

‘Split *wh*-constructions in Classical and Modern Greek’*

Eric Mathieu and Ioanna Sitaridou

1 Introduction

Classical Greek (CG) allowed many discontinuous structures. Traditionally labelled ‘hyperbaton’, these constructions typically involved dislocation of an element which does not normally undergo movement in other languages. To illustrate, in (1a), both *tina* ‘what’ and *dunamin* ‘power’ move while in (1b) only the *tina* raises leaving the nominal in situ (this phenomenon will be referred to as DP-splitting or simply splitting):

- (1) a. **Tína dunamin** echei? (CG)
what power has_{3SG}
(Plato *Laws* 643a)
- b. **Tína** echei **dunamin**?
what power has_{3SG}
‘What power does it have?’
(Plato *Republic* 358b)

In CG, *wh*-words and indefinites had the same morphological make-up, i.e. *tis* (*tina* is a case variant of *tis*), which has led some (cf. Roussou 1998) to argue that *wh*-phrases were simple indefi-

* We would like to thank Artemis Alexiadou, João Costa, Giuliana Giusti, Konstantina Haidou, Ian Roberts and Roberto Zamparelli for their comments. Special thanks to Anna Roussou for comments on an earlier version of the paper. Thanks also for their help with the Greek data to: Christos Nifadopoulos, Athina Sioupi, Tasos Tsangalidis and Stela Vergi. All errors are our own.

nites à la Heim/Kamp. In interrogatives, the indefinite was stressed and obligatorily raised by moving the indefinite to a clause initial position. Otherwise they were interpreted as simple indefinites with the interpretation *some-x* or *any-x* (examples in Roussou 1998:114):

(2) **Tí** gar an **tís** kai poioi, ô Socrates? (CG)
 what PRT PRT one and do_{3SG} VOC Socrates
 ‘What could one do, Socrates?’
 (Plato *Laches* 184d)

(3) Legein **ti** ô Sôcrates moi dokeis. (CG)
 say_{INF} one VOC Socrates me_{DAT} seem_{2SG}
 ‘You seem to me that you’re saying something, Socrates.’
 (Plato *Laches* 199e)

(4) ... ei **tís** **ti** erei... (CG)
 if anyone anything say_{3SG}
 ‘[let us not mind] if anyone says anything.’
 (Plato *Laches* 201b)

Modern Greek (MG), on the other hand, has a distinct class of *wh*-words, polarity items, and existential quantifiers.

MG uses the *pios/pia/pio* series for *wh*-structures, but the two CG forms *ti* and *tinós* (‘whose’) have survived. However, splitting with *ti* is no longer possible in MG. This is the crucial fact with which the present paper is concerned:

(5) a. **Ti** **dinami** exi? (MG)
 what power have_{3SG}

- b. ***Ti** exi **dinami**?
 what have_{3SG} power
 ‘What power does it have?’

On the other hand, *tinós* (‘whose’), the genitive Case-marked form of *ti* does allow splitting (a fact originally discussed by Horrocks & Stavrou 1987):

- (6) a. **Tinos** **to** **vivlio** eferes? (MG)
 whose_{GEN} the book bring_{PAST2SG}
 b. **Tinos** eferes **to** **vivlio**?
 whose_{GEN} bring_{PAST2SG} the book
 ‘Whose book did you bring?’
 (Horrocks & Stavrou 1987: 89)

Note that not every speaker accepts (6b) on the genitive reading. Some speakers interpret (6b), not as a split, but as a continuous, albeit dislocated, construction with the following interpretation: ‘To whom did you bring the book?’.

CG also allowed extraction of bare adjectives:

- (7) a. Kateskeuakasin **oikias** **tas** **idias**. (CG)
 built_{PRES PERF 3PL} houses the private
 b. **Tas** **idias** kateskeuakasin **oikias**.
 the private built_{PRES PERF 3PL} houses
 ‘They have built their private home (not their public one).’
 (Demosthenes 23.208, Devine & Stephens 2000:236)

In (7a), the adjective *idias* (‘private’) modifies the noun *oikias* (‘houses’) and is adjacent to the noun while in (7b), the adjective

has been extracted and moved to the left edge of the clause while the noun has remained in situ. In CG, the extracted bare adjective received a contrastive focus interpretation (cf. Devine & Stephens 2000, what they call strong focus interpretation). In MG, adjectival splitting is also possible in some, but not all registers. For those Greek speakers who accept bare adjectival extraction, the adjective must be contrastively focused and must receive heavy stress (cf. (9b)). If not stressed or contrastively focused, bare adjectival extraction is not possible (extraction of bare adjectives in MG was originally discussed by Horrocks & Stavrou 1987):

- (8) a. *Idha to forema to kokkino.* (MG)
 see_{PAST 1SG} the dress the red
 b. **To kokkino idha forema.*
 the red see_{PAST 1SG} dress
 ‘I saw the red dress.’

- (9) a. *Idha to kokkino forema.* (MG)
 see_{PAST 1SG} the red dress
 b. *[To KOKKINO]_F idha forema.*
 the red see_{PAST 1SG} dress
 ‘It is the RED dress that I saw.’
 (Androutsopoulou 1997:2)

The present paper concentrates on *wh*-split-DP constructions; we discuss split adjectival constructions elsewhere (cf. Mathieu & Sitaridou 2002c). We focus on the diachronic issue, i.e. why split-*wh* constructions were widespread in CG, but are now impossible in MG. The second question we will address is why *tinós* (‘whose’) is an exception to the rule against *wh*-splitting in

MG. Other issues such as locality, the semantic nature of stranded nominals, and so-called determiner spreading will not be discussed here in any great detail (but see Mathieu & Sitardou 2002c for further particulars).

The paper is organised as follows. Section 2 introduces our account of the licensing mechanism behind *wh*-DP splitting. Section 3 provides a diachronic account of the loss of split-*wh* constructions in MG and discuss the issue as to why splitting with *tinós* ('whose') is possible in some registers. We conclude in section 4.

2 The synchronic account

In this section, our account is introduced first, then we compare our analysis with Androutsopoulou's (1997), then with Corver's (1990), and then with Horrocks & Stavrou's (1987). Finally, we end section 2 with a summary and highlight the theoretical consequences of our analysis.

2. *Our analysis*

In English, words like *which* and *red* cannot raise unless accompanied by the nominal with which they are associated:

- (10) a. ***Which**_i does it have t_i **power**?
b. ***Whose**_i did you bring t_i **book**?

- (11) *The **RED**_i I saw t_i **dress**.

The whole XP must appear at the leftmost position; a position which we assume to be Spec-CP for the case of *wh* questions:

- (12) a. **Which power**_i does it have t_i?
 b. **Whose book**_i did you bring t_i?
- (13) The **RED DRESS**_i I saw t_i.

