

Greek Syntax 2012: state-of-the-art and perspectives

Elena Anagnostopoulou

University of Crete

elena@phl.uoc.gr

GOALS

Theme of this year's meeting: **Syntactic Theories and the Syntax of Greek.**

Broad question addressed in this presentation:¹ What is our current understanding of the Syntax of Greek, based on research that has been carried out in the Principles and Parameters framework (Chomsky & Lasnik 1993) and Minimalism (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001 and related literature)?

Strategy:

- Take as a starting point the article “Greek syntax. A principles and parameters perspective” (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2000 in *Journal of Greek Linguistics*, Volume 1). Summarize the state-of-the-art up to 2000 in **section 1**.
- Present a (non-exhaustive) list of phenomena that have been investigated since 2000, highlighting (a) points where **consensus** has been reached, (b) issues of **controversy**, (c) empirical domains that deserve **more attention**.
- Two parts in the presentation of new developments:
 - a) An overview of the topics that have been discussed in the literature and the positions taken by different researchers **in section 2**.
 - b) A recurring problem with judgments and how it can be resolved via experimental linguistics (taking datives as an example) will be discussed **in section 3**.
- **In section 4** I will briefly summarize what still needs to be done.

1. SYNTACTIC RESEARCH AS SUMMARIZED BY A&A (2000)

As discussed in A&A (2000), a number of important topics in Greek syntax had already been discussed in the Principles and Parameters literature. Below I provide a rather detailed summary:

1) **CLAUSE STRUCTURE:** research on the architecture of the inflectional system based on Pollock (1989) and Ouhalla (1988) (Rivero 1994, Tsimpli 1990, Philippaki-Warbuton

¹¹ I would like to thank Winfried Lechner, Artemis Alexiadou, Arhonto Terzi, Melita Stavrou, Marika Lekakou, Kleantes Grohmann, Maria Kambanaros, Vina Tsakali and the audience of the 33rd Annual Meeting for their input. Many thanks to Melita Stavrou for organizing this very nice event.

1998, Drachman 1991). Some controversy on whether tense can be split from agreement (Rivero 1994; Iatridou 1993, Horrocks 1994, Philippaki-Warburton and Spyropoulos 1999, Joseph & Smirniotopoulos). Consensus: The extended projection of the Greek verb:

(1) AGR>TP>AspectP>VoiceP>VP

Inflectional heads further up:

-The modal marker “*na*”. **Debate** on whether it should be viewed as a subjunctive mood marker (Philippaki-Warburton and Veloudis 1984, Philippaki-Warburton 1994, Rivero 1994) or a subjunctive complementizer (Tsoulas 1993, Agouraki 1991).

-The negative markers “*den*” (indicative) and “*min*” (subjunctive) (Giannakidou 1997, Klidi 1994). **Debate** on whether Neg precedes or follows Mood, in connection to the question of whether the two markers occupy the same slot in the tree, based on the word-order puzzle in (2) (Rivero 1994, Drachman 1991, Philippaki-Warburton 1998):

(2) a. dhen tha
not FUT/COND
b. na min
SUBJ not

(Both issues will be discussed by Roussou 2000, as will be mentioned in section 2).

2) TOPIC AND FOCUS: (DISCOURSE) CONFIGURATIONALITY

Observation 1: Greek has freedom in word-order reminiscent of non-configurational languages.

A property related to case (Catsimali 1990) or to agreement and object clitics (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2000).

Debate on whether Greek is non-configurational (Catsimali 1990) or not (Horrocks 1994).

Observation 2: Information-structure is reflected on Greek word order. Greek patterns with discourse configurational languages (Kiss 1995).

Issues discussed in connection to this:

-The status of the pre-verbal vs. post-verbal subject position (SVO, VSO, VOS), also in connection to pro-drop, V-movement and the EPP (Philippaki-Warburton 1985, A&A 1998, Alexiadou 1999, Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos 1999).

-The status of the preverbal position, whether it is an A position (*Had someone said or assumed that?*), an A' position (Philippaki-Warburton 1985, Anagnostopoulou 1994, A&A 1998) or a mixed A/A' position (Horrocks 1994).

-Pre-verbal material that is clearly in the left-periphery, i.e. focused or CLLDed (e.g. Tsimpli 1990, 1995, Agouraki 1993, Iatridou 1991, Anagnostopoulou 1994, 1997).

3) ADVERBS AND CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Alexiadou (1994, 1997) building on Kayne (1994): adverbs are specifiers to functional heads ordered as follows:

(3) CP^{eftixos} – MoodP^{pithanos} – TP^{xtes} – NegP^{pja} – AspP^{sinithos} – Asp2P^{endelos} – VoiceP^{kala}
fortunately probably yesterday yet/already usually completely well

cf. Cinque's 1999 (much more elaborate in terms of functional heads) proposal based on a cross-linguistic survey.

Xydopoulos (1996) focuses on the semantic and syntactic properties of temporal and aspectual adverbs and argues that they are 'second' specifiers of the respective functional projections (building on Chomsky 1995, ch. 4).

4) CLITICS

-Inventory: Greek only has weak pronominal clitics, no clitics corresponding to Romance *ne, y, en*.

-Issues discussed:

I. Clitic placement in connection to a) the placement of clitics in the **functional domain**, and b) environments of **proclisis** (in finite environments) and **enclisis** (in imperatives and so called "gerunds"):

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|--------------|
| (4) | Dhen | tha | tu | to | edhose | Strict order |
| | Not | FUT/MOD | IO-cl-gen | DO-cl-acc | gave-3sg | |
| | 'Apparently, he has not given it to him' | | | | | |
| (5) | Dos | tu | to | / | to tu | Two orders |
| | Give-2sg | IO-cl-gen | DO-cl-gen | | IO DO | |
| | 'Give it to him!' | | | | | |
| (6) | Dinontas | tu | to | / | to tu | Two orders |
| | Giving | IO-cl-gen | DO-cl-gen | | DO IO | |
| | 'Giving it to him' | | | | | |

Drachman (1991, 1994), Terzi (1992, 1996, 1999), Rivero (1994), Rivero & Terzi (1995), Philippaki-Warburton (1994), Hegarty (1999), Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos (1999a).

Influential for the debates surrounding clitic placement at that time: Kayne 1991.

II. Clitic doubling and its proper representation, especially in view of the fact that Greek doubling is not subject to Kayne's Generalization (Drachman 1983, Philippaki-Warburton 1987, Fykias 1988, Joseph 1988, Schneider-Zioga 1993, Agouraki 1993, Anagnostopoulou 1994, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1997):

- (7) Ton idhes ton Jani xtes?
 Cl-acc saw-2sg the Janis-acc yesterday?
 'Did you see John yesterday?'

III. Clitic left dislocation (CLLD) and its proper representation (Tsimpli 1990, 1995, Iatridou 1991, Agouraki 1993, Anagnostopoulou 1994, 1997, Alexiadou 1997, Alexopoulou 1999).

IV. The connection between Clitic doubling, CLLD, Hanging Topic Left Dislocation, Right Dislocation (discussed by all of the above). Uniform accounts of different sorts argued for most prominently by Philippaki-Warbuton (1987) and Agouraki (1993). Non-uniform accounts argued for by Iatridou (1991) and Anagnostopoulou (1994).

Influential for the debates surrounding the nature of clitic dependencies at that time: Cinque 1990 for CLLD and Sportiche 1992/ 1995 for Clitic Doubling.

V. Clitics in wh-interrogatives (Theophanopoulou-Kontou 1986, Iatridou 1991, Anagnostopoulou 1994), especially in connection to D-linking (Pesetsky 1997).

5) DP-SYNTAX

I. Functional projections and adjective placement

-Horrocks & Stavrou (1987): evidence for the DP-hypothesis based on Greek (in parallel with Abney 1987 based on English). In Greek, DP=CP (pre-D position is A'); In English, DP=IP (pre-D position is A). This explains the difference between:

- (8) a. Nero's destruction of the city
 b. *Tou Nerona i katastrofi tis polis
 Nero-gen the destruction the city-gen
Also: *I katastrofi tis polis tu Nerona/tu Nerona tis polis

-Further research building on Horrocks and Stavrou showed that the functional heads needed to account for word order in the Greek DP are D and Num Stavrou 1999; cf. Karanassios 1992 who includes also DefP); Alexiadou & Stavrou 1997; Manolessou and Panagiotidis 1999; Panagiotidis 2000).

-There is no N-to-D movement in Greek, as articles are never suffixed and adjectives precede nouns (Alexiadou & Stavrou 1998):

- (9) To megalo spiti/ *to spiti megalo
 The big house/ the house big

II. Determiner Spreading (DS; later on, they are called polydefinites; see Kolliakou 1999, 2003, 2004)

Discussed by Androutsopoulou (1994), Tredinick (1992), Alexiadou & Wilder (1998):

- (10) To megalo to vivlio to kokino
 The big the book the red

Each adjective co-occurs with its own determiner, and a number of different orders become available (while the order is rigid in the absence of DS).

III. Nominalizations

-Greek process nominals (Grimshaw 1990) identified, analysed and discussed by Markantonatou (1992) in the framework of LFG, Kolliakou (1995) in terms of HPSG, Alexiadou & Stavrou (1998) in the Principles and Parameters Theory.

-Nominalized clauses, as in (11), investigated by Roussou (1991):

- (11) To oti irthe me enoxlise
 The that came-3sg me bothered
 ‘The fact that he/she came bothered me’

IV. Possessive clitics in DPs

Observation: they occur either after the noun or after the adjective:

- (12) a. to kenurjo podilato tu
 the new bike his
 ‘his new bike’
 b. to kenurjo tu podilato
 the new his bike
 ‘his new bike’

This type of cliticization is discussed as either a phonological process (Nespor & Vogel 1986), or a morphological process (Kolliakou 1997) or a morphosyntactic process (Horrocks and Stavrou 1987, 1989, Karanassios 1992) or a syntactic process in terms of two syntactic positions for two different kinds of possessors (Alexiadou & Stavrou 1999).

V. Noun Ellipsis

Giannakidou & Merchant 1996/7, Giannakidou & Stavrou 1999.

6) RELATIVE CLAUSES

-**Free relatives** (not discussed in A&A 2000; in fn 5 they refer to Alexiadou & Varlokosta 1996 and Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos 1996 for discussion and references).

-**Restrictive and non-restrictive relatives.**

First discussed in Stavrou (1984) in the framework of HPSG.

Further discussed in Alexiadou (1998) in terms of the Vergnaud (1974)/ Kayne (1994) raising analysis.

-**Clitics in relatives:** obligatory in non-restrictive relatives (Stavrou 1984), possible in restrictive relatives with an indefinite head but impossible when the head is definite (see Stavrou 1984, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2000 for discussion). Tsimpli (1999) discusses the issue in connection to null operator constructions more generally.

-**Pseudoclefts** (Iatridou & Varlokosta 1998; not discussed in A&A 2000).

7) SUBJECTS IN SUBJUNCTIVE CLAUSES

A prominent feature of the Balkan *Sprachbund* shared by Greek (Joseph 1983). The replacement of infinitives by special types of finite clauses, often taken to be subjunctives. In Greek, they are headed by *na*:

- (13) Thelo na figis
 Want-1sg na go-2sg
 ‘I want that you go/ I want you to go’

An intensive (and still unsettled) debate in the literature on Greek: The status and nature of the embedded subject. Is it pro or PRO?

Two camps:

1- Philippaki-Warburton (1987), Philippaki-Warburton & Catsimali (1999): Greek *na*-clauses never display Control (PRO) because (among others) nominative Case is always available in the embedded clause, even with predicates like *kseri* (‘knows how’) which force coreference:

- (14) O Petros kseri na kathete **aftos** ke i alli na dulevun
 The Peter knows na sit-3sg he-nom and the others to work
 ‘Peter knows how to be lazy while others are working’

2- Iatridou (1988/1993), Terzi (1992) and Varlokosta (1994) bring a number of arguments in favor of postulating **PRO** in certain contexts and **pro** in others.

Iatridou (1988/1993) argues that the presence of PRO or pro depends on whether Tense is absent or present.

Terzi (1992) focuses on a comparative investigation of Balkan subjunctives, as opposed to Romance subjunctives, focusing on the phenomenon of obviation in the latter but not in the former.

Varlokosta (1994) develops criteria for identifying the PRO vs. pro nature of the embedded subjunctive subject, such as the availability of split antecedents and “de se” vs. “non obligatory de se” interpretation of the embedded subject. In addition, she refines Iatridou’s Tense hypothesis.

Building on this literature,

-Roussou (1999) investigates more closely the temporal and modal properties of subjunctive complements with or without obligatory coreference.

-Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1999) argue that Greek also has (covert or overt) raising with subjunctive complements of aspectual verbs like *arxizo* “start” and *stamatao* “stop”, where e.g. subjects of idioms in the embedded clause trigger obligatory agreement in the matrix clause:

- (15) Arxisan na mu benun **psili** sta aftia
 Started-3pl na me-gen enter-3pl fleas-pl to-the ears
 ‘Fleas started to enter into my ears, i.e. **I got suspicious**’

8) ANAPHORS

Greek has a short-distance and a long-distance anaphor:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|
| (16) | O Janis _j | pistevi oti o Vasilis _k | tha voithisi | ton eafto tu ^{*j/k} |
| | The Janis | thinks that the Vasilis | will help | the self his |
| | ‘Janis | thinks that Vasilis | will help | himself’ |
| (17) | O Janis _j | pistevi oti o Vasilis _k | tha voithisi | ton idhio _{j/*k} |
| | The Janis | thinks that the Vasilis | will help | the same |
| | ‘Janis | thinks that Vasilis | will help | him (Janis)’ |

Ton eafto tu: discussed by Iatridou (1988), Anagnostopoulou & Everaert (1996, 1999) and Everaert & Anagnostopoulou (1997). Peculiar properties: it can be doubled by a pronominal clitic, it can be a nominative theme/causer preceding an accusative and dative experience in experiencer-object constructions, it shows sensitivity to thematic-prominence in ditransitives. **Consensus**: not coindexed with its antecedent as a whole, unlike English “himself”.

Ton idhio: discussed by Iatridou (1986), Varlokosta & Hornstein (1993), Varlokosta (1994). Analyzed as a **long-distance anaphor** (subject to Principle D for Iatridou; qualifying as an A’ bound pronoun for V&H and Varlokosta).

9) FACTIVE PU-CLAUSES

Discussed by Christidis (1981, 1986), Roussou (1992, 1993), Varlokosta (1994), Ginzburg & Kolliakou (1997).

Observation: they constitute islands not only for adjunct extraction, but also for argument extraction:

- | | | | | |
|------|----|--|-----------------|--------------|
| (18) | a. | *Pote lipase | pu agorases | to vivlio t? |
| | | When regret-2sg | that bought-you | the book |
| | | ‘When do you regret that you bought the book?’ | | |
| | b. | ??Ti lipase | pu agorase | o Janis t? |
| | | What regret-2sg | that bought | the Janis |
| | | ‘What do you regret that John bought?’ | | |

Roussou accounts for this in terms of the hypothesis that *pu* is [+ definite] (supported by the fact that *pu*-clauses don’t nominalize). Varlokosta develops an alternative account in terms of parataxis.

10) ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

Issues discussed:

I. Intransitive verbs in connection to the unaccusativity hypothesis.

-Possible **unaccusativity diagnostics** in Greek, and their exceptions and problems (Markantonatou 1992, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998b).

-The conditions governing the distribution of **active and non-active morphology** in processes related to intransitivization, namely passives (Tsimpli 1989, Smirniotopoulos 1992), reflexives, reflexives showing self-incorporation (Rivero 1992, Smirniotopoulos & Joseph 1998), transitive deponents (Mackridge 1985, Embick 1998), middles (Condoravdi 1989, Sioupi 1997) and anticausatives (Theophanopoulou-Kontou 1999, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999b).

II. Experiencer predicates

Discussed by Kakouriotis (1993) who analyses pairs as in (19) as instances of the causative alternation:

(19)	O Janis	tromakse	to pedi/	To pedhi	tromakse
	The Janis	scared	the child/	The child	scared ('got scared')

Discussed by Anagnostopoulou (1999) who classifies them into 3 types, following Belletti & Rizzi (1988), and argues that accusative and dative experiencers with the Greek counterparts of *preoccupare* and *piacere* verbs qualify as **quirky subjects**.

III. Ditransitives

Discussed by Catsimali (1990) who argues for a non-configurational approach, Markantonatou (1994) who argues that Greek has a dative alternation, Dimitriadis (1999) discusses the dative alternation in northern Italian dialects, Anagnostopoulou (1999b) discusses locality and clitics in passives of ditransitives.

11) THE STRUCTURE OF PPS

Discussed by Fykias (1997) and Theophanopoulou-Kontou (1997). Theophanopoulou-Kontou analyses the pairs in (20) in terms of Cardinaletti & Starke (1995/1999):

(20)	makria	apo ton Jani	makria tu
	away	from the Janis	away him-gen
	'away from Janis'		'away from him'

2. GREEK SYNTAX AFTER 2000: TRACING THE DEVELOPMENTS

A remark: I will not discuss work on Greek dialects, the history of Greek, processing and language acquisition, due to space limitations.

1) **CLAUSE STRUCTURE:** Not much discussion of the architecture of the IP domain. It seems that a consensus on this had been reached by 2000.

There is, however, discussion of the **upper inflectional domain in the clause in terms Rizzi's (1997) cartography of an articulated CP structure**.

Roussou (2000) analyses the particles *θα, na, as* as occupying a lower C head specified for modality.

Rizzi's (1997) structure:

(21) [Force [Topic/ Focus[Fin [IP....]]]]

Roussou's modification for Greek:

(22) [C *pu* [Topic/Focus [COp *oti/an/na/as* [Neg *den/min* [CM *tha/tna/as*[I cl + V...]]]]]]

This analysis reconciles the view that *na* is a mood marker with the view that it is a complementizer (see above). It also resolves the negation puzzle (mentioned above).

The basic architecture in (22) is further implicated, discussed and refined in a series of works, Roussou & Tsangalidis (2010 'Reconsidering the 'modal particles' in Modern Greek', JGL), Roussou (2010 'Selecting Complementizers, *Lingua Special Issue on the Left Periphery*, K. Grohmann & I. M. Tsimpli, eds.), Roussou (2010 'In the mood for Control', *Lingua Special Issue on Subjunctives and Indicatives*, J. Quer, ed.), Roussou (2010 'Subjects on the Edge', in *The Complementizer Phase. Subjects and Operators*, Ph. Panagiotidis, ed. OUP), Ρούσσου 2006 (Συμπληρωματικοί Δείκτες, Πατάκης), in connection to the overall research on the **cartography of the left periphery**, as well as **subject extraction and the that-t effect and control in subjunctives and infinitives**.

2) TOPIC AND FOCUS: (DISCOURSE) CONFIGURATIONALITY AND POSITION OF SUBJECTS²

a) On topic/ focus constructions (topicalization, CLLD, focus preposing); more broadly: encoding information structure.

-Topicalization

Alexopoulou & Kolliakou 2002, on Topicalization in Greek (and English), **a construction not recognized in previous literature on Greek:**

(23) *tin parastasi* *skinothetise* *o Karolos Kun*
The show-acc directed-3sg the Karolos Kun
'Karolos Kun directed the show'

Peripheral XP (PXP) not necessarily nominal

No pronominal resumptive clitic

Not strictly limited to root clauses, though impossible in non-finite clauses

Focal stress not on PXP, standardly associated with the discourse function of topic.

-CLLD (in connection to Topichood, resumption, islandhood etc.)

Discussed in Alexopoulou & Kolliakou (2002) and in a series of papers by Dora Alexopoulou, namely: Alexopoulou & Folli (2011 'Topic strategies and the internal structure of nominal arguments in Italian and Greek; under review), Alexopoulou,

² I underline new headings not included in the headings of A&A (2000).

Doron & Heycock 2004 ‘Broad Subjects and Clitic Left Dislocation’ in D.Adger et al, eds., *Peripheries: syntactic edges and their effects*, Kluwer), as well as a number of papers on resumption (to be mentioned in the section on Relative Clauses and Wh-questions below).

-Focus

A number of Ph.D. dissertations have been produced on focus and focus-related issues:

A **syntactic Ph.D. dissertation** on Focus and Word-Order in Greek: Georgiafentis (2004) argues that there are two types of focus, information focus and contrastive focus. Information focus is realized via the interplay of the Nuclear Stress Rule and the Focus Prominence Rule with the local operation, p-movement. Contrastive focus is syntactic in nature and involves feature checking of the [Foc] feature of Foc (via Agree, Move for EPP reasons and application of the Emphatic/Contrastive Stress Rule).

Though not strictly syntactic, the Ph.D. Dissertations below are highly relevant to syntactic research on focus, and they remind us that this is a **highly complex domain, which requires a proper understanding of semantics, pragmatics and prosody**:

-A Ph.D. dissertation on **information structure and prosody** in Greek. Baltazani (2002) argues for a pragmatic account of the relationship between intonation and meaning in Greek. She establishes how information structure categories are prosodically realized in different sentence types (statements, negatives, questions), and shows how different rules encode focus and background. She then tests experimentally how sentences containing two quantificational elements are produced and interpreted.

-A Ph.D. dissertation devoted to the **semantics and phonetics of preverbal focus** in Greek. Gryllia (2008) focuses on preverbal and post-verbal object foci, discusses them in connection to discourse topic-hood and investigates their semantic and phonetic properties (the latter experimentally by means of a production and two perception experiments).

- A Ph.D. dissertation on the interaction between **focus and anaphora**. Spathas (2010) develops a theory of focus aiming to correlate the prosodic properties of an utterance with the information status of its parts. The main innovation of this theory is that it equates focus domains with cyclic nodes in the syntactic derivation (combining ideas of Schwarzschild 1999 on information structural focus based on *Givenness* with Wagner’s 2005 recursive theory of prosodic structure, which is extended to focus domains). This theory is then applied on sentences with reflexive and pronominal anaphors in English and Greek (see also below **under anaphora**).

b) Subjects (pre-and post-verbal)

A **central and controversial issue in Greek syntax** (see section 3 for some further **discussion**). Many works explore the properties of subject placement either directly or indirectly. A **representative selection** of works after the ones mentioned in A&A (2000) includes the following:

On Verb-initial orders (VSO, VOS)

-Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2001, 2007). They discuss subject placement in Greek in connection to a broader issue concerning subject and object placement in the vP domain across languages. A&A argue for the universality of the **Subject-In-Situ Generalization** in (24):

(24) *THE SUBJECT-IN-SITU GENERALIZATION (SSG)*

By Spell-Out, vP can contain only one argument with a structural Case feature.

Greek (and Spanish and Romanian) VSO orders constitute a counterexample to (24) because both S and O are vP internal (evidence: argument placement relative to participles and light manner adverbs):

(25) an ehi idi diavasi [vP prosektika [o Janis to vivlio]]
if has already read carefully the-John-NOM the book-ACC
'If John has already read the book carefully'

A&A (2001) argue that such orders do not challenge the SSG, understood in terms of a Case checking constraint, because the Case of the *in situ* subject is realized on the pronominal verbal agreement which has the status of a clitic and checks overtly its (phi and Case) features on T as a result of verb-raising (cf. A&A 1998). This property of Greek, Spanish and Romanian verbal subject agreement is linked to the clitic doubling parameter which permits the formation of such feature-chains between clitics and *in situ* DP arguments in clitic doubling languages like Greek, Spanish and Romanian and prohibits them in non-clitic doubling languages like French, Italian and Catalan, which only allow VOS due to the SSG.

-Roussou & Tsimpli (2006) provide an account of VSO in Greek and its (relative) absence in Italian, despite the fact that both languages allow for postverbal subjects. They argue that the clause structure divides into three basic domains (V, T, and C), and that nominal (clitic) positions are available in each of these domains, which can be lexicalised not only by clitics but also by full DPs. The subject and object DP in Greek can appear in the same domain (V), as they spell out different features depending on their grammatical function. This is not so in Italian, given that DPs spell out the same set of features irrespective of their grammatical function. In this account, the difference between the two languages w.r.t. SSG effects (A&A 2001) is linked to lexicalization constraints, which, as far as I understand, ultimately reduce to the presence vs. absence of morphological case.

-Sifaki (2003) in her Ph.D. dissertation investigates Verb-initial orders in Greek in connection to the EPP. She argues against the view that the EPP is limited to Spec,IP and limited to a D feature of I, and develops a view of the EPP based on Holmberg (2000) which crucially implicates the presence of a P(honological) feature. She reanalyses verb-initial orders in Greek as the result of VP-Preposing for EPP-satisfaction reasons and offers an account for the different word-orders but also the variability of focus/stress assignment patterns.

-Georgiades (2004, chapters 3 & 4) accounts for the different word-orders in Greek in connection to information-structure based on the theory of focus he defends (see above).

On Subject-initial orders (SVO)

-Roussou & Tsimpili (2006) argue that in SVO orders the subject may reside in Spec,TP on the basis of (i) data from quantifier scope which are taken to be ambiguous (subject to scope-reconstruction) and (ii) the observation that in statives, middles and generics, the subject must be pre-verbal.

-Spyropoulos & Revythiadou (2007/ 2010) building on Laskaratou (1998) and Tsimpili & Roussou (2006) argue that the derivation of subjects in Greek always involves a movement operation which targets an EPP Spec,TP position. This movement operation creates a series of copies, and word order variation depends on an interaction between PF and LF requirements, favoring or forcing pronunciation of high vs. low copies. On this approach, Greek is essentially like English w.r.t. EPP satisfaction, and differences in word-order between the two types of languages are a matter of spell-out at PF.

