

REGULAR ARTICLE

The syntax of Greek split reciprocals

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Abstract

We provide the first detailed description and analysis of the syntax of the understudied Greek split reciprocal reconstruction. As in other languages, the reciprocal appears to be bipartite consisting of a quantificational distributor ('the one') and a reciprocator ('the other'). We show that, in Greek, this bipartiteness runs deep: the two parts are syntactically independent, with the reciprocator having the syntax of a Condition A anaphor, and the distributor behaving as a floating quantifier. Once we turn to how these elements establish relations between themselves and their antecedent, we find that Greek reciprocals resist a movement- or Agree-based analysis, since both elements can occur in positions inaccessible to movement/Agree. Given that the reciprocator can occur in embedded subject position, the Greek data also argue against recent attempts to reduce the binding domain to phases, instead supporting a more traditional definition of the binding domain in terms of the smallest XP containing the anaphor and a subject. Finally, we show that the morphosyntactic properties of the bipartite construction can be connected to independent properties of its two component parts and that these can, in turn, be related to interpretive aspects of reciprocity.

KEYWORDS

anaphora, binding, locality, Modern Greek, quantification, reciprocals

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1 | INTRODUCTION

In languages like English, reciprocals such as *each other* look like a single element on the surface in that they form a constituent that cannot be split syntactically. From an interpretive point of view, however, they have been analyzed as consisting of two parts. In particular, since at least Heim et al. (1991), many analyses of reciprocals maintain that reciprocals are bipartite: reciprocity reduces to the combination of a quantificational distributor (e.g., *each*) with a separate, properly anaphoric element. In addition, it is often assumed that the distributor undergoes (covert) movement to a high position, such as to the antecedent to quantify over it.¹ Interestingly, the Modern Greek reciprocal (1) wears this bipartiteness on its sleeve: it consists of what will be shown to be two independent nominals, *o enas* ‘the one’ and *o alos* ‘the other’. Adopting the terminology of Heim et al. (1991), we will refer to the former element as the *distributor* and the latter as the *reciprocator* (sometimes also called the differentiator). We will translate them jointly as ‘each other’.^{2,3}

¹Heim et al.’s (1991) treatment of English *each other* has been criticized on various grounds, see, for example, Williams (1991) and Dalrymple et al. (1998). Some of the issues facing this kind of compositional approach are addressed in, for example, Beck (2001). The proper analysis of English *each other* is orthogonal to the questions pursued in this paper; both *each other* and the bipartite *each ... the other* construction behave differently than Greek split reciprocals.

²Judgments come from the native speaker author and have been confirmed with two more native speakers of Greek. Judgments for the data in Section 3 were additionally confirmed by two speakers at a major linguistics conference. As is typical, we use diacritics like ‘*’ to indicate relative contrasts in acceptability, rather than absolute judgments; we do, however, point out variations in judgments between consultants where they have occurred. We note that, for the vast majority of environments where the split reciprocal appears in our examples, naturally occurring examples can be found on the web.

³Reciprocal constructions of this type have been referred to as ‘bipartite reciprocals’ (Stathi & Haas, 2008) or ‘scattered reciprocals’ (Kobayashi, 2021). We use the term ‘split reciprocal’ to emphasize the independence of the two constituent elements in Greek.

In addition to (1), there are a few more strategies to express reciprocity in the language, each with very different properties (for an overview of the types of reciprocal constructions attested cross-linguistically, see Nordlinger, 2023 and references cited there). Firstly, the language has verbal reciprocals, which obligatorily co-occur with the nonactive morphology also borne by passives, unaccusatives, and their ilk. With naturally disjoint verbs, this morphology is accompanied by the reciprocal prefix *alilo-* (i); with naturally reciprocal verbs, nonactive morphology appears on its own (ii).

- (i) I monaçi alilo- stiriz- onde.
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL RECIP support 3PL.NONACT
‘The monks support each other.’
- (ii) I monaçi sinandj- unde stin eklisia.
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL meet 3PL.NONACT in.the.ACC church.ACC
‘The monks meet in church.’

These verbal reciprocals have very different properties from the construction of interest in this paper. They are obligatorily monoclausal, unlike the split reciprocal, see Section 3; they are syntactically intransitive and semantically monadic; they also can only denote relations between the agent and the theme, in stark contrast to the split reciprocal, which can denote reciprocity across a range of thematic roles/grammatical functions (see Section 2.3). For Greek verbal reflexives and reciprocals, see, among many others, Rivero (1992), Embick (2004), and Paparounas (2023).

In addition, a verbal reciprocal may appear with a singular subject and a comitative PP, as in (iii); see, for instance, Dimitriadis (2008a, 2008b). This construction is often referred to as discontinuous reciprocal.

- (iii) O Janis alilo- stiriz- ete / sinandj- ete #(me ti Maria).
the.NOM John.NOM RECIP support 3SG.NONACT meet 3SG.NONACT with.the.ACC Maria.ACC
‘John and Mary support each other/meet.’

- (1) I monaçi stirizun o enas ton alo.
 the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL support.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘The monks_i support each other_i.’

The Greek split reciprocal construction is heavily understudied; it is usually mentioned only in passing in previous literature, for example, Mackridge (1985: 89), Lapata (1998), and Holton et al. (2012: 564ff). In a typologically oriented paper, Stathi and Haas (2008) list some of the basic surface properties of the construction (viz., case and agreement) and briefly compare it with reciprocals in other languages.⁴

Taking up the task of providing the first detailed syntactic analysis of the construction, we provide strong evidence for its bipartite nature, showing that the distributor and reciprocator are syntactically independent. In addition, we show that the construction as a whole is subject to intricate locality restrictions that parallel those obeyed by anaphors, suggesting that the construction is subject to Condition A of the Binding Theory. Importantly, though, the locality restrictions on both elements clearly argue against establishing their relationship with the antecedent by means of (overt or covert) movement or Agree, since both elements can occur in domains that are inaccessible to movement/Agree (i.e., islands). In addition, given that the reciprocator can occur in embedded subject position, our data argue against attempts to reduce the binding domain to phasehood but rather speak in favor of a more traditional definition of the binding domain that is characterized by the presence of a (distinct and accessible) subject. Finally, we argue that the different locality restrictions on distributor and reciprocator fall out naturally once the reciprocator is assimilated to a plain anaphor and the distributor to a floating quantifier; this syntactic bipartiteness, as well as the morphosyntax of the two component parts, lays bare interesting connections to the interpretation of reciprocals.

This paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we provide basic information about the construction. In Section 3, we discuss locality constraints on both reciprocal elements, while in Section 4 we discuss the nature of the distributor. Section 5 addresses how all elements of the construction fit together, and Section 6 concludes.⁵

Finally, there is a variable-binding-like reciprocal construction that superficially resembles the split reciprocal of interest in this paper; see footnote 12. For a brief comment on semantic differences between the different reciprocal constructions, see footnotes 13 and 23.

⁴Glossing abbreviations: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, ACC = accusative, COMP = complementizer, DAT = dative, F = feminine, FUT = future, GEN = genitive, M = masculine, N = neuter, NEG = negation, NOM = nominative, NONACT = nonactive, PFV = perfective, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PST = past, PTCP = participle, RECIP = reciprocal, SG = singular.

⁵A bipartite reciprocal construction which is at least superficially very similar to the one in Greek is found in several other Indo-European languages, including at least Icelandic (Everaert, 1990; Sigurðsson et al., 2022); Italian (Belletti, 1982), see (i) below; Spanish (Arregi, 2001); Brazilian Portuguese (Kobayashi, 2019, 2020, 2021); French (Kayne, 1975, 355–369); Romanian, Bulgarian, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian (LaTerza, 2014: 119–124); Serbo-Croatian (Despić, 2011: sect. 2.5), and, of course, English, see (ii):

- (i) I miei amici parlano l'uno dell'altro.
 the my friends speak.3PL the.one of.the.other
 ‘My friends_i talk about each other_i.’

Italian (Belletti, 1982: 101)

- (ii) The boys were each blaming the other.

Apart from Italian and Brazilian Portuguese, the construction is heavily understudied in most of these languages as well. There seem to be some important cross-linguistic parallels, including the lexical elements used (‘the one’, ‘the other’, ‘each’); their possible phi-feature specification (antecedent always plural, reciprocal parts singular, both agreeing with

We focus throughout on the syntactic properties of the Greek split reciprocal construction, leaving a detailed exploration of the semantic composition for future research. We will, however, briefly touch upon interpretive aspects in Section 5. For previous work on the semantics of split/scattered reciprocals, see Arregi (2001), LaTerza (2014), and Kobayashi (2019, 2020, 2021).

2 | BASIC DATA

In this section, we illustrate the basic properties of the Greek split reciprocal construction, concerning agreement, case, configurational restrictions, possible grammatical functions, and constituency.

2.1 | Agreement and case

As already mentioned, the Greek split reciprocal is bipartite, consisting of the distributor *o enas* ‘the one’ and the reciprocator *o alos* ‘the other’. (2a), repeated from above, shows that the distributor agrees with the plural antecedent in case (here nominative), while the reciprocator behaves as the ‘real’ argument, bearing the expected case of the structural position where the reciprocal is interpreted (in this case, the accusative typical of direct objects). (2b) is an additional example showing that coordinated singular DPs count as plural insofar as they can antecede the reciprocal unproblematically.

- (2) a. I monaçi stirizun o enas ton
 the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL support.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.M.ACC
 alo.
 other.M.ACC
 ‘The monks_i support each other_i.’
- b. O Janis ke i Maria stirizun o enas
 the.NOM Janis.NOM and the.NOM Mary.NOM support.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM
 ton alo.
 the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘[Janis and Maria]_i support each other_i.’

the antecedent in gender); the presence of a definite article on the reciprocal parts (in languages with articles); case agreement between antecedent and distributor (in Icelandic, Serbo-Croatian, and Ukrainian but not in Russian, see LaTerza, 2014: 122–124); the pattern in PPs (where the reciprocal elements are preferably split); and restrictions in ditransitives (see footnote 8).

Similar bipartite reciprocal constructions are also found in non-Indo-European languages, often with slightly different lexical elements (such as ‘some’ or ‘second’, and/or with repetition of the same element, viz., one – one, some – some). We find such constructions, for instance, in Basque (Hualde & de Urbina, 2003: 611–612), Arabic and Hebrew (Landau, 2023), Hindi (LaTerza, 2014: 122), and in the Dravidian language Telugu (Messick & Raghotham, to appear), which also displays case-copying, just like Basque (Stathi & Haas, 2008: 75f.) but unlike Hindi (see LaTerza, 2014: 122). Messick and Raghotham (to appear) in addition mention Sanzhi Dargwa (Nakh-Dagestanian) and Lezgian; Mandarin Chinese also has a *one*-based reciprocal construction (Andreas Hölzl, p.c.). As with the bipartite constructions in European languages, with the exception of Hebrew, no detailed information is available on the syntax of the construction in these languages.

