Agree in the derivation of root subjunctives in Corfioto

Georgios Vardakis
University of Padua
ORCID ID: 0009-0008-3251-9356
georgios.vardakis@phd.unipd.it

Abstract

This paper investigates the nature of the syntactic operation Agree with respect to syntactic restrictions in subject-verb agreement in the derivation of root subjunctive clauses in Corfioto, the endangered Balkan Venetan variety of the Corfiot Jews. Similar to modal clauses in main syntactic contexts in languages of south-eastern Europe, including Balkan Romance and Southern Italian dialects, root subjunctive clauses in Corfioto are introduced by a modal particle and express the speaker's wish, request, order or plea in declarative and interrogative contexts. I hereby argue that subjunctive clauses in Corfioto differ from main modal clauses found in Western Romance languages including Venetan, Italian and French, as well as Southern Italian dialects regarding their distinct distributional, morphosyntactic and syntactic properties. Based on previous analyses of root clauses with similar distributional and morphosyntactic properties characterizing the Balkan languages, it is proposed that possible restrictions in the licensing of φ-features in subject-verb agreement in root subjunctives in Corfioto are the result of an Agree operation with features inherent to the Speaker and the Addressee in the syntacticized Speech Act layer at the outermost part of the syntactic spine.

Keywords: Agree, φ-features, root subjunctives, speech act, Corfioto.

1. Introduction

This paper proposes a derivational syntactic analysis of root subjunctive clauses in Corfioto, the critically endangered Romance variety of the Corfiot Jews (see Vardakis 2023, 2025). Root (i.e., independent, non-subordinate, non-embedded) subjunctives in Corfioto are main clauses denoting various modal meanings such as wish, request, order, plea, and prohibition. The distributional and morphosyntactic properties of the root subjunctive construction in Corfioto pattern largely with those of the (analytic) Balkan(-type) subjunctive construction (see Joseph 1983, Ammann & van der Auwera 2004, Mišeska Tomić 2004: 7, Asenova 2019: 27, Friedman & Joseph 2025: §7.7.2.1.3, i.a.) as well as main modal clauses introduced by a complementizer or a particle in certain Italo-Romance varieties of southern Italy (see Colasanti & Silvestri 2019).

Below, I describe the main semantic, morphosyntactic and syntactic properties of root subjunctives in Corfioto. I argue that the derivation of root subjunctives in Corfioto is subject to syntactic restrictions related to the interaction of φ-features, which are distributed asymmetrically across the paradigms of verb inflectional morphology, subject clitic pronouns and strong person pronouns, and which are associated with distinct heads in v, I and the syntacticized Speech Act layer at the treetop of the syntactic spine. In section 2 I present the core semantic and morphosyntactic aspects of root subjunctives in Western(-type) Romance, including Venetan, French and Italian and Eastern(-type) Romance i.e., southern Italo-Romance varieties and Balkan Romance. In Section 3 I introduce the reader to Corfioto, the Balkan Venetan variety traditionally spoken by the Corfiot Jews, I comment on the collection methods of the presented linguistic data, and I give an outline of the distributional and syntactic properties of root subjunctives in Corfioto. Section 4 outlines the role of the syntactic operation of Agree in the derivation of Balkan-type root subjunctive clauses in previous derivational syntactic accounts of root subjunctive clauses in Modern Greek. Section 5 presents the proposed analysis of agreement in the derivation of root subjunctive clauses in Corfioto based on Deal's (2015, forthcoming) Interaction and Satisfaction model of Agree. Section 6 summarizes the findings and the proposals of the paper and sets further perspectives on the topic.

2. Root subjunctives in Romance: an overview

The present study focuses on the description and the analysis of root subjunctives, i.e., predicative constructions encoding root sentential modality[1] (see de Haan 2006) or priority modality (in the sense of Portner 2018) in main clauses. Within other taxonomies of modality, such modal meanings are subsumed under types of imperatives, such as jussives, sharing the common function of creating a commitment on the part of one or more discourse participants to take a certain action (see Portner 2004, Zanuttini et al. 2012, see discussion in Portner 2018). The root subjunctive clause in (1) from Corfioto expresses the speaker's wish or/and the appeal to the addressee to act for a non-participant in discourse to carry out the proposition of the main clause.

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[1]   I define modality as the universal property of human language to talk about possible worlds along the lines of Matthewson (2016).

(1)   Corfioto
        ke=   me=   métano   a   mi   pretsidénte!
        PRT[2]=   DO.1SG=   put.PRS.SBJV.3PL   DOM   1SG   president
        'Tell them to / make them appoint me president!'

Root subjunctive clauses in Corfioto present the following properties: i) they are mandatorily marked by the particle *ke* which is adjacent to the verb form within the clitic-verb cluster (hereinafter 'verb complex'), not allowing for syntactic elements other than the negation marker and argumental clitics to interpolate between them; ii) the verb form may be marked for any person and number; iii) the verb form is marked for 'subjunctive', depending on the person/number cell of the six person-number paradigm and the inflectional class of the verb. 'Subjunctive' forms in Corfioto are marked via distinct morphological exponents via root allomorphy and/or inflectional suffixes contrasting with those of the present or past verb paradigm depending on the person/number cell of the verb paradigm and the inflectional class of the verb e.g., IND *fa* (do.PRS.2/3SG); SBJV *ke=fátsa* (*ke*=do.2/3SG). Subjunctive forms are not attested without the particle *ke* neither in main nor in subordinate contexts, as shown in (2a) and (2b), respectively.

(2)   Corfioto
        a.   ke=   fátsano   úna   skóla!
                PRT=   do.PRS.SBJV.3PL   INDEF.F.SG   school(F).SG
                'I wish they would go to school'
        b.   el   Márko vol   ke   lu   manja
                DEF.M.SG   Marko want.3SG SUB   3SG.M   eat.3SG
                'Marko wants to eat'

Along with varieties and languages of the Balkans (see Friedman & Joseph 2025: §6.2.4.3.2) and south-eastern Europe (see Amman & van der Auwera 2004), belonging to different families including Hellenic (for Modern Greek see Philippaki-Warburton 1994, Rouchota 1994, Roussou & Tsangalidis 2009, Oikonomou 2016, Roussou 2021; Magionos 2023 i.a., Romance (for Balkan Romance see Meyer-Lübke 1900, Bîlbîie & Mardale 2019, Neagu 2019, for certain Southern Italian dialects see Colasanti & Silvestri 2018), Slavic (for Balkan Slavic see Popova & Spenser 2020, Oikonomou & Ilić 2023), I take root subjunctive clauses in Corfioto to denote modal meanings related to notions such as optatives, imperatives, cohortatives, exhortatives, cohortatives (see Amman & van der Auwera 2004) or jussive, concessive and optative mood (see Colasanti & Silvestri 2018). Root subjunctive clauses in Corfioto present some of the distributional, morphosyntactic and syntactic (and partially semantic) properties of such constructions also referred to as 'complementizer-headed main modal clauses for volitional moods'

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[2]   The glosses used for the annotation of the utterances in the paper correspond to the following significations: 1 = 1st person; 2 = 2nd person; 3 = 3rd person; AUX = auxiliary; COP = copula; DAT = dative; DEF = definite determiner; DEM = demonstrative; DIST = distal; DO = direct object; DOM = differential object marking; F = feminine; FUT = future; IMP = imperative; IND = indicative; INDEF = indefinite determiner; IPFV = imperfective; INF = infinitive; INTJ = interjection; IO = indirect object; M = masculine; N = neuter; NEG = negation; PL = plural; PNP = perfective non-past; POSS = possessive; PREP = preposition; PROX = proximal; PRS = present; PRT = particle; PST = past; PST.PTCP = past participle; REFL = reflexive; SBJ = subject; SG = singular; SUB = subordinator; SBJV = subjunctive.

