

# FOCUS MARKING IN GREEK: SYNTAX OR PHONOLOGY?

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## Abstract

The goal of this paper is to determine the ways in which syntax and phonology are involved in the realisation of focus and the effect this phenomenon has on clause structure. To this end, first I examine whether there are two different types of focus in Greek, namely information vs. contrastive focus; second, I put forward an account of focus licensing in Greek which also explains word order variation. In particular, I consider not only the syntactic properties of three different permutations (namely SVO, VOS and OVS) but also different intonation patterns involved in these realisations.

## 1. Introduction

Focusing phenomena have received increasing interest in recent research in linguistics. There are three significant questions related to focus. The first is whether information focus and contrastive focus are distinct entities. The second is whether focus correlates with operations such as p-movement (see Zubizarreta 1998) and/or movement to FocP, and thus affects word order variation. Finally, the third question concerns the division of labour between the linguistic components (syntax and/or phonology) involved in the realisation of focus.

In this paper I wish to address these three interrelated questions on the basis of Greek data. Greek is a relatively free word order language, where different accounts have been put forward with respect to focusing. In particular, Agouraki (1990) and –mainly– Tsimpli (1990, 1995) argue for the existence of a FocP in the left periphery. More recently, Philippaki-Warbuton (2001) and Georgiafentis (2001, 2004) have explored the possibility of deriving certain word order patterns via p-movement and they reserve the FocP projection for the contrastive focus case. In the light of these approaches, in the present paper I will propose a focus model, which accounts for different word order permutations and their accompanying intonation patterns in Greek in the most economical way.

This paper is organised as follows: In section 2, on the basis of prosodic, syntactic, pragmatic/discourse, and interpretative criteria, I will argue that in Greek there are two distinct types of focus, namely information and contrastive focus, as in (1b) and (2) respectively:

(1a) *ti efaje o janis?*

what ate-3SG the Janis-NOM

- ‘What did John eat?’
- (1b) o janis efaje tin turta.<sup>1</sup> SVO, *information focus* O  
 the Janis-NOM ate-3SG the cake-ACC  
 ‘John ate the cake.’
- (2) TIN TURTA efaje o janis (oxi to baklava). OVS, *contrastive focus* O  
 the cake-ACC ate the Janis-NOM not the baklava-ACC  
 ‘It is the cake that John ate (not the baklava).’

In section 3, it will be claimed that each of these types of focus is licensed in a different way and will be shown that focus affects word order variation, since focusing needs trigger movement (p-movement or movement to FocP). Finally, there is a concluding section summarising the discussion.

## 2. Information vs. contrastive focus in Greek

The first question we need to address is whether there are two distinct types of focus in Greek or just one which can be interpreted either informationally or contrastively depending on context. This essentially amounts to determining whether there are two different types of focus, which exhibit distinct prosodic, syntactic, pragmatic/discourse, and interpretative properties, or just one, which has uniform behaviour with respect to these properties. Let us investigate this point by examining these properties one by one.

### 2.1 Prosodic properties

The general claim made by most studies (e.g. Chomsky 1972; Guéron 1980; Zubizarreta 1998; Donati & Nespors 2003; Domínguez 2004) is that there are two types of focus, exhibiting two different prosodies, i.e. two different kinds of prominence, namely neutral vs. emphatic. In other words, it appears that there is a distinction between a focus that bears the sentence stress, and a focus that bears a ‘special’ emphatic stress.

In particular, on the basis of experimental data from different languages, Donati & Nespors (2003) have actually found that there are audible prosodic differences between these two types of focus. According to Donati & Nespors (2003), these two types of prominence and their corresponding focus interpretations differ in a number of ways.

