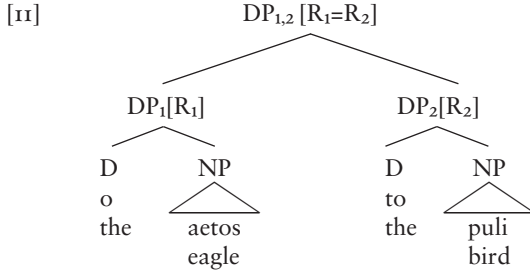[10] a. *enas   aetos   ena   puli
          a.M   eagle(M)   a.N   bird(N)
      b. *ena   puli   enas   aetos
          a.N   bird(N)   a.M   eagle(M)

Based on these similarities, L & S have pursued a unified analysis for both nominal close appositives and polydefinites, arguing that the two instantiate the broader category of close apposition (CA). In the remainder of this section, we briefly summarise their approach.

For L & S, at the heart of CA is an operation of identification among Referential (R)-roles. In the relevant literature (e.g. Williams 1981; Higginbotham 1985; Zwarts 1993; Baker 2005), the R-role is what enables a nominal element to act as a referential argument. Since only nominals come with an R-role, only nominal phrases can partake in CA, which is correct (in contrast to loose appositives; see Lekakou & Szendrői 2007 for extensive discussion of the distinction between close and loose apposition). Syntactically, R-role identification creates a multi-headed structure, as

depicted in [11] and [12].[4,5] The only difference that L & S posit between nominal close appositives and DS is that the latter involve noun ellipsis; in other words, as [12] indicates, the adjective in SMG-style DS is modifying an empty noun.

[11]

$$DP_{1,2}\ [R_1=R_2]$$

DP$_1$[R$_1$] DP$_2$[R$_2$]

D NP D NP
o to
the aetos the puli
eagle bird

[12]

$$DP_{1,2}\ [R_1=R_2]$$

DP$_1$[R$_1$] DP$_2$[R$_2$]

D NP D NP
to to
the spiti the AP N
house ∅
petrino
stone

Given that neither subpart in CA is the syntactic head of the construction, no intrinsic ordering exists between its subparts. Word order freedom is captured by generating the DPs in either order, and is therefore not the result of syntactic movement.

Semantically, identification of R-roles is tantamount to set intersection, in the sense of Heim & Kratzer's (1998) predicate modification (cf. also the operation of theta-identification in Higginbotham 1985).[6] This predicts that only intersective modifiers can be used, which as we saw above is correct. What about the obligatorily restrictive interpretation? L & S argue that this follows from the following restriction on the application of R-role identification.

[13] *Ban on Vacuous Application*
R-role identification is banned if it yields an output identical to (part of) its input.

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[4] See Baker & Stewart (1998) for theoretical justification of such multi-headed syntactic structures. For empirical justification of the symmetrical structure in close appositives in SMG in particular, see L & S (2009).

[5] When more than one adjective is present in DS, R-role iteration is iterated. Iteration is similarly possible in nominal CA. See Lekakou & Szendrői (2007) for discussion.

[6] Note that, for set intersection to be possible among DPs in DS, DPs cannot denote individuals, but rather sets. This is exactly what L & S argue is the case in SMG in general (the definite article is, thus, semantically expletive). We return to this point in Section 4, where we discuss the semantics of definiteness in view of polydefiniteness and revisit the higher layer of nominals in both SMG and CG.

What follows from [13] is that nominals whose R-roles are independently identical, as in [14] from Stavrou (1995, 225), cannot form parts of close appositives.

[14]   *i   sikamiɲa   i   murɟa
       the   blueberry_tree$_{dialectal}$ the   blueberry_tree$_{standard}$

Recall also [15] repeated from above: intersecting the set of cobras with the set of poisonous entities will deliver the set of cobras, in violation of [13]. Note that [15] is hard to explain without recourse to [13]: *ðilitirioðis* 'poisonous' is an intersective adjective, and it does not generally fail to deliver a restrictive interpretation; it only does so when applied to a noun denoting an entity like 'cobras'.

