

***There* sentences in extreme southern Italy: on the rise of a “Greek-style” pattern**

Among the morphosyntactic patterns through which Italo-Romance varieties code existential sentences, a peculiar structure emerges in extreme southern varieties, particularly in Salento and in southern Calabria:

1. *ave* *soruta* *intra la* *cucina*
have.3SG sister=your inside the kitchen
‘Your sister is in the kitchen’ (Soletto [Lecce], Cruschina 2015: 46)

2. [n'terra n'da:vi mud'di:ki]
on=ground PF=have.3SG crumbs
‘There are crumbs on the ground’ (Mèlito di Porto Salvo [Reggio Calabria], our fieldwork)

3. [k'ka n'da:vi a s'so:ri=ta]
here have.3SG DOM sister=your
‘Your sister is here’ (San Luca [Reggio Calabria], our fieldwork)

As the examples show, such a structure involves the lack of the so-called proform (= PF) – at least in Salentino – (see ex. 1); an inflected form of HABÈRE, with no agreement with the postcopular NP (= the pivot) (see ex. 2); a differential marking of the pivot, headed by the preposition *a*, when it is [+human, +animate] (see ex. 3) (in Salentino, the use of DOM is more restricted, coding only 1st and 2nd person pronouns, see Cruschina 2015: 50, De Angelis 2019).

Even though this pattern is attested in other Romance languages too, it proves, however, to be peculiar, insofar as it hosts top-ranking definite NPs (especially 1st and 2nd personal pronouns), which are generally disallowed within ‘to have’ *there* sentences in the Romance varieties.

We infer that this pattern depends on the contact with Italo-Greek, which displays similar constructions, with an invariant 3rd sg. form of ‘to have’, the lack of the proform, the pivot marked as accusative, and no constraints on the definiteness of the NP (see ex. 4 with a definite NP, ex. 5 with an indefinite NP):

4. ‘*Mbrò* *sto*’ *portuna,* *iche* *es*
In front of to=the gate had.3SG the.ACC.F.PL
guàrdie
guards
‘The guards were in front of the gate’ (Calimera [Lecce], *O kunto ma ta sika* ‘The tale wit the figs’, Tommasi 1998)

5. Éna vyággo íxē énan górako
One time had.3SG a.ACC.M.SG crow
‘Once there was a crow’ (Roccaforte del Greco [Reggio Calabria], Rossi Taibbi & Caracausi 1959: 23)

However, a diachronic investigation reveals that neither the extreme southern Italo-Romance varieties nor Italo-Greek displayed in their Mediaeval stage a similar construction, since both of them exhibited the definiteness effect. Sociolinguistic factors can explain how the two systems influenced each other, by ruling out the definiteness effect from the respective patterns at the end of the interference process.

Essential bibliography

- Bentley, Delia, Ciconte, Francesco M., Cruschina, Silvio, 2015, *Existentials and locatives in Romance dialects of Italy*, Oxford University Press.
- Ciconte, Francesco M., 2011, *The emergence and the reanalysis of the existential proform: evidence from early Italo-Romance*, «Transactions of the Philological Society» 109/3, 284-306.
- Cruschina, Silvio, 2015, *Patterns of variation in existential constructions*, «Isogloss» 1, 33-65.
- De Angelis, Alessandro, 2019, *Articolo espletivo e marcatura differenziale dell'Oggetto nel dialetto reggino di San Luca*, «L'Italia dialettale» 80, 59-76.
- Filimonova, Elena, 2005, *The noun phrase hierarchy and relational marking: Problems and counterevidence*, «Linguistic Typology» 9, 77-113.
- Guardiano, Cristina, Michelioudakis, Dimitris, Ceolin, Andrea, Irimia, Monica Alexandrina, Longobardi, Giuseppe, Radkevich, Nina, Silvestri, Giuseppina, Sitaridou, Ioanna, 2016, *South by Southeast. A syntactic approach to Greek and Romance microvariation*, «L'Italia Dialettale» 77, 95-166.
- Ledgeway, Adam, Schifano, Norma, Silvestri, Giuseppina, 2019, *Differential Object Marking and the properties of D in the dialects of the extreme south of Italy*, «Glossa: a journal of general linguistics» 4/1: 51, 1-25.
- Manzini, Maria Rita, Savoia, Leonardo M., 2005, *I dialetti italiani e romanci. Morfosintassi generativa. Vol. III. L'ausiliare (2ª parte) - La negazione e l'avverbio - Strutture aspettuali e modali - Il sintagma nominale - Bibliografia*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Rohlf, Gerhard, 1969, *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Vol. III. Sintassi e formazione delle parole*, Torino, Einaudi.
- Rohlf, Gerhard, 1977, *Grammatica storica dei dialetti italogreci (Calabria, Salento)*, München, Beck.
- Rossi Taibbi, Giuseppe, Caracausi Girolamo, 1959, *Testi neogreci di Calabria*. Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici.
- Silverstein, Michael, 1976, *Hierarchy of features and ergativity*, in R. Dixon (ed.), *Grammatical categories in Australian languages*, Canberra, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 112-171.
- Tommasi, Salvatore, 1998, *Fiabe e racconti della Grecia salentina dai quaderni (1883-1912) di Vito Domenico Palumbo. Vol. I. Testi in griko*. Galatina (Lecce), Ghetonia.

Alessandro De Angelis

Università degli Studi di Messina

Giulia Bucci

Sapienza Università di Roma