

The Left Periphery in Cypriot Greek

Michael Beys, PhD student

The enclisis - proclisis alternation

- Proclisis

Embedded clauses

- (1) To biblio, pu mu edoken o Nikos, itan polla kalo.
 the book that me-GEN-CL gave theNikos, was very good
 ‘The book that Nikos gave me was very good’

Negation

- (2) En to edkiavasa to biblio
 not-NEG it.CL read-PAST-1SG the book-ACC
 ‘I did not read the book’

Future particle

- (3) Enna to dkiavaso
 FUT it.CL read-SUBJ-1SG
 ‘I will read it’

Subjunctive clause

- (4) Thelo na to dkiavaso
 want SUBJ it.CL read
 ‘I want to read it’

- Enclisis

Main clauses

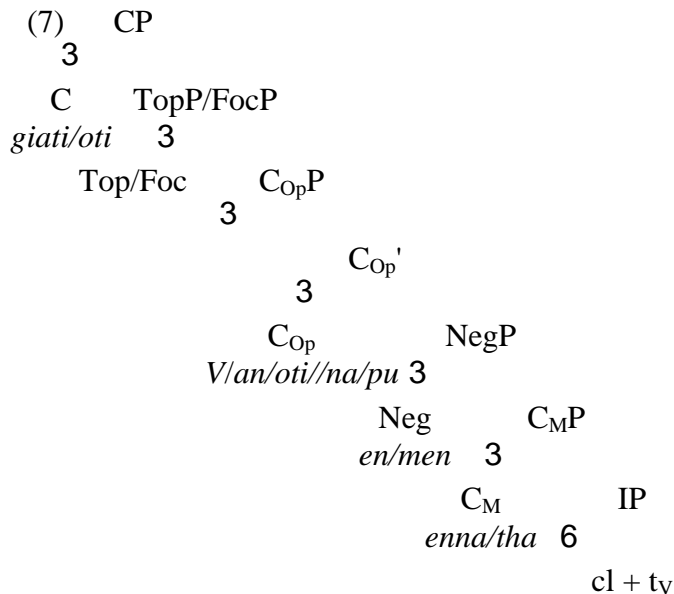
- (5) Edkiavasa to
 read-PAST-1SG it.CL.
 ‘I read it’

Embedded clauses with ‘oti, giati, epidi, afu’ (optional)

- (6) Eipen oti edkiavasen to
 said-PAST-1SG that read-PAST-1SG it.CL.
 ‘He said that he read it’

Terzi (1999) and Agouraki (2001) are the only attempts made to explain the enclisis–proclisis alternation in CG, along with Revithiadou (2006), who offers a phonological analysis. Both Terzi (1999) and Agouraki (2001) assume that the enclisis–proclisis alternation is a result of the movement of the verb and thus irrelevant to the status of the clitics.

Following this basic assumption, I will start with adopting the structure in (7) from Roussou (2000).



The above structure has three different C-projections. The lower C position is reserved for the future particles of CG, *enna* and *tha*, when combined with negation. The middle C position is the most interesting. It is the final landing position of the verb when we have enclisis. Moreover, it hosts the complementizer of embedded clauses (including *na*). In this case it is obvious that verb movement is blocked, yielding proclisis. Right above the middle C position, there is the Topic/Focus head. At the end, the higher C position is the place where the complementizer appears in those cases where enclisis appears. Note that Roussou (2000) herself claims that *oti* in SMG optionally moves to the higher C position.

Focus in Cypriot Greek

Cypriot Greek (CG) shows many different focus strategies, perhaps somewhat unusual, considering factors of economy in language. If this is true, then in CG there are four different focus strategies, something really extraordinary and unlikely to be true.

- | | | | | |
|------|---|-------------|----------------|------------------------------------|
| (8) | Agapo | sas | ULUS. | <i>focus in-situ</i> |
| | love-1SG | you-ACC | all | |
| | ‘I love you all’ | | | |
| (9) | Tes triantafyllies | kladefkumen | tin aniksin | <i>focus movement</i> ¹ |
| | the roses - ACC | prune-1PL | the spring-ACC | |
| | ‘It is the roses that we prune during the spring’ | | | |
| (10) | En | esena | pu | <i>focus cleft</i> |
| | be-3SG | you-ACC | that | love-1SG |
| | ‘It is you that I love.’ | | | |

¹ Taken from Gryllia and Lekakou (2006), although many native speakers do not accept it as grammatical.

