Comparing Patterns of Adjectival Modification in Greek: A Diachronic Approach

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Abstract:

This paper investigates the distribution of adjectives in Ancient Greek, with the aim of comparing it to Standard Modern Greek. We use a selection of texts from Classical Attic and New Testament *koiné*. In Ancient Greek, like in Standard Modern Greek, all types of adjectives are allowed in prenominal position, and there is no evidence of movement of the noun over prenominal adjectives. As far as postnominal adjectives are concerned, in Classical and New Testament Greek they are systematically articulated in definite DPs, in a structure similar to the so-called polydefinite construction, that is typical of Standard Modern Greek. There is little evidence, in the texts explored, of structures of the type *Article Adjective Article Noun*, which are instead very common in Standard Modern Greek, and have been assumed to result from fronting the constituent [Article+Adjective] from its postnominal position. Finally, in Ancient Greek, there are cases of postnominal articulated non-adjectival modifiers of the noun, which are impossible in Standard Modern Greek. The paper explores these patterns, with particular attention to the mechanisms underlying polydefiniteness.

Keywords: *Adjectival Modification, Classical Greek, New Testament Greek, Polydefiniteness, Postnominal/Prenominal Adjectives, Standard Modern Greek*

1. Introduction[1]

In this paper we attempt a preliminary description of the distribution of adjectives in Ancient Greek (henceforth AG) based on current theoreti-

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cal assumptions about adjectival modification in Standard Modern Greek (henceforth SMG). Our survey is based on the systematic scrutiny of the following sources:[2]

(1)   a.   Classical Attic: Plato's *Apology*, *Cratylus* and *Symposium* (CG)
      b.   Hellenistic *koiné*: the four Gospels (NTG)

From the aforementioned texts, we selected all the nominal structures containing (at least) one adjective which modifies a visible head noun. Amongst them, we singled out the following ones: nominal structures found in argument position (i.e. subjects or direct complements of verbs), nominal structures found in the complement position of a prepositional phrase, nominal structures used as adverbials. We excluded those found in predicative position, vocatives and discontinuous structures (Devine and Stephens 2000). We kept apart cardinal numerals, ἕτερος, ἄλλος and μόνος. Finally, we didn't consider, in the present analysis, the distribution of universal, indefinite and negative quantifiers.[3]

The data are described in section 3, where we sketch an overview of the distribution of adjectives in our corpus, focusing in particular on:

(2)   a.   Prenominal adjectives. We provide a synopsis of the classes of adjectives found in prenominal position.
      b.   Postnominal adjectives. We show that (most of) the adjectives found in prenominal position are also found in postnominal position. In the latter case, in definite DPs, they are systematically preceded by a copy of the definite article, a phenomenon very similar to the so-called "polydefiniteness" in SMG.

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[2] The discussion proposed in this paper is based uniquely on the data which we collected from a detailed inspection of the textual sources listed in (1). Thus, what we propose here is a description of the "grammar(s)" manifested by such texts (as if they were, ideally, the output of their authors' I-languages). Whether our conclusions can be extended to other texts composed by other authors in the same historical period, or belonging to other types of literary styles, is a matter of further empirical testing. It is important to mention, however, that out results have been compared to other available works on these topics. As far as CG is concerned, Bernasconi (2011), based on Demosthenes' *Philippics* 1-3 and *Olinthiacs* 1-3, Isocrates' *Aegineticus* and *Against the Sophists*, Lysias's *On the murder of Eratosthenes* and *On the refusal of a pension*, is of particular relevance for our purposes because the data were selected and explored according to criteria which largely match those adopted in the present paper: as a matter of fact, the results are fully consistent with ours. As far as the Hellenistic *koiné* is concerned, Manolessou (2000) discusses data which are largely comparable (and actually consistent) with ours, as will be shown further below. For a more detailed description of the criteria adopted for the choice of the textual sources, and of the problems raised by literary texts (and closed-corpora languages more generally), see Guardiano (2019).

[3] See also Manolessou (2000) for an overview of all these types of modifiers.

The major differences which emerge from a comparison with SMG are the following:

(3) a. Instances of articulated prenominal adjectives (of the type *Art Adj Art N*) are very rare in our corpus, while they are normal in SMG.
     b. In AG, the article can (but does not have to) be "doubled" with post-nominal modifiers other than adjectives (e.g., participles, genitives, prepositional phrases, adverbs), a possibility that is excluded in SMG.
     c. In the polydefinite construction, the (postnominal) [Art+Adj] constituent can be preceded by a (non-articulated) modifier of the noun (a demonstrative or a pronominal genitive) that follows the noun itself. This possibility is very marginal in SMG, where the [Art+Adj] constituent must generally be adjacent to the head noun.

Our proposal is that the differences in (3a) and (3b) follow from phenomena which are not directly linked to the structure that generates polydefinite sequences. As far as (3c) is concerned, we show in section 4 that the analysis we adopt for polydefinite structures in SMG can also account for the AG patterns.

Our analysis takes as a point of departure our current knowledge of the syntax of adjectives in SMG, in particular the set of assumptions about the nature of prenominal and postnominal modification explored in Guardiano and Stavrou (2019), which is briefly summarized in section 2.

In previous works on other topics, Guardiano (2003, 2006, 2012a, 2016, 2019) has provided data which suggest that the word order patterns involving articles, nouns and adjectives found in AG are consistent with those observed in SMG: yet, no specialized analysis has ever been pursued systematically for AG. In this paper, we suggest a very preliminary attempt.

2. Patterns of adjectival modification in Standard Modern Greek: our analysis

In this section, we provide a brief description of the theoretical background that we use as a base for our discussion of AG. We start from the analyses which account for the syntax of adjectives in SMG.

According to recent approaches to the syntax of adjectives (Alexiadou *et al.* 2007; Cinque 2010; Guardiano and Stavrou 2019, a.o.), there are two (sets of) merge positions available universally for adjectival modifiers. Direct modifiers are assumed to be merged in "a set of functional projections which are hierarchically structured" (Alexiadou *et al.* 2007: 311-312) and originally prenominal. Such positions are ordered according to a semantic hierarchy first proposed by Sproat and Shih (1991) and subsequently taken up by almost all the researchers working in the field of adjectival

modification,[4] of which we present an instantiation in (4), from Alexiadou *et al.* (2007: 310, 37a).

(4)   Quantification/Numeral > Quality/Speaker-oriented > Size > Shape/Color > Provenance/Argument

The English example in (5) (Alexiadou *et al.* 2007: 310, 37b) is a typical illustration of such a hierarchy.[5]

(5)   the   three   beautiful   big   white   Persian   cats
           D   *quantification quality   size   color   provenance   N*
      [$_{DP}$ D   [Num   [AP (qual) [AP (size) [AP (sh/col) [AP (prov)   [$_{NP}$ [N]]]]]]]] [6]

The source where indirect modifiers[7] are assumed to be generated is often referred to as a predicative-like structure: a reduced relative clause according to Kayne (1994), Alexiadou and Wilder (1998), Alexiadou (2001), Cinque (2010), a.o., or a small clause (Demonte 1999).

In SMG, every (type of) adjective can occur to the left of the noun ("in Greek all adjectives are prenominal", Alexiadou *et al.* 2007: 364). Prenominal adjectives are usually ordered[8] according to the hierarchy in (4), as shown in (6). In this configuration, concord in phi-features, definiteness and case between the adjective and the noun is obtained through Spec-Head (Giusti 2008, 2009, 2011).

(6)   i   tres   omorfes   megales aspres   persikes   gates
           the   three   beautiful   big   white   Persian   cats
           D   *quantification quality   size   color   provenance   N*
      [$_{DP}$ D   [Num   [AP (qual)   [AP (size) [AP (sh/col) [AP (prov)   [$_{NP}$ [N]]]]]]]]

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[4] See the literature discussed in Scott (2002), Alexiadou *et al.* (2007), Cinque (2010).

[5] The pre-/post-nominal linearization of the adjectives generated in prenominal position has been assumed to be contingent on the movement of the head noun or of the NP (Grosu 1988; Valois 1991a, 1991b; Bernstein 1991, 1993; Crisma 1991, 1996; Cinque 1994, 1999, 2005, 2010; Giusti 1993, 2002; Longobardi 1994, a.o.); NP-movement may also be supplemented by remnant movement (Shlonsky 2004; Laenzlinger 2005, a.o.).

[6] Direct modifiers have been assumed to merge either as specifiers of dedicated functional projections (Cinque 2010), or as syntactic heads (Abney 1987; Delsing 1993; Androutsopoulou 1995, among several others).

[7] The term indirect modification was first introduced by Sproat and Shih (1991), who showed that adjectives can also modify indirectly a noun via a relative clause of which they are part.

[8] Permutability among adjectives is sometimes possible if a change in scope or focus is induced (Cinque 2010).

In SMG, many (though not all) adjectives can also appear postnominally.[9] In definite DPs, postnominal adjectives must be preceded by a definite article that "doubles" the definite article preceding the noun: cf. (7a) vs. the ungrammaticality of (7b).