[15]   Iðame   tis   ðilitirioðis   (#tis)   kobres
       saw.1PL   the   poisonous   the   cobras
       'We saw the poisonous cobras' (Kolliakou 2004, 216–17)

The ban in [13] ensures that one DP will be restrictive on the other in CA. The fact that, in DS, it is always the DP containing the adjective that restricts the DP containing the lexical noun follows from the fact that, according to the structure in [12], the adjective in DS is modifying a null noun. Adjectives in noun ellipsis contexts are obligatorily interpreted restrictively. In fact, the prediction is that all and only adjectives that are licit in ellipsis contexts will be allowed in DS. Lekakou & Szendrői (2012) show that this captures the facts and that it fares better than alternative approaches to DS such as those relying on predication.[7]

Finally, the lack of poly*in*definites is accounted for on the assumption, made by a number of authors independently (e.g. Giusti 1999; Stavrou 2009), that the indefinite *enas/mia/ena* 'one' is not a determiner, but, rather, a numeral/quantifier (which can even co-occur with the definite article in SMG). As such, it does not occupy D, and is not of the right semantic type to partake in R-role identification.

3. DS in CG[8]

3.1 The data

In the previous section, we saw that DS in SMG is an optional phenomenon with different syntactic properties vis-à-vis monadic definites, and which incurs semantic/pragmatic effects. The properties of DS in CG are, by contrast, quite different.

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[7] Positing noun ellipsis also allows L & S to explain what in the vast majority of the literature has been analyzed (and, according to L & S, wrongly so) as focus effects. It would take us too far afield to address this issue. See Lekakou & Szendrői (2007; 2012) for extensive discussion.

[8] CG distinguishes between two numbers (singular, plural) and has essentially lost gender distinctions (Janse 2004; Karatsareas 2009; 2011). Case distinctions survive to a very limited extent, in comparison to SMG, and interact with factors such as differential object marking (Janse 2004; Karatsareas 2011; Spyropoulos & Tiliopoulou 2006). Suffice it to mention here that, in most CG varieties, nominative and accusative are distinct only in the singular of historically masculine nouns, genitive singular and plural have syncretised, and the definite article has no form for the genitive.

The most crucial property of DS in CG is that it is the only grammatical option in contexts of attributive adjectival modification. In other words, CG has no monadic definite, as shown in [16].

[16] a.   *du   omurfu   kuritʃ
             the   pretty   girl
      b.   *omurfu   du   kuritʃ
             pretty   the   girl
      c.   *du   kuritʃ   omurfu
             the   girl   pretty

It has to be noted that there are some attested cases of attributive adjectival modification which seem to involve a single determiner, such as *to meɣa aðelfos* 'the older brother'. Following Karatsareas (2013), however, we argue that, in addition to the overt definite determiner, such cases involve a phonologically null determiner, which surfaces in specific morphological contexts, namely in the nominative of historically masculine and feminine nouns as in [17].

[17] a.   ando   irten   ∅   aðelfos   tun
            when   came.3SG   the   brother.NOM   their
            'when their brother came' (Dawkins 1916, 322)
      b.   to   meɣa   ∅   aðelfos   ipen
            the   big   the   brother.NOM   said.3SG
            'the older brother came' (Dawkins 1916, 410)

A second property that differentiates CG from SMG is that in CG polydefinites display no word order freedom. Adjectives can only appear prenominally, as shown in [18].

[18] a.   du   omurfu   du   kuritʃ
             the   pretty   the   girl
             'the pretty girl'
      b.   *du   kuritʃ   du   omurfu
            the   girl   the   pretty

The restriction on prenominal adjectives survives when a second adjective is present. Both adjectives obligatorily feature their own determiner, and they may re-order with respect to one another, cf. [19a] and [19b]. However, this exhausts the ordering possibilities: as indicated in [19c–f], any order that results in either adjective appearing post-nominally is ruled out.

