

Properties of *Wh*-Question Formation in Cypriot Greek

Kleanthes K. Grohmann^{*}, Phoevos Panagiotidis[†], and Stavroula Tsipakou^{*}

^{*}University of Cyprus, [†]Cyprus College

This paper discusses a variant of *wh*-questions in Cypriot Greek which involves the expression *embu* 'is-that' and is at first glance suspiciously similar to the *est-ce que* 'is-it that' type of *wh*-questions in French (and a similar phenomenon in Northern Italian dialects). Our main goals are to present the properties of this intriguing pattern, which sets Cypriot apart from both Standard Greek and other Greek dialects, and to sketch an analysis that capitalizes on current advances in syntactic theory. A closer inspection of the properties of Cypriot *wh*-questions will lead to a different path of explanation from that proposed for Romance *est-ce que*-varieties for several reasons, among them the fact that *embu* sometimes surfaces as the contracted form *mbu* — which is, contrary to appearances, much more than a simple allomorph. The suggested analysis assumes sideward movement into a (cleft) small clause whose predicate is phonetically unrealized. This analysis may have interesting consequences for the derivational analysis of cleft structures in general.

Keywords: (Standard) Modern Greek, Cypriot Greek, *wh*-questions, clefts, small clauses, null predicate, sideward movement, economy, *wh*-clitic

1. Introduction

Cypriot Greek (CG) is a variety of Greek spoken by approximately 800,000 people in Cyprus and across the British Commonwealth (see Goutsos & Karyolemou 2004 for details and discussion). In a seminal study, Newton (1972) presents a number of grammatical properties of CG, primarily in morphology and phonology, but he says rather little about its syntax. One area of considerable morphosyntactic divergence between CG and Standard Modern Greek (SMG) is clitic placement, which we will not discuss here; thorough treatments of this topic can be found in e.g. Agouraki (1997), Condoravdi & Kiparsky (2002), and Petinou & Terzi (2002). As will be shown in this paper, the syntax of the CG complementizer field, the left periphery of the clause, differs significantly from that of SMG. We are concerned with the CG-variety of

wh-question formation. After presenting the properties of this specimen, we will discuss similarities and differences with Romance varieties and sketch the beginnings of an analysis that incorporates a sideward movement analysis of (*wh*-)clefts.

In section 2 we present the most salient properties of CG *wh*-question formation involving *embu* ‘is-that’ and its reduced apparent variant *mbu*, and contrast it with that of SMG (which lacks the forms *embu/mbu* altogether). Section 3 discusses the similarities to *wh*-question formation in various Romance varieties involving *est-ce que* (or its counterparts). Section 4 argues against an extension of a recent (line of) analysis proposed for Romance to CG *wh*-questions and sketches an alternative approach building on the relevance of cleft structures. It closes with a discussion of some recalcitrant cases. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Properties of *Wh*-Question Formation in Cypriot Greek and Romance

2.1 Cypriot Greek *wh*-questions

The data in (1) illustrate one possible way of *wh*-question formation in CG for *wh*-subjects (1a) and *wh*-objects (1b) as well as so-called “quasi-argumental” *wh*-expressions (1c) and “true adjunct” *wh*-expressions (1d). These structures correspond to homologous structures in SMG, modulo phonological differences:¹

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------|----------|----|-----------------------|----------|
| (1) | a. | Pcos | efie? | c. | Pote | efies? |
| | | who.NOM | left.3SG | | when | left.2SG |
| | | ‘Who went?’ | | | ‘When did you leave?’ | |
| | b. | Pcon | idhes? | d. | Jati | efies? |
| | | who.ACC | saw.2SG | | why | left.2SG |
| | | ‘Who did you see?’ | | | ‘Why did you leave?’ | |

But CG also makes available an alternative way of forming *wh*-questions, which does not exist in SMG. Compare the pattern above with the paradigm below, for *wh*-arguments, both subjects (1a, 2a) and objects (1b, 2b), and for *wh*-adjuncts, both quasi-arguments *when/where* (3) and true adjuncts *why/how* (4):²

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|------------------------------------|---------|----------|
| (2) | a. | Pcos | embu | efie? |
| | | who.NOM | is-that | left.3SG |
| | | <i>lit.</i> ‘Who is it that left?’ | | |
| | b. | Pcon | embu | idhes? |

- who.ACC is-that saw.2SG
lit. 'Who is it that you saw?'
- (3) a. Pote {embu} epies?
 when is-that went.2SG
- b. Pu {embu} epies?
 where is-that went.2SG
 'When/Where did you go?'
- (4) a. Jati {embu} epies?
 why is-that went.2SG
- b. Indalos {embu} epies?
 how is-that went.2SG
 'Why/How did you go?'