(7)   a.   to   pedi   to   kalo
           the   child   the   good
           'the good child'
      b.   *to pedi kalo

The phenomenon in (7a) was called "determiner (or definiteness) spread(ing)" by Androutsopoulou (1995), and the noun phrase where articulated adjectives appear is dubbed "polydefinite".[10] The phenomenon is typical of every day, colloquial language; it is not attested in most written genres, where prenominal adjectives seem to be the rule. As will be pointed out below, polydefinite constructions are attested throughout the history of Greek (Manolessou 2000, Guardiano 2003, 2016), at least ever since a definite article in D was developed: indeed, "the presence of determiners within the noun phrase realizing D is a prerequisite for the presence of the multiple pattern" (Alexiadou 2014: 4).
      One further type of polydefinite construction (the sequence *Art Adj Art N*) is exemplified in (8).

(8)   to   kalo   to   pedi
      the   good   the   child
      'the good child'

According to Manolessou (2000), in Medieval Greek the sequence *Art Adj Art N* is typical of non-literary styles: "in more literary verse texts [...] [it] is either non-existent or rare, while in more popular texts it is much more frequent" (Manolessou 2000: 150).
      The position of the adjective in this sequence has been analyzed as a consequence of fronting the constituent [Art+AP] from its postnominal position to the left of D. Such a movement is usually associated to informational markedness (e.g., focus); thus, it is not surprising that it is absent from (or very rare in) written texts, where discourse markedness strategies are normally not employed.[11]

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[9] Unlike prenominal ones, postnominal adjectives can only be interpreted restrictively, intersectively and as stage-level predicates (Kolliakou 2004; Campos and Stavrou 2004; Alexiadou *et al.* 2007; Stavrou 2012).
      [10] Kolliakou (1999, 2004), Campos and Stavrou (2004), Alexiadou *et al.* (2007), Alexiadou (2014).
      [11] An anonymous reviewer points out that "platonic dialogues (or drama) have elements of oral speech, so they are relevant texts for the study of discourse-related phenomena". We

The analyses proposed for polydefiniteness so far are many and different. Here, we adopt Stavrou's (2012, 2013) proposal, extensively described in Guardiano and Stavrou (2019), where we refer for details and exemplification, as well as for an overview of other approaches to the phenomenon. For the purposes of the present study, we briefly summarize its major points.

Stavrou's approach assumes that, in SMG, postnominal adjectives are indirect modifiers, originated inside a clausal structure. In the spirit of Campos and Stavrou (2004), she assumes a DP-internal predicative structure the head of which mediates the predication relation. A simplified version of this structure is given in (9), and represented as a tree graph in Figure 1: the adjective originates as the complement of Pred, while the NP is in the specifier of PredP.[12]

(9) $[_{DP}$D $[_{PredP}$ $[_{NP}$ N   ]   Pred $[_{[+N]}$ AP   ]]]
          [+def]   [+def]
          to   amaksi   to   akrivo
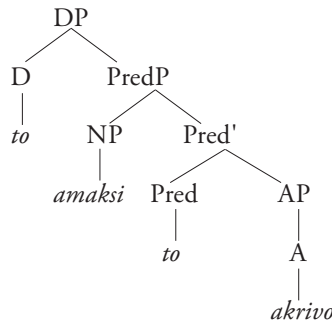   the   car   the   expensive

Figure 1

The adjectival article is taken to be the spell-out of Pred. Pred carries all the relevant nominal features (gender, number, case, and a feature that we call "def") which are also carried by D. In SMG, the feature [+def] must always be spelled out: its default realization is the morpheme identified as the definite article. Pred agrees with D in [+def] (along with case, gender and number). The requirement for overt agreement between a noun and the

agree with this observation; in fact, one of the reasons for the choice of Plato's dialogues is precisely that they are more likely than other texts to contain patterns which reflect actual spoken language. As a matter of fact, as will be shown in more detail below (see especially example 17), our corpus contains only one actual instance of the sequence *Art Adj Art N*.

     [12] 'to vivlio to kalo', lit. 'the book the nice', can be paraphrased by a copulative clause, i.e. as 'the book is nice'. The same holds in an indefinite DP.

adjective(s) which modify it is a strong property of SMG: this type of concord[13] is effected straightforwardly if the adjective is merged prenominally (Cinque 2010; Giusti 2008, 2009, 2011; see also Koopman 2006). On the contrary, if the adjective is merged postnominally, some mediator is required. Pred takes up precisely that function: it is a functional element that mediates concord in [+def], phi-features and case[14] between noun and adjective (or between subject and predicate). It is important to stress here that, in our notation, the feature which we call [+def], besides definiteness, also encodes the referential interpretation of kind names and proper names (Longobardi's [2008] *person*); in fact, in SMG, the "definite" article is obligatory with proper and kind names.[15]

An important consequence of Stavrou's hypothesis is that the "definite" article on postnominal adjectives in the polydefinite construction has the purely formal role of being the spell-out of Pred.[16]

As mentioned above, the order *Art Adj Art N* in (8) is assumed to follow from fronting the costituent [Art+AP] to the left of D.[17] This movement is triggered by the feature [+contrast] (or [+focus], or both) with which the articulated adjective is endowed: in polydefinite DPs, the adjective receives emphatic pitch accent and is also pragmatically focal because it stands for the new information, whereas the denotation of the noun represents old or background knowledge.[18]

One final remark which is important for the purposes of our discussion concerns the possibility for more than one (postnominal) articulated

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[13] Here we use the term concord following Giusti (2008, 2009, 2011) who argues that concord is a consequence of the Spec-Head relation and is different from agreement if by that it is the agreement between verb and subject that is intended. For Giusti, agreement is a consequence of selection, while concord is a consequence of modification.

[14] Concerning case, an important part of this analysis is the assumption that, in SMG, the lexicalization of the feature [+def] has the further effect of realizing morphological case (whose morphological realization is a prominent feature in SMG) on Pred. In other words, [+def] and case are inextricable; that means that wherever there is a morpheme that spells out [+def] there will also be (morphological) case (Guardiano and Stavrou 2019).

[15] For a more thorough account of the functions of the definite article in SMG see also Roussou and Tsimpli (1994).

[16] This is also in line with those analyses that assign an expletive character to the adjectival article in polydefinite DPs (cf. Androutsopoulou 1995), while attributing definiteness to either a postulated DefP (Lekakou and Szendroi 2012), or a dedicated Iota Phrase (Kyriakaki 2011). As far as indefinite DPs are concerned, the structure is the same as in (9). Like in definite DPs, concord between adjective and noun is achieved through the relation of predication, mediated by Pred, though with Pred remaining silent, because it is not endowed with [+def] (Alexiadou and Wilder 1998; Stavrou 2012).

[17] Horrocks and Stavrou (1987), Stavrou and Horrocks (1989), Campos and Stavrou (2004), Guardiano and Stavrou (2014, 2019), Guardiano and Michelioudakis (2019), a.o.

[18] The assumption of having a left periphery in the DP constitutes a central part of the analysis of a number of studies of polydefiniteness and not only for Greek (cf. Ntelitheos 2004; Campos and Stavrou 2004; Giusti 2005, 2006; Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011, a.o.).

adjective to occur within one and the same DP. This is ungrammatical for most speakers of SMG, although some of them marginally accept multiple postnominal adjectives (Guardiano and Michelioudakis 2019: 323-325). Notice that these sequences are not compatible with (9), which is assumed to generate polydefinite DPs where the adjective is strictly adjacent to the head noun, and cannot be duplicated. The problem is discussed in Guardiano and Michelioudakis (2019: 327-329). According to their proposal, multiple modification can be accounted for "assuming a recursive structure" in SpecPredP; in Figure 2, we present a modified version of the structure they propose on p. 328 (example 11).
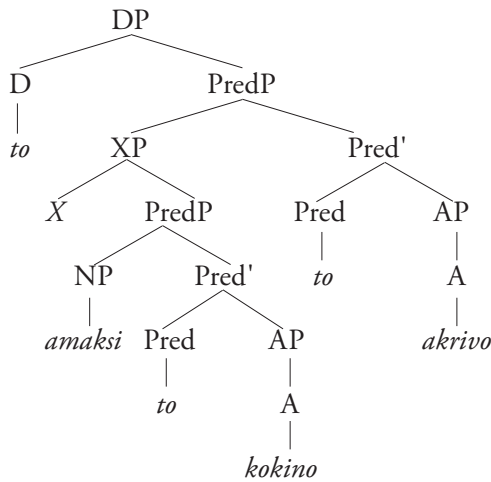

Figure 2

The fact that structures with two postnominal adjectives are very rare in SMG is likely to follow from the plausible assumption that recursive structures of the type proposed in Figure 2 are "harder to process, [which] arguably also explains why, for many speakers, [these] strings […] are less preferred or even degraded and/or require an intonational break separating additional APs" (Guardiano and Michelioudakis 2019: 329).