(Ammann & van der Auwera 2004, Popova & Spencer 2020), 'analytic optatives' (Friedman & Joseph §6.2.4.3.2), 'bare subjunctives structures' (Neagu 2019), 'matrix clauses marked by complementizers' (Colasanti & Silvestri 2018), and 'subjunctive questions in matrix clauses' (see Oikonomou & Ilić 2023).

Contrary to the Balkan subjunctive construction in subordinate and root contexts in certain Balkan languages i.e., Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Macedonian and Romanian (see Friedman & Joseph 2025: §6.2.4.3.2), *ke* in Corfioto is not mandatorily adjacent to the verb in clausal complements, as shown in (3).

(3)   Corfioto
        ti=   vol=   ke   i   fjoi
        SBJ.2SG=   want.2SG   SUB   DEF.M.PL   child(M).PL
        fátsano   báɲo?
        do.PRS.SBJV.3PL   shower
        'do you want the children to wash themselves?'

At the typological level, along with other (non-)finite forms (see Nikolaeva 2007, 2010) in main clauses, modal clauses introduced by a subordinator/complementizer in root contexts are typically taken to instantiate cases of 'insubordination' (Evans & Watanabe 2016, Beijering & al. 2019), a phenomenon defined as «the conventionalized main clause use of what, on *prima facie* (italics in the original) grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses» (Evans 2007: 367). While the phenomenon has already received significant attention in numerous case studies cross-linguistically, the degree of structural similarity that an insubordinate clause needs to share with its subordinate counterpart as well as the diachronic processes related to their originating from uses of one another (see Cristofaro 2007) have been little investigated.

In Romance, insubordination is majorly manifested in the presence of main infinitive and 'complementizer-headed' clauses, whose predicate is not subordinate to another predicate within a prototypically complex clause (see Groothuis 2019). While the theoretical syntactic analysis of infinitives and subjunctives has focused extensively on their syntactic dependency and their semantic interpretation in complex predicates, the semantic and syntactic properties of infinitives in main clauses, as in (4), or finite forms, such as analytic or synthetic subjunctive verb forms, as in (5), have received little attention to date (but see Meyer-Lübke 1900, Nikolaeva 2010, Alboiu & Hill 2019).

(4)   French, Nikolaeva (2010: 11)
        Et   lui   de   rire.
        and   3SG.M   PREP   laugh.INF
        'And he started laughing.'

(5)   French, Schlenker (2005)
        Que   votre   Altesse   soit   prudente!
        PRT   2PL.POSS.SG highness(F).SG be.PRS.SBJV.3SG   cautious.F
        'Let her Highness be cautious!' ('That your Highness be cautious!)'

Assuming a rather traditional description of subjunctive as the type of grammatical mood marking the predicate of a dependent modal clause (but see Schlenker 2005 for French), the clause in (5) marks a typical case of insubordination at the

typological level. Similar to clausal complements typically embedded under certain semantic classes of verbs in French, such main modal clauses are obligatorily introduced by the particle *que* /kə/ while the complement verb is marked for subjunctive mood via root allomorphy and/or inflectional suffixation, contrasting with that of indicative forms, depending on the inflectional class of the verb (and/or the person/number cell of the morphological paradigm, as in (6).

(6)   French
        Jean veut   que   je=   sois   /*suis
        John want.3SG   PRT   SBJ.1SG=   COP.PRS.SBJV.1SG   COP.PRS.IND.1SG
        prudente.
        cautious.F
        'John wants me to be cautious.'

Apart from the semantic differences pertaining to the interpretation of modality and tense via direct anchoring to the utterance, as in (4) and (5), and the licensing of subjunctive forms in clausal complements as in (6), root subjunctive clauses in declarative contexts in Western-type Romance differ from Balkan-type subjunctives with respect to licensing of φ-features on the subject. In Western-type Romance (see Schlenker 2005), root subjunctive clauses with a 2SG, 1PL and 2PL compete strongly with respective imperative forms. In fact, root subjunctive clauses marked for the 1SG i.e., the speaker, are ungrammatical in French, as shown in (7).

(7)   French
        *Que je=   sois   prudente!
        PRT   SBJ.1SG=   COP.PRS.SBJV.1SG   cautious.F
        'I should be cautious.'

In Italian, root subjunctives whereby the subject is the 1SG may express optative mood. In this case, the 1SG strong pronoun *io* occurs canonically in a position to the right of the particle/complementizer *che*, as in (8).[3]

(8)   Italian
        *?(Che)   io   venga   con   voi!
        COMP   SBJ.1SG   come.PRS.SBJV.1SG   with   2PL
        ?'I should / would like to come with you.'

Complementizer-headed subjunctive clauses have been further attested in Italo-Romance dialects. Colasanti & Silvestri (2018) present a description and a syntactic analysis of non-embedded jussive, concessive and optative clauses introduced by the complementizers *ca* and *chi* in Upper Southern Italian Dialectts (USIDs) and *mi* and *cu* in Extreme Southern Italian Dialects (ESIDs). Similar to root subjunctive clauses in

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[3]   According to an anonymous reviewer, main subjunctive contexts denoting optative mood in which the verb is marked for the 1SG i.e., the subject is the speaker, are acceptable in Standard Italian. However, the distribution of strong pronouns following the complementizer *ke* in such clauses in Italian is different from that of strong pronouns in main contexts in Corfioto, as well as in 'complementizer-headed' main clauses in most of the Balkan languages and certain southern Italian varieties (see Colasanti & Silvestri 2018).

Corfioto, the complementizer *mi* in Melito di Porto Salvo (Reggio Calabria, Calabria) and *cu* in Vernole (Lecce, Puglia) are obligatorily selected and cannot be dropped, while the NP subject of the verb may not interpolate between the complementizer and the verb form, as shown in the two examples of the 'jussive' type, reported in (9a) and (9b), respectively.

(9)   a. ESIDs, Melito di Porto Salvo (RC), Colasanti & Silvestri (2018: 159)
        (Mariu)   *(mi)   (*Mariu)   veni   (Mariu)!
        Mario   COMP   come.3SG   Mario
        'Mario had better come!'
        b. ESIDs, Vernole (LE), Colasanti & Silvestri (2018: 159)
        (Lu   Mariu) *(cu) (*lu Mariu)   begna
        DEF.M.SG   Mariu COMP   come.PRS.SBJV.3SG
        (lu   Mariu)!
        DEF.SG.M   Mariu
        'Mario had better come!'

     Still, the distribution of the complementizers in ESIDs contrasts with that of root subjunctive clauses in Corfioto, where no occurrence of a particle/complementizer to the left of the particle has been attested. Colasanti & Silvestri (2018) report that optative clauses with a negative stance (i.e., curses) in the varieties of Melito and Vernole are both compatible with the complementizer CHI (i.e., *chi* and *ci*) posited at a clause-initial position, as shown in (9c) and (9d), respectively.

(9)   c. ESIDs, Melito di Porto Salvo (RC), Colasanti & Silvestri (2018: 163)
        (Chi) (*mi) ti=   mangianu   i   cani.
        COMP COMP DO.2SG=   eat.3PL   the   dogs
        'May dogs devour you!'
        d. ESIDs, Vernole (LE), Colasanti & Silvestri (2018: 163)
        (Ci)   *(cu)   mueri.
        COMP   COMP   die. PRS.IND.2SG
        'May you die!'

     Colasanti & Silvestri (2018: 162) observe that if a relative context in elicitation is given, optative clauses in both dialectal groups are used to express curses, which «prove to be highly formulaic in terms of lexical content». However, the authors do not give examples of relevant constructions where the subject of the clause is 1SG, namely the speaker. To my knowledge, the only attested case of a complementizer-headed clause marked for the 1SG in USIDs and ESIDs is that of a clause introduced by the particle *mu* in Calabrian denoting optative modality, reported in (9e).