We refer to this variety, which is the main focus of our paper, as the *embu*-strategy in CG *wh*-questions. The remainder of this section will lay out all relevant syntactic and interpretive properties of the *embu*-strategy in as far as we are able to ascertain at this point.

Informants invariably prefer a D(iscourse)-linked reading for the *wh*-element (Pesetsky 1987) when it is supported by *embu*, a reading such as "for which N out of a set of referents identified in the discourse." An added wrinkle is that *mbu* (an apparent variant of *embu*) is obligatory in *wh*-questions introduced by *inda*, when *inda* is an argument (meaning 'what'), but it is optional when *inda* is an adjunct (meaning 'why'/'what for'), as is indicated by (5) through (7).

- (5) Inda *{mbu} ipces?
 what.ACC is-that drank.2SG
 'What did you drink?'
- (6) Inda *{mbu} se stenoxorise?
 what.ACC is-that you.CL.ACC upset.3SG
 'What upset you?'
- (7) Inda {mbu} erkumaste dhame?
 what is-that come.1PL here?
 'What do we come here for?'

Interestingly, when the *wh*-expression is complex, i.e. of the type *inda*+N, *embu* (but not *mbu*) may surface optionally:

- (8) Inda krasin {embu, *mbu} ipces?
 what wine.ACC is-that drank.2SG

‘What wine did you drink?’

The distribution in embedded contexts is identical:

- (9)a. En iksero inda krasin {embu, *mbu} ipces.
 not know.1SG what wine.ACC is-that drank.2SG
 ‘I don’t know what wine you drank.’
- b. En iksero inda *{*embu, mbu} ipces.
 not know.1SG what is-that drank.2SG
 ‘I don’t know what you drank.’

The relevance of D-linking to the obligatoriness of (*e*)*mbu* might be supported when one considers “aggressively non-D-linked” *wh*-phrases (Pesetsky 1987, den Dikken & Giannakidou 2002), where *embu* (but not *mbu*) may surface:³

- (10) Inda st’anatheman {embu, *mbu} kamnete?
 what in-the-damnation is-that do.2PL
 ‘What the hell are you doing?’

In sum, the generalization concerning the presence of *embu/mbu* in CG *wh*-questions seems to be that *embu* is optional, unless the *wh*-word is bare and argumental *inda*, in which case *mbu* is obligatory.

2.2 *Wh*-questions in Romance varieties

The situation is partly reminiscent of French, where the basic restriction is that *est-ce que* ‘is it that’ is obligatory with inanimate subject *que* ‘what’ (Obenauer 1981), and partly of Northern Italian dialects (Munaro, Poletto & Pollock 2002, Munaro & Pollock 2002), as the data in (11) and (12) illustrate:

- (11) *French* (Munaro & Pollock 2002)
- a. {*Que, Qu’est-ce qui} tombe / surprendMarie / arrive?
 what what-is-that what falls surprisesMarie happens
 ‘What falls / surprises Marie / happens?’
- b. {Qui, Qui est-ce qui} tombe / surprendMarie / arrive?
 who who is-that who falls surprisesMarie happens
 ‘Who falls / surprises Marie / arrives?’

- (12) *Bellunese* (Munaro & Pollock 2002)
- a. {*Che, E-lo che che} te disturba?
 what is-it.CL what that you.CL disturbs
 ‘What disturbs you?’

- b. {*Chi, E-lo chi che} te disturba?
 who I s-it.CL who that you.CL disturbs
 'Who disturbs you?'

The Romance varieties display minor differences in the implementation of the *est-ce que* strategy; in French it is obligatory only with *que* subjects, while in Northern Italian dialects such as Bellunese it is obligatory across the board with bare *wh*-words. Val Camonica dialects also optionally display *wh*-doubling:

- (13) *Val Camonica* (Munaro & Pollock 2002)
 {Ch'} è-l chi che porta al pa?
 who is-it.CL who that brings the bread
 'Who is it that brings the bread?'