According to Guardiano and Michelioudakis (2019), the structure in Figure 2 would also account for sequences where an articulated noun is followed by a demonstrative and an articulated adjective (*Art N Dem Art Adj*).[19] This is based on Guardiano's (2012b, 2014, *in prep*) analysis of Greek demonstratives, according to which demonstrative items in Greek have the same

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[19] Notice that the speakers who accept the sequence *Art N Dem Art Adj* also accept the sequence *Art N Art Adj Art Adj*, and those who do not accept the former do not accept the latter either.

structural source as (postnominal) adjectives. Along these premises, the analysis of postnominal (polydefinite) adjectives proposed in (9) can be extended to demonstratives too. It must be noted, additionally, that, crosslinguistically, demonstratives are intrinsically (lexically) endowed with [+def]. Thus, the difference between an adjective and a demonstrative generated in (9) is that the latter contains [+def] and, as such, it is by itself able to spell out Pred, with no further need of the definite article (for an earlier formulation of this proposal see Horrocks and Stavrou 1987, Stavrou and Horrocks 1989). To sum up, demonstratives actually stand for the complex [Pred+AP] (Guardiano 2012b, 2014, *in prep*; Guardiano and Michelioudakis 2019). As a consequence, if the recursive structure in Figure 2 holds true of SMG, it can be assumed to also generate sequences *Art N Dem Art Adj*, where the demonstrative replaces the [Pred+AP] unit corresponding to 'to kokino': 'to amaksi afto to akrivo'.

In section 3, we explore the distribution of adjectives in AG, in order to check whether it is compatible with the analysis proposed for SMG.

3. Patterns of adjectival modification in Ancient Greek

3.1 Background information

The data presented in sections 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 are organized on the basis of the following specifications:

(10) a. Nominal structures with a visible article have been set apart from nominal structures with no visible article (sections 3.2 and 3.3, respectively).
   b. We restrict our analysis to nominal structures found in argument position (i.e. subjects or direct complements of a verb), in the complement of a prepositional phrase, or used as adverbials. Discontinuous structures, vocatives, adjectives and nominals found in predicative position were excluded.
   c. Nominals modified by cardinal numerals, ἕτερος, ἄλλος and μόνος are treated apart.[20]
   d. Nominals modified by universal, negative and indefinite quantifiers[21] have been excluded from the present survey.

3.2 DPs with a visible article

As far as the linearization of D, head noun (N) and adjective (A) is concerned, six orders are possible in principle:[22]

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[20] Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), Cinque (2015).
[21] For the syntax of quantifiers in AG, cf. also Manolessou (2000).
[22] See, among many others: Jannaris (1897), Gildersleeve and Miller (1900-1911), Moulton

(11)   a.   D A N
      b.   D N A
      c.   A D N
      d.   N D A
      e.   N A D
      f.   A N D

Greek is uniformly head-initial: thus, the patterns (11e) and (11f), with the head D in phrase-final position, are unexpected. In fact, they are unattested in the corpus: the phrase-initial position of ὁ, ἡ, τὸ (which we assume to be merged in D) is persistent across the history of the language (Guardiano 2016, 2019).

The pattern (11d) is very rare in the corpus. The 5 instances that we found are shown in (12).[23]

(12) N D A
      a.   John 14.27
          εἰρήνην ἀφίημι ὑμῖν, εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν
          'peace I leave with you, peace, my own one, I give to you'
      b.   Luke 15.22
          ταχὺ ἐξενέγκατε στολὴν τὴν πρώτην
          'quickly bring a robe, the first one'
      c.   Apology 29 d 7 – 8
          ὦ ἄριστε ἀνδρῶν, Ἀθηναῖος ὤν, πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης καὶ εὐδοκιμωτάτης εἰς σοφίαν καὶ ἰσχύν
          'most excellent man, who are a citizen of Athens, a city (that is) the greatest and the most famous one for wisdom and power'
      d.   Symposium 191 b 3 – 4
          εἴτε γυναικὸς τῆς ὅλης ἐντύχοι ἡμίσει
          'if it might happen on a part of the whole of a woman'
      e.   Cratylus 397 e 8 – 9
          οὐδὲ ὅτι χρυσοῦν γένος τὸ πρῶτόν φησιν γενέσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων;
          'nor that he says a golden race was the first (race) of men to be born?'

(1908), Robertson (1919), Marouzeau (1922), Chantraine (1961), Humbert (1945), Dover (1960), Palm (1960), Brunel (1964), Meillet (1975), Rix (1976), Blass and Debrunner (1976) and, for more recent surveys, Adrados (1992), Brixhe (1993), Dik (1995, 2007), Horrocks (1997), Manolessou (2000), Guardiano (2003), Bakker (2009).

[23] This pattern is also discussed in Manolessou (2000: 147). She provides some examples and she comments (consistently with our observations) that "the head noun in these constructions is articleless exactly in these cases where the absence of the article would be justifiable for independent reasons".

As far as (12a) is concerned, as suggested by the translation, the sequence *N Art Adj* arguably reflects two separate DPs: εἰρήνην, that has the structure [$_{DP}$ D [NP]], with an empty D (see section 3.3 for other examples of empty Ds in AG), and τὴν ἐμὴν ([$_{DP}$ D [AP]]), which does not contain any visible noun ('my own one'). Similarly, the sequence in (12b) is compatible with two separate DPs: στολὴν, headed by an empty D ([$_{DP}$ D [NP]]), and τὴν πρώτην, with no visible N ([$_{DP}$ D [AP]]).

Example (12c) contains two coordinated adjectives, both in the superlative, the second heading a prepositional phrase. The structure is a genitive of origin. As far as the connection between πόλεως and τῆς μεγίστης καὶ εὐδοκιμωτάτης… is concerned, we assume a predicative structure headed by an omitted verb, in which πόλεως and τῆς μεγίστης καὶ εὐδοκιμωτάτης… are two separate DPs, the first containing a noun and no visible D, the second having no visible N and two coordinated APs.[24]

In (12d) the universal quantifier ὅλης[25] occurs after an article, which in turn follows a noun not preceded by any visible D.[26] The interpretation of this structure is controversial: Reale (2001) analyses it as if τῆς ὅλης were heading the genitive γυναικὸς ('the whole of a woman'), which in turn linearly precedes its head: since *Gen N* sequences were not ungrammatical in CG (Guardiano 2011), there are no real objections against this analysis. Under another analysis, τῆς ὅλης predicatively modifies γυναικὸς: 'a part of a woman, the entire (one)'. In this latter case, the structure would be similar to (12a).[27]

Finally, in (12e), the sequence *Adj N Art Adj* is part of a more complex structure, where χρυσοῦν γένος and τὸ πρῶτον are two separate constituents: χρυσοῦν γένος is an indefinite DP (with no visible D, as usual in AG: Guardiano 2016, see also section 4) that consists of the head noun γένος modified by the prenominal adjective χρυσοῦν (see section 3.3. below); in turn, it is the subject of the nominal predicate γενέσθαι τὸ πρῶτον, of which τὸ πρῶτον is the predicative part.

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[24] Notice that superlatives trigger the presence of their own definite article even in languages which do not display (other types of) polydefinite structures (e.g. French, cf. Kayne 2004). In our corpus, superlatives are also found in prenominal position, in "monadic" DPs, after the article (D A N), as in Symposium 188 d 7, τὴν μεγίστην δύναμιν ('the greatest power').

[25] This item, as well as the other universal quantifier πᾶς, has its own peculiar syntax: in particular, it can occur to the left of D with apparently minor consequences on the interpretation of the DP in terms of markedness.

[26] A very similar example, with πᾶς, is found in Thuchidides (1.1): τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι ἀκμάζοντές τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀμφότεροι παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ ('for he argued that both were moving towards it at the top of their whole military power').

[27] Similarities, in terms of syntax and interpretation, between universal quantifiers and superlatives have variously been pointed out, at least since Abney (1987).

The pattern (11c) is attested only in predicative structures, two examples of which are given in (13).

(13) A D N[28]
    a.   Cratylus 426 c 5
        ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ 'κίειν' —ξενικὸν δὲ τοὔνομα—τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἰέναι
        'and the beginning (is) from κίειν - the noun (is) foreign - this is ἰέναι'
    b.   Cratylus 427 c 4
        ὅτι μεγάλα τὰ γράμματα
        'because the letters (are) big'[29]

The absence of ADN sequences in argument position is not unexpected under two assumptions: (a) adjectives found in pre-D position do not originate in that position: their linearization to the left of D is a consequence of fronting from lower positions; (b) fronting seems to be possible only if the adjective has its own article (Crisma *et al.* 2017): only [Art+AP] constituents can undergo fronting.

Finally, as far as (11b) is concerned, the pattern DNA is likely to instantiate, in principle, two types of underlying structures: one where the adjective is merged prenominally and is crossed over by the noun (as in Romance; see Guardiano and Stavrou 2019 and the literature cited therein), and one where the adjective originates postnominally, in a structure of the type illustrated in (9), but with a covert realization of Pred.

The latter scenario would go against Stavrou's predictions, according to which Pred must be overt in order to realize concord in phi-features, [+def] and case. As a matter of fact, AG displays robust realization of [+def], phi-features and case: thus, the realization of Pred is expected to be overt. If this is correct, it is unlikely that a pattern like (11b), if attested, can have a structural source like (9), where the adjective is merged postnominally and Pred, endowed with [+def], has no lexical realization.