[19] a.   du   tʃenurʝu   du   prasinu   du   xuti
             the   new   the   green   the   box
             'the new green box'
      b.   du prasinu du tʃenurʝu du xuti
      c.   *du tʃenurʝu du xuti du prasinu
      d.   *du prasinu du xuti du tʃenurʝu
      e.   *du xuti du tʃenurʝu du prasinu
      f.   *du xuti du prasinu du tʃenurʝu

Regarding the semantics/pragmatics of DS, we have found no restrictions against particular adjectives in the polydefinite construction. For instance, a restrictive interpretation of the adjective is not obligatory. This is shown in [20], where 'white' does not restrictively modify 'snow':

[20] ula spitçu da domata scepasin da d' aspru
all houses.GEN the.PL roofs covered.3SG them the white
du çon
the snow
'The white snow covered all the roofs of the houses'

It is, unfortunately, not possible to test for non-intersective adjectives in DS, because in CG meanings such as 'former', 'alleged', and so on are not expressed by adjectives but by nominal genitives, such as in [21]. (The fact that the genitive corresponding to 'former' appears without a definite article is itself not mysterious, given the general lack of genitive forms for the article, pointed out in fn. 8.)[9]

[21] siftaxnú m d' afendiko poli kalo intʃanus ni
former my the boss very good man is
'My old boss is a very good man'

Finally, similarly to SMG, spreading is not possible with the indefinite article in CG:

[22] a. *ena prasinu ena xuti
a green a box
b. *ena xuti ena prasinu
a box a green

3.2 An analysis in terms of morphosyntactic agreement

Given that the properties of DS are radically different in CG and in SMG, it would be surprising if a common analysis would apply to both. Indeed, the close appositive analysis makes very little sense for CG. There are empirical differences between polydefinites and close appositives in this language; for instance, the latter display freedom in word order (Karatsareas & Lekakou 2014). Compare the 'rigid' DS in [23] with the more flexible nominal close appositive in [24]:

[23] a. du omurfu du kuritʃ
the pretty the girl
'the pretty girl'

[9] The claim that we are dealing here with nominal genitives is further supported by the morphology of such elements, which is similar to that of genitive forms of nouns. Compare, for example, *siftaxnú* in [21] with *klatʃú* in [i].

[i] klatʃú du ʃalvar pʰaʎo ni
child.GEN the shalwar old is
'The child's shalwar is old'

Note that there are no adjectives ending in stressed /u/ in CG; the -*ú* that we find in [21] is the genitive singular suffix of adjectives originally ending in -*ó(s)*. *Siftaxnú* is, thus, the genitive of a nominalized adjective *siftaxnós* meaning 'prior', 'former'.

b.	*du	kuritʃ	du	omurfu					
	the	girl	the	pretty					

[24]	a.	ato	ailfi	m	Maria	ni	(iӡa	m	Maria	de	ni)
		this	sister	my	Maria	is	aunt	my	Maria	NEG	is
	b.	ato	Maria	ailfi	m	ni	(iӡa	m	Maria	de	ni)
		this	Maria	sister	my	is	aunt	my	Maria	NEG	is

'This is Maria my sister, not Maria my aunt'

We propose that DS in CG is morphosyntactic agreement in terms of definiteness: a definite-marked noun triggers a definite article on the adjective.[10] Agreement, or concord, in terms of definiteness has been discussed in connection with two other language families: one is the Semitic family, and the other includes North Germanic varieties, namely Swedish, Norwegian and Faroese (see Lekakou 2014 for a recent overview of the phenomenon and the available analyses). Example [25] illustrates the obligatoriness of DS in Hebrew, as well as its rigid word order.

[25]	a.	*(ha)-volvo	*(ha)-xadaʃ	Hebrew
		DEF-Volvo	DEF-new	

'the new Volvo' (Shlonsky 2004)

	b.	*(ha)-xadaʃ	*(ha)-volvo
		DEF-new	DEF-Volvo

The data in [26] illustrate the same properties for Swedish.

