

On the properties of the VOS order in Greek*

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Abstract. Focusing has been a major area of interest in linguistic research since Chomsky (1972) and up until today (e.g. Brody 1990, for Greek see Philippaki-Warburton 1985, Tsimpli 1990, 1995, Agouraki 1990). Recently, Zubizarreta (1998) has claimed that movement can take place in a clause triggered not for syntactic reasons but by focusing needs. According to Zubizarreta, the objective of this movement is not to check a number of features but rather to resolve a prosodically contradictory situation (p-movement). Zubizarreta's theory –actually, a modified version of it– has been applied to Greek by Alexiadou (1997, 1999) in an attempt to describe the properties of the VOS order (*ayorase ta mila o janis*, bought-3sg the apples-acc the Janis-nom). Philippaki-Warburton (forth.) poses some questions about Alexiadou's analysis and about the data used in that work. In this paper I re-examine the VOS order and the focusing problems related to it aiming at providing a more adequate description of this structure. In particular, I deal with the derivation of VOS in Greek and I investigate the extent to which Zubizarreta's analysis (involving p-movement) can account for the Greek data.

1. Introduction

In this paper I deal with word order variation in Greek, an area which has become the focus of interest for many researchers (Philippaki-Warburton 1985, 1987, Tsimpli 1990, 1995, Lascaratou 1994, 1998, Alexiadou 1997 to mention a few). More specifically, my main aim is to re-examine the VOS order (e.g. *efaje tin turta o janis*, ate-3sg the cake-acc the John-nom), which still poses a number of problems. At the same time, I intend to direct my attention to subject focusing in Greek, which appears to be related with the properties of the VOS order.

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The paper is organized as follows: In Section 2 the general properties of the VOS order are outlined. In Section 2.1 I review Alexiadou's (1997, 1999) analysis of the VOS order and the problems pointed out by Philippaki-Warburton (forth.). Subsequently, Philippaki-Warburton's analysis is presented (Section 2.2). What follows is my own analysis of the order under investigation (Section 2.3). Finally, there is a concluding section (Section 3) summarizing all the major findings.

2. The Verb-Object-Subject order (VOS)

The VOS order (e.g. *efaje tin turta o janis*, ate-3sg the cake-acc the Janis-nom) in Greek has limited use, but it is one of those orders that can be rendered with a neutral intonation (but not only with such an intonation, as will become clear later), without the presence of a clitic. The neutral intonation is the one realized by the Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR) (Chomsky & Halle 1968), (revised by Zubizarreta 1998), where the constituent located at the end of the sentence and in the lowest node in the c-command ordering bears the main stress.

Two researchers have recently discussed the derivation of the VOS order, namely Alexiadou (1997, 1999, 2000) and Philippaki-Warburton (forth.). Before I present Alexiadou's analysis and the points Philippaki-Warburton raises, it will be useful perhaps to outline the intonational patterns of this order.

The VOS order can have three different intonational realizations: (a) A constituent other than the DP-subject is the most prominent one. In this case, the DP-subject is unstressed, constitutes background information and is right dislocated as in (1a) below:

- (1a) *efaje tin turta (,) o janis*
 ate-3sg the cake-acc the Janis-nom
 He ate the cake (,) John.

(b) The DP-subject receives the main prominence via the NSR, since it is in the lowest node in the c-command ordering (information focus), as in (1b):

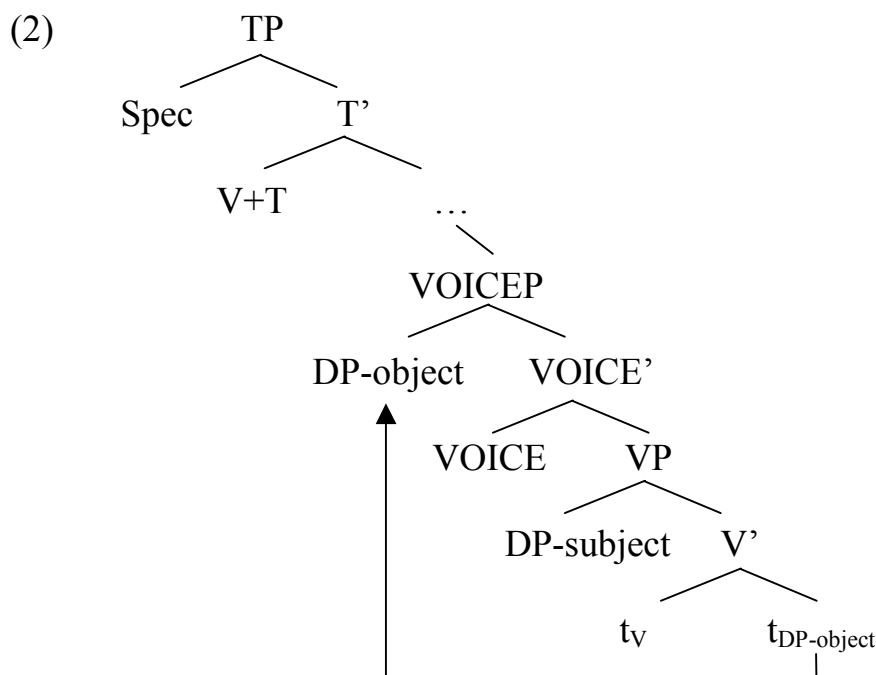
- (1b) *efaje tin turta o janis*
 ate-3sg the cake-acc the Janis-nom
 John ate the cake.