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[28]   (1)   Symposium 206 d 8
        πολλὴ ἡ πτοίησις γέγονε περὶ τὸ καλὸν
        'the passion for the beautiful becomes great' (lit. 'great the passion becomes about the beautiful')
    (2)   Symposium 212 a 3
        ὁρῶντι ᾧ ὁρατὸν τὸ καλόν
        'as he sees the beautiful that can be contemplated'
    (3)   Cratylus 418 c 9 – d 1
        ὅτι γὰρ ἀσμένοις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἱμείρουσιν ἐκ τοῦ σκότους τὸ φῶς ἐγίγνετο
        'for the light comes out of darkness to men who are glad and long for it'

[29] A similar structure is also found in Bernasconi (2011), Lys. 1.32: διπλῆν τὴν βλάβην ὀφείλειν ('render double the damage'). Concerning these structures, an anonymous reviewer points out that "school grammars would analyze the examples in (13) as instances of predication with the copula *be* absent: 'ξενικόν δέ τούνομα εστίν', 'μεγάλα τά γράμματα εισίν'", an interpretation which is consistent with ours.

As far as the hypothesis that DNA sequences result from movement of the noun over an originally prenominal adjective is concerned, it must be remarked that AG shows no evidence of overt movement of the noun over its modifiers (e.g. structured genitives or prenominally merged adjectives: Guardiano 2011, Guardiano and Longobardi 2018). If our reasoning is on the right track, then the consequence is that DNA sequences are not expected in AG: as a matter of fact, no cases of (11b) have been found in our corpus.[30]

The pattern overwhelmingly attested in our corpus is (11a). It is important to observe, here, that all the types of adjectives which are assumed to universally merge in prenominal position (see (4) and (5)), including possessives, are found in prenominal position, both in CG and in the Gospels, as shown in (14), where we provide examples with adjectives belonging to all the classes listed in (4).

(14) D A N
    a.   *Quantification*
        i.   Symposium 173 a 5-6
            ὅτε τῇ πρώτῃ τραγῳδίᾳ ἐνίκησεν Ἀγάθων
            'when Agathon won his first tragedy'
        ii.   Mark 14.12
            καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων
            'On the first day of unleavened bread'
        iii.   John 3.18
            εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ
            'in the name of the only born Son of God'
        iv.   Apology 41 b 8 – c 1[31]
            τὴν πολλὴν στρατιὰν
            'the great army'

---

[30] The order DNA is actually found only in structures where the adjective has a predicative function, as in the examples below:
    (1)   Symposium 290 b 6
        καὶ τὰ φρονήματα μεγάλα εἶχον
        'and they had big notions' (lit. 'they had the notions big')
    (2)   Mark 3.3
        καὶ λέγει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχοντι ξηράν
        'and said to the man who had his hand withered'
    (3)   Symposium 209 a 4
        ὧν δή εἰσι καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ πάντες γεννήτορες
        'of whom all the poets are begetters'
    (4)   Symposium 216 e 3
        ἡγεῖται δὲ πάντα ταῦτα τὰ κτήματα οὐδενὸς ἄξια
        'considers all these possessions as nothing worth'
[31] Apology 29 b 3 – 4
   τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων
   'from the other men'

      v.   Mark 12.37[32]

ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος
'the common people'

  b.   *Quality*[33]

      i.   Apology 22 d 6

οἱ ἀγαθοὶ δημιουργοί
'the good artisans'

      ii.   John 2.10

πᾶς ἄνθρωπος πρῶτον τὸν καλὸν οἶνον τίθησιν, καὶ ὅταν μεθυσθῶσιν τὸν ἐλάσσω· σὺ τετήρηκας τὸν καλὸν οἶνον ἕως ἄρτι
'everyone serves the good wine first, and when the guests have drunk freely, then that which is worse. You have kept the good wine until now'

      iii.   Matthew 24.48

ὁ κακὸς δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος
'that evil servant'

  c.   *Size/manner*

      i.   Apology 40 d 8

τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα
'the great king'

      ii.   Cratylus 418 c 1

αἱ γυναῖκες, αἵπερ μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχαίαν φωνὴν σῴζουσι
'women, who preserve most the old form of speech'

      iii.   Luke 13.23

διὰ τῆς στενῆς θύρας
'by the narrow door'

      iv.   Matthew 5.35

τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως
'of the great king'

  d.   *Shape/color*

      i.   Cratylus 398 a 4

τὸ χρυσοῦν γένος
'the golden race'

      ii.   John 19.5

τὸ πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον
'the purple garnment'

[32] In the following example, πολὺς is found in postnominal position, with no determiner spreading. It is presumably predicative ('the multitude that had come to the feast that was big').

John 12.12
τῇ ἐπαύριον ὁ ὄχλος πολὺς ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν
'on the next day the great multitude that had come to the feast'

[33] Symposium 186 c 7 – d 1
τὸν καλόν τε καὶ αἰσχρὸν ἔρωτα
'the good and the bad love'

  iii. Matthew 5.39
    εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα [σου]
    'on your right cheek'
 e. *Argument/provenance*
  i. Symposium 189 d 5
    τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν
    'the human nature'
  ii. Apology 31d 7-8
    εἰ ἐγώ πάλαι ἐπεχείρησα πράττειν τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα
    'if I had undertaken to go into politics'
  iii. Symposium 211 d 1-2
    ἡ Μαντινικὴ ξένη
    'the Mantinean woman'
  iv. Luke 24.10
    ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ Μαρία
    'Mary Magdalene'
 f. *Possessives*
  i. Symposium 193 d 6
    ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος
    'my discourse'
  ii. Symposium 215 d 3-4
    τῶν σῶν λόγων
    'of your discourses'
  iii. Mark 4.34
    τοῖς ἰδίοις μαθηταῖς
    'to his own disciples'
  iv. Matthew 7.3
    ἐν τῷ σῷ ὀφθαλμῷ
    'in your eye'

There are few instances of multiple modifiers of the noun in prenominal position, as in Cratylus 421 b 2, ἡ γὰρ θεία τοῦ ὄντος φορὰ ('for, the divine motion of the universe'), where the head noun is modified by an adjective and a genitive, both prenominal.

These data are consistent with the assumption that, like in SMG, in AG adjectives are merged prenominally and are not crossed over by the noun.

The other pattern encountered in our corpus consists of sequences containing a noun (N), its adjectival modifier(s) (A) and multiple articles. As mentioned above, two types of such sequences are possible in SMG, shown in (15):

(15) a. Art N Art A
   b. Art A Art N

As seen in section 2, the orders in (15) in SMG are generated from one and the same structure, the one in (9), where the adjective is merged post-

nominally: (15a) linearizes the actual underlying structure, while (15b) is obtained through fronting [Art+AP].

The sequence overwhelmingly attested in our corpus is (15a),[34] of which we give examples in (16). As the examples show, there is no significant restriction concerning the kind of adjective that can be found in these constructions, as also observed in Manolessou (2000) and Guardiano (2003).

(16) Art N Art A
    a.   *Quantification*
        i.   John 2.1
            τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ
            'the third day'
        ii.   John 3.16
            ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν
            'that he gave his one and only Son'
    b.   *Quality*
        i.   Symposium 209 d 2
            τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητὰς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς
            'all the other good poets'
        ii.   John 10.11
            ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς
            'the good sheperd'
    c.   *Size/manner*
        i.   Symposium 183 d 8
            πονηρὸς δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐραστὴς ὁ πάνδημος
            'By 'wicked' we mean that popular lover'
        ii.   Mark 5.13
            τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα
            'the unclean spirits'
        iii. John 14.26
            τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον
            'the Holy Spirit'
    d.   *Shape/color*
        John 18.10
        τὸ ὠτάριον τὸ δεξιόν
        'the right ear'

[34] According to Adrados (1992), the polydefinite construction has been attested in AG since Aeschilus and Herodotus, namely, as soon as the definite article was grammaticalized as a D-item (Guardiano 2016, 2019).

e.   *Argument/provenance*[35]
   i.   Symposium 191 d 3
        τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
        'the human nature'
   ii. John 4.9
        ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Σαμαρῖτις
        'the Samaritan woman'
f.   *Possessives*
   i.   Apology 24 a 8
        καὶ ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ διαβολὴ ἡ ἐμὴ
        'and that this is the prejudice against me'
   ii. John 1.41
        εὑρίσκει οὗτος πρῶτον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἴδιον Σίμωνα
        'he first found his own brother, Simon'
   iii. John 7.6
        ὁ καιρὸς ὁ ἐμὸς οὔπω πάρεστιν, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὁ ὑμέτερος πάντοτέ
        ἐστιν ἕτοιμος
        'my time has not yet come, but your time is always ready'

There is only one instance of (15b), here reproduced in (17). The example contains an articulated noun modified by a possessive adjective occurring between the article and the noun; the whole structure is preceded by a second adjective that has its own article, and is in the complement of a preposition.

(17) Cratylus 398 b 7
      καὶ ἕν γε τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φωνῇ αὐτὸ συμβαίνει τὸ ὄνομα
      'and in the old form of our language the two words are the same'

Manolessou (2000: 146) mentions two more cases similar to (17), both with the order *Art Adj Art Adj N*. She concludes that "it is possible to have two prenominal articles in CG only when there are two adjectives". No instances of this order are encountered in the Gospels (and in NTG in General, according to Manolessou 2000: 149).

Note also that, in the Gospels, a few types of non-adjectival modifiers, typically demonstratives and pronominal genitives (in one case a prepositional phrase, cf. 18c), can intervene between the [Art+N] and the [Art+Adj] constituent, as shown in (18).

