

Greek Information Structure: Comparative perspectives

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Introduction

We comparatively examine the clause and information structure of Greek, Italian, Spanish, English, and German, drawing our attention to focus constructions and the various word order patterns that result from them.

Languages

- **English** (Guéron 1980, Birner & Ward 1998)
- **German** (Fanselow 1988, 2008, Abraham & Molnárfi 2002, Frey 2005, Krifka 2007, Fanselow & Lenertová 2011)
- **Spanish** (Zubizarreta 1998, Ordóñez 1998, 2000, Zagana 2002, Ortega-Santos 2016)
- **Italian** (Rizzi 1997, Cardinaletti 2001, Belletti 1999, 2001, 2004, Bocci 2013)
- **Greek** (Philippaki-Warburton 1985, Tsimpli 1990, 1995, 1998, Lascaratou 1998, Georgiafentis 2004, Skopeteas 2016)

Choice of languages

- language family
- basic clause structure
- the possibility of subject pronoun omission (*pro-drop*)
- word order flexibility
- the inflectional (verbal and nominal) system

Aim

- Trace the similarities and the differences of the languages with respect to the types of focus (information and contrastive) and the specific characteristics of the languages.
- The findings are expected to shed light on word order variation in relation to focus structures and the mechanisms involved in its cross-linguistic realisation.

The road ahead...

- PART 1: Types of focus (information vs. contrastive) and mechanisms of realization in different languages
- PART 2: Contrastive structures and the notion of Contrast with special reference to Greek

Information structure...

- describes the way in which information is formally packaged within a sentence
- has been investigated by different frameworks within the linguistic community
- involves the interaction of different linguistic levels.

Focus types

- ‘broad’ vs. ‘narrow’ focus
- ‘information’ vs. ‘contrastive’ focus
- **Information focus** may simply convey new information, whereas **contrastive focus** may express identification/contrast by selecting the member of a subset that makes the assertion of the sentence true.

Broad vs. narrow focus

- (1) What happened?
Georgia bought a house.

Information focus

- (2) Who bought a house?
Georgia bought a house.

Contrastive focus

- (3) So, Alexandra bought a house?
No, PETER bought a house.

Focus mechanisms I

- *Phonological rules*

The focused element has the main stress/accent, realised by:

a) the Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR): the most embedded constituent receives the main stress of the sentence/phrase (Jackendoff 1972);

b) the rule “assign stress to the focus constituents” (Erteschik-Shir 2007), which covers also stressing elsewhere.

Focus mechanisms II

- *Syntactic mechanisms*

Word order plays the role, such as the position of the element in the base structure or in a derived structure, either through movement of the focused element to a (potential) focus position or through movement of other elements.

Characteristics of the languages	ENGLISH	GERMAN	SPANISH	ITALIAN	GREEK
language family	Germanic	Germanic	Romance	Romance	Greek
basic order	S-V-O	S-O-V, but also S-V-O (V2 language)	S-V-O	S-V-O	S-V-O and V-S-O
pro-drop	no	no	yes	yes	yes
word order flexibility	no	yes (with fixed positions for the verb)	yes	yes	yes (all variants are possible)
inflectional system	poor inflection in both verbal and nominal systems	rich verbal and nominal system	rich verbal / less rich nominal system	rich verbal / less rich nominal system	very rich verbal and nominal system
other characteristics	no clitics, no left periphery	V→T→C, no clitics, no rich left periphery, scrambling	V→T, clitics, post verbal subjects, left dislocated topic (left periphery), scrambling/ p-movement	V→T and Subject→SpecTP, clitics, rich left periphery (topics and focus in the C-domain), movement in the VP/IP-domain	V→T, clitics, post verbal subjects, rich left periphery (topics and focus in the C-domain)

Nuclear Stress Rule

Out-of-the-blue contexts

English

(4) What happened? John sold the car. (S-V-O)

German

(5) Was hat Karl gesagt?

Hans hat sein Auto verkauft. (S-V-O)

Spanish

(6) ¿Qué pasó? José fue a casa. (S-V-O)

Italian

(7) Che succede?

Giovanni sta rimproverando Maria. (S-V-O)

Greek

(8) Τα 'μαθες τα νέα;

a. Ο Γιάννης παντρεύτηκε τη Μαρία. (S-V-O)

b. Παντρεύτηκε ο Γιάννης τη Μαρία. (V-S-O)

Information focus – English

English: S-V-O language

a) Via the Nuclear Stress Rule for the object:

(9) What did John sell? He sold the car. (S-V-O)

b) By stressing *in situ* for the subject (10) or the verb (11):

(10) Who sold the car?

John sold it. (S-V-O)

(11) What did John do with his car?

He sold it. (S-V-O)

Information focus (a) – German

German: S-O-V with respect to its base structure and the structure of subordinated clauses, and a V2-language with respect to main clauses.

a) Via the NSR, which means that the DO carries the main stress in transitive or ditransitive constructions in subordinated and main clauses. Since German is a SOV-language, thus left branching with respect to VP, main prominence is on the left (see Cinque 1993).

