

## Grammaticalization and Parametric Variation

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### CHAPTER

## 14 Split *wh*-Constructions in Classical and Modern Greek: A Diachronic Perspective

ERIC MATHIEU, IOANNA SITARIDOU

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### Abstract

This chapter focuses on split *wh*-constructions and provides an answer to the following two questions: (i) why split *wh*-constructions were widespread in Classical Greek, but are now impossible in Modern Greek; (ii) why splitting of *tinós* and *pianu*, both meaning ‘whose’, are exceptions to the rule against *wh*-splitting in Modern Greek. Section 14.2 introduces some basic facts about hyperbaton in Classical and Modern Greek and outlines the diachronic puzzle. Section 14.3 presents an account of the licensing mechanism behind DP splitting. Section 14.4 provides a diachronic account of the loss of split *wh*-constructions in Modern Greek. Section 14.5 discusses the question as to why splitting of *tinós* and *pianu* is possible, while Section 14.6 concludes.

**Keywords:** *wh*-construction, Modern Greek, Classical Greek, *tinós*, *pianu*, DP splitting

**Subject:** Historical and Diachronic Linguistics, Grammar, Syntax and Morphology

### 14.1 Introduction

The present chapter is about split *wh*-constructions and provides an answer to the following two questions: (i) why split *wh*-constructions were widespread in Classical Greek, but are now impossible in Modern Greek; (ii) why splitting of *tinós* and *pianu*, both meaning ‘whose’, are exceptions to the rule against *wh*-splitting in Modern Greek.

This study is part of a larger investigation on split constructions (Mathieu and Sitaridou 2002, 2003; Butler and Mathieu 2004). It can be seen as the companion paper of Mathieu and Sitaridou (2004), where we deal with adjectival split constructions and give ample details about the synchronic issues related to DP splitting. In this contribution, we concentrate on *wh*-split and on the diachronic issue.

Section 14.2 introduces some basic facts about hyperbaton in Classical and Modern Greek and outlines the diachronic puzzle. Section 14.3 presents our account of the licensing mechanism behind DP splitting. Section 14.4 provides a diachronic account of the loss of split *wh*-constructions in Modern Greek. Section 14.5 discusses the question as to why splitting of *tinós* and *pianu* is possible. We conclude in Section 14.6.

## 14.2 Hyperbaton in Classical and Modern Greek: The Diachronic Puzzle\*

Classical Greek consistently allowed a process by which continuous strings became discontinuous. Traditionally labelled ‘hyperbaton’, this operation typically splits XPs otherwise treated as a unit with respect to Case theory and  $\theta$ -theory.

The first observation is that in Classical Greek, a *wh*-element need not raise together with its associated nominal. Whereas in (1a) both *tina* (the accusative form of *tis* ‘who/what’) and *dynamis* ‘power’ raise to the sentence initial position; in the hyperbaton case (1b), only *tina* raises, stranding the nominal:<sup>1</sup>

(1)				
a.	<i>Tina</i>	<i>dynamis</i>	<i>echei?</i>	(CG)
	what.ACC.FEM.SG	power.ACC.FEM.SG	have.3SG	
	‘What power does it have?’			
	(Plato, <i>Laws</i> , 643a)			
b.	<i>Tina</i> <sub>i</sub> <i>echei</i> <i>t</i> <sub>i</sub> <i>dynamis</i> ?			
	(Plato, <i>Republic</i> , 358b; in Devine and Stephens 2000: 5)			

In Classical Greek, *wh*-words and indefinites had the same morphological make-up, i.e. *tis*. In interrogatives, the indefinite was stressed and obligatorily raised to a clause initial position. Otherwise they were interpreted as simple indefinites with the interpretation *some-x* or *any-x* (Roussou 1998; Roberts and Roussou 2003).

