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FONDATA DA CLEMENTE MERLO

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# L'ITALIA DIALETTALE

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(Serie Terza, XVI)

Atti della Tavola Rotonda su *Comparazione e classificazione dei dialetti d'Italia* (Reggio Emilia, 17 novembre 2017)

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Atti della Tavola Rotonda su  
*Comparazione e classificazione*  
*dei dialetti d'Italia*  
(Reggio Emilia, 17 novembre 2017)



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Venerdì 17 novembre 2017, al Dipartimento di Comunicazione ed Economia dell'Università di Modena e Reggio Emilia, si è svolta una tavola rotonda su *Comparazione e classificazione dei dialetti d'Italia*, organizzata a conclusione delle iniziative di ricerca di un progetto biennale su *La struttura della variazione linguistica e la sintassi dei dialetti emiliani*, coordinato da Cristina Guardiano.

L'iniziativa è stata concepita con l'obiettivo di fare il punto sulle sfide poste dalla dialettologia italiana nel panorama della linguistica contemporanea, ed in particolare sul contributo dello studio della microvariazione all'indagine sul mutamento linguistico, all'analisi della struttura interna delle grammatiche, alla spiegazione della diversità linguistica.

La selezione dei relatori è stata guidata dalla precisa volontà di riunire intorno a temi di ricerca condivisi prospettive molto diverse (e spesso conflittuali) sull'indagine dialettologica. Ai metodi tradizionalmente consolidati per lo studio della diversità dialettale in ambito italo-romanzo sono stati dunque affiancati orientamenti che si servono degli strumenti dell'analisi morfosintattica formale, della comparazione interlinguistica, della classificazione computazionale e dello studio storico della variazione linguistica.

I relatori hanno presentato e discusso i contenuti delle loro ricerche in vari ambiti della dialettologia italiana contemporanea, proponendo e condividendo numerosi spunti di riflessione. Ne è scaturito un dibattito intenso che ha messo in luce un vivace panorama di ricerche e progetti in corso sui dialetti d'Italia, una ricchissima quantità di dati e di problemi condivisi, e anche una certa volontà di una più articolata interazione fra le diverse prospettive presentate.

Alla luce di ciò, abbiamo ritenuto che i temi ed i contenuti emersi in quell'occasione meritassero una riflessione più strutturata e sistematica, e abbiamo proposto ai partecipanti alla tavola rotonda di riunire i loro contributi in un volume che condensasse i principali temi emersi dalla discussione. Al volume hanno partecipato tutti i relatori e anche loro collaboratori, alcuni dei quali erano peraltro presenti alla giornata di studi.

C.G.





Dialect syntax between persistence and change.  
The case of Greek demonstratives\*

1. *Introduction*

The syntax of demonstratives in Greek has been a matter of debate in the generative literature because the language exhibits patterns which can hardly be ascribed to a uniform distribution<sup>1</sup>. Additionally, there is a high degree of (micro-)variation across the Greek-speaking world concerning the morphosyntax and structure of these items<sup>2</sup>.

In this paper we discuss the distribution of adnominal demonstratives in Italiot Greek and compare it to the neighboring Southern-Italo Romance dialects and to Standard Modern Greek. We show that the current distribution of demonstratives in Italiot Greek, which looks very similar to that of Extreme Southern Italo-Romance, can be accounted for by assuming the underlying syntax which has been typical of Greek demonstratives since ancient times.

The data from Italiot Greek have been collected from native speakers in the two areas where the language is currently spoken: Bovesia and Grecia Salentina. All of them have further been double-checked against some written sources available for the two varieties<sup>3</sup>. By “written sources” we refer here mostly to collections of texts originally transmitted orally, which were gathered and put down in written form by local experts around the middle of the twentieth century, so they were preserved. We believe that these texts offer a (partial) window to the language as it was when it was more productive and used for everyday needs<sup>4</sup>. Thus, in order to obtain a more complete picture, we

\* The paper is the result of collaboration of the two authors. For the administrative purposes of the Italian academia only, Cristina Guardiano takes responsibility for sections 1, 2, 3.2, 3.6 and 4, Melita Stavrou for the remaining parts. We thank two anonymous reviewers for useful suggestions. All shortcomings are ours.

<sup>1</sup> See Alexiadou *et al.* (2007); Manolessou and Panagiotidis (1999); Panagiotidis (2000); Grohmann and Panagiotidis (2004); Alexiadou (2014) among many others.

<sup>2</sup> See Guardiano and Michelioudakis (2019) for a recent overview.

<sup>3</sup> Aprile (1972, 1998); Capialdi and Bruzzano (1885); Caracausi and Rossi Taibbi (1959); Falcone (1973); Mancini (1903); Montinaro (1994); Palumbo (1886, 1887, 1910, 1912, 1978); Stomeco (1980); Tommasi (1998). See Guardiano and Stavrou (2019a) for a more detailed list.

<sup>4</sup> We are aware of the fact that relying on written texts has several risks. For instance, it is possible that the authors of these collections were under the influence of literary models (mostly offered by

decided to include them in our research data, in combination with the speakers' judgements (and the grammars). Indeed, especially given the current status of Italiot Greek in terms of sociolinguistic vitality<sup>5</sup>, we believe that the speakers' judgements might not be sufficient by themselves to provide a comprehensive picture of the grammar of these varieties, since the competence of most of the speakers is unbalanced: all of them are bilingual with Italian or the Romance local dialect of the area, which they use much more often than Greek in all their everyday interactions. As shown in Guardiano and Stavrou (2019a), the written sources exhibit conservative traits which have disappeared from the linguistic habits of current speakers but were probably (semi-)productive until recently (when the language was actually spoken by larger communities and was much more vital than it currently is).

## 2. *Demonstratives in Italiot Greek*

### 2.1. *The data*

In Italiot Greek, adnominal demonstratives are only found in one position (DP-initially)<sup>6</sup>, as shown in (1) and (2), which list examples from Salento and Calabria Greek, respectively<sup>7</sup>. Such a rather uniform behavior in terms of position contrasts with Standard Modern Greek, where, as will be shown in Section 3, adnominal demonstratives are found in different positions within the DP, and exhibit a distribution very similar to that of adjectival modifiers generated postnominally.

- (1) a. i. ida      (t)utto/cino      antrepo      *Salento Greek*  
       saw.1s    this/that    man  
       'I saw this/that man'

Ancient and Modern Greek, since such authors were usually educated scholars), and that they (partially) re-arranged the written form of the texts according to these models. Yet, we believe that it would be quite unlikely for them to make choices that would produce structures perceived as ungrammatical by the speakers.

<sup>5</sup> See Squillaci (2016) for a recent overview.

<sup>6</sup> In the text, we use the following labels: D = determiner; DP = Determiner Phrase; P = Preposition; PP = Preposition Phrase; R = Relator; RP = Relator Phrase; Spec = Specifier; Pred = predicative head; PredP = Pred Phrase; N = Noun; NP = Noun Phrase; A = Adjective; AP = Adjective Phrase; X, Y, Z = functional heads; Gen = Genitive; Dem = Demonstrative; Art = Article.

<sup>7</sup> The examples shown in (1a) and in (2a)-(2c) come from the speakers; the others were collected from the textual sources (see fn. 3). All the adnominal structures which are used as examples in this paper have been tested in subject and object position, unless otherwise specified.

- ii. \*ida (t)utto/cino ton antrepo  
 saw this/that the man
- iii. \*ida ton antrepo (t)utto/cino
- b. utto kosmo  
 this world  
 ‘this world’
- c. utta loja  
 these words  
 ‘these words’
- d. tusi Abbrei  
 these Jews  
 ‘these Jews’
- e. citte porte  
 those doors  
 ‘those doors’
- (2) a. tuta/(e)cina tessera pedìa *Calabria Greek*  
 these/those four boys  
 ‘these/those four boys’
- b. tuti/(e)cini tesseri aθropi  
 these/those four men  
 ‘these/those four men’
- c. tute/(e)cine tessere γineke  
 these/those four women  
 ‘these/those four women’
- d. e θθorite ti kanni ecino pedì?  
 no see.2P what does that boy  
 ‘don’t you see what that boy is doing?’
- e. ecini γineka eθθeniʒete kaθe purri  
 that woman combs each morning  
 ‘that woman combs her hair every morning’
- f. cini ðio  
 those two  
 ‘those two’
- g. tuto karbunaro  
 this coalman  
 ‘this coalman’
- h. tuti cefali / θθiyatera  
 this head / daughter  
 ‘this head/daughter’
- i. ipa tuto troguði  
 said.1S this song  
 ‘I said this song’

Contrary to Standard Modern Greek, in Italiot Greek adnominal demonstratives are never found in the positions which are available to adjectives. In particular, they are unacceptable in postnominal position, which is the preferred (even the only possible) one for most adjectives (see examples in 3).