(9)   e. Calabrian, Rohlfs (1954)
        Mu   ti=   via   ammazzatu!
        PRT   DO.2SG =   see.PRS.SBJV.1SG   kill.PST.PTCP.M.SG
        'I wish I would I see you killed.'

     Abstracting away from the fine differences in the modal meanings of clauses introduced by complementizers in ESIDs and those of root subjunctives in Corfioto, the

lack of restrictions on φ-features of the subject distinguish Corfioto from ESIDs. Indeed, root subjunctives in Corfioto present the same large distributional properties with root subjunctive clauses in Balkan languages, as shown in example (10) from Romanian (see also Neagu 2019).

(10)   Romanian, Monica Alexandrina Irimia (p.c.)
         Să= îmi   amintesc   să=   iau
         PRT= DAT.1SG   remember.1SG   PRT   take.1SG
         cheile   mâine.
         keys(F).DEF.F.PL   tomorrow
         'I should remember to take the keys tomorrow.'

Like in the respective constructions in Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian and Modern Greek, the subjunctive particle *să* in (10) is obligatorily adjacent to the verb. Here, the inflected verb form is marked for the 1SG, encoding the commitment of the speaker to the addressee to act in order to realize the modal proposition of the clause, while the addressee is assigned control to ensure that the speaker will bring the proposition about (see Potsdam 1996: 236-237, Oikonomou 2016: 167-168, Magionos 2023: 63-64).

Considering the various cross-linguistic restrictions with regard to a) the obligatory presence of the modal particle/complementizer introducing the clause and its distribution with respect to the verb form; b) compatibility with other discourse particles heading the clause; c) morphological marking of tense, mood and aspect oppositions on the verb form; d) licensing of relevant φ-features on the subject of the verb; and e) the fine-grained semantic differences pertaining to modality between different types of clauses, a rich cross-linguistic typology of main 'subjunctive' clauses in West-type and Balkan Romance seems to arise. Since the scope of the present study is limited to the syntactic analysis of root subjunctives in Corfioto, I will have to leave the comparison of the semantic and syntactic properties of 'subjunctive' clauses in Corfioto within a typology of root subjunctive clauses in Western-type Romance and the Balkan languages for the future.

3. Root subjunctives in Corfioto

3.1. Corfioto

Corfioto is an endangered Balkan Venetan variety, traditionally spoken by the Corfiot Jews in Corfu, Greece. Today, it is still spoken by many descendants of the Corfiot Jews living in Greece or in diaspora, mainly in Israel. In the last version of the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, a language referred to as Corfiot Italkian and geographically located in Corfu is mentioned and is assessed as *critically endangered* (Salminen 2010: 25). This assessment corresponds to degree 5 on the six-degree scale of endangerment with respect to the factor 'intergenerational transmission' and refers to a state of vitality in which '*the youngest speakers are in the great-grandparental generation, and the language is not used for everyday interactions. The older people often remember only part of the language but do not use it on a regular basis, since there are few people left to speak with*' (Moseley 2010: 12). Based on the Language Endangerment

Index (Lee & Van Way 2018), I consider that Corfioto is *critically endangered* since only a few elderly speakers, namely the direct descendants of the Corfiot Jews who acquired Corfioto as L1 in Corfu, still use it.

The role of language contact in the emergence of certain phenomena of the variety is highlighted in all previous linguistic descriptions of the oral varieties of the Corfiot Jews (see Belleli 1905, Gottheil & Belleli 2002-2021 [1901-1906], Cortelazzo 1948, Levi 1961, Nachtmann 2002; Mücke 2019). As already proposed by Vardakis (2023, 2025), despite the clear etymological affinities of its lexical and morphological elements with Venetan, Corfioto is characterized by morphosyntactic and syntactic features which hinder its classification within Italo-Romance, based on the 'conventional though not uncontroversial' classification of Romània on the north-south axis (Ledgeway 2020: 29). Recent linguistic studies such as Nachtmann (2002), Mücke (2019), Vardakis (2019, 2021, 2023) argue that different phonological, morphological and syntactic phenomena attested in the data show inheritance or contact-induced change from Venetan and Greek, they do not make any specific proposal for the classification of the variety. Based on the description of phonological, morphological and lexical features of Corfioto, and a comparison of certain morphosyntactic features compared to those of Venetan, Vardakis proposes that Corfioto should be classified as a Balkan Venetan variety (Vardakis 2025: 123).

In fact, several of its morphosyntactic and syntactic features diverge from those characterizing the diachrony of Venetan, among which the retreat and loss of infinitive clausal complements and their replacement by morphologically 'finite' clausal complements introduced by the particle *ke* and point to features which are shared by languages and varieties spoken in south-eastern Europe, including varieties of Southern Italy and the Balkan languages (Mücke 2019, Vardakis 2021, 2023, 2025). The presented original data have been extracted from transcribed dialogues which have been recorded in the 20th century or transcribed recordings of data collected by the author by use of semi-structured methods including a translation task and an acceptability judgement task and free speech production including narratives or discussions between two speakers during face-to-face interviews.

3.2. The morphosyntax of root subjunctives in Corfioto

Root subjunctive constructions in Corfioto pattern largely with those of the Balkan-type subjunctive construction (see Joseph 1983; Asenova 2019; Friedmand & Joseph 2025), in that they are obligatorily marked by a particle which i) appears at a clause-position of the clause, if not preceded by a discourse prominent NP; ii) is obligatorily realized and cannot be dropped; and iii) is adjacent to the verb or procliticizes on other proclitics, including (argumental) clitics[4] and the negation marker in the following order: *ke*=(NEG=SBJ=IO/REFL=OD=)V. The verb form is typically marked for subjunctive, which is encoded via inflectional suffixes or root allomorphy in certain person and number cells of the six-person verb paradigm of certain inflectional classes, as in the case of the verb *do-/dagh-* 'give'. Consider the opposition between (11) and (12).

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[4] The term 'clitic' is used here to describe argumental clitics, that is a specific class of pronominal elements with share certain common prosodic and syntactic properties found in Romance. For a recent analysis treating them as affixes see Haspelmath (2023).

(11)   Corfioto
    ghe=   lo=   da   a   léi
    IO.3=   DO.3.M.SG=   give.PRS.IND.3SG   to   3F.SG
    'he/she gives it to her'

(12)   Corfioto
    ke=   ti=   ghe=   lo=   dágha!
    PRT=   SBJ.2SG   IO.3=   DO.3M.SG   give.PRS.SBJV.2SG
    'You should give it to him!'

The inflected verb in root subjunctives in Corfioto does not show restrictions for person-number marking, as shown in (13)-(19).

(13)   Corfioto
    ke=   ghe=   pórto   tsái!
    PRT=   IO.3=   bring.PRS.SBJV.1SG   tea
    'I am going to bring /I am bringing him/her/them tea.'

(14)   Corfioto
    ke=   ti=   vénja,   ti=   sénte?
    PRT=   SBJ.2SG=   come.PRS.SBJV.2SG   SBJ.2SG=   hear.PRS.IND.2SG
    'Come to visit me, do you hear me?'

(15)   Corfioto
    ke=   mánja   mérda!
    PRT=   eat.PRS.SBJV.3SG   shit
    'I wish that s/he eat shit.'

(16)   Corfioto
    maghári   ke=   no=   se=   vénda   mái!
    hopefully   PRT=   NEG=   REFL.3=   sell.PRS.SBJV.3SG   never
    'I wish it will never be sold.'

(17)   Corfioto
    ke=   metémo   un   salóŋ!
    PRT=   put.PRS.SBJV.1PL   INDEF.M   assembly
    'Let's call an assembly!'

(18)   Corfioto
    ke=   paghé   la   R.
    PRT=   pay.PRS.SBJV.2PL   DEF.F.SG   R
    'You should pay R.[proper name]!'

(19)   Corfioto
    ke=   me=   métano   a   mi   pretsidénte!
    PRT=   DO.1SG=   put.PRS.SBJV.3PL   DOM   1SG   president
    'They should nominate me president.'

