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Konstantia Kapetangianni[*]

1 Introduction

The issue of whether peripheral positions in the CP domain are projected in early grammars has attracted considerable attention in developmental linguistics. Different accounts have been formulated in order to explain the properties that characterize the state of early grammars, including the CP-less hypothesis (Radford 1990) and the Truncation Hypothesis (Rizzi 1994). Recently, a theory arguing for an interface delay between grammar and discourse-pragmatics has been advanced by Grinstead (2004) to account for the absence of overt subjects and other peripheral elements in Child Spanish and Catalan during an early stage, before the age of two.

This paper focuses on the development of aspects of Greek syntax that interface with discourse/pragmatic knowledge, namely, A´ subjects, focused, topicalized constituents and wh-movement, in order to examine whether the predictions that Grinstead's theory makes can be confirmed in another pro-drop language. Based on production data from three monolingual Greek-speaking children, it will be argued that children have both the syntactic competence and the discourse knowledge from early on. Specifically, it will be shown that movement of constituents to peripheral positions (i.e., TopicP, FocusP) emerges early in Greek (before the age of two), contra Grinstead, who predicts an early stage in the development of pro-drop languages during which no peripheral elements are found.

The paper is organized as follows: In Section 2, I provide a summary of previous work (Grinstead 2004) in order to construct the predictions/hypotheses of the present study. In Section 3, I present the theoretical assumptions regarding the adult grammar. In Section 4, I offer the results of the present study and argue that the data from Greek do not support a grammar-discourse interface delay. Finally, in Section 5, I give the conclusions.

2 Background and Predictions

In a recent study, Grinstead (2004) observed that there is a stage in the development of Spanish and Catalan during which no overt subjects are used.[1] Following Ordoñez's (1997) claim that preverbal subjects in Spanish and Catalan are not IP-internal constituents but rather are CP-elements, occupying the Specifier of TopicP, Grinstead argued that overt subjects do not emerge early in Spanish and Catalan because the relevant A´ position, i.e. TopicP, is not available in early stages. The evidence that he provided to support this claim is that focus, topicalization and wh-questions, all involving movement of constituents to A´ positions, are not attested in early Spanish and Catalan but they emerge at the same time as overt subjects do.

The theoretical explanation that Grinstead advances is as follows: "... child grammars do not have ACCESS to discourse-pragmatic knowledge of new vs. old information or an understanding of presupposition, and that as a consequence, their topic-focus field is not realized. ... Once the grammar-discourse interface begins to handle this information, the topic-focus field can be projected and the movement of subjects, objects and wh-elements can take place" (2004, p. 68). Thus, for Grinstead, the absence of peripheral elements is not due to a syntactic deficit nor to a pragmatic deficit, but rather an immature interface between grammar and the discourse-pragmatic domain at an early stage. If this is true and if this interface delay is, as Grinstead argues, "a more general phenomenon ..., which implicates areas of cognition and their relationships with linguistic cognition" such as spatial cognition or numerical competence and linguistic competence, then we expect that it will affect other child grammars.

In this study, we address this issue by investigating the development of left peripheral positions in another pro-drop language, namely Greek[2]. The predictions that will be tested here are the following:

a) There is an initial stage during which no overt preverbal subjects are found in Child Greek.

b) Postverbal subjects, by virtue of being VP-internal elements, emerge earlier than preverbal subjects, since the A´ position that hosts the latter may

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[1]As Grinstead points out, this contrasts with the development of English and other non pro-drop languages where overt subjects are used from early on.

[2]Adult Greek and Spanish share a number of properties that make the comparison of the acquisition data extremely interesting. First, Greek, like Spanish, is a null subject language with rich morphological agreement. Second, Greek preverbal subjects are considered to be A´ elements, located in the left periphery (see Section 3 for details). Thus, assuming that adult grammars of Greek and Spanish are similar in this respect, we expect to find similar developmental patterns in Early Greek.

not be available during an early stage.

c) Focus, topicalization and wh-movement emerge at the same point as overt preverbal subjects in Child Greek.

Before we consider the production data, let us clarify in the following section the theoretical assumptions regarding the adult grammar.

