

When three become two: The development of Greek and Romance complementizer systems in the dialects of the extreme south of Italy

Adam Ledgeway

University of Bergamo

 ORCID ID: 0000-0003-1766-1959

adam.ledgeway@unibg.it

Norma Schifano

University of Cambridge

 ORCID ID: 0000-0002-5241-0031

N.Schifano@bham.ac.uk

Giuseppina Silvestri

University of California, Los Angeles

 ORCID ID: 0000-0002-4448-7709

g.silvestri@ucla.edu



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Abstract

This article reconsiders the evidence for an original ternary complementizer system in the Italo-Greek dialects of southern Italy and how such a system was replicated in the neighbouring Romance dialects under contact. Although the evidence is in many cases fragmentary, given the often recessive nature of the ternary system today, it is demonstrated how an original ternary system was often reanalyzed as a binary system

in the modern dialects and how such developments gave rise to different formal outcomes across various Greek and Romance dialects.

Keywords: complementizer, realis, irrealis, factive, Calabrese, Salentino, Italo-Greek.

1. Introduction

This article explores structural parallels in the Greek and Romance dialects of the extreme south of Italy in the organization and lexicalization of the fine structure of the left periphery and, in particular, the complementizer system which can arguably be attributed to language contact. In particular, we argue that there is considerable evidence, even if only in residual form today in many dialects, to demonstrate that, at least historically, the Greek and Romance dialects of the extreme south of Italy are characterized, not by a dual complementizer system as frequently claimed in the literature, but, rather, by a ternary system. Following an examination of the core dual contrast in the complementizer system between realis and irrealis propositional modality in §2, we undertake in §3 an exploration of the distribution and formal properties of a third complementizer, the so-called factive complementizer, which variously functions as a relativizer, a factive complementizer proper, and a marker of optative illocutionary force. Its status and relationship with the other two complementizers, both in diachrony and in diatopy, are considered in §4 where it is shown that the ternary complementizer system is today in large part recessive on account of the increasingly obsolescent nature of the factive complementizer, at least in its complementizer uses. This, in turn, leads us to explore how a ternary complementizer system may become binary and how such developments are subject to diatopic variation in their formal outcomes.

2. Dual Complementizer System

The traditional view of subordination in the Greek and Romance dialects of the extreme south of Italy assumes a binary realis vs irrealis split in the complementizer system which is standardly interpreted as a case of Greek structural contact on Romance (for relevant bibliography, see Ledgeway 2016, 2023). Accordingly, in this area we find at least two subordinators: a realis complementizer introducing propositions selected by declarative and epistemic predicates such as SAY, and an irrealis complementizer heading clauses selected by predicates such as PERMIT which typically characterize the state or events of their complements as unrealized at the time of speaking. Both options are exemplified in (1) where we see that in Italo-Greek realis and irrealis subordinate clauses are introduced, respectively, by *ti* (< Gr. *ὅτι* ['hoti] 'that') and *na* (< Gr. *ἵνα* ['hina] 'in order that, so that'),¹ and in Romance by *ca* (< Lat.

¹ However, today Griko shows lexical borrowing from neighbouring Salentino with *ti* replaced by the corresponding Salentino realis complementizer *ca*, viz., *ka*.

QU(I)A ‘because’) and reflexes of QUOMODO ‘how’, namely, (Lat. (QUO)MODO >) Cal. *mu/ma/mi* and (QUO(MODO) >) Sal. *cu* (cf. also Väänänen 1982: 101, 105).²

- (1) a. Choriò di Roghudi Greko
 Mi’ ppermettestise **na** ipise tu
 NEG.IRR permit.SBJV.2SG that.IRR say.SBJV.2SG the.GEN
 maestru **ti** esbàgliespe!
 teacher.GEN that err.PST.PFV.3SG
 b. Sternatia Griko
 Mi’ ppermettetti **na** pi tu professuri **ka**
 NEG.IRR permit.SBJV.2SG that.IRR say.SBJV.2SG the.GEN teacher that
 ikhe sbaglièzzonta!
 have.PST.3SG err.NFIN
 c. Cardeto Calabrese
 Non ti permèttiri **u** dici û maestru **ca** fici
 NEG you permit.INF that.IRR say.2SG to.the teacher that do.PST.PFV.3SG
 n’ errori!
 an error
 d. Ugento Salentino
 Nu’ tte permèttete **cu** ddici allu maestru **ca** ia
 NEG you permit.INF that.IRR say.2SG to.the teacher that have.PST.IPFV.3SG
 sbagliatu!
 err.NFIN
 ‘Don’t you dare tell the teacher that he (had) made a mistake!’

The distribution of the realis and irrealis complementizers thus broadly follows from the semantics of the selecting predicate and is to a large extent predictable. For instance, Trumper & Rizzi (1985: 67f.) show how in five Calabrese dialects the same verbs often coincide in selecting the same complementizer in conjunction with identical lexical predicates. In their survey realis *ca* is selected in all dialects after the equivalents of NOTICE/REALIZE, BELIEVE, THINK, FEAR, propositional uses of SAY and DECIDE, BE SURE, BE HAPPY, AFTER, and AS SOON AS (2a), whereas irrealis *mu* is invariably selected after CONVINCe/PERSUADE, jussive and irrealis uses of SAY and DECIDE, HELP, BEFORE, and WITHOUT (2b). An identical distribution is found in Italo-Greek where, for example, SAY may select either the realis or irrealis complementizer in accordance with its propositional (3a) vs jussive (3b) reading.