First, neutral prominence is associated with the focus set, which includes the word bearing the main prominence and can be optionally extended to the projection(s) dominating the constituent bearing the pitch accent (focus projection/propagation, see Zubizarreta 1994; Reinhart 1995; Kiss 1998; Neeleman & Reinhart 1998 and Donati & Nespors 2003). In other

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<sup>1</sup> Underlining denotes information focus, while capitalisation signifies contrastive focus.

words, the focus of the sentence may be exactly the constituent that bears the phrasal accent, but it may also be a phrase that dominates the constituent that bears the main accent. In line with Cinque's (1993) algorithm for determining accent assignment, Zubizarreta (1994) assumes the following algorithm for identifying the domain of focus propagation:

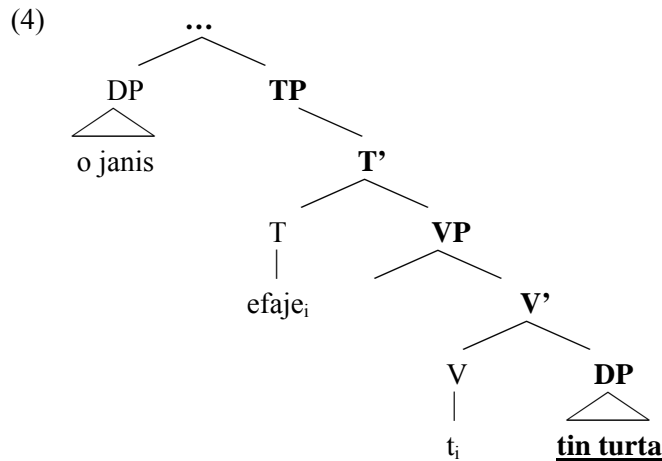
*Rule of focus propagation*

The focus may propagate upward from the constituent that bears the unmarked accent along a continuous path that includes the nodes of the recursive side of the tree and the nodes that are projections of the head (Zubizarreta 1994: 186).

As can be seen in (3) below, the optional extension of the domain of focus interpretation to the projection(s) dominating the constituent bearing the pitch accent is operative in Greek:

- (3a) A: ti efaje o janis?  
 what ate-3SG the Janis-NOM  
 'What did John eat?'  
 B: o janis efaje <sub>Foc</sub>[tin turta].  
 the Janis-NOM ate-3SG the cake-ACC  
 'John ate <sub>Foc</sub>[the cake].'
- (3b) A: ti ekane o janis?  
 what did-3SG the Janis-NOM  
 'What did John do?'  
 B: o janis <sub>Foc</sub>[efaje tin turta].  
 the Janis-NOM ate-3SG the cake-ACC  
 'John <sub>Foc</sub>[ate the cake].'
- (3c) A: ti sinevi?  
 what happened  
 'What happened?'  
 B: <sub>Foc</sub>[o janis efaje tin turta].  
 the Janis-NOM ate-3SG the cake-ACC  
 '<sub>Foc</sub>[John ate the cake].'

Consider the relevant representation in (4). The constituent receiving the pitch accent in (4) is the DP-object *tin turta*. The domain of focus can be extended to include all the constituents above this DP. Thus, such a sentence can have multiple possible information focus structures: the DP-object (3a), the TP (3b), or the entire sentence (3c).



On the other hand, contrastive focus cannot project. Consider (5):

- (5a) A: o janis efaje to payoto?  
 the Janis-NOM ate-3SG the ice-cream-ACC  
 ‘Did John eat the ice-cream?’
- B: o janis efaje <sub>Foc</sub>[TIN TURTA], oxi to payoto.  
 the Janis-NOM ate-3SG the cake-ACC, not the ice-cream-ACC  
 ‘It is the cake that John ate, not the ice-cream.’
- (5b) \*o janis <sub>Foc</sub>[efaje TIN TURTA], oxi to payoto.  
 the Janis-NOM ate-3SG the cake-ACC, not the ice-cream-ACC

Conversely, emphatic prominence can fall on an element as small as a morpheme, as in (6a), but this is not the case for neutral prominence, as shown in (6b):

- (6a) o nikos den ekseleji proedros, ekseleji ANDIproedros.  
 the Nikos-NOM not elected-PASS-3SG president, elected-PASS-3SG vice-president  
 ‘Nick was not elected as president; he was elected as VICE-president.’
- (6b) \*o nikos ekseleji andiproedros.  
 the Nikos-NOM elected- PASS-3SG vice-president

Second, according to Donati & Nespor (2003), emphatic prominence –unlike neutral prominence– triggers the insertion of an intonational phrase boundary at its right edge. It appears that this is valid in Greek as well. Compare (7) with (8):

- (7) [θelo mja turta ja ta jeneθlia mu]<sub>I</sub>. *information focus*  
 want-1SG a cake-ACC for the birthday my-GEN  
 ‘I want a cake for my birthday.’