3) ADVERBS AND CLAUSE STRUCTURE

It seems that a **consensus** has been reached concerning the relative position of adverbs in Greek. In addition, adverbs have proved to be **useful tools** for diagnosing the position of subjects and objects in the vP, IP and CP domains. **New developments:**

a) A new diagnostic for the analysis of word-order variation in Greek: *ksana* ‘again’:

Anagnostopoulou & Alexiadou (2009) and Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2011) investigate the syntax and interpretation of the adverb *ksana* ‘again’ focusing on the repetitive-restitutive ambiguity and what it shows for syntactic decomposition (studied for German *wieder* most notably by von Stechow 1996, and for English *again*, among others by Beck & Johnson 2004):

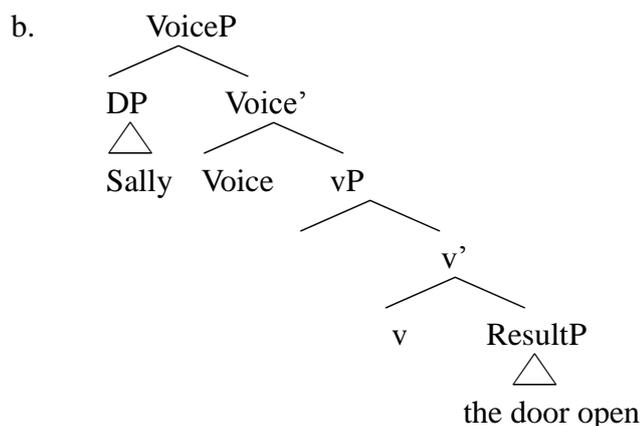
Beck & Johnson (2004: 106f.; cf. Dowty 1979):

(26) Sally opened the door again

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| a. Sally opened the door, and that had happened before. | <i>repetitive</i> |
| b. Sally opened the door, and the door had been open before. | <i>restitutive</i> |

Von Stechow (1996) on the basis of German *wieder*:

(27) a. Sally opened the door.



Again has two different adjunction sites and consequently two different constituents it can modify.

- (28) a. Adjunction to VoiceP *repetitive reading*
 b. Adjunction to ResultP *restitutive reading*

A&A argue that the behavior of Greek non-incorporated *ksana*:

- supports a **structural analysis** of repetitive and restitutive readings (as proposed by von Stechow 1996 for German).
- supports the idea that the vP domain should be **further decomposed** into a high (initiator/process) domain including the subject and a low (result) domain excluding the subject, as in decomposition approaches (e.g. Hale & Keyser 1993, Kratzer 1996, Chomsky 1995 and many following them).
- **offers a tool** for identifying the exact position of the subject, verb and object (vP internally or externally) in SVO, VSO and VOS orders, depending on whether a given sequence has only the repetitive reading, only the restitutive reading or shows a repetitive/restitutive ambiguity.³

Michelioudakis (2011) uses *ksana* as **a tool for the analysis of (especially benefactive) ditransitives**, adopting, extending and modifying A&A (2009) and Beck and Johnson (2004).

b) Looking more carefully into closely related adverbs:

Barouni (in progress) examines the syntax and semantics of adverbs and focus particles in Greek. She aims to provide a semantic analysis of focus particles/adverbs in order to account for (a) the fact that the same element (e.g. *kiolas* 'already', *idi* 'already', *akoma* 'still/ more') may receive distinct meanings (aspectual, additive, scalar meaning) (b) the semantic- pragmatic differences that specific pairs of particles have e.g. *idi* vs. *kiolas* ('already'), *telika* vs. *epitelus* ('finally'), *ksana* vs. *pali* ('again'). In addition, she is exploring the (non) effect of stress (high pitch accent) on the semantic properties of these elements. Some preliminary results on '*idi*', '*molis*' and '*kiolas*' show that **it is an**

³ A&A further investigate the syntax and interpretation of incorporated *ksana* (Rivero 1992, Alexiadou 1997) in synthetic and periphrastic constructions, comparing it to English *re-* (Williams 2006, Marantz 2007).

oversimplification to treat them as aspectual adverbs uniformly occupying the same position in the tree. Specifically:

Μπαρούνη (2011) examines the position of main and auxiliary verbs relative to the adverbs *kiolas* ‘already’, *idi* ‘already’ and *molis* ‘just’, and shows that *kiolas* and *molis* sandwich the verb, *molis* necessarily preceding and *kiolas* following the finite verb with neutral intonation (while word order options are less restricted with *idi*):

- (29) Ta pedhia **molis/ *kiolas** efagan **molis^{marked}/kiolas**
 The children just/ already ate just/ already
 to fagito tus
 the food their
 ‘The children just ate their food/ The children already ate their food’
- (30) Ta pedhia **idhi** efagan **idhi^{preferred}** to fagito tus
 The children already ate already the food their
 ‘The children already ate their food’

First, this indicates that what might be called ‘aspectual adverbs’ do not occupy the same position in the tree (in accordance with Cinque’s 1999 more refined hierarchy, but in the opposite order of the Italian and English adverbs studied by Cinque). **Second**, the correct structure is MolisP > KiolasP, with the verb obligatorily moving above *kiolas* but below *molis* (i.e. lower than usually thought). **Third**, auxiliaries seem to be higher than inflected main verbs, as they tend to precede rather than follow *molis*:

- (31) a. Ta pedhia **molis^{more marked} / *kiolas** exhun **molis/kiolas**
 The children just already just/already
 fai **molis^{marked} /kiolas** to fagito tus
 eaten just/already the food their

4) CLITICS

I. Clitic placement. To my knowledge, the most comprehensive work on this issue is the Ph.D. Dissertation by Marios Mavrogiorgos (Mavrogiorgos 2009) and his 2010 book based on the dissertation. Mavrogiorgos argues against a Kayne-type adjunction analysis of clitic placement (Kayne 1991, 1994) as well as against an incorporation analysis along the lines of Baker (1988). He argues for a derivation in which the clitic first targets the edge of v* and then it moves along with the v*-V complex to T (derivation (34) on p. 129, see 129-131 in the book for the details). He investigates a typology of enclisis across languages based on (a) Finiteness, (b) properties of the left-periphery (topic-focus) and/or (c) PF properties of clitics (enclitic vs. proclitic) and argues that in systems where enclisis vs. proclisis is sensitive to finiteness the generalization is that person agreement on T is restrictive/defective while the verb must check verbal inflection on the higher Complementizer Modal head.

II. Internal structure of clitics [added]

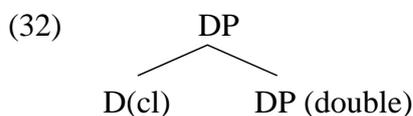
This issue is studied in detail by Panagiotidis (2002) who investigates the internal structure of pronouns and argues that all pronominals including pronominal clitics have a complex structure involving an abstract nominal, contra e.g. Abney's (1987) 'intransitive determiner hypothesis'.

The internal structure of clitics is also discussed in Mavrogiorgos (2010, ch. 3) who critically discusses all analyses that have been proposed in the literature for strong pronouns and clitics.

III. Clitic doubling and its proper representation.

The proper understanding of clitic doubling is still **controversial (I believe this is a more general issue beyond the Syntax of Greek)**. The following works, among others, explore Greek clitic doubling after 2000 (order of works chronological):

-Papangeli (2000, 2004, ch. 4) analyses Greek clitic doubling in terms of the hypothesis that clitics are D heads taking the double DP as their complements (p. 147, tree (144b) in the dissertation):



She proposes that this is essentially the same structure as in constructions headed by demonstratives in Greek (*aftos o anthropos* 'this the man, i.e. this man'), except that the clitic must cliticize to a higher head, unlike the demonstrative.

-Anagnostopoulou (2003) studies indirect object (doubled) clitics in Greek and argues that they are formal features of dative DPs which undergo movement without phrasal pied-piping (Chomsky 1995) due to locality considerations (see discussion below on datives).

-Philippaki-Warburton, Varlokosta, Georgiarentis & Kotzoglou (2004) argue that clitics are not affixes but full words which move in the syntactic component and (ultimately) target the head of T. As for their position in the phrase marker, it is claimed that clitics do not head a functional (clitic) projection (contra Sportiche 1992/1996 and Anagnostopoulou 1994/1999 for Greek) but are merged in the internal argument position(s) of V. Being both X₀ and X_{max} (Chomsky 1995), clitics can undergo movement avoiding the Head Movement Constraint. The relation between the clitic and its DP-double is that of coindexation, with the double occupying an adjunct position, either a remote one (clitic left/right dislocation), or a vP-internal one (doubling without comma intonation).

-Anagnostopoulou (2006) embeds the discussion of Greek clitic doubling into a more general discussion of clitic doubling phenomena across languages and constructions, as analysed at various stages of GB and the Principles and Parameters Theory. She argues that dative doubling clitics in Greek are D-elements, unlike Spanish where they look as if they spell-out applicative heads (functioning like inflections). In general, the position

adopted in the paper is that it is hard (and perhaps undesirable) to pursue a unified analysis of clitic doubling across languages (and even within the same language).

-Tsakali (2006) investigates the syntax of clitic doubling in Greek and defends a version of Sportiche's (1992, 1996) CliticVoices proposal, arguing that the cl-double relationship bears formal similarities with expletive chains. Particularly interesting is the discussion of clitic doubling of CPs and of first and second person case syncretic dative (i.e. morphologically genitive) pronouns (in ch. 2) in examples like (33) and (34), respectively:

- (33) a. (To) apovefgo [(to) na sinantiso ta pedhia]
 It avoid-I [(the) na meet-I the children-acc]
 'I avoid it, meeting the kids'
 b. (To) ksero [(to) oti efige o Jorgos]
 It know-I [(the) that left the Jorgos-nom]
 'I know it, that George left'
- (34) *(Mu/su) milise emena/ esena
 Cl-1/2 dat talked me-dat/ you-dat
 'He/she talked to me/ you'

Tsakali furthermore argues on the basis of a cross-linguistic investigation that the following correlation holds:⁴

- (35) *The doubling/ agreement correlation*
 If a language has clitic doubling it lacks participle agreement
 If a language has participle agreement it lacks clitic doubling

-Finally, Tsakali (2010) investigates 'pseudo-doubling' constructions with floating quantifiers and argues that the obligatoriness or not of doubling depends on the definite object drop properties of the language. This has the implication that floated quantifiers in Greek are adverbials rather than DP-modifiers (Bobaljik 2003; Fitzpatrick 2006).

IV. The Person Case Constraint (PCC) [added]: Anagnostopoulou (1999, 2003, 2005a); Revythiadou & Spyropoulos (2008), Mavrogiorgos (2009, 2010); Michelioudakis (2011).

V. Lack of Doubling in DPs

The issue of clitic doubling inside the DP (doubling of the possessor) is discussed in Giusti and Stavrou (2008*) who show that in both Bulgarian and Greek there is no clitic doubling and apparent counter-examples are instances of dislocation (*Kalluli, D. and Liliane Tasmowski (eds.) Clitic Doubling in the Balkan Languages. John Benjamins).

5) DP-SYNTAX

⁴ She argues that (35) derives from a constraint banning an overt DP to enter into an Agree relation with a phi-probe in the functional domain more than once combined with the hypothesis that in clitic-doubling languages CIP hosts [person], [gender] and [number] while in participle agreement languages AgrO hosts gender and number and CIP hosts person.

I. Polydefinites. Literature on DS/Polydefinites after (2000): Alexiadou (2001a 2004), Alexopoulou & Kolliakou (2002), Campos & Stavrou (2004), Ioannidou & Den Dikken (2006), Kariaeva (2004), Kolliakou (2004), Lekakou & Szendroi (2008), Marinis & Panagiotidis (2004), Panagiotidis & Marinis (2011), Ntelitheos (2004), Tsakali (2008), Kyriakaki (2011).

While earlier approaches to determiner doubling, e.g. Androutsopoulou (1995), Stavrou (1995), did not discuss its semantic contribution, it was noted in passing by Anagnostopoulou (1994) that the determiner doubling construction is reminiscent of clitic doubling. This was also mentioned in Alexiadou & Wilder (1998), Campos & Stavrou (2004), but the comparison is first made explicit in Tsakali (2008). Tsakali provides substantial evidence that doubling of definiteness in Greek is subject to the *Prominence Condition* (Heim 1982) similarly to clitic-doubling.