- (3) a. ida ton antrepo gioveno *Salento Greek*  
 saw.1s the man young  
 'I saw the young man'
- b. emeletia to vivlio rodino *Calabria Greek*  
 read.1s.PST the book red  
 'I read the red book'

Moreover, in Italiot Greek, demonstratives never occur after a numeral and before the noun, a position that is instead available to (a few) speaker-oriented adjectives (as shown in 4)<sup>8</sup>. Conversely, adjectives are never found DP-initially<sup>9</sup>.

- (4) a. meletisa (tus) pente orriu libbru *Salento Greek*  
 read.1s.PST the five beautiful books  
 'I read (the) five beautiful books'
- b. emeletia (ta) tria magna vivlia mu *Calabria Greek*  
 read.1s.PST the three nice books my  
 'I read my three red books / three books of mine'

Variability within Italiot Greek in the domain of demonstratives mostly affects the form of the lexical items participating in the system<sup>10</sup>. Nowadays, similarly to the neighboring Romance dialects (Ledgeway 2004) and also to Standard Modern Greek (Manolessou 2001), Italiot Greek displays an essentially bipartite system<sup>11</sup>, based on the proximal *vs* distal distinction. Proximal forms are mostly related to οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο, while distal forms are mainly associated to ἐκεῖνος, ἐκεῖνη, ἐκεῖνον.

What is relevant for the purposes of the present discussion is that some forms emerge from the morphophonological fusion with definite articles.

<sup>8</sup> See Guardiano and Stavrou (2019a) for a more detailed description of the patterns of adjectival modification in the two varieties.

<sup>9</sup> A position that, as observed above, is the only one accessible to demonstratives: speakers uniformly judge non-DP-initial demonstratives as ungrammatical. DP-initial demonstratives can only be preceded by the universal quantifier *olo* ('all'): *ite olo citto gbeno* ('I saw all these people').

<sup>10</sup> See, among others, Morosi (1870), Caracausi and Rossi Taibbi (1959), Falcone (1973), Rohlf (1977), Karanastasis (1984, 1997).

<sup>11</sup> Notice that, both in Greek and in Romance, the bipartite system is an evolution of an originally tripartite one (see, among many others, Ledgeway 2004, Manolessou 2001, Lendari and Manolessou 2012).

For instance, according to the literature, the nominative forms *(c)iso* (M), *(c)isi* (F), *(c)itto* (N), of which we give some examples in (5), result from the fusion of the distal demonstrative *(e)cino* (M), *(e)cini* (F), *(e)cino* (N) (ἐκεῖνος, ἐκεῖνη, ἐκεῖνο) with the definite article (see Karanastasis 1984, a.o.).

- (5) a. iso antrepo *Salento Greek*  
       that man  
       ‘that man’  
   b. cittin imera  
       that day  
       ‘that day’  
   c. citta amparia  
       those horses  
       ‘those horses’  
   d. ittu lliku  
       that wolf  
       ‘of that wolf’

Similarly, the accusative forms *(e)cindo(n)* (M), *(e)cindi(n)* (F), *(e)cindo* (N), as well as the plural *(e)cindu(s)* (M), *(e)cinde(s)* (F), *(e)cinda* (N) (of which we give some examples in 6), are described as the result of the combination of *(e)cino(n)* (M), *(e)cini(n)* (F), *(e)cino* (N) and *(e)cinu(s)* (M), *(e)cine(s)* (F), *(e)cina* (N) with *ton* (M), *tin* (F), *to* (N) and *tu(s)* (M), *te(s)* (F), *ta* (N), respectively.

- (6) a. cindin δδουλια *Calabria Greek*  
       that.the work  
       ‘that work’  
   b. cindin alea  
       that.the olive  
       ‘that olive’  
   c. cindo pedì  
       that.the kid  
       ‘that kid’

Likewise, the accusative singular forms *tundon* (M), *tundin* (F), *tundo* (N) (see 7a and b) originate in the combination of the proximal demonstrative *tuton* (M), *tutin* (F), *tuto* (N) with the definite article *ton* (M), *tin* (F), *to* (N); the same holds for the accusative plural (7c).

- (7) a. tundin ega *Calabria Greek*  
       this.the goat  
       ‘this goat’

- b. tundo      jo/lloyo  
 this.the    son/word  
 ‘this son/word’
- c. tunda      pedia  
 these.the   kids  
 ‘these kids’

Similar alternations are also found in the demonstrative *ettuno(s)* (M), *ettuni* (F), *ettuno* (N) which, according to Karanastasis (1984), is etymologically related to the Byzantine Greek word *αὐτοῦνος* -η- ο, presumably created from the genitive form *αὐτουνού*, analogically to *ἐκεινού* (see Lendari and Manolessou 2012 for a more detailed analysis). The combination with the definite article in the accusative gives rise to the forms *ettundo(n)* (M), *ettundi(n)* (F), *ettundo* (N) in the singular, and *ettundu(s)* (M), *ettunde(s)* (F), *ettunda* (N) in the plural, of which we give some examples in (8).

- (8) a. ettundon    khristiano  
 this.the      man  
 ‘this man’
- b. ettundin    ega  
 this.the      goat  
 ‘this goat’
- c. ettundes    alupude  
 these.the     foxes  
 ‘these foxes’

The morphophonological fusion of DP-initial demonstratives with definite articles is not unknown to other Greek varieties: Guardiano and Michelioudakis (2019, pp. 334-335) have noted that in Cypriot Greek this type of fusion happens when the definite article starts with a /t/ (for instance in the accusative singular, *tundon anthropon*, as opposed to the nominative, *tutos o anthropos*). In Cypriot Greek, this phenomenon has a purely morphophonological nature and does not affect the syntactic behavior of demonstratives. Indeed, in Cypriot Greek, demonstratives display the same properties as in Standard Modern Greek (see section 3 below): they (a) systematically co-occur with a definite article (either as two separated items or as one single item) and (b) are realized in various positions in the DP. When not occurring DP-initially, namely when they are not adjacent, the demonstrative and the article are realized as two separated items. To sum up, in Cypriot Greek, a DP that contains an adnominal demonstrative always contains an article as

well: the two are either realized as two separated items or as one single item where they are fused together.

## 2.2. *Articles and demonstratives in Italiot Greek*

In Italiot Greek, demonstratives not co-occurring with a definite article are grammatical. According to the literature (e.g., Caracausi and Rossi Taibbi 1959, Falcone 1973), originally the presence *vs* absence of the definite article with a demonstrative was contingent on whether the demonstrative was used pronominally or adnominally: the absence of the article was possible only in pronominal function. On the contrary, in present-day language, the speakers seem to freely choose between “unarticulated” demonstratives and the morphemes where the demonstrative is fused with the definite article. In fact, there is no syntactic context in which the co-occurrence of demonstratives and definite articles is obligatory: speakers very rarely realize DPs where a demonstrative and a definite article co-occur as two separated items.

It seems to us that forms like, e.g., *tuto(n)/cino(n)/ettuno(n)* and *tundo(n)/cindo(n)/ettundo(n)* are perceived by present-day speakers as lexical variants, i.e., speakers do not analyze *tundo(n)*, *cindo(n)* or *ettundo* as [Dem+Art]. We assume that the forms originally created from the morphophonological fusion between a demonstrative and an article are the residual of a stage in which demonstratives and articles co-occurred and, under specific phonological conditions (presumably similar to those observed in Cypriot Greek), were fused into one single lexical item. At that stage, co-occurrence was presumably obligatory (precisely as it is in Standard and Cypriot Greek) and, as a consequence, the speakers were able to analyze the “fused” forms as [Dem+Art].

This hypothesis is supported by several examples found in the written sources. In the texts, DPs where the demonstrative and the article appear as two graphically separated (and co-occurring) items are found frequently. Actually, the written sources display all the three possibilities observed so far: absence of the article (9), items where the demonstrative and the article are fused in one single form (10), and co-occurrence of demonstrative and article as two (graphically) separated items (11)<sup>12</sup>. Thus, it seems that in these texts there is still some awareness of the “fused” forms actually containing a definite article. Yet, unlike Standard Modern Greek

<sup>12</sup> See also Guardiano and Michelioudakis (2019, pp. 345-346).



and Cypriot Greek, demonstratives are not flexible in terms of their positioning: they appear steadily in the DP-initial position, like in currently spoken language.

