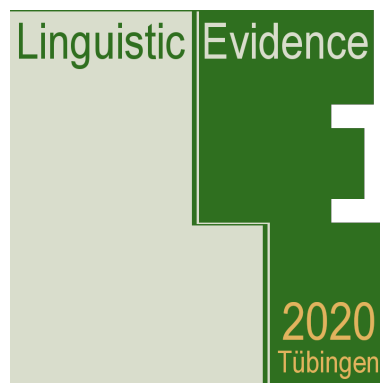


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# Greek Polydefinites at the Interfaces

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## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Greek Polydefinites: The Data

The term *polydefinite* (Kolliakou, 1995), when applied specifically to Greek data, refers to a structure characteristic of definite DPs with one adjectival modifier, either in prenominal (1c) or in postnominal position (1d), and two articles (one preceding the noun and one preceding the adjective). This possibility introduces a contrast with postnominal adjectives in simple definite DPs, which are ungrammatical (1b).<sup>1</sup>

- (1) a. *To ksilino trapezi espase.*  
the wooden table broke
- b. \**To trapezi ksilino espaste.*  
the table wooden broke
- c. *To ksilino to trapezi espase.*  
the wooden the table broke
- d. *To trapezi to ksilino espase.*  
the table the wooden broke  
'The wooden table broke.'

It should be noted that Greek polydefinites can display stacking of article modifiers (2a, b, c), which is probably limited only by parsing restrictions, or *partial spreading* of the definite determiner along a multiply modified DP (Alexiadou, 2014). In this last case, the restriction that all postnominal adjectives are accompanied by their own article still applies (2d, e).<sup>2</sup>

- (2) a. *To trapezi to palio to ksilino espase.*  
the table the old the wooden broke  
'The old wooden table broke.'
- b. *To palio to ksilino to trapezi espase.*  
the old the wooden the table broke  
'The old wooden table broke.'

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<sup>1</sup> It has been argued that (1c) and (1d) differ with respect to information packaging (Kolliakou, 1995; Campos & Stavrou, 2004; Alexiadou, 2014, a.o.). Given that Greek allows for both in-situ focusing (Agouraki, 1990) and focus-movement (Tsimpili, 1995), the alleged asymmetry between the two examples needs to be further investigated. For the purposes of the present paper, we assume that (1d) displays the basic constituent order of the polydefinite DP, and that (1c) is derived from (1d) via focus-movement, following Campos & Stavrou (2004).

<sup>2</sup> Throughout the paper, we use the \* symbol to notate ungrammaticality according to traditional grammars, and the # symbol to mark unacceptability according to native speakers' intuitions. The ? symbol is used to indicate gradient phenomena. On the topics of what (un)acceptability and (un)grammaticality are, and how they relate to one another and to interpretation see a special issue in *Frontiers in Psychology* (Tubau et al. 2019-20).

- c. ?*To trapezi to palio to kafe to ksilino espase.*  
 the table the old the brown the wooden broke  
 ‘The old brown wooden table broke.’
- d. *To palio trapezi to ksilino espase.*  
 the old table the wooden broke  
 ‘The old wooden table broke.’
- e. \**To palio to trapezi ksilino espase.*  
 the old the table wooden broke  
 ‘The old wooden table broke.’

Lastly, polydefiniteness can arise in full proper name DPs. In this case, both the first name and the last name are accompanied by their own definite determiner (3b, c)

- (3) a. *O Yanis Papadhopulos ine to kenurghio afendiko.*  
 the Yanis Papadhopulos is the new boss
- b. *O Yanis o Papadhopulos ine to kenurghio afendiko.*  
 the Yanis the Papadhopulos is the new boss
- c. *O Papadhopulos o Yanis ine to kenurghio afendiko.*  
 the Papadhopulos the Yanis is the new boss  
 ‘Yanis Papadhopulos is the new boss.’

## 1.2 Background

In traditional grammars of Modern Greek, polydefiniteness is considered as a stylistic variant of the *unmarked* Article - Adjective - Noun construction and is related to *emphasis* (Tzartanos, 1945; Tsopanakis, 1994; Holton et al., 1997). Under this view, the difference between (4a) and (4b) below is predicted to be that, in the (b) version, the polydefinite structure is considered as a syntactic strategy to convey the contrastive meaning that it was the red table, and not the green one for example, that broke.

- (4) a. *To kokino trapezi espase.*  
 the red table broke  
 ‘The red table broke.’
- b. *To trapezi to kokino espase.*  
 the table the red broke  
 ‘The red table broke (and not some other table).’

Chatzisavvidis & Chatzisavvidou (2014) further comment that postnominal adjectives in Greek are indicative of a certain *register*, but they do not make the statement any more specific. Finally, Mackridge (1985) points out that full proper name DPs appear as polydefinites in *colloquial* speech.

- (5) a. *O Kostas o Karamanlis exi pandrefiti tin proti mu ksadherfi.*  
 the Kostas the Karamanlis has married the first mine cousin  
 ‘Kostas Karamanlis is married to my first cousin.’
- b. *O Kostas (#o) Karamanlis dhietelese prothipurghos tis Eladhas to dhiastima 2004-2009.*  
 the Kostas the Karamanlis was prime.minister of.the Greece the  
 period 2004-2009  
 ‘Kostas Karamanlis was the prime minister of Greece during the period 2004-2009.’

The discourse information components of (5b) make it most characteristically non-colloquial and, thus, a bad host for polydefinite proper name DPs.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Greek proper names are obligatorily preceded by the definite article. It is the presence of an additional article

Generative studies on Greek polydefiniteness also acknowledge an emphatic effect in the phenomenon (Alexiadou & Wilder, 1998; Campos & Stavrou, 2004). A couple of them further mention that polydefinite DPs are restricted to informal communication events (Manolessou, 2000; Panagiotidis & Marinis, 2011), generalizing Mackridge's insight to polydefinite common noun DPs. Thus, example (6) is expected to be uttered directed from a carpenter to their apprentice, but it would not be appropriate for, let's say, a Do-It-Yourself instruction booklet (considerations of grammatical person left aside).

- (6) *Tora pernis to ksilo to makri ke to kolas sti vasi pu vidhoses prin.*  
 now you.take the wood the long and it glue at.the base COMPL you.screwed before  
 'Now you take the long piece of wood and you glue it on the base you screwed in before.'

However, generative studies of polydefiniteness are mostly interested in its formal properties. The literature on the topic can be divided into two lines of analysis. Some linguists claim that polydefiniteness is subject to a restrictive adjective constraint: only adjectives that can be interpreted restrictively make good candidates for polydefinite DPs (Alexiadou & Wilder, 1998; Lekakou & Szendrői 2007, 2012; Alexiadou, 2014). Accordingly, (7b, c) are considered ungrammatical.

- (7) a. *O feromenos dhrastis dhrapetefse.*  
 the alleged thief broke.out  
 b.\**O dhrastis o feromenos dhrapetefse.*  
 the thief the alleged broke.out  
 c.\**O feromenos o dhrastis dhrapetefse.*  
 the alleged the thief broke.out  
 'The alleged thief broke out.'

The restrictiveness constraint seems to be so strong that it can even disambiguate otherwise ambiguous cases. In this sense note that whereas (8a) is ambiguous, (8b, c) cannot be associated with a reading according to which the adjective is a predicate of a dancing event.

- (8) a. *O oreos xoreftis paretithike.*  
 the nice dancer quit  
 'The dancer {who is beautiful, who dances beautifully} quit.'  
 b. *O xoreftis o oreos paretithike.*  
 the dancer the nice quit  
 c. *O oreos o xoreftis paretithike.*  
 the nice the dancer quit  
 'The dancer who is beautiful quit.'

On the other hand, there are researchers who doubt the strength of the grammatical restrictiveness constraint (Panagiotidis & Marinis, 2011). The latter accept polydefinite DPs involving non-restrictive adjectives, as those illustrated below (9b, c; 10b, c).<sup>4</sup>

- (9) a. *O proin dhimarxos paraponethike.*  
 the former mayor complained  
 b. *O dhimarxos o prion paraponethike.*  
 the mayor the former complained

that is responsible for the reduced acceptability of (5b). Notice also:

- (1) *O Karamanlis (#o) Kostas dhietesele prothipurghos tis Eladhas to dhiastima 2004-2009.*  
 the Karamanlis the Kostas was prime.minister of.the Greece the period 2004-2009  
 'Kostas Karamanlis was the prime minister of Greece during the period 2004-2009.'

<sup>4</sup> In the present paper, we use the term *restrictive* with the meaning of *intersective and restrictive*. This stems from Kolliakou's (2004: 273) *polydefiniteness constraint*, the first attempt to formally describe what we here call the *restrictiveness constraint*.

- c. *O proin o dhimarxos paraponethike.*  
 the former the mayor complained  
 ‘The former mayor complained.’
- (10) a. *I omadhiki katadhiki tus dhisarestise.*  
 the collective sentence them dissatisfied
- b. *I omadhiki I katadhiki tus dhisarestise.*  
 the collective the sentence them dissatisfied
- c. *I katadhiki I omadhiki tus dhisarestise.*  
 the sentence the collectivethem dissatisfied  
 ‘The collective sentence dissatisfied them.’

The debate caused by linguists’ conflicting judgments on what constitutes a good or bad polydefiniteness candidate calls for an answer. To our knowledge, there is no experimental evidence supporting any of the two main lines of argumentation. This gap has been one of the primary motives for the study presented in this article.

### 1.3 Research Questions

This study builds heavily on the previous literature on Greek polydefinites. Our main goal is to provide evidence-based answers, confirming or disproving what has already been said regarding the grammatical and the functional/communicational aspect of the phenomenon. In order to keep confounds to the minimum, we only tested polydefinite DPs modified by a single adjective that strictly displayed the Article - Noun - Article - Adjective order.