- (8) [θelo mja TURTA]<sub>I</sub> [ja ta jeneθlia mu]<sub>I</sub>. *contrastive focus*  
 want-1SG a cake-ACC for the birthday my-GEN  
 ‘It is a cake that I want for my birthday.’

Thus, in terms of prosody, one can argue that the distinction between information and contrastive focus is operative in Greek, since it appears that there are two types of focus, each of which is associated with a different prosody and is characterised by distinct properties.

## 2.2 Syntactic properties

Let me now examine if two different types of focus emerge as far as syntax is concerned. The first observation one can make is that in Greek there is one type of focus, which can be realised *in situ*, as in (9), and another type, which involves preposing, i.e. movement of the focused constituent to the left periphery, as in (10):

- (9) o janis efaje tin turta. *SVO, information focus O*  
 the Janis-NOM ate-3SG the cake-ACC  
 ‘John ate the cake.’
- (10) TIN TURTA efaje o janis. *OVS, contrastive focus O*  
 the cake-ACC the Janis-NOM ate-3SG  
 ‘It is the cake that John ate.’

It seems then that in Greek there is a clear-cut distinction between a ‘low’ focus, which is interpreted informationally, and a ‘high’ focus that bears a contrastive reading. The question that arises is whether a ‘high’ information focus, as in (11), and/or a ‘low’ contrastive focus, as in (12), are also possible in Greek.<sup>2</sup>

- (11) o janis efaje tin turta. *SVO, information focus S*  
 the Janis-NOM ate-3SG the cake-ACC  
 ‘John ate the cake.’
- (12) efaje tin turta O JANIS. *VOS, contrastive focus S*  
 ate-3SG the cake-ACC the Janis-NOM  
 ‘It is John who ate the cake.’

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<sup>2</sup> Note, however, that the surface linear position of the information focus in (11) and that of the contrastive focus in (12) is the result of different operations from those of their ‘high’ and ‘low’ counterparts in (10) and (9). In section 3, it will be argued that information focus is always realised via the NSR, while contrastive focus is associated with XP movement to [Spec, FocP], irrespective of being ‘high’ or ‘low’. See Georgiafentis (2004) for a detailed discussion.

In fact, experimental evidence from Georgiafentis & Sfakianaki (2002, 2004) suggests that a ‘high’ information focus does exist in Greek. In particular, Georgiafentis & Sfakianaki (2002, 2004) found that the order used by speakers to answer a subject focus question such as (13a) is SVO or OclVS, as in (13b) and (13c), respectively:

- (13a) *pjos δjavazi to vivlio?*  
 who-NOM read-3SG the book-ACC  
 ‘Who is reading the book?’
- (13b) *o janis δjavazi to vivlio.* SVO  
 the Janis-NOM read-3SG the book-ACC  
 ‘John is reading the book.’
- (13c) *to vivlio to δjavazi o janis.* OclVS  
 the book-ACC CL-ACC read-3SG the Janis-NOM  
 ‘John is reading the book.’

More specifically, according to the data in Georgiafentis & Sfakianaki (2002, 2004), the SVO order scores 64% in the speakers’ preference, while the OclVS order receives 36%. This makes SVO the most preferable pattern for the subject focus context and confirms the hypothesis that a ‘high’ information focus is available in Greek. A similar finding is presented in another experimental study, namely Keller & Alexopoulou (2001). According to Keller & Alexopoulou (2001: 353-358), the list of the orders obtained for the S focus context is as follows: {Svo, Selvo, oclvS, clvSo} > {vSo, ovS} > svO > {vsO, sclvO, clvsO} > {Oclvs, Ovs}. Again, the SVO order constitutes the most preferable option for subject focusing.

Another significant piece of evidence for the existence of a ‘high’ information focus in Greek can be found in exchanges used for identification purposes (e.g. in telephone calls or when knocking at someone’s door). In such situations, SV sequences are to be found,<sup>3</sup> which points to the fact that a subject can be informationally focused in a ‘high’ position in Greek. To exemplify:

- (14a) *ne?* *on the phone*  
 yes  
 ‘Hello?’
- (14b) *ela maria, o janis ime.*  
 come Maria, the Janis am  
 ‘Hi Mary. It’s John.’