(12) a. ..., dass Hans dem Lehrer das Buch gegeben hat. (S-IO-**DO**-V)

b. Hans hat dem Lehrer das Buch gegeben. (S-V-IO-**DO**)

Information focus (b) – German

b) Focus is also marked *in situ*, by stressing the focused element (Hermann Paul 1880, in Krifka 2000):

- (13) Karl ist gestern nach Berlin gefahren.
- a. A: Wer ist gestern nach Berlin gefahren?
B: Karl ist gestern nach Berlin gefahren.
 - b. A: Wann ist Paul nach Berlin gefahren?
B: Karl ist gestern nach Berlin gefahren.
 - c. A: Wohin ist Karl gestern gefahren?
B: Karl ist gestern nach Berlin gefahren.
 - d. A: Wie ist Paul gestern nach Berlin gereist?
B: Karl ist gestern nach Berlin gefahren.

Information focus (c) – German

c) *Scrambling* leaves one constituent as the most embedded on both subordinated (14) and main clauses (15):

(14) a. ..., dass Hans das Buch dem Lehrer gegeben hat. (S-DO-IO-V)

b. ..., dass dem Lehrer das Buch Hans gegeben hat. (IO-DO-S-V)

(15) a. Hans hat das Buch dem Lehrer gegeben. (S-V-DO-IO)

b. Gestern hat dem Lehrer das Buch Hans gegeben. (XP-V-IO-DO-S)

Regardless of how scrambling is analysed, as A- or A-bar movement or movement within vP/VP (via Adjunction) or in the IP area, it is assumed that scrambled elements target topic positions (Fanselow 1988, Haftka 1995, Meinunger 2000).

Information focus (d) – German

d) In wh-questions, also by topicalizing the DO to SpecCP (and the Verb to C), leaving the Subject in SpecTP or vP-internal, where it gets the main stress (16), or by fronting the focused constituent to SpecCP (17):

(16) Wer hat gestern den Chef getroffen?

Den Chef hat gestern Hans getroffen. (O-V-S)

(17) Wen hat Hans gestern getroffen?

Den Chef hat er gestern getroffen. (O-V-S)

Information focus – Spanish

Spanish: S-V-O language

a) By applying the NSR (Zagona 2002):

(18) ¿Adónde fue José?

José fue a casa. (S-V-O)

b) By moving other elements through scrambling (Ordóñez 1998, 2000) or p-movement (Zubizarreta 1998), leaving the focused constituent as most embedded (Zagona 2002, Zubizarreta 1998):

(19) ¿Quién fue a casa?

Fue a casa José. (V-O-S)

*José fue a casa.

(20) Comió una manzana Juan. (V-O-S)

Information focus (a, b) – Italian

Italian: S-V-O language

a) through the NSR for the object:

(21) Chi ama Giovanni?
Giovanni ama Maria. (S-V-O)

b) the NSR applies to the final position, i.e. either the verb (22a), or the subject (22b) becomes the focused constituent (Cinque 1993), which means *in situ* stressing is not available (22c):

(22) a. Truman è morto. (S-V)
b. È morto Johnson. (V-S)
c. *Johnson è morto.

Cardinaletti vs. Belletti

Cardinaletti (2001): in the V-O-S order, the subject can be an information focus, as the most embedded constituent in the clause, and be assigned main prominence via the NSR:

- (23) Chi porterà la macchina?
Porterà la macchina Mara.

Cardinaletti: Subject remains vP/VP-internal vs.

Belletti (1999, 2001, 2004): the VO sequence constitutes the given part of the information provided by the sentence, so that the subject has moved to a clause internal SpecFocusP and the given constituent moves to a SpecTopicP, which is located right above the clause internal FocusP.

Italian...

Italian lacks V-S-O (Zubizarreta 1998):

(24) *Ieri ha dato Gianni un libro a Maria.

Zubizarreta (1998) claims that the Subject in Italian checks nominative case in SpecTP, while it does not in Spanish; it can remain vP/VP internal, where SpecTP is a syncretic position.

Greek

Greek exhibits great flexibility with respect to word order.

- a. Ο μαθητής ρώτησε τον δάσκαλο. (S-V-O)
- b. Ρώτησε ο μαθητής τον δάσκαλο. (V-S-O)
- c. Ρώτησε τον δάσκαλο ο μαθητής. (V-O-S)
- d. Τον δάσκαλο ρώτησε ο μαθητής. (O-V-S)
- e. Ο μαθητής τον δάσκαλο ρώτησε. (S-O-V)
- f. Τον δάσκαλο ο μαθητής ρώτησε. (O-S-V)

‘The pupil asked the teacher.’

- Traditionally classified as an S-V-O language (Tzartzanos 1963)
- Within the generative framework, the analyses are divided:
 - a) a V-S-O language, obligatory V to T movement (Philippaki-Warburton 1982, 1987, 1990, Tsimpli 1990, Alexiadou 1997, 1999, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998, 2000, Spyropoulos & Philippaki-Warburton 2001)
 - b) an S-V-O language (Horrocks 1992, 1994, Drachman 1991, Drachman & Klidi 1992, Roussou & Tsimpli 2006, Spyropoulos & Revithiadou 2007).