Three camps:

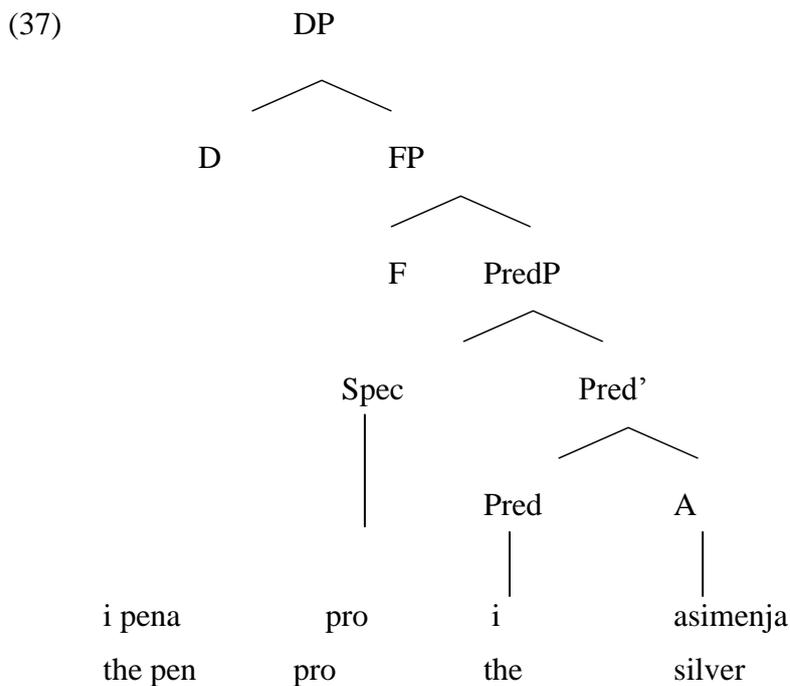
Camp 1: DS/ Polydefinites involve predication

i) DS/Polydefinites involve a relative clause structure, where the 'extra' determiner is external to the CP and the adjective is a predicate in a relative clause; the subject is a DP, hence multiple determiners (Alexiadou 2001, 2004, building on Alexiadou & Wilder 1998).

(36) DP2 D [CP [IP D1P AP]]

the the book red

ii) DS/Polydefinites include a functional predicative category (PredP), which is headed by the 'adjectival' definite article, Campos & Stavrou (2004).



Camp 2: DS/Polydefinites involve ellipsis (and maybe predication)

iii) DS/Polydefinites involve apposition structures (Lekakou & Szendroi 2012). Their proposal is to capitalize on the parallels between polydefinites and close appositives:

- (38) a. o aetos to puli
the-MASC eagle the-NEUT bird
b. to puli o aetos
the-NEUT bird the-MASC eagle
'the eagle that is a bird (as opposed to the eagle that is a symbol)'

Both close appositives and polydefinites are DPs that consist of DP sub-parts. The only difference is that in polydefinites one DP-subpart contains noun ellipsis.

iv) Panagiotidis (2005): small-clause structure, whose subject and predicate are DPs, one of which (the 'adjectival' one) contains noun-ellipsis

Camp 3: DS/polydefinites involve split-DP structure (e.g. Kariaeva 2004). Kariaeva (2004), following Androutsopoulou (1995), proposes a split-DP framework without assuming predication. The Greek DP is split into a DeicticP and a DP with an additional FocusP sandwiched inbetween the two:

- (39) [DeicticP [FocP [DP [NumP [NP]]]]]

II. Partitives and Pseudopartitives: Stavrou (1983, 1995, 2003) Alexiadou and Stavrou (1999).

III Mass Plural Nouns:

Identified by Tsoulas (2010) who argued that plural morphology on Greek MNs is expletive.

Alexiadou (2011) puts forth a split analysis of plural Number, according to which there are two types of plural, a so-called grammatical plural and a so-called lexical plural. The former is on the Number head and realizes a plural semantic feature. The latter is on n (it is a categorizing head). On this view, plural mass nouns are simple nPs.

A reference book on the syntax of DPs that systematically takes into account many findings from Greek and discusses them comparatively: Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou. 2007.

6) RELATIVE CLAUSES, WH-QUESTIONS (AND RELATED CONSTRUCTIONS)

a) On relative clauses.

Dora Alexopoulou has studied **resumptive pronouns** in connection to **relative clauses, topic constructions and questions**, but also several issues connected to relative clauses and interrogatives in a series of publications. Some of her works include the following:

-Alexopoulou & Folli (2011, under review): they notice and discuss a number of interesting differences between the two languages w.r.t. CLLD and related constructions and link them to respective differences in the nominal system.

-Alexopoulou (2010) argues that true or grammatical resumption arises through the generalization of intrusive resumption, a resumptive strategy available in most grammars as a last resort device to overcome processing complexity. Intrusive resumptive structures involve mixed chains, specified for movement, thus, incurring processing costs associated with movement, but in which the involvement of a pronominal, providing an argument locally, gives rise to an anaphoric resolution of the dependency. Generalising the resumptive strategy involves shifting from such mixed chains to chains where the movement option is cancelled altogether and, complexity associated with movement is dispensed with.

-Alexopoulou (2006) ‘Resumption in Relative Clauses’(NLLT 24): a number of different resumptive strategies are identified and discussed.

-Alexopoulou (2006) ‘Free and Restricted Relative Clauses in Greek’: She argues that the categorial status of relative clauses as DPs is related to the D/ ϕ -features of Greek C (*pu*), and against Kayne’s (1994) external determiner and associated NPraising hypothesis.

b) On wh-clauses clauses

Kontzoglou (2005) examines the extraction of wh-phrases from larger constituents and tries to identify the link between the lack of certain locality (island–) violations and the null subject parameter. The main claim of the dissertation is null subject languages escape some locality restrictions that non null subject languages are subject to due the lack of an EPP τ –feature in null subject languages. The option not to move the subject is taken to be responsible for the lack of subject–oriented locality effects. The dissertation focuses on the absence of the Subject Condition in Greek as well as the lack of that-t effects.

Alexopoulou & Baltazani (2009) present an analysis of multiple focus sentences in Greek. They challenge the claim in the Greek literature that multiple focus is unavailable in Greek. What is unavailable is multiple maximal foci in sentences where one focused item has moved to the left periphery. They argue that the unavailability of multiple foci in such sentences is an interface mismatch between interpretation and phonology. What is unavailable is not multiple focus but multiple sentence nuclei.

Sinopoulou (2007, 2008) discusses wh-in-situ in Greek simple and multiple wh-questions. Sinopoulou (2007) argues that Greek has genuine wh-in-situ (i.e. non-echo) questions in examples like the ones in (40) and discusses the pragmatics and syntax of this construction.

- (40) a. Kai epistrefis pote?
And come back-2sg when
‘And when do you come back?’
b. Na pao pu?
Na go-1sg where?
‘Where should I go?’

- c. Tha tu pis ti?
 Tha cl-IO say-2sg what
 ‘What will you tell him?’

Sinopoulou (2008) examines the syntactic position of *wh*-in situ in Greek multiple questions. It is argued that non-fronted *wh*-elements in matrix multiple questions do not reside in situ, but move to a higher structural position, preceding the vP-internal subject:

- (41) Pote agorase ti o Janis?
 when bought.3RD.SG what.ACC the Janis.NOM
 ‘When did John buy what?’

On the basis of the similarities between focus and *wh*-constructions, she proposes that in situ *wh*-elements move to a low focus position in the left periphery of vP (cf. Belletti 2004).

7) SUBJECTS IN SUBJUNCTIVE CLAUSES (CONTROL, RAISING)

The proper understanding of control and raising in Greek is still **controversial (As pointed out by Landau 2012 for Control more generally)**. The following works explore aspects of the problem after 2000:

Current debate around Control:

-The classical approach in terms of PRO. In our days most prominently defended by Landau in his dissertation/ his book and a series of papers (Landau 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004 and later; see Landau 2011 for discussion and references).

-The movement/Agree version which crucially implicates a movement-type of relation between two theta-positions (Manzini & Roussou 2000; Hornstein 1999, 2000, Boeckx & Hornstein 2004 and later papers).

The Greek debate around control:

Does Greek have Control or not? Greek does not have infinitives. If Greek has control, then Control also happens in finite clauses, or, alternatively, subjunctives showing control are like infinitives and unlike finite clauses.

As summarized by Spyropoulos (2008: 159-160), there are three positions taken in the literature w.r.t. the above questions:

Camp 1: Greek subjunctives show control (either PRO or Movement) because they involve a **defective T**, and, as a result, they are **non-finite**.

Within Camp 1, some people take Control to involve PRO and others movement:

- (i) Control as PRO: Terzi 1992, 1997; Iatridou 1988/1993; Varlokosta 1994.
- (ii) Control as Movement: Kapetangianni & Seely 2003, 2008; Roussou (2001) based on Manzini & Roussou (2000).

Camp 2: Greek subjunctives are **finite** (implicit or explicit: because the crucial

property for finiteness is agreement) and control can be established with null or overt elements like pro, pronouns or even DPs under special syntactic or semantic or pragmatic conditions (Joseph 1992, Philippaki-Warbuton 1987, Philippaki-Warbuton & Catsimali 1999, Spyropoulos & Philippaki-Warbuton 2001; see Borer 1989). Spyropoulos (2008) argues for an updated version of this position. As far as I understand, Roussou (2010) takes the same position.

Camp 3: Landau (2004, 2006) takes Greek (among other languages) to show that the distribution of PRO is not to be linked to Case, i.e. as evidence that PRO has Case. Subjunctives can show control and control is manifested through PRO, which can bear nominative Case. The distribution of PRO derives from the referential properties of PRO in connection to properties of the subjunctive C and T heads.

Backward Control:

Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, Iordachioaia & Marchis (henceforth AAIM 2010) address two main counterarguments raised in Landau (2007) against the movement analysis of Control, and especially against the phenomenon of Backward Control (BC). They argue that unlike the situation described in Tsez (Polinsky & Potsdam 2002), Landau's objections do not hold for Greek and Romanian, where all obligatory control verbs exhibit BC:

- (42) (O **Janis**) emathe (o **Janis**) na pezi (o **Janis**) kithara (o **Janis**)
 John-nom learned-3sg John-nom subj play-3sg John-nom guitar John-nom
 Janis learned to play the guitar
- (43) (**Ion**) a uitat (**Ion**) să cinte (**Ion**) la chitara (**Ion**)
 Ion has forgotten (Ion) subj play Ion at guitar Ion
 Ion has forgotten how to play the guitar

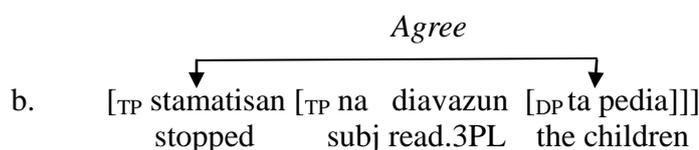
AAIM argue that in these examples (i) there is no restructuring, (ii) the subject is truly embedded, (iii) there is an unpronounced subject in the matrix clause and (iv) the chain formed between the two copies bears two distinct cases.

AAIM (2009) address one more challenge to the phenomenon of BC provided by Szabolcsi (2009). On the basis of a comparative examination of Greek/ Romanian vs. Hungarian they argue that Greek and Romanian indeed have BC (adding a further argument to the control-as-movement analysis).

Long Distance Agreement:

AAIM (to appear) reanalyze the construction in (44) analyzed by Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (A&A 1999/2002) as having overt or covert raising out of subjunctive complements in terms of Long Distance Agreement (LDA) which requires Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

- (44) a. stamatisan na diavazun ta pedia vivlia tu Kazandzaki
 stopped-3pl subj read-3pl the children books Kazandzakis
 'The children stopped reading books by Kazandzakis.'



Not really ECM, not exactly Control:

Kontzoglou & Papangeli (2008) discuss constructions like (45) and argue that it is neither regular ECM nor object Control. They propose that they involve semantic control (Warburton & Catsimali 1999; Spyropoulos 2008) and have case properties of the type proposed by Reinhart & Siloni (2005):

- (45) I epivates perimenan ton kapetanio
 The passengers-nom expected-3pl the captain-acc
 na fethi me aksioprepia
 na behave-3sg with dignity
 ‘The passengers expected the captain to behave with dignity’

8) ANAPHORS

On the Short-distance anaphor ‘ton eafto tu’:

On the basis of the focus-theory he develops in his Ph.D. dissertation, Spathas (2010) investigates comparatively the properties of the short-distance anaphor ‘ton eafto tu’, as opposed to English ‘himself’. The key facts are in (46) vs. (47) (Spathas’s 2010: (29) vs. (30), p. 166):

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----|------------------------|------|-----|----------------------|
| (46) | A. | Ti ekane o Jannis? | (47) | A. | What did John do? |
| | | What did the John? | | | |
| | | ‘What did John do?’ | | | |
| | B1. | PENEPSE ton EAFTO tu | | B1. | He PRAISED himSELF # |
| | | Praised the self his | | | |
| | | Praised himself | | | |
| | | ‘He praised himself’ | | | |
| | B2. | Penepse ton EAFTO tu | | B2. | He praised himSELF # |
| | B3. | PENEPSE ton eafto tu # | | B3. | He PRAISED himself |

They are argued to show that “himself” denotes a reflexivizing function which takes the predicate as its argument. On the other hand, *o eaftos tu* does not denote a reflexivizing function that takes the predicate as its argument. Spathas adopts the Anagnostopoulou & Everaert (1999) proposal that “eaftos” incorporates into the verb creating a complex predicate which takes the possessive pronoun as its complement.