Root subjunctives with the same properties may also appear in interrogative clauses and *wh*-questions, as shown in (20) and (21), respectively.

(20)   Corfioto
ke=   párlo,   Z.?
PRT=   speak.PRS.SBJV.1SG   Z.
'Should I talk, Z.[proper name]?'

(21)   Corfioto
kóza   ke=   dígho?
what   PRT=   say.1SG
'What should I say?'

Dislocated topics, as shown in (22) or additive focus elements as in (23), may occur in peripheral positions either to the left of the particle or to the right of the VP.[5]

(22)   Corfioto
[la   mía   berahá]   ke=   ti=   ghábja!
DEF.F.SG   1SG.POSS.F.SG blessing(F).SG PRT=   2SG=   have.PRS.SBJV.2SG
([la mía berahá])!
'May you have my blessing!'

(23)   Corfioto
[ánke lu]   ke=   vénja   ([ánke lu])!
also   3SG.M PRT=   come.PRS.SBJV.3SG
'He should also come!'

The obligatory adjacency of the marker *ke* and the verb form in the verb complex in Corfioto distinguishes its distributional properties from those of the modal particle/complementizer *che/que* in Western-type Romance, including French, as shown in (4), and Italian, as shown in (24).

(24)   Italian, Giorgi (2010: 32)
che   Gianni   mangi   un   panino!
PRT   Gianni   eat.PRS.SBJV.3SG   INDEF.M   sandwich(M).SG
'Tell Gianni to /make Gianni eat a sandwich.'

Venetian, a Venetan (i.e. Northern Italo-Romance) variety (see Pescarini 2024), with which most of the lexical and morphological elements of Corfioto show strong etymological affinities, also displays root subjunctive clauses denoting a speaker's wish, as shown in (25a) and (25b), a speaker's order to the addressee to take action so that the subject of the verb (here a non-participant) carries out the modal proposition as in (26), or an epistemic modal reading as in (27a).

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[5]   A reviewer remarks the need to establish a parallelism between full DP subjects in clauses like (22) and (23) in Venetian and Corfioto. Unfortunately, there are no such data at my disposal.

(25)   Venetian, Cecilia Poletto (personal communication)
  a. ke ti=   gabi   fortuna!
     PRT SBJ.2SG= have.PRS.SBJV.2SG luck.SG
     'I wish you luck!'
  b. ke (l' Alvise) el=   gabi   fortuna!
     PRT DEF.SG Alvise SBJ.3M.SG= have.PRS.SBJV.2SG luck.SG
     'I wish (Alvise/)him luck!'

(26)   Venetian, Cecilia Poletto (p.c.)
  ke (l' Alvise)   el=   veɲa   kwa!
  PRT DEF.SG Alvise SBJ.3M.SG come.PRS.SBJV.3 here
  '(Alvise/)He should come here!'

(27)   Venetian, Cecilia Poletto (p.c.)
  ke (l'   Alvise)   el=   sia   là?
  PRT DEF.SG   Alvise SBJ.3M.SG= be.PRS.SBJV.3 there
  'I wonder if he is there.'

Unlike Western-type Romance including French, Italian and Venetian, the forms of the imperative and the subjunctive verb paradigm in Corfioto are not in competition, since the imperative 2SG or 2PL forms do not block the respective subjunctive forms, as shown in (28) compared to (29), and (30) compared to (31).

(28)   Corfioto
  da   =ghe =lo!
  give.IMP.2SG =IO.3 =DO.3M.SG
  'Give it to him/her/them!'

(29)   Corfioto
  ke= ti=   ghe= lo=   dágha!
  PRT= SBJ.2SG= IO.3= DO.3M.SG= give.PRS.SBJV.2SG
  'Give it to him/her / You should give it to him/her!'

(30)   Corfioto
  vení   kwa!
  come.IMP.2PL here
  'Come here!'

(31)   Corfioto
  ke= vení!
  PRT= come.PRS.SBJV.2PL
  'Please come / You should come!'

While the description and the syntactic analysis of root subjunctives I propose here is purely synchronic, a point needs to be made on the role that language contact has seemingly played in the emergence of the structure following the reorganization of the lexical and morphological features of Italo-Romance and Venetan modal clauses and the

na(-subjunctive) construction in Modern Greek.[6] Contemporary data presented in this section confirm the shared properties of root subjunctive clauses in Corfioto and *na*-subjunctive clauses in Modern Greek in different syntactic contexts, including bare and wh-questions. However, I suggest that other different structural properties between the constructions in the two languages, including the distribution of φ-features on pronominal elements (cf. section 5.1.) as well as the asymmetrical marking of subjunctive across the six forms of the verb paradigm, form strong arguments against an analysis of the emergence of root subjunctives as a simple case of (syntactic) 'calquing' or of 'pattern' borrowing via the transfer or the replication of a syntactic structure of Modern Greek on Venetan lexical and morphological elements.[7]

In sum, the morphosyntactic properties of root subjunctives in Corfioto differ substantially from those of Western-type Romance including Venetian, since i) the verb form can be morphologically marked for any relevant person and number, ii) the particle *ke* is strictly adjacent to the verb in the verb complex and iii) imperative forms do not necessarily compete with subjunctive forms. In the following section it is argued that subject-verb agreement in root subjunctives encoding the speaker's public commitment towards the realization of the modal eventuality of the proposition by the addressee, the speaker himself/herself, or a non-participant in discourse obtains via an Agree operation implying the interaction of φ-features asymmetrically encoded on verb inflection, subject clitic pronouns, strong pronouns and the syntactic representation of the Addressee in the Speech Act layer.

4. Agree in root subjunctives

4.1. Previous Agree-based syntactic analyses of Balkan-type root subjunctives

Derivational syntactic analyses of Balkan-type root subjunctives are quite limited (but see Oikonomou 2016, Magionos 2023) compared to those of Balkan-type constructions in embedded contexts (Terzi 1992, Rivero 1994, for some literature overviews on a pan-Balkan analysis as well as language-specific syntactic analyses see Rivero & Ralli 2001, Socanac 2017, Neagu 2019, Pitsch 2018, Roussou 2000, 2021 i.a.). In both cases, the structure of Balkan subjunctive clauses is derived via the Merger of the subjunctive particle in a structural position considered to be the head of a modal clause. Crucially, the syntactic status of the subjunctive particle as a modal particle or a complementizer and the position of the particle in the inflectional core i.e., IP/INFL, in a C head, or within the articulate left periphery as well as the licensing of the particle by the presence or the absence of a covert operator (e.g., Manzini & Savoia 2011, 2018a,b, Roussou 2000, 2021,

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[6]   A correlation of the presence of a construction marked by the particle *ke* and the *na*(-subjunctive) construction in Modern Greek is already proposed in the linguistic description of the oral dialect of the Corfiot Jews by Gottheil & Belleli (1901-1906) and in Cortelazzo (1948), which the authors compare with the *na*-construction in Greek.

[7]   I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for raising this point. While I do consider root subjunctives one of the various structural outcomes of contact between Italo-Romance varieties and Greek in Corfioto following the convergence (see Wiemer 2020, Baptista 2020) and the recombination of (morpho-)syntactic, phonological and syntactic features from different sources (Aboh 2019), the analysis of the phenomenon as a case of contact-induced syntactic change exceeds the aims of the paper and merits the focus of an independent study.

Oikonomou 2016) remains an open question. In fact, considering other aspects of syntactic variation in the structure of the Balkan languages, the discussion on the syntactic derivation of the Balkan subjunctive construction presents largely the following properties: i) base-generation of the particle in a functional head MoodP above Neg° and T° in the upper inflectional domain below C (e.g., for Balkan see Terzi 1992, Rivero 1994; for Modern Greek see Veloudis & Phillipaki-Warburton 1983, Philippaki-Warburton, 1992, 1998 i.a.) or a complementizer head in the CP (e.g., for Greek see Agouraki 1991, Tsoulas 1993, for Romanian see Dobrovie-Sorin 1994 i.a.); ii) possible successive movement of the particle/marker from its Merge position to a higher position e.g., from a C° related to Modality to a C° related to clause typing (Roussou 2000); and/or iii) concord/agree of modal features between the particle and/or the complementizer and a head higher up in the spine via a feature matching operation such as Agree (e.g., Rivero 1989 for Romanian, Oikonomou 2016 for Modern Greek).

