

Appendix to “Greek polydefinites revisited: Polydefiniteness as resumed relative clause modification”

1. Sociolinguistic questionnaire, with English translations.

- 1) Ημερομηνία γέννησης
Date of birth
- 2) Φύλο (άνδρας, γυναίκα)
Gender (male, female)
- 3) Εκπαίδευση (πρωτοβάθμια, δευτεροβάθμια, τριτοβάθμια, κάτοχος μεταπτυχιακού τίτλου, κάτοχος διδακτορικού τίτλου)
Education (primary school, high school, bachelor’s degree, master’s degree, PhD degree)
- 4) Τόπος διαμονής κατά το μεγαλύτερο μέρος της παιδικής ηλικίας
Place of residence during the biggest part of childhood
- 5) Τόπος μόνιμης κατοικίας
Place of permanent residence
- 6) Είσαι απόφοιτος-η ή φοιτητής-τρια γλωσσολογίας ή σχετικού τμήματος; (ναι, όχι)
Are you a graduate or undergraduate of linguistics or other relevant discipline? (yes, no)
- 7) Είναι η ελληνική η μητρική σου γλώσσα; (ναι, όχι)
Is Greek your native language? (yes, no)
- 8) Σε τι ποσοστό χρησιμοποιείς την ελληνική γλώσσα καθημερινά; (λιγότερο από 50%, 50% – 75%, περισσότερο από 75%)
What is the percentage of your daily use of Greek? (less than 50%, 50% – 75%, more than 75%)
- 9) Πόσο σίγουρος-η αισθάνεσαι για την ικανότητά σου στη χρήση της ελληνικής; (λιγότερο από 50%, 50% – 75%, περισσότερο από 75%)
How confident are you about your command of the Greek language? (less than 50%, 50% – 75%, more than 75%)

2. Sociolinguistic information regarding the participants of the experiment.

		Experiment	
Participants analyzed		77	
Age in years (M, SD)		28.87 (10.36)	
		<i>n</i>	%
Gender	Male	20	25.97
	Female	57	74.03
Educational level	Primary	2	2.60
	Secondary	7	9.09
	Tertiary	42	54.55
	Postgraduate	22	28.57
	Doctorate	4	5.19
Had studied linguistics, language, or translation	Yes	22	28.57
	No	55	71.43
Greek as native language	Yes	77	100
	No	0	0
Daily use of Greek	>75%	67	87.01

Self-assessment in Greek	50-75%	8	10.39
	<50%	2	2.60
	>75%	59	76.62
	50-75%	17	22.08
	<50%	1	1.30

3. Materials used in the experiment, with English translations.

Experimental items

Monodefinite answers

Restrictive adjective – Subject DP

- (1) Τι τον δάγκωσε;
Το κόκκινο φίδι.
What bit him?
The red snake.
- (2) Ποια κόρη της Μαρίας κατεβαίνει υποψήφια;
Η μεγάλη κόρη.
Which daughter of Mary's is running for the elections?
The old daughter.
- (3) Ποιος κορμός πλάκωσε το αμάξι;
Ο χοντρός κορμός.
Which trunk fell on the car?
The thick trunk.
- (4) Ποια σερβιτόρα σου έφερε τον καφέ;
Η ωραία σερβιτόρα.
Which waitress brought you the coffee?
The beautiful waitress.
- (5) Ποιος καναπές κοστίζει 500 ευρώ με την έκπτωση;
Ο δερμάτινος καναπές.
Which sofa costs 500 euros with a discount?
The leather sofa.

Restrictive adjective – Object DP

- (6) Τι έχεις στο κατσαρολάκι;
Την κόκκινη σάλτσα.
What do you have in the saucepan?
The red sauce.
- (7) Ποιο κρεβάτι σπάσατε;
Το μεγάλο κρεβάτι.
Which bed did you break?
The big bed.
- (8) Τι σου έδειξε ο φύλακας στο ζωολογικό κήπο;
Το χοντρό χιμπαντζή.
What did the zookeeper show to you?

- The fat chimpanzee.
- (9) Ποια μαξιλάρια αγόρασες εσύ;
Τα ωραία μαξιλάρια.
Which pillows did you buy?
The beautiful pillows.
- (10) Ποιο σαλόνι διαλέξατε τελικά για το αμάξι;
Το δερμάτινο σαλόνι.
Which seats did you finally choose for the car?
The leather seats.

