MBU!
On *wh*-objects and true adjuncts of Cypriot Greek

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1. Introduction[1]: *embu* and *mbu*

This paper starts out from the discussion of the different approaches to the formation of *wh*-questions in Cypriot Greek which involve the use of *embu* and the possible assumptions that have been made for the analysis of *mbu*, an element that may appear having as a host the *wh*-phrase *inda*. It explores the observation that the dialectal *wh*-phrase *inda* (*mbu*) can have four possible allomorphs which appear to be the result of language change and therefore, present their own morphosyntactic properties which differ from the aforementioned *inda mbu*. The possibility of language change in these *wh*-phrases has been the immediate observation of a questionnaire, examining the syntactic restrictions among the allomorphs in four different age groups. The final section of this paper proceeds to show how these four allomorphs are different from the standard form by taking into account any phonological and morphosyntactic properties and by exploring different syntactic analyses for the standard form and its apparent allomorphs.

Embu and *mbu* are some of the most obvious markers for Cypriot Greek and therefore, have been extensively used in texts which are included in books discussing the Cypriot Greek history (Simeonidis 2006). The optionality in forming *wh*-questions in Cypriot Greek by using *embu* or not has been a significant matter of recent discussion in the literature of Cypriot Greek. (Grohmann, Panagiotidis and Tsiplakou 2006, Papadopoulou in progress). Cypriot-Greek speakers have the optionality of using an extra element *embu* in *wh*-questions introduced with *wh*-arguments (both subjects and objects), *wh*-quasi-arguments and true adjuncts:

(1) a. Pcos embu emilisen?
Who embu talked.3SG
'Who talked?'
b. Pcos emilisen?
Who talked.2SG
'Who talked?'

Grohmann, Panagiotidis and Tsiplakou (2006) suggest an analysis assuming sideward movement in a cleft structure whereas Papadopoulou (in progress) argues that *embu* is a fossilized element meaning that its past structure might have been a more complex one but it has been simplified in one element through the passing of the time and can only appear in the Complementizer position.

This paper deals with *mbu*, a variant of *embu* which appears in different contexts obligatorily and may support different functions. The relevant discussion for this paper involves the obligatory use of *mbu* in *wh*-questions, where *embu* is not allowed. One of the most important differences between the two was observed by Grohmann, Panagiotidis and Tsiplakou (2006) in complex *wh*-expressions with *inda* and a noun phrase, where

[1] I express my gratitude and admiration to Kleanthes Grohmann, with whom this topic originated as my linguistics research paper, for his continuous encouragement and the support that he always offers to students of all levels as well as his endless discussions and assistance I enjoyed myself, which also helped me identify the properties of the mbu-allomorphs and provide further explanations.

there is obligatory use of *embu* (2a) and its contrastive use when *inda* is used as an argument and it necessarily needs *mbu* (2b). This observation holds for both main and embedded clauses:

(2) a. Inda fain {embu, *mbu} emairepses?
What food.ACC embu cooked.2SG
'What food did you cook?'
b. Inda {*embu, mbu} emairepses?
What mbu cooked.2SG
'What did you cook?'

(3) a. Pe mu inda fain {embu, *mbu} emairepses
Tell.2SG me.ACC what food.ACC embu cooked.2SG
'Tell me what you have cooked'
b. Pe mu inda {*embu,mbu} emairepses
Tell.2SG me.ACC what mbu cooked.2SG
'Tell me what you have cooked'

A second difference between the two, which can be argued to play a role for the claims of this paper, is the exceptions to the *embu*-strategy. The Standard Greek *wh*-phrases *ti* "what" and *jati* "why" cannot be combined with *embu* but, as it appears, *mbu* and its host *inda* are used as the only alternative option to the ungrammaticality noted below:

(4) a. *Ti embu efaes?
What embu ate.2SG
'What did you eat?'
b. (?)[2]Jati embu epies?
Why embu went.2SG
'Why did you go?'

The structure in (4a) is unacceptable and its grammatical form would appear with *inda mbu* (5a), where as the structure in (4b) is considered ungrammatical by a significant number of Cypriot speakers, who have claimed that (5b) would be a more preferable way of forming the question:

(5) a. Inda mbu efaes?
What mbu ate.2SG
'What did you eat?'
b. Inda (mbu) epies?
Why (mbu) went.2SG
'Why did you go?'

This can be a matter of combining Standard Modern Greek *wh*-phrases with a purely Cypriot-Greek element resulting in a mixing of the two.[3] This appears not to simply be

[2] The single question mark indicates mild ungrammaticality or grammaticality by a specific set of people.

[3] See also Fotiou (2009) for a relevant discussion on the ungrammaticality of the combination of Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and Cypriot Greek (CG) regarding structural focus and Panagiotidis (2009) for relevant comments on the morphological and syntactic mixing in CG. For relatively opposite effects, there is recent work on clitics by CAT (Grohmann, Theodorou, Pavlou & Leivada 2010), a recently-founded research team (Grohmann 2009), which concentrates on the mixing of SMG and CG due to external factors and the implications on the structure of CG.

code-switching, but the use of both elements between Greek and Cypriot Greek which results to unnaturalness of the sentence. In this paper, it will be argued that in these cases, there is use of *inda* and its follower *mbu* along with the appearance of the allomorphs among the younger population. By this, it is implied that the use of the latter is much more frequent than the use of the Modern Greek *wh*-phrases *ti* "what" and *jati* "why" combined with any Cypriot-Greek expressions and as it will be shown later on, this has given a new shape to Cypriot-Greek *wh*-questions.

A third difference is related to *wh*-questions where *mbu* along with its host *inda* seem to attract other elements, a property also found in *embu*-questions. The following examples show that *mbu* in copular sentences attracts the Cypriot copula *en*/*eni*:

(6) a. Pcos emboni?
Who embu is.3SG
"Who is it?"
b. Pcos embon tzinos?
Who embu en.3SG he.NOM
"Who is embu he?"
c. Inda mbon / Inda mboni?
Inda mbu en.3SG/ Inda mbu eni.3SG
"What is it"
d. Inda mbon tzino?
What mbu en.3SG it.NOM
"What is that?"

Supposing that verbs raise at least to T^0 in Greek and possibly in Cypriot Greek as well, then the copula lands in T^0 as well. Following Papadopoulou (in progress) that *embu*, and logically its variant *mbu,* are Complementizers, it can be assumed that the kind of close distance between the copula in T^0 and *(e)mbu* in C^0 has the phonological effects of *mboni/ mbon* (*mbu*+ *eni*/ *mbu*+ *en*).

2. Exploring the *inda/ inna /na/ ta/ a mbus*

2.1. The *inda mbu*

Even though *embu* and *mbu* show some similarities in their structure, the fact that they appear in different structures cannot be ignored. This section will be discussing the properties of *inda mbu* 'what' and 'why' and present some of the tests and restrictions that explain the special nature of *mbu*.

The close relation of 'what' and 'why' is not surprising, since *ti* 'what' can take the role of *jati* 'why', as shown below:

(7) Ti to ekruses?
What. it.ACC burnt.2SG?
'Why did you burn it?

This kind of constructions is very often in CG- and respectively, in other varieties as well. Even though the two are syntactically very different, they appear to share a lot of similarities in the proposed topic. 'Why' appears to show similarities with 'how come', as Tsai (2008) explains for *why-how come alternations*, which although on a first glance seem of the same nature, they show a lot of syntactic differences and dependencies.

A first look at *mbu* was first introduced by Grohmann, Panagiotidis and Tsiplakou (2006) who observe that *mbu* is used obligatorily when serving with *inda* having the function of an argument.

(8) Inda mbu vastas tziame?
what *mbu* hold.2SG there

'What are you holding there?'

Inda is believed to have originated from the interrogative pronoun *tinda*, used in Asizes (Simeonidis 2006, mentioned in Grohmann & Papadopoulou to appear). As far as its today's use is concerned, it appears that some minorities in certain regions of Cyprus which show more dialectal heaviness than other areas use the *inda* 'what', where as most of the population today does not, suggesting possible language change.

(9) Inda mairefkis?
What cooking.2SG
'What are you doing?'

Inda 'what' in those minorities shows some interesting structures, which are not shared by the rest of the population:

(10) To master sta linguistics inda na to kamo?
The master.NOM in linguistics what to it.ACC do.2SG
'What would I do a master degree in linguistics?'

In (10) there is *wh*-movement out of a predication relation, already identified as a possibility in SMG (Spyropoulos 1999), meaning that the answer to this question would be *(kame to) kadro* '(do it) a picture'. Contrary to this, the *inda* in this kind of structure would be an adjunct for most of the Cypriot speakers today.

Other than this, *inda* 'what' is widely used in "frozen expressions", indicating the possibility of language change and loss of it in today's language, and its remaining through cultural specificities expressed by these expressions:

(11) a. Inda kori?
What girl.NOM
'What's up girl?'
b. Inda kamnis?
What do.2SG
'How are you?'

