ON THE PLACEMENT OF MODERN GREEK ON THE +/- CONFIGURATIONAL SPECTRUM*
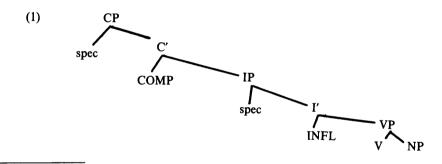
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Chomsky's proposals about Universal Grammar necessitate a highly articulated but theoretically and empirically unmotivated D-structure for Modern Greek (Theory A). Several tests on Modern Greek (MnGk) reveal the symmetric behaviour of the verbal arguments (i.e. subject, direct/indirect objects and secondary predicates). Without refuting Universal Grammar, we opt for a flat projection of argument - structure in MnGk (Theory B).

1. Introduction

Not all languages have strict word order for sentential constituents; in order to express the propositional content of the sentence *Penelope kisses Ulysses*, English offers, for instance, one way as opposed to six different serialisation alternatives exhibited by MnGk; how are these variants generated in MnGk?

Formalising the possibilities, we face a conceptual dilemma between:

THEORY A, according to which MnGk, a relatively free word order language at the sentence level, should be derived from an underlying SVO hierarchical structure, via a complex apparatus of move -α applications which are not always motivated by theory internal reasons (i.e. move -α into a position able to receive Case); Chomsky's (1986) X'-module requires all configurational languages to pass through the following representation either at D- structure or at S- structure; MnGk has to conform to this as well.
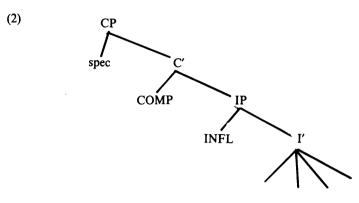
(1)

According to this view, only one order is derived at S-structure, all the other variants being accounted for by stylistic scrambling rules at PF-component, recursive V-raising, clause union and tree pruning[1].

THEORY B, according to which MnGk possesses an underlying flat representation, eliminating the necessary movements. Under this approach all empirical orderings are predicted since constituents do not receive Case and Θ-role by virtue of occupying specific slots but by virtue of lexico-semantic associations with predicates.
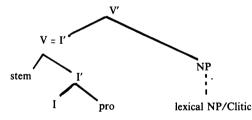
This is what we call partially configurational view which is represented below[2]:

(2)

On the terminal nodes [$_{\Gamma}$ ...] V, NP and the canonical categorial realisation of subcategorised proposition (i.e. CP, IP) are projected, but their appearance is not predetermined by specific slots; therefore, we leave the terminal nodes empty.

Pros and cons exist for both theories and surely we do not want to initiate a controversy like the ongoing one about Hungarian or Japanese. Simply, in our endeavour to understand MnGk, we are presented with ample evidence favouring theory B which accounts in a simple and natural way for a wider range of MnGk data.

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1. Within this theory, Philippaki-Warburton (1987) proposes that the Spec of IP accomodates a Topic for MnGk; the other innovation is that INFL is considered a category of the sublexical level:

2. We believe that INFL ocupies a sentence initial position in MnGk (Catsimali 1990) and that the S-structure order is the result of V-movement to INFL.

2. Diagnostic tests for sentence configurationality in MnGk

The following tests indicate that SPEC of IP is not A- position for MnGk (2.1 and 2.2) and that the verbal arguments have similar syntactic behaviour (2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7, 2.8 and 2.9).

2.1 Evidence from wh-interrogative movement

In English, wh-movement of an interrogative wh-phrase displays a subject-object asymmetry as illustrated below: '

(1) a. who$_i$ do they say [Mary deceived e$_i$]
   b. who$_i$ do they say [that Mary deceived e$_i$]
(2) a. who$_i$ do they say [e$'_i$ [e$_i$ deceived Mary]
   b. *who$_i$ do they say [that e$_i$ deceived Mary]

In (1) the object moves across an unfilled (1a) or filled (2b) COMP to the initial landing site without any violation of Empty Category Principle (ECP) because the empty category is properly governed by the lower verb; but in (2) the subject moves successfully only in the unfilled COMP option (2a), where the e$_i$ is properly governed by an intermediate trace which is in the governing domain of the higher verb. In (2b) the trace e$_i$ is not properly governed and the output is ungrammatical.