- (9) a. ecini     γineka  
       that     woman  
       ‘that woman’  
    b. tuti     θθiγαθera  
       this     daughter  
       ‘this daughter’  
    c. tuti     kroni  
       these    times  
       ‘these times’
- (10) a. ecinde   διο    γinecese  
       that.the two    women  
       ‘those two women’  
    b. tundi    θθiγαθera  
       this.the daughter  
       ‘this daughter’
- (11) a. ecino     to     cendrima  
       that     the    graft  
       ‘that graft’  
    b. ecini     ti     γineka  
       that     the    woman  
       ‘that woman’  
    c. ecinose   o     pluso  
       that     the    rich  
       ‘that rich (man)’  
    d. tutese   (e)    διο     monakese  
       these   the    two     nuns  
       ‘these two nuns’

### 2.3. *A comparison with (Southern Italo-)Romance*

The distribution of demonstratives in Italiot Greek is identical to that of the neighboring Extreme Southern Italo-Romance dialects<sup>13</sup>,

<sup>13</sup> Pellegrini (1977). An overview of the history and the sociolinguistic structure of these varieties (and the relevant literature) is provided in Guardiano and Stavrou (2014, 2019a), Guardiano *et al.*

as shown in (12). In these dialects, demonstratives are systematically DP-initial (cf. i. with the ungrammaticality of ii), and never co-occur with articles (as shown by the ungrammaticality of iii).

- (12) a. i. štu / đđu      krištjanu                      *Salento (Cellino San Marco)*  
           this / that      man  
           ‘this/that man’  
       ii. \*krištjanu štu / đđu  
       iii. \*štu / đđu      lu              krištjanu  
           this / that      the              man
- b. i. šti / đđi              krištjani  
       these / those      men  
       ‘these / those men’  
       ii. \*krištjani šti / đđi  
       iii. \*šti / đđi              li              krištjani  
           these / those      the              men
- c. i. (ki)st’ / (ki)ss’ / (ki)dd’      òmu                      *Calabria (Reggio Calabria)*  
           this / yonder / that      man  
           ‘this / that man’  
       ii. \*òmu (ki)st(u) / (ki)ss(u) / (ki)dd(u)  
       iii. \*(ki)st(u) / (ki)ss(u) / (ki)dd(u)      lu      òmu  
           this / yonder / that                      the      man
- d. i. (ki)st’ / (ki)ss’ / (ki)dd’      òmini  
           this / yonder / that      men  
           ‘these / those men’  
       ii. \*òmini (ki)st(i) / (ki)ss(i) / (ki)dd(i)  
       iii. \*(ki)st(i) / (ki)ss(i) / (ki)dd(i)      li      òmini  
           this / yonder / that                      the      men

#### 2.4. Summary of the data

Table 1 depicts a (partial) list of the different forms of demonstratives found in Italiot Greek<sup>14</sup>.

(2016), a.o. For detailed investigation of the contact between Greek and Romance in Southern Italy, see Ledgeway (2006) and Ledgeway *et al.* (*in prep.*), a.o.

<sup>14</sup> Sources: Aprile *et al.* (1978); Aprile *et al.* (1980); Caracausi and Rossi Taibbi (1959); Condemi (1995); Crupi (1980); Falcone (1973); Karanastasis (1984, 1997); Morgante (2004); Morosi (1870); Pernot (1938).

Tab. 1 - Demonstratives in Italiot Greek

|     | (t)uso (more frequent in Salento),<br>tuto (more frequent in Calabria)                    |  | (e)cino (Salento, Calabria), (e)iso (Salento)                                 |   | ettuno  |  |
|-----|---|--|---|---|---|--|
|     | Singular  | Plural   | Singular  | Plural  | Singular  | Plural   |
| Nom | (t)uso, (e)tuoto(se) (M)<br>(t)usi, e(tuti) (F)<br>tuso, utto, (e)tuoto,<br>(e)tuundo (N) | (t)usi, tuti (M)<br>(t)use, tute (F)<br>tusa, tuta, tunda(N)                   | (e)cino(s), (e)iso (M)<br>(e)cini, (e)isi (F)<br>(e)cino, (e)cindo, citto (N) | (e)cini, citti (M)<br>(e)cine, citti (F)<br>(e)cina, (e)cinda, citta (N)      | (e)ttuno(s) (M)<br>(e)ttuni (F)<br>(e)ttuno, (e)ttuundo (N)     | (e)ttunù (M)<br>(e)ttune (F)<br>(e)ttuna, (e)ttunda (N)            |
| Acc | (t)utto(n), (e)tuoto(n),<br>tuundo(n) (M)<br>(t)utti(n), (e)tuuti(n),<br>tuundi(n) (F)    | (t)uttus, tutu(se),<br>tuundu(se) (M)<br>(t)utte(s), tute(se),<br>tunde(s) (F) | (e)cino(n), (e)cindo(n) (M)<br><br>(e)cini(n), (e)cindi(n),<br>citti(n) (F)   | (e)cinus, (e)cindus,<br>cittu (M)<br>(e)cine(s), (e)cinde(s),<br>cittè(s) (F) | (e)ttuno(n), ettuundo(n) (M)<br><br>(e)ttuni(n), ettundi(n) (F) | (e)ttunu(s), (e)ttundu(s) (M)<br><br>(e)ttune(s), (e)ttunde(s) (F) |
| Gen | (t)unù, tutù (M)<br>(t)unni(s), tuti(s) (F)<br>(t)unù, tutù (N)                           | tutò, tutòn (M)<br>tutò, tutòn (F)<br>tutò, tutòn (N)                          | (e)cino, (e)ittu (M)<br>(e)cini(s), (e)itti (F)<br>(e)cinù, (e)ittu (N)       | (e)cinò (M)<br>(e)cinò (F)<br>(e)cinò (N)                                     | (e)ttunù (M)<br>(e)ttunni(s) (F)<br>(e)ttunù (N)                | (e)ttunòn (M)<br>(e)ttunon (F)<br>(e)ttunon (N)                    |

### 3. *Demonstratives in Standard Modern Greek*

#### 3.1. *The data*

In Standard Modern Greek, adnominal demonstratives have two properties:

- (13) a. they systematically co-occur with a definite article;  
 b. they are found in different positions within DPs.

In (14), we illustrate the positions where a demonstrative can be found when used adnominally<sup>15</sup>.

- (14) a. Postnominal position
- |      |                               |        |         |          |             |                           |                     |
|------|-------------------------------|--------|---------|----------|-------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| i.   | to                            | vivlio | afto    |          |             | <i>Art N Dem</i>          |                     |
|      | the                           | book   | this    |          |             |                           |                     |
|      | 'this book'                   |        |         |          |             |                           |                     |
| ii.  | to                            | vivlio | afto    | to       | kokino      | <i>Art N Dem Art Adj</i>  |                     |
|      | the                           | book   | this    | the      | red         |                           |                     |
|      | 'this red book'               |        |         |          |             |                           |                     |
| iii. | %to                           | vivlio | to      | kokino   | afto        | <i>%Art N Art Adj Dem</i> |                     |
|      | the                           | book   | the     | red      | this        |                           |                     |
|      | 'this red book'               |        |         |          |             |                           |                     |
| iv.  | to                            | vivlio | afto    | tu       | Jani        | <i>Art N Dem Gen</i>      |                     |
|      | the                           | book   | this    | the.gen  | Jani.gen    |                           |                     |
|      | 'this book of John's'         |        |         |          |             |                           |                     |
| v.   | %to                           | vivlio | tu      | Jani     | afto        | <i>%Art N Gen Dem</i>     |                     |
|      | the                           | book   | the.gen | Jani.gen | this        |                           |                     |
|      | 'this book of John's'         |        |         |          |             |                           |                     |
| vi.  | to                            | vivlio | afto    | me       | tis         | fotografies               | <i>Art N Dem PP</i> |
|      | the                           | book   | this    | with     | the         | pictures                  |                     |
|      | 'this book with the pictures' |        |         |          |             |                           |                     |
| vii. | %to                           | vivlio | me      | tis      | fotografies | afto                      | <i>Art N PP Dem</i> |
|      | the                           | book   | with    | the      | pictures    | this                      |                     |
|      | 'this book with the pictures' |        |         |          |             |                           |                     |
- b. DP-initial position
- |   |     |        |         |          |      |     |                           |
|---|-----|--------|---------|----------|------|-----|---------------------------|
| afto                                      | to  | vivlio | (tu     | Jani     | me   | tis | fotografies)              |
| this                                      | the | book   | the.GEN | Jani.GEN | with | the | pictures                  |
| 'this book (of John's with the pictures)' |     |        |         |          |      |     | <i>Dem Art N (Gen PP)</i> |

<sup>15</sup> The symbol % indicates that not all speakers (and not in all contexts) accept a given order.