In the previous subsection, we saw that polydefiniteness has been related to emphasis, restrictive modification and informality of register. It should be noted, however, that the emphatic reading is associated with postnominal occurrences of Greek adjectives in general, not only within the limits of a polydefinite.<sup>5</sup> Given this, we narrow our focus to the other two properties ascribed to the type of DPs under study, and set the following two research questions:

Question Q1. Are Greek polydefinites subject to a restrictive-adjective constraint?

Question Q2. Are Greek polydefinites subject to an informal-register constraint?

This study is, to our knowledge, the first to address these questions based on linguistic evidence. It uses speakers’ judgments on the acceptability (namely, the naturalness) of utterances containing polydefinite DPs as informative of the speakers’ grammatical knowledge of the conditions that regulate the use of polydefinites in Greek. Direct elicitation is considered an indispensable methodological tool (Matthewson, 2004) to give us information about the structure, meaning and use of polydefinites. Therefore, this research aims to investigate whether native Greek speakers have a strong preference for restrictive adjectives over non-restrictive ones as parts of polydefinite DPs. It also seeks to confirm that polydefinites are strongly dispreferred by native speakers in formal conversational events and are, most usually, licit in

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<sup>5</sup> In Section 1.1, it was noted that Greek simple definite DPs only display the Article - Adjective - Noun order. However, in indefinite nominal expressions the adjective can either precede (2a) or follow the noun (2b). In the latter case, it is emphatically interpreted.

- (2) a. *Forese ena kokino ghileko ke vgike sti ghiorti.*  
 he.wore one red vest and went.out at.the party  
 ‘He wore a red vest and went to the party.’
- b. *Forese ena ghileko kokino ke vgike sti ghiorti.*  
 he.wore one vest red and went.out at.the party  
 ‘He wore a RED vest and went to the party.’

It is worth mentioning that, to account for the constituent ordering asymmetries between simple definite and indefinite nominal expressions, Alexiadou (2014: 109) treats examples like (2b) as cases of *indefiniteness spreading* and analyzes such constructions as partially (derivationally) parallel to polydefinite DPs.

informal contexts.

The rest of the article is organized as follows: Section 2 presents the experimental study we carried out in order to test native speakers' judgments on polydefiniteness in Greek. Section 3 includes a discussion of the results of the study and offers an analysis of polydefinites at the syntax-semantics interface. Section 4 concludes the paper.

## **2 The Experimental Study**

In order to answer the questions posed in the previous section, we carried out two acceptability judgment tasks (Ionin & Zyzik, 2014), that targeted Question 1 and Question 2 respectively. The experiments are described in detail below.<sup>6</sup>

### **2.1 Experiment 1**

Experiment 1 was designed to target Question 1: Are polydefinites subject to a restrictive-adjective constraint? We added the syntactic position of the DP, namely subject versus object, as an extra factor that we suspected might affect the acceptability of polydefiniteness.

#### **2.1.1 Method**

Experiment 1 was an acceptability judgment task. Participants were presented with a number of small texts, each of which consisted of a context sentence and a test sentence. We asked participants to rate the naturalness of the test sentence as a follow-up to its respective context. The survey was administered via SurveyGizmo and the participants were recruited via Facebook and other social media platforms.

#### **2.1.2 Participants**

A total of 97 participants (40 male, 57 female; mean age 29.21 years, SD = 7.78), all native speakers of Greek, took part in Experiment 1.

#### **2.1.3 Materials**

For the materials of Experiment 1, we used five restrictive adjectives and five non-restrictive adjectives. Each adjective appeared as part of both a subject and an object DP. This alternation was accompanied by more general changes in the sentence, that guaranteed coherence. Lastly, each test DP appeared both in the monodefiniteness and the polydefiniteness condition. This combination of the Restrictiveness condition (Restrictive, Non-restrictive) with the Order (Subject, Object) and Definiteness (Monodefinitive, Polydefinitive) conditions generated a total of 40 experimental items (see the Appendix for the full list of items).

The following instructions were given to participants: "For the present study, we ask you to read 40 small spoken speech fragments, each of which is divided into two parts. At the end of every fragment, a scale from 0 to 100 will appear on your screen. We ask you to use that scale to rate how natural the second fragment sounds to you as a follow-up to the first one (0 = not natural at all, 100 = absolutely natural)."

All participants rated all of the items, producing 40 ratings each. A total of 3,880 responses (97 participants × 40 test items) were statistically analyzed.

#### **2.1.4 Procedure**

Participants completed Experiment 1 using their own computers. After reading the instructions, they had to fill in a brief sociolinguistic questionnaire (date of birth, gender, level of education,

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<sup>6</sup> This study was carried out following the regulations of the UAB's Ethics Committee on Animal and Human Experimentation under the approved experimental protocol CEEAH – 4442.

place of residence during childhood, current place of residence, affiliation with linguistics or philological studies, competence level in Greek and knowledge of other languages—see the Appendix). Once this questionnaire was completed, a reminder appeared that participants had to rate all of the items. After that, the task started. Different randomized versions of the 40 experimental items were generated and shown to participants. Each item consisted of a context, which appeared in square brackets, the test sentence and a rating scale. Two experimental items, translated into English, are given below.

- (11) [Maria has two sons.] The son the old plays football.  
 (12) [People are in shock.] The president the former asked for new elections.



The average duration of the full experiment was 13 minutes 23 seconds.

### 2.1.5 Results

Figure 1 shows the results to Experiment 1 as a function of Definiteness (Monodfinite, Polydefinite), Restrictiveness (Restrictive, Non-restrictive), and Order (Subject, Object). Each bar represents the mean acceptability rating, which is also displayed numerically, and error bars display the confidence interval at 95%. In addition, a set of dotted-contour violin plots show the underlying distribution of the data and the location of the median value.

The two levels of Definiteness are distinguished in the two subplots, which show that responses to monodfinite conditions received higher ratings overall. Restrictiveness conditions are shown in the abscissa ( $x$  axis), showing that restrictive uses are preferred to non-restrictive ones, especially with polydefinite constructions. Finally, the difference concerning Order appears with different bar colors, showing that DPs in subject position would somehow be preferred over those appearing in object position, especially in combination with restrictive adjectives. All in all, the violin distributions show a great agreement among responses when rating monodfinite constructions, while a large variability is found when rating polydefinites, especially in the restrictive condition.

A linear mixed-effects regression was run using the *glmmTMB* package in R. Model selection was performed by comparing different random-effects structures (that included multiple possibilities of random slopes for Subject and a random intercept for Item), and further comparing successful models using the *performance* package. Finally, the significance of fixed effects was obtained by applying likelihood-ratio tests using the *car* package, which are further described by applying pairwise contrasts and Cohen's  $d$  effect sizes using the *emmeans* package.

The model for Experiment 1 included Definiteness (Monodfinite, Polydefinite), Restrictiveness (Restrictive, Non-restrictive), Order (Subject, Object), and all their possible interactions as fixed effects. In the random-effects structure, the model displaying the best fit included a random slope for both Definiteness and Restrictiveness nested by Subject, plus a random intercept for Item.

The three main effects (Definiteness, Restrictiveness, Order) and two paired interactions (Definiteness  $\times$  Restrictiveness, Order  $\times$  Restrictiveness) were found to be significant. The main effect of Definiteness,  $\chi^2(1) = 210.763$ ,  $p < .001$ , indicates that monodfinite structures were preferred over polydefinite structures ( $d = 1.93$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The main effect of Restrictiveness,  $\chi^2(1) = 9.890$ ,  $p = .002$ , shows that restrictive uses were preferred over non-restrictive ones ( $d = 0.44$ ,  $p = .002$ ). The main effect of Order,  $\chi^2(1) = 24.904$ ,  $p < .001$ , indicates that DPs in subject position were preferred over DPs in object position ( $d = 0.16$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

The interaction Definiteness  $\times$  Restrictiveness,  $\chi^2(1) = 155.967$ ,  $p < .001$ , can be read as



such that the preference for restrictive vs. non-restrictive uses was found to be significant for polydefinite structures ( $d = 0.84$ ,  $p < .001$ ), but not for monodefinitive structures ( $d = 0.04$ ,  $p = .795$ ). At the same time, the preference for monodefinitive structures over polydefinite ones is found to be greater for non-restrictive adjectives ( $d = 2.33$ ) than for restrictive ones ( $d = 1.53$ ), although still significant in both cases (both  $p < .001$ ).

The interaction Order  $\times$  Restrictiveness,  $\chi^2(1) = 18.637$ ,  $p < .001$ , can be read as such that the preference for DPs in subject vs. object position was found to be significant in restrictive contexts ( $d = 0.30$ ,  $p < .001$ ), but not in non-restrictive contexts ( $d = 0.02$ ,  $p = .634$ ). At the same time, the preference for restrictive contexts over non-restrictive ones is found to be greater when analyzing DPs in subject position ( $d = 0.58$ ,  $p < .001$ ) than in object position ( $d = 0.30$ ,  $p = .036$ ).

All in all, the results of Experiment 1 describe a main effect of Definiteness overall, with monodefinites being more accepted than polydefinites, and smaller overall effects for Restrictiveness and Order, which are further understood by looking at the significant interactions. Restrictiveness would thus play a secondary role, being active especially in polydefinite constructions. Finally, a preference for DPs in subject position over those in object position would correlate with the presence of restrictive adjectives (independently of using monodefinitive or polydefinite constructions), but not with the presence of non-restrictive adjectives.

## 2.2 Experiment 2

Experiment 2 aimed at gathering information concerning Question 2, namely whether Greek polydefinites are exclusively informal-register structural variants. We further introduced the type of the noun of the polydefinite DP as an extra factor that could affect acceptability: half of the test DPs contained proper names and the other half involved common nouns.

### 2.2.1 Method

Experiment 2 was an acceptability judgment task as well. We presented participants with a number of small texts that had exactly the same structure as the ones used for Experiment 1 (see Section 2.1.1). This second experiment was also administered through SurveyGizmo and the participants were recruited via Facebook and other social media platforms.

