2. Determiner spreading in SMG

2.1 SMG

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

1. to prosato kiti |
   the green box the green box

2. to kuri prospato |
   the box the green box

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

1. iama tis pliririódoús (tis) koberes
   saw the poisonous the cobras
2. 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:

(a) du omufi d' kuritf |
the beautiful the girl
b. *du omufi kuritf |
the beautiful the girl
c. *omufi d' kuritf |
the beautiful the girl
d. *du omufi d' kuritf |
the beautiful the girl

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

(5) olo pitha da domata scepsin da
    all houses.oxn the.rr roofs covered.3sg them
    d' asppu d' can
    the white snow
    the white snow had covered all the roofs of the houses

(6) 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:

(a) ano iteri o deifios fun
    when came.3sg the brother.nm their
    'when their brother came' ([5]: 322)
(b) to meya o deifios open
    the big the brother.nm said.3sg
    'the older brother said' ([5]: 410)

4. Analysis

4.1 SMG

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

(a) DPs combine freely in either order as close appositives (cf. a. aetas to pull, to pull a aetas);

(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.

(7) DeFP

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.

4.3 Polydefinites

• In CG, polydefinites are also evident in the obligatory fronting of adnominal genitives and relative clauses in the language ([7], [9]):

(a) klatu du falvar
    the child's shawl
b. *du falvar klatu
    the shawl's child

(9) We see the poisonous cobras.

(10) a. irri du klatf
    the child came.3sg the child
b. *du klatf du irri
    the child's child came.3sg

• 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]):

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