



## 1. In a nutshell

- Determiner spreading (DS): multiple morphosyntactic realisation of the definite article in a construction that is semantically monodefinitive.
- DS in Standard Modern Greek (SMG) is underlyingly a close appositive, wherein the overt articles each head their own DP. Ds are semantically expletive. Definiteness is expressed by a phonologically null Def head (cf. [14] on negation).
- In Cappadocian, the construction involves agreement in terms of definiteness. The locus of semantic definiteness is a low definite article generated in *nP/NumP*.

## 2. Determiner spreading in SMG

- In SMG, DS is optional and has special syntactic and semantic properties *vis-à-vis* monadic definites [1], [2], [3], [4], [10], [11], [12]:

(a) it licenses word order freedom unavailable to monadic definites:

(1) a. *to prasino to kuti*      b. *to kuti to prasino*  
 the green the box      the box the green  
 ‘the green box’

(2) a. *to prasino kuti*      b. *\*to kuti prasino*  
 the green box      the box green  
 ‘the green box’

(b) it imposes a restrictive interpretation on the adjective:

(3) *iðame tis ðilitirioðis (#tis) kobres*  
 saw.1PL the poisonous the cobras  
 ‘we saw the poisonous cobras’ ([10]: 274)

## 3. Determiner spreading in Cappadocian Greek

- In Cappadocian, DS is obligatory. Adjectival modification in general triggers an additional determiner. Unlike SMG, word order is strictly DADN:

(4) a. *du omurfu du kuritf*      b. *\*du omurfu kuritf*  
 the beautiful the girl      the beautiful girl

c. *\*omurfu du kuritf*      d. *\*du kuritf du omurfu*  
 beautiful the girl      the girl the beautiful  
 ‘the beautiful girl’

- In virtue of being obligatory, DS does not impose semantic restrictions on the adjective. Non-restrictive interpretations are thus readily available:

(5) *ula spitçu da domata scepasin da*  
 all houses.GEN the.PL roofs covered.3SG them  
*d’ aspru du çon*  
 the white the snow  
 ‘the white snow had covered all the roofs of the houses’

- The cases of apparent non-doubling involve a null definite determiner, which [9] argues surfaces in specific morphological contexts, namely in the nominative of historically masculine and feminine nouns:

(6) a. *ando irten ∅ aðelfos tun*  
 when came.3SG the brother.NOM their  
 ‘when their brother came’ ([5]: 322)

b. *to meya ∅ aðelfos ipen*  
 the big the brother.NOM said.3SG  
 ‘the older brother said’ ([5]: 410)