3 Theoretical Assumptions

3.1 The Status of Subjects in Adult Greek

The syntactic status of DP subjects in adult Greek has been extensively discussed by e.g. Philippaki-Warburton (1985), Tsimpli (1990), Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998). The predominant view is that in Greek, postverbal subjects differ from preverbal subjects relative to information structure; a DP postverbal subject conveys 'new' information whereas a DP subject in preverbal position is associated with a topic reading. For illustration, consider the examples in (1) adapted from Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2000):

(1) a.   i   Maria   mu   estile   ena grama.
         the Mary.nom me.cl send.3sg.past a   letter.
         To grama irthe   simera
         The letter arrive.3sg.past today
         'Mary sent me a letter. The letter arrived today.'

    b.   ??i Maria   mu   estile   ena grama.
         the Mary.nom   me.cl send.3sg.past a   letter.
         irthe   to   grama simera
         arrive.3sg.past the letter   today
         'Mary sent me a letter. The letter arrived today.'

Example (1) shows that a DP conveying 'old' information (the DP *the letter* is part of the background information, it has been introduced in the discourse) cannot occupy a postverbal position as in (1b). It is associated with a Topic reading and thus should occur pre-verbally as in (1a).

Based on these facts[3], it has been argued that preverbal subjects in Greek occupy an A´ position in the left periphery of the clause, either Spec,TopicP or Spec,FocusP[4].

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[3]There are also relevant interpretational and binding facts that, given space limitations, will not be discussed here. See Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) for details.

[4]A DP subject in preverbal position can also be interpreted as focus, as shown in

In addition, it is widely accepted that the DP subject and the verb are not in a Spec-Head relation in Greek. The evidence that supports this view comes from a number of distributional facts. As can be seen in examples (2) and (3), the sequence of the subjunctive marker *na* and the verb or the negation marker *den* and the verb cannot be 'interrupted' by a DP-subject:

(2) (o   Yanis)   **na**   (*o   Yanis)   **figi**   (o   Yanis)
     the John.nom subjun the John.nom leave.3sg.pres the John.nom
     'May John not leave.'

(3) (o   Yanis)   **den** tha (*o   Yanis)   **figi**   (o   Yanis)
     the John.nom neg fut   the John.nom leave.3sg.pres the John.nom
     'John will not leave.'

Assuming, as standardly proposed, that the negation and the mood particles head the functional projections of NegP and MoodP located above TP, as illustrated in the schemas below in (4) and (5), the subject cannot occupy the position generally associated with EPP, namely the Specifier of TP[5], because it will interrupt the sequence of particles with the verb which form a single phonological unit in Greek (Spyropoulos & Philippaki-Warburton 2001).

(4) [CP [0] [MoodP Subj [na] [NegP Neg [min] [TP

(5) [CP [oti/pu] [MoodP Ind [0] [NegP Neg [den] [FutP [tha] [TP
    (from Philippaki-Warburton 1998, p. 169)

Given these considerations, the hypothesis that will be defended in this study is that preverbal subjects in Greek are left peripheral elements, located in either Spec,TopicP—when they involve a Topic interpretation—or in Spec,FocusP when they involve a Focus reading.

3.2 Focus and Topicalization

The other instances of constituent movement to left peripheral positions that this study is concerned with involve focusing and topicalization (i.e., Clitic-Left-Dislocation, henceforth CLLD).

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the following example:
   (i) O   YANIS   perase   tis   eksetasis
       the John.nom pass.3sg.past the   exams
       'John passed the exam.'
   [5]For more distributional facts that support this view, see Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998).

Although focus and topicalization are both discourse-related structures in which a constituent is preposed, it has been argued that the syntactic operations that are involved are distinct. According to Kiss (1998), two types of focus can be distinguished: *identificational* focus and *informational* focus. This distinction is drawn based on both semantic and syntactic properties. Semantically, identificational focus "represents the value of the variable bound by an abstract operator expressing exhaustive identification" and syntactically "the constituent called identificational focus itself acts as an operator, moving into the scope position in the Specifier of a functional projection (called FocusP), and binding the variable" (Kiss 1998, p.245). In contrast, informational focus marks the non-presupposed nature of the information it carries and does not involve movement (i.e., it can appear in any position in the sentence and is marked by pitch accents).

