

Clefts and *Wh*-Question Formation in Cypriot Greek

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1. Introduction

The Cypriot Greek (CG) dialect has been distinguished from other dialects of Greek mostly due to phonological and morphological properties that are unique to the CG dialect. Syntactically, CG is noted for the postverbal positioning of clitics since in Standard Greek (SG) and generally in most dialects of Greek, clitics appear preverbally (Condoravdi & Kiparsky 2001). Another syntactic difference, which is what will be investigated in this thesis, is the possibility to form *wh*-questions with a cleft construction.

1.1. *Wh*-question formation in Cypriot Greek

There are two possible constructions that can be used to form *wh*-questions in CG. The first construction corresponds to the construction SG uses to form *wh*-questions, where a simple *wh*-element is found at the left periphery of the sentence similarly to English. The only differences found between these particular CG and SG *wh*-questions are phonological as it is evident in examples (1-4).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. a. Pu epies? (CG)
Where went.2sg
'Where did you go?' | b. Pu pijes? (SG)
Where went.2sg
'Where did you go?' |
| 2. a. Posa epiroses? (CG)
How-much payed.2sg
'How much did you pay?' | b. Posa pliroses? (SG)
How-much payed.2sg
'How much did you pay?' |
| 3. a. Pcos irte? (CG)
Who.nom arrived.3sg
'Who arrived?' | b. Pjos irthe? (SG)
Who.nom arrived.3sg
'Who arrived?' |
| 4. a. Jati efies? (CG)
Why left.2sg
'Why did you leave?' | b. Jati efjes? (SG)
Why left.2sg
'Why did you leave?' |

The second possible way of forming a *wh*-question is by using the *wh*-element together with *embu*, which is the combination of *en* (the copular verb ‘is’) and the relative complementizer *pu* (meaning ‘that’). This, is a cleft construction that is unavailable to SG *wh*-questions, but perfectly acceptable – although optional – to CG as it is shown in (5-7).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 5. a. Pu (embu) epies? (CG)
Where is-that went.2sg
‘Where did you go?’ | b. *Pu ine pu pijes? (SG)
Where is that went.2sg
‘Where did you go?’ |
| 6. a. Posa (embu) epliroses? (CG)
How-much is-that payed.2sg
‘How much did you pay?’ | b. *Posa ine pu pliroses? (SG)
How-much is that payed.2sg
‘How much did you pay?’ |
| 7. a. Pcos (embu) irte? (CG)
Who.nom is-that arrived.3sg
‘Who arrived?’ | b. *Pjos ine pu irthe? (SG)
Who.nom is that arrived.3sg
‘Who arrived?’ |

Nevertheless, there are some restrictions as to when the cleft construction is used and with what *wh*-elements it can occur. In order to better understand what the difference is between the simple *wh*-questions and the clefted *wh*-questions in CG (hereafter *wh*-interrogative clefts), in the chapters that follow it will be investigated when the cleft construction appears in CG and what it functions as. This will aim to explain why CG is different to SG when it comes to cleft constructions and how this variation between CG and SG can be accounted for under a unified syntactic structure.

In Chapter 2 it will be demonstrated that clefts in CG are used to indicate Focus. More specifically, it will be briefly discussed how the term Focus is used in the current thesis and subsequently it will be examined how Focus is expressed in both SG and CG. Chapter 3 investigates the formal properties of declarative cleft constructions in CG, both from a syntactic and a semantic perspective, while Chapter 4 is exclusively concerned with the formal properties of *wh*-interrogative clefts in CG. Chapter 5 presents two previous analyses on *wh*-interrogative clefts, the first one based on Romance data and the second one on CG. Lastly, Chapter 6 introduces a syntactic structure for CG cleft constructions that can also account for the (un)availability of clefts in SG and addresses some of the problems that are presented in the previous chapters.

1.2. Methodology

Most of the CG data was collected after personal contact with native speakers of CG. The informants were chosen from different age groups, in order to ensure that younger people's intuitions were not in any way influenced by SG. The four age groups were: 20-25, 25-35, 45-55 and over 70. In addition to the informants, some of the CG data comes from everyday spontaneous speech. Regarding the SG data, most of it was collected from native speakers, but also from grammars (Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warbuton 1997, Κλαίρης & Μπαμπινιώτης 2005).

In addition to the CG and SG data, this thesis includes some data from the dialect of Rhodes (RG), which is one of the Dodecanese islands. The dialect is phonologically closer to CG than SG and it was therefore appealing to investigate whether it resembled CG not only phonologically but also syntactically. The RG data comes from two native speakers of RG, who filled out a questionnaire on *wh*-formation and Focus. The English translation of the questionnaire can be found in the Appendix.

2. 2. The correlation between Clefts and Focus in CG

Clefts within the works of Information Structure are usually associated with Focus (Erteschik-Shir 2007, Lambrecht 1994). This correlation is clear in CG in view of the fact that Focus can only be expressed in means of a cleft construction. In what follows, it will be first explained how the term Focus is used in this thesis and subsequently it will be described how Focus is expressed in CG and SG.

2.1. Definition of Focus

Before examining focus in CG in more detail, it will briefly explain what the term Focus denotes in the current thesis. First of all, it should be noted that similarly to Kiss (1998) it

is assumed that there is a distinction between two types of focus; *Information Focus* and *Identificational Focus*. Information Focus brings new information in a sentence and is always marked with a pitch accent. What should be noted is that any element of the sentence can bear Information Focus, depending on whether the new information is conveyed by the VP, the object and so forth. As a result, Information Focus can appear anywhere in the sentence as it is demonstrated in the examples in (8), which are taken from Erteschik-Shir (2007:28). Information Focus is represented with small capitals, while the presupposed part of the sentence is in italics:

8. a. Q: What did John do?
A: *He* WASHED THE DISHES.
- b. Q: What did John wash?
A: *He washed* THE DISHES.
- c. Q: Who washed the dishes?
A: JOHN *washed them*.
- d. Q: What did John do with the dishes?
A: *He* WASHED *them*.

In (8a) the VP carries the new information, consequently the whole VP is marked with a pitch accent. In (8b), in addition to John, the action of washing is also presupposed this time, therefore only the object needs to be marked with Information Focus. However, in (8c) it is the agent that is not known, therefore it is the subject that gets a pitch accent when the second speaker replies to the question. Lastly, in (8d) the verb – not the whole VP – introduces the new information to the conversation.

In contrast to Information Focus, Identificational Focus is not simply marked by stress; it requires to be syntactically marked and this is typically done by fronting the focused element (Kiss 1998). For instance, consider the examples in (9): the first example shows a case of Information Focus, while the second example is an instance of Identificational Focus (represented in big capitals).

9. a. Q: Ti ajorase i Thalia? (SG)
 what bought.3sg the Thalia
 ‘What did Thalia buy?’

A: Ajorase MILA.
 bought.3sg apples
 ‘She bought apples.’

b. Q: Ajorase portokalia i Thalia? (SG)
 bought.3sg oranges the Thalia?
 ‘Did Thalia buy oranges?’

A: MILA ajorase i Thalia (ohi portokalia).
 apples bought.3sg the Thalia not oranges
 ‘It was apples that Thalia bought (not oranges).’

While it is evident that in the first case the focused element *mila* ‘apples’ stays in situ, we observe that when it comes to Identificational Focus, *mila* has to move to the Left Periphery of the clause.

Identificational Focus is often referred to as *Contrastive Focus* since the focused element is frequently interpreted contrastively. This is the case in (9b), where the focused argument *mila* is picked from the set of fruits {apples, oranges} and it therefore contrasts that it was not oranges that Thalia bought, but apples. Nevertheless, Identificational Focus need not always show contrast. It could be the case that the focused element is simply the exhaustive subset of a set for which the predicate holds (Kiss 1998:245), without necessarily being contrastive¹. According to Kiss (1998), Identificational Focus in each language varies on whether it has a positive value of both or either of the features [exhaustive] and [contrastive]. For instance, she argues that in languages like Hungarian and English, Identificational Focus always has a positive value for the feature [exhaustive], whereas [contrastive] can either have a positive or a negative value depending on whether the subset is chosen from a closed set whose entities are presupposed or an open set respectively (Kiss 1998:267). An example of identificational

¹ This observation provides support that the term *Identificational Focus* is more accurate than *Contrastive Focus*, since it includes not only contrastive focus but exhaustiveness as well.

focus with [+exhaustive] and [-contrastive] features in Hungarian is given in (10), where the set of writers is an open set and does not have clearly identifiable entities.

10. Q: Ki írta a Háború és békét? (Kiss 1998:268)
 who wrote the War and Peace
 ‘Who wrote War and Peace?’
- A: [_{TopP} A Háború és békét [_{FP} TOLSTOJ írta]]
 the War and Peace._{acc} Tolstoy wrote
 ‘It was TOLSTOY who wrote War and Peace.’

As it was already mentioned, Identificational Focus typically requires syntactic movement of the focused element to the Left Periphery. However, Kiss (1998:250) claims that in languages like English simple movement of the focused constituent does not express exhaustive identification. She argues that Identificational Focus in English can only be realised in a cleft constituent and that fronted focused elements as in (11b) are merely cases of Information Focus that are Topicalized. In order to support this, she explains that (11b) could not be among the logical consequences of (11a) if it expressed exhaustive identification, while in fact it is a perfectly acceptable logical consequence of (11a). On the other hand, the clefted equivalent in (12b) is not a logical consequence of (12a), hence indicating exhaustiveness.

11. a. A HAT AND A COAT, Mary picked for herself. → (Kiss 1998:251)
 b. A HAT, Mary picked for herself.
12. a. It was **a hat and a coat** that Mary picked for herself. // → (Kiss 1998:250)
 b. It was **a hat** that Mary picked for herself.

Taking the English examples into consideration we can conclude that clefts are associated with Identificational Focus and not Informational Focus. This thesis will be only concerned with the former, since it is an investigation on cleft constructions found in CG. As a result, it should be kept in mind that the term *Focus* is henceforth used to refer to Identificational Focus – unless otherwise indicated – and should not be confused with Information Focus. We can now turn to examine in more detail the differences in Focus found between CG and SG.

2.2. Focus in CG and SG

Similarly to English, CG requires a cleft construction in order to indicate Focus. In (13b) we observe that the fronted argument, even though stressed, it is a Topic not Focus, since it does not express exhaustive identification. On the contrary, the clefted examples in (14) share the properties of Focus since they are both exhaustive and contrastive.

13. a. TO TETRADIO CHE TIN PENNA, ejorasa ta ehtes. →
 the notebook and the pen bought. *Isg* them yesterday
 ‘The notebook and the pen, I bought them yesterday.’
- b. TO TETRADIO, ejorasa to ehtes.
 the notebook bought. *Isg* it yesterday
 ‘The notebook, I bought it yesterday.’
14. a. En TO TETRADIO CHE TIN PENNA pu ejorasa ehtes →//→
 is the notebook and the pen that bought. *Isg* yesterday
 ‘It was the notebook and the pen that I bought yesterday.’
- b. En TO TETRADIO pu ejorasa ehtes
 is the notebook that bought. *Isg* yesterday
 ‘It was the notebook that I bought yesterday.’

As it was already demonstrated in example (9b), SG can express Focus by fronting the focused constituent. In example (15) we can detect this distinction between the two dialects.

15. Q: Aporases to aspro aftokinito telika?
 Bought. *2sg* the white car finally
 ‘Did you buy the white car after all?’
- a. A: Oi, en to BLE aftokinito pu ejorasa. (CG)
 No is the blue car that bought. *Isg*
- b. A: Ohi, to BLE aftokinito ajorasa. (SG)
 No the blue car bought. *Isg*
- b’. A: Ohi, to BLE aftokinito ine pu ajorasa. (SG)
 No the blue car is that bought. *Isg*
 ‘No, it’s the blue car that I bought.’