On the other hand, Modern Greek has a distinct class of *wh*-words, polarity items, and existential quantifiers, and uses the *pios/pia/pio* elements for *wh*-structures.<sup>2</sup> However, the two Classical Greek forms *ti* ‘which/what’ and *tinis* ‘whose’ have survived. Note that in Modern Greek, *tinis* is the only remaining Case-marked form within the paradigm *ti*, which otherwise is no longer declinable. ↵

Table 14.1 wh-elements in Classical Greek

Singular			Plural		
Case	Masc./Fem.	Neuter	Case	Masc./Fem.	Neuter
Nom.	τίς(tis)	τί(ti)	Nom.	τίνες(tines)	τίνα(tina)
Gen.	τίνος(tinos)	τίνος(tinos)	Gen.	τίων(tinon)	τίων(tinon)
Dat.	τίνι(tini)	τίνι(tini)	Dat.	τίσι(v)(tisi)	τίσι(v)(tisi)
Acc.	τίνα(tina)	τί'(ti)	Acc.	τίνας(tinas)	τίνα(tina)

**Table 14.2** *wh*-elements in Modern Greek

Singular				
Case	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	All genders
Nom.	Pios	pia	pio	ti
Gen.	piu/pianu	pias/pianis	piu/pianu	tinós
Acc.	Pion	pia(n)	pio	—
Plural				
Nom.	Pii	pies	pia	—
Gen.	pion/pianon	pion/pianon	pion/pianon	(tinon)
Ace.	pious/pianus	pies/pianes	pia	—

The second observation is that, although *ti* could be separated from its associated nominal in Classical Greek, at present it is no longer an alternative, as shown by (2b).

(2)

b. \**Ti*<sub>i</sub> *exi* *t*<sub>i</sub> *dinami*?

a.	<i>Ti</i>	<i>dinami</i>	<i>exi</i> ?	(MG)
	what	power.ACC.FEM.SG	have.3SG	
	'What power does he/she/it have?'			

The third observation is that the genitive Case-marked form *tinós* 'whose' continues to allow splitting in Modern Greek (a fact originally discussed by Horrocks and Stavrou 1987). It must be noted, however, that sentences such as (3b) are not accepted by all speakers. In Section 14.5, an attempt will be made to account for the variation in those dialects/registers.

(3)

b. *Tinós*<sub>i</sub> *eferes* *t*<sub>i</sub> *to vivlio*? (Horrocks and Stavrou 1987: 89)

a.	<i>Tinos</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>vivlio</i>	<i>eferes?</i>	(MG)
	whose.GEN.SG	the.ACC.NEUT.SG	book.ACC.NEUT.SG	bring.PAST.2SG	
‘Whose book did you bring?’					

p. 239 The fourth fact with which the present contribution is concerned is that, somehow surprisingly (compare (4b) with (5b)), Modern Greek *pianu* ‘whose’ does behave like *tinis* in that it permits splitting (again, in some but not all dialects/registers). Obviously, what *tinis* and *pianu* have in common is the fact that they are both genitive. Thus, the possibility of splitting from their associated nominals must stem from that fact (see Section 14.5 for details).

(4)

b. *Pianu*<sub>i</sub> *eferes t*<sub>i</sub> *to vivlio?*

a.	<i>Pianu</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>vivlio</i>	<i>eferes?</i>	(MG)
	whose.GEN.MASC.SG	the.ACC.NEUT.SG	book.ACC.NEUT.SG	bring.PAST.	
				2SG	
‘Whose book did you bring?’					

On the other hand, the behaviour of the rest of the *pios* ‘who/which’ paradigm is consistent with the observation that split *wh*-constructions are no longer available in Modern Greek (cf. (2b)). This is exemplified in (5).

(5)

b. \**Pia*<sub>i</sub> *exi t*<sub>i</sub> *dinami?*

a.	<i>Pia</i>	<i>dinami</i>	<i>exi?</i>	(MG)
	which.ACC.FEM.SG	power.ACC.FEM.SG	have.3SG	
‘Which power does it have?’				

While extraction of *wh*-elements other than genitive interrogatives is not permitted in Modern Greek, a whole series of adjectives, quantifiers, and demonstratives can be extracted without the need to pied-pipe the nominal. In each case, the dislocated element bears stress and is contrastively focused. Beginning with adjectives, it is clear from the context in which they appear that such discontinuous structures in Classical Greek involved a set of alternates, i.e. involved strong focus. This is well documented in Devine and Stephens (2000). In (6b) the interpretation is: ‘private, not public’ (stress/ emphasis is indicated by capital letters).