### 2.2.2 Participants

A total of 99 native speakers of Greek (34 male, 65 female; mean age 28.99 years, SD = 9.62) participated in Experiment 2.

### 2.2.3 Materials

For Experiment 2, we used five proper names and five common nouns. Each noun appeared in a DP embedded in one formal and one informal context. We controlled for the (in)formality of the context by manipulating grammatical person and the scholarly versus folksy origin of the vocabulary (Fliatouras & Anastasiadi-Simeonidou, 2019). Finally, each test DP appeared both in its monodefinitive and its polydefinitive form. The combinations of the Definiteness condition (Monodefinitive, Polydefinitive) with the Formality (Formal, Informal) and Properness (Common, Proper) conditions gave rise to a total of 40 experimental items (see the Appendix).

The instructions given to participants were the same as the ones given for Experiment 1 (see Section 2.1.3). All participants rated all the items, producing 40 ratings each. A total of 3,960 responses (99 participants  $\times$  40 test items) were statistically analyzed.

### 2.2.4 Procedure

The procedure of Experiment 2 was identical to the one of Experiment 1 and the test items were

presented to the participants in the same way (see Section 2.1.4). Two experimental items, translated into English, are given below.

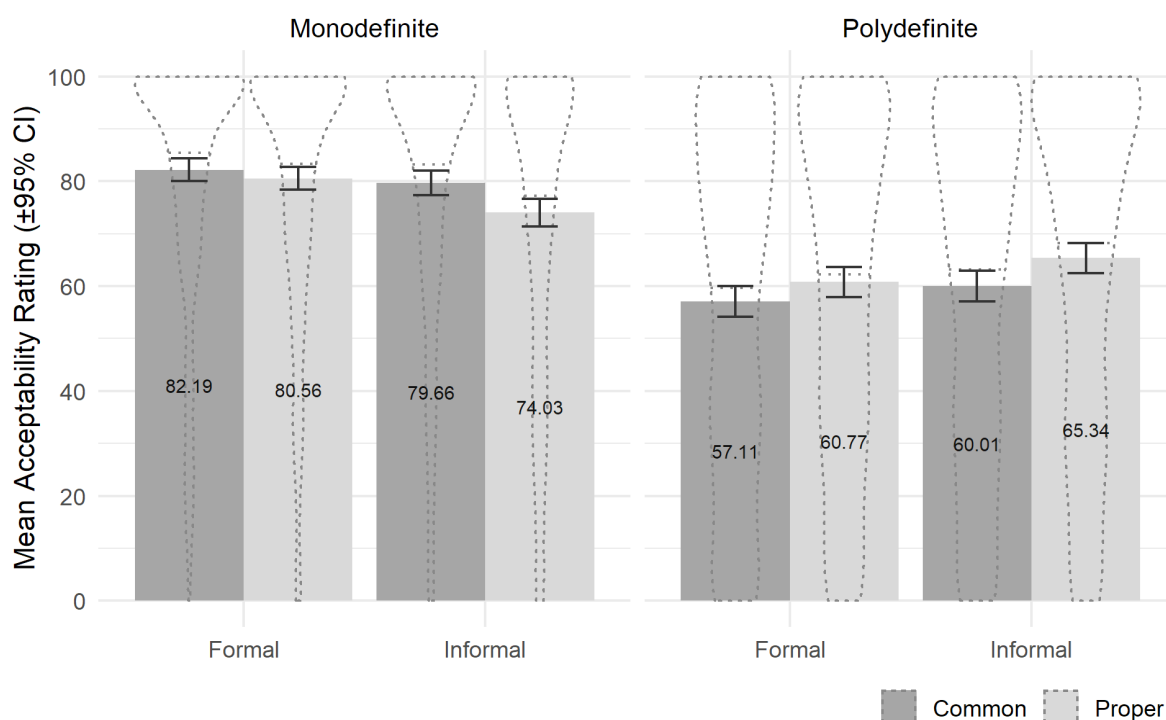
- (13) [I am very close to high rank politicians.] The Kostas the Simitis is married to my first cousin.
- (14) [In today's show we will talk about important politicians.] The Kostas the Simitis changed the history of Greece.<sup>7</sup>



The average duration of the full experiment was 14 minutes 3 seconds.

## 2.2.5 Results

Figure 2 shows the results to Experiment 2 as a function of Definiteness (Monodfinite, Polydefinite), Fomality (Formal, Informal), and Properness (Common noun, Proper name). The two levels of Definiteness appear in the left and right subplots respectively, showing again that monodfinite conditions received higher ratings overall. Formality conditions are shown in the abscissa (x axis), showing that monodfinites are better evaluated in formal contexts than in informal ones, while the opposite result is obtained regarding polydefinites, suggesting a preference for informal contexts. The difference concerning Properness appears with different bar colors, showing that monodfinites are better evaluated when involving common nouns, while the opposite holds for polydefinites, showing a preference for proper names. Finally, the violin distributions show again a great agreement among responses when rating monodfinite constructions, while a large variability is found when rating any kind of polydefinites.



**Figure 2.** Experiment 2 Results: Definiteness × Formality × Properness

<sup>7</sup> Example (13) involves a polydefinite DP embedded in an informal context and example (14) involves the same polydefinite DP in a formal context. If the register asymmetry is not clear enough in the English translations, see the Appendix.

A linear mixed-effects regression was run for Experiment 2 results, using the same analytical procedures described for Experiment 1 (Section 2.1.5).

The model for Experiment 2 included Definiteness (Monodefinitive, Polydefinitive), Formality (Formal, Informal), Properness (Common, Proper), and all their possible interactions as fixed effects. In the random-effects structure, the model displaying the best fit included a random slope for both Definiteness and Formality nested by Subject, plus a crossed random slope for Properness by Subject, plus a random intercept for Item.

One main effect (Definiteness) and two paired interactions (Definiteness  $\times$  Formality, Definiteness  $\times$  Properness) were found to be significant. As in Experiment 1, the main effect of Definiteness,  $\chi^2(1) = 57.111$ ,  $p < .001$ , indicates that monodefinitive structures were preferred over polydefinitive structures ( $d = 0.78$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

The interaction Definiteness  $\times$  Formality,  $\chi^2(1) = 30.658$ ,  $p < .001$ , can be read as such that monodefinitive structures are judged better in formal contexts than in informal ones ( $d = 0.19$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and that polydefinitive structures display the opposite behavior, being preferred in informal contexts than in formal ones ( $d = 0.16$ ,  $p = .002$ ). At the same time, the preference for monodefinitive structures over polydefinitive ones is found to be greater in formal contexts ( $d = 0.96$ ,  $p < .001$ ) than in informal ones ( $d = 0.60$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

The interaction Definiteness  $\times$  Properness,  $\chi^2(1) = 29.717$ ,  $p < .001$ , indicates that the preference for monodefinites over polydefinites is greater when using common nouns ( $d = 0.95$ ,  $p < .001$ ) than when using proper names ( $d = 0.61$ ,  $p < .001$ ). If we focus on monodefinites, common nouns tend to be more accepted than proper names ( $d = 0.15$ ,  $p = .140$ ), whereas with polydefinites, proper names tend to be more accepted than common nouns ( $d = 0.19$ ,  $p = .068$ ); nevertheless, these differences of Properness, although they display opposite trends for each level of Definiteness, have not been found to be significant.

All in all, the results of Experiment 2 describe, again, a main effect of Definiteness overall, with monodefinites being more accepted than polydefinites. Moreover, whereas monodefinites are evaluated better when appearing in formal contexts, polydefinites are preferred in informal contexts. Finally, the results from the interaction between Definiteness and Properness would indicate a trend to prefer polydefinitive structures with proper nouns.

### 3 Discussion

The results of these experimental studies are, generally speaking, in accordance with the previous literature on the topic. First, the robust preference for monodefinitive structures over polydefinitive ones that was found in both experiments was expected, given that polydefiniteness is underrepresented in Greek grammars and is traditionally/prescriptively considered as a marginal phenomenon. Second, the confirmation of the restrictive-adjective constraint to which polydefinites are subject came as an argument favoring the multiply expressed thesis that polydefiniteness is related to restrictive modification. Third, the insight of Mackridge (1985) about the colloquial status of polydefinitive proper name DPs, generalized to all polydefinitive DPs in Manolessou (2000), also found empirical support in our study.

The question that needs to be addressed next is exactly how the answers we obtained to questions Q1 and Q2 can be translated into information on the speakers' linguistic competence regarding Greek polydefiniteness. Although the adequacy of acceptability tasks for settling issues of grammaticality is still debated (Sprouse, 2007), we take our results to be indicative of certain generalizations. To begin with, restrictively modified polydefinites received a mean acceptability rating of around 50%. This indicates that, no matter how substandard a structure it is considered, polydefiniteness is indeed part of the native Greek speakers' grammar. Moreover, restrictively modified polydefinites were rated significantly higher than their non-restrictively modified counterparts. This suggests that polydefiniteness is represented in most speakers' grammar as a restrictive modification structural variant. In the present paper, we make

no claim about the grammatical status of polydefinites including non-restrictive adjectives.<sup>8</sup> Lastly, a significant difference was found between polydefinites embedded in informal contexts and polydefinites embedded in formal ones. However, this difference was not as robust as the one involving (non-)restrictiveness. We interpret this finding as evidence that, while the restrictiveness constraint corresponds to a grammatical property of Greek polydefiniteness, the informal-register constraint is a felicity condition regulating the correct use of utterances including polydefinite DPs. The analysis of polydefiniteness we provide in this last section is meant to illustrate this insight.

Before we move on, we remind the reader that our results further revealed some unexpected interactions. Subjects were judged better than objects, restrictively modified subjects received significantly higher rankings than restrictively modified objects, and proper names showed a tendency to be realized as polydefinite DPs. However interesting, these findings will not be discussed any further, because they are not directly associated with our research questions Q1 and Q2 and, thus, lie beyond the scope of the present paper.