As Spathas (2010: 168-173) further argues, this treatment predicts that Greek reflexive anaphors can be antecedent to paycheck pronouns while English cannot be. (47) can have two readings: (i) either everybody other than John neglects John (the referential reading), (ii) or everybody other than John neglects himself (the paycheck reading):

- (47) O Janis frontizi kala ton eafto tu
 The Janis takes-care well the self his
 ‘John takes good care of himself’
 Kathe alos ton parameli
 Everyone else him neglects
 ‘Everyone else neglects him’

On the other hand, English (48) only allows the referential reading:

- (48) John takes good care of himself. Everybody else neglects him.

On the long-distance anaphor ‘ton idhio’

Anagnostopoulou & Everaert (to appear) re-visit its properties developing an analysis that takes into account current research on long-distance anaphora and logophoricity.

9) FACTIVE PU-CLAUSES

[Not discussed in the literature after 2000.]

10) ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

The past twelve years have seen a **particular growth of studies on argument structure and/or the morpho-syntax of argument alternations** from different perspectives. A list of topics discussed in the literature on Greek in recent years includes the following:

1) Nominalizations

Alexiadou (2001) discusses Greek nominalizations from a cross-linguistic perspective (Greek is compared to English and other Germanic languages, Romance, Slavic, Semitic and Hungarian). The book discusses the functional architecture in nominalizations (taking the approach that word formation results from embedding a category-neutral root under verbal and nominal functional projections) combined with the view that variation within and across languages depends on variation in functional structure (verbal and nominal projections). The book also discusses the issue of intransitivity in nominalizations and argues in favor of a particular approach to ergativity which assimilates ergative patterns to nominalizations.

Nominalizations are investigated in a number of further recent publications by A. Alexiadou, including: Alexiadou 2008 (‘Tense in the nominal domain: implications for grammar architecture’ in *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 8), Alexiadou 2009 (‘On the role of syntactic locality in morphological processes: the case of (Greek) derived nominals’. In A. Giannakidou & M. Rathert (Eds.) *Quantification, Definiteness and Nominalization* OUP), Alexiadou 2010 (‘Nominalizations: a probe into the architecture of grammar. Part I: the nominalization puzzle’. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 4), Alexiadou 2010 (‘Nominalizations: a probe into the architecture of grammar. Part II: the aspectual properties of nominalizations and the lexicon vs. syntax debate’ *Language and Linguistics Compass* 4), Alexiadou 2011 (‘The aspectual properties of nominalization structures’ in A. Galani, G. Hicks and G. Tsoulas 2011 Eds.

‘Morphology and its interfaces’, John Benjamins), Alexiadou 2012 (‘Statives and nominalization’ *Recherches Linguistiques de Vincennes* 40)

2) Middles

Lekakou (2005) explores the syntax and semantics of Greek middles from a comparative perspective. In the literature on Greek, there have been three views of what constitutes a genuine middle:

Camp 1: Middles always surface with non-active morphology differing from passives morphologically only in that they surface with imperfective aspect obligatorily (Tsimpli 1989, Sioupi 1998, Papastathi 2001, Tsimpli 2004):

- (48) a. Afto to vivlio dhavastike xtes
This the book read-nonAct yesterday
‘This book was written yesterday’
b. Afto to vivlio diavazete efkola
This the book reads-nonAct easily
‘This book reads easily’

Within camp 1, disagreement on the syntax of (48b):

- On one view (Tsimpli 1989), (48b) has a passive syntax
- On another view (Sioupi 1998), (48b) is unergative.

Camp 2: Greek does not have the counterpart of English middles since (48b) is an ‘affix-mediated middle’. Only examples like (49), which are non-affix-mediated are genuine middles (Kakouriotis 1994):

- (49) Ta mikra pedhia tromazun efkola
The little children scare-pl easily
‘Small children scare easily’

Camp 3: Condoravdi (1989) claims that Greek middles can have both active and non-active morphology.

Lekakou (2005) argues systematically and convincingly in favor of Tsimpli’s version of camp 1 (i.e. non-active morphology necessarily signifies the Greek middle, and, in addition, Greek middles are passives) and concludes that, syntactically, there is no linguistically uniform construction “middle” but semantically there is. In other words, there are two types of syntactic middles across languages: In Dutch, German and English, middles are syntactically unergative and the implicit Agent is syntactically inert. In Greek and French, middles are syntactically indistinguishable from generic passives: they exhibit a derived subject and a syntactically represented Agent (Ackema & Schoorlemer 1994, 1995, 2006). What unifies them is their semantics. She argues that middles ascribe a dispositional property to the understood object. She furthermore proposes that the cross-linguistic distinction between unergative vs. passive middles depends on (i) whether languages encode genericity by means of imperfective aspect and (ii) the nature of the anaphoric system, i.e. whether unergative languages can function as valency reduction

markers or not. The theme of middles is also explored in a number of publications by M. Lekakou, namely Lekakou 2005 (Reflexives in contexts of reduced valency: German vs. Dutch. *The function of function words and functional categories*, M. den Dikken & C. Tortora (eds.), 155-185. John Benjamins: Amsterdam.), Lekakou 2006 ('A comparative requirement for adverbial modification in middles.' In *Demoting the Agent: Passives and other voice-related phenomena*, B. Lyngfelt & T. Solstad, 167-196. John Benjamins: Amsterdam), Lekakou 2009 ('Aspect matters in the middle'. In *The Limits of Syntactic Variation*, M.T. Biberauer (Ed.), 246-268. John Benjamins: Amsterdam).

3) Reflexives

Greek lexical reflexives are investigated most notably in the Ph.D. Dissertation by D. Papangeli (2004) in the framework of Reinhart's (1997, 2000, 2003) Theta-System. Her starting point is Reinhart & Siloni's (2003) that languages differ in whether the reflexivization operation takes place in Syntax (as in French and Italian) or in the Lexicon (as in English). Papangeli applies Reinhart & Siloni's criteria to Greek and concludes that Greek behaves as a 'mixed language' w.r.t. these criteria. According to some criteria (most notably, great degree of productivity), Greek behaves like a Syntax-language. According to other criteria (e.g. the fact that reflexivization is strictly limited to accusatives), Greek behaves like a Lexicon language.

Evidence against Greek being a Syntax language:

- (50) a. Gianni si e comprato una macchina
Gianni si is bought a car
'Gianni has bought himself a car'
- b. *O Gianis agorastike ena aftokinito
The Giannis bought-NAct a car
'John bought himself a car'

Evidence in favor of Greek being a Syntax language. High degree of productivity of reflexives and reciprocals in Greek, not limited to special classes such as dress verbs, as shown by the following novel formations:

- (51) O Gianis trip-i-ete, xapak-on-ete, xtip-i-ete
The Gianis hole-NonAct-3sg/ pill-NonAct-3sg bang-NonAct-3sg
'Gianis takes heroin/ takes pills/ dances madly/ is mad

Papangeli proposes that Greek is a Syntax language, and attributes the apparent Lexical properties of Greek reflexives to the fact that the non-Active morpheme -te in Greek can only absorb ACC case, unlike se/si reflexives which have wider Case absorption options.

4) The Causative-alternation and passives (in connection to Voice morphology)

The causative-anticausative alternation in connection to (a) passives and (b) the distribution of active and non-active Voice morphology has been discussed by many and has given rise to **many controversies** w.r.t two interrelated issues, namely:

Literature on adjectival participles & verbal adjectives after 2000: Giorgala (2001), Kordoni (2002), Anagnostopoulou (2003), Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2008), Samioti (2008, in progress), Anagnostopoulou & Samioti (2009, 2012).

Next to adjectives, Greek has two adjectival constructions: the participle in *-menos* and what traditional grammars call the “verbal adjective” in *-tos*.

- (54) anig-men-os anix-t-os “opened”/ “open”
 open-men-masc.sg.nom open-t-masc.sg.nom

The theoretical interest of these forms is that they signify through different morphemes (*-menos* vs. *-tos*) a distinction also present in adjectival participles of languages like English and German (Embick 2004, Kratzer 1994, 2000) but often obscured through syncretic *-ed* morphology. *-menos* participles denote a state resulting from a prior event, while *-tos* verbal adjectives lack event implications (Markantonatou et al 1997, Georgala 2001, Kordoni 2002). They denote what has been called “a characteristic state” by Markantonatou et al. (1997):

- (55) a. I patates ine tiganis-*men-es*
 The potatoes are fry-*men-fem.pl.nom*
 ‘The potatoes are fried’
 b. I patates ine tigani-*t-es*
 The potatoes are fry-*t-fem.pl.nom*
 ‘The potatoes are fried’

(55a) conveys the meaning that the potatoes are fried as a result of a frying event: they have been fried e.g. a minute ago and are now ready to be eaten. On the other hand, (55b) simply expresses the fact that the potatoes are cooked in a particular way (“characteristic state” interpretation): they are fried (rather than e.g. cooked).

Anagnostopoulou (2003) discusses verbal adjectives and participles in terms of Kratzer’s more refined typology of participles. She argues that *-menos* forms denote target and resultant states and they embed a VP. In addition, resultant states *-menos* forms include Voice in Greek (unlike German).⁵ On the other hand, *-tos* forms are lexical, in the sense of Kratzer (cf. Embick’s 2004 discussion of English.)

A& A (2008) implement A’s (2003) analysis in DM, in terms of distinct levels of attachment of the participle morphemes: *-tos* attaches directly to the Root, *-menos* attaches to vP (in target state participles) and VoiceP (in resultant state participles).

Samioti (2008, in progress) revises the A (2003)/ A&A (2008) typology of participles, and argues that there are *-tos* participles that are phrasal: negated *-tos* participles and *-tos* participles expressing ability/ possibility (the latter include middle Voice as in Greek middles). On her view, the right generalization for the *-menos* vs. *-tos* distribution is that *-menos* expresses the Perfect of Result while *-tos* occurs when no (specific) event is entailed.

⁵ It is interesting that Bruening (2012) reaches the same conclusion for English adjectival participles, namely that they include Voice.

Anagnostopoulou & Samioti (2009, 2012) explore (un-)predictable meanings of participles in light of Marantz's (2001, 2007)/ Arad's (2003, 2005) phase-within-words hypothesis.

6) Ditransitive predicates, double object constructions, applicatives

Different types of ditransitives are analyzed in:

- Anagnostopoulou 2001: the paper analyses **double accusative constructions** with verbs like *dhidhasko* 'teach' / *dhidhaksa ton Petro-ACC mathimatika-ACC* / taught-I the Peter-ACC math-ACC 'I taught Peter math'.
- Anagnostopoulou 2003: the book analyzes **goal ditransitives** with verbs like *dhino* 'give' / *edhosa tu Petru-GEN to vivlio-ACC* / gave-I the Peter-Gen the book-ACC 'I gave Peter the book', where the IO is realized as a DP with genitive or a PP).
- Anagnostopoulou 2005b: the paper analyses **benefactive ditransitives** with verbs like *maghirevo* 'cook' / *maghirepsa tu Petru-GEN keftedakia-ACC* / cooked-I Peter-GEN meatballs-ACC 'I cooked Peter meatballs', where the IO is realized as a DP with genitive, as a PP introduced by the preposition *se* 'to', or as a PP introduced by the preposition *gia* 'for'.

It is argued that:

- The double accusative construction lacks an applicative *v* introducing the IO
- The genitive goal construction has an applicative *v* introducing the IO DP (in a high applicative structure along the lines of Marantz 1993). The PP construction is ambiguous between an applicative and a non-applicative structure (this is argued for in Anagnostopoulou 2005; in the book I assumed that it always lacks an applicative head)
- The benefactive construction is applicative when the IO bears genitive Case or is a PP introduced by *-se* and non-applicative when the head introducing the benefactive argument is *gia* 'for'.

Crucial for the overall analysis is a set of intervention effects caused by intervening goals, benefactives in applicative theme-passives/unaccusatives but not by PPs in non-applicatives. Cliticization/clitic doubling of the intervener is argued to be an escape hatch for such locality violations.

Greek is discussed comparatively to Germanic (English, German, Dutch, Scandinavian), Romance (Spanish, Italian, French), Japanese, and some Bantu languages.