(6)

b. *TAS IDIAS*  $\dot{\iota}$  *kateskeuakasin* *t*  $\dot{\iota}$  *oikias* ‘They have built their PRIVATE homes (i.e. not their public ones).’ (Demosthenes 23.208; in Devine and Stephens 2000: 236)

a.	<i>Kateskeuakasin</i>	<i>oikias</i>	<i>tas</i>	(CG)
----	-----------------------	---------------	------------	------

	build.PLUPERFECT.3PL	house.ACC.FEM.PL	the.ACC.FEM.PL	
--	----------------------	------------------	----------------	--

	<i>idias</i>			
--	--------------	--	--	--

	private.ACC.FEM.PL			
--	--------------------	--	--	--

	‘They have built their private homes.’			
--	--	--	--	--

Turning now to Modern Greek, the same pattern is found. Whereas in (7a) the adjective *kokino* ‘red’ is adjacent to the noun it modifies, i.e. *forema* ‘dress’, in (7b) the adjective has been extracted on its own. If the condition that the extracted element must receive stress and is interpreted contrastively is not met, the sentence is ungrammatical, as illustrated by (7c):

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(7)

c. *c.\*To kokino agorase forema*

a.	<i>Agorase</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>kokino</i>	<i>forema</i> (MG)	(MG)
----	----------------	-----------	---------------	--------------------	------

	buy.PAST.3SG	the.ACC.NEUT.SG	red.ACC.NEUT.SG	dress.ACC.NEUT.SG	
--	--------------	-----------------	-----------------	-------------------	--

	‘She bought the red dress.’				
--	-----------------------------	--	--	--	--

b.	<i>TO KOKINO</i>	<i>agorase forema</i>			
----	------------------	-----------------------	--	--	--

	‘She bought the RED dress (i.e. not the blue one).’				
--	---	--	--	--	--

The type of example shown in (7b) was first introduced by Androutsopoulou (1997: 2). A variant of (7b), originally discussed by Horrocks and Stavrou (1987: 91), appears in (8). The sentence in (8) is identical to (7b) apart from the additional determiner present to the left of the stranded nominal; a process dubbed Determiner Spreading (the choice to have an additional determiner appears to be dialectal/a matter of register):

(8)

To	KOKINO	agorase	to	(MG)
	the.ACC.NEUT.SG	red.ACC.NEUT.SG	buy.PAST.3SG	the.ACC.NEUT.SG
<i>forema</i>				
dress.ACC.NEUT.SG				
'She bought the RED dress (i.e. not the blue one).'				

In Classical Greek, the situation was more straightforward, since in the canonical word order (adjective-noun, as in the modern form of the language), a doubled determiner never appeared in this kind of construction (cf. Devine and Stephens 2000 and Manolissou 2000).<sup>3</sup>

Next, (9b) and (10b) demonstrate extraction of a quantifier in Classical and Modern Greek respectively, whereas (11b) and (12b) illustrate extraction of a demonstrative.

(9)				
b. POLLAS <sub>i</sub> eiche t <sub>i</sub> elpidas 'He had MANY hopes (i.e. not a few).' (Herodotus 5.36; in Devine and Stephens 2000: 33)				
a.	Eiche	elpidas	pollas	(CG)
	have.PAST.3SG	hope.ACC.FEM.PL	many.ACC.FEM.PL	
'He had many hopes.'				

(10)				
b. POLES <sub>i</sub> ixe t <sub>i</sub> elpides 'He had MANY hopes (i.e. not a few).'				
a.	lxe	poles	elpides	(MG)
	have.PAST.3SG	many.ACC.FEM.PL	hope.ACC.FEM.PL	
'He had many hopes.'				

(11)				
b. Tous TAUTÊ <sub>i</sub> chromenous tê t <sub>i</sub> ergasia 'Those that exercise THIS profession (i.e. not that one).' (Aeschines 1.119; in Devine and Stephens 2000: 33)				

a.	Tous	chrômenous	tê	tauté (CG)
	the.ACC.MASC.PL	use.PART.ACC.MASC.PL	the.DAT.FEM.SG	this.
	DAT.FEM.SG			
	ergasia			
	profession.DAT.FEM.SG			
	'Those that exercise this profession.'			

(12)

a.	Ida	afto	to	forema(MG)	(MG)
	see.PAST.ISG	this.ACC.NEUT.SG	the.ACC.NEUT.SG	dress.ACC.NEUT.SG	
	'I saw this dress.'				