- c. Post-adjectival prenominal position
- |      |     |                           |        |        |        |                          |  |
|------|-----|---------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------------------------|--|
| i.   | ta  | tria/kokina               | afta   | vivlia |        | <i>Art Adj Dem N</i>     |  |
|      | the | three/red                 | these  | books  |        |                          |  |
|      |     | 'these three/red books'   |        |        |        |                          |  |
| ii.  | to  | akrivo                    | afto   | kokino | vivlio | <i>Art Adj Dem Adj N</i> |  |
|      | the | expensive                 | this   | red    | book   |                          |  |
| iii. | to  | akrivo                    | kokino | afto   | vivlio | <i>Art Adj Adj Dem N</i> |  |
|      | the | expensive                 | red    | this   | book   |                          |  |
|      |     | 'this expensive red book' |        |        |        |                          |  |

### 3.2. *The featural make up of demonstratives*

As far as the internal structure of demonstratives is concerned, we adopt here a proposal originally suggested in Guardiano (2012, 2014, *in prep.*), and inspired by Leu (2008), according to which demonstratives are intrinsically endowed with a complex structure that collapses (at least) two features.

One is [+def], which denotes the inherent definiteness of demonstratives (Lyons 1999). This feature is also traditionally encoded on D<sup>16</sup>: if a DP contains a demonstrative, it also contains the feature [+def] in D. Crosslinguistically, there are two types of languages: those where the feature [+def] of D is overtly spelled out obligatorily (like English, Italian, or Greek) and those in which it is not (such as for instance Latin or Russian). The item that spells out [+def] on D by default is the definite article: hence, languages of the former type have a definite article, while those of the latter type don't. Languages where [+def] must be obligatorily visible on D display two possibilities concerning demonstratives: either demonstratives are able to check overtly the [+def] feature on D or they are not. We label the former "D-checking". When a demonstrative is D-checking, no further item which overtly spells out the feature [+def] on D, e.g., the definite article, is required: hence, the two do not co-occur. Since D-checking demonstratives overtly check the [+def] feature of D, they are systematically found in the D-area: whether they are realized as heads (i.e., as Ds) or phrases (i.e., they realize [+def] at Spec,DP) is not a clear-cut issue<sup>17</sup>. Here, we do not take any position concerning

<sup>16</sup> See Bernstein (2008), Bernstein *et al.* (2019), Crisma and Longobardi (2020) for recent discussion.

<sup>17</sup> See, among many others, Giusti (1993), Roca (1996), Leonetti (2000), Brugé (2002), Cinque (2005).

this point: what is relevant for the purposes of the present discussion is that D-checking demonstratives must overtly be realized in the D-area. In contrast, there are languages where demonstratives are not able to spell out the feature [+def] of D: in that case the definite article must appear in D, co-occurring with the demonstrative. This gives rise to a DP containing two overt elements with the [+def] feature (i.e., the definite article, that spells out [+def] in D, and the demonstrative, that contains [+def] intrinsically). Non-D-checking demonstratives tend to exhibit greater flexibility in terms of the positions where they can be linearized, as will be shown below.

Demonstratives are also intrinsically endowed with a second feature, which we conventionally label [+loc]. We will not get into the details of the semantic content of [+loc] here, since this would take us too far afield while it would be the topic of another paper. For the purposes of the present work, suffice it to say that [+loc] is assumed to encode some type of link between the demonstrative and its referent. This link is contingent either on the text (i.e., the referent is “known” because it has been mentioned in the discourse, Lyons 1999), or on the non-linguistic context (i.e., the referent is available in the external context, in the shared knowledge of the speakers, etc.). In this respect, the feature [+loc] does not directly correspond to [+deixis], which is specifically conceived of as the realization of a special link only with a referent directly available in the external context<sup>18</sup>. For instance, the so-called “deictically neutral” demonstratives do not have [+deixis] but have [+loc]. According to Guardiano (2012, 2014, *in prep.*), the difference between demonstratives and definite articles is that demonstratives intrinsically realize both [+loc] and [+def], while articles intrinsically realize [+def] only<sup>19</sup>.

The featural composition of demonstratives is summarized in (15).

- (15) Dem = [+def, +loc]  
*this/that* = *the* *previously mentioned in the text/specific/known from previous discourse/, ...*

<sup>18</sup> Anderson and Keenan (1985).

<sup>19</sup> In some languages, the feature [+loc] is overtly realized in a dedicated projection to the left of the D-area: in these cases, demonstratives appear DP-initially, to the left of D (Guardiano *in prep.*).

As has been observed above, in Standard Modern Greek demonstratives systematically co-occur with definite articles; hence, demonstratives in Standard Modern Greek are not D-checking<sup>20</sup>, as seen in the ungrammaticality of (16). This sets a difference between Greek and English (or Italian for that matter), which are of the D-checking type, as stated in (17). In the extreme Southern Italo-Romance dialects in contact with Italiot Greek, as shown in (12) above, demonstratives are D-checking, too.

- (16) [<sub>DP</sub> D [<sub>NP</sub> N ]]  
 [+def]  
 \*afto vivlio  
 this book

- (17) a. i. this book  
 ii. \*this the book  
 b. i. questo libro  
 this book  
 ii. \*questo il libro  
 this the book

### 3.3. Polydefinite DPs in Standard Modern Greek

Our analysis of demonstratives in Standard Modern Greek elaborates on a proposal made by Guardiano (2014) and further developed in Guardiano and Michelioudakis (2019), according to which demonstratives in Standard Modern Greek have the same structural origin as adjectives in the so-called “polydefinite” DPs (an idea already suggested in Horrocks and Stavrou 1987 and further elaborated by Campos and Stavrou 2004). In polydefinite structures<sup>21</sup>, postnominal adjectives in definite DPs must obligatorily be preceded by an item that is homophonous to the article heading the DP, as shown in (18a) *vs* (18b)<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> For other accounts of the syntax of demonstratives in Greek, see Horrocks and Stavrou (1987); Panagiotidis (2000); Manolessou (2001); Grohmann and Panagiotidis (2004); Alexiadou *et al.* (2007); Kyriakaki (2011), a.o.

<sup>21</sup> For a summary of the literature, and for a discussion of the label “polydefinite”, see Alexiadou *et al.* (2007); Alexiadou (2014); Guardiano and Stavrou (2019a). For a crosslinguistic perspective see Franco *et al.* (2015); Manzini and Savoia (2019). For a detailed exploration of Greek polydefinite DPs, see Kyriakaki (2011); Panayidou (2014); Chatzikyriakidis (2015).

<sup>22</sup> No reduplication of the (indefinite) article is required in indefinite DPs.

(1) a. \*ena vivlio ena kokino  
 a book a red  
*Intended:* ‘a red book’

- (18) a. to vivlio to kokino  
         the book the red  
         ‘the red book’  
       b. \*to vivlio kokino  
         the book red

Our proposal adopts the general reasoning of Stavrou’s (2019) analysis, which aims at bringing under the umbrella of polydefiniteness a number of apparently unrelated phenomena. For instance, Stavrou shows that various (traditionally called) nominal appositive structures, including pseudopartitives, have the same underlying structure as postnominal adjectives (polydefinite DPs) in so far as they all constitute sequences containing more than one item that realizes the feature [+def] encoded on D. In Greek, this feature must always be spelled out overtly with no exceptions<sup>23</sup>. The structure that Stavrou (2012, 2013, 2019) assumes for polydefinite structures is summarized in (19) and (20), where postnominal APs are generated as indirect modifiers in a complex DP-internal clausal structure. The core of this proposal is that all noun modifiers in Greek must agree overtly with the noun in phi-features, Case and [+def]. Modifiers which are generated prenominally, i.e., between D and N (such as direct modification adjectives and numerals), realize agreement directly (for instance via Spec-Head as suggested by Giusti 2009); the others, in particular postnominal adjectives, must realize agreement through the mediation of a dedicated head, Pred in (19), that must be overt when containing a copy of the feature [+def] of D.

- (19) [<sub>DP</sub> D [<sub>RP</sub> Spec R [<sub>PredP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] Pred [<sub>AP</sub> A ]]]]

In (19), PredP bears a crucial role. “PredP” is a mnemonic label for a small clause that encodes a predication relation; the adjective is merged as the complement of Pred and acts as the predicate, while the NP is found in Spec-Pred and acts as the subject. Pred mediates agreement between the

- b. ena vivlio kokino  
    a book red  
    ‘a red book’

<sup>23</sup> It must be remarked here that [+def], in Greek, is not necessarily associated with (semantic) definiteness: there are cases in which the overt realization of D through a “definite” article is required even when no definiteness is involved, as is, for instance, the case of the “expletive” article (Longobardi 1994, 2008), which appears with proper names of all sorts and kind names. For an analysis of the distinction between syntactic and semantic definiteness in Greek, see Kyriakaki (2011) and Lekakou and Szenrdoi (2012), among many others.