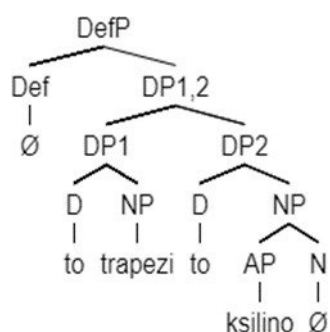
### 3.1 Syntactic Analysis: The Restrictive-Adjective Constraint

In Experiment 1, polydefinite DPs involving restrictive modifiers received a mean acceptability rating of about 50%, while their non-restrictively modified equivalents were on average rated close to 30%. This was interpreted as a confirmation of the restrictive-adjective constraint, repeated several times in the literature on polydefiniteness (Kolliakou, 1995; Alexiadou & Wilder, 1998; Campos & Stavrou, 2004; Lekakou & Szendrői, 2012). In what follows, two of the most influential analyses of polydefiniteness as a restrictive modification structure are critically presented.<sup>9</sup> The discussion leads to the formulation of a third alternative which, we argue, does not face the theoretical shortcomings of its predecessors.

#### 3.1.1 Polydefinites as Appositions

Let us start with the first alternative. Lekakou & Szendrői (2012) analyze Greek polydefinites as a case of apposition involving nominal ellipsis. For the polydefinite DP *to trapezi to ksilino*, lit. the table the wooden, from example (1d), they would propose a structure like the following:

#### Structure 1. Polydefinites as Appositions



In their view, every polydefinite DP embeds two lower DPs which enter a sisterhood relation and project the higher DP through referential role identification (à la Higginbotham, 1985).

<sup>8</sup> Previous studies have shown that even structures considered ungrammatical can receive an interpretation and are thus informative on speakers' grammar (Wellwood et al., 2018; Etxeberria et al., 2018, a. o.). We are currently running more experiments in order to gain deeper insight into cases of non-restrictively modified polydefinites in Greek, the existence of which has until now been speculatively considered as instantiation of a different kind of polydefiniteness (Lekakou & Szendrői, 2012) or as the result of interdialectal variation (Alexiadou, 2014).

<sup>9</sup> This part is not meant to provide an exhaustive list of the polydefiniteness analyses put forth in the literature so far. The two accounts presented were chosen on the basis that they fare pretty well with the Greek data. For an overview of the ways in which Greek polydefinites differ from polydefinites of the German, Hebrew or Albanian type, see Alexiadou (2014). See Wintner (2000) for a special reference to definiteness in Hebrew.

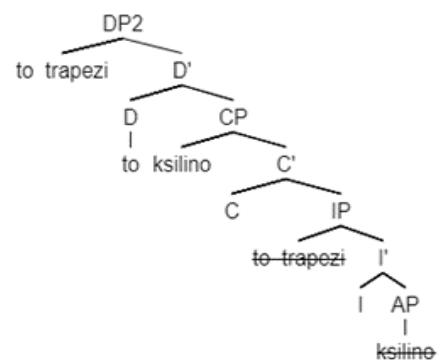
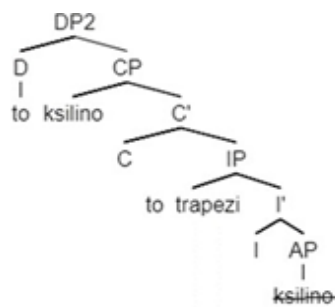
Semantically, this translates into set intersection. The authors further stipulate that for referential role identification to apply, the input of the process should be different from the output (Lekakou & Szendrői, 2012: 19). In our case, this restriction means that the two sister DPs cannot be co-extensive. This is how the restrictive-adjective constraint, to which polydefinites are subject, is accounted for; the set denoted by DP2 restricts the set denoted by DP1. As for the multiple Ds, they are all claimed to be expletive in the sense that they have zero semantic import. It is the higher functional head, namely Definiteness Phrase, that according to Lekakou & Szendrői gives rise to the “definite” interpretation of the complex DP.

Nominal ellipsis accounts are indeed elegant and derive the restrictive-adjective constraint, which we found to be one of the basic properties of polydefiniteness. Another asset they have is that they get the different constituent orderings found in polydefinites for free, since the different DPs are combined through something that could be described as headless merge. However, they also face some theoretical problems. First, the restrictive interpretation of the adjective comes about as a stipulation. This stipulation seems quite motivated, since it builds on widely accepted insights on nominal ellipsis in Greek (Giannakidou & Stavrou, 1999). But, if introducing ellipsis into the account is another stipulation triggered by the need to derive the restrictiveness constraint, then circularity threatens to make the argumentation collapse. Second, the supporters of apposition-like analyses end up obliged to assume a lot of empty (nominal) structure, even for simple definite DPs. Furthermore, the part that they take to be elided can never be overtly realized. This is problematic, unless further stipulations are adopted. These three remarks lead us to the suggestion that, in lack of more compelling evidence, ellipsis-based analyses of Greek polydefinites do not turn out to be fully explanatory. We believe that those accounts that postulate a restrictive relative clause substructure capture the relevant aspect of the phenomenon in a more straightforward way.

### 3.1.2 Polydefinites as Reduced Restrictive Relative Clauses (Alexiadou, 2014)

Alexiadou, in her 2014 monograph, gives one of the most recent and complete analyses of polydefiniteness. Building on Alexiadou & Wilder (1998), she takes the order Article - Adjective - Article - Noun as the basic one for a polydefinite DP and derives it in the way displayed in Structure 2. Structure 3 displays the reverse order which, in her analysis, is obtained by IP movement to the Specifier of the highest DP.

**Structure 2.** Polydefinites as Kaynean Relative Clauses      **Structure 3.** Inverted Polydefinites



Alexiadou views polydefiniteness as a case of indirect modification (Sproat & Shih, 1988) and she, therefore, thinks that polydefinite DPs should be analyzed as involving reduced restrictive relative clauses (Kayne, 1994; Cinque, 2010). However well founded though, her account faces some serious problems. Firstly, the multiple movements she proposes, also illustrated in the structures above, are theoretically costly and do not appear to be well motivated (see also Panagiotidis & Marinis, 2011). Moreover, the suggestion that D receives a whole CP as a complement, although independently argued for in the literature (Kayne, 1994), seems somehow counter-intuitive in the case of polydefiniteness. A modified account of polydefinites as reduced

relative clauses is provided in Section 3.1.3.

### 3.1.3 Resumption and Reduced Restrictive Relative Clauses

We adopt the idea that Greek polydefinites consist of one definite DP and, at least, one reduced (tenseless) restrictive relative clause, and take the basic order to be Article - Noun - Article - Adjective (see also Giusti, 2015).<sup>10</sup> Our major point of departure from previous analyses is the claim that relative clauses of the polydefiniteness type display obligatory resumption. What appears to be an adjectival article is, in our view, a resumptive pronoun generated in an argument position of the embedded relative structure.<sup>11</sup> The examples in (15) illustrate the parallelism between full restrictive relatives and polydefinites as reduced relative clauses.

- (15) a. *to trapezi pu ine ksilino*  
           the table COMP is wooden  
           ‘the table that is wooden’  
       b. *to trapezi to ksilino*  
           the table the wooden  
           ‘the wooden table’

In standard restrictive relatives, resumption applies whenever the  $\phi$ -features of the argument of the embedded relative clause are not recoverable (Alexopoulou, 2006). This cannot be the case for polydefinites, as the  $\phi$ -features of the only argument of the reduced relative are all visible on the predicate (adjectives in Greek display number, gender and case marking). We claim that the feature that is not recoverable in the polydefinite relative clause structure and triggers resumption is definiteness. Here, we take definiteness as a formal feature, without committing to a single interpretation unifying the set of its occurrences, in the spirit of Lyons (1999).

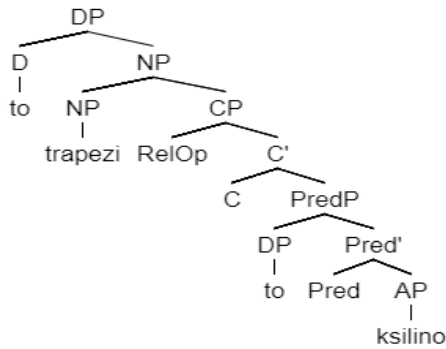
Drawing a parallel between resumed full restrictive relatives and polydefiniteness, we adjust Alexopoulou’s (2006) analysis of restrictives to polydefinites. The embedded relative of polydefinite DPs is introduced by a null relative C that has a null relative operator in its specifier. Being null, the operator cannot satisfy any of the Complementizer’s agreeing features. Therefore, C enters an Agree relation with the clitic that is merged in an argument position of the embedded predication. It has already been independently argued for that Greek relative Cs bear nominal features, namely  $\phi$ -features and definiteness (Roussou, 1994).

If the clitic agreeing with the relative C were indefinite, it would consist merely of  $\phi$ -features and the derivation would converge even with zero realization of the clitic, since all the features targeted by C would be recoverable from the predicate.<sup>12</sup> However, in the case of polydefinites, the clitic bears a positively valued interpretable definiteness feature [Def] too, that it has adopted via coindexation with the highest D. This feature is also targeted by C, but it is not recoverable from the embedded predicate because Greek adjectives are not morphologically marked for definiteness. Therefore, resumption applies as a last resort strategy and a non-null clitic emerges. This non-null clitic is morphophonologically identical to the definite article because the two linguistic objects have the same featural make-up: {[Def], [Number], [Case], [Gender]}. Besides, this parallelism was noted for Greek as early as Anagnostopoulou (1994). In Structure 4 that follows we demonstrate our proposal for the derivation of the polydefinite DP *to trapezi to ksilino*.