Given the limited information about the various languages with split/bipartite reciprocals, we will not attempt to provide a systematic comparison. We will mention certain similarities where appropriate, and briefly point out significant differences regarding locality and constituency in footnote 14 below and in the outlook.

While the antecedent is obligatorily plural and triggers plural agreement on the verb, the reciprocal parts are necessarily singular. Furthermore, the reciprocal parts are always third person, while the plural antecedent can also be first or second person (a *pro* in (3)) and be indexed as such on the verb:

- (3) Iðame / iðate o enas ton alo.
 see.PST.1PL see.PST.2PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘We_i/y’all_i saw each other_i.’

In addition, both reciprocal parts agree with the plural antecedent in gender: compare the masculine inflection in (2) with feminine in (4).

- (4) I / kapçes kaloyries stirizun i mia tin
 the.NOM.PL some.NOM.PL nun.NOM.PL support.3PL the.F.NOM one.F.NOM the.F.ACC
 ali.
 other.F.ACC
 ‘The/some nuns_i support each other_i.’

The two reciprocal parts generally do not mismatch in gender (see Stathi & Haas, 2008: 74–75, who also mention marginal exceptions). If the antecedent consists of DPs of different genders, the reciprocal parts will bear the gender that would arise from resolution at the &P-level, for example, masculine if masculine and feminine are combined, as in (5). The order within &P has no impact on resolution possibilities (see Adamson & Anagnostopoulou, to appear for gender resolution in Greek; interestingly, gender mismatch is systematically possible in Hebrew, see Landau, 2023).

- (5) I Maria ke o Janis katiyorisan { o enas
 the.NOM John.NOM and the.NOM Mary.NOM accuse.PST.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM
 ton alo / *i mia ton alo / *o
 the.M.ACC other.M.ACC the.F.NOM one.F.NOM the.M.ACC other.M.ACC the.M.NOM
 enas tin ali / *i mia tin ali }.
 one.M.NOM the.F.ACC other.F.ACC the.F.NOM one.F.NOM the.F.ACC other.F.ACC
 ‘[Mary and John]_i accused each other_i.’

Finally, as shown in (4), the antecedent can also be indefinite, but the distributor and reciprocator remain obligatorily morphosyntactically definite.

2.2 | C-command

The three components of the reciprocal construction (antecedent, distributor, and reciprocator) must be configured in particular ways relative to each other (the same facts hold in Brazilian Portuguese, see Kobayashi, 2020: ex. 26, 31). First, the distributor must c-command the reciprocator, (6):⁶

⁶We point out in this connection that there are examples where Greek *o enas* and *o alos* are used to pick out members of a pair, in the absence of c-command and thus in the absence of reciprocity (i).

- (6) *I monači stirizun o alos ton ena.
 the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL support.3PL the.M.NOM other.M.NOM the.M.ACC one.M.ACC
 ‘*The monks support the other each.’

Second, the plural antecedent must c-command both reciprocal elements, (7) (see also Lapata, 1998; for cases where the antecedent is embedded within a PP, see (10) below). Consequently, in (7b), only the entire DP but not the possessor can act as the antecedent of the reciprocal.

- (7) a. *O enas ton alo stirizi tus
 the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.M.ACC other.M.ACC support.3SG the.ACC.PL
 monaxus.
 monk.ACC.PL
 ‘*Each other supports the monks.’
- b. [I skili [ton monaxon]_i]_j stirizun o
 the.NOM.PL dog.NOM.PL the.GEN.PL monk.GEN.PL support.3PL the.M.NOM
 enas ton alo_{j/*i}.
 one.M.NOM the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘[‘The monks’]_i dogs]_j support [each other]_{j/*i}.’

2.3 | Orientation/grammatical function

Both the antecedent and the reciprocator can bear various grammatical functions. Thus, the antecedent can also be a non-subject, for example, a DO in (8):

- (8) Sistisa tis fititries ti mia stin
 introduce.PST.1SG the.F.ACC.PL student.F.ACC.PL the.F.ACC one.F.ACC to.the.F.ACC
 ali.
 other.F.ACC
 ‘I introduced the students_i to each other_i.’

In (8), the distributor agrees in case with the antecedent, thereby bearing accusative. The antecedent, and consequently the distributor, can also be a genitive within DP as in (9), where additionally the reciprocator occurs within a PP:

- (9) Iðame tin epiðesi ton stratiyon tu enos
 see.PST.1PL the.ACC attack.ACC the.GEN.PL general.GEN.PL the.M.GEN one.M.GEN
 ston alo.
 to.the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘We saw the generals_i’ attack on each other_i.’

- (i) I Maria ke i Ana piyan i mia sto panepistimo ke
 the.NOM Maria.NOM and the.NOM Anna.NOM go.PST.3PL the.F.NOM one.F.NOM to.the university and
 i ali sti dulja.
 the.F.NOM other.F.NOM to.the work
 ‘One of Mary and Anna went to the university and the other went to work.’ (cf. Kayne, 1975: 359)

Antecedents can also occur in PPs as in (10), where, interestingly, the distributor is governed by the same preposition:

- (10) Milisa stus fitites ston ena ja ton
 speak.PST.1SG to.the.ACC.PL student.ACC.PL to.the.M.ACC one.M.ACC about the.M.ACC
 alo.
 other.M.ACC
 ‘I talked to the students_i about each other_i.’

Thus, the antecedent can have various grammatical functions and bear the corresponding cases, all of which the distributor can consequently bear, too.^{7,8}

⁷See Sigurðsson et al. (2022: ex. 13, 17, 19a/b) for examples from Icelandic where the antecedent occurs as a (quirky and non-quirky) subject, direct object, and element within a PP, respectively. In Italian, the antecedent can be a subject or a direct object but not an element within a PP (Stanislao Zoppi p.c.).

⁸There is a curious restriction in that the antecedent cannot be an indirect object when the reciprocator is accusative (or nominative, in the case of DAT>NOM experiencers):

- (i) *Sistisa tus kalezmenus tu enos ton alo.
 introduce.PST.1SG the.GEN.PL guest.GEN.PL the.M.GEN one.M.GEN the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘I introduced the guests_i to each other_i.’

This is part of a more general restriction on split reciprocals in ditransitives: in the presence of a (non-prepositional) IO, the reciprocator cannot be the DO—even if bound by the *subject* of a ditransitive verb.

- (ii) *Ta ayorja (tis) exun (to ena) sistisi tis
 the.NOM.PL boy.NOM.PL 3SG.F.GEN have.3PL the.N.NOM one.N.NOM introduce.PFV the.F.GEN
 ðaskalas (to ena) to alo.
 teacher.F.GEN the.N.NOM one.N.NOM the.N.ACC other.N.ACC
 ‘The boys_i have introduced each other_i to the teacher.’

An IO antecedent is possible, though, with inherent-genitive assigning monotransitives and the reciprocator occurring in a PP:

- (iii) Epiteðika tis Marias ke tu Jani tu enos sto domatio
 attack.PST.1SG the.GEN Mary.GEN and the.GEN John.GEN the.M.GEN one.M.GEN in.the.ACC room.ACC
 tu alu.
 the.M.GEN other.M.GEN
 ‘I attacked [Mary and John]_i in each other_i’s room.’

Interestingly, the restriction with IO-antecedents has been observed in other languages with split/bipartite reciprocals; see Belletti (1982: 117) for Italian and Sigurðsson et al. (2022: 582) for Icelandic (while the latter do not provide any examples, Belletti only provides examples with indirect object antecedents where the reciprocator is within a PP; according to Stanislao Zoppi (p.c.), the restriction extends to ditransitives in that the IO cannot be an antecedent for a DO reciprocal).

The pattern in Greek is difficult to account for. Apart from the fact that a DO-reciprocal is even impossible with a subject antecedent in ditransitives (cf. (ii)), the pattern suggests that a case hierarchy may be at work, namely that the antecedent must be at least as high on the case hierarchy as the reciprocator (with the hierarchy being NOM > ACC > DAT/GEN > PP). This would account for the asymmetry between (i) and (iii).

Belletti (1982) tries to explain the dative restriction by linking it to the observation that indirect objects are incompatible with floating quantifiers (this is based on the assumption that the distributor behaves like a floating quantifier of the plural antecedent, an analysis we will adopt in Section 4). This type of explanation is not available for Greek, where indirect objects *are* compatible with floating quantifiers:

As for the reciprocator, it can occur as a DO bearing accusative as in the introductory examples. Examples (8)–(10) show that it can occur within PPs. (11) shows that the reciprocator can also be an IO and thus bear genitive case:

- (11) Eðiksan o enas tu alu tus
show.PST.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.M.GEN other.M.GEN the.ACC.PL
pinakes.
painting.ACC.PL
'They_i showed each other_i the paintings.'

As shown in (12), the reciprocator can also occur as a genitive within DP, either functioning as a possessor, (12a) (cf. also ex. (iii) in footnote 8) or as thematic argument of the noun, for example, agent, or theme as in (12b) (see Lapata, 1998: ex. (4)). We will come back to the variable positions of the distributor in Sections 3 and 4.

- (12) a. I monaçi thavmazun (o enas) [ta
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL admire.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.ACC.PL
rasa (o enas) tu alu].
stole.ACC.PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.M.GEN other.M.GEN
'The monks_i admire each other_i's stoles.'
- b. I stratiji perimenun (o enas) [tin
the.NOM.PL general.NOM.PL await.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.ACC
katastrofi (o enas) tu alu].
destruction.ACC the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.M.GEN other.M.GEN
'The generals_i await each other_i's destruction.'

As we will see in (15a), the reciprocator can also be nominative if it occurs as the subject of an embedded clause.⁹

The reciprocal construction also occurs in small clauses. In (13a), the antecedent is the matrix subject and the reciprocator the small clause subject, while in (13b) the antecedent is the small clause subject and the reciprocator occurs inside the complement of the small clause predicate:

- (13) a. I kaloyries teorun i mia tin
the.NOM.PL nun.NOM.PL consider.3PL the.F.NOM one.F.NOM the.F.ACC
ali eksipni / *eksipnes.
other.F.ACC smart.F.ACC smart.F.ACC.PL
'The nuns_i consider each other_i smart.'

- (iv) Eðosa ton stratioton tu kaθenos me perifania ðio metalia.
give.PST.1SG the.GEN.PL soldier.GEN.PL the.GEN each.GEN with pride two medal.ACC.PL
'I proudly gave the soldiers two medals each.'

⁹See Sigurðsson et al. (2022: ex. 1, 4a, 13) for examples from Icelandic where the reciprocator occurs as a DO, IO, and element within a PP, respectively; see also Kobayashi (2020: ex. 17) for examples from Brazilian Portuguese where the reciprocator occurs as a DO and within DPs and PPs. In Italian, the reciprocator can be an IO and occur within DPs and PPs (Belletti, 1982: ex. 1, 11). According to Belletti (1982: 103f.), the Italian reciprocator cannot occur as a DO even with monotransitives, but we suspect this may be an adjacency issue; according to Stanislaio Zompi (p.c.), such examples improve if some other constituent occurs between the distributor and reciprocator.

