Neutralized aspect as subjunctive marking

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In this talk we compare the realization of the category 'subjunctive' in Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and in Griko (Grk), an indigenous Greek variety spoken in Southern Italy since (at least) the late Middle Ages (Fanciullo 2001; Manolessou 2005; Ledgeway in press). In SMG, subjunctive is taken to only be realized syntactically (Rivero 1994; Philippaki-Warburton 1998; Roussou 2000), namely via the choice of complementizer. Based on the distribution of verbal forms in subjunctive clauses, we propose that in Grk subjunctive mood is encoded on the specialized complementizer and, in addition, on verbal morphology. Thus, the morphosyntax of mood involves a relation of mood concord in Grk, but not in SMG. We attribute the emergence of mood concord in Grk to change induced by contact with Romance (cf. Baldissera 2013, Ledgeway in press).

In the course of its diachronic development, Greek lost the rich inflectional encoding of mood distinctions, except for the distinction between indicative and imperative (Roberts & Roussou 2003; Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos 2004). The distinction between indicative and subjunctive is encoded syntactically in SMG, namely in the distinction between subjunctive *na* and declarative *oti*, and the concomitant choice of negative marker (subjunctive *min* vs. declarative *dhen*). We follow Roussou (2000) in treating *na* as a low C head (cf. Rizzi's 1997 Fin^{o}) and *oti* as occupying a higher C position.

Na-clauses in SMG are selected by modal, volitional, aspectual and perception verbs, and also occur as surrogate imperatives (see Roussou 2009). The distribution of verbal forms inside *na*-clauses in SMG is free, modulo interpretation. All finite verbs inflect for tense (past/non-past) and aspect (perfective/imperfective); perfective is used for punctual events, and imperfective for ongoing or habitual events. The paradigm in (1) shows the various possibilities, keeping the epistemic interpretation of the matrix modal constant. Following Giannakidou (2009) and Lekakou & Nilsen (2009), the distribution of the form in (1b), aka the PNP, derives from its temporal-aspectual semantics.

Griko is similar to SMG, in that it relies on *na*-clauses as complements to modals, aspectuals, volitionals and perception verbs, as shown in (2) and (3). Moveover, Grk finite verbs also distinguish between past/non-past and perfective/imperfective. Unlike what happens in SMG, however, in Grk the distribution of verbal forms in subjunctive clauses is limited: only perfective non-past combinations (PNP) are possible. This is the case even in contexts which require imperfective aspect on semantic grounds, for instance (5) and (6), which express habituality in (embedded) surrogate imperatives and intensional relatives respectively. As (7) shows, outside of *na*-clauses, the distribution of (im)perfective forms is as expected. Subjunctive is thus the context in which the otherwise ubiquitous opposition between perfective-imperfective is neutralized.

To derive the distribution of verbal forms under *na* in Grk, it does not suffice to deem *na* the subjunctive complementizer: this would not explain why *na* is incompatible with e.g. the imperfective non-past, i.e. the simple present tense, as in (3). We propose that PNP forms instantiate verbal subjunctive morphology. Concretely, the PNP and *na* both bear a formal feature [subjunctive], and are in a syntactic agreement relation (cf. the mood concord proposed by Damonte 2010 for Salentino subjunctives). A partial specification is given in (8a). Following Zeijlstra (2012) and references therein, we take the directionality of Agree to be upward. SMG differs in that *na* in Fin^{o} is the single carrier of the formal feature, as in (8b); no agreement relation between *na* and the verb is established. Our analysis entails that

neutralization of aspectual oppositions, much like neutralization of temporal oppositions (e.g. Picallo 1985) interacts in important ways with 'being subjunctive'.

(1) a. Bori na grafi.
may SUBJ write-IMPERF.NONPAST.3SG
'She may be writing/write (habitually).'

b. Bori na grapsi. *SMG*
may SUBJ write-PERF.NONPAST.3SG
'She may write (punctually).'

c. Bori na egrafe.
may SUBJ write-IMPERF.PAST.3SG
'She may have been writing (habitually).'

d. Bori na egrapse.
may SUBJ write-PERF.PAST.3SG
'She may have written.'

(2) a. Engidzi na'rti ses etto. *Grk*
must SUBJ come- PNP.2SG. at.the eight
'You must come at eight.'

b. Telo na pao.
want.1SG SUBJ go-PNP.1SG
'I want to go.'

c. On itane na'rti.
him saw.3PL SUBJ come-PNP.3SG
'They saw him coming.'

(3) Spiccetsa na polem-iso/*polem-o stes etse. *Grk*
finished-1SG SUBJ work-PNP.1SG/work-INP.1SG at six
'I finished working at six.'

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

(5) (Se kunsiljeo) na fai /*tros panta pleo laxano. *Grk*
you.ACC advise.1SG SUBJ eat-PNP.2SG/eat- INP. 2SG always more vegetable
'I advise you to generally eat more vegetables and less meat.'

(6) Telo mian ghineka na pulidzedzi e skale kai addoma. *Grk*
want-1SG a woman SUBJ clean-PNP.3SG the stairs every week
'I want (am looking for) a woman to clean the stairs every week.'

(7) Persi *pulidzesamo/ pulidzeamo to spiti panta to samba. *Grk*
last year clean-PP.1PL/ clean-IP.1PL the house always the Saturday
'Last year we used to clean the house every Saturday.'

(8) a. *na*: [iSujb], PNP: [uSubj] *Grk* b. na: [iSubj] *SMG*

(INP=imperfective non-past, PNP=perfective non-past, IP=imperfective past, PP=perfective past).

Selected References

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