There is agreement among linguists<sup>24</sup> that sequences like (21) are derived from (20c) via fronting of the string [Art+Adj]. Such a movement is triggered by the presence of a *Foc* feature which is checked either *in situ* (Campos and Stavrou 2004) or in Spec,DP, or even higher, possibly in a FocusPhrase<sup>25</sup>.

#### 3.4. Demonstratives in “PredP”

We place our analysis of demonstratives in the framework sketched in Section 3.3 above, extending and modifying in parts the proposal by Guardiano and Michelioudakis (2019). More concretely, demonstratives in Standard Modern Greek emerge out of the structure in (19) and (20). In Greek, the [+loc] feature of the demonstrative is assigned some sort of “adjectival” nature and is assumed to be merged in the same type of postnominal position where adjectives are generated, namely in the complement of Pred<sup>26</sup>. Like adjectives, demonstratives display overt morphological agreement with the head noun; their declensional system is actually very similar to that of adjectives. As mentioned in section 3.2, demonstratives intrinsically have the feature [+def]: hence, the head of a DP containing a demonstrative necessarily has [+def], a copy of which must in turn be contained in Pred. Our hypothesis is that the feature [+def] of the demonstrative is able to check the copy of [+def] on Pred (via overt movement), while it is not able to check [+def] on D: this gives rise to a “polydefinite” DP where the feature [+def] on D is realized by the definite article, while its copy on Pred is realized by the demonstrative, as shown in (22a). As said above, Pred must attach to R, in order to allow for the NP to move to Spec,RP to value Case and phi-features on D. As a result of the whole procedure, the demonstrative turns out to be the realization of the complex head [R+Pred], as shown in (22b).

- (22) a. 
$$\begin{matrix} [_{DP} & D & [_{RP} & Spec & R & [_{PredP} & [_{NP} & N & ] & Pred & [_{DemP} & Dem & ]]] \\ & [+def] & & & & & & & & [+def] & & [+def, +loc] \end{matrix}$$
- 

<sup>24</sup> At least since Horrocks and Stavrou (1987); see also Alexiadou and Wilder (1998).

<sup>25</sup> See also Alexiadou (2014), but cf. Lekakou and Szendroi (2012) for counterexamples.

<sup>26</sup> The position of complement of Pred is shared by adjectives, demonstratives, adverbs and perhaps PPs, as also shown in (25).

- b.  $[_{DP} D [_{RP} [_{NP} N ] R+Pred [_{PredP} [_{NP} N ] Pred [_{DemP} Dem ]]]]$
- to vivlio afto*
- 

As seen above, demonstratives regularly appear to the left of D as well, as shown in (14b) repeated here as (23a). To account for this position, linguists agree on that the demonstrative is fronted to Spec,DP (Horrocks and Stavrou 1987) or even to a higher Focus projection, just as the complex [Art+Adj] is in (21), here repeated as (23b). This position is associated with a strongly (usually *deictic*, or contrastive<sup>27</sup>) context-bound interpretation. Prosodically, it is stressed.

- (23)
- |    |                      |                |               |      |
|----|----------------------|----------------|---------------|------|
|    | $[_{DP} [ \dots ]$   | $\dots$        | $\dots$       | $]$  |
|    | $[_{FocP} [ \dots ]$ | $[_{DP} \dots$ | $\dots$       | $]]$ |
| a. | <i>afto</i>          | <i>to</i>      | <i>vivlio</i> |      |
| b. | <i>to kokino</i>     | <i>to</i>      | <i>vivlio</i> |      |

To sum up, the analysis of demonstratives as postnominal modifiers in Standard Modern Greek accounts for their co-occurrence with definite articles and, with some modification that we shall propose in section 3.5, directly predicts some of the positions in which demonstratives are linearized, for instance (14a.i), (*Art N Dem*) and (14b), (*Dem Art N*). It is also consistent with the other sequences listed in (14), in particular those where a (postnominal) demonstrative co-occurs with a (postnominal) modifier of the noun, i.e., a (polydefinite) adjective (14a.ii and 14a.iii), a genitive (14a.iv and 14a.v) or a prepositional phrase (14a.vi and 14a.vii). We will describe them in more details in section 3.5.

### 3.5. *Demonstratives and other modifiers of the noun*

In order to account for sequences with multiple postnominal adjectives (e.g., *to vivlio to kokino to akrivo*), we adopt the analysis proposed by Guardiano and Stavrou (2019b, an elaboration of a proposal originally made by Guardiano and Michelioudakis 2019), summarized in Figure 1 (Guardiano and Stavrou 2019b, p. 142), where Spec,PredP hosts a recursive structure with repeated PredPs<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Horrocks and Stavrou (1987); Manolessou and Panagiotidis (1999).

<sup>28</sup> For simplicity, we do not include RP here. Nonetheless, the structure would be identical to (19) and (20).

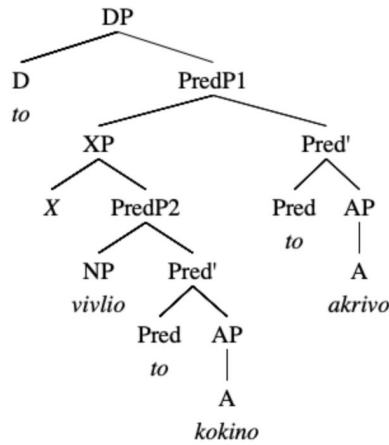
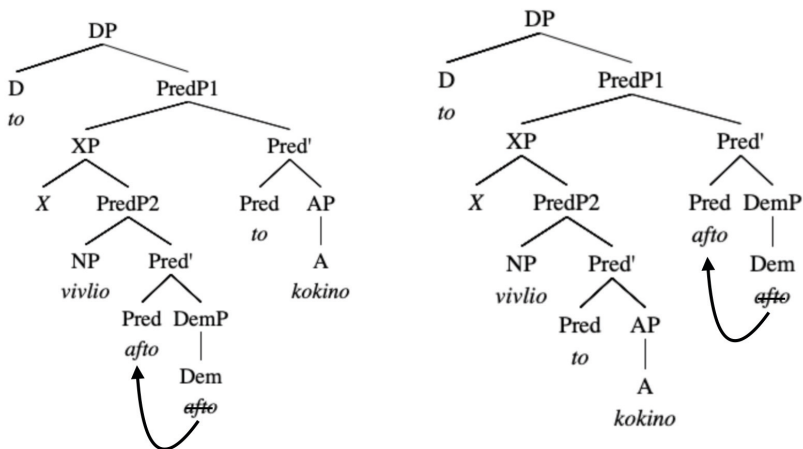


Fig. 1

This same structure can be assumed for (14a.ii, *to vivlio afto to kokino*): the demonstrative is generated in PredP2, as the complement of Pred, thus giving rise to the sequence *Art N Dem Art Adj* (as shown in Figure 2A). In contrast, in (14a.iii, *to vivlio afto to kokino*) it is the adjective that is generated in PredP2, thus giving rise to the sequence *Art N Art Adj Dem*, as shown in Figure 2B. A similar procedure, under the assumption that PPs are generated in the complement of Pred (as will be shown in 25a: see Stavrou 2019), can be also assumed for the contrast between (14a.vi, *to vivlio afto me this fotografies*) and (14a.vii, *to vivlio me this fotografies afto*).



Figs 2A - 2B

According to Guardiano and Stavrou (2019b, p. 142) «The fact that sequences 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 1 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, p. 329)». The same observation actually explains the fact that sequences like (14a.iii) and (to a lesser degree) even (14a.ii) are not uniformly accepted by the speakers<sup>29</sup>.

From these structures, sequences like (24a) and (24b) emerge through the fronting of the demonstrative, or of the adjective respectively, to the left of D. The ungrammaticality/reduced acceptability of (24c), where both the demonstrative and the adjective have been fronted, is due to the fact that there is only one Focus position per clause and/or DP. Assuming that the demonstrative, much like the “definite” adjective (see 21), rises to the DP area to check a [+Foc] feature (under the deictic interpretation), it is expected that either the demonstrative or the adjective may be fronted, but not both.