Non-restrictive adjective – Subject DP

- (11) Ποιος αυτοκτόνησε για να μην παραδοθεί;
Ο φερόμενος δράστης.
Who committed suicide not to turn himself in?
The alleged murderer.
- (12) Ποιος άλλος θα έρθει σήμερα το βράδυ;
Ο υποτιθέμενος γαμπρός.
Who else is coming in the evening?
The supposed groom.
- (13) Τι τον ανάγκασε να κάνει πίσω;
Η ελληνική αντίδραση.
What made him step back?
The Greek reaction.
- (14) Ποιος ήταν στο τηλέφωνο;
Η πρώην διευθύντρια.
Who was on the phone?
The former principal.
- (15) Τι σε συγκίνησε πιο πολύ;
Η εκπληκτική ερμηνεία.
What moved you the most?
The amazing performance.

Non-restrictive adjective – Object DP

- (16) Ποιον πιάσανε χθες λίγο πριν τα σύνορα;
Το φερόμενο λιποτάκτη.
Who did they arrest yesterday close to the borders?
The alleged renegade.
- (17) Τι δεν έχετε δει ακόμα και γκρινιάζετε;
Την υποτιθέμενη ανάπτυξη.
What haven't you seen already and you are complaining?
The supposed development.
- (18) Ποια εξέγερση κατηγορήσαν για την αναστάτωση στα Βαλκάνια;
Την ελληνική εξέγερση.
Which rebellion did they blame for the turmoil in the Balkans?
The Greek rebellion.
- (19) Ποιον φagώθηκε να σας συστήσει πάλι;

- Τον πρώην διαχειριστή.
Who was she eager to introduce to you again?
The former administrator.
- (20) Τι ζήλεψες περισσότερο;
Την εκπληκτική μουσική.
What did you envy the most?
The amazing music.

Polydefinite answers

Restrictive adjective – Subject DP

- (21) Ποιο ανθρωπάκι μας λέει ότι πρέπει να σταματήσουμε;
Το ανθρωπάκι το κόκκινο.
Which mini-human tells us that we need to stop?
The mini-human the red.
- (22) Ποιος απ' τους γιους της Ιωάννας παντρεύεται;
Ο γιος ο μεγάλος.
Which of Ioana's sons is getting married?
The son the old.
- (23) Ποια γάτα γέννησε;
Η γάτα η χοντρή.
Which cat gave birth?
The cat the fat.
- (24) Ποια δασκάλα σας έκανε μάθημα σήμερα;
Η δασκάλα η ωραία.
Which teacher taught the class today?
The teacher the beautiful.
- (25) Τι μυρίζει έτσι σαν ψοφίμι;
Το μπουφάν το δερμάτινο.
What smells like a carcass?
The jacket the leather.

Restrictive adjective – Object DP

- (26) Τι πήρες τελικά στο Γιώργο;
Την μπλούζα την κόκκινη.
What did you finally take to Yorgos?
The T-shirt the red.
- (27) Ποιον καναπέ κατάφαγε ο σκύλος;
Τον καναπέ το μεγάλο.
Which sofa did the dog destroy?
The sofa the big.
- (28) Τι έχεις μέσα στο πλυντήριο;
Την κουβέρτα τη χοντρή.
What do you have in the washing machine?
The blanket the thick.
- (29) Ποιον γείτονα συνάντησες στις σκάλες;

- Το γείτονα τον ωραίο.
Which neighbor did you meet on the stairs?
The neighbor the handsome.
- (30) Τι σου έφερε η νονά;
Τα παπούτσια τα δερμάτινα.
What did your godmother bring you?
The shoes the leather.

Non-restrictive adjective – Subject DP

- (31) Ποιος έπεσε στο ποτάμι για να διαφύγει;
Ο ληστής ο φερόμενος.
Who fell in the river to get away?
The thief the alleged.
- (32) Τι σε εξόργισε τόσο;
Η άγνοια η υποτιθέμενη.
What upset you that much?
The ignorance the supposed.
- (33) Τι οδήγησε τελικά στην απελευθέρωση;
Η επανάσταση η ελληνική.
What finally led to freedom?
The revolution the Greek.
- (34) Ποιος ζήτησε επανάληψη των εκλογών;
Ο πρωθυπουργός ο πρώην.
Who asked for repetition of the elections?
The prime-minister the former.
- (35) Τι σου έμεινε από την εκδρομή μας;
Το τοπίο το εκπληκτικό.
What stayed in your memory from our trip?
The scenery the amazing.