It is worth noticing that SG can optionally include the cleft construction *ine pu* (is that), which is the equivalent of *en pu* (is that) in CG. Nevertheless, as it is clear from example (12b') the focused constituent is not found in between *is* and *that* as in CG, but rather it is fronted in the sentence.

The optional appearance of a cleft in focused SG constructions can be also found in other dialects of Greek, for instance in the dialect of Rhodes (RG). The answers the RG native speakers gave to the fictional scenario in the questionnaire (c.f. Appendix) were either one or both of the two sentences found in (16) and they were both equally preferred.

16. a. I MARIA efie (RG)
the Maria left
- b. I MARIA in pu fie (RG)
the Maria is that left
'It's Maria who left.'

In addition, the sentence in (17), which is the correct structure for CG clefts, is unavailable to both SG and RG, which leads us to the conclusion that even though a cleft can be used, the focused element should still be fronted in both SG and RG, in contrast to CG.

17. *Ine i MARIA pu fije (SG/RG)
is the Maria that left
'It's Maria who left.'

To sum up, we have seen that Focus in CG does not involve fronting of the focused element, in contrast to other Greek dialects; instead, the focused element appears in a cleft construction. In addition, it was noted that even though other dialects of Greek can optionally use a cleft in focused constructions, the focused element still has to be fronted. This is something to be considered at a later point, when analyzing the data syntactically.

3. Formal Properties of CG Declarative Clefts

As it has been discussed in the previous chapter, the main purpose of the cleft constructions in CG is to express Focus. In other words, they are used whenever the speaker wants to indicate contrast and an exhaustive reading. In this section the semantic but also the syntactic properties of the declarative clefts in CG will be further investigated, before moving on to discuss clefts found in *wh*-questions in Chapter 4.

3.1. Syntactic properties

Cleft constructions in CG consist of the copular verb *en*² ('is') and the complementizer *pu* ('that'). Unlike other languages, for example English, CG does not require an overt expletive to fill the subject position in the cleft construction, due to the fact that it is a pro-drop language. This is shown in (16).

18. a. It was Mary who left.
 b. en I Maria pu efie. (CG)
 is the Maria that left

In CG, just like in SG, there are three different complementizers: *pu*, *oti* and *pos*. *Oti* and *pos* introduce complement clauses as in (19a), while *pu* introduces relative clauses similarly to (19b). In the cleft constructions, it is always the relative complementizer *pu* that is used and this can be confirmed by the examples in (20) where the use of *oti* or *pos* results to an ungrammatical sentence.

19. a. I Maria ipen **oti/pos** ethkiavases
 The Maria said that studied.2sg
 'Maria said that she studied.'
 b. to vivlio **pu** ethkiavasa...
 the book that read.1sg

² 3rd person, not distinguished between singular or plural.

‘the book that I read...’

20. a. En i MARIA **pu** ethkiavase
Is the Maria that studied.3sg
‘It is Maria who has studied’
- b. * En i MARIA **oti/pos** ethkiavase
Is the Maria that studied.3sg
‘It is Maria who has studied’

This phenomenon can be witnessed in other languages as well, like Scottish Gaelic where there are several complementizers used, depending on what clause is being introduced, but only the relative complementizer *a* is allowed to appear with clefts (Adger & Ramchand 2005). This is shown in (21):

21. a. an leabhar **a** cheannaich thu an diugh (Adger & Ramchand 2005:164)
the book C-REL bought you today
‘the book that you bought today’
- b. ’S e Iain **a** bha sgith. (Adger & Ramchand 2005:165)
it’s Iain C-REL be-PAST tired
‘It is Iain that was tired.’

Another example of the same phenomenon is found in Egyptian Arabic where the complementizer *illi* is used both with clefts and relative clauses as seen below in (22).

22. a. il-raagil **illi** Mona shaafit-uh (Cheng 1991:53)
the-man that Mona saw-him
‘the man that Mona saw’
- b. dah ALI **illi** Mona darabit-uh (Cheng 1991:59)
this Ali that Mona hit-him
‘It is Ali that Mona hit.’

Besides the copular verb and the relative complementizer, clefts consist of another phrase, usually a nominal phrase. In CG this can be a subject or an object as illustrated in (23) or it can even include an adjective as in (24), where the noun that the adjective modifies can be left out since it has already been introduced in the conversation.

23. a. En i THALIA pu efie.
is the.*nom* Thalia.*nom* that left.*3sg*
'It's Thalia who left.'
- b. En tin THALIA pu esheretisa.
is the.*acc* Thalia.*acc* that greeted.*1sg*
'It's Thalia whom I greeted.'
24. En OMORFI pu itan.
is beautiful that was
'It was beautiful that she was (not ugly).'

However, the phrase within the cleft construction can also be a non-nominal expression as in the examples in (25) where there are different types of PPs. Another possibility is to have an Adverb inside the cleft construction as in (26).

25. a. En ME TO PODILATO pu epian sto parko.
is with the bike that went.*3pl* to-the park
'It's by the bike that they went to the park.'
- b. En MES STIN LIMNI pu ekolimbisan.
is inside to-the lake that swam.*3pl*
'It's in the lake that they swam.'
26. En TOTE pu elipothimisa
is then that fainted.*1sg*
'It was at that time that I fainted.'

In some languages, for instance Norwegian, it is possible, although rare, to have a VP occupying that position as in (27) (Smits 1989:48). This is not possible in CG, however it is possible for a gerund to occur as in (28). The gerund in Greek has an adverbial function and is formed by adding the suffix *-ondas* to a verb (Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warburton 1997).

27. det var drog med kano opetter elva [som [studentane gjorde i ferien]]
it was went with canoes up the river that students aux during the holidays
28. En kolimbondas pu eftasame dhame
is swimming. that arrived.*1pl* here
'It was by swimming that we arrived here'

In addition, it is acceptable for a clause to appear inside the cleft construction as in (29a). In this case, the stress should be on the embedded verb *fainted*, otherwise if it is on the embedded subject *Maria*, then the preferred way of expressing that meaning is the sentence in (29b), where the focused constituent leaves the embedded clause and moves inside the cleft construction alone.

29. a. En [oti elipothimise i Maria] pu ipes.
Is that fainted.3sg the Maria that said.2sg
'What you said was that Maria fainted.'
- b. En i MARIA pu ipes oti elipothimise.
is the Maria that said.2sg that fainted.3sg
'It was Maria who you said had fainted.'

Another property of CG cleft constructions is that it is possible for them to appear in embedded contexts as in (30):

30. a. I Thalia ipen oti en I MARIA pu elipothimise.
the Thalia said that is the Maria that fainted.3sg
'Thalia said that it was Maria who fainted.'
- b. Ejo en ipa oti en I THALIA pu elipothimise.
I neg. said that is the Thalia that fainted.3sg
'I didn't say that it was Thalia who fainted.'

A final point that should be mentioned before moving onto the semantic properties of the cleft constructions in CG, is that it is possible for the copular verb *en* to be inflected for tense when it appears in a cleft. In example (31b) we can observe that *en* becomes *itan* in past tense. In this case, the embedded verb still needs to be inflected for past tense even though the copula is also in past tense³.

³ The copular verb *ime* 'to be' only has two tenses: present and past. In order to form the future and conditional tenses, it is combined with the particle *tha* in SG and *enna* in CG. In order to show future tense in CG cleft constructions, the future particle usually combines with the embedded verb as in (1a). *Enna* can nevertheless combine with the copula (1b), even though it is less common; however the embedded verb will still need to be inflected for future, which is what also happens when the copula is inflected for past tense.

1. a. En i Maria pu **enna** nikisi
Is the Maria that will win

b. **Enna** 'n i Maria pu **enna** nikisi
will is the Maria that will win

31. a. En i MARIA pu efie
 is the Maria that left.^{2sg}
 ‘It’s Maria who left / It was Maria who left.’
- b. Itan i MARIA pu efie
 was the Maria that left.^{2sg}
 ‘It was Maria who left.’

Sentence (31a) can share both meanings that it is Maria who has just left, but also that it was Maria who had left sometime in the past (perhaps a day ago, a month ago or a year ago). The difference in meaning depends on the context. Considering how (31a) conveys the meaning of (31b) as well, it is expected that the copula in present tense is preferred by speakers since it is the neutral form, hence more economical⁴.

3.2. Semantic properties

The semantic properties of the cleft constructions have been extensively examined by many linguists before (to name a few: Prince 1978, Collins 1991, Doetjes, Rebuschi & Rialland 2004). In Chapter 2 it was shown that there is a correlation between clefts and Focus and in accordance to Kiss’s (1998) claim that clefts signify Identificational Focus in languages where syntactic movement of the focused element is not available. CG clefts indeed support this theory, since exhaustive Focus can only be accomplished when a cleft construction is used. In (32) the exhaustiveness of the cleft construction is clear; from the set of all types of flowers found in this world, the only ones I like are the gerberas.

32. En I GERBERES pu mu areskun. (CG)
 is the gerberas that I like
 ‘It’s the gerberas that I like.’

‘It is Maria that will win’

‘It will be Maria that will win’

⁴ The translation of (31b) can also be ‘It had been Maria who left’, even though traditional CG does not have Present or Past Perfect tense. Nevertheless, with the constant influence of SG on the CG dialect, speakers have started using the Perfect tense in some rare occasions. As a result, native speakers usually use (31b) to express Past Perfect rather than Simple Past.

Nevertheless, there are other studies on cleft constructions which claim that clefts are not necessarily a focusing construction. In particular, Doetjes, Rebuschi & Rialland (2004) argue that what should be observed in cleft structures, is not that the clefted XP is always exhaustive, but rather the fact that the part which follows the complementizer is always semantically presuppositional. The example they give to justify their argument is found in (33).

33. C'est avec plaisir que je vous invite à participer à ce séminaire.
 'It is with pleasure that I invite you to this seminar.' (Doetjes et al. 2004:535)

Their line of reasoning is that the XP in this cleft cannot have an exhaustive interpretation since they could add 'and besides with pride too' without altering the meaning of the sentence.

Prince (1978) also examines clefts and their presuppositional nature. She suggests that there are two different types of clefts, depending on what their function is in discourse. In the first type, the clefted XP represents new information and is consequently focused, while the *that*-clause is presupposed. A typical example of this type is given above in (32), where *gerberas* is focused, while it is presupposed that I like something. These clefts are meant to be exhaustive, in contrast to the second type of clefts which are not. Prince (1978) names the second type of clefts *informative-presupposition it-clefts*. What is interesting about these clefts is that the *that*-clause is not necessarily known to the hearer. An example of this type is (34a), taken from Prince (1978:898). Another example is (34b), also found in Prince (1978:902), where the cleft is used to indicate deference/politeness, rather than exhaustiveness and the *that*-clause is not presupposed.

34. a. It was just about 50 years ago that Henry Ford gave us the weekend.
 b. It's with great honor and pleasure that I announce Hilary Putnam.

The example in (34b) is similar to (33), thus further supporting the claim that a clefted XP is not always exhaustive. Prince (1978:901) argues that the general function of

informative-presupposition clefts is to present statements as facts, hence the *that*-clause can carry either presupposed or new information and still be grammatical. A CG example of this type of clefts is (35); the *that*-clause is presupposed since we know that Maria had finished the painting, while the clefted XP does not have an exhaustive interpretation since we could furthermore add ‘also with much attention to detail’. In exhaustive clefts, adding another phrase sounds odd since it contradicts the intended meaning of the clefted XP.