Even more interestingly, this kind of expressions can also be found with *na*-clauses and certain verbs in cases which may fairly be called 'echo-questions' in populations, where *inda* 'what' is not grammatical[4]:

(12) a. Inda na kamo?
Whatna do
'Do I have another choice'
b. Inda na su kamo?
What na you.GEN kamo.1SG
"I can't do anything for you'
c. Inda na pis?
What na tell.2SG
'There's nothing to say!'

But, not:

(13)* Inda na su goraso?

[4] In the minorities where *inda* 'what' is grammatical, sentences in (12) can also have the literal meaning.

What na you.GEN buy.1SG
'What do I buy for you?'

These fixed meanings, in a non-idiomatic way, that the echo-questions have and the 'survival' of *inda* 'what' in minorities is assumed here to be the support for its change, or even death.

Mbu shows optionality even today, when combined with *inda* serving as an adjunct:

(14) Inda (mbu) me thoris?
why *mbu* me.ACC look.2SG
'Why are you looking at me?'

Two tests, the negation and the DP-test, have been applied to identify differences between the 'why' and 'what' or the bare form without the *mbu*:

(15)a. Inda en efaes?
Why not.NEG eat.2SG
'Why did you no eat?'
b. Inda mbu en thelis
What/Which mbu not.NEG want.2SG
'What do you not want'
c. (?) Inda mbu en efaes?
Why mbu not.NEG eat.2SG
'Why did you not eat?'

As can be seen in (15c), the mild grammaticality of the negation[5] with the adjunct *wh*-phrase comes in oppose with the perfectly correct questions with the *wh*-object in (15b). This already suggests that there can be some differences between the two. Agouraki (2010) discusses the emphatic role of Neg-to-C as an element expressing an [Emphasis] specification on the fill-requirement of C. If *mbu* is a variant of another complementizer (Papadopoulou in progress) as discussed in the first section of this paper, then the already taken position by the negation in C causes the derivation to crash. However, since this is only one example, I will not argue at this paper for the structural position of negation in CG. As striking as it may seems, the *wh*-object *inda mbu* brings no objections to negation revealing that there are indeed some difference between *wh*-object and true adjunct, which will be discussed later on.

Another test that was put in use to expand the already existed knowledge and reveal the nature of *inda mbu* was the DP-test, as will be called here, where the determiner takes the position of the D head and gives the following:

(16)a. To inda mu eklepses ta lefta en ekatalava.
The why me.GEN stole.2SG the money.ACC not.NEG understood.1SG
'The why you stole my money I did not understood'
b. (?) To inda mbu mu eklepses en mu ipes
The what mbu me.GEN stole.2SG not.NEG me.GEN said.1SG
'The what you stole from me you haven't told me'
c. (?) To inda mbu mu eklepses ta lefta en ekatalava
The why mbu me.GEN stole.2SG the money.ACC not.NEG understood.1SG
'The why you stole my money I did not understood'

[5] I thank Anastasia Giannakidou for sharing her thoughts with me on this issue and Anna Roussou for pointing negation as a possible test for clarifying the *mbu*-allomorphs.

Wh-phrases have the property of becoming determiner phrases (DP) (Abney 1987) when a determiner is placed in D. While all the rest of the *wh*-phrases in Cypriot Greek (i.e. pcos 'who', pote 'when', pou 'where', jati 'why', ti 'what' etc.) and *inda* 'why' share this property, the *inda mbu*s (both object and adjunct) are accepted by some speakers or even by those accepted they do not sound very grammatical. The observations here may not result simply from the existence of a Complementizer but, from the combination of *inda* and *mbu*, with *inda* being a fused form resulting to a cleft (with *mbu*), since its literal meaning is *ine ti afta* (Pavlou in progress, Grohmann and Papadopoulou to appear).

(17)a.* To ine ti (inda) pu efaes den mu ipes
The is what that ate.2SG not me.GEN told.2SG
'The what you ate, you didn't tell me'
b. To ti en pu (embu) efaes, den mu ipes
The what is that ate.2SG, not me.GEN told.2SG
'The what you ate, you didn't tell me'

2.2. The *mbu*-allomorphs

Interestingly enough, *innambu*, *nambu*, *tambu* and *ambu* which are claimed here to be the four possible allomorphs of *mbu* do not share the same morphological properties as the *inda mbu,* which will be called here the standard form of use on the island. A closer look at them reveals that the phonological similarities with *inda mbu* are only at a first glance but, this is not the only case as illustrated below:

(18)a. To moro {innambu, *inna} klei?
The baby why cries.3SG
'Why is the baby crying?'
b. {Nambu, *Na} fonazis?
Why shout.2SG
'Why are you shouting?'
c. {Tambu, *Ta}ekatharises to trapezi?
Why clean.2SG the table
'Why did you clean the table?
d.{Ambu, *A} skupizis to patwma?
Why sweep.2SG the floor
'Why are you sweeping the floor?'

As observed above, *mbu* is attached to the allomorphs not only when they are used as *wh*-arguments but also as *wh*-adjuncts, resulting to their status as one word. On the contrary to *inda mbu*, the *mbu*-allomorphs cannot be separated in two words and therefore *inda* is no longer considered a host and *mbu* its attached element in *wh*-questions, but the two of them inseparable pieces of the actual *wh*-phrase. So, the allomorphs are lexical items used in *wh*-questions, both *wh*-arguments (objects) and true adjuncts.

This would explain the ungrammaticality of (4) with *wh*-phrases *ti* "what" and *jiati* "why" which cannot be combined with *embu* and the existence of the *mbu*-allomorphs or the standard form in their position. If all of them can function as *wh*-objects or adjuncts, then the immediate question regarding *innambu*/ *nambu*/ *tambu*/ *ambu* would be whether there are any syntactic environments where any of these can behave as arguments or adjuncts and if there can be any other disambiguation point, except the meaning of the context. The obvious response would be that their function is determined from the verb's transitivity determining the variant's function as arguments or not. In (19a) the clitic in genitive *tu* leads to the immediate identification of *innambu*/*nambu*/*tambu*/*ambu* as the adjunct and in a similar way in (19b) the allomorphs have the meaning of "what for". In (19c) the allomorphs are used as *wh*-arguments, whether that means landing in Spec, CP or somewhere else. The transitivity which

determines the actual function of the variant being an argument is the first point of disambiguation of the allomorphs:

(19)a. {Innambu, Nambu, Tambu, Ambu} tu fonazis?
Why him.GEN shout.2SG
'Why are you shouting to him?'
b. {Innambu, Nambu, Tambu, Ambu} ton thelis
What for him.ACC want.2SG
'What do you want him for?'
c. {Innambu, Nambu, Tambu, Ambu} thelis?
What want.2SG
'What do you want?'

However, the ambiguity becomes obvious in a sentence like the following:

(20)a. Innambu/Nambu/Tambu/Ambu fonazusin?
What/Why shout.3PL
#1 'What are they shouting?'
#2 'Why are they shouting?'

The verb in (11) can be listed as an optionally transitive verb in Cypriot Greek and result in the ambiguity of the allomorphs meaning 'why' or 'what'. If the question was formed with the standard form, namely *inda mbu* then it would most probably be interpreted as an argument (although it can also function as an adjunct) since the most common question that would be asked for the *wh*-phrase to be interpreted as 'why' would be *inda fonazusin*. *Inda* shows more frequency of use in Cypriot Greek and this, as will be show later on, seems to be a determining factor for the allomorphs as well.

Regarding the other properties of *inda mbu* mentioned above, it should be noted that, although *innambu*/*nambu*/*tambu*/*ambu* can function as *wh*-adjuncts and be similar to *inda* or serve as *wh*-arguments meaning 'what', they cannot be combined with a complex *wh*-phrase of the type *inda* +noun, as in (2a, 3a). This results that the variants cannot serve as referential *wh*-phrases after their fusion with *mbu*:

(21)* Nambu fai emairepses?
What food cooked.2SG
'What food did you cook?'

However, the *mbu*-allomorphs share similar properties to the standard form, like those mentioned in (6c,d) , showing that *mbu* is the strongest element between *inda* and *mbu* but still having the unity of the allomorphs as their main property:

(22)a. Nambon/ Innambon/Tambon/Ambon?
What is.3SG
'What is it?'

Moreover, they seem to follow the same pattern in the negation test and show the same oddness with the *nambu*-adjunct. Regarding the DP-test, the same effects are also present.

The different properties of *mbu* discussed here show some basic similarities and differences between *embu* and *mbu*, but create the question of ambiguity in the allomorphs. The description of the study following below, aims to unfold any restrictions related to the *mbu*-allomorphs, specify their exact environment and lead to a clearer picture of the *mbu* jungle.

3. The study

Before giving the description of the *mbu*-allomorphs study, it should be pointed out that Cypriot Greek does not have a written alphabet, but rather if there is any in poems, text messages or any other informal form of communication , it is the individual transcription of its sounds using the Greek alphabet and therefore can vary in many levels. The data given for judgment in written form were crosschecked for their naturalness with several speakers before the distribution of the questionnaire who agreed upon some of the sounds which are specifically used in Cypriot Greek.[6] A sample of these is given in (13) while the rest of the sounds follow basic transcription of Greek in general:

(23) /ts/ i.e. τσήνος 'that one'
/sh/ i.e. έσιη '(it) has'

The statement above, also mentioned in many works on Cypriot Greek (among others Fotiou 2009)[7] can be listed as a problematic aspect of this study since participants were asked to judge not only the grammaticality of a syntactic order, but the written system itself. However, the majority of the words was spelled following the spelling judgments from speakers and therefore, did not create any serious problems throughout the whole process.