- (2) Nicastro Calabrese, Trumper & Rizzi (1985: 65)
 a. Aju dittu **ca** sugnu partutu chilla sira.
 have.1.SG say.PTCP that be.1SG leave.PTCP that evening
 ‘I said that I left on that evening.’
 b. Ci aju dittu **m’** u ha.
 3.DAT have.1SG say.PTCP that.IRR it do.3SG
 ‘I told him to do it.’

² Note that examples that appear without a textual source are all taken from our extensive fieldwork *in loco* carried out in 2016. For further details regarding our database and data collection, see Ledgeway, Schifano & Silvestri (Submitted: §1.3).

(3) Soletto Griko

- a. Pes=ti ti mmàna=mu **ka** enn' èrkome!
 say.IMP.2SG=her.GEN the.GEN mother.GEN=my that NEG come.NACT.1SG
 'Tell mum that I'm not coming!'
- b. Tos= ìpane **na** pane su spitali.
 them.GEN= say.PST.PFV.3PL that.IRR go.3PL to.the hospital
 'They told them to go to the hospital.'

In other cases, however, unexpected differences may arise across dialects which highlight a degree of unpredictable lexically-based (viz. nanoparametric) variation in the selection of the complementizer. Exemplary in this respect is the predicate HOPE which in Trumper & Rizzi's (1985) study selects for the realis *ca* in the dialects of Nicastro and Catanzaro, for the irrealis *mu* in the dialect of Pizzo Calabro, but shows free variation between *ca* and *mu* in the dialects of Maierato and Vibo Valentia (see also Pristerà 1987).

This short discussion highlights undeniable structural parallels in the complementizer systems of the Greek and Romance varieties of *Magna Graecia* which are undoubtedly the outcome of historical contact from Greek on Romance. As a consequence, both linguistic groups today display a core dual complementizer system which formally distinguishes between realis and irrealis clauses in the lexicalization of the complementizer in accordance with the semantics of the selecting predicate. Although limitations of space prevent us from presenting the relevant facts here (though see Ledgeway, Schifano & Silvestri 2023, Submitted: ch. 8), the relevant distinction is not just one between modally differentiated complementizers, but also has formal and structural correlates within the sentential core in relation to mood, variation in verb placement, tense, subject positions, and negation. In particular, both linguistic groups have also lost an original formal contrast on the verb between indicative and subjunctive moods, with the generalization of an invariant form un(der)specified for tense in irrealis clauses which contrasts with the deictic temporal specification of realis verb forms. Yet, this does not imply that modality is only marked on the C-system, since in both Italo-Greek and in Calabrese and Salentino the contrast continues to surface syntactically through an asymmetry in the position of the verb in the I-domain in accordance with the realis–irrealis opposition. More specifically, the finite verb targets a lower position in realis clauses than irrealis clauses, where the verb occurs in the highest available position within the sentential core. However, given the observed absence of temporal marking on irrealis verb forms, irrealis clauses lack the tense-related projections found in realis clauses which license the canonical preverbal subject position (in accordance with the so-called EPP requirement), an observation which, in turn, explains the typical postverbal position of the subject in irrealis clauses. Finally, Italo-Greek distinguishes lexically between two negators, realis *den* generated within the sentential core (IP) and irrealis *min* generated within the left periphery (CP). Although no such lexical distinction is found in Calabrese or Salentino, an identical structural distinction in the position of *non/nu* is found in realis and irrealis clauses. In conclusion, the Greek and Romance varieties of the extreme south of Italy are both characterized by a realis–irrealis split in the complementizer system which, despite some morphological and lexical differences, entails a series of parallel modally-conditioned contrasts in the morphosyntactic organization of the sentential core.

3. Ternary Complementizer System

Although the parallel binary contrast in the complementizer systems of the Greek and Romance dialects of the extreme south of Italy accounts for the principal facts of subordination, there is also a third complementizer which we must take into consideration (cf. Manzini & Savoia 2005, I: §3.4, De Angelis 2021, Ledgeway 2022, for medieval Salentino evidence, see Maggiore 2023a: 111-113), namely, ItGr. *pu* (< Gr. ὅπου ['hopou] 'where'; cf. Rohlfs 1977: 98, Nicholas 1998: 456-465, Liosi & Kriki 2013, Nikiforidou & Katis 2021), Cal. *chi*, and Sal. *ci* (< Lat. QUI(D) 'what, who, which'; cf. Rohlfs 1969: 189). The distribution of this third complementizer, the so-called 'factive' complementizer, reveals once again a number of parallels between Greek and Romance. Although its status in both linguistic groups is largely recessive, the exact functional distribution of the ternary complementizer system is, to some extent, only indirectly reconstructable.

In terms of its distribution, we can recognize three principal uses of the factive complementizer: (i) relativizer; (ii) complementizer; and (iii) illocutionary particle. The latter use which involves the combination of the factive and irrealis complementizers and is limited to optatives, principally expressing curses and invectives (4), will not be considered further here due to space limitations (for detailed discussion, see Ledgeway, Schifano & Silvestri Submitted: §8.3.3).