- b. I monaçi ðeorun tis kaloyries
 the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL consider.3PL the.ACC.PL nun.ACC.PL
 ðimomenes ti mia me tin ali.
 anger.PTCP.F.ACC.PL the.F.ACC one.F.ACC with the.F.ACC other.F.ACC
 ‘The monks consider the nuns_i angry at each other_i.’

Besides small clauses, we also find the split reciprocal in ECM (exceptional case-marking) clauses; see (18) below.

2.4 | Constituency

There is strong evidence suggesting that the two reciprocal parts do not form a constituent (*pace* Holton et al., 2012: 585).

First, as shown in examples (8)–(10) and (12), they can be split by prepositions or parts of a DP (see also Stathi & Haas, 2008: 77). In fact, in some cases, the two parts *must* be split; this is the case, for instance, with the PP in examples (8), (9), (10), and (13b). If the antecedent and the reciprocator occur in different clauses, the distributor and the reciprocator must be split by the element introducing the subordinate clause (e.g., the *wh*-operator or complementizer)—see the examples in (15a), (16a), (23), (24), (25), and (36a), as well as the discussion in Sections 3 and 4. In the case of cross-clausal relationships, the obligatoriness of splitting is presumably due to the fact that, as we argue below, the reciprocator and the distributor are subject to different kinds of locality constraints.

In addition, the two parts never behave like a constituent. For instance, they cannot be moved as a unit, as shown by (14a), which is based on (1), and by (14b), based on (8):

- (14) a. *[O enas ton alo] stirizun i
 the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.M.ACC other.M.ACC support.3PL the.NOM.PL
 monaçi.
 monk.NOM.PL
 Intended: ‘It is each other that the monks support.’
- b. ?*[Ton ena ston alo] sistisa tus
 the.M.ACC one.M.ACC to.the.M.ACC other.M.ACC introduced.1SG the.ACC.PL
 fitites.
 student.ACC.PL
 Intended: ‘It was to each other that I introduced the students.’

Together with the island data discussed in the next section, these observations strongly suggest that distributor and reciprocator cannot form a constituent at any point of the derivation.

3 | LOCALITY CONSTRAINTS

In this section, we focus on locality constraints in the split reciprocal construction. We first argue that the sensitivity of the construction to the presence of a subject suggests that the construction contains an anaphoric element that is subject to Condition A of the Binding Theory; we identify this element with the reciprocator. Second, we show that the relationship between the plural

antecedent and the two parts of the split reciprocal is not established by means of movement or Agree, based on data from islands. Third, we argue that the binding domain cannot be identified with the phase.

3.1 | The construction is subject to the binding theory: The relevance of subjects

Our argument in favor of subjecting the Greek split reciprocal construction to Condition A of the Binding Theory is based on its sensitivity to the presence of a subject. This sensitivity can be demonstrated with reference to a set of striking facts in the clausal domain.

Consider, first, the fact that the relationship between antecedent and reciprocator can cross a clause boundary but it cannot cross an embedded subject. This fact gives rise to a subject–object asymmetry: while the reciprocator can be an embedded subject and thus bear nominative (15a), it cannot occur as an embedded non-subject, for example, as an embedded object, (15b):

- (15) a. I monaçi pistevun o enas [oti o
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL believe.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM COMP the.M.NOM
alos sevete ton iyumeno].
other.M.NOM respect.3SG the.ACC abbot.ACC
‘The monks_i think that each other_i respects the abbot.’
- b. *I monaçi pistevun o enas [oti o
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL believe.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM COMP the.NOM
iyumenos sevete ton alo].
abbot.NOM respect.3SG the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
‘The monks_i think that the abbot respects each other_i.’

The same contrast is obtained if the reciprocator occurs as a genitive possessor/argument within a DP in the subordinate clause. While it can occur within embedded subjects, (16a), it cannot occur within embedded objects if the antecedent is in the matrix clause, (16b):

- (16) a. I monaçi pistevun o enas [oti
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL believe.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM COMP
[ta rasa tu alu] ine omorfa].
the.NOM.PL stole.NOM.PL the.M.GEN other.M.GEN be.3PL beautiful.NOM.PL
‘The monks_i believe that each other_i’s stoles are beautiful.’
- b. ?*I monaçi pistevun o enas [oti
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL believe.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM COMP
i kalories eklepsan ta rasa tu
the.NOM.PL nun.NOM.PL steal.PST.3PL the.ACC.PL stole.ACC.PL the.M.GEN
alu].
other.M.GEN
‘The monks_i believe that the nuns stole each other_i’s stoles.’

The influence of a subject can be seen in a second domain, namely small clauses. (13a) showed that the reciprocator can be a small clause subject when the antecedent is the matrix subject. (13b) showed that the reciprocator can also be a non-subject within the small clause if the antecedent

is the subject of the small clause. (17) complements this observation: in (17a), as in (13b), the reciprocator is bound by the small clause subject; importantly, it cannot be bound by the matrix subject across the small clause subject (17b):

- (17) a. I monaçi teorun tis kaloyries
 the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL consider.3PL the.ACC.PL nun.ACC.PL
 ðimomenes ti mia me tin ali.
 anger.PTCP.F.ACC.PL the.F.ACC one.F.ACC with the.F.ACC other.F.ACC
 ‘The monks_i consider the nuns_j angry at each other_j.’
- b. *I monaçi teorun o enas tis
 the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL consider.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.ACC.PL
 kaloyries ðimomenes me ton alo.
 nun.ACC.PL anger.PTCP.F.ACC.PL with the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘The monks_i consider the nuns_j angry at each other_i.’

The same pattern is found in ECM constructions: the reciprocator can be the ECM subject if the antecedent is the matrix subject as in (18a). The reciprocator can also occur as the object of the ECM clause if the antecedent is the ECM subject (18b). Crucially, however, the reciprocator cannot be the object of the ECM clause if the antecedent is the matrix subject, (18c).¹⁰

- (18) a. I monaçi iðan (o enas) apo makria
 the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL see.PST.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM from afar
 (o enas) ton alo na klevi ta
 the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.M.ACC other.M.ACC COMP steal.3SG the.ACC.PL
 ðiskopotira.
 chalice.ACC.PL
 ‘The monks_i saw [each other_i steal the chalices] from afar.’
- b. I monaçi iðan apo makria tis kaloyries
 the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL see.PST.3PL from afar the.ACC.PL nun.ACC.PL
 ti mia na zoğrafizi tin ali.
 the.F.ACC one.F.ACC COMP paint.3SG the.F.ACC other.F.ACC
 ‘The monks saw [the nuns_i paint each other_i] from afar.’

¹⁰The data also provide evidence that the accusative-bearing DP indeed functions as a subject at some level of representation, viz., that it is generated in the embedded clause. This is an important result in light of the controversy about Greek ECM, which is sometimes reanalyzed in terms of Control (see Kotzoglou, 2017 for a recent discussion and references). The pattern in (18) converges with the results in Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2021: 78), who show that perception verbs can take an ECM clause whose negatively quantified accusative subject is licensed by negation in the ECM clause. If the accusative DP were base-generated in the matrix clause, it should pattern with objects, which, as shown in (19), however, do not intervene between a reciprocator below it and the subject. Given that the accusative DP in (18) follows a matrix adverbial, it likely occupies a position in the embedded clause. This observation, along with the fact that the entire ECM clause can be fronted including the ECM-subject (i), independently rules out a Control analysis of the examples in (18).

- (i) ?Tis kaloyries ti mia na zoğrafizi tin ali, i
 the.ACC.PL nun.ACC.PL the.F.ACC one.F.ACC COMP paint.3SG the.F.ACC other.F.ACC the.NOM.PL
 monaçi ðen tis iðan.
 monk.NOM.PL NEG 3PL.F.ACC see.PST.3PL
 ‘As for the nuns painting each other, the monks didn’t see them.’

- c. *I monaçi iðan (o enas) apo makria
 the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL see.PST.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM from afar
 (o enas) tis kaloyries (o enas) na
 the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.ACC.PL nun.ACC.PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM COMP
 zoyrafizun ton alo.
 paint.3PL the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘The monks_j saw [the nuns paint each other_j] from afar.’

(18c) again shows the relevance of an intervening subject.

Importantly, the restrictions documented in this section cannot be reduced to standard A-intervention given that a plural subject can be related to a reciprocator within a PP across a direct object, see (19):

- (19) I fitites sistisan to Jorȳo o
 the.NOM.PL student.NOM.PL introduce.PST.3PL the.ACC George.ACC the.M.NOM
 enas ston alo.
 one.M.NOM to.the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘The students_i introduced George to each other_i.’

Rather, the patterns discussed here are very much reminiscent of the constraints familiar from Binding Theory, where ‘subjects’ (in the sense of the highest specifier of a given projection) seem to play a privileged role in delimiting the portion of the clause within which binding must be established.¹¹

Note that our data suggest that it is the reciprocator that is subject to these constraints and thus distributes like an anaphor subject to Condition A of the Binding Theory. Hence, it is the plural antecedent that binds the reciprocator. How the distributor fits in and how the locality constraints between antecedent and distributor can be understood will be addressed in Sections 4 and 5.¹²

¹¹Another place in the grammar that would allow us to demonstrate the relevance of subjects for binding comes from nominals, as in the following classic example from Chomsky (1981: 213), where the judgment is taken from the original:

- (i) They_j heard (*my_i) stories about each other_i.

(i) yields the following expectation: in principle, we expect that a reciprocal embedded within a noun phrase should not be able to be bound by a nominal external to that DP in the presence of a possessor/‘subject’ as in (ii):

- (ii) I stratiji perimenun o enas tin epiθesi mu
 the.NOM.PL general.NOM.PL await.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.ACC attack.ACC 1SG.GEN
 ston alo.
 on.the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘The generals_j await my attack on each other_i.’

We have unfortunately not been able to establish clear contrasts with the Greek split reciprocal construction in such configurations. While binding by the DP-external antecedent in the presence of a possessor is less acceptable than in the absence of a possessor, the variation we have encountered within and across speakers suggests that it is not categorically ruled out. This empirical result in fact seems to be similar to the situation in English, see Bruening (2006) for discussion and references. We therefore set such cases aside.

¹²There exists a construction superficially similar to that of interest in this paper, where the distributor *o enas* occurs in an A-position and triggers third-person singular agreement on the verb, as in (i). Much like its English counterpart, this

3.2 | Evidence against movement/Agree

We will now discuss further locality constraints in the split reciprocal construction and assess their consequences for how the link between the different elements is established.

We begin with the reciprocator, which, given the effect of subjects, we are treating as being subject to Condition A of the Binding Theory. Much recent literature on binding explores the idea that antecedent and anaphor are linked via a binding-independent syntactic mechanism capable of accounting both for the sharing of phi-features and the locality constraints on binding. Movement and Agree have both been proposed as the relevant mechanisms in the literature.