Following ideas by Devine & Stephens (2000), we assume that splitting can be traced back to two NPs in apposition. NP₁ contains a nominal. NP₂ consists of [Mod *e*], whereby Mod = modifier and *e* an empty category - the semantic equivalent of *pro* - which stands for a nominal). The modifier is thus a so-called null head modifier. By ‘modifier’, we mean a superclass which includes both adjectives and *wh*-words. By ‘null head modifier’ we mean, following Devine & Stephens’s definition a modifier that can stand by itself in place of a noun phrase without the support of a noun or an overt pronoun. The modifier restricts *e*. The nominal (unselectively) binds the empty category. This means that the configuration yielded by split constructions is like (14b) rather than (14a):

- (14) a. *X_i [ZP t_i Y]
 b. [XP]_i [ZP Y] t_i

The point is that what moves is not a head, but a DP. This is most obvious in the case of bare adjectival extraction ((9) which is repeated here for convenience):

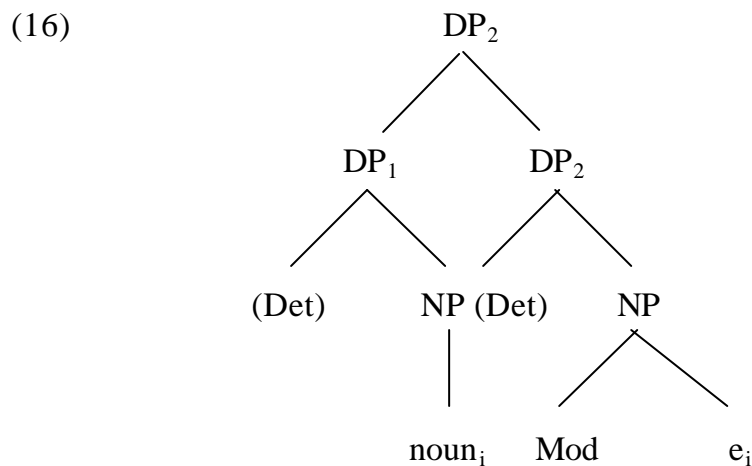
- (9) b. [To **KOKKINO**]_F idha **forema.** (CG)
 the red see_{PAST 1SG} dress
 ‘It is the RED dress that I saw.’
 (Androutsopoulou 1997:2)

Some speakers find examples such as (9) marked and find it greatly improved if a determiner accompanies the nominal (note that this was not possible in CG):

- (15) [To KOKKINO]_F idha to forema. (CG)
 the red see_{PAST 1SG} the dress
 ‘It is the RED dress that I saw.’

In the case of split interrogatives we assume that the article *to* is phonologically deleted in DP₁. It automatically surfaces in DP₂ however (cf. (6b)).

Devine & Stephens have a strict appositional structure in mind. Instead, we propose a structure for split-DPs whereby DP₁ is adjoined to DP₂. This configuration has the advantage to conform to the well-accepted view that phrase structure is binary, and secondly it allows feature matching between DP₁ and the head of DP₂ (the modifier clearly agrees both with the head D and the nominal). This is not the case with Devine & Stephens’s structure, since they postulate two DPs side by side:



Now, splitting is possible in the first place because null head modifiers are available independently in MG:

- (17) A. Pio vivlio eferes? (MG)
which book bring_{PAST2SG}
'Which book did you bring?'
B. To KOKKINO.
the red
'The RED one.' / * 'The RED.'

TO KOKKINO is a perfect answer to 'which book did you bring?' whereas in English an overt head is necessary. One cannot answer 'the RED' to the question 'Which book did you bring?'.¹ Note that there are languages which allow null head modifiers but not split-DPs (some Balkan languages), so crucially the availability of null head modifiers is not the only relevant feature for DP-splitting.

2.2 *Androutsopoulou (1997)*

Our analysis is like Androutsopoulou's (1997) in that the left-most constituent in (6b) and (9b) contains an empty nominal category, but on our terms the empty category is not the trace of *forema* ('dress') or *vivlio* ('book'). Androutsopoulou proposes a two-step analysis: (a) movement of the nominal out of the DP to the Spec of a Clitic Voice Phrase, which, she claims, functions as

¹ English does seem to have null head modifiers in phrases such as 'the poor', 'the rich', but we will assume that this type of null head modifiers are different from those we have in mind.

topic position; (b) movement of the whole DP which now contains the trace of the nominal.²

On her view, it is not clear what motivates movement of the nominal. The only reason, it seems, why the noun has to move out of the DP on Androutsopoulou's analysis, is to preserve structure-dependency (and some underlying assumptions about hierarchy and linear order, cf. Kayne 1994). However, if movement of the bare adjective is to a fixed, i.e. focus, position as she claims, then raising of the nominal is not necessary. It is standardly assumed that so-called P-movement (cf. Zubizarreta 1998) or scrambling (Reinhart & Neeleman 1998) is called for only in non-syntactically licensed focused constructions. In the case of (6b), it is clear that focus is licensed syntactically: the *wh*-element has to appear at the leftmost position in the sentence:

- (18) a. **Tinos to vivlio** o Yanis elpizi na (MG)
 whose the book the John expect_{3SG} PRT_{SUBJ}
 feri i Maria?
 bring_{3SG} the Maria
- b. ?**Tinos** o Yanis elpizi na feri
 whose the John expect_{3SG} PRT_{SUBJ} bring_{3SG}
 i Maria **to vivlio**?
 the Maria the book
- c. ?**Tinos** o Yanis elpizi **to vivlio** na
 whose the Yanis expect_{3SG} the book PRT_{SUBJ}
 feri i Maria?
 bring_{3SG} the Maria

² Her account is based on the remnant analysis that van Riemsdijk (1989) has proposed for split-topic structures in German.

- d. *O Yanis elpizi **tinós** na feri
the John expect_{3SG} whose PRT_{SUBJ} bring_{3SG}
i Maria **to vivlio?**
the Maria the book
- e. *O Yanis elpizi na feri **tinós**
the John expect_{3SG} PRT_{SUBJ} bring_{3SG} whose
i Maria **to vivlio?**
the Maria the book
‘Whose book is it that John expects Maria to bring?’

We argue that the *wh*-element needs to appear at the left position of the clause, because it needs to check a strong *wh*-Q feature in C, and so it automatically surfaces in Spec-CP. More generally, no specific position other than Spec-CP need be assumed for informational focus. Like contrastive focus, informational focus elements can appear in many places in the sentence:

- (19) a. O Yanis ipe oti i Maria (MG)
the_{NOM} Yanis said_{3SG} that the_{NOM} Maria
tha feri **TI NINA.**
will bring_{3SG} the_{ACC} Nina
- b. **TI NINA** ipe o Yanis oti
the_{ACC} Nina said_{3SG} the_{NOM} Yanis that
tha feri i Maria.
will bring_{3SG} the_{NOM} Maria
- c. O Yanis ipe **TI NINA** oti
the_{NOM} Yanis said_{3SG} the_{ACC} Nina that
tha feri i Maria.
will bring_{3SG} the_{NOM} Maria

- d. O Yanis ipe oti **TI NINA**
 the_{NOM} Yanis said_{3SG} that the_{ACC} Nina
 tha feri i Maria.
 will bring-_{3SG} the-_{NOM} Maria
- e. O Yanis ipe oti tha feri
 the_{NOM} Yanis said_{3SG} that will bring_{3SG}
TI NINA i Maria.
 the_{ACC} Nina the_{NOM} Maria
 (Lekakou 2000:9)

