Asymmetries in the left periphery of Cypriot Greek

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Context: The left periphery structure predicts a particular order for part of the clause (see Rizzi 1997, Rizzi 2004)

Problem: With certain complementizers in Cypriot Greek, there is variation in word order with respect to the verb position:

(1) a. \([CP\ C_A\ Cli\ [TP...V]]\)
   b. \([CP\ C_A\ V\ Cli\ [TP...tV]]\)

With other complementizers, only one order is possible:

(2) a. \([CP\ C_B\ Cli\ [TP...V]]\)
   b. \(*\ [CP\ C_B'\ V\ Cli\ [TP...tV]]\)

Claims of the paper:
The Cypriot Greek left periphery and functional projections

- Word order variation based on selectional features on the type of complementizers
- Impossible word orders as predicted from restrictions on movement

Roadmap
1. Introduction
   (a) Cypriot Greek complementizers and word order alternations
2. Word Order patterns
   (a) Topics and Focus
3. Non-derivable word orders
   (a) Embu and na
   (b) Topics: Local vs. non-local
4. Factuals and selection
5. Conclusion
1 Word order patterns

Embedded complementizers often show different word order with proclisis-enclisis:

(3) a. O João leu-o ontem.
    the Joao read-3MS yesterday
    ‘Joao read it yesterday.’

b. Disseram-me que o João o leu ontem.
    told-1S that the Joao 3MS read yesterday
    ‘They told me that Joao read it yesterday.’

But not in Cypriot Greek:

(4) a. I Maria eθkjavasen to.
    the.NOM Maria.NOM read.PAST.PERF.3SG it.CLI
    ‘Maria read it.’

b. Ksero oti i Maria eθkjavasen to.
    know.NONPAST.IMPERF.1SG that the.NOM Maria.NOM read.PAST.PERF.3SG it.CLI
    ‘I know that Maria read it.’

1.1 Cypriot Greek Complementizers

Word order alternatives with certain complementizers:

(5) a. I Maria kseri [oti₁ iðes₂ ton₃].
    the.Maria know.IMPERF.NONPAST.3SG that see.PERF.PAST.2SG him.CLI
    ‘Maria knows that you saw him.’

b. I Maria kseri [oti₁ ton₃ iðes₂].
    the.Maria know.IMPERF.NONPAST.3SG that him.CLI see.PERF.PAST.2SG

(6) a. I Maria akuse [pos₁ iðes₂ ton₃].
    the.Maria hear.PERF.PAST.3SG that see.PERF.PAST.2SG him.CLI
    ‘Maria heard that you saw him.’

b. I Maria akuse [pos₁ ton₃ iðes₂].
    the.Maria hear.PERF.PAST.3SG that him.CLI see.PERF.PAST.2SG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type A</th>
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<th>Type B</th>
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<tr>
<td><em>Pos</em>-clauses ‘that’</td>
<td>{V}</td>
<td><em>Cl</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Oti</em>-clauses ‘that’</td>
<td>{V}</td>
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<td><em>Afu</em>-clauses ‘after’</td>
<td>{V}</td>
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<td><em>Pu</em>-clauses ‘that’</td>
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<td><em>Na</em>-clauses ‘to’</td>
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<td><em>An</em>-clauses ‘if’</td>
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<td><em>Cl</em></td>
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<td>Optative <em>as</em>-clauses ‘let’s’</td>
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<td><em>Cl</em></td>
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<td><em>Embu</em> ‘that’</td>
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Proposal: Selectional features on complementizers generate the different word order patterns in Type A and Type B
**Argument**: Type A complementizers that generate two orders are merged in different positions.

![Diagram](attachment:image.png)

(7)

1.1.1 **Topics and Focus**

Topics can only appear with *oti*-clauses, but not with *pu*-clauses

**Type A: Topics**

(8) a. *θιμμύνει* τόν Υάννιν *οτί* τόν ιδές.
   remember the.ACC Υάννιν.ACC that him.CLI see.PAST.PERF.2SG
   ‘I remember that you saw John.’

b. *θιμμύνει* τόν Υάννιν *οτί* ιδές τόν.
   remember the.ACC Υάννιν.ACC that see.PAST.PERF.2SG him.CLI

c. *θιμμύνει* *οτί* τόν Υάννιν τόν ιδές.
   remember that the.ACC Υάννιν.ACC him.CLI see.PAST.PERF.2SG
   ‘I remember that you saw John.’

d. *θιμμύνει* *οτί* τόν Υάννιν ιδές τόν.
   remember that the.ACC Υάννιν.ACC see.PAST.PERF.2SG him.CLI

**Type B: Topics**

(9) a. *θιμμύνει* τόν Υάννιν *πο* ιδές τόν.
   remember the.ACC Υάννιν.ACC that see.PAST.PERF.2SG him.CLI
   (Intended: ‘I remember that she kissed Yanni.’)