In Greek, the distinction of the two foci types can be illustrated, for example, in the following pair of sentences, where in (6) the focused argument (STON PETRO) involves identificational focus and has moved to the Specifier of the left peripheral projection FP (as indicated below), while in (7) the focused argument (STON PETRO) remains in situ[6] and constitutes informational focus.

(6) [$_{FP}$ STON PETRO [$_{TP}$ dhanisan   to vivlio]
     to-the Peter   lend.3pl.past the book
  'It was to Peter that they lent the book.'

(7) [$_{TP}$ Dhanisan [$_{VP}$ to vivlio STON PETRO]
     lend.3pl.past the book to-the Peter
  'They lent the book to Peter.'

Given this distinction, it is the emergence of *identificational* focus that we will examine, since this type involves movement of a constituent to Spec,FocusP.

On the other hand, topicalization of a constituent as shown in (8) does not involve movement; the topicalized DP is base-generated in a peripheral position and a clitic[7] (coindexed with the full DP) occupies the argument position (Tsimpli, 1995).

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[6]In Tsimpli's (1995) analysis of focus, both arguments in (6) and (7) are considered to occupy the Specifier of FP; in (6) movement takes place in narrow syntax whereas in (7) movement takes place at LF.

[7]For an alternative analysis of CLLD see Anagnostopoulou (1994).

(8) to vivlio$_i$, to$_i$ dhanisa
    the book it.cl lend.1sg.past
    'The book, I lent it.'

Thus, the crucial distinction between focusing and topicalization is that the former involves movement of a constituent to a peripheral position, whereas the latter involves base-generation of a constituent in the left periphery and coindexation with a coreferent clitic.

Having presented the theoretical framework that will be assumed in the present study, let us now turn to the production data.

4 Results

4.1 Data and Method

The present study is based on the analysis of production data samples of three monolingual Greek-speaking children. The data are drawn from the Stephany Corpus of the CHILDES database (MacWhinney & Snow 1985, Stephany 1995). The age and MLUs for the Greek children[8] are given in Table 1.

Child	Age	MLU	Number of files
Janna	1;11 - 2;9.9	1.4 - 2.8	4
Spiros	1;9.2 - 1;9.11	1.6 - 1.7	2
Mairi	1;9.17 - 2;9.15	1.9 - 3.1	14

Table 1: Greek Children, Ages & MLUs

To measure the co-occurrence of subjects and verbs, all child utterances containing one verb were extracted from the files, using the CLAN Combo program developed for the CHILDES project (MacWhinney 1995). A manual search was performed for instances of null and overt subjects. Finally, overt subjects were coded for type (postverbal-preverbal, lexical-pronoun).

A manual search was also carried out for fronted objects. The criterion that was used to determine whether a fronted object was topicalized or focused was co-occurrence with a coreferent clitic (in which case it was topicalized) or not (focused object). Finally, for the analysis of wh-interrogatives, all questions produced by children were extracted from the files and only the

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[8]The ages and MLUs of the Greek children in their first recordings are comparable to the Catalan and Spanish children studied by Grinstead.

questions containing wh-words were counted and analyzed.

4.2 Results

4.2.1 Subjects

The data presented in this section show the distribution of subjects in all ut-
terances of the three Greek children. First, consider the proportion of overt
vs. null subjects. Table 2 presents the results by age.

Child	Age	Null subjects		Overt subjects		Total utterances
		n	%	n	%	
Spiros	1;9.2	36	66	**19**	**35**	55
	1;9.11	69	86	**11**	**15**	80
Janna[9]	1;11	151	94	**10**	**6**	161
	2;5.12	218	90	**25**	**10**	243
	2;9.9	210	83	**42**	**17**	252
Mairi[10]	1;9.17	178	90	**19**	**10**	197
	1;9.19	187	87	**27**	**13**	214
	1;9.25	337	88	**44**	**12**	381
	2;3.18	104	71	**43**	**29**	147
	2;9.15	287	72	**110**	**28**	397

Table 2: Distribution of subjects with verbs

All children use overt subjects in their first file (Spiros at 1;9.2, Janna at
1;11 and Mairi at 1;9.17). Compared to the two girls, Spiros starts with a
high proportion of overt subjects whereas Janna and Mairi's null subjects
outnumber overt subjects in the early stages (see also Tsimpli, 2005). The
high percent of null subjects is not surprising given that in Greek the absence
of an overt pronominal or a DP subject is the unmarked option; a subject
pronoun or a DP is used for emphasis or contrast.

The most interesting fact illustrated in Table 2 is the developmental pat-
tern observed in Janna and Mairi's data; null subjects constitute the vast ma-
jority in the earliest recordings, gradually decreasing in favor of overt sub-
jects during the following stages. In short, the data show that overt subjects

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[9] The values reported for age 1;11 represent data taken from two recordings during the same
period.

[10] Mairi's data are representative of three selected developmental stages (i.e. first recordings at
1;9, one recording at 2;3 and last two recordings at 2;9). The values reported here for ages
1;9.25 and 2;9.15 represent data taken from two recording sessions during the same day.

are found in the earliest stages. However, what needs to be examined further is the position of overt subjects. Notice that Grinstead's theory predicts no overt subjects in a preverbal, peripheral position. Thus, let us turn to the distribution of overt subjects which is more crucial for the analysis we are considering here. Table 3 summarizes the results.

Child	Age	SV		VS		Total overt subjects
		n	%	n	%	
Spiros[11]	1;9.2/.11	6	19	25	81	31
Janna	1;11	7	70	3	30	10
	2;5.12	12	48	13	52	25
	2;9.9	19	45	23	55	42
Mairi	1;9.17	7	37	12	63	19
	1;9.25	15	34	29	66	44
	2;3.18	21	49	22	51	43
	2;9.15	44	40	45	41	110[12]

Table 3: Frequencies and percentages of
preverbal (SV) and postverbal (VS) subjects

The data show that preverbal subjects are used even in the earliest stages. Although there is individual variation regarding the proportion of preverbal subjects, preverbal subjects are found in the children's speech before they reach the age of 2. Furthermore, Janna and Mairi's data show that preverbal subjects do appear from early on and they do not disappear in the following stages; there is a steady increase in the subsequent stages of preverbal subjects in the speech of the two girls. Thus, we see that these three Greek children do use overt preverbal subjects at the earliest two-word production stages and before they reach the age of two, unlike the Catalan and Spanish children in Grinstead's study, who omit overt subjects at similar ages and MLUs. As a first conclusion, the data of the present study do not confirm prediction (a), namely, that there will be an initial stage during which no overt subjects are used in Early Greek.

In addition, we see that preverbal subjects emerge at the same time as postverbal ones in all children's speech. Thus, the data do not confirm prediction (b) either, namely, that postverbal subjects will emerge earlier than

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[11] The values for Spiros represent the average of preverbal subjects found in two files (1;9.2 & 1;9.11)

[12] The remaining 21 subjects are wh-words.

preverbal ones since they are VP-internal elements. If it were the case that the peripheral position that hosts subjects, i.e. TopicP, was not available at an early stage, preverbal subjects would have emerged later than postverbal ones. However, this was not borne out by the data.

4.2.2 The Status of Preverbal Subjects in Early Greek

An important issue that arises with regard to the position of subjects is whether preverbal subjects in Early Greek are A′ constituents, located in Spec,TopicP. Notice that Grinstead's theory allows a preverbal subject to occur in Spec,TP or Spec,vP. Only preverbal subjects that occupy the Topic, peripheral position are not expected before the age of two in pro-drop languages. Thus, it is important to examine whether there is any evidence that early preverbal subjects are located in the left periphery.

Consider the sentence produced by Mairi at 1;9.25 (marked in bold) in the following dialogue while she is talking to her caregivers about a 'father' toy:

(9) CHI: puzo ze to valome?   'Where will we put it?'
     ULL: ne.   'Yes.'
     CHI: kala.   'Ok'
     CHI: i meri na to vali.   **'Mary will put it.'**
     ULL: ti les?   'What are you saying?'
     CHI: i meri na to vali .   **'Mary will put it.'**
   CHI: (e)ki kato.   'Over there.'

In this utterance, Mairi is using the subjunctive marker *na* and an object clitic *to* 'it', placing them in the correct adult order (with *na* preceding the clitic). The overt lexical DP precedes both the mood marker and the clitic.[13] We have seen in Section 2 that *na* is the head of the MoodP and no DP can intervene between [na + V], except negation or a clitic (as is the case here). Thus, it must be the case that the preverbal lexical subject 'Mary' does not occupy Spec,TP, but rather a position higher than the mood marker, specifically a position in the left periphery as illustrated in (10).

More evidence comes from Spiros' and Janna's data. In the following examples, preverbal subjects precede the future marker *tha* (*ta* in child lan-

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[13]There are a number of analyses for preverbal clitics in Greek (e.g. Philippaki-Warburton 1998, Terzi 1999). What is important for the discussion here is that under both analyses, preverbal clitics surface in a position higher than the verb phrase and TP and thus the preverbal subject in the sentence in (9) cannot be VP internal nor in Spec,TP.

guage) in (11) and (12), as well as the adverb and the negation marker in (13).

(10)
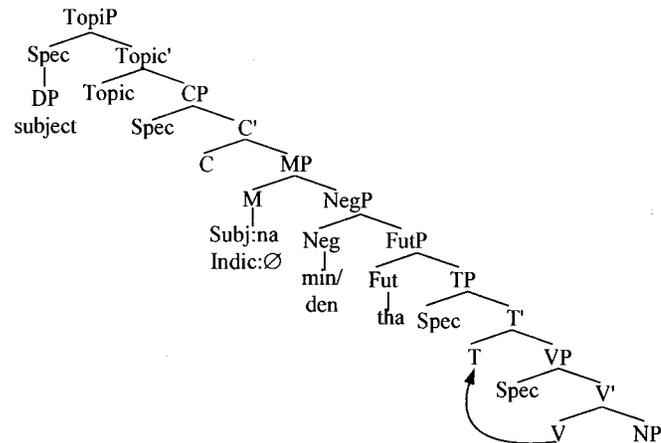
(11) to pe(d)aki **ta** bi   (s)tin t(r)ipa   (Spiros, 1;9.2)
      the child.dim fut enter.3sg.pres to-the hole
      'The little child will go into the hole.'

(12) ke ego **tha**(r)θo   sto spiti   (Janna, 2;9.9)[14]
      and I   fut come.1sg.pres at-the home
      'I'll come home too.'

(13) i   mama   **tora den** klei.   (Janna, 2;9.9)
      the mommy now neg cry.3sg.pres
      'Mommy does not cry now.'

Considering these examples, we see that preverbal subjects in Early Greek cannot occupy Spec,TP. Rather, they must occupy a peripheral position given that they precede modality markers (i.e., *na* and *tha*, situated in MoodP above TP), as well as adverbials and the negation marker situated in NegP, also above TP. To sum up, we have seen that an initial stage with no overt preverbal subjects was not attested in Child Greek.[15] Unlike the Span-

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[14]Janna's use of preverbal subjects during the early stages is not informative regarding the exact position of the DP subject, as no instances of modality or negation markers were used in sentences with preverbal subjects.

[15]Interestingly enough, this initial stage was not confirmed by Bel (2003) either

ish and Catalan children studied by Grinstead, the Greek children considered here do use preverbal subjects from the beginning. Moreover, the same pattern, that is, an early emergence of preverbal subjects, was also attested in two other Greek children studied by Tsimpli (2005). It appears then that the peripheral position TopicP is projected and accessed in Child Greek from early on.[16]

4.2.3 Focused and Topicalized Objects and Wh-questions

Let us finally consider the emergence of other constituents that involve movement to peripheral positions, namely, focused and topicalized (CLLDed) objects, and wh-questions. Table 4 presents the results.

Child	Overt subjects	Focused objects	CLLDed objects	Wh-questions
Spiros	1;9.2	1;9.2	-	1;9.11
Janna	1;11	1;11	1;11	1;11
Mairi	1;9.17	1;9.17	2;3.18	1;9.17

Table 4: The emergence of other peripheral constituents

As can been seen, for all children the point at which focused objects emerge coincides with that of overt preverbal subjects. The same is true for the emergence of wh-questions.[17]

The emergence of topicalized objects, however, shows a different pattern. No instances of topicalizations were found in Spiros' files. Janna produced her first topicalization (see (2a) in the Appendix) at 1;11 and Mairi (see (2b) in the Appendix) at 2;3.18. An increase and more consistent and frequent use of topicalizations were found in Janna's last file (at 2;9.9 years

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for the Spanish and Catalan-speaking children she studied.

[16]Could it be that Janna, Spiros and Mairi went through the initial stage predicted by Grinstead before the period we have data for? This seems highly unlikely considering their low MLUs. The first available recordings represent their earliest two-word utterance stages, especially for Janna and Spiros, who have low MLUs (1.4 and 1.6, respectively) similar to the Spanish and Catalan children.

[17]Notice also that wh-questions do not emerge later than overt subjects in English. As predicted by Grinstead, in non-pro-drop languages overt subjects should emerge earlier than peripheral constituents, since overt subjects are IP-internal constituents, occupying Spec,IP. Based on data from three English-speaking children, I have argued that overt subjects and wh-questions appear at the same time, so that the grammar-discourse interface delay does not seem to hold in English either (see Kapetangianni 2006 for details).

old) and Mairi's files following the age of 2;3.[18] Examples of all children's peripheral constituents are given in the Appendix.

In short, with the exception of topicalization[19], focus and wh-movement appear in an early stage together with overt preverbal subjects. This fact provides one more piece of evidence that left peripheral positions that interface with discourse-pragmatic knowledge are active in Child Greek (see also Tsimpli 2005 for a similar argument).[20]

5 Conclusions

In this paper, we have addressed the issue of whether the grammar-discourse interface delay as formulated by Grinstead affects the realization of the CP domain, namely TopicP and FocusP, in Child Greek. We have seen that unlike in Child Spanish and Catalan, overt preverbal subjects and other peripheral constituents are found in Child Greek even in the earliest stages of development. Based on the data of the present study, it was argued that peripheral positions are active from early on. Thus, considering the development of aspects of Greek syntax that interface with discourse-pragmatic knowledge, we can conclude that the Greek children studied here appear to have both the syntactic competence and the discourse knowledge from the beginning and hence, in contrast to Grinstead's predictions, an interface delay between syntax and discourse does not seem to hold.

The different developmental patterns attested in Greek and Spanish raise important implications, however, for both syntactic theory and a theory of language learning and as such need to be further explored. It may be the case that the differences in Child Greek and Spanish are not due to the development of the CP domain per se, but rather may be due to formal differences of the adult grammars or to different patterns in the input. I leave these questions open for further research.

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[18]The same pattern is also observed by Grinstead for Spanish and Catalan and by Tsimpli for Greek.

[19]See Tsimpli (2005) for an account (based on interpretability of features at LF) of why topicalization emerges after focus and wh-movement.

[20]Notice that Tsimpli (2005) does not relate her study on the development of peripheral positions and her data from Early Greek to Grinstead's theory and his findings for Early Spanish and Catalan.

Appendix

(1) Focused objects

   (a) stin   dipa ezo beni   a(f)to   (Focused PP)   (Spiros, 1;9.2)
        to-the hole here go.3sg.pres this-one
        'To the hole, this one goes.'

   (b) tuto   exo   eɣo, na   (Focused DO)   (Janna, 1;11)
        this-one have.1sg.pres I   dem.marker
        'This one, I have, look.'

   (c) agalitsa sa se   parume   (Focused DO)   (Mairi, 1;9.25)
        hug   fut you.cl. take.1pl.pres
        'We'll give you a hug.'

(2) Topicalized objects

   (a) tuto pa (re)   to!   (Janna, 1;11)
        this take.2sg.imp cl.
        'Take this!'

   (b) eki(n)o to t(r)one   (Mairi, 2;3.18)
        that   cl. eat.3pl.pres
        'We eat that one.'

   (c) to   viv(l)io, ta mu, na mu to xarisis?   (Mairi, 2;9.15)
        the book   fut me na me cl. give.2sg
        'The book, will you give it to me?'

(3) Wh-questions

   (a) ti   exi?   (Spiros, 1;9.11)
        what have.3sg.pres
        'What does (he/she) have?'

   (b) pu   ine   to alo?   (Janna, 1;11)
        where be.3sg.pres the other
        'Where is the other?'

   (c) pu   pai   i kiria?   (Mairi, 1;9.17)
        where go.3sg.pres the lady
        'Where does the lady go?'

   (d) pos to   lene?   (Mairi, 2;3.16)
        how it.cl call.3pl.pres
        'How is it called?'

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