35. Eminen oksipni uli nihta i Maria ja na teliosi ton pinaka. **En me polin ajapi**
 stayed._{2sg} awake all night the Maria to *part.* finish the painting. is with much love
pu ton ekame. (Chiolas me polin prosohi.)
 that it made._{2sg} also with much attention
 ‘Maria stayed up all night to finish the painting. It is with much love that she
 made it. (Also with much attention to detail)’

In conclusion, CG clefts can have two functions: a) to show exhaustiveness and b) to mark a sentence as a fact. The former need to always have a presupposed *that*-clause, while the latter need not to.

4. Formal Properties of CG *wh*-interrogative Clefts

As it was briefly explained in the Introduction, CG optionally permits clefts to appear in *wh*-questions. Even though SG seems to optionally allow declarative clefts to mark Focus, clefts in *wh*-questions are banned. In this chapter, it will be investigated when *wh*-interrogative clefts appear in CG and what the semantic differences are between the clefted and the non-clefted *wh*-questions.

4.1. Syntactic properties

4.1.1. *Wh*-elements and *embu*

As in declarative sentences, the cleft in *wh*-questions again consists of the copular verb *en* and the relative complementizer *pu*. However, since there is no other element intervening between the copular and the complementizer, the two words are pronounced as one: the nasal sound /n/ of the copula becomes a bilabial /m/ and the first sound of the complementizer /p/ becomes the voiced /b/, producing *embu*. A consequent question is whether *en* and *pu* are also syntactically “assimilated”, besides phonologically. The answer is positive as it is evident from (36a), where *embu* cannot be separated by an adverb. On the contrary, when *en* is in the past tense in (36b) it is acceptable for an adverb to appear between the copula and *pu*.

36. a. *Pcos **en** tora **pu** efie? / Pcos **embu** efie tora?
 who is now that left
 ‘Who is it that has just left?’
- b. Pcos **itan** totes **pu** efie?⁵ / Pcos **itan pu** efie totes?
 who was then that left?
 ‘Who was it that had left, back then?’

Equally to declarative clefts, which were discussed in Chapter 3, the present form *embu* is preferred over the past form *itan pu* even in past tense contexts. In other words, *embu* is used with *wh*-questions at a great extent, while *itan pu* appears rarely.

In general, *embu* can appear with all *wh*-elements no matter whether they are subjects or objects as in (37a) and (37b) respectively. The only exception where *embu* cannot appear is when the question is formed with the *wh*-element *jiati* (‘why’). In that case, *jiati* has to appear without a cleft like in example (38b), in order for the sentence to be grammatical. This distinction will be accounted for at chapter 6.

⁵ This structure is not equally acceptable by all speakers, but when stress is applied to the adverb most native speakers find it grammatical. Nevertheless, the preferred way of expressing that meaning is by using the second sentence, where the adverb is left at the end of the sentence.

37. a. Pcos (embu) irte?
 who.*nom* is-that arrived.*3sg*
 ‘Who arrived?’
- b. Pcon (embu) idhes?
 who.*acc* is-that saw.*2sg*
 ‘Who did you see?’
38. a. *Jiati embu efies?
 why is-that left.*2sg*
 ‘Why did you leave?’
- b. Jiati efies?
 why left.*2sg*
 ‘Why did you leave?’

Lastly, *wh*-interrogative clefts can appear in embedded clauses just like the declarative clefts that were discussed in Section 3.1:

39. a. Pe mu pu embu epien.
 tell me where is-that went.*3sg*
 ‘Tell me where it is that s/he went.’
- b. En iksero pu embu epien.
neg. know where is-that went.*3sg*
 ‘I don’t know where it is that s/he went.’

4.1.2. *Inda* and *mbu*

Another puzzle for the occurrence of *embu*, besides the case of *jiati* ‘why’, has to do with when it appears with the *wh*-element *inda*, meaning ‘what’. *Inda* is not found in SG (the SG equivalent is *ti*), but it is found in the dialects of most of the eastern Greek islands, Asia Minor and Cyprus (Ralli 2006). The difference between *inda* and the rest of the *wh*-elements is that it cannot occur with *embu*, but it obligatorily has to occur with *mbu* as illustrated in (40). For now, *mbu* will be translated as *embu* ‘is-that’.

40. a. *Inda embu efaes?
 what is-that ate.*2sg*
 ‘What did you eat?’
- b. Inda mbu efaes?
 what is-that ate.*2sg*
 ‘What did you eat?’

Furthermore, *inda* in CG cannot appear bare as it is evident in (41); it obligatorily has to appear with *mbu* (41a’) or with a noun as a complex *wh*-expression (41b). In the latter

case, *embu* can also optionally appear as it happens with the rest of the *wh*-elements (41b'). In contrast to CG, other dialects of Greek which make use of *inda* (i.e. Cretan Greek), permit the structure in (41a).

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>41. a. *<i>Inda ekames?</i>
 what did.2sg
 ‘What did you do?’</p> | <p>a'. <i>Inda mbu ekames?</i>
 what is-that did.2sg
 ‘What did you do?’</p> |
| <p>b. <i>Inda vlakia ekames?</i>
 what stupidity did.2sg
 ‘What kind of stupidity did you do?’</p> | <p>b'. <i>Inda vlakia embu ekames?</i>
 what stupidity is-that did.2sg
 ‘What kind of stupidity did you do?’</p> |

On the other hand, when *inda* has the meaning of ‘why/what for’, it can appear bare or optionally together with *mbu* as indicated in (42).

42. *Inda (mbu) jelas?*
 why is-that laugh.2sg
 ‘Why are you laughing?’

A previous analysis on the subject of *wh*-question formation in CG by Grohmann, Panagiotidis & Tsiplakou (2006), considers *mbu* to be an apparent variant of *embu* and therefore translates it as ‘is-that’. Nevertheless, if it is a phonological variation of *embu* then *mbu* should be allowed to occur with other *wh*-elements that end in a vowel, which is clearly not the case as it can be proved from example (43).

43. a. **Pca mbu fie?*
 who is-that left.2sg
- b. *Pca (embu) fie?*
 who is-that left.2sg
 ‘Who was it that left?’

Another speculation that Grohmann et al. (2006) make, is that *inda* could be a clitic since as it was demonstrated in (40) it can never be bare; it either requires *mbu* to follow it or a noun. In addition, *inda* has reduced forms *'nda* and *'a*, something that could further support the speculation that it is a clitic. Nevertheless, if *inda* was a clitic then the same restrictions would apply to it when it is used to denote ‘why/what for’.

Taking into consideration the distinction made between *inda* as ‘what’ and *inda* as ‘why/what for’ we can arrive at the conclusion that the explanation of this phenomenon lies in the meaning of *inda*. The intuitions of native speakers of CG can shed some light on this matter, since in interrogatives with *inda mbu*, they translate *inda* as *ine ti* ‘is what’ rather than just *ti* ‘what’, which proves that *inda* in CG does not share the exact same meaning with *inda* found in other dialects. In addition, in written text *inda mbu* can be found as *inda’n’pu* where *n* is clearly a reduced form of the copular verb *en*. As a result, we can assume that *inda’n’pu* is phonologically pronounced as *indambu* after assimilation and it translates as ‘what is that’.

Inda first appeared in Medieval Greek (Nicholas 2004) and according to Χατζιδάκις (1905-07) it originates from the cleft *ti eni ta*, which in Medieval Greek translated as ‘what is that’. This is an interesting point since as we can conclude from the above paragraph, *inda* in modern CG is again found in a cleft, namely *indambu* which also translates as ‘what is that’. This might be due to the fact that while other dialects of Greek lost the clefted interpretation of *inda*, CG kept it up to date by adding the copular verb and the modern relative complementizer. Moreover, this could possibly explain why *inda* cannot appear alone: *inda* alone does not mean ‘what’. It is the *wh*-cleft expression *indambu* as a whole which has the meaning of ‘what’.

More support that *inda* in CG should not be considered to be a single *wh*-element that has the meaning of ‘what’, comes from the previously mentioned examples in (41b) and (42). When it is combined with a nominal expression, it always has the meaning ‘what kind of’, while when it stands alone without *mbu* or a noun, it either means ‘why’ or ‘what for’. Evidently, in none of these instances, *inda* is used to convey ‘what’.

To sum up, in this subsection it has been argued that while in other dialects of Greek *inda* is used to refer to ‘what’, in CG it means ‘why/what for’ and the meaning of ‘what’ is expressed by the *wh*-cleft *indambu*.

4.2. Semantic properties

Having two different structures for *wh*-formation, that have the exact same meaning, seems rather redundant in a language. Even though native speakers cannot initially distinguish any variation in the meaning of the two *wh*-structures, when they are given particular contexts, they usually pick one structure over the other.

In section 3.2. it was supported that the *that*-clause in cleft constructions is typically presupposed and that the clefted XP marks exhaustiveness. In the cases where the cleft is not exhaustive, the cleft construction functions as a method of presenting a sentence as a fact. As a result, it is expected that *wh*-interrogative clefts also share the same functions. These functions are tested below in examples (44)-(46). First, in (44b) by using *embu*, it is implied that the person who asks the question knows that somebody has definitely left. This explains why the reply ‘nobody’ is not a logical reply to that question, since it is presupposed that someone has indeed left. On the other hand, in (44a) the inquirer could be only assuming that someone has left, hence the reply ‘nobody’ is valid.

44. a. Q: Pcos efie?
 who left
 ‘Who left?’

A: Kanenas.
 Nobody.

b. Q: Pcos embu efie?
 who is-that left
 ‘Who is it that left?’

A: #Kanenas.
 Nobody.

Secondly, in (45a) we can see that to the non-clefted question, the second speaker can respond by saying that he got two books, even though the inquirer thinks that the second speaker only got one book and therefore in the question he only asks which one book the second speaker got. However, in (45b) there can only be one specific book that the second person got and anything else is excluded, since *embu* marks exhaustiveness.

45. a. Q: Pco vivlio epiases?
 which book got
 ‘Which book did you get?’

A: To kokkino che to ble telika
 the red and the blue after-all
 ‘The red and the blue one after all’

b. Q: Pco vivlio embu epiases?
 which book is-that got
 ‘Which book is it that you got?’

A: [#]To kokkino che to ble telika.
 the red and the blue after-all
 ‘The red and the blue one after all’

Finally, we have to test whether the question can be presented as a fact. Even though this function of the *wh*-interrogative cleft is not as common, it is still found in particular contexts. For instance, imagine that A won the lottery and goes to B to tell him the news. B does not know that A had won and is not even aware that he had played lottery. The question with *embu* in (46a) could be used in order to present the fact that someone, who obviously both A and B know of, had won the lottery. By asking in this manner, A expects B to ask him ‘Who?’ and not answer to his question, thus creating more suspense. In contrast, the question in (46b) is not logical in this context, since it would mean that A expects B to know that someone won the lottery.

46. a. A: Pcos embu ekerdise to lotto?!
 ‘Who is it that won the lottery?!’
 B: Pcos?
 ‘Who?’
 A: Ejo!!!
 ‘Me!!!’

b. A: [#]Pcos ekerdise to lotto?!
 ‘Who won the lottery?’
 B: En iksero
 ‘I don’t know.’

These tests prove that declarative clefts and *wh*-interrogative clefts are both used to serve the same functions, even though, at first glance, the latter is not semantically differentiated from non-clefted *wh*-interrogatives. However, we have seen that there is a

preference of one *wh*-interrogative structure over the other depending on the context and the meaning that needs to be transmitted.

5. Previous Analyses on *wh*-interrogative clefts

In this chapter, two previous syntactic analyses on *wh*-interrogative clefts are presented and discussed. The first analysis is by Munaro & Pollock (2002) who study the (que)est-ce que/qui questions of Modern French and Northern Italian dialects (henceforth NIDs). This analysis is relevant to the current thesis since surprisingly, the Romance data shares substantial similarities with the CG *wh*-interrogative clefts. The second analysis is by Grohmann, Panagiotidis & Tsiplakou (2006) and is on the properties of *wh*-question formation in CG.