(4) a. Bova Greko

Pu na grammistì ce na klasti ta cèrata!
that.FCT that.IRR fall.SBJV.2SG and that.IRR break.SBJV.2SG the horns

b. Soletto Griko

Pu na pesi ce na klasi ta cèrata!
that.FCT that.IRR fall.SBJV.2SG and that.IRR break.SBJV.2SG the horns

c. Oppido Mamertina Calabrese

Chi mmu cadi e mu ti= rrumpi i corna!
that.FCT that.IRR fall.2SG and that.IRR you.SG= break.2SG the horns

d. Calimera Salentino

Ci cu ppozzi cadiri e ccu tte=
that.FCT that.IRR can.SBJV.2SG fall.INF and that.IRR you.SG=
scasci la capu!
break.2SG the head
'May you fall and crack your head!'

3.1. Relativizer

The original function of the factive complementizer is that of a relativizer. For example, Gr. ὅπου ['hopou] 'where' > *pu* 'that' was originally a locative relativizer which, after developing general oblique functions, became a general relativizer (Nicholas 1998: 456-465; see however discussion also in Holton et al. 2019: 1092-1097). Consequently, in Italo-Greek relative clauses are introduced by *pu*, a situation faithfully preserved in Greko where *pu* represents the generalized complementizer (5a), except in the Greko of Bova (Marina) where *pu* has been replaced by the realis complementizer *ti* (5b; Rohlfs 1977: 97, Crupi 1981: 53). The generalized use of *pu* is

also documented for the Griko of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (6a; Morosi 1870: 98, Cassoni [1990] 1937: 64, Rohlfs 1977: 98), although today *pu* is increasingly rivalled by the realis complementizer *ka* (6b; Nicholas 1998: 521, Tommasi 2001: 190, 2019: 144, v. *ka*), undoubtedly due to contact with Salentino where the realis complementizer *ca* has also come to rival *ci* in its relativizing functions (cf. 7c). For a full overview of the diachrony of *pu* and *ti*, see the detailed discussion and evidence presented in Ledgeway, Schifano & Silvestri (2023, Submitted: ch. 8).

- (5) a. Galliciano Greko
 Àkue tin Maria **pu** èkrazze to' zzito.
 b. Bova Greko
 Ìkue 'i' Mmaria **ti** èkrazze 'o' zzito.
 hear.PST.PFV.3SG the Maria that(.FCT) call.PST.IPFV.3SG the boyfriend
 'He heard Maria who was calling her boyfriend.'
- (6) a. Calimera Griko, Kinita (1976: 6)
 mia'n veccharèddha **pu** fonàzzato Nena
 a old_lady that.FACT call.PST.IPFV.NACT.3SG Nena
 'an old lady who was called Nena'
 b. Sternatia Griko
 Ekhi tossus khronu **pu** / **ka** i aglisia e' ppesomeni.
 Have.3SG many years that.FCT that the church be.3SG fall.NFIN
 'The church collapsed many years ago.'

In a similar fashion, Cal. *chi* and Sal. *ci* also originate as (interrogative-)relative forms, viz., < Lat. QUID 'what, that which' (Rohlfs 1968: 195, 1969: 189, Maggiore 2023b: 46) or, in the case of *ci*, most probably < Lat. QUI 'who, which' (De Angelis 2013: 159-161, 2021: 164f., 2022: 360f.). While Cal. *chi* is unrestricted modifying antecedents in all grammatical functions (7a), Sal. *ci* is much more limited and principally found in subject function (cf. 7b), more rarely in object and oblique functions. In its place, as well as increasingly in the other core functions, we find the extension of the realis complementizer *ca* (Rohlfs 1969: 196), witness the alternation in (7c).

- (7) a. Roccella Ionica Calabrese, Carella (2013: I)
 Ed eu **chi** giravi i notti a notti
 and I that.FCT turn.PST.IPFV.1SG from night to night
 'And me who used to go around night after night'
 b. Lecce Salentino, Garrisi (1991: 16)
 nna mughiere **ci** era giòane e beḍḍa
 a wife that.FCT be.PST.IPFV.3SG young and beautiful
 'a wife who was young and beautiful'
 c. Lecce Salentino, Garrisi (1991: 79)
 Quista **ca** costa ttre carrini ete lana te pècura [...]nvece quista
 this that cost.3SG three carrini be.3SG wool of sheep instead this

ci costa cinque carrini ete puru te pècura

that.FCT cost.3SG five carrini be.3SG also of sheep
 ‘This one which costs three carrini is sheep’s wool [...] on the other hand this one which costs five carrini is also sheep’s wool’

3.2. Complementizer

In its complementizer function *pu*, *chi*, and *ci* are selected by factive predicates which presuppose the truth of the proposition they introduce. While in many languages, including Romance, factive clauses may license both indicative and subjunctive moods in accordance with an assertive and non-assertive distinction (Hooper 1975, Giorgi & Pianesi 1997: 218-220), in Italo-Greek and in Calabrese and Salentino the verb embedded under the factive complementizer parallels that found in realis clauses in that, among other things, it allows the full array of available morphological forms and deictic temporal contrasts.