To collect clear competence data is one of the most difficult tasks that a study has to solve and fairly enough there has been strong criticism for the use of questionnaire in doing so. The main concern of a questionnaire is to actually make the participants judge the sentence in front of them, like they would have produced it and not what should be the correct form. The same effort was made for *mbu*-allomorphs following a methodology[8] with the use of a pen-and-pencil questionnaire to elicit judgments from 100 native speakers, all of them non-linguistically trained. The questionnaire involved both 41 closed test sentences and 10 fillers in order to counterbalance habituation effects like the easiness in informants' judgments when they get used to a given construction that is being repeated. The small number of fillers can be argued to be the second main weakness of this questionnaire, although there has been no problem observed for the participants in this questionnaire and the number of the constructions tested allow for a small number. Test constructions were randomly put in order and the choice of words aimed to the most dialectal form of them and therefore there was limited use of common words between Cypriot Greek and Standard Greek. Generally in variation studies, texts should be as closer as they can to normal speech and even use vernacular forms (Montgomery 1997). The participants had to choose between a 5-grade scale ranging from *completely unacceptable*, *below satisfactory*, *satisfactory*, *quite good* and *absolutely satisfactory*. The choice of the 5-scale was made on the basis that the 3-scale may not provide the different levels where a sentence can be appropriate, especially within different contexts. In this case, it appeared to be the case that the 5-grade scale was used to judge attitudes of the participants. Grammaticality is more empirically adequate and valid when it is presented in many levels and not binary and for this reason a simpler scale of grammatical/ungrammatical was ruled out but at the same time any larger scale above 5 would be confusing. The

[6] For a different type of encoding Cypriot Greek sounds see Simeonidis (2006: 375).

[7] Fotiou (2009) gives a detailed description of the status of Cypriot-Greek, where she mentions specifically the linguistic nature of Cypriot Greek as a dialect, or second variety spoken in Cyprus. Also, Grohmann & Papadopoulou (to appear) briefly discuss the Cypriot context and Ioannidou & Pavlou (2009) present the poverty in Cypriot population's perception and judgment for their variety.

[8] Here, I would like to thank Elena Papadopoulou for her willingness to guide me properly through methodological issues and weaknesses of a questionnaire-based study.

participants were selected from the region of Limassol to restrict any regional variation, something which appeared to have significant results for the *mbu*-allomorphs.

There were four syntactic environments being tested which involved clause-initial position of the *mbu*-allomorphs, initially assuming that this is in Spec, CP, topicalized elements i.e. noun phrases, adjective phrases and adverb phrases preceding the *mbu*-allomorphs and last, the *mbu*-allomorphs in embedded contexts and in both declarative and interrogative sentences The targeted responses aimed to show that there is difference in the syntactic distribution between the *mbu*-allomorphs and also with *inda mbu* which could be related to their morphological difference with it.

4. Setting off

A pilot study administered to 10 adults from Limassol using the same questionnaire as described above gave enough evidence to claim that *innambu* is used with a topicalized element rather than in the clause-initial position. *Nambu* appeared with preference in the clause-initial position, where as the other two, *tambu*[9] and *ambu*[10], appeared not to be used in the region of Limassol. The distinction that the data of the pilot study draw for the syntactic differences between *innambu* and *nambu*, at least, were a good start to go on with bigger corpus.

Although the pilot study excluded *ambu* and *tambu* as allomorphs used in Limassol, they were not excluded from the questionnaire later on. However, for the purposes of this paper there will be mainly focus on *innambu* and *nambu* which were analyzed from the corpus collected. The full study with the 100 native Cypriot speakers showed the following for each of the allomorphs:

List of General Results:

Innambu

Innambu showed a strong preference by two age groups in its use with a topicalized element either a noun phrase or an adjective phrase or both.

Nambu

In contrast, to the findings of the pilot study, the full study showed no important distinction for the syntactic distribution of *nambu* but, instead participants find it grammatical in any of the environments tested, with a slightly increased preference in clause-initial position.

Tambu and Ambu

Tambu and *ambu* showed low use in comparison with the first two.

Based on the fact that two out of four allomorphs showed some evidence for the targeted responses that the variation and the inconsistency in the data concerning the two cannot be simply the result of inadequate empirical methods, but evidence for regional variation, as mentioned above. Interestingly, although the observations above point to an important distinction between *innambu* and *nambu*, these were only true when they were used as *wh*-arguments. When either one of the two was used as adjunct, then there was no difference in the syntactic environments noted by the participants. This leaves implications for the *wh*-arguments and *wh*-adjuncts in Cypriot Greek, which will be discussed later on.

4.1. Attitudes for language change

One of the most significant findings of this study is the sociolinguistic status of the *mbu*-allomorphs which was shown by the age factor of the participants. As mentioned

[9] As informed by participants *tambu* is used in rural regions.

[10] *Ambu* was very strongly claimed by a big number of participants that it is widely used in the region of Paphos, the southwest part of Cyprus.

above, the participants were grouped in ages of 18-30, 30-45, 45-60 and 60+. Based on these ages, the results imply that there are attitudes for change, starting from no use at all of *nambu* and gradually increasing till the age of 18-30, where there is use of *nambu*:

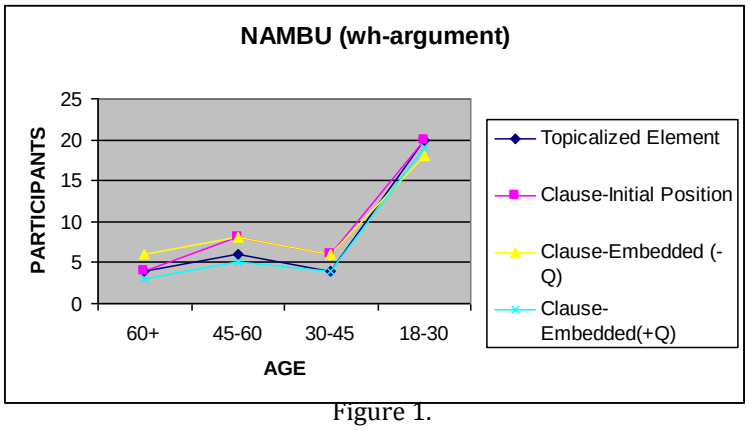


Figure 1.

There is a slight increase at age 45-60, which falls again at the age group of 30-45 and then rises to give the 80% of the test sentences given as grammatical with *nambu* in all the environments tested. Possibly, the age of 30-45 shows a fall on the use of the allomorphs since this is the age of parents raising children and in the Cypriot context, this implies that they would speak 'proper' Standard Modern Greek to the children.

The data provided for *nambu* shows immediately the observation of ongoing language change. Papadopoulou (pc) also notes appearance of the *mbu*-allomorphs in younger children (of age 2;0-3;0) in spontaneous speech. Since Labov's success of his methodological innovations in Martha's Vineyard (1963) and in New York City (1966), linguistic research has been following Hockett's (1958) confirmation that the actual process of language change can only be detected through the result of this kind of studies. Over the last 30 years, language change can be analyzed during the period that is happening. The apparent-time construct which can be characterized as the quickest, easiest and safest way of replacing real- time data has been one of these important Labovian innovations, which can take into account the linguistic variation that appears before language change.

Bailey (2002) reports that age is statistically significant for each variable but it cannot always predict that there is ongoing language change and not "stable variation". Change follows prototypically a path where some variant in the speech of older group in the community appears more frequent in the speech of the middle generation and even more in the youngest generation. Although figure 1 does not look like the characteristic shape of S-curve graphic representations that are known for language change (Weng and Cheng 1970, Chambers & Trudgill 1998), the claim is that the three stages of language change- initial stasis, rapid rise and tailing off are not all captured through this sample. The figure represents an idiosyncratic way of language change, in the sense that there is long and almost steady initial stasis in the ages 30-60+ and a very late finishing with a sudden acceleration of the young group. The rapid rise does not appear at all or if it does, it can only be characterized as sudden, since there is no steady rise for the descending ages of the subjects participating. This can mean a) that the data collected capture the first stage of language change showed by the initial stasis of the 30-60+ or b) if this is the first stage of change, the sudden acceleration of the youngest group is only a rise of frequency of variation which has been argued to occur before language change so as the new elements attain some kind of critical mass (Chambers 2002). The problem is that this rise in frequency has been reported to be gradual and really difficult to observe but taking into account that 20 young people reported above the use of this variant is very much clear to all. Charts of similar type have been shown for the Dialect Topography of Canada

(Chambers 1994), where Quebec City appears to take an idiosyncratic path in the middle part of the change. After the initial stasis, there is sudden acceleration to change in the 40-years old participants following the kind of pattern noted in Figure 1. For sure, if this is a change taking place for Cypriot Greek, it is progressing very rapidly; and this does not characterize a well-behaved language change.