5.1. Munaro & Pollock (2002)

Modern French *wh*-questions can sometimes be formed by using *est-ce-que/qui*, similarly to the CG *wh*-questions which can include *embu*. Munaro & Pollock call this type of questions “Wh-est-ce Q” and they show that they can appear in both French and NIDs. The similarities between the Romance data and the CG data are striking. For instance in French, when the question is formed by extracting *que* ‘what’ from subject position, the Wh-est-ce Q pattern must be used, while this is optional for *qui* ‘who’. This phenomenon is reminiscent of the case of *inda* in CG which obligatorily has to appear with *mbu* (ʔn’pu), whereas the rest of the *wh*-expressions can but need not appear with *embu*. This comparison is illustrated in examples (47) and (48). The French examples are taken from Munaro & Pollock (2002:543).

47. a. *Que tombe?
what falls?

a’. Qu’est-ce qui tombe?
what is it that falls?

- | | |
|---|--|
| b. *Inda pefti? ⁶
what falls? | b'. Indambu pefti?
what-is-that falls? |
| 48. a. Qui tombe?
who falls? | a'. Qui est-ce qui tombe?
who is it that falls? |
| b. Pcos pefti?
who falls? | b'. Pcos embu pefti?
who is-that falls? |

The explanation they give for this distinction between the two *wh*-elements is that *que* is in fact a clitic which cannot be separated from its prosodic host, it cannot occur in isolation, and finally it cannot be coordinated. In (49) *inda* is tested in these environments in order to examine whether it has the same properties as the French *que*.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 49. a. *Inda nomizis oti embu theli?
what think.2sg that is-that wants
'What is it that you think he wants?' | a'. Indambu nomizis oti theli?
what is-that think.2sg that wants |
| b. *Inda?
'What?' | b'. Indambon(i)? ⁷
what-is-that-is
'What (is it)?' |
| c. *Inda che pcon embu idhen?
what and who is-that saw.3sg
'What and who has she seen?' | c'. ?Pcon che indambu idhen?
who and what is-that saw.3sg |

While we notice that *inda*, meaning 'what', does indeed pattern with *que*, in (50) we can observe that when *inda* denotes 'why', it passes the tests. The example in (50b) should not be considered as an instance of *inda* 'why' failing to appear isolated, since it cannot appear as *indambuni* either, in contrast to *inda* 'what' (49b) which can. The reason it cannot appear in that environment is simply because the alternative *wh*-element *jiati*, which also has the meaning of 'what', is used and not because it is a clitic. Moreover, the examples on coordination sound odd, because in CG it is either preferred to ask the

⁶ This sentence is correct when it has the meaning of 'Why does it/he/she fall?' but it is ungrammatical when *inda* is used as 'what'.

⁷ *Indamboni* is the result of the phonological assimilation of four words:
inda en pu en(i) → inda'n'p'o'n(i)
what is that is

- c. *Comment **était-ce** qu'il parlait?
How was it that he spoke?
- d. Quel homme **était-ce** que Marie voulait rencontrer?
What man was it that Marie wanted to meet?
(Munaro & Pollock 2002:573-574)
53. a. *Inda **itan** pu ethkiavases?
what was that read.2sg
'What was it that you read?'
- b. Pcos **itan** pu efie?
who was that left.3sg
'Who was it that left?'

This variation between *que*, *pourquoi*, *comment* and the rest of the *wh*-expressions is accounted for by Munaro & Pollock (2002:574) by arguing that the tensed form of *est* is only available to real cleft questions. Consequently, they make the assumption that the examples in (50a-c) are not instances of *wh*-interrogative clefts, even though in English they translate as clefts. In particular, they analyze *est-ce* in a small clause, where *ce* is merged as the predicate and the *wh*-element as the subject, and the SC is embedded under the copula *est* which is merged in a Copulative Phrase (CopP) as in (54).

54. [_{CopP} est [_{SC} que ce]]

The complete analysis for a question like (55a) is the one given in (55b). Their theory is based on the argument that there are two positions for *wh*-words in the left periphery of Romance; Op₁P which is the “low” *wh*-position and Op₂P which is the “high” *wh*-position. Op₁P is checked by bare *wh*-words that are analysed as existential quantifiers while Op₂P is checked by disjunction operators which are complex *wh*-phrases or D-linked bare *wh*-words. ForceP is found between these two OpPs. In addition, the disjunction operator or the existential quantifier can be spelled out at PF or not, depending on each language.

55. a. Qu'est-ce que tombe?
what.CL-is-it that falls

‘What is falling?’

- b. $[_{Op2P} que_i Op2^0 [_{ForceP} [_{CLP} t_i [_{CopP} est [_{SC} t_i ce]]]] F^0 [_{Op1P} O_i que] [_{IP} t_i i [_{vP} t_i tombe]]]]]$

(Munaro & Pollock 2002:563)

The structure in (55b) is derived by following these steps: First Op1P is occupied by the existential operator ‘O_i’ after subsequent movement of ‘O_i’ from Spec,vP to Spec,IP and finally Op1P where the complementizer *que* is the head. Then the disjunction operator *que* is merged as the subject of the SC and *ce* as the predicate. *Que* as it was already discussed is considered to be a clitic and Munaro & Pollock assume that CopP is a possible cliticization site for it. After it checks its clitic feature, it can move to Op2 where it can check its *wh*-disjunctive feature.

Munaro & Pollock’s analysis for *wh*-interrogative clefts is similar to one for the non-clefted interrogatives, with the difference that it is a biclausal structure. The structure they give is the one found in (56).

56. a. Quel homme était-ce que Marie voulait rencontrer?
What man was it that Marie wanted to meet?

- b. $[_{Op2P} quel\ homme_j Op2^0 [_{ForceP} [_{IP} t_k\ \acute{e}tait\ t_j]_i] F^0 [[_{GroundP} ce_k G^0 [_{TopP} [_{ForceP} [_{CopP} t_j [_{SC} t_k\ t_j]]]] O_j\ que\ [_{IP} Marie\ voulait\ rencontrer\ t_j]]]_i Top^0 [_{IP} t_i\ t_i]]]]]$

(Munaro & Pollock 2002:575)

A step by step derivation of the question in (56a) is given below in (57).

57. a. IP layers are merged, *ce* is attracted to Spec,IP and *était* to I⁰:
 $[_{IP} ce_k\ \acute{e}tait\ quelle\ homme_j [_{ForceP} [_{CopP} t_j [_{SC} t_k\ t_j]]]] O_j\ que\ [_{IP} Marie\ voulait\ rencontrer\ t_j]]$
- b. TopP is merged and it attracts the whole embedded ForceP to its Spec:
 $[_{TopP} [_{ForceP} [_{CopP} t_j [_{SC} t_k\ t_j]]]] O_j\ que\ [_{IP} Marie\ voulait\ rencontrer\ t_j]]]_i Top^0 [_{IP} ce_k\ \acute{e}tait\ quelle\ homme_j\ t_i]]]$
- c. GroundP is merged and it attracts *ce* to its Spec:

$$[[_{\text{GroundP}} \text{ce}_k \text{G}^0 [_{\text{TopP}} [_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{CopP}} \text{t}_j [_{\text{SC}} \text{t}_k \text{t}_j]]] \text{O}_j \text{que} [_{\text{IP}} \text{Marie} \text{voulait} \text{rencontrer} \text{t}_j]]]_i \text{Top}^0 [_{\text{IP}} \text{t}_k \text{était} \text{quelle} \text{homme}_j \text{t}_i]]]$$

d. Merging of interrogative Force and movement of remnant IP to Spec,Force:

$$[_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{IP}} \text{t}_k \text{était} \text{quelle} \text{homme}_j]_1 \text{F}^0 [[_{\text{GroundP}} \text{ce}_k \text{G}^0 [_{\text{TopP}} [_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{CopP}} \text{t}_j [_{\text{SC}} \text{t}_k \text{t}_j]]] \text{O}_j \text{que} [_{\text{IP}} \text{Marie} \text{voulait} \text{rencontrer} \text{t}_j]]]_i \text{Top}^0 [_{\text{IP}} \text{t}_1 \text{t}_i]]]]$$

e. Op2 is merged and *quel homme* is moved to the Spec,Op2:

$$[_{\text{Op2P}} \text{quel} \text{homme}_j \text{Op2}^0 [_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{IP}} \text{t}_k \text{était} \text{t}_j]_1 \text{F}^0 [[_{\text{GroundP}} \text{ce}_k \text{G}^0 [_{\text{TopP}} [_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{CopP}} \text{t}_j [_{\text{SC}} \text{t}_k \text{t}_j]]]] \text{O}_j \text{que} [_{\text{IP}} \text{Marie} \text{voulait} \text{rencontrer} \text{t}_j]]]_i \text{Top}^0 [_{\text{IP}} \text{t}_1 \text{t}_i]]]]]$$

Seeing how there is a considerable number of similarities between the French and the CG data, it could be the case that this analysis of French interrogatives can be also used to explain the properties of the CG *wh*-interrogative clefts. However, this analysis seems to be problematic for the case of CG. To begin with, it is presumed that there are two different positions in the left periphery that are available to *wh*-elements. While for Romance languages this is something that has been independently examined and supported, in CG there are no substantial evidence to support it. For example, in Romance the existence of a second *wh*-word host can be verified by the occurrence of *wh*-words at the right edge of nonecho questions, since it predicts that there must be a lower position for these *wh*-words⁸. This is a structure that is unavailable to CG as it is illustrated in (58).

58. a. A-lo magnà che? (Bellunese)
 has he eaten what
 ‘What has he eaten?’ (Munaro, Poletto & Pollock 2001:156)
- b. *Pais pu? (CG)
 go.2sg where
 ‘Where are you going?’

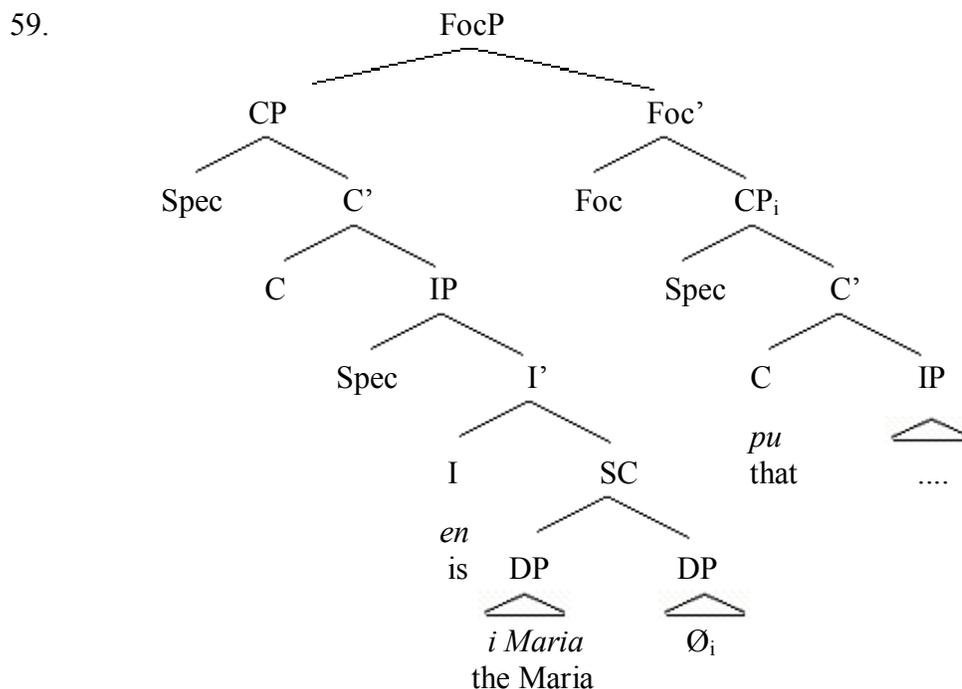
Another problem with adopting this analysis for CG is that it considers most of the *Wh*-est-ce questions to be non-clefts, while for CG it has been demonstrated in the previous chapter that questions with *embu* always share the semantic properties of cleft

⁸ Munaro, Poletto & Pollock (2001) provide evidence that these questions should not be considered as cases of *wh*-in situ. They claim that the *wh*-element is moved to the left periphery and that there is Remnant IP movement to the left periphery.

constructions. Even if we use the analysis that Munaro & Pollock give for *wh*-interrogative clefts, it is still not clear what would motivate most elements to undergo movement. For instance, the copula is supposedly moved on the Spec,ForceP to check its tense features but it is not explained how this is achieved. In addition, we have seen that clefts are associated with Focus, but in this structure it is not clear how the cleft is assigned Focus. It could be the case that Focus is checked in the spec of the lower ForceP, nevertheless if this is what it is claimed then it is unclear how the predicate in the SC checks its Focus features; in the Spec,ForceP we find the whole CopP and not just the predicate, which would entail that even the copula ‘en’ would be focused, which is not valid.