b. *θιμμύνει* τόν Υάννιν *πο* τόν ιδές.
   remember the.ACC Υάννιν.ACC that him.CLI see.PAST.PERF.2SG

c. *θιμμύνει* *πο* τόν Υάννιν ιδές τόν.
   remember that the.ACC Υάννιν.ACC see.PAST.PERF.2SG him.CLI
   (Intended: ‘I remember that she kissed Yanni.’)

d. *θιμμύνει* *πο* τόν Υάννιν τόν ιδές.
   remember that the.ACC Υάννιν.ACC him.CLI see.PAST.PERF.2SG

Focus precedes or follows a Type A complementizer, but only follows a Type B complementizer

**Type A: Focus**

(10) a. *θιμμύνει* *οτί* ΤΟΝ ΥΑΝΝΙΝ ιδές, οί τόν Κώστι.
   remember that THE.ACC ΥΑΝΝΙΝ.ACC see.PAST.PERF.2SG, not the Κώστι.
   ‘I remember that you saw ΥΑΝΝΙΝ, not Κώστi.’

b. ?? *θιμμύνει* ΤΟΝ ΥΑΝΝΙΝ *οτί* ιδές, οί τόν Κώστι.
   remember THE.ACC ΥΑΝΝΙΝ.ACC that see.PAST.PERF.2SG, not the Κώστι
   ‘I remember that you saw ΥΑΝΝΙΝ, not Κώστi.’
Type B: Focus

(11) a. *θίμυμε ΤΟΝ ΥΑΝΝΙΝ πυ ιόες, οι τον Κοστι. remember the.ACC Yannin.ACC that see.PAST.PERF.2SG, not the Kostis
   (Intended: ‘I remember that you saw Yanni.’)
   b. θίμυμε πυ ΤΟΝ ΥΑΝΝΙΝ ιόες, οι τον Κοστι. remember that the.ACC Yannin.ACC see.PAST.PERF.2SG, not the Kostis
   (Intended: ‘I remember that you saw Yanni.’)

Focus/Topics as separate projections

- Topics allow object clitics, focused elements do not

(12) a. To vivlio su, egorasa to.
   the book.ACC your.GEN, buy.PERF.PAST.1SG it.CLI
   ‘Your book, I bought it.’
   b. *To vivlio su, egorasa.
      the book.ACC your.GEN, buy.PERF.PAST.1SG
      (Int: ‘Your book, I bought it.’)
   c. *TO VIVLIO SU (embu) egorasa to.
      the book.ACC your.GEN C buy.PERF.PAST.1SG it.CLI
      (Int. ‘Your book, I bought.’)
   d. TO VIVLIO SU (embu) egorasa.
      the book.ACC your.GEN C buy.PERF.PAST.1SG
      ‘Your book, I bought.’

- Topics do not give rise to weak crossover effects

(13) a. Ton Yanni, i mamma tu, ayapa toni.
   the Yanni.ACC the mother.NOM his.GEN love.3SG him.CLI
   ‘Yanni, his mother loves him.’
   b. TON YANNIN, i mamma tu, ayapa, oi ton Kosti.
      the Yanni.ACC the mother.NOM his.GEN love.3SG, not the Kostis.ACC
      ‘Yanni, his mother loves, not Kostis.’

- Multiple phrases are allowed as topics, but not in a focus position

(14) a. To vivlio, tu Yanni, avrio en na tu to
      the book.ACC, the Yanni.GEN, tomorrow be.3SG to him.GEN it.ACC
doko siura.
give.PERF.NONPAST.1SG surely
   ‘The book, the John, I will give it to him tomorrow for sure.’
   b. *TU YANNI TO VIVLIO (embu) edoka, oi tu Petru, to
      THE YANNI THE BOOK C give.PERF.PAST.1SG, not the Petru.GEN, the
      arthro.
      article.ACC
      (Int. ‘JOHN THE BOOK I gave, not Peter, the article.’)

- Topics and focus are not in complementary distribution

(15) a. Tu Yanni, TUTO (embu) prepi na tu pume.
      the Yanni.ACC, THIS C must to him.GEN say.PERF.NONPAST.3PL
      ‘Yanni, THIS, we must tell.’
b. TUTO, tu Yanni (embu) prepi na tu pume.
   THIS the Yanni.ACC C must to him.GEN say.PERF.NONPAST.3PL
   ‘Yanni, THIS, we must tell.’

Revised left periphery structure:

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TopP
   C2
      otiA  FocP
         TopP
             C1
                 otiA’ ...
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(16)

Last, introducing *pu*:

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a. 6imume *pu* ton Yannin iðes ton.
   remember that the.ACC Yannin.ACC see.PAST.PERF.2SG him.CLI
   ‘I remember that Yannis, you saw him.’

b. * 6imume ton Yannin *pu* ton iðes.
   remember the.ACC Yannin.ACC that him.CLI see.PAST.PERF.2SG
   (Int. ‘I remember that you saw Yanni.’)
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C3
   pu  TopP
      C2
         otiA  FocP
            TopP
                 C1
                     otiA’ ...