Information focus – Greek

a) In (25) the object is the most embedded constituent in the clause, and as such it can be assigned main prominence via the NSR:

(25) Τι έφαγε ο Γιάννης; (S-V-O)
Ο Γιάννης έφαγε την τούρτα.

b) However, we find SVO patterns where the subject carries main prominence, i.e. it is informationally focused. In this case, information focus is realized *in situ*:

(26) Ποιος έφαγε την τούρτα; (S-V-O)
Ο Γιάννης έφαγε την τούρτα.

Greek vs. Spanish and Italian

- Unlike **Spanish** and **Italian**, where the V-O-S pattern is the only preferred option as an answer to a “Who-question”, in **Greek** the preferred patterns are either S-V-O or O-cl-V-S (see Georgiafentis & Sfakianaki 2004; cf. also Keller & Alexopoulou 2001, Georgakopoulos and Skopeteas 2010).
- **Greek**: no need for scrambling or movement, so that the NSR applies for information focusing; the subject can be stressed *in situ*. This is not an option in Italian or Spanish, where an S-V-O pattern with an info focused subject does not exist.

(27) Comió una manzana Juan. (**Spanish** V-O-S)

(28) Porterà la macchina Mara. (**Italian** V-O-S)

Contrastive focus – English

a) By stressing the constituent *in situ* for the subject (29) and the object (30):

(29) JOHN bought the book, not Peter. (**S**-V-O)

(30) John bought a **BOOK**, not a magazine. (S-V-**O**)

b) Marginally, English allows fronting of the DO (SpecCP), where it takes emphatic stress (31) (Birner & Ward 1998); otherwise, it is interpreted as a topic (32):

(31) **RED** wine I prefer, not white. / **COFFEE** I drink / **NATURE** I like.

(32) Red wine, I like. / That kind of thing, I don't think I'd ever do.

c) Alternatively, it is realised as an it-cleft sentence:

(33) It was John that bought the book.

Contrastive focus – German

a) By stressing *in situ*:

- (34) a. HANS hat den Chef getroffen, nicht Peter. (**S-V-O**)
b. Hans hat DEN CHEF getroffen, nicht den Koch. (**S-V-O**)

b) By fronting the focused constituent to SpecCP and the Verb to C:

- (35) DEN CHEF hat Hans getroffen. (**O-V-S**)

c) By topicalizing or scrambling other constituents:

- (36) Karl hat den Gästen die Wahrheit gesagt.
Nein, die Wahrheit hat den Gästen (wohl) HANS gesagt.
(**DO-V-IO-S**)

d) Also by paraphrasing:

- (37) Es war HANS, der dem Lehrer das Buch gegeben hat.

Contrastive focus – Spanish

a) Movement to a fronted position, possibly to SpecFocusP, for both the subject (38) (Zagona 2002), and the object (39) (Domínguez 2004):

(38) MARÍA compró esos tomates en el mercado, no José. (**S-V-O**)

(39) LA MESA ha roto Javi. (**O-V-S**)

b) As for contrastive focus *in situ* V-**O**, Domínguez (2004) proposes that it involves covert movement at LF:

(40) Ha roto LA MESA. (**V-O**)

Spanish...

- allows V-S-O, with an XP in the preverbal position (41a)
- allows for more than one topic (41b)
- Emphatic-V and Focus-V are possible (42)
- while Emphatic-XP-V or Focus-XP-V are excluded (43)

(Zubizarreta 1998)

(41) a. Todos los dias compra Juan el diario. (XP-V-S-O)

b. Todos los dias, Juan compra el diario. (XP-S-V-O)

(42) (Estoy segura que) Pedro, las ESPINACAS trajo (y no las papas).

(43) *Las ESPINACAS, Pedro trajo (y no las papas).

Contrastive focus (a) – Italian

Generally assumed, it involves movement.

a) preverbal and postverbal subjects must necessarily move to FocusP, i.e. they fill the clause external focus position (see Belletti 1999, 2001, 2004):

(44) GIANNI ha capito il problema (non tutta la classe). **S-V-O** (**S** in FocP)

A low contrastive focus (Belletti 1999, 2001, 2004) involves overt movement of the subject to the Spec of the high FocusP, and subsequent remnant movement of the IP to the Spec of a higher TopP, which makes the subject postverbal:

(45) Ha capito il problema GIANNI (non tutta la classe). **V-O-S** (**S** in FocP)

Contrastive focus (b) – Italian

b) The same operation holds also for the object (Belletti 2004, Bocci 2013):

- (46) a. – A: Mi hanno detto che hai incontrato Lucia Domenica.
Come l’hai trovata?
b. – B: VERONICA ho incontrato Domenica (NON Lucia)!
O-V (O in FocP)

Alternatively (see Bocci 2013), a direct object can undergo a purely prosodic focalization strategy, i.e. it can be contrastively stressed *in situ*:

- (47) Ho incontrato VERONICA Domenica (NON Lucia)! V-O (O in situ)

Contrastive focus – Greek

Tsimplici (1998): two distinct focusing strategies, *in situ* focusing and overt focus-raising (to FocP).

a) object moves to SpecFocP (Tsimplici 1990, 1995; Georgiafentis 2004):

(48) ΤΗΝ ΤΟΥΡΤΑ έφαγε ο Γιάννης (όχι τον μπακλαβά). **O-V-S**

Movement to SpecFocP and subsequent remnant movement of the IP to the Spec of a higher TopP is involved in the V-O-S order, where the subject appears clause-final.