Non-restrictive adjective – Object DP

- (36) Ποιον συνέλαβαν κιόλας;
Τον ταραξία το φερόμενο.
Who did they arrest already?
The trouble-maker the alleged.
- (37) Ποιον καταδίκασαν σε ισόβια;
Το βιαστή τον υποτιθέμενο.
Who did they punish with life sentence?
The rapist the supposed.
- (38) Και τι προκάλεσε η κακή στρατηγική των εχθρών;
Τη νίκη την ελληνική.
And what did the bad strategy of the enemies lead to?
The victory the Greek.
- (39) Ποιον έβρισε ο Κώστας;
Τον πρόεδρο τον πρώην.
Who did Kostas swear at?

The president the former.

- (40) Τι θυμάσαι από τη βραδιά των βραβείων;
Την ατμόσφαιρα την εκπληκτική.
What do you remember from the night of the awards?
The atmosphere the amazing.

Fillers

- (41) Πότε θα πάμε να πάρουμε το δώρο;
Το απόγευμα.
When are we going to get the present?
In the afternoon.
- (42) Πότε παραιτήθηκε ο Γιάννης;
Τον Αύγουστο.
When did Yanis quit?
In August.
- (43) Πότε θα βρεθούμε;
Το βραδάκι.
When are we meeting?
In the evening.
- (44) Πότε θα διαβάσεις;
Το μεσημέρι.
When will you do your homework?
At noon.
- (45) Πότε είναι τα γενέθλιά σου;
Το Φεβρουάριο.
When is your birthday?
In February.
- (46) Πότε ξαναπάς στη δουλειά;
Την Τρίτη.
When are you going back to work?
On Tuesday.
- (47) Πότε παίρνεις πτυχίο;
Του χρόνου.
When are you graduating?
Next year.
- (48) Πού θα βρεθούμε;
Στην Αριστοτέλους.
Where are we meeting?
In Aristotelous.
- (49) Πού δείχνει το ματς;
Στην ΕΡΤ.
Where is the match on?
On ERT.
- (50) Πού είναι τα παιδιά;
Στο σπίτι.
Where are the children?

- At school.
- (51) Πού έμαθες να ράβεις έτσι;
Στο στρατό.
Where did you learn to sew like that?
In the army.
- (52) Πού σπουδάζει ο Ιάκωβος;
Στην Πάτρα.
Where does Iakovos study?
In Patras.
- (53) Πού πήγατε ταξίδι του μέλιτος;
Στην Σιγκαπούρη.
Where did you go for your honeymoon?
To Singapore.
- (54) Πού πέρασες;
Στο Οικονομικό.
Where did you get admitted?
At the Economics department.
- (55) Πώς ήρθατε;
Με το αμάξι.
How did you come?
By car.
- (56) Πώς το έμαθες;
Από το Νίκο.
How did you find out?
From Nikos.
- (57) Πώς τους πλήρωσες;
Με την κάρτα σου.
How did you pay them?
With your card.
- (58) Πώς την έπεισες να έρθει;
Με το γλυκό μου χαμόγελο.
How did you persuade her to come?
With my sweet smile.
- (59) Πώς έκανες το σκαμπό τόσο γυαλιστερό;
Με το λούστρο.
How did you make the stool so shiny?
With the varnish.
- (60) Πώς καθάρισες το αυτοκίνητο από μέσα;
Με το σκουπάκι.
How did you clean the inside of the car?
With the small vacuum.

4. Item analyses: Adjectives and Wh-Words

In order to ensure that item differences would not affect the description of the results concerning Definiteness, Position, and Restrictiveness, the random variation associated

with an item was included in the statistical model. Nevertheless, item analyses were run as well, separately for restrictive and non-restrictive adjectives, and taking into account two dimensions: the specific adjective used in the original Greek sentence, and the specific *wh*-word used in the sentence (in control and critical sentences: *what*, *which*, *who*). These four item analyses included only Adjectives or *Wh*-Words as their fixed factor, and random intercepts for Subject, Definiteness and Position to control for their potential influence.

Adjectives

For the materials of the experiment we used five adjectives that are usually interpreted restrictively and five adjectives that usually get a non-restrictive interpretation. See Figure 1 below.