(c) The DP-subject is contrastively focused as in (1c):

- (1c) efaje tin turta O JANIS (oxi o thanasis)
 ate-3sg the cake-acc the Janis-nom (not the Thanassis-nom)
 JOHN ate the cake (not Thanassis). (It was JOHN that ate the
 cake...)

2.1 Alexiadou's analysis (1997, 1999)

Alexiadou (1997, 1999) claims that there is only one possible rendering of the VOS order, namely the one where the DP-subject is the most prominent constituent in the order (information focus).¹ According to Alexiadou, VOS in Greek is derived in the following way. We start from a structure like (2) below, where we find a VOICEP projection between the TP and the VP:



In (2) the verb moves obligatorily to the head T for checking reasons, and thus the (usual) VSO order is generated. Then, according to Alexiadou, overt leftward object movement takes place. More specifically, the DP-object moves to the [Spec, VOICEP], which is an A position (object scrambling over the subject). For Alexiadou, the reasoning for postulating

¹ It should be mentioned that in Alexiadou (1999) there is an endnote where she says that Stavrou pointed out to her that VOS orders with heavy stress on the object are also possible.

a VOICEP projection and for considering this the landing site for object movement goes as follows: Scrambled objects and manner adverbs seem to compete for the same position in Greek.² Since the position to which manner adverbs move in Greek, according to Alexiadou, has been identified with VOICEP, scrambled objects have to move there as well. Thus, VOS is generated, in which the DP-subject ends up in a position (i.e. the lowest position) where it can receive the main accent via the NSR (as in Zubizarreta 1998).

Alexiadou maintains that the DP-object movement to VOICEP is similar to the p-movement proposed by Zubizarreta (1998) for Spanish. Following Zubizarreta's reasoning, a constituent which is not supposed to receive the main prominence, but for syntactic reasons is in the lowest node in the c-command ordering (where the NSR assigns main prominence) has to move to a higher position. In this way, it allows another constituent (i.e. the focused one) to end up in the lowest position in the c-command ordering and thus to receive the main stress via the NSR. This kind of movement is said to be prosodically motivated (thus called p-movement) in contradistinction to the usual types of movement which are motivated by feature-checking considerations. The aim of p-movement then is not to check features but to resolve a prosodically contradictory situation. Concerning its type, Zubizarreta shows that it is an A'-movement, since it does not affect binding relations (see Section 2.3 below).

However, Alexiadou proposes that there is a VOICEP projection above VP, whose Spec is an A-position which constitutes the landing site of the proposed movement in Greek. In other words, this scrambling operation is an instance of A-movement. It appears then that Alexiadou's analysis faces some problems, as it has already been observed by Philippaki-Warburton (forth.). First, as is well known, A-movement is mainly feature-driven. Yet, in this case, the DP-object has already been licensed in its initial position, and thus there is no need for it to move somewhere else for feature licensing reasons. Second, the moved element should share features with the head of the projection to the Spec of which it moves. In this case, nevertheless, it is not clear what features the DP-object shares with VOICE.

Alexiadou's analysis then seems to violate the theory of A-movement and that of p-movement. She is led to a contradiction since, on the one hand, she has recourse to a prosodically motivated movement, and on the

² Note, however, that this view is not shared by Xydopoulos (1996). See also Georgiafentis (in prep.) for an alternative account of manner adverbs.

other, she interprets this movement as an instance of A-movement. The reason for this is that, in Alexiadou's view, this type of movement feeds binding. However, native speakers' judgements are not always safe for the data given, since there is considerable disagreement among them.

Furthermore, Alexiadou's analysis excludes the two other possible realizations of the VOS order, namely the one where the DP-subject is contrastively focused³ and the one in which the DP-subject is right dislocated (cf. Costa 2000 for European Portuguese). In a more recent paper, Alexiadou (2000) points out that the VOS order in Greek cannot involve contrastive focus on the subject. For her, the contrastive reading on the subject is only possible when the DP-subject occupies a preverbal position, as in the SVO order. However, as will be claimed in Section 2.3, the VOS order in Greek can involve a contrastive interpretation on the subject. Before I move to this, let me briefly discuss Philippaki-Warburton's analysis.