<sup>3</sup> See also the data in Sifianou (2002) and Antonopoulou & Sifianou (2003), which confirm this claim.

- (15a) *pjos ine?* *at the door*  
 who is  
 ‘Who’s there?’
- (15b) *eyo ime / o janis ime.*  
 I am / the Janis am  
 ‘It’s me / It’s John.’

### 2.3 Pragmatic and discourse properties

Let us now turn to pragmatics and discourse. In view of the data in (16) and (17), it appears that there is one kind of focus, where the focused constituent simply introduces new, nonpresupposed information without contrasting it with any other type of information –either old or new– and another, where new information is viewed in contrast with other specific old or new information. In other words, the former kind is used to add a new proposition to a discourse, as in (16b), while the latter kind selects the member of a subset that makes the assertion of the sentence true. In this sense, the clause in (17b) actually contradicts what is asserted in (17a):

- (16a) *pjos efaje tin turta?*  
 who-NOM ate-3SG the cake-ACC  
 ‘Who ate the cake?’
- (16b) *tin turta tin efaje o thanasis.*  
 the cake-ACC cl-ACC ate-3SG the Thanassis-NOM  
 ‘Thanassis ate the cake.’
- (17a) *O JANIS efaje tin turta?*  
 the Janis-NOM ate-3SG the cake-ACC  
 ‘Is it John who ate the cake?’
- (17b) *O ΘANASIS efaje tin turta (oxi O JANIS)!*  
 the Thanassis-NOM ate-3SG the cake-ACC not the Janis-NOM  
 ‘No, it is Thanassis who ate the cake (not John)!’

Given that (17b) would not be an appropriate answer to (16a), and (16b) would not be a felicitous answer to (17a), it appears that the distinction between information and contrastive focus is valid in Greek. In fact, the answers in (16b) and (17b) bear different information load, and update the context in different ways.

## 2.4 Interpretative properties

In what follows I will investigate if the interpretative properties of focus in Greek point towards the direction of two separate types of focus. To this end, I will consider Szabolcsi's (1981) test of exhaustive identification and certain distributional restrictions which are in place with respect to contrastive focus.

### 2.4.1. Szabolcsi's (1981) test of exhaustive identification

Let us perform Szabolcsi's (1981) test of exhaustive identification on Greek data.<sup>4</sup> This test involves a pair of sentences in which the first sentence contains a focused element consisting of two coordinate DPs and the second sentence differs from the first one in that one of the coordinate DPs has been dropped. If the second sentence is not among the logical consequences of the first one, then the focus expresses exhaustive identification. Compare (18) with (19):

- (18a) TI MARIA KE TI NIKI filise o janis.  
the Maria-ACC and the Niki-ACC kissed-3SG the Janis-NOM  
'It was Mary and Nicky that John kissed.'
- (18b) TI MARIA filise o janis.  
the Maria-ACC kissed-3SG the Janis-NOM  
'It was Mary that John kissed.'
- (19a) o janis filise ti maria ke ti niki.  
the Janis-NOM kissed-3SG the Maria-ACC and the Niki-ACC  
'John kissed Mary and Nicky.'
- (19b) o janis filise ti maria.  
the Janis-NOM kissed-3SG the Maria-ACC  
'John kissed Mary.'

The sentence in (18b) is not a logical consequence of (18a); on the contrary, (19b) is a logical consequence of (19a). Therefore, according to Szabolcsi's (1981) test, the focus involved in (18) is identificational,<sup>5</sup> while that in (19) is information.

In the light of these data, it appears that in Greek both types of focus are attested. This means that one could not easily collapse them into just one type.

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<sup>4</sup> See Kiss (1998) for Hungarian.

<sup>5</sup> For the purposes of the present paper, identificational focus can be considered equivalent to contrastive focus.

#### 2.4.2. Distributional restrictions

It has been argued that the following distributional restriction is in place with respect to contrastive focus: Certain types of constituents, such as universal quantifiers and *even*-phrases cannot function as contrastive focus. On the contrary, the type of constituents that can function as information focus is not restricted (see Kiss 1987, 1991, 1998). Let us examine if this restriction is operative in Greek. Consider the following data, which involve a universal quantifier:

(20a) \*/?KAΘE SIMVOLEO δjavasa me prosoxi.

every contract-ACC read-1SG with attention

(20b) δjavasa kaθe simvoleo me prosoxi.

read-1SG every contract-ACC with attention

‘I read every contract meticulously.’