- (8) a. Chorio di Roghudi Greko, Nucera (2009: 26)
 Arte immo charùmeno **pu** ìrthese
 now be.1SG happy that.FCT come.PST.PFV.2SG
 ‘Now I’m happy that you have come’
 b. Calimera Griko, Tommasi (1998: XLIX)
 e ghineka èftase **pu** ghènnise
 the wife arrive.PST.PFV.3SG that.FCT give_birth.PST.PFV.3SG
 ‘and it came to pass that his wife gave birth’
 c. Roccella Ionica Calabrese, Carella (2013: II)
 A= vitti **chi** parrava ch’ i vicini
 her= see.PST.PFV.1SG that.FCT speak.PST.IPFV.3SG with the neighbours
 ‘I saw her speaking with the neighbours’
 d. Lecce Salentino, Garrisi (1990)
 saputu **ci** l’ amicu l’= ìa mbrugghiātu
 know.PTCP that.FCT the friend him= have.PST.IPFV.3SG cheat.PTCP
 ‘Once he found out that his friend had swindled him’

The complementizer functions of *pu*, *chi*, and *ci* can be straightforwardly derived as extensions of their relativizing uses (Nicholas 1998: 460, Ledgeway 2022). For example, following emotive predicates (cf. 8a) *pu*, *chi*, and *ci* are historically causal in nature (viz., ‘I am happy for the reason that/because > that...’; cf. CLat. (GAUDEO) QUOD ‘(I rejoice) that’), while following eventive predicates (cf. 8b) they are temporal in nature (viz., ‘it came to pass (at a time) when...’ > ‘it came to pass that...’; Nicholas 1998: 311), and following perception predicates (cf. 8c) they represent the outcome of a reanalysis of an original pseudo-relative structure (viz., ‘I saw X who was singing’ > ‘I saw (X_i) that pro(_i) was singing’; Nicholas 1998: 60f., 64f.), and following cognitive predicates (cf. 8d) the reanalysis of an original factual relative structure (viz., ‘I understand/realize the fact that...’ > ‘I understand/realize that...’).

Although the examples are not so numerous and the complementizer functions of *pu*, *chi*, and *ci* are undoubtedly recessive today (cf. Rohlf 1969: 189, Nicholas 1998: 310f., Squillaci 2017: 165, n.27), our database offers sufficient examples for us to reconstruct a formerly more productive ternary complementizer system where,

within the realis–irrealis modal opposition (cf. §2), realis modality could be further specified, perhaps only ever optionally, for a [$\pm$ factive] distinction through a *ti/(ka)* vs *pu* and *ca* vs *chi/ci* alternation in accordance with a pattern widespread across Greek varieties (Nicholas 1998). Consequently, alongside examples like those in (8), we find many more in which the same factive predicates select for the realis complementizer, as illustrated by near minimal pairs such as (9a–b).

- (9) Roccaforte Greko, Rossi Taibbi & Caracausi (1959: 245, 244)
- a. Egò e ssòlito **pu** rífto pása práma pu én'
 I be.3SG customary that.FCT throw.1SG each thing where be.3SG
 éne
 be.3SG
 'I usually just throw everything anywhere'
- b. Egò e ssòlito **ti** ta ðinérya ta= afinno pu én'
 I be.3SG customary that the monies them= leave.1SG where be.3SG
 éne
 be.3SG
 'I usually just leave the money anywhere'

In addition to these uses, the factive complementizer is also widely reported (Morosi 1870: 157, Rohlf's 1977: 205, Violi 2004: 98f.), again alongside the realis complementizer, to introduce a variety of adjunct clauses, notably resultative, causal, consecutive, and concessive clauses which, once again, typically originate cross-linguistically from relative structures (Nicholas 1998: 60). Finally, even in those Greek and especially Romance dialects of the extreme south of Italy where the factive complementizer uses of *pu* and *chi/ci* seen above have largely or entirely disappeared today, the complementizer proves exceptionally resilient in temporal adjunct clauses (Manzini & Savoia 2005, I: §3.4, De Angelis 2017, 2021: §4) where it heads complex subordinating conjunctions. Consequently, although in modern Italo-Greek *pu* is today increasingly rarely, if ever, selected by a factive predicate, it regularly continues to surface in temporal clauses such as those in (10). Analogous considerations apply to Romance dialects such as those from the province of Reggio Calabria where, although *chi* is nowadays rare in factive complements, its distribution in temporal adjunct clauses (11a), as well as in other types of adjunct clause (11b), is robustly preserved (cf. De Angelis 2021:169f.).

- (10) a. Chorio di Roghudi Greko, Minuto, Nucera & Zavettieri (1988: 54)
 Mentre **pu** eporpàtegua
 while that.FCT walk.PST.IPFV.1SG
 'While I was walking'
- b. Calimera Griko
 Issi piatti enn ikha mai klàstonta rissopu 'en
 these plates NEG have.PST.3 never break.NFIN until_that.FCT NEG
 èttase
 arrive.PST.PFV.2SG
 'These plates had never broken until you arrived.'