(49) Έλυσε την άσκηση Ο ΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ (κανείς άλλος). **V-O-S**

(b) object receives emphatic prominence *in situ* (Tsimplici 1998 for Greek; Bocci 2003 for Italian):

(50) Ο Γιάννης έφαγε ΤΗΝ ΤΟΥΡΤΑ (όχι τον μπακλαβά). **S-V-O**

		LANGUAGE				
TYPE OF FOCUS	MECHANISM	English	German	Spanish	Italian	Greek
Information focus	NSR	√	√	√	√	√
	<i>Stress in situ</i>	√	√	X	X	√
Contrastive Focus	FocusP	X	X	√/X	√	√
	<i>Stress in situ</i>	√	√	X	X	√

Summary – English (Germanic)

- poor inflection in both verbal and nominal systems, which disallows *pro*-drop, restricts word order variation (S-V-O), and limits the left periphery
- only allows for NSR and *in situ* focus for both focus types
- very restricted movement to SpecCP (for contrastive focus) or for topics
- FocP or TopP are thus questionable.

Summary – German (Germanic)

- has a rich verbal and nominal inflectional system but a non pro-drop language and an S-O-V and V2-language, which results in relative flexibility in word order variation
 - a) V2 restricts the left periphery, **but**
 - b) SpecCP is allowed for any constituent (Focus/Topic), and
 - c) scrambling in the VP/IP area allows for reordering of the base structure.

Summary – German (Germanic)

Focus:

- regulated by the NSR
- *in situ*
- topicalizing or scrambling of other constituents and fronting of the focused element to SpecCP

It has a very restricted left periphery, i.e. TopP exists only for left dislocated and hanging topics (FocP is thus questionable).

Summary – Spanish & Italian (Romance)

- rich verbal and less rich nominal inflectional systems
- allow for *pro*-drop and for word order flexibility
- NSR is very strong and both languages lack *in situ* stressing. This is why the languages employ movement (scrambling/p-movement) within the VP/IP area in order for the NSR to apply.

Summary – Spanish & Italian (Romance)

- Spanish permits vP/VP internal subjects, Italian subjects move to SpecTP.
- Italian: the subject reaches a high clausal position, which makes it necessary to have a larger IP area for movement (Belletti 2004) and a richer left periphery (Rizzi 1997) supported by clitics.
- Spanish: the low subject position limits this necessity (Zubizarreta 1998).

Summary – Greek

- a very rich inflectional and nominal system
- allows for *pro*-drop and great freedom in word order variation
- clitics enrich the left periphery (see Rizzi's system).

Summary – Greek

- Information focus: the NSR seems to function but its operation can be superseded by stressing *in situ*...

...unlike Spanish and Italian, where the NSR has a primary function and crucially determines word order variation via scrambling operations.

Summary – Greek

- contrastive focus: movement of the focused XP to [Spec, FocP]
- alongside this mechanism, it appears that *in situ* focusing (via an emphatic / contrastive stress) is possible as well.

PART 1: Concluding remarks

- The morpho-syntactic properties of the languages affect clause structure and the syntactic operations (movement) involved.
- Since information structure, which includes Focus, is not a purely syntactic phenomenon, intonation also plays a crucial role.

PART 1: Concluding remarks

- We have two poles, the very restricted one with respect to morpho-syntactic properties, i.e. **English**, where focus is regulated by prosody, and an almost unrestricted one, i.e. **Greek**, which allows for both prosodic and syntactic operations.
- In between stands **German** with a restricted clause structure, where *in situ* stressing is possible, whereas **Spanish** and **Italian** with restricted prosodic properties (lack of *in situ* stress) employ movement mechanisms.

PART 2: Contrastive structures

vP/VP-fronting

- Why **Greek**, despite its comparatively greater degree of word order flexibility, does not have certain patterns which are attested in the other languages (e.g. **English**, **German**)
- **Greek** does not have vP/VP fronting for information focus or contrastive topic/focus purposes.

English

Topicalizing O

(51) Red wine, I like.

Focalizing O

(52) COFFEE I drink / NATURE I like.

Birner & Ward (1998: 86)

Left dislocation

(53) One of my cousins, she has triplets.

Leech & Svartvik (2002: 255)

German

It violates the V2 rule only in the case of left dislocation (54a) but not for focused constituents (54b):

(54) a. Die Geschichte, die werden wir nie vergessen.

b. *DIE GESCHICHTE wir werden nie vergessen.

Hein's (2018) categorization

Languages are categorized into three types:

- a) those that allow only V movement
- b) those that allow VP movement, and
- c) those that have both mechanisms available.

English

English belongs to the second type of languages and allows movement of the VP that contains the V and the O (55) but not the fronting of just the V (56). Fronting of the V with the S (vP) is equally ungrammatical (57):

(55) John promised to read the book, and [VP read the book], he did.
Ott (2018: 244)

(56) *John promised to read the book, and [VP read t_i], he did the book $_i$.

(57) *[Breakfast served] is here all day.

Lee-Schoenfeld & Lunden (2019: 237)

German

German belongs to the third type; it allows movement either of just the non-finite verb (58a) or the VP (58b) (see Ott 2010):

- (58) a. [Gelesen] hat Jürgen das Buch.
b. [Ein Buch gelesen] hat Jürgen.