(18)
2 Non-derivable word orders

Not every order is possible with certain C elements, given that syntactic constraints filter out unwanted derivations (Abels, 2012)

2.1 Other C items: *embu* and *na*

With these assumptions, we can explain the ungrammaticality of the following examples.

Embu: Optional C element (see Papadopoulou 2014; Grohmann et al. 2006; Fotiou 2009)

(19) TON YANNIN (em*bu*) īdes, oi ton Kosti.
the.acc Yanni.acc *em*bu see.pastperf.2sg, not the.acc Kosti.acc
‘YANNIS you saw, not Kostis’

Type A

(20) a. *θi*μume [C₁ oti *em*bu ton [TP īdes]]
  remember that *em*bu him.acc see.pastperf.2sg
  (Int.’I remember that you saw him.’)
  b. *θi*μume [C₂ oti *em*bu īdes ton [TP...tₐ]]
  remember that *em*bu see.pastperf.2sg him.acc

(22a): *oti* and *em*bu compete for the same C₁ position
(22b) *em*bu and īdes compete for the same C₁ position

Type B

(21) a. *θi*μume [C₁ pu *em*bu ton [TP īdes]]
  remember.nonpast.imperf.1sg that *em*bu him.acc see.pastperf.2sg
  (Int.’I remember that you saw him.’)
  b. *θi*μume [C₂ pu *em*bu īdes ton [TP...tₐ]]
  remember.nonpast.imperf.1sg that *em*bu see.pastperf.2sg him.acc

(23a): *pu* does not select for a lower C₁ position
(23b) *em*bu and īdes compete for the same C₁ position

The two different positions allow us to explain the ungrammaticality of topics and *em*bu:

(22) a. *θi*μume [C₁ oti *em*bu ton [TP īdes]]
  remember.nonpast.imperf.1sg the.acc Yanni.acc that *em*bu him.acc
  see.pastperf.2sg
  ‘I remember that John, you saw him.’
  b. *θi*μume [C₂ oti *em*bu īdes
  remember.nonpast.imperf.1sg the.acc Yanni.acc that *em*bu see.pastperf.2sg
  ton [TP...tₐ]]
  him.acc

(24a-b): *oti* and *em*bu could compete for the same position, and *em*bu does so too in (24b).

(23) a. *θi*μume [C₁ oti ton Yanni *em*bu ton [TP īdes]]
  remember.nonpast.imperf.1sg that the.acc Yanni.acc *em*bu him.acc
  see.pastperf.2sg
  ‘I remember that John you kissed him.’
No topic position lower than the $C_1$. In contrast:

(24) a. * $\theta$imu $\text{ton Yanni ton } i\delta_{1}$
    
(25a) Na-clauses (Giannakidou, 1998, 2009)

(25) a. $\theta$elo na $\text{ton } i\delta_{2}$
    
(26) a. As $\text{ton } i\delta_{2}$

Summarizing:

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(27)
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(27)
2.2 Local vs non-local movement

Topics

(28)  a. θimume [C3 pu ton Yannin iôesî ton [TP remember.NONPAST.IMPERF.1SG that the.ACC Yannin.ACC see.PAST.PERF.2SG him.CLI ...
     t_i]].

   ‘I remember that Yannis, you saw him.’

b. ?? θimume ton Yannin [C3 pu ton iôesî remember.NONPAST.IMPERF.1SG the.ACC Yannin.ACC that him.CLI see.PAST.PERF.2SG
     [TP ...t_i]].

   (Int. ‘I remember that you saw Yanni.’)

c. Ton Yannin θimume [C3 pu ton iôesî [TP the.ACC Yannin.ACC remember.NONPAST.IMPERF.1SG that him.CLI see.PAST.PERF.2SG
    ...t_i]].

   ‘I remember that you saw Yanni.’

(29)  a. θimume [C3 oti ton Yannin iôesî ton [TP remember.NONPAST.IMPERF.1SG that the.ACC Yannin.ACC see.PAST.PERF.2SG him.CLI
     ...t_i]].

   ‘I remember that Yannis, you saw him.’

b. ?? θimume ton Yannin [C3 oti iôesî ton remember.NONPAST.IMPERF.1SG the.ACC Yannin.ACC that see.PAST.PERF.2SG him.CLI
    [TP ...t_i]].

   (Int. ‘I remember that you saw Yanni.’)

c. Ton Yannin θimume [C3 oti iôesî ton [TP the.ACC Yannin.ACC remember.NONPAST.IMPERF.1SG that see.PAST.PERF.2SG him.CLI
    ...t_i]].