2.2 Philippaki-Warburton's analysis

According to Philippaki-Warburton (forth.), the VOS order in Greek can be rendered with two different intonational patterns:

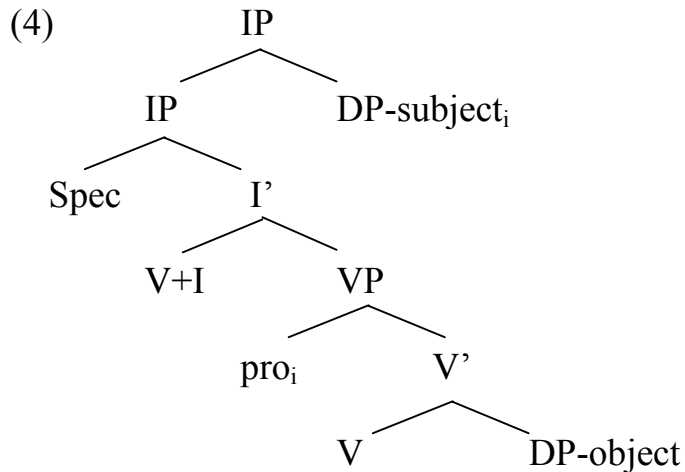
(a) A constituent other than the DP-subject is the most prominent, and thus the DP-subject is unstressed and constitutes background information. Main prominence is then assigned to a constituent other than the DP-subject, i.e. to the DP-object⁴, as in (3a) or to the verb, as in (3b) or to both of them, (3c):

- (3a) ayorase mila o janis
 bought-3sg apples-acc the Janis-nom
 John bought apples.
- (3b) ne. ayorase (telika) mila o janis
 yes. bought-3sg (finally) apples-acc the Janis-nom
 Yes, John (finally) bought apples.
- (3c) pije ke ayorase mila o janis
 went-3sg and bought-3sg apples-acc the Janis-nom
 John went and bought apples.

³ It is worth mentioning that Zubizarreta (1998) leaves this possibility open for Spanish.

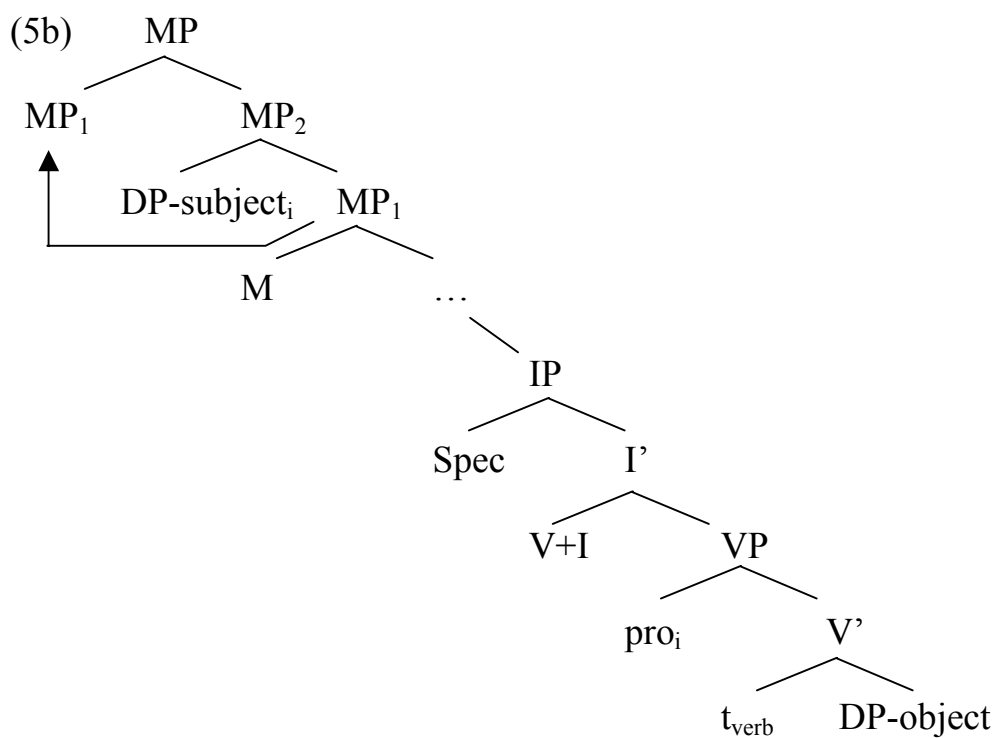
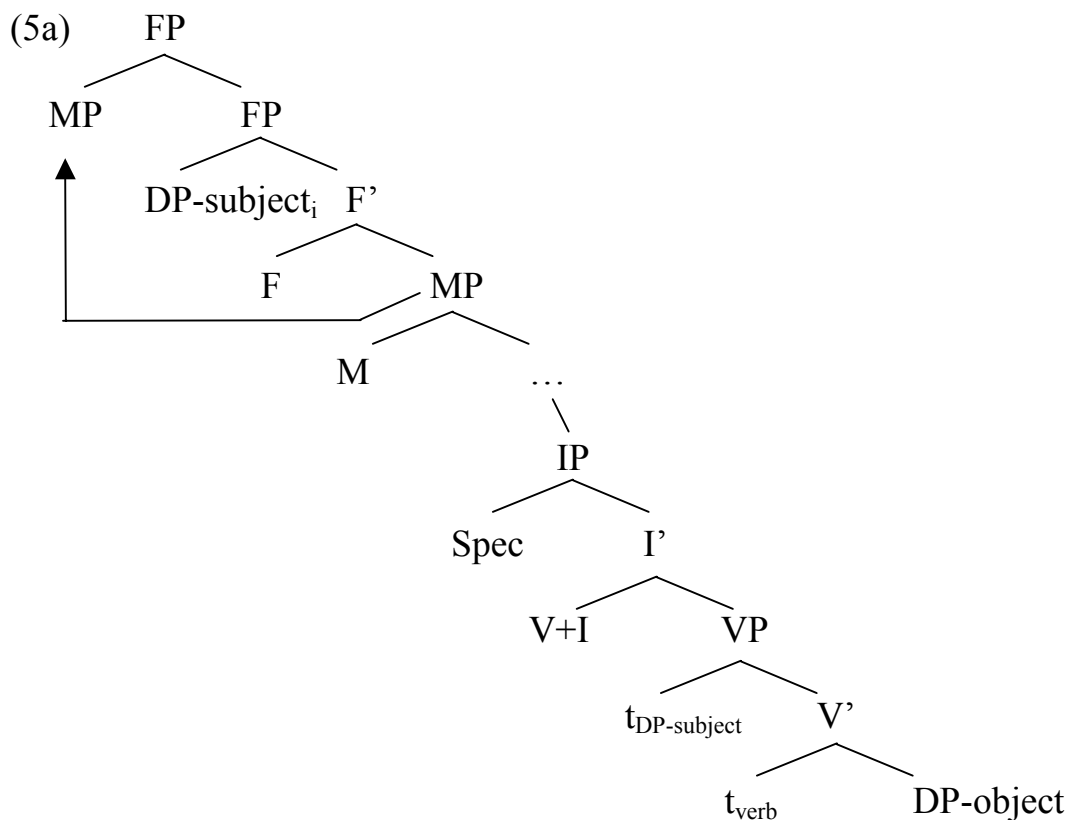
⁴ The view that not only the subject but also the object can be focused in the VOS structure is shared by Roussou (2001) as well.