Finally, in (13b) and (14b) extraction of a negative quantifier is exhibited:

(13)

b. *OUDEMIAN* <sub>i</sub> *hymas pothein akousai t* <sub>i</sub> *prophasin* 'That you desire to hear NO excuse.' (Lysias 14.1; in Devine and Stephens 2000: 33)

a.	Hymas	pothein	akousai	oudemian	prophasin	(CG)
	you.ACC.PL	desire.INF	hear.INF.PAST	no.ACC.FEM.SG	excuse.	
	ACC.FEM.SG					
	'That you desire to hear no excuse.'					

(14)

b. *KAMIA* <sub>i</sub> *den thelo na akuso t* <sub>i</sub> *dikeologia* 'I want to hear NO excuse.'



a.	Den thelo	na	akuso	<i>kamia</i>	<i>dikeologia</i> (MG)	(MG)
	not want.1SG	PRT.SUBJ	listen.1SG	no.ACC.FEM.SG	excuse.ACC.FEM.SG	
	'I don't want to hear any excuse.'					

In short, Modern Greek is not wholly consistent with respect to whether it allows split-DPs. Some DPs can split (*tinós, pianu*, adjectives, indefinites, and negative elements), while others cannot (*ti, pios*). There thus cannot be such thing as a split-DP versus non split-DP language. Cross-linguistically, different combinations arise. For example, bare *combien* extraction is possible in French, as shown by (15b) (Obenauer 1976, 1983, 1994), whereas the equivalent construction is not possible in Modern Greek (16b). On the other hand, whereas bare demonstrative extraction is available in Modern Greek (12b), it is impossible in French (17b).

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(15)

b. *Combien as-tu lus de livres?*

a.	<i>Combien</i>	<i>de livres</i>	as-tu	lus?	(French)
	how many	of books	have.you	read.MASC.PL	
	'How many books have you read?'				

(16)

b. *\*Posa diavases vivlia?*

(17)

a.	<i>Posa</i>	<i>vivlia</i>	<i>diavases?</i>	(MG)
	how many.ACC.NEUT.PL	books.ACC.NEUT.PL	read.PAST.2SG	
	'How many books did you read?'			

a.	J'ai	acheté	<i>cette</i>	<i>robe</i>	(French)
	I.have	bought	this.FEM.SG	dress.FEM.SG	
	'I have bought this dress.'				

b.	* <i>CETTE</i>	j'ai	acheté	de	<i>robe</i> <sup>4</sup>
	this.FEM.SG	I.have	bought	of	dress.FEM.SG
‘I have bought THIS dress.’					

The complexity of the data and the intra-language idiosyncracies in extraction patterns might therefore be seen as a challenge for parametric accounts of split-DPs: a single parameter (e.g.  $\pm$  extraction) cannot capture the existing variability. However, although it is true that difficulties may arise under a Government and Binding view of parametrization, the Minimalist Programme (cf. Chomsky 1995 and subsequent papers) provides us with a theory of parametrization which can account for the apparent wild variation. According to minimalism, variation between languages is restricted exclusively to differences in the lexicon. Languages may thus not be wholly consistent with respect to a particular parametric choice: one lexical item may choose one value; a second lexical item may choose a different value. This means that a binary account is not completely out of reach after all (for similar arguments, see Gavruseva 2000, as well as Grosu 1974).

### 14.3 The Mechanics of Split-Constructions

p. 243 Before we provide a diachronic account for the loss of split *wh*-constructions in Modern Greek, we first summarize our synchronic approach to the phenomenon. In doing so, we follow essentially Mathieu and Sitaridou (2004). For DP-splitting to be possible the following condition is essential: rich agreement (where agreement is part of a collection of  $\phi$ -features that includes  $\downarrow$  Case) on the extracted element. From this, other conditions follow, for example the availability of adjectives accompanied by null heads, and the possibility of so-called ‘Determiner Spreading’. In all the examples of the previous section, the extracted element bears rich agreement. Note, however, that in (17b) the extracted element has no overt case marking, which may explain why it cannot split (but see Section 14.4).

Following and adapting a series of unrelated proposals (Fanselow 1988; Androutsopoulou 1997; van Geenhoven 1998; den Dikken 1998; Devine and Stephens 2000), we put forward the hypothesis that in hyperbaton what raises is not a head or a left branch, but a constituent; namely, a *D'* (thus the Left Branch Condition is not violated). We adopt Androutsopoulou’s (1997) basic insight that DP splitting is possible in Modern Greek because null head adjectives/DP fragments are available independently (in Mathieu and Sitaridou 2004, we add to this generalization the connected fact that Determiner Spreading is also possible because of the availability of noun ellipsis; see below). In English very few null head modifiers/DP fragments are possible, which in our opinion explains why DP splitting is virtually impossible. Whereas (18a) is possible in Modern Greek, (18b) is not possible in English (*one* support is needed). There are apparent exceptions, but see Mathieu and Sitaridou (2004) for details.

