

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD IN GRIKO: A MICRO-COMPARATIVE

APPROACH

Abstract

We present an analysis of subjunctive complements in Griko, a Modern Greek dialect spoken in Southern Italy. Despite the obvious similarities with the properties of subjunctive clauses in Standard Modern Greek (SMG), introduced by *na* in both varieties, we capitalize on the contrasting distribution of verbal forms in each case: while in SMG all temporal-aspectual combinations are allowed in *na*-clauses and no specific subjunctive morphology is used, Griko only features perfective non-past in the same context. This fact is argued to instantiate the specialization of aspectual morphology in Griko for the marking of subjunctive on the verb. We propose that the morphological marking of subjunctive that had been lost in earlier stages of the diachronic development of Greek reentered Griko as a result of contact with Salentino, the southern Romance variety spoken in the same area, which also exhibits mood concord between a subjunctive complementizer and dedicated subjunctive morphology on the verb. Although the realization of subjunctive in Griko and in SMG appears to be an instance of microvariation in the syntax (mood concord in the former, no mood concord in the latter), we argue that it ultimately reduces to the feature specification of particular elements, namely inflectional morphemes.

Keywords

Griko, morphosyntax, microvariation, subjunctive, agreement, contact

1 **1 INTRODUCTION**

2 The topic of this paper is the realization of the category “subjunctive” in Griko,
3 an indigenous Greek variety present in Southern Italy till the present day.
4 Griko is spoken in an area known as *Grecia Salentina*, in the province of
5 Lecce, in a subset of the villages that officially constitute the Union of the
6 Towns of *Grecia Salentina*.¹ Salento represents one of the two Greek-
7 speaking enclaves in Italy, the other one being Calabria, where *Greko* or
8 *Grecanico* has been spoken (see Katsoyiannou 1995 for Grecanico; see also
9 Ledgeway (2013) for a more recent overview). Griko and Grecanico, referred
10 to jointly as Italiot Greek or Italo-Greek, have been recognized as minority
11 languages by the Parliament of Italy since 1999. They are both under the
12 threat of extinction, the latter more imminently than the former.

13 We adopt a micro-comparative approach (cf. Kayne 1996), which aims to
14 characterize parametric variation by examining closely-related varieties (as
15 opposed to historically unrelated languages), as a new research tool
16 resembling actual experiments: altering a certain morphosyntactic feature
17 helps determine with which other properties it correlates, if they are linked by
18 some abstract parameter. Specifically, we compare Griko to Standard Modern
19 Greek (henceforth SMG), in particular in connection to the realization of
20 subjunctive clauses. The vast majority of researchers concur on the fact that
21 SMG encodes subjunctive mood not through verbal morphology, but via the
22 choice of complementizer. The lack of designated subjunctive morphology
23 entails that verbal forms inside subjunctive clauses can vary, giving rise to
24 distinct interpretations, depending on their tense and aspect specification. By
25 contrast, in Griko we argue that subjunctive is encoded in both the
26 complementizer and the verbal morphology. The central observation in favour

¹ The Union of the Towns of *Grecia Salentina* officially consists of 12 villages in the province of Lecce. However, Griko is actually still spoken only in some of them. According to Sobrero & Maglietta (2005), the Griko-speaking villages today are: Calimera, Corigliano d'Otranto, Martano, Sternatia, Castrignano dei Greci, Zollino. Unless otherwise indicated, the data discussed in this paper are from Calimera, Corigliano d'Otranto, Martano and Sternatia, and are contained in the database available at <http://griko.project.uoi.gr/>.

1 of this claim is the attested restriction on a particular verbal form inside
2 subjunctive clauses. We implement the concord between complementizer and
3 verb in terms of a syntactic agreement relation. The directionality of
4 agreement is in this case upward, in the spirit of Zeijlstra (2012) and related
5 work.

6 The attested morphosyntactic microvariation manifests itself in the syntax:
7 SMG shows no mood concord, whereas Griko does. However, the locus of
8 variation is arguably the lexicon, namely in the feature specification of
9 particular functional elements. Our work thus bears on the question of the
10 nature and locus of syntactic (micro)variation (lexicon, syntax, or PF), namely
11 questions that have been at the forefront of (micro)comparative syntactic
12 research (see e.g. Kayne 1996, Baker 2008, Barbiers 2009, 2013).

13 Interestingly, mood concord has been argued to exist also in Italo-
14 Romance varieties spoken in the larger area of southern Italy, namely in
15 Salentino and Calabrian (Damonte 2010). We propose that this is no accident;
16 on the basis of different sets of data, including other Greek varieties, we argue
17 that mood concord in Griko is a grammatical feature induced by contact with
18 Salentino. Our work thus interests the body of research surrounding contact-
19 induced change in general, and in particular relations between Italo-Greek
20 and Italo-Romance (cf. Ledgeway 2013 and references therein).

21 Our paper is structured as follows: in section 2 we describe the properties
22 of subjunctive clauses in SMG, and motivate the structure of their left
23 periphery which we adopt, originally proposed by Roussou (2000). We also
24 show that the distribution of verbal forms inside *na*-clauses is as expected, on
25 the basis of the non-existence of a morphological category 'subjunctive'. In
26 Section 3 we turn to Griko, and show that *na*-clauses are very similar to those
27 of SMG, except for the distribution of verbal morphology inside them. We
28 argue that a particular aspectual form has been re-analyzed as subjunctive
29 morphology in Griko, which thus encodes subjunctive mood in two ways: via
30 the choice of complementizer and on the verb. In the spirit of Damonte (2010),
31 we propose to analyze this as a manifestation of mood concord, i.e. as
32 agreement in terms of mood features, which we implement in terms of
33 Zeijlstra's (2012) operation of Upward Agree. In section 4, we argue that
34 mood concord arose in Griko through contact with Salentino, on the basis of

1 evidence from Salentino, but also from Medieval Greek and from Pontic
2 Greek of Of (Turkey). Both varieties are relevant in ruling out other potential
3 sources for the emergence of mood concord in Griko. Section 5 summarizes
4 and concludes.

5

6 **2 SUBJUNCTIVE IN SMG**

7 As is well known, SMG lacks infinitives and employs finite complementation
8 instead, which is a well-known feature of the Balkan Sprachbund (Joseph
9 1983, Terzi 1992, Rivero 1994). In the realm of complement clauses, *oti*
10 introduces declaratives, *pu* factives and relative clauses, *na* so-called
11 subjunctive complements, and *an* embedded interrogative clauses (as well as
12 conditionals). The examples in (1)-(5) illustrate.

13

14 (1) Ksero oti o Janis agapai ti Maria.

15 know.1SG that the Janis love.3SG the Maria

16 'I know that Jani loves Maria.'

17 (2) Lipame pu i Maria den agapai to Jani.

18 regret.1SG that the Maria NEG love.3SG the Jani

19 'I regret that Maria doesn't love Jani.'

20 (3) Pandreftike ton andra pu agapise.

21 married.3SG the.ACC man.ACC REL loved.3SG

22 'S/he married the man s/he loved.'

23 (4) I Eleni bori na agapai to Jani.

24 the Eleni may.3SG SUBJ love.3SG the Jani

25 'Eleni may love Jani.'

26 (5) Anarotjeme an i Eleni agapai to Jani.

27 wonder.1SG if the Eleni love.3SG the Jani

28 'I wonder if Eleni loves Jani.'

29

30 Subjunctive complements (or more neutrally *na*-complements, see below)
31 occur under three main categories of verbs: modals, aspectuals and

1 volitionals. These categories appear in (6) (from Roussou 2009).²

2

- 3 (6) a. Modals: *prepi* ‘must’, *bori* ‘may’, ...
4 b. Aspectuals: *arxizo* ‘start’, *stamato* ‘stop’, ...
5 c. Volitionals: *thelo* ‘want’, *protimo* ‘prefer’, ...

6

7 In addition to the verbs in (6), which only embed *na*-complements, there are
8 other classes of verbs which optionally do so; the classes of verbs in (7) (from
9 Roussou 2009) may take a *na*- complement, or else an *oti*-, *pu* or *an*-
10 complement, and the choice results in subtle semantic effects (see Roussou
11 (2009:1814-1815) for some discussion). For instance, a perception verb
12 taking a *na*-complement, as in (8a), yields a direct perception reading; when it
13 takes an *oti*-complement, as in (8b), the interpretation is that of indirect
14 perception (namely, deduction from available evidence) (Veloudis 2001). The
15 two different interpretations are conveyed by the English translations.
16 Additionally, in the presence of matrix negation or a question operator, *na*-
17 clauses become available under e.g. epistemic predicates – an instance of
18 the so-called polarity subjunctive (see Author 1998).

19

- 20 (7) a. Perception verbs: *vlepo* ‘see’, *akuo* ‘hear’, ...
21 b. Verbs of mental perception: *thimame* ‘remember’, *ksexno* ‘forget’, ...
22 c. Psych verbs: *xerome* ‘be glad’, *lipame* ‘regret’, ...
23 d. Epistemic predicates: *pistevo* ‘believe’, *nomizo* ‘think’, ...
24 e. Verbs of saying (directive interpretation): *leo* ‘say’, *dhiatazo* ‘order’,
25 ...
26 f. Verbs of knowing/ability: *ksero* ‘know’, *matheno* ‘learn’, ...