- |         |                 |        |        |        |        |                          |
|---------|-----------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------------------------|
| (24) a. | afto            | to     | vivlio | to     | kokino | <i>Dem Art N Art Adj</i> |
|         | this            | the    | book   | the    | red    |                          |
|         | 'this red book' |        |        |        |        |                          |
| b.      | to              | kokino | to     | vivlio | afto   | <i>Art Adj Art N Dem</i> |
|         | the             | red    | the    | book   | this   |                          |
|         | 'this red book' |        |        |        |        |                          |
| c. i.   | */%afto         | to     | kokino | to     | vivlio | <i>Dem Art Adj Art N</i> |
|         | this            | the    | red    | the    | book   |                          |
|         | 'this red book' |        |        |        |        |                          |
| ii.     | */%to           | kokino | afto   | to     | vivlio | <i>Art Adj Dem Art N</i> |
|         | the             | red    | this   | the    | book   |                          |
|         | 'this red book' |        |        |        |        |                          |

As far as the sequences (14a.iv), (*to vivlio afto tu Jani*) and (14a.v), (*to vivlio tu Jani afto*) are concerned, it must be observed that, in Greek, adnominal genitives are inflected (marked by morphological genitive) and non-prepositional; they cannot be iterated (i.e., a DP cannot contain multiple nominal

<sup>29</sup> Actually, speakers express variable judgements also concerning most of the cases where a post-nominal demonstrative co-occurs with a genitive or a prepositional phrase: several speakers tend to dislike (under unmarked reading) multiple postnominal modifiers at all.

genitives modifying one and the same head noun; see Horrocks and Stavrou 1987) and are systematically found after the noun (thus after prenominal adjectives if there are any). Such properties make them compatible with one particular type of “structured” genitive (in the sense of Longobardi 2001 and Longobardi and Silvestri 2013), i.e., GenO<sup>30</sup>. This type of adnominal genitive is assumed to be generated preminally but following the functional categories that host prenominal adjectives at their specifiers (ZP in 25)<sup>31</sup>. In Standard Modern Greek, genitives appear postnominally due to movement of the N(P), that raises overtly, probably to the specifier of a functional projection, labeled XP in (25). XP is higher than the projection hosting GenO, but lower than ZP(s): as a matter of fact, in Greek, N(P) never moves above structured adjectives<sup>32</sup>.

(25)

- a. [<sub>DP</sub> D [<sub>ZP</sub> AP Z [<sub>XP</sub> Spec X [<sub>YP</sub> GenO Y [<sub>RP</sub> Spec R [<sub>predP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] Pred [AP/Dem/PP]]]]]]]]  
 [+def] [+def]
- b. [<sub>DP</sub> D [<sub>ZP</sub> AP Z [<sub>XP</sub> Spec X [<sub>YP</sub> GenO Y [<sub>RP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] R+Pred [<sub>predP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] Pred [AP/Dem/PP]]]]]]]]  
 [+def] [+def] [+def]
- c. [<sub>DP</sub> D [<sub>ZP</sub> AP Z [<sub>XP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] X [<sub>YP</sub> GenO Y [<sub>RP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] R+Pred [<sub>predP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] Pred [AP/Dem/PP]]]]]]]]  
 to kokino vivlio tu Jani to akrivo
- 

When a demonstrative is present, the order preferred by the majority of the speakers is *Art N Dem Gen* (14.a.iv), where the demonstrative is adjacent to the noun rather than to the genitive; on the contrary, several speakers dislike (14.a.v), (*Art N Dem Gen*). To account for the difference in the acceptability of the two orders, we tentatively assume that it is the whole RP [*vivlio afto*] that moves to (Spec,)XP, as shown in (26). The reason for that is that the demonstrative, when it is not deictic and/or contrastive, is a weak

<sup>30</sup> See also Guardiano (2011) and Guardiano and Longobardi (2018) for a description of this genitive in Greek.

<sup>31</sup> For simplicity, in (25) we propose an idealized version of the structure that we assume for DPs, which does not represent further possible intermediate projections between D and N (see also Guardiano and Stavrou 2019a). In particular, in (25) we present only one position hosting prenominal adjectives (ZP), but we assume that more projections for nominal modifiers (including numerals) are available between D and the NP. In particular, in the analysis that we propose in Guardiano and Stavrou (2019a), we assume that multiple, hierarchically ordered, prenominal positions are available for adjectival modifiers in Standard Modern Greek, as in many other languages.

<sup>32</sup> For theoretical consistency, we assume that the N(P) regularly moves to Spec,XP even when no genitive is present.

element, and for this reason it cannot remain alone inside the RP, but needs to be pied-piped along with the N(P) (concomitantly, they form a phonological phrase). By contrast, the demonstrative, when it is found in pre-article position (see example 23), is strong, because it is deictic/focused/contrastive.

(26)

- a. [<sub>DP</sub> D [...] [<sub>XP</sub> Spec X [<sub>YP</sub> GenO Y [<sub>RP</sub> Spec R [<sub>predP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] Pred [<sub>DemP</sub> Dem ]]]]]]  
 [+def] [+def, +loc]
- b. [<sub>DP</sub> D [...] [<sub>XP</sub> Spec X [<sub>YP</sub> GenO Y [<sub>RP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] R+Pred [<sub>predP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] Pred [<sub>DemP</sub> Dem ]]]]]]  
 (curved arrows from R+Pred to Spec and from Pred to Dem)
- c. [<sub>DP</sub> D [...] [<sub>XP</sub> [<sub>RP</sub> ... ] X [<sub>YP</sub> GenO Y [<sub>RP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] R+Pred [<sub>predP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] Pred [<sub>DemP</sub> Dem ]]]]]]  
 (curved arrows from R+Pred to Spec and from Pred to Dem; a long arrow from Spec to the end of the structure)
- to vivlio afto tu Jani*

In the light of the above, and generalizing the evidence, we make the hypothesis that even in the cases where there is no modifier of the noun, as in (14.a.i), (*to vivlio afto*), the demonstrative still moves to XP along with the N(P). Accordingly, the structure in (22) must be expanded, as shown in (27).

(27)

- a. [<sub>DP</sub> D [...] [<sub>XP</sub> Spec X [...] [<sub>RP</sub> Spec R [<sub>predP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] Pred [<sub>DemP</sub> Dem ]]]]]]  
 [+def] [+def, +loc]
- b. [<sub>DP</sub> D [...] [<sub>XP</sub> Spec X [...] [<sub>RP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] R+Pred [<sub>predP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] Pred [<sub>DemP</sub> Dem ]]]]]]  
 (curved arrows from R+Pred to Spec and from Pred to Dem)
- c. [<sub>DP</sub> D [...] [<sub>XP</sub> [<sub>RP</sub> ... ] X [...] [<sub>RP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] R+Pred [<sub>predP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N ] Pred [<sub>DemP</sub> Dem ]]]]]]  
 (curved arrows from R+Pred to Spec and from Pred to Dem; a long arrow from Spec to the end of the structure)
- to vivlio afto*

In the sequences in (14c), the demonstrative appears prenominal, unlike (14a), but after the definite article (i.e., non-DP-initially), unlike (14b). The first thing to be pointed out is that the demonstrative may only appear in that position if (at least) an adjective (*to kokino afto vivlio*) or numeral (*ta tria afta vivlia*), or a combination of these, is present, i.e., the demonstrative cannot immediately follow the article, as shown by the ungrammaticality of *\*to afto (kokino) vivlio* / *\*ta afta (tria) vivlia*. Such combinations are com-

mon in Greek, although they have not so far received due attention and, as a result, they have resisted a uniform formal analysis. Here, we shall confine ourselves to some remarks about such sequences and propose a tentative analysis which will hopefully be enhanced in future research. A further important fact about (14c) is that “prenominal” demonstratives share the position between a prenominal modifier and the noun with possessive clitics (*to kokino mu vivlio* lit. ‘the red my book’), with which they can also co-occur (*to kokino mu afto vivlio, to kokino afto mu vivlio*). Both possessive clitics and demonstratives can only appear in this position if there is a nominal modifier to support them. Based on a broad empirical base, Stavrou *et al.* (2009) have proposed for the sequences with a clitic following a modifier that such a cliticization improves the rhythmic and/or prosodic pattern of the whole construction. Of course, in that framework, the basic assumption is that there is no “escape from syntax”: the syntax provides the positions for the clitic and the phonology decides on which copy of the clitic will be pronounced, on the basis of rhythmic and prosodic well-formedness constraints. In the light of that analysis, we assume here too that the syntactic environment in which adjective/noun and demonstrative are found encourages/feeds their union. We propose that the sequence *Art Adj Dem N* originates in the underlying structure simplified in (28)<sup>33</sup>, where: (i) the article spells out the feature [+def] in D, (ii) the adjective originates prenominally, and (iii) the N(P) and the demonstrative have been moved to RP as in (22), and further to Spec,XP as in (26c) and (27c). This produces the sequence *Art Adj N Dem*.