The present syntactic analysis adopts certain central aspects of the proposals above but departs from a rather classical representation of the structure of the split CP in which ForceP demarcates its uppermost limit marking the illocutionary force of the clause (Rizzi 1997). The analysis presented here adheres to a series of proposals arguing in favour of the syntacticization of the speech act, the discourse participants i.e., the speaker and the addressee, as well as that of pragmatic notions pertaining to commitment, evidentiality and evaluation of the proposition, considered to be represented syntactically in the upper part of the clausal spine (see Cinque 1999; Speas & Tenny 2003; Haegeman & Hill 2013; Miyagawa 2022; Krifka 2023; Ojea 2024 i.a.). To my knowledge, a syntactic analysis along these lines has only been exploited for root subjunctive clauses in Modern Greek by Oikonomou (2016) and Magionos (2023). I present an outline of the two accounts below.

Aiming at an analysis of imperatives as a subtype of subjunctive mood, Oikonomou argues in favour of the presence of a covert existential Modal Operator Phrase (ModOpP) with performative character and a bouletic flavour which is located above MoodP and TP, and which is inserted to satisfy the structural and semantic requirements of the imperative and root subjunctives. Building on Hacquard (2006/2009), Oikonomou (2016) considers that the syntactic position of the modal operator is crucial for the characterization of its epistemic/doxastic modal base. Oikonomou (2016: 123) assumes that the modal base of the ModOp is relativized to three evaluation parameters, namely individual i, time t, and world w, whereby the world of evaluation is the actual world, time of evaluation is the utterance time and individual of evaluation is same as the perspectival center, namely the Speaker, the Addressee or an entity salient to discourse. The structure of root subjunctive clauses is derived via an Agree operation which relates the modal features shared by ModOpP and the particle *na* heading Mood° in IP. Unlike the syntactic derivation of imperatives where an [+ADDR(ESSEE)] feature marking the single speech act projection (saP) at the top of the structure Agrees with and binds the [+ADDR] feature in MoodP, such a feature is not involved in the derivation of *na-* root subjunctive clauses. Hence, Oikonomou does not resort to allocutive agreement between I and saP deriving φ-agreement, and limits subject-verb agreement to the IP via possible shift of the perspectival center of the Modal operator (Oikonomou 2016: 167-168).

Regarding the position of *na* on the syntactic spine, Oikonomou adopts the prevailing line of analyses whereby the subjunctive marker *na* Merges within IP (along the lines of Philippaki-Warburton 1992, 1994, 1998, Tsimpli 1990, Terzi 1992) and occupies the Mood° head of the MoodP above TP and AspP, not moving to C. In addition,

the Mood° carries a [MOOD[+SBJV]] feature, which is interpretable and is deleted via Agree by the non-null ordering source of ModOpP deriving the bouletic interpretation of imperatives and *na*-subjunctives (Oikonomou 2016: 147). Unlike imperatives where the verb moves to the ModOpP, the verb in root subjunctives does not move from T° to Mood°, since the latter head is already filled by the particle *na*. The syntactic structure of root *na*-subjunctives in (32a,b) is represented in (33):

(32)   Greek, Oikonomou (2016: 149)
        a.   Na   aníksis   to   paráthiro.
              PRT   open.PNP.2SG   DEF.N.SG   window(N).SG
        b.   Na   aníghis   to   paráthiro.
              PRT   open.PRS.2SG   DEF.N.SG   window(N).SG
              'Open the window.'

(33)   [ModOpP [MoodP [Mood°[+SBJV]] *na* [TP [T° *aníksis/aníghis* [AspP ~~aníksis/aníghis~~ [Asp° [+/-PERF]]
        [vP [SpecvP *pro* [v° [VP [V ~~aníksis/aníghis~~ [DP *to paráthiro*]]]]]]]]]]]]]

Magionos (2023) advocates for a parallel syntactic analysis of imperatives and main *na*-subjunctives, referred to as surrogate imperative clauses in main contexts in Modern Greek. He adheres to previous proposals arguing in favour of the syntacticization of the Speech Act layer at the treetop of the structural spine, which he minimally divides into two projections: i) a higher speech act Phrase (saP) hosting the Speaker at Spec,saP; ii) and its complement, namely a Speech Act Phrase (SAP) representing the Addressee, where SpecSAP is the locus of a Vocative Phrase (VocP) Magionos (2023: 21-23). His analysis derives the principal difference between true imperatives which require direct anchoring to the addressee obligatorily, and other constructions where addressee anchoring is optional. However, unlike Oikonomou (2016), his analysis opts for the absence of a specific operator deriving the modal meaning of imperatives and surrogate *na*-imperatives. His proposal is grounded in a neat distinction between the Speech Act domain hosting the discourse participants and the rest of the structure below hosting the proposition of the clause from the CP to v-VP. Magionos suggests that SAP- and I-Agreement in true imperatives is triggered by the need for the [+2nd] person feature and an [i(nter)-p(ersonal)] feature hosted in Voc(ative)P(hrase) in Spec,SAP, which licenses the strictly definite or specific 2nd singular imperative subject and conditions subject-verb allocutive agreement.

The rich empirical evidence that Magionos provides supports his position that Modern Greek manifests two distinct patterns of subject agreement, namely i) an I-Agreement which is fully subject-oriented, whereby the subject DP and the verb agree in terms of φ-features number in the Inflectional domain, and which is related to a richer morphological paradigm with distinct specifications for all persons in both numbers and therefore associated with the indicative morphological paradigm; and ii) a C-/SAP-Agreement which is discourse-oriented, which is based on the relation of the imperative verb to an Addressee, and whereby the reduced morphological paradigm of the verb agreeing with the subject is conditioned by the [+2nd] person feature and a value of modal feature e.g., [+directive] or [+imperative] marking the lower SA°, namely the covert head representing the Addressee.

A crucial aspect distinguishing imperatives and *na*-surrogate imperatives is that while in the former, movement of the verb to C enables its agreement with the SAP, which

by necessity bears the 2nd person feature of the Addressee, in surrogate imperatives, the verb does not move any higher than the TP. Agreement in imperatives takes place in two steps: I starts probing downwards for a DP with a matching set of phi-features (translating to nominative case in the DP in Greek). Since the person feature on the imperative verb is 2nd person by default in Greek imperatives, agreement holds for number but not for person. Movement of the verb to C makes it accessible to a second Agree relation with the SAP which is endowed by necessity with a 2nd person feature for the Addressee, licensing restricted φ-agreement in imperatives.

Regarding *na*-surrogate clauses, Magionos adopts Roussou's (2000) version of the articulate left periphery in Modern Greek, where the particle *na* occupies a Complementizer Operator° (COp°) below the highest C head. Although the entire syntactic representation of surrogate subjunctives is not formulated explicitly by Magionos, I take the representation of *na*-surrogate subjunctives of the example of a surrogate 2SG imperative in (34) to be represented as in (35):

(34)   Greek, Magionos (2023: 42)
        na=   min=   to=   ksanapís   afto!
        PRT=   NEG=   DO.3M.SG   repeat.PNP.2SG   3SG.N.SG
        'Do not say that again!'