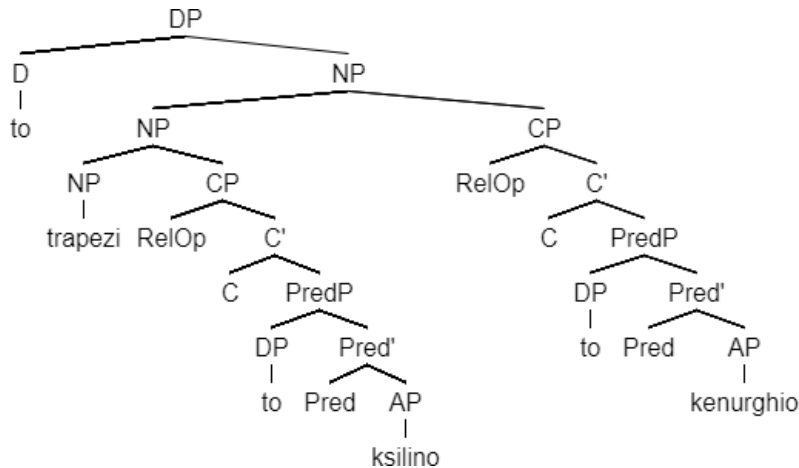
<sup>10</sup> As Giusti (2015) notes, in the place of the adjective there can also appear a participle. For the purposes of the present paper, we do not treat these two cases as separate.

<sup>11</sup> See Giusti (2015) for the suggestion that the adjectival article of Greek polydefinites is the equivalent of PRO.

<sup>12</sup> This is the analysis we would suggest for Alexiadou’s *indefiniteness spreading* (See Footnote 5). It is worth noting that indefinite clitics in Greek have been independently argued to have zero realization (Panagiotidis, 2002).

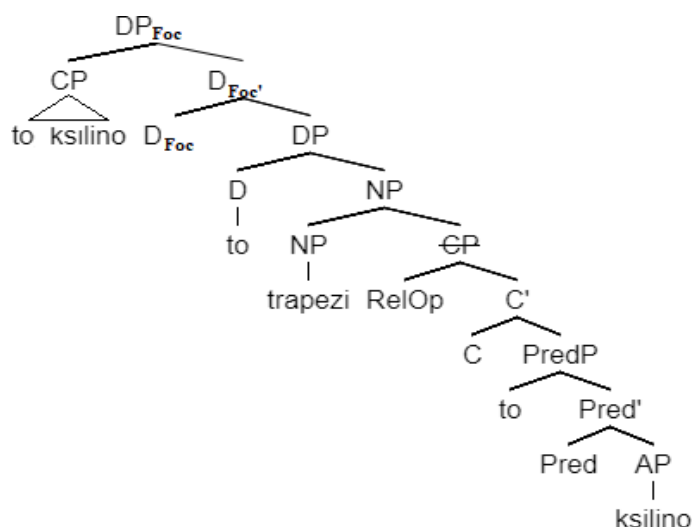
**Structure 4.** Polydefinites as Resumed Reduced Restrictive Relative Clauses

Our analysis can also account for polydefinite DPs that display more than one articulated modifiers or a constituent order different than the one we took as basic in the present section (see Section 1.1). In the first case, we claim that multiple CP-adjunction takes place. In Structure 5, we schematically represent the derivation of the DP *to trapezi to ksilino to kenurghio*, lit. the table the wooden the new.

**Structure 5.** Multiply Modified Polydefinites

As for the reverse constituent order, we assume a left periphery of the highest DP elaborate enough to host a Focus projection (Aboh et al., 2010). We derive inverted polydefinites via CP-movement to the specifier of a  $DP_{Foc}$ , triggered by a strong  $[Foc^*]$  feature on  $D_{Foc}^0$ . An example of focus-movement is given in Structure 6.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See also Campos & Stavrou (2004).

**Structure 6.** Inverted Polydefinites

The present structural proposal, just like its predecessors, predicts that Greek polydefinites are subject to the restrictive-adjective constraint. However, it also has some significant advantages over the existing analyses on the topic. First, it solves the polydefiniteness puzzle implementing a structure that has already been suggested for other phenomena, to which polydefiniteness bears noticeable similarities (namely restrictive relative clauses). Second, it readily accounts for the obligatory identity of reference of the two or more articles that appear in a polydefinite DP via a standard relative clause configuration, without resorting to nominal ellipsis or introducing further stipulations. Specifically, being analyzed as resumptive clitics the adjectival articles of Greek polydefinites are similar to traces of the relativized head. The pronominal article fixes the reference of the whole DP and referentially binds the clitics, which are interpreted as bound anaphoras. Finally, by implementing a resumption mechanism, our analysis brings polydefiniteness close to (certain analyses of) Clitic Doubling, the parallel to which has already been stressed in the literature (Tsakali, 2008).<sup>14</sup>

In this section we have presented a detailed proposal about how a Greek polydefinite DP is syntactically derived. Our analysis is based on what could be described as *definiteness spreading* within a restrictive modification construction. However, restrictive modifiers are not exclusive to polydefiniteness in Greek. Adjectives that are parts of simple definite DPs can also be restrictively interpreted. This alone suggests that the restrictive-adjective constraint is not all there is behind polydefiniteness. In the following section we probe deeper into the interpretation of polydefinites and attempt to derive what we take to be their identifying property: the informal-register constraint.

### 3.2 Semantic-Pragmatic Analysis: The Informal-Register Constraint

The results of Experiment 2 empirically confirmed the idea which is present in the literature, although somehow understated, that polydefiniteness usually arises in informal conversational events (Manolessou, 2000). We take this finding as crucial for distinguishing polydefinite DPs from their monodefinitive counterparts and sketch an analysis that is meant to account for the property the former show.

In contrast with what we saw regarding the restrictiveness constraint, we know of no previous attempts to formally capture the informal-register constraint of Greek polydefinites. This could be explained if this constraint is interpreted as merely suggesting that polydefinite DPs are the lower register equivalents of monodefinites. However, this would predict a much

<sup>14</sup> Another advantage of our proposal is that it predicts the so-called *indefiniteness spreading*, which is indeed found in Greek, as was mentioned above.



wider distribution of the former than attested in everyday conversations and implied by the acceptability scores we obtained. Therefore, we prefer a different take on the matter.

As already mentioned, we consider the obtained preference for polydefinites in informal contexts over polydefinites in formal contexts as the result of a felicity condition that regulates the use of Greek polydefiniteness. Bearing in mind this and the syntactic derivation we proposed in Section 3.1.3, we suggest that the informality constraint be related to the CP-layer of the polydefinite reduced relative clause.<sup>15</sup>

Specifically, we propose that polydefinite DPs convey familiarity of the speaker, in the sense of Christophersen (1939), not only with the DP-referent—this is also conveyed by simple definites –, but also with the addressee. Put in more technical terms, our idea is that the presence of a polydefinite DP in an utterance reveals the performance of two speech acts: an assertive speech act (in the case of declarative sentences) and an additional, expressive speech act through which the speaker expresses their social / emotional proximity / familiarity with the addressee. The locus of the assertion is a first splitted CP whereas the expressive act is tied to a second splitted CP projected by the null Complementizer introducing the reduced restrictive relative clause.<sup>16</sup>

In order to flesh out the details of our speculative analysis of Greek polydefinites as triggers of expressive speech acts, we use a Commitment-Oriented Semantics framework, as the one developed in Cohen & Krifka (2011) and Krifka (2017, 2019a), and assume a highest sentential left periphery that consists of at least three layers: a Speech Act Phrase (ActP), that is related to the type of the performed act, a Commitment Phrase (ComP), that instantiates the public commitment of a speech participant to the truth of a proposition, and a Judgment Phrase (JP), that corresponds to a private judgment about the truth of that proposition. Let us illustrate our proposal using example (1d), repeated here as (16) for ease of reference.

- (16) *To trapezi to ksilino espase.*  
 the table the wooden broke  
 ‘The wooden table broke.’

If  $S_1$  is the speaker and  $S_2$  is the addressee, then the speech act effect of the utterance of (16) can be represented as (17). Note that here we only show the structure of the two relevant CPs, for ease of exposition.

- (17) [<sub>ActP</sub>[<sub>Act</sub> ASSERT][<sub>ComP</sub> [<sub>Com</sub>  $\vdash$ ]S1[<sub>JP</sub> [<sub>J</sub> J-]S1 [<sub>TP</sub> to trapezi to ksilino espase<sub>i</sub>]S1,S2]]] & [<sub>ActP</sub>[<sub>Act</sub> EXPRESS][<sub>ComP</sub> [<sub>Com</sub>  $\vdash$ ]S1[<sub>JP</sub> [<sub>J</sub> INFER: FAM]S2 [<sub>TP</sub> ~~to trapezi to ksilino espase<sub>i</sub>~~]S1,S2]]]

Put into words, (17) means that the utterance of (16) triggers the performance of a double speech act (cf Krifka, 2019b). One is an assertion through which the speaker publicly commits to the truth of his/her own private judgment that the wooden table broke and, if the addressee does not object, this proposition is added to the speaker and hearer’s Common Ground (Krifka, 2019a). The other act is an expressive speech act by which the speaker publicly commits to the existence of enough evidence for the addressee to infer that the speaker is familiar with him/her when

<sup>15</sup> We acknowledge that the results of Experiment 2 are not enough to sufficiently motivate the analysis presented here. At this point, our account of the informal-register constraint is a speculative solution to the polydefiniteness puzzle, which is however further supported by work in progress.

<sup>16</sup> See Beaver (2020) for the idea that a relative CP can be the locus of speech acts. Relating polydefiniteness to expressivity brings back the issue of the apposition-like analyses of the phenomenon, since appositions in general (Potts, 2004) and Greek appositions in particular (Chatzikyriakidis, 2015) have been linked to expressivity as well. A detailed discussion would take us too far afield. For the purposes of the present paper, suffice it to say that the expressivity of such appositions does not stem from the *spreading* of the determiner but from the semantics of the modifying predicate.

- (3) *o dhimarxos i apati*  
 the mayor the fraud  
 ‘that fraud of a mayor’

uttering (16). In this second case, the addressee cannot impede the incorporation of the speaker to addressee familiarity in the Common Ground. He/She can only react and ask to reestablish the social/emotional relationship between the interlocutors.