It is worth noting that the small number of data collected for *tambu* show a normal increase in the use of it in the speech of younger people. It presents a steady rise for the age groups, moving from old to young, capturing exactly the apparent-time construct effect. *Ambu* shows many idiosyncrasies in the different structures tested. As far as topicalized elements are concerned it presents similar sudden acceleration with *innambu*. For the clause-initial position, *ambu* behaves normally and the change happens gradually giving the S-shape. For the embedded contexts, the initial stasis seems to hold for the age 40-60+ and then the language change starts in normal pace. The charts are not given because the numbers of the data collected are not representative, since the two allomorphs are not used in Limassol Cypriot Greek or if they are used the corpus collected is not adequate to account for any generalizations. The observations mentioned above for *tambu* and *ambu* can be taken as tendencies or behaviors, which are the only safe observation that can be taken out of the two.

The case of *innambu* brings another issue into discussion. It would be the same with *nambu*, if there wasn't this abnormal use of *innambu* with a topicalized element in the age group of 45-60, which declines and then rises again. The use of *innambu* with a topicalized element was the targeted construction from the start and although it was captured, it shows some strange patterns which are described below. The pattern in Figure 4 creates the question of age-grading and whether this particular construction is repeated in different phases of life. Since this paper follows the hypothesis of the apparent-time construct which does not include age-grading, there is no obvious reason that Cypriot Greek speakers alter their way of speech to adopt some norms in the age of 45-60 and 18-30. For age-grading to be argued, there must be even clearer data.

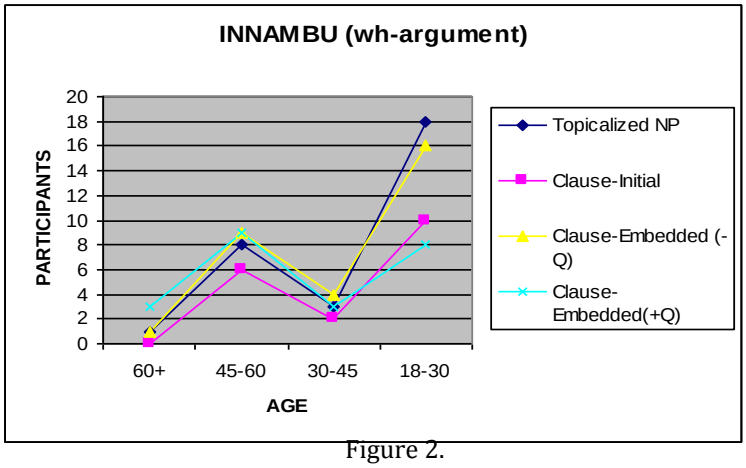


Figure 2.

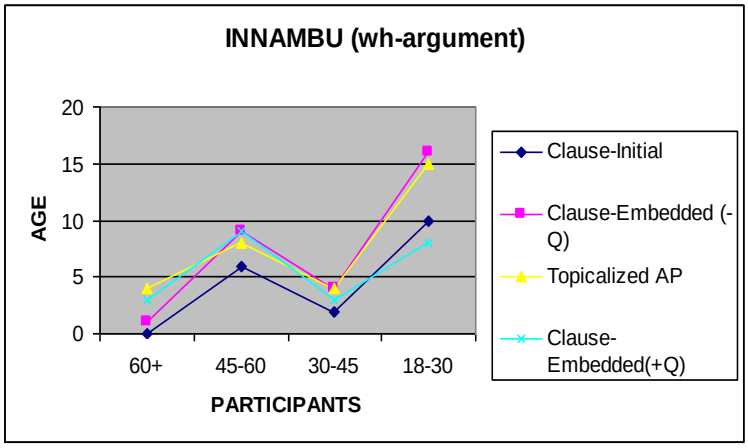


Figure 3.

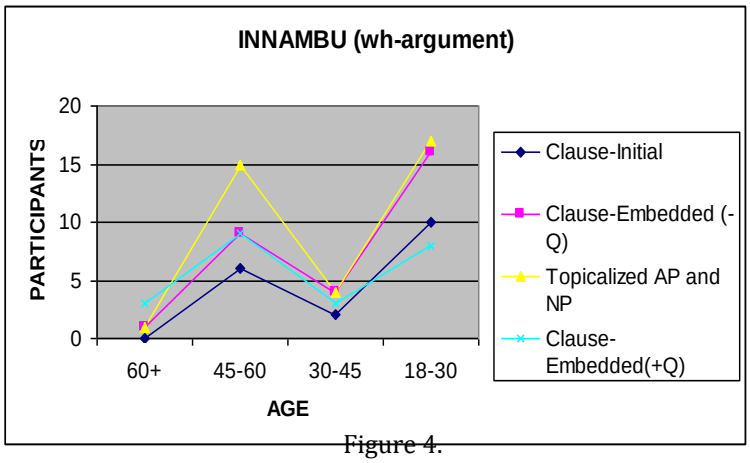


Figure 4.

A second prediction would like the pattern showed below to remind Labov's study in Martha's Vineyard, where two age groups had roughly similar scores, and the other groups having very different scores. Well-known by now is the similarity of less frequency in the use of the variable tested between the 61-75 and 14-30 age groups on the island of Martha's Vineyard. In the same way, *innambu* which is argued in this paper to be another variant under language change shows increased frequency of use in the age groups of 45-60 and 18-30. The charts in Figure 2-4 present the different topics given for *innambu* as the targeted structure (NPs, APs, or both) and how all three follow the same patterns.

Comparing these charts to *nambu* in Figure 1, the conclusions are very much different. There is no stasis at all, as shown for *nambu* and the increase in frequency and use is not only observed in the youngest group but in a strange way in two groups. Whatever the social reasons for the similarities between 45-60 and 18-30 are, they are of no special importance to this paper, but there is one clear point to be made: The "reversed Vs" in the charts for *innambu* show that the variant is used in different ages. If this is not to be taken as age grading and logically loss of the variant at some point, then by concentrating in the youngest age group, there can be a tendency for language change.

Whatever the reasons are the apparent-time differences noted among generations of the Limassol Cypriot Greek mirror diachronic developments in language and imply some attitudes towards change going on in 'real time'. Studying language change diachronically is for sure the ideal method (Labov 1982) but, it can only happen when someone re-interviews the same individuals over a period of years. The methodology of the questionnaire used here rules outs this possibility because of its anonymity so the best assumptions can be made by looking into this corpus collected.

5. Variation and Syntactic Theory

The question relating *mbu*-variation and syntax is yet to be answered. The *mbu*-allomorphs show a status that does not involve being determined by any social factors, rather than just being element that are currently changing. Indeed, regional variation (Limassol, Paphos etc.), especially for *tambu* and *ambu*, can be argued to be related to a particular group of people, but still this can leave no implication for stylistic aspects or external factors, since regional variation cannot be seen as style dependent. So, any assumption that can be made for the *mbu*s as phonological allomorphs based on the speaker's performance can be ruled out at this point. However, there is one question remained to be answered: Should the difference in frequency of use of these allomorphs account for variation in syntax?

The data show that individuals make use of allomorphs varying in frequency and frequency is very logically related to everyone's mind with stylistic aspects. Henry (2002) suggests that variation can be syntax's job and as these data show variation is not necessarily linked to any stylistic factors. What is clear is that if any assumption of language change can be taken into account, then the issue of frequency is the first to be considered. Based on the ages of 18-30, young speakers of Cypriot Greek have just started making use of these allomorphs but ,at the same time have in their grammar the standard form then there should be expected a decline of it and more use of the allomorphs. As shown in Figure 5, there is slight fall of the use of *inda mbu*, which can only show a tendency and cannot be considered as evidence:

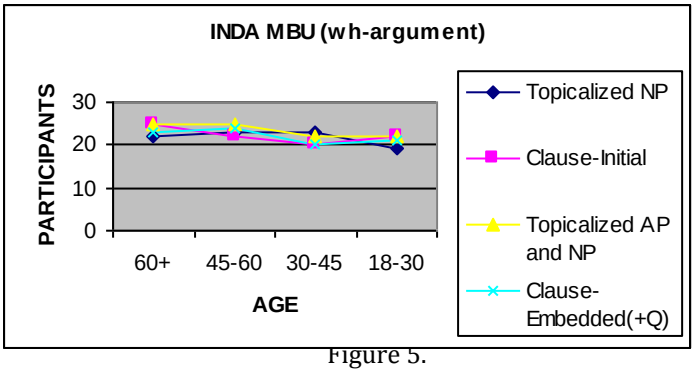


Figure 5.

