WHAT GREEK DETS DO: THE RESTRICTIVE DP*

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In this work, I look at Greek nominals known as *polydefinites* (Kolliakou 2004). Polydefinites contain multiple instances of the definite article, each followed by an adjective. Although these are argued to have only restrictive readings (Kolliakou 2004, Lekakou and Szendröi 2009), non-restrictive readings are also possible. I determine the environments in which these readings arise; and focusing on the restrictive ones, I propose a syntactic analysis that not only addresses their properties but also unifies them with other restrictive modifiers.

1. Introduction

In Greek, an ordinary definite nominal typically consists of one definite determiner followed by a noun. Adjectives always precede the noun, thus intervening between the determiner and the noun (cf. 1a). Interestingly, there are also polydefinite nominals, in which each adjective is preceded by a definite determiner. In such cases the determiner—adjective sequence can either precede or follow the noun (cf. 1b):

- (1) a. I Stella aghorase to
 The-NOM.FEM Stella.FEM buy-AOR.3S the-NEU
 kokino podilato.
 red-NEU bike-NEU
 'Stella bought the red bike.'
 - I b. Stella aghorase (to The-Nom.Fem Stella.FEM buy-AOR.3S the-NEU podilato kokino) kokino) to (to red-NEU the-NEU bike-NEU the-NEU red-NEU 'Stella bought the red bike.'

Previous analyses have argued that the determiner and adjective form a restrictive DP (Kolliakou 2004, and Lekakou & Szendröi 2009). In this paper, I show that these modifying nominals may have either restrictive or non-restrictive interpretations, reflected in the various orderings. Focusing on the restrictive ones, I argue that they are only one of several types of restrictive nominals in the language, which, as I show, behave uniformly. Based on these conclusions, I then propose a syntactic analysis that unifies the properties of the restrictive modifying nominals of Greek.

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Accordingly, section (2) presents the data and the earlier analyses. Section (3) presents my syntactic proposal. In section (4) I discuss other types of modifiers showing that these can be derived by the proposed mechanism and section (5) concludes with some new insights about polydefinites and restrictive nominals in general.

2. Data and previous analyses

The Greek noun must always be preceded by a determiner (cf. 2a), unless it is a non-specific kind-denoting object DP as in (2b):

- (2) a. * (I) Melina anikse to
 The-NOM.FEM Melina.FEM buy-PST.3s the-MASC
 xondhro fakelo (*xondhro).
 thick-MASC envelope-MASC thick-MASC
 'Melina opened the thick envelope.'
 - b. Pírate *tetráðia* ja to sholío? Take-PST.2PL notebook-PL.NEU for the-NEU school-NEU 'Did you get any notebooks for school?'

A nominal containing more than one definite determiner and an adjective is known as *polydefinite* (Kolliakou 2004). The word order in polydefinites is especially flexible, since the [determiner and adjective] constituents precede or follow the noun. (3) shows the six possible orderings for the polydefinite meaning 'the silver the handmade the pen' all of which are well-formed:

(3)	a.	I asimena i xiropijti i pena	The silver the handmade the pen
	b.	I xiropijti i asimena i pena	The handmade the silver the pen
	c.	I asimena i pena i xiropijti	The silver the pen the handmade
	d.	I xiropijti i pena i asimena	The handmade the pen the silver
	e.	I pena i xiropijti i asimena	The pen the handmade the silver
	f.	I pena i asimena i xiropijti	The pen the silver the handmade

This distributional flexibility is absent in the typical nominals with a single determiner. Their word order is fixed, as the definite determiner must precede the noun and the adjective must intervene between the determiner and the noun. The adjective never appears post-nominally:

- (4) a. I asimena xiropijti pena The-NOM.FEM silver-FEM handmade-FEM pen-FEM 'The silver, handmade pen'
 - b. * I asimena pena *xiropijti*The-NOM.FEM silver-FEM pen-FEM handmade-FEM
 * 'The silver pen handmade'

Hence, as in English, DPs with a single determiner have a fixed order. DPs with multiple determiners have a flexible word order. This flexibility, but

also the presence of the extra determiners are the issues we need to account for. I now present previous analyses and examine how each ones approaches these.