If our analysis is on the right track, then Greek polydefinites are similar to their monodefinitive counterparts in that both instantiate restrictive modification constructions. They differ at the level of interpretation of the whole utterance in that only the former additionally trigger a speech act expressing the speaker's familiarity with the addressee.

## 4 Conclusions

The study presented in this article is, to our knowledge, the first one to offer quantitative data regarding the distribution and interpretation of polydefiniteness in Modern Greek. Using two acceptability judgment tasks, we confirmed that Greek polydefinites are subject to a restrictive-adjective constraint and an informal-register constraint. To account for the first, we adopted a reduced restrictive relative clause analysis that is similar in spirit to the proposal by Alexiadou (2014), but it introduces the novelty of combining a relative clause substructure with the requirement that [Def] features on the highest D, C and the lowest D must match in value. To explain the second, we suggested that polydefinite DPs be analyzed as triggers of an expressive speech act, through which the speaker expresses their emotional or social proximity to the addressee.

Turning back to the contrast between the monodefinitive *to ksilino trapezi* and the polydefinites *to ksilino to trapezi* and *to trapezi to ksilino* (1a, c, d), we conclude that—despite the overall preference for monodefinites—polydefinites introduce a resumed restrictive relative clause that is absent in monodefinites, and furthermore that polydefinites are used when the addressee is expected to infer a familiarity relationship with the speaker. Although further research is needed to solidify this claim, we suspect that it is this latter constraint that clearly distinguishes polydefinite DPs from their monodefinitive counterparts at the level of interpretation.

## Acknowledgments

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## Appendix

### A. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire, with English Translation

- 1) Ημερομηνία γέννησης Date of birth
- 2) Φύλο (άνδρας, γυναίκα) Gender (male, female)
- 3) Εκπαίδευση (πρωτοβάθμια, δευτεροβάθμια, τριτοβάθμια, κάτοχος μεταπτυχιακού τίτλου, κάτοχος διδακτορικού τίτλου) Education (primary school, high school, bachelor's degree, master's degree, PhD degree)
- 4) Τόπος διαμονής κατά το μεγαλύτερο μέρος της παιδικής ηλικίας Place of residence during the major part of childhood
- 5) Τόπος μόνιμης κατοικίας Place of permanent residence
- 6) Είσαι απόφοιτος-η ή φοιτητής-τρια γλωσσολογίας ή σχετικού τμήματος; (ναι, όχι) Are you a graduate or undergraduate student of linguistics or other relevant discipline? (yes, no)
- 7) Είναι η ελληνική η μητρική σου γλώσσα; (ναι, όχι) Is Greek your native language? (yes, no)
- 8) Σημείωσε άλλες γλώσσες που κατέχεις σε ικανοποιητικό επίπεδο List other languages in which you are proficient

### B. Materials used in Experiment 1, with English Translations

#### B.1 Restrictive adjective—Monodefinitive DP—Subject

- 1) Η Μαρία έχει δύο γιους. Ο μεγάλος γιος παίζει ποδόσφαιρο επαγγελματικά.  
Maria has two sons. The old son plays football professionally.
- 2) Ο Γιώργος αγόρασε προχθές δύο καινούργια τραπέζια. Το μακρόστενο τραπέζι έπιασε όλη την τραπεζαρία.  
George bought two new tables the day before yesterday. The long table covered the whole dining room.
- 3) Η Κωνσταντίνα έχει τέσσερις γάτες στο σπίτι. Η χοντρή γάτα συνέχεια τρώει το φαγητό των υπολοίπων.  
Konstantina has four cats at home. The fat cat is always eating the food of the others.
- 4) Σε αυτή την πολυκατοικία έχουμε τους χειρότερους γείτονες. Ο ενοχλητικός παππούς έκανε πάλι παράπονα.  
In this block of flats we have the worst neighbors. The annoying old man complained again.
- 5) Επιτέλους τελείωσε κι αυτή η εξέταση! Το τελευταίο ερώτημα δυσκόλεψε τους περισσότερους.  
Finally, the exam is over! The last question troubled most of the students.

#### B.2 Restrictive adjective—Polydefinitive DP—Subject

- 6) Η Μαρία έχει δύο γιους. Ο γιος ο μεγάλος παίζει ποδόσφαιρο επαγγελματικά.  
Maria has two sons. The son the old plays football professionally.
- 7) Ο Γιώργος αγόρασε προχθές δύο καινούργια τραπέζια. Το τραπέζι το μακρόστενο έπιασε όλη την τραπεζαρία.  
George bought two new tables the day before yesterday. The table the long covered the whole dining room.
- 8) Η Κωνσταντίνα έχει τέσσερις γάτες στο σπίτι. Η γάτα η χοντρή συνέχεια τρώει το φαγητό των υπολοίπων.  
Konstantina has four cats at home. The cat the fat is always eating the food of the others.
- 9) Σε αυτή την πολυκατοικία έχουμε τους χειρότερους γείτονες. Ο παππούς ο ενοχλητικός έκανε πάλι παράπονα.  
In this block of flats we have the worst neighbors. The old man the annoying complained again.
- 10) Επιτέλους τελείωσε κι αυτή η εξέταση! Το ερώτημα το τελευταίο δυσκόλεψε τους περισσότερους.  
Finally, the exam is over! The question the last troubled most of the students.

#### B.3 Restrictive adjective—Monodefinitive DP—Object

- (11) Ο Γιάννης πέταξε κάτι κόκαλα στον κάδο. Ο σκύλος της γειτονιάς απόλαυσε ιδιαίτερα τα μεγάλα κόκαλα.  
John threw some bones at the bin. The dog of the neighborhood enjoyed especially the big bones.
- (12) Τα παιδιά μοιράστηκαν τα έπιπλα από το παλιό σπίτι της γιαγιάς. Η Σοφία πήρε τον μακρόστενο καναπέ.  
The kids shared the furniture from grandma's old house. Sofia took the long sofa.
- (13) Η Κική αποφάσισε να μαζέψει τα χειμωνιάτικα. Ωστόσο, η μικρή κράτησε τη χοντρή κουβέρτα γιατί κρύωνε.  
Kiki decided to pack the winter clothes. However, her daughter kept the thick blanket because she was cold.
- (14) Εγώ δεν έχω πρόβλημα με τα έντομα. Και η Μαρία σκοτώνει μόνο τα ενοχλητικά ζώφια.  
I have no problem with insects. And Maria only kills the annoying bugs.

- (15) Το γλυκό θα έβγαινε τέλειο. Όμως ο Τάσος ξέχασε να προσθέσει το τελευταίο υλικό.  
The dessert would be perfect. But Tasos forgot to add the last ingredient.

**B4 Restrictive adjective—Polydefinite DP—Object**

- (16) Ο Γιάννης πέταξε κάτι κόκαλα στον κάδο. Ο σκύλος της γειτονιάς απόλαυσε ιδιαίτερα τα κόκαλα τα μεγάλα.  
John threw some bones at the bin. The dog of the neighborhood enjoyed especially the bones the big.
- (17) Τα παιδιά μοιράστηκαν τα έπιπλα από το παλιό σπίτι της γιαγιάς. Η Σοφία πήρε τον καναπέ τον μακρόστενο.  
The kids shared the furniture from grandma's old house. Sofia took the sofa the long.
- (18) Η Κική αποφάσισε να μαζέψει τα χειμωνιάτικα. Ωστόσο, η μικρή κράτησε την κουβέρτα τη χοντρή γιατί κρύωνε.  
Kiki decided to pack the winter clothes. However, her daughter kept the blanket the thick because she was cold.
- (19) Εγώ δεν έχω πρόβλημα με τα έντομα. Και η Μαρία σκοτώνει μόνο τα ζούφια τα ενοχλητικά.  
I have no problem with insects. And Maria only kills the bugs the annoying.
- (20) Το γλυκό θα έβγαινε τέλειο. Όμως ο Τάσος ξέχασε να προσθέσει το υλικό το τελευταίο.  
The dessert would be perfect. But Tasos forgot to add the ingredient the last.

**B5 Non-restrictive adjective—Monodefinitive DP—Subject**

- (21) Άκουσες για τη ληστεία που έγινε χθες στην τράπεζα; Ο φερόμενος ληστής τραυμάτισε έναν περαστικό.  
Did you hear about the bank robbery that happened yesterday? The alleged thief injured a passer-by.
- (22) Χθες πήγαμε με την Κατερίνα να δούμε ένα καινούργιο ντοκιμαντέρ για τη Νέα Ζηλανδία. Τα μαγευτικά τοπία ξετρέλαναν τους θεατές.  
Yesterday, we went with Katerina to watch a documentary about New Zealand. The magical scenery amazed the audience.
- (23) Διάβασα για την άγρια δολοφονία στο Μαρούσι και μου σηκώθηκε η τρίχα! Ο υποτιθέμενος δράστης χρησιμοποίησε κυνηγετικό όπλο.  
I read about the wild murder in Marousi and my hair stood on end! The supposed murderer used a hunting gun.
- (24) Ο Κώστας μου έλεγε τις προάλλες για τη διατριβή του. Η ελληνική επανάσταση άλλαξε το πολιτικό σκηνικό σε όλα τα Βαλκάνια.  
Kostas was telling me about his dissertation the other day. The Greek revolution changed the political scenery in the whole Balkan area.
- (25) Ο κόσμος είναι σε κατάσταση σοκ! Ο πρώην πρωθυπουργός ζήτησε επαναληπτικές εκλογές γιατί υποψιάζεται νοθεία.  
People are in shock. The former prime minister asked for the repetition of the elections because he suspects fraud.