5.2. Grohmann, Panagiotidis & Tsipplakou (2006)

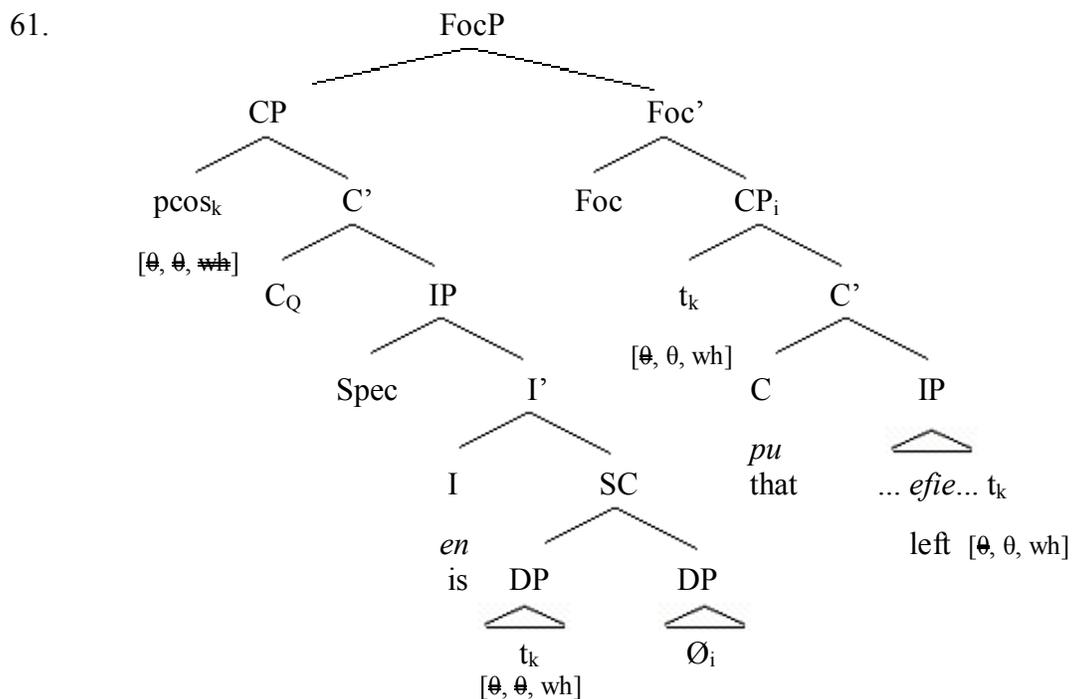
The paper by Grohmann et al. discusses some of the properties of *wh*-interrogative clefts in CG. They analyze clefts in a biclausal structure and they emphasize on the fact that clefts are a focusing strategy, hence the necessity of a Focus projection. The structure they propose for declarative clefts is the one illustrated in (59).



As it is obvious from this structure, they propose that there is a small clause which has the focused element as its subject and \emptyset as a predicate. They assume that \emptyset is the covert counterpart of a clause-selecting nominal D, such as *to* ‘the’ which in Greek can select subordinate clauses⁹. Moreover, they claim that the SC-subject does not move to Spec,IP, which is in accordance to Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou’s (1998) claim that subjects in Greek never move to Spec,IP. Consequently, the ungrammaticality of (60a) can be explained.

60. a. *I MARIA embu efie
the Maria is-that left
‘It’s Maria who left.’
b. En I MARIA pu efie
is the Maria that left
‘It’s Maria who left.’

Concerning *wh*-interrogative clefts, they suggest that the same structure is used and the *wh*-phrase moves sideways as in (61).



⁹ They base this assumption on Roussou’s (1994) dissertation on the syntax of complementisers.

The justification for sideward movement is based on the assumption that the *wh*-word *pcos*, which is the subject of the matrix clause, is assigned its θ -role by the verb *efie* but it also bears another θ -role that will need to be checked later¹⁰. Since *pcos* needs to check its [wh] feature it moves to Spec,CP of the matrix clause. However, matrix CP is headed by the complementizer *pu* which is non-interrogative, hence the [wh] feature of *pcos* cannot be checked. At this point, *pcos* is copied and is placed back in the derivational space until it is possible for it to be re-merged. At the same time, the SC selects \emptyset as its predicate and \emptyset in turn is looking for a thematic element to merge with so it can discharge its θ -role feature. The only available element at this point is *pcos*, therefore *pcos* is merged as the subject of the SC, checks [θ] and moves to the Spec,CP of the cleft where it can finally check its [wh] feature.

This analysis faces several problems. The first problem is that even though it can account for the ungrammaticality of (60), it cannot explain why the same sentence is perfectly grammatical for SG and RG. This was discussed in Chapter 2 and is again shown below in (62):

62. a. I MARIA ine pu fi je. (SG)
 b. I MARIA in pu fie. (RG)
 the Maria is that left
 ‘It is Maria who left.’

Another issue is the relationship between the subject of the SC and the matrix verb in declarative clefts. It is not clear if they consider the focused element to merge as the subject of the SC or if it is initially merged inside the matrix clause and then undergoes sideward movement to the SC, as it happens with the *wh*-phrase in *wh*-interrogative clefts. If Grohmann et al. assume the former then it is unclear how agreement between the subject and the matrix verb is achieved. As it is demonstrated in (63), the focused subject and the matrix verb always agree in person and number.

¹⁰ Bearing a θ -role as a feature is independently supported by Hornstein (2001). Grohmann et al. (2006) do not go into detail on how this is justified.

63. En ESI pu ejelases.
 is you.sg that laughed.2sg
 ‘It was you who laughed.’

Moreover, merging the focused element in the SC, cannot account for the binding effects in (64), since the R-expression Maria is not able to c-command *ton eafto tis*.

64. En ton [eafto tis]_i pu efkale fotojrafia i Maria_i
 is the self her that took picture the Maria
 ‘It was pictures of herself that Maria took.’

Finally, when it comes to Focus, this structure predicts that the whole CP in Spec,FocP takes focus, while in fact it is only the subject of the SC that is focused. This is also a problematic point since there is no explanation as to how Focus is associated with only that part of the cleft.

6. Syntactic analysis of CG Cleft Constructions

The main purpose of this chapter will be to explain the properties of both CG and SG clefts by introducing a single syntactic structure. However, it will be first argued that clefts have similar properties to relative constructions and should therefore be analysed correspondingly.

6.1. Clefts analysed as Relative Constructions

In previous analyses of Relative constructions (hereafter RCs) it has been often assumed that clefts are a type of a relative (Smits 1989, de Vries 2002). This claim will be adopted in this thesis, and it will be further supported by providing evidence from CG clefts and RCs.

The first evidence comes from the use of the complementizer *pu*. As it was already discussed in Chapter 3, in Greek there are three different complementizers *pu*, *oti* and *pos*, but only *pu* can introduce RCs. Accordingly, clefts can only be formed with the complementizer *pu* as it was shown in example (20), repeated below as (65). This similarity can be used as a proof that clefts are RCs.

65. a. En i MARIA **pu** ethkiavase
Is the Maria that studied.3sg
'It is Maria who has studied'
- b. * En i MARIA **oti/pos** ethkiavase
Is the Maria that studied.3sg
'It is Maria who has studied'

Another resemblance between clefts and RCs is the fact that idioms cannot be split across them as it is illustrated in the CG examples in (66):

66. a. Eklotsise tin sikla (Idiom)
kicked.3sg the bucket
'S/he kicked the bucket.'
- a'. *I sikla pu eklotsise itan miali (RC)
the bucket that kicked.3sg was big
'The bucket that he kicked was big.'
- a''. *En TI SIKLA pu eklotsise (Cleft)
is the bucket that kicked.3sg
'It was the bucket that he kicked.'
- b. Lifki to lain mu (Idiom)
runs-out the oil my
'I'm running out of oil'
Meaning: 'I'm dying'
- b'. *To lain pu mu lifki en pollin. (RC)
the oil that my runs-out is many
'The oil that I'm running out of is a lot.'
- b''. *En TO LAIN mu pu lifki. (Cleft)
is the oil my that runs-out
'It's my oil that is running out.'

On the contrary, collocations are allowed to be split in both RCs (de Vries 2002) and Clefts:

67. a. kamno hari (Collocation)
 make favour
 ‘to do somebody a favour’
- a’. I hari pu tu ekama itan miali. (RC)
 the favour that him made. *1sg* was big
 ‘The favour that I did for him was great.’
 Meaning: ‘I did him a great favour.’
- a’’. En HARI pu su ekama. (Cleft)
 is favour that you made
 ‘It was a FAVOUR that I did for you.’
- b. kofko dhromo (Collocation)
 cut road/route
 ‘to traverse in a fast pace’
- b’. O dhromos pu ekopsame mes se dheka lepta ehtes itan homatodhromos. (RC)
 the road that cut. *1pl* in to ten minutes yesterday was dirt-road
 ‘The road we crossed within ten minutes yesterday was a dirt road.’
- b’’. En ton PARALIAKO dhromo pu ekopsame mes se dheka lepta. (Cleft)
 is the beach road that cut in to ten minutes
 ‘It was the beach road that we crossed within ten minutes.’

Considering the above examples to provide sufficient proof as to why clefts should be analysed as RCs, we should now concentrate on which type of RC clefts resemble. Smits (1989) argues that clefts are extraposed Appositive RCs (ARC). The justification for this assumption is that Restrictive RCs (RRC) can only modify a nominal expression, while appositives can have any XP as an antecedent. As it was discussed in Chapter 3, clefts in CG do not only occur with DPs but also with PPs, Adverbs and subordinate clauses, thus making Smits’s (1989) point valid. Additional proof that clefts could be Appositive RCs comes from the fact that RRCs cannot appear with a unique referent, for instance a proper name or a pronoun, while ARCs and clefts can. This is illustrated below in (68):

68. a. *John that I love fainted. (RRC) (de Vries 2002:184)
 b. John, whom I love, fainted. (ARC) (de Vries 2002:184)
 c. En o Jiannis pu elipothimise (Cleft)
 is the John that fainted
 ‘It was John who fainted.’