Androutsopoulou (1996), who first discussed the phenomenon of multiple determiners in the nominal, called it *definiteness spreading* (DS), claiming that each determiner is a distinct Def head within the DP, hosting ϕ -features, case and definiteness. The determiners under each Def are 'expletives', except the one hosted by the highest head in the extended projection of N.

This analysis provides us with a first insight on the polydefinites. It does not however, answer the issues we raised. Furthermore, it raises other questions, especially about the status of the DefP. As Alexiadou and Wilder (1998) point out, it is not evident what regulates this type of distribution.

Alexiadou and Wilder (1998) and also Campos and Stavrou (2004) argue instead that the restrictive nominal is a type of clausal complement. However, these analyses also run into problems. First, it is not clear how they can account for the multiple modifiers, or for the co-occurrence of restrictive modifiers with real complements, such as *avghon* in (5):

(5) I vafi avghon tis
The-NOM.FEM color-FEM egg-GEN.PL the-GEN.FEM
Stellas itan telios fitiki.
Stella-GEN.FEM was-3SG completely-ADV organic-FEM
'Stella's egg dye was completely organic.'

Kolliakou (2004), and later Lekakou & Szendröi (2008, 2009) approach polydefinites from a different perspective. They claim that a polydefinite modifier is an instance of close apposition with restrictive interpretation. Lekakou and Szendröi further argue that multiple restrictive nominals convey the exact same meaning regardless of their position. Semantically, they claim that the restrictive, or as they call it, the close appositive DP composes intersectively with the noun, resulting in an entity that belongs to two sets.

Lekakou and Szendröi's analysis goes significantly farther. They acknowledge the intersective character of polydefinites, which had not been observed earlier, while they also derive the multiple polydefinites. However, their claims raise a few questions.

First, the claim that the polydefinite modifier adjoins to DP goes against the assumption that restrictive (intersective) modifiers adjoin low (see Heim & Kratzer, 1998). Also, their assumption on sisterhood entails that either one of the nominals can be the head. This claim requires a more thorough examination. As for the possibility that the different word orders reflect different meanings Lekakou and Szendröi reject it with no adequate evidence against it.

Moreover, the claim that the definite determiner, or rather all the definite determiners, are expletives is not fully explained. For example, the fact that the determiner occurs with proper names does not entail that it does not contribute definiteness. It might be, for instance, that the Greek article is underspecified in

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Although Kolliakou (2004) offers a thorough examination of the restrictive modifying character of polydefinites her analysis is not presented in detail here, as her work is primarily based on the HPSG framework.

terms of definiteness. A broad term like *definiteness* has been extensively studied and different properties are often ascribed to it. Hence, even if the determiner does not contribute the uniqueness presupposition, it may actually encode other aspects of definiteness such as *familiarity*.²

Although these analyses each contribute insights into the puzzle of polydefinites, they do not fully address their properties. We still need an account of multiple polydefinites and an overall explanation for why there are polydefinites in this language at all. In the remainder of this paper, I present an analysis that provides some answers to these questions.

3. Polydefinites from the modifier perspective

3.1 Restrictive and non-restrictive modifying nominals

In this section, I show that polydefinites may involve not only restrictive but also non-restrictive meanings.

Typically, restrictive DPs identify the noun more narrowly. They specify a particular noun by restricting its extension. They are not set off by commas intonation. In (6) *Elena* and *Eleftheria* each restrict the set of sisters:

(6) My sister *Elena* lives in Berlin and my sister *Eleftheria* in Athens.