However, the graphs given so far show use of *inda mbu* and *nambu* in the group age 18-30, as well as *innambu* with topicalized elements and as Complementizer introducing embedded clauses, and *ambu* and *tambu* in much less percentage but still in use by the same age group. This can only show variation in the grammar, which is not marked by any stylistic factors but a rare regional distribution on the island, which can be doubted, and differ in frequency of use. Whatever the case is for the two (or four) allomorphs, the picture created from this corpus is that these two may be under regional variation, something that will be confirmed once a similar study is carried out in other parts of Cyprus. Judging from oral data, it seems that the two allomorphs are not only used in the region of Limassol. If this happens, then these allomorphs have a status of free variation in syntax. Assuming that external factors (distraction while filling the questionnaire, Cypriot Greek lacks a written alphabet etc.) did not play any role to have these results, and the *mbu*-allomorphs are to be listed as part of the *competence* then a first problem comes down to the issue of a grammar allowing different frequencies for each of these allomorphs, as already mentioned above.

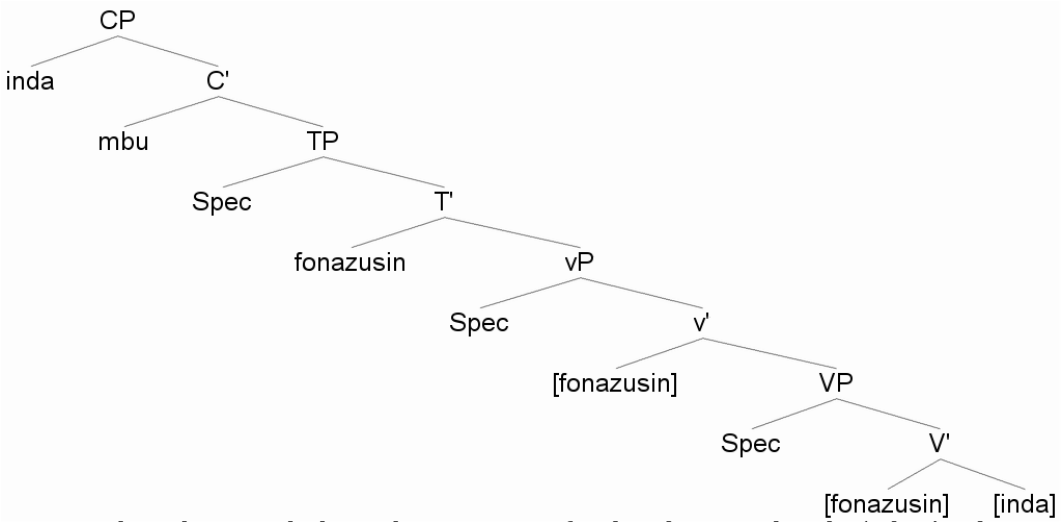
For sure, what can be excluded for the moment is that the *mbu*-allomorphs are not elements of an idiolect because the choice is not personal based on different social factors. The data collected show that a person can use both the standard form *inda mbu* and the allomorphs *nambu* and *innambu*, without any importance to register at all. So, what can be assumed is that these allomorphs used interchangeably for the time being is an immediate result of the co-existence of all of them in grammar. If language change is indeed taking place, then there should be expected to see in future work more syntactic restriction, like the case of *innambu*.

5.1. The *mbu*-structure

Having clarified that the *mbu*-allomorphs are new elements in Cypriot grammar, there should be a syntactic representation which illustrates the different scenarios of the *mbu* puzzle. Before moving into the structure of the allomorphs, it is necessary to discuss the structure of the standard form of *inda mbu*, for the sentence given in (20), repeated here as (24). Even though there is not any relevant work on the structure of *inda*, there are possibilities easily observed to any Cypriot which would suggest *inda (mbu)* being a fused

form of a cleft *ti ine (pu)* 'what is (that)' or *ine ti pu* 'is that what'. Under the hope of a future study investigating this (Pavlou in progress), *inda* will be used in Spec, CP for the purposes of this paper since the concentration lies on *mbu*.

(24) Inda mbu fonazusin
What mbu shout.2PL
'What are they shouting?



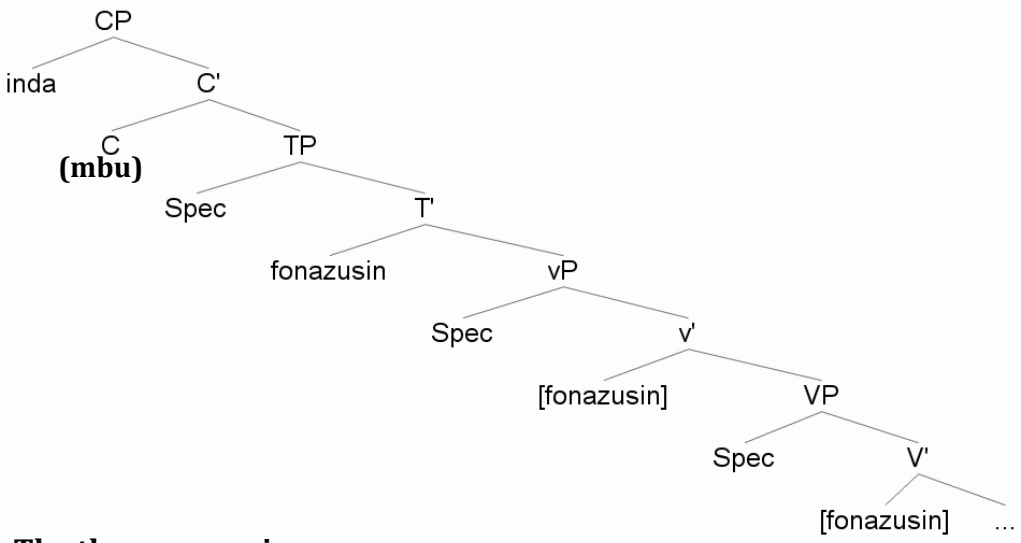
Based on the morphological properties of *inda mbu*, in *inda mbu* 'what', *mbu* is merged in C^0 and *inda*, as the *wh*-phrase, is merged at Spec, CP. In this case, as has been observed in many languages, a *wh*-element can co-occur with an element in C^0 contrary to the "doubly-filled COMP" (Chomsky and Lasnik 1977). Merging *mbu* at C^0, as will be explained in more details below, follows from the need of a unified structure for both *mbu*-allomorphs and the variable *inda mbu*. As will be argued further on, *mbu* is on C^0 because of the morphological properties of the allomorphs and the property of *inda* combining with an N in a complex *wh*-phrase, as mentioned in (2a), repeated here as (25). If *inda* can serve as one lexical item meaning 'what' when combined with an N, then it follows that the structure for *inda mbu* serving as an argument would look like (24).

(25)a. Inda fain {embu, *mbu} emairepses?
What food.ACC embu cooked.2SG
'What food did you cook?'

If indeed *mbu* is a complementizer, then following literature in D-linked *wh*-phrases, it should be ungrammatical when a *wh*-phrase 'what' is fronted with an overt Complementizer. Grewendorf (2008) in his attempt to explain 'doubly filled COMP' in Bavarian German lists *wh*-phrases in a linear order according to their operator-status, ranging from 'why' as the lowest one to 'what', as the highest one. He makes the generalization that the higher the degree of the operator of a *wh*-element, the lower the degree of grammaticality will be when it co-occurs with complementizer 'that'. If we take this generalization to hold for complementizers other than 'that', it follows that the structure given in (24) should crash. But the lexical *wh*-phrase is argued to be here *inda*, which as mentioned in previous section can stand alone meaning 'why', and 'why' as argued by Grewendorf has a low degree of operator-status in D-linking. Further, as mentioned above, there is no clear indication related to the nature of *inda* for now rather just a simple presentation here as a *wh*-phrase in the specifier of CP.

Based on the morphosyntactic differences described in section 2 and following general distinction of the merging point of *wh*-adjuncts in the literature, *inda* is immediately merged in Spec, CP when it appears as stand-alone and means 'why'.

(26) Inda (mbu) fonazusin?
Why mbu shout.3PL
'Why are they shouting?'

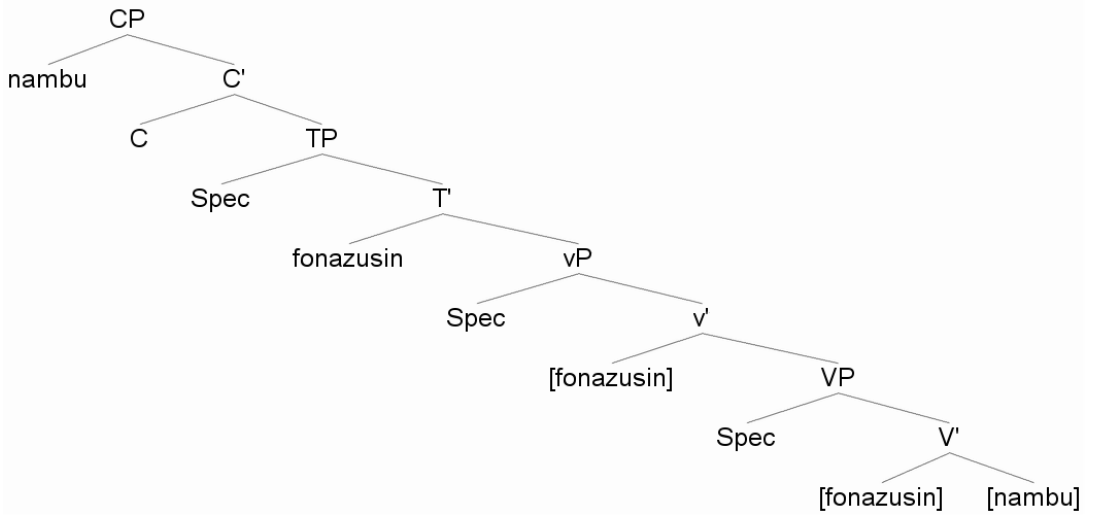


5.2. The three scenarios

5.2.1. The lexical scenario

The *mbu*-allomorphs, as new items in the language, would be very logically entertained to be different lexical items that now exist in the lexicon. This would imply that the language change discussed above, as possible reason for their appearance is lexical and not grammatical. The status of these new items is that they are used as *wh*-questions and therefore should exist in the Spec, CP, as illustrated below for the example (20), repeated here as (27):