Note that contrastive adjectives for those speakers of MG that allow such structures need not be at the left most position in the sentence. The examples in (20) should be seen as answers to questions like ‘You saw the blue dress, right?’:

- (20) a. O Yanis elpizi na foresi i Maria
 the John expect_{3SG} PRT_{SUBJ} wear_{3SG} the Maria
to KOKKINO forema.
 the red dress
- b. **To KOKKINO** o Yanis elpizi na foresi
 the red the John expect_{3SG} PRT_{SUBJ} wear_{3SG}
 i Maria **to forema.**
 the Maria the dress
- c. O Yanis elpizi **to KOKKINO** na foresi
 the John expect_{3SG} the red PRT_{SUBJ} wear_{3SG}
 i Maria **to forema.**
 the Maria the dress

- d. ?O Yanis elpizi na foresi to **KOKKINO**
 the John expect-_{3SG} PRT-_{SUBJ} wear-_{3SG} the red
 i Maria to **forema**.
 the Maria the dress
 ‘It is the RED dress that John expects Maria to wear.’

This means that Androutsopoulou may have been right after all in claiming that the nominal needs to raise, but this claim is now consistent with the idea that contrastive focus is not licensed syntactically in MG.

Since neither contrastive nor informational focused elements need appear at the left edge of the clause, we take the view that focus (whether it be contrastive or informational) in MG is not associated with a particular position or functional phrase. The idea is that focus in MG is not licensed in the narrow syntax. It involves (non-feature-driven) free adjunction at PF rather than feature movement to a Spec. This idea goes against the recent trend that encodes pragmatic notions in the syntax (cf. Rizzi 1998, Puskás 1998, Poletto & Pollock 2000, Speas & Tenny 2001, see Brody 1990, Agouraki 1990, Tsimpli 1995 for earlier accounts). Our account is more in line with the PF view of focus (cf. Zubizarreta 1998 for German, French and Spanish, Neeleman & Reinhart 1998 for Dutch, Szendroi 2001 for Hungarian). In particular, we follow Reinhart’s (1995) and Neeleman & Reinhart’s (1998) work according to which focus is always marked by prosodic means, i.e. by main stress. This is captured in the Stress-focus correspondence principle:

(21) *Stress-focus correspondence principle*

The focus of a clause is any syntactic constituent that contains the main stress of the intonational phrase corresponding to the clause. (Reinhart 1995:62).

In a nutshell, the observation is that languages do not mark focus by a special word order only. Even in languages like Hungarian, traditionally thought to mark syntactic focus across the board, stress is always involved, as convincingly shown by Szendroi (2001).

Additional evidence for a non-narrow-syntactic view of focus comes from adjacency. In particular, the problem for the idea that (6b) can be assimilated to (9b) is that while (6b) obeys the Adjacency Condition (AC) (cf. Sekerina 1997), (9b) is not sensitive to such a constraint. Whereas in *wh*-related split-structures the *wh*-element and the verb need to be adjacent, this is not the case for adjectival related split structures. Example (22) is from Androutsopoulou and should be totally ungrammatical rather than receiving two question marks if adjacency was really relevant in this case:

- (22) ?**To KOKKINO** xthes agorase **forema** i Maria.
the red yesterday buy_{PAST 3SG} dress the Maria
'It is the RED dress that Maria saw yesterday.'
(Androutsopoulou 1997:9)

Our own examples in (23) confirm that adjacency is not required with contrastive focused items:

- (23) a. **To KOKKINO** malon tha agorasi. (MG)
 the red perhaps part_{FUT} buy_{3SG}
to forema i Maria
 the dress the Maria
 ‘Perhaps it is the RED dress that Maria will buy.’
- b. **To BAJATIKO** merikes fores/kapote etroge
 The stale some times/once eat_{IMP3SG}
to psomi i Maria.
 the bread the Maria
 ‘Sometimes it is the STALE bread that Maria.’

With *wh*-constructions the adjacency condition has to apply:

- (24) a. **Tinos forema** kapote foruses? (MG)
 whose dress sometimes wear_{IMP2SG}
 ‘Whose dress were you sometimes wearing?’
- b. ??**Tinos** kapote foruses **to forema?**
 whose sometimes wear_{IMP2SG} the dress?
 ‘Whose dress is it that you were sometimes wearing?’

Note that the adjacency condition does not hold with informational focus either:

- (25) a. TON PETRO malon simbathi i Maria. (MG)
 the_{ACC} Petro probably likes_{3SG} the_{NOM} Maria
 ‘Maria probably likes PETRO.’

- b. TON PETRO kapote aghapise i Maria.
 the_{ACC} Petro probably loves_{3SG} the_{NOM} Maria
 ‘Maria once loved PETRO.’
- c. I MARIA kapjo proi tu Septemvri
 the_{NOM} Maria some morning the_{GEN} September
 milise ston Petro.
 spoketo_{3SG} to-the_{ACC} Petro.
 (Lekakou 2000:8)

Empirical evidence for the idea that the nominal in interrogatives does not in fact raise out of the DP comes from the fact that in split *wh*-questions the nominal receives main stress. If it scrambled out of the DP to the topic position Androutsopoulou has in mind, then we would expect that the nominal be distressed:

- (26) a. **Tinos** to **vivlio** EFERES? (MG)
 whose the book bring_{PAST2SG}
- b. **Tinos** eferes to **VIVLIO**?
 whose bring_{PAST2SG} the book
 ‘Whose book did you bring?’

In (26), *vivlio* (‘book’) receives main stress, but it is nevertheless not focused. It need not scramble, since focus is licensed syntactically in the sentence. The idea is that a lexical item *x* may be defocalised, but not necessarily distressed.

Although Androutsopoulou (1997: 2) argues that the nominal is distressed in examples such as (27), in fact native speakers of

Greek report to us that this is not the case. The nominal receives *secondary* stress:

- (27) [to **KOKKINO**]_F idha FOREMA . (MG)
 the red see_{-PAST ISG} dress
 ‘It is the RED dress that I saw.’

This conforms to Reinhart’s (1995) and Neeleman & Reinhart’s (1998) theory of focus whereby extra stress can be assigned to an element without removing the stress assigned by the Nuclear Stress Rule.³ This follows from the Stress Strengthening Rule.⁴ As a result the original main stress becomes secondary. Neeleman & Reinhart (1998) give the following kind of example (p.335):

- (28) Only MAX can afford buying cars.

The difference between (27) and (28), however, is that whereas in (28) the entity that receives secondary stress does not have to be discourse-linked, in (27) *forema* (‘dress’) has to be discourse-linked. If a speaker says ‘It is the RED dress that I saw’, then a set of dresses is obligatorily part of the background/common ground.

Another problem with Androutopoulou’s analysis has to do with agreement. As is well-known, in languages like French, DPs with *combien* can split (cf. Obenauer 1976, 1983, 1994).