On one type of approach, anaphors do not have independent theoretical status, but rather are spell-outs of the lower copy of their moving antecedent (Hornstein, 2001, Drummond et al., 2011). In another type of movement approach, the antecedent forms a big DP together with the anaphor and strands it during the derivation (Kayne, 2002). On both types of approaches, Condition A should reduce to A-movement locality. A variant of the movement approach assumes that it is (some component of) the local reflexive that (covertly) moves to a higher position by means of either head movement or A-movement; see, for example, Lebeaux (1983: 726), Chomsky (1986: 175), Hestvik (1995), Reuland (2011), and Ahn (2015).

More recently, much literature attempts to reduce binding to an Agree relationship. Many different implementations have been proposed, with one parameter that differs between approaches concerning whether there is a direct (upward) Agree dependency between antecedent and anaphor, or whether the two are linked by separate relationships with a mediating head. Prominent Agree-based approaches include Heinat (2009), Hicks (2009), Kratzer (2009), Antonenko (2011), Bader (2011), Reuland (2011), Wurmbrand (2017), Murphy and Meyase (2022), and Paparounas and Akkuş (2024). Some approaches also combine Agree with movement of the reflexive; see, for example, Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd (2011).

Turning to the distributor, in Heim et al. (1991), the relationship between the two involves covert movement of the distributor to the position of the antecedent (see also Belletti, 1982 for covert movement in the Italian split reciprocal). One can also imagine an overt movement analysis, where the two are generated together and the distributor is stranded by movement of the antecedent; the latter analysis may be the more straightforward means to ensure agreement in

construction has very different locality properties from (1); notably, as (i) shows, it can cross an intervening subject (cf. the data in Section 3.1), thus being reminiscent less of local anaphora and more of variable binding.

- (i) Se afto to monastiri, o enas monaxos pistevi oti o
 in this.ACC the.ACC monastery.ACC the.M.NOM one.M.NOM monk.NOM believe.3SG COMP the.NOM
 iyumenos protimai ton alo.
 abbot.NOM prefer.3SG the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 'In this monastery, each monk believes that the abbot prefers the other.'

In fact, this construction seems to not respect syntactic locality more generally. See Jackendoff (1990: 435) for data and references on its English counterpart.

This usage (as well as usages of *o alos* without c-command by the distributor as in fn. 6) is thus distinct from the usage of the *other* as an anaphor subject to Condition A. This situation is reminiscent of the many other cases where anaphoric elements are ambiguous between Condition A-obeying and other (e.g., referential) uses, as with, for example, English possessive pronouns.

gender and case. In their analysis of Icelandic reciprocals, Sigurðsson et al. (2022) claim that the two movements (covert and overt) co-occur.¹³

We show below that movement- or Agree-based accounts do not seem promising for our data. The conclusion is the same both for the relationship of the antecedent to the distributor and the relationship between the antecedent and the anaphoric reciprocator: neither relationship seems to obey the same constraints as either movement or *bona fide* instances of Agree in the language.

We will also see that the locality constraints differ for distributor and reciprocator, being stricter for the former. We will address this asymmetry in Section 4.

3.2.1 | Islands

Various pieces of data show that the reciprocator, and to some extent the distributor, can occur in domains that are opaque to movement within the language. In all examples of this type in this section, we enclose the relevant domains in square brackets.

The first pair of examples shows that both elements can occur in coordination, either as one of the conjuncts, (20a), or embedded within a conjunct, (20b). Note that the use of a collective verb, which requires syntactic plurality, rules out a clausal-coordination-plus-ellipsis parse; given that ‘gather the principal’ is ungrammatical in isolation, there cannot be deletion of ‘gather’ in the second conjunct. Rather, we must be dealing with DP coordination.

- (20) a. I maðites mazepsan o enas ton
 the.NOM.PL student.NOM.PL gather.PST.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.M.ACC
 alo ke ton ðiefðindi stin taksi.
 other.M.ACC and the.ACC principal.ACC in.the.ACC classroom.ACC
 ‘The students_i gathered each other_i and the principal in the classroom.’

¹³Part of the motivation for LF movement comes from scope ambiguities as in (i) (cf. Heim et al., 1991 and references therein):

- (i) John and Mary said they like each other.

In one interpretation (the narrow reading), both John and Mary said that John likes Mary and Mary likes John. In another interpretation (the wide scope reading), John said that he likes Mary and Mary said that she likes John (but it is not necessarily the case that either of them said that the other person likes them). The distributed reading is taken to involve LF movement of the distributor across the matrix predicate. Interestingly, the Greek split reciprocal construction shows the same ambiguity; the example in (ii) is grammatical on both narrow and wide scope readings of the distributor (see also Brazilian Portuguese in Kobayashi, 2020).

- (ii) O Janis ke i Maria ipan oti aresun o enas
 the.NOM John.NOM and the.NOM Mary.NOM say.PST.3PL COMP please.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM
 ston alo.
 to.the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘John and Mary said that they like each other.’

Note that, unlike the split/bipartite reciprocal, the verbal reciprocals mentioned in footnote 3 do not license the scope ambiguity (see Paparounas, 2023: chap. 3). There are further interpretive differences between the two constructions: the verbal reciprocals are obligatorily symmetric and monoeventive/simultaneous, while the split reciprocal also allows asymmetric and nonsimultaneous construals (Dimitriadis, 2008a, 2008b). Additionally, the verbal reciprocal obligatorily signifies strong reciprocity, whereas the split reciprocal also allows weak interpretations (see Dalrymple et al., 1998). See also fn. 23 for more discussion of interpretive issues.

- b. I maθites mazepsan [ton kaθijiti o
 the.NOM.PL student.NOM.PL gather.PST.3PL the.ACC professor.ACC the.M.NOM
 enas tu alu] ke ton ðiefθindi stin
 one.M.NOM the.M.GEN other.M.GEN and the.ACC principal.ACC in.the.ACC
 taksi.
 classroom.ACC
 ‘The students_i gathered each other_i’s professor and the principal in the classroom.’

Under a movement analysis, there would be asymmetric extraction of/from a conjunct, in violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross, 1967).

We have already seen several examples involving the reciprocal inside PPs, which are islands for extraction quite generally in Greek (see, e.g., Merchant, 2000, 2001, for P-stranding in *wh*-movement and sluicing). The following pair shows that the reciprocator can occur even in adjunct PPs. The distributor is, however, more restricted in that it cannot occur within all PPs; thus, the PP-internal position of the distributor is degraded in (21) (but see (22) below).

- (21) a. I monaçi iðan ta fiðja (o
 the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL see.PST.3PL the.ACC.PL snake.ACC.PL the.M.NOM
 enas) [ðipla (?o enas) ston alo].
 one.M.NOM next the.M.NOM one.M.NOM to.the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘The monks_i saw the snakes next to each other_i.’
- b. I monaçi zun kala o enas [eksetias
 the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL live.3PL well the.M.NOM one.M.NOM because
 (?o enas) tu alu].
 the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.M.GEN other.M.GEN
 ‘The monks_i live well because of each other_i.’

While the distributor could occur only marginally within PP in the previous examples, it can do so perfectly easily once it is a genitive inside a DP which in turn is embedded within a PP, (22a), even if the PP is an adjunct, (22b). One of our consultants finds the lower instance of *o enas* less acceptable in (22b).

- (22) a. I fitites milisan (o enas) [ston
 the.NOM.PL student.NOM.PL talk.PST.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM to.the.ACC
 kaθijiti (o enas) tu alu].
 professor.ACC the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.M.GEN other.M.GEN
 ‘The students_i talked to each other_i’s professor.’
- b. I monaçi zun kala (o enas) [eksetias
 the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL live.3PL well the.M.NOM one.M.NOM because
 tis kalosinis (o enas) tu alu].
 the.GEN kindness.GEN the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.M.GEN other.M.GEN
 ‘The monks_i live well because of each other_i’s kindness.’

Furthermore, the reciprocator (but not the distributor) can occur inside classical islands, including *wh*-islands, (23), and undoubtedly strong islands like clausal adjuncts, (24), and even relative

clauses, (25). In all cases, the reciprocator can be either the subject or a subconstituent of the subject:

- (23) a. Ta koritsça rotisan to ena [ti
the.NOM.PL girl.NOM.PL ask.PST.3PL the.F.NOM one.F.NOM what.ACC
efaje to alo].
eat.PST.3SG the.F.NOM other.F.NOM
'The girls_i asked what each other_i ate.'
- b. Ta koritsça rotisan to ena [ti
the.NOM.PL girl.NOM.PL ask.PST.3PL the.F.NOM one.F.NOM what.ACC
efaje o pateras tu alu].
eat.PST.3SG the.NOM father.NOM the.F.GEN other.F.GEN
'The girls_i asked what each other_i's father ate.'
- (24) a. Ta ayorja klene to ena [epiði efije
the.NOM.PL boy.NOM.PL cry.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM because leave.PST.3SG
to alo].
the.M.NOM other.M.NOM
'The boys_i are crying because each other_i left.'
- b. Ta ayorja klene to ena [epiði efije
the.NOM.PL boy.NOM.PL cry.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM because leave.PST.3SG
o pateras tu alu].
the.NOM father.NOM the.M.GEN other.M.GEN
'The boys_i are crying because each other_i's father left.'
- (25) a. I monaçi θa fane o enas [to
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL FUT eat.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.ACC
fajito pu eçi ftiaksi o alos].
food.ACC that have.3SG make.PFV.3SG the.M.NOM other.M.NOM
'The monks_i will eat the food that each other_i has made.'
- b. I monaçi θa fane o enas [to fajito
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL FUT eat.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.ACC food.ACC
pu eçi ftiaksi i mitera tu alu].
that have.3SG make.PFV.3SG the.NOM mother.NOM the.M.GEN other.M.GEN
'The monks_i will eat the food that each other_i's mother has made.'

An anaphoric element inside a strong island may initially seem unusual, and one may therefore be tempted to treat such cases as instances of logophoric binding, which might explain the apparent insensitivity to strict locality. Importantly, however, there is solid evidence against treating the reciprocator as a logophor here (cf. also Kobayashi, 2020: ex. 33 on Brazilian Portuguese). Examining the island cases further, we find the same subject–object asymmetry as with complement clauses: while the reciprocator can occur as (part of) an embedded subject of a relative clause as in (25), it cannot occur as embedded object of a relative clause, (26a), or as a part thereof, (26b), if the binder is in the matrix clause:

- (26) a. *I monaçi çeretisan o enas [tin
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL greet.PST.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.ACC
kaloyria pu aypai ton alo].
nun.ACC that love.3SG the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
'The monks_i greeted the nun that loves [each other]_i.'
- b. *I monaçi çeretisan o enas [tin
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL greet.PST.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.ACC
kaloyria pu aypai tin mitera tu alu].
nun.ACC that love.3SG the.ACC mother.ACC the.M.GEN other.M.GEN
'The monks_i greeted the nun that loves [each other]_i's mother.'

Thus, the reciprocator inside relative clauses is also subject to a binding domain that crucially refers to the presence of a subject (and the same subject–object asymmetry holds for the other island types).