(18)

Speaker A	Which dress did you buy?		
Speaker B	a.	to	kokino
		the.ACC.NEUT.SG	red.ACC.NEUT.SG
	b.	*the red	

No agreement marking is present on *red* in English, thus noun ellipsis is not possible (the empty nominal cannot be licensed). Consequently, split constructions are not possible in that language, since a prerequisite for their availability is an XP with an empty noun.<sup>5</sup> This is equivalent to Devine and Stephens's (2000) notion of 'null head modifier', i.e. a modifier that can stand by itself in place of a noun phrase without the support of a noun or an overt pronoun. The idea that it is a constituent that moves rather than a part of a constituent is most obvious in the case of bare adjectival extraction, since not only the adjective raises, but so does the determiner (cf. (7b) and (8)).

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We follow den Dikken's (1998) Small Clause (SC) analysis of subject-predicate DP constructions. The subject of the SC is a bare noun. Technically it is not in fact an argument, but starts out as a predicate (for full details about the predicative nature of the stranded nominal, see Mathieu 2002, 2004; Mathieu and Sitaridou 2004). The predicate of the SC is an adjective. The predicate undergoes predicate inversion. Motivation for such a structure comes from the fact that splitting is possible only with predicative adjectives. Non-predicative adjectives cannot be split, as shown by (19):<sup>6</sup>

(19)

*TON	<i>IPOTITHEMENO</i> <sub>i</sub>	<i>ida t</i> <sub>i</sub>	<i>dolofono</i>	(MG)
the.ACC.MASC.SG	alleged.ACC.MASC.SG	see.PAST.1SG	murderer.	
ACC.MASC.SG				
'I saw the ALLEGED murderer (i.e. not the real one).'				

Besides, only predicative adjectives can be used as fragments, as (20a) shows:

(20)

Speaker A	Which criminal did you arrest?		
Speaker B	a.	*ton	ipotithemeno
		the.ACC.MASC.SG	alleged.ACC.NEUT.SG
	b.	*the alleged.	

The technical implementation of our proposal is as follows. In (21a) the subject of the SC is *forema* ‘dress’, while *kokino* ‘red’ is the predicate. In those dialects/registers where *to* does not surface, we assume that the head of the SC is simply not spelled out. Across dialects/registers, the nominal copula is not spelled out either in Greek. On the other hand, in languages like French the nominal copula surfaces as *de* (den Dikken 1998). We also give the structure for the Classical Greek example (1b) in (21b). In this case, *tina* is the predicate while *dynamini* is the subject of the SC. AgrP is the equivalent of den Dikken’s (1998) FP; it is an agreement projection.<sup>7</sup>

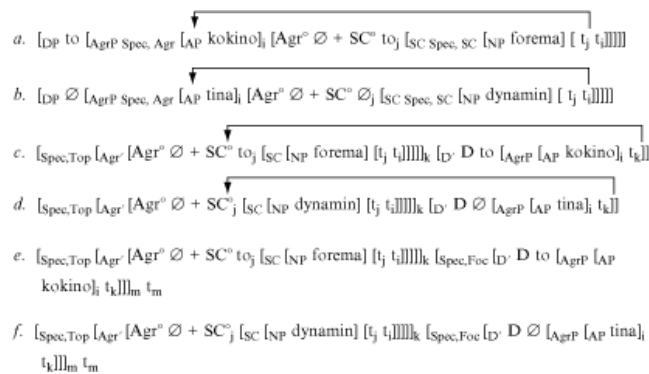
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(21)

- a. [<sub>DP</sub>D to [<sub>SC</sub> Spec<sub>—sc</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> *forema*] SC° to [<sub>AP</sub> *kokino*]]]
- b. [<sub>DP</sub>D ∅ [<sub>SC</sub> Spec<sub>—sc</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> *dynamini*] SC° ∅ [<sub>AP</sub> *tina*]]]

The predicate undergoes inversion as shown in (22a) and (22b). Adjectival agreement in Modern Greek is rich and therefore the movement is triggered by an EPP feature on Agr.