## 4. Analysis

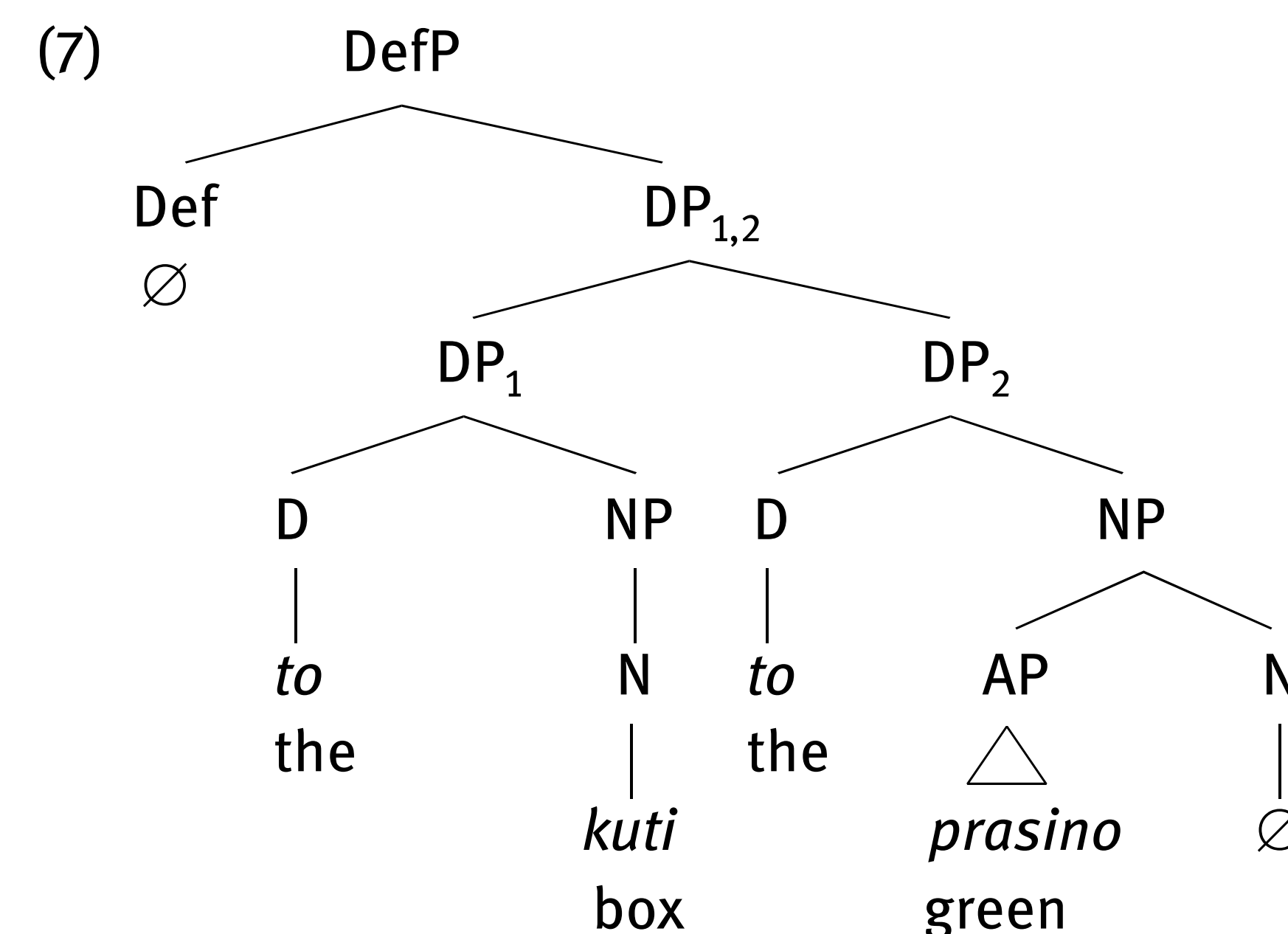
### 4.1 SMG

- Following [11], DS in SMG involves close apposition and noun ellipsis. Concretely:

(a) DPs combine freely in either order as close appositives (cf. *o aetos to puli, to puli o aetos*);