On the other hand, there are other properties of clefts which contradict Smits’s claim. One of them is that ARCs cannot usually contain a quantifier (de Vries 2002:192), while RRCs and clefts can:

69. a. Ullos o kosmos pu irte stin parastasi ehrokrotan. (RRC)
 all the people that came to-the show clapping
 ‘Everyone that came to the show was clapping.’
 b. *Ullos o kosmos, pu irte stin parastasi, ehrokrotan. (ARC)
 all the people that came to-the show clapping
 ‘*Everyone, who (by the way) came to the show, was clapping.’
 c. En ullos o kosmos pu ehrokrotan. (Cleft)
 is all the people that clapping
 ‘It was everyone that was clapping.’

Moreover, ARCs do not allow collocations to split in the RC (de Vries 2002:194), whereas, as it was shown above in (67), RRCs and clefts do. A further similarity between RRC and clefts is that they both permit binding into the clause, something which was already demonstrated for the case of clefts in example (64), which is repeated below in (70c).

70. a. I fotojrafia tu eaftu tis pu areske tis Marias_i ekaike stin pirkajia (RRC)
 the picture the self her that liked the Maria burnt in-the fire
 ‘The picture of herself_i that Maria_i liked was burnt in the fire.’
 b. I fotojrafia tu [eaftu tis]_i, pu efkale persi i Maria*_{i/k}, ekaike stin pirkajia (ARC)
 the picture the self her that took last-year the Maria burnt in-the fire
 ‘The picture of herself_i, that Maria*_{i/k} took last year, was burnt in the fire.’
 c. En ton [eaftu tis]_i pu efkale fotojrafia i Maria_i (Cleft)
 is the self her that took picture the Maria

‘It was pictures of herself that Maria took.’

A last distinction between Clefts and ARCs comes from Greek, where a resumptive clitic pronoun is obligatory in ARCs (Alexiadou, Law, Meinunger & Wilder 2000), but not in Clefts or RRCs:

71. a. I Maria efilisen ton andra_i tis, pu **ton_i**/*Ø ejnorisen persi. (ARC, CG)
 the Maria kissed the man her, that him met.3sg last-year
 ‘Maria kissed her husband, who she had met last year.’
- b. I Maria efilisen ton andra pu ejnorisen persi. (RRC, CG)
 the Maria kissed the man that met.3sg last-year
 ‘Maria kissed the man she had met last year.’
- c. En ton andra tis pu efilise i Maria. (Cleft, CG)
 is the man her that kissed the Maria
 ‘It was her husband that Maria had kissed.’

As it is evident, we cannot clearly distinguish in which category clefts fall, since they share properties of both ARCs and RRCs. Nevertheless, it is necessary to discuss the syntax of RRCs and ARCs, since the syntactic structure of clefts will be based on them. The syntactic structures of RRCs and ARCs are presented in the following two subsections.

6.1.1. Syntactic Structure of RRCs

There are two main approaches concerning the syntax of RRCs (Alexiadou, Law, Meinunger & Wilder 2000). The first one, which is what could be perceived as the standard theory, considers the CP_{rel} to be a complement of the noun and assumes that there is wh-movement to Spec,CP of either a relative pronoun or an empty operator. The exact structure is found in (72).

72. [DP [D' D [NP [N' N_i [CP wh_i...t_i...]]]]] (de Vries 2002:73)

The second approach is a raising analysis by Kayne (1994) and it considers the CP_{rel} to be the complement of D rather than N as in (73). The noun raises from inside the IP to the Spec,CP, which can also explain how binding effects are achieved: the reflexive is c-commanded by the antecedent before moving to Spec,CP.

73. $[DP [D' \text{ the } [CP \text{ book}_i [C' \text{ (that) I read } t_i]]]]$

When the CP is introduced by a relative pronoun and not a complementizer, as in the case of (73), then Kayne (1994) assumes that instead of a N, it is a DP that is raised to Spec,CP and that the head D is filled by the relative pronoun. In order to achieve the order D-N-Rel.Pronoun, the noun further moves to Spec,DP as illustrated in (74).

74. $[DP [D' \text{ the } [CP [DP_{rel} [NP \text{ book}]_k [D'_{rel} \text{ which } t_k]]_i [C' \text{ I read } t_i]]]]$

The approach that will be adopted in the current thesis will be the raising analysis, since the first one faces several problems which are beyond the scope of this thesis and will therefore not be discussed here. However, it will be assumed, in accordance to de Vries (2002), that there should be no distinction between *that*-relatives and relatives introduced by relative pronouns; both relatives have the same structural analysis with the difference that the former has a zero relative pronoun. A detailed derivation of what de Vries (2002) considers to be the correct structure for RRCs, is given in (75).

75. Ich fürchte den Herrn der eine Pistole trägt. (de Vries 2002:123)

‘I fear the gentleman who carries a gun.’

- a. $[DP_{rel} \text{ der } [NP \text{ Herrn}]]$ →
- b. $[DP_{rel} [NP \text{ Herrn}]_h \text{ der } t_h]$ →
- c. $[VP [DP_{rel} \text{ Herrn}_h \text{ der } t_h] [V' \text{ eine Pistole trägt}]]$ →
- d. $[IP [DP_{rel} \text{ Herrn}_h \text{ der } t_h]_i [I' \text{ I } [VP t_i \text{ eine Pistole trägt}]]]$ →
- e. $[CP [DP_{rel} \text{ Herrn}_h \text{ der } t_h]_i [C' \text{ C } [IP t_i' \text{ I } [VP t_i \text{ eine Pistole trägt}]]]]]$ →
- f. $[DP \text{ den } [CP [DP_{rel} \text{ Herrn}_h \text{ der } t_h]_i [C' \text{ C } [IP t_i' \text{ I } [VP t_i \text{ eine Pistole trägt}]]]]]$ →
- g. $[DP \text{ FF}_h + \text{den } [CP [DP_{rel} \text{ Herrn}_h \text{ der } t_h]_i [C' \text{ C } [IP t_i' \text{ I } [VP t_i \text{ eine Pistole trägt}]]]]]$ →
- h. $[CP \text{ Ich fürchte } [DP \text{ FF}_h + \text{den } [CP \text{ Herrn}_h \text{ der eine Pistole trägt}]]]$

In (75a) the noun originates inside the subordinate clause and the ϕ -feature agreement between D_{rel} and N needs to be checked, something which licenses movement. However, in this context there cannot be N-to-D raising, since N and D_{rel} have a contradictory Case feature. Still, D_{rel} 's ϕ -features need to be checked, therefore NP is attracted to Spec, DP_{rel} as shown in (75b). When the VP is merged in (75c) the DP_{rel} , as a whole, is selected as the subject of the predicate. Thus the requirement that an argument position must be occupied by a DP is fulfilled. When I is merged with VP in (75d), it attracts the subject DP_{rel} in order to check nominative Case and other features, e.g. person/number agreement. In (75e) the CP-level is added and the DP_{rel} moves to Spec,CP since the relative pronoun possesses a *wh*-feature. As a result, the *wh*-features are checked in a spec-head configuration. Since CP is the complement of D according to the raising/promotion theory the whole CP is merged as the complement of D (*den*) in (75f). In (75g) D's ϕ -features attract N and the agreement between D and N is checked in an incorporation structure. Even though movement of N-to-D can be attested in other languages (i.e. Scandinavian¹¹) in German these features are weak, therefore the movement is covert. Finally, (in 75h) the whole DP is inserted into the matrix clause.

6.1.2. Syntactic Structure of ARCs

ARCs according to de Vries (2002) are a type of free relatives in apposition to the antecedent. They have an empty pronominal head and they are coordinated to the antecedent. The structure proposed is in line with the structure for RRCs, as it is evident from (76).

76. Annie, who is our manager...

$$\begin{array}{l} [\&:P [DP_1 \text{ Annie}]_i] \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{(de Vries 2002:221)} \\ \&: [DP_2 [D_2 \text{ N+D2}] [CP [DP_{rel} [NP t_n] D_{rel} t_{np}] (C) \dots t_{DP_{rel}} \dots]]_j \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad \emptyset_k \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{who}_k \qquad \qquad \text{is our manager} \end{array}$$

¹¹ An example of overt movement is given by de Vries (2006:119), for Swedish:

a. ett hus [DP ett [NP hus]] 'a house'
b. hus-et [DP husi-et [NP ti]] 'the house'

At the lowest level, NP moves to Spec,DP_{rel} in order to check agreement with D_{rel}, just like it does in RRCs. DP_{rel} then moves to Spec,CP in order to check the *wh*-feature. The relative CP is merged as the complement of the empty D₂. Finally, N moves to the empty external D so that agreement and abstract Case can be checked. The complex [N+D] is according to de Vries an (abstract) personal pronoun, namely \emptyset_k and is co-indexed with the relative pronoun. The relation between the antecedent and \emptyset_k cannot be established syntactically since the antecedent does not c-command the second conjunct, hence explaining the unavailability of binding effects. Nevertheless, the antecedent and the abstract personal pronoun are linked with ‘cospecification’, i.e. discourse linking.

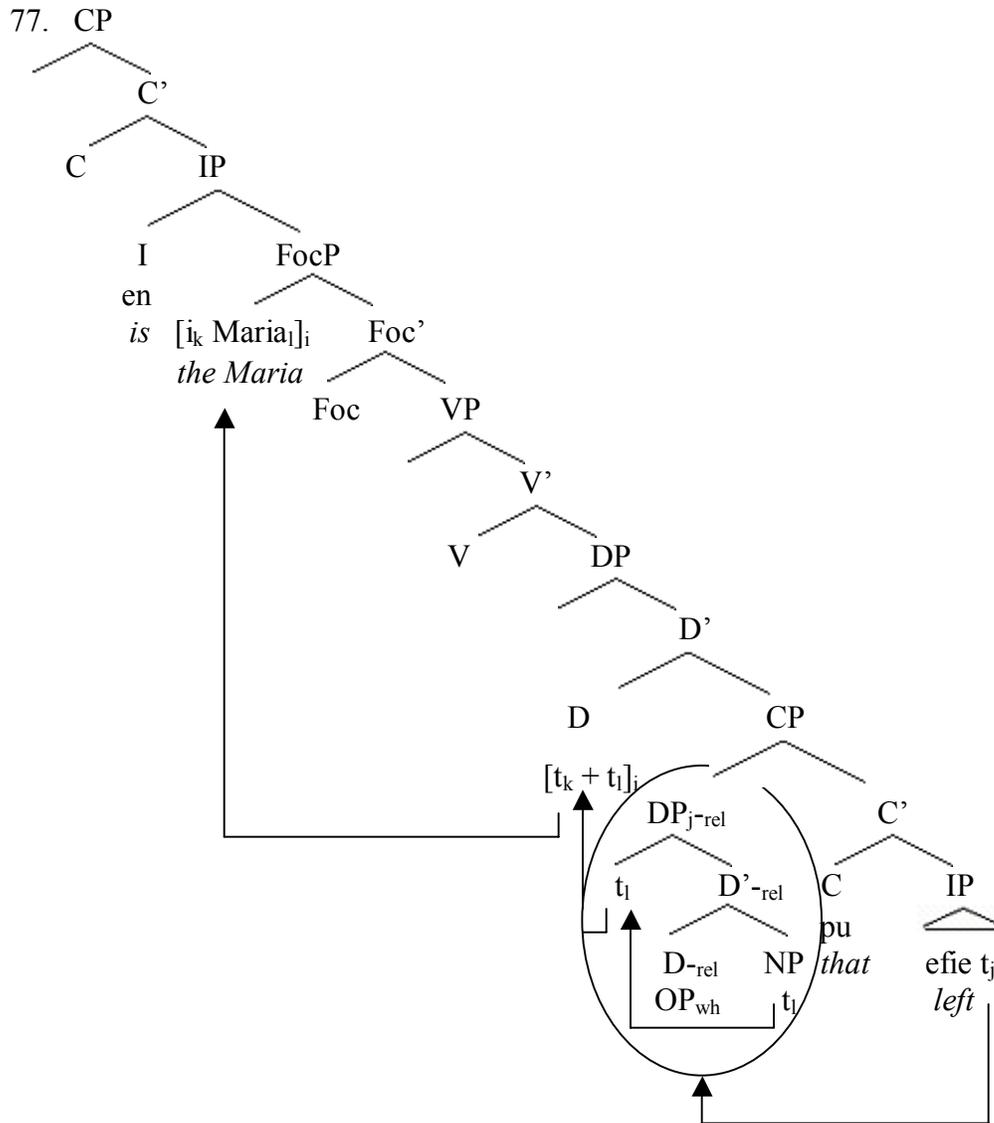
6.2. Declarative Clefts

From what has been discussed so far there are four points that need to be taken into account when building the structure for CG clefts:

1. clefts are associated with Focus, therefore a Focus projection is necessary in the structure,
2. clefts should be analysed similarly to RCs,
3. binding effects can occur in a cleft, thus supporting the raising analysis and the fact that the focused element should originate inside the RC, and
4. the focused part of the cleft need not be a nominal phrase.