(22)

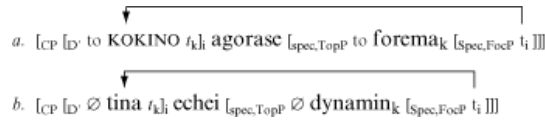


Next, Agr\*#χ2019; and the material contained in it raises to the specifier of a DP internal topic position (we thus propose to split the DP domain on a par with the split of the CP domain; cf. Rizzi 1997). Thus, like many others we take this specifier to be an A'-position in Modern Greek (for DP-internal focus and topics in Greek, see Horrocks and Stavrou 1987; and for other languages, Cinque 1980; Szabolcsi 1983; Stowell 1991; and Giorgi and Longobardi 1991). The configuration obtained is shown in (22c) and (22d). Then, the D' complex raises to the specifier of a DP internal focus position (that occurs lower than TopP, but higher than D). The configuration is shown in (22e) and (22f). Without any further movement (22e) is basically the configuration for ↳ so-called ‘Determiner Spreading’ structures. Movement of the Agr' complex is forced by an EPP/strong D feature present on D. This proposal is a variant of what Alexiadou and Wilder (1998) have proposed for predicative adjectives. The difference between our account and theirs is that the first *to* is the spell-out of the head of an SC; only the *to* associated with the adjective is a determiner. Determiner Spreading is thus a misnomer and does not exist (at least not in Greek).

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It must be noted that after movement of the Agr' complex to Spec,TopP, a trace is left behind. We take this trace to be the equivalent of Devine and Stephens’s null head and Androutsopoulou’s empty nominal category. After movement of the nominal to Spec,TopP, the D' complex that has itself raised higher in the DP to the specifier of a Foc projection can raise higher up in the clause. Movement is thus movement of a determiner together with an adjective as well as an empty category standing for a nominal.

(23)



To recap, the steps of a split-DP derivation are the following:

- The extracted element must involve an adjective, possibly accompanied by a determiner, but the extracted element cannot be a sole determiner.
- Overt marking of  $\varphi$ -features on the adjective is compulsory so that the empty noun can be licensed.
- The adjective undergoes inversion and raises to Spec,AgrP because of an EPP feature on Agr<sup>o</sup>.
- The nominal raises to Spec,TopP and the predicate raises to Spec,FocP
- The predicate constituent now containing the trace of *forema*, which contains a trace of the predicate, further raises to the C domain.

## 14.4 The Loss of *wh*-Split in Modern Greek

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In this section, we show how *wh*-splitting ceased to be operative in Modern Greek. It is argued that this is because rich agreement has been lost. For example, *ti* in Modern Greek has one form for all genders whereas in Classical Greek it had different forms for different genders, and it carried Case. However, it must be noted that rich agreement is not a sufficient condition. The  $\downarrow$  relevance of the *pios* series should be obvious here (full declination is available in this case). We thus propose that the category of the element on its own crucially depends on the categorial status of that element. The idea is that, as a result of the reanalysis of *tis* and the subsequent creation of distinct classes, ‘relabelling’ (in the sense of Whitman 2000) from a modifier to a determiner of the *wh*-element took place. Determiners may carry overt agreement features (the case of French *ce/cet/cette*, and the case of *pios*), but because they are determiners, they cannot split. A crucial test for the determiner or adjective status of a given element is that of combinatorial possibilities with another determiner. For example, in French the string *\*ce le* ‘this the’ is not possible, suggesting that *ce* is a determiner. Similarly, possessives like *mon/ma/mes* ‘my’, although rich in agreement, are determiners: unlike Italian, for example, they cannot appear together with a determiner (French *\*le mon livre* ‘my book’ versus Italian *il mio libro* ‘my book’). Those possessives that *can* appear with a determiner are adjectives: *le tien/le mien/le sien*, etc. ‘yours/mine/his, etc.’ In English, we know that *wh*-elements like *what* are determiners because they cannot appear together with words like *the*: *\*what the*.

To resume, Modern Greek *wh*-elements are no longer adjectives, but determiners. Our proposal is consistent with Roberts and Roussou’s (1999) analysis of *tis* in Classical Greek. As pointed out in Section 14.2, there is a lot of evidence that *tis* was a simple indefinite with no quantificational properties of its own in Classical Greek. We simply follow traditional assumptions according to which *tis*, although an indefinite, was also an adjective in the string *tina dynamin* (cf. (1)), and (even more clearly) in the string *tina tēn dynamin* (cf. (24)).