- (11) a. Solano Calabrese

- Dopu **chi** ssi= vestiu, Maria si= guardau
 after that.FCT REFL= dress.PST.PFV.3SG Maria REFL= watch.PST.PFV.3SG
 ô specchiu.
 to.the mirror
 ‘After she got dressed, Maria looked at herself in the mirror.’
 b. Reggio Calabria province, Falcone (1979: 435)
 senza **chi** la maga di so cummari la= potissi
 without that.FCT the witch of her godmother her= can.PST.SBJV.3SG
 difëndari
 defend.INF
 ‘without that witch of a godmother of hers being able to defend her’

Exemplary in this respect is the dialect of Catanzaro which apparently displays a dual complementizer system in which realis complements (12a), also subsuming factive complements (12b), are introduced by *ca* (< Lat. QU(I)A ‘because’) and irrealis complements (12c) by *ma* (< Lat. (QUO)MODO ‘how’). However, temporal adjunct clauses are introduced by (Lat. QUID ‘what, that which’ >) *chi* (13a), the same complementizer that is also found in relative clauses (13b).

- (12) Catanzaro Calabrese, Colacino (1994: 23, 80, 25)
 a. ti= cuntanu **ca** su’ stanchi morti
 you.SG= tell.3PL that be.3PL tired dead
 ‘they tell you that they are dead tired’
 b. cuntenti **ca** nt’a menu ’e ’na jurnata diventàvanu niguri
 happy that in less of a day become.PST.IPFV.3PL black
 ‘happy that within less than a day they would have a wonderful suntan’
 c. mi= piàcia **ma** parru ccu vui
 me= please.3SG that.IRR speak.1SG with you.PL
 ‘I like speaking with you’
- (13) Catanzaro Calabrese, Colacino (1994: 85, 47)
 a. doppu **cchi** u criatura nèschia.
 after that.FCT the child exit.3SG
 ‘after the child is born’
 b. ’a medicina **cchi** t’= hai ’e pigghiara
 the medicine that.FCT you.SG= have.2SG of take.INF
 ‘the medicine which you have to take’

This ternary split in the complementizer system is repeated across numerous Romance dialects of the extreme south where, in contrast to the predominant binary realis–irrealis distinction in the complementizer system, temporal (and other types of) adjunct clauses are introduced by the complementizer *chi* or *ci*.

The exceptional preservation of the Greek and Romance factive complementizers in temporal (and other types of) adjunct clauses must be understood in terms of their original and ongoing relativizing functions (cf. §3.1). In particular, forms such as *doppu cchi u criatura nèschia* ‘after the child is born’ in (13a) are to be understood as hidden relative structures, namely, ‘after [THE TIME] when/that the child is born’ (cf. also Nicholas 1998: 460, Haegeman 2003, 2006, Manzini & Savoia

2005,I: 500). That this is the correct analysis is further substantiated by the observation that there is a one-to-one correspondence between those varieties that preserve the factive complementizer in relative clauses and those that employ it in temporal adjunct clauses. This conclusion finds additional support in the fact that, on a par with canonical relative clauses (cf. 6b, 7c), the factive complementizer is also frequently rivalled by the realis complementizer in temporal adjunct clauses, witness alternations such as (14)-(15).

(14) Griko, Rohlfs (1977: 206)

- a. ró**pu** iméni me ména
 until_that.FCT stay.2SG with me
 ‘as long as you stay with me’
- b. ró**ti** žisi
 until_that live.3SG
 ‘as long as he’s alive’

(15) Lecce Salentino, Garrisi (1991: 69, 17)

- a. dopu **ci** s’= ìanu llâti
 after that.FCT REFL= have.PST.IPFV.3PL wash.PTCP
 ‘after they had washed’
- b. dopu **ca** alla mpete ìa fatta metà strata
 after that to.the in.foot have.PST.IPFV.3SG do.PTCP half road
 ‘after he had gone half way on foot’

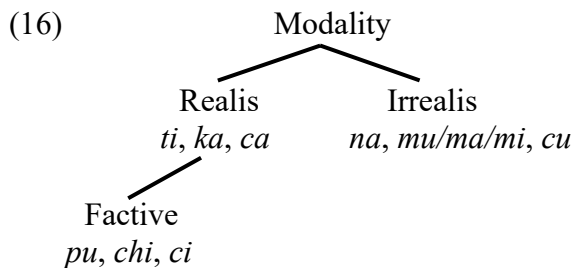
4. Complementizer Competition: When Three Become Two

The comparative evidence reviewed above, although fragmentary, is sufficient to offer a glimpse of a ternary complementizer system now, in certain respects, recessive and only partially reconstructable from the available textual record. The general picture is that of a complementizer system which shows such a remarkably similar development in both Greek and Romance as to exclude any possibility that the observed semantic and distributional parallelism is simply accidental. More specifically, both language families preserve a core realis–irrealis opposition in the complementizer system which, in turn, is augmented historically by a relativizer *pu*, *chi*, or *ci*. The latter continue in this original function to the present day where they introduce, not only canonical relative clauses with overt antecedents, but also a variety of adjunct clauses, typically temporal in nature, where the relativizer can be understood to modify an implicit temporal antecedent. It is these core relativizing functions which prove the most resilient and which in many dialects provide the strongest (or the only) evidence for the presence of a third complementizer.