More evidence against logophoric binding of the reciprocator in relative clauses comes from the following pair with an inanimate antecedent that displays the same subject/object asymmetry:

- (27) a. Afta ta poðilata jimnastikis fortizonde
these.NOM.PL the.NOM.PL bicycle.NOM.PL exercise.GEN charge.NONACT.3PL
to ena apo [tin enerjia pu parayi to
the.N.NOM one.N.NOM from the.ACC energy.ACC that produce.3SG the.N.NOM
alo / parayun i troçi tu alu].
other.N.NOM produce.3PL the.N.NOM.PL wheel.NOM.PL the.N.GEN other.N.GEN
'These exercise bicycles_i charge from the energy that each other_i/each other_i's
wheels produce.'
- b. *Afta ta poðilata jimnastikis fortizonde to
these.NOM the.NOM bicycle.NOM.PL exercise.GEN charge.NONACT.3PL the.N.NOM
ena apo [tin enerjia pu ðinun i ðiaðromi
one.N.NOM from the.ACC energy.ACC that give.3PL the.NOM.PL treadmill.NOM.PL
tu alu / stus troçus tu alu].
the.N.GEN other.N.GEN to.the.ACC.PL wheel.ACC.PL the.N.GEN other.N.GEN
'These exercise bicycles_i charge from the energy that the treadmills give each other_i/each
other_i's wheels.'

One can also construct examples with inanimate antecedents where the reciprocator is located inside an adjunct PP:

- (28) I planites ine skotini simera o enas
the.NOM.PL planet.NOM.PL be.3PL dark.NOM.PL today the.M.NOM one.M.NOM
[eksetias tu ðoriforu tu alu].
because the.GEN satellite.GEN the.M.GEN other.M.GEN
'The planets_i are dark today because of each other_i's satellites.'

Further evidence against logophoric binding comes from the impossibility to bind without c-command, (7), obtaining even in the presence of a discourse referent/empathy locus:

- (29) [I kaimeni i monaçi]_i! [I fili
 the.NOM.PL poor.NOM.PL the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL the.NOM.PL friend.NOM.PL
 tus_i]_j ðen aʔapun o enas ton alo_j/_{*i}.
 3PL.POSS NEG love.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘Poor monks_i! [Their_i friends]_j don’t love each other_j/_{*i}.’

In addition, there is no long-distance binding, see (15) and (16), (25) versus (26), (27), and (30), a translation of a typical English example (where the intervening NP is inanimate):

- (30) *O Janis ke i Maria ipan o enas oti
 the.NOM John.NOM and the.NOM Mary.NOM say.PST.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM COMP
 i efimeriða dimosiefse fotoyrafies tu alu.
 the.NOM newspaper.NOM publish.PST.3SG photograph.ACC.PL the.M.GEN other.M.GEN
 ‘John and Mary_i said that the newspaper published pictures of each other_i.’

Finally, split antecedents are not possible, as shown in (31):

- (31) *To aʔori eðikse to koritsi to ena sto
 the.NOM boy.NOM show.PST.3SG the.ACC girl.ACC the.N.NOM one.N.NOM to.the.N.ACC
 alo ston kaθrefti.
 other.N.ACC to.the mirror
 ‘The boy_i showed the girl_j to each other_{i+j} in the mirror.’

Returning to locality, we can conclude that the reciprocator (and to some extent also the distributor) can occur inside opaque domains, including uncontroversially strong islands, which renders a movement account highly unlikely.¹⁴

There are yet more facts that argue against a movement relationship. First, the fact that the reciprocator can be an embedded subject rules out both A-movement-based and head-movement-based accounts of binding. A-movement is ruled out given that cross-clausal A-movement (like raising) is restricted to so-called subjunctive clauses in Greek (see Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 2002), while head-movement is generally thought to be clause-bound. Second, the fact that the reciprocator can occur as a subconstituent of DP also rules out implementations in terms of A-movement or head-movement given that both movement types are blocked from applying to this domain, in Greek and beyond.¹⁵ Third, movement analyses for both distributor and reciprocator also fail for the cases where the antecedent is within a PP, recall

¹⁴We note that the exact nature of locality constraints on the reciprocal is a possible point of cross-linguistic variation. For instance, the reciprocator of the Brazilian Portuguese reciprocal largely overlaps in its distribution with its Greek counterpart, the reciprocator occurring within *wh*- and adjunct islands in both languages. These commonalities seem to exist alongside important differences, however; the Brazilian Portuguese reciprocator can occur as the object of a relative clause (Kobayashi, 2019: ex. (15), Kobayashi, 2020: ex. 25a), contrasting with the Greek facts (26). Conversely, in Italian, the construction is subject to locality constraints that seem stricter than in Greek. For instance, no finite clause boundary can intervene (Belletti, 1982: 125, ex. 46; Stanislaw Zoppi (p.c.) points out that the examples in Belletti remain ungrammatical if the distributor is in the main clause). Even more stringent locality restrictions can be found in Hebrew; see the discussion at the end of the paper.

¹⁵As pointed out to us by an anonymous reviewer, the reciprocator can be embedded quite deeply within DP, casting further doubt on the availability of an analysis based on movement (or Agree, see below):

ex. (10), as this would require movement to a non-c-commanding position. Fourth, a movement analysis is severely complicated by the mismatch in phi-features (number and, possibly, person) between antecedent and both reciprocal parts. At first sight, the agreement mismatches between antecedent and distributor may be less of an issue if a stranding analysis based on a partitive structure is adopted, possibly with a silent preposition, compare *each (of) ...*. However, while such a structure could take care of the number–person mismatches, it arguably predicts the wrong case on the antecedent (genitive) and should lead to singular agreement on the predicate, contrary to fact. A final argument only affects the approach treating anaphors as spell-outs of lower copies: not only does the reciprocator mismatch the antecedent in number (and potentially in person if the antecedent is first or second person, alongside definiteness if the antecedent is non-definite), it also has inherent interpretive content. It is wholly unclear how an element with such properties could ever arise from spelling out a lower copy of the antecedent.¹⁶

3.2.2 | More evidence against stranding of the distributor

We have already seen evidence that argues against a movement dependency between antecedent and distributor (either covert movement of the distributor or stranding by movement of the antecedent). The following examples explicitly argue against a stranding analysis, and, under certain assumptions, against covert movement as well. In both the following examples, the distributor is related to the subject but occurs below the base position of the subject. In (32a), repeated from above, it occurs within a PP complement; in (32b), also repeated from above,

- (i) I stratiji perimenun o enas ta nea tis
 the.NOM.PL general.NOM.PL await.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.ACC.PL news.ACC.PL the.GEN
 katastrofis tis polis tu alu.
 destruction.GEN the.GEN city.GEN the.M.GEN other.M.GEN
 ‘The generals_i await the news about the destruction of each other_i’s city.’

¹⁶While the arguments against a movement analysis involving the reciprocator seem uncontroversial, one may be more skeptical about the arguments relating to the distributor, especially if it is assumed that it undergoes covert movement to its antecedent. To some extent, this depends on how this movement is conceived of. Both Belletti (1982: 116) and Heim et al. (1991: 66) analyze it as an association rule (adjoining it to its antecedent) distinct from quantifier raising (QR). Since it is a special rule taking place at LF, it is not quite clear what its (locality) properties would be. This in itself may render movement of this type a suboptimal solution. If this instance of covert movement were conceived of as QR, however, things may be different given that its locality profile may slightly deviate from that of overt movement. The PP examples discussed in this section may be a case in point: given that PPs are often permeable to QR (not only prepositional datives but potentially also adjunct PPs in inverse linking contexts, cf. *Someone from every city hates it*), one cannot a priori rule out the same possibility for *o enas*. Interestingly, Tanaka (2020) presents experimental evidence against QR from PP-adjuncts, suggesting that our data with *o enas* inside adjunct PPs are relevant after all. Irrespective of the situation with PPs, QR will not be sufficient to account for *o enas* inside coordination, recall ex. (20b), since QR is well known to be subject to the coordinate structure constraint: Fox (2000: 51f.) shows that while a universally quantified object DP can undergo QR across a QP in subject position in a simple sentence, (ia), it cannot do so if it is within a VP that is coordinated with another VP, (ib), as this would require asymmetric extraction from the first conjunct.

- (i) a. A student likes every professor. E > > A, A > > E
 b. A student likes every professor and hates the dean. E > > A, *A > > E

We therefore conclude that any covert movement analysis affecting the distributor will be problematic.

it occurs below a direct object. In both configurations, the base position of the subject in Spec,vP, ensured by the postverbal subjects in (32), is separated from the distributor by other constituents.

- (32) a. Milisan i fitites ston kaθijiti o
 talk.PST.3PL the.NOM.PL student.NOM.PL to.the.ACC professor.ACC the.M.NOM
 enas tu alu.
 one.M.NOM the.M.GEN other.M.GEN
 ‘The students_i talked to each other_i’s professor.’
- b. Sistisan i fititries ti Maria i
 introduce.PST.3PL the.F.NOM.PL student.F.NOM.PL the.ACC Mary.ACC the.F.NOM
 mia stin ali.
 one.F.NOM to.the.F.ACC other.F.ACC
 ‘The students_i introduced Mary to each other_i.’

3.2.3 | Against Agree

The data from Subsection 3.2.1 equally argue against establishing the relationship between antecedent and distributor/reciprocator by means of Agree, assuming Agree to be island-bounded.¹⁷ In addition, A-Agree in the language can normally not target constituents embedded within PPs and DPs. Furthermore, while Modern Greek allows cross-clausal agreement with embedded subjects in complements of raising predicates, as with overt movement, this is restricted to subjunctive clauses (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 2002). Also, the fact that both reciprocal parts do not agree with the antecedent in number (and possibly person and definiteness) is not straightforward on an Agree analysis. Finally, we do not generally find intervention effects/minimality effects in binding; this is perhaps an argument problematizing Agree-based approaches to binding more generally (see, e.g., Charnavel & Sportiche, 2016; Bruening, 2021). It is usually possible to relate an anaphor to an antecedent across an intervening DP as long as the target of binding is within the same local domain. For instance, in (33), repeated from above, a reciprocator within PP is related to a subject antecedent across a direct object.

- (33) I fitites sistisan ti Maria o
 the.NOM.PL student.NOM.PL introduce.PST.3PL the.ACC Mary.ACC the.M.NOM
 enas ston alo.
 one.M.NOM to.the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘The students_i introduced Mary to each other_i.’

There, of course, exist effects that could be subsumed under the label ‘intervention’ in binding, but these are always triggered by subjects (in the relevant sense), not by any c-commanding DP as would be expected under A-Agree.

¹⁷One possible exception is coordination, where agreement with the first/closest conjunct of a DP coordination is possible in many languages, including Modern Greek, see, for example, Paparounas and Salzmann (2024). However, one of our coordination examples, (20b), involves both elements being embedded within the first DP conjunct, a configuration in which Agree would normally not be able to access the goal/anaphor (*modulo* the possibility of relativizing the binding probe in the appropriate way, see, e.g., Paparounas & Akkuş, 2024).