Then, we hypothesize that, just as in the cases with possessive clitics, the demonstrative is moved and cliticized on the adjective by a phonological rule, which is non-obligatory, since *Art Adj Dem N* and *Art Adj N Dem* are both possible (see 28d); in both orders, the demonstrative forms a phonological phrase with the adjective/noun. The phonological rule is dictated by rhythmic and prosodic well-formedness constraints concerning the entire sequence [Adj+Dem] (or [N+Dem]). In both cases, the demonstrative is pronounced as part of either the noun or (one of) the prenominal adjective(s)<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> As shown in (14c.ii) and (14c.iii), sequences with multiple prenominal adjectives (or a numeral and a prenominal adjective) and a prenominal demonstrative are possible in Greek. As a matter of fact, only prenominal modifiers of the noun, which concord (overtly or covertly) with the noun, are able to host a demonstrative.

<sup>34</sup> This case is reminiscent of clitic climbing in the clause as in the Romance languages.



(28)

- a.  $[_{DP}D \quad [_{ZP}AP \quad Z \quad [_{XP}Spec \quad X[...][_{RP}Spec \quad R \quad [_{PredP}[_{NP}N] \quad Pred \quad [_{DemP}Dem \quad ]]]]]]$   
 [+def] [+def] [+def, +loc]
- b.  $[_{DP}D \quad [_{ZP}AP \quad Z \quad [_{XP}[_{NP}N] \quad X[...][_{RP}[_{NP}N] \quad R+Pred \quad [_{PredP}[_{NP}N] \quad Pred \quad [_{DemP}Dem \quad ]]]]]]$
- c.  $[_{DP}D \quad [_{ZP}AP \quad Z \quad [_{XP}[_{RP}N \dots Dem] X[...][_{RP}[_{NP}N] \quad R+Pred \quad [_{PredP}[_{NP}N] \quad Pred \quad [_{DemP}Dem \quad ]]]]]]$
- d. *to kokino*                      *vivlio afto*  
 to [kokino+afto]                  [vivlio(+afto)]

For the time being, we have no better solution to propose for such sequences. In compensation, what is immediately relevant to our main point, namely the comparison between Italiot Greek and Greek, is that there is no trace of such structures in Italiot Greek. On the contrary, they are attested in other varieties of Greek since ancient times, as shown in (29c) further below.

### 3.6. Some notes on demonstratives in the diachrony of Greek

The content of the above sections can be summarized as follows. In Standard Modern Greek, adnominal demonstratives show a distribution that parallels that of indirect modification adjectives, which originate postnominally and trigger polydefiniteness. Thus, we make the assumption that they originate in the same underlying structure as postnominal adjectives. This explains their flexibility in terms of position, which is also due to the fact that demonstratives are not D-checking in Greek, a property that would inevitably link them to the D-area.

The same two properties, i.e., flexibility in terms of position and the fact that demonstratives never spell out the [+def] feature of D, are also visible in Ancient Greek (Guardiano 2003). Here, demonstratives are found postnominally (29a), to the left of D (29b), and between a prenominal adjective and the noun (29c); they also systematically occur with definite articles (with few exceptions, which will not be discussed here).

- (29) a. i. τήν        φύγην        τούτην  
           the        exile            this  
           'this exile' (Plato, *Apology* 21 a 2)

- |    |      |                         |           |         |         |       |                                       |
|----|------|-------------------------|-----------|---------|---------|-------|---------------------------------------|
|    | ii.  | τὸ                      | ἱμάτιον   | τὸ      | ἐμαυτοῦ | τούτο |                                       |
|    |      | the                     | coat      | the     | mine    | this  |                                       |
|    |      | ‘this coat of mine’     |           |         |         |       | (Plato, <i>Symposium</i> 219 b 5-6)   |
|    | iii. | τὸν                     | νομοθέτην | ἐκεῖνον |         |       |                                       |
|    |      | the                     | lawgiver  | that    |         |       |                                       |
|    |      | ‘that lawgiver’         |           |         |         |       | (Plato, <i>Cratylus</i> 389 d 5)      |
| b. | i.   | ταύτην                  | τὴν       | τέχνην  |         |       |                                       |
|    |      | this                    | the       | art     |         |       |                                       |
|    |      | ‘this art’              |           |         |         |       | (Plato, <i>Apology</i> 20 c 1)        |
|    | ii.  | ἐκείνην                 | τὴν       | σοφίαν  |         |       |                                       |
|    |      | that                    | the       | wisdom  |         |       |                                       |
|    |      | ‘that wisdom’           |           |         |         |       | (Plato, <i>Apology</i> 22 d 8)        |
| c. | i.   | τὰ                      | ἐλιεινὰ   | ταῦτα   | δράματα |       |                                       |
|    |      | the                     | pitiable  | these   | scenes  |       |                                       |
|    |      | ‘these pitiable scenes’ |           |         |         |       | (Plato, <i>Apology</i> 35 b 7)        |
|    | ii.  | τὰ                      | πολλὰ     | ταῦτα   | ὀνόματα |       |                                       |
|    |      | the                     | many      | these   | names   |       |                                       |
|    |      | ‘most of these names’   |           |         |         |       | (Plato, <i>Cratylus</i> 439 b 10-c 1) |

What is relevant for the purposes of the present discussion is that the syntax of demonstratives has been quite uniform (with minor fluctuation) throughout the history of Greek. As will further be shown in section 4 below, Italiot Greek interrupts this continuity. Our hypothesis is that two major forces have been at work to cause the observed differences and trigger the changes which happened to the syntax of demonstratives in Italiot Greek: one is internal to the system, i.e., the reanalysis of the syntax of adjectival modification (Guardiano and Stavrou 2019a and b), and the other is the contact with Southern Italo-Romance.

#### 4. *Towards and analysis of Italiot Greek*

In Section 3.2, it was mentioned that there are two conditions for a demonstrative to be D-checking: the first is actually a pre-condition, namely the requirement for the feature [+def] in D to be overtly spelled out in the language; the second is that the feature [+def] of demonstratives is able to realize the feature [+def] of D. Table 2 illustrates all the possible (and existing) combinations of the two conditions.

Tab. 2

|    |  | Standard Modern Greek,<br>Cypriot Greek  | Italian, Salentino,<br>Southern Calabrese  | Latin, Homeric Greek   |
|----|--|--|--|--|
| 1. | Does the feature [+def] in D need to be spelled out?                                 | YES  | YES  | NO   |
| 2. | Are demonstratives able to spell out [+def] in D?<br><i>Empirical manifestations</i> | NO<br>→ Dems are not D-checking:<br>- found in different positions in the DP<br>- systematically co-occur with definite articles | YES<br>→ Dems are D-checking:<br>- systematically DP-initial<br>- do not co-occur with definite articles | Does not apply<br>→ no definite article in D<br>→ Dems are not overtly connected with D:<br>- found in different positions in the DP |

In the Extreme Southern Italo-Romance dialects, adnominal demonstratives are consistently DP-initial and never co-occur with definite articles (as shown in 12): our hypothesis is that they are D-checking. On the contrary, in Standard Modern Greek, adnominal demonstratives are not D-checking: they are much more flexible in terms of their position and do not have to be realized in the D-area. Movement to the left of D only happens when the demonstrative has deictic/emphatic/contrastive interpretation (Manolessou and Panagiotidis 1999). Moreover, most of the positions where demonstratives are found in Standard Modern Greek (pre-article, postnominal) overlap with those of (originally) postnominal adjectives. Therefore, we made the tentative hypothesis that, in Standard Modern Greek, demonstratives have the same structural source as postnominal adjectives.

As already said, in Italiot Greek, demonstratives occur systematically DP-initially and do not (have to) co-occur with a definite article. Thus, superficially, they display a Romance-like pattern rather than a Greek-like one. There is evidence that the situation displayed by present-day Italiot Greek is a consequence of recent changes. Indeed, especially the most conservative varieties of Italiot Greek display several traces of DPs containing both an article and a demonstrative.

As suggested in Guardiano and Stavrou (2019a and b), another change that seems to have taken place very recently in the history of Italiot Greek is the loss of polydefinite adjectives: in these varieties, polydefiniteness was productive in the past, even though in the present-day grammar there is almost no evidence of it. Guardiano and Stavrou (2019a) also suggest that the loss of polydefiniteness with postnominal adjectives took place presumably (and partially) under the pressure of contact with Romance.