At the same time, however, these relativizers could also (partially) develop specialized causal, pseudo-relative, factual, and eventive uses giving rise to their factive complementizer interpretation in conjunction with emotives, perception and cognitive predicates, and verbs of happening and chronological location, respectively (interpreted as an extension from individual to propositional variables in Ledgeway 2022). These factive complementizer uses, although attested in the textual record, are the least numerous and well defined in our corpus and by far the most susceptible to

alternation with, and/or replacement by, the realis complementizer. This suggests only a partial or incomplete case of regrammaticalization of the original relativizer as a factive complementizer (cf. Nicholas 1998: 308).

The discussion above has also highlighted a certain degree of distributional and functional overlap and competition between the factive complementizer (*pu, chi, ci*) and the realis complementizer (*ti, ka, ca*), both in its original relativizing functions (cf. 6b, 7c, 14-15) and in its factive complementizer uses (cf. 9). Crucially, this overlap, which typically involves the realis rather than the irrealis complementizer, is not random but reflects a particular conceptual organization of propositional modality which, following Palmer (2001: 4-8), is sketched in (16).



The core distinction within propositional modality is between realis and irrealis situated at the top of the hierarchical representation in (16) and which denote, respectively, the actuality of the proposition without, however, necessarily committing the speaker to its truth, and the non-actuality of the proposition at the time of the utterance. This basic opposition is robustly grammaticalized in the complementizer – and, to a lesser extent, inflexional (cf. Ledgeway, Schifano & Silvestri Submitted: §§8.2.2-4) – systems of both Italo-Greek and Calabrese and Salentino, where a distinction between realis (viz., *ti/ka, ca*) and irrealis (viz., *na, mu/ma/mi, cu*) complementizers sits at the very core of the C-system. At the same time, Palmer argues that realis includes factivity, a category which we have seen commits the speaker to the truth of the proposition, such that it represents a subcategory of realis modality and accordingly placed directly below realis in (16). As such, factivity is predicted to be a marked category which can either be indiscriminately subsumed under realis as part of a larger syncretic category of propositional modality or, as a more marked option, it can be formally singled out to distinguish factive from non-factive realis modality. This is the state of affairs that we typically find in Italo-Greek and in Calabrese and Salentino where the factive complementizer, whether used to introduce factive complements or various types of relative clause, is frequently collapsed with the realis complementizer and only more rarely (notably in relative clauses) marked off as a separate category. This distribution, henceforth Type 1, is exemplified by the Greko of Chorio di Roghudi in (17) and by Leccese in (18).

- (17) a. Chorio Roghudi Greko, Nucera (2009: 26)
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|
| Su= | to= | èlega | ti | icha |
| you.SG.GEN=it= | | say.PST.PFV.1SG | that | have.PST.1SG |
| n' | arto | | | |
| that.IRR | come.SBJV.1SG | | | |
| 'I told you that I would come' | | | | |

- b. Chorio di Roghudi Greko, Minuto, Nucera & Zavettieri (1988: 54)
 Capitespe **pu** epássegua an don campusànti
 happen.PST.PFV.3SG that.FCT pass.PST.IPFV.1SG by the cemetery
 ‘I happened to be passing through the cemetery’
- c. Chorio Roghudi Greko, Nucera (2009: 94)
 Ecapitevvhe ciòla **ti** arrivèvvje to patrùni
 happen.PST.IPFV.3SG also that arrive.PST.IPFV.3SG the boss
 ‘It would also happen that the boss would arrive’
- d. Chorio Roghudi Greko, Nucera (2009: 24)
 ena chartùci **pu** ito gramméno to ndirizzo tu
 a paper.DIM that.FCT be.PST.3SG write.NFIN the address the.GEN
 megàlu filu=tu [...] **ti** tu to= ito dòsonda
 big.GEN friend.GEN=his that him.GEN it= be.PST.3SG give.NFIN
 ‘a small card on which the address of his great friend [...] was written who had given it to him’

- (18) a. Lecce Salentino, Garrisi (1991: 60)
 nu criscìu **ca** nci riesci
 NEG believe.1SG that there succeed.2SG
 ‘I don’t think that you will succeed’
- b. Lecce Salentino, Garrisi (1990)
 mi= ccuersi **ci** ni= piacia mutu
 me= realize.PST.PFV.1SG that.FCT 3.DAT=please.PST.IPFV.3SG much
 ‘I realized that he liked it a lot.’
- c. Lecce Salentino, Garrisi (1991: 14)
 se= ccurgiu te sulu **ca** l’ ègghiu crutu te
 REFL= realize.PST.PFV.3SG of alone that the oil crude of
 la salata tenia nna sapore diversa
 the salad have.PST.IPFV.3SG a taste different
 ‘he realized by himself that the oil on the salad tasted differently’
- d. Lecce Salentino, Garrisi (1991: 7)
 Nc’= era nna fiata nna mughiere **ci** era
 there= be.PST.IPFV.3SG a time a wife that.FCT be.PST.IPFV.3SG
 giòane e bedda
 young and beautiful
 ‘Once upon a time there was a wife who was young and beautiful’
- e. Lecce Salentino, Garrisi (1991: 10)
 Papa Caliazzu, **ca** [...] paria nnu bellu giòene
 father Caliazzu that seem.PST.IPFV.3SG a handsome youth
 ‘Father Caliazzu, who [...] seemed a handsome young man’

Given this relation of inclusion between realis and factive modalities formalized in (16), in which the distribution of the realis complementizer may range over both factive and non-factive propositions, there arises a partial formal overlap between the realis and factive complementizers at the expense of the latter. Once established, this formal overlap seen in Type 1 varieties may, in turn, open the way for subsequent reanalyses. Under one scenario, the formal overlap between the original realis and factive complementizers observed in Type 1 varieties may be reinterpreted

as free variation, such that the erstwhile factive complementizer may also be extended in the opposite direction to optionally cover non-factive realis uses which formerly fell within the domain of the realis complementizer. This distribution of the two complementizers, henceforth Type 2, is illustrated by the Calabrese dialect of Stilo (19).