27

- 28 (8) a. Ida to Jani na troi stafilja.
29 saw-1SG the Jani SUBJ eat-3SG grapes

² To these we should add causative *kano* ‘make’. This verb presumably belongs to category (6c), which Roussou (2009) re-labels, in the spirit of Holton et al. (2012), as ‘future-referring’ (see also Author 1998). Volitional predicates are a subset of this ‘future-referring’ category of verbs.

1 ‘I saw Jani eating grapes.’
2 b. Ida oti o Janis efaje stafilia.
3 saw-1SG that the Jani ate-3SG grapes
4 ‘I saw that Janis ate grapes.’
5

6 Finally, *na* is used in (unembedded) clauses that function as surrogate
7 imperatives – especially in the context of negation, where morphological
8 imperatives are banned in SMG.

9 Given the above considerations, it becomes clear that subjunctive is a
10 misnomer in the context of SMG (as suggested also in Roussou 2009:1820),
11 if by subjunctive one has in mind a semantic category, relating to
12 intensionality (e.g. irrealis or non-veridicality). There is nothing intensional
13 about a complement to an aspectual verb, for instance, or a complement to a
14 direct perception predicate. More in general, it is not clear whether a uniform
15 semantics for *na*-clauses is possible, even within a single language (e.g.
16 Author 2009). We will therefore be discussing subjunctive mood in Modern
17 Greek varieties (including Griko) as a morphosyntactic category, not a
18 semantic one (though the issue of the semantics of *na*-clauses will be raised
19 briefly again in section 3.2.2). We use the term ‘subjunctive’ as a well-
20 established descriptive label for ease of reference.

21

22 2.1 THE CATEGORIAL STATUS OF *NA* AND THE LEFT PERIPHERY OF 23 EMBEDDED CLAUSES

24 The categorial status of *na* has been a matter of considerable controversy
25 in the literature on Greek morphosyntax. On the one hand, *na* has been
26 treated as an inflectional particle realizing mood (Veloudis & Philippaki-
27 Warburton 1983, Philippaki-Warburton 1992, 1998; Tsimpli, 1990; Terzi,
28 1992, Rivero, 1994). This view essentially aligns *na* with verbal particles such
29 as modal *tha* and optative *as*. When these elements combine with a verb, e.g.
30 the form *fiji* (whose temporal-aspectual specification we return to presently),
31 *tha* yields a future interpretation, *na* introduces a surrogate imperative, and *as*
32 an optative interpretation. As expected on this view, there is complementary
33 distribution among these elements, shown in (10).

- 1 (9) a. Tha fiji.
 2 MOD leave-3SG
 3 'S/he will leave.'
 4 b. Na fiji.
 5 SUBJ leave-3SG
 6 'S/he should leave.'
 7 c. As fiji.
 8 OPT leave-3SG
 9 'Let her/him leave.'
- 10
- 11 (10) a. *Na tha/as fiji.
 12 SUBJ MOD MOD leave-3SG
 13 b. *Tha/as na fiji.
 14 MOD MOD SUBJ leave-3SG
 15

16 Moreover, *na*, *tha* and *as* are similar in their requirement to appear adjacent to
 17 the verb, from which they can be separated only by object clitics. Negative
 18 *mi(n)* can also intervene between *na* and *as* and the verb. Here *tha* patterns
 19 differently, in being negated by a different element, namely *de(n)*, which
 20 precedes the particle:

- 21
- 22 (11) a. Na min to pi.
 23 SUBJ NEG it say-3SG
 24 'S/he should not say it.'
- 25 b. As min to pi.
 26 MOD NEG it say-3SG
 27 'Let her/him say it.'
- 28 c. De tha to pi.
 29 NEG MOD it say-3SG
 30 'S/he will not say it.'

31

32 A different view holds that *na* is a complementizer, on a par with
 33 declarative *oti* (Agouraki 1991, Tsoulas 1993). In support of this view is the
 34 complementary distribution between *na* and *oti* (or conditional *an* 'if'), shown

1 in (12b). Note that, in this, *na* is dissimilar from the modal particle *tha*, which
2 can happily co-occur under *oti*, cf. (12a) from Roberts & Roussou (2003:76).

3

- 4 (12) a. Apofasisa oti tha to aghoraso.
5 decided-1SG that PRT it buy-1SG
6 'I decided that I will buy it.'
7 b. Apofasisa (*oti) na to aghoraso.
8 decided-1SG that PRT it buy-1SG
9 'I decided to buy it.'

10

11 However, *na* is not incompatible with all complementizers: it can co-exist with
12 relative-*pu*, as shown in (13a). When it does, it yields an intensional
13 interpretation of the nominal description. Thus, while the indefinite object is
14 interpreted with specific reference (i.e., outside the scope of the intensional
15 predicate *psaxno*) in (13b), in (13a), where the relative clause includes the
16 subjunctive marker, it receives a non-specific, narrow-scope reading.

17

- 18 (13) a. Psaxno ena spiti pu na exi megalo kipo.
19 search.1SG a house that SUBJ has big garden
20 'I am searching for a house that has a big garden.'
21 b. Psaxno ena spiti pu exi megalo kipo.
22 search.1SG a house that has big garden
23 'I am searching for a house that has a big garden.'

24

25 A recent view that reconciles the two approaches to *na* has been advanced
26 by Roussou (2000), within a Split-CP framework (Rizzi 1997). Roussou
27 captures the data reviewed above by generating *na* in a lower C head, which
28 encodes modality (whence the label C_{Modal}). This is the position where *tha* and
29 *as* are also generated. From there, *na* (and *as*) raises to an intermediate C_{Op}
30 head. The intermediate C_{Op} head is the position where declarative *oti* and
31 interrogative/conditional *an* are merged. From this it follows that *na/as* can
32 never co-occur with *oti/an*. Finally, Roussou postulates a third C position,
33 where *pu* is merged. Nothing rules out *pu na* sequences, which as we saw in
34 (13) is a welcome prediction. Moreover, *oti* optionally moves to this highest C

1 position. Roussou's proposed structure is given in (14):

2

3 (14) [_C *pu* [Topic/Focus [_{COp} *oti/an/na/as* [_{Neg} *ḍen/min* [_{CM} *θa/t_{na/as}* [_I cl+V...]]]]]]

4

5 The structure in (14) successfully derives the word order facts in the
6 presence of topicalized and focused material: as the following data from
7 Roussou (2000:76-78) show, whereas *na* is strictly preceded by
8 topicalized/focused material, *pu* is strictly followed by such elements; *oti* either
9 follows or precedes topicalized/focused material.³

10

- 11 (15) a. Nomizo (ta mila) oti (ta mila) ḍe θa ta fai
12 think-1SG the apples that the apples NEG MOD them eat-3SG
13 o Petros.
14 the Peter
15 'The apples, I think Petros will not eat them.'
- 16 b. Elpizo ta mila na (*ta mila) min ta fai o Petros.
17 hope-1SG the apples SUBJ *the apples not them eat-3SG the Peter
18 'The apples, I hope Petros won't eat them.'

³ Two aspects of Roussou's proposal have been brought up to us as problematic by anonymous reviewers. The first one concerns the trigger for movement of the complementizers. See Roussou (2000:75) for comparative evidence in favour of this kind of movement. The second aspect of her analysis concerns the assumed fixed position of topics and foci (cf. Rizzi 1997). It is true that in Greek, quite generally, topics and foci show a greater degree of freedom than what is suggested by (14), in the sense that topicalized and focused constituents need not necessarily appear in the left periphery of the clause (see Tsimpli 1995, Author 2000, Gryllia 2009 for discussion of focus in particular). As far as the position of such material *within* the left periphery is concerned, however, *oti*- and *na*-clauses show a clear discrepancy, which (14) readily captures: only the former can be immediately followed by a topic or a focus. Since our main concerns here relate to the encoding of subjunctive mood and not to the phrase structure of Greek (complement) clauses on the whole, we will couch our proposal concerning *na*-clauses within Roussou's approach, and leave it to future research to further improve it. See also footnote 4.

1 c. Θελun ena voiθo (*ta aglika) pu ta aglika na ta
2 want-3PL an assistant the English that the English SUBJ them
3 milai kala.
4 speak-3SG well
5 ‘They want an assistant who speaks English well.’