**B6 Non-restrictive adjective—Polydefinitive DP—Subject**

- (26) Άκουσες για τη ληστεία που έγινε χθες στην τράπεζα; Ο ληστής ο φερόμενος τραυμάτισε έναν περαστικό.  
Did you hear about the bank robbery that happened yesterday? The thief the alleged injured a passer-by.
- (27) Χθες πήγαμε με την Κατερίνα να δούμε ένα καινούργιο ντοκιμαντέρ για τη Νέα Ζηλανδία. Τα τοπία τα μαγευτικά ξετρέλαναν τους θεατές.  
Yesterday, we went with Katerina to watch a documentary about New Zealand. The scenery the magical amazed the audience.
- (28) Διάβασα για την άγρια δολοφονία στο Μαρούσι και μου σηκώθηκε η τρίχα! Ο δράστης ο υποτιθέμενος χρησιμοποίησε κυνηγετικό όπλο.  
I read about the wild murder in Marousi and my hair stood on end! The murderer the supposed used a hunting gun.
- (29) Ο Κώστας μου έλεγε τις προάλλες για τη διατριβή του. Η επανάσταση η ελληνική άλλαξε το πολιτικό σκηνικό σε όλα τα Βαλκάνια.  
Kostas was telling me about his dissertation the other day. The revolution the Greek changed the political scenery in the whole Balkan area.

- (30) Ο κόσμος είναι σε κατάσταση σοκ! Ο πρωθυπουργός ο πρώην ζήτησε επαναληπτικές εκλογές γιατί υποψιάζεται νοθεία.  
People are in shock! The prime minister the former asked for the repetition of the elections because he suspects fraud.

**B7 Non-restrictive adjective—Monodefinitive DP—Object**

- (31) Χθες στο σταθμό έγινε χαμός! Ευτυχώς ο σεκιουριτάς έπιασε γρήγορα το φερόμενο ταραξία.  
Yesterday at the station there was chaos. Fortunately, the security guy caught the alleged trouble-maker rapidly.
- (32) Φύγαμε όλοι πολύ περήφανοι από το θέατρο. Ο αδερφός μου σκηνοθέτησε άψογα τη μαγευτική παράσταση.  
We all left the theater very proud. My brother directed perfectly the magical play.
- (33) Εδώ και ένα χρόνο μιλάει συνέχεια για το γάμο της. Ωστόσο, κανένας δεν έχει δει τον υποτιθέμενο γαμπρό.  
She has been talking about her wedding for a year. However, nobody has seen the supposed groom.
- (34) Το ηθικό των Ελλήνων ήταν πια πολύ ανεβασμένο. Ο συγγραφέας περιγράφει πανηγυρικά την ελληνική νίκη στη μάχη που ακολούθησε.  
The spirit of the Greeks was now quite high. The author describes festively the Greek win at the battle that followed.
- (35) Άλλο ένα τοπικό σκάνδαλο ήρθε στο φως. Μια μεγάλη εταιρεία δωροδοκούσε συστηματικά τον πρώην δήμαρχο.  
Another local scandal came to light. A big company systematically bribed the former mayor.

**B8 Non-restrictive adjective—Polydefinitive DP—Object**

- (36) Χθες στο σταθμό έγινε χαμός! Ευτυχώς ο σεκιουριτάς έπιασε γρήγορα τον ταραξία το φερόμενο.  
Yesterday at the station there was chaos! Fortunately, the security guy caught the trouble-maker the alleged rapidly.
- (37) Φύγαμε όλοι πολύ περήφανοι από το θέατρο. Ο αδερφός μου σκηνοθέτησε άψογα την παράσταση τη μαγευτική.  
We all left the theater very proud. My brother directed perfectly the play the magical.
- (38) Εδώ και ένα χρόνο μιλάει συνέχεια για το γάμο της. Ωστόσο, κανένας δεν έχει δει το γαμπρό τον υποτιθέμενο.  
She has been talking about her wedding for a year. However, nobody has seen the groom the supposed.
- (39) Το ηθικό των Ελλήνων ήταν πια πολύ ανεβασμένο. Ο συγγραφέας περιγράφει πανηγυρικά τη νίκη την ελληνική στη μάχη που ακολούθησε.  
The spirit of the Greeks was now quite high. The author describes festively the win the Greek at the battle that followed.
- (40) Άλλο ένα τοπικό σκάνδαλο ήρθε στο φως. Μια μεγάλη εταιρεία δωροδοκούσε συστηματικά τον δήμαρχο τον πρώην.  
Another local scandal came to light. A big company systematically bribed the mayor the former.

**C. Materials used in Experiment 2, with English Translations**

**C1 Formal context—Monodefinitive DP—Proper name**

- (1) Στη σημερινή εκπομπή θα μιλήσουμε για Έλληνες πολιτικούς που επηρέασαν σημαντικά την εξωτερική πολιτική της χώρας. Ο Κώστας Σημίτης παραχώρησε μια εξαιρετική συνέντευξη στον συνάδελφό μας.  
In today's broadcast we will talk about Greek politicians that affected significantly the international policy of the country. The Kostas Simitis gave a great interview to our colleague.
- (2) Το συγκεκριμένο βιβλίο είναι η βιογραφία του Έλληνα μαθηματικού που συνδέθηκε με τον Αϊνστάιν. Ο Κωνσταντίνος Καραθεοδωρής διακρίθηκε για το έργο του σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο.  
This particular book is the biography of the Greek mathematician that was associated with Einstein. The Konstantinos Karatheodoris was distinguished for his work at an international level.
- (3) Οι δημοσιεύσεις της παρούσας ερευνητικής ομάδας αφορούν γυναίκες που μεταπήδησαν στην πολιτική από ξένους προς αυτή χώρας. Η Λυδία Κονιόρδου αποτέλεσε το πιο πρόσφατο παράδειγμά τους.  
The publications of the present research group are about women that switched to politics from totally different domains. The Lidia Koniordou was their last example.

- (4) Παρακαλώ πολύ γράψτε το όνομά σας στη λίστα και θα ειδοποιηθείτε μόλις έρθει η σειρά σας. Σύμφωνα με τον πίνακα, μπορεί τώρα να περάσει η Μαρία Παπαδοπούλου.  
Please, write your name on the list and you will be notified when it is your turn. According to the board, the Maria Papadopoulou can now come in.
- (5) Σας το είπα και προηγουμένως, κύριε. Αυτή την ερώτηση μπορεί να την απαντήσει μόνο ο Γιώργος Ιωάννου, που είναι ο προϊστάμενός μου.  
Sir, I told you before. This question can only be answered by the George Ioannou, who is my manager.

### C2 Formal context—Polydefinite DP—Proper name

- (6) Στη σημερινή εκπομπή θα μιλήσουμε για Έλληνες πολιτικούς που επηρέασαν σημαντικά την εξωτερική πολιτική της χώρας. Ο Κώστας ο Σημίτης παραχώρησε μια εξαιρετική συνέντευξη στο συνάδελφό μας.  
In today's broadcast we will talk about Greek politicians that affected significantly the international policy of the country. The Kostas the Simitis gave a great interview to our colleague.
- (7) Το συγκεκριμένο βιβλίο είναι η βιογραφία του Έλληνα μαθηματικού που συνδέθηκε με τον Αϊνστάιν. Ο Κωνσταντίνος ο Καραθεοδωρής διακρίθηκε για το έργο του σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο.  
This particular book is the biography of the Greek mathematician that was associated with Einstein. The Konstantinos the Karatheodoris was distinguished for his work at an international level.
- (8) Οι δημοσιεύσεις της παρούσας ερευνητικής ομάδας αφορούν γυναίκες που μεταπήδησαν στην πολιτική από ξένους προς αυτή χώρας. Η Λυδία η Κονιόρδου αποτέλεσε το πιο πρόσφατο παράδειγμά τους.  
The publications of the present research group are about women that switched to politics from totally different domains. The Lidia the Koniordou was their last example.
- (9) Παρακαλώ πολύ γράψτε το όνομά σας στη λίστα και θα ειδοποιηθείτε μόλις έρθει η σειρά σας. Σύμφωνα με τον πίνακα, μπορεί τώρα να περάσει η Μαρία η Παπαδοπούλου.  
Please, write your name on the list and you will be notified when it is your turn. According to the board, the Maria the Papadopoulou can now come in.
- (10) Σας το είπα και προηγουμένως, κύριε. Αυτή την ερώτηση μπορεί να την απαντήσει μόνο ο Γιώργος ο Ιωάννου, που είναι ο προϊστάμενός μου.  
Sir, I told you before. This question can only be answered by the George the Ioannou, who is my manager.

### C3 Formal context—Monodefinitive DP—Common noun

- (11) Αγανακτισμένοι δηλώνουν οι πολίτες με τις νέες φορολογικές μεταρρυθμίσεις. Το μεγάλο σπίτι δεν αποτελεί πια άνεση αλλά δυσβάσταχτο βάρος.  
The citizens are fed up with the new tax legislation. The big house is no longer a comfort but an unbearable burden.
- (12) Καλημέρα, θα ήθελα να σας αναφέρω το εξής. Αγόρασα μόλις χθες από το κατάστημά σας δύο στρώματα. Το μικρό στρώμα είναι φθαρμένο και μυρίζει άσχημα.  
Good morning, I would like to make a complaint. I bought two mattresses from your store yesterday. The small mattress is worn and smells bad.
- (13) Σύμφωνα με τις σωζόμενες πηγές, τα δύο αγάλματα εξαφανίστηκαν μετά την τελευταία εμφύλια σύρραξη. Το χρυσό άγαλμα αποκαλύφθηκε ξανά δύο αιώνες αργότερα, σε διαφορετική ήπειρο.  
According to the sources available, the two statues disappeared after the last civil war. The golden statue appeared again two centuries later, in a different continent.
- (14) Κυρία Αλεξάνδρου, σας συνιστώ παγωμένα ντους 2 με 3 φορές την ημέρα. Το κρύο νερό θα καταπολεμήσει αποτελεσματικά τις μυαλγίες σας.  
Madame Aleksandrou, I advise you to have cold showers two to three times a day. The cold water will help with your muscle pains.
- (15) Το περιβάλλον της καλλιέργειας είναι αυτό που διαμορφώνει τα οργανοληπτικά χαρακτηριστικά του ρυζιού. Το αρωματικό ρύζι οφείλει αυτή την ιδιότητα στην ιδιαίτερη σύσταση του υπεδάφους της περιοχής καλλιέργειας.  
The environment of the plantation is what defines the characteristics of the rice. The aromatic rice owes this property to the special composition of the soil.