(35)   [_{saP} [_{SAP} [_{CP} [_{COp} *na* [_{IP} [_{NegP} *min* [_{CM} [_{TP} [_{CIP} *to* [_{TP} *ksanapis* [_{v-VP} ~~*ksanapís*~~ [_{DP} ~~*to*~~ [_{DP} *aftó*]]]]]]]]]]]

In section 5 I adapt and expand Oikonomou's (2016) and Magionos' (2023) proposals for a syntactic representation of the Addressee and the Speaker and their role in the syntactic derivation of root subjunctives in Corfioto.

5. Agree in root subjunctives in Corfioto

5.1. Pronouns, verb morphology and φ-features in Corfioto

Similar to other Northern Italian varieties, apart from a morphological paradigm of strong pronouns, Corfioto presents a single subject clitic pronoun i.e., a morphologically and phonologically reduced pronominal form which depends syntactically and prosodically on the verb and pronominalizes a subject (see Poletto & Tortora 2016). While the obligatory presence of the subject clitic pronoun *ti* in Corfioto resembles that of subject clitics in Nothern Italian dialects (see Renzi & Vanelli 1983, Poletto 1993, 2000, 2006, Manzini & Savoia 2005, Pescarini 2024, i.a.), showing asymmetry in their subject clitic paradigms, Corfioto diverges from Venetan in that the 2SG lacks the generalized co-variation of subject clitics and inflectional suffixes marking most inflectional classes and most TMA paradigms of different Venetan varieties. On the contrary, in Corfioto, 2SG and 3SG inflectional suffixation is syncretic in the tense, mood, and aspect paradigms of all verb inflectional classes. Apart from participle inflectional suffixes, a distinction for the class of real gender i.e., male/female is encoded only on the 3SG form of strong pronouns. An example of the morphological paradigms of the clitic subject pronouns and the strong pronouns with respect to the inflectional paradigm of the indicative and subjunctive morphology of the verb *rído* 'laugh' is given in table 1.

Table 1. Strong pronouns, clitic subject pronouns and indicative and subjunctive verb forms in Corfioto

Number	Person		Strong pronouns	Subject clitic pronouns	Verb inflectional morphology		
					Indicative	Subjunctive	
SG	1		*mi*	-	*ríd-o*	*ke*	*ríd-o*
	2		*ti*	*ti*	*rid-e*		*ríd-a*
	3	M	*lu*	-	*ríd-e*		*ríd-a*
		F	*léi*				*ríd-a*
PL	1		*n(o)(i)á-l-/-n-tri / noi*	-	*rid-émo*		*rid-émo*
	2		*vo(i)á-l-/-n-tri / voi*	-	*rid-é*		*rid-é*
	3		*lóri*	-	*ríd-ono*		*ríd-ano*

In formal syntactic terms, Corfioto presents an asymmetric division of the φ-feature [PART(ICIPANT)] subsuming the features [SP(EA)KR] and [ADD(RESSEE)], which are marked via morphological exponents across the strong pronoun paradigm, the subject clitic paradigm, and the inflectional suffixation paradigm. I hereby adopt a feature geometry model of φ-features along the lines of Harley & Ritter (2002) and Béjar (2003), whereby the presence of any feature lower in the geometry entails the presence of all features of the specific set above while excluding every other further below as follows: 3rd person is the least specified feature represented only as [φ], 2nd person entails [φ], [PART] and [ADDR], and 1st person entails [φ], [PART] and [SPKR]. The division of binary φ-features across the three paradigms for the 1SG, 2SG and 3SG is given in table 2.

Table 2. Division of φ-features for the 1SG, 2SG and 3SG across the paradigms of strong pronouns, subject clitic pronouns and indicative and subjunctive verb inflectional morphology in Corfioto

	Strong Pronouns		Subject clitic pronouns		Verb inflectional morphology		
		[φ]		[φ]	Indicative	Subjunctive	[φ]
1SG	*mi*	[+SPKR]		-	*vád-o*	*vád-o*	[+SPKR]
2SG	*ti*	[+ADD]	*ti*	[-SPKR][±ADDR]	*va*	*vád-a*	[-SPKR]
3SG	*lu/léi*	[-PART]		-	*va*	*vád-a*	

Strong pronouns in Corfioto present the typical characteristics of strong pronouns in Romance, in that their licensing is related to information structure management, including focus or topicalization, as well as coordination, prepositional phrases or occurrence in isolation. In fact, unlike the subject clitic *ti* which procliticizes obligatorily on the verb, the 2SG strong pronoun *ti* may be dislocated to a peripheral discourse prominent position to the left or to the right of the VP, as shown in (36).

(36)   Corfioto
        (ti)   ke=   ti=   máɲa   (ti)   gha
        2SG   PRT=   SBJ.2SG=   eat.PRS.SBJV.2SG   2SG   DEF.F.SG
        manéstra!
        soup(F).SG
        'You should eat the soup!'

As shown next, the generic or referential interpretation of the 2SG depends on the synergy of φ-features marking the cells of the 2SG via the presence of the strong pronoun *ti* and the imperfective/perfective aspectual oppositions marked of the verb. In declarative contexts, the absence of the strong 2SG pronoun in clauses marked as non-perfective may trigger a generic or a referential reading of the 2SG person indistinctively. This leaves the use of the simple verb and that of the subject clitic *ti* for the 2SG as the unmarked option in the absence of dislocation of constituents related to information structure management. A typical example of the generic interpretation of the 2SG is the example (37), where a strict referential interpretation via the presence of the strong pronoun *ti* renders the sentence infelicitous.

(37)   Corfioto
        *(ti)   ti=   méte   la   katsaróla
        2SG   SBJ.2SG=   put.PRS.IND.2SG   DEF.F.SG   pot(F).SG
        al   fórno
        to.DEF.M.SG   oven.SG
        'You put the pot in the oven.'

The presence of the 2SG strong pronoun *ti* blocks a possible generic reading of the 2SG, rendering the interpretation of the subject strictly referential, regardless of tense, aspect or mood marking on the verb, as shown in (38).

(38)   Corfioto
        ti   ti=   jéra   el   fradél.
        2SG   SBJ.2SG=   COP.PST.2SG   DEF.M.SG   brother(M).SG
        'You were the brother.'

Even in the absence of the 2SG strong pronoun *ti*, the perfective aspectual marking of the verb blocks the generic interpretation of the subject denoted by the subject clitic, as in (39):

(39)   Corfioto
        de   kuéi   áni   ti=   m=
        PREP   DEM.PROX.M.PL   year(M).PL   SBJ.2SG=   DO.1SG=
        a=   marazosá
        AUX.PRS.IND.2SG   wither.PST.PTCP
        'You have me wither since a long time ago.'

Whereas the interpretation of the 2SG is strictly referential in root subjunctives, strong pronouns are not licensed between the particle *ke* and the verb form, as shown in (40).

(40)   Corfioto
        *ke=   ti   ti=   ghábia   [la   mía
        PRT   2SG   SBJ.2SG=   have.PRS.SBJV.2SG   DEF.F.SG   1SG.POSS.F.SG
        berahá]
        blessing(F).SG
        'May you have my blessing!'

In the remainder of the section, I claim that the strictly referential interpretation of 2SG subjects in root subjunctives is conditioned on an Agree operation between the [+ADDR] feature marking the Addressee represented in SA° and φ-features marking the subject clitic *ti* and the verb in I°.

5.2. Agree via interaction and satisfaction in Corfioto

I focus here on the fundamental role of Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001, for a recent overview see Smith et al. 2020, Deal 2015, forthcoming, i.a.), a fundamental syntactic operation within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001) which establishes a structural dependency between two syntactic elements standing in a long-distance relationship within a given structure, and which prototypically establishes subject-predicate agreement, i.e., the grammatical phenomenon whereby the form of the verb co-varies with the morphosyntactic properties of the subject via morphological marking (Yuan & Tyler 2022).