- (15) a. *Pupote etha pao diakopes
 nowhere won't go-1SG vacations
 'I won't take any vacations'
- b. PUPOTE etha pao diakopes
 nowhere won't go-1SG vacations
 'I won't take any vacations'
- c. *En pupote pu etha pao diakopes
 Is-3SG nowhere that won't go-1SG vacations
 'It is nowhere that I won't take any vacations'
- d. Etha pao diakopes PUPOTE
 won't go-1SG vacations nowhere
 'It is nowhere that I won't take any vacations'

- (16) a. Tsinin theli tin o Pambos
 that one-ACC wants-3SG her -ACC-CL the Pambos-NOM
 'Pambos wants that one (her).'
- b. TSININ theli tin o Pambos
 that one-ACC wants-3SG her -ACC-CL the Pambos-NOM
 'Pambos wants that one (her).'
- c. En tsinin pu theli o Pambos
 is-3SG that one-ACC that wants-3SG the Pambos-NOM
 'It is that one (her) that Pambos wants.'
- d. *O Pambos theli TSININ
 the Pambos-NOM wants-3SG that one-ACC
 'It is that one (her) that Pambos wants'

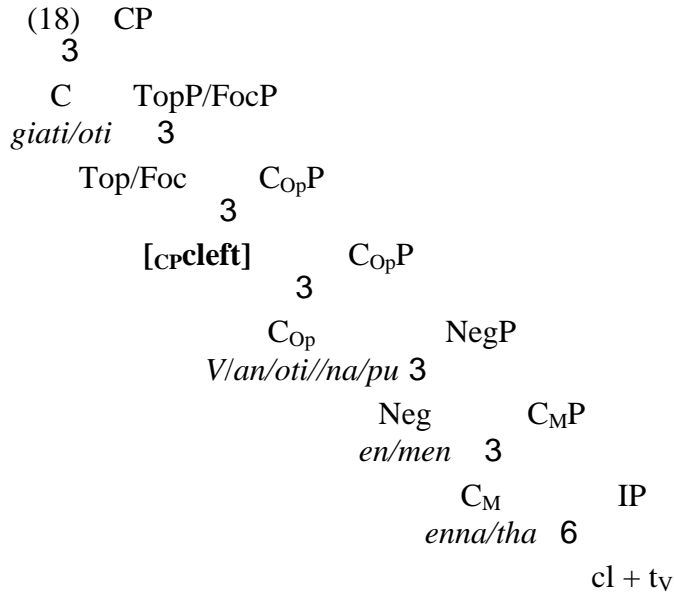
	Topic (D-linked)	Focus (Preverbal stressed)	Cleft construction	Focus (stressed) in situ
NP	Yes (12a)	No (12b)	Yes (12c)	Yes(12d)
Universal quantifier	Yes (13a)	No (13b)	Yes (13c)	Yes(13d)
Existential quantifier	No (14a)	Yes (14b) - proclisis	Yes (14c)	No (14d)
Negative Polarity Items	No (15a)	Yes (15b) - proclisis	No (15c)	Yes (15d)
Indexicals	Yes (16a)	Yes (16b) - enclisis	Yes (16c)	No (16d)

- The elements that can appear in a Topic position are in the specifier position of the TopicP.
- The preverbal stressed items (except from indexicals) are in the specifier position of the C_{Op}P.
- The indexicals are always in the specifier position of the Topic/FocusP, when they appear preverbally.

Cleft contructions

- (17) o Pambos en tsinin pu theli
 the Pambos-NOM is-3SG that one-ACC that wants-3SG
 'It is that one (her) that Pambos wants.'

The example in (17) shows clearly that the Topic head is higher than the cleft construction in CG. I will further adopt the biclausal assumption made by Grohmann et al. (2006) and Tsipplakou et al. (in press), although I won't assume an additional FocP, but I will assume that the cleft clause adjoins to the independently motivated C_{Op}P.



Double Object Clitics

Maybe the status of the clitics is not irrelevant to the enclisis-proclisis alternation. In CG there is a rigid order, when two clitics are used in a sentence with imperative, while in MG the order of the clitics is free.

(19) *Dos to mou! (CG)
 Give-2SG-IMP it-CL to.me-CL
 'Give it to me!'

(20) Dos to mou! (MG)
 Give-2SG-IMP it-CL to.me-CL
 'Give it to me!'

(21) Dos mou to! (CG)
 Give-2SG-IMP to.me-CL it-CL
 'Give it to me!'

(22) Dos mou to! (MG)
 Give-2SG-IMP to.me-CL it-CL
 'Give it to me!'

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