[26]	a.	hus-et	Swedish
		house-DEF	

'the house'

	b.	det	nya	hus-et
		DEF	new	house-DEF

'the new house'

To deal with this seeming doubling of definiteness, authors, such as Borer (1988; 1999) for Hebrew and Julien (2002; 2005) for North Germanic, postulate that the definite morpheme (article/suffix) occurs under different syntactic heads. Borer argues that the nominal determiner is different from the adjectival one, in that it is base-generated directly on the noun, and encodes semantic definiteness (see Sichel 2002 for an explicit implementation very similar to Androutsopoulou 1995). Julien proposes a more elaborate structure within the DP, which includes a low position where the definite suffix (to which the noun head-moves) is generated.

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[10] DS of the CG type seems exist in other Asia Minor Greek varieties. In Pontic Greek, for instance, Revithiadou & Spyropoulos (2012) and Spyropoulos (2013) observe that DS is obligatory in the context of attributive modification. The adjective obligatorily precedes the noun, as shown in [ii]:

(ii)	i	kalessa	i	mana	Pontic Greek
	the	good	the	mother	

'the good mother' (Dawkins 1914, cited in Revithiadou & Spyropoulos 2012, 103)

Adopting the view that the definite article can occur in a low position, we propose the structure in [30], which is loosely based on Julien (2005).[11,12]

[30]

```
                    DP
                   /  \
                      D´
                     /  \
                    D    nP
                        /  \
                      AP    nP
                     /\    /  \
                    /__\        n´
                 du omurfu     /  \
                              n    NP
                              du  /\
                                 /__\
                                kurit∫
```
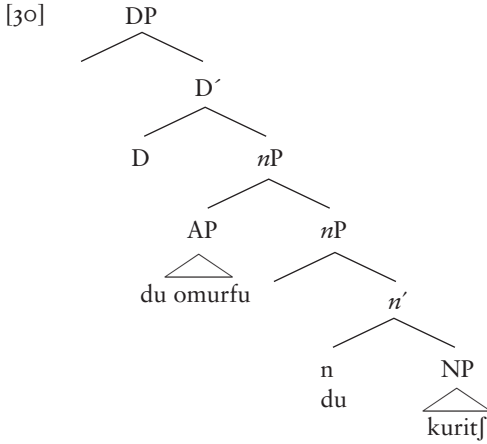
The adjectival determiner reflects agreement in terms of definiteness. In the structure in [30], the adjectival determiner is not generated under a syntactic head, such as D. Rather, following Alexiadou (2014), the adjectival determiner is inserted post-syntactically. More generally, agreement in nominal features, including definiteness, is delivered by post-syntactic morphological operations, within the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993; Embick & Noyer 2001 among many others). For DS in Hebrew, Alexiadou (2014) concretely proposes that what is involved is an operation of copying of features at PF. We return to the issue of how semantic definiteness is conveyed in CG in Section 4.

If DS in CG is an instance of agrement, a number of properties follow. First, the lack of monadic definites and the obligatoriness of DS is expected: agreement relations, whenever they occur, are obligatory. Secondly, the lack of semantic effects is also to be expected, since agreement relations more generally do not yield interpretational effects. As far as the word order pattern is concerned, an independent factor seems to be at play, namely the general restrictions on word order in CG. It is not only adjectives, but also genitives and relative clauses which occur exclusively prenominally in CG, as [31] and [32] illustrate. These word order patterns are arguably due to contact with Turkish. The corresponding orders in SMG are either marked, for [31a], or entirely impossible, for [32a].

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[11] Generating the article under *n* seems to us to capture the following intuition expressed in Revithiadou & Spyropoulos (2012, 107): "το άρθρο στη συγκεκριμένη διάλεκτο έχει αποκτήσει και άλλη μια λειτουργία πέραν της οριστικότητας, αυτή της υποδήλωσης της λεξικής κατηγορίας ή του ταξινομητή". [The article in this dialect has acquired another function besides definiteness, that of expressing lexical category or a classifier.]