I adapt and expand Oikonomou's (2016) and Magionos' (2023) proposal for a syntactic representation of the Addressee and the Speaker and their role in the syntactic derivation of the clause. In particular, I take the Speaker to occupy the sa° of the saP in the outermost part of the structure and to c-command the SpeechAct Phrase (SAP) as its complement, the latter hosting the SA° Addressee and its eventual instantiation in a Vocative Phrase (vocP) in Spec,SAP (Magionos 2023). Moreover, I adhere to a joint analysis where allocutive agreement (see Kaur 2024) in imperatives and 2SG root subjunctive clauses is subject to the same addressee restrictions and is operated via an Agree operation attributing the [+ADDR] of the SA° to the underspecified [±ADDR] of the 2SG. Hence, I claim that 2SG subjects in root subjunctives need to be interpreted as specific and that it is the [+ADDR] feature associated with the SA° that establishes agreement with the 2SG subject in I for [PART] and derives the syntactic representation of the strictly referential interpretation of the subject of the clause.

A core issue for the proposed analysis is the locus of the particle *ke* on the clausal spine. In previous syntactic analyses of clausal complementation in Corfioto (Vardakis 2021, 2024, 2025), I argued in favour of a minimal three-way distinction of clausal complement types along a truncated version of the clausal spine, following Wurmbrand & Lohninger (2023). I brought empirical evidence distinguishing the morphosyntax of each type, including differences in the distribution and semantic oppositions in the featural arrangement of [±TENSE] and [±MOOD] features on the subordinator *ke* and the clitic modal marker *ke* and the co-occurence of *ke* as in (41), as well as restrictions on the syntactic locus of topic elements as in (42).

(41)   Corfioto
        voléva   ke   la   S.   ke=   véda
        want.IPFV.PST.3SG   SUB   DEF.F.SG   S   PRT=   see.PRS.SBJV.3
        la   káza.
        DEF.F.SG   house(F).SG
        'S/he wanted S.[proper name] to see the house'.

(42)   Corfioto
        [la   mía   berahá]   ke=   ti=
        DEF.F.SG   1SG.POSS.F.SG blessing(F).SG PRT=   SBJ.2SG=
        ghábia!
        have.PRS.SBJV.2SG
        'May you have my blessing!'

I proposed a unified syntactic representation of root and complement subjunctive clauses whereby the modal particle is endowed with a [±TENSE][+MOOD] feature, Merges in Mood° in IP, meeting the minimal requirement for of the structure of the clause to be derived via an Agree operation, as follows:

(42)   [saP *ke*[+Tense][-Mood] [SAP [TopP [FocP [CP [C° *ke*[±Tense][+Mood]
        [FocP/TopP [DP] [MoodP *ke* [±Tense][+Mood] [AspP *ke* [-Tense][-Mood] [v-VP *pro*]]]]]]]]]]

At the core of the proposal was the possibility to account for a unique position of the modal particle in clausal complements and root subjunctives in Mood° in IP, possibly following TopPs and FocPs, or a low C° above the MoodP, as well as the possibility to account for the co-occurence of *ke* in certain clausal complements which in many cases characterizes A'-movement from the clausal complement to a position to the left of the modal particle (cf. 42). The analysis adopts one of the two central proposals in the debate on the position of the Balkan subjunctive particle, according to which the subjunctive particle Merges in Mood° in INFL (Veloudis & Philippaki-Warburton 1983, Philippaki-Warburton & Veloudis 1984, Philippaki-Warburton 1992, 1994, 1998 i.a.) and not in C (Agouraki 1991, Tsoulas 1993, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994 i.a.). Following the first group of accounts, the particle *ke* merges in Mood° and is endowed with an unvalued [MOOD] feature, which is valued by a higher functional projection (Wiltschko 2014) or a ModOpP above TP (Oikonomou 2016). An alternative analysis would be that assumed by Magionos (2023) following Roussou (2000), whereby the particle *na* occupies a low C° of a divided C-domain, while the [MOOD[SBJV]] feature is valued from the [i(inter)-p(ersonal] feature marking Spec,SAP in the Speech Act layer. Abstracting away from the morphological operations involved in the formation of the verb complex, I propose that (41) can be represented as in (43) and (44), according to the two accounts on the syntactic position of the particle in I and C, respectively.

(43)   [saP[+SPKR] [SAP[+ADDR] [CP2 [TopP [Top° [DP *la mía berahá*] [CP1
        [IP [MoodP [Mood° *ke=ti=ghábia* [vP [SpecvP *ti* [v° *ghábia* [VP [V° *ghábia*]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

(44)   [saP[+SPKR] [SAP[+ADDR] [CP2 [TopP [Top° [DP *la mía berahá*]
        [CP1 *ke=* [MoodP [SpecMoodP [Mood° *(ti=)ghábia* [vP *ti* [v° *ghábia* [VP [V° *ghábia*]]]]]]]]]]]]]

I adopt a standard version of the left periphery of the clause (Rizzi 1997), in which left-dislocated DPs, including strong pronouns surface in a Topic Phrase above IP within the split CP, as in (43).

(45) ti   ke=   ti=   ghábia   [la   mía
      2SG   PRT=   SBJ.2SG=   have.PRS.SBJV.2SG   DEF.F.SG   1SG.POSS.F.SG
      berahá].
      blessing(F).SG
      'May YOU have my blessing!'

I take the lower CP1 head (see Satik 2024) to delimit the low periphery of the clause and to be endowed with a relative semantic feature which Agrees with the [+MOOD$_{[SBJV]}$] feature on the verb in Mood°, deriving the proper modal meaning of the proposition. The syntactic interpretation of the structure of the clause in (45) is given in (46).

(46) [$_{saP[+SPKR]}$] [$_{SAP[+ADDR]}$] [$_{CP2}$] [$_{TopP}$] [$_{Top°}$] [$_{DP}$ *ti*]
      [$_{CP1}$ *ke=* [$_{MoodP}$] [$_{SpecMoodP}$] [$_{Mood°}$ *(ti=)ghábia* [$_{vP}$ *ti* [$_{v°}$ ~~*ghábia*~~ [$_{VP}$ [$_{V°}$ ~~*ghábia*~~]]]]]]]]

I adhere to the proposal for the representation in (43), which I take to be the result of an Agree operation implying the Interaction and Satisfaction (Deal 2015, forthcoming) of the feature [ADDR] asymmetrically marking the 2SG subject clitic, the strong 2SG pronoun and the SA°. Deal's Interaction and Satisfaction model of Agree (2022) is motivated in functional terms, in that Agree is considered to create redundancy, treated as an adaptive means in view of communicative purposes subject to two conditions: i) an Interaction condition indicating a set of φ-features defined within a given geometry via entailment relations to which a probe attends and which the probe can target and copy and; ii) a Satisfaction condition which is met when the probe finds the target whose copying of features will halt further probing in the probe's search domain. I further assume that: a) probing for a target is triggered «immediately and obligatorily whenever a head which can trigger agreement is merged into the derivation» (see Preminger 2014); b) probing is cyclic and may proceed bidirectionally in that the probe looks down for its goal in its search domain attempting to set an agreement relation but upon failure to encounter the target which satisfies it, may continue probing downwards or initiate a second agreement cycle upwards (see Béjar & Rezac 2009).

Considering that root subjunctives in Corfioto do not present person-number restrictions, the specification set for person Agreement in I is [INT: φ, SAT: φ] for all but the 2nd and the 1st person, whose strictly referential interpretation is subject to a syntactic restriction imposing that agreement for person in Mood° will be satisfied upon encountering and copying an [+ADDR] and [+SPKR], marking SA° and sa°, respectively. Focusing on verb-subject agreement for the 2SG in the root subjunctive clause in (47), the interaction set of the verb *ti=vénja* in Corfioto is [INT(ERACTION): PART], since the interpretation of the subject clitic *ti* as for [ADDR] entails presence of [PART], while the satisfaction set is [SAT(ISFACTION): ADDR].

(47)   Corfioto
       ke=   ti=   vénja!
       PRT=   SBJ.2SG=   come.PRS.SBJV.2SG
       'Come!'