(19) Stilo Calabrese, Nucara (2013: 52-53, 64, 70)

- a. 'kri:jo **ka** ma'ri:a ɔn ava'ri:a ε nef'ʃi:ra / 'kri:jo
believe.1SG that Maria NEG have.COND.3SG of exit.INF believe.1SG
ki ddo'ma:na ma'ri:a 'vɛ:na
that.FCT tomorrow Maria come.3SG
'I believe that Maria wouldn't go out / I believe that Maria is coming tomorrow.'
- b. 'sattʃo **ka** ddʒo'vanni 'ɛppa prɔb'ble:mi / sa'pi:mɔ
know.1SG that Giovanni have.PST.PFV.3SG problems know.1PL
ki mma'ri:a ε mma'la:ta
that.FCT Maria be.3SG ill
'I know that Giovanni had problems / We know that Maria is ill.'
- c. 'vittomɔ ɔ 'patra ε ddʒo'vanni **ka** tɔr'na:va
see.PST.PFV.1PL the father of Giovanni that return.PST.IPFV.3SG
/ ... **ki** ttɔr'na:va ε 'hɔ:ra
that.FCT return.PST.IPFV.3SG from outside
'We saw Giovanni's father come back.'

Under another scenario the free variation seen in Type 2 varieties can eventually lead to the realis complementizer subsequently generalizing at the expense of the erstwhile factive complementizer leaving a dual complementizer system. This is what appears to have happened in the Greko of Bova (Marina) where, it was noted above (§3.1), the original factive complementizer *pu* is no longer used to introduce factive complements or relative clauses, but has now been replaced by the realis complementizer *ti*. This is also what we find in many Salentino varieties such as the dialect of Cellino San Marco where *ci* has not only been eliminated from factive complements according to a pattern today widespread across Salento, but also from relatives. Complementizer systems of this type, henceforth referred to as Type 3, are exemplified in (20)-(21).³

(20) a. Bova Greko, Squillaci (2017: 145)

Su= ipa **ti** ecini den irte
you.SG.GEN=say.PST.PFV.1SG that she NEG come.PST.PFV.3SG
'I told you that she did not come'

b. Bova Greko, Squillaci (2017: 145)

Akua **ti** su= chrostai poddà dineria.
hear.PST.PFV.1SG that you.SG.GEN=owe.3SG many monies
'I heard that s/he owes you lots of money.'

³ Analogous developments giving rise to Type 3 systems in Greek dialects outside of Italy are also attested in Cappadocian and Mariupolitan where the original non-factive realis complementizer today indiscriminately marks factive complements and relatives (Nicholas 1998: 290-297, 305f., 308, Roussou 2009: 382f.).

c. Bova Greko, Minuto, Nucera & Zavettieri (1988: 230)

Ene ena llogo **ti** egò en ècua mmai
 be.3SG a word that I NEG hear.PST.PFV.1SG never
 ‘It’s a word that I’ve never heard before.’

(21) Cellino San Marco Salentino, *CNCSM* (2004: 4, 27, 3)

- a. m’= aggiu sunnata **ca** sta trasia
 me= have.1SG dream.PTCP that PROG enter.PST.IPFV.1SG
 ‘I dreamed that I was going in’
- b. su’ cuntentu **ca** lu Vincenzo nu me= ole bene
 be.1SG happy that the Vincenzo NEG me= want.3SG well
 ‘I’m happy that Vincenzo doesn’t love me’
- c. quiddhru ete unu **ca** ole cu se= n’= approfitta
 that be.3SG one that want.3SG that.IRR REFL= thereof= profit.3SG
 te Lucietta
 of Lucietta
 ‘he’s somebody who wants to take advantage of Lucietta’

The final scenario is that in which the apparent free alternation between the original realis and factive complementizers seen in Type 2 varieties is eventually resolved with the elimination of the original realis complementizer in favour of the generalization of the erstwhile factive complementizer. This outcome is found in most Calabrese dialects of the remaining Greko-speaking enclave and its surrounding area (*pace* Meliadò 1994: 65), although, puzzlingly, it finds no immediate parallel with Greko which, we have just seen, instantiates either Type 1 (all villages other than Bova (Marina)) or Type 3 (Bova (Marina)). This distribution, henceforth Type 4, is exemplified below with examples from the Calabrese dialects of Sant’Elia di Saline Ioniche (22) and Bova (Marina) (23).⁴

(22) (Sant’Elia di) Saline Ioniche Calabrese, Tripodi (2017: I)

- a. Ti= dissi **chi** a chidda n’ a= vogghiu!
 you.SG= tell.PST.PFV.1SG that.FCT DOM that_oneNEG her= want.1SG
 ‘I told you that I don’t want her!’
- b. Non ciangu tantu ’u fattu **chi** ’restài vedovu
 NEG cry.1SG so_much the fact that.FCT remain.PST.PFV.1SG widower
 ‘I’m not so upset about the fact that I’ve become a widower’
- c. è chistu ’u signu **chi** mi= mandàsti?
 be.3SG this the sign that.FCT me= send.PST.PFV.2SG
 ‘is this the sign that you sent me?’