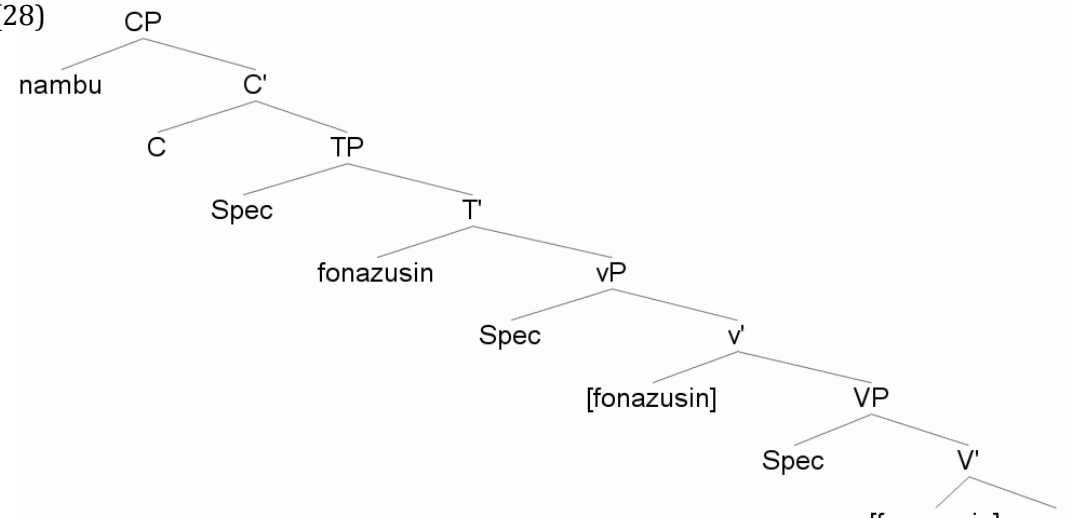
(27) a. Innambu/Nambu/Tambu/Ambu fonazusin?
What/Why shout.3PL



Keeping in mind that Cypriot Greek is a null-subject language, the subject of the sentence can be omitted and therefore the order of *wh*-questions can be *nambu fonazusin (tsini)* 'What are they shouting', with the verb in T^0. Agouraki (1997, 2001) argues that the verb in Cypriot Greek is at C^0, except when C^0 or Spec, CP is already filled. Following Chomsky's (1995) Copy Theory of Movement, *nambu*, as the internal argument, merges with the verb *fonazusin*. The original *nambu* is deleted and the copy of *nambu* is then merged to Spec, CP.

As mentioned in section 2, *nambu* can also serve as *wh*-adjunct. Assuming that adjuncts are merged directly in Spec, CP, this scenario leads to the standard assumption of having the specifier of CP as the landing or merging point for *wh*-phrases.

(28)

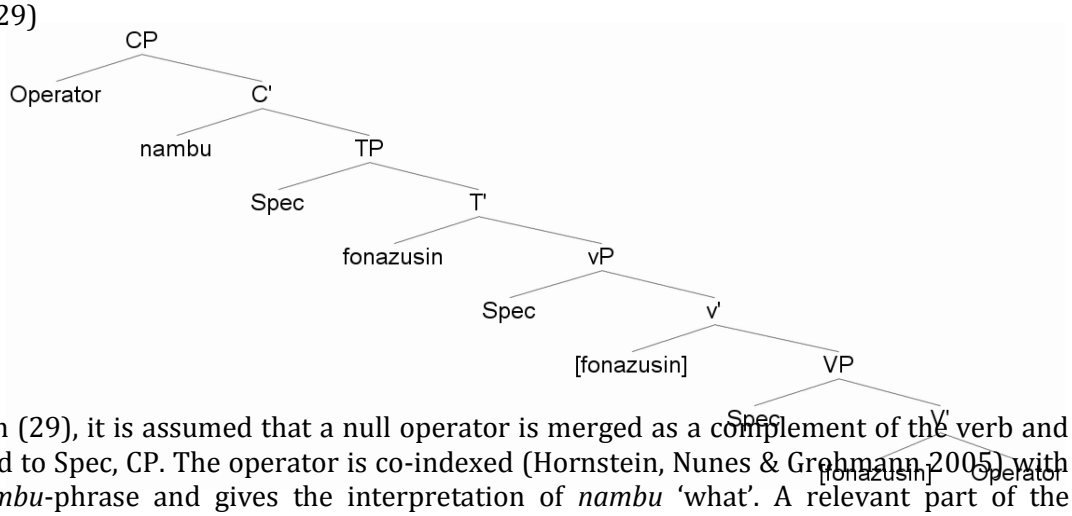


In the same way, all the allomorphs follow the procedure described above. However, there are some problems with this idea that need to be pointed out. *Innambu*, *nambu*, *tambu* and *ambu* can mean both 'why' and 'what'. By saying that these allomorphs just like *inda mbu* (*wh*-argument) and *inda* (*mbu*) (*wh*-adjunct) are lexical items that exist independently in the lexicon of the speaker, then we immediately assume that there are two of each kind: an *innambu* meaning 'what,' an *innambu* meaning 'why', a *nambu* meaning 'what' and a *nambu* meaning 'why' etc. Indeed, the lexicon can be argued to be non-minimalistic for its containments but it is rather unnecessary to assume that we have the *mbu*-allomorphs, the variable *inda mbu* and possibly even the Greek *wh*-phrases *jiati* 'why' and *ti* 'what' because of the use of Standard Modern Greek on the island. Although nothing can be excluded, it is rather not economic and opposing to the Minimalist thinking to assume such an analysis for elements that show so similar properties. Considering their unifying properties of morphological difference with *inda mbu*, which sets them as one element with *mbu*, it is indeed easier to assume that they are lexical elements which are reinforced by the ongoing language change. But a minimalistic approach to the grammar rules out this analysis.

5.2.2. The operator-scope approach scenario

A second possible analysis for the *mbu*-allomorphs would be another possible landing site that they can be found:

(29)



In (29), it is assumed that a null operator is merged as a complement of the verb and raised to Spec, CP. The operator is co-indexed (Hornstein, Nunes & Grohmann 2005) with the *mbu*-phrase and gives the interpretation of *nambu* 'what'. A relevant part of the literature deals with C^0 in Cypriot Greek showing that it has a clause-typing feature that

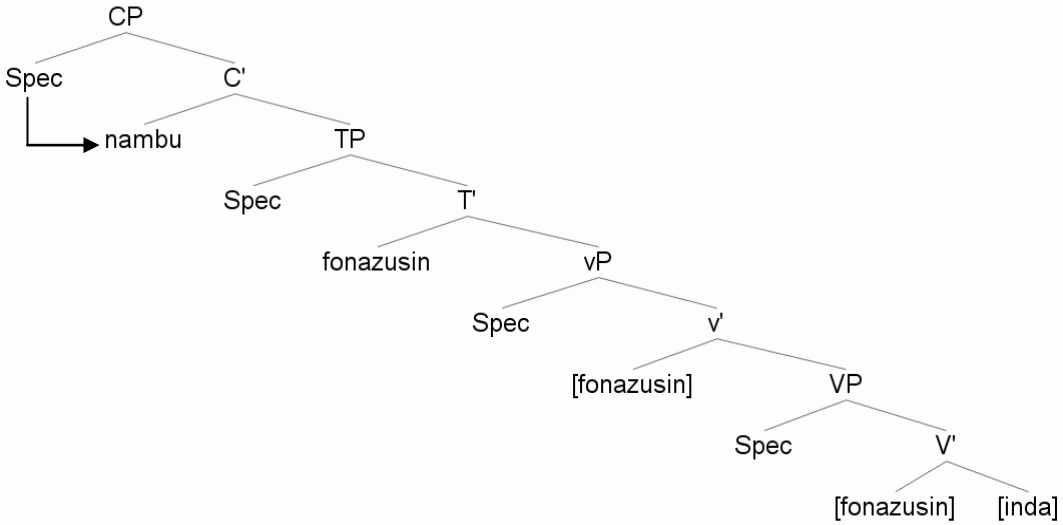
must be checked in the syntax (Agouraki 1997, 2001). Agouraki argues that this feature can be either negation raising to C^0 or a kind of Complementizer or a V-to-C rising. A possible reason for moving to C^0 in these cases, as she argues, is this feature since there has been already an operator, which is a preverbal stressed element and has filled the Specifier of CP. In her paper, she proposes that Cypriot Greek has a filled C requirement, referring specifically to the sentential force that needs to be checked overtly in C. In relevance to question-formation, there can be a specification [Question] in C, which is interpreted by the *wh*-questions in Spec, CP.

As mentioned above, Papadopoulou (in progress) claims that the Cypriot expression *embu* in *wh*-questions is actually a complementizer found in C^0.

Given that and following the same reasoning with Agouraki's claims, it can be assumed that there is some kind of operator in Spec, CP and that the *mbu*-allomorphs are elements in C^0. Arguing that the allomorphs are indeed lexical items, there can be the case that *mbu* is actually an element targeting C^0 as Papadopoulou argues for *embu*. Now, the problem appears to be that the *mbu*-adjuncts are supposed to be merged directly to C^0, since Spec, CP is already filled by some kind of operator. This not only opposes to the distinction between true adjuncts *and wh*-arguments for merging in Spec, CP but also creates a problem since *wh*-adjuncts can merge into projections and not heads and implies that the problem is similar to the first scenario, leaving no space for explaining the difference between the *mbu*-arguments and *mbu* -adjuncts.

5.2.3. The lowering scenario

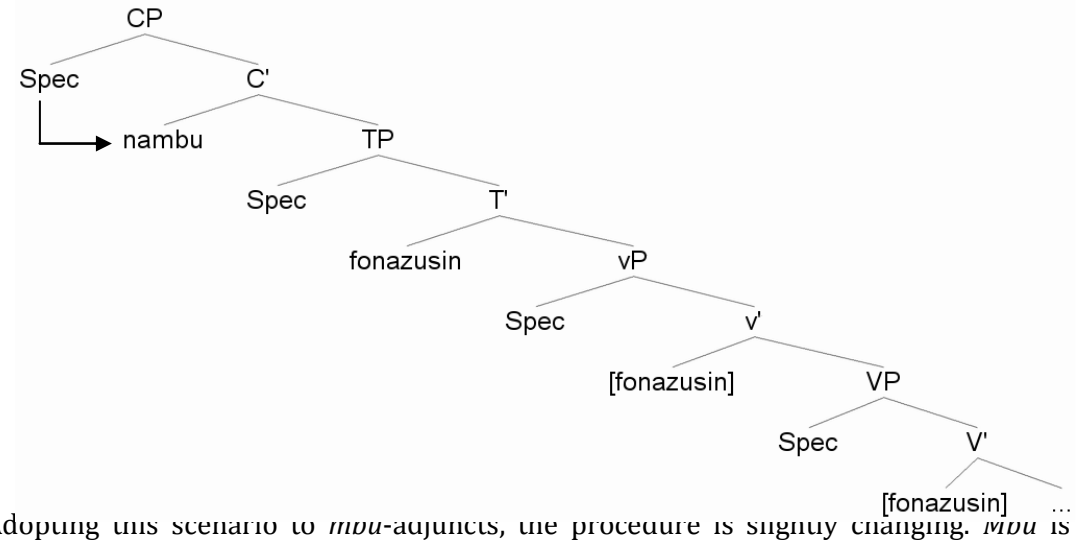
A third proposed scenario would be related to the previous one, namely that *mbu* needs to fill C^0, but that does not mean necessarily that *innambu*, *nambu*, *tambu* and *ambu* are lexical elements which are copied there:



Mbu can exist on its own and *inna*, *na*, *ta* and *a* which are called to be possible allomorphs of the variable *inda* exist as one element which is the initial Cypriot *wh*-phrase before its changing; namely, *inda*. *Inda* is merged as the complement of the verb and then copied and remerged to Spec, CP. When our derivation reaches the projection of CP, *mbu* is merged in C^0. Because *mbu* seems to be a strong element in syntax of Cypriot Greek based on all the properties examined so far (see section 2), it attracts the *wh*-phrase in Spec, CP and lowers it down to C^0, so that it can be checked as one element that looks like *nambu* etc. Due to this attraction there are phonological processes coming in which turn the initial *inda* to *inna*- (when found with a topicalized element), *na*-, *ta*- and *a*-. These phonological or syntactic processes can be either called adjacency or fossilization (Papadopoulou in progress), hopefully to be explained clearer in the future. This would lead to the conclusion that the language change observed is not really an add of new elements in the lexicon but a grammatical change occurring in a syntactic and phonological level, namely

the function of *mbu* attracting *inda* and appearing as unifying elements i.e. *nambu* and not *na mbu*. It follows that a change in a morphosyntactic level can be argued to imply two things: To have as later implications, adaptation of Standard Modern Greek grammar, or the exact opposite which is that CG is in a completely different path than Standard Modern Greek.

(31)



Adopting this scenario to *mbu*-adjuncts, the procedure is slightly changing. *Mbu* is again an element which is merged directly to C^0, but *inda*, merges directly to Spec, CP following again fundamental distinction on *wh*-arguments and true adjuncts. Then phonological processes and the strength of *mbu*, change *inda* to *inna-*, *na-*, *ta-* and *a-* and send it to LF as a unifying element.

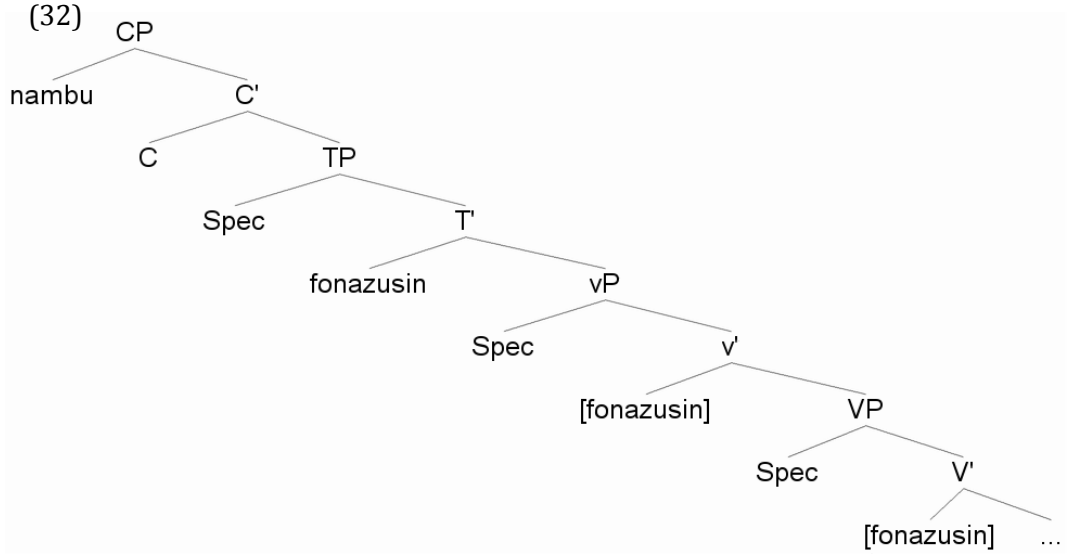
This section discussed three possible analyses for the structure of *mbu*-allomorphs in the syntax. The first and second scenarios face the same problem: anti-economy! Assuming that new elements in language are lexical items only creates a lexicon with the *mbu*-allomorphs taking much more space than the theory accounts for. The lexicon can be by its nature not economic but, the ambiguities and the difficulty in processing the *mbu*-allomorphs as 'why' or 'what' imply that there are syntactic differences between the two. The second solution provided creates another problem, if one is to follow distinction between *wh*-adjuncts and *wh*-arguments. Having the *mbu*-allomorphs in C^0, there is no merging point for adjuncts, but it assumes that either *mbu*- adjuncts exist as the *mbu*-arguments in the lexicon, which is excluded from the very start, or that they actually merge on C^0. The third scenario places *mbu* in C^0, and gives an analysis which is much closer to the real data than the other two. The similarity between *inda mbu* and its allomorphs *innambu*, *nambu*, *tambu* and *ambu* also leave strong implications for phonological processes.

5.3. The ambiguity in *mbu*-adjuncts and *mbu*-arguments

The three analyses given above examine various possibilities for the structure of *mbu*-allomorphs in the CG grammar but fail to account for the ambiguity between the *mbu*-adjuncts and the *mbu*-arguments. It is possible to think of the *mbu*-arguments following the third scenario and "blame" phonology for their unifying properties but it is not clear to say that *wh*-adjuncts follow the same procedure, too.

Following the distinction between *wh*-adjuncts and *wh*-arguments, then there can be only one solution left to be explored: *Mbu* is built up in the structure and is combined with *inda* to form the allomorphs, as analyzed in the previous section. One possibility is that the allomorphs which serve as adjuncts follow *inda* and are lexical items:

(32)



One of the main arguments following this analysis is that *inda* 'why', which is the reduced form if *inda mbu 'why/what'*, exists as a lexical item in the grammar. In the process of language change, there can only be assumed its possible death but at the same time its replacement by the new elements. If *inda mbu* 'what' has a structure like (24) and the allomorphs follow the same pattern along those lines, then the allomorphs meaning 'why' can follow *inda* 'why' in (32).