Restrictive DPs are essential to the meaning of the sentence but not to its syntax:

(7) My sister #(*Elena*) lives in Berlin and my sister #(*Eleftheria*) in Athens.

Non-restrictive DPs do not narrow down the referent of the nominal, and they are thus not essential to its meaning. They are also known as supplements (see Potts (2005)). Such DPs involve an intonational pause marked by commas:

- (8) a. My sister, *Eleftheria*, lives in Athens.
 - b. My sister lives in Athens.

Similar facts arise with polydefinites. In (9) the two nominal modifiers i arseniki ('the male one') and i $\theta iliki$ ('the female one') are interpreted restrictively. That is, there have to be at least two cats. These modifiers are essential to the meaning, whether they are prenominal or postnominal:

(9) #(Iarseniki) i gata ine The-FEM.NOM male-FEM the-FEM.NOM cat-FEM.NOMbe-3SG #(i paraθiro ke θ iliki) ston the-FEM.NOM female-FEM on-the- MASC.ACC on-the window and kanape.

'The male cat is by the window and the female one on the couch.'

See Kyriakaki (in progress) for a treatment of the Greek definite determiner.

(10) Pira ke forema #(to kocino) to Get-Pst.1sg and the-NEU dress-NEU the-NEU red-NEU ke #(to lefko). and the-NEU white-NEU 'I got both the red and the white dress.' (or more accurately 'I got the dresses both the red one and the white one')

What then, is the difference between prenominal and post-nominal restrictive DPs? In example (11) the adjective *ayapimenos* is ambiguous between a restrictive meaning ('favorite') and a non-restrictive ('beloved'). When it appears prenominally, the sentence can only be interpreted as *my favorite husband*, and not as *my beloved husband*:

(11) O ayapimenos mu,
The-MASC.NOM beloved/favorite-MASC.NOM my-CL.GEN
o andras
the-MASC.NOM man-MASC.NOM
My favorite husband
My beloved one, my husband

The prenominal adjective can thus only be interpreted restrictively: there is more than one husband and among them one is the speaker's favorite. Non-restrictive DPs are impossible prenominally. However, if the modifier follows the noun, either interpretation is possible:

(12) O andras mu_(/*) o
The-MASC.NOM man-MASC.NOM my-CL.GEN the-MASC.NOM
ayapimenos
beloved/favorite-MASC.NOM
'My favorite husband' or 'My beloved husband'

Unlike the prenominal DP which can only be restrictive, the post-nominal DP is ambiguous between restrictive and non-restrictive readings.

These observations suggest that restrictive and non-restrictive DPs should have different structural positions. The non-restrictive DP is only possible in a post-nominal position. The restrictive DP though, is possible both prenominally and post-nominally. Let us pursue the possibility that the two word orders in the restrictive case are related by movement.

I propose that it is the new information carried by the modifier that triggers movement. In other words, focus forces the restrictive interpretation. Two types of focus may be present in such structures: contrastive focus or just information focus. Hence, in example (13) two readings may be associated with the prenominal restrictive modifier. In the contrastive reading the meaning available is *it is the red dress I need* while in the information reading the contrastiveness is absent:

(13) Xriazome [TO KOKINO to forema].

Need-1SG the-NEU red-NEU the-NEU dress-NEU
'I need the RED dress.'

In contrast, the post-nominal modifier cannot be easily focused (cf. 14a) unless there is a pause as in (14b), in which case it is not restrictive any more:

- (14) a. Xriazome to forema #(TO KOKINO).

 Need-1SG the-NEU dress-NEU the-NEU red-NEU

 'I need the red dress.'
 - b. Xriazome to forema TO KOKINO.

 Need-1SG the-NEU dress-NEU the-NEU red-NEU

 'I need the dress the red one.'

More evidence that only the prenominal modifier can be focused comes from fronting of the whole DP to a preverbal position. In such cases contrastive focus on the prenominal modifying nominal is obligatory:

- (15) a. [TO KOKINO to forema] xriazome. The-NEU red-NEU the-NEU dress-NEU need-1SG 'I need the RED dress.' (or 'it is the red dress I need')
 - b. # To kokino to forema xriazome.
 The-NEU red-NEU the-NEU dress-NEU need-1SG
 'I need the red dress.'

Fronting of the whole DP with a post-nominal modifier is not as acceptable:

(16) # TO FOREMA/ to forema to kokino xriazome.

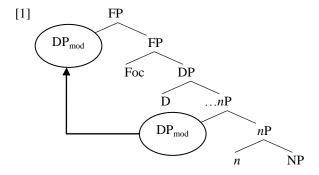
The-NEU dress-NEU the-NEU red-NEU need-1SG

'I need the red DRESS.' (or 'it is the red dress I need')

Hence, as opposed to the prenominal modifier, the postnominal one cannot be focused unless it is non-restrictive. Considering a non-fronted polydefinite then, if only the prenominal modifier can be focused, this suggests that it has moved to a focus position. This is a position of new (and possibly contrastive) information.

In conclusion, the restrictive modifier is either prenominal or post-nominal. When prenominal, it is focused and must have thus moved to the FP (see structure [1]). When post-nominal, I assume that this is in its base position³:

I discuss the details of the given structure in the next two sections.



The non-restrictive modifier on the other hand, is only post-nominal, whether focused or not. The reason it is only post-nominal also stems from its appositive properties. That is, appositives constitute supplements or comments, and are thus not a part of the main information of the referent DP. In all then, restrictive and non-restrictive nominals involve different syntactic positions.

Based on these conclusions, I now focus on the restrictive modifying nominals, and present the details of the proposed analysis.

3.2 The syntax of restrictive polydefinites

In this section, I look at the structure of the nominals containing a restrictive modifying nominal. The main issue I focus on is where exactly the restrictive modifying nominal is located in the structure. I show that this nominal is an adjunct that adjoins to nP.

As shown earlier, Alexiadou & Wilder's (1998) and Campos & Stavrou' (2004) analyses treat the adjective as a predicate making unclear how multiple such modifiers can be derived. The observations made here though, suggest otherwise. We have seen that these modifiers are not obligatory syntactically. There can be more than one and they modify the referent noun the way other modifiers do. They thus seem to behave like adjuncts rather than predicates.

Following Heim and Kratzer (1998), I assume that restrictive modifiers combine intersectively with the noun at the predicate level, i.e. the nP. Assuming that possessor genitives are generated in spec nP as in Adger (2000), restrictive modifiers should precede possessor genitives⁴:

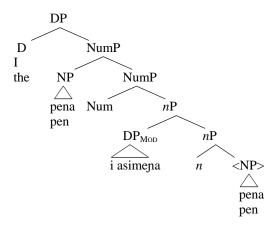
[2]
$$[_{nP} DP_{mod} [_{nP} DP_{Poss} [_{nP} n [_{NP} N]]]]$$

Regarding the structure of a typical nominal, following Ritter (1993), Borer (2005) and Cowper (2005), I assume a NumP is projected above the nP. This agreement projection has been independently proposed (Campos & Stavrou, 2004). The noun moves to NumP deriving the order N – DP_{mod} – DP_{poss} .

Evidence that the possessor is in spec *nP* comes from the fact that true N-complements are possible (as in ex. 5). The only way to derive such structures is to assume that there is noun phrase movement, where the noun along with its complement moves past the typically post-nominal possessor.

I suggest NP rather than N moves as the internal N-complement also moves (cf. 3). The NP moves to spec NumP in order to check ϕ -features of Num. I thus propose the structure in [3] for a nominal containing a restrictive post-nominal modifier:

[3] I pena i asimena
The-NOM.FEM pen-FEM the-NOM.FEM silver-FEM
'The silver pen' (or lit. 'the pen the silver one')



Plain (i.e. non-polydefinite) adjectives in definite DPs are always prenominal, and thus must adjoin no lower than NumP. For prenominal restrictive modifiers I additionally assume an informational Focus Phrase immediately dominating the DP. Restrictive modifiers may move to the specifier of Focus Phrase deriving the polydefinite with a prenominal restrictive modifier.

In conclusion, this analysis captures the properties of the restrictive polydefinite. Multiple restrictive modifiers are now possible, since they all can adjoin to the nP. Their optional and modifying character is also accounted for by their status as adjuncts. They differ from APs in that they can be post-nominal. One issue remaining is why Greek, but not English for example, allows for polydefinites at all. I assume that the answer to this is to be found in the semantics of the determiner, i.e. that it is underspecified in terms of definiteness (see Kyriakaki (in progress) for a detailed account of this view).

I now turn to the structure of the modifying nominal itself.

3.3 An inner look at the restrictive nominal

In this section, I look at the restrictive modifying nominal and examine its inner structural properties. I first focus on identifying its nominal head and then turn to the elements that can appear inside the restrictive modifying nominal.

Regarding the category of the head of these modifiers, there seem to be two possibilities: (i) that it is a type of pro, as argued by Campos and Stavrou (2004); (ii) or that it is an empty or elided N. Let us consider each in turn.

Like a pronoun, the restrictive nominal can be used anaphorically:

- (17) A: θa paris makri to forema to Fut take.2SG the.NEU long-NEU the-NEU dress-NEU kodo? i to the-NEU short-NEU or 'Are you getting the long dress or the short one?'
 - B. (a) To makri.
 The-NEU long-NEU
 'The long one.'

Thus, the restrictive nominal is possible in both questions and answers with the referent noun omitted altogether. However, notice below that (b) is not a possible answer to A's question, although this would be possible in English:

B. (b) *To me tis tetrayones
The-NEU with the-FEM.PL.ACC square-FEM.PL
tsepes.
pocket-FEM.PL
'The one with the square pockets.'

If a silent pronoun analogous to English 'one' were present, answer (b) should be possible. Further evidence against the possibility of a pronominal head is provided by the demonstrative, which is used as the third person pronoun in Greek. As shown below, demonstratives are perfectly fine if substituted for the determiner 'to' in (b). Since true pronouns are acceptable, this suggests that the modifier does not contain a pronoun:

(c) Afto/ Ecino me tis
This-NEU / That-NEU with the-FEM.PL.ACC
tetrayones tsepes.
square-FEM.PL pocket-FEM.PL
'This/that one with the square pockets.'

Additionally, the presence of the determiner strongly suggests there is a noun involved. Greek nouns obligatorily take a determiner, but pronouns do not.

Finally, possessive pronouns combine with nouns (cf. 18a), but not with pronouns. Interestingly, this is a cross-linguistic fact (cf. 18b). Notice ex. (18c) that the possessive pronoun is perfectly fine with the polydefinite modifier:

My it-NEU

(18) a. To forema mu.
The-NEU dress-NEU my-CLIT
'My dress'

b. * Afto mu/ / My it/ Mein es (German)

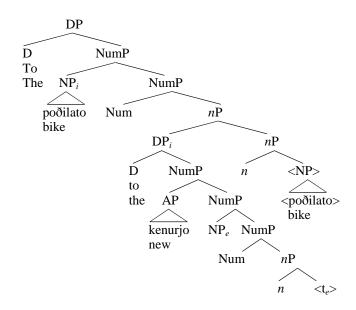
my-CLIT /

This-NEU

c. To makri mu to forema
The-NEU long-NEU my-CLIT the-NEU dress-NEU
'My long dress'

Consequently, the head of the modifying nominal is not a pronoun but rather an empty noun. I assume that when the modified NP moves to the c-commanding spec NumP, coindexation with the empty NP is accomplished, valuing the ϕ -features of the empty NP and making it interpretable:

[4] To poðilato to kenurjo The-NEU bike-NEU the-NEU new-NEU 'The new bike'



As shown in this tree, the modifying nominal has the basic similar structure as that of a typical DP. The difference is that the head of this nominal is an empty noun. A logical question one might ask then, is what else can appear inside such a modifier. Apparently, not much can. As shown below, possessive clitics are allowed, but independent genitive DPs are banned:

(19) To kokino *tis* /* *tis Marias*The-NEU red-NEU her-CLIT the-GEN.FEM Maria-GEN.FEM to poðilato.
the-NEU bike-NEU
'Her red bike'/ *Mary's red bike (ungrammatical for Greek).

Two pieces of evidence tell us that the clitic is inside the restrictive DP.

First, the clitic is fronted along with the modifier. Secondly, the clitic cliticizes onto the adjective, giving one phonological word with an extra secondary stress:

(20) [kókino + tis] → [kó.ki-nò.tis] red-NEU her-CLIT red-NEU her-CLIT

No other elements can appear in this modifier. Not even additional adjectives:

- (21) a. * [To palio /kokino yriyoro] to
 The-NEU old-NEU/ red-NEU fast-NEU the-NEU
 mixanaki
 motorbike-NEU
 'The quick old motorbike'
 - b. * To mixanaki [to palio
 The-NEU motorbike-NEU the-NEU old-NEU
 /kokino yriyoro]
 red-NEU fast-NEU
 'The quick old motorbike'

In conclusion, the restrictive modifying DP exhibits a fixed structure internally with few elements in it. In other words, it forms a type of reduced or 'small DP', where at most a clitic can be inserted.

4. Other modifying nominals – unifying the account

In this section, I argue that the modifier with the empty noun is not the only type of restrictive nominals. Other types are proper names, count nouns and demonstrative noun phrases. In (22) thus, the proper name *i Stella* 'Stella' in (a) and the count noun in (b) *i jatros* 'the doctor' each restrict the set of friends:

- (22) a. I fili mu i
 The-FEM.NOM friend-FEM my-CLIT. the-FEM.NOM
 Stella (oxi i Anna)
 Stella (not the-FEM.NOMAnna)
 'My friend Stella (not Anna)' (proper name)
 - b. I fili mu i
 The-FEM.NOM friend-FEM my-CLIT. the-FEM.NOM
 jatros (oxi i sigrafeas)
 doctor (not the-FEM.NOM writer)
 'My friend the doctor (not the writer)' (count noun)

Similar to the modifiers with the empty noun, these DPs are also reduced. This is easy to see with restrictive count nouns, which can normally contain adjectives and full possessors:

(23) a. # I Stella i ikani jatros oxi
The-FEM.NOM Stella the-FEM.NOM skillful-FEM doctor-NOM not
i sigrafeas
the-FEM.NOM writer-NOM
'Stella the skillful doctor not the writer'

b. # I Stella i jatros
The-FEM.NOM Stella the-FEM.NOM doctor-NOM
tu joryu oxi i sigrafeas
the-MASC.GEN George-MASC.GEN not the-FEM.NOM writer-NOM
'Stella George's doctor not the writer'

Therefore, this type of restrictive DP cannot be modified either.

Turning to the demonstratives, I will show that these also restrict the set of entities denoted by the noun. They thus form another type of restrictive nominal modifier.

To start with, Greek demonstratives are pronominal phrases, which, as shown, are used anaphorically. Third person pronouns are absent in Greek, and the demonstratives are used instead:

(24) Irθe afti/ ekinos pali. Came.-3SG this-FEM/ that-MASC.NOM again 'She/ That guy was here again.'