(18) a.   Mark 12.43
           ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἡ χήρα αὕτη ἡ πτωχὴ πλεῖον πάντων ἔβαλεν τῶν
           βαλλόντων εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον
           'most assuredly I tell you, this poor widow gave more than all those who
           are giving into the treasury'

---

[35] According to Alexiadou and Wilder (1998), thematic adjectives (i.e. adjectives denoting arguments) are not possible in polydefinite constructions in SMG: most speakers do not accept them. See also Manolessou (2000) for a further list of adjectives not accepted by speakers of SMG in polydefinite structures.

b.   i.   Luke 20.13
         τὸν υἱόν μου τὸν ἀγαπητόν
         'my beloved son'
     ii. Matthew 5.48
         ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος
         'your father in haeven'
     iii. Luke 22.50
         τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ τὸ δεξιόν
         'his right ear'
c.   John 6.32
     τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν ἀληθινόν
     'the true bread out of heaven'

An important property of AG which is absent in SMG is that DPs with multiple articles are possible with non-adjectival modifiers: prepositional phrases (19), genitives (20), adverbials (21), participles (22). In the majority of cases, the articulated modifier follows the noun; very few cases with the articulated modifier preceding the noun have been found in the corpus.[36]

(19) a.   Apology 20 e 8
          τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς
          'the God in Delfi'
     b.   John 5.44
          τὴν δόξαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ
          'the glory that comes from the only God'

(20) a.   Apology 40 d 4-5
          καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας τὰς τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ
          'the other nights and days of his life'
     b.   Mark 11.30
          τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ Ἰωάνου
          'the baptism of John'

(21) a.   Apology 40 c 8
          τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐνθένδε
          'from this place'
     b.   Symposium 176 e 7-8
          ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἔνδον
          'to the women within'

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[36] (1) Symposium 213 e 2
         τὴν τούτου ταυτηνὶ τὴν θαυμαστὴν κεφαλήν
         'this impressive head of this man'
    (2) Cratylus 411 c 1
         τὸ ἔνδον τὸ παρὰ σφίσιν πάθος
         'the internal affection within themselves'.

 c. Cratylus 390 a 4-5
   τὸν νομοθέτην τόν τε ἐνθάδε καὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις
   'the law-giver, whether he be here or in a foreign land'

 d. Mark 6.11
   τὸν χοῦν τὸν ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν
   'the dust under your feet'

(22) a. Apology 27 a 3-4
   τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἀκούοντας
   'the others who hear'

  b. Cratylus 411 b 4 – 5
   οἱ πάνυ παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι οἱ τιθέμενοι τὰ ὀνόματα
   'the very ancient men who invented names'

  c. Mark 3.22
   οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες
   'the scribes who came down from Jerusalem'

There is an important difference between the examples in (16) and those in (19)-(22): the presence of the article is obligatory only with postnominal adjectives (in definite argument DPs), while it is not obligatory with other modifiers, as shown in (23).

(23) a. i. Symposium 179 b 7
    ὑπὲρ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας
    'about this statement to the Greeks'

   ii. Luke 15 1 – 2
    ὁ λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ
    'the report about him'

  b. i. Apology 18 a 2
    τὸν μὲν τρόπον τῆς λέξεως
    'the manner of the speech'

   ii. Matthew 2.20
    τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου
    'the life of the young child'

  c. i. Apology 31 b 2 – 3
    καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν οἰκείων ἀμελουμένων τοσαῦτα ἤδη ἔτη
    'and have been enduring the neglect of my concerns all these years'

   ii. Mark 5.36
    ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς παρακούσας τὸν λόγον λαλούμενον
    'but Jesus, when he heard the message spoken'

There is one further group of sequences with multiple articles attested in our corpus, namely sequences with a proper name modified by a postnominal adjective, genitive or apposition: usually, such modifiers are introduced by an overt definite article, as shown in (24), while the proper name sometimes is introduced by its own article (24a), sometimes not

(24b). These facts are well-known: in AG, proper names do not need a visible article, in contrast to SMG, where the article is obligatory with all proper names in argument position.[37] In other words, the difference between AG and SMG is that in AG the feature [+def] of D does not need to be spelled out with proper names, while in SMG it must be always overtly realized in argument position. To sum up, in the examples listed in (24b), where the linear order is [PN Art *modifier*], the underlying structure is the same as that of (24a), namely [D PN Art *modifier*], with the difference that in (24b) the D preceding the proper name is empty (*null expletive,* Guardiano 2016, 2019).[38]

(24) a. i.   Matthew 1.6
                τὸν Δαυεὶδ τὸν βασιλέα
                'the king David'
           ii. Matthew 1.16
                τὸν Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας
                'Joseph, Maria's husband'
           iii. Mark 16.1
                ἡ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ Σαλώμη
                'Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of james, and Salome'
      b. i.   Matthew 2.1
                ἐν ἡμέραις Ἡρῴδου τοῦ βασιλέως
                'in the days of Herod the king'
           ii. Matthew 1.20
                Μαρίαν τὴν γυναῖκά σου
                'Mary, his wife'
           iii. Mark 3.18
                Σίμωνα τὸν Καναναῖον
                'Simon from Cana'

---

[37] This property (and the difference with SMG) has been connected (Guardiano 2012, 2016) with the fact that AG licenses empty Ds in a broader range of structural conditions than SMG (e.g., empty Ds are licensed with all types of non-definite singular count nouns in argument position).

[38] In the following two examples the apposition is postnominal: in (1a) both articles are visible; in (1b) the (expletive) article preceding the proper name is null. Similar cases are also found in the Gospels.
     (1)   a.   Symposium 215 b 4
                 τῷ σατύρῳ τῷ Μαρσύᾳ
                 'to the satyr Marsyas'
            b.   Symposium 179 e 5
                 τῷ ἐραστῇ Πατρόκλῳ
                 'to the lover Patroclos'

As already mentioned, DPs where a noun is modified by a cardinal numeral, ἄλλος, ἕτερος or μόνος were not included in the overview proposed above. Indeed, crosslinguistically, numerals, *other* and *only* often display a "special" syntax, different – in one way or another – from that of other adjectives. We will give some examples of numerals in section 3.4. Here, we want to briefly illustrate the distribution of ἄλλος, ἕτερος and μόνος. For lack of space, we cannot discuss any analysis here: we just want to stress that there are differences between the distribution of those particular modifiers and the adjectives.

ἄλλος is overwhelmingly found in sequences of the type (11a) and (15a), as shown in (25).[39]

(25) a.　Art ἄλλος N
　　　　i.　Symposium 190 c 1-2
　　　　　　ὁ οὖν Ζεὺς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι θεοὶ ἐβουλεύοντο ὅτι χρὴ αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι
　　　　　　'there at Zeus and the other gods debated what they should do'

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[39] The different positions are usually associated with different interpretations, which, due to lack of space, we will not discuss here: we refer to Guardiano (2003) for an overview of the literature. In the absence of a visible article, ἄλλος is found both pre- and postnominally (1). ἄλλος appears to the left of adjectives (2). When cooccurring with an indefinite item, it is found to the right of it (3). When occurring with a DP-initial numeral, it usually precedes it (4).

(1)　a.　i.　Cratylus 385 d 7 – 8
　　　　　　ἄλλην ὀρθότητα ἢ ταύτην
　　　　　　'another kind of correctness than this'
　　　　ii.　Symposium 214 d 3
　　　　　　ἄνθρωπον ἄλλον ἢ τοῦτον
　　　　　　'a man other than this'
　　b.　i.　Mark 12.4
　　　　　　ἄλλον δοῦλον
　　　　　　'another servant'
　　　　ii.　John 6.22
　　　　　　πλοιάριον ἄλλο οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖ εἰ μὴ ἕν
　　　　　　'there was no other boat there except one'
(2)　Apology 33 c 6
　　　ἄλλη θεία μοῖρα
　　　'another divine destiny'
(3)　Symposium 183 a 3
　　　τινα ἄλλην δύναμιν
　　　'some other power'
(4)　a.　Symposium 184 c 2
　　　　ἄλλη μία μόνη δουλεία ἑκούσιος λείπεται
　　　　'so there is left just one other voluntary slavery'
　　b.　Matthew 4.21
　　　　ἄλλους δύο ἀδελφούς
　　　　'two other brothers'

      ii. John 20.8
         τότε οὖν εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ὁ ἄλλος μαθητὴς ὁ ἐλθὼν πρῶτος εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον
         'so then the other disciple who came first to the tomb also entered in'

   b.   Art N Art ἄλλος
      i. Symposium 203 b 2
         ἡστιῶντο οἱ θεοὶ οἵ τε ἄλλοι
         'the gods made a great feast'
      ii. John 18.16
         ἐξῆλθεν οὖν ὁ μαθητὴς ὁ ἄλλος ὁ γνωστὸς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως
         'so the other disciple, who was known to the high priest, went out'

ἄλλος is also found in sequences (15b, Art ἄλλος Art N). There are very few instances, though, in our corpus, of such structures. Moreover, in most cases, the structure displays ellipsis of the noun: some examples are given in (26).[40]

(26) a. i. Apology 22 d 7
         τἆλλα τὰ μέγιστα
         'the other most important matters'
      ii. Cratylus 411 a 4
         τἆλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα
         'all the others of that sort'[41]
   b. i. Apology 27 a 3-4
         ἢ ἐξαπατήσω αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἀκούοντας;
         'or shall I deceive him and the others who hear me?'
      ii. Symposium 176 a 3
         τἆλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα
         'the other usual things'
   c. Symposium 207 c 7
         τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὰ ἐρωτικά
         'all the others that have relation to love'
   d. Cratylus 437 b 6 – 7
         τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι τοῖς περὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα ὀνόμασιν
         'to all the other names of good significance'

As far as ἕτερος is concerned, in the corpus it is only found in prenominal position (27).[42]

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[40] There are other instances of these constructions in CG, but they seem very rare. Cf. for instance Herotodus 3, οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ὠλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὕμνους ἐποίησε ('this Olen (…) also made the other ancient hymns').