[12] Whether there are more projections withing the DP, and whether AP occupies the specifier of a designated projection (αP in Julien 2005) or is an adjunct to a nominal projection are questions not directly relevant for our current purposes.

[31] a. klatʃu   du   ʃalvar   paʎo ni
     child.GEN   the   shalwar   old   is
     'The child's shalwar is old'

   b. *du   ʃalvar   klatʃu   paʎo   ni
     the   shalwar   child.GEN   old   is

[32] a. du   irti   du   klatʃ   ivri   mi   'na   xuti
     REL   came.3SG   the   child   brought.3SG   me   a   box
     lokumɲa
     Turkish_delight
     'The child that came brought me a box of Turkish delight'

   b. *du   klatʃ   du   irti   ivri   mi   'na   xuti
     the   child   REL   came.3SG   brought.3SG   me   a   box
     lokumɲa
     Turkish_delight

Finally, the lack of poly*in*definiteness is a corollary of the fact that the indefinite article is not generated under D. Assuming that the left edge of DPs is consistently marked by adnominal genitives, as suggested by [31], examples like [33], where the adnominal genitive follows the indefinite article, show that indefinites occur externally to the DP.

[33] extes   su   xoraf   ivra   'na   vaʎu   tseradu
     yesterday   at.the   field   found.1SG   a   buffalo.GEN   horn
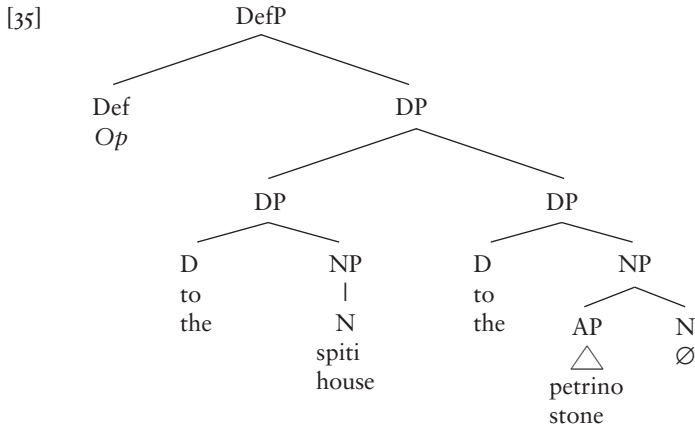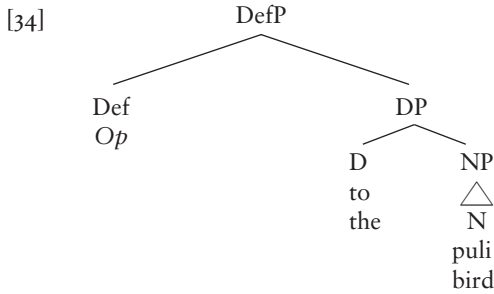   'Yesterday, at the field, I found a buffalo's horn'

4. Definiteness in CG and SMG in view of DS

A key question that arises in connection to DS concerns the semantics of definiteness. A definite determiner is usually construed as presupposing existence and asserting uniqueness (e.g. Strawson 1952). This cannot be going on uniformly with the definite determiners in DS, since the construction is semantically monodefinite: even in the presence of multiple determiners, reference is made to a single unique entity.

A possible solution to this problem is to argue that one of the multiple articles is semantically 'real', and the other(s) inert. The vast majority of the literature for SMG DS assumes this option. However, Lekakou & Szendrői (2012; 2013) point out a number of problems with it. An important one is that massive lexical ambiguity is posited, without any independent justification; it is far from clear how a child acquiring Greek may acquire the two morphologically identical yet semantically distinct sets of articles. Furthermore, it is actually not trivial, given the word order freedom in SMG DS, to determine which of the two/multiple articles is systematically the expletive one and which is not. And what goes on in monadic definites?