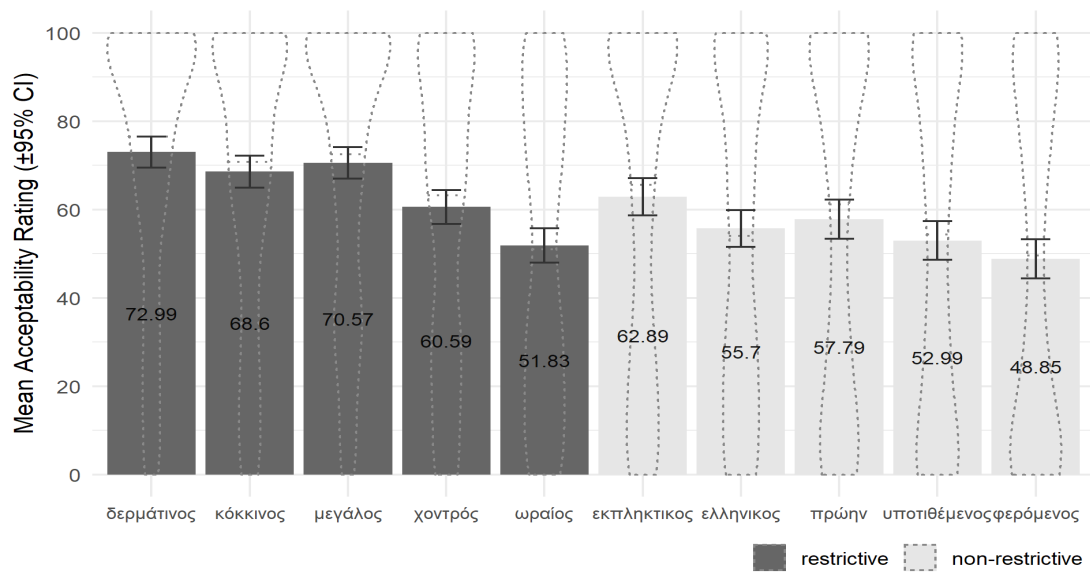


FIGURE 1

The specific adjective had a significant influence on subjects' interpretations both in restrictively modified answers, $\chi^2(4) = 131.078$, $p < .001$, and in the non-restrictively modified ones, $\chi^2(4) = 49.051$, $p < .001$. Among restrictive adjectives, *δερμάτινος*, *μεγάλος* and *κόκκινος* received significantly higher ratings than *χοντρός* and *ωραίος*, also with a preference for *χοντρός* over *ωραίος*. Among non-restrictive adjectives, *εκπληκτικός* was the most accepted adjective, being rated significantly higher than *φερόμενος*, *ελληνικός* and *υποτιθέμενος*; the least accepted adjective was *φερόμενος*, being significantly disfavored compared to *εκπληκτικός*, *πρώην* and *ελληνικός*.

These findings are expected under a view where the restrictive vs. non-restrictive interpretation of a modifier is not entirely context-dependent but rather is lexically constrained. Notice that *ωραίος* ('nice'), which is ambiguous between a nominal-modifying and a predicate-modifying interpretation, was the most dispreferred among the restrictive adjectives. Regarding non-restrictive modifiers, *εκπληκτικός* ('amazing'), a subjective evaluative adjective that is more easily restrictively interpreted than the rest, received the highest mean rating; relational and intensional adjectives followed, with *φερόμενος* ('alleged') coming last, probably due to some register marking.

Wh-words

Our experimental items consisted of *who*-, *which*- and *what*-question/answer pairs. Crucially, *who*-questions were avoided in the restrictiveness condition, since they would favor a non-restrictive reading of the modifier, discourse-wise. In the same vein, *which*-questions were avoided in the non-restrictiveness condition, to block coercion of a restrictive interpretation of the adjective. (There was only one such question, which was excluded from the following analysis.) Finally, *what*-questions were used across conditions to maintain some variation. See Figure 2 below.