Crucially, the *est-ce que* strategy is not required when the *wh*-expression is complex, as is shown by the French and Bellunese examples in (14a) and (14b):

- (14) a. Quel autobus {est-ce qui} a embouti ma voiture?
 which bus is-it that has dented my car
 'Which bus {is it that} has dented my car?'
 b. Che vestito à-la comprà?
 what dress has-she.CL bought
 'What dress has she bought?'

Again, the situation is strongly reminiscent of Cypriot Greek (cf. (8)-(9) above).

3. The 'Romance' analysis

Pollock (2002) and Munaro & Pollock (2002) are among the few generative linguists who have paid attention to this phenomenon; they have argued in favor of two distinct types of *est-ce-que*, at least for French, and in favor of an analysis that involves the notion of *wh*-clitic and the syntactic reflex(es) of semantic notions such as D-linking. The account hinges on the following assumptions:

(i) *Wh*-expressions project an existentially quantified operator Op1 and a "disjunctive" operator Op2; Op2 is higher in the left periphery than Op1, where Op2 merges above ForceP and OpP1 merges just below it (but above TopP). The hierarchical relation between the two types of *wh*-, as expressed in the syntactic representation, accounts for the restrictions on relative scope assignment holding between the two operators (cf. Katz & Postal 1964). A complex *wh*-expression occupies the higher Op2-position, while in the absence of one, a bare *wh*-word needs to check the uninterpretable features of both Op1

and Op2. Languages parameterize as to whether Op1 and Op2 are spelled out at PF or not.

(ii) When the *wh*-word is a clitic, e.g. French *que*, it must adjoin to IP by head movement, and remnant IP movement to the higher Op2-position must ensue; this accounts for ‘stylistic inversion’ (cf. Kayne & Pollock 2001):⁴

- (15) a. Qu’as-tu dit?
 what.CL-have-you.CL said
 ‘What have you said?’
 b. $[_{Op2P} que_i Op2^0 [_{ForceP} [_{IP} t_i [_{CLIP} t_i [as] t_j]]]]_m Force^0 [_{GP} tu_i G^0$
 $[_{Op1P} OP_k Op1^0 [_{TopP} [dit [t_i, t_k]]_j Top^0 t_m]]]]]$

When the *wh*-clitic is a subject, however, a derivation such as (15) is banned, since it would involve rightward movement or lowering of the subject *wh*-clitic to IP prior to remnant movement of *wh*-clitic+IP to Op2. Munaro & Pollock suggest that in this case the *wh*-clitic is merged above Op1, as the predicate of a small clause consisting of *ce* and *que* embedded under the copula *est*:

- (16) a. Qu’est-ce qui tombe?
 what.CL-is-it that falls
 ‘What is falling?’
 b. $[_{Op2P} que_i Op2^0 [_{ForceP} [_{CLP} t_i [_{Copp} est [_{SC} t_i ce]]]]] Force^0$
 $[_{Op1P} OP_i que] [_{IP} t_i i [_{VP} t_i tombe]]]]]$

Munaro & Pollock argue further that the proposed structure is not biclausal in virtue of the fact that *est* and *ce* are ‘inert’ in terms of EPP, Case, and tense features and hence do not project a higher matrix IP above ForceP. The claim is that *est-ce (que)* in *bona fide* clefts is different in that the copula carries a tense feature, *est-ce* is intonationally prominent, and *est-ce* can be separated from the lower *que* by a parenthetical expression such as *donc* ‘then’, which does not point to a Spec-Head relation:

- (17) a. Qu’est-ce que tu lui avais promis?
 what.CL-is-it that you him.CL had.2SG promised
 ‘What is it that you promised him?’
 b. *Qu’ était ce donc que tu lui avais promis?
 what.CL was it then that you him. CLhad.2SG promised
 ‘What was it, then, that you promised him?’
 c. Quel livre était ce donc que tu lui avais promis?
 Which book was it then that you him.CL had.2SG promised
 ‘What book was it, then, that you promised him?’

The similarity to CG immediately becomes apparent: *embu* is distinguished phonetically, morphologically, and syntactically from *mbu*, both in that *embu* appears in *wh*-structures optionally (as discussed in (2)-(4) above) and in that *embu* is inflected for tense, while *mbu* is not. This is indicated by the contrasts in (18)-(19):

- (18) a. Pcon {itan pu} idhes?
 who.ACC was-that saw.2SG
 ‘Who {was it that} you saw?’
 b. Inda krasin {itan pu} ipces?
 what wine.ACC was-that drank.2SG
 ‘What wine {was it that} you drank?’
 c. * Inda itan pu ipces?
 what was-that drank.2SG
 ‘What was it that you drank?’
- (19) Inda mbu itan pu ipces?
 what is-that was-that drank.2SG
 ‘What is it that it was that you drank?’