[41]   Cratylus 427 b 5
    τἆλλα πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα
    'all the others of that sort'.

[42] In DPs with no visible article, ἕτερος is prenominal in all its occurrences of the corpus (1a) and, when cooccurring with a DP-initial numeral, it follows it (1b).

(27) a.   Cratylus 402 d 8
τὸ ἕτερον ὄνομα
'the other name'

b.   Luke 4.43
ταῖς ἑτέραις πόλεσιν
'to the other cities'

μόνος occurs in three different positions: in a pre-D position (28), to the left of the article (28a.ii/iii) but to the right of demonstratives (28a.i.); in a pre-nominal position, to the right of numerals (28b); in a postnominal position, only attested in the Gospels (28c). This distribution parallels that of floating quantifiers (Guardiano 2003).

(28) a.   i.   Cratylus 397 c 9 – d 1
τούτους μόνους τοὺς θεοὺς
'those gods only'

ii. Luke 5.22
μόνος ὁ θεός
'God only'

iii. Luke 6.4
μόνους τοὺς ἱερεῖς
'the priests only'

b.   Symposium 184 c 2
ἄλλη μία μόνη δουλεία ἑκούσιος λείπεται
'so there is left just one other voluntary slavery'

c.   i.   Mark 9.8[43]
οὐκέτι οὐδένα εἶδον μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν εἰ μὴ τὸν Ἰησοῦν μόνον
'they saw no one with them any more, except Jesus only'

ii. Luke 24.12
βλέπει τὰ ὀθόνια μόνα
'he sees the linen cloths only'

iii. Luke 4.4[44]
οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος
'man shall not live by bread only'

Finally, it must be observed that there is a difference between CG and NTG with respect to the distribution of the patterns described in this section.

(1) a. Luke 9.56.
εἰς ἑτέραν κώμην
'to another village'

b. Matthew 12.45
ἑπτὰ ἕτερα πνεύματα πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ
'seven other spirits more evil than he is'

[43] See also John 12.9 and, with a proper name and no article, Luke 9.36.
[44] See also Matthew 4.4.

In particular, in CG the predominant structure is (11a), while in the Gospels the polydefinite construction (15a) is much more frequent. This is summarized in Table 1 at the end of this section. We will see that the same tendency is observed in the distribution of adjectives in DPs with no visible articles (cf. Table 2 in section 3.3). The increase in frequency of postnominal adjectives in the Gospels, and more generally in NTG, has been explained as a consequence of contact with Semitic: in Semitic, adjectives are linearized postnominally as a rule, and they require a copy of the definite article in definite DPs (Fassi Fehri 1999, Shlonsky 2004). Moreover, Semitic languages, precisely like AG, do not require any visible D in non-definite DPs. In other words, in Semitic, DPs display the linear sequences [N A] and [Art N Art A], which are also possible in Greek: this, according to some literature (cf. Manolessou 2000 for a summary), was probably a trigger for the increase in frequency of these two patterns in NTG. A different explanation has been suggested by Manolessou (2000, but see also Blass and Debrunner 1976), who proposes that the massive use of postnominal adjectives in NTG is the consequence of stylistic choices: in Greek, the polydefinite construction, and in general postnominal modification, is much more typical of the spoken language than of literary styles. It is thus found much more frequently in spoken registers, while the texts stylistically closer to literary genres tend to avoid it. Actually, in the history of the Greek literature, the distribution of postnominal adjectives is consistent with the stylistic nature of the texts: texts which are based on Classical models display prenominal modification as a rule, while in vernacular prose (since Hellenistic times, and more strongly in Medieval Greek) postnominal adjectives (and polydefinite structures) progressively increase in frequency.

	DAN	DNA[45]	ADN[46]	NDA[47]	NAD	AND	ArtNArtA	ArtAArtN
Apology	26	*[48]	*	1	*	*	2	*
Symposium	51	*	*	1	*	*	10	*
Cratylus	66	*	*	1	*	*	3	1[49]
Mark	3	*	*	*	*	*	13	*
John	18	*	*	1	*	*	42	*
Luke	29	*	*	1	*	*	22	*
Matthew	38	*	*	*	*	*	18	*

Table 1. Nominal structures with a visible article and (at least) one adjective modifying the head noun

[45] Only found with the adjective in predicative function (see footnote 28).

[46] Only found in predicative structures (see the examples in 13), which are not computed in the table.

[47] See examples in (12).

[48] Throughout the table, the symbol * signals that the structure is unattested in the corpus.

[49] See example (17).

3.3 DPs with no visible article

In AG, a visible realization of D is required in order for a nominal struc-
ture to have a definite reading in argument position, and in order for common a
noun to be used as a *kind* name (Guardiano 2012, 2016, 2019): singular count
nouns, mass nouns and plurals, when non-definite, can occur (and usually do
occur) with no visible D, as shown in (29). In SMG, (indefinite) mass and plu-
ral nouns (can) occur determinerless, while singular count nouns (with excep-
tions, cf. Alexopoulou and Folli 2019) require a visible D in argument position.

(29) a. i. Symposium 203 b 5
             οἶνος γὰρ οὔπω ἦν
             'there was no more wine'
         ii. Apology 20 a 4
             ἔτυχον γὰρ προσελθὼν ἀνδρὶ ὃς τετέλεκε χρήματα σοφισταῖς
             'I happened to run into a man who had given goods to the sophists'
     b. i. John 4.7
             ἔρχεται γυνὴ ἐκ τῆς Σαμαρίας ἀντλῆσαι ὕδωρ
             'a woman of Samaria came to draw water'
         ii. Mark 10.13
             καὶ προσέφερον αὐτῷ παιδία ἵνα αὐτῶν ἅψηται
             'and they were carrying to him children so that he could touch them'

We assume here that the underlying structure of the noun phrases found
in argument position in (29) contains an unpronounced D (Crisma 2015). If
this assumption is on the right track, the implication is that, in AG, *all* nomi-
nal phrases found in argument position contain a D, which must be spelled out
when endowed with the feature [+def] (with the exception of proper names,
cf. Guardiano 2016) and can be left empty when not containing [+def]. Thus,
we assume that all the nominal structures shown in this section are headed
by a D which is not spelled out because it does not contain [+def]: actually,
none of them has a definite reading nor is interpreted as a kind name.

As far as noun-adjective combinations are concerned, both the expected
orders (AN and NA) are found in the corpus. Every type of adjective can ap-
pear in either position, as shown in (30) and (31), respectively.

(30) a. *Quantification*
         i. Symposium 223 b 6[50]
             πίνειν πάμπολυν οἶνον
             'drink a vast amount of wine'

---

[50] John 6.5
      πολὺς ὄχλος ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν
      'a great multitude was coming to him'.

      ii.   John 1.18
         μονογενὴς θεὸς
         'the one and only god'

b.   *Quality*
      i.   Symposium 187 d 3 – 4
         ἀγαθοῦ δημιουργοῦ δεῖ
         'a good craftsman is needed'
      ii.   Mark 14.6
         καλὸν ἔργον ἠργάσατο ἐν ἐμοί
         'she has done a good work for me'

c.   *Size/manner*
      i.   Cratylus 436 b 2 – 3[51]
         ὅτι οὐ σμικρὸς κίνδυνός ἐστιν ἐξαπατηθῆναι;
         'that there is a non-small risk of being deceived?'
      ii.   John 12.35[52]
         μικρὸν χρόνον
         'for a little time'

d.   *Shape/color*
      Cratylus 397 e 8 – 9
      οὐδὲ ὅτι χρυσοῦν γένος τὸ πρῶτόν φησιν γενέσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων;
      'nor that he says a golden race was the first (race) of men to be born?'

e.   *Argument/provenance*
      i.   Cratylus 412 b 5 – 6
         Λακωνικῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ
         'to a Laconian man'
      ii.   Mark 15.17
         πλέξαντες ἀκάνθινον στέφανον
         'weaving a crown of thorns'

f.   *Possessives*
      i.   Symposium 188 e 2
         σὸν ἔργον
         'your business'
      ii.   John 4.34
         ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἐστιν ἵνα ποιήσω τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με
         'my food is to do the will of him who sent me'

---

[51]   Symposium 187 e 4
     μέγα ἔργον
     'great importance'
[52]   Apology 32 a 2
     ὀλίγον χρόνον
     'for a little while'