**C4 Formal context—Polydefinite DP—Common noun**

- (16) Αγανακτισμένοι δηλώνουν οι πολίτες με τις νέες φορολογικές μεταρρυθμίσεις. Το σπίτι το μεγάλο δεν αποτελεί πια άνεση αλλά δυσβάσταχτο βάρος.  
The citizens are fed up with the new tax legislation, the house the big is no longer a comfort but an unbearable burden.
- (17) Καλημέρα, θα ήθελα να σας αναφέρω το εξής. Αγόρασα μόλις χθες από το κατάστημά σας δύο στρώματα. Το στρώμα το μικρό είναι φθαρμένο και μυρίζει άσχημα.  
Good morning, I would like to make a complaint. I bought two mattresses from your store yesterday. The mattress the small is worn and smells bad.
- (18) Σύμφωνα με τις σωζόμενες πηγές, τα δύο αγάλματα εξαφανίστηκαν μετά την τελευταία εμφύλια σύρραξη. Το άγαλμα το χρυσό αποκαλύφθηκε ξανά δύο αιώνες αργότερα, σε διαφορετική ήπειρο.  
According to the sources available, the two statues disappeared after the last civil war. The statue the golden appeared again two centuries later, in a different continent.
- (19) Κυρία Αλεξάνδρου, σας συνιστώ παγωμένα ντους 2 με 3 φορές την ημέρα. Το νερό το κρύο θα καταπολεμήσει αποτελεσματικά τις μυαλγίες σας.  
Madame Aleksandrou, I advise you to have cold showers two to three times a day. The water the cold will help with your muscle pains.
- (20) Το περιβάλλον της καλλιέργειας είναι αυτό που διαμορφώνει τα οργανοληπτικά χαρακτηριστικά του ρυζιού. Το ρύζι το αρωματικό οφείλει αυτή την ιδιότητα στην ιδιαίτερη σύσταση του υπεδάφους της περιοχής καλλιέργειας.  
The environment of the plantation is what defines the characteristics of the rice. The rice the aromatic owes this property to the special composition of the soil.

**C5 Informal context—Monodefinitive DP—Proper name**

- (21) Έχω πολύ στενές σχέσεις με ηγετικά στελέχη της πρώην κυβέρνησης. Ο Κώστας Σημίτης έχει παντρευτεί την πρώτη μου ξαδέρφη.  
I am pretty close to leading figures of the previous government. The Kostas Simitis is married to my first cousin.
- (22) Ήμουν εκεί όταν οι Έλληνες καθηγητές τον απέρριπταν ξανά και ξανά και τον περιφρονούσαν. Ο Κωνσταντίνος Καραθεοδωρής πέρασε πάρα πολύ δύσκολα μέχρι να αναγνωριστεί η αξία του.  
I was there when the Greek mathematicians rejected him again and again and disdained him. The Konstantinos Karatheodoris had a really hard time until his value was acknowledged.
- (23) Σήμερα έχω τη χαρά να φιλοξενώ στο στούντιο μία εξαιρετικά ταλαντούχα ηθοποιό αλλά και πολύ στενή φίλη. Η Λυδία Κονιόρδου είναι ο άνθρωπος που θα απαντήσει το απελπισμένο τηλέφωνο στις 2 τα χαράματα, όταν κάποιος τη χρειάζεται.  
Today I have the pleasure to host at the studio a very talented actress but also good friend. The Lidia Koniordou is the person that will answer the desperate phone call at 2 am, when somebody needs her.
- (24) Καλά δεν μπορείς να φανταστείς ποια συνάντησα στο δρόμο. Ακούω κάποια να με φωνάζει, γυρνάω και βλέπω τη Μαρία Παπαδοπούλου από το σχολείο.  
You can't imagine who I ran into in the street. I hear someone calling me, I turn and I see the Maria Papadopoulou from school.
- (25) Έλα Νίκο, μπορείς να ελέγξεις λίγο κάτι που θέλω; Ο Γιώργος Ιωάννου ήρθε σήμερα στο γραφείο;  
Hey Nikos, can you check something? Has the George Ioannou come to the office today?

**C6 Informal context—Polydefinitive DP—Proper name**

- (26) Έχω πολύ στενές σχέσεις με ηγετικά στελέχη της πρώην κυβέρνησης. Ο Κώστας ο Σημίτης έχει παντρευτεί την πρώτη μου ξαδέρφη.  
I am pretty close to leading figures of the previous government. The Kostas the Simitis is married to my first cousin.
- (27) Ήμουν εκεί όταν οι Έλληνες καθηγητές τον απέρριπταν ξανά και ξανά και τον περιφρονούσαν. Ο Κωνσταντίνος ο Καραθεοδωρής πέρασε πάρα πολύ δύσκολα μέχρι να αναγνωριστεί η αξία του.  
I was there when the Greek mathematicians rejected him again and again and disdained him. The Konstantinos the Karatheodoris had a really hard time until his value was acknowledged.

- (28) Σήμερα έχω τη χαρά να φιλοξενώ στο στούντιο μία εξαιρετικά ταλαντούχα ηθοποιό αλλά και πολύ στενή φίλη. Η Λυδία η Κονιόρδου είναι ο άνθρωπος που θα απαντήσει στο απελπισμένο τηλέφωνο στις 2 τα χαράματα, όταν κάποιος τη χρειάζεται.  
Today I have the pleasure to host at the studio a very talented actress but also good friend. The Lidia the Koniordou is the person that will answer the desperate phone call at 2 am, when somebody needs her.
- (29) Καλά δεν μπορείς να φανταστείς ποια συνάντησα στο δρόμο. Ακούω κάποια να με φωνάζει, γυρνάω και βλέπω τη Μαρία την Παπαδοπούλου από το σχολείο.  
You can't imagine who I ran into in the street. I hear someone calling me, I turn and see the Maria the Papadopoulou from school.
- (30) Έλα Νίκο, μπορείς να ελέγξεις λίγο κάτι που θέλω; Ο Γιώργος ο Ιωάννου ήρθε σήμερα στο γραφείο;  
Hey Nikos, can you check something? Has the George the Ioannou come to the office today?

#### **C7 Informal context—Monodefinitive DP—Common noun**

- (31) Κουράστηκε πάρα πολύ για να ετοιμάσει τη μεζονέτα για τους αρραβώνες. Το μεγάλο σπίτι είναι μελάς να το καθαρίσεις.  
She worked long hours to prepare the maisonette for the engagement. The big house is difficult to clean.
- (32) Φίλε, αγόρασα χθες δύο στρώματα από αυτό το μαγαζί και είμαι πολύ δυσαρεστημένος. Το μικρό στρώμα είναι ολοφάνερα χρησιμοποιημένο.  
Mate, I bought two mattresses from that store yesterday and I am very disappointed. The small mattress is definitely used.
- (33) Αυτό ήταν το μεγάλο μας κόλπο, το μεγαλύτερο ριφιφι του αιώνα. Το χρυσό άγαλμα θα πιάσει περισσότερα από όλα όσα έχουμε κλέψει ως τώρα μαζί.  
This was our biggest robbery! The golden statue will make us more money than everything else that we have stolen so far combined.
- (34) Ρε τα έχουμε πει χίλιες φορές. Μετά από κάθε προπόνηση θα κάνεις ένα κρύο μπάνιο. Το κρύο νερό προλαμβάνει πιασίματα, πρηξίματα και άλλα τέτοια δυσάρεστα.  
We have said that a million times. After every training you will have a cold shower. The cold water prevents cramps, swollen ankles and other unpleasant things.
- (35) Έλα, είμαι στο σούπερ μάρκετ. Ποιο ρύζι πρέπει να πάρω; Το αρωματικό ρύζι είναι πιο ακριβό από το κανονικό.  
Hey, I am at the market. Which rice should I take? The aromatic rice is more expensive than the normal one.

#### **C8 Informal context—Polydefinitive DP—Common noun**

- (36) Κουράστηκε πάρα πολύ για να ετοιμάσει τη μεζονέτα για τους αρραβώνες. Το σπίτι το μεγάλο είναι μελάς να το καθαρίσεις.  
She worked long hours to prepare the maisonette for the engagement. The house the big is difficult to clean.
- (37) Φίλε, αγόρασα χθες δύο στρώματα από αυτό το μαγαζί και είμαι πολύ δυσαρεστημένος. Το στρώμα το μικρό είναι ολοφάνερα χρησιμοποιημένο.  
Mate, I bought two mattresses from that store yesterday and I am very disappointed. The mattress the small is definitely used.
- (38) Αυτό ήταν το μεγάλο μας κόλπο, το μεγαλύτερο ριφιφι του αιώνα. Το άγαλμα το χρυσό θα πιάσει περισσότερα από όλα όσα έχουμε κλέψει ως τώρα μαζί.  
This was our biggest robbery! The statue the golden will make us more money than everything else that we have stolen so far combined.
- (39) Ρε τα έχουμε πει χίλιες φορές. Μετά από κάθε προπόνηση θα κάνεις ένα κρύο μπάνιο. Το νερό το κρύο προλαμβάνει πιασίματα, πρηξίματα και άλλα τέτοια δυσάρεστα.  
We have said that a million times. After every training you will have a cold shower. The water the cold prevents cramps, swollen legs and other unpleasant things.
- (40) Έλα, είμαι στο σούπερ μάρκετ. Ποιο ρύζι πρέπει να πάρω; Το ρύζι το αρωματικό είναι πιο ακριβό από το κανονικό.  
Hey, I am at the market. Which rice should I take? The rice the aromatic is more expensive than the normal one.