

Microvariation in D: evidence from Greek polydefinites

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This talk discusses polydefinites in two varieties of Greek, namely Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and Cappadocian Greek (CG). Polydefinites (aka determiner spreading, DS) involve the multiple occurrence of the definite article in a construction that is semantically monodefinitive. In both varieties, DS occurs in contexts of attributive adjectival modification, as illustrated in (1):

- (1) a. *to omorfo to koritsi* (SMG) b. *du omurfu du koritf* (CG)
the pretty the girl the pretty the girl
'the pretty girl' 'the pretty girl'

In SMG, DS is optional and has special syntactic and semantic properties vis-à-vis monadic definites (Androutsopoulou 1995; Alexiadou & Wilder 1998; Kolliakou 2004; Campos & Stavrou 2004; Lekakou & Szendrői 2007, 2012; Alexiadou 2014). In CG, by contrast, DS is obligatory and imposes no semantic restrictions on the adjective.

Following Lekakou & Szendrői (*op.cit.*), DS in SMG is analyzed as an instance of close apposition involving noun ellipsis. According to Lekakou & Szendrői (2012, 2013), DPs can undergo the operation that creates close appositives in virtue of the fact that, in this language, D is expletive. On the other hand, DS in CG strongly recalls definiteness agreement in Scandinavian and Semitic languages, where definiteness doubling is obligatory in attributive modification. In these cases, including CG, the nominal determiner is the formal locus of definiteness, and the adjectival one(s) are exponents of an agreement relation (cf. Sichel 2002, Alexiadou 2014). Microvariation in the syntax and semantics of polydefinites thus ultimately reduces to variation in the featural make-up of D.

Selected References

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