       I suggest that Agreement in the derivation of the representation of the clause in (47) obtains as follows. Upon merging in V°, the verb *vénja* marked only for [PART] and [SINGULAR] moves to v° and subsequently to Mood° in the IP to anchor the modal eventuality to the utterance and to establish I-agreement for number. Assuming that the subject clitic *ti* is base-generated in Spec,vP, the verb marked as [-SPKR/±ADDR] initiates a first cycle of Agree downwards interacting with the subject clitic *ti*, whose feature [±ADDR] it copies, while causing the subject clitic to move and attaches to the verb hosted at a complex Mood° via cliticization. Assuming that the [MOOD$_{[+SBJV]}$] marking Mood° is interpreted via a pragmatic feature e.g. [DIRECTIVE] or a [COMMISSIVE] marking a relevant functional projection relating the speech act with the modal proposition such as a CommitP (see Miyagawa 2022, Krifka 2023), a specific ModOp, or C° below the SpeechAct layer, a new probe *ti=vénja* will search for a target with an [+ADDR] feature which it can copy. For the sake of simplicity, I take the [MOOD$_{[+SBJV]}$] to be interpreted via a [+COMMISSIVE] or a [+DIRECTIVE] feature marking C° (Magionos 2023: 25). In other words, upon movement of the subject clitic *ti* to I°, the specification set of the new probe *ke=ti=vénja* is [INT: φ, SAT: +ADDR]. Following satisfaction of the probe for [SINGULAR] and upon failure of the probe to encounter a target carrying the [+ADDR] feature in its search domain which it may copy downwards, an instance of allocutive agreement is initiated upwards, along the lines of Kaur (2020). It is thanks to this second cycle of Agree and the interaction of the probe with the SA° head bearing [+ADDR] in the Speech Act layer that the subject clitic will interact and copy the feature restricting the referential interpretation of the 2nd SG, and that further search of the probe for a goal will be halted, upon satisfaction. The two cycles of the Agree operation deriving φ-Agreement in the root subjunctive clause in (47) are given in the syntactic representation in figure 1.

Figure 1. Agreement via Interaction and Satisfaction in 2SG root subjunctives
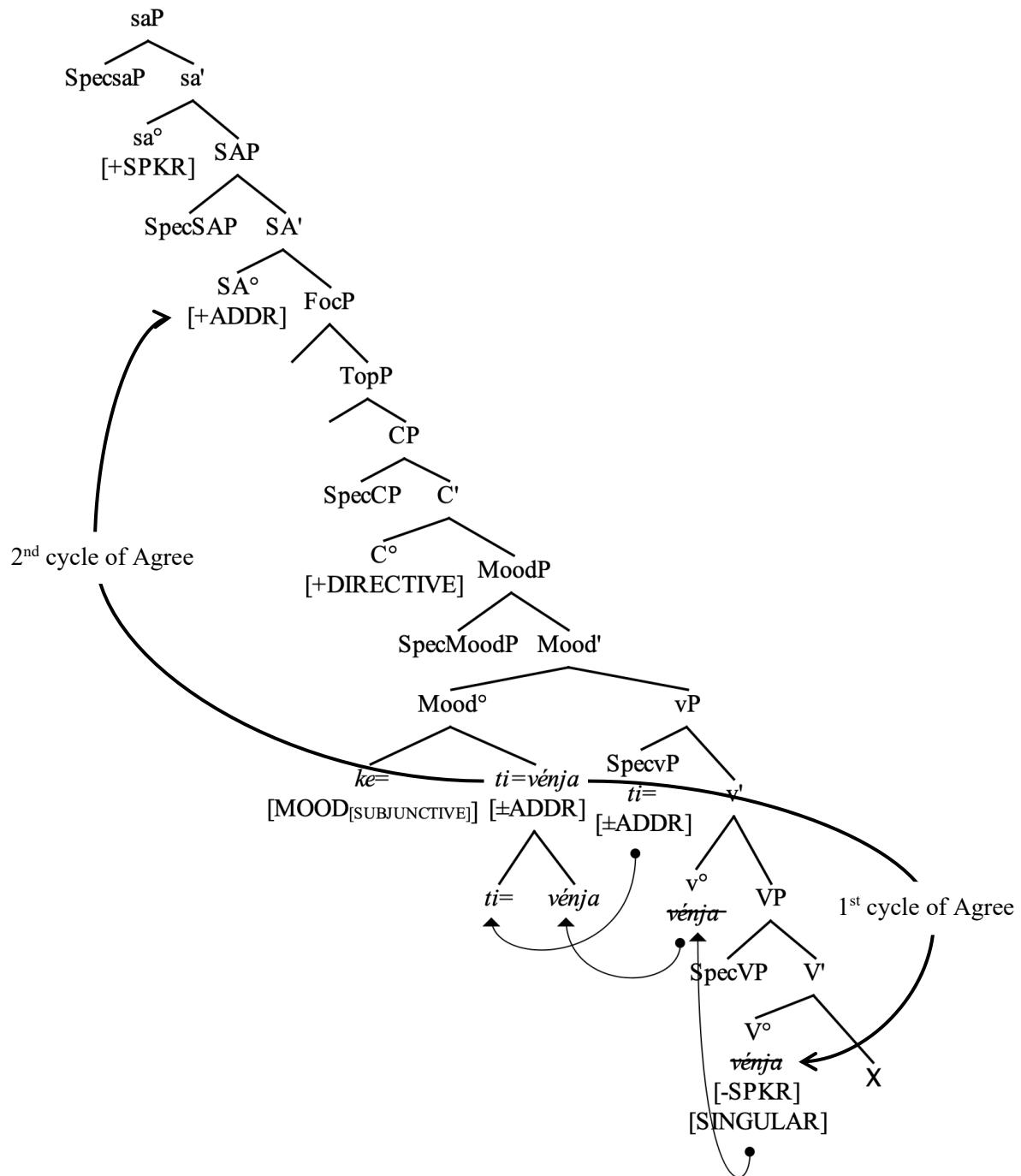
6. Conclusions

I presented the main semantic, morphosyntactic and syntactic aspects of root subjunctive clauses in Corfioto, the endangered Balkan Venetan variety of the Corfiot Jews. Based on original oral data, I argued that the morphosyntactic and syntactic properties of root

subjunctive clauses in Corfioto contrast with those of modal main clauses introduced by a complementizer or a particle in certain Western-type Romance languages, including French, Italian, and Venetan, and certain Southern Italian dialects. Moreover, I suggested that the distributional, syntactic, and semantic properties of root subjunctives in Corfioto resemble those of the Balkan subjunctive construction in main clauses. Drawing on previous syntactic analyses of the derivation of root subjunctive clauses in Modern Greek, I claimed that Agreement in root subjunctives in Corfioto is subject to syntactic restrictions involving φ-features distributed asymmetrically across the strong pronoun, subject clitic and verb inflectional paradigms which I analyzed along the lines of Deal's (2015, forthcoming) Interaction and Satisfaction model of Agree. The core proposal highlights how the 2SG subject clitic *ti* marked as [-SPKR/±ADDR] is satisfied by the [+ADDR] which is inherent to the syntacticized Addressee projection at the SA° of the speech act layer at the outermost part of the syntactic spine, leading to a strictly referential interpretation of the subject. Upon satisfaction of the probe for [PART] via Agree, further interaction is halted, leading to Agreement for [PART] within narrow syntax. Further investigation on the role of the [+SPKR] feature for possible restrictions in the derivation of a generic vs referential distinction for the 1SG in declarative and interrogative root subjunctive clauses and its correlation to clausal complements implying the ±anaphoric/deictic character of [φ], [MOOD] and [TENSE] features, based on a larger set of carefully elicited original data may enable cross-linguistic comparison of root subjunctive clauses between genetically affiliated languages with similar syntactic and semantic properties in the larger geographical area of south-eastern Europe.

Acknowledgments

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