Evidence for the hypothesis that relabelling took place comes from the grammaticality of Classical Greek (24), where a determiner accompanies the *wh*-element, and the ungrammaticality of Modern Greek (25), where the juxtaposition of a *wh*-element with a determiner is not possible:

(24)

<i>Tina</i>	<i>tên</i>	<i>dynamin</i>	<i>eichon</i>	
what.ACC.FEM.SG	the.ACC.FEM.SG	power.ACC.FEM.SG	have.PAST.3PL	
ouk	egnôn			(CG)
not	know.PAST.3PL			
'They didn't know what power they had.'				

(25)

a.	<i>*Pia</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>dinami</i>	<i>exi?</i>	(MG)
	what.ACC.FEM.SG	the.ACC.FEM.SG	power.ACC.FEM.SG	have.3SG	
'What power does it have?'					
b.	<i>*Ti</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>gliko</i>	<i>thelis?</i>	
	what	the.ACC.NEUT.SG	sweet.ACC.NEUT.SG	want.2SG	
'What kind of sweet do you want?'					

p. 248 Further evidence that *ti* is a determiner in Modern Greek comes from the fact that it can appear together with an extracted bare adjective (very much as in the case of (7b) and (8)). The complex *ti* + *other* thus forms an ellipsed structure. (26) is a genuine example spontaneously produced by an informant.

(26)

<i>Ti</i>	<i>ala</i> <sub>i</sub>	thelis	ja	ta	xristujena	<i>t</i> <sub>i</sub>
what	other.ACC.NEUT.PL	want.2SG	for	the	Christmas	
<i>glika?</i>						(MG)
	sweetACC.NEUT.PL					
'What other sweets do you want for Christmas?'						

Finally, quantifiers and demonstratives are often considered modifiers in Classical and Modern Greek, so they are on a par with adjectives.

To conclude this section, there is independent evidence that determiners originate from adjectives (Greenberg 1978; Haspelmath 1995). Cross-linguistically 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 grammaticalize and become functional via a process of reanalysis. For example, serial verbs change into prepositional phrases (Whitman 2000) and nominals into negative markers (Roberts and Roussou 1999).

## 14.5 The Case of *wh*-Possessor Raising

In this section, it is argued that the mechanism behind possessor extraction is different from the one involved in other (non-possessor) split *wh*-constructions. A language may allow genitive *wh*-phrases to split across the board without necessarily allowing any other types of *wh*-elements to undergo bare movement without pied-piping of the nominal. Modern Greek *tinós* (like Modern Greek *ti*) and *pianu* are determiners, and not adjectives. In addition, whereas splitting of a non-genitive *wh*-phrase very much depends on the categorial status of the extracted element (i.e. whether it is an adjective or a determiner), splitting of a genitive *wh*-phrase does not depend on this condition. It is a single process that a language may or may not have at its disposal. Moreover, no predicate raising is necessary in that case.

To account for *wh*-possessor extraction, we essentially follow Horrocks and Stavrou's (1987) analysis (see also Mouma 1993 and Gavrusseva 2000), according to which genitive *wh*-phrases can extract because N assigns Case to its complement. The *wh*-possessor thus does not need to raise to an agreement position (as in the case of non-*wh*-possessor split elements), since it is already  $\downarrow$  Case-marked. No predicate raising occurs, and no DP-internal movement to Spec,TopP and Spec,FocP is necessary. Spec,DP is available as an escape hatch as the default case,  $D^{\circ}$ , is associated with an EPP feature. The possessor can thus move higher in the clause.<sup>8</sup>

However, in some registers it is impossible to split *tinós* and *pianu*. In order to account for this, we argue that in this case there is no EPP feature associated with D. We would like to suggest that the trigger for the loss of the feature is the potential ambiguity between a genitive and a dative reading of *tinós* and *pianu* in Modern Greek. (3b) and (4b) can also mean: 'To whom did you bring the books?' When a verb like *ferno* 'to bring' or other ditransitive verbs are used, the direct object is Case-marked with accusative and the indirect object is 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.<sup>9</sup>

In addition, for another group of speakers *tinós* (and by analogy *pianu*) has an archaic flavour and marks ‘high’ registers on the split interpretation; and its use as a split element is disappearing completely. For others it is used as a learned construction (in the sense of Pountain 1998; see also Sitaridou 2002), and it coexists with its non-split counterpart.