6.2.1. Clefts with Nominals

The structure, in which declarative clefts can be derived, will be assumed to be the one in (77), where the relative clause is analysed as in RRCs. Proof that clefts should be analysed similarly to RRCs comes from binding effects and the fact that collocations, where the VP selects a complement, can be split in both RRCs and clefts.



Starting at the lowest level, namely the DP_{-rel} we observe that the noun *Maria* moves to Spec,DP in order to check its φ-features. In turn, the whole DP_{-rel} moves to Spec,CP since the relative pronoun, which is a *wh*-operator, needs to check its [wh] feature. As it was shown in the case of German, the D_{-rel} and the N do not agree in Case therefore the N needs to undergo further movement to D, where it checks agreement in an incorporation structure. So far, the derivation is the same as in RRCs. In order to differentiate between clefts and RRCs, we need to associate the antecedent with Focus. The fact that it is mainly Focus what separates clefts from RRCs, is clearly shown in (78).

78. a. Kita djino to Peugeot! **En to idhio mondelo pu eho ejo.** (RRC)
 look that the Peugeot! Is the same model that have I

‘Look at that Peugeot! It’s the same model I have!’

- b. Q: Idhes to Peugeot tis Marias? Esi eshis to palio mondelo enne?
 saw.2sg the Peugeot the.gen Maria.gen? you have the old model not-is?
 ‘Did you see Maria’s Peugeot? You have the old model don’t you?’

A: Oi, en to IDHIO MONDELO pu eho (che ejo). (Cleft)
 no is the same model that have.1sg and I
 ‘No, it’s the same model that I have (as well).’

As it is obvious from the structure in (77), it is assumed that there is a FocP inside the IP and more specifically right above VP, where the D+N moves to. The existence of a lower FocP has been proposed by Sinopoulou (2008) for SG and Belletti (2004) for Italian. This can account for the appearance of Focus in the following SG examples, taken from Sinopoulou (2008:232):

79. a. Tha plini i Maria ta pjata
 will wash.3sg the Maria.nom the dishes.acc
 ‘Mary will wash the dishes.’
- b. Filise ton Jani i Maria.
 kissed.3sg the Janis.acc the Maria.nom
 ‘Mary kissed John.’
- c. O Janis edose tu Petrou / ston Petro to vivlio.
 the Janis.nom gave.3sg the Petros.gen /to-the Petrosacc the book.ACC
 ‘John gave Peter the book/the book to Peter.’
- d. Fevgi avrio i Maria.
 Leaving.3sg tomorrow the Maria.nom
 ‘Mary is leaving tomorrow.’

The support that clause internal Focus constructions are not Focus in situ, but rather low Focus constructions, comes from the fact that the examples in (79 b-c) do not exhibit the neutral VSO order. Evidently, the low FocP can host not only a subject DP in Greek, but also an object DP, a PP and an adverbial adjunct. Consequently, this can justify why there is a variety of focused XPs that can occur in clefts.

Before examining how PPs, CPs and Adverbs are derived in the structure in (77), it should be explained why a cleft structure like (80a) is not available to SG, and why only (80b) is grammatical.

80. a. *Ine I MARIA pu efije. b. I MARIA ine pu efije.
 is the Maria that left. the Maria is that left
 ‘It’s Maria who left.’ ‘It’s Maria who left.’

From what has been discussed in this subsection, one could assume that the low FocP can host focused elements of both simple and cleft constructions in both SG and CG. However, the ungrammaticality of (80a) can lead us to believe that the low FocP in SG is not available to focused elements found in clefts. A possible explanation for this could be the fact that as it was seen in the SG examples in (79), the focused element is never contrastive. In order to show contrast, the element has to move to the left periphery of the clause, as in (80b). Since clefts are associated with contrast, it is expected that the only available host for SG contrastive elements is the high FocP. In contrast, it could be argued that the lower FocP in CG is not only linked with Informational Focus, but also with Identificational Focus, thus movement of the element to the left periphery would be unnecessary and less economical. As a result, we assume that both CG and SG clefts have the exact same structure, with the only difference that the focused element in SG has to move to the FocP in the left periphery, whereas the element in CG stays in the low FocP.

6.2.2. Clefts with PPs

In the previous chapters it was shown that PPs are allowed to occur in a cleft construction. What will be assumed in the case of PPs is that they occur outside the relative CP and that the relative CP is merged under the DP that is the complement of P. The syntactic structure is given in (81).

81. En ME TO PODHILATO pu epian sto parko
 is with the bike that went.^{3pl} to-the park
 ‘It’s by the bike that they went to the park.’

- a. $[_{DP} \text{to+podhilato}_h [_{CP} [_{DP-rel} t_h \text{OP}_{wh} t_h]_i [_{C'} \text{pu} [_{IP} I [_{VP} \text{epian sto parko } t_i]]]]]]$
 the bike that went to-the park
- b. $[_{PP} [_{P'} \text{me} [_{DP} \text{to+podhilato}_h [_{CP} [_{DP-rel} t_h \text{OP}_{wh} t_h]_i [_{C'} \text{pu epian sto parko } t_i]]]]]]$
 with the bike that went to-the park
- c. $[_{PP} [_{P'} \text{me+}[_{\text{to+podhilato}_h}]_k [_{DP} t_k [_{CP} [_{DP-rel} t_h \text{OP}_{wh} t_h]_i \text{pu epian sto parko } t_i]]]]]]$
 with the bike that went to-the park
- d. $[_{CP} [_{IP} \text{en} [_{\text{FocP}} [_{P} \text{me+}[_{\text{to+podhilato}_h}]_k]_l \text{F} [_{VP} [_{V'} V [_{PP} t_i [_{DP} t_k [_{CP} \dots]]]]]]]]]]]]$
 is with the bike

The structure in (81a) is the same as in RRCs and nominal clefts. In (81b) the PP layer is added and in (81c) P attracts the DP in order to check the genitive case in an incorporation structure. Finally, the whole P, which now includes the DP, moves to the Spec of the low FocP to check Focus.

6.2.3. Clefts with Embedded Clauses and Adjectives

In this subsection it will be argued that the embedded clauses found in cleft constructions, are in fact nominalized clauses. This is a phenomenon that is found in Greek, where the clause becomes a nominal by being introduced by the neuter singular form of the definite article, namely *to*. An example of a nominalized embedded clause is found in (82).

82. [To oti i Thalia horepse omorfa] de mu fanike katholu perierjo. (SG)
 the that the Thalia danced beautifully *neg. me.gen* seem not-at-all strange
 ‘The fact that Thalia danced beautifully, didn’t seem strange to me at all.’

Considering how a D can often select a CP in SG, but also CG, it will be assumed that the DP which is headed by the OP_{wh} in clefts also selects a CP. The CP, undergoes movement to the Spec,DP just like a N does. The D which introduces the relative CP can be filled by either the definite article *to* or by a null D as it is evident from the following examples:

83. a. En [\emptyset oti elipothimise i Maria] pu ipes.
 is that fainted.3sg the Maria that said.2sg

86. a. En to KATO pu foume.
 is the down that scared.*1sg*
 ‘It’s the way down that scares me.’

However, in most of the cases that an Adverb occurs in a cleft construction, it is not nominalized. In fact, a *pu*-clause often appears as the complement of an adverb (Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warburton 1997), like in (87).

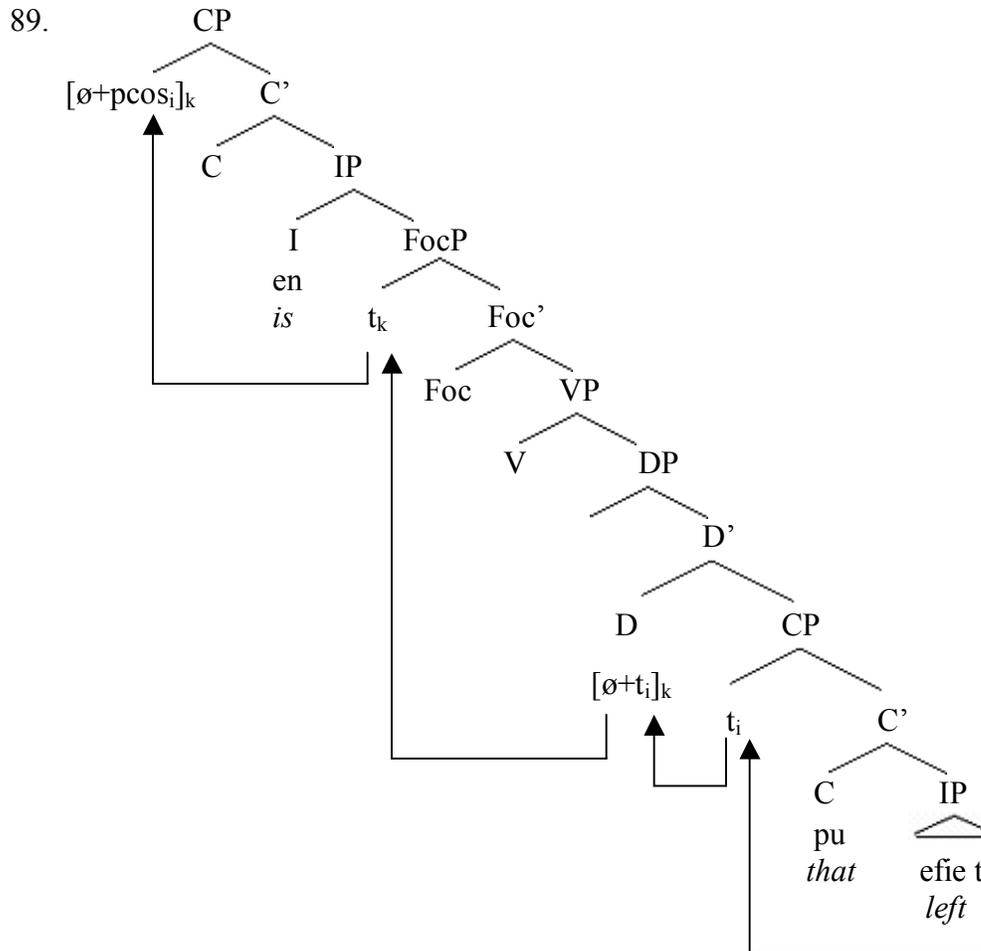
87. Kala pu to thimithikes (Holton et al. 1997) (SG, CG)
 good that the rememberd.*2sg*
 ‘It’s a good thing that you remembered it.’

The above example can also occur as a declarative cleft in CG, by simply adding *en* and focusing the Adverb, as shown in (88). Whatever the position of the Adverb is, in the instance of (87), we can assume that when it has to be focused, it moves to the Spec of the lower FocP and since Identificational Focus can only be expressed in means of a cleft construction, the copula *en* is added since there is already a *pu*-clause.