³ *Nuclear Stress Rule* Given two sisters C_i and C_j , the one lower in the asymmetric c-command, ordering is more prominent (Zubizarreta 1998:150).

⁴ *Strength Lengthening Rule* assigns extra stress to an element without removing the stress assigned by the nuclear stress rule. (cf. Neeleman & Reinhart 1997).

The crucial observation is that whereas full movement is accompanied by object agreement on the verb, partial movement (i.e. when splitting occurs) does not trigger agreement:

- (29) a. **Combien de livres** as-tu lus? (F)
 how many of books have-you read_{AGR}
- b. **Combien** as-tu lu **de livres**?
 how many have you read of books
 ‘How many books have you read?’

The agreement is not heard if the verb (past participle) ends with a vowel, but it can be heard when the verb ends with a consonant:

- (30) a. **Combien de boîtes_i** as-tu ouvertes t_i? (F)
 how many of cans have-you open-_{AGR}
- b. **Combien_i** as-tu ouvert/*es **de boîtes**?
 how many have-you open/*_{AGR} of cans
 ‘How many cans have you opened?’

Assuming that Greek split-DPs have a structure similar to that of split-DPs in French, we conclude that the noun cannot raise out of the DP as argued by Androutsopoulou for the simple reason that in those languages where agreement surfaces on the verb, no agreement can be seen when the *wh*-element moves on its own. On its way to the Spec of the Clitic Voice Phrase, the nominal would have to go through the Spec of AgroP (or its equivalent in more recent versions of minimalism), movement being cyclic.

Clearly, the nominal does not go through Spec-AgroP, since no agreement shows up.

2.3 Corver (1990)

We believe that the null head modifier account we outlined in section 2.1 is also superior to Corver's (1990) analysis which proposes that the accessibility of left branch NP-internal constituents is due to the absence of a DP-projection in nominals. (he concentrates on Russian and Polish). On his account, the fact that NPs are bare makes it possible to extract nominals without violating the ECP and the Subjacency Condition. When, for example, the left branch constituent is extracted from within a direct object NP, the direct object is L-marked by the verb. Therefore, the NP is not a blocking category nor an L-barrier. The adjectival element can be raised from within the NP to the specifier of CP via adjunction to VP, without crossing any L-barrier. So neither the ECP nor Subjacency is violated.

Corver claims that support for his view comes from the fact that these languages do not have articles corresponding to *the* and *a* in English:

- (31) Ptak patrzy na kota. (Polish)
bird looks at cat
'The/a bird is looking at the/a cat.'
(Corver 1990:332)

- (32) Eta dom i sat. (Russian)
it house and garden
'It's a/the house and a/the garden.'

Demonstratives, possessors, etc. in these languages are argued to be adjectives, not determiners.

Although we are in agreement with Corver that the bare elements that are extracted in split-DP constructions are modifiers, i.e. adjectives, the problem for Corver's view is that there are languages with what looks like determiners which allow DP-splitting, e.g. French and MG:

(33) C' est une/la maison et un/le jardin. (F)
 it is a/the house and a/the garden
 'It's a/the house and a/the garden.'

(34) Ine ena/to spiti ke enas/o kipos (MG)
 is a/the house and a/the garden
 'It's a/the house and a/the garden.'

It may well be the case that these determiners are in fact agreement markers representing definiteness (an idea which we in fact follow below), but the crucial point remains that some sort of extra XP level is required above the NP (perhaps DefP), which means that XP will act as a barrier. To argue that DP, but not DefP does not act as a barrier would be completely ad hoc. In sum, Corver's analysis cannot be on the right track. Besides, since the notion of government has been abandoned in recent years, Corver's analysis needs to be recast in minimalist terms, but it is not clear how this could be achieved.

2.4 Horrocks & Stavrou (1987)

Next, we believe that our analysis is superior to Horrocks & Stavrou's (1987). They account for the split *wh*-variant as follows: the possibility to split in a language depends on whether or not the N assigns case to its complement and on whether Spec-DP is an A'- or an A-position. On their view, (6b) starts out as

Horrocks & Stavrou argue, that, on the other hand, English nouns are incapable of assigning case to their complement whether it be an NP, an element like ‘which’ or an item like ‘red’. NPs can raise to Spec-DP where they get case (Spec-DP in English is thus, not an A’-, but an A position, akin to Spec-IP), but elements that are not NPs, such as ‘whose’ and ‘red’ cannot move to Spec-DP:

- (37) a. *You bought [_{Spec-DP} whose_i [_{NP} book t_i]]?
 b. *You saw [_{Spec-DP} red_i D the_{[NP} dress t_i]].

Neither ‘whose’ nor ‘red’ can raise further (‘whose’ to Spec-CP, ‘red’, say, to a focus position), since the derivation would crash, to use modern parlance. This explains why neither ‘whose’ nor ‘red’ can split from the nominal with which they are respectively associated. Therefore, these elements have to move to Spec-DP to get case in that position.

The main problem with Horrocks and Stavrou’s analysis is that it relies heavily on the concept of government, a notion which has disappeared from mainstream generative syntax. Another problem is the ad hoc assumption that nouns in Greek assigns case to what follows them, but that in English nouns do not assign case to their complements. On Horrocks & Stavrou’s view, genitive case is inherent in Greek, but structural in English, since nouns in that language have to raise to Spec-DP to get case. This is a strange parameter. Finally, it is not clear on their analysis why interrogatives with *ti* in MG cannot split. If we follow Horrocks & Stavrou’s logic, then splitting with *ti* was possible in CG because of a structure like that in (35a) where the nominal assigned case to the *wh*-phrase. However, we are not told why nouns in MG cannot assign case to these elements

anymore. What needs to be argued under such a proposal is that nominals in MG no longer assign case to their complements *except* genitive case. This may well be possible, but Horrocks & Stavrou do not show this. Notwithstanding these criticisms, we follow Horrocks & Stavrou's insight that the underlying structure for hyperbaton is the one shown in (35a) whereby the *wh*-phrase is base-generated to the right of the nominal. However, we think that the problems with Horrocks & Stavrou's analysis conspire for the need of an alternative analysis.

2.5 *Summary and theoretical consequences*

To conclude: DP-splitting can be traced back to two DPs in apposition. DP₁ is adjoined to DP₂. The latter is a null head modifier independently available in the languages that allow DP-splitting. The basic idea is that movement of the *wh*-element and the adjective alone generates discontiguity, not discontinuity. The point we want to make is similar to the one made in Devine & Stephens whose position is worth quoting in full:

'So the term discontinuous constituency is misleading in a non-configurational context: what is not a constituent can be neither a continuous constituent nor a discontinuous constituent, and what does not branch cannot have a left branch. Discontinuity constituency of this type implies not the dismembering of a syntactic constituent, but the failure to merge into a syntactic constituent.'

Devine & Stephens (2000: 174).

Finally, before we move on to the diachronic account, we would like to highlight the theoretical consequences of our analysis. Following our basic assumptions and as argued independently by Mathieu (2002), from a minimalist perspective, split construc-

tions of the interrogative kind (cf. 6b) are interesting because, it is not clear why DP_2 moves, if it can remain in situ in the first place. Presumably, DP_2 checks the strong *wh*-Q feature of C, so movement of DP_1 is completely unexpected. Since *wh*-Q is uninterpretable, once checked it is no longer accessible to the computation. We argue that the choice between raising the nominal and leaving it in situ is determined, not by syntax, but by discourse properties. When the nominal remains in situ, it is given, i.e. part of the common ground (the noun is defocalised). When the nominal raises, it does so, not because of feature checking, but because the noun is given (it is focused along with the *wh*-operator).

If correct, our analysis indicates that the minimalist stance according to which all types of movement are feature-driven cannot stand. Our purpose is not to argue against a feature-driven approach to movement in general. Rather, we argue that, whereas the minimalist stance according to which all types of movement are feature-driven cannot stand, it must be nevertheless granted that some movement is feature-driven. Our line of thought is thus the opposite of Newmeyer (2002) who argues that there is no principle that distinguishes triggered-movement from non-triggered-movement, and thus that no movement is triggered-movement. This is too strong a claim. Greek shows that there is a principled distinction, and that movement can be triggered in some cases. Our analysis may thus turn out to be in line with more recent versions of minimalist work (e.g. Chomsky 2001) where the idea that all movement is feature-driven has been relaxed, tentatively allowing, for instance, Topic phrases to be moved freely at PF.

Evidence for the view that the stranded indefinite in a split-DP construction is given comes from the following example:

- (38) A **Combien de livres** as-tu lus? (F)
 how many of books have you read-_{AGR}
 ‘How many books have you read?’
 B Je n’ en ai lu aucun.
 I Neg some have read none
 ‘I haven’t read any.’
- (39) A **Combien** as-tu lu **de livres**? (F)
 how many have you read of books
 ‘How many books have you read?’
 B # Je n’ en ai lu aucun.
 I Neg some have read none
 ‘I haven’t read any.’
- (40) a. **Tinos to vivlio** eferes? (MG)
 whose_{GEN} the book bring_{PAST2SG}
 ‘Whose book did you bring?’
 b. Den efera to vivlio kanenos.
 not bring_{PAST3SG} the book noone_{GEN}
 ‘I didn’t bring any books.’
- (41) a. **Tinos eferes to vivlio?** (MG)
 whose_{GEN} bring_{PAST2SG} the book
 ‘Whose book did you bring?’
 b. # Den efera to vivlio kanenos.
 not bring_{PAST3SG} the book noone_{GEN}
 ‘I didn’t bring any books.’

The judgments may at first appear subtle, but once an appropriate context is built, the intuitions are clear.

In the case of adjectival split constructions, it is in fact very clear that the stranded nominal is part of the common ground:

- (42) A. You saw two dresses, a red one and blue a one.
 B. **To KOKKINO** ida **forema.** (MG)
 the red see_{PASTISG} dress
 ‘It is the RED dress that I saw (not the blue one).’

In A a context is built: an event with its protagonists, and of course dresses. In B, *forema* (‘dress’) is part of the background assumptions. Much more remains to be said about the semantic nature of stranded nominals. Their behaviour is very much like the behaviour of incorporated nouns. However, for lack of space we cannot discuss the relevant issues here (see Mathieu 2002b,c where it is argued that stranded nominals are semantically incorporated nouns).

3 The diachronic account

We begin with an explanation as to why MG no longer permits *wh*-DP-splitting, then we discuss how our account fits with Roussou (1998) and Roberts & Roussou’s (1999) analysis, then we turn to the problem left with *tinós* (‘whose’), namely the fact that it allows splitting in some registers.

3.1 *Why splitting is impossible with wh-elements in Modern Greek*

To account for the first problem we argue that the two DPs which were generated in apposition in CG have merged into one. We further argue that merging of the two DPs into one correlates

with a change in the D-system. More precisely, the iterated determiners start out in separate appositional DPs and progressively weaken into definiteness morphemes as the two separate phrases are progressively integrated into a single modified noun phrase. This follows essentially Devine & Stephens's 2000 suggestion (p. 238), but we will elaborate on this idea, since they do not go into any details.

We propose that the merging of two DPs into one stems from a categorial change from determiner to agreement marker. The articles that surface in examples such as (43) are thus agreement markers, possibly for definiteness, rather than determiners:

- (43) *Idha to forema to kokkino.* (MG)
 see_{PAST ISG} the dress the red
 'It is the RED dress that I saw.'

It has been suggested for MG (Androutsopoulou 1994) that iterated determiners are just a sort of morphological agreement to indicate definiteness, and that they have mechanically spread from the nominal head.⁵ Evidence for the idea that the article in MG is an agreement marker rather than a determiner comes from the fact that it is obligatory with generic subjects as in (45) and proper names (unlike English) as in (46). In CG, on the other hand, that was not the case, as its use with proper names was only associated with previous mention in the discourse. For the expletive properties of Det in MG, see Roussou & Tsimpli (1994) and Tsimpli & Stavrakaki (1999).

⁵ So-called determiner spreading can also be found in Semitic (cf. Shlonsky 2000), Amharic (cf. Halefom 1994), Hebrew (cf. Sichel 2002).

- (44) I tigri ine apilumeno idos. (MG)
 the tiger be_{-3SG} threatened species
 ‘Tigers are extinct.’
- (45) O Kostas ine eksipnos. (MG)
 the Kostas be_{-3SG} intelligent
 ‘Kostas is intelligent’.

On this view, the term ‘determiner spreading’ is a misnomer. We are not dealing with determiners at all. The picture that emerges is that when a structure is discontinuous as in CG, we are dealing with determiners, but when we are dealing with continuous structures such as (46), we have agreement markers. The topic of ‘determiner spreading’ (cf. Alexiadou & Wilder 1998, Giannakidou & Stavrou 1999, Alexiadou 2000, 2001, Giusti 2001, Marinis & Panagiotidis 2002) is thus only indirectly relevant to our concerns here. Word order is flexible provided that *to* is present, but crucially the optionality in word order (whether it is via base-generation or via movement) is within a single DP:

- (46) Idha **to** **kokkino to forema.** (MG)
 see_{PAST 1SG} the red the dress
 ‘It is the RED dress that I saw.’

Our analysis makes certain predictions about the structure involved in (46). We refer the reader to Mathieu & Sitaridou (2002c) for further discussion.

At this point, something else needs to be added if we take into account the fact that some speakers accept bare adjectival extraction and that the following constructions are possible both in CG and in MG:

- (47) a. Humas pothein akousai **oudemian prohasin.** (CG)
 you desire_{INF} hear_{INF} no excuse
 b. **Oudemian** humas pothein akousai **prohasin.**
 no you desire_{INF} hear_{INF} excuse
 ‘You desire to hear no excuse.’

- (48) a. Den thelo na akuso **kamia dikeologia.** (MG)
 not want_{1SG} PRT_{SUBJ} listen_{1SG} no excuse
 b. **Kamia** den thelo na akuso **dikeologia.**
 no not want_{-SG} PRT_{SUBJ} listen_{1SG} excuse
 ‘I want to hear no excuse.’

- (49) a. Eiche **elpidas polas.** (CG)
 have_{-PAST3SG} hopes many
 b. **Pollas** eiche **elpidas.**
 many have_{PAST3SG} hopes
 ‘He had many hopes.’
 (Herodotus 5.36)

- (50) a. Ixe **poles elpides.** (MG)
 had many hopes
 b. **Poles** ixē elpides.
 many had hopes
 ‘He had many hopes’

The above examples illustrate extraction of quantifiers. Examples (51) and (52) involve extraction of demonstratives:

- (51) a. Tous chromenous **tei tautei ergasiai.** (CG)
 the using the this profession
 b. Tous **tautei** chromenous **tei ergasiai.**
 the this using the profession

- (52) a. **Idha afto to forema.** (MG)
 saw_{PAST1SG} this the dress
 b. **Afto idha to forema.**
 this saw_{PAST1SG} this dress
 ‘I saw this dress.’

Suppose that an element *x* can be raised on its own (i.e. without the nominal with which it is associated), if *x* is an adjective. Quantifiers and demonstratives are often considered modifiers in MG, so they are on a par with adjectives. Suppose now that *ti* was an adjective in CG, but that a categorial change has occurred through time, and that it is now no longer an adjective (or a modifier to use a more general term), but a determiner. Then, it follows that *ti* cannot no longer split in MG. Just like English determiners, these lexical items cannot be separated from the nominal with which they are associated without producing a Left Branch Violation.

This idea is in line with traditional grammars which state that both the interrogative and the indefinite pronoun are used as adjectives in the following cases:

- (53) a. **Tís aner tout’ epoiesen?** (CG)
 what man this do_{PAST3SG}
 ‘What man did this?’
 b. **Kleptis tis tout’ epoiesen.**
 thief some this do_{PAST3SG}
 ‘Some thief did this.’

Note also that *ti* in MG has one form for all genders whereas in CG it had different forms for different genders. This seems to suggest that *ti* is like *wh*-words in English, i.e. determiners and not adjectives:

<i>SINGULAR</i>		
Case	Masc/Fem	Neuter
Nom.	??? (tis)	?? (ti)
Gen.	????? (tinos)	????? (tinos)
Dat.	????(tini)	????(tini)
Acc.	???a (tina)	?? (ti)
<i>PLURAL</i>		
Nom.	???e? (tines)	???a (tina)
Gen.	????? (tinon)	????? (tinon)
Dat.	??s?(tisi)	??s?(tisi)
Acc.	???a?(tinas)	???a (tina)

Table 1: *wh*-elements in Classical Greek

<i>SINGULAR</i>				
Case	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	All genders
Nom.	Poise	Pia	Pio	ti
Gen.	Piu/Pianu/tinos	Pias/Pianis	Piu/Pianu/tinos	indeclinable
Acc.	Pion	Pia(n)	Pio	indeclinable
<i>PLURAL</i>				
Nom.	Pji	Pies	Pia	No
Gen.	Pion/Pianon/tinon	Pion/pianon	Pion/Pianon/tinon	No
Acc.	Pious/Pianus	Pies	Pia	No
Translation	<i>Who/which</i>	<i>Who/which</i>	<i>Who/which</i>	<i>What</i>

Table 2: *wh*-elements in Modern Greek

There is independent evidence that Determiners originate from adjectives (cf. Greenberg 1978, Haspelmath 1995). Cross-lin-

guistically it is common to find indefinite articles originating from numeral adjectives (French: *un* ‘one’ > *un* ‘a’). More generally, it is traditionally assumed that lexical items grammaticalise and become functional via a process of reanalysis. For example, serial verbs change into prepositional phrases (cf. Whitman 2000), nominals into negative markers (cf. Roberts & Roussou 1999), etc.

3.2 *Previous accounts (Roussou 1998; Roberts & Roussou 1999)*

Our analysis is compatible with Roberts & Roussou (1999) analysis insofar as the reanalysis of the indefinites into a distinct class of words is concerned. However, it differs in two important ways. Let us first outline their view, then point out where we are in agreement and where we differ. According to Roberts & Roussou (1999), *ti* was originally an indefinite with no quantificational feature associated with it. The element *ti* could not only be interpreted as *wh*, but also as *any-x* and *some-x* (examples (2), (3) and (4) repeated here for convenience, examples in Roussou 1998:114):

(2) **Τί** gar an **τίς** kai poioi, ô (CG)
 Socrates?
 what PRT PRT one and do_{3SG} VOC Socrates
 ‘What could one do, Socrates?’
 (Plato *Laches* 184d)

(3) Legein **τι** ô Sôcrates moi dokeis. (CG)
 say_{INF} one VOC Socrates me_{DAT} seem_{2SG}
 ‘You seem to me that you’re saying something,
 Socrates.’

(Plato *Laches* 199e)

- (4) ... ei **tís** **ti** erei... (CG)
if anyone anything say-3SG
‘[let us not mind] if anyone says anything.’
(Plato *Laches* 201b)

In order to achieve the *wh* interpretation, *ti* had to move to initial position and carry a stress in the penultimate syllable.

Roberts and Roussou claim that at some point the CG indefinites were reanalysed into a distinct class of *wh*-words in MG. They argue that this change was triggered by a number of factors. First, on the existential/polarity interpretation, the CG indefinites started being replaced productively by the numerical *heis*, *mian*, *hen* (‘one’). Second, the negative quantifier *oudhen* ‘nothing’, which was part of a distinct paradigm of negative quantifiers, started replacing the sentential negator *ou*, contributing to the loss of *no*-words and the consequent development of *any*-words (polarity item *tipota* ‘anything’).

The mechanics of the grammaticalisation outlined by Roberts & Roussou is as follows: when the indefinite is systematically found in a *wh*-dependency, *tí* is reanalysed by the language learner as associated with the head of the dependency, i.e. as a designated *wh*-word. This follows from the Lexical Subset Principle:

(54) *Lexical Subset Principle*

Interpret lexical items as being susceptible of occurrence in the smallest set of contexts consistent with the input.

In other words, we have the change $x > x[+F]$ where *F* is in this case *wh*.

As shown by Roussou (1998), in Classical Greek interrogatives, *ti* had to raise to Spec-CP, since CG has no question markers which could have been base-generated in C⁶. The strong Q/*wh* feature in C has to be satisfied. In Chinese, it is satisfied via Merge (that language has interrogative particles), in Classical Greek the strong Q/*wh* feature of C is checked via Move. But one question arises. If *ti* is a pure indefinite, it has no quantificational feature associated with it. In other words, it is not clear under minimalist assumptions what feature can be matched against the strong Q/*wh* feature of C. This is a potential problem. However, Roussou proposes that interrogative phrases in Classical Greek were focused indefinites and that they raise to a specific Focus position. When focused, indefinites become quantificational. When quantificational, it must then be assumed that they have the relevant feature to check against the strong feature in F⁰. The situation in Modern Greek, Roussou argues, is the same: *wh* phrases raise to the specifier position of a Focus phrase.