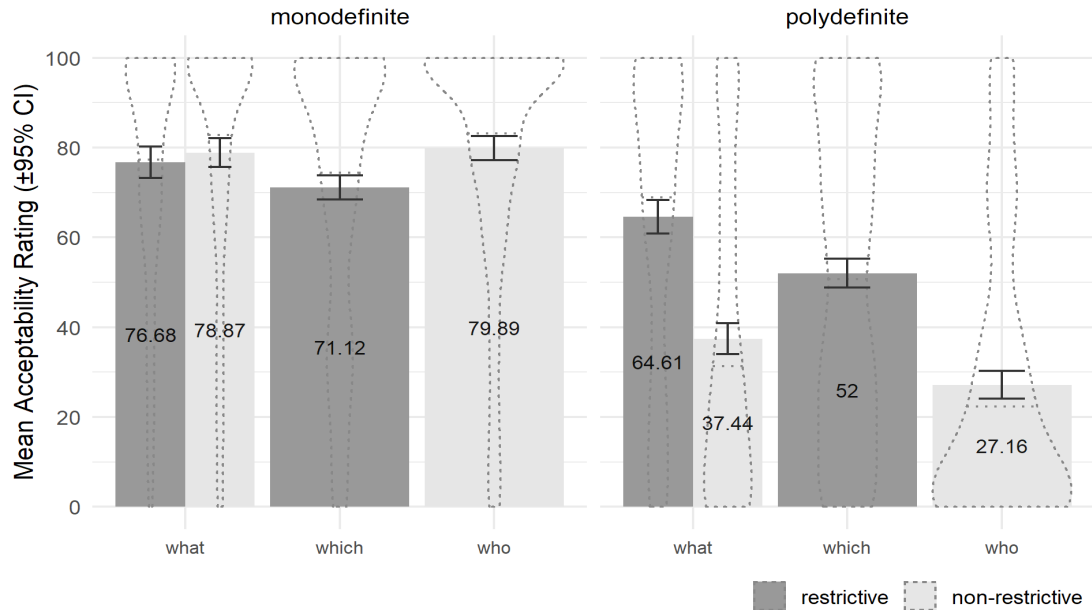


FIGURE 2

The specific *wh*-word had a significant influence on subjects' interpretations both in restrictively modified answers, $\chi^2(1) = 27.661$, $p < .001$, and in non-restrictively modified answers, $\chi^2(1) = 12.673$, $p < .001$. Among the former, responses to *what*-questions were more accepted than responses to *which*-questions ($d = 0.30$, $p < .001$). Among the latter, responses to *what*-questions were more accepted than responses to *who*-questions ($d = 0.19$, $p < .001$).

In order to further analyze the influence of specific *wh*-words, an additional analysis was performed, by including Definiteness, *Wh*-Word, and their paired interaction as fixed factors, and a random intercept for both Subject and Position.

In the restrictiveness condition, all fixed factors were found to be significant; a main effect of Definiteness, $\chi^2(1) = 138.621$, $p < .001$, such that monodefinites were preferred over polydefinites ($d = 0.57$, $p < .001$); a main effect of *Wh*-Word, $\chi^2(1) = 28.270$, $p < .001$, such that answers to *what*-questions were preferred over answers to *which*-questions ($d = 0.30$, $p < .001$), and the interaction Definiteness \times *Wh*-Word, $\chi^2(1) = 4.921$, $p = .027$, which could be interpreted as such that the preference for answers to *what*-questions over answers to *which*-questions was greater in polydefinites ($d = 0.42$, $p < .001$) than in monodefinites ($d = 0.18$, $p = .024$); on the other hand, monodefinites were preferred over polydefinites as answers to either kind of questions, with this preference being greater with *which*-questions ($d = 0.69$, $p < .001$) than *what*-questions ($d = 0.45$, $p < .001$).

In the non-restrictive condition, all fixed factors were again found to be significant; a main effect of Definiteness, $\chi^2(1) = 1172.639$, $p < .001$, such that monodefinites were preferred over polydefinites ($d = 1.78$, $p < .001$); a main effect of *Wh*-Word, $\chi^2(1) = 12.858$, $p < .001$, such that answers to *what*-questions were preferred over answers to *who*-questions ($d = 0.18$, $p = .001$), and the interaction Definiteness \times *Wh*-Word, $\chi^2(1) = 16.565$, $p < .001$, which could be interpreted as such that the preference for answers to *what*-questions over answers to *who*-questions was found to be significant with polydefinites ($d = 0.39$, $p < .001$), but no significant difference was found between the two *wh*-words with monodefinites ($d = 0.04$, $p = .616$); on the other hand, monodefinites were preferred over polydefinites as answers to either type of questions, with this preference being greater within *who*-questions ($d = 2.00$, $p < .001$) than *what*-questions ($d = 1.57$, $p < .001$).

Among the findings presented in detail above, what is relevant to our study is that the general preference for monodefinite over polydefinite answer-DPs persists, regardless of the discourse structure imposed by the *wh*-question. We take this as evidence that, apart from the asymmetry regarding their discourse properties (Kolliakou 2004), the distinction between monodefinite and polydefinite DPs in Greek is at least partly grammatical.