In MnGk both object and subject move unproblematically regardless of the filled or unfilled COMP. The counterpart of (1) is (3), with subject *Maria* following the verb. Compare (2) and its MnGk counterpart (4) however:

(3) a. pjon$_i$ ipane [apata i Maria e$_i$]
   b. pjon$_i$ ipane [oti apata i Maria e$_i$]
(4) a. pjos$_i$ ipane [e$_i$ apata ti Maria]
   b. pjos$_i$ ipane [oti e$_i$ apata ti Maria]

The contrast in grammaticality between (2b) and (4b) is known as *That-t* violation and it motivated the pro-drop literature for which subject extraction launches it from post-verbal position (VP right adjunction) in order to leave a properly governed trace:

(4) c. pjos$_i$ ipane [oti [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ apata ti Maria] e$_i$]]

Drachman (1989: 20-21) offers some alternative mechanisms for the account of subject-extraction in MnGk, without commiting himself to any of them:

(i) for the VOS order, the post-verbal subject is adjoined to VP. When it is extracted, it is properly governed: [wh [e [[V O] e]

(ii) for the VSO order, the subject is generated as in English, but the verb is fronted (adjoined to S or COMP); then the fronted verb properly governs the subject: [wh [V [e Vt O]]

(iii) for the SVO order, the subject wh-could be generated in S-adjunction or COMP; then we have subject-«extraction» without movement: [wh [e V O].

It seems that one mechanism for each ordering option is an uneconomical solution for just one language. It would be preferable to have a single parameter for all orderings.

In Hungarian, the equivalents of (3b and 4b) are also grammatical, which enables E.

Kiss (1987: 166) to «treat both subject and object as sisters of each other and sisters and governees of the V». Since only a postverbal subject is in the government domain of the V and consequently properly governed, the extraction site of (3a) should be following the verb. Since both subject and object under the same conditions undergo long wh-interrogative movement, E. Kiss takes this as evidence for postverbal flat structure for arguments in Hungarian. We find that the same analysis is a reasonable one for MnGk.

Corroborative evidence for such an analysis for MnGk derives from the fact that sentences with extracted subjects coordinate with sentences with extracted objects much more successfully in MnGk than in English (Horrocks, 1984: 121) if coordination deletes constituents under structural identity, then both MnGk subject and object are post-verbal.

(5) a. *this is the girl$_i$ [[I met e$_i$] and [e$_i$ invited me to the party]]
    b. afto ine to koritsi$_i$ [[pu sinandisa e$_i$] ke [me proskalese e$_i$ sto parti]][3]

2.2 Evidence from long wh-relative movement

Long movement of a wh-relative phrase applies under the same conditions to both object (6) and subject (7):

(6) a. sinandisa ton andra$_i$ [ton opio$_i$ iksera [oti [aγapai e$_i$] i Maria]]
    b. I met the man$_i$ [whom$_i$ I knew [that Mary [loves e$_i$]]]
(7) a. o andras$_i$ [o opios$_{i\text{-}nom}$ iksera [oti θa 'rθi e$_i$]] tilefonise
    b. o andras$_i$ [ton opio$_{i\text{-}acc}$ iksera [oti θa 'rθi e$_i$]] tilefonise
    b'. *the man$_i$ [whom$_i$ I knew [e$_i$ would come]] called up

The problem is where is the MnGk subject generated, in order to leave a properly governed trace, when it is extracted; such a problem does not arise if we postulate that the subject originated post-verbally, because its trace will be properly governed.

2.3 Evidence from «superiority» effects in multiple wh-constructions

In multiple questions (questions with more than one wh-words) the Superiority Condition ensures that the structurally superior question word will be preposed into the COMP slot. The condition is formulated as follows:

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3. A possible analysis of NEG reported in Philippaki-Warburton (1989) hints at a different position of NEG in the two languages and the A′ status of SPEC of IP in MnGk:

   a. John did not see Mary
   a′. *John not did see Mary
   b. o Janis δen iδe ti Maria
   b′. *o Janis iδe δen ti Maria

If we consider NEG as a phrasal category, it seems that in English its position is between INFL and V, while in MnGk it is placed before INFL. Then contrary to English, we could say that, in MnGk, NEG blocks government of the SPEC of IP; therefore, this position is not an A-position; *o Janis* in (b) is then A′ constituent.

(8) No rule can involve X, Z in the structure:

... X ... [$_a$ ... Z ... - WYZ ...],

where the rule applies ambiguously to Z and Y and Z is superior to Y.

Thus considering the non-echo readings, there is a clear asymmetry between (9) and (10):

(9) who admires what?

(10) *what$_i$ who admires e_i?

(9) with a «wh-in-situ» object (*what*) is grammatical but (10) with the same word fronted is not. Chomsky (1981) suggests that the Superiority Constraint derives from ECP application in syntax, i.e. the moved wh-object in (10) does not properly govern its trace e_i.

In MnGk, such an asymmetry is not obvious. Compare the English (11) with their MnGk equivalent (12):

(11) a. what pleased whom?
 b. *who did what please?
 c. *what did whom please?
 d. *whom pleased what?

(12) a. ti efxaristise pjon?
 b. pjon ti efxaristise?
 c. ti pjon efxaristise?
 d. pjon efxaristise ti?

multiple wh-question words in a series such as (12b and c) are not preferred by MnGk speakers who tend to conjoin the wh-words (*pjon ke ti*) but they are accepted/tolerated by hearers. Tokens with wh-in-situ (11a, 12a, d) are construed as distributive while tokens with iterative wh-words are interpreted as questioning the event as a whole. The contrast between English and MnGk is suggestive for a structural difference between the two languages.

Drachman (1988: 20) compares embedded questions with wh-in-situ constituents:

(13) a. I wonder who did what inside here
 b. aporo *pjos* ekane *ti* eδo mesa
 a'. *I wonder what did who inside here
 b'. aporo *ti* ekane *pjos* eδo mesa

For his informants the MnGk (13b') is «somewhat less acceptable» than (13b). Drachman offers three alternatives without opting for any of them:

(i) «an (unknown) factor could be held responsible for this discrepancy, without impugning the claim that post-verbal position is the legitimate extraction site (whether by «inversion» or V-fronting)»

(ii) «question the LF parallel altogether»

(iii) «for Gk no movement is involved! Then Subject-extraction in Gk is by the wh-in-situ strategy, presumably involving Base-produced wh-in S-adjunction».

If we have to explain the acceptability of (12b, c, d) by some speakers, even though some speakers do not like the «doubly filled COMP» constructions, we should indicate

possible positions for subject and direct object. Notice that an explanation might be suggested by the ordering possibility (11d) vs. (12d). The fact that the subject *ti* occurs postverbally, an expected fact for a pro-drop language like MnGk, leads to the hypothesis that both wh-words are extracted from post verbal positions. This is supported by occurences like:
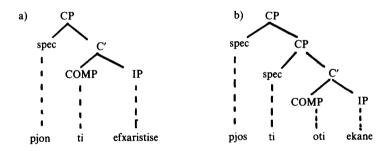
(14) efxaristise *ti pjon*?
     pleased-it what whom?

If we front either or both wh-words in (14) the remaining trace/s are lexically governed by the verb and ECP is not violated, and all ordering variations are accounted for. The Superiority Condition is regarded as a consequence of a sentence structure assigning to the subject and object hierarchically different positions but the danger is circumvented with a structure with postverbal arguments, assuming that the verb Θ-governs both arguments. Lack of Superiority effects in Hungarian is also evaluated by E. Kiss (ibid) as indicative of a structure in which the subject and object are on the same level. But in MnGk we have further evidence that indirect object parallels direct one. Questioning the internal arguments of *you gave her the book* we could in MnGk have:

(15) a. ti pjanu eδoses?
         what to-whom gave-you
     b. pjanu ti eδoses?
         to-whom what gave-you

Thus it is justified to represent the indirect object as sister node of the direct object and subject[4].

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4. An interesting problem is what are the landing sites of the extractions. The available devices are either «Doubly filled COMP» (a) or adjunction nodes (b).

Choosing between the two alternatives is facilitated by sentences such as

a. anarotjeme pjos ti oti ekane
b. I wonder who did what

The (b) representation is opted which is in line with Chomsky (1986) who allows wh-movement to SPEC.

2.4 Evidence from reflexive pronouns

MnGk presents interesting problems for GB which seeks to state Binding Principles in terms of hierarchical constituent structure. Binding Principle A requires a bound anaphor (such as a reflexive, reciprocals and traces of NP movement) to be bound in its governing category. In MnGk the reflexive has the structure [det-self-POSS] and appears in object position with (16) or without (17) an object clitic:

(16) o Sokratis koroiδeve *ton eafto tu*
the-Socrates was-teasing the-self-his

(17) o Sokratis *ton* koroiδeve *ton eafto tu*
the-Socrates him was-teasing the-self-his

To account for the correct reference of *ton* in (17) which being a pronominal must be free in its governing category (Binding Principle B), Iatridou (1988: 701) uses an indexing device according to which «the subject of the sentence is coindexed not with the anaphoric NP but with the possessive pronoun inside it». Such an account is supported by the fact that the POSS clitic agrees in gender with the subject. This as well as the indexing device is illustrated in (18):

(18) i Maria$_k$ *ton*$_j$ θavmazi [*ton eafton tis*$_k$]$_j$
Maria him-cl-acc admires the-self-her

The drawbacks of this analysis derive from the obligatory association of the anaphor only with the subject, thus it fails to account successfully for (19):

(19) [andimetopizondas *ton eafto su*] ta δilimata ksepernjude
[by facing your/one's self] the dilemmas are overcome

(19) is a counter-example, because there is no structural subject for the gerundival clause and the null AGR of *andimetopizondas* cannot bind the clitic; the clitic is in second person but its lack of identification leads to a generic interpretation.

The crucial consequence of Principle A is that a reflexive cannot c-command its antecedent, i.e. it cannot appear in subject position, since subject is defined as the position which c-commands all other argument positions in S; this prohibition accounts for the ungrammaticality of (20):

(20) *himself betrayed John

But such constructions are possible in MnGk, with pre- or post-verbal reflexive subject:

(20) a. *o eaftos tu* (ton) proδose (/ksejelase/talepori) to Jani
the-self-his (him) betrayed (/cheated/tortures) the-John-acc

b. ton proδose (/ksejelase/talepori) *o eaftos tu* to Jani

c. ton proδose to Jani *o eaftos tu*

Such instances are barred by the Binding module and its proponents would have to resort to ad hoc solutions to fit the theory, like having two lexical items [det-self-POSS], one only being anaphoric and occurring in environments where Principle A is satisfied and the other been a pronominal, free everywhere. Such a circular solution (Drachman, 1985: 186 and Iatridou ibid: 703) is undesirable. Alternatively, we could say that if all verbal arguments are flatly represented in MnGk the bound lexical anaphor will seek a

compatible antecedent not on the basis of its syntactic position but on the basis of matching grammatical features (gender, person etc), leaving space for indeterminacies which will be resolved by the verb's lexical idiosyncracies or the pragmatics:

(21) o Petros$_i$ eδikse to Jani$_j$ ston eafto tu$_{i/j}$ ston kaθrefti
      the-Peter-nom$_i$ showed the-John-acc$_j$ to himself$_{i/j}$ at the mirror

Such a solution will predict that Anaphor Binding will apply in both objects in MnGk but not in English:

(22) a. I showed John$_i$ himself$_i$ (in the mirror)
           eδiksa tu Jani$_i$ ton eafton tu$_i$ (ston kaθrefti)
      b. *I showed himself$_i$ John$_i$ (in the mirror)
           eδiksa ton eafton tu$_i$ tu Jani$_i$ (ston kaθrefti)

2.5 Evidence from VP anaphora/gapping

The two terms have been used to indicate deletion of elements under identity in conjoined structures. The range of phenomena they cover is not fully specified. The VP-Deletion test has been used to prove constituency (Horvath, 1986: 55). The point is that in both languages, English and MnGk, the verb and (/or) the subject can be deleted/gapped. However, while the sequence V + object cannot be split in English, in MnGk, the direct object (23), indirect objects (24) and subcategorised PPs (25), appear in the second part independently from the relevant verb. Contrast the difference in grammaticality between MnGk and English:

(23) a. o Janis eδose tis Marias to γliko *ke o Kostas to poto*
      b. *John gave Mary the sweet and Kostas$_{nom}$ the drink
(24) a. o Janis eδose tis Marias to γliko *ke o Kostas tis Elenis*
      b. *John gave Mary the sweet and Kostas$_{nom}$ Helen
(25) a. o Janis evale ena vivlio sto trapezi *ke o Kostas sto rafi*
      b. *John put a book on the table and Kostas$_{nom}$ on the shelf

In English the «offending» NPs in the ungrammatical sentences cannot be interpreted because there is not enough information around to reconstruct the whole VP. On the contrary, the grammaticality of the MnGk counterparts indicates that the function of the NPs can be partially-reconstructed on the basis of their morphological case.

Furthermore, the interpretive rule operating in 'likewise' adverbs, which are assumed to modify VPs, «reconstructs» less than a complete VP in MnGk:

(26) a. o Janis eδose tis Marias to γliko *ke o Kostas episis to poto*
      b. *   and also Kostas$_{nom}$ the drink

Gapping constructions in English are usually explained by reconstructing a VP in LF; such a solution is also viable for MnGk but the input for the reconstruction will be Case indications along with the lexical information.

2.6 Evidence from fronting clausal arguments

Haider (1985: 18,1) compares English (27a), Dutch (27b) and German (27c) with

respect to the possibility of preposing clausal objects:

(27) a. *that to open this door noone yet tried
b. *dat dere deur te openen nog niemand geprobeerd heeft
c. dass diese Tür zu öffnen noch niemand versucht hat

The ungrammaticality of the first two is attributed to the presence of a VP node. On the contrary German allows preposing as a consequence of the flat structure (suggested by Haider), since reordering of sister nodes does not affect the structure. Haider raises the point that clausal subcategorised arguments can not be fronted in a VP language like English; then if MnGk does not have a VP the corresponding arguments (nominalised as in 28c or not) should be able to move:

(28) a. *that John will come, I assume / it is said
b. oti θarθi o Janis, δiesθanome / δiaδoθike
c. to oti θarθi o Janis, to δiesθanome / δiaδoθike

What these facts indicate is that clausal arguments are free to prepose in MnGk, in contrast with a VP language like English.

2.7 Evidence from «secondary predicates»

Additional evidence for the symmetrical behaviour of subject and object in MnGk comes from extraction facts of «secondary predicates». By «secondary predicates» we refer (after Rothstein 1983) to the subject-oriented (29) and object-oriented (30) adjectival predicates which modify an argument which is theta-marked by the verb.

(29) o Janis pai *ksipolitos* st' agaθja
'John goes barefoot into the thorns'
(30) i fili mu me iδane *δjavatari*
'my friends saw me as a wanderer'

Extraction properties of secondary predicates reflect their syntactic position. In English, they seem impossible to move:

(31) a. *how angry$_i$ did John leave the room e$_i$?
b. (?)how raw$_i$ did John eat the meat e$_i$?
a'. *how angry$_i$ [do you think] that John left the room e$_i$?
b". (?)how raw$_i$ [do you think] that John ate the meat e$_i$?

In MnGk, extraction is possible from object-oriented (32) and subject-oriented (33) both in simple and embedded sentences:

(32) a. poso θimomenos efiɣe o Janis?
a'. poso θimomenos [nomizis] oti efiɣe o Janis?
(33) b. poso kafto pini o Janis ton kafe?
b'. poso kafto [nomizis] oti pini o Janis ton kafe?

The following table summarizes the above facts and judgments:

(34)

	English		MnGk	
	simple	embedded	simple	embedded
subject predicates	–	–	+	+
object predicates	?	?	+	+

The discussion leads us to suggest that the syntactic representation of subject and object predicates does not have to be the same for English and MnGk.

Additionally evidence comes from genuine small clause (as opposed to the previously discussed secondary predicates). In English the inner NP may move freely but the predicate attribute cannot, as the following wh-movement and Topicalisation prove:

(35) a.   who does Mary consider a friend?
     b.   (?)*what does Mary consider Bill?
(36) a.   Bill, Mary considers a friend.
     b.   *a friend, Mary considers Bill.

Contrast the above ungrammatical sentences with the equivalents MnGk:

(35') b.   ti ton pernas to Vasili?
(36') b.   ksipnjo se θeorusa ~ ja ksipnjo se pernaγa

Leaving the question of specific structural position open, we indicated that the subject and object secondary predicates along with the predicates of small clauses are equally extractable in MnGk.

2.8 Evidence from range-bearing elements

Elements such as *even* and *only* behave differently in English with respect to the phenomenon of association with focus, as noted by Jackendoff (1972). Thus, while both *even* and *only* may be associated with focus on the object in (37) if placed between the auxiliary and the verb:

(37) a.   John will even read THAT BOOK
     b.   John will only read THAT BOOK

only may not be association with focus on the subject (38) if the same position is retained:

(38) a.   JOHN will even read that book
     b.   *JOHN will only read that book

In MnGk the scope-bearing adverb *mono* 'only' may freely modify either subject or object if it is placed between the aux and the verb. So in the sentence «*Socrates had only said the truth*», it can refer either to a focussed object:

(39) a.   o Sokratis ixe *mono* pi TIN ALIΘJA, or to a focussed subject:
     b.   O SOKRATIS ixe *mono* pi tin aliθja

This behaviour of range-bearing adverbs in a particular position is a further proof for the (dis)similarities between English and MnGk, since in the latter only these elements modify equally subject or object.

2.9 Evidence from «lexical incorporation facts»

One of Chomsky's (1988: 55-56) arguments for hierarchically differentiated subject and object is the fact that the object of a verb can incorporate, forming a complex verb, but the subject cannot. So in Spanish we can have (40) but not (41):

(40) Juan cievo-caza
      'Juan deer-hunts'
(41) *Juan-caza los cievos
      'Juan-hunts deer'

This may be seen as a process which does not change the meaning, but alters the argument structure of the verb resulting in a new verb by incorporation of an argument-variable.

In MnGk incorporation with the direct object is also possible:

(42) xartopezo   'to play cards' xasomero   'to waste the day'
      xrimatoδoto   'to finance'   zitokravγazo 'to applaud'
      γnomoδoto   'to advise'   afisokolo   'to stick posters (on walls)'

Although not widespread in MnGk there are also instances of verb-formation with the indirect object:

(43) δjavolostelno 'to curse someone to hell'

As for the internalisation of the subject this seems to be possible also as shown by:

(44) jatroloγao   'I look after someone like a doctor'
      mastroxalai   'he takes apart and reconstructs'
      iljovasileve 'the sun was sinking'

Therefore Chomsky's attempt to support a hierarchical differentiation of subject and object on the basis of lexical incorporation does not go through in MnGk. Along these lines, the subject, direct and indirect objects behave the same with respect to verb formation and therefore they should be represented at the same level, sisters under the same node. As for the degree of productivity it has to be accounted on the grounds of semantic compatibility between the verb and its possible arguments.

Notice that even secondary predicates with resultative verbs (*kseropsino* 'overkook', *kseropaγono* 'freeze solid') and causative ones (*-ise*) (*sigekrimenopio* 'make concrete', *viomixanopio* 'industrialise') may incorporate. Since they have similar properties to the other grammatical functions, their position should as well be similar[5].

3. Some consequences of a partially flat sentential structure of MnGk

The question arising from such an analysis is what is the status of the *Grammatical Functions* (subject, direct/indirect objects), which are hierarchically defined in Chomsky but are represented flatly in the proposed structure.

For configurational languages, like English, the Projection Principle ensures that the arguments will be projected to the appropriate positions at D-structure. This is due to two important assumptions of GB:

I. Grammatical Functions (subject, objects) are hierarchically differentiated in D-Structure with reference to dominance relations; the subject is dominated by IP and the objects are dominated by VP.

In our system, Grammatical Functions do not correspond to specific positions: this does not imply that they are not present or identifiable; it simply reveals that languages differ in techniques of representing GFs, though all have systematic ways of doing it. English uses hierarchical positions and consequently strict word ordering, while MnGk uses word shape (i.e. case and agreement) and consequently the word order is relaxed. Both inflectional systems (noun and verbal) are strong enough, i.e. informative enough to signal relations and the need for specific positions is absent.

We would like to propose that the burden of identifying, describing and explaining GFs is switched from positions to Cases in MnGk. NPs are identified as arguments not by means of syntactic positions and GFs but by means of Case and Θ-role. This is actually contrary to what Williams (1984: 644) suggests: «the idea that GRs could be represented by Case is rejected because there are subjects/PRO and objects/NP-traces which lack Case». But MnGk does not have NP-traces, as the research (cf. Philippaki-Warburton, 1987, among others) about raising, passivisation and Control indicates.

From the above discussion it is logical to conclude that GFs stand in a derivative relation to the notion of Case in MnGk.

II. The second implicit assumption of GB is that the Lexicon projects an argument-structure for each verb which designates external and internal arguments. The distinction is justified on three grounds:

(i) there are verbs which have subject but no external argument as the verb 'seem' in (45):

(45) a. *it* seems [that John is here]
     b. John$_j$ [seems [t$_j$ to be here]]

(ii) internal arguments are assigned Case under government by the V, but external under predication.

(iii) verbs may be subcategorised for more than one internal arguments but for only one (or zero) external argument.

MnGk, under the proposed non-configurational interpretation, presents a different situation: the distinction between internal and external arguments is not justified by reference to VP in D-structure. All arguments have equal status. But we need still to indicate that the 3rd person singular inflectional marker on the verb *exi* 'has' below may refer correspondingly to a referential NP in (46a), for example *o Janis* and to zero external Θ-role in (46b):

(46) a. exi lefta   '(s)he has money'
     b. exi jatrus   'there are doctors'

This can be done by underlining in the lexicon the potential subject/external Θ-role for each verb which will be optionally projected as Nominative. Nominative is in that sense *default*. Thus the lexical entry for (a) is: *exo*: x $<$y$>$ but for (b) *exi*: $<$y$>$.

Then the distinction between the internal and external arguments is kept for MnGk

in the lexicon (and certainly in LF) and it is not apparent in syntax, if we apply the tests which are drawn from the theory. The flat projection of argument structure of the verb could be accounted for as a parameter for MnGk. The distribution of Cases could be predicted by considering Nominative default which enters D-structure along with the projection of external argument, Genitive of indirect object as inherent specified at the lexical entry of the verb and Accusative of direct object «structural», with the condition of adjacency relaxed.

4. Concluding remarks

The ordering variations at the sentence level in MnGk may be accounted for either by a strict configurational analysis (Theory A) or by a non-configurational approach (Theory B). The paper gives evidence that subject and objects exhibit similar properties, therefore their position at the same level might be justified; as a result Grammatical Functions are not defined hierarchically but by the correlation [+Case, +Θ-role]. This approach does not refute Chomsky's UG (since ECP and Subjacency are obeyed in MnGk), but it simply views configurationality at the sentence level as a parameter. MnGk then, exhibits a non-configurational projection of sentential arguments (although it has a configurational left periphery of IP and NP structure) and this is what we call the partial configurational approach.

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