(31) a. *Quantification*
    i. Symposium 196 c 3 -4[53]
       πρὸς δὲ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σωφροσύνης πλείστης μετέχει
       'above his justice, he has a huge temperance'
    ii. Mark 15.25
       ὥρα τρίτη
       'third hour'

  b. *Quality*
    i. Apology 28 b 5
       καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἔργα ἢ κακοῦ
       'and the actions of a good man or of a bad one'
    ii. Mark 7.25
       εἶχεν τὸ θυγάτριον αὐτῆς πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον
       'her little daughter had an unclean spirit'

  c. *Size/manner*
    i. Symposium 194 a 6[54]
       τὸ θέατρον προσδοκίαν μεγάλην ἔχειν
       'the audience has a big expectation'
    ii. Mark 4.41[55]
       καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν
       'and they felt a great fear'

  d. *Shape/color*
    i. Apology 36 d 4 – 5
       ἀνδρὶ πένητι εὐεργέτῃ δεομένῳ
       'for a man poor, benefactor and in need'
    ii. Mark 16.5[56]
       περιβεβλημένον στολὴν λευκήν
       'dressed in a white robe'

  e. *Argument/provenance*
    i. Symposium 211 e 2
       ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀνάπλεων σαρκῶν τε ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ χρωμάτων καὶ ἄλλης πολλῆς
       φλυαρίας θνητῆς
       'not infected with the human fleshes and colors and many other mortal trash'

---

[53] John 6.2
ἠκολούθει δὲ αὐτῷ ὄχλος πολύς
'a great multitude followed him'

[54] Cratylus 435 b 7 – 8
πόθεν οἴει ἕξειν ὀνόματα ὅμοια ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐπενεγκεῖν
'when do you think it is possible to get similar names for each single number?'

[55] John 7.33
χρόνον μικρὸν
'for a little time'

[56] John 19.2
καὶ ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν περιέβαλον αὐτόν
'and dressed him in a purple garnment'

    ii. Mark 1.6
        ζώνην δερματίνην
        'a leather belt'

The examples in (30) and (31) show that, in AG, almost all types of adjectives can be both pre- and postnominal: no significant restriction can be formulated on the basis of the data available.

There are very few cases in which a postnominal adjective is preceded by a genitive that immediately follows the noun, as in (32):

(32) Mark 5.11
    ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἀγέλη χοίρων μεγάλη βοσκομένη
    'there was there was on the mountainside a great herd of pigs feeding'

It must be finally noted, as far as a comparison between CG and NTG is concerned, that frequency in the occurrence of pre- and post-nominal adjectives displays the same tendency already observed in section 3.2 (Table 1): while prenominal adjectives tend to be more frequent in CG, the postnominal position is preferred in the Gospels. Our conclusion is that the two orders actually instantiate the patterns (11a, D A N) and (15a, D N *D* A), respectively, the only difference being that D is not visibile.

	A N	N A
Apology	44	10
Symposium	76	29
Cratylus	20	6
Mark	11	37
John	16	29
Luke	27	96
Matthew	35	96

Table 2. Nominal structures without a visible D and (at least) one adjective modifying the head noun

3.4. DPs containing a numeral

In our corpus, numerals are found in three different positions. If the DP has an article, the numeral shows up between the article and the noun (33). If the DP has no article, the numeral occurs either to the left (34) or to the right (35) of the noun, with no apparent differences in interpretation.

(33) a. Apology 32 b 2 – 4
      ὅτε ὑμεῖς τοὺς δέκα στρατηγοὺς τοὺς οὐκ ἀνελομένους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
      ναυμαχίας ἐβουλεύσασθε ἀθρόους κρίνειν
      'when you wished to judge collectively, not severally, the ten generals
      who had failed to gather up the slain after the naval battle'

b. Mark 6.41
καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας
'and taking the five loaves and the two fish'

(34) a. Apology 20 b 9
πέντε μνῶν
'five minae'

b. Apology 40 e 4
καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν πλείων ὁ πᾶς χρόνος φαίνεται οὕτω δὴ εἶναι ἢ μία νύξ
'and indeed all time seems to be no longer than one night'

c. Mark 12.42
καὶ ἐλθοῦσα μία χήρα πτωχὴ ἔβαλεν λεπτὰ δύο, ὅ ἐστιν κοδράντης
'and a poor widow came, and she cast in two small brass coins, which
make a quadrans'

(35) a. Symposium 189 e 6 – 190 a 1
καὶ πρόσωπα δύ(ο)
'and two faces'

b. Mark 12.42
καὶ ἐλθοῦσα μία χήρα πτωχὴ ἔβαλεν λεπτὰ δύο, ὅ ἐστιν κοδράντης
'and a poor widow came, and she cast in two small brass coins, which
make a quadrans'

c. John 2.6
ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ λίθιναι ὑδρίαι ἕξ
'now there were six water pots of stone'

Notice that, in our corpus, there is only one instance of a polydefinite DP
with an articulated numeral: John 20.19, 'τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτων'
('on that day, the first day of the week'). This is actually consistent with what
is observed in SMG, where numerals are very rare in polydefiniteness (Mano-
lessou 2000: 155-156; Campos and Stavrou 2004).

4. An analysis

The data presented in sections 3.2 and 3.3 suggest a scenario for AG not sub-
stantially different from that proposed for SMG. Table 3 provides a summary of the
facts which will be relevant for our analysis, and a comparison between AG and SMG.

	CG	NTG	SMG
Art Adj N	YES	YES	YES
Art N Art Adj	YES	YES	YES
Art Adj Art N	YES (rare)	**NO**	YES
Art N Art PP/Gen/Part	YES	YES	**NO**
Art PP/Gen/Part	YES	YES	**NO**
Art N PP/Gen/Part	YES	YES	YES
AN	YES	YES	YES
NA	YES	YES	YES

Table 3. Distribution of nouns, adjectives and articles in AG and MG

In our corpus, all classes of adjectives are found in prenominal position. The data collected from DPs with a visible article (i.e. with an overt D) show that prenominal adjectives systematically appear to the right of D. This pattern is consistent with an underlying structure where adjectives are merged prenominally (36).

(36) D $AP_{[quantification]}$ $AP_{[quality]}$ $AP_{[size/manner]}$ $AP_{[shape/color]}$ $AP_{[argument/provenance]}$ N

If this is a correct generalization, we can further assume that even in those DPs where D is not realized overtly, prenominal adjectives are still merged in the position(s) shown in (36).[57]

As far as the polydefinite construction is concerned, the instances found in our corpus give rise to a number of conclusions. First of all, the presence of more than one definite article in one and the same DP is attested in all the texts of our corpus. Although in CG the dominant pattern is the "monadic" one, with the adjective in prenominal position, instances of DPs with postnominal adjectives and multiple articles are also found. These are much more frequent in the Gospels. In both varieties, the presence of multiple articles is obligatory with postnominal adjectives: no postnominal adjective has been found in monadic definite DPs. These constraints are identical to those observed in SMG.[58] These observations, so far, show no incompatibility between the patterns with articulated postnominal adjectives attested in AG and the structure in (9).

Yet, there are differences between AG and SMG.

The first difference is that, in AG, there are very few instances of constructions where the articulated adjective linearly precedes the articulated noun (*Art Adj Art N*). As shown in section 2, this pattern is possible in SMG, and is actually quite common in spoken registers. It is obtained, as claimed in section 2, through fronting [Art+AP] from its postnominal position to the left of D. As also mentioned above, polydefiniteness in general seems to be more typical of informal/colloquial styles than of (literary) written ones. Actually, tracking down the diachronic evolution of the construction, Manolessou (2000: 148-153) observes that polydefiniteness has been progressively specialized as a "colloquial" phenomenon, which is frequently found in vernacular texts and

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[57] A (further) test for this hypothesis would be to check the relative order of multiple prenominal adjectives: indeed, as shown in (4)-(6), adjectives merged prenominally are strictly ordered. Yet, this test cannot be applied to our data, because the corpus does not contain any instance of multiple prenominal adjectives, which are actually very rare in AG: "there is a tendency to avoid a multiplicity of modifiers between article and noun" (Manolessou 2000: 237).

[58] For a discussion of further data, their diachronic distribution from Classical to Medieval Greek, and the differences in the interpretation of the attested linear orders, see Manolessou (2000).

almost absent in those inspired by (traditional) literary styles. If the phenomenon is typical of spoken registers, it comes as no surprise that there are very few attestations of it in CG, from which only (literary) texts are available. As far as the absence of the "reverse" construction in NTG is concerned, Manolessou (2000) maintains that this could be a consequence of the influence of the Semitic model, where adjectives are postnominal as a rule; note also that, as shown in Guardiano (2003, 2011), prenominal modification in general seems to be very rare in the Hellenistic *koiné*: genitives, for instance, are overwhelmingly postnominal, while they are massively prenominal in CG. To conclude, we believe reasonable to assume that the absence (or rarity) of reverse polydefinite constructions in our corpus is due to stylistic reasons rather than to actual syntactic constraints which block fronting: there seems not to be any structural reason for fronting to be unavailable in AG (cf. also Crisma *et al.* 2017). These observations are consistent with the hypothesis that sequences with multiple articles and postnominal adjectives in AG are instances of polydefinite structures, compatible with (9).