Since the demonstrative is pronominal, following Cowper & Hall (2009) I assume that its syntactic category is φP , where $[\varphi]$ converts the predicate into an indexed argument. Focusing on its restrictive uses, we can see that it appears in modifying contexts, and it can bear contrastive or informational focus, and contributes to the meaning of the nominal:

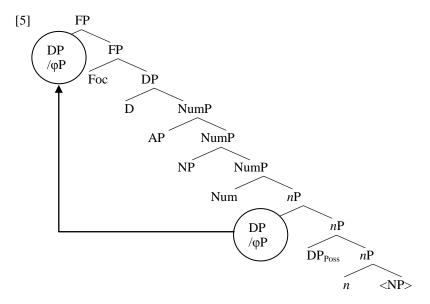
- (25) O oðiyos aftos exi oles
 The-MASC.NOM guide-MASC.NOM this-MASC.NOM has all-FEM.PL
 tis aparetites plirofories.
 the-FEM.ACC.PL necessary-FEM.PL detail-FEM.PL
 'This guide contains all the necessary information.' (restrictive)
- (26) Xriazome AFTO to vivlio, oxi ekino. Need.1 this.n the.n book.n, not that.n 'I need THIS book, not that one.' (restrictive, focused)
- (27)#(Afti) romandiki tenia ine eno This-FEM the-FEM.NOMmovie-FEM is romantic-FEM. while #(ekini) ðramatici. dramatic-FEM that-FEM is 'This movie is a romance, while that one a drama.'

Finally, the restrictive demonstrative also forms a 'small' phrase, banning any additional modifiers:

- (28) * (Tis Stellas) afto (tis Stellas) to
 The-FEM-GEN Stella-FEM-GEN this-NEU the-NEU
 forema
 dress-NEU
 'This dress of Stella's' (no independent genitives)
- (29) * (Kitrino) afto (kitrino) to forema yellow-NEU this-NEU the-NEU dress-NEU 'This yellow dress' (no adjectival modification)

Therefore, the demonstrative is another type of restrictive nominal that patterns with the nominals examined so far.

To sum up, demonstratives, the proper names, and count nominals can all be restrictive nominals. The difference from the adjectival polydefinites is that the demonstrative is a deictic pronoun and as such it completely identifies the set of entities denoted by the noun. The proper and count DPs on the other hand, differ from the adjectival polydefinite in that their head is overt. In all other ways though, they pattern alike. I thus propose that a single mechanism derives the restrictive nominals of Greek and that it is the one proposed in this work. The common structure for the restrictive nominals is the following:



Hence, all restrictive nominals of Greek are now derived by the same unifying simple mechanism: the restrictive nominals adjoin to the nP, and if they are prenominal, they raise to FP.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, I have shown that polydefinites exemplify a typical phenomenon of modifying DPs. They are thus not specific to Greek. The reason they are more

productive though, is because the Greek determiner is underspecified in terms of definiteness. It is thus not an expletive. Rather it marks the modifying DP it heads: the more determiners, the more restrictive DPs are involved. Hence the determiners in polydefinites are similar to those in regular monadic DPs.

I have also argued that modifying DPs can be of two types: restrictive and non-restrictive. Prenominal restrictive DPs bear new information. Post-nominal DPs can be either restrictive or non-restrictive. Focusing on the restrictive DPs, I determined their syntactic position and meanings. Finally, I have also argued that there are different types of restrictive nominals. These are: proper names, count nouns, nominals with empty nouns (count or not), and pronominal ϕPs . They all behave similarly: they occur in the same positions, they are necessary to the meaning, they can be focused, and they are 'small'. They are all derived in the same way. Hence, under this analysis we now have a single account for the restrictive nominals of Greek.

Some interesting questions that have arisen from this work are: First, why are the restrictive nominals 'small'? And secondly, what does it mean to be 'small' exactly? From a cross-linguistic perspective, if the determiner is indeed what determines whether a language has restrictive nominals or not, it would be interesting to determine what types of nominals these are, i.e. essentially what types of definite determiners we have. This remains to be seen.

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