The contrast in grammaticality between (20a) and (20b) confirms that there are two different types of focus in Greek, one expressing contrast and another conveying nonpresupposed information. The former, i.e. the contrastive type, cannot be realised by certain constituents, as shown in (20a), while the latter, i.e. the information focus, exhibits no such restrictions, as shown in (20b). To be more specific, (20b) with *kaθe simvoleo* functioning as new information is perfectly fine, unlike (20a) where *kaθe simvoleo* is contrastively focused.

Let me now examine if data containing *even*-phrases behave the same with respect to this restriction. Consider the examples in (21):

(21a) \*AKOMI KE MJA FUSTA ayorase i maria?

even a skirt bought-3SG the Maria-NOM

(21b) \*oxi, AKOMI KE ENA PALTO ayorase i maria.

no even a coat bought-3SG the Maria-NOM

As shown in (21), *even*-phrases cannot function as contrastive focus. On the other hand, no such restriction is evidenced in the information focus case. Consider (22b):

(22a) ti ayorase i maria?

what bought-3SG the Maria-NOM

‘What did Mary buy?’

(22b) i maria ayorase akomi kai mja fusta.

the Maria-NOM bought-3SG even a skirt

‘Mary bought even a skirt.’

### 3. Focusing in Greek

Now that we have established that there are two distinct types of focus in Greek, the question that arises is how focus is licensed in each case. In this section I argue that information focus is the result of the interplay between the Focus Prominence Rule (FPR) and the Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR), while contrastive focus involves movement of the focused constituent to the left periphery and subsequent application of the Emphatic/Contrastive Stress Rule (ESR/CSR).

First, as far as information focus is concerned, I assume –following Zubizarreta (1998)– that main prominence in Greek is realised via the C-NSR, which goes as follows:

*Constituent-driven NSR (C-NSR)*

Given two sister categories  $C_i$  and  $C_j$ , the one lower in the asymmetric c-command ordering is more prominent (Zubizarreta 1998: 19).

Thus, according to the C-NSR, the nuclear stress should invariably occur at the lowest element in the c-command ordering. Furthermore, I follow Zubizarreta (1998) in maintaining that the F-structure of a sentence is constrained by the location of main prominence. This is captured by the FPR, which goes as follows:

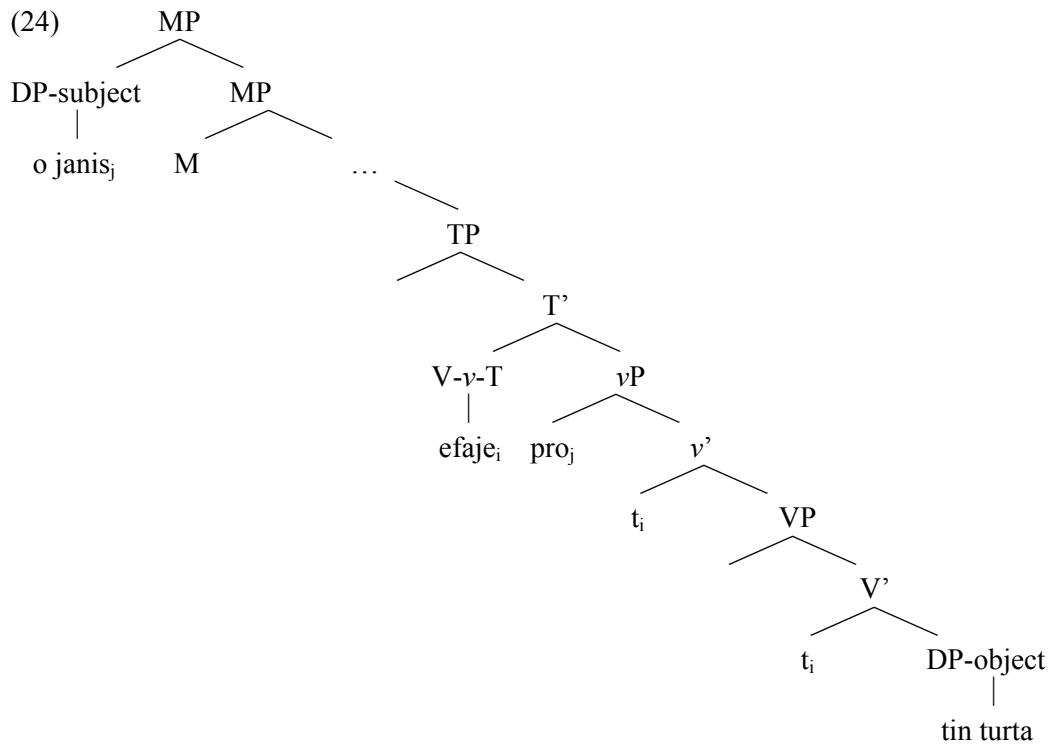
*Focus Prominence Rule (FPR)*

Given two sister categories  $C_i$  (marked [+Foc]) and  $C_j$  (marked [-Foc]),  $C_i$  is more prominent than  $C_j$  (Zubizarreta 1998: 21).

Consider a sentence like (23) below, which has the representation in (24):

- (23) *o janis efaje tin turta.*  
the Janis-NOM ate-3SG the cake-ACC  
'John ate the cake.'

As is well known, the DP-subject in Greek can occupy either its base  $vP$  internal position or any other adjunction position and be coindexed with a *pro* in [Spec,  $vP$ ] (see Philippaki-Warbuton 1985, 1987, 1989, 1990; Tsimpli 1990, 1995; Alexiadou 1997, 1999, a.o.). Thus, in (24), I assume that the DP-subject *o janis* is base generated in an adjoined position above TP (e.g. [Spec, MP]). As for the DP-object *tin turta*, it occupies its original VP internal position. In such configuration, the DP-object constitutes the lowest element in the c-command ordering and thus receives main prominence via the NSR. This outcome is in agreement with the outcome of the FPR, according to which the [+Foc] element, i.e. the DP-object, must be more prominent.



However, this is not always the case, since the coexistence of the FPR and the NSR in the grammar gives rise to situations where the output of the NSR contradicts the output of the FPR. Consider (25):

(25a) *efaje o janis tin turta.*

ate-3SG the Janis-NOM the cake-ACC

‘John ate the cake.’

(25b) *efaje tin turta o janis.*

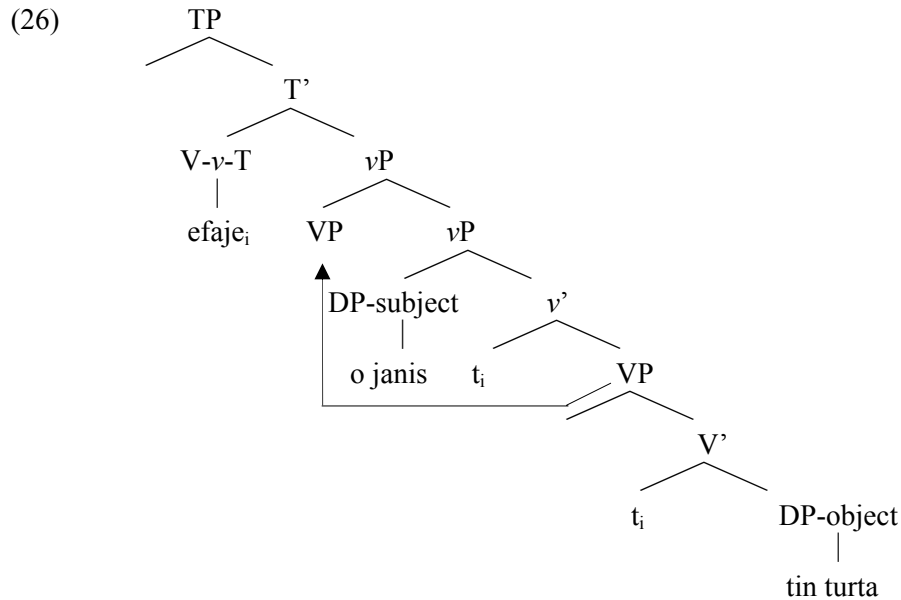
VOS, *information focus S*

ate-3SG the cake-ACC the Janis-NOM

‘John ate the cake.’