88. En KALA pu to thimithikes.
 is good that the rememberd.*2sg*
 ‘It’s a good thing that you remembered it.’

6.3. *Wh*-interrogative Clefts

The analysis of *wh*-interrogative clefts is based on the analysis of declarative clefts and on the claim that *wh*-elements move to a Focus position in a clause. Moving *wh*-elements to a Focus position has been argued by several linguists, some of which include Rizzi (2001) and Tsimpli (1990), who worked particularly on the Greek phrase. The precise structure that will be considered to apply to CG *wh*-interrogative clefts is illustrated in (89).

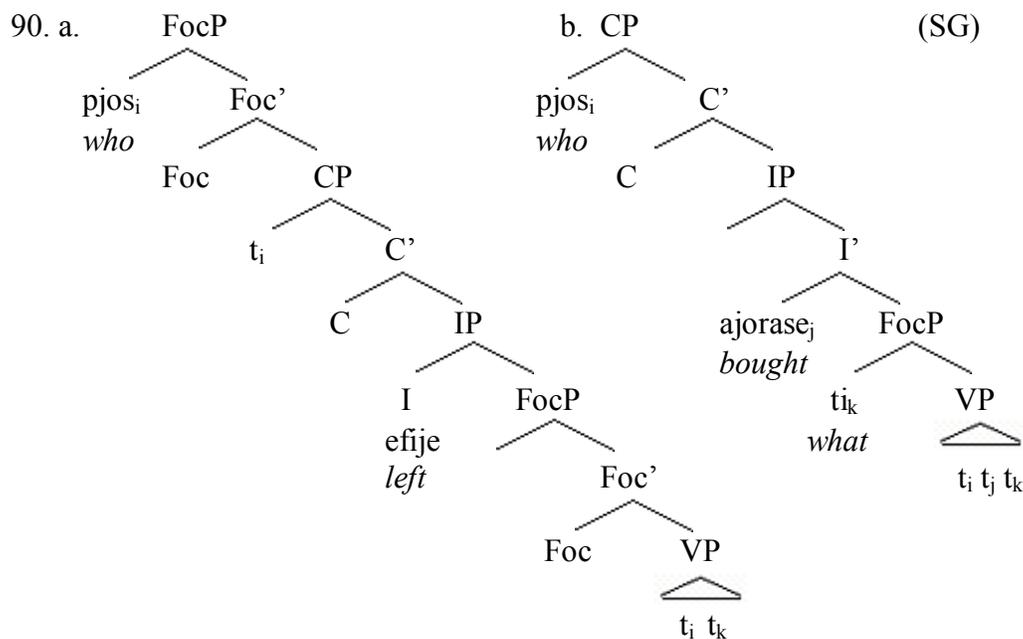


The most noticeable difference between the declarative structure and the *wh*-interrogative one is the fact that in the latter there is no OP_{wh} . The reason for that is because in this structure there is a covert *wh*-pronoun, namely *pcos*. *Pcos* first moves to Spec,CP in order to check its *wh*-interrogative feature. However the head C is non-interrogative, therefore *pcos* needs to move higher. It first moves to D, where it checks Case by incorporating to the null D and then it looks for an available host where it can check its *wh*-interrogative and Focus feature. Focus is checked by moving to Spec,FocP, while checking of the *wh*-feature is achieved by further movement to Spec,CP of the matrix clause.

A point that was mentioned before, is that *embu* in *wh*-interrogative clefts can never be separated by another element. However, we cannot consider this to mean that *en* and *pu* are closer in the syntactic structure; to support this it was demonstrated in (36) that when *en* is in the past tense, an adverb can intervene between the two of them. As a result, we

can simply conclude that phonological assimilation in this case is stronger than any syntactical rules.

Concerning SG, we have seen that even though they permit declarative clefts to occur, similarly to CG – with the difference that they are optional and that the focused element appears in the left periphery rather than inside the matrix IP – they do not allow *wh*-interrogative clefts. Sinopoulou (2008) argues that the clause internal FocP in *wh*-questions, is only available when multiple *wh*-elements occur and it is the lower *wh*-element that moves there, since it is the only one that carries a Focus feature. As a result, the cleft structure in (89) could not be available to SG questions, since the *wh*-element would never stop at the clause internal FocP, hence it would not be associated with the cleft. In addition, it could be the case that SG does not use the cleft construction since it is more economical to have a single structure rather than two, which essentially serve the same purpose; as it was discussed in Chapter 4, the semantic differences between a clefted and a non-clefted question are not as clear-cut as when the cleft is a declarative, thus making the clefted question somewhat redundant. What is assumed to be the right structure for SG, is presented in (90).



As it is clearly seen, when there are multiple questions, the Focus is associated with the lower *wh*-element, whereas when there is only a single *wh*-element, then it directly moves to the FocP in the left periphery.

6.3.1. The syntax of *indambu*

In subsection 4.1.2. of Chapter 4, it was argued that the meaning of ‘what’ in CG is conveyed by *indambu*, in contrast to other dialects of Greek which use *inda*. In particular, it was suggested that *indambu* is a single *wh*-(cleft)expression, rather than the combination of a *wh*-expression *inda* with the cleft *embu*. In order to prove that this is indeed the right path to follow, the example in (91a) treats *indambu* equally to all other *wh*-expressions in CG, by adding *embu*.

91. a. ?*Indambu embu ipes?*
 what-is-that is-that said.2sg
 ‘What was it that you said?’
- b. **Pcos/indalos embu embu irte?*
 who/how is-that is-that came.3sg
 ‘Who was it that arrived? / How was it that he arrived?’

As it would be predicted, having a second cleft, makes the question odd but surprisingly, not ungrammatical, as in the case of any other *wh*-expression that takes a second cleft (c.f. 91b). In fact, if the question involves focus and presupposition, then it could be even perfectly acceptable. As a result, we can conclude that *indambu* is indeed a single *wh*-expression, which can optionally (but less frequently) appear in *wh*-interrogative clefts.

The internal syntax of *indambu* could be as Munaro & Pollock (2005) suggest for French, a SC inside a CopP or it could be analysed as a relative clause as in the structure suggested in this chapter. What is important, is for *indambu* to be considered an inseparable *wh*-expression.

6.3.2. Speculations on *jiati*

It has been often noticed in languages that the *wh*-expression ‘why’ has different properties than the rest of the *wh*-expressions (Rizzi 2001, Ko 2006). This is also true in CG, where as it was mentioned before *jiati* is the only *wh*-expression that cannot appear in a *wh*-interrogative clause. This is demonstrated in (92).

92. a. **Jiati embu efies?*
 why is-that left.2sg
 ‘Why was it that you left?’
 a’. *Jiati efies?*
 why left.2sg
 ‘Why did you leave?’

Rizzi (2001) shows that *perché* ‘why’ in Italian, is allowed to co-occur with a focus in contrast to other *wh*-elements and the justification behind this is that other *wh*-elements occupy the Spec,FocP therefore no focussed constituents can enter that position. On the contrary, *perché* occupies Spec,INT(errogative)P which makes the Spec,FocP available for focussed constituents. That ‘why’ can co-occur with Focus, is also attested in CG, as it is evident from (93):

93. a. *Jiati TUTO to vivlio na piasume che oi to allo?*
 why this the book subj. take and no the other
 ‘Why buy this book and not the other?’
 b. **Pos I MARIA irte?*
 how the Maria came
 ‘How did Maria arrive?’

Rizzi’s (2001) assumption that ‘why’ is directly merged to Spec,INTP can account for the CG examples in (92); while the rest *wh*-expressions first merge inside the RC in cleft constructions, *jiati* is merged high in the left periphery, therefore it cannot occur inside the RC and then raise to the left periphery. As a result, it is not linked with the relative CP or the matrix IP in any way, hence the unavailability of a cleft construction.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to provide a better understanding as to why CG questions have the option to occur in a cleft construction. This was done by examining the properties of clefts in both declaratives and *wh*-interrogatives and consequently by providing a syntactical structure that could explain why CG does not share the same properties as SG.

In Chapter 2 it was illustrated that clefts in all languages are in general associated with Focus and more precisely, with Identificational Focus. They are used to express exhaustiveness and contrast, which are properties of Identificational Focus.

In Chapter 3, the syntactic and semantic properties of declarative clefts were discussed and it was seen that clefts need not always show exhaustiveness; they can be used to present something as a fact. Chapter 4 also discussed the formal properties of clefts, but this time when they occur in *wh*-interrogatives. It was shown that *wh*-interrogative clefts are unavailable to SG, while in CG it is difficult to differentiate the semantic differences between the clefted and the simple structure.

Chapter 5 presented two previous analysis, one on Romance (que)est-ce Questions and one on CG *wh*-interrogative clefts. Finally, in Chapter 6 provided support as to why clefts in CG should be analysed as RCs, in particular, under the raising/promotion hypothesis. A syntactic structure of both declarative and *wh*-interrogative clefts in CG was presented, for which it was argued that there exists a clause internal FocP above VP. It was assumed that the low-FocP is the phrase in which the focused element in cleft constructions moves to. The variation found between SG and CG was accounted for, by explaining that in SG declaratives, the low-FocP does not bear Identificational Focus features, and therefore the focused element has to move to the FocP in the left periphery. As for the *wh*-interrogative clefts, it was proposed that the low-FocP is never available to *wh*-elements, unless they are in multiple questions, something which never occurs in clefts. As a result, the cleft construction cannot be derived in SG.

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Appendix

Transfer the following SG questions in your own dialect (D). If there is more than one possible “translation”, please provide all of them and explain if they have a different meaning or if one is preferred over the other.

e.g. (in CG):

SG: Pjos eftase?

D: 1. Pcos eftase?

2. Pcos en pu eftase? (en = ine)

Observations: The second question is preferred in cases of focus, but both questions are equal in a neutral context.

1.a. SG: Pjos eftase? (Who.*nom* arrived.*3sg*?)

D:

Observations:

1.b. SG: Pjon filises? (Who.*acc* kissed.*2sg*?)

D:

Observations:

1.c. SG: Pu pijes? (Where went.*2sg*?)

D:

Observations:

1.d. SG: Pos pijes? (How went.*2sg*?)

D:

Observations:

1.e. SG: Jati efijes? (Why left.*2sg*?)

D:

Observations:

1.f. SG: Jiatí me kitazís? (Why me looking.2sg?)

D:

Observations:

1.g. SG: Tí ajorases? (What bought.2sg?)

D:

Observations:

1.h. SG: Tí aftokínito ajorases? (What car bought.2sg?)

D:

Observations:

2. After reading the following fictional scenario, read the possible answers that are given in 2a-b. Which one of the two answers is correct in your dialect? Are they both correct? If you reply differs in your own language, please write its “translation” (include all possible grammatical translations if there is more than one). The underlined word indicates emphasis/focus.

E.g. (in CG)

Ine i Maria pu efije Correct/~~Wrong~~

Is the Maria that left

Translation/Observations: En i Maria pu efie

Scenario: Your friends John and Maria are in your house. After a while, Maria leaves while John stays. Your friend Costas arrives to your house a few minutes later and your mother lets him in. He asks your mother if John and Maria are still there and she replies “John left a while ago”, because she heard someone leaving earlier and thought that it was John. You hear her and you correct her by saying:

2.a. I Maria ine pu efije Correct/~~Wrong~~

the Maria is that left

Translation/Observations:

2.b. Ine i Maria pu efije Correct/Wrong

is the Maria that left

Translation/Observations:

2.c. If none of the above answers is correct in your dialect, please provide here the response that is appropriate for the above scenario:

Reply: