# GREEK DISGUISED AS ROMANCE?
## THE CASE OF SOUTHERN ITALY*

ADAM LEDGEWAY
*University of Cambridge*

One of the best-known cases of language contact within Romance concerns the influence of Greek on the Romance dialects of southern Italy. Here I reconsider the traditional claim that these dialects are essentially Greek disguised as Romance. In particular, I shall draw on recent theories about parameter hierarchies and parametric change in terms of four discrete classes of parameter, namely macro-, meso-, micro- and nanoparameters, to show how such an approach is able to both model and formalize the degree of morphosyntactic convergence and divergence exhibited between Italo-Greek and southern Italo-Romance. While recognizing the essential correctness of Rohlfs' original slogan *spirito greco, materia romanza*, this novel approach to an old question will afford us a more nuanced and refined interpretation of the precise nature and extent of Greek-Romance structural contact in this area of southern Italy.

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The following abbreviations are used: ACC = accusative; AG = Ancient Greek; Appl = applicative head; Arl. = Ariellese; Aspect.s = aspectual predicates; BR = province of Brindisi; Brc. Cat. = Barcelona Catalan; Cal. = Calabrese; CG = Classical Greek; CZ = province of Catanzaro; DAT = dative; Dodec. = Dodecanese; Eng. = English: F = feminine or finite complement; Fr. = French; FUT = future; gc = Greko; GEN = genitive; gk = Griko; Gk = Greek; IMP = imperative; IO = indirect object; I = infinitival complement; It. = Italian; Lat. = Latin; LE = province of Lecce; M = masculine; MDL = middle voice; N = neuter; NOM = nominative; nth. = northern; Occ. = Occitan; PASS = passive; PL = plural; PRES = present; RC = province of Reggio Calabria; Sal. = Salentino; SG = singular; SMG = standard modern Greek; Sp. = Spanish; Srd. = Sardinian; st. = standard; sth. = southern; SVCs = serial verb constructions; TMAs = Tense, Mood and Aspect markers; Tsak. = Tsakonian; $v_{PtP}$ = participial $v$; VV = province of Vibo Valentia.

anl21@cam.ac.uk

# 1 Greek in Southern Italy: Italo-Greek

As is well known, Greek has been spoken as an indigenous language in southern Italy since ancient times (Falcone, 1973: 12-38; Horrocks, 1997: 304-306; Manolessou, 2005: 112-121; Ralli, 2006: 133). According to one, albeit now unpopular, view championed most notably by Rohlfs (1924; 1933; 1974; 1977), the Greek spoken in southern Italy, henceforth Italo-Greek, is to be considered a direct descendant of the ancient (mainly Doric) Greek varieties which were imported into *Magna Graecia* as early as the eighth century BC with the establishment of numerous Greek colonies along the coasts of southern Italy.[1] The opposing – and now widely accepted – view, argued most vehemently by Battisti (1924; cf. also Morosi, 1870; Parlangèli, 1953), sees the Greek of southern Italy as a more recent import dating from the Byzantine period of domination between the sixth and eleventh centuries (though see Fanciullo, 2007, for a conciliatory approach to these apparently two opposing views). Whatever the correct view, it is in any case clear that by the beginning of the second millennium AD Greek was still widely spoken as a native language in north-western Sicily, Calabria and Apulia. Indeed, as late as the fourteenth century Petrarch is reported to have advised those wishing to study Greek to go to Calabria.

Today, by contrast, Italo-Greek survives precariously only in a handful of villages of southern Calabria and Salento in the respective areas of Bovesía and Grecía Salentina. In Bovesía, where the local variety of Greek is known as *greko* (though usually known as *grecanico* in Italian; henceforth abbreviated as *gc*), the language is today confined to five remote villages of the Aspromonte mountains (namely, Bova (Marina), Chorío di Rochudi, Condofuri (Marina), Gallicianò and Roghudi (Nuovo)),[2] where it is reputed, according to some of the most generous estimates (Spano, 1965; Martino, 1980: 308-313; Stamuli, 2007: 16-19; Remberger, 2011: 126-127), to be spoken by around 500 speakers (cf. however Katsoyannou, 1992: 27-31; 2001: 8-9). In Grecía Salentina, on the other hand, the language, locally known as *griko* (henceforth abbreviated as *gk*),[3] appears to have fared somewhat better, in that it continues to be spoken in a pocket of seven villages of the Otranto peninsula (Calimera, Castrignano dei Greci, Corigliano d'Otranto, Martano, Martignano, Sternatia, Zollino) by as many as 20,000 speakers according to the most optimistic estimates (Comi, 1989; Sobrero and Miglietta, 2005; Manolessou, 2005: 105; Marra, 2008: 52-53; Romano, 2008).

Now, although Greek was extensively spoken in southern Italy for centuries, following the gradual expansion first of Latin and then what were to become the local Romance varieties in this same area, Greek and Romance came to be used alongside of each other in a complex situation of diglossia with expanding bilingualism. As a consequence, the Romance dialects of these two areas, namely *Calabrese* and *Salentino*, display huge structural influences from Italo-Greek, since they first emerged among speakers whose mother tongue was Greek (the 'substrate') and continued to develop and expand to the present day in the shadow of the surrounding, albeit shrinking, Italo-Greek dialects (the 'adstrate'). To a lesser extent, these latter

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[1] Cf. 'These Greeks must be considered the last direct descendants of the Greek population of Magna Graecia' (Rohlfs, 1997b: 233).

[2] To these villages one can also add the small diaspora of speakers now dispersed across Melito di Porto Salvo and across the city of Reggio Calabria (e.g. in the district of San Giorgio Extra) following the forced evacuations of their villages following natural disasters such as landslides and earthquakes. In what follows, all unreferenced *Greko* examples are taken from Rossi Taibbi and Caracausi (1959).

[3] In what follows all unreferenced *Griko* example are taken from Morosi (1870).

varieties also show some structural influences from the local Romance dialects (cf. for example note 23 below); in more recent times, regional (/standard) Italian has also been thrown into the mix, at least among younger members of the speech community, although its influence on Italo-Greek is negligible if not inexistent given the age of most Italo-Greek speakers. Greek and Romance contact in diachrony and synchrony can be summarized as in Figure 1 (cf. also Martino, 1980: 338; Profili, 1985; Marra, 2008; Romano, 2008).
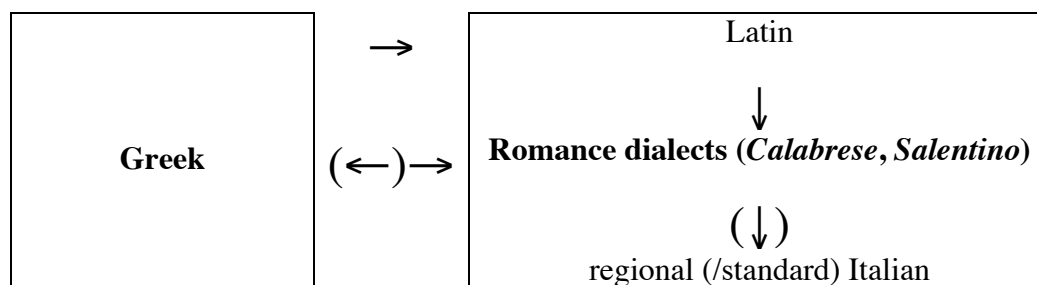


Figure 1. Greek – Romance contact in diachrony and synchrony

Consequently, the influence of Greek on the Romance dialects of southern Italy is generally considered to offer us one of the most spectacular, and least controversial, cases of language contact within Romance. One has only to think of the many articles and monographs written by Rohlfs on this topic (cf. Rohlfs, 1924; 1933; 1964; 1967; 1997a, b, c, d, e, f; 1974) that variously highlight the supposed influence of Italo-Greek on the lexical, morphological and syntactic structures of these Romance dialects.[4] Among the numerous lexical examples in common use throughout large parts of the South,[5] it will suffice here to recall such widespread Hellenisms as χίμαρος > *zímmaru* 'billy-goat', νάχη > *naca* 'cot', ἀπαλός > *ápilu* 'soft, without shell', γάστρα > *(g/c)rasta* 'vase, pot', λάγανον > *làgana* 'long thin pasta strip'.

In the area of morphology, some of the most striking examples include the widespread absence of the adverbial manner suffix -*mente* '-ly', whose functions are typically covered by the simple bare adjective (1a-b),[6] the generalized use of the *passato remoto* 'aorist' in large parts of the Extreme South as the sole perfective tense (2a-b),[7] and the use of the so-called *dativo greco* 'Greek-style dative' in large parts of southern Calabria where, on a par with the merger of dative and genitive cases during the Middle Greek period (Joseph, 1990: 160), the genitive preposition *di* 'of' has extended its functions, at least under specific conditions, to include the marking of dative arguments (3a-b).[8]

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[4] Greek influence on the phonology of these dialects, in contrast, is less conspicuous. However, one oft-cited case of possible Greek phonological interference concerns the pentavocalic stressed vowel system of the dialects of the Extreme South (cf. Rohlfs, 1977: 1-2).

[5] Cf., among others, Pellegrini (1880), Rohlfs (1924; 1933; 1964; 1967; [1972] 1997a, b, c; 1974), Mancarella (1988: 234-243), Stamuli (2007).

[6] Cf. Morosi (1870: 155), Rohlfs (1969: 243-245; 1977: 135-136), Katsoyannou (1992: 393-394), Meliadò (1994: 52, 113-114), Ledgeway, (2000: 274-276; 2003: 117-119; 2012: 310-311), Violi (2004: 87).

[7] Cf. Morosi (1870: 142), Cassoni ([1937] 1990: 125), Rohlfs (1966: 312; 1969: 46; 1977: 196; 1997d: 315-316), Cotardo ([1975] 2010: 123), Harris (1982: 50-51), Meliadò (1994: 47-48), Alfonzetti (1998), Trumper and Lombardi (1998: 822), Katsoyannou (1992: 316-317; 2001: 44), Italia Gemma and Lambroyorgo (2001: 108, 164), Ralli (2006: 134-145), Remberger (2011: 131-132).

[8] Cf. Rohlfs (1969: §639), Trumper (2003: 232-233), Vincent (1997a: 209), Katsoyannou  (1992: 243, 427-429; 2001: 54-55), Ralli (2006: 140-141).

(1) a. *nu te l' eri llavati fìlu* **boni** (Scorrano, LE)
    not you= it=you.were washed not good.MPL
    'in any case you hadn't washed them well'
  b. *o asciàdi mu pai* **calò** (gk)
    the hat.NSG me= goes good.NSG
    'the hat suits me'

(2) a. *tutti 'ssi cosi ormai* **diventàru** *normali* (Catanzaro)
    all these things now became normal
    'all these things have now become normal'
  b. *Δen* **efáni** *o yóssu?* (Roccaforte (gc))
    not appeared the son=your
    'Has your son not turned up?'

(3) a. *Nci dissi* **di** *lu figghiòlu 'u si ndi vaci* (Bovese, RC)
    to.him= I.said of the boy that self= therefrom goes
    'I told the boy to go'
  b. *ordínettse* **tu** *Ǵoséppi ná 'ne meθéto* (Bova (gc))
    he.ordered of.the Giuseppe that he.be with.them
    'he ordered Giuseppe to stay with them'

Also in the area of syntax the dialects of southern Italy display numerous structural calques with the surrounding Italo-Greek dialects. Without doubt the most notable and most widely-studied of these relates to sentential complementation where, following the Greek pattern, finite clauses are generally employed at the expense of the infinitive. Naturally, this finite pattern of subordination brings with it the use of a dual complementizer system which broadly distinguishes between irrealis clauses headed by *mu/ma/mi* (Calabria) or *cu* (Salento) on the one hand and realis clauses introduced by *ca* on the other:[9]

(4) a. *Àiu* **mu** *vàiu* **mu** *vìju duv' àiu* **mu** *vàiu òja* (Sant'Andrea, CZ)
    I.have that I.go that I.see where I.have that I.go today
    'I have to go and see where I have to go today'
  a'. *tus ambitéspai ya* **na** *páusi sto bastiménto* **na** *divertéftusi,*
    them= they.invited for that they.go to.the ship that they.enjoy.MDL
    **na** *kámusi mian galì šaláta* (Roccaforte (gc))
    that they.do a good party

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[9] Cf. Morosi (1870: 136-138, 156), Cassoni ([1937] 1990: 85-86, 105-106, 122-123), Sorrento (1950: 355ff.), Parlangèli (1953: 114), Falcone (1973: 290-291), Rohlfs (1969: 190; 1977: 204-205; 1997e, f), Joseph (1983: 72-74, 250, 286 n. 3), Trumper and Rizzi (1985), Mancarella (1988: 185f.), Stehl (1988: 710), Katsoyannou (1992: 327-328, 333-334, 370-372; 2001: 44-47, 49), Calabrese (1993), Lombardi (1997; 1998), Vincent (1997b: 176), Ledgeway (1998; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2013; in press a), Nicholas (1998: 308-314), Italia Gemma and Lambroyorgo (2001: 119, 167), Damonte (2002; 2005; 2006a, b; 2010), Roberts and Roussou (2003: 88-97), Violi (2004: 72-73), Manzini and Savoia (2005, I: 455-501, 650-76), Sitaridou (2007), Frassanito (2010), Vecchio (2010), Remberger (2011: 136-143). Note that we use the term 'complementizer' in the text in a purely descriptive sense, fully aware, as many of the references above have demonstrated, that the so-called irrealis complementizer in some varieties (e.g. *Calabrese*) is best considered a T-element (e.g. subjunctive particle) rather than a C_Fin-element (e.g. subordinating complementizer).

'they invited them to come aboard to enjoy themselves and to make merry with them'

b. *ti    cuntanu **ca** su'         stanchi morti* (Catanzaro)
you= they.tell   that   they.are   tired      dead
'they tell you that they're dead tired'

b'. *léyete          **ti** o   δyávolo éfiye ánda       peδía* (Rochudi (gc))
say.PASS.3SG that the devil      left   from.the   children
'it is said that the devil fled from the children'

Also indicative of Greek contact is the widespread use of: (i) paratactic structures (5a-b);[10] the imperfect indicative in the protasis and apodosis of unreal hypothetical clauses (6a-b);[11] and (iii) the definite article in conjunction with first names, both male and female, in *Salentino* dialects (7a-b), though not in *Calabrese* despite the use of the article in this context in *Greko*.[12]

(5)   a. *Crammatina          lu **sçia' ccattamu*** (Lecce)
tomorrow.morning   it=   we.go   we.buy
'we'll go and buy it tomorrow'

b. ***pame    ce    drome*** (Soleto (gk))
we.go    and   we.eat
'we're going to eat'

(6)   a. ***iva**    si non   **chivía*** (Melito di Porto Salvo, RC)
I.went   if   not   it.rained
'I would go if it were not raining'

b. *An **išera**   pu   m'   épie   tim búḍḍa, san  gáδaro ton  **éδenna** áše*
if   I.knew who me= took   the hen       like   ass       him= I.tied    to
*staḍḍa* (Condofuri (gc))
stable
'If I knew who stole my hen, I would tie them to the stable like an ass'

(7)   a. *Quistu dev'   essere   **lu**  Pascali* (Scorrano, LE)
this       must   to.be     the   Pasquale
'This must be Pasquale'

b. *efònase   to   pedì to   mea ce  puru **ton** Antonài* (Martano (gk))
he.called   the son   the big   and also   the Antonuccio
'he called to him his eldest son as well as Antonuccio'

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[10] Cf. Morosi (1870: 156), Ascoli (1886), Cassoni ([1937] 1990: 120-121, 124), Rohlfs (1969: 133-134, 171; 1977: 201-203), Leone (1973), Sornicola (1976), Sorrento (1977), Stehl (1988: 711), Katsoyannou (1992: 362, 375-376; 2001: 50-51), Meliadò (1994: 49, 64, 188-189), Ledgeway (1997; 2008), Lombardi (1997), Cardinaletti and Giusti (2003), Manzini and Savoia (2005: 688-701).
[11] Cf. Morosi (1870: 157), Parlangèli (1953: 105-106), Rohlfs (1977: 195-196; 1997d: 306-315), Mancarella (1988: 187-188), Katsoyannou (1992: 313; 2001: 43-44), Meliadò (1994: 46-47), Italia Gemma and Lambroyorgo (2001: 122-123), Violi (2004: 99-100).
[12] Cf. Cassoni ([1937] 1990: 109), Rohlfs (1977: 181), Katsoyannou (1992: 182; 2001: 25), Italia Gemma and Lambroyorgo (2001: 31), Violi (2004: 25).

In light of structural parallels such as those briefly reviewed in (1)-(7), it has become commonplace in the literature to claim that once extensive Greek-Romance bilingualism throughout the Extreme South of Italy has given rise to an exceptional Hellenization of the local Romance dialects or, as Rohlfs aptly put it, a case of *spirito greco, materia romanza* ('Greek soul, Romance (lexical) material'). While accepting Rohlfs' general thesis that the Romance dialects of this area superficially appear to be nothing more than Greek disguised as Romance (or to put it another way, Greek in Romance clothing), such broad-brush generalizations obscure many subtle differences between Italo-Greek and the local Romance varieties which have hitherto gone unnoticed. In what follows we shall therefore reconsider a number of case studies of apparent Greek-Romance contact to highlight a number of such differences with the aim of exploring how such contact phenomena may be modelled in terms of parameter hierarchies. In particular, we shall examine to what extent it is possible to reinterpret morphosyntactic convergence and divergence in this area of southern Italy in terms of a scalar parameter theory.

# 2 Parameter hierarchies

Since the conception in early Government and Binding Theory of Universal Grammar in terms of a small set of abstract parametrized options, much work over recent decades has radically departed from this view with a focus on predominantly surface-oriented variation (cf. Borer, 1984). This has led to the proliferation of a remarkable number of local, low-level parameters interpreted as the (PF-)lexicalization of specific formal feature values of individual functional heads (including φ, Case, movement-triggers (EPP, Edge)) in accordance with the so-called Borer-Chomsky Conjecture (Baker, 2008b: 353). While this approach may prove descriptively adequate in that it predicts what precisely may vary (cf. Kayne, 2000; 2005a,b; Manzini and Savoia, 2005), it suffers considerably from explanatory inadequacy. Among other things, it necessarily assumes such microparameters to be highly local and independent of one another. This assumption seriously increments the acquisitional task of the child who has to set each value in isolation of the next on the basis of the primary linguistic data alone, and at the same time exponentially multiplies the number of parametric systems and, in turn, the number of possible grammars predicted by UG (cf. Kayne, 2005b: 11-15; Roberts, to appear). By way of illustration, consider the following patterns of past participle agreement observed across Romance (cf. Smith, 1999; Loporcaro, 1998; D'Alessandro and Roberts, 2010; Ledgeway, 2012: 317-318):

(8)  a. *La        manzana, <u>la</u>    había* [$_{vP}$ [$_{Spec}$ ~~la~~]    *comid<u>o</u>*] ~~la~~ (Sp.)
          the.FSG  apple.FSG it.F=  I.had                          eaten.MSG
          'I had eaten the apple'
     b  <u>pro</u>$_i$   *seme* [$_{AgrOP}$ [$_{Spec}$ ~~pro$_i$~~] *magn<u>i</u>te*]    *lu*          *biscotte*    / pro$_i$ *so*   [$_{vP}$ [$_{Spec}$ __]
          pro    are.1PL                              eaten.MPL  the.MSG biscuit.MSG/ pro  am
          *magn<u>i</u>te*]   <u>li          biscutte</u> (Arl.)
          eaten.MPL   the.MPL  biscuits.MPL
          'We have eaten the biscuit / I have eaten the biscuits'
     c  *avètz*       [$_{vP}$   [$_{Spec}$ __] *pres<u>as</u>*]    *de   <u>fotòs</u>?* (Occ.)
          you.have                        taken.FPL  of   photos.FPL
          'Did you take any photos?'
     d  <u>*La        clé*</u>       *que j'ai*  [$_{vP}$ [$_{Spec}$ ~~la clé~~]    *pris<u>e</u>*]       ~~la clé~~ (Fr.)

       the.FSG   key.FSG  that I.have               taken.FSG
       'the key which I took'

e  *Li*/*Ci*       *hanno*   [$_{vP}$ [$_{Spec}$ ~~*li/ci*~~]   *visti*]    ~~*li/ci*~~  *ieri* (It.)
    them.M/us=they.have                     seen.MPL         yesterday
    'They saw us yesterday'

f  *Los*/*Nos*    *as*       [$_{vP}$ [$_{Spec}$ ~~*los/nos*~~]   *vistos*/*vistu*]   ~~*los/nos*~~ (Lula, Srd.)
    them.M/us=you.have                     seen.MPL/MSG
    'You have seen them/us'

g  *Els*/*Les*   *he*      [$_{vP}$ [$_{Spec}$ ~~*els/les*~~]   *llegit*/*llegides*]  ~~*els/les*~~ (Brc. Cat.)
    them.M/F  I.have                    read.MSG/FPL
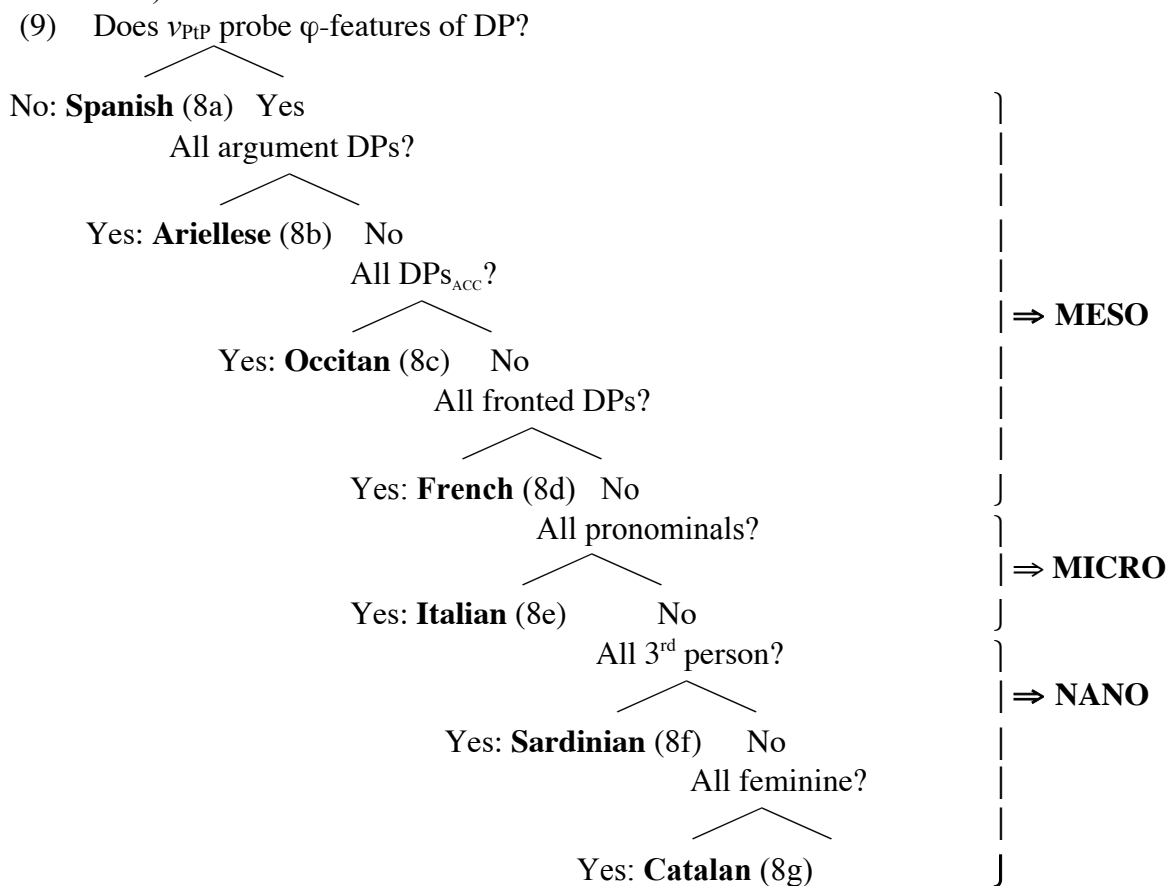    'I've read them'

Assuming participle agreement to be the surface reflex of an underlying Agree relation for φ-features between, say, the functional head $v_{PtP}$ and a given nominal, we are forced to recognize at least seven different microparametric specifications for $v_{PtP}$. The simplest and least constrained system is exemplified by Ibero-Romance varieties such as Spanish (8a), where $v_{PtP}$ quite simply never displays any agreement, failing to enter into an Agree relation with any DP. Its mirror image is the pattern of participial agreement found in the eastern Abruzzese dialect of Arielli (8b), where the participle, and hence $v_{PtP}$, simply agrees with any plural DP, be it the internal or external argument. Slightly more constrained, though still liberal by general Romance standards, is the pattern found in Occitan varieties (8c) where the participle agrees with all types of DP object, a pattern further constrained in modern standard French (8d) by the additional requirement that the object DP be overtly fronted (either under object-to-subject fronting as with unaccusative structures, or under relativization and *wh*-fronting). In this respect, modern Italian (8e) proves even more restrictive in that, in addition to A-moved superficial subjects of unaccusatives and passives, $v_{PtP}$ only agrees with fronted nominals when they are represented by pronominal clitics, an option taken a stage further in Sardinian dialects (8f) where there is a further requirement that the pronominal clitic also be 3rd person. Finally, there are varieties such as standard Barcelona Catalan (8g), where $v_{PtP}$ is further restricted to agreeing only with feminine 3rd person pronominal clitics. The overall picture reflects an unmistakable tension between the demands of detailed empirical description on the one hand, which forces us to assume as many as seven distinct featural (viz. microparametric) instantiations of $v_{PtP}$ across Romance, and the desire to provide a principled explanation within the limits of a maximally constrained theory of UG on the other.

    One way to avoid the proliferation of grammatical systems that such a microparametric approach predicts, while still accommodating morphosyntactic variation like that witnessed for the Romance participle in (8a-g), is to assume a theory that combines some notion of macroparameters alongside microparameters (Baker, 1996; 2008a, b). Following ideas first proposed by Kayne (2005b: 10) and further developed by Holmberg and Roberts (2010) and Roberts (2012), progress in this direction has recently been made by the *Rethinking Comparative Syntax* (*ReCoS*) research group based in Cambridge;[13] their central idea is that macroparameters should be construed as the surface effect of aggregates of microparameters acting in unison, ultimately as some sort of composite single parameter. On this view, macroparametric effects

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obtain whenever all individual functional heads behave in concert, namely are set identically for the same feature value (e.g. in a consistently head-final language such as Japanese *all* heads will bear a roll-up movement feature or some other kind of feature guaranteeing uniform head-finality which invariably places complements to the left of their heads), whereas microparametric variation arises when different subsets of functional heads present distinct featural specifications (e.g. in mixed languages such as German where verbal heads bear the relevant roll-up feature, but nominal heads do not). Conceived in this way, parametric variation can be interpreted in a scalar fashion and modelled in terms of parametric hierarchies. Macroparameters, the simplest and least marked options that uniformly apply to all functional heads, are placed at the very top of the hierarchy, but, as we move downwards, variation becomes progressively less 'macro' and, at the same time, more restricted with choices becoming progressively more limited to smaller and smaller proper subsets of features (namely, no $F(p) >$ all $F(p) >$ some $F(p)$, for F a feature and p some grammatical behaviour). More specifically, functional heads increasingly display a disparate behaviour in relation to particular feature values which may, for example, characterize: (i) a naturally definable class of functional heads (e.g. [+N], [+finite]), a case of mesoparametric variation; (ii) a small, lexically definable subclass of functional heads (e.g. pronominals, auxiliaries), a case of microparametric variation proper; and (iii) one or more individual lexical items, a case of nanoparametric variation.

In light of these assumptions, we may now reinterpret the distribution of Romance participial agreement in (8a-g) in terms of a small-scale parametric hierarchy along the lines of (9), ultimately part of a larger hierarchy related to differential object marking (for discussion, see Sheehan 2013).

(9)   Does $v_{PtP}$ probe φ-features of DP?

No: **Spanish** (8a)  Yes
           All argument DPs?

   Yes: **Ariellese** (8b)   No
             All DPs$_{ACC}$?                ⇒ **MESO**

       Yes: **Occitan** (8c)   No
                All fronted DPs?

         Yes: **French** (8d)   No
                 All pronominals?        ⇒ **MICRO**

          Yes: **Italian** (8e)     No
              All 3rd person?        ⇒ **NANO**

           Yes: **Sardinian** (8f)   No
                  All feminine?

              Yes: **Catalan** (8g)

The gradual cascading effect produced by the options presented in (9) highlights how variation in relation to the ability of $v_{PtP}$ to probe the φ-features of specific nominals is not uniform but, rather, licenses differing degrees of surface variation in accordance with the growing markedness conditions that accompany the available parametric options as one moves down the hierarchy. In this respect, we can note that Spanish and Ariellese represent rather simple and relatively unmarked options, in that $v_{PtP}$ in these varieties either indiscriminately fails to probe all DP arguments or, on the contrary, systematically probes all (plural) DP arguments. Occitan varieties, on the other hand, are slightly more constrained in that $v_{PtP}$ only probes a subset of DP arguments, namely those marked [+ACC], whereas in French there is the further proviso that the DP$_{ACC}$ must have also undergone A- or A'-movement. In all four cases, however, we are dealing with a case of mesoparametric variation, in that the four options can be subsumed within a naturally definable class insofar as they exclusively make reference to a single functional head [D], in turn further specified for the feature [+ACC] in Occitan and French (presumably un(der)specified in the case of Spanish and Ariellese) and the relevant A/A'-movement feature in French. We observe however a shift from meso- to microparametric variation as we move down the hierarchy to Italian, insofar as the relevant class of triggers for participial agreement is no longer represented *tout court* by a naturally definable class of functional heads (viz. [D]), but now also makes reference to a small and lexically definable subclass of Ds, namely pronominals. Arguably, in the case of Sardinian and Barcelona Catalan where this lexically definable subclass is further broken down into the ever more marked pronominal categories of 3$^{rd}$ person and, in turn, feminine, we are now entering nanoparametric territory where the relevant generalizations hold of just a handful of individual lexical items, namely Sardinian *lu* (MSG), *la* (FSG), *los* (MPL) and *las* (MSG) and Barcelona Catalan *la* (FSG) and *les* (FPL).

Armed with these assumptions about parametric variation, let us now revisit a number of structural cases of Greek-Romance contact to see how these maybe modelled in terms of the parameter hierarchies outlined above.


# 3 Greek – Romance parallels revisited

## 3.1 *Dativo greco* ('Greek-style dative')

Above we saw how it has often been reported that the Romance dialects of Calabria have, following an original Greek pattern now widespread within the Balkan Sprachbund (Pompeo 2013), extended the distribution of the genitive preposition *di* 'of' to include many of the traditional uses of the dative, the so-called *dativo greco* (cf. 3a-b).[14] Although there is undoubtedly some truth to these traditional descriptions, they nonetheless conceal some non-trivial differences between *Greko* and *Calabrese*.[15] Firstly, Greek-style genitive marking of indirect objects is not obligatory in *Calabrese*, with RECIPIENT arguments more frequently

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[14] No such use of the genitive has to date been recorded for the Romance dialects of the Salento.

[15] I am grateful to M.O. Squillaci and T. Squillaci for providing the following Romance Bovese data. See also Trumper (2003: 232-233).

surfacing in the dative marked by the preposition *a* 'to' in accordance with the typical Romance pattern, witness (10a) which forms a minimal pair with (3a) repeated here as (10b).

(10) a. *Nci     dissi  **a** lu  figghiòlu  'u  si     ndi         vaci* (Bovese, RC)
       to.him= I.said  to the boy         that self= therefrom  goes
   b. *Nci     dissi  **di** lu  figghiòlu  'u  si     ndi         vaci* (Bovese, RC)
       to.him= I.said  of the boy         that self= therefrom  goes
       'I told the boy to go'

Secondly, in so-called genitive structures such as (10b) the genitive-marked indirect object DP is always obligatorily doubled by a dative clitic (e.g. *nci*), witness further the structures in (11a-c).

(11) a. *(**Si**)     dissi  **d'u**   figghiòlu  'u  si     ndi         vaci* (S. Ilario, RC)
       to.him=I.said  of.the boy        that self= therefrom= goes
       'I told the boy to go'
   b. *(**Nci**)   lu scrissi  **di** mè  frati* (Bagaladi, RC)
       to.him= it=I.wrote  of my  brother
       'I wrote it to my brother'
   c. *(**Nci**)   lu  vindia  **di**  Don  Pippinu* (Bagaladi, RC)
       to.him= it= I.sold  of  Don  Peppino
       'I was selling it to Don Peppino

We are not therefore dealing with an autonomous genitive structure, as is the case in Greek, but with a hybrid structure in which the indirect object is referenced in part through dative marking on the verbal head and in part through genitive marking on the nominal dependent. This observation is even more striking when we consider that the same dialects have an independent genitive clitic (INDE >) *ndi* 'of it; thereof/-from' which, despite providing a perfect match for the genitive case of the nominal dependent, cannot double the indirect object in such examples:

(12) a. *__Ndi__     dissi  **d'u**   figghiòlu  'u  si     ndi         vaci* (S. Ilario, RC)
       of.him=I.said  of.the boy        that self= therefrom= goes
   b. *__Ndi__     lu scrissi  **di** mè  frati* (Bagaladi, RC)
       of.him= it=I.wrote  of my  brother
   c. *__Ndi__     lu  vindia  **di**  Don  Pippinu* (Bagaladi, RC)
       to.him= it= I.sold  of  Don  Peppino

Finally, the use of the so-called *dativo greco* is not indiscriminate, but carries a marked pragmatic interpretation. Thus, despite appearances, (10a-b) are not entirely synonymous. By way of comparison, consider the English minimal pair in (13a-b), where the indirect object of the first example (*to someone*) has undergone so-called *dative shift* in the second example where it now appears without the dative marker *to* and comes to precede the underlying direct object.

(13) a  *I promised to rent every apartment in the building **to someone***
   b  *I promised to rent **someone** every apartment in the building*

As is well known, one of the pragmatico-semantic consequences of *dative shift* in English is to force a known or given interpretation of the RECIPIENT argument, as can be clearly seen in (13a-b):[16] whereas the quantifier *to someone* in (13a) typically refers to an unknown individual or group of individuals (e.g. whoever I can find who is willing to pay the rent), dative-shifted *someone* in (13b) typically, though not necessarily unambiguously for all speakers, refers to a particular individual already known to the speaker (e.g. my father's best friend), but whom the speaker simply chooses not to name in this particular utterance (for discussion, see Aoun and Li, 1993). By the same token, it is this same presuppositional reading of the RECIPIENT that is licensed by the *dativo greco* in *Calabrese*, witness the implied specific reading of the 'student' in (14b) when marked by the genitive in contrast to its non-specific reading in (14a) when it surfaces in the dative; similarly, the identity of 'the boy' in (10b) is assumed to be known to the addressee.

(14) a *La   machina,  nci       la vindu  **a**   nu   studenti* (Bovese, RC)
         the  car          to.him= it=I.sell   to    a     student
         'I'll sell the car to a student (=not known to me, any gullible student I can find)'
     b *La   machina,  nci       la vindu  **di**   nu   studenti* (Bovese, RC)
         the  car          to.him= it=I.sell   of    a     student
         'I'm selling a student the car (= specific student known to me)'

Integrating these observations with the results of Manolessou and Beis' (2006) investigation of indirect object marking across Greek dialects (cf. also Joseph, 1990: 160; Horrocks, 1997: 125-126, 216; 2010: 628-629; Ralli, 2006: 140-141), we can construct a partial parameter hierarchy based on the marking of indirect objects (IOs) along the lines of (15) with representative examples in (16a-d), ultimately to be understood as part of a larger hierarchy related to argument marking and alignments (cf. Sheehan 2013).

(15) Are all internal arguments Case-marked accusative?

Yes: **nth. Gk dialects**        No
     **Asia Minor**              Are all IOs Case-marked dative?
     **Tsak., Dodec.** (16a)

          Yes: **AG, Sal.** (16b)        No
                                         Are all IOs Case-marked genitive?

          Yes: **SMG, sth. dialects**            No
               **Italo-Gk** (16c)     Are a subset of IOs Case-marked genitive (= hybrid Case)?

                         Yes: **Calabrese** (16d)
                              [+presup. ⇒ dative-genitive]

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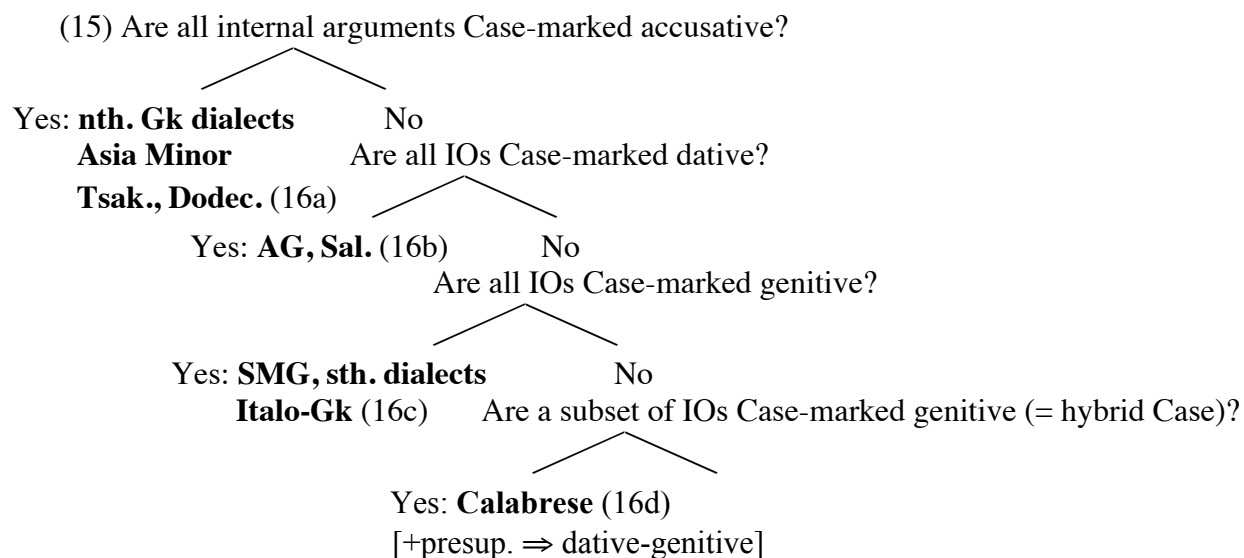
[16] For full discussion, see Larson (1988, 1990), Jackendoff (1990), Torrego (1998) and references cited there.

(16) a. *επέτςε    τον      όνε* (Tsakonian, Manolessou & Beis, 2006)
      he.said    the.ACC  donkey.ACC
      'he said to the donkey'

  b. *ὑπηρετῶ    τοῖς        θεοῖς* (AG,  Xenophon, Cyropaedia 8.2.22)
      I.serve    the.DAT.PL  gods.DAT
      'I am a servant to the gods'

  c. *Ce    t'    adrèffiatu    tù          'pane* (Martano (gk))
      and    the    brothers=his    him.GEN    said
      'And his brothers said to him'

  d. *Si        dissi **d'u**    figghiòlu 'u    si    ndi          vaci* (S. Ilario, RC)
      to.him=  I.said  of.the  boy        that self=  therefrom= he.go
      'I told the boy to go'

Our first option in (15) represents the least marked question that we can ask about the marking of indirect objects, namely whether they are formally distinguished at all from other internal arguments. The negative reply to this question thus isolates a group of northern Greek dialects, Asia Minor dialects, Tsakonian and Dodecanese which, in contrast to all other Greek varieties, fail to mark a formal distinction between direct and indirect objects, witness the accusative-marking of the RECIPIENT in (16a). We are thus dealing with a case of mesoparametric variation, in that in these varieties accusative, arguably the core object Case crosslinguistically and licensed by $v$, hence situated at the top of our hierarchy, indiscriminately marks all DP objects, a naturally definable class (namely, [-NOM] Ds). The next option is that exhibited by varieties such as ancient Greek and *Salentino* which, by contrast, unambiguously distinguish indirect objects by marking them dative (16b), in contrast to varieties such as standard modern Greek, southern Greek dialects and Italo-Greek which are situated further down the hierarchy in that they conflate this category with the genitive (16c). The greater and increasing markedness of these latter two options follows from the observation that crosslinguistically dative, generally taken to be licensed by an Appl(icative) functional head, represents the least marked distinctive Case for indirect objects, whereas genitive, at least in those languages with rich case systems, typically displays all the hallmarks of an inherent Case whose distribution is largely defined by not entirely predictable lexical factors, hence taken here to be assigned by a lexical V head. These two options reflect, respectively, micro- and nanoparametric variation, in that dative serves in the former case to uniquely mark a small, lexically definable subclass of functional heads, namely all Ds bearing the RECIPIENT feature (for arguments in favour of treating theta roles as formal features, see Hornstein, 1999), whereas in the latter case genitive is associated with a class of predicates whose membership can only be established on purely lexical grounds, inasmuch as the RECIPIENT feature is just one of many semantic roles associated with genitive marking.

    Our final option in (15) is represented by the *dativo greco* in *Calabrese* (16d), clearly the most marked option of all, insofar as the marking of RECIPIENT arguments in this variety is strictly context-sensitive, with the *dativo greco* serving to narrowly delimit individual RECIPIENT arguments in accordance with their [±presuppositional] reading. This more complex and non-uniform behaviour is further reflected in the surface form of the so-called *dativo greco* which, we have observed, involves a composite Case structure combining dative clitic marking on the verbal head with genitive prepositional marking on the nominal dependent, presumably reflecting the simultaneous intervention of Appl$_{DAT}$ and V$_{GEN}$ heads in the licensing of such indirect objects. These facts which require greater cross-dialectal exploration to ascertain their

extent and significance for typological and theoretical issues about argument structure, including the mapping between morphological marking and syntactic configurations, the availability of object raising and the behaviour of ditransitive structures, highlight how convergence through grammars in contact does not necessarily lead to simple borrowing, but frequently yields new hybrid structures born of reanalysis.

## 3.2 Complementation

We observed in relation to examples (4a-b) above that both Italo-Greek and the local Romance dialects show a marked tendency to avoid the infinitive in favour of a system of finite complementation. However, contrary to all other Greek dialects, with the notable exception of Pontic (Mackridge, 1987), the infinitive is not by any means defunct, but exceptionally survives to the present day in Italo-Greek where it is still employed, to varying degrees and often alongside competing finite *na*-clauses, in conjunction with a class of restructuring predicates (Cinque, 2004; 2006). Below we provide some representative examples of infinitival clauses together with competing finite *na*-clauses from *Griko* (17a-c) and *Greko* (18a-c):

(17) a. *Oria     se    sozo **pi**    / e   ssozo  **na  tramo*** (Zollino / Sternatia)[17]
       beautiful  you= I.can to.say / not I.can   that I.run
       'I can call you beautiful / I cannot run'

   b. *Cùsti       o   caddo    **cantalìsi** / a   cusi      **na    simànun** 'e*
      heard.PASS  the cockerel to.sing       if  you.heard that  ring         the
      *campane* (Martano)
      bells
      'The cockerel could be heard crowing / If you hear the bells ringing'

   c. *A   teli      **piachi**  o   rodo  / **n' acapìsi*** (Corigliano)
      if  you.want  to.take   the rose  /  that you.love
      'If you want to take the rose / to love'

(18) a. *se   kánno   δéi    / tis      to kánnise  **na to fái*** (Roccaforte)
       you= I.make  to.bind / to.her=it=you.make that it=she.eat
       'I'll have you tied up / You'll make her eat it'

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    b. *E  ssu  sónno  **aníśi**   / δen ésonne   **na ta'**   **gwálise** óśu* (Roccaforte)
        not you= I.can   to.open  / not he.could  that them= he.pull   out
        'I cannot open the door to you / he could not pull them out'
    c. *Egò tus   àcua   **platèttsi** /  **na**   **platèttsusi*** (Bova)
        I    them= I.heard  to.talk   /   that   they.talked
        'I heard them talking'

In a similar fashion the infinitive survives, again to varying degrees and often alongside of competing finite clauses (Manzini and Savoia, 2005, I: 650-654), also in the neighbouring Romance dialects of Salento (19a-c) and Calabria (20a-c):

  (19) a. *cce    ppozzu  **fare?*** (Lecce)
          what  I.can    to.do
          'What can I do?'
      b. *Facìtime      **ssettare**  / te   facìa    **cu lla ba' ccunti** a ssirda* (Lecce)
          make.IMP=me to.sit.down you= I'd.make  that it=FUT you.tell to sister=your
          'Let me sit down! / I'd make you go and tell your sister'
      c. *Sàccite       **cumpurtare** cumu nna  vera recina* (Lecce)
          know.IMP=you to.behave      like   a      real   queen'
          'Learn to behave like a true queen!'

  (20) a. *u    pozzu  **fari*** (Seminara, RC)
          it= I.can   to.do
          'I can do it'
      b. *l'    annu     a **cchiamari** / pe mmi u    **chiamanu*** (Seminara, RC)
          him= they.have to to.call     / for that   him= they.call
          'they must call him'
      c. *u    fazzu    **dòrmiri** / **mi**   **dormi*** (Seminara, RC)
          him= I.make  to.sleep / that   he.sleeps
          'I'll make him sleep'

If we now examine in greater detail the distribution of the infinitive across these Greek and Romance dialects of southern Italy,[18] it soon becomes apparent that there has been a gradual diachronic retreat of the infinitive, which is characterized at the same time by a considerable amount of diatopic and idiolectal variation. We illustrate this for Italo-Greek by way of Table 1. Although our written records only go back as far as the latter half of the nineteenth century, the texts and sources listed in the first column are arranged in chronological order and can thus broadly be read diachronically, allowing us to track the changing patterns of Italo-Greek complementation over approximately the last century and a half. These are to be read in conjunction with the implicational scalar arrangement of predicates on the horizontal axis,

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[18] See, among others, Morosi (1870: 136-138, 156), Parlangèli (1953: 114), Falcone (1973: 290-291), Rohlfs (1969: 190; 1977: 204-205; 1997e,f), Joseph (1983: 72-74), Trumper and Rizzi (1985), Pristerà (1987), Mancarella (1988: 185-287), Calabrese (1993), Meliadò (1994: 44-46, 109), Lombardi (1997; 1998), Vincent (1997b: 176), Cristofaro (1998), Ledgeway (1998; 2006; 2007; 2013; in press a), Katsoyannou (2001: 44-47, 49), Damonte (2002; 2005; 2006a,b; 2010), Roberts and Roussou (2003: 88-97), Trumper (2003: 238-246), Violi (2004: 72-73), Manzini and Savoia (2005, I: 455-501, 650-676), Ralli (2006: 132-233), Vecchio (2010), Remberger (2011: 136-243).

which, although not necessarily systematically reported on in each study (hence the blanks in Table 1), are ordered according to their growing susceptibility to infinitival complementation (towards the left of the scale) and finite (*na*-clause) complementation (towards the right of the scale). Now a number of observations immediately emerge from Table 1, which provide us with some important empirical generalizations about sentential complementation in Italo-Greek.

Firstly, the retreat of the infinitive to the advantage of finite complementation has progressed far more quickly in *Griko* than in *Greko*, as superficially revealed by a cursory examination of the dwindling number of 'I(nfinitival)' tokens contained in the *Griko* section of Table 1. This same conclusion is further supported by the results of Rohlfs' (1977) and (1997e) comparative studies of complementation in both areas, originally published in (1950) and (1972), respectively. In his earlier 1950 investigation, Rohlfs reports the use of infinitival complementation, albeit alongside finite strategies, with all predicates on the scale between *hear* and *come* in both *Griko* and *Greko*. Twenty years later, however, in his 1972 study Rohlfs finds that the infinitive has now been eliminated with this same range of predicates in *Griko*, but not in *Greko* where the infinitive, although no longer an option with *let* and *want* (and presumably neither with *come*, for which he does not unfortunately provide any information), now represents the preferred complementation pattern with *hear, know* and *make*. Even earlier, a similar tendency is observable in a comparison of the (largely) nineteenth-century sources, where Morosi (1870) reports the optional extension of finite complementation to *make* and *hear* in *Griko* (cf. also Cassoni, ([1937] 1990: 85), whereas in Rossi Taibbi and Caracausi (1950) they still predominantly occur with the infinitive (viz. *make*: 25/7 (I/F), *hear*: 3/1 (I/F)).

| | Infinitive ←———————————————————→ *Na*-complement | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Griko* | Can | Hear | Know | Make | Let | Want | Come | Must | Go | Aspectual |
| Morosi (1870) | I | (I/)F | | (I/)F | | (I/)F | | (I/)F | | F |
| Cassoni ([1937] 1990) | I | I | I | I/F | | (I/)F | | (I/)F | | |
| Rohlfs ([1950] 1977) | I | I/F | I/F | I/F | I/F | (I/)F | (I/)F | F | F | F |
| Rohlfs ([1972] 1997e) | I | F | F | F | F | F | F | | | |
| Italia & Lambro. (2001) | I | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F |
| Cotardo ([1975] 2010) | I | I/F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F |
| Frassanito (2010) | I | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F |
| Baldissera (2012) | I/F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | I/F |
| *Greko* | Can | Hear | Know | Make | Let | Want | Come | Must | Go | Aspectual |
| R.T.& Caracausi (1959)[19] | I(/F) | I(/F) | **I** | **I(/F)** | I(/F) | (I)/F | (I/)F | F | | F |
| Rohlfs ([1950] 1977) | I | I/F | I/F | I/F | I/F | (I/)F | (I/)F | F | | F |
| Rohlfs ([1972] 1997e) | I | I(/F) | I(/F) | I(/F) | F | F | | | | |
| Katsoy. (1992: 2001)[20] | I | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | | F |
| Violi (2004) | I | | (I/)F | (I/)F | F | F | (I/)F | F | | F |
| Remberger (2011) | I/F | | | I/F | | F | | F | | |
| Bovese[21] | I/F | I/F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F | F |

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[19] These data are based on my reading of the mainly prose texts contained in Rossi Taibbi and Caracausi (1958: 10-128, 269-278, 281-306, 394-486), which are principally representative of *Greko* from the second half of the nineteenth century, but which also include some texts from the twentieth century (up until 1958).

[20] Although Katsoyonnou (1992: 334, 356-359; 2001: 47) claims the infinitive to be restricted to complements of *sónno* 'can' in the modern *Greco* of Gallicianò, her own corpus (Katsoyannou, 1992: 328, 464) offers examples following *know* (*en iʃeram **blatéssi** taliáno* lit. 'not I.knew to.speak Italian') and *make* (*kanum **bajéssiŋ** garo* lit. 'they.make to.pay dear'.

Table 1. Variation in use of infinitival & finite complements in *Griko* and *Greko*[22]

Secondly, the retreat of the infinitive appears more advanced in *Griko* than in *Greko*. By way of illustration, consider the sources for the modern period where we observe that in *Griko* (Baldissera, 2012; this volume) the infinitive is now restricted to *can*,[23] whereas in *Greko* the infinitive, albeit subject to some idiolectal variation, is reported to still constitute at least an option after *hear*, *know* and *make* (and somewhat implausibly even after *come* according to Violi, 2004: 144) in addition to *can*.

Finally, the evidence reported in Rossi Taibbi and Caracausi (1958) allows us to conclude that in Italo-Greek causative *make* is potentially more susceptible to the extension of finite complementation than modal *know* (hence the ordering *know* > *make* in Table 1 above), since, unlike the latter, *make* is occasionally followed by a finite complement (21a-c).[24] Similarly, in

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[21] I am grateful to M.O. Squillaci (Bova) for providing these data.

[22] Note that in Table 1 (i) *hear* is a cover term for all verbs of perception (including *see*, *watch*, *feel*); (ii) *know* refers to the modal 'know how', and not the epistemic 'know that'; and (iii) *must* in these varieties refers to a 'have to/that' periphrasis.

[23] Baldissera (2012; this volume) reports that in modern *Griko* the infinitive (i.a) is also an option, alongside a finite *na*-clause (i.b), after the aspectual predicate *spicceo* 'finish':

(i)   a.   *Spiccetsa atse **polemisi** stes   etse* (gk)
           I.finished of   to.work   at.the  seven
      b.   *Spieccetsa **na** **polemiso** stes   etse* (gk)
           I.finished    that I.work    at.the  seven
           'I finished working at seven'

There is however reason to believe that this infinitival strategy represents a recent borrowing from Romance (cf. also Rohlfs, 1977: 192) and, in particular, from the local Salentino dialects where the infinitive (alongside finite strategies) is regularly employed after aspectuals (cf. Table 2 below). Observe in this regard that the lexical item itself *spicceo* is a Romance borrowing (cf. Sal. *spicciare/i* 'to finish' < Fr. *dépêcher* < *DISPICTIARE), hence it is not inconceivable that, in borrowing this particular lexical item from the adstratal Romance dialects, bilingual *Griko* speakers also borrowed (or, better, transferred) the relevant infinitival complementation pattern. This is further supported by the observation that the infinitive in (i.a) is preceded by the preposition *atse* 'of', a clear calque of the corresponding Romance/Salentino constructions which also require the use of the prepositional complementizer *de / te* 'of' to introduce the infinitive (cf. ii).

(ii) *Aggiu   spicciatu **te** **fatiare*** (Lecce)
      I.have    finished   of  to.work

From a comparative and diachronic examination of the data in Table 1, it is also notable that at no other time either in *Griko* or *Greko* has the infinitive ever been reported as an option for aspectual predicates which, together with the andative predicate *go*, represent the functional predicates least susceptible to infinitival complementation. By the same token, the implicational nature of the scalar arrangement of predicates in Table 1 would lead us to expect that all functional predicates to the left of aspectual *spicceo* should also, at least as an option, permit infinitival complementation in *Griko*, a prediction clearly not borne out. Rather, the exceptional nature of infinitival complementation in conjunction with *spicceo* in modern *Griko* is entirely in line with the borrowing scenario outlined above, which introduces an unexpected structural irregularity into the system tied to a single lexical item in accordance with an unmistakable nanoparametric pattern.

[24] More precisely, in our sample of Rossi Taibbi and Caracausi's anthology we counted 6 sentential complements to *know*, all in the form of an infinitival clause, and a total of 32 sentential complements to causative *make*, of which just 7 occur in finite form.

the anthology of *Griko* texts contained in Cassoni ([1937] 1990), causative *make* invariably selects for a finite clause (22a) but *know* selects for an infinitive (22b):

(21) a. *tséri     kumbattéttsi* (Bovese (gc))
        you.know   to.fight
        'you know how to fight'
    b. *s'   ékame   eχi   túto   práma* (Bovese (gc))
        you= he.made to.have this  thing
        'he obtained this thing for you'
    c. *Káme   na   peθánu ta   δío   peδíamu* (Bovese (gc))
        make.IMP that  die      the  two   children=my
        'Have both of my children die!'

(22) a. *m'   ècame     'na   fao* (Calimera (gk))
        me= she.made   that  I.eat
        'she made me eat'
    b. *o   sordo   t'   ùfsere   cratèsi* (Castrignano (gk))
        the  money  it=he.knew   to.save
        'he knew how to save money'

    If we now examine complementation in the Romance dialects of the same areas, as illustrated in Table 2, we immediately see some striking differences.

| **Infinitive** ← | | | | | | | → ***mu/cu*-complement** | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Salentino*** **Can** | **Hear** | **Must** | **Know** | **Make** | **Let** | **Aspect.s** | **Want** | **Come** | **Go** |
| Rohlfs ([1972] 1997e) I | I | | I/F | I/F | (I/)F | | F | | |
| Mancarella (1988) | | | | | | | | | |
| Brindisi I | I | I | I | I | | | F | | |
| Lecce I | I | | I | | | | F | | |
| Casarano (LE) I | | | F | F | | | F | | |
| Sternatia (LE) I | F | | F | F | | F | F | | |
| Martignano (LE) I | F | | | F | | F | F | | |
| N.Sal. (Calabrese 1993) I | I | | | I | | I | F | F | |
| Scorrano (Musio 1995) I | I | I | I/F | I/F | I/F | I/F | F | F | F |
| LE (Protopapa 1990-92) I | I | I | I | I/F | I/F | I/F | F | F | F |
| ***Calabrese*** **Can** | **Hear** | **Must** | **Make** | **Know** | **Let** | **Aspect.s** | **Want** | **Come** | **Go** |
| Rohlfs ([1972] 1997e) I | I(/F) | I | I/F | (I/)F | (I/)F | F | F | | F |
| Lombardi (1998) | | | | | | | | | |
| Tyrrhenian Coast I | | I | | | | I/F | I/F | F | F |
| Ionian Coast I/F | | I/F | | | | I/F | F | F | F |
| Cristofaro (1998) I | | I | I | | | I | F | | |
| Boval. (Remberger 2011) I | | I/F | F | | | | I/F | | |
| Bovese I/F | I/F | I/F | I/F | I/F | I/F | I/F | I/F | I/F | F |

Table 2. Variation in use of infinitival and finite complements in *Calabrese* and *Salentino*

Given that in some of the *Salentino* and *Calabrese* dialects reported in Table 2 (e.g. Sternatia, Bovese), we are dealing with speakers, and even more so in the recent past, who are also native speakers of their local Italo-Greek variety, we might legitimately expect the patterns of complementation observed in Table 1 above for the two Italo-Greek-speaking areas to be broadly, if not closely, replicated in the neighbouring Romance dialects reported in Table 2. However, these expectations are not borne out. Firstly, we note that the retreat of the infinitive has been quicker in *Calabrese* than in *Salentino*, with finite complements now representing an option with all predicates in *Calabrese*, whereas in *Salentino* the sole selection of the infinitive still represents a more productive and versatile option with a larger range of predicates (e.g. *can…make*). This distribution is the opposite of that seen in Table 1 for Italo-Greek, where it was noted that the retreat of the infinitive had progressed most rapidly in *Griko*.

Secondly, the retreat of the infinitive is more advanced in (some, though not all, varieties of) *Calabrese* than in *Salentino*, in that the infinitive no longer represents the sole option with any single predicate, even after *can*, in most modern *Calabrese* varieties, whereas in *Salentino* the infinitive still represents the sole permitted complement type employed after *can* across all varieties and, in some dialects, also after *hear*, *must, know* and *make*. Yet, the infinitive with these latter four predicates has not been recorded for *Griko* for some 40 years (cf. Rohlfs, [1950] 1977, in Table 1), highlighting a significant lag in the rate of change affecting the retreat of the infinitive in these two linguistic groups despite ongoing and extensive contact. Similarly, in many *Calabrese* dialects the infinitive continues to represent an option, together with finite complement clauses, after a wide range of predicates (viz. *can…want*); yet we saw for *Greko* that, apart from *can*, the infinitive is only ever found after *hear*, and to a lesser extent after *know* and *make*.

Finally, a further difference between *Salentino* and *Calabrese* concerns the respective susceptibility of the modal and causatives predicates *know* and *make* to the extension of finite complementation. Whereas in *Salentino* there are varieties such as Leccese (cf. 19b-c) where finite complements are found following *make*, but not *know* (hence the ordering *know > make* in Table 2 above), in *Calabrese* both infinitival and finite complements are found following *know* but not necessarily after *make* which, in some varieties at least (cf. Rohlfs, 1997e: 325-332; Cristofaro, 1998), only allows an infinitival complement (hence the ordering *make > know* in Table 2). This latter distribution contrasts with that noted in Table 1 for Italo-Greek where, on a par with *Salentino*, the modal predicate *know* shows a greater resistance to finite complementation.

If we now put the results of Tables 1 and 2 together, the overall picture that emerges is that given in Table 3, where darker shading indicates a correspondingly greater propensity towards the use of finite complementation:

| | Infinitive ←————————————→ | | | | | | | Finite-complement | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Can* | *Hear* | *Know* | *Make* | *Let* | *Want* | *Come* | *Must* | *Go* | *Aspectuals* |
| **Griko** | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Grecanico** | | | | | | | | | | |
| | *Can* | *Hear* | *Must* | *Know* | *Make* | *Let* | *Aspectuals* | *Want* | *Come* | *Go* |
| **Salentino** | | | | | | | | | | |
| | *Can* | *Hear* | *Must* | *Make* | *Know* | *Let* | *Aspectuals* | *Want* | *Come* | *Go* |
| **Calabrese** | | | | | | | | | | |

Table 3. Greek and Romance infinitival and finite complement selection in southern Italy

Despite centuries of intimate language contact and extensive Greek-Romance bilingualism, Table 3 highlights a number of significant differences between the varieties under discussion. One of the most obvious of these concerns the differing behaviour of aspectual predicates and the modal *must*, which in Italo-Greek both invariably align with finite complementation (23)-(24), while in *Salentino* (25) and *Calabrese* (26) they either freely alternate between infinitival and finite complementation (aspectuals) or favour infinitival complementation (*must*).

(23) a. *ensìgnase   **na**   **pratìsi*** (Martano, Cassoni, [1937] 1990: 154)
        she.began   that   she.walks
        'she began to walk'
   b. *è         **n' agui***      *a tti   porta* (Martano, Cassoni, [1937] 1990: 154)
        you.have  that you.leave   of the  door
        'you must leave through the door'

(24) a. *émbenne   **na**   **grázzi*** (Bovese, Rohlfs, 1977: 192)
        he.entered  that    he.writes
        'he was beginning to write'
   b. *Éxo   **na ta**   **éxo**   tfikátu* (Gallicianò, Katsoyannou, 1992: 341)
        I.have  that them=  I.have  there
        'I must have them there'

(25) a. *ave    spicciare **cu vene**      ddescia fastidiu*/ *ieu va    spicciu de*
        he.has to.finish   that he.comes  he.gives bother    I   FUT  I.finish of
        ***cunzare**   a intru   lla  camera* (Scorrano, LE)
        to.prepare   to inside  the  bedroom
        'he has to stop coming here and annoying us / I'm gonna finish preparing the bedroom'
   b. *lu  patrunu de  casa   ave **bbivire*** (Scorrano, LE)
        the owner   of  house  has to.drink
        'the landlord must have a drink'

(26) a. *si  misi   **mi ciangi**  / si     misaru **a ballari*** (Reggio Calabria)
        self= she.put  that she.cries selves= they.put to to.dance
        'she began to cry / they began to dance'
   b. *m' aviti     a   **perdunari*** (Reggio Calabria)
        me= you.have to  to.forgive
        'you must forgive me'

A further disparity concerns the extension of finite complementation to *make*. In Italo-Greek and *Salentino*, *make* patterns more readily with *let*, though still not forming a single class of 'causatives' with the latter since in some of these same varieties *let* only licenses finite complementation (cf. (a) examples below), whereas *make* also allows an infinitival complement

(cf. (b)-(c) examples below),[25] hence the order *…know > [make > let] > want…*. In *Calabrese*, by contrast, we have seen in Table 2 that *make* is more susceptible to infinitival complementation than modal *know* and hence, in turn, even more detached from causative *let* (viz. *…make > know > let…*) which shows a greater propensity towards finite complementation (30a-b).

    (27) a. *astu    **n'**    **artune*** (gk, Cassoni, [1937] 1990: 107)
           let.IMP    that    they.come
           'Let them come!'
       b. *S'    òcama   tosso     **'na**   **fai*** (Climera (gk), Cassoni, [1937] 1990: 152)
           you= I.made   so.much  that   you.eat
           'I made you eat so much'
       c. *Oli    cànnome   **pragalisi*** (gk, Morosi, 1870: 137)
           all.PL   we.make    to.pray
           'We all make pray'

    (28) a. *àfi    **na**   se    **filìo*** (gc, Violi, 2004: 118)
           let.IMP   that   you= I.kiss
           'Let me kiss you!'

       b. *kàme     **na**   **pettòi**     **apànu*** (gc, Violi, 2004: 130)
           make.IMP= that   he.ascends   up
           'Make him go up!'
       c. *me   kànni      **pethàni*** (gc, Violi, 2004: 130)
           me= he.makes   to.die
           'He's killing me'

    (29) a. *Lassa    **ttrou**  ddu  baccalà te sirda* (Lecce)[26]
           let.IMP      I.find   that   cod     of sister=you
           'Let me find that fool of a sister of yours'
       b. *fazzu   **cu**   **te**      **llicchi**   **li**   **musi*** (Lecce)
           I.make   that   yourself= you.lick   the  lips
           'I'll make you lick your lips'
       c. *te    fazzu    **ccògghiere**  li   tienti   te   terra* (Lecce)
           you= I.make   to.collect    the teeth   of   earth
           'I'll make you pick your teeth up from the floor'

    (30) a. *i     dassu   'u   **parranu*** (Nicotera, VV)
           them= I.let   that   they.speak
           'I let them speak'

---

[25] Cf. Rohlfs ([1972] 1997e: 321; 1977: 191), Violi (2004: 118, 130). In addition to infinitival and finite complements, causative *make* may also license a paratactic complement in *Greko* (Violi, 2004: 130):
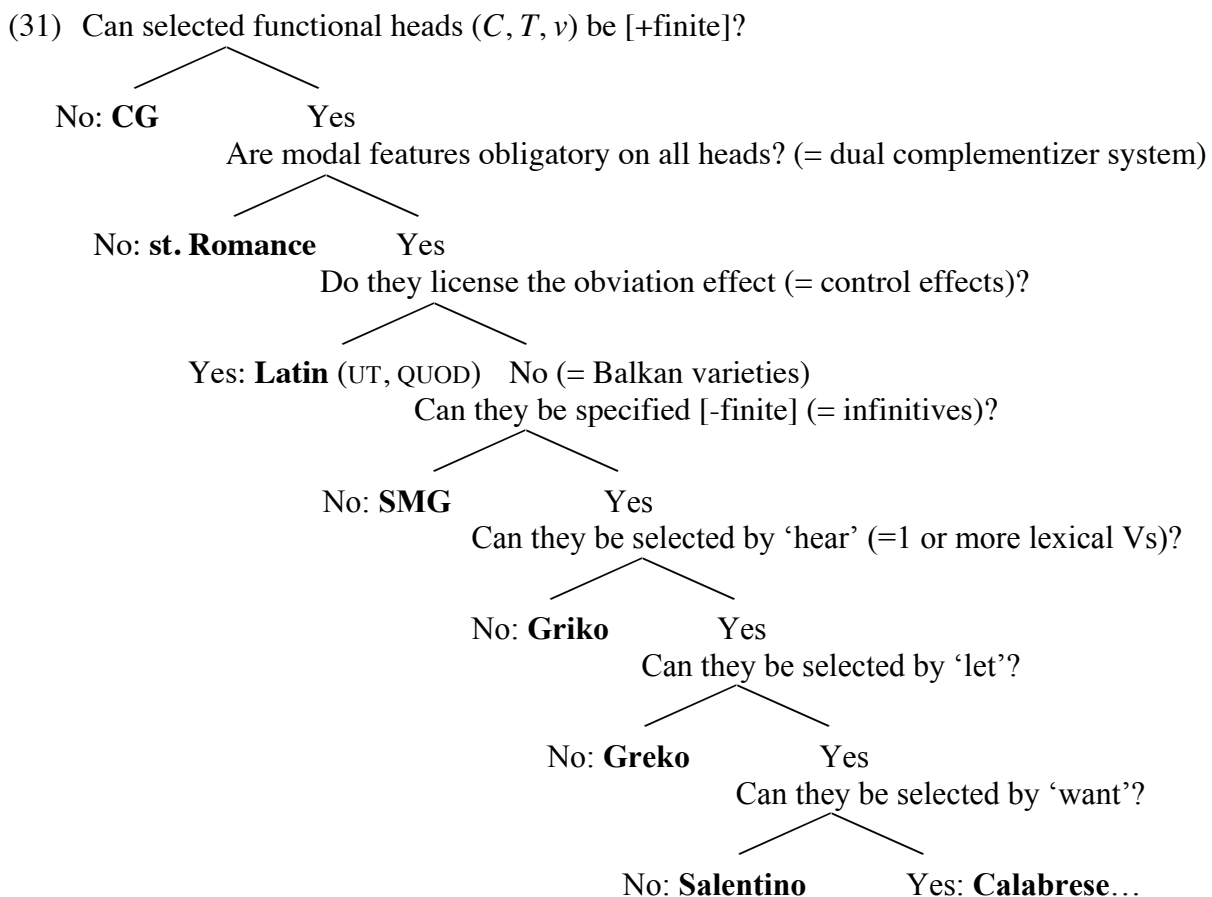
    (i)  *ton   èkame   **ce**   **apèthane*** (gc)
         him= he.made   and   he.died
         'he made him die'

[26] On the deletion of the irrealis complementizer *cu* in this example, see the discussion in §3.2.1 below.

b. *cu     chiju   chi     mi      stati       facendu   **passari**!* (Nicotera, VV)
   with  that    which  me=    you.stand  making    to.pass
   'With all you're putting me through!'

Overall the biggest difference, however, concerns the extent of the spread of finite complementation which has progressed to different degrees in the four dialect groups, reaching its height in *Griko* where it is now obligatory with all functional predicates other than *can* (cf. though note 23), followed by *Greko* where, broadly speaking, it has entirely replaced the infinitive after all predicates except *can, hear, know* and *make*, and finally to a much lesser extent in *Salentino* and *Calabrese* where today it only proves obligatory with a handful of predicates situated at the rightmost part of the scale (viz. (*want >*) *come > go*).

To sum up, diachronically there is extensive and largely unpredictable variation in the distribution of infinitival and finite complementation both across and within individual areas and dialects and, synchronically, even within the same speech community. At the same time, most of these differences can ultimately be reduced to idiosyncratic variation in the selectional properties of individual lexical items in accordance with our definition of nanoparametric variation above. To be sure, as with Biberauer and Roberts' (in press) discussion of variation in the English auxiliary system, the variation and instability observed in relation to the distribution of infinitival and finite complementation in *Magna Graecia* does not readily lend itself to an explanation in terms of independent linguistic principles or theories such as Cinque's (1999; 2004; 2006) highly-articulated theory of clause structure which might lead us to expect, for example, the extension of finite complementation to follow, say bottom-up, the order of functional projections predicted by his rich clausal architecture. On the contrary, the variation witnessed here can be most naturally modelled in terms of the more marked options made available by the lower branches of a complementation parameter hierarchy along the lines of (31):

(31)  Can selected functional heads (*C*, *T*, *v*) be [+finite]?

      No: **CG**       Yes

               Are modal features obligatory on all heads? (= dual complementizer system)

        No: **st. Romance**    Yes

                Do they license the obviation effect (= control effects)?

      Yes: **Latin** (UT, QUOD)   No (= Balkan varieties)

                 Can they be specified [-finite] (= infinitives)?

        No: **SMG**      Yes

                   Can they be selected by 'hear' (=1 or more lexical Vs)?

         No: **Griko**      Yes

                    Can they be selected by 'let'?

          No: **Greko**      Yes

                     Can they be selected by 'want'?

           No: **Salentino**     Yes: **Calabrese**…

Our first question in (31) relates to a mesoparametric distinction which allows us to identify languages like Classical Greek, where a naturally definable subclass of selected functional heads *C*, *T* and *v* (all specified as [+V]) are uniformly specified negatively for the [+finite] feature, thereby capturing the fact that sentential complements invariably surface in non-finite form.[27] More marked by comparison is the subsequent question regarding the obligatory marking of [±realis] modal features on all such functional heads, which serves to draw a distinction between those varieties that present dual complementizer systems (e.g. Latin, Balkan varieties) and those that do not (e.g. standard Romance).[28] This amounts to a case of microparametric variation in that it isolates a small – indeed, in this particular case, binary –, lexically definable subclass of functional heads (e.g. Ro. *că* vs *să*, Cal. *ca* vs *mu*).[29] Among those varieties that present dual complementizer systems, we can, in turn, further distinguish between those which license the obviation effect (namely, display control effects) such as Latin and those that do not, a contrast

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[27] On the gradual replacement of the Classical Greek elaborate system of non-finite (infinitival, participial) complementation, from as early as Hellenistic Greek, in favour of finite strategies, see Joseph (1983: ch. 3; 1990: 167), Horrocks (1997: 45-46; 2010: 623-626), Nicholas (1998).
[28] On the possibility of (Romance) complementizers variously lexicalizing *C*, *T* and *v* heads, see Ledgeway (2013; in press a).
[29] Of course, in the case of Greek and its dialects the situation proves more complex, in that the complementizer system offers a richer array of lexical forms including, in addition to *oti* and *na* also *pou* (cf. Nicholas, 1998; Roussou, 2000; 2010; Roussou and Roberts 2001; Roussou and Tsangalidis, 2010). Nonetheless, the fact remains that the distinction is ultimately a binary one, namely *oti / pou* vs *na*, however one wishes ultimately to represent it formally (e.g. [±realis] or [±factive]).

which conveniently singles out the relevant Balkan(-style) varieties of immediate interest to us here. Within this subset of languages the availability of the [-finite] feature, intended here to indicate the availability or otherwise of the infinitive, allows us to make the relevant distinction between standard modern Greek (and indeed all other dialects of Greek except Pontic) on the one hand and Italo-Greek, *Salentino* and *Calabrese* on the other.

It is, however, from this point onwards that we move into nanoparametric territory, since the only way to make sense of the observed variation in the selectional properties of different functional predicates is to make explicit reference to individual lexical items in terms of the implicational scales, themselves presented as pure stipulations at this stage rather than derivable from general linguistic principles,[30] outlined in Tables 1, 2 and 3. For instance, the exceptional restriction of the infinitive to *can* in *Griko* can only be formalized in terms of the rather specific question regarding whether such [-finite] heads (= infinitives) can be selected by the specific lexical item *hear*. If the answer is negative, then the only other lexical predicate to its left, namely *can*, must by implication be able to select an infinitival complement, thereby correctly isolating *Griko*. By a similar process of explicit lexical identification we can isolate the other three broad dialect groups: if the infinitive cannot be selected by *let*, then this implies that it can only be selected by all functional predicates to its left (viz. *can…make*), the correct characterization of *Greko*, and if unavailable to be selected by *want*, then this further isolates *Salentino* from *Calabrese* where only predicates to the left of *want* license infinitival complementation (viz. *can…aspectuals*).[31] Without doubt, this admittedly somewhat messy characterization of the facts bears all the hallmarks of nanoparametric variation, to the extent that we are dealing with a largely unpredictable and irregular distribution of the infinitive based purely on the idiosyncratic variation of individual lexical items, rather than on naturally definable classes or lexically definable subclasses of functional heads.

### 3.2.1 C(omplementizer)-drop

Staying with complementation, we can note a further subtle difference between Italo-Greek and southern Italo-Romance in the area of C(omplementizer)-drop. Although we have established that, following the (Italo-)Greek pattern, Romance dialects of this area have developed a dual complementizer system, the relevant facts concerning the distribution of both complementizers is not identical in both dialect groups. Essentially, *Calabrese* dialects (34a-b) pattern on a par with both Italo-Greek varieties (32)-(33), in that both the realis and irrealis complementizers must invariably be pronounced.

(32) a. *Ipistí       *(ka)   tom   brískome?* (gk, Rohlfs, 1969)
        you.think    that   him= we.find
        'Do you think that we'll find him?'

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[30] See, however, Givón (1990: 826, 853) and Cristofaro (1998) for functionalist explanations in terms of greater or lesser semantico-pragmatic integration between the functional predicate and its sentential complement.
[31] As Ian Roberts (p.c.) points outs, these nanoparametric options could be more appropriately formalized in terms of θ-role and Case features: perception verbs like *hear* assign a θ-role to their eventive internal argument, whereas causatives like *let* assign just Case (cf. Roberts 2013), and volitionals like *want*, in their modals sense, are just raising triggers, assigning neither θ-role nor Case to their complement. This would reduce the parametric options to θ-role and Case feature bundles of various kinds.

    b. *Tèli      *(nna) su    pó* (gk, Rohlfs, 1969)
       you.want    that   you= I.say
       'you want me to tell you'

(33)  a. *Egò   tus    àcua   *(ti)    eplatègguai* (Bova (gc))
        I      them= heard    that   they.spoke
      b. *Egò   tus    àcua   *(na)   platèttsusi* (Bova (gc))
        I      them= heard    that   they.speak
        'I heard them speaking'

(34)  a. *Ti   cuntano   *(ca)  su'      stanchi  morti* (Catanzaro)
        you= they.tell    that  they.are tired     dead
        'They tell you that they're dead tired'
      b. *Ti      scialavi     *(ma)  'i    guardi* (Catanzaro)
        yourself= you.enjoyed   that  them= you.watch
        'You enjoyed watching them'

In *Salentino* dialects, by contrast, the irrealis complementizer *cu* (35b), but not its realis counterpart *ca* (35a), is regularly dropped (cf. Rohlfs, 1969: 105; Calabrese, 1993: 81 n. 8; Terzi, 1996), a phenomenon which cannot simply be reduced to a PF phenomenon, at least in the northern dialects of Salento where C-drop licenses significant structural effects (for detailed discussion, see Ledgeway, 2013; in press a);
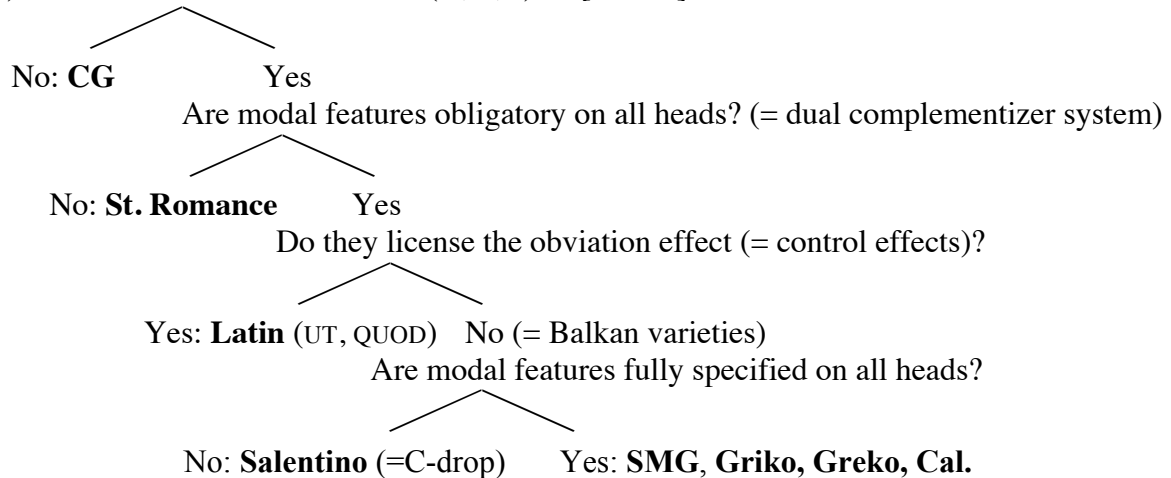
(35)  a. *Te   l' ia    tittu *(ca) è    nu  bravu  vagnone* (Cellino San Marco, BR)
        you= it=I.had  said    that  he.is a    good  boy
        'I told you that he's a good lad'
      b. *Ce   bbuei    (cu)  ddici?* (Cellino San Marco, BR)
        what you.want  that  you.say
        'What do you want to say?'

In light of these facts, we can now slightly modify our proposed complementation parameter hierarchy in (31) to incorporate this microparametric difference between *Salentino* on the one hand and *Calabrese* and Italo-Greek on the other. In (36) we produce the relevant portion of the hierarchy that takes account of this C-drop option:[32]

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[32] Note that C-drop is also found in a number of standard Romance varieties in marked modal contexts (e.g. in subordinate clauses containing a verb in the subjucntive or the future or conditional), the evidence of which can be used to argue for the existence of a dual complementizer system (albeit with homophonous complementizers) in these same varieties. For further discussion, see Poletto (2001), Ledgeway (2013; in press a), Ledgeway and Lombardi (in press).

(36)   Can selected functional heads (*C*, *T*, *v*) be [+finite]?

        No: **CG**          Yes
                        Are modal features obligatory on all heads? (= dual complementizer system)

                No: **St. Romance**        Yes
                            Do they license the obviation effect (= control effects)?

                    Yes: **Latin** (UT, QUOD)   No (= Balkan varieties)
                                    Are modal features fully specified on all heads?

                        No: **Salentino** (=C-drop)       Yes: **SMG**, **Griko, Greko, Cal.**

## 3.3 The definite article

We now return to the distribution of the definite article. Above we noted how in *Griko* (37a) and *Greko* (37b) the use of the definite article proves obligatory with proper names in accordance with a usage only partially reflected in the surrounding Romance dialects, witness the contrast between *Salentino* and *Calabrese* in (38a-b).

(37) a. *Allù    sessanta  irte    puru **o**    Steo* (gk, www.glossagrika.it)
         at.the  sixty      came   also  the   Steo
         'In 1960s Steo also came over'
     b. ***I**   Romi  è  pplon  òria      a'   **tti**   Nnàpuli* (Sternatia (gk))
         the   Rome  is  more   beautiful  than  the   Naples
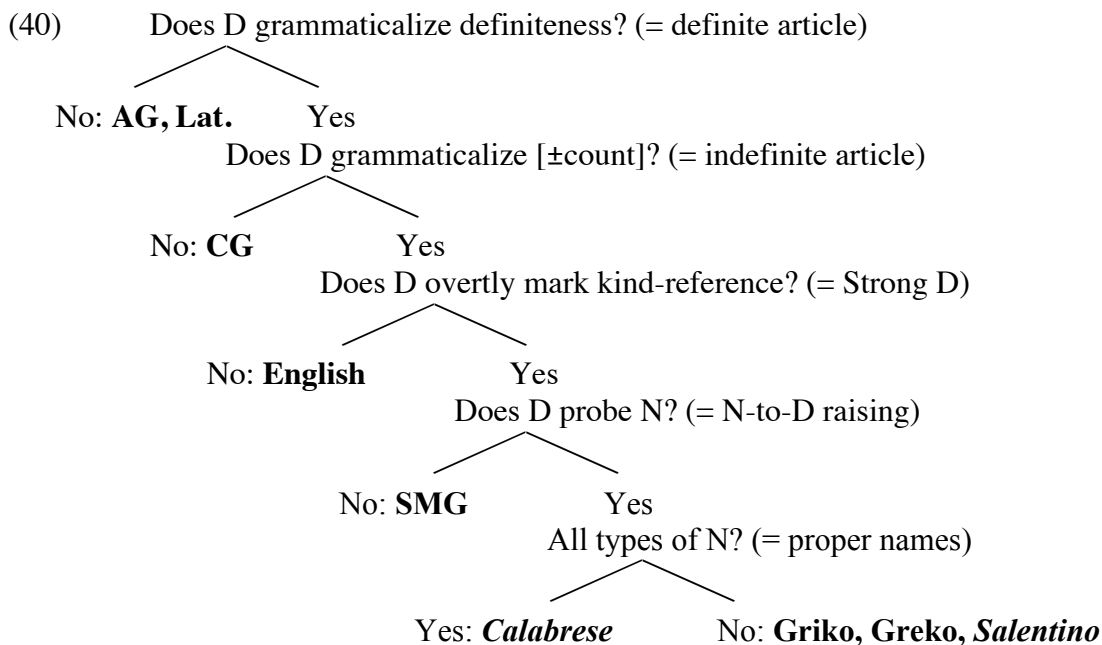         'Rome is more beautiful than Naples'

(38) a. *Nu' à          ntisu  lu  tescorsu te **la**  Catarina  cu   **llu**  Saveriu?* (Lecce)
         not you.have  heard  the  speech  of the  Catarina  with  the   Saveriu
         'Didn't you hear Catarina's discussion with Saverio?'
     b. (***La**) Maria  mi   fici   scrìveri  tutti  i     cosi* (Bova)[33]
          the   Maria  me=  made to.write  all    the  things
         'Maria made me write everything down'

The variation witnessed in this area finds an elegant explanation in terms of the parametric approach to the development of the Greek article and the structure of the DP expounded in Guardiano (2006). In particular, she breaks down the observed variation across different diachronic varieties of Greek into four microparametric options (39a-c), which we can, in turn, directly incorporate into a parameter hierarchy along the lines of (40), part of a larger word structure hierarchy (Roberts, 2012; Biberauer and Roberts, in press):

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[33] Cf., however, the obligatory use of the article in the equivalent Bovese *Greko* sentence: *\*(**I**) Maria mu ècame na gràzzo pasa prama*.

(39) a [±] grammaticalization of definiteness in DP;
    b [±] grammaticalization of countability in DP;
    c [±] strong D;
    d [±] N-raising;

(40)      Does D grammaticalize definiteness? (= definite article)

No: **AG, Lat.**      Yes
          Does D grammaticalize [±count]? (= indefinite article)

      No: **CG**      Yes
          Does D overtly mark kind-reference? (= Strong D)

      No: **English**      Yes
          Does D probe N? (= N-to-D raising)

      No: **SMG**      Yes
          All types of N? (= proper names)

      Yes: *Calabrese*      No: **Griko, Greko,** *Salentino*

Our first question in (40) relates to the microparametric option (39a) which serves to distinguish between those languages that lack articles such as ancient Greek and Latin, which fail to grammaticalize definiteness overtly in the syntax through the lexicalization of the D position with a definite article (cf. Bošković, 2005a,b; 2008, in press; Bošković and Gajewski, 2011; Ledgeway, 2012: 43-46), and those that do. Among the latter group we can further isolate through option (39b) those varieties such as Classical Greek which, despite presenting a definite article, fail to grammaticalize the [±count] distinction in the DP and hence lack an indefinite article. Among those that grammaticalize both the definite and indefinite articles we can further distinguish in accordance with (39c) between weak and strong D languages (Guardiano and Longobardi, 2005). Varieties of the former group such as English do not require overt association in the syntax between N and D, hence kind-reference is not explicitly lexicalized on D in these varieties, witness the absence of the article in English sentences such as *(\*The) grass is green*. In strong D languages such as Greek and Romance varieties, by contrast, kind-reference has to be licensed through explicit association of N and D in the syntax, witness the obligatory use of an expletive article in the equivalent French sentence *\*(L')herbe est verte*.

Crucially, among the strong D varieties that interest here we can finally distinguish on the basis of the parametric option (39d) between those that exhibit N(-to-D)-raising and those that do not. Standard modern Greek squarely falls into the latter category, as is immediately revealed by its strict adherence to the A+N order with definite DPs and the requirement that D be lexicalized with an expletive article in conjunction with proper names (41a-b; cf. Mackridge, 1985: 198; Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warburton, 1997: 276–278).

(41) a. *to   (\*pedì)   kalò   pedì* (SMG)
         the   child   good   child
         'the good child'
     b. *érkete   \*(o)   Dimitris?* (SMG)
         comes   the   Dimitris?
         'Is Dimitris coming?'

In one respect, Italo-Greek (42a-b) thus diverges radically from standard modern Greek in exhibiting N-raising on a par with *Salentino* (43a) and *Calabrese* (43b), yielding the typical Romance N+A order (cf. Katsoyannou, 1992: 200-204; Guardiano, 2011; this volume; Guardiano and Stavrou, 2012) derived from overt movement of the nominal head to the left of any adjectival classes situated immediately above its first-merge position.

(42) a. *ena **spitin** grò   (\*spiti(n))* (Castrignano dei Greci (gk))
         a   house damp   house
         'a damp house'
     b. *tossa   **ximóna** sprixá ʧe   makría   (\*ximóna)* (Gallicianò (gc))
         so.many winters cold   and   long   winters
         'so many cold and long winters'

(43) a. *sta   scrie   a **uècchi** chiusi (\*uècchi)* (Lecce)
         PROG   he.writes to eyes   closed   eyes
         'he writes with his eyes closed'
     b. *cu   li   **braccia** aperti (\*braccia)* (Bovese, RC)
         with   the arms   open   arms
         'with open arms'

Although it therefore appears correct to conclude that D – or, to be more precise, the functional field (D-domain) above NP – uniformly probes N in *Magna Graecia*, further fine-grained differentiation of this particular microparameter is required to produce the observed split between Italo-Greek (37a-b) and *Salentino* (38a) on the one hand and *Calabrese* (38b) on the other in relation to the licensing of proper names through the use or otherwise of the article. The relevant difference can be expressed by asking which types of N may be probed by D. The least marked option is that which characterizes *Calabrese*, where D attracts all types of N, including proper names which overtly raise to D and therefore prove incompatible with the definite article. The more marked and selective option is exemplified by the remaining three varieties where D fails to probe proper names, a small and lexically definable sublcass of nominals, which, by virtue of the strong D setting, can only be rescued through merger of an expletive article in D.


## 3.4 Verb movement

Finally, we turn our attention to the verb to consider what structural parallels Greek-Romance contact has produced on the verbal system. In some respects, the parallels between the two varieties prove quite remarkable (Rohlfs, 1977: 193-203; Katsoyannou, 1992: 301-323; Italia Gemma and Lambroyorgo, 2001: 107-124; Remberger, 2011: 130-43), as was already noted

above in relation to the distribution of the *passato remoto* in contexts of present relevance on a par with the use of the Italo-Greek aorist (cf. 2a-b). By way of further illustration, consider the overview of verbal paradigms in *Calabrese*, *Greko* and standard modern Greek presented in Table 4 taken from Remberger (2011: 132). While we can standardly recognize eight distinct paradigms for modern standard Greek, this number goes down to just four in *Calabrese* and *Greko* which both lack progressive and non-progressive futures, the future perfect and the present perfect,[34] thereby revealing a perfect formal parallelism between the two.

**Calabrese & Greko**

| Present | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Imperfect | Simple Past/Aorist | | Pluperfect |
| | | | |

**SMG**

| Present | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Imperfect | Aorist | Present Perfect | Pluperfect |
| Progressive future | Future | | Future Perfect |

Table 4. Overview of verbal paradigms in *Calabrese* & *Greko* and SMG

Indeed, the parallels between the Italo-Greek and local Romance verb systems go even further, as revealed by the identical formal development of aspectual periphrases in both dialect groups.[35] Beginning with *Greko* and *Calabrese*, we can note that in both varieties progressive (44a-b) and continuative (45a-b) aspects are marked through a grammaticalized periphrasis consisting of 'stand' (= *steko/stari*) and 'go' (= *pao/iri*), respectively, followed by a non-finite verb form (active participle in *-onda*/gerund in *-ndu*).

(44) a. *tri' animágǵa, pu* **estékai miryázonda** *to kréa* (Roccaforte (gc))
      three animals   which stood  sharing    the meat
      'three animals, which were sharing the meat'

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[34] Note that in Italo-Greek *thèlo* never grammaticalized as a future marker which is expressed by the simple present (i.a; Morosi, 1870: 145; Rohlfs, 1977: 193-194; Violi, 2004: 67, 73), and that the periphrasis consisting of *èχo* 'have' + perfect passive participle (in *-mena*) carries only a resultative meaning (i.b; Morosi, 1870: 142; Rohlfs, 1977: 196-197), and not a temporal perfective interpretation as in standard modern Greek which is expressed instead by the aorist (i.c):

(i) a *Avri* **èrcome** *evò* (gk) / *sas tes* **iftyázo** *egó* (Roccaforte (gc))
    tomorrow come.PRES.1SG I      you= them repair.PRES.1SG I
    'I'll come tomorrow / I'll repair them for you'
  b **Éχo faména** (gk) / *Ton* **éχo krimméno** (Roccaforte (gc))
    I.have eaten     / it= I.have hidden
    'I've finished eating (and am now full up) / I've got it hidden away'
  c **Éfa** (gk)/ *egò δen* **ákua** *mai mentuvéspi ettúndom mágo* (Roccaforte)
    I.ate    I  not heard never to.mention that    wizard
    'I've eaten / I've never heard mention of that wizard'

[35] Cf. Rohlfs (1969: 108; 1977: 201-202), Katsoyannou (1992: 350-354, 362), Meliadò (1994: 109, 188-189), Trumper (1997: 363), Ledgeway (2000: ch. 3; 2008), Manolessou (2005: 118), Remberger (2011: 134-36).

      b. ***Staju   vinendu   i        Missina*** (Reggio Calabria)
         I.stand   coming   from   Messina
         'I'm on my way from Messina'

(45) a. *énan áθropo ton   ivre   ti* ***ípiye    parpatónda*** *ya   ta   χoráfya* (Bova)
         a       man     him= found  that he.went walking      for  the fields
         'a man found him who was (continuously) walking through the fields'
      b. *Ddhu   povireddhu* ***va    girandu*** *casi     casi* (Reggio Calabria)
         that    poor.DIM    goes turning   houses houses
         'That poor man is going around from house to house'

A very similar situation is found in *Griko* and *Salentino*, where progressive aspect (46a-b) is expressed by a hypotactic structure 'stand and' (= *stéo će/sto a*) followed by the finite verb, where 'stand' shows varying degrees of inflectional attrition (Ledgeway 2008), including the non-agreeing forms *(st)é* (gk) and *sta* (Sal.). Both varieties also employ an analogous hypotactic structure for the expression of prospective aspect, namely 'go (and)' (= *pao (će) / ire (a)*) followed by the finite verb (47a-b).

(46) a. ***sté(o)*** *će tró   /   'e       će    vréχi* (Zollino / Martignano)
         I.stand and I.eat     STAND   and   it.rains
         'I'm eating / It is raining'
      b. *Cce* ***sta***    *ffacìti a dda intru? /* ***Sta***    *cuntamu   cose* (Lecce / Matino)
         what STAND you.do to there inside    STAND we.recount things
         'What are you doing in there? / We're discussing things'

(47) a. ***pao***   *vrisco    tipo* (Calimera (gk), Cassoni [1937] 1990: 164)
         I.go       I.find     something
         'I'll go and fetch something'
      b. *Se nu' ppachi li   cinquecentu miglioni* ***bba' ccite***    *marìtuta* (Lecce)
         if not you.pay the 500            millions go    he.kills  husband=your
         'Unless you pay 500 million lire, he's gonna kill your husband'

Despite these remarkable parallels in the verbal systems of Italo-Greek and the local Romance dialects, a major and unexpected difference emerges in relation to the different extent of verb movement in both varieties. By way of example, consider first the contrast in the unmarked position of the finite verb witnessed in the English and French examples in (48a-b):

(48) a *John*   [T **Ø**        [*v*-VP <u>*often*</u>   ***cleans***  *his  car*]] (Eng.)
     b *Jean*   [T ***nettoie*** [*v*-VP <u>*souvent*</u> ~~*nettoie*~~ *sa   voiture*]] (Fr.)

Exploiting the fixed positions of VP-adverbs like 'always' as a diagnostic indicator of the left edge of the *v*-VP complex, it is possible to distinguish between overt verb-raising languages like French, where the finite verb raises to the T position to the left of VP-adverbs, and languages like English, where the verb remains *in situ* to the right of such VP-adverbs and the T position is not overtly lexicalized in the syntax. This difference is traditionally retraced to the respective

richness of verbal inflection in the two languages (Emonds, 1978; Pollock, 1989; Belletti, 1990: 44-45; Cinque, 1999: 152; Biberauer and Roberts 2008).

Nonetheless, recent research has revealed a much more nuanced interpretation of Romance verb movement than these familiar broad-brush treatments which classify Romance *tout court* as having overt verb movement. Following the seminal work of Cinque (1999), Infl/T is now commonly interpreted as a general label for the rich inflectional area of the clause (the Infl/T-domain) made up of a series of distinct functional projections dedicated to marking various temporal, aspectual, modal and voice distinctions ranging over the lexical verb, its arguments, and possible adjuncts which can also be identified by the semantically corresponding adverbial modifiers they host (cf. also Cinque, 2002; 2006; Belletti, 2004; Rizzi, 2004). Armed with these assumptions about a universal fixed hierarchy of adverb positions and corresponding functional projections, it is therefore possible to provide a more fine-grained comparative analysis of verb movement. In this respect, it has been shown that the dialects of southern Italy present low V-movement (Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005:103-106; in press; Schifano, 2011; in prep.; Ledgeway, 2012: §4.3.2; in press b), as revealed by the following representative *Calabrese* (49a) and *Salentino* (49b) examples where the verb does not raise above Cinque's (1999) pre-VP aspectual adverbs (including *not even, already, still, always, hardly, almost*):

(49) a. *Gianni  <u>mancu</u>  / <u>sempi</u>  / <u>amalappena</u>* [$_{v\text{-VP}}$ **fumava**] (Cal.)
    John    not.even  always  hardly       smoked
    'John didn't even smoke / John always/hardly smoked'
  b. *l'Anna    <u>già</u>  / <u>ncora</u>  / <u>quasi</u>* [$_{v\text{-VP}}$ *u    sapìa*] (Sal.)
    the.Anna already still    almost     it=  knew
    'Anna already / still / almost knew'

Nonetheless, it is not possible to conclude that the verb in southern Italian dialects does not raise at all, inasmuch as it must occur to the left of Cinque's lowest pre-VP adverbs such as 'well' and 'everything', as illustrated by the following examples:

(50) a. *Rosina* [$_{T}$… [$_{\text{AspField}}$ *<u>sempi</u>*   **cucina**  <u>bbonu</u>* [$_{v\text{-VP}}$ ~~*cucina*~~]]] (Cal.)
    Rosina              always  cooks    good
    'Rosina always cooks well'
  b. *iddru* [$_{T}$… [$_{\text{AspField}}$ *<u>sempre</u>*  **sente** <u>tuttu</u>  <u>bonu</u>* [$_{v\text{-VP}}$ ~~*sente*~~ *forchè  de  l'   urtima*
    he               always  hears all    well         except  of   the  last
    *parola*]]] (Sal.)
    word
    'he always hears everything perfectly except for the last word'

We are led to assume therefore that in the dialects of southern Italy the verb raises to a medial position within Cinque's pre-VP aspectual adverb field.

Now, given the unmistakable parallels between the verb system of *Calabrese/Salentino* and Italo-Greek observed so far, it is natural to expect the extent of V-movement in Italo-Greek to be similarly quite low. However, the results of a preliminary examination reveal that this prediction is not borne out. Rather, V-movement in Italo-Greek would appear to pattern identically with standard modern Greek, which is standardly reported to display high V-movement to T (Rivero,

1994; Rivero and Terzi, 1995; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 1998),[36] a position from where it precedes all pre-VP adverbs. Below in (51)-(52) we report some representative examples from *Greko* and *Griko*, respectively, which illustrate the higher position of the verb in Italo-Greek.

(51) a. *δen   **éfaga**   akomí* (Roccaforte (gc))
      not    I.ate    yet
      'I haven't eaten yet'

   b. *ećíni   ston    ǵipo    e   **ppánda*** (Roccaforte (gc))
      she     in.the  garden  is  always
      'she is always in the garden'

   c. *e     ssónno   **porpatim**   bléo* (Condofuri (gc))
      not    I.can    to.walk    anymore
      'I can't walk anymore'

   d. *i     anaráδa   **eyávi**   sirma   ć'   ékraš' ećínda   yinéka* (Rochudi (gc))
      the    anarada   went    early   and called that     lady
      'the anarada [= hooved-lady!!] didn't delay in calling that lady'

   e. *t'   alévvri   tos     sákko   en   **etél'onnem**   mái* (Bova (gc))
      the   flour    of.the  sack    not  finished        never
      'the flour from the sack never ran out'

(52) a. *ja   mìa kuindicina   **èrkatto**   panta    e   missionari* (gk, www.glossagrika.it)
      for  a    fortnight    came     always   the  missionaries
      'the missionaries would always come for a fortnight'

   b. *e'   **penzean**       pleo* (gk, www.glossagrika.it)
      not  they.thought   anymore
      'they were no longer thinking'

   c. *En   **ermàzutte**    mai* (gk, www.glossagrika.it)
      not   they.marry    never
      'They'll never get married'

   d. ***Ekhi**   già       dio* (gk, www.glossagrika.it)
      he.has   already   two
      'He'll already be two years old'

   e. *E'   **ràttu**    mánku* (gk, www.glossagrika.it)
      not   they.sew  not.even
      'They don't even sew'

Interestingly, however, there is one context in which V-movement patterns identically both in Italo-Greek and in the local Romance dialects. As argued in Ledgeway (2009; 2012b), D'Alessandro and Ledgeway (2010: 2053-2056) and Ledgeway and Lombardi (in press), the finite lexical verb in the dialects of southern Italy exceptionally undergoes high movement to T in irrealis clauses where, as in Italo-Greek and Greek more generally, nothing can intervene between the irrealis complementizer/particle (*mu, ma, mi, cu*) and the finite verb other than clitic elements (e.g. pronouns, negation; cf. Ledgeway, 1998). The dialects of southern Italy thus display a significant asymmetry between irrealis and non-irrealis clauses (see also Schifano, in

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[36] For a more nuanced interpretation of the modern Greek facts, see however Mavrogorgios (2010: 182-185).
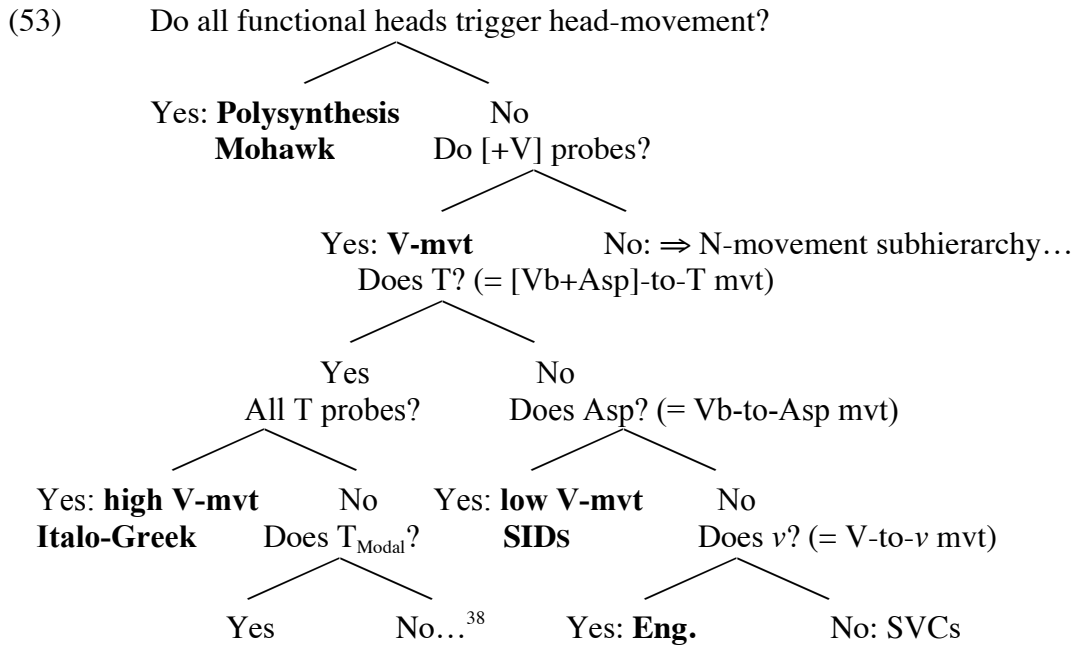
prep., for similar data from other Romance varieties): whereas the verb raises to a low position in the lower pre-VP aspectual field in both root and realis complement clauses (53a), in irrealis clauses the verb exceptionally targets the highest available position within the T-domain (53b).

(53) a. *(tice      ca)* [$_T$ *l'   Anna* [$_{Asp}$ *già      u   sape* [$_{v\text{-}VP}$ ~~*sape*~~]]] (Sal.)
         he.says that     the Anna      already it=knows
         '(He says that) Anna already knows'
     b. *speru    cu* [$_T$ *u  sape* [$_{Asp}$ *già* (\**u   sape*) [$_{v\text{-}VP}$ ~~*sape*~~]]] (Sal.)
         I.hope   that    it=he.knows    already it= he.knows
         'I hope that he already knows'

In light of these facts, it is tempting to conclude that the higher verb movement observed in irrealis clauses is a consequence of contact with Italo-Greek. Recall from above (§3.2) that, in contrast to other Romance languages and varieties, the Romance dialects of this area make very little use of the infinitive, the functions of which are in most cases replaced by a finite irrealis clause following the distinctive complementation pattern of the surrounding Italo-Greek varieties. It would appear therefore that the dialects of this area borrowed not only the superficial complementation pattern, which left little consequent space for the infinitive and introduced a dual complementizer system, but they also borrowed the syntax (namely, the exceptionally high V-movement) associated with the introduction of an irrealis complementizer. By contrast, root clauses and realis complement clauses, which do not typically replace the infinitive, were left unaffected and continue to display the default low V-movement typical of all Romance dialects of the south of Italy (Ledgeway and Lombardi, in press). The result is a hybrid grammar which combines (local) Romance low V-movement in realis contexts with Greek-style high V-placement in irrealis contexts.

These differences in the extent of V-movement in the two dialect groups can therefore be modelled in terms of the parameter hierarchy in (53), in which the various movement options have been embedded within a larger word structure parameter hierarchy (cf. Roberts, 2012; Biberauer and Roberts, in press). Focusing on the portion of the hierarchy which interests us most here, we note that generalized high V-movement in Italo-Greek constitutes a mesoparametric option, since V-movement does not discriminate among different subtypes of T probe, but simply applies across the board productively raising verbal categories of all kinds to T. Italo-Greek thus contrasts with the more restricted and marked microparametric V-movement options that immediately follow in the hierarchy, where only a specific subclass of T probes trigger movement. In the cases at hand the relevant discriminating feature is informally labelled [modal], which isolates a subclass of modally marked instantiations of T capable of attracting the verb. In the case of *Calabrese* and *Salentino* the relevant feature is intended to single out all instantiations of irrealis modality, where T$_{Modal}$ probes, and hence is lexicalized by, all [+V] categories, be these lexical Vs or auxiliary *v*s. Modern English, by contrast, assumes a more restrictive version of this option where T only probes modals ($v_{Aux}$), but not lexical verbs. Of course, we have seen that not all verbs in *Calabrese* and *Salentino* are probed by T, and this falls out directly from the negative specification for the preceding mesoparametric option regarding the ability of T to trigger head-movement. In short, if T does not probe the verb, then the next

least marked option is for the verb to be probed by the next functional head down, namely Asp,[37] giving rise to the typically low verb movement observed for [-irrealis] verbs in the dialects of southern Italy, including *Calabrese* and *Salentino* (Ledgeway and Lombardi, in press). Even more restricted options are instantiated by modern English, where lexical Vs are limited to raising to *v*, and those languages with serial verb constructions (SVCs) where lexical V does not raise at all.

(53)        Do all functional heads trigger head-movement?

Yes: **Polysynthesis**          No
    **Mohawk**        Do [+V] probes?

        Yes: **V-mvt**                No: ⇒ N-movement subhierarchy…
        Does T? (= [Vb+Asp]-to-T mvt)

        Yes                        No
      All T probes?        Does Asp? (= Vb-to-Asp mvt)

Yes: **high V-mvt**    No        Yes: **low V-mvt**        No
**Italo-Greek**    Does T$_{Modal}$?        **SIDs**        Does *v*? (= V-to-*v* mvt)

      Yes                No…[38]        Yes: **Eng.**                No: SVCs

# 4 Discussion and conclusions

The detailed discussion of Italo-Greek and southern Italo-Romance morphosyntax above has shown beyond all doubt how, at least on the surface, the grammars of the these two broad linguistic groups are in many respects very similar, to the extent that the observed structural parallels are far too striking for them to be dismissed as accidental but, rather, must be considered the result of centuries-old structural contact between Greek and Romance, ultimately to be placed towards the upper end of Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) five-point scale of contact intensity. With the sole exception of adjectival positions in Italo-Greek (cf. §3.3), the direction of such contact has consistently been shown to be unidirectional, involving the transfer and extension of original Greek structural features into the surrounding Romance varieties. At the same time, however, we have seen that a detailed examination of these contact phenomena

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[37] Asp is to interpreted here as one of a series of functional heads within the lower pre-VP aspectual field. We are glossing here over considerable microparametric differences across varieties in terms of which specific instantiations of Asp may probe the verb. For detailed discussion in relation to Romance, see Schifano (in prep.).

[38] We leave open for future research the various options here, assuming that in some languages V-movement is triggered by more marked instantiations of T including, among others, [-finite] T. This is presumably the correct characterization for Italian, where finite lexical verbs raise to a clause-medial position (immediately above the lower pre-VP field), whereas non-finite verb forms such as the infinitive obligatorily raise to T (Belletti, 1990: 70-76; Cinque, 1999: 143-146; Ledgeway, 2012: 144-145; in press b: §2.1.2.2).

reveals how the finer details of such structural parallels often differ in subtle and unexpected ways once adopted in Romance: this highlights how speakers have not so much borrowed actual Greek forms but, rather, reshaped and reanalysed, often in a process of replication (Heine and Kuteva, 2003; 2005), already existing Romance categories (e.g. dative and genitive marking, finite and infinitival complementation, article usage, and verb movement) to approximate the superficial Greek models and patterns. Indeed, data like these highlight how the varieties in question marry together in still poorly explored and largely little understood ways facets of core Romance and Greek syntax to produce a number of innovative hybrid grammars, the evidence of which can be profitably used to throw light on the nature of parametric variation and the proper formal characterization of convergence and divergence.

In the case of Italo-Greek and southern Italo-Romance, which it must not be forgotten independently share a common Indo-European ancestry that is in large part responsible for their shared macro- and mesoparametric settings (e.g. head-initial, nominative-accusative alignment, pro-drop), observed Greek-biased convergence between the two can typically be reduced to a surface effect of shared microparametric settings. By way of illustration, consider once again the case of sentential complementation. Specifically, we saw that southern Italo-Romance patterns not with standard Romance, but, rather, with Italo-Greek in exhibiting a dual complementizer system, the manifestation of which was argued to be ultimately understood as a case of microparametric variation in terms of the obligatory marking of [±realis] modal features on all selected functional heads. On the other hand, the more subtle nature of divergence between southern Italo-Romance and Italo-Greek can be reduced to the surface effect of different settings in relation to hierarchically 'deeper' microparametric options and, above all, in relation to nanoparametric differences. Returning again to sentential complementation, although Italo-Romance and Italo-Greek share the same microparametric settings in relation to [±realis] modal features (= dual complementizer system), licensing of the obviation effect (= lack of control) and non-finiteness (= presence of infinitives), we have seen how only distinct nanoparametric settings can provide the key to understanding why they differ quite radically and in largely unpredictable ways with regard to the individual functional predicates that may or may not select the infinitive. This is another significant aspect where the parameter hierarchies prove particularly enlightening, inasmuch as the 'relic syntax' associated with these nanoparametric properties provide us with a valuable window on what must have formerly been productive complementation patterns that our extremely limited textual record does not allow us to observe directly in its entirety (cf. Biberauer and Roberts, in press). Indeed, one of the general predictions of the parameter hierarchies discussed by Biberauer and Roberts (in press) is that the parameters situated higher in the hierarchy (e.g. macro- and mesoparameters) should display greater stability over time than both micro- and nanoparametric options situated in the lower portions of the hierarchy. Although the time depth of our textual records is admittedly rather limited (cf. Tables 1 and 2), we can nonetheless see over the course of approximately 150 years that the rate and extent of change over this period has been quite considerable, not to say catastrophic in particular cases, with the infinitive now restricted in many, though not all, varieties to just one predicate, namely 'can'. This progressive yet swift diffusion of finite complementation at the expense of the infinitive highlights a process of diachronic regularization of finite complementation in all except the most frequent cases in the primary linguistic data (PLD), namely after 'can' (and to a lesser extent after 'hear' > 'know/make'), where the more marked nature of the featural specification associated with the particular lexical items involved is overridden by their prominence in the PLD.

Turning finally to the title of this paper, it is appropriate to ask whether the local Romance varieties of *Magna Graecia* can indeed be regarded as Greek disguised as Romance. The preceding discussion has provided and reviewed abundant evidence to demonstrate that ultimately this interpretation is untenable. Although such a view has traditionally enjoyed a great deal of acceptance, hence Rohlfs' now classic slogan *spirito greco, materia romanza*, it is based on rather superficial structural similarities deriving from retained macro- and mesoparametric settings and, above all, from shared 'shallow' (= hierarchically higher) microparametric settings. However, as soon as one begins to peel back the layers, it soon becomes clear that convergence through grammars in contact does not necessarily lead to simple borrowing and transference through interference, but more frequently gives rise to new hybrid structures born of reanalysis of the original Greek structures within an emergent Romance grammar instantiating 'deeper' (= hierarchically lower) microparametric and, above all, nanoparametric options. This observation goes against the general prediction (cf. Biberauer and Roberts, in press) that, all things being equal, syntactic change should proceed 'upwards' in the hierarchy as acquirers strip away features in their attempt to postulate the simplest featural analyses compatible with the PLD (Roberts and Roussou, 2003). In the particular cases at hand, however, we are dealing with convergence where speakers are not so much trying to provide the best fit with the PLD, but, rather, are striving to accommodate fully acquired structures from their native L1 in a 'less' native L2, frequently introducing competing and additional options within the contact grammar. Within this scenario, one possibility that presents itself to speakers is to simply eradicate such redundancy from the system, as appears to have been the case with the gradual demise of the infinitive where apparent optionality in the choice of complement type has been radically reduced in recent times according to different lexical classes giving rise to the observed nanoparametric variation.[39] Another is to reanalyse such optionality as meaningful variation, thereby enriching the contact grammar with new choices and concomitant distinctions. This appears to have been the case with the *dativo greco*, where the introduction of Greek-style genitive marking of RECIPIENT arguments does not replace dative marking wholesale, but, rather, emerges as a marked context-sensitive option that is specialized in the marking of individual RECIPIENT arguments in accordance with their [±presuppositional] reading.

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[39] Though see footnote 17 above where Baldissera argues that variation in the choice of infinitival versus finite complementation, at least after *sozo* 'can', correlates with a modal distinction in *Griko*. If so, original free variation would appear then to have been reinterpreted in this case as a new nanoparametric distinction.

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