In addition, vP movement is allowed (59), but not always (60):

- (59) [Linguisten gespeist] haben dort noch nie.

Haider (1990: 94, 97)

- (60) *[Linguisten gespeist] haben letztes Jahr im Ritz.

Lee-Schoenfeld & Lunden (2019: 240)

English vs. German

- In **English** the subject obligatorily moves to [Spec, T] (S-V-O), while in **German** the subject can appear postverbally, i.e. it can stay within the vP (see Wurmbrand 2006).
- VP-fronting in **English** can be analyzed either as A'-movement to [Spec, CP] or, according to Ott (2018), as a left dislocation structure, adjoined to CP, with a 'silent'/covert relative (corresponding to a weak pronoun/clitic) in [Spec, CP].
- The structures in **German** can be analyzed as A'-movement of the vP/VP to [Spec, CP]. For the movement of the non-finite verb, the traditional analysis comprises remnant movement, i.e. emptying of the VP via constituent scrambling, while recently (Ott 2010) this structure has been analyzed as topicalization of V, i.e. as head movement.

Prosody and information load

- In **English** this structure has prosodic autonomy, bears contrastive stress (Ott 2018), and is interpreted as a contrastive topic (I-Topic = Intonation Topic, type of contrastive topic) (see also Lee-Schoenfeld & Lunden 2019).
- The **German** structures can receive various interpretations, depending on the type of movement, the intonation and the context. Prosodically, the fronted VPs can bear – but not necessarily – stress. They are not intonationally autonomous but they prosodically belong with the clause they appear in. Consequently, when they are stressed, they bear the main stress of the clause (Ott 2018).

German

The fronted V (61) or the O of the fronted VP (62) can be interpreted as information focus (Fanselow και Lenertová 2011) or as contrastive focus (63):

(61) A: Was hast du gestern gemacht?
B: [Gelesen] habe ich den ganzen Tag.

(62) A: Was hast du gekauft?
B: [Ein Buch gekauft] hab' ich mir.

(63) [EIN BUCH gelesen] habe ich (nicht Däumchen gedreht).

Lee-Schoenfeld & Lunden (2019: 233)

The agentive vPs are structures which, according to Lee-Schoenfeld & Lunden (2019), are interpreted as a kind of contrastive topic, with the fronted vP having athetic and not a categorical interpretation. This interpretation is also supported by the fact that focus is realized on a different place in the clause (e.g. on the negative adverb):

(64) [Ein AUßenseiter gewonnen] hat hier noch NIE.

Greek

Neither vP movement (65a) nor VP movement (65b) is allowed, a fact that indicates that V moves to a head out of vP/VP.

(65) a. *[vP Γλωσσολόγοι φάει] δεν έχουν ποτέ ως τώρα εκεί.

(65) b. *[VP Ένα βιβλίο διαβάσει] έχει ο Γιάννης (όχι παίξε γέλασε).

Greek vs. other languages

This is reinforced by the ungrammaticality produced if the VP is topicalized in **Greek** (66), unlike other languages (67 – 69):

- (66) a. *[VP Επισκεφτεί την Άννα] αυτό/το έχει (κάνει) η Μαρία χθες.
b. *[VP Την Άννα επισκεφτεί] αυτό/το έχει (κάνει) η Μαρία χθες.

(67) [VP read the book]_i [CP (that_i) he did t_i] **English**

(68) [VP Anna besuchen], das tut Maria oft. **German**

(69) [VP Visitar a Ana], Maria suele hacer eso. **Spanish**

However, **Greek** allows for CP/MP fronting:

- (70) a. [CP (Το) ότι θα πάει διακοπές], δεν το πίστευε ο Γιάννης.
b. [MP Να πάει διακοπές], (αυτό) ήθελε ο Γιάννης.

Greek – dialectal variation

Contrary to the above, for some speakers marked structures such as the one in (71) are marginally acceptable:

- (71) A: Μάλλον δεν θα έχεις φάει τίποτε όλη μέρα ε;
B: Όχι, [V φάει] έχω, [V κοιμηθεί] δεν έχω (καθόλου/καλά).

In addition, in certain regions in Greece where specific dialects are spoken, such as the Peloponnese, examples such as the ones in (72) are perfectly acceptable:

- (72) a. [V Μαγειρέψει] έχω από βραδής.
b. [V Γράψει] δεν μού 'χει καθόλου, [V τηλεφωνήσει] μού 'χει κάνα δυο φορές.

In these cases we have verb movement, while we need to check whether the dialect allows VP movement.

Greek – Small Clauses

Gradience in the acceptability in structures with verbal inflection, like a VP, even if it is non-finite, and structures with nominal inflection, like Small Clauses (SC) (73), which nevertheless have clausal characteristics, given that they satisfy the subject-predicate relation, similarly to full clauses (Tsokoglou 1998).

- (73) A: Πρέπει να προετοιμαστείς για τις εξετάσεις. Κάτσε να διαβάσεις λίγο ιστορία!
- B: Κοίτα, SC [την ιστορία διαβασμένη], την έχω από τον περασμένο μήνα, μου μένουν τ' αρχαία.
- B': *Κοίτα, [την ιστορία διαβάσει], την έχω από τον περασμένο μήνα, μου μένουν τ' αρχαία.

Greek – defective structures

We should discuss this issue within Phase Theory considering the possibility of movement that defective structures show in Greek, given that gerundival structures (74) and obligatory control structures (75), which –like SC– satisfy the predication relation, can undergo movement.

Gerundival structures

- (74) a. Ο Γιάννης έκανε πρόταση γάμου στη Μαρία, [κρατώντας μια ανθοδέσμη].
b. [Κρατώντας μια ανθοδέσμη (ο Γιάννης)], έκανε πρόταση γάμου στη Μαρία (ο Γιάννης).

Obligatory control structures

- (75) a. Ο Γιάννης άρχισε [να διαβάζει από τα πέντε του].
b. [Να διαβάζει από τα πέντε του] άρχισε ο Γιάννης.

KontrastP

The **KONTRAST**-projection in the articulated CP-domain has been proposed by Molnár (2001, 2006) as a distinct category for specific languages (e.g. Finnish).

Does **Greek** have a distinct **KONTRAST**-projection, as it has been argued for other languages?

- **The K-feature...**

...guarantees the so called “discourse connection” (Haegeman & Guéron 1999: 536) and requires:

- the absolutely leftmost position
- the explicit mentioning of relevant excluded alternatives within a closed set
- or alternatively, in case of Contrastive Topic, that the discourse connection be warranted by the givenness or high degree of ‘identifiability’ of this constituent.

Finnish

In Finnish, apart from intonation, the syntactic position of constituents plays a crucial role. The leftmost position of the sentence is responsible for the expression of contrastiveness:

- (76) A: Pekka lensi Tukholmaan.
'Pekka flew to Stockholm.'
- B: [_{KONTRAST} **Reykjavikiin**] Pekka lensi.
'To Reykjavik, Pekka flew.'

Hungarian

In Hungarian the focus operator must be adjacent to the finite verb in surface structure:

(77) A: Hova repült Péter?

Where flew Peter

‘Where did Peter fly?’

B1: Péter [_{FOCUS} **Reykjavikba**] repült.

Peter to Reykjavik flew

‘Peter flew to Reykjavik.’

B2: * [_{FOCUS} **Reykjavikba**] Péter repült.

Molnár (2001: 104)

Greek

The contrastively focused constituent is at the left periphery and refers to alternatives in a contextually limited set. It does not require adjacency to the verb.

(78) Την ΤΟΥΡΤΑ ο Γιάννης έφαγε (όχι τον ΜΠΑΚΛΑΒΑ).

KONTRAST-Position

- The **KONTRAST**-position is found at the left periphery and differs from the sentence peripheral CONTRAST-position of other languages (e.g. Italian, Russian) as it can apparently host not only a **contrastive focus** but also a **contrastive topic**.
- The topic position can be **iterated**, while the KONTRAST position is **unique**.

Molnár (2001)

Contrastive patterns – Finnish

- **Pattern:** CONTRASTIVE FOCUS + TOPIC

(79) ANNALLE Mikko antoi kukkia / kukkia antoi.
'It's to Anna that Mikko gave flowers.'

- **Pattern:** CONTRASTIVE TOPIC + INFORMATION FOCUS

(80) ANNALLE Mikko antoi kukkia.
'To Anna, Mikko gave flowers.'

See Vilkuna (1995: 249) and Molnár (2001: 110-111)

Contrastive patterns – Greek

- **Pattern:** CONTRASTIVE FOCUS + TOPIC

(81) Τα ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ο Γιάννης έδωσε στη Μαρία (όχι τους δίσκους).

- **Pattern:** CONTRASTIVE TOPIC + INFORMATION FOCUS

(82) Τα ΒΙΒΛΙΑ στη Μαρία τα έδωσε ο Γιάννης.

Split CP model – Rizzi (1997)

Molnár (2001) assumes that an additional functional projection, namely **KONTRAST-P**, is required above the TOPIC- and FOCUS-projections, in the articulated CP-domain:

ForceP **KontrP** TopP* FocP TopP* FinP

Contrastive Focus – Greek

‘Low’ position

(83) a. Ο Γιάννης έφαγε **την ΤΟΥΡΤΑ** (όχι τον ΜΠΑΚΛΑΒΑ).

‘High’ position

(83) b. **Την ΤΟΥΡΤΑ** έφαγε ο Γιάννης (όχι τον ΜΠΑΚΛΑΒΑ).

‘Medial’ position

(83) c. Ο Γιάννης **την ΤΟΥΡΤΑ** έφαγε (όχι τον ΜΠΑΚΛΑΒΑ).

Types of contrastive focus

- (Merely) contrastive focus
- Corrective focus
- Confirmative focus
- Mirative focus

Types of contrastive focus – **Italian**

- **Mere contrast**

(84) A: Vi saluto, devo tornare a casa.

‘Good bye, I have to go back home.’

B: A quest’ora, ti conviene prendere il **taxi**, non la **metro**.

‘At this time of day, you’d better take a taxi, not the underground’.

Bianchi (2013: 205)

(85) [Said by A to B while preparing to lift together a fragile object:]

A: Bisogna sollevarlo **piano**, non con **forza**.

‘One must lift it gently, not violently.’

Bianchi (2013: 205)

Types of contrastive focus – Italian

- Corrective focus

- (86) A: Hanno invitato Marina.
'They invited Marina.'
- B: **Giulia** hanno invitato (, non Marina).
'They invited Julie (, not Marina).'
- B': Hanno invitato **Giulia** (, non Marina).
'They invited Julie (, not Marina)

Bianchi *et al* (2015)

- Mirative focus

- (87) [CONTEXT: Anna tells about a customer who complained for nothing]
- B: Pensa te! **Col direttore** voleva parlare!
'Guess what! He wanted to speak with the manager!'
- B': Pensa te! Voleva parlare **col direttore**!
'Guess what! He wanted to speak with the manager!'

Bianchi *et al* (2015)

Types of contrastive focus – Greek

- **Mere contrast**

- (88) A: Χθες η αστυνομία απέκλεισε την Πανεπιστημιούπολη.
B: Την ΟΥΛΩΦ ΠΑΛΜΕ έκλεισε η αστυνομία στην πραγματικότητα,
(η πύλη του νεκροταφείου έμεινε ανοιχτή).
B': Στην πραγματικότητα, η αστυνομία έκλεισε την ΟΥΛΩΦ ΠΑΛΜΕ.
B'': Η αστυνομία την ΟΥΛΩΦ ΠΑΛΜΕ έκλεισε στην πραγματικότητα.

- **Corrective focus**

- (89) A: Αν κατάλαβα καλά, η αστυνομία έστειλε την Δίας στο Πανεπιστήμιο.
B: Τα MAT έστειλε η αστυνομία, όχι τη Δίας.
B': Η αστυνομία έστειλε τα MAT, όχι τη Δίας.
B'': Η αστυνομία τα MAT έστειλε, όχι τη Δίας.

Types of contrastive focus – Greek

- **Confirmative focus**

- (90) A: Τι άκουσα; Η αστυνομία επιστράτευσε και την ΟΠΚΕ;
B: Ναι, την ΟΠΚΕ επιστράτευσε η αστυνομία.
B': Ναι, η αστυνομία επιστράτευσε την ΟΠΚΕ.
B'': Ναι, η αστυνομία την ΟΠΚΕ επιστράτευσε.

- **Mirative focus**

- (91) A: Σήμερα τα πράγματα ησύχασαν στην Πανεπιστημιούπολη.
B: Τι λες; ΤΡΕΙΣ ΚΛΟΥΒΕΣ έφερε η αστυνομία στην κάτω πύλη!
B': Τι λες; Η αστυνομία έφερε στην κάτω πύλη ΤΡΕΙΣ ΚΛΟΥΒΕΣ!
B'': Τι λες; Η αστυνομία ΤΡΕΙΣ ΚΛΟΥΒΕΣ έφερε στην κάτω πύλη!

Contrastive Topic

In the distinction between Topic – Comment, the definitions provided for **Topic** refer to ‘old/known/given’ information or reference to sth (*aboutness*) (see Reinhart 1982, Vallduví 1992) and **do not include the notion of Contrast.**

However, in modern literature, structures are presented which include a **contrastive topic.**

Contrastive Topic – English

Syntactic level: Topicalization and Left Dislocation

- (92) A: You see every Woody Allen movie as soon as it comes out.
B: No, *Annie Hall* I saw (only) yesterday.

Prince (1984: 218)

- (93) “Everybody has their little bundle, believe me. I’ll bet she had *a nervous breakdown*. That’s not a good thing.
Gallstones, you have them out and they’re out. But *a nervous breakdown*, it’s very bad...”

Prince (1984: 221)

Contrastive Topic – English

Context

(94) JOHN bought chicken and PETER (bought) veal.

(95) A: Where do your siblings live?

B: ANNA lives **here**.

Repp (2010: 1333-1345)

(96) A: What do your siblings do?

B: [My [SISTER]_{Focus}]_{Topic} [studies MEDICINE]_{Focus}, and
[my [BROTHER]_{Focus}]_{Topic} is [working on a FREIGHT ship]_{Focus}.

Krifka (2008)

Contrastive Topic – German

(97) A: Was trugen die Popstars?

B: Die WEIBLICHEN Popmusiker trugen **Kaftane**.

Krifka (2007)

(98) A: Wie geht es deinen Geschwistern?

B: Meine SCHWESTER studiert **Medizin**, aber
mein BRUDER **lungert nur herum**.

Krifka (2007)

Contrastive Topic – Greek

- (99) Ποιος έφαγε τις σοκολάτες;
[Τη LACTA], την έφαγε ο Γιώργος. O-clV-S *CLLD*
- (100) Ποιος έφαγε τις σοκολάτες;
Την έφαγε ο Γιώργος [τη LACTA]. clV-S-O *Clitic doubling*
Georgiou (2020)
- (101) Ο ΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ έφερε την τούρτα και η ΜΑΡΙΑ τα ποτά στο πάρτι.
- (102) Τι σπουδάζουν τ' αδέρφια σου;
α. Η ΑΔΕΡΦΗ μου σπουδάζει Ιατρική.
β. Η ΜΑΡΙΑ σπουδάζει Ιατρική και ο ΠΕΤΡΟΣ Βιολογία.

Contrastive Topic

In the examples from the three languages we observe that the Contrastive Topic has the following properties:

- phonological (it carries stress)
- semantic (it is a member of a set or presupposes a set of (explicit/implicit) alternatives)
- syntactic (it appears at the left periphery of the sentence)
- pragmatic (it is linked with context and bears a [+given] feature).

Part 2: Concluding remarks

From a crosslinguistic perspective, contrastiveness does not only characterize **focusing**, but also **topicalization**.

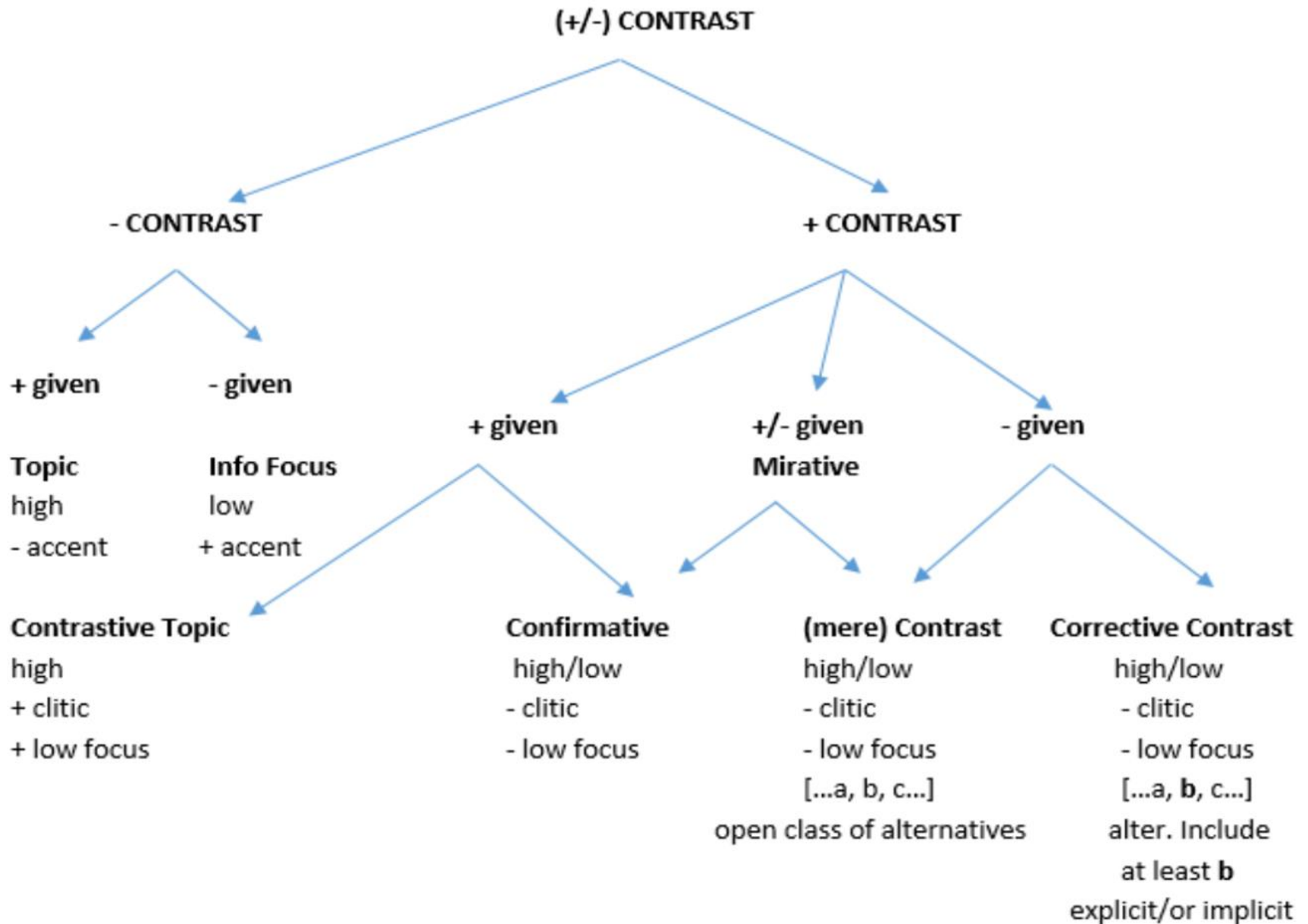
The contrastively focused constituent bears a [+contrast] feature and has the following characteristics:

- phonological (it is stressed),
- semantic (it is selected out of a set of alternatives)
- pragmatic (it is explicitly/implicitly linked with a context)
- syntactic (it is associated with the position and the movement of the contrastive phrase).

PART 2: Concluding remarks

- As far as syntax is concerned, there is crosslinguistic and intralinguistic parameterization in the realization of contrastive structures.
- With respect to the **KONTRAST**-projection in the leftmost / 'highest' position of the articulated CP-domain which has been put forward by Molnár (2001, 2006) for certain languages (e.g. **Finnish**), data from **Greek** could support its existence for the contrastive **topic** case, while contrastive **focus** appears to behave differently.

Categorization of Contrast in Greek





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