In (25), the DP-subject *o janis* is marked [+Foc]. If the NSR applies in (25a), then main prominence is assigned to a [-Foc] constituent, namely the DP-object *tin turta*, since it is the lowest element in the c-command ordering. Such a situation generates an output that contradicts the FPR. For this reason, the defocalised constituent undergoes p-movement. The purpose of p-movement is to resolve the conflict between the NSR and the FPR by ensuring that the focused constituent ends up at the rightmost edge of the phrase, i.e. in the lowest position in the c-command ordering. In other words, p-movement is a local restructuring of constituents that applies when a [+Foc] marked element carrying information focus is merged higher than the lowest element in the c-command ordering. Thus, in (26), the VP, which contains only the DP-object, p-moves to an adjoined position above the DP-subject

(adjunction to *vP*). After the application of this mechanism, (25b) is generated, where the [+Foc] constituent is in the lowest position in the c-command ordering and can therefore receive main prominence via the NSR. Consider the relevant representation in (26):

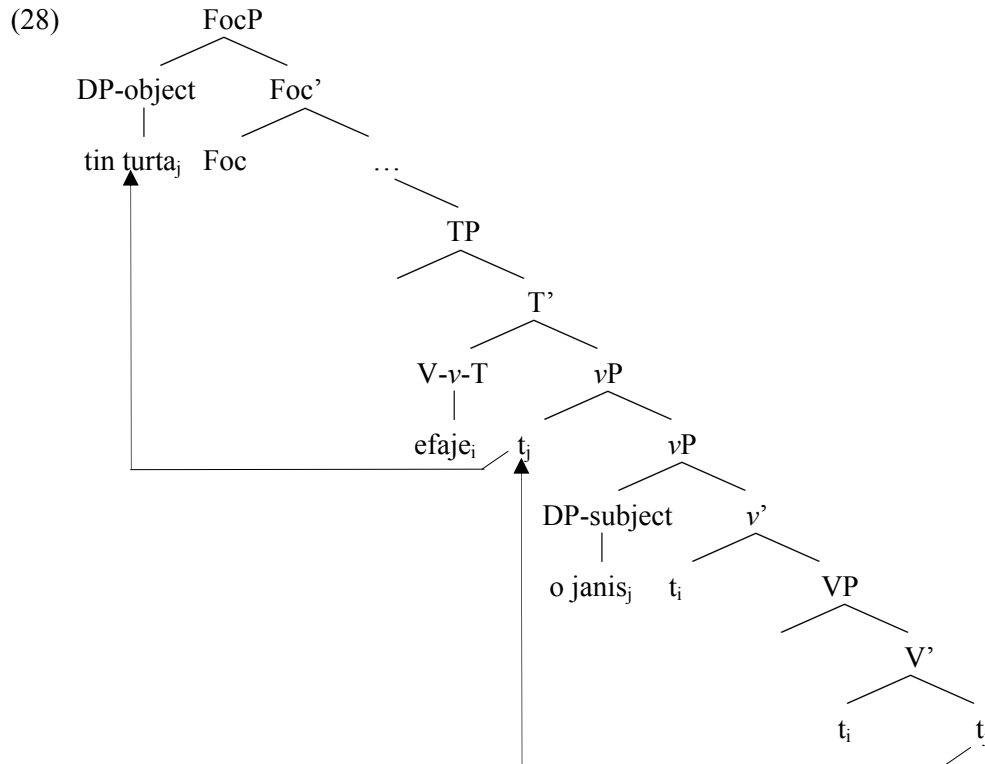


Second, with respect to contrastive focus, I assume that it involves movement of the focused constituent to the left periphery. In particular, I would like to propose that such movement constitutes an instance of indirect feature-driven movement (IFM) of the A' type, as described in Chomsky (2000), which is triggered by the P-feature [Foc] of the head Foc. Given that in Derivation by Phase (DBP), the Spec-head relation is largely replaced by the relation between a probe that seeks satisfaction of a certain feature and a goal that remains 'active' in the derivation and can satisfy the feature of the probe, movement of the goal to the Spec of the probe is not triggered by any specific Spec-head requirement, but by the presence of an EPP feature on the probe. Thus, if we suppose that Foc contains an uninterpretable [Foc] feature (ufoc) that needs to be eliminated by Spell-Out and has an EPP feature as well,<sup>6</sup> then it can probe for a phrase that contains an interpretable [Foc] feature. Such a feature is to be found in a focused phrase like the DP-object *tin turta* in (27) below:

- (27) TIN TURTA efaje o janis.  
 the cake-ACC ate-3SG the Janis-NOM  
 'It is the cake that John ate.'