6
7 Since, according to the structure in (14), *pu* is generated in a different position
8 than *oti/na*, and one to which only *oti* optionally moves, the word order
9 patterns indicated in (15) are captured.⁴

10 11 2.2 THE DISTRIBUTION OF VERB FORMS IN *NA*-CLAUSES

12 After this brief overview of the external syntax and left periphery of *na*-
13 clauses, let us turn to their internal properties. The question we are interested
14 in is whether subjunctive is encoded not only on the complementizer, but also
15 on the verb in *na*-clauses, similarly to e.g. Romance languages (see
16 Ledgeway & Lombardi (2014) for a recent overview of the various possibilities
17 across Romance varieties). Here, the consensus is that in SMG, the only
18 mood distinction encoded on verbs is between Indicative and Imperative
19 (Veloudis & Philippaki-Warburton 1983; Holton et al. 2012, Roussou 2009 and
20 references therein), Indicative constituting the unmarked case. Crucially, the
21 distinction between Indicative and Subjunctive is not expressed on verbs. For
22 the purposes of morphology, then, the verbal form in *na*-clauses can be
23 considered Indicative (Lightfoot 1979, Tsangalidis 2002, Roussou 2009)
24 (since *na* cannot combine with the imperative forms).⁵

⁴ An anonymous reviewer asks whether the data above cannot be handled within an approach that does not assume a split-CP. As the reviewer suggests, a non-cartographic analysis would invoke not different C heads, but rather the different size of different complement clauses (see for instance Todorovic & Wurmbrand 2015 for such an analysis of Serbian complement clauses). To the best of our knowledge, a non-cartographic analysis of the clause structure of Modern Greek has not yet been undertaken. We agree with the reviewer that it would be extremely interesting to investigate whether a non-cartographic analysis could capture the facts, but such an endeavor is beyond the scope of this paper.

⁵ Alternatively, as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, it may be historically more

1 Although mood distinctions are thus not robustly attested on SMG verbs,
 2 other grammatical distinctions are systematically present. Finite verbs inflect
 3 for voice, tense and aspect, and subject agreement. In terms of tense and
 4 aspect, more specifically, the distinctions SMG makes are between past and
 5 nonpast, and between perfective and imperfective, respectively. The
 6 combination of these tense and aspect values results in the four forms given
 7 in (16) from Holton et al. (2012:131) (ignoring the periphrastic compound
 8 tenses, which are formed with auxiliary ‘have’ and a non-finite verbal form):

9

- 10 (16) a. graf-o. (INP)
 11 write.IMPNONPAST-1SG
 12 ‘I am writing.’
 13 ‘I write (habitually).’
 14 b. graps-o (PNP)
 15 write.PERFNONPAST-1SG
 16 **DEPENDENT**
 17 c. egraf-a (IP)
 18 write.IMPAST-1SG
 19 ‘I was writing.’
 20 ‘I used to write (habitually).’
 21 d. egraps-a (PP)
 22 write.PERFPAST-1SG
 23 ‘I wrote.’

24

25 What is important for the purposes of our paper is that the morphological
 26 distinctions correspond to semantic categories in a predictable way (Rouchota
 27 1994; Tsangalidis 1999; Roussou 2009, Author et al 2009). Perfective aspect
 28 is used for punctual events, imperfective aspect for habitual or ongoing
 29 events. Past tense forms relate to events which are temporally located prior to

accurate to talk not of an Indicative in SMG, but of a (modally) un(der)specified finite verb form. This would be consistent with a characterization of the SMG system in terms of the opposition between Imperative and Nonimperative (or default/unmarked).

1 utterance time, and non-past forms refer to events that are contemporaneous
 2 or posterior with respect to utterance time. Of all forms in (16), the form in
 3 (16b), which combines perfective aspect with non-past tense (aka the PNP),
 4 is ungrammatical in isolation (requiring immediate precedence by one of the
 5 particles *na*, *tha*, *as*, modal *isos* ‘perhaps’, or a temporal connective such as
 6 *prin* ‘before’)—whence the characterization ‘dependent’ (Holton et al. 2012;
 7 Tsangalidis 2002; Giannakidou 2009). Verbal forms such as the PNP are
 8 known to be cross-linguistically special (and rare), in that the particular
 9 combination of values they instantiate is, in a sense, contradictory: an event
 10 rendered in perfective aspect entails completion, yet the non-past temporal
 11 specification makes it at least incompatible with a present interpretation
 12 (Smith 1997), since utterance time is conceptualized as a point and a point is
 13 ‘too small’ to contain completion of an event.⁶

14 That the four different verbal forms contribute distinct and predictable
 15 temporal-aspectual interpretations can be shown on the basis of the following
 16 data, where the verbal forms inside embedded *na*-clause alternate in terms of
 17 tense and aspect. The interpretation of the matrix modal verb *bori* ‘may’ is
 18 consistently epistemic (exclusively so in (18); see Author et al 2009 for
 19 discussion). As is obvious, all verbal forms in (16) can surface inside the *na*-
 20 clause, giving rise to the expected interpretation (e.g. perfective is interpreted
 21 as punctual, as in (17b)-(18b), and imperfective as habitual/generic or
 22 progressive, as in (17a)-(18a), as indicated in the translations).

23

- 24 (17) a. Bori na grafi.
 25 may.3SG SUBJ write.INP.3SG
 26 ‘S/he may be writing (now).’
 27 ‘S/he may write (habitually).’
 28 b. Bori na grapsi.

⁶ In several languages, perfective non-past forms are interpreted as future tenses (see Comrie 1976:66ff). In Greek, the PNP can indeed serve as a punctual future, as long as it is accompanied by the modal particle *tha*. See Giannakidou (2009) and Author et al (2009) for the claim that the distribution of the PNP follow from its semantics, and in particular its purported temporal deficiency (cf. Tsangalidis 1999).

- 1 may.3SG SUBJ write.PNP.3SG
 2 ‘S/he may write (in the future).’
 3
 4 (18) a. Bori na egrafe.
 5 may.3SG SUBJ write.IP.3SG
 6 ‘S/he may have been writing (progressively).’
 7 ‘S/he may have been writing (habitually).’
 8 b. Bori na egrapse.
 9 may.3SG SUBJ write.PP.3SG
 10 ‘S/he may have written.’

11
 12 Summing up, what we have seen regarding SMG is that it encodes
 13 subjunctive mood syntactically, via the element *na*, and not through verbal
 14 morphology. Following Roussou (2000), *na* heads a lower CP and raises to a
 15 higher head in the left periphery. The finite verb within the *na*-clause bears
 16 tense and aspect morphology, both of which make distinct and semantically
 17 predictable contributions.

18
 19 **3 SUBJUNCTIVE IN GRIKO**

20 In this section, we turn to Griko, which is quite similar to SMG in terms of the
 21 existence and distribution of *na*-clauses, as well as the tense and aspect
 22 distinctions encoded on finite verbs. Despite the attested similarities, however,
 23 we find a number of interesting diverging properties between the two
 24 languages, pointing to two closely related but different systems. In section 3.1
 25 we discuss the complementation strategies of Griko, focusing specifically on
 26 the properties of subjunctive clauses. In section 3.2 we offer an analysis of
 27 subjunctive clauses that accounts for the differences with respect to the same
 28 category in SMG.

29
 30 **3.1 DISTRIBUTION**

31 The major difference between SMG and Griko regarding the complementation
 32 system is that Griko displays some remnants of non-finite complementation: it

1 retains the infinitive as a complement to the modal ‘can’, as illustrated in (19)
2 (see Baldissera 2013, Ledgeway 2013 for recent discussion and references)⁷:

3

4 (19) Sodzo pai.
5 can-1SG go-INF
6 ‘I can go.’

7

8 Finite complementation involves predominantly the complementizer *ka*,
9 borrowed from Salentino. In older texts the complementizer *ti*, corresponding
10 to SMG *oti*, is also attested, but it has virtually disappeared from current Griko
11 varieties (Baldissera 2013:118). Romance-based *ka* introduces declarative
12 complements (20), relative clauses (21), complements to factive verbs (22),
13 and adjunct clauses expressing cause (23) (we discuss the potential origin of
14 *ka* in section 4.2):⁸

15

16 (20) Itsero ka simmeri ixo na kami frisko.
17 knew-3SG COMP today had SUBJ make-3SG cold
18 ‘He knew that today it would be cold.’

19

20 (21) Is doka o jiddho mu tis Paola, ka m’o
21 she-GEN gave-1SG the dog my the-GEN Paola, COMP me-GEN it
22 kratenni kala.
23 keep-3SG well
24 ‘I gave my dog to Paola, who will keep it well.’

25

⁷ According to Baldissera (2013b), the infinitive in Griko is also optionally found after *spicceo* ‘finish’, the other alternative being, unsurprisingly, a *na*-clause. Ledgeway (2013) argues that the optional infinitival complement is the result of borrowing from Romance.

⁸ It is interesting to note that Griko does not display the complementizer *pu* introducing the clausal argument of factive verbs, unlike SMG. According to Baldissera (2013a), in Griko *pu* is only used as an alternative complementizer introducing relative clauses. Its distribution vis-a-vis *ka* in such contexts is, however, not clear.

1 (22) Ime kuntento ka vrexì simmeri.
 2 be-1SG happy COMP rain-3SG today
 3 'I'm happy that it is raining today.'

4
 5 (23) En irte ma ma, ka e talassa e'piatfeì dopu e tsixro.
 6 NEG came-3SG with us, COMP the sea NEG please-3SG when is cold
 7 'He didn't come with us, because he doesn't like the sea when it's
 8 cold.'

9
 10 For finite complementation, Griko also employs *na*-clauses, whose
 11 distribution is very similar to the one we find in SMG, displaying both control
 12 and non-control patterns. The selecting contexts are displayed in (24)-(26),
 13 which are parallel to those reviewed for SMG in (6)-(7) above, namely
 14 volitionals with both non-control and control complements (24), ability
 15 predicates (25), modals (26a), aspectuals (26b), verbs of physical perception
 16 (26c), or verbs of mental perception (26d), among others.

