

# Aspect in the service of mood: the morphosyntax of subjunctive in Griko\*

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## 1. Introduction

The topic of this paper is the realization of subjunctive mood in Griko. On the basis of the distribution of verbal forms inside *na*-clauses, we put forward the claim that, unlike Standard Modern Greek, in Griko subjunctive mood is encoded through both the choice of complementizer and the morphology of the verb. The complementizer *na* and the verb inside the embedded clause are thus in a relation of concord. We further propose that concord in terms of mood is a grammatical feature induced in Griko via contact with Salentino. If our analysis is on the right track, then subjunctive mood is another domain where contact between Italo-Greek and Italo-Romance in Southern Italy has had effects in both directions.

## 2. Subjunctive in SMG

It is a well-known feature of Standard Modern Greek (SMG) that it lacks infinitives and employs finite complementation instead (a feature of the *Balkan Sprachbund*, cf. Joseph 1983). The examples in (1-3) illustrated the major complementation strategies in SMG, with *oti*-, *pu*-, and *na*-clauses, corresponding roughly to declarative, factive and subjunctive complements.

- (1) Ksero oti o Janis agapai ti Maria.  
know-1SG that the Janis love-3SG the Maria<sup>1</sup>  
'I know that John loves Maria.'
- (2) Lipame pu i Maria den agapai to Jani.  
regret-1SG that the Maria NEG love-3SG the Jani  
'I regret that Maria doesn't love John.'
- (3) I Eleni bori na agapai to Jani.  
the Eleni may-3SG SUBJ love-3SG the Jani  
'Eleni may love John.'

Focusing on *na*-clauses in particular, they occur as complements to modal, aspectual and volitional verbs, namely under the verbs in (4a-c) (Roussou 2009). Other verbs, e.g. in (4d-i), may optionally take *na*-clauses as complements, with potential subtle semantic effects (see Roussou *op.cit.* for

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<sup>1</sup> We follow common glossing conventions. In verb forms, the gloss of the endings indicates person (1, 2, 3) and number (SG: singular, PL: plural). Other abbreviations are COMP: complementizer, GEN: genitive, IMP: imperfective, INF: infinitive, INP: imperfective non-past, IP: imperfective past, NEG: negation, PERF: perfective, PNP: perfective non-past, PP: perfective past; SUBJ: subjunctive.

discussion). Finally, *na*-clauses occur in SMG as surrogate imperatives, especially in the context of negation (where morphological imperatives are disallowed).

- (4)
- a. **Modals:** *prepi* ‘must’, *bori* ‘may’, ...
  - b. **Aspectuals:** *arxizo* ‘start’, *stamato* ‘stop’, ...
  - c. **Volitionals:** *thelo* ‘want’, *protimo* ‘prefer’, ...
  - d. Perception verbs: *vlepo* ‘see’, *akuo* ‘hear’, ...
  - e. Verbs of mental perception: *thimame* ‘remember’, *ksexno* ‘forget’, ...
  - f. Psych verbs: *xerome* ‘am glad’, *lipame* ‘regret’, ...
  - g. Epistemic predicates: *pistevo* ‘believe’, *nomizo* ‘think’, ...
  - h. Verbs of saying (directive interpretation): *leo* ‘say’, *dhiatazo* ‘order’, ...
  - i. Verbs of knowing/ability: *ksero* ‘know’, *matheno* ‘learn’, ...

The element *na* is thus taken to encode subjunctive mood (Rivero 1994; Philippaki-Warburton 1998; Roussou 2000). Following Agouraki (1991), Tsoulas (1993), and Roussou (2000), *na* is a complementizer (*contra* Veloudis & Philippaki-Warburton 1983; Rivero 1994; Philippaki-Warburton 1998, for whom *na* is an inflectional particle on a par with ‘future’ *tha* and optative *as*). In particular, on Roussou’s (2000) treatment, which builds on Rizzi’s (1997) structure for the left periphery of embedded clauses, *na* occupies a lower C<sub>Modal</sub>-head and raises to a higher C<sub>Op</sub> head, as indicated in the structure in (5). Base-generating *na* in a low modal C position derives the complementary distribution with modal particles such as *tha* and *as*, and having it raise to C<sub>Op</sub> delivers the fact that it does not co-occur with *oti*. The complementizer *pu*, which can co-occur with *na*, merges in a yet higher C position. To this position *oti* optionally moves, which accounts for the fact that topicalized and focused material may follow or precede *oti*, whereas they strictly follow *pu*.

- (5) [C *pu* [Topic/Focus [C<sub>Op</sub> *oti/an/na/as* [Neg *den/min* [C<sub>M</sub> *tha/t<sub>na</sub>/as* [I cl+V... ]]]]]]

As far as morphology is concerned, SMG lacks verbal morphology encoding subjunctive mood. The only mood distinction encoded morphologically in SMG is +/-Imperative (Veloudis & Philippaki-Warburton 1983; Holton et al. 1999; Roussou 2009 and references therein). In this sense, SMG encodes subjunctive mood only syntactically, via the choice of complementizer *na*, whereas, for the purposes of morphology, the verbal form in *na*-clauses is Indicative (or Non-imperative) (Lightfoot 1979; Tsangalidis 2002; Roussou 2009). Indeed, all of the indicative forms available in SMG are possible inside *na*-clauses.

In particular, the combination of tense (past vs non-past) and aspect (perfective vs imperfective) values results in the four indicative forms given in (6) along with their abbreviations (INP, PNP, IP and PP). Of the forms in (6), the PNP form in (6b) is ungrammatical in isolation and requires *na*, *tha*, *as*, or a particular (e.g. temporal) connective. Arguably, the distribution of the PNP follows from its semantics, e.g. its temporal deficiency (see Tsangalidis 1999; Giannakidou 2009; Lekakou & Nilsen 2009).

- (6)
- |    |  |       |    |   |       |
|----|--|-------|----|---|-------|
| a. | graf-o<br>write.IMP.NONPAST-1SG<br>‘I am writing’<br>‘I write (habitually)’        | (INP) | b. | graps-o<br>write.PERF.NONPAST-1SG<br><b>DEPENDENT</b> | (PNP) |
| c. | egrad-a<br>write.IMP.PAST-1SG<br>‘I was writing’<br>‘I used to write (habitually)’ | (IP)  | d. | egraps-a<br>write.PERF.PAST-1SG<br>‘I wrote’          | (PP)  |

Crucially, all of the forms in (6) can occur under *na*, and moreover the verbs retain their distinct (and predictable) temporal-aspectual interpretations when they occur inside *na*-clauses (Rouchota 1994; Tsangalidis 1999; Roussou 1999; Lekakou & Nilsen 2009). As the translations of the data in (6-8) show, imperfective in SMG contributes habitual or progressive interpretations, perfective denotes punctual events, past encodes anteriority with respect to utterance time, and non-past aspect is compatible with future or present interpretations. These interpretative facts obtain in (7) and (8) just as much as they do in (6).

- (7) a. Bori        na        grafi.  
           may-3SG    SUBJ   write.INP-3SG  
           ‘S/he may be writing (now).’  
           ‘S/he may write (habitually)’  
       b. Bori        na        grapsi.  
           may-3SG    SUBJ   write.PNP-3SG  
           ‘S/he may write (in the future).’
- (8) a. Bori        na        egrafe.  
           may-3SG    SUBJ   write.IP-3SG  
           ‘S/he may have been writing (progressively)’  
           ‘S/he may have been writing (habitually)’  
       b. Bori        na        egrapse.  
           may-3SG    SUBJ   write.PP-3SG  
           ‘S/he may have written’

To summarize, we have seen that SMG encodes subjunctive syntactically and not morphologically. We follow Roussou (2000) in taking the subjunctive marker *na* to head a lower CP and raise to a higher head in the left periphery. The finite verb that is selected by *na* bears tense and aspect morphology, both of which make predictably distinct semantic contributions.

### 3. Subjunctive in Griko<sup>2</sup>

#### 3.1 Distribution

The complementation system of Griko shows interesting similarities and differences to that of SMG. Firstly, Griko retains the infinitive in restricted contexts, in particular as a complement to ‘can’ (see Baldissera 2013; Ledgeway 2013 for recent discussion and references). This is illustrated in (9).

- (9)            Sodzo        pai.  
           can-1SG    go-INF  
           ‘I can go’

Finite complementation involves predominantly the complementizer *ka*, which introduces declarative complements (see 10), relative clauses (as in 11), complements to factive verbs (as in 12), and adjunct clauses expressing cause (see 13).

- (10)            Itsere                    ka    simmeri            ixé    na    kami            frisko.  
           knew.IP-3SG            COMP   today            had    SUBJ   make.PNP-3SG    cold  
           ‘He knew that today it would be cold.’

<sup>2</sup> The Griko data in this paper are all contained in the database constructed by Lekakou, Anastasopoulos and Baldissera (2013), available at <http://griko.project.uoi.gr/>.

- (11) Is doka o fiddho mu tis Paola,  
 she.GEN give.PP-1SG the dog my the.GEN Paola,  
 ka m'o kratenni kala.  
 COMP me.GEN-it keep-3SG well  
 'I gave my dog to Paola, who will keep it well.'
- (12) Ime kuntento ka vrexì simmeri.  
 be.1SG happy COMP rain-3SG today  
 'I'm happy that it is raining today.'
- (13) En irte ma ma, ka e talassa e'piatfeì  
 NEG come.PP-3SG with us, COMP the sea not-please-3SG  
 dopu e tsixro.  
 when is cold  
 'He didn't come with us, because he doesn't like the sea when it's cold.'

Finally, Griko also employs *na*-clauses, whose distribution is very similar to SMG. *Na*-clauses occur as complements to modals, aspectuals, volitionals, and (mental) perception verbs, as illustrated in (14):

- (14) a. Engidzi na'rti ses etto.  
 must SUBJ-come-2SG at.the eight  
 'You must come at eight.'
- b. Spitfetsa na gratso.  
 finish.PP-1SG SUBJ write.PNP-1SG  
 'I finished writing'
- c. Telo na pao.  
 want.INP-1SG SUBJ go.PNP-1SG  
 'I want to go.'
- d. On itane na'rti.  
 him see.PP-3PL SUBJ-come.PNP-3SG  
 'They saw him coming'
- e. Allimonisame na'rtume ittu.  
 forget.PP-1PL SUBJ-come.PNP-1PL here  
 'We forgot to come here.'

The major difference that we observe is that the *na*-clauses in (14) feature only one verbal form, namely the perfective non-past (PNP). Indeed, in Griko *na* is systematically only compatible with the PNP (cf. Baldissera 2013 for the same observation, and Katsoyiannou 1995 for a similar observation for Grecanico). This is so, even though Griko has all the forms we saw for SMG in (6), i.e. it also distinguishes between past/non-past and perfective/imperfective in the verbal paradigm. This is shown in the paradigm in (15) (cf. Karanastasis 1997: 83-85). Given that Griko lacks the 'future' particle *tha* of SMG, and expresses futurity via the simple present tense, aka the INP, the latter form is three-way ambiguous.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Griko also expresses futurity periphrastically, with *e'nma* plus PNP. See Baldissera (2013: 115-117) for some discussion.

- (15) a. graf-o (INP)  
write.IMP.NONPAST-1SG  
'I am writing'  
'I write (habitually)'  
'I will write'
- b. grafs-o (PNP)  
write.PERF.NONPAST-1SG
- c. egraf-a (IP)  
write.IMP.PAST-1SG  
'I was writing'  
'I used to write (habitually).'
- d. egrafs-a (PP)  
write.PERF.PAST-1SG  
'I wrote'

The restriction on the verb in *na*-clauses holds even in contexts where SMG shows INP for (semantic) selectional reasons, e.g. under aspectual, ability, or perception verbs. The comparison of Griko (Grk) and SMG in these contexts precisely is given in the data in (16-18).

- (16) a. Spitjetsa na **polemiso**/\*polemo stes etse. (Grk)  
finished-1SG SUBJ work.PNP-1SG/work.INP-1SG at.the six  
'I finished working at six.'
- b. Stamatisa na **\*dulepso/dulevo** stis eksi. (SMG)  
finished-1SG SUBJ work.PNP-1SG/work.INP-1SG at.the six  
'I stopped working at six.'
- (17) a. En etsero na **nateso**/\*nateo kala. (Grk)  
NEG know-1SG SUBJ swim.PNP-1SG/swim.INP-1SG well
- b. Den ksero na **\*kolimbiso/kolimbo** kala. (SMG)  
NEG know-1SG SUBJ swim.PNP-1SG/INP-1SG well  
'I can't swim well.'
- (18) a. On itane na' **rti**/\*erkete. (Grk)  
him see-PP.3PL SUBJ-come-PNP.3SG/come-INP.3SG
- b. Ton idane na **\*rthi/erxete**. (SMG)  
him see-PP.3PL SUBJ-come.PNP-3SG/come.INP-3SG  
'They saw him coming.'

The aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect is neutralized in *na*-clauses in Griko also in contexts that express habituality, as shown in (19-21). As noted in the previous section, habituality systematically requires imperfective aspect in SMG, regardless of whether the verb is embedded under *na* or not.

- (19) a. Mu piatfei na **dziso**/\*dzo ittu. (Grk)  
me.GEN please-3SG SUBJ live.PNP-1SG/live.INP-1SG here
- b. Mu aresi na **\*ziso/zo** edo. (SMG)  
me.GEN please-3SG SUBJ live.PNP-1SG / INP-1SG here  
'I like living here.'

- (20) (Se kunsiljeo) na fai simmeri/panta pleo  
 you.ACC advise-1SG SUBJ eat.PNP-2SG today/always more  
 laxano tje pleon olio krea.  
 vegetable and more less meat  
 ‘I advise you to today/generally eat more vegetables and less meat.’
- (21) Ifonasa mian ghineka na pulidzedzi e skale  
 called.PP-1SG a woman SUBJ clean.PNP-3SG the.ACC stairs  
 avri/kai addoma.  
 tomorrow/every week  
 ‘I hired a woman to clean the stairs tomorrow/every week.’

Crucially, the perfective-imperfective distinction is retained in indicative contexts which express e.g. habituality, as the data in (22) and (23) indicate:

- (22) Motte isamo pedi, \*epirta/ibbionna  
 when was-1SG child, go.PP-1SG/go.IP-1SG  
 na xoretso kai samba.  
 SUBJ dance.PNP-1SG every Saturday  
 ‘When I was a child, I used to go dancing every Saturday.’
- (23) Persi \*pulidzesamo/pulidzeamo to spiti  
 last-year clean.PP-1PL/clean.IP-1PL the house  
 always the Saturday  
 panta to samba.  
 ‘Last year we used to clean the house every Saturday.’

The generalization is thus that *na* only combines with the PNP in Griko. The question is how to make sense of this restriction. What rules out the illicit combinations \**na* + INP, \**na* + PP, and \**na* + IP? If we only state that, as in SMG, *na* in Griko marks subjunctive mood by introducing subjunctive clauses, we fail to derive the distribution of verbal forms inside them.

### 3.2 Analysis

We propose to capture the distribution of verbal forms in subjunctive clauses by characterizing the PNP in Griko as verbal subjunctive morphology.<sup>4</sup> More in particular, we propose that like in SMG, subjunctive mood in Griko is realized via *na*, a low modal complementizer. Unlike SMG, however, Griko also encodes subjunctive mood morphologically, i.e. via the PNP. The complementizer *na* and the PNP entertain a relation of concord in terms of mood. Before spelling out our proposal about mood concord, let us briefly consider the structure of the left periphery of *na*-clauses in Griko.

As noted by Baldissera (2013), Griko *na* is like SMG *na*, in that it precedes negation, see (24), and follows focused material, see (25). On the other hand, *ka* precedes focus, cf. (26):

- (24) Arte ka e’*nna* min ertone pleo.  
 now that is-SUBJ NEG come.PNP-3PL any-more  
 ‘Now that they are not coming any more.’

<sup>4</sup> Our proposal builds on joint work with Valeria Baldissera, namely Lekakou & Baldissera (2013), and Lekakou, Quer & Baldissera (2013).

- (25) Telo E MARIA na'rti avvri, en o Mario.  
 want-1SG the Maria SUBJ-come.3SG tomorrow NEG the Mario  
 'I want MARIA to come tomorrow, not Mario.'
- (26) Pisteo ka O TJIURI-SSA telefanese, en o tjiuri-mma.  
 believe-1SG that the father-yours phoned-3SG NEG the father-ours  
 'I believe it was your father that called, not ours.'

Assuming, as does Roussou (2000), that the position of topicalized and focused material is constant across *oti/ka*- and *na*-clauses, it follows that there exist two distinct positions where these complementizers occur. Topicalized and focused material occupy positions between these two C heads.

Concretely, we propose that *na* in Griko is base-generated in a low modal C-position, just like SMG *na* according to Roussou (2000). *Na* then raises to an intermediate C<sub>Op</sub> position, where *ka* (like SMG *oti*) is otherwise base-generated. *Ka* obligatorily moves from C<sub>Op</sub> to the highest C position (unlike SMG *oti*, which optionally does so, see above). This is reflected in our proposed structure in (27).

- (27) [C *ka* [Topic/Focus [C<sub>Op</sub> *t<sub>ka/na</sub>* [Neg *en/min* [C<sub>M</sub> *t<sub>na</sub>* [I cl+V... ]]]]]]

The proposed structure predicts that *ka* and *na*, like *oti* and *na*, never co-occur. This is correct.<sup>5</sup> In contrast to SMG, where *pu* and *na* can co-occur, in particular in intensional relatives; Griko intensional relatives disallow *ka na* sequences and feature instead the simple present tense embedded under *ka*, as shown in (28).<sup>6</sup>

- (28) a. Pao tferkeonda ena makina ka kunsume  
 go-1SG searching a car COMP consume.IN-3SG  
 oli benzina. (Grk)  
 little petrol  
 'I'm looking for a car that consumes little petrol.'
- b. Psaxno ena spiti pu na exi megalo kipo. (SMG)  
 search-1SG a house that SUBJ has big garden  
 'I am searching for a house that has a big garden.'

On this proposal, no difference exists in terms of the position *na* occupies in the clausal spine in SMG and Griko: in both varieties, *na* is the low complementizer introducing subjunctive clauses. The exclusive relation that Griko *na* entertains with the verbal form inside its clause needs to follow from something else. This, we claim, falls out from the characterization of the PNP as a verbal subjunctive morphology, and the relation of mood concord between complementizer and verb.

Concretely, we propose that subjunctive mood in Griko is encoded not just via *na*, but also on verbal forms, and in particular on PNP forms. The verb bearing PNP, i.e. subjunctive, morphology is in a relation of mood concord with the complementizer. Following Damonte (2010) and references

<sup>5</sup> Baldissera (2013: 121) reports instances such as (i) below. However, our speakers have not confirmed this judgment.

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

The only co-occurrence of *ka* with *na* that we have encountered is in the syntagm *prita ka na* 'before', which we discuss in section 4. Arguably, this involves a complex C head *prita ka*, or an adverb *prita* external to the entire embedded CP.

<sup>6</sup> That intensional relatives as in (28a) 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 functions as a future tense in Griko.

therein, mood concord is essentially agreement in terms of a morphosyntactic feature; in this particular case the feature is subjunctive mood, which we will dub [Subj] for short.<sup>7,8</sup> The syntactic relation Agree, which mediates agreement relations, involves two elements, one of which bears an interpretable feature and the other a matching uninterpretable feature. We follow Zeijlstra (2012, 2014) and Bjorkman and Zeijlstra (2014), as well as references in these works, in assuming that grammars at least allow what Zeijlstra has deemed upward Agree. The definition is given in (29), from Bjorkman and Zeijlstra (2014) citing Zeijlstra (2012):

- (29) *Upward Agree:  $\alpha$  can Agree with  $\beta$  iff:*
- a.  $\alpha$  carries at least one uninterpretable feature and  $\beta$  carries a matching interpretable feature;
  - b.  $\beta$  c-commands  $\alpha$ ;
  - c.  $\beta$  is the closest goal to  $\alpha$

On this conception of Agree, the operation takes place between a probe that carries an uninterpretable feature and a goal that carries a matching interpretable feature, when the goal c-commands the probe and not vice versa. In other words, the element bearing the uninterpretable feature probes upwards (hence the term ‘Upward Agree’).

In the case at hand, *na* bears [iSubj], in both SMG and Griko. What is special about Griko is that there is a verbal form bearing [uSubj]. This form is the PNP. *Na* enters an Agree relation with this form, along the lines of (29). By contrast, no verbal form bears a feature relating to subjunctive mood in SMG. Since no verbal form bears [uSubj], no Agree in terms of mood is established in SMG.<sup>9</sup> Microvariation is thus ultimately due to the feature specification of particular lexical elements. The proposed difference in feature specification is summarized in (30) and (31) below.

- (30) *Partial feature specification (SMG)*  
*na*: [iSubj]  
 PNP: [ ]

- (31) *Partial feature specification (Grk)*  
*na*: [iSubj]  
 PNP forms: [uSubj]

From the feature specification above, it follows that *na* can combine with any verbal form in SMG: since no verbal form bears an [uSubj] feature in SMG, any form can occur under *na*. Moreover, it follows that the PNP in Griko makes necessary the presence of *na*: since the PNP bears [uSubj], it can only legitimately occur in the context of a c-commanding Goal bearing [iSubj], i.e. *na*. Finally, the fact that *na* itself makes necessary the occurrence of the PNP follows from this kind of agreement-based analysis. It is a well-established assumption that morphosyntactic agreement relations are obligatory whenever present. If an uninterpretable feature is instantiated in a particular language, it is used obligatorily in the context of the matching interpretable feature. For instance, in English, it is standardly assumed that verbs bear uninterpretable phi-features, which match interpretable phi-features in the subject DP. By assuming that agreement is obligatory, we correctly

<sup>7</sup> 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. We have been inspired by this proposal, although 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.

<sup>8</sup> Throughout the paper, we have been treating subjunctive mood as a morphosyntactic category, and have abstained from making any claims about the semantics of *na*-clauses. In the system of Zeijlstra (2014), which we adopt, there is no complete overlap between interpretable formal features and semantic features. For reasons of space, we do not discuss this here, but refer directly to Zeijlstra’s work.

<sup>9</sup> See Zeijlstra (2014) for a discussion on how doubling phenomena, such as our case at hand, are a trigger for the language learner to postulate uninterpretable features, which partake in Agree relations.

rule in *John walks*, and rule out *\*John walk*. If this assumption is not made, *\*John walk* is impossible to rule out: if agreement is not assumed to be obligatory, it is possible to not insert the forms bearing uninterpretable features. For our purposes, the obligatoriness of agreement entails that the existence of [uSubj] in Griko enforces the occurrence of the element bearing it in [iSubj] contexts.

To sum up, our proposal about Griko subjunctives contains two main ingredients: (a) the characterization of PNP forms as subjunctive morphology, and (b) the workings of Upward Agree as a means to capture the relation between *na* and the PNP in this language. No morphosyntactic agreement exists in SMG, because no verbal form is endowed with a subjunctive formal feature. This derives the free distribution of verbs inside *na*-clauses in SMG, and the exclusive relation between *na* and the PNP in Griko.

## 4. On the origins of mood concord

In this section, we briefly investigate the question of how mood concord arose in Griko. Our proposal is that a crucial role was played by contact with Salentino, the Romance variety spoken in the area where Griko is also spoken. As we will see presently, Salentino, too, exhibits mood concord. This is not surprising, given that, as Ledgeway (2013) highlights, Greek and Romance have been spoken alongside each other for centuries in this geographical area, in a complex linguistic situation of diglossia and enduring bilingualism. A number of phenomena of the Italo-Romance varieties of Southern Italy have been argued to derive from contact with Italo-Greek. Recent research, however, has pointed out that the directionality of contact-induced language change has arguably not been uni-directional. This is schematized in Figure 1, from Ledgeway (2013). We would like to contribute to this strand of research by submitting the hypothesis that the realization of mood also reflects this kind of bi-directional influence.

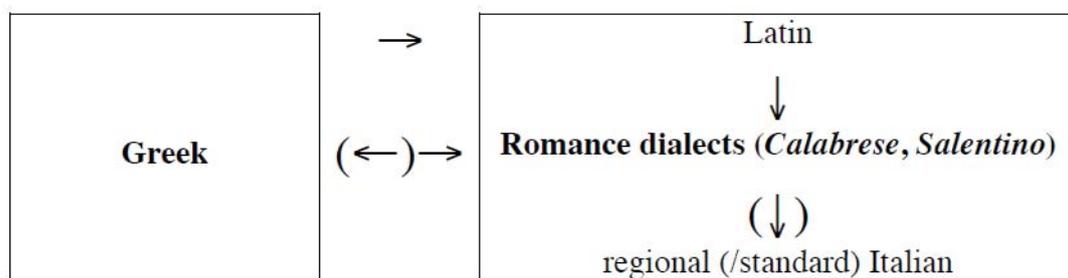


Figure 1: Directionality of change: Ledgeway (2013)

### 4.1 Mood concord in Salentino

Southern Italo-Romance varieties are known to display dual complementizer systems, reflecting mood choice -this in fact has been one of the features considered to be ‘borrowed’ from Italo-Greek (Rohlf 1969). In particular in Salentino, as the following data from Calabrese (1993) illustrate, subjunctive clauses are introduced by *cu*, and declarative clauses by *ca*.

- (32) Lu Karlu ole cu bbene krai.  
 the Karlu want-3SG that.SUBJ come-3SG tomorrow.  
 ‘Karlu wants to come tomorrow.’

- (33) Kriʃu ca addzu raddzone.  
 believe-1SG that.IND have-1SG reason  
 ‘I believe to be right.’



Although the evidence is not conclusive, it is certainly suggestive of the possibility that contact with Romance has played a significant role in determining the morphosyntax of subjunctive clauses in Griko in the way described in section 3.2. The evidence discussed in the next section provides additional support in favour of this idea.

## 4.2 Diachronic considerations

In this section, we consider diachronic evidence to strengthen our proposal that mood concord in Griko is due to contact with Salentino. As we will see, no mood concord is attested in Medieval Greek. This adds plausibility to the idea that mood concord is a Romance feature in Griko.

First of all, let us briefly consider the diachrony of mood in Greek. As is well known, Ancient Greek encoded mood morphologically, distinguishing in particular indicative, subjunctive, optative and imperative, on the basis of verbal morphology. In the period of Hellenistic and Roman Koine (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC to 4<sup>th</sup> century AD), the morphological distinction between Indicative and Subjunctive gets lost. In that period, a specialized functional projection above Infl emerges, to host the subjunctive marker *na* (formerly *hina*, a complementizer introducing purpose clauses) (Philippaki-Warbuton & Spyropoulos 2004; see also Roberts & Roussou 2003). The proposed re-emergence of the indicative-subjunctive distinction in Griko verbs takes place well after this loss, and is consistent with the currently accepted view (Manolessou 2005; Ledgeway 2013), namely that Griko dates back to early Byzantine times.

The question is thus whether the language of early Byzantine times attests mood concord. The answer is negative. On the basis of the data that Markopoulos (2005) discusses, Medieval Greek (henceforth MedGr) shows both a wider distribution of *na* itself, and no evidence of mood concord.

Regarding the distribution of *na* in MedGr, we note that *na* is not in complementary distribution with *oti* in this period, nor with *tha* and its precursors:

(39) An thelis            oti    na    to    piisis  
if want.INP-2SG that SUBJ it do.PNP-2SG  
'If you want to do this'

(40) Den en    megali mas    lolia    na    the    n'    aganaktume?  
NEG is    great ours    folly SUBJ FUT SUBJ be.distraught.INP-1PL  
'Wouldn't it be a great folly for us to be distraught [over this]?'

Moreover, no mood concord is attested in this stage. Mood concord would occur if we were to find *na* in MedGr co-occurring only with a single verbal form, and in particular the PNP. However, in addition to the PNP, occurring in (39), we also find the INP, as in (40), as well as the IP, as in (41):

(41) Pote            na    min    esholazen,    an    ezi            hiljus    xronus.  
never            SUBJ NEG finish.IP-3SG if live.IP-3SG thousand years  
'He would never finish, even if he lived for a thousand years.'

Given the data above, and especially the fact that there seem to be no distributional restrictions on the verb appearing inside *na*-clauses in MedGr, it is unlikely that mood concord in Griko reflects an earlier stage of Greek. In Lekakou and Quer (to appear) we also rule out the possibility that mood concord arose in Griko out of language internal processes, by considering other dialectal varieties of Greek, and in particular Pontic of Of, which shows interesting similarities (and differences) with Griko. We refer to this work for a fuller exposition of the hypothesis that mood concord in Griko reflects contact with Romance.

## 5. Concluding remarks

In this paper, we have argued that Griko encodes subjunctive mood on verbal morphology as well as on the choice of complementizer. We have proposed that the particular verbal form that is exclusively allowed in *na*-clauses has been reanalyzed as subjunctive morphology. If this is on the right track, then neutralization of aspectual oppositions, too, like neutralization of temporal oppositions (Picallo 1985), may interact in important ways with ‘being subjunctive’. We have proposed to view the double marking of mood as a reflex of a syntactic agreement relation, one that is present in Griko, but absent in SMG, where the distribution of verbal forms inside *na*-clauses shows no restrictions. Finally, in line with recent proposals about the directionality of contact-induced change between Italo-Greek and Italo-Romance (Baldissera 2013; Ledgeway 2013; Guardiano & Stavrou 2014), we have suggested that mood concord arose in Griko as a result of contact with Salentino.

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