   ‘I remember that you saw Yanni.’

Wh-extraction

(30)  a. * θimase [CP3 pkjos pu to iôenî??]] remember.NONPAST.IMPERF.1SG who that it.CLI see.PAST.PERF.3SG

   (Int. ‘Do you remember who saw it?’)

b. * Pkjos θimase [CP3 pu to iôenî??] who remember.NONPAST.IMPERF.1SG that it.CLI see.PAST.PERF.3SG

(31)  a. * θimase pkjos oti iôenî to? remember.NONPAST.IMPERF.2SG who that see.PAST.PERF.3SG it.CLI

   (Int. ‘Do you remember who saw it?’)

b. Pkjos θimase oti iôenî to? who remember.NONPAST.IMPERF.2SG that see.PAST.PERF.3SG it.CLI

   ‘Do you remember who saw it?’
3 Analysis

C3>C2>C1 = C>COp (Force)>CM(Fin) (Roussou, 2000, 2010)

- A more refined proposal on reduced and complete complement clauses and ‘structural impoverishment’ (see Haegeman 2006)

- Roussou (1991): Determiners can select CPs and behave as nominals, unless a C is already specified for [+definiteness]

Alternatively, pu as a portmanteau morpheme realizing two heads (see Merchant 2015; Merchant and Pavlou to appear):

(34) D C_{fact} ↔ pu

Additional evidence for positing different structures comes from nominalized clauses, overt definite presuppositionals and complements of non-factive verbs

Nominalized clauses

(35) a. 6imune pu efien.
    remember that leave.PAST.PERF.3SG
    ‘I remember that he left.’

b. * 6imune to pu efien.
    know the that leave.PAST.PERF.3SG

c. Ksero oti efien.
    know that leave.PAST.PERF.3SG
    ‘I know that he left.’

d. Ksero to oti efien.
    Know the that leave.PAST.PERF.3SG

Overt Definite Presuppositional ‘the fact’

(36) a. I Maria 6imate to yeýonos oti efien o Yannis.
    the Maria remember.NONPAST.IMPERF.3SG the fact that leave.PAST.PERF.3SG the Yannis
    ‘Maria remembers the fact that Yannis left.’

b. * I Maria 6imate to yeýonos pu efien o
    the Maria remember.NONPAST.IMPERF.3SG the fact that leave.PAST.PERF.3SG the
    Yannis,
    Yannis
Non-factive verbs

(37) a. Ipa oti ʔides ton.
      say.PAST.PERF.1SG that see.PAST.PERF.2SG him.CLI
      ‘I said you saw him’

b. * Ipa to oti ʔides ton.
      say.PAST.PERF.1SG the that see.PAST.PERF.2SG him.CLI

c. ʔimume oti ʔides ton.
      remember.NONPAST.IMPERF.1SG that see.PAST.PERF.2SG him.CLI
      ‘I remember you saw him’.

d. ʔimume to oti ʔides ton.
      remember.NONPAST.IMPERF.1SG the that see.PAST.PERF.2SG him.CLI

e. ʔimume to oti ton ʔides.
      remember.NONPAST.IMPERF.1SG the that him.CLI see.PAST.PERF.2SG

• The pu-complements of presuppositional verbs (e.g. remember) are definite DPs (Kastner, 2015)
• The oti-complements of presuppositional verbs (e.g. remember) can be definite DPs
• Presuppositional verbs induce weak islands, provided that they select for the higher C in the left periphery (i.e. pu)

4 Roussou’s 2000 structure of left periphery

(38) [pu[Topic/FOCUS[COp oti/an/na/as [Νεάνθεν min[θα/t_{na/na}[cl + V]]]]]] (Roussou 2000:79)

“If Topic/Focus is above COp then we derive the order topic/focus - oti/an/na in a straightforward manner. The structure in (19) (cf. example in the paper) also accommodates the oti/an-focus (or topic) order, by allowing oti/an, but not an/as, to move to the highest C. In this case oti and an spells-out features for both clause-typing and subordination”.
(Roussou 2000:79)

(39) Nomizo {ta mila} oti {ta mila} ʔede ʔa ta fai
      think.NONPAST.IMPERF.1SG the apples that the apples not FUT them.CLI eat.NONPAST.PERF.3SG
      o  Petros.
      the.NOM Petros.NOM
      ‘I think that Peter won’t eat the apples’. (Roussou 2000:16)

The current analysis on the Cypriot Greek left periphery:

• Does not support a movement approach to different positions of oti
• Oti does not move as high as C, given the distributional differences on extraction
• Postulates two Topic positions to account for the facts


5 Conclusion

• Word order variation within a single language as the result of selectional features of the complementizers
• Certain locality interactions support specific orders
References