4. A novel analysis

Turning to the *embu*-strategy in *wh*-question formation in CG again, we want to propose an analysis which incorporates some basic insights from the analysis of Romance *wh*-questions outlined above, namely the notion of *wh*-clitic and the distinction between two different types of *est-ce que*, with only one of the two, *embu*, projecting a *bona fide* cleft structure. Our analysis diverges from the one proposed for Romance, however, in that it implements theoretical developments on the specifics of displacement, in particular, the notion of sideward movement. There is thus no need to assume either null operators or remnant movement, which, following recent minimalist work, we take to be a positive consequence.

4.1 Cleft Structures in Cypriot Greek

We begin by noting that, unlike SMG, CG has *bona fide* cleft structures in lieu of syntactic focus movement:

- (20) a. En o Xambis pu efie.
 is the.NOM Hambis.NOM that left.3SG
 ‘It is Hambis that left.’
 b. Itan o Xambis pu efie.
 was the.NOM Hambis.NOM that left.3SG

'It was Hambis that left.'

- (21)* Ton XAMBIN idha.
 the.ACC Hambis.ACC saw.1SG
 'HAMBIS I saw.'

Naturally, the focused constituent can also be an object or an adjunct:

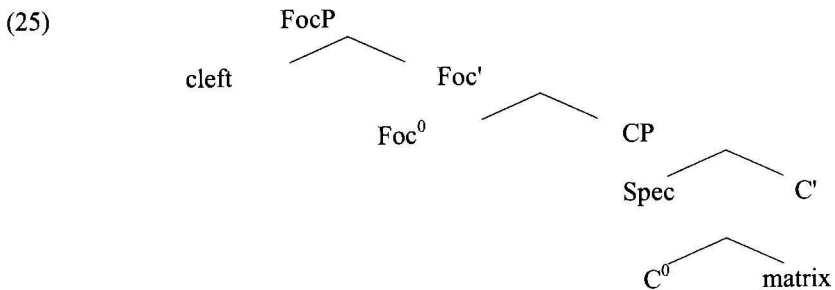
- (22) a. En ton Xambin pu idha.
 is.3SG the.ACC Hambis.ACC that saw.1SG
 'It is Hambis that I saw.'
- b. En pses pu idha to Xambin.
 is.3SG yesterday that saw.1SG the.ACC Hambis.ACC
 'It is yesterday that I saw Hambis.'

This type of cleft disallows movement of the focused expression:

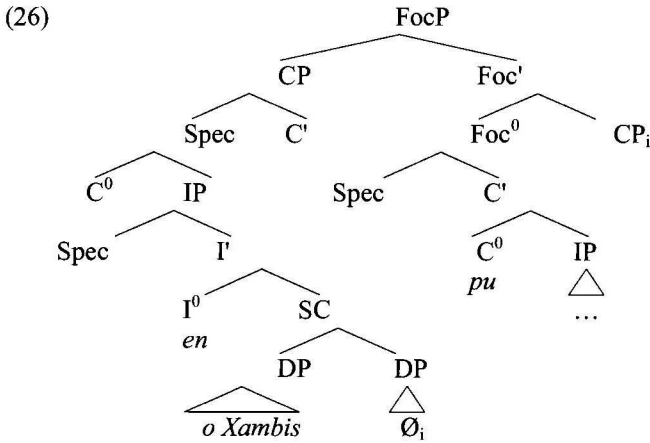
- (23)* O Xambis en pu efie.
 the.NOM Hambis.NOM is that left.3SG
 'It is Hambis that left.'