The case of *tinós* could be captured in terms of ‘competing grammars’, in the sense of Kroch (1989), namely that the individual is dealing with two grammars. However, it is not clear at all whether learned constructions highlight this mental state or rather the one whereby there is one grammar with different options activated upon different conditions on use (for more details see Sitaridou 2005).

## 14.6 Conclusion

p. 250 The idea that we put forward in this chapter is that *wh*-splitting ceased to be operational in Modern Greek because agreement on *wh*-elements is not uniformly rich; consequently *ti* is no longer an adjective in Modern Greek, but a determiner. The fact that splitting is possible with *tinós* and *pianu* for some speakers is due to the fact that it involves a different process, namely one that does not involve DP-internal predicate inversion. Finally, it was argued that for those speakers who do not accept splitting with *tinós* and *pianu*, no EPP feature is associated with D, and thus no escape hatch (i.e. Spec,DP) is available. This is because *tinós* and *pianu* are being reinterpreted solely as dative arguments in constructions involving dislocation of such lexical items.

## Notes

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- 1 The original transliteration of Classical Greek examples as quoted by the authors has not always been preserved. This is for reasons which have to do with the harmonization of the transliteration systems across different authors.
- 2 Roberts and Roussou (1999) argue that the change from the general use of indefinites to a distinct class of *wh*-phrases was triggered by a number of factors. First, on the existential/polarity interpretation, the Classical Greek 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 (e.g. polarity item *tipota* ‘anything’). Roberts and Roussou’s (1999) proposal is that when the indefinite is systematically found in a *wh*-dependency, *tis* 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: Interpret lexical items as being susceptible of occurrence in the smallest set of contexts consistent with the input.
- 3 In Classical Greek, it appears that Determiner Spreading was only possible when an adjective followed a noun, but the process was optional, and not obligatory like the case of Modern Greek.
- 4 The presence of *de* ‘of’ is usually required in split constructions in French.
- 5 On noun ellipsis in Romance and other languages, see Lobeck (1995), Kester (1996), and Sleeman (1996).
- 6 Androutsopoulou (1997) introduces a similar example (i). Interestingly, other languages (e.g. Polish) have the same constraint on splitting: non-predicative adjectives cannot split (Nowak 2000; Partee 2002).

(i) b. \**Tin kathari miso adhikia*. ‘I hate PURE justice.’



---

a. Miso tin kathari adhikia.

---

hate-1sg the clear injustice

---

'I hate pure justice.'

- 7 In so-called 'N of N' constructions, the nominal copula *de* surfaces in French. However, the head of the Small Clause is not spelled out (i). In English, both are available (translation of (i) and (ii)). On the other hand, as shown by (ii) in Modern Greek, although the head of the SC is spelled out (as *o*, i.e. before *jatros*), the nominal copula is not morphologically marked (there is no element between *vlakas* and the second occurrence of *o*). According to den Dikken (1998) and Moro (1997), a copula is obligatory when predicate inversion arises. However, this does not appear to be the case in Greek. We discuss facts about the nominal and the clausal copula and its non-obligatoriness in Greek in Mathieu and Sitaridou (2004).

(i)

(ii)

---

Cet idiot de docteur!

---

that idiot of doctor

---

Aftos o vlakas o jatros!

---

that a idiot a doctor

---

'That idiot of a doctor!'

French is consistent in that respect in that the nominal copula also surfaces in bare adjectival constructions.

(iii)

---

Le grand, je veux de café latte!

---

the tall I want of café latte

---

'I want the LARGE cafe latte (i.e. not the small one).'

- 8 As pointed out by Horrocks and Stavrou (1987), in a rhetorical in situ interrogative *tinós* can appear post-nominally. Presumably, this is possible because *tinós* gets case from the noun.

(i)

---

Eferes to vivlio tinos?

---

bring.PAST.2SG the.ACC.NEUT.SG book.ACC.NEUT.SG whose.GEN.SG

---

---

'You have brought whose book?'

- 9 This happens with all clitics that replace indirect objects in Modern Greek. Although they replace dative arguments their morphological form is the genitive. This is due to the loss of dative case, an innovation of Modern Greek discussed extensively in the literature.