<sup>6</sup> Within DBP (Chomsky 2000, 2001), the EPP feature is considered to be the mechanism that drives movement. In fact, Chomsky (2001) suggests that the EPP feature is optionally assigned to *v*, C at the strong phase level if it is to induce movement that will provide the sentence with a further semantic interpretation. In the current proposal, I make the following additional assumption, namely that Foc – being part of the C domain – bears an EPP feature.

By long distance Agree, the [Foc] feature of the probe is satisfied and subsequently the focused phrase *tin turta* becomes a Spec of the probing head, namely [Spec, FocP], because of the EPP feature, passing through [Spec,  $\nu$ P], as in (28):



Subsequently, the DP-object *tin turta* receives emphatic/contrastive stress via the Emphatic/Contrastive Stress Rule (ESR/CSR) and (27) is generated.

Let us now briefly consider the third question posed at the beginning of this paper, namely the issue of the division of labour between linguistic components. According to the current proposal, information focus is prosodically manifested, whereas contrastive focus is primarily syntactic in nature. To put it differently, the former is taken care of at the phonological level, while the latter involves movement to a left peripheral position in syntax, and subsequent application of the ESR/CSR at PF. I believe that this division of labour follows naturally from that fact that in the contrastive focus case there is an uninterpretable [Foc] feature, which needs to be eliminated by Spell-Out, and thus syntax should take care of it, while in the information focus case no such feature exists, and therefore no operation needs to take place in the syntactic component. All things being equal, the application of stress (nuclear vs. emphatic/contrastive) in information and contrastive focus, respectively, takes place after Spell-Out. The empirical virtue of this proposal is that it permits a significant simplification in the grammar and –at the same time– respects the principle of economy, since the mechanisms needed for the realisation of both types of focus follow straightforwardly from the existing grammar. Thus, the current proposal is in accordance with the main goals of

the Minimalist Program, i.e. simplicity, naturalness, and parsimony, given that both types of focus are captured in terms of the smallest number of hypotheses.

#### **4. Conclusion**

In this paper, it was argued that prosodic, syntactic, pragmatic/discourse, and interpretative evidence points towards the fact that there are two types of focus in Greek. In brief, these two types exhibit two different kinds of prominence, namely neutral vs. emphatic, and are differentiated in terms of a number of properties. More specifically, information focus can project, while contrastive focus cannot. On the other hand, contrastive focus can be realised on an element as small as a morpheme, which is not the case with information focus. Furthermore, contrastive focus –unlike information focus– triggers the insertion of an intonational phrase boundary at its right edge. As far as the syntactic properties of focus are concerned, information focus is licensed *in situ*, while contrastive focus involves movement of the focused constituent to the left periphery. In terms of information load, information focus introduces new nonpresupposed information, while contrastive focus expresses exhaustive identification and contradicts what was previously asserted. Finally, contrastive focus cannot be realised by certain constituents, such as universal quantifiers and *even*-phrases, while information focus does not exhibit such a restriction.

With respect to the licensing of focus, it was claimed that information focus is realised via the interplay of the NSR and the FPR, with a local operation, namely p-movement, applying to ensure that the focused constituent is in the appropriate position to receive main prominence, while contrastive focus involves elimination of the [Foc] feature of Foc via long distance Agree with the focused phrase, movement of the focused constituent to the left periphery to satisfy the EPP feature of Foc, and subsequent application of the ESR/CSR. Furthermore, it was argued that these two focusing mechanisms also account for the attested word order variation in Greek.

Finally, it was pointed out that the proposed focus model permits a significant simplification in the grammar as well as in the division of labour between linguistic components, since information focus is prosodically manifested, while contrastive focus is primarily syntactic in nature, involving movement to a left peripheral position in syntax, and subsequent application of the ESR/CSR at PF.

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