Georgiafentis and Lascaratou (2007) propose a single tree diagram for both the DP-Gen and the PP-*se* goal construction in Greek. They argue that in both constructions, the DO is a sister to V, while the IO either in DP or PP guise occupies a structurally higher, peripheral position, (Georgiafentis & Lascaratou, 2007) along the lines of Kayne (1984). Thus, they propose that in both constructions the DO is c-commanded by the IO. See Skordos (2009) for a critical discussion of their arguments.

Greek ditransitives, applicatives and dative arguments more generally are further discussed and analyzed in the Ph.D. Dissertations of D. Michelioudakis (2011) and E. Georgala (2012).

Michelioudakis (2011) explores the syntax of dative arguments in Greek. It focuses on Standard Modern Greek but also considers and partially analyzes diachronic, dialectal and crosslinguistic data. It is argued that there is a close connection between the strong version of the Person Case Constraint (PCC) and the type of Case dative arguments bear, which, in turn, determines whether they undergo dative shift or not. In itself, this correlation is not new: most existing literature on the PCC in double object constructions (DOCs) assumes that there is a crucial link between the two phenomena (the PCC and the DOC; see e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Bejar & Rezac 2003 and many others following them). The novelty of his proposal lies in the specific implementation of how the correlation is derived, which can be summarized as follows:

(i) Most existing accounts of the PCC in DOCs assume that the DOC is base-generated as such and that the IO is introduced higher than the DO by an applicative head (following Marantz 1993 and Pesetsky 1995 among others). On the other hand, Michelioudakis argues that the DOC derives from dative shift of the IO across the DO (Larson 1988; Baker 1993, 1996) to the specifier position of an applicative head licensing a [+/- participant] feature. This operation must be Move rather than Agree for Case reasons (if the IO with an active uCase feature remains in situ it will be inaccessible for checking to the higher vCause head bearing a [uCase] feature; see structure (18) on p. 92).

(ii) Most existing literature on the weak and strong PCC assumes that both the strong and the weak version of the PCC arise in the same configuration: they result from multiple Agree of the IO and DO against the same probe (in strong PCC languages the IO checks a person/ participant feature and the lower DO can only check a number feature; in weak PCC languages person can be checked twice as long as there are no conflicting feature specifications of the two arguments (Anagnostopoulou 2005; Nevins 2007). M takes the strong PCC to be crucially different from the weak PCC. The former results from an intervention effect: when the DO is 1st and 2nd person it bears a [+participant] feature blocking movement of the IO across the DO to APPL.

The dissertation focuses on Greek but also takes into account findings from other languages, it aims at offering a comprehensive picture of different types of dative arguments, their syntax and distribution, and it explores in detail PCC and intervention effects caused by different types of datives in passives an NP-movement environments. It extends research to novel areas, e.g. **free benefactive datives**, **ethical datives**, the **diachronic evolution of Greek datives** and the **syntax of datives in Greek dialects**.

Georgala (2012) investigates the syntactic architecture of applicative constructions in the research tradition initiated by Marantz (1993), in which a light verb head, the so-called “applicative” head, is charged with two conceptually different tasks: syntactically licensing an extra object and assigning a thematic role. Georgala argues that the applicative projection is uniformly above the lexical VP. Under this approach, the raising/thematic applicative hypothesis, the contrast between Pylkkänen’s (2002, 2008) high- and low-type applicatives is that while thematic applicatives introduce an additional argument above VP, as per Pylkkänen’s original analysis, raising applicatives function as an expletive head, introducing no additional argument but serving as a licenser for the highest eligible DP selected by the lexical verb. This analysis preserves Pylkkänen’s insight that the core arguments in low applicatives (recipient and theme) are introduced in the domain of the lexical verb, while allowing for a single structural position for applicative heads. The dissertation focuses on showing how the raising/thematic applicative hypothesis accounts for passive movement, based on the

key distinction between symmetric (both objects get passivized or neither object gets passivized) and asymmetric (either the direct object or the extra object gets passivized). Particular emphasis is given to applicative constructions in German and Greek. Georgala argues that Standard Greek has two different types of applied arguments: high (thematic) and low (raising). Both types of applicatives may surface as PPs, but they are differently Case-marked when they are realized as DPs/clitics: High applied arguments (bene-/maleficiaries) bear genitive Case, while low applied arguments (recipients) bear accusative Case. She does not analyze genitive recipients as applicatives. The discussion relies on many data classifications and distinctions made by Anagnostopoulou (2001, 2003, 2005). The specific analyses, however, differ in that (i) she takes into account the **high vs. low applicative typology** combined with the **thematic/ raising applicative hypothesis**, (ii) she makes novel use of certain tests, most notably tests based on idioms and (iii) she provides a coherent picture of how all kinds of different datives behave syntactically.

7) (The lack of) resultatives

The lack of resultatives in Greek is discussed by Giannakidou & Merchant (1999) and Horrocks & Stavrou (2003, 2007).

Giannakidou & Merchant link it to the presence of overt verbalizers on Greek verbs. Horrocks and Stavrou attribute it to the presence of morphologically encoded view point aspect.

8) The clear alternation

Mavropoulou, Moschou, Tsikala & Anagnostopoulou (MMTA 2011) study the behavior of verbs of placing and detaching in Greek (they base themselves on Levin 1993 for English). Building on MMTA, A&A (2011, 2012) investigate the morphological and syntactic conditions regulating the clear-alternation in Greek, illustrated in (56) on the basis of the Manner vs. Result Complementarity Hypothesis (Rappaport & Levin 1998 and a series of later papers building on this) combined with the DM view that Roots merge with v either as complements or modifiers (Embick 2004, Harley 2005).

- (56) a. O Petros katharise ta psixoula **apo** to trapezi
 The Peter cleaned the crumbs from the table
 ‘Peter cleared the crumbs from the table’
- b. O Petros katharise to trapezi **apo** ta psixoula
 The Peter cleaned the table from the crumbs
 ‘Peter cleared the table of crumbs’

In both Frame A/COL and Frame B/COS the same preposition **apo** is used, corresponding to **from** in Frame A/COL (**apo-Loc**) and to **of** in Frame B/COS (**apo-Stuff**).

Greek patterns with Hebrew in this and many other respects (Segal & Landau 2009):

- (57) a. Dan nika perurim **me**-ha-šulxan
 Dan cleaned crumbs from-the-table
 ‘Dan cleaned crumbs from the table’
- b. Dan nika et ha-šulxan **me**-perurim
 Dan cleaned ACC the table from crumbs
 ‘Dan cleaned the table of crumbs’

9) Existentials

Koufaki (2012) explores Greek existential constructions in terms of Freeze’s (1992) hypothesis that have = be+ incorporated preposition. She points out that existential constructions formed with *iparxo* ‘exist’ in Greek cannot be straightforwardly accommodated under this hypothesis.

11) THE STRUCTURE OF PPs

The structure of Greek locative PPs (what Theophanopoulou-Kontou 1992 calls ‘complex prepositions’, i.e. *piso apo tin Maria* ‘behind from the Mary/ behind Mary’ and *piso tis* ‘behind her-gen/ behind her’) has been investigated most prominently by A. Terzi in a series of papers (Terzi 2008, 2010, 2010). Locative prepositions pose various problems for treating all Ps alike as either lexical or functional. Van Riemsdijk considers them semi-functional, while den Dikken (2003) and Svenonius (2004) treat locative and directional Ps (in English, Dutch, German) as lexical heads associated with a set of functional projections (like verbs and nouns). Based on evidence from Greek, Terzi argues that locatives have a **lexical component** (they are modifiers of a morphologically null noun called Place) and the DP containing Place is the complement of a functional head P_{loc} . She argues that the structure she proposes also holds in Spanish, English, Hebrew (Botwinik-Rotem & Terzi 2008). Crosslinguistic evidence for an empty noun is provided by African languages which have overt place nouns for locatives (Nchare & Terzi to appear). Terzi takes genitive clitics in prepositions to reveal the presence of an empty noun with which they stand in a possessor relationship.⁶ She takes as evidence for her claim the observation that genitive complements of locatives ceased to exist during the same period in which DP possessors ceased to occur after adjectives in the nominal domain (Alexiadou 2005 for adjectives; Theophanopoulou-Kontou 2000 for PPs).

12) SOME MORE CONSTRUCTIONS

The constructions mentioned so far by no means exhaust all constructions that have been discussed in syntactic literature. There are many interesting constructions and problems discussed by several people. Among them, I note here the following:

-Lechner (2012) discusses the constructions in (58):

- (58) a. O Gianis agorase ena allo vivlio
 The Gianis bought an other book
 ‘John bought a different book’

⁶ Lechner & Anagnostopoulou (2005) account for cliticization in Greek PPs in terms of the assumption that they are proforms for PPs.

- b. O Gianis agorase allo ena vivlio
 The Gianis bought other a book
 ‘John bought another book/ one more book’

-Iatridou (2008) discusses the syntax and semantics of Greek imperatives from a comparative perspective.

-Von Stechow & Iatridou (2007) discuss the modal construction in Greek and other languages (as opposed to English where negation is absent):

- (59) An thelis kalo tiri den exis para na pas sto North End
 If want-2sg good cheese not have-2sg but na go-2sg to the North End
 ‘If you want good cheese, you have to go to North End’

-Iatridou (2006) discusses the constructions in (60), (61):

- (60) Echo pende chronia na dho ton Mano
 have.1sg five years NA see the Mano
 lit: I have five years NA see Mano
 ‘It has been five years since I saw Mano’

- (61) Echi/ine pende chronia pu pethane o thios tu
 has/ is five years PU died the uncle his
 ‘It has been five years since his uncle died’

-Merchant (2009) discusses phrasal and clausal comparatives in Greek and argues that Greek phrasal comparatives support Lechner’s (2001, 2004) proposal that phrasal comparatives are clausal.

-Agouraki (2005) discusses a type of wh-clause filling DP positions:

- (62) Agorases ti tha foresis sto parti?
 Bought-2sg what tha wear-2sg in the party?
 ‘Have you bought what are you going to wear in the party?’

[And there surely are many more papers and constructions]

3. THEORETICAL LINGUISTICS MEETS EXPERIMENTAL LINGUISTICS

While I was working through the material I presented and discussed in the preceding sections (1 and especially 2), I had a positive and a negative experience:

The **positive part** was to discover that Greek Syntax is not an unexplored territory. Many issues have been discussed, many domains have been explored, progress has been made on many topics. It is **particularly important** that many new discoveries have been reported and explored by colleagues in their Ph.D. dissertations, i.e. researchers working on Syntax in the beginnings of their careers.

The **negative part** is that in some domains, there is not as much progress as one would wish.

One **recurrent problem** that seems to arise concerns disagreements on the data. Researcher X states a generalization or constructs an analysis on the basis of a set of data and researcher Y refutes the generalization or the analysis on the basis of the claim that X's data are incorrect. So, where do we stand? In fact, this is a recurrent problem in many of the domains presented above.

In a nutshell, the data problem arises because research in Generative Grammar often relies on introspection data not collected with a rigorous methodology. The problem arises in many linguistic communities. And it can easily be **resolved with the help of experimental methods**.

As an example, I will discuss one case where this has happened (generalization based on data X, problems with the data reported, experimental testing), based on my own experience from datives.

One of the most important points in Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) is the observation about the interaction between NP-movement and cliticization (an observation first made by Markantonatou 1994) illustrated in (63):

(63) *Passive: Recipient DOC*

- a. To vivlio tis haristike (Anagnostopoulou 2005:77)
the.NOM book.NOM CL.3SG.FEM.GEN awarded.NON-ACT.3SG
(tis Marias)
the.GEN Mary.GEN
'The book was awarded to her (Mary).'
- b. ?*To vivlio haristike tis Marias (Anagnostopoulou 2005:65)
the.NOM book.NOM awarded.NON-ACT.3SG the.GEN Mary.GEN
by the.ACC Peter.ACC
apo ton Petro
'The book was awarded to Mary by Peter.'

These data are based on a binary model of data (grammatical vs. ungrammatical).

These data have been contested by Georgiafentis and Lascaratou (2007: 45) and Kupula (2011), whose data show that standalone genitive DPs do not intervene in theme passives. The dispute about which structures are and are not grammatical raises a question about the adequacy of the theory of locality and cliticization proposed by Anagnostopoulou (2001, 2003, 2005), in particular the claim that cliticization constitutes an "escape hatch" strategy to locality violations. As Giorgala (2012: 159) puts it "*When authors contest judgments reported in the preceding literature, it is clear that limited theoretical progress can be made.*"

For this reason, Giorgala (2012) seeks to determine whether the judgments reported by Markantonatou and Anagnostopoulou are correct by applying the magnitude estimation

experimental method (Bard et al 1996; Georgala 2012, section 4.4. entitled ‘Experimental evidence on Locality Constraints of Theme-passives’ p. 156-164’).