We assume that clefts are biclausal structures of the general format in (24):⁵
 (24) [CP cleft [C' C⁰ matrix]]

However, we capitalize on the fact that clefts are a focusing strategy (in the spirit of Rizzi 1997 and much subsequent work). We hence adopt a split-CP analysis where, in the cases at hand, there needs to be a focus projection (FocP) whose specifier is filled by the cleft, and a C-position, which takes the matrix as its complement (see also note 5). We can thus specify (24) further as follows:



Applying (25) to (20a) yields the structure in (26).⁶



Before proceeding to present our account of the phenomenon, we will outline our background assumptions, at the same time partially explicating the phrase marker above. Starting from the bottom, we argue that there is a small clause (notated as SC, without further debate on its exact status; for suggestions, see e.g. Stowell 1981, Bowers 1993, Moro 1997) at the heart of the *embu*-structure. This is warranted because it captures the relationship of predication that holds between the focused element and the matrix clause (coindexation). The SC-predicate \emptyset is the covert counterpart of a clause-selecting nominal D, hardly an outlandish entity in Greek, where overt Ds, such as *to* ‘the’, routinely select subordinate clauses, as described in Roussou (1994). The SC-subject does not move to SpecIP. This correctly rules out (23) and has been independently argued for with respect to *all* preverbal subjects in Greek (see e.g. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998, Panagiotidis & Tsipakou, forthcoming). In declarative clefts, the CP-domain remains empty and *pu* ‘that’ introduces the matrix clause; the entire structure is identified as a focus cleft (with the projection label FocP). Conversely, in *wh*-clefts, CP is filled with the *wh*-phrase and an interrogative C^0 .

Let us now suggest a way of bringing these strands together by introducing a central theoretical tool of our analysis, *sideward movement*.

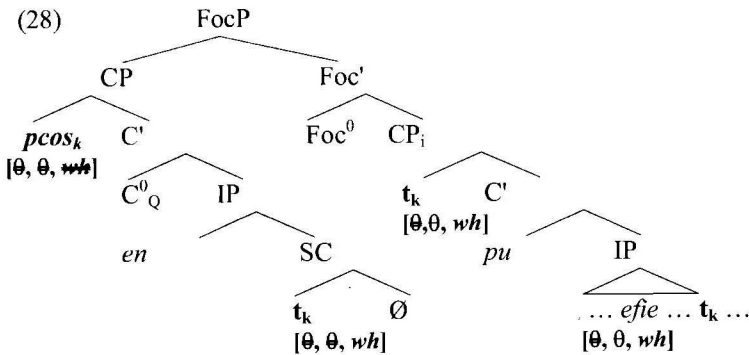
4.2 Sideward movement in clefts

Our analysis of clefts incorporates insights from Nunes’ (2004) etiology of displacement and technical implementations — the operation known as sideward movement. In a nutshell, we suggest that the *wh*-phrase moves sideways in *embu*-structures. Take a typical example, such as (2a). The first process of the derivation is to form the relevant numeration N which has to be depleted in the course of the derivation (Chomsky 1995, disregarding more

recent approaches in terms of lexical sub-arrays as in Chomsky 2001 and related research). Take (27) to be the correct N (with irrelevant details omitted):

$$(27) \quad N = \{efie, v^0, pcos, I^0_{[PAST]}, pu, Foc^0, \emptyset, en, C^0_Q\}$$

In the course of the derivation, N will be exhausted by successive applications of Select, Merge, and Move (Hornstein, Nunes & Grohmann 2005). Under a semi-bare phrase structure approach, the final stage of the derivation relevant here can be presented as follows (*pu* is a non-interrogative complementizer C^0_{-Q} and *en* is the present-tense inflectional head $I^0_{[PRES]}$ on a par with $I^0_{[PAST]}$ from N):



The derivation may be described as follows: *pcos* ‘who’ is the *wh*-subject of the matrix clause; its θ -role is assigned by *efie* ‘left.3SG’ (and the *wh*-feature [*wh*] is of course unchecked in base position). However, it bears an additional θ -role to be checked at a later point. This presupposes a θ -role-as-feature view of the grammar, as recently proposed by Hornstein (2001), for example, building on Bošković (1994), among others. In fact, the analysis that follows draws heavily on Hornstein’s work as well as Nunes (2004); for the benefit of the reader, we will provide justification of the most important aspects of the general ideas.⁷

The first relevant step is *pcos* moving to SpecCP to check its [*wh*]. However, it cannot be checked in the specifier of the matrix CP, since this is headed by *pu* ‘that’ — the non-interrogative C^0_{-Q} . We thus assume, as is standard in dynamic approaches to the grammar (see the sources just cited), that *pcos* is copied and placed into the derivational workspace (i.e. put ‘on hold’, so to speak), pending the first possible point of re-merger.⁸ In SpecCP of the matrix it is clear that *pcos* could never check both its remaining unchecked features, [*wh*] and [θ]. In fact, the latter feature could only ever be checked in the vicinity of a predicate, which is one of the reasons why sideward movement is restricted to lexical items that, once in the derivational workspace, will be merged as soon as

possible into a thematic position (cf. restrictions on parasitic gaps or adjunct control; see note 7 for references).