17
 18 (24) a. Ìtela o Karlo nà 'rti manechùddi-tu.
 19 want-PST.1SG the Karlo SUBJ come-3SG alone-his
 20 'I wanted Karlo to come alone.'
 21 b. Telo na pao.
 22 want.1SG SUBJ go-1SG
 23 'I want to go.' (Baldissera 2013)

24
 25 (25) I Anna tseri na natètsi poddì kalà.
 26 the Anna know-3SG SUBJ swim-3SG very well
 27 'Anna can swim very well.' (Baldissera 2013)

28
 29 (26) a. Engidzi na'rti ses etto.
 30 must SUBJ come-2SG at.the eight
 31 'You must come at eight.'
 32 b. Spitfetsa na grafso.
 33 finish-1SG SUBJ write-1SG
 34 'I finished writing.'

- 1 c. 'On itane na'rti.
 2 him see-3PL SUBJ come-3SG
 3 'They saw him coming.'
 4 d.. Allimonisamena'rtume ittu.
 5 forget-1PL SUBJ come-1PL here
 6 'We forgot to come here.' (Baldissera 2013)

7

8 *Na*-clauses in Griko are also found in root contexts, just as in SMG,
 9 functioning as surrogate imperatives and hortatives:

10

- 11 (27) Kalimera na sas po.
 12 good.morning COMP YOU-PL say-PNP.1SG
 13 'Let me tell you "good morning"!' (Morosi 1870:3)

14

15 Root subjunctives are also attested in the absence of *na*, introduced by other
 16 complementizer-like particles such as optative *as* or prohibitive *mi(n)*, similarly
 17 to what we saw previously for SMG.

18

- 19 (28) a. As ertu ta korasiama.
 20 as come-PNP.3PL the virgin.PL-ours
 21 'Let our virgins come!' (Comparetti 1866:60)
 22 b. Min embi tossu ka e fotiasu me sicchei!
 23 neg enter-PNP.3SG herein COMP the fire-yours me dry-3SG
 24 'Don't come in, because your fire dries me up!' (Comparetti 1866:50)

25

26
 27 As for the verbal paradigm of simple forms, Griko has all forms found in SMG,
 28 i.e. it distinguishes between past/nonpast and perfective/imperfective in the
 29 verbal paradigm. The combinations give rise to the INP, IP, PNP and PP
 30 forms, as illustrated in (29) (cf. Karanastasis 1997:83-85). Characteristically,
 31 Griko lacks a future particle (cf. SMG *tha*). Futurity is expressed by the simple

1 present tense, namely the INP; in other words, the Griko INP, given in (29a),
2 is three-way ambiguous.⁹

3

4 (29) a. graf-o. (INP)

5 write.IMPNONPAST-1SG

6 'I am writing'

7 'I write (habitually).'

8 'I will write'

9 b. grafs-o (PNP)

10 write.PERFNONPAST-1SG

11 c. egraf-a (IP)

12 write.IMPPAST-1SG

13 'I was writing.'

14 'I used to write (habitually).'

15 d. egrafs-a (PP)

⁹ Futurity is also expressed in Griko via the form *e'нна*, as indicated in (i) from Author et al (2013). For some details about the origin and possible analysis of this form, see Baldissera (2013a:32,115-117).

(i) O chròno ka mbènni è'na fàò poddhà glicèa.
the year that enters has SUBJ eat.PNP-1SG many sweets
'Next year I will eat a lot of sweets.'

On its future use, *e'нна* embeds the PNP as in (i) (see also discussion in main text). However, there is an epistemic use, indicated in (ii), where *e'нна* can combine with a past tense (much like the modal particle *tha* in SMG).

(ii) E'нна guikane.
has SUBJ go.out.PP-3PL
'They must have gone out.'

We hypothesize that in (ii) we are dealing with an invariant epistemic marker that the original future periphrasis has grammaticalized into. This would confirm Baldissera's (op.cit.) claim that *enna* is invariant, but only for the epistemic use; data such as (20) show that as a future periphrasis *e'нна* can vary. Such data confirm Baldissera's claim that the form originates from a 'have'-periphrasis.

1 write.PERFPAST-1SG

2 'I wrote.'

3

4 There exists one major difference between SMG and Griko in the
5 distribution of the verbal forms above: while, as we saw in section 2, all four
6 simple forms can appear with *na* in SMG, in Griko *na* is only compatible with
7 the PNP (cf. Katsoyiannou 1995 for Grecanico). This holds even in contexts
8 where SMG shows INP under *na* exclusively for selectional reasons, e.g. in
9 aspectual periphrases, with ability modals, and in the *na*-complements to
10 perception verbs. The contrasting selectional restrictions between the two
11 varieties are shown in (30)-(32).

12

13 (30) a. Spitfetsa na **polemiso**/*polemo stes etse. (Grk)
14 finished-1SG SUBJ work-PNP.1SG/work-INP.1SG at.the six
15 'I finished working at six.'

16 b. Stamatisa na *dulepso/**dulevo** stis eksi. (SMG)
17 finished-1SG SUBJ work-PNP.1SG/work-INP.1SG at.the six
18 'I stopped working at six.'

19 (31) a. En etsero na **nateso**/*nateo kala. (Grk)
20 NEG know-1sg SUBJ swim-PNP.1SG/swim-INP.1SG well

21 b. Den ksero na *kolimbiso/**kolimbo** kala. (SMG)
22 NEG know-1SG SUBJ swim-PNP.1SG/INP.1SG well
23 'I can't swim well.'

24 (32) a. 'On itane na' **rti**/*erkete. (Grk)
25 him see-PP.3PL SUBJ come-PNP.3SG/ come-INP.3SG

26 b. Ton idane na *'rthi/ **erxete**. (SMG)
27 him see-PP.3PL SUBJ come-PNP.3SG/ come-INP.3SG
28 'They saw him coming.'

29

30 The robustness of the selection of the PNP form under *na* in Griko is
31 confirmed by the fact that the aspectual distinction perfective/imperfective is
32 neutralized even in contexts of habituality, where the PNP is the only possible
33 option again (cf. Baldissera 2013:118). Again, SMG diverges in only allowing
34 imperfective aspect in habitual contexts, as shown in (33b), (34b) and (35b).

1

2 (33) a. Mu piatfeji na **dziso**/*dzo ittu. (Grk)

3 me-GEN please-3SG SUBJ live-PNP.1SG/live-INP.1SG here

4 b. Mu aresi na *ziso/**zo** edo. (SMG)

5 me-GEN please-3SG SUBJ live-PNP.1SG/INP.1SG here

6 'I like living here.'

7 (34) a. (Se kunsiljeo) na fai simmeri/ panta pleo laxano

8 you-ACC advise-1SG SUBJ eat-PNP.2SG today/ always more vegetable

9 tje pleon olio krea. (Grk)

10 and more less meat

11 'I advise you to today/generally eat more vegetables and less meat.'

12 b. (Se simvulevo) na *fas/ tros panda perisotera

13 you-ACC advise-1SG SUBJ eat-PNP.2SG/eat-INP.2SG always more

14 laxanika ke lijotero kreas. (SMG)

15 vegetables and less meat

16 'I advise you to always eat more vegetables and less meat.'

17 (35) a. lfonasa mian ghineka na pulidzedzi e skale

18 called-PP.1SG a woman SUBJ clean-PNP.3SG the.ACC stairs

19 avri/ kai addoma. (Grk)

20 tomorrow/every week

21 'I hired a woman to clean the stairs tomorrow/every week.'

22 b. Proselava mia jineka na *katharisi/katharizi tis skales

23 hired-1SG a woman SUBJ clean-PNP.3SG/clean-INP.3SG the stairs

24 mia fora ti evdomada. (SMG)

25 one time the week

26 'I hired a woman to clean the stairs once a week.'

27

28 Crucially, the neutralization of the aspectual contrast between imperfective
29 and perfective forms in Griko is restricted to *na*-clases. The perfective-
30 imperfective distinction is present in indicative contexts, as witnessed in
31 examples (36) and (37), which express habituality in the past, and where past
32 imperfective (IP) verbal forms are the only option.

33

34 (36) Motte isamo pedi, *epirta/ ibbionna na xoretso

1 when was.1SG child went-PP.1SG/went.-IP.1SG SUBJ dance-PNP.1SG
 2 kai samba.
 3 every saturday
 4 ‘When I was a child, I used to go dancing every Saturday.’
 5 (37) Persi *pulidzesamo/ pulidzeamo to spiti panta to samba.
 6 last year clean-PP.1PL/ clean-IP.1PL the house always the Saturday
 7 ‘Last year we used to clean the house every Saturday.’

8
 9 Despite the close similarities between SMG and Griko in clausal
 10 complementation, we thus observe a crucial difference, which needs to be
 11 accounted for: *na* in Griko exclusively combines with the PNP in Griko, ruling
 12 out the combinations **na* + INP, * *na* + PP and * *na* + IP, all of which are licit
 13 in SMG. This means that, to derive the distribution of verbal forms in Griko *na*-
 14 clauses, it simply does not suffice to simply deem *na* the subjunctive
 15 complementizer. In the next section we propose an analysis of subjunctive
 16 clauses that accounts for the contrasting behaviour in the two varieties in this
 17 domain of their morphosyntax.

18
 19 3.2 ANALYSIS

20 3.2.1 PHRASE STRUCTURE

21 Like SMG *na*, we take Griko *na* to be a low complementizer, encoding
 22 subjunctive mood. For the left periphery of SMG embedded clauses we
 23 assumed, following Roussou (2000), the structure in (38), repeated from
 24 section 2. The complementary distribution between *na* and *oti* follows from the
 25 fact that *na* moves to the position where *oti* is base-generated, namely C_{Op} in
 26 Roussou’s terms. *Pu* is generated in an even higher position, C. *Oti* optionally
 27 moves to this higher C position.

28
 29 (38) [C *pu* [Topic/Focus [C_{Op} *oti/an/na/as* [Neg *ḍen/min* [C_M *ḍa/t_{na/as}* [I cl+V...]]]]]]

30
 31 As discussed in section 2, the third C-position postulated for SMG by
 32 Roussou (2000) allows her to capture the fact that topicalized and focused

1 material either precede or follow *oti*, whereas they obligatorily follow *pu* and
2 precede *na*. The relevant data are repeated in (39).

3

4 (39) a. Nomizo (ta mila) oti (ta mila) ðen θa ta fai o Petros.
5 think-1SG the apples that the apples not part them eat-3SG the Peter
6 ‘The apples, I think Petros will not eat them.’

7 b. Elpizo ta mila na (*ta mila) min ta fai o Petros
8 hope-1SG the apples SUBJ *the apples not them eat-3SG the Peter
9 ‘The apples, I hope Petros won’t eat them.’

10 c. θelun ena voiθo (*ta aglika) pu ta aglika
11 want-3PL an assistant the English that the English
12 na ta milai kala.
13 SUBJ them speak-3SG well
14 ‘They want an assistant who speaks English well’

15

16 Turning now to Griko, no differences seem to exist with respect to the
17 structural position of *na*: as noted by Baldissera (2013a), Griko *na* is like SMG
18 *na*, in that it precedes negation and follows focused material:

19

20 (40) O iljo ampi sto fengo ivarti na min di.
21 the sun behind the moon put-PASS.PP.3SG SUBJ NEG see-PNP.3SG
22 ‘The sun fell behind the moon, in order not to see.’ (Morosi 1870:37)

23 (41) Telo E MARIA na’rti avvri, en o Mario.
24 want.1SG the Maria SUBJ come-3SG tomorrow NEG the Mario
25 ‘I want MARIA to come tomorrow, not Mario.’ (Baldissera 2013:120)

26

27 Griko *ka*, however, is different from SMG *oti*: *ka* strictly precedes focalized
28 constituents, cf. (42) from Author et al. (2009) (see also Baldissera (*op.cit.*
29 118-9):

30

31 (42) Pisteo ka O TJIURI-SSA telefanese, en o tjiuri-mma.
32 believe-1SG COMP the father-yours phoned.3SG NEG the father-ours
33 ‘I believe it was your father that called, not ours.’

34

1 To capture this difference between *ka* and *oti*, we propose that *ka* is base-
 2 generated in the position where *oti* is, but unlike *oti*, *ka* obligatorily moves to
 3 C. This is reflected in our proposed structure in (43).

4

5 (43) [_C *ka* [Topic/Focus [_{COp} *t_{ka}*/*na* [_{Neg} *en/min* [_{CM} *t_{na}* [_I cl+V...]]]]]]]

6

7 The proposed structure predicts that *ka* and *na*, like *oti* and *na*, never co-
 8 occur. This is correct.¹⁰ In contrast to SMG, where as we have already seen
 9 *pu* and *na* co-occur in intensional relatives (see (45) repeated from above), in
 10 Griko intensional relatives disallow the co-occurrence of *ka* and *na*, regardless
 11 of whether the PNP is used; intensional relatives can only be feature *ka* in
 12 combination with the simple present tense (aka the INP), as shown in (44).¹¹

13

¹⁰ Baldissera (2013a:121) reports instances such as (i) below, which are not stable across her informants (personal communication, and Baldissera 2013a:123-124). Our speakers, though, have not confirmed this judgment, so this seems to be a variable pattern vis-à-vis the one without *ka*.

(i) Telo *ka* i Maria *na*'rti avri.
 want-1SG COMP the Maria SUBJ come-3SG tomorrow
 'I want for Maria to come tomorrow.'

To accommodate data such as (i), one could say that *ka* does not actually move to C from C_{op}, but is base-generated there, a position which is consistent with the parallel data of recomplementation in Grecanico and Salentino, as an anonymous reviewer points out. This, however, presents *ka na* in a way that does not correspond to the unstable distribution across speakers, as suggested also by the discussion in the main text. The only generally accepted co-occurrence of *ka* with *na* that we have encountered is in the syntagm *prita (ka) na* 'before', which we discuss in section 4.2. Arguably, this involves a complex C head *prita ka*, or an adverb *prita* external to the entire embedded CP.

¹¹ That intensional relatives as in (44a) employ the simple present tense (the INP) in Griko suggests a modal analysis of this particular verbal form. This is hardly surprising, given that, as we have mentioned already, the INP systematically also functions as a future tense in Griko.

- 1 (44) a. Pao tferkeonda ena makina ka (*na) kunsumei oli benzina. (Grk)
 2 go-1SG searching a car COMP SUBJ consume-3SG.INP little petrol
 3 'I'm looking for a car that consumes little petrol.'
 4 b. *Pao tferkeonda ena makina ka (na) kunsumezzi oli benzina.
 5 go-1SG searching a car COMP SUBJ consume-3SG.PNP little petrol
 6 'I'm looking for a car that consumes little petrol.'

- 7
 8 (45) Psaxno ena spiti pu na exi megalo kipo. (SMG)
 9 search.1SG a house that SUBJ has big garden
 10 'I am searching for a house that has a big garden.'

11
 12 Summing up, we have argued that the left periphery of embedded clauses in
 13 Griko is very similar to that of SMG, the differences relating to the higher
 14 portion of the left periphery, and in particular to the position of *ka*. In terms of
 15 the position *na* occupies in the clausal spine, no differences were found which
 16 could be implicated in the different relations *na* bears to verbal forms inside its
 17 clause in SMG and in Griko. We claim that the exclusive relation that Griko *na*
 18 entertains with the PNP follows from the characterization of the latter as a
 19 verbal subjunctive form. We articulate this claim in the next section.

20 21 3.2.2 MOOD CONCORD IN GRIKO

22 To derive the distribution of verbal forms inside *na*-clauses in Griko, we
 23 propose that in this language, subjunctive mood is encoded not only in the
 24 complementizer, as it is in SMG, but on verbal forms as well: unlike SMG,
 25 Griko encodes subjunctive mood in the verbal inflection and in particular in the
 26 PNP. That verbal subjunctive marking may obtain through the loss of
 27 inflectional oppositions is not unexpected; it is an old observation that in the
 28 context of subjunctive clauses temporal oppositions are typically reduced with
 29 respect to indicative (main) clauses (e.g. Picallo 1985). Our claim therefore is
 30 that subjunctive marking is encoded through the neutralization of aspectual
 31 oppositions. If subjunctive in Griko is encoded on both the complementizer
 32 and the verb, i.e. the PNP, the two elements are in a relation of concord in

1 terms of mood (cf. Damonte 2010). We explicate the details of this relation
2 immediately below.¹²

3 We conceive of mood concord as syntactic agreement in terms of a
4 morphosyntactic feature which we dub [Subj]. Recall that throughout the
5 paper we have been treating subjunctive mood in Greek as a morphosyntactic
6 category, and have abstained from characterizing the semantics of *na*-clauses
7 (though see below). The syntactic relation Agree involves two elements, one
8 of which bears an interpretable feature and the other a matching
9 uninterpretable feature. In a series of publications, Zeijlstra (2012, 2014) has
10 argued that the directionality of the syntactic operation Agree is not the one
11 envisaged by Chomsky (2000, 2001) and most minimalist literature (see also
12 Wurmbrand (2012a,b, 2014), and Bjorkman & Zeijlstra (2014)). In particular,
13 Zeijlstra has argued for what he calls upward Agree as in (46) from Bjorkman
14 & Zeijlstra (2014) citing Zeijlstra (2012):

15

16 (46) *Upward Agree*: α can Agree with β iff:

- 17 a. α carries at least one uninterpretable feature and β carries a matching
18 interpretable feature;
19 b. β c-commands α ;
20 c. β is the closest goal to α

21

22 On this conception of Agree, the operation takes place between a probe that
23 carries an uninterpretable feature and a goal that carries a matching
24 interpretable feature, where the goal c-commands the probe and not vice
25 versa. In other words, the element bearing the uninterpretable feature probes

¹² The idea that mood concord is at play has been proposed by Damonte (2010) for Salentino, the Romance variety spoken in the area of Grecia Salentina (see also Rivero 1988; Calabrese 1993). Capitalizing on the double marking of mood in Salentino, both on the complementizer and on the verbal form, Damonte proposes that the relevant mood feature is spelled out both in Fin^0 (within the CP domain) and on Mood^0 (within the IP domain). We have been inspired by this proposal, but we depart from it in terms of technical execution. In section 4, we argue that mood concord arose in Griko precisely as a result of contact with Salentino.

1 upwards (hence the term ‘Upward Agree’). There is an ongoing debate as to
2 whether this is the only way to Agree (see Zeijlstra 2012, Bjorkman & Zeijlstra
3 2014, Preminger 2013, Preminger & Polinsky 2015 for discussion); we will not
4 address this issue here, but will assume that Upward Agree is an option
5 allowed by grammar, at least for concord phenomena (if not for phi-
6 agreement).

7 If mood concord is to be analyzed as agreement in terms of a formal
8 feature, it is important to ask which element bears [iSubj] and which one bears
9 [uSubj] in the varieties under discussion. The most natural rendition, within a
10 feature-based system, of the claim that SMG expresses subjunctive mood
11 syntactically, via selection of *na*, is to assign [iSubj] to this element; the same
12 applies to Griko. In other words, [iSubj] is part of *na*’s feature specification in
13 SMG and also in Griko. What is special about Griko, we propose, is that there
14 is a verbal form bearing [uSubj]. This form is the PNP. *Na* enters an Agree
15 relation with this form, along the lines of (45). By contrast, no verbal form
16 bears a [uSubj] feature in SMG. Since only [iSubj] is instantiated in SMG, no
17 Agree in terms of mood is established in this variety. The proposed difference
18 in feature specification is summarized in (46) and (47) below. On our
19 proposal, it is precisely the composition of particular elements (such as
20 inflectional morphemes in the case at hand) that is ultimately responsible for
21 the observed morphosyntactic microvariation.

22

23 (46) Partial feature specification (SMG)

24 *na*: [iSubj]

25 PNP: []

26

27 (47) Partial feature specification (Griko)

28 *na*: [iSubj]

29 PNP: [uSubj]

30

31 From the feature specification above, it follows that *na* can combine with
32 any verbal form in SMG: since no verbal form bears an [uSubj] feature in
33 SMG, any form can occur under *na*. Moreover, it follows that the PNP in Griko
34 makes necessary the presence of *na*: since the PNP bears [uSubj], it can only

1 differences are not merely a matter of technical implementation, since on this
2 alternative two important undesirable consequences obtain. Firstly, the
3 system of Griko and of SMG now look completely different, while the parallel
4 distribution of *na*-clauses, as discussed in the preceding sections, is quite
5 robust. Secondly, on the plausible assumption that the bearer of [iSubj] is the
6 locus of the relevant semantics, [iSubj] on V-T would fail to deliver the C-level
7 scope required for semantic reasons, mood being a clausal-level property.¹⁵

8 To sum up, our proposal about Griko subjunctives contains two main
9 ingredients: (a) the characterization of PNP forms as subjunctive morphology
10 and (b) the workings of Upward Agree as a means to capture the concord
11 relation between *na* and the PNP in this variety. No morphosyntactic
12 agreement exists in SMG, because no verbal form is endowed with an
13 uninterpretable subjunctive feature. This derives the free distribution of verbs
14 inside *na*-clauses in SMG, and the restriction on PNP forms in Griko.

15 In the next section, we explore the possible origin of mood concord in Griko
16 and propose that it is a contact-induced grammatical feature, which came
17 about as a result of contact with Salentino.

18

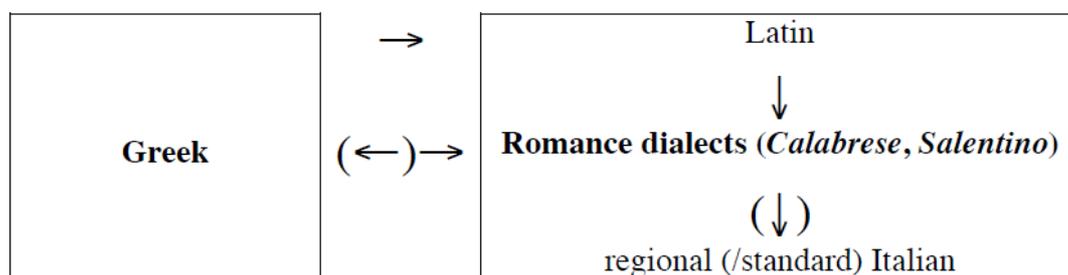
19 **4 MOOD CONCORD AS A CONTACT-INDUCED FEATURE**

20 In this section, we propose that mood concord in Griko is a grammatical
21 feature induced by contact with Salentino, the local Romance variety spoken
22 in the area that includes Grecia Salentina. The idea that language contact can
23 result in borrowing of not just lexical items, but of grammatical features too is
24 not new (see among many others Thomason & Kaufmann 1998 and Heine &
25 Kuteva 2005). In fact, a number of grammatical features of the southern
26 Romance varieties, such as for instance one of the central features
27 associated with the Balkan Sprachbund, namely the loss of the infinitive and
28 the more extensive use of finite complementation, have been claimed to
29 originate in the Greek varieties spoken in the area (Rohlf's 1924, 1933, 1967).
30 If we are right about mood concord in Griko, it follows that borrowing of

¹⁵ A potential way to address the latter point would be to invoke some mechanism of feature inheritance such as the one proposed by Ouali (2008), as suggested by an anonymous reviewer.

1 grammatical features proceeded in both directions: from Greek to Romance,
 2 but also from Romance into Greek. The bi-directionality of contact between
 3 Italo-Greek and Italo-Romance has in fact been independently explored in
 4 Ledgeway (2013), who highlights that Greek and Romance have been spoken
 5 alongside each other in Southern Italy for centuries, in a complex linguistic
 6 situation of diglossia and enduring bilingualism. Ledgeway (op. cit.)
 7 schematizes the purported bi-directionality of contact-induced change in
 8 Southern Italy in Figure 1.

9



10

11 Figure 1: Directionality of change: Ledgeway (2013)

12

13

14 In order to support the claim that the emergence of mood concord in Griko
 15 is due to contact with Salentino, we adduce evidence of three sorts: first, we
 16 rule out that mood concord existed in a prior diachronic stage of Greek, to
 17 which Griko can be linked (section 4.1). Second, we point to the similarities
 18 between Griko and Salentino especially in terms of the encoding of mood and
 19 the periphery of embedded clauses (section 4.2). Thirdly, we return to Greek
 20 and in particular to another Greek dialect, Pontic of Of, which bears
 21 interesting similarities to Griko (section 4.3). Despite these similarities, we
 22 show that Pontic of Of lacks mood concord. This lends additional plausibility
 23 to the claim that this particular way of encoding subjunctive mood in Griko
 24 arose as a result of contact with Salentino.

25

1 4.1 MEDIEVAL GREEK

2 Before we focus on the most relevant diachronic stage in the development of
3 Greek, namely Medieval Greek, we provide a brief overview of the diachrony
4 of mood in Greek.

5 As we saw in section 2, SMG encodes subjunctive mood syntactically. In
6 Classical Greek, by contrast, mood distinctions (indicative, subjunctive,
7 optative, imperative) were encoded morphologically. This changed in the
8 period of Hellenistic and Roman Koine (3rd century BC to 4th century AD): in
9 this period, the optative is lost and the distinction between indicative and
10 subjunctive is no longer encoded in verbal morphology (Philippaki-Warburton
11 & Spyropoulos 2004; Roberts & Roussou 2003). In particular, according to
12 Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos (2004:799) already by the first century
13 AD verb forms no longer encode the distinction between indicative and
14 subjunctive. As a result of deflection of the verbal forms, *hina*, a
15 complementizer hitherto used to introduce purpose clauses, becomes re-
16 analyzed as a subjunctive particle. Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos
17 (op.cit.) propose that the loss of the morphological distinction led to the
18 emergence of a designated Mood projection, the head of which does not host
19 verbal elements, but rather (reflects the feature specification of)
20 complementizers.¹⁶

21 Our claim regarding the encoding of mood in Griko is tantamount to a re-
22 emergence of the indicative-subjunctive distinction in Griko verbal
23 morphology. The change took place well after the initial loss of the indicative-
24 subjunctive morphological distinction and, as we suggest here, through
25 contact with Salentino. An alternative would be that the morphological
26 distinction, and the operation of mood-concord, was inherited by Griko from its
27 Greek ancestor, which is arguably Medieval Greek.¹⁷ However, as we will
28 show, no case can be made for the existence of mood concord in Medieval

¹⁶ For a slightly different view, involving no categorial change from *hina* to *na*, see Roberts & Roussou (2003:84-87).

¹⁷ The relevance of Medieval Greek derives from the currently most widely accepted view (e.g. Manolessou 2005, Ledgeway 2013), according to which Griko dates back to early Byzantine times.

1 Greek. In particular, on the basis of Markopoulos (2005), it can be shown that
2 in this period, namely between 11th and 15th centuries, following Markopoulos
3 (op.cit), *na* shows both a wider distribution in comparison to SMG and Griko
4 as well as no evidence of participating in a relation of mood concord.

5 Regarding the first property of *na* in Medieval Greek (henceforth MedGr),
6 example (48) shows that *na* in this period is not in complementary distribution
7 with *oti* (and thus the two elements are not occupying the same position):¹⁸

8

9 (48) An thelis oti na to piisis, ...
10 if want-INP.2SG that SUBJ it do-PNP.2SG
11 'If you want to do this' (*Chronicle of Morea*, 466)

12

13 Moreover, *na* can co-occur with the precursor of modal *tha*, namely *the na*, as
14 (49) shows:

15

16 (49) Den en megali mas lolia na the n' aganaktume?
17 NEG is great ours folly SUBJ FUT SUBJ be.distraught-INP.1PL
18 'Wouldn't it be a great folly for us to be distraught [over this]?'
19 (Falieros, *Rima Parigoritiki*, 46)

20

21 Regarding the verb form inside *na*-clauses, in (48) we see the familiar PNP,
22 but not exclusively. In (49) *na* co-occurs with a verb marked as imperfective-
23 non.past. In this connection, (50) is also relevant, where *na* combines with an
24 imperfective-past:

25

26 (50) Pote na min esholazen, an ezi hiljus xronus.
27 never SUBJ NEG finished-IP.3SG if lived-IP.3SG thousand years
28 'He would never finish, even if he lived for a thousand years.'
29 (*Sachlikes*, 436)

30

¹⁸ It seems that, whenever *na* co-occurs with *oti*, it has a future interpretation (unavailable both to SMG and to Griko).

1 appears with some lexical irregular verbs such as ‘come’, or with regular ones
 2 like ‘respond’ (Bertocci & Damonte 2007). These authors also note that the
 3 area where subjunctive morphology is most productive is central Salento,
 4 roughly corresponding to Grecìa Salentina, where Griko is spoken. Ledgeway
 5 (2005) also points out that Salentino varieties are unique among southern
 6 Italo-Romance in preserving subjunctive forms.¹⁹

7

8 (53) Ulia *ca/ cu bbegna qualchedunu. (Salentino)
 9 wanted.1SG that.IND/that.SUBJ come-SUBJ.3SG someone
 10 ‘I wanted someone to come.’

11

12 The fact that Salentino appears to flag subjunctive clauses with both the
 13 specialized complementizer *cu* and on the verb led Damonte (2010), building
 14 on Rivero (1988) and Calabrese (1993), to propose that the language displays

¹⁹ Interestingly, Ledgeway (in press) proposes that the Salentino verbal form appearing under *cu*, the subjunctive complementizer, is *always* marked for subjunctive, irrespective of its subjunctive or indicative endings. Ledgeway observes that *cu* (and its covert counterpart, according to his analysis) triggers *raddoppiamento fonosintattico* ‘phonosyntactic doubling’ in central-southern varieties of Salentino, regardless of whether the verbal form bears subjunctive or indicative morphology. An example of this phenomenon is given in (i), where the initial consonant of the verb is reduplicated as a consequence of the co-occurrence with the subjunctive C⁰ *cu* under the right structural configuration (simple linear adjacency cannot account for it; cf. Ledgeway 2009). Ledgeway takes this doubling/lengthening to be the PF-reflex of ‘irrealis’ mood synchronically. From this perspective the actual marking in e.g. (i) – or (53) for that matter – is the doubled initial consonant, not the verb ending, which can alternate between indicative and subjunctive in some varieties.

(i) Lu Karlu ole cu bbene/ bbegna krai. (Salentino)
 the Karlu want-3SG that come-IND/SUB.3SG tomorrow.
 ‘Karlu wants to come tomorrow.’ (Calabrese 1993: 28, 80)

If this is the right analysis of phonosyntactic doubling in these varieties, then the degree to which distinct verbal endings for the subjunctive survive is irrelevant to determining whether the varieties in question encode subjunctive morphologically.

1 a phenomenon of mood concord, construed as ‘activation’ of different portions
 2 of the clause, CP and IP, for the encoding of mood. In Damonte’s analysis, an
 3 Agree relation is established between Fin⁰ in the CP-domain and the
 4 dedicated head Mood⁰ in the IP-domain. The obvious parallelism with this
 5 situation in Griko has inspired the analysis of Griko subjunctive clauses
 6 presented in section 3.2. For concreteness, we provide Damonte’s proposal
 7 for Salentino in (54), where the ‘activation’ of mood features in the projection
 8 hosting the head is signaled by ‘+mood’, and we repeat our proposed
 9 structure from Griko in (55) (=43) above):²⁰

10

11 (54) [_{ForceP} *ca* [_{TopicP} [_{FocusP} [_{FinP} *cu* [_{TP} ... [_{MoodP} +mood]]]]]]

12

13 (55) [_C *ka* [_{Topic/Focus} [_{CoP} *t_{ka}/na* [_{Neg} *en/min* [_{CM} *t_{na}* [_I *cl+V*...]]]]]]]]

14

15 The crucial similarity between Griko and Salentino from our perspective is
 16 the double marking of subjunctive mood, in the choice of complementizer and
 17 on the verbal morphology, as a result of the Agree relation between the V-T
 18 and the C heads. The question that needs to be addressed is how this
 19 similarity in the two independent grammatical systems can be accounted for.
 20 A plausible hypothesis based on the data available is that while Greek had
 21 lost the morphological distinction between indicative and subjunctive on the
 22 verb in the postclassical period, the distinction reentered the system of Griko
 23 through intensive contact with the relevant Salentino varieties, and it did so by
 24 reusing aspectual morphology: the PNP forms became re-analyzed as
 25 subjunctive marked forms.

26 What turns out to be highly relevant for the contact hypothesis is that Early

²⁰ Labels on C-heads differ, as Damonte is closer to Rizzi (1997) than Roussou (2000) is, whom we have largely followed. Also, on Roussou’s proposal, movement of the C-heads is employed to derive the complementary distribution between them. These analytical differences aside, there are subtle empirical differences between *cu* and *na*, an example of which we can only note here: only *cu* is omissible. See Calabrese (1993), Terzi (1996), and Damonte (2010) for Salentino, and Baldissera (2013a) for Griko.

1 Salentino appears to have a dual complementizer system that systematically
2 correlates with the morphology on the verb:²¹ while *ca* always occurs with
3 indicative forms, *cu* requires subjunctive morphology, as illustrated in (56)
4 from *Il libro di Sidrac salentino* (15th century, Sgrilli) (apud Ledgeway 2005).
5 The observed overt concord between the specialized subjunctive
6 complementizer and the subjunctive morphology on the verb already at this
7 stage of the history of Salentino (or possibly earlier) must have been the
8 trigger for the specialization of aspectual morphology in Griko (the PNP) as a
9 marker of subjunctive verbal morphology, where the C-head *na* and the verb
10 entertain a concord relation. It is in this earlier stages of Salentino and Griko,
11 that the contact-induced reanalysis of the Salentino PNP must have taken
12 place.

13

14 (56) Commandao cu doy fossero uno. (Early Salentino)

15 command-PST.3SG that two be.SUBJ-PST.3PL one

16 'He commanded that two should be one.'

17

18 Next to the mood concord in subjunctive clauses, a further empirical
19 argument for contact between the two varieties comes from the commonalities
20 observed in their (higher) left periphery. As we saw in section 3.1, Griko
21 employs in a variety of syntactic contexts the complementizer *ka*, which itself
22 is a calque from Romance. The fact that this complementizer is used as an
23 all-purpose one is a consequence of the general expansion of the higher
24 complementizer *che* from declarative to all-purpose in Italo-Romance dialects
25 (see Ledgeway 2009). A clear example of this is found in the complex
26 complementizer introducing 'before'-clauses: the complementizer has the
27 form *pita ka na* in Griko (57). This directly parallels the complex element
28 *prima cu* of Salentino, in (58), and the equivalent in Standard Italian *prima*
29 *che*, given in (59).

30

²¹ Here we put aside the complexities of the distribution of *che* vis-à-vis *ca* and *cu*. For details and an analysis that is concordant with the basic fact on subjunctive morphology distribution, see Ledgeway (2005).

- 1 (57) Ta petia e' sozune fai to gelao prita ka
 2 the children NEG may-3PL eat-INF the ice-cream before COMP
 3 na fane.
 4 SUBJ eat-PNP.3PL
 5 'The children are not allowed to eat the ice-cream before they eat.'
- 6 (58) Prima cu se kurka, mand3au.(Salentino)
 7 before COMP.SUBJ REFL go.to.sleep-PRS.3SG eat.PAST.3SG
 8 'Before going to sleep, he ate.' (Calabrese 1993: 48)
- 9 (59) prima che mangino (Standard Italian)
 10 before COMP eat-SUBJ.3PL
 11 'before they eat'

12

13 Although more research is needed in this domain systematically comparing
 14 Griko and Salentino, the evidence discussed in this section strongly supports
 15 the idea that language contact between the two varieties resulted in mutual
 16 borrowing of a grammatical agreement relation. This contact arguably shaped
 17 the morphological expression of subjunctive clauses not only through the
 18 emergence of a specialized complementizer *cu* in Salentino, as is standardly
 19 assumed, but also with the specialization of perfective non-past morphology in
 20 the Griko verb for encoding subjunctive mood on the verb. As Ledgeway &
 21 Lombardi (2014) have convincingly shown, despite the quite generalized loss
 22 of subjunctive morphology across southern Italian dialects and of dual
 23 complementizer systems in the Upper South, subjunctive/irrealis clauses are
 24 systematically marked by the distinct syntactic distribution of complementizer
 25 and verbal heads. The robustness of the mood distinction across Romance
 26 varieties in the region arguably underlies the marking of subjunctive on the
 27 verb in Italo-Greek varieties.²²

²² Grecanico (or Greko), the Italo-Greek variety of Southern Calabria, also only displays the PNP form under *na* (as noted by Katsoyannou 1995). Although further detailed research on the varieties in question needs to be carried out, contact between Grecanico and Calabrian, the Italo-Romance dialect spoken in the corresponding area, can be argued to have led to the specialization of the PNP for

1

2 4.3 PONTIC GREEK OF OF

3 Finally, we return to varieties of Greek and briefly examine *na*-clauses in
4 Pontic of Of (henceforth PGr), which is a Modern Greek dialect of Asia Minor
5 still spoken in present-day Turkey. PGr has most recently been investigated
6 by Sitaridou (2014 (a), (b)); in what follows we base ourselves on Sitaridou's
7 empirical findings.

8 PGr is relevant, because it bears interesting similarities with Griko, without
9 it being possible that they derive from contact with Romance. After all, PGr is
10 spoken in the eastern extreme of the Greek-speaking language zone. In PGr
11 too, there is no 'future' *tha* particle. Moreover the infinitive is retained in limited
12 environments (though its distribution does not coincide with the one attested
13 in Italo-Greek; see Mackridge (1987) and Sitaridou 2014(b) for discussion).
14 finally, *na*-clauses seem at first sight to favour certain aspectual types (though
15 see below for a more accurate description). The question is whether we see
16 mood concord of the sort attested in Griko in PGr. If mood concord exists in
17 PGr, the plausibility of our claim that it arose in Griko through contact with
18 Salentino is weakened: either mood concord, for some reason, arises in
19 contact situations in general, or it possibly arose (in Griko and maybe also in
20 PGr) independently, due to language-internal processes.²³ We will argue that
21 despite surface similarities with Griko, the system of PGr is quite different.
22 Thus, by eliminating in principle plausible alternatives as to how mood
23 concord arose in Griko, we provide independent – albeit admittedly indirect –
24 support to the claim that mood concord arose in Griko as a result precisely of
25 contact with Salentino.

subjunctive marking on the verb here as well. See Damonte (2010) for discussion of
double subjunctive marking in southern Calabrian.

²³ A related third possibility, brought up by an anonymous reviewer, is that mood
concord occurred in both Griko and PGr as a result of systematic change observed in
Greek dialects. We find it highly unlikely that this kind of systematic change could
affect Griko and PGr, given the geographical distance as well as the different contact
situations relating to the two varieties.

1 The distribution of *na*-clauses in PGr is similar to that of SMG and Griko;
 2 they occur as complements to modals, volitionals, mental perception verbs,
 3 and causatives (all data below from Sitaridou 2014 (a)):

4

- 5 (60) a. U poro n' almeyo.
 6 NEG can-1SG SUBJ milk-INP.1SG
 7 'I cannot milk (the cows).'
- 8 b. Esi θelis eyo he na troyo.
 9 you want-2SG I NEG SUBJ eat-INP.1SG
 10 'You don't want me to eat.'
- 11 c. Enespala na leyo ti mami ta xaberæ.
 12 forgot-1SG SUBJ say-INP.1SG the grandmother the news
 13 'I forgot to tell the news to the grandmother.'
- 14 d. Efikane sas na skaftete ta xorafæ-suna.
 15 let-3PL you-ACC SUBJ dig-INP.2PL the fields.his
 16 'They let you dig his fields.'

17

18 Regarding the distribution of verbal forms in *na*-clauses, PGr seems
 19 different from both SMG and Griko: in all *na*-clauses in (60), it is the INP that
 20 occurs. This is so even on an episodic (i.e. non-habitual) interpretation, such
 21 as the one conveyed in (60b), where SMG would employ the PNP. The
 22 question is whether it could be that in PGr INP is reinterpreted as subjunctive
 23 morphology, and *na*+INP is the realization of mood concord.²⁴ We maintain
 24 that this is not the case, and that PGr is in fact closer to SMG than to Griko, in
 25 terms of the realization of the category 'subjunctive'.

26 The most compelling argument that mood concord is not operative in PGr
 27 comes from the existence of data where it is not INP that shows up after *na*,

²⁴ Two anonymous reviewers point out that this kind of indicative-subjunctive syncretism is familiar from other languages, such as e.g. Serbian, or most modern Romance dialects of Southern Italy, where the simple present tense (i.e. our INP) shows up in subjunctive contexts. Given the empirical evidence we have from PGr, which we discuss in the main text, this does not seem to be the correct approach to the encoding of subjunctive mood in the variety in question.

1 but a different verbal form. The example in (61) from Sitaridou (2014a) is one
2 such case. Here it is the imperfective past that occurs inside the *na*-clause.

3

4 (61) Utš eθelna n'emaireva.
5 NEG want-IP.1SG SUBJ cook-IP.1SG
6 'I didn't want to cook.'

7

8 What about other verbal forms? Sitaridou (2014a, b) provides no instances of
9 *na* co-occurring with the perfective past (PP). However, Revithiadou &
10 Spyropoulos (2012:82) include this combination in their discussion of the
11 morphological paradigm of verbs in PGr. As for the PNP, it is, for independent
12 reasons, impossible to test this form in combination with *na*, simply because,
13 for reasons as yet unclear, PGr lacks this form altogether. The reasons
14 underlying this mysterious gap (which plausibly need to be investigated in
15 connection to the diachrony of Greek verbal forms) await further research.

16 Summing up, the lack of the PNP notwithstanding, *na*-clauses in PGr
17 are more similar to their SMG than to their Griko counterparts: all verbal forms
18 available are licit, depending on the targeted interpretation. Since no verbal
19 form may be characterized as subjunctive in PGr, there is no verbal
20 morphology for the subjunctive in the language, and therefore no grounds for
21 invoking mood concord.

22

23 **5 CONCLUSION**

24 In this paper, we saw that subjunctive mood is realized differently in Griko
25 than in SMG. We proposed to capture this difference by characterizing the
26 perfective non-past verbal form (abbreviated as PNP) as verbal subjunctive
27 morphology. The otherwise mysterious restriction against all other verbal
28 forms in Griko *na*-clauses follows from this claim.

29 We further claimed that the re-interpretation of the PNP as subjunctive
30 morphology in Griko came about as a result of contact with Salentino, the
31 local Romance variety which also employs dual marking of subjunctive mood.
32 Consideration of diachronic as well dialectal data (Medieval and Pontic Greek
33 respectively) suggested that alternative explanations of the origin of mood

1 concord in Griko are less likely, since neither one of the two aforementioned
2 varieties display mood concord.

3 Our proposal has repercussions on what we take the directionality of
4 contact to be between Italo-Greek and Italo-Romance. If we are correct, the
5 realization of mood reflects influence from Salentino to Griko. Although
6 traditional wisdom has been that Greek varieties determined the grammatical
7 properties of Romance varieties in Southern Italy, a number of scholars have
8 been recently exploring possible cases of contact in the opposite direction. As
9 independent illustrations of the influence of Romance into Greek, Baldissera
10 (2013a) mentions the formation of passive with auxiliary *erkome* (Italian
11 *venire*) and the distribution of ‘middle’ and passive voice: *ndinnome* ‘I dress
12 (myself)’ vs. *erkome ndimeno* ‘I am dressed’). Word-order inside noun
13 phrases is another empirical domain where we see in Italo-Greek properties
14 that strongly suggest influence from Italo-Romance (Ledgeway (2013:26),
15 example (62a), see also Guardiano & Stavrou (2014):

- 16 (62) a. ena (spitin) grò (*spiti(n)) (Grk)
17 a house damp house
18 b. ena (spiti) igro (spiti) (SMG)
19 a house damp house
20 ‘a damp house’

21 On the basis of the data in Author et al (2013), we also observe influence of
22 Romance in the syntax of non-volitional ‘want’ (see Roussou 2005 for analysis
23 on the basis of Greek, illustrated in (63b)):

- 24 (63) a. E marangiane telune votimmene. (Grk)
25 the aubergines want-3PL turn-PART.FEM.PL
26 b. I melintzanes thelun *jirismenes/jirisma. (SMG)
27 the aubergines want-3PL turn-PART.FEM.PL/turning
28 ‘The aubergines need to be turned.’

29 Differences between SMG, Griko and Salentino, especially concerning the left
30 periphery require closer (empirical) examination (e.g. unlike *na*, *cu* is
31 sometimes omissible; see Calabrese 1993 and Terzi 1996). Future research
32 is required to evaluate the extent to which transparent contact phenomena

1 like the ones briefly reviewed here interact with language-internal changes
2 that are triggered independently or precisely by the appearance of those
3 contact-induced properties.

4

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29

30

31

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