Philippaki-Warburton claims that in all (3a), (3b) and (3c) the DP-subject is in a higher position than the other constituents, given that it does not receive the main prominence. The position that the DP-subject occupies must be an adjoined position to the right, probably an IP adjunction, as in (4):



However, Kayne's theory (1994) does not allow right adjunction. This is the reason why Alexiadou maintains that the sentences in (3) are not theoretically acceptable and, thus, overall ungrammatical. Yet, this claim of Alexiadou has been challenged by Philippaki-Warburton, who, on the basis of a number of arguments, shows that the VOS order in Greek can be also rendered with main prominence on an element other than the DP-subject, as in the sentences in (3) which are considered grammatical by our informants. It appears that Philippaki-Warburton's claims are on the right track (see Section 2.3).

(b) Concerning the second intonational pattern of the VOS order, i.e. the one in which the DP-subject is the most prominent element, Philippaki-Warburton puts forward two alternative ways by means of which VOS can be formally derived via p-movement. Her starting point is the SVO order where the DP-subject has moved to [Spec, FocusP] as in (5a) or it has been adjoined to MP as in (5b), respectively:



In (5a) the DP-subject has moved to the [Spec, FocusP], while in (5b) it has been base-generated as an adjunction to MP. MP contains the functional categories which will license the verb and the DP-object. Given

that in (5a) the DP-subject is emphatically stressed, there is sufficient motivation⁵ for the category following it (i.e. MP) to move to a position above the subject (adjunction mechanism). In other words, in (5a) the whole MP which contains the verb followed by the DP-object is moved around FP. The resulting order is VOS, in which the DP-subject is emphatically stressed. In (5b), MP₁ is moved around MP₂ for the same reason, i.e. to enable the DP-subject to receive the main accent (without emphasis, though) via the NSR.

Following the terminology adopted in the present paper, I could argue that (5a) corresponds to the so-called contrastively-focused subject, while (5b) constitutes the information focus case. It appears then that the analysis under question needs further refinement and elaboration. This point is even raised by Philippaki-Warburton herself at the end of her paper. In the next section then, an attempt will be made to clarify a number of issues and thus to shed light on the properties of the VOS in Greek.

2.3 *The analysis proposed here*

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the VOS order in Greek can be rendered with three different intonational contours. Let me now present these three cases, one at a time.

The first intonation pattern (see (6) = (1a)) involves a rendering in which a constituent other than the DP-subject receives the main accent. The DP-subject is thus less accented than the other constituents and constitutes part of the given information.

(6) = (1a) *efaje tin turta (,) o Janis*
 ate-3sg the cake-acc the Janis-nom
 He ate the cake (,) John.

In line with Kayne's (1994) theory, which dispenses with right adjunction⁶, I would like to propose that in (6) the DP-subject is right dislocated or –to put it in Kayne's terminology– the structure *efaje tin turta* is left adjoined to the reduced clause *o Janis...*, as in (7):

⁵ This point raises the issue of the relation between p-movement and the Emphatic/Contrastive Stress Rule. According to Zubizarreta (1998:134), it appears that p-movement may also apply in the context of an emphatic constituent (see Section 2.3 as well).

⁶ Note, however, that right adjunction need not be totally abandoned given that it explains in a sufficient way a number of phenomena in Greek (see also Chomsky 2001 on right adjunction/displacement). I intend to return to this issue in the future.