(23) Bova Calabrese, Squillaci (2017: 139, 91)

- a. Criu **chi** ti= sentiru di dda banda.
 Believe.1SG that.FCT you.SG= hear.PST.PFV.3PL from that part
 ‘I think that you could be heard from far away.’

⁴ Type 4 finds a parallel in the northern Greek dialects of Thrace which are reported by Nicholas (1998: 266-270) to show a similar extension of *pu* to all realis contexts (see also Roussou 2009: 381f.).

- b. U=seppimu ora ora **chi** si= sciarriaru.
 it=know.PST.PFV.1PL now now that.FCT REFL= bicker.PST.PFV.3PL
 ‘We’ve just learnt that they’ve fallen out.’
- c. Mi= cuntaru chi catti mentri **chi**
 me= tell.PST.PFV.3PL that.FCT fall.PST.PFV.3SG while that.FCT
 caminava.
 walk.PST.IPFV.3SG
 ‘People told me that s/he fell while s/he was walking.’
- d. Mi= misi i scarpi **chi** mi dolinu.
 me= put.PST.PFV.1SG the shoes that.FCT me hurt.3PL
 ‘I put on the shoes which hurt me.’

These four diachronic and diatopic distributional patterns of overlap, extension, retraction, and loss of the realis and factive complementizers are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Diachronic and diatopic distributional patterns of the realis and factive complementizers

	Declaratives	Factives	Relatives
Type 1: Greko of Chorio di Roghudi Leccese	<i>ti</i> <i>ca</i>	<i>pu/ti</i> <i>(ci)/ca</i>	<i>pu/ti</i> <i>ci/ca</i>
Type 2: Stilo	<i>ca/chi</i>	<i>chi/ca</i>	<i>chi/ca</i>
Type 3: Greko of Bova (Marina) Cellino San Marco	<i>ti</i> <i>ca</i>	<i>ti</i> <i>ca</i>	<i>ti</i> <i>ca</i>
Type 4: Sant’Elia di Saline Ioniche Calabrese of Bova (Marina)	<i>chi</i> <i>chi</i>	<i>chi</i> <i>chi</i>	<i>chi</i> <i>chi</i>

5. Conclusions

The facts of the complementizer systems reviewed above lead us back to Rohlfs’ traditional observation, summed up in the renowned slogan *spirito greco, materia romanza* ‘Greek soul, Romance (lexical) material’ (cf. Rohlfs 1933: 61, 1947: 55f.), inasmuch as the complementizer systems of Calabrese and Salentino reproduce, with the exception of their lexical material, the fine structural distinctions of the corresponding (Italo-)Greek left periphery. In particular, we have identified a core complementizer system in the Romance dialects of Calabria and Salento which faithfully reproduces, though not in lexical form, the structure and distribution of the ternary complementizer system of Italo-Greek. Alongside a now well-studied and widely-investigated binary split between realis (ItGr. *ti/ka*, SItR. *ca*) and irrealis (ItGr. *na*, Cal./Sal. *mu/cu*) complementation, both Italo-Greek and Calabrese and Salentino provide evidence, in some cases today only partially reconstructable, of a third complementizer, the so-called factive complementizer (*pu*, *chi/ci*), which realizes a number of functions that can increasingly be covered by the realis complementizer. More specifically, it has been argued that this third complementizer originates in both Greek and Romance as a relativizer and that it is this original relativizing function which has been reanalyzed and extended through time to yield new functions as a

factive complementizer and as an illocutionary particle marking optative clauses (cf. 4a-d).

At the same time, we have seen how this ternary C-system is often recessive today, displaying once again parallel developments in both Greek and Romance where three often become two. While the relativizing functions of the third complementizer prove most resilient, especially in temporal clauses, it is in its complementizer functions that the so-called factive complementizer is increasingly obsolescent today. In one development the factive complementizer is replaced by the realis complementizer giving rise to Type 1 C-systems, a frequent output in today's dialects which has led to the common view, albeit historically erroneous, that the Romance varieties of southern Italy simply replicated a Greek dual complementizer system. In another development giving rise to a Type 2 C-system, the overlap between the realis and factive complementizers, originally in favour of the generalization of original realis complementizer as seen in Type 1 systems, was subsequently reinterpreted as a case of free variation. Consequently, the distribution of the original factive complementizer could equally be extended in the other direction to optionally replace the realis complementizer in its core functions. Over time the free variation observed in Type 2 systems can eventually be resolved with the elimination of one of the two forms, giving rise to the generalization of either the original realis complementizer (Type 3) or the original factive complementizer (Type 4).

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