In parallel (see note 8), we start assembling SC, starting by Selecting the predicate (in this case, \emptyset). Note that once out of N, \emptyset is looking for an element to Merge with — and evidently, this should be a thematic element, so that it can discharge its θ -role (feature). Since N does not contain any more LIs with a θ -feature, the search for a Mergeable element finds the copy of *pcos* still hanging around for re-merger. Thus, *pcos* Merges with the SC predicate \emptyset , checks [θ], and eventually moves on to SpecCP of the cleft. This time it finds itself in a Spec-Head relationship with an interrogative C and thus checks [*wh*] at last.

At this stage we have a structure for *pcos en pu efi*, which is already very close to the desired outcome in (2a). Presumably due to the enclitic nature of *en*, the relevant final step (arguably at PF) is contraction of *en* and *pu* to yield *embu*.

More generally, and here we are paving the way for further speculations in the next section, we might want to connect the second θ -role that an element may bear to a (phonetically null) SC-predicate. This assumption yields the cases at hand, but it could plausibly extend to instances of adjunct relativization, for example, or other cases that Hornstein (2001) does not discuss. The null predicate of such SCs may then find a more reasonable place in the grammar. We leave this issue for future work.

4.3 Speculations on *inda*

As far as we can see, the analysis outlined above works smoothly for all cases of *wh*-dependencies involving *embu* that we catalogued in section 2.1 above. However, it cannot easily account for the fact that bare *inda*, whether argument or adjunct (i.e. complementless *what/why*), never combines with *embu* (cf. (5)-(8)). This is not predicted if the process deriving *inda*-questions follows the clefting strategy laid out in the previous section.

One might want to argue that the element *mbu* that occurs with (bare) *inda* is simply an allomorph of *embu*, contracted even further from *en+pu*. However, there is evidence that suggests that the two forms are to be kept distinct. For example, the form occurring with bare *inda* is not inflected for tense:

- (29) a. *Inda* *embu* *ipces?*
 what.ACC *is-that* *drank.2SG*
 ‘What is it that you drank?’
- b. * *Inda* *itan pu* *ipces?*
 what.ACC *was-that* *drank.2SG*
 ‘What was it that you drank?’

- (30) Inda mbu {itan pu} ipces?
 what.ACC is-it was-that drank.2SG
 ‘What {is, was} it that you drank?’

Another point is that *mbu* is an element clearly reserved for *inda*, whether it functions as argument (‘what’) or adjunct (‘why’). This fact can be illustrated most clearly with a *wh*-word that ends in a (stressed) vowel (in this case, the plural neuter form of *pcos* ‘who’): there are no obvious phonological reasons that would disallow contraction of *embu* to *mbu* in the context of (31).

- (31)* Pca mbu idhes?
 who.ACC is-that saw.2SG
 ‘Who is it that you saw?’

In the face of this exceptionality of *mbu*, we thus have to answer the following questions:

- i. Why doesn’t *inda* allow clefting (if it really doesn’t)?
- ii. What is the syntax of *inda mbu* (if it’s really different)?

We will leave these questions open. One tentative way of approaching the issue could be to assume that *inda* is in fact a *wh*-clitic, possibly even similar to the ones found in Romance varieties (see section 3). Some support for such an assumption can be adduced from examples such as (32) and (33). The ungrammaticality of (32a) indicates that *inda* is not a phonetically stand-alone item, but it needs to attach to a (tonic) morphological host:

- (32) A: ... [unintelligible]
 B: a. * Inda?
 b. Inda mboni?
 what is-it-that-is
 ‘What (is it)?’

Finally, (33) shows that generally there are reduced (clitic) forms of *inda*:

- (33) {inda, 'a, 'nda} mbu ipces?
 what.ACC is-that drank.2SG
 ‘What is it that you drank?’

However, the same is not true for *inda* when it is used as an adjunct:

- (34) {inda, 'a, 'nda} mbu erkumaste dhame?
 what.ACC is-that come.1PL here

‘What is it that we come here for?’