We thus conclude that an Agree analysis is not promising to establish the relationship between antecedent and distributor/reciprocator (for related arguments, see, e.g., Charnavel & Sportiche, 2016: 65–71; Bruening, 2021: 431ff.). See also Paparounas and Akkuş (2024) for a possible reconciliation of arguments for and against Agree, in the form of an empirical argument that only some cases of local binding have the diagnosable profile of an Agree dependency.¹⁸

3.3 | The binding domain

Before concluding this section, we briefly return to the binding domain we find in Greek reciprocals, and consider whether this domain seems co-extensive with the kinds of domains provided by the theory of phases as recently argued in, for example, Charnavel & Sportiche (2016: 71–80). On this type of proposal, an anaphor must be bound within a spell-out domain, which for our purposes we can equate with the finite TP (abstracting away from certain departures from standard assumptions required by the specific proposal in Charnavel & Sportiche, 2016).

All that matters in the present context is that the reciprocator can occur as the (possessor of the) subject of a finite complement/embedded interrogative/adjunct/relative clause—recall examples (15a), (16a), (23), (24), (25), and (27a). Given that there is a finite CP boundary between antecedent and reciprocator, the two are not contained in the same spell-out domain (they are separated by the phasal C-head that introduces the complement/adjunct/relative clause).

Therefore, a reduction of the binding domain to phasehood does not seem promising for our reciprocal data. Rather, the facts seem compatible with a more traditional definition closer to Chomsky (1981) (see also Bruening, 2021) such that an anaphor must be bound within the smallest XP containing it and a distinct and accessible subject (where ‘subject’ must be understood as a DP in Spec,vP/TP/PredP). The restriction to a distinct and accessible subject is intended to cover two separate cases: requiring a distinct subject ensures that the binding domain of an anaphor in the embedded subject position/as a small clause subject/ECM-subject is extended to the matrix clause (since the anaphor is not distinct from itself); and requiring an accessible subject ensures that anaphors contained within an embedded subject cannot be bound by the containing subject (traditionally a violation of the *i*-within-*i*-filter) but rather need an antecedent in the matrix TP. Anaphors that are in the same clause as their antecedent (TP or small clause), for example, anaphors in direct or indirect object position, within DP or PP, can be bound under *c*-command.

We, of course, expect any definition of the binding domain, including the more traditional one seemingly favored by the Greek reciprocal data, to ultimately follow from independent theoretical devices, even if the specific phase-based implementation examined here proves not promising. Alongside this desideratum, we note here a few further factors worthy of being taken into

¹⁸Yet another argument against Agree in the split reciprocal construction arises from the observation that the reciprocal parts can show agreement in natural gender with the antecedent as in (i), where the reciprocal occurs with feminine rather than grammatical neuter gender (which would be an option as well):

(i) Ta koritsça ayapun i mia tin ali.
 the.N.NOM.PL girl.N.NOM.PL love.3PL the.F.NOM one.F.NOM the.F.ACC other.F.ACC
 ‘The girls_i love each other_i.’ <https://tinyurl.com/2p82u3ja>

Note that ‘semantic’ gender agreement is not possible in Greek subject–predicate constructions as in ‘The girl is smart’, where, presumably, Agree is involved. This asymmetry follows if Agree can only target grammatical gender features in Greek, while binding can also target the natural gender features of a DP, like other anaphoric processes in the language.

account in investigations of the limits of the distribution of anaphors, as they arise with respect to the Greek reciprocal. One of them concerns the cross-linguistic applicability of the traditional definition mentioned above; the other concerns distributional differences between reflexives and reciprocals.

First, we have shown that the Greek reciprocal can be an embedded subject; this much is of course far from unheard of cross-linguistically (see e.g., Haddad, 2007 for one recent discussion). But anaphor binding is often more constrained than this, and we do find languages that do not tolerate plain anaphors (contained) in embedded subject position (see e.g., Charnavel & Sportiche, 2016 for a recent focused discussion). One could conclude from this that binding domains can simply differ cross-linguistically. Alternatively—and this is probably the more interesting option—one could hold on to the more inclusive definition defended above and relate more constrained distributions in other languages to independent factors, such as the presence/absence of agreement accounting for the impossibility of embedded subject anaphors in some languages (see e.g., Woolford, 1999).¹⁹

Second, consider possible differences between reflexives and reciprocals. We have seen that the reciprocator can be an embedded subject, but it does not seem to be generally true that reflexives can occur in embedded subject position in Greek.²⁰

Distributional asymmetries between reflexives and reciprocals are by no means unheard of. The very same asymmetry regarding occurrence in embedded subject position has, in fact, been observed for English in Lebeaux (1983). Examples like *We didn't know what each other wanted* are well attested, see, for example, Gast and Zimmermann (2007). Bruening (2006) argues that such reciprocals are not exempt and thus must be covered by the Binding Theory. The literature has generally attempted to relate such distributional asymmetries to independent properties of the elements involved. Regarding the embedded subject position, LF A-movement of reflexives was postulated, which would lead to an ECP violation. The scopal nature of reciprocals (and concomitant QR of part thereof, recall Heim et al., 1991) in turn has been taken to be responsible for the (more or less robust) absence of non-local binding of reciprocals, see Everaert (2008).²¹

¹⁹That Greek, a language with subject–verb agreement, does seemingly tolerate agreeing subject reflexives (e.g., reflexives in DAT-NOM constructions) is attributed in Woolford (1999: 272ff) to the fact that the the Greek reflexive is a complex noun phrase with whose head ‘self’ the verb agrees, while the properly anaphoric element is the clitic possessor (which agrees in phi-features with the binder; see Iatridou, 1988). Note in this connection that the reciprocator can also trigger agreement other than third person (the latter being indistinguishable from a possible default). With a feminine antecedent, embedded subject *o alos* can trigger feminine agreement on a predicative adjective:

(i) I kalogries pistevun i mia oti i ali ine
the.NOM.PL nun.NOM.PL believe.3PL the.F.NOM one.F.NOM that the.F.NOM other.F.NOM be.3SG
eksipni / *eksipnos.
clever.F.NOM clever.M.NOM
‘The nuns_i think that each other_i are clever.’

²⁰Such examples are sometimes found in the literature; see, for example, Woolford (1999: 273), who cites an example from Rivero (1987) that the native speaker co-author and our consultants find degraded. It is possible to construct similar examples, but all the acceptable ones seem to involve non-anaphoric uses of the ‘reflexive’, which also has a reified usage meaning ‘one’s Self/inner nature’; see Angelopoulos and Sportiche (to appear).

²¹As pointed out to us by an NELS reviewer, LF movement could also account for the fact that, at least in English, reciprocals in subject position seem to be most acceptable in embedded questions as in the example above and rather degraded in declaratives (cf. ??*We didn't think that each other would leave early*). In declaratives, LF-movement of *each* to the matrix Spec,vP would be blocked by Scope Economy (Fox, 2000), as it would not give rise to new scope options. In embedded questions, however, movement to matrix Spec,vP would be licensed, as the reciprocal can take scope over the

Apart from these asymmetries, reflexives and reciprocals in Greek pattern the same. They are both sensitive to intervening subjects in small clauses and ECM constructions (Anagnostopoulou & Everaert, 1999) and both can occur in PPs (Angelopoulos & Sportiche, to appear); reflexives cannot occur as possessors within DP, but this seems to be an independent fact arising from competition with pronominal possessors (Cardinaletti & Starke, 1993). We therefore see no reason to treat reflexives and reciprocals as elements of wholly distinct kinds. Rather, the most parsimonious solution would subject both to Condition A of the Binding Theory and relate the distributional asymmetries to independent properties.

Given space constraints, we will leave further exploration of the reflexive-reciprocal asymmetry and more general questions about cross- and intra-linguistic variation in binding domains for future research.

4 | THE DISTRIBUTOR AS A FLOATING QUANTIFIER

Two observations suggest that the distributor is a floating quantifier (one that either carries distributivity itself or stands in a dependency with an abstract distributive element, as discussed in footnote 25). Firstly, it is a quantificational scope-taking element; secondly, its distribution, including its locality restrictions, mirrors those of the *bona fide* floating distributive quantifier *kaθ-enas* ‘each-one’, which is transparently morphologically related to the reciprocal’s distributor.²²

Note first that, like the *bona fide* quantifier, the distributor *o enas* is interpretively quantificational, as shown by its interaction with other scope-taking elements in the clause (recall also the variable binding-like data in fn. 12). We illustrate it in (34) (adapted from Kobayashi, 2019: ex. (11), see also Kobayashi, 2020: ex. 45 and Kobayashi, 2021, 737, ex. (7)).

In (34a), the distributivity contributed by *o enas* can optionally scope above the numeral *two*, giving rise to an ambiguity; (34b) clarifies that the position of *o enas* modulates this ambiguity, with higher merged *o enas* not being able to scope below the numeral.²³

wh-operator (cf. Fox, 2000: 64; *One girl knows what every boy bought for Mary*). Subsequent LF-movement to a position above the matrix subject would then be possible, thereby licensing the reciprocal interpretation.

²²Kobayashi (2020: ex. 34–36) also proposes a floating quantifier analysis of *the one* for Brazilian Portuguese, but suggests an analysis in terms of stranding via movement. Given the evidence against a movement relationship between antecedent and distributor presented in the previous section, what seems to instead be required in Greek is an adverbial analysis of floating quantification, see Section 5.2 for discussion. In her analysis of the split reciprocal construction in Italian, Belletti (1982: 114ff., ex. (20)–(34)) also relates the distributor to a floating quantifier but compares it with the floating quantifier *tutti* ‘all’ (which is more restricted than Greek *kaθenas*, viz., cannot occur within DPs or PPs); in her approach, the two associate via LF movement of the distributor.

²³Given that the Greek split reciprocal allows interpretations other than just strong reciprocity, *o enas* is best treated as a weakly distributive element (just like its Brazilian Portuguese counterpart; see Kobayashi, 2020).

This distinguishes *o enas* from *o kaθenas*, which is strongly distributive; together with its presuppositional nature, *o kaθenas* is thus a close analogue of English *each* (see Giannakidou, 2012: 309–317). *o kaθenas* can, in principle, be itself combined with *o alos*, yielding strong reciprocity. Tellingly, *o kaθenas* cannot occur in contexts of weaker reciprocity (see Dalrymple et al., 1998):

- (i) Ta vivlia ine stivaɣmena to (#kaθ-)ena pano sto
 the.NOM.PL book.NOM.PL be.3PL pile.PTCP.PL the.N.NOM each-one.N.NOM over to.the.N.NOM ACC
 alo.
 other.N.ACC
 ‘The books_i are stacked on top of each other_j.’

- (34) a. O Janis ke o Kostas tha dosun dio dora
 the.NOM John.NOM and the.NOM Kostas.NOM FUT give.3PL two present.ACC.PL
 o enas ston alo.
 the.M.NOM one.M.NOM to.the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘Janis and Kostas_i will give two presents to each other_i.’
 ✓2>Dist (total of 2 gifts being given)
 ✓Dist>2(total of 4 gifts being given)
- b. O Janis ke o Kostas tha dosun o
 the.NOM John.NOM and the.NOM Kostas.NOM FUT give.3PL the.M.NOM
 enas dio dora ston alo.
 one.M.NOM two present.ACC.PL to.the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘Janis and Kostas_i will give two presents to each other_i.’
 ✗2>Dist (total of 2 gifts being given)
 ✓Dist>2(total of 4 gifts being given)

Alongside their shared quantificational nature, there are numerous distributional parallels between the distributor and the *bona fide* floating quantifier.