However, as presented in Section 2, possible counter-arguments to this is that *inda* 'what' does exists as stand alone in some minorities in Cyprus (24a) or as a frozen expressions (24b) in the Cypriot population generally, and under this reasoning all the allomorphs should be lexical items. This possibility is already ruled out.

(33)a. Inda mairefkis?
What cooking.2SG
'What are you doing?'
b. Inda kori?
Inda girl.NOM
'What's up girl?'

The reason for *inda* lacking a universal property of *wh*-phrases -like a stand-alone property- cannot be much explored by the analysis provided here. A possible reason is that *inda* is a fossilized element like *embu* (Papadopoulou in progress). If this is the case, the certain assumption is that this fossilization process, the change of *ine ti* 'is what' or *ti ine* 'what is' to a *wh*-phrase has absorbed any properties like stand-alone because of its once complex structure.

Other than that, it makes more sense for sentences like (20), repeated as (34), to have a different structure for *mbu*-arguments and *mbu*-adjuncts so as to get the difference in meaning. The difference in structure is simply assumed here to be of the different structural merging point of *wh*-objects and true adjuncts.

(34) a. Innambu/Nambu/Tambu/Ambu fonazusin?
What/Why shout.3PL
#1 'What are they shouting?'
#2 'Why are they shouting?

5.4. A first restriction: *Innambu*

As discussed in section 4, the questionnaire was testing four syntactic environments, from which *innambu* seems to have a strong preference for use with topicalized elements. The semantic reason for the structural restrictions is not clear yet, but as can be inferred

from the speakers' comments it gives a stronger meaning, and thus gives emphasis to the topicalized element. Considering emphasis as the interpretation of *innambu*, it gives data to support Agouraki's claim (2008) on checking an [Emphasis] specification of sentential force on C of Cypriot Greek. The data that she gives have similar properties to the data of this questionnaire, and especially with the anaphoric form (for her the locative form *tsame* 'there' is here *dame* 'here'*)* which has its interpretation to give some kind of emphatic meaning.

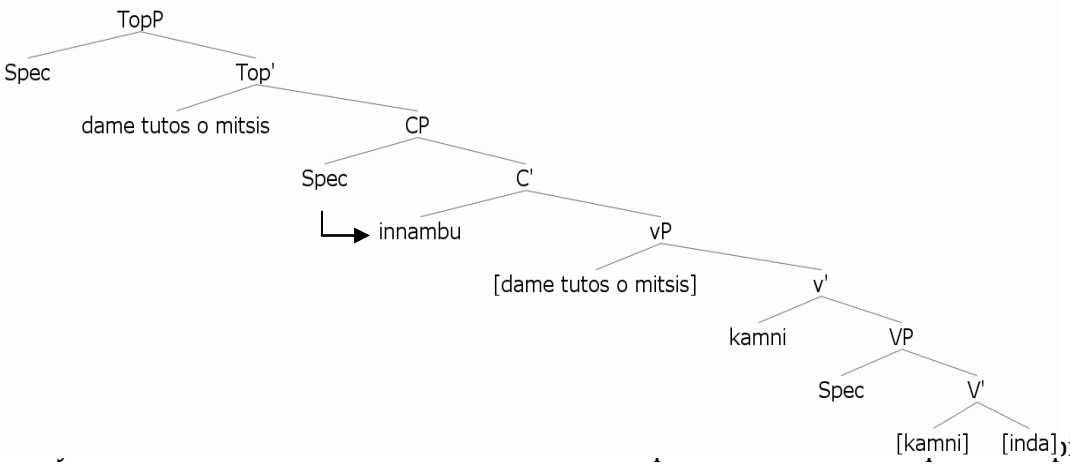
However, the difference between (35a) and (35b), is that in (35a) TSAME gives a contrastive meaning and it is thus argued to be a stressed element. In (35b), *dame* is referring to *tutos o mitsis*, which is treated as a topic of the sentence. So, dame forms one constituent with *tutos o mitsis* which is placed on Top^0.

The syntactic distribution and the semantic contribution are not clear yet for *innambu* or any of the other allomorphs, since they are elements currently entering the language.

(35) a. TSAME epia tse yo
THERE went-1SG and I-NOM
"I went just there/to the same place myself." (Agouraki 2008)
b. Dame tutos o mitsis innambu kamni
Here this the boy what do.3SG
"What is this boy doing here?"
(Data in the questionnaire)

However, the difference in topic elements from stressed elements suggests a structure where there is a topic projection for this phrase. As mentioned before Spec, CP is already filled with the *wh*-phrase moved (*wh*-arguments) or merged (*wh*-adjuncts), so under this approach, even though *mbu*-phrases are in C^0 (*wh*-arguments), Spec, CP cannot take any preverbal elements

(36)



element in the sentence and marks some kind of emphasis while pronouncing. If this is the case and based on the informative nature of the topics given, then there might be some relevance to the information focus. As has been inferred by speakers, emphasizing the topicalized element in *mbu*-questions gives difference in meaning as illustrated below for the sentence (37):

(37) a. I thkyo tus innambu fonazun?
The two.NOM them.POSS what shout.3SG
" Why are the two of them shouting?
b. **I THKYO TUS** innambu fonazun
The two.NOM them.POSS why shout.3SG

"Why are they shouting?"

It follows that the preference in syntactic environment with topicalized elements in the case of *innambu,* appears to have some relevance to the interpretation of allomorph 'what' and allomorph 'why'. It is expected in future studies to see similar patterns and even more clearer restrictions for all the allomorphs discussed so far.

6. Conclusion

This paper discussed four new elements in the grammar of Cypriot Greek, which appear to be allomorphs of the standard form of the dialectal phrase *inda mbu*. A first comparison of *mbu* to *embu*, a Complementizer as argued by Papadopoulou (in progress) and a much more complex element according to Grohmann, Panagiotidis and Tsiplakou (2006) showed that the two show significant difference in their syntactic distribution. *Mbu* can only accompany *inda* serving as a *wh*-object or true adjunct, where as *embu* cannot occur with *wh*-phrases functioning as the aforementioned *inda mbu*.

The four allomorphs of *inda mbu* appear to follow the same path, but differ in a morphosyntactic level. Their morphological properties are very much restricted compared to *inda mbu*, since they appear to behave as one element. Through a corpus selected by a questionnaire testing the four allomorphs in four possible syntactic environments produced by 100 speakers, it has been shown that there are some tendencies for a syntactic restriction in one of the allomorphs, the *innambu*, which appears to be preferred with a topicalized element. The morphosyntactic differences that appear for the allomorphs are argued to be the immediate result of ongoing language change observed in the corpus collected. The graphs given present an idiosyncratic pattern of language change, increasing the use of *nambu* in the youngest age group tested. The case of *innambu* shows a rare pattern of increasing tendencies of use in the age groups of 45-60 and 18-30. The corpus collected was restricted in the region of Limassol leading to the conclusion that *tambu* and *ambu* are allomorphs used in other regions of Cyprus, even though there has been a small number of data collected that show similar tendencies to *nambu* and *innambu*.

The existence of these four allomorphs in the grammar creates a question of their syntactic properties as *wh*-phrases. Having shown some tendencies characterized by different frequency of use, it is still not clear whether these differences in frequency will be eliminated once language change has been completed. If not, then there should be a reason following current syntactic work accounting for the co-existence of the allomorphs and their use by speakers independently of any external factors. Based on the data collected, a syntactic approach which accepts the allomorphs as lexical forms in the lexicon is ruled out, since it does not account for any semantic difference but created a number of *mbus* in the lexicon. Following relevant work on syntactic approaches to Cypriot Greek (Agouraki 2008), the second scenario excludes the possibility of accepting the allomorphs as lexical elements which target C^0. The use of a null operator in Spec, CP co-indexed with the *wh*-phrase in C^0 creates problems in arguing that *mbu*-adjuncts merge immediately to Spec, CP where as *mbu*-objects are copied after merged with the verb. A last suggestion puts *mbu* in C^0 and presupposes that the initial form of the allomorphs is *inda*, which after merged with the verb and copied to Spec, CP is attracted by *mbu* and lowers down to C^0 changing in *na-, inna-, ta-* and *a-* due to phonological processes.

These newly-appeared allomorphs in CG contribute to the discussion of *wh*-questions, the relevance of the overt complementizers and the possible function of them as one element (Papadopoulou in progress) or deconstruction of them as clefts, as argued for *embu* (Grohmann, Panagiotidis & Tsiplakou 2006). The phenomenon of their unifying properties is yet syntactically and phonologically undetermined, but this paper offers the most significant properties characterizing them. Future work (Pavlou in progress) concentrates on the nature of *inda*, presented here as a *wh*-phrase, and its possible decomposing as a cleft in its combination with *mbu*. In relevance to this and in addition to

the already existed corpus of the acquisition of *wh*-phrases and relevant structures in CG (Papadopoulou in progress), it is aimed that the acquisition of the structures listed here will be tested from their acquisition perspective.

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