I quote from Georgala (2012: 159-162) on the details of the experiment and her results:

“The magnitude estimation method (Bard et al. 1996, Cowart 1997, Keller 2000) allows us to elicit more finely grained judgments and compare them meaningfully. It is based on a methodology used in psychophysics to grade physical sensations, such as brightness, and developed from there for use in attitude and opinion measurement (Stevens 1975). In order to remove the restrictions of the scale from subjects’ judgments, it varies from standard elicitation of grammaticality judgments in several ways. First, subjects are asked to provide relative judgments. This means that an absolute criterion of grammaticality is never applied. Also, all judgments are proportional, namely, subjects are asked to state how many times better or worse sentence A is than sentence B. The subjects themselves fix the value of the reference item (modulus) relative to which subsequent judgments are made. Moreover, the scale along which judgments are made is decided by the subjects themselves. Lastly, the scale has no minimum division, i.e., the subjects can always produce an additional intermediate rating. The results obtained exhibit more differentiation than conventional judgments are assumed to contain, since the limitation to a scale selected by the linguist is removed (Featherston 2005).

In this study, I tested nine pairs of passive sentences, consisting of one sentence with a genitive DP recipient and another sentence with a clitic recipient. The sentences with genitive DPs are based on passive DOC sentences with genitive DPs harvested from the web. The sentences were edited so as to minimize background variation. Three high-frequency prototypical ditransitive verbs were used: dhino ‘give’ (five pairs), stelno ‘send’ (three pairs), and tahidhromo ‘mail’ (one pair). These verbs are also used in the examples cited in Anagnostopoulou 2003, Anagnostopoulou 2005, Michelioudakis and Lascaridou 2007, and Kupula 2011. [...]The target materials (18 sentences total) were mixed among 44 fillers and 12 sentences which made up the pilot experiment I describe in Section 4.4.2. The total number of sentences each subject saw was 74. The experiment had 102 participants and was performed remotely using the package WebExp (Keller et al. 1998, see <http://www.language-experiments.org>). The experiment proceeded as follows: first subjects read a page of instructions outlining their task. The criterion they were to judge by was defined as whether the sentences "sounded natural". The first practice phase aimed to familiarize them with magnitude estimation. In particular, they were instructed to assign numeric values to line lengths relative to a reference line (modulus). This was followed by a second practice phase which extended the use of magnitude estimation to judging sentence acceptability. Only after this did the experiment itself begin. Each participant saw the sentences in random order.”

[...] “The most significant result for our present purpose is presented in Figure 1, which on the scale axis shows the mean normalized grammaticality judgment score and 95% confidence interval by sentence type. Higher scores indicate greater perceived naturalness (note that there is no point which indicates absolute (un)grammaticality). Along the horizontal axis, the structures are grouped by verb. Figure 1 reveals that passive structures with genitive DP IOs are scored much lower than passives with

genitive clitic IOs. Crucially, this result supports Markantonatou's (1994) and Anagnostopoulou's (2003) judgments."

[...] "The data provided by Georgiagitou and Lascaridou 2007 and Kupala 2011, according to which theme passives with standalone DPs are natural, require some explanation too, though. It is worth mentioning that these judgments are further supported by data harvested from the web......"

In order to account for variability in judgments, Georgala tentatively suggests that people have different grammars (a symmetric and an asymmetric one, as in different dialects of English).

In conclusion, experimental research is important, particularly in cases of conflict of judgments. However, one needs to know the theory first in order to be able to determine what to test. And the theory can only be constructed on the basis of the more traditional methods of data collection. Corpus data are also useful when they are combined with other methods of data collection.

4. IMPORTANT GAPS AND PERSPECTIVES

From the discussion of sections 1 and 2, it has become evident that research on Greek Syntax has concentrated on certain domains and has neglected others. A list of topics for future research include the following:

-More research is needed on A' syntax, in particular, locality constraints on A' movement (Subjacency, Superiority, CED-effects, Relativized Minimality, Beck-intervention effects etc.) and the properties of A' constructions (single and multiple wh-questions, comparatives, wh-relative clauses, null-operator constructions etc.),

-Rightward movement constructions like extraposition, right node raising, heavy NP-shift have not been discussed.

-Constructions involving ellipsis and co-ordination, ATB movement, etc. have not been discussed.

-Existentials have hardly been discussed.

-More research is needed on various questions of the Syntax-Semantics interface, more specifically quantifier scope and variable binding.

-Combined with superiority the latter are also useful tools for the analysis of various more specific problems. In particular, we would like to know whether Greek is scope rigid or not, whether it has classical scrambling or not, and many other important questions concerning the flexibility it shows in word order.

-Finally, it is important to collect and study idioms, as these are important tools for the analysis of phrase structure and for decomposition.

SOME REFERENCES FROM SECTION 2 (REFS OF SECTION 1 IN A&A 2000, SOME REFS OF SECTION 2 IN THE MAIN TEXT)

- Agouraki, Y. 2005. Wh-clauses in DP positions. In Melita Stavrou and Arhonto Terzi (Eds.) *Advances in Greek Generative Syntax* 285-329. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Alexiadou, A. 2001. Functional structure in Nominals. Nominalization and ergativity. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Alexiadou, A. 2011 Plural mass nouns and the morpho-syntax of number. Proceedings of WCCFL 28, 33-41.
- Alexiadou, A. & E. Anagnostopoulou. 2001. The Subject In-Situ Generalization, and the role of Case in driving computations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32. 193-231.
- Alexiadou, A & E. Anagnostopoulou. 2007. The Subject In-Situ Generalization revisited. In H.-M. Gaertner & U. Sauerland (Eds.) *Interfaces + Recursion = Language?* 31-60. Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Alexiadou, A. & E. Anagnostopoulou. 2008. Structuring participles. Proceedings of WCCFL 26.
- Alexiadou, A. & E. Anagnostopoulou. 2011. On the syntax and interpretation of *ksana* 'again'. Paper presented at the workshop *Case studies in Syntax, Semantics and Information Structure*, University of Stuttgart, July 14, 2011.
- Alexiadou, A & E. Anagnostopoulou. 2011. Decomposing the Greek verb. The view from the *clear*-alternation. Paper presented at *Approaches to the Lexicon (Roots II)*, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, June 13-16.
- Alexiadou, A. & E. Anagnostopoulou. 2012. Verb meaning, local contexts, and the syntax of roots in alternations. Paper presented at Glow 37, University of Potsdam, March 28-30.
- Alexiadou, A., E. Anagnostopoulou, G. Iordachioaia & M. Marchis. 2009. Backward Control revisited. Paper presented at MIT Ling-lunch, November 5.
- Alexiadou, A., E. Anagnostopoulou, G. Iordachioaia & M. Marchis. 2010. No Objections to Backward Control. In Norbert Hornstein and Maria Polinsky (Eds.) *Movement Theory of Control* 89-117. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Alexiadou, A., E. Anagnostopoulou, G. Iordachioaia & M. Marchis. to appear. In support of Long-distance Agree. In A. Alexiadou, G. Müller & T. Kiss (eds) *Local Modelling of non-local dependencies*. Newmyer.
- Alexiadou, A. & E. Doron. 2012. The Syntactic Construction of two non-active Voices: Passive and Middle. *Journal of Linguistics* 48: 1-34.
- Alexiadou, A., L. Haegeman & M. Stavrou. 2007. *Noun Phrase in the Generative Perspective*. Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Alexiadou, A. & C. Wilder. 1998. Adjectival modification and multiple determiners. In A. Alexiadou & C. Wilder (eds) *Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the DP*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 303-332.
- Alexopoulou, D. 2010. Truly intrusive resumptive pronominals in questions and relative clauses. In K. Grohmann and I.M. Tsimpli (eds.) *Exploring the Left periphery*. Special issue, *Lingua* 120.3.485-505.
- Alexopoulou, D. 2006. Resumption in Relative Clauses. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 24.1: 57-111.
- Alexopoulou, D. 2006. Free and Restrictive Relative Clauses in Greek. In the *Proceedings of the 17th International Conference on Theoretical and Applied Linguistics*. AUTH, April 2005.
- Alexopoulou, D. & M. Baltazani. 2009. Focus in Greek Wh-questions. In I. Kucerova & A. Neeleman (Eds.) *Contrasts and Positions in Information Structure*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Alexopoulou, D. & R. Folli. 2011. Topic strategies and the internal structure of nominal arguments in Italian and Greek. Ms. under review.
- Alexopoulou, T. and D. Kolliakou. 2002. On Linkhood, Topicalization and Clitic Left Dislocation. *Journal of Linguistics* 38, 193-245.
- Anagnostopoulou, E. 1999. Person Restrictions. Paper presented at GLOW Berlin, 29-3-1999.

- Anagnostopoulou, E. 2001. Two classes of double object verbs: the role of zero-morphology. In van Oostendorp, Marc & Elena Anagnostopoulou (Eds.) *Progress in Grammar. Articles at the 20th Anniversary of the Comparison of Grammatical Models Group in Tilburg* 1-27. Roquade, Amsterdam/Utrecht/Delft. Meertens Institute Electronic Publications in Linguistics (MIEPiL).
- Anagnostopoulou, E. 2003. *The Syntax of Ditransitives. Evidence from Clitics*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Anagnostopoulou, E. 2003. Participles and Voice. In A. Alexiadou, M. Rathert & A. von Stechow (eds.) *Perfect Explorations*. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Anagnostopoulou, E. 2005a. Strong and Weak Person Restrictions: A feature checking analysis. In Lorie Heggie and Francisco Ordoñez (Eds.) *Clitic and Affix Combinations* 199-235. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Anagnostopoulou, E. 2005b. Cross-linguistic and cross-categorial distribution of datives. In Melita Stavrou and Arhonto Terzi (Eds.) *Advances in Greek Generative Syntax* 61-126. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Anagnostopoulou, E. 2006. Clitic Doubling. In M. Everaert and H. van Riemsdijk (Eds.). *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*. Volumes I-V (Volume I, Ch. 14, 519-580). Blackwell Publishing.
- Αναγνωστοπούλου, Ε. και Α. Αλεξιάδου. 2009. Πρώτες παρατηρήσεις στη σύνταξη και ερμηνεία του επιρρήματος ζανά στα Νέα Ελληνικά. Διάλεξη στον Τομέα Γλωσσολογίας του ΕΚΠΑ, 1 Απριλίου 2009.
- Anagnostopoulou, E. & M. Everaert. To appear. Identifying anaphoric dependencies. In L. Cheng & N. Corver (Eds.) *Diagnosing Syntax*. Oxford: OUP.
- Anagnostopoulou, E. & Y. Samioti. 2009. Locality domains for (non-)compositional meanings of words. Paper presented at the GLOW 32, University of Nantes. April 2009.
- Anagnostopoulou, E. & Y. Samioti. 2012. Domains within words and their meanings: a case study. To appear in A. Alexiadou, H. Borer and F. Schäfer (Eds.) *The syntax of roots and the roots of syntax*. OUP.
- Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη, Α. 1994. Το τεμάχιο –τος στα ρηματικά επίθετα της Νεοελληνικής. *Studies in Greek linguistics* 15: 473- 484.
- Androutsopoulou, A. 1996. Licensing of adjectival modification. Proceedings of WCCFL 14.
- Baltazani, M. 2002. Quantifier scope and the role of intonation in Greek. Ph.D. Dissertation UCLA.
- Barouni, M. In progress. The syntax and semantics of focus particles in Greek. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Crete.
- Boeckx, C. & N. Hornstein. 2004. Movement under control. *Linguistic Inquiry* 35: 431-452.
- Borer, H. 1989. Anaphoric AGR. In O. Jaeggli & K. Safir (Eds.) *The null subject parameter* 69-109. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Botwinik-Rotem, I. and A. Terzi. 2008. Greek and Hebrew locative Prepositional Phrases: a unified Case-driven account. *Lingua* 118: 399-424.
- Campos, H. & M. Stavrou. 2004. Polydefinite constructions in Modern Greek and in Aromanian. In *Balkan syntax and semantics*, ed. O. Tomic 137-144. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Von Fintel, K. & S. Iatridou. 2007. Anatomy of a Modal Construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38: 445-483.
- Georgala, E. 2001. The translational correspondence between the Modern Greek formations ending in –tos and –menos and their equivalent forms in German. Ms. Institute for Natural Language Processing of the University of Stuttgart.
- Georgala, E. 2012. Applicatives in their Structural and Thematic Function. A minimalist account of Multitransitivity. Ph.D. Dissertation. Cornell University.
- Georgiafentis, M. 2004. Focus and Word Order Variation in Greek. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Reading.
- Georgiafentis, M. and Lascaratou, C. 2007. On the inherently close relation of the verb and its direct object in ditransitive constructions: Evidence from Greek. *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 8: 31-59.