The data described in the present paper actually document a very similar phenomenon: the progressive loss of a typical Greek pattern, which crucially involved the co-occurrence of multiple items encoding [+def] in one and the same DP, and the subsequent adoption of the Extreme Southern Italo-Romance pattern, where the phenomenon of multiple occurrences of [+def] in one and the same DP is unknown.

At this juncture, we hypothesize that the loss of DPs with multiple articles and the loss of DPs where a demonstrative and an article co-occur are interrelated, and in particular that the loss of the structure which generates polydefinite DPs in Greek (i.e., 19-20) has resulted in the changes observed in the syntax of both adjectives and demonstratives.

Changes in the syntax of adjectives in Italiot Greek are the outcome of two major facts (Guardiano and Stavrou 2019a): the loss, for many adjectives, of the possibility to be realized prenominally (the postnominal position is the default one in Italiot Greek with few exceptions only) and the loss of the requirement for postnominal adjectives in definite DPs to be preceded by a copy of the definite article (i.e., the loss of polydefiniteness). From an empirical point of view, the major effect of these two changes was the freezing of most adjectives at the postnominal position, which sets an important difference between Italiot Greek and other (ancient and contemporary) varieties of Greek, where the positioning of adjectives is much more flexible. A second effect is that speakers do not see in the language multiple overt realizations of [+def], which is actually only realized on D. Structurally, according to Guardiano and Stavrou (2019a), these phenomena are the outcome of the loss of the structure in (19)-(20) and of the reanalysis of postnominal adjectives as merged prenominally and linearized postnominally as a consequence of noun movement. A further empirical consequence of this change is the loss of fronted articulated adjectives. As has been shown above, in Standard Modern Greek only adjectives generated postnominally (and therefore “articulated” in definite DPs) can be fronted to the left of D: hence, fronted articulated adjectives become expectedly lost once the source for postnominal adjectives (i.e., the structure in 19-20) disappears.

Under these premises, if the hypothesis that Greek demonstratives are generated in PredP is correct, the loss of PredP is predicted to trigger changes in their syntax as well<sup>35</sup>. What we see in Italiot Greek is that two substantial changes concerning the syntax of demonstratives happened in parallel to those which took place in the syntax of adjectival modifiers: the loss of flexibility in terms of position and the loss of multiple realization of [+def] in one and the same DP. As far as the former is concerned, two opposite effects were triggered in terms of linearization: while adjectives became massively realized postnominally, demonstratives froze in the DP-initial position.

We start from the hypothesis that, in Italiot Greek, demonstratives had originally a syntax similar to that of Standard Modern Greek:

<sup>35</sup> A connection between the loss of PredP and the reanalysis of the syntax of demonstratives is observed even in other Greek varieties, e.g., in Asia Minor Greek, as shown in Guardiano and Michelioudakis (2019).

- (30) a. they were generated in PredP, where they were able to spell-out the [+def] feature of Pred;
- b. they were not able to check the [+def] feature of D, which was therefore spelled out by the definite article; thus, demonstratives and articles co-occurred;
- c. from their original (postnominal) position, demonstratives *might* be fronted to a DP-initial position, to the left of D: this movement was only required when the demonstrative encoded deictic (or contrastive) function (Manolessou and Panagiotidis 1999);
- d. in the DP-initial position, under certain specific morphophonological conditions (Guardiano and Michelioudakis 2019), demonstratives were subject to morphophonological fusion with the definite article.

From the point of view of frequency, it is not implausible that the DP-initial position is the one where demonstratives are more often found especially in everyday language: Manolessou and Panagiotidis (1999) point out that, in Standard Modern Greek, this is the preferred position in spoken registers. Since Italiot Greek varieties have traditionally been primarily spoken languages, it is not unlikely that the position connected to deictic interpretation was all that frequent in everyday use.

Concerning the DP-initial position, Guardiano and Stavrou (2019a) note that the prenominal position for (articulated) adjectives was the first to disappear when PredP became unproductive. This probably created a fracture in the system: when the DP-initial position became inaccessible to adjectives, demonstratives, which were mostly realized DP-initially, lost their connection with (postnominal) adjectival modifiers, and in particular with the position where the latter are generated (i.e., PredP). Moreover, when PredP was lost, the reanalysis of postnominal adjectives as generated prenominally was possible, and plausible, because of the availability in the language of prenominal adjectives (see Guardiano *et al.*'s 2016 *Resistance Principle*): speakers had evidence that the language was able to generate prenominal adjectives and, using that evidence, were able to reanalyze the postnominal ones as originally prenominal and crossed over by the N(P). In contrast, as far as demonstratives are concerned, their DP-initial position was incompatible with this type of reanalysis.

A further potential source of pressure for the reanalysis of demonstratives as dissociated from adjectival positions is the fact that in the Romance languages spoken in Salento and Calabria demonstratives are sys-

tematically placed DP-initially and never co-occur with the article, two properties usually associated to D-checking demonstratives rather than to adjectives.

The combination of these factors, along with the fact that, due to morphophonological fusion (30.d), articles and demonstratives were often not realized as separated items, presumably functioned as a trigger for the reanalysis of demonstratives as D-checking.

### 5. Conclusion

The data presented in this study suggest that demonstratives in the currently spoken varieties of Italiot Greek are D-checking rather than “adjectival” as in Standard Modern Greek. Our hypothesis is that this has been the result of a series of changes which are part of a broader rearrangement of the system of adjectival modification, triggered by the loss of the structure that generates polydefinite DPs. This change presumably took place quite recently in the history of the language; indeed, traces of the old system are still visible especially in the written sources, which preserved forms and structures that have become lost in the present-day spoken language. One such trace is the (apparently free) alternation between forms containing an article (but presumably not analyzed as such by the speakers) and forms with no article. The second is the presence, in the written sources, of polydefinite DPs where an article and a demonstrative co-occur. It is worthwhile mentioning that the texts where we found the latter type of structures are the same texts where postnominal adjectives in definite DPs are systematically articulated. The difference is that definite DPs containing an adjective are consistently polydefinite, while those containing a demonstrative display a visible article only occasionally. In those texts, adjectives and demonstratives are stabilized in two different positions, i.e., the postnominal one for adjectives and the DP-initial one for demonstratives.

Two conclusions seem to emerge from the above observations. One specifically concerns the relation between Greek and Romance in Southern Italy: as already observed in Guardiano *et al.* (2016), there are specific subdomains where contact between the two groups has given rise to changes which seem to go in one direction only, namely Greek has developed properties very similar to those observed in Romance. Yet, it seems that such phenomena happen under specific structural conditions (Guardiano *et al.*'s

2016 *Resistance Principle*), i.e., only if the target language is independently able to generate linear sequences which are compatible with the new structural configuration borrowed from the source language. In the particular case of demonstratives, there are various potential triggers for change: first of all, DP-initial demonstratives are possible in Greek, and contracted forms where the article is not realized independently from the demonstrative are available, which can non-implausibly be reanalyzed as D-checking items; second, the fact that the changes in the domain of adjectival modification generated linear sequences which forced a split between adjectives and demonstratives naturally induced reanalysis of the latter: at this point, the Romance model, where DP-initial demonstratives are uniformly D-checking, intervened in orienting the reanalysis towards convergence with typically Romance patterns.

The second conclusion is more general, and broadly concerns the domain of noun modification in Greek. As mentioned above, the distribution of demonstratives in Greek has several points of convergence with that of a specific type of adjectival modifiers, which are generated in dedicated (postnominal) projections and have the crucial property of triggering polydefiniteness in definite DPs. Our tentative analysis of demonstratives as generated in the same kind of projections as adjectives is originally inspired (and supported) by language-internal considerations. In particular, as seen in Section 3, most of the linear patterns which are possible in the language, as well as their interpretation, are compatible with a structural source of the type discussed for postnominal adjectives. As a matter of fact, the analysis of the changes occurred to demonstratives and adjectives in some Greek dialects brings us to the same conclusion, i.e., that the adjectival and the demonstrative fields are originally strictly connected to one another in Greek. In this paper, we limited our investigation to Italiot Greek; yet, similar phenomena which support our conclusion are also visible in other diaspora varieties, such as Asia Minor Greek, as discussed in Guardiano and Michelioudakis (2019). In both areas, we see that when the adjectival field is affected by important structural changes (in particular, the loss of PredP), these changes also affect the syntax of demonstratives, in particular through the reanalysis of their underlying structure. The fact that such phenomena gave rise to different outputs in Italiot and Asia Minor Greek is conceivably due to the different sources provided by the non-Greek languages spoken in the two areas.



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