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we investigated the properties of *wh*-questions in Cypriot Greek involving the element *embu* ‘is-that’. We rejected an analysis that would treat these on a par with at first sight comparable strategies found in Romance varieties. We then argued that the structure underlying the derivation is that of a cleft. The theoretical innovation in this paper is a sideward movement analysis of *wh*-clefts, which, as we tentatively suggested, might be generalized beyond the phenomenon investigated here. We identified some issues that are to be explored in subsequent work, most notably the special strategy that *inda* ‘what’ arguably requires.

6. Notes

¹ As mentioned above, see Newton (1972) on the phonological differences between CG and SMG. For convention, we use the following abbreviations in the interlinear glosses throughout: CL = clitic, ACC = accusative, NOM = nominative, SG = singular, PL = plural, OP = operator. Brackets indicate that realization of the set of lexical items LIs within is optional: ‘{LL₁, ..., LL_n}’. We provide a broad approximation of CG pronunciation, including ‘dh’ for the voiced fricative.

² Pending a dedicated study of felicitous discourse contexts and other factors, we will treat the interpretation of both *wh*-question strategies on a par and translate even (*e*)*mbu*-structures as simple, non-cleft questions into English in subsequent examples.

³ However, given (8)-(9), it is not clear whether other factors account for this state of affairs independently. We will not consider the issue of D-linking any further.

⁴ This might be another instance of the more general “*wh*-clitic connection” studied by Boeckx & Stjepanović (2005).

⁵ The literature is split on the representation of clefts. While some researchers propose a monoclausal structure, we assume a biclausal structure. The ensuing discussion is a tentative proposal on the structure of clefts and *wh*-clefts, to be worked out in concurrent work (Grohmann, in progress), where the relevant references are provided. Note that what we call the “matrix” is often taken to be a relative clause. Pending further discussion, we do not distinguish the two further (but see note 7 for potentially interesting support for our proposal if the matrix is indeed a relative).

⁶ Naturally, our analysis only concerns *embu*-structures, i.e. *embu*-less *wh*-questions in CG are presumably generated like their SMG counterparts (or any other *wh*-question that involves fronting of one *wh*-element, as in English). The fact that the CG *wh*-expression *inda* forces (*e*)*mbu* signals that CG does indeed have two totally different strategies —

we may speculate that one is taken over from the “standard” Greek variety, one from the “dialect.” In this light it is only to be expected that *inda* does not allow “regular *wh*-movement”: the CG strategy for *wh*-question formation involves clefting, so any CG question word would trigger this type of derivation.

⁷ See also Grohmann (2003: 303-308) for review of, additional discussion on, and further references for the phenomena that Nunes (parasitic gaps) and Hornstein (adjunct control, relativization) were concerned with as well as others (PRO gate, ATB-constructions, and so forth).

⁸ A final “disclaimer” on these background assumptions. As argued elsewhere (see note 7 above), the derivational workspace is needed independently of sideward movement. Since Merge targets by definition only two syntactic objects, every time a complex object, such as a subject or any other “left branch” (Uriagereka 1999), is Merged, it must be constructed in parallel. We refer to all the sources cited in this note and the previous one for more discussion.

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8. Περίληψη

Στην εργασία αυτή εξετάζουμε τη δομή των ερωτήσεων μερικής αγνοίας της κυπριακής διαλέκτου, ένα θέμα που ως τώρα δεν έχει μελετηθεί. Δείχνουμε ότι σε όλες τις ερωτήσεις μερικής αγνοίας, με εξαίρεση αυτές που εισάγονται με το *inda* 'τι', η ερωτηματική λέξη ή φράση μπορεί να συνοδεύεται από το *embu* 'εν που', 'είναι που', που μορφολογικά και συντακτικά μοιάζει με το *est-ce que* της γαλλικής και κάποιων ιταλικών διαλέκτων. Το *embu* είναι προαιρετικό αλλά, στις ερωτήσεις που εισάγονται με το *inda*, η πραγμάτωση *mbu* εμφανίζεται υποχρεωτικά, εκτός αν το *inda* είναι επιρρηματικό. Προτείνουμε ότι οι δομές που περιέχουν *embu* είναι δισχιδείς προτάσεις, όπως και οι δομές συντακτικής εστίασης της κυπριακής, στην οποία δεν υπάρχει συντακτική μετακίνηση για λόγους εστίασης, ενώ οι δομές με *inda mbu* πρέπει να αναλυθούν με διαφορετικό τρόπο καθώς το *inda* φαίνεται να έχει ιδιότητες κλιτικού στοιχείου.