- Giannakidou, A & J. Mercant. 1999. Why Giannis can't scrub his plate clean: On the absence of resultative secondary predication in Greek. In A. Mozer (ed.), *Greek Linguistics' 97: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Greek Linguistics*. Ellinika Grammata, Athens. 93-103.
- Giusti, G. and Stavrou, M. 2008. Possessive Clitics in the DP: Doubling or Dislocation? In Kalluli, D. & L. Tasmowski (επιμ.), *Clitic doubling in the Languages of the Balkans*. John Benjamins. 389-434.
- Gryllia, S. 2008. On the nature of preverbal Focus in Greek. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Leiden, LOT publications.
- Hornstein, N. 1999. Movement and control. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30: 69-96.
- Horrocks, G. & M. Stavrou. 2003. Actions and their results in Greek and English: The complementarity of morphologically encoded (viewpoint) aspect and syntactic resultative predication. *Journal of Semantics* 20. 297-327.
- Horrocks, G. & M. Stavrou. 2008. Grammaticalized aspect and spatio-temporal culmination. *Lingua* 117:605-644.
- Hornstein, N. 2000. *Move! A Minimalist Theory of Construal*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Iatridou, S. 2006. A Free Choice Item Hidden in Verbal Morphology. *Glossologia* 17: 11-43.
- Iatridou, S. 2008. [De Modo Imperativo](#) (Lecture notes for a course on the syntax and semantics of imperatives at Ealing6, ENS, Paris).
- Kapetangianni, K. & T. D. Seely. 2003. On control in Modern Greek: Explanation by deduction: Agreement by degrees. Ms. University of Michigan and Eastern Michigan University.
- Kapetangianni, K & T.D. Seely. 2008. Control in Modern Greek: It's Another Good Move. In W. Davies & S. Dubinsky. Eds. *New Horizons in the Analysis of Control & Raising*, 133-159. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Kariaeva, N. 2004. Agreement and locality. Ms. Rutgers University.
- Kordoni, V. 2002. Participle-adjective formation in Modern Greek. *LFG Meeting, July 2002*. Athens, Greece.
- Kotzoglou, G. 2005. Wh-extraction and locality in Greek. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Reading.
- Kotzoglou, G. & D. Papangeli. 2008. Not Really ECM, not Exactly Control: The 'Quasi-ECM' Construction in Greek. In W. Davies & S. Dubinsky. Eds. *New Horizons in the Analysis of Control & Raising*, 111-133. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Κουφάκη, Μ. 2012. Οι Υπαρκτικές Δομές στα Νέα Ελληνικά. [Existential Constructions in Greek.] Master Thesis, University of Crete.
- Landau, I. 1999. Elements of Control. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- Landau, I. 2000. *Elements of Control: Structure and Meaning in Infinitival Constructions*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Landau, I. 2003. Movement out of Control. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34: 471-498.
- Landau, I. 2004. The scale of finiteness and the calculus of control. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 22: 811-877.
- Landau, I. 2006. Severing the distribution of PRO from case. *Syntax* 9: 153-170.
- Landau, I. 2011. *Control in Generative Grammar. A Research Companion*. Book Ms. Ben Gurion University.
- Lascaratou, Ch. 1991. How "adjectival" are adjectival passive participles in Modern Greek and English? *Glossologia* 7-8: 87-97.
- Lascaratou, Ch. & Philippaki-Warbuton I. 1984. Lexical versus transformational passives in Modern Greek. *Glossologia* 2-3: 99-109.
- Lechner, W. 2012. On the size of roots and meanings. Paper presented at *Approaches to the Lexicon (Roots II)*, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, June 13-16.
- Lechner, W. & E. Anagnostopoulou. 2005. Clitics and adjacency in Greek PPs (with Winfried Lechner). In H. Broekhuis, N. Corver, J. Koster, R. Huybregts and U. Kleinhenz (Eds.), *Organizing Grammar: Linguistic Studies in Honor of Henk van Riemsdijk*, 390-406. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lekakou, M. 2005. Lekakou, M. 2005. In the middle somewhat elevated. The semantics of

- middles and its crosslinguistic realization. Ph.D dissertation, UCL.
- Lekakou M. & K. Szendroi. 2012. Polydefinites in Greek: Ellipsis, close apposition and expletive determiners. *Journal of Linguistics*, 48(1).
- Manzini, M.R. & A. Roussou. 2000. A minimalist approach to Control and A-movement. *Lingua* 110, 409-447.
- Markantonatou, S., Kaliakostas, A., Boubourea, V., Kordoni, V. & Stavrakaki, V. 1997. Μία (λεξική) σημασιολογική περιγραφή των ρηματικών επιθέτων σε –τός. *Studies in Greek Linguistics* 17: 187-201.
- Mavrogiorgos, M. 2009. Proclisis & Enclisis in Greek. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cambridge.
- Mavrogiorgos, M. 2010. *Clitics in Greek. A minimalist account of proclisis and enclisis*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Mavropoulou, K., C. Moschou, M. Tsikala & E. Anagnostopoulou. 2011. Locative Alternations in Greek. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting at the Department of Thessaloniki. Thessaloniki, May 2011.
- Merchant, J. 2009. [Phrasal and clausal comparatives in Greek and the abstractness of syntax](#). 2009. *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 9: 134-164.
- Michelioudakis, D. 2011. Dative Arguments and Abstract Case in Greek. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cambridge.
- Μπαρούνη, Μ. 2011. Επιρρήματα όψης και Μετακίνηση του ρήματος στην Ελληνική. *Μελέτες για την Ελληνική Γλώσσα. Πρακτικά της 32^{ης} ετήσιας συνάντησης του Τομέα Γλωσσολογίας, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης*.
- Νάκας, Θ. 1978. Για τη μετοχή και το ρηματικό επίθετο σε –τός όπως εμφανίζονται στην κοινή Νέα Ελληνική και στις διαλέκτους. *Β' Συμπόσιο Γλωσσολογίας του Βορειοελλαδικού Χώρου (Ηπειρος-Μακεδονία-Θράκη)*, 241-262.
- Nchare, L. and A. Terzi. to appear. Spatial Expressions in Shupamem. In *Proceedings of the 40th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*.
- Panagiotidis, P. 2002. *Pronouns, clitics and empty nouns*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Panagiotidis, P. & T. Marinis. 2011. Determiner spreading as DP-predication. *Studia Linguistica* 65.
- Papangeli, D. 2000. Clitic doubling in Modern Greek: A head-complement relation. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 12: 473-499.
- Papangeli, D. 2004. The Morphosyntax of Argument Realization: Greek Argument Structure and the Lexicon-Syntax Interface. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Utrecht. LOT Publications.
- Philippaki-Warburton, I. & G. Catsimali. 1999. On Control in Greek. In A. Alexiadou, G. Horrocks & M. Stavrou (Eds.) *Studies in Greek Syntax* 153-68. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Philippaki-Warburton, I., S. Varlokosta, M. Georgiamentis & G. Kotzoglou. 2004. Moving from theta-positions. Pronominal clitic doubling in Greek. *Lingua* 114: 963-989.
- Revythiadou, A. & V. Spyropoulos. 2008. Greek object clitic pronouns: A typological survey of their grammatical properties. *STUF* 61, 39-53.
- Roussou, A. 2000. On the Left Periphery. Modal particles and complementisers. *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 1: 65-94.
- Roussou, A. 2001. Control and Raising in and out of Subjunctive Complements In M.L. Rivero & A. Ralli (eds.) *Comparative Syntax of Balkan Languages*, 74-104. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Roussou, A. 2010. In the mood for control. Special Issue Section, The distribution and interpretation of indicative and subjunctive, Guest ed. Joseph Quer. *Lingua* 119: 1811-1836.
- Roussou, A. & I.M. Tsimpli. 2006. On Greek VSO again! *Journal of Linguistics* 42: 317-354.
- Roussou, A. & I.M. Tsimpli. 2007. Clitics and transitivity". A. Alexiadou (ed.) *Studies in the Morpho-Syntax of Greek*. 138-174. Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle.
- Samioti, Y. 2008. The structure of –tos participles expressing ability/possibility. *Studies in Greek*

Linguistics 29.

- Samioti, Y. In Progress. Issues in the Lexicon – Syntax Interface and applications in Modern Greek as a 2nd Language. The case of Participles. Ph.D. dissertation University of Crete.
- Σετάτος, Μ. 1984. Παρατηρήσεις στα ρηματικά επίθετα σε –μένος και –τος της κοινής νεοελληνικής. *Studies in Greek Linguistics. Proceedings of the 5th Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki.
- Sifaki, E. 2003. EPP Satisfiers. Verb-Initial Orders in Greek. Ph.D. Diss., University of York.
- Σινοπούλου, Ο. 2007. Απλές ερωτήσεις με ερωτηματική λέξη in situ. Η περίπτωση των Ελληνικών. Paper presented at the International Conference on Greek Linguistics, Ioannina.
- Sinopoulou, O. 2008. Multiple questions and apparent wh-in- situ: Evidence from Greek. *Proceedings of ConSOLE XV*, 223-246.
- Skordos, D. 2009. The Structure of Greek ditransitives. Syntax 3 Term paper, University of Delaware.
- Spathas, G. 2010. Focus on Anaphora. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Utrecht. LOT Publications.
- Spyropoulos, V. 2008. Finiteness & Control in Greek. In W. Davies & S. Dubinsky. Eds. *New Horizons in the Analysis of Control & Raising*, 159-185. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Spyropoulos, V. & A. Revythiadou. 2007. Subject Chains in Greek and PF Processing. Ms. University of the Aegean. (p. 1-32).
- Spyropoulos, V. & A. Revythiadou. 2010. Subject Chains and PF Processing. *Proceedings of the 2007 Workshop in Greek Syntax and Semantics, MITWPL* 293-309.
- Stavrou, M. 1983. Aspects of the structure of the Noun Phrase in Modern Greek. Unpublished Ph.D. University of London.
- Stavrou, M. 1991 (published 1994). Nominal Apposition and exemplification; an interpretive approach and delineation of the relevant phenomena. (Στα Ελληνικά). *Glossologia* 9-10 (1990-1991). 113-151.
- Stavrou, M. 1995. Epexegesis vs. Apposition. *Scientific Bulletin of the School of Philology* 5. Aristotle University. Thessaloniki. 216-250.
- Stavrou, M. 1996. Adjectives in Modern Greek: an instance of predication, or an old issue revisited. *Journal of Linguistics* 32. 76-112.
- Stavrou, M. 1999. The position and serialization of APs in the DP. In Alexiadou, A., G. Horrocks and M. Stavrou (επιμ.) *Studies in Greek Syntax*. Kluwer Academic Publishers. 201-226.
- Stavrou, M. 2003. Semi-lexical nouns, classifiers and the interpretation(s) of the Pseudopartitive Construction. In Coene, M. & Yves D'Hulst (επιμ.) *From NP to DP*. Volume I: The syntax and semantics of noun phrases. John Benjamins.
- Stavrou, M. & A. Terzi 2005 (eds.). *Advances in Greek Generative Syntax*. John Benjamins.
- Terzi, A. 2008. Locative Prepositions as Modifiers of an Unpronounced Noun. In C.B. Chang & H.J. Haynie (eds.), *Proceedings of the 26th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics (WCCFL)*, 471-479. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Terzi, A. 2010. On null spatial Ps and their arguments. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 9: 171-191.
- Terzi, A. 2010. Locative Prepositions and Place. In G. Cinque & L. Rizzi (eds.), *Mapping Spatial PPs. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, volume 6, 196-224, Oxford University Press.
- Theophanopoulou-Kontou, D. 2000. -O/-me alternations in MG patient oriented constructions: anticausatives and passives. *Proceedings of the 20th Annual Meeting of the Linguistics Dept. of the University of Thessaloniki*.
- Tsakali, V. 2006. The Syntax and Acquisition of Pronominal Clitics: A Crosslinguistic Study with Special Reference to Modern Greek. Ph.D. Dissertation, UCL.
- Tsakali, V. 2008. Similarities in the interpretation of doubling constructions. Paper presented at the 2008 Meeting of the Department of Linguistics of the University of Thessaloniki.
- Tsakali, V. 2010. Pseudo-Doubling Constructions. *Proceedings of the 2007 Workshop in Greek Syntax and Semantics, MITWPL* 319-331.

- Tsimpli, I.M. 2006. Η Φωνή στην Ελληνική: περιγραφή του συστήματος και μελέτη της ανάπτυξης του στην ελληνική ως μητρική και ως δεύτερη/ ξένη γλώσσα. [Voice in Greek: Description of the system and study of its development in Greek as a native and a second/foreign language]. Athens: Patakis.
- Tsoulas, G. 2010. On the Grammar of Number and Mass Terms in Greek. *Proceedings of the 2007 Workshop in Greek Syntax and Semantics, MITWPL* 333-348.
- Zombolou, K. 2004. Verbal alternations in Greek: a semantic approach. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Reading.