To begin, we note that *kaθenas*, which usually occurs with a definite article, also requires a c-commanding antecedent with which it agrees in case and gender (but not number, *kaθenas* being necessarily singular). (35a) illustrates obligatory case/gender agreement. (35b) shows that *kaθenas* can case-/gender-match and distribute over a c-commanding nominal (here *the friends of the monks*), but not a DP embedded within that nominal (i.e., just *the monks*).²⁴

- (35) a. I monaçi ipçan { o kaθenas / *ton
 the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL drink.PST.3PL the.M.NOM each.M.NOM the.M.ACC
 kaθena / *tu kaθenos / *i kaθemia } dio
 each.M.ACC the.M.GEN each.M.GEN the.F.NOM each.F.NOM two
 potirja krasi.
 glass.ACC.PL wine.ACC
 ‘The monks each drank two glasses of wine.’
- b. I fili ton monaxon ipçan { o
 the.NOM.PL friend.NOM.PL the.GEN.PL monk.GEN.PL drink.PST.3PL the.M.NOM
 kaθenas / *tu kaθenos } dio potirja krasi.
 each.M.NOM the.M.GEN each.M.GEN two glass.ACC.PL wine.ACC
 ‘The monk’s friends each drank two glasses of wine.’

The distributional parallels extend much further than the basic configurational facts illustrated in (35). First, the distributor *o enas* must occur in the same finite clause as the plural antecedent (while the reciprocator need not; cf. also Kobayashi, 2020: ex. 32 on Brazilian Portuguese). The same is true of *kaθenas*:

²⁴Note that like English *each*, Greek *kaθ-enas* can occur in what is usually called an adverbial position or right-attached to a DP, viz., so-called binominal ‘each’. The relevant comparison for our purposes is the former use; our examples are constructed in such a way that a binominal *each* interpretation is ruled out (*kathenas* is either unconnected to an XP or follows definite XPs, which are not compatible with binominal *each*).

- (36) a. I monaçi ipan (o enas) [oti (*o
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL say.PST.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM COMP the.NOM
enas) ta ikonismata tu alu
one.M.NOM the.NOM.PL portable.icon.NOM.PL the.M.GEN other.M.GEN
eksafanistikan].
disappear.PST.3PL
'The monks_i said that each other_i's portable icons disappeared.'
- b. I monaçi ipan (o kaθenas) [oti
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL say.PST.3PL the.M.NOM each.M.NOM COMP
(*o kaθenas) ðio ikonismata eksafanistikan].
the.M.NOM each.M.NOM two portable.icon.NOM.PL disappear.PST.3PL
'The monks each said that two portable icons disappeared.'

Second, both can occur right before or within DPs:

- (37) a. I monaçi θavmazun (o enas) ta
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL admire.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.ACC.PL
rasa (o enas) tu alu.
stole.ACC.PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.M.GEN other.M.GEN
'The monks_i admire each other_i's stoles.'
- b. I monaçi frondizun (o kaθenas) tin
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL take.care.3PL the.M.NOM each.M.NOM the.ACC
avli (o kaθenas) mias eklisias.
yard.ACC the.M.NOM each.M.NOM one.GEN church.GEN
'The monks each take care of the courtyard of one church.'

Third, both can occur immediately before or within (certain) PPs:

- (38) a. I monaçi iðan ta fiðja (o
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL see.PST.3PL the.ACC.PL snake.ACC.PL the.M.NOM
enas) [ðipla (?o enas) ston alo].
one.M.NOM next the.M.NOM one.M.NOM to.the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
'The monks_i saw the snakes next to each other_i.'
- b. I monaçi iðan ta fiðja (o
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL see.PST.3PL the.ACC.PL snake.ACC.PL the.M.NOM
kaθenas) [ðipla (?o kaθenas) se mia petra].
each.M.NOM next the.M.NOM each.M.NOM to one.ACC stone.ACC
'The monks each saw the snakes next to a stone.'

Recall from above that the distributor can only occur in some PPs but not in others. While we have no answer as to why different PPs behave differently, the distribution of *kaθenos* seems to match that of the distributor very closely.

Finally, neither *o enas* nor *kathenas* can occur next to the antecedent:

- (39) a. *I monaçi o enas ayapane ton
the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM love.3PL the.M.ACC
alo.
other.M.ACC
'The monks_i love each other_i.'

- b. *I monaçi o kaθenas ipčan dio
 the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL the.M.NOM each.M.NOM drink.PST.3PL two
 potiria krasi.
 glass.ACC.PL wine.ACC
 ‘The monks each drank two glasses of wine.’

Given these significant parallels, we conclude that the distribution of the distributor can be understood by treating it as a floating universal/distributive quantifier.

5 | PUTTING THE PARTS TOGETHER

The analysis we have developed so far accounts for the distribution of the two reciprocal parts by treating the distributor as a floating quantifier and the reciprocator as an element subject to Condition A. A few issues remain to be addressed once we try to understand how the three parts fit together.

First, from a purely syntactic point of view, nothing forces the simultaneous presence of both reciprocal parts. Thus, one may ask what rules out sentences with either only *o enas* or *o alos* present. Another issue concerns the morphosyntactic properties of the three elements, including the partial mismatch in ϕ -features (and possibly definiteness) between the plural antecedent and the reciprocal parts. Furthermore, the locality properties discussed above have consequences for the analysis of the floating quantifier in that a stranding analysis is ruled out. Finally, one may ask whether the locality effects could follow if the binder of the reciprocator were in fact the distributor, as proposed in Belletti (1982).

We address each of these points in turn in the following three subsections.

5.1 | Understanding bipartiteness and the morphosyntactic properties

Answers to the question about the simultaneous presence of both reciprocal parts will likely relate to a large extent to the semantics of reciprocals. While we do not aim at providing an explicit compositional semantics of the construction, we believe that attributing semantic import to both constituent parts of the reciprocal will go a long way towards explaining why both parts must co-occur: in the absence of either distribution or differentiation, there will simply be no way to derive a reciprocal interpretation (*modulo* the case of verbal reciprocals, where reciprocity independently seems to be derived by a single element, see footnote 3).²⁵

²⁵That the reciprocal involves quantification/distributivity is made evident by (34) above, where the scope of distributivity interacts with other scope-taking elements in the sentence. Note further that the association of *o enas* with distributivity is supported additionally by the variable binding-like construction mentioned in footnote 12, where the same element is again crucially involved in deriving reciprocal interpretations. That being said, we leave the exact nature of the connection between *o enas* and distributivity for future work: for instance, it may well be that, instead of this element effecting distributivity itself, it stands in a dependency with an abstract distributive operator as proposed by Kobayashi (2020) (who in fact analyzes ‘the one’ as a numeral). At any rate, the bipartiteness follows straightforwardly under a decomposition approach to reciprocals as in work originating in Heim et al. (1991); a polyadic quantifier approach to the semantics of reciprocity (e.g., Dalrymple et al., 1998) is also compatible with the bipartite syntax of the construction, as long as at least some semantic import is afforded to *the other* (see, e.g., Kobayashi, 2019, 2020, 2021). See Kobayashi (2020: sect. 6) for a detailed discussion of the pros and cons of the two types of approaches.

With respect to the morphosyntactic properties of the reciprocal parts, we believe that two aspects are crucial. First, the assimilation of the reciprocal's constituent parts to independent elements, namely floating quantifiers and anaphors, can insightfully account for certain morphosyntactic properties of these parts. For instance, that the distributor is obligatorily morphosyntactically definite and third-singular cannot be an accident if, as we have argued, it is a floating quantifier, since the *bona fide* floating quantifier of the language is also obligatorily definite and third-singular. The obligatory sharing of gender between the floating quantifier and the nominal it distributes over is equally shared between the *bona fide* quantifier and the distributor of the reciprocal (see below for a possible technical implementation of gender agreement).

Second, we believe that certain morphosyntactic properties of the reciprocal's parts can be connected to aspects of the interpretation of these elements. Such considerations likely apply to the reciprocator; here, on approaches where the reciprocator is assigned the interpretation of a definite description (Beck, 2001, Kobayashi, 2020), its morphosyntactic appearance as a definite is expected. Once again, though, the availability of this type of approach will depend on the specific properties of the semantic analysis; there exist approaches, for instance, where the reciprocator is not interpretively definite. More generally, a cross-linguistic view clarifies that any direct connection between the definiteness of the reciprocal parts and the semantic analysis must be drawn with caution. We find split reciprocals in languages without overt articles; there are languages in which reciprocals contain an indefinite article as in English *one another*; and the Greek definite determiner itself is sometimes understood not to be the bearer of the iota operator, given that it occurs with proper names and in determiner doubling (Lekakou & Szendrői, 2012). See also Kobayashi (2020: sect. 5.1) and Kobayashi (2021: 736, ex. (4)) for the claim that singular number is interpreted on the reciprocator in Brazilian Portuguese.

What this leaves, then, is the sharing of gender features between reciprocator and antecedent. This phenomenon follows straightforwardly, we believe, once we take the reciprocator to be an anaphoric element, as we have done above. This type of gender-matching seems to be a general property of co-reference broadly construed, encompassing phenomena such as local binding, donkey anaphora, and cross-sentential anaphora. In much of the semantic literature on *other*, notably Heim et al. (1991), this intuition has been implemented by positing a null proform in the structure of the differentiator, which will be subject to general constraints of coreference with discourse antecedents. Note that this is an NP/nP proform, which is why it only agrees in gender with the antecedent (other features being projected outside of NP/nP). Matching of gender features can also be achieved by means of NP-ellipsis, as proposed in Kobayashi (2020). Independent evidence for the presence of an NP restrictor can be seen in the fact that *pluralia tantum* nouns such as *resta* '(small) change' (Alexiadou, 2019: 11) are not possible antecedents for the split reciprocal. On accounts positing a low locus for number (e.g., Kramer, 2016), the plural feature of a *pluralia tantum* nominal could be located on *n* rather than Num. This treatment would be the first step towards an account of the impossibility of such nominals as antecedents: an nP-proform bearing a plural feature would occur as the complement of a singular number head, a configuration that could be made to lead to a feature clash.

A similar approach to gender-matching suggests itself for the distributor. To see why, consider first what analysis of floating quantification is required by the Greek data.

We believe that different possible interpretive approaches of this kind will leave our core syntactic account unchanged; what seems crucial in deriving the reciprocal interpretation is c-command, witness ex. (i) of footnote 6, where the lack of c-command between distributor and reciprocator leads to a non-reciprocal reading.