We certainly agree that *ti* was an indefinite in Classical Greek and that it became an inherent *wh* phrase only when, for example, the numerical ‘one’ started being used in the purely indefinite context. But let us now highlight the differences between Roberts & Roussou’s analysis and our account. First, it is not clear how they can account for split-*wh* constructions in Classical Greek. They do not in fact discuss them. Roberts & Roussou assume that *Move* necessarily applies to the whole DP in Classical Greek. However, it was possible, as we have shown, for *ti* to raise on its own. Granted that in these constructions *ti* was an in-

⁶ Morphophonological changes took place in Hellenistic Greek which gave rise to the loss of sentential particles, including the interrogative ones, leaving movement as the sole marker of interrogation (cf. Roussou 1998).

definite, then an additional account as to why two elements belonging to one constituent can be separated is needed. If *ti* was a modifier, then it follows that it could be split from the nominal with which it was associated.

We think that there is a simple answer to the problem. We take Roussou's (1998) account to indicate that in interrogatives, *ti* was simply NOT an indefinite in the strict sense of the term. It was quantificational. For our purposes, one major condition for DP-splitting, and in particular *wh*-splitting, is that the moved element be quantificational. It seems in fact that the feature that *ti* carried was *wh* rather than focus. As is well-known, Greek allows focus in situ. If *tí* carried a focus feature, then it would have been possible for *ti* to remain in situ. But Classical Greek did not have *wh* in situ. Thus, it appears that movement of *ti* was *wh*-related. If this is correct, this means that there was a lexical item *ti* meaning 'what' and another *ti* meaning 'anything'/'something' (meaning that *ti* was not ambiguous in the strict sense of the term). Finally, if we assume, like we do, that the raised element in a split construction is not only quantificational, but also a modifier, then the availability of splitting follows. Further support for the view that *ti* is a modifier comes from the fact that the bare split element can inflect for gender, case and number, and thus patterns with other adjectives.

3.3 *The case of 'tinós'*

Let us now examine the case of *tinós* 'whose', which you will recall permits splitting. The first thing to point out is that not all speakers of MG accept *tinós* splitting on the genitive interpretation. Some speakers accept *tinós* splitting only on the reading whereby the *tinós* phrase means 'to whom':

- (55) [OBJ1 **Tinos** eferes [OBJ2 **to** **vivlio**]]? (MG)
to whom bring_{PAST2SG} the book
‘To whom did you bring the book?’

Speakers who accept the genitive interpretation usually accept the benefactive reading as well (call this Grammar A), but crucially those who accept the benefactive interpretation do not necessarily accept the genitive interpretation (call this Grammar B).

Let us deal with Grammar A speakers first. The latter is accounted for as follows. The verb *ferno* (‘to bring’, cf. *fero* in Classical Greek) or any other ditransitive verb for that matter takes in MG one direct object Case-marked with accusative and one indirect object Case-marked with genitive or prepositional accusative (with different word order restrictions in each case). In interrogative contexts, the indirect object is replaced by *tinós*, since the latter - albeit in genitive - is the case form that replaces the indirect object.⁷ The idea is that the indirect object is a separate constituent and therefore need not be adjacent to the direct object. Hence, the availability of what looks like splitting, but is not splitting in the technical sense.

Let us now turn to Grammar B. We want to argue that splitting with *tinós* is due to a ‘learnèd’ influence (cf. Pountain 1998). A ‘learnèd’ influence is a special case of language contact between an educated minority of speakers of a language and a prestige vehicle of culture’ (Pountain 1998:160). This claim for the *tinós* construction is indeed ratified by stylistics criteria. The *tinós* construction seems to turn up in high registers and although

⁷ This happens with all clitics that replace indirect objects in MG. Although they replace dative arguments their form is the genitive. This is an innovation of MG not discussed here but which is discussed extensively in the literature.

we cannot at this point back up our conclusion with statistical evidence the generalisation seems to be that the construction is register specific.

As for the speakers of Grammar A for whom both interpretations are available we further claim that may have two or more competing grammars in the sense of Kroch (1989).

As a final remark we want to point out that this kind of ‘internalised diglossia’ (Lightfoot 1999) represents an interesting approach to the learnability problem concerning the acquisition of optional operations since alternations are diachronically unstable in language and represent a transition whereby one of the grammars falls into disuse.

4 Conclusions

To conclude: the idea that we put forward is that DP-splitting is possible when two DPs (one of which is a null head modifier) are generated in apposition. DP-splitting is no longer possible when the two DPs merge into one. This correlates with a change in the D-system, i.e. determiners become agreement markers. An additional claim was made in order to account for the availability of splitting in the case of adjectives, quantifiers such as *many* and *no* and demonstratives on the one hand, and the non-availability of splitting with *wh*-structures on the other. The hypothesis that we proposed for MG is that adjectives, quantifiers such as *many* and *no* and demonstratives can split because they are modifiers, whereas the interrogative *ti* is no longer a modifier in MG (it was once in CG), but a determiner. The fact that splitting is possible with *tinós* (‘whose’) is due to the fact that it is a ‘learnèd’ construction in the sense of Pountain (1998). We have argued in passing that focus in MG was licensed at PF rather

than in narrow syntax and we have touched upon certain issues which needless to say require much further in depth analysis. We propose to enlarge our database and expand on the details of our analysis in further work.

References

- Abney, S. (1987). *The English Noun Phrase in its Sentential Aspect*. PhD dissertation. MIT.
- Alexiadou, A. (2001). Adjective Syntax and Noun Raising: Word Order Asymmetries in the DP as the Result of Adjective Distribution. *Studia Linguistica* 55, 217-248.
- Alexiadou, A. (2002). Adjective Syntax and (the Absence of) Noun Raising in the DP. *Proceedings of the Workshop on Head-movement*. UCLA.
- Alexiadou, A., C. Wilder (1998). Adjectival Modification and Multiple Determiners. In A. Alexiadou & C. Wilder (eds.), *Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the DP*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 303-332.
- Alexopoulou, T., D. Kolliakou (2001). On Linkhood, Topicalization and Clitic Left Dislocation. To appear in *Journal of Linguistics*.
- Androutsopoulou, A. (1994). The Distribution of the Definite Determiner and the Syntax of Greek DPI. *Proceedings of CLS*, 30, 16-19.
- Androutsopoulou, A. (1995). The Licensing of Adjectival Modification. *Proceedings of WCCFL*, 14, 17-31.
- Androutsopoulou, A. (1997). Split DPs, Focus, and Scrambling in Modern Greek. *WCCFL*, 16, 1-16.
- Brody, M. (1990). Some Remarks on the Focus Field in Hungarian. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistic*, 2, 201-225.
- Devine, A.M., L.D. Stephens (2000). *Discontinuous Syntax: Hyperbaton in Greek*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Denniston, J.D. (1997). *Greek Prose Style*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- Giannakidou, A., M. Stavrou (1999). Nominalization and Ellipsis in the Greek DP. *Linguistic Review*, 16, 295-331.
- Giusti, G. (2001). The Functional Structure of Noun Phrases: a Bare Phrase Structure Approach. Ms. University of Venice.