A radical alternative is proposed by Lekakou & Szendrői (2012; 2013): definite articles are uniformly expletive in SMG – in polydefinites and monadic definites alike. Independent evidence comes from the obligatory occurrence of the article with proper names, which are traditionally thought of as inherently definite. In the case
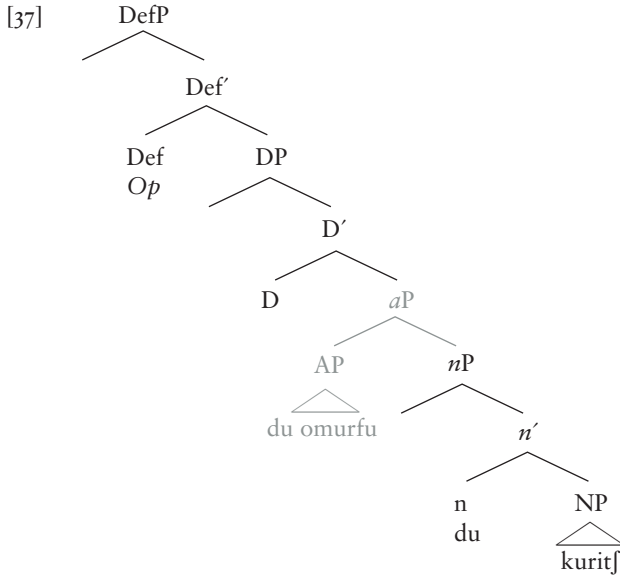
of common nouns, L & S posit a null operator which encodes definiteness and is located in a head Def selecting DP. In Lekakou & Szendrői (2013), which is based on Zeijlstra's (2004) treatment of negative concord, this is executed in terms of morphosyntactic agreement, whereby Def carries [iDef] and D heads [uDef]. [34] and [35] represent monadic definites and polydefinites respectively:

[34]

```
                    DefP
              ┌───────────────┐
            Def               DP
            Op          ┌───────────┐
                        D           NP
                        to          △
                        the          N
                                    puli
                                    bird
```

[35]

```
                    DefP
              ┌───────────────────┐
            Def                   DP
            Op          ┌──────────────────┐
                       DP                  DP
                  ┌─────────┐         ┌─────────┐
                  D         NP        D         NP
                  to        │         to      ┌─────┐
                  the       N         the     AP     N
                          spiti              △      Ø
                          house          petrino
                                         stone
```

We propose to extend this proposal to CG. Like in SMG, the definite article is obligatory with proper names in CG:

[36] du   ŋgoni   s   du   proimu   rantsa   s   strada   (CG)
      the   grandchild your   the   Prodromos   saw.1SG   at   street
      'I saw your grandchild Prodromos at the street'

Despite DP-internal divergences, CG is thus also expected to display a Def-D split. This allows us to unify DS with monadics, as schematically illustrated in [37]:

[37]

```
        DefP
          △
          Def′
           △
    Def        DP
    Op          △
                 D′
                  △
              D       aP
                       △
                  AP      nP
                  △        △
              du omurfu      n′
                              △
                          n       NP
                          du      △
                                 kuritʃ
```

5. Concluding remarks

In this paper we have argued that in SMG, DS patterns with close appositives, whereas in CG, DS is an instance of agreement in terms of definiteness. In both varieties, however, overt articles arguably do not encode semantic definiteness. Rather, the relevant operator is contributed by a null element, located in a head selecting DP.

To account for the different syntactic status of DS in SMG and CG, we have suggested that language contact between CG and Turkish has played a role in determining word order possibilities inside nominals in CG. The exact way in which this occurred, however, needs to be more fully investigated and understood, especially in relation to the type of DS that was present in Late Medieval Greek, the diachronic stage at which CG (and Asia Minor Greek more generally) started to diverge from the rest of the Greek-speaking world. We hope to address this issue in future research.

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