(7) [[*efaje tin turta*] [X^0 [*o janis...*]]

More specifically, in (6) there are two clauses involved, the second of which is of the reduced type. As presented in (7), *o janis...* is a reduced clause to which the clause *efaje tin turta* has been left adjoined, with an empty functional head X^0 mediating the adjunction. As far as the intonation of this rendering is concerned, there is an intonational hiatus between the dislocated phrase (*o janis*) and the material that precedes it (*efaje tin turta*), which may or may not be accompanied by a salient pause, and thus comma. In any case, the DP-object or the verb or both receive the main accent, while the DP-subject constitutes the less prominent constituent, as first discussed in Philippaki-Warburton (forth.).⁷

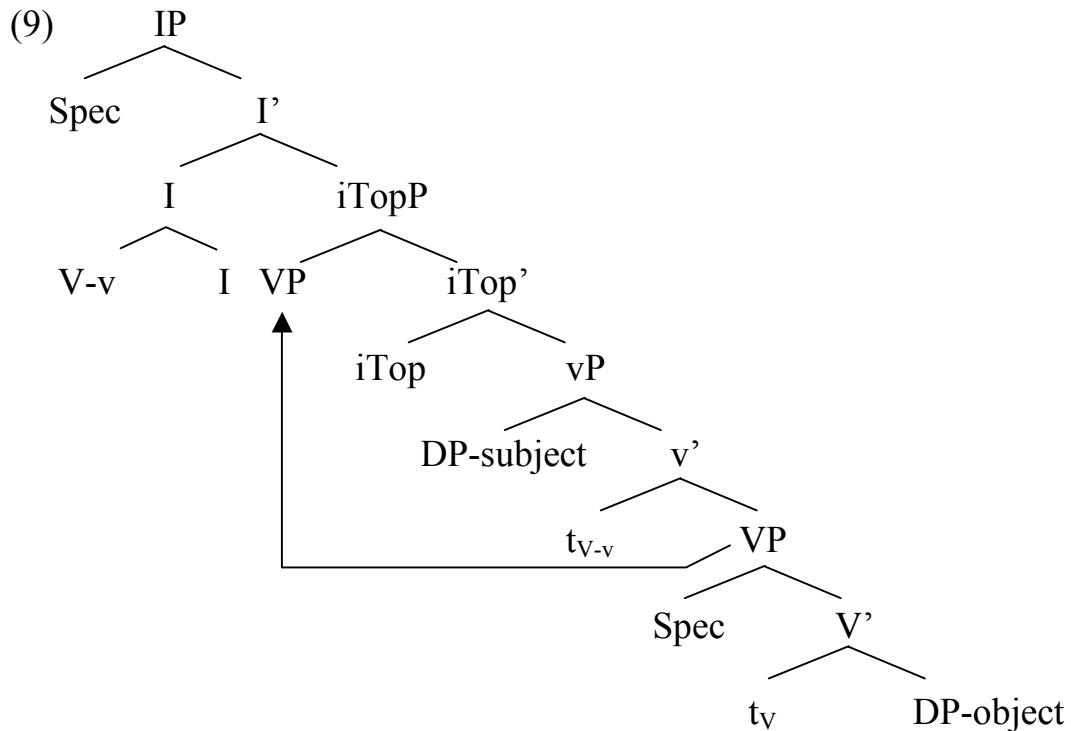
The second intonation of the VOS order⁸ involves a pattern in which the DP-subject, being the lowest constituent in the c-command ordering, receives the main accent via the NSR (information focus), as in (8) = (1b):

(8) = (1b) *efaje tin turta o janis*
 ate-3sg the cake-acc the Janis-nom
 John ate the cake.

Let me now propose a possible way, by means of which this order can be derived. We start from the basic order VSO, where the subject has been generated in [Spec, vP] (vP-internal hypothesis, Koopman & Sportiche 1991), as in (9):

⁷ It is worth pointing out here that the proposed analysis is similar to that of Zubizarreta (1998) for Spanish and that of Costa (2000) for European Portuguese. See also Haidou (2000) for Greek.

⁸ This is the only intonation Alexiadou (1997, 1999, 2000) accepts for the VOS order (but see also note 2).



In (9) the verb has already moved from its original position to *v* and then to *I* in order to license its features. According to Zubizarreta (1998), *p*-movement applies in cases where two nodes α and β have prosodically contradictory properties. Such a case arises in a well-defined situation: 1) α and β are metrical sisters⁹ and 2) the Focus Prominence Rule (FPR) (Zubizarreta 1998)¹⁰ assigns main prominence to one node (say, to α) and the NSR assigns main prominence to the other node (say, to β). In the case under investigation, the NSR would assign main prominence to the VP (and more specifically to the DP-object, given that the verb has already moved), since the VP is in the lowest c-commanding node. Yet, this outcome would contradict the outcome of the FPR, according to which main prominence should be assigned to the DP-subject (information focus). In other words, the outcome of the two rules (i.e. the NSR and the FPR) would produce a prosodically contradictory situation. The purpose of *p*-movement is to undo this contradiction. In particular, the VP which contains only the DP-object *p*-moves to a position immediately above the

⁹ Only maximal projections qualify as metrical sisters. Non-maximal projections are invisible to stress rules (Zubizarreta, 1998).