- Greenberg, J. (1978). How does a Language acquire Gender Markers. In J. Greenberg (ed.), *Universals of Human Language*, vol 3. Stanford: SUP.
- Halefom, G. (1994). *The Syntax of Functional Categories. A Study of Amharic*. PhD dissertation. University of Québec, Montreal.
- Haspelmath, M. (1995). Diachronic sources of 'all' and 'every'. In E. Bach, E. Jelinek, A. Kratzer & B. Partee (eds.), *Quantification in natural languages*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Horrocks, G., M. Stavrou (1987). Bounding Theory and Greek Syntax: Evidence for *wh*-movement in NP. *Journal of Linguistics*, 23, 79-108.
- Kayne, R. (1994). *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kolliakou, D. (1998). Linkhood and Multiple Definite Marking'. In G. Bouma et al. *Proceedings of FHCG'98*, (Joint Conference on Formal Grammar, Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar and Categorical Grammar), 14-22. Saarbrücken.
- Kroch, A. (1989). Reflexes of Grammar in Patterns of Language Change. *Journal of Language Variation and Change*, 1, 199-244.
- Lekakou, M. (2000). *Focus in Modern Greek*. MA Dissertation. University College London.
- Leu, T. (2001). A Sketchy Note on the Article-Modifier Relation. *Generative Grammar in Geneva*, 2, 55-69.
- Lightfoot, D. (1999). *The Development of Language: acquisition, change, and evolution*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lindhamer, L. (1908). *Zur Wortstellung im Griechischen*. Diss. Leipzig.
- Marinis, T., P. Panagiotidis (2002). Determiner Spreading as Predication. Ms. University of Essex and Middlesex University.
- Mathieu, E. (2002a). Focus Particles and Frozen Scope. In H. Marsden, S. Pourcel and M. Whong-Barr (eds.), *Durham Working Papers in Linguistics*, Vol. 8, 81-95.
- Mathieu, E. (2002b). *The Syntax of Non-Canonical Quantification: a Comparative Study*. PhD dissertation. University College London.
- Mathieu, E. (2002c). 'Generalized semantic incorporation and past participial (anti-) agreement in Romance'. Ms. UCL.
- Mathieu, E., I. Sitaridou (2002a). Split DP syntax in Classical and Modern Greek: a study on the left periphery and the nature of DPs' at 'XXVIII Incontro di Grammatica Generativa', February 28-March 2, University of Lecce.

- Mathieu, E., I. Sitaridou (2002b). Split DP syntax and defocalised nominals: a view on the syntax-discourse interface. Talk presented at *GLOW 2002, Workshop on 'The Syntax-Discourse Interface: Linguistic and Psycholinguistic Issues.'* April 5-7, Utrecht.
- Mathieu, E., I. Sitaridou (2002c). 'Split-DP syntax and defocalised nominals in Greek: a view on the syntax-discourse interface'. Long version. Ms. UCL & University of Manchester.
- Newmeyer, F. J. (2002). Interpretable Features, Feature-driven A-bar Movement, and the Syntax-Discourse Interface. Talk presented at *GLOW 2002, Workshop on 'The Syntax-Discourse Interface: Linguistic and Psycholinguistic Issues.'* April 5-7, Utrecht and at the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- Moumtzakis, A.B. (1989). *Syndaktiko ths Arxaias Ellhnikhs*. Athens: OEDV.
- Obenauer, H-G. (1976). *Etudes de Syntaxe Interrogative du Français*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Obenauer, H-G. (1983). Une Quantification Non-Canonique : La Quantification à Distance. *Langue Française*, 58, 66-88.
- Obenauer, H-G. (1994). *Aspects de la Syntaxe A-Barre*. Thèse de Doctorat d'Etat. Université de Paris VIII.
- Poletto, C., J-Y. Pollock (2000). On the Left Periphery of some Romance Wh-questions. Unpublished Ms., Padua & Amiens. To appear in the *OUP Pontignano volume*, Rizzi & Cinque (eds.).
- Pountain, C. J. (1998). Learned syntax in the Romance languages: the 'Accusative and Infinitive' construction with declarative verbs in Castillian. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, Vol. 96:2, 159-201.
- Puskás, G. (1998). A Split-CP Approach: Evidence from Hungarian. In I. Kenesei (ed.), *Papers from the Amsterdam Conference. Approaches to Hungarian*, vol.6. JATE: Szeged.
- Roberts, I., A. Roussou (1999). A formal approach to 'Grammaticalisation'. *Linguistics* 37, 1011-41.
- Roussou, A. (1998). Wh-Interrogatives from Classical Greek to Modern Greek. In S. Lambropoulou (ed.), *Proceedings of the 12th International Symposium of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics*. Thessaloniki, April. 2-4.
- Sekerina, I. (1997). *The Syntax and Processing of Scrambling Constructions in Russian*. PhD Dissertation. City University, New-York.

- Sichel, I. (2002). Phrasal movement in Hebrew adjectives and possessives. In A. Alexiadou, E. Anagnostopoulou, S. Barbiers & H.-M. Gaertner (eds.), *Dimensions of movement: from remnants to features*. John Benjamins.
- Shlonsky, U. (2001). The Form of Semitic Noun Phrases. An Antisymmetric, non N-movement account. Ms., Geneva.
- Speas, M., C. Tenny (2001). Configurational Properties of Point of View Roles. To appear in the *Proceedings of the Montreal Asymmetry conference*.
- Tsimpli, I. (1990). The Clause Structure and Word Order of Modern Greek. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics*, 2, 228-255.
- Tsimpli, I. (1995). Focusing in Modern Greek. In K. É. Kiss (ed.) *Discourse Configurational Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tsimpli, I.M., S. Stavrakaki (1999). The effects of a morphosyntactic deficit in the Determiner System: The case of a Greek SLI child. *Lingua*, 108, 31-85.
- van Geenhoven, V. (1998). *Semantic Incorporation and Indefinite Descriptions: Semantic and Syntactic Aspects of Noun Incorporation in West Greenlandic*. Standord: CSLI.
- van Riemsdijk, H. (1989). Movement and Regeneration. In P. Benincà (ed.), *Linguistic Theory and Dialectology*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Whitman, J. (2000). Relabelling. In S. Pintzuk, G. Tsoulas & A. Warner (eds.), *Diachronic Syntax: Models and Mechanisms*. Oxford: OUP.
- Zubizarreta, M.L. (1998). *Prosody, Focus, and Word Order*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Eric Mathieu
 Department of Phonetics
 and Linguistics
 University College London
 Gower Street
 London WC1E 6BT
 UK
 eric@ling.ucl.ac.uk

Ioanna Sitaridou
 Department of Linguistics
 University of Manchester
 Oxford Road
 M13 0PL Manchester
 UK
 ioanna.sitaridou@stud.man.ac.uk