The second peculiarity of AG when compared to SMG is that, in NTG, demonstratives (18a), pronominal genitives (18b) and (in one case) prepositional phrases (18c) are found between the noun and a postnominal (articulated) adjective. As far as sequences with a demonstrative intervening between an articulated noun and an articulated postnominal adjective (*Art N Dem Art Adj*) are concerned, we mentioned in section 2 that, in SMG, they are assumed to originate in the same (recursive) structure that is supposed to produce multiple postnominal articulated adjectives (shown in Figure 2). We have also mentioned that this structure is very rare in SMG, presumably due to the fact that it is (assumed to be) hard to process: thus, the absence, in our corpus, of multiple postnominal adjectives is not unexpected. On the other hand, the same structure does not rule out the possibility that a postnominal demonstrative can cooccur with a postnominal articulated adjective.

Regarding the presence of genitives between the noun and the postnominal adjective, it must be noted that, in both CG and NTG, postnominal genitives are possible but they emerge from two different underlying structures. In CG (Guardiano 2011, Guardiano and Longobardi 2018), they are instances of inflected "free" genitives (Longobardi and Silvestri 2013), which are usually postnominal and do not need to be adjacent to the head noun. In NTG, genitives are only postnominal, must be adjacent to the head noun, and are never iterated, precisely like in SMG. Thus, they seem to correspond (Guardiano 2011, Guardiano and Longobardi 2018) to "low structural" genitives (GenO in Longobardi and Silvestri's 2013 terms), like those of SMG. This latter type is universally generated prenominally (Longobardi 2001): thus, in both SMG and NTG, the linear order *N GenO* is obtained from movement of the noun to the left of GenO. One might suppose that, when moving to the left of GenO, the noun (phrase) raises from SpecPredP, either stranding

the rest of the constituent (thus obtaining the order *Art N GenO Art Adj*) or pied-piping the whole PredP (and producing the sequence *Art N Art Adj GenO*). Notice, however, that, in our corpus, instances of genitives intervening between the noun and the articulated adjective are only pronominal, which might point to a process of syntactic cliticization.

To sum up, none of the peculiarities of AG observed above actually falsifies the hypothesis that the patterns *Art N Art A* found in AG are cases of polydefiniteness, namely instantiations of the structure (9) proposed for SMG in section 2.

We now turn to the sequences with multiple articles and non-adjectival modifiers (examples 19-22). We claim that such sequences, despite them looking identical to polydefinite structures, are not generated from (9): they rather derive from a different construction, involving two separate DPs. It must be remarked, first, that the definite article in AG has the property of functioning as a (3rd person) pronoun: in particular, it can be used with no (visible) head noun, as for instance when accompanying the particles μέν, δέ (37a) or a prepositional phrase (37b), a genitive (37c), an adverb (37d). This property has become lost in SMG.

(37) a. i.   Cratylus 383 b 3
             ὁ δὲ ὁμολογεῖ
             'and he agrees'
         ii. Matthew 12.3
             ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς
             'and he told them'
     b. i.   Symposium 173 b 3
             Σωκράτους ἐραστὴς ὢν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν τότε
             'being one of the chief among Socrates' lovers at that time'
         ii. Matthew 12.4
             τοῖς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ
             'for those with him'
     c. i.   Symposium 174 c 3
             ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀμείνονος
             'to the one of the better'
         ii. Matthew 8.33
             καὶ τὰ τῶν δαιμονιζομένων
             'and the things of those who were possessed with demons'
     d. Symposium 173 b 3
         Σωκράτους ἐραστὴς ὢν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν τότε
         'being one of the chief among Socrates' lovers at that time'

We propose that the articulated PPs, genitives, participles and adverbs found in (19)-(22) are instances of the same structure shown in (37), namely they are DPs headed by a "pronominal" article. In other words, we claim that the sequences *Art N Art PP/Gen/Part/Adv* in (19)-(22) linearize, in fact,

two separate (juxtaposed) DPs ([$_{DP1}$ D [NP]] [$_{DP2}$ D [PP/GenP/…]]), where the second DP (DP2) does not contain any overt noun and is headed by a pronominal item, homophonous with the article. An obvious prediction of this assumption is that, as ὁ, ἡ, τὸ loses its pronominal function, patterns like those shown in (37) become ungrammatical; as a consequence, sequences like (19)-(22), where a DP containing an overt noun is modified by a DP headed by pronominal ὁ, ἡ, τὸ followed by a non-adjectival modifier, become unavailable too. This is precisely what has happened in SMG: the item o, η, το does not display any pronominal property and, as a consequence, non-adjectival modifiers headed by a "pronominal" article are ungrammatical.[59] We refrain from proceeding to a more detailed analysis of such sequences in AG (attested also in Mediaeval Greek, where they were quite frequent, Horrocks 1997) and we leave the issue to further research.[60]

Finally, the last remark concerns the NA orders found in DPs which do not contain any article. According to Stavrou's (2012) analysis, in SMG, non-definite DPs containing a postnominal adjective are instances of (9), where the adjective is merged as the complement of Pred. Yet, in a DP where D is not endowed with a [+def] feature, Pred does not contain any [+def] feature either. As a consequence, no visible realization of D, as well as of Pred, is required: this gives rise to a linear sequence where no visible item appears before the noun or between the noun and the adjective. We assume that, in AG, the NA sequences derive in exactly the same way, and have a deep strucrure of the same type as (9), with an empty D and an empty Pred.[61]

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[59] Actually, this type of sequences is only attested in very high registers which imitate older stages of the language (especially 'katarevousa').

[60] An anonymous reviewer suggests that "the string *D N D Gen/PP/Part* attested in AG could be analyzed in terms of a Suffixaufnahme phenomenon", as described for instance in Manzini and Savoia (2019) and references therein. In principle, at a first glance the data of AG seem not to be incompatible with an analysis along these lines. Yet, a deeper crosslinguistic comparison would be required, in order to check whether the conditions which allow for an analysis in terms of Suffixaufnahme are actually met by AG. This will be a fascinating topic for future research. It must be noted that an analysis along these lines might in principle hold also for the sequences in (18b) and (18c) discussed above: under that hypothesis, the interpretation of (18b.i) would be 'my son, the one who I love', that of (18c) 'the bread out of heaven, the true one', and so on. Yet, if this were the case, we would expect sequences with a non articulated postnominal adjective to be possible, while this is never the case in our corpus. The conclusion seems to be that postnominal adjectives can only emerge from a polydefinite structure like (9).

[61] A crucial assumption here is that indefiniteness in Greek has a zero exponence as a default realization. The indefinite article which may appear in indefnite DPs, or, in fact, any (indefinite) quantifier, or cardinal, are realizations of either QP or NumP, functional categories merged in position(s) lower than D.

5. Conclusion

This paper is a very first attempt to describe the distribution of adjectival modifiers in AG using a formal analysis already proposed for SMG. We suggested that the patterns of adjectival modification observed in AG can actually be accounted for by means of the same theoretical apparatus developed for SMG.

In particular, the varieties of AG in our corpus exhibit prenominally merged adjectives which are not crossed over by the noun, like in SMG. Additionally, postnominal adjectives must be articulated in definite DPs, again like in SMG. Thus, we propose that polydefinite patterns with postnominal adjectives in AG can be assigned the same structure as the one assumed for SMG, i.e. the structure in (9).

The overall conclusion is that the syntax of adjectival modifiers has been diachronically stable in the language.

On the other hand, there are differences between AG and SMG. These can be accounted for in terms of two separate explanations, one related to the very nature of the (written) documents available, the other related to an independent property of the item ὁ, ἡ, τὸ (o, η, το in SMG), which is available in AG and has become unavailable in SMG, namely the possibility of it function as a pronoun.

One apparent difference between AG and SMG is that polydefinite sequences *Art Adj Art N* are very rare in AG, while they are quite common in (spoken) SMG. This is likely to be due to the fact, which is well-known from the literature, that such sequences are marked in terms of discourse-oriented strategies; thus, they are expected to be hardly found in written texts, which usually do not employ such strategies. However, we did find one such instance in Plato, and the literature mentions a few more such cases: thus, it seems that the possibility of fronting the [Art+Adj] complex is not ruled out in AG. Our hypothesis is that there is no syntactic reason which might produce the ungrammaticality of *Art Adj Art N* sequences in AG: their scarcity in the corpus is probably just a contingency, primarily motivated by stylistic concerns.

Finally, linear sequences where a noun preceded by a definite article is modified by a non-adjectival item accompanied by its own article (*Art N Art Modifier [Genitive/PP/AdvP ...]*), which admittedly look very similar to polydefinite DPs, are not, according to our proposal, instances of actual polydefinite structures (9). Our claim is that these sequences contain two separate DPs, one headed by an article (ὁ, ἡ, τὸ) that takes an overt NP as its complement ($[_{DP}$ D [NP]]), the other headed by a pronoun homophonous to the article (ὁ, ἡ, τὸ), which takes as a complement a genitive, a PP, an adverb etc. ($[_{DP}$ D [PP/GenP/...]]). These structures are possible thanks to the pronominal nature of ὁ, ἡ, τὸ, which was available in AG but is no longer accessible

in SMG. When the pronominal function of ὁ, ἡ, τὸ was lost, structures like (19)-(22) became unavailable too, as they actually are in SMG.

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