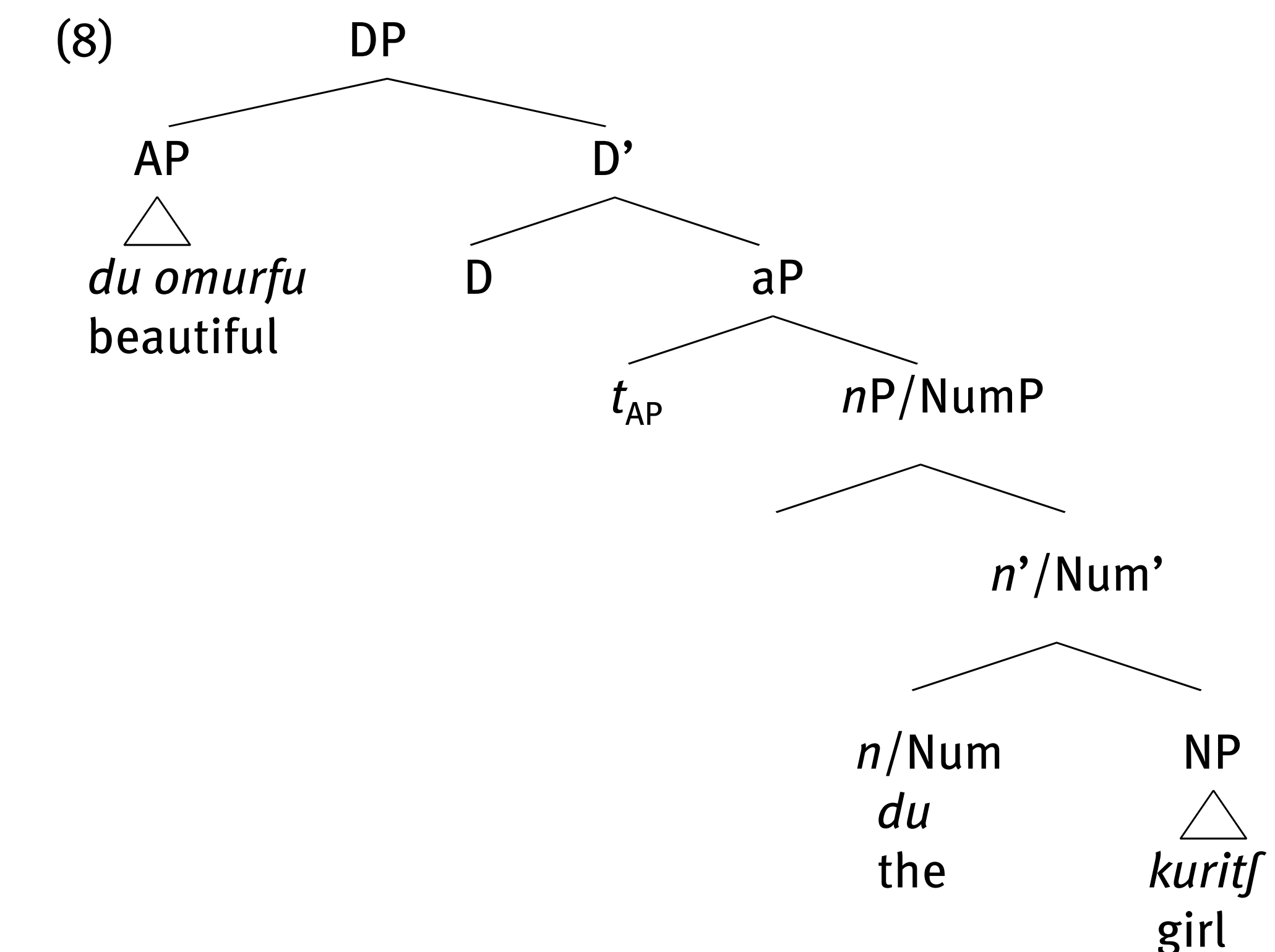
(b) noun ellipsis derives the semantic–pragmatic effects of DS in SMG.

- D = hosts the semantically empty definite article.
- Def = hosts the phonologically null, semantically contentful definite head.



### 4.2 CG

- DS is obligatory, with no semantic effects, reminiscent of definiteness agreement in Semitic (and some Scandinavian) languages.
- In the spirit of [1]’s suggestion for DS in Hebrew, DS in CG essentially involves **one** determiner, the one selecting NP. Articles on adjectives are a reflex of agreement (‘copying of features’) in terms of number and definiteness.
- Following [8], the ‘nominal’ determiner is hosted in a low position, in *n* or Num.
- D in CG is thus consistently empty.
- There is a requirement to lexicalise the DP-layer (cf. [13]); this drives movement of the AP to SpecDP.



- The requirement to lexicalise the DP-layer is also evident in the obligatory fronting of adnominal genitives and relative clauses in the language ([7], [9]):

(9) a. *klatfu du falvar*      b. *\*du falvar klatfu*  
 child.GEN the shalwar      the shalwar child.GEN  
 ‘the child’s shalwar’

(10) a. *du irti du klatf*      b. *\*du klatf du irti*  
 REL came.3SG the child      the child REL came.3SG  
 ‘the child that came’

➤ SpecDP is not an A’-position, as it is in SMG ([6]).