¹⁰ The Focus Prominence Rule (FPR) goes as follows: Given two metrical sister nodes C_i (marked [+F]) and C_j (marked [-F]), C_i is more prominent than C_j (Zubizarreta 1998).

DP-subject (locality), namely to [Spec, iTopP].¹¹ Thus, the DP-subject ends up in the lowest position in the c-command ordering and receives main prominence via the NSR. The motivation for this p-movement then is well justified.

To sum up, p-movement has the following properties: It affects only defocalized constituents and applies in order to resolve the conflict between the NSR and the FPR. It is local, in the sense that a defocalized constituent (i.e. the VP, which contains only the DP-object in the case under investigation) moves immediately above the focused constituent (i.e. the DP-subject). Furthermore, non-maximal projections (i.e. v' in (9)) are not visible for stress rules and this is the reason why it was argued that vP and VP are metrical sisters to which p-movement applies.¹² Finally, let me explain why the landing site for the proposed p-movement is [Spec, iTopP]. It can be argued that [Spec, iTopP] is the most appropriate position given that this projection (like TopP) hosts defocalized (i.e. topicalized) constituents, which are part of the given information.

This is then how the VOS order with main prominence on the DP-subject is derived via p-movement (A'-movement).¹³

According to Zubizarreta p-movement does not affect quantifier-binding possibilities in Spanish. In particular, it does not give rise to new binding possibilities, nor does it bleed binding relations that were available prior to its application.¹⁴ The same appears to apply in Greek. Consider the following examples:

- (10a) kaθe apojevma sinanduse i mitera tu_i [to kaθe peðaki]_i stin avli tu sxoliu ke tu eðine ena kuluri (VSO)
 every afternoon met-3sg the mother-nom his-gen the each child-acc in-the yard the school-gen and him-cl-acc gave-3sg a scone-acc
 Every afternoon his_i mother used to meet each child_i in the schoolyard and she used to give him a scone.
 (from Philippaki-Warburton, forth.)

¹¹ The inner Topic Phrase (iTopP) appears in Pearson (2000), who argues for its existence on the basis of substantial evidence.

¹² It is clear, I think, that p-movement of the DP-object alone could not be involved given that this would violate the local character of p-movement.

¹³ For an alternative account of this rendering of the VOS order in Greek see Haidou (2000).

¹⁴ The VSO order and the derived VOS order have the same array of quantifier binding possibilities only if they both have the same focus structure (i.e. in both VSO and VOS either information focus on the subject or contrastive focus on the subject) (Zubizarreta 1998).

- (10b) *kaθe apojevma sinanduse [to kaθe peδaki]_i i mitera tu_i stin avli tu sxoliu ke tu eðine ena kuluri (VOS)*
 every afternoon met-3sg the each child-acc the mother-nom his-gen in-the yard the school-gen and him-cl-acc gave-3sg a scone-acc
- (11a) *to apojevma θa pari [kaθe mitera]_i to peði tis_i ke θa to sinoðepsi sto jimnastirio (VSO)*
 the afternoon will take-3sg every mother-nom the child-acc her-gen and will him-cl-acc accompany-3sg to-the gym
 In the afternoon every mother_i will take her_i child and she will accompany him to the gym.
- (11b) *to apojevma θa pari to peði tis_i [kaθe mitera]_i ke θa to sinoðepsi sto jimnastirio (VOS)*
 the afternoon will take-3sg the child-acc her-gen every mother-nom and will him-cl-acc accompany-3sg to-the gym
 (from Philippaki-Warburton, forth.)

In (11a) the DP-subject *kaθe mitera* can bind the possessive pronoun *tis* which is contained in the DP-object, given that the DP-subject c-commands the DP-object. In (11b) the binding relation remains the same, since this structure is the outcome of p-movement, which, according to Zubizarreta, does not affect binding. In (10b) there is the same binding relation which appears in (10a), since (10b) is again the outcome of the application of p-movement to (10a). Let me now discuss what happens in (10a). (10a), which is acceptable by all the native speakers we have consulted, constitutes a problem for binding theory, because it appears that a lower constituent (i.e. the DP-object *to kaθe peδaki*) is able to bind a possessive pronoun (i.e. *tu*, contained in the DP-subject *i mitera tu*) in a higher position. At this point, I cannot offer an explanation for this. My only suggestion is that perhaps after the verb moves out of the vP, the structure which contains only the two arguments that have been left behind is reanalyzed as a single VP (i.e. we do not have the vP and the VP anymore). If this is the case, then the two arguments (namely the DP-subject *i mitera tu* and the DP-object *to kaθe peδaki*) mutually c-command each other allowing thus binding to take place in both directions.¹⁵

¹⁵ Consider also the following examples:

- (a) *ksafniase o eaftos tu_i to jani_i (VSO)*
 surprised-3sg himself the Janis-acc
 *Himself surprised John.

The third intonation of the VOS order involves a contrastive focus interpretation on the DP-subject, as in (12) = (1c):

- (12) = (1c) *efaje tin turta O JANIS (oxi o thanasis)*
 ate-3sg the cake-acc the Janis-nom (not the Thanassis-
 nom)
 JOHN ate the cake (not Thanassis). (It was JOHN that
 ate the cake...)

For Alexiadou (2000), the VOS order in Greek cannot have a contrastive focus interpretation on the DP-subject, unlike Spanish and Italian where the VOS order is possible with a contrastively focused subject. Alexiadou uses the following examples to back up her claim:

- (13a) **ayorase to isitirio mono i maria (δiλαδι den ayorase to isitirio o janis)*
 bought-3sg the ticket-acc only the Maria-nom (that is not
 bought-3sg the ticket-acc the Janis-nom)
 Only Mary bought the ticket (that is John did not buy the
 ticket).
- (13b) *mono o janis ayorase to isitirio*
 only the Janis-nom bought-3sg the ticket-acc
 Only John bought the ticket.
- (14) *ha capito il problema GIANNI (non tutta la classe).*
 has understood the problem John (not the whole class)
 JOHN has understood the problem (not the whole class).
- (15) *o petros ayorase ena vivlio ke meta (to) katestrepse to vivlio ena ayori*
 the Petros-nom bought-3sg a book-acc and then (cl-acc)
 destroyed-3sg the book-acc a boy-nom
 Peter bought a book and then a boy destroyed the book.

(13a) is ungrammatical for Alexiadou, since she claims that in Greek the post-verbal subject cannot receive a contrastive interpretation. She further

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- (b) *ksafniase to jani_i o eaftos tu_i (VOS)*
 surprised-3sg the Janis-acc himself

In (a), the nominative anaphor *o eaftos tu_i* can be bound by the DP *to jani_i*. In (b), the binding relation does not change, given that (b) derives via p-movement.

claims that for the subject to receive a contrastive interpretation in Greek, it has to be fronted, as in (13b). Unlike Greek, in Italian the VOS order can have a contrastive focus interpretation on the subject, as in (14). Finally, on the basis of (15) Alexiadou infers that the subject in the VOS order in Greek can only be associated with presentational (i.e. information) focus.

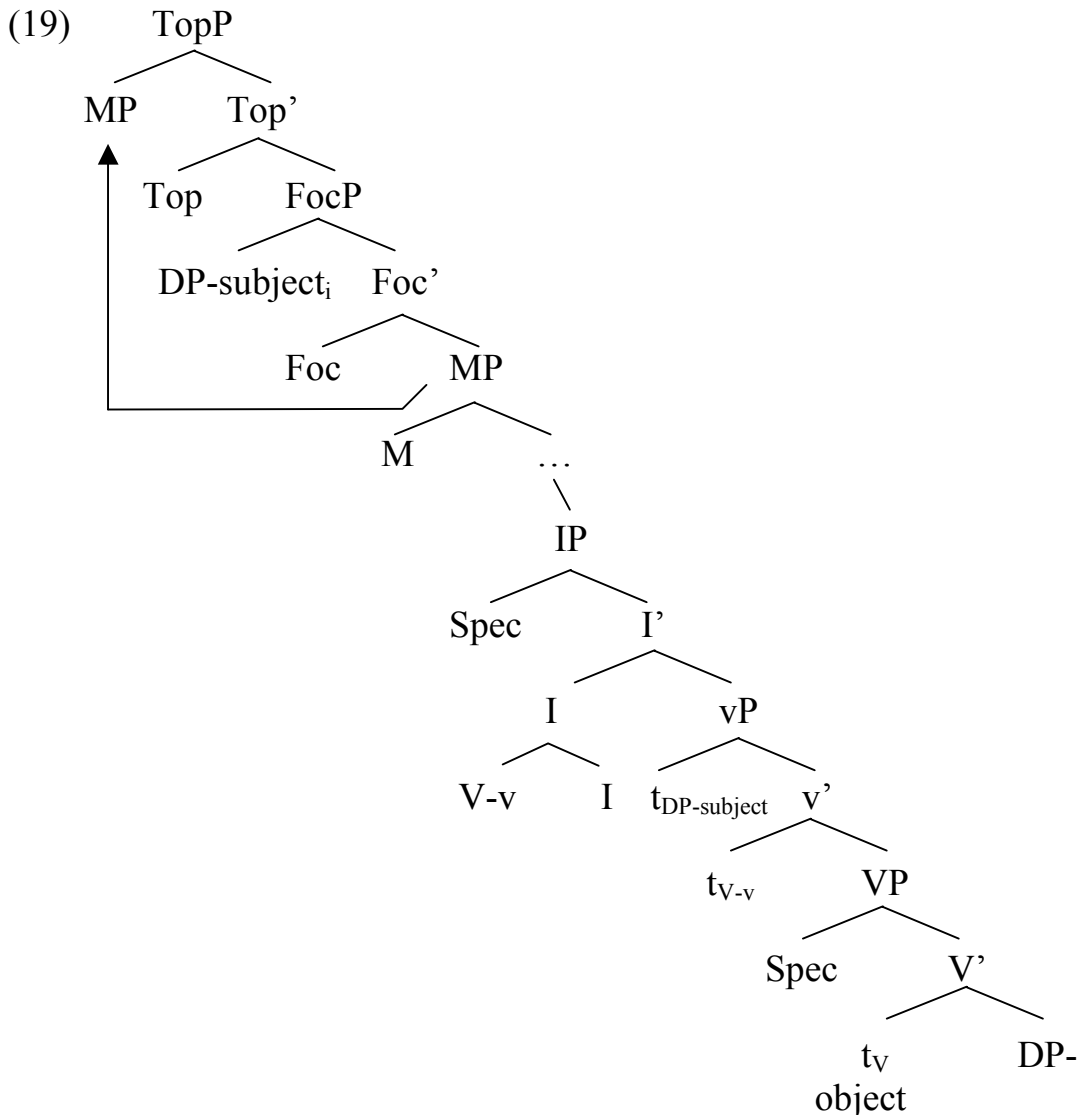
Consider now the following examples:

- (16) ja proti fora stin istoria epline to aftokinito O JANIS (ke oxii maria)
for first time in the history washed-3sg the car-acc the Janis-nom (and not the Maria-nom)
For the very first time JOHN washed the car (not Mary).
(For the very first time it was JOHN that washed the car (not Mary)).
- (17) apistefto! telika elise to provlima O PJO XAZOS TIS TAKSIS
unbelievable. in the end solved-3sg the problem-acc the most stupid-nom the class-gen
Unbelievable! In the end, THE MOST STUPID PERSON IN THE CLASS solved the problem.
(Unbelievable! In the end, it was THE MOST STUPID PERSON IN THE CLASS that solved the problem).
- (18) A: ti ejine simera sto frodistirio?
B: pu na sta leo! elise tin askisi mono o janis (kanis alos).
A: what happened-3sg today at the private school
B: where pcl-subjun. you-them-cl. solved-3sg the problem-acc only the Janis-nom (nobody else)
A: What happened at the private school today?
B: You should listen to this! Only John solved the problem (nobody else).

For me, all (16), (17) and (18) above are acceptable provided they are uttered in an appropriate context. In other words, the VOS order in Greek can receive a contrastive focus interpretation on the subject.¹⁶ Let me now put forward a way by means of which the VOS order with a contrastively

¹⁶ It is worth mentioning that this claim is also supported by first language acquisition data. In her corpus, Stephany (1997) found out that emphasized subjects bearing contrastive stress may occur pre- or post-verbally.

focused subject can be formally derived. We take as starting point the SVO order, where the DP-subject has already moved to [Spec, FP], given that contrastive focus is involved. Then, p-movement can apply whereby the whole MP which contains the verb and the DP-object can be p-moved to a position immediately above the DP-subject, namely to [Spec, TopP], as in (19):



The motivation for this p-movement is exactly the same as in the case of the information focus (see (8) above), i.e. to resolve a prosodically contradictory situation created by the outcome of two stress rules. The only difference is that in this case, the rules involved are the NSR and the Emphatic/Contrastive Stress Rule (ESR/CSR) (Zubizarreta 1998). According to the ESR, the DP-subject should be contrastively focused. However, the constituent that receives main prominence via the NSR, if p-

movement does not apply, is the DP-object, as this is the lowest element in the c-command ordering. To resolve this prosodically contradictory situation, p-movement applies to MP, bringing the object higher than the subject. In this way, the DP-subject ends up in the lowest position in the c-command ordering and thus receives main prominence via the NSR. The landing site for the p-moved MP, which contains the verb and the DP-object, is [Spec, TopP], given that the MP constitutes given information.

3. Conclusion

In this paper I discussed the derivation of the VOS order in Greek as well as the focusing phenomena related to it. In particular, it was claimed that the VOS order can be rendered with three intonational patterns, namely with a background information interpretation on the DP-subject, with an information focus interpretation on the DP-subject and with a contrastive focus interpretation on the DP-subject, respectively. Following Zubizarreta (1998) and Kayne (1994), I put forward three different ways for the derivation of the particular order, which correspond to the three different intonational patterns of VOS. The advantage of the present analysis is that it dispenses with the need to use [Spec, VOICEP] as the landing site of a scrambling operation and with the unmotivated DP-object movement to this position altogether, which would result in a contradictory rule (A-movement vs. p-movement).

In essence, when the DP-subject is focused (either informationally or contrastively) the mechanism via which the VOS order is derived is the same (i.e. p-movement). The only difference is that when information focus is involved the defocalized constituents move to [Spec, iTopP], while in the contrastive focus case the defocalized constituents move to [Spec, TopP]. In both cases nevertheless, the defocalized elements move to a position, which hosts elements that belong to given information. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the elements that participate in the proposed movement are whole phrases (VP and MP, respectively) and not just the object as it appears at first sight (VSO → VOS).

Last but not least, it seems that the VOS order along with the focusing phenomena related to it need to be further investigated. In fact, it is my belief that actual utterances produced by native speakers should be taken into consideration in an attempt to elucidate the different intonational patterns of this word order (see Georgiafentis & Sfakianaki 2001). What is more, the distribution of other elements, such as manner adverbs, should

be investigated, given that they also appear to be related to the properties of the VOS order.

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