5.2 | An adverbial analysis of the floating quantifier

In Section 3, we provided evidence against movement of the distributor to the antecedent; we also argued against an analysis whereby the distributor is stranded by movement of the antecedent. Such conclusions commit us to an adverbial analysis of the distributor/floating quantifier (see, e.g., Fitzpatrick, 2006), one where this element can be adjoined not only to VP/vP but, crucially, also to NP/DP/PP. The same conclusion applies to the *bona fide* quantifier *o kathenas*, which can also occur below the base position of its antecedent (recall examples (37b), (38b)).

The Greek facts reveal certain important questions for a concrete implementation of an adverbial analysis to address. For instance, the proposal in Fitzpatrick (2006) seems to crucially rely on the quantifier semantically binding the trace left by movement of the antecedent. Given that, in our data, compare, for example, ex. (32), (37)–(38), the quantifier can originate below the base position of the antecedent, a solution of this type is not applicable. In fact, to the best of our knowledge, stranding data of this type have not been reported for other languages and thus are of great importance for the debate; the same can be said of those cases where the quantifier must be analyzed as being adjoined to some projection of NP/DP/PP.

We note in this connection that the challenges posed by the Greek reciprocal and quantifier float data bear similarities to those presented by binomial *each* in various languages (including Modern Greek), where the quantifier also occurs below the base position of the NP it agrees with and quantifies over and where an LF movement analysis is similarly counterexemplified by the fact that the quantifier can occur within islands. See Zimmermann (2002) for comprehensive discussion.

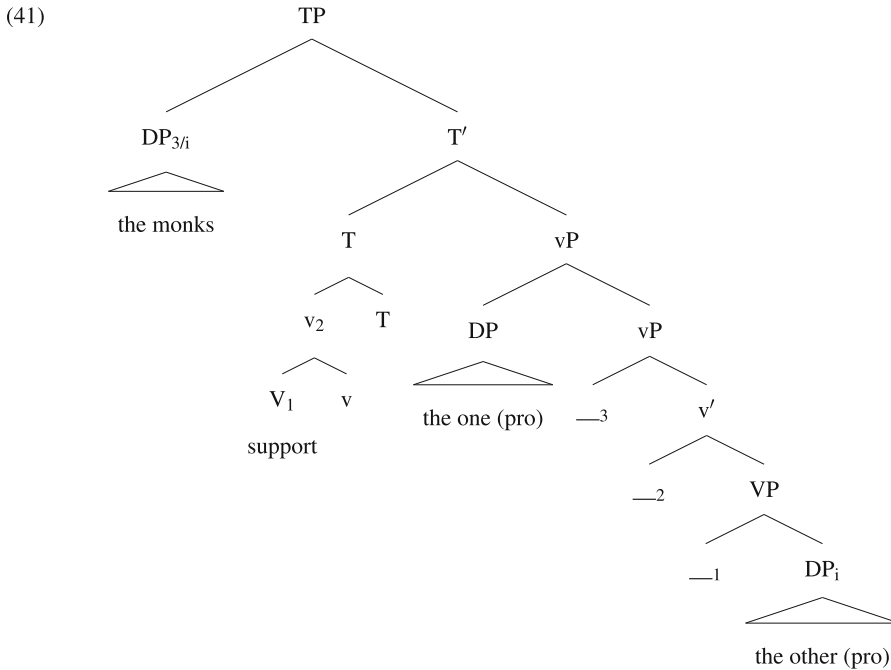
One of the challenges for an adverbial analysis concerns capturing the agreement facts. The standard strategy is to posit a null proform after the quantifier that is co-indexed with the antecedent, that is, [_{DP} each *pro*]; an obvious alternative is NP ellipsis. For the Greek reciprocal, either approach would straightforwardly account for agreement in gender. However, things are different with case agreement since proforms/elided NPs need not necessarily match their antecedent in case. Neither strategy will thus be sufficient to establish case agreement with the antecedent.

It is worth noting that there are other configurations where case agreement obtains without there being an obvious syntactic link between antecedent and agreeing element; we note especially depictives in this connection. It can be shown that depictives, like the distributor and *o kathenas*, can occur in positions that are clearly below the base position of their antecedent. In (40), for instance, the subject-oriented depictive occurs after the base position of the IO, which in turn follows the postverbal subject in its base position in Spec,vP. Given that the depictive precedes the DO, an analysis in terms of right-adjunction of the depictive to vP, which would put it in the vicinity of the subject antecedent, is not available either:

- (40) Eðikse o Janis tis Marias protos to vivlio.
show.PST.3SG the.NOM John.NOM the.GEN Mary.GEN first.M.NOM the.ACC book.ACC
'John was the first to show Mary the book.'

Thus, whatever ensures case agreement in (40) can be thought to ensure case agreement in the reciprocal construction and with *o kathenas* as well. We emphasize that this much lays bare certain instances of case agreement as a broader problem, but a proper analysis remains to be given.

A simplified tree structure (with translated terminals) for an example like (1) is given in (41):



5.3 | Identifying the binder

We have assumed that in the Greek reciprocal construction it is the plural DP that functions as the antecedent of the reciprocator. One could imagine, however, as proposed in Belletti (1982) for the Italian reciprocal construction, that it is the distributor that binds the reciprocator and that the locality restrictions on the reciprocator arise indirectly via the locality restrictions on the distributor. We find this alternative proposal implausible for two reasons. Firstly, quantifier-variable binding is known to be subject only to a c-command condition; but we have shown that the anaphoric reciprocator in Greek is also subject to Condition A locality, which is thus not plausibly reducible to the demands of quantifier-variable binding alone, and requires additional stipulations. For instance, in Belletti (1982: 109f.), the additional presence of Condition A locality does follow by stipulation, namely simply by stating that distributor and reciprocator form a chain which is subject to Condition A. Secondly, the adverbial analysis of floating quantification required by our data entails that the quantifier/distributor is adjoined and thus occupies an A' position; the overall configuration is therefore far from a canonical A-binding structure.

By treating the plural DP as the antecedent and the reciprocator as a Condition A-obeying element, the locality restrictions not only follow straightforwardly but also correspond closely to the distribution of other anaphors both in Greek and elsewhere (*modulo* the occurrence in embedded subject position).

This general argument aside, we have admittedly not managed to tease apart the two options in more specific environments. In principle, if the distributor is the binder, it should make a

difference whether it occurs above or below an intervening subject. However, this expectation is not borne out as shown in (42) on the basis of an ECM example, repeated from above:

- (42) *I monaçi iðan (o enas) tis
 the.NOM.PL monk.NOM.PL see.PST.3PL the.M.NOM one.M.NOM the.ACC.PL
 kaloyries (o enas) na zoyrafizun ton alo.
 nun.ACC.PL the.M.ACC one.M.ACC COMP paint.3PL the.M.ACC other.M.ACC
 ‘The monks_j saw the nuns paint each other_j.’

One may be tempted to interpret (42) as evidence against the distributor functioning as the binder (given that no subject intervenes when the distributor occurs in the low position after the ECM subject). However, corresponding examples based on *o kathenas* are equally ungrammatical:

- (43) ðio proponites iðan (o kaθenas) tis
 two coach.NOM.PL see.PST.3PL the.M.NOM each.M.NOM the.F.ACC.PL
 aθlitries (?*o kaθenas) na pernun metalia.
 athlete.F.ACC.PL the.M.NOM each.M.NOM COMP take.3PL medal.ACC.PL
 ‘Two coaches each saw the athletes win medals.’

Thus, (42) is inconclusive, as it could be ungrammatical because the distributor simply cannot float in the lower position.

In summary, the three parts of the reciprocal construction fit together as follows. First, the bipartiteness of the Greek split reciprocal construction can be related to the semantic interpretation of the construction. Second, the morphosyntactic properties of the reciprocal parts can partially be motivated under different semantic accounts of reciprocals (viz., number and possibly definiteness of the reciprocator); the remaining properties can be related to the general treatment of such elements in the language (viz., person, number and definiteness of the distributor; agreement in gender on both elements; and case on the distributor). Third, the locality properties of the construction entail an adverbial analysis of the floating quantifier/the distributor, which in turn shows that it cannot be the antecedent of the reciprocator; rather, the plural antecedent must be.

6 | CONCLUSIONS AND OUTLOOK

In this paper, we have investigated the syntax of the understudied split reciprocal construction in Modern Greek, whereby the distributor ‘the one’ and the reciprocator ‘the other’ are independent constituents. Our main focus has been on the intricate locality properties of the two elements. We have argued that the distributional pattern of the reciprocator, especially its sensitivity to the presence of a structural subject, suggests that it is subject to Condition A of the Binding Theory. As for the distributor, which requires a more local relationship with the antecedent, we have proposed that it should be analyzed as a floating distributive quantifier since it shows not only quantificational force but also a distribution that perfectly mirrors that of the *bona fide* floating quantifier of the language, viz., *o kath-enas* ‘the each-one’. We have shown that the distributional properties of the two reciprocal elements, viz., the fact that they can occur inside islands, strongly argue against establishing the relationship with the antecedent by means of Agree or movement (contrary to much of the recent literature on binding and floating quantifiers). Moreover, the

size of the binding domain, especially the possibility of the reciprocator to occur in embedded subject position, speaks against reducing the binding domain to phasehood, instead supporting more traditional definitions of the binding domain as the smallest XP containing the anaphor and a distinct and accessible subject. Finally, we have sketched how the bipartite syntax of the Greek split reciprocal may relate to independent properties of the component parts and common proposals on the interpretation of reciprocals.

Future research will have to show whether an analysis along these lines can be extended to split/bipartite reciprocals in other languages. While the construction seems to have relatively similar properties in Italian and Brazilian Portuguese, there is also reason to believe that the surface similarity can sometimes be deceiving. As shown in Landau (2023), the Hebrew split reciprocal construction differs in crucial ways from its Greek counterpart: the relationship between antecedent, distributor, and reciprocal is much more local (though arguably not subject to Condition A, the reciprocal being logophoric), with the distributor and the reciprocator in fact being part of the same constituent. Such substantial cross-linguistic differences are not surprising given the diachronic pathway sketched in Landau (2023: sect. 6.4): there, a split construction of the Greek type is hypothesized to gradually develop into a univerted reciprocal pronoun like English *each other* or German *einander*. The Hebrew split reciprocal would be somewhere in between. Colloquial Hebrew and Icelandic (Sigurðsson et al., 2021) have variants of their split reciprocal construction that have progressed even further in that the reciprocal parts are no longer split by prepositions (and in Icelandic the distributor no longer case-agrees with the antecedent but either bears the same case as the reciprocator or occurs in default nominative case). For an instantiation of this diachronic pathway in the history of English, see Gast and Zimmermann (2007).

What remains fascinating about split reciprocals is that, despite their sometimes substantially different locality and constituency properties, they seem to be semantically very similar in that they can express the same kinds of reciprocity. Although we have focused here on their syntax in one particular language, we hope to have shown that split reciprocals pose interesting puzzles at the syntax–semantics interface, and can also be informative as to the typology of reciprocity more broadly.

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DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that support the findings of this study are available throughout the paper itself; data sources are clarified in footnote 2.

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